GUIDE TO THE SQ19 TUCANO FILE

[This file contains specific data on the Tucano, including the Arapaso, Bara, Buhagana, Carapana, Cubeo, Cueretu, Desana, Macuna, Pamoa, (Tatuyo), Piratapuyo, Tucano, Tuyuca, Uaina, Uanana, Uasona, Yahuna, and Yapua (Japua). All of the above tribes speak languages or dialects belonging to the Eastern division of the Tucanoan or Betoyan language family.

The Tucano live in the northwest Amazon region of Colombia and Brazil in the basin of the Vaupés river and its tributaries. They share this region with peoples from several other language families including Arawakan and Cariban. The groups in the Vaupés river basin have many culture traits in common and are often classified as one main culture. They represent a tropical forest culture, subsisting on slash and burn cultivation of bitter manioc, fishing, and some hunting.

Typically, the Tucano live in large multi-gamily houses (maloca) whose members belong to one patrilineal, exogamous sib. Quite freqeuntly, one maloca comprises an entire settlement although occasionally some sib members live in single family dwellings near the maloca. Settlements are widely dispersed on the banks of rivers and streams andrange in size from 20-100 members. The sib is the most important social, religious and political unit, and is generally localized in one community. Its members cooperate economically, and it is the only social unit with any form of leader or headman. Furthermore, it is the group the Tucano most frequently identify with. The sibs are hierarchically organized into phratries which are also exogamous. Tribal identification is weak or absent and according to 5: Goldman, if it exists, it is more an expression of common culture than of

political or territorial unity. In fact, there is no administrative organization or leadership on a level higher than the sib group. There are several different languages and dialects spoken among the Tucano. Because of sib and phratry exogamy, there is frequent intermarriage among linguistic groups, and, as a result, most Tucano are multilingual. The language spoken by the Tucano proper is the lingua franca for the entire area.

There are 7 sources in the Tucano file. Three of the sources, 4: Silva, 5: Goldman and 6: Moser and Tayler, provide a broad survey of the culture. The remaining 4 sources, 1, 2, and 3: Fulop, and 7: Sorensen are specialized in subject matter. 1: Fulop is an excellent study of Tucano kinship terminology, 2: Fulop is a collection of nine Tucano folk-tales and myths, 3: Fulop is a Tucano cosmogonical tale which is particularly interesting because of the elements of Western civilization which have been woven into the story. This source also includes a general summary of Tucano material culture. All three sources have been translated from the Spanish. 4: Silva was prepared by a missionary and provides the most extensive cultural and historical summary. The author discusses tribal groupings, material culture, social organization, religion, and kinship. It has been translated from the Portuguese. 5: Goldman was prepared by an ethnologist and concentrates on one subgroup of the Tucano, the Cubeo. The author emphasizes social structure and ceremonial patterns but provides a general summary of the culture as background for his analysis. 6: Moser and Tayler is mainly a description of the authors' trip through Tucano country. It provides a very general description of everyday life and a more extensive description of agricultural practices. 7: Sorensen concerns multilingualism among the tribes of the Northwest Amazon basin.

Because of the nature of the source material processed for this file, which generally considers the Tucano and other groups in the area as forming one major culture, of which each language group forms an interdependent part, it has

generally been impracticable to separate the various groups during the analysis procedure. Therefore, the materials have been analyzed only for the SQ19 Tucano file. Data on other language groups in the area therefore will be found in this file, but are not labelled as such. See 7: Sorensen for an explanation of this problem.

The file was processed between 1969 and 1974.]

000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

114 [101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría [124] Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant [614] and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, [615] two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

615 As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the 361 existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one 197 another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It 619 could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of 615 tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other 571 phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in * 574 Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who [601] did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the corre- [101] spondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the 615 Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged 197 to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and 124 on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great 114 distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four [124] phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

ooo /335/ Aspects of Tucano Culture
Mythology -- Part I

By Marcos Pulop

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114 /337/ Preliminary Note
• [101]

The material presented here was collected between June 11 and September 9, 1954, when field work was done in the
124 village /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Performing the functions of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra respectively, blood brothers and residents of the village of Guadalajara.

121 The mythology that appears in this article is a very small
773 portion of the total Tukano /Tucano/ mythology. The author has considered it advisable not to analyze individually the myths published here, but to wait until all the Tukano mythology has been collected and published.

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* 539 /339/ I. Boraró and Boraró Numió

A man and a woman stayed in Diaojpekowí, and they were brother and sister. These two beings do not have children, but will never die. When they want to leave Diaojpekowí, they turn themselves into spirits. The man is named Boraró, and the
* 539 woman is named Boraró Numió. Boraró and Boraró Numió kill
761 people by opening a hole in their heads and sucking out the entire body through this hole. They leave only the skin of the victim, which they throw on a tree /Sp. palo/. To kill her victim, Boraró Numió lies down face up and begins to urinate at a distance of about 150 meters from her victim. Boraró, to kill his victim, urinates standing at a distance of about 150 meters from his victim. And when Boraró and Boraró Numió urinate, everyone that is within those 150 meters falls dead instantly.

4: Silva SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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[For data on ethnic identification, see category 116, passim, pp. 5-191.]

4: Silva--6 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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# Chapter I

## The Habitat

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The area whose ethnographic elements are collected in these notes is the basin of the Uaupés or Caiari River (1).

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

1. Caiari, or formerly Ucaiari, would be the original name, according to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, who, in No. 184 of his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/" (see below, II, 2 /see p. 25/), says: -- "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manaos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attribute to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé."

It is to be noted that, although its waters are not as dark as those of the Rio Negro, the Uaupés is one of a number of rivers of "black waters."

"All these tribes," reports Wallace ("Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro" -- London, 1849, p. 335), "present some peculiarities in their idioms and customs, but all of them come under the general name of Uaupés and distinguish themselves, as a whole, from the inhabitants of the other rivers. This is the reason that the river is called Rio dos Uaupés (the River of the Uaupés), although actually its name is Ucaiari and it is called this by the Indians."

We read recently (May of 1956) in Luiz da Câmara Cascudo ("Em memória de Stradelli /In memory of Stradelli/," Livr. Clássica-Manaus, 1936, p. 7) that Stradelli mentions a powerful Tuxáua /chief/ Buapé, of the Taryana /Tariana/ tribe (whose ninth-generation grandson, Maximiliano José Roberto, accompanied Stradelli on his journeys), who would have lived around the end of the sixteenth century and lent the name to

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/footnote 1 cont./ the river (cf. below, Note 5, Ch. II /see note 8, Ch. II, p. 40/).

This belief has also been adopted today on the Rio Negro. We do not know, however, if it is based on the opinion of Stradelli, or if he gave rise to it. At the end of the nineteenth century, with Stradelli, the name Uaupés is presented to us as a corruption of the original word Buapé. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Uaupé would be the original form from which, through corruption, the term Goaupé originated, and no mention is made of the Tuxáua by the name of Buapé, the memory of whom, if he existed, should have been more vivid at that time. Who is right? /The footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

Which language would the name Uaupés belong to? And what does it mean? The present-day natives do not know how to answer that, nor did those of half a century ago. As a matter of fact, Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 131) says only that the name is depreciative; this, however, because under the name of Uaupés are included tribes that are ignorant, wild (Wildstaemme), and scorned, such as the Tukano /Tucano/ and the Kubewãna, who fought against the more advanced Arwake /Arawak/.

In Stradelli's Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, we find the remark: "Iasaná" -- Breed of the Afflicted /Port. Casta das Rallidas/. Name that on the lower Amazon and on the Grão-Pará is given to Parra Iaçaná, which on the Solimões is called Piasóca -- and on the Rio Negro, Uaupé and Uapé.

The river in turn lent the name to a plant characteristic of the stones of its cachoeiras /rapids; see note 2, p. 9 /. As a matter of fact, it is called uaupé or uaupé-da-cachoeira (and also carurú-das-pedras /carurú of the stones/ and murera-das-cachoeiras), an aquatic plant that grows on the stones of the cachoeiras of this river and that furthermore serves the Indians for the extraction of salt (cf. Note 51,

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/footnote 1 cont./ /see note 52, p. 320/, VI). (Cf. Gastão Cruls, Hileia Amazônica -- C. E. N., 1944 -- p. 35.)

The name Ucaiari (as is usual for the ones that end in ri or li) is of Arwake origin. In the language of the Arara-tapuya and the Kadáu-puritãna, the Uaupés River is called Ukayalí; in the Huhúdeni /Huhuteni/ it is called Ukávari (all three are of the Arwake group). It might perhaps be derived from U(ni), water river, and Kawale (in Kadáu-puritãna) or Kawáeri (in Hihúdeni /sic/), wind. Nevertheless, none of the old people of the various Arwake tribes of the Içana and Aiarí rivers whom we could consult were able to indicate the meaning of the term Caiarí or Ucaiari. Just as the other tribes who inhabit the Uaupés did not know it either. All of them designate the Uaupés as "Dya Poxsá," river of the Makú (?). This designation might induce one to think that the Makú (Puxsá /sic/) were the first to inhabit its shores, and afterwards, under pressure from the Arwake and Tukano invaders, went to settle in the interior, in the adjacent forests, from the environs of S. Gabriel as far as the cachoeiras of Jandú and Carurú (on the Uaupés River). The truth is that, according to the spirit of the language, River of the Makú should be translated as "Poxsá Dyá" and not as "Dyá Poxsá."

as it was known up to a few years ago, a tributary that flows into the Rio Negro about 50 kilometers above the town of S. Gabriel-da-Cachoeira, now called Uaupés.

133 The Uaupés results, according to Dr. Hamilton Rice, from the union of the rivers Unilla, which is the more important, and Itilla, both with their origins in the plains that border the buttresses of the Colombian Andes. After a course of about 330 kilometers in Colombian territory, the Uaupés advances in the

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101 20. Oxkõtirya poné (foam of the water where the Pirá-tapuya appeared), in Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) (46)

46. Would the Wanana be considered brothers of the Pirá-tapuya, from which would come the matrimonial interdiction that is in effect between these tribes?

[273] 21. Dyaxtú panámina (grandchildren of Dyaxtú, that is, of the one who drinks pure caxirí /various locally made beverages drunk at feasts/), in S. Tomé (Tiquié), Bela Vista (Uaupés) (47)

47. An individual of this group informed us that he identifies himself with the 7th group above, Bĩxpõ poné.

w) WINÁ OR DESÃNA.

1) People-Name-Language. -- In their own idiom they say Winá, the name, it seems, of a fish. According to Padre João Marchesi, it means wind storm, thunder, people of the thunder. They are called Detsana or Papuriwára by the Taryana. The suffix wara is from the Nheengatú and expresses origin; the name would seem, then, to indicate that they penetrated into Brazil by way of the Papurí. It is certain that when the Tukano reached the Tiquié, the Desana were already there and on the principal tributaries. In contrast to the Tukano, it was afterwards that they moved to the Papurí, perhaps even before the arrival of the Tukano in Brazil.

In the Tukano language they call themselves Wená or Wĩrá; they also received the nicknames of "muhĩ-pũ põra," children of the sun, and "õ mã-kori maxsã," people of the day. Such nicknames might be derived from some legend that we do not know. Or perhaps from the relative location of these two tribes, the Desana being in the eastern region in relation to the Tukano?

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There are, as we have seen (IV -- 2), three groups of tribes, which we call Tukano /Tucano/, Arwake /Arawak/, and Makú /Macu/. The serious obligation is that of exogamy. Once the interdictions that we listed in the Classification of the tribes are observed, however, the woman may be from another tribe of the same group or from another group of tribes. Out of a question of pride, no tribe will marry a Makú, who is considered slave and inferior; /409/ he is not "people," they say (3).

> 3. We know of a few cases of marriage by men of other tribes (Tukano, Tuyuka, Desana, Ipeka) with a Makú woman. None of a Makú man with a woman from another tribe. Among these few cases, that of a young woman, although already orphaned in 1947, a resident of the Tuyuka maloca of the locality of S. Pedro, river Tiquié, whose father was Tukano and the mother, Makú. We were not able to verify whether her mother was a legitimate wife or simply a concubine; or, further, whether she had been born from a casual relationship. We do not know either, under the first hypothesis, for what reasons such a marriage had taken place. Perhaps a lack of women? Or due to a physical defect of the man (it is to be noted that the girl was cross-eyed)? Or because of living among the Makú of the Gí-paraná or Komé-ya (trib. of the Pirá-paraná)?

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If they nevertheless manage to catch some young Makú girl, they might have her as a concubine, along with the legitimate wife. They will avoid, however, having children with the Makú; and if, in spite of this, they do have them (for example, the grandmother of Maria Gama from Urubucuara), they are considered

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851 legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).
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4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Makú, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

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101 Marriages between Taryana and Desãna do not take place. We do not know the reasons, however; it does not seem to be because
582 of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most
563 noble group, marry Desãna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desãna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

T Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano
582 explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kõ-Ro. Nor the
563 Pirá-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Miritĩ,
614 Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor,
[601] finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Miritĩ-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana,
T Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

582 b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of
614 one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy, a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another
T family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son.
*[192] It is what is called Põãperi or põãpeseri. And the young woman
[601] will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mã-rapõ nỹãkhõ (future husband) or even Põrã-kõ nỹãkhõ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nõ'mõ nyãkho (future wife) or Põrã-ko nỹãkho (future genitress).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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part of the Central American and Andean jaguar distribution; perhaps the Cubeo ranked clans and ancestral cult are also part of the Andean picture. However, where there is a cultural relationship it is probable that it moves in either direction. The lowlands took from the Andes; it is likely that they gave as well. Perhaps a close study of social conditions in the tropical forest could shed specific light on the spectacular historical developments in the Andes. The way in which the Cubeo maloca, the multifamily residence, tends to become a sib ceremonial center for those sib members who have broken away from it illustrates, for example, a possible process of ceremonial center formation.

Questions of culture history are inevitably to the fore when one compares the tropical forest with the Andes. But even as a separate entity the tropical forest area commands culture-historical interest. Cubeo social structure, for example, suggests some of the ways in which small social units such as extended and joint families and lineages grow into and combine to form more complex and more highly integrated social systems. Segments of one tribe attach themselves as entities to other tribes adopting a new language. Federations of segments are formed by various combinations of adoption, adhesion, and fission; these bind themselves together by ceremonial ties and not by ordinary political means of suprachieftainship. Other processes are at work elsewhere in the region. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that detailed comparative studies of tropical forest social structures could provide a rich foundation for the reconstruction of modes of social evolution, within a fixed range of social integration. As native Africa is a natural laboratory for the study of nascent states, the South American tropical forest as a major culture area is a natural laboratory for the study of variations in a small community, and lineage and clan organization.

In the foregoing discussion my intent was to provide the reader with a broad problem setting in which the Cubeo are viewed generally as a tropical forest culture. Since tropical forest anthropology is not too widely known this seemed a useful thing to do. However, the Cubeo are more specifically a part of the Northwest Amazon subculture area. The Northwest Amazon is designated as a subarea of the tropical forest in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. Not a sharply delineated area, it includes several of the major languages of lowland South America: Arawakan, Cariban, Tucanoan, Witotoan, and Macú. Of these language groups, Tucanoan (the language of the Cubeo), Witotoan, and Macú are restricted to the Northwest Amazon and were until recently listed as unclassified languages

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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visitor. On the other hand, the leaf-cutter ant is a specialist on clothing. I was once covered by a swarm of these ants while asleep. When I had carefully removed the last of them I was left with but a leather belt and a few tatters of trousers and shirt.

The anopheles mosquito is generally absent in the Cuduiarí region where I did my field work. On the whole, the health of the Cuduiarí Indians is good. Carate (*pirú*), a skin pigment disorder apparently of spirochete origin, common everywhere else in the Northwest Amazon, was far less in evidence on the Cuduiarí. Children suffered from worms and other intestinal parasites but infant mortality was not particularly high. There were no epidemics during my stay. The recollections of the Indians about serious illness go back to the 1918 influenza epidemic that apparently ravaged the native populations in the region. Women, in particular, suffered from the painful purulent conjunctivitis, which they attributed to insect molestation in their manioc gardens. The bloated abdomens of children whose diet is too generous with carbohydrate and deficient in protein is a common sight along the Vaupés, but is less evident on the Cuduiarí, where native life and diet is still almost intact. As for the Cuduiarí itself, the people at the mouth of the river, the higher ranking *Hehénewa* sibs, seemed generally more sturdy, vigorous, and aggressive than the Indians who lived upstream.

Dr. Hamilton Rice, who explored the Vaupés in 1907–08, observed that the most physically powerful Indians came from the Cuduiarí. He noted men who were six feet tall and over, strongly built with thick arms and powerful torsos. Actually somatological variability is considerable on the Cuduiarí, ranging from marked mesomorphy to moderate ectomorphy. But this observation of mine is not based on measurements. Dr. Rice (1910) has published a physical description of the Cubeo based upon anthropometric observations. I quote from it:

> Their color is an olive brown corresponding to No. 4 of Broca's scale and seems invariable, a conclusion based on a comparison of the scale with many hundreds of subjects on parts of the cuticle least exposed to sun and pigmented decoration. The eye is dark, palpebral fissure narrow, not oblique, pointed at its external aspect, and the upper lid so heavy at times as to suggest the puffiness of oedema; but the eye by no means conforms invariably to so Mongolian a criterion, closely resembling the European eye in many other cases. The hair is black, lanky, coarse in the male, fine and glossy in the female. The faces are escutcheon-shaped and hairless, the chins rounded and receding, noses from straight and busque to hooked and Chinese flat types, region of cheek bones flat, lower lips large and inclined to turn slightly downward. The ears are not large, lobes absent or slightly devel-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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be interesting and he recorded tribal distributions and physical conditions of life as well as many customs. It is to Wallace that we owe the first report on mortuary endocannibalism among the Cubeo. Curiously, this information has never been properly authenticated. Wallace learned about it at second hand, as did Koch-Grünberg many years later. I observed what I thought to be this custom, but I could not verify that the bones being prepared for imbibing with chicha were human. The annoyance of the Indians when I accidentally came upon them while they were reducing bones to meal and pouring it into the chicha at the conclusion of a mourning ceremony led me to suspect that the bones were human. In response to my questions, however, no Cubeo would confirm my conjectures.

Wallace (1870, p. 354) traveled up the Vaupés to the mouth of the Cuduiari River at the rapids of Uaracapuri, where he observed a community of several malocas. He did not enter the Cuduiari, reporting only that to his knowledge no European had ever gone up that river. As for the Vaupés, this river, particularly in its Brazilian reaches, had in Wallace's time already become an important artery of European trade. Along the Isana River Wallace noted that the Indians were living in European-style dwellings. The Cuduiari then had the reputation of a totally wild region. The Cubeo Indians seen by Wallace were still wearing large circular wooden plugs in their ears. By 1903, in the time of Koch-Grünberg, this form of male ornamentation had already been given up.

Curt Nimuendajú surveyed the Isana, Aiari, and Vaupés rivers in 1927. In his notes, published posthumously in 1950, it is revealed that he correctly identified Tucano and Cubeo descent groups as patrilineal clans. He did not, however, enter the Cuduiari, and his information on that river, being secondhand, is not too reliable.

My own field work on the Cuduiari began in September 1939 and continued through June 1940. (Goldman, 1948, is a preliminary report.) The Cuduiari had the advantage of being relatively accessible and as yet almost completely unacculturated. I decided upon the Cuduiari after a survey of the Cubeo communities along the Vaupés.

## CULTURE CHANGE

Cubeo culture has been subjected to acculturative influences from two sources, one from other Indian tribes and the other from European, Colombian, and Brazilian missionaries, settlers, traders, and latex extractors. Cultural interchange among Indian tribes in the Northwest Amazon region is, of course, an old and intricate process,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiari, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiari there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *hebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamiwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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61 *pamíwa* or a *pudúwa*. The group of exogamous sibs that form a phratry are spoken of as *kwindwũ*, *ũnhiwũ*, or *kwindnokauwũ*, all terms with the general meaning of "one kinfolk" or "the same kinfolk." However, I have also heard the expression *nuhénokauwũ* (my own kinfolk) used to refer to both tribe and phratry.

61 If tribal designation is vague, the native concept of tribe is only a little more definite. Tribe refers more or less to a common identity of language, descent, and custom. One of the Cubeo phratries was, in fact, once Arawakan. To become tribesmen they adopted the language, customs, and traditions of the Cubeo. Other sibs appear to have been at one time Macú as well as sections of the Tucano "tribe."

614 There are no formal bonds of tribe and there is no acknowledgment of tribal overlordship. Cubeo social structure is segmentary, the patrilineal sib being the basic segment. Every sib has established relationships with other sibs to regulate marriage, ceremonial participation, friendships, and hospitality along traditional lines, but also to some degree along lines that suit its own particular interests.

615 The phratry is a more sharply defined and a far more important
614 social aggregate than tribe. A phratry is a confederation of sibs that are closely bound by rules of exogamy, by common residence along the same river, by a tradition of common origin and descent, by a graded order of rank that assigns to each sib its place in a social hierarchy, and, finally, by a series of ceremonies, solemn as well as secular, such as drinking parties at which each sib entertains its fellow sibs. Withal, there is no phratric overlordship, no phratric council or other agency to consider policy for the phratry as a whole.

What gives a phratry cohesiveness is the pattern of relations that the individual sibs, each acting individually, have formed with one another. The most important of these relationships is the rule of exogamy. By adhering to a rule of exogamy the sibs regard themselves as "brothers," for fraternity is based on the kinship principle that brothers cooperate and share the same rules of exogamy. Most sibs in a phratry have been joined together from the traditional beginnings or the time of first emergence, others are newcomers who have been adopted into the cofraternity of sibs. Adoption is the prerogative of an individual sib. A sib adopts an alien group as a subsib and automatically gives it a place and rank in the phratry. The phratry is no homogeneous federation of fraternal sibs. It is differentiated by rank, by historic background, and by geography. Sibs of the same historic background and of similar rank who are neighbors on the river feel closer to one another and form, therefore, an unofficial but still evident inner circle. Normally, rank, historic background, and propin-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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 614 615 554 361 [101] [114]

associated with the *Kompainyewa*. Koch-Grünberg found them on the left bank of the Vaupés at a site called *Naibö*, where they were known in the *lingoa geral* as *Tokandira-Tapuyo*. He recorded their self-name as *Olá-Piaráwa*. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari.

*Pyéndo-Hehénewa* A dissident sib of the *Hehénewa* group, maintaining no friendly relations with the other *Hehénewa*. Their close sib ties are with the *Pedíkwa* and the *Kenánikauwü*. They occupy several sites above Patú at the headwaters of the Cuduiari, the main maloca being at Querari *miri* (*Enpanáwe*). They are also at *Abúhudjo* on the Yurupari *miri* and are known also as *Pyéndokauwü*.

*Hwáni-Hehénewa* A *Hehénewa* subsib on the Vaupés at Paraná *picuna* and at Tukano *cachoeira*. Their origin site is *Impenáni* of the Uaracapuri *cachoeira* and they are, therefore, closely related to the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnwewa*, in contrast to the *Hehénewa* proper, whose emergence was actually on the Papurý.

*Aúnwewa* A subsib of the *Aúnbwawü* on the Vaupés at *Upyaria* just above Mitú. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari and referred to them as *Aweéa*. They are also listed as a sib of a Tucano phratry. [114]

*Kompainyewa* Closely linked with the *Piaráwa*, they live at Pindaíva on the Vaupés just above Urania near the Yurupari falls. Their emergence site, however, is Uaracapuri.

*Abúxo-Hehénewa* A sib on the upper Querari mentioned by Koch-Grünberg, on which I have no information.

*Ambomamára* A sib on the Cuduiari mentioned by Nimuendajú, on which I have no information. From the name it would appear to be a subsib of the *Aúnbwawü*.

*Byari-Hehénewa* An extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*, who had lived on the Cuduiari as well as at Uarúa Lake on the upper Vaupés. They were also known as *Byaridowa*.

*Papuli-Hehénewa* A sib living on the Cuduiari during the time of Koch-Grünberg's visit at Suriburoca but now extinct. They came from the Papurý and were closely linked with the Tucano tribe of the Tiquié River.

*Kenámbwawa* A sib on the upper Cuduiari, presumably a subsib, along with the *Kenánikauwü*, of the *Pedíkwa*.

Phratry I consists of two divisions that represent distinct origins. 615 In the past these two divisions may have been intermarrying, because 554 even now, although the entire phratry is exogamic, informants dis- 614 agree as to the proprieties of intermarriage between the two divisions. The dominant division from the point of view of prestige and of numbers is known as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar) and includes the *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, and their subsibs: *Byá-Hehénewa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, *Pedíkwa*, *Kenánikauwü*, *Utciwaiwa*, *Pyéndo-Hehénewa*, *Hwáni-Hehénewa*, and *Aúnwewa*. The second division has no name and consists of the *Bahúkiwa* groups, the *Piaráwa*, and the *Kompainyewa*.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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PHRATRY II

*Buroibowa* The leading sib of the phratry, living at Muchú on the Vaupés. According to tradition, they came from the Isana River originally. They emerged at a rapids called *Aíndoribo* at a site called *Hobónoburúno*. Originally they fought with the *Byówa*, now a sister sib of the phratry. Koch-Grünberg encountered an abandoned maloca of theirs at Uarúa Lake, where they had been living adjacent to the Tucanoan-speaking but non-Cubeo *Pamóa*. The indications are that they had moved in recent years considerably downstream on the Vaupés.

*Byówa* A group occupying all of the Pirabatón, an affluent of the Querarí. Koch-Grünberg placed them at the headwaters of the Querarí, but since he had not identified the Pirabatón that may be the river that he called the upper Querarí. They are strongly intermarried with *Bahúkiwa*.

*Hürüwá* Members of a foreign phratry living on the Cuduiarí, where they occupy a number of upriver sites, having replaced a *Hehénewa* subsib. They emerged from a site called *Kohédariwa* above Uaracapurí on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg met them in the same locations on the Cuduiarí. He claimed they were originally Arawakan-speaking Baniwa who had wandered in from the Vaupés.

*Wadjá-Hürüwá* A subsib of the *Hürüwá* at *Kwitóro* on the Cuduiarí.

*Korówa* Primarily a Querarí River sib that had spilled over onto the Cuduiarí at one time. Wallace reported them there in 1853. They are closely linked with, and according to Koch-Grünberg politically subordinate to, the *Byówa*. In more recent times they have settled on the Vaupés, where they have also been reported by Nimuendajú. They also had a house on the lower Cuduiarí. They are known as *Korókoro-Tapuyo* (Green Ibis Indians). [101]

*Waláola* A group mentioned by Nimuendajú as living on the Vaupés. Presumably a subsib of the *Korówa*.

*Miandwa* A group occupying several sites in the vicinity of the Tukunaré *igarapes* on the upper Vaupés – *Makakinyo, Jacaré, Seima* – as well as at Pirabatón *igarapes*. Koch-Grünberg found a small group of only four families living at the Yurupari falls on the lower Vaupés. Nimuendajú also found them on the Vaupés.

PHRATRY III

[101] *Djurémawa* Nimuendajú has identified them as the *Yiboya-Tapuyo* of the Aiarí River in Brazil. He says they came to the mouth of the Querarí on the Vaupés in 1904. According to Koch-Grünberg, they were once hostile Arawakan Baniwa who had assimilated to Cubeo and are close kin of the *Káua* of the Aiarí. The Uanana, Koch-Grünberg reports, call them *Maxka-Pinopona* (Boa).

*Tóriawü* A sib on the Querarí, originally Arawakan-speaking, that claims to have come from the Isana.

*Konéntaraboiwü* According to Koch-Grünberg, who referred to them as *Kolátalaposuo*, they were Baniwa Arawakans who settled on the Querarí and assimilated to the Cubeo language. He noted that they were intermarried with the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahúkiwa* also married them. Nimuendajú mentions a *Kowitárabewi* on the Querarí, perhaps the

6: Moser and Tayler E, N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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[ P. 32 ]

*Tukano*

115 Hitherto José had remained silent and appeared to know nothing of these engravings nor had he given us any indication of their whereabouts. This was surprising, for, being himself a Barasana, of a Tukano clan, he was presumably aware of their existence. Then one evening, perhaps encouraged by our curiosity, he told us the following anecdote:

101 773 776 'The Barasana have always lived here, they were born here. They and the Taiwano have always been friends and had common enemies in the Tatuya, Karapana and Ureti whom they used to fight with bow and arrows. They both have the same god who has power over all things. It is he who made Ni, in his own likeness, the drawings have been here for ever, and this is the only place where they occur. The other Indians do not have them.' He pointed to a great natural pillar of granite called the Bee, which stood in the river upstream of Ni: 'That rock was once a pile of manioc, which the people had placed there. Ni turned it into stone. Below the rapids is the underwater cave, his palace, where the god sings to the drawings and the spirits.'

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# 7
# *Missing Links*

Until we had passed the last rapids on the Piraparaná we were always anxious, as we were never sure how long José would stay with us. Had he left us we might have found it difficult to get other Indians to help, and certainly we could never have managed *El Diablo* ourselves. There were many occasions when he had threatened to leave, but so far he had been persuaded not to. So it was with some relief that we passed these rapids, though there was nearly disaster, for José determined to take *El Diablo* through fully loaded. We watched aghast from the bank as for a moment the boat completely disappeared from view in the turbulent water. But somehow she stayed afloat. 114

Now the river was anything from thirty to a hundred yards across. It wound sluggishly this way and that between low banks covered in dense forest and bordered with *miriti* palms. There were no houses, for most of the land was liable to flooding during the wetter months. We saw no Indians on the river, nor any canoes moored to the banks. At times the river meandered forming giant oxbows, where, through the sparse jungle, we could see a bend in the river that we had passed perhaps an hour before. At one of the bends a low cliff rose sheer from the water's edge. It was formed from clay and shales of Tertiary age, and in the beds Brian found deposits of lignite, tree-trunks and plant remains. To the west of us lay the Apaporis, to the east continuous forest as far as the Río Negro, the home of strange, seldom-seen foresters, the nomadic Maku. 13 114 [101]

Since leaving Bréo's *maloca* we had been troubled less by flies and insects; the jigger worms, which had laid their eggs in our feet when we walked barefoot about the *malocas*, no longer bothered us. Only the *nutchis* remained as they took some days to incubate. One night after an exceptionally large one was removed from Donald's shin, he wrote, 'A rather painful process. However it had its reward for it was definitely a record breaker – fat, furry, and fully half an inch in length....' They could only be extracted by using nicotine to poison them, or rubber latex to block their breathing holes where they lay under the skin. We never learnt how we got these painful worms. 136 114

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ABOVE AND BELOW: *Dancing at the festival to celebrate the manioc harvest.*

[see p 92-B]

7: Sørensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

# Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

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*In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Makú and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.*

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## THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

### *Setting and Culture Area*

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

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The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

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Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

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[P. 670-A]

101 large, homogeneous cultural group in the center of what is identified in the literature as the Northwest Amazon culture area. (For culture area descriptions, see Steward 1946–1959, Goldman 1948, Murdock 1958, Steward and Faron 1959, and Galvão 1960.) There is
174 historical as well as traditional evidence that
101 some of these tribes may have originated outside of the Vaupés area, subsequently acculturating to the general central Northwest Amazon culture. Other tribes seem to have originated locally, from proliferation by fission. Koch-Grünberg (1909–1910), for instance, considers the Wanano newcomers (among others). Although it has not been especially noted in the literature, some tribes present social organizations that are atypical
[616] for the area. The Piratapuyo, for instance, retain moieties, which until recently functioned as exogamous intermarrying units in an otherwise tribally exogamous and moiety-lacking culture area. Goldman (1963), who noted multilingualism, also reports on the diverse origin of various sibs among the Kubeo. On the other hand, field notes on the Tuyuka-Yuruti (or Dochkapūra-Uaiana [the *Uaikana* are the Piratapuyo]) set of tribes and languages suggest their derivation from a common source.

101 A couple of the larger tribes do not live in one continuous area, but in several areas. The
[131] numerous Tukano tribe occupies several continuous stretches of the Vaupés River and its principal tributaries, the Tikié and the Papuri, and also sites at the mouths of tributaries to these rivers. Historically, they have exerted

[P. 670-B]

101 a dominant influence in the area. The Tukano tribal language serves as the lingua franca of
[191] the entire area. (Its use as a lingua franca antedates the appearance of other linguae francae in the region.)

The various tribes making up this large, homogeneous cultural group contain about 90 percent of the people in the area. The remainder consists of two ethnic groups. One is the Makú Indians, who live away from the rivers and are more or less nomadic. They do not intermarry with the riverine Indians. The other consists of the non-Indians, who call themselves *blancos* (in Spanish) or *brancos* (in Portuguese), and who number perhaps 1,500. Most of them live in the two or three air-strip towns. Their economy is centered around rubber gathering, and they include about 150 missionaries, who maintain some dozen missionary posts. The non-Indians have a strong monolingual tradition, speaking only either Spanish or Portuguese. They have shown little inclination to learn the Indian languages or to participate in Indian culture.[2] There is little intermarriage between Indians and *blancos* (who mostly consist of *mestizo-criollos*).

184 Here, then, is a large, culturally homogeneous area where multilingualism—and poly-
191 lingualism in the individual—is the cultural norm. Anthropologically, this is a culture trait, and it is an outstanding culture trait of the area.

*Social Units*

61 Social units of primary importance to the analysis of multilingualism in the central Northwest Amazon culture area are the nuclear family, lineage, sib, tribe, phratry; the longhouse group; the linguistic group; and the
[797] exogamy group. Secondarily important, as they represent aggregations from among the above, are the mission village, the rubber-working group (an incipient *patrón-peón* group), and the nationality group. In the structural interrelations of all these groups, the sib occupies a focal position.

Several nuclear families may be found in a lineage, and several lineages in a sib (or patrilineal clan), which is the named and localized unit of social organization. A tribe is a named political and ceremonial unit, consisting of several sibs; it has a separate history and is identifiable by a distinct language. Barring the few exceptions where some of its sibs belong to a different phratry from that of the major-

[P. 671-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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cannot be called a "broken Spanish." At the missions, the insistence on using only Spanish has at times had an effect the reverse of the one desired and has invigorated Tukano and the other Indian languages. Along with measures to civilize the Indian linguistically and get him out of the longhouse and into civilized villages, there have been attempts to detribalize the Indians by de-emphasizing exogamy. All these efforts, however, have only served to reinforce the persistence of the native languages.

Because this area is politically divided by the boundary between Colombia and Brazil, an Indian from Brazil who knows Portuguese finds that when he goes any distance into Colombia, Portuguese is not understood. Conversely, Colombian Indians find they cannot use their Spanish in the interior of the Brazilian section. They then resort to their principal lingua franca, Tukano, which is understood on both sides of the border. And this situation obviously helps also in continuing Tukano as the main lingua franca.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR SOME CURRENT ISSUES

### *The One Language/One Culture Image*

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As I have shown, the multilingualism in the homogeneous culture of the central Northwest Amazon area serves to demarcate distinct, exogamous social units. Homogeneity of culture in this area does not mean homogeneity of language. And to speak of one language is not to speak of one entire culture. Indeed, with minor regional variations, the larger Northwest Amazon cultural area extends far beyond the bounds of the central, multilingual area described in this paper. Moreover, the cultural area includes some societies acculturated to lesser or greater degree to civilization but whose populations still prefer to speak aboriginal languages and to coin new terms in their own languages rather than borrow alien words. Data from the central Northwest Amazon bear directly, therefore, on the prevalent one language/one culture assumption, which, as Hymes (1964) and Gumperz (1961) point out, needs critical review.

The homogeneous culture area of the central Northwest Amazon has been circumscribed, perhaps somewhat artificially, as the area characterized by multilingualism as a culture trait. Within it there is no one language that

[P. 681 - A]

101 197 is father-language to all, nor is there any one language that is mother-language to everyone. What is father-language to some is mother-language to others and an unknown language to still others, all people who bear the same culture. The distribution of Tukano, as the lingua franca, does largely coincide with the extent of this culture area. But this is partly because a lingua franca accompanies multilingualism, and it is this trait of multilingualism that sets off the cultural area. The widespread distribution of Tukano and its near coincidence with the central Northwest Amazon culture area does not lend any special monolithic quality to Tukano such as is revealed in the promulgation of Spanish and Portuguese. Despite much situational reinforcement, Tukano continues to exist as a lingua franca at all only because it has tenuously and flexibly become amalgamated into the cultural picture. Indeed, the linguistic area of Tukano merges into the area of Nheengatú and thence into the area of Portuguese; the cultural areas of tribal Indians and of detribalized caboclos have perimeters that differ from those of the linguistic areas.[8]

### *Implications for Transformational Linguistic Theory*

191 A number of details in the preceding description of the multilingual society in the central Northwest Amazon force some reconsideration of certain basic premises of transformational linguistic theory. Chomsky (1965:3–9) states that linguistic theory is concerned with the tacit knowledge of an ideally fluent speaker-hearer in a homogeneous speech community. An ideally fluent speaker-hearer in the central Northwest Amazon has to be someone who is *not* monolingual. This poses the question of whether the ideally fluent speaker is to carry one model of Language or several models, one for each of his languages, in his head. Even very closely related languages appear to be kept fastidiously apart by speakers, and the very differences among these closely related languages often are of the same kind of subtlety, especially of surface structure rules and near-surface structure rules, whose exposure has been a major contribution of transformational linguistics. This leads to the further question of how any one language, which forms only part of a normal polylinguistic individual's repertoire (which in turn varies from individual to individual), is to be accounted for. There is also the question of

[P. 681-B]

191 what is to be considered a homogeneous speech community. I have suggested that the best candidates in this community are the longhouse group and the mission village group, whose members share common poly- and multilingual patterns. This necessitates our recognizing hundreds of distinct homogeneous speech communities in the one culture area.

To treat the description of any *one* of these languages as representing the tacit knowledge of a speaker or the language of a speech community is clearly unrealistic. The one language represents only part of the individual's competence in Language, and only part of the speech community's configuration of languages. Description of only one language necessarily can account for only part of the grammatical sentences an individual within a speech community may utter—unless the description of a "single language" can incorporate several, or alternative languages. A linguistic theory limited to one language/one group situations is inadequate to explain the actual linguistic competence of the people of the central Northwest Amazon.

## APPENDIX: INVENTORY OF TRIBES AND LANGUAGES

101 The following tribes and languages have been noted and checked directly in the field.

197 (1) Tribes and languages directly involved in multilingualism:

191 (A) Eastern Tukanoan language family, arranged in subgroupings suggested by a preliminary attempt at reconstruction by the comparative method (there are probably a few more languages to be documented in this group in subsequent field trips): Tukano, Tuyuka and Yurutí, Paneroa and Eduria, Karapana and Tatuyo, Barasana; Piratapuyo, Wanano; Desano and Siriano; Kubeo.

(B) Arawakan language family: Tariano; Baré. Most Tarianos now use Tukano as their household or father-language, and they marry Tukanos; many younger Tarianos do not know Tariano, although they are polylingual in other languages. The Baré along the Middle and Lower Vaupés use either Tukano or Nheengatú as their household or father-language, and very few speakers of the original Baré are left; the Baré are largely detribalized and caboclo-ized.

(C) Several tribes-and-languages of various families of the Pirá-Paraná (Moser 1963) await direct checking in the field: Tabaino, Erulia (distinct from Eduria), Makuna,

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Yekuana, Datuana, and others. The status of some of these as dialects or languages also remains to be determined. For example, Tatuyo informants have mentioned an Owa language spoken by some Tatuyos, but there has not been an opportunity to check this out. The few Miritítapuyo of the Middle Tikié appear to use either Tukano or Desano as their household or father-language.

(D) Tupí-Guaranían language family: Nheengatú.

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(2) Tribes and languages bordering the multilingual area (many members of these tribes may be bilingual or even polylingual, but multilingualism is not widespread in a given tribe; many Indians of the multilingual area may include one or more of these languages in their repertoires):

(A) Arawakan language family: Kuripaka and Baniva. These are reported by some informants to be almost mutually intelligible.

(B) Undetermined language families: Karihona, Guayavero. I also have names, in Tukano only, of some dozen other languages spoken around the periphery of the area and along the Rio Negro.

(3) Languages spoken in the multilingual area, but by speakers who do not possess multilingualism as a culture trait:

(A) Undetermined language family: Makú (Makú may be more than one language). A few Makú know Tukano or Desano or some other language, including Spanish or Portuguese, but most Makú do not; a few Tukanos, Desanos, Piratapuyos, and Tuyukas know some Makú.

(B) Indo-European language family: Spanish, Portuguese, Italian. Two Colombian dialects of Spanish are found: Antioqueño, spoken by most missionaries, and Llanero, spoken by most rubber-gatherers. "Vaupense" Spanish is basically Llanero Colombian Spanish with the addition of many Nheengatú and some Portuguese terms for things pertaining to the tropical rainforest.[7]

(C) A special case is provided by languages neither spoken in the area nor represented there by groups of speakers. Small lists of words in Dutch can be obtained from older Indians on the Papurí, even though the former Dutch Montfortiano Fathers did not attempt to use Dutch with the Indians. Some Indians, moreover, have learned a considerable amount of Latin.

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*Spellings*. Most names for languages and tribes in the literature are Nheengatú names, carried over into Spanish, Portuguese, Ger-

[P. 682-B]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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104 man, English, etc. There is great variation in the spellings. The spellings in this paper tend to follow those of Koch-Grünberg, who still remains the general authority for the area as a whole. His spellings are close to those used for Nheengatú. They generally conform with those used for world-wide ethnographic spellings; in addition, they seem to have been the spellings more commonly used in English, German, Portuguese, and Spanish ethnographies on South America.

• 101 *Population estimate.* Population figures are
161 hard to estimate. The following are very im-
191 pressionistic. Tribes with 1,000–2,000 members: Tukano, Kubeo, Baré; Spanish-only speakers. Tribes with 500–1,000 members: Piratapuyo, Wanano, Desano. Tribes with 150–500 members: Tuyuka, Yurutí, Paneroa, Eduria, Karapana, Tatuyo, Barasana, Siriano, Tariano, Tabaino, Makuna, Tekuana, Datuana; Portuguese-only speakers. Of the latter tribes, Yurutí, Yekuana, and Datuana may number
[797] fewer than 150 members. A few Salesian missionaries, in Brazil, are Italians.

There are probably a few hundred Makú in occasional contract with the multilingual Indians in this area.

Non-Indians probably number about 1,500 and are concentrated in the few air-strip towns.

For a very round figure, a population of 10,000 has been estimated for the multilingual area in which Tukano is the chief lingua franca. Of these 10,000, only the non-Indians, the Makú, and some of the Kubeo are not multilingual, so that over 80 percent of the population is multilingual. As the non-Indians are concentrated in the few air-strip towns and a dozen missionary posts, the effective distribution of multilingualism is much higher; close to 100 percent of the communities encountered in the area are multilingual. Of the multilingual Indians, well over 90 percent know Tukano at least as a lingua franca, with young children accounting for the majority of the few who do not.

NOTES

[114] [12] [1] This report is an expanded version of a paper presented to the Tenth Annual National Conference on Linguistics in New York on March 13, 1965. Field work was done in the summers of 1959, 1960, and 1962 and from June to December 1963. It was supported during much of this time by USPHS Research Grant MH-17,258. I wish to acknowledge the hospitality and cooperation extended to me by the Xaveriano missionary order in Colombia and the Salesian missionaries of the Brazilian Vaupés region. Various drafts of this paper were read by Drs. Charles

[P. 683-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [3] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921–22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177 563 61 582 [4] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Cabocios are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1965). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of cabocios: The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "*cabuso*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be cabocios.

000 [5] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Nasuti (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

124 191 [6] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data *about* each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 • 101 197 [7] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

[P. 683-B]

/97/

# Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

121 [122] /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 The material that is published below was gathered during
[101] our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River,
124 from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra,
128 and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as inter-
772 preter. Owing to the short time of the investigation and to hav-
772 ing consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee
769 the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

105 The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cul-
[171] tures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

4: Silva--17 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Map facing p. 16 in the original source/

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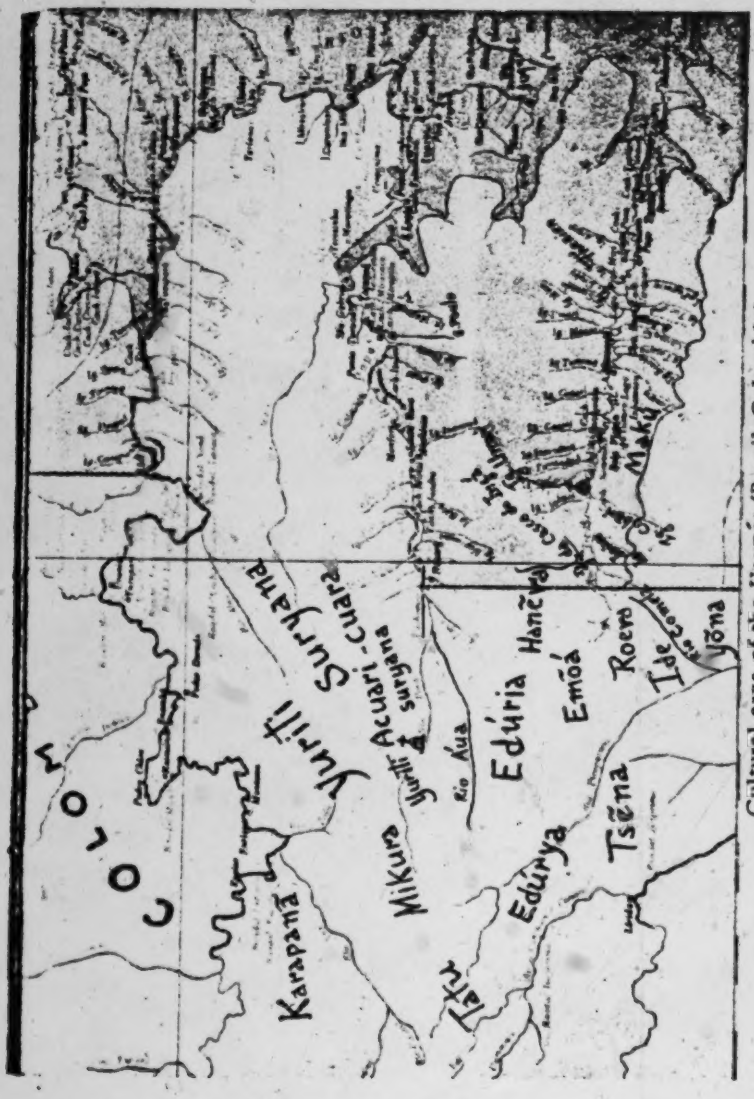


Cultural area of the Uaupés (Brazil-Colombia)

4: Silva--80 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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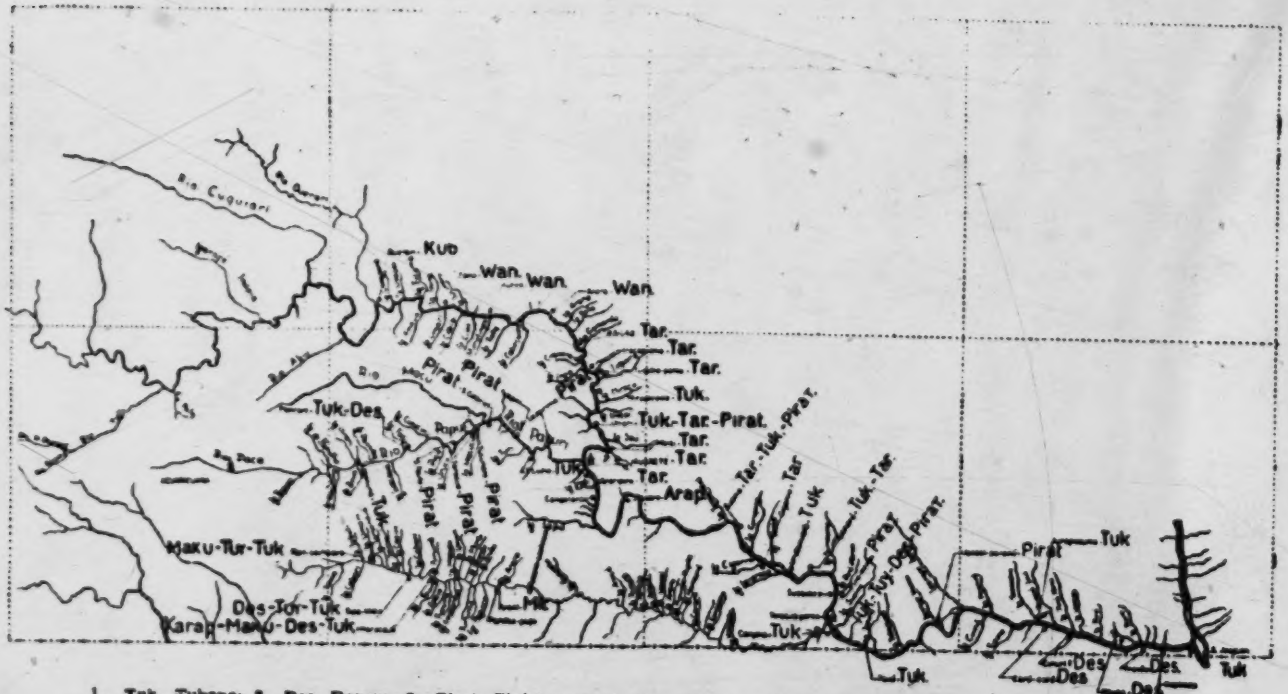
/56/ Tribes located in Brazilian territory along the rivers Uaupés and its two tributaries, the Papuri and the Tiquié




1. Tuk. Tukano; 2. Des. Desana; 3. Pirat. Pirá-tapuya; 4. Tar. Taryana; 5. Ipeka (Kumãdene); 6. Arap. Arapãsu; 7. Wan. Wanana; 8. Kub. Kubewana; 9. Makú; 10. Mir. Miriti; 11. Tuy. Tuyuka; 12. Kar. Karapanã; 13. Baré

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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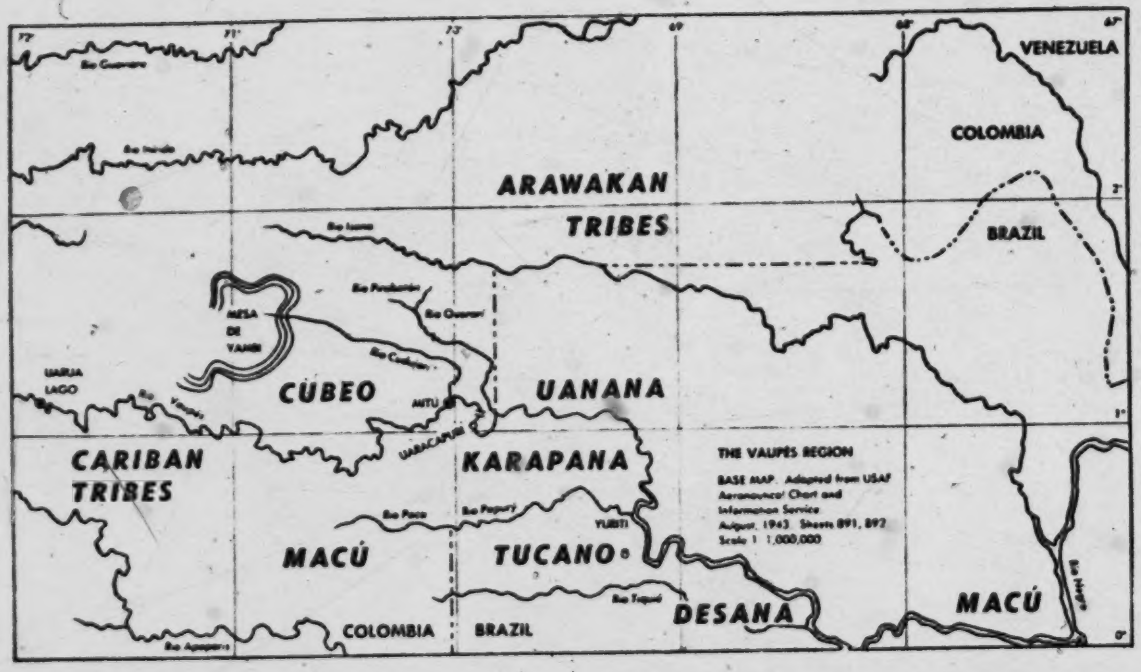

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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[P. 32]

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# Chapter I

## The Habitat

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The area whose ethnographic elements are collected in these notes is the basin of the Uaupés or Caiari River (1).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8]

1. Caiari, or formerly Ucaiari, would be the original name, according to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, who, in No. 184 of his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/" (see below, II, 2 /see p. 25/), says: -- "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manaos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attribute to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé."

It is to be noted that, although its waters are not as dark as those of the Rio Negro, the Uaupés is one of a number of rivers of "black waters."

"All these tribes," reports Wallace ("Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro" -- London, 1849, p. 335), "present some peculiarities in their idioms and customs, but all of them come under the general name of Uaupés and distinguish themselves, as a whole, from the inhabitants of the other rivers. This is the reason that the river is called Rio dos Uaupés (the River of the Uaupés), although actually its name is Ucaiari and it is called this by the Indians."

We read recently (May of 1956) in Luiz da Câmara Cascudo ("Em memória de Stradelli /In memory of Stradelli/," Livr. Clássica-Manaus, 1936, p. 7) that Stradelli mentions a powerful Tuxáua /chief/ Buapé, of the Taryana /Tariana/ tribe (whose ninth-generation grandson, Maximiliano José Roberto, accompanied Stradelli on his journeys), who would have lived around the end of the sixteenth century and lent the name to

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/footnote 1 cont./ the river (cf. below, Note 5, Ch. II /see note 8, Ch. II, p. 40/).

This belief has also been adopted today on the Rio Negro. We do not know, however, if it is based on the opinion of Stradelli, or if he gave rise to it. At the end of the nineteenth century, with Stradelli, the name Uaupés is presented to us as a corruption of the original word Buapé. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Uaupé would be the original form from which, through corruption, the term Goaupé originated, and no mention is made of the Tuxáua by the name of Buapé, the memory of whom, if he existed, should have been more vivid at that time. Who is right? /The footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

Which language would the name Uaupés belong to? And what does it mean? The present-day natives do not know how to answer that, nor did those of half a century ago. As a matter of fact, Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 131) says only that the name is depreciative; this, however, because under the name of Uaupés are included tribes that are ignorant, wild (Wildstaemme), and scorned, such as the Tukano /Tucano/ and the Kubewãna, who fought against the more advanced Arwake /Arawak/.

In Stradelli's Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, we find the remark: "Iasaná" -- Breed of the Afflicted /Port. Casta das Rallidas/. Name that on the lower Amazon and on the Grão-Pará is given to Parra Iaçaná, which on the Solimões is called Piasóca -- and on the Rio Negro, Uaupé and Uapé.

The river in turn lent the name to a plant characteristic of the stones of its cachoeiras /rapids; see note 2, p. 9 /. As a matter of fact, it is called uaupé or uaupé-da-cachoeira (and also carurú-das-pedras /carurú of the stones/ and murera-das-cachoeiras), an aquatic plant that grows on the stones of the cachoeiras of this river and that furthermore serves the Indians for the extraction of salt (cf. Note 51

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/footnote 1 cont./ /see note 52, p. 320/, VI). (Cf. Gastão Cruls, Hileia Amazônica -- C. E. N., 1944 -- p. 35.)

The name Ucaiari (as is usual for the ones that end in ri or li) is of Arwake origin. In the language of the Arara-tapuya and the Kadáu-puritãna, the Uaupés River is called Ukayalí; in the Huhúdeni /Huhuteni/ it is called Ukávari (all three are of the Arwake group). It might perhaps be derived from U(ni), water river, and Kawale (in Kadáu-puritãna) or Kawáeri (in Hihúdeni /sic/), wind. Nevertheless, none of the old people of the various Arwake tribes of the Içana and Aiarí rivers whom we could consult were able to indicate the meaning of the term Caiarí or Ucaiari. Just as the other tribes who inhabit the Uaupés did not know it either. All of them designate the Uaupés as "Dya Poxsá," river of the Makú (?). This designation might induce one to think that the Makú (Puxsá /sic/) were the first to inhabit its shores, and afterwards, under pressure from the Arwake and Tukano invaders, went to settle in the interior, in the adjacent forests, from the environs of S. Gabriel as far as the cachoeiras of Jandú and Carurú (on the Uaupés River). The truth is that, according to the spirit of the language, River of the Makú should be translated as "Poxsá Dyá" and not as "Dyá Poxsá."

as it was known up to a few years ago, a tributary that flows into the Rio Negro about 50 kilometers above the town of S. Gabriel-da-Cachoeira, now called Uaupés.

133 The Uaupés results, according to Dr. Hamilton Rice, from the union of the rivers Unilla, which is the more important, and Itilla, both with their origins in the plains that border the buttresses of the Colombian Andes. After a course of about 330 kilometers in Colombian territory, the Uaupés advances in the

/9 cont./

133 direction SE and S as a demarcator of /10/ frontiers between Brazil and Colombia, as far as Iauareté-cachoeira (2),

2. In Amazonia, places in which the course of the water exhibits some slope with eddies, rapids, and true cascades or waterfalls, the latter, by the way, being rare, are called cachoeiras. Since native denominations are involved, the names come in a construction similar to the Saxonic genitive or possessive, which is very much in the spirit of the Tukano language and of the native languages of the region in general. For this reason one says: Iauareté-cachoeira, Parí-cachoeira, Taracuá-ponta, etc., instead of cachoeira de Iauareté /cachoeira of Iauareté/ or de Parí, ponta /point/ de taracuá, etc., according to the character of the Portuguese language.

where, on the right bank, the tributary of the Papurí River occurs. Then, taking the direction east, it runs completely inside Brazil until it drains into the Rio Negro, after having received, again from the right, the Tiquié River, a little below the povoado /populated place/ of Taracuá-ponta. Inside Brazilian territory it advances 520 kilometers (thus having a total course of 850 kilometers) and exhibits a maximum width of 3 kilometers and a minimum of approximately 200 meters.

• 103 133 /11/ The Papurí (or Capurí, as it was also formerly called) results from the union of two tributaries in Colombian territory, a little above "Melo Franco," the Áua and the Paca. Nearly the totality of its course, however, about 280 kilometers, delimits the frontier between Brazil and Colombia. The natives call it "Oxkó ñyĩsé dyá," that is, river of black water; indeed, its waters are darker than those of the Uaupés. It runs into the Uaupés at Iaureté-cachoeira, with a width of 250 meters.

/11 cont./

103 133 Although it presents an average declivity of 0.32 m. per kilometer, it possesses a subsoil of granite, with innumerable levelings and cachoeiras (3)

[114] 3. The Comissão Brasileira de Fronteiras /Brazilian Commission of Frontiers/, under the direction of Marechal /Marshal/ Boanerges Lopes de Souza, who did the surveying of this river, recorded 39 cachoeiras. Moreover, it has some islets and islands, and therefore its width reaches 500 meters.

[505] which endanger navigation. Or, rather, it is only passable with small canoes and montarias (4),

[501] 4. "Montarias" are the canoes that have been enlarged by one or more longitudinal planks fitted to their sides.

which sometimes advance through the rushing rapids by arm or pulled by tow ropes, or are even transported across the rocks or bordering forest by way of the "varadoiros" (5).

5. "Varadoiros" are the passages [illegible]p in the forest, or along the rivers in the stretches that are not navigable; or as shortcuts between two points, in order to avoid the long windings of the rivers.

The Tiquié is the other tributary, and more important than the Papurí. It results from two igarapés, or streams: the Uaracú-pirera (in Nheengatú it means "skin of aracú /a fish/"), which takes the name of Tiquié, a name of unknown origin and meaning (also like Caiarí and Papurí), after it receives the Macucú. Those of Tukano language name the Tiquié "Kõsá," the meaning of which, however, they do not know. Extremely sinuous, it measures about 450 kilometers in course, almost all

/11 cont./

103 of it in Brazilian territory. It would be about half a kilometer
133 in width at the mouth, but it narrows sensibly to a few hundred meters in a great part of its course. At Tucano-cachoeira its width is about 50 meters, and this is maintained up to Parí-cachoeira (up to where the launches of small draft reach) and, narrowing even more, presents an average width of 15 to 20 meters up to the border.

It runs almost parallel to the Papurí, but its appearance is very different. The sandy and deep bed allows it a calm course, the waters therefore seeming darker than they are in reality (6).

6. Its major tributary, the river Castanho, of milky color, sensibly lightens the waters of the Tiquié.

shadowed besides by the dense forest bordering them. It has /12/ few cachoeiras, among them the one called "Carurú," above Parí-cachoeira, certainly one of the most beautiful cataracts of the State of Amazonas.

The Uaupés and its two tributaries receive the contribution of innumerable, though small, watercourses, which in the regional terminology are called igarapés.

The basin that we studied covers the lands watered by the rivers Uaupés and its two tributaries, the Papurí and the Tiquié. It is thus located in the equatorial zone (7).

7. In the 486 windings or sinuosities that the Tiquié presents in its course from the mouth up to Parí-cachoeira, it crosses the equatorial line 18 times.

132 Nevertheless the minimum daily temperature fluctuates between 19° and 22°, and the maximum 24° and 32°, rarely up to 36°, thanks to frequent precipitation. It presents lands not subject
133 to floods, or "terra-firme," according to the regional nomenclature, and large areas inundated, at least during some months
000 of the year. The vegetation, therefore, is the high and dense

/15 cont./

175 In the brief "Relação do descobrimento do Rio Amazonas, hoje S. Francisco de Quito /Account of the discovery of the Amazon River, today S. Francisco de Quito/," by Padre Alonso de Rojas, one only reads, in § 6: "At the north side there is a very large river with a league and a half at the mouth and waters so black that they are distinguished from the others, an effect that gave the name to the river, it being called 'Negro.' "

"The first steersman, of whom we shall speak later, having navigated two or three days along this Rio Negro, said that, according to the information that he could obtain from some Indians, this river rises in some mountain ranges neighboring the Novo Reino de Granada and in its origin it is divided into two branches: one of them, with the name of Rio Negro, empties, after a long course, into the Amazon; the other comes to empty into the sea of the North, in view of the island Trindade, and they think that this river might be the famous Orinoco" ("Descobrimentos," 95).

[103] /16/ Padre Cristobal de Acuña, who accompanied Pedro de Teixeira on his return from Quito to Belém, gives in his "Novo descobrimento do grande Rio das Amazonas /New discovery of the great Amazon River/" more abundant information concerning the Rio Negro, or Curiguacurú, as "the natives who inhabit it" called it, or Uruna, "which means black water," by the "Tupinambás" in their language. "Caniçuaris, Aguayras, Yacuncarais, Cahuayapitis, Manacarús, Yanmas, Guanamás, Carapanaris, Guarianacaguas, Acerabarís, Carupatabas and Guaranaquazama /the quotation marks that perhaps belong here are missing in the original source/ are the nations "who live along the waters of the Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos," 251).

175 648 After the travels of Pedro de Teixeira, the scouting for the capture of the Indian started. These enslaving bands were called "tropas de resgate" /ransom troops/. One of the first ones was that headed by Pedro da Costa Favela, of ominous memory (1).

1. "The history of the province abounds in facts of the harshest cruelty. On the river Urubú, to cite one of them, in 1665, an expedition commanded by

4: Silva--23 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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With the apostolic works of the Carmelite Frei José dos Santos Inocentes on the upper Rio Negro and tributaries for more than 20 years, counting from 1832, the evangelization of the natives acquired new vigor.

The Province of Amazonas having been created on September 5, 1850, its first Governador, João Batista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, in the same year that he came into office, 1852, appointed the Capuchin Frei Gregorio José Maria de Bene "Vigário encomendado das freguezias e povoações do alto Rio Negro e Missionário dos rios Uaupés e Içana" /Removable vicar of the parishes and towns of the upper Rio Negro and Missionary of the rivers Uaupés and Içana/, since Frei José dos Santos Inocentes was forced by illness to go down to Manaus. The activity of Frei Gregorio was great, and in little more than two years he managed to establish relations with 25 tribes (who appear in his list), trying to put them in aldeias, /19/ re-establishing many povoados, and bringing many individuals among them to Christianity. [103] The following towns are mentioned as those for which, in 1854, he asked for a change of name, to wit: on the Uaupés: Querari, Macaquinha, Micura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Coração de Jesus), Carurú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Fidelis martir), Mutum (aldeia of S. Cruz), Aracapuri (aldeia of S. João Batista), Jutica, Pacú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Sebastião), aldeia of Cubeo (aldeia of N. Senhora das Dores), Umarí, Iauareté (aldeia of S. Ana), Jabutí-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Paulo Apóstolo), Juquira (aldeia of S. Domingos), Nanã-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Antônio de Lisboa), S. Jerônimo (aldeia of Conceição de N. Senhora), S. Joaquim, Trovão, Pitúna-rapecuma, Inuitera, Cunurí, Coró-Coró, Iura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Francisco das Chagas), Taracuá (S. Francisco das Chagas), Ambaíua, Ivitera-rapecuma. On the Tiquié: Tucano (or S. Isabel), Uíra-poço (or Nazaré), Maracajá (or S. José), Turí-igarapé (or S. Pedro). On the Papurí: S. Luzia dos Tucanos, S. Gregório Magno dos Pirá-tapuya. (Archivo do Amazonas, Year I, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 34, and Year II, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 7.)

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

• 103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. 304 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between 171 the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of the same lip. 301 On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well [554] polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/29 cont./

*101 Will there perhaps come under the denomination of "Uaupés" one tribe in /30/ particular? Yes. In fact, with the date of November 18, 1820, there is a "Carta Patente" from the Governador of the Capitania, Manoel Joaquim do Paço, establishing the Excellent Indian Raymundo José in the office of "Principal" of the Indians of the "Nação Uaupés" /Uaupés Nation/ of the locality of S. Jerônimo (8).

8. Around the end of the sixteenth century, according to what Stradelli thinks (cf. Note 1, I), lived a great Taryana Tuxauã by name of Buopé, who established his tribe on the river Ucaiarí. With successful military exploits he faced the other tribes, especially the Wanana, and became famous. Supposing the existence of the Tuxáua Buopé, one might grant that his name could have been linked to the river and to his own tribe, which is the Taryana. It is difficult, however, to explain / the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ how Uaupé came to be the specific denomination of the Tukano tribe, rival of the Taryana tribe to which Buopé belonged.

Unless the same name for the Taryana Tuxáua and for the river is a mere coincidence. Or perhaps the [103] latter was already named Uaupés long before the warlike deeds of the Taryana chief Buopé, and the closeness of the names is due to confusion or distortion. The river, yes, is the one that lent the name to the nations along its banks, and in particular to a more numerous and dominant tribe, that of the Daxseá or Tukano. It is proper to note that it is only in these last years that the name Uaupés is becoming general for the river. Up to about 20 years ago the river was popularly known as Caiarí.

/32 cont./

*101 [103]

We think that the name of the locality Coané (S. Joaquim do Coané) derives precisely from the tribe that resided there at the time of the discovery. Coané would only be a different pronunciation of the name Coianá, as we have heard it pronounced, or Cueuana.

5) MAMANGÁ. This tribe does not appear in the report of Frei Gregório, although it is mentioned in Vol. I of the Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas as existing on the river Tiquié. We have not heard any tribe of the rivers Uaupés, Papuri, and Tiquié mentioned under the name of Mamangá. Accepting the information of these sources of the eighteenth century as correct, however, it might very well be that one is dealing with a group that later emigrated or even became extinct.

Nevertheless, we are not inclined to accept the hypotheses of extinction or migration; we judge it more plausible that it is only a matter of a division of some Uaupés tribe. Mamengaba, mamangá, or mangangá is the name of the bees of the genus Bombas. Koch Grünberg points out (Z.I. 283) at the mouth of the Dyí-igarapé, tributary of the Uaupés, a Kubewãna horde with the name of Utí-waíwa or "Wasp-Indians." It is possible that one is dealing with the Utsí-áwekõ, the tenth subdivision of the Kubewãna, according to the list of Josefa (cf. IV; 2p /p. 153/).

We also know a Tukano subdivision named Yaí-uxtyá (cf. IV -- 2a /p. 127/), which is the name of a large wasp, and residing precisely on the Tiquié, in the povoados of Caruru and S. Tomé (10).

10. Perhaps Utí-waíwa is a simple morphological alteration of Yaí-uxtyá, by an inversion of the terms (Uxtyá-yaí), with loss of the aspiration would give Utí-yai, and from that later Utí-uaíua or Utí-waíwa in the representation of International Phonetics.

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On the Apapóris (13)

*101 [131]

13. It must be a mistake by Wallace; one is not dealing with the Apapóris (tributary of the Japurá), but with the Papurí River (tributary of the Uaupés), where the Tukano, Pirá-tapúya, and Desāna tribes actually have their main nuclei.

River: 19. Tucano; 20. Uacará (garça); 21. Pirá (fish); 22. Deçana.

On the Querirí (Cuiarí or Iquiarí) (14)

• [103]

14. Bento Aranha (in the Archivo do Amazonas, Year II, No. 5, p. 2), in answer to a letter from Koch-Grünberg, records Iquiarí as another name of the river Içana: "in the same manner as they call Iquiarí the river Içana or Issana. /The final quotation marks are missing./

At present the river Içana is not known under any other denomination. And no river in the region is known under the name of Iquiarí. Under that of Quiarí, yes, there exists a tributary of the left bank of the Aiarí, which, in turn, is a tributary of the right bank of the Içana. Likewise there is no river under the denomination of Querirí in the region. Perhaps the spelling was Querarí, which is a tributary of the left bank of the Uaupés, on the Colombian border. Caduiari is one of the tributaries of the Querarí; and Cuiarí, one of the tributaries of the left of the Içana (cf. above II-3, "Ethnographic Information," on Yaquiri and Quiquiari /see p. 27 /).

/57/

## Chapter III

### Malocas (Baxsasé-wi'seri) and Povoados (Maxka)

133 The Uaupés pours its waters into the Rio Negro by two mouths, separated by the "Ilha das Flores" /Island of Flowers/ (former Ilha do Umirí, wextí-nãxkãro) and islets, dotted besides with innumerable stones and rocks: the southern mouth, with three bars formed by the reefs and the "Cachoeira do Tamanduá," its entrance being more difficult; the northern one, also with many rocks and the "Cachoeira do Carapanã."

361 Whoever goes up it will find at short intervals huts, or groups of huts, two or three here, eight or ten farther on, and even eighteen or twenty. They are the "Povoados" /populated [103] places/ (maxkã), as those of the region call them. They will have the name of a Saint as a Patron, or of some geographic accident, a native name, or any other one chosen, it seems, by chance, as happens in general with national toponymy. The names are ordinarily from the Nheengatú language or Língua geral and correspond to others in Tukano, almost always as mere translation. It is difficult to say whether the original name is the Tukano one, and the one from the língua geral, by which it is known, is only a translation, or vice versa.

178 Until 1924, from the Cachoeira de Ipanoré upwards, there
361 were only malocas (1),
592
[797]

1. Maloca is the name of the large collective dwelling (cf. VI, 1).

reports Padre João Marchesi, the veteran Salesian Missionary of the Uaupés. The replacement of the malocas by family houses and the appearance of small povoados, due to the influence of the Salesian Missions, date from that year. At present (1958) malocas only exist either in the interior of the forests or on the banks of the Uaupés River above Iutica and on the Tiquié above Carurú-Cachoeira.

The native tradition preserves the name and the location of malocas and human assemblages that have now disappeared. As documentation we present the lists below. For some places, in this middle of the twentieth century, there is only underbrush to mark the place where the human hand felled the virgin forest and built a maloca.

/58/

1. Malocas and Povoados of the Uaupés River (dyá Poxsá, river of the Makú?)

| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| S. Joaquim | ? | | Koená ou Kukwana /ousor/ |
| Itapinima | õxtã oharitirí-pa | Painted stone | Desana |
| Trovão | büxpó-pá | Thunder stone | Desana |
| Pituna | Naîkoro | Place where night falls | Desana |
| Cunurí | waxpö-ñõá | Point of the cunurí /fruit/ (2) | Desana |
| Corõ-Corõ | koxtó-duri ou koxtóa | Rocks of the corõ-corõ /bird/ (3) | Desana |
| Iú-rapecuma | Pöxtá-ñõá | Point of the thorn | Tukano |
| Pacú-capuamo | unú-nãxkãrõ | Island of the pacú /fish/ | Desana |
| Caruatana (4) | buxpú-sero | (Piece of) sarabatana | Tukano |
| Macú-capuamo | Poxsá-nãxkãrõ | Island of the Makú | Tukano |
| Jacaré-ponta | õxsó-ñõá | Point of the alligator | Pirá-tapuya |
| Açaí-paraná | mix'pĩ-yuxtí | Paraná /river branch/ of the assaí | Pirá-tapuya |
| Arára-ponta | mahã-ñõá | Point of the arara | Tukano |
| Matapí | büxköá-wö-kó | Water of the matapí /fish trap/ | Tukano |
| Naná-rapecuma | sẽ'rá-ñõá | Point of the pineapple | Tukano |
| Tauá | ewö-yá | Stream of the ocher | Tukano |
| Tocandira | pextá-ñõá | Point of the tocandira /ant/ | (sem moradores) (5) |
| Taracuá-ponta | me're-oã"rá-ñõá | Point of the taracuá (ant) | Tukano, Desana, Pirá-tapuya |
| Darí-darí | i'ã-büxkõrá-ñõá | Point of the darí-darí (insect) | Mirití-tapuya |
| Pirá-mirim | sẽ'ã-ya | Stream of the Piabinha /fish/ | Pirá-tapuya |

/See p. 89 for footnotes 2-5./

/59/

| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ponta-fria | yõxsõári-ñõá | Cold point | Tukano (Pirá-tapuya) (6) |
| Cabeçudo-ponta | u-ñõá | Point of the cabeçudo /fish/ | Pirá-tapuya |
| Sussuáka | ñamá-saaró | Deer horn | (sem moradores) |
| Paxiúba-igarapé | waxtá (paxka)-ya | Stream of the paxiuba (large) | Pirá-tapuya, Makú |
| Ipanoré | tõpa-duri | "Sieve" "rocks" | Taryana |
| Urubucuara | yõxká-pũrí-pextá | Port of the tucum | Kumãdene |
| Pinú-pinú | dyá-utĩxaro-ñõá | Point of the sucuruju | Taryana |
| Cigarro | uxtĩka-pũrí | Cigarette leaf | Taryana |
| Mariuá | marĩwa-dõxpõrí | Branches of mariuá | Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Desana |
| Buzina | uxpitu-ñõá | Point of the trumpet | Taryana |
| S. José | wirõ-ñõá | Point of the wind | Arapasu |
| Chibarú | yebári | Chibarú (wood) | Arapasu |
| Jurupari-ponta | wãx'tĩ-ñõá | Point of Wãx'tĩ | Arapasu |
| Baía | wi"i-turiró | Loft | Arapasu |
| Ponta do Mucuim | u'mũ-suá-ñõá | Point of the mucuins | (sem moradores) |
| Loiro | kuma-kõ-ñõá | Point of the blond /loiro/ (wood) | Arapasu |
| Paraná-jucá | Dyá-Poxsá-yõhõró | Strait of the river of the Makú | Arapasu, Tukano |
| Juquira | mõá-ñõá | Point of the salt | Tukano |
| Ananaz | sẽ'ra-pá | Stone of the pineapple | Pirá-tapuya |
| Aracú-ponta | bo'téa-pextá | Port of the aracú /fish/ | Pirá-tapuya |
| Cangatara | mahã-poari-ñõá | Point of the arara feathers | (sem moradores) |
| Jacitara | waú-tu dixtara | Lake of the jacitara (palm) | Pirá-tapuya |
| Arari-pirá | bixpári-pweá | Cachoeira of the arari-pirá | Taryana |
| Cunuri | waxpõ-ñõá | Point of the cunuri (fruit) | (sem moradores) |
| Jui | omã-ya-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the frog | Pirá-tapuya |
| Iauareté | Yaía-pweá | Cachoeira of the onça | Taryana |
| Castanho-capuámo | Castanho-nãxkãrõ | Island of the Castanho | Taryana |
| Micura | oá-pweá | Cachoeira of the gambá /opossum/ | Taryana |
| Mirití | noá-ya-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the buriti | Taryana |

/See p. 89 for footnote 6./

/60/

| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Umarí | wamã-pweá | Cachoeira of the umarí (fruit) | Tukano |
| Piranha | bõõ-ñõá | Point of the piranha | Taryana |
| Mira-pirêra | kaxsêri-ñõá | Point of the husks | Tukano |
| Jabutí | úhuri-pweá | Cachoeira of the jabutí /turtle/ | Taryana |
| Iuquira-ponta | mõã-ñõá | Point of the salt | Taryana |
| Ira-capuamo | mwimi-nÃxkÃrõ | Island of the honey | Taryana |
| Bacaba | yu'mũ-pweá | Cachoeira of the bacaba | Pirã-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Wanana |
| Arumã | wõhõ-nÃxkÃrõ | Island of the arumã /plant/ | Taryana |
| Cachoeira do machado | komé-pweá | Cachoeira of the ax | Taryana |
| ——— (7) | Poxsã-boári-ma | River to make makú rotten | Taryana |
| Periquito | kaí-pweá | Cachoeira of the parakeet | Taryana, Kumãdene |
| Japú-ponta | umũ-ñõá | Point of the japú /bird/ | Wanana |
| Arara | mahã-pweá | Cachoeira of the arara | Wanana |
| Yandú | büxpõ-Ã'rã | Chain (mountain) of the spider | Wanana |
| Carurú | mõã-pweá | Cachoeira of the carurú (salty plant) | Wanana |
| Matapí | büxkõã-wõ-pé | Orifice of the matapí | Wanana |
| Jacaré | õxsõ-pweá | Cachoeira of the alligator | Wanana |
| Yutica | yaxpí-pweá | Cachoeira of the batata | Wanana |
| Tiririca | wí'sõ-pá | Stone of the tiririca /plant/ | Wanana |
| Taína (8) | nihĩ-pá | Stone of the child | Wanana |
| Taracuá | mẽ'rẽ-oã'rã-ñõá | Point of the taracuá | Wanana |
| Yawareté-ponta | yaía-buxpuró-ñõá | Point from where the onça jumps | Wanana |
| Pacú-cachoeira | uhú-pweá | Cachoeira of the pacú | Wanana |
| Camarinhõ-igarapé | tupí-ya ou tupí-ma | Stream of the water lizard | Kubewana |
| Querari | soã-yá-pitó | Mouth of the red river | Kubewana |

/See p. 89 for footnotes 7 and 8./

/61/

## 2. Malocas and Povoados of the Tiquié (Kõsá)

| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Campina | waré-yuró | Open, field, plain | Tukano |
| Cururú-lago | táro-â'râ | Mountain chain of the toad | Tukano |
| Coró-coró | koxtó-be'tó | bay of the coró-coró | Tukano |
| Matapí | kaxsá-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the matapí | Tukano, Desana |
| Barreira | mi'mí-töröá | Barrier of the hummingbird | Tukano |
| ..... | Oá-kó | Water of the gambá /opossum/ | Miriti-tapuya |
| Ponta do veado | ñamá-ñöá | Point of the deer | Miriti, Tukano, Tuyuka |
| Serrinha | poári-â'râ | Mountain chain of the hairs | Tukano, Desana |
| ..... | pirõ-rá | Lake of the snake | Desana, Tukano |
| Fátima | yai-wa'í | House of the onça | Tuyuka |
| Sant'Ana | bu'sá-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the paina /plant/ | Tukano, Desana |
| Tucano-cachoeira | daxsé-pweá | Cachoeira of the toucan | Tukano |
| ..... | waxpö-ñöá | Point of the cunuri | Tukano |
| ..... | ñyi-yá-pitó | Mouth of the black stream | Miriti-tapuya |
| Iraiti | oxpé-duri | Rocks of the breu /resinous tree/ | Miriti-tapuya |
| Nazaré | simeõ-pûri-rá | Lake of the leaves of the uacú | Miriti-tapuya |
| Piraíba-poço | mõõ-tuxkûrõ | Well of the piraíba /fish/ | Miriti-tapuya |
| S. Pedro (bôca da estrada) | sẽ'ã paxkãrá dixtára | Lake of the piramirins | Tukano |
| Papagaio | wexkó-wi'í | House of the parrot | (sem moradores) |
| Uira-poço | daxsú-ra | Lake of the azulão /bird/ | (sem moradores) |
| ..... | dixtíro-pá | Stone of the uira-paje (bird) | Tukano, Desana |
| Barreira alta | yuyú-thá | Place of the yũyú /bird/ (cf. VII, 3, a) | Tukano, Desana |
| Bôca do Estanho | pirõ-perí | Holes of the snake | Desana |
| S. Luiz | a'râ-ra | Lake of the cane | Desana |
| Floresta | tho'á-bwa | heaped up yũa-pixuna (fruit) | Desana |
| S. José | maxkã | "the town, the povoado" | Tukano |
| S. Miguel | mixpí-tha | grove of assai | Tukano, Desana |
| S. Luzia | Waró-sererá | Swim of the old ones (9) | Tukano |

/bôca da estrada, "beginning of the road"; see p. 89 for footnote 9./

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| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Estelo | boxtárí-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the supports | (sem moradores) |
| S. Francisco | õxtã-tí-thá | Place that has stone | Tukano |
| Maracajá (povoado) | tõõ-ỹ'ã-ñõá | Point of the thought | Tukano |
| Maracajá (estirão) | yai-kaherõ-kusá | Long way of the maracajá (feline) | Tukano |
| S. António | Bayá-pé | Cavern of the bayá (10) | Tukano, Desana |
| S. João | ñamá-ãhõãrí-bwá | Trail of the cobra-grande /great-snake/ (11) | Desana |
| Santa Cruz | kurúsa-nũ'kũrõ ou | Place where the cross is standing | Tukano |
| | õ'mõõrí-bwa | High mountain | |
| Bela vista | nũxkũparo-tha | Beach | Tukano |
| ..... | suxpú-tõrõ | Ramp of the bubo | Tukano |
| ..... | pẽru-tõ | Pot of caxirí (drink) | (Tukano) |
| ..... | ñyĩrã-bwá | Mountain of the maruim /mosquito/ | Tukano |
| ..... | nimá-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the poison | (sem moradores) |
| Parí-cachoeira | sirí-pá | Stone of the leap (of the fish) | Tukano |
| ..... | thũ-pá | Stone of ? | Tukano |
| S. Domingos (Cabari) | Ã'rẽ-mi'rĩ-pá | Stone of the nightingale (ten-ten) | Tukano, Tuyuka |
| Caburi | kõ'rẽ-kaburí-ñõá | Point of the reverberation of the woodpecker | Tukano, Tuyuka |
| S. Paulo | ki-kaxsẽri-ñõá | Point of the husk of the mandioca | Tukano |
| Carurú-cachoeira | mõ-pweá | Cachoeira of the carurú /plant/ (12) | Tukano, Tuyuka |
| ..... | ñamá-ãhõãrí-bwá | Mountain to bum deer | Tuyuka |
| ..... | wáí-maxsã-duhirõ | Place where the fish-people sit | Tuyuka |
| S. Pedro | pixkõrõ-bwá | Mountain of the caterpillar (tapurú) | Tuyuka |
| ..... | doé-ra | Lake of the taraíra /fish/ | Oá-maxsã (gambá-tapuya) |
| ..... | õxtã-dõxká | Piece of stone | (sem moradores) |

/estirão, "long way, straight stretch of a river"; see p. 90 for footnotes 10-12./

/63/

| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ..... | pũrĩ-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the leaf | Tuyuka |
| ..... | nũxkũrõ | Island | Tuyuka |
| ..... | kaí-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the mass of the umarí | Tuyuka |
| Sarapó | ixkí-seri-yá | Stream of the husk of the inaja | Tuyuka |

3. Malocas and Povoados of the Papurí (oxkó nyĩsé-dyá, river of black water).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Foz do Papurí | oxkó-ñyĩsé-pitó | Mouth of the river of black water | Taryana |
| Uaracapá de baixo | wãrõ-phĩ | Pit iron | Taryana |
| ..... | waú-ñõá | Point of the monkey uaú | Taryana |
| Paraná do tatú | pamõ-yuxtí | Paraná of the armadillo | Taryana |
| Japurá | batí-bwi | Above the japurá | Taryana |
| Micura-ponta | oá-ñõá | Point of the gambá | Pirá-tapuya |
| ..... | bapá-ñõá | Point of the sabiá /bird/ | Taryana |
| Uaracapá | toóka-pá | Stone of the enclosure (13) | Taryana |
| Ituim-ponta | bũxkõá-será-ñõá | Point of the ituim | Pirá-tapuya |
| Ucapinima | kikaxasêri-ñõá | Point of the husks of the mandioca | Pirá-tapuya |
| Serrinha | ã'rã-ñõá | Point of the mountain chain | Tukano |
| Parí-ponta | imĩ-sa-pá | Stone of the parí /fish enclosure/ | Tukano |
| S. Luzia | sẽ'pé-ñõá | Point of the Cobra-grande (14) | Tukano |
| Japim | yõx'sõ-ñõá | Point of the japim /bird/ | Pirá-tapuya |
| Caitetú | dyá-burú-ñõá | Point of the stream of the burú (15) | Pirá-tapuya |
| Muiritinga | buxtí-o | Muiritingal | Pirá-tapuya |
| ..... | sẽ'ã-pweá | Cachoeira of the electric eel | Pirá-tapuya |
| Teresita | dyá-yó-pweá | Cachoeira of the lontra /Mustelidae/ | Pirá-tapuya, Desana |

/baixo, "lower"; see p. 90 for footnotes 13-15./

4

/64/

| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pirá-mirim | sõ'ã-pweá | Cachoeira of the piabinha | Pirá-tapuya |
| S. Gabriel | natã-pweá | Cachoeira of the natã (toad) | Pirá-tapuya |
| Macú-paraná | poxsá-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the Macú | Pirá-tapuya, Desana |
| Tucunaré (e Olinda) | bwú-pweá | Cachoeira of the tucunaré /fish/ | Pirá-tapuya |
| Taracuá | mẽ'rẽ-oã'rã-nõã | Point of the taracuá | Pirá-tapuya |
| S. Paulo | ahã-perí | Holes of the inambú /tinamou/ | Pirá-tapuya |
| Andorinha | Sirípi-tuxkũrõ | Well of the swallow | (sem moradores) |
| Jandiá | Pawá-dõxká | Piece of jandiá | Pirá-tapuya |
| Beijú-cachoeira | ahũ-a-pweá | Cachoeira of the beijú | (sem moradores) |
| Pato | dyá-kaxtá-pá | Stone of the water duck | Tukano |
| Urucum | buxsíka-yá | Stream of the urucum (16) | Desana |
| Piracuara | wai-perí-pweá | Cachoeira of the orifices of the fish (17) | Tukano, Desana, Makú |
| Montfort | buxtwá-pweá | Cachoeira of the cupim /ant/ | Tukano, Desana |
| Cuiú-cuiú | dyá-bũxkoá-yá | Stream of the cuiú-cuiú /fish/ | Desana |
| Japú-capuamo | umũ-pweá | Cachoeira of the japú | Desana, Tukano |
| Bôca do abio | kã'rẽ-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the abio /plant/ | Tukano |
| Iúa-pixuna | tho'á-pweá | Cachoeira of the yúa-pixuna | Tukano |
| Anchieta | muhĩ-pũ-pweá | Cachoeira of the moon | Tukano, Desana |
| ..... | ñaxkã-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream ñaxkã (18) | Desana |
| Jandiá | Pawá-pweá | Cachoeira of the jandiá | Tukano, Desana, Makú |
| Nova vida | porerõ-pextá | Port of the grasshopper | Tukano |
| S. Miguel | Boxsó-pextá | Port of the cavy | Tukano, Tuyuka |
| Melo Franco | wexkõ-sero | Hide of anta (?) | Tukano, Desana, Karapaná |

/e, "and"; see p. 90 for footnotes 16-18./

/81 cont./

*101 that is, "people of the land." Impressed later by the fact that they ate a great deal and frequently, they compared them with the tucanos /toucans/.

This is probably a later explanation invented by the native imagination. It is to be noted, however, that those of this tribe have always called themselves Daxseá, and never Yepá-maxsã. According to the old Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, Yepá-maxsã is the nickname of the Bará, although he does not know what that denomination means. In reality, Yebá-maxsã (in Tukano, Yepá-maxsã) is the name of a tribe of the Tukano group, as we shall see later (IV -- 2, t).

/82/ The designation "Tukano" clearly obeys the structure of the primitive's mentality, naming himself after an animal or plant. For now we do not want to go into the question of Totemism, which we hope to deal with more fully in another study. We are now permitted only to infer for them a habitat where the Tucano /toucan/ bird (ramphastus) might live, such as in the Amazonian plain of Colombia.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- More or less numerous groups of Tukano are found from Yu-Rapecuma (almost on the mouth of the Uaupés) up to Umarí (middle Uaupés), on the Tiquié from the mouth up to Carurú-cachoeira, and on the Papurí from Serrinha up to the headwaters. Small groups have also established themselves on the Rio Negro between S. Gabriel and Santa Isabel. The preceding charts (II -- 6, a, b) show the principal places where we find them today. The principal route of penetration into Brazil, it seems to us, was the river Papurí, from where they passed to the Uaupés and Tiquié (20).

115 20. The old tuxáua José of Parí-cachoeira, about thirty years ago, showed Pe. João Marchesi an area of underbrush on the Tiquié, reporting that the first maloca of his ancestors was there when they came from the Pakurí.
• [103] The indigenous denomination of the locality of S. Luzia of the Tiquié, buõrá-bathá, swim of the old ones (cf. Note 9, III), is confirmation of the Tukano tradition concerning their origin and migration.

/87 cont./

*101 In the vicinity of the cachoeira of Iauareté there is a place called Manao. Might this name for the Bará tribe have come from their former domicile in this locality; or vice versa (29)?

[103] [648]

29. We heard it told that, when the Comissão Militar Demarcadora da Fronteira /Military Commission to Demarcate the Frontier/ was in Iauareté (in 1932), a group of natives presented themselves, asking for passage to the capital of the State, Manaus. The Comissão, however, did not grant this to them, and, after staying a few days in the vicinity of Iauareté, they returned to their povoados. And that, because of such an episode, the place where the natives pitched camp became known as Manao. Nevertheless, Pe. Limpens assured us that this locality has always been called Manao. And, it must be noted, Pe. Limpens has resided in the region since 1916.

[144] We know little about the ancient Manao. It appears that they had more regular and pleasant physiognomic features. The present Bará are less corpulent than the Tukano, and physiognomically more pleasant as well, /88/ fairer, with not very prominent malar and less marked Mongoloid features (30).

30. In part this agrees with the information of Koch Grünberg, who describes them to us: "slender in body, well-proportioned, smaller than the Tuyuka, finer countenance, black eyes, less receding forehead, nose high and slightly convex, large mouth, thick lips." According to what the Indians say, Koch would have been the first white man seen by them, and the one who went up to the headwaters of the Tiquié.

/334 cont./

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[753]

/footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the population of Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés, as the consequence of having taken a stone from the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahũ-gã-pweá, actually located some hundreds of kilometers away, on the river Papurí.

asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

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[501]

36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

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[103]

/335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," pixkõ-rõ-ỹa, headwaters of the Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a rock that a woman should not see; if she looks at this rock, she will never have children. And when they go by this place, the women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

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*[192]

In Jabutí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock called nõ'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxké-sã-i'ãsé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will easily learn any trade.

/335 cont./

823 [103] They likewise believe that the taking of a bath, be it men or women, in the pothole of Tõpa-duri, that is, of the cachoeira of Urubucuara, where the tribes came out (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"), would guarantee them an early marriage.

It does not seem, then, that these caves, rocks, igarapés, interiors of the forest should be regarded as sacred spots of the cult. Rather, on the contrary, they would be "tabooed" places and objects. Nor would the fruits and rocks that are thrown be a form of cult, that called litobolia. Rather they seem to us to be manifestations of magic and tabooism.

823 532 An old Missionary stated that some Indians, while going by those rocks that bear crude figures (37)

37. These are the petroglyphic signs or rupestrian inscriptions common on the rivers of Amazonas, especially the Rio Negro and its tributaries. A diligent study of these inscriptions was done by B. A. da Silva Ramos, under the title "Inscrições e Tradições da América Pré-histórica /Inscriptions and Traditions of Prehistoric America/," -- Imprensa Oficial, Rio de Janeiro, 1930. We do not find engraved anthropomorphic representations. Koch G. 50 years ago saw sculptures of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic ones, among the Kubewana and Wanana (cf. Note 49, VII-3, b (8) /see Note 50, VII-3, b (2)/). We discovered only one, as human heads on the supports of a trocano /signal drum/. They did not look like idols, however, but only decorations and were of recent fabrication (1947).

of animals or of strange beings, with long and skeletal arms and

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/footnote 70 cont./ of Wãx-tĩ or Jurupari with the demon dates back to the evangelization of the coastal tribes. For example, the Hollander Gaspar Barleus or Van Baerle (1647), describing the journey of Elias Harchman, apropos of a mountain of Copaóba, states: "nomen monti erat polyssyllabum et terríbile Iurupari bakau, id est, hic respéxit diábolus" (the name of the mountain was strange and terrible, "Iurupari bakau," that is, the demon looked here). Barbosa Rodrigues, "Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/," p. 94. Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, 1882. As for the identification of Wãx-tĩ with Jurupari, see above, Note 8, VII-4, c) /see note 7 in VII-4, c), and note 8 in VII-4, d)/.

*[192] The term that the catechesis uses to designate God, Wã:kõ, which means "the one who is gone," seems to confirm it. It thus makes one think of Jesus Christ who went up to heaven (71).

71. We have just finished reading (May of 1956) in the Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, Vol. III, year of 1954, an article by Marcos Fulop, under the title: "Aspectos de la cultura tukana. Cosmogonia /Aspects of Tucano culture. Cosmogony/." This article seems to confirm the above opinion, which we had already voiced in 1948. After describing the creative activity and that of social organization exercised by Yepá Huake (this is the way the name of the personage Wá:kõ is written), according to the account of the pajé Marcos Sierra from the povoado Guadalajara, on the river Paca, in

/362 cont./

823 In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?). If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not [784] look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a flat head.

825 One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because, without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí, 823 near the mouth of the stream Cuiú-cuiú, called Bará õxtã. If a young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and *[192] will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion of the cipo called yõx'kwá-dá (star cipo).

• [103] Below the "island of the cuiubí," in the cachoeira of the Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Ã'á-ñõá (point of the louse), there is a rock called muhi-pũ õxtã (rock of the sun or of [782] the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there, deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering, presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro (agitation of the waters by the winds).

754 There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé) in the road or in the clearing:

*[192] 1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick; it is the yuxkõ dohó-kõ; the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

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/472 cont./

/footnote 109 cont./ out of another hole at the mouth of a nearby igarapé. The rivers with dark waters, like the Uaupés, form characteristic and abundant foam when they beat against the stones of the cachoeiras. Upon asking a certain individual why there were these inferior divisions, he answered that it is because they did not come out of the water, but from the foam, as if it were from the dregs of depuration.

2nd. -- A second one is that they attribute to themselves a juridical superiority, deriving from the priority in time, something corresponding to the proverb: "qui prior est tempore potior est jure" /one who is first with regard to time is better with regard to rights/. Whoever has settled more recently in a povoado is in a certain inferior position; he is a "transient, Sihyári-maxsã," as they say.

*[192]

/473/ The two customs indicated harmonize perfectly: we might think that the second one is a derivation from the first. Upon asking a Tukano Indian from a povoado on the lower Tiquié as to the inhabitants of which povoado he considered Mamí, he answered those of S. José. Further inquiries made among other Indians came to clarify this answer. One of them said he had heard his own grandfather narrating that the Tukano formerly did not live there, but resided on the Papurí. They were expelled from this river by the Taryana, still being a child, therefore, about 100 or 120 years ago, and came to settle in S. José. This information makes S. José the first Tukano nucleus on the river Tiquié.

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One more argument in favor of the probability is given to us by the Tukano name of the locality, which is Maxkã, the town, as if it were the urbs par excellence of these Tukano. All the more probable, since such a designation, besides not being attributed to any other locality, escapes the custom of the names according to the geographical accidents (point, igarapé, stone, cachoeira, hole, etc.), or other circumstances. In the vicinity of S. José,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

## THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most [823] important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [14] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

361 823 The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiari River and belongs more properly on the Querari. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiari phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahúkiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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recover it. Away from home, a canoe is moored completely out of the water.

COMMUNITIES ON THE CUDUIARÍ (upstream from mouth)

| PLACE NAME | SIB | PLACE NAME | SIB |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kakómba | *Hehénewa* | 16. Xiábewa | *Pedíkwa* |
| 2. Kuridi kenámi | *Hehénewa* | 17. Kuraría | *Kendnikauwũ* |
| 3. Tcipakoríba* | *Hehénewa* | 18. Abúhakũ | *Kendnikauwũ* |
| 4. Okóhambũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 19. Xwévebo | *Hürüwá* |
| 5. Vekókũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 20. Bedébo | *Hürüwá* |
| 6. Ewáhubo | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 21. Kobéhowa | *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* |
| 7. Hurédo | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 22. Avyákoríba | *Hürüwá* |
| 8. Nyáparatainto | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 23. Kwitóro | *Wadjá-Hürüwá* |
| 9. Yavíbi | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 24. Bedébũ | *Hürüwá* |
| 10. Kirída | *Bahúkiwa* | 25. Toróhambũ | *Hürüwá* |
| 11. Ũbo | *Pedíkwa* | 26. Hokóbũ | *Kendnikauwũ* |
| 12. Mákavekũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 27. Horáhararía | *Hürüwá* |
| 13. Makatóta | *Bahúkiwa* | 28. Hudjíbũ | *Bahúkiwa* |
| 14. Toidibũ | *Pedíkwa* | 29. Mátakwe | *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* |
| 15. Monékenpaunwa | *Pedíkwa* | | |

* A small *Kordwa* settlement is at *Urupera* between 3 and 4. It is, however, only a fraction of a Querari River sib and not a full community.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges. 439 [582]

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accordance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehéneua* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maize, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiari. 438

## PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered. Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations. 423 [61] [103]

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sentiment rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo. 423 614 [615] [619]

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/124/ All the native terms that appear in this study are in the Tukana language, an idiom that the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry speaks.

I wish to express my thanks to Professor Segundo Bernal Villa for his valuable observations on the organization of the present work.

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## Abbreviations Used for the Kinship Terms

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| f | = | father | ol | = | older |
| m | = | mother | yg | = | younger |
| so | = | son | si | = | sibling |
| da | = | daughter | -o- | = | of, of the /masc./, of the /fem./ |
| br | = | brother | (M) | = | male Ego |
| sis | = | sister | (F) | = | female Ego |
| sp | = | spouse | (V) | = | vocative |
| | | | (R) | = | reference |

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## Kinship Terms

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| f | Pajké | (M-F) | (V) |
| f | Yeé Pajké | (M-F) | (R) |
| m | Maú | (M-F) | (V) |
| m | Yeé Pajkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| so | Majké | (M-F) | (V) |
| so | Yeé Majké | (M-F) | (R) |
| da | Majkó | (M-F) | (V) |
| da | Yeé Majkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| ol-br | Mamí | (M-F) | (V) |
| ol-br | Yeé Mamí | (M-F) | (R) |
| yg-br | Nijiá | (M-F) | (V) |
| yg-br | Yeé Kabí | (M-F) | (R) |
| ol-sis | Mamió | (M-F) | (V) |
| ol-sis | Yeé Mamió | (M-F) | (R) |
| yg-sis | Numió | (M-F) | (V) |
| yg-sis | Yeé Kabió | (M-F) | (R) |
| f-br | Mé | (M) | (V) |

## GLOSSARY

ahũ-wõ -- rhythm tube or stick (musical instrument)
a'mõ tuxhũ -- enclosure within the maloca for a girl undergoing the puberty rite
a'mõ-yesé -- initiation rite for boys
axkabí -- "brothers" - address to persons belonging to same gens
axkawerẽra -- components of the same tribe although born or living in different malocas
axpẽra -- people of another tribe, even when connected by some degree of affinity
Baári-maxsã-ré -- alleged cannibal tribes
baxséke wamẽ -- name-giving rite
baksúkãra -- "those who are destined for marriage with us" (all maternal cousins)
bayá -- master of ceremonies at various kinds of feasts
baxsasé -- dance and soup at a feast
beijú -- manioc bread
be'tise -- fast during initiation rite
boraró curupira -- spirit of the woods
bũxkõrá-kurá -- council of elders
bwá -- flute or small fife

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cowá -- fermented drink
cachoeira -- turbulent place in the river with rapids and sometimes waterfalls
cariços -- panpipes
caxirí -- celebration with drinking; the drinks themselves
descimentos -- voluntary migrations of the Indians
igarapés -- smaller streams that empty into the rivers
japurutús -- long flutes
karyamã -- entertainment feast at girl's puberty initiation rite
komũ -- men of greater ascendancy who belong to community council
kurá -- gens or sib
lingua geral -- the Tupi language of Amazonia
lugares -- place, village, town
mã-gõ -- term of address for female of parental generation of gens with whom bride-exchange is practiced
mahã-mĩ-nõsé -- 2d stage of girl's puberty initiation rite
maloca -- communal house
mamí -- "brother" - address to persons belonging to same gens
macupiára -- lucky in fishing or hunting
mã-ra-põ-nỹákho -- "future husband" "future genitor" - address to young man of marriage exchange group

maxsã -- "people" - actually spirit people
mẽx-ká -- term of address to male parental generation of gens with whom bride-exchange is practiced
mĩrĩa -- sacred flute
mĩrĩ-mẽra -- initiation rite for boys
mõ-paxkoá -- godmother of girl's initiation
mõ'sĩgõ -- lucky in fishing and hunting
mõ-yõãsé -- puberty initiation rite for girls
montarias -- canoes made largely by fitting planks along the sides
nãxkã̃-wax-tĩ -- spirit
Nheengatú -- the Tupi language of Amazonia
nihi-korõ -- vagina
nõ' mõ duusé -- purchase of wife by bride price
nõ' mõ nyãkho -- "future wife" "future genitrix" (address by young man to girl of marriage exchange group)
o'a-kõ -- god, supreme being
o'mõãro wax'ti -- spirit
onça -- jaguar
oxkó -- magic potion
õxsó -- two-headed snake spirit

pajé -- curer-sorcerer
pax-koá -- godmother
pêru -- fermented drink
pi'îkamõ -- small basket for a girl's or woman's ornaments
piraboto -- "beast of the river" - apparently a spirit
píti-yároa -- alleged cannibal tribe
ponta -- usually in proper names, indicates a geographic accident
poóse -- feast of offerings
po'rá-ko nÿákho -- "future genitrix" (address by a young man to a girl of the marriage exchange group)
põrã-kõ nÿákhõ -- "future genitor" (address by girl to young man of marriage exchange group)
povoado -- populated place
principal -- chief of a tribe or subdivision of a tribe, or of a povoado
pupunha -- fermented drink
quinhapira -- a fish dish
tropas de resgate -- bands of men who searched the country for Indians to enslave, and for natural products
tuxáua -- chief of a tribe or subdivision of a tribe, or of a povoado
uxtá-seri -- leg bands as dance decorations
uxtisé -- ritual wailing at death
varadoiros -- passages opened in the forest along unnavigable stretches of rivers, or as shortcuts between bends in a river

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verões -- periods of dry weather permitting burning
vila -- town
wá:kõ -- god
wã'sõ-rĩ -- instrument for flagellation at bacchanal feast
wãx-tĩ -- soul, incorporeal element
wé-boxátise -- evil that can come from an event, action, person, animal, or thing
wyógõ -- local chief
yai-peri maxsã -- alleged cannibal tribe
yõũrwá -- alleged cannibal tribe
yaxkẽ waxsó-ro -- women's festive loincloth embroidered with beads
yaxsã -- large maracá (musical instrument)
yuxkõ -- rhythm stick
yu-yú -- dance rhythm stick

4: Silva--748 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Bibliography ..... 736

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For the proper reading of the words from the Tukano language, one should keep in mind the following convention:

1. Vowels: a, e, i, o, u, -- open as in Portuguese and Latin
   ã -- like the English o in word
   ö, ü -- respectively like the corresponding ones in German, that is, more or less like the French eu in peu, and u in lune
   y, w -- respectively like short i and u
2. Consonants: like the corresponding ones in Latin or Portuguese, with the following exceptions:
   x -- velar aspirate, before a consonant
   h -- surd glottal fricative, before a vowel
   bh, kh, gh, ph, th -- after the ordinary sound of these consonants, a slight aspiration follows
3. Symbols: (') the glottal stop (interruption of the pronunciation)
   (-) hyphen, separation of the elements in the compound word
   ( ) indicates the nasal sound /a tilde seems to be missing between the parentheses in the original source/

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Yekuana, Datuana, and others. The status of some of these as dialects or languages also remains to be determined. For example, Tatuyo informants have mentioned an Owa language spoken by some Tatuyos, but there has not been an opportunity to check this out. The few Miritítapuyo of the Middle Tikié appear to use either Tukano or Desano as their household or father-language.

(D) Tupí-Guaranian language family: Nheengatú.

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(2) Tribes and languages bordering the multilingual area (many members of these tribes may be bilingual or even polylingual, but multilingualism is not widespread in a given tribe; many Indians of the multilingual area may include one or more of these languages in their repertoires):

(A) Arawakan language family: Kuripaka and Baniva. These are reported by some informants to be almost mutually intelligible.

(B) Undetermined language families: Karihona, Guayavero. I also have names, in Tukano only, of some dozen other languages spoken around the periphery of the area and along the Rio Negro.

(3) Languages spoken in the multilingual area, but by speakers who do not possess multilingualism as a culture trait:

(A) Undetermined language family: Makú (Makú may be more than one language). A few Makú know Tukano or Desano or some other language, including Spanish or Portuguese, but most Makú do not; a few Tukanos, Desanos, Piratapuyos, and Tuyukas know some Makú.

(B) Indo-European language family: Spanish, Portuguese, Italian. Two Colombian dialects of Spanish are found: Antioqueño, spoken by most missionaries, and Llanero, spoken by most rubber-gatherers. "Vaupense" Spanish is basically Llanero Colombian Spanish with the addition of many Nheengatú and some Portuguese terms for things pertaining to the tropical rainforest.[7]

(C) A special case is provided by languages neither spoken in the area nor represented there by groups of speakers. Small lists of words in Dutch can be obtained from older Indians on the Papuri, even though the former Dutch Montfortiano Fathers did not attempt to use Dutch with the Indians. Some Indians, moreover, have learned a considerable amount of Latin.

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*Spellings*. Most names for languages and tribes in the literature are Nheengatú names, carried over into Spanish, Portuguese, Ger-

[P. 682-B]

104 man, English, etc. There is great variation in the spellings. The spellings in this paper tend to follow those of Koch-Grünberg, who still remains the general authority for the area as a whole. His spellings are close to those used for Nheengatú. They generally conform with those used for world-wide ethnographic spellings; in addition, they seem to have been the spellings more commonly used in English, German, Portuguese, and Spanish ethnographies on South America.

101 *Population estimate.* Population figures are hard to estimate. The following are very impressionistic. Tribes with 1,000–2,000 members:
161 Tukano, Kubeo, Baré; Spanish-only speakers.
191 Tribes with 500–1,000 members: Piratapuyo, Wanano, Desano. Tribes with 150–500 members: Tuyuka, Yurutí, Paneroa, Eduria, Karapana, Tatuyo, Barasana, Siriano, Tariano, Tabaino, Makuna, Tekuana, Datuana; Portuguese-only speakers. Of the latter tribes, Yurutí, Yekuana, and Datuana may number
[797] fewer than 150 members. A few Salesian missionaries, in Brazil, are Italians.

There are probably a few hundred Makú in occasional contract with the multilingual Indians in this area.

Non-Indians probably number about 1,500 and are concentrated in the few air-strip towns.

For a very round figure, a population of 10,000 has been estimated for the multilingual area in which Tukano is the chief lingua franca. Of these 10,000, only the non-Indians, the Makú, and some of the Kubeo are not multilingual, so that over 80 percent of the population is multilingual. As the non-Indians are concentrated in the few air-strip towns and a dozen missionary posts, the effective distribution of multilingualism is much higher; close to 100 percent of the communities encountered in the area are multilingual. Of the multilingual Indians, well over 90 percent know Tukano at least as a lingua franca, with young children accounting for the majority of the few who do not.

NOTES

[114] [12] [1] This report is an expanded version of a paper presented to the Tenth Annual National Conference on Linguistics in New York on March 13, 1965. Field work was done in the summers of 1959, 1960, and 1962 and from June to December 1963. It was supported during much of this time by USPHS Research Grant MH-17,258. I wish to acknowledge the hospitality and cooperation extended to me by the Xaveriano missionary order in Colombia and the Salesian missionaries of the Brazilian Vaupés region. Various drafts of this paper were read by Drs. Charles

[P. 683-A]

3: Fulop--1 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/97/

# Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

121 [122] /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 [101] 124 128 772 772 769 The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as interpreter. Owing to the short time of the investigation and to having consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

105 [171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukuri, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukuri, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukuri, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

• 105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

•105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

[262] [753] [178]

773 177 [128] [014] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

115 756

# *Epilogue*

## 1. COLOMBIAN KALEIDOSCOPE

It was July before we left the Motilon. Nearly ten months had passed since we first set out. We had visited four Indian tribes, each for a few weeks, and had had a glimpse at a fifth. Now it seemed time to take stock, not only of what was left to do, but of what had already been done. What in fact had been done? All our experiences seemed fragmentary, superficial. We had a veritable kaleidoscope of memories of Indians – impressions, no more. 000

Perhaps it would have been better to have lived with one tribe during those ten months and learnt more about them. But then we would have defeated our purpose which was to record the music of several tribes. Had we lingered with one group we should never have completed the whole. This was always our dilemma. But what could we have gained by staying longer? None of us, with the exception of Nestor, was academically qualified to study an Indian tribe, and to our misfortune he could come on only two of our journeys. What were we then? Perhaps we could have called ourselves adventurers or explorers, but these names are anachronisms in the twentieth century. Perhaps we were just travellers, human beings trying to catch a glimpse of another kind of man, the South American Indian, that strange perceptive being who is fast disappearing off the face of the earth. 121

What surprised us most was the diversity of these Indians. One tends to think all Indians alike, living in primeval forest, wearing barkcloth and covered in paint. But every Indian we met was very much an individual personality. Some were gay, others sad, some shy, others aggressive, tall, short and fat, fine-looking and ugly; taken as a whole one might describe them as introspective, reserved and very independent. 000

Like the individual, the tribes also were diverse, each one to a greater or lesser extent influenced by its environment – Noanamá, Tukano, Kogi and Motilon, and also Guajiro, though of these last our impressions were as fleeting as our days among them were few.

The four tribes could be more simply classified by grouping the Noanamá and Tukano together. They were living under fairly similar conditions, those of the tropical forest. Their fishing and hunting existence was in many respects alike, as was much of their material culture. Moreover, in the social sense, both tribes showed an absence of any central authority or chieftain; 171 105

171 the only authority lay with the heads of the houses, and the considerable
105 but not excessive influence of the shaman. In addition, the family groupings within the scattered forest *malocas* and waterside stilted houses, in the ceremonies and, to a lesser extent, their art and music, all seemed to show a certain relationship.

They recognized a supreme being. He had little effect on their everyday lives, he was something remote but nevertheless present. What the Tukano called him we never knew – he may have been Jurupari; to the Noanamá he was Evandama. There were also the spirits of the forest and the ancestors. To them Severiano sang his Canta Haí, to them the Tukano shaman chanted during the festival on the Piraparaná. There was the custom among Noanamá boys and girls of putting flowers in their hair and in the holes bored in their ears, which prompted Nestor to remark that they were almost Polynesian, and we found later that the Tukano had the same habit.

There were differences too: the partly sedentary cultivation of the Noanamá and their dependence on maize, compared with the shifting agriculture of the Tukano and their staple of manioc. There were differences in craftsmanship and design: pottery, basket weaving and the methods of making canoes, to mention but a few.

But what does all this tell us? Here were two peoples living six hundred miles apart, divided by the high Andes. It only tells us that at some time in the past there was a contact, perhaps a migration, or even that they formed one major group which was divided by the Chibcha advance.

The Motilon and Kogi – and this includes the Bintukua – were essentially highland dwellers, the one living in the lower 'cloud forest', the other in the high savannah tundra. The most noticeable thing about them was that they wore clothes; the Motilon a long cloak reaching to his ankles, the Kogi a jerkin, trousers and a sash. They had developed the use of the loom and wove cotton, *fiqué* sisal and even wool, unlike the forest dwellers who would still have gone naked or worn barkcloth but for the influx of trade cotton. Moreover, they rarely used body paint. We only once saw a Motilon painting his face – which they do when they go to war.

Perhaps their most distinctive feature is that, unlike the tropical forest dwellers, they live in small settlements and villages: the wattle-walled houses of the Sierra de Perijá with the surrounding barricade as a defence against the depredations of wild animals and warlike neighbours, and the small, round, wattle-and-daub temples and houses of the high Sierra Nevada.

It has been said of the Amazonian Indian: 'One word from the chief and everyone does exactly as he pleases.' This is a dictum which could apply equally to the Tukano or the Noanamá. In a way this lack of authority, this

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*Guajiro women take in water from* Rigtender.
[See p. 178-A]

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



nonchalance seems to add to their charm, it makes life a little happy-go-lucky. But not so with the highlanders. Here one senses authority and a martial spirit, particularly among the Motilon who were always itching for a fight; frustrated perhaps at being unable to fight other groups, they resorted to fighting amongst themselves, always clutching their sheaves of arrows and twanging their bowstrings in anger. Here – and among the Kogi too – we found aggressiveness; underneath they were still the same humorous, perceptive people, but outwardly they wore an air of purposefulness, as if life had become a serious matter. To the Kogi life had become more than that; they had a duty to live by the rules of their priests. This was the wish of their mother goddess Nabulwé, the supreme power in their lives. It seemed to us at the time that a Kogi set down beside a Tukano would have found him as alien to his conception of a human being as we ourselves were; yet both are Indians.

The most primitive of all South American Indians is the wandering nomadic Maku, still to be found in the isolated depths of the Amazon forests, living solely on what he can gather with a stone axe as his only implement. He still represents Stone Age man. At the other end of the scale is the monotheistic Kogi, the nearest present-day equivalent we saw to the highest state of culture the Indian has reached. Between these extremes are such tribes as the Tukano, Noanamá and Motilon, each in a sense representing a different stage in development.

On the one hand are cultural traits which denote common origin or the influence of early migrations. On the other hand is the diversity representing stages of social development which were still evolving at the time of the Spanish conquest and which since then have each, in varying degrees and at different times, been subjected to a completely new force – European culture in all its complexity.

And how did the different tribes react to this influence? Generally speaking, the forest lowlanders like the Tukano have survived longer because of their remoteness. Yet when a contact is made the shock is great and their lack of cohesion may lead to rapid extinction.

The highlander, who in most instances has been in contact with the European for centuries, has – perhaps because of the greater cohesion imposed by the Kogi priests and the Motilon chiefs – either wholly resisted or adapted himself to the new influence in such a way that much of his own culture is incorporated in the new, as has happened in Atanquez, and indeed in the case of countless thousands who in the past four and a half centuries have become fully integrated into a European society.

There are very few places left in the world where the notion of Western

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*Ortelia, Kechenko's sister.* [see p. 178-B]

171
105 culture is unknown. There may still be one or two isolated hill tribes in New Guinea; and wandering-nomadic groups of foresters like the Amazonian Maku. The Tukano certainly were not isolated in this sense. Some of them had had direct contact with the rubber collectors of the early part of the century, and many of them today still tap rubber. It is possible that the obvious signs of depopulation among the people of the Piraparaná are due to this yearly migration of the younger men. Essentially, however, they remain simple uncomplicated people believing in an amazing world of spirits and demons and quite happy in that belief; taking part in their festivals with great gusto; extremely creative with their beautiful head-dresses, woven baskets and pottery, to mention but a few of their artefacts, and delighting in their music. Perhaps we influenced them unduly in this last respect. Perhaps when we left, the panpipes were put back on their neglected wall. But this is unlikely.

Nor were the Noanamá completely isolated. Among them one felt a growing conflict between the negro settlers and the Indian. We recalled an argument between Severiano and an old negro: in a rage Severiano had shouted, 'Respect me!' Perhaps the negro's cheerful arrogance infuriated the Indian more than the taking of his land. Then there was the Mission. We had seen Severiano calling to the ancestors with his Canta Haí sticks in front of him, facing a lighted candle under an image of the Virgin Mary. The Indians were gradually disappearing from the San Juan and moving northwards to Panama, in a pathetic attempt to continue the only way of life they knew.

But the Motilon were different, and the Kunuguasaya had adopted an openly hostile attitude towards all intruders. To this day they remain, like the Maku, almost unknown – but not because of inaccessibility or remoteness. The Yuco-Chaké, however, whom we visited, though still extremely warlike among themselves, are not so much under the influences of *colono* expansion from the plains as of the work of the missionaries.

000 If only in the past the missionaries could have concentrated less on the outlawing of those aspects of tribal life which constituted the very basis, the very roots of Indian existence – their spiritual and ceremonial life, which ran completely contrary to the teaching of Christianity. If only they could have restrained their overwhelming zealousness to eradicate these and tried to understand them and show tolerance instead. Then the inevitable shock to the Indians would have been less – of losing their own beliefs in the face of a religion apparently far more terrible, one that involved only one alternative to eternal damnation and hell, which was so totally at variance with their own charming optimism for a better life to come. This was followed by a second more lasting shock, the realization that few but missionaries really practised this faith – and to the Indian religion was part of his being. Then their despair and disillusion could have been softened.

1: Fulop, Marcos. Notas Sobre los Términos y el Sistema de Parentesco de los Tukano [Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tucano]. Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. 4, pp. 121-164. Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Anthropología, 1955.

2 charts.

Yale: C71e A28R 4. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-57; bibliography./

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Mary Louise Bravo.

/This source presents an excellent study of Tucano kinship terminology and the extension and application of these kin terms to the various component sibs of the five major phratries. The data presented here were collected in the period from June 11 to Sept. 9, 1954, while the author resided in the hamlet of Guadalajara on the Paca River in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. As informant and interpreter, the author employed two brothers, Marcos and Manuel Sierra, respectively, both of whom were members of the patrilineal sib Urémiri Sáraro of the phratry Yepá Bajuári Majsá. Fulop was unable to visit personally the four other Tucano phratries--Miriápura Diára Majsá, Nujkuá Diára Majsá, Miriápura Bajuári Majsá, and Emeko Bajuári Majsá--because of their great distance from his location at Guadalajara, therefore data pertinent to these kin groups are based on the information provided the author by Marcos Sierra./

Field date: 1954
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1969-1970

2: Fulop, Marcos. Aspectos de la Cultura Tucana; Mitología--Parte I [Aspects of Tucano Culture--Mythology--Part I]. Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. 5, pp. 335-373. Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, 1956.

Personal Copy of T.J. O'Leary. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-42; bibliography./

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Mary Louise Bravo.

/This source is a collection of nine Tucano folk-tales and myths gathered by the author during the period from June 11 - September 9, 1954, while he lived in residence in the village of Guadalajara on the Paca River (a tributary of the Papuri River), in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Two brothers and residents of the village, Marcos and Manuel Sierra, served as the author's informants and interpreters. Although these myths cover a wide range of subject matter, numbers eight and nine are especially interesting for the light they shed on native beliefs about the origins of manioc, tobacco and coca./

Field date: 1954
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1969-1970

3: Fulop, Marcos. Aspectos de la Cultura Tukana: Cosmogonía [Aspects of Tucano Culture: Cosmogony]. Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. 3, pp. 97-137. Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, 1954.

11 plates.

Yale: C71e A28r 3. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-54; 11 plates./

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Mary Louise Bravo.

/This source presents a rather unique example of a Tucano cosmogonical tale; unique in that it incorporates into the framework of the story numerous elements of "western civilization" including ideas and concepts definitely related to missionary influence. So skillfully are these acculturative elements woven into the tale, however, that they seem an integral part of the original origin myth. Prior to the text of the story in this source, the author presents a general summary of Tucano material culture.

The author's work was commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, and was undertaken in the settlement of Guadalajara from June 13 to July 9, 1953./

Field date: 1953
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1969

4: Silva, Álcionílio Brüzzi Alves da. A civilização indígena do Uaupés. [The indigenous civilization of the Uaupés]. São Paulo, Centro de Pesquisas de Iauareté, 1962.

496 p.; 20 plates; 2 maps; bibliography; index; glossary. [HRAF MS: 749 p.]

Yale: CF2519. 1 U3 S55. DLC: F2519. 1. U355. DLC card no. 65-40167.

[This book discusses in detail the tribal groupings of the Tucano from historical and linguistical evidence. The various Tucano groups which today are almost identical as far as their culture is concerned, have only recently become a group with a common language. Apparently this has been caused through intermarriage and the attendance at mission schools. The author presents a detailed description of material culture, religion, and social organization, in particular kin relations. Native terms are explained and used throughout the book. Numerous historical sources by travellers and missionaries on the Indians of the area are quoted.]

Field date: 1947-1958
Analyst: Sigrid Khera, marker
Dubravka Schmalzbauer, checker

Evaluation: Missionary-4, 5
Processed in 1971-1974.

5: Goldman, Irving. The Cubeo: Indians of the Northwest Amazon. Illinois Studies in Anthropology, No. 2. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963.

Pp. x, 305; 13 figures; 1 map; bibliography; index.

HRAF copy. DLC card number: 62-13212.

/This source is the result of the author's ten months' field work among the Cubeo (a Tucano subgroup living on the Vaupés River) during the years 1939-1940. The author was "adopted" into the household of the headman of the Bahúkiwa sib, and much of the data presented pertains to this sib. At the time of Goldman's study there were about 2500 Cubeo left with outside acculturative influences at a minimum, but since that time with the wartime rubber boom and with increased missionizing and colonizing activities, the population has dropped to around the 1000 mark, with the younger generation rapidly becoming acculturated.

Emphasis in this work is on social structure and ceremonial patterns, with the remainder of the source providing a framework for the author's analysis. There is an introductory chapter on the Cubeo community, followed by chapters on economic life, the sib, kinship and marriage, leadership and authority, development of the individual, the ancestor cult, the mourning ceremony and religion. The introduction presents data on the general physical and cultural characteristics of the Northwest Amazon region, with a survey of its principal tribes. The final chapter presents his structural analysis of Cubeo society in which he attempts to depict not only what is Cubeo in content, but also to lay the bases for two successively broader typological characterizations, the tropical forest economics of South America as a whole, and "simple" horticultural economics in general./

Field date: 1939-1940
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1969

6: Moser, Brian and Donald Tayler. The cocaine eaters. New York, Taplinger Publishing Company, 1967.

14, 204 p.; 60 plates, 13 text figures; 4 maps.

HRAF copy.

[Only the title page, pp. 33-90, 177-187, and 199-200 have been processed for the SQ19 Tucano file.]

[The portions of this book that were processed are mainly a description of the travel of the two authors through the Tucano country. The descriptions of the Tucano and their culture are rather generalized. Somewhat more specific descriptions are given of agricultural practices and the planting of coca, the intake of coca leaves, and the manioc feast. Numerous photographs show scenes from Tucano life.]

Field date: 1960-1961
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Dubravka Schmalzbauer, checker

Evaluation: Ethnographer, Geologist -5
Processed in 1970-1974

7: Sorensen, Arthur P., Jr. Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon. American Anthropologist, 69 (1967): 670-684. Washington, American Anthropological Association, 1967.

HRAF copy.

[The author of this article has undertaken fieldwork in the Northwest Amazon basin in 1959, 1960, 1962 and 1963. He found that the rule of local and tribal exogamy has resulted in multilingualism for practically each individual in a settlement group. The article contains an inventory of tribes and languages in the Northwest Amazon region.]

Field date: 1959, 1960, 1962, 1963
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Dubravka Schmalzbauer, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1970-1973

113, 143

Chiriguano SF10
Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Tehuelche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucanians SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH6

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: 4: Hill et al., SS18 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

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614
178
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/164 cont./

Among the components of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry all these models of social structure are disappearing. Today it is very rare to find among the members of this phratry marriages between cross cousins, and there have appeared, with this social dislocation, new kinship terms that correspond to the new patterns of marriage and kinship. It would be interesting to see to what point the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry varies from the other Tukana phratries, but so far it has been impossible to undertake this work.

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* 539 /372 cont./
Yúpuri Baúro began to vomit, and where the vomit of Yúpuri Baúro fell, a tobacco bush came up. And that is how the Tukano /Tucano/ obtained the seed of tobacco again.

The next day Uaí Majsé arrived at Diawí. He entered the maloca and asked Yúpuri Baúro: "What is new, Yúpuri Baúro?" Then Yúpuri Baúro answered him: "Hello." Yúpuri Baúro offered his hand to greet Uaí Majsé and offered him a seat so that he could sit in front of him. Then Uaí Majsé said: "Yesterday I sent you coca and tobacco." Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "Yes, I received them." Then Uaí Majsé said: "Pareroangó stole the coca seed from me." Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "I did not accept that stolen coca seed. That seed will be for her." Uaí Majsé disappeared as soon as he heard this. That is why the Yepá Bajuári Majsá remained without the coca seed. But Pareroangó gave the coca seed to her brother, and that is why all of the other Yepá Majsá, except Yepá Bajuári Majsá, have eaten coca since then.

Then Yepá Huáke gave Yúpuri Baúri two gourds, one was full of manioc starch and the other was full of corn starch. And from then on the Yepá Bajuári Majsá did not eat coca, but instead ate the starch of manioc and corn. But /373/ when the Yepá Bajuári Majsá invited the rest of the Yepá Majsá, then the other Yepá Majsá were not accustomed to eating manioc starch and corn starch. Then a Bará chief once gave coca seed to Yepára Oakajpeá so that it might be planted. Yepára Oakajpeá planted that coca, but no Yepá Bajuári Majsá would eat that coca. That coca was eaten only by the other Yepá Majsá when they came to the fiestas of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá. And it is only a short time ago that the Yepá Bajuári Majsá really began
[276] to eat coca. And before only the wise old people could really eat coca, but now any fool eats coca.

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2: Fulop--42 E-5 (1954) 1956 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

• 113

/373 cont./
Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, pp. 97-137, Bogotá, 1954.

Fulop, Marcos, "Notas sobre los Términos y el Sistema de Parentesco de los Tukano /Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tucano/," Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. IV, pp. 121-164, Bogotá, 1955.

/273 cont./

d) His curing processes.

755 The curing process, even in cases of the use of adequate remedies, of plants of recognized therapeutic virtue, is based on suggestion, or at least it is helped by it. As a matter of fact, from the massages or suction of the ailing part, or from making water fall there from a cuia, they later show the patient (having recourse to prestidigitation, as Koch Grünberg, Z. I. 99 was able to observe) the object (bone, /274/ stone, thorn, insects, scales, etc.) that has been extracted from the painful member and caused him the pains, Waxkarí.

With the help of narcotics or stimulants, he will induce in himself states of crisis or of nervous excitation, during which he sees the causes of the sickness, or those who have caused the malefice. He will be able to make the patient see it too. He will prefer to bring the patient to his hut; or he will go to that of the patient during the night. He will demand the absence of other persons, and, alone with the patient, he will start his practices in an atmosphere of darkness and mystery, muttering very rapidly (21)

[797] 21. For this reason they like the Missionary to say the prayers more quickly.

unintelligible words, sung in a peculiar tone and alternated with loud sighs and groans. They know and perform a series of songs, each one with its efficacy for a given type of infirmity (22).

[533] [534] [126] [113]

22. We have managed to record some of those songs of the pajés from the Tukano, Wanana, Taryana, and Huhúdeni tribes, which can be heard in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" of the Centro de Pesquisas of Iauareté. Address: P. Alcionilio Brüzzi, Largo C. de Jesus, 154, S. Paulo, Brazil.

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114 [1] See Rivera's powerful, authentic novel *La Vorágine* (1948) for Vaupense Spanish terms. The setting for much of this novel is the Colombian Vaupés region and the adjacent Casanare region (not dealt with, except indirectly, in this report). Rivera projected his morally and passionately torn protagonist, Arturo Cova, in ever-increasingly involved relief against the convoluted setting of the exploits of the notorious rubber barons. His Indians show up only as shadowy figures in the background—no doubt the way the rubber-gatherers, caught up in their own problems, saw them as they passed in dimly lit longhouses for their night's rest.

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[P. 684 - B]

000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

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114 [101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

[124] [614] [615]

615 361 197 619 615 571 574 [601] [101] As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the correspondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

615 197 124 114 [124]

∞∞ /335/ Aspects of Tucano Culture
Mythology -- Part I

By Marcos Fulop

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114 [101] /337/ Preliminary Note

The material presented here was collected between June 11 and September 9, 1954, when field work was done in the village /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Performing the functions of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra respectively, blood brothers and residents of the village of Guadalajara.

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121 773 The mythology that appears in this article is a very small portion of the total Tukano /Tucano/ mythology. The author has considered it advisable not to analyze individually the myths published here, but to wait until all the Tukano mythology has been collected and published.

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* 539 /339/ I. Boraró and Boraró Numió

A man and a woman stayed in Diaojpekowí, and they were brother and sister. These two beings do not have children, but will never die. When they want to leave Diaojpekowí, they turn themselves into spirits. The man is named Boraró, and the woman is named Boraró Numió. Boraró and Boraró Numió kill people by opening a hole in their heads and sucking out the entire body through this hole. They leave only the skin of the victim, which they throw on a tree /Sp. palo/. To kill her victim, Boraró Numió lies down face up and begins to urinate at a distance of about 150 meters from her victim. Boraró, to kill his victim, urinates standing at a distance of about 150 meters from his victim. And when Boraró and Boraró Numió urinate, everyone that is within those 150 meters falls dead instantly.

* 539 761

/97/

# Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

121 [122] /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 [101] 124 128 772 772 769 The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as interpreter. Owing to the short time of the investigation and to having consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

105 [171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [575] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano [262] Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical [753] Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our [178] interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

773 177 [128] [014] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, 115 756 Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

/5 cont./

*101 797 in their anonymous heroism for 40 years by the intelligent dynamism and the apostolic charity of Dom Pedro Massa.

In the beginning of this century the well-known German ● 114 ethnologist Teodoro /Theodor/ Koch Grünberg visited part of the area presented in our studies here, and he condensed his observations into several works, especially the one that bears the title "Dos anos entre os índios do noroeste /6/ Brasileiro /Two Years among the Indians of Northwest Brazil/" (1).

1. Zwei Iahre /Jahre/ bei den Indianer nordwest-Brasiliens -- Stuttgart, 1921. His work Festschrift Eduard Seler, containing the classification and location of the several tribes that he visited or from which he obtained information, dates from Stuttgart, 1922.

We are now in a position to appreciate, not only the inconveniences of his journey, but also his difficulties as a "White" and a "Foreigner," having to deal with the Indians locked in their distrust, prejudices, and, let us say it, hostilities against civilized people; moreover, not knowing the idioms of the tribes of the Uaupés (2)

2. At the mouth of the river Curicuriari, Koch's oarsman, the Tukano /Tucano/ João, gives him a lesson in "unintelligible Tukano": -- "Gibt mir Unterricht in Tucano seiner fürchterlichen Stammessprach, voll nasaler, gutturaler und ganz UNDEUTLICHER laute" /he gives me instruction in Tucano, his horrible original language, very nasal, gutteral, and quite confusedly loud/.

and, for this reason, having to resort to the always deficient services of emergency interpreters.

/6 cont./

114 128 Our task, of editing, in comparison with that of Koch G., was greatly facilitated. There fell to us the intellectual, patriotic, and religious pleasure of four excursions through the vast and laborious field of the Apostolado Salesiano no Amazonas /Salesian Apostolate in Amazonas/ and of admiring the work of patriotism and evangelical charity that the Filhos de Dom Bosco are achieving there. And benefiting ourselves by means of their company, their knowledge of the native idioms (3),

[191 797]

> 3. Besides having already found numerous Indians with whom we could communicate perfectly in the language of our native country, because they had learned Portuguese in the schools of the Missions.

the prestige that they enjoy, not only among the natives who profit from their material and moral assistance, but even among the others who only know them by repute, we start collecting the precious data of their observations and experience. The ethnographic material contained in these pages could be collected in a relatively short period, although triple that of Grünberg. Nevertheless they describe an existence in the closest possible contact with the forest dwellers: living in their maloca, attending their festivities, listening to them during their long chats among themselves, and entertaining themselves in amiable conversation with them, participating in their joys and their sorrows, observing them in their work, admiring their abilities, using their services, curing their illnesses, probing their spirit, illustrating their intelligence in long years of education, illuminating their soul with religious truths, now and then seeing those minds unexpectedly open in flashes that reveal, through a charming ingenuousness, an internal world never dreamed of. One understands an environment by living in it; and the environment can explain to us a mentality.

114 123 124

/11 cont./

103 Although it presents an average declivity of 0.32 m. per
133 kilometer, it possesses a subsoil of granite, with innumerable levelings and cachoeiras (3)

[114] 3. The Comissão Brasileira de Fronteiras /Brazilian Commission of Frontiers/, under the direction of Marechal /Marshal/ Boanerges Lopes de Souza, who did the surveying of this river, recorded 39 cachoeiras. Moreover, it has some islets and islands, and therefore its width reaches 500 meters.

[505] which endanger navigation. Or, rather, it is only passable with small canoes and montarias (4),

[501] 4. "Montarias" are the canoes that have been enlarged by one or more longitudinal planks fitted to their sides.

which sometimes advance through the rushing rapids by arm or pulled by tow ropes, or are even transported across the rocks or bordering forest by way of the "varadoiros" (5).

5. "Varadoiros" are the passages opened up in the forest, or along the rivers in the stretches that are not navigable; or as shortcuts between two points, in order to avoid the long windings of the rivers.

The Tiquié is the other tributary, and more important than the Papurí. It results from two igarapés, or streams: the Uaracú-pirera (in Nheengatú it means "skin of aracú /a fish/"), which takes the name of Tiquié, a name of unknown origin and meaning (also like Caiarí and Papurí), after it receives the Macucú. Those of Tukano language name the Tiquié "Kõsá," the meaning of which, however, they do not know. Extremely sinuous, it measures about 450 kilometers in course, almost all

/44 cont./

*101 Koch makes the similarity of this idiom with the first two stand out immediately. In August of 1956 a tuxáua /chief/ of the Ide-masã or Makuna informed us that the Buhágana formerly resided in the forests of the river Taraira (trib. of the Japurá), but they had already died out as a consequence of the avengements within the tribe and the fights with other tribes.

It is not improbable that the Jacamim, located by Wallace on the Uaupés, are only a tribal subdivision, perhaps the Taitõ-paramẽra, that is "Grandchildren of the Jacamim" (cf. below the subdivisions of the Korẽteraõõa, IV -- 2, p /p. 106 f./).

(7) -- MACUNÁ -- It likewise does not appear in the other lists. Pelo Rio Mar gives a brief report: "Macú of black color" and ends by saying "they are mentioned among the tributaries of the Rio Negro, on the Araganatuba, Apapóris and Jupurá." On the contrary, according to Koch G., they belong to the Tukano group and have their present habitat on the banks of the Apapóris, below the Pirá-paraná, in two malocas. They are types of good configuration, Koch continues, and they speak a language quite close to the Buhágana (Zwei Iahre, 379; and Festschrift Eduard Seler, 205-6).

We can state that Makúna is a denomination that the Colombians give to them. In their own idiom they call themselves Idemasã (water people) and we were with a group of them that resides on the Komé-ya (see below Ide-masã, IV -- 2, h /p. 137/).

[114] [126] Koch does not give in his Zwei Iahre the Vocabulary of the Makúna, but that of the Kueretu. Now, the Vocabulary that we gathered from the Íde-masã deviates considerably from the one that Koch obtained from the Kueretu, in spite of the fact that this group is indicated as a subdivision of the Ide-masã.

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visitor. On the other hand, the leaf-cutter ant is a specialist on clothing. I was once covered by a swarm of these ants while asleep. When I had carefully removed the last of them I was left with but a leather belt and a few tatters of trousers and shirt.

The anopheles mosquito is generally absent in the Cuduiari region where I did my field work. On the whole, the health of the Cuduiari Indians is good. Carate (*puru*), a skin pigment disorder apparently of spirochete origin, common everywhere else in the Northwest Amazon, was far less in evidence on the Cuduiari. Children suffered from worms and other intestinal parasites but infant mortality was not particularly high. There were no epidemics during my stay. The recollections of the Indians about serious illness go back to the 1918 influenza epidemic that apparently ravaged the native populations in the region. Women, in particular, suffered from the painful purulent conjunctivitis, which they attributed to insect molestation in their manioc gardens. The bloated abdomens of children whose diet is too generous with carbohydrate and deficient in protein is a common sight along the Vaupés, but is less evident on the Cuduiari, where native life and diet is still almost intact. As for the Cuduiari itself, the people at the mouth of the river, the higher-ranking *Hehénewa* sibs, seemed generally more sturdy, vigorous, and aggressive than the Indians who lived upstream.

Dr. Hamilton Rice, who explored the Vaupés in 1907–08, observed that the most physically powerful Indians came from the Cuduiari. He noted men who were six feet tall and over, strongly built with thick arms and powerful torsos. Actually somatological variability is considerable on the Cuduiari, ranging from marked mesomorphy to moderate ectomorphy. But this observation of mine is not based on measurements. Dr. Rice (1910) has published a physical description of the Cubeo based upon anthropometric observations. I quote from it:

> Their color is an olive brown corresponding to No. 4 of Broca's scale and seems invariable, a conclusion based on a comparison of the scale with many hundreds of subjects on parts of the cuticle least exposed to sun and pigmented decoration. The eye is dark, palpebral fissure narrow, not oblique, pointed at its external aspect, and the upper lid so heavy at times as to suggest the puffiness of oedema; but the eye by no means conforms invariably to so Mongolian a criterion, closely resembling the European eye in many other cases. The hair is black, lanky, coarse in the male, fine and glossy in the female. The faces are escutcheon-shaped and hairless, the chins rounded and receding, noses from straight and busque to hooked and Chinese flat types, region of cheek bones flat, lower lips large and inclined to turn slightly downward. The ears are not large, lobes absent or slightly devel-

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142 oped; heads of the brachycephalic type; though I have noticed cases of extreme dolichocephalic variations. Teeth are generally poor.

147 Dr. Rice also commented on the capacity of the Cubeo Indians for great exertion on a minimum of food and rest. I can corroborate this judgment. I accompanied Indians on canoe trips when we paddled for as long as 17 consecutive hours with little rest or nourishment other than a handful of manioc meal in water. There was usually no urgent necessity for such exertion or privation. The Indians cus-
[484] tomarily eat lightly when traveling, and if there is any chance of
[261] reaching home rather than camping out or imposing upon the hospitality of another sib they prefer to keep going. However, it was not unusual for strong young men to topple from their canoes in a dead faint upon reaching home. Revived by the river they scrambled
[157] ashore, secured the canoe, and entered the house with the appropriate vigorous air, effectively concealing their acute fatigue. It is in fact characteristic of the Cubeo to make light of their accomplishments and not to yield readily to physical weakness.

● 114 Ethnographically, the Northwest Amazon was first fully brought to light by Dr. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, ethnographer and museum collector. Koch-Grünberg's systematic survey of the region at the turn of the century covered all main tribes and their settlements along the principal rivers. He spent many weeks on the Cuduiarí among the *Hehénewa* sibs of the Cubeo, and ascended the Cuduiarí to the limits of its habitation (1909). His published reports are invaluable even though he never stayed long enough in one place to get a deep grasp of the culture. He was, however, an excellent observer and reported
114 fully on language, custom, and material culture. I did not read Koch-
127 Grünberg before going to the field so that my observations are totally independent. It is a source of satisfaction, therefore, that our observations agree closely on most details. Koch-Grünberg's information was deficient on social structure and ceremonial patterns. It is in these two respects that my study represents a carrying forward of the work he so ably began. I have drawn freely upon his published works to fill in gaps in my own information on the Cubeo and of course for the rich data on surrounding Tucanoan, Arawakan, and Cariban tribes.
114 His was the pioneering survey of the entire region, whereas mine is a relatively limited study of a single community. Koch-Grünberg died among the Indians of the Northwest Amazon in 1924, his ethnographic work prematurely cut off.

The first scientific observer to report on the Indians of the Vaupés was Alfred Russell Wallace (1870), who was there in 1853. While his interests were mainly those of the naturalist, he found Indian life to

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be interesting and he recorded tribal distributions and physical conditions of life as well as many customs. It is to Wallace that we owe the first report on mortuary endocannibalism among the Cubeo. Curiously, this information has never been properly authenticated. Wallace learned about it at second hand, as did Koch-Grünberg many years later. I observed what I thought to be this custom, but I could not verify that the bones being prepared for imbibing with chicha were human. The annoyance of the Indians when I accidentally came upon them while they were reducing bones to meal and pouring it into the chicha at the conclusion of a mourning ceremony led me to suspect that the bones were human. In response to my questions, however, no Cubeo would confirm my conjectures.

Wallace (1870, p. 354) traveled up the Vaupés to the mouth of the Cuduiarí River at the rapids of Uaracapurí, where he observed a community of several malocas. He did not enter the Cuduiarí, reporting only that to his knowledge no European had ever gone up that river. As for the Vaupés, this river, particularly in its Brazilian reaches, had in Wallace's time already become an important artery of European trade. Along the Isana River Wallace noted that the Indians were living in European-style dwellings. The Cuduiarí then had the reputation of a totally wild region. The Cubeo Indians seen by Wallace were still wearing large circular wooden plugs in their ears. By 1903, in the time of Koch-Grünberg, this form of male ornamentation had already been given up.

Curt Nimuendajú surveyed the Isana, Aiarí, and Vaupés rivers in 1927. In his notes, published posthumously in 1950, it is revealed that he correctly identified Tucano and Cubeo descent groups as patrilineal clans. He did not, however, enter the Cuduiarí, and his information on that river, being secondhand, is not too reliable.

My own field work on the Cuduiarí began in September 1939 and continued through June 1940. (Goldman, 1948, is a preliminary report.) The Cuduiarí had the advantage of being relatively accessible and as yet almost completely unacculturated. I decided upon the Cuduiarí after a survey of the Cubeo communities along the Vaupés.

## CULTURE CHANGE

Cubeo culture has been subjected to acculturative influences from two sources, one from other Indian tribes and the other from European, Colombian, and Brazilian missionaries, settlers, traders, and latex extractors. Cultural interchange among Indian tribes in the Northwest Amazon region is, of course, an old and intricate process,

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with its white residents, they had no reason not to regard it as a 177
friendly place. The *Comisaría* protected their labor rights, supervis- 648
ing terms of contract and entertaining their complaints of unfair treatment. When an Indian completed his term of labor he was "paid off" in the presence of an official in charge of Indian affairs. The Indians regarded the government as fair. The *Comisaría* provided medical aid to those Indians who came to seek it. At the same time it respected native life and interfered with the Indians as little as possible. Although the Cuduiarí is readily accessible from Mitú it was [114] entered only rarely by administrative personnel. When I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* some 15 hours by canoe from Mitú, I had the sense of total isolation from this administrative center. The normal everyday life on the Cuduiarí was completely Indian. In the time of Wallace there had been bad blood between Indians and Colombians, but by the time Koch-Grünberg arrived relations between the Cubeo and the government had already become peaceable.

In Mitú I met Mandú, headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib of the middle 122
Cuduiarí. He had come to seek medical treatment for his young son, 123
who had injured his knee in a fall. The headman and I became friends [614]
and he invited me to visit. When I promptly accepted his invitation I was surprised to find that he had already begun to build a house for me and that the Indians had expected me to settle among them. He had discussed the matter with his people, he told me later, and they had agreed that it would be good to have me live among them. The reasons for wanting me never became too clear, but I came to believe that they thought I would offer them some protection from the pressure of the labor recruiters.

I was informally "adopted" as the younger brother of Mandú. For 123
a while people were amused to address me by an appropriate kinship [597]
term. In time this jest lost its freshness and I came to be regarded simply as *pakomá* (kinsman). Nevertheless, I was considered to be a member of Mandú's household even though I had a house of my own alongside the maloca. Mandú sent his older wife, with whom he was no longer living, to serve as my cook. With Mandú's household I had all the privileges of informality. My relations with other households were friendly but more restrained. Since I did not contribute an appropriate share of fish and game to the household, or to the maloca as a whole, I felt obliged to reciprocate food and services with periodic gifts of cloth, tobacco, fishhooks, and ammunition. At one time during a drinking party at which I was not present, a son of Mandú distributed all my trade goods to the guests "in my behalf." However, during the period of many weeks when I no longer had trade goods

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123 my status in the community was as before. I still could count upon food and services.

[122] I participated to some degree in the male life of the community and came to learn the language and the culture as much by slow enculturation as by questioning. I had no principal informants because no 123 124 one would serve in that capacity. All were willing to talk, to explain matters to me, but only in the accustomed atmosphere of easy and genial chatter. The people I knew best and the household of Mandú, in particular, were paradoxically the poorest systematic informants. They were most impatient and most easily vexed with the informant role. They regarded the open notebook and the persistent line of questioning as counter to our relationship. For prolonged and probing investigations I called upon the head of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib. Even this man was a very patient informant only when he was my guest among the *Bahúkiwa*. On his home grounds we were back on small talk. In Mitú I could talk to Indian women more freely than I could on the Caduiari, where my relations with them had to be more correct. My house alongside the maloca was an informal social center which children and unattached women felt free to visit without invitation. The children taught me things they thought I ought to know about native customs. This was a privilege they had which adults, with their acute tactfulness about criticizing, intruding, or imposing upon others, could not exercise.

The Indians placed no serious obstacles in the way of my studies. They would not explain or discuss openly a ritual act at the time it was going on because to do so would be to counteract its effects. [831] They did not, however, mind answering questions later and in a more [521] general context. Moreover, they expected me to preserve the proprieties of tact in asking questions about domestic matters. Sex was a difficult subject, as were invidious comparisons. The Cubeo are not eager purveyors of gossip. After trouble had erupted in the open one could ask for and receive a discreet and sober account of some domestic difficulty. At the same time that the Indians imposed upon me their own reserve they were also sensitive to any evident disappointment when my questions went unanswered. Thus, if I persisted I often [831] could get an answer, but I had to follow protocol, since personal relations among adults are rich in decorum and social etiquette. I also had available to me the more informal channels of the play pack of children, which delighted in passing on some household gossip, as well as of-old women, whose verbal bawdiness was in marked contrast to the customary verbal restraint of the men on sexual matters.

● 114 I chose to stay in one community and to benefit from the intimacy

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that such an identification gives one. Had I chosen to move from one 114
sib to another I would have had a better account of the formal principles of social structure but at the expense of a knowledge of the patterns of cultural life. My choice of the *Bahúkiwa* among all the Cubeo sibs was partly, as I have explained, fortuitous, but the site, halfway up the Cuduiari, had its advantages in giving me some command of events along the entire river.

The reader, however, will understand that this study has a special 121
perspective. Although I have made some effort to present "Cubeo," 614
the point of view is unavoidably that of the *Bahúkiwa*, a low-ranking sib and perhaps even an alien sib of probable Macú ancestry. Strictly speaking, a Cubeo perspective can be only an artificial composite pieced together and generalized from the distinctive perspectives of each of its principal sibs. I would imagine that the Cubeo presented from the point of view of the *Hehénewa*, a high-ranking sib, would bring out somewhat more emphasis upon social status and upon the authority of the headman. One wonders how the Cubeo would appear if studied from the point of view of those of its sibs now along the Querari that were once Arawakan-speaking, or if studied from the point of view of those Cubeo-speaking sibs that now form one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

The theoretical position of a study is best understood from what 121
the writer does with the material. What he claims to be doing with it is far less important. My own theoretical viewpoint will emerge from the text and more explicitly from the final summation or conclusion. At this point it should be sufficient to say that my purpose is to present the Cubeo in terms of fundamental principles of social structure and in terms of basic cultural patterns. I have chosen a level of description and of analysis that lies between the idiosyncratic and the universal. The detailed account of person and of personal reaction is an example of the idiosyncratic, and the analysis of a culture as an apparatus for the satisfaction of "basic human needs" is an example of the universal. The idiosyncratic and the universal approaches are pancultural. One deals with individual responses that can occur in any society, the other deals with cultural functions that are true of all societies. The level of description chosen here is intended to set the Cubeo apart as a particular social and cultural type and yet to allow bases for cross-cultural comparison with other societies on its cultural level.

Finally, it is necessary to say that this study is incomplete. It had been my hope to do a restudy. When this hope did not seem realizable it was obviously better to submit an incomplete report on the Cubeo than not to submit one at all.

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiarí these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *raño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiarí proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. [514]
The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

342
The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a [796]
vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its [764]
great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food [252]
is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- [32]
factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- [517]
side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza
in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure
time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 342
way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 574
exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests 576
are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and
facing inward.

342
When I came among the *Bahúkina* they were on the upswing, hav- 622
ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had [114]
put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com-
partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was
75 feet long, 35 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof
extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the
work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is
carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction.
The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the
maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The
headman is known as *kenámi upákũ* (owner of the house). The house
is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority
of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo be-
lieve, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation- 342
ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578
Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592
is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook dis-
courtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that
such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are
acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one
sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will
move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community.
The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove
the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they
have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each [251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [417] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [614] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. [237] They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After [N4] the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaúeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 484 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 574 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for 602 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*vekú*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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462 simple basket is often a matter of several weeks. Every man has at
461 his side, so to speak, a number of unfinished objects which he hopes to get at before too long.

462 The sexual division of labor in manufactures is rather firmly main-
323 tained. I learned of few objects in use that were not made by a member of the proper sex. Young men are drawn to pottery making, but they may handle clay in a playful manner only. They make pots and dishes in strange shapes, working rather expertly. Such dishes are given to children as toys and are soon destroyed. Children, boys and girls, play with clay, making small animal or human figures and quickly destroying them. No permanent clay figures are ever made. Serious pottery work is an annual affair, undertaken by the women when the falling river has exposed the clay banks. All at once the women working together renew the household ceramic ware.

342 Manufacture is most often a group activity, and like all group ac-
[461] tivities is regarded by the Indians as a pleasurable recreation. The
[476] exception to this rule is perhaps housebuilding, which is often strenuous. Even then, when the exertion of the task has broken the spell of good feeling, the men stop and turn to another task. A large maloca can be a very long time in building. Among the *Bahúkiwa* a house begun when I arrived was not yet complete when I left almost a year later. A house must be built by a group working together not only for technical reasons, but in obedience to the principle that all who are going to live in it must work on it.

Building the communal house is a major technical and social enterprise. It tests the capabilities of the headman and the morale of the community. The true maloca is a solid structure built with great care, skill, and concern for details. Temporary houses may be slipshod in construction, but when a house is slipshod it is either clearly designated as temporary or it will be a cause of shame. Every
342 part of the house is built with the greatest care, but nothing reveals
284 more clearly the Cubeo concern for combining structural integrity and aesthetic design than the lashings that hold all the materials together. The most conspicuous lashings are those that bind the main beams. The builders start with temporary house posts and with temporary lashings. Finally, when the entire structure is in place, an expert lasher goes over the entire inner structure, replacing the beams and rebinding them in a consistent pattern, using carefully chosen
342 lianas. The Cubeo are painstaking in all crafts, but the maloca is
[114] their supreme creation. I was able to observe almost every stage in
[461] the construction of a maloca among the *Bahúkiwa*. I do not recall that a single bundle of roofing thatch was laid under pressure or

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# 3

## *The Sib*

614

The Cubeo sib is a unilineal descent group whose members regard themselves as being descended from common ancestors but cannot establish an actual genealogical relationship. Sibs are named, normally localized, exogamic, patrilineal, and patrilocal. They are bound into unnamed exogamic phratries within which they occupy an order of rank that expresses the sequence in which they emerged during their mythical first emergence. Sib members claim descent from the male of an ancestral brother-sister pair. Each sib bears a name that in some cases is the name of the sib founder, but in any case is the name of an Ancient, that is, an early ancestor. The first ancestors are called *Bekũpwänwa* (the Ancients). The sib is the center of the social structure, the focus and regulator of all main social, religious, and economic activities. It is the only true political unit since only a sib has a headman. A person's identification is only by sib. The strongest feeling that the Cubeo have for the sib is that it is a family in which the males show the strongest solidarity because they are the ones who live permanently together. The women never lose their sib identity, and when a married woman returns home, as a widow, divorced, or with a husband in tow, she may take up a position in the sib that is sociologically equivalent to that of a male head of household. She takes her place in the informal council of household heads and takes her turn in giving drinking parties to her sibmates.

[615] [622]

Since my study of the Cubeo sib system is incomplete, being based on information from a few sibs only, the principles of sib nomen-

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clature can only be hinted at and not definitely established. One principle, that of eponymy, seems to hold for sibs of high social standing. But my information on this point is limited to only one of the phratries. In this phratry, composed of sibs along the Cuduiarí and the Vaupés, the two top-ranking sibs bear the names of Ancients who were the very first men to emerge from the traditional emergence site. The founders of the *Órobawa* and of the *Aúnbwawü* were, respectively, *Órobakü* and *Aúnkü*.[1] These men, it is said, named all the other sibs of the phratry that emerged after they did. I could not discover the source of these names. They may have been from the genealogical list of the two top-ranking sibs, in accordance with the current principle that when a new sib is adopted into the phratry the adopting or sponsoring sib endows its members with names from its own genealogical list. However, Cubeo traditions suggest diverse origins for the sibs so that it is unlikely that a single principle will explain the sib names.

The first ancestors of the sibs, other than the top-ranking two, had names that were not the same as the sib names. The founder of the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, was *Bwü* (Agouti) and the founder of the *Hehénewa* was *Djurédo*, but later Ancients took as personal names the sib name itself, thus establishing in subsequent generations the principle of eponymy. In later generations, *Bahúkü* becomes a leading *Bahúkiwa* Ancient and *Hehénakü* a leading *Hehénewa* Ancient. Any Ancient may also be referred to generically by the sib name, so that one may speak of a specific *Bahúkü* or *Bahúko*[2] or of a generalized *Bahúkü* or *Bahúko*, meaning in the latter instance an Ancient man or woman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib.

A proper sib name must have some eponymous quality. Some sib names are descriptive, such as *Mánapwänwa*, meaning "Trail People," a derogatory reference to people who arrived on the Cuduiarí overland like the Macú instead of decently along the river by canoe. These people reject this name in favor of a subsib name which has the orthodox merit of having been bestowed by the founders of the phratry. Cubeo sib names are normally descriptive only insofar as personal names are descriptive. The legendary method by which the first sibs got their names from a higher-ranking source stands for the Cubeo as the model by which newcomers are brought into the phratry. An adopted sib is given a name that has in its stem the name of the adopting sib. All the sibs of the *Hehénewa* are differentiated by a descriptive prefix, while the sibs of the *Bahúkiwa* are differen-

[1] There is a full list of sibs following the present discussion.
[2] The suffix *kü* is masculine, *ko* is feminine.

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to the true emergence site of Uaracapuri, where they were received by the *Órobawa*, who bestowed upon them the name *Hehénewa*. This version would account for Koch-Grünberg's information that the *Hehénewa* are also known as *Ólaba-Hehénewa*. Another version suggests a closer relationship by making the point that the *Hehénewa* had wanted to emerge in the same place with all the others of the phratry, but because other sibs were hostile to them they came out instead at the Papurý and then journeyed to join their kin. A third version is simply that the *Hehénewa* and *Bahúkiwa* were once alien groups that joined into a confederation after the *Hehénewa* had befriended the *Bahúkiwa*.

The theme of hostility in the *Hehénewa* emergence was explained by informants in the following way. The first people were very fierce and those that came out of the emergence hole wanted to prevent others from emerging. The *Órobawa*, having come out first, made a hole for the others to come out of. Those they willingly allowed to come out formed with them one group. Those that came out despite opposition formed another. Subsequently both divisions were rejoined.

The *Pedíkwa*, a branch of the *Hehénewa*, also tell that they had been prevented by the hostility of the other sibs from emerging at Uaracapuri and so they emerged at the Papurý. They came out in the form of a single anaconda who cut himself into many parts, each of which became a parakeet (*kúdjuru*). The parakeets flew about looking for food and settled at a lagoon at *Yaibabü* near the Mitú *igarapes*, an affluent of the upper Cuduiari. After a time, they cut a path through the forest and arrived at *Pediwa*, a rock on the Cuduiari where they built a house and became the *Pedíkwa*. A more honorific version of this tale that the *Pedíkwa* also tell is that, having come to *Pediwa*, the site of a major rapids on the Cuduiari, they re-emerged. Since, they insist, they had never taken human form until they had re-emerged at *Pediwa*, they feel justified in claiming that rapids as a true emergence site and they have the distinction, therefore, of now residing, as does the *Órobawa* head sib, at an original emergence site. An unknown people, the tradition relates, had been living at *Pediwa*, now known as *Toidibü*. (Painted rocks – petroglyphs) but moved away when the *Pedíkwa* re-emerged.

The *Bahúkiwa* explain their relationship to the *Hehénewa* as follows: *Bwü* (Agouti), the Ancient of the *Bahúkiwa*, was leading his people from the Vaupés up into the Cuduiari when they encountered the *Byari-Hehénewa*, a now extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*. They fought and all the *Bahúkiwa* were killed except for one boy, who

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614 time and then have drawn to them new sibs from peoples speak-
619 ing the same as well as other languages. The Cubeo tribe, as we have
174 already observed, seems to be an aggregate of Tucanoan-speaking, Arawakan-speaking, and "Macuan"-speaking peoples. A particular sib that belongs to one tribe today may incorporate itself into another tomorrow.

614 It is possible that sib formation in the Northwest Amazon region
174 has been an outgrowth of this process of repeated assimilation of new groups. The reasoning behind this assumption is as follows: patrilocal extended families need only assert and maintain a tradition of common origin and then live up to the requirement of maintaining a firm group identity, within a confederation, to make the transition to sib or clan. The suggestion is, however, that sib formation cannot be accounted for merely by the growth of extended patrilocal families or by the enlargement of lineages — because of the ease of fission — but rather as a response to quite another process, that of confederation in which the identity of the joining segments is retained. A confederation of descent groups heightens the probability that all will defend their autonomy by asserting their identity of common descent.

## THE SIB AND PHRATRIC ORGANIZATION

614
615 The sibs are listed in approximate order of rank. This rank order
554 should be considered as provisional, since it represents mainly the
361 *Bahükiwa* view of sib rank.

### PHRATRY 1

*Órobawa* The leading sib: they still live at Uaracapuri on the Vaupés, the site of a rapids from which they first emerged. Their first male ancestor was called *Órobakü*. According to one version of the origin tale, he was the head of the anaconda from which all Cubeo are descended. He then named all the sibs of the phratry that followed after him. Koch-Grünberg identified them as *Ólaba-Hehénewa* and hence as a branch of the *Hehenewa*. Nimuendajú listed them as *Órobawa*. According to my in-
[114] formation, they are most closely linked with the *Hwáni-Hehénewa* and with the *Aúnwewa*, the easternmost or most downstream community of the Cubeo.

*Aúnbwawü* The second sib, occupying the next site upstream on the Vaupés at Urania. Their first ancestor was *Aúnkü*. Some informants said that *Aúnkü* was the last to emerge but was granted second place by *Órobakü*. In any case, their position on the Vaupés gives them second rank. They are regarded as very closely linked with the *Hehénewa*. In 1940 they were reduced to four households. Some had taken up residence

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at Pindaíva on the Cuduiarí. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambomamára* on the Cuduiarí, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiarí group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists. 614 615 554 361

*Hehénewa* In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiarí and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurý is known as *Wahúdja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Órobawa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Órobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapuri. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiarí, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiarí and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbuawü*. [114]

*Byá-Hehénewa* A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiarí.

*Wathariwa* The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbuawü*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uacurúwa*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umarí* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapuri falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

*Byá-Wathariwa* A subsib of the *Wathariwa* on the Vaupés.

*Urérariwa* Perhaps a subsib of the *Wathariwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

*Bahúkiwa* They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapuri falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Barü* and his sister was *Onpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiarí. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Borúwa*) who wandered into the Cuduiarí and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borúwa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borúwa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borúwa*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet. [563] [648] [186]

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 614 615 554 361 [101] [114]

associated with the *Kompainyewa*. Koch-Grünberg found them on the left bank of the Vaupés at a site called *Naibö*, where they were known in the *lingoa geral* as *Tokandira-Tapuyo*. He recorded their self-name as *Olá-Piaráwa*. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari.

*Pyéndo-Hehénewa* A dissident sib of the *Hehénewa* group, maintaining no friendly relations with the other *Hehénewa*. Their close sib ties are with the *Pedikwa* and the *Kenánikauwü*. They occupy several sites above Patú at the headwaters of the Cuduiari, the main maloca being at Querari *miri* (*Enpanáwe*). They are also at *Abúhudjo* on the Yurupari *miri* and are known also as *Pyéndokauwü*.

*Hwáni-Hehénewa* A *Hehénewa* subsib on the Vaupés at Paraná *picuna* and at Tukano *cachoeira*. Their origin site is *Impenáni* of the Uaracapuri *cachoeira* and they are, therefore, closely related to the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnwewa*, in contrast to the *Hehénewa* proper, whose emergence was actually on the Papurý.

*Aúnwewa* A subsib of the *Aúnbuwawü* on the Vaupés at *Upyaria* just above Mitú. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari and referred to them as *Aweéa*. They are also listed as a sib of a Tucano phratry. [114]

*Kompainyewa* Closely linked with the *Piaráwa*, they live at Pindaíva on the Vaupés just above Urania near the Yurupari falls. Their emergence site, however, is Uaracapuri.

*Abáxo-Hehénewa* A sib on the upper Querari mentioned by Koch-Grünberg, on which I have no information.

*Ambomamára* A sib on the Cuduiari mentioned by Nimuendajú, on which I have no information. From the name it would appear to be a subsib of the *Aúnbuwawü*.

*Byari-Hehénewa* An extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*, who had lived on the Cuduiari as well as at Uarúa Lake on the upper Vaupés. They were also known as *Byaridowa*.

*Papuli-Hehénewa* A sib living on the Cuduiari during the time of Koch-Grünberg's visit at Suriburoca but now extinct. They came from the Papurý and were closely linked with the Tucano tribe of the Tiquié River.

*Kenámbuawa* A sib on the upper Cuduiari, presumably a subsib, along with the *Kenánikauwü*, of the *Pedikwa*.

Phratry 1 consists of two divisions that represent distinct origins. 615 In the past these two divisions may have been intermarrying, because 554 even now, although the entire phratry is exogamic, informants dis- 614 agree as to the proprieties of intermarriage between the two divisions. The dominant division from the point of view of prestige and of numbers is known as *Yavímanawa* (Children of the jaguar) and includes the *Órobawa*, *Aúnbuwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, and their subsibs: *Byá-Hehénewa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, *Pedikwa*, *Kenánikauwü*, *Utciwaiwa*, *Pyéndo-Hehénewa*, *Hwáni-Hehénewa*, and *Aúnwewa*. The second division has no name and consists of the *Bahúkiwa* groups, the *Piaráwa*, and the *Kompainyewa*.

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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabawũ* on the Querarí.

*Yániwa* A sib at the mouth of the Querarí. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querarí as *Dyaniwa*.

*Yokóhũbewũ* A sib on the lower Querarí.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

*Batóua* Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapes*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querarí. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

*Ilhéadowa* A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiari, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiari, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *parand* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari.

*Káua* A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiari. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoiera*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querarí and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiari near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

## THE BORÓWA

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

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## PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

593 604 [601] The Cubeo distinguish between father and father's brothers, but do not distinguish between mother and mother's sisters. The term *bakũdyó* means "like a father."[2] This distinction conveys rather precisely the actualities of the relationship. Relations between fathers and sons (the daughters are linked in household duties with the mother) are intimate, and one important sign of intimacy is the privilege that a youngster has of taking food from his father before it is brought into the maloca or into the individual household. Boys value this privilege enormously when they are preadolescent. Without a father a boy will be fed by his father's brother but will lack this privilege with food that he had with his own father. The relationship between paternal uncle and nephew is a strongly supportive one, but with restraint in it. A boy does not take or handle objects belonging to his father's brother without permission. With his father's possessions he has the same freedom as with the possessions of his sibmates of his own generation.

593 601 604 [587] [595] 593 [601] [595] Parents and children share an exclusive set of kinship terms and thereby set themselves apart from the fraternal joint family. Even though mother and mother's sister are equated, a woman distinguishes, as does her husband, between her own and her sister's children. The equation of mother and mother's sister is normal clan usage in a classificatory system. Among the Cubeo, this equation is not related either to the sororate or to sororal polygyny. It would seem to correspond rather to the principle of generalizing relationships that are less important and differentiating very sharply relationships that are most important. With respect to the term for "mother," this is not to say that the actual relationship between children and mother lacks real importance, but only that from the point of view of patriliny of the sib the incoming females, such as mothers, are less important. Actually, the feeling for one's own mother is very strong, not only on the part of the daughters but on the part of the sons too. In a polygynous household the sons of the same mother share a close link with one another; and as we have

[114]

[2] Koch-Grünberg, who stayed with a *Henínewa* group at the mouth of the Cuduiarí, reported that father and father's brother were equated, as were mother and father's sister (1909, II, 8a). Since he did not use the genealogical method it is likely that he was in error with respect to both reported usages. The equation of mother with father's sister controvenes, of course, the patriliny of the sib. On the other hand, the grouping of father and father's brother is conceivable since the distinction between *bakũ* and *bakũdyó* is not great for the Cubeo. In calling attention to this difference of information I should add that the nature of the Cubeo tribe is such that variations in minor usages are perhaps to be expected.

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593 to his father for personal attention. On the whole, a child is at a greater disadvantage if it has lost a parent of its own sex, that is, a girl with a stepmother, a boy with a stepfather. A girl with a stepmother has a hard life of chores and of open neglect. A boy with a stepfather does not have a hard life at all in the material sense. He is deprived more subtly of intimacy with a paternal figure, and this usually shows itself in his own reserve with respect to his fellows. If he has no father at all the effect upon his personality is even more marked.

593 736 [597] My direct acquaintance with the situation of a true orphan is limited to the observation of one case among the *Bahiikiwa*. This was a girl from another tribe who had lost both parents and was adopted by the *Bahiikiwa* headman as his "daughter." The little girl, about nine, was addressed as "daughter" but held the status in the household of a servant. She took on the heaviest chores and was almost never free to play. Her lowly status was truly stigmatized by [301] her lack of possessions. She was the only child among the Cubeo [123] whom I had ever seen unadorned, until I gave her a necklace which she was allowed to keep. The children of the household enjoyed beating her as a way of teasing her, rather than wickedly. She took their pinchings and cuffings good-naturedly, on the whole, and had learned to pretend not to notice. Once, in the presence of the headman, her "father," the children were overdoing their teasing. She looked imploringly at the headman. Finally, she caught his eye and he said to her, "It is all right for you to run away." He saw no need to reprimand his own children.

[114] In reading Giacone (1939) on the Tucano tribe I found my observations on orphans corroborated. He, too, reported that orphans do not lack food but that they appear to be melancholy.

## CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP

572 193 A parallel to the brother-sister relationship is the *hikū-hiko* relationship, a ceremonial friendship. These terms, formed by combining the possessive prefix with the gender suffix, connote a relationship of exceptional closeness. The linguistic significance of possessive prefix and gender suffix for kinship terms has already been brought out. The curious feature of *hikū* and *hiko* is that these terms are composed of the two intimate-indicating particles.[8] The ceremonial

[8] *Hi* is also the verb stem "to give," but if *hikū* were translated as "giver"—a feasible rendering—it should be possible to say *hihikū*. But this form does not exist.

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 619 583 584 574 [614] [114]

marriage. These suspicions are not overcome even though they may already have affinal kin in the other tribe.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, I was witness to some of the events of the full cycle of an exchange marriage involving the neighboring Tucanoan-speaking *Tatúyo*. The opening wedge for this marriage was made by a *Bahúkiwa* woman who had married a *Tatúyo*. One day she reappeared among the *Bahúkiwa* with her husband and young children and settled down for a long wait. She was given a manioc garden and her husband devoted himself to making household implements for the wife of the headman. The headman had two marriageable daughters and two marriageable sons, to each of whom had been assigned, in the traditional manner, a sister whom he would exchange for a bride. One of the daughters, the elder, was very attractive, vivacious, flirtatious, and ardently desired by many young men. She had been married and divorced several times and was accused of having aborted, or killed at birth, several of her offspring. Because she was headstrong and not very industrious, sober-minded folk regarded her as a poor choice for a bride. Nevertheless, she was assigned to the older son, a very capable young man who showed every promise of becoming a headman. By seniority his was to be the prior marriage. Among the Cubeo the problem is to have the sons marry in proper age sequence and not the daughters. The *Bahúkiwa* visitor stated her opinion that such a girl needed a *Tatúyo* as a husband. "A *Tatúyo* could tame her," she said. The *Tatúyo* indeed had a reputation for ferocity because at the time they were still at war with the whites. By contrast with the Cubeo, those I saw were sullen and certainly appeared to be far more aggressive. She added that the *Tatúyo* also had many fine young girls, girls who had not been spoiled by contact with whites. The headman had no sooner grasped the possibilities of such a marriage for his undisciplined older daughter than a party of *Tatúyo* appeared to visit their fellow *Tatúyo*, who, they remarked jokingly, had lived away for so long that they now thought of him as a *Bahúkiwa*. It was a "large" party of eight men of warrior age. They came in two canoes. They were quartered among the various households and they stayed for several weeks, showing great skill in hunting, fishing, and in making implements. No one spoke marriage; but the signs were soon evident in the flirtatiousness of the daughters of the headman and two of the *Tatúyo* youths. When the *Tatúyo* announced that they were now ready to go home, a drinking party was quickly arranged as a farewell. When the *Tatúyo* party had left, it was discovered that the younger daughter was missing and that the older sister, whose "elopement" was taken [582]

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beat her "abductor" with sticks or with their bare hands. His own companions aid him, and if the girl is willing, they get to the canoe landing with no serious damage. This display of ceremonial violence satisfies two Cubeo doctrines, one that affinal sibs are "hostile" and the other that a woman will not leave her sib by her own volition but must be torn from it by brute force. There is also a third notion, namely, that a man be strong enough to capture a bride. I heard many accounts, perhaps apocryphal, of fainthearted striplings who could not bring home a bride. Such stories are often told to tease young bride seekers. 583 585 614

Father Giacone (1949, p. 21), who studied the Tucano tribe, reported no courtship and no marriage ceremony but did note forcible seizure of the bride. Father Giacone's information does suggest some variation in practice among the Tucano. There, the bride is not seized by the groom but by the groom's father, who has been accompanied by some men. They pretend they have come to purchase a canoe. In the midst of their visit for this purpose they carry off the girl and bring her home, unmolested, to the waiting groom. Often, he notes, this is the first time they have met. The girl is timid and retiring, he reports, and the women undertake to cheer her up by inviting her to accompany them on their labors. When the bride begins to work with satisfaction at all her tasks the marriage is considered settled. Some weeks later her parents come to reclaim her and the groom hides her. Her parents are given presents if she is unwilling to return home. At a later visit they repay with gifts of their own. 184 583 585 [114]

In general, Tucano and Cubeo marriage practices are alike; the most striking difference is in the fetching home of the bride. Cubeo notions of manhood would be offended at the notion that the father should bring a bride home for his son.

Among the Cubeo, the early stages of marriage are almost invariably difficult for the young couple. They are barely acquainted and the husband is expected to show his wife only the barest semblance of affection so as not to interfere with his mother, whose role it is to assimilate the young bride into her household as a replacement for the "lost daughter." The bride enters her mother-in-law's service, working with her in the manioc garden and in the preparation of manioc. Doing all the chores that she has done as an unmarried girl in her own community but under a strange woman, she is understandably disappointed, even though she is received very warmly. She is immediately locked in a conflict with her mother-in-law for her freedom. The issue is the manioc garden. A woman wants her daughter-in-law to help her in her garden and the daughter-in-law, 585 593 606

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Plural marriages are uncommon only because they are not convenient. 595
Polygyny is usually limited to the headman. Two wives (I never heard 622
of any man having more than two wives at the same time) are regarded as suitable for a headman, first because he has the personal qualities to sustain a complex household and second because the maloca will be more orderly if two women are responsible for looking after it. A headman's prospects for getting two wives are enhanced somewhat, since he will almost certainly have had a sister assigned to him as an exchange for his first wife, and his prestige and perhaps affluence will help him get a wife through bride price alone. Brother-sister exchange is preferred, to be sure, but circumstances are such that an enterprising man will find many other ways of getting an additional wife from among widows, divorcées, and orphan children. He will not, however, marry a woman, either widow or divorcée, who has been brought to his community as a wife by a sibmate. A man may well have a surplus sister. These opportunities are available to all men, but it is the headman who is most likely to seize upon them. Koch-Grünberg, noting the common occurrence of polygyny along [114] the Vaupés, commented that plural marriages were harmonious. From what I observed and from what I heard I have a very different impression. Polygynous households are rather turbulent.

If a man has two wives, he must prepare two clearings and set each 595
up in her own household. Even so, my informants told me, the wives quarrel and bear tales against one another to the husband, accusing one another of laziness. The first wife taunts her colleague as being a mere second wife. The second retorts that she would not have been chosen if the husband had really cared for the first wife. Since men take it for granted that women are an unruly element they expect wives to quarrel. A headman, however, should be able to manage [622] them, it is believed.

One man told me that after he had married his present wife he 593
was offered a girl for bride price alone – a shotgun and cloth – and 595
so for three years he maintained a polygynous household. He then [583]
decided that it would not work. At first the new wife refused to garden and urged him to come and live at her sib. They did this for a time and he left his first wife at home with their children. After a year he returned with the second wife. He made a large clearing and divided it into two parts, assigning each to one wife. His first wife, he said, cultivated her part but the second did nothing and just sat about the house. One day she departed and he did not chase her. He claimed that he did not understand why she had left since he had not forced her to do anything she did not wish to do.

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622 571 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in 433 other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 The two terms, *habókü* and *kenámi upákü*, meaning, respectively, 554 a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókü* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákü*, [592] on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókü* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókü*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókü* attributes. Thus 622 not all headmen qualify as *habókü*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, 614 such as the *Órabawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and 554 those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókü* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókü* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókü* as headman. Not every *habókü* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the head- [701] man. In time of war the *habókü* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

622 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókü* include, first, 614 a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an arma- 554 dillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial head- 301 dress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not 292 privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókü* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókü*. The *Bakúkiwa* define *habókü* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókü*.[1]

[114] [565] [1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

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There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grünberg was told the same thing (1909, I, 264). One is also told that other people have powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this, but Koch-Grünberg, who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desanas had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grünberg that great chiefs ruled along the Papurý and Tiquié rivers. When he got there he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now. 643 622 114

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grünberg notes that the headmanship is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it that the house is kept in order; and if he leaves for any length of time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took him seriously. Koch-Grünberg had the impression, however, that the oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a headman. 622 171 [888] [554]

## LAW AND JUSTICE

With respect to the administration of justice and of order the headman is no magistrate. He is a mediator, a counselor, and often a persuasive advocate of his own views. It is the entire adult community that must reach a decison. The headman provides for orderly discussion until a decision is reached. Within the sib a primary objective of the headman's efforts is to smooth over difficulties, calm tempers, and restore the atmosphere of congeniality. There are, however, serious breaches of the peace, such as sorcery, persistent adultery, chronic and malicious theft of food, and murder when punishment is called for. In such cases the aim of the headman is not to calm 622 627 [614]

754 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the
694 hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle
[756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man
[622] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The headman is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused if he can refute the charges.

## WARFARE (*bwaíno*)

721 People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one
[615] another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently ex-
[614] changed wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from Querari killed Hühû, an old *Bahûkiwa* who was then living at Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the Querari, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants, and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a plundering raid. When they killed Hühû and others in his house they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for
[614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a
[648] *Hehénawa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cuduiari; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban, Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas raided the Cuduiari annually during the dry season, when they could move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war
[114] alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert.
[723] I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

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593 553 603 789 (604) father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihi*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

553 (114) (614) (574) 553 603 593 (856) (826) (775)

553 614 533 (114) (124) (184) Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urâhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

553 614 533 539

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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852 831 [887] [614] task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen [881] [833] intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; offi- [844] cially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, [821] a prepubescent girl is referred to as *painwe bebiko* (one who has not [881] yet copulated with the moon).

881 The pubescent girl (*pupiini*: one who is blown)[2] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, [514] through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she [826] will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To [515] develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that [302] creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me [515] see how much pain you can stand."

[302] At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is [574] held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

• 114 881 When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. 756 Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father 881 Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

881 After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[2] She is also known as *nominyaiwi* (becoming a woman).

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The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were all attributed to human sorcery so that I have no information on the 763
Cubeo response to natural death or to death attributed to spirits. 754
Mourning is extensive but does not impose unusually onerous duties 76
or restrictions upon the survivors. Mourning goes through three 114
phases. In the first, from the moment of death to burial, which follows quickly, the immediate kin and all sibmates yield to their spontaneous emotions, but up to a point, for the ritualization of emotion sets in quickly. In the second, which is the period from burial to the great mourning ceremony, the nearest female kin of the household – wife, mother, sister – accept the burden of mourning. Finally, in the third phase, the entire living cosmos of the Cubeo – people, Ancients, birds, beasts, fish, insects, and demons – join in the mourning. This third phase, an intricate ceremony, is described in a separate chapter. The dead, as already indicated, are buried be- [182]
neath the dance floor of the house, emphasizing, it seems to me, the importance the Cubeo place on the house itself rather than upon mere locality.

I was present at the last hours of old João, a *Bahükiwa* and *bakūdyó* 763
of the headman. He had been ill for several weeks, the medicine men [114]
had given up on him, and his death was, therefore, not unexpected. The Cubeo are not solicitous of the dying. Once its inevitability has been accepted death is awaited almost with indifference. Father Giacone (1949, p. 29), speaking for the neighboring Tucano, also observed that once the illness appears to be fatal the patient is given up for lost. Such patients, he adds, will be buried alive. When death seemed near – the old man was breathing with difficulty with a dry rasp – his wife took up the death watch at his hammock. At the moment of death her loud wailing awakened the house and all rushed to surround the hammock except the headman and his wife. Since it [622]
is the duty of the headman to preside over the inquest that follows upon the first outburst of grief he must plan upon a properly timed arrival. A shaman of another sib who was in the house also did not intrude upon the mourners, both in his role as shaman and as a sib outsider.

The old woman, truly grief-stricken, had embraced her dead husband's body in the hammock and rocked over it, moaning and wailing. She withdrew, however, when the younger brother of João arrived. He felt for the heartbeat and then covered the old man's face with some rags that had been the sick man's blanket. The women had all gathered to one side of the hammock and they wept continuously, chorusing the loud and emphatic wailing of the widow. The 764
brother fetched his shotgun, moving slowly and grimly. He loaded

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the Ancients. In the naming and in the mourning ceremonies specific ancestors are invoked by name and by specific kinship reference, as the mother or the grandmother of the sib. In the case of postcoital connubial bathing the ancestors are not invoked either by name or by spell; the bathers merely participate in their magical presence in the river. Some cult activities are secret, others are not. The rule of secrecy applies to the flutes and trumpets. These bear the names of ancestors and may not be seen by women. However, whenever these instruments appear, a specific ceremonial role is assigned to the women. In the whipping rites, which are also initiation rites for boys, the women receive gifts of fruits and berries in the name of the Ancients. In the mourning rites the ancestor trumpets sound their notes of grief, to which the women respond with wailing of their own. That is, when the Ancients enter the maloca they naturally establish a relationship with the women of the house. On the other hand, when the Ancients' blessings are invoked, but without the ancestral presence, the women have no part in the proceedings. The women are ignored during the naming ceremony and during the recitation of the sib mythology. Basically, the ancestral cult belongs to the men. When the boys are shown the hiding place of the flutes and trumpets and are taught their names they are being initiated into a male cult and are drawn fully, thereby, into their roles as sibmen. The social function of the initiation is twofold: to complete the separation of the boy from his mother and align him with his father and his father's brothers, and to draw him from the immaturity of the play pack into the mature company of men. We may speak of these rites, therefore, as *rites de passage* as well, bearing in mind, however, that the passage is a long and gradual one. The Cubeo emphasis with respect to the development of the male is not that he suddenly crosses a dividing line from boyhood to manhood but that he grows. The magic of the initiation ceremony is a magic of growth. Growth magic, it will be recalled, occurs at three stages in a boy's development: at birth, after a year when he receives his name, and then for a series of years after he has entered the play pack.

For a fuller understanding of the Cubeo cult of *Bekîlpuãnua* one would need to know more about corresponding ceremonies among neighboring tribes. Curiously, no other ancestral cult has been reported for the entire Northwest Amazon. Koch-Grünberg, whose knowledge of the tribes of the region extended over many years, did not mention any ancestral doctrines even though he had lived for several months with the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiari. But like others who have studied this region his investigations were surely led astray

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769 171 by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and
[114] Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[2] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involv-
769 534 171 ing the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kówni* (*Kíiwni*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are
[241] quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries during the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano In-
[881] dians, where sacred horns are used in the initiation of young boys,
[184] the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and
[552] agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as tamed animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral cult (Ypiringa Monteiro, 1960).

769 171 As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Cágaba (Park, 1946), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921–23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1948), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may
769 534 speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic
194 whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among
534 elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[2] Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekeboikelehapuiwe*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.

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# 10

## *The Mourning Ceremony*

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bahúkiwa* subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Uménahonkü* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *ohwinu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day ceremonies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. The three-day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

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765 534 114 769 [773] for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 786 [154] The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual [536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate 765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, 266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion [775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the substance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presum- [614] ably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 562 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritual- [786] ized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 765 [776] The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaíwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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its inevitable crescendo of excitement and disorder, dances and songs are interchanged.

In the course of the ceremonies, the relationship between the nonhuman world of the masked representations and the people, represented by the women, becomes increasingly more intimate, culminating, as we have already noted, in the total intimacy of coitus. The spirit of Cubeo ceremonialism is generally Dionysian. In religious excitement the Cubeo achieve a desired and temporary dissolution of the segmentation and conceptual separatenesses in normal social and religious life.

Koch-Grünberg (1906a), who observed part of an *óyne* in 1903 among the *Hehénewa*, saw in the masked dances two themes, an appeasement of evil spirits and fertility rites. My own information does not agree entirely with this interpretation. It is a fact that several of the masked dancers represent malevolent beings; the jaguar, that is the embodiment of the dreaded sorcerer, the butterfly, that symbolizes the act of sorcery, and the *abúhuwa* or forest monsters, that devour human victims. In addition the masked dancers represent the dung beetle and the vulture, eaters of offal and carrion. These creatures represent to the Cubeo the facts of death. Except for the *abúhuwa*, who are not taken too seriously, the most common agency of death is to the Cubeo a particular human enemy. Evil sorcery can be warded off by particular magical means. The masked dances, however, are not magical means for warding off danger. They are, rather, dramatic rituals whose purpose is to generate a frame of mind in which the fact of death is confronted and made to appear natural and tolerable. By coming to the house as guests, to dance, to sing, to drink chicha, and to "copulate" with women, the masked creatures are made to appear, finally, as a friendly part of the Cubeo world. The malevolent creatures are not singled out, but appear in the context of the whole ensemble of masked dancers.

As for the fertility theme, this has been a cherished cliché of earlier anthropology that promptly labeled any ritualization of sex as "fertility rites." The situation is more complex. The dancers do indeed represent male potency, but the simulated coitus emphasizes rather the carnal aspect of sex, for it is the older women, possessing the privilege of obscenity, whom the masked dancers "attack sexually."

## THE MASKS

The dance masks of the Cubeo are made of a white bark cloth called *tówü* (tree bark), which is also the name by which the masks are generically known.

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masks are generically known. Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has argued that they are sacred, citing as evidence that after the ceremonies the masks are burned. Many masks, however, are spared at the insistence of children who wish to play with them, and some masks are spared and used as storage sacks. Sanctity, I would say, is attached to individual masks, and is the sanctity of the being represented and not of the mask itself. Women, it is true, do not handle the masks, not out of taboo but rather out of the feeling that the masks are in the masculine domain. The masks represent spirits who are called generically *takahédekokũ* (bark-cloth spirits). These spirits are visible only to the shaman.[3] All masks have a common basic shape, a large triangular sack that fits over the head and covers the body to the knees. Armpits are always cut out, and sleeves that come below the elbow are sewn in. The bottom of the skirt is stiffened with a circular hoop, and sleeves and skirt are hung with bark fringes. The masks have a head section, a middle section, and a bottom part. The head section is ordinarily painted with a face design that has eyes and a nose but not necessarily a mouth. Two eye holes and a nose hole are sometimes torn through for the wearer's convenience and do not correspond to the painted design. In some masks the head section is soft and in others it is surmounted by a calabash, painted brown or black, depicting a skull top; or the calabash itself has a face design painted on it and depicts, therefore, the face. The middle section is divided into several panels, half of them at the front and half at the rear. Each panel is painted in a geometric pattern that depicts the characteristic body features of the being that is to be represented. Fish, for example, have scale designs, and birds and flying insects wing designs. These designs are painted with great care by men who are particularly proficient. They follow traditional forms rather casually, however, each artist giving his own interpretation. The Cubeo do not quibble about the details of design. The fact is that no one can identify a particular representation with certainty without knowing who has made it. Only some of the masks, such as Jaguar, Butterfly, and *Abúhuwa*, are distinctive enough to be immediately recognizable. These masks, incidentally, also seem to be the most important.

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The use of ceremonial masks is common enough in South America, as Professor Alfred Métraux (1948) has observed, but we have as yet little information as to their meaning, nor do we know their full distribution. What is certain, though, is that masked cults have

[3] Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has observed that while the animal represented may be harmless, the spirit itself is magically powerful.

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535 765 danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and 765 fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from 533 that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, [114] when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they [534] were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The [171] song I recorded was:

[539]

*yavirárü yavirákü* [repeated]
*yavirárü maníka*
*yavirárü ya*
*ho ho ho o ho.*

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákü* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg [171] collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiarí River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yavi*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

532 765 The mask of Butterfly (*Taidrako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip 535 arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, 765 often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kavirè kavirè* and is not the 532 same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiarí.
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765 Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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a dwarf pair, several pairs of giants, a great owl demon, and two kinds of *abúhuwa*. I saw three *Abúhuwa*. The *Abúhuwa* are made to appear grotesque. Their masks are of coarse brown bark cloth and, unlike any other dancer, they sometimes wear bark-cloth trousers. One Indian said to me rather maliciously, "They are like the white man." One of the *Abúhuwa* not wearing trousers had large flapping breasts of bark cloth and was a "wife." The headpiece has a calabash to form a face painted with human features. The masks are intended to be as grotesque as possible. Since the *Abúhuwa* act clownishly, they induce in the spectators only mock alarm. The *Abúhuwa* have no song of their own and no fixed dance. They are free to improvise. There are two kinds of improvisation: wild when young men impersonate them, and listless and lolling when acted by old men. While the Jaguars act to build up a sense of violence, the *Abúhuwa* work to create disorder. Thus, no masked dancers will enter the women's quarter through the rear or women's door except the *Abúhuwa*. They burst in through the rear door, hopping in short strides as though they were on pogo sticks. They interfere with dances and perform a number of amusing skits.

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The Dung beetles (*Keratamówa*) are a pair. The masks have a white facepiece with a pair of eyes, or sometimes with no features at all. The body design includes the wide bars of the insect's body flanked by lozenge designs on each side. The headpiece is surmounted by a short hourglass-shaped tube of splints and bark cloth. They dance holding hands. Each holds a short stick. In a dance Koch-Grünberg saw, they pushed along another stick on the ground in imitation, he noted, of their work as cleaners. I saw them holding their short sticks before them like wands. Their dance is a slow movement, forward and back. The songs recorded by me and by Koch-Grünberg are not the same.

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The Carrion vulture (*Kavá*) wears a mask with human features, although Koch-Grünberg saw one that he described as "naturalistic." The main design consists of very large lozenges (to depict the large feathers of the bird) flanked by horizontal bars suggesting outspread wings. The Carrion vulture carries a short stick held against the back of his neck, its ends extending over his shoulders, where his upraised hands hold it in place. The dancers bow gracefully from the waist to suggest the bird's soaring flight.

The Aracú (*Borikakü*) are usually represented in their several varieties. The headpiece is built up to a high peak made of splints covered with bark cloth in an hourglass design. The Aracú dance slowly, in pairs, and hold hands. Each carries a ten-foot pole bear-

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"*Dekóků*[7] has punished you." Then other people came and wrapped the boy in his hammock, put him into a large jar, and buried him in the house. No one wept. After three days an old man began to think what people should do about death. They decided to have an *óyne*. They made dance masks. At first they did not know how to make bark cloth so they made masks of leaves. *Kúwai* came and told them this was not good. In one day *Kúwai* made all the bark-cloth masks for the people. They did not know how to paint the masks and *Kúwai* showed them how. They gathered red pigment and carbon soot, and by midday the masks were all finished. *Kúwai* climbed the duka tree. At the top he cut off the bark and brought it down to make the fringes for the skirt and sleeves. The people then divided the maloca into a men's and women's part. In the men's part an old woman sat down to sing. But soon the real *Xudjiko* came along singing and the people were frightened. But *Kúwai* said, "Don't be afraid. This old woman is *Xudjiko*, who has come to help you weep." The old lady ran away and *Xudjiko* took her place. Then *Kúwai* said, "When other people die do the same thing. Weep for a short time only." He told them to dance and sing. When they had finished *Xudjiko* went away. She no longer comes. Instead they make a horn.

765 539 [532] 765 769 539

*Xudjiko* and her consort live at Uaracapuri, the source of the Cubeo. They were the first of the Ancients to die and they were the first to make the bark-cloth masks. The headpieces of the masks are set with feathers; the most prominent vertical feather is said to represent *Xudjikü* and the most prominent horizontal feather is said to represent *Xudjiko*.[8]

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## RITUAL THEMES IN THE *ÓYNE*

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The five main sets of characters in the *óyne* each represent then one major ritual theme: the women represent weeping; the masks, the concern of the living world for the deceased as well as for the living; the minnows, the boisterous character of young men;

[7] The term means "ghost" or "spirit" but it has here the connotation of "Great Spirit." However, since I did not learn of a Cubeo belief in a Great Spirit the allusion is puzzling, and is to be considered as unexplained. [776] [114]

[8] The apparent inconsistency between this account and the previous one referring to *Kúwai* illustrates two strands in Cubeo mythical thought. One strand, nonancestral, focuses on *Kúwai*, a figure of the Arawakan tribes. The other strand is ancestral and is, perhaps, truly Tucanoan. The Cubeo do not reconcile both strands. The question of which version is produced depends on the context, which may be either general or ancestral. [114]

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The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth 574
day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing 576
the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep [152]
once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

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One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. [535]
At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial [534]
paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

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That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening 535
include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, [533]
*kenadjü marié kenadjü pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. 765
As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and 535
leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the 786
dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has [531]
become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the 765
following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted 775
to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first 266
of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have 114
been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853[10] and that

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[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the 765
funeral, disenter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a 184
great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most 266
horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

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765 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I ob-
775 served the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around
266 him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an
114 urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away.
Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in
824 the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. There-
783 after, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for
775 at least another generation.

532 MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *ÓYNE*

765 Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons
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|---|---|---|
| 1. *Makuko* | (K-G)[a] | A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun. |
| 2. *Kohako* | (K-G) | Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them. |
| 3. *Hailako* | (K-G) | A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand. |
| 4. *Palutxiko* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 5. *Anauako* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 6. *Abúhuwa* | (K-G:IG)[b] | Forest demons. |
| 7. *Hokoaboxoko* | (K-G) | Giant tree demons. |

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

171 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of
184 caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe
266 that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wal-
lace, 1870, p. 498).

765 Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéos. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabucuris, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enrivant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'energie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 173).

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yaví* or *pariékokü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yaví*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yaví*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvaíyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhókükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenádox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhókükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuriákü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvaíyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenádox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kuriákü* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kúria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kúria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the insertions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kúria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*duwáiyo*) and crystals (*kenádox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *duwáitüwü* (to extract spines). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the poisons that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *yaví*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *yaví*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



safeguards sib solidarity. On the other hand, when the disputants are of different sibs it is relatively easy for the issue to embroil the sibs as entities and correspondingly difficult to confine the issue to the actual principals. The fiction of phratric consanguinity notwithstanding, the sib is still, in Cubeo thought, a natural unit that holds within itself the constant potentiality of antagonism toward the fellow sib. The fact that each sib arrives at a drinking party or other ceremony armed and as a unit is the symbolic expression of latent antagonism. The ritual theme of dissolving the semblance of sib unity through intoxication is presumably counteractive to sib solidarity and antagonism. Yet this counteraction via intoxication contains the paradox of bringing the undercurrents of antagonism to the surface. To be sure, when a quarrel occurs in the late stages of a drinking party it often is isolated because the other sibmen may not be fully aware of what is going on. The safety device does work, to a degree and for a time. Moreover, some men are known to be quarrelsome by temperament and are consequently ignored. Granted all these mitigating circumstances, it is easy for a man to involve his own sib in a dispute with another. When illness and death occur, one conclusion is inevitable. That is found in the expression "*they* want *us* to die." This theme recurs in the funeral orations. Perhaps it is because the Cubeo sibs have a history of separate though related origins and a tradition of past antagonisms that present-day intersib hostility can flare, and is expected to flare, even though the issues that disturb them are, at bottom, trifling. However, in conformity with the minor nature of the disputes is the absence, in recent times, of intersib warfare. The disputes result in coolness and social distance and not in organized fighting. In summary, phratric unity is readily disturbed but never very seriously. It is restored by the process described under "Periodicity." It is because the issues are not irreconcilable that the social "governor" that restores peace by separation can work so well

571 614 578

The orbit of the sib has the same general form as the orbit of the phratry, with the formal difference that the sib has a leader whereas the phratry has no leadership at all. In the sib, moreover, all the ties are substantially firmer than in the phratry. Since the cultural view holds that sib unity is a natural expectation and since there are no important issues dividing sibmates, we are faced with a truly difficult theoretical problem in accounting for sib fission. The common explanation, that fission of local groups in simple societies is due simply to insufficiency of food in the immediate locality, does not apply to the Cubeo, who, at least in modern times – a period of population decline – are not confronted by land shortage. There is, in

571 614 615 578

571 578 182 (114)

*El Diablo*

Mitú had met his death with two of his Indians when their canoe overturned. 122
The upper reaches of the river have a gentler gradient, passing through softer sandstones instead of the hard igneous rocks of the lower course. Nonetheless we soon had to negotiate our first rapids. To the uninitiated eye it seemed impossible to pass through, but Candilo, after one false attempt when the motor stalled, took the half-loaded *Vencedor* skilfully through the jutting boulders. Donald followed with our smaller motor powering the loaded *El Diablo*, her bows nosing into the frothing water and the waves breaking over the fuel drums. This was our first rapid; we had no idea that we would have so many more to negotiate before the end of our journey. Brian examined the rocks, chipping off pieces, looking at them through a lens and packing samples away for our geological collection. Then we lashed the canoes together as fast as possible and continued to creep along the banks, eating our lunch of dry biscuits and *farinha* – a thirst-quenching mixture of manioc flour and water, the Indian's habitual meal when travelling.

The tropical sunset is swift, with no extended twilight, and so by five-thirty each day we had to stop travelling and quickly find a break in the forested bank where we could make camp. Our boats tied and the cooking equipment ashore, we set about cutting a clearing. Horacio was a cook *par excellence*. Years of travel had taught him that the most efficient stove was to be made from a tall biscuit tin; you made your fire at the bottom and placed the pressure cooker on the top. We were eating our diet of rice and corned beef within half an hour of landing and, slinging our hammocks, were soon gazing up at the starry sky, listening to the croak of the bullfrogs.

Soon we left behind the wide Vaupés with its deserted forest banks and entered the black enclosed waters of the Río Ti. With the dry season already well advanced and with less water every day, we were forced to unlash our two canoes and continue with one following the other. The stream narrowed, the black waters shallowed and the white sandbanks crept closer on every bend. Near the mouth of the river we had arranged for two more Indians, the brothers Matias and Bernavez, to come to help us. They 114 ●
knew the route through to the Piraparaná and they warned us that, with our heavy loads, we were going to find the journey extremely difficult – unless it rained. Their warning was fully justified, for with the lower river level the fallen tree trunks formed one long barricade to our movement upstream. In the rainy season with the high water, one could float over them, but now every trunk had to be cut. Fortunately the Indians were experts with our axes, their muscular bodies perched precariously on a water-borne log, the axe falling rhythmically against the hard wood, the water splashing up into their faces. These were civilized Indians who could speak Spanish; they had [177] [191]

*Working a* trapiche, *a press for crushing the juice from sugar cane.* 000

 [see p. 38-B]

114 originally worked wild rubber for one of the great rubber barons and they had earned their clothing in exchange for their labours. Their torn trousers were only a veneer of the civilized world, for here they seemed to come into their own element: they talked to each other in Tukano; they became alert to the forest they knew so well.

We were living in a closed world of limited horizons, on either side the thick forest, ahead the river and above a ribbon of sky. Giant emerald kingfishers with orange heads and long black beaks darted out in front of us. Myriads of white butterflies rose off the sandbanks, settling on our bodies to enjoy the salty sweat. On occasions we saw a delicate wader like a sandpiper bob up and down on the sand near the water's edge. The water had now changed colour, no longer black but a deep wine red, as it flowed over the pale sandy bed. We supposed this colour was due to the high iron content in the rock.

Our first major halt was made at Pedro's house. He had established himself as a tradesman between the Indians on the upper Piraparaná and the civilized rubber gatherers of Mitú. He bought *farinha* from the Tukano in exchange for fish-hooks, salt and cloth. His magnificent thatched house was a foretaste of what we were to see. But the occupants with their dishevelled clothes, the sheets of crude rubber hanging from the beams and the iron cooking pots, seemed a strange paradox.

We unloaded all our equipment, sending Candilo and his assistant back to Mitú with *Vencedor* and the larger outboard motor. With him went one of our valuable cameras whose shutter had jammed during the first day, and a note to Nestor in Bogotá, warning him of the difficulties he would encounter and advising him again to travel as light as possible. Of the now depleted party, José and Uriel were to be our guides throughout the journey; Matias would ensure that we reached the first Indian habitation on the Piraparaná; while Bernavez went on ahead in his dugout canoe carrying two drums of our fuel. We were joined by one more man, old Miguez, who brought his own small Indian canoe. From now on we would have to make double journeys with *El Diablo* until we reached Indians who would carry our loads in their own canoes.

Next morning, while Donald and Horacio repacked much of the kit, Brian and José went ahead with a small load in *El Diablo*. The Ti narrowed and then divided; here our route towards the Piraparaná portage lay up a tiny tributary, the Caño Berada or Fish Bow Creek, as it was known to the Indians. With our arrival in the Berada, a mere stream flowing out of the undergrowth, our whole mode of travel changed. We could no longer use the motor; instead we had to push the boat upstream. We spent the rest of the day waist-deep in water, clambering over submerged timbers and occasional rocks; an Indian out in front cut a way through the fallen trees.

Christmas Day saw us cross two rock ledges where the boat had to be com-

pletely unloaded and then dragged over. That evening was a beautiful one 122
and we made camp at an old *mitasava*, the Indian traveller's staging point,
where he erects a small palm-thatch shelter. We must have been on higher [137]
ground, for it was dry and sandy while the forest had changed to small birch-
like trees, with lichen and moss underfoot. Somehow this was an appropriate [136]
place to eat our wild Christmas turkey which Miguez had shot earlier in the day
and drink each other's health from the precious bottle of 'medicinal' whisky.

The next day our watery struggle continued and progress became even slower. Only half the equipment reached our camp site, this time back in low-lying forest. That evening Donald and José went ahead to the next stream junction to return at dark with the news that there was barely any water at all in the stream, and that we would be pushing the boat over dried-out sandbanks. Matias, our hardest worker, departed across country to the Piraparaná. He left at dusk, his coca pouch slung across his back to ward off the pangs of hunger. He promised to return in three days with men from the first habitation on the river; he was true to his word but it took him more than three days.

That night there was a disquieting atmosphere in the camp. Horacio was 114
even more unhappy than usual about our excessive amount of equipment. Our three remaining Indians, José, Uriel and Miguez, kept to themselves, talking through half the night. We awoke to find Miguez vanished, never to be seen again, and José and Uriel packing their own belongings on to their backs. They said they were going to join Matias and bring back more men – we knew they were about to desert us.

We made them put down their gear and then listened to their tale of woe. We were not feeding them well enough; they wanted more than just *farinha*, they needed rice as well. They were being made to carry too much, and the stream beds were so dry that it would be impossible for us to get through until the rains arrived. So we compromised, we agreed to leave behind some of the fuel if necessary and to give them the same food as ourselves; we repeated our promise to pay all the Indians who worked for us in cloth and trade goods – or even money if it was of any use to them.

During the day we pushed the boat, first down to the previous site and 122
then, fully loaded, back towards our present camp. Once Horacio lost his way when taking a short cut; he was not well and we thought it was due to a recurrence of malaria. That night he became worse, and with him unfit we decided to go ahead on a reconnaissance with José, leaving him to guard the equipment and recover, while we tried to reach the other side of the portage; if necessary we would go overland to find the first house.

Early next morning we packed our rucksacks and left with a week's supplies. Walking over high ground with willows, lichen and moss, to our great joy we reached the western entrance to the portage after only two hours. We walked through the low scrub for half an hour, along the path

under his battered trilby and the groundsheets, while Brian dived beneath the tarpaulin and spent the night stretched over tins and kitbags. 122

The New Year came in with more rain. For all the discomfort it brought we could only look upon such deluges as a sign of good fortune; they were early this year, the rivers would now be higher and our descent easier. So we started on our journey downstream. *El Diablo*, lumbering along like a loaded ark, was stopped by every snag and log. She took days to cover the same distance as the slim canoes of the Indians, when they later travelled back up the river in a matter of hours to pick up the fuel drums we had had to leave behind on the portage.

One day canoes appeared gliding towards us, both loaded down with large wicker baskets of *farinha* and paddled by two men in loincloths. Strings of minute white beads were around their necks and black berry bracelets around each arm. An old man, his wizened face eyeing us suspiciously, was sitting in the bows of the first canoe. [291] [301]

This was our first real contact with the Indians of the Piraparaná. Their immediate reaction was not one of fear, but rather, like our own, of enquiry and interest. They said nothing until José hailed them in their own dialect. There ensued a long, almost formal exchange of greetings which we were to hear many times when travelling through their territory. Before they left we asked them to carry a message for Nestor – in case they should meet him, for they were travelling to the Río Ti. [609] [576]

Much depended on our guide José. That he had been with Padre Elorza was not necessarily to our advantage, for in the first place we could not be sure what effect the first contact with Catholicism had had on the Indians of the Piraparaná, nor did we know what instructions José had been given by the padres. We had to depend on him entirely both for our own safety when travelling downstream and for the information we were to get. He was not a very pleasant or easy character. From the outset he had always wanted to have his own way and if this was not granted then he became moody and unco-operative. We could never be certain what he would do next and after his attempt at desertion we could not trust him. However he worked very hard and showed remarkable common sense, and without him we would never have got through the rapids ahead of us. 114

His experience with white men had not only come from the Mission. Some five years previously a *cauchero* had come to his river home close to the Brazilian frontier. He had taken six boys away with him to work the wild rubber trees and one of them was José. Later he had escaped from the *cauchero*, but during those four years he had learnt how to operate an outboard motor, to handle money and had even been in an aeroplane. He had come under the Mission's wing only recently, and it may have been this combination of experiences that had complicated his character. He no longer possessed the Indian's direct simplicity.

# 2

# *A Death*

114 Matias arrived at the *maloca* the following day with the rest of the equipment we had left behind at the portage. Without his help we would have had to abandon it. That same night he started back on the return journey with his brother Bernavez, back to their *maloca* on the Río Ti. With them seemed to go our last contact with the outside world. Now was the time to collect our thoughts, to reorganize the equipment and to decide how we were going to carry out our work. The surroundings, the atmosphere, the Indians, everything was new. Each day, when evening arrived and we had eaten, we would sit across our hammocks and read by the light of a candle, or write up the day's events in our diaries. On Friday 6 January Brian wrote:

123 'Did not sleep very well last night, probably because I had taken a large
276 mouthful of coca just before getting into my hammock. Nearly choked, the fine green powder making it virtually impossible to breathe; so had to run down to the river and wash my mouth free. The Tukano must have a special method for swallowing it.

512 The women got up very early, long before dawn, but I couldn't tell the time because my watch was lost on the way over the portage – too bad. They rubbed down manioc and the continuous noise made all further sleep
126 impossible. Horacio left for the river before first light to develop a film he had taken with his old Rollei, also one of mine to see whether I'm giving the correct exposure in these dark conditions. He prepared the hypo last night and has to develop before the water temperature rises.

114 At dawn Kuarumey opened the door and the cold air rushed into the *maloca*. I went out to the jungle to relieve myself, armed as usual with a bottle to collect a humus sample. We do this nearly every morning – all these tiny bottles. I wonder whether the American drug company will ever discover a new Amazonian anti-biotic? Lovely pale pinks and delicate blues, the mist rising in great banks off the forest, and dew dripping from the trees. It was so peaceful and cool.

We joined Horacio for a late breakfast; all of us rather at sixes and sevens with each other as to what to do. The last days have taken a lot out of us and

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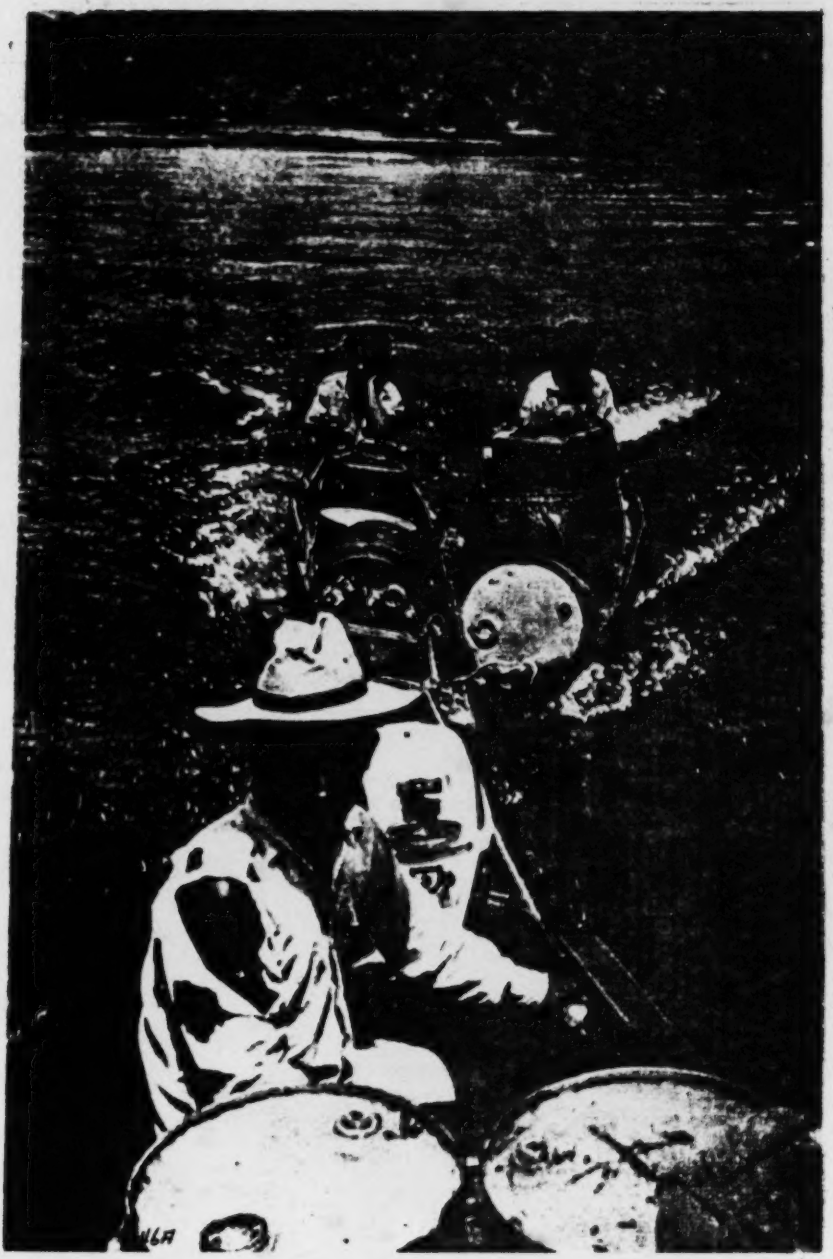
000 *Our train of canoes on the Piraparand – José in front.*

 [see p. 46-A]

/p. 46-A/

114



Our train of canoes on the Piraparané - José in front.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

114 /p. 46-B/

LEFT: Horacio López. CENTRE: Donald Tayler. RIGHT: Brian Moser.

*A Death*

at times we are very irritable. Donald, the most silent, is by far the most 114
understanding, while Horacio and I with our opposite points of view tend to get across one another.

Spread out the two tarpaulins on the sand in front of the *maloca*, then all the equipment on top of them, once more throwing everything to the air and the sun. Donald and I doctored our sores. Both he and Horacio have the beginnings of boils on their arms; this could be dangerous. If our sores go septic we really shall be in a mess – we had better take some penicillin. Donald dealt with the medical kit, Horacio checked over all the food supplies. With his blue and red pinstripe shirt, a Roman nose and scruffy growth, he looked just like an Arab street vendor squatting over his wares in the *souk*. We seem short of meat and Nescafé but otherwise all right. I took out all the cameras. Some of the lenses are in poor shape and neither the electronic flash nor my Japanese one is working. Spent ages trying to repair them and reached the conclusion that the filament on the electronic had broken – probably knocked as we came over the portage. Donald discovered a dud contact on the Jap flash and after much wastage of bulbs and various electric shocks got it to work.

The heat at midday is tremendous but a swim in the river refreshed me.
José and Kuarumey had gone out with our two twelve-bores and returned 123
at noon with three *pava*. Being stationary is a blessing; we can send the Indians off hunting – they love using our guns – and so supplement our rations. Have to be careful because Nestor should soon be arriving.

*p.m.* I slung my hammock between two trees – the sandflies never seemed 114
to leave me alone – and wrote up my geological notes till the sun went down. Am putting all the specimens in sample bags, and it's lucky we have them, for some of the sandstones are crumbling to pieces. Horacio measured the rice into our bright-red tins – funny to think they were once green and with me in the snow and ice of Cocuy. Donald spent the whole afternoon drawing the *maloca* – beautiful, he should have been an architect. The children love [123]
watching him, and one little boy – I think he's Kuarumey's son – kept tugging his long beard, then racing over to feel mine, completely intrigued by our hairy faces.

Spent the evening editing birdsong tapes with Uriel who gave me long [126]
descriptions of each bird; we had seen very few of them. Surrounded by many overwhelmed listeners, and one boy started to imitate some of the songs amazingly. Ate rice and stewed bird and after silica-jelling the cameras (the plastic bags seem to puncture easily) climbed into my hammock. It's 123
now late, a woman is still rubbing manioc somewhere in the darkness: they 622
always seem so willing to help us, but Kuarumey, no ... he's sitting beneath

LEFT: *Horacio López*. CENTRE: *Donald Tayler*. RIGHT: *Brian Moser*.



[See p. 46-B]

*A Death*

The tinder-dry wood heaped underneath was soon alight and Kuarumey, helped again by his son, began to turn the hull, holding the canoe on rollers, first the right way up, then upside down and lastly on its side. The flames from the fire leapt five feet into the air all along its length and the men began to sweat as they watched. Soon they were covered in charcoal from head to foot. Every so often Kuarumey reached for his coca bag and shook some of the powder into his mouth. Gradually the sides of the trunk were forced open and wedges were placed along its length. 501

'In the Llanos they hang the canoe over the fire and there is less danger of the wood actually bursting into flames,' said Horacio. At that moment Kuarumey's wife approached us along the path carrying an earthen bowl full of *chicha*. 'And they don't let women approach during the burning for fear of the wood splitting.' [415]

All day long they worked on the smouldering canoe. About midday they bound the ends with liana to prevent it splitting and occasionally put mud on the thinner parts to prevent further burning. The work was completed before dusk. The canoe would cool gradually during the night, and in the morning the braces would be removed and replaced by flat wooden supports. Then Kuarumey would try out his new canoe in the river. It was well built and the sides were even, barely half an inch thick throughout. It should last him for several seasons, providing he did not lose it during the winter floods.

The sun shone warmly on the russet water as Kuarumey paddled the slim canoe away from the port and down the river – so light, so strong, so manageable and in shape so beautiful, yet for ourselves unthinkable – we would have capsized in a moment; only Horacio could master an Indian craft. *El Diablo* was now on the bank drying in the sun, and Horacio and José were starting to recaulk the battered shell.

The rough passage over dried-out river channels, through log-strewn stream beds, across the portage and over vicious rocks, had jarred the joints so much that, were we now to have slid her into the water, she would have sunk like a sieve. For days we had left her on the bank to absorb the heat of the morning sun, turned her and then covered her with a tarpaulin against the occasional afternoon storms, Now the old caulking was pulled away and melted down together with the pitch we had brought from Mitú. However, this was not sufficient and José exchanged some of our fish-hooks for wild beeswax and resin, and this too was melted down. 114•

The fragrant smell of pitch and beeswax filled the air and as the lumps slowly dispersed in the bubbling black syrup, José began to tell of the rapids which lay ahead: 'Listen to the water,' he said, and in the distance we could hear the rumbling; the falls were three bends downstream. 'Only half a day's journey away is the fall we call Piña. In the dry season it is a long series of rapids and we need help to carry everything from the upper end, through

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



114 the forest to the port at the lower side. We generally take three hours along this trail, but you will take more.'

So he went on. We would need people to help us through at each major fall. Now we fully realized what an encumbrance our equipment was still going to be. But there seemed to be a *maloca* near most major rapids and with luck we could ask for help from the people living in them, though here again José was uncertain: 'Much depends on whether there are any men at home and whether they want to carry such heavy loads. There are many *cachiveras*, and Yavakaka – the Otter – one of the largest, has no one living near it.'

We counted sixteen major falls in all, but often one *cachivera* would consist of many rapid sections covering at least two or three bends in the river. José would demonstrate these by drawing with his finger in the sand. Our imaginary map of the Piraparaná became a hazardous line curling southwards. There would be at least two interruptions a day on a journey which would take the Indian in his fast canoe seven days to complete, but ourselves – we hardly dared guess.

*El Diablo* was due for as hard a buffeting, if not harder, than she had already had. Her hollowed tree-trunk shell was, with the exception of one hole, in perfect condition. Above, forming a freeboard, were the planks from which we had stripped the caulking. We dipped hemp – instead of our trousers – into the boiling pitch and Horacio vigorously tamped the sticky black wads into the seams and cracks. Once the outside was complete we wedged the same cracks from the inside. By early afternoon all the seams shone black, the wood was dry, and as we slid her down to the river she seemed barely half the weight we had dragged up the stream beds. *El Diablo* had a new look.

Late the same evening, after we had taken our boat and the remaining eight fuel drums below the first rapids, José came up to us as we sat talking in our hammocks. In the centre of the *maloca* the men were squatting on their stools taking coca. At the far end a woman delicately turned a cassava cake to bake its underside on the hot clay oven. José stood between our hammocks, slung in a triangle, the candlelight flickering on his face.

'After the journey to the next *maloca*, I do not want to work for you any more. My brother and I are going home to our *maloca* on the Querarí.'

This was a shock. The house was only two days downstream, and José had threatened to leave us before. We treated the matter more lightly than he perhaps had expected. He asked to borrow one of the shotguns and Brian lent him his twelve-bore. Such a move might be judged foolish, but we knew

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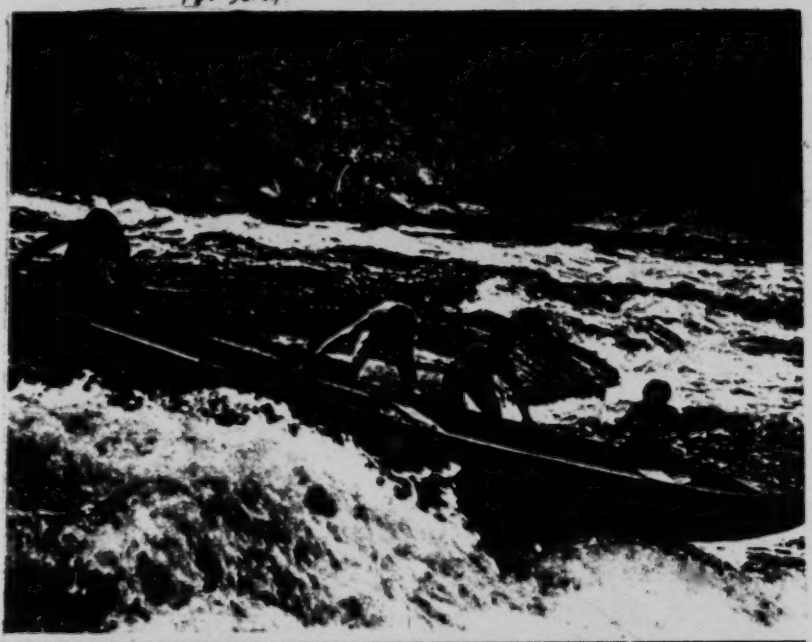
000 ABOVE: *Negotiating shallow rapids with* El Diablo *on the Piraparaná.* BELOW: *Getting the fuel drums across the river.* [see p. 50-A]

/p. 50-A/

114



ABOVE: Negotiating shallow rapids with El Diablo on the Piraparaná.
BELOW: Getting the fuel drums across the river.

that José was the one man who could take us through to the mouth of the Piraparaná. 114

Throughout the whole journey the factor which played more on our minds than anything else was uncertainty. The way back over the dry channels was almost out of the question and the Indians would never have taken us; the way forward appeared to be a long succession of cataracts. Then there was the question of Nestor – would he ever arrive and how long should we wait? The longer we stayed the more insistent José became about leaving. He did not enjoy his role as an interpreter, he did not like asking his fellow-Indians questions and he seemed completely indifferent to the work we were trying to do. All this was understandable but it did not ease our position.

It was cold and wet when José and Uriel left early next morning to take a load of equipment ahead. Mist hung low over the forest and the trees dripped with moisture. 'This is white rain,' said Horacio. 'It is more usual in the winter months, so perhaps we are due for a wet spell and Nestor will get through after all.' We all had doubts in our minds and now, with José gone, we had no means of talking to the people in the *maloca*.

Suddenly Kuarumey's wife ran out and grabbed Brian's arm, beckoning him to follow her inside. From the far end of the dark interior, behind the palm screens, came strange sobs. The sounds rose and fell; across the bare earthen floor a slight figure bent over the embers of a dying fire. It was Watsora whose husband had been away on a hunting expedition for nearly a week. Her naked body, lit only by a dull red glow, was doubled up. She heaved and hardly seemed able to breathe. Only the day before she had carried her heavy basket of manioc from the plantation. Now her thin, drawn face, her sagging breasts, her dishevelled hair, aged her beyond belief. A young girl clutched her around the waist and moved to and fro with the heaving figure, quietly chanting to herself. Watsora's baby son ran to his mother's side and clasping her arm began to cry. 123 763

Kuarumey's wife implored us to help. She pointed to the black medicine chest. Only the previous night we had given the headman aspirin, but this illness seemed much more serious than a headache. We could not be sure what was wrong. Perhaps she had an internal haemorrhage, maybe it was consumption, or was it appendicitis? We couldn't know, none of us was a doctor. Horacio was firm: 'No, we must not give her any drugs, for if she dies, then what do you think will happen to us?' For a time we argued but eventually agreed. Horacio was right: no matter what we felt, we could not afford to be held responsible for her death, nor could we interfere.

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*A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.* 000

[see p. 50-B]

# 3

# Warpaint

Below Kuarumey's the river was wider and deeper – deep enough to use our diminutive 7-h.p. Johnson outboard motor. Frequently during a day's journey we would come to rapids or a fall where everything had to be removed from the boat and carried to a point where it would be possible to reload. Then, using ropes, slithering over the rocks, pulling, pushing and heaving, we would get the empty eight-hundred-pound shell over the rapid sections. Sometimes the canoe seemed on the point of being swept away to destruction, but José and Uriel, together with the Indians, who for the small reward of beads, a piece of cloth or nylon fishing line were always ready to join us, seemed to know exactly how to manage it, though much bigger than their own light and portable craft. 114 [123]

Where the rapids were long and severe or there was a bend in the river, the Indians would sometimes have made a portage through the forest. On these occasions we would disappear for long periods, pushing and heaving *El Diablo* over the twisted roots and swampy ground through a jungle labyrinth, to reappear shouting and yelling to encourage ourselves at the lower end of the rapids, ready to load and continue on our way. During the severer overland passages the canoe might get a bad knock, and in spite of the recent overhaul it would be necessary to do more caulking. Sometimes, in despair, we doubted whether the old boat would even reach the Apaporis before she finally gave up and sank. To return the way we had come – which had been our original intention – was out of the question. Our only way out was to the Caquetá, a major tributary of the Amazon. What this journey would entail we could not imagine, for all the maps we possessed had often proved incredibly inaccurate. Of the time it would take us and the route we knew nothing. We had, however, heard that the lower reaches of the Apaporis were impossible to navigate owing to a series of great falls and rapids. This knowledge certainly gave us cause to worry during the ensuing weeks.

José by now had taken over responsibility for the motor. We took it in

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LEFT: *The front, painted with a design in charcoal and clay, and great eaves of a maloca.* RIGHT: *Cutting palm fronds to thatch the roof.* [see p.54-B] 000

114 turns to take bearings and to time distances for our very rudimentary compass traverse. Often we came to fast sections of the river, where we would stop the engine, raise it off the back of the canoe – to which it was lashed by a piece of rope in case of an accident – pick up our paddles and guide the canoe through the swirling waters. It was as well we had the Indians with us on these occasions, for we never knew what lay ahead, and the water swirled by faster and faster. The following was a daily occurrence: '*El Diablo* was filling with water rushing in over her stern. We hung desperately on to extremely slippery rocks, then suddenly got lost in the froth with the boat going safely ahead. The boys take it all in their stride and utter high-pitched yells as they miraculously guide us through the more dangerous parts with their paddles.' Horacio was in his element at such times; all his travels by canoe in the higher tributaries of the Orinoco had been done with a paddle as his only means of propulsion. An engine was anathema to him, something totally unreliable, which invariably broke down at the worst possible moments and wasted days in repairs – if repairs were possible – whereas a paddle provided unfailing if slow progress.

At this stage we not only had to travel down the river but also to return up it, as we still had too much equipment to take at once. Normally José and the Indians would travel downstream for several hours with the equipment, then return for us. It was on one such journey of José's that the outboard started misbehaving. It was too late to do anything when the engine finally stopped and refused to restart. The following morning we found to our dismay that it had seized up. We stripped it down and after completely dismantling it found that the gearbox oil had leaked away and the whole shaft had locked solid. Fortunately we had enough gearbox oil in reserve – later we learnt that bananas make an excellent substitute – and we thought all was well again until, as the gearcase was being replaced, the clutch sleeve snapped. This rendered the engine useless. So that day we continued paddling down river in a very despondent mood – the thought of paddling our way to the Caquetá was not a happy one. The best we could do was to make for the next *maloca* and if possible effect a repair.

We arrived at the *maloca* that afternoon. Not a single Indian was within sight, not even a dog. At first we assumed the house had been abandoned, but a smell of wood smoke lingered. Puzzled, we noticed the fires had only recently been left. This was the first time we had encountered such a breach of hospitality, for the Indians must have known of our approach. We assumed however, they would return at nightfall, so we set about hanging our hammocks and preparing our beans and rice.

[123] The Indians did not return that night or the next, and the deserted *maloca* seemed strange and forbidding. Horacio was certain that these were unfriendly Indians and that this was their way of showing it. We should therefore be cautious and move on as soon as possible. But the broken

engine enforced a stay. We tried wood, then Perspex to replace the broken sleeve, and it was several days before we found that a section from one of our aluminium eating plates was the answer. 114

One day, while we were waiting in the deserted *maloca*, we were suddenly surprised by shouts. Outside a fierce-looking Indian with a carved redwood club in his right hand stamped and grunted his way round the bare sandy ground in front of the *maloca*. He was followed by three younger men, each carrying a machete, all with their faces covered in red warpaint. Mario Capitan, who had been made a 'chief' by the *caucheros* wore a long white feather in his ear-plug; he seemed annoyed. Probably he had come out of curiosity or to demonstrate his authority, or he may have heard of Watsora's death. His father had had great influence over the lower Piraparaná, murdering all whites who entered. Mario, we reflected, could well do the same. Then suddenly and silently he and his small band of warriors departed to the river, to their canoes, back to their own forest home. 123

It was with some relief that we set off again from the deserted *maloca* to continue downstream. At night we would clear an area near the bank for a camp site, put up the tarpaulin for the equipment, then sling our hammocks to the nearest trees. If it started raining we would have to huddle under the tarpaulin till dawn. It was much pleasanter when a *maloca* was close by at the end of a day's journey, as there we were assured of warmth and a roof over our heads. 114

During the course of our journey we visited fifteen *malocas*; in some we only stayed overnight, in others several days. They extended a distance of about 250 river miles – from Kuarumey's to the last rapids on the Piraparaná, about 100 miles from its mouth.

Though at times we were angry with José for always hustling us on with threats of desertion if we did not continue downstream, it was for the most part only through him that we could talk to the Tukano: only those who had worked rubber knew any Spanish. It was during these visits that we became better acquainted with the Indians, though they remained remote, perhaps because they distrusted us, true 'Sons of the Forest', their personalities hidden as deep within themselves as they were deep in Amazonia.

# 7
# *Missing Links*

Until we had passed the last rapids on the Piraparaná we were always anxious, as we were never sure how long José would stay with us. Had he left us we might have found it difficult to get other Indians to help, and certainly we could never have managed *El Diablo* ourselves. There were many occasions when he had threatened to leave, but so far he had been persuaded not to. So it was with some relief that we passed these rapids, though there was nearly disaster, for José determined to take *El Diablo* through fully loaded. We watched aghast from the bank as for a moment the boat completely disappeared from view in the turbulent water. But somehow she stayed afloat. 114

Now the river was anything from thirty to a hundred yards across. It wound sluggishly this way and that between low banks covered in dense forest and bordered with *miriti* palms. There were no houses, for most of the land was liable to flooding during the wetter months. We saw no Indians on the river, nor any canoes moored to the banks. At times the river meandered forming giant oxbows, where, through the sparse jungle, we could see a bend in the river that we had passed perhaps an hour before. At one of the bends a low cliff rose sheer from the water's edge. It was formed from clay and shales of Tertiary age, and in the beds Brian found deposits of lignite, tree-trunks and plant remains. To the west of us lay the Apaporis, to the east continuous forest as far as the Río Negro, the home of strange, seldom-seen foresters, the nomadic Maku. 13 114 [101]

Since leaving Bréo's *maloca* we had been troubled less by flies and insects; the jigger worms, which had laid their eggs in our feet when we walked barefoot about the *malocas*, no longer bothered us. Only the *nutchis* remained as they took some days to incubate. One night after an exceptionally large one was removed from Donald's shin, he wrote, 'A rather painful process. However it had its reward for it was definitely a record breaker – fat, furry, and fully half an inch in length....' They could only be extracted by using nicotine to poison them, or rubber latex to block their breathing holes where they lay under the skin. We never learnt how we got these painful worms. 136 114

ABOVE AND BELOW: *Dancing at the festival to celebrate the manioc harvest.*

 [see p 92-B]

114 Probably they resulted from a small fly or mosquito injecting the egg into
136 the bloodstream. Horacio had come across them in the Llanos, but only in cattle and dogs, never in humans.

Though seldom bothered by mosquitoes we occasionally ran into a belt of the *pium* fly which could give very irritating bites. At night when we found a sand-spit, or dry ground in the forest where we could sling our hammocks in the trees, we would first inspect the ground to ensure that our equipment would not be covered in termites or ants by the morning. Fish, which the Indians caught for us, was now our main food. One type looked and tasted almost like salmon; another, a flat fish, was very similar to the *piraña* with its razor teeth and protruding lower jaw. Even in February, towards the end of the dry season, many days were overcast. When the sun did appear, it was usually followed by a heavy afternoon rainstorm often accompanied by a cold wind, so that in spite of our nylon jackets we found ourselves shivering with cold. One day we passed very close to a green water snake. It coiled itself and thrashed the water with its tail, its head out of sight, until it finally disappeared locked in the jaws of its invisible assailant.

Along the river banks and high in the trees overhead, we saw herons, ibis and egrets, a brownish bird similar to a bittern; king-fishers, not so brilliantly coloured as the British kind, and duck would rise off the water in front of the boat. The varying shades of green were broken by white hibiscus, the crimson flowers of the chocolate tree, the flashing blue wings of the giant morphous butterfly or the wasp yellow of a swallowtail, beautiful butterflies which sting like fire-ants as caterpillars and live on blood, offal and manure. Sometimes the transparent glinting wings of a dragonfly passed by, while at night shadowy nightjars flitted over the river between the pin-point glows of the fireflies.

114 On the evening of the second day after leaving the rapids we sighted the
133 Apaporis, a river of strange contrasts with its great width, muddy banks and putty-coloured water. We had decided to reach the falls of Jirijimo. They were alleged to be a magnificent sight when the river was in full spate. A few people had seen the falls from the air, though in the days of the rubber boom the river was used as a highway, and the *caucheros* had made ramps through the forest as a portage. But this movement up and down the river had always been during the wet season, and we were travelling during the last month of summer, when in fact the river was at its lowest ebb.

For two days we moved up the Apaporis after making a dump of all our equipment, including the Indian canoe which we hid in the forest, for we knew we would have to return the same way. On the evening of the second day we reached the falls of Playa, somewhere below Jirijimo. In the winter it would have been possible to have hauled the boat on to the great sandstone slabs and pulled it up the ramps, which, though terribly overgrown during
114 the last thirty years of disuse, could have been cleared sufficiently. But now

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



to our dismay we were confronted with the magnificent but daunting falls. The river tumbled a vertical forty feet over the lip of the basin into the turbulent water below, with a roar and a mass of spray, while all around were sheer walls of rock. 114

We tried to find a solution. We spent a day walking up the river only to find more falls above Playa. Somewhere behind, further up the river, lay Jirijimo, but how far away we did not then know. Should we try to walk through the jungle to the falls, even if it meant several days' journey without any certainty of finding them at the end? This might have been our best chance. Should we return to pick up our small Indian canoe, and carry that over the falls? It would take too long and we did not have the reserve of fuel. Could the five of us manage to pull *El Diablo* up the vertical face and, once over that, find our way up the next falls? As the boat was already in a flimsy condition, it seemed unlikely that she would remain in one piece. She would have to survive the return journey as well, and we did not relish the thought of walking to the Caquetá.

That night Brian, who had remained the most undaunted, wrote in his diary, 'We clambered over the rocks and through the very overgrown and at times almost vertical ramp – this will prove a hellish problem with only five of us and a boat which is semi-rotten, held together by beeswax and old trouser legs....' The following day: 'We all seemed in a bleary state, probably because *a fondo* all of us knew this would be the furthest we would get ... I still think we could make it, but the time factor and the risk involved to the whole expedition just do not make the attempt worthwhile.'

Realizing the futility of continuing, we prepared to spend another night below the falls. Over the river a tern circled, hovered, dived into the water with a splash, came up, then dived again, on and on till the dusk turned the greens to black. The moon rose high, the colour of straw changing to a white so brilliant that we could read in our hammocks. The water moving down from the falls was covered with a froth of giant bubbles, making the surface look like an ice-floe, dazzling white in the moonlight. The following day we turned back the way we had come. Some hours after starting Horacio found that he had left his rifle behind, so we had to return to the falls. That night we all seemed a little despondent; we still had a long way to go and we did not know what lay ahead. There was no need to build a shelter or raise a tarpaulin, the sky was clear and the sands still hot from the day-long sun. Earlier we had washed our clothes in the river and bathed, sliding our feet along the muddy bottom; for there were rays, and by doing this there was less risk of stepping on one. Along the edge of the sand-spit were the cloven-hoofed slots of a tapir, and the rounded pad marks of a puma. Perhaps that night we had disturbed many forest animals at their usual watering place, the only sandbank for many miles along this side of the river. Overhead hung the Milky Way and Orion's Belt – with the binoculars we could see

114 the nebula in his sword. Sirius stood out a pale electric blue and later we could see the Morning Star in the east.

The river was wide and very shallow, and we got into difficulties: 'José went to sleep on the engine and we hit a rock in midstream – a horrible grinding noise as it passed under the boat, then a crash as it hit the engine. She is letting a lot of water in, though it does not seem to have damaged her seriously. We are lucky; if this had been an aluminium boat she would have ripped from end to end.'

Two days below the falls we reached our dump again and reloading our equipment set off downstream, waving goodbye to Uriel who set off for his *maloca* on the Querarí; only José now remained. *El Diablo* was fully loaded again, she began leaking badly and Horacio made running repairs as we moved down the river. Soon a wind got up, the water became very choppy and we found ourselves baling continuously as the water slopped over her two or three inches of freeboard. She was not going to last very much longer.

All along the banks the forest presented a solid wall. There were seldom any
175 breaks where there might have been a habitation. A clan of the Tukano, the Letuama, had lived here before the advance of the rubber barons early in the
342 century. A few still remained and we visited one of their houses. The *maloca* was shaped like a pagoda, quite unlike anything we had seen before, round at the base with a steeply slanting thatched roof, terminating in a ridge about thirty feet above the hard earth-baked floor. Inside, every sheaf of each section of thatch seemed to have been measured and the whole had an appearance of amazing symmetry. The light came in through two roof apertures and inside, though cool, it was nearly as bright as outdoors. This was surprising as the darkness of the Amazonian house is a deterrent to flying
[415] insects. In strange contrast to the house were the old aluminium pots and tin trunks lying inside – a sharp reminder that we had left the Piraparaná. The headman and his family had deserted the house and it was now used by the occasional passing Indian as a resting-place.

114 We met two *caucheros* who had their houses on the river bank. One of them, Alirio, was half-Indian by birth. His father had been a European-educated official of the Colombian government, who in his later years had preferred the life of the forest. Alirio had known no other life; he had married an Indian girl and now spent his days collecting wild rubber, selling it to another *cauchero* further down the river. He was talkative and eager to help; he told us of a botanist – Dr Schultes – whom he had accompanied beyond the first rapids on the Piraparaná. When he knew we had come all the way from the Vaupés he seemed almost disbelieving. He told us on no account should we continue all the way to the Caquetá on this river, for there were many rapids; moreover, nearer the mouth of the river there were falls, one nearly as big as Jirijimo. Our only way was by a portage which led through the forest to another river, the Miritiparaná. From there it was possible, he

said, to travel all the way to the Caquetá without encountering more rapids. 114
We would have to leave our boat behind on the Apaporis, as it would be impossible to take it across without the assistance of many Indians. We would have to get help from the Miritiparaná, and a boat, in order to continue our journey to the Caquetá. This was the first time that we knew exactly what lay ahead of us; from then on we would follow Alirio's instructions. He kindly sent his son and one of his workmen to help us over the rapids which we had to pass before the portage. That night we came to Lugo's house where we had a less friendly welcome. Heavy-set, urbane and gold-toothed, Lugo offered us little. We asked if we could sling our hammocks in the house and he grudgingly consented; so Brian asked him to join us in a meal. Horacio was furious. 'Why?' he said. 'Why should we offer him our hospitality?... It is for him to invite us.'

The following day, as we continued down the river, we wondered why Lugo should have been forced to live out his life in the forests of the Amazon. Surely it could not have been his wish; and what did he fear in strangers? Perhaps it was better than a lifetime in gaol. Later, while we were collecting 172
rock samples, we came across the rock carvings called Boheniambo. Scattered over the flat sandstone island in the centre of the river, these formalized carvings, none of them more than two feet long, seemed to be imitations of Chibcha art from the Andean highlands. The figures, with stylized triangular head, square body and foreshortened arms crossed in front of the chest, were a contrast to the more natural art of the Piraparaná.

There was no moon that night and the rain clouds were heavy, as we tried 114
to find the small hut which would show where the portage lay. Flashing our torch along the bank we became anxious. Somewhere below us lay more rapids and we were afraid of being swept away into them. Suddenly the beam of the torch showed up a small grass-roofed shelter – it was the portage. We knew the worst of our journey was over. The same night Horacio went ahead with José to see if he could make contact with a *cauchero*, Don Carlos, whom Alirio had spoken of. We unloaded *El Diablo* for the last time, for here she had to be abandoned.

Don Carlos greeted us as if passing travellers were an everyday occurrence. Tall, slim and proud, like a Bogotano, he was the last person we would have expected to find here. Though he wore a pyjama top and had a towel round his neck to flick flies and wipe the sweat from his forehead, he looked as if he might be equally at home in a dark suit, with white collar and furled umbrella.

In no time our great heap of equipment was whisked away by Indian helpers across the portage. The difficulties we had foreseen seemed to vanish. Five hours later we were sitting down to a magnificent meal of chicken and rice in Don Carlos's wooden-frame house, surrounded by green banana palms and manioc plantations overlooking the muddy Miritiparaná.

249
464 That evening the conversation turned to rubber, the exploitation of the
648 Indians and the atrocities. There had been two booms in the area. The first died out with the end of the First World War and the increased production in Malaya. Then with the Japanese occupation of South-East Asia during the Second World War, attention again switched to the Amazon and this continued into the fifties. Now only small interests remain and although the Indians are well paid and housed, the old fear of the *caucheros* is still there and many prefer to live their own lives.

Carlos told us that he had sixteen Indians working for him. Most of them only worked during the summer months – from November to March – when the forest was drier. If there was rain the latex from the wild rubber could not be collected. During the winter months the Indians returned to their homes to attend to their *chagras*. The men cut traces through the forest at fifty-yard intervals within easy shouting distance of one another, so that none of the trees are missed. Each morning they place small wooden cups beneath a fresh slash in the bark, returning later to empty the latex into rubber bags slung on their backs. A different section of the forest is covered each day until the cycle is completed and they start again. When the rubber is brought back to the house formic acid is added, though any organic acid can be used, even lemon juice. This coagulates the rubber which is then rolled into sheets, some of which Carlos showed us hanging from the roof-beams of his house.

At the end of a season's gathering the rubber is shipped in bales up the Caquetá to Araracuara. From there it is flown to the merchants in Bogotá – usually in May and June – and Carlos added, 'This is about the only time in the year when I see civilization. To save costs we arrange that the plane brings all our supplies and merchandise for the next year on its inward journey. These are mainly for the Indians, for there is nothing he can buy with money here, so I keep a small trade store.'

000 Later Carlos spoke of the Missing Link or Loys' Ape, which he maintained lived in the area. Three years before, one of his young workers was out in his rubber trace when he was suddenly attacked by a beast, which held him fastened to the ground all night. The boy who had fainted from fear, was found the next day and brought to Carlos's house where he took forty-eight hours to recover. He was thoroughly washed but the foul smell of the beast was impossible to remove. Several rubber gatherers claim to have seen the ape in the area of the Miritiparaná. Something very similar has also been reported from the Llanos, in the wooded river valleys near the Orinoco.

539 Stories of the half-human ape are as common as those of lost cities, the Amazonian women and the tribes of white Indians who hunt by night. All occur in the myth and legends of the tribes. But to hear a first-hand account of this ape-man from a reliable witness was unusual.

114 Before dawn we set off down river in Carlos's long, narrow, shallow-draught Caquetá boat, faster and more graceful than the stouter ones of the

Vaupés. Horacio said that every river he had known on the Orinoco and Amazon had something different about it. Each had its own character, its individual appearance; in the same way you could almost tell a river by the boats on it and the way they were handled. 114

As we travelled down the twisting river we passed an old covered launch going up to the Mission Station. A rotund and bald padre standing at the wheel gave us a cheerful wave as the boat chugged on its way. Close behind him came a canoe full of tin-helmeted anti-malarial workers. We reflected that one day they might reach the Piraparaná and daub their black DDT stamps over the *maloca* entrances. That night we camped on a long sand-bar and, armed with shotgun and torches, we dazzled the crocodiles. Few of them were more than five feet long. Carlos shot at them before they could run off the spit into the water. One was half-stunned by the roar of a near miss; his back glistening emerald-green in the torchlight, he glared defiance at us as we slipped a noose about his belly. We had had a request from Dr Medem, the zoologist in Bogotá, to bring a crocodile back, alive. Luckily, perhaps, he escaped a few days later.

The Caquetá seemed like a great lake studded with sandbanks and wooded islands. It was impossible to tell at a glance which way the water was flowing. We learnt the reason for this as we came to the rapids of Cordoba. These acted as a dam and funnelled a river over a mile wide through a channel no more than a hundred yards across. Keeping well to the right bank, we passed through the swirling white water and rocky projections without mishap. Two days later four convicts escaped from the national prison at Araracuara; being unfamiliar with the river they took the left bank of the rapid in their flimsy raft, only to be swept into a whirlpool. The two who survived were taken prisoner by the frontier-post guards. They had been less than ten miles from the Brazilian border and freedom.

Two hours below the rapids we saw a white statue of the Virgin Mary overlooking the river and, behind, the green sward and grey huts of La Pedrera, the military border post. There we could put through a radio call – a Catalina would pick us up and we would be back in Bogotá in forty-eight hours. It was an incredible thought. On the bank where we moored the boat there was an old wooden bandstand, like those you find in an Oslo park. Inside was a barber's chair and a broken mirror. We looked at our three-month-old beards, our sun-blackened faces – and laughed.

But that evening as we glumly surveyed the pile of equipment and the collection, we pondered on the Commandante's words: 'No plane will land here on the river, there have been too many accidents in the past. Besides, we have no means of communication, the transmitter has broken down. I am sorry . . .!'

What were we to do? It was better that one of us should make contact as soon as possible, so Brian travelled down river to the Brazilian frontier post.

104 man, English, etc. There is great variation in the spellings. The spellings in this paper tend to follow those of Koch-Grünberg, who still remains the general authority for the area as a whole. His spellings are close to those used for Nheengatú. They generally conform with those used for world-wide ethnographic spellings; in addition, they seem to have been the spellings more commonly used in English, German, Portuguese, and Spanish ethnographies on South America.

101 *Population estimate.* Population figures are hard to estimate. The following are very im-
161 pressionistic. Tribes with 1,000–2,000 members: Tukano, Kubeo, Baré; Spanish-only speakers.
191 Tribes with 500–1,000 members: Piratapuyo, Wanano, Desano. Tribes with 150–500 members: Tuyuka, Yurutí, Paneroa, Eduria, Karapana, Tatuyo, Barasana, Siriano, Tariano, Tabaino, Makuna, Tekuana, Datuana; Portuguese-only speakers. Of the latter tribes, Yurutí, Yekuana, and Datuana may number
[797] fewer than 150 members. A few Salesian missionaries, in Brazil, are Italians.

There are probably a few hundred Makú in occasional contract with the multilingual Indians in this area.

Non-Indians probably number about 1,500 and are concentrated in the few air-strip towns.

For a very round figure, a population of 10,000 has been estimated for the multilingual area in which Tukano is the chief lingua franca. Of these 10,000, only the non-Indians, the Makú, and some of the Kubeo are not multilingual, so that over 80 percent of the population is multilingual. As the non-Indians are concentrated in the few air-strip towns and a dozen missionary posts, the effective distribution of multilingualism is much higher; close to 100 percent of the communities encountered in the area are multilingual. Of the multilingual Indians, well over 90 percent know Tukano at least as a lingua franca, with young children accounting for the majority of the few who do not.

NOTES

[114] [12] [1] This report is an expanded version of a paper presented to the Tenth Annual National Conference on Linguistics in New York on March 13, 1965. Field work was done in the summers of 1959, 1960, and 1962 and from June to December 1963. It was supported during much of this time by USPHS Research Grant MH-17,258. I wish to acknowledge the hospitality and cooperation extended to me by the Xaveriano missionary order in Colombia and the Salesian missionaries of the Brazilian Vaupés region. Various drafts of this paper were read by Drs. Charles

[P. 683-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

114 [7] See Rivera's powerful, authentic novel *La Vorágine* (1948) for Vaupense Spanish terms. The setting for much of this novel is the Colombian Vaupés region and the adjacent Casanare region (not dealt with, except indirectly, in this report). Rivera projected his morally and passionately torn protagonist, Arturo Cova, in ever-increasingly involved relief against the convoluted setting of the exploits of the notorious rubber barons. His Indians show up only as shadowy figures in the background—no doubt the way the rubber-gatherers, caught up in their own problems, saw them as they passed in dimly lit longhouses for their night's rest.

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[P. 684-A]

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano [262] Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical [753] Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our [178] interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

773 177 [128] [114] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, 115 756 Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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162
797 /105 cont./
177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny; he has two wives.

756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
• 115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

## Cosmogony

* 539 The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115] [177] 4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5),

[177] 5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

/6 cont./

115 It should not seem exaggerated to speak of an existence
123 of intimate contact with the natives. Because not only our /7/ personal observations are recorded here. We tried to know and to listen to all the Salesian Missionaries who work along the rivers Negro, Uaupés, Tiquié, Papuri, Içana, and Caburi; as well as the Montfort Missionaries who attended to the natives of the region bordering Colombia, since some of the tribes in the study have members living in the zone that today is part of Colombian territory. And, through the mercy of God, we had the happy opportunity to talk with Missionaries who have been living with the children of the forests and for them since 1916.

Therefore, this work, in the strict sense, is a contribution by the Salesian Missionaries to ethnographic studies that, if they are of interest in a general way to the students of the whole world, also speak to us, Brazilians, of political and patriotic interests.

121 These pages are a documentary on how the life of the forest people of the Uaupés or Caiarí runs its course in the middle of the twentieth century. By dint of an unyieldingly traditionalist mentality which characterizes these human groups, we may also think that they are, on general lines, a description of how they have lived for centuries, or perhaps even of how these tribes have lived since they acclimated themselves in their present habitat. Scarce data from the first explorers and information from the old natives justify this opinion.

Even though we enjoyed privileged conditions which other ethnologists have not had, or at least will not be able to have, the intractable depths of the native psyche takes from us the illusion of having unveiled their soul. We are also convinced that we do not yet know customs and practices of interest from the ethnological point of view, and the true meaning of many others escapes us. The primitive fantasy, all the more active the freer it is from the curb of reason and the inhibiting control of positive experience in that mysterious and suggestive environment of the millenary forest, will have built a legendary world with fascinating beauties for their souls, as if they were the

/36 cont./

Western Baniwas:

*101 Karútana (Baniwa of the Içana, in Santa Ana), including four classes: Mapátse-dákenei or Yurupari tapuya, Wádzoli-dákenei or Urubú-tapuya, Dzawí-mínanei or Yauareté-tapuya, and Adarú-mínanei or Arara-tapuya.

Kadaupuritana (with two forms: Baniwa of Tunuí and of the Mariuá)

Moríwene or Sukuružú-tapuya (Baniwa of Seringa-Rupitá)

Walíperi-dakenei or Siwsí-tapuya (or Star-tapuya) (Baniwa of Carurú-poço, river Aiarí)

Hohódene (Baniwa of the Yandú-cachoeira, river Içana)

Máulieni (12)

• [115]

12. One of the excellent Siwsí informants gave us Máuri-weni as the translation, in his language, of Káwa-tapúya. It is possible that he was mistaken. Among the few words of the native tongue still remembered by the Káwa-tapuyas of the locality of S. Joaquim, near Uapuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, is the name of the tribe itself, Aini, the name by which it is also indicated by other sister languages. (Cf. our work Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia.)

or Kawa-tapuya (Baniwa of the Uirá-uaçú, river Aiarí)

Payuliene or Pakú-tapuya (Baniwa of the Acutí-igarapé, river Içana)

Adyáneme, Adyána or Tatú-tapuya (Baniwa of Santa Rosa, river Guainía)

/50 cont./

*101 The informants of the Kubewana tribe, Heloisa and Josefa
• [115] (cf. IV -- 2, p /p. 151/), both married to Wanana and
[563] living in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés, 1955), indicated, as the fifth division of their tribe, the "Bahúkakõ." In April of 1957, two other Kubewana or Korẽterabõa women (cf. IV -- 2, p), Nazaria and Byatrina, married to Yawareté-tapuya, and living in Arapaço-poço, locality on the river Içana close to the mouth of the river Aiarí, also gave us the Bahukõwa as the fifth division of their tribe.

Koch Grünberg, who visited them (Z.I. 278), confirms that the Bahuna are called Bahókõoa by the Kubewãna and live on the central portion of the river Cuduiarí.

(4) BEIJÚ -- Not mentioned in the other tribes. Pelo Rio Mar says only that it was missionized by Frei Gregório in 1852-3. The report by Jesuino Cordeiro gives the number of 187 persons of the Beijú tribe, who in 1853 lived in the povoado of Cubio-paraná.

[115] An old Wanana septuagenarian from Tipiaca (in 1954), José by name, informed us that a Beijú tribe that speaks only Kubewãna and calls itself Baxtoá lives in Cubio-igarape.

Other informants of the upper Uaupés assure us that only one subdivision of the Kubewãna (therefore of the Tukano family of languages), which is called "Awekõ" in its own idiom, is known under the name of Beijú.

(5) CAINATARI -- According to the author of Pelo Rio Mar they are the Acanyatara-tapuia, who are found on the river Castanho, tributary of the Tiquié.

/51/ The report by Jesuino Cordeiro, of 1853, locates 168 individuals of the Cainatarí nation in Pacú-cachoeira, recently settled there. By this location (region of the Wanana) one could be dealing with a Wanana subdivision, which, in its own idiom, is called "Witõ monõ," which means acangatara branca /white crest/.

/51 cont./

*101 (6) COCUANE. -- According to Curt Nimuendajú (in a letter dated from Belem on Sept. 1, 1945, to Padre Antônio Giacone), it is the tribe also known as Coeuana, which, in 1927, still had representatives in Jandiá and another two sites by the mouth of the Uaupés. They had, however, lost their own idiom and spoke only the Língua Geral (see above, II -- 6, a /p. 43 /). They were the Indians who more easily became adapted to civilization, and from whom many caboclos of the Rio Negro are descended.

In August of 1957, according to Atayde Inácio Cardoso of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção ao Indio), there were still survivors of the Cocuana or Coianá in the town of S. Joaquim at the mouth of the Uaupés. João, the Tukano pajé /curer-sorcerer/ from Umarí (river Uaupés, a little above Iaureté-cachoeira), narrating the legends of the origins, says that the human beings started to ascend in the Cobra-grande /large snake/, and that "the Kuewãna, who in Tukano are called Pe'tãna, remained at the mouth of the Uaupés. But one of the Kwewãna ascended as far as Taracuá-ponta and up to there was the limit of his lands."

[115] [773]

(7) CUTIA. -- On the Içana there is a tribe known under the name of Cutia-tapuya, of the Arwake branch, whose name in the Baniva language would be Awadzurunái.

8) GIBOIA. -- Since during half of the last century many natives went from the Içana to the upper and lower Uaupés, we are inclined to think that the ones settled by Frei Gregório in Aracapurí are individuals of the žiboya-tapuya or Dzurẽnẽ tribe of the Içana, from whom we collected a vocabulary (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" by the Author and Boanari (II -- 6, a /p. 42 /).

/52 cont./

*101 [115] The old Wañana, José of Tipiaca, informed us of the existence of an Onça tribe, or Yaí-maxsã (as he expressed himself in Tukano), living at the headwaters of the Cuduiarí, adding that they speak Kubewãna.

Another old man, a Tukano octogenarian from Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa by name, also affirmed the existence of a cannibal tribe that the Tukano call Yaí-maxsã (onça people) or Yai-peri maxsã (onça-teeth people) and that lives on the headwaters of the Tiquié.

14) PICASSÚ. -- It is a Nheengatú word that means pomba /dove/. Frei Gregório mentions the tribe Picassú in Mitú, on the Uaupés. We think it might be the tribe also called Yurití, located precisely on several igarapés between the rivers Paca and Uaupés in the vicinity of Mitú.

15) PIRÃ-TAPUIA. -- It is the great tribe that is found today in many places on the Uaupés and Papurí, and about which we give fuller information in this work (see below, IV -- 2, v /p. 164/).

/53/ 16) QUATÍ. -- They are the Coatí-tapuya who went up the Içana, on whose headwaters they still reside today. They belong to the Arwake linguistic family, and the name of the tribe in its own idiom is "Kapité-minánei."

17) TABAIANA. -- It is likewise not mentioned in the various lists. It is possible, however, that this is also a matter of a spelling mistake, and the tribe in question is the Yabaana (as Arthur Ramos writes, 170), or Yabarana (of Koch G. -- Festschrift Eduard Seler, 205), of the Arwake group, almost extinct and whom Chestmir locates on the river Maruiá. In fact, on the map of Frei Gregório (April 1, 1853) only the name of a Yabarana woman residing in S. Joaquim

/65 cont./

191 /footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in the Mediterranean ports.

197 It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing. In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

[178] [115] [126]

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

177 Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

178

[563] [582]

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

000 2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

/71 cont./

In all the cases of newborn children that we were able to observe, we found the characteristic Mongolian spot, purplish, oval, measuring approximately one centimeter in diameter or a little more and always in the gluteal region. The Tukano Antônio Barreto, Dorotéia Brito, and others informed us that this spot is called Wãx-tĩ-õtá and is absolutely general. Although it ordinarily disappears after two or three months, it may, however, last one year or longer. The denomination Wãx-tĩ-õtá, feces of Wãx-tĩ, results, according to the legend, from the fact that the first newborn child was supposed to have been laid on a place where there were feces of Wãx-tĩ (cf. VII-4, d (5) ), which soiled him.

[115] [192]

142 Roundish face, at times widening toward the cheeks, as a gastronomic type; or even narrowing into a double triangle toward the forehead. This is receding and, in all cases, in the shape of a trapezium, with the smaller base upward, and frequently sloping laterally toward the temples. The zygoma is quite pronounced.

Eyebrows not very thick, small, straight, or light and elegantly arched, separated by a bare space of about three centimeters (the base of the nose). Short and not very thick eyelashes. Small eyes, Mongoloid, with slanted eyelids. Black or very dark iris and whitish, or with some frequency yellowish, conjunctiva.

Short nose, low, ordinarily concave, forming a regular arch. Wide base (between the eyebrows); sometimes it narrows, deepens, and becomes thinner in the nasion, like a small triangle, soon to widen up to the point, which is usually very /72/ flat. Large nostrils, round, very visible, because frequently the point is turned up. In almost all cases it ends in a roundish protuberance.

304 /72 cont./

[142] [144] Generally long ears, pyriform, protruding, and with the lobes almost always held tightly. In all the cases that we could verify (more than two hundred individuals of both sexes and from various tribes, whose anthropometric measurements we took), we could observe on the dorsal part of the auricular pavilion (on both pavilions or only one, and generally in the lower part) a scar of varying shape and size. In many cases it looked like teeth marks, with the mark of two or three teeth. No one knew or they all refused to give any explanation for this scar, answering, as they frequently do, "I do not know," or "that is the way it is," or again "it is from birth." A young woman affirmed that it was her uncle who executed it, and she did not want to say anything else. A youth gave the information that it had been done by his mother when he was still small, for the purpose of his later being able to attach the feather for the dances there. An explanation that obviously was not satisfactory, because he did not have pierced ears. [115] [192] Dorotéia Brito, much later, told that such a scar is called Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro (orifice of Wãx-tĩ), but did not say anything about the origin, affirming that it was from birth. It seemed to us that we could establish, as in fact we did: 1st, that it is artificial, from the appearance; 2nd, it is done before the puberty rites, because we found it on prepubescent children; 3rd, the name of Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro is an indication that they judge it to be of magic or transcendental value. Maybe even a rite of symbolic value, like the circumcision [115] of the Jews. These provisional conclusions were confirmed in September of 1956, when the Tukano Antônio Barreto, who [553] exhibited these scars on both ears, not only confirmed the term Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro, but added that it is done by the father, by the mother, or any other person, after the child has received a name (cf. Rite of the imposition of the name, VIII-1, b (4)), that is, from 3 to 5 years of age. He maintained, however, that he did not know its significance.

/80 cont./

*101 The Tukano Family, being made up of human groups located in the Colombian plains of the Amazon forest, entered Brazil by the Uaupés-Japurá valley, probably before the period of the Discoveries (18).

[115] 18. An old Tukano of Iuquira, Justino by name, of the Ihurwá or Juruá group, informed Pe. Antônio Giacone that his group took the name of the river Juruá, where they lived. From there, they moved little by little to the Japurá, Apapóris, and reached the upper Uaupés. They came down the Uaupés to the mouth of the Papuri, and later went up it again as far as Turí-igarapé, from where the Maku guided them to the Japú-igarapé on the mouth of which they established themselves, after the Arapásu had left there. Such information, by someone who had never seen a map of the region, presents strong indications of veracity.

Almost simultaneously the Arwake family came down the Orinoco-Negro valley, reaching the Japurá, as is proved, according to Koch Grünberg, by the names of the rivers with ri, a typically Arwake ending. Having come upon the Tukano, who are located like a wedge on the Uaupés, the Arwake remained divided to the north and south of them. The last migration, in Koch's opinion, was the one of the Karaíba, who came from the eastern part, in relation to the previous groups, that is, from the upper Guaviare.

197 /81/ By way of confirming the affiliation of these idioms,
126 we gathered a parallel Vocabulary of the most used words in the different indigenous languages (cf. our works "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia" and "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical."

/81 cont./

*101 a) DAXSEÁ OR TUKANO

1) People-Name-Language -- In the native idiom, they are called Daxseá (sing., masc. daxségõ; fem. daxségo), name of the bird that we call tucano /toucan/ in Portuguese. In the historical period they are already found under the name of Uaupés (cf. II -- 6, a (1) ), in the basin of this river, so that the various tribes of this region are known and understood under the denomination of "Nações Uaupés" /Uaupés Nations/. Perhaps the broadening of the term is due, not to the fact of the Tukano customs having been imposed, those of the other nations being eliminated, but to the greater number and dispersion of groups of this tribe, as well as to the generalization of its idiom. Even today many adult persons (and lately, because of living together in the boarding schools of the Missions, children as well) of the various tribes of the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí understand and speak the Tukano language, and perhaps have forgotten their own native idiom.

[191]

According to Lucas, an old Tukano from S. Luzia, on the Papurí (in an account to Pe. Antônio Giacone, in July of 1947), the Tukano descended from the northwest (thus disagreeing with old Justino from Iuquira, as was seen in a previous Note) to the Uaupés basin, already finding there small groups of Makú who were either enslaved or went into the forest in the interior. They call the Makú Poxsá, that is, one who serves without pay: "They are servants in peace and soldiers in war," as the old people expressed themselves about them (19).

[115] [648] [567]

19. It is not likely that the Tukanos had the Makú as allies, or that they would rely on them, if we note that they are shy and also subject themselves to other tribes. Nor do the legends that we collected speak of favors by the Makú to the Tukanos in war.

The tribes who arrived later called the Tukano Yepá-maxsã,

/81 cont./

*101 that is, "people of the land." Impressed later by the fact that they ate a great deal and frequently, they compared them with the tucanos /toucans/.

This is probably a later explanation invented by the native imagination. It is to be noted, however, that those of this tribe have always called themselves Daxseá, and never Yepá-maxsã. According to the old Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, Yepá-maxsã is the nickname of the Bará, although he does not know what that denomination means. In reality, Yebá-maxsã (in Tukano, Yepá-maxsã) is the name of a tribe of the Tukano group, as we shall see later (IV -- 2, t).

/82/ The designation "Tukano" clearly obeys the structure of the primitive's mentality, naming himself after an animal or plant. For now we do not want to go into the question of Totemism, which we hope to deal with more fully in another study. We are now permitted only to infer for them a habitat where the Tucano /toucan/ bird (ramphastus) might live, such as in the Amazonian plain of Colombia.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- More or less numerous groups of Tukano are found from Yu-Rapecuma (almost on the mouth of the Uaupés) up to Umarí (middle Uaupés), on the Tiquié from the mouth up to Carurú-cachoeira, and on the Papurí from Serrinha up to the headwaters. Small groups have also established themselves on the Rio Negro between S. Gabriel and Santa Isabel. The preceding charts (II -- 6, a, b) show the principal places where we find them today. The principal route of penetration into Brazil, it seems to us, was the river Papurí, from where they passed to the Uaupés and Tiquié (20).

• 115 20. The old tuxáua José of Parí-cachoeira, about thirty years ago, showed Pe. João Marchesi an area of underbrush on the Tiquié, reporting that the first maloca of his ancestors was there when they came from the Pakurí.

[103] The indigenous denomination of the locality of S. Luzia of the Tiquié, buõrá-bathá, swim of the old ones (cf. Note 9, III), is confirmation of the Tukano tradition concerning their origin and migration.

/83 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 22 cont./ we already found many Wanãna of the younger generation, who had passed through the boarding schools of the Missions, not only understanding the Tukano, but even preferring it to the mother tongue when they are amusing themselves with their classmates.

the Tukano idiom. At the same time the Taryana language is on the way to being lost, because they are surrounded by the Tukano.

563 The matrimonial interdiction of the Tukano with the Wanãna and the Bará is in force.

/84/ 3) Divisions (23) --

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23. In 1947 we had obtained a list of 28 subdivisions. And in 1953-4, we procured confirmation with the old Komũ, Gabriel Costa (about 80 years old), from Parí-cachoeira. He confirmed to us the order of derivation that we present here, starting with the Mamí (older brother) Waú-ro-põrá, and proceeding with the term Axkabí (younger brother) Oá kaxpéa põrá, etc. He also informed us that the first 14 subdivisions are the "principal ones," "the following 14 are inferior." And he added four more subdivisions as being "the lowest." Of the ones that we had obtained previously, he not only failed to mention, but even denied the existence of the U'khwãra and Vidari. Nevertheless we had confirmation of their existence on the part of individuals belonging to these subdivisions in S. Miguel and Melo Franco (last Brazilian localities on the river Papurí), respectively.

/84 cont./

*101
• 115

/Footnote 23 cont./ The Tukano Dorotéia Brito from Ananaz (Uaupés) informed us of the existence of another subdivision called Yamĩ-nõ põrá, in Tatá-punha, a little below Ananaz. Another observation: according to Gabriel Costa, the principal Tukano stem would be the one of the Waú-ro põrá. The legend and numerous informants are in agreement with regard to this information. Nevertheless Dorotéia Brito, who belongs to the Waú-ro group, assured us that they are not the "Tukano from the head" (according to the general way they express themselves on this matter), who are the Oyẽ. And not only these, but also, successively, the Mimí, the Toarõ, and the Borõrá are all "Mamí" (that is, "elder brothers") of the Waú-ro põra. It seems to us, however, that here there is a mistake by our excellent and useful collaborator.

The same informant added that the last Tukano branches, the "Tukano from the feet," are the Kõmã-rõ, Bu, Boxsó kasperí, Turo, and Dyi-pé. She also said that the Ihurwá, O'mẽ-peri, and Axpã-kerya "were not Tukano in ancient times" (and, therefore, they could marry the Tukano), and the latter, out of compassion, called them brothers" /the initial quotation marks are missing/.

*101

Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 261) names the Uíwa-tapuya or Arrow people (Pfeilrohr-Indianer) as a Tukano horde located on the Uaupés between the cachoeiras of Micura and Umarí. It is true that the Ethnologists' concept of Hordes is vague and may correspond both to groups that the Indians consider different tribes and to groups taken as subdivisions of their tribe. None of the numerous Tukano with whom we conversed ever spoke about a tribe or division of his tribe by the name of

/85/

*101 Among the Tukanos we obtained the following:

1. -- Waú-ro põrá (25)

25. Põrá (or poná, as it is pronounced on the rivers Uaupés and Papurí) means begotten, children, and it is only used in the plural. For simplification, in the lists that follow we shall omit the word children in the translation.

• [115] The more advanced Indians (who speak Portuguese and have studied for some years in the schools of the Salesian Missions), when asked about these divisions, spontaneously add by way of explanation, "they are nicknames that the others impose on them." This is undoubtedly sometimes true, because they like to *[192] give nicknames. But, on the other hand, it is not in disagreement with the "baxséke wamẽ," "blown [773] name" (cf. VIII, 1, b (4) ). According to the legends, [551] from the beginning the first chiefs had the nicknames, which passed to the whole group; for example, one of the "heads" was nicknamed "mimí," hummingbird, and his descendants are known today as "Children of the hummingbird, Mimí-põrá."

[115] The Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos of the subdivision Kõma-ro-põrá, from the povoado of S. Luzia on the river Papurí, told us in one of her interesting pieces of information: "The Waú-ro-põrá are the Tukano from the head. Waú is his baxséke wamẽ (blown name). Formerly, he hid /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ himself in the plant called Waú-mutõ, in order to *[192] watch the girls taking a bath. The monkey Waú (in Nheengatú wáya-pisá) is very fond of the fruits of that tree. The girls, while they were bathing, heard a noise in the tree, immediately looked in that direction, and saw the man hidden among the branches. They all cried out: waú nĩbẽ! it is the wáya pisá!

/85 cont./

*101
*192

(that is, the "children of the Waú," a black monkey with a white face, called in Nheengatú wáya-pisá), in Piracuara (river Papurí) and Ananaz (lower Uaupés).

2. -- Oá kaxpéa põrá (eye of the gambá /opossum/), in Piracuara (Papurí)
3. -- Oyê põrá (stuttering?), in Pato (Papurí)
4. -- Ĩrapé põra (a small black ant), in Anananaz (Uaupés)
5. -- Pamõ põrá (tatu), in Nazaré or Uira-poço (river Tiquié)
6. -- Menú põra (the bather? or Nẽẽrú, nẽẽnú, small miriti), in Acuaricuara (river Paca)
7. -- Toarõ põrá (a toad), in Acuaricuara (Paca)
8. -- Mĩmí põrá (hummingbird), in Melo Franco (Papurí), Taracuá (Uaupés)
9. -- Bõrõrá põrá (Fallen), in S. Miguel (Papurí)
10. -- Sararó põrá (a large grasshopper), in Acuaricuara (Paca)
11. -- Ba'ti torõ põrá (sucker of japurá /fruit/), in Pari-cachoeira, Tucano and Bela Vista (Tiquié)
12. -- Nẽẽrú (nẽẽnú) põrá (a small miriti), in Iratí (Tiquié)
13. -- Dyí-pé põrá (clay hole), in Uira-poço, S. José (Tiquié)
14. -- Dúka põrá (abandoned?), in Uaracapá

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15. -- Yai-ro põrá (a small inambú /tinamou/), in Beijú-cachoeira (Papurí)
16. -- Yõãrã põrá (bitter ones), at the mouth of the Tiquié
17. -- Bixpíse põrá (tumor) or Bixpỹã põrá (bluebird, bird), in Bela Vista (Tiquié)
18. -- Sakúro põrá (saracura /plant (Bignonia), or waterfowl (Ralidae)/), in Montfort (Papurí)
19. -- Sa: põrá (palm basket), in Nazaré (Papurí)
20. -- O'mẽperi-Ro põrá (long eared), in Uíra-poço (Tiquié); Tapurucuara (Uaupés); Yúa-pixuna (Papurí) (26)

[115]

26. The Tukano Henrique, pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of Japú-igarapé, informed us that on the igarapé do Tamanduá, Bũxko-yá, there formerly lived a Tukano group o'mẽperi põrá, now extinct.

/87 cont./

*101 b) BARÁ OR BASÃNA

1) People-Name-Language -- It is the name by which, without any modification, this tribe is known in the various languages; also the name of a fragrant bush, with whose branches the various tribes are accustomed to gird themselves when they dance.

Their language belongs to the Tukano family, as can be seen by the "Vocabulário da Amazônia." (Cf. the author's books: "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas /Indigenous Idioms/.")

*[192] We heard some Tukano say that the Bará are their Paxkõ-Ro (grandparents), but they could not tell us the reason for this apellation, nor did we find any allusion to it in their legends. It is certain that marriage between these two tribes is prohibited.

• [115] Pe. Humberto Limpens (28)

[797]

28. He was one of the great and well-deserving Monfortian Missionaries of the tribes in the Colombian region of the Uaupés. He became known by the name of "Pe. Clemente," who had been his predecessor in the Mission.

of the Congregação de Montfort informed us that he had heard from some old Bará that they called themselves Manao. We have not yet obtained confirmation of this, however. At present nothing is yet known about their relations with the ancient Manao tribe, which dominated a large part of the Rio Negro and is classified in the Arwáke group. Could it be that a small group of Manao were dominated or absorbed by the Tukano, whose idiom they assimilated?

*101 /88 cont./

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It is a small tribe of perhaps two or three hundred members, still living in the regime of malocas at the headwaters of the river Tiquié and its tributaries, the Igarapés Inambú, Abio, Aracú-pirera, and others.

Koch Grünberg observes (Zwei Iahre, 211) that, in language and way of life, the Bará are closer to the tribes of the Japurá, but has more intimate relations with those of the Pirá-paraná.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The informant was a young woman about 20 years old (1954), known as Pasíka (Francisca), of the subdivision Wáya-põná. Perhaps closer tribes with whom the matrimonial interdiction was in force will appear in the present list as subdivisions. It is indeed to be noted: 1st. -- In the forests of the Cananarí (tributary of the Pirá-paraná), as in those of this last, there lives a tribe known as Kávyari, whose language belongs to the Tukano group; 2nd. -- Would Pamõ-põna perhaps be the Tatú tribe (see IV -- 2, o)? Their habitat neighbors that of the Bará; 3rd. -- Doxká poerá, poará or foará is the name of the Tuyuka (cf. IV -- 2, d), and they reside near the Bará, at the headwaters of the Tiquié. We did not get to investigate whether the last three divisions are in fact Tuyuka, considered more closely related to the Bará; or whether it is only a matter of nicknames of some Bará groups.

1st. -- Kawayari (?), on the river Tiquié (Colombia)
2nd. -- Pamõ põná (tatu), on the igarapé Inambú
3rd. -- Wáya põná (an aquatic bird), on the Tiquié
4th. -- Oxkó kapéa põná (eye of water), on the Tiquié
5th. -- Da-ryá (a fruit), on the Komé-ya
6th. -- Minõ doxká poará (a fruit?), on the Tiquié
7th. -- Páya doxká poará (?), on the Tiquié
8th. -- Dahyá doxká poará (shrimp), on the Castanho River (trib. of the Tiquié)

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c) BÁ:RE-MASÃ OR TẽMYÚ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- The idiom of the Bá:re-masã, or "food people," likewise belongs to the family of Tukano languages. As can be verified by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), it is quite close to the language of the Roéra. We met a representative of the Bá:re-masã Tribe living among the Íde-masã of the Comé--ía (maloca Bõhõ-
[144] rya-hidó, mouth of the stream of the spider). He was (in August of 1956) a type of about 38 to 40 years old, short in stature, fat, skin of a light bronze, nose small and high at the point, rounded face, not very prominent zygoma, and
[301] almost cymotrichous black hair. He had pierced ears, with
[304] a plug approximately one centimeter in diameter stuck
[171] through them, the largest orifice in the lobes that we have found among the various tribes of the Uaupés.

[582] The law of the exogamy is also in force within the tribe, and marriages seem to be concluded with the Hanẽra, Bará, and Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The tribe of the Bá:re-masã is very reduced in members. We know of the existence of a maloca on the stream Umũ-ía (stream of the japú /bird/), tributary of the left bank of the stream Timí-ia (stream of the otter), which, in turn, flows in on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná, a little above the mouth of the Comé-ia.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The above informant, called Titõyã (also known by the name of Domingos), indicated to us as being divisions of his tribe: 1st. -- Íde-masã, 2nd. -- Ogóro-sõroa. It is probable that the first subdivision, Íde-masã, is the principal tribe of the Comé-ia (cf. IV -- 2, h) considered related to the Bá:re-masã, and not a simple division of the latter. The Ogóro-sõroa are the Hógolo-tsõloa or Tsõroa mentioned by Koch-Grünberg (Z. I. 370) on the Yauacacá-Igarapé, almost identical to the Edúrya in idiom.

/90 cont./

*101 [173] According to a Tukano tradition collected by Pe. Antônio Giacone, the Tuyuka came down from the cachoeira Uaí-numbí (headwaters of the Macú-paraná); but, under pressure from the Tukano, they were forced to go up the headwaters of the Papurí, from where they went over to those of the Tiquié and settled there.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Henrique Resende, about 35 years old (1953), of the subdivision Dõxpãri, tuxaua of the maloca of the Yai-sa igarapé (Tiquié)

1st. -- Dyáta põna (a small fish), on the Igarapé Inambú
2nd. -- Dyatãñõ-nõ (suspended?), on the Igarapé Inambú
3rd. -- Dyáta yuxkúro (long head), on the headwaters of the Tiquié
4th. -- Iñó-rõ (?), in S. Pedro (Tiquié)
5th. -- Iñó-rõ oaká (stake), on the Black Igarapé (Tiquié)
6th. -- Poã-nĩ manĩ (bald), on the Igarapé Marĩ-iá (Tiquié)
7th. -- Dõxpãri (branches), on the Igarapé Kuxtíro pextá (Tiquié)

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8th. -- Yuxkũro (occipital protuberance), at the mouth of the Açaí-igarapé (Tiquié)
9th. -- Wesé doxká poará -- (Tuyuka of the clearing), above Čarurú (Tiquié)
10th. -- Poã pirá (?) on the upper Cabari (Tiquié). They are the pariahs.
11th. -- Axkó kaxpéa -- põna (eye of water), in S. Pedro (Tiquié)
12th. -- Ébera-põna (water duck), on the mouth of the igarapé Boá-ia

[115] The young woman Amélia Resende, 18 years old (1955), added:

13th. -- Myõ dyi-Khãra (doxká-poará), in Cabarí and S. Pedro (Tiquié)
14th. -- Arã põná (child of the mountain range?), on the Igarapé of the breu /a resinous tree/ (the informant is from this group).

/91 cont./

*101 e) EDÚRYA OR ERÚLYA

1) People-Name-Language -- This tribe, in their own idiom, is called Edúrya, whereas the Tuyuka call them Erúlya. They are also affiliated by language to the Tukano group (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia").

[142] They are of average stature, a little taller than the Tukano. Light coppery skin, coarse, black, cymotrichous hair, a wide, square forehead, black eyes, delicate chin, high nose sometimes slightly acquiline, ovoid face, and thin lips.

They are connected by matrimonial ties with the Bará and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Their habitat is several and small tributaries of the Pirá-paraná, in territory completely Colombian. It was not possible to find out the number of inhabitants of the tribe; it seems, however, that it is even smaller than the Hanêra tribe.

c) /sic/ Divisions -- They are the following, indicated by
• [115] a young man about 20 years old (in March of 1954), Tunú by name, in Mosã-bhoá (maloca of the urucum, headwaters of the Tiquié):

1. Kavyayána (master of dancing?), on the igarapé Axtáue-ya (31)

31. Should it perhaps be identified with the Kavírya tribe of the forests of the Cananarí?

2. Ehéburu (a straw), on the igarapé Axtáue-ya
3. Gãbũxkõró (Komũ, "blower," VII -- 2, e (3) ), on the igarapé Semé-ria
4. Ixkó-masã (a snake), on the igarapé Ioxkó-rya
5. Wextáyoa (?), on the igarapé Ioxkó-rya

/91 cont./

*101 f) EMÕÁ-MASÃ OR GUARIBA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Emõá, in the native idiom, is the name of the guariba /howler/ monkey. Their language also belongs to the Tukano family /92/ (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia"). We found /some words, perhaps a line of the text, are missing here in the original source/ [144] Ide-masã of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hidó of the Comé-ia. This was a type of average stature, slender body, delicate features, not very prominent zygoma, elongated face, high, thin nose, skin lighter than that of the Tukano, fine, black, somewhat [171] wavy hair.

[582] Tribal exogamy is observed. We know of marriages with Ide-Masã, Hanẽra, and Bará.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They inhabit the forests between the headwaters of the Tiquié and the river Pirá-paraná. They are few nowadays, according to the informant, who could give us barely 3 subdivisions. It is to be noted that, according to the informant, the Yebá and Roéra are part of her tribe. This agrees with some information obtained three years previously from a Yéba, who, among the divisions of his tribe, named [361] the Emõá and the Roéra (cf. IV-2, t). If the Yéba are to be included among the Emõá, these would be, in all, several [171] hundreds of individuals, because the Yéba live in several malocas in the region embraced between the Comé-ia and the Pirá-paraná.

Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 401) speaks of the greatly feared Guaríua or Guariba-Tapuya located below the Jurí and Passé, that is, in the basin of the river Japurá. The Emõá can not be identified with these Guariua-Tapuya, but rather with the Õmõá of the sources of the Tiquié.

• [115] 3) Divisions. Informant, the Indian woman Misirã, about 50 years old (1957), also known as Joaquina, wife of the Ide-masã tuxáua of the Comé-ia:

/93 cont./

*101 • [115] 3) Divisions. -- In March of 1954 the Indian woman Duhigó, about 50 years old, gave the following divisions of her tribe:

1. Dasékãna (?), on the igarapé Umũ-ya (headwaters of the Komé-ya)
2. Doé (Taraira), on the igarapé Amorĩ-ya
3. Dyasumá or Ryasumá (?), on the igarapé Amorĩ-ya
4. Fẽmona (?), on the river Pirá-paraná
5. Komíya (?), on the Soarí-ma-pitó (mouth of the red igarapé)
6. Wámona (?), on the igarapé Umũ-ya
7. Nikoméyana (?), on the igarapé Umũ-ya
8. Senẽ (?), on the headwaters of the Komé-ya.

h) ÍDE-MASÃ, AÕ-NĨRA OR MAKUNA.

1) People-Name-Language. -- They call themselves this in their own idiom, which also belongs to the Tukano linguistic family, as can be verified by the Vocabulary (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"), *[192] and it means water people." It is a custom of all the tribes of the Uapesina region, after each sentence that they hear, to utter a sound expressing that they are understanding and following the conversation, or also that they are in agreement with the one who is speaking. This sound, for the tribes of the Uaupés, Papurí, and Tiquié, is ãã or ũũ (cf. Gramatica da lingua Daxseyé /Grammar of the Daxseyé language/ by the author). The Íde-masã, however, repeat "aõ" each time. Because of this custom, the natives of the Tiquié call them "Aõ-nĩra" or "Aõ-nĩna," that is, "the ones who say aõ." This is the explanation that the Íde-masã tuxáua of the first maloca of the Komé-ya gave us. In their own idiom, this nickname would be translated: "I am of the Aõ-nĩra, yõõ aõ-žigõ (masc.), aõ-žigo (fem), aõ-žira (plural). This same tuxáua said that the Colombians call them Makúna. They do not, however, know the /94/ meaning or the origin of the word Makuna, which was recorded by Koch Grünberg.

/94 cont./

*101 The Ide-masã are in general less corpulent than the Tukano. Although of lighter complexion, somewhat pale, elongated face, high, slightly aquiline nose, not very prominent zygoma, almond-shaped eyes almost always light brown. The hair in general is dark or even black, fine, not lissotrichous; instead, many times even wavy.

[582] Tribal exogamy is in force among them. And we know that they are connected by marriage with the Tuyuka, Bará, Emõa, Yebá, Bãire, Roéra. Not only the women, but also the [301] [304] men wear pierced ears with a small plug two to three millimeters in diameter, which keeps the orifice open.

A peculiarity of this tribe is the dances with masks. We had the opportunity to see the masks representing Waxtĩ and the [532] monkey. The one of Waxtĩ was a true white mask, made of bark, like a round face, with a long slit representing the mouth, a long and pointed nose, and, on the sides of the base of the nose, two slits, somewhat slanted, by way of eyes. The one that represented the monkey was a plain shirt of tururi, with a pointed part, like a hood, covering the head. In this hood there were two holes corresponding to the eyes and two points upwards representing ears.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They are found scattered over a very wide area: all the stream Comé-ia (stream of the iron or of the ax, in the Ide idiom Koméryaka, tributary of the left bank of the Pirá-paraná), the Miritĩ-paraná, Apapóris, and the Kamorĩ (which, according to indications by the same tuxáua, [161] must be a tributary of the river Solimões). They seem to be quite numerous, that is, several hundreds. The number of divisions that the tribe presents seems to confirm this information.

• [115] c) /sic/ Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian Hinõ (that is, snake), also known as Fernando, about 50 years old (in August of 1956), tuxáua of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hido (mouth of the igarapé of the spider), on the left bank of the Komé-ya, about 10 hours by canoe from the mouth.

/96 cont./

#101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- In Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/ we read that their center is the region embraced between the Uaupés and the Japurá, from where they moved to the Uaupés and were settled by Frei Gregório in S. Jerônimo, Nanã-Rapecuma, and S. Joaquim.

/97/ Pe. João Marchesi, arriving among them in 1925, learned from the old Arapásu that they were the masters of the Uaupés from S. José to the mouth. Because they were more sociable and pleasant than the other natives, many women became wives of the civilized, and many men of the tribe were taken for labor. Many, on the other hand, established themselves on the lower Rio Negro, and others perished. Many caboclos of that region come from the crossing with Arapásu. The tribe thus became greatly reduced. There was a large group in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) that emigrated to the lower Rio [161] Negro. Upon returning, it found the Taryana established there, and they did not want to relinquish the place, alleging that they were many and the Arapásu were less numerous.

Today a little over a hundred of them live on the right bank of the Uaupés, between S. José and Paraná-jucá.

3) Subdivisions (33)

• [115] 33. This division was furnished to us by Pe. Antônio Giacone, SBD. It is to be noted that it is not similar to the names of the divisions of the other tribes. Perhaps, indeed, because they do not know them any longer. All the Arapásu whom we could consult maintained this. And one of them came to ask us whether we knew how the ancient divisions of his tribe were named. The names below are only indications of the places where they presently live. It is possible that each povoado today represents one of the ancient divisions.

/98 cont./

*101 9. Wíroyro (the thunder bird), on the igarapé timbó (river Uaupés)

/99/

10. Bukúyro (a tree), in Tipiaca (river Uaupés)
11. Naã yaxpárya (seed of miritĩ), in Tucano-cachoeira (Uaupés)
12. Yopáyriro (maize), extinct branch
13. Naã ryãkiro (miritĩ), in Jacaré (Uaupés)
14. Nixti dixsõryakiro (painted with ashes on the legs during dances), in Uaracapuri (Uaupés)

• [115] The informant, Ernesto Domingues, about 22 years of age (in 1955), in Jacaré (Uaupés) furnished 12 subdivisions, 9 of which coincide with those obtained in Carurú. The other three are:

16. /Sic: this item and the next one are virtually identical in the original source./ Witõ monõ (white acangatara /feather head-ornament/), in Uaracapuri (Uaupés)
16. Witõ monõ (white acangatara), in Uaracapuri (Aaupés /sic/)
17. ỹáhori poná (mud of the bank of the river), in Taiassú (Uaupés)

[115] Another informant, Gabriel Paiva, about 18 years of age, further added:

18. Wánixtiro (acará), in Matapí (Uaupés)
19. Yaxpíma (batata), in Jutica (Uaupés).

1) MÕXTÃ OR KARAPANÃ

1) People-Name-Language. They belong to the Tukano family with regard to the idiom, in which they call themselves Mõxtã, and in the Tukano language, Mõxtẽa, a term corresponding to Karapanã of the língua geral, that is, the name of a mosquito that bites at night (genera stegoniya, culex, and others).

/99 cont./

*101 Slighter than the Tukano, they also have less Mongoloid features, light skin and eyes, and an oval face.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- Their present habitat is the Colombian region between the Uaupés and the headwaters of the Papurí, or rather of its source, the Áua, and the Tí igarapé. Frei Gregório de Bene settled some Karapanã groups in Nanã-Rapecũma and S. Joaquim on the lower Uaupés, and in S. Luzia on the Papurí.

Jesuino Cordeiro, in a dispatch dated 1 July of 1853, informed the Presidente of the Province about an attack by the Karapanã on the povoado of S. Cruz of the Kubẽwana, near the cachoeira do Mutum (today Mitú, capital of the Território Nacional del Waupés, Colombia). Pursued by the Colombian Polícia, in 1928 a group of them established itself in Brazilian territory on the headwaters of the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié). These episodes confirm their fame as warlike and violent.

[115] /100/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Antônio Gentil, 40 years old (1953), from Umari igarapé, in Paricachoeira.

1st. -- Dũrya mãtará (a fish), on the Ekẽ-ya (igarapé of the nose?). They are the Mamí.
2nd. -- Poxtã-hará (thorn), on the igarapé Po-yá
3rd. -- Mũmyá pakãna (bees), on the Ekẽ-ya
4th. -- Mũmyá (bee), on the igarapé Po-yá

[115] The informant Vicente, Karapanã (about 30 years old) from the headwaters of the Áua, now settled in Uaracapá (river Papurí), gave new names and modified the order, also with a small difference in pronunciation.

1st. -- Mũmyá (bee), on the igarapé Po-yá
2nd. -- Dõryá pakãna (?) of the Pirá-paraná, today in Po-yá
3rd. -- Dõryá mãtará (a fish), on the Ekẽ-ya
4th. -- Poa-yá mõxtẽ already extinct (35 a)

35a. Poá-yá-mõxtẽ properly means "Karapanã of the igarapé Poá."

/100 cont./

*101 5th. -- Poxtã yára (thorn), on the igarapé Po-yá

6th. -- Mũmyá pakãna (bees), on the Ekẽ-ya

7th. -- Kenenõ (jataí /a kind of bee; locust tree/), on the river Pirá-paraná

8th. -- Botẽa matsá (aracú /fish/), on the river Cananarí

9th. -- Datõ-hyã (?), on the river Uaupés (the informant said: "nowadays they are Kubewana," that is, have been assimilated by them (35 b).

35b. Would it perhaps be the Kubẽwãna subdivision called Tatĩwa (javarí /a palm/)?

10th. -- Pixkõ-sẽ (gavião tesoura /bird, Falconidae/), on the river Cananarí

• [115] A young Karapanã about 23 years old, Luiz, of the maloca of Hõboõ-mákarya (headwaters of the Tiquié), said that presently (1955) only the seven following groups existed, and in decreasing order of importance:

1st. -- Mũmyá (bees). They are "the ones from the head," that is, the principal ones.

2nd. -- Dũrya (cutia /agouti/) (the informant was from this group)

3rd. -- Dũrya mõtãra

4th. -- Mõxtẽ pakãna

5th. -- Mõtára

/101/

6th. -- Poxtã yára

7th. -- Poxtã yára mõtára

We do not know whether he made a mistake in saying Mõxtẽ pakãna instead of Mũmya Pakãna in the fourth place.

/101 cont./

*101 [161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The only survivors of the tribe in Brazil, about a hundred persons, live on the lower Tiquié in Urubu-lago and Iraiti. They informed us that, because of dissension, one group, perhaps around the end of the last century, fled to the river Japurá (Colombian territory), and that they probably still know the original mother tongue.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Furnished by Luciano, of the Umũhori group, about 50 years old, and Maria Cabral, of the Umú-põ group, about 22 years old, both from Iraití.

1. Ixsé-pi poná (?), in Iraití and Urubu-lago (river Tiquié)

/102/

2. Pẽru bayá poná (master of the caxirí /see p. 595 / dance), Urubu-lago (came from the Japír)
3. Mahã bayá poná (master of dance with arara feather), in Iraití
4. Umũhori poná (?), on the stream Umú-ya, tributary of the Uaupés
5. Sõ-poá (?), extinct
6. Umú-põ (?), in Iraití and river Japurá
7. A-ú (?), extinct
8. Horí-di (?), in Iraití.

n) OÃ-MAHÃ OR MIKURA-TAPUYA

[115] 1) People-Name-Language -- Their idiom belongs to the Tukano linguistic family, as is verified by the Vocabulary that we obtained from an Indian woman named Kaxpé, about 45 or 50 years old, a native of the stream Inambú, tributary of the Papurí, and married to a Tuyuka from the Tiquié, where she resides in the last maloca on Brazilian territory, near the Colombian border. The Nheengatú name Mikura-tapuya, or gambá /opossum/ people, is the translation of the name Oã-mahã in the native idiom.

*101 /103 cont./
[161]

From the information that we obtained, the number of inhabitants of this tribe must fluctuate around 300.

• [115] 3) Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian woman Kamõõ, about 45 years old (1954), from the headwaters of the river Áua:

1. Tsuninõ (?), on the river Pirá-paraná
2. Pirõ (snake), on the Pirá-paraná
3. Petári suninõ (?), Pirá-paraná
4. Oá-maxsã (gambá /opossum/ people), on the river Pirá-paraná (38)

38. Would Oá-mahã or Mikura-tapuya be the same tribe?

*[192] p) PAMÍWA OR KUBEWÃNA -- Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 87) is of the opinion that the name Kobéua is only a nickname given by their ancient enemies, the Arwake, from the frequent use of the word kõbãuõ, nothing, no. In the Tukano idiom they are called Poterí-khãra, which means "people or inhabitants of the headwaters of the rivers" (cf. their name in different native languages; cf. IV -- 3). They, however, call themselves Pamíwa (sing., masc. pamíkõ, fem. pamíko). Curt Nimuendajú and Koch record Hehénawa as the name of the tribe. The Hehénawa constitute only a principal group of the Kubewana, whom Koch found in the maloca of Namakoliba (Z. I. 276) (*).

* Koch says that on the sources of the Querari there is a small Kubewana group called Abóxõhãhãnaua, that is, Kubewana-Jurupari, a name that the Wanana translate Waxtíkuxtipinoa; and the ones from Uaracapuri (Uaupés) are Olobahãhãnaua, called Diádãltoa by the Wanana.

*101 /104 cont./

3) Divisions -- We obtained four lists of the subdivisions of the Kubêwana tribe:

• [115] 1st. -- The first one contains 9 (nine) names and was furnished to us in November of 1953 by the Kubêwana woman Heloisa, about 45 years old, married and residing in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés). The Wanana man, Maximiano de Sá, from this same povoado, who served us as interpreter, gave us the meaning of each name as follows:

1st. -- Órobakõ (pacova sororoca /Ravenala guianensis, Benth./), on Pindaíba-igarapé (near Mitú, river Uaupés)
2nd. -- Áwekõ (beijú /manioc bread/), on the headwaters of the Cuduiarí (tributary of the Querarí)
3rd. -- Wárarikõ (variety of pepper), in Tatú-cachoeira (river Uaupés)
4th. -- Hehénakõ (sour), on the river Cuduiarí
5th. -- Bahúkekõ (appeared), on the river Cuduiarí
6th. -- Neábokõ (mirití), on the river Cuduiarí
7th. -- Bareákõ (manivara /manioc-stem cutting/), on Pindaíba-igarapé
8th. -- Húrukõ (?), on the lagoon of cold water (headwaters of the Cuduiarí)
9th. -- Pyarákõ (tocandira /a kind of ant/), above Mitú (river Uaupés).

[115] /105/ 2nd. -- Later, in April of 1955, another Kubêwana woman, Josefa, also about 45 years old, wife of the tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira, the Wanana Mandú, reviewed the list furnished by Heloisa, confirmed it, and added nine other subdivisions. She, however, denied the existence of the eighth division above, Húrukõ, and located the Pyarákõ or Myaráko on the igarapé Macaquinha. And as for the meaning of the names, it was furnished to us in Wanana (or Tukano) by her husband, so we shall put the subdivisions in the same order in which they were given:

10th. -- Utsí-awekõ (moã-parya), on the river Cuduiarí
11th. -- Bõoibokõ (tõnẽ-noãkiro), on the river Cuduiarí
12th. -- Korokõ (coró-coró /bird/ mira, that is, red), on the river Cuduiarí

/105 cont./

*101 13th. -- Pedîkãakõ (soxkõá, grater), on the river Cuduiarí
14th. -- Byókõ (the bird yavíroa), on the river Cuduiarí
15th. -- Korẽteraboekõ (the plant bõãritena), on the river Içana (Josefa is from this group)
16th. -- Dyurébakõ (pino maxkã põná), on the river Içana
17th. -- Tóreakõ (guariba /howler monkey/), on the river Içana
18th. -- Dyokákebekõ (without leaf), on the river Içana

• [115] 3rd. -- A group of Wanãna from Tipiaca (Colombian middle Uaupés), reciprocally helping one another, in May of 1954, gave us the 16 subdivisions of the Kubẽwana tribe that we give below. From the translation that they did for us, it seems to us that one can identify the subdivisions Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5... 7, 8... 11... 13... 15, respectively, with the numbers 1, 18, 14, 16, 9, 13, 12, 10, 15, and 3 of the lists furnished by Heloisa and Josefa. The difference would result solely from the fact that the list from Tipiaca is found in the Wanana language, whereas Heloisa and Josefa gave the names in their idiom, which is the Kubẽwãna.

1st. ( 1) -- Hópũrya (sororoca), on the Abio-igarapé
2nd. (18) -- Phurĩ marĩhá (without leaf), on the river Querarí
3rd. (14) -- Yavíroa (a giver of color), on the Uaupés River, above the mouth of the Abio-igarapé
4th. (16) -- Maxkã pĩró põná (place of the snake), headwaters of the Querarí
5th. ( 9) -- Pixtá (tocandira), above Mitú-cachoeira (Uaupés)
6th. -- Suxpúara (water bubbles), on the headwaters of the Cuduiarí

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7th. (13) -- Soxkõa (grater), on the river Cuduiarí
8th. (12) -- Koxtoá (red coró-coró), on the mouth of the Cuduiarí
9th. -- Desõporea (bearded), below Mitú (river Uaupés)
10th. -- Yurya (crippled), on the Karapanã-igarapé
11th. (10) -- Moã-paryá (salt), on the Mirití-igarapé (above Mitú, Uaupés)
12th. -- Boté dyeryá (eggs of aracú /fish/), on the headwaters of the Cuduiarí

/106 cont./

*101 13th. (15) -- Wamãtarwa (an herb), on the headwaters of the Querarí

14th. ( 7) -- Yebákaroa (manivara), on the river Querarí

15th. ( 3) -- Byẽdero (variety of pepper), in S. Cruz and Tatú-cachoeira (Uaupés)

16th. -- Wai wehẽkõ (puçá /hammock, net/), on Pacú-igarapé (above Mitú, Uaupés).

• [115] 4th. -- In April of 1957 we met in Arapaçu-poço, a locality on the river Içana, near the mouth of the Aiarí, two women who came from the Querarí, Nazária, about 40 years old and Byatrina, 25 to 28 years old, married to Arwáke men of the Yauareté-tapúya tribe. They introduced themselves as being from the Korẽterabõa tribe, a name that they translated for us as Búya-tapúya (snake people). It is to be noted that on the second list above Josefa gave as a subdivision of the Kubẽwana the Korẽteraboekõ, a name that indicates the plant bõsaritena. In collecting the "test" Vocabulary from these Korẽterabõa women, we verified that it was almost identical to the one furnished by Heloisa in 1955. Byatrina indicated the following divisions; serving us as interpreter, the Indian Ernesto, from the Jurupari-tapuya tribe, from S. Ana (river Içana):

1st. -- Hehẽnawa (old), in Tuí (river Cuduiarí)

2nd. -- Padĩkawõ (grater), in Itapinima (river Cuduiarí)

3rd. -- Byawá (Pepper), in Pirá-mutum (river Querarí)

4th. -- Myarãwa (white), in Sẽi-ma (river Uaupés)

5th. -- Bahúkõwa (appeared), in Uaracú-cachoeira (river Cuduiarí)

6th. -- Wararíwa (?), in Macucú (river Uaupés)

7th. -- Korówa (coró-coró), in Itapinima (river Cuduiarí)

8th. -- Pyaráwa (tocandira), in Pirá-mirim (river Cuduiarí)

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9th. -- Horóbora paramẽra (clay), in Cupim-igarapé (river Papurí)

10th. -- Tídwa (a fish), in Tí-igarapé (river Uaupés)

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*101 b) The agreement with the previous lists is not great (only in half a dozen names). Having in mind that the ending kõ indicates the masculine singular, and wa, the ending for the plural, we have discovered a larger number of agreements. For example:

The 5th subdivision of this list, Bahúkõwa, with Bahúkekõ mentioned by Heloisa;

The 6th division, Wararíwa, with the 3rd one of Heloisa, Wárarikõ (pepper);

The 9th, Horóbora, clay, with the 8th, Húrukõ (?);

The 16th, Órobawa, with the 1st, Órobakõ (sororoca)

q) ROÉRA-MASÃ OR TARAYRA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Roéra-masã, as they say in their own idiom, corresponds to the Tukano word Doeá-maxsã or Taraíra-tapuya of the Nheengatú, since roé (in Tukano doé) is the name of the taraíra fish (Erithrynus Taraira, Lin.).

• [115] Their idiom also belongs to the Tukano linguistic group, as is seen in the Vocabulary (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") that was given to us in August of 1956 by a young man named Yamí, also known under the name of Pedro, about 22 years old and residing in the Ídemasã maloca of the Komé-ya. They are [142] in general of medium stature, plump of figure, roundish face, light bronze complexion, light eyes inclined toward blue, mustache hairs, nose high and a little aquiline, and lissotrichous hair. All of them, men and women, wear the ears pierced [301] [304] and a small plug of about two millimeters in diameter stuck through them.

Tribal exogamy is also in force among the Roéra, and we [582] know of marriages with the Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They have a maloca near the mouth of the stream Gõ-ya, right tributary of the Komé-ya. It seems that they are not very numerous, except if we consider them in conjunction with the Emõã and Yebã, which were designated to us as one and the same tribe (cf. IV -- 2, t). It is to be noted that it is not rare that those of one tribe are presented

/109 cont./

*101 susceptible to stimulus (40).

40. The appearance of their homes in Acuaricuara confirms the impression that they are more decayed. It is true that in November of 1953 two Suryana families were building the two best houses of the missionary povoado. About the moral decadence, the fact that a father was living maritally with his daughter. It must be pointed out that the Tukano did not accept a Suryana as a labor overseer; nevertheless, in the Mission school the two most intelligent young men were Suryana.

[171] [835] [829] [797]

In Acuaricuara we found Suryana married to Tukano and to Desana; matrimonial interdiction is thus not in force between these tribes. Exogamy is also mandatory among the Suryana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We found some groups on the headwaters of the Papurí and on the river Paca (Acuaricuara and surroundings). They are not to be confused with the Širyaná of Arwake origin located on the Demêni, whom Curt K. identified with the Bahuna.

According to the information obtained in Acuaricuara, the Suryana tribe is greatly reduced in members. There would be about 250 individuals: 120 in S. Geraldo (river Paca), 80 in Vinha-igarapé, 30 in Uiva-igarapé, and 20 in Tapira-cachoeira (river Paca).

[115] /110/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Manoel Rodriguez from Acuaricuara.

1. Tu-boá (?), in S. Geraldo
2. Behé burisêra (Suryana tapurú /caterpillar/), in Vinha-igarapé
3. Wiva (arrow), in Uíva-igarapé (river Paca, above Tapira-cachoeira)

/110 cont./

*101

4. Wya-toá (an ant), in Uíva-igarapé
5. Eóna (jaburú /bird/), in Tapira-cachoeira
6. Bayaró suryá mamasurá (Suryana singer), on the headwaters of the Vinha-igarapé
7. Bará-ka (?), on the headwaters of the river Paca.

s) TSẼNA

1) People-Name-Language. -- The Tsẽna belong to the Tukano family of languages, as can be deduced from the "test" vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethnolinguistic-musical Record Collection/). It was not possible for us to obtain data for an approximate calculation of the Tsẽna. Like the neighboring tribes who reside between the Tiquié and the Pirá-paraná, the Tsẽna are lighter in complexion than the Tukano and have less Mongoloid features. Moreover, they exhibit dark brown, cymotrichous hair.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They are presently located in malocas on the middle Pirá-paraná and on some of its small tributaries, such as the Timí-ya (igarapé of the otter), Ahã-ya (igarapé of the inambú /tinamou/), Iaxpi-ya (igarapé of the batata), and Utú-ya (Igarapé of the plain).

[115]

3) Divisions: -- The Tsẽna Indian Marco, about 25 years of age (1958), who furnished and recorded the vocabulary for us, indicated the following divisions of his tribe in decreasing order of importance:

1. Oẽni-sẽna (micura or gambá /opossum/), in Tsẽna-pwea (cachoeira of the Pirá-paraná)
2. Tsẽna-põ (?), on the stream Timí-ya
3. Pinõ-sẽna (snake), on the stream Ahã-ya
4. Kũmya (?), on the stream Iaxpí-ya
5. Waya-sẽna (a fish), in Tsẽna-pwea. The informant belongs to this group.
6. Pamõ (tatú /armadillo/), in Utú-ya (Pirá-paraná).

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*101 t) YEBÁ-MASÃ

1) People-Name-Language. -- Yebá-masã is their denomination in the mother tongue, although they do not know the meaning of this term (41).

• [115]

41. Lucas, the old Tukano from S. Luzia, as has already been said (IV-2, a), explained to Padre Antonio Giacone that Yepá-maxsã (as they say in Tukano) means gente-da-terra /people of the land/, and that the natives who reached the Papurí afterwards called the Tukano this. It is to be noted that Yepá, according to the legends, is the son of Bũxpó (the Thunder), and the Indians, with some religious notions, say that it is God, the Son. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) met on the Tiquié an Indian woman by the name of Inácia, of the Yepália tribe, with beautiful physiognomic features. Would it be another spelling of Yepá?

[773]

Their idiom is classified in the Tukano family, as it is shown by the Vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical and Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia). In contrast to the Tukano, they are slender types, of medium stature like them or even shorter. Small face, tapering toward the chin. Physiognomy little or not at all Mongoloid. Coarser hair, black or dark, not lissotrichous, as generally befalls the natives of Brazil. At times they even exhibit slight waves. Dark eyes, nose low at the root, like the Tukano, but higher and finer tip. The men ordinarily have the ears pierced.

[142]

With an insignificant mandioca-agriculture, they are principally hunters, and they live on wild fruits. For this reason the consumption of ipadú /coca/ is great among them (cf. VI - 4, 1 (4). They all use the hammock of 30 threads. Their festivals are frequent.

[244] [222] [224] [284]

/111 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- One group of Yebá-masã lives on the headwaters of the igarapé Iaíssa (igarapé of the house of the onça /jaguar/), still in Brazilian territory; but the totality is in Colombian territory, in the interior of the forest watered by the Komé-ya. Probably they do not exceed two or three hundred members. [161]

[115] 3) Divisions. -- The five primary divisions were furnished to us by an Indian of the tribe, named Joaquim, about 25 years of age (in 1954), and the last two, by the Indian João, 40 years old, of the Tuyuka tribe, from the maloca of the Iaíssa. The Roéra and Emõã appear in the following divisions. We were not able to find out whether they are homonymous tribes, as is more probable, considered as more closely related. Their habitat coincides with those of these tribes, as can be seen in the respective places.

1. Doé or Roé (taraíra /fish/), on the Komé-ya
2. Wĩhuri or Wípuri (?), on the Komé-ya

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3. Áyawa (?), on the Komé-ya
4. Héta (?), on the Komé-ya
5. Kuíto (?), on the Komé-ya
6. Emõã-masã (guariba /howler/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya
7. Sẽi-masã (barrigudo /woolly/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya (42)

[136] 42. Sẽi is the monkey of the genera Lagothrix and related ones, which is also called aimoré, because of which the natives of this group are sometimes called Aymoré-tapuya.

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*101 u) WAHYÁRA OR YURITÍ-TAPUÚA

1) People-Name-Language. -- The Indians known as Yurití-tapuya are called in their own idiom Wahyara or Uhayána and belong to the Tukano linguistic family, but their language exhibits Karaíba vestiges, so Chestmir affirms (cf. Vocabulary in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical"). Jurití is the translation of the name of the dove wahyara. They have a longer face and lighter complexion than the Tukano, as well as being taller and slimmer than the latter.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- Chestmir tells of their existence on the river Caiari. As far as has been reported to us, it is in the Colombian region between the Uaupés and the Papurí that some groups of the Jurití live, as well as in
[161] Acuaricuara (river Paca) and its surroundings. It seems to us that they are more numerous than the Suryana.

In "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/" it is said that they were settled in 1852 by Frei Gregório on the river Uaupés, in Aracapurí, Carurú-cachoeira, S. Jerônimo and S. Joaquim, and a century before by the Carmelites in Thomar. And that they are very closely related to the Huhúteni and are called Halikuliarú by the Siwsí. We think that there is a serious mistake here. The Huhúdeni are of the Arwake group, and the Jurití, whom we are talking about, belong, by language, to the Tukano group. It is true that the physiognomic features of the Jurití are less Mongoloid and more delicate than those of the Tukano.

• [115] 3) Divisions. -- Informant Emília Cordeiro, about 40 years old, in Acuaricuara in November of 1953.

1. Dexpoá Waxtí panamẽna (head of Waxtí), on the headwaters of the Paca
2. Tsyára Wahyára (swallow), at the mouth of the Turí-igarapé, in Nenfya
3. Dyáta poná (water duck), on the headwaters of the Cussá

/113 cont./

A 101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They do not appear on the lists of the eighteenth century. It is interesting to point out that the Pira-tapuya are indicated on Frei Gregório's maps in Carurú-cachoeira, Iauareté, Juquira, S. Joaquim, that is, in povoados of other tribes and not where we found and recorded them (III). Their principal nucleus is the Papurí, from where they later moved to the Uaupés. It is probable that they arrived in Brazil before the Tukano.

[161] They fluctuate around six hundred (588 in the statistics of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/," distributed in this way: on the Uaupés, in Jacaré-ponta and surroundings of Ananás and Taracuá, in Urubucuara, Mariuá, Buzina, in Uaracú-ponta, which is their largest center nowadays, and on the outskirts of Umarí. On the Papurí: in S. Gabriel, S. Paulo. They are, moreover, numerous in the Colombian frontier territory.

[115] /114/ 3) Divisions. -- Indicated by a group of Pirá-tapuya from Teresita (river Papuri).

1. Wehétera or Vetára poné (powder), in Teresita, Ucapinima, Japim, Japú (river Papuri), and Uaracú (river Uaupés)
2. Swãrya poné (red ones), in Macú-paraná and África (Papurí)
3. Sasíro poné (sasíro, a large grasshopper), in Uaracú (Uaupés)
4. Kenẽ poné (a cockroach), on the river Paca
5. Pãta poné (a toad that swells), in Japim (Papurí)
6. Busãna poné (paineira /tree/), on the igarapés of the river Japurá
7. Buxpó poné (thunder), in S. Tomé (Bela Vista) on the lower Uaupés
8. Duxkodõ poné (thin), in Bela Vista
9. Ñamá-emẽperoa poné (deer ear), in Ituím-ponta (Papurí)
10. Ñapá poné (a toad), in Ararí-pirá (Uaupés)
11. Komé-pá poné (stone of the ax), in S. Francisco

/114 cont./

(Uaupés) (44)

*101
• [115]

44. According to the Tukano Henrique, pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of the Japú-igarapé (river Uaupés), the Komé-pá, also called Gi-Tapuya, are the "Pirá-tapuya of the feet" or "of the tail" (he expressed himself in this way) and formerly lived above the Japú-Igarapé, as can be seen drawn on the map of Hamilton Rice (cf. II-6, b).

12. Nohá-peoroa (burned), in Bacaba (Uaupés) and Japim (Papurí)
13. Poéroa (low water), in Teresita (Papurí)
14. Ñamákuli poné (spotted deer), in Macú-igarapé
15. Yapẽ poné (a frog), in Cangatara (Uaupés)
16. Kẽhólya (dreamer ?), in Ponta-fria (Uaupés)
17. Bwá poné (cotia /agouti/), in S. Paulo, S. Gabriel, Tucunaré (Papurí), Taracuá, Bela Vista, Açaí-paraná (Uaupés)
18. Paraoro poné (a cipo with fragrant flowers), on the streams Macú and Ituim
19. Nixtí-pá poné (ashes), in Teresita (Papurí) (45)

45. "Because they brought the fire in the dances," thus they explained to us the reason for the name. It must be an old custom, which is no longer in force today. It is to be noted that in Teresita they were introduced to us as the Pariahs of the Pirá-tapuya; whereas on the Tiquié they characterized as slaves the Bwá poné, Paráoro, and Oxkótirya.

/116 cont./

*101 [438] and receiving in exchange manioc flour, sieves, aturás /large baskets carried on the back/ or baskets, balls of tucum, and canoes" (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, 7).

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informants: Amélia Veiga (30 years old in 1956, from the subdivision Yugõ-põná) and Ana Cabral (22 years old, Depótino), both from Floresta (river Tiquié); Justina Pires (from Embaúba, river Uaupés), and Judite Monteiro (from Matapí, Tiquié):

1st. -- Boré-ka-põná ánikma (aracú /a fish/) (49),

49. Bore-ka-põná means "son of the aracú." "Ánikma" is a demonstrative that they employ frequently and means these, they. We transcribed it in order to remain faithful to the designation and pronunciation of our informants.

on the river Papurí; they are the "Mamí"

2nd. -- Bũgyẽri põná (old), in Tucunaré (Papurí)

3rd. -- Sumyẽri põna (a sour fruit), on the Macú-igarapé (Papurí)

4th. -- Poyẽri põná (a fruit similar to the abio /Sapotaceae/), on the river Uaupés

5th. -- Depótino põná (an ant), in Ira-igarapé (Tiquié)

6th. -- Yugõ põná (hiccup), in Trovão (Uaupés) and Floresta (Tiquié)

7th. -- Sipeáninã ánikma (a bird), in Umarí-igarapé (Tiquié)

8th. -- Anañeri põna or aganĩgãnĩ põná (foot of inambú /bird/), on the river Papurí

9th. -- Yexsé põná (wild pig), on the river Castanho (trib. of the Tiquié)

10th. -- Toá pianã (iúa pixuna, fruit), in Iraití (Tiquié)

11th. -- Waxsúpo põná (cunurí /tree/), in Turí-igarapé (Papurí)

12th. -- Yú põná (an insect ?), in Floresta (Tiquié)

13th. -- Yeborẽna ánikma (bone?), in S. João (Tiquié)

/117 cont./

*101 Obs. The Desana José Prado, about 30 years old (1956),
• [115] confirmed the above subdivisions, with the following modifi-
cations: 1st. he does not know the 11th subdivision Waxsúpo
[554] põná; 2nd. he corrected the names of the 8th, 15th, and he
divided up the 24th, respectively, aganĩgãnĩ põna, yai buxtiná,
and Poyaxtẽna, "because it planted the igarapé" (so he
explained); 3rd. -- The first three are the most noble, he
said, and the óiwa are the pariahs.

x) KUMÃDENE OR IPEKA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Ipéka is a Nheengatú term that means water duck. In their own idiom they call themselves Kumãdene, and in the Tukano language, Dya-kaxtá-põrá (children of the water duck). The Taryãna call them Kumãda Yaperíkuli, ducks of Yaperíkuli.

On the Uaupés there is a small group of this tribe of Arwake extraction, whose idiom is affiliated with the Baniva group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary which we collected (cf. "Discoteca Etno-Linguístico-Musical").

[582] They consider themselves brothers of the Taryãna, and, because of this marriage is forbidden between these tribes. In the list of the subdivisions of the Taryana /118/ the Kumãda Yaperíkuli appear. The somatic and the glottologic differences, however, demonstrate that it is a tribe distinct from the Taryãna.
[142] They are less corpulent, more delicate in constitution, fairer, and have hair less lissotrichous than theirs.

The ones from the Uaupés have already lost their native
[115] idiom, all speaking Tukano exclusively. In Urubuara in 1954 we met only two old men who still knew some words of their native language that we could transcribe and record: the sexagenarian tuxáua Mandú Henriques, and the almost nonagenarian Komú (xamã /shaman/) Martinho, who passed away in March of 1956. The ones from the Cuiarí, tributary of the Içana, still preserve their own idiom.

/118 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- This tribe participated in the first migrations that took place on the Cuiarí and Içana, having as center on this river the locality of S. Pedro. The scarcity of fish in the Içana, in relation to the population, especially in some years, led some groups to migrate to the Uaupés in the middle of the last century. In larger number they passed through the forests of the Aiari, and others by way of the lower Içana. Among these last ones, the Ipeka group, which is found today in Urubucuara and surroundings and does not maintain any relations with the Ipeka of the Içana. It [161] seems that at present the whole tribe does not exceed three or four hundred souls.

• [115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Mandú Henriques of the Komãda-pú group, tuxaua of Urubucuara. It is to be noted that the various Kumãdẽne of the river Cuiarí whom we could consult, although they speak the native idiom, did not know how to indicate the divisions of the tribe.

1st. -- Kumãda-da (?), in Pinú-pinú, already extinct
2nd. -- Kumãda-pú (?), in Urubucuara
3rd. -- Kapási Máwesi (hook?), headwaters of the Yaviarí
4th. -- Hapáka (?), in Bacaba-cachoeira (Uaupés)
5th. -- Wamerída (?), in Bacaba-cachoeira
6th. -- Murisépa (?), in Periquito-cachoeira (Uaupés)
7th. -- Wirí-karúpa (uiripipí, bird), in Periquito (Uaupés)
8th. -- Kumãdáwẽi (row /Port. fileira, row, line, rank/), on the river Aiari.

z) /sic/ TALYSERI OR TARYÃNA

1) People-Name-Language. They are the principal representatives, on the river Uaupés, of the Arwáke ethnic and linguistic group. In the Tukano language, they are called Pãã̃na (name of a plant?), and in their own /119/ idiom Talyáseri or Talyéseri, and in various Arwáke idioms of the Issana, Tarídza or Taría. We think the word Taryana is derived from Talyaseri by rotacismo /sound shifting/ (exchange

/120 cont./

*101 1st. -- Põkurãna (born from the clouds), in the povoado Manao (Iauareté). They are the most important.

2nd. -- Nérikwa Kwénaka (face of deer), in Japurá (river Papurí) (52)

*[115] 52. Old Paulino, who supplied us with these subdivisions, is from this group, almost extinct today.

3rd. -- Sivíru thumú (?), in Japurá

4th. -- Kwísi úda (tail of mutum /Crax/), in Iauareté (Uaupés)

5th. -- Kwí-váte (?), in Iauareté

6th. -- Kwénaka (?), in Iauareté and Ipanoré (almost extinct) (Uaupés)

7th. -- Kwí Káparo (aimoré monkey), in Ipanoré

8th. -- Samí-da (?), in Aracú-ponta (Uaupés)

9th. -- Makú-ya (urutauí, bacurau /Caprimulgidae/), in Micura (Uaupés)

10th. -- Komãda Yaperíkuli (duck of Yaperíkuli), in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) (They are the Kumãdẽne proper, also of the Arwáke group.)

/121/

11th. -- Makaryá-põ (?), in Uaracapá (river Papurí)

12th. -- Hiparíku sásari (riku is a small woodpecker), in Iauareté (Mission)

13th. -- Seréawi (a parakeet with a long tail), in Bacaba (Uaupés)

14th. -- Kayároa (? dreamers), Iauareté (povoado Dom Bosco)

15th. -- Wáparo põná (a fish), in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) (53).

• [115] 53. This name is in the Tukano language. A young woman 17 years of age, Antonia Corrêa, presented herself in 1954 as being Wáparo põná, not knowing how to tell the meaning of Wáparo. According to others, it is a fish similar to the aracú, although more roundish.

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• 115 In May of 1956 the Taryãna pajé of the Ira-igarapé, Henrique by name, a man of about 50 years of age, told us the legend of the origins of the Arwáke groups, in the cachoeira de Uapuim, and gave us the list of the Taryãna chiefs in the order of their exit from the pit of the cachoeira, which likewise corresponds to the importance of the group from which he originated. It is to be noted that it differs from the preceding one, not only concerning the number of the subdivisions and their rank, but also concerning the names and their meaning. It agrees with the preceding one only in half a dozen names. He, however, appeared to be more knowledgeable about the ancient legends, and for this reason his word deserves more credit and, besides, is greatly respected, not only by the men themselves, but also by other pajés of the Taryãna tribe.

*101 Starting with the most important ones, the subdivisions are thus listed in decreasing order:

1st Group, the most noble ones

1st. -- Kamẽwa (?), the heads; they are already extinct
2nd. -- Iriyumákẽni or Ena-yamákere (people of the blood, that is, born from the thunder), from this group Agostinho of the povoado Manao (Iauareté)
3rd. -- Pokurãna (that is, older brother) Kasútari, already extinct; formerly in the povoado Manao
4th. -- Pokurãna náseri (?), also extinct, in Iauareté
5th. -- Pokurãna purĩtĩ (leaf), from this group Filipe of Iauareté

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6th. -- Pokurãna Kwénaka (cunurí /tree/); Joaquim of Iauareté is from this group
7th. -- Pokurãna Neríkoa (forehead of deer), extinct, in Iauareté
8th. -- Dúpu-kári (water lizard), Paulino of Iravassú-ponta
9th. -- Kwénaka Pitasítsawi (leg of cutia /agouti/), Iravassú-ponta
10th. -- Kwénaka Sivíru (dove), Mandú Moleque of Iauareté

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152 The Indian lacks some of the more delicate feelings, such as that of compassion. He will not only mistreat an animal, laughing at its painful contortions, but even watch with indifference another person's suffering, even if it is his brother, father, or mother (cf. VII - 4, g (1) ).

593 There is no doubt about the existence in the parents, particularly in the mother, of love for their offspring, especially when still in the first childhood. Even then it is a love more effective than affective, diligently learning about the children's health, for whom they procure remedies during illnesses and food. When it is a matter of children already grown, the esteem is contaminated by interest in the services they receive from them. And the grief that they express when the children are absent or die is because they no longer have anyone to bring them fish or cultivate the clearing.

847 Attenuating this presumption in favor of mother love is the use of infanticide, and many times it is the mother herself who wants /157/ and executes it. Moreover, cases in which the mother abandons the children, even though newborn, are known.

593 In the children the correlative feeling is counterbalanced, or perhaps exceeded, by their selfishness. When the parents
889 become old, they easily abandon them, without providing clothing for them any longer, or even giving them medicine, food, or water (27).

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27. Pe. João Marchesi bears witness, with the authority of one who knows the totality of the natives, among whom he has lived for 35 years, and who, because of his heroic charity, cover for all the sacrifices, merited it when General Alexandrino Ferreira da Cunha called him "the Anchieta of the Amazon": -- "Among the elements of the same tribe, who consider themselves brothers, there is a certain outward cordiality and consideration toward someone else's suffering, but neither generosity nor a spontaneous

/166 cont./

521 It is to be noted that the husband never converses with his
593 wife at night, only during the day, and they carry on long talks
[115] when they are resting after work. At night only gossip among persons of the same /167/ sex is permitted (so we were informed by the old Taryana woman Teodora from Iauareté, and Dorotéia Brito, Tukano, confirmed it) (44).

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44. Among the Ide-maxsã of the stream Koméya, we have observed conversation between husband and wife during the night. Perhaps phrases imposed by necessity are not forbidden, and only conversation for diversion is prohibited.

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521 A singular meeting of pajés gave us the chance of an excursion
574 to the middle Uaupés in May of 1956. We were traveling in the
[115] company of two Tukano pajés, Marcelino and Henrique, the pajé of Juquira and of Japú-igarapé, respectively. A breakdown in the stern motor forced us to stop longer in the povoado of Periquito, of the Taryana tribe. The two pajés in transit greeted in a common manner the Taryana colleague of the locality. Soon afterwards, however, the three pajés settled down on the bank of the river at a distance of 50 or 60 centimeters from one another, each one smoking his cigarette (which one of the visitors had given to the other two). And without looking at each other, turned toward the river, they started to recite, in quite a loud voice and characteristic tone, which could be distinguished some 20 meters away. That dialogue lasted more than half an hour, during which now one and then another of the three would take turns speaking, always with the intervention of the other two, who would repeat the last words of the speaker's sentence, or other words, by way of refrain. It was a recollection of the episodes that, according to the legends of the origins, took place in those surroundings, the story of their islands, canals, cachoeiras, and rocks, a recollection with the power of an exorcism and augury of successful navigation. It was not possible for us to determine whether there was also an invocation of the "mothers of the things,"

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as Stradelli affirms having witnessed on the occasion of the imposition of the name (45).

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45. A similar event took place in August of 1956 on the Ribeirão /stream/ Timí-ya (left tributary of the river Pirá-paraná). At the hour for breakfast we stopped in a clearing that rose on the left of anyone who went down the stream. One of our oarsmen, of the Bará tribe, found there a tribal "brother" of his. Our oarsman, then, stopped his repast, and the two Bará, standing on a large felled trunk, turned toward the west (probably in order not to have the sun hurting their face), likewise without looking at each other, engaged in a dialogue with each other in a very loud voice. It was again the augury of a happy trip, through the recollections of the legends of the origins, as we were told. This dialogue must have lasted a quarter of an hour; afterwards the two of them sat down on the trunk and continued in a cheerful conversation, in a lower and friendly tone, while they ate, since our oarsman put our food at the disposal of his "brother," and both served themselves freely.

This same Bará oarsman provided us with a similar spectacle the following night, although in more unpleasant circumstances. A storm and the dark of the night caught us navigating the Pirá-paraná, and precisely in the vicinity of the dangerous "cachoeira /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ of the beijú." A tent was improvised with two small canvases, which protected the luggage and some hammocks, on the left bank. About midnight the sound of oars was heard; a canoe approached the bank and its crew came up, among them an old man of the Ihwãna tribe. Either they already knew each other or this

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*192 252 More rarely they cook it with tender leaves of mandioca; such a dish is called maniçoba (from the Nheengatú manib, mandioca, and çob, leaf), and in Tukano dõxkõ pũ (Uaupés dõxkõ pũnĩ; from dõxkõ, maniva /manioc cutting for planting/, and pũnĩ, leaves).

The peppery water (with or without salt) in which the fish or the piracuí was boiled is what is called byá-tõ (literally pepper pot) and in the Lingua Geral quinhapira (from quinha, pepper, and pirá, /217/ fish); and in which the pieces of beijú are moistened before being taken to the mouth.

*192 136 4) The fish. There are many species of fish (46)

46. It is estimated that there are about 3,700 species of Brazilian fish, approximately 1,700 of these species being fresh-water fish. (J. H. Leoni -- Peixes Brasileiros /Brazilian Fish/ -- Edit. Anchieta, 1946.)

existing in the rivers of this zone northwest of the Amazon, and the natives use almost all of them (47).

• [115] 47. A Tukano Indian, João by name, an old fisherman from S. Francisco (river Tiquié) assured us in 1955: "We eat all the fish, except the pirá-boto." Boto or pirá-boto /dolphin/, also called pirá-yauara (that is, dog fish, and in Tukano oxkó puxtistéro, blower of water?), is a cetacean mammal, four species of which are given for the Amazon region: the white one, known as uiára (Inia Geoffroyensis, Blaw.); the black one or pixúna (Inia Amazonica); the red one or piranga (Delphines fluviátilis, Gervais), and the gray one or tucuxí (Stena tucuxi). The Boto, moreover, is a fish that appears in the legends, as well as the pirarara (in Tukano mahã-wí, which means precisely

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*192 276 dilute it in water. They also crumble the leaves of kaxpí-pũrĩ and of kãna-pũrĩ, reducing them to a mass like tobacco, which is precisely called kaxpí-mõ'rõ (tobacco of kaxpí) and which is mixed with the previous liquid. They also mix in the leaves of doxké-morẽrĩ-dá and duxtú-sarẽnõ-dá.

[115] A seringueiro /rubber worker/ from Urânia (on the Colombian Uaupés /spelled Vaupés in Colombia/), with a Tukano mother and raised and living among the natives of the region, heard from the Taryana that, besides the above cipos, they also use the one /230/ called ma-kaxpí-dá, of which there are three varieties, which produce a very strong drink, hence the fame of the kaxpí of the Taryana as being stronger.

[415] A few hours of infusion in water, in an amphora of 8 or 10 liters in capacity, with the customary designs, called kaxpí-tõ, are enough for it to be in a condition to be consumed. Its use is reserved exclusively for persons of the masculine sex and mature age. They believe that the "ritual blowing" by the pajé or by some Komũ increases its imagination-exciting quality. It is served in small cuias, followed immediately by libations of caxirí.

Under the action of the kaxpí, the Indian is said to have pleasant visions. "He sees luminous signals" was the expression of our useful Tukano helper, Antônio Barreto. And it was also what Koch Grünberg saw (Zwei Iahre, 201), to whom it seemed that he saw marvelous bright sparkles when he tumed his eyes toward the dark, or red flames when he ran them across the paper.

An official of the Colombian customs in Iauareté (river Uaupés) took it and saw images of objects with great brightness, and with all clarity he perceived geometrical figures, and even theorems of trigonometry came to his mind. A trader from the river Querarí revealed to us that on a certain occasion the kaxpí had caused in him a beautiful and pleasant distortion of the sensations. Thus the women seemed to be slithering snakes with very beautiful decorations; the flutes /flautas-de-pã, Panpipes/ gave him the impression of a large orchestra.

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/footnote 76 cont./ plagues (insects) of every kind incapacitate the region for sufficient and economical agricultural production. The problem of hunger, driving away the inhabitants of the Uaupés, has not yet set in (and will be still longer in coming, as we note elsewhere), because it is a matter of small human bands, with a minimum of demands and already partially /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ helped by the food supplies that the Salesian Missions send in monthly from Manáus and other points of the country.

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Pertinent here is a talk that we had on the morning of the eighth of March 1956 with the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, who since 1922 has toiled heroically in the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, and which is found summarized in 6 points in our "Diário," the last five of which have to do with the subject in focus. That is: "1st. -- This year a larger number of Brazilian Indians who worked in Colombia died, among them three from Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié); 2nd. -- The Caiarí (Uaupés) has fewer people today than before, and it is going to decrease even more; 3rd. -- The Indians tend to come down, and a good-sized group of them is already established in Tapurucuá (former S. Isabel, on the lower Rio Negro); 4th. -- Many of the Pirá-tapúya of Aracú-ponta (Uaupés) have already come down to the Rio Negro, and others want to come down to there (and actually in our company, and in the same launch, on November 14, 1956, about two dozen Pirá-tapúya came down to Tapurucuá; 5th. -- They are also coming down from S. Luzia (river Papurí); some have already /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ settled near Bela-Vista and Tauá (lower Uaupés), where there are good lands, and they devote themselves to gathering rubber, which they will sell to José Maria

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203 It is reported to us that many times such information was furnished by word of mouth by Indians who went up faster, by way of igarapés and shortcuts, and one maloca undertook to send the news to the next maloca (cf. V, Note 9, about the curiosity of the natives).

202 /255/ One of the principal means for these long-distance communications, however, was the Trocano, Twá-tõ, almost [192] completely gone today, an instrument, moreover, without religious character and used only for social relations by the tuxáua. 198

It is a teleresonator consisting of a trunk of hard wood suspended by cipos to four stakes and hollowed by means of a narrow longitudinal cleft. Struck on the edge of the cleft with a wooden [192] mallet, Twá-tõ pá-kõ, with a projection of rubber or of anta hide, it emits a deep sound, which, in the solitude of those forests and with the help of the winds, is heard many kilometers away (5).

5. Koch G. (Z. I. 171) tells that from Cucura-igarapé (one hour by canoe above S. José, river Tiquié) the Desana got in contact with the Tukano of Pari-cachoeira (cf. III, the Povoados) by means of the trocano.

[184] Each tribe or maloca had its instrument and its conventional signals. With this instrument the tuxauas communicated the date and offered invitations for the caxiris. With the trocanos, moreover, they would give information about the retinues that were coming up the rivers (6).

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6. Information by Plácido Rodrigues, descendant of the Baré. Cf. also "Notas sôbre os Trocanos /Notes about the Trocanos/," by Carlos Drummond, Boletim 58 of the Univ. de São Paulo. Koch G. (Z. I. 393) tells that among

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*192 821 noted that, while all the inanimate beings belong to the neuter gender in the Tukano language (and, it seems to us, in all the indigenous languages of the region), sun, moon, star, thunder, and the sacred instrument miri (cf. VII - 3, c (3c) ) are of the masculine gender.

There is only one name to designate the sun and the moon, Muhĩ-pũ. They originally imagined them as only one and the same being, which illuminated the world, and it was always day. Until night appeared, in the form of dark dust scattered through space.

*822 192 The echo, Axkã-keoãra, is owed to Wãx-tĩ (see VII - 4, d (5a) ), who, from amidst the forest, amuses himself by imitating some noise. And many of the noises of the forest (the whispering of the wind, the murmuring of the breeze among the /259/ leaves, branches falling) seem to them to be imitations of the music and sounds of the dances that Wãx-tĩ performs.

*192 821 The thunderclap is the aborted children, Paxkõ-mãrĩra-khãra (that is, orphans without a mother), who cry, because it is going to be very hot. "These poor children go around alone, because nobody takes care of them" (Patrícia Vasconcelos).

3) The constellations.

They distinguish the constellations with names of animals or things that they seem to see represented by the stars, Yõxkõã. The knowledge of the constellations is more generalized among the natives than among the civilized. Thus, upon asking a group of young men of 16 to 20 years of age the names of the constellations, all showed that they knew them, and one would recall the name when another had forgotten it, and they pointed to them in the sky.

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805 A Tukano by the name of Dorotéia Brito, with decades of
• [115] contact with the schools of the Salesian Sisters, furnished us a list of 12 months, with the corresponding names in Portuguese. As it will be seen, there is only partial correspondence of the names with the preceding list, which was obtained for us by Padre Antonio Giacone. Dorotéia explained the origin of the names as being that of the figures which they seem to see in the clouds
*192 (sic). It is to be noted that it coincides with the names of the
805 constellations, precisely as the ancients used to divide the
821 months by the constellations.

These are the names of the months:

January -- Ma'mã̃ bahwarí muhĩ-pũ (new month appeared)
February -- Daxsyã̃ pixkõ-rõ (shrimp tail)
March -- Dyá-yó (otter)
April -- Yaí pwé-ro (high water of the onça)
May -- wãrã̃ (animal-sloth)
June -- Axpã̃ kaxsá (crab platform)
July -- Pamõ pwé-ro (high water of the tatu)
August -- Wai kaxsá (fish platform)
September -- Syó-a yaxpú (adze handle)
October -- Yõxkwã̃téro (morning star)
November -- Ãña (ray)
December -- Yaí õxpõ (body of the onça)

5) The day.

They know, with enough approximation, how to calculate the hour of the day by the height of the sun. They do not, however, have calculations of years, months, weeks, and days; nor do they know how to tell what date we are at.

They distinguish the following hours of the day:

boreá-mãhõãtise -- (literally, before the light or dawn rises), around four in the morning
Boré-kease -- dawn
/263/ Boréke-yõrõãse -- more light
muhĩ-pũ mãhõã-tyase -- (sunrise), six in the morning

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/footnote 12 cont./ this opinion about the sicknesses will be no hygiene or preventive measures at all, hence the spread, for example, of malaria, grippe, tuberculosis, etc., as is reported for various occasions and places.

That is, the sicknesses are caused by the malevolent spirit of the men who, by envying (one of the weak points of the forest-dweller's psyche) their fellow men, endeavor to do them some harm. For that, they can use the most varied objects turned malefic by magic: a lock of hair, a piece of cloth, wood, stone, metal, bone, thorn, very commonly a cigar butt (13),

13. Every time that, upon digging in a spot, a cigar butt is found, the Indian immediately thinks that it is a matter of a malefice.

and even the mere thought. The malefic objects will act when placed on the individual's path, inside his house, buried in his yard, or thrown on his landing place or his canoe.

*[192] [115]

They believe that (information from the tuxaua Júlio from Pari-cachoeira, river Tiquié) mysterious beings, whom they call Waí maxsã (fish people) might have spread germs of sickness under the stones of the rivers; thus they talk about seré-pá (stone of purú-puru /skin disease/), yohá-pá (stone of dysentery). For this reason, they oppose breaking these stones, because such sicknesses would spread and decimate the population. They assert concerning some stones of Pari-cachoeira that even the fish die when they lie against them (14).

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14. One of the Missionary Brothers gave a likely explanation for the fact: the existence there of numerous piranhas, which attack the other fish.

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756 another pajé, as though serving as an apprentice. It is not rare for a more famous pajé to attract more students to his school and to give them collective training (25).

25. Near Taracuá-ponta, in the maloca of Sussuaca, according to what Mons. Lourenço Giordano attests, around 1917, there lived a famous pajé who always had numerous students, so that they constituted something like a "Faculty of Native Medicine" in his hut. We also heard about a prestigious pajé from Iauareté, João by name, who on one occasion prepared five pajés in Melo Franco (river Papuri).

/276/ f) Preparation of the xamã /shaman/ (26).

[115] 26. Report by the Taryana Indian from Iauareté, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who took the course for pajé training.

[192] [778] The preparation of a pajé is a long one. Besides the theoretical instruction they receive, they also use various magic substances and instruments, called Whiõ (27).

27. Whiõ is probably derived from Whi, to smell, and, properly speaking, designates the substances that they inhale or smell, like the paricá /Leguminosae/, almost all of them of intense odor, some capable of going so far as to stupefy. Perhaps, by an extension of the meaning, the term Whiõ came to indicate also the container of these substances.

all of them of legendary origin, some of which are supposed to have appeared mysteriously, and passed on from pajé to pajé.

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756 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the
627 other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individ-
628 ual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a preventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain from doing him harm.

k) The xamã /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very
[115] advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For exam-
[797] ple, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé, and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife (37).

37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

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756 821 [797] In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike. They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another, stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauareté the first large pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon the one who lived in Iauareté.

755 756 [115] Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955) makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian bank of the river Papurí. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patricia: --"My niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right, [177] he will be punished." Would this be the concept of a judgment after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle, the young woman added: -- "When the patient has a headache, the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komũ, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing process of the pajés.

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757 Scorning all precautions, they will not hesitate to pour out the remedy that displeases them; if, on the other hand, it has a pleasing flavor, they will take it all at once, or divide it between the sick and the healthy. A bottle of syrup will be consumed with flour in a few minutes.

5) Home remedies.

753 In some cases some means of cure for certain sicknesses, or means of preventing them, are indicated without recourse to the pajé. It is not so much a weakening of his prestige, as, it seems
*[192] to us, medicinal magic. They teach, for instance, that the fish surubi harms anyone who has a wound; and the fruit cubiú, anyone who has impaludism. If someone eats the fish piraiba, his vision will suffer, etc.

*192 The best-known home remedies are (44):

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> 44. We obtained this list from the Hungarian Ladislau Auer, who has lived for several years among the tribes of the Uaupés.

a) For wounds: Recent ones. They boil the bark of the cipo dyí-dá (cipo of blood) and apply the water to the wound. Or they also apply to wounds scrapings from the potato known as Kamĩ bũxkõ-Ro-kó (remedy against sores).

Old ones. They wash them many times with the water in which has been boiled the water-edge cipo called Mõõ õx'sé-ka-poarí (paraiba whiskers).

/289/ b) Against snake bite. 1st. Of jararaca: they crush the leaves and the yellowish root of a shrub called precisely Añakó, jararaca remedy, and for this reason they cultivate it in the clearings. They apply them to the bites, and the sap or infusion of these leaves is also given as a drink. A variety of black root has an even more vigorous action. They also use the infusion of the sororoca root against the poison of the jararaca.

/306 cont./

534 There are four different ones; since, however, they always make them in pairs, canto and contracanto, they constitute a musical band of eight instruments that sound simultaneously in a hoarse, loud, but well-harmonized ensemble which is very pleasing to the Indian. In the picturesque /307/ native nomenclature, instead of canto and contracanto, the instruments are called husband and wife. We have already pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, c (2) ) the belief that the mĩrĩa are "people," and perhaps the denomination of husband and wife is derived from this belief.

Each instrument has its name, according to size; they could not explain to us the reason for the names, however.

Starting with the largest ones, the order that the tuxáua-bayá Júlio of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) gave us in 1953 was the following:

*192 534 1st. -- baaró (a bird of prey); 2nd. -- mahã (arara); 3rd. -- dẽ'tõ (squirrel); 4th. -- kixtyó boxká (bunch of snappers); 5th. -- arũtõ (assarí, a small toucan); 6th. -- mẽrẽ-i'sĩ (a small monkey, perhaps the marmoset); 7th. -- doé (taraira, fish); 8th. -- pextoá (kingfisher, aquatic bird, Caradrifdea).

• [115] [126] In April of 1955 two pajés of the Tukano tribe, Marcelino of Iuquira and Henrique of Japú-igarapé (Uaupés) also indicated the names of the instruments, with an alteration in the order, however, to wit (we have recorded their defective pronunciation), starting with the largest: 1st pair: kixtyó-boxká (ensemble of rattles), its wife is anõnõ (assarí); 2nd pair: i'tĩĩ or mẽ'nẽ-i'sĩ (small white monkey with a yellow back), its wife is pusõ (they pronounce it this

/307 cont./

*192 way, instead of poxsõ, makú; and they explained why,
that is, it serves as a servant, it is the makú of the jurupari);
534 3rd pair: doé (taraira), its wife is pextoã (kingfisher);
4th pair: dẽ'tõ (squirrel), its wife is also pusõ.

[184] It seems that each tribe has its peculiar way of preparing the mĩriã, so that, without previous practicing, those of one tribe do not know how to play properly the instruments of another tribe. At least the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) apologized for having only one man among them who knew how to play the mĩriã loaned for the occasion by the neighboring Huhudẽne of Uaupuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana).

13th. -- Eheõnõ. It is not properly speaking a musical instrument, but a legendary object and for commemoration of the legends. We have already described this small horn above (cf. VI -- 4, i (3) ).

4) Musical themes of the Panpipes.

533 The Salesian Missionary, Pe. Eduardo Lagório, admirer
• [115] of the native music (58),

> 58. And who has already been inspired by the native musical themes for the composition of religious and secular songs.

provided the following notes about the Panpipes /flautas-de-pã/ and their musical themes.

/320 cont./

177 Amazonas, October 3 of 1907, Vol. II, n. 7, pp. 85-90)
792 "are more than 10 captured Macus, who are used by them
[567] as slaves, to the point of selling them in exchange for a weapon, swords, axes, and whatever pleases them."

After Venâncio and Alexandre, a deserter by the name of Basílio Melgueiro renewed the same mistakes, states Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 20).

Around the end of 1880 another individual appeared, this one from the Arapásu tribe, who called himself Vicente Cristo and claimed to maintain dialogues with the spirits of the dead and with God himself, of whom he proclaimed himself to be a representative. He announced himself as "Pai dos Missionários" /Father of the Missionaries/, who, at his request, God had sent to the Caiarí. He fanaticized many, whom he made dance around a cross. Having harmed many seringueiros /rubber workers/ with his fanaticism, he was finally arrested in Barcelos.

A similar episode happened in the last decades of the past century on the Papuri. An Indian from the Tukano tribe (Subdivision of the Sakúro-põrá, see IV - 2, a), Lino Sêwa by name, appeared in the locality of Buxtwá-pweá (today Montfort). Natives of the Papurí and even of the Uaupés and Tiquié ran to him. He ordered each one to make a cross for himself, taught sacred songs, preached that everyone would go to
[115] heaven, and produced many cures with his remedies. The informant for these episodes was an old Indian woman from Pari-cachoeira, called Isabel, who completed her report by offering that, because she had not practiced fornication, "Saint" Lino took her as a helper in the preparation of the remedies. Among the extraordinary events Isabel tells of a marvelous blossoming of beautiful flowers in the entire region included

/323 cont./

776 it is "Deus Pai" /God the Father/ (10).

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• [115]

10. The young Patrícia Vasconcelos, Christian and alumna of the Salesian Mission, talking to her old uncle and pajé, Marco, from S. Luzia, river Papurí, while speaking about the Padre Eterno /Eternal Father/ (Father of Jesus Christ), heard him interrupt her: "Well, my daughter, this is Bũxpó."

*[192] It is to be pointed out that the term of the Língua Geral for indicating Deus /God/ is Tupana, a simple variation, probably introduced by the catechesis, of the name Tupã, which means Trovão /Thunder/. It would not be a mere /324/ coincidence of names. But either both human groups, that of Nheengatú and that of the Tukano, had the same beliefs and cult; or there was a borrowing of beliefs, or at least of legends.

[115] Some add that the world and the human beings came from this Supreme Being as a result of a simple creative word. This is what we obtained in talking with the old people of different tribes and in different localities, even from those who are not Christians and do not maintain contact with the Missionaries, and probably represents their primitive tradition, because it moreover corresponds to what is narrated by the legends.

776 b) Among the Tukano of the river Tiquié, Padre Eduardo

*[192] Lagório, Salesian, found the belief in a God and a Goddess, who existed per se, that is, were not created by another, "kã õaró, by the will," as they express it in their idiom; and she, too, "ko õaró." Contrary to the native psychology, which is not bound up with the woman, whose physical qualities do not give her any more value, the Indian, who in his realistic pragmatism seems unconcerned about the aesthetic qualities of persons, dwells, on the other hand, on describing the beauty of this goddess. It seems to us, for this reason, permissible to search for a Christian origin for such a fact, to wit, the cult and homage

/324 cont./

776 to the Holy Mother of God (11).

• [115] [177]

11. The Indian Sebastião Mariano, of the Yuruparí-tapúya tribe (Arwáke of the Içana) narrated to us in Carará-poço (river Içana), in August of 1957, the legend of Kóay, which he identified and translated as Jurupari, called son of Yaperikuli. And to our question about what his mother was called, he immediately responded "Santa Maria" /Holy Mary/.

*[192] They call God O'ã-kõ, but they did not know the meaning of this word. According to the spirit of the Tukano language, it could be a word made up of o'ã, bone, and the ending of max-kõ, son. Therefore O'ã-kõ means "Son of the bone." They laughed when we gave this translation and added the very common: "that is so," "that is so." Accordingly (or "by analogy") they call the Goddess O'ã-kó or O'ã-kõ. O'ã-kõ means "daughter of the bone" (from O'ã, bone and max-kõ, daughter); O'ã-kó, as is more commonly heard, would mean "mother of the bone" (derived from pax-kó, mother), suggesting that this would be mother of Oã-kõ.

It is not a matter of a couple as a model of the human family, however, as among other peoples, or the deification of the progenitors of the group. Oã-kõ does not beget divine or human children; he creates the one and the other.

It was by invitation of O'ã-kõ or Oã-kó, so they informed Pe. Lagório, that O'ã-kõ came down to earth and there created mountains, rivers, forests, animals, and, at the last, the human beings.

*[192] /325/ c) Oã-kõ, according to legends obtained by us (and which will be studied more fully in another work), is a personage betrayed by his wife, mahãwi (the pirárara /a fish/); and he, in turn, preferred his sister-in-law to his own wife. It is true, the personage who made the tribes come out of the opening of

776 /325 cont./

Urubucuara, Yepásonyá, is also called Yepa-O'ã-kõ, and some of the old Christians call this one "Son of God."

Each tribe has its legends which express these doctrinal points, as will be seen in another work.

2) Immortality of the soul.

774 Another truth well established among the tribes of the Uaupés is that of the existence and immortality of the soul. This truth, however, is starting to be contaminated by metempsychosis and confused with the existence of spirits disincarnated or that never were incarnated.

*[192] They admit in man, besides the body, õxpõ, another invisible element which animates it and survives after the death of the individual. The natives of the younger generation (therefore the possibility of this being a term learned in catechesis is not excluded) designate it with the same term that indicates the heart, that is, héri-põra (Uaupés héri-põna) (12).

• [115] 12. The veteran Salesian Missionary, Pe. João Marchesi, who speaks Tukano fluently, says that he does not remember having heard mentioned another element or "sombra da pessoa" /shadow of the person/, as some primitive peoples believe. In the Tukano language, "sombra"/shadow/ would be called "bahusé," that is, "thing that appears."

*[192] The old ones, however, do not know how to give any clarification about héri-põra; they never use this term to designate the incorporeal element. They call this only wãx-tĩ (13).

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13. Cf. below, VII-4, g (3), what is said about the wãx-tĩ of the dead. The Catechesis has been using the term héri-põra (or héri-põna, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés and

/325 cont./

*192 797 774

/footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as corresponding to: heart, soul, and conscience. When they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis, the natives naturally give the word héri-põra this threefold equivalence. The old ones, however, only use it in the material sense, to indicate a part of the organism, that is, the assemblage of the principal internal organs, especially the heart and the lungs.

774 They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does it often. According to what Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, p. 317), the Kubẽwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

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764 775 On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

775 825 /326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul, upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal. But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic; 14/

• [115]

14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

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775 All the other souls meet under the ground, in a very deep, dark, and cold place (16),

[115] [764]

16. A young Tukano from Parí-cachoeira, Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why one places a match beside the cadaver which was buried, explained that it was in order not to feel cold. When we pressed as to whether the place where he was going was cold, he said yes. This concept of a cold hell is explained by recalling their warm region and they like the heat. To Padre Kok (according to what brother Pe. Afonso Kuypers told us), who described hell as a place of fire, an Indian said: "Better, so there is no need to make a fire there."

hence the need for fire. Therefore the metempsychosis is an extraordinary case of punishment.

They do not admit, however, human reincarnation, that is, that the spirit reappears, animating the body of a newborn child. One understands perfectly. Reincarnation can only be established in the /327/ human groups in which mortality and the birth rate are balanced. Among our natives there is a slight tendency toward an increase in the population, with periodic epidemics which decimate the malocas.

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Likewise they do not admit a future resurrection of human beings.

764 They have no fear of the cadaver at all (17),

17. It is an unpleasant sight, observed a Missionary (Pe. Umberto Limpens), to the Indian, as it is to all of us, because it makes them think of death.

/327 cont./

764 not even the children; so that they used to bury it in the maloca itself, where life will continue as usual. Nor do they later practice any ritual of purification (like the Jews) when they touch a cadaver. They do show some fear of the soul (18),

> 18. Brother Mateo of Montfort told that, while navigating with some Indians, he reached a place called S. José (river Papurí), where two days before an old man had been buried. Only the brother remained on this bank during the night; the natives, out of fear, went to sleep on the opposite bank.

although they declare, when questioned, that it cannot return or be invoked by the pajé or any other person.

775 A Tukano woman (Dorotéia Brito), questioned about what she thought of wãx-tĩ, answered that "it is the shadow of the [115] person." And the Tukano Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why anyone was afraid of the dead, explained "because he becomes wãx-tĩ" (19).

> 19. When an Indian, having died far from the cemetery, was buried inside a hut, the Indians later came to complain to Pe. Umberto Limpens that they did not want to live there any longer, because "the wãx-tĩ of the man" was wandering all through the house. On January 10, 1949, in Ki-xsẽri-yá (igarapé of the mandioca peelings) on the river Tiquié, near the Colombian frontier, an old man known as Chico died by drowning while fishing. Contrary to custom, they buried the cadaver where it was found, in an abandoned spot, a little below the povoado.

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776 a) Wãx-tĩ or Jurupari (23).

[115] 23. The young Tukano Casimiro Sampaio gave (1949) this contradictory information: "The Wãx-tĩ live in society. They make noise. They do not appear. They do not do any harm. /The final quotation marks are missing./ This subject about the spirits will be more fully developed in the book "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/."

He lives in the interior of the forests, in the darkest places and in the abandoned huts. He appears, however, even in the malocas, in the form of a black man, hairy, ugly, covered with ashes. A Tukano informant (Dorotéia Brito) said that: "When he makes himself seen in some house, it is a sign of sicknesses that will come. He likes to strangle chickens. When the broad hen makes noise, it is because Wãx-tĩ moved it." At any noise that they hear in the house or in the forest, they immediately think of Wãx-tĩ. A strange animal that they see, a figure, it must be he, and they yell, full of fear.

*[192] [822] They attribute the echo, axká-keoãrõ, to Wãx-tĩ, who is imitating some sound. It seems to them on many occasions that they hear in the noises of the forest and the cachoeiras, and in the whispering of the winds, faraway echoes of the songs and dances performed by Wãx-tĩ.

It is to be noted that Wãx-tĩ is not an individual; there are many of them; rather it is an entire class. Among them one par excellence, who would be the principal one. This one, especially in the origin of the nation, did them much harm: he stole the children, impregnated their women, and did other evil things to them, killed the men, etc. Tired, finally, of their /the next line in the original source properly belongs on the next page and is repeated there; it is therefore omitted here in the translation/ yoke, because, besides so many bad things, he forced them into tasks and very difficult demonstrations, the men got

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191 /footnote 28 cont./ as they identify Wãx-tĩ
776 with Jurupari, so too many of them, to the question: -- who is Boraró? answer at once: he is Curupira.

776 He also lives in the middle of the forest, which is his kingdom, in the sierras or on the headwaters of the igarapés; never in the open places.

*[192] They conceive him as a large and deformed monkey. He emits strange cries in the forest and gives great smacks or blows on the trees, /331/ especially the sapupemas (flat roots) of the sumaúna /ceiba tree/. He attacks the careless one who ventures into the forest, poisoning him with his urine and sucking out his brains. No weapon succeeds in killing him. He eats onça /jaguar/ and animals, and also sucks the blood of human beings. When he wants to suck the blood, he does it in the following manner: first he hits the place, so as to anesthetize it, afterwards he makes the puncture; when he has finished sucking, he blows in order to fill with air the emptiness left. If someone says: "I was sucked" (that is, to mention the appearance of Boraró), he will die.

• [115] Dorotéia Brito attests that her grandfather saw Boraró many times. "He plants the clearing, has a wife and children. In the clearing, during the day, words are heard; it is Boraró who is speaking, although he is not seen. He appears as a man, with hair falling over his shoulders, with a red flower in his mouth. He further takes the form of a woman and a boy. He does nothing to the Maku, and is fond of the monkeys. Anyone who has seen him will become ill." He sucked the brains from her aunt, in the clearing, and she died there, a mark on her head remaining as proof.

[115] Another Tukano girl, Kõmã-ro põrá, from the povoado of S. Luzia (river Papuri), states that twice, when she was looking for fruit in the forest a little above S. Luzia, she heard Boraró make a loud noise, as if he had made a shot. On another

/331 cont./

776 occasion, while looking for caraná in the company of a cousin,
*[192] both saw two huge tracks of almost half a meter. Her cousin explained to her that they were the footprints of Boraró, Boraró dõ'pó-kãrĩ.

Boraró, the same witness stated, "always has some animals that accompany him and sing near him." These animals are called Boraró i'á, lice of Boraró. "When they hear singing in the forest: -- moláro... (with the a very prolonged) moláro... (29),

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29. It must be pointed out that the pronunciation moláro announces the origin of the informant. The Tukano language, as can be observed in its better pronunciation on the river Tiquié, does not have the phoneme l. Under the influence of the other tribes, mainly the Taryana, on the Uaupés and Papurí, one hears l in some words. Moláro, we think, in accord with the spirit of the Tukano language, is a corruption of the name Boraró.

they all run away, because Boraró is very near. /The final quotation marks are missing./

[115] According to Casimiro Sampaio -- "Boraró lives in the forest. He appears as a white man (30),

30. Perhaps this "white" is used in the usual sense, that is, as equivalent to civilized, since he finishes by saying that he wears clothing.

large, with a red forehead. He wears clothing. He makes noise in the forest. However, he does not do harm to anyone." In general they all affirm that he is very dangerous, and that his appearances are very frequent. Many claim to have seen him or heard him, and on various occasions.

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776 [797] Some alumni of the Salesian Mission who have already attended pontifical functions at which the Celebrating Bishop wears a miter said that Boraró appears with a miter, and the noise that he produces is precisely with the miter, which he opens and closes.

[115] A native from Parí-cachoeira, José Barreto, tells that his father, Mandú, not baptized, affirmed (1949) that the "demons" are few and that he had learned this from his own grandfather who had never seen any Missionary. He also said that his relatives, inhabitants of the igarapé of the onça /jaguar/, yai-sa, know the poison with which they can chase away or kill Boraró and that for this reason they have no fear of him at all.

*[192] In other places there are likewise individuals with such power, and for this reason they are called Boraró dohãrá, that is, those who cast malefice on Boraró (dohasé, malefice, poisoning). It is the belief of many that Boraró, upon drinking these poisons, will die.

Boraró is married, concluded Patrícia Vasconcelos, and his wife has one normal breast, but the other one is exaggeratedly long. According to others, it is Boraró's mother who shows this anomaly, and they nickname women with long breasts Boraró paxkó (mother of Boraró).

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c) Bisiu or Juruparí (31).

[115] *[192] [184] 31. A little informant from Iauareté finished by clarifying that Bisiu is Juruparí. According to a legend narrated by the pajé Vicente Rodrigues, Taryana, O'ã-kõ is called Yaperíkuli in Taryana and is the brother of Bisíu; the latter being bad and the former good. In the Arwáke legends, Bisíu is identified with Juruparí.

/332 cont./

776 He is, said Casimiro Sampaio, a mysterious being "who descends from above. He is yellow and appears decorated with arara
*[192] feathers. He speaks, sings, and dances the mĩrĩ (32).

32. Our informant, Casimiro Sampaio, finished by saying that it is the dance of the Jurupari. Bisíu, then, is confused with the great Wãx-tĩ of the legends.

He makes a great deal of noise and eats people. The women cannot see him."

776 We learned from various other informants that Bisiu eats
881 women on the occasion of the first menses: "amõsé baásamĩ," that is, he eats the menstruum, as they express it. A Pirá-
756 tapúya widow, Maria José (in Parí-cachoeira, 1954) clarified
*[192] that "to eat" means that he fecundates the woman. It is for
[115] this reason that she must be shut up in the house, and she herself will call for the services of the pajé or Komũ for the so-called "rite of initiation" (cf. VIII - 1, b (7) ). These personages, with their rites, have the power to ward off the danger for the maiden.

776 A girl of the Tukano tribe from the Papurí said that the
829 Makú women, who almost always live in the interior of the forest, many times become pregnant from coitus with Bisiu.

/333/ d) Nãxkã Wãx-tĩ (Wãx-tĩ of the forest) (33).

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33. Nãxkã means mato /forest, wood, thicket/ in Tukano.

He is also from the forest, stated Casimiro Sampaio, -- tall in stature and ugly. He wears long hair, and butterfly wings on his face. He does not speak and does not do harm to anyone.

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776 [115] A young woman with a Wanana mother, and raised among them, told Patrícia Vasconcelos that on the occasion of a mourning feast among the Wanana, when they were doing the traditional dances with masks, a man climbed up on a column of the maloca. With great fright he saw, amidst the dancers, a strange personage who had appeared: he was a short, stocky, ugly man, full of butterflies over his body. That same young woman further described that Yaperíkuli (personage from the Arwáke legends and father of Kóay or Jurupari) has a very small body, but legs so long that he can reach the top of the trees where he gathers honey and fruits.

[115] e) Õ'mõãro Wãx-tĩ. Wãx-tĩ from above, this is what his name means. According to Casimiro Sampaio, he resembles a monkey. "He lives in the trees. He does not speak, but he makes noise like that of a stone that falls. He devours whole men, swallows bone and all. When he wants to do it, he lets himself drop from the trees and the demons come out of his belly."

A Tukano girl from S. Luzia (river Papurí) claims not only to have heard such noise, but moreover to have seen the deep hole that was formed in the ground by the fall of õ'mõãro Wãx-tĩ, who has arms many meters long.

[115] According to another Tukano informant (Dorotéia Brito): "He resembles the sloth. He is tame and her mother saw him many times. Nobody, however, has managed to kill him."

The Amazonian fauna has strange specimens, some already known by the scientist and the caboclos; others perhaps still unknown (34)

34. In 1945 on the road from Urubucuara to Ipanuré, some women engaged in transporting the volumes of cargo of the Mission heard a great noise of branches that were breaking, and they saw from the back a figure like a large monkey, of about two

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Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsá, dances of Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts consist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩrĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

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Ordinarily the native does not know (41)

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

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The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

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782 with the author: -- "These dances are the rites of the old ones,
796 it is their religion." And after having pointed out the respect
that everyone has for such dances, he added: -- "If a drunken
• [115] individual were to cross the line of the dancers, he would be
thrown out; it is a great profanity, and he would be dishonored.

The sound of the instrument, we imagine, would stand for a propitiatory ceremony and dedication of the feast to Wĩx-tĩ (43).

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43. We questioned various native women, even the most intelligent alumnae of the Missions, and all were convinced that the sound was the voice of Wĩx-tĩ present at the feast among the human beings. We have heard of episodes in which the presence of ugly, mysterious beings among the dancers was affirmed. It is to be noted that we heard such episodes related by women. Perhaps because of a greater reserve of the men? Or because of a more excitable imagination of the women? It should be observed that in the Tukano language all things belong to the neuter gender. Nevertheless, Mĩrĩ (or Mĩnĩ, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés) is masculine. They positively affirm to us that the Mĩrĩ is maxsã, people. In the plural it becomes Mĩrĩá; and it should be observed that the plural in a is exclusively for animate beings.

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It is the renewing of his voice, the perpetuation of his teachings and orders, as it were.

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796 Such feasts are held five to six times a year; not at fixed
782 times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or
585 also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.
881 /338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

*[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tĩye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tĩ. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tĩ of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

[123] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled)
[124] of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in general the old people, who know more, are the most reserved. Ask-
[115] ing the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

/339 cont./

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/footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1) ), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

[301] 6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

796 7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compulsory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca.
535 The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the
[115] Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a
[126] miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels, and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

*192 The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same
796 tuxáua:
535 a) seat of the old ones, bũxkõrá duhurí-ko-mũ-rõ
b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ-rõ
c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ̃ kõ-mũ-rõ
d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'í-khãra duhurí kõ-mũrõ
d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrĩ maxsã duhurí kõ-mũrõ.

The first columns are called sahãrĩ kãrĩ: boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrĩ), when they sleep (kãrĩ:) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrĩ kãrĩ:-tẽrõ (tẽrõ, on the Uaupés tẽnõ, means beam).

796 /341 cont./
[178] last three or four days are already rare, and commonly they are limited to two days.

If it were called wai poosé, offering of fish, every male guest would bring smoked fish. If it is of pupunha, ã'rẽ poosé, they must likewise bring this fruit, etc. The most common poosé
*[192] are those of fish, of beijú (ahũ-ga poosé), of pupunha, of inga (mẽrẽ poosé), of manivara /termite queen/ (mexkã poosé).

[273] In the maloca where the dabacuri will be held, more or less three days before, or even earlier (the time necessary for the fermentation), the women busy themselves preparing a large quantity of drink: caxiri of beijú, or cará, of pupunha or of any other fruit /342/ in tubs or vessels that are covered with banana leaves in order to facilitate the fermentation. The activity is great; there is an extraordinary gaiety, loud laughter, a true clamour.

[574] In the morning of the appointed day (the hour will vary according to the distances from which they come), the offerers start arriving, bringing the offerings. They arrive at the landing place (or at a short distance from the maloca, if they come by land) with only some painting or also with some feathers in their ears. Two men go up to the maloca in order to give a warning of their arrival and to fetch the drink. The chief of the maloca sends the drink to the landing place; while they wait for the strangers, they complete the painting.

When they are ready, which always happens around 9 or 10 o'clock (47),

47. Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, describing these feasts, says in the entry Tauucuri that the strangers arrive late in the afternoon. It did actually happen this way at two poosé that we attended among the Taryana of Iauareté, one of fish and the other of cunuri. The Tukano Antonio Barreto, however, in describing the dabacuri to us, asserted
[115] that on the Tiquié it regularly takes place in

/342 cont./

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/footnote 47 cont./ the morning. And the one that we attended in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955 was also in the morning.

[534] the visitors send another warning -- "it is time!" They take their musical instruments (japurutús or whistles) and the offering and, amid yells, the procession is organized by way of the road from the landing place to the maloca (or by way of the road by which they came).

The tuxáua goes in front, followed by two musicians with their japurutús (see VII - 3 c (3a) /see 3 c (3c)/) (48)

[115]

48. In July of 1955 the seringalista /owner of a seringal/ Armando Sarmento observed at a feast of the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés that the two who opened the procession held with the right hand the Japurutú, which they were playing, and with the left one the respective lady. The other men came behind them, with only the rhythm stick, ahũ-wõ, in the right hand, beating the rhythm of the steps, and without a lady. He also noticed that inside the maloca, where the procession turned around, there were pieces of beijú and peelings of pupunha scattered on the floor (the poosé was one of pupunha).

*[192]

and the men who bring the offering; the rest of the men behind. They make a turn around the maloca, then go in and make two turns inside, yelling, those who are entering and those who are already inside, a prolonged êêê... (it is what is called oá:, to cry out). The men and youths of the maloca are arranged in Indian file, according to their rules of precedence, from the left side of the door to the back.

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796 535 *[192] Some of these dances are performed partially inside and partially outside the maloca, for example, the one that is called "wa'wári baxsá," which could be translated as "the dance of the caps," since wá-wá is a cap plaited with arumã splints. The dancers moreover go to the yard of the maloca around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, again around midnight, before dawn, and, finally, around 9 o'clock in the morning. According to the legends, the ancestors of the tribes danced at those times outside the maloca. And the feast is not only a recollection, but is also meant to be a reviviscence of the principal episodes of the epopee of their origins.

[533] *[192] In one of these dance numbers the wife of the local tuxáua goes into the middle of the dancers' circle and utters a long and shrill cry, while the men continue to dance around her. This soloist is called yõhõgó (52).

52. Yõhõgó is the feminine present participle of ỹohõ, which seems to be an onomatope of the sound that she sings. An informant also called her nõ'mõ bayá, that is, woman bayá (see VII-6, a (2) ).

She must not take a breath during this dance, but cry out with only one breath. If she breathes in the middle of the song, it means that she will not live long. [115] In this dance, says a Piratapuya informant (Emiliana Castro), they imitate the hopping of the cotias /agouti/.

[273] The dances are about to start. The caxirí is served in large cuias. Each individual will drink as much as he wants. If there is any left, the next companion will empty the cuia, with the right, however, to help himself first from the cuia that will then be filled immediately. Those who distribute the drink represent the butterfly: they have a feather over each ear, representing the wings and a small tendril of cipo in a spiral on the forehead by way of a proboscis. They advance in a rush,

/346 cont./

796 the men and with her own arms holding by the waist the two men
535 whom she is between. The eyes are turned toward the center of
*[192] the circle, and the points of the lances, yõxse-phĩrĩ, converge toward this point when they carry them.

At a certain point the local tuxáua gives an order indicating that it is the middle of the dance. Two men, among the leaders, go into the middle of the circle, make some turns, and finally come back to the line with the rest.

At a special order the women abandon their places, each one shouting her word. The dance ends with expressive whooping by the men; all those armed with a lance leave, bending as if they were looking for something, and, advancing toward a corner of the maloca, make a thrust with the lance toward an imaginary
*[192] point about a meter above the ground. They call this "blow-to-the-white, pexká-sã paasé" (54).

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54. The Indians have always appeared very reserved in explaining to us the meaning and purpose of this "blow-to-the-white," although they had revealed its name to us without any embarrassment, perhaps thinking that we would not know how to translate
• [115] it. On two occasions a native of the Tukano tribe of the lower Uaupés confirmed to us that "They do not like the whites and consider all of them enemies." Another native, also belonging to the Tukano tribe, although from the Papuri, in response to our question as to whether he liked the "white" or the "caboclo" better, asked us the meaning of the word /this footnote is continued on the next page in the
[829] original source/ "caboclo." To our answer that caboclos were the children of a civilized man and Indian woman, such as are on the Rio Negro, he answered immediately: --"We

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/footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

[115]

55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b) ), melodies affected almost always by deep nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's [582] tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1) ).

Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from [276] which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

/347 cont./

796 831 It is also during these intervals that amorous scenes occur, in broad daylight, perhaps in a hidden corner or not, and more freely at night (56).

56. It follows from the information obtained that the rendezvous must take place outside the maloca (cf. VII-5, c). Koch Grünberg saw that the couples indeed went out together, and he was told clearly for what purpose (Zwei Iahre, 372). It is, however, more common for the men to leave by the main door and the women by the back one, according to a previous understanding, and for them to meet outside. Some of the young men who have attended the Mission schools revealed the licentiousness of the native feasts.

[115] *[192] It will be enough to cite the following episode narrated by Patrícia Vasconcelos. On the Macú River, which empties near Teresita (Colombian bank of the river Papuri) there was a maloca of the Desana where feasts took place with so many immoralities that during one of these orgies the earth opened up and swallowed the maloca and the dancers, "Bisíu bahwápõ baá-peokoápõ, Bisíu /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ appeared and devoured everything." On the following day songs and dance music could be heard at the spot of the vanished maloca, a spot that can still be seen today, marked by a depression in the ground. At present (1955) Patrícia's sister-in-law lives near there.

and they can also go outside the maloca.

/348 cont./

796 we have seen. It is, however, a sign of weakness, from which
273 the Indian ordinarily abstains. It is a show of strength and masculinity to drink it and not fall down drunk. Besides it is "the plant which makes one dream," and the forest dweller wants it, in spite of its bitter taste.

Two by two, according to their importance, the men approach in order to drink the kaxpí, and soon after also caxirí, in order to take away the unpleasant flavor of the first drink, so it seems. They come equipped with the cipo shield (VII - 2, e (1) /see VI - 2, e (1b)/) and the stick-of-the-onça /see yaí-gõ above/, if these are in the maloca. The kaxpí will yet again be served twice more, the same ritual being observed. It is no longer obligatory, however, to drink it, and many, in fact, abstain from it. The individuals begin to feel besotted. Some, perhaps, fall on the ground, others vomit. This one seems to see in front of his feet a stick, a snake, /349/ or a lizard; he wants to jump over it and falls down. The inebriating effect varies with the individuals; and it is a satisfaction for those of the maloca to verify that the kaxpí was strong and the guests are dizzy. Some, in this condition of inebriation, give cries, throw down objects, break vessels, bows, arrows, whatever they find at hand. The Kõmũ who "blew" the drink "will blow" now over the drunken and excited individuals, in order to neutralize the effect of the
[115] drunkenness. This is information from the Tukano Antônio Barreto. The last one to drink it will be the local tuxáua, who, with the lance at the ready, takes three turns, saying some unintelligible words. Meanwhile, an Indian beats on the entrance door with a stick, likewise shouting out some words.

In observing such a ritual, the kaxpí is served three times, the vessel that contains the drink being put outside the maloca in the sun after each time. The last time is already in the middle of the night.

[184] According to the Wanana custom, at the first time two cuias are served to each individual, at the second time just one cuia, and at the third one two cuias again. When there are several types of kaxpí, one begins with the weakest one.

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/footnote 60 cont./ it to the quality of certain plants that they use in these caxirís. It is possible that their state of intoxication makes fecundity difficult; just as it is likely, moreover, that the affirmation of infecundity results only from the lack of means of verification or of attention to the problem.

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/350/ We thought that these immoral practices were a consequence of the intoxication. The Missionaries also thought this, although one of them pointed out to us that the inebriation was intentionally promoted for libidinous satisfactions. We nevertheless had many and categoric affirmations that these sexual practices, even the incestuous ones, are not only licit, but even established by the customs, and for this reason recommended by the "Old Ones," in order to ensure the happiness of the people and the fecundity of nature (cf. VII - 5, c).

5) Legendary commemorations -- Rite of the cigar.

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Legendary commemorations. We have the impression that to the original elements of these feasts, let us call them the ritual elements, with the passing of time, were introduced other profane ones, such as the musical intermezzi performed by the individuals of the younger generation to the sound of the flautas-de-pã /Panpipes/ and the japurutús. Among the ritual elements must appear the Legendary Commemorations. After the first dance numbers, representatives of the tribes who are participating in the Wãx-tĩye baxsá detach themselves from the natives and sit down on little seats, one in front of the other, in the nave occupied by the men. These individuals are chosen from among the Komũã, and they must, naturally, show the qualities necessary for their function, that is, knowledge of the legends, a good memory, a lively imagination, facility with words.

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574 Those who feel tired go to sleep. In the morning they take their bath, drink their mingau, and leave freely, that is, not all at once, but without a formal farewell, in small groups. Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Tauúcurí) tells that he saw them all leave solemnly in another procession as far as the landing place, as at their arrival.

b) Poosé with the mysterious instruments -- flagellation.

*192 According to the statements by the Tukano pajés Henrique
796 from Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), the
534 sacred instruments, or mĩriá (jurupari's) (62),
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> 62. A young man gave us the following explanation: "This instrument is very old; the one who found it was a man who had a son and two daughters. The daughters stole the instrument, and a bird played it very well. Now fearful that they might steal it again, they do not let it be seen, nor do they tell this story in the presence of the women." This deficient information reminds one of the legend of Uaracapá (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

are used only during the poosé (dabacuri's) of fruit (cucura, patatuá, cunuri ucuqui, etc.), therefore not during those of fish (wai poosé). Even during those poosé, instead of the mĩriá, one might sound the flute mawáko (cf. 3, c (3c) ), as the Christian povoados closer to the Missionary Centers generally do. As we have indicated above, there are two types of mawako, both of imbauba, the larger one of about 30 to 40 centimeters, like a common fife, and blown by the upper orifice; the smaller one of 10 to 15 centimeters, with an orifice in the middle, laterally, by which one makes it sound. Two of the dabacuri's that we attended in Iauareté were held with the latter.

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776 It seems that we are faced with some confusion between
177 the primitive notions and the ideas that the travelers, colonizers, and Missionaries brought and even taught them in different epochs.

*192 Wĩx-tĩ, we have concluded, is a general term to designate these various beings, like our word "Spirit." The term
776 also occurs in the plural, Wĩx-tĩã baxsá, dance of the Wĩx-tĩ. Probably it is derived from the root wax, and from the substantivizing determinative tĩ. As a matter of fact, there is in the Tukano language the root wax, which would indicate: to imagine, idea, to form ideas, model. Wax-kũ means to think, perhaps from the root wax and the verb kũ, to put.

776 Among the different Wĩx-tĩ or spirits, there is one par excellence, the "Wĩx-tĩ," as we say "The Supreme, Most Perfect Spirit," or simply the Spirit.

Wĩx-tĩ, as follows from the Uaupés legends (which we
776 shall examine in more detail in another study, "Lendas do Uaupés
782 /Legends of the Uaupés/"), is not only a Hero of the tribe, he is the Legislator, therefore the Supreme Lord. He punishes or will punish transgressions. In order to conjure away his punishments, it is important to propitiate him with particular rituals.
*[192] It can be seen in the poosé or wĩx-tĩye baxsasé, sacrifices of fish, beijú, or fruits. And there is also communion of the group in the drinking and the smoking. The lyrics of the songs, today
[533] corrupted and without meaning, might perhaps have been the sacrificial hymns (68).

• [115] 68. One of the students of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), José Barreto, told that his father, one of the most famous bayá, or singers at the feasts, and dance master, had taught him that the songs during the dabacurí or poosé recalled the creation of the human beings.

/357 cont./

776 [533] Those inserted words and shouts are perhaps ritual words and exclamations. We thus have a cult of the deity.

Later there was confusion between the Legislator Spirit and other spirits, that is, between the Wɨx-tɨ and the wɨx-tiá or wɨx-tɨá maxsɨ. /358/ What could have been the cause? It is certain that religious instruction that was not very deep could give rise to great confusion, even among the civilized. It is likewise beyond doubt that they had successive contacts with the Christians, and there was not perenniality in the Missionaries' work of Christianization. Who knows but that the concept of one true God, who is Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites" (69),

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69. Dr. Pereira Nunes told us of an interview that he had with an old Indian on the Ilha-das-flôres (mouth of the river Uaupés) when he found out that they were celebrating the feast of Jurupari or Wɨx-tɨ at a short distance, deeper in the interior of the forest. -- "Do you believe in the Jurupari?" he asked him. -- "Yes," he answered, "he is our God!" -- "And Jesus Christ?" -- "Jesus Christ is the 'God of the whites,' " was the answer.

as opposed to the false gods, idols, or demons, is what brought such entanglement and identification of Wɨx-tɨ with the demon (70).

70. "They have generally called him Yurupari," wrote Paulo Ehrenreich (Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de S. Paulo, 1908, Vol. II, p. 303), "solar or cultural hero, a designation taken from the língua geral and falsely identified with the devil by the Missionaries." The identification

/359 cont./

797 they do not think about him nor are they interested in him. The
776 conclusion would be, not that they do not know God and do not worship him. But that they do not know Wã:kõ, that is, Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites." They only know, fear, and worship Wãx-tĩ, the Legislator who punishes their transgressions, permitting them to have misfortunes, sicknesses, lightning bolts.

771 /360/ This is what we were also able to conclude from a
[115] conversation with an old Indian, almost one hundred years old (1947), Casimiro from Ipanuré.

f) Their rules of conduct -- Magic practices.

The native is convinced of the existence of extrahuman or mysterious forces, both personal and impersonal or cosmic, which can be useful or harmful to him, and which it is possible for him to dominate and take advantage of. This is what is understood by magic, considered subjectively.

The entire life of the natives is, for this reason, filled with so many positive and negative prescriptions (73)

> 73. These prescriptions, or rather, prohibitions, forbidding one to enter a certain place, to look at, to touch some object or person, is what is today called tabooism.

proceeding from this belief of theirs: or, in other words, it is saturated with magic practices. This is magic considered objectively.

Here and there we have indicated some of these magic practices; there are many others, however. Due to the number of superstitious practices that have come to our knowledge (and how many others might there be?), due to their frequency and application to the most common events of each day, perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to conclude that the mentality of the Uaupés Indians is dominated by the magic fears and beliefs as if this were an obsession, and which, naturally, is reflected and manifested in a large part of native activity.

776 /362 cont./
539 going away to my land, it is so beautiful... nothing is lacking
823 there"..., etc. He looked closely and saw that the cords of the hammock were sucurujú /anaconda/. At night the blonde girl appeared to him in a dream and told him: -- "Today I sang for you, and it did not please you."

776 d) Near Bela-Vista, on the river Uaupés, an alumna of
787 the Mission of Taracuá dreamed at night that she had amorous relations with a young man. Then in the morning, when she went to take a bath, she saw close to her a blowing bouto, throwing itself about in the water, agitating it, and wanting to have relations with her. The young woman also heard shots under the ground, smelled the perfume that the "bouto" youths use. She even felt a desire to go to live with the boutos forever.

776 5. /sic/; e)/ -- Patrícia Vasconcelos tells that her grand-
[115] mother was still a young woman when she went looking for turtle
[222] eggs on a beach near Pinú-pinu (river Uaupés) with other girl companions, among them one who had just finished the puberty initiation rite. They started to dig in the sand and found many eggs. At a certain point, however, the sand started to sink with a great noise, and the newly initiated girl disappeared. A little later the sand reappeared. The mother of the maiden who had disappeared went to look for her, shouted everywhere, but the
[192] maiden never returned. The poor mother then understood that the waĩ maxsã had stolen her daughter: "waĩ maxsã mĩã-wapã yõõ maxkõ-ré, the fish people came to get my daughter."

2) Magic practices.

823 a) Places. -- There are places (the most remote parts of the forests, caves, headwaters of the igarapés) where they should never go. If by chance they pass in the vicinity of these places, they will turn their faces to the opposite side.

There is a lake below the Ira-igarapé (middle Uaupés); the old ones did not look at it, in order not to have a weak and whining child.

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Here is one of these elegies (87).

87. It has been furnished to us by the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi.

Paxkó uxtígo
the mother who mourns

Yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ!
o my son! my son! my son!

Derowégo yöö döxporó wẽ'rĩtohati mãã!
why I before not die you?

Mãã añũ-buxtyágõ, tuxtwágõ nĩtohapõ.
you very good (handsome), strong were.

Mãã yöö yukése. yöö ekatisé, yöö maisé-mẽra.
you my hope, my joy, my love-also (you were).

Mãã dyápo-a-ré, yöö ĩ'ãsomé, mãã buhisé-ré,
your face, I shall not see, your smile,

Mãã böxsösé-ré töosomé!
your voice I shall not hear!

De'ró mãã marĩsé-mẽra a'té nãxkã-pö, a'té dyá-pö?
how you without (also shall I live) in these forests, on these rivers?

A'té wi'i-pö ỹa'ã-buxtyasé-mẽra kaxtí-maxsĩsari?
in this house so sad to live will I be able?

Mãã maigõ oxkó-ré, pexká-mẽ-ré yöö-ré axpo-yúgõ.
you lovingly water, fire for me prepared.

Mãã pax-kö wẽ'rise-re nãxkãtise-re darétohapa.
of your father the death not heavy you made for me.

Mãã yöö-ré wai-re dyá-pö-ré oógõ.
you for me fish from the river brought.

Mãã nãxkã-pö yuxkö-döxká-ré oógõ
you from the forest the fruits brought.

Mãã marĩsé-mẽra ỹeé-ré we: bósari?
you without what thing shall I do (now)?

ö'mã-kori nãxkã uxtígo, mãã-mẽra maxsã-pé-pö sooseré.
the days all to weep, with you in the grave to rest.

Yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ!
o my son! my son! my son!

/374 cont./

764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirĩ and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirĩ there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wãx-tĩ?) ).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubu-
[535] cuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxirĩ (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

## CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

/377/

765 most horrible stench, there remaining at the end only the carbonized bones, which are immediately ground up and reduced
[415] to powder. This powder is then placed in various enormous tubs (vats or vessels made out of wood) full of caxiri. The group present then drinks the caxiri until the last drop is finished. They believe that by so doing the virtues of the dead are transmitted to everyone who takes this drink."

171 It is a custom that is found among other tribes of America,
765 and even of the Amazon, according to the information from the ancient explorers, for example, among the Warekena of the rivers Içana and Xié, the Šomena of the river Japurá, etc. (cf. "Roteiro /Logbook/" of Pe. Noronha, 222). And, according to what was told us in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, this custom was in force until the end of the last century among the Taryana, until the beginning of this one among the Kubewãna, according to what Koch G. states and, moreover, what the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira told us in 1955, and it is the present practice of the tribes of the river Cauaburi, among whom Pes. Miguel Ghigo and Antônio Goes were present at such events.

[115] The same custom also existed among the Wanãna, we were assured by Tomás Paiva, son of the tuxawa /sic/ of Carurú-cachoeira, and other young Wanãna, but it fell into disuse as early as two generations ago.

765 Among the Kubewãna Koch G. (Z. I. 316) was present at one of these events in the maloca of Namacoliba (?). The Tuxaua disinters the remains of his predecessor, dead for 15 years, and burns it in front of the maloca. The carbonized bones are later cleaned and placed in a pot on the fire day and night for a month, until they are reduced to ashes. These, on the occasion of a solemn caxiri, which is held with a large crowd of people, are pounded, sifted, and mixed with a thick drink, prepared in great abundance with maize. The Tuxaua, with a stick, tries to spread the ashes well in the drink, and afterwards, with a large cuia, distributes it to the men standing around him. It is a drink reserved for the old ones and the fathers and mothers of families, who, although they might not be old, already have three children.

/378 cont./

831 a) Concept of procreation and marriage.

842 The concept of procreation through the participation of the two sexes, and both among human beings and among animals, is known by everyone, even the children.

843 It seems, on the other hand, that the space of nine months as the gestation period is not likewise so well known (95).

[115] 95. A Tukano girl about 20 years old from S. Tomé, river Tiquié, answered us that the period of gestation was five months.

842 And they do not know how fecundation takes place or how the
843 fetus becomes animated and develops.

The most rigorous law of tribal exogamy is in force (VIII --
582 1, a (1) ). Marriage Between tribal "brothers and sisters" is considered bad and impossible (96),

[797] 96. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Paurí /Papurí or Papury/, Colombia, performed two marriages among Pirá-tapuyas who, through religious instruction, had liberated themselves from these prejudices and wanted each other as spouses. Nevertheless, there was great reaction from the Indians, who tried to burn the house of the Missionary. But, under the protection of the latter, the two couples continued to live in Teresita (1947) and with healthy children.

and a fortiori between blood brothers and sisters. If one asks them the reason for this prohibition they simply answer: -- "Because it is bad." /379/ Some add: -- "Because he will not have children," or: -- "Because the children will die."

/379 cont./

581 In marriage, they conceive the relations between husband and wife as natural, and, as the purpose of these relations, or, better, as the purpose of marriage, the procreation of children for the tribe.

836 They do not recognize, however, the exclusive right of one spouse over the other with regard to these relations. There is
837 then nothing to say about conjugal fidelity (97),

• [115]

97. One of the Missionaries, with 30 years of residence among the Indians, in conversation with the author of this work, appeared impressed by episodes involving an individual who went so far as to abuse the wife of another, without this causing repulsion on the part of the husband or surprise on the part of the others.

just as there is nothing to be said about virginity (98)

[115]

98. In putting together a vocabulary, we noticed several significant facts. Many natives consulted by us, among them the most educated alumni of the Missions, could not find an equivalent for the Portuguese term fornicação /fornication/, that is, one which would express illegitimate sexual relations. They indicated the same terms as for the legitimate relations between the spouses, affirming positively that different terms for these diverse relations did not exist. Likewise they did not know of a word corresponding to the Portuguese adultério /adultery/, affirming, moreover, that
*[192] it does not exist in the Tukano language. The Veteran Missionary Pe. Pedro Kok, out of need for his ministry, created two terms descriptive of the act, that is, Wõakĩsé manapõ-tígo-ne and Wõakĩsé nõ'mõ-tígõ-ne, in order to express,

/381 cont./

835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

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103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement.
851 Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrep-
847 ancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

/383 cont./

291 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not
534 seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of
562 fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

• [115] 105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be
[796] a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much
[302] because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are worn exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

178 106. We were informed by the natives them-
562 selves that, while the men at the feasts, be-
292 sides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/385 cont./

563 Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

• [115]

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113. In Urubucuara and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Antônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Taryana, later married a Wanana.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114)

114. Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

881 In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has
833 theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the pajé or Kõmũ and with another young man
[756] of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).

/388 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 120 cont./ only be applied, obviously, to the Christian Indians, instructed in Christian morals; but not at all to the others.

that it is bad, ya'ã, and, on the other hand, are very full of shame (?), for this reason they try to hide their miseries and become intoxicated in order to act with more freedom."

[115] They are not embarrassed, however (confirmed another veteran and equally well-deserving Montfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Limpens, of Acuaricuara, who has spent almost 40 years among those tribes), about the immoral occurrences in these circumstances. Sometimes they even boast of them as being conquests.

As a conclusion from the testimony and inquiries made in various circumstances and in different places among the most reliable individuals in them, we can affirm that they judge licit, good, and recommended the sexual relations during the caxiris, as well as those that we characterize as incestuous (121).

[835]

121. Incest by the father with his own daughters is narrated in the legend of the mysterious instruments. And the same is found in other legends. We did not hear, in the legends, about cases of concubinage between "blood brothers and sisters" or brothers and sisters by the same parents. It seems that this does cause them horror.

They even take on, according to what they think and testified, a religious character. As a matter of fact, some informants answered that these sexual liberties used to take place "for the good fortune of the tribe," "in order that the clearing would yield better."

/392 cont./

527 beautiful ornaments, and in certain dance numbers, in the right
535 hand, the "yu-yú" (see below, dances, 5th part), the significance of
[192] which it was not possible for us to obtain. It consists of a small stick, having on the tip a cord from whose end hangs a loop of cipo about 15 centimeters in diameter. Cord and loop are decorated with delicate and striking tucano /toucan/ feathers. With this instrument he "beats time for the dances," that is, he shakes it rhythmically, more or less as the conductor who directs an orchestra does with his baton.

[192] 3) Variety of dances. -- One does not notice variety in the dance steps; they are precisely the same for the most solemn Poosé as for the simplest baxsarí-nãmã (literally means dance day).

527 There are no distinct terms equivalent to song and dance. The
533 word baxsasé translates their ideas, because they always sing during
535 the dances; and the words correspond to the rhythm of the feet and to the choreography of the movements executed.

They distinguish varieties of baxsasé, according to the musical instrument that they use; each one will have its lyrics or song. In the religious dances they are words or sounds articulated without any meaning, and they are repeated many times for the duration of the movement of the steps. The tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira,
[115] Júlio Silgueira Machado, declared to us, and many others with him, that they do not understand what they are singing.

They also vary the melodies, which are ordinarily slow, sad, although some might be pleasant and quite melodious. For /393/ this reason different names for the dances, sometimes even poetic names, appear.

[184] In different tribes we have verified the similarity in the feasts, the same ornaments and instruments. One must point out this detail: the melodies of the instrumental music are almost identical, whereas those of the song-dances differ a little more. In the steps of the dances one does not perceive any difference from tribe to tribe. That is, even in the two extremes of the native Uaupésina hierarchy, to wit, the noble tribe of the Tukano, and the slave tribe of the Makú from the outskirts of Iauareté.

535 The tuxáua-bayá Júlio gave us the following names of dances that are performed in the most solemn Poosé:

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1st. With the rhythm tubé or ahũwõ:
Ixki pũrĩ bõrõasé baxsá -- song-dance "the falling of the leaves of the inajá" or
Ixki pũrĩ baxsá -- "song-dance of the leaf of the inajá."

2nd. With the maracá or yaxsã (ya'sá or ñaxsã):
pexká baxsá -- "song-dance of the firewood"
ka'i baxsá -- "song-dance of the mass of the umarí"
kenõ baxsá -- "song-dance of the jatobá."

3rd. With a simple rhythm stick or yuxkõ:
Poori baxsá -- "song-dance of the offering" (of the dabacurí)
wai baxsá -- "song-dance of the fish"
Wãx-tiá baxsá -- "song-dance of the Wãx-tĩ."

4th. With the small flute called bwá (cotias /agoutis/):
bwá baxsá -- "song-dance of the cotias."

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Júlio, the tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), sang for us the various songs whose words or articulations we give in the following, revealing once more that all the "verses" were repeated many times (128).

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128. We lament not having had a recording machine at the time when this tuxaua, with the best state of mind, furnished us this information. Later, in the possession of such apparatus, we went twice to Parí-cachoeira, where we waited for a long time for the opportunity of listening to him and recording his songs. It was not possible, however; the old Tuxáua was in the last months of his life, afflicted, it seems, with an internal ulcer, dying on July 5, 1954. We were able, however, to witness and film the solemn funeral of a highly esteemed Tuxáua. We nevertheless obtained other precious recordings, and, among these, the various songs of the Wananá, performed by the tuxáua Mandú from Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and of the pajés of various tribes (cf. the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/).

/396 cont./

*192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mamã kapinã
539 Periku[illegible]ví-i-i davyá (Yaví = long, slim?)
Davyá yavi
Davi kawá-à nomã yavi-nõ
Davi kawá yaú; davi kawá yaú.
Kapiná perikúli
Davyá yavi yú
Kawá-yavyá mã-ã-à (he blows the flute at length)

[115] [574] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
(For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yé-ê dyá yakẽ mari
Kemẽ maryé-é
Kemẽ maryé-é kenaní
Wekã-ni kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kenã yá marỹé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpekã ané
Wekã-re kenaní wekã-re
Kená tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

535 [115] a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

535 Mandú (131)

237 301 [291] 131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

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*192 533 534 535 7th Part: The tuxaua ties to his right ankle a necklace of dry nuts (kixtyó). He then takes a position with his rhythm tube. The men are arranged on his right and on his left, each one with his rhythm tube in the right hand and the left one on his neighbor's right shoulder. The yu'yús are brought to the tuxaua and to his /401/ neighbor. It starts with a rhythm of strokes and steps in the same place, cry, whistle, and afterwards a funeral song in pianissimo, which goes crescendo slowly, while they move some steps to the right and to the left. They stop sometimes to take a step inside the circle and another backwards and to the side. This part was more prolonged, and the syllables "tyúko-malía" were heard many times in the burden. The group of dancers go outside the maloca, in the yard of which they perform the same steps as inside (yohá-wíhyá). They come back again to the maloca, the women abandon their position. At the finish there were only the *[192] men, who, after a small evolution, take the initial position, in a semicircle, and end the singing with small jumps (bu'pusé) and somewhat comical cries.

5) Wanãna song-dances.

• 115 533 The Wanãna Tomás Paiva, oldest son of Mandú, the present (1957) tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira (rives Uaupés), and his probable successor, confirmed that the ritual songs were "ancient language," and, for this reason, they did not understand them. Through the desire to learn them well, and to maintain the old traditions, he tried to make inquiries from his father, esteemed local tuxáua-bayá, and from the "elders," and to write about them. There might perhaps be about 45 songs, he told us. We are of the opinion that this number would cover not only the songs, but indeed all the parts or verses; or perhaps even the repetitions of one and the same part or verse. It happened, however, that when he went to work as a carpenter in Venezuela those in his house used his writings for cigarette paper.

*192 534 535 [115] With the collaboration of another Wanãna, Maximiano from Sá, he indicated to us the following order for the dances:

1st Dance -- with the bwá flute, hence the name bwá baxsá

/413 cont./

581 It is natural that self-interest (innate and exaggerated in the Indian) takes advantage of these customs. For example, a father who might have more than one daughter perhaps will try to give one of them to some Tuyuka youth (in order to have a /414/ good canoe, because they are specialized canoe-makers), a second one to a Pirá-tapuya (skillful makers of nets and fishing baskets), demanding from them the products of their specialties.

[606] Moreover, these relations of affinity give him a chance to spend part of the year traveling: a sojourn in the house of each son-in-law. Because marriage creates close relations of affinity, all the more singular, since it is known that they are persons from different tribes and all of them with such a deeply racist mentality.

2) The Abduction -- Nũ'myó ỹe'ẽsé or Nũ'myó myẽsé.

583 In spite of these precedents of negotiations, there is still
x[192] preserved today a symbolic abduction of the girl, a survival, one might think, of ancient customs in which the young man had to give proof of courage, kidnapping his wife, after having fought against those who tried to protect her.

Or, who knows (it is most probable when one talks about other human groups; not, however, those of the Uaupés), they were clans of one and the same tribe, transformed into enemies because of the dissidences, and who, in this period, had to have recourse to abduction in order to maintain the ancient law of clan exogamy.

Among our Indians of the Uaupés, there is no fighting at all, although cases of disputes and possible excitation of animus are remembered. The young man's father, with a few more oarsmen, appears in the povoado of the girl. Perhaps the latter, already informed, will be in the vicinity of the landing place
• [115] and will then be carried to the canoe. Or the men ask permission from the father, who says nothing (so relates Dorotéia Brito), and seize the girl. The mother, on the other hand, will protest with loud screams and imprecations, recalling the tasks of the

/415 cont./

583 If the girl cannot take any initiative directly, by showing
584 her preferences, she at least enjoys the "right of veto." That is, speaking in thesis: she will not marry someone she does not like. It is true that she will think carefully beforehand, because, rejecting this proposal, perhaps another will not come. And, besides, she will suffer bad treatment from her people, who, according to the compromises of the Põáperi, must give a wife to the other family.

Who knows even whether she will be a victim of malefice, dohasé? Nevertheless, if she absolutely does not want to marry such a youth, two courses are left to her: first, she does not let herself be abducted, and sometimes she flees to another maloca nearby, when she knows that they are coming to fetch her. Or to flee from the young man's house (15).

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15. A Taryana woman, Teodora from Iauareté, informed us that the woman can not say anything. But, if she likes the young man, she lets herself be abducted; in the opposite case she will flee from the maloca of the young man.

4) Stability.

585 The existence of the marriage and its stability are not yet assured. The young woman will give proof of her good will and ability to be the lady of the house.

[591] If they do not live in the regime of a maloca, perhaps later
[606] the young man might build his independent dwelling: for now he will remain in his parents' house, and the mother-in-law orders the girl to prepare the manicuera /fermented manioc-juice/ and the drinks for the nuptial feast.

/414 cont./

583 daughter (always the aspect of self-interest), that she is the one who takes care of the children, works in the clearing, makes beiju, etc. No one, however, will stop the abduction.

583 3) The Act of marriage.

585 The abductors (14),

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> 14. Some natives informed us of sexual relations which take place between the abductors and the maiden, and some of them added that such relations are always licit in the future. It might be that originally it was a matter of a privilege of the abductors. A privilege, however, that today has lost its justification, being leveled in practice in the great general freedom.

perhaps after several days of traveling by canoe, bring the young woman to the young man's maloca and hand her over with this formula and request (which was given to us by Dorotéia Brito): -- "We went looking for a girl for you; now take care of her; that she may be a good mother, that she does not run away." They do not perform any other rite on this occasion; this was the positive statement made by all of them.

/415/ Frequently for this circumstance a feast takes place in the maloca. It does not seem that such a feast is a religious rite of marriage. Not only does it not have a well-determined date, but perhaps the marriage is not realized either. And in the unfolding of the feast there are no allusions to the marriage. They greatly enjoy feasts, and the one on this occasion has the psychological aim of settling the girl's mind so that she will not greatly feel the distance from her family. All the more since she finds herself in a tribe different from her own, with whose language she is perhaps entirely unfamiliar.

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585 [241] Many times, principally in the modern regime of family habitations, the young man, as preparation for marriage, has already made a clearing with the help of friends. He will then take the girl to see the spot and will say: "I made the clearing, it is for you to do the planting" (16).

[115] [226]

16. These were the expressions of the Taryana Teodora from Iauareté. Whereas the Tukano Antonio Barreto stated that the father, when he gives the wife to the young man, says to him: "I brought you a woman. Go fish for her." And he added: "He goes, hands her the fish, she takes, which means that she accepts the young man." Might not one perhaps see in these different formulations an allusion to the fact that originally the Taryana Civilization was essentially agricultural, and the Tukano one, a fishing civilization?

/416/ During these first days the young wife will have not only the assistance of the mother-in-law, but the husband will try to ingratiate himself, offering her good fish or good game. If, however, she does not want to adjust to this new order of things, she will then resort to flight (17).

17. It will happen, the Tukano Dorotéia Brito informed us, that they will go looking for her a second time. It is understood that this is so on account of the agreements that preceded the marriage and its conveniences for both of the families. If, however, she flees a second time, she will not be sought any more. But in this case her father will return to the young man the gifts received.

In the environment in which they live and with their way of life, this is not difficult for her.

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/footnote 19 cont./ Pari-cachoeira, a Desana woman married to a Tuyuka from Cabari (a little above Pari-cachoeira), in view of the bad treatment by the husband, abandoned him and a little child a few months old and returned to her povoado on the lower Tiquié. Up to July of this year the Missionary had not yet managed to have her return to her husband.

especially if they do not yet have any children, because the marriage is not yet stabilized. And, finally, it is she who works for him in the clearing and in the house.

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/417/ Although there is no law that obstructs divorce or that makes it impossible for the divorced person to go on to other nuptials, both always have before their eyes the difficulty of a second marriage.

That will not keep them from having misunderstandings, or the husband, especially if he is drunk, from beating the wife. Of the many whom we questioned on this subject, all affirmed to us the bad treatment and even cruelties on the part of their husbands.

The woman, however, will never react, because this is what the tribal laws command (20).

20. We have had news, moreover, of some episodes of reaction on the part of the woman, especially when she perceives that the husband is weakened by drunkenness. It is one more blow that their customs and beliefs have started suffering.

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There is an original and somewhat strange custom, as follows from the report by the Taryana Indian Teodora from Iauareté, confirmed by natives of other tribes. During the day and in the early hours of the night the spouses maintain long conversations with each other in the maloca, each one, for example, lying in

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595 but a woman could never have several husbands. In the legends there are examples not only of polygamy, but also of polyandry.

It is true that, having procreation as its purpose, the marriage is not considered perfect until after the conception of the first child. From the time of the first signs of pregnancy the marriage was established.

595 If after two or three years of living together the woman has
842 not given birth to a child, the husband will consider her the victim of the malefice of sterility (22).

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22. It seems that there is no possibility of rehabilitation for the woman, that is, marriage to another man, although a Tukano man, Mário Chaves by name, in answer to our question, affirmed the possibility of new nuptials for the woman regarded as sterile.

and will look for another wife.

Ordinarily, however, the woman considered sterile prefers to remain with her husband. All the interests of the latter lead him to keep her, even though he has already contracted a second marriage. We are thus confronted with a polygamy, not by right, but de facto. Nor does such an event seem to cause surprise (23).

[178]

23. These events are known nowadays (1947) in Taracuá and Urubucuara.

611 The fact that they regard the children as belonging to the father's tribe seems to reveal, as in other nations, the concept that all the generative capacity belongs exclusively to the father. Nevertheless, the inability to procreate will always be attributed to the mother, never to the men.

/422 cont./

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/footnote 29 cont./ many of them have never in fact heard of any woman Tuxaua. Someone answered us precisely that she can be Tuxaua, but they had never heard of a woman Tuxaua. It is to be noted that in the Tukano language there is the feminine Wyógo, a term that is ordinarily applied to the wife of the Tuxaua (Wyogõ) and, in the Missionary centers, also to the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of the girls' school. The example of Caridade (p. 709) seems to authorize our affirmation above.

not, however, those of pajé. This exclusion perhaps expresses, not so much contempt, but the concept that she is not endowed with the magical power necessary for the exercise of the office of pajé.

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In marriage she seems to enjoy even greater freedom than the young man, being able to leave her husband. It must be concluded then that, although recognizing the primary of the husband (as also happens in our civilization), considered from the domestic-social point of view the wife is on a plane of equality with the husband (30).

30. We recently verified that this is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg, who, after prolonged contact with the Kubewana, was able to conclude that the woman is not the beast of burden, but the intelligent lady of the house (Z. I. 354).

8) Moral condition of the woman.

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We once heard from a maiden the expression: "the woman is not worth anything." We questioned many other women, single and married, and all confirmed the accuracy of this concept, without knowing how to give further /423/ explanations. Only one added: "the woman must leave her own tribe."

/426 cont./

842 The interval, as we have already noted, is regularly two or three years between deliveries.

847 1) Abortion and infanticide.

In spite of the fact that they want children, they induce abortion and practice infanticide. When the sterilizing potions have not been enough, they resort to abortion; for this there are the Pucangas, which the woman herself or her mother-in-law prepares. When these are not successful either, the mechanical process is tried, in order to kill the fetus and abort it, going so far as stepping on the belly of the pregnant woman. And if, in spite of this, the unwanted child is born alive, it is eliminated, being buried alive (36).

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36. The Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, with a tirociny of almost 40 years among the tribes of the Uaupés, stigmatizes "the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn children, suffocating them as if it were being done to any little animal" (ap. Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 26).

And as a rule it will be the mother herself who will do it. Perhaps the burial alive indicates a certain feeling, conceiving it as a pleasanter death. In fact they line the grave delicately with banana leaves (37).

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37. Among the most repugnant is the episode narrated by Pe. Afonso Kuipers, which happened in the povoado of Africa, left bank of the Papúri, Colombia. A child of about eight years of age, deformed with a huge head, was buried standing up; and since the grave was small, the mother stepped on the head, out of the ground, "in order to bury more and not continue crying."

/427 cont./

562 847 /footnote 40 cont./ out whether some pajé, who foresaw the sex of the child to be born, might have intervened in the case.

845 847 3rd. -- That of twin children. One of the two will be eliminated; usually the second one, unless another reason counsels the contrary. For example, they will preferably eliminate the defective one, or the girl. It seems that the reason for this crime is the difficulty, for the mother, of raising two children simultaneously, with all the work that falls to her; and no other reason of magical or superstitious character (41).

[797] 41. The Missionaries have managed to save and raise some twins, and, when grown, that is, after four or five years, the parents receive them willingly, or rather they demand them.

Patrícia Vasconcelos said that the husband beats the wife when she gives birth to twin children.

[736] Nevertheless this different way of acting causes surprise: when a child becomes orphaned by losing its mother, it will not be killed, but will pass into the care of another woman. When, on the other hand, it is a matter of twins, no woman will take on the burden of raising one of the newborn children, even when there is some newly lactating mother who has just lost her child (42).

[115] [231] 42. Pe. Antonio Giacone confirms this, saying that he saw new mothers emptying their breasts, or nursing some little dog, rather than feed someone else's child (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 53).

Even in these cases there does not appear to be any superstitious motive, but only the selfishness of the women and no friendship at all between them. If they take care of the orphan, it is due to the inviolable imposition of the irrevocable customs of the tribe. [736]

/428 cont./

844 Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have
[608] invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõã (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koã (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

[852] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the
[276] pajé or a Komũ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

846 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).

*[192] The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to
[115] take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

844 As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the
[178] Pax-koã, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45).

[123] 45. The tuxaua of the Íde-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirã-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

/429 cont./

844 and takes the child to the river for the bath.

Except in rare cases of a difficult delivery (or very rarely
846 those of death), the mother soon takes up her household cares and
tasks again. The husband, however, considers himself in a state
*[192] of pregnancy, Nihĩ-pkõ from Nihĩ, child, and pax-kõ, father.
For this reason he must rest or be sheltered, Sihyogõ, for six days
(46):

[797] 46. We have seen some of the Indians who have attended the Mission schools subject themselves to such a custom. And they answer the words of the missionary who tries to show the uselessness of the custom: "The old ones want it this way."

he will not work, he will avoid leaving the house, taking the sun, he will spend the greater part of his time in the hammock and subject himself to a strict diet. "If the father works, the child will get sick, will cry day and night," so they explained to us.

593 It is the concept of the bond between the father and his child, as though the father himself were being reproduced. Everything, then, that happens to the father can not fail to affect the child. Since effort or a heavier diet would harm the child, the father must abstain from these things (47).

593 47. This belief in the intimate connection
755 between the health and well-being of the father and of the son holds not only during the first days of the newborn child, but also during its whole life. D. José Domitrovitsch, when superior
• [115] of the Mission of Pari-cachoeira, was able to witness the following episode: Julio, the local Tukano tuxaua, upon learning that his son Mandú (the present tuxaua, 1956) had been bitten by a jararaca, left work, went to his house, put

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present
[273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native cere-
monies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of
the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has
already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between
two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors
all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in
the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and
the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier,
have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has
in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the
ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar.
Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to
leave in the center, between the front door and the back door,
a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them
has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the
cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the
mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on
the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child
is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

/435 cont./

858 The girl, although destined to leave the nation and, as a wife, to establish a family in another tribe, is, however, an element of great economic value for her parents. In some cases [648] the parents hand her over to the civilized for domestic service, [466] in exchange for suitable recompense; upon her reaching puberty, however, they will go fetch her for the initiation rite and later for marriage, according to the customs of the tribe (54).

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54. Pe. Humberto Limpens mentioned to us a case that happened shortly before 1947. Until the time of the marriage the girl remained working with the whites. The father had permitted this as payment for a shotgun.

736 If, by chance, an individual dies, leaving children in another povoado or maloca, one of his "brothers" (it might be a close relative, the tuxaua, or someone else), undertaking a long trip, if necessary, will go to look for the orphans, whose support and education will be entrusted to him.

866 The spirit of freedom in which the children are raised is extraordinarily great. They go wherever they desire, without permission from the parents or even notice beforehand (55).

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55. Frei Laureano da Cruz narrates how an imprudence by the capitão João Palácios, in the so-called "Província dos Encabelados" /Province of the Hairy Ones/ (because the Indians wore very long hair), aroused the resentment of the natives, who killed the capitão and many civilized. And he explains: "They are such a noble people that they will not tolerate a snap of the fingers, even from their own parents" ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 99).

/437 cont./

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/footnote 60 cont./ customs and the extirpation of those which are contrary to the morality of the Gospel, retaining only those that do not harm this morality. For example, many of the young men are boarding in the Mission schools at the time of the puberty initiation. There are few cases in which the young men at such a time of life fail to return to the school, in order to go through the "rite of initiation." And some affirm that the youth can marry even without having been subjected to such a rite.

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after a theoretico-practical course. It is a matter of a religious function, as if it were the consecration or sanctification of the individual, who is integrated into the group of the worshipers of Wãx-tĩ.

*[192]

a) Course of male initiation -- Mĩrĩ-mẽra, a'mõ-yesé (61).

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61. These data are based on descriptions made by natives of the Tukano, Wanana, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Tuyuka, Desana, Bará, Kumãdene, and Baré tribes. This last informant did it according to recollections of his initiation, more than thirty years before, in Tamanduá. It is, however, a general custom of all the tribes of the region, of the Tukano group as well as of the Arwáke and of the Makú, as the natives themselves affirmed.

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According to the number of inhabitants of a maloca, the young men, upon reaching puberty (62)

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62. The Baré Plácido from Melo informed us that at his initiation there were 20 young men in all, and about ten persons, between pajés and Komũã, instructed them. It was, however,

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).
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> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coianá Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

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/footnote 67 cont./ Bará, and Makú) we were able to verify that the process is the same. Whatever was peculiar in one narration became harmonized in the whole, and perhaps had happened with all, although some might have forgotten to narrate that detail. Moreover, they assured us that in all the tribes the mõ-yõãse was performed in a similar way.

In a similar way the girl, "when she becomes a young woman," according to the native expression, that is, when she reaches the age of the menses (68)

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68. They call it "sickness of the moon, Mũhĩ-pũ dux"ti." It is one more proof, among the many that we have had, of how the intimate life of each one is known perfectly by the entire community. The first menstruation takes place around 12 years of age, although the child, from her physical development, looks only about ten. For children of both sexes, it is not until some years after the age of puberty that their bodies fill out, that is, it is only after 14 or 15 years of age that the development of the body takes place, and in an almost perceptible way "they become young men and women." With the onset of menstruation, as in the critical age of the woman and puberty for the man, one does not notice abnormal physiological disturbances. Menstruation, like conception, comes regularly throughout the year. Ordinarily the monthly courses are not very abundant and do not last more than one day.

and the first menstruation, a mõsé, comes, must go through the puberty initiation rite.

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those educated in the schools, might perhaps say, out of shyness (71).

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71. The young Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos, an orphan raised in the Mission of Iauareté, and who, until she was 25 years of age (1956), spent the greater part of her life in the schools of the Salesian Missions, has always denied having submitted to the puberty rite. Although in a conversation on March 9, 1956, apart from any subject, she came out with the statement: "Now the rite of initiation is not done any longer," on many occasions she has affirmed that the natives "all, even people of confession and communion, continue to do all these ancient practices, even the alumni and alumnae of the Mission." In September of 1955 in Taracuá, apropos of the puberty initiation rite, she said literally: -- "Even the Christians do this." Around the fourth or fifth of March of 1956, she related an episode that had happened to her the last time she had been with her relatives in S. Luzia, from September of 1955 to February of 1956, an episode which documents how even from the Christian natives one only slowly manages to eradicate the primitive beliefs. One day she felt somewhat ill (the common discomforts of women). Her uncle Marco, who, although Christian, continues, as pajé, to practice the "blowing" and the other Xamã /shaman/ rites, asked her whether she had already performed the puberty rite. Answering that she had not as yet, her uncle went on: "That is it, my daughter (sic), that is because you have not undergone the rite. Shall we do it now?" She did not accept (she told us). Then the uncle gave her the explanation about the discomfort and about the usefulness of the puberty rite, which we transcribe.

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562 that she has not performed the rite. Nevertheless, she herself
881 will affirm, in agreement with the others, that a woman can not marry without having submitted to these practices.

[115] Patrícia Vasconcelos gave the following explanation of the necessity for the rite, according to the instruction obtained from
*[192] her uncle Marco from S. Luzia, river Papuri. /441/ "The maiden has the nihĩ-koró (vagina?) inverted, and for this reason the child cannot come out. /The final quotation marks are missing./ The pajé or Ko-mĩ is going to put it "in the proper position" by means
*[192] of the rite and the coitus. The rite, besides this, makes "the nihĩ-su'ti-ro, uterus, not grow very much, because in this case she would have two children at a time and this is a disgrace for the woman."

This rite is essentially equivalent to the "religious deflora-tion" that other human groups practice. However, due to the previous liberties, although without an official character (rather they must be hidden), which take place even between children and adults, the girl, upon reaching menstruation, already has the hymen ruptured. This, then, is of no importance in the rite. An official coitus, mõ-yoãsé, however, takes place on the first day (and in some povoados also on the following days) with a young man chosen by the girl or by her father (72).

72. The choice of the young man is made by the girl herself in some places, and in others, povoados and malocas, by her father. A young Tukano from Pari-cachoeira declared that she did not like the young man whom her father had chosen. It seems that where there are more Komũã the choice of the executor of the rite is
[835] always by the father of the maiden. If the father is Komũã, he himself will execute the rite with his daughter. We do not know whether this is also an obligation of his. From a Komũã of Juquira, river Uaupés, we found out that he personally did it with his three daughters, as one of them informed

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/footnote 72 cont./ us. The services of the pajé or Komũ are always remunerated, as well as those of the mõ-paxkoá; not, however, those of the young man. He is not the future husband, who must belong to another tribe, and the young man of the a"mõsé regularly is of the same tribe as the maiden. A young Makú added that the young man was her obligatory partner at dances, as we were later able to verify.

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and, on the last day of the rite, with the Komũ or pajé (73).

73. It is to be noted that, according to the descriptions that we obtained, the first coitus is not with the pajé or Komũ, as one might expect, but with the young man.

The concept that the one chosen should be the hero of the group, recognized after a fight with others, as is done among some tribes, has declined. Among the Uaupesinos there is no test to determine the choice; there is only one quality in favor of the chosen one, his youth. Some maidens affirmed that he was a "strong young man." On the rivers visited by the civilized, the latter may be chosen for such a function, and they have done it. For such a choice, we think that not only does the native's instinct of self-interest enter in, but also the white is supposed to have a special nature (74).

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74. Many times and under different circumstances the native has manifested the opinion that the civilized person is endowed with a nature different from that of the Indian. This was the answer that the tuxaua from Paricachoeira, Julio, gave to Pe. João Marchesi, who assured him that he should not fear the

562 /444 cont./
881 this /445/ occasion there are games and entertainments among the
527 young individuals of the maloca (84).
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84. One of the informants spoke to us about the "game of the lemon" for this circumstance. We heard about a Makú girl, Teresa by name, who on this occasion ran away with the youth, with whom she spent a few days. It seems that this is a matter of a conventional flight, because in reality they withdrew to a hut about 20 or 30 meters from the maloca.

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881 Abstention from work for some days is verified; for example,
784 she will not light the fire, "in order not to be burned." Then the young woman resumes her normal life; she will work in the clearing and in the house with her mother. For another month, according to information by Doroteia Brito, she may not taste salt or eat
• [115] either piraíba or the flesh of large animals, "in order not to ruin the teeth" (85).

85. Concerning a young Bará, sister-in-law of a Karapanã, in whose maloca, on the headwaters of the Áua, she submitted to the puberty rite, we were able to observe that she did in fact subject herself to a severe alimental diet, not accepting our salted foods, nourishing herself with beijú, tapioca, and fruits. We saw her, however, approach the fire, stir it up, and put some green bananas on to roast for herself.

881 During the following menstruation the rite of the seclusion of
562 the young woman is renewed. This second stage of the puberty
*[192] initiation is called Mahã-mĩ-nõsé. It is identical to the first one,

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623 "The elders desire it this way" is an expression that is frequently heard when one asks the native the reason for some practice that causes us surprise. This expression is the manifestation of an impersonal will (the name of some of the components, as responsible for the decision, is never revealed), which is always *[192] respected. This term "elder," "Bũxkõ," applied to the Komũã, is indicative of authority rather than of age, because one sees individuals of perhaps 30 years of age or a little more making up part of the Council.

*[192] The Council acts as electoral college of the Tuxaua, Wyõra bexsesé, and as a tribunal which passes judgment on the omissions and transgressions of the customs.

[115] Vice versa, as follows from the Tukano narrator Antônio Barreto, the choice of the members of the Council falls to the Tuxaua. The zeal of someone from the maloca with regard to the interests of the group, his love for the traditions, his facility in remembering them, are, it seems, the qualities required to be admitted among the Komũã. It is nevertheless necessary for him to be presented by some member of the council, perhaps the candidate's father himself. His admission, however, depends on the favorable opinion of the Council, after the candidate has given proofs of his aptitude, for example, repeating the legends of the tribe, or the songs of the dances, or showing the efficacy of his "blowings." For this a prolonged course at the school of the old Komũã has been necessary, as we saw above (VII - 2, e (3) ).

The title of Komũã is a lifelong one and procures for them the [756] respect of their contributors. The Komũã, moreover, practice their [755] activities as "blowers," especially at the delivery and at the giving of the names, as instructors at the puberty rites, and as helpers of the Pajé in treating the sick. The meetings are frequent. The [115] Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos assured us that sometimes they meet almost every night.

/465 cont./

622 [115] Rules establishing the succession of the tuxaua or his choice are not known. The only strict norm would perhaps be the observance of the hierarchy of the subdivisions in the povoados in which there are families belonging to various subtribes (IV 2, a (2) ), according to the information by Patrícia Vasconcelos and Antônio Barreto. The democratic-aristocratic spirit of these small groups demands this. A very natural process, with such a spirit, is the succession of the father by the son, especially the first-born, a process which is verified in the greater frequency of the cases. This event was determined by the ascendancy, perhaps great, of the father, as well as the circumstance that the son, while the father was alive, often helped him or replaced him on many occasions.

The recognized ascendancy, the personal qualities, and among them regard for the traditions and respect for the authorities, are what point to the son as a candidate. Or, in the absence or the lack of aptitude of the latter, anyone else, preferably from the family of the deceased Tuxaua.

Violation of the old customs and disobedience toward the father have not infrequently been the cause of passing over some young man, otherwise well qualified, to succeed his own father in the office of tuxaua.

[623] Such a choice is one of the principal functions of the council of Elders, the Bũxkõrá-Kurá (99),

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99. On the occasion of the death of the Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, Julio Silgueira, on July 5, 1954, the Council of elders remained for three days deliberating on the qualities and merits of Mandu, the eldest son of the deceased chief, before recognizing him as the successor.

according to the information obtained from some tuxauas (Júlio, Tukano of Pari-cachoeira; Henrique Resende, Tuyuka of the Iaísa igarapé; Fernando, Yurupari of S. Ana on the river Içana; Mandú, Kumãdene of Urubucuara; José, Huhúdeni of Uapuim-cachoeira on the river Aiarí).

/468 cont./

756 cases. It is not known, however, whether there are more frequent meetings, at certain times, whether there are rites, or which acts [622] they practice then. It is known, indeed, that the paje often convenes the Komũã, in order to resolve the sanitary problems of the maloca or povoado (see VII - 2, e (3) ).

562 4) A Tukano informant, Dorotéia Brito, spoke of womens' meet-
578 ings inside the maloca, during which they reveal among themselves the bad treatment that they receive from the men. We were not [115] able, however, to verify whether it is a matter of true meetings of a secret society, as defense of class. Or instead, as seems more likely, casual, although frequent meetings of women, during which they open their hearts, revealing their own complaints. It is certain that at times, by the law of exogamy, all the women are from a certain tribe, to which they go to relate anything bad their husbands say against it, from which arise disputes and vengeance. This happens in a very regular way, and with a previous understand-
[192] ing of the women among themselves. These tales by the women are called ukhá.

h) Social classes.

565 Among these Indians there is no true social stratification or social Classes, in the sense that there are privileged positions, perhaps lifelong and hereditary, with differentiation of tasks, diversity of rights and even of peculiar customs (in the dwelling, clothing, badges, emblems, etc.), as happens in more complex cultural forms. Within the maloca there are no lords and nobles, just
565 as there are no slaves (105);
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105. In practice the Makú serve as slaves. It is a matter, however, of another tribe, racially, linguistically, and culturally different. Perhaps one can not even truly say slaves, since in exchange for work they receive protection and food. Once the tasks are finished (clearing, aturás /carrying baskets/, etc.) the Makú may leave, just as they may also constitute their maloca with their tuxaua.

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197 Concerning the components of these linguistic families and their location, as well as their comparative vocabularies, see our work Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia.

/471/ d) Kurá or Gens.

614 We have indicated in a previous chapter (IV - 2-a(2) ) the divisions of the tribes, divisions that are called Kurá in the Tukano language. According to native ideas, these divisions date back to the time of the origin of the tribe, by the will of Wãx-tĩ himself. We shall give in another place (cf. the work by the author, [115] "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") the legend of the origins according to the account of the old Komã Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira.

614 121 So many questions awaiting solution arise: When did these subdivisions take place? For what reason? What was their basis or foundation? We have verified for today a phenomenon of dispersion of a nation in small groups; would there have been a fusion in the past, or can we foresee a future one? The two first questions are of historic nature, and we lack the data to answer them. We might be able to add elucidative elements to the last two.

1) From the time that a human group settles in a locale that will provide it with the necessary or even abundant means of subsistence, it will naturally become prolific. It is nomadism, at the same time cause and effect of a deficient diet, that lowers the birth rate: 1st, by the organic depauperation of the parents; 2nd, by forcing a prolonged nursing of the children (up to four or more years); 3rd, favoring certain criminal practices (abortion, infanticide, cannibalism of the children).

The human groups, growing in number, cannot remain in the same maloca. Besides the difficulties of nourishment, which we have already mentioned, the real technical difficulty of enlarging the existing maloca or the building of new and larger ones demands

/471 cont./

614 the division of the original group (107).
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107. It is possible that other reasons might have intervened, such as the misunderstandings that are still verified today.

While the first-born son, with his family, would remain beside the old couple, the other sons of the founder would become, in turn, founders of new malocas, which would grow with the natural fecundity of the native woman. This hypothesis, more in agreement with the nature of things, is confirmed, it seems, by the customs.

614 1st. -- A first one is the denomination of "brother" for all the
601 individuals of the same nation (that is, who are recognized as from such-and-such a tribe and speak the same language), a denomination corresponding, besides, to their feelings (they can not marry each other, mutual aid and understanding, lamentation for a death, and vengeance for the brother who has been a victim of another tribe).

All of them are brothers, but there is a distinction between Mamí (bigger brother) and Axkabí (smaller brother). Among the brothers-german, that is, /472/ children of the same father, the terms mamí and axkabí correspond to the ages. Outside of this case, they no longer correspond. For example, one hears an adult characterize a child as mami. It is, therefore, a matter of
614 a hierarchic classification.
554 An I'ra-pé Tukano said that he regarded the Waú-ro and Oyê
• [115] as Mamí; in relation to the Waú-ro we heard the expression
* [192] "Tukano of the head," Dexseá ná dõxpoá," as equivalent to the
[601] principal branch, as was soon explained to us by Patrícia Vasconcelos. We have here, then, indications of an aristocracy (108).

[175] 108. The existence of this aristocracy was already known in 1755 by Pe. Noronha. Xavier de Sampaio

/472 cont./

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[301]

/footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced."

[304]

the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Bá'ti-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

• [115]

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109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tõmpa-duri, but

*Tukano*

115 Hitherto José had remained silent and appeared to know nothing of these engravings nor had he given us any indication of their whereabouts. This was surprising, for, being himself a Barasana, of a Tukano clan, he was presumably aware of their existence. Then one evening, perhaps encouraged by our curiosity, he told us the following anecdote:

101 773 776 'The Barasana have always lived here, they were born here. They and the Taiwano have always been friends and had common enemies in the Tatuya, Karapana and Ureti whom they used to fight with bow and arrows. They both have the same god who has power over all things. It is he who made Ni, in his own likeness, the drawings have been here for ever, and this is the only place where they occur. The other Indians do not have them.' He pointed to a great natural pillar of granite called the Bee, which stood in the river upstream of Ni: 'That rock was once a pile of manioc, which the people had placed there. Ni turned it into stone. Below the rapids is the underwater cave, his palace, where the god sings to the drawings and the spirits.'

532 132

1: Fulop E-5 (1954) 1955 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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# Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tucano
[Notas Sobre los Términos y el Sistema de Parentesco de los Tukano]

Marcos Fulop

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[Title page]

000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Pulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

114 [101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría [124] Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant [614] and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, [615] two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

615 As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the 361 existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one 197 another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It 619 could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of 615 tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other 571 phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in * 574 Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who [601] did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the corre- [101] spondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the 615 Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged 197 to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and 124 on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great 114 distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four [124] phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

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[197]
[615]

/124/ All the native terms that appear in this study are in the Tukana language, an idiom that the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry speaks.

I wish to express my thanks to Professor Segundo Bernal Villa for his valuable observations on the organization of the present work.

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## Abbreviations Used for the Kinship Terms

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| f | = | father | ol | = | older |
| m | = | mother | yg | = | younger |
| so | = | son | si | = | sibling |
| da | = | daughter | -o- | = | of, of the /masc./, of the /fem./ |
| br | = | brother | (M) | = | male Ego |
| sis | = | sister | (F) | = | female Ego |
| sp | = | spouse | (V) | = | vocative |
| | | | (R) | = | reference |

*601

## Kinship Terms

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| f | Pajké | (M-F) | (V) |
| f | Yeé Pajké | (M-F) | (R) |
| m | Maú | (M-F) | (V) |
| m | Yeé Pajkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| so | Majké | (M-F) | (V) |
| so | Yeé Majké | (M-F) | (R) |
| da | Majkó | (M-F) | (V) |
| da | Yeé Majkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| ol-br | Mamí | (M-F) | (V) |
| ol-br | Yeé Mamí | (M-F) | (R) |
| yg-br | Nijiá | (M-F) | (V) |
| yg-br | Yeé Kabí | (M-F) | (R) |
| ol-sis | Mamió | (M-F) | (V) |
| ol-sis | Yeé Mamió | (M-F) | (R) |
| yg-sis | Numió | (M-F) | (V) |
| yg-sis | Yeé Kabió | (M-F) | (R) |
| f-br | Mé | (M) | (V) |

*601

/124 cont./

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| f-br | Mengué | (F) | (V) |
| ol-br-o-f | Yeé Pajké Mamí | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| yg-br-o-f | Yeé Pajké Kabí | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| /125/ | | | |
| sis-o-f; sp-o-br-o-m | Uaméu | (M-F) | (V) |
| sis-o-f; sp-o-br-o-m | Yeé Uaméu | (M-F) | (R) |
| br-o-m; sp-o-sis-o-f | Mejké | (M) | (V) |
| br-o-m; sp-o-sis-o-f | Mejkésa | (F) | (V) |
| br-o-m; sp-o-sis-o-f | Yeé Pajkó Párume | (M-F) | (R) |
| sis-o-m; sp-o-br-o-f | Mengó | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| sp | Yeé Nemó * | (M) | (V-R) |

* When the couple has no children.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sp | Yeé Majké Pajkó * | (M) | (V-R) |

* When the couple has only one son.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sp | Yeé Majkó Pajkó * | (M) | (V-R) |

*When the couple has only one daughter.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sp | Yeé Púra Pajkó * | (M) | (V-R) |

*When the couple has several children. These children may be of only one sex or of both sexes.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sp | Yeé Márape * | (F) | (V-R) |

*When the couple has no children.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sp | Yeé Majké Pajké * | (F) | (V-R) |

*When the couple has only one son.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sp | Yeé Majkó Pajké * | (F) | (V-R) |

*When the couple has only one daughter.

*601 /125 cont./

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sp | Yeé Púra Pajké * | (F) | (V-R) |

*When the couple has several children. These children may be of only one sex or of both sexes.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-ol-br-o-f | Mamí * | (M-F) | (V-R) |

* The possessive Yeé is not used in reference (R) in this case because Ego and so-o-ol-br-o-f are not children of the same father.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-yg-br-o-f | Nijiá | (M-F) | (V) |
| so-o-yg-br-o-f | Yeé Kabí | (M-F) | (R) |
| da-o-ol-br-o-f | Mamió * | (M-F) | (V-R) |

* The possessive Yeé is not used in reference (R) in this case because Ego and da-o-ol-br-o-f are not children of the same father.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-yg-br-o-f | Numió-Ká | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| so-o-sis-o-f | Meoké * | (M) | (V) |

/126/ * The term Meoké is also used in reference (R) when Ego refers to so-o-sis-o-f while speaking directly with the sp-o-so-o-sis-o-f.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-sis-o-f | Yeé Basúke * | (M) | (R) |

* Used in reference in general form.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-sis-o-f | Uaméu Majké | (F) | (V-R) |

*601 /126 cont./

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-sis-o-f | Meokó * | (M) | (V) |

* The term Meokó is also used in reference when Ego refers to the da-o-sis-o-f while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-sis-o-f.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-sis-o-f | Yeé Basúko * | (M) | (R) |

* Used in reference in general form.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-sis-o-f | Uaméu Majkó | (F) | (V-R) |
| so-o-br-o-m | Meoké * | (M) | (V) |

* The term Meoké is also used in reference when Ego refers to the so-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-so-o-br-o-m.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-br-o-m | Yeé Basúke * | (M) | (R) |

* Used in reference in general form.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-br-o-m | Uaméu Majké | (F) | (V-R) |
| da-o-br-o-m | Meokó * | (M) | (V) |

* The term Meokó is also used in reference when Ego refers to da-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-br-o-m.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-br-o-m | Yeé Basúko * | (M) | (R) |

* Used in reference in general form.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-br-o-m | Uaméu Majkó | (F) | (V-R) |

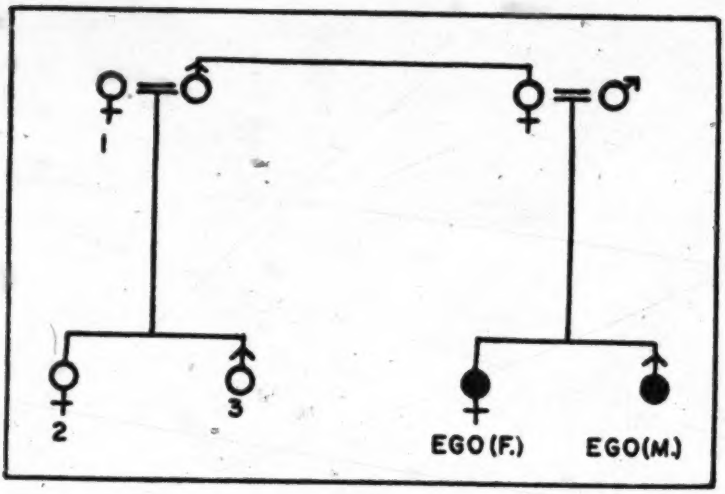
[582] [583] Note the identity between the terms for so-o-sis-o-f and so-o-br-o-m. Note the identity between the terms for da-o-sis-o-f and da-o-br-o-m. This is due to the interchange of brother with sister in cross-cousin marriages.

* 601 /126 cont./
[582]
[583]

SPECIAL CASES OF so-o-br-o-m AND OF da-o-br-o-m.

In case the interchange of brother with sister is unilateral in cross-cousin marriages, the following happens:

/127/ Note—No. 1 is not sis-o-f of Ego.




| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-br-o-m | Paég | (M) | (V) |
| so-o-br-o-m | Yeé Utamúri Majsé | (M) | (R) |
| so-o-br-o-m | Mejkésa Majké | (F) | (V-R) |
| da-o-br-o-m | Paó * | (M) | (V-R) |

* This term is used in reference solely when Ego refers to the da-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-br-o-m.

/127 cont./

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *601 da-o-br-o-m | Yeé Basúko * | (M) | (R) |

* This term is utilized in reference when Ego refers to the da-o-br-o-m while speaking with anyone, except when speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-br-o-m.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-br-o-m | Mejkésa Majkó | (F) | (V-R) |

In these special cases of so-o-br-o-m and of da-o-br-o-m, the individuals No. 2 and No. 3 address the father of Ego in the vocative with the terms Mejkésa and Mejké, respectively, because the father of Ego denominates with the term Numió the mother of the individuals No. 2 and No. 3 (sp-o-br-o-sp or yg-sis (M) = Numió).

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-ol-sis-o-m | Mamí | (M-F) | (V) |
| so-o-ol-sis-o-m | Yeé Pajkó Majké | (M-F) | (R) |
| so-o-yg-sis-o-m | Nijiá | (M-F) | (V) |
| so-o-yg-sis-o-m | Yée Pajkó Majké | (M-F) | (R) |
| da-o-ol-sis-o-m | Mamió | (M-F) | (V) |
| da-o-ol-sis-o-m | Yeé Pajkó Majkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| da-o-yg-sis-o-m | Numió | (M-F) | (V) |
| da-o-yg-sis-o-m | Yeé Pajkó Majkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| so-o-br | Meké * | (M) | (V-R) |

* The term Meké is used in reference solely when Ego refers to the so-o-br while speaking directly with the f-o-so-o-br, that is, with the brother of Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-ol-br | Yeé Mamí Majké | (M) | (R) |
| so-o-yg-br | Yeé Kabí Majké | (M) | (R) |
| so-o-br | Páre Majké | (F) | (V) |

*601 /128 cont./

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-br | Yeé Pá Mojké * | (F) | (R) |

* This term is used in reference in general when Ego refers to so-o-ol-br as well as to so-o-yg-br.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-br | Majkó | (M) | (V) |
| da-o-br | Páre Majkó | (F) | (V) |
| da-o-ol-br | Yeé Mamí Majkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| da-o-yg-br | Yeé Kabí Majkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| so-o-ol-sis | Mamió Majké | (M-F) | (V) |
| so-o-ol-sis | Yeé Mamió Majké | (M-F) | (R) |
| so-o-yg-sis | Kabió Majké | (M-F) | (V) |
| so-o-yg-sis | Yeé Kabió Majké | (M-F) | (R) |
| da-o-ol-sis | Mamió Majkó | (M-F) | (V) |
| da-o-ol-sis | Yeé Mamió Majkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| da-o-yg-sis | Kabió Majkó | (M-F) | (V) |
| da-o-yg-sis | Yeé Kabió Majkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| br-o-sp | Uaméu Majké * | (F) | (V-R) |

* This term is used when sp and br-o-sp are so-o-sis-o-f of Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| br-o-sp | Yeé Bujuí Baké * | (F) | (V-R) |

* This term is used when sp as well as br-o-sp did not have any kinship relation with Ego before Ego married sp.

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sis-o-sp | Uaméu Majkó * | (F) | (V-R) |

* This term is used when sp as well as sis-o-sp are the so-o-sis-o-f and the da-o-sis-o-f of Ego, respectively.

*601 /129 cont./

sis-o-sp Yeé Sió * (F) (V-R)

* This term is used when sp as well as sis-o-sp did not have any kinship relation with Ego before Ego married sp.

br-o-sp Meoké * (M) (V)

* This term is used when sp as well as br-o-sp are the da-o-sis-o-f and the so-o-sis-o-f of Ego, respectively.

br-o-sp Yeé Basuké * (M) (R)

* This term is used when sp as well as br-o-sp are the da-o-sis-o-f and the so-o-sis-o-f of Ego, respectively.

br-o-sp Yeé Tí * (M) (V)

* This term is used when sp as well as br-o-sp did not have any kinship relation with Ego before Ego married sp.

br-o-sp Yeé Pẽñe * (M) (R)

*This term is used when sp as well as br-o-sp did not have any kinship relation with Ego before Ego married sp.

br-o-sp Ñejkó Majké * (M) (V-R)

* This term is used in the vocative when sp as well as br-o-sp are the da-o-sis-o-f-o-f and the so-o-sis-o-f-o-f of Ego, respectively. The term is used in reference only when Ego is speaking about the br-o-sp with some

*601 /129 cont./

relative of the br-o-sp. In case Ego refers to the br-o-sp, as a function of this special case of br-o-sp, while he converses with someone who has no familial relation with br-o-sp, then Ego uses the term Yeé Péñe.

sis-o-sp Meokó * (M) (V-R)

* This term is used when sp as well as sis-o-sp are da-o-sis-o-f of Ego.

sis-o-sp Yeé Bujuí Bakó * (M) (V-R)

* This term is used when sp as well as sis-o-sp did not have any kinship relation with Ego before Ego married sp.

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sp-o-so Tiikó * (M) (V-R)

* This kinship term is used when sp-o-so did not have any kinship relation with Ego before the son of Ego married sp.

sp-o-so Mamió Majkó * (M) (V-R)

* This term is used when sp-o-so is the da-o-ol-sis of Ego.

sp-o-so Kabió Majkó * (M) (V-R)
sp-o-so Kabió Kó *

* This term is used when the sp-o-so is the da-o-yg-sis of Ego.

* The terms Kabió Majkó and Kabió Kó are interchangeable. Kabió Kó seems to be an abbreviation of Kabió Majkó.

*601 /130 cont./

sp-o-so — Páre Majkó * (F) (V-R)

* This term is used in general for all cases.

so-o-da — Tiiké * (M) (V-R)

* This term is used when sp-o-da did not have any kinship relation with Ego before the daughter of Ego married sp.

sp-o-da — Mamió Majké * (M) (V-R)

* This term is used when sp-o-da is the so-o-ol-sis of Ego.

sp-o-da — Kabió Majké * (M) (V-R)
Kabió Ké *

* This term is used when sp-o-da is the so-o-yg-sis of Ego.

* The terms Kabió Majké and Kabió Ké are interchangeable. Kabió Ké seems to be an abbreviation of Kabió Majké.

sp-o-da — Páre Majké * (F) (V-R)

* This term is used in general for all cases.

sp-o-so-o-br — Mamió Majkó * (M) (V-R)

* This term is employed when the sp-o-so-o-br is the da-o-ol-sis of Ego.

sp-o-so-o-br — Kabió Majkó * (M) (V-R)
Kabió Kó

* This term is employed when the sp-o-so-o-br is the da-o-yg-sis of Ego.

*601 /130 cont./

sp-o-so-o-br Tiikó * (M) (V)

* This term is employed when the sp-o-so-o-br did not have any kinship relation with Ego before the so-o-br married sp.

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sp-o-so-o-br Yeé Majké Nemó * (M) (R)

* This term is used when the sp-o-so-o-br did not have any kinship relation with Ego before the so-o-br married sp.

sp-o-so-o-br Majkó * (F) (V-R)

* This term is employed in the vocative for all cases. It is used in reference only when the sp-o-so-o-br did not have any kinship relation with Ego before the so-o-br married sp.

sp-o-so-o-br Mamió Majkó * (F) (R)

* This term is employed when the sp-o-so-o-br is the da-o-ol-sis of Ego.

sp-o-so-o-br Kabió Majkó * (F) (R)
Kabió Kó

* This term is employed when the sp-o-so-o-br is the da-o-yg-sis of Ego.

sp-o-da-o-br Mamió Majké * (M) (V-R)

* This term is used when the sp-o-da-o-br is the so-o-ol-sis of Ego.

*601 /131 cont./

sp-o-da-o-br — Kabió Majké * (M) (V-R)
Kabió Ké

* This term is used when the sp-o-da-o-br is the so-o-yg-sis of Ego.

sp-o-da-o-br — Tiiké * (M) (V-R)

* This term is used when sp-o-da-o-br did not have any kinship relation before da-o-br married sp. This term is used in this special case for reference only when Ego sends greetings to the sp-o-da-o-br.

sp-o-da-o-br — Yeé Bujuí * (M) (R)
Yeé Majkó Márape *

* This term is used when sp-o-da-o-br did not have any kinship relation with Ego before da-o-br married sp. This term is used in reference in all cases, except for sending greetings to the sp-o-da-o-br.

* In cases of reference, if the person with whom Ego is speaking does not know to whom Ego is referring when Ego says Yeé Bujuí, then Ego elucidates with the term Yeé Majkó Márape.

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sp-o-da-o-br — Majké * (F) (V-R)

* This term is employed in the vocative for all cases. It is used in reference only when the sp-o-da-o-br did not have any kinship relation with Ego before the da-o-br married sp.

*601 /132 cont./

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sp-o-da-o-br | Mamió Majké * | (F) | (R) |

* This term is used when the sp-o-da-o-br is the so-o-ol-sis of Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sp-o-da-o-br | Kabió Majké * | (F) | (R) |
| | Kabió Ké | | |

* This term is used when the sp-o-da-o-br is the so-o-yg-sis of Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sp-o-so-o-sis | Majkó | (M) | (V-R) |
| sp-o-so-o-sis | Páre Majkó | (F) | (V-R) |
| sp-o-da-o-sis | Meké | (M) | (V-R) |
| sp-o-da-o-sis | Paré Majké * | (F) | (V-R) |

* This term is employed when the sp-o-da-o-sis is the so-o-br of Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sp-o-da-o-sis | Majké * | (F) | (V-R) |

* This term is employed when the sp-o-da-o-sis did not have any kinship relation with Ego before the da-o-sis married sp.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| f-o-sp | Mejkésa * | (F) | (V) |
| | Yeé Pajkó Párume * | (F) | (R) |

* These terms are used when the f-o-sp is the br-o-m of Ego. These terms are also used with a great sense of shame when sp as well as f-o-sp did not have any kinship relation with Ego before the marriage.

*601 /132 cont./

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| m-o-sp | Uaméu * | (M-F) | (V) |
| | Yeé Uaméu * | (M-F) | (R) |

* These terms are used when the m-o-sp is the sis-o-f of Ego. These terms are also used with a great sense of shame when sp as well as m-o-sp did not have any kinship relation with Ego before the marriage.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| f-o-sp | Mejké * | (M) | (V) |
| | Yeé Pajkó Párume * | (M) | (R) |

* These terms are used when the f-o-sp is the br-o-m of Ego. These terms are also used with a great sense of shame /133/ when sp as well as f-o-sp did not have any kinship relation with Ego before the marriage.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sp-o-ol-br-o-sp | Mamió | (F) | (V) |
| | Yeé Mamió | (F) | (R) |
| sp-o-yg-br-o-sp | Numió | (F) | (V) |
| | Yeé Kabió | (F) | (R) |
| sp-o-ol-sis-o-sp | Mamí | (F) | (V) |
| | Yeé Mamí | (F) | (R) |
| sp-o-yg-sis-o-sp | Nijiá | (F) | (V) |
| | Yeé Kabí | (F) | (R) |
| sp-o-sis-o-sp | Pesú | (M) | (V) |
| | Yeé Pesú | (M) | (R) |
| sp-o-br-o-sp | Numió | (M) | (V) |
| | Numió-Ká | (M) | (R) |
| f-o-f | Pajké-Ró | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| br-o-f-o-f | Pajké-Ró | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| br-o-m-o-f | Pajké-Ró | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| f-o-m | Pajké-Ró | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| br-o-f-o-m | Pajké-Ró | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| br-o-m-o-m | Pajké-Ró | (M-F) | (V-R) |

*601 /138 cont./

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sis-o-f-o-f | Uaméu-Kó | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| m-o-f | Maá-Kó | (M) | (V-R) |
| | Maú-Kó | (F) | (V-R) |
| sis-o-m-o-f | Maá-Kó | (M) | (V-R) |
| | Maú-Kó | (F) | (V-R) |
| sis-o-f-o-m | Maá-Kó | (M) | (V-R) |
| | Maú-Kó | (F) | (V-R) |
| m-o-m | Maá-Kó | (M) | (V-R) |
| | Maú-Kó | (F) | (V-R) |
| sis-o-m-o-m | Maá-Kó | (M) | (V-R) |
| | Maú-Kó | (F) | (V-R) |

The terms Ñejkó and Ñejké replace the terms Maá-Kó (or Máu-Kó) and Pajké-Ró, respectively, in reference when these terms are employed in the second person singular. Examples:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| My grandmother | = | Maá-Kó | (M) |
| | = | Maú-Kó | (F) |
| My grandfather | = | Pajké-Ró | (M-F) |
| Your grandfather | = | Meé Ñejké | (M-F) |
| Your grandmother | = | Meé Ñejkó | (M-F) |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-sis-o-f-o-f | Ñejkó Majké | (M-F) | (V) |
| so-o-sis-o-f-o-f | Yeé Ñejkó Majké | (M-F) | (R) |
| da-o-sis-o-f-o-f | Ñejkó Majkó | (M-F) | (V) |
| da-o-sis-o-f-o-f | Yeé Ñejkó Majkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| so-o-so | Yeé Párame | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| so-o-so-o-br | Yeé Párame | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| so-o-so-o-sis | Yeé Párame | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| so-o-da | Yeé Párame | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| so-o-da-o-br | Yeé Párame | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| so-o-da-o-sis | Yeé Párame | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| da-o-so | Yeé Párameo | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| da-o-so-o-br | Yeé Párameo | (M-F) | (V-R) |

*601 /134 cont./

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-so-o-sis | Yeé Párameo | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| da-o-da | Yeé Párameo | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| da-o-da-o-br | Yeé Párameo | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| da-o-da-o-sis | Yeé Párameo | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| stepfather | Yeé Pajkó Márape * | (M-F) | (V-R) |

* This term is employed when the sp-o-m is not br-o-f of Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| stepmother | Mengó * | (M-F) | (V-R) |

* This term is used when the sp-o-f is not the sis-o-m of Ego. Ego feels great shame in using this term.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| stepson | Yeé Nemó Majké * | (M) | (V-R) |

* This term is employed when the sp of Ego and the deceased father of the stepson of Ego are not, respectively, da-o-br-o-m and sibling of Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| stepdaughter | Yeé Nemó Majkó * | (M) | (V-R) |

* This term is employed when the sp of Ego and the deceased father of the stepdaughter of Ego are not, respectively, da-o-br-o-m and sibling of Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| stepson | Yeé Márape Majké * | (F) | (V-R) |

* This term is employed when the sp of Ego and the deceased mother of the stepson of Ego are not, respectively, so-o-br-o-m and sibling of Ego.

*601 /134 cont./
stepdaughter Yeé Márape Majkó * (F) (V-R)

* This term is employed when the sp of Ego and the deceased mother of the stepdaughter of Ego are not, respectively, so-o-br-o-m and sibling of Ego.

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## DIFFERENCES OF KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY BETWEEN MALE EGO AND FEMALE EGO

### MALE EGO

Pajké . . . . . f.
Yeé Pajké . . . . . f.
Maú . . . . . m.
Yeé Pajkó . . . . . m.
Majké . . . . . so.
Yeé Majké . . . . . so.
Majkó . . . . . da; da-o-br.
Yeé Majkó . . . . . da.
Mamí . . . . . ol-br; so-o-ol-br-o-f; so-o-ol-sis-o-m.
Yeé Mamí . . . . . ol-br.
Nijiá . . . . . yg-br; so-o-yg-br-o-f; so-o-yg-sis-o-m.
Yeé Kabí . . . . . yg-br; so-o-yg-br-o-f.
Mamió . . . . . ol-sis; da-o-ol-br-o-f; da-o-ol-sis-o-m.
Yeé Mamió . . . . . ol-sis.
Numió . . . . . yg-sis; da-o-yg-sis-o-m; sp-o-br-o-sp.
Yeé Kabió . . . . . yg-sis.
Mé . . . . . br-o-f.
Yeé Pajké Mamí . . . . ol-br-o-f.
Yeé Pajké Kabí . . . . . yg-br-o-f.
Uaméu . . . . . sis-o-f; sp-o-br-o-m; m-o-sp.
Yeé Uaméu . . . . . sis-o-f; sp-o-br-o-m; m-o-sp.
Mejké . . . . . br-o-m; sp-o-sis-o-f; f-o-sp.
Yeé Pajkó Párume . . . . br-o-m; sp-o-sis-o-f; f-o-sp.
Mengó . . . . . sis-o-m; sp-o-br-o-f; stepmother.

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Yeé Nemó . . . . . sp.
Yeé Majké Pajkó . . . . sp.
Yeé Majkó Pajkó . . . . sp.
Yeé Púra Pajkó . . . . . sp.
Numió-Ká . . . . . da-o-yg-br-o-f; sp-o-br-o-sp.
Meoké . . . . . so-o-sis-o-f; so-o-br-o-m; br-o-sp.
Yeé Basúke . . . . . so-o-sis-o-f; so-o-br-o-m; br-o-sp.
Meokó . . . . . da-o-sis-o-f; da-o-br-o-m; sis-o-sp.
Yeé Basúko . . . . . da-o-sis-o-f; da-o-br-o-m.
Paég . . . . . so-o-br-o-m.
Yeé Utamúri Majsé . . . so-o-br-o-m.

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Paó . . . . . da-o-br-o-m.
Yeé Pajkó Majké . . . . so-o-ol-sis-o-m; so-o-yg-sis-o-m.
Yeé Pajkó Majkó . . . . da-o-ol-sis-o-m; da-o-yg-sis-o-m.
Meké . . . . . so-o-br; sp-o-da-o-sis.
Yeé Mamí Majké . . . . so-o-ol-br.
Yeé Kabí Majké . . . . . so-o-yg-br.
Yeé Mamí Majkó . . . . da-o-ol-br.
Yeé Kabí Majkó . . . . . da-o-yg-br.
Mamió Majké . . . . . so-o-ol-sis; sp-o-da; sp-o-da-o-br.
Yeé Mamió Majké . . . . so-o-ol-sis.
Kabió Majké (Kabió-Ké) . so-o-yg-sis; sp-o-da; sp-o-da-o-br.
Yeé Kabió Majké . . . . so-o-yg-sis.
Mamió Majkó . . . . . da-o-ol-sis; sp-o-so; sp-o-so-o-br.
Yeé Mamió Majkó . . . . da-o-ol-sis.
Kabió Majkó (Kabió-Kó) . da-o-yg-sis; sp-o-so; sp-o-so-o-br.
Yeé Kabió Majkó. . . . da-o-yg-sis.
Yeé Bujuí Bakó . . . . . sis-o-sp.
Yeé Péfle . . . . . br-o-sp.
Yeé Tí . . . . . br-o-sp.
Ñejkó Majké . . . . . br-o-sp.
Tiíkó . . . . . sp-o-so; sp-o-so-o-br.
Tiíké . . . . . sp-o-da; sp-o-da-o-br.
Yeé Majké Nemó . . . . sp-o-so-o-br.
Yeé Bujuí . . . . . sp-o-da-o-br.
Yeé Majkó Márape . . . sp-o-da-o-br.

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Pesú . . . . . sp-o-sis-o-sp.
Yeé Pesú . . . . . sp-o-sis-o-sp.
Pajké-Ró . . . . . f-o-f; br-o-f-o-f; br-o-m-o-f; f-o-m; br-o-f-o-m; br-o-m-o-m.
Uaméu-Kó . . . . . sis-o-f-o-f.
Maá-Kó . . . . . m-o-f; sis-o-m-o-f; sis-o-f-o-m; m-o-m; sis-o-m-o-m.
Nejkó Majké . . . . . so-o-sis-o-f-o-f.
Yeé Nejkó Majké . . . . so-o-sis-o-f-o-f.
Nejkó Majkó . . . . . da-o-sis-o-f-o-f.
Yeé Nejkó Majkó . . . . da-o-sis-o-f-o-f.
Yeé Párame . . . . . so-o-so; so-o-so-o-br; so-o-so-o-sis; so-o-da; so-o-da-o-br; so-o-da-o-sis.
Yeé Parameo . . . . . da-o-so; da-o-so-o-br; da-o-so-o-sis; da-o-da; da-o-da-o-br; da-o-da-o-sis.

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Yeé Pajkó Márape . . . . stepfather.
Yeé Nemó Majké . . . . stepson.
Yeé Nemó Majkó . . . . stepdaughter.

FEMALE EGO

Pajké . . . . . f.
Yeé Pajké . . . . . f.
Maú . . . . . m.
Yeé Pajkó . . . . . m.
Majké . . . . . so; sp-o-da-o-br.
Yeé Majké . . . . . so.
Majkó . . . . . da; sp-o-so-o-br.
Yeé Majkó . . . . . da.
Mamí . . . . . ol-br; so-o-ol-br-o-f; so-o-ol-sis-o-m; sp-o-ol-sis-o-sp.
Yeé Mamí . . . . . ol-br; sp-o-ol-sis-o-sp.
Nijiá . . . . . yg-br; so-o-yg-br-o-f; so-o-yg-sis-o-m; sp-o-yg-sis-o-sp.

*601 /137 cont./

Yeé Kabí . . . . . yg-br; so-o-yg-br-o-f; sp-o-yg-sis-o-sp.
Mamió . . . . . ol-sis; da-o-ol-br-o-f; da-o-ol-sis-o-m; sp-o-ol-br-o-sp.
Yeé Mamió . . . . . ol-sis; sp-o-ol-br-o-sp.
Numió . . . . . yg-sis; da-o-yg-sis-o-m; sp-o-yg-br-o-sp.
Yeé Kabió . . . . . yg-sis; sp-o-yg-br-o-sp.
Mengué . . . . . br-o-f.
Yeé Pajké Mamí . . . . ol-br-o-f.
Yeé Pajké Kabí . . . . . yg-br-o-f.
Uaméu . . . . . sis-o-f; sp-o-br-o-m; m-o-sp.
Yeé Uaméu . . . . . sis-o-f; sp-o-br-o-m; m-o-sp.
Mejkésa . . . . . br-o-m; sp-o-sis-o-f; f-o-sp.
Yeé Pajkó Párume . . . . br-o-m; sp-o-sis-o-f; f-o-sp.
Mengó . . . . . sis-o-m; sp-o-br-o-f; stepmother.
Yeé Márape . . . . . sp.
Yeé Majké Pajké . . . . . sp.
Yeé Majkó Pajké . . . . sp.
Yeé Púra Pajké . . . . . sp.
Numió-Ká . . . . . da-o-yg-br-o-f.
Uaméu Majké . . . . . so-o-sis-o-f; so-o-br-o-m; br-o-sp.
Mejkésa Majké . . . . . so-o-br-o-m.

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Mejkésa Majkó . . . . . da-o-br-o-m.
Yeé Pajkó Majké . . . . so-o-ol-sis-o-m; so-o-yg-sis-o-m.
Yeé Pajkó Majkó . . . . . da-o-ol-sis-o-m; da-o-yg-sis-o-m.
Páre Majké . . . . . so-o-br; sp-o-da; sp-o-da-o-sis.
Yeé Pá Mojké . . . . . so-o-br.
Páre Majkó . . . . . da-o-br; sp-o-so; sp-o-so-o-sis.
Yeé Mamí Majkó . . . . da-o-ol-br.
Yeé Kabí Majkó . . . . . da-o-yg-br.
Mamió Majké . . . . . so-o-ol-sis.
Yeé Mamió Majké . . . . so-o-ol-sis.
Kabió Majké (Kabió-Ké) . so-o-yg-sis.
Yeé Kabió Majké . . . . so-o-yg-sis.
Mamió Majkó . . . . . da-o-ol-sis.
Yeé Namió Majkó . . . . da-o-ol-sis.

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| | |
|---|---|
| Kabió Majkó (Kabió-Kó) | da-o-yg-sis. |
| Yeé Kabió Majkó | da-o-yg-sis. |
| Yeé Bujuí Baké | br-o-sp. |
| Yeé Sió | sis-o-sp. |
| Pajké-Ró | f-o-f; br-o-f-o-f; br-o-m-o-f; f-o-m; br-o-f-o-m; br-o-m-o-m. |
| Uaméu-Kó | sis-o-f-o-f. |
| Maú-Kó | m-o-f; sis-o-m-o-f; sis-o-f-o-m; m-o-m; sis-o-m-o-m. |
| Ñejkó Majké | so-o-sis-o-f-o-f. |
| Yeé Ñejkó Majké | so-o-sis-o-f-o-f. |
| Ñejkó Majkó | da-o-sis-o-f-o-f. |
| Yeé Ñejkó Majkó | da-o-sis-o-f-o-f. |
| Yeé Párame | so-o-so; so-o-so-o-br; so-o-so-o-sis; so-o-da; so-o-da-o-br; so-o-da-o-sis. |
| Yeé Párameo | da-o-so; da-o-so-o-br; da-o-so-o-sis; da-o-da; da-o-da-o-br; da-o-da-o-sis. |
| Yeé Pajkó Márape | stepfather. |
| Yeé Márape Majké | stepson. |
| Yeé Márape Majkó | stepdaughter. |

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## CONSANGUINEOUS RELATIVES

### Male Ego

A -- Generation of Ego.

a) The older brother, the son of the older brother of the father (parallel cousin), and the son of the older sister of the mother (parallel cousin) are grouped in a single category, being classified as older brothers of Ego, without taking into account the fact that the son of the older brother of the father and the son of the older sister of the mother may be younger than Ego (Mamí).

b) The younger brother, the son of the younger brother of the father (parallel cousin), and the son of the younger sister of the mother (parallel cousin) are grouped in a single category, being classified as younger brothers of Ego, without taking into account the fact that the son of the younger brother of the father and the son of the younger sister of the mother may be older than Ego (Nijiá).

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c) The older sister, the daughter of the older brother of the father (parallel cousin), and the daughter of the older sister of the mother (parallel cousin) are grouped in a single category, being classified as older sisters of Ego, without taking into account the fact that the daughter of the older brother of the father and the daughter of the older sister of the mother may be younger than Ego (Mamió).

d) The younger sister and the daughter of the younger sister of the mother are grouped in a single category, being classified as younger sisters of Ego, without taking into account the fact that the daughter of the younger sister of the mother may be older than Ego (Numió).

To designate the daughter of the younger brother of the father the term for younger sister is used, adding to it the suffix Ká (Numió-Ká), and she is classified as younger sister of Ego without taking into account the fact that she may be older than Ego.

e) The son of the sister of the father and the son of the brother of the mother (cross cousins) are grouped in a single category (Meoké).

f) The daughter of the brother of the father and the daughter of the brother of the mother (cross cousins) are grouped in a single category (Meokó).

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B -- First Ascending Generation.

a) Father and mother are designated with isolating terms (Pajké, Maú).

b) The parallel uncles (the brothers of the father) are designated with the term (Mé).

c) The parallel aunts (the sisters of the mother) are grouped together with the spouse of the brother of the father in a single category (Mengó).

d) The cross uncles (the brothers of the mother) are grouped in a single category together with the spouse of the sister of the father and the father of the spouse (Mejké).

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e) The cross aunts (the sisters of the father) are grouped together with the spouse of the brother of the mother and the mother of the spouse in a single category (Uaméu).

C -- Second Ascending Generation.

a) All of the male individuals in the second ascending generation from Ego are grouped in a single category, being classified as grandfathers (Pajké-Ró).

b) All the female members in the second ascending generation from Ego, with the exception of the sister of the father of the father of Ego, are grouped in a single category, being classified as grandmothers (Maá-Kó).

c) The sister of the father of the father of Ego is designated with an isolating term (Uaméu-Kó).

D -- First Descending Generation.

a) Son is designated with an isolating term (Majké).

b) Daughter and daughter of brother are grouped in a single category, being classified as daughters of Ego (Majkó).

c) The son of the brother is grouped with the spouse of the daughter of the sister in a single category (Meké).

d) The son of the sister is grouped together with the spouse of the daughter and the spouse of the daughter of the brother in a single category, distinguishing the relative age of the sister of Ego in relation to Ego (Mamió Majké; Kabió Majké).

e) The daughter of the sister is grouped together with the spouse of the son and the spouse of the son of the brother in a single category, /141/ distinguishing the relative age of the sister of Ego in relation to Ego (Mamió Majkó; Kabió Majkó).

E -- Second Descending Generation.

a) The grandsons and the sons of the sons or of the daughters of the brothers or of the sisters of Ego are grouped in a single category, being classified as grandsons (Yeé Párame).

b) The granddaughters and the daughters of the sons or of the daughters of the brothers or of the sisters of Ego are grouped in a single category, being classified as granddaughters (Yeé Párameo).

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RELATIVES-IN-LAW

Male Ego

* 601 a) The terms to designate the spouse are isolating and depend on the sex and the number of children that the couple has.

b) The term to designate the brother of the wife is the same one that is used to designate the husband of the sister and is grouped with the cross cousins of the maternal and paternal line to form a single category (Meoké).

c) The term to designate the sister of the wife is the same one that is used to designate the wife of the brother and is grouped with the cross cousins of the paternal and maternal line to form a single category (Meokó).

d) The term used to designate the mother-in-law is the same one that is used to designate the sister of the father and the wife of the brother of the mother (Uaméu).

e) The term to designate the father-in-law is the same one that is used to designate the brother of the mother and the husband of the sister of the father (Mejké).

f) The term to designate the wife of the son is the same one that is used to designate the wife of the son of the brother and the daughter of the sister of Ego, distinguishing the relative age of the sister of Ego in relation to Ego (Mamió Majkó; Kabió Majkó).

g) The term to designate the husband of the daughter is the same one that is used to designate the husband of the daughter of the brother and /142/ the son of the sister of Ego, distinguishing the relative age of the sister of Ego in relation to Ego (Mamió Majké; Kabió Majké).

/142 cont./

CONSANGUINEOUS RELATIVES

Female Ego

* 001 A -- Generation of Ego.

a) The older brother, the son of the older brother of the father (parallel cousin), the son of the older sister of the mother (parallel cousin), and the spouse of the older sister of the spouse are grouped in a single category, being classified as older brothers of Ego, without taking into account the fact that the son of the older brother of the father, the son of the older sister of the mother, and the spouse of the older sister of the spouse may be younger than Ego (Mamí).

b) The younger brother, the son of the younger brother of the father (parallel cousin), the son of the younger sister of the mother (parallel cousin), and the spouse of the younger sister of the spouse are grouped in a single category, being classified as younger brothers of Ego, without taking into account the fact that the son of the younger brother of the father, the son of the younger sister of the mother, and the spouse of the younger sister of the spouse may be older than Ego (Nijiá).

c) The older sister, the daughter of the older brother of the father (parallel cousin), the daughter of the older sister of the mother (parallel cousin), and the spouse of the older brother of the spouse are grouped in a single category, being classified as older sisters of Ego, without taking into account the fact that the daughter of the older brother of the father, the daughter of the older sister of the mother, and the spouse of the older brother of the spouse may be younger than Ego (Mamió).

d) The younger sister, the daughter of the younger sister of the mother (parallel cousin), and the spouse of the younger brother of the spouse are grouped in a single category, being classified as younger sisters of Ego, without taking into account the fact that the daughter of the younger sister of the mother and the spouse of the younger brother of the spouse may be younger than Ego (Numió). To /143/ designate the daughter of the younger brother of the father the term for younger sister is used, adding the suffix Ká (Numió-Ká), and she is classified as younger sister of Ego, without taking into account the fact that she may be older than Ego.

/143 cont./

* 601

e) The son of the sister of the father and the son of the brother of the mother (cross cousins) are grouped in a single category together with the brother of the spouse (Uaméu Majké).

f) The daughter of the sister of the father and the daughter of the brother of the mother (cross cousins) are grouped in a single category together with the sister of the spouse (Uaméu Majkó).

B -- First Ascending Generation.

a) Father and mother are designated with isolating terms (Pajké, Maú).

b) The parallel uncles (the brothers of the father) are designated with the term Mengué.

c) The parallel aunts (the sisters of the mother) are grouped together with the spouse of the brother of the father in a single category (Mengó).

d) The cross uncles (the brothers of the mother) are grouped together with the spouse of the sister of the father and the father of the spouse in a single category (Mejkésa).

e) The cross aunts (the sisters of the father) are grouped with the spouse of the brother of the mother and the mother of the spouse in a single category (Uaméu).

C -- Second Ascending Generation.

a) All the male individuals in the second ascending generation of Ego are grouped in a single category, being classified as grandfathers (Pajké-Ró).

b) All the female members in the second ascending generation of Ego, with the exception of the sister of the father of the father of Ego, are grouped in a single category, being classified as grandmothers (Máu-Kó).

c) The sister of the father of the father of Ego is designated with an isolating term (Uaméu-Kó).

*601

/143 cont./

D -- First Descending Generation.

a) The son and the spouse of the daughter of the brother are grouped in a single category, being classified as sons (Majké).

/144/ b) The daughter and the spouse of the son of the brother are grouped in a single category, being classified as daughters (Majkó).

c) The son of the brother, the spouse of the daughter, and the spouse of the daughter of the sister are grouped in a single category (Páre Majké).

d) The daughter of the brother, the spouse of the son, and the spouse of the son of the sister are grouped in a single category (Páre Majkó).

e) The son of the sister is designated with an isolating term, distinguishing as to whether he is the son of the older or younger sister in relation to Ego (Mamió Majké; Kabió Majké).

f) The daughter of the sister is designated with an isolating term, distinguishing as to whether she is the [illegible]er of the older sister or of the younger sister in relation to Ego (Mamió Majkó; Kabió Majkó).

D /sic/ -- Second Descending Generation.

a) The grandsons and the sons of the sons or of the daughters of the brothers or of the sisters of Ego are grouped in a single category, being classified as grandsons (Yeé Párame).

b) The granddaughters and the daughters of the sons or of the daughters of the brothers or of the sisters of Ego are grouped in a single category, being classified as granddaughters (Yeé Párameo).

## RELATIVES-IN-LAW

### Female Ego

a) The terms to designate the spouse are isolating and depend on the sex and the number of children that the couple has.

b) The term to designate the brother of the husband is the same one that is used to designate the husband of the sister and is grouped with the male cross-cousins of the paternal and maternal line to form a single category (Uaméu Majké).

*601 /144 cont./

c) The term to designate the sister of the husband is the same one that is used to designate the wife of the brother and is grouped with the female cross-cousins of the paternal and maternal line to form a single category (Uaméu Majkó).

d) The term to designate the mother-in-law is the same one that is /Charts I and II appear here/ /145/ used to designate the sister of the father and the wife of the brother of the mother (Uaméu).

e) The term to designate the father-in-law is the same one that is used to designate the brother of the mother and the husband of the sister of the father (Mejkésa).

f) The term to designate the wife of the son is the same one that is used to designate the wife of the son of the sister and the daughter of the brother of Ego (Páre Majkó).

g) The term to designate the husband of the daughter is the same one that is used to designate the husband of the daughter of the sister and the son of the brother of Ego (Páre Majké).

## ADDITIONAL DIFFERENTIATIONS

According to Sex -- In all the generations the sex is distinguished terminologically.

According to Age -- The real brothers and sisters of Ego are distinguished as older or younger relative to the age of Ego. The classificatory brothers and sisters (male parallel-cousins and female parallel-cousins, respectively) are distinguished according to the relative age of the parents of the classificatory brothers and sisters with respect to the age of the parents of Ego. Thus, for example, the son of the older brother of the father of Ego is the older brother of Ego; the daughter of the younger sister of the mother of Ego is the younger sister of Ego; etc. Otherwise, the relatives of ascending generations are considered as older and the relatives of descending generations are considered as younger with respect to Ego.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| p. 30 | p. 31 | p. 32 |

Positions of Chart 1, "Kinship System: Male Ego."

/facing p. 30/

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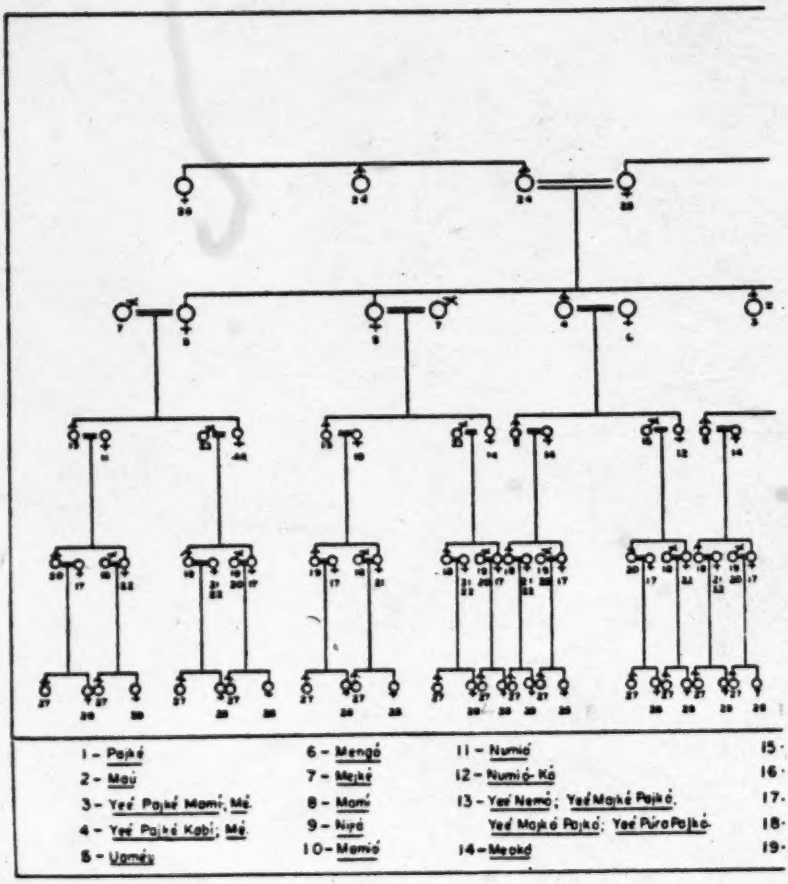
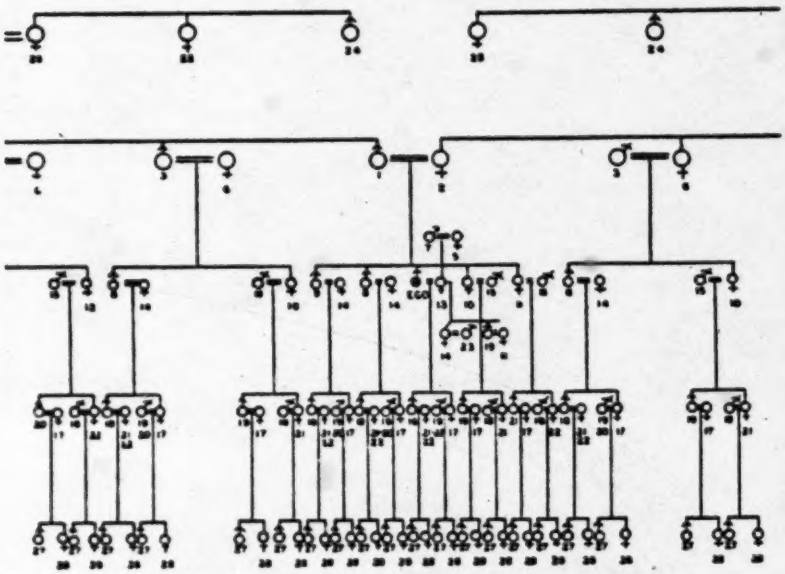



/Left-hand section of Chart I, "Kinship System: Male Ego."/

*601

## Chart I

**Kinship System: Male Ego**



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 15 - Meoké | 20 - Kobié Mojké | 25 - Moó-Ké |
| | 16 - Mojké | 21 - Momió Mojké | 26 - Uoméu-Ké |
| Mojké Peyké, | 17 - Mojké | 22 - Kobié Mojké | 27 - Yeé Páromo |
| , Yeé PároPeyké. | 18 - Meké | 23 - Peyé | 28 - Yeé Páromeo |
| | 19 - Momó Mojké | 24 - Peyké-Ré | |

/middle section of Chart I/

1: Fulop--32 E-5 (1954) 1955 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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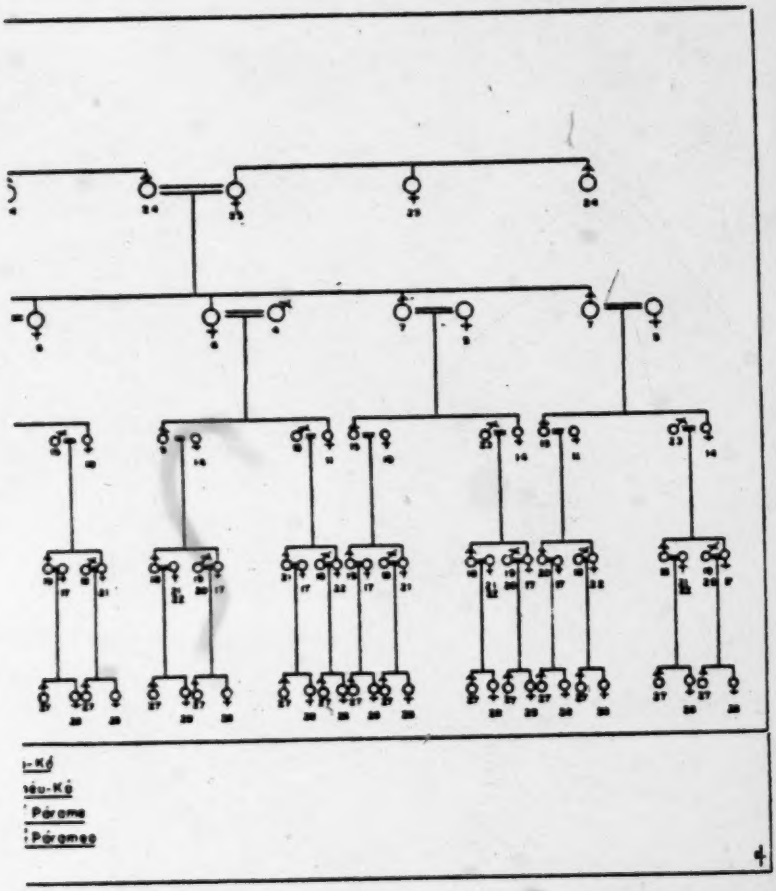


/Right-hand section of Chart I, "Kinship System: Male Ego."/

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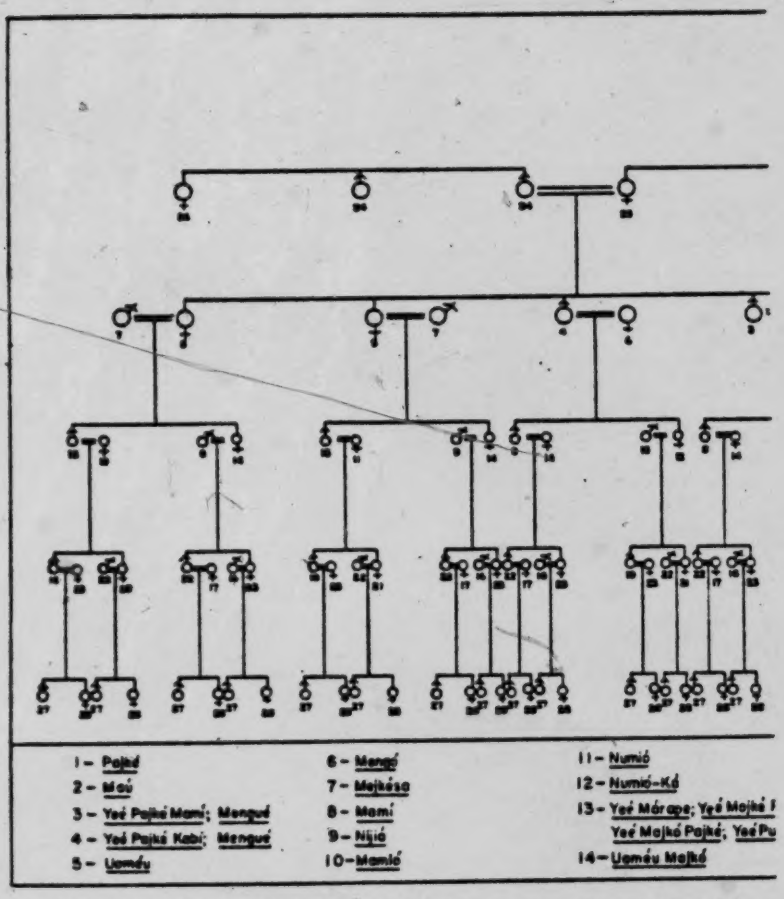
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| p. 33 | p. 34 | p. 35 |

Positions of Chart 2, "Kinship Systems: Female Ego."

/facing p. 33/

1: Fulop--33 E-5 (1954) 1955 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

*601

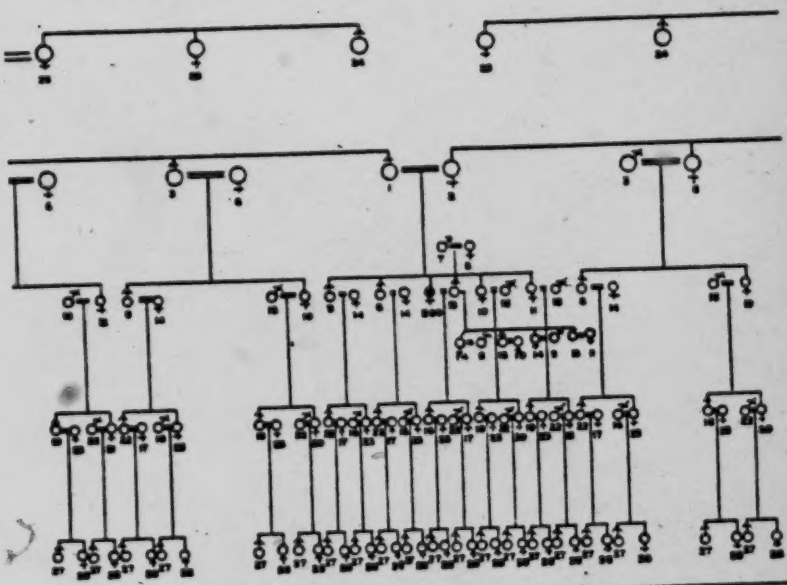



/Left-hand section of Chart II, "Kinship System: Female Ego."/

*601

## Chart II

### Kinship System: Female Ego



- Numié
- Numié-Ké
- Yeé Mórapa; Yeé Majké Pajké; Yeé Majké Pajké; Yeé Puro Pajké.
- Uaméu Majké
- 15 - Uaméu Majké
- 16 - Majké
- 17 - Majké
- 18 - Mamié Majké
- 19 - Kabié Majké
- 20 - Mamié Majké
- 21 - Kabié Majké
- 22 - Páre Majké
- 23 - Páre Majké
- 24 - Pajké-Ré
- 25-
- 26-
- 27-
- 28-

/middle section of Chart II/

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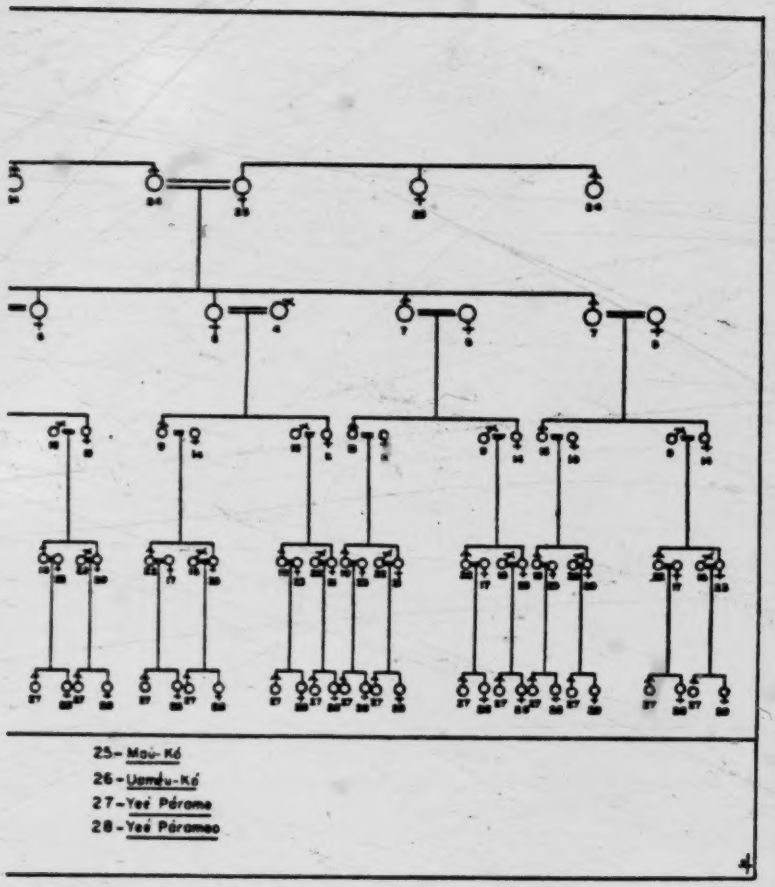


/Right-hand section of Chart II, "Kinship System: Female Ego."/

*601 /145 cont./

According to Kinship -- Cross cousins and parallel cousins are distinguished. No distinction is made between real brothers and parallel cousins. In the second ascending generation, the relationship is not differentiated between grandfathers and grandmothers, with the exception of the sister of the father of the father or Ego, who is designated with an isolating term. In the second descending generation, the relationship that Ego might have with his grandsons and granddaughters is not differentiated, be they real or classificatory. There are new kinship terms to designate relatives who do not follow the canon of marriage between cross cousins with the interchange of brother with sister.

/146/ According to the state of life -- There is no distinct term to designate a relative according to the state of life of the person who connects or relates by marriage this relative with Ego. Nor are different terms used to designate deceased relatives. To express the state of death of a relative, the terms Mijí (dead - masculine gender) and Mejeó (dead - feminine gender) are added to the kinship terms with which the relatives were denominated in reference (R) while they lived. Thus, for example, Yeé Mamí Mijí (my dead older brother), Páre Majkó Mejeó (the dead daughter of my brother), etc.

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## PHRATRIES AND SIBS

Five phratries are found among the Tukano:

1) Yepá Bajuári Majsá.
2) Miriápura Diára Majsá.
3) Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.
4) Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.
5) Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

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Each one of these phratries is divided into an extensive number of sibs.

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[197]
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## YEPA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs belonging to this phratry are located on the Paca, Papurí /Papury/ and Tiquié rivers, and on the Vaupés /Uaupés/ River from the stream of Umarí to the confluence of the Vaupés River with the Río Negro. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Tukano. The sibs that form this phratry can be divided into two artificial groups that correspond to patterns of kinship and are the following:

LIST "A"

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | Yúpuri Baúro | (B) (1) | (2) | Yepára Oakajpeá | (+) (2) |
| (3) | Yepára Oyé | (B) | (4) | Yepára Suí | (C) (3) |

1. The B in front /sic/ of the name of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Brazilian territory.

2. The + in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib has disappeared.

3. The C in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Colombian territory.

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5) | Bejsémi Kuiseré | (C) | (6) | Ajúsiro Sóbaro | (B) |
| (7) | Suí Makúpi | (C) | (8) | Ajkíto Ñetedejká | (C) |
| (9) | Kemáru Isiadejpuá | (+) | (10) | Yúpuri Pamó | (B) |
| (11) | Yepára Merú | (C) | (12) | Yúpuri Uajsóro Marí | (C) |
| (13) | Sérvi Bojsé | (C) | (14) | Doétiro Mimisipé | (C) |
| (15) | Ajkíto Patíro | (C) | (16) | Kemáru Kukú | (C) |
| (17) | Urémiri Sióropo Bayá | (B) | (18) | Urémiri Sáraro | (C) |
| (19) | Parisí | (B) | (20) | Yúpuri Búbera | (B) |
| (21) | Ajúsiro Merí | (B) | (22) | Ñajóri Dipé | (B) |
| (23) | Yáitoro | (C) | (24) | Urémiri Sakuró | (C) |
| (25) | Buú Púra | (B) | (26) | Suí Amoperí | (B) |
| (27) | Ajúsiro Túro | (B) | (28) | Arú Perí | (B) |

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/147 cont./

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (29) Bojsóka Perí | (B) | (30) Ajkíto Kuá | (B) |
| (31) Buú Papéra Púra | (B) | (32) Ajkíto Báya Púra | (B) |
| (33) Kemáru Baá Púra | (B) | (34) Ajkíto Yujuró | (B) |
| (35) Suí Ajpuékeri | (B) | (36) Bujpuá Púra | (B) |

LIST "B"

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (37) Umu Sasí | (C) | (38) Ñajkéro | (+) |
| (39) Ñajpóbi | (+) | (40) Mío Putí | (C) |
| (41) Bojsoágue | (B) | (42) Dutá Púra | (B) |
| (43) Dóe Ñijkáro | (B) | (44) Niká Dejkayái | (+) |
| (45) Wuá Kúmu | (B) | (46) Kemáru Dasíri | (B) |
| (47) Dóe Diáti Kúmu | (C) | (48) Urémiri Kareri | (C) |
| (49) Ajkíto Bitóro | (C) | (50) Pijkóse Báse Kúmu | (B) |

614 Kinship terms Used among the Component Sibs of LIST "A"

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In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-36), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, the third one calls the fourth one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá. In numerical order and ascending chronologically (36-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

Kinship Terms Used among the Component Sibs of LIST "B"

In numerical order and descending chronologically (37-50), /148/ the first calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (50-37), the last one calls the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one calls the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

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*601 614 Kinship Terms Used between the Component Sibs of LIST "A" and the Component Sibs of LIST "B"

In a given generation, all the individual members of the component sibs of LIST "A" denominate all the individual members, of the same generation, of the component sibs of LIST "B": Pajké-Ró.

In a given generation, all the individual members of the component sibs of LIST "B" denominate all the individual members, of the same generation, of the component sibs of LIST "A": Yeé Párame.

In descending and ascending generations the kinship system and the kinship terms continue as if all the components of LIST "A" were blood brothers and all the components of LIST "B" were blood brothers, in a given generation. As for the kinship terms used between the components of LIST "A" and the components of LIST "B," in ascending and descending generations, the kinship system and the kinship terms continue as if the components of LIST "B" were the grandparents of the components of LIST "A." In all these cases age and sex are distinguished.

Examples of kinship terms used among the components of LIST "A."

(1) The son of Yúpuri Baúro calls Suí Ajpuékeri: Mé.
(2) Suí Ajpuékeri calls the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Meké.
(3) The son of Yúpuri Baúro denominates the son of Suí Ajpuékeri: Nijiá, since Yúpuri Baúro calls Suí Ajpuékeri: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Suí Ajpuékeri calls the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Mamí, since Suí Ajpuékeri denominates Yúpuri Baúro: Mamí.

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(5) Yúpuri Baúro calls the daughter of Suí Ajpuékeri: Majkó. Suí Ajpuékeri denominates the daughter of Yúpuri Baúro: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Yúpuri Baúro calls Suí Ajpuékeri: Mengué. The daughter of Suí Ajpuékeri calls Yúpuri Baúro: Mengué.

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*601 614 (7) The sons of Yúpuri Baúro call the sister of Suí Ajpuékeri: Uaméu. The sons of Suí Ajpuékeri call the sister of Yúpuri Baúro: Uaméu.
Etc.

Examples of kinship terms used among the components of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mé.
(2) Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Mekê.
(3) The son of Umu Sasí calls the son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá, since Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the son of Umu Sasí: Mamí, since Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates Umu Sasí: Mamí.
(5) Umu Sasí calls the daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Majkó. Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the daughter of Umu Sasí: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mengué. The daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls Umu Sasí: Mengué.
(7) The sons of Umu Sasí call the sister of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Uaméu. The sons of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu call the sister of Umu Sasí: Uaméu.

Examples of kinship terms used between the Component Sibs of LIST "A" and the Component Sibs of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Yúpuri Baúro: Mekê, since the father of Yúpuri Baúro and the son of Umu Sasí are siblings.
(2) Yúpuri Baúro denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Mé.
(3) The son of Yúpuri Baúro calls the son of Umu Sasí: Pajké-Ró.
(4) The son of Umu Sasí denominates the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Yeé Párame.

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## MIRIAPURA DIARA MAJSA

614 615] [361] [197] The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Pirá-paraná, Apaporis, Cananarí, and Tuy. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Carapaná. It consists of the following sibs:

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Mumiá Pajkáre | (+) | (2) Mumiá Dayágue | (+) |
| (3) Mujteá Pajkáre | (C) | (4) Mujteá Dayágue | (C) |
| (5) Duriá Pajkáre | (C) | (6) Duriá Dayágue | (C) |
| (7) Poitáñare | (C) | (8) Paréroa | (C) |
| (9) Eruria | (C) | (10) Dajseá Kawíria | (C) |
| (11) Buá Majsé | (C) | (12) Bujpuá Majsé | (C) |
| (13) Séra Majsé | (C) | (14) Yajuána | (C) |

*601 614 Kinship Terms Used among the Component Sibs of the Miriápura Diára Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-13), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (13-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 13 denominate 14 (Yajuána): Pajké-Ró.

Number 14 (Yajuána) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-13): Yeé Párame.

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Diára Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Mumiá Pajkáre denominates Séra Majsé: Mé.
(2) Séra Majsé denominates the son of Mumiá Pajkáre: Meké.
(3) The son of Mumiá Pajkáre denominates the son of Séra Majsé: Nijiá, since Mumiá Pajkáre denominates Séra Majsé: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Séra Majsé calls the son of Mumiá Pajkáre: Mamí, since Mumiá Pajkáre /sic/ calls Séra Majsé: Mamí.
(5) Mumiá Pajkáre calls the daughter of Séra Majsé: Majkó. Séra Majsé calls the daughter of Mumiá Pajkáre: Majkó.

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(6) The daughter of Mumiá Pajkáre calls Séra Majsé: Mengué. The daughter of Séra Majsé calls Mumiá Pajkáre: Mengué.

*
601 /151 cont./
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(7) The sons of Mumiá Pajkáre denominate the sister of Séra Majsé: Uaméu. The sons of Séra Majsé denominate the sister of Mumiá Pajkáre: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Yajuána denominates Mumiá Pajkáre: Meké, since the father of Mumiá Pajkáre and the son of Yajuána are siblings.

(9) Mumiá Pajkáre calls the son of Yajuána: Mé.

(10) The son of Mumiá Pajkáre denominates the son of Yajuána: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Yajuána calls the son of Mumiá Pajkáre: Yeé Párame.

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[615]
[361]
[197]

## ÑUJKUA DIARA MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located at the headwaters of the Tiquié River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Barasano. It consists of the following sibs:

(1) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé – Bará Majsé (C)
(2) Buajá Ñajkoroá (C) (3) Ñujkuá (C)
(4) Uamúta Ñárague (C) (5) Uamúta Dáyaroague (C)

*
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Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Ñujkuá Diára Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-4), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (4-1), the last one calls the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 4 denominate 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-4): Yeé Párame.

* 601 614 /151 cont./

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Ñujkuá Diára Majsá phratry.

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(1) The son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates Uamúta Ñárague: Mé.

(2) Uamúta Ñárague denominates the son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Meké.

(3) The son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates the son of Uamúta Ñárague: Nijiá, since Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé calls Uamúta Ñárague: Nijiá.

(4) The son of Uamúta Ñárague denominates the son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Mamí, since Uamúta Ñárague denominates Miriápura Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Mamí.

(5) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates the daughter of Uamúta Ñárague: Majkó. Uamúta Ñárague denominates the daughter of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Majkó.

(6) The daughter of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates Uamúta Ñárague: Mengué. The daughter of Uamúta Ñárague denominates Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Mengué.

(7) The sons of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominate the sister of Uamúta Ñárague: Uaméu. The sons of Uamúta Ñárague denominate the sister of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Uamúta Dáyaroague denominates Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Meké, since the father of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé and the son of Uamúta Dáyaroague are siblings.

(9) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates the son of Uamúta Dáyaroague: Mé.

(10) The son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates the son of Uamúta Dáyaroague: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Uamúta Dáyaroague denominates the son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Yeé Párame.

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[615]
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## MIRIAPURA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Isana, Querarí, Surubí, and Uainía. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Maniva. It consists of the following sibs:

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Bejkári | (C) | (2) Mijpiágue | (C) |
| (3) Mijpiá Diára | (C) | (4) Majkápiro Púra | (C) |
| (5) Borékearo | (C) | (6) Petároague | (C) |
| (7) Majároague | (C) | | |

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Kinship Terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-6), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (6-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 6 denominate 7 (Majároague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Majároague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-6): Yeé Párame.

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mé.
(2) Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Meké.
(3) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Petároague: Nijiá, since Bejkári denominates Petároague: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Mamí, since Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mamí.
(5) Bejkári denominates the daughter of Petároague: Majkó. Petároague calls the daughter of Bejkári: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mengué. The daughter of Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mengué.

*601 614 /153 cont./

(7) The sons of Bejkári denominate the sister of Petároague: Uaméu. The sons of Petároague denominate the sister of Bejkári: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Majároague denominates Bejkári: Meké, since the father of Bejkári and the son of Majároague are siblings.

(9) Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Mé.

(10) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Majároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Yeé Párame.

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614 [615] [361] [197]

## EMEKO BAJUARI MAJSA

The component sibs of this phratry are located on the Vaupés River between the hamlet of Urania and a little above the place where the Yí River empties into the Vaupés River, and on all of the Cuduiarí River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Cubeo. It consists of the following sibs:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Utíwiague | (C) | (2) Socóro Páramero | (C) |
| (3) Biá Déroague | (C) | (4) Purí Máriroague | (C) |
| (5) Aúwuewague | (C) | (6) Uejsári Téroague | (C) |

*601 614 Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuari Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-5), the first one denominates the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one denominates the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (5-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 5 denominate 6 (Uejsári Téroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Uejsári Téroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-5): Yeé Párame.

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Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuári Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Utíwiague denominates Aúwuewague: Mé.

(2) Aúwuewague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Meké.

(3) The son of Utíwiague denominates the son of Aúwuewague: Nijiá, since Utíwiague calls Aúwuewague: Nijiá.

(4) The son of Aúwuewague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Mamí, since Aúwuewague calls Utíwiague: Mamí.

(5) Utíwiague denominates the daughter of Aúwuewague: Majkó. Aúwuewague calls the daughter of Utíwiague: Majkó.

(6) The daughter of Utíwiague denominates Aúwuewague: Mengué. The daughter of Aúwuewague calls Utíwiague: Mengué.

(7) The sons of Utíwiague call the sister of Aúwuewague: Uaméu. The sons of Aúwuewague denominate the sister of Utíwiague: Uaméu.

/155/(8) The son of Uejsári Téroague denominates Utíwiague: Meké, since the father of Utíwiague and the son of Uejsári Téroague are siblings.

(9) Utíwiague denominates the son of Uejsári Téroague: Mé.

(10) The son of Utíwiague calls the son of Uejsári Téroague: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Uejsári Téroague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Yeé Párame.

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KINSHIP TERMS USED AMONG THE COMPONENT SIBS OF THE FIVE PHRATRIES THAT FORM THE YEPA MAJSA TRIBE

Kinship terms used between the phratries: Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Miriápura Diára Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Miriápura Diára Majsá

LIST "A"
Yúpuri Baúro
Yepára Oakajpeá
Yepára Oyé
denominate with the term Nijiá from Mumiá Pajkáre to Séra Majsé

*
601 /155 cont./
614 Yepára Suí
615 to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Mamí from
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Duriá Pajkáre

Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Duriá Dayágue
to
Séra Majsé

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Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Yajuána

Yepá Bajuári Majsá Miriápura Diára Majsá

LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Yajuána

*601 /156 cont./
614 Kinship Terms Used between the Phratries:
615 Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

LIST "A"
Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Uamúta Dáyaroague

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá
/157/
LIST "B"
Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Uamúta Dáyaroague

* 601 /157 cont./
614 Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
615 Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

LIST "A"

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Yepára Oyé
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Mamí

Bejkári
and
Mijpiágue

Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Mijpiá Diára
to
Petároague

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Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Majároague

*601 /158 cont./
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Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá

Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

LIST "A"

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

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Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

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LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.

Miriápura Diára Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Uamúta Dáyaroague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

*
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614
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/159 cont./

Yajuána
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uamúta Dáyaroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.

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Miriápura Diára Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Duriá Pajkáre
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Duriá Dayágue
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Mamí

Bejkári

Duriá Dayágue
to
Paréroa
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Mijpiágue
to
Petároague

Eruria
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Mamí

Mijpiágue
and
Mijpiá Diára

*
601 /160 cont./
614 Eruria
615 to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Majkápiro Púra
to
Petároague

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Majároague

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Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Nijiá

Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.
Miriápura Diára Majsá Emeko Bajuári Majsá
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

* 601 614 615

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Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Ñujkuá Diára Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.

Ñujkuá Diára Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Mamí from

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Bejkári
to
Mijpiá Diára

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Majkápiro Púra
to
Petároague

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Majároague

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

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Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Ñujkuá Diára Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Ñujkuá Diára Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

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Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Bajuári Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Miriápura Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

Bejkári
to
Petároague
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

*
601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
to
615 Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

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SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that
614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of
554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-
[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two
595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of
614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with
615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing
177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.
587 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.
611 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-
591 tended patrilineal families.
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Among the components of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry all these models of social structure are disappearing. Today it is very rare to find among the members of this phratry marriages between cross cousins, and there have appeared, with this social dislocation, new kinship terms that correspond to the new patterns of marriage and kinship. It would be interesting to see to what point the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry varies from the other Tukana phratries, but so far it has been impossible to undertake this work.

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/For information on Tucano kinship terminology and the extension and application of these kin terms to the various component sibs of the five major phratries, see category 116, pp. 1-56./

1: Fulop SQ19 Tucano

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1: Fulop SQ19 Tucano

# Notas Sobre los Términos y el Sistema de Parentesco de los Tukano

Por

MARCOS FULOP

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## NOTAS SOBRE LOS TERMINOS Y EL SISTEMA DE PARENTESCO DE LOS TUKANO

*Por Marcos Fulop*

### FE DE ERRATAS

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| 161 | 11 | Ñujkuá Diáru Majsá | Miriápuru Diáru Majsá |

[facing P. 122 which is blank]

1: Fulop SQ19 Tucano

El material que aquí se presenta fue recogido en el lapso comprendido entre el 11 de Junio y el 9 de Septiembre de 1954 durante nuestra estadía en el caserío de Guadalajara, situado sobre el río Paca, un afluente del río Papurí, en la Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Desempeñaron las funciones de informador e intérprete Marcos Sierra y Manuel Sierra respectivamente, ambos hermanos sanguíneos, miembros del sib patrilineal *Urémiri Sáraro* y de la fratría *Yepá Bajuári Majsá.*

A medida que se fue profundizando en la investigación nos dimos cuenta de la existencia de cinco fratrías, localizadas a grandes distancias las unas de las otras, y hablando cada una de ellas un idioma distinto, ya que han adoptado la lengua de sus vecinos más próximos. Se pudo comprobar, sin embargo, que sí existía una conciencia de unidad tribal al observar la conducta de indígenas miembros de otras fratrías cada vez que éstos desembarcaban o pernoctaban en Guadalajara. En toda ocasión, los visitantes Tukano que no pertenecían a la fratría *Yepá Bajuári Majsá* utilizaban los términos de parentesco correspondientes a su trato con los hermanos Sierra (sib *Urémiri Sáraro*), y al preguntárseles a qué tribu pertenecían, respondían que a la tribu *Yepá Majsá* (*Yepá*=Tierra;*Majsá*=Gentes), que es el nombre con que se designan a sí mismo los Tukano. Algunas veces los Tukano pertenecientes a otras fratrías no hablaban la lengua Tukana, y en estas ocasiones Marcos Sierra desempeñaba el papel de intérprete para el resto de los habitantes de Guadalajara. Las dificultades de las grandes distancias nos hizo imposible visitar otros sibs de la fratría *Yepá Bajuári Majsá*, lo mismo que ninguna de las cuatro fratrías restantes. En consecuencia, el presente estudio está limitado por este factor, ya que toda nuestra información provino de Marcos Sierra, miembro del sib *Urémiri Sáraro*, de la fratría *Yepá Bajuári Majsá*, y shaman del cacerío de Guadalajara.

Todos los términos indígenas que aparecen en este estudio están en lengua Tukana, idioma que habla la fratría *Yepá Bajuári Majsá.*

Expreso mis agradecimientos al Profesor Segundo Bernal Villa por sus valiosas observaciones en la organización del presente trabajo.

*Abreviaciones Usadas en los Términos de Parentesco*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| p | = | padre | ma | = | mayor |
| m | = | madre | me | = | menor |
| ho | = | hijo | si | = | sibling |
| ha | = | hija | -d- | = | de, del, de la |
| hno | = | hermano | (M) | = | Ego masculino |
| hna | = | hermana | (F) | = | Ego femenino |
| co | = | cónyuge | (V) | = | en vocativo |
| | | | (R) | = | en referencia |

## TERMINOS DE PARENTESCO

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| p | *Pajké* | (M-F) | (V) |
| p | *Yeé Pajké* | (M-F) | (R) |
| m | *Maú* | (M-F) | (V) |
| m | *Yeé Pajkó* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ho | *Majké* | (M-F) | (V) |
| ho | *Yeé Majké* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ha | *Majkó* | (M-F) | (V) |
| ha | *Yeé Majkó* | (M-F) | (R) |
| hno-ma | *Mamí* | (M-F) | (V) |
| hno-ma | *Yeé Mamí* | (M-F) | (R) |
| hno-me | *Nijiá* | (M-F) | (V) |
| hno-me | *Yeé Kabí* | (M-F) | (R) |
| hna-ma | *Mamió* | (M-F) | (V) |
| hna-ma | *Yeé Mamió* | (M-F) | (R) |
| hna-me | *Numió* | (M-F) | (V) |
| hna-me | *Yeé Kabió* | (M-F) | (R) |
| hno-d-p | *Mé* | (M) | (V) |
| hno-d-p | *Mengué* | (F) | (V) |
| hno-ma-d-p | *Yeé Pajké Mamí* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| hno-me-d-p | *Yeé Pajké Kabí* | (M-F) | (V-R) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| hna-d-p; co-d-hno-d-m | *Uaméu* | (M-F) | (V) |
| hna-d-p; co-d-hno-d-m | *Yeé Uaméu* | (M-F) | (R) |
| hno-d-m; co-d-hna-d-p | *Mejké* | (M) | (V) |
| hno-d-m; co-d-hna-d-p | *Mejkéza* | (F) | (V) |
| hno-d-m; co-d-hna-d-p | *Yeé Pajkó Párume* | (M-F) | (R) |
| hna-d-m; co-d-hno-d-p | *Mengó* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| co | *Yeé Nemó* * | (M) | (V-R) |

* Cuando la pareja no tiene hijos.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| co | *Yeé Majké Pajkó* * | (M) | (V-R) |

* Cuando la pareja tiene un hijo solamente.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| co | *Yeé Majkó Pajkó* * | (M) | (V-R) |

* Cuando la pareja tiene una hija solamente.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| co | *Yeé Púra Pajkó* * | (M) | (V-R) |

* Cuando la pareja tiene varios hijos. Estos hijos pueden ser de un solo sexo o de ambos sexos.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| co | *Yeé Márape* * | (F) | (V-R) |

* Cuando la pareja no tiene hijos.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| co | *Yeé Majké Pajké* * | (F) | (V-R) |

* Cuando la pareja tiene un hijo solamente.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| co | *Yeé Majkó Pajké* * | (F) | (V-R) |

* Cuando la pareja tiene una hija solamente.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| co | *Yeé Púra Pajké* * | (F) | (V-R) |

* Cuando la pareja tiene varios hijos. Estos hijos pueden ser de un solo sexo o de ambos sexos.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ho-d-hno-ma-d-p | *Mamí* * | (M-F) | (V-R) |

* El posesivo *Yeé* no se usa en referencia (R) en este caso porque Ego y ho-d-hno-ma-d-p no son hijos del mismo padre.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ho-d-hno-me-d-p | *Nijiá* | (M-F) | (V) |
| ho-d-hno-me-d-p | *Yeé Kabí* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ha-d-hno-ma-d-p | *Mamió* * | (M-F) | (V-R) |

* El posesivo *Yeé* no se usa en referencia (R) en este caso porque Ego y ha-d-hno-ma-d-p no son hijos del mismo padre.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ha-d-hno-me-d-p | *Numió-Ká* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| ho-d-hna-d-p | *Meokó* * | (M) | (V) |

• El término *Meoké* también se usa en referencia (R) cuando Ego se refiere a ho-d-hna-d-p mientras habla directamente con el co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ho-d-hna-d-p | *Yeé Basúke* • | (M) | (R) |

• Usado en referencia en forma general.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ho-d-hna-d-p | *Uaméu Majké* | (F) | (V-R) |
| ha-d-hna-d-p | *Meokó* • | (M) | (V) |

• El término *Meokó* también se usa en referencia cuando Ego se refiere a la ha-d-hna-d-p mientras habla directamente con el co-d-ha-d-hna-d-p.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ha-d-hna-d-p | *Yeé Basúko* • | (M) | (R) |

• Usado en referencia en forma general.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ha-d-hna-d-p | *Uaméu Majkó* | (F) | (V-R) |
| ho-d-hno-d-m | *Meoké* • | (M) | (V) |

• El término *Meoké* también se usa en referencia cuando Ego se refiere al ho-d-hno-d-m mientras habla directamente con el co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ho-d-hno-d-m | *Yeé Basúke* • | (M) | (R) |

• Usado en referencia en forma general.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ho-d-hno-d-m | *Uaméu Majké* | (F) | (V-R) |
| ha-d-hno-d-m | *Meokó* • | (M) | (V) |

• El término *Meokó* también se usa en referencia cuando Ego se refiere a ha-d-hno-d-m mientras habla directamente con el co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ha-d-hno-d-m | *Yeé Basúko* • | (M) | (R) |

• Usado en referencia en forma general.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ha-d-hno-d-m | *Uaméu Majkó* | (F) | (V-R) |

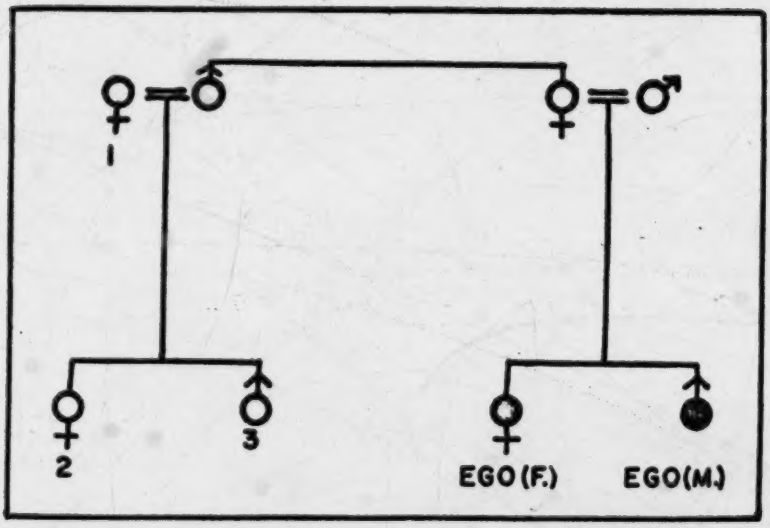
Nótese la identidad entre los términos para ho-d-hna-d-p y ho-d-hno-d-m. Nótese la identidad entre los términos para ha-d-hna-d-p y ha-d-hno-d-m. Esto se debe al intercambio de hermano con hermana en matrimonios de primos cruzados.

*CASOS ESPECIALES DE ho-d-hno-d-m Y DE ha-d-hno-d-m.*

Si acaso el intercambio de hermano con hermana es unilateral en matrimonios de primos cruzados, sucede lo siguiente:

1: Fulop SQ19 Tucano

Nota—Nº 1 no es hna-d-p de Ego.




| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ho-d-hno-d-m | *Paég* | (M) | (V) |
| ho-d-hno-d-m | *Yeé Utamúri Majsé* | (M) | (R) |
| ho-d-hno-d-m | *Mejkésa Majké* | (F) | (V-R) |
| ha-d-hno-d-m | *Paó* * | (M) | (V-R) |

* Este término es usado únicamente en referencia cuando Ego se refiere a la ha-d-hno-d-m mientras habla directamente con el co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ha-d-hno-d-m | *Yeé Basúko* * | (M) | (R) |

* Este término se utiliza en referencia cuando Ego se refiere a la ha-d-hno-d-m mientras habla con cualquier persona, excepto cuando habla directamente con el co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ha-d-hno-d-m | *Mejkésa Majkó* | (F) | (V-R) |

En estos casos especiales de ho-d-hno-d-m y de ha-d-hno-d-m, los individuos Nº 2 y Nº 3 se dirigen en vocativo al padre de Ego con los términos *Mejkésa* y *Mejké* respectivamente, porque el padre de Ego denomina con el término *Numió* a la madre de los individuos Nº 2 y Nº 3. (co-d-hno-d-co ó hna-me (M) = *Numió*).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ho-d-hna-ma-d-m | *Mamí* | (M-F) | (V) |
| ho-d-hna-ma-d-m | *Yeé Pajkó Majké* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ho-d-hna-me-d-m | *Nijiá* | (M-F) | (V) |
| ho-d-hna-me-d-m | *Yée Pajkó Majké* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ha-d-hna-ma-d-m | *Mamió* | (M-F) | (V) |
| ha-d-hna-ma-d-m | *Yeé Pajkó Majkó* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ha-d-hna-me-d-m | *Numió* | (M-F) | (V) |
| ha-d-hna-me-d-m | *Yeé Pajkó Majkó* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ho-d-hno | *Meké* * | (M) | (V-R) |

* El término *Meké* se usa en referencia únicamente cuando Ego se refiere al ho-d-hno mientras habla directamente con el p-d-ho-d-hno, o sea con el hermano de Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ho-d-hno-ma | *Yeé Mamí Majké* | (M) | (R) |
| ho-d-hno-me | *Yeé Kabí Majké* | (M) | (R) |
| ho-d-hno | *Páre Majké* | (F) | (V) |
| ho-d-hno | *Yeé Pá Mojké* * | (F) | (R) |

* Este término es usado en referencia en general cuando Ego se refiere tanto a ho-d-hno-ma como a ho-d-hno-me.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ha-d-hno | *Majkó* | (M) | (V) |
| ha-d-hno | *Páre Majkó* | (F) | (V) |
| ha-d-hno-ma | *Yeé Mamí Majkó* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ha-d-hno-me | *Yeé Kabí Majkó* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ho-d-hna-ma | *Mamió Majké* | (M-F) | (V) |
| ho-d-hna-ma | *Yeé Mamió Majké* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ho-d-hna-me | *Kabió Majké* | (M-F) | (V) |
| ho-d-hna-me | *Yeé Kabió Majké* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ha-d-hna-ma | *Mamió Majkó* | (M-F) | (V) |
| ha-d-hna-ma | *Yeé Mamió Majkó* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ha-d-hna-me | *Kabió Majkó* | (M-F) | (V) |
| ha-d-hna-me | *Yeé Kabió Majkó* | (M-F) | (R) |
| hno-d-co | *Uaméu Majké* * | (F) | (V-R) |

* Este término es usado cuando co y hno-d-co son ho-d-hna-d-p de Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| hno-d-co | *Yeé Bujuí Baké* * | (F) | (V-R) |

* Este término es usado cuando tanto co como hno-d-co no tenían ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes de que Ego contrajera matrimonio con co.

hna-d-co *Uaméu Majhó* * (F) (V-R)

* Este término es usado cuando tanto co como hna-d-co son el ho-d-hna-d-p y la ha-d-hna-d-p de Ego respectivamente.

hna-d-co *Yeé Sió* * (F) (V-R)

* Este término es usado cuando tanto co como hna-d-co no tenían ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes de que Ego contrajera matrimonio con co.

hno-d-co *Meoké* * (M) (V)

* Este término es usado cuando tanto co como hno-d-co son la ha-d-hna-d-p y el ho-d-hna-d-p de Ego respectivamente.

hno-d-co *Yeé Basuké* * (M) (R)

* Este término es usado cuando tanto co como hno-d-co son la ha-d-hna-d-p y el ho-d-hna-d-p de Ego respectivamente.

hno-d-co *Yeé Ti* * (M) (V)

* Este término es usado cuando tanto co como hno-d-co no tenían ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes de que Ego contrajera matrimonio con co.

hno-d-co *Yeé Péñe* * (M) (R)

* Este término es usado cuando tanto co como hno-d-co no tenían ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes de que Ego contrajera matrimonio con co.

hno-d-co *Ñejkó Majké* * (M) (V-R)

* Este término es usado en el vocativo cuando tanto co como hno-d-co son la ha-d-hna-d-p-d-p y el ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p de Ego respectivamente. El término se usa en referencia solamente cuando Ego está hablando acerca del hno-d-co con algún pariente del hno-d-co. Si acaso Ego se refiere al hno-d-co, en función de este caso especial de hno-d-co, mientras conversa con alguna persona que no tenga ninguna relación familiar con hno-d-co, entonces Ego emplea el término *Yeé Péñe.*

hna-d-co *Meohó* * (M) (V-R)

* Ese término es usado cuando tanto co como hna-d-co son ha-d-hna-d-p de Ego.

hna-d-co *Yeé Bujuí Bahó* * (M) (V-R)

* Este término es usado cuando tanto co como hna-d-co no tenían ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes de que Ego contrajera matrimonio con co.

co-d-ho *Tiikó* * (M) (V-R)

* Este término de parentesco es usado cuando co-d-ho no tenía ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes de que el hijo de Ego contrajera matrimonio con co.

co-d-ho *Mamió Majkó* * (M) (V.-R)

* Este término es usado cuando co-d-ho es la ha-d-hna-ma de Ego.

co-d-ho *Kabió Majkó* * (M) (V-R)
co-d-ho *Kabió Kó* *

* Este término es usado cuando el co-d-ho es la ha-d-hna-me de Ego.
* Los términos *Kabió Majkó* y *Kabió Kó* son intercambiables. *Kabió Kó* parece ser una abreviación de *Kabió Majkó*.

co-d-ho *Páre Majkó* * (F) (V-R)

* Este término es usado en general para todos los casos.

co-d-ha *Tiiké* * (M) (V-R)

* Este término es usado cuando co-d-ha no tenía ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes de que la hija de Ego contrajera matrimonio con co.

co-d-ha *Mamió Majké* * (M) (V-R)

* Este término es usado cuando co-d-ha es el ho-d-hna-ma de Ego.

co-d-ha *Kabió Majké* * (M) (V-R)
*Kabió Ké* *

* Este término es usado cuando co-d-ha es el ho-d-hna-me de Ego.
* Los términos *Kabió Majké* y *Kabió Ké* son intercambiables. *Kabió Ké* parece ser una abreviación de *Kabió Majké*.

co-d-ha *Páre Majké* * (F) (V-R)

* Este término es usado en general para todos los casos.

co-d-ho-d-hno *Mamió Majkó* * (M) (V-R)

* Este término se emplea cuando el co-d-ho-d-hno es la ha-d-hna-ma de Ego.

co-d-ho-d-hno *Kabió Majkó* * (M) (V-R)
*Kabió Kó*

* Este término se emplea cuando el co-d-ho-d-hno es la ha-d-hna-me de Ego.

co-d-ho-d-hno *Tiikó* * (M) (V)

* Este térmimno se emplea cuando el co-d-ho-d-hno no tenía ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes de que el ho-d-hno contrajera matrimonio con co.

co-d-ho-d-hno *Yeé Majké Nemó* * (M) (R)

* Este término es usado cuando el co-d-ho-d-hno no tenía ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes de que el ho-d-hno contrajera matrimonio con co.

co-d-ho-d-hno *Majkó* * (F) (V-R)

* Este término se emplea en el vocativo para todos los casos. Se usa en referencia solamente cuando el co-d-ho-d-hno no tenía ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes de que el ho-d-hno contrajera matrimonio con co.

co-d-ho-d-hno *Mamió Majkó* * (F) (R)

* Este término se emplea cuando el co-d-ho-d-hno es la ha-d-hna-ma de Ego.

co-d-ho-d-hno *Kabió Majkó* * (F) (R)
*Kabió Kó*

* Este término se emplea cuando el co-d-ho-hno es la ha-d-hna-me de Ego.

co-d-ha-d-hno *Mamió Majké* * (M) (V-R)

* Este término es usado cuando el co-d-ha-d-hno es el ho-d-hna-ma de Ego.

co-d-ha-d-hno *Kabió Majké* * (M) (V-R)
*Kabió Ké*

* Este término es usado cuando el co-d-ha-d-hno es el ho-d-hna-me de Ego.

co-d-ha-d-hno *Tiiké* * (M) (V-R)

* Este término es usado cuando co-d-ha-d-hno no tenía ninguna relación de parentesco antes de que ha-d-hno contrajera matrimonio con co. Este término es usado en este caso especial para referencia solamente cuando Ego le manda saludos al co-d-ha-d-hno.

co-d-ha-d-hno *Yeé Bujuí* * (M) (R)
*Yeé Majkó Márape* *

* Este término es usado cuando co-d-ha-d-hno no tenía ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes de que ha-d-hno contrajera matrimonio con co .El término es usado en referencia para todos los casos excepto para mandar saludos al co-d-ha-d-hno.

* En casos de referencia, si la persona con quien Ego está hablando no sabe a quien se refiere Ego cuando Ego dice *Yeé Bujuí*, entonces Ego elucida con el término *Yeé Majkó Márape*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| co-d-ha-d-hno | *Majké* * | (F) | (V-R) |

* Este término se emplea en el vocativo para todos los casos. Se usa en referencia solamente cuando el co-d-ha-d-hno no tenía ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes de que la ha-d-hno contrajera matrimonio con co.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| co-d-ha-d-hno | *Mamió Majké* * | (F) | (R) |

* Este término es usado cuando el co-d-ha-d-hno es el ho-d-hna-ma de Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| co-d-ha-d-hno | *Kabió Majké* * | (F) | (R) |
| | *Kabió Ké* | | |

* Este término es usado cuando el co-d-ha-d-hno es el ho-d-hna-me de Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| co-d-ho-d-hna | *Majhó* | (M) | (V-R) |
| co-d-ho-d-hna | *Páre Majhó* | (F) | (V-R) |
| co-d-ha-d-hna | *Maké* | (M) | (V-R) |
| co-d-ha-d-hna | *Paré Majké* * | (F) | (V-R) |

* Este término se emplea cuando el co-d-ha-d-hna es el ho-d-hno de Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| co-d-ha-d-hna | *Majké* * | (F) | (V-R) |

* Este término se emplea cuando el co-d-ha-d-hna no tenía ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes de que la ha-d-hna contrajera matrimonio con co.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| p-d-co | *Mejkésa* * | (F) | (V) |
| | *Yeé Pajhó Párume* * | (F) | (R) |

* Estos términos son usados cuando el p-d-co es el hno-d-m de Ego. Estos términos también son usados con un gran sentido de vergüenza cuando tanto co como p-d-co no tenían ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes del matrimonio.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| m-d-co | *Uaméu* * | (M-F) | (V) |
| | *Yeé Uaméu* * | (M-F) | (R) |

* Estos términos son usados cuando la m-d-co es la hna-d-p de Ego. Estos términos también son usados con un gran sentido de vergüenza cuando tanto co como m-d-co no tenían ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes del matrimonio.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| p-d-co | *Majké* * | (M) | (V) |
| | *Yeé Pajhó Párume* * | (M) | (R) |

* Estos términos son usados cuando el p-d-co es el hno-d-m de Ego. Estos términos también son usados con un gran sentido de ver-

güenza cuando tanto co como p-d-co no tenían ninguna relación de parentesco con Ego antes del matrimonio.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| co-d-hno-ma-d-co | *Mamió* | (F) | (V) |
| | *Yeé Mamió* | (F) | (R) |
| co-d-hno-me-d-co | *Numió* | (F) | (V) |
| | *Yeé Kabió* | (F) | (R) |
| co-d-hna-ma-d-co | *Mami* | (F) | (V) |
| | *Yeé Mami* | (F) | (R) |
| co-d-hna-me-d-co | *Nijiá* | (F) | (V) |
| | *Yeé Kabi* | (F) | (R) |
| co-d-hna-d-co | *Pesú* | (M) | (V) |
| | *Yeé Pesú* | (M) | (R) |
| co-d-hno-d-co | *Numió* | (M) | (V) |
| | *Numió-Ké* | (M) | (R) |
| p-d-p | *Pajké-Ró* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| hno-d-p-d-p | Pajké-Ró | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| hno-d-m-d-p | *Pajké-Ró* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| p-d-m | *Pajké-Ró* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| hno-d-p-d-m | *Pajké-Ró* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| hno-d-m-d-m | *Pajké-Ró* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| hna-d-p-d-p | *Uaméu-Kó* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| m-d-p | *Maá-Kó* | (M) | (V-R) |
| | *Maú-Kó* | (F) | (V-R) |
| hna-d-m-d-p | *Maá-Kó* | (M) | (V-R) |
| | *Maú-Kó* | (F) | (V-R) |
| hna-d-p-d-m | *Maá-Kó* | (M) | (V-R) |
| | *Maú-Kó* | (F) | (V-R) |
| m-d-m | *Maá-Kó* | (M) | (V-R) |
| | *Maú-Kó* | (F) | (V-R) |
| hna-d-m-d-m | *Maá-Kó* | (M) | (V-R) |
| | *Maú-Kó* | (F) | (V-R) |

Los términos *Ñejkó* y *Ñejké* reemplazan los términos *Maá-Kó* (o *Máu-Kó)* y *Pajké-Ró* respectivamente en referencia cuando estos términos son empleados en la segunda persona singular. Ejemplos:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mi abuela = | *Maá-Kó* | (M) |
| = | *Maú-Kó* | (F) |
| Mi abuelo = | *Pajké-Ró* | (M-F) |
| Tu-Su abuelo = | *Meé Ñejké* | (M-F) |
| Tu-Su abuela = | *Meé Ñejkó* | (M-F) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p | *Ñejkó Majké* | (M-F) | (V) |
| ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p | *Yeé Ñejkó Majké* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p | *Ñejkó Majkó* | (M-F) | (V) |
| ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p | *Yeé Ñejkó Majkó* | (M-F) | (R) |
| ho-d-ho | *Yeé Párame* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| ho-d-ho-d-ho | *Yeé Párame* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| ho-d-ho-d-hna | *Yeé Párame* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| ho-d-ha | *Yeé Párame* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| ho-d-ha-d-hno | *Yeé Párame* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| ho-d-ha-d-hna | *Yeé Párame* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| ha-d-ho | *Yeé Párameo* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| ha-d-ho-d-hno | *Yeé Párameo* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| ha-d-ho-d-hna | *Yeé Párameo* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| ha-d-ha | *Yeé Párameo* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| ha-d-ha-d-hno | *Yeé Párameo* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| ha-d-ha-d-hna | *Yeé Párameo* | (M-F) | (V-R) |
| padrastro | *Yeé Pajkó Márape* * | (M-F) | (V-R) |

* Este término se emplea cuando el co-d-m no es hno-d-p de Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| madrastra | *Mengó* * | (M-F) | (V-R) |

* Este término es usado cuando el co-d-p no es la hna-d-m de Ego. Al emplear este término, Ego siente gran vergüenza.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| hijastro | *Yeé Nemó Majké* * | (M) | (V-R) |

* Este término se emplea cuando el co de Ego y el difunto padre del hijastro de Ego no son, respectivamente, ha-d-hno-d-m y síbling de Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| hijastra | *Yeé Nemó Majkó* * | (M) | (V-R) |

* Este término se emplea cuando el co de Ego y el difundo padre de la hijastra de Ego no son, respectivamente, ha-d-hno-d-m y síbling de Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| hijastro | *Yeé Márape Majké* * | (F) | (V-R) |

* Este término se emplea cuando el co de Ego y la difunta madre del hijastro de Ego no son, respectivamente, ho-d-hno-d-m y síbling de Ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| hijastra | *Yeé Márape Majkó* * | (F) | (V-R) |

* Este término se emplea cuando el co de Ego y la difunta madre de la hijastra de Ego no son, respectivamente, ho-d-hno-d-m y síbling de Ego.

## DIFERENCIAS DE TERMINOLOGIA DE PARENTESCO ENTRE EGO MASCULINO Y EGO FEMENINO

### *EGO MASCULINO*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Pajké* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | p. |
| *Yeé Pajké* .. .. .. .. .. .. | p. |
| *Maú* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | m. |
| *Yeé Pajkó* .. .. .. .. .. .. | m. |
| *Majké* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | ho. |
| *Yeé Majké* .. .. .. .. .. .. | ho. |
| *Majkó* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | ha; ha-d-hno. |
| *Yeé Majkó* .. .. .. .. .. .. | ha. |
| *Mami* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | hno-ma; ho-d-hno-ma-d-p; ho-d-hna-ma-d-m. |
| *Yeé Mami* .. .. .. .. .. .. | hno-ma. |
| *Nijiá* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | hno-me; ho-d-hno-me-d-p; ho-d-hna-me-d-m. |
| *Yeé Kabi* .. .. .. .. .. .. | hno-me; ho-d-hno-me-d-p. |
| *Mamió* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | hna-ma; ha-d-hno-ma-d-p; ha-d-hna-ma-d-m. |
| *Yeé Mamió* .. .. .. .. .. | hna-ma. |
| *Numió* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | hna-me; ha-d-hna-me-d-m; co-d-hno-d-co. |
| *Yeé Kabió* .. .. .. .. .. .. | hna-me. |
| *Mé* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | hno-d-p. |
| *Yeé Pajké Mami* .. .. .. | hno-ma-d-p. |
| *Yeé Pajké Kabi* .. .. .. | hno-me-d-p. |
| *Uaméu* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | hna-d-p; co-d-hno-d-m; m-d-co. |
| *Yeé Uaméu* .. .. .. .. .. | hna-d-p; co-d-hno-d-m; m-d-co. |
| *Mejké* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | hno-d-m; co-d-hna-d-p; p-d-co. |
| *Yeé Pajkó Párume* .. .. | hno-d-m; co-d-hna-d-p; p-d-co. |
| *Mengó* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | hna-d-m; co-d-hno-d-p; madrastra. |
| *Yeé Nemó* .. .. .. .. .. | co. |
| *Yeé Majké Pajkó* .. .. | co. |
| *Yeé Majkó Pajhó* .. .. | co. |
| *Yeé Púra Pajhó* .. .. .. | co. |
| *Numió-Ká* .. .. .. .. .. | ha-d-hno-me-d-p; co-d-hno-d-co. |
| *Meoké* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-m; hno-d-co. |
| *Yeé Basúke* .. .. .. .. .. | ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-m; hno-d-co. |
| *Meokó* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | ha-d-hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-m; hna-d-co. |
| *Yeé Basúko* .. .. .. .. .. | ha-d-hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-m. |
| *Paíg* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | ho-d-hno-d-m. |
| *Yeé Utamúri Majsé* .. .. | ho-d-hno-d-m. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Paó* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | ha-d-hno-d-m |
| *Yeé Pajkó Majké* .. .. .. | ho-d-hna-ma-d-m; ho-d-hna-me-d-m. |
| *Yeé Pajkó Majkó* .. .. .. | ha-d-hna-ma-d-m; ha-d-hna-me-d-m. |
| *Meké* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | ho-d-hno; co-d-ha-d-hna. |
| *Yeé Mami Majké* .. .. .. | ho-d-hno-ma. |
| *Yeé Kabi Majké* .. .. .. | ho-d-hno-me. |
| *Yeé Mami Majkó* .. .. .. | ha-d-hno-ma. |
| *Yeé Kabi Majkó* .. .. .. | ha-d-hno-me. |
| *Mamió Majké* .. .. .. .. | ho-d-hna-ma; co-d-ha; co-d-ha-d-hno. |
| *Yeé Mamió Majké* .. .. | ho-d-hna-ma. |
| *Kabió Majké (Kabió-Ké)* | ho-d-hna-me; co-d-ha; co-d-ha-d-hno. |
| *Yeé Kabió Majké* .. .. .. | ho-d-hna-me. |
| *Mamió Majkó* .. .. .. .. | ha-d-hna-ma; co-d-ho; co-d-ho-d-hno. |
| *Yeé Mamió Majkó* .. .. | ha-d-hna-ma. |
| *Kabió Majkó (Kabió-Kó)* | ha-d-hna-me; co-d-ho; co-d-ho-d-hno. |
| *Yeé Kabió Majkó* .. .. .. | ha-d-hna-me. |
| *Yeé Bujuí Bakó* .. .. .. | hna-d-co. |
| *Yeé Péñe* .. .. .. .. .. | hno-d-co. |
| *Yeé Ti* .. .. .. .. .. .. | hno-d-co. |
| *Ñejkó Majké* .. .. .. .. | hno-d-co. |
| *Tükó* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | co-d-ho; co-d-ho-d-hno. |
| *Tüké* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | co-d-ha; co-d-ha-d-hno. |
| *Yeé Majké Nemó* .. .. .. | co-d-ho-d-hno. |
| *Yeé Bujuí* .. .. .. .. .. | co-d-ha-d-hno. |
| *Yeé Majkó Mérape* .. .. | co-d-ha-d-hno. |
| *Pesú* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | co-d-hna-d-co. |
| *Yeé Pesú* .. .. .. .. .. | co-d-hna-d-co. |
| *Pajké-Ró* .. .. .. .. .. | p-d-p; hno-d-p-d-p; hno-d-m-d-p; p-d-m; hno-d-p-d-m; hno-d-m-d-m. |
| *Uaméu-Kó* .. .. .. .. .. | hna-d-p-d-p. |
| *Maá-Kó* .. .. .. .. .. .. | m-d-p; hna-d-m-d-p; hna-d-p-d-m; m-d-m; hna-d-m-d-m. |
| *Ñejkó Majké* .. .. .. .. | ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p. |
| *Yeé Ñejkó Majké* .. .. | ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p. |
| *Ñejkó Majkó* .. .. .. .. | ha-d-hna-d-p-d-p. |
| *Yeé Ñejkó Majkó* .. .. | ha-d-hna-d-p-d-p. |
| *Yeé Párame* .. .. .. .. | ho-d-ho; ho-d-ho-d-hno; ho-d-ho-d-hna; ho-d-ha; ho-d-ha-d-hno; ho-d-ha-d-hna. |
| *Yeé Páramco* .. .. .. .. | ha-d-ho; ha-d-ho-d-hno; ha-d-ho-d-hna; ha-d-ha; ha-d-ha-d-hno; ha-de-ha-d-hna. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Yeé Pajkó Márape* .. .. | padrastro. |
| *Yeé Nemó Majké* .. .. .. | hijastro. |
| *Yeé Nemó Majkó* .. .. .. | hijastra. |

## *EGO FEMENINO*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Pajké* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | p. |
| *Yeé Pajké* .. .. .. .. .. | p. |
| *Maú* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | m. |
| *Yeé Pajkó* .. .. .. .. .. | m. |
| *Majké* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | ho; co-d-ha-d-hno. |
| *Y : Majké* .. .. .. .. .. | ho. |
| *Majkó* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | ha; co-d-ho-d-hno. |
| *Yeé Majkó* .. .. .. .. .. | ha. |
| *Mamí* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | hno-ma; ho-d-hno-ma-d-p; ho-d-hna-ma-de-m; co-d-hna-ma-d-co. |
| *Yeé Mamí* .. .. .. .. .. | hno-ma; co-d-hna-ma-d-co. |
| *Nijié* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | hno-me; ho-d-hno-me-d-p; ho-d-hna-me-d-m; co-d-hna-me-d-co. |
| *Yeé Kabí* .. .. .. .. .. | hno-me; ho-d-hno-me-d-p; co-d-hna-me-d-co. |
| *Mamió* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | hna-ma; ha-d-hno-ma-d-p; ha-d-hna-ma-d-m; co-d-hno-ma-d-co. |
| *Yeé Mamió* .. .. .. .. .. | hna-ma; co-d-hno-ma-d-co. |
| *Numió* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | hna-me; ha-d-hna-me-d-m; co-d-hno-me-d-co. |
| *Yeé Kabió* .. .. .. .. .. | hna-me; co-d-hno-me-d-co. |
| *Mengué* .. .. .. .. .. .. | hno-d-p. |
| *Yeé Pajké Mamí* .. .. .. | hno-ma-d-p. |
| *Yeé Pajké Kabí* .. .. .. | hno-me-d-p. |
| *Uaméu* .. .. .. .. .. .. | hna-d-p; co-d-hno-d-m; m-d-co. |
| *Yeé Uaméu* .. .. .. .. .. | hna-d-p; co-d-hno-d-m; m-d-co. |
| *Mejkésa* .. .. .. .. .. .. | hno-d-m; co-d-hna-d-p; p-d-co. |
| *Yeé Pajkó Párume* .. .. | hno-d-m; co-d-hna-d-p; p-d-co. |
| *Mengó* .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | hna-d-m; co-d-hno-d-p; madrastra. |
| *Yeé Márape* .. .. .. .. .. | co. |
| *Yeé Majké Pajké* .. .. .. | co. |
| *Yeé Majkó Pajké* .. .. .. | co. |
| *Yeé Púra Pajké* .. .. .. .. | co. |
| *Numió-Ká* .. .. .. .. .. .. | ha-d-hno-me-d-p. |
| *Uaméu Majké* .. .. .. .. .. | ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-m; hno-d-co. |
| *Mejkésa Majké* .. .. .. .. | ho-d-hno-d-m. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Mejkésa Majkó* .. .. .. | ha-d-hno-d-m. |
| *Yeé Pajkó Majké* .. .. .. | ho-d-hna-ma-d-m; ho-d-hna-me-d-m. |
| *Yeé Pajkó Majkó* .. .. .. | ha-d-hna-ma-d-m; ha-d-hna-me-d-m. |
| *Páre Majké* .. .. .. .. | ho-d-hno; co-d-ha; co-d-ha-d-hna. |
| *Yeé Pá Mojké* .. .. .. | ho-d-hno. |
| *Páre Majkó* .. .. .. .. | ha-d-hno; co-d-ho; co-d-ho-d-hna. |
| *Yeé Mamí Majkó* .. .. .. | ha-de-hno-ma. |
| *Yeé Kabí Majkó* .. .. .. | ha-d-hno-me. |
| *Mamió Majké* .. .. .. .. | ho-d-hna-ma |
| *Yeé Mamió Majké* .. .. | ho-d-hna-ma |
| *Kabió Majké (Kabió-Ké)* | ho-d-hna-me. |
| *Yeé Kabió Majké* .. .. .. | ho-d-hna-me. |
| *Mamió Majkó* .. .. .. .. | ha-d-hna-ma. |
| *Yeé Namió Majkó* .. .. | ha-d-hna-ma. |
| *Kabió Majkó (Kabió-Kó)* | ha-d-hna-me. |
| *Yeé Kabió Majkó* .. .. | ha-d-hna-me. |
| *Yeé Bujuí Baké* .. .. .. | hno-d-co. |
| *Yeé Sió* .. .. .. .. .. | hna-d-co. |
| *Pajké-Ró* .. .. .. .. .. | p-d-p; hno-d-p-d-p; hno-d-m-d-p; p-d-m; hno-d-p-d-m; hno-d-m-d-m. |
| *Uaméu-Kó* .. .. .. .. .. | hna-d-p-d-p. |
| *Maú-Kó* .. .. .. .. .. | m-d-p; hna-d-m-d-p; hna-d-p-d-m; m-d-m; hna-d-m-d-m. |
| *Ñejkó Majké* .. .. .. .. | ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p. |
| *Yeé Ñejkó Majké* .. .. .. | ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p. |
| *Ñejkó Majkó* .. .. .. .. | ha-d-hna-d-p-d-p. |
| *Yeé Ñejkó Majkó* .. .. .. | ha-d-hna-d-p-d-p. |
| *Yeé Párame* .. .. .. .. | ho-d-ho; ho-d-ho-d-hno; ho-d-ho-d-hna; ho-d-ha; ho-d-ha-d-hno; ho-d-ha-d-hna. |
| *Yeé Párameo* .. .. .. .. | ha-d-ho; ha-d-ho-d-hno; ha-d-ho-d-hna; ha-d-ha; ha-d-ha-d-hno; ha-d-ha-d-hna. |
| *Yeé Pajkó Márape* .. .. | padrastro. |
| *Yeé Márape Majké* .. .. | hijastro. |
| *Yeé Márape Majkó* .. .. | hijastra. |

## PARIENTES CONSANGUINEOS

### *Ego Masculino*

A—*Generación de Ego.*

a) El hermano mayor, el hijo del hermano mayor del padre (primo paralelo) y el hijo de la hermana mayor de la madre (primo paralelo) se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hermanos mayores de Ego, sin tener en cuenta que el hijo del hermano mayor del padre y el hijo de la hermana mayor de la madre pueden ser de menor edad que Ego *(Mamí)*.

b) El hermano menor, el hijo del hermano menor del padre (primo paralelo) y el hijo de la hermana menor de la madre (primo paralelo) se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hermanos menores de Ego, sin tener en cuenta que el hijo del hermano menor del padre y el hijo de la hermana menor de la madre pueden ser de mayor edad que Ego *(Nijiá)*.

c) La hermana mayor, la hija del hermano mayor del padre (prima paralela) y la hija de la hermana mayor de la madre (prima paralela) se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hermanas mayores de Ego, sin tener en cuenta que la hija del hermano mayor del padre y la hija de la hermana mayor de la madre pueden ser de menor edad que Ego *(Mamió)*.

d) La hermana menor y la hija de la hermana menor de la madre se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hermanas menores de Ego, sin tener en cuenta que la hija de la hermana menor de la madre puede ser de mayor edad que Ego *(Numió)*.

Para designar a la hija del hermano menor del padre se emplea el término para hermana menor, agregándole el sufijo *Ká (Numió-Ká)*, y es clasificada como hermana menor de Ego sin tener en cuenta que puede ser de mayor edad que Ego.

e) El hijo de la hermana del padre y el hijo del hermano de la madre (primos cruzados) se agrupan en una sola categoría *(Meoké)*.

f) La hija del hermano del padre y la hija del hermano de la madre (primas cruzadas) se agrupan en una sola categoría *(Meokó)*.

B—*Primera Generación Ascendente.*

a) Padre y madre se designan con términos aislantes *(Pajké, Maú)*.

b) Los tíos paralelos (los hermanos del padre) se designan con el término *Mé*.

c) Las tías paralelas (las hermanas de la madre) se agrupan junto con el cónyugue del hermano del padre en una sola categoría *(Mengó)*.

d) Los tíos cruzados (los hermanos de la madre) se agrupan en una sola categoría en conjunción con el cónyugue de la hermana del padre y el padre del cónyugue *(Mejké)*.

e) Las tías cruzadas (las hermanas del padre) se agrupan junto con el cónyugue del hermano de la madre y la madre del cónyugue en una sola categoría *(Uaméu)*.

C—*Segunda Generación Ascendente.*

a) Todos los individuos masculinos en la segunda generación ascendente de Ego se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como abuelos *(Pajké-Ró)*.

b) Todos los miembros femeninos en la segunda generación ascendente de Ego, con excepción de la hermana del padre del padre de Ego, se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como abuelas (*Maá-Kó*).

c) A la hermana del padre del padre de Ego se le designa con un término aislante *(Uaméu-Kó)*.

D—*Primera Generación Descendente.*

a) Hijo se designa con un término aislante *(Majké)*.

b) Hija e hija de hermano se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hijas de Ego *(Majkó)*.

c) El hijo del hermano se agrupa con el cónyugue de la hija de la hermana en una sola categoría *(Meké)*.

d) El hijo de la hermana se agrupa junto con el cónyugue de la hija y el cónyugue de la hija del hermano en una sola categoría, distinguiendo la edad relativa de la hermana de Ego con relación a Ego *(Mamió Majké; Kabió Majké)*.

e) La hija de la hermana se agrupa junto con el cónyugue del hijo y el cónyugue del hijo del hermano en una sola categoría,

distinguiendo la edad relativa de la hermana de Ego con relación a Ego *(Mamió Majkó; Kabió Majkó)*.

E—*Segunda Generación Descendente.*

a) Los nietos y los hijos de los hijos o de las hijas de los hermanos o de las hermanas de Ego se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como nietos *(Yeé Párame)*.

b) Las nietas y las hijas de los hijos o de las hijas de los hermanos o de las hermanas de Ego se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como nietas *(Yeé Párameo)*.

## PARIENTES POLITICOS

### *Ego Masculino*

a) Los términos para designar al cónyugue son aislantes y dependen del sexo y del número de hijos que tiene la pareja.

b) El término para designar al hermano de la esposa es el mismo que se utiliza para designar al esposo de la hermana y se agrupa con los primos cruzados de línea materna y paterna para formar una sola categoría *(Meoké)*.

c) El término para designar a la hermana de la esposa es el mismo que se utiliza para designar a la esposa del hermano y se agrupa con las primas cruzadas de línea paterna y materna para formar una sola categoría (*Meokó*).

d) El término para designar a la suegra es el mismo que se utiliza para designar a la hermana del padre y a la esposa del hermano de la madre *(Uaméu)*.

e) El término para designar al suegro es el mismo que se utiliza para designar al hermano de la madre y al esposo de la hermana del padre *(Mejké)*.

f) El término para designar a la esposa del hijo es el mismo que se utiliza para designar a la esposa del hijo del hermano y a la hija de la hermana de Ego, distinguiendo la edad relativa de la hermana de Ego con relación a Ego *(Mamió Majkó; Kabió Majkó)*.

g) El término para designar al esposo de la hija es el mismo que se utiliza para designar al esposo de la hija del hermano y

al hijo de la hermana de Ego, distinguiendo la edad relativa de la hermana de Ego con relación a Ego *(Mamió Majké; Kabió Majké)*.

## PARIENTES CONSANGUINEOS

### *Ego Femenino*

A—*Generación de Ego.*

a) El hermano mayor, el hijo del hermano mayor del padre (primo paralelo), el hijo de la hermana mayor de la madre (primo paralelo) y el cónyugue de la hermana mayor del cónyugue se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hermanos mayores de Ego, sin tener en cuenta que el hijo del hermano mayor del padre, el hijo de la hermana mayor de la madre y el cónyugue de la hermana mayor del cónyugue pueden ser de menor edad que Ego *(Mamí)*.

b) El hermano menor, el hijo del hermano menor del padre (primo paralelo), el hijo de la hermana menor de la madre (primo paralelo) y el cónyugue de la hermana menor del cónyugue se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hermanos menores de Ego, sin tener en cuenta que el hijo del hermano menor del padre, el hijo de la hermana menor de la madre y el cónyugue de la hermana menor del cónyugue pueden ser de mayor edad que Ego *(Nijiá)*.

c) La hermana mayor, la hija del hermano mayor del padre (prima paralela), la hija de la hermana mayor de la madre (prima paralela) y el cónyugue del hermano mayor del cónyugue se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hermanas mayores de Ego, sin tener en cuenta que la hija del hermano mayor del padre, la hija de la hermana mayor de la madre y el cónyugue del hermano mayor del cónyugue pueden ser de menor edad que Ego *(Mamió)*.

d) La hermana menor, la hija de la hermana menor de la madre (prima paralela) y el cónyugue del hermano menor del cónyugue se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hermanas menores de Ego, sin tener en cuenta que la hija de la hermana menor de la madre y el cónyugue del hermano menor del cónyugue pueden ser de menor edad que Ego *(Numió)*. Para

designar a la hija del hermano menor del padre se utiliza el término para hermana menor agregándole el sufijo *Ká (Numió-Ká)*, y es clasificada como hermana menor de Ego, sin tener en cuenta que puede ser de mayor edad que Ego.

e) El hijo de la hermana del padre y el hijo del hermano de la madre (primos cruzados) se agrupan en una sola categoría junto con el hermano del cónyugue *(Uaméu Majké)*.

f) La hija de la hermana del padre y la hija del hermano de la madre (primas cruzadas) se agrupan en una sola categoría junto con la hermana del cónyugue *(Uaméu Majkó)*.

B—*Primera Generación Ascendente.*

a) Padre y madre se designan con términos aislantes *(Pajké, Maú)*.

b) Los tíos paralelos (los hermanos del padre) se designan con el término *Mengué.*

c) Las tías paralelas (las hermanas de la madre) se agrupan junto con el cónyugue del hermano del padre en una sola categoría *(Mengó)*.

d) Los tíos cruzados (los hermanos de la madre) se agrupan junto con el cónyugue de la hermana del padre y el padre del cónyugue en una sola categoría *(Mejkésa)*.

e) Las tías cruzadas (las hermanas del padre) se agrupan con el cónyugue del hermano de la madre y la madre del cónyugue en una sola categoría *(Uaméu)*.

C—*Segunda Generación Ascendente.*

a) Todos los individuos masculinos en la segunda generación ascendente de Ego se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como abuelos *(Pajké-Ró)*.

b) Todos los miembros femeninos en la segunda generación ascendente de Ego, con excepción de la hermana del padre del padre de Ego, se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como abuelas *(Máu-Kó)*.

c) A la hermana del padre del padre de Ego se le designa con un término aislante *(Uaméu-Kó)*.

D—*Primera Generación Descendente.*

a) El hijo y el cónyugue de la hija del hermano se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hijos *(Majké)*.

b) La hija y el cónyugue del hijo del hermano se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como hijas *(Majkó)*.

c) El hijo del hermano, el cónyugue de la hija y el cónyugue de la hija de la hermana se agrupan en una sola categoría *(Páre Majké)*.

d) La hija del hermano, el cónyugue del hijo y el cónyugue del hijo de la hermana se agrupan en una sola categoría *(Páre Majkó)*.

e) El hijo de la hermana se designa con un término aislante, distinguiendo si es el hijo de la hermana mayor o menor con relación a Ego *(Mamió Majké; Kabió Majké)*.

f) La hija de la hermana se designa con un término aislante, distinguiendo si es hija de la hermana mayor o de la hermana menor con relación a Ego *(Mamió Majkó; Kabió Majkó)*.

D—*Segunda Generación Descendente.*

a) Los nietos y los hijos de los hijos o de las hijas de los hermanos o de las hermanas de Ego se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como nietos *(Yeé Párame)*.

b) Las nietas y las hijas de los hijos o de las hijas de los hermanos o de las hermanas de Ego se agrupan en una sola categoría, clasificándose como nietas *(Yeé Párameo)*.

## PARIENTES POLITICOS

### *Ego Femenino*

a) Los términos para designar al cónyugue son aislantes y dependen del sexo y del número de hijos que tiene la pareja.

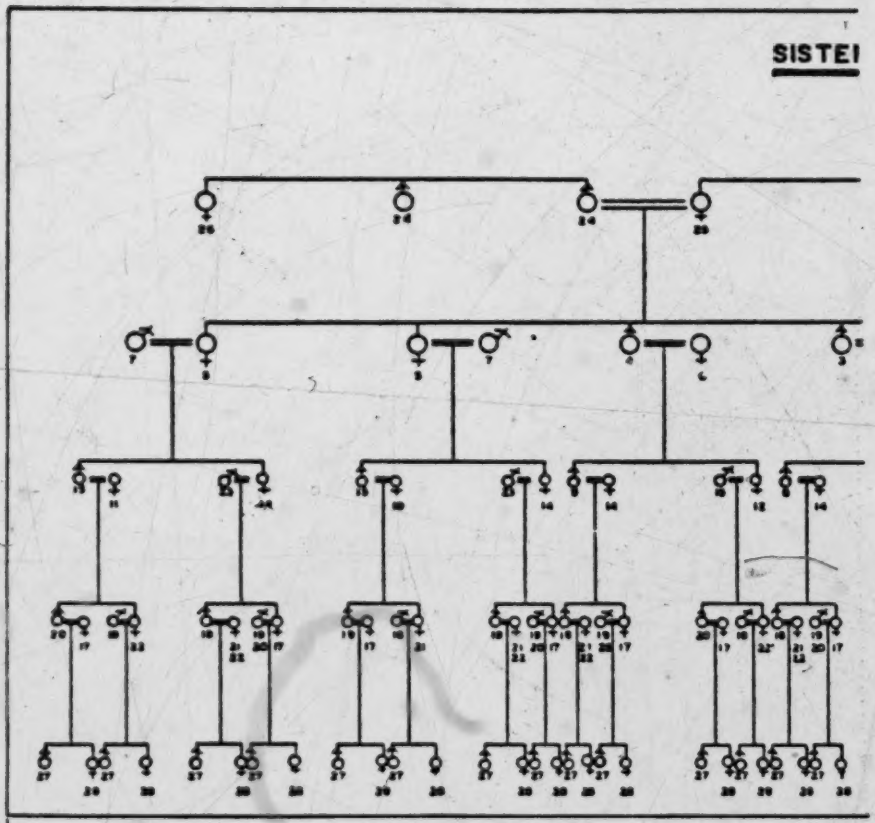
b) El término para designar al hermano del esposo es el mismo que se utiliza para designar al esposo de la hermana y se agrupa con los primos cruzados de línea paterna y materna para formar una sola categoría *(Uaméu Majké)*.

c) El término para designar a la hermana del esposo es el mismo que se utiliza para designar a la esposa del hermano y se agrupa con las primas cruzadas de línea materna y paterna para formar una sola categoría *(Uaméu Majkó)*.

d) El término para designar a la suegra es el mismo que se

[Positions of charts facing p. 144 in foreign text.]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| $A_1$ | $B_1$ | $C_1$ |
| $A_2$ | $B_2$ | $C_2$ |

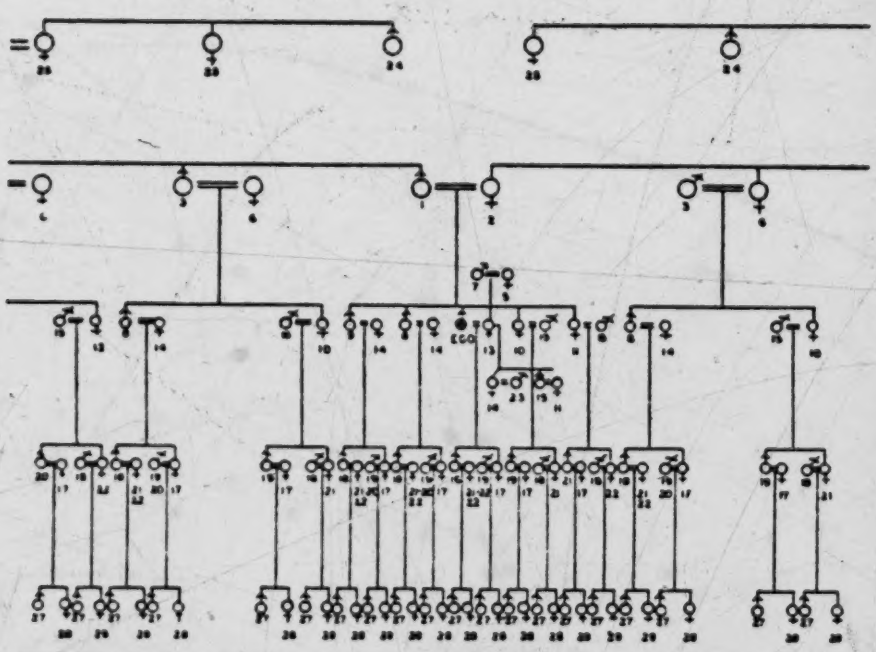



1 - Pajké
2 - Mau
3 - Yeé Pajké Momi; Mé.
4 - Yeé Pajké Kabi; Mé.
5 - Uomèy
6 - Mengó
7 - Majké
8 - Momi
9 - Nyó
10 - Momó
11 - Numó
12 - Numió-Ké
13 - Yeé Nemó; Yeé Majké Pajkó; Yeé Majkó Pajkó; Yeé Pira Pajkó.
14 - Meokó
15.
16.
17.
18.
19.

[facing P. 144 — A]

## CUADRO - I -

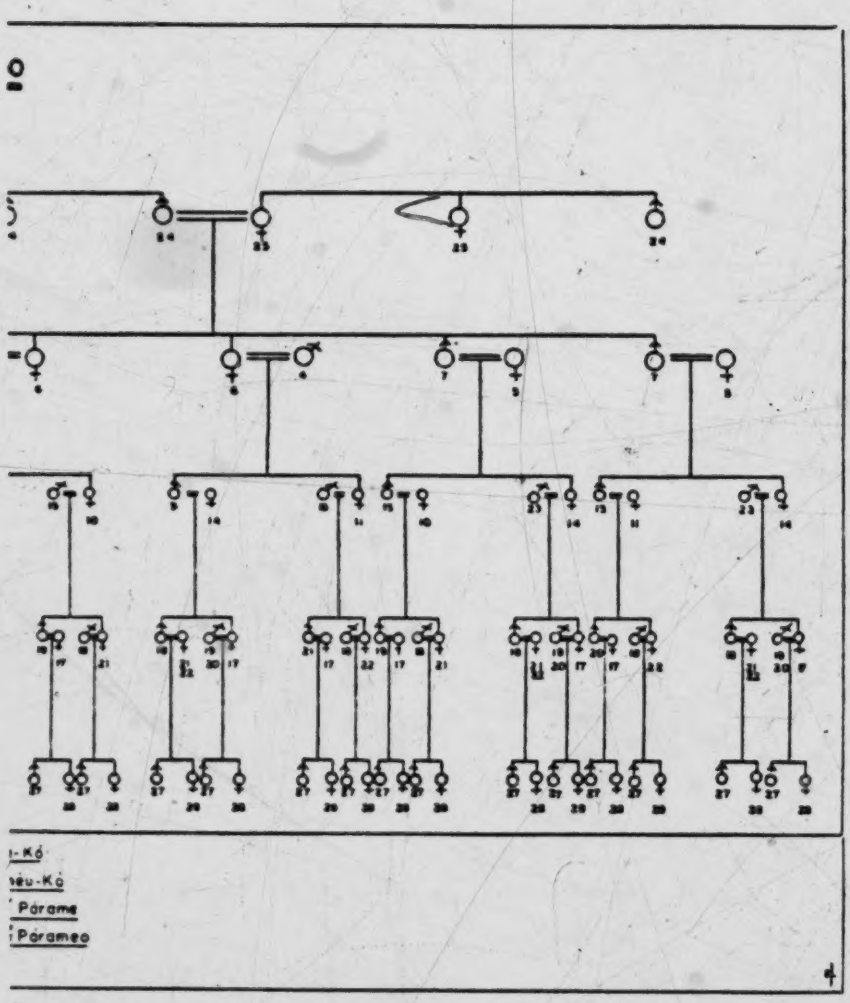
## SISTEMA DE PARENTESCO: EGO MASCULINO



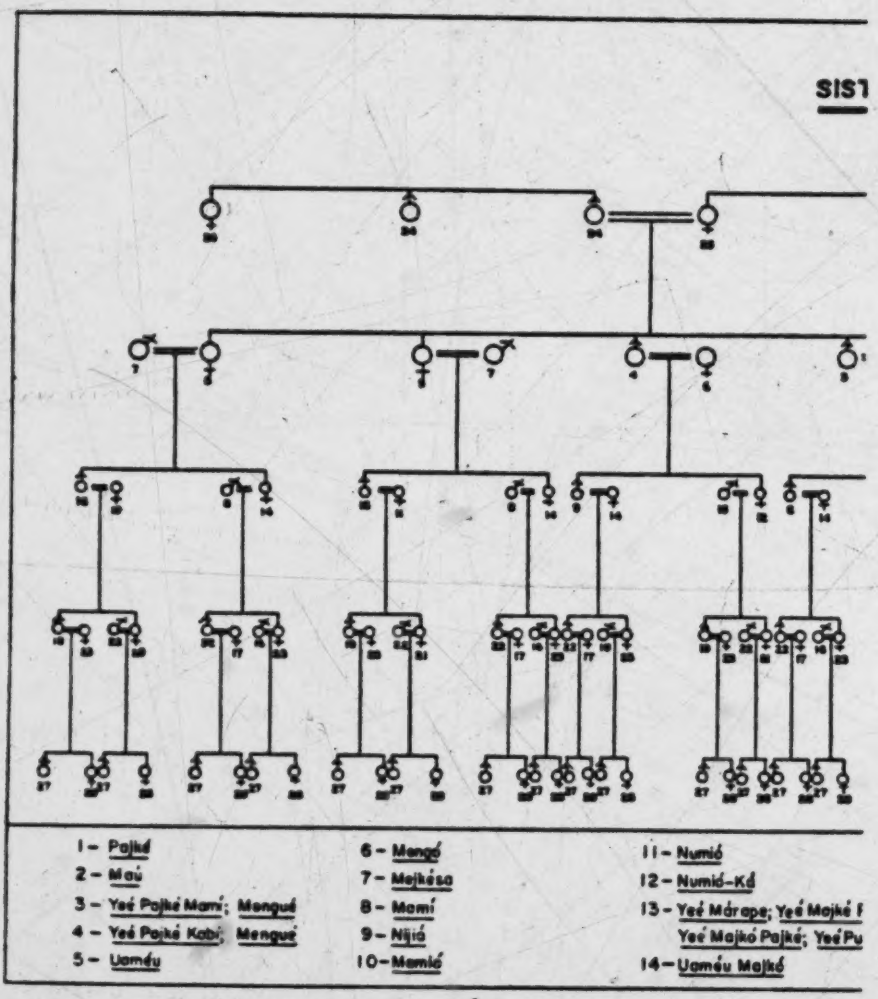

Majké Pajkó.
. Yeé Pura Pajkó.

15 - Meaké
16 - Majké
17 - Majkó
18 - Meké
19 - Mamó Majké
20 - Kabió Majké
21 - Mamió Majkó
22 - Kabió Majkó
23 - Pesú
24 - Pajké-Ró
25 - Maá-Kó
26 - Uaméu-Kó
27 - Yeé Párame
28 - Yeé Páramea

[facing p. 144 - B2]



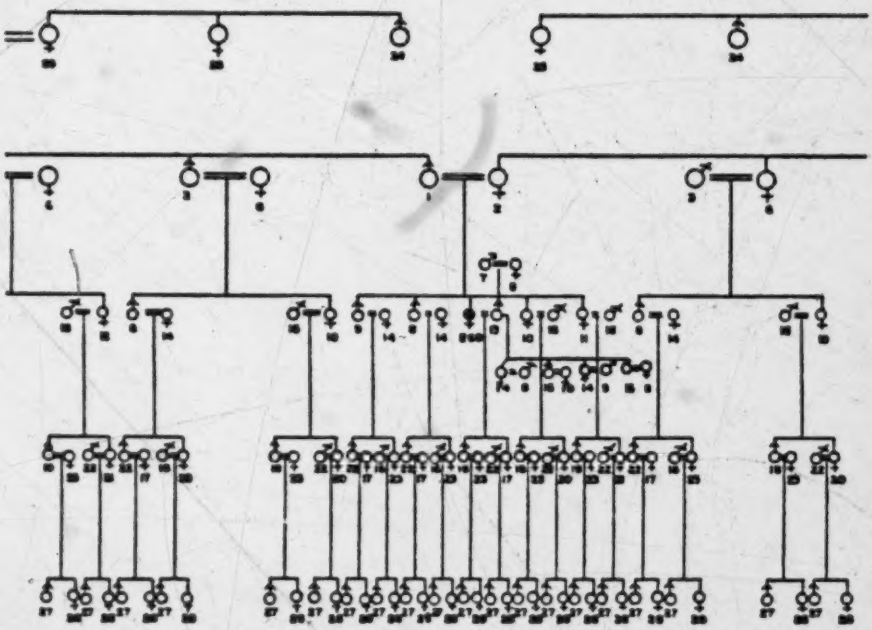

[facing p. 144 – C2]




[facing p. 144 - A2]

## CUADRO - II -

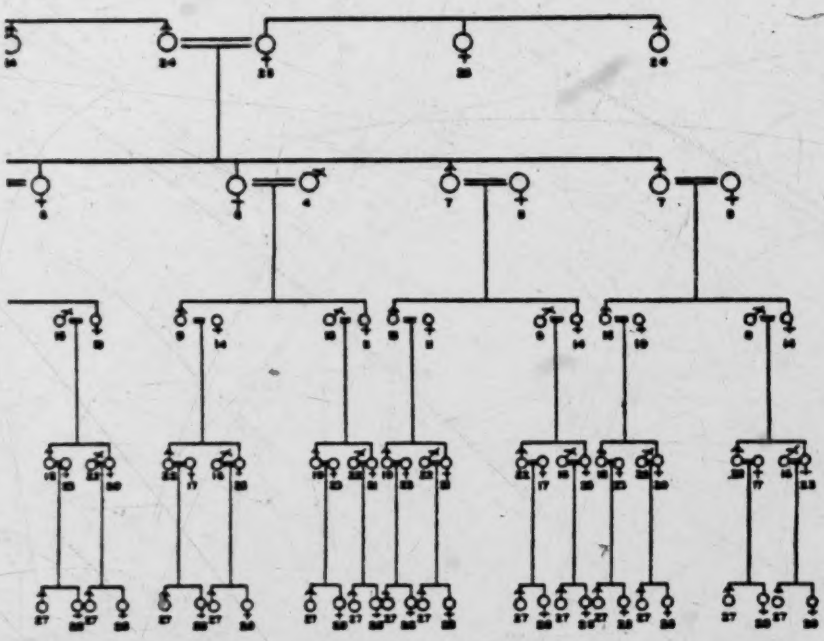
## SISTEMA DE PARENTESCO: EGO FEMENINO



- Numió
- Numió-Ká
- Yeé Márape; Yeé Majké Pajké; Yeé Majká Pajké; Yeé Pura Pajké.
- Uaméu Majká
- 15 - Uaméu Majké
- 16 - Majké
- 17 - Majká
- 18 - Mamió Majké
- 19 - Kabió Majké
- 20 - Mamió Majká
- 21 - Kabió Majká
- 22 - Páre Majké
- 23 - Páre Majká
- 24 - Pajké-Ró
- 25-
- 26-
- 27-
- 28-

[Facing P. 144 - B2]

**NINO**



25- Maú-Ké
26- Uaméu-Ké
27- Yeé Páramo
28- Yeé Páramao

4

[facing p. 144-C2]

utiliza para designar a la hermana del padre y a la esposa del hermano de la madre *(Uaméu)*.

e) El término para designar al suegro es el mismo que se utiliza para designar al hermano de la madre y al esposo de la hermana del padre *(Mejkésa)*.

f) El término para designar a la esposa del hijo es el mismo que se utiliza para designar a la esposa del hijo de la hermana y a la hija del hermano de Ego *(Páre Majkó)*.

g) El término para designar al esposo de la hija es el mismo que se utiliza para designar al esposo de la hija de la hermana y al hijo del hermano de Ego *(Páre Majké)*.

## DIFERENCIACIONES ADICIONALES

*Según el Sexo*—En todas las generaciones se distingue terminológicamente el sexo.

*Según la Edad*—Los hermanos y hermanas reales de Ego se distinguen como mayores o menores relativos a la edad de Ego. Los hermanos y las hermanas clasificatorios (primos y primas paralelos respectivamente) se distinguen de acuerdo a la edad relativa de los padres de los hermanos y hermanas clasificatorios con respecto a la edad de los padres de Ego. Así, por ejemplo, el hijo del hermano mayor del padre de Ego, es el hermano mayor de Ego; la hija de la hermana menor de la madre de Ego, es la hermana menor de Ego; etc. Por lo demás, los familiares de generaciones ascendentes son considerados como mayores y los familiares de generaciones descendentes son considerados como menores con respecto a Ego.

*Según el Parentesco*—Se distingue entre primos cruzados y primos paralelos. No se distingue entre hermanos reales y primos paralelos. En la segunda generación ascendente, no se diferencia el parentesco entre abuelos y abuelas, con excepción de la hermana del padre del padre de Ego, quien es designada con un término aislante. En la segunda generación descendente, no se diferencia el parentesco que Ego pueda tener con sus nietos y nietas, ya sean reales o clasificatorios. Existen nuevos términos de parentesco para designar a familiares que no cumplen el canon de matrimonio entre primos cruzados con el intercambio de hermano con hermana.

*Según el estado de vida*—No existe un término distinto para designar a un familiar de acuerdo al estado de vida de la persona que conecta o emparenta a ese familiar con Ego. Tampoco se usan términos diferentes para designar a los familiares fallecidos. Para expresar el estado de difunto de un familiar, se le agregan los términos *Mijí* (finado - género masculino) y *Mejeó* (finada - género femenino) a los términos de parentesco con que se denominaba en referencia (R) a los familiares mientras éstos vivían. Así, por ejemplo, *Yeé Mamí Mijí* (mi finado hermano mayor), *Páre Majkó Mejeó* (la finada hija de mi hermano), etc.

## FRATRIAS Y SIBS

Se encontraron cinco fratrías entre los Tukano:

1) *Yepá Bajuári Majsá.*
2) *Miriápura Diára Majsá.*
3) *Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.*
4) *Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.*
5) *Emeko Bajuári Majsá.*

Cada una de estas fratrías está dividida en un número extenso de sibs.

## YEPA BAJUARI MAJSA

Los sibs pertenecientes a esta fratría están localizados sobre los ríos Paca, Papurí y Tiquié, y sobre el río Vaupés desde el raudal de Umarí hasta la confluencia del río Vaupés con el río Negro. Hablan el idioma tradicionalmente conocido con el nombre de Tukano. Los sibs que forman esta fratría se pueden dividir en dos grupos artificiales que responden a pautas de parentesco, y son los siguientes:

*LISTA "A"*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) *Yúpuri Baúro* | (B) | (1) | (2) *Yepára Oakajpeá* | (+) | (2) |
| (3) *Yepára Oyé* | (B) | | (4) *Yepára Suí* | (C) | (3) |

(1) La B al frente del nombre de un sib significa que dicho sib habita actualmente en territorio brasileño.
(2) La + al frente de un sib significa que dicho sib ha desaparecido.
(3) La C al frente de un sig significa que dicho sib reside actualmente en territorio colombiano.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5) | *Bejsémi Kuiseré* | (C) | (6) | *Ajúsiro Sóbaro* | (B) |
| (7) | *Sui Makúpi* | (C) | (8) | *Ajkito Ñetedejká* | (C) |
| (9) | *Kemáru Isiadejpuá* | (+) | (10) | *Yúpuri Pamó* | (B) |
| (11) | *Yepára Merú* | (C) | (12) | *Yúpuri Uajsóro Meri* | (C) |
| (13) | *Sérvi Bojsé* | (C) | (14) | *Doétiro Mimisipé* | (C) |
| (15) | *Ajkito Patiro* | (C) | (16) | *Kemáru Kukú* | (C) |
| (17) | *Urémiri Sióropo Bayá* | (B) | (18) | *Urémiri Sáraro* | (C) |
| (19) | *Parisi* | (B) | (20) | *Yúpuri Búbera* | (B) |
| (21) | *Ajúsiro Meri* | (B) | (22) | *Ñajóri Dipé* | (B) |
| (23) | *Yáitoro* | (C) | (24) | *Urémiri Sakuró* | (C) |
| (25) | *Buú Púra* | (B) | (26) | *Sui Amoperi* | (B) |
| (27) | *Ajúsiro Túro* | (B) | (28) | *Arú Peri* | (B) |
| (29) | *Bojsóka Peri* | (B) | (30) | *Ajkito Kuá* | (B) |
| (31) | *Buú Papéra Púra* | (B) | (32) | *Ajkito Báya Púra* | (B) |
| (33) | *Kemáru Baá Púra* | (B) | (34) | *Ajkito Yujuró* | (B) |
| (35) | *Sui Ajpuékeri* | (B) | (36) | *Bujpuá Púra* | (B) |

*LISTA "B"*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (37) | *Umu Sasi* | (C) | (38) | *Ñajkéro* | (+) |
| (39) | *Ñajpóbi* | (+) | (40) | *Mio Puti* | (C) |
| (41) | *Bojsoágue* | (B) | (42) | *Dutá Púra* | (B) |
| (43) | *Dóe Ñijkáro* | (B) | (44) | *Niká Dejkayái* | (+) |
| (45) | *Wuá Kúmu* | (B) | (46) | *Kemáru Dasíri* | (B) |
| (47) | *Dóe Diáti Kúmu* | (C) | (48) | *Urémiri Kareri* | (C) |
| (49) | *Ajkito Bitóro* | (C) | (50) | *Pijkóse Báse Kúmu* | (B) |

### *Términos de Parentesco Usados entre los Sibs Componentes de la LISTA "A"*

En orden numérico y descendiendo cronológicamente (1-36), el primero llama al segundo y subsecuentes, el segundo llama al tercero y subsecuentes, el tercero llama al cuarto y subsecuentes, etc., *Nijiá*. En orden numérico y ascendiendo cronológicamente (36-1), el último denomina al penúltimo y subsecuentes, el penúltimo denomina al antepenúltimo y subsecuentes, etc., *Mamí*.

### *Términos de Parentesco Usados entre los Sibs Componentes de la LISTA "B"*

En orden numérico y descendiendo cronológicamente (37-50),

el primero llama al segundo y subsecuentes, el segundo llama al tercero y subsecuentes, etc., *Nijiá*.

En orden numérico y ascendiendo cronológicamente (50-37), el último llama al penúltimo y subsecuentes, el penúltimo llama al antepenúltimo y subsecuentes, etc., *Mamí*.

*Términos de Parentesco Usados entre los Sibs Componentes de la LISTA "A" y los Sibs Componentes de la LISTA "B".*

En una generación dada, todos los individuos miembros de los sibs componentes de la LISTA "A" denominan a todos los individuos, de la misma generación, miembros de los sibs componentes de la LISTA "B": *Pajké-Ró*.

En una generación dada, todos los individuos miembros de los sibs componentes de la LISTA "B" denominan a todos los individuos, de la misma generación, miembros de los sibs componentes de la LISTA "A": *Yeé Párame*.

En generaciones descendentes y ascendentes el sistema de parentesco y los términos de parentesco continúan como si todos los componentes de la LISTA "A" fuesen hermanos sanguíneos y todos los componentes de la LISTA "B" fuesen hermanos sanguíneos, en una generación dada. En cuanto a los términos de parentesco usados entre los componentes de la LISTA "A" y los componentes de la LISTA "B", en generaciones ascendentes y descendentes, el sistema de parentesco y los términos de parentesco continúan como si los componentes de la LISTA "B" fuesen los abuelos de los componentes de la LISTA "A". En todos estos casos se distingue el sexo y la edad.

*Ejemplos de términos de parentesco usados entre los componentes de la LISTA "A".*

(1) El hijo de *Yúpuri Baúro* llama a *Suí Ajpuékeri: Mé*.

(2) *Suí Ajpuékeri* llama al hijo de *Yúpuri Baúro: Meké*.

(3) El hijo de *Yúpuri Baúro* denomina al hijo de *Suí Ajpuékeri: Nijiá*, ya que *Yúpuri Baúro* llama a *Suí Ajpuékeri: Nijiá*.

(4) El hijo de *Suí Ajpuékeri* llama al hijo de *Yúpuri Baúro: Mamí*, ya que *Suí Ajpuékeri* denomina a *Yúpuri Baúro: Mamí*.

(5) *Yúpuri Baúro* llama a la hija de *Suí Ajpuékeri: Majkó. Suí Ajpuékeri* denomina a la hija de *Yúpuri Baúro: Majkó.*

(6) La hija de *Yúpuri Baúro* llama a *Suí Ajpuékeri: Mengué.* La hija de *Suí Ajpuékeri* llama a *Yúpuri Baúro: Mengué.*

(7) Los hijos de *Yúpuri Baúro* llaman a la hermana de *Suí Ajpuékeri: Uaméu.* Los hijos de *Suí Ajpuékeri* llaman a la hermana de *Yúpuri Baúro: Uaméu.*
Etc.

*..Ejemplos de términos de parentesco usados entre los componentes de la LISTA "B".*

(1) El hijo de *Umu Sasí* llama a *Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mé.*

(2) *Pijkóse Báse Kúmu* denomina al hijo de *Umu Sasí: Meké.*

(3) El hijo de *Umu Sasí* le dice al hijo de *Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá,* ya que *Umu Sasí* le dice a *Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá.*

(4) El hijo de *Pijkóse Báse Kúmu* le dice al hijo de *Umu Sasí: Mamí,* ya que *Pijkóse Báse Kúmu* denomina a *Umu Sasí: Mamí.*

(5) *Umu Sasí* llama a la hija de *Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Majkó. Pijkóse Báse Kúmu* denomina a la hija de *Umu Sasí: Majkó.*

(6) La hija de *Umu Sasí* llama a *Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mengué.* La hija de *Pijkóse Báse Kúmu* llama a *Umu Sasí: Mengué.*

(7) Los hijos de *Umu Sasí* llaman a la hermana de *Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Uaméu.* Los hijos de *Pijkóse Báse Kúmu* llaman a la hermana de *Umu Sasí: Uaméu.*

*Ejemplos de términos de parentesco usados entre los Sibs Componentes de la LISTA "A" y los Sibs Componentes de la LISTA "B".*

(1) El hijo de *Umu Sasí* llama a *Yúpuri Baúro: Meké,* ya que el padre de *Yúpuri Baúro* y el hijo de *Umu Sasí* son síblings.

(2) *Yúpuri Baúro* denomina al hijo de *Umu Sasí: Mé.*

(3) El hijo de *Yúpuri Baúro* llama al hijo de *Umu Sasí: Pajké-Ró.*

(4) El hijo de *Umu Sasí* denomina al hijo de *Yúpuri Baúro: Yeé Párame.*

## MIRIAPURA DIARA MAJSA

Los sibs pertenecientes a esta fratría están localizados sobre los ríos Pirá-paraná, Apaporis, Cananarí y Tuy. Hablan el idioma tradicionalmente conocido con el nombre de Carapaná. Consta de los siguientes sibs:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | *Mumiá Pajkáre* | (+) | (2) | *Mumiá Dayágue* | (+) |
| (3) | *Mujteá Pajkáre* | (C) | (4) | *Mujteá Dayágue* | (C) |
| (5) | *Duriá Pajkáre* | (C) | (6) | *Duriá Dayágue* | (C) |
| (7) | *Pojtáñare* | (C) | (8) | *Paréroa* | (C) |
| (9) | *Eruria* | (C) | (10) | *Dajseá Kawiria* | (C) |
| (11) | *Buá Majsé* | (C) | (12) | *Bujpuá Majsé* | (C) |
| (13) | *Séra Majsé* | (C) | (14) | *Yajuána* | (C) |

*Términos de Parentesco Usados entre los Sibs Componentes de la fratría Miriápura Diára Majsá.*

En orden numérico y descendiendo cronológicamente (1-13), el primero llama al segundo y subsecuentes, el segundo llama al tercero y subsecuentes, etc., *Nijiá.*

En orden numérico y ascendiendo cronológicamente (13-1), el último denomina al penúltimo y subsecuentes, el penúltimo denomina al antepenúltimo y subsecuentes, etc., *Mamí.*

Los sibs numerados del 1 al 13 denominan al 14 *(Yajuána): Pajké-Ró.*

El número 14 *(Yajuána)* denomina al resto de los sibs (1-13): *Yeé Párame.*

*Ejemplos de términos de parentesco usados entre los sibs componentes de la fratría Miriápura Diára Majsá.*

(1) El hijo de *Mumiá Pajkáre* denomina a *Séra Majsé: Mé.*

(2) *Séra Majsé* denomina al hijo de *Mumiá Pajkáre: Meké.*

(3) El hijo de *Mumiá Pajkáre* denomina al hijo de *Séra Majsé: Nijiá,* ya que *Mumiá Pajkáre* denomina a *Séra Majsé: Nijiá.*

(4) El hijo de *Séra Majsé* denomina al hijo de *Mumiá Pajkáre: Mamí,* ya que *Mumiá Pajkáre* denomina a *Séra Majsé: Mamí.*

(5) *Mumiá Pajkáre* llama a la hija de *Séra Majsé: Majkó. Séra Majsé* llama a la hija de *Mumiá Pajkáre: Majkó.*

(6) La hija de *Mumiá Pajkáre* denomina a *Séra Majsé: Mengué.* La hija de *Séra Majsé* llama a *Mumiá Pajkáre: Mengué.*

(7) Los hijos de *Mumiá Pajkáre* denominan a la hermana de *Séra Majsé: Uaméu.* Los hijos de *Séra Majsé* denominan a la hermana de *Mumiá Pajkáre: Uaméu.*

(8) El hijo de *Yajuána* denomina a *Mumiá Pajkáre: Mek*, ya que el padre de *Mumiá Pajkáre* y el hijo de *Yajuána* son síblings.

(9) *Mumiá Pajkáre* llama al hijo de *Yajuána: Mé.*

(10) El hijo de *Mumiá Pajkáre* denomina al hijo de *Yajuána: Pajké-Ró.*

(11) El hijo de *Yajuána* llama al hijo de *Mumiá Pajkáre: Yeé Párame.*

## ÑUJKUA DIARA MAJSA

Los sibs pertenecientes a esta fratría están localizados en las cabeceras del río Tiquié. Hablan el idioma tradicionalmente conocido con el nombre de Barasano. Consta de los siguientes sibs:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé — Bará Majsé* | | | | (C) |
| (2) | *Buajá Ñajkoroá* | (C) | (3) | *Ñujkuá* | (C) |
| (4) | *Uamúta Ñárague* | (C) | (5) | *Uamúta Dáyaroague* | (C) |

*Términos de parentesco usados entre los sibs componentes de la fratría Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.*

En orden numérico y descendiendo cronológicamente (1-4), el primero llama al segundo y subsecuentes, el segundo llama al tercero y subsecuentes, etc., *Nijiá.*

En orden numérico y ascendiendo cronológicamente (4-1), el último llama al penúltimo, el penúltimo denomina al antepenúltimo, etc., *Mamí.*

Los sibs numerados del 1 al 4 denominan al 5 *(Uumúta Dáyaroague): Pajké-Ró.*

El número 5*(Uamúta Dáyaroague)* denomina al resto de los sibs (1-4): *Yeé Párame.*

*Ejemplos de términos de parentesco usados entre los sibs componentes de la fratría Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.*

(1) El hijo de *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé* denomina a *Uamúta Ñárague: Mé.*
(2) *Uamúta Ñárague* denomina al hijo de *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé: Meké.*
(3) El hijo de *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé* denomina al hijo de *Uamúta Ñárague: Nijiá,* ya que *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé* denomina a *Uamúta Ñárague: Nijiá.*
(4) El hijo de *Uamúta Ñárague* denomina al hijo de *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Mamí,* ya que *Uamúta Ñárague* denomina a *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Mamí.*
(5) *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé* denomina a la hija de *Uamúta Ñárague: Majkó. Uamúta Ñárague* denomina a la hija de *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Majkó.*
(6) La hija de *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé* denomina a *Uamúta Ñárague: Mengué.* La hija de *Uamúta Ñárague* denomina a *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Mengué.*
(7) Los hijos de *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé* denominan a la hermana de *Uamúta Ñárague: Uaméu.* Los hijos de *Uamúta Ñárague* denominan a la hermana de *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Uaméu.*
(8) El hijo de *Uamúta Dáyaroague* denomina a *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Meké,* ya que el padre de *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé* y el hijo de *Uamúta Dáyaroague* son siblings.
(9) *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé* denomina al hijo de *Uamúta Dáyaroague: Mé.*
(10) El hijo de *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé* denomina al hijo de *Uamúta Dáyaroague: Pajké-Ró.*
(11) El hijo de *Uamúta Dáyaroague* denomina al hijo de *Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Yeé Párame.*

## MIRIAPURA BAJUARI MAJSA

Los sibs pertenecientes a esta fratría están localizados sobre los ríos Isana, Querarí, Surubí y Uainía. Hablan el idioma tradicionalmente conocido con el nombre de Maniva. Consta de los siguientes sibs:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) *Bejkári* | (C) | (2) *Mijpiágue* | (C) |
| (3) *Mijpiá Diára* | (C) | (4) *Majkápiro Púra* | (C) |
| (5) *Borékearo* | (C) | (6) *Petároague* | (C) |
| (7) *Majároague* | (C) | | |

*Términos de Parentesco usados entre los sibs componentes de la fratría Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.*

En orden numérico y descendiendo cronológicamente (1-6), el primero llama al segundo y subsecuentes, el segundo llama al tercero y subsecuentes, etc., *Nijiá.*

En orden numérico y ascendiendo cronológicamente (6-1), el último denomina al penúltimo y subsecuentes, el penúltimo denomina al antepenúltimo y subsecuente, etc., *Mamí.*

Los sibs numerados del 1 al 6 denominan al 7 *(Majároague): Pajké-Ró.*

El número 7 *(Majároague)* denomina al resto de los sibs (1-6): *Yeé Párame.*

*Ejemplos de términos de parentesco usados entre los sibs componentes de la fratría Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.*

(1) El hijo de *Bejkári* denomina a *Petároague: Mé.*
(2) *Petároague* denomina al hijo de *Bejkári: Meké.*
(3) El hijo de *Bejkári* denomina al hijo de *Petároague: Nijiá*, ya que *Bejkári* denomina a *Petároague: Nijiá.*
(4) El hijo de *Petároague* denomina al hijo de *Bejkári: Mamí*, ya que *Petároague* denomina a *Bejkári: Mamí.*
(5) *Bejkári* denomina a la hija de *Petároague: Majkó. Petároague* llama a la hija de *Bejkári: Majkó.*
(6) La hija de *Bejkári* denomina a *Petároague: Mengué.* La hija de *Petároague* denomina a *Bejkári: Mengué.*
(7) Los hijos de *Bejkári* denominan a la hermana de *Petároague: Uaméu.* Los hijos de *Petároague* denominan a la hermana de *Bejkári: Uaméu.*
(8) El hijo de *Majároague* denomina a *Bejkári: Meké*, ya que el padre de *Bejkári* y el hijo de *Majároague* son síblings.
(9) *Bejkári* denomina al hijo de *Majároague: Mé.*
(10) El hijo de *Bejkári* denomina al hijo de *Majároague: Pajké-Ró.*
(11) El hijo de *Majároague* denomina al hijo de *Bejkári: Yeé Párame.*

## EMEKO BAJUARI MAJSA

Los sibs componentes de esta fratría están localizado sobre el río Vaupés entre el cacerío de Urania y un poco más arriba de la desembocadura del río Yí en el río Vaupés, y sobre todo el río Cuduiarí. Hablan el idioma tradicionalmente conocido con el nombre de Cubeo. Consta de los siguientes sibs:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) *Utíwiague* | (C) | (2) *Socóro Páramero* | (C) |
| (3) *Biá Déroague* | (C) | (4) *Purí Máriroague* | (C) |
| (5) *Aúwuewague* | (C) | (6) *Uejsári Téroague* | (C) |

*Términos de parentesco usados entre los sibs componentes de la fratría Emeko Bajuári Majsá.*

En orden numérico y descendiendo cronológicamente (1-5), el primero denomina al segundo y subsecuentes, el segundo denomina al tercero y subsecuentes, etc., *Nijiá.*

En orden numérico y ascendiendo cronológicamente (5-1), el último denomina al penúltimo, el penúltimo denomina al antepenúltimo, etc., *Mamí.*

Los sibs numerados del 1 al 5 denominan al 6 *(Uejsári Téroague): Pajké-Ró.*

El número 7 *(Uejsári Téroague)* denomina al resto de los sibs (1-5): *Yeé Párame.*

*Ejemplos de términos de parentesco usados entre los sibs componentes de la fratría Emeko Bajuári Majsá.*

(1) El hijo de *Utíwiague* denomina a *Aúwuewague: Mé.*

(2) *Aúwuewague* denomina al hijo de *Utíwiague: Meké.*

(3) El hijo de *Utíwiague* denomina al hijo de *Aúwuewague: Nijiá,* ya que *Utíwiague* llama a *Aúwuewague: Nijiá.*

(4) El hijo de *Aúwuewague* denomina al hijo de *Utíwiague: Mamí,* ya que *Aúwuewague* llama a *Utíwiague: Mamí.*

(5) *Utíwiague* denomina a la hija de *Aúwuewague: Majkó. Aúwuewague* llama a la hija de *Utíwiague: Majkó.*

(6) La hija de *Utíwiague* denomina a *Aúwuewague: Mengué.* La hija de *Aúwuewague* llama a *Utíwiague: Mengué.*

(7) Los hijos de *Utíwiague* llaman a la hermana de *Aúwuewague: Uaméu.* Los hijos de *Aúwuewague* denominan a la hermana de *Utíwiague: Uaméu.*

(8) El hijo de *Uejsári Téroague* denomina a *Utíwiague: Meké*, ya que el padre de *Utíwiague* y el hijo de *Uejsári Téroague* son síblings.
(9) *Utíwiague* denomina al hijo de *Uejsári Téroague: Mé.*
(10) El hijo de *Utíwiague* llama al hijo de *Uejsári Téroague: Pajké-Ró.*
(11) El hijo de *Uejsári Téroague* denomina al hijo de *Utíwiague: Yeé Párame.*

## TERMINOS DE PARENTESCO USADOS ENTRE LOS SIBS COMPONENTES DE LAS CINCO FRATRIAS QUE FORMAN LA TRIBU YEPA MAJSA

Términos de parentesco usados entre las fratrías:
Yepá Bajuári Majsá y Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Mariápura Diara Majsá

*LISTA "A"*
*Yúpuri Baúro*
*Yepára Oakajpeá*
*Yepára Oyé*
denominan con el término *Nijiá* desde
*Mumiá Pajkáre*
hasta
*Séra Majsé*

*Yepára Suí*
hasta
*Bujpuá Púra*
denominan con el término *Mami* desde
*Mumiá Pajkáre*
hasta
*Duriá Pajkáre*

*Yepára Suí*
hasta
*Bujpuá Púra*
denominan con el término *Nijiá* desde
*Duriá Deyágue*
hasta
*Séra Majsé*

*Yúpuri Baúro*
hasta
*Bujpuá Púra*
denominan con el término *Pajké-Ró* a

*Yajuána*

Yepá Bajuári Majsá Miriápura Diára Majsá

*LISTA "B"*

*Umu Sasí*
hasta
*Pijkóse Báse Kúmu*
denominan con el término *Yeé Párame* desde

*Mumiá Pajkáre*
hasta
*Séra Majsé*

*Umu Sasí*
hasta
*Pijkóse Báse Kúmu*
denominan con el término *Nijiá* a

*Yajuána*

Términos de Parentesco Usados entre las Fratrías:
Yepá Bajuári Majsá y Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá. Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

*LISTA "A"*
*Yúpuri Baúro*
hasta
*Bujpuá Púra*
denominan con el término *Nijiá* desde

*Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé*
hasta
*Uamúta Ñárague*

*Yúpuri Baúro*
hasta
*Bujpuá Púra*
denominan con el término *Pajké-Ró* a

*Uamúta Dáyaroague*

Yepá Bajuári Majsá Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

*LISTA "B"*

*Umu Sasi*
hasta
*Pijkóse Báse Kúmu*
denominan con el término *Yeé Pérame* desde
*Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé*
hasta
*Uamúta Náragua*

*Umu Sasi*
hasta
*Pijkóse Báse Kúmu*
denominan con el término *Nijiá* a
*Uamúta Dáyaroagua*

Términos de Parentesco usados entre las Fratrías:
*Yepá Bajuári Majsá y Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.*

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

*LISTA "A"*

*Yúpuri Baúro*
hasta
*Yepára Oyé*
denominan con el término *Nijiá* desde
*Bejkári*
hasta
*Petároagua*

*Yepára Suí*
hasta
*Bujpuá Púra*
denominan con el término *Mami* a
*Bejkári*
y a
*Mijpiágua*

*Yepára Suí*
hasta
*Bujpuá Púra*
denominan con el término *Nijiá* desde
*Mijpiá Diára*
hasta
*Petároagua*

*Yúpuri Baúro*
hasta
*Bujpuá Púra*
denominan con el término *Pajhé-Ró* a
*Majároague*

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

*LISTA "B"*
*Umu Sasi*
hasta
*Pijkóse Báse Kúmu*
denominan con el término *Yeé Párame* desde.
*Bejkári*
hasta
*Petároague*

*Umu Sasi*
hasta
*Pijkóse Báse Kúmu*
denominan con el término *Nijiá* a
*Majároague*

Términos de Parentesco usados entre las Fratrías:
Yepá Bajuári Majsá y Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

*LISTA "A"*
*Yúpuri Baúro*
hasta
*Bujpuá Púra*
denominan con el término *Nijiá* desde
*Utiwiague*
hasta
*Aúwuewague*

*Yúpuri Baúro*
hasta
*Bujpuá Púra*
denominan con el término *Pajhé-Ró* a
*Uejsári Téroague*

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

*LISTA "B"*

*Umu Sasi*
hasta
*Pijkóse Báse Kúmu*
denominan con el término *Yeé Párame* desde
*Utiwiague*
hasta
*Aúwuewague*

*Umu Sasi*
hasta
*Pijkóse Báse Kúmu*
denominan con el término *Nijié* a
*Uejsári Téroague*

Términos de Parentesco usados entre las Fratrías:
Miriápura Diára Majsá y Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.

Miriápura Diára Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

*Mumiá Pajkáre*
hasta
*Séra Majsé*
denominan con el término *Nijiá* desde
*Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé*
hasta
*Uamúta Náragua*

*Mumiá Pajkáre*
hasta
*Séra Majsé*
denominan con el término *Pajké-Ró* a
*Uamúta Dáyaroague*

*Yajuána*
denomina con el término *Yeé Párame* desde
*Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé*
hasta
*Uamúta Náragua*

*Yajuána*
denomina con el término *Nijiá* a
*Uamúta Dáyaroague*

Términos de Parentesco usados entre las Fratrías:
Miriápura Diára Majsá y Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.

| Miriápura Diára Majsá | Miriápura Bajuári Majsá |
|---|---|
| *Mumiá Pajkáre*<br>hasta<br>*Duriá Pajkáre*<br>denominan con el término *Nijiá* desde | *Bejkári*<br>hasta<br>*Petároague* |
| *Duriá Dayágue*<br>hasta<br>*Séra Majsé*<br>denominan con el término *Mamí* a | *Bejkári* |
| *Duriá Dayágue*<br>hasta<br>*Paréroa*<br>denominan con el término *Nijiá* desde | *Mijpiágue*<br>hasta<br>*Petároague* |
| *Eruria*<br>hasta<br>*Séra Majsé*<br>denominan con el término *Mamí* a | *Mijpiágue*<br>y a<br>*Mijpiá Diára* |
| *Eruria*<br>hasta<br>*Séra Majsé*<br>denominan con el término *Nijiá* desde | *Majkápiro Púra*<br>hasta<br>*Petároague* |
| *Mumiá Pajkáre*<br>hasta<br>*Séra Majsé*<br>denominan con el término *Pajká-Ró* a | *Majárogue* |

*Yajuána*
denomina con el término *Yeé Párame* desde

*Bejkári*
hasta
*Petároague*

*Yajuána*
denomina con el término *Nijiá* a

*Majároague*

Términos de Parentesco usados entre las Fratrías:
Miriápura Diára Majsá y Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Ñujkuá Diára Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

*Mumiá Pajkáre*
hasta
*Séra Majsé*
denominan con el término *Nijiá* desde

*Utiwiague*
hasta
*Aúwuewague*

*Mumiá Pajkáre*
hasta
*Séra Majsé*
denominan con el término *Pajké-Ró* a

*Uejsári Téroague*

*Yajuána*
denomina con el término *Yeé Párame* desde

*Utiwiague*
hasta
*Aúwuewague*

*Yajuána*
denomina con el término *Nijiá* a

*Uejsári Téroague*

Términos de Parentesco usados entre las Fratrías:
Ñujkuá Diára Najsá y Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.

Ñujkuá Diára Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

*Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé*
hasta
*Uamúta Ñárague*
denominan con el término *Mami* desde

*Bejkári*
hasta
*Mijpiá Diára*

*Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé*
hasta
*Uamúta Ñárague*
denominan con el término *Nijiá desde*

*Majkápiro Púra*
hasta
*Petároague*

*Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé*
hasta
*Uamúta Ñárague*
denominan con el término *Pajké-Ró* a

*Majároague*

*Uamúta Dáyaroague*
denomina con el término *Yeé Párame* desde

*Bejkári*
hasta
*Petároague*

*Uamúta Dáyaroague*
denomina con el término *Nijiá* a

*Majároague*

Términos de Parentesco usados entre las Fratrías:
Ñujkuá Diára Majsá y Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Ñujkuá Diára Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

*Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé*
hasta
*Uamúta Ñárague*
denominan con el término *Nijiá* desde

*Utiwiague*
hasta
*Aúsuewague*

*Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé*
hasta
*Uamúta Ñárague*
denominan con el término *Pajké-Ró* a

*Uejsári Téroague*

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*Uamúta Déyaroague*
denomina con el término *Yeé Párame* desde

*Utiwiague*
hasta
*Aúwuewague*

*Uamúta Déyaroague*
denomina con el término *Nijiá* a

*Uejsári Téroague*

Términos de Parentesco usados entre las Fratrías:
Miriápura Bajuári Majsá y Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Miriápura Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

*Bejkári*
hasta
*Petároague*
denominan con el término *Nijiá* desde

*Utiwiague*
hasta
*Aúwuewague*

*Bejkári*
hasta
*Petároague*
denominan con el término *Pajké-Ró* a

*Uejsári Téroague*

*Majároague*
denomina con el término *Yeé Párame* desde

*Utiwiague*
hasta
*Aúwuewague*

*Majároague*
denomina con el término *Nijiá* a

*Uejsári Téroague*

RESUMIENDO:

La característica más notable de la sociedad Tukana consiste en que todos sus miembros forman una gran familia por medio de la extensión ficticia de los lazos de parentesco, creándose sibs patrilineales que tienen el carácter de castas. En este sentido, los

miembros de las castas superiores denominan a las castas inferiores *Nijiá* o *Pajké-Ró*, mientras que los miembros de los sibs inferiores denominan a los miembros de los sibs superiores con los términos *Mamí* o *Yeé Párame*. Es de notar que los sibs que denominan a sibs inferiores *Pajké-Ró*, se denominan entre ellos mismos con los términos *Mamí* o *Nijiá* según sean castas superiores o inferiores, y que los sibs que denominan a sibs superiores *Yeé Párame*, se denominan entre ellos mismos *Mamí* o *Nijiá* según sean castas superiores o inferiores.

Una consecuencia del sistema de parentesco típico de la cultura Tukana es la exogámia tribal, ya que es considerado incesto el que dos individuos Tukano de diferente sexo contraigan matrimonio. El canon de matrimonio preferido es el de primos cruzados con intercambio de hermano con hermana. Existe la institución de la poligínia, pero está desapareciendo entre los sibs componentes de la fratría *Yepá Bajuári Majsá*, que es la fratría más aculturada hacia la cultura criollo-colombiana. También se encuentra el levirato, pero esta institución parece ser voluntaria. La descendencia es patrilineal y la residencia es patrilocal, formando así familias extendidas patrilineales.

Entre los componentes de la fratría *Yepá Bajuári Majsá*, todos estos modelos de estructura social están desapareciendo. Ya es muy raro encontrar entre los miembros de esta fratría los matrimonios entre primos cruzados, y han aparecido, con este dislocamiento social, nuevos términos de parentesco que responden a las nuevas pautas de matrimonio y de parentesco. Sería interesante ver hasta qué punto la fratría *Yepá Bajuári Majsá* varía de las demás fratrías Tukana, pero hasta ahora ha sido imposible llevar a cabo este trtabajo.

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# Aspects of Tucano Culture
## Mythology -- Part I
## [Aspectos de la Cultura Tucana -- Mitología -- Parte I]

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[Title page]

∞∞ /335/ Aspects of Tucano Culture
Mythology -- Part I

By Marcos Fulop

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114 [101] /337/ Preliminary Note

The material presented here was collected between June 11 and September 9, 1954, when field work was done in the 124 village /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Performing the functions of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra respectively, blood brothers and residents of the village of Guadalajara.

121 773 The mythology that appears in this article is a very small portion of the total Tukano /Tucano/ mythology. The author has considered it advisable not to analyze individually the myths published here, but to wait until all the Tukano mythology has been collected and published.

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*539 /339/ I. Boraró and Boraró Numió

A man and a woman stayed in Diaojpekowí, and they were brother and sister. These two beings do not have children, but will never die. When they want to leave Diaojpekowí, they turn themselves into spirits. The man is named Boraró, and the *539 woman is named Boraró Numió. Boraró and Boraró Numió kill 761 people by opening a hole in their heads and sucking out the entire body through this hole. They leave only the skin of the victim, which they throw on a tree /Sp. palo/. To kill her victim, Boraró Numió lies down face up and begins to urinate at a distance of about 150 meters from her victim. Boraró, to kill his victim, urinates standing at a distance of about 150 meters from his victim. And when Boraró and Boraró Numió urinate, everyone that is within those 150 meters falls dead instantly.

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/339 cont./
539 Boraró and Boraró Numió sometimes have human form and at other times have spirit form. Very often they are seen eating crabs, for they like to eat crabs very much.

*539 Boraró and Boraró Numió also steal people's souls without
774 eating them. Sometimes a man dreams about a very pretty
787 woman, and afterwards, when he goes out to the forest, he meets her and has sex with her. When he returns to the maloca (1), he lies down to sleep and there he dies. Boraró Numió is the pretty woman about whom he dreamed and with whom he had sex, and it is she who steals his soul. The Tukano /Tucano/ woman dreams about Boraró, has sex with him in the forest, and then it is Boraró who steals her soul.

1. Name given in this region to the typical Tukano /Tucano/ house.

*539 II. Pijsubariyái.

Four spirits stayed in Dejkepaiwí. And each one of these spirits is named Pijsubariyái. These spirits, who are /340/ like devils, shout the name of a person. And the person, since he does not know who is calling, answers. But Pijsubariyái, unless he is given indications with a finger, does not know where the person is. Therefore, when one answers the first time that he is called and he still continues to be called, he knows it must be Pijsubariyái. In case that someone points him out to Pijsubariyái, instantly Pijsubariyái reaches him and eats him in the same way that a jaguar /Sp. tigre/ eats people. Pijsubariyái has two heads, one where the head is normally and the other on the backside, instead of a tail. Pijsubariyái has the form of a jaguar.

III. Emiarouajtí.

Two spirits named Emiarouajtí stayed in Diakajseropoeawí. They both had the same name and were a male and a female. They were brother and sister. No Uajtí (2) dies, and so the

2. Spirit.

*539 /340 cont./
Emiarouajtí do not die either. Both Emiarouajtí are the owners of the trees of the forest. Yepá Huáke (3) left them to them, and

3. Creator god of the Tukano /Tucano/.

the Emiarouajtí are the ones who command all the Uajtí. The Emiarouajtí walk on top of the trees and take care of the fruits of the trees when the fruits ripen. The Emiarouajtí do not let the people eat these fruits. When the people pick the fruits of the trees in order to eat them, the Emiarouajtí punish the people, catching them by the throat, breaking the neck, and killing them. The Emiarouajtí are not in all the forest, but walk only in the vicinity of Diakajseropoeawí (4).

4. According to the informant, a maloca located beside a stream of the Negro River.

IV. Uearí Majsá and Yujkedejká Bejké.

Four spirits named Uearí Majsá, two males and two females, stayed in Yujkedejkawí. Yepá Huáke also left there another spirit called Yujkedejká Bejké. Every August the Uearí Majsá leave Yujkedejkawí and go everywhere stealing people. The Uearí Majsá steal people by appearing to them in the form of a relative. They invite them to take a walk, and then /341/ they take them to Yujkedejkawí. But the Uearí Majsá do not kill people. This is why August is a dangerous month.

Yujkedejká Bejké also comes out in August, which is the month in which the trees start to give fruit. And Yukedejká Bejke /sic/ leaves Yujkedejkawí and visits the forest in all directions: north, south, east, and west. And he counts how many fruits the trees are going to have this year, and afterwards Yujkedejká Bejké returns again to Yujkedejkawí.

* 539 /341 cont./

V. Miriápura Majsá.

Yepá Huáke left six persons, three women and three men, in Diawí. And they are called Mariápura Majsá. They are in charge of the spirits of Miriá (5).

[534] [784]

5. Of the Yuruparises. Ceremonial flutes used in the initiation ceremonies for the pubescent boys. It is forbidden for women to see these flutes.

VI. Ñebariuajtí.

In Ñamiriwí, Yepá Huáke left a male and a female who are named Ñebariauajtí. And these two beings have the same human form as Boraró and Boraró Numió. And they kill and steal people's souls in the same way as Boraró and Boraró Numió do.

VII. Sexual Relations (6).

6. Name that the interpreter insisted on giving to the myth.

Yepá Huáke left in Diawí two brothers with their papa and mama. And the four were called Bajsébo Majsá. And they left Diawí and went to Bajsebowí. Before Yúpuri Baúro (7)

[773] [614]

7. Yúpuri Baúro is the most important mythological culture hero in Tukano /Tucano/ culture. He is also the founder of the sib /Sp. sib/ of the highest category among the Tukano.

discovered these lands, the Tukano /Tucano/ did not have children. In Bajsebowí, when the father of the Bajsébo Majsá, who

* 539 /341 cont./
was named Miriápura Turíkaro, saw that his two sons knew how to "blow" (8) and all the history of the Tukano, then he got

8. To cure sicknesses by medico-religious methods.

them two wives, a woman for each one. And these two women were not for the sons of Mariápura Turíkaro to have sexual relations with, but to be as friends.

/342/ The four Bajsébo Majsá were spirits, and the two wives of the sons of Miriápura Turíkaro were Umékori Majsá. The Desano /Desana/ were Umékori Majsá (9). And in those

9. People of the Day.

times the Bajsébo Majsá did not have the right to marry the Umékori Majsá, but Miriápura Turíkaro came and took the two Umékori Majsá girls. With this, the Ñamíri Majsá (10) were

10. People of the Night; Cubeo.

angry at the Bajsébo Majsá. Then Ñámíri Majsé went up to the sky and saw that the two Bajsébo Majsá brothers and the two Umékori Majsá sisters were examining some stones that were called Bajséboperi. And these stones were the food stones, because formerly they did not have to hunt or fish or grate manioc, but rather the stones were put under the hearth and the pot became full of food. When Ñamíri Majsé saw this, he smoked tobacco, looked toward where the sun rises, and opened the door of a maloca that is up there. The door of this maloca is called Ujpekóspe, which means Door of Milk. Then Ñamíri Majsé turned toward where the sun sets, and there he ate coca, smoked tobacco, and opened the door of another maloca that is also in the sky. And the door is called Ñamírispe, which means Door of the Night.

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539 /342 cont./

The maloca where Ñamíri Majsé was is called Ñamiriwí. As soon as Ñamíri Majsé opened the two doors of the malocas, a strong wind came. And where the four Bajsébo Majsá and the two Umékori Majsá girls were there was a pachuba bush. The pachuba bush had a bunch of fruit that had not yet burst open. And the strong wind that came opened the bunch of fruit and [841] caused it to make a sound. And the noise of the bunch of fruit that was opening came down with the wind and grazed the two Umékori Majsá girls from the abdomen to the vaginal opening, and then the two girls had their first menstruation. Before this no girl had had menstruation.

When Ñamíri Majsé saw that the two girls had had their first menstruation, he came down to make love to the two sisters. Then the four Bajsébo Majsá turned into spirits and disappeared, because they knew that Ñamíri Majsé had come down from the sky. And they disappeared in order to see what Ñamíri Majsé did to the two Umékori Majsá sisters. Then, /343/ when Ñamíri Majsé came down, he spread over the ground some fine little switches, which are called Imisa in Tukano /Tucano/, in order to lie down with both Umékori Majsá sisters and have sexual relations with them. Meanwhile the four Bajsébo Majsá were watching. Before this no one had had sexual relations or knew how to do it. And when Ñamíri Majsé finished having sexual relations with both sisters, the four Bajsebó /sic/ Majsá appeared again. And Ñamíri Majsá /sic/ had gone. And then the four Bajsébo Majsá asked the two sisters what they had done. Then they answered: "Ñamíri Majsé only came to see what we were doing." Then the Bajsébo Majsá said: "Well, why is it that the stools where we sat down and the coca that we ate and the ground are bloody? We should not have sexual relations. Yepá Huáke did did not permit us to have sexual relations." With this, Yepá Huáke appeared. The four Bajsébo Majsá were about to abandon the two Umékori Majsá girls. Then Yepá Huáke said to the four Bajsébo Majsá: "What has happened? I ordered you to take the two Umékori Majsá girls, to examine the food stones (Bajséboperi)

*539 /343 cont./

and distribute them all over the world and among all the people, and then that the two Bajsébo Majsá brothers marry the two Umékori Majsá sisters. Ñamíri Majsé came and spoiled everything."

Yepá Huáke had come with two other gods named Dejsú Bário Huáke and Mujuí Bejké. Then Yepá Huáke said to Dejsú Bário Huáke and Mujuí Bejké: "Stay in this land because they have seen how to have sexual relations. Take care of all the creation that I made for the people. Get rid of the two Umékori Majsá girls and get two Uaí Majsá (11) girls to marry the two

11. The Yurutí tribe.

Bajsébo Majsá brothers, and do not tell them how to have sexual relations, because they will know. If you tell them, that is bad. And no one should tell a man how to have sexual relations until he is 22 years old. And after a month of marriage the face of the woman will become thin, and that will mean that the woman is pregnant. And the mother of the two Bajsébo Majsá brothers must take good care of the pregnant woman. If the face /344/ of the pregnant woman does not change within a month, then get rid of her, because that means that she is not going to have more children."

Then Yepá Huáke spoke to Yúpuri Baúro: "I am leaving two Uamára (12) here, but you must never pay any attention to them."

12. Spirits.

And with Yúpuri Baúro was Yepá Bejkó. And Yepá Bejkó said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Marry a woman and have children, that is why I arranged to have women exist. And I did this in Diawí (13).

13. See: Fulop, Marcos, "Aspectos de la Cultura Tukana: Cosmogonía /Aspects of Tukano Culture: Cosmogony/," Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, pp. 125-127. Bogotá, 1954.

*539 /344 cont./

You will have a woman and your brother also will have another woman. Do not fall in love with your brother's woman, nor is your brother to fall in love with your woman. And besides your own woman, you may have other women. And the first woman will become pregnant, she will bear the little son, and when the little son is two years old, you will give him to one of your other women in order for her to rear him and in order that the little one will not see how you have sexual relations. And that is for the little daughters too." Miriápura Turíkaro and the two Bajsébo Majsá brothers wanted to be as powerful as Yúpuri Baúro. Then Miriápura Turíkaro spoke to Yepá Huáke and said: "I too am going to get two women for my sons, so that my sons will have wives." Then Yepá Huáke answered that he had already given all the women to Yúpuri Baúro, and that Yúpuri Baúro would distribute all the women among all the people (14), and Yúpuri

14. Among all the tribes.

Baúro would determine whom they could marry and how many women each man could have. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said that he did not like to have to depend on Yúpuri Baúro in order to get his women, but that he wanted to have the privilege of distributing the women among all the people. Miriápura Turíkaro is like the Yúpuri Baúro of the Desanos /Desana/ (15). Then

15. This means that Miriápura Turíkaro is the most important culture hero of the Desano /Desana/.

Yepá Huáke answered that this was impossible because there could not be two in command at the same time and that Yepá Huáke had already designated Yúpuri Baúro to be in command of all the people. Then Miriápura Turíkaro rebelled against Yepá Huáke and said that he could be in command over all the people and that he could also assign and distribute all the women /345/ among all the people. And Miriápura Turíkaro said all this because he was

*539 /345 cont./
envious of Yúpuri Baúro. And from there envy was born, and envy exists up to now. Then Yepá Huáke said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "Well, if you can do all this, then do it. When are you going to do all this?" Then Miriápura Turíkaro said: "I will do it tomorrow." Then Yepá Huáke let Miriápura Turíkaro do as he wished. But Miriápura Turíkaro did not wait until the next day, but he began to get the two women for his two sons that same day. Because of this, Miriápura Turíkaro was left as a liar in the eyes of Yepá Huáke.

Miriápura Turíkaro had already returned to Bajsebowí, because Bajsebowí is the Diaojpekowí of the Desano /Desana/ (16).

16. The mythological maloca from which all the Desano /Desana/ tribe came.

In Bajsebowí, Miriápura Turíkaro gave a woman to his older son and a woman to his younger son. Then Miriápura Turíkaro distributed the rooms in which the two brothers could live with their respective women. He ordered his older son to live with his woman in a room in the center of the maloca, and he ordered the younger one to live with his woman in a room more toward the front of the maloca of Bajsebowí. And Miriápura Turíkaro assigned himself the rear part of the maloca of Bajsebowí.

Meanwhile Yúpuri Baúro was ready to leave Diaojpekowí. And before Yúpuri Baúro left Diaojpekowí, Yepá Hauke /sic/, who was also in Diaojpekowí, began to look and search from Diaojpekowí to see where Miriápura Turíkaro was. Yepá Huáke saw that Miriápura Turíkaro was in Bajsebowí, and he called to him: "Miriápura Turíkaro, come here." Then Miriápura Turíkaro, very ashamed, with his hands behind him and his head hanging, came to Diaojpekowí and said: "Yepá Huáke, what do you want?" Then Yepá Huáke answered him: "Is today the day on which you are going to get women for your two sons?" One day had already passed. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said: "I got them women yesterday, the same day that we spoke."

*539 /345 cont./
Then Yepá Huáke said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "Ah, you want to be as I am; you want to be god. You want to take away from me my words and my tongue. Within two days something bad will happen to you and to your two sons and to the women of /346/ your sons. I do not need you for the moment, go to your Bajsebowí and prepare food, coca, tobacco, and chicha for Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá (17). Then Miriápura Turíkaro returned

17. Pamúri Majsá was all the people who came from Diaojpekowí, led by Yúpuri Baúro.

returned to Bajsebowí and began to prepare the food, the coca, the tobacco, and the chicha for Yúpuri Baúro and for Pamúri Majsá.

Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá had already arrived in Diatabujtiwí. The day on which Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá arrived in Diatabujtiwí, Mariápura Turíkaro began to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive important visitors. In one day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diatabujtiwí to Diayebarawí. They stayed to sleep there. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he had to know in order to receive important visitors. On the second day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diayebaraví /sic/ to Diabarowí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he had to know in order to receive important visitors. On the third day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diabarowí to Diayejkejoriwí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive important visitors. On the fourth day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diayejkejoriwí to Diakarerawí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive important visitors. On the fifth day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri

*539 /346 cont./
Majsá traveled from Diakarerawí to Diauajatorawí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive important visitors. On the sixth day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diauajatorawí to Diasarirawí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive important visitors. On the seventh day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diasarirawí to Diayairawí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive /347/ important visitors. On the eighth day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diayairawí to Diasurarawí, and they stayed there to sleep. Meanwhile Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he should know in order to receive important visitors. And all went well. On the ninth day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diasurarawí to Diakumarawí, and they stayed there to sleep. And on that ninth day Miriápura Turíkaro continued to teach his older son all that he had to know in order to receive important visitors. And all went well. On the tenth day Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá traveled from Diakumurawí /sic/ to Diamajamirawí, and they stayed there to sleep. On this tenth day, finally, the older son of Miriápura Turíkaro spoiled the apprenticeship. He only lacked two days in order to graduate, but on that tenth day everything was spoiled, and it happened in the following way:

On the tenth day, in the morning, Miriápura Turíkaro said to his older son: "Within two days Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá will arrive at Bajsebowí. You lack two days in order to graduate from the apprenticeship on how to receive important people. Remain seated here, thinking about all that I have taught you. Do not go to do anything else. Your younger brother is going to go fishing, and I am going to look for coca." Then Miriápura Turíkaro went to look for coca, and his younger son went fishing. The older son of Miriápura Turíkaro remained

539 /347 cont./
seated, thinking, and he was suspicious, because he suspected that his younger brother was going to make love to his woman. The woman of the older brother had gone to the garden, and the woman of the younger brother had remained seated inside the maloca of Bajsebowí.

Then the older brother said to the woman of the younger brother: "I too am going fishing." The woman of the younger brother did not say anything, but she suspected that the older brother was going to do some harm to the younger brother, because she had realized that the younger brother had been making love to the woman of the older brother. The older brother took an oar, a fishing rod, and went down to the port /Sp. puerto; this word is sometimes used to refer to a dam in a river/. He climbed into a canoe and went down the river to the first turn of the river. This first turn of the river was called Bajsébobeto. The older brother landed there and returned by land to the maloca of Bajsebowí. He did not enter Bajsebowí, but stayed outside, hidden under a banana tree, in order to see what the younger brother did /348/ when he returned to Bajsebowí. Then the older brother took a step and stopped three paces from the place where his woman always threw away the manioc peelings. He had just taken these steps when the younger brother arrived at Bajsebowí. Not much time had passed since the woman of the older brother had arrived at the maloca of Bajsebowí with the manioc and had been peeling it. The younger brother asked his own woman where the older brother was, and she answered him: "Your brother went fishing." Then the woman of the older brother stood up with the manioc peelings, in order to throw them where she always threw them, and the younger brother followed her. The woman of the older brother remained standing where she customarily threw away the manioc peelings, awaiting the younger brother. The younger brother came and tumbled her to the ground and was going to have sexual relations with her, when the older brother jumped, caught the younger brother by the shoulders, knocked him to the ground, and with a knife that in Tukano /Tucano/ is called Séopi he cut off the penis of the younger brother. The woman of the older brother had managed to escape

*539 /348 cont./
and had run to Bajsebowí. The younger brother died, and the older brother was frightened because he had killed his brother. Then the older brother entered Bajsebowí without making any noise and went to his room. There he took a little switch of Imisa, and he pushed it through the woven straw of the wall of the maloca until it fell outside. Later he went out of Bajsebowí and walked around the maloca and picked up the switch of Imisa and began to make a coffin with this switch. He did not bury his younger brother in this coffin, however, but rather he skirted the maloca of Bajsebowí and went to the port. From there he began to walk along the bank of the river upstream, and after traveling for a while he made a sort of table with poles of Omuamujpúri. He put the coffin on top of this table and he covered it with some leaves. Then he returned to Bajsebowí. There in Bajsebowí he sat down for a while. A short time later Miriápura Turíkaro arrived and asked him: Has your younger brother not arrived yet?" Then he answered: "He has not come yet." Then Miriápura Turíkaro asked the woman of his younger son: "Has my son not arrived yet?" Then she answered: "He has not come yet." Then Miriápura Turíkaro, impressed because his son was so late, began to toast coca. Afterwards he pounded the coca, mixed it with ashes, sifted it, and he began to chew coca. He lighted tobacco and smoked. He divined, and in the /349/ divination it came out that his younger son had died. Then Miriápura Turíkaro took coca, tobacco, and a pouch, and he said to his older son: "Things have turned out very badly for me." Then Miriápura Turíkaro left Bajsebowí for Diaojpekowí to look for the spirit of his younger son. But he did not find the spirit of his younger son. He left Diaojpekowí and went to Ñamiriwí and did not find the spirit of his younger son there either. He left Ñamiriwí and went to Pajsasarowí and did not find the spirit of his younger son there either. He left Pajsasarowí and went to Diakajseropoeawí and did not find the spirit of his younger son there either.

* 539 /349 cont./

Then Miriápura Turíkaro returned to Bejsebowí /sic/. He left Bajsebowí again and went toward Moawí. Moawí is two days from Mitú, going down the Vaupés River. In Moawí they were on the eve of holding a Dabukurí (18) of Moá (19).

[527] [431]

18. A ceremonial fiesta during which presents are exchanged.

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19. Salt obtained by boiling the carurú plant.

There was much joy in Moawí. Miriápura Turíkaro entered Moawí and remained there listening a while to what the Moá Majsá people were saying. In this maloca there were some single and married women sweeping the maloca of Moawí and they were speaking of the death of the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. And one woman said: "The younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro made love to the woman of the older son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The older son, in revenge, cut off his penis and killed him." Then another woman said: "How bad the Bajsébo Majsá must be if there is killing between brothers! What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then another woman said: "Do you know if the older brother buried his younger brother?" Then another woman answered: "He has not buried him. He only made a coffin of Imisa switches and above the port he made a little table, put the coffin on top of this table, and covered it with some leaves." And another woman said: "What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then Miriápura Turíkaro became frightened and returned immediately to Bajsebowí. He entered through one door of the maloca and left through the other and went directly to the port. From the port he took the trail to where the little table was and found the coffin on top of the little table. He lowered the coffin and opened it. Inside the coffin was the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The younger son was really dead, but for Miriápura Turíkaro his /350/ younger son was only unconscious. Then Miriápura Turíkaro thought that he could revive him. Then Miriápura Turíkaro blew tobacco smoke over his younger son, and the younger son returned to life. Then

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539 /350 cont./
Miriápura Turíkaro asked his younger son: "What did you do?" Then the younger son answered: "Nothing." Then Miriápura Turíkaro asked him: "Why did you molest your brother's woman?" Then the younger son said: "I did nothing." Then Miriápura Turíkaro said: "I told you, you and your older brother, before giving you the two women, that your older brother was as your papa and that the woman of your older brother was as your mama. I gave you a woman, and your woman too has a genital organ just the same as the woman of your brother. What do you want then? You do not respect me. You are good for nothing. I am going to see if I can make you have life as before, so that all the world will see how I live." Then Miriápura Turíkaro took out some ground and "blown" (20) tobacco powder and sprinkled

20. Prayed over.

this powder on the body of his younger son. Afterwards he smoked tobacco and blew the smoke of the tobacco over the body of his younger son. Then Miriápura Turíkaro sat down and began to divine what he was going to do to revive his younger son. He thought about the maloca of Diaojpekospé, which is in the south; then he thought about another maloca called Ñamirispé, which is in the north; then he thought about another maloca called Pajsasorawí /sic/, which is in the west; and finally he thought about another maloca called Kajseropoeawí, which is in the east. After thinking about all these malocas, he spit on the place where his younger son's penis had been cut off, and the penis appeared again. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to his younger son: "Stand up!" And the younger son stood up. Then Miriápura Turíkaro put on his son a Ñajkéroporo, which is like a very fine band, which Yepá Huáke had given to Miriápura Turíkaro and which Miriápura Turíkaro put on the forehead of his younger son. Then Miriápura Turíkaro put a Sioyajpú on the right shoulder of his younger son. The Sioyajpú is like a painted stick. Afterwards Miriápura Turíkaro put under the right arm of his younger son a Bajtípakaro, which is like a shield to protect against

*539 /350 cont./
arrows. Then Miriápura Turíkaro put on the right elbow of his son a Bajsákaro, which is like a ribbon /351/ of many colors and has feathers. This Bajsákaro is woven out of cumare fibers. Then Miriápura Turíkaro hung around his son's neck a very fine stone called Ujtá-Bojuá. After this he hung around his neck another necklace called Dajsiá-Túbeto, and this necklace had been given to Miriápura Turíkaro by Yepá Huáke. Then he put around his neck another necklace that is called Dasú-Kébeto, and this necklace also had been given to Miriápura Turíkaro by Yepá Huáke. Then he put around his waist a ring of jaguar teeth and which in Tukano /Tucano/ is called Yáipiribeto. Then he put Bára on him, which is a sprig /Sp. rama/ that is placed over the buttocks and adjusted with the Yáipiribeto. Then he put on him a skirt called Uajsóro, which served in place of a loincloth. Then he put on both his knees some small bands woven out of cumare and which are called Yujtáseri (21). Then he put on his right ankle some

21. One alone is called Yujtásero.

little bells and these are called Kejtióto. Then he gave him an Utíkaserero, which is a fork that is used when one is going to speak, and a big cigar /Sp. tabaco/ is placed in the middle of this fork. Then he gave him Yáig, which is a stick that has a little bell. Then Miriápura Turíkaro took for himself Nopírutike, which is a stick similar to the Yáig, but it does not have a bell. Miriápura Turíkaro began to do all this early in the morning and had finished it all about three o'clock in the afternoon. Then Miriápura Turíkaro smoked tobacco, inhaled ground tobacco, and he blew on himself with tobacco smoke. Then he had his younger son smoke tobacco, inhale ground tobacco, and blow on himself with tobacco smoke. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to his younger son: "Walk to the maloca of Bajsebowí again." Then the younger son answered: "No, papa, it would be better if I enter Bajsebowí at night without making

*539 /351 cont./
any noise and go to my room. There I am going to sleep and on the next day show my body as it has become now." Then Miriápura Turíkaro, who was very vain, said: "No, you are coming with me now, in the daytime." The younger son knew what was going to happen, and he again refused to enter Bajsebowí by day, but Miriápura Turíkaro forced him to go with him to Bajsebowí. Then the younger son said: "All right, I am going with you."

In the meanwhile in the maloca of Bajsebowí the older brother already knew that his younger brother had been revived and that he was coming /352/ with Miriápura Turíkaro to the maloca of Bajsebowí. Then the older brother made a little [825 n63] bird appear, one that likes to live in the roofs of malocas, and they are a bad omen, for when they strike with their beaks on the top beam of the maloca, then someone in that maloca is going to die. In Tukano /Tucano/ this little bird is called Ñamákasero, and when it sings it says: "Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú," which in Spanish means: "de allí salió un diablo /a devil came out of there/." After the older brother made the Ñamákasero appear, he sent one Ñamákasero to go up to the roof of the maloca to keep vigil, he sent another Ñamákasero to the front door of the maloca, and he sent another Ñamákasero to the back door of the maloca. Meanwhile the younger son and Miriápura Turíkaro were going toward the maloca of Bajsebowí. The younger son walked in front and Miriápura Turíkaro walked behind his son. When the Ñamákasero at the front door of the maloca of Bajsebowí saw them coming, it began to sing "Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú" several times. Then the female Ñamákasero, which was on the back door of the maloca, answered, "Níto uajtí, níto uajtí, níto aujtí /sic/," which means in Spanish: "Dónde está el diablo /where is the devil/? Dónde está el diablo? Dónde está el diablo?" As soon as the two Ñamákasero said this, the younger son was very much ashamed, and he said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "I will not enter the maloca of Bajsebowí because they are calling me Uajtí" (22). Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to

22. Spirit; devil.

* /352 cont./
539 him: "You have to enter the maloca of Bajsebowí." But as they had called him Uajtí, the younger son began to tremble as if he were about to die again. While they were speaking, they were standing. Then they began to walk again, and there was only a short way to go before arriving at the maloca when both Ñamákasero, male and female, began to sing: "Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú." And as soon as both little birds began to sing like this, the younger son began to tremble very hard and he fell dead. Then Miriápura Turíkaro threw himself to the ground to mourn. Then all the relatives of Miriápura Turíkaro came to mourn together over the dead younger son. Only the older brother did not come to mourn, but rather, as soon as he saw that his younger brother had died, he ran to hide in the forest, because the older brother was frightened. Miriápura Turíkaro and his relatives mourned the death of the younger brother for one day, /353/ but to the older brother it seemed as though that day was a year. The older brother hid the food stones (Bajséboperi), and it rained all the time, and the sky was dark, dark, as on a moonless night. Meanwhile Yúpurí Baúro was as though imprisoned in the maloca of Diamajamirawí. Then, when Miriápura Turíkaro and all his relatives stopped mourning the younger son who had died, Miriápura Turíkaro called the older son, shouting: "Bajsébo, come." Then the older son answered, "All right," and came to where Miriápura Turíkaro was, and he sat down in front of his papa. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to his older son: "You betrayed your younger brother and killed him. And that is as though you had killed me. We shall not talk any more. Go away. Stay with the two women, your own and the widow of your younger brother." Then the older brother stood up, entered Bajsebowí, went to his room, took a pouch, and went with the two women to the garden.

When the older son stood up and entered Bajsebowí, Miriápura Turíkaro took a pouch, a stool, a gourd where coca was stored, the earthen jar in which were kept the food stones, which Miriápura Turíkaro had dug up from where the older son had buried and hidden them, gave all his relatives to Yepá Huáke,

*539 /353 cont./
and went to the maloca of Uarirowí. He entered the maloca of Uarirowí, and he asked Uariró, "Né Mejké" (23), even

23. "Hello, brother of my mother."

though he was not really his Mejké. But since Uariró did not know either, he answered, "Eé Tiiké" (24), because, since

24. "How is everything, son-in-law."

Uariró had two daughters, Uariró thought that Miriápura Turíkaro came to marry his two daughters. Then Uariró received Miriápura Turíkaro very nicely and asked him: "In what condition do you come?" And Miriápura Turíkaro answered him: "I come in a very bad condition. My older son killed my younger son." Then Uariró offered Miriápura Turíkaro a seat. Uariró had almost no food, because when the older son of Miriápura Turíkaro hid the food stones (Bajséboperi), all the food in Uarirowí became exhausted. Then all that Uariró could offer Miriápura Turíkaro was a "kiñapira" (25) of only one chili,

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25. Chilies boiled in water.

an ugly piece of bread made out of wild seeds, /354/ and a "mingao" (26) also made of wild seeds. When Miriápura

26. Pottage made with the flour from the bitter manioc.

Turíkaro saw the food that Uariró offered him, he was not tempted to eat and he told Uariró that he should take the food and put it away. Then Uariró took the food and put it away. Then he returned to speak with Miriápura Turíkaro, and he asked him: "Are you really coming to stay here to live?" And Miriápura Turíkaro answered him: "I am really coming to stay here to live. If I had not really meant to stay here to live,

* /354 cont./
539 I would have passed by." Then Miriápura Turíkaro asked Uariró: "Do you not have any food?" And Uariró answered: "No, I have nothing, nothing to eat." Then Miriápura Turíkaro picked up the jar in which he had the food stones (Bajséboperi). And there were ten food stones. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to Uariró: "Put these two stones in the vessel where the manioc starch settles. Put these other two stones in the vessel where the manioc dough for making manioc flour is kept. Put these other two little stones in the trough where the chicha is prepared. Put these two little stones on top of the grill that is over the hearth. And put these last two little stones in the gourd where the coca is placed." Then Uariró received the ten little stones and did all that Miriápura Turíkaro had ordered him to do. And Uariró began to put the little stones on a lateral side of the maloca, and then he went to the other lateral side of the maloca and also put the little stones there. When Uariró had finished doing this, Miriápura Turíkaro ordered him to go and look where he had first put the stones. Uariró did this and found the jar full of manioc starch. Then Miriápura Turíkaro ordered Uariró to go and look at the grill that was over the hearth. And Uariró went and looked at the grill and saw that the grill was full of smoked fish and smoked game. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to Uariró: "Bring here everything that is to be found on the grill and pick out what you like best to eat." Uariró brought this to where Miriápura Turíkaro was, and both started to eat. When they had finished eating, Miriápura Turíkaro ordered Uariró to put away all the smoked fish and the smoked game and the manioc bread that had been left over, and he ordered him to bring the chicha. Uariró brought the chicha, /355/ and gave it to Miriápura Turíkaro to drink, and as soon as Miriápura Turíkaro received the chicha, Yúpuri Baúro left Diamajamirawí and continued his journey. And Yúpuri Baúro arrived that same day at Uarirowí. And Yúpuri Baúro went to Uarirowí because Bajsbowí /sic/ had been abandoned and Uarirowí had replaced Bajsebowí. Yúpuri Baúro arrived with Pamúri Majsá. Yúpuri Baúro brought all the Yuruparises and had orders from Yepá Huáke

* 539 /355 cont./

to allot these Yuruparises to Miriápura Turíkaro. Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá entered Uarirowí, and after having drunk chicha, Yúpuri Baúro asked Miriápura Turíkaro: "What is new in this world?" And Miriápura Turíkaro answered him: "Things are going very badly in this world." Yúpuri Baúro already knew all that had happened, because Yepá Huáke had told him all that had come to pass, so that Yúpuri Baúro arrived at Uarirowí in a bad humor. Miriápura Turíkaro made an offer to Yúpuri Baúro to stay to sleep at Uarirowí, but Yúpuri Baúro said no, that he would continue on. But before continuing his journey, Yúpuri Baúro told Miriápura Turíkaro that he would leave him two Yuruparises. And formerly the Yuruparises were not as they are now. Now the Yuruparises are like flutes, but before the Yuruparises were little birds. And these little birds (Yuruparises) were kept in cages, and the little birds were nicely feathered. Miriápura Turíkaro received the two little birds (Yuruparises) without knowing what these little birds were. Then Miriápura Turíkaro asked Yúpuri Baúro: "What shall I do with this little box?" Then Yúpuri Baúro, very angry, answered him: "You do not know anything. What did Yepá Haúke tell you?" Then Miriápura Turíkaro said: "No, I do not know anything." Meanwhile all the Pamúri Majsá had already gone out to the boat of the gũ̃o /not italicized in the original text/ (27) where

27. Yúpuri Baúro and his people always traveled in a mythological gũ̃ /not italicized in the original text/.

Yúpuri Baúro and Pamúri Majsá were traveling. Miriápura Turíkaro was accompanying Yúpuri Baúro to the port, and halfway down the road, where there was no one to see them, Yúpuri Baúro showed Miriápura Turíkaro the Yuruparises and explained to him what kind of thing these Yuruparises were. And Yúpuri Baúro opened the little box and all kinds of music came out of it. Uariró was frightened and thought that his son-in-law, Miriápura Turíkaro, was truly like a god. Then

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*539 Yúpuri Baúro told Miriápura Turíkaro to be very careful with these Yuraparises, and that /356/ things should not go wrong as had happened with the two sons of Miriápura Turíkaro. And also he charged him strongly not to show these Yuruparises to anyone, because Yepá Huáke had left two Yuruparises to each people (28), and these Yuruparises were like the representa-

28. To the Tukano /Tucano/, Dsano /Desana/, Yurutí, Siriano, etc.

tives of Yepá Huáke on this earth, and because of that they were shown so much respect. And the women and children could not see these Yuruparises, but only the adult men. And the two Yuruparises that Yúpuri Baúro had given to Miriápura Turíkaro turned into persons when Yúpuri Baúro and Miriápura Turíkaro arrived at Diawí. These two Yuruparises were a male and a female. And they were as brother and sister. And the Yuruparí male was called Deté and the Yuruparí female was called Miriápura Numió. In Diawí these Yuruparises were going to make all the people immortal. This is why they were shown so much respect.

Before leaving Uarirowí, Yúpuri Baúro told Miriápura Turíkaro that Miriápura Turíkaro was going to have on that same day a son by the older daughter of Uariró, and on that same day Miriápura Turíkaro would have two twin daughters by the younger daughter of Uariró. And that son and those two twin daughters would grow up in only one day and become adults. And Yúpuri Baúro told Miriápura Turíkaro that, in Diawí, Yúpuri Baúro would open a little bit the box in which the two Yuruparises of the Tukano /Tucano/ were. And Yúpuri Baúro was going to do this so that Miriápura Turíkaro could hear in Uarirowí the music that came out of the little box in which the Yuruparises of the Tukano were. And as soon as Miriápura Turíkaro heard that music, Miriápura Turíkaro would have to leave Uarirowí with his two wives, his two daughters, his son, and Uariró to go to

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Emekowí, which is a maloca that is in the sky, in the sun itself. And Yúpuri Baúro said to Miriápura Turíkaro that when he reached Emekowí he should smoke tobacco and blow tobacco smoke on himself in order to divine what would happen. If what Miriápura Turíkaro divined was that something bad was going to happen, then he would have to leave his two women, his two daughters, his son, and Uariró in Emekowí, and would have to travel alone to Diawipejtá (29). In Diawipejtá,

29. The port of Diawí.

Miriápura Turíkaro would have to open the little box of the two Yuruparises a little bit, so that Yúpuri Baúro would hear the music. /357/ When Yúpuri Baúro heard the music, he would go out of Diawipejtá to receive Miriápura Turíkaro and to receive the two Yuruparises and keep them until Yepá Huáke arrived at Diawí, because it was Yepá Huáke who was going to show the Yuruparises to the people.

Yúpuri Baúro had also told Miriápura Turíkaro in Uarirowí that if the divination that Miriápura Turíkaro was going to do in Emekowí came out with good omens, then Miriápura Turíkaro would have to leave Emekowí with his two women, his two daughters, his son, and Uariró and go to Numiá Pejtawí, and in that port of the maloca of Numiawí he would have to go to and enter Numiawí. And in Numiawí, Miriápura Turíkaro would have to organize his people so that they would know where they should sleep. And Miriápura Turíkaro and the son of Miriápura Turíkaro should sleep in the center of the maloca. And Miriápura Turíkaro must tell his two women, his two daughters, and Uariró to look toward the back door of the maloca, that he and his son would look toward the front door. And Yúpuri Baúro also told Miriápura Turíkaro that a tree /Sp. palo/ was going to appear in Numiá Pejtawí, and that at the foot of that tree Miriápura Turíkaro must leave and keep the Yuruparises. Yúpuri Baúro also said that a tree would appear for him too in Diawipejtá and that he too would keep his Yuruparises there.

*539 /357 cont./
And Yúpuri Baúro said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "I shall open my little box where my Yuruparises are to see if you have already arrived at Numiawí. When you return to the maloca, after having put away the little box of the Yuruparises, explain to your son that he should bathe in the river at midnight." The natives know when it is midnight because a little bird that is called Serítia starts to sing; and the female of this bird is called Ñámiri Pákaro Numió. Then Yúpuri Baúro said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "Today I am continuing on. I am going to stay in Diadasirawí. On the second day I arrive at Yukaniwí. On the third day I arrive at San Miguel Wí (30). On the fourth

30. According to the informant, a maloca located in San Migue, Brazil.

day I arrive at Diamarirawí. On the fifth day I arrive at Diakajseropoeawí. On the sixth day I arrive at Diawí. On the seventh day you should leave Uarirowí."

Miriápura Turíkaro stayed in Uarirowí counting the days /358/ to see when Yúpuri Baúro would arrive in Diawí and to see when he must leave for Emekowí.

On the seventh day Miriápura Turíkaro left Uarirowí with Uariró, his two women, his two daughters, and his son to go to Emekowí. He arrived that same day, and he was there a while smoking tobacco and blowing smoke and divining to see how things were going to turn out. When Miriápura Turíkaro had divined, he said to his son: "Things will go very badly for me in the future." Then his son answered: "Give those Yuruparises to Yúpuri Baúro. I am not capable of keeping those Yuruparises." Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to his son: "No, I will not give those Yuruparises to Yúpuri Baúro. Let us go to Numiá Pejtawí." Then they left Emekowí and went to Numiá Pejtawí. They arrived at Numiá Pejtawí that same day. They entered Numiawí, and Miriápura Turíkaro and his son sat down in the middle of the maloca. Seated there and without standing up, Miriápura Turíkaro organized his people and showed them where they

*539 /358 cont./
could hang their hammocks. When he had organized them, Miriápura Turíkaro ordered them to look toward the back door. Then they immediately turned around to look toward the back door. Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to his son: "You remain seated here and look at me." He next took out the little box where the Yuruparises were, and he stood up, and very slowly, raising and lowering his hands in which he held the little box, he went toward the port. And in the port Miriápura Turíkaro found the tree that Yúpuri Baúro had told him he would find. He put at the foot of the tree the little box in which the Yuruparises were carried, and on top of the little box he put a lighted cigar /Sp. tabaco/. Then Miriápura Turíkaro stood up and waited to see what would happen. Then from the direction where Diawí was Miriápura Turíkaro heard some music. Then Miriápura Turíkaro opened his little box, and the Yuruparises of Miriápura Turíkaro answered the music that came from the Yuruparises of Yúpuri Baúro in Diawí. Then Yúpuri Baúro thought: "The divination turned out well for Miriápura Turíkaro in Emekowí, that is why he is in Numiawí." And Yúpuri Baúro was content. Yúpuri Baúro closed his little box of Yuruparises in Diawipejtá, and Miriápura Turíkaro closed his little box of Yuruparises in Numiá Pejtawí. Yúpuri Baúro returned to Diawí, and Miriápura Turíkaro also returned to Numiawí. In Numiawí, Miriápura Turíkaro said to his son: "When it is /359/ midnight, that is, when Serítia and Ñámiri Pákaro Numió sing, go and open the little box that is at the foot of the tree in the port. Open the little box and turn it toward the south, the north, the west, and the east. Afterwards, leave the little box covered next to the tree, go to the river, and bathe. Then take the tree bark from which one procures soap foam and drink this foam and then vomit." After Miriápura Turíkaro said all this to his son, they chatted a while longer and then they went to bed. The two daughters of Miriápura Turíkaro had listened to the music of the Yuruparises, were very curious, and were sleeping and awakening all the time. Miriápura Turíkaro did not sleep the whole night. At midnight Serítia

*539 /359 cont./
and Ñámari Pákaro Numiõ began to sing, but the son of Miriápura Turíkaro did not awaken.

Then Miriápura Turíkaro shouted to him: "Son, awaken and go to bathe." Miriápura Turíkaro called him in this way twice, but his son did not wake up. The third time the father called him in this way the son woke up. Then Miriápura Turíkaro arose and gave him a punch for not having paid attention to him, and knocked him to the ground.

Miriápura Turíkaro had told his two daughters that his son was going to bathe in the river with the bark of the trees from which the natives obtain soap. He had also told them that he had left these trees from which one takes the bark that produces soap next to the tree that was located in the port of Numiawí. He also told them that their brother would bathe at midnight, and he ordered them not to go out of the maloca until the brother returned from the port of Numiawí after having bathed.

When Miriápura Turikaro hit and knocked his son to the ground, the two daughters stood up and said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "Papa, we are going to bathe in the river." They wanted to go to bathe in the river because they suspected that the Yuruparises were in the port of Numiawí and they were curious to see them. Miriápura Turíkaro, frightened, said nothing, and they ran to their room, each picked up a jar for carrying water, a torch, and left the maloca, running in the direction of the port. When they arrived at the port, they left the jars on the ground and immediately, with the torches, went and cast light in order to see what there was at the foot of the tree that was set in the port of Numiawí. And the two sisters did not find anything at the foot of the tree, because /360/ the little box had disappeared. The two women looked for a while, and in a short time there was a flash of lightning, but in the shape of a person, next to the tree set in the port of Numiawí. Then one of the frightened sisters said to the other: "Sister, let us go away from here, that flash of lightning was a person." Then the other sister answered: "No, that was what sounded like music yesterday. Let us surround the tree well. You station yourself on the other side, I shall station myself on this side, and we shall cast light with the torches."

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Meanwhile, in the port of Diawí, Yúpuri Baúro had opened his little box of Yuruparises. And no sooner had he done this than next to the tree that was in the port of Numiawí two personages with human form, a man and a woman, appeared. And both were very well dressed. And these two personages, who were the Yuruparises, appeared only to answer the music of the Yuruparises of Yúpuri Baúro, who was in the port of Diawí. The two girls, very frightened by what they had just seen, began to tremble and fell seated on the ground. And the two personages, upon seeing the girls, disappeared and again turned into birds, gave a jump toward the woods, and disappeared. And as soon as the two little birds disappeared, it thundered very, very hard. And as soon as it thundered very, very hard, in the port of Diawí the little birds that were in the little box that Yúpuri Baúro had in his hands also flew away and disappeared forever. Then Yúpuri Baúro cursed Miriápura Turíkaro for having spoiled everything. Then Yúpuri Baúro turned himself into a hummingbird and flew to the port of Numiawí. And Yúpuri Baúro heard how the two sisters spoke. And one said to the other: "I told you to grab hard. Now look, they escaped and we did not catch them." As soon as he heard this, Yúpuri Baúro turned himself from a hummingbird into Yúpuri Baúro again. And Yúpuri Baúro was in a very bad humor and very angry. And Yúpuri Baúro had turned himself into a person again in the front yard of Numiawí. Yúpuri Baúro did not enter Numiawí, but called to Miriápura Turíkaro, shouting: "Miriápura Turíkaro, bring your son here." Then Miriápura Turíkaro answered, "All right," and came out of Numiawí embracing his son. Then Yúpuri Baúro said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "You did not respect Yepá Huáke, and now you do not respect me either." Then Yúpuri Baúro took out an apparatus that looks like pincers, which /361/ in Tukano /Tucano/ is called Séobeto, and cut off the head of the son of Miriápura Turíkaro.

*539 /361 cont./

The son of Miriápura Turíkaro fell to the ground dead. Immediately, Miriápura Turíkaro fell to the ground on his knees, mourning because his son had died. Yúpuri Baúro immediately disappeared again. And in spirit form Yúpuri Baúro went to the port of Numiawí and remained above the sisters, watching them. The two sisters suspected that Yúpuri Baúro was above them, watching them in the form of a spirit, and so they laughed and said: "Yúpuri Baúro certainly is vain." And Yúpuri Baúro felt like killing them, but he could not do it because the two sisters had put on large hats, which in Tukano /Tucano/ are called Uetitóke. Then Yúpuri Baúro made a pachuba bush appear. And Yúpuri Baúro wanted to turn himself into a raceme of the pachuba bush and come down the pachuba bush and kill the two sisters. But Yúpuri Baúro could not do this, because one of the sisters grabbed the pachuba bush and pulled it up, and that is why Yúpuri Baúro could not continue coming down. Then Yúpuri Baúro turned himself into a spirit again and returned to Diawí. In Diawí, Yúpuri Baúro made all of the Pamúri Majsá enter, and he barred the door well.

In Numiá Pejtawí one of the sisters asked the other: "Did you notice how those two personages were, the ones who appeared coming out of the little box and who made a sound like music?" "Yes," answered the other sister, "One was bigger than the other." Then one of the sisters picked up the pachuba bush and cut it into two pieces, one a little bigger than the other one. And they measured with the joints of the right index finger. They looked through the stalks that they had cut from the pachuba bush and saw that there was a very well made hole on the inside of each stalk. Then both sisters blew through the tube of the pachuba stalks and no music came out. Then they tried to blow the pachuba tubes with the right breast, but music did not come out either. Then each of the sisters put the tube of the pachuba bush in her vagina to see if music would come out through the vagina, but music did not come out either. Then a little fish from the river appeared, and one of the sisters called to it:

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"Uaí Numió, come over here. See that we have taken these Yuruparises away from the men. Now the women have them." /362/ Then Uaí Numió said: "I have never seen those apparatuses." Then one of the sisters threw a stone at the head of Uaí Numió and killed it. This is why all the Uaí fish have a little stone on the inside of their heads. Then another fish appeared, and one of the sisters called to it: "Dóe Numió, come over here. See that we have taken these Yuruparisese /sic/ away from the men. Now we women have them." Then Dóe Numió said: "I have never seen those apparatuses." Then one of the sisters threw a stone at the head of Dóe Numió and killed it. That is why all of the Dóe fish also have a little stone on the inside of their heads. Then another fish called Mejiá Numió came. Then one of the sisters said: "Come over here, Mejiá Numió. If you do not pay attention to me, this stone is going to kill you." And while she was saying this, the girl took out a stone and showed it to Mejiá Numió. Then Mediá Numió, out of fear, said: "All right, I will pay attention." Then Mejiá Numió came out of the port of Numiawí. Then another fish called Uarí Numió appeared, and one of the sisters called to it: "Come over here, Uarí Numió." And Uarí Numió immediately said: "All right." And Uarí Numió also came out to the port of Numiawí. Then the sisters asked Mejiá Numió what they should do with those pachuba flutes so that they would make sounds like music. Then Mejiá Numió said: "That is very easy. I will teach you." Then the sisters answered. "Good, do it." As soon as the two sisters said this, Mejiá Numió ran to the port, brought mud, and closed up half of the hole of one of the pachuba tubes. Then he took a thin little stick and pierced this mud, making a tiny hole. Then he picked some leaves, wrapped the pachuba tube in these leaves, tied it with some vines, and put it to one side. Then Mejiá Numió ran to the port again and repeated the same operation with the other pachuba tube. When he had finished doing this, Mejiá Numió told the two sisters that Yuruparieses /sic/ were needed for Mejiá Numió and for Uarí Numió. Then one of the

539 /362 cont./
sisters picked up the pachuba bush again and cut two more Yuruparises, one bigger than the other. At once Mejiá Numió prepared the two Yuruparises in the same way that he had prepared the first two. Then Mejiá Numió said: "All right, now they are ready. The two Yuruparises that I made first are for you, and the last two /363/ Yuruparises that I made are for Uarí Numió and for me." Then Mejiá Numió said: "All right, let us play." And Mejiá Numió and Uarí Numió played the Yuruparise /sic/ together at the same time, and the music came out well played. Then the two sisters played their Yuruparises together and answered the music that Mejiá Numió and Uarí Numió had played on their Yuruparises. And the music of the four Yuruparises was very good.

As soon as this music of the four Yuruparises was heard, all the men of all the people (31) were frightened. In Diawí,

31. Tukano /Tucano/, Desano /Desana/, Yurutí, Siriano, etc.

Yúpuri Baúro had the doors of the maloca closed very well, and Yúpuri Baúro was trembling with fear. All the world trembled because the women had won and because Yúpuri Baúro had been humiliated.

Miriápura Turíkaro was also very frightened and was trembling. Then Miriápura Turíkaro picked up the Bajséboperi (food stones), the Séoda (the piola /not italicized in the original text/ that they used to clear the forest to make gardens), the Bajsébo Kumúru, the Bajsébo Sáriro (which is where the gourd for the coca is kept), and the Bajsébo Uajátoro (which was the gourd for the coca). After having picked up all this, he moved with his two women, with his son, and with Uariró to Uarirowí. And in Uarirowí he closed himself in, barring the two doors of the maloca.

In the meantime, the two sisters, Uarí Numió, and Mejiá Numió changed their names. And the four were now called Miriápura Majsá Numiá. Then the Miriápura Majsá Numiá

*539 /363 cont./
formed a kind of committee and went to Diawí to take from Yúpuri Baúro all the rest of the things that remained in the power of Yúpuri Baúro, that is, the feathers, the fine switches (Imisa), the tobacco, the coca, the rattles, etc.

Then Yúpuri Baúro, out of fear that the Miriápura Majsá Numiá would enter Diawí, Yúpuri Baúro preferred to throw into the yard of Diawí all the things that the Miriápura Majsá Numiá had come to look for in Diawí. After having done all this, Yúpuri Baúro took a basket and hung it on his back, with the loop that supported the basket fastened around his forehead. Then he picked up the vessel in which water is carried and the gourd where the women /364/ put the fire before going to the garden. And in this way Yúpuri Baúro and all the men were humiliated, because it was as if they were women.

The women arrived at the front yard of Diawí, picked up all of the objects that Yúpuri Baúro had thrown there, and without entering Diawí, they returned to Numiawí. They entered Numiawí and took from there also the feathers, the coca, the tobacco, the rattles, etc. After taking all this, the Miriápura Majsá Numiá left Numiawí and went to Ojkosererawí with all the things that they were carrying. They entered Ojkosererawí, scared the men, who went out running, and on that same day the Miriápura Majsá Numiá left Ojkosererawí and went to Toakapawí. The owner of that maloca was called Uapáo, and they took Ñajkeropoáro and Sioyajpú away from him. Then the Miriápura Majsá Numiá left Toakapawí and went to Euerawí and scared all the men of that maloca. They took nothing from there. Then they left Euerawí and went to Diaserawí. The owner of Diaserawí was called Sé, and from him they took Ueopá Numiapá (which is like a very wide gelder /Sp. capador/). In Diaserawí they also scared all the men. Then they left Diaserawí and went to Ajumbuwí. There they entered and scared the men. They left Ajumbuwí and went to Awí. They entered Awí, scared the men from that maloca, and stayed to sleep there.

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The day on which the Miriápura Majsá Numiá arrived at Awí to stay to sleep, Yepá Huáke arrived at Diawí and asked Yúpuri Baúro: "What happened, Yúpuri Baúro?" And Yúpuri Baúro answered him: "The women have been annoying me." Then Yepá Huáke said to him: "I told you so. It is the fault of Miriápura Turíkaro." Then Yúpuri Baúro answered: "Yes, I know, Miriápura Turíkaro spoiled everything." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Come with me." Then Yúpuri Baúro answered: "Who else am I going with?" And Yepá Huáke said: "You and Yepára Oakajpeá are going." Then Yúpuri Baúro and Yepára Oakajpeá turned themselves into spirits and went to Biarawí with Yepá Huáke. Once they entered Biarawí, Yepá Huáke gave Yúpuri Baúro a great deal of chili to chew. After Yúpuri Baúro had chewed this chili, Yepá Huáke ordered him to spit with his head resting on his arms. Yúpuri Baúro spit, but /365/ saliva did not come out. Then Yepá Huáke ordered Yepára Oakajpeá to do the same, and when Yepára Oakajpeá spit, then saliva did come out. The saliva of Yepára Oakajpeá came out like a vine /Sp. bejuco/. As soon as Yepá Huáke saw that the vine was coming out of Yepára Oakajpeá and that the vine had reached his Adam's apple, then Yepá Huáke caught the end of the vine at the height of the Adam's apple and pulled the vine from Yepára Oakajpeá. Then Yepára Oakajpeá fell to the ground dead. Then Yepá Huáke ordered Yepára Oakajpeá to stand up, Yepára Oakajpeá revived and stood up. After Yepára Oakajpeá stood up, Yepá Huáke left the maloca of Biarawí, and Yepá Huáke set a tree /Sp. palo/ in the yard of Biarawí. Around this tree Yepá Huáke tied the vine that he had pulled from the mouth of Yepára Oakajpeá. As soon as he had tied the vine, Yepá Huáke pulled it to see what its length was. Then he cut a small piece of timber and tied this timber to the other end of the vine. Then Yepá Huáke made 20 marks on the bark of the vine, but without cutting it. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Roll it up." Yúpuri Baúro rolled it up, and after having rolled it up, Yepá Huaáke ordered Yúpuri Baúro to

* /365 cont./
539 unroll it again. And when Yúpuri Baúro unrolled the vine, 20 flutes of small Yuruparises came out. Then Yepá Huáke took the bark off a tree /Sp. palo/. Yepá Huáke made a small slit in the biggest Yuruparí flute and placed a little stick to block this slit and keep it open. Then he wrapped this flute with the tree bark. Then he took a stick and chewed it and took a small flute and put this chewed stick inside the small flute. And when he had done this, the same thing happened to all the other flutes as if by a miracle. After this Yepá Huáke made a branch appear, and with this branch he hit a tree, and as if by a miracle 17 men appeared. As soon as the men appeared, Yepá Huáke took the biggest Yuruparí flute. Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Oakajpeá, and the 17 men picked up the rest of the Yuruparí flutes. Then they stood in a row. Yepá Huáke blew on his flute to see how the music sounded. And the Yuruparí of Yepá Huáke sounded very good. And all the flutes sounded very good.

/366/ As soon as Yepá Huáke, Yúpuri Baúro, and his people made the Yuruparises sound, the Miriápura Majsá Numiá left Awí and went to hide in Toakapawí. Then Yepá Huáke made some hats of leaves for Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Oakajpeá, and the 17 men. Then Yepá Huáke ordered them to paint all their faces with charcoal. Then Yepá Huáke and the people left Biarawí to pursue the Miriápura Majsá Numiá and went to Uajsopiríwima. This maloca is located above Toakapawí. There, Yepá Huáke blew tobacco and divined. At midday the women were celebrating, playing the Yuruparises in Toakapawí. When the day was turning dark, Yepá Huáke and his people left Uajsopiríwima to attack the women in Toakapawí. Then Yepá Huáke ordered his people to attack the women without fear. The women were talking and were drunk. Yepá Huáke entered Toakapawí and thought of putting the Yuruparí that he carried into the heart of the women, but then he thought that if he did this perhaps all the women would die and there would only be men left in this world. Then, instead of putting the Yuruparí in the heart, he put the Yuruparí in the vagina, and all of the women

*539 /366 cont./
fell unconscious. All the men entered and picked up all the Yuruparises that the women had and they hid them outside the maloca. Then Yepá Huáke had all the women awakened, and the women did not have Yuruparises now. The men had won. And that is why it is prohibited for women to look at the Yuruparises.

VIII. The Seed of the Manioc.

Yúpuri Baúro was calling to Miriápura Turíkaro at Uarirowí to give him seed of manioc, coca, and tobacco. And Yúpuri Baúro was asking Miriápura Turíkaro for these seeds, because, since Miriápura Turíkaro had hidden the Bajséboperi (the food stones), there was now nothing to eat in this world. Yúpuri Baúro called to Miriápura Turíkaro three times, and three times he asked him for the seeds. And Miriápura Turíkaro did not answer. Then Yúpuri Baúro called Yepá Huáke, and Yepá Huáke was in the sky. Then Yepá Huáke came down to Uarirowí. Yúpuri Baúro was also in Uarirowí, but outside of the maloca, and /367/ Miriápura Turíkaro did not let him enter. When Yepá Huáke came down, he also began to call to Miriápura Turíkaro, but Miriápura Turíkaro neither answered nor opened the door of Uarirowí. Then Yepá Huáke said: "We cannot do anything with Miriápura Turíkaro, it is very difficult to get the Bajséboperi out again. I gave you (Yúpuri Baúro) all that you would need. As you did wrong, Miriápura Turíkaro will not give up the Bajséboperi, because those Bajséboperi belong to him. Provisionally I am going to give you tobacco already prepared, coca already prepared, manioc bread and flour, but I am not going to give you the seeds of tobacco, coca, and manioc."

Then Yúpuri Baúro left Uarirowí and returned again to Diawí. Yúpuri Baúro arrived at Diawí, and there he spoke to all his Pamúri Majsá and he told them that they were going to hold a great fiesta in order to test the coca that Yepá Huáke had given them. And before Yúpuri Baúro had the fiesta in Diawí, Yepá Huáke appeared in Diawí to talk to Yúpuri Baúro. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "I do not have seeds of coca

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or tobacco or manioc. All that I had I gave to Miriápura Turíkaro, but, since you did wrong, all that is now lost. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, is going to give you the seeds of manioc, coca, and tobacco. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, will give two little sticks to your woman (woman of Yúpuri Baúro). These little sticks will be as though stained with blood. I tell you this so that you will know. When your woman feels a blow on her body (32), it is because Yepá Uejkeó is coming with the seed.

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32. According to the informant, the shaman also feels a blow on his body every time travelers arrive at a maloca.

Your woman must go immediately to the port of Diawí, and you must order all your Pamúri Majsá to turn around and look toward the back door of Diawí, all lying in their own hammocks. If you do not pay attention to me this time, you will lose the manioc seed again, just as you lost the Bajséboperi the last time. All the natives the Vaupés are like animals. Someday I will send you chickens, dogs, and pigs so that you can compare yourselves with them. I am cursing you. Look at the group of the Ereya (33) and at the group of Siópuri Uejké (34). They really

33. Brazilians.

34. Colombians.

are good people. /368/ They have their own chiefs and they pay attention to their chiefs. They truly obey me. Go into the maloca of Diawí." And Yepá Huáke disappeared. Yúpuri Baúro entered Diawí, and there he ordered that all the Pamúri Majsá turn to look toward the back door. And all of the Pamúri Majsá obeyed. And they obeyed Yúpuri Baúro because formerly the Tukano /Tucano/ were very respectful. And formerly Yúpuri Baúro could strike Yepára Oakajpeá (35), and Yepára

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35. In the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry,

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Yepára Oakajpeá forms the sib immediately inferior to that of Yúpuri Baúro.

Oakajpeá had to bear it. All the Mamí could strike their Nijiá (36) this way, and the Nijiá had to bear it. But since the

36. The older brothers could strike their younger brothers.

whites arrived at the Vaupés, the Tukano have become disrespectful.

As soon as she felt the blow on her body, the woman of Yúpuri Baúro went to the port of Diawí to receive Yepá Uejkeó. And as soon as the woman of Yúpuri Baúro arrived at the port of Diawí, Yepá Uejkeó, accompanied by three more women called Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá, came upstream.

When Yepá Huáke had gone down to Diawí to speak with Yúpuri Baúro, Yepá Huáke had burned, as if by a miracle, a garden behind Diawí.

Yepá Uejkeó and Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá arrived at the port of Diawí. The woman of Yúpuri Baúro received them very politely. Each of the four women brought a stalk of manioc, only they did not give the stalks of manioc to the woman of Yúpuri Baúro, but rather they went to the garden that Yepá Huáke had burned. They went around the maloca of Diawí so that the Pamúri Majsá would not see them. When they arrived at the garden, Yepá Uejkeó stood amidst the Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá and told the woman of Yúpuri Baúro to stand back a bit and to give great care and attention to what they were going to do. The stalk of the manioc seed that Yepá Uejkeó held was called Mejká Diáran Dejké. Then Yepá Uejkeó said, throwing her stalk of manioc: "You go here, in the middle, Mejká Diáran Dejké." Then one of the Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk, saying: "Batiá Dejké, you go on the right side." Then another of the Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk, saying:

*539 /368 cont./
"Yausó /369/ Dejké, you go on the left side." Afterwards the third Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk of manioc, saying: "Pamó Dejké, you go on the right side." Then Yepá Uejkeó said to the woman of Yúpuri Baúro: "Come here." And saying this, she pulled her by her hand and brought her among them. Then Yepá Uejkeó said to the woman of Yúpuri Baúro: "I am giving you these seeds, but these seeds are people. Take good care of them. When you are menstruating, do not come to the garden to pull manioc, because that is bad. And you are going to suffer very much, because now it is not as before, when you had the Bajséboperi. Now you will have to come every day to the garden to weed and to take good care of the manioc, and you are going to have to work hard." And when Yepá Uejkeó had finished saying all this, the women that were there clapped their hands and laughed with joy.

Then in the maloca of Diawí, Yúpuri Baúro thought that some men had arrived and were molesting his woman. Then Yúpuri Baúro approached the door of Diawí and watched to see what was happening. As soon as Yúpuri Baúro caught sight of the five women, Yepá Uejkeó said: "Yúpuri Baúro is looking at us." And then Yepá Uejkeó and the three Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá disappeared. And only the woman of Yúpuri Baúro remained. And the manioc did not disappear, except that before there had been no weeds in the garden, but in one second the garden was full of weeds.

Then the woman of Yúpuri Baúro went to the maloca of Diawí. When she arrived at the door of Diawí, she called to Yúpuri Baúro to open the door of Diawí. Yúpuri Baúro opened the door. She entered Diawí, and Yúpuri Baúro was standing there in Diawí. Then she said: "You are a bad man who does not pay attention. Go weed the garden." Then Yupúri Baúro said: "All right, I am going to work." Yúpuri Baúro immediately invited all the Pamúri Majsá to go to work with him in weeding the garden. And all went with him. They arrived at the garden and in a short while weeded the garden. All returned to Diawí again, and Yúpuri Baúro said to his woman: "Now I have

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weeded the garden. Now you may go to pull manioc." She said: "Well, this is how it will always be, in order to weed a garden, many people have to work."

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IX. The Seeds of Tobacco and Coca.

The day on which they weeded the garden Yúpuri Baúro left Diawí at dusk and went to the garden to see if he could find tobacco and coca. Yúpuri Baúro looked and looked, but he could find nothing. Then Yúpuri Baúro thought to himself: "What a shame. Yepá Uejkeó was certainly stingy with my coca and tobacco seed." Then Yúpuri Baúro returned again to Diawí. When he arrived at Diawí, he said to Pamúri Majsá: "We have neither coca nor tobacco. Tomorrow I am going to send Numiangó and Pareroangó to look for tobacco." On the next day, in the morning, Numiangó and Pareroangó left to look for tobacco. The two women went down the river and arrived at Diaseorawí. The owner of the maloca of Diaserowí /sic/ was named Uaí Majsé. The two women entered Diaseorawí and said to Uaí Majsé: "Yúpuri Baúro requested us to come to ask you for tobacco and coca." Then Uaí Majsé said: "Yes, I am going to give you tobacco and coca already prepared." Then Uaí Majsé gave them tobacco leaf and coca already prepared. Numiangó received the coca and the tobacco. Then Pareroangó said to Numiangó: "Consider the fact that Yúpuri Baúro did not want only coca already prepared or the leaf of the tobacco brought to him, but rather he wanted the seed of the coca and the seed of the tobacco." After saying this, Pareroangó went out of Diaseorawí. Numiangó remained seated inside the maloca of Diaseorawí. While Numiangó chatted with Uaí Majsé, Pareroangó had gone out of Diaseorawí to see if she could find the seed of the coca and steal it. Pareroangó did not find the seed of the coca, and then she returned to the maloca of Diaseorawí. And Pareroangó heard a child crying inside the maloca, and the crying came from the back

*539 /370 cont./
part of the maloca. Then Pareroangó went to the back part of the maloca in order to find out who was crying. And Pareroangó saw that the one crying was a child. This child was coca, because Uaí Majsé saw it as coca, but Pareroangó saw it as a child. Then Pareroangó picked up the child and left the maloca of Diaseorawí with it, and she caressed the child. And Pareroangó began to count its fingers, and she counted six fingers on each hand, and Pareroangó saw those fingers of the child as coca. Then Pareroangó thought about what to do to steal this coca. Then Pareroangó decided to pull out a finger from the right hand. And she pulled out the finger that was between the thumb and the index finger. And /371/ as soon as she had done this, the finger between the thumb and index finger of the left hand also disappeared. And as soon as she pulled out this finger, the child screamed and fell to the ground. And there where the child fell, a coca plant came up immediately. As soon as Uaí Majsé heard the cry of the child, Uaí Majsé left the maloca of Diaseorawí and went to where Pareroangó was. Uaí Majsé turned the coca bush into a child again and put it on his left arm. Then Uaí Majsé asked Pareroangó: "What are you doing?" Then Pareroangó told the truth: "I am stealing coca." Then Uaí Majsé asked her: "Who sent you to steal this coca?" Then Pareroangó answered: "Yúpuri Baúro sent me to steal this coca." Then Uaí Majsé said: "All right, you can take it, because Yúpuri Baúro sent you. If you were stealing this coca on your own account, I would not let you do it. Take this coca to Yúpuri Baúro and tell him that tomorrow I am going to talk to him. I have this coca, but one suffers very much with this coca. In order to eat this coca, one must think a great deal. And when one eats this coca, one cannot sleep and stays awake thinking and thinking without being able to sleep." Then Numiangó and Pareroangó bade farewell to Uaí Majsé and returned to Diawí. Yúpuri Baúro already knew what was happening in Diaseorawí. When Numiangó and Pareroangó arrived at Diawí, they entered. Yúpuri Baúro was sitting in Diawí. Mumiangó /sic/ went to where Yúpuri Baúro was sitting and

+ 539 /371 cont./
handed him only the leaf of tobacco and the coca already prepared, but not the seed of either of these two plants. When Yúpuri Baúro received the leaf of tobacco, it seemed to Yúpuri Baúro that the leaf of tobacco was a smoked fish. And as soon as Yúpuri Baúro received the leaf of tobacco that seemed to him to be a smoked fish, Pareroangó handed him the seed of coca. Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Pareroangó: "Did you ask Uaí Majsé for this coca seed?" Then Pareroangó answered him: "No, I stole this coca seed." Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Pareroangó: "What did Uaí Majsé say to you?" Then Pareroangó said: "Uaí Majsé asked me who had sent me to steal that coca?" Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Pareroangó: "And what did you say in answer to him?" Then Pareroangó answered: "I told Uaí Majsé
[685] that Yúpuri Baúro had sent me to steal that coca." Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "I do not want this stolen coca. Keep this coca." This is why the Tukano /Tucano/ now do not receive stolen articles and why thieves are pointed out among /372/ the Tukano. Then Yúpuri Baúro ordered Pareroangó to go to plant that seed. Then Pareroangó was very happy and went and planted the seed. And that same day the seed blossomed into a coca bush and produced a great deal of coca. Then Pareroangó returned to Diawí. Yúpuri Baúro continued to look at the smoked fish, convinced that it was a smoked fish, when in reality it was a leaf of tobacco. Pareroangó remained standing inside the maloca of Diawí and remained looking at Yúpuri Baúro to see what he would do with the leaf of tobacco that he held in his hands. Then Yúpuri Baúro thought: "This is not tobacco. Those are lies of Uaí Majsé." Then Yúpuri Baúro went to his room and took a piece of manioc bread and went out again to the center of the maloca of Diawí. Then Yúpuri Baúro began to eat the smoked fish. And just as soon as Yúpuri Baúro began to eat a little of this fish, the rest of the fish disappeared. And immediately Yúpuri Baúro went crazy and went out of the maloca of Diawí, running on all fours. And Yúpuri Baúro circled around the maloca of Diawí, running on all fours. And

* 539 /372 cont./
Yúpuri Baúro began to vomit, and where the vomit of Yúpuri Baúro fell, a tobacco bush came up. And that is how the Tukano /Tucano/ obtained the seed of tobacco again.

The next day Uaí Majsé arrived at Diawí. He entered the maloca and asked Yúpuri Baúro: "What is new, Yúpuri Baúro?" Then Yúpuri Baúro answered him: "Hello." Yúpuri Baúro offered his hand to greet Uaí Majsé and offered him a seat so that he could sit in front of him. Then Uaí Majsé said: "Yesterday I sent you coca and tobacco." Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "Yes, I received them." Then Uaí Majsé said: "Pareroangó stole the coca seed from me." Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "I did not accept that stolen coca seed. That seed will be for her." Uaí Majsé disappeared as soon as he heard this. That is why the Yepá Bajuári Majsá remained without the coca seed. But Pareroangó gave the coca seed to her brother, and that is why all of the other Yepá Majsá, except Yepá Bajuári Majsá, have eaten coca since then.

Then Yepá Huáke gave Yúpuri Baúri two gourds, one was full of manioc starch and the other was full of corn starch. And from then on the Yepá Bajuári Majsá did not eat coca, but instead ate the starch of manioc and corn. But /373/ when the Yepá Bajuári Majsá invited the rest of the Yepá Majsá, then the other Yepá Majsá were not accustomed to eating manioc starch and corn starch. Then a Bará chief once gave coca seed to Yepára Oakajpeá so that it might be planted. Yepára Oakajpeá planted that coca, but no Yepá Bajuári Majsá would eat that coca. That coca was eaten only by the other Yepá Majsá when they came to the fiestas of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá. And it is only a short time ago that the Yepá Bajuári Majsá really began
[276] to eat coca. And before only the wise old people could really eat coca, but now any fool eats coca.

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/Information on supernatural beings, spirits and gods appearing in Tucano tales will be found in category 539. See Category 116, pp. 1-41./

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/For information on the mythological origins of manioc, tobacco and coca as related in Tucano folk-tales, see category 539 or category 116, pp. 34-41./

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# ASPECTOS DE LA CULTURA TUCANA

## Mitología – Parte I

Por

MARCOS FULOP

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## NOTA PRELIMINAR

El material que aquí se presenta fue recogido entre el 11 de junio y el 9 de septiembre de 1954, cuando se realizaban trabajos de campo en el caserío de Guadalajara, situado sobre el río Paca, un afluente del río Papurí, en la Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Desempeñaron las funciones de informador e intérprete Marcos Sierra y Manuel Sierra respectivamente, ambos hermanos sanguíneos, y residentes del caserío de Guadalajara.

La mitología que aparece en este artículo es una porción muy pequeña de la mitología Tukana total. El autor ha considerado aconsejable no analizar individualmente los mitos publicados aquí, sino esperar a que toda la mitología Tukana sea recogida y publicada.



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*I Boraró y Boraró Numió*

En *Diaojpekowí* se quedaron un hombre y una mujer, y éstos eran hermanos. Estos dos seres no tiene hijos, pero jamás morirán. Cuando ellos quieren salir de *Diaojpekowí* se convierten en espíritus. El hombre se llama *Boraró* y la mujer se llama *Boraró Numió*. *Boraró* y *Boraró Numió* matan a la gente abriendo un hueco en la cabeza y chupando por ese hueco todo el cuerpo. Sólo dejan el pellejo de la víctima, el cual tiran sobre un palo. Para matar a su víctima, *Boraró Numió* se acuesta boca arriba y comienza a orinar a unos 150 metros de distancia de su víctima. *Boraró*, para matar a su víctima, se orina parado a unos 150 metros de distancia de su víctima. Y cuando *Boraró* y *Boraró Numió* se orinan, toda persona que está dentro de esos 150 metros cae muerto instantáneamente.

*Boraró* y *Boraró Numió* tienen forma humana algunas veces, y tienen forma de espíritu otras veces. Muy a menudo se les ve comiendo cangrejos, pues les gusta mucho comer cangrejos.

*Boraró* y *Boraró Numió* también roban el alma de las personas sin comérselas. A veces uno sueña con una mujer muy bonita y, después, cuando uno sale al monte se la encuentra y tiene sexo con ella. Cuando uno regresa a la maloca (1) se acuesta a dormir y allí se muere. *Boraró Numió* es la mujer bonita con quien uno soñó y con quien uno tuvo sexo, y ella es la que se roba el alma de uno. La mujer Tukana sueña con *Boraró*, tiene sexo con él en el monte, y luego es *Boraró* el que se roba el alma de ella.

II *Pijsubariyái*

En *Dejkepaiwí* se quedaron cuatro espíritus. Y cada uno de estos espíritus se llama *Pijsubariyái*. Estos espíritus, que son

(1) Nombre con el cual, en la región, se denomina a la casa Tukana típica.

como unos diablos, gritan el nombre de una persona. Y la persona, como no sabe quién la está llamando, contesta. Pero *Pijsubariyái*, a menos de que le hagan indicaciones con un dedo, no sabe dónde está la persona. Por eso, cuando uno contesta la primera vez que lo llaman y todavía lo siguen llamando, uno sabe que ese debe ser *Pijsubariyái*. En caso de que uno le haga indicaciones a *Pijsubariyái*, instantáneamente *Pijsubariyái* llega donde está uno y se lo come en la misma forma en que un tigre come gente. *Pijsubariyái* tiene dos cabezas, una donde está la cabeza normalmente, y otra en el fundillo, en vez de rabo. *Pijsubariyái* tiene forma de tigre.

III *Emiarouajtí*

En *Diakajseropoeawí* se quedaron dos espíritus llamados *Emiarouajtí*. Ambos tenían el mismo nombre y eran un macho y una hembra. Ellos eran hermanos. Ningún *Uajtí* (2) muere, y así los *Emiarouajtí* tampoco mueren. Ambos *Emiarouajtí* son los dueños de los árboles del monte. A ellos los dejó *Yepá Huáke* (3), y los *Emiarouajtí* son los que mandan a todos los *Uajtí*. Los *Emiarouajtí* andan encima de los árboles y cuidan las frutas de los árboles cuando las frutas maduran. Los *Emiarouajtí* no dejan que la gente coma de esas frutas. Cuando la gente arranca las frutas de los árboles para comerlas, los *Emiarouajtí* castigan a la gente cogiéndolos del cuello, rompiéndoles la nuca, y matándolos. Los *Emioarouajtí* no están en todo el monte, sino que andan solamente en los alrededores de *Diakajseropoeawí* (4).

IV *Ueari Majsá y Yujkedejká Bejké*

En *Yujkedejkawí* se quedaron cuatro espíritus llamados *Ueari Majsá*, dos machos y dos hembras. Y allí también dejó *Yepá Huáke* otro espíritu llamado *Yujkedejká Bejké*. Cada agosto los *Ueari Majsá* salen de *Yujkedejkawí* y andan por todas partes robando gente. Los *Ueari Majsá* roban gente apareciéndoseles en la forma de un pariente. Los invitan a dar un paseo y después

(2) Espíritu.

(3) Dios creador de los Tukano.

(4) De acuerdo al informante, una maloca que está localizada al lado de un raudal del río Negro.

se los llevan a *Yujkedejkawí*. Pero los *Uearí Majsá* no matan a la gente. Por eso es que agosto es un mes peligroso.

*Yujkedejká Bejké* sale también en agosto, que es el mes en que comienzan a dar frutas los árboles. Y *Yuykedejká Bejke* sale de *Yujkedejkawí* y visita el monte en todas las direcciones: norte, sur, este y oeste. Y él cuenta cuantas frutas van a tener este año los árboles, y después *Yujkedejká Bejké* se regresa otra vez a *Yujkedejkawí*.

V *Miriápura Majsá*

En *Diawí*, *Yepá Huáke* dejó seis personas, tres mujeres y tres hombres. Y ellos se llaman *Mariápura Majsá*. Ellos son los encargados de los espíritus de *Miriá* (5).

VI *Ñebariuajtí*

En *Ñamiriwí*, *Yepá Huáke* dejó un macho y una hembra que se llamaban *Ñebariauajtí*. Y estos dos seres tienen la misma forma humana que *Boraró* y *Boraró Numió*. Y matan y roban las almas de las personas en la misma forma que lo hacen *Boraró* y *Boraró Numió*.

VII *Relaciones sexuales* (6)

*Yepá Huáke* dejó en *Diawí* dos hermanos con su papá y su mamá. Y los cuatro se llamaban *Bajsébo Majsá*. Y ellos salieron de *Diawí* y se fueron a *Bajsebowí*. Antes de que *Yúpuri Baúro* (7) descubriese estas tierras, los Tukano no tenían hijos. En *Bajsebowí*, cuando el padre de los *Bajsébo Majsá*, que se llamaba *Miriápura Turíkaro*, vió que sus dos hijos sabían como "soplar" (8) y todas las historias de los Tukano, entonces les consiguió dos esposas, una mujer para cada uno. Y esas dos mujeres no eran para que los hijos de *Mariápura Turíkaro* tuviesen relaciones sexuales con ellas, sino para que fuesen como amigas.

(5) De los Yuruparises. Flautas ceremoniales usadas en las ceremonias de iniciación de los niños púberes. A las mujeres les está vedado ver estas flautas.

(6) Nombre que el intérprete insistió en darle al mito.

(7) *Yápuri Baúro* es el héroe cultural mitológico más importante de la cultura Tukana. También es el fundador del sib de más alta categoría entre los Tukano.

(8) Curar enfermedades por métodos médico-religiosos.

Los cuatro *Bajsébo Majsá* eran espíritus, y las dos esposas de los hijos de *Miriápura Turíkaro* eran *Umékori Majsá*. Los Desano eran *Umékori Majsá* (9). Y en ese entonces los *Bajsébo Majsá* no tenían derecho para casarse con los *Umékori Majsá*, pero llegó *Miriápura Turíkaro* y se llevó a dos muchachas *Umékori Majsá*. Con ésto, los *Ñamíri Majsá* (10) tenían rabia contra los *Bajsébo Majsá*. Entonces *Ñámíri Majsé* subió al cielo y vió que los dos hermanos *Bajsébo Majsá* y las dos hermanas *Umékori Majsá* estaban examinando unas piedras que se llamaban *Bajséboperi*. Y esas piedras eran las piedras de la comida, porque antes no se tenía que cazar, ni pescar, ni rayar yuca, sino que las piedras se ponían debajo del fogón y el tiesto se llenaba de comida. Cuando *Ñamíri Majsé* vio ésto, fumó tabaco, miró hacia donde sale el sol y abrió la puerta de una maloca que está arriba. La puerta de esa maloca se llama *Ujpekóspe*, que significa Puerta de Leche. Entonces *Ñamíri Majsé* se tornó hacia donde se oculta el sol, y allí comió coca, fumó tabaco, y abrió la puerta de otra maloca que también está en el cielo. Y la puerta se llama *Ñamírispe*, que significa Puerta de la Noche.

La maloca donde estaba *Ñamíri Majsé* se llama *Ñamiriwí*. Apenas abrió *Ñamíri Majsé* las dos puertas de las malocas vino un viento fuerte. Y donde estaban los cuatro *Bajsébo Majsá* y las dos muchachas *Umékori Majsá* había una mata de pachuba. La mata de pachuba tenía un racimo de fruta que no había reventado todavía. Y el viento fuerte que vino abrió el racimo de fruta y lo hizo sonar. Y el ruido del racimo de fruta que se estaba abriendo bajó con el viento y rozó a las dos muchachas *Umékori Majsá* desde el abdómen hasta la apertura vaginal, y entonces las dos muchachas tuvieron su primera menstruación. Antes de ésto, ninguna muchacha había tenido menstruación.

Cuando *Ñamíri Majsé* vio que las dos muchachas habían tenido su primera menstruación, bajó a enamorar a ambas hermanas. Entonces los cuatro *Bajsébo Majsá* se convirtieron en espíritus y desaparecieron, porque ellos ya sabían que *Ñamíri Majsé* bajaba del cielo. Y ellos se desaparecieron para ver que les hacía *Ñamíri Majsé* a las dos hermanas *Umékori Majsá*. Entonces,

(9) Gente del Día.
10) Gente de la Noche; Cubeo.

cuando *Ñamíri Majsé* bajó, tendió sobre el suelo unas varillitas finas, que en Tukano se llaman *Imisa*, para acostarse él con ambas hermanas *Umékori Majsá* y tener relaciones sexuales con ellas. Mientras tanto, los cuatro *Bajsébo Majsá* estaban mirando. Y antes de ésto, nadie había tenido relaciones sexuales ni sabía como hacerlo. Y cuando *Ñamíri Majsé* terminó de tener relaciones sexuales con ambas hermanas, se aparecieron otra vez los cuatro *Bajsebó Majsá*. Y *Ñamíri Majsá* ya se habían ido. Y entonces los cuatro *Bajsébo Majsá* le preguntaron a las dos hermanas que qué habían hecho. Entonces ellas contestaron: "*Ñamíri Majsé* solamente vino para ver que estábamos haciendo". Entonces los *Bajsébo Majsá* dijeron: "Bueno, por qué es que los banquitos donde estábamos sentados y la coca que comimos y el suelo están ensangrentados? Nosotros no deberíamos tener relaciones sexuales. *Yepá Huáke* no nos permitió tener relaciones sexuales". Con esto, se apareció *Yepá Huáke*. Los cuatro *Bajsébo Majsá* iban a abandonar a las dos muchachas *Umékori Majsá*. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* les dijo a los cuatro *Bajsébo Majsá*: "Qué pasa? Yo les mandé que cogiesen a las dos muchachas *Umékori Majsá*, que examinasen y repartiesen por todo el mundo y entre toda la gente las piedras de la comida (*Bajséboperi*) y que después los dos hermanos *Bajsébo Majsá* se casaran con las dos hermanas *Umékori Majsá*. *Ñamiri Majsé* vino y dañó todo".

*Yepá Huáke* había venido con dos dioses más que se llamaban *Dejsú Bário Huáke* y *Mujuí Bejké*. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* les dijo a *Dejsú Bário Huáke* y a *Mujuí Bejké*: "Ustedes quédense en esta tierra porque ya vieron como se tienen relaciones sexuales. Cuiden toda la creación que yo hice para la gente. Boten a las dos muchachas *Umékori Majsá* y consigan dos muchachas *Uaí Majsá* (11) para que se casen con los dos hermanos *Bajsébo Majsá*, y no les vayan a decir como se hace para tener relaciones sexuales, porque ellos sabrán. Si ustedes les dicen, eso es malo. Y nadie debe contar a un hombre como tener relaciones sexuales sino hasta que tenga 22 años. Y después de un mes de casados la cara de la mujer se volverá flaca, y eso significará que la mujer está preñada. Y la madre de los dos hermanos *Bajsébo Majsá* tiene que cuidar bien a la mujer preñada. Si no se cambia la cara

(11) La tribu Yuruí.

de la mujer preñada dentro de un mes, entonces la botan, porque eso significa que no va a tener más hijos".

Entonces *Yepá Huáke habló con Yúpuri Baúro*: "Yo dejo aquí dos *Uamára* (12), pero ustedes jamás vayan a hacerles caso". Y con *Yúpuri Baúro* estaba *Yepá Bejkó*. Y *Yepá Bejkó* le dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro*: "Usted cásese con una mujer y tenga hijos, por eso yo ya arreglé para que existan mujeres. Y yo hice eso en *Diawi* (13). Usted tendrá una mujer y su hermano también tendrá otra mujer. No se vaya a enamorar usted de la mujer de su hermano, ni que su hermano se vaya a enamorar de la mujer de usted. Y además de su propia mujer, usted puede conseguir otras mujeres. Y la primera mujer se preñará, tendrá el hijito, y cuando el hijito tenga dos años, usted entrégueselo a una de sus otras mujeres para que ella lo críe y para que el chiquito no vea como ustedes tienen relaciones sexuales. Y eso es para las niñitas también". *Miriápura Turíkaro* y los dos hermanos *Bajsébo Majsá* querían ser así de poderosos como *Yúpuri Baúro*. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* habló con *Yepá Huáke* y le dijo: "Yo también voy a conseguir dos mujeres para mis hijos, para que mis hijos tengan esposas". Entonces *Yepá Huáke* le contestó que ya le había dado todas las mujeres a *Yúpuri Baúro*, y que *Yúpuri Baúro* repartiría todas las mujeres entre todas las gentes (14), y *Yúpuri Baúro* determinaría con quiénes se podían casar y cuantas mujeres podía tener cada hombre. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* dijo que a él no le convenía esa situación de depender de *Yúpuri Baúro* para conseguir sus mujeres, sino que quería tener el privilegio de distribuir las mujeres entre todas las gentes. *Miriápura Turíkaro* es como el *Yúpuri Baúro* de los Desanos (15). Entonces *Yepá Huáke* le contestó que eso era imposible porque no podían haber dos mandatarios al mismo tiempo y que *Yepá Huáke* ya había designado a *Yúpuri Baúro* para ser el mandatario de todas las gentes. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* se rebeló contra *Yepá Huáke* y dijo que él sí podía mandar sobre todas las gentes y también podía disponer y distribuir todas las mujeres

(12) Espíritus.

(13) Ver: Fulop, Marcos, "Aspectos de la Cultura Tukana: Cosmogonía", *Revista Colombiana de Antropología*, Vol. III. pp. 125-127. Bogotá 1954.

(14) Entre todas las tribus.

(15) Quiere decir que *Miriápura Turíkaro* es el héroe cultural más importante de los Desano.

entre todas las gentes. Y *Miriápura Turíkaro* decía todo ésto porque estaba envidioso de *Yúpuri Baúro*. Y de allí nació la envidia, y la envidia existe hasta ahora. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* le dijo a *Miriápura Turíkaro*: "Bueno, si usted puede hacer todo eso, entonces hágalo. Cuándo va a hacer todo eso?" Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* dijo: "Mañana lo haré". Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dejó que *Miriápura Turíkaro* hiciese como quisiera. Pero *Miriápura Turíkaro* no esperó hasta el día siguiente sino que comenzó a conseguir las dos mujeres para sus dos hijos ese mismo día. Pero eso, *Miriápura Turíkaro* quedó como mentiroso ante los ojos de *Yepá Huáke*.

*Miriápura Turíkaro* ya se había regresado a *Bajsebowí*, porque *Bajsebowí* es el *Diaojpekowí* de los Desano (16). En *Bajsebowí*, *Miriápura Turíkaro* le dió una mujer a su hijo mayor y una mujer a su hijo menor. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* repartió las piezas en donde podían vivir los dos hermanos con sus respectivas mujeres. Al hijo mayor le ordenó que viviese con su mujer en un cuarto hacia el medio de la maloca, y al menor le ordenó que viviese con su mujer en un cuarto más hacia adelante de la maloca de *Bajsebowí*. Y *Miriápura Turíkaro* se asignó a sí mismo la parte trasera de la maloca de *Bajsebowí*.

Mientras tanto, *Yúpuri Baúro* ya estaba para salir de *Diaojpekowí*. Y antes de que *Yúpuri Baúro* saliese de *Diaojpekowí*, *Yepá Hauke*, quien también estaba en *Diaojpekowí*, comenzó a mirar y a buscar desde *Diaojpekowí* a ver donde estaba *Miriápura Turíkaro*. *Yepá Huáke* vió que *Miriápura Turíkaro* estaba en *Bajsebowí* y lo llamó: "*Miriápura Turíkaro*, venga para acá". Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro*, muy avergonzado, con las manos atrás y la cabeza agachada, vino a *Diaojpekowí* y dijo: "*Yepá Huáke*, qué quiere?". Entonces *Yepá Huáke* le contestó: "Hoy es el día en que usted va a conseguir mujeres para sus dos hijos?". Ya había pasado un día. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* dijo: "Ya les conseguí mujeres ayer, el mismo día en que hablamos nosotros". Entonces *Yepá Huáke* le dijo a *Miriápura Turíkaro*: "Ah, usted quiere ser como soy yo; usted quiere ser dios. Usted me quiere quitar mi palabra y mi lengua. Dentro de dos días algo malo les va a pasar a usted y a sus dos hijos y a las mujeres de

(16) La maloca mitológica de donde salió toda la tribu Desana.

sus hijos. No lo necesito por el momento, váyase a su *Bajsebowi* y prepare comida, coca, tabaco, y chicha para *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Pamúri Majsá* (17)". Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* se regresó a *Bajsebowi* y comenzó a preparar la comida, la coca, el tabaco y la chicha para *Yúpuri Baúro* y para *Pamúri Majsá*.

*Yúpuri Baúro* y *Pamúri Majsá* ya habían llegado a *Diatabujtiwí*. El día en que llegaron *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Pamúri Majsá* a *Diatabujtiwí*, *Mariápura Turíkaro* le comenzó a enseñar a su hijo mayor todo lo que debía saber para recibir visitantes importantes. En un día viajaron *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Pamúri Majsá* desde *Diatabujtiwí* hasta *Diayebarawí*. Allí se quedaron a dormir. Mientras tanto *Miriápura Turíkaro* seguía enseñándole a su hijo mayor todo lo que tenía que saber para recibir visitantes importantes. El segundo día *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Pamúri Majsá* viajaron desde *Diayebaraví* hasta *Diabarowí*, y allí se quedaron a dormir. Mientras tanto *Miriápura Turíkaro* seguía enseñándole a su hijo mayor todo lo que tenía que saber para recibir visitantes importantes. El tercer día, *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Pamúri Majsá* viajaron desde *Diabarowí* hasta *Diayejkejoriwí*, y allí se quedaron a dormir. Mientras tanto *Miriápura Turíkaro* le seguía enseñando a su hijo mayor todo lo que debía saber para recibir visitantes importantes. El cuarto día *Yúpuri Baúro y Pamúri Majsá* viajaron desde *Diayejkejoriwí* hasta *Diakarerawí*, y allí se quedaron a dormir. Mientras tanto *Miriápura Turíkaro* seguía enseñándole a su hijo mayor todo lo que debía saber para recibir visitantes importantes. El quinto día *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Pamúri Majsá* viajaron desde *Diakarerawí* hasta *Diauajatorawí*, y allí se quedaron a dormir. Mientras tanto *Miriápura Turíkaro* seguía enseñándole a su hijo mayor todo lo que debía saber para recibir visitantes importantes. El sexto día *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Pamúri Majsá* viajaron desde *Diauajatorawí* hasta *Diasarirawí*, y allí se quedaron a dormir. Mientras tanto *Miriápura Turíkaro* seguía enseñándole a su hijo mayor todo lo que debía saber para recibir visitantes importantes. El séptimo día *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Pamúri Majsá* viajaron desde *Diasarirawí* hasta *Diayairawí*, y allí se quedaron a dormir. Mientras tanto *Miriápura Turíkaro* seguía enseñándole a su hijo mayor todo lo que debía saber para recibir

(17) *Pamúri Majsá* era toda la gente que venía de *Diaojpekowí*, dirigida por *Yúpuri Baúro*.

visitantes importantes. El octavo día *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Pamúri Majsá* viajaron desde *Diayairawí* hasta *Diasurarawí*, y allí se quedaron a dormir. Mientras tanto *Miriápura Turíkaro* seguía enseñándole a su hijo mayor todo lo que debía saber para recibir visitantes importantes. Y todo iba bien. El noveno día *Yúpuri Baúro y Pamúri Majsá* viajaron desde *Diasurarawí* hasta *Diakumarawí*, y allí se quedaron a dormir. Y ese noveno día *Miriápura Turíkaro* le siguió enseñando a su hijo mayor todo lo que tenía que saber para recibir visitantes importantes. Y todo iba bien. El décimo día *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Pamúri Majsá* viajaron desde *Diakumurawí* hasta *Diamajamirawí*, y allí se quedaron a dormir. Ese décimo día ya el hijo mayor de *Miriápura Turíkaro* dañó el aprendizaje. Solamente le faltaban dos días para graduarse, pero ese décimo día se dañó todo, y sucedió de la siguiente manera:

El décimo día por la mañana le dijo *Miriápura Turíkaro* a su hijo mayor: "Dentro de dos días van a llegar a *Bajsebowí*, *Yúpuri Baúro y Pamúri Majsá*. A usted le faltan dos días para graduarse del aprendizaje de cómo recibir gente importante. Usted quédese aquí sentado pensando lo que yo le enseñé. No vaya a hacer nada más. Su hermano menor va ir a pescar y yo voy a buscar coca". Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* se fue a buscar coca y su hijo menor se fue a pescar. El hijo mayor de *Miriápura Turíkaro* se quedó sentado pensando, y estaba malicioso porque sospechaba que su hermano menor le estaba enamorando a su mujer. La mujer del hermano mayor se había ido para la huerta, y la mujer del hermano menor se había quedado sentada dentro de la maloca de *Bajsebowí*.

Entoncese le dijo el hermano mayor a la mujer del hermano menor: "Yo también me voy a pescar". La mujer del hermano menor no dijo nada pero malició que el hermano mayor le iba a hacer algún daño al hermano menor, porque ella se había dado cuenta de que el hermano menor había estado enamorando a la mujer del hermano mayor. El hermano mayor cogió un remo, una varilla para pescar, y bajó al puerto. Se subió a una canoa y bajó el río hasta la primera vuelta del río. Esa primera vuelta del río se llamaba *Bajsébobeto*. Allí el hermano mayor se desembarcó y por tierra regresó a donde estaba la maloca de *Bajsebowí*. No entró a *Bajsebowí*, sino que se quedó afuera escondido debajo de una mata de plátano para ver qué hacía el hermano menor

cuando regresase a *Bajsebowí*. Entonces el hermano mayor tomó una medida y se paró a tres pasos del lugar donde su mujer siempre acostumbraba botar las cáscaras de la yuca. Apenas tomó él las medidas, cuando el hermano menor llegó a *Bajsebowí*. No hacía mucho tiempo que la mujer del hermano mayor había llegado a la maloca de *Bajsebowí* con la yuca y la había estado pelando. El hermano menor le preguntó a su propia mujer donde estaba el hermano mayor, y ella le contestó: "Su hermano se fue a pescar". Entonces la mujer del hermano mayor se levantó con las cáscaras de la yuca para irlas a botar donde ella siempre acostumbraba botarlas, y el hermano menor la siguió. La mujer del hermano mayor se quedó parada donde acostubraba botar las cáscaras de la yuca esperando al hermano menor. El hermano menor llegó y la tumbó al suelo, y ya iba a tener relaciones sexuales con ella, cuando el hermano mayor saltó, cogió al hermano menor por los hombros, lo tumbó al suelo, y con un cuchillo que en Tukano se llama *Séopi* le cortó el pene al hermano menor. La mujer del hermano mayor había logrado escapar y había corrido a *Bajsebowí*. El hermano menor se murió, y el hermano mayor se asustó porque había matado a su hermano. Entonces el hermano mayor entró a *Bajsebowí* sin hacer ruido y se dirigió a su cuarto. Allí cogió una varillita de *Imisa* y la empujó por entre la paja tejida de la pared de la maloca hasta que cayó afuera. Luego salió de *Bajsebowí* y dio la vuelta a la maloca y recogió la varillita de *Imisa* y comenzó a hacer un ataud con esa varillita. Pero no enterró a su hermano menor en ese ataud, sino que bordeó la maloca de *Bajsebowí* y se dirigió al puerto. De allí comenzó a andar bordeando la orilla del río con dirección río arriba, y después de caminar un poquito hizo como una mesa con palos de *Omuamujpúri*. Encima de esa mesa puso el ataúd y lo tapó con unas hojas. Después regresó a *Bajsebowí*. Allí en *Bajsebowí* se sentó un ratito. Al poco tiempo llegó *Miriápura Turíkaro* y le preguntó: "No ha llegado todavía su hermano menor?". Entonces él contestó: "No ha venido todavía". Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le preguntó a la mujer de su hijo menor: "No ha llegado mi hijo tadavía?" Entonces ella le contestó: "No ha venido todavía". Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro*, impresionado de que su hijo se hubiese tardado tanto, se puso a tostar coca. Después piló la coca, la mezcló con ceniza, la cirnió, y comenzó a mambear coca. Encendió un tabaco y fumó. Adivinó, y en la adi-

vinanza salió que su hijo menor había muerto. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* cogió coca, tabacos, y un carriel y le dijo al hijo mayor: "Me han salido muy mal las cosas". Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* salió de *Bajsebowí* con dirección a *Diaojpekowí* a buscar al espíritu de su hijo menor. Pero no encontró el espíritu de su hijo menor. Salió de *Diaojpekowí* y se fue a *Ñamiriwí*, y tampoco allí encontró el espíritu de su hijo menor. Salió de *Ñamiriwí* y se dirigió a *Pajsasarowí*, y tampoco allí encontró el espíritu de su hijo menor. Salió de *Pajsasarowí* y se dirigió a *Diakajseropoeawí*, y allí tampoco encontró el espíritu de su hijo menor.

Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* regresó a *Bejsebowí*. De *Bajsebowí* volvió a salir y se dirigió a *Moawí*. *Moawí* queda a dos días de Mitú bajando el río Vaupés. En *Moawí* estaban en vísperas de hacer un Dabukurí (18) de *Moá* (19). En *Moawí* había mucha alegría. *Miriápura Turíkaro* entró a *Moawí* y se quedó allí escuchando un rato lo que decía la gente *Moá Majsá*. En esta maloca habían unas mujeres solteras y casadas barriendo la maloca de *Moawí* y estaban hablando de la muerte del hijo menor de *Miriápura Turíkaro*. Y una mujer decía: "El hijo menor de *Miriápura Turíkaro* enamoraba a la mujer del hijo mayor de *Miriápura Turíkaro*. El hijo mayor en venganza el cortó el pene y lo mató". Entonces otra mujer dijo: "Como serán de malos los *Bajsébo Majsá* que entre hermanos se matan! Que lástima, que lástima, qué lástima". Entonces otra mujer dijo: " Ustedes saben si el hermano mayor enterró a su hermano menor?". Entonces otra mujer contestó: "No lo ha enterrado. Unicamente fabricó un ataud de varillas *Imisa* y más arriba del puerto hizo una mesita, puso el ataud encima de esa mesa, y lo tapó con unas hojas". Y otra mujer decía: "Que lástima, que lástima, que lástima". Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* se asustó y regresó inmediatamente a *Bajsebowí*. Entró por una puerta de la maloca y salió por la otra, y se dirigió directamente al puerto. Del puerto, cogió el caminito hacia donde estaba la mesita y encontró el ataúd encima de la mesita. Bajó el ataúd y lo abrió. Dentro del ataúd estaba el hijo menor de *Miriápura Turíkaro*. El hijo menor estaba realmente muerto, pero para *Miriápura Turíkaro*, su hijo

(18) Una fiesta ceremonial en la que se realizan intercambios de regalos.
(19) Sal que se consigue hirviendo la hierba de carurú.

menor estaba como privado solamente. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* pensó que él podría hacerlo resucitar. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* sopló el humo de un tabaco sobre su hijo menor, y el hijo menor resucitó. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le preguntó a su hijo menor: "Usted qué hizo?" Entonces el hijo menor contestó: "Nada". Entonces le preguntó *Miriápura Tirikaro*: "Usted por qué molestó a la mujer de su hermano?". Entonces el hijo menor dijo: "Yo no hice nada". Entonces dijo *Miriápura Turíkaro*: "Yo les dije, a usted y a su hermano mayor, antes de entregarles las dos mujeres, que su hermano mayor quedaba como su papá y que la mujer de su hermano mayor quedaba como su mamá. Yo le dí a usted una mujer, y su mujer también tiene un órgano genital igual al de la mujer de su hermano. Entonces, qué quiere usted? Usted no me respeta a mí. Usted no sirve para nada. Yo voy a ver si puedo hacerlo vivir como antes, para que todo el mundo lo vea como vivo". Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* sacó un polvo de tabaco molido y "soplado" (20) y regó este polvo encima del cuerpo de su hijo menor. Después fumó tabaco y sopló el humo del tabaco sobre el cuerpo de su hijo menor. Después *Miriápura Turíkaro* se sentó y se puso a adivinar como iba a hacer para resucitar a su hijo menor. Pensó en la maloca de *Diaojpekospé*, que queda al sur; después pensó en otra maloca llamada *Ñamirispé*, que queda al norte; después pensó en otra maloca llamada *Pajsasorawí*, que queda al oeste; y por último pensó en otra maloca llamada *Kajseropoeawí*, que queda al este. Después de pensar en todas estas malocas, escupió en el sitio donde le habían cortado el pene a su hijo menor, y el pene volvió a aparecer otra vez. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le dijo a su hijo menor: "Párese!". Y el hijo menor se paró. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le puso a su hijo menor un *Ñajkéroporo*, que es como una faja muy fina que *Yepá Huáke* le había dado a *Miriápura Turíkaro*, y que *Miriápura Turíkaro* le puso en la frente a su hijo menor. Después, *Miriápura Turíkaro* puso un *Sioyajpú* sobre el hombro derecho de su hijo menor. El *Sioyajpú* es como un palo pintado. Después, *Miriápura Turíkaro* puso debajo del brazo derecho de su hijo menor un *Bajtípakaro*, que es como un escudo para protegerse de las flechas. Después, *Miriápura Turíkaro* le puso a su hijo en el codo derecho un *Bajsákaro*, que es como una cinta

(20) Rezado.

de muchos colores y que tiene plumas. Este *Bajsákaro* está tejido de fibras de cumare. Después, *Miriápura Turíkaro* le colgó al cuello de su hijo una piedra muy fina llamada *Ujtá-Bojuá*. Después, le colgó al cuello otro collar llamado *Dajsiá-Tábeto*, y ese collar se lo había dado *Yepá Huáke* a *Miriápura Turíkaro*. Después le puso otro collar alrededor del cuello que se llama *Dasú-Kébeto*, y ese collar también se lo había dado *Yepá Huáke* a *Miriápura Turíkaro*. Después le puso alrededor de la cintura un collar hecho de dientes de tigre y que se llama en Tukano *Yáipiribeto*. Después le puso *Bára*, que es una rama que se pone sobre la nalga y que se ajusta con el *Yáipiribeto*. Después le puso una falda llamada *Uajsóro*, y que servía en vez de taparrabo. Después le puso en ambas rodillas unas fajitas tejidas de cumare y que se llaman *Yujtáseri* (21). Después le puso unas campanitas en el tobillo derecho y que se llaman *Kejtióto*. Después le dió un *Utikaserero*, que es una horqueta que se usa cuando se va a hablar, y en medio de esa horqueta se pone un tabaco grande. Después le dio *Yáig*, que es un palo que tiene una campanita. Después *Miriápura Turíkaro* cogió para él mismo *Nopirutike*, que es un palo parecido al *Yáig* pero que no tiene campana. Todo esto comenzó a hacerlo *Miriápura Turíkaro* por la mañanita, y como a las tres de la tarde ya había terminado con todo. Después, *Miriápura Turíkaro* fumó tabaco, aspiró tabaco molido, y con humo de tabaco se sopló a sí mismo. Después hizo que su hijo menor fumase tabaco, que aspirase tabaco molido, y que se soplase a sí mismo con humo de tabaco. Entonces le dijo *Miriápura Turíkaro a* su hijo menor: "Camine para la maloca de *Bajsebowí* otra vez". Entonces el hijo menor le contestó: "No, papá, sería mejor que por la noche yo entre a *Bajsebowí* sin hacer ruido y me dirija a mi cuarto. Allí yo voy a dormir, y al día siguiente enseño mi cuerpo como ha quedado ahora." Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro*, que era muy vanidoso, dijo: "No, tu vienes conmigo ahora de día". El hijo menor sabía lo que iba a suceder, y se negó otra vez a entrar de día a *Bajsebowí*, pero *Miriápura Turíkaro* lo hizo ir con él a *Bajsebowí* a la fuerza. Entonces el hijo menor dijo: "Bueno, yo voy con usted".

Mientras tanto el hermano mayor en la maloca de *Bajsebowí* ya sabía que su hermano menor había resucitado y que venía

(21) Una sola se llama *Yujtásero*.

con *Miriápura Turíkaro* a la maloca de *Bajsebowí*. Entonces el hermano mayor hizo aparecer un pajarito que se amaña mucho en los techos de las malocas y que son de mal agüero, porque cuando golpean con el pico en la viga superior de la maloca, entonces en esa maloca va a morir alguien. Este pajarito se llama en Tukano *Ñamákasero*, y cuando canta dice: "*Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú*", que significa en castellano: "de allí salió un diablo". Después que el hermano mayor hizo aparecer a *Ñamákasero*, mandó a un *Ñamákasero* a que se subiese al techo de la maloca para que vigilase, mandó a otro *Ñamákasero* a la puerta delantera de la maloca, y mandó a otro *Ñamákasero* a la puerta trasera de la maloca. Mientras tanto, el hijo menor y *Miriápura Turíkaro* se dirigían a la maloca de *Bajsebowí*. El hijo menor caminaba adelante y *Miriápura Turíkaro* caminaba detrás de su hijo. Cuando el *Ñamákasero* de la puerta delantera de la maloca de *Bajsebowí* los vió venir, comenzó a cantar: "*Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú*" varias veces. Entonces la hembra *Ñamákasero*, que estaba sobre la puerta trasera de la maloca contestó: "*Níto uajtí, níto uajtí, níto aujtí*", que significa en castellano: "Dónde está el diablo? Dónde está el diablo? Dónde está el diablo?" Apenas dijeron ésto los dos *Ñamákasero*, el hijo menor tuvo mucha vergüenza y le dijo a *Miriápura Turíkaro*: "Yo no entro a la maloca de *Bajsebowí porque* me están tratando de *Uajtí*" (22). Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le dijo: "Usted tiene que entrar a la maloca de *Bajsebowí*". Pero como lo habían tratado de *Uajtí*, el hijo menor comenzó a temblar como para morirse otra vez. Mientras estaban hablando, ellos estaban parados. Entonces comenzaron a caminar otra vez, y ya faltaba poquito para llegar a la maloca, cuando ambos *Ñamákasero*, macho y hembra, comenzaron a cantar: "*Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú*". Y apenas ambos pajaritos comenzaron a cantar así, el hijo menor comenzó a temblar bien fuerte y se cayó muerto. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* se tiró al suelo a llorar. Entonces todos los parientes de *Miriápura Turíkaro* vinieron a llorar junto al difunto hijo menor. Solamente el hermano mayor no vino a llorar, sino que tan pronto vio que su hermano menor había muerto, corrió a esconderse en el monte, porque el hermano mayor estaba asustado. *Miriápura Turíkaro* y sus familiares lloraron un día la muerte del hermano menor,

(22) Espíritu: diablo.

pero al hermano mayor le pareció que ese día era como un año. El hermano mayor escondió las piedras de la comida (*Bajsébo-peri*), y llovía todo el tiempo, y el cielo estaba oscuro, oscuro, como una noche sin luna. Mientras tanto *Yúpuri Baúro* estaba como preso en la maloca de *Diamajamirawí*. Entonces, cuando *Miriápura Turíkaro* y todos sus familiares dejaron de llorar al hijo menor que había muerto, *Miriápura Turíkaro* llamó al hijo mayor gritando: "*Bajsébo*, venga". Entonces el hijo mayor contestó: "Bueno", y vino donde estaba *Miriápura Turíkaro* y se sentó frente a su papá. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le dijo a su hijo mayor: "Usted traicionó a su hermano menor y lo mató. Y eso es como si usted me hubiese matado a mí. No hablemos más. Váyase. Quédese con las dos mujeres, la suya propia y la viuda de su hermano menor". Entonces el hermano mayor se paró, entró a *Bajsebowí*, se dirigió a su cuarto, cogió un carriel, y se fue con las dos mujeres a la huerta.

Cuando el hijo mayor se paró y entró a *Bajsebowí*, *Miriápura Turíkaro* cogió un carriel, un banquito, una totuma donde se echa la coca, la tinajita donde se guardaban las piedras de la comida, que *Miriápura Turíkaro* ya había desenterrado de donde las había enterrado y escondido el hijo mayor, entregó todos sus familiares a *Yepá Huáke*, y se dirigió a la maloca de *Uarirowí*. Entró a la maloca de *Uarirowí* y le preguntó a *Uariró*: "*Né Mejké*" (23), auque no era su *Mejké* de verdad. Pero como *Uariró* tampoco sabía, le contestó: "*Eé Tiiké*" (24), porque como *Uariró* tenía dos hijas, *Uariró* pensaba que *Miriápura Turíkaro* venía a casarse con sus dos hijas. Entonces *Uariró* recibió muy bien a *Miriápura Turíkaro* y le preguntó: "En qué condición viene usted?". Y *Miriápura Turíkaro* le contestó: "Vengo en una condición muy mala. Mi hijo mayor mató a mi hijor menor". Entonces *Uariró* le ofreció un asiento a *Miriápura Turíkaro*. *Uariró* no tenía casi nada de comida, porque cuando el hijo mayor de *Miriápura Turíkaro* escondió las piedras de la comida (*Bajsébo-peri*), se acabó en *Uarirowí* toda la comida. Entonces todo lo que le pudo ofrecer *Uariró* a *Miriápura Turíkaro* fue una "kiñapita" (25) de un sólo ají, un casabe feo hecho de pepa de mon-

(23) "Hola, hermano de mi madre".
(24) "Que tal, yerno".
(25) Ají hervido en agua.

te, y un "mingao" (26) hecho de pepa de monte también. Cuando *Miriápura Turíkaro* vio la comida que le ofreció *Uariró*, no le provocó comer y le dijo a *Uariró* que se llevase la comida y que la guardase. Entonces *Uariró* se llevó la comida y la guardó. Después regresó a hablar con *Miriápura Turíkaro* y le preguntó: "Usted viene a quedarse a vivir aquí de verdad?". Y *Miriápura Turíkaro* le contestó: "Yo vengo a quedarme a vivir aquí de verdad. Si no pensase quedarme a vivir aquí de verdad, yo habría pasado de largo". Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le preguntó a *Uariró*: "Usted no tiene nada de comida?" Y *Uariró* contestó: "No, no tengo nada, nada qué comer". Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* cogió la tinajita donde tenía las piedras de la comida (*Bajséboperi*). Y las piedras de la comida eran diez. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le dijo a *Uariró*: "Eche estas dos piedras en la vasija donde se asienta el almidón de la yuca. Estas otras dos piedras las echa en la vasija donde se guarda la masa de la yuca para hacer fariña. Estas otras dos piedritas échelas en la canoa donde se prepara la chicha. Estas dos piedritas póngalas encima de la parrilla que está encima del fogón. Y estas dos últimas pie dritas échelas en la totuma donde se pone la coca". Entonces *Uariró* recibió las diez piedritas e hizo todo como lo había ordenado *Miriápura Turíkaro*. Y *Uariró* comenzó a echar las piedritas por un lado lateral de la maloca, después pasó al otro lado lateral de la maloca y allí también echó las piedritas. Cuando *Uariró* hubo terminado de hacer ésto, *Miriápura Turíkaro* le ordenó que fuese a ver por dónde había echado primero las piedritas. *Uariró* lo hizo así y encontró la tinaja llena de almidón de yuca. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le ordenó a *Uariró* que fuese a ver la parrilla que estaba encima del fogón. Y *Uariró* fue y miró la parrilla, y vio que la parrilla estaba llena de pescado ahumeado y de cacería ahumeada. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le dijo a *Uariró*: "Traiga para acá todo lo que se encuentre sobre esa parrilla y escoja lo que a usted más le guste para comer". *Uariró* trajo eso donde estaba *Miriápura Turíkaro* y ambos se pusieron a comer. Cuando terminaron de comer, *Miriápura Turíkaro le* ordenó a *Uariró* que guardase lo que había sobrado del pescado ahumeado y de la cacería ahumeada y del casabe, y le ordenó que trajese la chicha. *Uariró* trajo la chicha

(26) Potaje fabricado con la harina de la yuca brava.

y le dio de beber a *Miriápura Turíkaro*, y apenas *Miriápura Turíkaro* recibió la chicha, *Yúpuri Baúro* salió de *Diamajamirawí* y siguió su viaje. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* llegó ese mismo día a *Uarirowí*. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* se dirigió a *Uarirowí* porque *Bajsbowí* había sido abandonado y *Uarirowí* había reemplazado a *Bajsebowí*. *Yúpuri Baúro* arribó con *Pamúri Majsá*. *Yúpuri Baúro* traía todos los Yuruparises y tenía órdenes de *Yepá Huáke* de repartir estos Yuruparises a *Miriápura Turíkaro*. *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Pamúri Majsá* entraron a *Uarirowí*, y después de haber tomado chicha, *Yúpuri Baúro* le preguntó a *Miriápura Turíkaro*: "Qué hay de nuevo por este mundo?". Y *Miriápura Turíkaro* le contesto: "En este mundo las cosas andan muy mal". *Yúpuri Baúro* sabía ya todo lo que había pasado porque *Yepá Huáke* le había contatodo lo que había sucedido, de tal manera que *Yúpuri Baúro* llegó de mal genio a *Uarirowí*. *Miriápura Turíkaro* le ofreció a *Yúpuri Baúro* que se quedara a dormir en *Uarirowí*, pero *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo que no, que él seguía de largo. Pero antes de seguir su viaje, *Yúpuri Baúro* le dijo a *Miriápura Turíkaro* que le dejaba dos Yuruparises. Y antes los Yuruparises no eran como ahora. Ahora los Yuruparises son como flautas, pero antes los Yuruparises eran pajaritos. Y estos pajaritos (Yuruparises) eran guardados en jaulas, y los pajaritos eran bien emplumados. *Miriápura Turíkaro* recibió los dos pajaritos (Yuruparises) sin saber lo que esos pajaritos eran. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le preguntó a *Yúpuri Baúro*: "Qué hago con esta cajita?". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro*, muy bravo, le contestó: "Usted no sabe nada. Qué fue lo que le contó *Yepá Huáke?*". Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* dijo: "No, yo no sé nada". Mientras tanto todos los *Pamúri Majsá* ya habían salido al barco del güío (27) donde viajaban *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Pamúri Majsá*. *Miriápura Turíkaro* estaba acompañando a *Yúpuri Baúro* al puerto, y en la mitad del camino, cuando no había nadie que los viese, *Yúpuri Baúro* le mostró a *Miriápura Turíkaro* los Yuruparises y le explicó qué cosa eran estos Yuruparises. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* abrió la cajita y de ella salió toda clase de música. *Uariró* estaba asustado y pensó que su yerno, *Miriápura Turíkaro*, era verdaderamente como un dios. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* le dijo a *Miriápura Turíkaro* que tuviese mucho cuidado con esos Yuraparises, y que no fue-

(27) *Yúpuri Baúro* y su gente siempre viajaban en un güi mitológico.

ran a salir mal las cosas como había sucedido con los dos hijos de *Miriápura Turíkaro*. Y también le encomendó mucho que no fuera a mostrar estos Yuruparises a nadie, porque *Yepá Huáke* había dejado dos Yuruparises a cada gente (28), y estos Yuruparises eran como los representantes de *Yepá Huáke* en esta tierra, y por eso se les mostraba tanto respeto. Y las mujeres y los niños no podían ver estos Yuruparises, sino solamente los hombres adultos. Y los dos Yuruparises que *Yúpuri Baúro* le había dado a *Miriápura Turíkaro* se convertirían en personas cuando *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Miriápura Turíkaro* llegaran a *Diawí*. Estos dos Yuruparises eran un macho y una hembra. Y ellos eran como hermanos. Y el Yuruparí macho se llamaba *Deté* y el Yuruparí hembra se llamaba *Miriápura Numió*. En *Diawí*, estos Yuruparises iban a hacer inmortales a todas las gentes. Por eso es que se les mostraba tanto respeto.

Antes de salir de *Uarirowí*, *Yúpuri Baúro* le dijo a *Miriápura Turíkaro* que *Miriápura Turíkaro* iba a tener ese mismo día un hijo con la hija mayor de *Uarirá*, y ese mismo día *Miriápura Turíkaro* tendría dos hijas mellizas con la hija menor de *Uariró*. Y ese hijo y esas dos hijas mellizas crecerían en un sólo día y se volverían adultos. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* le dijo a *Miriápura Turíkaro* que en *Diawí*, *Yúpuri Baúro* abriría un poquito la cajita donde estaban los dos Yuruparises de los Tukano. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* iba a hacer ésto para que *Miriápura Turíkaro* oyera en *Uarirowí* la música que salía de la cajita donde estaban los Yuruparises de los Tukano. Y tan pronto como *Miriápura Turíkaro* oyese esa música, *Miriápura Turíkaro* tendría que salir de *Uarirowí* con sus dos esposas, sus dos hijas, su hijo y *Uariró* para dirigirse a *Emekowí*, que es una maloca que queda en el cielo, en el sol mismo. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* le dijo a *Miriápura Turíkaro* que cuando llegase a *Emekowí* fumase tabaco y soplase con humo de tabaco para adivinar que pasaría. Si lo que *Miriápura Turíkaro* adivinaba era que iba a pasar algo malo, entonces tendría que dejar a sus dos mujeres, sus dos hijas, su hijo y a *Uariró* en *Emekowí*, y tendría que viajar solo a *Diawipejtá* (29). En *Diawipejtá*, *Miriápura Turíkaro* tendría que abrir la cajita de los dos Yuruparises un poquito, para que *Yúpuri Baúro* oyese la música.

(28) A los Tukano, Desano, Yurutí, Siriano, etc.
(29) El puerto de *Diawí*.

Cuando *Yúpuri Baúro* hubiese oído la música, él saldría a *Diawipejtá* a recibir a *Miriápura Turíkaro* y a recibir los dos Yuruparises y guardarlos hasta que llegara *Yepá Huáke* a *Diawí*, porque era *Yepá Huáke* quien iba a mostrar los Yuruparises a la gente.

*Yúpuri Baúro* también le había dicho a *Miriápura Turíkaro* en *Uarirowí* que si la adivinanza que *Miriápura Turíkaro* iba a hacer en *Emekowí* salía con buenos presagios, entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* tendría que salir de *Emekowí* con sus dos mujeres, sus dos hijas, su hijo y *Uariró* y dirigirse a *Numiá Pejtawí*, y en ese puerto de la maloca de *Numiawí* tendría que dirigirse y entrar a *Numiawí*. Y en *Numiawí*, *Miriápura Turíkaro* tendría que organizar su gente para que ellos supieran donde debían dormir. Y en el centro de la maloca deberían dormir *Miriápura Turíkaro* y el hijo de *Miriápura Turíkaro*. Y *Miriápura Turíkaro* debía decirles a sus dos mujeres, a sus dos hijas y a *Uariró* que mirasen para la puerta de atrás de la maloca, que él y su hijo mirarían hacia la puerta de adelante. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* también le dijo a *Miriápura Turíkaro* que en *Numiá Pejtawí* iba a aparecer un palo, y que al pie de ese palo *Miriápura Turíkaro* debería dejar y guardar los Yuruparises. También dijo *Yúpuri Baúro* que a él también se le aparecería un palo en *Diawipejtá* y que él también guardaría allí sus Yuruparises. Y le dijo *Yúpuri Baúro* a *Miriápura Turíkaro*: "Yo abriré mi cajita donde están mis Yuruparises para ver si usted ya ha llegado a *Numiawí*. Cuando usted regrese a la maloca, después de haber guardado la cajita de los Yuruparises, explíquele a su hijo que se bañe en el río a media noche". Los indígenas saben cuando es medianoche porque comienza a cantar un pajarito que se llama *Serítia;* y la hembra de ese pajarito se llama *Ñámiri Pákaro Numió*. Entonces le dijo *Yúpuri Baúro* a *Miriápura Turíkaro*: "Hoy yo sigo de largo. Me voy a quedar en *Diadasirawí*. El segundo día yo llego a *Yukaniwí*. El tercer día yo llego a *San Miguel Wí* (30). El cuarto día yo llego a *Diamarirawí*. El quinto día yo llego a *Diakajseropoeawí*. El sexto día yo llego a *Diawí*. El séptimo día usted debe salir de *Uarirowí*".

*Miriápura Turíkaro* se quedó en *Uarirowí* contando los días

(30) Según el informante, una maloca situada en San Migue, Brasil.

para ver cuando llegaba *Yúpuri Baúro* a *Diawí* y para ver cuando debía de salir él para *Emekowí*.

El séptimo día, *Miriápura Turíkaro* salió de *Uarirowí* con *Uariró*, sus dos mujeres, sus dos hijas y su hijo con dirección a *Emekowí*. Ese mismo día llegó y allí se estuvo un rato fumando tabaco y soplando humo y adivinando para ver como iban a salir las cosas. Cuando *Miriápura Turíkaro* hubo adivinado, le dijo a su hijo: "Las cosas me salen muy mal para el futuro". Entonces su hijo contestó: "Entréguele esos Yuruparises a *Yúpuri Baúro*. Yo no soy capaz de tener esos Yuruparises." Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le dijo a su hijo: "No, yo no entrego esos Yuruparises a *Yúpuri Baúro*. Vamos para *Numiá Pejtawí*". Entonces salieron de *Emekowí* y se dirigieron a *Numiá Pejtawí*. Llegaron el mismo día a *Numiá Pejtawí*. Entraron a *Numiawí* y *Miriápura Turíkaro* y su hijo se sentaron en medio de la maloca. Allí sentado y sin pararse, *Miriápura Turíkaro* organizó a su gente y les indicó donde podían colgar sus hamacas. Cuando ya los hubo organizado, *Miriápura Turíkaro* les ordenó que mirasen para la puerta de atrás. Entonces ellos inmediatamente se voltearon para mirar hacia la puerta de atrás. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le dijo a su hijo: "Usted quédese aquí sentado y míreme a mí". En seguida sacó la cajita donde estaban los Yuruparises y se paró, y muy despacio, alzando y bajando las manos donde tenía la cajita, se dirigió hacia el puerto. Y en el puerto, *Miriápura Turíkaro* encontró el palo que *Yúpuri Baúro* le había dicho que encontraría. Puso la cajita donde llevaba los Yuruparises al pie del palo y encima de la cajita puso un tabaco encendido. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* se paró y esperó a ver que pasaba. Entonces de la dirección donde estaba *Diawí*, *Miriápura Turíkaro* oyó una música. Entonces *Muriápura Turíkaro* abrió su cajita y los Yuruparises de *Miriápura Turíkaro* contestaron la música que venía de los Yuruparises de *Yúpuri Baúro* en *Diawí*. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* pensó: "La adivinanza le salió buena a *Miriápura Turíkaro* en *Emekowí*, por eso es que está en *Numiawí*". Y *Yúpuri Baúro* quedó contento. *Yúpuri Baúro* cerró su cajita de Yuruparises en *Diawipejtá*, y *Miriápura Turíkaro* cerró su cajita de Yuruparises en *Numiá Pejtawí*. *Yúpuri Baúro* regresó a *Diawí* y *Miriápura Turíkaro* también regresó a *Numiawí*. En *Numiawí*, *Miriápura Turíkaro* le dijo a su hijo: "Cuando sea me-

dianoche, o sea cuando canten *Seritia* y *Ñámiri Pákaro Numió*, usted vaya y abra la cajita que está al pié del palo en el puerto. Abra la cajita y voltéela hacia el sur, el norte, el oeste y el este. Después deje la cajita tapada junto al palo, se tira al río, y báñese. Después coja usted la corteza del palo de donde se saca la espuma del jabón y tómese esa espuma y después vomite". Después de decirle todo eso *Miriápura Turíkaro* a su hijo, charlaron un rato más y después se acostaron. Las dos hijas de *Miriápura Turíkaro* habían escuchado la música de los Yuruparises, estaban muy curiosas, y se dormían y se despertaban a cada momento. *Miriápura Turíkaro* no durmió en toda la noche. A medianoche, *Seritia* y *Ñámari Pákaro Numió* comenzaron a cantar, pero el hijo de *Miriápura Turíkaro* no se despertó.

Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* le gritó: "Hijo, despiértese y váyase a bañar". Así lo llamó *Miriápura Turíkaro* en dos ocasiones, pero su hijo no se despertaba. La tercera vez que el padre lo llamó así, el hijo se despertó. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* se levantó y le dió una trompada por no haberle hecho caso y lo tumbó al suelo.

*Miriápura Turíkaro* le había dicho a sus dos hijas que su hijo se iba a bañar al río con la corteza de los palos de donde los indígenas sacan el jabón. También les había dicho que había dejado esos palos de donde se saca la corteza que produce el jabón junto al palo que se encontraba en el puerto de *Numiawí*. También les dijo que su hermano se bañaría a medianoche y les ordenó que no fueran a salir de la maloca hasta que el hermano regresara del puerto de *Numiawí* después de haberse bañado.

Cuando *Miriápura Turíkaro* le pegó y tumbó a su hijo al suelo, las dos hijas se pararon y le dijeron a *Miriápura Turíkaro*: "Papá, nosotras nos vamos a bañar al río". Ellas querían irse a bañar al río porque sospechaban que en el puerto de *Numiawí* estaban los Yuruparises y tenían curiosidad por mirarlos. *Miriápura Turíkaro*, asustado, no dijo nada, y ellas corrieron a su cuarto, cogieron cada una una tinaja para cargar agua, una antorcha y salieron corriendo de la maloca con dirección al puerto. Cuando llegaron al puerto dejaron las tinajas en el suelo y en enseguida con las antorchas fueron y alumbraron para ver lo que había al pie del palo que estaba clavado en el puerto de *Numiawí*. Y las dos hermanas no encontraron nada al pie del palo, por-

que la cajita había desaparecido. Las dos mujeres buscaron un rato y al poco tiempo hubo un rayo, pero en forma de persona, junto al palo clavado en el puerto de *Numiawí*. Entonces una de las hermanas asustada le dijo a la otra: "Hermana, vámonos de aquí, ese rayo era una persona". Entonces la otra hermana contestó: "No, eso era lo que sonaba como música ayer. Vamos a rodear bien el palo. Usted póngase por el otro lado, yo me pondré por este lado y alumbraremos con las antorchas".

Mientras tanto en el puerto de *Diawí*, *Yúpuri Baúro* había abierto su cajita de Yuruparises. Y apenas hubo hecho ésto, cuando junto al palo que estaba en el puerto de *Numiawí* se aparecieron dos personajes con forma humana, un hombre y una mujer. Y ambos iban muy bien vestidos. Y estos dos personajes, que eran los Yuruparises, se aparecieron solamente para contestar la música de los Yuruparises de *Yúpuri Baúro*, que se encontraba en el puerto de *Diawí*. Las dos muchachas, asustadísimas de lo que acababan de ver, comenzaron a temblar y cayeron sentadas al suelo. Y los dos personajes, al ver a las muchachas se desaparecieron y se convirtieron en pajaritos otra vez, dieron un salto con dirección a la selva y se desaparecieron. Y apenas se desaparecieron los dos pajaritos, tronó bien, bien fuerte. Y apenas tronó bien, bien fuerte, en el puerto de *Diawí* los pajaritos que estaban en la cajita que *Yúpuri Baúro* tenía en las manos, también salieron volando y desaparecieron para siempre. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* maldijo a *Miriápura Turíkaro* por haberlo dañado todo. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* se convirtió en picaflor y voló al puerto de *Numiawí*. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* oía como las dos hermanas hablaban. Y una le decía a la otra: "Yo le dije que agarrase fuerte. Mire, ya se escaparon y no los cogimos". Apenas oyó ésto, *Yúpuri Baúro* se convirtió de picaflor a *Yúpuri Baúro* otra vez. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* estaba de muy mal genio y muy bravo. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* se había convertido otra vez en persona en el patio delantero de *Numiawí*. *Yúpuri Baúro* no entró a *Numiawí*, sino que llamó a *Miriápura Turíkaro* gritando: "*Miriápura Turíkaro*, traiga a su hijo para acá". Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* contestó: "Bueno"; y salió de *Numiawí* abrazando a su hijo. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* le dijo *a Miriápura Turíkaro*: "Usted no respetó a *Yepá Huáke*, y ahora usted tampoco me respetó a mí". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* sacó un aparato que se parece a unas tenazas, que

en Tukano se lama *Séobeto*, y le cortó la cabeza al hijo de *Miriápura Turíkaro*.

El hijo de *Miriápura Turíkaro* cayo muerto al suelo. Inmediatamente, *Miriápura Turíkaro* cayo al suelo arrodillado llorando porque su hijo había muerto. En seguida, *Yúpuri Baúro* se desapareció otra vez. Y en forma de espíritu, *Yúpuri Baúro* se dirigió al puerto de *Numiawí*, y por encima de las hermanas se las quedó mirando. Las dos hermanas maliciaban que *Yúpuri Baúro* estaba por encima de ellas en forma de espíritu mirándolas, y entonces ellas se reían y decían: "*Yúpuri Baúro* sí que es vanidoso". Y *Yúpuri Baúro* tenía ganas de matarlas, pero no podía hacerlo porque las dos hermanas tenían puestos unos sombreros grandes, que se llaman en Tukano *Uetitóke*. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* hizo aparecer una mata de pachuba. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* quería convertirse en racimo de mata de pachuba y bajar la mata de pachuba y matar a las dos hermanas. Pero *Yúpuri Baúro* no pudo hacer ésto, porque una de las hermanas cogió la mata de pachuba y la arrancó, por eso es que *Yúpuri Baúro* no pudo seguir bajando. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* se convirtió en espíritu otra vez y se regresó a *Diawí*. En *Diawí*, *Yúpuri Baúro* hizo entrar a todos los *Pamúri Majsá* y trancó bien la puerta.

En *Numiá Pejtawí*, una de las hermanas le preguntó a la otra: "Usted se fijó cómo eran los dos personajes que se aparecieron saliendo de la cajita y que hacían sonar como música?". "Sí", contestó la otra hermana, "uno era más grande que el otro". Entonces una de las hermanas cogió la mata de pachuba y la cortó en dos pedazos, uno un poquito más grande que el otro. Y ellas tomaron las medidas con las coyunturas del dedo índice derecho. Miraron a través de los palos que habían cortado de la mata de pachuba y vieron que había un hueco muy bien hecho por dentro de cada palo. Entonces ambas hermanas soplaron por el tubo de los palos de pachuba y no salió ninguna música. Entonces probaron soplar los tubos de pachuba con el seno derecho, pero tampoco salió música. Entonces cada una de las hermanas se pusieron el tubo de la mata de pachuba en la vagina para ver si por la vagina sí salía música, pero tampoco salió música. Entonces se apareció un pescadito por el río, y una de las hermanas lo llamó: "*Uaí Numió*, venga para acá. Mire que nosotras les hemos quitado estos Yuruparises a los hombres. Ahora los tenemos las mu-

jeres". Entonces *Uaí Numió* dijo: "Yo nunca he visto esos aparatos". Entonces una de las hermanas le tiró una piedra a la cabeza de *Uaí Numió* y la mató. Por eso es que todos los pescados *Uaí* tienen una piedrecita por dentro de la cabeza. Después se apareció otro pescado y una de las hermanas lo llamó: "*Dóe Numió*, venga para acá. Mire que nosotras les hemos quitado estos Yuruparisese a los hombres. Ahora los tenemos nosotras las mujeres". Entonces *Dóe Numió* dijo: "Yo nunca he visto esos aparatos". Entonces una de las hermanas le tiró una piedra a la cabeza a *Dóe Numió* y la mató. Por eso es que todos los pescados *Dóe* también tienen una piedrecita dentro de la cabeza. Después vino otro pescado llamado *Mejiá Numió*. Entonces una de las hermanas dijo: "Venga para acá *Mejiá Numió*. Si usted no me hace caso, esta piedra la va a matar a usted". Y mientras decía ésto, la muchacha sacó una piedra y se la enseñó a *Mejiá Numió*. Entonces *Mejiá Numió* por miedo, dijo: "Bueno, yo le voy a hacer caso". Entonces *Mejiá Numió* salió del puerto de *Numiawí*. Entonces se apareció otro pescado llamado *Uarí Numió*, y una de las hermanas la llamó: "Venga para acá *Uarí Numió*". Y *Uarí Numió* dijo inmediatamente: "Bueno". Y *Uarí Numió* también salió al puerto de *Numiawí*. Entonces las hermanas le preguntaron a *Mejiá Numió* qué era lo que debían hacer con esas flautas de pachuba para que sonasen como música. Entonces *Mejiá Numió* dijo: "Eso es muy fácil. Yo les voy a enseñar". Entonces las hermanas contestaron: "Bueno, hágalo". Apenas dijeron ésto las dos hermanas, *Mejiá Numió* corrió al puerto, trajo barro y tapó hasta la mitad el hueco de uno de los tubos de pachuba. Después cogió una varillita delgada y atravezó este barro, haciéndole un agujerito. Después cogió unas hojas, envolvió el tubo de pachuba en esas hojas, lo amarró con unos bejucos, y lo puso a un lado. Después *Mejiá Numió* corrió al puerto otra vez, y repitió la misma operación con el otro tubo de pachuba. Cuando hubo terminado de haber hecho ésto, *Mejiá Numió* les dijo a las dos hermanas que faltaban Yuruparieses para *Mejiá Numió* y para *Uarí Numió*. Entonces una de las hermanas cogió otra vez el palo de pachuba y cortó dos Yuruparises más, uno más grande que el otro. Acto seguido, *Mejiá Numió* preparó los dos Yuruparises de la misma manera en que había preparado los dos primeros. Entonces *Mejiá Numió dijo*: "Bueno, ya están listos. Los dos Yuruparises que hice primero son para ustedes, y los dos últimos

Yuruparises que hice son para *Uarí Numió* y para mí". Entonces *Mejiá Numió* dijo: "Bueno, vamos a tocar". Y *Mejiá Numió* y *Uarí Numió* tocaron los Yurupariese juntos a la vez, y la música salió bien tocada. Entonces las dos hermanas juntas tocaron los Yuruparises de ellas y contestaron a la música que habían tocado *Mejiá Numió y Uarí Numió* en los Yuruparises de ellas. Y la música de los cuatro Yuruparises era muy buena.

Apenas sonó esta música de los cuatro Yuruparises, todos los hombres de todas las gentes (31) se asustaron. En *Diawí, Yúpuri Baúro* tenía las puertas de la maloca bien, bien cerradas, y *Yúpuri Baúro* estaba temblando de miedo. Todo el mundo temblaba porque las mujeres habían ganado y porque *Yúpuri Baúro* había sido humillado.

*Miriápura Turíkaro* también estaba asustadísimo y estaba temblando. Entonces *Miriápura Turíkaro* recogió las *Bajséboperi* (piedras de la comida), la *Séoda* (la piola que usaban para tumbar el monte para hacer la huerta), el *Bajsébo Kumúru*, el *Bajsébo Sáriro* (que es donde se coloca la totuma de la coca), y la *Bajsébo Uajátoro* (que era la totuma de la coca). Después de haber cogido todo ésto, se trasladó con sus dos mujeres, con su hijo, y con *Uariró* a *Uarirowí*. Y en *Uarirowí* se encerró trancando las dos puertas de la maloca.

Mientras tanto las dos hermanas, *Uarí Numió y Mejiá Numió* se cambiaron el nombre. Y las cuatro se llamaban ahora *Miriápura Majsá Numiá*. Entonces las *Miriápura Majsá Numiá* hicieron como una comisión y se dirigieron a *Diawí* para quitarle a *Yúpuri Baúro* todo el resto de las cosas que quedaban en poder de *Yúpuri Baúro*, o sean, las plumas, las varillas finas (*Imisa*), el tabaco, la coca, las maracas, etc.

Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* de miedo a que las *Miriápura Majsá Numiá* entrasen a *Diawí, Yúpuri Baúro* prefirió botar al patio de *Diawí* todas las cosas que las *Miriápura Majsá Numiá* habían venido a buscar a *Diawí*. Después de haber hecho todo ésto, *Yúpuri Baúro* cogió una canasta y se la colgó sobre la espalda, con el lazo que soportaba la canasta sujetado a la frente. Después cogió la vasija donde se carga el agua y la totuma donde las mu-

(31) Tukano, Desano, Yurutí, Siriano, etc.

jeres echan la candela antes de ir a la huerta. Y así *Yúpuri Baúro* y todos los hombres quedaron humillados, porque ya estaban como si fueran mujeres.

Las mujeres llegaron al patio delantero de *Diawí*, recogieron todos los objetos que *Yúpuri Baúro* había botado allí, y sin entrar a *Diawí* se regresaron a *Numiawí*. Entraron a *Numiawí* y de allí sacaron también las plumas, la coca, el tabaco, las maracas, etc. Después de haber recogido todo ésto, las *Miriápura Majsá Numiá* salieron de *Numiawí* y se dirigieron a *Ojkosererawí* con todas las cosas que cargaban. Entraron a *Ojkosererawí*, espantaron a los hombres, los cuales salieron corriendo, y ese mismo día las *Miriápura Majsá Numiá* salieron de *Ojkosererawí* y se dirigieron a *Toakapawí*. El dueño de esa maloca se llamaba *Uapáo*, y a él le quitaron *Ñajkeropoáro* y *Sioyajpú*. Entonces las *Miriápura Majsá Numiá* salieron de *Toakapawí* y se dirigieron a *Euerawí* y espantaron a todos los hombres de esa maloca. De allí no sacaron nada. Salieron después de *Euerawí* y se dirigieron a *Diaserawí*. El dueño de *Diaserawí* se llamaba *Sé*, y a él le quitaron *Ucopá Numiapá* (que es como un capador bien ancho). En *Diaserawí* también espantaron a todos los hombres. Después salieron de *Diaserawí* y se dirigieron a *Ajumbuwí*. Allí entraron y espantaron a los hombres. Salieron de *Ajumbuwí* y se dirigieron a *Awí*. Entraron a *Awí*, espantaron a los hombres de esa maloca y se quedaron a dormir allí.

El día en que las *Miriápura Majsá Numiá* llegaron a *Awí* para quedarse a dormir, llegó *Yepá Huáke* a *Diawí* y le preguntó a *Yúpuri Baúro*: "Qué hubo, *Yúpuri Baúro?*". Y *Yúpuri Baúro* le contestó: "Me fregaron las mujeres". Entonces le dijo *Yepá Huáke*: "Yo le decía a usted. La culpa la tiene *Miriápura Turíkaro*". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* contestó: "Sí, ya sé, *Miriápura Turíkaro* lo dañó todo". Entonces *Yepá Huáke* le dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro*: "Camine conmigo". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* contestó: "Con quién más voy?". Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Va usted y *Yepára Oakajpeá*". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Yepára Oakajpeá* se convirtieron en espíritu y con *Yepá Huáke* se dirigieron a *Biarawí*. Una vez que entraron a *Biarawí*, *Yepá Huáke* le dió a *Yúpuri Baúro* bastante ají para que masticara. Después que *Yúpuri Baúro* hubo masticado ese ají, *Yepá Huáke* lo mandó para que escupiese con la cabeza reclinada sobre los brazos. *Yupuri Baúro* escupió pero

no salió saliva. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* le ordenó a *Yepára Oakajpeá* que hiciera la mismo, y cuando *Yepára Oakajpeá* escupió, entonces sí le salió saliva. La saliva de *Yepára Oakajpeá* salió como un bejuco. Apenas *Yepá Huáke* vió que le salía el bejuco a *Yepára Oakajpeá* y que el bejuco ya había llegado a la manzana de Adán, entonces *Yepá Huáke* agarró la punta del bejuco a la altura de la manzana de Adán y le arrancó el bejuco a *Yepára Oakajpeá*. Entonces *Yepára Oakajpeá* cayó al suelo muerto. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* le ordenó a *Yepára Oakajpeá* que se parara, *Yepára Oakajpeá* resucitó y se paró. Después que *Yepára Oakajpeá* se paró, *Yepá Huáke* salió de la maloca de *Biarawí*, y en el patio de *Biarawí*, *Yepá Huáke* clavó un palo. Alrededor de este palo, *Yepá Huáke* amarró el bejuco que le había arrancado de la boca de *Yepára Oakajpeá*. Apenas amarró el bejuco, *Yepá Huáke* lo jaló para ver de qué largo era. Después cortó un pedacito de palo y amarró este palo a la otra punta del bejuco. Después *Yepá Huáke* hizo veinte marcas en la corteza del bejuco, pero sin cortarlo. Después *Yepá Huáke* le dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro*: "Enróllelo". *Yúpuri Baúro* lo enrolló, y después de haberlo enrollado, *Yepá Huáke* le ordenó a *Yúpuri Baúro* que lo desenrollara otra vez. Y cuando *Yúpuri Baúro* desenrolló el bejuco, salieron veinta flautas de Yuruparises chiquitas. Después *Yepá Huáke* le sacó la corteza a un palo. En la flauta más grande de Yuruparí, *Yepá Huáke* hizo una rajadura chiquita y colocó un palito para que trancara esta rajadura y la mantuviese abierta. Luégo envolvió esta flauta con la cáscara de palo. Después cogió un palito y lo mascó, y cogió una flauta chiquita y metió este palito mascado dentro de la flauta chiquita. Y cuando él hubo hecho ésto, como por un milagro, a todas las otras flautitas les sucedió lo mismo. Después de ésto, *Yepá Huáke* hizo aparecer una rama, y con esa rama le pegó a un palo, y se aparecieron como por milagro diecisiete hombres. Apenas se aparecieron los hombres, *Yepá Huáke* se cogió la flauta de Yuruparí más grande. *Yúpuri Baúro*, *Yepára Oakajpeá* y los diecisiete hombres recogieron el resto de las flautitas de Yuruparí. Entonces se pararon en fila. *Yepá Huáke* hizo sonar su flauta para ver como sonaba la música. Y el Yuruparí de *Yepá Huáke* sonó muy bien. Y todas las flautas sonaron muy bien.

Apenas hicieron sonar los Yuruparises *Yepá Huáke*, *Yúpuri Baúro* y su gente, las *Miriápura Majsá Numiá* salieron de *Awí* y se fueron a esconder a *Toakapawí*. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* hizo unos sombreros de hojas para *Yúpiri Baúro*, *Yepára Oakajpeá* y los diecisiete hombres. Después *Yepá Huáke* les ordenó que se pintaran todos la cara con carbón. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* y la gente salieron de *Biarawí* a perseguir a las *Miriápura Majsá Numiá* y se dirigieron a *Uajsopiríwima*. Esta maloca queda más arriba de *Toakapawí*. Allí *Yepá Huáke* sopló tabaco y adivinó. Al medio día, las mujeres estaban haciendo fiesta tocando los Yuruparises en *Toakapawí*. Cuando ya estaba oscureciendo el día, *Yepá Huáke* y su gente salieron de *Uajsopiríwima* para atacar a las mujeres en *Toakapawí*. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* le ordenó a su gente que atacaran a las mujeres sin miedo. Las mujeres estaban hablando y estaban borrachas. *Yepá Huáke* entró a *Toakapawí* y pensó poner el Yurupari que él llevaba, en el corazón de las mujeres, pero después pensó que si él hacía ésto, tal vez todas las mujeres morirían y solo quedarían en este mundo hombres. Entonces, en vez de ponerles el Yurupari en el corazón, les puso el Yurupari en la vagina, y todas las mujeres cayeron privadas. Todos los hombres entraron y recogieron todos los Yuruparises que tenían las mujeres y los escondieron fuera de la maloca. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* hizo despertar a todas las mujeres, y las mujeres no tenían ya Yuruparises. Los hombres habían ganado. Y por eso es que a las mujeres les es prohibido mirar a los Yuruparises.

## VIII - LA SEMILLA DE LA YUCA.

*Yúpuri Baúro* estaba llamando a *Miriápura Turíkaro* a *Uarirowí* para que le diera semilla de yuca, coca y tabaco. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* le pedía estas semillas a *Miriápura Turíkaro* porque como *Miriápura Turíkaro* tenía escondidas las *Bajséboperi* (las piedras de la comida), ya en este mundo no había nada para comer. *Yúpuri Baúro* llamó a *Miriápura Turíkaro* tres veces, y tres veces le pidió las semillas. Y *Miriápura Turíkaro* no contestó. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* llamó a *Yepá Huáke*, y *Yepá Huáke* estaban en el cielo. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* bajó a *Uarirowí*. *Yúpuri Baúro* estaba también en *Uarirowí*, pero afuera de la maloca, y

*Miriápura Turíkaro* no lo dejaba entrar. Cuando *Yepá Huáke* bajó, también comenzó a llamar a *Miriápura Turíkaro*, pero *Miriápura Turíkaro* tampoco contestó ni abrió la puerta de *Uarirowí*. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "No podemos con *Miriápura Turíkaro*, está muy trabajoso sacar las *Bajséboperi* otra vez. Yo le día a usted (a *Yúpuri Baúro*) todo lo que usted necesitaría. Como ustedes hicieron mal, *Miriápura Turíkaro* no entregará las *Bajséboperi*, porque esas *Bajséboperi* le pertenecen a él. Provisionalmente le voy a dar tabaco ya fabricado, coca ya fabricada, casabe y fariña, pero las semillas de tabaco, coca y yuca no le voy a dar".

Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* se fue de *Uarirowí* y regresó otra vez a *Diawí*. *Yúpuri Baúro* llegó a *Diawí* y allí habló con todo su *Pamúri Majsá* y les dijo que iban a hacer una fiesta grande para probar la coca que les había dado *Yepá Huáke*. Y antes de que *Yúpuri Baúro* hiciera la fiesta en *Diawí*, *Yepá Huáke* se apareció en *Diawí* para hablar con *Yúpuri Baúro*. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* le dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro*: "Yo no tengo semillas de coca, ni de tabaco, ni de yuca. Todo lo que yo tenía se lo dí a *Miriápura Turíkaro*, pero como ustedes hicieron mal, ya todo eso se perdió. Mi hermana, *Yepá Uejkeó*, les va a dar las semillas de yuca, coca y tabaco. A su mujer (mujer de *Yúpuri Baúro*) mi hermana, *Yepá Uejkeó*, le va a dar dos palitos. Estos palitos van a estar como manchados con sangre. Yo le cuento ésto para que usted sepa. Cuando su mujer sienta un golpe en el cuerpo (32) es porque *Yepá Uejkeó* viene con la semilla. Su mujer debe ir inmediatamente al puerto de *Diawí*, y usted debe ordenar a todos su *Pamúri Majsá* que se voltéen y miren hacia la puerta de atrás de *Diawí* acostados todos en sus propias hamacas. Si usted no me hace caso esta vez, van a perder otra vez la semilla de yuca, así como perdieron la vez pasada las *Bajséboperi*. Todos los indígenas del Vaupés son como animales. Algún día yo les mandaré gallinas, perros y marranos para que ustedes se comparen con ellos. Yo les estoy maldiciendo. Miren al grupo de los *Ereya* (33) y al grupo de *Siópuri Uejké* (34). Ellos sí que son gente buena.

(32) De acuerdo al informante, el shaman también siente un golpe en el cuerpo cada vez que va a llegar gente viajera a una maloca.
(33) Brasileños.
(34) Colombianos.

Ellos tienen sus propios jefes y les hacen caso a sus jefes. Ellos sí que me obedecen a mí. Entrese a la maloca de *Diawí*". Y *Yepá Huáke* se desapareció. *Yúpuri Baúro* se entró a *Diawí*, y allí ordenó que todos los *Pamúri Majsá* se volteasen para mirar hacia la puerta de atrás. Y todos los *Pamúri Majsá* obedecieron. Y ellos obedecieron a *Yúpuri Baúro* porque antes los Tukano eran muy respetuosos. Y antes *Yúpuri Baúro* podía pegarle a *Yepára Oakajpeá* (35), y *Yepára Oakajpeá* tenía que aguantar. Así todos los *Mamí* podían pegarle a sus *Nijiá* (36), y los *Nijiá* tenían que aguantar. Pero desde que llegaron los blancos al Vaupés, los Tukano se han vuelto irrespetuosos.

Apenas sintió el golpe en su cuerpo, la mujer de *Yúpuri Baúro* se dirigió al puerto de *Diawí* a recibir a *Yepá Uejkeó*. Y apenas llegó la mujer de *Yúpuri Baúro* al puerto de *Diawí*, cuando ya venían subiendo el río *Yepá Uejkeó* acompañada de tres mujeres más llamadas *Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá*.

Cuando *Yepá Huáke* había bajado a hablar con *Yúpuri Baúro* a *Diawí*, *Yepá Huáke* había quemado como por milagro una huerta detrás de *Diawí*.

*Yepá Uejkeó* y *Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá* llegaron al puerto de *Diawí*. La mujer de *Yúpuri Baúro* las recibió muy atentamente. Cada una de las cuatro mujeres traía un palito de yuca, pero no le entregaron los palitos de yuca a la mujer de *Yúpuri Baúro*, sino que se dirigieron a la huerta que había quemado *Yepá Huáke*. Bordearon la maloca de *Diawí* para que los *Pamúri Majsá* no las vieran. Cuando llegaron a la huerta, *Yepá Uejkeó* se puso en medio de las *Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá* y le dijo a la mujer de *Yúpuri Baúro* que se retirara un poquito y que pusiese mucho cuidado y atención a lo que ellas iban a hacer. El palito de la semilla de yuca que tenía *Yepá Uejkeó* se llamaba *Mejká Diáran Dejké*. Entonces *Yepá Uejkeó* dijo, tirando su palito de yuca: "Váyase usted por aquí, por el medio, *Mejká Diáran Dejké*". Después, una de las *Dejkepaég Majsá Numió* tiró su palito, diciendo: "*Batiá Dejké*, váyase por el lado derecho". Entonces otra de las *Dejkepaég Majsá Numió* tiró su palito, diciendo: "*Yausó*

(35) En la fratría *Yepá Bajuári Majsá*, *Yepára Oakajpeá* forma el sib inmediatamente inferior al de *Yúpuri Baúro*.

(36) Los hermanos mayores podían pegarle a sus hermanos menores.

*Dejké*, váyase por el lado izquierdo". Después la tercera *Dejkepaég Majsá Numió* tiró su palito de yuca, diciendo: "*Pamó Dejké*, váyase por el lado derecho". Después *Yepá Uejkeó* le dijo a la mujer de *Yúpuri Baúro*: "Véngase para acá". Y diciendo ésto la jaló de la mano y la trajo en medio de ellas. Entonces le dijo *Yepá Uejkeó* a la mujer de *Yúpuri Baúro*: "Yo le doy a usted estas semillas, pero estas semillas son gente. Cuídelas bien. Cuando usted tenga menstruación, no venga a la huerta a arrancar yuca, porque eso es malo. Y usted va a sufrir mucho, porque ya no es como antes, cuando tenían las *Bajséboperi*. Ahora usted tendrá que venir todos los días a la huerta a desyerbar y a cuidar mucho la yuca, y va a tener que trabajar duro". Y cuando hubo terminado de decir todo ésto *Yepá Uejkeó*, las mujeres que estaban allí palmearon las manos y se rieron de alegría.

Entonces en la maloca de *Diawí*, *Yúpuri Baúro* pensó que algunos hombres habían llegado y estaban molestando a su mujer. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* se acercó a la puerta de *Diawí* y atisbó para ver que estaba pasando. Apenas *Yúpuri Baúro* alcanzó a ver a las cinco mujeres, *Yepá Uejkeó* dijo: "*Yúpuri Baúro* nos está mirando". Y entonces se desaparecieron *Yepá Uejkeó* y las tres *Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá*. Y solamente quedó la mujer de *Yúpuri Baúro*. Y la yuca no se desapareció, sino que antes no había maleza en la huerta, pero en un segundo la huerta se llenó de maleza.

Entonces la mujer de *Yúpuri Baúro* se dirigió a la maloca de *Diawí*. Cuando llegó a la puerta de *Diawí*, llamó a *Yúpuri Baúro* para que le abriese la puerta de *Diawí*. *Yúpuri Baúro* abrió la puerta. Ella entró a *Diawí* y *Yúpuri Baúro* estaba parado allí en *Diawí*. Entonces ella dijo: "Usted es un hombre malo que no hace caso. Vaya desyerbe la huerta". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "Bueno, yo me voy a trabajar". En seguida *Yupuri Baúro* invitó a todos los *Pamúri Majsá* a que fuesen a trabajar con él a desyerbar la huerta. Y todos fueron con él. Llegaron a la huerta y en un ratito desyerbaron la huerta. Regresaron todos a *Diawí* otra vez, y *Yúpuri Baúro* le dijo a su mujer: "Ya desyerbé la huerta. Ahora ya puede usted ir a arrancar yuca". Ella dijo: "Bueno, eso será para siempre, para desyerbar una huerta tiene que trabajar mucha gente".

## IX - LAS SEMILLAS DEL TABACO Y DE LA COCA.

El día en que desyerbaron la huerta, *Yúpuri Baúro* salió de *Diawí* por la tardecita y se dirigió a la huerta a ver si encontraba tabaco y coca. *Yúpuri Baúro* buscó y buscó pero no encontró nada. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* pensó para él: "Lástima. Seguramente *Yepá Uejkeó* me mezquinó la semilla de coca y de tabaco". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* se regresó otra vez a *Diawí*. Cuando llegó a *Diawí*, le dijo a *Pamúri Majsá*: "No tenemos ni coca ni tabaco. Mañana yo voy a mandar a *Numiangó* y a *Pareroangó* a buscar tabaco. Al día siguiente por la mañana salieron *Numiangó* y *Pareroangó* a buscar tabaco. Las dos mujeres bajaron el río y llegaron a *Diaseorawí*. El dueño de la maloca de *Diaserowí se* llamaba *Uaí Majsé*. Entraron las dos mujeres a *Diaseorawí* y le dijeron a *Uaí Majsé*: "*Yúpuri Baúro* nos encargó que viniésemos a pedirle a usted tabaco y coca". Entonces *Uaí Majsé* dijo:"Sí, voy a darles tabaco y coca ya fabricados". Entonces *Uaí Majsé* les dio hoja de tabaco y coca ya preparada. *Numiangó* recibió la coca y el tabaco. Entonces *Pareroangó* le dijo a *Numiangó*: "Mire que *Yúpuri Baúro* no quería que le trajesen la coca ya preparada ni la hoja del tabaco solamente, sino que él quería la semilla de la coca y la semilla del tabaco". Después de decir esto, *Pareroangó* salió de *Diaseorawí*. *Numiangó* seguía sentada dentro de la maloca de *Diaseorawí*. Mientras *Numiangó* charlaba con *Uaí Majsé*, *Pareroangó* había salido de *Diaseorawí* para ver si encontraba la semilla de la coca y podérsela robar. *Pareroangó* no encontró la semilla de la coca y entonces regresó a la maloca de *Diaseorawí*. Y *Pareroangó* oía llorar a un niño dentro de la maloca, y el llanto venía de la parte de atrás de la maloca. Entonces *Pareroangó* se dirigió a la parte de atrás de la maloca para investigar quien lloraba. Y *Pareroangó* vió que quien lloraba era un niño. Ese niño era coca, porque *Uaí Majsé* lo veía como coca, pero *Pareroangó* lo veía como un niño. Entonces *Pareroangó* levantó al niño y salió con él de la maloca de *Diaseorawí*, y ella acariciaba al niño. Y *Pareroangó* le comenzó a contar los dedos, y ella contó seis dedos en cada mano, y *Pareroangó* veía esos dedos del niño como coca. Entonces *Pareroangó* pensó como hacer para robar esa coca. Entonces *Pareroangó* decidió arrancarle un dedo de la mano derecha. Y le arrancó el dedo que quedaba entre el dedo pulgar y el índice. Y

apenas ella hubo hecho ésto, también se desapareció el dedo entre el índice y el pulgar de la mano izquierda. Y apenas arrancó ella ese dedo, el niño gritó y se cayó al suelo. Y allí donde se cayó el niño salió inmediatamente una planta de coca. Tan pronto *Uaí Majsé* oyó el grito del niño, *Uaí Majsé* salió de la maloca de *Diaseorawí* y fue donde estaba *Pareroangó Uaí Majsé* convirtió otra vez la mata de coca en el niño y lo puso en su brazo izquierdo. Entonces *Uaí Majsé* le preguntó a *Pareroangó*: "Qué está haciendo usted?". Entonces *Pareroangó* le dijo la verdad: "Yo estoy robando coca". Entonces *Uaí Majsé* le preguntó: "Quién le mandó robar esta coca? Entonces *Pareroangó* contestó: "*Yúpuri Baúro* me mandó robar esta coca". Entonces *Uaí Majsé* dijo: "Bueno, puede llevársela, porque *Yúpuri Baúro* la mandó a usted. Si usted estuviese robando esta coca por su cuenta, yo no dejaría que usted lo hiciese. Llévele esta coca a *Yúpuri Baúro* y dígale que mañana yo voy a hablar con él. Yo tengo esta coca, pero uno sufre mucho con esta coca. Para comer esta coca hay que pensar mucho. Y cuando uno come esta coca uno no puede dormir y se queda despierto pensando y pensando sin poder dormir". Entonces *Numiangó* y *Pareroangó* se despidieron de *Uaí Majsé* y regresaron a *Diawí*. *Yúpuri Baúro* ya sabía lo que estaba pasando en *Diaseorawí*. Cuando *Numiangó* y *Pareroangó* llegaron a *Diawí*, entraron. *Yúpuri Baúro* estaba sentado en *Diawí*. *Mumiangó* fue donde estaba sentado *Yúpuri Baúro* y le entregó la hoja de tabaco solamente y la coca ya preparada, pero no la semilla de ninguna de estas dos plantas. Cuando *Yúpuri Baúro* recibió la hoja de tabaco, a *Yúpuri Baúro* le pareció que la hoja de tabaco era un pescado ahumeado. Y apenas *Yúpuri Baúro* recibió la hoja de tabaco que a él le parecía un pescado ahumeado, *Pareroangó* le entregó la semilla de coca. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* le preguntó a *Pareroangó*: "Usted le pidió esta semilla de coca a *Uaí Majsé?*". Entonces *Pareroangó* le contestó: "No, yo robé esta semilla de coca". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* le preguntó a *Pareroangó*: "Qué le dijo *Uaí Majsé* a usted?". Entonces *Pareroangó* dijo: "*Uaí Majsé* me preguntó quién me había mandado a robar esta coca?". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* le preguntó a *Pareroangó*: "Y usted qué le contestó?". Entonces *Pareroangó* contestó: "Yo le dije a *Uaí Majsé* que *Yúpuri Baúro* me había mandado a robar esta coca". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "Yo no quiero esta coca robada. Quédese usted con esta coca". Por eso es que ahora los Tukano no reciben cosas robadas, y son muy señalados los ladrones entre

los Tukano. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* le ordenó a *Pareroangó* que fuese a sembrar esa coca. Entonces *Pareroangó* se puso muy contenta y fue y plantó la semilla. Y ese mismo día la semilla floreció en una mata de coca, y produjo mucha coca. Entonces *Pareroangó* regresó a *Diawí*. *Yúpuri Baúro* seguía mirando el pescado ahumeado, convencido de que ese era un pescado ahumeado, aunque en realidad era una hoja de tabaco. *Pareroangó* se quedó parada dentro de la maloca de *Diawí* y se quedó mirando a *Yúpuri Baúro* para ver que hacía con la hoja de tabaco que tenía en sus manos. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* pensó: "Esto no es tabaco. Esas son mentiras de *Uaí Majsé*". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* fue a su cuarto y cogió un pedazo de casabe y salió otra vez al centro de la maloca de *Diawí*. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* comenzó a comer el pescado ahumeado. Y apenas *Yúpuri Baúro* comenzó a comer un poquito de este pescado, el resto del pescado se desapareció. Y al momento *Yúpuri Baúro* se volvió loco y salió corriendo en cuatro patas, de la maloca de *Diawí*. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* daba vueltas alrededor de la maloca de *Diawí* corriendo en cuatro patas. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* comenzó a vomitar, y donde el vómito de *Yúpuri Baúro* caía, salía una mata de tabaco. Y así es como los Tukano volvieron a conseguir otra vez la semilla del tabaco.

Al día siguiente llegó *Uaí Majsé* a *Diawí*. Entró en la maloca y le preguntó a *Yúpuri Baúro*: "Qué hubo *Yúpuri Baúro?*". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* le contestó: "Hola". *Yúpuri Baúro* le dió la mano para saludar a *Uaí Majsé*, y le ofreció un asiento para que se sentara frente a él. Entonces *Uaí Majsé* dijo: "Ayer le mandé coca y tabaco". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "Sí, los recibí". Entonces *Uaí Majsé* dijo: "*Pareroangó* me robó la semilla de coca ". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "Yo no acepté esa semilla de coca robada. Esa semilla quedará para ella". *Uaí Majsé* se desapareció tan pronto oyó ésto. Por eso es que los *Yepá Bajuári Majsá* se quedaron sin la semilla de coca. Pero *Pareroangó*, le dió la semilla de coca a su hermano, por eso es que todos los otros *Yepá Majsá*, menos *Yepá Bajuári Majsá*, comían coca desde ese entonces.

Entonces *Yepá Huáke* le dió a *Yúpuri Baúro* dos totumas, una estaba llena de almidón de yuca y la otra estaba llena de almidón de maíz. Y desde ese entonces, los *Yepá Bajuári Majsá* no comían coca sino que comían almidón de yuca y de maíz. Pero

cuando los *Yepá Bajuári Majsá* invitaban al resto de los *Yepá Majsá*, entonces los otros *Yepá Majsá* no estaban acostumbrados a comer almidón de yuca y almidón de maíz. Entonces una vez, un jefe *Bará* le regaló semilla de coca a *Yepára Oakajpeá* para que la plantara. *Yepára Oakajpeá* plantó esa coca, pero ningún *Yepá Bajuári Majsá* comía de esa coca. Esa coca la comían solamente los otros *Yepá Majsá* cuando ellos venían a las fiestas de los *Yepá Bajuári Majsá*. Y hace poquito nada más que los *Yepá Bajuári Majsá* comenzaron a comer coca de verdad. Y antes solamente los viejos sabios podían comer coca de verdad, pero ahora cualquier tonto come coca.

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# Aspects of Tucano Culture: Cosmogony
[Aspectos de la Cultura Tukana: Cosmogonía]

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[Title page]

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# Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

121 [122] /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 [101] The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, 124 and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as inter- 128 preter. Owing to the short time of the investigation and to hav- 772 ing consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee 772 the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by 769 Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

105 [171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

131 /99 cont./
167 As is seen, the Tukano group is found distributed both in Colombian territory and Brazilian, and the migratory movements of natives between these two countries are quite frequent.

241 The Tukano work the land by means of the slash-and-burn
[462] method. The piece of ground intended for agriculture is always cleaned of underbrush and trees by the /100/ men, a job at which each man works individually or assisted by his male
[412] relatives. At one time, before the arrival of the Creole rubber
[177] workers in the region, the trees and underbrush were cut with stone axes, but since the arrival of the rubber worker the machete has been introduced, and today no Tukano Indian would consider using the lithic instrument again.

Trees of great size are generally left in the place in which they fell, but small trees and bushes are burned toward the end of summer, or the dry season. The ashes obtained from the burning are used as fertilizer to improve the soil, but owing to the thin vegetal layer, to erosion, and to the general poorness of the land, the Tukano Indian is obliged to select and clear a
[242] new garden every three or four years. The method of crop rotation is not practiced because the forest vegetation rapidly returns to invade the land that is not cultivated and tended. The field under cultivation rarely exceeds one or two hectares.

[412] The planting is done immediately after finishing the burning, among the stumps of the felled trees and the trunks of the toppled trees. Probably the only aboriginal implement used in the planting is the planter's stick (2),

2. Digging-stick /this term is given in English/.

which is used primarily to loosen the earth and to open holes in it for planting seeds or young plants. The ground is rarely cultivated and tended after the planting is done, but weeds are pulled out and care is taken that the forest does not invade the garden.

/100 cont./

241 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth
462 from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting
[249] are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, flame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The
[437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function
[262] of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the
224 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow
223 and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a
[177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

342 /102 cont./
There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed
[824] at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592 The size of the maloca varies according to the number of
342 its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to
[162] shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements
596 /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only
[287] a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the
177 Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental
797 clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukuri, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayuru, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukuri, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukuri, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

[262] [753] [178]

773 177 [128] [014] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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797 /105 cont./
177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny; he has two wives.

756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

## Cosmogony

*539 The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115] [177] 4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5),

[177] 5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

*539 /106 cont./
Tukano. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he is named (6)

[193]

6. Here the interpreter uses the present indicative of the verb llamarse /"to be called" or "to be named"/; he discontinues in this form the use of the imperfect indicative of the same verb.

Yepára Suí, and these people were the ones who made the money for all the Tukano. The money used by the Tukano were feathers of all kinds. Feathers represented wealth for the Tukano. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he is named Ajúsiro Sóbaro, who was the first lieutenant of all the Tukano. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he is named Yúpuri Pamó, and he was the architect of all the malocas (houses) of the Tukano. From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Yepára Merú, and this was the corps (musicians) for the official feasts. From Diaojpekowí came another man, who is named Doétiro Mimisipé, and he is the maker of fine articles: such as mamatisjé (this means paint for the face, and in Geral is called carayurú), such as perfumes of all kinds and fine herbs of every kind for beautifying all the Tukano. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he is named Ajkíto Patíro, and he was the propagandist of the politics of the Tukano. From Diaojpekowí came another man, who is named Kemáru Kukú, and he was like a captain of the army of the Tukano, but Ajúsiro Sóbaro gave orders to Kemáru Kukú. From Diaojpekowí came another man, who is named Urémiri Sáraro, and he was in charge of all the Republic of the Tukano, he was a kind of Ministro de Gobierno /Minister of Government/ (7).

7. Example of transculturization.

And he was in charge of all the land of the Tukano; and this same gentleman was in charge of and guarded the spirits of Yuruparí,

*539 /106 cont./
which in Tukano is called Miriapurajeripura. And Urémiri Sáraro also guarded the bows and arrows and the fighting sticks, and he had a fine thing, like the habit of a cloth painted with all kinds of colors, which he guarded for all the Tukano. When the congress met (8),

8. Transculturization.

he gave orders that the delegates would dress with this fine cloth painted with all the colors which is called Miriapurasutiro in the language of the Tukano. And Urémiri Sáraro was also in charge of the education of the Tukano, and in the school were taught things of payé (9),

9. Shaman.

which in Tukano is called Yaí. From the school came payés who divined, blew diseases, interpreted dreams, and this last is called Kúmu, because he blows and divines. Yaí /107/ made angry thunder when someone died. This is because, when someone dies, the payés make angry thunder and make lightning and rain from the anger that they have. In the same school they taught the national anthem (10)

10. Transculturization.

of the Tukano; the one who taught all this was Urémiri Sáraro. In the school they taught discipline for the army and for all the Tukano, for example, to march and to shoot, and this discipline was very clear. Discipline signified a large gũío /a very large aquatic snake; this word is not italicized in the Spanish text/. The armies and the civilians jumped on a gũío to have courage, because it was very dangerous to jump on a gũío, because the gũío also killed people. Urémiri Sáraro also taught Amonumiabasero, which means that the girls who were still virgins would get married, that they would be

*539 /107 cont./
beautiful, and for this he blew them. He blew the water and they drank the water, he also blew them with tobacco smoke. Urémiri Sáraro also taught speeches, for example, for presenting the flag and explaining the meaning of the coat of arms (11).

11. Transculturization.

The Miriapurasutiro, which was the garment of cloth of many colors that Urémiri Sáraro guarded, was the coat of arms and the flag of the Tukano. From Diaojpekowí came another man, who is named Parisí, and his duty was to kill with prayers the other people who were not Tukano. And he taught the men of the maloca of Parisí how to kill the other people who were not Tukano. And Parisí knew how to blow, but the blowings were not to cure sickness, but so that the Parisí would have many sons and daughters. And Parisí was like a Ministro de Higiene /Minister of Health/. From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Yúpuri Búbera, and his duty was to make a very fine drink that all the Tukano drank at very special feasts. These feasts were for dancing, for making speeches, for talking about the history of the Tukano (12).

12. The Tukano cosmogony.

and for the Tukano to have a good time. This drink is called Cajpí in Tukano, but Cajpí was not drunk at all the feasts. Cajpí was drunk only for the feasts of Miriapurajeripura (Yuruparí) and of Dabukurí. Today Cajpí is still prepared and drunk. And Yúpuri Búbera had a drum, and Yúpuri Búbera played this drum when Cajpí was drunk. When Yúpuri Búbera died, the drum was still played, and his tribe played the drum. And Yúpuri Búbera had a special piece of furniture /108/ for all the Tukano, and the life of all the Tukano depended on this piece of furniture. If this piece of furniture broke, all the Tukano would die. And Yúpuri Búbera knew the song of Miriapurajeripura (Yuruparí), and he did not

*539

/108 cont./

teach this song of Miriapurajeripura to anyone. And this song of Miriapurajeripura was only for two tribes, which were: Yúpuri Búbera and Urémiri Sáraro. And Yúpuri Búbera knew how to weave the small fine feathers that cost a lot of money, and when they were woven in a kind of fabric, he gave them to Urémiri Sáraro and Yúpuri Búbera to wear. And afterwards Yúpuri Búbera guarded the spirit of the malocas of all the Tukano. And Yúpuri Búbera caught a hawk, which is called Aapajké in Tukano, and this hawk was to have things taken from it for divination. He took out the finest feathers that the hawk had, and the feathers were to be blown, and, when they were blown, he put the feathers in his ears, and Yúpuri Búbera became payé (Yaí and Kúmu). Yúpuri Búbera took some fine and thin little sticks, and he buried them in the ground standing upright, and he did this to sing to them. After singing to them, Yúpuri Búbera spoke with all the Tukano so that they would respect him. And Yúpuri Búbera was the governor of all the departments of the Tukano. And all these of whom we have spoken were the high class, the governing ones, the generals of all the Tukano.

Now we are going to speak of the tribes who are also Tukano, but who belong to the lower class, those who could not be commanders.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Nájori Dipé, and he was like the sergeant of the army of the Tukano.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Ajúsiro Merí, and he was the police sergeant of the army of the Tukano.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Urémiri Slóropo, and he was like the second lieutenant (13)

13. Acculturization. The hierarchical title that the interpreter gives to the different Tukano chiefs can not be considered from the point of view of the military and police hierarchy that exists in Colombia.

of the army of the Tukano.

*539 /108 cont./

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Ajúsiro Túro, and he was first corporal of the army of all the Tukano. And he was a great fighter, and sometimes he did not pay attention to his superior chiefs.

/109/ From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Ditápura, and he was like second corporal of the army of all the Tukano.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Ajkíto Kuá, who was like the third corporal of the army of all the Tukano.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Ajkíto Yujuró, and he was the one who carried the arrows and the bows and the sticks /Spanish palos, sticks, cudgels/ and the food for all the army of the Tukano.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Bujpuápura, and it was he who taught all the army of the Tukano how to handle the bows and the arrows and the sticks.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Ajpué Keriá, and he was the chief of the guerrillas who went out in commission to put order in other tribes, because among the Tukano there was no fighting among themselves.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Wuá, and this gentleman had as his duty to fight for the Tukano only at night. He was like a nocturnal army.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Doé Yukaró, and this gentleman also had his army, and also fought at night.

And all these Tukano of whom we have spoken, of the lower class, were under the orders of Urémiri Sáraro.

The tribes that were under the orders of Yúpuri Baúro are:

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Umu Saaí, and this gentleman had an army that was the personal guard of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Kemáru Dasirí, and he was the chief of an army that was at the personal service of Yúpuri Baúro.

*539 /109 cont./

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Urémi Sakuró, and he was the chief of another army that was also under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Yáitoro, who was the chief of an army that also was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Suí /110/ Amoperí, and he, too, was the chief of an army that was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Arú Perí, and he, too, was the chief of an army that was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Bojsóka Perí, who also was the chief of an army that was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Ajkíto Bitóro, and that one was indeed like the chief of Umu Saaí, Kemáru Dasirí, Urémi Sakuró, Yáitoro, Suí Amoperí, Arú Perí, and Bojsóka Perí. And Ajkíto Bitóro was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro, and he was very brave.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Báya Purá, and he, too, was like Ajkíto Bitóro, because he, too, commanded Umu Saaí, Kemáru Dasirí, Urémi Sakuró, Yáitoro, Suí Amoperí, Arú Perí, and Bojsóka Perí; and also commanded Ajkíto Bitóro.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Mío Putí, and he was brave too and fought at night. He, too, was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro. Ajkíto Bitóro could command Mío Putí.

In Diaojpekowí remained a man named Yepá Huáke. And Yepá Huáke gave cashirí (Péru) (14)

[273]

14. Chicha made by means of the fermentation of the boiled juice of bitter yuca, to which is also added cooked flame /Dioscorea/ and pieces of casabe /cassava or cassava bread/.

*539

/110 cont./
to Yúpuri Baúro to drink and gave him tobacco (Manró) to smoke and gave him coca (Páto) to eat and then he made him sleep. When Yepá Huáke saw that Yúpuri Baúro was asleep, he took out a rib from the left side, then he took out a bone from the left thigh, then he took out a bone from the left forearm; after all this, Yapá /sic/ Huáke took a little dirt, and with all this, the bones and the dirt, Yepá Huáke made a doll; he took out a flue pipe (Ueouí) and with his own breath he blew through the flue pipe on the forehead of the doll. After blowing, he made the doll and Yúpuri Baúro wake up. And the doll became a woman, and this woman was the sister of Yúpuri Baúro, and she was named Yepára Dujuío (15).

15. The creation of the first Tukano woman by Yepá Huáke has a great resemblance to the creation of Eve by the Christian God. Possibly another case of acculturization.

Then Yepá Huáke saw that Yúpuri Baúro and /111/ Yepára Dujuío were awake, and then Yepá Huáke asked Yúpuri Baúro: "Who is this woman?" And then Yúpuri Baúro said: "This is my sister." And Yepá Huáke said: "It is all right." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to Yepára Dujuío: "You are going to respect me." And they answered: "Yes, we will respect you." And Yepá Huáke said: "Good." Then Yepá Huáke gave them orders to leave Diaojpekowí. And then they left. And as soon as they had left, there appeared to Yúpuri Baúro and to Yepára Dujuío a caimo /this word is not italicized in the Spanish text/ tree. Then Yepá Huáke removed his own left arm, and this arm turned into a person, and this person climbed up the caimo tree. Then Yepá Huáke removed his own little toe from his left foot. And then the little toe of the left foot turned into a güío. And Yepá Huáke ordered Yúpuri Baúro and Yepára Dujuío to move a little farther away from Diaojpekowí. The person who had climbed up the caimo tree, who was a man, asked

*539 /111 cont./

Yúpuri Baúro and Yepára Dujuío where they were going. And then they answered that they were going to Diaojpekodijtára to bathe themselves so as not to die. And the man who had climbed up the caimo tree and who was named Sé said to Yúpuri Baúro and to Yepára Dujuío: "First eat the fruit of this tree. If you go to bathe at Diaojpekodijtára first, you will die." Then Yúpuri Baúro said to Yepára Dujuío: "These are lies that Sé is telling." Then Yepára Dujuío said: "They are not lies, let us eat!" And both ate. Yepá Huáke saw that Yúpuri Baúro and Yepára Dujuío had already eaten some fruit from the caimo tree, and he called to Yúpuri Baúro and to Yepára Dujuío. And they went to him. Then Yepá Huáke said to them: "You do not respect me at all." Then Yepá Huáke said that Yúpuri Baúro and Yepára Dujuío would die (16).

16. This passage of the Tukano cosmogony is very similar to the Biblical chapter in which Adam and Eve are put out of Paradise for having eaten the forbidden fruit. Acculturization.

But Yúpuri Baúro and Yepára Dujuío did not die yet. And Yepá Huáke gave the order that all the Tukano would go marching out before anyone else or other people. And then the Tukano went marching out, and they went to Diaojepkodijtára. And the Tukano arrived. And at the banks of Diaojpekodijtára the Tukano stopped. And afterwards Yepá Huáke gave orders for the /112/ first white man to leave Diaojpekowí. This white man was German /Spanish alemán/ (17.

17. It could not be made clear why the first "white man" in the Tukano cosmography was German.

* 539 /112 cont./
192 German in Tukano is called Alemãn. And then Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Colombians, who are called Siópuri Uejké in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. Then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Americans, who are called Pubricanos in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the English /Spanish ingleses/, who are called Ingleses in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Italians /Spanish italianos/, who are called Italianos in Tukano, to leave. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the French to leave Diaojpekowí. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Brazil-
* ians, who are called Ereya in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí.
539 And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Spanish to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Peruvians to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Syrians to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another
[192] order for the Portuguese to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the bicudos, who are also white Brazilians, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Negroes, who are called Tapañumas in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. In other words, all the people of the world left Diaojpekowí. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Baré, who are people who speak Geral (18),
[197]

18. Geral is the name with which is designated a language that is formed in its major part by the Tupí language.

to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Ananicas, who are very small people and whom the whites call pygmies, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for an old woman of the whites to leave Diaojpekowí.

Yepá Huáke gave the order for all the whites, those who were not Tukano, to march to where the Tukano were, that is, to Diaojpekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke performed a great miracle. With this miracle came all kinds of armaments, clothing, shoes,

*539 /112 cont./
hats, straps, and belts of the whites. Then Yepá Huáke performed another miracle, and from this miracle came the arrows, bows, blowguns, guayucos /loincloths/, and all the clothes of the Tukano.

/113/ The Tukano had already arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And afterwards the whites arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke gave orders for all, whites and Tukano, to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And there in Diaojpekodijtára appeared a few gulos, all kinds of serpents, and all kinds of fierce animals. And this was because Yepá Huáke ordered it. From then on no one else could bathe in Diaojpekodijtára out of fear of these animals. And Yepá Huáke said that the group that was strongest should bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke said that the Tukano should bathe first, and the Tukano did not want to bathe out of fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke commanded the whites to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára, and all the whites bathed without fear. And from then on the Tukano remained under the orders of the whites, since, because of the accursed fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára, the Tukano did not bathe and the whites won (19).

[648]
[829]

19. Rationalization for the dominion that the police, the judge, the Comisario /commissary, commissioner/, the religious Missionary, and the rubber worker have over the Indian in the Vaupés region.

And before bathing themselves in Diaojpekodijtára, the whites were the color of the Tukano, but after bathing in Diaojpekodijtára they turned white. The Tukano saw that the whites were already bathing, and then the Tukano wet the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of the feet, and that is why all these parts of the body of the Tukano are white (20).

[826]

20. Reference to the fact that in general the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of

*539
[826]

/113 cont./

the feet are of a lighter color than the other parts of the body.

All the people, whites and Tukano, who were grouped together, began their return to Diaojpekodijtára and became separated on the march. To the right marched the Tukano with Yúpuri Baúro as their chief, and to the left were all the whites, who were led by Alemán. Among the Tukano went Yepára Dujuſo, and among the whites went the old lady, who is named Númio Paraméo in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke made them enter Diaojpekowſ again. And Yepá Huáke performed a miracle, and in a gourd /Spanish totuma, Crescentia/ he produced coca already ground and mixed with ash (21),

[276]

21. The ash of the burned dried leaf is an ingredient in the elaboration of coca by the Tukano Indian.

and he also produced tobacco, and also produced a small cigar /Spanish tabaquito/ which is smoked through the nose and which is called Uejisé in Tukano. And in with this /114/ coca there were gũſos and serpents and spiders and all the wild beasts and animals of the world. And Yepá Huáke ordered Yúpuri Baúro to eat some of this coca. And Yúpuri Baúro was very afraid of this coca full of animals. And then Yepá Huáke ordered the Alemanes to eat some of this coca, and they would not eat either, from pure fear of the animals that were in that coca. And then Yepá Huáke ordered all the animals that were in the gourd with coca to eat the coca, and the animals ate it; that is why the animals never die, but instead only change skins and hides. And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Because you did not eat any of this coca, you are going to die" (22).

22. Will not be immortal.

*539 /114 cont./
And then Yepá Huáke also said to the Alemán: "Because you did not eat any of this coca, you too are going to die" (23).

23. Will not be immortal.

And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You will have riches in this world: the Yuruparises, the feathers, the arrows, blowguns, little benches /Spanish banquitos, stools, little benches/ (Kumú), stick for killing people (Ujpiópi), shields for fighting (Uetitóke), and you will use a small horn made from the bone of the right thigh of a devil that is not a spirit and that has human form," and that devil is named Boraró and the small horn is called Pujtiricá. "Your riches will remain in the malocas /houses/ of the Tukano, and all your riches are there." Which are few. Then Yepá Huáke said also to Alemán: "You will have all the riches of the world, and these riches will be: armaments, shotguns, knives, axes, papers (notebooks). And you, Alemán, will never be able to know or remember things from pure memory, but instead will have to note them on paper (notebook) in order to remember them (24).

24. Rationalization of the use of paper and pencil by the men of occidental civilization in the Vaupés.

And this one, who is Yúpuri Baúro, will never have papers (notebooks) nor need to make notes, but rather will remember from pure memory all that happens in the world. You will not be able to take away the memory that Yúpuri Baúro has, and this Yúpuri Baúro is the head (25)

25. The Tukano Indian does not need paper and pencil to remember things.

*539 /114 cont./
of all of you, the whites." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You begin to make war against your enemies." And Yepá Huáke said then to the Alemán: "You go to the east, and your country will be there." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri
[821] Baúro: "I am going to perform a miracle." And when /115/ Yepá Huáke said the word "miracle," which in Tukano is called Bajúrese, the sun appeared for the first time; before that there had never been sun. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemán: "Each one of you will fight in your own country." Then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Your wealth will have power. Your factories will have airplanes, automobiles, ships, submarines, and all kinds of things that you want to make. And you, too, will die" (26).

26. Will not be immortal.

In this way Yepá Huáke cursed Yúpuri Baúro and the Alemanes. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "For you there remain the
[755] Payés (Yaí and Kúmu). And just as I blew you in order for you to
[756] live, the payé will also blow you and will save you when there are sick ones. If the wind that I blew you comes to an end, the sick one will die, and the dead one will turn into earth again" (27).

27. Possible Christian influence.

Yepá Huáke said to the Alemanes: "For you there remains a medical doctor. If the wind that I blew you falls short, the doctor will give you injections and will save the sick people. You will perform operations on the sick people and take out the sicknesses. When the wind that I blew you comes to an end, then the sick people will die and the dead will also turn into earth again." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemanes: "You are not going to live for all life. I am going to give you land, and that land will be for all. And that land will never die."

*539 /115 cont./

Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemanes: "Walk with me." And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Sit here with me at my right." And Yepá Huáke also said to Yepára Dujuío: "Come, sit here at my right, beside your brother" (28).

28. Yúpuri Baúro.

Then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Sit here at my left side." And Yepá Huáke said to Númio Paraméo (29):

29. The old "white" woman.

"Come, sit at my left side, beside your brother" (30).

30. Alemán.

[821] And Yepá Huáke then created the wind, because before there had never been wind, and this was a miracle. And this wind caught up the little bench where Yepá Huáke, Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Dujuío, Alemán, and Númio Paraméo were sitting and carried it up to the sky. It was the wind that held the /116/ little bench so that it would not fall. And then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Your country is to the east, here you have your tobacco, and this tobacco is to be smoked and in order to have a large family" (31).

31. In order to be very fertile.

Yepá Huáke also said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Your country is to the north, west, and south." Then Yepá Huáke said to the Brazilians: "You remain here in Diaojpekowí." This is why the Brazilians still live in Diaojpekowí, and why Diaojpekowí is in Brazil. Then Yepá Huáke, Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Dujuío, Alemán, and Númio Paraméo came down from the sky to Diaojpekowí on the little bench. And Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "You stay here so

*539 /116 cont./
that you can go to your land, to the east." And Yepá Huáke
*539 performed a miracle so that the land would appear, because
823 before this there had not been any land either. And on this land Yepá Huáke made the trees. And afterwards Yepá Huáke performed another miracle, and that land went down under this world. And that is why under this land there is a river that is called Uamedia. And Yepá Huáke performed another miracle so that the land on which we live would appear. And Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Have your city underneath the land, on the second land, like a kind of tunnel, just as there are cafés in Bogotá and stores in Bogotá."

Then Yepá Huáke left Diaojpekowí to smoke tobacco, and when he had smoked the tobacco, he blew. And Yepá Huáke smoked tobacco, blew to the north, to the south, to the east, and to the west, and the land appeared for all the world. And upon this land appeared all of nature. Then Yepá Huáke made the seas, and he surrounded the land of all the world with these seas. Then Yepá Huáke made another sea that formed the Vaupés, Negro, and Amazon rivers. Yepá Huáke left Diaojpekowí.

*539 A large boat appeared in Diaojpekowí, and this boat was a gũío. And first Yúpuri Baúro went aboard this boat, and second Siópuri Uejké went aboard, and the Alemán was located to the east. And there they separated. Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baúro arrived at Diatabujtiwí, a maloca of white straw. They went in and went out again, looking at the lands. They boarded the boat of the gũío again and continued going up the rivers. They arrived at Diamajamirawí. Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baúro went up to the sky again. Yúpuri Baúro found a special stick that sounds like a bell, /117/ and the Tukano still have sticks like that. And that stick was for measuring time, to see where the country of Ereya was. They came down from the sky to Diamajamirawí again. They went aboard the boat of the gũío again and continued going up the rivers. And they arrived at Diatumurawí. They arrived there and landed and entered and were there a short while only looking at the maloca. They left Diatumurawí and

*539 /117 cont./

returned to board the boat of the gũío again and continued going up the rivers. And they arrived at Diayebarawí, and Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baúro entered there with their little benches, their tobacco, and their coca. Afterwards there was chicha in Diayebarawí and there was also the small cigars /Spanish tabaquito/ to smoke through the nose. And Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baúro went up to the sky again in their little benches and found a stick that served as a bell and began to take measurements again, and this time the boundaries of Ereya were correct. Then as far as Diayebarawí remained for Ereya. Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baúro boarded the boat of the gũío again and continued going up the rivers and arrived at Diabarowí. Diabarowí means where Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baúro encountered a Yuruparí, and that Yuruparí is named Baró. And Yúpuri Baúro picked up that Baró, and Siópuri Uejké picked up a horn. And then they entered Diabarowí. There Yúpuri Baúro gave orders to Siópuri Uejké for Siópuri Uejké to stay in Diabarowí.

Yúpuri Baúro said to Siópuri Uejké: "You are my brother and that is why I leave you in charge of this maloca." And the Spanish and the Colombians stayed there. Yúpuri Baúro gave orders to Siópuri Uejké and the Spanish to go to the Amazon River, and in those times the Amazon River was in the country of the Spanish and the Colombians. Yúpuri Baúro alone left Diabarowí again and boarded the boat of the gũío and continued going up the Amazon River. The Colombians and the Spanish stayed at the mouth of the Amazon River in the Atlantic Ocean, because that is where Diabarowí is. And Yúpuri Baúro continued going upriver and crossed the Río Negro and arrived at Yejkejoriwí, which is a maloca. And he entered and picked up a little bench. And the little bench was painted with all kinds of colors. And Yúpuri Baúro left Yejkejoriwí, taking the little bench. He crossed to the other side of the Río Negro and arrived at Diasarirawí, which in Tukano means maloca with a special piece of furniture. And Yúpuri Baúro left Diasarirawí and he took the special piece of furniture. Yúpuri Baúro boarded the boat of the gũío again and

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continued going upriver and arrived at Diaoajatrorawí, and there he picked up Oajatro, /118/ which in Tukano means a special gourd, and he left Diaoajatrorawí and boarded the boat of the gũío again. And he continued going upriver. And he arrived at Diautikesererowí, and from there he took Utikeserero, which is like a small fork for smoking big cigars and is painted in all the colors. Yúpuri Baúro left Diautikesererowí and he climbed on the boat of the gũío again and continued going upriver, and he arrived at Diamajarawí, and he entered that maloca. And there he picked up Yuruparí. And he left there again and embarked anew and continued going up the river and he arrived at Diaurawí. And in Diaurawí he picked up U, which is a special turtle for Yúpuri Baúro. And he left Diaurawí and he boarded the boat of the gũío again, and that boat of the gũío is called Pameriyekése in Tukano. And he continued going up the river and he arrived at Diabajsirawí. And from that maloca he took a woven ribbon painted in all colors, and that ribbon was for tying the knees, and the Tukano still tie their knees. And Yúpuri Baúro left Diabajsirawí and boarded the boat of the gũío and continued going up the river. And he arrived at Diapirorawí and entered, looked around, and left immediately and boarded the boat of the gũío and continued going up the river. And he arrived at Diadejkepawí and entered this maloca and picked up a piece of bitter yuca seed and he left Diadejkepawí again. And he got into the boat of the gũío and he continued going up the river. And he arrived at Dianipírima, and this is a river, and he entered directly, heading toward where his country was. He arrived at Diadajserawí and entered and said: "Up to here is my country." He left Diadajserawí again and boarded the boat of the gũío again and returned to the mouths of Dianipírima. He crossed to the other side of the Río Negro and entered another river that is called Diakababurí. And on this river he entered directly a maloca that is called Diakababurawí. And there he left a fierce person, and that is why up to now no one can enter that stream, because the Tukano who live there are very fierce. The Brazilians

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continued going upriver and arrived at Diaoajatrorawí, and there he picked up Oajatro, /118/ which in Tukano means a special gourd, and he left Diaoajatrorawí and boarded the boat of the gũío again. And he continued going upriver. And he arrived at Diautikesererowí, and from there he took Utikeserero, which is like a small fork for smoking big cigars and is painted in all the colors. Yúpuri Baúro left Diautikesererowí and he climbed on the boat of the gũío again and continued going upriver, and he arrived at Diamajarawí, and he entered that maloca. And there he picked up Yuruparí. And he left there again and embarked anew and continued going up the river and he arrived at Diaurawí. And in Diaurawí he picked up U, which is a special turtle for Yúpuri Baúro. And he left Diaurawí and he boarded the boat of the gũío again, and that boat of the gũío is called Pameriyekése in Tukano. And he continued going up the river and he arrived at Diabajsirawí. And from that maloca he took a woven ribbon painted in all colors, and that ribbon was for tying the knees, and the Tukano still tie their knees. And Yúpuri Baúro left Diabajsirawí and boarded the boat of the gũío and continued going up the river. And he arrived at Diapirorawí and entered, looked around, and left immediately and boarded the boat of the gũío and continued going up the river. And he arrived at Diadejkepawí and entered this maloca and picked up a piece of bitter yuca seed and he left Diadejkepawí again. And he got into the boat of the gũío and he continued going up the river. And he arrived at Dianipírima, and this is a river, and he entered directly, heading toward where his country was. He arrived at Diadajserawí and entered and said: "Up to here is my country." He left Diadajserawí again and boarded the boat of the gũío again and returned to the mouths of Dianipírima. He crossed to the other side of the Río Negro and entered another river that is called Diakababurí. And on this river he entered directly a maloca that is called Diakababurawí. And there he left a fierce person, and that is why up to now no one can enter that stream, because the Tukano who live there are very fierce. The Brazilians

*539 /118 cont./
call that stream Cababurí. Yúpuri Baúro left Diakababurawí again and boarded the boat of the gũío again and continued going upriver. And they arrived at Diaetadekawí and took a medallion of precious stone, in the form of a tube, which is still used suspended at the neck. He left Diaetadekawí, boarded the vessel of the gũío, and continued going up the river. And he arrived at Diadajsirawí. And they entered and took necklaces, which are called Diajsatu in Tukano. And these fine necklaces can not be made any longer, and Yepá Huáke left them for Yúpuri Baúro, Yúpuri Pamó, Yúpuri Duetra, and Urémiri Sáraro. And these fine necklaces were not used every day, but rather for official feasts. The rest of the time /119/ these fine necklaces were guarded. Yúpuri Baúro left Diadajsirawí and boarded the vessel of the gũío and stayed on the boat of the gũío. And there he stayed, watching over where Yepá Huáke was, the one who had us created, and Yepá Huáke was not there. And Yúpuri Baúro with all his people left the boat of the gũío, and he again watched if he could see Yepá Huáke on land, out of the boat of the gũío. And Yepá Huáke was not there either. And Duétiro, brother of Yúpuri Baúro, said: "Yepá Huáke has already gone up to the sky." Then Yúpuri Baúro and Duétiro said: "That is not good for us. It is going to rain very much, very much, because the Sé is going to make it rain and he is going to eat all of us" (32).

32. A deluge.

And the Sé had already dammed the river from there up so that it began to rise, and then Yúpuri Baúro and Duétiro and all the people boarded the vessel of the gũío. And Yúpuri Baúro made the gũío coil itself, and after the gũío coiled itself, the gũío went up to the sky with Yúpuri Baúro, Duétiro, and all the people. And they were in the sky for 60 days, and after 60 days the river began to go down again. And Yepá Huáke had already killed Sé. After Sé died, the river began to go down more quickly. After 30 days (33),

33. One month.

+539 /119 cont./
the river was already as it had been before the river rose. And Yúpuri Baúro with Duétiro and all their people came down from the sky and arrived again at Diadajsirawí. And Yepá Huáke had gone up again to the sky, after having come down to kill Sé. And then Yúpuri Baúro and Duétiro, after having come down from the sky, said: "If Yepá Huáke is not on this land, the same that happened before will happen again, in other words, the river will swell again." Then Duétiro said to Yúpuri Baúro that Yúpuri Baúro did not know how to manage the personnel well and that Duétiro would be the chief. Then Yúpuri Baúro said to Duétiro that Yúpuri Baúro is going to see how Duétiro is going to manage the personnel. And Yúpuri Baúro let Duétiro manage the personnel. Yúpuri Baúro said: "It is all right." And afterwards Yúpuri Baúro said: "You are to continue going upriver as I was doing before to find our country." And then Duétiro and Yúpuri Baúro fought, Yúpuri Baúro saying that Yepá Huáke had not given Duétiro the assignment to seek their country, because he was not the elder. That now he would give Duétiro the assignment to seek their country, but that in time the assignment to seek their country would come back to Yúpuri Baúro. Duétiro said: "It is all right; to /120/ continue going upriver more easily, it is better that we first go up to the sky." And now Duétiro gave the orders. Then Yúpuri Baúro laughed in the face of Duétiro Eetamajsé (34),

34. Duétiro Eetamajsé is the same person as Duétiro.

because the order given by Duétiro to go up to the sky was of no use. Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Duétiro: "How are we going to go up to the sky?" Duétiro answered: "We are going to make a tower of bricks, and when the tower is finished, we are all going to go up to the sky, and while we are building the tower, we will be going up." And then they began to work and to build the tower. They began to work at six in the morning and by noon the tower was already taller than the tallest tree in the forest. After noon

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they began to work again, and they worked very strenuously for one hour. They were about to begin another hour of work and from then on they could not work any longer because the words were changed. All the people who had worked before were only Tukano, and then the words became confused and they began to speak Siriano, Cubeo, Maniva, Miraña, Yucuna, Bicula, Tatuyo, Carapaná, Barasano, Tuyuca, Desano, Matapí, Uanano, Tariano, Piratapuyo, Macú, Guayabero, Carijona, Putumayo Indian, Baré, Petara, Detuana, and Yurutí (35).

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35. Passage that has a great similarity to the episode of the Tower of Babel. Possible Christian influence.

A book of Yepá Huáke fell on top of the tower and Duétiro received this paper, and he was not able to read it. Then Duétiro smoked a cigar, ate coca, and with pure memory called Siópuri Uejké to read the book. And Siópuri Uejké read for himself what the book said, and then he said: "This is not good for all the world, nor for the Colombians, nor for the Tukano." Siópuri Uejké asked: "Who is the chief of all your tribe?" Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "This is the chief of all the tribe," pointing to Duétiro. Siópuri Uejké said: "There is a maloca missing from our life, and there Yepá Huáke is going to appear again. We are going to enter that maloca. If we do not enter that maloca, we will die forever." And Siópuri Uejké returned to his land again. Then Yúpuri Baúro was again left as chief of the Tukano. They boarded the boat of the gũío again and continued going upriver and looking with binoculars, which are called Miriapuraeoro in Tukano, and they were able to see as far as Diamukakuwí. And Diamukakuwí was farther away than Diadasukawí. And he arrived at Diadasukawí and he entered that maloca and took a necklace. In /121/ Tukano, necklace is called Dajsúke. And he left Diadasukawí again and boarded the boat of the gũío and continued going upriver. And he arrived at Diamukakuwí and he entered

*539 /121 cont./
Diamukakuwí and here was the boundary with the Colombians (36).

36. According to the Tukano, Diamukakuwí is in San Gabriel, Brazil.

Yúpuri Baúro left Diamukakuwí and returned above and arrived at Diayukaviwí. Here he only came near the port and did not enter the maloca. This was already his land, and he continued upriver. And he arrived at Diasamiguerawí; here he only came near the port and continued immediately. He entered the Río Negro, going up it, and arrived at Diamarirawí. He only barely went near the port and continued upriver. And he arrived at Diakukurawí. He only went near the port and did not enter. And he continued upriver and arrived at Diajkorawí (37)

37. According to the Tukano, Diajkorawí is in San Felipe.

and here too he only went near the port and continued up the river. He continued going up the river and he arrived at Diañejkarawí. Here, too, he only went near the port and did not enter the maloca and continued going up the river. And he arrived at Diakajseropueawí, which in Tukano means: maloca of Yuruparí. And there Yúpuri Baúro did go in, and there he took all kinds of Yuruparises. The country of Yúpuro Baúro ends here. From here on up it is the country of the Maniva.

From Diakajseropueawí, Yúpuri Baúro returned by the same river by which he had come up and arrived at the mouth of the river Diaojpekoma and entered the Vaupés River. And he went up the Vaupés River and arrived at Diawí. In Tukano, Diawí means river of the paint; Diawí is near the outlet of the Vaupés River into the Río Negro. And Yúpuri Baúro entered the maloca of Diawí. And in Diawí, Yepá Huáke appeared again with Bejpó, thunder, who is also a person. Two women who had come with Yúpuri Baúro also entered Diawí. The women were named Yepá

*539 /121 cont./
Bejkeó and Dujuikó. And the entire group of Yúpuri Baúro entered Diawí. And Diawí was full of people. And Yepá Huáke went out of Diawí up to a hill which is called Huapisí. And Yepá Huáke stood on only one foot, weaving Miriapurasutiro. And Yepá Huáke told Yúpuri Baúro to go out of Diawí as far as the port of Diawí with all the people. Yepá Huáke said: "Here there is going to be fire of the devils" (38).

38. Of the Yuruparises.

[372] And as he said this, he stamped on the ground. And there was fire for the first time. Yepá Huáke said: "Fire for the cigars." And Yepá Huáke gave orders to Urémiri Sáraro to put on the Miriapurasutiro. /122/ The companion of Urémiri Sáraro, who was named Yúpuri Búbera, also put on the Miriapurasutiro. And Yúpuri Baúro and Duétiro Eetamajsé led all the Tukano to enter Diawí again.

Yúpuri Baúro picked up a small stick, like a bayonet, which is called Miriapurauajsó in Tukano. And Yúpuri Baúro picked up another stick that has a small bell and is called Yaig in Tukano. Duétiro Eetamajsé picked up the piece of furniture of life /Spanish el mueble de la vida/, which is called Uajatró in Tukano. Then Duétiro Eetamajsé picked up a cigar with a small fork. And Yepá Huáke with Bejpó entered Diawí to wait for all the people who were going to enter Diawí. And the boat of the gũío stayed in the port of Diawí. And Yepá Huáke and Bejpó stood inside Diawí, Yepá Huáke at the right side and Bejpó at the left side. Yepá Huáke said that all the people were to arm themselves with Yuruparises and armaments and were to enter Diawí. And Yepá Huáke gave orders for them to go marching around the maloca Diawí. They went marching around Diawí, and Yepá Huáke gave orders for them to enter Diawí again. They all went in. Yepá Huáke gave orders for them to go marching around four times inside the maloca Diawí. And after they had done this, Yepá Huáke gave orders for everyone to sit down. And Yepá Huáke

*539 /122 cont./
said: "Silence! Attention! I am going to give this order. Now I am going to give you the night, in order for you to sleep." And Yepá Huáke gave orders to two brothers of Yúpuri Baúro, who were named Serítia and Patáro, for them to go toward the cordillera in the direction of Bogotá and they told Sotá, who was the owner of the Central Cordillera, that Yepá Huáke had given orders for him to give them the "thing of night," because Sotá was the owner of the night and he was the one who made it dark.

*539 821 513 Sotá said: "Good, I am going to give you a little box where sleep and night are. Take it. Do not open this little box until you give it to Yepá Huáke, and he will distribute sleep and night to each group of all the people. As soon as sleep and night are distributed among all the people, Yepá Huáke will explain to you that the little seeds of sleep and of night must be put on the heart in order to be able to sleep. Do not put these little seeds there on the eyes. And that is all. Take the box between the two of you." Then they said. "Good." And as the box weighed a lot, the two men became tired of carrying the box on the road back to Diawí. They were already getting close to Diawí, and then /123/ the two men said: "What is this box that weighs so much?" And the two men opened the little box. And as soon as they opened the little box, everything became dark and for two hours night rained down. Serítia called an insect that sings at night and that is called Ñamiribejké in Tukano. And Patáro called the same insect, and it was already midnight. Serítia called the same insect again, and Patáro called to the same insect. And for Patáro this second time the insect did answer him. Serítia called the insect again, and for Serítia four insects answered him at the same time. Patáro called the insect again, and for him ten insects answered him at the same time. Patáro said to Serítia: "No more, keep calling quickly." And they opened the little box where sleep and night were. Then all the little insects that are called Ñamiribejké entered the little box. Serítia divided the insects in half; one half for this world and the

*539 821 513 /123 cont./
other half stayed in the little box. The day appeared, and since then there is day and there is night. As soon as day and night had appeared, Serítia and Patáro took the box to Diawí. They entered Diawí and delivered the little box to Yepá Huáke, and he received it. And then Yepá Huáke was waiting for them with all kinds of chicha. Then Yepá Huáke said for the night to come. And they opened the little box that contained sleep and night.
*539 And Yepá Huáke distributed sleep and night among all the tribes that were in Diawí. And Yepá Huáke said that two people should go and cross to the other side of the Vaupés River, which is called Diapajsá in Tukano. These two persons were named Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá. Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and on Cajtá a little hat of feathers, which is called Pejsaró in Tukano, and some gold earrings, which are called Ajpoápi in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá and on Cajtá Casóro a little bracelet of feathers, which is called Bajsákaroa in Tukano. Afterwards he put that special stone, which is called Ujtáboja in Tukano, around the necks of Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and on Cajtá a wide and special belt, which is called Yaipirítatia in Tukano, and this belt is made of the teeth of wild animals, such as jaguars and cerrillos /this word is not italicized in the Spanish text/. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a loincloth, which is called Uajsóro in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a fine herb on the side of the buttocks, and that fine herb is called Bará in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a woven ribbon, which is called Yujtásero in Tukano, around their knees. Then Yepá /124/ Huáke gave to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá some bands for their ankles, which are called Kejtió in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke gave to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá that little bell stick that is called Yaig in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke said to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá: "Go to sleep." And Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people: "Go to sleep." And Yepá Huáke said to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá: "You have to wake up at midnight. As soon as you wake up, have Yúpuri Baúro and all his people awakened." Then

*539 /124 cont./
Yepá Huáke said: "After awakening, Yúpuri Baúro has to go to the port of Diawí with all his people to bathe, and when they have bathed and have come from the river to the port again, Yúpuri Baúro has to take a gourd of water and drink the water and then vomit it." Yepá Huáke said to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá: "While Yúpuri Baúro is vomiting, you smoke cigars and knock on the door of Diawí with a stick. After you knock on the door of Diawí, you will peel off your own skin from the head down to the shoulders. Then Cajtá will knock on the door of Diawí and Cajtá will continue peeling his skin down to the waist. Then Cajtá Casóro will begin to peel himself as far as the knees. And after this, Cajtá will peel himself completely." Then Yepá Huáke said: "After Cajtá peels his whole body, Yúpuri Baúro and all his people will enter Diawí. And inside Diawí I will sit in the middle of the maloca, and there where I sit, I am going to leave a gourd of coca. And you come in and eat all the coca that is in the gourd. This order is the last one that I will give you." Yepá Huáke clapped his hands and said: "Go to sleep." All were unconscious as if dead, and Yepá Huáke was watching and counting. Then midnight came, and that was the hour that Yepá Huáke had set for Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá. The hour set passed and Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá continued to sleep. And then Yepá Huáke awakened only Yúpuri Baúro. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "See here, it seems to me that I am not respected here. Arm yourself and go to the port. When you arrive at the port, jump into the river to bathe." Then Yúpuri Baúro left for the port with all his people, but without Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá, because these last two were still asleep. And Yúpuri Baúro and all his people left their armaments at the bank of the river and jumped in to bathe. They came out of the water, picked up a gourd, drank the water from the gourd, and vomited. And it was already time for the rooster to crow. /125/ Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Arm yourselves again and enter Diawí again." And then they picked up the armaments and made them resound, and with this movement Cajtá woke up. Cajtá said: "Ay!" And Cajtá said to Cajtá Casóro: "You wake up too."

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And Cajtá Casóro did not wake up. Cajtá Casóro was the superior of Cajtá, but seeing that Cajtá Casóro did not wake up, Cajtá picked up a stick and started to knock on the door of Diawí and peeled his skin from his head to his shoulders. Then Cajtá Casóro did wake up and knocked on the door of Diawí, but he did not peel himself. Then Cajtá knocked on the door of Diawí again and did not go back to peeling himself either. Then Yepá Huáke made a bad face toward Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá. And the day dawned already. And Yepá Huáke came close to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá and said to them in a sarcastic tone: "It is all right, you do respect me." And Yepá Huáke appeared at the door of Diawí and there was Yúpuri Baúro with all his tribe, and Yúpuri Baúro was peeled as far as the shoulders. And Yepá Huáke took pity on Yúpuri Baúro and said: "Close that peeling!" And the peeling closed. Yepá Huáke told Yúpuri Baúro and all his people to enter Diawí, and they all entered. And Yepá Huáke put a gourd of coca at his feet. And at the edge of this gourd of coca there were all kinds of tame and fierce animals. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Eat!" And Yúpuri Baúro was not able to eat out of fear of the plague. Yepá Huáke remained looking at them a while and saw that none was able to eat the gourd of coca. And then he took away the gourd of coca and cursed everyone. And Yepá Huáke said: "Now you are all going to die. Your children will die too. You will die for all eternity (39).

39. Will not be immortal.

The lands and the stones and all the animals are not going to die." Then Yepá Huáke sounded the land, and the land thundered, answering Yepá Huáke that the land will not die, but that it will live forever. Said the land: "We will not die, we will eat the people that you created." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people: "We are going to have a feast and we are going to drink chicha and we are going to sing and we are going to dance."

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84

/125 cont./

And then Yúpuri Baúro and all his people learned for the first time that in order to have children the woman first has to be pregnant. There were only a pair of women among all of them. One was named Nijí Majsó and the other was named Meropagnijí Majsó. And the /126/ two of them went out by the back door of Diawí and went to bathe at the port. Bejpó saw then that the women had gone to bathe at the port, and Bejpó took out two small coins, one called Pajsí and the other Erofiá. And Bejpó took out these two coins to dry in the sun. And the two women again came to Diawí. And when they were returning to Diawí, they caught sight of the coins and they kept looking at them. And the two women said: "What would these two little things be?" And the two women fell in love with these two little things. And these two little things seemed like babies and cried. But only one of the women saw the two coins as babies, while the other woman was only able to see two little coins. And this is where roving about came from, and because of this, of every two women, one will come out sedate and the other will come out a prostitute. Meropagnijí Majsó, who was the younger sister, saw the two little things as babies, while Nijí Majsó, who was the older sister, saw the two little things as little coins. Then Meropagnijí Majsó said to Nijí Majsó: "Do not pick them up." Then Nijí Majsó said: "I am picking them up." And Nijí Majsó picked them up, smelled them, and the two little things smelled like coins. And as soon as she smelled them, Nijí Majsó ate them. And it did not take even a minute for her to become pregnant. Then Meropagnijí Majsó said: "Don't you see? I told you not to pick them up." And Meropagnijí Majsó saw that Nijí Majsó was pregnant. And the stomach of Nijí Majsó was swelling up. But these two women had the appearance of men and did not have breasts or opening. Then Meropagnijí Majsó said: "What shall we do?" Then both called to Yepá Huáke. And Yepá Huáke came to where they were. Then they said to Yepá Huáke: "Now what are we going to do?" Then Yepá Huáke said: "It is all right. Now the child must be born. You are going to have husbands. You will die" (40).

40. Will not be immortal.

*539 84 /126 cont./
Then Nijí Majsó went into the brush in order to give birth and Yepá Huáke gave Meropagnijí Majsó a fork for using a cigar, but without a cigar, and a small knife. Then Yepá Huáke said to Meropagnijí Majsó: "Take this fork and put it on top of a thin stick and have Nijí Majsó lie on her side on top of this stick. And you lie down on your back on top of the stick." Then Yepá Huáke gave Meropagnijí Majsó a small piece of furniture and a small balaya (41),

41. A basket.

which is called Sióa in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke said: "When you are lying down well on your back, start to measure with /127/ the width of the fork between the legs of Nijí Majsó, and as soon as you put this little fork between her legs, Kúmu will blow for Nijí Majsó. And cut the skin of Nijí Majsó the whole width of the little fork and the child will be born." And Yepá Huáke said. "And that cut that you made on Nijí Majsó, in the way that Nijí Majsó has it, all women will also have. All women will have children until the end of the world. And the men will not be able to see that cut." Then Yepá Huáke said to Meropagnijí Majsó: "As soon as that child is born, put it on top of the balaya and Nijí Majsó will remain unconscious. And Nijí Majsó will suffer so that the child may be taken, and this is why the child will respect his mama. And if the child did not respect his mama, who is Nijí Majsó, then send him away to go to another place." And from there came the respect for one's mother. Then Yepá Huáke said to Meropagnijí Majsó: "Bring that child to Diawí and leave him in the middle of Diawí on top of the balaya, and then I shall come to cut the umbilical cord of the child. I shall remove that umbilical cord, and then I shall bury that umbilical cord in the ground of Diawí, and there is the boundary of the land of you, the Tukano." As soon as Meropagnijí Majsó brought the child to Diawí and Yepá Huáke cut and buried the umbilical cord,
*539 Yepá Huáke made the boat of the gũío enter Diawí. And after the boat of the gũío had entered Diawí, Yepá Huáke called the brother of Yúpuri Baúro, who is named Siópuri Uejké (42).

42. Colombian.

*539 /127 cont./
Siópuri Uejké is also named Cateaño (43).

43. Possibly a modification of the word castellano /Castilian, Spanish/.

Siópuri Uejké came and entered, and Yepá Huáke gave orders for him to sit down at the entrance of Diawí with all the tribe of Siópuri Uejké. And the little child was like the drink of Cajpí, because as soon as the little child cried, all those who were in Diawí became drunk and saw all kinds of colors, because when one drinks Cajpí, one becomes drunk and sees all kinds of different colors. And Siópuri Uejké took a photograph of Yúpuri Baúro, which is why the Colombians now also take pictures of the Tukano. And when Yepá Huáke saw that Siópuri Uejké had taken a photograph of Yúpuri Baúro and all his people, then Yepá Huáke said only to Yúpuri Baúro: "That is your brother," Yepá Huáke pointing to Siópuri Uejké, "and that hawk will be for you, Yúpuri Baúro. For your brother Siópuri Uejké I am also going to give a hawk, and that hawk will not be like yours, but instead Siópuri Uejké will paint it as a coat of arms." This is why /128/ we, the Tukano, had before a great eagle that we took very good care of, and that eagle is called Aapajké in Tukano. And you, the Colombians, instead of having a live hawk, use a coat of arms. Then Yepá Huáke said: "And that little child, distribute it to each tribe, piece by piece." And this means that all the native tribes of this world will have Cajpí. Then Yepá Huáke said: "Everyone look at me." And the vessel of the gũío was inside the maloca of Diawí, and it became gũío, completely gũío. And then Yepá Huáke gave the gũío a stab in the head with the stick that has the little bell (44).

44. Yaig.

And that stab pierced the whole land as far as Diauamundia. In Diauamundia there were fine stones, like refined metals /Spanish cementadas/. And Yepá Huáke picked up the piece of stick that

+ 539 [192]

/128 cont./

was left above the surface of the land, and drawing it a little toward one side, it remained fixed in the sky. The sky is called Emese in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke did the same with another little bell-stick in the tail of the gũío, and the little stick remained fixed between Diauamundia and the sky. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "All the tribes of Tukano come and jump on top of the gũío, between the two sticks of Yaig." And that is where the Tukano learned the discipline of war. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people: "Start to march four times on top of the gũío; march two times looking at the sky and march two times looking at the surface of the land." And all marched on top of the gũío. And Yepá Huáke said: "Turn around and jump off the back of the gũío!" And they jumped. And then the gũío shook himself and there was like a flash of lightning and that was to kill the people who were on top of the gũío. And Yepá Huáke gave the order to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people to climb on top of the gũío again and to march four more times on top of the gũío, two times looking at the sky and two times looking at the surface of the land. And Yúpuri Baúro and all his people did as Yepá Huáke ordered, and afterwards they turned around and jumped off the gũío again. And Yepá Huáke gave them orders to do the same thing again. And Yepá Huáke gave orders to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people to do the same thing again. And all of them did the same thing. Then Yepá Huáke said: "No more for you." Then Yepá Huáke gave orders to Siópuri Uejké for him and all his people to jump on top of the gũío. And they marched differently, for /129/ they crossed one foot and then they crossed the other. And Yepá Huáke did not order them to look at the sky, but instead he told them to look only at the land. Siópuri Uejké and his people marched four times on top of the gũío, and the four times that they marched they looked at the land. And Yepá Huáke ordered them to jump off the gũío to the land. And the gũío trembled and sent a flash of lightning to kill them. And Yepá Huáke ordered Siópuri Uejké and all his people to jump on the gũío again, and they did it, and this time

*539 /129 cont./
Yepá Huáke did make them look at the sky. They marched two times looking at the sky and two times looking at the land. And Yepá Huáke ordered them to jump off the gũío. And the gũío trembled and there was another flash of lightning. And Yepá Huáke ordered Siópuri Uejké and all of his people to go up and march on the gũío again. And this time Yepá Huáke ordered them to march four times on the gũío looking toward the river, and then Yepá Huáke ordered them to jump off the gũío again. And the gũío trembled and there was a clap of thunder again. Then Yepá Huáke said: "No more for you." Then Yepá Huáke ordered Siópuri Uejké with all his people and Yúpuri Baúro with all his people to sit down on the floor of Diawí.

*539 825 All the animals were inside of Diawí. And today the animals that do not have tails are like people. But in Diawí all the animals had tails, and the animals became changed like mad ones and began to eat their own tails, and that is why some of them do not have tails. And Yepá Huáke began to watch the animals. Then Yepá Huáke said: "It does not seem right to me. I created you so that you would be like people. Now stay like animals so that the people can eat you." When Yepá Huáke said this, all the animals were frightened and stopped eating their tails; this is why some animals still have tails. Then Yepá Huáke said: "There we are." And when Yepá Huáke had said this, Yepá Huáke grasped both bell sticks that were piercing the tail and the head of the gũío and he pulled them out at the same time. And then Yepá Huáke ordered the gũío to go out of Diawí as far as the port of Diawí. And the boat of the gũío stayed there. And then Yepá Huáke ordered Yúpuri Baúro with all his people and Siópuri Uejké with all his people to dance and to drink chicha and to eat coca and to sing. And all stayed up until dawn. And then Yepá Huáke made an investigation, and he knew that, when all /130/ the people were having their feast, the animals who were talking against the people said that they were going to eat the people. The first one that spoke was Wejké (45),

45. The danta.

* 539 825 /130 cont./
and she said that she was going to eat the people. And as soon as Wejké had spoken, Añia (46)

46. The snake.

answered, who said that she would also eat the people. When Añia spoke like this, Boraró answered that he too would eat people. Boraró has the appearance of a person, walks on two feet, and with only one shout makes people unconscious. When Boraró had spoken, another animal called Utanurú (47)

47. Animal that, according to the Tukano, has the appearance of a cricket and eats the excrement of human beings.

answered that he, too, would eat people. When Yepá Huáke was making his investigation, Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "What was it that you said?" Wejké answered: "I did not say anything." Yepá Huáke said: "Tell me the truth and do not lie to me." And Wejké did not answer. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "When you kill a person, how are you going to kill him?" Then Wejké took out a whistle and said: "I am going to kill with this whistle." Then Yepá Huáke said: "Blow it to see how it sounds." Then Wejké said: "Good." And Wejké blew the whistle. When Wejké blew the whistle, the land opened and nature fell to pieces. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Show me the whistle so that I may look at it." And Wejké handed the whistle to Yepá Huáke. And after taking the whistle from Wejké. Yepá Huáke said: "You are not going to eat people; on the contrary, people will eat you." This is why we now eat danta, and it is tasty. And Yepá Huáke gave this whistle to Emo (48).

48. The monkey.

*539 /130 cont./
825 And Emo also had a little whistle, and this little whistle was not for eating people. And Yepá Huáke said to Emo: "Take this whistle of Wejké and go up on top of the trees, and there you can play with that whistle. Give me the little whistle that you had." And Emo gave him the little whistle that he had. And Yepá Huáke handed to Wejké the little whistle that had belonged to Emo. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Blow it." Then Wejké said: "All right." And Wejké blew the whistle, and the whistle sounded like the whistle of the police of Bogotá. Then Wejké started to cry. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Go to the forest." And Yepá Huáke continued speaking, this time to the snake. And Yepá Huáke said to Añia: "What was that you said?" And Añia answered truthfully and said /131/ "I did say something. Then Yepá Huáke said: "With which fang are you going to bite?" And Añia said: "With this one," pointing to one in her mouth. And Yepá Huáke said: "All right, show it to me." And Añia showed it to him. And Yepá Huáke pulled out the fang, and that is why now Añia bites people, but her bite does not hurt. And then Yepá Huáke continued talking to Utanurú. And then Yepá Huáke said to him: "You are not going to eat people, but you are going to eat excrement." While Yepá Huáke was talking with Utanurú, the other Añia (49),

49. The poisonous snake.

whose fang had not been pulled by Yepá Huáke, went out, running with his own woman. And after Añia, the poisonous one, Boraró went out, running with his own woman. Then the jaguar went out with his own woman. This is why those animals that ran out without speaking to Yepá Huáke are the wild animals that we have now. Then Yepá Huáke said: "No more." Then Yepá Huáke opened the little box that held sleep and night and distributed all the little
*539 seeds of sleep and night. Then Yepá Huáke said: "Put them here
[513] on the heart." And all the people put the little seeds of sleep and night on the heart. After this, Yepá Huáke said: "There is going to

*539 /131 cont./
be the first war, and Siópuri Uejké will make the first war, and Siópuri Uejké will have his country taken away from him. The Brazilians will take from him the country of Siópuri Uejké, and Siópuri Uejké will find another country toward the cordillera. After finding his country, Siópuri Uejké and his people will bury their bones in their country when they die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "And you and all your people will bury your bones in your country when you die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You too are going to make war. And that is going to be all right." And Yepá Huáke sustained the country of Yúpuri Baúro. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "When that war is over, Siópuri Uejké will come to your country and do not kill him. Then the Ereya (50)

50. The Brazilians.

will come, and you may kill the Ereya. And in this way you are going to learn to read and to write, and then you will put an end to your malocas" (51).

51. Put an end to the Tukano culture, that is, they will learn to live differently.

Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "I made this world for you. All the people will fight for three years, and in that way the world will end. It will rain and the world will burn and it will become dark." And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: /132/ "While they are fighting, you will not fight, because your tribe will come to an end before the war and the end of the world. After Siópuri Uejké and Ereya arrive in your land, you are only going to have one woman, and that woman will have only one child or two children, and the woman of your brother will not have children, and that is how the Tukano will end (52).

[797]
[595]
[161]

52. The Christian Missionary has prohibited

*539 [797] [595] [160]

/132 cont./

polygyny. Explanation for the constant diminution of the Tukano population.

*539 582 583

And Siópuri Uejké and Ereya will command you. And they will have you as slaves and humiliated ones. I forbid the Tukano to take their woman from their own tribe, but they can get their woman from outside their tribe (53),

53. Obligatory exogamy exists in Tukano culture.

for example, a Yurutí or Tariana or Desana woman." And there were only three tribes from which the Tukano could get women. Yurutí, Tariano /Tariana/, and Desano /Desana/. And they did not fight with these tribes in order to get women, because a brother and sister of one tribe exchanged with a brother and sister of another tribe. And Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúros "If you want to get a woman from another tribe that is not Yurutí, Tariano, or Desano, you will have to do it by fighting (54).

54. With any other tribe that is not the Yurutí, the Tairiano /sic/, and the Desano, the form of marriage is by abduction. During the abduction fights take place between the male relatives of the girl who is abducted and the committee of men who have come to get the wife for the bridegroom. This committee is formed by the male relatives of the bridegroom and the bridegroom does not take part in the abduction.

*539 And the first woman that you will get by fighting will be Tuyuca. Do not kill, just fight and take the woman. The second woman will be Uanana, and do not kill them either, just take the woman.

/132 cont./

539 And the third woman will be Siriana, and again, do not kill, just fight in order to take the woman. And these six tribes will be like brothers (55)

55. Close friends.

to you." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "No more." Then Yepá Huáke said to all those who were in Diawí: "Everyone stand up." And Yepá Huáke disappeared. And then Yepá Huáke was finished and he went up to the sky. It became dark, and Siópuri Uejké and all his people, and Yúpuri Baúro and all his people, put the little seeds of sleep and night on the heart, but it did not give them sleep. And Yúpuri Baúro said: "Why do we not have sleep?" Then Yúpuri Baúro picked up the little seeds that were on the heart and he put them on the eyes. And as soon as Yúpuri Baúro did this, all the seeds disappeared /133/ and everyone fell asleep. And day broke and everyone woke up. And Yúpuri Baúro said to everyone. "Let us go." And Yúpuri Baúro told Siópuri Uejké and all his people: "You also go to your land."

And Yúpuri Baúro boarded the canoe of the gũío in the port of Diawí. And they continued upriver. He arrived at the mouths of the Tiquié River and entered and arrived at the cachibera Parí. He drew close and left the boat of the gũío; he barely looked, but did not enter the maloca; he got into the boat of the gũío and continued going up the Tiquié River. And he arrived at the cachibera Carurú, which is called Mo in Tukano. He left the boat of the gũío and entered the maloca Mo. And in Mo, Yúpuri Baúro said: "Up to here is my land. From Mo on, it is the land of the Tuyuca and of the Barasanos." From Mo, Yúpuri Baúro looked with a telescope and managed to see farther than Pedrera, and there was a maloca there that was called Pajsásarowí. And seeing Pajsásarowí from Mo, Yúpuri Baúro said: "From Pajsásarowí on up is the land of the Yucuna and the Miraña /Miranya/. And from Pajsásarowí down is my land." Yúpuri Baúro boarded the boat of the gũío again

*539 /133 cont./

and returned to the mouths of the Tiquié. He arrived at the mouths of the Tiquié and went up the Vaupés River. He arrived at Panuré, and he stayed there to sleep. The next day he boarded the boat of the gũſo and continued upriver and arrived at Naſkorowſ. He slept in Naſkorowſ. The next day he continued going up the Vaupés River and arrived at the mouths of the Yapú River. And Yúpuri Baúro said: "From the mouths of the Yapú River down on the Vaupés River is the land of the Tarianos." It could be said that Yúpuri Baúro was renting all of these lands to the Miraña, Tarianos, Yucunas, Yurutſes, Desanos, etc. But these lands were always from Yúpuri Baúro and belonged to the Tukano. And Yúpuri Baúro continued going upriver and arrived at Yavaraté, and he stayed there to sleep. Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "I will be here." The next day Yúpuri Baúro said to his people: "Come, let us investigate our lands." He boarded the boat of the gũſo and continued going up the Vaupés until he arrived at the cachibera of Cururú, which is called Mo in Tukano, on the Vaupés River. He arrived at the port and only looked and continued upstream. And he arrived at Baracapurí, and he stayed there to sleep. Baracapurí is also a cachibera.

The boat of the gũſo that had come from Diaojpekowſ stayed in Baracapurí, and Yúpuri Baúro ordered another boat of the gũſo brought from the cachiberas of Yuruparí. With the new boat of the /134/ gũſo, Yúpuri Baúro continued going upriver from Baracapurí and arrived at the Cuduiarí River. There Yúpuri Baúro ordered the Sirianos to enter; and he rented this land to the Sirianos. And Yúpuri Baúro continued going upriver and he arrived at Tierra Grata, and there he ordered the Cubeos to enter, and he rented these lands to them. A little below Tierra Grata and in front of it there is another little stream that is called Pacú, and here Yúpuri Baúro ordered the Baqueñara to enter, and he rented these lands to them. And Yúpuri Baúro continued going up the Vaupés River and he arrived at the mouths of the Ti River, and he rented these lands to the Carapaná. And he continued going upriver as far as the cachiberas of Yuruparí. He neared the port

+539 /134 cont./
and entered the maloca of Sorapoawí. And from there he looked with a telescope to the maloca of Ñamiriwí. And Yúpuri Baúro said: "The land of the Carijona will be from Sorapoawí to Ñamiriwí, and this time Yúpuri Baúro gave them the land; he did not rent it, as to the previous ones. And Yúpuri Baúro gave this land to the Carijona, to the Guayabero, the Putumayo Indians, and to the Sotá, who were Indians who lived in Bogotá before Siópuri Uejké arrived. And Yúpuri Baúro said: "And this country is for your own. My country extends up to here. If you come down from Sorapoawí there will be war between us. Each month I will send a commission to investigate." Then Yúpuri Baúro said to the Carijona, to the Sotá, to the Guayabero, to the Cubeo, to the Bajúke, and to the Cérerur: "You will be my enemies." Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "My close friends will be the Tuyuca, Maniva, Miraña, Yurutí, Carapaná, Piratapuyo, Uanano, Tariano, Siriano, Desano, Yucuna, Macuna, and Barasano." And Yúpuri Baúro returned, going down the Vaupés River and he arrived at the mouths of the Abiyú River. And there Yúpuri Baúro rented the lands again to the Siriano. And Yúpuri Baúro continued going down the Vaupés River, returning to Yavaraté. He arrived at Yavaraté and he slept there. And the next day he entered the Papurí River and arrived at the big cachiberas of Baracapá. And there he slept. And the next day he continued upriver and arrived at Santa Lucía. And he neared the port and he got off and he went walking and he began to construct a maloca. After building this maloca, Yúpuri Baúro gave orders to each tribe (Siriano, Desano, etc.) for them to take care of the lands of Yúpuri Baúro. And Yúpuri Baúro stayed to live in Santa Lucía.

And Yúpuri Baúro said: "If a group of our enemies harasses you, tell me, and I will order a commission to go and see." And Yúpuri Baúro built the maloca of Santa Lucía in only one day. On the next day he ordered chicha made, and on the next day after having ordered /135/ chicha made, they sang and danced and danced until dawn. And Yúpuri Baúro and Duétiro Eetamajsé died

*539 /135 cont./
at noon. After both chiefs had died, the Tukano buried them in two coffins of stone, and Yúpuri Baúro and Duétiro Eetamajsé turned into earth. On the next day, the son of Yúpuri Baúro, who was also named Yúpuri Baúro (56),

56. We shall refer to him as Yúpuri Baúro II.

ordered chicha made. Duétiro Eetamajsé did not have a son. And they sang and danced. When they were going to begin to dance, they were going to put feathers on Yúpuri Baúro II, and he said: "Do not tie me hard." And this was because the head of Yúpuri Baúro II was very fine and delicate. But the people tied the feathers very firmly on his head and Yúpuri Baúro II died. And they buried him in the same maloca of Santa Lucía, but not in a stone coffin. After burying Yúpuri Baúro II, the brother of Yúpuri Baúro II, who was also named Yúpuri Baúro, had other chicha made. And the next day they sang and danced again. And then in that dance all who had left Diaojpekowí died. Yúpuri Baúro III, upon seeing that all who had come from Diaojpekowí had died, went down to Yavaraté again. And there they made the maloca of Wiiperowí, which was like the malocas that the Tukano have now. And in that maloca of Yavaraté they did nothing but dance and sing and drink chicha and eat coca and smoke tobacco. And Yúpuri Baúro III held two great feasts. And after having held two great feasts, a message came that the Cubeos had killed the Sirianos at the headwaters of the Cuduiarí River. And the Cubeos were coming, invading all the territory of the Tukano. And Yúpuri Baúro III said: "I am going to send a commission of four battalions." And when these battalions were going to leave, Yúpuri Baúro III asked Urémiri Sáraro II: "What are we going to do now?" Then Urémiri Sáraro II answered: "We are going to make war, and I am going to take charge of this war. I am going to send four battalions to Pajsásaro. I am going to send another four battalions to Tunuwí." And Urémiri Sáraro II ordered the

*539 /135 cont./
battalions to investigate all the country of the Tukano and to meet at the cachibera of Yuruparí. And from there Urémiri Sáraro II would leave Yavaraté and go upriver with ten battalions to fight fiercely. Then Urémiri Sáraro II ordered all the enemies and all the animals to be killed. Then Urémiri Sáraro II said: "You can wipe out the Cubeo, the Bajúke, and the /136/ Céreru." And the two battalions, with four divisions in each one, which would meet in Yuruparí, and the ten battalions of Urémiri Sáraro II, which would meet the other two in Yuruparí, went down the river, killing all the enemies. And they made war on ten occasions. After having made war on ten occasions, Siópuri Uejké and Ereya began to make war. And Ereya took Siópuri Uejké from Diabarowí, which is now Manaos. Siópiri Uejké fled to Brasero. Ereya took Siópuri Uejké from there again. Siópuri Uejké fled also from here and fled to San Gabriel. And there the Colombians made a fort to hold back the Ereya. Ereya took Siópuri Uejké from there again. Siópuri Uejké fled from there and arrived at Cucuí. From there Siópuri Uejké fled to Sotawí, and Ereya kept on pursuing him to San Carlos and then continued to San Felipe. Ereya returned from San Felipe to Cucuí. And there was the boundary of Brazil and Colombia.

Then Ereya went down to San Gabriel. When he arrived at Yavaraté and asked Yúpuri Baúro III to give him his daughter in marriage. Then Ereya asked Yúpuri Baúro III for personnel to go and work the rubber. Then Yúpuri Baúro III gave Ereya ten men to go to take out rubber. Ereya returned again to Yúpuri Baúro III with merchandise and again asked for personnel, and Yúpuri Baúro III gave him 20 men the second time. And of these 20 men, 5 died. And only 15 of the 20 men returned. And Ereya again asked for personnel, and this third time Yúpuri Baúro III gave him 10 men. And of these 10 men, 5 died and 5 came back to Yúpuri Baúro III. Then Yúpuri Baúro III became angry with Ereya. Then Yúpuri Baúro III said to Ereya: "Why do you enter my country? Those are the same conditions in which you took the country of my brother Siópuri Uejké. My brother was afraid of you, but I am not

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afraid. You are my third brother and you can not fight with me. I will kill you." And right there Yúpuri Baúro III killed Ereya and the wife of Ereya, who was the daughter of Yúpuri Baúro III and who was named Dujigó. And besides Ereya, Yúpuri Baúro III killed 20 Brazilians. Five Brazilians left running. As soon as Yúpuri Baúro III had killed these 20 Brazilians, Yúpuri Baúro III gathered together all of his people to make war against the Brazilians. Then Yúpuri Baúro III said to Urémiri Sáraro II: "Now we are going to fight against the Brazilians." Urémiri Sáraro II /four pages of illustrations appear here/ /137/ named Parisí II as colonel. Then Urémiri Sáraro II named Yúpuri Búbera II as inspector. And these people were to recruit personnel for the war. In Yavaraté, Urémiri Sáraro II left 20 battalions, and each battalion had 1,000 men. In Yavaraté, but on the side of the Vaupés River, Urémiri Sáraro II left 20 more battalions. And 60 battalions stayed at the customhouse of Yavaraté. Ereya had already come with 40 launches and many men from Manaos. And Urémiri Sáraro II did away with the 40 launches of Ereya. Not one single soldier of Urémiri Sáraro II died. Then Ereya sent another commission, and this second time Ereya sent 90 launches full of soldiers. And these 90 launches full of soldiers killed only 10 soldiers of Urémiri Sáraro II. And of the 90 launches, not one remained; Urémiri Sáraro II did away with all of them. Ereya sent a third commission of 80 launches and these 80 launches killed about 20 men of Urémiri Sáraro II. And Urémiri Sáraro II destroyed the 80 launches. The fourth time Ereya only sent 60 launches, and these 60 launches did not kill one single man of Urémiri Sáraro II. But Urémiri Sáraro II destroyed all the launches. The fifth time, Ereya only sent 40 launches, and these 40 launches did not kill one single man of Urémiri Sáraro II either. But Urémiri Sáraro II destroyed the 40 launches. Then Ereya sent 20 launches, and Urémiri Sáraro II also destroyed those 20 launches. And with these last 20 launches, Ereya had no more launches. Ereya saw that he could do no more with Urémiri Sáraro II and he sent one launch. And this launch came to ask pardon of

/Text continues on p. 54/

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yuruti women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper part: Yuruti woman grating bitter yuca.

Lower part: Siriano man weaving balaya (basket).

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

3: Fulop--53 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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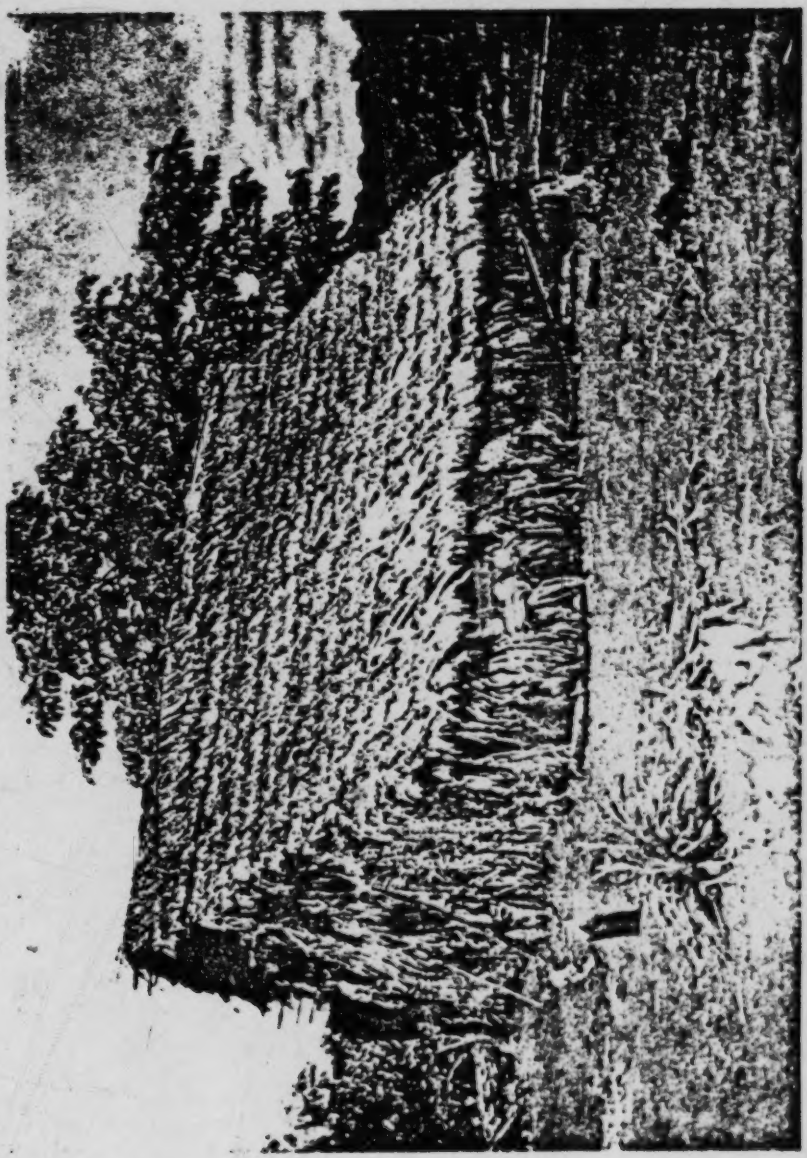

Typical maloca (house) of the Tukano linguistic group. (Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Urémiri Sáraro II. And then Urémiri Sáraro II asked Yúpuri Baúro III: "What shall we do?" Then Yúpuri Baúro III said: "Ereya must stay in San Gabriel." Then Yúpuri Baúro III said to Yepára Oakajpeá: "You stay in Yavaraté, I am going down below Manaos and below Pará." And Yúpuri Baúro III still lives there with his family.

[797] And from San Gabriel to Yavaraté was free land that did not belong to the Brazilians, but the Monfortian Fathers were foreigners and did not know this, and that is why they built the missions in Yavaraté. And the Brazilians went upriver little by little until they reached Yavaraté.

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/For an example of the effects of "western" acculturation and missionization on Tucano cosmogony, see the tale entitled "The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean", in either category 539 or category 116, pp. 8-49, 54./

3: Fulop SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/For the text of the Tucano myth entitled "The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean", see category 116, pp. 8-49, 54./

3: Fulop SQ19 Tucano

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# Aspectos de la Cultura Tukana: Cosmogonía

Por

MARCOS FULOP

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Por comisión de la Dirección del Instituto Colombiano de Antropología iniciamos estudios etnográficos entre los indígenas de la Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Hemos considerado conveniente comenzar el estudio antropológico de las culturas de esa región con el grupo Tukano.

El material que a continuación se publica fue recogido durante nuestra estadía en el cacerío de Guadalajara, sobre el río Paca, desde el 13 de junio hasta el 9 de julio de 1953. Nuestro informante fue Marcos Sierra, y Manuel Sierra, hermano del anterior, sirvió de intérprete. Debido al corto tiempo de la investigación y al haber consultado un solo informante no nos permitimos asegurar la exactitud de la versión dada por Marcos Sierra de la cosmogonía Tukana. Esta cosmogonía es repetida a modo de culto a los antecesores en las fiestas de Dabukurí y Yuruparí.

La cultura Tukana es actualmente representativa de las culturas de las selvas tropicales de la América del Sur. Su régimen de vida es sedentario; practican la horticultura, y la yuca brava (1) constituye la base de su alimentación, la cual es suplementada con productos obtenidos por medio de la caza y de la pesca; son eficientes en la construcción y el manejo de embarcaciones fluviales; utilizan la hamaca como cama; poseen el arte de la cerámica y no conocen la metalurgia.

Los indios Tukano se encuentran localizados sobre el bajo río Vaupés, desde las cataratas de Ipanoré hasta la desembocadura del Vaupés en el río Negro; sobre los ríos Tiquié y Papurí; y sobre pequeños afluentes que desembocan en estos tres ríos. Como se ve, el grupo Tukano se encuentra distribuído tanto en territorio colombiano como brasilero, y los movimientos migratorios de indígenas entre estos dos países son bastante frecuentes.

Los Tukano trabajan la tierra por medio del método de la tumba y quema. La parcela de terreno destinada para la agricultura es siempre limpiada de la maleza y de los árboles por los

(1) *Manihot utilissima.*

hombres, labor en la cual cada hombre trabaja individualmente o asistido por sus familiares masculinos. En un tiempo, antes de la llegada del cauchero criollo a la región, los árboles y la maleza eran cortados con hachas de piedra, pero desde la llegada del cauchero se ha introducido el machete y ningún indio Tukano hoy en día consideraría usar el instrumento lítico nuevamente.

Los árboles de gran tamaño generalmente son dejados en el lugar en que cayeron, pero árboles pequeños y arbustos son quemados hacia el fin del verano, o sea la estación seca. Las cenizas obtenidas de la quema son usadas como fertilizantes para mejorar la tierra, pero debido a la delgada capa vegetal, a la erosión y a la pobreza en general del terreno, el indio Tukano se ve obligado a escoger y limpiar una nueva huerta cada 3 o 4 años. El método de rotación de cultivos no se practica debido a que la vegetación selvática rápidamente vuelve a invadir el terreno que no es cultivado y cuidado. El campo de cultivo raras veces excede una o dos hectáreas.

La siembra se efectúa inmediatamente después de haberse hecho la quema entre los muñones de los árboles tumbados y los troncos de los árboles derrumbados. Probablemente, el único implemento aborigen utilizado en la siembra es el palo del sembrador (2), el cual es usado primordialmente para aflojar la tierra y abrir huecos en ella para sembrar semillas o pies. La tierra es raramente cultivada y cuidada después de haberse realizado la siembra, pero la yerba mala es arrancada y cuidan de que la selva no invada la huerta.

Así como el corte y la quema de la maleza selvática de un terreno destinado a la agricultura es el trabajo exclusivo de los hombres, la siembra, el cuidado de la huerta y la cosecha son obras realizadas única y exclusivamente por las mujeres. Un hombre sería considerado rebajado en su masculinidad por el resto de la sociedad si se dedicase a estas labores. La única excepción en este caso son los cultivos de la coca y del tabaco, en los cuales es el hombre el que desempeña todos los trabajos, desde su siembra y cuidado hasta su cosecha y elaboración.

Aunque la yuca brava constituye el cultivo de mayor importancia entre los indios Tukano, también tienen plantaciones de piña, papaya, plátano, ñame (3), maíz, caña de azúcar, coca, ta-

(2) Digging-stick.
(3) *Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.*

baco y limones. La piña, la papaya y el plátano son productos utilizados principalmente en el trueque con los caucheros por artículos como sal, cigarrillos, fósforos, municiones, baterías para linternas, jabón, etc.

La caza desempeña en la cultura Tukana la importante función de proveer a los miembros de la comunidad con carne en la alimentación. Con anterioridad a la llegada del cauchero al Vaupés, la cacería de mamíferos se realizaba por medio del arco y la flecha, mientras que las aves eran cazadas con dardos disparados por medio de una cerbatana cuyas puntas habían sido bañadas en curare. En la actualidad, la escopeta, conseguida por medio del trabajo en las caucherías, ha reemplazado el arco y la flecha. Para la caza de aves pequeñas el dardo envenenado y la cerbatana siguen siendo utilizados.

La cacería se realiza durante la noche y generalmente es llevada a cabo individualmente. En la caza, el animal no es buscado y perseguido por la selva sino esperado en los bebederos a las orillas de los ríos y de los caños. El indígena que va en pos de cacería permanece en su canoa y utiliza su linterna tanto para distinguir el animal por el color de sus ojos como para cegarlo momentáneamente y así tener tiempo para disparar el arma. Los animales más codiciados son el venado, la danta, la paca y el cerdo salvaje. Cuando existe gran abundancia de cacería, la carne es ahumada al fogón, conservada y utilizada como trueque con productos proporcionados por los caucheros.

Tal vez los productos obtenidos por la pesca constituyen la fuente más importante de proteínas animales en la alimentación Tukana. Aunque es posible prescindir de la carne, la presencia del pescado en la dieta cotidiana del indio Tukano es indispensable.

En la pesca, el indígena utiliza trampas de diversas formas y tamaños, las cuales dependen para su empleo del tamaño del río o caño y del pez que se busca. El barbasco es también empleado. Desde la llegada del criollo a la región se ha introducido el anzuelo. El anzuelo es amarrado de una rama y dejado permanecer en el agua sin vigilancia personal del indígena, el cual regresa horas más tarde para revisar sus diferentes trampas y los varios anzuelos que ha dejado a lo largo del río. La carnada que más se utiliza es una fruta, pero también se emplean fracciones de sardinas.

Una costumbre poco practicada en la actualidad es la pesca por medio de pequeñas flechas disparadas con arcos de tamaño proporcionado.

Los indios Tukano gustan mucho de tener animales domesticados en sus casas o malocas. Tienen micos, pájaros, perros, etc. Aman y cuidan de estos animales como si fuesen sus propios hijos y al alimentarlos cuando son pequeños, el indígena mastica primero la comida antes de dársela a comer al animal. Toda maloca tiene cerca un gallinero, pero las gallinas no son utilizadas para la alimentación indígena sino para el trueque con los caucheros. El huevo de la gallina no forma parte de la dieta del indio Tukano. Gusanos y hormigas complementan la alimentación indígena.

La maloca Tukana es de planta rectangular con techo de dos aguas que no descansa sobre paredes sino que llega hasta el suelo. Las culatas anterior y posterior son cerradas con paredes de paja trenzada y constituyen las fachadas principal y secundaria respectivamente. Existen tanto una puerta anterior como posterior, las cuales son cerradas de noche por medio de puertas de paja trenzada o de persianas construídas de tablillas de bambú. Además de los materiales mencionados se utiliza la palmicha para techar, madera rolliza para armar la construcción, varas para entretejer y bejucos para amarrar.

El tamaño de la maloca varía de acuerdo al número de sus ocupantes. Sin embargo, la maloca pequeña construída para albergar una sola familia nuclear es muy rara. Una maloca Tukana típica es lo suficientemente grande para acomodar una familia extendida, las cuales en la actualidad se componen de unos 25 o 30 individuos aproximadamente. Para una familia de este tamaño, una maloca de 20 metros de largo por 5 metros de ancho es suficiente. Por dentro, la maloca está dividida en pequeños departamentos, cada uno de los cuales es ocupado por una familia nuclear.

Los indios Tukano no acostumbran vivir en caseríos. Lo común y corriente es ver una sola maloca grande ocupada por una familia extendida, y, generalmente, entre una maloca y otra existe trecho suficiente como para medio día de navegación a remo. Sin embargo, existen caseríos en los cuales en vez de tener una enorme maloca para alojar a la familia extendida, varias malocas

pequeñas acomodan una o dos familias nucleares, pero siempre el total de las malocas que forman el caserío constituyen una familia extendida.

Antiguamente, antes de la llegada de los Misioneros y de los caucheros a la región, el hombre Tukano usaba como única vestimenta cotidiana el guayuco o taparrabo, mientras que la mujer vestía solamente una falda que le cubría el cuerpo desde la cintura hasta las rodillas. Ambos artículos, tanto el guayuco como la falda eran fabricados de corteza de árbol prensada. Ni uno ni otro sexo iban calzados.

La llegada del Misionero y del cauchero al territorio Tukano trajo como resultante la introducción del vestido occidental. El pudor inculcado por los Misioneros y la protección que la ropa ofrece de los insectos han contribuído enormemente a la rápida aceptación del pantalón, la camisa y el traje femenino por los indios Tukano. Sin embargo, es posible aún encontrar indios e indias Tukanas que rechazan la vestimenta occidental, y ésto ocurre primordialmente entre personas de avanzada edad y en general entre indígenas que tienen su residencia bastante alejada de alguna Misión religiosa.

Para fiestas especiales, como el *Dabukurí*, adornos de plumas de colores vistosos son usados por los hombres. Para estas fiestas tanto los hombres como las mujeres se pintan la cara, el cuerpo y las extremidades con *carayurú*, el cual es un pigmento obtenido por medio de la fermentación de las hojas de *Bignonia chica* o por medio de la ebullición del agua en la cual dichas hojas han sido remojadas.

En la decoración de la piel por medio de pigmentos para la fiesta de *Dabukurí* es siempre la mujer la que le aplica la pintura al hombre, además de vestirlo con su indumentaria de plumas. Si el hombre es casado, es su única mujer o la mujer principal, en caso de que tenga varias, la que lo asiste. En caso de que sea un hombre soltero, cualquier mujer de la comunidad desempeña esta labor, y el hombre soltero contrae con dicha mujer las mismas obligaciones y los mismos derechos que un compadre tiene hacia su comadre en la cultura criolla colombiana. Además de pintarse la piel para ocasiones tan apreciables como la fiesta del *Dabukurí*, la pintura cotidiana de la cara es frecuente. En este caso, la función del pigmento es simplemente estética o de protección del sol. En la decoración del cuerpo y de las extre-

midades se utilizan las pintaderas cilíndricas de madera que imprimen decoraciones geométricas.

Otra decoración utilizada por las mujeres y las niñas Tukana es el collar de cuentas de vidrio adquirido de los caucheros por medio de trueque, y también existen collares de dientes de mamíferos obtenidos como un subproducto de la caza y collares de plata trabajados de las monedas que consiguen del criollo radicado en la región.

Tanto el tema de organización social y política como el ciclo vital se tratarán extensamente en otra ocasión. Por el momento basta decir ligeramente que los indios Tukano tienen familias patrilineales extendidas, tienen residencia patrilocal, practican la poliandría, el casamiento se realizaba por medio del rapto, practican la covada, hay segregación de la mujer durante la menstruación, existen ceremonias de iniciación para los niños que han alcanzado la pubertad y existe estratificación social con castas.

Desde la llegada del Misionero religioso y del cauchero a la región dos fenómenos importantes han ocurrido. El de más significado y el que más patente es a la vista es la rápida incorporación y difusión de elementos de cultura material occidental. La olla de aluminio ha reemplazado la vasija de arcilla, el pantalón ha reemplazado al guayuco, el traje de algodón ha tomado el lugar de la falda de corteza de árbol, ya no se caza con arco y flecha sino con escopeta y la pesca se realiza con más frecuencia con el anzuelo que con la trampa.

En el campo de la cultura espiritual la influencia de la cultura occidental ha sido más sutil y no tan rápidamente aceptada. Es cierto que el sistema de organización social está sufriendo un proceso de desintegración; el indio que quiere conseguir mujer tiene que estar dispuesto a radicarse en una misión, ya que los Misioneros sagazmente han recogido todas las mujeres de edad casadera y se las han llevado a las Misiones; los términos de parentesco ya no corresponden al actual sistema; muy pocos son los indios que todavía practican la poliandría; pero a pesar de toda esta evidencia, un indio Tukano adulto actualmente no deja de pensar de acuerdo con los procesos mentales típicamente Tukano. Por ejemplo, Manuel Sierra, nuestro intérprete, a pesar de haber vivido cuatro años consecutivos con su mujer en el Departamento del Tolima, de la Colombia Central, y a pesar de haber salido del Vaupés a los 17 años de edad, todavía tiene la con-

vicción de que el haber comido pescado después de nacido su hijo sin que un shaman Tukano haya "soplado" la comida con anterioridad fue la causa de la aparición de llagas en las piernas.

La cosmogonía Tukana que a continuación se presenta muestra nítidamente el fenómeno de la transculturación. El poco tiempo disponible para este primer viaje de contacto con la cultura Tukana no nos permitió chequear dicha cosmogonía con otros informadores. Nuestro informador, Marcos Sierra, es un shaman en el caserío de Guadalajara, sobre el río Paca. Los habitantes de Guadalajara son indios que han peleado con las Misiones religiosas y se han salido de ellas. Javier Sierra, hermano de Marcos, es el capitán del caserío y es uno de los pocos indios que aún practica la poliginía; tiene dos mujeres.

El status de Marcos Sierra como shamán y buen conocedor de la historia Tukana es alto entre los pobladores de Guadalajara. Se le considera buen curandero y desde distancias grandes es llamado para prestar sus servicios médicos. Nosotros consideramos a Marcos Sierra un hombre inteligente, de imaginación un poco demasiado fértil y un informante deseoso de ayudar; cuenta con 40 años de edad aproximadamente.

## COSMOGONIA

Los Tukano cruzaron el mar Pacífico (4). De *Diaojpekowí* eran los primeros Tukano que llegaron aquí (al Vaupés). De *Diaojpekowí* eran los primeros colonos en llegar a esta región del Vaupés, en otras palabras, fueron los descubridores. *De Diaojpekowí* salió un presidente Tukano (5), y ese fue el jefe de todos los Tukano. Ese jefe se llama *Yúpuri Baúro*. De *Diaojpekowí* también salió un juez, que era el que cuidaba de los territorios de los Tukano. El juez se llamaba *Yepára Oakajpeá*. *Yepára Oakajpeá* era juez de todos los Tukano, pero *Yúpuri Baúro* lo mandaba a él. De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre, y ese se llamaba *Yepára Oyé*, y esa gente todavía constituye la banda militar

(4) Marcos Sierra, nuestro informante, nunca ha viajado fuera de la región del Vaupés. El uso del mar Pacífico parece ser un caso de transculturización.

(5) El término *presidente* representa otro ejemplo de la influencia de la cultura occidental sobre la cultura Tukana.

de los Tukano. De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre, y ese se llama (6) *Yepára Suí*, y esa gente era la que fabricaba el dinero para todos los Tukano. El dinero usado por los Tukano eran las plumas de todas clases. Las plumas representaban riqueza para los Tukano. De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre, y ese se llama *Ajúsiro Sóbaro*, que era el teniente primero de todos los Tukano. De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre, y ese se llama *Yúpuri Pamó*, y ese era el arquitecto de todas las malocas (casas) de los Tukano. De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Yepára Merú*, y ese era la banda (músicos) para las fiestas oficiales. De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llama *Doétiro Mimisipé*, y ese es el fabricante de artículos finos: como *mamatisjé* (eso significa pintura para la cara, y en Geral se dice *carayurú*), como perfumes de todas clases y yerbas finas de todas clases para embellecerse todos los Tukano. De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre, y ese se llama *Ajkíto Patíro*, y ese era el propagandista de la política de los Tukano. De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llama *Kemáru Kukú*, y éste era como capitán del ejército de los Tukano, pero *Ajúsiro Sóbaro* mandaba a *Kemáru Kukú*. De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llama *Urémiri Sáraro*, y él se encargaba de toda la República de los Tukano, era una especie de Ministro de Gobierno (7). Y él estaba encargado de toda la tierra de los Tukano; y ese señor mismo se encargaba y guardaba de los espíritus de *Yurupari*, que en Tukano se dice *Miriapurajeripura*. Y *Urémiri Sáraro* también guardaba las flechas y arcos y los palos para pelear, y él tenía una cosa fina como el hábito de una tela pintada de toda clase de colores, lo cual guardaba para todos los Tukano. Cuando se reunía el congreso (8), él daba órdenes para que los delegados se vistieran con esa tela fina y pintada de todos los colores y que se llama *Miriapurasutiro* en la lengua de los Tukano. Y *Urémiri Sáraro* se encargaba también de la educación de los Tukano, y en el colegio se enseñaba cosas de payé (9), que en Tukano se llama *Yaí*. Del colegio salían *payés* que adivinaban, soplaban enfermedades, interpretaban los sueños, y este último se llama *Kúmu*, pues él sopla y adivina. *Yaí*

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(6) Aquí el intérprete emplea el presente indicativo del verbo *llamarse*, discontinúa en esta forma el uso del tiempo copretérito de indicativo del mismo verbo.
(7) Ejemplo de transculturización.
(8) Transculturización.
(9) Shaman.

hacía tronar de rabia cuando alguien moría. Eso es porque cuando alguien muere, los *payés* hacen tronar de rabia y hacen relampaguear y llover de la rabia que ellos tienen. En el mismo colegio enseñaban el himno nacional (10) de los Tukano; el que enseñaba todo ésto era *Urémiri Sáraro*. En el colegio enseñaban disciplina para el ejército y para todos los Tukano, como por ejemplo marchar y disparar, y esa disciplina era muy distinta. Disciplina significaba un güío grande. Encima de un güío los ejércitos y los civiles brincaban para tener valor, pues era muy peligroso brincar sobre un güío, pues el güío también mataba a la gente. *Urémiri Sáraro* también enseñaba *Amonumiabasero*, que significa que las muchachas que todavía eran vírgenes, para que se casaran, para que se embellezcan, y para eso él las soplaba. El soplaba el agua y ellas tomaban el agua, también él las soplaba con humo de tabaco. *Urémiri Sáraro* también enseñaba discursos, como por ejemplo, para presentar la bandera y explicar el significado del escudo (11). El *Miriapurasutiro*, que era el yestido de tela de muchos colores que guardaba *Urémiri Sáraro* era el escudo y la bandera de los Tukano. De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llama *Parisí*, y su cargo era matar con oraciones a otras gentes que no fuesen Tukano. Y él enseñaba a los hombres de la maloca de *Parisí* como matar a otras gentes que no fuesen Tukano. Y *Parisí* sabía soplar, pero las sopladas no eran para curar enfermedades sino para que los *Parisí* tuviesen muchos hijos e hijas. Y Parisí era como Ministro de Higiene. De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Yúpuri Búbera*, y el encargo de él era fabricar una bebida muy fina que tomaban todos los Tukano en fiestas muy especiales. Estas fiestas eran para bailar, para dar discursos, para hablar de la historia de los Tukano (12), y para que los Tukano se divirtiesen. Esta bebida se llama en Tukano *Cajpí*, pero no en todas las fiestas se tomaba *Cajpí*. *Cajpí* se tomaba sólo para las fiestas de *Miriapurajeripura* (*Yurupari*) y de *Dabukurí*. Hoy en día todavía se prepara y se toma *Cajpí*. Y *Yúpuri Búbera* tenía un tambor, y *Yúpuri Búbera* tocaba este tambor cuando se tomaba *Cajpí*. Cuando *Yúpuri Bubéra* murió, todavía se tocaba el tambor, y el tambor lo tocaba la tribu de él. Y *Yúpuri Búbera* tenía un mueble

(10) Transculturización.
(11) Transculturización.
(12) La cosmogonía Tukana.

especial para todos los Tukano, y la vida de todos los Tukano dependía de ese mueble. Si este mueble se rompía, todos los Tukano morirían. Y *Yúpuri Búbera* sabía la canción de *Miriapurajeripura* (*Yurupari*), y él no enseñaba esta canción de *Miriapurajeripura* a nadie. Y esta canción de *Miriapurajeripura* era sólo para dos tribus, que eran: *Yúpuri Búbera* y *Urémiri Sáraro*. Y *Yúpuri Búbera* sabía tejer las plumas chiquitas y finas que costaban mucha plata, y cuando ya estaban tejidas en una especie de tela, él las daba para que se vistieran *Urémiri Sáraro* y *Yúpuri Búbera*. Y después *Yúpuri Búbera* guardaba el espíritu de las malocas de todos los Tukano. Y *Yúpuri Búbera* cogió un gavilán, que se dice en Tukano *Aapajké*, y ese gavilán era para sacarle cosas para adivinar. Sacaba las plumas más finas que tiene el gavilán, y las plumas eran para soplarlas, y cuando ya estaban sopladas, se echaba las plumitas en los oídos y *Yúpuri Búbera* se volvió *payé* (*Yaí* y *Kúmu*). *Yúpuri Búbera* cogió unas varillitas finas y delgaditas, y él las enterraba en el suelo paraditas, y él hacía eso para cantarlas. Después de cantarlas, *Yúpuri Búbera* hablaba con todos los Tukano para que lo respetaran a él. Y *Yúpuri Búbera* era gobernador de todos los departamentos de los Tukano. Y todos éstos que hemos dicho eran la clase alta, los gobernantes, los generales de todos los Tukano.

Ahora vamos a hablar de las tribus que también son Tukano, pero pertenecen a la clase baja, a los que no podían ser mandatarios.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Ñájori Dipé*, y ese era como el sargento del ejército de los Tukano.

*De Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Ajúsiro Merí*, y ese era sargento de policía del ejército de los Tukano.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Urémiri Sióropo*, y ese era como teniente segundo (13) del ejército de los Tukano.

*De Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Ajúsiro Túro*, y ese era cabo primero del ejército de todos los Tukano. Y ese era un gran peleador, y a veces no hacía caso a sus jefes superiores.

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(13) Aculturización. El título jerárquico que el intérprete da a los diferentes jefes Tukano no se puede considerar desde el punto de vista de la jerarquía militar y policíaca que existe en Colombia.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Ditápura*, y ese era como cabo segundo del ejército de todos los Tukano.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Ajkíto Kuá*, que era como el cabo tercero del ejército de todos los Tukano.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Ajkíto Yujuró*, y ese era el que cargaba las flechas y los arcos y los palos y la comida para todo el ejército de los Tukano.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Bujpuápura*, y ese era el que enseñaba a manejar los arcos y las flechas y los palos a todo el ejército de los Tukano.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Ajpué Keriá*, y éste era el jefe de los guerrilleros que salían en comisión a poner orden en otras tribus, porque entre los Tukano no se peleaba.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Wuá*, y ese señor tenía a su cargo pelear por los Tukano únicamente de noche. Era como un ejército nocturno.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Doé Yukaró*, y este señor también tenía su ejército, y también peleaba de noche.

Y todos estos Tukano de que hemos hablado, de la clase baja, estaban bajo las órdenes de *Urémiri Sáraro*.

Las tribus que estaban bajo las órdenes de *Yúpuri Baúro* son:

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Umu Sasí*, y este señor tenía un ejército que era la guardia personal de *Yúpuri Baúro*.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Kemáru Dasirí*, y ese era el jefe de un ejército que estaba al servicio personal de *Yúpuri Baúro*.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Urémi Sakuró*, y ese era el jefe de otro ejército que también estaba bajo las órdenes personales de *Yúpuri Baúro*.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Yáitoro*, que era el jefe de un ejército que también estaba bajo las órdenes personales de *Yúpuri Baúro*.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Suí Amo*

*perí*, y ese también era el jefe de un ejército que estaba bajo las órdenes personales de *Yúpuri Baúro*.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Arú Perí*, y ese también era el jefe de un ejército que estaba bajo las órdenes personales de *Yúpuri Baúro*.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Bojsóka Perí*, que también era el jefe de un ejército que estaba bajo las órdenes personales de *Yúpuri Baúro*.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Ajkíto Bitóro*, y ése sí era como el jefe de *Umu Sasí*, *Kemáru Dasirí*, *Urêmi Sakuró*, *Yáitoro*, *Suí Amoperí*, *Arú Perí* y *Bojsóka Perí*. Y *Ajkíto Bitóro* estaba bajo las órdenes personales de *Yúpuri Baúro*, y él era muy bravo.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Báya Purá*, y ese era también como *Ajkíto Bitóro*, pues él también mandaba a *Umu Sasí*, *Kemáru Dasirí*, *Urêmi Sakuró*, *Yáitoro*, *Suí Amoperí*, *Arú Perí* y *Bojsóka Perí*; y también mandaba a *Ajkíto Bitóro*.

De *Diaojpekowí* salió otro hombre que se llamaba *Mío Putí*, y ese era bravo también y peleaba de noche. También estaba bajo las órdenes personales de *Yúpuri Baúro*. *Ajkíto Bitóro* podía mandar a *Mío Putí*.

En *Diaojpekowí* se quedó un hombre llamado *Yepá Huáke*. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio de beber a *Yúpuri Baúro cashirí* (*Péru*) (14) y le dio de fumar tabaco (*Manró*) y le dio de comer coca (*Páto*) y después lo hizo dormir. Cuando Yepá Huáke vio que Yúpuri Baúro estaba dormido, le sacó una costilla del lado izquierdo, después le sacó un hueso del muslo izquierdo, después le sacó un hueso del antebrazo izquierdo, después de todo ésto, *Yapá*, *Huáke* recogió un poco de tierra, y con todo ésto, los huesos y la tierra, *Yepá Huáke* hizo una muñeca, sacó un tubo de flauta (*Ueoui*) y con su propio suspiro sopló a través del tubo de flauta en la frente de la muñeca. Después de soplar, hizo despertar a la muñeca y a *Yúpuri Baúro*. Y la muñeca se volvió mujer, y esta mujer fue la hermana de *Yúpuri Baúro*, y ella se llamaba *Yepára Dujuío* (15). Después *Yepá Huáke* vio que *Yúpuri Baúro* y

(14) Chicha fabricada por medio de la fermentación del jugo hervido de la yuca brava, al cual se le agrega además ñame cocinado y pedazos de casabe.

(15) La creación de la primera mujer Tukana por Yepá Huáke tiene gran semejanza a la creación de Eva por el Dios cristiano. Posiblemente otro caso de aculturización.

*Yepára Dujuío* estaban despiertos, y entonces preguntó *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Quién es esa mujer?". Y entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "Esa es hermana mía". Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Está bien". Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a *Yepára Dujuío:* "Ustedes me van a respetar a mí". Y ellos contestaron: "Sí respetaremos". Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "*Bueno*". Entonces Yepá Huáke les dio orden que salieran de *Diaojpekowí*. Y entonces ellos salieron. Y apenas salieron ellos, se les apareció a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a *Yepára Dujuío* un palo de caimo. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* se quitó su propio brazo izquierdo, y este brazo se volvió una persona, y esta persona se encaramó encima del palo de caimo. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* se sacó su propio dedo meñique del pie izquierdo. Y entonces el dedo meñique del pie izquierdo se convirtió en un güío. Y *Yepá Huáke* ordenó a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a *Yepára Dujuío* que se alejasen un poco más de *Diaojpekowí*. La persona que se estaba encaramando encima del palo de caimo, que era un hombre, preguntó a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a *Yepára Dujuío* a dónde iban. Y entonces ellos contestaron que iban a *Diaojpekodijtára* a bañarse para no morir. Y el hombre que se estaba encaramando encima del palo de caimo y que se llamaba *Sé* les dijo a Yúpuri Baúro y a Yepára Dujuío: "Cómanse primero la fruta de este palo. Si ustedes se van a bañar primero a *Diaojpekodijtára*, ustedes se morirán". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* le dijo a *Yepára Dujuío:* "Esas son mentiras que está diciendo *Sé*". Entonces *Yepára Dujuío* dijo: "No son mentiras, comamos!". Y ambos comieron. *Yepá Huáke* vio que *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Yepára Dujuío* habían comido ya de la fruta del palo de caimo, y llamó a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a *Yepára Dujuío*. Y ellos fueron donde él. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* les dijo: "Ustedes no me respetan nada". Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* que se murieran *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Yepára Dujuío* (16).

Pero *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Yepára Dujuío* no murieron todavía. Y *Yepá Huáke* les dio la orden para que todos los Tukano salieran marchando antes que nadie más u otras gentes. Y entonces los Tukano salieron marchando, y ellos iban para *Diaojpekodijtára*. Y los Tukano llegaron. Y a orillas de *Diaojpekodijtára* los Tukano se pararon. Y después *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que el

(16) Este pasaje de la cosmogonía Tukana es muy parecido al capítulo bíblico en el que Adán y Eva son arrojados del paraíso por haber comido del fruto prohibido. Aculturización.

primer blanco saliera de *Diaojpekowí*. Este blanco era alemán [17]. Alemán se dice en Tukano *Alemán*. Y entonces *Yepá Huáke* dio otra orden para que saliesen de *Diaojpekowí* los colombianos, que en Tukano se llaman *Siópuri Uejké*. Después *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que salieran de *Diaojpekowí* los americanos, que en Tukano se llamaban *Pubricanos*. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que salieran de *Diaojpekowí* los ingleses, que en Tukano se llaman *Ingleses*. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que salieran los italianos, que en Tukano se llaman *Italianos*. Y después *Yepá Huáke* dio la orden para que salieran de *Diaojpekowí* los franceses. Y después *Yepá Huáke* dio la orden para que salieran de *Diaojpekowí* los brasileros, que en Tukano se llaman *Ereya*. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden otra vez para que salieran de *Diaojpekowí* los españoles. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que salieran de *Diaojpekowí* los peruanos. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que salieran de *Diaojpekowí* los sirios. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden otra vez para que salieran de *Diaojpekowí* los portugueses. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden otra vez para que salieran de *Diaojpekowí* los *bicudos*, que también son blancos brasileros. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden otra vez para que salieran de *Diaojpekowí* los negros, que en Tukano se llaman *Tapañumas*. En otras palabras, de *Diaojpekowí* salieron todas las gentes del Mundo. Y después *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que salieran de *Diaojpekowí* los *Baré*, que son gente que habla *Geral* [18]. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que salieran de *Diaojpekowí* los *Ananicas*, que son gente muy chiquita y que los blancos llaman pigmeos. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que saliera de *Diaojpekowí* una mujer vieja de los blancos.

*Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que marcharan todos los blancos, aquellos que no eran Tukano, a donde iban los Tukano, o sea a *Diaojpekodijtára*. Después *Yepá Huáke* hizo un milagro grande. Con ese milagro vino toda clase de armamentos, ropa, zapatos, sombreros, correas y cinturones de los blancos. Después *Yepá Huáke* hizo otro milagro, y de este milagro vinierón las flechas, arcos, cerbatanas, guayucos y todas las vestimentas de los Tukano.

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(17) No se pudo esclarecer por qué el primer "blanco" en la cosmografía Tukana era alemán.

(18) *Geral* es el nombre con el cual se designa un idioma que está formado en su mayor parte por la lengua Tupí.

Los Tukano ya habían llegado a *Diaojpekodijtára*. Y después llegaron los blancos a *Diaojpekodijtára*. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que todos, blancos y Tukano, se bañaran en *Diaojpekodijtára*. Y allí en *Diaojpekodijtára* salieron un poco de güfos, de toda clase de culebras y todas las clases de animales bravos. Y eso porque lo mandó *Yepá Huáke*. De allí en adelante nadie más se podía bañar en *Diaojpekodijtára* por miedo a estos animales. Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo que se bañe en *Diaojpekodijtára* aquel grupo que tuviese más fuerza. Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo que se bañaran los Tukano primero, y los Tukano no quisieron bañarse por miedo a las fieras que había en *Diaojpekodijtára*. Después mandó *Yepá Huáke* a los blancos para que se bañasen en *Diaojpekodijtára*. Y todos los blancos se bañaron sin tener miedo. Y de allí en adelante los Tukano quedaron bajo las órdenes de los blancos, pues por el maldito miedo a las fieras que había en *Diaojpekodijtára* los Tukano no se bañaron y los blancos ganaron (19). Y antes de bañarse en *Diaojpekodijtára*, los blancos eran del color de los Tukano, pero después de bañarse en *Diaojpekodijtára* se volvieron blancos. Los Tukano vieron que los blancos ya se estaban bañando, y entonces los Tukano se mojaron la palma de las manos, la cara y la planta de los pies, por eso es que todas estas partes del cuerpo de los Tukano son blancas (20).

Todas las gentes, blancos y Tukano, que estaban agrupados todos juntos, comenzaron su regreso de *Diaojpekodijtára*, y en la marcha se dividieron. A la derecha marchaban los Tukano con *Yúpuri Baúro* como su jefe, y a la izquierda iban todos los blancos que iban mandados por *Alemán*. Entre los Tukano iba *Yepára Dujuío*, y entre los blancos iba la señora vieja, que en Tukano se llama *Númio Paraméo*. Y *Yepá Huáke* los hizo entrar a *Diaojpekowí* otra vez. Y Yepá Huáke hizo un milagro, y en una totuma produjo coca ya molida y mezclada con ceniza (21), y también produjo tabaco, y también produjo un tabaquito que se fuma por la nariz y que en Tukano se llama *Uejisé*. Y entre esa

(19) Racionalización del dominio que tienen la policía, el juez, el Comisario, el Misionero religioso y el cauchero sobre el indio en la región del Vaupés.

(20) Referencia al hecho de que en general la palma de las manos, la cara y la planta de los pies son de un color más claro que las otras partes del cuerpo.

(21) La ceniza de la hoja seca quemada es un ingrediente en la elaboración de la coca por el indio Tukano.

coca había güíos y culebra y arañas y todas las fieras y los animales del mundo. Y *Yepá Huáke* mandó comer de esa coca a *Yúpuri Baúro*. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* tuvo mucho miedo de esa coca llena de animales. Y entonces *Yepá Huáke* mandó comer de esa coca a los *Alemanes*, y ellos tampoco comieron de puro miedo a los animales que había en esa coca. Y entonces *Yepá Huáke* mandó que todos los animales que había en la totuma con coca se comiesen la coca, y los animales se la comieron; por eso es que los animales nunca mueren sino que únicamente cambian de cuero y de pellejo. Y entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Porque usted no comió de esa coca, ustedes van a morir" (22). Y después *Yepá Huáke* dijo también al *Alemán:* "Porque usted no comió de esa coca, ustedes también van a morir" (23). Y entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro;* "Ustedes en este mundo tendrán riquezas: los Yuruparises, las plumas, las flechas, cerbatanas, banquitos (*Kumú*), palo para matar gente (*Ujpiópi*), escudos para la pelea (*Uetitóke*) y usarán una cornetita hecha de hueso del muslo derecho de un diablo que no es espíritu y que tiene la forma humana", y ese diablo se llama *Boraró* y la cornetita se llama *Pujtiricá*. "Quedarán sus riquezas en las malocas de los Tukano, y allí están todas sus riquezas". Que son pocas. Después *Yepá Huáke* dijo también al Alemán: "Ustedes sí tendrán todas las riquezas del mundo, y esas riquezas serán: armamentos, escopetas, cuchillos, hachas, papeles (cuadernos). Y usted, *Alemán*, jamás podrá saber o recordar cosas de pura memoria, sino que tendrá que apuntarlo en papel (cuaderno) para recordarlo (24). Y éste, que es *Yúpuri Baúro*, jamás tendrá papeles (cuadernos) ni necesitará apuntar, sino que recordará de pura memoria todo lo que pase en el mundo. Usted no será capaz de quitarle la memoria que *Yúpuri Baúro* tiene, y este *Yúpuri Baúro* es cabeza (25) de todos ustedes,los blancos".Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Ustedes principian a hacer guerra contra sus enemigos". Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo entonces al *Alemán:* "Ustedes váyanse para Oriente, y allí será su patria". Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Voy a hacer un milagro". Y cuan-

(22) No serán inmortales.

(23) No serán inmortales.

(24) Racionalización del uso del papel y del lápiz por el hombre de civilización occidental en el Vaupés.

(25) El indio Tukano no necesita papel y lápiz para recordar las cosas.

do *Yepá Huáke* dijo la palabra "milagro", que en Tukano se dice *Bajúrese*, apareció el sol por primera vez; antes nunca había habido sol. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro* y al *Alemán:* "Cada uno de ustedes peleará en su propia patria". Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* al Alemán: "Su riqueza tendrá poder. Sus fábricas tendrán aviones, automóviles, buques, submarinos y toda clase de cosas que quieran hacer ustedes. Y ustedes también se morirán" (26). De esta manera *Yepá Huáke* maldijo a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a los *Alemanes*. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Para ustedes quedan los *Payés* (*Yaí* y *Kúmu*). Y así como yo los soplé a ustedes para que ustédes vivan, el *payé* también los soplará y los salvará cuando estén enfermos. Si se acaba el viento que yo les soplé, el enfermo morirá, y el muerto se volverá tierra" (27). Dijo *Yepá Huáke* a los Alemanes: "Para ustedes les queda un doctor médico. Si falta el viento que yo les soplé, el doctor les pondrá inyecciones y salvará a los enfermos. Ustedes harán operaciones a los enfermos y sacarán las enfermedades. Cuando se acabe el viento que yo les soplé, entonces los enfermos morirán y los muertos también se volverán tierra". Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a los *Alemanes:* "Ustedes no van a vivir para toda la vida. Yo les voy a dar tierra, y esa tierra será para todos. Y esa tierra nunca morirá".

Entonces*Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a los *Alemanes:* "Caminen conmigo". Y entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Siéntese aquí conmigo a mi derecha". Y *Yepá Huáke* también dijo a *Yepára Dujuío:* "Venga siéntese aquí a mi derecha al lado de su hermano" (28). Después dijo *Yepá Huáke* al *Alemán:* "Siéntese aquí a mi lado izquierdo". Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Númio Paraméo* (29): "Venga siéntese a mi lado izquierdo al lado de su hermano" (30). Y *Yepá Huáke* entonces creó el viento, porque antes nunca había habido viento, y ésto fué un milagro. Y ese viento cogió el banquito donde estaban sentados *Yepá Huáke, Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Dujuío, Alemán* y *Númio Paraméo,* y lo subió al cielo. El viento era el que sostenía el

(26) No serán inmortales.
(27) Posible influencia cristiana.
(28) Yúpuri Baúro.
(29) La mujer vieja "blanca".
(30) Alemán.

banquito para que no se cayera. Y entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* al *Alemán:* "Su patria queda al Oriente, aquí tenga usted su tabaco, y ese tabaco es para que se lo fume y para que tenga mucha familia" (31). También dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro*: "Su patria queda al Norte, Occidente y Sur". Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a los brasileros: "Ustedes se quedan aquí en *Diaojpekowí*". Por eso es que los brasileros todavía viven en *Diaojpekowí*, y *Diaojpekowí* queda en el Brasil. Entonces *Yepá Huáke, Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Dujuío, Alemán* y *Númio Paraméo* bajaron del cielo en el banquito a *Diaojpekowí*. Y *Yepá Huáke* le dijo al *Alemán:* "Usted quédese aquí para que se vaya a su tierra, al Oriente". Y *Yepá Huáke* hizo un milagro para que apareciera la tierra, pues antes no había tierra tampoco. Y sobre esa tierra *Yepá Huáke* hizo los árboles. Y después *Yepá Huáke* hizo otro milagro, y esa tierra bajó por debajo de este mundo. Y por eso es que existe por debajo de esta tierra un río que se llama *Uamedia*. Y *Yepá Huáke* hizo otro milagro para que apareciese la tierra en que vivimos nosotros. Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo al *Alemán:* "Ustedes tengan su ciudad por debajo de la tierra, de la segunda tierra, así como especie de túneles como hay cafés en Bogotá y almacenes en Bogotá".

Después salió *Yepá Huáke* de *Diaojpekowí* a fumar tabaco, y cuando fumó el tabaco, sopló. Y *Yepá Huáke* fumó tabaco, sopló al Norte, al Sur, al Este y al Oeste, y apareció la tierra por todo el mundo. Y sobre esta tierra apareció toda la naturaleza. Después *Yepá Huáke* hizo los mares, y con estos mares rodeó el terreno de todo el mundo. Después *Yepá Huáke* hizo otro mar que formó los ríos del Vaupés, Negro y Amazonas. *Yepá Huáke* salió de *Diaojpekowí*.

En *Diaojpekowí* apareció un barco grande, y ese barco era un güío. Y primero se embarcó en este barco *Yúpuri Baúro*, y el segundo en embarcarse fué *Siópuri Uejké*, y el *Alemán* cogió para el Oriente. Y allí se dividieron. *Siópuri Uejké* y *Yúpuri Baúro* llegaron a *Diatabujtiwí*, una maloca de paja blanca. Entraron y salieron otra vez mirando las tierras. Entraron otra vez al barco del güío y siguieron subiendo los ríos. Llegaron a *Diamajamirawí*. *Siópuri Uejké* y *Yúpuri Baúro* subieron al cielo otra vez. *Yúpuri Baúro* cogió un palo especial que suena como cam-

(31) Para que sea muy fértil.

pana, y los Tukano todavía tienen palos como ese. Y ese palo era para medir el tiempo a ver dónde quedaba la patria de *Ereya*. Bajaron del cielo a *Diamajamirawí* otra vez. Se embarcaron otra vez en el barco del güío y siguieron subiendo los ríos. Y llegaron a *Diatumurawí*. Llegaron allí y arrimaron y entraron y estuvieron poco rato nada más mirando la maloca. Salieron de *Diatumurawí* y se volvieron a embarcar otra vez en el barco del güío y siguieron subiendo los ríos. Y llegaron a *Diayebarawí*, y allí entraron *Siópuri Uejké* y *Yúpuri Baúro* con sus banquitos, sus tabacos y sus cocas. Después en *Diayebarawí* había chicha y también había tabaquito para fumar por la nariz. Y *Siópuri Uejké* y *Yúpuri Baúro* subieron otra vez al cielo en sus banquitos y cogieron un palo que servía de campana y comenzaron a tomar medidas otra vez, y esta vez los límites de *Ereya* salieron correctos. Entonces hasta *Diayebarawí* quedó para *Ereya*. *Siópuri Uejké* y *Yúpuri Baúro* se embarcaron otra vez en el barco del güío y siguieron subiendo los ríos y llegaron a *Diabarowí*. *Diabarowí* quiere decir donde *Siópuri Uejké* y *Yúpuri Baúro* toparon un *Yurupari*, y ese *Yurupari* se llama *Baró*. Y ese *Baró* lo cogió *Yúpuri Baúro*, y *Siópuri Uejké* cogió una corneta. Y entonces entraron a *Diabarowí*. Allí *Yúpuri Baúro* dió orden a *Siópuri Uejké* para que *Siópuri Uejké* se quedara en *Diabarowí*.

Dijo *Yúpuri Baúro* a *Siópuri Uejké:* "Usted es hermano mío y por eso le dejo esta maloca a cargo suyo". Y allí se quedaron los españoles y los colombianos. *Yúpuri Baúro* dió orden a *Siópuri Uejké* y a los españoles para que entrasen al río Amazonas, y en ese entonces el río Amazonas quedaba en la patria de los españoles y los colombianos. Salió otra vez *Yúpuri Baúro* solo de *Diabarowí* y se embarcó en el barco del güío y siguió subiendo el río Amazonas. Los colombianos y los españoles se quedaron en la desembocadura del río Amazonas en el mar Atlántico, pues allí es donde queda *Diabarowí*. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* siguió subiendo y cruzó el río Negro y llegó a *Yejkejoriwí*, que es una maloca. Y entró y cogió un banquito. Y el banquito estaba pintado de toda clase de colores. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* salió de *Yejkejoriwí* llevándose el banquito. Cruzó al otro lado del río Negro y llegó a *Diasarirawí*, que en Tukano significa maloca de mueble especial. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* salió de *Diasarirawí* y se llevó el mueble especial. *Yúpuri Baúro* se volvió a embarcar en el barco del güío y siguió subiendo y llegó a *Diaoajatrorawí*, y allí cogió *Oajatro*,

que en Tukano significa una totuma especial, y salió de *Diaoajatrorawí* y se embarcó en el barco del güío otra vez. Y siguió subiendo. Y llegó a *Diautikesererowí*, y de allí sacó *Utikeserero*, que es como una horquetita para fumar tabaco grande y que está pintada de todos los colores. Salió *Yúpuri Baúro* de *Diautikesererowí* y se montó al barco del güío otra vez, y siguió subiendo, y llegó a *Diamajarawí*, y entró a esta maloca. Y allí cogió *Yurupari*. Y de allí salió otra vez y se embarcó de nuevo y siguió subiendo el río y llegó a *Diaurawí*. Y en *Diaurawí* cogió *U*, que es una tortuga especial, para *Yúpuri Baúro*. Y salió de *Diaurawí* y se embarcó otra vez en el barco del güío, y ese barco del güío se llama en Tukano *Pameriyekése*. Y siguió subiendo el río y llegó a *Diabajsirawí*. Y de esa maloca sacó una cinta tejida pintada de todos los colores, y esa cinta era para amarrarse las rodillas, y todavía los Tukano se amarran las rodillas. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* salió de *Diabajsirawí* y se embarcó en el barco del güío y siguió subiendo el río. Y llegó a *Diapirorawí* y entró, miró y salió inmediatamente y se embarcó en el barco del güío y siguió subiendo el río. Y llegó a *Diadejkepawí* y entró a esta maloca y cogió un pedazo de semilla de yuca brava y volvió a salir de *Diadejkepawí*. Y se subió al barco del güío y siguió subiendo el río. Y llegó a *Dianipírima*, y éste es un río, y entró directamente, dirigiéndose a donde quedaba la patria de él. Llegó a *Diadajserawí* y entró y dijo: "Hasta aquí queda la patria mía". Volvió a salir de *Diadajserawí* y se embarcó otra vez en el barco del güío y regresó a las bocas de *Dianipírima*. Cruzó al otro lado del río Negro y entró a otro río que se llama *Diakababurí*. Y entró en este río directamente a una maloca que se llama *Diakababurawí*. Y allí dejó una persona brava, y es por eso que hasta ahora nadie puede entrar en ese caño, pues los Tukano que viven allí son muy bravos. Los brasileros llaman a ese caño, *Cababurí*. *Yúpuri Baúro* volvió a salirse de *Diakababurawí* y se volvió a embarcar en el barco del güío y siguió subiendo. Y llegaron a *Diaetadekawí* y sacaron una medalla de piedra fina, en forma de tubo, que todavía se usa colgada al cuello. Salió de *Diaetadekawí*, se embarcó en el buque del güío y siguió subiendo el río. Y llegó a *Diadajsirawí*. Y entraron y sacaron collares, que en Tukano se llaman *Diajsatu*. Y estos collares finos ya no se pueden hacer, y los dejó *Yepá Huáke* para *Yúpuri Baúro*, *Yúpuri Pamó*, *Yúpuri Duetra* y *Urémiri Sáraro*. Y esos collares finos no se usaban todos los días sino para las fiestas oficiales. El resto del tiempo,

esos collares finos se guardaban. *Yúpuri Baúro* salió de *Diadajsirawí* y se embarcó en el buque del güío y se quedó en el barco del güío. Y allí se quedó vigilando dónde estaba *Yepá Huáke*, que hizo crear a nosotros, y *Yepá Huáke* no estaba. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* con toda su gente se salió del barco del güío y volvió a vigilar si veía a *Yepá Huáke* en tierra, fuera del barco del güío. Y tampoco estaba *Yepá Huáke*. Y dijo *Duétiro*, hermano de *Yúpuri Baúro*, "*Yepá Huáke* ya subió al cielo". Entonces dijeron *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Duétiro:* "Eso no está bien para nosotros. Va a llover mucho, mucho, porque el *Sé* va a hacer llover y nos va a comer a todos nosotros" (32). Y el *Sé* ya había trancado el río de allí para arriba para que comenzara a subirse, y entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Duétiro* y toda la gente se embarcaron en el buque del güío. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* hizo que el güío se enroscase, y después de enroscarse el güío, el güío se subió al cielo con *Yúpuri Baúro, Duétiro* y toda la gente. Y en el cielo estuvieron sesenta días, y después de sesenta días comenzó a bajar otra vez el río. Y *Yepá Huáke* ya había matado a *Sé*. Después de morir *Sé*, el río comenzó a bajar por medida. Después de treinta días (33), el río ya estaba como antes de subir el río. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* con *Duétiro* y toda su gente bajaron del cielo y llegaron otra vez a *Diadajsirawí*. Y *Yepá Huáke* ya había subido otra vez al cielo, después de haber bajado a matar a *Sé*. Y entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Duétiro*, después de haber bajado del cielo, dijeron: "Si no está *Yepá Huáke* en esta tierra pasará lo mismo que hace poco, o sea que volverá a crecer el río". Entonces dijo *Duétiro* a *Yúpuri Baúro*, que *Yúpuri Baúro* no sabía manejar bien el personal y que *Duétiro* sería el jefe. Entonces dijo *Yúpuri Baúro* a *Duétiro* que *Yúpuri Baúro* va a ver como *Duétiro* va a manejar el personal. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* dejó que *Duétiro* manejase el personal. Dijo *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Está bien". Y después dijo *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Usted siga subiendo así como yo iba primero a encontrar la patria de nosotros". Y allí *Duétiro* y *Yúpuri Baúro* pelearon, diciendo *Yúpuri Baúro* que *Yepá Huáke* no había dejado el encargo de buscar la patria de ellos a *Duétiro*, porque él no era el mayor. Que ahora le daba el encargo de buscar la patria de ellos a *Duétiro*, pero que con el tiempo el encargo de buscar la patria de ellos regresaría a *Yúpuri Baúro*. *Duétiro* dijo: "Está bien, para

(32) Un diluvio.
(33) Un mes.

seguir subiendo el río más fácilmente, es mejor que subamos primero al cielo". Y ahora las órdenes las daba *Duétiro*. Entonces *Yúpúri Baúro* se le rió en la cara a *Duétiro Eetamajsé* (34), porque la orden de subir al cielo dada por *Duétiro* no servía. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* le dijo a *Duétiro:* "Cómo vamos a subir al cielo?" Contestó *Duétiro:* "Vamos a hacer una torre de ladrillos y cuando la torre esté terminada vamos a subir todos al cielo, y mientras construímos la torre vamos subiendo". Y allí principiaron a trabajar y a construír la torre. A las seis de la mañana comenzaron a trabajar y al mediodía ya la torre había pasado el palo más alto de la selva. Después del mediodía comenzaron a trabajar otra vez, y trabajaron una hora bien trabajada. Iban a principiar otra hora de trabajo y de allí en adelante ya no podían trabajar más porque se cambiaban las palabras. Toda la gente que trabajaba antes eran sólo Tukano, y entonces se confundieron las palabras y comenzaron a hablar Siriano, Cubeo, Maniva, Miraña, Yucuna, Bicula, Tatuyo, Carapaná, Barasano, Tuyuca, Desano, Matapí, Uanano, Tariano, Piratapuyó, Macú, Guayabero, Carijona, Indio Putumayo, Baré, Petara, Detuana y Yurutí (35). Cayó encima de la torre un libro de *Yepá Huáke*, y ese papel lo recibió *Duétiro*, y no era capaz de leerlo. Entonces *Duétiro* fumó un tabaco, comió coca y con pura memoria llamó a *Siópuri Uejké* para que leyera ese libro. Y *Siópuri Uejké* leyó para sí mismo lo que decía el libro, y después dijo: "Eso no sirve para todo el mundo, ni para los colombianos ni para los Tukano". *Siópuri Uejké* preguntó: "Quién es el jefe de toda la tribu de ustedes?" Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "Este es el jefe de toda la tribu", señalando a *Duétiro*. Dijo *Siópuri Uejké:* "Falta una maloca de la vida de nosotros, y allí va a aparecer otra vez *Yepá Huáke*. Vamos a entrar a esa maloca. Si no entramos a esa maloca, moriremos para siempre". Y *Siópuri Uejké* regresó a su tierra otra vez. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* se quedó como jefe otra vez de los Tukano. Se embarcaron otra vez en el barco del güío y siguió subiendo y miró con unos gemelos, que se llaman en Tunkano, *Miriapuraeoro*, y alcanzó a mirar hasta *Diamukakuwí*. Y *Diamukakuwí* quedaba más lejos que *Diadasukawí*. Y llegó a *Diadasukawí* y entró a esa maloca y sacó un collar. En

(34) Duétiro Eetamajsé es el mismo personaje que Duétiro.

(35) Pasaje que tiene gran semejanza al episodio de la Torre de Babel. Posible influencia cristiana.

Tukano, collar se dice *Dajsúke*. Y salió de *Diadasukawí* otra vez y se embarcó en el barco del güío y siguió subiendo. Y llegó a *Diamukakuwí* y entró a *Diamukakuwí* y aquí quedó el límite con los colombianos (36). *Yúpuri Baúro* salió de *Diamukakuwí* y regresó para arriba y llegó a *Diayukaviwí*. Aquí solamente arrimó al puerto y no entró en la maloca. Ya esa era tierra de él, y siguió subiendo. Y llegó a *Diasamiguerawí;* aquí solamente arrimó al puerto y siguió derecho. Entró al río Negro, subiéndolo, y llegó a *Diamarirawí*. Apenas solamente arrimó al puerto y siguió para arriba. Y llegó a *Diakukurawí*. Solamente arrimó al puerto y no entró. Y siguió para arriba y llegó a *Diajkorawí* (37) y aquí también solamente arrimó al puerto y siguió río arriba. Siguió subiendo río arriba y llegó a *Diañejkarawí*. Aquí también solamente arrimó al puerto y no entró en la maloca y siguió subiendo el río. Y llegó a *Diakajseropueawí*, que significa en Tukano: maloca de *Yurupari*. Y allí *Yúpuri Baúro* sí entró, y allí sacó todas clases de *Yuruparises*. Aquí termina la patria de *Yúpuro Baúro*. De aquí para arriba es la patria de los Maniva.

De *Diakajseropueawí*, *Yúpuri Baúro* regresó por el mismo río por el que había subido y llegó a la boca del río *Diaojpekoma* y entró al río Vaupés. Y subió el río Vaupés y llegó a *Diawí*. *Diawí* significa en Tukano, río de la pintura; *Diawí* queda cerca de la desembocadura del río Vaupés en el río Negro. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* entró en la maloca de *Diawí*. Y en *Diawí* volvió a aparecer *Yepá Huáke* con *Bejpó*, trueno que es una persona también. Entraron a *Diawí* también dos mujeres que venían con *Yúpuri Baúro*. Las mujeres se llamaban *Yepá Bejkeó* y *Dujuikó*. Y a *Diawí* entró todo el grupo de *Yúpuri Baúro*. Y *Diawí* quedó lleno de gente. Y salió *Yépá Huáke* de *Diawí* hasta un cerro que se llama *Huapisí*. Y *Yepá Huáke* se paró en un solo pie tejiendo *Miriapurasutiro*. Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro* que saliese de *Diawí* hasta el puerto de *Diawí* con toda la gente. Dijo *Yepá Huáke:* "Aquí va a haber candela de los diablos" (38). Y mientras dijo eso, dio una patada al suelo. Y hubo candela por primera vez. *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Candela de los tabacos". Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden a *Urémiri Sáraro* para que se pusiese el *Miriapurasutiro*.

(36) De acuerdo a los Tukano, Diamukakuwí queda en San Gabriel, Brasil.
(37) De acuerdo a los Tukano, Diajkorawí queda en San Felipe.
(38) De los Yuruparises.

El compañero de *Urémiri Sáraro*, que se llamaba *Yúpuri Búbera*, también se puso el *Miriapurasutiro*. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Duétiro Eetamajsé* encabezaron a todos los Tukano para entrar a *Diawí* otra vez.

*Yúpuri Baúro* cogió un palito, parecido a la bayoneta, que se llama en Tukano, *Miriapurauajsó*. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* cogió otro palo que tiene campanita y que en Tukano se llama *Yaig*. *Duétiro Eetamajsé* cogió el mueble de la vida, que en Tukano se llama *Uajatró*. Después *Duétiro Eetamajsé* cogió un tabaco con horquetita. Y entró *Yepá Huáke* con *Bejpó* a *Diawí* a esperar a toda la gente que iba a entrar a *Diawí*. Y el barco del güío se quedó en el puerto de *Diawí*. Y *Yepá Huáke* y *Bejpó* se pararon dentro de *Diawí*, *Yepá Huáke* al lado derecho y *Bejpó* al lado izquierdo. Dijo *Yepá Huáke* que toda la gente se armase con *Yuruparises* y armamentos y que entrasen a *Diawí*. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que rodeasen la maloca *Diawí* marchando. Rodearon *Diawí* marchando y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que entraran otra vez a *Diawí*. Todos entraron. *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que rodearan marchando cuatro veces alrededor dentro de la maloca *Diawí*. Y después que hubieron hecho eso, *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que se sentara todo el mundo. Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Silencio! Atención! Voy a dar esta orden. Ahora voy a dar la noche para ustedes, para que ustedes duerman". Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden a dos hermanos de *Yúpuri Baúro*, que se llamaban *Seritia* y *Paláro*, para que fueran ellos hacia la cordillera en dirección a Bogotá y le dijeran a *Sotá*, que era el dueño de la Cordillera Central, que *Yepá Huáke* dio orden para que les entregaran la "cosa de noche", porque *Sotá* era el dueño de la noche y él era el que hacía oscurecer.

*Sotá* dijo: "Bueno, yo voy a entregarles una cajita donde está el sueño y la noche. Llévenla. No vayan a abrir esta cajita hasta que la entreguen a *Yepá Huáke*, y él repartirá el sueño y la noche a cada grupo de toda la gente. Apenas se reparta el sueño y la noche entre todas las gentes, *Yepá Huáke* explicará a ustedes que hay que poner las pepitas del sueño y de la noche sobre el corazón para poder dormir. Aquí en los ojos no vayan a poner esas pepitas. Y eso es todo. Agarren la cajita entre ustedes dos". Entonces ellos dijeron: "Bueno". Y como la cajita pesaba mucho, los dos hombres se cansaron de llevar la cajita en el camino de regreso a *Diawí*. Ya iban llegando cerquita a *Diawí* y entonces

los dos hombres dijeron: "Qué será esa cajita que pesa tanto?". Y los dos hombres abrieron la cajita. Y apenas abrieron la cajita se oscureció todo y duró dos horas lloviendo de noche. *Serítia* llamó a un bicho que canta de noche y que se llama en Tukano, *Ñamiribejké*. Y *Patáro* llamó al mismo bicho, y ya era medianoche. Llamó otra vez *Serítia* al mismo bicho, y llamó *Patáro* al mismo bicho. Y a *Patáro* esta segunda vez el bicho sí le contestó. *Serítia* volvió a llamar otra vez al bicho, y a *Serítia* le contestaron cuatro bichos a la misma vez. *Patáro* llamó otra vez al bicho, y a él le contestaron diez bichos a la misma vez. Dijo *Patáro* a *Serítia:* "No más, siga llamando ligero". Y abrieron la cajita donde estaban el sueño y la noche. Entraron entonces todos los bichitos que se llamaban *Ñamiribejké* a la cajita. *Serítia* partió por mitad a los bichos; una mitad para este mundo y la otra mitad quedó en la cajita. Apareció el día, y desde entonces hay día y hay noche. Apenas apareció el día y la noche, *Serítia* y *Patáro* llevaron la cajita a *Diawí*. Entraron a *Diawí* y entregaron la cajita a *Yepá Huáke*, y él la recibió. Y entonces *Yepá Huáke* los estaba esperando con toda clase de chicha. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* que se haga de noche. Y abrieron la cajita que contenía el sueño y la noche. Y *Yepá Huáke* repartió el sueño y la noche entre todas las tribus que estaban en *Diawí*. Y dijo *Yepá Huáke* que fueran dos personas y que pasaran al otro lado del río Vaupés, que en Tukano se llama *Diapajsá*. Estas dos personas se llamaban *Cajtá Casóro* y *Cajtá*. *Yepá Huáke* les puso a *Cajtá Casóro* y a *Cajtá* un sombrerito de pluma, que se llama en Tukano, *Pejsaró*, y unos zarcillos de oro, que se llaman en Tukano, *Ajpoápi*. Después *Yepá Huáke* les puso a *Cajtá Casóro* y a *Cajtá* una pulserita de plumas, que en Tukano se llama *Bajsákaroa*. Después les puso esa piedra especial, que en Tukano se llama *Ujtáboja*, alrededor del cuello de *Cajtá Casóro* y *Cajtá*. Después *Yepá Huáke* puso a *Cajtá Casóro* y a *Cajtá* un cinturón ancho y especial que en Tukano se llama *Yaipirítatia*, y este cinturón está hecho de dientes de fieras, como tigres y cerrillos. Después *Yepá Huáke* les puso a *Cajtá Casóro* y a *Cajtá* un taparrabo, que en Tukano se dice *Uajsóro*. Después *Yepá Huáke* les puso a *Cajtá Casóro* y a *Cajtá* una yerba fina en el lado de las nalgas, y esa yerba fina se llama en Tukano, *Bará*. Después *Yepá Huáke* les puso a *Cajtá Casóro* y a *Cajtá* una cinta tejida, que en Tukano se llama *Yujtásero*, alrededor de sus rodillas. Después *Yepá*

*Huáke* les dio a *Cajtá Casóro* y a *Cajtá* unos collarcitos para los tobillos, que en Tukano se llaman *Kejtió*. Después *Yepá Huáke* les dio a *Cajtá Casóro* y a *Cajtá* ese palito de campana que en Tukano se llama *Yaig*. Y *Yepá Huáke* les dijo a *Cajtá Casóro* y a *Cajtá*:"Duérmanse". Y *Yepá Huáke* le dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a toda su gente: "Duérmanse". Y dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Cajtá Casóro* y a *Cajtá:* "Ustedes tienen que despertarse a medianoche. Apenas ustedes se despierten, ustedes hacen despertar a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a toda su gente". Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke:* "Después de despertarse, *Yúpuri Baúro* tiene que ir al puerto de *Diawí* con toda su gente a bañarse, y cuando ya se hayan bañado y salido del río al puerto otra vez, *Yúpuri Baúro* tiene que sacar una totuma de agua y tomar el agua y después vomitarla". Dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Cajtá Casóro* y a *Cajtá:* "Mientras que *Yúpuri Baúro* está vomitando, ustedes fumen tabaco y peguen con una varita a la puerta de *Diawí*. Después que peguen ustedes a la puerta de *Diawí*, pelarán su propia piel desde la cabeza hasta los hombros. Después *Cajtá* pegará a la puerta de *Diawí* y *Cajtá* seguirá pelando su pellejo hasta la cintura. Entonces Cajtá Casóro principiará a pelarse hasta las rodillas. Y después de esto, *Cajtá* se pelará completamente". Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke:* "Después de pelarse todo el cuerpo *Cajtá*, *Yúpuri Baúro* y toda su gente entrarán a *Diawí*. Y dentro de *Diawí* yo me voy a sentar en medio de la maloca, y allí donde yo me siento voy a dejar una totuma de coca. Y entren ustedes y cómanse toda la coca que hay en la totuma. Esta orden es la última que les doy a ustedes". Palmeó las manos *Yepá Huáke* y dijo: "Duérmanse". Todos quedaron privados como muertos, y *Yepá Huáke* estaba mirando y contando. Ya llegó la medianoche, y esa era la hora que *Yepá Huáke* dejó dato fijo para *Cajtá Casóro* y *Cajtá*. La hora fija pasó y *Cajtá Casóro* y *Cajtá* seguían durmiendo. Y entonces *Yepá Huáke* hizo despertar solamente a *Yúpuri Baúro*. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro*: "Ya ve, a mí me parece que aquí no me respetan. Armese y váyase para el puerto. Cuando llegue al puerto, échese al río a bañar". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* salió para el puerto con toda su gente, pero sin *Cajtá Casóro* y *Cajtá*, porque estos dos últimos estaban dormidos. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* y toda su gente dejaron sus armamentos a la orilla del río y se echaron a bañar. Salieron del agua, cogieron una totuma, tomaron el agua de la totuma y vomitaron. Y ya era hora de que cantara el gallo.

*Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Armense otra vez y entren a *Diawí* otra vez". Y entonces ellos cogieron los armamentos y los hicieron sonar y con ese movimiento se despertó *Cajtá*. *Cajtá* dijo: "Ay!". Y *Cajtá* le dijo a *Cajtá Casóro:* "Despiértese usted también". Y *Cajtá Casóro* no se despertó. *Cajtá Casóro* era el superior de *Cajtá*, pero viendo que *Cajtá Casóro* no se despertaba, *Cajtá* cogió una varilla y comenzó a pegarle a la puerta de *Diawí* y peló su pellejo desde su cabeza hasta sus hombros. Entonces sí se despertó *Cajtá Casóro* y pegó a la puerta de *Diawí*, pero no se peló. Después pegó *Cajtá* otra vez a la puerta de *Diawí* y no se volvió a pelar tampoco. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* hizo mala cara para *Cajtá Casóro* y *Cajtá*. Y ya aclaró el día. Y *Yepá Huáke* se arrimó a *Cajtá Casóro* y a *Cajtá* y les dijo en tono sarcástico: "Está bien, ustedes sí me respetan a mí". Y *Yepá Huáke* se asomó a la puerta de *Diawí* y allí estaba *Yúpuri Baúro* con toda su tribu, y *Yúpuri Baúro* estaba pelado hasta los hombros. Y *Yepá Huáke* tuvo lástima de *Yúpuri Baúro* y dijo: "Ciérrese esa peladura!". Y la peladura se cerró. Dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a toda su gente que entrasen a *Diawí*, y todos entraron. Y *Yepá Huáke* puso una totuma de coca al pie de él. Y al borde de esta totuma de coca había toda clase de animales mansos y feroces. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Coma!". Y *Yúpuri Baúro* no fue capaz de comer por miedo de la plaga. *Yepá Huáke* se quedó mirándolos un rato y vio que ninguno era capaz de comer la totuma de coca. Y entonces él retiró la totuma de coca y maldijo a todo el mundo. Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Ahora sí van a morir todos ustedes. Sus hijos también morirán. Morirán para toda la eternidad (39). Las tierras y las piedras y todos los animales sí no van a morir". Entonces Yepá Huáke sonó la tierra, y la tierra tronó contestando a *Yepá Huáke* que la tierra no moriría, sino que viviría para siempre. Dijo la tierra: "Nosotros no moriremos, comeremos la gente que usted creó". Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a toda su gente: "Vamos a hacer fiesta y vamos a tomar chicha y vamos a cantar y vamos a bailar".

Y allí *Yúpuri Baúro* y toda su gente aprendieron por primera vez que para tener hijos la mujer tenía que estar primero embarazada. Había sólo un par de mujeres entre todos. Una se llamaba *Nijí Majsó* y la otra se llamaba *Meropagnijí Majsó*. Y ellas

(39) No serán inmortales.

dos salieron por la puerta de atrás de *Diawí* y fueron a bañarse al puerto. *Bejpó* vio entonces que las mujeres ya se habían ido a bañar al puerto, y *Bejpó* sacó dos moneditas, una se llamaba *Pajsí* y la otra *Eroñá*. Y *Bejpó* sacó estas dos moneditas para secar al sol. Y las dos mujeres se vinieron para *Diawí* otra vez. Y cuando ellas iban regresando a *Diawí*, alcanzaron a ver las moneditas, y se las quedaron mirando. Y las dos mujeres dijeron: "Qué serán esas dos cositas?". Y las dos mujeres se enamoraron de esas dos cositas. Y esas dos cositas parecían como nenitos y chillaban. Pero solamente una de las mujeres veía a las dos moneditas como nenitos, mientras que la otra mujer sólo podía ver dos moneditas. Y aquí fue donde salió la vagabundería, y por eso de cada dos mujeres, una saldrá formal y la otra saldrá ramera. *Meropagnijí Majsó*, que era la hermana menor, veía las dos cositas como nenitos, mientras que *Nijí Majsó*, que era la hermana mayor, veía las dos cositas como moneditas. Entonces dijo *Meropagnijí Majsó* a *Nijí Majsó:* "No las coja". Entonces *Nijí Majsó* dijo: "Yo las cojo". Y *Nijí Majsó* las cogió, las olió, y las dos cositas olían a monedas. Y apenas las olió, *Nijí Majsó* se las comió. Y no duró ni un minuto para preñarse. Entonces *Meropagnijí Majsó* dijo: "No ve. Yo le dije que no las coja". Y *Meropagnijí Majsó* vio que *Nijí Majsó* estaba preñada. Y el estómago de *Nijí Majsó* se estaba hinchando. Pero estas dos mujeres tenían la apariencia de hombres y no tenían tetas ni hueco. Entonces dijo *Meropagnijí Majsó:* "Qué hacemos?". Entonces ambas llamaron a *Yepá Huáke*. Y *Yepá Huáke* vino donde ellas. Entonces ellas dijeron a *Yepá Huáke:* "Ahora qué vamos a hacer?". Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Está bien. Ahora toca que nazca el niño. Van a tener marido. Morirán" (40). Entonces *Nijí Majsó* entró al monte para dar a luz y *Yepá Huáke* le dio a *Meropagnijí Majsó* una horqueta para poner tabaco, pero sin tabaco, y una navajita. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Meropagnijí Majsó:* "Lleve esta horqueta y póngala encima de una varillita y haga acostar a *Nijí Majsó* de lado encima de esa varillita. Y usted acuéstese de espaldas sobre la varilla". Después le dio *Yepá Huáke* a *Meropagnijí Majsó* un mueblecito y una balaya (41) chiquita, que en Tukano se llama *Sióa*. Y dijo *Yepá Huáke:* "Cuando está usted bien acostada sobre su espalda, póngase a medir con

(40) No serán inmortales.
(41) Una canasta.

el ancho de la horqueta entre las piernas de *Nijí Majsó*, y apenas pone usted esa horquetita entre las piernas, *Kúmu* soplará para *Nijí Majsó*. Y corte la piel de *Nijí Majsó* a todo lo ancho de la horquetita y nacerá el niño". Y dijo *Yepá Huáke:* "Y esa cortada que cortó usted a *Nijí Majsó*, conforme tiene *Nijí Majsó*, también tendrán todas las mujeres. Todas las mujeres tendrán hijos hasta el fin del mundo. Y esa cortada no la podrán ver los hombres". Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Meropagnijí Majsó:* "Apenas nazca ese niñito, póngalo usted encima de la balaya y *Nijí Majsó* quedará privada. Y *Nijí Majsó* sufrirá para que le saquen el niño, por eso es que el niño respetará a su mamá. Y si no respeta el niño a su mamá, que es *Nijí Majsó*, entonces despáchenlo para que se vaya a otra parte". Y de allí salió el respeto a la mamá de uno. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Meropagnijí Majsó:* "Entre ese niñito a *Diawí* y déjelo en medio de *Diawí* encima de la balaya, y entonces yo vengo a cortarle el ombligo al niñito. Ese ombligo lo sacaré yo, y después enterraré ese ombligo en el suelo de *Diawí*, y allí es el límite de la tierra de ustedes los Tukano". Apenas *Meropagnijí Majsó* entró el niñito a *Diawí* y *Yepá Huáke* cortó y enterró el ombligo, *Yepá Huáke* hizo entrar el barco del güío a *Diawí*. Y después que entró el barco del güío a *Diawí*, *Yepá Huáke* llamó al hermano de *Yúpuri Baúro*, que se llama *Siópuri Uejké* (42). A *Siópuri Uejké* también se llama *Cateaño* (43). A *Siópuri Uejké* llegó y entró, y *Yepá Huáke* le dio orden para que se sentara en la entradita de *Diawí* con toda la tribu de *Siópuri Uejké*. Y el niñito era como la bebida de *Cajpí*, pues apenas el niñito lloraba, todos los que estaban en *Diawí* se emborrachaban y veían toda clase de colores, pues cuando uno toma *Cajpí*, uno se emborracha y ve toda clase de colores distintos. Y *Siópuri Uejké* sacó una fotografía de *Yúpuri Baúro*, por eso es que ahora los colombianos también toman fotografías de los Tukano. Y cuando *Yepá Huáke* vio que *Siópuri Uejké* había sacado una fotografía de *Yúpuri Baúro* y toda su gente, entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* solamente a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Ese es su hermano", señalando *Yepá Huáke* a *Siópuri Uejké*, "y este gavilán será para usted, *Yúpuri Baúro*. Para su hermano *Siópuri Uejeké* también le voy a dar un gavilán, y ese gavilán no será como el suyo, sino que *Siópuri Uejké* lo pintará como un escudo". Por eso es

(42) Colombiano.
(43) Posiblemente una modificación de la palabra *castellano*.

que nosotros, los Tukano, teníamos antes un águila grande que cuidábamos mucho, y esa águila se llama en Tukano, *Aapajké*. Y ustedes, los colombianos, en vez de tener un gavilán vivo, usan un escudo. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke:* "Y ese niñito, pártanlo cada tribu pedazo por pedazo". Y eso quiere decir que todas las tribus indígenas de este mundo tendrán *Cajpí*. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke:* "Mírenme a mí todo el mundo". Y el buque del güío ya estaba dentro de la maloca de *Diawí*. y se volvió güío, completamente güío. Y entonces *Yepá Huáke* le dio una puñalada al güío en la cabeza con el palito que tiene la campanita (44). Y esa puñalada traspasó toda la tierra hasta *Diauamundia*. En *Diauamundia* había piedras de las finas, como cementadas. Y *Yepá Huáke* cogió el pedazo de palito que había quedado sobre la superficie de la tierra y corriéndolo un poco hacia un lado, quedó atrancado en el cielo. El cielo se dice en Tukano, *Emese*. Y *Yepá Huáke* hizo lo mismo con otro palito de campana en la cola del güío, y el palito quedó trancado en *Diauamundia* y en el cielo. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Todas las tribus de Tukano vengan y brinquen encima del güío, entre los dos palitos de *Yaig*". Y allí es donde los Tukano aprendieron la disciplina de la guerra. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a toda su gente: "Pónganse a marchar cuatro veces encima del güío; marchan dos veces mirando al cielo y marchan dos veces mirando la superficie de la tierra". Y todos marcharon encima del güío. Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Voltéense y salten fuera de la espalda del güío!". Y ellos saltaron. Y entonces el güío se sacudió y hubo como un rayo y eso era para matar a la gente que estaba encima del güío. Y *Yepá Huáke* les dio la orden a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a toda su gente para que se volvieran a montar encima del güío y para que marcharan cuatro veces más encima del güío, dos veces mirando el cielo y dos veces mirando la superficie de la tierra. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* y toda su gente hicieron como ordenaba *Yepá Huáke*, y después se voltearon y saltaron fuera del güío otra vez. Y *Yepá Huáke* les dio orden para que hiciesen lo mismo otra vez. Y *Yepá Huáke* dio orden a *Yúpuri Baúro* y a toda su gente para que hiciesen lo mismo otra vez. Y todos ellos hicieron lo mismo. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke:* "No más para ustedes". Entonces dio orden *Yepá Huáke* a *Siópuri Uejké* para que él y toda su gente brincaran encima del güío. Y ellos marchaban distinto, pues

(44) Yaig.

cruzaban un pie y después cruzaban el otro. Y *Yepá Huáke* no les ordenó que mirasen el cielo, sino que les dijo que mirasen sólo a la tierra. *Siópuri Uejké* y su gente marcharon cuatro veces encima del güío, y las cuatro veces que marcharon miraron a la tierra. Y *Yepá Huáke* les ordenó que saltaran fuera del güío a la tierra. Y el güío tembló y echó un rayo pára matarlos a ellos. Y *Yepá Huáke* ordenó que *Siópuri Uejké* y toda su gente saltaran otra vez sobre el güío, y ellos lo hicieron, y esta vez *Yepá Huáke* sí los hizo mirar al cielo. Marcharon dos veces mirando al cielo y dos veces mirando a la tierra. Y *Yepá Huáke* les ordenó que saltaran fuera del güío. Y el güío tembló y hubo un rayo otra vez. Y *Yepá Huáke* le ordenó a *Siópuri Uejké* y a toda su gente que se subieran y marcharan sobre el güío otra vez. Y esta vez *Yepá Huáke* les ordenó que marcharan cuatro veces sobre el güío mirando hacia el río, y después *Yepá Huáke* les ordenó que saltaran fuera del güío otra vez. Y el güío tembló y hubo un trueno otra vez. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "No más para ustedes". Entonces ordenó *Yepá Huáke* que se sentara *Siópuri Uejke* con toda su gente y *Yúpuri Baúro* con toda su gente sobre el suelo de Diawí.

Todos los animales estaban dentro de *Diawí*. Y hoy en día los animales que no tienen cola son como la gente. Pero en *Diawí* todos los animales tenían cola, y los animales se volvieron como locos y se pusieron a comer su propia cola, y es por eso que algunos de ellos no tienen cola. Y *Yepá Huáke* se puso a mirar a los animales. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke:* "No me parece bien. Yo los crié a ustedes para que ustedes fuesen como la gente. Ahora quédense como animales para que las gentes se los puedan comer a ustedes". Cuando *Yepá Huáke* dijo esto, todos los animales se asustaron y dejaron de comer sus colas, por eso es que algunos animales tienen cola todavía. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Hasta allí fuímos". Y cuando *Yepá Huáke* hubo dicho esto, *Yepá Huáke* agarró ambos palitos de campana que estaban atravesando la cola y la cabeza del güío y los arrancó al mismo tiempo. Y después *Yepá Huáke* ordenó al güío que se saliese de *Diawí* hasta el puerto de *Diawí*. Y allí se quedó el barco del güío. Y entonces *Yepá Huáke* mandó a *Yúpuri Baúro* con toda su gente y a *Siópuri Uejké* con toda su gente que bailasen y tomasen chicha y comieran coca y cantaran. Y todos amanecieron. Y allí *Yepá Huáke* hizo una investigación, y él supo cuando toda

la gente estaba haciendo fiesta que los animales que estaban hablando contra la gente decían que ellos se iban a comer a las gentes. La primera que habló fue *Wejké* (45), y dijo que ella se iba a comer a la gente. Y apenas habló *Wejké*, le contestó *Aña* (47), quien dijo que ella también comería a la gente. Cuando habló así *Aña*, contestó *Boraró* que él también comería gente. *Boraró* tiene la apariencia de una persona, camina en dos pies y con un solo grito priva a la gente. Cuando habló *Boraró*, le contestó otro animal que se llama *Utanurú* (47) que también él comería gente. Cuando *Yepá Huáke* estaba haciendo su investigación, *Yepá Huáke* le dijo a *Wejké:* "Qué fue lo que dijo usted?". *Wejké* contestó: "Yo no dije nada". *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Dígame la verdad y no me mienta". Y *Wejké* no contestó nada. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Wejké:* "Cuando usted mata a una persona, cómo va a matarla?". Entonces *Wejké* sacó un pito y dijo: "Con este pito yo voy a matar". Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke:* "Pítelo para ver cómo suena". Entonces *Wejké* dijo: "Bueno". Y *Wejké* tocó el pito. Cuando *Wejké* sonó el pito, la tierra se abrió y la naturaleza se hizo pedazos. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Wejké:* "Muéstreme el pito para mirarlo". Y *Wejké* entregó el pito a *Yepá Huáke*. Y después de quitarle el pito a *Wejké, Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Usted no va a comer gente, al contrario la gente se lo comerá a usted". Por eso es que ahora comemos danta, y es sabroso. Y ese pito *Yepá Huáke* se lo entregó a *Emo* (48). Y *Emo* también tenía un pitito chiquito, y ese pitito chiquito no era para comer gente. Y *Yepá Huáke* le dijo a *Emo:* "Lleve este pito de *Wejké* y súbase encima de los árboles, y allí puede jugar con ese pito. Déme el pitito chiquito que tenía usted". Y *Emo* le entregó el pitito chiquito que tenía. Y *Yepá Huáke* entregó el pitito chiquito que le había pertenecido a *Emo*, a *Wejké*. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Wejké:* "Pítelo". Entonces dijo *Wejké:* "Bueno". Y *Wejké* sonó el pito, y el pitó sonaba como el pito de la policía de Bogotá. Entonces *Wejké* se puso a llorar. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Wejké:* "Váyase para la selva". Y *Yepá Huáke* siguió hablando esta vez con la culebra. Y dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Aña:* "Qué fué lo que usted dijo?" Y *Aña* sí contestó la verdad y dijo:

(45) La danta.
(46) La culebra.
(47) Animal que según los Tukano tiene la apariencia de un grillí y que como el excremento de los seres humanos.
(48) El mono.

"Yo sí dije algo". Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Con cuál diente es que va a morder usted?" Y *Aña* dijo: "Con éste", señalando uno de su boca. Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Bueno, muéstremelo". Y *Aña* se lo mostró. Y *Yepá Huáke* le arrancó el diente, y por eso es que ahora *Aña* muerde a la gente pero su mordedura no duele. Y allí *Yepá Huáke* siguió hablando con *Utanurú*. Y entonces *Yepá Huáke* le dijo: "Usted no va a comer gente, sino que va a comer mierda". Mientras *Yepá Huáke* estaba hablando con *Utanurú*, la otra *Aña* (49), a la cual *Yepá Huáke* no le había arrancado el diente, salió corriendo con su propia mujer. Y después de *Aña*, la venenosa, salió corriendo *Boraró* con su propia mujer. Después salió el tigre con su propia mujer. Por eso esos animales que huyeron sin hablar con *Yepá Huáke* son las fieras que tenemos ahora. Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke:* "No más". Entonces *Yepá Huáke* abrió la cajita que tenía el sueño y la noche y repartió todas las pepitas del sueño y de la noche. Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Póngalas aquí en el corazón". Y toda la gente se pusieron las pepitas del sueño y de la noche sobre el corazón. Después de ésto, *Yepá Huáke* dijo: "Va a hacerse la primera guerra, y *Siópuri Uejké* hará la primera guerra, y le quitarán la patria a *Siópuri Uejké*. Los brasileros le quitarán la patria a *Siópuri Uejké*, y *Siópuri Uejké* encontrará otra patria hacia la cordillera. Después de encontrar su patria, *Siópuri Uejké* y su gente enterrarán sus huesos en su patria cuando mueran". Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Y usted y toda su gente enterrarán sus huesos cuando ustedes mueran en la patria de ustedes". Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Usted también va a hacer guerra. Y eso va a estar bien". Y *Yepá Huáke* sostenía la patria de *Yúpuri Baúro*. Después *Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Cuando termine esa guerra, *Siópuri Uejké* vendrá a su patria, y no lo vaya a matar. Después vendrán los *Ereya* (50), y a los *Ereya* sí los puede matar. Y así sí van a aprender a leer y a escribir, y después acabará con sus malocas" (51). Después dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro*: "Yo hice este mundo para ustedes. Todas las gentes pelearán por tres años, y así se terminará el mundo. Lloverá y se quemará el mundo y se oscurecerá". Y entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro:*

(49) La culebra venenosa.
(50) Los brasileros.
(51) Acabará con la cultura Tukana, o sea que les enseñará a vivir distinto.

"Mientras que ellos están peleando, usted no peleará, pues su tribu se acabará antes de la guerra y del fin del mundo. Después que lleguen *Siópuri Uejké* y *Ereya* a su tierra, usted solamente va a tener una mujer, y esa mujer sólo tendrá un hijo o dos hijos, y la mujer de su hermano no tendrá hijos, y así es como se acabarán los Tukano (52). Y *Siópuri Uejké* y *Ereya* los mandarán a ustedes. Y ellos los van a tener a ustedes como esclavos y humillados. A los Tukano les prohibo conseguir su mujer de su propia tribu, pero sí pueden conseguir su mujer fuera de su tribu (53), como por ejemplo, una mujer Yurutí o Tariana o Desana". Y eran solamente tres tribus de las cuales los Tukano podían conseguir mujer: *Yurutí*, *Tariano* y *Desano*. Y con estas tribus no peleaban para conseguir mujer, pues se cambiaban hermano y hermana de una tribu con hermana y hermano de otra tribu. Y *Yepá Huáke* dijo a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "Si ustedes quieren conseguir mujer de otra tribu que no sea Yurutí, Tariano o Desano, tendrán que hacerlo peleando (54). Y la primera mujer que ustedes conseguirán peleando será Tuyuca. No vayan a matar, sólo peleen y quiten a la mujer. La segunda mujer será Uanana, y a ellos tampoco vayan a matar, solamente quiten la mujer. Y la tercera mujer será Siriana, y tampoco vayan a matar, sólo peleen para quitarle la mujer. Y estas seis tribus serán como hermanos (55) para ustedes". Entonces dijo *Yepá Huáke* a *Yúpuri Baúro:* "No más". Entonces *Yepá Huáke* dijo a todos los que estaban en *Diawí:* "De pie todo el mundo". Y *Yepá Huáke* desapareció. Y allí se terminó y se subió al cielo *Yepá Huáke*. Se oscureció, y *Siópuri Uejké* y toda su gente, y *Yúpuri Baúro* y toda su gente se pusieron las pepitas del sueño y de la noche sobre el corazón, pero no les dió sueño. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "Por qué no tenemos sueño?" Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* cogió las pepitas que estaban encima del corazón y se las puso sobre los ojos. Y apenas hizo eso *Yúpuri Baúro*, todas las pepitas se desapa-

(52) El Misionero cristiano ha prohibido la poliginía. Explicación de la constante disminución de la población Tukana.

(53) Existe la exogamia obligatoria en la cultura Tukana.

(54) Con cualquier otra tribu que no sean los Yurití, los Tairiano y los Desano, la forma de casamiento es por medio del rapto. Durante el rapto se desarrollan peleas entre los familiares masculinos de la muchacha que es raptada y la comisión de hombres que vienen a conseguirle esposa al novio. Esta comisión está formada por los familiares masculinos del novio y el novio no participa en el rapto.

(55) Amigos íntimos.

recieron y todo el mundo quedó dormido. Y aclaró el día y se despertó todo el mundo. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo a todo el mundo: "Vamos". Y *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo a *Siópuri Uejké* y a toda su gente: "Ustedes también váyanse para su tierra".

Y *Yúpuri Baúro* se embarcó en la canoa del güío en el puerto de *Diawí*. Y siguieron subiendo. Llegó a las bocas del río Tiquié y entró y llegó a la *cachibera* Parí. Arrimó y se bajó del barco del güío, apenas miró pero no entró a la maloca, subió al barco del güío y siguió subiendo el río Tiquié. Y llegó a la *cachibera* Carurú, que en Tukano se llama *Mo*. Se bajó del barco del güío y entró a la maloca *Mo*. Y en *Mo, Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "Hasta aquí es tierra mía. De *Mo* para arriba queda la tierra de los Tuyuca y de los Barasanos". De *Mo, Yúpuri Baúro* miró con telescopio y alcanzó a mirar hasta más arriba de Pedrera, y allí había una maloca que se llamaba *Pajsásarowí*. Y viendo *Pajsásarowí* desde *Mo, Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "De *Pajsásarowí* para arriba queda la tierra de los Yucuna y los Miraña. Y de *Pajsásarowí* para abajo es mi tierra". *Yúpuri Baúro* se embarcó otra vez en el barco del güío y se regresó hasta las bocas del Tiquié. Llegó a las bocas del Tiquié y subió el río Vaupés. Llegó a Pãnuré, y allí se quedó a dormir, Al otro día se embarcó en el barco del güío y siguió subiendo y llegó a *Naíkorowí*. En *Naíkorowí* durmió. Al otro día siguió subiendo el río Vaupés y llegó a las bocas del río Yapú. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "De las bocas del río Yapú para abajo sobre el río Vaupés es tierra de los Tarianos". Se puede decir que *Yúpuri Baúro* estaba arrendando todas estas tierras a los Miraña, Tarianos, Yucunas, Yurutíes, Desanos, etc. Pero estas tierras siempre eran de *Yúpuri Baúro* y le pertenecían a los Tukano. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* siguió subiendo y llegó a Yavaraté, y allí se quedó a dormir. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "Aquí voy a estar yo". Al otro día dijo *Yúpuri Baúro* a su gente: "Caminen, vamos a investigar nuestras tierras". Se embarcó en el barco del güío y siguió subiendo el Vaupés hasta que llegó a la *cachibera* de Carurú, que en Tukano se llama *Mo*, sobre el río Vaupés. Llegó al puerto y solamente miró y siguió para arriba. Y llegó a Baracapurí, y allí se quedó a dormir. Baracapurí también es una *cachibera*.

El barco del güío que había venido desde *Diaojpekowí* se quedó en Baracapurí, y *Yúpuri Baúro* mandó traer otro barco del güío desde las *cachiberas* de Yuruparí. Con el nuevo barco del

güío, *Yúpuri Baúro* siguió subiendo desde *Baracapurí* y llegó al río Cuduiarí. Allí *Yúpuri Baúro* mandó entrar a los Sirianos; y arrendó esta tierra a los Sirianos. Y siguió subiendo *Yúpuri Baúro* y llegó a Tierra Grata, y allí mandó entrar a los Cubeos, y les arrendó las tierras. Más abajito de Tierra Grata y al frente de ésta, hay otro cañito que se llama Pacú, y aquí *Yúpuri Baúro* mandó entrar a los Baqueñara, y les arrendó esas tierras. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* siguió subiendo el río Vaupés y llegó a las bocas del río Ti, y arrendó esas tierras a los Carapaná. Y siguió subiendo hasta las *cachiberas* de Yuruparí. Arrimó al puerto y entró a la maloca de *Sorapoawí*. Y de allí miró con telescopio hasta la maloca de *Ñamiriwí*. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "De *Sorapoawí* hasta *Ñamiriwí* será tierra de los Carijona, y esta vez *Yúpuri Baúro* les regaló la tierra, no se la arrendó como a los anteriores. Y esta tierra se la regaló *Yúpuri Baúro* a los Carijona, a los Guayabero, a los indios Putumayo y a los *Sotá*, que eran indios que vivían en Bogotá antes de que llegase *Siópuri Uejké*. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "Y esta patria es para ustedes propiamente. Hasta aquí llega la patria mía. Si ustedes bajan de *Sorapoawí* habrá guerra entre nosotros. Cada mes mandaré yo una comisión para investigar". Entonces les dijo *Yúpuri Baúro* a los Carijona, a los *Sotá*, a los Guayabero, a los Cubeo, a los Bajúke y a los Céreru: "Ustedes serán enemigos míos". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "Mis amigos íntimos serán los Tuyuca, Maniva, Miraña, Yurutí, Carapaná, Piratapuyo, Uanano, Tariano, Siriano, Desano, Yucuna, Macuna y Barasano". Y *Yúpuri Baúro* regresó bajando el río Vaupés y llegó a las bocas del río Abiyú. Y allí *Yúpuri Baúro* arrendó las tierras otra vez a los Siriano. Y *Yúpuri Baúro* siguió bajando el río Vaupés regresando a Yavaraté. Llegó a Yavaraté y allí durmió. Y al otro día entró al río Papurí y llegó a las *cachiberas* grandes de Baracapá. Y allí durmió. Y al otro día siguió subiendo y llegó a Santa Lucía. Y arrimó al puerto y se bajó y salió caminando y comenzó a construír una maloca. Después de construír esa maloca, *Yúpuri Baúro* dió orden a cada tribu (Siriano, Desano, etc.) para que cuiden las tierras de *Yúpuri Baúro*. Y en Santa Lucía se quedó a vivir *Yúpuri Baúro*.

Y *Yúpuri Baúro* dijo: "Si molesta un grupo enemigo nuestro, avísenme, que yo mandaré una comisión para que vaya a ver". Y *Yúpuri Baúro* construyó la maloca de Santa Lucía en un solo día. Al otro día mandó hacer chicha, y al otro día de haber man-

dado a hacer chicha, cantaron y bailaron y amanecieron bailando. Y al medio día murió *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Duétiro Eetamajsé*. Después que se murieron ambos jefes, los Tukano los enterraron en dos ataúdes de piedra, y *Yúpuri Baúro* y *Duétiro Eetamajsé* se convirtieron en tierra. Al otro día, el hijo de *Yúpuri Baúro*, que también se llamaba *Yúpuri Baúro* (56), mandó hacer chicha. *Duétiro Eetamajsé* no tenía hijo. Y cantaron y bailaron. Cuando iban a principiar a bailar, le iban a poner plumas a *Yúpuri Baúro II*, y él decía: "A mí no me vayan a amarrar duro". Y eso era porque la cabeza de *Yúpuri Baúro II* era muy fina y delicada. Pero la gente le amarró las plumas muy fuertemente en la cabeza y *Yúpuri Baúro II* se murió. Y lo enterraron en la misma maloca de Santa Lucía, pero no en ataúd de piedra. Después de enterrar a *Yúpuri Baúro II*, el hermano de *Yúpuri Baúro II*, que también se llamaba *Yúpuri Baúro*, hizo hacer otra chicha. Y al día siguiente cantaron y bailaron otra vez. Y allí en ese baile murieron todos los que habían salido de *Diaojpekowí*. *Yúpuri Baúro III*, al ver que habían muerto todos aquellos que habían venido de *Diaojpekowí*, bajó a Yavaraté otra vez. Y allí hicieron la maloca de *Wiiperowí*, que era como las malocas que tienen ahora los Tukano. Y en esa maloca de Yavaraté no hacían sino bailar y cantar y tomar chicha y comer coca y fumar tabaco. Y *Yúpuri Baúro III* hizo dos fiestas grandes. Y después de haber hecho dos fiestas grandes, llegó razón de que los Cubeos habían matado a los Sirianos en las cabeceras del río Cuduiarí. Y los Cubeos venían invadiendo todo el territorio de los Tukano. Y dijo *Yúpuri Baúro III:* "Yo voy a mandar una comisión de cuatro batallones". Y apenas iban a salir estos batallones, cuando *Yúpuri Baúro III* le preguntó a *Urémiri Sáraro II:* "Cómo vamos a hacer ahora?" Entonces *Urémiri Sáraro II* contestó: "Vamos a hacer guerra, y yo me voy a encargar de esta guerra. Yo voy a mandar cuatro batallones a *Pajsásaro*. Voy a mandar otros cuatro batallones a *Tunuwí*". Y *Urémiri Sáraro II* ordenó que los batallones investigaran toda la patria de los Tukano y que se encontraran en la *cachibera* de Yuruparí. Y que de allí *Urémiri Sáraro II* salía de Yavaraté para arriba con diez batallones a pelear berracamente. Entonces ordenó *Urémiri Sáraro II* que matasen a todos los enemigos y a todos los animales. Entonces dijo *Urémiri Sáraro II:* "Pueden acabar con los Cubeo, con los Bajúke y con los

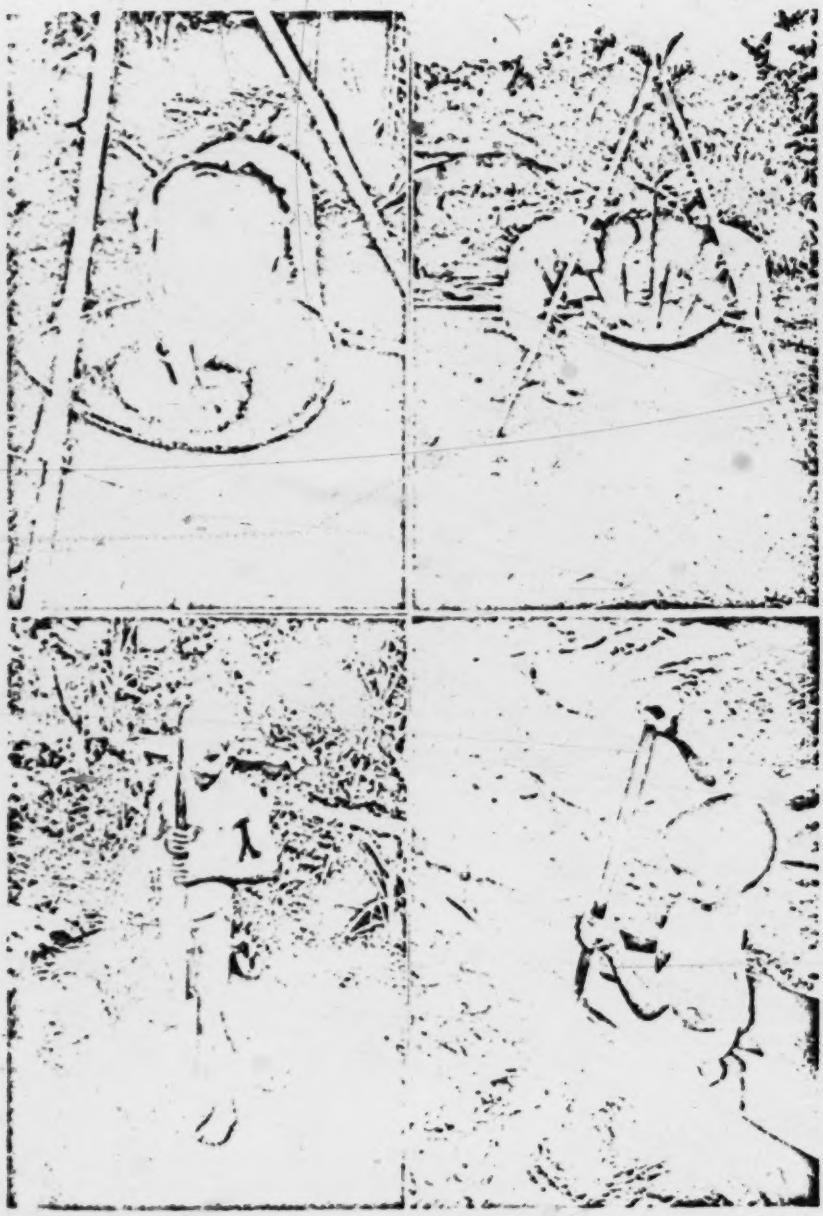
(56) Al cual nos referiremos como Yúpuri Baúro II.

Céreru". Y los dos batallones, de cuatro divisiones cada uno, que se encontraron en Yurupari, y los diez batallones de *Urémiri Sáraro II* que se encontraron con los otros dos en Yurupari, bajaron el río matando a todos los enemigos. Y ellos hicieron guerra en diez ocasiones. Después de haber hecho guerra en diez ocasiones, *Siópuri Uejké* y *Ereya* comenzaron a hacer guerra. Y *Ereya* sacó a *Siópuri Uejké* de *Diabarowí*, que ahora es Manaos. *Siópuri Uejké* huyó hasta Brasero. De allí *Ereya* sacó a *Siópuri Uejké* otra vez. *Siópuri Uejké* huyó también de aquí y huyó hasta San Gabriel. Y allí los colombianos hicieron una fortaleza para trancar a los *Ereya*. *Ereya* sacó a *Siópuri Uejké* de allí otra vez. De allí *Siópuri Uejké* voló y llegó hasta *Cucuí*. De allí *Siópuri Uejké* huyó hasta *Sotawí*, y *Ereya* siguió persiguiéndolo hasta San Carlos, y después siguió hasta San Felipe. *Ereya* regresó de San Felipe hasta *Cucuí*. Y allí quedó el límite del Brasil y Colombia.

Entonces *Ereya* bajó hasta San Gabriel. Después llegó a Yavaraté y le pidió a *Yúpuri Baúro III* que le diese su hija en matrimonio. Entonces *Ereya* le pidió personal a *Yúpuri Baúro III* para ir a trabajar el caucho. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro III* le dió 10 hombres a *Ereya* para que vaya a sacar caucho. *Ereya* volvió otra vez donde *Yúpuri Baúro III* con mercancía y pidió otra vez personal, y *Yúpuri Baúro III* le dió 20 hombres la segunda vez. Y de esos 20 hombres murieron 5. Y regresaron 15 solamente de los 20 hombres. Y pidió otra vez personal *Ereya*, y esta tercera vez *Yúpuri Baúro III* le dió 10 hombres. Y de estos 10 hombres 5 murieron y volvieron 5 donde *Yúpuri Baúro III*. Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro III* se puso bravo con *Ereya*. Entonces dijo *Yúpuri Baúro III* a *Ereya:* "Usted por qué entra a la patria mía? En esas condiciones fue que usted le quitó la patria a mi hermano *Siópuri Uejké*. Mi hermano tenía miedo de usted, pero yo no tengo miedo. Usted es tercer hermano mío y no puede pelear conmigo. Yo lo mataré a usted". Y ahí mismo *Yúpuri Baúro III* mató a *Ereya* y a la esposa de *Ereya*, quien era la hija de *Yúpuri Baúro III* y que se llamaba *Dujigó*. Y fuera de *Ereya*, *Yúpuri Baúro III* mató 20 brasileros. Cinco brasileros salieron corriendo. Apenas mató *Yúpuri Baúro III* a esos 20 brasileros, *Yúpuri Baúro III* reunió a toda su gente para hacer guerra contra los brasileros. Entonces dijo *Yúpuri Baúro III* a *Urémiri Sáraro II:* "Ahora vamos a pelear contra los brasileros". *Urémiri Sáraro II*

3: Fulop SQ19 Tucano

[P. 136-A]



Esquina superior izquierda: Mujer Yuruti extrayéndole el jugo venenoso y el almidón a la yuca brava rayada.

Esquina superior derecha: Dos mujeres Yuruti realizando la misma operación.

Esquina inferior izquierda: Hombre Tukano pilando cora tostada al fuego.

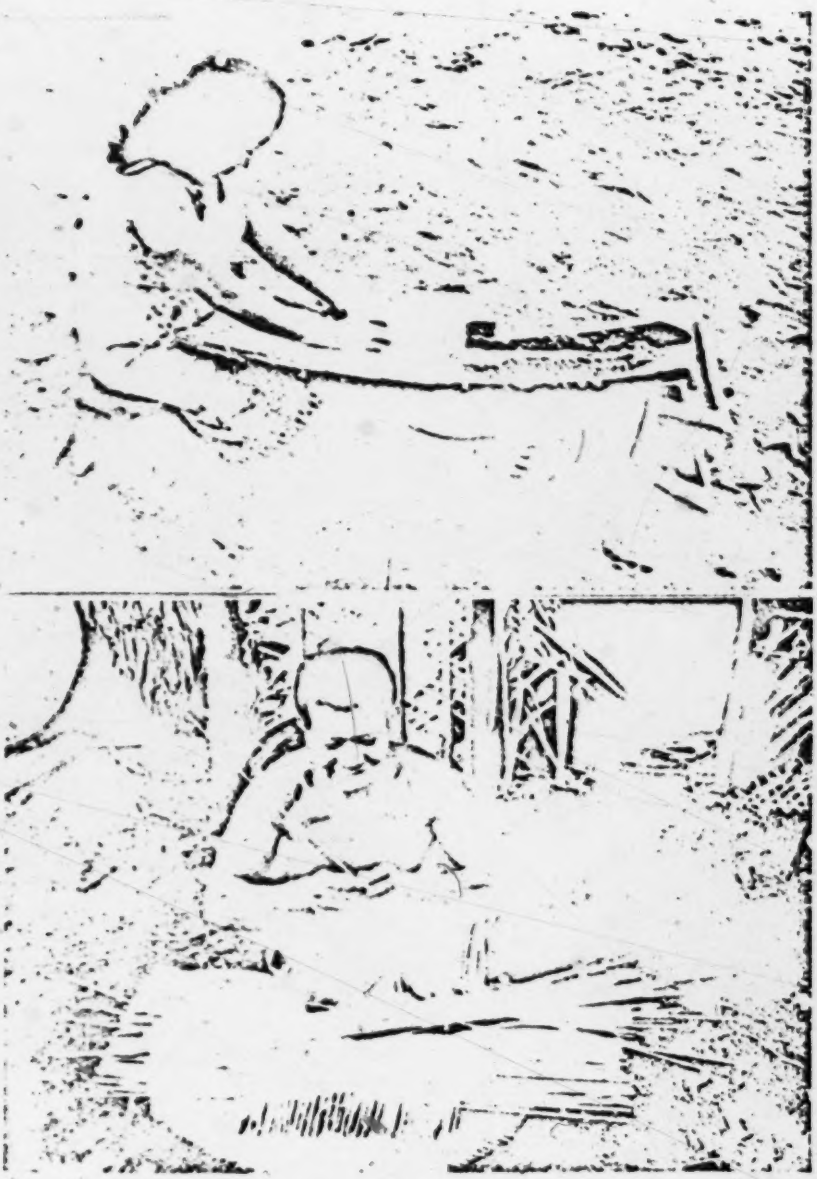
Esquina inferior derecha: Niño Tukano remando. Nótese la posición típica en que se encuentra sentado.

(Fotos de M. Fulop).

[P. 136-B]

Esquina superior izquierda: Mujer Yuruti usando el palo del sembrador ("digging stick") en la huerta. Esquina superior derecha: Típica forma de cargar las canastas donde se echarán las raíces de yuca brava. Parte inferior: Dos aspectos de indios Siriano en típica posición sentada. (Fotos de M. Fulop)

[P.136-C]



Parte superior: Mujer Yuruti rayando yuca brava.
Parte inferior: Hombre Siriano tejiendo balaya (cesto). (Fotos de M. Fulop).

[P. 136-D]

Tipiti maior (cesto) del grupo brasileiro Tukano. (Foto de M. Fulop).

nombró a *Parisí II* como coronel. Después *Urémiri Sáraro II* nombró a *Yúpuri Búbera II* como inspector. Y esa gente era para recoger personal para la guerra. En Yavaraté, *Urémiri Sáraro II* dejó 20 batallones, y cada batallón tenía 1.000 hombres. En Yavaraté, pero al lado del río Vaupés, *Urémiri Sáraro II* dejó 20 batallones más. Y en la aduana de Yavaraté quedaron 60 batallones. *Ereya* ya había venido con 40 lanchas y muchos hombres de Manaos. Y *Urémiri Sáraro II* acabó con las 40 lanchas de *Ereya*. De *Urémiri Sáraro II* no murió ni un solo soldado. Después *Ereya* mandó otra comisión, y esta segunda vez mandó *Ereya* 90 lanchas llenas de soldados. Y estas 90 lanchas llenas de soldados mataron sólo 10 soldados de *Urémiri Sáraro II*. Y de las 90 lanchas no quedó ninguna; *Urémiri Sáraro II* acabó con todas. *Ereya* mandó una tercera comisión de 80 lanchas y estas 80 lanchas mataron como 20 hombres de *Urémiri Sáraro II*. Y *Urémiri Sáraro II* destruyó las 80 lanchas. La cuarta vez *Ereya* sólo mandó 60 lanchas, y esas 60 lanchas no mataron ni un solo hombre de *Urémiri Sáraro II*. Pero *Urémiri Sáraro II* destruyó todas las lanchas. La quinta vez, *Ereya* sólo mandó 40 lanchas, y esas 40 lanchas tampoco mataron ni un solo hombre de *Urémiri Sáraro II*. Pero *Urémiri Sáraro II* destruyó las 40 lanchas. Entonces *Ereya* mandó 20 lanchas, y *Urémiri Sáraro II* también destruyó esas 20 lanchas. Y con estas últimas 20 lanchas, ya no le quedaban más lanchas a *Ereya*. *Ereya* vió que no podía más con *Urémiri Sáraro II* y mandó una lancha. Y esa lancha venía a pedir perdón a *Urémiri Sáraro II*. Y después *Urémiri Sáraro II* preguntó a *Yúpuri Baúro III:* "Cómo vamos a hacer?" Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro III* dijo: "*Ereya* debería quedarse en San Gabriel". Entonces *Yúpuri Baúro III* dijo a *Yepára Oakajpeá:* "Usted quédese en Yavaraté, que yo me bajo para allá abajo de Manaos y abajo de Pará". Y allí todavía vive *Yúpuri Baúro III* con su familia.

Y desde San Gabriel hasta Yavaraté era tierra libre que no pertenecía a los brasileros, pero los padres Monfortianos eran extranjeros y no sabían ésto, y por eso hicieron las misiones en Yavaraté. Y los brasileros fueron subiéndose poco a poco hasta llegar a Yavaraté.

4: Silva M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962- SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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# The Indigenous Civilization of the Uaupés
[A Civilização Indígena do Uaupés

P. Álcionílio Brüzzi Alves da Silva

São Paulo: 1962
Centro de Pesquisas de Iauareté

Translated from the Portuguese by Ivana Lillios

Human Relations Area Files
1970

[Title page]

/Pages 1-4 are title pages./

/5/

## An Explanation

128 I am going to say that this is an anonymous book. Because it does not bear the name of its principal collaborators. The name that heads these studies is only an endorsement. There fell upon us personally little more than the responsibility of the editing, as we assumed the fatiguing labors of this. The true authors, or at least the principal collaborators, are the well-deserving Missionaries who for several decades have been toiling in the midst of the almost inhospitable forest of Amazonia, in the desire to incorporate the poor forest dwellers into the Brazilian and Christian civilization.

*101 The title demands an explanation. As will be seen in going through the pages, the basin of the Uaupés, including its two principal tributaries, the Tiquié and the Papuri /Papury/, is populated by numerous human groups, which are commonly known as Tribes, with different demographic density. Somatic and linguistic differences, sometimes quite noticeable, proclaim diverse ethnic origins. Nevertheless, proximity and trade, which, in a destructive action of centuries, did not succeed in grinding away those differences, did bring about a fusion in the customs. The same standard /given in English/ or pattern of life that is observed in a povoado /populated place/ on the lower Uaupés is found at the headwaters of the Papuri or the Tiquié and their small tributaries. As we travel along the rivers, the name of the tribe changes, one finds different physiognomic types, speaking very different idioms, although living in malocas /communal houses/ similarly constructed, eating the same foods, performing the same tasks, entertaining themselves the same way; one observes, finally, perfect identity in the way of laughing and gesticulating. We are, then, looking at
*101 one and the same cultural group. We can thus take in con-
junction those 20 or more tribes toward whose civilization and
797 Christianization the activities of the Filhos de S. João Bosco /Sons of Saint John Bosco/ have been directed since 1916, led

/5 cont./

*101 797 114

in their anonymous heroism for 40 years by the intelligent dynamism and the apostolic charity of Dom Pedro Massa.

In the beginning of this century the well-known German ethnologist Teodoro /Theodor/ Koch Grünberg visited part of the area presented in our studies here, and he condensed his observations into several works, especially the one that bears the title "Dos anos entre os índios do noroeste /6/ Brasileiro /Two Years among the Indians of Northwest Brazil/" (1).

1. Zwei Iahre /Jahre/ bei den Indianer nordwest-Brasiliens -- Stuttgart, 1921. His work Festschrift Eduard Seler, containing the classification and location of the several tribes that he visited or from which he obtained information, dates from Stuttgart, 1922.

We are now in a position to appreciate, not only the inconveniences of his journey, but also his difficulties as a "White" and a "Foreigner," having to deal with the Indians locked in their distrust, prejudices, and, let us say it, hostilities against civilized people; moreover, not knowing the idioms of the tribes of the Uaupés (2)

2. At the mouth of the river Curicuriari, Koch's oarsman, the Tukano /Tucano/ João, gives him a lesson in "unintelligible Tukano": -- "Gibt mir Unterricht in Tucano seiner fürchterlichen Stammessprach, voll nasaler, gutturaler und ganz UNDEUTLICHER laute" /he gives me instruction in Tucano, his horrible original language, very nasal, gutteral, and quite confusedly loud/.

and, for this reason, having to resort to the always deficient services of emergency interpreters.

/6 cont./

114 Our task, of editing, in comparison with that of Koch G.,
128 was greatly facilitated. There fell to us the intellectual, patriotic, and religious pleasure of four excursions through the vast and laborious field of the Apostolado Salesiano no Amazonas /Salesian Apostolate in Amazonas/ and of admiring the work of patriotism and evangelical charity that the Filhos de Dom Bosco are achieving there. And benefiting ourselves by means
[191] of their company, their knowledge of the native idioms (3),
[797]

3. Besides having already found numerous Indians with whom we could communicate perfectly in the language of our native country, because they had learned Portuguese in the schools of the Missions.

the prestige that they enjoy, not only among the natives who profit from their material and moral assistance, but even among the others who only know them by repute, we start collecting
114 the precious data of their observations and experience. The
123 ethnographic material contained in these pages could be collected in a relatively short period, although triple that of
124 Grünberg. Nevertheless they describe an existence in the closest possible contact with the forest dwellers: living in their maloca, attending their festivities, listening to them during their long chats among themselves, and entertaining themselves in amiable conversation with them, participating in their joys and their sorrows, observing them in their work, admiring their abilities, using their services, curing their illnesses, probing their spirit, illustrating their intelligence in long years of education, illuminating their soul with religious truths, now and then seeing those minds unexpectedly open in flashes that reveal, through a charming ingenuousness, an internal world never dreamed of. One understands an environment by living in it; and the environment can explain to us a mentality.

/6 cont./

115 It should not seem exaggerated to speak of an existence
123 of intimate contact with the natives. Because not only our /7/ personal observations are recorded here. We tried to know and to listen to all the Salesian Missionaries who work along the rivers Negro, Uaupés, Tiquié, Papuri, Içana, and Caburi; as well as the Montfort Missionaries who attended to the natives of the region bordering Colombia, since some of the tribes in the study have members living in the zone that today is part of Colombian territory. And, through the mercy of God, we had the happy opportunity to talk with Missionaries who have been living with the children of the forests and for them since 1916.

Therefore, this work, in the strict sense, is a contribution by the Salesian Missionaries to ethnographic studies that, if they are of interest in a general way to the students of the whole world, also speak to us, Brazilians, of political and patriotic interests.

121 These pages are a documentary on how the life of the forest people of the Uaupés or Caiarí runs its course in the middle of the twentieth century. By dint of an unyieldingly traditionalist mentality which characterizes these human groups, we may also think that they are, on general lines, a description of how they have lived for centuries, or perhaps even of how these tribes have lived since they acclimated themselves in their present habitat. Scarce data from the first explorers and information from the old natives justify this opinion.

Even though we enjoyed privileged conditions which other ethnologists have not had, or at least will not be able to have, the intractable depths of the native psyche takes from us the illusion of having unveiled their soul. We are also convinced that we do not yet know customs and practices of interest from the ethnological point of view, and the true meaning of many others escapes us. The primitive fantasy, all the more active the freer it is from the curb of reason and the inhibiting control of positive experience in that mysterious and suggestive environment of the millenary forest, will have built a legendary world with fascinating beauties for their souls, as if they were the

/7 cont./

121 dazzling riches of enchanted castles, but forbidden for us, and of which we can contemplate, from the outside, only blackened walls, in the almost inexpressive fragments of their legends.

These notes are only a path in the wilderness. Other students will come to rebuild the road; they will straighten out detours, join with viaducts points previously without connection, solidify with the firmness of their observations those passages that now face the threat of mires, and the final result will be the wide and straight-avenue, open and safe, planted with trees and made beautiful by the truth, along which multitudes will pass in the future.

They aspire to much more, however. They wish to be a cry of gratitude and patriotism. Gratitude to those dedicated /8/ Missionaries (and all of them, without distinction as to nationality or institutions, from Anchieta up to the most modest Lay Brother or Nun) who, inspired by the purest love of God, renounce the affection of the family, the comfort of civilization, and many times the charm of their homelands as well, making the life of the Indian theirs, in order to make him a son of Brazil and of Our Lord Jesus Christ, expecting only God's reward, but not infrequently receiving beforehand the ingratitude of the forest dwellers and the slander of malevolent and irresponsible people.

It is a cry of unrestrained patriotism, calling the attention of Brazil, -- the Government, the wealthy, the men of letters, -- to those races who take shelter under the majestic crown of the Amazon forest. It urges the interest of all Brazilians to awaken in order to provide for an investigation of aids that will facilitate the rapid integration of those many thousands of countrymen into Brazilian and Christian civilization. Therefore, to be concerned about the incorporation of the natives into Brazilian civilization is not only a humanitarian and religious work, but also of the most legitimate patriotism. Thus it urges that the support of the Government be intensified for those who have dedicated their lives and their energies to the well-being of the forest dweller of the Uaupés.

Padre Alcionilio Brüzzi Alves da Silva, S. D. B.

/9/

# Chapter I

## The Habitat

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The area whose ethnographic elements are collected in these notes is the basin of the Uaupés or Caiari River (1).

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

1. Caiari, or formerly Ucaiari, would be the original name, according to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, who, in No. 184 of his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/" (see below, II, 2 /see p. 25/), says: -- "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manaos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attribute to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé."

It is to be noted that, although its waters are not as dark as those of the Rio Negro, the Uaupés is one of a number of rivers of "black waters."

"All these tribes," reports Wallace ("Travels on the Amazón and Rio Negro" -- London, 1849, p. 335), "present some peculiarities in their idioms and customs, but all of them come under the general name of Uaupés and distinguish themselves, as a whole, from the inhabitants of the other rivers. This is the reason that the river is called Rio dos Uaupés (the River of the Uaupés), although actually its name is Ucaiari and it is called this by the Indians."

We read recently (May of 1956) in Luiz da Câmara Cascudo ("Em memória de Stradelli /In memory of Stradelli/," Livr. Clássica-Manaus, 1936, p. 7) that Stradelli mentions a powerful Tuxáua /chief/ Buapé, of the Taryana /Tariana/ tribe (whose ninth-generation grandson, Maximiliano José Roberto, accompanied Stradelli on his journeys), who would have lived around the end of the sixteenth century and lent the name to

/9 cont./

103 /footnote 1 cont./ the river (cf. below, Note 5, Ch. II
133 /see note 8, Ch. II, p. 40/).
101 This belief has also been adopted today on the Rio Negro. We do not know, however, if it is based on the opinion of Stradelli, or if he gave rise to it. At the end of the nineteenth century, with Stradelli, the name Uaupés is presented to us as a corruption of the original word Buapé. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Uaupé would be the original form from which, through corruption, the term Goaupé originated, and no mention is made of the Tuxáua by the name of Buapé, the memory of whom, if he existed, should have been more vivid at that time. Who is right? /The footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

Which language would the name Uaupés belong to? And what does it mean? The present-day natives do not know how to answer that, nor did those of half a century ago. As a matter of fact, Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 131) says only that the name is depreciative; this, however, because under the name of Uaupés are included tribes that are ignorant, wild (Wildstaemme), and scorned, such as the Tukano /Tucano/ and the Kubewãna, who fought against the more advanced Arwake /Arawak/.

In Stradelli's Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, we find the remark: "Iasaná" -- Breed of the Afflicted /Port. Casta das Rallidas/. Name that on the lower Amazon and on the Grão-Pará is given to Parra Iaçaná, which on the Solimões is called Piasóca -- and on the Rio Negro, Uaupé and Uapé.

The river in turn lent the name to a plant characteristic of the stones of its cachoeiras /rapids; see note 2, p. 9 /.
[824] As a matter of fact, it is called uaupé or uaupé-da-cachoeira
[263] (and also carurú-das-pedras /carurú of the stones/ and murera-das-cachoeiras), an aquatic plant that grows on the stones of the cachoeiras of this river and that furthermore serves the Indians for the extraction of salt (cf. Note 51

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[824]
[263]

/9 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./ /see note 52, p. 320/, VI). (Cf. Gastão Cruls, Hileia Amazônica -- C. E. N., 1944 -- p. 35.)

The name Ucaiari (as is usual for the ones that end in ri or li) is of Arwake origin. In the language of the Arara-tapuya and the Kadáu-puritãna, the Uaupés River is called Ukayalí; in the Huhúdeni /Huhuteni/ it is called Ukávari (all three are of the Arwake group). It might perhaps be derived from U(ni), water river, and Kawale (in Kadáu-puritãna) or Kawáeri (in Hihúdeni /sic/), wind. Nevertheless, none of the old people of the various Arwake tribes of the Içana and Aiarí rivers whom we could consult were able to indicate the meaning of the term Caiarí or Ucaiari. Just as the other tribes who inhabit the Uaupés did not know it either. All of them designate the Uaupés as "Dya Poxsá," river of the Makú (?). This designation might induce one to think that the Makú (Puxsá /sic/) were the first to inhabit its shores, and afterwards, under pressure from the Arwake and Tukano invaders, went to settle in the interior, in the adjacent forests, from the environs of S. Gabriel as far as the cachoeiras of Jandú and Carurú (on the Uaupés River). The truth is that, according to the spirit of the language, River of the Makú should be translated as "Poxsá Dyá" and not as "Dyá Poxsá."

as it was known up to a few years ago, a tributary that flows into the Rio Negro about 50 kilometers above the town of S. Gabriel-da-Cachoeira, now called Uaupés.

133 The Uaupés results, according to Dr. Hamilton Rice, from the union of the rivers Unilla, which is the more important, and Itilla, both with their origins in the plains that border the buttresses of the Colombian Andes. After a course of about 330 kilometers in Colombian territory, the Uaupés advances in the

/9 cont./

133 direction SE and S as a demarcator of /10/ frontiers between Brazil and Colombia, as far as Iauareté-cachoeira (2),

> 2. In Amazonia, places in which the course of the water exhibits some slope with eddies, rapids, and true cascades or waterfalls, the latter, by the way, being rare, are called cachoeiras. Since native denominations are involved, the names come in a construction similar to the Saxonic genitive or possessive, which is very much in the spirit of the Tukano language and of the native languages of the region in general. For this reason one says: Iauareté-cachoeira, Parí-cachoeira, Taracuá-ponta, etc., instead of cachoeira de Iauareté /cachoeira of Iauareté/ or de Parí, ponta /point/ de taracuá, etc., according to the character of the Portuguese language.

where, on the right bank, the tributary of the Papurí River occurs. Then, taking the direction east, it runs completely inside Brazil until it drains into the Rio Negro, after having received, again from the right, the Tiquié River, a little below the povoado /populated place/ of Taracuá-ponta. Inside Brazilian territory it advances 520 kilometers (thus having a total course of 850 kilometers) and exhibits a maximum width of 3 kilometers and a minimum of approximately 200 meters.

103 133 /11/ The Papurí (or Capurí, as it was also formerly called) results from the union of two tributaries in Colombian territory, a little above "Melo Franco," the Áua and the Paca. Nearly the totality of its course, however, about 280 kilometers, delimits the frontier between Brazil and Colombia. The natives call it "Oxkó ñyísé dyá," that is, river of black water; indeed, its waters are darker than those of the Uaupés. It runs into the Uaupés at Iaureté-cachoeira, with a width of 250 meters.

/11 cont./

103 133 Although it presents an average declivity of 0.32 m. per kilometer, it possesses a subsoil of granite, with innumerable levelings and cachoeiras (3)

[114] 3. The Comissão Brasileira de Fronteiras /Brazilian Commission of Frontiers/, under the direction of Marechal /Marshal/ Boanerges Lopes de Souza, who did the surveying of this river, recorded 39 cachoeiras. Moreover, it has some islets and islands, and therefore its width reaches 500 meters.

[505] which endanger navigation. Or, rather, it is only passable with small canoes and montarias (4),

[501] 4. "Montarias" are the canoes that have been enlarged by one or more longitudinal planks fitted to their sides.

which sometimes advance through the rushing rapids by arm or pulled by tow ropes, or are even transported across the rocks or bordering forest by way of the "varadoiros" (5).

5. "Varadoiros" are the passages opened up in the forest, or along the rivers in the stretches that are not navigable; or as shortcuts between two points, in order to avoid the long windings of the rivers.

The Tiquié is the other tributary, and more important than the Papurí. It results from two igarapés, or streams: the Uaracú-pirera (in Nheengatú it means "skin of aracú /a fish/"), which takes the name of Tiquié, a name of unknown origin and meaning (also like Caiarí and Papurí), after it receives the Macucú. Those of Tukano language name the Tiquié "Kõsá," the meaning of which, however, they do not know. Extremely sinuous, it measures about 450 kilometers in course, almost all

/11 cont./

103 of it in Brazilian territory. It would be about half a kilometer
133 in width at the mouth, but it narrows sensibly to a few hundred meters in a great part of its course. At Tucano-cachoeira its width is about 50 meters, and this is maintained up to Parí-cachoeira (up to where the launches of small draft reach) and, narrowing even more, presents an average width of 15 to 20 meters up to the border.

It runs almost parallel to the Papurí, but its appearance is very different. The sandy and deep bed allows it a calm course, the waters therefore seeming darker than they are in reality (6).

6. Its major tributary, the river Castanho, of milky color, sensibly lightens the waters of the Tiquié.

shadowed besides by the dense forest bordering them. It has /12/ few cachoeiras, among them the one called "Carurú," above Parí-cachoeira, certainly one of the most beautiful cataracts of the State of Amazonas.

The Uaupés and its two tributaries receive the contribution of innumerable, though small, watercourses, which in the regional terminology are called igarapés.

The basin that we studied covers the lands watered by the rivers Uaupés and its two tributaries, the Papurí and the Tiquié. It is thus located in the equatorial zone (7).

7. In the 486 windings or sinuosities that the Tiquié presents in its course from the mouth up to Parí-cachoeira, it crosses the equatorial line 18 times.

132 Nevertheless the minimum daily temperature fluctuates between 19° and 22°, and the maximum 24° and 32°, rarely up to 36°,
133 thanks to frequent precipitation. It presents lands not subject to floods, or "terra-firme," according to the regional nomenclature, and large areas inundated, at least during some months
000 of the year. The vegetation, therefore, is the high and dense

The vegetation, therefore, is
/12 cont./ the high and dense
137 forest of the "hydro-hygro-megathermic type," similar to that of the Rio Negro. The palm trees merit special attention. There are many varieties, sometimes following the course of the water and at other times dispersed through the woodland, which the forest dwellers use for various purposes.

We noted among the palms of "terra-firme" the tucum (astrocárium /Astrocaryum/ vulgare, Mart. or astr. tucumóides), the bacaba (oenocárpus bacaba, Mart.), the açaí /assai/ (eutérpe oleráceа, Mart.), the inajá (Maximiliána régia, Mart.), the pupunha (Guilerma /Guilielma/ speciosa), the paxiúba (iriartea exorrhiza or settígera, Mart.). Among those of the inundated places, the javarí (astrocárium javarí), the miritĩ or buritĩ (maurítia vinifera and m. flexuosa), the caraná (maurítia caraná), the jará (leopoldinia maior), the piaçaba (leopoldinia piassába, Wal.), the tucumã (astrocasium tucuman, Mart.). The climbing palm, the jacitára or Kamwarri, of the genus Desmoncus, is of great use in the indigenous basketry.

134 In general there is only a small superficial humous layer,
137 from which emerges the imposing millenary forest, and after that the sandy or clayey strata. A primary consequence of such a small humous base is that the trees have very superficial roots, and therefore the storms frequently knock them down, producing true clearings in the forests. A second consequence is that the
[241] land becomes unproductive after three or four years of the primitive native agriculture.

136 /13/ The rivers and igarapés are populated by many species of fish, which constitute one of the principal foods of the native.

The Amazonian fauna is not rich in varieties, and less so quantitatively. Besides the dangerous felines, the onça /jaguar/ (felix /Felis/ onça) and the gato macarajá /ocelot/ (felix pardalis and felix mucura, Neuw.), there are few animals that the native ordinarily can find and that offer him meat for food: the veado /deer/ (gen. cervus), the paca (coelógenys paca), the cotia /agouti/ (dasyprocta aguti, Lin.), queixada and caetitu /species of peccary/ (dicotyles labiátus, tayassú albirostris, and tayassú tayassú, Lin.), the anta /tapir/ (tapírus americánus,

/13 cont./

136 Briss.), the capivara /capybara/ (hidrochoerus /Hydrochoerus/ capybara, Erxl.) and macacos of various species.

The birds present the same scarcity in quantity, but a greater richness in variety and plumage. Among those appreciated as foods by the forest dwellers, we remember the tucanos /toucans/ (ramphastus /Ramphastos/), jacamim /trumpeter/ (psophídeos /Psophidae/), mutum /curassow/ (crax nigra, alector, etc.), jacú (penélopes), several pombos /doves/ (columba). Procured for their plumage are the garças /herons/ (herodias egretta) and other varieties of ardeídae, tucanos, and the extraordinary variety of araras and other psittacídeos /Psittacidae/.

The entomological contribution is more varied and richer, some varieties of insects also serving as food for the inhabitants of the region.

241 In this habitat in which the area to be cultivated is acquired by arduously hewing down the secular forest and which is only used regularly for three or four years, one can make only a small planting. We must remember that originally the Uaupés man had at his disposal only the stone ax, and that on the Uaupés the verões, that is, the periods of dry weather that permit "the burning of the clearing," are neither frequent nor extended.

361 The agriculture, on one side, as well as the fishing and the
[262] hunting, do not permit large human assemblages. As a consequence, we are going to find the population always dispersed in small groups located on the banks of the rivers and streams (igarapés), which, besides furnishing, with the fish, a favorite food, also serve them as a means of communication.

The demands of the natives being minimal, the conditions that determine their habitat are reduced to three: 1st, water, to drink, to bathe, and to give them fish; 2nd, the forest, which furnishes fruit and the wood for the fire; 3rd, land sufficiently fertile for the cultivation of mandioca, their principal vegetable food. Not always, but rather very rarely in the present situation can /14/ the first condition be reconciled with the third, accord-
[241] ing to native criteria. For this reason, they ordinarily plant the clearing, "wexsé," some kilometers from their house. Compensating for the inconvenience of the distance, there is presented to

/14 cont./

361 the intelligence of the forest dweller the advantage of the safety of his property, which thus more easily escapes being seen and covetousness. The natural consequence is that the density of the population in each group is independent of the fertility of the adjacent lands.

/15/ Chapter II

## The Tribes of the Uaupés in the Historical Period

### 1 -- Data on the History of the Rio Negro and the Uaupés River

174 The important problem of the origin of the forest dwellers of Brazil, as of America, still awaits solution. Since anthropo-ethnological science does not recognize them as autochthons, where did they come from? From only one or from various origins? In what era? By which path? With what means? In one or several successive migrations? Under what direction? How did they spread?

[121] The present work does not aim at answering these or other connected questions. Nevertheless a rapid survey of this cultural group of the Uaupés within the historical period for it, that is, since the discovery of Brazil, is advisable.

175 The voyage of discovery of the "Rio das Amazonas," as it became known at the time, was made by Francisco Orellana in 1541, the friar of the Order of Saint Dominic, Gaspar de Carvajal, serving as chronicler. From his account there appears with respect to the Rio Negro only that on Saturday, the eve of the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 3, 1542, "We saw the mouth of another large river, on the left bank, which entered the one that we were navigating and of water black as ink and therefore we gave it the name of Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos do rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," 50).

/15 cont./

175 In the brief "Relação do descobrimento do Rio Amazonas, hoje S. Francisco de Quito /Account of the discovery of the Amazon River, today S. Francisco de Quito/," by Padre Alonso de Rojas, one only reads, in § 6: "At the north side there is a very large river with a league and a half at the mouth and waters so black that they are distinguished from the others, an effect that gave the name to the river, it being called 'Negro.' "

"The first steersman, of whom we shall speak later, having navigated two or three days along this Rio Negro, said that, according to the information that he could obtain from some Indians, this river rises in some mountain ranges neighboring the Novo Reino de Granada and in its origin it is divided into two branches: one of them, with the name of Rio Negro, empties, after a long course, into the Amazon; the other comes to empty into the sea of the North, in view of the island Trindade, and they think that this river might be the famous Orinoco" ("Descobrimentos," 95).

[103] /16/ Padre Cristobal de Acuña, who accompanied Pedro de Teixeira on his return from Quito to Belém, gives in his "Novo descobrimento do grande Rio das Amazonas /New discovery of the great Amazon River/" more abundant information concerning the Rio Negro, or Curiguacurú, as "the natives who inhabit it" called it, or Uruna, "which means black water," by the "Tupinambás" in their language. "Caniçuaris, Aguayras, Yacuncarais, Cahuayapitis, Manacarús, Yanmas, Guanamás, Carapanaris, Guarianacaguas, Acerabarís, Carupatabas and Guaranaquazama /the quotation marks that perhaps belong here are missing in the original source/ are the nations "who live along the waters of the Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos," 251).

175 648 After the travels of Pedro de Teixeira, the scouting for the capture of the Indian started. These enslaving bands were called "tropas de resgate" /ransom troops/. One of the first ones was that headed by Pedro da Costa Favela, of ominous memory (1).

1. "The history of the province abounds in facts of the harshest cruelty. On the river Urubú, to cite one of them, in 1665, an expedition commanded by

/16 cont./

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/footnote 1 cont./ Pedro da Costa Favella completely annihilated a tribe, killing 700 persons, imprisoning 400, and burning 300 villages." Baena -- Compêndio das eras da Província do Pará, 1838 /Compendium of the eras of the Province of Pará, 1838/ -- ap. José Veríssimo, o. c., 304.

The Jesuit Padre Manuel Pires (according to Padre Serafim Leite, in his História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil /History of the Company of Jesus in Brazil/) traveled on the Rio Negro four times, accompanying "tropas de resgate." They were swift penetrations, however, without the goal of colonization.

In 1668 Pedro da Costa Favella returned, accompanied by the Mercedarian Frei /Brother/ Teodósio da Veiga, and, in the place called Aruim, founded a povoado /populated place/ of Tarumã Indians, which was later transferred to the mouth of the river Jaú, with "Manao, Aruaqui and Tacú" Indians, under the name of Santo Elias do Jaú, and now called Airão.

In 1669 Francisco da Mota Falcão laid the foundations of a fort two leagues above the mouth of the Rio Negro, where there would be formed, little by little, the "Lugar /place, village, town/ da Barra," or the "Povoado de S. José da Barra," today the modern and picturesque city of Manaus.

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By royal letter of 1694 the catechizing of the Rio Negro was entrusted to the Carmelite Religious. Through their work eight aldeaments emerged: S. Elias do Jaú, S. Alberto de Aracary, S. Angelo do Cumarú, N. Senhora da Conceição de Maruiá, S. Rita de Cassia de Itarendaua, N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo de Cabuquena, N. Senhora do Rosário de Bararoá (later called Thomar), and N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo do rio Dari, and later the missions of the Uaupés, in S. Joaquim da Foz and S. Jerônimo da Cachoeira or Ipanoré.

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Then the government of the metropolis, struck by fear of the Dutch and Spanish incursions, and eager to obtain the "drogas" /literally "drugs," here natural products/, proposed the systematic founding of settlements along the whole Rio Negro.

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19

4: Silva--17 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Map facing p. 16 in the original source/

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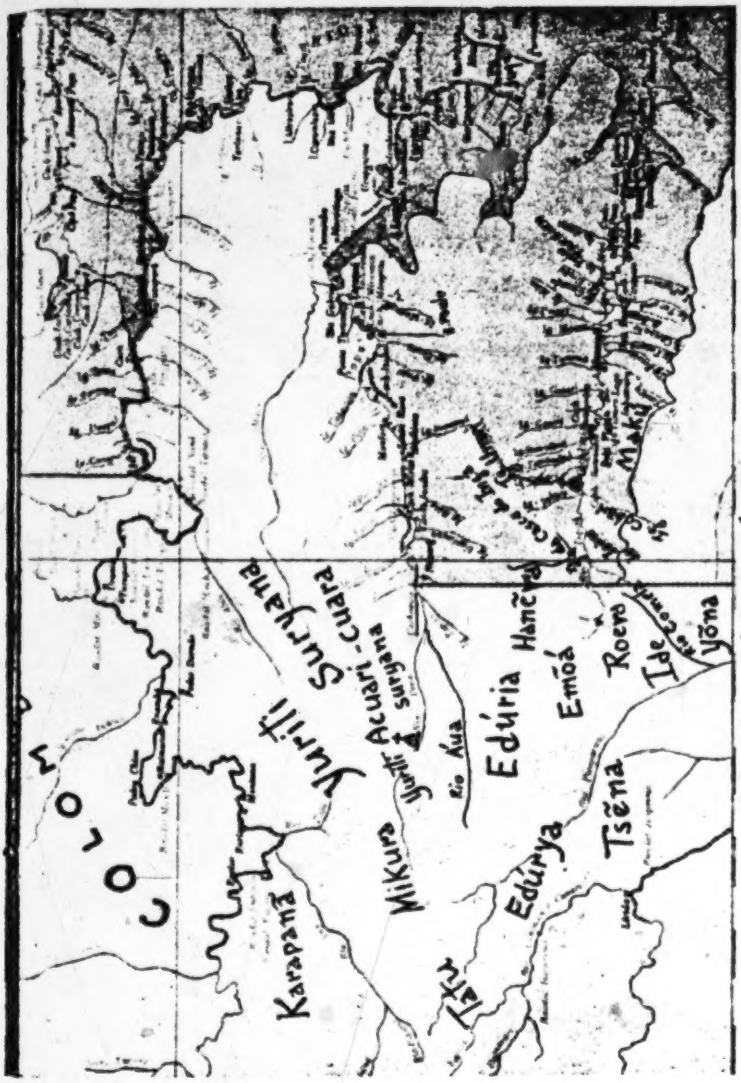


Cultural area of the Uaupés (Brazil-Colombia)

4: Silva--18 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 17 in the original source/

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Wanana girls (the younger one has a Taryana mother; the older one, a Kubêwana)

Pirá-tapuya types (from the settlement Patu, Papuri River)

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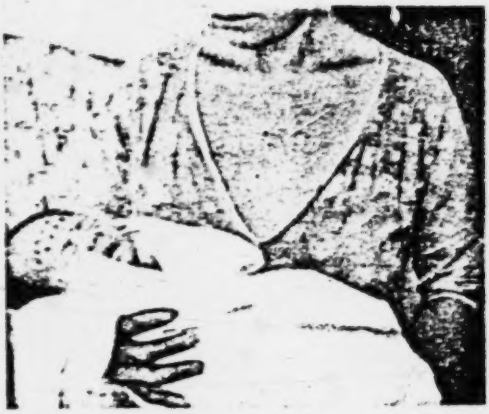

Newborn Pirá-tapuya child (with the prophylactic painting of carajura)

/17/

175 648 The scouting, official or not, in search of the "drogas" (the natural products) and the "peças" /pieces/ (the Indians for public service or even as slaves) was going on. Soon the Rio Negro and its principal tributaries were quite well known by the Portuguese, even the connections with the Orinoco by way of the Cassiquiare and with the Guianas by way of the Rio Branco.

175 648 797 By royal letter of March 3, 1755, the "Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro" was created. In that very year, by decision of the Marquês /Marquis/ de Pombal, by decree of June 7, the Religious Missionaries were excluded from the secular direction of the native povoados (the direction being transferred to the judges and aldermen) and, in the spiritual one, were subject to the Bishops (no longer to their Religious Superiors). In April of that year Padre Joseph Monteiro de Noronha was chosen as Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Pará, who at that time was D. Frei Miguel de Bulhões, of the order of S. Bento.

On July 16, 1757, the first Governador, Joaquim de Melo Póvoas, was appointed, and in 1758 several aldeias were elevated to Vila /town/ or Lugares: that of Maruiá to Vila de Barcelos, as Capital; Itarendaua to Vila de Moura; Bararoá to Vila de Thomar; Jaú to Lugar de Ayrão; Cumarú to Lugar de Poiares; Aracarí to Lugar de Carvoeiro.

175 648 The territorial preoccupations of the metropolis dictated orders for the garrisoning of the upper Rio Negro against the Spanish expansionist tendencies. Capitão José da Silva Delgado was appointed for this in 1761, and he founded the localities of S. Pedro de Simapé, S. José dos Marabitanas, N. Senhora da Guia, S. Bárbara, S. João Batista do Mabé, S. Isabel, Senhor da Pedra, N. Senhora de Nazaré da Curiana, S. Gabriel da Cachoeira, S. Sebastião, and S. Antonio do Castanheiro Velho. This last one was later abandoned due to the impossibility of agriculture, always damaged by the leaf-cutting ant, and the population was transferred above the mouth of the Abunã, founding the povoado of S. Antonio do Castanheiro Novo. The Franciscan Frei José de S. Úrsula was appointed as the first vicar of S. Gabriel.

/17 cont./

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In 1772 the povoado of N. Senhora de Loreto de Maçaraby was founded, and in 1781 that of N. Senhora das Caldas on the bank of the Cauaburí River.

By order of General João Pereira Caldas, commissioned by Portugal for the demarcation of the boundaries (with D. Francisco de Requena representing the interests of Spain), Coronel Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada went up the Rio Negro in 1784, founded the town of S. Marcelino at the mouth of the Xié, and traveled on the waters of the Uaupés.

[797]

Nevertheless, with the Missionaries reduced in number and powers, the unfitness of the "Diretores dos Índios" /Directors of the Indians/ was prejudicial to their /18/ Christianization and settlement in povoados. The "Diários" /Diaries/ of Sampaio and Ferreira document that and protest against it (2).

2. Alexandre R. Ferreira in the Participação segunda /second Communication/, dated January 30, 1786, affirmed: -- "I say what I have always said, that the Indians, after being freed, will remain in this respect in a worse condition than the one they had when slaves. The master in the life of the slave carefully looked after his money; the Director in the life of the Indian does not look after any interest." And he notes that the Indians died from much work and little food. "They give them only beijú or ticoara and caribé /dishes made with manioc/" (o.c., 87).

On p. 43 he talks about the bad treatment that the Directors inflicted on the Indians, while they enriched themselves and became so many petty noblemen: -- "From one pair of absolute hands to another, and so absolute that in the vilas and lugares, or rather, free dukedoms, marquisates, and earldoms of the Directors, the Indians suffer, tied to the tenacious pillar of their suffering."

/18 cont./

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/Footnote 2 cont./ On p. 70 he reports of Coronel Teodósio Constantino Chermont, upon inviting the Mucunas Indians to settle in Tabocas, Apapóris River, that he heard from their principal /chief/, Maimanaca, that they would do it, "Provided, however, that he would have sent to them a vicar to baptize and indoctrinate them, as they greatly wished, and had requested in vain not a few times; but by no means the Director, because they were very well informed about the conduct of all of them with regard to the Indians in our towns, managing only to destroy them and not to edify them."

The Presidente of the Província, Conselheiro /Counselor/ Herculano Ferreira Pena, in the "Falla dirigida à Assembleia Legislativa Provincial do Amazonas /Speech directed to the Provincial Legislative Assembly of Amazonas/," on October 1, 1853, after recognizing that the noble plans of catechizing and educating the Indians had failed, affirmed: -- "For a /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ very simple and generally well-known reason, that is, because of the lack of faithful executors when the old Missionaries have disappeared, the ones who put their hearts into this enterprise, worthy certainly of Vieira, Nobregas, and Anchieta.

"By eliminating the Jesuits, the Portuguese government did not foresee that it was thus also ordering the destruction of the Indians, who, during the period of two centuries, had lived happily and contentedly under the paternal tutelage of those Religious; on the contrary, the famous Ministro del Rei D. José understood that this tutelage could advantageously be replaced by the command of the Directors then created; but the new system unfortunately did not have any effects other than the decline of the aldeias already formed, and

/18 cont./

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/footnote 2 cont./ the impossibility of founding others that would resemble them, as is observed throughout Brazil.

"What the facts attest to is that if any good result was achieved, it was due to the zeal and the charity of the Missionaries.

"Therefore, to hand over the direction of the aldeias to religious who will be able to renounce completely the goods and the pleasures of the world, who will have the patience needed to forgive the Indians the mistakes and the faults stemming from the incontestable inferiority of their intelligence, who will inspire in them a love of work, who will instruct them in the principles of the Catholic religion and of the Christian doctrine, who, in sum, will educate them to the point of finding themselves able to fulfill the duties and to enjoy the advantages of civil society, is, in my view, the only system that we can follow with every probability of happy success." ("Relatorios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas," Vol. 1, pp. 218-9.)

[797] In spite of the lack of Missionaries, the process of Christianization was being accomplished, although more slowly, since Indians from the Uaupés went down to S. Gabriel or its environs when they heard of the presence of some priest there.

With the independence of Brazil proclaimed in 1822, complete autonomy was not granted to the province of S. José do Rio Negro, as it was to the others, and, as "Comarca do Alto Amazonas," it came to be integrated, up to 1850, with the Province of Pará.

/18 cont./

175 648 797

With the apostolic works of the Carmelite Frei José dos Santos Inocentes on the upper Rio Negro and tributaries for more than 20 years, counting from 1832, the evangelization of the natives acquired new vigor.

The Province of Amazonas having been created on September 5, 1850, its first Governador, João Batista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, in the same year that he came into office, 1852, appointed the Capuchin Frei Gregorio José Maria de Bene "Vigário encomendado das freguezias e povoações do alto Rio Negro e Missionário dos rios Uaupés e Içana" /Removable vicar of the parishes and towns of the upper Rio Negro and Missionary of the rivers Uaupés and Içana/, since Frei José dos Santos Inocentes was forced by illness to go down to Manaus. The activity of Frei Gregorio was great, and in little more than two years he managed to establish relations with 25 tribes (who appear in his list), trying to put them in aldeias, /19/ re-establishing many povoados, and bringing many individuals among them to Christianity.
[103] The following towns are mentioned as those for which, in 1854, he asked for a change of name, to wit: on the Uaupés: Querari, Macaquinha, Micura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Coração de Jesus), Carurú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Fidelis martir), Mutum (aldeia of S. Cruz), Aracapuri (aldeia of S. João Batista), Jutica, Pacú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Sebastião), aldeia of Cubeo (aldeia of N. Senhora das Dores), Umarí, Iauareté (aldeia of S. Ana), Jabutí-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Paulo Apóstolo), Juquira (aldeia of S. Domingos), Naná-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Antônio de Lisboa), S. Jerônimo (aldeia of Conceição de N. Senhora), S. Joaquim, Trovão, Pitúna-rapecuma, Inuitera, Cunurí, Coró-Coró, Iura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Francisco das Chagas), Taracuá (S. Francisco das Chagas), Ambaíua, Ivitera-rapecuma. On the Tiquié: Tucano (or S. Isabel), Uíra-poço (or Nazaré), Maracajá (or S. José), Turí-igarapé (or S. Pedro). On the Papurí: S. Luzia dos Tucanos, S. Gregório Magno dos Pirá-tapuya. (Archivo do Amazonas, Year I, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 34, and Year II, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 7.)

/19 cont./

175 With alternating periods of assistance, the Capuchins
797 proceeded to attend to the inhabitants of the upper Rio Negro and Uaupés until 1888, when they withdrew and the Mission vanished. Since that time the civilized and the natives of the Rio Negro have had periodic visits from /20/ ecclesiastics, few of whom went beyond S. Gabriel, and some did not reach there.

In 1914 the Mission of the Rio Negro and Uaupés was entrusted by the Holy See to the Salesiana Congregação de S. João Bosco, and a new and more promising phase for those tribes began. Fourteen of them located along the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié and Papuri are assisted materially, sanitarily, and spiritually. The Indians are attracted to the banks of these rivers and settled in small povoados.

For better civilizing assimilation, in accordance with Christian principles, besides the hospitals, maternity clinics, ambulatories, and churches, there are 13 schools (six male and seven female) operating (1958), which, in the regime of a boarding school, educate and instruct about 1500 children of both sexes in the language of the homeland, sciences, and arts. The contrast between the life of the former students of the Mission in their povoados and that of those who live in the malocas where the action of the Missionary has not reached is the best proof of the civilizing attainments of the Salesian Missions.

## 2. The First Relatórios

175 In the eighteenth century three Relatórios /Accounts/ with references to tribes of the Rio Negro and Uaupés appeared:

1st. "Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará até as últimas colonias dos dominios portuguezes em os Rios Amazonas e Negro. Ilustrado com algumas notícias que podem interessar a curiosidade dos navegantes e dar mais claro conhecimento das duas capitanias do Pará e de S. José do Rio Negro /Logbook of the voyage from the city of Pará up to the last colonies of the

4: Silva--25 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/20 cont./

175 Portuguese dominions on the Amazon and Negro Rivers. Illustrated with some notes that might interest the curiosity of the navigators and give clearer knowledge of the two capitanias of Pará and S. José do Rio Negro/," by the Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Dr. José Monteiro de Noronha ("Colleção de notícias para a História e Geographia das nações ultramarinas que vivem nos Dominios Portuguezes ou lhe são visinhas /Collection of notes for the History and Geography of the ultramarine nations that live in the Portuguese Dominions or are their neighbors/"; published by the Academia Real das Sciencias -- Vol. VI. Lisbon, 1856).

2nd. "Diário da viagem que em visita e correição das povoações da Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro fez o Ouvidor e Intendente Geral da mesma Francisco Xavier Ribeiro da Sampaio, no anno 1774 e 1775 /Diary of the voyage that, for a visit and the administration of justice in the town of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro, the Auditor and Intendant-general of the same, Francisco Xavier Ribeiro da Sampaio, made in the years 1774 and 1775/" ("Lisbon -- in the printing office of the Academia, 1825 -- With permission of H. Majesty").

3rd. "Diário da Viagem Philosophica pela Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro com a informação do Estado, presente pelo Dr. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, naturalista empregada na expedição philosophica do Estado /Dairy of the Philosophical Voyage through the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro with the information of the State, presented by Dr. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, naturalist employed on the philosophical expedition of the State/," in 1775-6 (Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 48, Rio de Janeiro, 1885, pp. 147 ff.).

/21/ Ouvidor /Auditor/ Sampaio, like the preceding Ouvidores, only reached as far as the town of Thomar; he gives data on the Rio Negro and Uaupés, however, through information received from the author of the "Roteiro," whom he cites.

4: Silva--26 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/21 cont./

175 Alexandre R. Ferreira went up the entire Rio Negro and on the Uaupés penetrated as far as Ipanoré. Thus, besides the pieces of information obtained from the "Diario" of Ouvidor Sampaio, he could add the ones that he obtained personally. Few, let it be said for the sake of the truth, that would be of interest to ethnography.

The "Descripção Chorographica do Estado do Gram-Pará que, por ordem alphabetica, descreveu João Vasco Manuel de Braum, Governador da Praça de Macapá no anno de 1789 /Chorographic Description of the State of Gram-Pará, which, in alphabetical order, João Vasco Manuel de Braum, Governor of the Praça de Macapá, described in the year of 1789/" dates from 1789. But, besides only repeating the data of Pe. Noronha, and even in the same order, concerning the Uaupés River, there appears only the "town of S. Joaquim do Coané, with 200 persons of the Uaupés and Coeuana nations" (Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Brasileiro, Vol. 36, 1873, p. 289).

Some more interesting information, although already known, is given by the "Noticias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/" of Cônego /Canon/ Fernandes de Souza. They date from the nineteenth century, but in 1793 he was already Vigário /Vicar/ in São Gabriel. (Cf. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Brasileiro, Vol. 10, Rio de Janeiro, 1876.)

Since the middle of the last century we have had more abundant notes that deal especially with the Uaupés, starting with the work Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro, by Alfred Russel Wallace, from the ethnographic point of view; and for the localization of the tribes, the Relatórios of the Capuchin Frei Gregorio de Bene, appointed Missionary of the Uaupés River from 1852 to 1854.

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quererurí, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. 304 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between 171 the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of the same lip. 301 On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well [554] polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/22 cont./

301 554 hole that is made artificially across the middle from one extremity to the other: the principals wear them about half a span long; the nobles, a little less, and the common people much shorter."

301 135 171 187. "Some Indians of the Tariarana nation, inhabitants of the Capuri River, were seen at another time with little plates of gold /Port. folhetas de ouro/ in the ears, which, in exchange for feathers, they bought from Indians of other nations, whom they did not know. Now it is known that the Indians of the Panemuá nation, who inhabited the upper part of the Ucayari, wear the same little plates and that from them they are passed on to the Tarianos. There is doubt, however, as to where the above-mentioned fragments of gold come from" (3).

3. Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of João Pereira Caldas, Governador of the Rio Negro, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador (Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, p. 82) as follows: "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn by certain Indians of the Uaupés River as earrings; this is one thing about which I could not discover the slightest bit of information, although I have questioned many and different Nations, inhabitants of the same River, with whom I have talked. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing but a chimeric illusion that originated from having seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, whose wings, after being dried, resemble some metallic kind because of their thickness and shine. /This footnote is continued on the next page of the original source./

135 "Finally I believe that this Notice of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is to that degree Fabulous, as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of

/22 cont./

135 /footnote 3 cont./ Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, extracted or brought from the Tiquié River in the year of 1749, if melted, appear to be of silver, when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already carrying them as such."

*101 189. "The Issana is inhabited by Indians of the nations Baniva, Tumayari, Tuniari, Deçana, Puetana, Uerequena
171 and others. Those of the nation commonly called Uerequena,
[304] through corruption of the word /23/ Ariquena, have as a mark of distinction a very large hole between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears, in which they put bunches of straw. Among them are found many who, prior
[551] to communication and knowledge of Whites, had Hebrew names, some pure and others with slight corruption, such as: Joab, Jacob, Yacobí, Thomé, Thomequí, Davidú, Ivanan and Marianan."

b. Xavier Sampaio, in his "Diario," writes: -- No.
133 380. "Farther down the famous Ucayari, by another name
*[101] the Uaupés, derived from the nation called this, who principally inhabit it, creates a bar. It empties with two mouths and a triangular island of 20 leagues around and innumerable rocks and cachoeiras, very dangerous because of the frightening whirlpools they form... Toward the south the Tiquié and Capuri, which are the principal ones. Toward

/23 cont./

133 the north there runs a channel of communication with the river Guabiari, which descends from the environs of Santa
171 Fé de Bogotá. The Daçanas, Tarianas and Uaupés Indians
301 who might communicate with the Indians of the same Guabiari have been seen with earrings of very fine gold, which is supposedly extracted from the mines of New Granada."

*101 381. "The Uaupés is inhabited by many nations, the
301 principal ones of which are Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena,
554 Uananá, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinaná, Timanará, Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; the most famous one, however, is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them: what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of
[304] the common people much smaller. The Uaupés wear the ears and lips pierced."

127 c. Numerous and interesting pieces of information are found in the nineteenth century, especially in the works of Wallace and Koch Grünberg. We shall cite them whenever an opportunity presents itself to us, as confirmation of what is found at present, or to verify a modification of indigenous customs, or, finally, to rectify those authors' observations that seem incorrect to us.

4: Silva--31 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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## 4. Places on the Rio Negro in the Eighteenth Century

### with indication of the tribes

(According to the data of Pe. Noronha, Xavier Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira and Braum) /In the table below, margem esquerda (M.E.) = left bank, margem direita (M.D.) = right bank, leguas da foz = leagues from the mouth, almas = souls, antigo = anciently./

Tribes

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A — Aruaque | J — Juri (pixuna) | P — Passé |
| Ar — Aruriê, Ayrini, Arilini | Jp — Japiuna | Pv — Paviana |
| B — Baré | Jr — Jaruna | Px — Pexuma |
| Ba — Baiana | M — Manáo | T — Tacú |
| Bv — Baniva | Ju — Juma | Pt — Puiteno |
| C — Cubeuana | Ma — Macú | Te — Termairari |
| Ca — Carajai | Mq — Maquiritare | Tu — Turimarí |
| Cc — Cocuana | Mr — Marapitena | U — Uaupé |
| Ce — Coeuana | Md — Mendó | Ua — Uaranacuacena |
| D — Duanáis | Mp — Mepuri | Ue — Uerequena |
| | | Uy — Uauuana, Yayauana |
| | | X — Xamá |
| | | Xp — Xapuena |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Manaus* - margem esquerda (M.E.) | 2 | leguas da foz | | B, Bv, P | | |
| *Ayrão* - margem direita (M.D.) | 30 | " | " | " A, M, T | (860 | almas) |
| *Moura* - M.D. | 42 | " | " | " M, Ca, Ce, Ju, B, Jp, Jr, | | |
| *Carvoeiro* - M.D. | 50 | " | " | " M, Pr, Ua (ext.) | (1786 | " ) |
| *Poiares* - M.D. | 67 | " | " | " M, B, P. | | |
| *Barcelos* - M.D. | 74 | " | " | " M, B, Ba, Ue, P. | | |
| *Moreira* - M.D. | 90 | " | " | " M, B. | (164 | almas) |
| *Thomar* - M.D. | 107 | " | " | " M, B, Uy, P | (524 | " ) |
| *Lomalonga* - M.D. | 111 | " | " | " M, B, Bv | (196 | " ) |
| *S. Isabel* - M.E. | 127 | " | " | " U, J, P, Ue, Bv, Ma, Mq | (99 | almas) |
| *S. Ant. do Castanheiro Novo* - M.E. | 140 | " | " | " B, J, Px P, X, | (108 | " ) |
| *Maçarabi* - M.E. | 154 | " | | " J, P | (175 | " ) |
| *S. Jose* - M.E. | 162 | " | " | " B | (99 | " ) |
| *S. Pedro* (antigo Simapé) - M.D. | 168 | " | " | " J, P | (95 | " ) |
| *S. João Nepom. do Camundé* - M.E. | 171 | " | " | " P, Px, J | (94 | " ) |
| *S. Bernardo de Camanaus* - M.E. | 175 | " | " | " J, P, X, | (109 | " ) |
| *N. S. de Nazaré de Curiana* - M.E. | 178 | " | " | " P, Mp, Ar, Br Ma | (108 | " ) |
| *S. Gabriel da Cachoeira* - M.E. | 180 | " | " | " B, Mp, J | (180 | " ) |
| *S. Joaquim do Coané* - M.D. | 185 | " | " | " U, Cc | (257 | " ) |
| *Santa Ana* - M.E. | 198 | " | " | " Bv | (198 | " ) |
| *S. Felipe* - M.D. | 202 | " | " | " Bv | (23 | " ) |
| *S. Miguel* (foz do Içana) - M.E. | 205 | " | " | " Bv | | |
| *N. Senhora da Guia* - M.D. | 206 | " | " | " B, Bv, | (87 | " ) |
| *S. Marcelino* (foz do Xié) - M.D. | 222 | " | " | " Bv, Ue, Md | (65 | " ) |
| *S. José dos Marabitanas* - M.D. | 231 | " | " | " Mr, Ar, B, Bv | (165 | " ) |

/25/ 5. Difficulties of Identification

*101 127 128 The deciphering of the nomenclature of the indigenous tribes presents great difficulties, even limiting them to the human groups of the Uaupés and tributaries.

Such difficulty has various causes:

1st. -- We must first indicate, not only the possibility, but the real existence of typographical errors. For example, the important tribe Taryana, of the Arwake branch, which is located in various povoados of the Brazilian middle Uaupés, from Ararí-pirá to Periquito, is called Tariarana in the "Roteiro" of Padre Noronha; in the "Diarios" of the ouvidor /auditor/ Sampaio and of Rodrigues Ferreira, respectively, Taryana and Caryana; and on the apostolic maps of Frei Gregório, Itariana and Itatiana.

2nd. -- The ancient sources that can be of help to us carry secondhand or more remote information, the exactitude of which sometimes perplexes us, we who know how arduous it is to obtain full clarifications from the side of the natives. And many of the informants for those first explorers were necessarily Indians.

3rd. -- The above difficulty, understandably, will be increased even more because of the bad pronunciation of the natives; or perhaps because of phonetic differences or even because of deficiency of sound in their languages. The tribe called Hanẽrã in its own idiom, and which inhabits the headwaters of the Tiquié, is called Panẽrõá by the Tukanos, and Panẽnõá by the Tuyuka. This divergence becomes very understandable when we reveal that its language is of the Tukano family, but the words that start with the phoneme p in Tukano begin with the aspirated sound h in Hanẽrã. For example, *[192] father in Tukano is paxkõ, and in Hanẽrã, hakõ; mother in Tukano, paxkó, and in Hanẽrã, hakó.

/25 cont./

*101 4th. -- The expression "região do Uaupés" /region of the Uaupés/ is still vague today, and it was much more so in the past, also including the basins of the Içana and the Apapóris-Japurá. For this reason the first lists (of the eighteenth century) locate on the Uaupés tribes that actually live on those other rivers.

5th. -- The informants would almost never have been able to know how some tribe denominated itself. Not infrequently one and the same tribe is denominated differently by others. Questioning individuals of the Taryana tribe (among them two quite elderly ones, Paulino and Casimiro, of Iauareté) as to what they called themselves, they answered: -- Talyáseri (someone pronounced it Talyéseri). -- What does the word Taryana mean? -- We do not know, they answered. -- Who gave you the /26/ name of Taryana? They answered: -- "the whites" (4).

4. Stradelli, in his "Vocabulário Portuguez-Nheengatú e Nheengatú-Portuguez," points out that ana is a Nheengatú suffix that indicates abundance or people; hence its use in names of tribes: Taryana, Wanana, Desana, Kubẽwána, Barasana, etc. The term Taryana, therefore, results from Tarya (or Talya, with the transformation of the l for r by the phenomenon of rotacismo /sound shifting/) and the suffix ana. One also hears Talyãna.

In the forests watered by the Komé-ya (in Tukano) or Komé-ryaka (in the language of the region), tributary of the river Pirá-paraná, there are several malocas of a tribe that in its own idiom is called "Ídé-masã" -- that is, water-tapúya or water-people. Since they frequently use the exclamation "aõ" (equivalent to the affirmative sim /yes/), the neighboring tribes nicknamed them "the ones who say 'ao.'" And thus the Tukanos called them "Aõ-nĩrã," the Tuyuka, "Aõ-nĩhá." The Colombians,

/26 cont./

*101 evidently through the information of some other tribe, designated these same "Ídeˉmasã" by the name "Makuna," a term also recorded by Koch Grünberg, the meaning of which, however, is unknown to the present-day "Ídeˉmasã."

6th. -- Just as ordinarily the tribes denominate themselves by the name of some animal or plant, it is likewise certain that at times their name is translated, not only into the Portuguese language or into the língua geral (5),

> 5. The Tupi of Amazonia is called the "Língua geral" /general language/ or "Nheengatú" (the good, beautiful language), a language sonorous and rich in terms and expressions, spoken even today by whites and caboclos of the Rio Negro and understood by many Indians of the Içana River. The Tupi, as it was spoken from S. Vicente (S. Paulo) to Maranhão, with its dialectal variations, was named "Abanheenga" (the language of the people, the language of the Indian).

but also into the idiom of other tribes. By way of examples: on the lower Tiquié there is a small tribe that in Portuguese is called Miritíˉtapúya. This name is thus only the translation of the native name Nẽẽrõá, which indicates the palm tree mirití or burití (maurítia flexuósa). Another tribe calls itself "Mõxtã," which is the name of a mosquito (of the genera stegoniya, culex, etc.) that bites during the night. In the Portuguese language it is known as Carapanã, which is a regional term of Amazonia to indicate such mosquitoes. The various languages try to imitate the sound "Mõxtã" or to translate the name of the insect, hence the names: "Mõxtẽá" in Tukano; Muxtã in Pirá-tapúya; Mõxteá in Tuyuka; Mõneá in Desana; in Kubêwa Morẽ-Wa, in Taryana Ainíˉwone; in Makú Kyira. The tribe known as Desãna is called Winá in

/26 cont./

*101 its own idiom; the Tukano say Wirã; the Pirã-Tapúya, Knã; the Wanãna, Kná; the Kumãdene, Desá; the Maku, Miná-dé. A small tribe on the road to extinction, and which has already even lost its own idiom, speaking exclusively that of the /27/ Tukano, is known as Arapasu, a term from the língua geral, which indicates a small woodpecker. Other tribes translate this name into their own language, and thus the Tukano call this tribe Kõ'rẽá; the Kubẽwãna, Kõré-wa; the Taryãna, Ku-hẽne; the Makú, Hom'de.

7th. -- We also think that in some cases the difficulty is increased because some subdivision of a tribe is presented as a tribe. For example: on the river Içana there is a tribe known by the common name of Cutia or Cutia-tapúya (of the Arwáke group), and in the local language called Awadzurunai. On the river Uaupés, precisely at Taracuá-ponta, there are still living today some families of the tribe Pirã-tapúya, belonging to the subtribe Bwá-põné, as is said in its own idiom, which, translated into Portuguese, means: "filhos da cutia" /children of the cutia (agouti)/. Above Jandiá, on the river Papurí, there is likewise a subdivision of the Tukano tribe, named "Boxsó-põrá," children of the cutiváia (small cutia).

*101 167 8th. -- Complicating the problem even more, there are the "descimentos" /descents/, as the voluntary migrations of the Indians were called, when they took shelter under the protection of the white, in order to escape the persecutions of other tribes. In a given period these migrations resulted in the displacement of a tribe far from its previous habitat. Thus, in the first half of the last century, Indians of various tribes descended from the upper Rio Negro and Içana and came to establish themselves on the Lower Uaupés, as one can see on the maps of Frei Gregorio de Bene (see below, p. 25 /the author refers to this page number in the original source, but see pp. 40 ff. in the original source, pp. 59 ff. in the translation/). Or perhaps they went deep into the forest, without anything further being known of them. Koch Grünberg tells us about several Káwa-yari groups, who, from the

*101 /27 cont./
167 headwaters of the Içana and Querari, went on to the Apapóris by way of the headwaters of the Uaupés. Moreover there might be migrations by one and the same tribe to different places, and it will be designated in one locality preferably in one way, and in another, in another way.

*101 9th. -- It is also certain that, because the tribes are not distinguished very well, various tribes can come to be included under one and the same name. An easy mistake, particularly when they have identical customs, similar languages, and, who knows, using the same idiom. This is precisely what happens on the Uaupés. Ordinarily the first Relatórios /Accounts/ use the expression "Nações Uaupés" /Uaupés Nations/, including all the tribes that inhabit that river and tributaries.

These difficulties having been indicated, we shall try, comparing the sources, to identify the present-day tribes with the ancient ones, and thus to inquire into their habitat two centuries ago and the migratory movements that perhaps have taken place in this period.

/28/ 6. The Tribes of the Uaupés and Their Location

a. Lists of the eighteenth century.

1st. -- Padre Noronha in his "Roteiro" of 1759 mentions nine tribes, one of them on the Capurí or Papurí River, the Tariarana (Taryana), and eight on the Uaupés River.

2nd. -- Sampaio, 1775, lists 12 tribes on the Uaupés and its tributaries.

3rd. -- Ferreira, 1785, enumerates 21 tribes, one being on the Papurí River, the Cariana (Taryana), and 20 on the Uaupés.

Observations -- 1st. None of these lists is complete, their own authors declare. One will serve, then, to fill out the other, if it presents names that the others do not mention.

2nd. If a tribe from an earlier list does not appear on a later one, it might indicate extinction or migration of the tribe. Although forgetfulness of the reporter seems more probable to

/28 cont./

*101 us; or his silence would mean that he did not have any information about the tribe passed over in silence.

3rd. These lists, moreover, include tribes that reside outside Brazilian territory, at least according to the present-day demarcations of the frontiers (6).

6. According to the delimiting marks of the frontier, the Querari River empties into the Uaupés in Colombian territory. Inhabitants of the region, however, assure us that in Jurupari-cachoeira (Colombian stretch of the Uaupés) a stone with the name Brasil engraved in it can be seen at low water. The Relatorios of Jesuino Cordeiro, Tenente /Lieutenant/ of the 6th Companhia do Corpo Policial, and who was "Diretor dos Indios" on the rivers Uaupés and Içana, show him to us settling Indians in posts that now belong to Colombia, such as Cachoeira-do-Mutum (today Mitú, capital of the Território Nacional Colombiano do Wa[illegible]nd, much farther up, in the Lago-do-Espelho or U[illegible]rua-lago, etc.

Arranged on a chart, we have:

| | Pe. Noronha, 1759 | Sampaio, 1775 | Ferreira, 1785 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ..... | ..... | Aguará |
| 2 | ..... | ..... | Arapaxi |
| 3 | ..... | ..... | Arará |
| 4 | ..... | ..... | Banibá |
| 5 | Burenari | Boanari | Burenari |
| 6 | ..... | ..... | Cequeno |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *101 7. | Cueuana | Cueuana | Goianá |
| 8. | Cubeuana | ..... | Cubeuana |
| 9. | ..... | ..... | Cudujari |
| 10. | ..... | ..... | Cuenacá |
| 11. | ..... | Deçaca | ..... |
| 12. | ..... | Macú | Macú |
| 13. | ..... | Macucoena | ..... |
| 14. | Mamangá | ..... | Mueinó |
| 15. | ..... | Mamengá | Mamangá |
| 16. | ..... | ..... | Paicueno |
| 17. | Panenuá | Panenuá | Pananoá |
| 18. | ..... | ..... | Pumenicá |
| 19. | Quereruri | ..... | Quereruri |
| 20. | Tariá(ra)na | Tariana | Cariana |
| 21. | ..... | Timanará | ..... |
| 22. | ..... | ..... | Uacari |
| 23. | Uananá | Uanana | Uanana |
| 24. | Uaupé | Uaupé | Uaupé |
| 24. | ..... | Urinaná | ..... |

a. -- List of Padre Noronha

1) UAUPÉS. -- Uaupés is a generic denomination applied (as follows from the most ancient documents) to the various tribes of the homonymous river (7).

7. Here is the whole of the "Carta Patente" /letters patent/: "Manoel Joaquim do Paço, Cavalleiro /Knight/ of the Order of Christ, Sargento Mor /First Sergeant/ attached to the General Staff of the Brazilian Army and Governador of the Capitania of the Rio Negro by His Most Faithful Majesty & I Make known to the ones who will see my Carta-Patente that, the Excellent Indian Raymundo José of the Uaupés Nation, located in the Lugar S. Jeronimo, on the Rio Negro, having requested

/29 cont./

*101 /footnote 7 cont./ it of me, authentic Documents having shown him to be quick and capable of it, and having found his Request to be just: I shall willingly establish the Excellent Indian referred to, Raymundo José of the Uaupés Nation, as I do by this, in the named Office of Principal /chief/ of the Indians of the Uaupés Nation, with which he will enjoy all the honors, freedoms, privileges, and exemptions that will fall to him by reason of the same Office.

"Therefore I command all the Officials, his subalterns and other Indians subordinate to him to recognize him as Principal and, as such, to honor, esteem and obey him, and to respect his orders as they must and are required to do.

"And for soundness of all, I ordered the present to be passed, signed by me and sealed with the Signet of the Royal Arms, that it will be accomplished entirely as is contained and stated in this, being Registered at the place it concerns. Given in these quarters of the Government of the Rio Negro on the seventeenth day of the month of November of the Year of the Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ of one thousand eight hundred and twenty. And I, Claudio José Carmo, Sargento Miliciano /Sergeant of the Militia/, who Serves as Secretary of the Government, have Subscribed it L.S.) /The parenthesis here perhaps should be final quotation marks; the footnote is continued on the following page in the original source./

Manoel Joaquim do Paço. Carta Patente for the purpose that Your Lordship will willingly establish the Excellent Indian Raymundo José in the Office of Principal of the Indians of the Uaupés Nation at the Lugar de S. Jeronimo.

For Your Lordship to see. No. 510 a. fl. 118 v.

He paid for the seal of this 1,600 reis. Barra, November 18, 1820.

Carvalho Costa
1820

/29 cont./

*101 Will there perhaps come under the denomination of "Uaupés" one tribe in /30/ particular? Yes. In fact, with the date of November 18, 1820, there is a "Carta Patente" from the Governador of the Capitania, Manoel Joaquim do Paço, establishing the Excellent Indian Raymundo José in the office of "Principal" of the Indians of the "Nação Uaupés" /Uaupés Nation/ of the locality of S. Jerônimo (8).

8. Around the end of the sixteenth century, according to what Stradelli thinks (cf. Note 1, I), lived a great Taryana Tuxauã by name of Buopé, who established his tribe on the river Ucaiarí. With successful military exploits he faced the other tribes, especially the Wanana, and became famous. Supposing the existence of the Tuxáua Buopé, one might grant that his name could have been linked to the river and to his own tribe, which is the Taryana. It is difficult, however, to explain /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ how Uaupé came to be the specific denomination of the Tukano tribe, rival of the Taryana tribe to which Buopé belonged.

[103] Unless the same name for the Taryana Tuxáua and for the river is a mere coincidence. Or perhaps the latter was already named Uaupés long before the warlike deeds of the Taryana chief Buopé, and the closeness of the names is due to confusion or distortion. The river, yes, is the one that lent the name to the nations along its banks, and in particular to a more numerous and dominant tribe, that of the Daxseá or Tukano. It is proper to note that it is only in these last years that the name Uaupés is becoming general for the river. Up to about 20 years ago the river was popularly known as Caiarí.

/30 cont./

*101 One is dealing evidently with one tribe in particular. This follows: 1st. from the singular redaction: "Nação" Uaupés; 2nd. one cannot think of a general chief for a confederation of tribes, a fact that did not happen in that era; 3rd. the Tuxauas, or "Principais" /principals/, are not even chiefs of the whole tribe, but of small groups of their tribe. The appointment indicates that he will be "Principal" of the Uaupés Indians of the place S. Jerônimo.

Today this denomination Uaupé is not applied to any of the tribes of the homonymous river. 8th. /sic/ Which tribe would be the one known until the middle of the last century as Uaupés? On March 17, 1848, the Brigadeiro /Brigadier/ João Henrique de Mattos, Director-general of the Indians, issued the title of appointment as Tuxaua of S. Joaquim to the Indian João de Matos, of the "Nação Tucano," son of the late Tuxaua Excellent Raymundo José (cf. Archivos do Amazonas, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 30, of October 23, 1906). Now it is known that the children belong to the tribe of the father, from which it is easily inferred that his father was also "Tucano," of the "Nação Uaupés" mentioned in the Carta-Patente of 1820.

"Nação Uaupés" in the old lists designates, then, the Tukano tribe, the most numerous and important one of the Uaupés River, and which will be discussed in detail in the present study.

We find the name Tucano for the first time and the denomination Uaupé for the last time in "Noticias Geographicas da Capitania do Rio Negro, no grande Rio Amazonas /Geographical Notes from the Capitania of the Rio Negro, on the great Amazon River/," by Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania, who practiced his ministry there for 37 years, already being Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel (today the town of Uaupés) in 1793 (Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras., Vol. 10, p. 465 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1870).

/31/

*101 2) BURENARI or BOANARI. The author of Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar [Sea River] / (9)

> 9. "Pelo Rio Mar" is the name of a splendid Relatório drawn up in 1933 by the Salesian Prelate of the Rio Negro, Dom Pedro Massa, Titular Bishop of Hebrão, containing a historical, geographical, and ethnographical sketch of the Prelacy and the activities of the Salesian Missionaries and fully documented with photographs and statistics of the scholastic, sanitary, and religious assistance given to the forest dwellers.

identifies Burenarí with Boanara and Boytana, and adds: "homens-cobra, índios de origem caraíba que moram no rio Uaupés /snake-men, Indians of Carib origin who live on the Uaupés River/." In the Brazilian stretch of the Uaupés and also in the Colombian stretch that we visited, or from where we could obtain information, no tribe exists under the name of Burenari, Boanari, Boianara, or Boytana. The etymology actually suggests a derivation from the Nheengatú name buia, boia, snake. The Boanari tribe on the river Uapés /sic/ likewise appears in the "Relatórios" (see Catalogues of the 19th cen., p. 34 /the author refers to this page number in the original source, but see "Lists of the Nineteenth Century," p. 39 in the original source, p. 56 in the translation/). Meanwhile, no such tribe appears in the list of Frei Gregório de Bene, Missionary on the Uaupés in those same years. The "Relatórios" might have been drawn up on information from several sources, such as the old "Diários" and the "Roteiro" itself. The accounts of Frei Gregório, who lived more than two years among the natives of the Uaupés, bear the credentials of value (see below, II, 6, b). Frei Gregório mentions the Giboia tribe on the Aracapurí (upper Uaupés). By this location one could be dealing with some group coming from the Aiarí or Içana. The "Relatórios" do not mention any Giboia tribe. We do, however, find a Giboia tribe on the Içana River. If the Burenarí tribe is

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*101 the same Giboia, we conclude that it is the one that in its own idiom is called Dzurémẽ, belonging to the group of Arwake tribes, as is seen by the vocabulary that we gathered and recorded (cf. the work of the Author, Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/).

Artur Ramos, meanwhile, indicates that the Boanarí are of the Caraíba group, "almost extinct, who inhabit the Uatamá, tributary of the Amazon, and who today live on the river Uaupés" (Introdução à Antropologia Brasileira, I, p. 198). Perhaps this information should be corrected, at least with regard to the habitat, or perhaps even totally, according to what we have just presented.

/32/ 3) CUBEUANA. -- It is the great tribe also known by the name of Kubeu or Kubewa, with many representatives still today on the upper Uaupés and its tributary, the Querarí (see IV, 2p /p. 151/).

4) CUEUANA. The Cueuana tribe figures in the "lista das Nações indígenas /list of the native nations/" of the "Relatórios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas" (Vol. I, pp. 259 ff.) corresponding to the years of 1852-7. Nevertheless no such tribe appears in the reports of Frei Gregório. "Cocuane" is what appears in the list of Frei Gregório. Curt Nimuendajú identifies it also with Cocuana, and reports that in 1927 there were remnants of the "Cocuana or Cueuana" tribe in three sites at the mouth of the Uaupés, having already lost their own idiom and speaking only the língua geral (or Nheengatú). Already in 1759, according to information from Padre Noronha, the Cocuana resided at the mouth of the Uaupés in S. Joaquim do Coané. And in the report of July 28, 1853, of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Coreiro /Cordeiro/, 108 Indians of the "Chuéuana" nation, as he erroneously writes, appear there.

/32 cont./

*101 [103] We think that the name of the locality Coané (S. Joaquim do Coané) derives precisely from the tribe that resided there at the time of the discovery. Coané would only be a different pronunciation of the name Coianá, as we have heard it pronounced, or Cueuana.

5) MAMANGÁ. This tribe does not appear in the report of Frei Gregório, although it is mentioned in Vol. I of the Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas as existing on the river Tiquié. We have not heard any tribe of the rivers Uaupés, Papuri, and Tiquié mentioned under the name of Mamangá. Accepting the information of these sources of the eighteenth century as correct, however, it might very well be that one is dealing with a group that later emigrated or even became extinct.

Nevertheless, we are not inclined to accept the hypotheses of extinction or migration; we judge it more plausible that it is only a matter of a division of some Uaupés tribe. Mamengaba, mamangá, or mangangá is the name of the bees of the genus Bombas. Koch Grünberg points out (Z.I. 283) at the mouth of the Dyí-igarapé, tributary of the Uaupés, a Kubewãna horde with the name of Utí-waíwa or "Wasp-Indians." It is possible that one is dealing with the Utsí-áwekõ, the tenth subdivision of the Kubewãna, according to the list of Josefa (cf. IV; 2p /p. 153/).

We also know a Tukano subdivision named Yaí-uxtyá (cf. IV -- 2a /p. 127/), which is the name of a large wasp, and residing precisely on the Tiquié, in the povoados of Caruru and S. Tomé (10).

10. Perhaps Utí-waíwa is a simple morphological alteration of Yaí-uxtyá, by an inversion of the terms (Uxtyá-yaí), with loss of the aspiration would give Utí-yai, and from that later Utí-uaíua or Utí-waíwa in the representation of International Phonetics.

.4: Silva--45 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Macu SQ10

T
142
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/Illustrations facing p. 32 in the original source/

Tukano type (painted for the dances) (settlement of Iua-pixuna, Papuri River)

Woman of the Aõnira or Íde-masã tribe

142
302
M
142
302
881

Girls of the Makú tribe (the younger one had her hair cut in the initiation rite)

4: Silva--46 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 33 in the original source/

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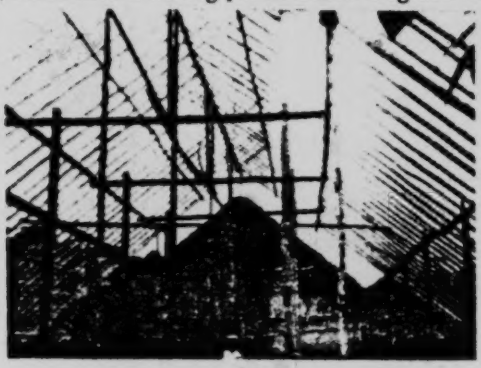

Maloca under construction (Kubewana tribe)

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At Ambaína (Querari River, tributary of the Uaupés)

Maloca under construction (Iawareté-tapuya tribe, Siari River, tributary of the Içana)

/33/

*101 It is advisable here to note that on the Aiarí River (tributary of the Içana) there still survive at the present time two small groups of the Arwake tribe named Kawa-tapuya (11)

11. A Káwa-tapuya Indian by the name of Miguel Joaquim, from the locality of S. Joaquim, Aiarí River, introduced himself as "Cacau-tapuya." We think it is only a mistake. These are the few words of the original Káwa-tapuya language that an old Indian woman could tell us (since nowadays all of them speak Siwsí):

*[192]

Cuia /calabash, Crescentia/, tíya or tí:a
basket, ápa
fishhook, épwui
dog, jaguar, dzáwi
pot, darápi
head, xnúida
he has, hí-katsa

or Aínidákenai in the native idiom. Caua is a Língua Geral term that means wasp. Curt Nimuendajú identified the Kawa-tapuya with the Maulyene and calls them the most numerous tribe of the Aiari River. It is possible that this is a mistake by Curt (cf. our work Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia).

6) PANENOÁ. -- This tribe appears in the lists of Padre Noronha, Sampaio, and Ferreira. It would be the tribe that traded to the Taryana those plates of gold that the latter used as adornment, according to what the first explorers narrate. This tribe does not appear in the Relações /Reports/ of Frei Gregório, although we find it in the list of the Relatórios.

There is a tribe denominated Panẽnõá or Panẽrõá by the Tukano and in the native idiom called Hãnera (cf. IV -- 2, g /p. 136/), of the Tukano family of languages, as can be verified by the vocabulary we obtained (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical"). Their habitat is the headwaters

/33 cont./

*101 of the Tiquié or, more accurately, the environs of the igarapé Comé-ia.

Koch Grünberg, among the Tuyuka of the upper Tiquié, obtained information on the Buchpu-machsa, the Palãnoá, the Erúlia, the Pamõ-machsa, and other tribes that lived on the Pirá-paraná, a river called Uaíya by the Tukano, and more toward the headwaters resided the Yahuana, enemies of the Buchpu-machsa (Z.I. 198). Palãnoá would only be a different spelling, explicable by the rotacismo /sound shifting/ of so many Indians, especially on the Papuri and the Uaupés, due to Taryana influences.

7) QUERERURÍ or QUERERUÍ. -- From the custom of designating the rivers after the tribes that inhabit them and vice versa, we might think that this is a matter of some tribe of the river Querarí, tributary of the Uaupés. At the present time Kubewana groups live on the Querarí, and probably the said Quererurí is from this group. Or, like the Tukano, /34/ who were designated as Uaupés, would not a Kuberwãna group be known as Quererurí because they held sway over the river Querarí?

We did not succeed in obtaining any information about the existence of a tribe named Quererurí or Quererui in the basin of the Uaupés.

8) TARIANA. -- Padre Noronha mentions as a tribe of the Papurí. "Some Indians of the Tariarana (sic) nation, inhabitants of the river Capurí, were seen at another time with little plates of gold in the ears" ("Roteiro," No. 187). Sampaio reckons the Tariana among the tribes of the Uaupés (including the two principal tributaries). Alexandre Ferreira writes Cariana, calling on the "Roteiro" of Padre Noronha: "the Cariana Indians of the Papurí were formerly seen with plates of gold in the ears, obtained by trading feathers with those of another nation, the Pananuá" ("Diário," Participação).

/34 cont./

*101 Taryana is the Arwake tribe that at present occupies various localities of the Uaupés and Papurí, and in its own idiom is called Talyáseri (in Tukano Páana) (cf. IV -- 2, y /see 2, z, p. 172/).

9) UANANA. -- In Pelo Rio Mar we find it identified with Uaíana or Yurití-tapuya, etc. Wanana is a tribe with several malocas and povoados on the Uaupés, above Japu-ponta, which calls itself Kótirya and in the Tukano language is called Oxkó-ti-khīra, and in Pirá-tapuya, Oxkó-tíria. Uaiana, instead, is the name that the Tukano give the tribe also known as Jurití-tapuya. Nowadays, as it appears to us, they only live in Colombian territory in the area watered by the river Paca and other small tributaries (Acuaricuara, etc.; cf. IV -- 2, u /p. 163/). Both the idiom of the Wanana and that of the Waíana, or Jurití, belong to the Tukano linguistic family, as can be seen by the respective vocabularies (see Discoteca Etno-Linguistico-Musical /Ethno-Linguistic-Musical Record Collection/ by the Author).

b -- Of Ribeiro Sampaio.

In contrast with the preceding, on Sampaio's list of tribes there are missing: Cubeuana and Quererui there are added: Dessana (or Deçaca), Macú, Mucucoena, Timanará, Urinaná.

1) DESSANA. -- It is listed in the reports of Frei Gregório and in the "Relatórios." Several groups of this tribe still exist on the Uaupés, Tiquié and Papurí, as will be seen later (IV -- 2, w /p. 167/).

2) MACÚ. -- It appears in several lists to come. Different human groups are indicated under this denomination, as will be seen later on (IV-1, a (4) /p. 111/ and IV-2 /p. 113/).

3) MACUCOENA -- At present along the rivers Uaupés, Papurí, or Tiquié and their tributaries no tribe exists under the name /35/ of Macucoena. Pelo Rio Mar informs us:

/35 cont./

*101 "derived from the bird macú; found on the river Uaupés." Although it appears in the list of the "Relatórios," we do not find it in the report of Frei Gregório and we are inclined to think that it is only another name under which some tribe of the Uaupés was known, perhaps even the Macú or Makuná (see further IV-2, h /p. 137/). Unless it is a question of a simple error in printing or of pronunciation.

4) TIMANARÁ. -- We find in Pelo Rio Mar: "Timanará, Timanarú, mentioned on the river Uaupés." -- It likewise appears in the "Relatórios," not on Frei Gregório's maps, and at present in the Uaupés area no tribe with this name is known.

5) URINANÁ. -- We read in Pelo Rio Mar: Urunaná, urinaná -- índios escudo /Shield Indians/. On the river Uaupés. This tribe appears in the Relatórios; not, however, in the reports of Frei Gregório. Perhaps this is a matter of the Uriná tribe? According to Koch Grünberg, it belongs to the Arwake group of the river Maratí, east of the Caciquiare, near the Yabarana Indians (Koch G. -- Festschrift Eduard Seler -- Stuttgart, 1922, pp. 205-6). Chestmir, in his classification of the languages, indicates as having disappeared the Wiriná idiom, which he affiliates with the Arwake family of languages (cf. the work of the Author, Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia).

c) -- Of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira.

On Ferreira's list we notice:
missing: Cueuana.
added: Aguará, Arará, Banibá, Cecueno, Goianá, Cudujarí, Cuenaca, Macú, Mueinó, Paicueno, Pumenicá.

1) AGUARÁ. -- It does not appear in the different lists, unless we identify it with the Agaram tribe (or else Agarani), which is indicated in the "Relatórios" as existing on the Rio Branco. Pelo Rio Mar informs us only: "noted on the Uaupés River," and suggests its identification with another tribe also unknown, Agauíra: "a tribe mentioned on the Rio Negro, perhaps the same Aguará."

/35 cont./

*101 Could one perhaps identify Aguará with Guará? Guará, as Stradelli points out, is the Nheengatú name of the ibis rubra, which is white at birth and turns red only in the second year. Would not this similarity of the still young guará with the garça /heron/ to whose family -- the ardeídae -- it also belongs, which is such that the Tupí dictionaries translate guará as garça, perhaps justify giving to the guará or aguará Indians the name of garça Indians? The Tukano legends refer to the yehé or garça Indians. In the last century Wallace (cf. II-6, b /p. 56 /) mentions, on the river Papurí, the garça or uacará Indians (cf. below what is said about the Coró-Coró /see p. 62 /).

/36/ 2) ARAPIXÍ. -- It too is not read in the several lists that we possess. Nor does any tribe with this name now exist in the basin of the Uaupés. Pelo Rio Mar presents the following suggestion: "Arapixí -- mentioned on the river Uaupés; perhaps the same Arapaços" (cf. IV-2, j /p. 140/).

3) ARARÁ. -- In the "Relatórios" there appears an Arará tribe, which, however, is localized on the Madeira River. Among the Arwake of the Içana there exists a tribe called Arara-Tapuya, which, in the Siwsí language, is called Ádaru-dákenei. (Cf. below what is said about the Baniva.)

4) BANIBÁ. -- Baniva (Baníua, Banibá, Vaniva, Maniva) will appear in various subsequent lists.

More than a tribe, it is a conjunction of Arwake tribes. Although members of these tribes are found dispersed in one or another locality of the Uaupés, their habitat is the river Içana. Curt Nimuendajú, in his study "Idiomas indígenas del Brasil," presents the following division:

/36 cont./

Western Baniwas:

*101 Karútana (Baniwa of the Içana, in Santa Ana), including four classes: Mapátse-dákenei or Yurupari tapuya, Wádzoli-dákenei or Urubú-tapuya, Dzawí-mínanei or Yauareté-tapuya, and Adarú-mínanei or Arara-tapuya.

Kadaupuritana (with two forms: Baniwa of Tunuí and of the Mariuá)

Moríwene or Sukuružú-tapuya (Baniwa of Seringa-Rupitá)

Walíperi-dakenei or Siwsí-tapuya (or Star-tapuya) (Baniwa of Carurú-poço, river Aiarí)

Hohódene (Baniwa of the Yandú-cachoeira, river Içana)

Máulieni (12)

[115] 12. One of the excellent Siwsí informants gave us Máuri-weni as the translation, in his language, of Káwa-tapúya. It is possible that he was mistaken. Among the few words of the native tongue still remembered by the Káwa-tapuyas of the locality of S. Joaquim, near Uapuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, is the name of the tribe itself, Aini, the name by which it is also indicated by other sister languages. (Cf. our work Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia.)

or Kawa-tapuya (Baniwa of the Uirá-uaçú, river Aiarí)

Payuliene or Pakú-tapuya (Baniwa of the Acutí-igarapé, river Içana)

Adyáneme, Adyána or Tatú-tapuya (Baniwa of Santa Rosa, river Guainía)

/37/

*101 Kumadá-minânei or Ipeka-tapuya (Baniwa of S. Pedro, river Içana)

Kapité-minânei or Coati-tapuya (Baniwa of Camuti-poço, river Içana)

Eastern Baniwas in Moyo, on the river Orinoco.

5) CECUENO. -- The various lists omit it, and we could not obtain any information from the natives of the Uaupés and Içana, or in the books, about the Cecueno.

6) CUDUIARI. -- Pelo Rio Mar informs us only: "tribe mentioned on the Rio Negro and Uaupés, at the end of the eighteenth century." Perhaps it was being identified with the Carajarí, which the documents of the eighteenth century certify as located in Moura, on the lower Rio Negro? (Cf. II-6.)

Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 392) gives information on the Káwayari Indians, who went from the river Içana to the Uaupés, Pirá-paraná, Apapóris, and other rivers where they are still found today. They wear, he says, a large plug in the ears, in such a way that their lobes reach the shoulders. They would be of the Arwáke group, however, and their idiom very similar to those of other Arwake tribes of the Içana. Nevertheless Curt N., who studied the Arwáke of the Içana, gives no information about the Kuduyarí, or about the Kawayarí; just as the natives whom we were able to consult on the rivers Içana and Aiarí could not tell us anything about these tribes.

Concerning the Káwa-yari of the headwaters of the river Cananarí and Tiquié, a Colombian trader, Napoleão Estrada, who visited them, informs us that they belong to the family of Tukano languages. It is probable, then, that the Káwa-yari or Kavírya of the forests of the Cananarí are a tribe of the Tukano group, or perhaps they are the Káwa-yari whom the Bará present as a subdivision of their tribe (cf. IV-2, b /p. 128/).

/37 cont./

*101 We are of the opinion that the Cuduiarí mentioned by Ferreira are the Kubêwâna of the river Cuduiarí, since there does not appear to have been in the historical period, at least from two centuries ago up to now, a displacement of Indians, the said Cuduiarí, to other rivers.

7) CUENACÁ. -- We do not see it appear in any of the other above-mentioned lists, unless it is to be identified with the Queuanacá tribe, which the "Relatórios," however, locate on the river Japurá (cf. II-6, b).

Properly speaking, it is not a matter of a tribe, but a subdivision, Kwénaka, of the Taryana tribe (cf. below, IV, 2, y /see IV, 2, z,pp. 175 and 176 f./), with representatives residing at present in Iauareté and Ira-uaçú-ponta. It coincides, therefore, with the location that the maps drawn by Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada (Governador of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro from February 9, 1787, until the date of his death, October 27, 1796, and who from 1784 up to 1787 explored the region of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco by order of the Portuguese Crown) assign to the Queuanacan Indians.

/38/ 8) GOIANÁ. -- In Pelo Rio Mar we see it identified with Coeuana, Cubeuana, Cubeo, etc. It does not appear in the list of the "Relatórios" nor in that of Frei Gregório. Probably it is the one that Wallace writes Queianá and locates in S. Joaquim do Coané, at the mouth of the Uaupés, and consequently is identified with the Cocuana, whom we have also heard called Coianá (cf. above).

9) MUEINÓ. -- The various lists are silent on it. Pelo Rio Mar gives only: "Mueinó, mentioned on the river Uaupés." On a map of the Colombian Territory of the Uaupés, prepared with much care and detail by the Missionaries of the Congregação de Montfort, and which we can consult in Mitú (Capital of the Territory), some "Moeinon" Indians are mentioned, although located on the headwaters of the Caquetá, a river that, joining the Apapóris, gives origin to the Japurá.

/38 cont./

#101 The "Relatórios," according to the documents of the eighteenth century, enumerate the Mendó and have them located in the povoado of S. Marcelino, at the mouth of the Xié River. The maps worked up by Lobo D'Almada place Moeinan Indians on the river Uaupés, in the vicinity of the Ipanoré cachoeira. Now at present several Taryãna or Arwãke groups live in this area of the Uaupés. It is probable, on account of this location, that one is actually dealing with Mendó Indians who emigrated from the river Xié (or with some Taryana subdivision).

10) -- PAICUENO, PUMENICÁ. -- Omitted in the various lists. In Pelo Rio Mar there is found only, about the first one: "indicated on the Uaupés"; and about the second: "indicated on the Rio Negro." It was not possible for us to find any other references.

11) -- UACARÍ. -- It does not appear in the other lists that we know. In Pelo Rio Mar one reads: "Uacarú, Uacaraú, Uacarauá. Mentioned on the Rio Negro and on the Juruá." Uacarí or acarí is a word taken from the Língua Geral and indicates the short-tailed monkey cacajao, of the cebídeos /Cebidae/ family (genus cacajao, the brachyurus rubicundus or macaco inglês /English monkey/, which is called Wax-tĩ-suru in the Tukano idiom). And it is also the designation for several locaríídas /Loricariidae/ fish (in Tukano wã'rĩ). On the Brazilian Uaupés, on the Papurí, and on the Tiquié, not only does no tribe exist under the denomination of Acarí, but the natives of these rivers and of the Pirá-paraná whom we could question were also unable to give any information about such a tribe. Might the Uacarí be only a subdivision of some tribe? We know of several subtribes designated under the name of some monkey; for example, in the Tukano tribe, the Waúro, in the Yebá-masã, the Emõã and the Sêi; among the Kubêwãna, the Tóreakõ. From the location on the Uaupés, one might /39/ think of a Tukano or Kubewãna subdivision. It seems, however, that the Uacarí

/39 cont./

*101 can not be identified with either the Waú (Uáia-pisá, sagui) or the Tóreakõ (woolly monkey).

b. Lists of the nineteenth century.

1st. -- Alfred Russell /sic/ Wallace, to finish his book of travels, presents a list of tribes, adding sometimes the meaning of the name in Portuguese and the location of the tribe. It should be noted, however, that Wallace was only on the Rio Negro and on the Uaupés up to Micura, above Uaracapurí. Therefore he obtained the locations of the tribes on other rivers through information, and his notes do not all possess the same value.

2nd. -- The reports or maps of Frei Gregório de Bene are valuable because of the localization and are very detailed.

3rd. -- We have the official list, presented by the Presidente Conselheiro Herculano Ferreira Pena on October 1, 1853, in the "Falla dirigida à Assembléia Legislativa Provincial do Amazonas /Speech directed to the Provincial Legislative Assembly of Amazonas/" (pp. 259 ff. of Vol. I of the "Relatorios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas /Reports from the Presidency of the Province of Amazonas/"). This list, although official, has only the value of a compilation; it does not give any new observations and is only a transcription of the "Dicionario Topographico, Historico e Descriptivo da Comarca do Alto Amazonas /Topographical, Historical and Descriptive Dictionary of the District of Upper Amazonas/" by Lourenço da Silva Araujo e Amazonas (1852), although supplemented with the data furnished by Frei Gregório. On the Uaupés River are listed 26 tribes and on the Papurí only the Mamangá (cf. above what we said about the Mamangá,

/39 cont./

*101 II -- 6, a /see p. 44 /). In the "Falla dirigida à Assembléia Legislativa Provincial do Amazonas" the Presidente Angelo Thomaz do Amaral, on October 1, 1857, presents a chart of the natives in which appear four tribes that do not figure in the list of Presidente Pena, to wit: Cariarana, Peixe, Caenatarí, and Beijú, the first two being only different spellings of Tariana and Pirá-tapuya, and the last two appear in the catalogue of Frei Gregório. For this reason we do not transcribe the list of Pres. Amaral.

a -- Of Wallace.

On the Uaupés River: 1. Queianá (= Coeuana or Cocuana) in S. Joaquim; 2. Tariana, in S. Joaquim; 3. Ananá (Abacaxí), below Iauareté; 4. Cubeo, near Carurú-cachoeira; 5. Piraiurú (mouths of fish); 6. Puçá (hammock /Port. rede, hammock, net/); 7. Carapanã (mosquitoes), in Jurupari-cachoeira; 8. Tapira (anta); 9. Uaracú (a fish), above Juquiraparaná; 10. Cóidia; 11. Tocandira (some ants); /40/ 12. Jacamin (cavadeira bird /Galbulidae/); 13. Mirití (Mauritia, a palm tree) on the Bacate-paraná; 14. Omaúas (Hianacoto).

On the Tiquié River: 15. Macumá; 16. Taiassú (wild pig). 17. Tijucó (clay).

On the Japú-paraná: 18. Arapasso.

/40 cont./

On the Apapóris (13)

*101
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13. It must be a mistake by Wallace; one is not dealing with the Apapóris (tributary of the Japurá), but with the Papuri River (tributary of the Uaupés), where the Tukano, Pirá-tapúya, and Desãna tribes actually have their main nuclei.

River: 19. Tucano; 20. Uacará (garça); 21. Pirá (fish); 22. Deçana.

On the Querirí (Cuiarí or Iquiarí) (14)

[103]

14. Bento Aranha (in the Archivo do Amazonas, Year II, No. 5, p. 2), in answer to a letter from Koch Grünberg, records Iquiarí as another name of the river Içana: "in the same manner as they call Iquiarí the river Içana or Issana. /The final quotation marks are missing./

At present the river Içana is not known under any other denomination. And no river in the region is known under the name of Iquiarí. Under that of Quiarí, yes, there exists a tributary of the left bank of the Aiarí, which, in turn, is a tributary of the right bank of the Içana. Likewise there is no river under the denomination of Querirí in the region. Perhaps the spelling was Querarí, which is a tributary of the left bank of the Uaupés, on the Colombian border, Caduiari is one of the tributaries of the Querarí; and Cuiarí, one of the tributaries of the left of the Içana (cf. above II-3, "Ethnographic Information," on Yaquiri and Quiquiari /see p. 27 /).

/40 cont./

*101 River: 23. Ipeca (duck); 24. Gí (ax); 25. Cáua (wasp).

On the Cuduiarí River: 26. Coró-coró (colheireiro--green ibis); 27. Bauúna; 28. Tatú. On the Canicí-paraná (15):

15. It was not possible for us to obtain information on the existence of the Canicí-Paraná. It is probably a matter of a printing error.

29. Tanimbuca (ashes).

In Juquira-paraná: 30. Macuras (gambá /opossum/).

6 /sic/ -- Of the Relatórios.

Uaupés River (pp. 259 ff.): Boanarí, Carapanã, Coeuana, Cubeo, Deçana, Itariana, Juruá, Jurupari, Macú, Macucoena, Mamengá, Panenoã, Picassú-tapuia, Pirá-tapuia, Tapiira, Tariana, Timanara, Tocandira, Tucano, Uananá, Uaupés, Urinaná. Page 616: Catariana, Peixe, Cainatarí, Beiju.

Tiquié River: Mamengá.

c -- List of Frei Gregório

Dated 1853 (Archivo do Amazonas, October 23, 1906, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 32-39), the Mapas /Maps/ of the apostolic labor of Frei Gregório de Bene among the Indians of the Uaupés and Içana distinguish the localities, name, age, and tribe of the individuals. Summarizing the data, we have, on the river Uaupés, the nations:

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*101 Mutum-cachoeira: Cubeo, Tocandira, Tapiira, Picassú, Bauna, Macú

Mucura-rapecuma: Itariana, Cubeo, Beijú

Aracapuri: Ananá, Deçana, Cubeo, Giboia

Pacú-cachoeira: Onça, Quaty, Tapiira, Cainatari

Carurú-cachoeira: Itariana, Ananá, Piratapuia, Cubeo, Baniua, Deçana

Jabutí-cachoeira: Cutia

Iauareté-cachoeira: Itariana, Tucano, Piratapuia, Baniua

Juquira: Juruá, Tucano, Piratapuia, Deçana, Itariana

S. Jerônimo: Itariana, Tucano, Piratapuia, Deçana, Arapaço, Ananá, Cubeo

Naná-rapecuma: Tucano, Deçano, Arapaço, Macú, Itariano, Carapanã, Iravassú

S. Joaquim: Cainatari, Macú, Piratapuia, Cubeo, Tucano, Irauassú, Baniua, Itatiana, Arapaço, Jurupari, Carapanã, Tabaiana, Itariana, Deçana, Macú, Cocuane.

Arranged on the table we have:

Tribes of the Uaupés in the nineteenth century

| | *Wallace*, 1848 | *Frei Gregório*, 1852-3 | *Relatórios*, 1853-7 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | ..... | ..... | Agarani |
| 2. | Arapaço | Arapaço | ..... |
| 3. | ..... | Baniua | ..... |
| 4. | Bauúna | Baúna | Beijú |
| 5. | ..... | Beijú | Boanari |
| 6. | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 7. | ..... | Cainatari | Cainatari |
| 8. | Carapanã | Carapanã | Carapanã |
| 9. | Caua | ..... | ..... |
| 10. | Cóidia (Ananá) | Ananá | Uananá |
| 11. | Coró-coró | ..... | ..... |
| 12. | Cubeo | Cubeo | Cubeo |
| 13. | ..... | Cutia | ..... |
| 14. | Deçana | Deçano | Deçana |
| 15. | Gi | ..... | ..... |
| 16. | ..... | Giboia | ..... |
| 17. | Ipeca | Ipeca | Opeca |
| 18. | ..... | Iraussu, Iravassú | ..... |
| 19. | Jacamí | ..... | ..... |
| 20. | ..... | Juruá | Juruá |
| 21. | ..... | Jurupari | Jurupari |
| 22. | ..... | Macú | Macú |
| 23. | ..... | ..... | Macucoena |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 24. | Macuná | ..... | ..... |
| 25. | Macura | ..... | ..... |
| 26. | ..... | Mamengá | ..... |
| 27. | Miriti | ..... | ..... |
| 28. | Omaua | ..... | ..... |
| 29. | ..... | Onça | ..... |
| 30. | ..... | ..... | Panenoá |
| 31. | Pirá | Piratapuia | Piratapuia |
| 32. | Piraiurú | ..... | ..... |
| 33. | Puçá | ..... | ..... |
| 34. | ..... | Quaty | ..... |
| 35. | Queianá | Cocuane | Coeuana |
| 36. | ..... | ..... | Queuanacá |
| 37. | ..... | Tabaiana | ..... |
| 38. | Taiassú | Quatitú | ..... |
| 39. | Tanimbuca | ..... | ..... |
| 40. | Tapira | Tapiira | Tapiira |
| 41. | Tariana | Itariana | (I) tariana |
| 42. | Tatú | Tatutapuia, tatupiá | ..... |
| 43. | Tijucó | ..... | ..... |
| 44. | ..... | ..... | Timanará |
| 45. | Tocandira | Tocandira | Tocandira |
| 46. | Tucano | Tucano | Tucano |
| 47. | Uacará (garça) | ..... | ..... |
| 48. | Uaracú | ..... | ..... |
| 49. | Urinaná | ..... | Urinaná |

For an easier comparison, we have arranged them in a table, together with the three lists of the previous century:

a. The list of Wallace.

It is very unusual. It agrees with the lists of the previous century only in three names: Tariana, Anana (Wanana), and Cubeo.

It differs from the long list by Frei Gregório: Caua, Cóidia, Coró-coró, Gí, Ipeca, Jacamí, Macuná, Micura, Mirití, Omáua, Piraiurú, Puçá, Queianá, Taiaçú, Tanimbuca, Tatú, Tijucó, and Uaracú.

(1) -- CAUA. -- (cf. Mamangá, II 6, a 5 /see p. 44 /).

(2) -- CÓIDIA. -- In all probability, one is dealing with the tribe Cótidia or Wanana (IV -- 2, k /p. 143/).

/42 cont./

101 (3) -- CORÓ-CORÓ. -- It is the name of an aquatic bird (ibis melanocéphala), which is included in the group of the garças /herons/ (ardeídae). Pelo Rio Mar adds: "Green ibis Indians. On the rivers Cuerarí and Codoiarí, tributaries of the Uapés." Koch G. (Festschrift Eduard Seler, 205-6) indicates that they are the Koroá of the Kubewana group, live on the Cuduiarí, but came down from the upper Querarí.

/43/ Because of the coincidence of the location, we are of the opinion that the Coró-coró mentioned by Wallace are a subdivision of the Kubewana tribe, which is called Koxtóa (see below, IV -- 2, p /p. 151/), precisely the name of the bird Coró-coró.

[136] It should be noted that the Coró-coró is an aquatic bird of the group of the ardeídae, like the garça /heron/, hence perhaps the calling of the Coró-coró tribe "Índios garças." It is true that Wallace locates the Coró-coró on the river Cuduiarí, and the Garça on the Papurí. It must be pointed out, however, that the locations obtained by Wallace are vague, and that, from the headwaters of the river Paca, one of the sources of the Papurí, the passage to the Uaupés and the Cuduiarí is relatively easy (cf. what was said above about the Aguará, II -- 6, a - c, 1 /p. 50 /).

(4) -- GI -- It is a word of the língua geral and means machado /ax/. We find in Pelo Rio Mar: "Gí-tapuias, Machado Indians. On the river Querarí, tributary of the river Uaupés." It disagrees, therefore, with Wallace's location, which places them on the river Cuiari, tributary of the Içana. Unless it is a matter of some confusion, since Wallace records, besides Cuiarí, the spelling Querirí for the same river. One must be dealing, then, with an Arwake tribe, like all those of these rivers.

Hamilton Rice, on his map, locates the Gí-tapuia on the igarapé of the Cigarro (below Uaupés). The existence there of that tribe, however, was not confirmed by any native of the vicinity consulted by us.

/43 cont./

*101 A pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of the stream Japú (Japu igarapé, Uaupés River), Henrique by name, when asked by us whether he knew the tribe Gí-tapuya (1955), answered us that they are the "Pirá-tapuya of the tail" (that is, the last subdivision of the Pirá-tapuya), called in Tukano Komé-pá-põrá, formerly living above the stream Japú, and who today live in S. Francisco (river Uaupês). This location coincides with the one that can be seen on the map drawn up by Hamilton Rice (cf. Mapas do Rio Uaupés N. A. 19 e Rio Putamayo S. A. 19 -- Provisional Edition Published under the Patronage of Hamilton Rice -- Geographical Society of New York).

(5) -- IPECA -- They are the Kumãdene, one group of which resides today in Urubucuara, as we shall see later (cf. IV -- 2, x /p. 171/).

(6) -- JACAMIM -- Passed over in silence on the other lists. We read in Pelo Rio Mar: "Jacami-tapuia, trombeteiros /trumpeter/ Indians. Indicated on the river Uaupés. Perhaps the same Buchpu-machsa."

From the natives of Pari-cachoeira Koch Grünberg obtained information about the Buchpu-machsa (which means "People of the sarabatana /blowgun/," because they are specialists in the making of this weapon), or Buhágana, /44/ as they call themselves, inhabitants of the Dyi-Igarapé, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, which, in turn, empties into the Japurá. He found out that they lived in round huts, pierced the ear lobes and wore an apron of bark around the thighs, and had never seen a civilized person. Their language, of which Koch could later gather a vocabulary of 60 words, is almost identical to that of the Õmõá, and both, in some words, deviate from the Tukano (Z.I. 180). They made large (3.5 meters) and heavy sarabatanas, because they used them as supports /Port. apoiadas/ (Z.I. 207). It must be pointed out, however, that the Buhágana about whom Koch informs us are not located on the Uaupés. For this reason we think that they cannot be identified with the Jacamim. A comparison of the vocabularies that we collected from the Ide and from the Emõá and that of the Buhágana of

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/44 cont./

*101 Koch makes the similarity of this idiom with the first two stand out immediately. In August of 1956 a tuxáua /chief/ of the Ide-masã or Makuna informed us that the Buhágana formerly resided in the forests of the river Taraira (trib. of the Japurá), but they had already died out as a consequence of the avengements within the tribe and the fights with other tribes.

It is not improbable that the Jacamim, located by Wallace on the Uaupés, are only a tribal subdivision, perhaps the Taitõ-paramẽra, that is "Grandchildren of the Jacamim" (cf. below the subdivisions of the Korẽterabõa, IV -- 2, p /p. 106 f./).

(7) -- MACUNÁ -- It likewise does not appear in the other lists. Pelo Rio Mar gives a brief report: "Macú of black color" and ends by saying "they are mentioned among the tributaries of the Rio Negro, on the Araganatuba, Apapóris and Jupurá." On the contrary, according to Koch G., they belong to the Tukano group and have their present habitat on the banks of the Apapóris, below the Pirá-paraná, in two malocas. They are types of good configuration, Koch continues, and they speak a language quite close to the Buhágana (Zwei Iahre, 379; and Festschrift Eduard Seler, 205-6).

We can state that Makúna is a denomination that the Colombians give to them. In their own idiom they call themselves Idemasã (water people) and we were with a group of them that resides on the Komé-ya (see below Ide-masã, IV -- 2, h /p. 137/).

[114] [126] Koch does not give in his Zwei Iahre the Vocabulary of the Makúna, but that of the Kueretu. Now, the Vocabulary that we gathered from the Íde-masã deviates considerably from the one that Koch obtained from the Kueretu, in spite of the fact that this group is indicated as a subdivision of the Íde-masã.

/44 cont./

*101 (8) -- MACURA -- Macura or Micura is a Língua Geral word that means gambá /opossum/. According to the information obtained from the Karapanã and Tatú Indians, of the headwaters of the Áua and the Tim-igarapé, a tribe by the name of Oá-maxsã (gambá people) resides between the /45/ streams Jaré and the Tuim (tributaries of the Uaupés), and belongs to the Tukano family of languages. Some individual Oá-mahã, as they say in their own idiom, prior to our passage, resided among the Tukano of S. Miguel and Melo Franco (river Papurí).

We found Oá-mahã women married to Tuyuka, on the headwaters of the Tiquié; the vocabulary that we were able to gather, and the pronunciation of which we also recorded, authorizes including the Micura or Gambá natives in the Tukano family of languages. (Cf. IV -- 2, n /p. 149/.)

We obtained from the Tatú tribe (cf. IV 2, o /p. 150/), among the divisions of their nation, Oá-maxsã. Although very close in language to the Tatú, it seems to us that they cannot be identified with the Oá-mahã, the homonymous division of the Tatú tribe.

(9) -- MIRITÍ -- In three localities of the lower Tiquié there are residing at present some groups of the tribe Mirití-tapúya, about which we shall talk later (IV --2, m /p. 148/). By the location that Wallace gives for the Mirití, that is, in Bacate-paraná, river Uaupés, we are of the opinion that one is dealing, not with a tribe, but with a subdivision of the Kubêwãna, which in the native idiom is called Neábokõ (cf. IV -- 2, p /p. 152/).

(10) -- OMANAUA -- Also do not appear in the other lists. In the Tukano linguistic family, Chestmir, following Koch Grünberg, includes the Õmõá, locating them on the headwaters of the river Tiquié. These are the Emõá-masã (cf. below, IV -- 2, f /p. 135/ and our work Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia), who can not be identified with the Omáua.

/45 cont./

*101 Koch also points out that one must not confuse the present-day Omáwa with the ancient Omágwa, much more advanced than the former, and who soon established relations with the first Spanish explorers (cf. Padre Cristobal de Acuña, "Novo Descobrimento do Grande Rio das Amazonas /New Discovery of the Great Amazon River/" -- Coleção Brasiliana /Brazilian Collection/, v. 203, ed. 194, pp. 226-8).

From the report of Jesuino Cordeiro, dated 1853, we see that he managed to settle the Omáwa beside the Lago-do-espelho or Uauruá-lago (upper Uaupés). The Omáwa are pure Karibe /Carib/, as Koch verified by some words obtained from José, the Bahuna tuxáua of the Subiróaka maloca (Z.I. 219); they are related to the ones from the Guianas, with many subtribes and their dialectic differences, for example: the Ipurukoto, Pianakoto, Parikoto, Purigoto, Arimagoto, Kumanagoto, etc. The Omáwa or Umáwa called themselves Hyanakoto, that is, Vulture-people, Urubú-tapuya. The ending koto or goto is Karibe /Carib/ and means people, population, Indian. To the Hyanakoto conjunction the Wanana give the name of Maxsa-tixtoá, the Taryana, Ehetoá, and the Kubewãna, Aíwõkáwõ.

/46/ In the beginning of this century the Hyanakoto lived in 8 malocas on the rivers Macáya and Cuniarí or rio dos Enganos /river of tricks/, tributary from the left of the Caquetá-Japurá, Koch reports. Their language would be very similar to that of the Tsahá-tsahá or Mergulhão-Indians /Diver-bird Indians/, who possessed 3 malocas on the savannas of the rivers Cuniarí and Mesaí, and that of the Tsahá-tsahá, in turn, deviates from the idiom called Carijona by Crévaux, of the upper Japurá River. Karihona, or, better, Karlihona, means human being, people. It is not, properly speaking, a tribal name, but a general expression used by the Colombians to designate a conjunction of Karibe tribes of the region included between the upper Uaupés and the upper Japurá.

/46 cont./

*101 (11) -- PIRAIURÚ. -- One does not find this tribe mentioned in other lists. Pelo Rio Mar gives: "Piráyauara-tapuya, Piraiurú, mouth of fish Indians. On the river Uaupés." It was not possible to obtain any other information among the tribes of the region. It should be noted that piraiurú, in Nheengatú, means fish mouth, and piráyauára means dog-fish and is the name commonly given to the legendary red dolphin.

(12) -- PUÇÁ -- We do not see it appear either in other lists. Koch Grünberg found two small houses of Uasõna or Puçá-tapuya (due to a printing error written Pisá-tapuya, Fischnetz-Indianer /Fishing-net Indians/) on the igarapé Manapialia, tributary from the right of the Uaupés (Z.I. 284) (16).

> 16. Zwei kleinere Häuser sind hier (ins Quellgebiet des Caiari-Uaupés) von Uásona (Fischnetz indianern -- Puça Indians) bewohnt, deren Hauptsitz wiederum am oberen Papury ist. /Two small houses are here (in the headwater region of the Caiari-Uaupés), occupied by Uásona (Fishing-net Indians -- Puça Indians), whose principal seat, on the other hand, is on the upper Papury./

They have a handsome body, Koch reports, elongated face, similar to the Tuyuka and Yuriti, and all with dermatosis. The language, too, is close to the Yuriti. Their principal center, however, is the headwaters of the Papuri.

In four excursions along the river Papuri up to its sources, the rivers Paca and Aua, and navigating the latter to the headwaters, we did not obtain any information about any tribe known as Wásõna or Puçá-tapuya. The Kubewãna do indicate a subdivision of their tribe as Puçá (cf. below IV -- 2, p /p. 155/) and living on the igarapé Pacú (above Mitú, Uaupés), therefore not very far from the Wásõna visited by

/46 cont./

*101 Koch, whose idiom, however, deviates considerably from that of the Kubewãna.

A Tuyuka Indian, Lino by name, from the headwaters of the Tiquié, but with prolonged residence on the upper Uaupés, informed us of having known there Indians named "Kwásõna," with an idiom close to that of the Bará. It is possible that these are the Puçá Indians visited by Koch and mentioned by Wallace.

/47/ (13) -- QUEIANÁ. -- Wallace places it in S. Joaquim do Coané. Queianá or Coianá (hence the name Coané) is the tribe that others name Cocuana (cf. above II -- 6 a).

(14) -- TAIAÇÚ. -- Likewise omitted in other lists. Koch locates on the banks of the river Oocá some Indians of the Tukano group (Betoya, as Koch says) called Yupuá or Taiasú-tapuya, close to the Desãna in language, and from whom he collected his small vocabulary. Taiaçú is the name of the wild pig. The Desãna point out a subdivision of their tribe that is called, in their own idiom, Yexsé-põná, "the children of the taiaçú," and coinciding precisely with the location indicated by Wallace, that is, at the headwaters of the Castanho River, tributary of the Tiquié.

(15) -- TANIMBUCA. -- In the Língua Geral it means cinza /ashes/. They are the Opaína, according to Koch Grünberg, of the Tukano linguistic family, subdivision of the Yahuna tribe, which is composed of many hordes, among them the Opaína and the Dãtwana, living in eight malocas on the river Apapóris, two days of travel above the mouth of the Pirá-paraná. Koch reports that the Opaína are called Hwaína by the Tuyuka (Z.I. 379) or Hoá-iñará, as we have also heard it pronounced.

(16) -- TAPIRA. -- Tapira, or Hẽma-dákenai, as is said in the language of the Ira-tapuya, is an Arwáke tribe dispersed in various localities of the river Içana, according to the location provided by Frei Gregório.

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*101 (17) -- TATÚ. -- The Tatú-tapuyá Indians whom Wallace mentions on the river Cuduiari must be the Adyá-mene of the Arwáke group, about which Curt Nimuendajú tells us, or the Ádza-nene, whose vocabulary we gathered and recorded (cf. our works, "Discoteca Etnolinguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"). It must be noticed, however, that Curt found groups of them in S. Rosa, on the river Guainía; and Frei Gregório, on his maps, records the presence of Tatupiá Indians in several places along the river Içana, where, as a matter of fact, the Adzanénei still live today.

One must not confuse with these the Tatú or Páboamahã Indians, as they call themselves (or Pamõá-maxsã, armadillo-people, as the Tukano call them), who belong to the Tukano group of languages, as can be seen by the vocabulary collected by us (cf. the two works mentioned above, "Discoteca" and "Idiomas"). Their principal nucleus is located between the Jaré and the Cananarí (tributaries of the Pirá-paraná). [142] They are of average stature, more delicate features, complexion and eyes lighter than on the Tukano (cf. below, IV -- 2, o /p. 150/).

/48/ (18) -- TIJUCÓ. -- It is the Tuyuka tribe of the headwaters of the Tiquié (cf. below IV -- 2, d /p. 132/).

(19) -- UACARÁ. -- Wallace also mentions on the Papurí, besides the Tukano, Pirá-tapúya, and the Desana, who in fact are found there, the Uacará tribe, or índios garças /Heron Indians/. At present, neither on the Papurí, on its tributaries, nor in the surrounding forest, on one or the other bank, does any tribe exist under the denomination of Uacará. On the fluvial trunk known as Papurí there are at present only natives of the Tukano, Desãna, and Pirá-tapúya tribes. In the interior of the forest on the right bank there is a Karapanã group, located on the headwaters of the stream Umarí, and some groups of Makú on both banks. As to the sources of the Papuri, on the river

/48 cont./

*101 Paca and its tributaries, there are still Tukano, Desãna, Juritĩ, and Suryãna natives. On the banks of another source, the Aua, are located Tukano and Karapanã groups.

The other lists do not mention Uacará or garça Indians. Nevertheless, we obtained a legend that speaks of "índios garça" (in the Tukano idiom, Yèheá) from the headwaters of the Papurí, or perhaps even farther, from the Pirá-paraná (source of the Apapóris). The name Uacarás appears on one of the maps drawn up by Lobo D'Almada, located between the headwaters of the Tiquié and the river Pirá-paraná.

Would the Uacará be a tribe now extinct? Or perhaps one is not dealing with a tribe, but with some tribal subdivision designated under the name of some aquatic bird, of the family of the ardeídae, such as the garça /heron/, and because of this translated by the general term garça? On the Papurí, coinciding approximately with the location of the said índios garça of Wallace, there is a subgroup of the Suryãna, which, in the native idiom, is called "eõna," the name of an aquatic bird (cf. IV -- 2, r /p. 160/ and II -- 6 a, aguará /p. 50 f./). Among the Bará (cf. IV -- 2, b /p. 130/) there is a subdivision Wáya-poná, also the name of an aquatic bird, located, however, on the headwaters of the Tiquié, thus coinciding with the location recorded by Lobo D'Almada for the Uacarás Indians.

(20) -- UARACÚ. -- The Uaraícú are mentioned in the "Relatórios"; they are said, however, to be located on the rivers Jutaó and Javarí. In the area of the Uaupés at present no tribe is known under the name of Uaracú.

Uaracú is the name of a fish that in Tukano is called Boté. Perhaps when Uaracú is mentioned it is a matter of a subdivision of another tribe. For example, there is a subdivision of the Karapanã, "Botéa-maxsã," on the river Cananarí. The principal division of the Desãna tribe, which in its own idiom is called "Boré-ká pama," also bears the name of the uaracú fish; but its place of residence does not coincide with the one given by Wallace, since they are located on the Papurí and not on the Uaupés. With more /49/ probability, by the location, they

/49 cont./

*101 would be the "Botéa wahyára," subdivision of the Yurití, who live between the headwaters of the river Paca and the Uaupés. These, according to what the natives of the river Paca assured us, are now already extinct.

b. Official List.

As for the official list of the "Relatórios," we have already indicated the omissions of some tribes that appear in the previous lists. As for the rest, it coincides perfectly with those of Frei Gregório, which it made use of. Nevertheless, there are missing the tribes Iraussú and Cocuana, and there are added: Coeuana (which, as we have seen, are the same Cocuana, Goianá, or Coané) and Queuanacá.

Queuanacan is what we read on the map drawn by Lobo D'Almada, who locates them on the Uaupés, not very far above the mouth of the Papurí. Probably it is the Cuenacá tribe, which appears in the list by Rodrigues Ferreira. Or better, it is the subdivision "Kwénaka" of the Taryana tribe (cf. above II -- 6, a /p. 54 / and below -- IV, 2, y /see z, pp. 174 and 176 f./).

We observe only that, for the Pirá-tapuya tribe, the expression Peixe /fish/ is a translation into Portuguese of the name in the Língua Geral.

c. List of Frei Gregório.

We noted, besides the names that the preceding ones gave, the following: Ananá (Wanana), Arapaço, Baúna, Beijú, Cainatarí, Cocuana, Cutia, Giboia, Iraussú, Itatiana, Juruá, Jurupari, Onça, Picassú, Pirá-tapuia, Quati, Tabaiana, Tocandira.

(i) ANANÁ -- It is a different spelling of the name Wanana (see IV -- 2, k /p. 143/) or Wananá. The simplification of the pronounciation of the Língua Geral names that start with ua into a is common (cf. uacará and acará, uaracú and aracú, etc.).

/49 cont./

*101 The maps drawn up by the explorer (and later Governador) Lobo d'Almada also write Ananás and locate them on the Uaupés, precisely where the Wanana are found.

(2) ARAPÁÇO. -- It is still found along the Uaupés, from S. José as far as Paraná-Jucá, and it will be discussed later (IV -- 2, j /p. 140 f./).

(3) BAÚNA -- According to the author of Pelo Rio Mar, one is dealing with a tribe scattered from the Rio Branco and tributaries, to the Negro, Içana, Uaupés, Japurá, Juruá, etc., and known under many denominations, the principal ones being: Baiana, Povoana, Paxiana, Pauixana, Puelava. Now the Pauixana tribe belongs to the Arwake group of the Rio Branco (cf. Arthur Ramos -- 172).

/50/ The Kumãdene of Urubucuara (river Uaupés), in their own idiom, call the Baniva Bayaná-semá. Perhaps the Bayana that Pelo Rio Mar mentions are the same Baniva or Arwake that actually inhabit the Içana and tributaries.

Frei Gregório, instead, locates the Baúna on the Cachoeira do Mutum (today Mitú, Colombia). By this location, the identification with the Kubewana group (Tukano linguistic family), whose language was mentioned by Curt Nimuendajú and who have as a name Bahuna or Bahukiwa, as the Kubewana call them, seems more probable to us. Koch Grünberg also reports that the Bahuna reside on the central portion of the river Cuduiarí, tributary of the Uaupés (17).

17. The Kubewãna informed Koch that both the Bahuna and their neighbors the Mapalõwa (both conglomerated under the denomination of Bahokõa) are Boloa (Makú), and that formerly they spoke a "very ugly" language. In the beginning of this century they considered themselves true Kubewãna, whose idiom was the one that they spoke exclusively (Zwei Iahre, 278).

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*101 [115] [563] The informants of the Kubewana tribe, Heloisa and Josefa (cf. IV -- 2, p /p. 151/), both married to Wanana and living in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés, 1955), indicated, as the fifth division of their tribe, the "Bahúkakõ." In April of 1957, two other Kubewana or Korẽterabõa women (cf. IV -- 2, p), Nazaria and Byatrina, married to Yawareté-tapuya, and living in Arapaço-poço, locality on the river Içana close to the mouth of the river Aiarí, also gave us the Bahukõwa as the fifth division of their tribe.

Koch Grünberg, who visited them (Z.I. 278), confirms that the Bahuna are called Bahókõoa by the Kubewãna and live on the central portion of the river Cuduiarí.

(4) BEIJÚ -- Not mentioned in the other tribes. Pelo Rio Mar says only that it was missionized by Frei Gregório in 1852-3. The report by Jesuino Cordeiro gives the number of 187 persons of the Beijú tribe, who in 1853 lived in the povoado of Cubio-paraná.

[115] An old Wanana septuagenarian from Tipiaca (in 1954), José by name, informed us that a Beijú tribe that speaks only Kubewãna and calls itself Baxtoá lives in Cubio-igarape.

Other informants of the upper Uaupés assure us that only one subdivision of the Kubewãna (therefore of the Tukano family of languages), which is called "Awekõ" in its own idiom, is known under the name of Beijú.

(5) CAINATARI -- According to the author of Pelo Rio Mar they are the Acanyatara-tapuia, who are found on the river Castanho, tributary of the Tiquié.

/51/ The report by Jesuino Cordeiro, of 1853, locates 168 individuals of the Cainatarí nation in Pacú-cachoeira, recently settled there. By this location (region of the Wanana) one could be dealing with a Wanana subdivision, which, in its own idiom, is called "Witõ monõ," which means acangatara branca /white crest/.

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*101 (6) COCUANE. -- According to Curt Nimuendajú (in a letter dated from Belem on Sept. 1, 1945, to Padre Antônio Giacone), it is the tribe also known as Coeuana, which, in 1927, still had representatives in Jandiá and another two sites by the mouth of the Uaupés. They had, however, lost their own idiom and spoke only the Língua Geral (see above, II -- 6, a /p. 43 /). They were the Indians who more easily became adapted to civilization, and from whom many caboclos of the Rio Negro are descended.

In August of 1957, according to Atayde Inácio Cardoso of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção ao Indio), there were still survivors of the Cocuana or Coianá in the town of S. Joaquim at the mouth of the Uaupés. João, the Tukano pajé /curer-sorcerer/ from Umarí (river Uaupés, a little above Iaureté-cachoeira), narrating the legends of the origins, says that the human beings started to ascend in the Cobra-grande /large snake/, and that "the Kuewãna, who in Tukano are called Pe'tãna, remained at the mouth of the Uaupés. But one of the Kwewãna ascended as far as Taracuá-ponta and up to there was the limit of his lands."

[115] [773]

(7) CUTIA. -- On the Içana there is a tribe known under the name of Cutia-tapuya, of the Arwake branch, whose name in the Baniva language would be Awadzurunái.

8) GIBOIA. -- Since during half of the last century many natives went from the Içana to the upper and lower Uaupés, we are inclined to think that the ones settled by Frei Gregório in Aracapurí are individuals of the žiboya-tapuya or Dzurẽnẽ tribe of the Içana, from whom we collected a vocabulary (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" by the Author and Boanari (II -- 6, a /p. 42 /).

/51 cont./

*101 9) IRAUSSÚ or IRAVASSÚ -- Koch Grünberg informs us (Z.I. 286) that in the Língua Geral the Hyanakoto, that is, a group of Karibe tribes including the Omáwa (cf. this name above), of the rivers Macáya and Cuniari, were called Uiráuaçú. The Hyanakoto were found, then, located at the longitude of the lake Uauruá. Now the Iraussú or Iravassú mentioned by Frei Gregório live on the lower Uaupés in Nanã-rapecuma and S. Joaquim da foz.

/52/ They would, then, be individuals who had come down from the upper Uaupés. Unless it is a matter of incorrect spelling, and they were members of the Arwake tribe of the Içana, called Ira-tapuya or Mãpanai in the native idiom.

10) ITATIANA. -- This name is not found for tribes of the Uaupés. Unless it is a matter, as is probable, of a printing error and should be read Itariana, which is what Frei Gregório regularly calls the Taryana.

11) JURUÁ. -- It is not, properly speaking, a tribe, but a branch of the Tukano tribe that still lives today in the vicinity of Juquira (river Uaupés, cf. IV -- 2, a /p. 127/).

12) JURUPARÍ. -- They will be the Juruparí-tapuya of the river Içana, of the Karutana group, of the Arwake linguistic family, named in their own idiom "Mapátse-dãkene," and from whom we collected a vocabulary (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico musical" and "Idioma Indígenas da Amazônia").

13) ONÇA. -- We suppose, by the location indicated by Frei Gregório, that they, like the preceding ones, came from the Içana, where the tribe Yawareté-tapuya, or, in their own idiom and in Siwsí, Dzawí-minánei, lives. The term Onça /jaguar/ would be the translation of Iawareté in the língua geral. They are Arwake in language, as is shown by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" of the Author), and the Karutana group, according to the classification of Curt Nimuendajú.

/52 cont./

*101 [115] The old Wañana, José of Tipiaca, informed us of the existence of an Onça tribe, or Yaí-maxsã (as he expressed himself in Tukano), living at the headwaters of the Cuduiarí, adding that they speak Kubewãna.

Another old man, a Tukano octogenarian from Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa by name, also affirmed the existence of a cannibal tribe that the Tukano call Yaí-maxsã (onça people) or Yai-peri maxsã (onça-teeth people) and that lives on the headwaters of the Tiquié.

14) PICASSÚ. -- It is a Nheengatú word that means pomba /dove/. Frei Gregório mentions the tribe Picassú in Mitú, on the Uaupés. We think it might be the tribe also called Yurití, located precisely on several igarapés between the rivers Paca and Uaupés in the vicinity of Mitú.

15) PIRÁ-TAPUIA. -- It is the great tribe that is found today in many places on the Uaupés and Papurí, and about which we give fuller information in this work (see below, IV -- 2, v /p. 164/).

/53/ 16) QUATÍ. -- They are the Coatí-tapuya who went up the Içana, on whose headwaters they still reside today. They belong to the Arwake linguistic family, and the name of the tribe in its own idiom is "Kapité-minánei."

17) TABAIANA. -- It is likewise not mentioned in the various lists. It is possible, however, that this is also a matter of a spelling mistake, and the tribe in question is the Yabaana (as Arthur Ramos writes, 170), or Yabarana (of Koch G. -- Festschrift Eduard Seler, 205), of the Arwake group, almost extinct and whom Chestmir locates on the river Maruiá. In fact, on the map of Frei Gregório (April 1, 1853) only the name of a Yabarana woman residing in S. Joaquim

/53 cont./

*101 at the mouth of the Uaupés appears there. It is reported to us that at present (August of 1957) there is only one survivor of the Yabahana /sic/ tribe, Aniceto by name, residing in the locality called S. Paulo, near Tapurucuara (former S. Isabel) on the Rio Negro.

Koch (Zwei Iahre, 379) tells of having seen individuals with handsome bodies, representatives of the Yabahana tribe, who live among the Makuna of the Pirá-paraná, and whose language (of the Tukano group) they spoke.

Nevertheless, Koch Grünberg thinks that these Yabahana of the Pirá-paraná have nothing to do with the Arwake tribe Yabaána of the upper Rio Negro.

18) TOCANDIRA. -- At present no tribe is known under the name of Tocandira in Mitú and on all the Uaupés down from the cachoeira of Jurupari.

José, the old Wanana from Tipiaca, affirmed the existence of a Tocandira tribe on the igarapés Cubio and Mirití (tributaries of the Uaupés), which nowadays speaks only Kubewana.

It could also be a matter of the Kubewana subdivision that in its own idiom is called Pyarákõ (which means Tocandira /an ant species/) or it still might be some of the Kubewana groups known as Tocandira because they live on the homonymous igarapé.

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4: Silva--78 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

T = Tukano /Tucano/ family; A = Arwake /Arawak/ family; K = Karaîba /Carib/ family; gr. = group; s = subdivision /do = of the; rio = river; ou = or/

| | Pe. Noronha | Sampaio | Ferreira | Wallace | Fr. Gregório | Relatórios | Author |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | ..... | ..... | Aguará | Uacará | ..... | Agaraní | Garça (Yexseá?) (gr. Tukano) |
| 2. | ..... | ..... | Arapixí | Arapaço | Arapaço | ..... | Arapasu (Koneá) (T. rio Uaupés) |
| 3. | ..... | ..... | Arara | ..... | ..... | ..... | Ádaru-dákenai (Arara) (A. rio Içana) |
| 4. | ..... | ..... | Banibá | ..... | Baníua | ..... | Baniva (A. Içana, Xié) |
| 5. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Bauúna | Baúna | ..... | Bahúna (gr. Kubewana) |
| 6. | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Beijú | Beiju | Beijú (Awekõ) (s. Kũbewana) |
| 7. | Burenarí | Boanarí | Burenarí | ..... | Gibola | Boanarí | (Dzuré-mene, Buya) (A. Içana) |
| 8. | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Cainatarí | Cainatarí | Akãgatara (Witõ monõ; s. Wanana) |
| 9. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Carapanã | Carapanã | Carapanã | Karapanã (Mõxtẽã) (T. Papuri) |
| 10. | ..... | ..... | Cequeno | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 11. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Coró-coró | ..... | ..... | Koró-Koró (Koxtó) (s. kubewana) |
| 12. | Cubeuana | ..... | Cubeuana | Cubeo | Cubeo | Cubeo | Kubewana (Pamíwa) (T. Uauapés |
| 13. | Cueuana | Cueuana | Goianá | Queianá | Cocuana | Cueuana | Kukwana (T. Uaupés) |
| 14. | ..... | ..... | Cudujarí | ..... | ..... | ..... | (Kubewana do rio Cuduiari?) |
| 15. | ..... | ..... | Cuenacá | ..... | ..... | Queuenacá | Kuénaka (s. Taryana) |
| 16. | ..... | Deçaca | ..... | Deçana | Deçano | Deçana | Desana (Winá) (T. Papuri, (Tiquié, Uaupés) |
| 17. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Gi | ..... | ..... | Komé-pá-pona (s. Pirá-tapuya) |
| 18. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Ipeca | Ipeca | Opeca | Kumãdene (Ipeka) (A. Uaupés, Içana) |
| 19. | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Irauzsú | ..... | Wirá-wasú (Hyanakoto) (K. Uaupés) |
| 20. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Jacamim | ..... | ..... | Taitõ-paramera? (s. Kubewana) |
| 21. | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Juruá | Juruá | Ihurwá (s. Tukano, Uaupé) |
| 22. | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Jurupari | Jurupari | (A. Içana) |
| 23. | ..... | Macú | Macú | ..... | Macú | Macú | Makú (Uaupés, Papuri, Tiquié) |
| 24. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Macuná | ..... | Macucoena | Ide-masã (T. do Komé-ya) |

| | Fr. Nerenha | Sampaio | Ferreira | Wallace | Fr. Gregório | Relatório | Author |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Macura | ..... | ..... | Oá-mahã (Mikura) (T. Tiquié) |
| 26. | Mamangá | Mamengá | Mamangá | Caua | Mamengá | ..... | Uti-waiwa (S. Kubewana) Aini-dakenai? (Kawa) (A Içana) |
| 27. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Miriti | ..... | ..... | Neenõá (Miriti) (T. Tiquié) |
| 28. | ..... | ..... | Mueinó | ..... | ..... | Mendó | (Moeinã?) (s. Taryana?) |
| 29. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Omaua | ..... | ..... | Hyanakoto (K. Uaupés) |
| 30. | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Onça | ..... | Dzawí-minánei (Yawareté, A. Içana) |
| 31. | ..... | ..... | Paicueno | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 32. | Panenuá | Papenuá | Pananoá | ..... | ..... | Panenoá | Hanẽra T. Tiquié |
| 33. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Pirá | Piratapuia | Paratapuia | Waí-khana (Pirá-tapuya) (T. Uaupés, Papuri, Tiquié) |
| 34. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Piráiurú | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 35. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Puçá | ..... | ..... | Kwásõna? Waí-wehekõ, s. Kubewana) |
| 36. | ..... | ..... | Pumenicá | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 37. | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Quaty | ..... | Kápite-minánei (Koati) (A. Içana) |
| 38. | Quererurí | ..... | Quererurí | ..... | ..... | ..... | (Kubewana do rio Querari?) |
| 39. | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Tabaiana | ..... | (Yabahansa?) (A. Rio Negro) |
| 40. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Taiassú | Quatitú | ..... | (Yupuá ou Yexsé-poná?) (s. Desana, rio Castanho) |
| 41. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Tanimbuca | ..... | ..... | Opaína (T. rio Apapóris) |
| 42. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Tapira | Tapiira | Tapiira | Hema-dákenai (A. rio Guainia) |
| 43. | Tariarana | Tariana | Cariana | Tariana | (I) tariana | (I) tariana | Talyásari (Taryana) (A. Uaupés) |
| 44. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Tatú | Tatuta(pu)ia | ..... | Ádza-neeni (Tatú) (A. Içana) |
| 45. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Tijucó | ..... | ..... | Doxká-poará (Tuyuka) (T. Tiquié) |
| 46. | ..... | Timanará | ..... | | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 47. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Tocandira | Tocandira | Tocandira | (Pyárakõ?) s. Kubewana) |
| 48. | ..... | ..... | Uacari | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 49. | Uananá | Uanana | Uananá | Cóidia | Ananá | Uananá | Kótirya (Wanana) (T. Uaupés) |
| 50. | Uaupé | Uaupé | Uaupé | Tucano | Tucano | Tucano | Daxseá (Tukano) (T. Uaupés, Papuri, Tiquié) |
| 51. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Uaracú | ..... | ..... | (Boteá?) (s. Yuriti) |
| 52. | ..... | Urinaná | ..... | ..... | ..... | Urinaná | (Wiriná?) (A. rio Mararí) |

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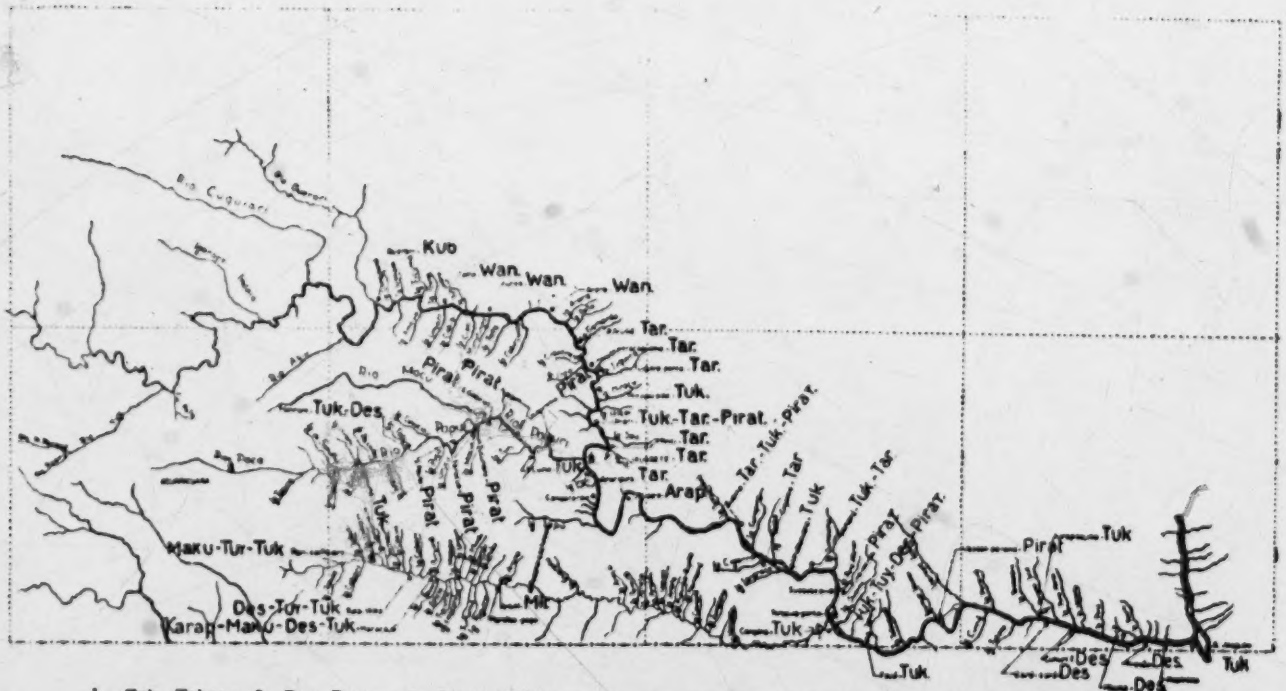
/56/ Tribes located in Brazilian territory along the rivers Uaupés and its two tributaries, the Papuri and the Tiquié




1. **Tuk.** Tukano; 2. **Des.** Desana; 3. **Pirat.** Pirá-tapuya; 4. **Tar.** Taryana; 5. **Ipeka** (Kumádene); 6. **Arap.** Arapásu; 7. **Wan.** Wanana; 8. **Kub.** Kubewana; 9. **Makú**; 10. **Mir.** Miriti; 11. **Tuy.** Tuyuka; 12. **Kar.** Karapanã; 13. Bará

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## Chapter III

### Malocas (Baxsasé-wi'seri) and Povoados (Maxka)

133 The Uaupés pours its waters into the Rio Negro by two mouths, separated by the "Ilha das Flores" /Island of Flowers/ (former Ilha do Umirí, wextí-nãxkãro) and islets, dotted besides with innumerable stones and rocks: the southern mouth, with three bars formed by the reefs and the "Cachoeira do Tamanduá," its entrance being more difficult; the northern one, also with many rocks and the "Cachoeira do Carapanã."

361 Whoever goes up it will find at short intervals huts, or groups of huts, two or three here, eight or ten farther on, and even eighteen or twenty. They are the "Povoados" /populated [103] places/ (maxkã), as those of the region call them. They will have the name of a Saint as a Patron, or of some geographic accident, a native name, or any other one chosen, it seems, by chance, as happens in general with national toponymy. The names are ordinarily from the Nheengatú language or Língua geral and correspond to others in Tukano, almost always as mere translation. It is difficult to say whether the original name is the Tukano one, and the one from the língua geral, by which it is known, is only a translation, or vice versa.

178 Until 1924, from the Cachoeira de Ipanoré upwards, there
361 were only malocas (1),
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1. Maloca is the name of the large collective dwelling (cf. VI, 1).

reports Padre João Marchesi, the veteran Salesian Missionary of the Uaupés. The replacement of the malocas by family houses and the appearance of small povoados, due to the influence of the Salesian Missions, date from that year. At present (1958) malocas only exist either in the interior of the forests or on the banks of the Uaupés River above Iutica and on the Tiquié above Carurú-Cachoeira.

The native tradition preserves the name and the location of malocas and human assemblages that have now disappeared. As documentation we present the lists below. For some places, in this middle of the twentieth century, there is only underbrush to mark the place where the human hand felled the virgin forest and built a maloca.

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1. Malocas and Povoados of the Uaupés River (dyá Poxsá, river of the Makú?)

| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| S. Joaquim | ? | | Koená ou Kukwana /ouaor/ |
| Itapinima | õxtã o'ıaritirí-pa | Painted stone | Desana |
| Trovão | büxpó-pá | Thunder stone | Desana |
| Pituna | Naïkoro | Place where night falls | Desana |
| Cunurí | waxpö-ñõá | Point of the cunurí /fruit/ (2) | Desana |
| Coró-Coró | koxtó-duri ou koxtóa | Rocks of the coró-coró /bird/ (3) | Desana |
| Iú-rapecuma | Pöxtá-ñõá | Point of the thorn | Tukano |
| Pacú-capuamo | umú-nÃxkÃrõ | Island of the pacú /fish/ | Desana |
| Carustana (4) | buxpú-sero | (Piece of) sarabatana | Tukano |
| Macú-capuamo | Poxsá-nãxkãrõ | Island of the Makú | Tukano |
| Jacaré-ponta | öxsó-ñõá | Point of the alligator | Pirá-tapuya |
| Açaí-paraná | mix'pĩ-yuxtí | Paraná /river branch/ of the assai | Pirá-tapuya |
| Arara-ponta | mahã-ñõá | Point of the arara | Tukano |
| Matapí | büxköá-wö-kó | Water of the matapí /fish trap/ | Tukano |
| Naná-rapecuma | sẽ'rá-ñõá | Point of the pineapple | Tukano |
| Tauá | ewö-yá | Stream of the ocher | Tukano |
| Tocandira | pextá-ñõá | Point of the tocandira /ant/ | (sem moradores) (5) |
| Taracuá-ponta | me're-oã"rá-ñõá | Point of the taracuá (ant) | Tukano, Desana, Pirá-tapuya |
| Darí-darí | ĩ'ã-büxkõrá-ñõá | Point of the darí-darí (insect) | Miriti-tapuya |
| Pirá-mirim | sẽ'ã-ya | Stream of the Piabinha /fish/ | Pirá-tapuya |

/See p. 89 for footnotes 2-5./

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| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ponta-fria | yõxsõári-ñõá | Cold point | Tukano (Pirá-tapuya) (6) |
| Cabeçudo-ponta | u-ñõá | Point of the cabeçudo /fish/ | Pirá-tapuya |
| Sussuáka | ñamá-ssaró | Deer horn | (sem moradores) |
| Paxiúba-igarapé | waxtá (paxka)-ya | Stream of the paxiuba (large) | Pirá-tapuya, Makú |
| Ipanoré | tõpa-duri | "Sieve" "rocks" | Taryana |
| Urubucuara | yõxká-pũrĩ-pextá | Port of the tucum | Kumãdene |
| Pinú-pinú | dyá-utíkaro-ñõá | Point of the sucuruju | Taryana |
| Cigarro | uxtíka-pũrĩ | Cigarette leaf | Taryana |
| Mariuá | marĩwa-dõxpõrí | Branches of mariuá | Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Desana |
| Buzina | uxpítu-ñõá | Point of the trumpet | Taryana |
| S. José | wĩrõ-ñõá | Point of the wind | Arapasu |
| Chibarú | yebári | Chibarú (wood) | Arapasu |
| Jurupari-ponta | wãx'tĩ-ñõá | Point of Wãx'tĩ | Arapasu |
| Baía | wi"i-turiró | Loft | Arapasu |
| Ponta do Mucuim | u'mũ-sũá-ñõá | Point of the mucuins | (sem moradores) |
| Loiro | kuma-kõ-ñõá | Point of the blond /loiro/ (wood) | Arapasu |
| Paraná-jucá | Dyá-Poxsá-yõhõró | Strait of the river of the Makú | Arapasu, Tukano |
| Juquira | mõá-ñõá | Point of the salt | Tukano |
| Ananaz | sẽ'ra-pá | Stone of the pineapple | Pirá-tapúya |
| Aracú-ponta | bo'téa-pextá | Port of the aracú /fish/ | Pirá-tapuya |
| Cangatara | mahã-poari-ñõá | Point of the arara feathers | (sem moradores) |
| Jacitara | waú-tu dixtara | Lake of the jacitara (palm) | Pirá-tapuya |
| Arari-pirá | bixpári-pweá | Cachoeira of the arari-pirá | Taryana |
| Cunuri | waxpõ-ñõá | Point of the cunuri (fruit) | (sem moradores) |
| Juí | omũ-ya-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the frog | Pirá-tapuya |
| Iauareté | Yaía-pweá | Cachoeira of the onça | Taryana |
| Castanho-capuámo | Castanho-nãxkãrõ | Island of the Castanho | Taryana |
| Micura | oá-pweá | Cachoeira of the gambá /opossum/ | Taryana |
| Miritĩ | neé-ya-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the buriti | Taryana |

/See p. 89 for footnote 6./

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| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Umarí | wamã-pweã | Cachoeira of the umarí (fruit) | Tukano |
| Piranha | bõõ-ñõã | Point of the piranha | Taryana |
| Mira-pirêra | kaxsẽri-ñõã | Point of the husks | Tukano |
| Jabuti | úhuri-pweã | Cachoeira of the jabutí /turtle/ | Taryana |
| Iuquira-ponta | mõã-ñõã | Point of the salt | Taryana |
| Ira-capuamo | mu'mi-nÃxkÃrõ | Island of the honey | Taryana |
| Bacaba | yu'mũ-pweã | Cachoeira of the bacaba | Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Wanana |
| Arumã | wõhõ-nÃxkÃrõ | Island of the arumã /plant/ | Taryana |
| Cachoeira do machado | komẽ-pweã | Cachoeira of the ax | Taryana |
| ——— (7) | Poxsã-boãri-ma | River to make makú rotten | Taryana |
| Periquito | kai-pweã | Cachoeira of the parakeet | Taryana, Kumãdene |
| Japú-ponta | umũ-ñõã | Point of the japú /bird/ | Wanana |
| Arara | mahã-pweã | Cachoeira of the arara | Wanana |
| Yandú | büxpö-Ã'rÃ | Chain (mountain) of the spider | Wanana |
| Carurú | mõã-pweã | Cachoeira of the carurú (salty plant) | Wanana |
| Matapí | büxkõã-wõ-pé | Orifice of the matapí | Wanana |
| Jacaré | õxsõ-pweã | Cachoeira of the alligator | Wanana |
| Yutica | yaxpĩ-pweã | Cachoeira of the batata | Wanana |
| Tiririca | wĩ'sõ-pã | Stone of the tiririca /plant/ | Wanana |
| Taína (8) | nihĩ-pã | Stone of the child | Wanana |
| Taracuá | mẽ'rẽ-oã'rã-ñõã | Point of the taracuá | Wanana |
| Yawareté-ponta | yaía-buxpuró-ñõã | Point from where the onça jumps | Wanana |
| Pacú-cachoeira | uhú-pweã | Cachoeira of the pacú | Wanana |
| Camarinhõ-igarapé | tupi-ya ou tupi-ma | Stream of the water lizard | Kubewana |
| Querari | soã-yã-pitó | Mouth of the red river | Kubewana |

/See p. 89 for footnotes 7 and 8./

/61/ 2. Malocas and Povoados of the Tiquié (Kõsá)

| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Campina | waré-yuró | Open, field, plain | Tukano |
| Cururú-lago | táro-â'rã | Mountain chain of the toad | Tukano |
| Coró-coró | koxtó-be'tó | bay of the coró-coró | Tukano |
| Matapí | kaxsá-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the matapí | Tukano, Desana |
| Barreira | mi'mí-töröá | Barrier of the hummingbird | Tukano |
| ..... | Oá-kó | Water of the gambá /opossum/ | Miriti-tapuya |
| Ponta do veado | fiamá-ñöá | Point of the deer | Miriti, Tukano, Tuyuka |
| Serrinha | poári-â'rã | Mountain chain of the hairs | Tukano, Desana |
| ..... | pirõ-rá | Lake of the snake | Desana, Tukano |
| Fátima | yai-wa'i | House of the onça | Tuyuka |
| Sant'Ana | bu'sá-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the paina /plant/ | Tukano, Desana |
| Tucano-cachoeira | daxsé-pweá | Cachoeira of the toucan | Tukano |
| ..... | waxpo-ñöá | Point of the cunuri | Tukano |
| ..... | fiyi-yá-pitó | Mouth of the black stream | Miriti-tapuya |
| Iraiti | oxpé-duri | Rocks of the breu /resinous tree/ | Miriti-tapuya |
| Nazaré | simeõ-pũri-rá | Lake of the leaves of the uacú | Miriti-tapuya |
| Piraíba-poço | mõõ-tuxkũrõ | Well of the piraíba /fish/ | Miriti-tapuya |
| S. Pedro (bôca da estrada) | sẽ'ã paxkãrá dixtára | Lake of the piramirins | Tukano |
| Papagaio | wexkó-wi'i | House of the parrot | (sem moradores) |
| Uira-poço | daxsú-ra | Lake of the azulão /bird/ | (sem moradores) |
| ..... | dixtiro-pá | Stone of the uira-paje (bird) | Tukano, Desana |
| Barreira alta | yuyú-thá | Place of the yũyũ /bird/ (cf. VII, 3, a) | Tukano, Desana |
| Bôca do Castanho | pirõ-peri | Holes of the snake | Desana |
| S. Luiz | a'rã-ra | Lake of the cane | Desana |
| Floresta | tho'á-bwa | heaped up yũa-pixuna (fruit) | Desana |
| S. José | maxkã | "the town, the povoado" | Tukano |
| S. Miguel | mixpi-tha | grove of assai | Tukano, Desana |
| S. Luzia | Waró-sererá | Swim of the old ones (9) | Tukano |

/bôca da estrada, "beginning of the road"; see p. 89 for footnote 9./

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| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Estelo | boxtárí-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the supports | (sem moradores) |
| S. Francisco | öxtã-tí-thá | Place that has stone | Tukano |
| Maracajá (povoado) | töó-ÿ'ã-ñõá | Point of the thought | Tukano |
| Maracajá (estirão) | yai-kaherõ-kusá | Long way of the maracajá (feline) | Tukano |
| S. António | Bayá-pé | Cavern of the bayá (10) | Tukano, Desana |
| S. João | ñamá-âhõãrí-bwá | Trail of the cobra-grande /great-snake/ (11) | Desana |
| Santa Cruz | kurúsa-nũ'kũrõ ou | Place where the cross is standing | Tukano |
| | ö'mõãrí-bwa | High mountain | |
| Bela vista | nũxkũparo-tha | Beach | Tukano |
| ..... | suxpú-tõrõ | Ramp of the bubo | Tukano |
| ..... | pêru-tõ | Pot of caxirí (drink) | (Tukano) |
| ..... | ñyirã-bwá | Mountain of the maruim /mosquito/ | Tukano |
| ..... | nimá-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the poison | (sem moradores) |
| Parí-cachoeira | sirí-pá | Stone of the leap (of the fish) | Tukano |
| ..... | thũ-pá | Stone of ? | Tukano |
| S. Domingos (Cabari) | â'rẽ-mi'rĩ-pá | Stone of the nightingale (ten-ten) | Tukano, Tuyuka |
| Caburí | kõ'rẽ-kaburí-ñõá | Point of the reverberation of the woodpecker | Tukano, Tuyuka |
| S. Paulo | kí-kaxsêri-ñõá | Point of the husk of the mandioca | Tukano |
| Carurú-cachoeira | mõ-pweá | Cachoeira of the carurú /plant/ (12) | Tukano, Tuyuka |
| ..... | ñamá-âhõãrí-bwá | Mountain to bum deer | Tuyuka |
| ..... | wái-maxsã-duhirõ | Place where the fish-people sit | Tuyuka |
| S. Pedro | pixkõrõ-bwá | Mountain of the caterpillar (tapurú) | Tuyuka |
| ..... | doé-ra | Lake of the taraíra /fish/ | Oá-maxsã (gambá-tapuya) |
| ..... | öxtã-döxká | Piece of stone | (sem moradores) |

/estirão, "long way, straight stretch of a river"; see p. 90 for footnotes 10-12./

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| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ..... | pūrĩ-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the leaf | Tuyuka |
| ..... | nâxkârõ | Island | Tuyuka |
| ..... | kaĩ-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the mass of the umarí | Tuyuka |
| Sarapó | ixkĩ-serĩ-yá | Stream of the husk of the inaja | Tuyuka |

3. Malocas and Povoados of the Papurí (oxkõ nyĩsé-dyá, river of black water).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Foz do Papurí | oxkó-ñyĩsé-pitó | Mouth of the river of black water | Taryana |
| Uaracapá de baixo | wãrõ-phĩ | Pit iron | Taryana |
| ..... | waú-ñõá | Point of the monkey uaú | Taryana |
| Paraná do tatú | pamõ-yuxtĩ | Paraná of the armadillo | Taryana |
| Japurá | batĩ-bwi | Above the japurá | Taryana |
| Micura-ponta | oá-ñõá | Point of the gambá | Pirá-tapuya |
| ..... | bapá-ñõá | Point of the sabiá /bird/ | Taryana |
| Uaracapá | toóka-pá | Stone of the enclosure (13) | Taryana |
| Ituim-ponta | bũxköá-será-ñõá | Point of the ituim | Pirá-tapuya |
| Ucapinima | kikaxasẽri-ñõá | Point of the husks of the mandioca | Pirá-tapuya |
| Serrinha | â'rã-ñõá | Point of the mountain chain | Tukano |
| Parí-ponta | imĩ-sa-pá | Stone of the parí /fish enclosure/ | Tukano |
| S. Luzia | sẽ'pé-ñõá | Point of the Cobra-grande (14) | Tukano |
| Japim | yõx'sõ-ñõá | Point of the japim /bird/ | Pirá-tapuya |
| Caitetú | dyá-burú-ñõá | Point of the stream of the burú (15) | Pirá-tapuya |
| Muiritinga | buxtĩ-o | Muiritingal | Pirá-tapuya |
| ..... | sã'ã-pweá | Cachoeira of the electric eel | Pirá-tapuya |
| Teresita | dyá-yó-pweá | Cachoeira of the lontra /Mustelidae/ | Pirá-tapuya, Desana |

/baixo, "lower"; see p. 90 for footnotes 13-15./

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| Name | In Tukano | Translation | Tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pirá-mirím | só'ã-pweá | Cachoeira of the piabinha | Pirá-tapuya |
| S. Gabriel | natã-pweá | Cachoeira of the natã (toad) | Pirá-tapuya |
| Macú-paraná | poxsá-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the Macú | Pirá-tapuya, Desana |
| Tucunaré (e Olinda) | bwú-pweá | Cachoeira of the tucunaré /fish/ | Pirá-tapuya |
| Taracuá | mẽ'rẽ-oã'rã-ñõá | Point of the taracuá | Pirá-tapuya |
| S. Paulo | ahã-perí | Holes of the inambú /tinamou/ | Pirá-tapuya |
| Andorinha | Sirípi-tuxkúrõ | Well of the swallow | (sem moradores) |
| Jandiá | Pawá-dóxká | Piece of jandiá | Pirá-tapuya |
| Beijú-cachoeira | ahũ-a-pweá | Cachoeira of the beijú | (sem moradores) |
| Pato | dyá-kaxtá-pá | Stone of the water duck | Tukano |
| Urucum | buxsíka-yá | Stream of the urucum (16) | Desana |
| Piracuara | wai-perí-pweá | Cachoeira of the orifices of the fish (17) | Tukano, Desana, Maká |
| Montfort | buxtwá-pweá | Cachoeira of the cupim /ant/ | Tukano, Desana |
| Cuiú-cuiú | dyá-bũxkoá-yá | Stream of the cuiú-cuiú /fish/ | Desana |
| Japú-capuamo | umũ-pweá | Cachoeira of the japú | Desana, Tukano |
| Bôca do abio | kã'rẽ-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream of the abio /plant/ | Tukano |
| Iúa-pixuna | tho'á-pweá | Cachoeira of the yúa-pixuna | Tukano |
| Anchieta | muhí-pũ-pweá | Cachoeira of the moon | Tukano, Desana |
| ..... | ñaxkã-yá-pitó | Mouth of the stream ñaxkã (18) | Desana |
| Jandiá | Pawá-pweá | Cachoeira of the jandiá | Tukano, Desana, Maká |
| Nova vida | porerô-pextá | Port of the grasshopper | Tukano |
| S. Miguel | Boxsó-pextá | Port of the cavy | Tukano, Tuyuka |
| Melo Franco | wexkõ-sero | Hide of anta (?) | Tukano, Desaná, Karapaná |

/e, "and"; see p. 90 for footnotes 16-18./

/Footnotes for pp. 82-85./

000 2. Point /Port. Ponta/ in the toponymy always indicates a geographic accident.

*[192] 3. The natives furnished us the two names above. Coró-coró is the name of riverine birds of various species: ibis melanocephala, gerónticus infuscata.

[797] 4. There was formerly a Mission of the Capuchin Friars, under the patronage of S. Pedro, reports Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 231). Buxpú-seró is an abbreviation of buxpú-kaxsero, piece of sarabatana /blowgun/. The name refers to the legends of the sarabatana and of Tupana-ruca.

5. Sem moradores /without inhabitants/, that is, the former povoado does not exist any more.

6. The name in parentheses indicates the original inhabitants.

7. The dashes indicate places known only by the denomination in Tukano.

*[192] 8. Taina, in Nheengatu, is a child of either sex up to when it starts to talk, walk, and do small services. From then on, those of the male sex are called kurumim, and those of the female sex, kuñatai.

9. The first Tukano who came from the Papurí to the Tiquié crossed there by swimming the river to the right bank, when they were fleeing from enemies.

/Footnotes for pp. 86-88./

*192 10. Stone with an orifice from which water comes out. According to the legend, if someone drinks three cups of this water, he will fall asleep and dream of songs, and he will be a good bayá, that is, a master of dances (cf. VII, 6, a 12).

11. The Tukano state that it is a name of Makú origin, although this does not seem probable to us. In Tukano the translation would be pĩrõ pahigõ waákaro.

12. Mõ would be the abbreviation of mõã-dari, carurú (and not of mõõ, piraíba).

13. Cf. the legend of the seizure of the sacred instruments ("Lendas do Uaupés" /Legends of the Uaupés/ by the Author).

14. Sẽ-pé is the name of one of the Cobras-grandes /Great-Snakes/ of the legends, cf. p. 21.

15. Burú, according to the explanation of the natives, is the name of a clay that gives a black ink.

16. Buxsíka is a word, it seems, from the Desana language.

17. In accordance with the native tradition, there would exist a subterranean canal which, from Piracuara, would connect the river Papurí to the Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

18. Ñaxkã is the name of a poisonous wood that gave the name to the stream.

563 /65/ 4. Observations -- 1st. As we have just seen, small groups of a nation are found close to or even in the midst of other nations. Natural sociability or the requirements of circumstances relate these human groups to one another. The consequences of these relations are several:

191 The first, one language becoming general, that of the
197 Tukano nation, as an idiom common to several tribes, in such
[177] a way that on the lower Uaupés up to Iauareté almost all the
[178] adult persons (19)

19. This observation dates from 1947, soon after our first excursion to the Uaupés. We verified then, upon entering the area inhabited by the Wanana, that very rarely individuals of this tribe could understand one or another common Tukano phrase. In 1957 a certain number of persons who not only understood the Tukano idiom well, but also used it in conversations among themselves were already encountered in all the povoados from Carurú downward, among the former students of the Mission of Iauareté, or among the adults who had been employed there for some time. In our work on the Tukano language, we noticed the complacency of the young people, who had attended Mission schools, in speaking the Tukano idiom among themselves. We seemed to discover in this complacency only a touch of proudness, as if there were a superiority over their own parents and other elderly persons, and not because it could afford them a means of conversation among companions, exempt from the control of the "old ones."

speak, besides the language of their tribe (20),

20. It is to be noted that it did not lead to the formation of a language, with elements not connected with the others, as has happened in similar conditions, for example, the Sabir (miscellany of Italian, French, Spanish, Greek,

/65 cont./

191 /footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in the Mediterranean ports.

197 It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing. In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

[178] [115] [126]

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

177 Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely
178 also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

[563] [582]

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

000 2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

/66 cont./

000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

177 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth
648 century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The
[567] group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Maku are considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that,
[648] according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis), and they themselves considered themselves such, serving without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana
[554] groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some light on this curious practice.

161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same; or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

/66 cont./

563 a) There does not appear to be any increase of a group by its joining another tribe. Nor is it possible, if we consider the exaggeratedly racist mentality of the human groups of the Uaupés (22).

*101
563

22. It does seem, though, that there were some cases of a more nearly perfect cultural assimilation, with even the loss of the local idiom, for example, what Koch Grünberg states about the Kawa-tapuya. But, although the Ethnologists may want to lump together different groups as Sibs of one and the same tribe, socially they are considered by the Indians as distinct tribes. Anyway, in the Uaupés there are no Tribes in the strict sense of the term, as we shall point out later (VIII-3, b), but several nations fragmented into more or less numerous groupings. One should remember what we say (IV-2, a) with reference to the Ihurwá, who, although taken as Tukano, present peculiar somatic features that differentiate them from the other Tukanos.

563 /67/ Nor do we consider, because they are rare nowadays, the cases of marriage or "ménage" of Indian women with civilized men (all prolific besides), because the child is not, nor is it considered, a native any longer (23).

23. We point out (note 105 /see note 113/, VII 5, c) that, when a child is born from a sporadic relation between a civilized man and an Indian woman, to whom naturally would fall the raising of the child, it is considered as belonging to the mother's tribe, if she is single, or to the husband's tribe (as if it were his child), if it is a matter of a married woman. In Iauareté (1956) we knew two brothers, students of the Mission, regarded as Taryana, although children of different fathers, two Colombian soldiers of fortune.

/67 cont./

842 b) An unquestionable fact is the fertility of the Indian woman. From the investigations made, there was reported to us only one instance of an individual's sending his wife back as sterile, the judgment, evidently, of the husband. In spite of the advantages or convenience of the Indian woman who does not want to have many children (and we have heard from their lips several times this declaration: "it is ugly to have many children"), and the practices that they use to space each delivery 2, 3, and even 4 or more years apart, the presence of numerous children in each povoado pleasantly surprises us. In our investigations we found a vigorous Indian man about 45 years of age, who had 11 children (24).

[171] 24. It is a matter of the Indian Agostinho Barbosa of the Taryana tribe, in Iauareté. It is true that in December of 1948 four of his 11 children had already died.

163 On one of our lists of individuals of various tribes, in the casual order in which the anthropometric measurements were made, 20 married people among men and women, of about 35 years of age or older, presented a total of 101 children. Therefore an average of 5 children per couple is shown. It is to be noted that only 18 dead children, without discrimi-
161 nation as to age, appear on this same list. If we imagine that all adults marry (ordinarily after 20 years of age) (25),

[587] 25. There was reported to us only the case of one man who did not find a wife; it is to be noted, however, that it was a matter of a widower.

and that the two sexes more or less correspond in number, it should be concluded that the population has

/67 cont./

161 increased (26).

26. With pleasure we found some of these opinions confirmed by the Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, from the end of the eighteenth century. In No. 208 of his [164] "Noticias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/" he points out: "What indeed is worth noting is that there is not found among the central heathen the sickness that is called humores gallicos /French disease, syphilis/, according to what has been ascertained on the rivers Uaupé, Japurá, Juruá, Jutahí, and others, and because of that perhaps there is among them great propagation as daily experience shows; in any descimento /descent; see p. 35 / one sees double and triple the children of both sexes."

c) It might happen that one finds partially or even totally uninhabited a place that, years before, was flourishing. This fact per se does not authorize one to conclude that one is dealing with a decrease /68/ in population. There might have been migration to another place, as a consequence of there having been some epidemic or fight in the original povoado. It is true 164 that there have been epidemic attacks of colds ("catarro, ehõ," says the Indian), measles (27),

27. In August and September of 1956 successive attacks of whooping cough, measles, and malaria decimated approximately 200 natives on the rivers Uaupés, Papurí, and Tiquié.

or malaria (uháke), which have decimated the population of one [797] group or another. The sanitary assistance that the Salesian Missions are giving them has avoided such attacks or has reduced the danger of them.

/68 cont./

165 d) Unfortunately, however, the index of child mortality is still very high. Prior to the establishment of hospitals and
[797] ambulatories by the Salesian Missions, about 50 per cent of the children from 2 to 10 years of age died because of the lack of hygiene.

164 More alarming still is the danger of tuberculosis. Sent by the Colombian government, in August of 1955 the phthisiologist Dr. Alvaro Arguillo Pinzon visited the populations of the Uaupés and Papurí. Soon after his visit to this latter river, at the povoados of the Colombian bank as well of the Brazilian one, he affirmed to us in Iauareté that 75 per cent of the indigenous population was already infected by the Koch bacillus. The affirmation is painfully true. Not only are the Indians ignorant of the simplest standards of hygiene suitable to the case (they live together in the same environment filled with carbonic anhydride from the always lighted fire, they sleep on the same hammock, put their dirty hands in the common food, drink from the same cuia /gourd container/, consume the remains of the food of the tubercularis, sip the drinks chewed perhaps by some infected person, etc.), but also to their mentality the observance of the
[753] precautions required by the sickness is excluded. As a matter of fact, they do not believe in sicknesses; they consider themselves immortal. The sicknesses are evils caused by some enemy, and only the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ with his magic practices (practices that in reality often contribute only to making the ailment worse) is able to eliminate them. For
[797] this reason, they do not subject themselves to long treatment in the Mission hospitals, to which, ordinarily, they retreat voluntarily and with the permission of the relatives only after having uselessly tried the treatments of various pajés, already in the last days of life. In recent years a considerable proportion of deaths, mainly of adults, has had as causa mortis laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis.

/68 cont./

165 The natives who are over 70 years of age are rare; at 50 years of age the Indian is already old (28),

28. The appearance makes one commonly use the word old in order to specify the individual better. Thus one frequently hears: "old Felipe of such-and-such a place," "old Cândido," etc.

and he usually dies before 60.

/69/

## Chapter IV

## Distinction and Classification

### 1. Distinction

121 *101 These studies cover, we repeat, the tribes of Brazil and Colombia who populate the basin of the Uaupés. Under such denomination we mean the Uaupés River, from where it enters Brazil, soon after the afflux of the river Querarí, up to its mouth in the Rio Negro, with its two tributaries, the Papurí and the Tiquié, and numerous small tributaries. Our field research covers not only all the human groupings located on the banks of the three rivers above, but also many other groups from the headwaters of those rivers and in the interior of the forest. For this reason it seems to us that we can consider in a general way the large area of the "basin of the Uaupés." All the more since some of the groups that are found farther in the interior on the igarapés belong to the riverine tribes, or at least they have had relations with them for a long time, and in this way there has been cultural assimilation.

/69 cont./

*101 On our anthropometric file cards representatives of fourteen tribes appear, to wit: 1. Arapásu, 2. Bará, 3. Desana, 4. Karapanã, 5. Kubêwana, 6. Pirá-tapuya, 7. Suryana, 8. Tukano, 9. Tuyuka, 10. Yurití, 11. Wanana, 12. Kumãdene (or Ipéka-tapuya, water-duck people), 13. Taryãna, 14. Makú.

We also had an opportunity for communication with the tribes: 1. Ba:remasã, 2. Edúrya, 3. Emõã-masã (guariba-tapuya), 4. Hanẽrã (panẽnõa), 5. Íde-masã (water people, or Aõnĩtã), 6. Oá-mahã (mikura-tapúya), 7. Páboa-masã (tatú-tapúya), 8. Roéra-masã (tarayra-tapuya), 9. Yebá-masã, 10. Mirití-tapúya, 11. Ihwãna, 12. Tsẽna, all of the Tukano /Tucano/ group, and with a dozen tribes of the Arwáke /Arawak/ group, of the rivers Içana and Aiarí.

We do not include in the present study the tribes of the Içana. Nowadays relations are free and easy and trade is frequent between these tribes and the ones who inhabit the upper Uaupés. Not infrequently individuals from that river are found settled in the basin of the Uaupés. Entire groups /70/ have abandoned the Içana and tributaries, judged as "blighted," that is, through the scarcity of fish, and many times attracted by the greater comfort that the Catholic Missions provide for the inhabitants of the rivers Uaupés and Negro.

829 171 An impressive fact in such a notable physiological and cultural melting-pot is that all the natives, even the children, proudly know how to distinguish and express precisely the group to which they belong. What would be the basis for this distinction? There being in effect the law that the children belong to the nation of their own father, it is easy for the 000 individual to indicate what his own tribe would be. What, however, would be the foundations for this distinction between tribes? The first foundation, in dealing with nationality, would evidently be of a bio-ethnological order.

/70 cont./

a. Distinction by the somatic element.

582 As was said, the law of exogamy is in effect among all
563 these tribes (except the Maku). The Taryana of Iauareté, for example, obtain for wives the women of the Tukano tribe residing in the neighboring povoado called Umarí, both
563 povoados on the Uaupés River. Vice versa, the Tukano of
144 Umarí take as wives the Taryana women of Iauareté. According to present knowledge about heredity, the paternal genídios /genes/ (1)

1. The new science, Genetics, verified and admits a granular conception of heredity. The germ cell of the human being contains in its nucleus 24 pairs of chromatic points, they are the chromosomes, each of them being made up of smaller parts called gene or genídio (from the Greek root gen, which indicates to generate).

are blended and balanced. One can expect, then, that the physical aspect of the Taryana (of Tukano mother) will not present notably characteristic physical features that would
144 distinguish them from the Tukano (of Taryana mother). This compulsory crossing, which dates from many generations, explains to us the similarity of physiognomic features, which we find today among individuals of different tribes (2).

2. We observed a typical case, among the many, in August of 1956, during an excursion to the stream Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié (near Parí-cachoeira). We found in Piracema, povoado of the Desana tribe on the Umarí, a boy with physiognomic features extraordinarily similar to those of a Desana youth who served us as an oarsman, and from this very povoado. We verified, however, that the boy belonged to the Tukano tribe, of the povoado called

/70 cont./

144 /footnote 2 cont./ Floresta on the left bank of the Tiquié. In reality the boy and the youth, between themselves, are baxsúkãra, that is, cousins designated for preferential marriage. Actually, the boy, son of a Tukano father, had as mother a Desana from the povoado of Piracema, and aunt of the youth, our oarsman.

142 Nevertheless, documenting diverse ethnic origins, with a surprising resistance to the leveling biological factors, one
144 notices /71/ types quite distinct somatically (3).

3. We have found, within the same tribe, but belonging to different subtribes, quite distinct somatic types. For example, the Tukano of Iuquíra (Ihurwá subdivision) exhibit a noticeable difference from other Tukano subdivisions: they are fairer, with a higher and straighter forehead, more delicate features. Likewise the Pirá-tapuya of the povoado S. Paulo on the river Papurí, the Desana of Piracema on the Umarí exhibit characteristic physiognomic features that distinguish them from other groups of the same tribe.

It even seems to us that five or six somatic types or normo-types, with their peculiar features, can be distinguished on the Uaupés. We shall try to sketch the features of some of these somatic types, which, lacking other criteria, and because it is simpler, we shall name according to the tribe where we found the greatest number of individuals with such lineaments.

1) Tukano type.

142 Bronze-colored skin. The children are more reddish, approaching copper. After physical exercise (running, working) they become notably copper-colored.

/71 cont./

In all the cases of newborn children that we were able to observe, we found the characteristic Mongolian spot, purplish, oval, measuring approximately one centimeter in diameter or a little more and always in the gluteal region. The Tukano Antônio Barreto, Dorotéia Brito, and others informed us that this spot is called Wãx-tĩ-õtá and is absolutely general. Although it ordinarily disappears after two or three months, it may, however, last one year or longer. The denomination Wãx-tĩ-õtá, feces of Wãx-tĩ, results, according to the legend, from the fact that the first newborn child was supposed to have been laid on a place where there were feces of Wãx-tĩ (cf. VII-4, d (5) ), which soiled him.

[115] *[192]

142 Roundish face, at times widening toward the cheeks, as a gastronomic type; or even narrowing into a double triangle toward the forehead. This is receding and, in all cases, in the shape of a trapezium, with the smaller base upward, and frequently sloping laterally toward the temples. The zygoma is quite pronounced.

Eyebrows not very thick, small, straight, or light and elegantly arched, separated by a bare space of about three centimeters (the base of the nose). Short and not very thick eyelashes. Small eyes, Mongoloid, with slanted eyelids. Black or very dark iris and whitish, or with some frequency yellowish, conjunctiva.

Short nose, low, ordinarily concave, forming a regular arch. Wide base (between the eyebrows); sometimes it narrows, deepens, and becomes thinner in the nasion, like a small triangle, soon to widen up to the point, which is usually very /72/ flat. Large nostrils, round, very visible, because frequently the point is turned up. In almost all cases it ends in a roundish protuberance.

304 /72 cont./

[142] [144] Generally long ears, pyriform, protruding, and with the lobes almost always held tightly. In all the cases that we could verify (more than two hundred individuals of both sexes and from various tribes, whose anthropometric measurements we took), we could observe on the dorsal part of the auricular pavilion (on both pavilions or only one, and generally in the lower part) a scar of varying shape and size. In many cases it looked like teeth marks, with the mark of two or three teeth. No one knew or they all refused to give any explanation for this scar, answering, as they frequently do, "I do not know," or "that is the way it is," or again "it is from birth." A young woman affirmed that it was her uncle who executed it, and she did not want to say anything else. A youth gave the information that it had been done by his mother when he was still small, for the purpose of his later being able to attach the feather for the dances there. An explanation that obviously was not satisfactory, because he did not have pierced ears. Dorotéia Brito, much later, told that such a scar is called [115] *[192] Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro (orifice of Wãx-tĩ), but did not say anything about the origin, affirming that it was from birth. It seemed to us that we could establish, as in fact we did: 1st, that it is artificial, from the appearance; 2nd, it is done before the puberty rites, because we found it on prepubescent children; 3rd, the name of Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro is an indication that they judge it to be of magic or transcendental value. Maybe even a rite of symbolic value, like the circumcision of the Jews. These provisional conclusions were confirmed [115] in September of 1956, when the Tukano Antônio Barreto, who [553] exhibited these scars on both ears, not only confirmed the term Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro, but added that it is done by the father, by the mother, or any other person, after the child has received a name (cf. Rite of the imposition of the name, VIII-1, b (4) ), that is, from 3 to 5 years of age. He maintained, however, that he did not know its significance.

/72 cont./

142 Wide mouth, thick lips, frequent prognathism, although
144 slight, ugly dentition, with yellow teeth, many cavities and
[164] defects. Few individuals over 20 years old had all their teeth. Not rarely canines and incisors were malposed or maloccluded.

Rounded chin, small, at times almost imperceptible, and frequently ending in a small and elegant point.

Neither mustache nor beard (4).

4. Men with a discreet mustache and even with a small beard on the chin are found with considerable frequency among the Ihwãna, Roéra, and Íde-masã tribes, the Arwáke of the Içana, and the tribes of the Caburí.

A few individuals of the male sex exhibit some sparse mustache
*[192] or beard hairs and /73/ try to eliminate them by depilation (poá-ri kuré:) with the fingers. It is the usual process for pulling out the hair of the arms, legs, and other parts of the body, on oneself or on others (5).

5. Wallace also reports: "The men have very little beard, and even this little they pull out, plucking out the hairs. Men and women, all pull out the eyebrows (which is not true today, it seems, or it would be more rare) and the hair of the armpits and of the genital parts" (op. cit., 617).

*[192] We have seen, for the axillae, that they use the following depilatory process: a ball of breu /a kind of resin/ or of the resin called sĩ-pé, which is pressed together and rubbed on the axillae until it holds and pulls out the hairs. To appear smooth is a quality of elegance, according to their aesthetic tastes.

/73 cont./

142 Black hair, or more commonly dark brown, almost black,
144 straight, shiny, coarse and thick; many times, though, burned by the sun (6).

6. Among the Makú, Ídé-masã, Roéra-masã, Yebá-masã, Hanẽrã, Edúrya, and Ba:re-masã, cymotrichous types are common. We could see and photograph some women who exhibited black hair that was fine and cacheados /curled in ringlets/.

178 The ones who have attended school wear it in a regular length,
302 combed, and parted on the left side; the others have it cut with scissors with a short fringe on the forehead, behind the ears, and on the neck. Up to a century ago they used to let it grow in long braids (7),

7. A. Russell Wallace wrote in 1850: "The men do not cut the hair, they let it hang in front in a long braid, tying it around with cords, or they let it fall in the middle of the back, often as far as the thighs. The hair of the women falls loosely over the shoulders and is cut with a moderate length" (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 616).

which might reach as far as the thigh. The women, instead, trimmed it a little, perhaps in order not to be inconvenienced in their work. Today the women have it a little below the shoulders, more or less fastened with a ribbon or pin. One sees some children with the hair quite shorn, but growing in breadth, as if it were a lion's mane (8).

8. Hair cut this way, "like a lion's mane," although with a wider zone, that is, about 5 or 6 centimeters, has been seen, likewise, in caboclo children of the Rio Negro. Perhaps the natives have imitated these examples.

/73 cont./

142 In some few cases, hair becoming thin due to loss; not, however,
144 complete baldness. Rare and late graying, thanks to the use of some dyeing lotions. No case of albinism or erythrism in the eight or ten thousand Indians whom we have visited.

The rest of the body is not very pilose; the hair is fine and brown, more or less the color of the skin, and thus it is barely distinguishable from it.

He is of short stature and short neck. They ridicule the whites for having so long a neck. Well-formed torso, slightly longer /74/ than the inferior members on those of the male sex, and with an even more noticeable difference on those of the female sex, without, however, coming to be inelegant. Broad-chested, with an ample thorax, and with hips considerably narrower than the shoulders. In the men, after 40
[145] years of age, the belly often large and sagging, which gives the
[262] torso a chubby appearance. The disproportionate development of the stomach, as a result of an excess of nourishment preponderantly of mandioca flour, is already noticeable in all the children from three or four years of age.

[832] The young woman is always plump in body, which is considered a feature of elegance; she sometimes comes to exhibit a chubby appearance. Ordinarily the women have the bust elegantly inclined backwards, perhaps due to the way they carry the loads, in large baskets the length of their backs, but tied to the forehead with embira. Perhaps this is also the cause of an exaggerated development of the sternum.

[832] The individuals of the female sex have the gluteal region well developed, although not exaggeratedly, a quality, by the way, appreciated also as a factor of female elegance.
* [192] For this reason, the ones with a slimmer body are objects of derision, as desnalgadas /thin ones/, duxkú. It seems, however,
[481] that there is no artificial process for the development of that region, and that the very way of walking, with the torso well arched toward the rear, the abdomen forward, and the chest and head quite erect, or even inclined backward, is what sets off the gluteal proportions.

/74 cont./

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Arms and legs well formed (9).

9. "The Tucano type presents quite a good appearance. Of regular stature, light bronze color, round head and eyes (?), hair generally black and short; he has a conjunction of such handsome proportions that, in perfect immobility, he could be taken as an artistic statue of bronze." Mons. Lourenço Giordano (Boletim Salesiano, February of 1918, p. 31).

The former notably developed through the exercise of rowing, which gives them a span of arms always greater than the height, up to 10 or even 15 centimeters.

Muscular chest in the men. Hemispherical and voluminous breasts in the maidens, also constituting an element of elegance for the young women. Sagging like the udder of a nanny goat in the women beyond a certain age. This due to the fact that they are always bending and swinging when they work (10).

[145]
[431]

*[192]

10. Slender and long breasts are likewise objects of derision. They nickname such women "mother of the Curupira, Boraró-paxkó." We have seen women with breasts so long that, passed under the arms, they are sucked by the children placed behind them on the back.

/75/ Small hands, regular fingers. Feet, on the contrary, large; the tip of the toes is wide, as in a fan, due to the way of walking. Digits with a narrow base and flattened top, with a wide space between them, especially between the great one /Port. polegar, thumb or great toe/ and the next one; a fact that allows them notable prehension (securing and raising objects with the feet, or even guiding the wheel of a launch and rowing).

/75 cont./

304 They do not practice any deformation of the body (11),

11. Nevertheless the Ouvidor /Auditor/ Francisco Xavier R. de Sampaio, in his "Diário" of the year 1774-5, notices, in No. 318, concerning the river Anauene, tributary of the Rio Negro: "This river is inhabited by the Aruaquí nation, very warlike and anthropophagous, but without any artificial deformity such as those customarily practiced by the nations of the Amazon." And about the Uaupés (No. 381) he says that they pierced the ears and the lower lip. This is confirmed at the end of the eighteenth century by Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, "Noticias Geographicas da Capitania do Rio Negro no grande Rio Amazonas /Geographical Notes on the Capitania of Rio Negro on the great Amazon River/," No. 208), and 50 years later Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, pp. 245 and 624) adds that the Kubeo /Cubeo/ enlarge it more, in such a way that a bottle cork could pass through the orifice of the ear. Perhaps this custom is already being lost. We did not find even one individual with such a large orifice in the ears, and we were able to observe several hundreds of Kubewãna on the upper Uaupés and on the Querarí. The largest orifice we could observe would measure one centimeter in diameter, and we saw it on a man of the ~~Roóra~~-masã tribe, residing on the Igarapé Comé-ia, tributary of the river Pirá-paraná.

except for the piercing of the ear lobes, from where they hang the earrings at the dances. Outside of this occasion, in order to keep the orifice open, they introduce a small stick from the ribs of palm trees. Among the men of the new generation, in the povoados assisted by the Salesian Missions, many no longer pierce the lobes.

[178]

/75 cont./

14 They are certainly not types of beauty, and some, with
732 old age and wrinkles, become frankly ugly. Among the eight or ten thousand individuals we saw, however, none were deformed (12).

12. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 179) in Parí-cachoeira met a midget, about 15 or 18 years old and measuring 107 centimeters in height, playing with the children. His parents, already dead (1903), were of normal stature.

Among the youngest there are even attractive types, and on the
[847] older ones touches of a serene majesty. It is true that the crippled and the deformed are eliminated at birth (cases that are rare, according to what we found) (13).

13. We know of several cases of crippling. Because of the lack of statistics, we could not say what percentage they represent in the sparse population of these rivers. It seemed to us, however, that they are all consequences of falls while young, or of infantile paralysis.

14 We have thus sketched a Mongoloid type, brachycephalic, lissotrichous, platyrrhinian, slightly prognathic, morphologically mixed, pyknico-athletic, quite close to the norm.

/76/ There are somewhat frequent cases of evolutive
732 retardation in early childhood, and even of true rachitis, accompanied at times by mental debility (14).

14. We also regret here the lack of statistical data that would present to us the percentage of pathological cases. We found in Parí-cachoeira in 1957 two female children with rachitis and mental debility, admitted to the hospital. One eight years old from the Desana tribe, and the other, Tukano, 14 years old. Both,

/76 cont./

732 /footnote 14 cont./ due to weakness of the organs, were not able to walk until five years of age, after long treatment. Among the cases of pronounced hebetude, we recall two adults of the male sex, one from the Huhúdẽne tribe in Uapuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí), and the other a Taryana of Iauareté, known as Marcelino, "Contented," because he laughs at anything.

481 Completing this profile, it should be noted that they are slow of movement, at times clumsy in their way of walking. They walk with a short step (15),

15. In the military formations of the children, at one of the schools of the Salesian Missions, we could verify the tendency to accelerate the march.

like small jumps; many drag slightly and set the tip of the toes apart laterally, and the heel barely touches the ground.

516 They do not remain on their feet very long, almost always leaning more on one foot (the left one) and just on the tip of the other one. The woman withstands being on her feet less than the man. The most common and lasting position, when still, is the squat; it is the normal position for eating, even when they could do it sitting down. When they sit, they prefer low seats or the ground, and then they never cross the legs.

Let us now note some features that vary in this profile that we have sketched.

2) Pirã-tapuya type.

142 144 Skin lighter than in the Tukano, and face slightly or markedly elongated. Zygoma less prominent. Lissotrichous hair, lighter brown.

/76 cont./

142
144

Brown eyes; sometimes quite light, mainly in the children. High nose, but somewhat flat at the tip and large. Regular mouth, better formed set of teeth, small chin, rounded in the natural curve of the face; thick lips. The physiognomic features, however, are less attractive than in the Tukano.

A taller type than the Tukano, and also less plump of body.

3) Taryana type.

Lighter in color than the Tukano, he likewise has a more elongated face, but with more prominent cheekbones.

/77/ The nose is high, straight, with nevertheless a very wide point and big nostrils. Square forehead, less curved laterally, straighter and wider than in the Tukano. Wide mouth, a chin quite large and sometimes quite pointed.

Less plump body and average stature like the Tukano.

4) Makú type.

Lighter skin, of an earth-colored paleness. There are almost always cymotrichous types, with dark, thick, and sometimes fine hair.

Small forehead, receding, zygoma less noticeable. High and thin nose. More open eyes, almost Caucasian. There are types with more delicate and attractive features than those of the other tribes, although one does find groups with an appearance that retraces greater degradation.

Body slenderer and shorter. He is more similar to the whites than those of the other nations.

5) General observations.

The Desana are smaller, lighter than the Tukano, and of more delicate features, and therefore in general more attractive in appearance. And among these various tribes, the Yurití,

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
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16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
171

b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

*192 The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-
[531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[278] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[411] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana
[567] /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

/78/ While the çacurí, as a fishing process, is general to
[226] all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/78 cont./

532 184 On the other hand, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the masks are manufactured and worn by the Kubêwana and Wanana, and, later, also by the Taryana. We likewise find masks among the Íde-masã of the stream Comé-ia (tributary of the left bank of the river Pirá-paraná).

## 2. Classification

121 The attempt to classify the tribes of Brazil in general, as well as those of the Amazon or of the Rio Negro in particular, is still open for discussion.

A classification, let us say, culturological, of the tribes of the Uaupés is impossible today. The relations among the various tribes, already dating back centuries, brought about a more or less perfect interculturation among them. We can, then, affirm that the nations of the Uaupés constitute at present a single cultural group, the origin of whose cultural elements is difficult to retrace at the present time. The peculiarities of each tribe are few and insignificant, as we have just seen, and do not, by themselves, permit a classification.

A classification fundamentally anthropological, be it serological, be it somatic, is likewise impossible. The blood 143 examination done a few years ago by Prof. Emílio Biocca of the University of Rome on 237 individuals of the Tukano, Taryana, and Maku tribes showed that all of them belonged to type O, and the relation between the genes m and n was constant. The regimen of absolute tribal exogamy, which has been practiced for centuries among them, necessarily brings about bio-anthropological assimilation.

Though it seems to us that at present the glottologic 197 classification would be still easier and more persuasive, nevertheless in this plurisecular melting-pot some idioms were profoundly altered and some human groups have already adopted

/78 cont./

197 the idiom of others somatically quite different. Here we await the word of the experts (17).

17. In collaboration with the "Centro de Pesquisas da Prelazia do Rio Negro" /Research Center of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro/ for the classification of the Amerindian idioms, we have collected the "test" Vocabulary of 200 words (and also recorded the pronounciation of many) suggested by Prof. Morris Swadesh of Denver (United States). /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./ The following are the tribes whose Vocabulary we have and which appear in our work "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia":
1st. Of the Tukano linguistic Family: 1. Bará (or Barasana); 2. Desana (Winá); 3. Edúrya (Erúlya); 4. Ihwana (Yona); 5. Karapanã-tapuya (Mõxtã); 6. Kubewana (Pamĩwa); 7. Mikura-tapuya (Oá-mahã, gambá /opossum/ people); 8. Panenoá (Hanẽra); 9. Pirá-tapuya (Waíkhana, fish people); 10. Suryana (Surirá); 11. Taraíra-tapuya (Roéra-masã, food people); 12. Tatu-tapuya (Páboa-maxsã, tatu /armadillo/ people); 13. Temyú-tapuya (Ba:re-masã, food people); 14. Tsẽna; 15. Tukano (Daxseá); 16. Tuyuka-tapuya (Doxká-foará, clay people); 17. Yebá-masã; 18. Yí-tapuya (Ide-masã, water people); 19. Yuriti-tapuya (Wahyára, Uhaíia-na, dove people); 20. Wanana (Kórtirya); 21. Waríwa-tapuya (Emõá-masã, guariba /howling monkey/ people); 22. Korẽterabõa (Buya-tapuya, snake people). /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./
2nd. Of the Arwake linguistic Family: 1. Iñabu-tapuya (inambú /tinamou/ people, Huhúdene); 2. Ipeka-tapuya (water-duck people, Kumãdene); 3. Marakayá-tapuya (maracaja /a wild cat/ people, Werekena); 4. Pišuna-tapuya (black people, Kadaupuri-tana); 5. Siusi-tapuya (star people, Wariperž-dékene); 6. Sukuruyu-Tapuya (sucuri people, Mauri-weni); 7. Taryana (Talyáseri);

/78 cont./

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/footnote 17 cont./ 8. Tatú-tapúya (tatu people, Ádza-nẽẽni); 9. Yawareté-tapuya (onça people, Dzawí-mináney); 10. Yurupari-tapuya (demon people, Mapatse-dákeney); 11. Yiboya-tapuya (gibóia people, Dzuré-mẽne).
3rd. Of the Makú linguistic Family: 1. Makú of the Serra dos Porcos (in the vicinity of Iauareté, Uaupés River). 2. Makú of the Japú-igarapé (tributary, from the right, of the middle Uaupés). 3. Makú of the Ira-igarapé (tributary, from the right, of the lower Tiquié). 4. Makú of the river Taraíra (tributary of the Apapóris).

/79/ In the classic division of the tribes of Brazil into the four groups Tupi-guarani, Gê, Arwáke /Arawak/, and Karaíba /Carib/, the area of these last two groups covers the basin of the Rio Negro. In the Karaíba group, however, there are only the Arekuna and Makiritare (or Deukwana of Curt Nimuendajú), with representatives on the river Içana, not in the Uaupés basin, although Chestmir has found vestiges of Karaíba (as we pointed out in the work "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") in many idioms.

At first the other nations were all included among the Arwake. In the writings of the first explorers the denomination "Aroaquís," covering distinct tribes of the Rio Negro, frequently appears.

Daniel G. Brinton, 1892, distinguished among the tribes that occupy the region between the Solimões and the Guianas the Betóya linguistic family, which also included the Tukano. Later Paul Rivet shows that the Betóya must be included among the Chibcha, and proposes the denomination of Tukano Family for the Uaupés group.

/79 cont./

121 Among the tribes of the region being studied, we noted
171 the presence of small human groups of sylvicolists par
433 excellence, that is hunters, more or less nomadic; they are
241 the Maku. Whereas the other tribes are fluminicolists, that is, established on the banks of the important watercourses and given to fishing and agriculture. Although some Maku groups have assimilated many of the customs of the other tribes, we do not include them in these studies. We have already pointed out (I, Note 1) that the Maku are probably the most ancient inhabitants of the region.

The tribes that we studied are classified, then, in two large linguistic families:

101 1st. Tukano Family, covering the tribes: 1. Daxseá
121 or Tukano; 2. Bará or Barasana; 3. Bá:re-masã or Temyú-tapuya (food people); 4. Doxká-foará or Tuyuka (clay people); 5. Edúrya or Erúlya; 6. Emõá-masã or Waríwa-tapuya (guariba people); 7. Hanẽra or Panẽnoá; 8. Ídé-masã, Aõ-nĩra, Makumá or Yí-tapuya /80/ (water people); 9. Ihwana or Yona; 10. Koneá or Arapásu (woodpecker people); 11. Kótirya or Wanana; 12. Mõxtã or Karapanã-tapuya (daddy-longlegs people); 13. Neenõá or Miriti-tapuya (buriti people); 14. Oá-mahã or Mikura-tapuya (gambá people); 15. Pamĩwa or Kubewana; 16. Páboa-maxsã or Tatu-tapuya (tatu people); 17. Roéra-masã or Taraíra-tapuya (taraíra people); 18. Surirá or Suryana; 19. Tsẽna; 20. Yebá-masã; 21. Wahyara, Waíana or Yuriti-tapuya (dove people); 22. Waí-khãna or Pirá-tapuya (fish people); 23. Winá or Desana.

2nd. Arwake Family, including the tribes: 1. Kumãdene or Ipeka-tapuya (water-duck people); 2. Talyáseri or Taryana. We speak only of these two, because the other tribes of this numerous family do not inhabit the Uaupés basin, and, indeed, that of the rivers Içana, Xié, and Negro.

/80 cont./

*101 The Tukano Family, being made up of human groups located in the Colombian plains of the Amazon forest, entered Brazil by the Uaupés-Japurá valley, probably before the period of the Discoveries (18).

[115] 18. An old Tukano of Iuquira, Justino by name, of the Ihurwá or Juruá group, informed Pe. Antônio Giacone that his group took the name of the river Juruá, where they lived. From there, they moved little by little to the Japurá, Apapóris, and reached the upper Uaupés. They came down the Uaupés to the mouth of the Papuri, and later went up it again as far as Turí-igarapé, from where the Maku guided them to the Japú-igarapé on the mouth of which they established themselves, after the Arapásu had left there. Such information, by someone who had never seen a map of the region, presents strong indications of veracity.

Almost simultaneously the Arwake family came down the Orinoco-Negro valley, reaching the Japurá, as is proved, according to Koch Grünberg, by the names of the rivers with ri, a typically Arwake ending. Having come upon the Tukano, who are located like a wedge on the Uaupés, the Arwake remained divided to the north and south of them. The last migration, in Koch's opinion, was the one of the Karaíba, who came from the eastern part, in relation to the previous groups, that is, from the upper Guaviare.

197 /81/ By way of confirming the affiliation of these idioms,
126 we gathered a parallel Vocabulary of the most used words in the different indigenous languages (cf. our works "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia" and "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical."

/81 cont./

*101 a) DAXSEÁ OR TUKANO

1) People-Name-Language -- In the native idiom, they are called Daxseá (sing., masc. daxségõ; fem. daxségo), name of the bird that we call tucano /toucan/ in Portuguese. In the historical period they are already found under the name of Uaupés (cf. II -- 6, a (1) ), in the basin of this river, so that the various tribes of this region are known and understood under the denomination of "Nações Uaupés" /Uaupés Nations/. Perhaps the broadening of the term is due, not to the fact of the Tukano customs having been imposed, those of the other nations being eliminated, but to the greater number and dispersion of groups of this tribe, as well as to the generalization of its idiom. Even today many adult persons (and lately, because of living together in the boarding schools of the Missions, children as well) of the various tribes of the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí understand and speak the Tukano language, and perhaps have forgotten their own native idiom.

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According to Lucas, an old Tukano from S. Luzia, on the Papurí (in an account to Pe. Antônio Giacone, in July of 1947), the Tukano descended from the northwest (thus disagreeing with old Justino from Inquira, as was seen in a previous Note) to the Uaupés basin, already finding there small groups of Makú who were either enslaved or went into the forest in the interior. They call the Makú Poxsá, that is, one who serves without pay. "They are servants in peace and soldiers in war," as the old people expressed themselves about them (19).

[115] [648] [567]

19. It is not likely that the Tukanos had the Makú as allies, or that they would rely on them, if we note that they are shy and also subject themselves to other tribes. Nor do the legends that we collected speak of favors by the Makú to the Tukanos in war.

The tribes who arrived later called the Tukano Yepá-maxsã,

/81 cont./

*101 that is, "people of the land." Impressed later by the fact that they ate a great deal and frequently, they compared them with the tucanos /toucans/.

This is probably a later explanation invented by the native imagination. It is to be noted, however, that those of this tribe have always called themselves Daxseá, and never Yepá-maxsã. According to the old Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, Yepá-maxsã is the nickname of the Bará, although he does not know what that denomination means! In reality, Yebá-maxsã (in Tukano, Yepá-maxsã) is the name of a tribe of the Tukano group, as we shall see later (IV -- 2, t).

/82/ The designation "Tukano" clearly obeys the structure of the primitive's mentality, naming himself after an animal or plant. For now we do not want to go into the question of Totemism, which we hope to deal with more fully in another study. We are now permitted only to infer for them a habitat where the Tucano /toucan/ bird (ramphastus) might live, such as in the Amazonian plain of Colombia.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- More or less numerous groups of Tukano are found from Yu-Rapecuma (almost on the mouth of the Uaupés) up to Umarí (middle Uaupés), on the Tiquié from the mouth up to Carurú-cachoeira, and on the Papurí from Serrinha up to the headwaters. Small groups have also established themselves on the Rio Negro between S. Gabriel and Santa Isabel. The preceding charts (II -- 6, a, b) show the principal places where we find them today. The principal route of penetration into Brazil, it seems to us, was the river Papurí, from where they passed to the Uaupés and Tiquié (20).

115 20. The old tuxáua José of Parí-cachoeira, about thirty years ago, showed Pe. João Marchesi an area of underbrush on the Tiquié, reporting that the first maloca of his ancestors was there when they came from the Pakurí.

[103] The indigenous denomination of the locality of S. Luzia of the Tiquié, buõrá-bathá, swim of the old ones (cf. Note 9, III), is confirmation of the Tukano tradition concerning their origin and migration.

/82 cont./

*701 The more noble subdivisions established themselves from Piracuara upwards (river Papurí), with a group of the Waú-ro coming down as far as Ananaz (Uaupés).

According to Frei Gregório's maps, in 1853 the Tukano on the river Uaupés lived in: Pacú-cachoeira, Iuquira-Rapecuma, S. Joaquim, Nanã-Rapecuma, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Iauareté-cachoeira. The first "Relatórios" of the eighteenth century (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, No. 174; "Diario" /Diary/ of Sampaio, No. 366) already report the presence of Índios Uaupés in S. Isabel, today Tapurucuá, in the middle Rio Negro. In fact, a Tukano group is still found in that vicinity.

161 According to Koch G. (Festschrift Eduard Seler, 206) the Tukano would come to 1,500 souls. They must, however, be rather more numerous. The statistics of Pelo Rio Mar report in Brazilian territory alone 1,622 individuals; and those of Colombian territory are equally numerous. It is possible that they exceed two thousand.

829 We have sketched the physical appearance of the Tukano (IV -- 1, a (1) ). The physical and spiritual qualities do not reveal any superiority over the other tribes. On the contrary, some of these present more delicate features and perhaps even a better configuration and anatomical proportions. Nevertheless, the Tukano, as we have already noted, considers himself /83/ superior to the other tribes and this primacy is peacefully granted [197] to him. The Missionaries explain this superiority by the fact that the other tribes accepted his language as the official, or at least general, idiom on these rivers. Logically the generalization of the idiom would be explained by the superiority of [173] the tribe. This inconsistency is to be pointed out: according to the Tukano tradition, they were defeated by the "Blood children of the Thunder," the Taryana, who finally accepted the Tukano language.

/83 cont./

648 We are inclined to think that, independently of war episodes or cultural elements, this superiority of the Tukano has various causes: 1st, the tribe's being more numerous; by the data of the old statistics we can imagine that they approach two thousand. If that is the case, it is two or three times larger in population than any other tribe; 2nd, it is also probable that they had occupied some of their present centers (from where they expelled the Makú) before other tribes arrived in this area, and, according to the native mentality, the value of priority in time is great; 3rd, they located themselves more or less regularly scattered along these three rivers, and due to the unity among them (that all call themselves and consider themselves brothers), they must constitute a feared force for the other tribes, who are smaller and have their nuclei located farther apart; 4th, the number and the arrangement along the rivers would have, little by little, generalized their language among the individuals of the other tribes, who traveled for the sake of trade with the Tukano or with other tribes (21).

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21. Living together as students or employees, and later the frequent meetings among the various tribes, in the Missionary Centers has contributed powerfully toward the ever more rapid propagation of the Tukano idiom. One can foresee, at this pace, that it will become the língua geral of the Uaupés, as the Nheengatú is on the Rio Negro.

It seems to us that this hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that those indigenous groups of the middle Uaupés (especially above Cururú-cachoeira) whose trade is regularly carried on among themselves or with the tribes of the Aiarí indeed do not know (22)

22. We wrote this in 1947. Ten years later, 1956,

/83 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 22 cont./ we already found many Wanãna of the younger generation, who had passed through the boarding schools of the Missions, not only understanding the Tukano, but even preferring it to the mother tongue when they are amusing themselves with their classmates.

the Tukano idiom. At the same time the Taryana language is on the way to being lost, because they are surrounded by the Tukano.

563 The matrimonial interdiction of the Tukano with the Wanãna and the Bará is in force.

/84/ 3) Divisions (23) --

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23. In 1947 we had obtained a list of 28 subdivisions. And in 1953-4, we procured confirmation with the old Komũ, Gabriel Costa (about 80 years old), from Parí-cachoeira. He confirmed to us the order of derivation that we present here, starting with the Mamí (older brother) Waú-ro-põrá, and proceeding with the term Axkabí (younger brother) Oá kaxpéa põrá, etc. He also informed us that the first 14 subdivisions are the "principal ones," "the following 14 are inferior." And he added four more subdivisions as being "the lowest." Of the ones that we had obtained previously, he not only failed to mention, but even denied the existence of the U'khwãra and Vidari. Nevertheless we had confirmation of their existence on the part of individuals belonging to these subdivisions in S. Miguel and Melo Franco (last Brazilian localities on the river Papurí), respectively.

/84 cont./

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115

/Footnote 23 cont./ The Tukano Dorotéia Brito from Ananaz (Uaupés) informed us of the existence of another subdivision called Yamĩ-nõ põrá, in Tatá-punha, a little below Ananaz. Another observation: according to Gabriel Costa, the principal Tukano stem would be the one of the Waú-ro põrá. The legend and numerous informants are in agreement with regard to this information. Nevertheless Dorotéia Brito, who belongs to the Waú-ro group, assured us that they are not the "Tukano from the head" (according to the general way they express themselves on this matter), who are the Oyẽ. And not only these but also, successively, the Mimí, the Toarõ, and the Borõrá are all "Mamí" (that is, "elder brothers") of the Waú-ro põra. It seems to us, however, that here there is a mistake by our excellent and useful collaborator.

The same informant added that the last Tukano branches, the "Tukano from the feet," are the Kõmã-rõ, Bu, Boxsó kasperí, Turo, and Dyi-pẽ. She also said that the Ihurwá, O'mẽ-peri, and Axpã-kerya "were not Tukano in ancient times" (and, therefore, they could marry the Tukano), and the latter, out of compassion, called them brothers" /the initial quotation marks are missing/.

*101

Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 261) names the Uíwa-tapuya or Arrow people (Pfeilrohr-Indianer) as a Tukano horde located on the Uaupés between the cachoeiras of Micura and Umarí. It is true that the Ethnologists' concept of Hordes is vague and may correspond both to groups that the Indians consider different tribes and to groups taken as subdivisions of their tribe. None of the numerous Tukano with whom we conversed ever spoke about a tribe or division of his tribe by the name of

/84 cont./

*101

/footnote 23 cont./ Arrow people or Wiwa-Tapuya (in Nheengatú), which in Tukano would be Anẽ-gõ̃ maxsã or Bõe-ka-te maxsã. Instead, coinciding approximately with the location indicated by Koch, there is the Tukano subgroup called Axpã-kerya or "pata-de-Caranguejo" /Crab claw/.

Although all those from one tribe consider themselves "brothers," all the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés (24)

24. We made numerous and useless attempts (April and May of 1957) to discover whether the Arwáke tribes of the Içana and Aiarí had /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ subdivisions, and what the names of them were. The result was always negative, that is, the existence of subtribes was not confirmed. It must be pointed out, however, that the Kumãdẽne group, residing in Urubucuara (river Uaupés), gave us the names of subdivisions of their tribe, whereas the Kumãdẽne of the Aiarí were unable to indicate these subdivisions to us. Would they have forgotten them?

present some subdivisions nowadays, and cite names of others that existed formerly. These subdivisions correspond to an old aristocracy, as will be seen below (VIII -- 3, d), and in the present study we call them Gens, because, it seems to us, they correspond to the Gens of Roman society. Festo gives the following definition of Cincio (ep. 94): "Gentilis dicitur et ex eodem genere ortus et is qui simili nomine appellatur" /one both begotten from the same origin and called by the same name is said to be a gentile/.

/85/

*101 Among the Tukanos we obtained the following:

1. -- Waú-ro põrá (25)

25. Põrá (or poná, as it is pronounced on the rivers Uaupés and Papurí) means begotten, children, and it is only used in the plural. For simplification, in the lists that follow we shall omit the word children in the translation.

[115] The more advanced Indians (who speak Portuguese and have studied for some years in the schools of the Salesian Missions), when asked about these divisions, spontaneously add by way of explanation, "they are nicknames that the others impose on them." This is undoubtedly sometimes true, because they like to *[192] give nicknames. But, on the other hand, it is not in disagreement with the "baxséke wamẽ," "blown [773] name" (cf. VIII, 1, b (4) ). According to the legends, [551] from the beginning the first chiefs had the nicknames, which passed to the whole group; for example, one of the "heads" was nicknamed "mimí," hummingbird, and his descendants are known today as "Children of the hummingbird, Mimí-põrá."

[115] The Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos of the subdivision Kõma-ro-põrá, from the povoado of S. Luzia on the river Papurí, told us in one of her interesting pieces of information: "The Waú-ro-põrá are the Tukano from the head. Waú is his baxséke wamẽ (blown name). Formerly, he hid /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ himself in the plant called Waú-mutõ, in order to *[192] watch the girls taking a bath. The monkey Waú (in Nheengatú wáya-pisá) is very fond of the fruits of that tree. The girls, while they were bathing, heard a noise in the tree, immediately looked in that direction, and saw the man hidden among the branches. They all cried out: waú nîbẽ! it is the wáya pisá!

/85 cont./

*101
*192

(that is, the "children of the Waú," a black monkey with a white face, called in Nheengatú wáya-pisá), in Piracuara (river Papurí) and Ananaz (lower Uaupés).

2. -- Oá kaxpéa põrá (eye of the gambá /opossum/), in Piracuara (Papurí)
3. -- Oyê põrá (stuttering?), in Pato (Papurí)
4. -- Ĩrapé põra (a small black ant), in Anananaz (Uaupés)
5. -- Pamõ põrá (tatu), in Nazaré or Uira-poço (river Tiquié)
6. -- Menú põra (the bather? or Nẽẽrú, nẽẽnú, small miriti), in Acuaricuara (river Paca)
7. -- Toarõ põrá (a toad), in Acuaricuara (Paca)
8. -- Mĩmí põrá (hummingbird), in Melo Franco (Papurí), Taracuá (Uaupés)
9. -- Bõrõrá põrá (Fallen), in S. Miguel (Papurí)
10. -- Sararó põrá (a large grasshopper), in Acuaricuara (Paca)
11. -- Ba'ti torõ põrá (sucker of japurá /fruit/), in Pari-cachoeira, Tucano and Bela Vista (Tiquié)
12. -- Nẽẽrú (nẽẽnú) põrá (a small miriti), in Iratí (Tiquié)
13. -- Dyí-pe põrá (clay hole), in Uira-poço, S. José (Tiquié)
14. -- Dúka põrá (abandoned?), in Uaracapá

/86/

15. -- Yai-ro põrá (a small inambú /tinamou/), in Beijú-cachoeira (Papurí)
16. -- Yõãrã põrá (bitter ones), at the mouth of the Tiquié
17. -- Bixpíse põrá (tumor) or Bixpỹã põrá (bluebird, bird), in Bela Vista (Tiquié)
18. -- Sakúro põrá (saracura /plant (Bignonia), or waterfowl (Ralidae)/), in Montfort (Papurí)
19. -- Sa: põrá (palm basket), in Nazaré (Papurí)
20. -- O'mẽperi-Ro põrá (long eared), in Uíra-poço (Tiquié); Tapurucuara (Uaupés); Yúa-pixuna (Papurí) (26)

[115]

26. The Tukano Henrique, pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of Japú-igarapé, informed us that on the igarapé do Tamanduá, Bũxko-yá, there formerly lived a Tukano group o'mẽperi põrá, now extinct.

/86 cont./

*101 21. -- Búbera põrá (liver of the cutia /agouti/), in Cabari (Tiquié)

*192 22. -- Boxsó kaxpe-rí põra (eyes of the cavy), in Taracuá above Jandiá (Papurí)

23. -- Túro põrá (a small poisonous toad), in S. José, Tucano and Esteio (Tiquié)

24. -- Khoã-pá põrá (var. of small mirití), in Matapí, Urubú-lago (Tiquié)

25. -- Bá: põrá (tied with leaves to smoke /meat/), in Turí-igarapé (Tiquié)

26. -- Kõmã-rõ põrá (summer), in S. Luzia (Papurí)

27. -- Ihurwá põrá (thin person?), in Juquira (Uaupés) (27)

27. Koch Grünberg records the spellings Yohoroa and Kurawa. He reports that they had five malocas in the environs of Iuquira, and there were more than 100 persons (Zwei Iahre, 157 and 238).

28. -- Bayá põrá (master of dances), in Serrinha (Papurí)

29. -- Bu'ú põrá (tucunaré, fish), in Bela Vista (Tiquié)

30. -- Axpã-keryá põrá (crab legs), in Umarí and Mirapirera (Uaupés)

31. -- Waxpékãra bõrõrá põrá (fallen cacaos), in Melo Franco (Papurí)

32. -- U'khwãra põrá (species of small monkey) or Ku'kwãra põra (stuttering), in Melo Franco (Papurí)

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33. -- Yaí-uxtyá põrá (var. of large wasp), in Carurú and S. Tomé (Tiquié)

34. -- Vidári põrá (sardine), in S. Miguel (Papurí)

35. -- Bũxpõ põrá (spider), in Coró-coró (Tiquié)

36. -- Yamĩ-nõ põrá (ant of the night?), in Tatá-punha (Uaupés).

*101 /87 cont./

b) BARÁ OR BASÃNA

1) People-Name-Language -- It is the name by which, without any modification, this tribe is known in the various languages; also the name of a fragrant bush, with whose branches the various tribes are accustomed to gird themselves when they dance.

Their language belongs to the Tukano family, as can be seen by the "Vocabulário da Amazônia." (Cf. the author's books: "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas /Indigenous Idioms/.")

*[192] We heard some Tukano say that the Bará are their Paxkõ-Ro (grandparents), but they could not tell us the reason for this apellation, nor did we find any allusion to it in their legends. It is certain that marriage between these two tribes is prohibited.

[115] Pe. Humberto Limpens (28)

[797]

28. He was one of the great and well-deserving Monfortian Missionaries of the tribes in the Colombian region of the Uaupés. He became known by the name of "Pe. Clemente," who had been his predecessor in the Mission

of the Congregação de Montfort informed us that he had heard from some old Bará that they called themselves Manao. We have not yet obtained confirmation of this, however. At present nothing is yet known about their relations with the ancient Manao tribe, which dominated a large part of the Rio Negro and is classified in the Arwáke group. Could it be that a small group of Manao were dominated or absorbed by the Tukano, whose idiom they assimilated?

/87 cont./

*101 In the vicinity of the cachoeira of Iauareté there is a place called Manao. Might this name for the Bará tribe have come from their former domicile in this locality; or vice versa (29)?

[103] [648]

29. We heard it told that, when the Comissão Militar Demarcadora da Fronteira /Military Commission to Demarcate the Frontier/ was in Iauareté (in 1932), a group of natives presented themselves, asking for passage to the capital of the State, Manaus. The Comissão, however, did not grant this to them, and, after staying a few days in the vicinity of Iauareté, they returned to their povoados. And that, because of such an episode, the place where the natives pitched camp became known as Manao. Nevertheless, Pe. Limpens assured us that this locality has always been called Manao. And, it must be noted, Pe. Limpens has resided in the region since 1916.

[144] We know little about the ancient Manao. It appears that they had more regular and pleasant physiognomic features. The present Bará are less corpulent than the Tukano, and physiognomically more pleasant as well, /88/ fairer, with not very prominent malar and less marked Mongoloid features (30).

30. In part this agrees with the information of Koch Grünberg, who describes them to us: "slender in body, well-proportioned, smaller than the Tuyuka, finer countenance, black eyes, less receding forehead, nose high and slightly convex, large mouth, thick lips." According to what the Indians say, Koch would have been the first white man seen by them, and the one who went up to the headwaters of the Tiquié.

/88 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It is a small tribe of perhaps two or three hundred members, still living in the regime of malocas at the headwaters of the river Tiquié and its tributaries, the Igarapés Inambú, Abio, Aracú-pirera, and others.

Koch Grünberg observes (Zwei Iahre, 211) that, in language and way of life, the Bará are closer to the tribes of the Japurá, but has more intimate relations with those of the Pirá-paraná.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The informant was a young woman about 20 years old (1954), known as Pasíka (Francisca), of the subdivision Wáya-põná. Perhaps closer tribes with whom the matrimonial interdiction was in force will appear in the present list as subdivisions. It is indeed to be noted: 1st. -- In the forests of the Cananarí (tributary of the Pirá-paraná), as in those of this last, there lives a tribe known as Kávyari, whose language belongs to the Tukano group; 2nd. -- Would Pamõ-põna perhaps be the Tatú tribe (see IV -- 2, o)? Their habitat neighbors that of the Bará; 3rd. -- Doxká poerá, poará or foará is the name of the Tuyuka (cf. IV -- 2, d), and they reside near the Bará, at the headwaters of the Tiquié. We did not get to investigate whether the last three divisions are in fact Tuyuka, considered more closely related to the Bará; or whether it is only a matter of nicknames of some Bará groups.

1st. -- Kawayari (?), on the river Tiquié (Colombia)
2nd. -- Pamõ põná (tatu), on the igarapé Inambú
3rd. -- Wáya põná (an aquatic bird), on the Tiquié
4th. -- Oxkó kapéa põná (eye of water), on the Tiquié
5th. -- Da-ryá (a fruit), on the Komé-ya
6th. -- Minõ doxká poará (a fruit?), on the Tiquié
7th. -- Páya doxká poará (?), on the Tiquié
8th. -- Dahyá doxká poará (shrimp), on the Castanho River (trib. of the Tiquié)

/89/

c) BÁ:RE-MASÃ OR TẼMYÚ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- The idiom of the Bá:re-masã, or "food people," likewise belongs to the family of Tukano languages. As can be verified by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), it is quite close to the language of the Roéra. We met a representative of the Bá:re-masã Tribe living among the Íde-masã of the Comé--ía (maloca Bõhõ-[144] rya-hidó, mouth of the stream of the spider). He was (in August of 1956) a type of about 38 to 40 years old, short in stature, fat, skin of a light bronze, nose small and high at the point, rounded face, not very prominent zygoma, and [301] [364] [171] almost cymotrichous black hair. He had pierced ears, with a plug approximately one centimeter in diameter stuck through them, the largest orifice in the lobes that we have found among the various tribes of the Uaupés.

[582] The law of the exogamy is also in force within the tribe, and marriages seem to be concluded with the Hanẽra, Bará, and Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The tribe of the Bá:re-masã is very reduced in members. We know of the existence of a maloca on the stream Umũ-ía (stream of the japú /bird/), tributary of the left bank of the stream Timí-ia (stream of the otter), which, in turn, flows in on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná, a little above the mouth of the Comé-ia.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The above informant, called Titõyã (also known by the name of Domingos), indicated to us as being divisions of his tribe: 1st. -- Íde-masã, 2nd. -- Ogóro-sõroa. It is probable that the first subdivision, Íde-masã, is the principal tribe of the Comé-ia (cf. IV -- 2, h) considered related to the Bá:re-masã, and not a simple division of the latter. The Ogóro-sõroa are the Hógolo-tsõloa or Tsõroa mentioned by Koch-Grünberg (Z. I. 370) on the Yauacacá-Igarapé, almost identical to the Edúrya in idiom.

/89 cont./

*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyi-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká
[317] poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found
[323] there. Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent
[501] in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba,
[142] Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Iahre, 202).

[582] They do not marry the Desana.

[161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

/90 cont./

*101 [173] According to a Tukano tradition collected by Pe. Antônio Giacone, the Tuyuka came down from the cachoeira Uaí-numbí (headwaters of the Macú-paraná); but, under pressure from the Tukano, they were forced to go up the headwaters of the Papurí, from where they went over to those of the Tiquié and settled there.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Henrique Resende, about 35 years old (1953), of the subdivision Dõxpãri, tuxaua of the maloca of the Yai-sa igarapé (Tiquié)

1st. -- Dyáta põna (a small fish), on the Igarapé Inambú
2nd. -- Dyatãñõ-nõ (suspended?), on the Igarapé Inambú
3rd. -- Dyáta yuxkúro (long head), on the headwaters of the Tiquié
4th. -- Iñó-rõ (?), in S. Pedro (Tiquié)
5th. -- Iñó-rõ oaká (stake), on the Black Igarapé (Tiquié)
6th. -- Poã-nĩ manĩ (bald), on the Igarapé Marĩ-iá (Tiquié)
7th. -- Dõxpãri (branches), on the Igarapé Kuxtíro pextá (Tiquié)

/91/

8th. -- Yuxkũro (occipital protuberance), at the mouth of the Açaí-igarapé (Tiquié)
9th. -- Wesé doxká poará -- (Tuyuká of the clearing), above Carusú (Tiquié)
10th. -- Poã pirá (?) on the upper Cabari (Tiquié). They are the pariahs.
11th. -- Axkó kaxpéa -- põna (eye of water), in S. Pedro (Tiquié)
12th. -- Ẽbera-põna (water duck), on the mouth of the igarapé Boã-ia

[115] The young woman Amélia Resende, 18 years old (1955), added:

13th. -- Myõ dyi-Khãra (doxká-poará), in Cabarí and S. Pedro (Tiquié)
14th. -- Arã põná (child of the mountain range?), on the Igarapé of the breu /a resinous tree/ (the informant is from this group).

/91 cont./

*101 e) EDÚRYA OR ERÚLYA

1) People-Name-Language -- This tribe, in their own idiom, is called Edúrya, whereas the Tuyuka call them Erúlya. They are also affiliated by language to the Tukano group (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia").

[142] They are of average stature, a little taller than the Tukano. Light coppery skin, coarse, black, cymotrichous hair, a wide, square forehead, black eyes, delicate chin, high nose sometimes slightly acquiline, ovoid face, and thin lips.

They are connected by matrimonial ties with the Bará and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Their habitat is several and small tributaries of the Pirá-paraná, in territory completely Colombian. It was not possible to find out the number of inhabitants of the tribe; it seems, however, that it is even smaller than the Hanêra tribe.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions -- They are the following, indicated by a young man about 20 years old (in March of 1954), Tunú by name, in Mosã-bhoá (maloca of the urucum, headwaters of the Tiquié):

1. Kavyayána (master of dancing?), on the igarapé Axtáue-ya (31)

31. Should it perhaps be identified with the Kavírya tribe of the forests of the Cananarí?

2. Ehéburu (a straw), on the igarapé Axtáue-ya
3. Gãbũxkõrõ (Komũ, "blower," VII -- 2, e (3) ), on the igarapé Semé-ria
4. Ixkó-masã (a snake), on the igarapé Ioxkó-rya
5. Wextáyoa (?), on the igarapé Ioxkó-rya

/91 cont./

*101 f) EMÕÁ-MASÃ OR GUARIBA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Emõá, in the native idiom, is the name of the guariba /howler/ monkey. Their language also belongs to the Tukano family /92/ (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia"). We found /some words, perhaps a line of the text, are missing here in the original source/ [144] Ide-masã of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hidó of the Comé-ia. This was a type of average stature, slender body, delicate features, not very prominent zygoma, elongated face, high, thin nose, skin lighter than that of the Tukano, fine, black, somewhat [171] wavy hair.

[582] Tribal exogamy is observed. We know of marriages with Ide-Masã, Hanẽra, and Bará.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They inhabit the forests between the headwaters of the Tiquié and the river Pirá-paraná. They are few nowadays, according to the informant, who could give us barely 3 subdivisions. It is to be noted that, according to the informant, the Yebá and Roéra are part of her tribe. This agrees with some information obtained three years previously from a Yéba, who, among the divisions of his tribe, named [361] the Emõá and the Roéra (cf. IV-2, t). If the Yéba are to be [171] included among the Emõá, these would be, in all, several hundreds of individuals, because the Yéba live in several malocas in the region embraced between the Comé-ia and the Pirá-paraná.

Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 401) speaks of the greatly feared Guarĩua or Guariba-Tapuya located below the Jurí and Passé, that is, in the basin of the river Japurá. The Emõá can not be identified with these Guariua-Tapuya, but rather with the Õmõá of the sources of the Tiquié.

[115] 3) Divisions. Informant, the Indian woman Misirã, about 50 years old (1957), also known as Joaquina, wife of the Ide-masã tuxáua of the Comé-ia:

/92 cont./

*101

1. Safrõa-masã (water people? gossiping people?)
2. Yebá-masã
3. Roeá-masã (tarafra /a fish/ people)

/In the original text, the last two lines of p. 91 are repeated here, which is apparently a misprint and is omitted in the translation./

g) HANERA OR PANENÕÁ.

1) People-Name-Language. -- A type taller and slighter than the Tukano. A redder complexion, long face, delicate chin, high nose, wide forehead. [142]

Their idiom, which must be affiliated with the Tukano linguistic family (cf. Vocabulary, in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), presents this peculiarity: an initial aspirate (h, as we represent it in this work) appears in words in which the Tukano pronounces a p; for example: father, hakõ (Tukano pax-kõ), mother, hakó (Tukano, pax-kó), etc. This characteristic of their idiom explains to us the correspondence of their name in their own language, Hanẽra, and in the Tukano, Panenõá, or Parẽroá.

/93/ We know that they are connected by marriage with the Bará and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We have only seen a few individuals in passing by the maloca called Mosã-bhoá (mountain of the urucú) of the Bará, on the igarapé Uaracú-pirẽra, and in their maloca close to the mouth of the Timí-ya. They were unable to give us any information about the approximate number of individuals in their tribe. It seems that they do not exceed four hundred. At present they reside only in Colombian territory, on various igarapés on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná. [161]

[301] [439] The informants of the eighteenth century testify that it was from the Panenõá that the Taryana obtained by barter their ornaments of gold and silver (cf. II -- 3) and momõrõ Khwirí (VII -- 3, d).

/93 cont./

*101 [115] 3) Divisions. -- In March of 1954 the Indian woman Duhígõ, about 50 years old, gave the following divisions of her tribe:

1. Dasékãna (?), on the igarapé Umũ-ya (headwaters of the Komé-ya)
2. Doé (Taraíra), on the igarapé Amorĩ-ya
3. Dyasumá or Ryasumá (?), on the igarapé Amorĩ-ya
4. Fẽmona (?), on the river Pirá-paraná
5. Komíya (?), on the Soarí-ma-pitó (mouth of the red igarapé)
6. Wámona (?), on the igarapé Umũ-ya
7. Nikoméyana (?), on the igarapé Umũ-ya
8. Senẽ (?), on the headwaters of the Komé-ya.

h) ÍDE-MASÃ, AÕ-NÍRA OR MAKUNA.

1) People-Name-Language. -- They call themselves this in their own idiom, which also belongs to the Tukano linguistic family, as can be verified by the Vocabulary (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"), *[192] and it means water people." It is a custom of all the tribes of the Uapesina region, after each sentence that they hear, to utter a sound expressing that they are understanding and following the conversation, or also that they are in agreement with the one who is speaking. This sound, for the tribes of the Uaupés, Papurí, and Tiquié, is ãã or ũũ (cf. Gramatica da lingua Daxseyé /Grammar of the Daxseyé language/ by the author). The Ide-masã, however, repeat "aõ" each time. Because of this custom, the natives of the Tiquié call them "Aõ-nĩra" or "Aõ-nĩna," that is, "the ones who say aõ." This is the explanation that the Ide-masã tuxáua of the first maloca of the Komé-ya gave us. In their own idiom, this nickname would be translated: "I am of the Aõ-nĩra, yõõ aõ-žigõ (masc.), aõ-žigo (fem), aõ-žira (plural). This same tuxáua said that the Colombians call them Makúna. They do not, however, know the /94/ meaning or the origin of the word Makuna, which was recorded by Koch Grünberg.

/94 cont./

*101 The Ide-masã are in general less corpulent than the Tukano. Although of lighter complexion, somewhat pale, elongated face, high, slightly aquiline nose, not very prominent zygoma, almond-shaped eyes almost always light brown. The hair in general is dark or even black, fine, not lissotrichous; instead, many times even wavy.

[582] Tribal exogamy is in force among them. And we know that they are connected by marriage with the Tuyuka, Bará, Emõa, Yebá, Bá:re, Roéra. Not only the women, but also the [301] [304] men wear pierced ears with a small plug two to three millimeters in diameter, which keeps the orifice open.

A peculiarity of this tribe is the dances with masks. We had the opportunity to see the masks representing Waxtĩ and the [532] monkey. The one of Waxtĩ was a true white mask, made of bark, like a round face, with a long slit representing the mouth, a long and pointed nose, and, on the sides of the base of the nose, two slits, somewhat slanted, by way of eyes. The one that represented the monkey was a plain shirt of tururi, with a pointed part, like a hood, covering the head. In this hood there were two holes corresponding to the eyes and two points upwards representing ears.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They are found scattered over a very wide area: all the stream Comé-ia (stream of the iron or of the ax, in the Ide idiom Koméryaka, tributary of the left bank of the Pirá-paraná), the Miritĩ-paraná, Apapóris, and the Kamorĩ (which, according to indications by the same tuxáua, [161] must be a tributary of the river Solimões). They seem to be quite numerous, that is, several hundreds. The number of divisions that the tribe presents seems to confirm this information.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian Hinõ (that is, snake), also known as Fernando, about 50 years old (in August of 1956), tuxáua of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hido (mouth of the igarapé of the spider), on the left bank of the Komé-ya, about 10 hours by canoe from the mouth.

*101

/94 cont./

1. "Aõ," on the Komẽ-ya (the informant belongs to this division)
2. Ide-hi-nõnya (?), on the Apapóris
3. Lyaró hi-nõnya letwana (?), on the Apapóris
4. Yúkũra (?), on the Miritĩ-paraná

/95/

5. Kwẽra (?), on the Miritĩ-paraná
6. Witata (?), on the Miritĩ-paraná
7. Adókya (?), on the Kamorĩ

/In the original source, No. 6 is repeated in the place where a No. 8 would belong./

Observation. 1st. Koch Grünberg records the Dãtwana as a subdivision of the Yahúna (Z. I. 382). We did not get to investigate as to whether these two groups mentioned by Koch are to be identified with Letwana and Yúkũra of the Ide-masã tribe. 2nd. It must be noted that on the Miritĩ-paraná, tributary of the Japurá, there is an Arwake tribe by the name of Yukúna, from which Koch (Z. I. 286) collected their Vocabulary of 60 words. 3rd. Koch also obtained information (Z. I. 394) that the Kueretú still lived on the river Caritáya, tributary from the right of the Miritĩ-paraná, and he also obtained their vocabulary from them. We verified, however, that the Kueretu idiom is noticeably different from that of the Ide-masã. 4th. The Witata, who appear as a subdivision of the Ide, are not to be confused with the Uitóto who inhabit the region between the Caquetá and the Putumayo. Koch, who managed to collect a vocabulary from them, is of the opinion that they must be considered a separate group (previously put with the Karibe). Witóto means enemy, a name given to them by the Omáwa and later by the civilized. The Witóto include a large conjunction of hordes with their dialectic differences.

/95 cont./

i) IHWANA OR YONA

*101 1) People-Name-Language. -- We were unable to find out for certain the meaning of the name Ihwana or Yona; it might be the name of a fish. The language is of the Tukano family, as is seen from the Vocabulary that we collected in the Wextá maloca on the Pirá-paraná near the mouth of the Komé-ya.

[142] The individuals of the maloca were slighter and had more delicate features than the Tukano. All the men had pierced [30] their ear lobes, keeping them open with a bunch of bird feathers. A cord binding the arms a little below the shoulders, and red paint across the face, indications perhaps of some feast a short [142] time before. Dark hair, cymotrichous, with slight wavines, and eyes lighter than those of the Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They reside in malocas along the Pirá-paraná and its small tributaries nearby, and below the cachoeira of the Beijú, where at low water one can see a beautiful design that resembles a Chinese dragon. Because of a lack of interpreters, we were unable to find out the number [161] of members of the tribe or /96/ its subdivisions. From the information obtained, we think it might be concluded that there are still several hundreds.

j) KÕ'NEÁ OR ARAPÁSU

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Kõ'neá (in Tukano Kõ-rẽá), the name of a variety of woodpecker called arapásu in Nheengatú.

[173] According to reminiscences of an ancient tradition, it was a very numerous and brave tribe. When individuals of other tribes passed the river Uaupés in the zone dominated by the Arapásu, the latter surrounded them, took away all their products, and afterwards sank their canoes, allowing them, however, to escape. The victims would avenge themselves "blowing" [161] (that is, casting an evil spell; cf. VII -- 2, e (1) ) on the Arapásu, who, little by little, became extinct.

/96 cont./

*101 They also lost their own idiom, everyone today speaking the Tukano language.

[582] Koch G. includes the Arapásu as a Tukano division. It seems to us incorrect, because even marriage is allowed between [142] members of these two tribes. Physically the Arapásu are easily distinguished from the Tukano, because they are lighter, taller, and more slender. High nose, sometimes a bit aquiline, less prominent zygoma, and elongated face.

They consider themselves, instead, brothers of the Pirá-tapúya, because of which a matrimonial interdiction is in force between Arapásu and Pirá-tapúya, and also with the Bará, the Desãna, Mirití, and Kumãdẽne.

*[192] Their idiom does seem to be affiliated with the Tukano family of languages (32).

32. Their affiliation with the Tukano Family of languages can be verified only by the small number of words that some Arapásu natives were able to tell us:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| tapioca, kávetari | father, mái | paternal uncle, mõãmõ |
| fan, misõna | mother, Yõ or ihyõ | paternal aunt, mõãmã |
| chest, kutiró | son, maxkã | maternal uncle, kabõ |
| people, maxsã | daughter, maxkõ | maternal aunt, kabô, kabú |
| snake, pinó | younger brother, peñã | maternal fem. cousin, kabô maxkã |
| fishhook, sináke | younger sister, peñõ | maternal male cousin, kabô maxkõ |
| fire, pe'kãme | | nephew, peñanã |
| | | niece, peñanõ |

go to blow the fire, pe'kãme apusumaré

/96 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- In Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/ we read that their center is the region embraced between the Uaupés and the Japurá, from where they moved to the Uaupés and were settled by Frei Gregório in S. Jerônimo, Naná-Rapecuma, and S. Joaquim.

/97/ Pe. João Marchesi, arriving among them in 1925, learned from the old Arapásu that they were the masters of the Uaupés from S. José to the mouth. Because they were more sociable and pleasant than the other natives, many women became wives of the civilized, and many men of the tribe were taken for labor. Many, on the other hand, established themselves on the lower Rio Negro, and others perished. Many caboclos of that region come from the crossing with Arapásu. The tribe thus became greatly reduced. There was a large group in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) that emigrated to the lower Rio [161] Negro. Upon returning, it found the Taryana established there, and they did not want to relinquish the place, alleging that they were many and the Arapásu were less numerous.

Today a little over a hundred of them live on the right bank of the Uaupés, between S. José and Paraná-jucá.

3) Subdivisions (33)

[115] 33. This division was furnished to us by Pe. Antônio Giacone, SBD. It is to be noted that it is not similar to the names of the divisions of the other tribes. Perhaps, indeed, because they do not know them any longer. All the Arapásu whom we could consult maintained this. And one of them came to ask us whether we knew how the ancient divisions of his tribe were named. The names below are only indications of the places where they presently live. It is possible that each povoado today represents one of the ancient divisions.

/97 cont./

*101 1st. -- Axpã soxpé põná (children from the ponta do caranguejo /point of the crab/), in Caranguejo (Uaupés)

2nd. -- Wĩhó ñõá põná (children from the ponta do vento /point of the wind/), in S. José (Uaupés)

3rd. -- Kumã-kõ ñõá põñá (children from the ponta do louro /a kind of wood/), in Louro, (Uaupés)

4th. -- Dyá poxsá yõhõró põná (children from the strait of the Uaupés), in Paraná-jucá (Uaupés)

k) KÓTIRYA OR WANÃNA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Wanãna is a Nheengatú word and indicates an aquatic bird, chenálopex jubátus, commonly known as marreco. The Wanãna call themselves Kótirya, Kótidya or Kótirwa (sing., masc. Kótirwa-kiro; fem. Kótirwa-koro). They are called by the Tukano Oxkó-tí-khãra, which means "people who have medicine" or "pajé people," from ox-kó, medicine. Although the Tukano expression authorizes a similar translation, an interpretation more in accordance with the legends of the origins would be oxkó, water (and not ox-kó), that is, "people who are on the water or came from the water." The Tuyuka call the Wanana simply "people from the river Uaupés, Dyá- /98/ Poxsá-maxkã." Thus one does not perceive any relation between the names in the Nheengatú and Tukano languages (34).

34. We read in "Indios do Brasil /Indians of Brazil/" by Major Lima Figueiredo -- Brasiliana, No. 163 -- S. Paulo, 1939, p. 146): "the word Wanana, in the Aruack /Arawak/ idiom, means thief."

We have already noted that the Relatório of Frei Gregório mentions Ananá instead of Wanãna.

[142] They are taller in stature than the Tukano, and their language is of the Tukano family, although closer to the Pirá-tapuya idiom, as we can see in the vocabulary.

/98 cont./

*101 Matrimonial interdiction with the Pirá-tapuya is in force.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/" says that they were settled in Thomar in the eighteenth century by the Carmelites. They were, as is shown from the "Diário" of Sampaio, the Uayuna. It seems to us, however, that this is an Arwake tribe of the river Japurá, and not the Wanãna, who are of the Tukano linguistic family. We also think, for this same reason, that they cannot be identified with the Ana tribe, who came down from the Orinoco, according to the explorers of the eighteenth century.

[161] Their present habitat is the middle Uaupés, from Japú-ponta to the mouth of the Querarí, coming to about 600 individuals, according to Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 271). In the statistics of "Pelo Rio Mar" we find the number 367 for the ones attended to by the Salesian Missions. They informed us that the number of those who live in Colombian territory is much greater.

*[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Maximiano Sá, about 25 years old (1953), and a group of men in Carurú-cachoeira.

1. Khenẽ (water duck) on the igarapé Paca (tributary of the Uaupés)
2. Biali (variety of duck), in Matapí (river Uaupés)
3. Wai kapéa ñãrori (35)

35. The young man Ernesto Domingues, instead of Ñãrori, said ỹáhori and informed us that it means the mud from the bank of the river.

ponáyro (ñãrori of eye of fish), in Macucú (river Uaupés)

4. Uryá ñãrori (a worm), in Iutíca (river Uaupés)
5. Dyãni ponáyro (white duck), in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés; the informants were from this group)
6. Batíri-ká poná (japurá, a fruit), in Arara (river Uaupés)
7. Stúpo poná (pot, water vessel), in Jacaré (river Uaupés)
8. Doxkana poná (pestle hand), on the igarapé Paca

/98 cont./

*101 9. Wíroyro (the thunder bird), on the igarapé timbó (river Uaupés)

/99/

10. Bukúyro (a tree), in Tipiaca (river Uaupés)
11. Naã yaxpárya (seed of miritĩ), in Tucano-cachoeira (Uaupés)
12. Yopáyriro (maize), extinct branch
13. Naã ryãkiro (miriti), in Jacaré (Uaupés)
14. Nixti dixsõryakiro (painted with ashes on the legs during dances), in Uaracapuri (Uaupés)

[115] The informant, Ernesto Domingues, about 22 years of age (in 1955), in Jacaré (Uaupés) furnished 12 subdivisions, 9 of which coincide with those obtained in Carurú. The other three are:

16. /Sic: this item and the next one are virtually identical in the original source./ Witõ monõ (white acangatara /feather head-ornament/), in Uaracapuri (Uaupés)
16. Witõ monõ (white acangatara), in Uaracapuri (Aaupés /sic/)
17. ỹãhori poná (mud of the bank of the river), in Taiassú (Uaupés)

[115] Another informant, Gabriel Paiva, about 18 years of age, further added:

18. Wãnixtiro (acará), in Matapí (Uaupés)
19. Yaxpíma (batata), in Jutica (Uaupés).

1) MÕXTÃ OR KARAPANÃ

1) People-Name-Language. They belong to the Tukano family with regard to the idiom, in which they call themselves Mõxtã, and in the Tukano language, Mõxtẽa, a term corresponding to Karapanã of the língua geral, that is, the name of a mosquito that bites at night (genera stegoniya, culex, and others).

/99 cont./

*101 Slighter than the Tukano, they also have less Mongoloid features, light skin and eyes, and an oval face.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- Their present habitat is the Colombian region between the Uaupés and the headwaters of the Papurí, or rather of its source, the Áua, and the Tĩ igarapé. Frei Gregório de Bene settled some Karapanã groups in Nanã-Rapecũma and S. Joaquim on the lower Uaupés, and in S. Luzia on the Papurí.

Jesuino Cordeiro, in a dispatch dated 1 July of 1853, informed the Presidente of the Province about an attack by the Karapanã on the povoado of S. Cruz of the Kubẽwana, near the cachoeira do Mutum (today Mitú, capital of the Território Nacional del Waupés, Colombia). Pursued by the Colombian Polícia, in 1928 a group of them established itself in Brazilian territory on the headwaters of the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié). These episodes confirm their fame as warlike and violent.

[115] /100/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Antônio Gentil, 40 years old (1953), from Umari igarapé, in Paricachoeira.

1st. -- Dũrya mãtará (a fish), on the Ekẽ-ya (igarapé of the nose?). They are the Mamí.
2nd. -- Poxtã-hará (thorn), on the igarapé Po-yá
3rd. -- Mũmyá pakãna (bees), on the Ekẽ-ya
4th. -- Mũmyá (bee), on the igarapé Po-yá

[115] The informant Vicente, Karapanã (about 30 years old) from the headwaters of the Áua, now settled in Uaracapá (river Papurí), gave new names and modified the order, also with a small difference in pronunciation.

1st. -- Mũmyá (bee), on the igarapé Po-yá
2nd. -- Dõryá pakãna (?) of the Pirá-paraná, today in Po-yá
3rd. -- Dõryá mãtará (a fish), on the Ekẽ-ya
4th. -- Poa-yá mõxtẽ already extinct (35 a)

35a. Poá-yá-mõxtẽ properly means "Karapanã of the igarapé Poá."

/100 cont./

*101 5th. -- Poxtã yára (thorn) on the igarapé Po-yá
6th. -- Mũmyá pakãna (bees), on the Ekẽ-ya
7th. -- Kenenõ (jataí /a kind of bee; locust tree/), on the river Pirá-paraná
8th. -- Botéa matsá (aracú /fish/), on the river Cananarí
9th. -- Datõ-hyã (?), on the river Uaupés (the informant said: "nowadays they are Kubewana," that is, have been assimilated by them (35 b).

35b. Would it perhaps be the Kubẽwãna subdivision called Tatiwa (javarí /a palm/)?

10th. -- Pixkõ-sẽ (gavião tesoura /bird, Falconidae/), on the river Cananarí

[115] A young Karapanã about 23 years old, Luiz, of the maloca of Hõboõ-mákarya (headwaters of the Tiquié), said that presently (1955) only the seven following groups existed, and in decreasing order of importance:

1st. -- Mũmyá (bees). They are "the ones from the head," that is, the principal ones.
2nd. -- Dũrya (cutia /agouti/) (the informant was from this group)
3rd. -- Dũrya mõtãra
4th. -- Mõxtẽ pakãna
5th. -- Mõtãra

/101/

6th. -- Poxtã yára
7th. -- Poxtã yára mõtára

We do not know whether he made a mistake in saying Mõxtẽ pakãna instead of Mũmya Pakãna in the fourth place.

/101 cont./

m) NEENOÃ OR MIRITÍ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- Neenoã in the native idiom is the name of the tribe known as Mirití-tapuya (name derived from a palm tree, the Maurítia flexuosa) or Myarití-tapuya (36).

36. Artur Ramos (o. c. I, 172) uses Matatí-tapuya as another name for the Miriti. Would it be a printing error for Matapi-tapuya (matapi, fish enclosure, VI-5, a (2) )? It seems to us there is an incorrect identification in this hypothesis. According to Koch G., Matapi-tapuya is a subtribe of the Yukuna living in Uacaiacá, tributary of the left bank of the Mirití-paraná (Festschrift, 205, and Z. I. 394 and 398).

[142] that is, buriti people. They are small like the Tukano, but lighter, more slender, and have a more delicate physiognomy.

Matrimonial interdiction with the Taryana, Arapasu, Kumãdene, Pirá-tapuya, Tuyuka, and Desana is in force.

All of them at present speak the Tukano language, and the old ones themselves cannot remember but half a dozen words. *[192] They affirm, however, that the language was very similar to that of the Arapasu, and the few words that we obtained justify the affiliation to the Tukano family of languages (37).

37.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| father, kõ-kã | grandfather, kõ-Ro | paternal uncle, mõãma |
| mother, yõ | daughter, maxkõga | paternal aunt, mõãmo |
| son, maxkõga | soap (?), sã | fire, maryé tukáro |

/101 cont./

*101 [161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The only survivors of the tribe in Brazil, about a hundred persons, live on the lower Tiquié in Urubu-lago and Iraiti. They informed us that, because of dissension, one group, perhaps around the end of the last century, fled to the river Japurá (Colombian territory), and that they probably still know the original mother tongue.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Furnished by Luciano, of the Umũhori group, about 50 years old, and Maria Cabral, of the Umú-põ group, about 22 years old, both from Iraití.

1. Ixsé-pi poná (?), in Iraití and Urubu-lago (river Tiquié)

/102/

2. Pẽru bayá poná (master of the caxirí /see p. 595 / dance), Urubu-lago (came from the Japír)
3. Mahá bayá poná (master of dance with arara feather), in Iraití
4. Umũhori poná (?), on the stream Umú-ya, tributary of the Uaupés
5. Sõ-poá (?), extinct
6. Umú-põ (?), in Iraití and river Japurá
7. A-ũ (?), extinct
8. Horí-di (?), in Iraití.

n) OÁ-MAHÃ OR MIKURA-TAPUYA

[115] 1) People-Name-Language -- Their idiom belongs to the Tukano linguistic family, as is verified by the Vocabulary that we obtained from an Indian woman named Kaxpé, about 45 or 50 years old, a native of the stream Inambú, tributary of the Papurí, and married to a Tuyuka from the Tiquié, where she resides in the last maloca on Brazilian territory, near the Colombian border. The Nheengatú name Mikura-tapuya, or gambá /opossum/ people, is the translation of the name Oá-mahã in the native idiom.

/102 cont./

* 101 The Oá-mahã are lighter in complexion and more slender
[142] than the Tukano. Dark brown or black hair, fine, sometimes wavy. Face more elongated than among the Tukano, also more delicate features and light eyes.

[582] They likewise observe tribal exogamy, and we know of marriages with the Tuyuka, Bará, and Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It seems that at present all of them live in Colombian territory between the headwaters of the rivers Tiquié and Papurí.

The Pamõã-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) mention the Oá-mahã as a division of their own tribe. We do not know whether it is a matter of the present tribe, as seems more probable by the location, or if it is actually only a division of the Tatú /armadillo/, with this name of Oá (gambá).

3) Divisions -- The informant did not know how to indicate them.

o) PÁBOA-MAXSÃ OR TATÚ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- In their own idiom, which belongs to the Tukano family of languages (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/"), they call themselves Páboa-maxsã, corresponding to the Tukano denomination Pamõã-maxsã or Tatú /armadillo/ people.

[142] /103/ Lighter in complexion than the Tukano, and also taller and more slender. Dark brown hair, ovoid face, light eyes, fine lips, high nose.

[582] We know of matrimonial ties with the Bará and the Karapanã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Presently they live in the
[721] region embraced between the headwaters of the Áua (one of
[648] the sources of the Papurí) and the river Pirá-paraná. About 20
[266] years ago there were encounters and reciprocal massacres between the Tatú-tapuyas and Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/, and even episodes of anthropophagy are remembered, which are explained, it seems, by special hate and reprisals.

*101 /103 cont./
[161] From the information that we obtained, the number of inhabitants of this tribe must fluctuate around 300.

[115] 3) Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian woman Kamõõ, about 45 years old (1954), from the headwaters of the river Áua:

1. Tsuninó (?), on the river Pirá-paraná
2. Pirõ (snake), on the Pirá-paraná
3. Petári suninõ (?), Pirá-paraná
4. Oá-maxsã (gambá /opossum/ people), on the river Pirá-paraná (38)

38. Would Oá-mahã or Mikura-tapuya be the same tribe?

*[192] p) PAMÍWA OR KUBEWÃNA -- Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 87) is of the opinion that the name Kobéua is only a nickname given by their ancient enemies, the Arwake, from the frequent use of the word kõbãuõ, nothing, no. In the Tukano idiom they are called Poterí-khãra, which means "people or inhabitants of the headwaters of the rivers" (cf. their name in different native languages; cf. IV -- 3). They, however, call themselves Pamíwa (sing., masc. pamíkõ, fem. pamíko). Curt Nimuendajú and Koch record Hehénawa as the name of the tribe. The Hehénawa constitute only a principal group of the Kubewana, whom Koch found in the maloca of Namakoliba (Z. I. 276) (*).

* Koch says that on the sources of the Querari there is a small Kubewana group called Abóxõhãhãnaua, that is, Kubewana-Jurupari, a name that the Wanana translate Waxtíkuxtipinoa; and the ones from Uaracapuri (Uaupés) are Olobahãhãnaua, called Diãdãitoa by the Wanana.

/103 cont./

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- Their language belongs to the Tukano family, as can be verified by the Vocabulary that we transcribed and recorded (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous idioms of Amazonia/"). Chestmir affirms that it now shows Karaíba vestiges.

/104/ Anthropologically they are readily distinguished from the Tukano. They are taller, less corpulent, and, above all, less markedly Mongoloid in physiognomy than the latter.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They are found living on the upper Uaupés, on the frontier of Brazil and Colombia, and on the rivers Querarí, Cuduiarí, and the headwaters of the Içana. The first explorers already found them in this habitat. About a [797] century ago Jesuino Cordeiro settled some hundreds of them in Mitú and on the lago do espelho /lake of the mirror/.

[161] Including a thousand souls, according to the calculations of Koch Grünberg, who says that the Kubêwãna dominated two Arwáke groups of the Querarí and imposed on them their language and customs: the Hõhõwa and the Káwa (39).

39. Two or three families of the Káwa still survive (cf. II-6, a (5) ). As for the Hõhõwa, whom Koch G. talks about, perhaps they would be the Hehénakõ or Hehénawõ, now considered a subdivision of the Kubêwana, as it can be seen on the charts transcribed here.

Many of the latter, however, emigrated to the Içana River, and in contact with the Arwáke groups there, they again took on their Arwáke character (Zwei Iahre, 72).

*101 /104 cont./

3) Divisions -- We obtained four lists of the subdivisions of the Kubêwana tribe:

[115] 1st. -- The first one contains 9 (nine) names and was furnished to us in November of 1953 by the Kubêwana woman Heloisa, about 45 years old, married and residing in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés). The Wanana man, Maximiano de Sá, from this same povoado, who served us as interpreter, gave us the meaning of each name as follows:

1st. -- Órobakõ (pacova sororoca /Ravenala guianensis, Benth./), on Pindaíba-igarapé (near Mitú, river Uaupés)

2nd. -- Áwekõ (beijú /manioc bread/), on the headwaters of the Cuduiarí (tributary of the Querarí)

3rd. -- Wárarikõ (variety of pepper), in Tatú-cachoeira (river Uaupés)

4th. -- Hehénakõ (sour), on the river Cuduiarí

5th. -- Bahúkekõ (appeared), on the river Cuduiarí

6th. -- Neábokõ (mirití), on the river Cuduiarí

7th. -- Bareákõ (manivara /manioc-stem cutting/), on Pindaíba-igarapé

8th. -- Húrukõ (?), on the lagoon of cold water (headwaters of the Cuduiarí)

9th. -- Pyarákõ (tocandira /a kind of ant/), above Mitú (river Uaupés).

[115] /105/ 2nd. -- Later, in April of 1955, another Kubêwana woman, Josefa, also about 45 years old, wife of the tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira, the Wanana Mandú, reviewed the list furnished by Heloisa, confirmed it, and added nine other subdivisions. She, however, denied the existence of the eighth division above, Húrukõ, and located the Pyarákõ or Myarako on the igarapé Macaquinha. And as for the meaning of the names, it was furnished to us in Wanana (or Tukano) by her husband, so we shall put the subdivisions in the same order in which they were given:

10th. -- Utsí-awekõ (moã-parya), on the river Cuduiarí

11th. -- Bõoibokõ (tõnẽ-noãkiro), on the river Cuduiarí

12th. -- Korokõ (coró-coró /bird/ mira, that is, red), on the river Cuduiarí

/105 cont./

*101 13th. -- Pedíkãakõ (soxkõá, grater), on the river Cuduiarí
14th. -- Byókõ (the bird yavíroa), on the river Cuduiarí
15th. -- Korẽteraboekõ (the plant bõsaritena), on the river Içana (Josefa is from this group)
16th. -- Dyurébakõ (pino maxkã põná), on the river Içana
17th. -- Tóreakõ (guariba /howler monkey/), on the river Içana
18th. -- Dyokákebekõ (without leaf), on the river Içana

[115] 3rd. -- A group of Wanãna from Tipiaca (Colombian middle Uaupés), reciprocally helping one another, in May of 1954, gave us the 16 subdivisions of the Kubẽwana tribe that we give below. From the translation that they did for us, it seems to us that one can identify the subdivisions Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5... 7, 8... 11... 13... 15, respectively, with the numbers 1, 18, 14, 16, 9, 13, 12, 10, 15, and 3 of the lists furnished by Heloisa and Josefa. The difference would result solely from the fact that the list from Tipiaca is found in the Wanana language, whereas Heloisa and Josefa gave the names in their idiom, which is the Kubẽwãna.

1st. ( 1) -- Hópũrya (sororoca), on the Abio-igarapé
2nd. (18) -- Phurĩ marĩhá (without leaf), on the river Querarí
3rd. (14) -- Yavíroa (a giver of color), on the Uaupés River, above the mouth of the Abio-igarapé
4th. (16) -- Maxkã pĩró põná (place of the snake), headwaters of the Querarí
5th. ( 9) -- Pixtá (tocandira), above Mitú-cachoeira (Uaupés)
6th. -- Suxpúara (water bubbles), on the headwaters of the Cuduiarí

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7th. (13) -- Soxkõa (grater), on the river Cuduiarí
8th. (12) -- Koxtoá (red coró-coró), on the mouth of the Cuduiarí
9th. -- Desõporea (bearded), below Mitú (river Uaupés)
10th. -- Yurya (crippled), on the Karapanã-igarapé
11th. (10) -- Moã-paryá (salt), on the Miritĩ-igarapé (above Mitú, Uaupés)
12th. -- Boté dyeryá (eggs of aracú /fish/), on the headwaters of the Cuduiarí

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*101 13th. (15) -- Wamãtarwa (an herb), on the headwaters of the Querarí

14th. ( 7) -- Yebákaroa (manivara), on the river Querarí

15th. ( 3) -- Byẽdero (variety of pepper), in S. Cruz and Tatú-cachoeira (Uaupés)

16th. -- Wai wehẽkõ (puçá /hammock, net/), on Pacú-igarapé (above Mitú, Uaupés).

[115] 4th. -- In April of 1957 we met in Arapaçu-poço, a locality on the river Içana, near the mouth of the Aiarí, two women who came from the Querarí, Nazária, about 40 years old and Byatrina, 25 to 28 years old, married to Arwáke men of the Yauareté-tapúya tribe. They introduced themselves as being from the Korẽterabõa tribe, a name that they translated for us as Búya-tapúya (snake people). It is to be noted that on the second list above Josefa gave as a subdivision of the Kubẽwana the Korẽteraboekõ, a name that indicates the plant bõsaritena. In collecting the "test" Vocabulary from these Korẽterabõa women, we verified that it was almost identical to the one furnished by Heloisa in 1955. Byatrina indicated the following divisions; serving us as interpreter, the Indian Ernesto, from the Jurupari-tapuya tribe, from S. Ana (river Içana):

1st. -- Hehẽnawa (old), in Tuí (river Cuduiarí)

2nd. -- Padĩkawõ (grater), in Itapinima (river Cuduiarí)

3rd. -- Byawá (Pepper), in Pirá-mutum (river Querarí)

4th. -- Myarãwa (white), in Sẽi-ma (river Uaupés)

5th. -- Bahúkõwa (appeared), in Uaracú-cachoeira (river Cuduiarí)

6th. -- Wararíwa (?), in Macucú (river Uaupés)

7th. -- Korówa (coró-coró), in Itapinima (river Cuduiarí)

8th. -- Pyarãwa (tocandira), in Pirá-mirim (river Cuduiarí)

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9th. -- Horóbora paramẽra (clay), in Cupim-igarapé (river Papurí)

10th. -- Tídwa (a fish), in Tĩ-igarapé (river Uaupés)

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*101

11th. -- Akẽromõwa (ant of fire), on the river Pirá-paraná

12th. -- Táytõ paramẽra (young pavão /any one of several kinds of large birds/ or sorcerer), on the river Uaupés

13th. -- Korébawa (waited), Iviarí-igarapé (tributary of the Quearí)

14th. -- Kopáyõwa (white termite), on the Mirití-paraná (river Uaupés)

15th. -- Barõáwa (an ant with a large head), on the Mirití-paraná (river Uaupés)

16th. -- Órobawa (wilderness, open place?), in Jacamim-cachoeira (river Uaupés)

17th. -- Yamĩtidõwa (soot), in Uaracapurí (river Uaupés)

18th. -- Wírowa (a cricket), in Tipiaka-cachoeira (river Uaupés)

19th. -- Tatĩwa (javarí /a palm/), in Paca-igarapé (river Uaupés)

20th. -- Mõãkõrawõ (eye), in Iutica, (river Uaupés)

21st. -- Betówa (tucum nut), in Açaí (river Uaupés)

22nd. -- Byákowa (star), on the river Içana

23rd. -- Yamã paramẽra (children of the deer), in Surubi-igarapé (river Içana)

24th. -- Máwa paramẽra (black daguirú), Cumarí-igarapé (river Içana)

Observations -- Comparing the various lists we verified:

1st. -- The locations do not coincide. This difficulty, however, is perhaps explained because one is dealing with vague indications (such-and-such river or igarapé, headwaters of such-and-such river, etc.); or because one and the same group might be scattered through various localities.

2nd. -- The names likewise do not agree perfectly. This difficulty, too, can be explained, admitting that no list is complete, and from this the fact that one omits names that appear in others.

3rd. -- The last list greatly surprises us: a) it is more numerous. Perhaps, besides the subdivisions properly speaking, it might also include close tribes considered sisters /sic/ and, therefore, with marriage interdiction among them.

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*101 b) The agreement with the previous lists is not great (only in half a dozen names). Having in mind that the ending kõ indicates the masculine singular, and wa, the ending for the plural, we have discovered a large number of agreements. For example:

The 5th subdivision of this list, Bahúkõwa, with Bahúkekõ mentioned by Heloisa;

The 6th division, Wararíwa, with the 3rd one of Heloisa, Wárarikõ (pepper);

The 9th, Horóbora, clay, with the 8th, Húrukõ (?);

The 16th, Órobawa, with the 1st, Órobakõ (sororoca)

q) ROÉRA-MASÃ OR TARAYRA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Roéra-masã, as they say in their own idiom, corresponds to the Tukano word Doeá-maxsã or Taraíra-tapuya of the Nheengatú, since roé (in Tukano doé) is the name of the taraíra fish (Erithrynus Taraira, Lin.).

[115] Their idiom also belongs to the Tukano linguistic group, as is seen in the Vocabulary (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") that was given to us in August of 1956 by a young man named Yamí, also known under the name of Pedro, about 22 years old and residing in the Ídemasã maloca of the Komé-ya. They are [142] in general of medium stature, plump of figure, roundish face, light bronze complexion, light eyes inclined toward blue, mustache hairs, nose high and a little aquiline, and lissotrichous hair. All of them, men and women, wear the ears pierced [301] [304] and a small plug of about two millimeters in diameter stuck through them.

[582] Tribal exogamy is also in force among the Roéra, and we know of marriages with the Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They have a maloca near the mouth of the stream Gó-ya, right tributary of the Komé-ya. It seems that they are not very numerous, except if we consider them in conjunction with the Emõá and Yebá, which were designated to us as one and the same tribe (cf. IV -- 2, t). It is to be noted that it is not rare that those of one tribe are presented

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*101 as brothers or relatives of those of another tribe, with matrimonial interdication, although they are distinguished, not only by the language, but even somatically or bio-ethnologically. This is the case, for example, with regard to the Tukano and Bará.

3) Divisions -- The informant above indicated to us only the Yebá-Yetána. Various tribes, such as the Hanêra, Yebá, Emõá, indicated as their subdivision the Roéra or Taraíra. Is it actually a matter of /109/ subdivisions of these tribes, or do the Roéra constitute a tribe per se? If the dialectic difference is small, as the Vocabularies compared reveal to us, the somatic one is greater, in spite of the matrimonial arrangement that binds these tribes. If we keep in mind the fact that among all these tribes exogamous marriage is in force as a strict law (cf. 1, a (1) ), matrimonial non-interdiction could serve as a criterion for distinguishing the tribes, although the interdiction is not always useful as a classificatory criterion.

r) SURIRÁ OR SURYANA

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Surirá, meaning unknown, and they are called Suryana by those of other tribes. Probably it is the same tribe as the one called Cirango by Curt Nimuendajú.

Their language belongs to the Tukano group, as is seen in the Vocabulary that we collected and recorded (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"). Possibly the one that comes in the 16th place in the linguistic classification of Chestmir (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"), and he has located it erroneously on the river Caiari.

[144] [171] [829] They are lighter in complexion than the Tukano, small face, less Mongoloid features, and also shorter and less corpulent than they are. Morally more decayed, they are regarded by the Tukano as inferior, and they judge themselves as such. They are, in reality, slower in assimilating civilization, lazier, less

/109 cont./
*101 susceptible to stimulus (40).

40. The appearance of their homes in Acuaricuara confirms the impression that they are more decayed. It is true that in November of 1953 two Suryana families were building the two best houses of the missionary povoado. About the moral decadence, the fact that a father was living maritally with his daughter. It must be pointed out that the Tukano did not accept a Suryana as a labor overseer; nevertheless, in the Mission school the two most intelligent young men were Suryana.

[171] [835] [829] [797]

In Acuaricuara we found Suryana married to Tukano and to Desana; matrimonial interdiction is thus not in force between these tribes. Exogamy is also mandatory among the Suryana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We found some groups on the headwaters of the Papurí and on the river Paca (Acuaricuara and surroundings). They are not to be confused with the Širyaná of Arwake origin located on the Demêni, whom Curt K. identified with the Bahuna.

According to the information obtained in Acuaricuara, the Suryana tribe is greatly reduced in members. There would be about 250 individuals: 120 in S. Geraldo (river Paca), 80 in Vinha-igarapé, 30 in Uiva-igarapé, and 20 in Tapira-cachoeira (river Paca).

[115] /110/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Manoel Rodriguez from Acuaricuara.

1. Tu-boá (?), in S. Geraldo
2. Behé burisêra (Suryana tapurú /caterpillar/), in Vinha-igarapé
3. Wivá (arrow), in Uíva-igarapé (river Paca, above Tapira-cachoeira)

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*101

4. Wya-toá (an ant), in Uíva-igarapé
5. Eóna (jaburú /bird/), in Tapira-cachoeira
6. Bayaró suryá mamasurá (Suryana singer), on the headwaters of the Vinha-igarapé
7. Bará-ka (?), on the headwaters of the river Paca.

s) TSẼNA

1) People-Name-Language. -- The Tsẽna belong to the Tukano family of languages, as can be deduced from the "test" vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/). It was not possible for us to obtain data for an approximate calculation of the Tsẽna. Like the neighboring tribes who reside between the Tiquié and the Pirá-paraná, the Tsẽna are lighter in complexion than the Tukano and have less Mongoloid features. Moreover, they exhibit dark brown, cymotrichous hair.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They are presently located in malocas on the middle Pirá-paraná and on some of its small tributaries, such as the Timí-ya (igarapé of the otter), Ahã-ya (igarapé of the inambú /tinamou/), Iaxpi-ya (igarapé of the batata), and Utú-ya (Igarapé of the plain).

[115]

3) Divisions: -- The Tsẽna Indian Marco, about 25 years of age (1958), who furnished and recorded the vocabulary for us, indicated the following divisions of his tribe in decreasing order of importance:

1. Oãni-sẽna (micura or gambá /opossum/), in Tsẽna-pwea (cachoeira of the Pirá-paraná)
2. Tsẽna-põ (?), on the stream Timí-ya
3. Pinõ-sẽna (snake), on the stream Ahã-ya
4. Kũmya (?), on the stream Iaxpí-ya
5. Waya-sẽna (a fish), in Tsẽna-pwea. The informant belongs to this group.
6. Pamõ (tatú /armadillo/), in Utú-ya (Pirá-paraná).

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*101 t) YEBÁ-MASÃ

1) People-Name-Language. -- Yebá-masã is their denomination in the mother tongue, although they do not know the meaning of this term (41).

[115]

41. Lucas, the old Tukano from S. Luzia, as has already been said (IV-2, a), explained to Padre Antonio Giacone that Yepá-maxsã (as they say in Tukano) means gente-da-terra /people of the land/, and that the natives who reached the Papurí afterwards called the Tukano this. It is to be noted that Yepá, according to the legends, is the son of Bũxpó (the Thunder), and the Indians, with some religious notions, say that it is God, the Son. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) met on the Tiquié an Indian woman by the name of Inácia, of the Yepália tribe, with beautiful physiognomic features. Would it be another spelling of Yepá?

[773]

Their idiom is classified in the Tukano family, as it is shown by the Vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical and Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia). In contrast to the Tukano, they are slender types, of medium stature like them or even shorter. Small face, tapering toward the chin. Physiognomy little or not at all Mongoloid. Coarser hair, black or dark, not lissotrichous, as generally befalls the natives of Brazil. At times they even exhibit slight waves. Dark eyes, nose low at the root, like the Tukano, but higher and finer tip. The men ordinarily have the ears pierced.

[142]

With an insignificant mandioca-agriculture, they are principally hunters, and they live on wild fruits. For this reason the consumption of ipadú /coca/ is great among them (cf. VI - 4, 1 (4). They all use the hammock of 30 threads. Their festivals are frequent.

[244] [222] [224] [284]

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*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- One group of Yebá-masã lives on the headwaters of the igarapé Iaíssa (igarapé of the house of the onça /jaguar/), still in Brazilian territory; but the totality is in Colombian territory, in the interior of the forest watered by the Komé-ya. Probably they do not exceed two or three hundred members. [161]

[115] 3) Divisions. -- The five primary divisions were furnished to us by an Indian of the tribe, named Joaquim, about 25 years of age (in 1954), and the last two, by the Indian João, 40 years old, of the Tuyuka tribe, from the maloca of the Iaíssa. The Roéra and Emõã appear in the following divisions. We were not able to find out whether they are homonymous tribes, as is more probable, considered as more closely related. Their habitat coincides with those of these tribes, as can be seen in the respective places.

1. Doé or Roé (taraíra /fish/), on the Komé-ya
2. Wîhuri or Wípuri (?), on the Komé-ya

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3. Áyawa (?), on the Komé-ya
4. Héta (?), on the Komé-ya
5. Kuíto (?), on the Komé-ya
6. Emõã-masã (guariba /howler/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya
7. Sêi-masã (barrigudo /woolly/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya (42)

[136] 42. Sêi is the monkey of the genera Lagothrix and related ones, which is also called aimoré, because of which the natives of this group are sometimes called Aymoré-tapuya.

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*101 u) WAHYÁRA OR YURITÍ-TAPUÚA

1) People-Name-Language. -- The Indians known as Yurití-tapuya are called in their own idiom Wahyara or Uhayána and belong to the Tukano linguistic family, but their language exhibits Karaíba vestiges, so Chestmir affirms (cf. Vocabulary in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical"). Jurití is the translation of the name of the dove wahyara. They have a longer face and lighter complexion than the Tukano, as well as being taller and slimmer than the latter.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- Chestmir tells of their existence on the river Caiari. As far as has been reported to us, it is in the Colombian region between the Uaupés and the Papurí that some groups of the Jurití live, as well as in
[161] Acuaricuara (river Paca) and its surroundings. It seems to us that they are more numerous than the Suryana.

In "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/" it is said that they were settled in 1852 by Frei Gregório on the river Uaupés, in Aracapurí, Carurú-cachoeira, S. Jerônimo and S. Joaquim, and a century before by the Carmelites in Thomar. And that they are very closely related to the Huhúteni and are called Halikuliarú by the Siwsí. We think that there is a serious mistake here. The Huhúdeni are of the Arwake group, and the Jurití, whom we are talking about, belong, by language, to the Tukano group. It is true that the physiognomic features of the Jurití are less Mongoloid and more delicate than those of the Tukano.

[115] 3) Divisions. -- Informant Emília Cordeiro, about 40 years old, in Acuaricuara in November of 1953.

1. Dexpoá Waxtí panamẽna (head of Waxtí), on the headwaters of the Paca
2. Tsyára Wahyára (swallow), at the mouth of the Turí-igarapé, in Nenfya
3. Dyáta poná (water duck), on the headwaters of the Cussá

/112 cont./

*101

4. Bótea Wahyára (aracú /fish/), on the headwaters of the river Paca (extinct today)

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5. Wãkebu poná (ingá), in Tuim-igarapé (tributary of the Uaupés)
6. Yãseá Wahyára (jurití /palm/ monkey), on the igarapé Komé-ya (tributary of the Paca) (43)

43. Komé-ya is the name in the Tukano language corresponding to Gi-paraná in the Nheengatú, that is, "Stream of the iron or of the ax." It is not to be confused with Komé-ya, tributary of the river Pirá-paraná, which waters the forests inhabited by the Ide-masã, Roera, Yebá, and other tribes.

7. Usẽniña (cucura /Moraceae/), on the igarapé Komé-ya
8. Dyípo yutáda (pata'pé), on the igarapé Komé-ya
9. Watkó basoka (seringa), on the headwaters of the Paca
10. Dyató panamena (iúa pixuna /fruit/), on the river Paca (above Tapira-cachoeira)
11. Ahuã betóri panamena (earthworm), on the headwaters of the Paca.

v) WAY-KHANA OR PIRÁ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Pirá-tapuya is the língua-geral term corresponding to Way-khana, or "fish people," in the mother tongue (sing., masc. Waí-khõ, fem. Waí-khõ). Their name is explained by the legend of the origins. Their particular physiognomic features were described (IV - 1, a (2) ). Their language belongs to the Tukano group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical"), and is very close to that of the Wanana.

[582] We have already observed that matrimonial interdiction is in force between the Pirá-tapuya and the Arapasu, Wanana, and Jurití.

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*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They do not appear on the lists of the eighteenth century. It is interesting to point out that the Pira-tapuya are indicated on Frei Gregório's maps in Carurú-cachoeira, Iauareté, Juquira, S. Joaquim, that is, in povoados of other tribes and not where we found and recorded them (III). Their principal nucleus is the Papurí, from where they later moved to the Uaupés. It is probable that they arrived in Brazil before the Tukano.

[161] They fluctuate around six hundred (588 in the statistics of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/," distributed in this way: on the Uaupés, in Jacaré-ponta and surroundings of Ananás and Taracuá, in Urubucuara, Mariuá, Buzina, in Uaracú-ponta, which is their largest center nowadays, and on the outskirts of Umarí. On the Papurí: in S. Gabriel, S. Paulo. They are, moreover, numerous in the Colombian frontier territory.

[115] /114/ 3) Divisions. -- Indicated by a group of Pirá-tapuya from Teresita (river Papuri).

1. Wehétera or Vetára poné (powder), in Teresita, Ucapinima, Japim, Japú (river Papuri), and Uaracú (river Uaupés)
2. Swãrya poné (red ones), in Macú-paraná and África (Papurí)
3. Sasíro poné (sasíro, a large grasshopper), in Uaracú (Uaupés)
4. Kenẽ poné (a cockroach), on the river Paca
5. Pãta poné (a toad that swells), in Japim (Papurí)
6. Busãna poné (paineira /tree/), on the igarapés of the river Japurá
7. Buxpó poné (thunder), in S. Tomé (Bela Vista) on the lower Uaupés
8. Duxkodõ poné (thin), in Bela Vista
9. Ñamá-emẽperoa poné (deer ear), in Ituim-ponta (Papurí)
10. Ñapá poné (a toad), in Ararí-pirá (Uaupés)
11. Komé-pá poné (stone of the ax), in S. Francisco

/114 cont./

(Uaupés) (44)

*101
[115]

44. According to the Tukano Henrique, pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of the Japú-igarapé (river Uaupés), the Komé-pá, also called Gi-Tapuya, are the "Pirá-tapuya of the feet" or "of the tail" (he expressed himself in this way) and formerly lived above the Japú-Igarapé, as can be seen drawn on the map of Hamilton Rice (cf. II-6, b).

12. Nohá-peoroa (burned), in Bacaba (Uaupés) and Japim (Papurí)
13. Poéroa (low water), in Teresita (Papurí)
14. Ñamákuli poné (spotted deer), in Macú-igarapé
15. Yapẽ poné (a frog), in Cangatara (Uaupés)
16. Kẽhólya (dreamer ?), in Ponta-fria (Uaupés)
17. Bwá poné (cotia /agouti/), in S. Paulo, S. Gabriel, Tucunaré (Papurí), Taracuá, Bela Vista, Açaí-paraná (Uaupés)
18. Paraoro poné (a cipo with fragrant flowers), on the streams Macú and Ituim
19. Nixtí-pá poné (ashes), in Teresita (Papurí) (45)

45. "Because they brought the fire in the dances," thus they explained to us the reason for the name. It must be an old custom, which is no longer in force today. It is to be noted that in Teresita they were introduced to us as the Pariahs of the Pirá-tapuya; whereas on the Tiquié they characterized as slaves the Bwá poné, Paráoro, and Oxkótirya.

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101 20. Oxkõtirya poné (foam of the water where the Pirá-tapuya appeared), in Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) (46)

46. Would the Wanana be considered brothers of the Pirá-tapuya, from which would come the matrimonial interdiction that is in effect between these tribes?

[273] 21. Dyaxtú panámina (grandchildren of Dyaxtú, that is, of the one who drinks pure caxirí /various locally made beverages drunk at feasts/), in S. Tomé (Tiquié), Bela Vista (Uaupés) (47)

47. An individual of this group informed us that he identifies himself with the 7th group above, Bĩxpó poné.

w) WINÁ OR DESÃNA.

1) People-Name-Language. -- In their own idiom they say Winá, the name, it seems, of a fish. According to Padre João Marchesi, it means wind storm, thunder, people of the thunder. They are called Detsana or Papuriwára by the Taryana. The suffix wara is from the Nheengatú and expresses origin; the name would seem, then, to indicate that they penetrated into Brazil by way of the Papurí. It is certain that when the Tukano reached the Tiquié, the Desana were already there and on the principal tributaries. In contrast to the Tukano, it was afterwards that they moved to the Papurí, perhaps even before the arrival of the Tukano in Brazil.

In the Tukano language they call themselves Wená or Wĩrá; they also received the nicknames of "muhĩ-pũ põra," children of the sun, and "õ mã-kori maxsã," people of the day. Such nicknames might be derived from some legend that we do not know. Or perhaps from the relative location of these two tribes, the Desana being in the eastern region in relation to the Tukano?

/115 cont./

*101 The vocabulary we managed to get (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical") reveals as great a distance from the Tukano idiom as they are different anthropologically from this tribe.
[142] Short, as they are, but more slender and fairer, and with a tapered face. Chestmir affirms that their idiom exhibits Karaíba intrusion.

They are specialists in making sieves and in the preparation
[284] of the tucum. The Tukano affirm that they learned with the
[184] Desana how to make the "hammock of thirty threads" (VI - 2, c (2) ).

[582] Marriage with the Taryana and Arapásu is forbidden for
[142] them (48).

48. We read in Koch Grünberg that they marry the Makús. We could not verify that. Perhaps it was a matter of a particular case reported to Koch. From the hundreds of individuals we observed, Koch's opinion that they differ from the other tribes in the following somatic features does not seem acceptable to us either: "not so well proportioned body, high head, coarse hair, oval face, prominent zygoma, large nose, somewhat slanted eyes."

[161] /116/ 2) Habitat and inhabitants. They come to several hundreds (601 in the census of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/"). Today we find them in large numbers on the Papurí and tributaries, but especially on the Tiquié and its tributaries -- the Castanho, Umarí, Ira, and Turí-igarapé. Some groups came down, as early as the beginning of the last century, to
[191] the mouth of the Uaupés and the Rio Negro. These last ones, as we read in Giacone, "from the contact with the Caboclos and whites, are the most advanced: besides their own dialect and the Tukano, they speak Nheengatú, and many, Portuguese.
[438] Every year some of them go up the Tiquié and the Papurí, visiting their brothers, taking them goods acquired with the whites,

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*101 [438] and receiving in exchange manioc flour, sieves, aturás /large baskets carried on the back/ or baskets, balls of tucum, and canoes" (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, 7).

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informants: Amélia Veiga (30 years old in 1956, from the subdivision Yugõ-põná) and Ana Cabral (22 years old, Depótino), both from Floresta (river Tiquié); Justina Pires (from Embaúba, river Uaupés), and Judite Monteiro (from Matapí, Tiquié):

1st. -- Boré-ka-põná ánikma (aracú /a fish/) (49),

49. Bore-ka-põná means "son of the aracú." "Ánikma" is a demonstrative that they employ frequently and means these, they. We transcribed it in order to remain faithful to the designation and pronunciation of our informants.

on the river Papurí; they are the "Mamí"

2nd. -- Bũgyẽri põná (old), in Tucunaré (Papurí)

3rd. -- Sumyẽri põna (a sour fruit), on the Macú-igarapé (Papurí)

4th. -- Poyẽri põná (a fruit similar to the abio /Sapotaceae/), on the river Uaupés

5th. -- Depótino põná (an ant), in Ira-igarapé (Tiquié)

6th. -- Yugõ põná (hiccup), in Trovão (Uaupés) and Floresta (Tiquié)

7th. -- Sipeáninã ánikma (a bird), in Umarí-igarapé (Tiquié)

8th. -- Anañeri põna or aganĩgãnĩ põná (foot of inambú /bird/), on the river Papurí

9th. -- Yexsé põná (wild pig), on the river Castanho (trib. of the Tiquié)

10th. -- Toá pianã (iúa pixuna, fruit), in Iraití (Tiquié)

11th. -- Waxsúpo põná (cunurí /tree/), in Turí-igarapé (Papurí)

12th. -- Yú põná (an insect ?), in Floresta (Tiquié)

13th. -- Yeborẽna ánikma (bone?), in S. João (Tiquié)

/116 cont./

*101 14th. -- Simyõ pẽru põná (caxirí of uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/), in Teresita (Papurí) and Itapinima (Uaupés)

/117/

15th. -- Yaxpé putiná (?) or yai buxtiná (white onça /jaguar/), in S. Antônio (Tiquié)

16th. -- Búyaka põná (sumaúma /tree/), on the river Papurí

17th. -- Teáburu põná (a fruit), in Floresta (Tiquié)

18th. -- Mahãñana põná (an edible caterpillar), on the river Papurí

19th. -- Mõneá põna (carapanã /large, long-legged gnat/), in Umarí-igarapé (50)

50. Would it perhaps be the Karapanã tribe, which they consider more intimately connected with the Desana? Actually a Karapanã group exists on the headwaters of the stream Uamarí or Umarí-igarapé.

20th. -- Minumú põná (swallow), on the headwaters of the Papurí

21st. -- Mixpínya põná (açaí /assai palm/), in Turí-igarapé and Montfort (Papurí)

[823] 22nd. -- Way-goberi põná (canal with fish) (51),

51. The natives affirm that there is a subterranean canal between the Papurí and the Tiquié, through which, says the legend, the first fish moved to the Tiquié.

in Piracuára and Montfort (Papurí)

23rd. -- Kúperi põná (?), in Tucunaré (Papurí); only one woman survives, mother of Sabino Paíva from Iuquira (Uaupés)

24th. -- Poetẽna or Po'yaxtẽna (a plant), in Po-yá igarapé

[554] 25th. -- Óiwa ánikma (bat), on the river Papurí; they are the pariahs.

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*101 Obs. The Desana José Prado, about 30 years old (1956),
[115] confirmed the above subdivisions, with the following modifi-
[554] cations: 1st. he does not know the 11th subdivision Waxsúpo põná; 2nd. he corrected the names of the 8th, 15th, and he divided up the 24th, respectively, aganĩgãnĩ põna, yai buxtiná, and Poyaxtẽna, "because it planted the igarapé" (so he explained); 3rd. -- The first three are the most noble, he said, and the óiwa are the pariahs.

x) KUMÃDENE OR IPEKA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Ipéka is a Nheengatú term that means water duck. In their own idiom they call themselves Kumãdene, and in the Tukano language, Dya-kaxtá-põrá (children of the water duck). The Taryãna call them Kumãda Yaperíkuli, ducks of Yaperíkuli.

On the Uaupés there is a small group of this tribe of Arwake extraction, whose idiom is affiliated with the Baniva group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary which we collected (cf. "Discoteca Etno-Linguístico-Musical").

[582] They consider themselves brothers of the Taryãna, and, because of this marriage is forbidden between these tribes. In the list of the subdivisions of the Taryana /118/ the Kumãda Yaperíkuli appear. The somatic and the glottologic differences, however, demonstrate that it is a tribe distinct from the Taryãna.
[142] They are less corpulent, more delicate in constitution, fairer, and have hair less lissotrichous than theirs.

The ones from the Uaupés have already lost their native
[115] idiom, all speaking Tukano exclusively. In Urubuara in 1954 we met only two old men who still knew some words of their native language that we could transcribe and record: the sexagenarian tuxáua Mandú Henriques, and the almost nonagenarian Komú (xamã /shaman/) Martinho, who passed away in March of 1956. The ones from the Cuiarí, tributary of the Içana, still preserve their own idiom.

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*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- This tribe participated in the first migrations that took place on the Cuiarí and Içana, having as center on this river the locality of S. Pedro. The scarcity of fish in the Içana, in relation to the population, especially in some years, led some groups to migrate to the Uaupés in the middle of the last century. In larger number they passed through the forests of the Aiari, and others by way of the lower Içana. Among these last ones, the Ipeka group, which is found today in Urubucuara and surroundings and does not maintain any relations with the Ipeka of the Içana. It [161] seems that at present the whole tribe does not exceed three or four hundred souls.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Mandú Henriques of the Komãda-pú group, tuxaua of Urubucuara. It is to be noted that the various Kumãdẽne of the river Cuiarí whom we could consult, although they speak the native idiom, did not know how to indicate the divisions of the tribe.

1st. -- Kumãda-da (?), in Pinũ-pinú, already extinct
2nd. -- Kumãda-pú (?), in Urubucuara
3rd. -- Kapási Máwesi (hook?), headwaters of the Yaviarí
4th. -- Hapáka (?), in Bacaba-cachoeira (Uaupés)
5th. -- Wamerída (?), in Bacaba-cachoeira
6th. -- Murisépa (?), in Periquito-cachoeira (Uaupés)
7th. -- Wirí-karúpa (uiripipí, bird), in Periquito (Uaupés)
8th. -- Kumãdáwẽi (row /Port. fileira, row, line, rank/), on the river Aiari.

z) /sic/ TALYSERI OR TARYÃNA

1) People-Name-Language. They are the principal representatives, on the river Uaupés, of the Arwáke ethnic and linguistic group. In the Tukano language, they are called Pãã̃na (name of a plant?), and in their own /119/ idiom Talyáseri or Talyéseri, and in various Arwáke idioms of the Issana, Tarídza or Taría. We think the word Taryana is derived from Talyaseri by rotacismo /sound shifting/ (exchange

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*101 of the r for the l, a common phenomenon among these tribes) and the suffix ana, from the língua geral, which expresses abundance or collectivity.

We have tried to give a sketch of the somatic appearance (cf. IV - 1, a (3) ). They are characterized better by the language, which belongs to the Arwáke branch; therefore quite different from the Tukano in the pronunciation, roots, and inflection (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"). It seems to us, nevertheless, that, regarding the structure or the logical framework of the language (derivation of words, order of the sentence, syntax, etc.), the Taryana as well as the Arwáke idioms and the Nheengatú itself are similar to the Tukano Family of languages. Geographically enveloped as they are by the latter, and through commercial and matrimonial relations, one notices that their language is tending to disappear, being replaced by the Tukano. Actually scarcely one and a half hundred adults understand and speak the Taryana idiom. The young ones only know Tukano, which frequently is the language of their own mother, and many, the Portuguese learned in the Salesian Missions.

According to the legends, they are supposed to have come out of the ground through holes that are seen in the rocks of the cachoeira of Uapuim (on the river Aiarí). As they emerged, still covered with blood, loud thunder was heard, and for this reason they are called "Children of the blood of the thunder" (in Tukano: Bũxpó di põrá) or Di-roá (people of the blood).

On the occasion of reaching the Uaupés, there was a schism between two groups, which even today are antagonistic. One became localized on the cachoeira de Ipanoré, and the other, on that of Iauareté; and between the two a Tukano group settled in Iuquira, a Pirá-tapúya one in Aracú-ponta and an Arapasu one in S. José.

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*101 Their Arwáke ancestry makes us think of a probable descent by way of the rivers Orinoco-Negro, some groups (Ipeka, Baniva, etc.) becoming localized through the valley of the Içana and Xié, and others (Baré and Taryãna) descended farther. The Baré went as far as the mouth of the Rio Negro, and the Taryãna as far as that of the Uaupés, whose stream they later went up. These migrations must have taken place several centuries ago. Actually, at the time of the discoveries, the Arwáke were already found on the rivers that they now occupy. Furthermore, the first explorers who reached the Orinoco River found among the local tribes the belief that the inhabitants of the Rio Negro were giants (cf. Sampaio, "Diario" of 1774-5, p. 302). We can then infer an interval of centuries for the appearance and generalization of legends of this sort.

[829] [171]

/120/ Habitat and inhabitants. -- The statistics of the Missions of the Capuchin Monks from 1880 to 1888 indicate 11 aldeias inhabited by the Taryana, with a total of 2,272 souls, whose principal centers were: Iauareté, S. Joaquim, Nanã-Rapecũma, S. Jerônimo, Micura-Rapecũma, Carurú-cachoeira. We can affirm that, of these centers indicated, at present there are Taryãna only in Iauareté, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Micura-Rapecũma. The last data that we have show only 717 in Ipanoré, Pinú-pinú, Cigarro Buzina and from Iauareté up to Periquito, all the localities on the river Uaupés, and in Aracapá, Japurá and surroundings on the river Papurí, and on the river Javiarí. It is possible that other Arwáke groups closer in language and customs, residing in the basin of the Içana, were included in the reckoning of the Capuchins.

3) Divisions. -- In October of 1953 a group of Taryana from Iauareté, among them two old men more than 60 years of age, verified the list that we are giving below and obtained on previous trips. There was indecision among the informants regarding the order and meaning of the names, due, perhaps, to the decline of the group, which, besides its reduction in members, is losing its own idiom.

/120 cont./

*101 1st. -- Põkurãna (born from the clouds), in the povoado Manao (Iauareté). They are the most important.

2nd. -- Nérikwa Kwénaka (face of deer), in Japurá (river Papurí) (52)

*[115] 52. Old Paulino, who supplied us with these subdivisions, is from this group, almost extinct today.

3rd. -- Sivíru thumú (?), in Japurá

4th. -- Kwísi úda (tail of mutum /Crax/), in Iauareté (Uaupés)

5th. -- Kwí-váte (?), in Iauareté

6th. -- Kwénaka (?), in Iauareté and Ipanoré (almost extinct) (Uaupés)

7th. -- Kwí Káparo (aimoré monkey), in Ipanoré

8th. -- Samí-da (?), in Aracú-ponta (Uaupés)

9th. -- Makú-ya (urutauí, bacurau /Caprimulgidae/), in Micura (Uaupés)

10th. -- Komãda Yaperíkuli (duck of Yaperíkuli), in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) (They are the Kumãdẽne proper, also of the Arwáke group.)

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11th. -- Makaryá-põ (?), in Uaracapá (river Papurí)

12th. -- Hiparíku sásari (riku is a small woodpecker), in Iauareté (Mission)

13th. -- Seréawi (a parakeet with a long tail), in Bacaba (Uaupés)

14th. -- Kayároa (? dreamers), Iauareté (povoado Dom Bosco)

15th. -- Wáparo põná (a fish), in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) (53).

[115] 53. This name is in the Tukano language. A young woman 17 years of age, Antonia Corrêa, presented herself in 1954 as being Wáparo põná, not knowing how to tell the meaning of Wáparo. According to others, it is a fish similar to the aracú, although more roundish.

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115 In May of 1956 the Taryãna pajé of the Ira-igarapé, Henrique by name, a man of about 50 years of age, told us the legend of the origins of the Arwáke groups, in the cachoeira de Uapuim, and gave us the list of the Taryãna chiefs in the order of their exit from the pit of the cachoeira, which likewise corresponds to the importance of the group from which he originated. It is to be noted that it differs from the preceding one, not only concerning the number of the subdivisions and their rank, but also concerning the names and their meaning. It agrees with the preceding one only in half a dozen names. He, however, appeared to be more knowledgeable about the ancient legends, and for this reason his word deserves more credit and, besides, is greatly respected, not only by the men themselves, but also by other pajés of the Taryãna tribe.

A-101 Starting with the most important ones, the subdivisions are thus listed in decreasing order:

1st Group, the most noble ones

1st. -- Kaméwa (?), the heads; they are already extinct
2nd. -- Iriyumákẽni or Ena-yamákere (people of the blood, that is, born from the thunder), from this group Agostinho of the povoado Manao (Iauareté)
3rd. -- Pokurãna (that is, older brother) Kasútari, already extinct; formerly in the povoado Manao
4th. -- Pokurãna náseri (?), also extinct, in Iauareté
5th. -- Pokurãna purĩtĩ (leaf), from this group Filipe of Iauareté

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6th. -- Pokurãna Kwénaka (cunurí /tree/); Joaquim of Iauareté is from this group
7th. -- Pokurãna Neríkoa (forehead of deer), extinct, in Iauareté
8th. -- Dúpu-kári (water lizard), Paulino of Iravassú-ponta
9th. -- Kwénaka Pitasítsawi (leg of cutia /agouti/), Iravassú-ponta
10th. -- Kwénaka Sivíru (dove), Mandú Moleque of Iauareté

/122 cont./

*101 11th. -- Pokurãna Kwisívada (tail of mutum), Mandú of Turí-ponta (Uaupés)

12th. -- Pokurãna Wadakẽnini (branch of iúa-pixuna /fruit/), Benedicto of Tauá (formerly they lived in Taiaçú)

2nd Group, lower (i.e., inferior)

13th. -- Kwénaka Kwewáthe, Nicolau of Iauareté

14th. -- Kwénaka Manwére (Manuel) Kwewáthe, Calisto of Iauareté

15th. -- Kwénaka Manwére Kwewáthe, Leopoldino of Iauareté (54)

54. Leopoldino was a greatly feared tuxáua from Iauareté around 1920.

16th. -- Kwénaka Dakásani (puraquê /fish/), the Taryana of Ipanoré

17th. -- Pupúta Sahãmi (head of cutia), the Taryana of Aracú-ponta

18th. -- Sahãmi Maru-wyanapéri (nephew of the Bayá /master of dances/), Feliciano of Manáo

19th. -- Sahãmi Karinéseri Baasé-bõ (55),

55. The name Baasé-bõ seems to be from the Tukano language; according to a legend, he was the personage who gave them mandioca.

in the Ira-igarapé (the informant is from this group)

20th. -- Sahãmi Karinéseri -- Yauvityápu (bow of arrow), in Japurá (Papurí)

21st. -- Wiaka (?), today in Ipanoré, formerly on the cachoeira of the Acarí

22nd. -- Hwyaka (?), today in Cigarro, formerly in the cachoeira of the Acarí

/122 cont./

#101 3rd Group -- Surára (the soldiers, for the inferior work) (56)

56. Surára, it seems, is a term from the Nheengatú, a corruption of the Portuguese soldado /soldier/, which the different languages adopted.

23rd. -- Kumãda Axréda (white duck), Agostinho from the island of the horn-beetle (below Iauareté)

/123/

24th. -- Kumãda Kadêita (white duck), Martinho of Urubucuara
25th. -- Kumãda Kadêita, on the river Javiarí

4th Group

26th. -- Yaviría-pe nĩpe (people of the Javiarí), Paulino of Uaracapá (Papurí) (57)

57. Yavyria-pe nĩpe in all probability is from the Tukano idiom, and with better pronunciation is written Yaviria-põ-nĩpõ, i.e., the ones who were on the river Javarí.

27th. -- Yaviría-pe nĩpe (people of the Javiarí), Bibiano of Uaracapá
28th. -- Ãdari (young pavão /Pavo/ or sorcerer, bird), Marcelino of Iauareté
29th. -- Yaryanípe (turtle bayá), in Iauareté (they serve Nicolau)

/123 cont./

*101 5th Group -- of the Kayároa (in Tukano Way-penésiriri)

30th. -- Yavyáripe (rhythm tube), the Taryãna of Miritĩ (Uaupés)

31st. -- Kayároa, extinct from the beginning (i.e., died without leaving children)

32nd. -- Hayku Sãni (heart of wood), João Barrigudo of Iauareté

33rd. -- Híparu (the curvature of the toad), Eduardo of Iauareté

34th. -- Tépána Masyẽdana, they are the slaves, in Iauareté (only a few women survive)

6th Group -- the nephews (?)

35th. -- Pai Penéseri (= Waí penésiriri?), Antonico of Iauareté

36th. -- Pai Penéseri, Eduardo of Iauareté (father of Ricardo)

37th. -- Pai Penéseri, the Taryana of the povoado of Buzina (Uaupés)

7th Group -- of the slaves, "Taryana of the tail"

38th. -- Mamyári-kéni (grandson of Wãx-tĩ or Juruparí), Bibiano of Periquito

39th. -- Mamyári-kéni, in Bacaba-cachoeira (Uaupés)

40th. -- Mamyári-kéni, in Juquira-ponta (above Iauareté).

4: Silva--180 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



## 3. Names of the Tribes of the Uaupés in the different native languages

| | in Tukano | Tuyuka | Pirã-tapuya | Wanana |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Tukano | Daxseá | Daxseá | Daxseá | Daxséa |
| 2. Tuyuka | Dyí-khãra | Doxká-poará<br>Doxká-foará | Dyí-kena | Dyí-maxkãna |
| 3. Pirã-tapuya | Waí-khãra | Waí-maxkãna | Waí-khana | Waí-maxkãna |
| 4. Wanana | Oxko-tí-khãra | Dyá-poxsá-maxkãna<br>Axko-tí-maxkãna | Oxkó-ti-rya | Kótirya |
| 5. Desana | Wirá | Wina | Kna | Kna |
| 6. Kubewana | Kobêwa | Kubêwa | Sí-á (Sí-bá) | Bwísa-maxsã |
| 7. Bará | Bará | Bará | Bará | Bará |
| 8. Yuriti-tapuya | Waíãra | Waídyana, Waíaka | Waíana | Waíana |
| 9. Suryana | Söryá | Söryá | Süryá | Süryá |
| 10. Karapanã | Mõxtéá | Möxteá | Muxtã | Mõxtéá |
| 11. Hanêra | Parérõá | Panénõá | ——— | Parénõa-maxsã |
| 12. Edúrya | Eduryá | Edúrya | Erúrya | Dúrya (Verúlya) |
| 13. Yebá-masã | Yepá-maxsã | Yepá-maxsã | Yepá-maxsã | Yepámati |
| 14. Taiú-tapuya | Pamõá-maxsã | Pamõá | Pamõ-poné | Phamõ-poná |
| 15. Mikúra-tapuya | Oá-maxsã | Oá-fõná | Oá-poné | Oá-maxsã |
| 16. Mirití-tapuya | Neérõá | Neenoá | Neenoá | Neenoá |
| 17. Arapásu | Kõréá | Koneá | Konéa | Kõ'réa |
| 18. Ide-masã (Makuna, Aönira) | Aönirá | Aöniná | Aönina | ——— |

| /125/ | in Tukano | Tuyuka | Pirã-tapuya | Wanana |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19. Wariwa-tapuya | Emõã-maxsã | Emõã | Emõa | Emõa |
| 20. Taraira-tapuya | Doé-maxsã | Doséa, Daséra | Daxsepya-poné | Daxsá-piwa |
| 21. Bá:re-masã | Baá-maxsã | —— | —— | —— |
| 22. Pusã-tapuya | Wehẽkö-maxsã | Bafigo-maxsã | Wẽhána-maxsã | Wahiye-kẽryá |
| 23. Káwa-yari | —— | —— | —— | Kaviaria |
| 24. Yurú-pigũna | —— | Waú (?) | Doxsé-betó-ñiena | Döxsé-ro-ñyina |
| 25. Sarabatana-tapuya | Büxpúwö-maxsã | Buxpúwö-baxsóka | Vuxpú-paxká-poné | Pú-maxsã |
| 26. Tanibúka | Nũ'hõã-maxsã | Hoá-iñará | Nũl'hõ-paxká-poné | —— |
| 27. Wakará-tapuya (Yeheá-maxsã, gente garça) | Yeheá-maxsã | Yé-maxsã, Yé-põná | Tã-tã-poné | Kóda-ká-maxsã |
| 28. Akãgatára-tapuya | Mahã-poarí-maxsã | Mãhoá | Mahã-poarí-poné | Mahã-poaká-maxsã |
| 29. Tayasú | Yexseá-maxsã | Yesé-põná<br>Maxkári-yesé | Yexseá-poné | Yexseá-maxsã |
| 30. Yakamí (jacamim) | Tã-tã-maxsã | Tã-tã-maxsã | Tã-tã-poné | Tã-tã-porẽnoá |
| 31. Arakú | Bo'teá-maxsã | Bo'téa-maxsã | Bateá poné | Bo'téa-maxsã |
| 32. Irawsú | —— | Dobé | Umí-maxsã | Mí-parẽnoá |
| 33. Pikasú | Buhá-maxsã | Buá-põná | Buhá-maxsã | Buhá-maxsã |
| 34. Tapira | Wexkö-maxsã | Wexké-fõná | Vexkö-maxsã | Waxtsé-maxsã |
| 35. Yawareté-tapuya (Yaí-maxsã, gente onça) | Yaí-maxsã | Yaí-fõná | Yaíró-poné | Yaíro-parẽnoá |
| 36. Pirá-yurú | Waí-öxseró-maxsã | Waí-öxseró-maxsã | Waí-doxsé-maxsã | Waí-döxsé-maxsã |
| 37. Tokãdira | Pextãra | Pextá-maxsã | Pextá-poné | Pixtá-maxsã |
| 38. Jí-tapuya | Komeá-maxsã | Komeá | Komé-paxká-maxsã | Komã-maxsã |
| 39. Jiboya-tapuya | Wexsé-koteró-maxsã | Maxká-finó | —— | Dyátina-maxsã |
| 40. Utía-waíwa | Uxtyá-maxsã | Yãxsó-utyá | Uxtíroa-maxsã | Tiroá-maxsã |
| 41. Koró-Koró | Koxtoá-maxsã | Koxtoá | Koxtoá | Koxtoá |
| 42. Omáwa | Omáwa-maxsã | Omã-põná | Omã-poné | —— |
| 43. Meyú-tapuya | Ahũga-maxsã | Wébe-fõná | Nahõ-poné | Nahũ-maxsa |
| 44. Wãtúya | —— | —— | Waxpãyakea | —— |
| 45. Taryãna | Páana | Pávara | Pá:ne | Pháwana |
| 46. Ipéka-tapuya | Dyá-kaxtá-põrá | Dyá-katá-fõná | Dyẽni-poné | Dyá-kaxtá-poná |
| 47. Baníva | Bexkãrá | Bexkaná, Bekará | Bexkaná, Bexkeé | Bastyá |
| 48. Makú | Poxsá | Poxsá | Poxsá | Poxsá |

/gente garça, "heron people"; gente onça, "jaguar people"/

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| /126/ | in Desāna | Kubewāna | Bará | Yuriti-tapuya |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Tukano | Nāxseá | Wéwewa (Hoéwe) | Daheá | Daxseá |
| 2. Tuyuka | Mát-mana | Koróboa-parámena | Döxká-poará | Doká-puyāna |
| 3. Pirá-tapuya | Wai-ahana | Moá-parámena | Wai-maxkāna | Wai-masā |
| 4. Wanana | Dexkó-soró-māná | Oxkó-diwa | Okó-timá-maxkāna | Oxkó-sutiró-makāna |
| 5. Desana | Winá | Weköwe (weküywe) | Winá | Winā |
| 6. Kubewana | Dixpári-maná | Pamīwa | Dyá-mahā | Ptéri-makāna |
| 7. Bará | Bará | Pididá-pwéẅa | Bará | Bará |
| 8. Yuriti-tapuya | Gwaiana | Huréwayra | Waiana | Wahyára (Uhaiana) |
| 9. Suryana | Söryá | Pwimÿa (Pwimiwa) | Sürtyá | Sötyá |
| 10. Karāpanã | Mõneá | Mõréwa | Möxteá | Moxteá-põná |
| | | Hawānya | | |
| 11. Hanēra | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— |
| 12. Edúrya | ——— | Edúrya | ——— | ——— |
| | | ? (Barönina-parámena) | | |
| 13. Yebá-masã | ——— | Yebá-masã | ——— | ——— |
| 14. Tatú-tapuya | Pamõ-põná | Pamõa | ——— | ——— |
| 15. Mikúra-tapuya | ódri-komẽ | Ohöwe-parámena | Oá-mõná | ——— |
| 16. Miriti-tapuya | Neenoá | Neáwa-parámena | Neenoá | Neenoá |
| 17. Arapásu | Kõneá | Kõrewa | Koneá-mahã | Konéa |
| 18. Ide-masã | ——— | Aödina | Aöninã | ——— |
| 19. Guariba-tapuya | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— |

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| | in Desãna | Kubewãna | Bará | Yuriti-tapuya |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20. Taraíra-tapuya | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 21. Bá:re-masã | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 22. Pusá-tapuya | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 23. Káwa-yari | —— | —— | Kawáyari | —— |
| 24. Yurú-pĩãũna | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 25. Sarabatana-tapuya | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 26. Tanibúka | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 27. Garsa-tapuya | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 28. Akagatára-tapuya | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 29. Tayasú | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 30. Yakamĩ (jacamim) | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 31. Arakú | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 32. Irawsú | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 33. Pikasú | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 34. Tapira | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 35. Yawareté-tapuya (Yaí-maxsá, gente onça) | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 36. Pirá-yurú | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 37. Tokãdira | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 38. Jí-tapuya | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 39. Jiboya-tapuya | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 40. Utía-waíwa | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 41. Koró-Koró | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 42. Omáwa | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 43. Meyú-tapuya | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 44. Wãtúya | —— | Kõnoríwa | —— | —— |
| 45. Taryãna | | Oráydõa (Ogáydawe) | Páoana | Pawá |
| 46. Ipéka-tapuya | Dyá-kaxtá-põná | Bedé-parámena | Dyá-katá | Dyã-katá-põná |
| 47. Baniva | —— | Maká-pawa (põõá) | Bexkãna | Bekãne-makãna |
| 48. Makú | Poyá | Boroá | Pohoá | Poxká |

/gente onça, "jaguar people"/

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| | in Suryāna | Karapanã | Hanera | Edúrya |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Tukano | Daxseá | Ratseá | Daseá | Raseá (Latseá) |
| 2. Tuyuka | Matá-mana | Roká-poẽna | Lokaxna | Rokáhana |
| 3. Pirá-tapuya | Wai-kãna | Wai-makãna | Wai-kãna | Wai-makãna |
| 4. Wanana | ?Bâreá | Wíroa | Oxko-tí-kãna | Oxkó-dí-kãna |
| 5. Desana | Winá | Winã | Winã | Winã |
| 6. Kubewana | Dipari-kãna | Dyá-mahã (Kubêwa) | Kobêwa | Kobêwa |
| 7. Bará | Bará | Bará | Gahé-masã | Bará |
| 8. Yuriti-tapuya | Wayãna | Waíãna | Waiana | Wayãna |
| 9. Suryana | Surirá | Sûryá (Sâtyá) | Tãödya | Tsödya |
| 10. Karapanã | Moré-ká-põná | Mõxtêá | Mõxteá | Mõxteá |
| 11. Hanêra | —— | —— | Hanêrã | Hanêrã |
| 12. Edúrya | —— | Edúrya | Edúrya | Edúrya (Erúlya) |
| 13. Yebá-masã | —— | —— | Yepá-masã | Yebá-masã |
| 14. Tatú-tapuya | —— | Pamõá-yê | Hamônya | Hamõá-masã |
| 15. Mikúra-tapuya | —— | Oá-maikãna | Oá-senõá | Oá-sinoá |
| 16. Miriti-tapuya | Neenoá | Neenoá | Neenoá | Nêroá |
| 17. Arapásu | Konéa | Kõnêá | Koneá | Koneá |
| 18. Ide-masã | Aökairã | Aökóra | Uhãna | Uheãna (Wahãna) |
| 19. Guariba-tapuya | —— | Ka-mõá | Ömõá-masã | Ömõá-masã |
| 20. Taraíra-tapuya | —— | ?Orotsé | Roeá-masã | Roeá-masã |
| 21. Bá:re-masã | —— | —— | —— | —— |

| /129/ | in Suryāna | Karapanã | Hanera | Edúrya |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22. Pusá-tapuya | —— | ?Ba-pí | Syãri-ryarã | Syãri-hosá |
| 23. Káwa-yari | —— | Kawárya | Káwadya-masã | Káwayari |
| 24. Yurú-pĩgũna | —— | Irõipya | Risé-ñirá-masã | Risé-ñirá-masã |
| 25. Sarabatana-tapuya | —— | Buxpú-matsã | Buhwá-masã | Buhú-masã |
| 26. Tanibúka | —— | Oanãra | Ohoã-yára | Mugã-yára |
| 27. Garsa-tapuya | —— | Wani-matsã | Uxpĩra | Uxpĩra |
| 28. Akãgatára-tapuya | —— | Mahã-poá-matsã | Mahã-hoá-kãna | Mahã-h[illegible]-hakãra |
| 29. Tayasú | —— | Yetsá-matsã | Yeseá-masã | Yesé-m[illegible] |
| 30. Yakamĩ (jacamim) | —— | Tã-tõá-mahã | Tã-tã-masã | Tã-tã-masã |
| 31. Arakú | —— | Boté-ká-mahã | Boté-ká-masã | Bodéa-hwiná |
| 32. Irawsú | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 33. Pikasú | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 34. Tapira | —— | —— | Wakö-masã | Wexkö-masã |
| 35. Yawareté-tapuya (Yaimaxsá, gente onça) | —— | —— | Dyai-masã | Yai-masã |
| 36. Pirá-yurú | —— | —— | Wai-risé-masã | ?Ryá-tõná |
| 37. Tokãdira | —— | —— | Hetári-sanã | Hetári-henã |
| 38. Jí-tapuya | —— | —— | Komeá-masã | Komé-masã |
| 39. Jiboya-tapuya | —— | —— | Vexsé-koteró-masã | Wexsé-koteró-masã |
| 40. Utía-waíwa | —— | —— | Utyari | Yetoá-masã |
| 41. Koró-Koró | —— | Kotoá | Hotoá | Kóto-masã |
| 42. Omáwa | —— | —— | —— | Omá-masã |
| 43. Meyú-tapuya | —— | Nãoro | Nahũ-háyri-masã | Nahũ-heri |
| 44. Wãtúya | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 45. Taryãna | Pávana | Páwa | Hawãra | Hawãna |
| 46. Ipéka-tapuya | Dyá-kará-põná | Dyá-katá-põná | Dyá-katároa | Dyá-katara |
| 47. Baniva | Bexkãna | Be'kãna | Bexkãna | Bexkãna |
| 48. Makú | Poyá | Potsá | Hosá | Hosá |

/gente onça, "jaguar people"/

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| | in Yebá-masã | Tatá-tapuya | Ído-masã | Tsena |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Tũkano | Daseá | Daheãna | Raseá | Daheã |
| 2. Tuyũka | Doxkãna | Hõkapana | Lokáxna | Dóxkavana |
| 3. Pirã-tapuya | Wai-maxkãna | Wai-makãna | Wai-maxkãna | Wai-makãna |
| 4. Wanana | Wiroa | Wiroa | ——— | Wioroa |
| 5. Desana | Winã | Winã | Winã | Winã |
| 6. Kubewana | Póde-masã | Kubẽwa | Kobewa | Ryá-mahã |
| 7. Bará | Bará | Bará | Bará | Bará |
| 8. Yuritĩ-tapuya | Waiana | Waiana | Wadyána | Waiana |
| 9. Suryana | Sũdyá | Hutyá | Sudyá | Hõtyá |
| 10. Karapanã | Mõxteá | Mõxteá | Mõxtẽã | Mõtõã |
| 11. Hanẽra | Hawãnya | Panerã | Hanẽrõa | Panẽnõa |
| 12. Edúrya | ——— | Edúrya | Edúrya | Edúrya |
| 13. Yebá-masã | Yebá-masã | Yebá-maxsã | Yebá-maxsã | Yebá-mahã |
| 14. Tatú-tapuya | Hamónya | Paboã | Hamõã-sená | Pámõa |
| 15. Mikúra-tapuya | Oá-masã | Oá | Oá-sẽná | Ooa |
| 16. Miritĩ-tapuya | Neenoã | Neéroa | Neéroa | Neẽnoã |
| 17. Arapásu | Koné | Koneã | Kõ'neã | Kõnéa |
| 18. Ide-masã | Aõdina | Uhãna | Ide-masã | Wõhana |
| 19. Guariba-tapuya | Emõã | Emõa | Emõã-masã | ?ũkõ |
| 20. Taraíra-tapuya | Roeã | ——— | Roeã | Loheã |
| 21. Bá:re-masã | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— |

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| /131/ | in Yebá-masã | Tatú-tapuya | Íde-masã | Tsene |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22. Pusá-tapuya | —— | —— | —— | ?Bapí |
| 23. Káwa-yari | —— | —— | Kawírya | Wáyakõrõ |
| 24. Yurú-pĩgũna | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 25. Sarabatana-tapuya | —— | Bahábugana | Buhwá-masã | Búpwa |
| 26. Tanîbúka | —— | —— | Õhañara (noyõña) | —— |
| 27. Garsa-tapuya | —— | —— | Wánya-masã | Yé |
| 28. Akãgatára-tapuya | —— | —— | Mahã-hoá-masã | —— |
| 29. Tayasú | —— | Yeseá-masã | Yexseá-masã | —— |
| 30. Yakamí (jacamim) | —— | Bodé-winã | Bóteku-masã | —— |
| 31. Arakú | —— | Tã-tã-masã | Tã-tã-masã | —— |
| 32. Irawsú | —— | —— | Mímya-masã | —— |
| 33. Píkasú | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 34. Tapira | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 35. Yawareté-tapuya (Yaí-maxsá, gente onça) | Yaia-masã | —— | Yaia-masã | —— |
| 36. Pirá-yurú | —— | —— | Wai-öxseró-masã | —— |
| 37. Tokãdira | —— | —— | Hetãra | —— |
| 38. Jí-tapuya | —— | —— | Komé-masã | —— |
| 39. Jiboya-tapuya | —— | —— | Wexsé-kodé-masã | —— |
| 40. Utía-waíwa | —— | —— | Útya-masã | —— |
| 41. Koró-Koró | —— | —— | Koxtoá-masã | —— |
| 42. Omáwa | —— | —— | Omá-masã | —— |
| 43. Meyú-tapuya | —— | Nahũ-masã | Nahũ-masã | —— |
| 44. Wãtúya | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 45. Taryãna | Hawãnya | Pávãna | Hawarã | Páwana |
| 46. Ipéka-tapuya | Dyá-katãnya | Dyá-kaxtá-põná | Ryáka-tarya | Ryá-potáka |
| 47. Baniva | Bexkãna | ?Bekãra | Bexkãra | Mípya |
| 48. Makú | Hosá | Poháre | Hosá | Pohá |

/gente onça, "jaguar people"/

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| | in Guariba-tapuya | Tarayra-tapuya | Bá: re-masã |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Tukano | Raseá | Laseá | Raseá |
| 2. Tuyuka | Rokãna | Kouhödya | Okãna |
| 3. Pirá-tapuya | Wai-makãra | Wai-makãra | Wai-makãra |
| 4. Wanana | Oxko-tí-makãra | ——— | Ryarigana |
| 5. Desana | Winá | Winá | Winã |
| 6. Kubewana | Kobêwa | Kobêwa | Kubêwa |
| 7. Bará | Bará | Bará | Bará |
| 8. Yurití-tapuya | Wayéra | Wadyána | Wadžána (Watoyãna) |
| 9. Suryana | Sudyá | Sudyá | Südyá |
| 10. Karapanã | Mõxtêá | Mõxtêá | Mõxtêá |
| 11. Hanêra | Hanèroá | Áhãrã | Hanêna |
| 12. Edúrya | Edúrya | T̈durya | T̈durya |
| 13. Yebá-masã | Yebá-maxsã | Yebá-masã | Yebá-masã |
| 14. Tatú-tapuya | Hãmõá-séná | Hamoá-masã | Hámorya |
| 15. Mikúra-tapuya | Oá-séná | Oá-sêná | Oá-saná |
| 16. Mirití-tapuya | Neêrõá | Neênõá | Neêroa |
| 17. Arapásu | Kõ'neá | Kõneá | Kõnea |
| 18. Ide-masã | Ide-masã | Ide-masã | Ide-masã |
| 19. Guariba-tapuya | T̈mõá-masã | T̈moa-masã | T̈mõa-masã |
| 20. Tarafra-tapuya | Roeá | Roeá-masã | Roéa-masã |
| 21. Bá: re-masã | Bá: re-masã | ——— | Bá: re-masã |

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| | in Guariba-tapuya | Tarayra-tapuya | Bá:re-masã |
|---|---|---|---|
| 22. Pusá-tapuya | —— | Yorí-masã | Yaurí-masã |
| 23. Káwa-yari | Kawírya | Kawírya | Kawírya |
| 24. Yurú-piãũna | —— | —— | —— |
| 25. Sarabatana-tapuya | —— | Buhábugana | Buhábugana |
| 26. Tanîbúka | —— | —— | —— |
| 27. Garsa-tapuya | —— | —— | —— |
| 28. Akãgatára-tapuya | —— | —— | —— |
| 29. Tayasú | —— | Yeseá-masã | Yeseá-masã |
| 30. Yakamí (jacamim) | Tã-tã-masã | Tã-tã-masã | Tã-tã-masã |
| 31. Arakú | —— | Bodéha-masã | Bodé-winá |
| 32. Irawsú | —— | —— | —— |
| 33. Pikasú | —— | —— | —— |
| 34. Tapira | —— | —— | —— |
| 35. Yawareté-tapuya (Yaí-maxsá, gente onça) | Yaia-masã | —— | —— |
| 36. Pirá-yurú | —— | —— | —— |
| 37. Tokãdira | —— | —— | —— |
| 38. Jí-tapuya | —— | —— | —— |
| 39. Jiboya-tapuya | —— | —— | —— |
| 40. Utía-waiwa | —— | —— | —— |
| 41. Koró-Koró | —— | —— | —— |
| 42. Omáwa | Omá-masã | Omágwa-masã | Omagúa-masã |
| 43. Meyú-tapuya | —— | Nahũ-masã | Nahũ-masã |
| 44. Wãtúya | —— | —— | —— |
| 45. Taryãna | Pawará | Hawãna | Awána |
| 46. Ipéka-tapuya | Ryá-kataryá | Ryá-katá-masã | Ryá-katãrya |
| 47. Baniva | Bexkãra | Bekãra | Bekãra |
| 48. Makú | Hosá | Hosá | Hosá |

/gente onça, "jaguar people"/

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| | in Taryāna | Ipéka-Tapuya | Maká |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Tukano | Yasemá | Yasemá | Tạokó-dé |
| 2. Tuyuka | Surú-pēne | Surú-peene | Māi-dé |
| 3. Pirá-tapuya | Kupé-mínanei | Kopé-minánei | Mohópī |
| 4. Wanana | Panúmape | Panõmápe | Deké-dyóhī |
| 5. Desana | Detsāna, Detsénei Noká | Desá | Miná-dé |
| 6. Kubewana | Páseni | Ai-yúne | Deheádyore |
| 7. Bará | Wíni-mínanei | Síribi-minánei | Pām-hopé |
| 8. Yuriti-tapuya | Oripityēne | ——— | Hob-nokáre |
| 9. Suryana | Sirēne-mínanei | Suryēna | Tạuryáge |
| 10. Karapanã | Aini-woné | ——— | Kyíra |
| 11. Hanēra | ——— | Parēno | ——— |
| 12. Edúrya | ——— | ——— | ——— |
| 13. Yebá-masã | ——— | ——— | ——— |
| 14. Tatú-tapuya | Yö-mínanei | Yêê-énipe | Yēu-tére |
| 15. Mikúra-tapuya | Ináli-mínanei | Inari-yēnipe | Wahoim |
| 16. Miriti-tapuya | Apyá-mene | Apeá-mane | Nenõ-tére |
| 17. Arapásu | Kuhēne-mínanei | Kuhé-dine | Hom-do |
| 18. Ide-masã (Makuna, Aönīra) | ——— | ——— | ——— |

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| | in Taryãna | Ipéka-Tapuya | Makú |
|---|---|---|---|
| 19. Wariwa-tapuya (Emõã-masã, gente guariba) | —— | —— | —— |
| 20. Tarafra-tapuya | —— | —— | —— |
| 21. Bá:re-masã | —— | Báre | —— |
| 22. Pusá-tapuya | —— | —— | —— |
| 23. Káwa-yari | —— | —— | —— |
| 24. Yurú-pigũna | —— | —— | —— |
| 25. Sarabatana-tapuya | —— | —— | —— |
| 26. Tanibúka | —— | —— | —— |
| 27. Wakará-tapuya (Yeheá-maxsã, gente garça) | —— | —— | —— |
| 28. Akãgatára-tapuya | —— | —— | —— |
| 29. Tayasú | —— | —— | —— |
| 30. Yakamĩ (jacamim) | —— | —— | —— |
| 31. Arakú | —— | —— | —— |
| 32. Irawsú | —— | —— | —— |
| 33. Pikasú | —— | —— | —— |
| 34. Tapira | —— | —— | —— |
| 35. Yawareté-tapuya (Yaí-maxsã, gente onça) | —— | —— | —— |
| 36. Pirá-yurú | —— | —— | —— |
| 37. Tokãdira | —— | —— | —— |
| 38. Zí-tapuya | —— | —— | —— |
| 39. Jiboya-tapuya | —— | —— | —— |
| 40. Utía-waíwa | —— | —— | —— |
| 41. Koró-Koró | —— | —— | —— |
| 42. Omáwa | —— | —— | —— |
| 43. Meyú-tapuya | —— | —— | —— |
| 44. Wãtúya | —— | —— | —— |
| 45. Taryãna | Talyáseri | Taryá | Kém-ri |
| 46. Ipéka-tapuya | Kumãda Yaperikuli | Kumãdẽne | Dexpú-tére |
| 47. Baniva | Bayaná-semá | Bayaná-semá | Bexkáwa-dé |
| 48. Makú | | Makú | Mohém-Ketẽ |

/gente guariba, "howler-monkey people"; gente garça, "heron people"; gente onça, "jaguar people"; p. 136 is blank/

4: Silva--192 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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## Chapter V
## Observations on the Psychology of the Indian (1)

1. This chapter on the native Psychology arose, like the rest of them, from personal observations in different places and in diverse circumstances, as well as from inquiries presented to the Salesian Missionaries and those of Montfort and to other civilized persons knowledgeable about these tribes. A chapter about the psychological features more characteristic of the Uaupesina tribes had already been elaborated in the first outline of this work, organized in 1948. The opportunity for subsequent travels and for a more prolonged stay on the Uaupés suggested, as was natural, corrections, retouches, and additions to the work. It is in the present chapter, however, that the retouches and the corrections were more frequent, and perhaps where the difference between the original resumé and the present redaction of these studies will be more marked. The more prolonged and constant contact with the native obliged us to modify our opinion at one point or another. To some who might know the tribes that we study here only through information or through a quick visit, the traits that we outline here will perhaps seem dark. We are convinced, however, that not only are they quite objective, but those who have the opportunity to verify our observations in loco will grant that we are right. We can affirm that, before being put on these pages, our observations were read to persons who are very discerning and who lived intimately with these natives for decades, and all these persons assured us that our observations were accurate and corresponded to what they saw in the Indians of the different tribes of this region.

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000 If every human soul is invisible, that of the Indian constitutes a mystery. Those who have lived with them for decades and thought they knew the individuals in depth have surprises that are not infrequent.

To be human as he is, the native naturally presents good and bad qualities, like any other human being, some of them taking a color or relief that the environment of deprivation and isolation facilitates and that for this reason stand out more to the eyes of the civilized man who visits them. We shall point out in the following some quite general ones, which for this reason seem to characterize the native mentality and education, admitting that there could be some very rare exception.

1) Intellectual and physical slowness.

153 On the one hand, the material life to which they are forced and, on the other, the almost asphyxiating subjection to the tribal laws, which do not allow /138/ discussion, do not leave any room for speculation or, let us say, for the exercise of the [872] theoretical intelligence. This is proved by their difficulty in learning a religious truth and that of the school child in solving the simplest arithmetic problem. For the totality of the school children, the five or six years of studies in the boarding-school regime are not enough for them to be able to learn the four [481] operations. The Indian, just as he is slow in movement physically (2),

> 2. Perhaps, studied under the bio-physiological aspect, this slowness could be partially corrected by an adequate dietary regimen. They are certainly receiving some correction, more psychological in nature, during the years that they spend in the Mission, especially the students in the boarding schools.

is also slow in giving us the most obvious response. Slow in understanding an order we give him, he encounters difficulty in following our reasoning when we talk with him. Ordinarily

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153 it is necessary to repeat the teachings many times. Perhaps it is for this reason that there are so many repetitions in the conversations among themselves.

How much patience and time one needs to obtain from the native a vocabulary as simple as it can be, for example, half a dozen of words corresponding to the parts of the body (head, hand, arm, leg, foot), or the names that they give the various tribes. And this even when we make use of a language that they know (for instance, Portuguese, Nheengatú, or Tukano). The difficulty grows excessive when one wants the term corresponding to some object that we do not have at the time, or [124] when the idea is more abstract. By way of example and confirmation, if we ask him the words of his language that correspond to cadaver, large (space), long (time), ultimate (in an enumeration) (3).

3. By way of confirmation, two episodes are sufficient. We already had the names of the subdivisions of the Taryana tribe, obtained directly by us on a previous excursion and by Pe. Antônio Giacone. Wishing verification, we met in conference six individuals from this tribe, five of whom understood Portuguese sufficiently, and the oldest one, a little less. Two hours were necessary in order to obtain the names of the 15 subdivisions that appear in this work (IV, 2, y /see IV, 2, z, pp. 171 ff./) and the [192] locality where they live. On another occasion we wanted to ascertain the exact pronunciation of nẽ'kã-yuse (cf. below VII, 4, f (2) ), the little branch, broken and "blown," that is left on the road as a malefice for someone. We asked in a circle of six or eight young men who spoke Portuguese. They rapidly exchanged ideas among themselves in

/138 cont./

153 /footnote 3 cont./ the Tukano language: first one would talk, then another, then two or more simultaneously, and afterwards all remained silent. We would first press this one, then that one, who seemed to understand our wishes. Only after we had opened the typed originals of the present work and the most unrestrained of them had read the excerpt that I was referring to did he add: "that is the way it is." In order to solve this simple question, 40 minutes went by!

12 * [192] [196] Properly speaking there is no term in the Tukano idiom equivalent to the word /139/ ultimate: they would say, more concretely: the one of the end, the one of the extremity (yaxpa-ti-kãgõ masc., yaxpa-ti-kãgõ, fem., yaxpa-ti-kãra, pl., yaxpa-ti-kãse, neuter).

For this reason one must not be content, insofar as possible, to obtain the translation of a word from only one individual or on only one occasion. Many times the word is heard pronounced differently. Is it a matter of faulty pronunciation by the individual? By which one of them? By all? Or is the divergence due to regional pronunciations? And then which of them will be the best? Or, finally, is it a matter of terms corresponding to a similar Portuguese word? Which of them would be the best? Would they be perfect synonyms? We point out these difficulties in order for one to understand the efforts of anyone who decides to study directly with the Indian the language of the latter. It is ten times more difficult than to study a foreign idiom with the help of teachers, grammars, and vocabularies.

The Indian is a man of reality, hence his difficulty with [193] generalizations and abstractions. Instead of saying simply and abstractly head, he will prefer to say "my head, your head," etc. He does not say: to work, to eat (the Tukano language does not even have the infinitive form). He will say: "I work, you eat," etc.

/139 cont./

153 As for the memory, he has one a little more awake for the subjects that interest him. Thus he has less difficulty in learning some words or sentences of the Portuguese language, or in reading (4)

[125]

> 4. In 1948 I took to the Museu Salesiano do Índio de S. Paulo /Salesian Museum of the Indian in São Paulo/ the written tests of the children of Pari-cachoeira, after only eight months of school, consisting of a short dictation executed with good penmanship and few mistakes.

and in retaining the names of places, of persons, or in recalling the events. With more difficulty he will learn by heart the arithmetic tables or the prayers. And he also feels happy when the civilized man reminds him of some episode in which the Indian took part. Later, the desire to become "white," that is, to become civilized, moves him. For this reason he adjusts to the great sacrifice of entering a boarding school and attending classes, as well as of subjecting himself to the school discipline.

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[872]

2) Practical intelligence.

As for the practical intelligence, it is more highly developed. This is proved by the practical solution of the problems that life presents to him, and with the resources that nature makes available to him. The civilized in those regions, when they do not have other resources available, end up, in certain things, imitating the Indian, or entrusting him with the execution of what is needed. It is enough to point out, for example, the solid and large house /140/ or maloca that he builds, the stable and rapid canoe that he makes, and the numerous objects that he manufactures (vessels, grater, baskets).

/140 cont./

868 The skill and perfection with which he opens out the palms for the covering of the maloca, with the help of the oar, or how he makes his plaitings, the way of tying and transporting a bundle of palms, merit admiration. His ability with regard to these practical necessities of life is very remarkable. And it becomes more admirable if we consider that the training is very quick, without true schools, and he soon finds himself skilled, for example, in the varied and beautiful work of nets and baskets.
797 They also learn with relative speed the trades of the civilized,
868 such as mason, blacksmith, carpenter, tailor, in the Salesian
177 Schools, although, perhaps due to the force of the environment, circumstances, and their inconstancy, they do not often reach perfection in their trade. Some continue as artisans of these trades in the missionary establishments. Others, returning from the schools to their homes, have an opportunity to use what they learned, handling, for instance, the saw, the hammer, and even the chisel. They are also the machinists of the launches that go up their immense rivers; just as they are capable of executing more delicate work, such as the observations and handling of meteorological instruments (5).

5. Wallace already observed a century ago (perhaps with some exaggeration to emphasize the idea) that, while a European countryman would take six months to learn how to handle a sextant, one of our Indians learns it in minutes. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre) also made a similar observation.

152
502 They are the irreplaceable "practitioners" of the navigation of those dangerous rivers, because they have an amazing topographic memory of the hidden rocks and sandbanks, bound up with an impressive calm during the dangers presented by the storms and the cachoeiras.

/140 cont./

152 Perhaps, at first glance, the small range of the Indian's
502 intelligence would impress us, even in the practical field and in the most obvious and simple things. We will verify, for instance, the mistakes they make in navigation, the fact of not knowing how to foresee and, later, how to avoid or to remedy an accident. Perhaps, to present concrete cases, in order to get the water out of a boat, they will not remove a plank that makes the operation difficult; if a riverside tree impedes navigation, they cut it so badly that the passage remains even more difficult, etc. This impression of intellectual obtuseness, nevertheless, will be lessened if we realize that he performs the work with disprejudice and disinterest.

/141/ 3) Fantasy or imagination.

154 A faculty highly developed in the native is the imagination. One easily understands why he is like that, since he lacks the control of a more highly developed and educated intelligence, having, on the contrary, a spirit animated by incoherent and even absurd childish legends and beliefs, and living in an environment of majestic and almost crushing
154 solitude. Many of their conversations in the long hours, idle during the day and dull at night, deal with legends, apparitions,
521 and spells. For this reason they always have their imaginations stimulated. Only in this way is it to be explained how they can see in some strange rocks similarities with plants, tools, etc., similarities that, even when warned, we could not perceive. It is enough to mention a rock of the cachoeira de Uaracapá, almost at the mouth of the river Papuri, presented as "a banana tree" and in which we only see one of those common rocks that rise out of the water.

Their incoherent conversations, their incomplete narrations, denounce someone who supplies his own fantasy and leaves room for the fantasy of the listeners. Sometimes when we want fast and practical information (for example, about a road, a cachoeira, a distance), we ask a native interpreter to ask another. They will talk 10 or 15 minutes between themselves, and at the end of that time our interpreter will say that

/141 cont./

154 he does not know, that he does not understand his tribal brother.
521 We understand, then, that from imperfect narrations, in which emphatic gestures and noises from the mouth supply words and ideas, will appear misunderstandings, alteration of the narrator's thought, variation in the reports and in the tales.

154 When we manage to get some native to talk to us spontaneously, with intimacy, we verify that this man who seems to us
825 well-balanced, of little impressionability, that alumnus or alumna of the missionary schools, with an appearance of one almost civilized, not only has a head burdened with so many exotic legends and strange beliefs, but he even hears and sees with impressive frequency apparitions, voices, words, mysterious sayings. It surprises us at times to hear from the lips of young men and women, with many years of contact with civilization, perhaps even of life in cities such as Manaus, the strangest tales of visions that they had, in full daylight, in their hut or in the clearing, on the road, on a trip; voices, sayings that they heard, unbelievable events, fabulous or legendary, that they are sure of having witnessed, giving us place, time, names of persons (for example, that they saw Wïx'ti, Boraró, etc.; persons who have changed, or who periodically change, into /142/ animal, anta, piraboto /dolphin/, who spend days, weeks, and even months in the depths of the water, etc.) (6).

6. We have been consulted by young men and women who have been through the Mission schools and who asked us with all conviction: -- "How is it possible for people to turn into a dolphin?" "to turn into an anta?" Patrícia Vasconcelos, for example, in October of 1955 told us the following as a fact about which she has absolute certainty. So-and-So of the Taryana tribe, from the povoado of Ararípirá (Uaupés) and former student of the Mission of Iauareté, married a Tukano youth who has already worked several times in Taracuá and

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*[192]

/142 cont./

/footnote 6 cont./ other Missionary centers. Another young man wanted to have her as his wife and, in revenge, one time while walking through the forest with her husband (this around 1952), gave him a leaf of pirá-yawára-pũrĩ (plant of the dolphin, Patricia explained to us) to touch. One day "the husband became different," "he became like a dolphin" (that is, breathing like the dolphin does on top of the water), and he finally dove into the Rio Negro there in Tapurucuara (formerly S. Isabel). He stayed in the water a whole day. The dolphins pushed him toward the land, and he "became a person" again. Several times "he has turned into a dolphin." The wife of the unhappy young man herself is the one who told her these episodes, and she cries a great deal because of this misfortune.

829 On one side, the reserve of the native before the civilized, because he knows that the latter does not understand him or believe in such tales, and perhaps will even scold or ridicule him, and, on the other side, the desire to seem civilized will make him remain silent about all this to the "white" who travels among them, in order that he will not notice this trait of the psychology of the Indian.

154 Perhaps it will not be an exaggeration to present as a general trait of the native psychology this superexcitability of the fantasy. Maybe one should even qualify it as confused and establish it as a deviation from normality, if we make a comparison with that of the civilized.

/142 cont./

154 We tend to believe that the imagination of the man from these forests, listening to the narration of some of his legends, starts reconstructing and reliving it, enriching it with scenes and details, in proportion to the incoherence and the omissions of the narrator. Even more, we have the conviction that in some cases an image or scene (desired or hated) that passed through the imagination of the Indian ends up by being transformed into a reality for him; the imagined is converted by him into the real, into the true. Thus we have explained, for example, how reports and information without any foundation arise (with such frequency that one does not even take them into account), and which the events themselves come to belie (7).

7. Here are some examples of this exaggerated impressionability or excitability of the Indian, and of how they manage to convince themselves of the reality of a mere fancy. Nor does this cause surprise among students of psychology and parapsychical phenomena.

The Mission launches that bring supplies to the several centers travel periodically. It is certain that their noise can be perceived at a great distance, thanks to the silence of the solitude and the direction /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original text/ of the wind. They not only hear the noise when there is no launch on the way, but they assert that indeed it is in a specific locality, or even that it was left there overnight by some native who was navigating during the night. We verified one of these cases in June of 1956. Coming from Iauareté, as we were arriving in Urubucuara the Indians of the locality informed us that the launch had already arrived two days ago in Taracuá, where an Indian (from the povoado Cigarro), who

/142 cont./

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/footnote 7 cont./ had come from Taracuá the night before, had seen it. In reality there was no launch at all in Taracuá; the first one, coming from S. Gabriel, appeared three days after our arrival in Taracuá.

Cf. also Koch Grünberg's information about the noise of the Jurupari in Ipanoré (VII, 4, e (2 a) /see p. 508/).

We found ourselves in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) in August of 1956. The local sanitary conditions were good, but the sailors from the launch alarmed the population with news of cases of whooping cough and measles in Taracuá (about 300 kilometers away). Then there appeared the news, without any foundation, that the Director of a third missionary center, Iauareté, had written to the one at Parí for him to send the boarding-school children back to their homes. Now that missionary to whom the receipt and the reading of the imaginary letter (in the absence of the Director at Parí) were attributed knew nothing about it. In turn, the boarding-school girls of the Mission (a little over one hundred), talking to one of the Irmãs Professôras /Teacher Sisters/, informed her: "As soon as the Director of the Mission arrives from his trip, the students, boys and girls, will be sent to their povoados." -- "How did you find this out?" asks the Irmã. -- The girls answer her immediately: -- "It was the Irmã Diretora /Sister Director/ who gave the information." Now the Irmã Diretora of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ not only had not spoken to anyone about this subject, but she had not even thought about it.

and nevertheless they are believed every time they appear.

/143/

153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

[438] [291] [285]

177 829 [342] [291]

His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

153 /144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

/144 cont./

551 *[192] the civilized, who, they can be sure, already at the first presentation, receive a nickname, which will be propagated with incredible speed (8).

8. They told us of some of these nicknames: one they called sõãgõ, vermilion, because of his color; another, subí, curled, because he had curly hair; a third one, uxpîka-ro, crooked teeth; a fourth one, o'mẽpero-ro, big ears; a fifth one, waú, the uáia-piçá monkey; a sixth one, õxsó-boekhõ, arrow of alligator (because of being tall and thin), etc. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 206) tells that they nicknamed him Wãx'tĩ (see VII-4, d (5) ), because of the beard (?), and his companion Schmidt, nõ'myõ-axké, monkey-woman.

6) Curiosity.

153 203 Endowed with great curiosity, he wants to learn from any civilized person to whom he is introduced who he is, what his name is, where he comes from, where he is headed, what he came to do, what his nationality is; and they ask their tribal brothers who are accompanying the unknown visitor a thousand [797] other questions. An Indian is apt to make a long and uncomfortable journey in order to tell those of another povoado an episode that happened, the visit of a new missionary, etc. (9).

9. In July of 1956 His Excellency the Coadjutor Bishop of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, Dom José Domitrovitsch, decided to surprise the missionaries of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), and he was covering the 300 kilometers that separate Parí from Taracuá with a small motorboat. He stayed overnight in the povoado of S. João, about 30 kilometers from the Mission. An Indian, in the middle of the night, set out

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/footnote 9 cont./ traveling in his canoe and at six o'clock in the morning informed the Missionaries of the visit of the Bishop, who is festively received at the Mission two hours later. Humorously one says that in these latitudes there is not yet wireless telegraph, but the communication system of radio-cipó is well developed.

153

If one opens a suitcase, a book, a notebook, the Indian's eye does not leave these objects. And many times he wants to have a more practical and complete knowledge, approaching them, touching them, and /145/ observing them in all their aspects. And not rarely subjecting them to observation by all the senses: he touches, smells, bites. The civilized man realizes that he is being furtively touched on his clothes, or even on the hand, by the children and even by the women. We were not able to verify whether in this gesture some magic concept might also enter.

When he hears Portuguese being spoken, if he does not understand it, he likes to repeat the sounds that he heard, pronouncing them several times, as if to engrave them in his memory.

7) Distrust.

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Conversely, he does not like to be observed. If he perceives that he is, he withdraws. He answers the civilized laconically, going away as soon as possible, in order to avoid a new question; or he will leave without answering. He spends entire hours of travel in silence in a canoe when he travels alone with some civilized man, or even when he travels with others from the tribe, but in the presence of a "white." It is the mistrust (10)

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10. We were lucky in getting Indians of both sexes, from diverse tribes and in different localities, to unbosom themselves confidentially

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/footnote 10 cont./ and reveal to us many more intimate and secret things. Besides the frequent presents, although small (many times only some candies and cigarettes, things greatly appreciated by all), and the patience and kindness of the treatment, it helped us to show that we already knew some of the more secret things, especially pertaining to the subject of our questions. Perhaps the vanity in showing that he knew more and better than the previous informers would open the Indian's mouth. One must insist many, many times that they speak frankly, without embarrassment, that not only would they not lose our esteem, but the civilized person likes frank people better. They could talk because we would not reveal their name to anyone.

Among the confidences that we obtained in this way (and in our notes we have recorded the person, place, and date), confirming their preconceived opinion against all the civilized, even though one may be the most abnegative Missionary, we remember here the following four: 1st. -- they do not like the civilized; 2nd. -- they believe themselves more ingenious than the civilized; they consider them just silly; 3rd. -- they like to see the civilized irritated, even pretending not to understand what he wants; 4th. -- it is a good thing to hurt the civilized.

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It would be easy to compile several episodes that confirm these statements. But these confidences, collected from the very lips of the natives, dispense with any more words and are more valuable than any

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episode. The idea of adding this Note to the chapter on the Psychology of the Indian came to us on August 27, 1957, in Carará-poco on the lower Içana, upon hearing that, for the second time, a young Siusí-tapuya woman (with three children, already

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/footnote 10 cont./ abandoned by two men with whom she had lived, having been charitably sheltered and benefited in so many ways by the Salesian Mission) said to the other women: "the Missionaries are thieves like all the whites."

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always observed and /146/ revealed by anyone who dealt with the Indians, perhaps in part because they have heard talk of the tricks engendered by the civilized (11).

11. Many travelers attest that, at the approach of the whites, the Indians used to send their daughters and wives to the forest. Alexandre R. Ferreira, in his "Diário da Viagem philosophica /Diary of the Philosophical Voyage/," p. 98, states: "On the other hand, the first ones who went down did not take much care to be amiable in the eyes of the Indians; I think that the memory of the treatment has lasted and will last among the people. Actually, they used to give their word, partake of the hospitality, then make the Indians drunk in order to take them captive." "In such a way the aversion and horror toward the whites took root in all, so that, at merely the memory, they hide in the forest. When they come down, it is because, in their dilemma: either they die in the hands of the Indians who are their enemies, or they come down to serve the whites." The well-deserving Salesian Missionary, Pe. João Marchesi, confirms this, recalling that about 20 years ago, during the balata season, as soon as they saw some boat of the whites, all fled. The Missionary then had to stand in the bow in order to be seen from far away by the natives and thus to find them in the maloca.

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/Footnote 11 cont./ Koch Grünberg tells (Zwei Jahre, 209) that, upon his arrival in the maloca of the Bará, on the Macucú-igarapé, three young women were put in a safe place in a second maloca. We have verified similar events in various circumstances, especially among the Karapanã of the headwaters of the river Áua.

In part also because he feels inferior to the white. A more accurate analysis reveals in him an inferiority complex before the civilized. Only after a long period of living together, especially when one speaks his language, does he sometimes become more open. It is a sign of some trust and friendliness then when he approaches the white and talks to him, resting his hand on one's shoulder. The woman, like the man, comes to wait on the visitor, offering him her hand, according to the present practice: but she soon withdraws. As signs of happiness because of the desired visit by a civilized person, the women -- accompanied by a longer and higher intonation of some syllables of the words of greeting, rub both hands from the shoulder to below the chest of the visitors while they are talking to them.

Due to a mixture of mistrust and shyness, they talk among themselves in a low voice in front of the white, in order that the latter not hear the conversation, if, by chance, he knows the native language. Perhaps for this same reason it is difficult for them to teach their own language (12).

123

12. "How is such-and-such a word pronounced?" we would ask the Indian. He, however, does not answer. -- "Is it this way?" we venture. -- "Yes, it is like that," he will say immediately. -- "Or is it this other way?" -- "Yes, it is like that," he will repeat again. In other cases he answers -- "I don't know, I am Taryana, ask the

/146 cont./

123 /footnote 12 cont./ Tukano." The Tukano will also excuse himself: "I don't know." "But you are Tukano." -- "But those from such-and-such a place pronounce it better than I do."

/147/ He is, as a rule, reserved; he does not like to divulge his illnesses, nor his legends and customs. On this point the men are even more reserved than the women, from whom one can obtain information with less difficulty, with the promise of presents.

8) Volubility and inconstancy.

157 If we except the prescriptions of the tribal laws, to which, it seems, he finds himself perfectly and passively adapted, as for the rest the Indian enjoys great autonomy. From childhood, especially for those of the male sex, he can follow his fancy. Great tenacity of will then is not to be expected in the native. One can not count on him for a job always the same, for example, to make daily meteorological observations or the connection of an electrical generator. They are very voluble, both the men and the women. They do not adapt to doing the same job indefinitely, although what they themselves choose is more acceptable to them. One can not, then, strictly speak of a profession of carpenter, tailor, sawyer, etc. in referring to some Indian. He might have some knowledge or practice concerning such a trade. But, when under the stimulus of an interest in acquiring some object he is disposed to work, not only is it a matter of indifference to him if he sits down at a sewing machine, serves as a sailor or oarsman, or does any other service, but he himself will ask to leave a job and go to another, quite different one.

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9) Indolence.

461 To visitors used to the intense and constant rhythm of activity and work in our great cities, it will seem strange to encounter the natives, during the day, in bed in their hammocks, asleep or entertained for hours on end in pleasant conversation. The repetition of these encounters will plant in their minds the traditional conviction about the indolence of the Indians. Perhaps it would be more exact to state that the Indian is neither the hero of hardship nor the prototype of indolence, although by temperament he is slow in his movements, as he is of spirit.

The nature that surrounds him and his way of life establishes for him a rhythm of work. He performs all those jobs that the customs impose on him: he builds his house, cuts down the forest for a clearing, prepares his fishing nets, hollows out his canoe, occupies himself with fishing and hunting, manufactures his utensils. If we do not find him busy from morning to night every day, like the civilized, it is because he does not /148/ feel the necessity of it. He does not have ambitions; he is contented with little, and he works as much as necessary in order to live. It is also certain that the depth of preconceived opinion that he feels against the civilized is not stimulus for the Indian to make an effort when he works for the "white." He will show even less desire than in his own work. He will nevertheless do a reasonable job under two conditions: a timorous respect for the white and constant supervision.

571 Comparing the Indians among themselves, one cannot blame anyone as stingy. It is the most harmonious economic equilibrium that one can imagine, although it is at a very low level. *[192] Very rare are the cases, that are known, of singularly indolent types, tesé-bũhũgõ, and parasites, whom their fellow tribesmen themselves find fault with.

462 The woman, yes, finds herself busier, more absorbed as it were, in the housework (as will be seen later, VIII -- 1, a (9) ), busying herself with the younger children, cultivating her clearing, and preparing the food or making some artifacts.

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The school children show some inclination and skill for the manual arts: the girl prefers the work in the field and also appreciates embroidery and sewing.

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He is also endowed with his talents as a worker. The skill, which we have already pointed out and will point out (see ch. V /see Ch. VI/), the perfection, and the relative speed in the kind of jobs that he traditionally performs are the best proofs.

The necessity to live forces him, for his part, also to face great difficulties in order to conquer nature. It is enough to imagine the sacrifices imposed by the cutting for a clearing, with the means formerly at his disposal. His endurance, for example, for rowing, is worthy of consideration. For other jobs, such as agriculture or digging the ground, he is weak. Although the work rhythm is not intense, but rather is always with the calm that is characteristic of him, and he has better nourishment than in his home, after two weeks the Indian begins to weaken and not infrequently to lose weight; and after two or three months he must be excused for holidays and rest (13).

13. Besides the danger of malaria in the lower Rio Negro, this weakening of the Indian, especially when he lacks his customary foods, condemn the process (that some are already exploring and others, ignoring the circumstances, recommend) of making use of the native hand in the extraction of the piassava, the Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," the name of several trees (and their fruit), including the Brazil nut/, or borracha. We think that such jobs can be, or rather must be, performed only by the caboclos, who already have physical endurance and a psychic disposition different from that of the natives.

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10) Patience.

He is a man of extreme patience. How useful it would be if this quality of his could be channeled into so many sectors of our civilization! It is documented by those jobs which require not only hours, but sometimes days, months, or years of work and attention, such as the preparation of the tucum and of a net, the making of a canoe with the stone ax and fire, or to pierce regularly a sarabatana /blowgun/ or a stone of amorphous quartz (see VII -- 3, d (2) ) with the help of a stick and very fine sand. In a canoe he endures a rain for hours on end, or a scorching sun the whole day, without a word of complaint.

We never saw him fight (except when already drunk) or show impatience and protest against another Indian, although the occasions for it were superabundant. For example, to complain about a companion, because his indolence forces him to work harder. If he walks bent under a heavy load, and another Indian is blocking his way, he does not yell for him to move, but will patiently go around, taking a longer route.

11) Shyness.

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Before the civilized, whose superiority he recognizes and feels, he always shows docility. Never an open revolt; although he not infrequently fails to do what he told him to do. Rare are the episodes of joining together for a reprisal (14).

> 14. Some few episodes are recalled, but all of them were when the civilized violated some tribal custom or practiced true injustices or cruelty...

It is to be noted that, if the civilized asks him for a favor, he will perhaps answer with "I do not want to." If he is ordered in a categorical way, however, the Indian obeys and even cheerfully. Positive orders are more in accord with his spirit.

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152 The Indian is always shy before the civilized, especially if the latter raises his voice. Faced with dangerous jobs, such as cutting timber in the forest, crossing cachoeiras, he shows himself daringly brave. He remains undaunted during storms. His coolness in the face of certain dangers, for instance, that of a shipwreck, will cause envy in any Englishman. In other jobs, on the contrary, he appears extremely afraid. He is afraid not only of the onças /jaguars/, which have already taken many victims among them, but even of being hurt when he must /150/ deal with oxen or pigs. The burst of a bomb or a shot terrifies him. At the news of the approach of fierce Indians, he runs away immediately (15).

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15. The Indians of the Caburi region, to whom are attributed episodes of murder, never assault the seringueiros /rubber workers/ when there is a large clearing around the latters' hut or when they realize that there are many men inside. Among the Pirá-tapuia of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí) there has been preserved a tradition about some Béxkhana (Baniva) Indians from Venezuela, who invaded as far as the Papurí and in the middle of the night killed many in the malocas. Sometimes alarming reports of new invasions comes through, and the Pirá-tapúia flee from their villages. About 12 or 15 years ago, in the povoado of Olinda (Colombian bank of the river Papurí), similar reports (which are called marandúa in the lingua geral; cf. Stradelli-Dictionary, note on "induiaméne") arose, and the Indians abandoned their houses for three months and devoted themselves to preparing trenches and traps. In order to stop these marandúas the Missionary Pe. Afonso Kuipers came to promise gifts for anyone who brought

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/footnote 15 cont./ him one of these Béxkana /sic/ dead or alive. Some came to affirm that they had indeed seen them, one would go so far as to say that he had killed several of them, but he could not have any corpse, because their companions took their dead...

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His fear of poisonings or spells (dohasé) and of the spirits (wãx'tỹá) is especially great. Out of fear of these, for any reason, he will go at night into the forest.

12) Carelessness.

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Perhaps the relative ease with which they get or manufacture whatever they need makes them careless of things and tools, especially those of the civilized, letting them become damaged or lost, without paying any attention to their value or necessity. Many times the traveler must draw the attention of the Indian in order for him not to lose, break, or render useless an implement. There is, however, one thing which they are tenderly zealous about: the ornaments for the dances, kept in a case ad hoc, in a safe place. Since they consider clothing and other attire an ornament, they ordinarily take good care of them. And one notices some carelessness only in those who can easily get other clothes from the civilized.

13) Profit and gain.

Some of his faults attract the attention of the civilized. He is extraordinarily selfish (16).

16. Even in the service of God they want to know whether he will give them gifts, if he will give feasts, ribbons, and garments. A little girl once asked the Directress if there are fish in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Directress said no. The child added at once: "Then I don't want to go there."

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648 He does nothing for the white without /151/ pay, and ordinarily
466 he wants it in advance. The truth is that, as a rule, he does not deny his debts to the civilized; many times, however, he maintains that he has done more work and reduces his debts, in spite of the fact that the contrary appears in the entries made with precision and conscientiousness. He frequently lets the time go by, and sometimes he moves away or dies; and that
428 is the end of that. The parents, brothers, children, or other relatives of someone who passed away, let us say in the mission hospital will present themselves at once as legitimate heirs to the shotgun, hammock, suitcase, or other objects belonging to the dead person. No one, however, becomes responsible for the debts of the deceased.

648 In order to have them at his service, at the time of the seringa or the Brazil nut, the civilized must pay them in advance.
466 It not infrequently happens that at the time of the work (fábrico, as is said in Amazonas) the Indian hides; or runs away after working for a time.

431 He does not give gifts to the civilized, even though he has
648 received many from him. He sells to him (17).

> 17. Episodes going so far as to be comic are told. A father, with the family, came to visit his son, who was a student at the Mission in Taracuá, and brought with him dried fish and beijú /manioc bread/. And, squatting in a corner, they ate, as on a family picnic. Before leaving, however, he came to charge the Missionary the price of the fish and the beijú.

123 At the time of our first excursion to the Içana, in 1953, accompanied by Pe. José
431 Schneider, the latter took with him, among his helpers, a tuxaua of the Mapatse-dákenei (Yuruparí-tapúia) tribe. Like the others, he

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/footnote 17 cont./ received, besides food and donations, daily service pay. When we arrived in Tunuí, he showed a small basket and beijú, saying that it was a gift that the Baniva from there had given him, but he asked the Pe. for salt, tobacco, and kerosene, "in order to give as thanks."

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If he notices in the latter an interest in some native object, he demands a large payment (18).

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18. For example, the Kubewana came to ask us for a shotgun for a sarabatana /blow-gun/ or a simple acangatara /feather head-ornament/.

When he offers something (beijú, fruits, dried fish), he immediately asks for an object of greater value.

They appear greedy in dealing with other Indians, and even with those of their own tribe. It is not rare that an individual, with his work or products, will acquire salt or tobacco in abundance in the Missionary center and later go to sell it to his fellow tribesmen with great usury. We have seen him acquire pots, mirrors, etc. in the Mission and with these small objects go to trade with those of the more distant malocas, receiving in exchange graters and canoes (19).

19. /This footnote is on p. 152 in the original source./ On our excursion to the Aiarí in May of 1957, one of our oarsmen, from the Siusi tribe, Ernesto by name, from the povoado of S. Ana (lower Içana), had acquired at the Mission in Assunção a shotgun valued at 1,200 cruzeiros. He took it with him, in order to exchange it for a sewing machine,

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/footnote 19 cont./ perfectly new, from a Hohodene of the stream Waraná (tributary of the Aiarí); and in fact he made the deal, in spite of the fact that the machine was worth about 4,000 cruzeiros.

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The very relations between parents and children are contaminated or are regulated by gain. The parents come periodically to visit the boarding-school children in the Mission schools and many times bring them beijú, dried fish, and fruit. The student sees them from far away and immediately sets out to join them and spends some time with them, but always in a cold way, without looking at them, perhaps scratching the ground with a toe of his foot. Another time the parents come without bringing anything. The missionary lets the boy know: -- "Go see, your father is there." "I already know," he answers indifferently. -- "Then go to talk with him." -- "He is not giving anything," he answers, and he does not stir to see his own father, although it has been months that he has not seen him.

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Periodically a /152/ small boat from the Mission in Iauareté in 1953 went up as far as S. Miguel and Melo Franco (river Papurí), buying flour for the schools. The Tukano from this last locality offered to keep for a few days the hampers of flour for their "irmãos" /brothers/ who lived a few hours away on the river Auá, until the Mission boat came to collect them. For this small favor, however, they demanded from their Tukano "irmãos" of the Auá 50 per cent of the flour, to wit: of four hampers kept, two were handed over to the Mission and the other two stayed as payment to the "warehouse."

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574 He is, however, hospitable. When some tribal irmão
*[192] /brother/, or even an Indian from another tribe, arrives at the maloca, he at once presents to him beijú and quinhapira /a fish dish/, and, if there is any, also manicuera, bacaba, or some other drink. The "white" can likewise help himself liberally to everything.

156 14) Envy.

Envy is one of the vices that mar their character; they do not even take care to disguise it. Anyone who begins to distinguish himself because of his talents, becomes an object of the envy of the others, and he soon is afflicted by fear of some malefice from the others. A Tukano man, having acquired some planks with his work in the Mission of Pari-Cachoeira, started to make a hut with more luxury and comfort. The others at once threatened to poison him, and he found himself forced to abandon everything and run away. The same worm of envy is already great in the children. The ones who learn Portuguese more easily, win good marks, and are praised inexplicably become slack and decline. It was out of fear of the envy of the others. At the time of the /153/ school awards, it can not be specified that this is the first prize and is for So-and-So; or to reward only a few. It is imperative to give awards to all, being satisfied with calling first those with greater merit and letting them choose. The Directress gave a pair of shoes to one of the young women who worked in the Mission. She hardly used them once. "Why don't you wear the shoes any more?" -- "The others insult me" was the answer.

829 15) Theft.
577 Suffering so strongly the sting of envy, it is not surprising that he presents another weak point: the tendency to steal. Resistance perhaps against the "white," whom he always considers superior and rich, he readily seizes (even outside of the

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pathological cases of kleptomania) (20)

> 20. In some cases, because of the precociousness of the thief, the frequency and the circumstances of the theft, it is legitimate to think that it is a matter of kleptomania.

something of his, especially what might be useful to him in life, or, if he cannot do that, he damages something in order to cause him injury.

And perhaps there is yet another stimulus for the theft: the fact that he considers himself more ingenious and cunning than the white, the latter, in order to avoid friction with the Indians, having to close one eye, as though he had not preceived the cunning of the Indian. It is a vicious circle, inevitable in those places and circumstances. The traveler pretends he does not see, and this attitude plants even more deeply in the Indian the conviction that he is slier than the civilized, and he feels spurred on to make sport of him. The civilized person, for this reason, must always keep a close watch on his own luggage, which, even so, will not infrequently be stolen (21).

> 21. The tendency to steal and the skill with which they do it, never followed by repentance, are so great that we were assailed by the doubt that might they not by chance judge it to be lawful and good, at the least, to steal from the whites. We asked two natives who merited more of our confidence, and both affirmed that they consider stealing from anyone, whoever it might be, a bad thing. Nevertheless, another of our best helpers stated to us that to steal from their brothers is a bad thing, but to rob the civilized is a good thing!

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577 They take objects from their own companions. Thefts will be rarer, because life more or less in common restrains or eliminates the impulses toward certain thefts. The attacks on the clearing or the cacurí /fish trap/ of others are frequent. They show shame when they are surprised. If he is not, he denies the theft. Or, confronted with the evidence, he will say: "I took, I did not steal." While the injured one says: -- "He robbed me." One notes a preponderant tendency, almost enslaving, to steal edibles. He ordinarily reveals in the thefts amazing /154/ cunning. Especially in the thefts from the other Indians he abstains from taking anything that might easily identify him. He always takes timely precautions, in the act of stealing as well as afterwards, to hide the corpus delicti; for example, the little girls steal needles and hide them in the hard layer of the soles of their feet.

He rebels when he is forced to make restitution; especially if he must do so to the civilized. He will do it more readily for the tuxaua, who orders him to make restitution whenever he wants to stay friendly with the white. In a different way, especially if he likes the thief, he will say haughtily: -- "There is no thief in the maloca" (22).

> 22. If they perform these very rare acts of restoration, it can be affirmed that, as a rule, they do not restore the thing stolen, nor do they give proper indemnification. From the moral point of view, it seems legitimate to conclude that they do not have any intention of making restitution or of abstaining from stealing.

123 16) Lying -- Not keeping one's word -- Simulation.

577 The love of the truth that has been noted among some primitives is not the strong point of these Indians of ours. He often answers, falsely, the inquires asked of him: "I do not know," "I did not see." Vice versa, they give information about what they do not know. And the other Indians present do not correct

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the inaccurate information. For example, they do not like to sell their dance ornaments and regularly affirm that they do not have them. If one asks whether there is anybody sick in the povoado, he will invariably answer no, although in reality there is. One cannot even think, in these and other cases, that there was a mental reservation. Would there be, in the case of the sick ones, some reason of a magic nature? We were not able to find out, in spite of many inquiries in different circumstances and places. They pass to a second and third party the thing stolen, in order to hide it. They never denounce the others, except to defend themselves. Not infrequently we caught them in contradictions (23).

23. In April of 1954 a young woman from Pari-cachoeira described to us her puberty initiation rite with all clarity and indication of details. In June of that same year, speaking casually about the subject, she started to deny that there was Komũ (cf. VIII-1,b (7) ) or "blower" in her povoado and that she had gone through the initiation. -- Have you forgotten that you already told everything? Don't be bashful ... we told her. Then she smiled, confirmed and completed the description made in April.

If we make this evident to them, they are silent. Silence is a defense and weapon that they frequently use against the civilized and his arguments. They are "born liars" was the expression used by two persons who for several /155/ years lived with these Indians. Not infrequently he maintains his lie even before the most evident proofs.

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Just as little can one have absolute confidence in his word or promise and count on the Indian for a set date, for the performance of a job, a trip, etc. He will fail to appear on such-and-such a day or place where he is expected, or do the promised work. Later, perhaps, he will show up, without, however, talking about the subject or excusing himself. If, by chance, we are the first to talk and we complain (which is not always advisable), he will present some excuse, true or false. It does not even enter his mind to think whether there are strong reasons for keeping the promise given to the white. He absolutely will not sacrifice any of his interests in order to satisfy an assumed obligation.

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The unanimous affirmation of all those who have lived with them for some time is that they are endowed with a great capacity for simulation (24).

24. The Arwake natives of the Içana exhibit the same skill at simulation. Among the verificative episodes we recall the following one. It was at the beginning of the female boarding school, directed by the Irmãs Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora or Irmãs Salesianas /Sisters Daughters of Mary Auxiliary or Salesian Sisters/ (1957). Several girls, in spite of the liberality of the discipline and the tolerance of the Reverendas Irmãs, ran away. Two girl students, taking advantage of the right moment, escaped and, with a canoe, reached the opposite bank, where their mother was found in a small hut. The latter immediately crossed the river and came to the school to see her daughters. Not being found, of course, the mother showed great distress, starting to cry with signs of great affliction, causing serious concern to the

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/footnote 24 cont./ Educadoras /Educators/. Nevertheless, it was the mother herself who had hidden the daughters in the forest, as was found out later through witnesses of the act.

In a perfect manner they will feign illness or indigence, they will feign ignorance of an order or a prohibition, loss of memory or an oversight. Planning a deed which they consider bad (for example, three or four Indians organizing an attack with the purpose of stealing, or in Indian file to spy on the white through a crack, etc.), they do not let any anxiety show. Even when they are surprised, they are not disconcerted. They simply separate, as though nothing had happened. Almost always a hearty laugh will come to terminate the disrupted attempt.

764 Furthermore they are capable of showing emotions that they do not feel. A typical example is the funeral weeping (with tears, screams, exclamations), performed with moving perfection, returning immediately afterwards to the same gay conversation of minutes before, intermixed with immodest laughs; while others, in turn, recite /156/ their part, surrendering to crying, only to turn back minutes later to their habitual gaiety. Perhaps they could be used as theatrical actors.

17) Sentimental life: love, friendship, gratitude.

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Their sentimental life does not seem very intense. One never observes displays very ardent with feeling (25).

25. The meeting between parents and children or between spouses, after months or perhaps years of separation, is always invested with the coolness of any meeting, without looking at each other, with those conventional expressions that we have indicated (cf. formalism below). The Missionary Pe. Antônio Giacone was able to observe this very curious episode: the husband had been absent for almost two years in order

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/footnote 25 cont./ to work with the whites of the lower Rio Negro, without having sent any news. Upon returning, the meeting with his wife took place with the customary indifference on the bank of the river as he disembarked from the canoe. Inside the hut, however, after having presented him with the quinhapira /a fish dish/ and the beijú /manioc bread/, the wife, squatting beside the husband, opened up with these complaints: -- "O father of my children (yõ-põra-kõ), you have finally arrived. You were gone with the white very far away, very far away, and the mother of your children remained here alone, without having fish for the children, without being able to make a new clearing, abandoned, without clothes... Oh! How sad it is to live like this! How sad it is! (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, pp. 72-3).

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Although he laughs easily, he always receives the great joys or tragedies with a certain indifference. They do not know the kiss (26)

26. It also seems that words for kiss and embrace do not exist in the Tukano language. The term mí'mĩ, which Pe. Antônio Giacone records in his vocabulary as corresponding to kiss, actually means to suck. As a matter of fact, in the early days when they were taught to kiss some object, they sucked it, even when it was a matter of the priest's hand at a liturgical function.

or the embrace as a display of affection between parents and children or other relatives.

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152 The Indian lacks some of the more delicate feelings, such as that of compassion. He will not only mistreat an animal, laughing at its painful contortions, but even watch with indifference another person's suffering, even if it is his brother, father, or mother (cf. VII - 4, g (1) ).

593 There is no doubt about the existence in the parents, particularly in the mother, of love for their offspring, especially when still in the first childhood. Even then it is a love more effective than affective, diligently learning about the children's health, for whom they procure remedies during illnesses and food. When it is a matter of children already grown, the esteem is contaminated by interest in the services they receive from them. And the grief that they express when the children are absent or die is because they no longer have anyone to bring them fish or cultivate the clearing.

847 Attenuating this presumption in favor of mother love is the use of infanticide, and many times it is the mother herself who wants /157/ and executes it. Moreover, cases in which the mother abandons the children, even though newborn, are known.

593 In the children the correlative feeling is counterbalanced, or perhaps exceeded, by their selfishness. When the parents
888 become old, they easily abandon them, without providing clothing for them any longer, or even giving them medicine, food, or water (27).

[115] 27. Pe. João Marchesi bears witness, with the authority of one who knows the totality of the natives, among whom he has lived for 35 years, and who, because of his heroic charity, cover for all the sacrifices, merited it when General Alexandrino Ferreira da Cunha called him "the Anchieta of the Amazon": -- "Among the elements of the same tribe, who consider themselves brothers, there is a certain outward cordiality and consideration toward someone else's suffering, but neither generosity nor a spontaneous

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593 888 /footnote 27 cont./ offering of help and means: it is a cold and sterile egoism." "The old parents are left abandoned when they do not move from the house of one child to that of another, in order not to be a burden." "Nor can the natural love of the procreators be said to have a firm foundation, because of the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn babies, suffocating them as one would do with any little animal" (in the book Os Tucanos /The Tucano/ by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13).

593 581 Apropos of matrimony, Pe. Antônio Giacone writes: -- The Indian, not having love and tenderness for the woman, will be satisfied with the one that they give him, no matter whether she is pretty or ugly; it is enough if she is hard-working and gives him many children; if she is sterile, he will repudiate her as a useless thing, because every Indian marries for the sake of having many children" (Os Tucanos, p. 22). He censures the treatment of the old parents on the part of the children as "indifferent and inhuman" (ibidem, p. 26).

593 758 In November of 1953, on the occasion of our stay in Iauareté, the following episode took place. A young man from Uaracú-ponta (river Uaupés), married a few months earlier, gravely ill with tuberculosis, asked the Director to take him to the Mission hospital. There he had a visit by his wife, who remained in his company for some days. On a second visit, she burst into tears so noisily that the Director advised her that she should restrain herself or move farther away, in order not to add to the suffering of her sick husband. Nevertheless, two days before her husband's death, she wanted to leave for her povoado, taking with her the husband's hammock. And she did so, in spite of his insistent begging that she stay longer and leave his hammock.

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593 888 Cases in which they buried their old parents alive are cited (28).

28. There was shown to us in Uaracapá (river Papurí), upon leaving the povoado, the place where the hammock of a sick old man had been tied between two branches. And they had not only turned him out of the house in this condition, but also left him there in the open, without assistance or resources. As soon as he had died, they dug a grave under the hammock, cut the ropes of the old hammock, which fell, with the cadaver, into the hole, and covered /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ it irregularly with earth, as we could see in November of 1953. In June of 1954 an old Taryana about 70 or 80 years of age, shivering with cold, was found in the port of Iauareté. We do not know how he got there. Taken to the hospital in serious condition, he was laid on a hammock, given medicine, and had a hot water bottle applied (to replace the fire that they always use under the hammock). Days later, feeling well, he was questioned about where he came from. He interrupted immediately, saying that he did not want to go back to his house, because he was mistreated there by the children.

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We were informed about a Taryana from Pinú-pinú (river Uaupés) who mistreated and several times even spanked his own father, who was from Iauareté.

156 571 At least while they are living in their own environment, they cling together among themselves, even among individuals of a different tribe, more than /158/ with a civilized person. There is not, however, any sign of particular friendship among

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571 them: one notices the same treatment for all. It is still the group spirit that atrophies the individual impulses. The reciprocal envy and the fear of poisoning that torment them do not allow the feelings of friendship to flourish among them. They are always afraid of one another. Some of them would like to open up more with the civilized, and in some cases they do when they are alone. He will become reserved, however, as soon as another Indian appears. One has the impression that they are afraid of appearing as a friend of the white.

648 Nor is there any evidence of the existence of gratitude in
156 his heart, especially toward the civilized. Although he appears friendly, speaking to them with expansiveness and intimacy, he never gives thanks for the favors received; he does not even show acknowledgement of them, even in cases of extraordinary benefits, and even of the true and heroic devotion of the Missionary or of the Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/. He does not approach him to offer any gift as a sign of gratitude, or even say a tender word of thanks. It is not reported either that among his fellow tribesmen he is concerned about showing gratitude for the benefits received from the white. One can affirm that the cordiality that they show toward the civilized is always inspired by self-interest, and the supposition of lack of attention on the part of the white is enough to make the manifestations of that cordiality disappear.

18) Revenge-vengeance.

627 On the other hand, his instinct for revenge is strong. With
628 perfect control of himself, without the slightest outward sign or facial expression revealing his displeasure, the Indian accepts the greatest contrarieties. He does not, however, forget the
*[192] insults and the injustices, real or supposed, nor does he forgive
*[797] them (29).

29. It seems that the verb to forgive does not exist in the Tukano language. Out of the necessity for catechising, the Missionary sometimes uses the verb oxkó-boho, to forget. The

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/footnote 29 cont./ natives instead use the Portuguese verb with the Tukano ending: perdoáya (you forgive), perdoápõ (I forgave).

He thinks about revenge, and there are numerous episodes /159/ demonstrating that he waits patiently for years for the opportunity, and they take long trips for the purpose of executing revenge.

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It is an imprescriptible obligation, that of vengeance, a'mẽ-wehẽ, incumbent on the group, for one of its members killed or wounded by some civilized man or Indian of another tribe. Vengeance will also be taken within the tribe against a native of another subdivision, and even against one's own blood brother. If he does not execute the vengeance in some case, it is because he is afraid of counter-vengeance (malefice).

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In appearance the Indian is very peaceful. One does not hear the natives quarreling among themselves in loud voices, even when it seems to us that there are reasons for it. They even seem very polite among themselves. When, in a group of natives, one among them gave, let us suppose, incorrect information (it should be noted that they do not like to state: I do not know, I am not sure of that), the others do not at the time correct the inaccuracy or mistake. Perhaps one of those present, when he is alone with the civilized, will on request rectify the erroneous information.

726

There is no recollection, except for the legends, of war among the various tribes (30).

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30. In October of 1947, a few days before our visit to the maloca of the Makú, about six kilometers from Iauareté, on the occasion of a caxirí (celebration with drinking), a machete fight took place among them, during which one Indian died and several were seriously hurt. In January of 1948 in this same maloca there was dissension of

/159 cont./

726 /footnote 30 cont./ greater importance, and a true fight with sticks, machetes, and arrows took place between the Maku and the Taryana, again on the occasion of a caxiri.

578 There are, however, frequent fights for economic reasons (attacks on a clearing, cacuri, etc.). Not rarely there are quarrels due to intrigues, and the greater percentage of these happen among the women.

For revenge among themselves, the opportunity is drunkenness (31),

31. In order to have greater courage "he will get intoxicated," said one from Colombia. For this reason there are never duels among them. It is not reported either that they might engage in wrestling for exercise. During the fights they use any object that they have handy, machete, mortar, bow, etc., or even a shotgun!

and beforehand they invite for the celebrations those from whom they might want to get satisfaction. After this, even when the consequence is the victim's death, nothing in the Indian reveals repentance or remorse (32).

32. Years ago, in 1933, an episode of revenge with circumstances of special cruelty took place. In Ananaz, on the lower Uaupés, the Tukano killed two Desana men, cut a boy in half from the shoulder to the legs. The ones accused were taken to S. Gabriel (today the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ town of Uaupés) and questioned by the Inspector of the S.P.I. (Serviço de Proteção ao Índio). Without difficulty they confessed to the crime. -- But why did you kill them? -- "That is the way it is" was the only answer.

/159 cont./

578 The legends refer to similar episodes, and perhaps they try to imitate their legendary heroes.

278 /160/ a) The most common method of revenge, nevertheless, is poisoning. When they talk to us with intimacy and frankness, the natives affirm and document numerous cases of poisonings for revenge. From which one understands the general fear that dominates everyone, almost an obsession about being poisoned. Some revealed to us that they had been victims, they themselves, of poisonings that caused them serious and prolonged illnesses. We also know of cases in circumstances such that, according to the account of the Rvdas. Irmãs Enfermeiras /Reverend Sisters in charge of the sick/, they admit the suspicion of poisoning. Among these, we recall here two cases that happened during our travels. It was a matter of a more odious form of revenge, that is, to cause harm to the younger children in order to get satisfaction for injuries caused by their parents. Two children about ten years old, students of the Salesian Mission: a girl from Iauaretê in April of 1955, and a boy from Parí-cachoeira in October of 1956. Both died at the end of a few hours, after ingesting native drinks.

266 They do not, however, practice anthropophagy, and nothing reveals that they had had this custom in the Tukano group of tribes (cf. below what will be said about Cannibalism, VII - 6, h /sic; see VII, 4, h/).

19) Vanity.

326 Vanity is a strongly pronounced trait of the native psyche. The mothers tie bindings on the babies in arms, below the knee and above the ankle, "in order to thicken their legs." Actually, on the whole, they are anatomically well proportioned and elegant, with well-formed legs. They want to have thick legs. It is one of the insults, especially among the girls, to call one another skinny leg (33).

*[192] 33. Insults in Tukano: skinny leg, ñõxkã-dyí-Marĩgõ; curly hair, poári-subi; big eye, kaxpéri-bũhũgõ.

/160 cont./

142 All of them have a full figure, up to about 30 years of age. After that age, corpulence becomes exaggerated in some men, and the women on the whole lose weight, growing old prematurely. They do not promote any deformation for aesthetic or warlike effect (34).

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34. The deformation of the skull is characteristic of the Caraíbas /Carib/, applying tight splints to the children's heads. Among the Amazon tribes the first explorers found this custom among the Cambeba ("Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, 145). In some tribes, for example, the Pinao of Colombia, this was done in order to have a fierce appearance.

826 The maidens exhibit round, well-developed breasts. They identify beauty with corpulence. When someone changes climate in order /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /161/ to gather strength, they say that "he went in search of meat." No preoccupation with the waistline; they do not use a girdle.

302 The hair in particular is an object of vanity. They arrange it, comb it often, the women and the new generation of men. The young men, during trips, gather flowers from the bank of the river and string them through their hair, over the ear. They apply lotions, which they prepare with genipap and other plants, in order to keep it black. This is the secret in why they never become gray... They love beads, soaps, perfumes. A maiden sold herself for half a jar of pomade.

They like the mirror very much and stare at it frequently; formerly they gave an oar in exchange for a small mirror.

The young women are sad about being dark, and in order to lighten the skin they rub it vigorously with soap and even with sand, looking at themselves again each time, in order to see whether they are becoming fairer.

4: Silva--233 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 160 in the original source./

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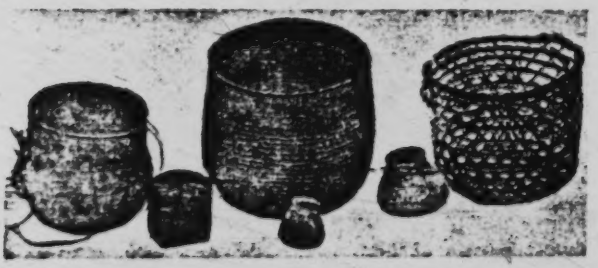
[531]

1. Sieves (baxti) with the characteristic designs.
2. Different types of large baskets (aturás, pyi, and sarreiro, térẽ-pi, the one with wide meshes) and small ones (pyi-kamõ).
3. Preparing the "rede-batida" /beaten hammock/.
4. Rough-hewing to prepare the oar.



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4: Silva--234 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 161 in the original source./

Fan (wẽrĩ-rõ), urupema (sũõ), cumatá (tõ-pa) Stone axes (ẽxtã-komé)

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Tipiti (wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ) Sieves (baxti)

/161 cont./

157 20) Pride.

829 Their pride is equivalent to their vanity. They never recognize their own mistake. At the least word that sounds to them like a scolding, they lock themselves up in muteness; and the child will act badly out of spite. There are cited cases in which, at a simple scolding by the civilized, they left and spent years without reappearing.

They are excessively pleased over praise; it is the means that the educators use in order to stimulate them to study and to work. If by chance the child is corrected at school because he made a mistake in reading, he lowers the book and will not read any more. He never asks questions in class, even when he does not understand and is invited to ask for an explanation. On the other hand, he laughs with delight when others, especially the white, makes a mistake (stumbles, falls down, does not know how to tie a hammock, etc.).

They are haughty about their own qualities and are pleased when they are praised. Even with their deep-rooted beliefs, they readily assimilate our civilization in its material elements, and even when they return to their maloca they imitate what they saw the civilized do. Deep within them they attribute the superiority of the latter to the resources that the Indian does not have at his disposal and "because they have learned from others." These are the two reasons (so they think) that they cannot accomplish everything that the civilized make, be it even an electric generator, a motor for boats, or an airplane.

Deep within them there seems to be rooted the conviction that the civilized is the one who requires them, since he came as far as their lands; and they do not require the /162/ civilized (35).

35. During the last war, the difficulties of supplying the missionary centers grew. One of the Superiors of the Mission thought it prudent to warn the natives that it was not the ill-will of the Missionaries, but the

/162 cont./

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/footnote 35 cont./ difficulties of the epoch (lack of resources, of transportation, etc.) that inflicted want of some things that they had been receiving, for instance, salt. And he heard this comment from a tuxaua: -- "You, the whites, are the ones who are going to suffer with this; we do not miss them."

And similar thoughts are difficult to correct, because they neither accept nor follow the reasoning of the civilized. And, in reality, the white who travels through these regions cannot dispense with the Indian's work (to guide him, to row, to transport cargo, etc.). And since the period of the discoveries, and in a special way in these last years, traders go up to fetch Indians for the work on the seringals and piassava grounds of the lower Rio Negro or seringals of Colombia. Before the majestic and savage nature of these regions, it is natural that the civilized person feels and manifests a feeling of timidity and inadaptation, which will confirm the Indian in his conviction of his own superiority.

When he is transported to one of our cities, quite far from his tribal brothers and from his native river, this same feeling of inadaptation and timidity will, with greater facility, cause the Indian to attach himself, with faithfulness and perhaps true affection, to the civilized man with whom he lives and for whom he works.

829

The native who is educated in the Mission schools considers himself "white" and tries to imitate the civilized. They do not like us to call them "índios" (36):

36. The more civilized among them say at times: -- "I am not from the Uaupes," as equivalent to "I am not an Indian." They commonly reserve the name of Indian for those of the Makú tribe.

one must say: "your tribe," "your nation." There is in all of

/162 cont./

829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always will-
262 ing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever
[177] is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauareté did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous
* [172] ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during
[784] the chôco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they
273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí
[164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente: it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

/163 cont./

273 the odor from afar. In order to avoid reprimands, they hide the bottles on the bottom of the river, from where they remove them when they want to drink their alcoholic contents.

261 They are particularly gluttonous over sweets (39);

> 39. The tuxauas, povoado chiefs, themselves appeared satisfied with a piece of candy; and not infrequently even a candy ball is divided up, or it passes through more than one mouth. With some caramels and cigarettes, they considered themselves well paid for the work of letting themselves be measured.

they also appreciate salt very much, and even the bitter salt (sodium sulphate) itself, provided as a medicine. Salt is an article that they are always seeking.

32) /sic/ Ingenuity and cheerfulness.

157 Moreover he possesses an assemblage of natural virtues and enviable qualities. We have already indicated some; let us also point out others. Among the fine qualities of the native one notices his charming ingenuity. Simple, frank, even when he is telling the most disagreeable episodes, and he always does it with terms of the crudest realism. A strangely natural ingenuity in conversation and especially in composure, even when, judging by the previous facts, one is certain that it covers malice.

He is a cheerful individual. He laughs with the greatest of ease, and for any reason whatsoever he bursts out in great, prolonged, and typical hearty laughs. The laugh is not only a response to the ridiculous or to the humorous, but to every pleasant surprise (40).

> 40. An Indian woman, questioned about the reason for so many and such prolonged laughs, explained that it was because they loosen the

/163 cont./

157 /footnote 40 cont./ cigarette smoke over the several parts of the body. It seems to be a common custom when the woman is lying in the hammock to rest during the day.

Long before daybreak, from three or four o'clock in the morning, laughs can be heard in the maloca, and until ten or eleven at night. They are a happy race; in their /164/ maloca one can hear much laughter and almost no crying. The children themselves [797] cry less than their little brothers of civilization (41):

41. In the children taken into the Mission boarding schools, and even in the small children who are sons and daughters of alumni and raised in the shadow of the Missions, one observes with more frequency and for a longer time habitual crying and shrieking.

crying that lasts a few moments.

152 23) Stoicism.

The Indian is an absolutely perfect type of the stoic and greatly surpasses the ancient Greek philosophers. Man of the present, the future does not worry him. He does not save for tomorrow; he trusts that tomorrow nature will be as favorable to him or more so than today, and he will also work tomorrow. In privation he knows how to suffer hunger with serene tranquility. He does not even think about future pain. The secret of his tranquility and constant good humor rests on this state of mind. As for the rest, he easily endures suffering; he will not moan, however intense his pains may be (42).

42. During our frequent visits to the malocas and to the native povoados, many times, with our admiration, we have found individuals, not only adults, but also children, enduring

/164 cont./

152 /footnote 42 cont./ great pain without a tear or a groan. On the other hand, when under the care of the civilized, for example, when hospitalized, they readily burst out in shrieks and groans that even seem exaggerated. We are prevented from presenting an explanation for similar facts, although we have in vain asked for one from the natives themselves on several occasions.

758 761 [755] [797] During illnesses, he will lie in the hammock and wait for nature to react to the prompting of the rites of the pajé. If the latter says that the sick man is going to die, he will await death calmly, without cries or shrieks. The relatives will not give him medicine, and many times not even food or drink (43).

758 797 43. And have you given mingau /a paste made with manioc flour/ to the sick man -- asked the Missionary to those of a maloca where he had found a very sick old man lying in a hammock. -- "What for?" objected the Indians, "he is going to die anyway." In May of 1954, a young wife gravely ill and given up by the pajé, Adelia Abreu by name, of the Tukano tribe, was found in Pari-cachoeira. She did not accept the medicines or threw them away, pretending to take them. She generally refused food. If by chance she showed any disposition to accept it, her mother whispered that she should not take it, because the pajé had said that she was going to die. With some difficulty they transported her to the hospital. The Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/ managed to overcome the young woman's resistance, and the latter decided to take the medicines and the food, and a hopeful improvement was

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/footnote 43 cont./ noticed immediately. The sick woman's mother, upon learning this, ran to the hospital, in order to stop it. To anyone who argued with her because she acted so, the mother answered: -- "The pajé said that she is to die; if she gets well in the hospital, the pajé is going to be furious with me." It is true that as soon as the woman felt better she ran away from the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ hospital. From the delivery, which soon followed, she had a very weak child that died almost immediately. The young mother, however, became strong and is still enjoying good health (in September of 1956).

152

The /165/ patient will not ask for it or will even refuse to take it if someone presents it to him. His life has been full of fights and deprivations endured with the most inalterable calm, he was never defeated by despair, he always appears strong, even before the imminence of death (cf. VII - 2, e (1) ).

24) Formality.

The Uaupésino native is a singularly formal type. It is precisely this rigorous formality, touching almost every activity of the individual, that crushes the individual, the personal in the Indian. About these, as about the Mongols, those who do not have very prolonged and immediate contact with them say that they all look alike, because it is difficult to distinguish them by physiognomic features. In reality, they are more alike in behavior than in the face. The Indians seem to us to have been made in series, if we consider them in their way of acting. Education, which subministers to them the congenital tendency to imitate, and the subjection to the customs and traditions are so absorptive that it almost makes the individualizing traits in them disappear. And this uniformity is still more impressive because it culturally

/165 cont./

152 leveled out nations distinct and quite different in somatic traits, in bio-ethnic origin, and in speech, and it seems to have managed to mold all the components of the tribes according to a single model. For this reason we affirm that, even in the way of laughing and gesticulating, the different tribes of the Uaupés are similar, and for this same reason, the vast Uaupésina region must be considered as a single cultural area.

Here are some indications of the native formality of the Uaupés.

At the meetings of relatives, indeed, as we have already pointed out, even at the meetings of spouses or between parents and children after a long separation, there are no displays of jubilation.

484 Trips for visits are frequent among them; psychological necessity because they live in small groups? Or reminiscence of an ancestral nomadism?

576 The official receptions at the great feasts or possible ones at some meeting are always invested with a strange and indispensable formality.

574 576 521 *[192] When during his frequent pleasure trips he decides to stop at some maloca or povoado, he leaves his canoe at the landing place and goes up. If /166/ there are several, they will do it in Indian file, that is, one after the other, observing an order in which the most dignified goes in front. He will absolutely not enter, without saying at the door: "nẽ! maxsã nĩti? Hello, are there people there?" He will say this even when he sees that there are people. Then the head of the house; or the most important person there, will come to receive him, and they touch each other lightly with their right hands. Standing up, facing each other, without looking at each other, staring at the ground or at a corner, the one from the house will ask: -- "You have arrived? extatĩ mãã?" -- "I have arrived, extápõ." Or: -- "Has your canoe arrived?" The other will answer: -- "It arrived." They will spend a few seconds in silence, then he will continue: -- "Ah! You have arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." After a short pause he will perhaps insist: "Ah! Well! You have

*[192]

574 /166 cont./
576 arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." -- "Where did you come
521 from?" (a question many times useless, because he knows very well the visitor's place of origin). -- "From X" (and he says the name of the locality). -- "Ah! Do you come from X?" -- "Yes,
*[192] I come from X." These and similar expressions are interspersed with silence and with "ÃÃ," each of them alternating, as a sign that the one understood the other's sentence.

The same will be done and said by each man from the maloca to the guest, or guests, if there were several. Moreover the women will pass one by one in front of each visitor and, touching his right hand, will ask the same questions: -- "Have you arrived?" -- "I have arrived," etc., without however, looking at the guests, with the eyes lowered. The women soon withdraw, and one of them goes to get a small mat, stretches it out in front of the visitors, and on the mat she puts a pan with quinhapira and a sieve with beijú, from which the visitors help themselves without shyness.

574 Later, sitting on the stools or each one in his hammock,
521 they carry on long conversations until the late hours of the night, with a certain rapidity, interrupted by the very monotonous "ÃÃ" and with countless and noisy laughs. If we consider that the Tukano language is so concise, it says so many things with few words, we will have an idea of the loquacity of the natives among themselves. The child will tell everything that happened during the months that he was in school. The adult will tell about his trips, episodes of fishing or hunting, the events, the persons that he met, the conversations that he had, his own and other persons' episodes, and, finally, he will have innumerable pieces of news to report, which seem uninteresting to us, but for his childish mentality they are very important. To the curiosity to know corresponds, on the other side, a great desire to tell.

/166 cont./

521 It is to be noted that the husband never converses with his
593 wife at night, only during the day, and they carry on long talks
[115] when they are resting after work. At night only gossip among persons of the same /167/ sex is permitted (so we were informed by the old Taryana woman Teodora from Iauareté, and Dorotéia Brito, Tukano, confirmed it) (44).

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44. Among the Ide-maxsã of the stream Koméya, we have observed conversation between husband and wife during the night. Perhaps phrases imposed by necessity are not forbidden, and only conversation for diversion is prohibited.

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521 A singular meeting of pajés gave us the chance of an excursion
574 to the middle Uaupés in May of 1956. We were traveling in the
[115] company of two Tukano pajés, Marcelino and Henrique, the pajé of Juquira and of Japú-igarapé, respectively. A breakdown in the stern motor forced us to stop longer in the povoado of Periquito, of the Taryana tribe. The two pajés in transit greeted in a common manner the Taryana colleague of the locality. Soon afterwards, however, the three pajés settled down on the bank of the river at a distance of 50 or 60 centimeters from one another, each one smoking his cigarette (which one of the visitors had given to the other two). And without looking at each other, turned toward the river, they started to recite, in quite a loud voice and characteristic tone, which could be distinguished some 20 meters away. That dialogue lasted more than half an hour, during which now one and then another of the three would take turns speaking, always with the intervention of the other two, who would repeat the last words of the speaker's sentence, or other words, by way of refrain. It was a recollection of the episodes that, according to the legends of the origins, took place in those surroundings, the story of their islands, canals, cachoeiras, and rocks, a recollection with the power of an exorcism and augury of successful navigation. It was not possible for us to determine whether there was also an invocation of the "mothers of the things,"

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as Stradelli affirms having witnessed on the occasion of the imposition of the name (45).

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45. A similar event took place in August of 1956 on the Ribeirão /stream/ Timí-ya (left tributary of the river Pirá-paraná). At the hour for breakfast we stopped in a clearing that rose on the left of anyone who went down the stream. One of our oarsmen, of the Bará tribe, found there a tribal "brother" of his. Our oarsman, then, stopped his repast, and the two Bará, standing on a large felled trunk, turned toward the west (probably in order not to have the sun hurting their face), likewise without looking at each other, engaged in a dialogue with each other in a very loud voice. It was again the augury of a happy trip, through the recollections of the legends of the origins, as we were told. This dialogue must have lasted a quarter of an hour; afterwards the two of them sat down on the trunk and continued in a cheerful conversation, in a lower and friendly tone, while they ate, since our oarsman put our food at the disposal of his "brother," and both served themselves freely.

This same Bará oarsman provided us with a similar spectacle the following night, although in more unpleasant circumstances. A storm and the dark of the night caught us navigating the Pirá-paraná, and precisely in the vicinity of the dangerous "cachoeira /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ of the beijú." A tent was improvised with two small canvases, which protected the luggage and some hammocks, on the left bank. About midnight the sound of oars was heard; a canoe approached the bank and its crew came up, among them an old man of the Ihwīna tribe. Either they already knew each other or this

/167 cont./

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/footnote 45 cont./ would be their first meeting, we were not able to find out, due to the deficiency of the interpreter. We are inclined to think that they did not know each other before, because the Bará oarsman had asserted that he did not know the region, and the Ihwãna live in this zone of the Pirá-paraná and came precisely to help us to pass the cachoeira, in accordance with the request that we had made in the maloca visited hours before. The Bará oarsman got up to see who had arrived. Immediately there was initiated in the silence of the night a dialogue in loud voices, as if there were a quarrel, between the Bará and the old Ihwãna. They were the traditional exorcisms, with the recollection of the legendary episodes, in order to obtain success for the journey; this was revealed to us by a Tukano Indian who was in our company. At those shouts in the middle of the night, everybody woke up. After a few minutes, with the desire to get the sleep so necessary for anyone who undertakes such arduous travels, we tried to intervene in order to stop the disturbance. It was a futile attempt. The two dialogists, either because they did not understand our wish or, as is more probable, because they were not interested in knowing that they were inconveniencing the others (which is also a marked and general trait of the psychology of these Indians of the Uaupés), and due to the importance that they give to their practices, they continued undisturbed before our remarks and protests. After almost an hour of dialogue in loud voices and in the typical tone of the exorcisms, they shifted to speaking in low and discreet voices, asked for something to eat, and finally, lying on the sand, they slept until dawn.

/168/

25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 286 301 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú, tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 291 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

177 291 The new generation, both of the female and male sex, which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

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*192 822 It is to be noted that in the Tukano language (46)

> 46. And not only the Tukano, but also the other idioms of the Uaupés (Tukano linguistic family) and of the Caburí use the same term for the colors red and yellow, and another for green and blue.

there is only one term, soãse, to indicate orange, red and yellow, and another, ya'sasé, for green and blue, although they distinguish not only the seven simple colors, but also the intermediate ones.

533 534 As for the music, although not favored with a voice, since he generally has a shrill one, the taste and the relative ease with which he learns the songs with one or more voices are to be noted. Their dance songs, although they are monotonous and sad, are very harmonious, and the motifs that they execute on their flutes are quite varied and pleasant. Endowed, so to speak, with the musical instinct, the child learns the rhythm and the steps of the traditional dances with the greatest facility, without schooling, watching and dancing. Even the children are capable of preparing their flutes, even those called de Pã or caríço, as well as small organs of six to ten tubes, corresponding to the musical notes and harmonizing their various musical instruments perfectly. /Page 170 in the original text is blank./

*[192]

4: Silva--249 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



# Chapter VI

## Material Culture

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*[192]

### 1. Dwelling, wi'ĩ.

Under the name of material culture (Sachkultur of the German authors), we mean the conjunction of objects that the forest dweller produces for the necessities of life. They are, properly speaking, the material objects in which they manifest their cultural level.

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The tribes that we have studied are not nomads. They have been established in the actual phase in which we found them for several generations or centuries (as far as the record completed by some pieces of information from the first travelers extends) in the same place, from where they move only because of epidemics or fights. The dissident group then goes to build a new house or to start another povoado, ordinarily not very far from the first one, perhaps barely a few kilometers away.

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[178]

Even today malocas that are quite old, half a century perhaps, are admired. Particular circumstances (fire, storm, etc.) might likewise force the construction of a new maloca. The Indian always prefers to make a new house instead of repairing the old one, if it is greatly damaged. Although for the new construction he will often make use of the beams and, more commonly, the straw of the covering, especially if it is still good and he would have to go very far to find new straw. Thus, in dealing with sedentary tribes, it is natural that we find good dwellings. Since it is a zone with frequent and torrential rains, the simple construction of clay is not suitable.

*[192]

The system of covering, peõkaro, is always that of two slopes and with great inclination, so that the drip of the roof will remain only a meter or a little more above the ground.

*[192]

The palm for the covering will vary according to the resources of the region: they generally use the caraná (maurítia flexuósa, Wall.), pũ'sẽ, because, besides protecting well from the rains, it lasts for many years. They usually complete the covering starting from the drip.

/171 cont./

*192 342 They use the caraná palms without any more work, superimposing them in such a way that one again covers part of the other. For the other palms, /172/ like the buçú, muhĩ, they must first weave the leaflets (it is what is called muhĩ-pama, plaited buçú), and in different layers, so that they perfectly block the rains (it is the muhĩ-peõkaro system).

At other times they prepare the buçú between laths on the ground: it is the muhĩ-deróke (sewed buçú). They sew a bunch of leaves, that is, they bind some palms between two laths in such a way that they constitute a rectangular piece two by three meters, more or less; it is what is called muhĩ-swá-ká-pãma (piece of sewed buçú).

Of the walls, tyãkaro, the side ones (so'mũta-tyãkaro) are preferably of plaited palm. One more frequently finds walls of pehé, a palm that reaches two to three meters in length and 30 to 40 centimeters in width; or also of moá, the palms of which are wider, the leaflets reaching some 60 centimeters.

The main walls (front and back), in the classic style of the malocas (so we were informed by Júlio, tuxaua of Parĩ-cachoeira, river Tiquié), are, instead, made of tree bark (yuxkõ-kaxserĩ tyãkaro) up to a certain height (1),

1. In one place and another we saw huts that, instead of bark, had walls made of paxiúba trunks, open and beaten, in such a way as to exhibit the appearance of rustic planks or slabs.

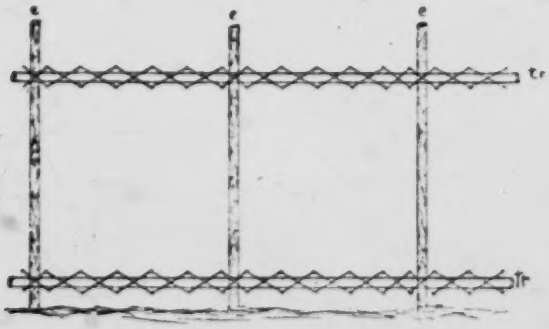
and completed up to the roof with the açaí /assai/ palm, mixpĩ yõkaro.

342 They prepare the bark in such a way that it resembles wide planks. They cut a cipo as a measure of the length that the bark must have, ordinarily five to six meters. They go into the forest, choose the tree, and with a cutting object (formerly the simple stone ax or even any sharp point) make a cut around on the upper part and another on the lower part of the trunk, according to the size desired. Afterwards they make small cuts in the

/172 cont./

342 cortex, beat it quite hard with a stick along the bark, in order for the latter to come loose. Following that, they make a longitudinal cut in it, and with a small spatula go to separating the bark, which might be a meter or more in width, from the trunk. They transport the bark home, and in order that it not roll up, they pile one piece on top of another, well stretched, with a weight on top.

To make the walls, a crossbar /Port. travessa/ (tr) is placed horizontally a span from the ground, and another one higher up, above, parallelly, at an interval of a meter or more, quite firmly tied with cipo to posts /Port. estacas/ (e). To these crossbars or straight pieces are applied vertically the planks of bark, already quite dry, and on them are placed new straight pieces, parallel to the first ones, in order to hold the bark. Afterwards one Indian from the outside and another from the inside make four holes and, with cipo, they sew /173/ the pieces of bark to



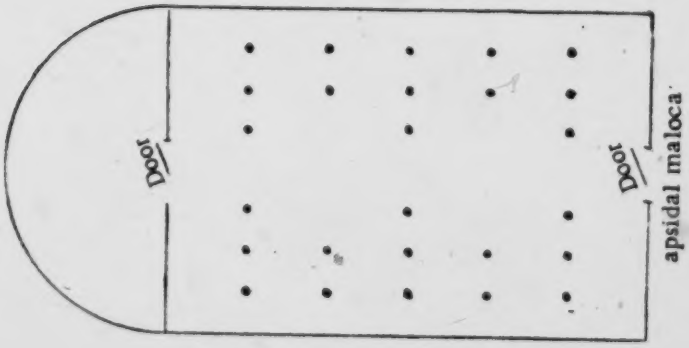

the straight pieces, there sometimes resulting from this stitching an X with quite a bit of regularity and symmetry around the crossbars.

[531] Upon these pieces of bark are frequently found paintings, the latex of the sorva serving as paint, with clay of different colors.

/173 cont./

342 *[192] [178] At present all the malocas that are still found in the region of the Uaupés and its tributaries are rectangular. Up to 40 years ago, one saw some with the posterior part of roundish shape, like an apse, called do'ákaro-tirí-wy'í (maloca with kitchen) (2).

2. The maloca of the Tuyuka in Pinó-koa-liró on the upper Tiquié, which Koch Grünberg affirmed measured 27x17.80x7.80 meters, was apsidal in this way (Zwei Iahre, 204).




353 *[192] [421] This /174/ apse was separated, in the interior of the maloca, by a partition of matting that was called i'mña-ta'tyá (separation of matting). The family of the tuxaua resided in this apsidal compartment, and the ornaments, musical instruments, and utensils of common use, which constituted the collective property of the group, were kept in it.

177 342 *[192] With the increase in comfort of the Indians and in the instinct of ownership (and up to a certain point it is imitation or even the prompting of the civilized), there appear small houses, wi'í,

/174 cont./

177 family type, of straw or bark or even of pau-a-pique (3),

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*[192]

3. By pau-a-pique or taipa (in Tukano di'tá pyákaro) is understood, in all Brazil, the house whose walls consist of a hurdle of pales and laths, which is then filled in and plastered with mud or mortar.

instead of the old and large malocas, baxsá-wi or baxsarí-wi (dance house) (4)

4. That of Parí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, disappeared about 20 years ago, measured approximately 60 by 30 meters, attests Pe. João Marchesi.

for a whole local group.

It is to be noted in the present povoados that all the houses have the same rectangular style. They are, on a small scale, a maloca. They are not alike, however, nor do they follow any alignment, except for the cases of intervention by the missionaries. In imitation of the houses of the Mission, today one sees some houses with a small porch or shed.

[797]

361 As for the location, it is always on the bank of a river or stream (5).

5. Paulo /Paul/ Rivet characterizes the civilization of these tribes as "mandioca civilization." Perhaps with more accuracy one should say "mandioca and fishing civilization." We have found, especially in the region inhabited by the Karapanã and Tatú, malocas in the interior of the forest 500 or 600 meters from the streams. This distance is dictated by the circumstances, in order for them to protect themselves against attacks and violence.

/174 cont./

361 And, in order to avoid the annual floods, they locate themselves on more elevated points or "terra-firme" and are never seen in palafittes (6).

6. In some posts on the Colombian frontier, called "Comissaria," a residence for the customs officials and the guards is built on an elevated point, on posts about two meters from the ground, approximately. In 1952 an Indian from the Brazilian bank of the Papurí imitated this style in building his hut. In jest the others called it "comissaria."

351 In the povoados of two or more houses, or behind the single maloca, there will always be a beaten area that separates them, by about 50 or 100 meters, from the forest and guards against attacks by ferocious animals.

241 They regularly plant in the vicinity the pimenteira (different varieties of cápsicum), pupunha, assai, urucum, and, with less frequency, the cucura /Pourouma cecropiaefolia, Mart./, lemon tree (today also the orange tree), mamoeiro (papaya cárica), abio (lucúma caimíta, Roem. e Schulth.), /175/ sugar cane (sáccharum officinale, Lin.), tobacco (nicotiana tabácum), and coca (erythróxilon coca).

249 Often one sees a small press, ã'rã̃ arõãrõ (Uaupés a'nã̃ anyãnõ), for sugar cane (7).

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*[192]

7. In a maloca of the Tuyuka, on the head-waters of the Tiquié, the press was found inside the maloca, in the vicinity of the main door.

They are generally four vertical posts, well planted in the ground, supporting two wooden cylinders provided with longitudinal grooves and which turn in opposite directions, pressing the cane between

/175 cont./

249 them. Although this is not a plant native to Brazil (8),

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8. This is commonly thought. The cane has an Asiatic origin from China, from where it passed to the Mediterranean, and from Spain to the New World. The year of 1627 is marked as being the one of its introduction in Pará. It is certain that at the time of the discoveries the Indians were already planting cane. Alonso de Rojas, in the report on the journey of Pedro de Teixeira in 1637, tells us this ("Descobrimento do Rio das Amazonas," p. 114).

Nordenskiöld thinks that the press is a native invention, according to his material and resources. Nordenskiöld's opinion does not seem acceptable to us for the presses and the tribes of the Uaupés.
[177] They would be an imitation of the presses that the civilized have used on the lower Rio Negro since the eighteenth century.

351 A square, maxkĩ-pá, or rectangular area, cleaned of any vegetation, and usually proportional to the population, is located
*[192] in front of the maloca. It is also called baxsarí-u'tú, "dance yard"; actually some numbers of the ceremonial dances are performed there.

There is always a road a few meters wide, and clean, that
351 leads to the landing place, or places, where they tie the canoes
504 and take their bath. A road that serves, moreover, for the procession of Wãx-tĩ at his festival (cf. VII - 4, e (2) ).

When the steep bank of the river is very high, they build a
504 stairway with steps of earth or of timbers. If the steps are of earth, they are made immovable with roundish timbers of about two meters, tied to small stakes driven into the ground or tied transversely, by means of cipos, to two long lateral parallel beams.

/175 cont./

178 The Tuyuka maloca of the place S. Pedro (upper Tiquié),
342 in the vicinity of the Colombian border, was (in 1947) one of the oldest ones. We have seen similar ones in other tribes (Tukano, Kubẽwãna, Wanãna, Bara, Karapanã, Ide-masã, Hanẽrã, Ihwãna, Roéra, and Baniva). During our visit in 1954 we verified that it had already been abandoned.

/176/

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Tuyuka maloca (S. Pedro, river Tiquié)

It was built according to the ancient customs. We shall describe it, then, as a model of this type of construction. It was rectangular, measuring 27.60 meters in length by 18 meters in width. The covering was of two slopes, with a quite pronounced declivity for rapid flow. On the interior it measured 7.30 meters in height up to the ridge, ending at 90 centimeters from the ground, in such a way that the side walls measured only 1.52 meters in height. The caraná roof extended a little farther in the part corresponding to the doors, in order to protect them from the rains.

The main walls followed the classical style, that is, they were made of tree bark up to 2.5 meters of height, and afterwards
*[192] of assaí plaiting. The side walls were of pehé.

*192 /176 cont./
342 It was solidly built upon five pairs of supports, boxtá-ri (9).

9. Greatly preferred for supports is the "pau-vermelho" /red wood/ (mira-piranga) of the Caesalpiniaceae.

which demarcate the central nave (see the nomenclature of the columns - VII - 4, e (2) ). They were roundish pieces of timber, straight, rustic (without removal of the bark), but quite regular and well-proportioned, as were also the beams, nẽxtõ-rĩ (Uaupés, nẽxtõ-nĩ), and rafters, wa' sõ-rĩ (U. wa' sõ-nĩ).

All the timberwork was solidly joined together with cipo (10).

[177] 10. In some of the modern houses nails are already appearing in beams, laths, etc.

353 In the interior the supports, all of them nicely aligned, divided the space into five naves. The three central ones for common use: passage, meetings, dances, visits, and work. Kept there, but toward the back, were the utensils [415] /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /177/ of common use, such were the large vessels of baked clay and the wooden tubs for the fermentation of the caxirís, and the oven for making the flour. It is here that the dances are performed on the occasion of the festivals (11).

11. Some malocas have only three naves, the central one being wider. We have also seen four naves. In those with five, the three intermediary naves are always used for work (preparation of the flour, of the caxirí, etc.) and for meetings.

4: Silva--258 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 176 in the original source./

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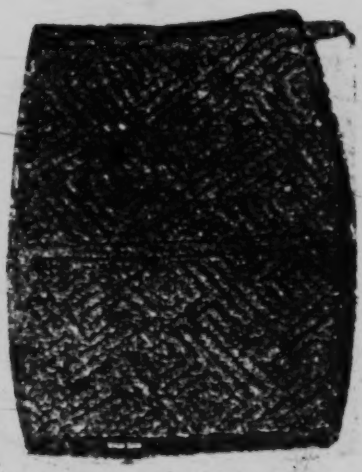

Grater
(One is seeing the small stones incrusted in a regular design.)

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View of the Uaupés during the period of low tide and a canoe filled with baskets for trading with other tribes

4: Silva--259 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

*192
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/Illustrations facing p. 177 in the original source./

Preparation of the Caapi (Wanana tribe, Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés)

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Oven (axtaro, Nh. yapuna)

/177 cont./

342 592 *[192] The two outer naves, which correspond to the lower part of the roof, along the drip, were intended as the residence of the families: each nave had four divisions, in all, then, eight compartments, which are called wi'ĩ-khã̃ra tuxkũ-rĩ (Uaupés wi'ĩ-khã̃na tuxkũ-nĩ).

In that of the tuxaua the separation might by chance be a little better: it was not enough, however, to obstruct the view from the inside. In some malocas there was absolutely no separation at all. One can then say that there are imaginary divisions, corresponding to the beams and the supports of the maloca.

*192 592 35 The posts that support the roof serve for tying the hammocks there and, in the two inhabited naves, permit the setting up of a platform, kaxsá-wõ, approximately 2.00 meters from the ground, serving as a shelf where each family keeps part of its household goods, and also beijú, flour, and smoked meat, the heavier objects staying on the ground.

Each division has its small stove or trivet, which, in all the native houses, consists of three vessels, vitári-a (see VI - 2, a (2) ), of baked clay, among which are placed the wood chips.

*192 342 There are two doors, soxpé: a main one as an entrance, turned toward the river, called mĩxpĩ-yókaro-soxpé, and another at the back of the maloca, for the use of its occupants exclusively, doákaro-ká-soxpé: the former measuring 2.5 by 1.5 meters in width, with a beam 20 centimeters in height as a sill.

Serving as a partition for the two doors, there is a mat, soxpé-pã̃ma (in Nheengatú japá), of quite strong strips, with a frame of round pieces of wood. In some malocas the door resembles a strong and thick double hurdle, in whose spaces are inserted palm leaves, in order to block the rain and the wind better. The mats are suspended, like Venetian blinds, from the upper part of the portal. They are kept open during the day, the lower part being raised by means of a cipo, mĩ-yori-da, which hangs from the roof, or by means of a pole resting on the ground, soxpé-túkõ or soxpé-tũ̃ñe-kõ. At times they reinforce the door at night with a bar, nẽxtõ-pĩ.

/178/

342 373 Having, then, only two openings, the interior is always somewhat dark, being, in part, illuminated by the stoves (12).

*[192] 12. Sometimes, on one or more posts, which seem planted only for this purpose, they light at night a piece of resin called cicantá, which burns with a quite intense and long-lasting light, and leaves as residue a tar which also serves for calking the canoes.

177 342 574 In the modern family-huts, there is customarily an interior partition, generally made of bark. Perhaps this division, which is being adopted, has been suggested by the convenience when they must house some guest, especially the civilized. The Indian ordinarily is very hospitable: he not only receives guests for the great caxirís, but he also shelters any Indian or white who might be traveling. The first division near the door is reserved exclusively for the guests (see VII - 4, e 2 a).

[797] In some povoados, at the request of the Missionary, they build a large hut that serves for overnight stays of the Padre and as a chapel, when there is no other place reserved for worship.

342 *[192] Some malocas (and also Makú huts), in which the roof ends very close to the ground, completely or partially lack side walls. Such walls are regularly dispensed with in the oxkóro-áro (Nheengatú tapirí or papirí), or emergency huts, which they make in the distant clearings or on the banks of the rivers where they are accustomed to staying overnight on the occasion of trips and fishing expeditions.

177 342 Ordinarily the maloca or house is alone and contains all the family household goods. Auxiliary houses, however, are beginning to appear. The maloca of the Tuyuca, described above, has one of these. One of the Indians, knowing a little Portuguese, explained that it was the "succursal" of the maloca. Much smaller and only partially protected by side walls, made of straw and bark. There were about 14 hammocks reserved for the Makú in service, the flour oven, sieves, hampers, suspended tipitis, [353] [415]

177 /178 cont./
342 vessels of baked clay, and a cylindrical bark container, quite
353 well made, similar to the straight barrels in which we keep
415 chestnuts and codfish.

Nowadays (and since the time of the discoveries, as the
231 first explorers attest) the dog, which, besides guarding, also serves for hunting, is found as a domestic animal in the various malocas and houses, and in all the tribes. Ordinarily small, hungry, extremely thin; some do not support the weight of the body. Many of these animals, due to the stings of the fire ant or taxi, have suffered degeneration of the cornea and for this reason have white eyes.

/179/ Here and there in the malocas and povoados are also seen araras, parrots, mutums /Crax/, jacamins, or domes-
[797] [177] ticated jacus. The Missions have encouraged the raising of pigs and chickens. The chickens go back to the first colonizers of the Rio Negro, and to protect them, by way of a chicken coop where they are sheltered during the night, they make small conical enclosures with the vertex upwards, or they use some old canoe, turned upside down, with an opening that they close at night, in order that the micura (gambá /opossum/) or some other animal that chases chickens can not enter.

*[192] In the Arwáke languages the chicken is called karáka, probably onomatopoeia for the chicken's voice. Onomatopes are otherwise very common among the tribes of the Uaupés to designate the birds. Perhaps from karáka is derived the word of the Tukano language which means chicken, i.e., ká'rẽkẽ or ka'rẽkẽ (Uaupés ká'nẽkẽ, ka'nẽkẽ). According to this hypothesis, it is from the Arwáke that the Tukano (and the tribes of the Uaupés in general) would have received the first chickens, or at least knowledge of them. Such a hypothesis is made probable, not only by the greater cultural development of the Arwáke, but also by their prior relationship with the civilized of the Rio Negro.

342 It seems that there is no rule with regard to the orientation of the maloca or with regard to the distance from the river or from the forest.

/179 cont./

177 2) Household goods and utilitarian objects.

41 The house of the forest dweller who has been in the service of the "white" or has traded with them now displays many objects obtained from the civilized, such as kettles, mugs, ax, bottles, fishhooks, scissors, hammocks, and even trunks or suitcases in which to keep their clothes. Except for the cotton hammock, which among the tribes of the Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí is today almost as common or more so than the native one made of tucum, the other objects are rarities in the conjunction of the utensils of native manufacture.

We shall now recall these, and later on we shall describe the ornaments and musical instruments.

a) Ceramics.

323 462 All the ceramic work falls to the woman; looking for the clay, to the man.

*192 323 1) Earthen pots and cooking pots. Camotim or camocim is a regional term of the Amazon, and a generic one of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú, equivalent to pot, and is used to designate vessels of very different shape and dimensions, according to their use. Among the products of native ceramics, some are similar to a common pan of /180/ ours, are called ki-pu-tõ (Nheengatú, yapepú), and are used to prepare mingau /a manioc dish/ and quinhapira /a fish dish/. There also exist:

wai-doã-tõ, to cook the fish;

wai-baarí-pá, in which to serve the fish to the guests;

pẽru-tõ, a kind of large vessel in which to keep caxirí.

They distinguish the:

pẽru-ahũa aparí-pa, large black cooking pot in which the beijú caxirí is fermented;

pẽru-poorí-pá, in which the caxirí already prepared is kept;

sũxtõ-wõ is the water pot for carrying water;

kaxpí-tõ, the one in which the kaxpí is distributed (VI -- 4, i (3) ).

/180 cont./

*192
323

They call the vessels of flatter shape baxpá, such as porringers or plates of different sizes, some quite small, baxpáryakã, used as spoons, which they do not know.

All these vessels are manufactured with the clay called dyí (Nh. tuyuka), which is found in compact strata, blue or dark green in color, in certain places, especially on the banks or in the bed of the watercourses. The clay is extracted with the help of splinters of wood, in fine layers, and is kept in humid places and well covered with leaves.

For the manufacture of the vessels the woman kneads the clay very well, with the addition of ewõ (ocher), and for each five parts of mud, one of ashes of caripé bark (13).

[824]

13. Trees of several species of the family of the Rosaceae (Licánia útilis and licánia myristicóides, Benthe., licánia scraba, Hook). Their ashes will give a certain porosity to the vessel and not let the clay crack.

reduced to powder and sifted. The mass is left to rest for a few days.

There is no mold whatsoever to facilitate the manufacturing; nevertheless, the vessels come out quite regular and well proportioned. Once the mud is prepared in the shape of a rope, torõrĩ-da (Uaupés tonõnĩ-da and toninĩ-da), of half a meter, starting from the bottom, then, with these ropes of clay, the woman starts raising the edges, pressing one rope on another and smoothing it well. Afterwards, with a piece of cuia /gourd/, wahá-pe'toró (Nh. peruta), she starts polishing and smoothing it better, inside and out. Once the vessel is made, it is left to dry in the shade, and when it has acquired a certain consistency, it is smoothed well, until it becomes glossy, using a round pebble, which they call wa'té-khá.

/180 cont./

323 The last operation consists of the firing. Around the vessels are kindled some logs of firewood; little by little, other logs are added, so that the vessels are surrounded by the flames until they are well fired, that is, to the point of ringing. With half an hour /181/ of intense fire, they are ready; some will show a whitish color, others, a reddish one. These are the ones that are better baked.

*[192] In order to make the vessels dark, glossy, and impermeable, they start by rubbing them well, inside and out, with leaves of cubio /Solanum/, extóa pũrĩ, or of abio /Lucuma/, kãrẽ pũrĩ. They then kindle a small fire with wet leaves, so that there is a great deal of smoke, which is first received in the interior part of the pot or cooking pot, turned upside down, and then also on the exterior part. Finally, the vessel will be washed and will then display the dark color, almost black, fast, and, moreover, it has been made impermeable.

The vessels are relatively light, with the durability suitable for their use. They can be exposed to more intense fire, without cracking or letting the water or the liquid that is kept in them flow out. One sees some large vessels almost a meter in diameter and more than half a meter in height, therefore with a capacity of several hundred liters.

*[192] The vessel for the caapí, kaxpi-tõ, differs from the others not only in shape, since it is similar to an amphora with a narrow mouth and provided with two small side handles, but also in being decorated with designs.

The kaxpí-tõ, after use in the feasts, is regularly kept outside the maloca, hanging on one of the corner posts. We were unable to learn the reason for this custom.

354 2) Stove or trivet. The stove always consists of three vessels
*[192] of baked clay, called vitari-a (in Nheengatú, itacurúa), among which the firebrands are placed. They are cylindrical in shape, but with the bases somewhat widened, almost as if they were two superimposed truncated cones, and this gives them greater stability. They measure approximately 25 centimeters in height and 10 in diameter. They are quite light and with the advantage of

/181 cont./

354 being heated only on the face turned toward the fire, and thus they can be handled by the other face when one wants to move them. They are arranged at a distance suitable for the dimensions of the cooking pots. Upon these vessels are placed the cooking pots for the preparation of mingau or quinhapira.

*[192] 3) Oven. The oven, axtá-ro (Nh. yapúna), consists of a vessel of baked clay, flat as a tray, two to four centimeters thick. It measures from 80 to 120 centimeters (14)

14. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 335) says that he found an oven up to 2 meters in diameter and with meander designs on the support.

in diameter, with rims /182/ of 10 to 15 centimeters. It is black, of the same composition as the camotins. Due to its size and weight, it is not customarily moved from its position, which is on a stove or furnace of clay, circular in shape, with a side opening through which the firewood is introduced. The diameter of the stove, 50 to 100 centimeters, varies according to the

*[192] Trivet (vitári-a) and pot support (sã'ri-ró)

dimensions of the oven, and the latter, according to the quantity of flour to be prepared. Sometimes the oven is simply set on three or four stones stuck in the ground.

/182 cont./

354

*[192] Oven (axta-ro) and large vessel for drinks (pẽru-tõ)

The ovens of large dimensions are manufactured at the place where they will be used. That is, on top of the furnace, previously prepared, the woman arranges a grate of quite compact poles, spreads on top a fine layer of earth, for the purpose of better leveling, and, with the mud ropes, starts making the oven, from the center of the flat part, until she reaches the dimensions that she desires. After it is dry, it is fired right there, as is done with the camotins.

Among the Suryana we saw a large oven prepared on top of an excavation made in the floor of the house, serving as a mold. It was left to dry right there, and afterwards the oven was fired.

*[192] /183/ An oven with slightly higher rims, for the preparation of flour, is to be distinguished and is called poká-axteri axtá-ro, and one with lower rims for that of beijú is the ahũ-ga peóri-axtá-ro.

b) Wooden implements.

412 *[192] The tools for their work in wood were originally the stone ax, õxtã-komé, the adze, syó-a, also of stone, and fire, pexká-mẽ. With a piece of dark diabase (15),

15. They are found in some cachoeiras, for example, in the Pirá-paraná, and already semiworked by the waters.

polished against the stones, they made their primitive ax. For

/183 cont./

412 that it was enough to set the diabase in a crack at the end of a straight stick, in the same position in which we mount our iron axes. With the help of tucum thread and breu /a substance like pitch/ the necessary stability would be assured. The adze resulted from a smaller piece of diabase tied to the end of a curved stick, like a hook, yaxpú. Today the syó-a is only an instrument used as an ornament at the dances, hung on the left shoulder.

*[192]

501 1) Canoe. The canoe, yuxkõ-sõ, is an implement of prime necessity, since these tribes live in a region where the water-courses constitute the only means of communication (16),

*[192]

> 16. The "varadouros" /see footnote 5, p. 10/ through the forest are few and of secondary importance.

and fish is one of the principal foods. Today several tribes know how to build their canoes; but the skilled canoe-makers are the Tuyuka, Bará, Mikura, and Baniva.

The rivers of the region being large or with many cachoeiras and stones, they cannot use canoes made of bark, like other tribes (17),

> 17. The explorer Lobo D'Almada also speaks of canoes, with pachiubas estribadas (?) /propped or supported paxiubas (a kind of palm)/. They were dangerous, however, and were used for two or three men to go down the Tiquié in the stretch without cachoeiras. (Cf. "Lobo D'Almada," by Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Manaos, 1940, p. 73.)

but of very resistant wood and of only one trunk. Some of three meters in length and about 40 centimeters in width; others, large logs of eight to ten meters in length and 100 to 120 centimeters in width. All, however, with high and pointed stern

/183 cont./

501 and bow. Swift as the rivers are (18),

18. We mean to speak especially of the Uaupés and the Papuri, where the most numerous native nuclei are.

they do not allow larger boats. A small canoe will determine, in turn, that the community will be small, because of which the family community is the rule. Often, however, /184/ it was not enough for the transport of the whole family and goods. On the other hand, two men are sufficient for its construction: father and son.

*[192] Canoe (juxkõ-sõ)

*[192] With a blow of the ax on the bark of the chosen tree (19),

19. They prefer to use for this the kumã-kõ (Nheengatú mirá-tauá, yellow wood, Euxylóphora paraénsis, Hub., of the Rutaceae), very resistant and light, so that the canoes never go to the bottom. And also the sãvi-kõ (black laurel, Nectándra mollis, Nees., of the Lauraceae), the kã-rẽ (black and yellow itaúba, sílvia itaúba, Pax.), and other Lauraceae called pũ'ũ-gõ.

/184 cont./

501 this starts to dry. A bonfire around it will end up by bringing down its trunk, which, with a slow fire (20),

*[192]

> 20. For such an effect they kindled the house of the cupim /a kind of ant/, buxtwá-gá, which serves marvelously, because it provides a slow and long-lasting fire easily controlled by the native, in order not to remove more than is required. It is the process that they regularly use when they want to hollow out wood for the making of the tub, mortar, trocano /signal drum/, canoe, etc.

will be hollowed out. The adze was used to scrape the charred wood, leaving the interior part more smooth and regular. Afterwards the canoe, hollowed out as desired, is put on some crossbars, and a fire below, in such a way that the wood is heated and not burned. Under the action of the heat the fibers become more flexible and the canoe-maker starts, little by little, by means of small staffs used as a wedge, exerting pressure so that the hollow of the canoe starts to become larger, beginning at the center, then the stern and the bow. In order that it not contract upon cooling, they place poles transversely at the places where later planks for /185/ the seats will be installed. According to its length, they will have three, five, or more seats. They make it with such a mastery that, put in the water, the craft is perfectly balanced, with the stern and the bow quite high. The holes or cracks are calked with breu, oxpé.

[177] Under the influence of the civilized, they add to the height of these canoes, with planks set in with nails at the edges. Such canoes are called, in the regional term, montarias.

/185 cont./

501 *[192] 2) Oar. The oar, wahá-phĩ (Uaupés uhá-phĩ), is often made of saví-kõ, like the canoe. The end, wahá-phĩ dõxpo-á, is always a small cylindrical transverse projection, slightly curved, like a crutch. Among the Tukano it is perfectly in accordance with the style of their seat and their cigar holder. The dimensions depend, evidently, on the wish of the owner and its purpose: there are small oars for the children, medium-sized ones for the women, and large ones for the men.

Tukano oar
(note the crutch-top and the beak-shaped tip)

[177] Due to the influence of the models of the civilized oars that navigate these rivers, one sees nowadays a great variety of shapes in the blade of the /186/ oars: roundish, lanceolate, etc. Not infrequently they produce on the blade colorful designs (circles, etc., evidently in imitation of the civilized). Originally it seems that they used an oar with a roundish blade, but with an almost imperceptible point; this generally in the more remote malocas.

/186 cont./

415 *[192] 3) Grater. In Tukano it is called soxkõ-rõ (Uaupés soxkõ-nõ) and in Nheengatú wiwisé. It is a specialty of the Baniva Indians of the Içana River (see IV -- 1, b), where the quartzite used in the grater exists in an igarapé near the cachoeira of Tunuí.

We have seen on the Içana that the preparation of the plank falls to the man, the incrustation of the small stones being executed ordinarily by the women.

As an object that is of prime necessity, it is found in all the malocas and huts, even in regions very remote from the Içana, acquired by barter from the Baniva.

*[192] It is generally made out of marupá (simaruba amara, Aubl.), white and light wood, whose fibers tend to return to the original position when they are made to deviate. In Tukano it is called *[192] precisely soxkõ-gõ̃, that is, grater wood. It consists of a plank of 60 to 100 and 120 centimeters in length, and 40 to 50 in width by 2 to 4 in thickness, and somewhat curved. They start by executing on the concave face the desired or, rather, traditional design, *[531] *[192] which facilitates the grating operation (21),

> 21. There is a design pattern called precisely soxkõ-rõ óori, flowers of the grater.

like a small groove. Afterwards, with a point (today they use a nail) and following the lines of the design, they open a small orifice. Before the fibers of the wood return to their natural position, they set in small stones of flint in the shape of a tooth, in such a way that a chip measuring half a centimeter emerges. The small stones are better stabilized with the latex from the sorva, spread with a brush of fibers from the banana tree, whose tannin *[192] gives more consistency to the latex. The stones are set at a distance of one centimeter apart and occupy the central part of the plank, leaving small side margins, a lower margin of 15 to 20 centimeters and another upper one, or head of the grater, soxkõ-rõ dõxpoá, of about 30 centimeters, this last one having a projection in the manner of a handle. This handle is used, however, only to hang up the grater.

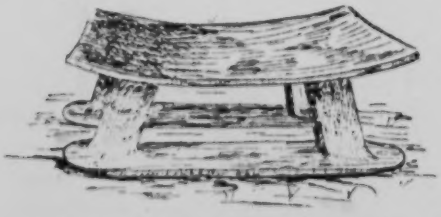
/186 cont./

415 The woman, as she grates, will do it with the two hands
252 alternately, and not in a uniform rhythm, but with sudden pulls that cause movement of her very breasts. She will be seated on the ground, having between /187/ her legs the grater, the head
[462] of which they support against the stomach. It is exclusively women's work.

The grater is such an useful object that on the lower Rio Negro the civilized adopted it as well as the tipití (VI -- 2, d (1) ).

*192 4) Seat. The seat, in Tukano kũ-mũ-rõ (Uaupés kũmũ-no),
352 is in general use, although its specialized producers are the Tukano. It is generally made out of sorva or arara-seringa (Couma guianensis, Muell.), a not very heavy wood which hardly cracks.

They formerly made it with the help of their primitive adze. Today, instead of the syõ-a, they use a digging iron or even an adze obtained from the civilized.



Little monoxylic seat (ku-mũ-rõ)

The dimensions are the most varied, some of only 30 to 40 centimeters and others of 120 to 150 centimeters. The style, however, is constant, to wit, the seating place is concave, with a double curvature in the longitudinal and transverse directions. It is always low, only 10 to 15 centimeters in height, with four legs connected by two longitudinal crossbars. And the seat, with the supports, is monoxylic, that is, made from one piece of wood.

[531] They are accustomed to decorating the seat with the tradi-
[824] tional designs, and over it something like a varnish, obtained from the sap of the bark of a wild inga tree, mẽ'rẽ (Uaupés mẽ'nẽ).

/187 cont./

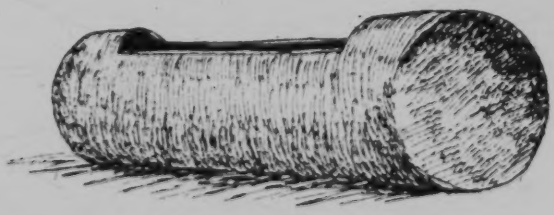
352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 276 [796] [178] /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utíkaro yaxpú or also utíkaro seré, or again mõõõ dõxkõ (?) (in Nheengatú emapú). In the dabacuris /religious celebrations/ the use of tobacco in the form of a large cigar, utíkaro, about 20 centimeters long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utíkaro is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 273 415 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pẽru yuxkõ-sõ properly speaking means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú iwá, hence the term ubá, which means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxirí tub (pẽru juxkõ-sõ)

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7) Mortar. The mortar, pa-mõ-a, is one of the indispensable utensils and consists of a hollowed-out tree trunk. The shape and dimensions, however, will vary according to its purpose. Either it will have the common shape, as it is used among us, and is always small in size; this is used, for example, to crush the leaves of the ipadũ.

Or it will resemble a caxirí tub, the trunk measuring about a meter or more in length, but small in diameter (about 20 centimeters). It is in this latter mortar that they crush the caapí (and for this reason it is called kaxpí pa-mõ-a) and the cará /yam/, cooked and chewed, for the preparation of the cará caxirí.

The pestle, doxké-kõ, looks like the one used among the civilized. It consists of a rounded stick, whose lower extremity widens into a cylindrical shape of larger radius.

/189/

Mortar (pa-mõ-a)

/189 cont./

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c) Spinning and woven products.

1) Preparation of the thread.

The tribes of the Uaupés do not know cotton (22)

22. It seems that the ancient tribes of the banks of the Amazon cultivated cotton. Actually, Pe. Alonso de Rojas (voyage of 1637 -- cf. "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 116) tells: "the building of ships is greatly facilitated in these mountains (?), not only because of the abundance of wood and pitch, but also, because of the large amount of cotton that is harvested, there is a great abundance of stalks from which the pita /fiber/ (?) is made, and palm trees with which one can make shrouds as strong as those of canvas." Unless by cotton he meant kapok.

and prepare their thread with palm fibers, especially of neé (miritĩ or buritĩ, Maurítia flexuósa and vinífera) and of yõxká pũrĩ (tucum, astrocaryum tucumoides), the fibers of this being more resistant and durable.

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One gathers the still new leaves from the tucum, or better the sprout of greenish-yellow color, before it opens. Two bunches of fibers about 30 to 40 centimeters in length are separated from each leaflet. After being washed in natural water, they are exposed to the sun in order to dry and bleach.

/190/ The process of carding is done with the help of the "ouriço" /prickly part/ of the piquiá (caryócar villosum, Aubl.), ehyú-pu, in order "to comb," wõhõá-po, the fibers, making the thread quite fine. One thus has the raw tucum, yõxká pũrĩ põrá (Uaupés yõxká pũnĩ põná).

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[462]

The woman (23)

> 23. Among the Tuyuka, Bará, and in general the tribes of the headwaters of the Tiquié, Papurí, and Komé-ya, it is the man who prepares the miriti thread and the rede de "trinta fios" /net or hammock of "thirty threads"/.

prepares her thread by rubbing a bunch of fibers against her thigh. It is natural that this would make the thread dirty. In order to bleach it, they wash it well, using also the leaves of the papaya tree or lemon juice, resources that are obviously more recent.

First of all, she takes two bunches of fibers unequally, that is, the end of one of them projects farther on one side, and that of the other toward the opposite end. With the right hand she rolls toward the left, that is, against the thigh from the knee up. In order to add new fibers, she opens the end of the thread thus rolled and inserts there two more bunches of fibers, also combined unequally, and she rolls toward the right, that is, rubbing in the opposite direction, from the upper part of the thigh toward the knee. Once the adding is done, she rolls the two bunches of added fibers toward the left, as she had done with the first two bunches, and so on, rubbing the fibers on the right thigh with the right hand. In order to roll, she rubs them up the thigh; in order to add, down the thigh. Two bunches of fibers give a finer thread, and by twisting together two or more threads one obtains the thickness desired for the work in mind. The finer the thread, the more delicate the weaving will be.

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When it is in the form of a skein, one should take the opportunity to wash and bleach the thread, and also to dye it. They ordinarily use vegetable dyes. The preferred colors are: reddish, obtained from õnõñá pũrí (carajurú, see VII -- 3, e /sic; see VII, 3, b, p. 433/), yellow, by means of a small batata resembling ginger and which is called in Nheengatú makaratañá, and a dark one, which is obtained by cooking the dyawé shrub (genipap). From the skein one later rolls the thread into large balls, which are kept in a sieve, in order not to become soiled.

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2) Sleeping hammocks.

The Indian never sleeps on the ground, always in hammocks (24).

> 24. Through contact with the civilized they have learned to sleep on the floor or quarter-deck of the launches, and later also on benches and chests.

pũghõ, and they carry them with them on their travels. The hammock /191/ meets perfectly the demands of the climate of the region, warm and humid, since it is cool, ventilated, light, small in volume, and, woven, as it usually is, out of tucum (25).

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[286]
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> 25. The "hammock of thirty threads" of the Makú is usually made of thick threads of miritĩ.

it presents sufficient resistance and durability. They make it in different sizes, for children as well as for adults. There are three types of hammocks for sleeping:

a) Rede de trinta fios /hammock of thirty threads/. This is the common name in Portuguese; in Nheengatu it is called kisáw, and in Tukano neé pũ-ghõ, that is, hammock of miritĩ. It is made without the use of a loom. They make thirty or more turns around two stakes, as far apart as the length desired; always, however, longer than the body of the one who is to use it. These threads are joined in two clews /Port. punhos/, like a ring, pũ-ỹa-põ, by means of which the hammock will be suspended. Transversally, at a right angle, pass the threads that determine the width of the hammock, tied to the horizontal ones by knots in such a way that small rectangles of one span more or less result.

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Due to its simplicity, it is known and produced by all the tribes, although it is called "rede de Makú" /Makú hammock/. Because of this depreciatory name, and mainly because of the present ease of acquiring more durable and economical cotton hammocks from the civilized, it is beginning to lose its acceptance among the Indians of the other tribes and today is found almost solely among the Makú and the tribes without contact with the civilized. The Tukano tell of having learned from the Desana how to make this type of hammock. They were not able to clarify whether they had previously used the rede-puçá /puçá hammock/, or if they knew the hammock and slept on platforms.

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b) Beaten hammock. In Tukano it is called pá-tuke, and in Nheengatú, makíra. It is manufactured with a very simple loom (26).

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26. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 340) is of the opinion that the loom is of European origin. This opinion seems acceptable to us, and we believe one could say that the form of the "rede batida" /beaten hammock/ as well is not of native origin, but learned from the civilized. This conclusion is confirmed by: 1st, the fact that not many Indian women know how to make the "rede batida"; 2nd, those who presently know how to do it (as is shown by our inquiries) learned it in the Mission schools or from the alumnae of the Mission; 3rd, we know that the Governador of the Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro, Lobo D'Almada, in his economic plan to encourage industry, favored the weaver's trade, aiming at "the making of the cloth needed for the uniforms of the garrison, the colonists, and the Indians who came down, using eighteen looms and ten spinning wheels, with twenty-four spindles each. In 1798 only 157 Indian women were working as spinners"

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/footnote 26 cont./ (A. Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada -- Manaos, 1940, p. 35); 4th, in the povoados more in contact with civilization, as well as in the more remote malocas, one never finds the "rede-batida"; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ but the natives either use only the hammock "de trinta fios" /of thirty threads/ or those bought from the civilized; 5th, it seems that we can discover still another argument, to wit: outside of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ of the Salesian Missions, on numerous excursions along rivers and igarapés, in only two povoados did we have an opportunity to see the loom and the work of the "rede-batida," and in the two cases it was a matter of young women who had learned it in the Mission and did it on order from the civilized. Furthermore: the terms of the Tukano language that we have presented in relation to the "rede-batida" result from innumerable inquiries at different times and places, with the more educated alumni of the Mission. It is not a matter of an ordinary nomenclature known and used by all, as one would expect if the "rede-batida" were a primitive industry. Many did not know the terms; others presented improper terms made up for the occasion. As generic terms for the occasion, they sometimes were and sometimes were not understood and accepted by other natives.

[438]

Before there came into being the trade in the present cotton hammocks (called in the region redes-do-Ceará /hammocks from Ceará/), the civilized women of the Rio Negro and some Indian women of the Içana continued to "bater" /to beat/ their hammocks on the primitive looms, as they had learned in the lower Rio Negro. The Salesian Missions in turn try to keep this skill from being lost, and they teach the Indian women of greater ability and skill, not only how to make the

[797]

797 /191 cont./
177 /footnote 26 cont./ "rede-batida," but, by
174 the same process, to make rugs, tablecloths,
286 napkins, bags, and other artifacts to suit
modern taste.

*192 /192/ pũ-pá:-tuse nextõ-rĩ, consisting of four rounded sticks
286 connected in a rectangle. Each of their vertical staffs (warp)
352 has two holes through which the horizontal ones pass. The holes are purposely very large, so that with a suitable wedge the distance with regard to the horizontal staffs can be varied and thus hammocks of different lengths obtained.

The warp is made in the vertical direction (around the horizontal crossbars, the separation of which marks the length of the hammock), some turns going around with quite a long thread. The vertical crossbars of the loom determine the width of the hammock.

In between the vertical threads the woman starts developing the woof, a small stick with the rolled thread serving as a shuttle, wa'mẽ-kõ dõxká, and beating with a straightedge, pá:-turi-phĩ, in order to join the meshes well. The result is a true fabric of quite tight meshes, and the more elegant and comfortable the hammocks, the finer the thread.

They complete the elegance with a "veranda," pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõrĩ or pá:-tuke-wári, or a side fringe of varied form, as macramé is made.

The veranda is prepared by stretching a thread of a size corresponding to that of the hammock. Along this thread are tied with knots the tucum fibers folded in half. With these variously colored fibers, the woman spins, without the help of bobbins, but only with the fingers, a somewhat wide lace "ponto" /stitch/, until she obtains a trimming /193/ of some 10 or 15 centimeters, and she afterwards tears the ends with the ouriço /prickly part/ of the piquiá. They not only use fibers
[237] of different colors, but they even attach to them nowadays
[531] beautiful and colorful feathers of birds, in conformity with the taste of the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

/193 cont./

*192 286 352 *[115] [797]

c) Puçá hammock. In Tukano one says pũ piõke; we call it puçá hammock because it is similar, in the knots, to the fishing nets called puçá in the Lingua Geral (27).

27. Pe. Ezequiel Lopes tells that around 1931, among the little Pirá-tapúya Indians from the river Papurí who came to enroll as boarding-school students at the Iauareté school (river Uaupés), some appeared equipped with the puçá type of sleeping hammock.

In order to make this type of hammock, one uses a loom somewhat different from what we have seen previously. It consists of two pairs of vertical staffs, with the small separation of one span more or less. A more variable space lies between one pair and another and marks the length of the hammock desired.

Two threads are stretched horizontally, at a distance of 3 to 4 centimeters apart. Between them the woman starts to make knots or stitches like those of a casting net. They stretch two more threads horizontally, and new stitches are interlaced with the first ones, and so on successively.

This type of hammock is perhaps more work than the "beaten" one. The Tukano call it pũ pỹõke, because the line is run through, piõ: and the knot is made by hand.

227 284 *[192]

3) Fishing nets (puçá).

The Tukano call them wehẽ-kõ (28)

28. The Salesian Missionary Pe. Eduardo Lagório makes the following observation: "The verb to kill, wehẽ, is interesting; it is used almost exclusively to indicate the death of fish and animals. For human beings, having almost no violent murders, they use the expressions related to the various methods of poisoning."

/193 cont./

*192 because of their purpose, which is to kill the fish (wehẽ means
227 to kill), and in the Lingua Geral, puçá. It is a mesh of knots
284 made out of fibers of caroatá (Bromélia pinguis, Lin.), caroá (Neoglaziovia variegáta Ar. Com.), or even tucum. The meshes are narrower or wider, according to the purpose.

[462] They are manufactured by the man. The pregnant woman
[784] cannot touch them, because the fishing would be fruitless. When they prepare their puçá, the men will remain silent, in order to have luck with the fishing.

They perform the work in two ways: either with successive knots, as the casting nets are prepared among the civilized; or using splinters of arumá /Ischnosiphon ovatus Kcke./, tying them at intervals with caroatá knots, as if one were preparing /194/ a basket. Once this is ready, they take off the splinters and the caroatá knots present the desired net.

They manufacture them in two sizes: a larger one (jereré in Nheengatú), with the shape of a very wide funnel: it measures 1.5 meters or more in length and during the fishing is kept open by means of two poles tied at the ends, in such a way that, with the help of a third pole as a wedge, it almost forms a circle.

They also make smaller and funnel-shaped nets, ganapão /workman, porter/ type, fitted to a hoop equipped with a handle, such as are used to catch butterflies. It is with these that they catch the fish stupefied by the timbo.

It seems that all the men know how to weave their fishing nets, with the exception of the young men of the last generation.

4) Other woven products.

286 With the fibers of tucum or mirití they make those elegant
301 bands, yuxtá-seri, that they put on the legs (conf. VII -- 3, d
*[192] (1) ).

With these same fibers or with twisted embira they prepare some of the dance ornaments that must support the beautiful plumage.

They use monkey hide in order to make braids, which they wear as dance ornaments.

/194 cont:/

286 531 In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192 d) Basketry and plaited work.

285 [462] [342] [227] For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of some trees, especially that which they call pi'ĩ-karõ-gõ. They use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxiúba (waxtá), patauá (yumĩ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mĩ-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mĩ'sĩ) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phĩ), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824] The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantaceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after [386] [531] being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves.

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

/195 cont./

285 If it is a matter of a sieve or basket, they finish with three
415 or four turns with the cipo, by way of a hoop (be'tó), on which
*[192] they tie the ends of the plaiting and later trim the tips of the straws or the strips.

The basketry of these tribes is one of the richest known.
285 Using a more or less flexible material, they combine the plaited
531 and the twined in several technical processes, with wide or closed spaces, and warps and woofs in various directions, in such a way that an amazing variety of patterns results. As a further demonstration of their ability, they interpose colored strips, from which appear the fanciful Greek frets /Port. gregas/ that characterize their designs. And, with such richness of imagination and technique, they make objects of varied size and shape, according to their purposes.

285 Baskets and sieves are made by all the tribes, but the spe-
415 cialists are the Desana.

184 1) Tipití. The tipití, in Tukano wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ, is the press
*[192] of the Indian. It consists of a cylinder or tube, which the men weave most commonly with arumã straw, with a very tight mesh. It measures 1.50 and even 2 meters in length, and barely 10 centimeters in diameter. The upper end, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ dõxpo-á (head of the tipití), is open and terminates in a handle, by which the tipití is hung on one of the supports of the house. The other end is closed and also terminates in a handle, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ bé'tó (ring of the tipití). With the proper movement of the hands, the tipití is reduced to a shorter length, which has the effect of increasing the diameter, and through the mouth thus enlarged is introduced the mass of the grated mandioca (cf. VI - 4, a).

2) Sieves. They are used to strain the mass of mandioca, to sift the flour, etc., and are woven out of arumã straw.

The width of the meshes, dimensions, and shape will vary according to the use for which the sieve is intended. One finds some shallow, like our common sieves, and others deeper.

/196/

*192 285 415 One can distinguish three types of sieves: 1st, tõ-pa (in Nheengatú cumatá), is large, of very tight mesh, used to strain out the manicuera /the liquid from the mass of manioc/ and extract the starch; 2nd, sũõ, or better sõõ-a (Nh. urupema), with a more open mesh and sometimes square in shape, in a frame of four rounded sticks, used to sift the mass of the water flour /see p. 310 /; 3rd, Baxtí, deeper, as small baskets for storing the beijú and other foods and objects. It is these that customarily bear the beautiful traditional designs.

3) Baskets.

*192 285 415 a) Pi'í are large baskets which on the Amazon are customarily called aturás. They are used to transport mandioca, fruits, earth, firewood, luggage; they are woven exclusively by the Makú, who also work for the other tribes.

The traditional shape is the cylindrical one, with the base slightly wider than the mouth. The material is the uambé cipo, misĩ-da, quite strong, chosen without knots, and which is placed on the fire, in order to slip off the bark easily. The cipo is broken into two or three parts, and the plaiting is started from the bottom. The mouth is of rings of cipo, like a hoop, and is tied to the basket with woven caroatá fibers.

*192 462 482 The woman, upon whom the carrying of the pi'í falls (the man must always walk unencumbered, in order to be able to defend himself and his family), carries it in the following manner: the aturá goes on her back, but is suspended from the forehead by means of a wide embira, pi'í-karõ-pá (29),

29. Or pi'í-kãrõ-kaxserí. It seems that the tree derived its name from the pi'í, because its embira is commonly used to transport the pi'í. Other embiras, however, are also used, such as sõ'ú-kaxsero, deóti-kõ.

the ends of which, passing through the mouth of the basket, run along it and are interwoven on the bottom of it. They thus transport a load of 30 to 50 kilograms for a distance of kilometers.

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*192 b) A small basket of the shape and material of the pi'ĩ, and in which the women keep their ornaments and painting powder, is called pi'ĩ-kamõ.

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[756] c) Also customarily of cipo is a small hamper, called wamõ axka-ro, in which the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ keeps his objects for treating sick people (cf. VII - 2, e).

d) In order to store or to transport the flour that they sell, they make the panniers, térẽ-pi (Uaupés ténẽ-pi), out of strips of arumã or taquara, and with quite wide meshes (two to three centimeters), and thus the manufacture is faster. They line them with great skill, with leaves of myõ-gõ pũrĩ, or likewise of arumã or other plants, in such /197/ a way that they do not allow the flour to go through, even with the little care that it usually has during the loading, unloading, and transport.

4) Fan. With miritĩ or tucum fronds, or arumã straws, they plait an object similar to a fan, and which can perfectly replace it; it is called wẽ'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés wẽ'nĩ-nõ). They manufacture it in various sizes and use it to fan the fire, as well as like a scoop to turn the beijú in the oven. It is heart-shaped, and the bound straws themselves constitute the leg or support, by which the fan is held.

Some quite large ones are seen, of the natural size of the biggest miritĩ fronds, from which they are made, and they are used as mats for the divisions of the compartments of the malocas, or even to serve as a wall.

5) Quiver. They also prepare with arumã strips a quiver, bu'sã-sa, of cylindrical shape and about 40 centimeters in height, with a diameter of 8 or 10 centimeters, widening toward the mouth. It is used to store the small poisoned arrows
[278] of the sarabatana /blowgun/, or curabĩs. To keep water from dissolving the poison, they customarily make this quiver impermeable with pitch.

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*192 354 6) Support for the cooking pot. With paxiúba splints about 40 or 50 centimeters in length, they prepare a support for the cooking pots, called sã'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés sã'nĩ-nõ).

It is essentially a bunch of splints, tied with cipo or embira in the central part, and the ends of which widen so as to form a spiral, in such a way that the sã'rĩ-rõ is similar to a double spiral-shaped cone, with a binding around the vertex. The ends are fixed by means of cipo or embira about two or three centimeters apart.

*192 415 7) Box for ornaments. It is a rectangular box, generally of miritĩ stalk reduced to laminae, which is used for storing the plumes and other dance ornaments. Since one box is smaller than another, the former is introduced inside the latter, as if it were its lid, in such a way that it remains tightly closed and in the shape of a trunk. In Tukano it is called mahã-poarĩ-karo, and in Nheengatú, pacará.

*192 285 8) Other plaited work.

a) Moreover, they weave the fronds from several palms to serve as roofing, peókaro, and even more frequently as walls, tyákaro.

/198/ b) They make mats for various purposes, called imĩ-sa (Nh. tupé), with leaves of different palm trees or with finer cipos.

c) With a rapid plaiting of the leaflets of some palm frond they improvise baskets, ba:, in order to transport fruits from the forest.

d) From the pacova sororoca /Ravenala guianensis, Benth./ and other leaves they make up small bindings, called sã: or sá:, in the shape of an ear of maize, which they fill with pirá-mirims /a kind of fish/, in order to roast them.

/198 cont./

*192 285 e) Through contact with the civilized, these plaited products are starting to have new applications. We recall here that on the Amazon they are called panacarica (in Tukano yuxkõ-sõ-mõarõ) and decorrera (moãri kaxsero or simply moãrõ, Uaupés moãnõ). The former is a straight cover for the canoes and small launches and is attached to fixed supports. The latter, on the other hand, of curved shape, is a movable cover and, because of this, small and light, and rests directly on the edges of the canoes. Ordinarily it is the custom to make the decorrera out of palm leaves with quite a tight mesh; whereas the panacarica consists of two superimposed mats, plaited out of cipo and with wide mesh, and between them a layer of palm or arumã leaves.

285 291 f) They also customarily plait out of cipo a hat with a wide brim, up to a meter in diameter, and, as in the panacarica, they combine two hats, and between them, in the manner of buckram, a layer of arumã leaves. Such hats are especially used for protection from the sun in the clearings and on canoe trips, and also from the rain, although they become uncomfortable because of the weight of the water.

*[192] Other plaited products worth mentioning are those that are used in fishing, such as nassas, cacurís, etc., which are mentioned later (cf. VI - 5, a (2) ).

e) Weapons.

1) Weapons used as festival ornaments.

*192 178 411 a) Tangapema. The sacrificial club, or tanga-pema (in Nheengatú cuidarú or also acanga-pema, that is, head-flattener), in Tukano uxpí-o-phĩ, was formerly a war weapon of the chiefs. Afterwards, as was already observed by Gonçalves Dias ("Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas," Vol. II, p. 671), it became only a symbol of authority at the festivals and disappeared almost completely. The natives of the present generation only know its name, uxpí-o-phĩ. One of them remembered having seen it with special paintings, "in order to inspire valor and bring luck to the warrior." Others supplied the information that they had heard from the old people, to wit, that before leaving /199/ for

/199 cont./

*192 178 411 [276] war expeditions with their tangapemas, and in order to become invisible to the enemies and invulnerable to their blows, they painted themselves with the juice of the batata uxpí. Moreover, they smoked a big cigar called uxpí-mõrõ, decorated with symbolic paintings, in order to become more courageous.

Koch Grünberg still found some clubs or tangapemas in the Namakoliba maloca, upper Uaupés (Zwei Iahre, 301). They were of a dark red wood, measuring 112 centimeters in length, with the handle painted and the other end wider. The Kubẽwana and related tribes used them then for the dances and occasionally also as a seat in the canoe. It may be concluded that the war club of the Omawa is proof of the eastern origin of this Karaíba tribe, because it is similar to that of the tribes of the Guianas. Actually, among these tribes the upper end of the club terminates in a sharp point, in order to run through the fallen enemy, with a coup de grâce, in the temple or in the ear.

178 714 535 *192 b) In battle, moreover, they formerly used a shield, called in Tukano baxtí-pá:karò; it was woven out of cipo and was very light, but efficient against arrows. Today it is rarely seen and, up to the beginning of this century (information from Pe. João Marchesi), was used as dance attire, which they wore on the left arm when they went to drink their cuia /gourd/ of kaxpí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2) ).

c) Likewise only a dance implement today (as far as we could observe) is the lance, yõxsẽrí-phĩ, which essentially is only a heavy rounded stick about two meters in length and ending in a sharp point. They use it in the dabacurí dances, and the "golpe-ao-branco" /blow to the white/ is performed with it (cf. VII -- 4, e (2 and 3) ).

177 178 411 *[192] 2) Bow. The only indigenous weapons of present-day use, and, even so, of very limited use on the Uaupés, are the bow and the sarabatana /blowgun/. The tribes farthest in the interior of the forests, with few or no relations with the civilized, use them more. On the other hand, contact with civilization supplied the natives with shotgun, machetes, and axes, which, unfortunately, are used in the fights and reciprocal vengeance.

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The bow, bõé-ka-tẽ or bõé-kha-thẽ, is generally made out of pau-de-arco, in Tukano toxtó-gõ (Bignoniaceae with a purple flower, species of Tecoma), heavy wood, resistant and flexible. The normal dimensions are from 1.5 to 2 meters in length and a diameter of about 3 centimeters in the central part, tapering toward the ends, with a small incision or notch for tying the string. The outside part is roundish or convex, and the inside part, slightly hollowed or concave.

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As a string they use tucum fiber, and the bow is generally kept straight, that is, unstrung, with the string tied at only one end. /200/ It is bent only when it is going to be used. It is a weapon of precision in the hands of the Indian, being capable of projecting the arrows to about 50 or 60 meters away.

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3) Sarabatana /blowgun/. It is exclusively a Makú weapon in origin and production, and one which the latter prepare for the Indians of other tribes of the Uaupés whom they serve. It is prepared with a variety of noded palm, the paxiubinha, called in Tukano buxpú, hence the name of buxpú-wõ for the sarabatana. It measures about 4 centimeters in diameter and up to 3 or 4 meters in length. They extract its pith easily with a very uniform stick, resulting in a well-calibrated orifice, like the bore of guns, but smooth. Externally, more or less around the middle of the tube, they fasten a curved tooth of a cotia /agouti/ or other animal, in order to serve as the "sight."

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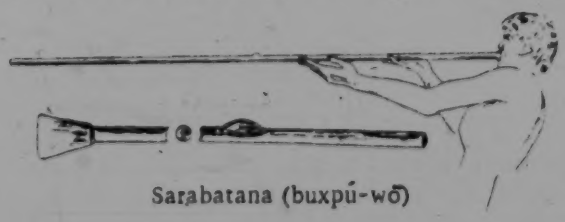

Sarabatana (buxpú-wõ)

In the part that is fitted to the mouth, a small cavity is widened as a mouthpiece to facilitate fitting it to the lips. Through this mouthpiece is introduced a small dart, bu'sá-khá, with a wad of paixa /kapok/ of sumaúma (Eriodéndron Sumauma,

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411 or Ceiba petandra, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the
M dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the
[224] vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees, without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T 4) Arrows. They are usually made out of paxiúba (Eriártea
411 settígera, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the
T point is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary accord-
[237] ing to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the
824 teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of patauá (30).

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30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

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[177] From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which now come the metallic points.

T Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers.
[531] The feathering is found in a row /Port. cavalete/ or in a spiral.

T When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often
[224] poisoned with curare (31).

31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

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411 *[192] Three types of arrows are distinguished: for hunting, for fishing, and the curabís or small darts for the sarabatana /blowgun/.

224 411 a) For hunting. The arrows intended for large-scale hunting are heavy, made of brazilwood or pau-de-areo, with a point of wood, or more commonly of animal bone or of iron (32).

> 32. Before the relations with the civilized, they likewise used stone points, according to the account of Alexandre Ferreira, "Diário," 6th part.

The points /Port. pontas/ (of wood, bone, or iron) are embedded in a piece of wood called ponteira /an addition at the tip of something/, which is firmly tied to the body of the arrow with strings and pitch.

When the arrows are intended for birds and small game, they are of lighter wood and bear, on the end opposite the point, three arara wing feathers arranged in a spiral. In this manner the dart describes its trajectory by simultaneously making a rotating motion, which maintains its direction better.

*192 227 411 b) For fishing. For small fish common darts made entirely of paxiuba are used. For large fish (piraiba, pirarucú), alligators, and turtles, the point is of iron (or of bone) and laterally serrated, so that, once buried in the flesh, it cannot come out without dilacerating the tissue.

Those arrows that consist of two parts, staff and tip, are called sararaca (Nheengatú term which means: thing that comes apart). The tip, or suumba, is of strong wood (33),

> 33. They often use the paracôuba, one of the Leguminosae, further hardening the suumba on the fire.

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*192 227 411 411 225 226

with a harpoon set in, and is tied to the staff or the body of the dart by means of a long string (34).

34. The turtle fishermen call the iron point of the arrows virote /short arrow/ or espoleta /fusee, bomb fuse, lunt/ (cf. José Verissimo: "As populações indígenas do Amazonas /The indigenous populations of the Amazon/," Rev. do Instituto Histórico e Geographico do Rio de Janeiro, Vol. 50, 1887, p. 377).

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When hit, the fish or turtle flees with the /202/ tip harpooned in its body; but the staff of canarana (Gramineae of the genera páspalum and pánicum), which is tied to it by the long string, continues to float, and thus reveals the place where the harpooned animal is hidden. The fisherman picks up the staff and slowly pulls the string, and with relative ease also brings the turtle into the canoe (35).

35. In order to reach the turtles, the fishermen hurl the arrow upward, in such a way that it falls perpendicularly and, with its own weight and the impulse of the fall, penetrates the chelonian's shell. Ordinarily the turtles are kept alive for sale and consumption. As for the fish of larger size, when they are close to them they kill them with a stroke of an oar on the head, and in this way they are able to bring them into the canoe without any danger.

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c) Curabí. Curabí is a term from the Língua Geral, in Tukano called bú'sá-khá. They are the darts for the sarabatana /blowgun/. Ordinarily they are of paxiúba and measure some 30 or 40 centimeters in length and one or two millimeters in diameter, and taper at the end. They are kept and transported in a quiver of arumã, bu'sá-sá, as we said above.

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5) The curare. Curare comes from the Lingua Geral word uirari and indicates the poison prepared by various savage tribes with different plants, especially varieties of Strychnos. On the Uaupés only the Makú (36)

36. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 208) reports that the Buhágana (also called buxpú-maxsã, sarabatana people) make the curare so strong that they even use it to hunt large animals, such as the anta.

know how to prepare it and also make it for the tribes whom they serve. The Makú of Iauareté (37)

37. Prof. Ettore Biocca, in 1944, also witnessed the preparation of the curare by the Makú Indians of the Tiquié, and he took, for the observations of the Laboratório Paulista de Biologia de S. Paulo, samples of the various plants used and of the curare. The analysis of the Laboratório found alkaloids even in some plants that the natives consider less important. Four varieties of Strychnos (toxífera, etc.), two of Menispermáceae (abuta triana de Plancthon and Anomospérmum), and, without alkaloids, one Malpigheácea and one Rubiácea (policóurea or Psychótria) were identified. According to his conclusions, the preparation of the curare by the natives is not "a simple extraction of alkaloids, but a complex chemical operation, with transformation of the physico-chemical and biological properties of the alkaloids themselves" ("Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei" -- Vol. II, 1st sem., 1947). And that the plants not provided with alkaloids (like the Rubiáceae) can be supposed "to have probably the function of allowing or facilitating the native preparation of derivatives of the alkaloids

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/footnote 37 cont./ themselves, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ with a highly curare-like action" ("Atti," Vol. II -- 2nd sem., 1947, p. 165).

As for the toxic activity of the curare, one gram produced up to ten thousand minimal fatal doses for a mouse, when applied by muscular method ("Atti," Vol. II -- 1st sem., 1947, p. 695). Whereas by the oral method doses 80 to 90 times larger occurred ("Atti," Vol. V -- 2nd sem., 1948, p. 99).

make it in the following /203/ manner. They scrape the stalk and roots of several kinds of bushes and put the fragments in a funnel made of arumã leaves. On top they pour water, which dissolves the toxic alkaloids, and, dripping slowly, it is collected, as a reddish liquid, in a pot of fired clay. Afterwards the liquid is subjected to a slow fire for one or two days, the foam being taken off with a wooden spatula, until it acquires a syrupy consistency and a dark color.

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All the time that this operation lasts, the Indian cannot lie on the hammock, but must remain squatting beside the fire, and he can not eat beijú, quinhapira, fruit, or any other animal food. He can only use a moderate amount of chibé /see p. 313/. If any of these rules is neglected, he believes that the curare will not have its toxic quality.

The curare is kept in small ceramic pots. In time it becomes hard, and, in order to use it, they must dilute it with lukewarm water; or, if it is very hard, "wake it up," that is, they add to it water containing Indian pepper.

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f) Other objects of domestic use.

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1) Tripod and grill. A very simple and very useful utensil is what in Tukano is called ñamá, deer. It is, properly speaking, a tripod, consisting of three poles of about two meters or more in length and whose thickness varies according to the size and use, generally a few centimeters in diameter. They are connected at the upper end by means of a cipo or embira and are kept separate in the lower part with the help of two sticks about 80 or 100 centimeters from the ground. There being only these two sticks, the base of the apparatus can be extended or narrow, as one wishes, or the tripod can even be closed and leaned against the wall to save space.

On top of these sticks is put the sieve in which the mass of mandioca is pressed by hand, while a pot collects the liquid, or manicuera. There can also be put on top of these sticks a kind of grill or moquém, in Tukano waí kaxsá, made of rounded pieces of wood. /204/ The fish or the meat that one wants to "moquear" /to smoke/, according to the Amazonian expression, is placed on the grill, and the fire underneath.

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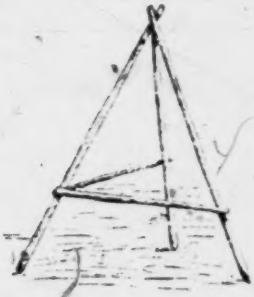

Tripod (ñamá)

One also finds the grill fixed to four stakes solidly planted in a corner of the maloca.

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*192 2) Equipment for the ipadú and the caapí

415 a) To prepare the ipadú (cf. VI -- 4, i (3) /see 4, i (4)/), the Indian, besides a pot with a wide mouth, pátu axtẽrí-tõ, and a small mortar, pa-mõ-a, in the usual fashion, needs bags and a long tube, patu pa:põ. The bags are obtained from the tururí (cf. VI -- 3).

b) For the kaxpí there becomes necessary a wooden tub, kaxpí pa-mõ-a (see VI -- 2, b (7) ), in which the cipo is pounded, and a vessel, kaxpí-tõ (see 2, a (1) ), in which the juice is collected and diluted with water.

855 3) Macurú. When the child starts to steady itself on its legs, they use a very practical process to entertain it and at the same time to teach it the first steps. It consists of a hoop which is obtained from a thick cipó wound several turns and tied to a beam. The child will stand inside the hoop, which reaches the height of its chest. A very flexible and soft embira, tied to the hoop, passes between the legs of the child, who thus remains as though riding a horse and can sit on the embira when it feels tired. Nowadays it is very common to find a piece of cloth instead of the primitive embira. This apparatus, which in the Lingua Geral is called macurú, and in Tukano bahari be'tó, is secured to one of the roof beams by a cipo and reaches a distance from the ground that allows the child to touch it with the feet and to try its first steps.

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Macurú (bahari-be'tó)

Outside of this apparatus they do not know another for the children, who either remain abandoned on the ground or will ride on the hips of their own mother or older sister (38).

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38. It is always the women who carry the children. Due to the influence of the civilized, one can see today a father carrying his own child in his arms, but for a short time, while the mother is carrying some other load. In the house one never sees an Indian man holding a child, and even less lulling one to sleep.

when they are not in the arms or in the hammock.

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*192 415 824 4) Cuias and calabashes. Moreover they use cuias (wahá-ro) and calabashes (ỹaxsã), or ỹahã, ña'sã, of diverse sizes and shapes, /206/ as vessels for the most varied uses: to take water, to prepare chibé, to distribute the caapí, to store their colored powders, to manufacture the maracá (see VII -- 3, c (3) ), etc.

a) The calabashes, obtained from the creeping calabash, Cucúrbita lagenária, Lin., of the Cucurbitaceae (yaxsã-ga), are used, when dried, without further work. The most important use for the calabashes is the making of the maracás and as containers for the colored powders.

*192 386 415 [824] b) The cuias, from the plant called cuieira or cuietezeira (Crescentia cuyete /cujete/, Lin., of the Bignoniaceae), are used to take water, chibé, mingau, etc. and exhibit an interior surface of lustrous black color. The woman manages this with the help of the wahá-ko (that is to say, cuia water; from wahá, cuia, and oxkó, water, liquid, juice).

Cuia (wahá-ro)

They slash the bark of the plant called wahá-ko-gõ (39),

39. Pe. João Marchesi called our attention to the natives' custom of naming a vegetable after the use that they make of it.

cumati (myrcia atramentífera, B. Rod.), which exudes a dark red liquid; or they take scrapings from it, which, left for some time in a water infusion, produce a thick dark liquid, the wahá-kó.

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386 The wahá-kó is spread in the interior part of the cuia with a brush,
415 letting it dry afterwards. The operation is repeated a second time
*[192] and more, until it reaches the thickness of approximately one millimeter. Directly afterwards urine is spread on the ground and on this area they turn upside down, on small pieces of wood, the cuias that they wish to paint. The ammonia that comes from the urine transforms the layer of wahá-kó in the interior of the cuia into a black, shiny, and quite adherent varnish.

The same result is obtained by applying mandioca leaves saturated in urine over the layer of wahá-kó.

5) Other utilitarian objects.

824 The Indian has known how to obtain from the nature that surrounds him many other objects and resources for his life.

We shall recall some:

*[192] [515] /207/ a) Papóque. The papóque, in Tukano pápwa-khá-sõtí, is the embira of a tree that produces foam, and they wash their heads with it, for lack of soap.

*[192] [276] b) Tauarí. Táwari, as is also said in Tukano (couratari tauarí, of the family of the Lecythidaceae), is also an embira, which unrolls into very thin and flexible sheets that are used as cigar wrappers. They are obtained from the bark by striking it with a mallet until all the ligneous part has been detached.

*[192] [415] [532] c) Bags, cueio, and masks. The tururí, in Tukano waxsó-gõ, is a tree of several species of Manicariao, from whose liber or bast they prepare the bags for the ipadú, the masks (see VII -- 3, d (2) ), and the waxsó-ro (in Nheengatú cueio) for dances (cf. loincloth, VII -- 3, d (2) ). Once the branch or trunk that suits them is chosen, they cut it and start to beat the bark with a wooden mallet until /in the original source the line of type that follows these words is the duplicate of one that properly appears later in the paragraph, while the line that belongs here is missing/ as if it were a shirt sleeve or a cape. With a cutting object (formerly a taquara /a bamboo/) they detach the part that they want. The

/207 cont./

824 liber that is thus obtained, if from a thick trunk, is used to prepare the masks; if from a small branch, tied at one of the ends, it presents the shape of a bag for their various uses.

We observed another process among the Karapanã of the headwaters of the Papurí. With the help of a spatula they detach the bark, as though they were rolling up the sleeve of a coat, until it reaches the length that is desired.

6) Toys and games.

524 We did not find characteristic objects of play for the girls, such as the dolls of the civilized. In any case, from an early age the children of the female sex are put to work, and they do not have much time for toys.

The little boys, on the other hand, make their small bows and arrows with which they entertain themselves, learning to shoot or even to kill birds and fish.

*[192] Out of a light and soft wood, poo-gõ, molongó (it is the ambelãncia grandíflora, Hub., of the family of the Apocynaceae), they build tiny canoes which they let loose on the water, tied to a string, accompanying them from the bank while they float.

They have still other toys and diversions that follow one another during the year. Among them one that is known in the south of Brazil as "cama de gato" /cat's bed/. That is, with a string, with the two ends /208/ connected, they execute figures with the fingers of both hands, passing it to the neighbor, who, with a different position of the fingers, makes it take another shape. We have seen eight or ten different figures formed with the string, some quite interesting and similar to the object or *[192] animal whose name they bear. This game is called mĩ-pesé (that is, game of taking).

A word here about some amusements of the children. The children, always respecting the separation of the sexes, join together in bands and entertain themselves in play in which the bees buzzing in search of flowers figure: it is the game of the

*192 /208 cont./
524 bees, mumí-pesé (40).

40. A little Indian also talked about the "game of the lemon," but she did not describe it to us, and we did not have a chance to see it.

Another collective game is "hide and seek," called in Tukano wãx-tĩ mãã-ré baágõsamim (Wãx-tĩ is going to eat you), because the signal to hide is given by one of the children, calling "Wãx-tĩ is going to eat you."

One of the most common amusements, and which appears even in the Dabacurís (see VII -- 4, e (2) ), is what is called game "of the toad," tárokõ-pesé. Some children squat and, advancing by jumping, start singing: táro-kõakã... táro-kõakã (little toad! little toad!). Other children, standing up, block the jump of the toads, and among them the following dialogue is started: -- Where are you going? (no'õ-põ waati mãxsã?) -- We are going to see whether there is any ripe pineapple in the clearing (ãxsã wexsé-põ yãra wá:, sẽ'rá to'ó-põ buxtise-pa yãra wá:) -- Your grandmother went there to eat pineapple, fell down, and hurt herself (toó-põ mãxsã ñẽxko sẽ'rá baágo myõ-doxké-pyõ-waápõ). Then the little toads exclaim: -- Poor grandmother! ... (adé:! ãxsã ñẽxkõ!) and pretend to faint, falling on the ground.

524 With the palm leaflet rolled in a spiral, they improvise a
534 flute capable of emiting different sounds, according to the diameter of the spiral.

177 They make small flutes, puxtisé, out of taquara or paxiúba;
524 the spinning top, bextága, using the nut of the tucumã and others.
*[192] More recently, in possession of jacknife and nail; they also prepare their wooden tops in imitation of the one of the civilized.

/208 cont./

177 3. Clothing and shoes.

291 a) Clothing.

Under the influx of the civilized (the example of the white, whom the Indian likes to imitate, the instruction of the Missionaries, and the clothes that /209/ the latter give them), the natives are getting into the habit of wearing clothes. As a rule, those who have spent some years in the schools, upon returning to their aldeias, do not dispense with clothing any longer. At least a pair of pants or shorts (the men) and a skirt (the women), leaving the bust uncovered.

294 An interesting detail is that generally the women only make,
296 maintain, and wash feminine clothes. The men obtain ready-
462 made clothes, given or bought, and they must attend to washing and repairing them. Some men have been seen washing the clothing of their wives.

291 Originally, that is, before any influence from the civilized, dating from the discoveries of the New World, did they have any clothing? What would it have been?

For one thing, the warm climate does not impose the use of clothing. For another, the rains and frequent excursions into the forest, which offers shelter to the individual and would quickly wear out the clothes, discourage the wearing of clothing. This is what we could deduce, a priori, from their habitat.

The first Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro, Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, in 1759, says very originally: --"The Indians of these sertões /interior parts of the country/ commonly not having any more clothes than those that our first parents wore in the field of Damascus" (o. c. 145). He notices, as an exception, that the Cambeba wore long garments of cotton and without sleeves, open on the side.

A century later, in 1846, the costume is still the same, according to Wallace: -- "These Indians free themselves from the hindrance of clothing as much as is possible to conceive. The men wear only a small piece of tururí, which goes between their legs and is tied to a cord that goes around the waist. The

/209 cont./

291 women completely dispense with even this costume, not covering themselves with anything whatsoever. They live in complete nudity, and this is very general. Among the Indians of the Uaupés such customs are not given up" (o. c. 629).

Seventy years later (Boletim Salesiano, Feb., 1918, p. 30) the first Salesian Superior of these Missions, Mons. Lourenço Giordano, reports: -- "The men do not wear clothes and the women ordinarily do not have any more than they do." "The Tucano can say with more truth than the philosopher: omnia mea mecum porto /I carry my all with me/. As clothing he wears ... the poira (?), that is, a string at the neck, with seeds of various colors, or a piece of white marble, and, ordinarily, nothing else."

*192 291 /210/ Even today one finds many men with only the loincloth or waxsó-ro, as is said in Tukano (cuêio in Nheengatú) (41).

41. We think that cueio is only a corruption of the Portuguese word cueiro, the loincloth used for the newborn children. Waxsó-ro is probably derived, according to the nature of the Tukano language, from waxsó su'ti-ro. Waxsó means semen; su'ti-ro, garment. Some Missionaries who speak Tukano think that waxsó-ro comes from waxsógõ, the Tukano name for the tururí plant (of the family of the esterculiáceas /Sterculiaceae/ from whose bast is taken a fabric used for the bag for storing the ipadú, for the making of clothing or dance masks. It must be noted, however, that such masks are called ya'ko-kó su'ti-ro, dress of tears, because such masks are only worn in the funeral dances. Would it not be, on the contrary, that the name of the plant, waxsó-gõ, is derived from waxsó-ro, because of the use of its liber as cueio? One must

[532 764]

/210 cont./

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/footnote 41 cont./ point out that this is precisely the custom of these Indians, to name the plants according to the use for which they are intended.

which at first sight is similar to a hernia truss. It consists of a strap of goods about six or eight centimeters in width, covering the private parts, passing in between the legs and tied at the ends to a cord as a waistband, at the height of the flanks. Naturally this string must be uncomfortable, and probably, in order to get used to it, the little boys, before wearing the waxsó-ro, start by wearing only the waist string. It also seems that there is no prescribed age for the wearing of the waxsó-ro. Certainly all the boys wear it after six or eight years of age.

As for the persons of female sex in the povoados along the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí, from a very early age, certainly from 3 or 4 years old, they now appear before the civilized with the body completely covered, or at least with a skirt from the waist to below the knee. The cases of a simple short skirt above the knee or a piece of cloth wrapped around like a tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ are very rare.

Evidently these coverings are prescribed by the civilized, notably by the Catholic Missions. Would they have anything original, how and of what material?

There is no doubt but that the masculine waxsó-ro, from the shape and the use, is neither imitation of the Civilized nor advice of the latter to the Indian, although it is made with imported goods and not with the fabric made by the Indians or embira of tururí. The waxsó-ro is of very ancient and general use among the Karaíba tribes of America. Wallace, a century ago, among the Indians of the Uaupés, describes it to us as being a piece of liber or bast of tururí (42).

[171]

42. In the middle of the eighteenth century (1759) Padre José M. de Noronha reports it for the Tecuna (o. c. No. 139).

/210 cont./

291 The first travelers of the Solimões mention Indians "with a tail." Wallace is certain that attributing a tail to the /211/ Indians of these regions is due to faulty observation of the dirty and twisted waxsó-ro.

It does not seem, however, a "dress of decency," because it is too tight and narrow, and at times it only covers partially. It could be a "dress of attraction." We consider it rather a "dress of protection" (43),

> 43. In May of 1954, expressing to a Karapanã Indian, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papurí), Vicente by name, our desire to visit the region of the Karapanã on the head-waters of the river Áua, he informed us spontaneously, as to warn us, that over there they do not wear any clothing. After this trip, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has lived with the Irmãs Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women did not need bodily protection like the men.

it being a matter of a more sensitive part than the rest of the Indian's skin, hardened by the inclemencies.

*[192] [177] As for the tanga (44)

> 44. Gaspar de Carvajal, in the account of the journey of Francisco de Orellana in 1540 (o. c.), tells us about the use of the waxsó-ro by the women. Wallace (o. c. 352), in 1849, says that, on the Uaupés, the women, previously naked, "upon the entrance of the whites cover themselves with a tanga." The same still happens a century later.

/211 cont./

291 of the women, called in Nheengatú muruarí, it is similar to
*[192] a small apron of about 20 centimeters in length by 10 centi-
[178] meters in width. Nowadays it is only a dance ornament which
[535] the women exhibit together with the painting; or they are
[531] even without it and only painted. With the jewelry that they
*[192] have obtained from the civilized, they prepare very beautiful yaxkẽ waxsó-ro. Even the original ones, woven out of tucum, were outstanding works of weaving. The one and the other, however, seem to be a "dress of attraction" rather than a "dress of decency," because they remain hanging at the waist and, due to the position and dimensions (the largest dimension is horizontally), do not cover enough (cf. VII -- 5, b).

b) Shoes.

They do not manufacture or use shoes of any kind, as is the custom of the Indians of the savannas. They are unnecessary for their long trips, which are made by canoe, and are inconvenient for the excursions in the forest, if they are not made out of a resistant material, such as leather, and well fitted. Besides, the warm climate and the continuous rains would render their use harmful to the health.

4) Alimentation.

a) Mandioca.

*192 The Indian obtains from the mandioca (Mánihot utilíssima)
178 his principal food, preparing it in different ways, and he uses
262 it every /212/ day of the year. There are recollections of a very remote period (centuries or millennia before the historical period, which is the sixteenth century) when they did not know mandioca, and they ate the chestnut /Port. castanha, any of several trees having edible nuts/ called boxpé (information of Dorotéia Brito).

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*[192]

1) The flour. The flour, po'ká, is an indispensable food, not only for the natives of all the tribes of the Uaupés, but also for the caboclos of the Rio Negro. Without the flour, not only would the most varied and nourishing repast seem deficient to them, but they would not endure any nutritional regimen uninterruptedly without flour.

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For the making of the so-called "farinha dágua" /water flour/, they use the "mandioca puba," ki-bó. That is, the roots are submerged in water (sometimes in a canoe or in some submerged hamper, or even camotim) for about six days, until they show the beginning of fermentation or putrefaction, with an unpleasant odor. Through simple pressure between the fingers, the mass comes loose, the bark remaining almost whole.

The mass, ki-õ'tá, after it is squeezed by hand in a strainer of fine mesh, tõ-pa, placed on top of a camotim that collects the liquid, yõxká, is introduced into the tipití. After this is full, it is suspended on a support by the upper handle. Into the lower handle the woman inserts a rounded stick about two meters long, serving as a lever, this remaining immobilized by one of its ends against the support, and upon the other the woman will exert pressure with her arms or even by sitting on top of it. With the weight of the body itself and with adequate movement, the tipití is stretched, which thus compresses the mass and forces out the liquid, which is then carefully collected in a vessel.

There are three ways of immobilizing the end of the lever: 1st) by means of a ring of cipo, õ'tá buhuri-be'tó, which embraces the support; or 2nd) the support is equipped with orifices, õ'tá buhurí-pé, and the end of the lever is successively fixed in the various orifices as the tipití stretches; or 3rd) the support is cut like the teeth of a saw, õ'tá buhú-yeheró, on which leans the shorter end of the lever. Among the Arwake /Arawak/ of the rivers Içana and Aiarí, we observed the preference for this last process, and in a very practical way. That is, they would plant solidly in the ground a rounded stake, a meter or a little more in height and about 10 centimeters in

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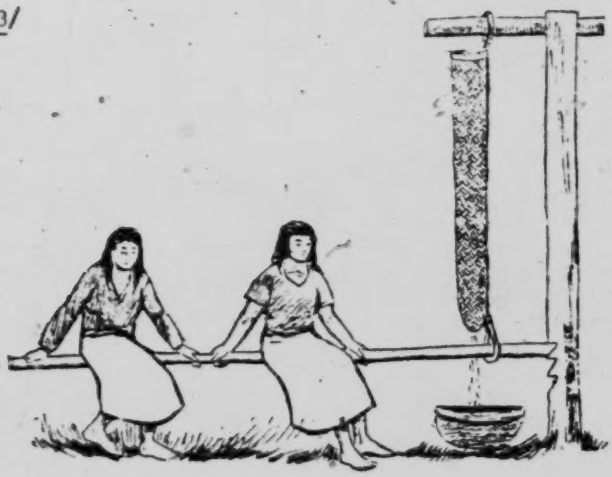
/212 cont./
diameter, equipped with teeth like a saw, against which the lever of the tipití was immobilized.

As a result of the compression, the mass comes out quite dry and hard. It is further passed through a strainer of wider mesh, sõõ-a (Nh. urupema), in order to eliminate the fine fibers.

/213/



Squeezing the mass of mandioca in the tipití

The oven being already quite warm, the woman starts to reduce the mass to flour over it with the hand, spreading it well, in small amounts, and at the same time stirring it with a wooden scoop, po'ká axtẽrĩ-phĩ (Nh. tarubá), in order to toast it well. According to the quality of the mandioca, the flour will acquire a whitish color (it always contains tapioca, that is, starch) or a beautiful canary-yellow. From the oven they transfer the flour to deep strainers, baxtí, to cool, and later they keep it in panniers for consumption or to sell to the civilized.

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A/192
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2) Tapioca. The fresh mandioca is peeled with the teeth, or with a terçado (large knife), if they have it, and is grated using the two hands in an alternate and rapid movement.

Water is added to the merely grated mass, in order to separate out the powder or starch, and it is left to rest in vessels called bixperí-pá. The powder, after a few hours, settles on the bottom. Once the excess water is eliminated, the vessel is sometimes covered with a cloth and a layer of ashes, in order to clarify the powder better. Later it is taken to the oven, and one has the tapioca, wextá, in granular form, greatly /214/ appreciated also by the civilized, especially taken with milk or coffee. The forest dwellers usually keep the tapioca and use it daily to prepare their mingau or beijú.

3) Manicuera -- Tucupim.

a) Manicuera. The liquid that ran out of the mass of squeezed mandioca, although poisonous because of the hydrocyanic acid that it contains, if left for some time fermenting in the sun or subjected to fire, loses its toxicity and becomes pleasant, being greatly appreciated in the caxirí and outside of it. It is what is called manicuera or manipuera (in Tukano yõxká). They usually add to it cará /Dioscorea/, sweet potato, or fruits, like a thin soup.

b) Tucupim. Also the liquid extracted from the mandioca puba, evaporated by boiling until it becomes a dark substance of syrupy consistency, somewhat acid, but, thanks to the flavor, it is used as seasoning and is called tucupim (in Tukano ki-bo-kõ). Stradelli affirms concerning the tucupim: "For my taste, it is the king of the sauces, for game as well as for fish, it being necessary to add that it is recommended for curing beriberi, in the dose of a chalice after each meal, and that extraordinary cures are attributed to it" (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry "tucupim").

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4) Beijú and similar foods.

a) The beijú, also called meiú or caçábe (in Tukano ahũ-ga or ahũ-a), is a cake made out of the mass of fresh mandioca after it is pressed in the tipití. The woman starts by spreading the mass, little by little, over the very hot oven, pressing with the hands and smoothing with a small spatula, until it has the thickness of about 3 centimeters. When the lower part is well cooked, she turns it over, using a fan (wẽ'rĩ-rõ).

b) There is also prepared, although less appreciated, the beijú of mandioca puba, called in Tukano karĩbé-hũa.

c) The curadá (in Tukano sirákaro or sidákaro) is similar to the beijú, but thicker and richer in starch. It is the required food in the rite for the initiation of the maidens.

d) Õ'tá-pekaro is the name of the fresh, brittle beijú, which is obtained from the mandioca gathered, grated, and prepared on the same day, in an interval of a few hours.

e) Súkaro is the name of a variety of mandioca beiju with tapioca.

/215/ 5) Mingau. It is generally obtained from tapioca cooked in water until it has a gummy consistency, like soft glue. When they can, they add sugar or salt or fruit juices to it. It is the food that, as a rule, they are accustomed to taking every morning, before leaving for work. In Tukano it is called yumũ-ku. It is to be noted that on the Tiquié the drink prepared with bacaba is called yumũ-ko; on the Uaupés the name of this drink is pronounced ñãmã̃-ko, and the mingau, yumũ-ku.

6) Arumbé. The mass of mandioca can be prepared with pepper. It is called in the Língua Geral arumbé or arubé. It seems to us that such food, which is rarely talked about, might not be primitive, but inherited, as was also the name, from the tribes of the Nheengatú language, or perhaps even from the Rio Negro caboclo.

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252 *[192] 7) Chibé. The chibé, in Tukano po'ká póóke, is prepared with the water flour rich in tapioca. It is enough to take a certain amount of flour in a cuia and add water to it. For example, they take the water directly from the river while they are traveling on it, with a quick movement of the hand, without spilling the flour. They wait for a few seconds, in order for the mandioca fibers that are in the flour to come up (at times they facilitate this, moving the mass with the fingers) and empty out the water from the top, along with these fibers. After a few moments the flour "grows," because of being impregnated with water. The chibé has then been prepared. This starchy water, acid in flavor, is naturally refreshing. The chibé is used as a snack by the Indian. With a cuia of chibé, he rows for endless hours. It is the regular food, or even the sole food, on journeys, and also his dessert after meals.

243 *[192] b) Maize.

The maize, ohó-ka (we do not know whether the Indian sees any special relation between the maize stalk, ohó-ka, and the banana tree, ohó; or if the similarity of the terms is a matter of mere accident), is not only of late introduction, but, moreover, of very restricted use. Properly speaking, there is no maize clearing among the tribes of the Uaupés, but only a few isolated plants, when there are any. A group from the Karapanã tribe, [184] [797] residing between the rivers Papurí and Tiquié, on the headwaters of the stream Umarí, cultivates maize in greater abundance, but it is almost entirely sold to the Salesian Mission. It is a matter of a variety with a soft and white grain.

273 In small quantity the chewed maize is used, in some cases, to facilitate the fermentation of the drinks.

252 It also enters into the preparation of cakes, through the following process: after the maize is pounded, the meal is sifted and moistened with lukewarm water. With this dough they prepare cakes that are /216/ put on to bake over coals, wrapped in banana leaves. If the woman "has a good hand," they say, a sweet and pleasing cake comes out. It is, however, a food of

/216 cont./

252 minor consumption and received from the civilized, just as from the latter they received the use of boiled and roasted maize, but very scantily.

c) Fish and fish dishes:

*192 251 252 1) Fish. Fish, in Tukano wai, also constitutes a customary food for the natives who inhabit the banks of the Uaupés and principal tributaries, sufficiently rich in fish for the small groups of present-day populations. They eat the fish almost always moqueado, wai sõkõ (Uaupés wai sõxsókõ), that is, roasted and smoked on a slow fire, only the entrails having been taken out, or even with them if the fish are small. The fire is set about 80 or 100 centimeters below a wooden grill, the moquém (cf. VI, 2, f (1) ).

The smoked fish is kept for a long time, because sufficiently good dehydration is done. And thus for weeks, when the fishing has been bountiful, they keep it at home or consume it on journeys.

*192 251 2) Fish flour. From the smoked and dried fish, they remove the skeleton, crush it in the mortar, take it to the oven, reduce it to flour with the hand until it is completely dry, and the fish flour, wai pókã (from wai, fish, and po'kã, flour; in Nheengatú, pirá-cuí, from pirá, fish, and cuí, flour), which they use when there is no fresh fish, is prepared (45).

45. Concerning this fish flour, Gen. Couto de Magalhães informs us: "sent to one of the expositions in London, it deserved the honors of being classified as the most perfect of the fish preserves" (Ensaio de Anthropologia -- Região e Raça Selvagens /Essay in Anthropology -- Savage Region and Race/, p. 398; Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 36 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1873).

252 *[192] 3) Quinhapira and maniçoba. They also prepare fresh fish, cooking it in water with much pepper and also with salt, if they have it.

/216 cont./

*192 252 More rarely they cook it with tender leaves of mandioca; such a dish is called maniçoba (from the Nheengatú manib, mandioca, and çob, leaf), and in Tukano dõxkõ pũ (Uaupés dõxkõ pũnĩ; from dõxkõ, maniva /manioc cutting for planting/, and pũnĩ, leaves).

The peppery water (with or without salt) in which the fish or the piracuí was boiled is what is called byá-tõ (literally pepper pot) and in the Lingua Geral quinhapira (from quinha, pepper, and pirá, /217/ fish); and in which the pieces of beijú are moistened before being taken to the mouth.

*192 136 4) The fish. There are many species of fish (46)

46. It is estimated that there are about 3,700 species of Brazilian fish, approximately 1,700 of these species being fresh-water fish. (J. H. Leoni -- Peixes Brasileiros /Brazilian Fish/ -- Edit. Anchieta, 1946.)

existing in the rivers of this zone northwest of the Amazon, and the natives use almost all of them (47).

[115] 47. A Tukano Indian, João by name, an old fisherman from S. Francisco (river Tiquié) assured us in 1955: "We eat all the fish, except the pirá-boto." Boto or pirá-boto /dolphin/, also called pirá-yauara (that is, dog fish, and in Tukano oxkó puxtistéro, blower of water?), is a cetacean mammal, four species of which are given for the Amazon region: the white one, known as uiára (Inia Geoffroyensis, Blaw.); the black one or pixúna (Inia Amazonica); the red one or piranga (Delphines fluviátilis, Gervais), and the gray one or tucuxí (Stena tucuxi). The Boto, moreover, is a fish that appears in the legends, as well as the pirarara (in Tukano mahã-wí, which means precisely

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./217 cont./

/footnote 47 cont./ arara fish, due to its beautiful colors). One notices some prejudice against "the fish with skin," as being causes of dermatosis.

We shall mention some of the principal and most common species:

a'mã, jandiá or catfish (Rhamdia of various species)
á'ña, ray (plagiostomous fish)
bixpári or wai-dõxparí, ararí
bo'téa, aracú (Leporínus múlleri, Gunther)
bõ'õ, piranha (various species of Serrasalmo)
bu'ú, tucunaré (Cíchla ocellaris, Schneider)
bũxkõá-siró, ituim (Sternópygus carápus, and various species of Gymnotidae)
bũxpó, acará (Geophagus brasiliensis and various other species of Cichlidae
bũxpõ wai, spider fish (trachinoid fish)
doé, traíra (Erythrinus taraíra, Lin.)
ixkyã, mandí (various species of Siluridae)
mã'hõã, jacundá (Crenicíchla sexatíllis, Lin.)
mĩx'pĩ-pũrĩ-wí, piraíra
mõõ, piraíba (Blanchyplatystoma filamentosum)
õxtã-bwí, uatucupá
sã-ã, puraquê (Gimnótus /Gymnotus/ eléctricus, Lin.)
sẽ'ã, pirá mirim (Brycon striatus)
uhú, pacú (Dóras dorsális, Cuv. and various species of Prochilodus)
yaká, acarí, cascudo (loricaridoid fish of the swamps)
yox'sõ-wí, pirá-pucú (Xiphostoma Cuvieri, Spix.)
/218/ wai-wexkõ, cow fish (Manátus americánus, mammal of the lower Rio Negro)
waxpé, aracapurí (fish of the genus Erythrinus)

/218 cont./

224 d) Meats and edible animals. Hunting, as we find it in the present stage, is only a sport for the Indian. If we exclude the "wild pigs" (of the genera Dicotyles and Tayassu), which sometimes appear in herds in certain places (48),

> 48. Just as the piracema /shoal of fish/ appears, as a rule, in the same places, so do the wild pigs have their habitual path and customarily cross the rivers at certain points, where the hunter catches them.

when the river is low and the javarizeiro /palm tree, Astrocaryum/ ripens its fruit, game is rare. It is used, therefore, only to vary the "menu" from time to time. All the more since the Indian will always share the fruit of his hunting with those who live in the same maloca, and he will commonly do it for those who reside in houses neighboring his (if he does not sell it to the civilized).

252 They prepare the game by "moqueando-a" /smoking it/, like the fish. And it seems that they never eat raw meat; they even say that it is only Wax-tí who eats raw meat. And they also eat snake meat. The principal animals that serve them as food
262 are (49):

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> 49. The dogs are generally skinny and often also sick; for this reason and because of the services that they render, they do not eat them. There are indications that in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) the natives ate a fat dog killed
> [171] by a shotgun. The caboclo of the Rio Negro is incapable of killing a dog, even a sick one. He fears that this "sin" (as they think and say) would bring upon them the punishment of S. Lazarus, who they regard as protector of the dogs and who would punish them, probably, with leprosy.

/218 cont./
*192 monkeys of various species (axké, emõá, guariba, sêi, aimoré,
262 waú, uáia-piçá)
boxsõ, cutivaia, cavy (cávia aperea, leupyga, fulgida, etc.)
bu, cutia /agouti/ (dasyprocta águti)
byí poxtá, a rat with long hair
dyayõ, otter (lutra brasiliensis, paraensis)
dyá wexkõ, capybara (hydrochoérus capibara)
mixpí, coatí (two of Násua, procyonine mammal)
nãmá, deer (cervus campestris)
pamõ, tatú /armadillo/ (xenartros dasipódidas; of various species:
pamõ soá, pamõ uhõ, etc.)
Semé, paca (caelógenis paca)
u, turtle (various species of chelonians)
úhuri, jabutí /land tortoise/ (testudo tabulata)
/219/ wexkõ, anta (tapírus americánus, Briss.) (50)

50. Whenever they kill any anta, they immediately cut off the tongue, so that it will not tell the others.

yaxsõ, lizards (various species of Lacertilia)
yexsé, wild pig (caitetú /collared peccary/, dicótylis torquátus, and queixada /white-lipped peccary/, dicótylis labiátus)

Among the birds, they most frequently eat:

ahã, inambú /tinamou/ (genera crypturéllus and tínamus, of various species: dyayró, puxtwa, etc.)
daxsé, toucan (various species of ramphástus)
dyá kaxtá, water duck (various species)
kaxtá kasõrõ, jacú (cracídeo penélope)
koxtóa, coró-coró /ibis/ (phimósus infuscátus, of the Ibididae)
tã-tã, jacamim /trumpeter/ (psóphia crépitans, Lin.)
wá'rõpí, mutum /curassow/ (various gallinaceans of the gen. Crax)
kaxtá, cujubim /piping guan/ (pípile cuyubí)

235 They do not eat chicken, eggs, or pork, although they raise
262 them and sell them to the civilized (and they eat any piece that
[439] the latter gives them). The skill of the Indian in raising some

235 /219 cont./
262 birds, such as the jacú, jacamim, mutum, parrot, araras, and others, which become unbelievably tame, is remarkable. They do it, however, simply for amusement, without using the meat (51).

51. Wallace tells (Viagens ao Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 1939 ed., p. 202) that some Indians raised araras because of their plumage. In the place of the removed feather they injected the milky secretion of the toad, and the new feather would grow with a yellow or orange color. Others raised harpy eagles, uira-uaçú (Thrasaétus harpya Lin.), feeding them two chickens a day, in order to use their feathers, and for this reason their ornaments were dear. We do not know whether they still subject the arara to this treatment today. Besides the domesticated araras are found almost solely in the more remote malocas. As for the
178 harpy eagle and the mountain cock (rupícola élegans), nowadays they catch them only when there is hope of selling them to the civilized. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 50) also tells that the Káwa-tapúya obtained the orange color of the feathers by injecting pirara /sic/ fat or the secretion from a toad.

The native woman chews the food for the offspring of these birds, which sometimes are seen taking the food from the very lips of the woman.

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*192 262 e) Tubers and green vegetables.

They eat, boiled or roasted, the tubers of the batata, yaxpĩ (hipomaéa /Ipomoea/ batátas, Lam.), of the cará, fõmõ (dioscórea alata, Lin.), which were introduced in the last century, and various tubers of the region, /220/ such as duxtú, kaxpó, and others. They do not know the English potato (solánum tuberósum, Lin.).

As for green vegetables, they refuse them when they are offered to them, saying that they are not cows (literally, anta, wexkõ).

*192 252 263 In the fish sauces, besides the pepper, at times they put tender leaves of mandioca (see above, maniçóba). Sometimes, too, they let the mandioca leaves age for three or four days, until they acquire the dark color; then they crush them, boil them, and drink the broth. It is what is called ki-pũ.

*192 263 178 They formerly used the ashes of the carurú-da-pedra (mourera fluviátilis), which grows spontaneously on the rocks of some cachoeiras, in place of salt, to season their food (52).

52. This plant provides an excellent salad, already salty by nature. The Indian, however, "is not a cow" to eat green vegetables. Wallace tells (Travels, 340) that from the fruits of the palm trees inajá and jará (leopoldinia maior and pulchra, Mart.), they prepared a flour of salty taste. It has not been reported to us, however, that they make it now, because of the ease of obtaining salt. The Indians who work in the Missions buy whole bags of salt, and later they sell them, even with exaggerated usury, to those of the more remote malocas, in Colombian territory too.

[797] [439]

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263 According to the description by the Cônego /canon/ André Fernandes de Souza (end of the eighteenth century), the process was similar to that for the preparation of the lye for the manufacture of the "ash soap." That is: the plant was reduced to ashes, which were left in a water infusion in order for the salt to dissolve, and the latter, afterwards, through evaporation, would be deposited in the form of whitish crystals (p. 467 of the "Notícias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/," ap. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 10 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1870).

f) Insects.

*192 222 252 262 [881]

1) Termites and ants.

a) Mexkã (in Nheengatú maninuara, manivara) is the queen of a species of yellow termite, which comes out in abundance from the holes in the earth right after the rain. They eat them alive or roasted. It is the required food for the young men and women in the puberty rite.

b) In times of scarcity the women explore the ground with sticks in the places where they know that a type of manivara without wings, called exkó, probably exists. They come out in large numbers and are eaten alive, or after being roasted in small bundles of sororoca leaves.

/221/ c) They likewise eat the tanajura /large, winged ant/, dyãrã (Uaupés dyãnã), and different species of ants, yamĩ-ka (night ant, because it comes out at night or early morning), dexpótyãra (uarabá), duhúsã (which come out in the afternoon), etc., when they come out of the ant nest. When they observe the clean openings and a great movement of ants, they prepare a platform at a height of half a meter above the ant nest. One can see an entire family posted on this platform, and as the tanajuras emerge from the ground, they are eaten raw, often also with the accompaniment of beijú or flour. When the emergence is very abundant, the tanajuras are collected in special baskets, in which they are later roasted.

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d) They likewise eat, alive or roasted, the saúvas, byã-põrá (or põná; it means offshoot or broad, põrá, of the pepper, byá, because of their spicy flavor), and the termite, buxtwá.

2) Larvae.

a) At certain times of the year very many dark larvae about 3 to 4 centimeters in length appear on the plants of the jupará, ba'tí (erísma japurá, Spr.) and of the cunurí, waxpõ (cunúria spruceana, Baill.), totally devouring their leaves. As soon as they perceive it, the Indians bring down the surrounding plants so that the larvae will not move on to other trees, and they are thus forced to go down by way of the trunk in search of food. At the bottom part of the trunk they make a ring with the leaf of the pocova sororoca (ohõ pũrĩ), which is very smooth. The caterpillars, upon reaching there, slip and fall to the ground, being collected with sticks or strings into strainers, and are later slowly
[251] roasted on a mat at a certain distance from the fire. The quantity is so great that they can fill baskets, which are stored in the smoke chamber, in order to be consumed little by little.

Even when they do not discover it until the chrysalis stage, they cut off the branches loaded with cocoons, like a large ear of maize, and they toast them, it thus being easier to open the
[226] cocoons, as if they were shells of roasted peanuts. The chrysalis constitutes a greatly appreciated delicacy and is also used as bait for the fishhook. These larvae are called in Tukano bã-tí-ỹa (louse? of the japurá) and waxpõ-ỹa (louse of the cunurí).

b) Mẽ'rẽ-pãma is the Tukano name of a greenish-yellow larva similar to the silkworm, which feeds on the leaves of the inga tree (ingá edulis, Mimosáceae) and which is greatly appreciated, alive or roasted.

/222/ c) Besides the ones indicated, there are various other larvae sought for food, such as the ones called mẽ'rẽ-ka-pextorõã, likewise from the inga tree; nixtỹã, also from the cunurí; nextoã, which lives in the tree of the same name; suxpi-sõ, which feeds on the leaves of the acuaricuara (tiny red seeds); pixkõrõã, from the pupunheira; sitã, from the tree called uxpísikarã.

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3) Caba (wasps). The Tukano word uxtyá, as well as the one of Nheengatú origin, caba, indicates various species of wasps or hornets (parachartécus apículis and others of the family of the Vespidae and Pompilidae). They eat the larvae with flour (53).

> 53. The process that they use is curious. Whenever they discover a case of caba, they rub the hand in the armpit and approach the case. At the smell the hornets flee, they then seize the case with the larvae, and the vespiary itself serves as their plate, where they put flour, which they eat with the larvae (information of the Missionary agronomist Teotônio Ferreira.)

4) Coleoptera and other animal foods.

a) They also eat certain species of grasshoppers and beetles, alive or roasted. There are years in which some beetles called úkasya (Nheengatú moxíua) appear in such abundance that they manage to fill many baskets and even large canoes.

b) Going through the forest one often finds areas that look as if they had been turned up by swine. It is because the Makú have passed through there, with a piece of wood, or even the hand, looking for grubs to eat.

c) They value especially certain species of small arboreal frogs called omã. Without even cleaning them, they smoke them or cook them with pepper. They likewise greatly relish a large terrestrial frog called tõhõá.

d) A crab, sã'ã, from the igapós, or inundated areas, pleases them enormously. The Missionary Manoel Valério observed an interesting detail about this crab, that is: it makes its nest at the edge of the igapós, but at such a height that the fish do not eat its eggs. And so, by the height of the nests, one might foresee, year by year, the height of the water during the flood.

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147 Perhaps the Indian owes to the richness of Vitamin A, taken
262 in through the consumption of such a variety of insects and larvae, the admirable night vision that he enjoys.

/223/ g) Fruits.

*192 If the native diet is lacking in green vegetables and legumes,
245 many are the fruits that they eat.

252 1) Among the fruit trees cultivated, there come first five or
262 six varieties of banana, ohõ; and they eat them raw, baked, or boiled and reduced to mingau. Even when they are still green, they eat them roasted in the ashes.

They are also fond of pineapple, sẽ'rá (Uaupés sẽ'ná), biriba, pixká, cashew nuts, sõ'rá (U. sõ'ná), and, more recently, the orange, darãñõ, avocado, ñõmõ, abio /Lucuma caimito/, kã'rẽ.

*192 2) The wild fruits that they know and eat are very numer-
222 ous. We shall recall some: Õ'sé, cucura or mapatí (pourouma
252 cecropiaefóliae, Mart.), one of the Moraceae very similar to the imbauba, producing large bunches of fruits the size of a jabuticaba
262 /Mouriria pusa/, which, when ripe, are dark, sweet, and
[273] mucilaginous, and, fermented, give a wine-like drink; mẽ'rẽ (U. mẽ'nẽ), wirí-mẽ'rẽ, various species of ingá (ingá cinamómea, marginata, édulis, etc., Mimosaceae); burukũñã, maracujá /species of Passiflora/; õxtã-ñĩmĩ, cumã (fruit of the service tree); pãgá, another species of cucura; kenõ, jatobá /locust tree/; simiõ, uacú /Monopterix uaucú/; teheõ and ehyú-pu, varieties of piquia; thoá, yúa-pixuna; wamã, umarí; wĩhĩ, paricá /Leguminosae/; extoá, cubio /Solanum sessiliflorum/; wextí, umirí; wikasoró, small white fruit; tohoá-kaxperí, omã-karperí, and ñerẽ, similar to the cumã.

3) And many species of palm nuts, more or less oily: ixkí, inajá; puxpyá, ucuquí; mĩx'pĩ, assai; ã'rẽ, pupunha, for which they are eager; bextá, tucumã, which they like very much, ñãmã (U. ñumũ), bacaba and patauá; etc.

/223 cont./

*192 Assaí, pataúá, and bacaba are small nuts, in bunches. Put
222 in hot water, the pulp that envelops them comes loose. This,
262 after being crushed and strained, is mixed into the chibé or into
252 the mingau, making it more nourishing and flavorful.

4) They also leave the umarí (paroquéiba /Poraqueiba/ paraénsis, Ducke) in water, after having sucked the sweetish yellow rind, in order for the stone to lose its bitter juice. They also customarily mix its yellow mass into the mingau.

245 5) The pupunha tree is an ornamental palm, straight, with
252 beautiful fronds, which they plant in all their povoados. Twice
262 a year it produces bunches of small red or orange nuts with a fari-
naceous and dry pulp. They eat them cooked in water. /224/
They like them so much that during this time they abstain from
245 other foods. Its pulp, diluted in water and left to ferment in
251 camotins for 24 hours, is transformed into a very tasty drink,
273 the pupunha caxirí, ã'rẽ-kó.

*[192] When there is a great abundance of this nut, they prepare a large quantity of the mass, and, in order to keep it during the year without spoiling, they dig a hole in the vicinity of the house, line it well with banana leaves, and there they introduce the mass, pressing it well in order to expel all the air, and afterwards they cover it further with banana leaves and a layer of soil a span or more thick. This mass will be used for preparing the caxirí for months.

222 6) Among the most sought wild fruits is the japurá, a
252 dicotyledon, like an almond, inside of a soft involucre. They
262 subject it to boiling, in order to eliminate the thin and bitter
*[192] skin that covers it, and then crush it, producing a dark mass, with a sharpness that reminds one of Gorgonzola cheese (54).

54. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha already reported that in 1759 in his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/," p. 114: "The Indians will have put the name of Japurá on it (on a

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/footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

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They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

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It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunurí, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

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The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxirí, in Tukano pêru. The term caxirí, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxirí is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55);

55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

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it is so thick, though, that it looks more like a mingau or /225/ thin, extended pap. They are fermented drinks, and in many cases, moreover, alcoholic fermentation takes place. The flavor is pleasant, especially when cane juice is added to it. It then becomes sweeter, but with greater alcoholic content and more inebriating.

They are prepared from manicuera, yõxhá, from beijú, ahũ-ga, from cará, ñõmõ, and from various kinds of fruits. The beijú for the caxirí must be well toasted, said precisely pêru-ahũã; afterwards being crumbled and mixed with the water, which is left to ferment for two days.

The principal types of drinks are:

1st. -- Ya'rákẽ. One waits until the beijú becomes half moldy, and then one adds the mandioca, grated without peeling, and plenty of warm cane juice. In order to activate the fermentation, the large vessel, called baxpá, that contains this mixture will stay on the hot ashes. At the end of a week, more or less, it will be ready for consumption.

2nd. -- Tu-sa'békẽ. It is also prepared with beijú broken into the manicuera, and later one adds cane juice. The fermentation is faster, in a cool place, covering the tub that contains it with banana leaf. At the end of three days it can be drunk. When it turns out stronger and more stupefying, they believe that it happens because Wãx-tĩ took a bath in the tub of drink when still covered with banana leaves (56).

56. Patrícia Vasconcelos told us that on a certain occasion in S. Luzia (river Papurí) a very weak old man was lying in his hammock near the tub of tu sabékẽ. From his hammock he could hear the noise of Wãx-tĩ, who tore open the banana leaf and bathed in the liquid and was drinking from it. He then called his grandson and told him: -- "My grandson, throw this drink away; I heard Wãx-tĩ taking a bath in it."

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3rd. -- Doxké dõxpoasé. More greatly esteemed, and lending opportunities for their greatest feasts and dances, is the "caxirí of pupunha," doxké dõxpoasé, for which all work. It falls to the man to collect the fruits in the forest. The women cook it in large pots, adding pupunha leaves to the water in order to facilitate the cooking, so they explained. The single girls are the ones who grate the cooked fruit, or pound it, if it is only crushed. A convenient grater, although not very durable, is what is called waxtá-ñõ-sa-ró, that is, an adventitious and aerial root, equipped with small, but numerous and resistant projections, which the paxiúba palm puts out. The oldest Indian women bring the maize, chew it, and add /226/ it to the mass, which is diluted in water and left to ferment for three days with cane juice.

These three types of drinks are the strongest ones that they originally knew how to prepare. They assert that, if the makers have a "good hand," the caxirís turn out very strong. They think, moreover, that the "blowings" of the Komũ (VII -- 2, e (3) ) will lend even more inebriating strength to the drink.

4th. -- Pêru kaxtisé. It is the common caxirí, because it is prepared from day to day, with only fresh manicuera, without cane. It is consumed in a space of 24 hours, from midday to midday. If this caxirí were made in a small amount (a Taryãna native said, and we were able to verify it also among the Bará of the Tiquié), so that by midnight it was all gone, then perhaps they would remain seated, talking and playing the flutes /Port. flautas-de-pã, Panpipes/, but they would not dance. It is to be noted that outside the dances they play their music sitting down and stated that they always do so, without, however, indicating the reason for this custom.

5th. -- Duxtú-kó. It is the caxirí that is prepared with the potato duxtú (similar to the Japanese potato). The potato, already cooked, is pounded and mixed with mandioca and left to ferment with a sufficient amount of water.

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6th. -- Ñomõ-kó. It is prepared by cooking the cará /Dioscorea/, ñõmõ, which is afterwards moistened with saliva and crushed in the mortar. Finally, it is mixed with the beijú or the manicuera and left to ferment.

7th. -- Sibeókê. It is true aguardiente. It is obtained by distilling cane juice (ã'rã-kó, Uaupés a'nã-kó) on the fire. Its use is more infrequent, the planting of the cane, ã'rã, being generally limited. It seems that at times the caxirís are also distilled.

Still (sibeóri-pá)

We know that sibeókê is also prepared on the Uaupés, although in a more limited way. In Ambaíba (river Içana) we saw one of these /227/ stills, sibeóri-pá (Nheengatú mutiquerepáua). It consisted of a large camotim, with a capacity of about one hundred liters, terminating in a narrower mouth, which was closed with a wooden plug to which was fitted a taquara /bamboo/ which carried the aguardiente to another smaller camotim. The orifices were plugged with clay. It has not been reported that there were stills or distillation of cachaça in this region northwest of the Amazon, and, noticing that the natives do not worry about the problem of cooling the distillation, some are led to believe that it is a matter of an indigenous invention. It might, however, be an imperfect imitation of the stills that existed on the lower Rio Negro as early as the eighteenth century.

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*192 1) Stimulants and narcotics.

276 1) Tobacco. The planting of tobacco, mõ'rõ (Uaupés
[178] mõ'nõ) (nicotiana tabácum), is little and rare nowadays, and it is almost only seen in the povoados and malocas with little or no connection with the civilized. They prepare it in the following way: the men pick the leaves with the stem, reduce all of it to small bits, and put them on the fire in a very hot pot, stirring the contents until they become a dark mass. Afterwards the mass is pressed into small roundish molds. Under the effect of the sun and smoke these loaves of tobacco, mõ'rõ be'tó (Nh. mboti), harden. When they want to prepare the traditional cigar of the feasts, they crumble the tobacco and roll it in thin sheets of tauarí (see VI -- 2, f (5) ) or of banana, producing the large cigar, utíkaro, 15 to 20 centimeters in length.

[177] The Indian greatly likes to smoke. The tobacco that is consumed nowadays (on the three rivers whose area we studied), however, is all obtained from the civilized. The latter customarily shows kindness to the adults, men and women, with some cigarettes, or a piece of tobacco in a roll or on a stick, in friendship. The tobacco in a roll is a product that is always sought on the part of the natives as payment for their work.

More infrequent is the inhaling of tobacco, in powder, through the nostrils. They then use two small tubes of taquara or bone, connected at a 45° angle with string and pitch. Introducing the powder into one of the tubes, the Indian places the end at one of the nostrils and the other end in the mouth and, with a puff, forces the powder to go up the nose.

*192 2) Pepper. The native consumes pepper, byá, in large
263 doses, almost always as seasoning for the quinhapira.

Ordinarily he has already prepared his seasoning, called byá-uhá-pyosé (that is, pepper in a water infusion), for application to the fish. /228/ It is common today for the Indian, on journeys or even at home, to have a bottle with whole or ground peppers.

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263 *[192] In some cases they crush and chew the pure pepper: the Indian pepper (capsicum fructéscens, Willd, of the Solanaceae) and many others, such as those called koró-byá, awí-byá, oxbó-byá, etc.

It is amazing how even children two years old or perhaps less take the beijú moistened in the quinhapira without showing that they feel the burning of the pepper, which is excessive for our taste.

The pepper is used by them as a stimulant for the appetite, due to the lack of salt or other seasonings.

276 *[192] 3) Kaxpí (Nheengatú: Caápi) (57).

57. As we observe below regarding the Ipadú, the word Kaxpí might be derived from the Nheengatú Caapí, or vice versa. It is certain, on the one hand, that the use of kaxpí is a very ancient one and is lost in the legends, and, on the other hand, that it is general among all the tribes of the region.

276 773 *[192] The origin and use of Kaxpí is lost in legend (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/" by the Author). At a feast that took place among the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), with the participation of the Kubêwãna and Huhudẽne (from Uaupuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana) and elements from several other tribes, on the days of the 24th and 25th of April of 1955, a Tukano pajé, Henrique by name, from Japú-igarapé (trib. of the Uaupés), brought with much care a pair of instruments called eheõnõ (that is, catarrh, grippe), very old and religiously preserved by him as a fortunate heir of his ancestors. They were similar to a small wooden horn, reinforced with rolled tucum fiber and measuring about 25 centimeters. It was made to sound by blowing with force through the upper orifice, and simultaneously slowly opening the lower orifice, slightly wider than the upper one,

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276 and which was being obstructed by the palm of the hand. The
773 sound imitated a child's crying. The possessor of the instruments explained that the eheõnõ is the "mother of the kaxpí." The unrestrained native imagination, excited by the drinks, especially by the Kaxpí, upon hearing this sound, relives the legend and perhaps even reproduces the legendary scene of the first components of the group, who fell upon the newborn and ate his bones, "which were Kaxpí."

276 Kaxpí is a drink of bitter flavor, which is obtained from some vines, especially of the genus banistéria. I would not know whether it is more accurate to call it stimulant or narcotic, violent and almost /229/ instantaneous for the Indians (58).

58. Thus A. R. Wallace describes (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 381) the effect of the kaxpí: "An old Indian advanced toward the middle of the room, with a large (?) clay pot, which seemed recently painted, and which was put on the ground. Then, squatting, the old man stayed down, in front of the pot, and started to stir the contents. Then he filled with liquid two small cuias, and, rising, he extended his arms, holding, however, a cuia in each hand. After a short pause two Indians advanced in his direction, carrying their bows and arrows and their spears. Each one, holding the cuia offered, drank the amount that it contained. Because that drink was excessively bitter, each one made a very ugly face. For half a minute perhaps they remained motionless. Suddenly both gave a hard blow on the strings of their bows, making them vibrate; they shook their spears, stamped their feet on the ground, and then went to look for their seats.

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/Footnote 58 cont./ The small cuias were again filled and in the same way were presented to two other Indians, who approached and behaved in an identical manner. And so, two at a time, they followed one another. Some, however, acted more excited. Brandishing the spears, they then ran around the house furiously, as if they wished to kill an enemy, stamped their feet on the ground, uttered yells, and jumped savagely, in a warlike and at the same time frightening attitude. And, as the others had done, they afterwards peacefully returned to occupy their seats. The greater part receives loud and frantic applause from those present, which is also done sometimes during the dances." This strange final scene is called "blow-to-the-white," pexkã-sã-paasé, and we have also witnessed it (cf. VII, 4, e (2-8 /sic/), without any connection, however, with the taking of kaxpí. We think that it might be a mistake by Wallace, supposing it to be a mere effect of the kaxpí, when, in reality, it is a regular ritual of the Dabacurís, and one that can take place even before drinking the kaxpí.

on account of the alkaloid banisterina, however temporary in effect. The pajés Henrique from the Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), both from the Tukano tribe, said that they prepared the kaxpí with the bark of the following cipos: 1st) mẽrẽ-oẽ-kaxpí-dá (ingá cipo), 2nd) boxkã-dá (joined cipo /Port. cipó encontrado/, of which there are two varieties); 3rd) kũri-kaxpí-dá (a noded cipo, which gives some of the strongest kaxpí), 4th) sẽi-pixkõrõ-dá (guariba-tail cipo), 5th) yehé-ñõxkã-dá (garça /heron/ leg cipo). Having extracted the bark from the cipos, they crush it well in a wooden tub and

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*192 276 dilute it in water. They also crumble the leaves of kaxpí-pũrĩ and of kãna-pũrĩ, reducing them to a mass like tobacco, which is precisely called kaxpí-mõ'rõ (tobacco of kaxpí) and which is mixed with the previous liquid. They also mix in the leaves of doxké-morẽrĩ-dá and duxtú-sarẽnõ-dá.

[115] A seringueiro /rubber worker/ from Urânia (on the Colombian Uaupés /spelled Vaupés in Colombia/), with a Tukano mother and raised and living among the natives of the region, heard from the Taryana that, besides the above cipos, they also use the one /230/ called ma-kaxpí-dá, of which there are three varieties, which produce a very strong drink, hence the fame of the kaxpí of the Taryana as being stronger.

[415] A few hours of infusion in water, in an amphora of 8 or 10 liters in capacity, with the customary designs, called kaxpí-tõ, are enough for it to be in a condition to be consumed. Its use is reserved exclusively for persons of the masculine sex and mature age. They believe that the "ritual blowing" by the pajé or by some Komũ increases its imagination-exciting quality. It is served in small cuias, followed immediately by libations of caxirí.

Under the action of the kaxpí, the Indian is said to have pleasant visions. "He sees luminous signals" was the expression of our useful Tukano helper, Antônio Barreto. And it was also what Koch Grünberg saw (Zwei Iahre, 201), to whom it seemed that he saw marvelous bright sparkles when he turned his eyes toward the dark, or red flames when he ran them across the paper.

An official of the Colombian customs in Iauareté (river Uaupés) took it and saw images of objects with great brightness, and with all clarity he perceived geometrical figures, and even theorems of trigonometry came to his mind. A trader from the river Querarí revealed to us that on a certain occasion the kaxpí had caused in him a beautiful and pleasant distortion of the sensations. Thus the women seemed to be slithering snakes with very beautiful decorations; the flutes /flautas-de-pã, Panpipes/ gave him the impression of a large orchestra.

/230 cont./

276 Thus its effect is also a superexcitation of the imagination. Nevertheless he sometimes falls to the ground, unconscious. "With the fourth cuia," says the old Indian Antônio to Koch G. (Zwei Iahre, 201), "people fall violently and then have the most beautiful visions" (59).

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59. From our personal experience we can say that we have drunk kaxpí prepared by Makú, Wanãna and Taryana natives. At the great feast of the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés), which was discussed above, kaxpí of the Makú, Wanãna, and Taryãna tribes was served. That of the Makú tribe was prepared by one of the Makú who served as slaves to the Wanãna of the locality. That of the Taryana was made by the old Taryana Calisto from Iauareté, who brought with him from that locality, for this occasion, a bunch of thick cipo (one inch in diameter and 1.5 meters in length approximately). The kaxpí was distributed personally by the local tuxaua, Mandú by name, who simultaneously took two small cuias, one for each person. The Komũ, who "had blown" the drink before the cuias were filled, stirred the liquid, using a piece of thick cipo, with four intumescences, and which is one of the ingredients of the drink. It is taken without difficulty, since it has a bearable bitter taste. Nevertheless, several Indians made faces and some of them spit out the rest. Following that, three men, each /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ with two large cuias of caxirí, came in a line, zigzagging and making a noise with the mouth like the buzzing of an insect, and distributed the caxirí to those who had drunk kaxpí, in order to take away the unpleasant taste. Some Indians declared to us that they had seen luminous globes or flames. We did not preceive

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/230 cont./

/footnote 59 cont./ anything; we experienced, then, only a slight excitation in the muscles of the legs and, at night, strong occipital pain in the head. We believe, however, that such sensations had nothing to do with the drink and were only the effects of tiredness, of the sun and the heat of the day. We later observed to the Taryana Indians who had accompanied us to the feast that the kaxpí was weak and we had felt nothing. They explained to us that one of the ingredients was missing, a cipo that was planted by an old man who had already died and they had not found such cipo upon undertaking the trip. They promised us to prepare later, with all the technique, a quite strong kaxpí. Actually they did it days later and offered it to us. With fear of a violent reaction caused by the drink, we did not want to take it in public, but in private, and not only a small cuia, but we drank quite a good cuia in three stages. Although, like Koch G., we had before our eyes a white paper on which we wrote down our notes, we did not get to perceive any luminous sensation or any other external feeling. Only the unpleasant taste made us indisposed, although without vomiting, forcing us to diet that day, and to use bitter drops and other stomach potions later. We are of the opinion that, for this reason, the effects indicated in the Indians must be explained by the easy excitability of their imaginations.

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4) Pátu (Nheengatú: Ipadú) (60).

60. The Tukano name pátu seems to be derived from the Nheengatú ipadú, making us suppose that the tribes of the Uaupés might have received from the tribes of the Rio Negro, of Nheengatú language, the use of the ipadú. It is true that nowadays the caboclos of the Rio Negro and the Indians of the Içana do not use ipadú.

It is the product of coca, a bush of the family of the Erythroxylaceae (erythróxylon coca, Lin.), which takes root easily from a branch. Although the adult women can also take ipadú, its planting falls to the men, and they do it in the clearing, and sometimes even close to the maloca, as a hedge. Daily the men pick the tender leaves, let them dry, and afterwards toast them in a special pot, called pátu-axtẽrĩ-tõ. As seasoning for the ipadú, pátu-mõã, they burn leaves of the embaúba /imbauba/ (Cecrópia) or of cucura in the interior (61)

61. We do not know whether the burning at the door of the maloca is a prescription of magical character or only for reasons of convenience. This second hypothesis is more probable, actually, they execute without any difficulty the various operations of the preparation of the ipadú outside the maloca as well, in order to be filmed.

of the maloca, although beside the door. Mixing the ashes with the toasted leaves of the ipadú, they pass slowly through a mortar of usual form the pátu-ahũ-gõ or pátu-doxké-khá, until everything is well crushed. Afterwards they place the powder in a tururí bag, which is called pátu-pa:rí-sutiro.

T /231 cont./
*192 Across this bag runs a stick, called /232/ pátu-pá:-ko. Intro-
276 ducing it in a tube of elongated pestle shape (of 1.80 meters and about 15 centimeters in diameter, and called pátu-pá:põ), they knock the bag against the walls of the tube with their two hands, until the powder is so finely pulverized that it passes through the bag and is deposited in the tube. In order to facilitate the work, they customarily tie this tube to one of the columns of the maloca, in such a way that the opening stays a meter in height from the ground, a comfortable position for the one who must "beat" the ipadú, and the closed end rests on the ground.

T
[415] Finally the powder is taken out and kept in proper bags, also of tururí, called pátu-ahuró or pátu-waxsóro, the mouth of which has thrust in it a fine tube, pátu-baarí-oã, of taquara

Ipadú bag (patu ahuró)

or of heron bone (yehé-oã), through which the powder is drawn in, just as a refreshment is sucked in our bars. This is done on trips, because in the house the ipadú is more commonly kept in a cuia, and they help themselves to it by taking a handful with a wooden spatula or even a leaf. They do it with care
M in order to keep the powder from falling into the windpipe.
276 The Maku prepare it in balls. The Indian uses ipadú especially when he goes hunting or fishing, because, narcotic that it is, it keeps him from feeling hunger or thirst, and in this way he dispenses with carrying food. They make it into a
T ball which they keep in a corner of the mouth, sucking on it
M little by little. The women, except for very rare exceptions,
[562] do not eat the ipadú; only the adult men.

/232 cont./

184 Its consumption is almost unknown today on the lower Uaupés;
276 it is quite general, however, among the tribes of the Papurí and Tiquié, even when they have their regular food. Perhaps the abuse of the ipadú is responsible for the organic depauperation in the elderly and many stomach ulcers. Besides, the individual becomes addicted and his children are born weak, silly, defective (62).

62. The Salesian Missionary, Padre João Marchesi, on a certain occasion showed a tuxaua how the son of an ipadú eater was slow in intelligence, did not learn how to read or write, did not have any manual skills, whereas the other children did this quickly.

[797] The young generation, which has gone through the Mission schools,
[178] scarcely consumes ipadú any longer.

/233/ 8) /sic; j)/ Conclusion.

252 The natives of the Uaupés take only fruits and some insects raw. Never a piece of meat or fish (63);

63. It was not possible for us to investigate as to whether it is a question only of taste and custom, or if superstitious motives also enter in. It does not seem to us that they exist, although in one of their legends it is said that Wãx-tí is the one who eats raw meat.

these foods ordinarily are moqueados /smoked/. And the fish is frequently boiled or reduced to a sauce with pepper, to accompany the ingestion of the beijú.

372 Fire is obtained today with a match, "palito" /toothpick/, as
*[192] they call it, and they try not to let it go out. Day and night
[177] one finds the fire burning inside the maloca, and they also take pots with live coals to the clearing and on trips.

/233 cont./

372 Formerly fire was obtained by turning rapidly between the palms of the hands a small stick whose end was provided with a match of kapok, and rubbing it in the small orifice of another small stick that was very dry. The apparatus is called pexká-mẽ wihyasé in Tukano. [192]

262 The diet of these natives, although at first sight it does not seem so, is quite varied, rich in vitamins of vegetable and animal origin. As for the salts necessary to the organism, they get them from roots and fruits; as a matter of fact, they have a strong bone structure, and nevertheless the waters show a deficiency of calcareous salts. As for sugar, they only have that of the fruits and of the fermentation of their drinks. The cultivation of sugar cane is insignificant and intended practically for the preparation of the caxirís, although once in a while some Indian will be seen sucking it. [273] [249]

The amount of food that the Indian consumes daily is large, when he has plenty of it; although on other days, due to a lack of food, he is forced into a very strict fast. Perhaps the caxirí itself, which he drinks in large portions on the occasion of feasts, plays the role of a periodic washing of the stomach, intestines, and kidneys. It is certain that thin persons are rarely found among them, if one excludes the older women, who generally are so, and the sick. They are, on the contrary, plump in figure or even fat, without obesity or deforming adiposities, strong and healthy.

It is to be noted that the Indian emits a characteristic smell, which makes us think that it is due to a diet predominantly of fish and pepper.

/234/ 5) Hunting and fishing.

a) Fishing.

226 Fish is an important element in the diet of the Indians, as we have already seen. In the regimen of the family home, each family head provides the fish: it is his habitual, although not exclusive, occupation. In the regimen of the collective dwelling [462]

/234 cont./

226 [462] of several families, the maloca, the small-scale fishing still falls to the men, and they go out in groups of two or three or even alone, or accompanied by some child, perhaps very *[192] young, who rows and handles the canoe. All of the Indian's concern is to make his son a very good fisherman, a marupiára. *[192] "Mõ'sigõ" is the Tukano term for indicating the individual who is lucky in fishing and hunting.

*[192] There arrives, however, the piracema, the period when the fish gather in schools, waí tũrĩrõ, especially in the cachoeiras, trying to get past them in order to reach the headwaters. It is the opportunity for the Indian to prepare his reserves of fish for the fruitless days. It is the period of large-scale fishing. *[192] Or also, low water comes, and the fish that went up the igarapés and ígapós (64)

> 64. Igarapés are the small tributaries of the rivers; igapós are the arms of water or pools that are formed during high water.

will try to reach the river; this is also the time of joint fishing expeditions. These represent a social event that brings together the inhabitants of the maloca or povoado. Even more, it is a collective entertainment or sport, a time of celebration. If the distance to the fishing place is great, as it often is, they will stay overnight there for several days, and in this case they *[192] must take their hammocks. Not infrequently they improvise tapirís or huts in the surroundings conveniently beforehand. The [462] women will prepare the beijú and the flour. The men will take care of the nets and see that the canoes are in good condition. The complete preparation includes, besides the fishing gear, the panniers in which to keep the fish, the fire, etc.

/234 cont./

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The principal methods of fishing are:

1) With poison (65).

65. The harmfulness of the method is under discussion, and some condemn it as destructive of the fish, many of which cannot be used. The fact is that for many generations they have fished in the same places, and there is always fish. If at present they are not as large and as plentiful, perhaps one should attribute it, not to the method, but to the frequency of the fishing. It also seems that many fish only become stupefied and manage to escape. The actual difficult circumstance is that at times the igarapés are quite low and the amount of timbo quite large, and both the fish and the very water that they drink cause intestinal disorders among the Indians.

[164]

/235/ a) Ehú (timbo). The large-scale fishing (Waí pu'asé) is that which is done with timbo (66).

66. Timbo is the name of various Leguminosae of the genera Tephrósia, Lonchocarpus (densiflorus, rufescens, etc.).

A suitable spot was chosen beforehand, for example, a widening of the river like a small bay, or the mouth of an igarapé or igapó, and baited, buxtú-kĩse, that is, food was thrown there frequently for the fish (termites, buxtw̃á, hence the term buxtú-kĩse, or also pupunha, flour, fruits, mass of beijú, etc.). Afterwards, during the night, the site was surrounded with the parí, in Tukano sũtérika, or with a very tight fence of thin stakes of paxiúba, leaving only an opening through which the fish came in. Nowadays, in order to facilitate this work, they make the

/235 cont./

226 278 [192]

parí with a mat, not plaited, but with tightly connected vertical splints, which they set up with strong stakes at the chosen spot. On the night preceding the fishing, the opening is closed, so that the fish that have come in to eat cannot go back to the river. It is the siege of the fish, or waí-ʊʊ̃. The timbo is beaten well, hitting it against the rocks or crushing it with a stick. The juice, which has a strong odor, spreads through the water, killing the small fish and stupefying the large ones, which will soon float. In order for the poison to reach the bottom layers of water, they also throw mud with the plant juice. Very early in the morning, then, the canoes leave (or they will have already left even earlier, if the spot is far away) with the whole family, men, women carrying the children, youngsters, the gear (67).

[784]

67. Not, however, the pregnant women, because in this case the fishing would not have good results. If the dog goes in the water, they believe that the timbo will lose its stre[illegible]

On that day no one will eat mingau or anything sweet (68);

68. "I ate sweets and was lucky in fishing," objected Padre Afonso, a Montfortian Missionary from Teresita. -- "But the senhor is not one of us," the convinced Indian answered him.

[192]

they must go with an empty stomach; otherwise the fishing will be unfruitful. They will all try to enter the water simultaneously, advancing from upstream downward, yelling in unison (and anyone who does it late will be reprimanded), pwá-pwá-pwá, in order to frighten the fish. This act is called waí nãrã; it is the frightening of the fish to make them go into the poisoned water.

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226 278 *[192] The small fish come to the surface dead and are gathered with the puçá or with a strainer, or even with the hand; it is the waí wa'sá. The large ones, only stupefied, are caught with arrow or spear. Some fish manage to jump the pari barrier, if this has been /236/ set quite deep, but they fall into horizontal nets hanging along the barrier; it is the waí bu'pú-pearó.

The fishing is done with cries, laughter, falls, and finally great joy. And all participate, children, women, men... In the immediate vicinity of the fishing place they prepare the fish for eating and they also smoke it to preserve it.

*[192] b) Waí nimá (cunambí). Waí nimá means poison-of-fish. It is (in Nheengatú called Cunambí) Phyllanthus cunami, a bush with large leaves, of the family of the Euphorbiaceae, which they customarily have planted in the vicinity of their dwelling or in the clearing. When they crush the leaves and seeds, adding flour, ashes of caña brava, pepper, and japurá, they obtain a firm mass from which they make small balls that are thrown at the water. Before throwing one of these balls, however, they hold it between the index finger and the thumb, and, with the hand, describe around the head two circles to the right and one to the left. If one of these gestures is omitted, they say, no fish will be caught. They explain that the ashes being of cane, which floats, the fish will also float (69).

> 69. The explanation may be this: the potash from the ashes acts on the bladder of the fish, making it dilate, and the fish comes to the surface.

The fish, swallowing some of these small balls, after a few instants will come to the surface of the water, stunned, and the Indians, swimming or in canoes, gather them in baskets. The effect, however, is temporary. The woman, while she prepares the japurá for such fishing, must not eat anything, nor can she go to the toilet, in order for the poison to retain all its

226 /236 cont./
278 efficacy. They also use the poison-of-fish like timbo, mixing its juice with the mud.

*[192] Some tiny leaves known as "doé nimá," poison-of-taraíras, can be used in the same way as the poison-of-fish.

c) Ehú-pu. Piquiá (caryócar villósum, Aubl.) is the name of an edible chestnut, the pulp of which, nevertheless, is poisonous. Because of this, after it is crushed, there is produced a mass that, thrown into the water, acts even stronger than the timbó, that is, it stupefies the fish, which soon come to the surface, then being caught by hand or arrows.

These last two methods are used in small-scale fishing.

2) With traps.

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There are several kinds of traps used for fishing; the principal ones are:

*[192] /237/ a) Bũxkõá-wõ (in Nheengatú matapí). It is a nassa /fishing basket/ or jequí like that of the fishermen in the south of Brazil. It consists of a cage of sticks of patauá, paxiuba, or even cipo, in the shape of a cone or elongated cylinder. The thin part is tied with cipo, and is untied at the moment of ex-
*[192] tracting, through there, the fish caught. In the wide part (base of the cone) there is a funnel-shaped opening called in Tukano ʒe'ẽ-nẽ-pá, with flexible sticks that spread in order to let the fish pass through. The matapí is submerged in the small canals, being embedded among the rocks of the cachoeira, with the mouth toward the downstream side and the closed end toward the side of the current. The fish, which has a tendency to go upstream, comes in by way of the mouth, but it finds the bottom closed. Sometimes in this way they collect numerous and large fish daily.

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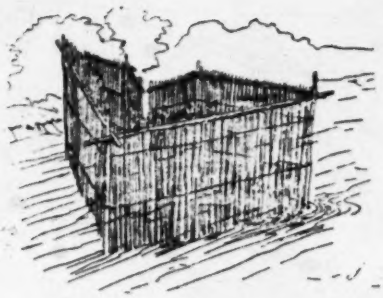
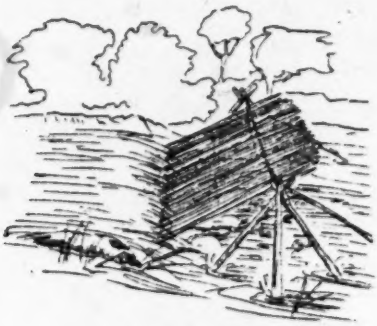


Cacurí (waí-ro)

b) Waí-ro (in Nheengatú cacurí). It consists of an enclosure of paxiúba or patauá sticks fastened to stakes that are very high and reinforced so that the river current will not destroy it, placed near the edge of the river or of islands, where they know that the fish are in the habit of passing during high water. The enclosure, almost always triangular in shape, is continued laterally by two cloths or pari barriers, which join at an obtuse angle, driving toward the enclosure the fish, which, following their instinct, always advance against the current. Upon reaching the angle of the barrier, this gives passage, because it is loose there, but it soon closes again through the action of the current. The fish advance, but find the bottom closed, and, not finding the way by which they came in, remain imprisoned, not infre-
*[192] quently in large numbers. This system is very practical, equivalent to a fishpond where the fish are kept alive and the /238/
fisherman dives in and catches the fish he wants with the puçá,
[843] waí wehẽ-kõ. The women, when pregnant, cannot eat fish from the cacurí. They think that the spirit of the child to be born goes to cry near the trap at night and scares away the fish. They attribute the failures to such a cause and remedy it by surrounding the barricade with a poisonous cipo. The child's spirit, upon noticing it, will run away, and the fish will come to enter the trap.

/238 cont./

226 *[192] c) Imĩ-nõ. It is similar to the cacurí; it is, however, of small dimensions, generally a meter in length and the same in width. It is usually made of stakes and is embedded, like the nassa /Port. massa, "mass," evidently a misprint/, among the rocks of the stream.



Fish platform (ewá)

*[192] d) Ewá (in Nheengatú cajá or jirau /platform/. The Indian knows that the fish, at a certain time, tries to jump over the small falls of water. Knowing these places, he puts up there, during low water, a platform set on large pieces of wood, in such a way, however, that it will stay like an inclined plane, with the lower side corresponding to the point at which the fish try to pass. Sometimes one sees enormous and well-joined trunks that withstand the force of the current, representing perhaps the work of many days by all the men of the maloca or povoado. The fish jump, trying to reach the upper part of the cachoeira, and fall onto the platform, from where the fishermen collect them several times a day. Or also, such a rack is arranged so that it will receive the water from the current and retain the fish carried by it. The fish that they manage to catch this way are the sẽ'ẽ (in Nheengatú pirá-mirim), sometimes filling many panniers.

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3) With arrow and net.

a) With arrow. On the bank of the rivers there are often trees whose fruits or seeds are sought by the fish, as the japurá is by the aracú. The Indian then stations himself in the shade of these trees, in his canoe, and waits for the fish to come up to get these fruits, which are floating; at this moment he hits them with an accurate arrow-shot and collects them in the canoe. It is an exercise that is very diverting and is called waí bõé. Lacking fruits, they break open termite nests, full of larvae, which the fish are very fond of, and throw them into the water. When the fish jump to snap at these larvae, they are hit by the arrows.

b) With net. We saw the use of the funnel-shaped net puçá, wehẽ-kõ, and with the mouth always open, in order to collect the fish killed or stupefied by the poisons. They also use for the same purpose their sieves or baxti; it is the method that is called waí wa'sá.

[784] It is to be noted that when the man prepares his puçá, he does it in secret, without smoking or eating, only with ipadú in his mouth, and abstains from talking or from going to the toilet, in order for the puçá to be efficient.

They also use it for direct fishing; it is the waí ñũũ. Standing at the mouth of the igarapé, he waits for the fish, frightened by those who are making noise above, to seek the river, and with a swift movement he brings in the puçá, almost always carrying some fish.

Also in the dark of night, especially on the shores, they surprise the fish and catch them with their puçás; it is what is called waí ẽõ.

Or also, with that larger type of puçá (VI -- 2, e (3) ) called jereré in the Língua Geral, which is opened only at the moment of use, they dip it, and, when the fish is inside, they close the net, drawing it out very quickly. They are simple processes, but profitable, especially at the time of low water or during the piracemas.

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They also use the following method: they surround with parí the mouth of an igarapé, leaving a small passage for the fish that come up to sleep. At a certain time of the night a man stations himself with his puçá beside this opening, while others, at the upper part of the stream, beat the water with sticks. The frightened fish, which try to return to the river, land in the puçá.

Piracema, waí turĩrõ, is the meeting of schools of fish in certain places at the time of spawning, during which, for this very reason, they are less timid. The piririca, that is, the rippling of the waters, and a characteristic noise, waí bõxsõrã, reveal these places. They then set out by canoe among the schools of fish, and, with the puçá or with the arrow, the Indians catch great quantities of fish.

/240/ 4) Fishing with hook, spear, and harpoon.

a) Skilled fishermen that they are, the Indians use still other fishing methods and implements, and also ways introduced by the civilized, giving them, however, characteristic applications.

Sometimes with a lighted torch, he stupefies the fish that is sleeping: it is what is called to dazzle or to blind the fish, and he captures it with his harpoon, yõxẽ-kõ. This method is called waí wã (tataitíca or muturisáua in Nheengatú). It is to be noted that the forest itself furnishes him this torch with the tree called mãxpãrí (turí) of the genus Licania, the wood of which is separated into fine strips (70)

70. These strips are also used as laths, because the resin makes it unattackable by termites.

and, once lighted, maintains its light until the whole strip is consumed.

At the time of the piracema two or more canoes with some speed and with turí torches go out at night. The fish, even the large ones, awakened by the noise and stunned by the light, jump, and many fall into the canoes. It is what is called in Nheengatú piráquira, and in Tukano waí nãrã, that is, frightening the fish.

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b) Bait. There are various kinds of bait, ahũñesé, that they use, according to the nature of the fish they want and the habitat of which they seek and know. Sometimes they use the minhoca /an annelid worm/, ahwã, or larvae of insects, grasshoppers, etc.

Many of these minhocas live inside bromelias (called for this reason, by those of the Nheengatú language, mother of the minhoca, šimwí mãña). The fisherman indeed takes with him some of these bromelias, true deposits of live minhocas (71),

> 71. This type of minhoca, darakubí, is found in the bromelias of the igapós. A skilled fisherman, Mr. Manoel Valério, informed us that when the darakubí wants to migrate, it breaks off a piece of itself, the final rings of its own body, and lets them fall. If there is a fish in the vicinity, it will immediately jump to catch the bait, and the minhoca has knowledge of the danger because of the noise and remains still. When it does not hear noise any longer, it means that the fish have already migrated to the river, and it can leave without danger.

called darakubí in the língua geral.

Other times, as bait, they use pieces of fish or even berries, fruits, or fruit pulp prepared as small balls. The tambaquí, for example, is very fond of the fruit of the jacitara of the igapós, known as wai-tũ-dá (in Nheengatú Kamú-kamú). The fisherman, without even a hook, ties the fruit at the end of the line and hits the water with it, as if the fruit were falling directly from the tree. /241/ The voracious fish advances and swallows the fruit. Then, with a rapid movement, the fisherman pulls it out of the water. Even with a simple ball of wood, doxké-ñõ-wehekã (Nheengatú ya-põga), they manage to catch the tambaquí, acting as in the preceding.

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c) Hooks. Formerly they made their hook with two sturdy spines of tucum, bextá, joined at a wide angle by thread with pitch, with which kaxpó, a root similar to the Japanese potato, is crushed. They explain that the fish will smell the root and will come to bite the hook.

This, like the common metallic hook, tied to a string and covered with bait, becomes caught in the gills of the fish that has swallowed it.

Many times the hook is left tied to a rod, weherí wã'sõ, fixed on the bank of the river. It is the method called wai wehé-kũ.

Or the Indian holds it in his hand, fixed at the end of a rod; this is called wai wehẽ. Way-myõ-he is when the rod and the hook are dispensed with, because the mandí /Siluridae/ customarily swallows the line, even without any bait.

Sometimes the reed with the hook is ingeniously set, with the tip arched and constituting a trap, wai yuró. When the fish bites the bait, the reed comes up and the fish remains suspended in the air. This is the way they customarily catch the taraíra, which lives at the edge of lagoons and swamps.

The manner of catching the buú (tucunaré), a very tasty fish with scales, which during the day swims on the surface of the water hunting other fish, is very curious. The apparatus is called buú weherí wãsõ (Nheengatú pindá sirirĩka). It consists of a rod having at the end a string with a tuft of quite red feathers from the neck of the toucan, among which is hidden a hook. In the places in which the tucunaré is found, they describe rapid semicircular movements in the water with the tip of the rod. The fish follows the movement of the rod in order to catch the colored feathers and, when it is able to, makes a leap in order to bite them. At this moment the Indian, with a skillful pull of the rod, catches the fish, which might weigh up to three or four kilograms.

Sometimes they manage to catch them with the cord tied to the stem of the boat, during voyages, in such a way that the feathers skim over the surface of the water; it is the method called buú waharí-da (Nheengatú pindá wawaká).

/241 cont./

#192 226 d) Espinhel /line with many hooks/. Nowadays they acquire the metallic hooks from the civilized and, moreover, use them with very profitable and advantageous methods. One of these, for example, is the espinhel, a process called mõ-weherĩkanõ.

/242/ The espinhel consists of a very strong line 50 to 100 meters in length, tied at one end to the bank of the river and, at the other, to a stone that is thrown to the bottom of the river. A piece of molongó /Apocynaceae/, as a float, poogõ dõxká or pa'sa-ká (in Nheengatú mututí), tied to the middle of the cord, keeps it at a suitable depth and serves for locating the espinhel. On this long cord, at an interval of 3 or 5 meters, are joined small strings, each one with its hook provided with bait. They set the espinhel late in the afternoon, and early in the morning, with their canoe, they take it out, starting to pull from the part with the stone, in the middle of the river. As the fish taken is brought close to the canoe, they kill it with a blow on the head, because not infrequently large surubis and piraíbas of 50 kilograms or even more are found. Frequently the fish are found already tired by the efforts made to free themselves, or even bitten and half-eaten by the piranhas.

[784] The first fish of the espinhel will be given to some dog or released in the water, or they bury it; it is essential that it should not be eaten by any person.

The pregnant woman (VII - 4, f (2 d) ) cannot eat any of the fish caught on the espinhel, because otherwise no more fish will be caught.

During the time of high water, when the rivers flood their banks, invading the forests (these are the igapós), many fish migrate from the rivers, in order to eat the wild fruits. The native then takes advantage of this fact to tie lines with hooks to the bushes or to the branches of the trees in such a way that they stay a span more or less under the water. Upon inspecting them at dawn, he finds almost all the hooks with their fish. It is the fishing called wai poxtá-poó. In the first days of the high water they can perform this operation two or three times a night, with positive results, in order to keep the alligator from eating the fish.

/242 cont./

224 b) Hunting.

*[192] 1) Hunting by pursuit (amã́ siró-tú pexkayesé).

The fauna of the Amazonian northwest is poor, in quality and quantity, in animals for eating. But hunting, besides providing food, is an enjoyable sport for the Indian. Poor as it is, hunting in the dense virgin forest can only be practiced by groups of two or three Indians. Rarely will he go out alone, until very [177] recently, when he obtained a shotgun from the civilized. With the shotgun or with the bow, the Indians are worthy /243/ hunters. He will also rarely go in large groups; this only when they locate in some zone a herd of wild pigs. Then they try to surround them, and with arrows and stabbing sticks /Port. paus terçados/ they kill a large number (72).

72. Not infrequently it happens that the herd of pigs, starving or attacked, attacks the men, who save themselves by quickly climbing the trees.

A man's treasured helpers in hunting are the dogs, small, skinny, and often almost blind because of the stings of the ants, taxi, but, perhaps for this very reason, with a more acute sense of smell.

[171] The Makú are specialized hunters. When they go to track the animal chased by the dogs, they make a lot of noise, with characteristic cries, and nothing, neither the cipos, thorns, nor other obstacles, is able to stop them.

*[192] 2) Hunting by ambush (pexkáye du'tigõ or pexkáye pe'sã-kõ).

The animals have their drinking places (73)

73. On the upper Tiquié, near the Cachoeira Grande, one sees a stone that the antas come to lick. The ground or stone with natural salts, and for this reason sought by the antas, deer, and other animals, is called "anta sucker."

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*192 224

where they go to drink water on hot days, just as they also have more or less customary places in the forest where they go to eat fruits. The footprints mark these spots, and they are accustomed to go to them at more or less regular times. Knowing this habit, the Indian builds kaxsá-wa (Nheengatú mutás (74)

74. A small burned-over area near the mutá attracts some deer with a desire to lick the ashes.

or platforms in the tree branches; this is the pexkaye pe'sá-kõ) in the vicinity of these places, and there they patiently stay in ambush without making any noise, or imitating the chirping of the birds that they want to kill. Or he will even stay on the ground hidden behind some tree; this is the pexkáye du'tyasé. As the animal approaches, he shoots a well-aimed arrow which will fatally hit the animal or at least will wound him, and, in this case, they pursue it until they kill it.

If the animal retires into a cave, they light a small fire, almost always with the nest of some termite, at the mouth of the cavern, and the heat and the smoke force it to come out, then being caught by the hunters.

3) Hunting by mundéu (pexkáye-sã-kõ).

The animals, especially when they have a burrow, customarily follow the same paths or carreiros in search of their food or water. Upon discovering one of these carreiros, the Indian makes a /244/ narrow and deep hole, being careful to transport the excavated soil farther away. Afterwards he again covers the cavity well with sticks, leaves, and rubbish, in such a way that it does not differ from the remaining track, and the mundéu, koxpé, is made. During the first nights the animal does not pass by there; later, however, it comes to fall in, and the Indian kills it. It sometimes happens that he forgets to go to look at the mundéu again, and he will find the animal already dead of starvation.

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4) Hunting by trap (pexkáye-kõ yuró).

The method that they use for small animals, such as the cutia /agouti/ is simple. A strong, but flexible pole is planted in the ground. Sometimes they use bushes that already exist in the chosen location. They bend the free end, to which they fit a snare, tying it to sticks in the place where they foresee that the animal might pass, and the trap, yuró (Nheengatú žuká), is ready. When the animal tries to eat the bait left there, or even simply to pass through the snare, the pole is released violently, and the animal remains hanging by the leg. And thus it will stay until it dies, or it will be killed with blows of sticks.

[177] Nowadays, instead of the snare, there is often a loaded shotgun that fires and kills the animal; it is the trap called pexkáye-wõ.

Trap for birds and small animals

5) Hunting by canoe.

Very frequently the deer and the anta throw themselves into the river, because they are being pursued by dogs or in order to look for food on the other bank. Then the hunters pursue them with their fast canoes, and they kill them with the oar, a stick, or machete. On some occasions they reach in this way large herds of queixadas /white-lipped peccary/ and kill them in large number.

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224 During low water they also go hunting at night, drifting
373 slowly and without making any noise, while one of the Indians brings a torch of turí. They thus surprise the pacas, which are blinded by the light, and the Indian kills them with arrows.
[177] Nowadays they use a battery flashlight for night hunting.

6) Agriculture.

241 The mandioca is what provides the principal food of the Indians of the basin of the Uaupés. All these tribes are thus found in the phase of tillage, which is practiced, however, in a very primitive manner: it is the phase of the "cavouco" /digging, pit, hollow/ or of the "cova" /hole/.

They freely choose the land that pleases them the most, because of the proximity of their dwelling and because of the guarantee against theft (75),

> 75. For this reason he will not do it at the edge of the river, unless it is beside his dwelling. If it is in the vicinity of the river, he will always leave a wedge of forest between the clearing and the river, in order to hide it from the view of those who are traveling on the water. And the landing place where he disembarks and ties his canoe will be at a certain distance from the clearing, in order not to reveal its location.

and which is a little sandy, as the "terras-firmes" of the entire region generally are, and suitable for mandioca. The act of
[423] clearing, wexsé pá:kũrõ, is what gives them the ownership of
*[192] the land while cultivating it.

Clearing is done in the periods of less rain, that is, from
[462] June to August and from December to February. It is work exclusively for the men. They start by choosing an area con-
*[192] venient as to distance and not subject to floods, with yellowish soil, semisandy, di'tá sõarã, or black and somewhat humous, nãxkã di'tá ñyĩrõ.

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They "go around" the clearing (pũ-pé: it is the Tukano term that they use), that is, they mark off from the rest of the forest the area they want, with a small lane, cutting down the small plants and breaking branches. Formerly they did it only with the stone ax, õxtã komé; today clearing is done with the help of the machete, di-phĩ, and also at times with the iron ax, komé. The work consists essentially of breaking off the bushes and going around the large trunks with blows in such a way as to make the bark come off. With this the tree would dry and could then be burned. Once all the trees are dried in a more or less square area of about 50 or 100 meters on a side (according to the number of persons in the family), fire is set at various spots, and thus the gigantic trees either are incinerated or are reduced to a blackened trunk, which often falls to the ground. The clouds of smoke that rise here and there from the green /246/ forest reveal the places where a good burning, õhõã-dyakã-siri, is taking place.

If the burning was not very successful, because the sticks were not dry or because of a lack of wind, the work is done again, taking down branches, assembling them around the trees -- this is called coivara, in Tukano doxté-peosé, and burning is done anew.

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Although the clearing is individual or, better, family property, for the work of clearing and burning the one interested will ask for the collaboration of his companions in the maloca or in the povoado; or, if he lives isolated, that of the closest inhabitants. And not only of his own tribe, but even of another nation. This collective work (cf. IX -- 2) is called neõsé (in Nheengatú ayurí). The immediate pay, that is, on the day or days of work, is a plentiful caxirí for all the workers; and more distantly his own help when solicited for identical work for the benefit of others. The ayurí is always practiced whenever the participation of many persons is needed for one job, for example, to cut and bring wood from the forest, to put in place the timberwork of a house roof, etc. The ayurí is a practice that is still in force even among the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

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*192 241 [462] After the operation of burning or the coivara, one proceeds with a rough cleaning, o'asé, removing to the sides one or another trunk and branch that might be on the ground.

Now begins the planting, which is reserved for the women, that is, the wife assisted by her daughters or women who live with her. Since this work might take a long time, if the clearing is very far from the house the man builds there a small hut or papirí, in Tukano wi'ykĩ-pama. This is four stakes supporting a straw covering. His family will stay there during the cleaning and the planting. This is done, even today, in the simplest way, called wexsé bu'bé, with the help of the digging stick; that is, after a rainfall, when the ground is still soft, a hole is made in the ground with a pointed stick (more rarely, today, with a digging iron), sérí-phĩ, a maniva (branch of manioc) is introduced obliquely, and a small heap of earth is piled up around it.

Nowadays, they plant in their clearings besides mandioca, joints of cane (saccharum officinale), shoots of the banana tree (Musa), of carás /Dioscorea/, of sweet potato (hypomoea batata), of pineapple (ananas satíva), seeds of papaya (papáya cárica). Ordinarily they do not plant all the cleared area at only one time, but in two stages or two clearings a year, in the two proper times; it is what they call dexkó bu'besé, half a planting. The planting is done in disorder, the /247/ shoots very close together and without a passage. For this reason, and also because of the impoverishment of the soil, the return is always scanty. Ordinarily they do not pull up mandioca for flour until after a year. The weeds that grow are pulled out by hand, taá kuresé, by the women. The woman will spend several hours a day in the clearing with her children and, upon returning, will carry on her back an aturá of mandioca, a bundle of wood for the fire, and a child or two hanging on at her waist. [462] [857]

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241 *[192] The harvest, du'á, is done by pulling the plant by the stem and taking it out with the hands. They start the harvest at the periphery of the clearing, "in order to fool the cutia /agouti/." They say that upon finding the ground turned over at the edges, it will abandon the clearing, which it thinks is completely harvested. The Indian is not provident, nor does he think of accu- [251] mulating food. Thus he has no storage place or warehouse. The circumstance of the climate favors him and leads him to this. Besides, due to the hot and humid climate, the mandioca starts to deteriorate a few hours after it has been pulled, and the fresh flour and beijú are tastier.

The man will go to see the clearing only periodically, especially when his participation becomes necessary in order to fight the ants or the animals that attack the planting. When the quantity of ants causes apprehension, they exterminate them by lighting a fire in the hole of the anthill with a termite nest, or by guiding there the waters of the frequent rains.

According to the fertility of the ground, planting will be done *[192] there for three or four years. At the second and third planting, when the roots and trunks begin to rot, the cleaning, O'á, is more thorough and is done by dragging the loose soil with a stick. All this process of burnings and cleanings impoverishes the clearing; forest will never be formed there any more. A clear space or barren land will remain, perpetuating the spot. At most a scrubby brush will emerge there.

Frequently there is a small clearing near the house, when the other one is very far away, for the days of rain or sickness.

The contingency of making a new clearing at short intervals, the native improvidence, which is a racial characteristic, the inconstancy of the climatic elements that exists in the region (76).

76. On the one hand, the inconstancy of the climatic factors, which characterizes the whole basin of the Rio Negro, and, on the other, the almost general poverty of the soil and the

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/footnote 76 cont./ plagues (insects) of every kind incapacitate the region for sufficient and economical agricultural production. The problem of hunger, driving away the inhabitants of the Uaupés, has not yet set in (and will be still longer in coming, as we note elsewhere), because it is a matter of small human bands, with a minimum of demands and already partially /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ helped by the food supplies that the Salesian Missions send in monthly from Manáus and other points of the country.

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Pertinent here is a talk that we had on the morning of the eighth of March 1956 with the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, who since 1922 has toiled heroically in the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, and which is found summarized in 6 points in our "Diário," the last five of which have to do with the subject in focus. That is: "1st. -- This year a larger number of Brazilian Indians who worked in Colombia died, among them three from Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié); 2nd. -- The Caiarí (Uaupés) has fewer people today than before, and it is going to decrease even more; 3rd. -- The Indians tend to come down, and a good-sized group of them is already established in Tapurucuá (former S. Isabel, on the lower Rio Negro); 4th. -- Many of the Pirá-tapúya of Aracú-ponta (Uaupés) have already come down to the Rio Negro, and others want to come down to there (and actually in our company, and in the same launch, on November 14, 1956, about two dozen Pirá-tapúya came down to Tapurucuá; 5th. -- They are also coming down from S. Luzia (river Papurí); some have already /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ settled near Bela-Vista and Tauá (lower Uaupés), where there are good lands, and they devote themselves to gathering rubber, which they will sell to José Maria

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161 /footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of
167 Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the com-
[222] plaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The
[438] land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The
241 indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance,
731 and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory
797 by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It
[438] seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

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There never were coins (77)

> 77. We have seen the children playing with flat and roundish beans, like chips or coins, and these children say that they are their coins. A large number of them nowadays know what a coin is. Perhaps calling such beans coins comes from the shape that they exhibit. It is nevertheless possible that the old ones used these beans as units to facilitate their calculations (see counting with the fingers, VII-2, b).

for the carrying out of their trade. Formerly, as well as nowadays, trade has taken place "in kind," that is, the exchange of one object for another. There has come to be stressed in modern times among the Indians, because of the relations with the civilized, the concept of an intrinsic value of the objects, not only because of their rarity, but also because of the laboriousness of their manufacture and the difficulty of obtaining the raw material. Nevertheless, still today, and much more intensely than formerly, they consider only the appreciative value, that is, the value depending upon the desire or the necessity for an object. It is easy to understand that, with one tribe being the exclusive producer of some objects, and another tribe, of others, it was not difficult to reach an agreement.

438 There is no information concerning the existence of intra or extra-tribal markets, that is, places for the display of the products intended for trade. The Indian formerly, as he still does today, under the necessity for an object, would undertake a trip (and they were always very much rovers, even seeming reminiscent of an ancestral nomadism) to the povoados of another tribe,

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438 [177] taking something for the exchange (78).

> 78. We have seen some Indians taking along on trips goods received from the civilized (salt, machete, mirror, etc.), with the intention of bringing back some native object in exchange (canoe, grater, puçá, etc.). In some cases it will happen that they will not find for exchange the object that they desire, or the objects offered do not interest those of the various povoados, and their owner returns from the trip with the goods that he took. We might think that the same would have happened in former times, perhaps more rarely than today.

This trade was more frequent with the tribes with which there were matrimonial relations.

Although the trade among the tribes is still being maintained today through the exchange of the products of their specialty or exclusivity, it has become much more intense due to the relations with the civilized, who, since the eighteenth century, have navigated those rivers with more or less frequency.

464 648 In the first place, the civilized needs the services of the native. They were always the oarsmen for the first travelers of the /250/ rivers (79),

> 79. We know, for example, that in the squadron of Pedro de Teixeira, in 1637, there were 1,200 Indians for the work of rowing and other services.

and today they are the "sailors," that is, pilots, mechanics, oarsmen, loaders of the launches. And not infrequently they are hired as guides and interpreters. All these services are paid for with goods. Since the time of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro

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464 and of that of the Amazon (80),

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80. See "Relatórios" /Reports/ on these Provinces. Unfortunately, instead of job contracts, there were deals between the latifundiários or traders of the Rio Negro and the tuxauas or those who, in a private or official manner, established relations with the Indians or lived among them in order to take advantage of the forest dwellers. The latter would come down, deluded by promises that did not correspond to reality and were victims of malaria or other illnesses. The means to return to their povoados were not made easy for them to get. Their weakness for alcohol was taken advantage of, and months of their services would be bought with some bottles of aguardiente. The documented exposure of these "descidas" /descents/ of the Indians will constitute quite dark chapters in the future History of the Indians of Brazil.

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and on a smaller scale even today, more or less numerous Indians of different tribes irregularly come down to the lower Rio Negro for the most varied jobs, particularly the extraction of various products (rubber, piaçaba /piassava/, nuts, timber, etc.).

439 Objects of native industry for purchase are not only their artifacts for museum collections or decorations for private homes. Those who live or travel in these regions obtain from the Indians part of their food (81)

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81. The Salesian Missions have brought great stimulus to the Indians for the production of the means of subsistence, because,

4: Silva--365 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/footnote 81 cont./ in keeping more than a thousand native children in the regimen of the boarding school, they must buy from the Indian /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ flour, beijú, fish, fruits, game, etc., for their students. During the Second World War traders buying large quantities of flour for those who worked in the rubber plantations of Venezuela and Colombia came by regularly. American seaplanes would come periodically as far as the Papurí to collect and transport hundreds of panniers of flour.

in fruits (especially bananas, papayas, pineapples), flour, beijú, fish, game. It is also the forest dwellers who supply the civilized of those latitudes with canoes, material for the construction of residences (timber, cipo, palms for the roofing), benches, pottery, mats, baskets, strainers, etc. The Indians of the upper Rio Negro and the river Xié devote themselves nowadays to the production of piaçaba /piassava/ ropes, which are sold not only for towropes for the launches of those rivers, but also regularly for the ships of the Amazon River and even for the States.

Almost all the Indians today look to the civilized for hooks, matches, fabrics (and the accessories for the clothing), salt, tobacco, soap. There is less demand for gunpowder, lead, caps for guns, axes, machetes, shotguns. The mercantile practice has already more or less established the prices of the different articles. Nevertheless, the Indians, under the stimulus of self-interest and of certain prejudices against the whites, always want to sell dearly and to buy cheaply or to get something for nothing.

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439 The Indians who are in contact with the civilized obtain clothing and many objects from them in order later to resell these to other natives. It has been verified that in this trade they show economic judgment and know how to make large profits, not only among the Indians of a different tribe, but also among their own tribal "brothers" (82).

[437] 82. We know, for example, that the Tukano Indians residing in Melo Franco received flour from other Tukano from the mouth of the Áua in order to sell it to the Salesian Mission, and for this transaction alone they demanded from their "brothers" 50 per cent of the price of the flour.

8) Means of communication.

501 For their trade and social relations the means of communication are the rivers and igarapés; the canoe, then, is the primary means of transportation (83).

[171] 83. They never build rafts. The Maku, because they only live in the interior of the forests, do not know how to make canoes, nor do they possess them. They say that sometimes they improvise rafts in order to cross rivers or their branches. These are very rare events, however.

491 Since ordinarily these rivers are quite wide and subject to great differences in level and impetuousness of the waters during the time of high water, it is not possible to build bridges. As for passage across small brooks, they either do it by fording them or they take down trees without any concern except that they connect the two banks. This work, by the way, is very rare, because at every step one finds trees felled by storms, which serve as bridges.

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487 The Amazon forest, interlaced as it is by lianas (a little less, it is true, than appears to anyone who only sees it from the bank of the rivers), is crossed with some difficulty, and [481] perhaps for this reason is not crisscrossed with trails. The custom of the Indians always to walk one behind the other, never side by side, is well known. It is what is called "Indian file," that is, one by one. The native does not go very far into the forest; he is afraid of Wãx-tĩ (VII -- 4, d (5) ). As for his [241] clearing, it is even desirable that there is no path to reveal the site. In this way it will be better sheltered from thefts. For these reasons roads are not opened, except for those that lead from the maloca or povoado to the landing place, ordinarily a few dozen or, at most, one or two hundred meters in extent.

/252/ They discover, however, shorter routes than the interminable windings by way of the rivers or igarapés to go *[192] from one maloca to another. Such routes, as they are more frequented for the exchange of women, feasts, or trade, become better and constitute what is called varadouro (in Tukano ma'á) (84).

84. It seems that originally the Tukano term ma'á meant only the route that the canoe was to follow in the dangerous crossings of the cachoeiras. Today the term ma'á is used as an equivalent to the Portuguese words: varadouro, caminho, estrada, etc.

482 All the transportation of cargo by land is done by means of the *[192] aturás /carrying baskets/, or pi'í, which the woman carries on her back.

502 During the time of high water in the rivers canals navigable by canoes are formed within the forest, since the wilderness becomes a sea, and the native takes advantage of that in order to shorten the trips; his canoe takes a shortcut through the forest, instead of following all the sinuosity of the river. Their topographic memory of the rivers on which they live, going up and coming down, does not let them be led astray.

4: Silva--368 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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# Chapter VII

## Spiritual Culture

000 Man is always the rational animal, and proofs of his rational nature are innumerable and appear at every moment. But also true is the primum vívere, deínde philosophári, that is, one can only speculate after the pressing material needs have been satisfied. The intelligence needs a favorable environment in order to develop; but, even in the most adverse environment, it will always give manifestations of its presence. And these manifestations are many, which entitles us to say that, in a general way, the Indian is intelligent. The relative ease with which he adapts himself to our civilization, with which he learns and speaks several native languages and some ideas from the Portuguese that is taught him in the schools, the perspicacity with which he observes the white, listens to him, and talks to him, are proofs of our assertion concerning his intelligence. Up to now, however, no native from the Uaupés has acquired a secondary or higher education, nor has he shown an interest in acquiring it, in spite of the stimuli offered by the Salesian Missions (1).

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> 1. The Salesians count among their members, in the position of Coadjutor Brother, a Taryana Indian with an education higher than a primary one and who is a good teacher of tailoring, with a specialization course in Recife. The Montfortian Padres have recruited for their Instituto two Indians, a Desana and a Taryana. Young women of different tribes are found at present (1958) in Manaus, taking the course in nursing, supported by the Salesian Missions.

The failure of the first attempts is not surprising, because education assumes a civilization, that is, habits of life, of studies, which only a second or third native generation, raised in the civilized regimen, will be able to present.

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121 We shall indicate here the primitive manifestations of their culture (Persönlichkeitkultur), meaning by this expression what these forest dwellers exhibit from their own culture and not received from the white, and which is easily discovered from living with them.

212 /254/ 1. Writing.

A question that immediately arises is whether these tribes know how to write. One can answer that at present they do not [797] know or use any kind of writing (2).

2. With the exception, naturally, of those who have passed through the Mission schools. One notices this peculiarity: they learn how to write the Portuguese language with some facility, but they write Tukano with difficulty. Actually the letters of the Latin alphabet, which we use and such as we pronounce in Portuguese, do not reproduce all the sounds of the Tukano language.

172 It is a question open to discussion as to whether those signs
532 that are found on many stones of the Rio Negro and tributaries, that is, the petroglyphs or itacoatiaras (õxtã ohoritirí-pa in Tukano), are a writing of spoken language, or at least ciphered language (of which idiom? of which tribe? in which era?); or are only designs, perhaps stylized (sportive signs /Port. sinais lúdicos/) (3).

3. About the itacoatiaras, their antiquity and their interpretation, cf. the notable work by Bernardo da Silva Ramos, Inscrições e tradições da América pré-histórica /Inscriptions and traditions of Prehistoric America/. Koch Grünberg, going up the river Curicuriari (tributary of the right bank of the Rio Negro), on February 14, 1904, found on a stone designs with the figures

/254 cont./

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/footnote 3 cont./ of a man, monkey, and decorative ones, still fresh, perhaps made weeks or days before. He then gives the opinion that an Indian makes the first stroke with some rock. Another, upon going by, makes the line deeper, and so on, until an indelible furrow results (Z. I. 144). The same Koch asked an Indian who served him as guide on the river Cuduiarí who might have made the petroglyphs that were seen. And the Indian answered him immediately: -- "The old people did with a rock" (Z. I. 304).

203 Would they not, however, have a language for signs or signs corresponding to some ideas? Many travelers who have gone up the Rio Negro were surprised to verify that their coming was already known beforehand, how many made up the retinue, the purpose of the latter, etc. (4).

4. We read, for example, in the "Participação Quinta /Fifth Communication/" (of the "Viagem Philosophica" of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, dated from Barcelos on March 30, 1789, upon his arrival in Ipanuré): -- "I immediately ordered an examination of the five malocas of the savages, located on top of the hill, and for the second time it was confirmed to me that they had already been warned of my ascent; the houses were found deserted, there being left behind all the gear of igaçabas /clay pots/, tipitis, hampers, etc., sufficient tapioca buried in the ground, the pineapples of the clearing freshly cut, and the Indians of the canoes informed me that they had left two days ago" (o. c.).

/254 cont./

203 It is reported to us that many times such information was furnished by word of mouth by Indians who went up faster, by way of igarapés and shortcuts, and one maloca undertook to send the news to the next maloca (cf. V, Note 9, about the curiosity of the natives).

/255/ One of the principal means for these long-distance communications, however, was the Trocano, Twá-tõ, almost completely gone today, an instrument, moreover, without religious character and used only for social relations by the tuxáua.

202 *[192] 198

It is a teleresonator consisting of a trunk of hard wood suspended by cipos to four stakes and hollowed by means of a narrow longitudinal cleft. Struck on the edge of the cleft with a wooden mallet, Twá-tõ pá-kõ, with a projection of rubber or of anta hide, it emits a deep sound, which, in the solitude of those forests and with the help of the winds, is heard many kilometers away (5).

*[192]

5. Koch G. (Z. I. 171) tells that from Cucura-igarapé (one hour by canoe above S. José, river Tiquié) the Desana got in contact with the Tukano of Pari-cachoeira (cf. III, the Povoados) by means of the trocano.

[184] Each tribe or maloca had its instrument and its conventional signals. With this instrument the tuxauas communicated the date and offered invitations for the caxiris. With the trocanos, moreover, they would give information about the retinues that were coming up the rivers (6).

[115] [184]

6. Information by Plácido Rodrigues, descendant of the Baré. Cf. also "Notas sôbre os Trocanos /Notes about the Trocanos/," by Carlos Drummond, Boletim 58 of the Univ. de São Paulo. Koch G. (Z. I. 393) tells that among

/255 cont./

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/footnote 6 cont./ the Witoto of Pirá-paraná (Colombia) the language of the Trocanos, made in pairs, that is, man and wife, according to the picturesque native expression, was quite well developed.

*192 202 534 [832]

With some musical instruments they manage to emit sounds that are similar to words. For example, with the instrument called Ñamá dõxpoá (deer head, cf. VII, 3 c (3) /see VII, 3 c (10)/), we seemed to hear the syllables -- "Pêru wáatya" (bring caxiri) ... pêru... pêru... pêru" (quickly, quickly, quickly).

The young men direct amorous invitations to the young women with the sounds of some fifes. We were given on the Uaupés (and for this reason we recorded it with the pronunciation of this river) the following invitation, which they express on the fife -- "Yõõ-mẽna váya" (go with me), -- "Yõõ-mẽna vágo-tá" (you just go with me), "afiunõ nĩgosa" (be good), "afiũnõ nĩhosa" (it is going to be good). To send out such invitations with the sound of the flutes is what is called in Tukano puxtí-weresã (literally: to complain by playing the flute).

202 [123]

They likewise know how to emit certain characteristic and various cries, sometimes similar to the voice of animals and chirping of the birds, and they orient themselves, call one another, give information, etc., with these signals (7).

7. On a trip to the great maloca of the Tuyuka, on the upper Tiquié, frontier with Colombia, the machete that one of our traveling companions had loaned to the Indians disappeared. At the time for the canoe to leave, he asked about the machete and no one could give any information as to where it might be. Impatient, he complained that it was a theft, and this was wicked. After the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ canoe

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/255 cont./

/footnote 7 cont./ had gone about four hundred meters, a characteristic cry, which seemed to us more like the chirping of some bird, was heard. The Tukano who came along with us as oarsmen interpreted at once: "It is the tuxaua who is calling in order to return the machete." Truly the tuxaua was waiting for us with the machete, which was returned to its legitimate owner.

On several occasions, as we navigated the headwaters of the rivers or the igarapés, Indians who were in the interior of the forest and heard the noise of the oars exchanged whistles with our oarsmen, who afterwards would give us detailed information: who they were, if they were hunting, picking fruits, looking for caraná, or cutting lumber. It is to be noted that we never heard the Indian humming his songs or whistling for mere diversion.

[533]

/256/ 2. Sciences.

a) Geography -- Topography.

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[153]

Their geographic notions of the region are not very numerous, but they are accurate. It is difficult to distinguish what they know through individual experience, through tribal tradition, or through the influence of the civilized whom they consult, because, endowed with an excellent memory, they retain the information that they receive, like that which they learn visually.

/256 cont./

823 They admit a legendary origin of many cachoeiras, rivers, streams, islands, canals, stones, mountains, forests, etc. As an example: for the ancients a legendary stone of the cachoeira of Uaracapá (river Papurí) was a banana tree, although it did not resemble such a plant in any way. In a stone called precisely Cabeça-de-anta /Head-of-tapir/ (cachoeira of Tapira-jirau, upper Uaupés) the natives see the snout of an anta and one of their legends explains its origin. They assert that from Piracuara, on the river Papurí, comes a subterranean canal that connects this river to the Tiquié, a little above the cachoeira of Pari. The legends say that it was through this canal that the first fish passed from the former river to the latter one. What is observed at that point of the Tiquié is a deep place where a small jet of waters of infiltration flows, as also happens in other places and rivers (cf. III, Note 17).

Their topographic memory is commendable; they not only identify by name the povoados and malocas that they pass, but also the rivers, igarapés, points, etc. Even more, they know how many turns and points of the rivers are to
*[192] come before one arrives at a certain place. It seems, however, that this concept of turn (mahamĩsé), stretch (kusá), or point (ñõá) is different from ours, or, who knows, might be somewhat subjective. We verified many times that they did not correspond to the number that they indicated to us, a mistake perhaps attributable to their lack of knowledge of mathematics.

4: Silva--375 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 256 in the original source./

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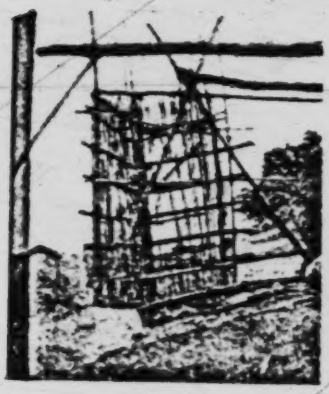
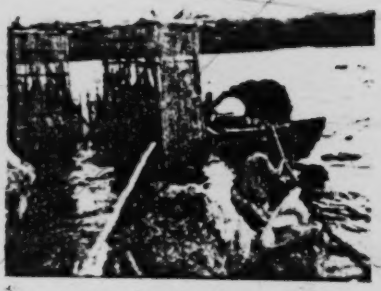
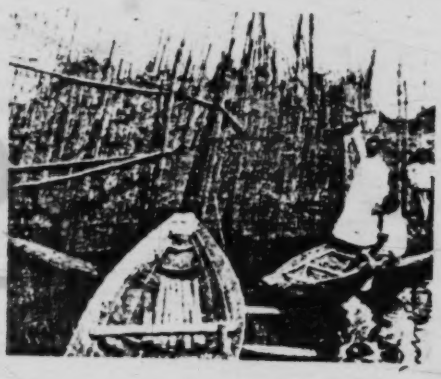




Cacuri (Waí-ro) set up during low water, but in the path used by the fish at high water

Small puça (Wehẽ-kõ)

Barrier in a stream for fishing



4: Silva--376 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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/Illustrations facing p. 257 in the original source./

Quiver of arrows (busá-sa), arrows for the sarabatana, and pot containing curare

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*[192]

Preparation of the curare (nimá) by a Maku Indian

/257/

484 As for the sharp sense of direction of the natives in the forest, or
823 their topographic sense, which has been praised so much, it seems to be the fruit of poetic imagination, if it is generalized for the tribes of the Caiarí. They know very well the rivers and forests that they frequent; however, they do not risk going very far into the forest. They tell of various episodes in which they were lost in the forest. And, in order for this not to happen, they avail themselves of the expedient of breaking branches, all in the same direction, as they draw
[171] away from the usual paths. The Makú live in the interior of the forests, are hunters, and therefore orient themselves better. It is to be pointed out, however, that they are seminomadic and always travel in groups.

b) Mathematics.

*192 The natives have different names for the first five numbers and
802 distinguish the masculine, feminine, and neuter (thing), to wit:

| Number | Masculine | Feminine | Neuter |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | nikã, nikõ | nikõ | niká |
| 2 | poãra, poana | poãra, poana | poá, pöáro |
| 3 | i'tyãra, i'tyãna | i'tyãra, i'tyãna | i'tyá, I'tyáro |
| 4 | ba'pári-tíra | ba'pari-tíra | ba'pári-tise |
| (Uaupes) | bapári-tina | ba'pári-tina | |
| 5 | niká-mũkõra | niká-mũkõra | niká-mũkose |
| (Uaupes) | niká-mũkona | niká-mũkona | |

It should be noted that Niká-mũkõ̃ra, properly speaking, means one hand. And ordinarily they prefer to indicate the number of fingers (2, 3, etc.) rather than pronounce the numbers. From five on, all of them, practically, are content to show the corresponding number of fingers. The more intelligent ones know how to count up to twenty, using the fingers of the hands and the toes. They no longer know how to count numbers higher than twenty.

*192 Properly speaking they do not have measures of extension or
804 length. They speak of sẽẽrõ (sẽẽnõ), nikáti sẽẽrõ, the breadth of the arm-span or the two open arms, põáti sẽẽrõ, two arm-spans, etc.; a step, yeraró, nikáti yeraró, one step; a handspan, wamũ-ka keoró or wamũ-pama-keoró, niká pama, one handspan, põá wamũ-ka-keoró, two handspans, ba'páritise wamũ-ka-peosé, four handspans.

/257 cont./

804 As a practical means for their calculations, they will even make a small stick the size of an arm span or a handspan; they are, nevertheless, individual and casual measurements.

797 The arithmetic tables already consitute a serious difficulty for
872 the school children, in spite of being a mere question of memory.
803 Those of better progress do not manage to perform the four operations after /258/ three or four years of attending school. And one notices in all great difficulty in solving the simplest problem in mathematics.

804 It seems that it is equally difficult for them to estimate time,
805 as well as distance and area; thus, they are apt to answer that the length of a room is three kilometers and the course of a river, one hundred meters.

c) Astronomy -- Cosmography.

1) The world.

*192 According to their conceptions, the earth, Di'tã, is a plain
823 covered by a regular and solid spherical calotte, which is called Õ'mã-se (high thing), the sky, with four doors /Port. portas, doors, gates/ corresponding to the four cardinal points, through which the waters of the rivers escape. If these doors were to be closed, the waters would flood the lands and drown all humanity. (Cf. the Legend of the snake Sẽ, p.)

[821] They differentiate the clouds into oxkó-kururí, the nimbi, and o'mẽ-kurúri, cirri.

They call the cardinal points "porta" /door, gate/, Soxpé, and designate them as follows: East, Síro-ká-soxpé (back door); West, Pó'té-ká-soxpé (front door, to wit, of the river); South, Kũ'pé-ká-soxpé (left door, from which the Uaupés rises); North, Dyakõ-ká-soxpé (right door).

2) Heavenly bodies and stars.

*192 They do not know how to explain how the stars, Yõxkõã, were
821 formed. All the constellations, however, have a legendary origin. They even assert that the sun, the moon, and the stars are people, Maxsã, according to their legends. As confirmation, it is to be

/258 cont./

*192 821 noted that, while all the inanimate beings belong to the neuter gender in the Tukano language (and, it seems to us, in all the indigenous languages of the region), sun, moon, star, thunder, and the sacred instrument miri (cf. VII - 3, c (3c) ) are of the masculine gender.

There is only one name to designate the sun and the moon, Muhĩ-pũ. They originally imagined them as only one and the same being, which illuminated the world, and it was always day. Until night appeared, in the form of dark dust scattered through space.

*822 192 The echo, Axkã-keoãra, is owed to Wãx-tĩ (see VII - 4, d (5a) ), who, from amidst the forest, amuses himself by imitating some noise. And many of the noises of the forest (the whispering of the wind, the murmuring of the breeze among the /259/ leaves, branches falling) seem to them to be imitations of the music and sounds of the dances that Wãx-tĩ performs.

*192 821 The thunderclap is the aborted children, Paxkõ-mãrĩrã-khãra (that is, orphans without a mother), who cry, because it is going to be very hot. "These poor children go around alone, because nobody takes care of them" (Patrícia Vasconcelos).

3) The constellations.

They distinguish the constellations with names of animals or things that they seem to see represented by the stars, Yõxkõã. The knowledge of the constellations is more generalized among the natives than among the civilized. Thus, [115] upon asking a group of young men of 16 to 20 years of age the names of the constellations, all showed that they knew them, and one would recall the name when another had forgotten it, and they pointed to them in the sky.

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They distinguish the following constellations, whose principal figures we give according to the design and in the same order in which they were given to us by an old Pirá-tapuya, Antônio Goes, from the povoado of S. Paulo on the river Papurí.

1. Ãña, ray (batoid fish: ãña is also the name of the planet Venus);
2. Pamõ desté-ke or Pamõ dõxká or Pamõ dõxká sũxtéke (piece of tatu /armadillo/);
3. Kaĩ sã'rĩ-rõ (parakeet enclosure);
4. Daxsyã (shrimp);
5. Yai or yai pwê-ro (high water of the onça /jaguar/);
6. Syó-a yaxpú (adze handle);
7. Wai kaxsá (fish platform, VI - 5, a (2c) /see a (2d)/);
8. Yehé (garça /heron/);
9. Dya-yó (otter);
10. Bõõ (the piranha fish);
11. Yõxkwãtéro (legendary personage);
12. Yõkwãtéro maxkõ (son of Yõxkwãtéro);
13. Ãña pixkõ-rõ (tail of the ray);
14. Koxtí-pa (scorpion);
15. Ko dyéri me'sã (pile of their eggs);
16. Yai õxsé-ka poarí (hairs from the whiskers of the onça /jaguar/);
17. Mãhõã (the jacundá fish);
18. Ñamákurú (a small deer of legend).

4: Silva--381 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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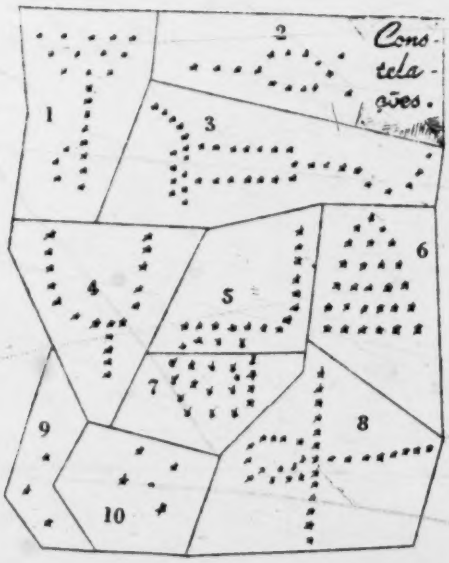


/Constellations/

1. Ãña, ray; 2. Pamõ dõxká, piece of tatu /armadillo/; 3. Yaí pwé-ro, high water of the onça /jaguar/; 4. Daxsyã, shrimp; 5. Syó-a yaxpú, adze handle; 6. Waí kaxsá, fish platform; 7. Kaĩ sãrĩrõ, parakeet enclosure; 8. Yehé, garça /heron/; 9. Dyayó, otter; 10. Bõõ, piranha.

4) Time and the seasons.

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Today they have a term to indicate the year, Kõmá (plural Kõmãrĩ) (8).

8. According to what some of our informants have stated, the term Kõmá originally indicated only the time of the less abundant rains, which runs from September to March. The period of high water, which ordinarily extends from March to September, is called Pwé-kõ. That period of 10 to 15 drier days, with little or no rain (which is truly rare), an appropriate

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/footnote 8 cont./ time for the burning of the clearings, is called Kõmã-rõ (Uaupés kõmã-nõ), summer, maturity.

which is the interval between one period of low water and another in the rivers. Perhaps by the physiological reactions, but especially by the phases of the moon, they distinguish the period of the lunar cycles or months, and they call it /261/ by the term Muhĩ-pũ (9),

9. It also seems, according to some information obtained, that more remotely they did not distinguish lunar cycles or periods corresponding to the months. It is certain that the term muhĩ-pũ (plural muhĩ-pũrĩ; on the Uaupés muhĩ-pũnĩ), as corresponding to the word month, is not only of recent usage, but is also not very generalized.

which applies to both the sun and the moon, as we have said. The latter, when one wants to distinguish it from the sun, is called Yamĩ-ka muhĩ-pũ, sun-of-the-night. There does not exist, however, a term to indicate the week (10).

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10. On the rivers Içana and Aiari we saw a denticulated ruler with transverse strokes serving as a calendar to mark the days of the week and of the month. A slip-knot of tucum would be moved day by day from one denticulation to another. Koch G. (Z. I. 298) reports that the Juritĩ also had a stick with grooves for their calculations: on one of the flattened ends the grooves marked the days of travel as far as the Lago-do-espelho /Lake of the mirror/ (Uaruá-lake), on the other, the days of the return trip.

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/261 cont./

They only know two seasons, those that really exist, that is, the summer (dry season or low water of the rivers), Wextíro or kõmã-rõ, and the winter (high water), Pwé-kõ.

The year starts, according to the way they formerly reckoned, in the summer or low water of the Uaupés, when they devoted themselves to felling the trees and the clearings.

The 1st month corresponds to half of August to the middle of September and is called Pũrĩ Pwé-ro (which means high water of the leaves).

The 2nd, ã̃'rẽ puxtiró (blossoming of the pupunha tree), time of felling the trees and burning.

The 3rd, ãña pwé-ro (high water of the ray or of Venus /final parenthesis is missing/, because one notices an increase of water in the rivers. It is what is called on the Amazon "repiquete /oscillation of the waters immediately after the low water in the great rivers/ of the dead."

The 4th, ãña pwé-ro pityá (the high water of the ray ends), the dry season starts.

The 5th, mẽ'rẽ kõmá (time of the ingá).

The 6th, Kõmá wáaro (the year goes), time for planting mandioca.

The 7th, ã̃'rẽ kõmá (time of the pupunha), the time for the big caxiris.

The 8th, mã'mã kõmá (new year).

The 9th, Wamã petiró (end of the time of the umarí).

The 10th, Yaí õxsé-ka pwé-ro (high water of the whiskers of the onça /jaguar/).

The 11th, Yõxkwãtéro pwé-ro (high water of Yõxkwãtéro).

The 12th, Yõxkwãtéro pwé-ro pitiró (end of the high water of Yõxkwãtéro).

/262/ We were unable to learn whether these divisions of the months correspond /the line that follows these words in the original source belongs in the next paragraph; the one that belongs here is missing/.

/262 cont./

805 [115] A Tukano by the name of Dorotéia Brito, with decades of contact with the schools of the Salesian Sisters, furnished us a list of 12 months, with the corresponding names in Portuguese. As it will be seen, there is only partial correspondence of the names with the preceding list, which was obtained for us by Padre Antonio Giacone. Dorotéia explained the origin of the names as being that of the figures which they seem to see in the clouds (sic). It is to be noted that it coincides with the names of the constellations, precisely as the ancients used to divide the months by the constellations.

*192 805 821

These are the names of the months:

January -- Ma'mã̄ bahwarí muhĩ-pũ (new month appeared)
February -- Daxsyã̄ pixkõ-rõ (shrimp tail)
March -- Dyá-yó (otter)
April -- Yaí pwé-ro (high water of the onça)
May -- wã̄rã̄ (animal-sloth)
June -- Axpã̄ kaxsá (crab platform)
July -- Pamõ pwé-ro (high water of the tatu)
August -- Wai kaxsá (fish platform)
September -- Syó-a yaxpú (adze handle)
October -- Yõxkwã̄téro (morning star)
November -- Aña (ray)
December -- Yaí õxpõ (body of the onça)

5) The day.

They know, with enough approximation, how to calculate the hour of the day by the height of the sun. They do not, however, have calculations of years, months, weeks, and days; nor do they know how to tell what date we are at.

They distinguish the following hours of the day:

boreá-mãhõãtise -- (literally, before the light or dawn rises), around four in the morning
Boré-kease -- dawn
/263/ Boréke-yõrõãse -- more light
muhĩ-pũ mã̄hõã-tyase -- (sunrise), six in the morning

/263 cont./

*192 Axsí mãhõá:ti wá:ró -- (the heat begins to rise), around nine in the morning

805 Axsí mãhõá:ti daharítero twa'tá nõ'kã-nĩmĩ -- (the heat increases, the time of returning draws near), around ten o'clock

821 Daharí-tero -- (time to return, let us say, from the clearing), around 11-12 o'clock

õmã-ko dexkó -- (midday), around 12 o'clock

Daharítero mãhõá-nĩmĩ dõhõagõ --(the sun rose and sank after the time to return), around one o'clock

Tõreáro dexkó -- (half the descent of the sun), around 2-3 o'clock

Sahãgõ wemĩ-məhã -- (the sun is going in), around 4 o'clock

Sahã-wá:pi-məhã -- (the sun went in), around 6 o'clock

Nai-kea wá: -- (it is getting dark), around 7 o'clock

Nãỹá wá:məhã -- (it got a little darker), around 7 or 8 o'clock

Ỹamĩ nĩ-məhã -- (the night advanced), around 9 o'clock

Yamĩ-ka bwí -- (above the night, late at night), around 10 o'clock

Yamĩ dexkó -- (midnight), around 12 o'clock

d) Natural Sciences.

1) Ideas about nature.

*192 825 a) There are reminiscences of an old belief, according to which they judged that all the animals were "people," maxsã. Some stated to us categorically that the animals are "people." Confirmation of this belief perhaps is the fact that in the Tukano language all the animals are of the masculine gender; whereas all the inanimate beings are of the neuter gender.

When they catch an animal or group of animals, for example, deer, anta, etc., tarrying to drink water or to lick a stone (cf. anta sucker, VI -- 5, b (2), Note 73), they think that these animals are besotted because they have spent a night of dances and orgies.

They likewise explain that the piracema /school of fish/ is a large concentration of fish solemnizing a caxirí.

/264/ There is a species of white vulpídeos with some black feathers and called "baaró" (known also by the regional name of "tesoura" /Muscivora tyrannus/), which at certain times appear in flocks looking for worms. Being light in weight and having abundant

/264 cont./

*192 825 plumage, they are graceful and light in flight. They believe that it is a group of spirits or "people," who dance in the air. They call them ã'rã nõ'myã (girls of the sierra) and assert that they do not make nests, because nobody has ever found them sitting in the nest.

b) They admit the transformation of the animals. They believe, for example, that some worms that proliferate in the bacaba tree become transformed, on the occasion of eclipses, into the fish bũxkõã-wi (or matapí, of the Siluridae), because they find a certain likeness with such worms. Confirmation of this origin seems to them to be disclosed in the fact that such fish are found still alive in the forest after the lezírias (igapós) dry out. They say that, because of having been worms, they flee to the forest when timbo is put in the streams.

We point out (VII -- 4, j (1)/see 4, f (1)/) that they admit the possibility of human persons being transformed, temporarily or permanently, into animals; and vice versa.

They assert that the parrots are "children of the forest," nãxkã wimãrã. Actually they are children of Boraró (see VII -- 4, d (56) /see 4, d (5b)/) or Curupira. They live naked, playing; whenever they want to go about, they put on feathers and fly.

They tell interesting stories about the origin of certain animals; for example, Ahã, inambú /bird/, was previously a very pretty girl. The parrots veú arose through the transformation of two sisters, wives of a handsome Baré youth.

262 773 c) We have pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, e (1) ) their belief in immortality itself. They say that formerly they did not eat animal flesh. It was permitted to add worms and insects to the exclusively vegetable diet. During this time of a vegetarian regimen, there were no sicknesses, they say. Those appeared after their parents started to eat the flesh of fish and of animals. During certain illnesses the pajé will immediately prescribe that they abstain [755] from the meat of large animals (anta, deer, monkey, etc.).

They assert, moreover, that in the beginning the Tukano not only did not die, but did not even grow old. After they had lived *[192] many, many years, always strong, they ended their life when someone cast a malefice, dohasé, on them.

/265/ 2) Human physiology.

826 They have quite precise notions about human anatomy and physiology, both of the external functions and something of the internal ones, and a very rich nomenclature for the different parts of the organism. By way of documentation, these terms run:

*[192]

ōxpō, body (Plural ōxpō-ri)
döxpo-á (pl. döxpo-pá), head
poá (pl. poá-ri), hair
dyápo-a (pl. dyápo-pá), front, face
dyápo-a-sero (pl. seri), brow
dyápo-a-tōrō (pl. tōri), forehead
döxpo-pe'toro (pl. pe'tori), cranium
kaxpé-a (pl. kaxpé-ri), eye
kaxpé-poa (pl. poari), eyelash
kaxpé-wē (pl. wēri), eyebrows
kaxpé-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), eyelid
waxsu-poro (pl. pori), cheek
waxsú-di-a (pl. waxsú-di-pá), zygoma
ē'ké-a (pl. ē'ké-pá), nose
ē'ké-a-pé (pl. peri), nostril, naris
c'mē-pero (pl. peri), ear
töori-pe (pl. töosé-peri), orifice
wamâ-ta (pl. wamâ-tari), neck
wamâ-pé (pl. wamâ-peri), throat
u-khá (pl. usé-pá), hyoid body (Adam's apple)
héri-mirō (pl. héri-misé), larynx
meōrō (pl. meōsé), pharynx
meōri-da (pl. meōsé-dari), pharynx, esophagus
ōx'sé-ro (pl. ōx'sé-ri), mouth
ōx'sé-be'to (pl. be'tori), lip
ōx'sé-ka (pl. kari), jaw
ōx'sé-ka-poa (pl. poari), chin
ōx'sé-be'to-poa (pl. poari), whiskers
ōx'sé-ko (pl. inus kori), saliva
kuxti-ro (pl. kuxti-ri), chest
uxpi-ka (pl. uxpi-kari), tooth
uxpi-mō (p. mōri), gums
duri-khā (pl. duri-khāsé pikari), molar tooth
ye'mē-ro (pl. ye'mē-ri), tongue
kātō ou kātō-a (pl. kātō-ri), nape

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*192 826

axkõ-poro (pl. pori), shoulder
sẽ'éma (pl. sẽ'émãri), back
sẽ'éma-o'ã (pl. o'ãri), vertebral column
pati-pãma (pl. pãmãri), rib
oxpẽ-rõ (pl. oxpẽ-ri), breast (woman)
oxpẽ-kõ (pl. inus. kõri), milk
oxpẽ-yõxkõri (pl. yõxkõri), nipple
oxpẽ-ro-tõ (pl. tõri), scrotum
oxpẽ-ro-tõ dyé (pl. dyé-ri), sperm
súmũ-a (Uaupés sõmõ-a) (pl. súmũ-pá; Uaupés sõmõ-pá), navel
héri-póra (pl. põrãri), heart, liver
héri-mise (inv.), breath
ye'mẽ-turi (só pl.), bronchiae, lungs
nimã-ga (pl. nimã-pá), biliary vesicle, gall bladder
si'sẽrẽ (pl. si' sẽrẽri), trochanter
wa'té-ro (pl. wa'té-ri), groin
nihi-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), uterus
nihi-koro (pl. korori), vagina
yaxpé or yaxpẽ (pl. yaxpẽ-ri), vulva
kõrẽ-tuxturo (pl. tuxturi), clitoris
so'mũri-phi (pl. phiri), labia of the vulva
nũ'ri-gõ (pl. nũ'ri-paõ), penis
õ'rẽ (inv.), urine
õ'rẽ-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), bladder
sõ'kõã (pl. sõ'kõãri), waist, lumbar region
si-á (pl. si-pá), buttocks
si-á-pé (pl. si-á-peri), anus
kaxsé-ro (pl. kaxsé-ri), skin
o'ã (pl. o'ãri), bone
axsi-busu (pl. bususé), heat, fever
axsi-thúase (inv.), sweat
keká-doxká (pl. doxkari), axilla
wamũ-kã (pl. kãri), arm, hand
wamũ-ka-mipero (pl. mipese), groove opposite the elbow
sa'ã-ga (pl. sa'ã-pá), apophysis of the elbow
wamũ-ka-o'ã (pl. o'ãri), elbow
wamũ-ka-kuxtiro (pl. kuxtiri), palm without the fingers
wamũ-pãma (pl. pãmãri), hand
wamũ-pa (pl. pari), palm with fingers close together
wamũ-ka dõ'po-ka (pl. kari), shoulder blade
wamũ-pika (pl. pikari), finger
wamũ-sero (pl. seri), fingernail
wamũ-ka-doxká (pl. doxkari), forearm

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*192 õx'só (pl. õx'só-ri), thigh
ox'sé-peko-a (pl. peko-ri), knee
826 kũ-ñarõ (pl. kũ-ñãsé), knee
ñõxkã (pl. ñõxkã-ri), leg, shinbone
ñõxkã-di-a (pl. ñõxkã-di-pá), calf
ñõxkã-ga-phi (pl. phiri), shin
dõ'pó-kã (pl. dõ'pó-kãri), leg, foot, base
dõ'pó-di-a (pl. dõ'po-dipá), heel
dõ'pó-pãma (pl. pãmãri), sole of the foot
dõ'pó-pika (pl. pikari), toe
dõ'pó-sero (pl. seri), toenail
ã'ñaya-gá (pl. ã'ñaya-pá), ankle
õ'tá or ã'tá (inv.), feces
õ'tá-mi'si (pl. mi'siri or mi'si-dari), intestines, entrails, viscera
õ'tá-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), stomach
ya'ko-kó or Yá'kó (inv.), tears
di (inv.), blood
di'i or di'iró (inv.), flesh
di-wá:-da (pl. di-wá:-dari), vein, artery
di-wa:sé (pl. di-wa:sé-dari), vein, artery

3) Classification of the animals.

*192 Among the animals they admit the following distinction:

825 1st. -- Ya'ãrá (Uaupés ña'ãná) (that is, bad, ferocious) -- they are the beasts and harmful animals, such as the onça /jaguar/, gambá /opossum/, etc.

2nd. -- Nãxkã-khãrá (U. khãná) (that is, inhabitants of the forest) -- they are the edible wild animals, such as the cutia /agouti/, the paca, etc.

3rd. -- Ex'kãrá (U. ex'kãná) (that is, those that they feed) -- they are the domestic ones, such as the chicken, pig, etc.

4th. -- Bããrá (U. baãná) (that is, those that they eat) -- under this name come the fish, caterpillars, insects, etc., which they usually eat.

5th. -- Bwĩrá (U. bwíná) (bwí, up above) -- they are the ones that fly.

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e) Medicine.

755 1) Origin of the sicknesses.

*[192] Their knowledge in this sector has been hurt by magic and superstition. Although the nature that surrounds him is prodigal, the native scarcely uses home remedies, because of his concept of the sicknesses, under the influence of the xamã /shaman/ or pajé (11).

11. In the account of the voyage of 1637 by Pe. Alonso de Rojas ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," p. 110), we find: -- "They fear /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ the sorcerers, whom they consult, and the latter fear the devil, from whom they receive oracles, and, with lies, they fool the miserable Indians."

753 /268/ They hide their sicknesses as much as possible. They do not know of the existence of pathogenic germs or of the chemical-biological action of the organism and the poisons that act upon it. Their logical mind, on the other hand, demands an explanation for the facts, it is certain that the effects demand a proportional cause. As the obvious forces of nature exist, they admit that there are, moreover, occult forces capable of producing the most varied and strange phenomena. Nor can the meteorological and astronomical phenomena fail to impress them. The Indian, besides, is a convinced animist, as we shall see later. *[192] All the sicknesses, for him, have only one cause, however varied their manifestations may be, to wit, the dohasé, which we could translate as malefice (12).

[754] 12. Like many among the civilized, they believe in witchcraft, evil eye, charms, enchantment, voodoo. A consequence of

/268 cont./

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/footnote 12 cont./ this opinion about the sicknesses will be no hygiene or preventive measures at all, hence the spread, for example, of malaria, grippe, tuberculosis, etc., as is reported for various occasions and places.

That is, the sicknesses are caused by the malevolent spirit of the men who, by envying (one of the weak points of the forest-dweller's psyche) their fellow men, endeavor to do them some harm. For that, they can use the most varied objects turned malefic by magic: a lock of hair, a piece of cloth, wood, stone, metal, bone, thorn, very commonly a cigar butt (13),

13. Every time that, upon digging in a spot, a cigar butt is found, the Indian immediately thinks that it is a matter of a malefice.

and even the mere thought. The malefic objects will act when placed on the individual's path, inside his house, buried in his yard, or thrown on his landing place or his canoe.

*[192] [115]

They believe that (information from the tuxaua Júlio from Pari-cachoeira, river Tiquié) mysterious beings, whom they call Waí maxsã (fish people) might have spread germs of sickness under the stones of the rivers; thus they talk about seré-pá (stone of purú-puru /skin disease/), yohá-pá (stone of dysentery). For this reason, they oppose breaking these stones, because such sicknesses would spread and decimate the population. They assert concerning some stones of Pari-cachoeira that even the fish die when they lie against them (14).

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14. One of the Missionary Brothers gave a likely explanation for the fact: the existence there of numerous piranhas, which attack the other fish.

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753 The cause of a local pain, inflammation or fever can also
755 be one of those malefic objects which has been introduced into the organism. The cure, naturally, is only to be obtained with the elimination of the object located in the sick part or the elimination of the malefice. Since it reached the organism mysteriously, by a magic process, only another magic process will be
[192] able to bring about the cure. And here the "sorcerer" or "xamã" /shaman/, called in Tukano Yaí (pajé), comes into action (15).

15. Yaí also means onça /jaguar/. Might there perhaps be some connection between the two concepts? The Indians could not tell us. The Ethnologists grant it.

753 They also think that the civilized, in order to do them harm,
829 send them malefice (grippe, etc.) inside the boxes of merchandise, which, upon being opened, will infect many people or the whole povoado (16).

16. In the Tukano povoado of S. Luzia (river Papuri) the daughter of the tuxaua had died
[648] of whooping cough (1947). Envying the Makú, who were well paid for the curare acquired in order to be studied in the south of Brazil, there was immediately a rumor that the sicknesses were prepared by the civilized with the curare of the Makú and sent to S. Luzia with the merchandise.

761 From this persuasion concerning the malevolent and magic origin of the sicknesses is born the conviction that every death has as its author an inimical person. It is, therefore, violent; man by nature is immortal. It is a vain effort to try to convince a feeble old man that he is going to die and it is advisable to prepare himself. Such a mental attitude, obviously, is not favorable to suicide, although one might perhaps find some old

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761 person who longs for death (17).

17. "I want to die," said one of these old men to Pe. Antônio Giacone, "because my teeth are tired of chewing." Pe. João Marchesi related to us the details of the only case of suicide that he had heard of. A Taryana Indian from the povoado called Cigarro, river Uaupés, violently inebriated by the caxirí, threw his own wife down on the ground and ill-treated her until he killed her. Afterwards he lay in the hammock and fell asleep. While he slept, the relatives and other persons buried the body. The murderer, upon awakening in the morning, called for his wife to prepare the mingau for him. They then told him how he himself had killed her the night before. The murderer, without saying anything to anyone, took his canoe and went to a nearby igarapé. Some hours later the canoe was found bubuiando (floating at the mercy of the stream) and, inside, some pieces of timbo and a cuia still dirty with timbo juice. The poor man squeezed and drank the poisonous juice of that plant and, perhaps in the convulsions of the agony, fell in the water and drowned.

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2) The Xamã /shaman/ or Yaí.

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*[192]
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The pajé or Yaí is, therefore, the doctor and at the same time Xamã /shaman/ (that is, a magician or sorcerer). Only men can be pajé.

/270/ a) His powers.

His powers are many. In the first place, to neutralize the malefice cast upon a sick person and thus cure him. He can even make individuals invulnerable to sicknesses.

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756 On the other hand, he will cast a malefice and will cause sickness in others, and even death. They also attribute to him power over the winds, rains, storms, lightning. And it is also he who will make the children grow, or, on the contrary, make them rachitic. He knows how to predict the future.

He is able to discover criminals when a crime is suspected and nobody was caught in the act.

As a result of his ceremonies, the individuals will be lucky in hunting or fishing.

It is also by the act of the pajé, they say, that the curare has its formidable toxic power; that the drinks become more inebriating or lose this quality of theirs.

From this is to be deduced all the social importance of the pajé and the respect and fear that surround him on the part of all the Indians, not only from his own tribe, but also from other tribes. The renunciation of the belief in the power of the pajé [797] is perhaps the greatest sacrifice that the Catholic catechesis imposes on the Christian natives. In some cases, it is only partially achieved.

b) Means of cure.

755 The means of cure that the pajé uses correspond, in turn, to the magic concept of the sicknesses. He knows and applies medicinal plants, with which he makes potions, prepares powder, *[192] fumigation. They also apply the ablution (Oxkó-pyó-peasé), sprinkling (Oxkó-stáse-peasé), massages (Pá-pwãsé or Tu-bõrosé), suction (Põ-ãseasé). But, besides this, he has the whole appara- *[192] tus of magic power kept ordinarily in a small basket, which is called Wamõ axká-ro (18).

18. To designate this medical kit of the pajé we have also heard the expression Pi'ĩ-kamõ, if it is a basket, and Wĩhyõ-sáku when it is a bag made out of tururí.

/270 cont./

755 his medical kit, where there are small calabashes containing
*[192] powders, and also thorns, pieces of bone and of cylindrical sticks, small pebbles, polished stones of crystal for the vision, and, especially, the painted maracá (Yaxsã-ga), considered a magic instrument, and the cigar (Baxséke mõrõ-rõ, Uaupés mõ̃nõ-nõ).

He smokes it and disperses the smoke over the body, or the sore part of the body, with the force to drive away the
[787] dohasé and to effect the cure. By means of the smoke he is able to forecast the patient's death; and the direction /271/ that it takes or the figure that it describes in the air will indicate who caused that malefice.

756 When the pajé blows into the closed left hand and, opening it afterwards, releases the smoke in a given direction, or with a wide and slow gesture of the right hand drives the smoke from the left axilla toward a certain direction, he is sending toward there sicknesses and misfortunes. The simple blowing, slowly closing the left hand, will drive away the clouds, making the rain stop. If, instead, he opens the fingers, he will send winds, storms, lightning flashes. The lightning flashes always originate with some pajé. (Cf. Ermano Stradelli, o. c., entry Payé.)

*[192] There is a deeply rooted belief in the mysterious force of the "Sõpro" /blowing/, "Baxsesé," of the pajé, because the blowing comes from deep inside the person, from his Héripõra /heart, liver/ (19).

[829] 19. They also admit this mysterious force in the sõpro of the whites, especially if one is a doctor (whom they judge to be a pajé). We know that Koch Grünberg himself (Z. I. 101) practiced the blowings among the natives.

It clearly cannot be said that the Indians admit a natural magnetic force in the pajé. They regard him, then, as the possessor of an extraordinary spiritual virtue.

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c) Some plants of the shamanistic therapeutics.

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In a small herbarium arranged in the "Centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté, in 1955, there were the following plants of the native therapeutics, collected by some pajés who indicated to us for each of them the name, application, utility, method of preparation, and posology. Because of the native custom of naming the plants according to their application, different plants received the same name, as it was verified in the herbarium and will be indicated below, and sometimes with the process of preparation and posology identical or almost so.

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1. Dyápoa pũrĩsé-ko (for headaches). The bark is scraped and left for some time in water, a cuia of which will be taken later.

2. Me'rẽ-dá (Uaupés Me'nẽ-dã) (eye medicine). The sap is extracted and applied in drops to the eyes.

3. Kaxpé-ri soãsé-kó (eye medicine). Scrapings of the root and bark are left for some time in water, which is dripped into the eye five times a day and upon going to bed.

4. Kaxpéri soãsé-kó (eye medicine). Some of the water in which there were scrapings of the bark and the root in infusion is dripped into the eye several times a day, especially before going to bed.

/272/ 5. Pixkõ-kó (against toothache). The bark is left in infusion in water, which afterwards is dripped on the aching tooth and the nose.

6. Pá-purĩsé-kó (for stomach pains). The bark is left in infusion in water, half a cup of which is drunk. It also has an emetic effect.

7. Pápwa-kó-dá (against dysentery). The bark is grated, boiled in water, filtered, and half a cup is taken three times a day. The liber of this plant makes a foam and is used to wash the hair.

8. Waxkarí-kó (in the hepatic colics). One uses the scrapings from the root left in water, a cuia of which is taken.

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9. Waxkarí-kó (in the hepatic colics). One takes a cuia of the water in which the bark of this plant has been in infusion for some time.

10. Pirõ-pũrĩ-kó (Uaupés pinõ-pũnĩ-kó) (vermifuge). The scrapings from the bark are left in water, half a cuia of which is taken.

11. Pĩrõ pũrĩ-kó (variety used as vermifuge). One takes a cuia of the water in which the bark of this plant has been in infusion.

12. Pĩrõ pũrĩ-kó (another variety of vermifuge). Scrapings from the root, placed in infusion, produce a wine-colored liquid, one cuia of which is taken.

13. Wãx-tĩ poári-kó (for coughing and pulmonary affections). Scrapings from the bark are macerated in water, of which three cuias a day are taken.

14. Wãx-tĩ poári-kó (another variety for tuberculosis). The bark is left in infusion, and three cuias of this water is taken daily for a period of ten days.

15. Seré-kó-dá (in purú-purú (20)

> 20. The purú-purú consists of a discoloration of the epidermis, and more rarely of black spots, caused by a spirochete such as the Treponema pallidum. The Centro de Pesquisas of the Salesian Mission of the Rio Negro has promoted studies of this sickness, very widespread among the Arwake of the Içana, by Prof. Dr. Emilio Biocca and others.

or vitiligo). One grates the bark, which is boiled in water until it acquires the wine-red color. One takes three spoonfuls of this water a day until the spots disappear.

16. Dyápoa-ñyĩsé-kó (for the black spots on the face). The leaves are left in infusion in water, with which the face is washed.

4: Silva--398 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

*115 /Illustrations facing p. 272 in the original source./
142
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Cesário (Tukano octogenarian shaman)

The shamans:
(right) Marcelino (Wanana from Jacaré, river Uaupés)
(left) Eduardo (Huhúdeni from Uapuim-cachoeira, river Siari, trib. of the Içana)

*[192]
[534]

Tukano shamans:
Marcelino from Juquira (right)
Henrique from the Japú igarapé (left), playing the chõ

4: Silva--399 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 273 in the original source./

142
291
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857

From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the py:)

One of the feminine occupations

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*192
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17. Añia-kó (against snake bite). The bark and roots of this plant are eaten and also applied to the spot of the bite.

18. Mehẽka-nĩtisé-kó (regulator). The scrapings from the root are left in infusion in water, which the woman is to take until the menstrual period is regulated.

19. Põrá-ti-tõokó sĩrĩ-kó (Uaupés põnã-tí-tõokó sinĩ-kó) (in order to have children). Scrapings from the root are left in infusion in water, which the woman is to drink until she conceives.

20. Õmõã-di-tá (in order to have a male child). The woman must drink some of the water in which scrapings from the root of this plant have been in infusion.

21. Õmõã-nũ'myá-põrãtisé (in order to have alternately children of both sexes). The woman must periodically drink some of the water in which scrapings from the root of this plant have been in infusion.

22. Põrá-tyogó sẽrĩgõ-kó-sẽrĩtako (Uaupés põná-tyogó sẽnĩgõ-kó-sẽnĩtako) (sterilizer). One drinks the water in which scrapings from the root were left in infusion. Its very prolonged use can bring to the woman absolute and definitive sterility.

23. Põrá-tisé sẽrĩtá-kó (Uaupés põná-tisé sẽnĩtá-kó) (sterilizer). The woman must drink some of the water in which scrapings from the root of this plant have been macerated. It is preferable to mix it with the abortive kind.

24. Põrá mãrĩsé-kó (Uaupés põná manĩsé-kó) (sterilizer). Scrapings from the root in infusion in water, which the woman drinks to avoid fecundation.

25. Sĩrĩtá-kó (abortive). Scrapings from the root in infusion in water, which the woman drinks until she achieves the result.

26. Sĩrĩ-vesé-kó (abortive). Scrapings from the root in infusion in water, of which the woman will take three or four cuias a day until she achieves the desired result.

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d) His curing processes.

755 The curing process, even in cases of the use of adequate remedies, of plants of recognized therapeutic virtue, is based on suggestion, or at least it is helped by it. As a matter of fact, from the massages or suction of the ailing part, or from making water fall there from a cuia, they later show the patient (having recourse to prestidigitation, as Koch Grünberg, Z. I. 99 was able to observe) the object (bone, /274/ stone, thorn, insects, scales, etc.) that has been extracted from the painful member and caused him the pains, Waxkarí.

With the help of narcotics or stimulants, he will induce in himself states of crisis or of nervous excitation, during which he sees the causes of the sickness, or those who have caused the malefice. He will be able to make the patient see it too. He will prefer to bring the patient to his hut; or he will go to that of the patient during the night. He will demand the absence of other persons, and, alone with the patient, he will start his practices in an atmosphere of darkness and mystery, muttering very rapidly (21)

[797] 21. For this reason they like the Missionary to say the prayers more quickly.

unintelligible words, sung in a peculiar tone and alternated with loud sighs and groans. They know and perform a series of songs, each one with its efficacy for a given type of infirmity (22),

[533] [534] [126] [113]

22. We have managed to record some of those songs of the pajés from the Tukano, Wanana, Taryana, and Hahúdeni tribes, which can be heard in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" of the Centro de Pesquisas of Iauareté. Address: P. Alcionilio Brüzzi, Largo C. de Jesus, 154, S. Paulo, Brazil.

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755 often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), re-
[533] garded as a magic instrument.
[534]

*[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

[797] 23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic
[753] cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirá-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

756 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses,
731 epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

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e) His psychic qualities.

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Formerly each maloca or povoado had its xamã /shaman/ and, at times, even more than one. Today there are not so many. He appears to be an Indian like the others, he will have his family, his house, his clearing, like the others, or even an apartment in the common maloca. He participates in the social gatherings: fishing, caxirís, dabacurís (24).

> 24. At times they fail to appear at such gatherings in order not to encounter other pajés. They are craftsmen in the same trade...

He is, however, an individual who must possess a particular temperament and be endowed with special qualities: broader intelligence, a tenacious memory in order to retain the necessary or useful knowledge, knowledge of the plants and of the curing processes, power of suggestion, capacity for autosuggestion, to produce in himself lively emotions, or even nervous crises which will cause contortions and even loss of the senses; and also to stir his patient emotionally with these manifestations.

He must, moreover, show a love of solitude. Some prefer to live in remote huts, farther in the interior of the forest or on the headwaters of the igarapés.

These are the principal qualities which the pajé must exhibit. Such qualities, according to what they think, come to him from a special spirit, which he can pass on to his son. Therefore the latter is the one designated to succeed his father. The office of pajé is not, however, necessarily hereditary, and another person, with suitable qualities, might become established as pajé.

Besides the qualities, adequate preparation, which will last for years, is required. It consists of solitude, fasts, dreams and excitations, and many other practices in order to develop, or even to create, the suggestive qualities. In order to achieve this end, the candidate will place himself under the training of

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756 another pajé, as though serving as an apprentice. It is not rare for a more famous pajé to attract more students to his school and to give them collective training (25).

25. Near Taracuá-ponta, in the maloca of Sussuaca, according to what Mons. Lourenço Giordano attests, around 1917, there lived a famous pajé who always had numerous students, so that they constituted something like a "Faculty of Native Medicine" in his hut. We also heard about a prestigious pajé from Iauareté, João by name, who on one occasion prepared five pajés in Melo Franco (river Papuri).

/276/ f) Preparation of the xamã /shaman/ (26).

[115] 26. Report by the Taryana Indian from Iauareté, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who took the course for pajé training.

[192] [778] The preparation of a pajé is a long one. Besides the theoretical instruction they receive, they also use various magic substances and instruments, called Wĩhõ (27).

27. Wĩhõ is probably derived from Wĩhĩ, to smell, and, properly speaking, designates the substances that they inhale or smell, like the paricá /Leguminosae/, almost all of them of intense odor, some capable of going so far as to stupefy. Perhaps, by an extension of the meaning, the term Wĩhõ came to indicate also the container of these substances.

all of them of legendary origin, some of which are supposed to have appeared mysteriously, and passed on from pajé to pajé.

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278 When an old pajé wants to prepare a son of his to practice as
756 pajé, he initiates the preparation during the first months, putting
778 on him, for three months, a Wĩhĩõ applied to the navel, Wĩhỹõ peomĩ kã̃ max-kõ̃-ré. This Wĩhĩõ is roundish in shape, of a hardened substance, the origin of which is lost in legend, according to
[262] what they asserted to us. During these three months the pajé must also have a light diet, as precaution, almost exclusively mingau and chibé.

Later, after removing the first Wĩhĩ /sic/, he fits to the navel, for some five months, the Axpá--khwí-re Wĩhĩõ, which consists of a small and roundish stone of quartz some two to three centimeters in diameter.

Later on he will apply to him the Wĩhĩõ of tucumã nut, well painted with carajurú /carajura/, called Õnõñá Wĩhĩõ (in Taryana Enúki).

There is a Wĩhĩõ in the form of rappee, which the pajé and the apprentice inhale; this is the Kaxséri Wĩhĩõ, obtained from the sap of some plants (uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/ and others), subjected to evaporation until it is reduced to a very fine powder.

The most marvelous one is the Wĩhĩõ-phĩ (in Taryana Kerá-yúki). It is a small stone of crystal, with a cavity and its cover. According to native belief, this apparatus goes back to the origin of the tribe and, mysteriously, contains a substance with a delicate and pleasant perfume. The pajé, once in a while during his lectures, uncovers the Kerá-yúki, in order for this to give off that perfume, which contributes to enlightening the intelligence of his disciples, placed in a semicircle in front of him.

They say that at a certain time of the year, around April, this substance dries up and almost disappears, and by the months of June-August it begins to give off scent by itself.

756 /277/ At 15 years of age the intensive course for the office of
[582] pajé begins, and it lasts for 15 years more or less. The candidate may not marry until after finishing the course.

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756 During all this time he lives at the side of the master-pajé, and under his orders. He does not have to worry about preparing his clearing or participating in the fishing, because, like the pajé, he too will be supported by the donations from the patients.

It is a rigorous course. He gets up two hours before the break of day and his activities extend far into the night. Beside teaching the apprentices the legends of the origins of each tribe and their feats, he teaches them, moreover, the use of the remedies and their application. It is a practical course, and the apprentice accompanies the pajé in his work with each patient.

The old pajé tries to develop in the candidates the power of suggestion. Solemnly, standing in front of his disciples (so one of them testifies), with an impressive gesture, he invokes the *[192] elements causing the sicknesses. There are three in particular: Õxtã (stone), Waxkarí (fragments of paxiúba), and Uhá-phĩ (tree bark). The apprentices perceive these elements coming from the air, in the form of fragments of stone, paxiúba, or bark. The more agile ones pounce on them immediately, others let them fall on the ground.

The candidate must know how to swallow and later to vomit these fragments. In order to vomit them, according to the narrator, they are not in the habit of introducing the finger into the throat; they press on the stomach, the bust is leaned forward, and, with the effort of the stomach, the fragment is vomited. They must do such exercises many times, and thus they wash (?) the fragment that was vomited in order to swallow it again and expel it soon afterwards.

The apprentice's insufficient skill in this exercise, as well as his inability to keep the legends and theoretical teachings in his memory, brings about his exclusion. And thus the master reduces the number of apprentices.

Much of his knowledge comes to the pajé from dreams, which he must know how to interpret. With the passing of time, in full daylight, he is able to fall into a torpor, standing up, in front of the students, and he then sees at a distance the patients who will come to consult him and the cause of the sicknesses.

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He believes that the clouds reveal the sicknesses to him, as well as other facts which are of interest to the group or to the individuals. He subjects the students to tests of ability. He sends them to observe the clouds and to give the interpretation, and he corrects them. -- "That form of cloud represents a woman and not a man, it represents a child and not an adult. It is not this part that is sick, but that other one."

/278/ He already sees beforehand that the sickness is incurable, and, thus, when he is called, he refuses to go, and he will say to his disciples: --"Let us not go to give treatments, it is useless, he is going to die."

When he foresees the cure, he then goes to the patient's house and makes the diagnosis, saying whether the cause of the pains is Oxtã, Waxkarí, or Uhá-phĩ. The elimination of these foreign bodies that cause the pains is the first condition for the cure. He achieves it with deep suctions, repeated three or four times, done directly over the ailing organ, intermingled also with singing, groaning, and exorcisms.

He does not fail to give advice to the patient, for a prompt recovery or in order to avoid a relapse. Among these counsels the informant cited: "to abstain from the abuse of sexual relations."

The rest of the treatment is under the care of the Kõmũ (about whom we shall speak later), according to the prescriptions of the pajé. It is done with blowings, invocations, or conjurations. These are old formulas, whose meaning they do not know nowadays, and they vary according to the cause of the sickness. The Komũ, having between his hands the cuia [illegible]mingau which the patient is going to drink, when the sickness is caused by Waxkarí located in the organism, utters a conjuration that begins with the words -- "Yára-páruri-yãvi."

Minutes afterwards the patient begins to feel better, and the cure will come later.

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g) His influence.

756 The fame of a pajé will depend on favorable events. There are therefore superior or Strong pajés and inferior ones (28).

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28. It is reported to us that at present (1954) there are five pajés regarded as strong on the Tiquié River in the following localities: Uira-poço, S. João, Matapi, Cabari, and Carurú-cachoeira.

In the distant past they were even more famous, because, according to native tradition, they performed extraordinary things. Already in 1900 one of them, the old Taracuá, complained to Stradelli (o.c. p. 595, entry Paié) -- "Today there are no longer pajés, we are all curers." "And there were complaints," explains Stradelli, "from colleague to colleague, because I have always passed as a very good pajé, thanks to the photography, to the microscope, and to the collections of plants, species of Calladiums, which I would make during the time that I spent among the natives on the Uaupés River." The same Stradelli puts forth this idea in his Vocabulário: -- "Pajé is not anyone, only those strong of heart, those who know how to surmount the initiation tests, who have the breath necessary to aspire to be pajé. With less than five breaths there is no pajé who can face with impunity the poisonous snakes; it is necessary to have more than five breaths in order to be able to cure the sicknesses with the simple laying on of hands, and, with the saliva, the bites of the poisonous snakes. The pajés who have from seven breaths upwards clearly read the future, cure at a distance, can change at will into the animal that suits him, become invisible, and transport himself from one place to another with the simple effort of his own will."

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756 according to the cures or /279/ other extraordinary deeds that they managed to achieve. The more famous ones will attract a clientele from great distances and even from other tribes. Even some of the civilized who have settled in those regions let themselves be influenced, and they too avail themselves of the services of the pajé.

755 The influence of the pajé is such that the very foods of the
756 sick person will be subjected to his blowing, Baxséke. Even the
*[192] remedies given by the civilized are presented to the pajé, who will blow on them in order to give them efficacy. If the sick person gets better, the merit will naturally belong to the pajé. If he does not happen to improve and dies, he will explain that it is a matter of a malefice of another "stronger pajé," or because of having taken a remedy of the whites, or food "not blown," or, finally, of having been overcome by a new and unexpected malefice before the pajé could be called.

And if it is declared that nothing more can be done, the patient will be abandoned as somebody fatally condemned to death; and not infrequently the relatives will deny him any assistance, and even food itself.

[763] The patient, many times, after such a verdict from the pajé, will hasten his own death, refusing other medicines from the civilized and any food or drink (see V 23, stoicism).

167 It has happened that the pajé might declare the maloca or the
756 povoado irremediably dangerous, and then the Indians will not have any hesitation about abandoning it and will move to another place, in spite of all the difficulties (29).

[164] 29. It has likewise happened that after a few years they return to the same place. In 1932 an outbreak of malaria killed about 70 Indians in Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés. Although none of the students of the missionary school fell victim to it, the Indians, in fear, abandoned the locality. In 1947 they started to return.

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755 The Indians have been seen digging up a wide and deep yard
756 under the orders of the pajé, in order to uncover the cigar buried there and cause of the sicknesses, and which the pajé will make appear at the opportune moment. On a certain occasion a pajé ordered, and was faithfully obeyed, that the whole floor of the maloca be dug up and replaced with other soil, in order to stop the sicknesses of the maloca.

756 4) /sic; h)/ His position.

With the pajé enjoying the maximum influence (30),

> 30. Several Indians, after their confidence had been gained, told us that they did not like, but only feared and, at times, hated the pajé. Ordinarily, however, out of fear of the pajé's vengeance, they are silent when questioned about him, about his curing processes, etc.

because, according to the belief of the natives, the life or death of the people, from his and from other tribes, as well as the storms /280/ and all of nature, depends on him, it is understandable that his position is privileged. Although lacking political power, the tuxaua himself and the entire population respect him and fear him (31).

> 31. Padre Antonio Giacone confirms it -- "By the authority that he enjoys among the Indians and by the fear that all have of his fatal blowings, he becomes extremely proud and conceited, some even reaching the point of being nicknamed Uáque bukque, old God" (o.c. 38).
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> They fear him even after death, because his spirit is also able to do harm. In Iauareté they asked the Missionary not to bury the pajé in the common cemetery, "because he will frighten our little children" buried there. A Montfortian

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/footnote 31 cont./ Missionary, Pe. Umberto Limpens (known as Pe. Clemente, the name of his predecessor), found himself obliged to order a pajé to make his hut farther away. In September or October of 1947 a boy was bitten by a snake in the vicinity of Montfort, Colombia, on the left bank of the Papurí. The child's father wanted to take him to the Mission, but the pajé would not allow it, saying that he "would blow" the poison away. He did this, but the child died. The child's father rebelled against the pajé, who directed his blowing against the father, and the latter died soon afterwards. The local population became angry at the pajé. The latter judged it more prudent to flee to the headwaters of the stream Cuiú-cuiú (tributary of the Papuri), where the Desana were in the habit of doing their large-scale fishing, threatening to blow on everyone who went there. The Desana, naturally, became frightened and started the rumor that the Montfortian Missionaries were also afraid of the blowing of the pajé.

756 In order not to have him as an enemy, they satisfy his wishes; in order to have him as a friend and profit from his good services, they give him gifts, even before he has performed any cure. Since his reputation grows with the deeds and cures attributed to him, it likewise wanes with his failures. In view of their being the ones who know the malefices (which they prepare as an instrument of vengeance), the misfortunes and the mysterious and rapid deaths in impressive circumstances are attributed to the pajés; and

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756 the vengeance is likewise wreaked against them (32).

32. Some assert that poison cannot be administered to the pajé. "He sees even from far away." This belief is advantageous to the pajés. It seems, nevertheless, that, at least nowadays, not everyone endorses it. In October of 1946, a native from Ipanuré died of pneumonia. They attributed the sickness and death to the pajé from the neighboring povoado of Cigarro. When this pajé, with some persons from his povoado, were given the job of transporting some of our luggage through the varadouro /open passage through the forest/ of the cachoeira of Ipanuré, the Indians of this locality abandoned the work, hid in the forest, and, when the pajé passed by on the road, one of the men from Ipanuré gave him a blow with a stick, which he avoided, turning his head and covering it with his arm, which was broken at the elbow and forearm.

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His presence in the vicinity of a povoado at night, when he goes to do his fishing, is always suspicious. If after one of his visits to /281/ some maloca (especially of another tribe) some death or misfortune happens there, the pajé will be blamed (33).

33. In a maloca of Jandú, on the igarapé Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié, shortly before our passing through there (December of 1947), lightning had struck. The pajé, who had threatened to hurl a bolt of lightning there, was blamed for the misfortune.

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[627] Some pajés have found themselves obliged to abandon the povoados and stay away for a long time, until the anger against them had lessened.

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i) His social role.

756 626 The pajé represents the highest intellectual level of the native povoado, and, not only that, but he is also the stickler for the observance of the tribal laws. He knows them, teaches them, and demands their fulfillment, being able to punish (34),

> 34. He is, then, the major opponent of the assimilation of our culture on the part of the forest dweller.

with sicknesses, lightning, and, finally, malefices, disrespect toward traditional practices.

756 [852] [844] He presides over all social life, that of the family as well as of the group. When a child is born, the one who will blow on it, exorcise it, and paint it with carajurú /carajura/, in order that it will grow up strong and free from sicknesses, is the pajé; and he will also give the medicines to the woman in labor.

[553] In some tribes the giving of the name is done in the presence of the pajé. Covering the child with smoke with his indispensable cigar, under the inspiration of the moment, he will give or will suggest the name to the father, who is about to choose a name indicated by any circumstance whatsoever, perhaps even an indecent name.

[881] When the girl reaches puberty, the pajé will spend some time with her, giving her timely theoretical and practical instructions about maternity and obligations inherent in it.

At the time of the masculine initiation, it falls to him to teach the young men the traditional legends, their rights and duties as members of the group, the ritual practices, and to verify their ability by means of interrogations, punishments, flagellations, fasts, etc.

He is also the principal instructor of the Komũ (see VII - 2, e (3) ), on whose capacity he will pass judgment, and of whom he will always be the supervisor, gathering them together periodically in assembly and giving them opportune directions for every circumstance.

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j) Consequences.

755 A first one is that in many cases the sickness is aggravated by the lack of adequate treatment; or the very processes of the pajé /282/ aggravate the ailment and hasten death. In several cases of pneumonia and laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis the catastrophe was precipitated by the effect of the ablutions of the pajé (35).

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35. In Acuricuara, Colombian bank of the Papurí, an individual became sick and let himself be treated by the pajé. He was Christian, however, and, seeing that the treatments were useless, he asked that the Missionary, Pe. Clemente, be called and even went so far as to ask him not to let the pajé come to his house. It was, however, already a hopeless case, and the cure would have been possible if he had put himself under the care of the Missionary earlier.

756 Another very grave consequence of this belief in magic power is the endless vengeance and numerous crimes. Every sickness, death, or misfortune had as its cause some malefice. The pajé will not only try to neutralize this malefice, but, moreover, he will designate someone as its cause, and he will prepare poisons (36)

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36. As for the poisoning by the caxirí or mingau, they say Nimá tõãsé (nimá, poison; tõãsé, act of giving a drink).

756 and counterpoisons for revenge. Or he will urge the victim to take
627 revenge after the cure; and if he died, his relatives. Hence the
628 animus of tribe against tribe, and, within the same tribe, of one povoado against another, or of family of the same povoado or maloca, is always stirred up. From which there is even more submission of all to the pajé, on whom everyone depends, and this

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756 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the
627 other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individ-
628 ual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a preventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain from doing him harm.

k) The xamã /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very
[115] advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For exam-
[797] ple, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé, and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife (37).

37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

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756 As compensation for services, the pajés are always well paid to the point of having what they need for their maintenance without any more work.

Might he only be a slicker taking advantage of the credulity of his brothers (38)?

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38. Padre João Francisco Biggiaretti, doctor and Missionary of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, tried several times, but in vain, to listen and to talk to pajés about sicknesses and cures. Once he went so far as to invite them to a gathering in Pari-cachoeira, with a promise of gifts as well, but none of them appeared.

It does not seem so. Although intelligent and perhaps even endowed with greater culture than the rest of the natives, one cannot believe that he has freed himself from the general belief in the spirits, in the occult forces of nature, which he believes bound up with the processes and ceremonies that the ancestors always used. Perhaps it is from his great power of suggestion that he gets the power to transfer to others his suggestion and the cure.

One cannot exclude, as we have already said, a certain magnetic power or natural hypnotism. Who knows, in some circumstances spontaneous acts of telepathy might take place, all the more mysterious for the protagonists themselves, the more ignorant they are. Even the cures effected by the herbs used, or by the baths applied, and the totally fortuitous coincidences will contribute toward rooting in the thought of the pajé a deep conviction concerning the efficacy of his ceremonies and his own magic power.

[797] The events revealing this conviction in the pajés are numerous. One of them had a son in the boarding school of Taracuá-ponta and, knowing that he was sick, came to visit him and found him being tended by the Missionaries and under medication. He, then, could do nothing. Shortly afterwards, taking advantage of the moment when everyone had gathered in the church for a religious function, he hurriedly went to his son's side and was caught there, beside his hammock, applying his curing processes to him.

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756 In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their
821 power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike.
They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another,
[797] stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauareté the first large pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon the one who lived in Iauareté.

755 Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955)
756 makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their
[115] own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian bank of the river Papurí. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patricia: --"My niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right,
[177] he will be punished." Would this be the concept of a judgment after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle, the young woman added: -- "When the patient has a headache, the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komũ, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing process of the pajés.

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It is not only the pajé, however, who uses the cigar for its magic power and applies "blowings." They believe, moreover, that the smoke spread by some persons, particularly certain old men, have the same virtue as the smoke of the pajé, or almost. The same is said of the "blowings." This is the reason why in some circumstances (giving the name, VIII - 1, b (6) /see 1, b (4)/, puberty initiation, VIII - 1 b (7), etc.) these persons intervene, "blowing" smoke.

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We learned of episodes of individuals who bragged about the force of their own "blowing," capable of sending sicknesses and misfortunes, and they would terrify the others with this.

These "blowers" are called Komũã (plural Komũ), corresponding, it seems, to the ethnological concept of "initiate."

We have witnessed the long theoretical preparation, in the form of evening lectures, which the older Komũã gives to those who aspire to the same position. The old Komũ /sic/, squatting, or seated on a stool, having before him the aspirant, also squatting or seated, starts developing his program of instruction. When it seems /285/ proper to him, perhaps after one or two hours of explanation, he ends his lesson, saying farewell to his pupil with the salutation nĩka-nĩya (U. nĩka-niña), adios! (lit. you remain behind).

*[192]

Seated at a certain distance, in pleasant conversation among themselves, are other Komũ and the tuxáua. When the first one has finished his lesson on the histories, legends, beliefs, traditions, customs, origin of things and of sicknesses, etc., a second one will come to instruct the pupil, who patiently waits for the new lesson and shows his interest and improvement by carrying on a dialogue with the master, according to the native custom. And the lessons extend until late hours of the night, ended by a general farewell. Masters and students, during these hours of lectures, generously help themselves to ipadú (cf. VI - 4, i (3) /see 4, i (4)/).

One of the more expert Taryana natives, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who had also taken the course to become a pajé, told us that the pajé has periodic meetings, once or twice a month, with the various Komũã. He forewarns them of sicknesses that

276 /285 cont./
756 are going to appear and gives them instructions on what they are to do in order to conjure away these and other evils.
*[192] There are, besides these, other more solemn meetings, approximately each semester, when he gives his wĩhĩõ to the Komũã to sniff ("wĩhĩõ wĩhỹõti kã̃ axkawerẽra-ré peókamĩ"; he sniffs and gives all his relatives his "rappee" to sniff).

4) Sicknesses and cures.

164 There are various sicknesses that attack that forest dwellers and often prostrate them. The principal ones, according to the frequency and the greater number of victims, are:

*[192] a) Verminosis -- Pirõ pũrĩhé (Uaupés Pinõ punĩhé). The verminous diseases attack them even when they are old, but especially the children from two to ten years old, almost 50 per cent of whom fall victim to them (39).

[797] 39. This seriously alarming proportion was pointed out to us by the Missionary Pe. João Marchesi. Naturally this happened and perhaps still happens to those tribes and native localities unprovided with any sanitary assistance. Thanks to the hospitals of the Salesian Mission and the ambulatory-launches which monthly come up the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri, taking to the Indians the sanitary resources and provisions, and transporting the more gravely ill persons to the hospitals, this figure has decreased ten times or even more. Truly /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ impressive episodes of victims of verminosis are mentioned. From the cadaver of the son of the tuxaua of Taracuá in 1934, vermin came out through the mouth, through the nose, etc. In Urubucuara the vermin perforated the abdomen of a boy, who would take them out with the fingers.

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Or they would become so weak that they would succumb to the attack of any other ailment whatsoever.

b) Grippe and pneumonia -- Ehõ. They indicate them with a general term Ehõ, catarrh. We think that the organism of the native who /286/ spends, not only the night, but also several hours of the day in the smoky environment of the maloca (or houses), with fires lighted and without any vent for the smoke, might be a propitious field for grippe and pneumonia. Nevertheless, asserting that the "catarrh" comes inside the boxes of merchandise, we have seen them flee from the povoado of Paricachoeira at the simple alarm that on this trip of the launch the boxes were bringing "catarrh."

c) Anemia -- Dí-petisé. One observes it especially in the children, due to the ingestion of the soil, and in the women, after a certain age, due to the excess of work and organic depauperation with the raising of the children.

d) Buba or framboesia tropicalis -- Maxsã dihyãrá. It consists of painful sores over the entire body.

e) Impaludism -- Uhãke. In general the native povoados are located in salubrious places, since they are high lands and, very frequently, neighbor the cachoeiras. Nevertheless paludic outbreaks have appeared, either because of the waters that form pools in the potholes among the rocks during low water, or because of the inundated places (the igapós), which the Indian visits during his fishing trips.

f) Laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis -- Wãx-tĩ poarí. They call them Wãx-tĩ poa-rí, that is, hairs of Wãx-tĩ, which they suppose are stuck in the patient's throat. Several cases have been found on the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri, with a tendency to spread (cf. III - 4).

/286 cont./

*192 164 [136] g) Eye trouble -- Kaxpé-ri pũrẽ. Ophthalmia is frequent in all the tribes, from simple irritation by rubbing the eyes with the dirty hands, up to cases of conjunctivitis and trachoma. There are yellow ants, called taxi or fire ants, which live in some woods and bushes and whose bite is painful and poisonous, even causing a degenerescence of the cornea. The Maku, especially, are often bitten by these ants and suffer in their vision.

*192 164 h) Dysentery, Yohá -- Diarrhea, Di-yohá -- Intestinal fevers, Uhake. Dysentery, diarrhea, and intestinal fevers are frequent and /287/ caused by spoiled food, waters polluted (40)

> 40. Rivers and streams (igarapés) are made up in long stretches by stagnate waters, in which not infrequently are seen, on the whole liquid surface, pollen, petals, leaves, and other organic elements in decomposition. Ordinarily these same watercourses, at least during the months of high water or even during the entire year, are found in communication with swamps and putrefactive waters, as will easily be verified by anyone who crosses some stretch of the Uaupés forest. If we exolude perhaps the stretches with cachoeiras in the great rivers, it is possible that a meticulous analysis would condemn as unhealthy all the remaining and vast aqueous surface of the region.

or with a high dosage of timboina (at the time of fishing with timbo). Dysentery is frequent, moreover, on the occasion of the native feasts, caused by excessive drinking.

164 i) Venereal diseases. In the legends, it seems to us, there is a reference to venereal diseases. Nevertheless, there are few

/287 cont./

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[797]

verified cases of syphilis (41).

41. "A veteran Sister of nursing revealed to us that in her 25 years of nursing there had appeared only one case of a young man afflicted with venereal disease; and, since it was the case of a man already engaged, she thought it was her duty to warn the girl that she should not get married before he had had suitable treatment. She was not heeded, however, with the foreseen lamentable consequences for the wife.

Proving, however, that it is not a matter of any special resistance of the organism to the treponema, the few facts known on the Uaupés and the infection presented by some young men who had just arrived in Manaos looking for work are sufficient. Perhaps they know and use vegetable remedies. And it is also probable that the immunization or cure against syphilis is the result of a spontaneous malaria-therapy, since it is known that the natives are many times afflicted with malaria.

j) Epileptiform attacks. We know cases of epileptiform attacks in persons of both sexes and of various ages. They fall down struck with loss of the senses, almost always spasms and convulsions, followed by sleep and complete amnesia of the event, about which they were informed by witnesses (42).

42. For one of the cases we heard the origin of the attacks. It is the case of the Bayá (dance master) Henrique, Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, now (1955) a septuagenarian with gray hair and clear eyes. Some years ago a bolt of lightning struck his house, burning him severely and leaving him unconscious for some hours. Since that

/287 cont./

164 /footnote 42 cont./ time he suffers periodic attacks, and for this reason he is afraid of painting himself for the dances, although he participates in them as Bayá (cf. VII-6, a (2) ) that he is. We have watched him, in spite of his years, direct the ritual dances valiantly for 24 hours without interruption.

751 /288/ The magic concept of the origin of sicknesses do not allow them to take the minimum precautions. They will not avoid contact with a person afflicted with tuberculosis or grippe, or skin infection; they will sleep at his side, lie in the same hammock, sit on the same seat, drink from the same cuia, help themselves from the same pot, into which they dip their fingers with the beijú.

797 The Missionary tries to persuade them, for example, of the
177 danger of contagion in tuberculosis. In spite of this, they do not stop taking caxiri perhaps masticated by a tubercular person.
757 They do not resolve, unless watched and forced, to take a remedy according to the medical prescriptions, in so many doses repeated at such-and-such intervals (43).

[756] 43. The belief in the pajé is suffering a lingering shock from the hospitals and ambulatories of the Mission and the trips of the Missionary distributing remedies. Many of them, at present, not only accept, but even ask for the remedies of the civilized, especially when they prove to have prompt efficacy, for example, the antimalarial remedies, analgesics, etc. They do not submit, however, to subjecting themselves to the prolonged treatment that various ailments demand and do not hesitate to run away from the hospital.

/288 cont./

757 Scorning all precautions, they will not hesitate to pour out the remedy that displeases them; if, on the other hand, it has a pleasing flavor, they will take it all at once, or divide it between the sick and the healthy. A bottle of syrup will be consumed with flour in a few minutes.

5) Home remedies.

753 In some cases some means of cure for certain sicknesses, or means of preventing them, are indicated without recourse to the pajé. It is not so much a weakening of his prestige, as, it seems to us, medicinal magic. They teach, for instance, that the fish surubi harms anyone who has a wound; and the fruit cubiú, anyone who has impaludism. If someone eats the fish piraiba, his vision will suffer, etc.

*[192]

*192 278 752 [115]

The best-known home remedies are (44):

44. We obtained this list from the Hungarian Ladislau Auer, who has lived for several years among the tribes of the Uaupés.

a) For wounds: Recent ones. They boil the bark of the cipo dyí-dá (cipo of blood) and apply the water to the wound. Or they also apply to wounds scrapings from the potato known as Kamĩ bũxkõ-Ro-kó (remedy against sores).

Old ones. They wash them many times with the water in which has been boiled the water-edge cipo called Mõõ õx'sé-ka-poarí (paraiba whiskers).

/289/ b) Against snake bite. 1st. Of jararaca: they crush the leaves and the yellowish root of a shrub called precisely Añakó, jararaca remedy, and for this reason they cultivate it in the clearings. They apply them to the bites, and the sap or infusion of these leaves is also given as a drink. A variety of black root has an even more vigorous action. They also use the infusion of the sororoca root against the poison of the jararaca.

/289 cont./

752 *[192] For snake bites in general, they drink the sap of a cipo called Pĩrõ-dá (snake cipo), with a thick stem and abundant and pleasing sap, which they likewise use to quench their thirst when walking through the forest.

In spite of these remedies of theirs, every year there is a certain number of victims of the snakes, and if this number is not larger they owe it to the remedies and serums obtained from the Mission.

*192 757 c) For toothache. They use a plant that burns like pepper, Pixkõ-kó, remedy-for-teeth. They burn the leaves and apply the ashes to the aching tooth.

d) For sore eyes. 1st. If it is a matter of children, they scrape the bark of the minhoca cipo, Ahwã-da, leave it in infusion in mother's milk or, lacking this, in water, and afterwards they put some drops in the ailing eye, using a small funnel made out of arumã leaf. For an identical purpose, and with the same process, they also use the guapuí, a parasitic plant with long aerial roots.

When the patient is an adult person, they apply to the eye, in drops, an infusion made from the root of the cipo Waxsyã-dá, after it has been washed well and grated. They also apply salt to the ailing eyes, pure or mixed with well-pulverized chicken manure. Probably the use of salt would be a suggestion from the civilized, applied, however, according to the native concept.

e) For dysentery. They mix the latex of the plant Yoã-motõ with water and take it warm. Or they eat tapioca mixed with the latex of the cipo Pixkõ-sẽ-dá (cipo of the bird "tesoura" /Muscivora tyrannus/).

f) For stomach-ache. They grate a potato called Bará and leave the mass in cold water, and take it in small doses. Before taking it, however, they must transfer it from one cuia to another, always blowing on the substance. Without this precaution, they affirm, the remedy will kill the patient.

278 /289 cont./
757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant
*[192] called Taá-dõxká (45).

45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b) ): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

[178] [764] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night [164] [354] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

/290 cont./

356 Not infrequently, however, because of the dogs that also live
[136] there (and we have at times seen dogs sick and covered with sores),
[231] the ground is dusty, favoring the procreation of the bichos-de-pé /foot fleas/ (cullex pénetrans) and fleas.

Not infrequently the fruit rinds are thrown into a corner to rot,
[514] producing an unpleasant odor. This is unbearable, due to the vomitings and defecations in the maloca itself during the dabacuris. One can sometimes perceive a peculiar odor in the native povoados.

b) On the person.

515 The body hygiene is also deficient. They take a bath every morning, and more during the day. It is a bath to refresh, however, rather than to clean. Not having soap available to eliminate the grease from the body and hair, one not infrequently sees layers of dirt on some parts of the epidermis, especially in the folds of the skin and in the hairy parts. Even those who use /291/ soap, such as the school pupils, give off an unpleasant and characteristic odor.

296 Although they know how to wash clothes, and some of them do it well, in the majority of cases they keep the clothes on the body until they are very dirty, or even until they rot. Precisely the following custom is to be noted: they wash their own clothes with certain frequency when new. When they consider them old, they will not wash them any more. If they get wet, they let the clothes dry on the body.

356 Their primitive hammocks of tucum are never washed as a
515 rule, and in a little while they are darkened by the sweat, smoke, and grime. They climb into the hammock with the body dirty. The only care will be, perhaps, to rub the soles of the feet, one against the other, in order to clean them of soil.

574 With all freedom, an Indian, even a strange one passing by the maloca (we have seen this even in the case of Indians of different tribes), will lie down during the day in the first hammock that he finds vacant, while he rests and converses.

/291 cont./

c) In the food.

264 The practice of preparing and eating food with clean hands is not in force among the natives. They break off the pieces of beijú with the hands, and, one after the other, each person dips it with the fingers into the quinhapira. If this, by chance, is too hot, he will use a stick, casually found on the ground, to take out the fragment of beijú that slipped from his fingers into the pot.

The beijú and other foods are not only held in dirty hands, but they are also deposited on the hammock or some other filthy object.

[271] [276] They drink from the same cuia, which goes from mouth to mouth. In the same way, the cigar or a ball of candy will pass from one mouth to another.

They have been seen taking and eating some food, perhaps even spoiled, placed in the garbage container or in the feed for the pigs. And even going so far as to compete with some animal for the ration that it is eating, even though it is on the ground or in a trough.

d) In the acts.

515 They likewise practice certain very repugnant acts. By way of an example, there is that of the mother who, with her own tongue, cleans the nose of her little child; or who eats the parasites as she finds them on the head of her children. This, by the way, is a general custom when one woman "searches" another. Perhaps, in lieu of payment, whoever has the /292/ job of searching also eats the lice. More rarely she will give the parasite to its legitimate owner (46).

46. Although it is a general custom, and they always observe it when a woman searches for parasites on the head of another person, they refuse to say whether there is any magic meaning in this practice. Whenever they perceive that they are being watched, or fear that they are, they interrupt the act and go so far as to try to disguise it.

/292 cont./

515 They are ignorant of the use of handkerchiefs, cleaning the nose with the fingers, which afterwards are rubbed against some part of the body.

[854] The mother, or another woman, with her own hands, attends to the cleaning of her baby, and afterwards, in order to clean herself, is satisfied with shaking her hand to one side and rubbing it on the ground or against some plant.

3. The arts.

157 In the complex of works that the forest dwellers execute, they not only reveal splendid aptitudes, rare ability, and other qualities already mentioned elsewhere, but also particular artistic tendencies which are begging our civilization for more opportunities to develop (47).

[857] 47. With a knife improvised out of a piece of the metallic binding that goes around the crates of merchandise, the child produces canoes, and now even small airplanes, in wood.

The house that he builds, with all its furnishings, -- stools, ceramics, woven goods, canoes, weapons, hunting and fishing gear, baskets, -- reveal, besides the stability and sturdiness required for the purpose for which they are intended, an over-all harmony, a proportion of the parts, a finish in the details, which give a pleasing impression. In all there is revealed a notable artistic sense which should be considered in detail in its threefold manifestation: woven products, designs, music.

a) Woven products.

286 Among the works of weaving, we have already called to mind the nets /Port. rede, net, hammock/ for sleeping and for fishing. But particularly in the rede batida /beaten hammock/ (which seems to be of European origin) and in the puericueio /a covering that hangs from the waist/, Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro (see below - d (1) ), the native woman shows her artistic taste and skill. In the Yaxkẽ

/292 cont./ In the Yaxkẽ

286 Waxsó-ro there is a beautiful combination of the woven and the
531 strung, using colorful glass beads. One admires in it a pleasing combination of colors, proportion and regularity in the design, and a perfect finishing of the piece. In the woven part the mesh is diagonal. It also presents a combination of colored fibers for the design effect. In the choice of colors, as well as in the finishing, there is revealed good /293/ taste, which makes this weaving a beautiful adornment for the women in the dances. With beads or with colored fibers, the designs are the Greek frets /Port. gregas/ characteristic of these tribes.

6) /sic; b)/ Designs.

532 4) /sic; 1)/ Mural designs. The designs painted on the bark that makes up the walls of the houses do not reveal artistic taste (48).

48. For example, the representation of human figures with the disproportional and shapeless trunk, the neck represented by a vertical stroke, etc.

It is probable that what seems to us scrawling or caricature is the stylization of legendary representations. Accepting this possibility, however, one does not perceive any skill in the strokes. The circumferences are made with perfection. Perhaps through the influence of the civilized, they use a string for this, fixing one of the ends and tying to the other a wooden point which will leave a regular mark, like the point of a compass.

[192] [386] For the mural paintings, they use clay of different colors (principally white, yellow, reddish, bluish), diluted in the latex of Õxtã-ñĩmĩ (that is, the sorva, Couma utilis, Mell., and other species), which, after having dried, acquires great stability and resistance to the inclemencies and does not change colors.

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2) Designs on the body. They also execute various designs on the body. They might have their magic meaning, but they undoubtedly reveal an artistic tendency and, in some cases, are done with care and mastery (49).

49. We do not believe that painting on the body is an indication of a period of nomadism: "not having any place to execute their drawings, they did them on their own body." We venture the opinion, instead, that they have a decorative character (they are, thus, an indication of artistic tendency), besides supposing them endowed with magic powers (prophylactic virtues, etc.).

Notice 1st. -- The paintings do not bear clear totemic representations, unless it is only a matter of a stylization, the meaning of which the present-day natives seem not to know (50).

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50. Koch Grünberg (Z.I. 349) found numerous anthropomorphic drawings and drawings of plants and animals, sometimes more or less stylized, among the Arwake of the Içana and the Wanana and Kubewana of the upper Uaupés. And he also states that figures the same as those on the bark walls and posts of the maloca appear, during the feasts, on the bodies of the Indians, as well as on their pots and dance objects. He moreover points out the sculpture of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic and of animals, not only in wood, but also executed in ears of maize and hung on the beams and posts of the maloca by means of a string.

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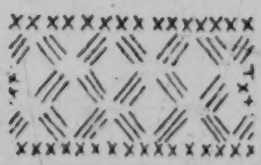
2nd. -- What is called Nõ'õsé or face painting is semicircles with the concave part upwards, on the forehead, and straight lines in a V on the side of the zygomata and on the face. Ordinarily, to execute these designs they use the Mumí-kha, that is, a small stick, like a lipstick, having on one of the tips a ball of wax to which adheres the colored powder, which is taken out of the small cuia in which it is kept and is applied to the face.

3rd. -- On the trunk and limb they execute various designs, We'é ohasé, all, however, consisting of straight lines. In some cases, at the great dances of the dabacurí, the whole body is painted as if it were a robe, with lengthwise and transverse strokes. The process for these paintings is that called We-oharí-tyã, that is, they take a small cylinder of a very light wood, called molongó (in Tukano Poó-gõ; it is the ambelânia grandíflora, of the family of the Apocynaceae), with carvings corresponding to the lines that one wishes, and, while the color is fresh, they roll it against the skin where it leaves quite regular traces. They likewise use fine splints of



Design imprinted with the molongó cylinder

arumã, not infrequently two or three tied together as a paint brush, leaving a double or triple stroke. There are also coarse strokes executed with the index finger moistened in the color.

[184] There are not, at present, marks that characterize the tribes, as the first explorers suggest. The same designs are observed in the various tribes.

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*192 4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

302 a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé,
386 known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From
824 the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Õnõñá or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or pariri, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

[881] [755] [756] [852]

and from the Mõ'sã or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

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302 All these colors are quite resistant, since they last many days,
386 in spite of their frequent baths.

*[192] Very frequently one finds women with the face more or less powdered with red; it is the painting called Tu-dyó-kũsé. They explained that it is only in order not to feel the heat of the sun so much during the work in the clearing. These powders are prepared with the urucú and carajurú.

304 They do not use true tattooing, and the natives of the present generation do not even seem to know about it (53).

53. Wallace, however, stated a century ago (o. c.): -- "These Indians (of the Uaupés) make tattoos, but on a small scale: for this they practice along the arms a row of pricks of circular shape. The Tucanos are distinguished from the other tribes by three vertical blue lines that they draw on the upper lip in place of mustaches." Through the ancient explorers we know of the tattoos of other tribes of the Amazon, for example, the Yavarí, Urupá, Suarirana, Periquita, all located on the river Tapajoz (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of 1759, n. 54). As for the tribes of the Rio Negro (without specifying whether the natives of the Uaupés are included), Cônego /Canon/ Andre Fernandes de Souza writes (o. c. 455): "Some pierce the ears, lips, and nose, into which they introduce feathers and sticks, these operations costing them unbearable pain; others draw on the skin many permanent black lines, using these industrious deformities, not so much for distinction of their tribe, as in order to cause an imposturous terror in their enemies." Concerning the Desana, 50 years ago Koch G. (Z. I. 264) stated that they are the only ones of the Caiarí who use tattooing executed with the palm thorn. This is two parallel blue lines, from the lower lip to the chin.

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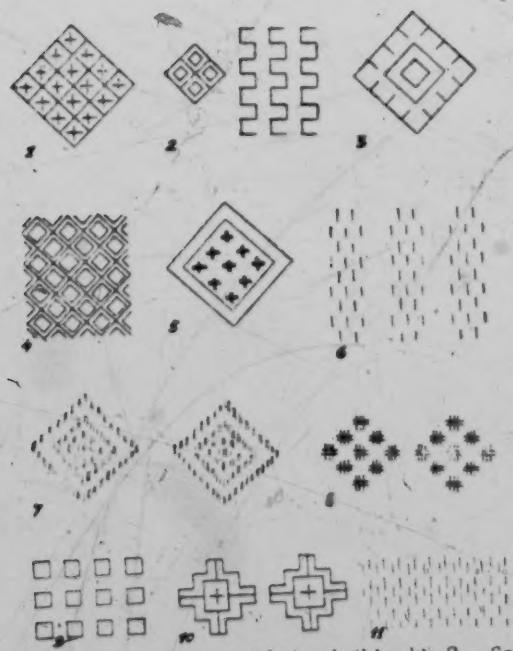

1. Yóãsõ paxkõ sẽ'ẽma -- alligator's back (black); 2. Soxkõ-rõ ó:ri -- flower (design) of the grater (black and white); 3. Sẽ'rá -- pineapple (green and yellow); 4. Ahũ-dõxkarí -- pieces of beijú (black and white); 5. Buwahá-ro -- cuia of cutia /agouti/ (green); 6. Neé ó:ri -- flower of the miriti (yellow); 7. Sirí-pía ó:rí -- flower (design) of the swallow (green and purple); 8. Úhuri sẽ'ẽma -- back of the land turtle (black and white); 9. Ó:ri mãrĩ -- design without flowers (black and white); 10. Sakú dõ'pó-ka -- leg of saracura /Rallidae/ (white and black); 11. Yóãsõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of calango /small lizard/ (green).

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3) Designs on objects.

The Baniva customarily execute designs on the camutins or pots, and the other tribes, on the cuias used, especially on the maracá. These are vegetable colors with a predominance of white, and the designs are always Greek frets. We have already mentioned the designs on the small stools that the Tukano make.

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There are eight more common principal ornamental motifs that appear on the woven and plaited work of the hammocks and strainers:

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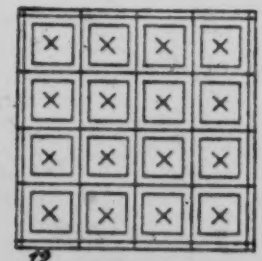
1. Soxkõrõ-ó:ri (flowers of the grater), that is, similar to the arrangement of the small stones in the graters.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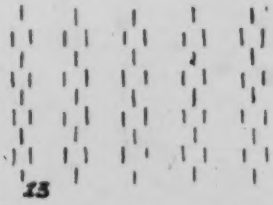
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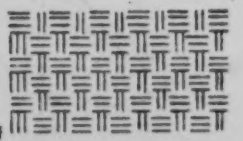
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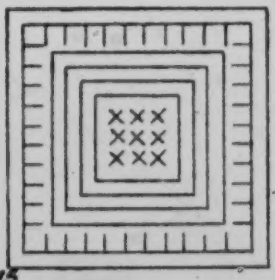
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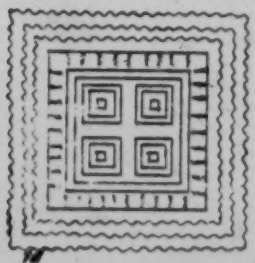
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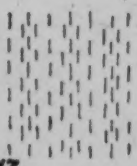
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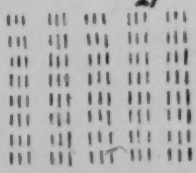
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12. Yuxkõ-dõxká -- fruit; 13. Mixpĩ ó:ri -- flower of the açaí /assai/ (red and white); 14. Poxtá-da -- thorny branch; 15. Piã ó:ri -- flower (design) of the piã (bird); 16. Piã ó:ri -- flower (design) of the piã (bird); 17. Soxkõ-sero -- surucucu (ophidian) (yellow); 18. Ã'rẽ-pũrĩ -- leaf of the pupunha tree (green); 19. Sẽ'ã ma'á -- path of the piramirim (fish) (red and white); 20. Nixtiã ó:ri -- flower (design of the spotted snake); 21. Dõxpõritẽrõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of the lambari /a fish/ (white).

*192
285
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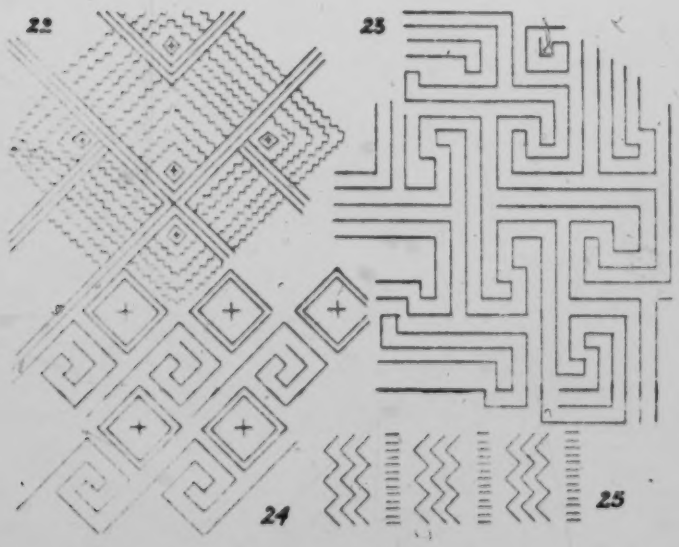
2. Mixpĩ pũrĩ (açai /assai/ leaves), designs like the leaves of the açai palm.
3. Byá-põrá ma'á (path of the saúva /leaf-cutting ant/)
4. Neé óori (flower of the miriti)
5. Yóãsõ sẽ'ẽma (back of calango /small lizard/)
6. Pamõ sẽ'ẽma (back of tatu /armadillo/)
7. Dõxpõrí-tẽrõ sẽ'ẽma (back of lambari /a fish/)
8. Wãx-tĩ õx'sé-pekuri (knees of Wãx-tĩ), similar to the gammadioncross or swastika.

The Uaupés Indians take pleasure in combining these motifs and obtain numerous designs. By chance, in 24 strainers acquired by us in 1947 in different places on the Uaupés, there were 23 different combinations.




22. Oxsõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of the two-headed snake; 23. Wãx-tĩ õxsé-pekuri -- knee of Wãx-tĩ; 24. Wãx-tĩ-ke-õ -- tipiti; 25. Bya-põrá -- path of the saúva /leaf-cutting ant/ (yellow).

/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or carico, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale, as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto /countersong/ to the other.

533 They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs, even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly
[177] appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

[194] As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very
[147] many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice has little elasticity (54),

[562]

54. The voice has so little elasticity that perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and dances the men never sing; the women do it infrequently, for example, when they work in the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however, that the men's songs are religious hymns, whereas those of the women are bacchic compositions that they render when they distribute the drink.
[797] Among the alumni, and especially among the alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a greater elasticity, and one hears humming more frequently. This, however, is usually the religious or secular songs learned at school.

/299 cont./

533 [147] [194] is metallic and unpleasant when he speaks, and it is even more metallic in conjunction, when they speak or sing.

2) Songs.

The native likes to sing, although he appears bashful about doing it, outside the feasts, in front of the civilized. He has a repertoire of songs for the ritual dances (religious songs), and others for his amusement (secular songs). The former are always in choir, without solos and in only one voice. The latter are sung by one or more singers simultaneously or alternately, repeating the same theme or not.

a) Religious songs.

They are sung exclusively by the men. They are slow, monotonous, with many repetitions. As for the rhythm, inspiration, and /300/ movement, they can be classified or grouped among the Gregorian compositions. Since the only process of [178] apprenticeship is by hearing and the memory, it follows that the music is preserved more or less faithfully (55);

55. As is verified by watching their feasts in different circumstances and places or among different tribes.

[178] the lyrics, however, have been corrupted. Nowadays in many of these songs there are only sounds without meaning, and the forest dwellers themselves confess that they do not understand the meaning of the articulations that they utter (56).

56. As happens, incidentally, in the popular songs of the civilized. (Cf. also VII-6, a (2) /see a (3)/.)

/300 cont./

533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

533 Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very [276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the tuxáua sings as follows:

*[192] "mãrĩ bũxkõrá, mãrĩ paxkõ-s'õmõá baxsesé duhí-wé:pãra,
[539] yõõ ná põrá uhú duhí, uhú duhí we:yá, mãxsã yõõ põra";
that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively [562] for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the [273] men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule, [535] the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning; they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

/301 cont./

533 As for the execution, one must point out that beautiful voices are sometimes found. Among the Baniva and the Kubêwãna one also observes piano or even pianissimo passages and forte ones, a consideration that we did not notice among other tribes. There is no preoccupation, however, with the breathing; especially when, already temulent, the woman will sing while she has any breath, then suddenly interrupts the verse or the melody in order to breathe noisily.

Some of these songs of the dances of the women, as well as of the pajés, end with laughing or a characteristic cry.

c) Songs of the xamã /shaman/.

533 756 [184] There is a repertoire belonging exclusively to the pajés. Since one pajé is trained in the school of another, perhaps of a different tribe (cf. VII -- 2, e (2 f) ), this explains the fact of hearing the same song rendered by pajés of different tribes. Nevertheless the melodies of the songs of the Tukano pajés of the Tiquie are quite different from those of the Wanana and Arwáke pajés that we were able to record (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/").

[534] [755] The pajés almost always sing to the sound of the maracá. Their songs constitute one of the curing processes and thus will vary according to the sickness. The musical theme is a Greek-Gregorian canon, melodious, slow, solemn. In some songs the words are already found adulterated; they are articulated sounds without meaning. At times laughs are also inserted.

3) Musical instruments.

534 R. G. Izikowitz (Musical and other sound instruments of the South American Indians -- A comparative ethnical study, 1935) presents four groups of musical instruments: 1st) idiophones, 2nd) membranophones, 3rd) chordophones, and 4th) aerophones. We do not find any example of the third group among the tribes of the

/301 cont./

534 Uaupés (55) /sic; (57)/.

[177]

55 /57/. During these past years some natives who came down to the Rio Negro for work became so enamored of the guitar that they heard there at the feasts of the caboclos that the possession of one of them constituted the dreamed-of fruit of their labor. And, upon returning to their povoados, they spend long hours of the day and the night strumming monotonously on the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ poor instrument. Perhaps for them the charm is not derived from the auditory pleasure which they experience as much as appearing, with this, more advanced or civilized than their other brothers. One also already sees some harmonica /Port. gaita/ or accordion or victrola among the alumni of the Mission.

Of the others, there are various instruments, all obviously of native origin.

/302/ a) Idiophones.

534 As rhythm instruments for the dances they have:

535 1st. -- Rhythm tube. In the Tukano idiom it is called ahũ-wõ, plural ahũ-pawõ. It is a cylinder of imbauba a meter long and 10 centimeters in diameter, hollow, with the lower end touching the ground, obstructed because it corresponds to the node. The upper one is open and ends with a rectangular extension by which it is held with the right hand. Each dancer takes his instrument, and they go all together, marking the rhythm of the step with a stroke against the ground. Frequently these instruments are painted with white, with the latex from the sorva, and with designs of Greek frets in red or black color.

[192]

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/302 cont./

534 2nd. -- Rhythm stick. Sometimes the dancers carry in their right hand a simple stick, of any kind of wood, which in Tukano
535 is called yuxkõ, also for the purpose of marking the rhythm.

*[192] 3rd. -- Murucú. Murucú is the term from the Nheengatú language; in Tukano it is called yaígõ, that is, "stick of the onça
*[192] /jaguar/" (Gonçalves Dias calls them "murucús-maracás" (cf.
[531] "Relatório da Província do Amazonas," Vol. I, p. 760). It consists of a stick of brazilwood (mira-piranga) with beautiful paintings and adorned with colorful feathers, some 2 meters in length and about 3 centimeters in diameter, and the upper end in the shape of a fork. Almost in the center there is an intumescence with slits and, inside, some pebbles. Once the slits are made, the spot is exposed to the fire, and, after it is heated, they enlarge the intumescence and introduce the pebbles.

The tuxáua who presides at the dances holds it with the right hand and hits it against the biceps of the same arm, producing a noise like that of a rattle, while the whole stick starts to vibrate. It is used to mark the beginning of the dances.

*[192] 4th. -- Snappers. In Tukano they are called kixtyó and sound like castanets. They are small tucumã nuts, strung on a cord, which are tied to the right ankle in some dance numbers, in order for them to mark the rhythm.

5th. -- Maracá. In Tukano it is called yaxsã or yaxsã-ga; plural, yaxsã-pá. It is a rattle prepared with a calabash, in which /303/ an orifice was made in the lower part, through which were introduced some seeds or pebbles, and it is fitted with a handle of about 10 or 15 centimeters by which it is held and shaken. Some are painted with the common designs already seen. In some dance numbers all the men shake the maracá.

[755] Besides this, it is a magic instrument, which the pajés use in their curing processes, and with which they also keep time during their therapeutic songs.

/303 cont./

534 We have already talked about the trocano /signal drum/ (VII -- 1).

b) Membranophones.

*[192] They only know one, which they use to announce the time of the caxirí, the drum, in Tukano twá-tõ, plural twáthe-pawõ. It is a small drum about 20 centimeters in diameter and 20 in height. The cylindrical part is made out of louro /laurel/ bark, and it is closed at both ends with monkey skin, without the fur and well stretched. It is played with a small wooden drumstick, twá-tõ pa:-kõ.

c) Aerophones.

In this group is included the largest number of the native instruments, their various types of flutes and whistles. Some of these instruments emit different sounds, permitting the playing of varied and pleasing musical themes. Others, instead, only one sound, which is always made to yield sound rhythmically. It is to be observed that, in general, the playing starts with a small exercise of tuning the instruments and ends with a fortissimo of the entire instrumental assemblage.

*[192] 1st. -- Panpipe /flauta-de-pã/. It is the syrinx of the Greeks, known regionally by the name of cariço, and in Tukano wéõ, pl. wéõ-pari. It consists of 6 to 10 tubes of taboca /a wild cane/ of different length and thickness, tied together, with the orifices in the same plane, as in a mouth organ. They always make them in pairs so that the two players are in tune and, with a third or fifth of difference, one can play the canto, and the other, the accom-
*[192] paniment, or contracanto. They are classified in several types, according to the number of tubes and their tonality: yõrõrí-pa, wéõ-pa, puxtirí-pa, wanỹã-pa, yõtirí-pa.

[883] The Panpipe is, par excellence, the instrument of the young men; we have never seen it played by mature men. To the sound
[535] of the cariços are developed pleasant dance numbers (see VII -- 6, a (4) ) with varied melodies and with a recreational character in

/303 cont./

534 the interval between the ritual dances. The young women also
535 participate as partners to each young musician. The musicians at times dance in a row, holding /304/ the flute with the right hand, and with the left one the shoulder of the companion beside him; in this case the ladies position themselves in between, holding by the waist the two men whom one is between, one in each arm. At other times the players, in a column, go around in a circle or on a winding path, now to the right, now to the left, and then, with the left hand above their own shoulder, hold the hand of their lady.

534 2nd. -- Long flute. In Tukano at times it is called buxpú-
*[192] wõ, pl. buxpú-pawõ, which, properly speaking, indicates the sarabatana /blowpipe/. Announcing its foreign origin, however, the more common name is yapúrutu (yapurutú in the Língua Geral). It is a flute of paxiúba, without registers, measuring approximately 1.50 meters in length, with a diameter of 3 to 5 centimeters. It is blown by the upper end, having, at about 10 centimeters below, an orifice that is regulated with a thin sheet of palm leaflet, as if it were the reed of a clarinet. They are also combined in pairs, canto and contracanto.

[184] They are of various sizes and each with its name of a bird or animal, thus among the Wanãna and Kubêwana. The Tuxáua Julio of Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié) asserted that these names are given by other tribes, not by the Tukano.

Beautiful and varied musical themes are played with this
[535] flute. It is certainly the most pleasing of the native instruments. After a short rehearsal, in order to verify the tuning of the instruments (canto and contracanto), two or four men start the dance: they hold the instrument with the right hand, while the left hand rests on the shoulder of the companion beside them. They thus move to the end of the maloca, being careful that the instrument of one does not hit that of the other as they change position to march in the opposite direction. The women who enter for the dance place themselves between two men, holding them by the waist.

/304 cont./

*192 534 3rd. -- Bone flute. In Nheengatú it is known as membí, and in Tukano as way-kõ o'ã, or also puxtirí o'ã. It is a flute 15 to 20 centimeters long, made out of the bone of an animal's tibia, with three orifices longitudinally, similar to our flutes, and one upper one, vertically, through which it is blown, this orifice being partially plugged with breu /a substance like pitch/, so that the air enters in suitable intensity and direction. It takes different names, according to the name of the animal whose tibia was used: nãmá o'ã (deer bone), yaí o'ã (onça /jaguar/ bone), etc.

[535] During the dances this flute will always be decorated with a string of Coleoptera carapaces of different colors. The men hold the instrument with the right hand in some /305/ dance numbers and make it sound intermittently, like a whistle, in the intervals of the songs.

4th. -- Cutia /agouti/ flute. This would be the translation of the Tukano name bwá-wõ, pl. bwá-pawõ, because bwá means cutia (small rodent, dasyprócta agutí). It is a small fife of taboca, 20 to 30 centimeters long, decorated with colorful feathers.

[535] There is a dance that is called bwá-baxsá, in which all the men carry this fife in their right hands. At given moments the singing stops, and each one makes his own instrument sound, like a simple whistle, but rhythmically. At a certain point some fling their fife to the ground, but recover it afterwards, making it sound anew. The dance is concluded with a stronger and more prolonged whistle.

5th. -- Caramujo. In Tukano it is called sã'ã. It is a whistle that is obtained from the caramujo /a snail/. An old native stated that this same name formerly also designated a fife of taquara or taboca, with an orifice in the center that is applied to the nose in order to emit the sound, and the extremities are obturated with the fingers. This is an instrument that many of the new generation do not know.

/305 cont./

*192 534 6th. -- Varejeira. In Tukano it is called mõxtẽ-poro, which means precisely mosca-varejeira /blowfly/. It is a small flute of imbauba about 30 centimeters long, with a vertical orifice, as in general among the flutes. They play it in the intervals between the dances. The sounds imitate articulations of words, [832] and thus the young men address sexual invitations to the young women. It is what is called puxtí-weresã, to complain playing the flute (cf. VII -- 1).

7th. -- Mawáko. Under this name come two different types of flutes: 1st) an imbauba fife, may reach up to a meter in length; 2nd) a small flute 12 to 15 centimeters long, with a side orifice, in the center, also of imbauba.

[835] 8th. -- There are various types of pipes or whistles that they use in the dances, whistling rhythmically in the intervals between the songs. One of them is of taboca, has the shape of a common pipe about 10 centimeters long, with the hole for blowing at the upper end, and it is used in the dance called wá'wa-ri baxsã (dance of the arumã head-piece).

Another, also of taboca, and of the size of the preceding one, but with the orifice in the center.

[835] In other dances, instead of a whistle, each man carries a piece of cipo 20 or 30 centimeters in length, the bark of which comes off very easily, remaining as a sheath. Holding this sheath tightly with the left hand, and with the right one pulling the pith of /306/ the cipo, there results from the attrition a very shrill whistling. This whistle is called simiõ-mi.

9th. -- Jabutí. It is prepared from the carapace of the jabutí /land turtle/, from which comes the name, ũhuri in Tukano, dug out in such a way that the shell remains intact. Afterwards the holes are in part obturated with breu. The instrument is held tightly under the left arm, while the open right hand goes to rubbing with force the lip of the upper orifice; it will then emit a hoarse sound similar to that of the cuica /an amphibious rat/.

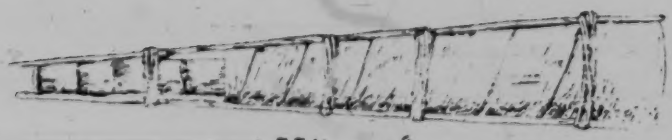
/306 cont./

534 We saw that the man, upon sounding this instrument,
522 would go backwards until, as a joke, he bumped against the women, who went away amidst laughter.

*192 10th. -- Deer head. In Tukano it is called ñamá dõxpõ-á.
534 It consists precisely of the head of a deer, the various orifices having been obturated with breu, except one, on the upper part between the horns, through which one blows. They use this instrument to announce the caxirí, and the sound tries to imitate precisely the words: pẽru wã:tya (bring caxirí), which is repeated several times, and ends with the repetition: kero, kero, kero (quickly, quickly, quickly).

11th. -- Ocarina. In Nheengatú toré; in Tukano uxpítu, pl. uxpítu-pá. It is an instrument of baked clay, which resembles the ocarina, and which they blow on the road, when they are going to the dabacurí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2) ).

12th. -- Jurupari. In Tukano it is called mĩrĩ (Uaupés mĩ̃ñ). It is the mysterious instrument. This is tubes of paxiúba covered by the liber of chibarú (epérua grandíflora), rolled up in a spiral, with two sticks that emerge like horns from the upper end and by which it is held to be blown. According to the length, which varies from 80 centimeters to 1.50 meters, and the diameter from 6 to 10 centimeters, the sound will be like that of a trombone or, deeper, like that of a bass.



mĩrĩ (jurupari)

/306 cont./

534 There are four different ones; since, however, they always make them in pairs, canto and contracanto, they constitute a musical band of eight instruments that sound simultaneously in a hoarse, loud, but well-harmonized ensemble which is very pleasing to the Indian. In the picturesque /307/ native nomenclature, instead of canto and contracanto, the instruments are called husband and wife. We have already pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, c (2) ) the belief that the mĩrĩa are "people," and perhaps the denomination of husband and wife is derived from this belief.

Each instrument has its name, according to size; they could not explain to us the reason for the names, however.

Starting with the largest ones, the order that the tuxáua-bayá Júlio of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) gave us in 1953 was the following:

*192 534 1st. -- baaró (a bird of prey); 2nd. -- mahã (arara); 3rd. -- dẽ'tõ (squirrel); 4th. -- kixtyó boxká (bunch of snappers); 5th. -- arũtõ (assarí, a small toucan); 6th. -- mẽrẽ-i'sĩ (a small monkey, perhaps the marmoset); 7th. -- doé (taraira, fish); 8th. -- pextoá (kingfisher, aquatic bird, Caradrídea).

[115] [126] In April of 1955 two pajés of the Tukano tribe, Marcelino of Iuquira and Henrique of Japú-igarapé (Uaupés) also indicated the names of the instruments, with an alteration in the order, however, to wit (we have recorded their defective pronunciation), starting with the largest: 1st pair: kixtyó-boxká (ensemble of rattles), its wife is anõnõ (assarí); 2nd pair: i'tsĩ or mẽ'nẽ-i'sĩ (small white monkey with a yellow back), its wife is pusõ (they pronounce it this

/307 cont./

*192 way, instead of poxsõ, makú; and they explained why,
that is, it serves as a servant, it is the makú of the jurupari);
534 3rd pair: doé (taraira), its wife is pextoá (kingfisher);
4th pair: dẽ'tõ (squirrel), its wife is also pusõ.

[184] It seems that each tribe has its peculiar way of preparing the mĩriá, so that, without previous practicing, those of one tribe do not know how to play properly the instruments of another tribe. At least the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) apologized for having only one man among them who knew how to play the mĩriá loaned for the occasion by the neighboring Huhudẽne of Uaupuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana).

13th. -- Eheõnõ. It is not properly speaking a musical instrument, but a legendary object and for commemoration of the legends. We have already described this small horn above (cf. VI -- 4, i (3) ).

4) Musical themes of the Panpipes.

533 The Salesian Missionary, Pe. Eduardo Lagório, admirer
[115] of the native music (58),

> 58. And who has already been inspired by the native musical themes for the composition of religious and secular songs.

provided the following notes about the Panpipes /flautas-de-pã/ and their musical themes.

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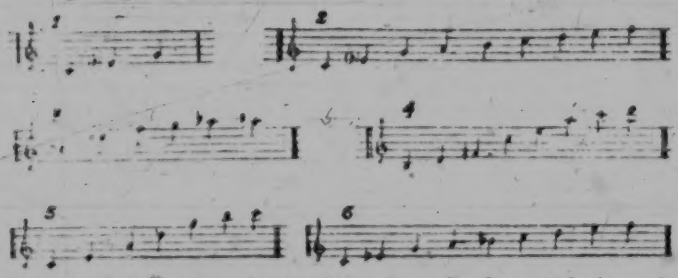
*192 533 "The first three tubes (of the Panpipe) always give a chord most of the time major and once in a while minor, the first three tubes giving the result:



1. Notes of the first three tubes; 2. wãnyã-pa (of nine tubes); 3. yõrõrí-pa (of six tubes); 4. puxtirí-pa (of eight tubes); 5. wéõ-pa (of seven tubes); 6. yõtirí-pa (of nine tubes).

*192 533 534 The other tubes will follow with more variety. There is a small flute, which they call wãnỹã-pa, with nine tubes, the notes of which are the following (2 supra):

The other one with which they answer the thicker tubes, or vice versa, takes the name of yõtiri-pa (yõti, they answer).

The tonalities will of course vary with the variation of the measurements. These will depend on the measurement adopted for the largest tube, and also on its manufacturer, because they are measured by the phalanges of their fingers. The difference in size between the first and second tube corresponds to the first two phalanges of the index finger; between the second and third tube, and between the latter and the fourth, to the first phalanx of the index finger; between the fourth and the fifth, only a half a phalanx; between the other tubes only the tip of the index finger.

It should be noted that, starting with the third tube, the diameter decreases. This rule holds for the small type wanyã-pa.

They prepare, moreover, a small flute of six tubes, which they call yõrõrí-pa and is played alone, that is, without contracanto.

One of them gave the following notes (3 supra):

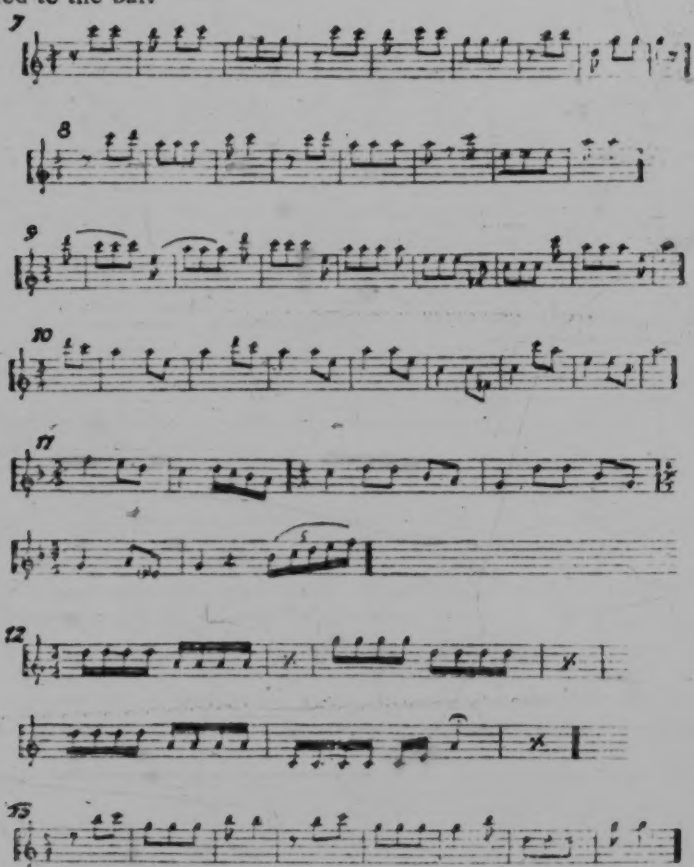
With longer tubes they manufacture various types of flutes, one called wéõ-pa, another, puxtirí-pa.

The same ones blown in the thicker tubes, or vice versa, serve as contracanto and in this case are also called yõtirí-pa.

/308 cont./

533 Two of them, compared with the harmonium, and which were
534 used for playing the melodies below, gave the following notes (4 and 5 supra): /The final quotation marks for the quotation that begins at the top of p. 451 are missing in the original source./

533 /309/ The same informant furnished the following melodies, chosen among the easiest ones of the native repertoire, to be adapted to the bar:



*[192] 7. melody with wéõ-pa (7 tubes); 8. melodic variation with the instrument of 8 tubes; 9. melody with puxtirí-pa (8 tubes); 10. another melody with that of 8 tubes; 11. melody with the yõtirí-pa (9 tubes); 12. melody with wéõ-pa (7 tubes); 13. another melody with wéõ-pa.

4: Silva--453 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/310/

d) Plumage and adornment.

301 The native ornaments are many; the most striking ones are
302 for the men (59),

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59. This assemblage of ornaments (earrings, bracelets, necklaces, combs), the long hair in a braid, carefully combed, the depilation of the beard and the mustache, gave the Indian, according to Wallace's testimony, an appearance so effeminate, especially in the dance, when they even protected the chest with the shield of cipo and the lower part of the body with the long waxsó-ro of hanging tururí, that the English scientist thought he was in front of a woman. Wallace's opinion is that the legend of the Amazons or women warriors arose from this mistake (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 630).

but their use on the latter is exclusively for the dances (60),

[184]

60. In the Roéra and Ihwãna tribes, even outside of the dances, we have seen the men, especially the young ones, with paintings on the face, bracelets on the arms, and earrings made up of a plug of colored or white feathers.

at least nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

The ancient travelers speak (61)

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61. Pe. Cristovão de Acuña, referring to the journey of Pedro Teixeira in 1639, concerning the nation of the Curizaris, which started 28 leagues below the mouth of the river Juruá,

/310 cont./

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/footnote 61 cont./ says: "The Portuguese called the first aldeia of this nation, coming down the river, "aldeia de ouro" /aldeia of gold/, because in it they found and bought some, which, in small sheets, the Indians wear hanging from their noses and ears and which was examined in Quito and found to be of 21 carats" ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," trans. of C. Melo Leitão, p. 236). According to these first explorers, such plâtes were obtained by beating "this gold, all in bits and grains of good size," which they extracted from a mountain range watered by the river Iquiarí.

[316]
[325]

of gold and silver ornaments. There are no such metals in these regions, and they do not know how to work them. From their relations with other tribes of Colombia (62)

62. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha, in his "Roteiro" /Logbook/, states that the Taryana obtained such sheets from the Colombian Panẽnõã Indians (see above, p. 47). -- Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of the Governador of the Rio Negro, João Pereira Caldas, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador as follows (cf. Artur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, 1st ed., Manaos, 1940, p. 82): "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn as earrings by certain Indians of the Uaupés River;

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/footnote 62 cont./ it is something about which I could not discover the least news, although I did question many and different Nations with whom I talked, inhabitants of the same River. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing more than a chimeric illusion originating from there being seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, the Wings of which, after having dried, appear to be metallic kind because of their thickness and shine.

[135]

"Finally I think that this News of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is as Fabulous as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, taken or /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ brought from the Tiquié River in 1749, when melted, appeared to be of silver; when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already planning to present them as such."

and Venezuela they might have been /311/ obtained in barter. At the present time one only finds some women with triangular sheets of beaten silver, of varied size, strung on a cord, and used as a necklace around the neck. They are called, due to their appearance, mo'mõ-rõ khwíri, that is, pieces of butterfly.

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/311 cont./

*192 301 562

1) Feminine adornment.

Besides the paintings on the face, breasts, and body as decoration (and not as clothing), as they declare, the women own few objects of adornment:

a) Necklaces. They are of different size, shape, and material. They are made from various seeds, especially a tiny nut, threaded on a tucum fiber, the parakẽ-dá; or also little glass beads, [178] the yax'kẽ-dá; or beads obtained from the civilized, the different shapes, sizes, and colors being combined in various ways. They wear them even outside the dances; they are not, however, of general use, and in Wallace's time they were not used at all (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro, p. 630).

b) Bracelets. They are of beads or seeds, like the necklaces, and are called in Tukano, yax'kẽ wã-yãsé.

c) Knee bands (63).

63. Among the Ide-masã of the stream Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, we also saw young men using knee bands. Among the rest of the tribes the men only wear them as ornaments for the dances.

[286] In Nheengatú they are called tapacúra, and in Tukano yuxtá-seri. It is a band of delicate and curious weave, made of caroá fiber, most of the time, colored yellow or red. One is applied on each leg, a little below the knee. In many cases it is woven without any pieces added, and, thus, when, due to the person's growth, it starts to be too tight, they cut it off.

They assert that its purpose is to thicken the legs.

[177] d) Earrings. Nowadays one only sees earrings (in Nheengatú nambí-purá, in Tukano yoxsasé) obtained from the civilized, or, in place of them, small necklaces of glass beads.

/312/

*192 562 178 291

e) Puericueio. It is the feminine tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ that we discussed before (VI -- 3, a), in Tukano yax'kẽ waxsó-ro. Nowadays they only use it in the dances and very rarely (65) /sic; 64/.

> 64. "In their festivals, when they dance, the women then put on a small tanga or apron, made of beads arranged in regular patterns, with much taste and much caprice. This tanga is about six square inches in size. It is never worn on other occasions, so that, once the feast is over, the women take it off immediately" (Wallace -- "Viagens," etc., p. 630).

*192 301 562

f) Wreath. At times during the dances the women fit to their heads a wreath of branches from that shrub of pleasant and intense aroma called bará. It is what is called bará pu'sasé in Tukano.

[177]

g) Many women and girls habitually wear curved combs of striking colors, i'í be'tó or i'í-ro be'tó, obtained from the civilized. A century ago, according to Wallace, they did not wear any comb.

2) Masculine adornment.

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For the dances the men paint the face and the body, as was said above.

[178]

a) Stone of command. We call it this because it is actually a badge of the tuxauas, who wear it hanging at the neck on solemn occasions (dances, reception for some civilized, etc.). Nowadays it is a rare ornament, and few own it. The ouvidor /auditor/ Xavier Sampaio (cf. above, II -- 3), following Pe. José Noronha, mentions the existence of this ornament and gives it as an indicator and classifier, by its size, of the nobleness of the wearer. In Tukano it is called õxtã bohá, that is, clear stone. It is a piece of amorphous quartz, quite smooth, cylindrical in shape, and about 15 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 in diameter.

/312 cont./

301 562 The quartz is not found on the banks of the Uaupés. Koch Grünberg states that these stones come from a place in the interior of the forest on the left bank of the Tiquié, near the headwaters. They are pierced by a regular orifice of some millimeters in diameter, in the transversal direction (and in some stones also in the longitudinal direction), through which it is hung at the neck. This orifice constitutes one of the best documentations of the native patience in his work, since it is done with the help of fine sand and water, using a thin stick, which is rolled between the palms of the hands while the feet hold the stone on the ground.

*192 237 301 562 /313/ b) Acangatara. In Tukano it is designated by various names: mahã́ poá-ri baxsarí-be'tó, or mahã́ poá-ri pe'saró, or simply mahã́ poá-ri (arara feathers). It is a wide wreath of about 10 or 15 centimeters, which is fitted by being tied behind the head. It is woven out of tucum, to which the feathers are attached by using the milk of the sorva. They customarily arrange the feathers in such a way that on the lower edge (the one that covers the forehead) there is a band of 3 to 4 centimeters of delicate white garça /heron/ feathers, yehé poá-ri; then a band, more or less of the same width, of red feathers of the harpy eagle, a:--paxkõ wĩxtõ, and an upper band, wider, of yellow arara feathers, mahã́ poá-ri.

The young men wear their wi'mãrã́ pe'saró. It consists of a crown, or, rather, of a visor of straw, 2 or 3 centimeters in width, to which is applied a twist densely embellished with striking ~~red and~~ yellow arara plumes. Sometimes, instead of the arara feathers, there are the red ones from the toucan; it is then called daxsé be'tó.

c) Braids. 1st) Emõ poá boxka-rí consists of three double braids about 40 centimeters long, made of monkey fur, and tied at the nape of the neck to let them hang down the back. Emõ is the Tukano name of the guariba /howler/ monkey.

/313 cont./

*192 237 301 562 [535]

2nd) At the time of the dance they fit to the preceding braids, and in the horizontal direction, over the nape, another plaiting of onça /jaguar/ fur, which is called poa-ri dõ'terí-dá (dõ'terí-dá means: string for tying).

3rd) They add to the preceding a small onça /jaguar/ bone, yai o'ã dõxká, and a small disk of tatu /armadillo/ shell, pamõ pe'toró, with a feather in the central hole. This decoration is called tu-si'ti-óoro.

d) Feather crests. 1st. -- Over these braids are also fitted various crests. The first consists of a rectangular plaiting of arumã and tucum, ukã-pãma, topped by long and tapered tail feathers from the garça /heron/, yehé si-á uhaú, and, on the base, red arara feathers and white ones from the harpy eagle (si-á uhaú, uropygium).
/The following paragraph is confused in the original source. The three lines from the original text, the first of which is repeated at the end of the following paragraph, are marked with slant lines in the translation./ This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck. / some of these crests that, instead of tucum, they introduced into the woven/ colored threads obtained from the civilized, and monkey fur.

The rest of the men wear a simpler crest, in which, over the ukã-pãma, are found plumes of the harpy eagle, a:--paxkõ si-á uhaú. This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck.

2nd. -- The second crest is called a:--paxkõ wĩxtõ-põ. It consists of a stem around which is fixed with sorva a /314/ layer of very fine white down (wĩxtõ) from the harpy eagle (a:--paxkõ). It is adjusted perpendicularly over the nape, forming a right angle with the first one.

3rd. -- They further add one or two long red tail feathers from the arara, mahã pixkõ-rõ, likewise in a position perpendicular to the nape.

/314 cont./

*192 291 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá ií-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. [177] Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá.

[237] 2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrĩ-dá.

[534] 3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps.

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

/314 cont./

*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõá-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of earrings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that [177] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer [304] pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komĩ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 535 237 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

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*192 237 534 535

2nd. -- Umũ-ka-iti. It is a crest of white garça /heron/ feathers (yehé) and yellow ones from the japú /Icteridae/ (umũ), used like the preceding one.

3rd. -- Pexká pixkõrõá petorí, or, abbreviated, pyõrõá pe'torí. It is a beetle-carapace necklace of changeable colors (66),

> 66. A native furnished us the explanation that the pixkõrõá live inside the bacaba palm. He further added that do'tõ is "father" of the beetle pixkõrõ. It is probably a matter of insects with different phases, like the butterfly, which passes through the stages of larva and chrysalid.

which covers the bone flute during the dances.

*192 184 532 764 [178]

n) Masks. On the Uaupés only the Wanãna and the Kubêwãna (67)

> 67. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 205) learned that, besides the Buhágana, the õmõa /sic/ and Sãra also wear masks. It seems that until 50 years ago or a little more, that is, around the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, the use of the masks was quite widespread among the tribes of the Tiquié and tributaries.

nowadays wear the masks in the funeral dances, and for this reason they call them ya'ko-kó su'tí-ro, that is, clothing of tears.

/316/ They are prepared with the liber of the tururí and have the shape of a nightgown, which covers the person from the head to the knees.

/316 cont./

287 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadú bags.
532 Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and
764 length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg
532 (Zwei Iahre, p. 236), the Taryana wore masks also at the feast
778 of Wãx-tĩ. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the Ide-masã of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called Waxtĩ (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a). Difficulties.

177 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters
771 of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

4: Silva--464 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/316 cont./

177 culture that remained as evidence. In the religious Ethnology
771 we not only have the reciprocal influence among the tribes, but that of the civilized, perhaps since the discovery of the New World (1),

1. Frei Gaspar de Carvajal, O. P., in the description of the voyage of Francisco Orellana, 1540, relates the information of an Indian woman. "In this aldeia (in the vicinity of the mouth of the Rio Negro) an Indian woman with much sense was taken. She said that near here, in the interior, there were many Christians, among them two white women, and that others lived with Indian women from whom they had /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ children. It is presumed that these are the ones who disappeared from Diogo Ordaz." One of the ships that made up part of the squadron of Ordaz, having left Seville at the beginning of 1531, with a destination on the river Maranhão, under the command of Juan Cornejo, ran aground in this river with more than 300 men, who settled among the Indians.

all of them Christians (2),

2. /From p. 317 in the original source./ In our days we know of traders who baptized Indians in order to make them their "godchildren," that is, with an obligation to work for them. Grotesque episodes are told about these baptisms, sometimes of an entire maloca, just pouring on water or putting salt in the mouth, without uttering any words. Koch Grünberg himself baptized some sick children, as he tells in his

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/footnote 2 cont./ book Zwei Iahre. Still today (1957) the Missionaries find Indians scattered through various malocas who claim to have been baptized "by white," that is, by civilized who passed by the region trading.

with their cult, which would impress /317/ the savage, and with their talks or even with their positive catechizing, wishing to bring him to Christianism.

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Tribes of the Amazon and Rio Negro (cf. II - 1) (and those of the Uaupés maintained relations with those of the Rio Negro and Içana) were even evangelized by Missionaries in different times. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits and the Mercedarians were on the Rio Negro, in the eighteenth the Carmelites, in the nineteenth the Capuchins and Secular Priests.

The Christian converts were at times a minority within the group which would continue with their beliefs and practices. Perhaps in some cases an entire group, for example, a native povoado, became Christian, but later lost contact with the Missionaries -- and we saw that the catechizing on the Rio Negro and Uaupés was periodic and intermittent -- and returned to their pagan rituals.

Would there not have remained some trace of these learned teachings and religious practices? There are indications that affirm this, from which it is permissible to infer: what the Indians practice today and declared to us may not be exempt from the influence of the Christian civilized.

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Another difficulty no smaller than the first one is the reserve of the native, always suspicious, and he appears much more so on these subjects, about which there may even be an obligation to reveal nothing to the civilized. It has been verified that they more easily make disclosures about subjects of morality, which, it seems to us, should remain hidden, than about religious

/317 cont./
771 subjects (3).

3. General Couto de Magalhães, in spite of his friendly relations with many natives, reveals this silent discretion of theirs: "The Indians are very reserved and discreet in everything concerning a religious topic. In the middle of the most animated conversation, if one directs to them any question intended for the clarification of any of these points, they immediately become cool, at times somber, and either answer with monosyllables or do not answer at all" (Ensaios de Anthropologia, /Essays in Anthropology/, 495).

/318/ b) Christian influences.

177 We mention only three proofs of Christian influence: 1st --
773 the inclusion of elements of the Christian tradition in the native legends (as will be seen in the work in preparation "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") (4);

4. There are some points in these legends (as we shall see in another volume, "Lendas do Uaupés") that make us admit Christian diffusion. And we are not referring to the narrations of the alumni of the Catholic Missions. As we more than once had the opportunity to verify, in the exposition of their legends they insert episodes and names of personages about which they have heard in the catechesis. One proof of this is the Tukano Cosmogony revealed by the pajé Marcos Sierra to Marcos Fulop (cf. n. 65 /sic; see note 71/, Ch. VII-4, e (2c) ).

4: Silva--467 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Footnote 4 cont./ Marcel Homet, at a conference held in Manaus in March of 1949, defended the thesis of the influence of the Mediterranean Civilization in the Amazon basin, although indeed in the Christian period, either coming directly from the Mediterranean or passing by way of Africa. As one of the arguments, he gave the tradition of pre-Colombian expeditions to America. There could have been, in this hypothesis, Christian penetration in the legends of these tribes. The legend of Sumé itself would serve as an argument for such diffusion.

More likely, it seems to us, would be a pre-Christian or messianic influence. Just as the episode of the Flood appears in so many legends that the American men have transplanted from their original habitat to the lands of America, they could likewise have carried other elements, such as that of the promise of a Liberator. The interesting thing is that this great Liberator is born, according to the native legends, to a Virgin, as had been promised in the first great Biblical prophecy.

In the history of primitive Humanity there are several blank chapters, among them that of the vicissitudes of the Caimitas /Cainites/, that is, of the descendants of Caim /Cain/. Had they propagated much, as happened to the other children of Adam? Had they immediately abandoned the primitive habitat? Where did they go?

It is easy to defend the thesis that groups of Caimitas were the first ones to leave Mesopotamia, where Humanity appeared.

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/Footnote 4 cont./ Moreover, the theory that the Flood only reached and exterminated the inhabitants of the Near East is not only defensible, but very probable. Could not groups of these Caimitas have reached the more distant regions of the faraway Polynesian and Australian East, as well as those of the American West?

The theory of Marcel Homet, understood as a migration from the Near East to the Americas within the Christian period, seems less acceptable to us. The existence of man on American soil would certainly go back six millenniums or more.

The prehistoric research on the sambaquis /shell mounds/ of Brazil (in that of the Mar-Casado, Island of S. Amaro, under the direction of Paulo Duarte, in those of the Paraná started by Joseph Emperaire and carried on by the professors of the Universidade de Curitiba) shows prehistoric men in layers for which the Carbon 14 gives six and eight thousand years. During the second intellectual meetings sponsored by Unesco in S. Paulo on August 16, 1961, Professor Crushent told about finding artifacts in /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Manzanilla, Venezuela, in deposits up to 16,500 years old, by the analysis of the Carbon 14.

And it is not contrary to reason that prediluvian groups, perhaps of the Caimitas, might have come here. If the concept of a Noachian flood in the Amerindian legends were proved (and it was not merely a matter of regional inundations), even so it might be

/318 cont./

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/footnote 4 cont./ concluded that there had been migrations of postdiluvian groups, without excluding the possibility of prediluvian migrations.

177 551 2nd -- Indians with Biblical names (see above II - 3); and 3rd -- some episodes of religious fanaticism that took place in the last century on the rivers Içana, Uaupés, and Papuri, with such repercussion that, in spite of the distances, 177 /319/ they managed to worry the ones governing Manaus. 792 Now it is not improbable that such episodes imply a more remote Christian influence.

In 1857 the Governador João Baptista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha heard talk of a great movement of the natives of the river Içana, attracted by a preacher who called himself the "Verdadeiro Cristo" /True Christ/. He then appointed as Missionary of the Içana and Uaupés Padre Romualdo Gonçalves d'Azevedo, "in order to thwart the preachings of the pretended Christ, to calm the agitation promoted and to obstruct the migration of the Indians to another people's territory." It indeed became clear to the Government that the "Christ" was trying to induce the Indians to move to the territory of Venezuela. It was feared that he was a foreign political emissary, perhaps even from England, France, or the United States. It was a matter of a Venezuelan Indian, Venâncio by name, who had settled in the povoação /village, town/ Cuiari, on the confluence of the homonymous river with the Içana, and, in the presence of a cross, he would preach his false doctrine, and the concept of him as Saint would grow. "He took advantage," says the Relatorio of Pe. Romualdo, "of the condition to which he was reduced by attacks of catalepsy, from which he suffered, to make believe that he would die, go to heaven, speak with God; and that he had the power to forgive sins" (Relatório dated February 10, 1858 -- Archivo do Amazonas of July 23, 1907,

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Vol. II, n. 5, p. 14). Foreseeing the attacks, he would proclaim beforehand his relations with God, by whose order he would demand payment from the Indians in exchange for the forgiveness of sins. At such news, the forest dwellers would go to see him from wherever they were found. The Missionary Frei Manuel de Santana Salgado, who, at the request of Pe. Romualdo, handicapped by illness, had replaced him, threatening police intervention, forced Venâncio to withdraw to Venezuela. Again during the journey of Frei Salgado another similar religious movement appeared near the "Povoação da Guia" /Town of the Leader/, on the igarapé Pirá-iauára. This time the protagonist was a Brazilian Indian, also named Venâncio, "who called himself Padre Santo enviado do Christo" /Holy Father sent by Christ/, and "the repetition of such acts took place, and it was there that the public confessions, divorces, and new marriages were made, all this being followed by profane entertainments with dances, eating and drinking, which also was practiced on the Cuiary in /320/ consequence of the teaching of the doctrine and the supposed miracles of the so-called Christ."

In his report dated from Cunury (river Uaupés) on April 12 of 1859, Pe. Romualdo told that Indians of several tribes were gathered in Juquira-rapecuma, on the Uaupés, "worshiping another Christ who had appeared there, practicing the same that had happened on Igarapé Piraiauára, on the Içana, that is, baptizing, marrying, etc., that this gathering numbered over a thousand persons armed with firearms and curabís (arrows with poisoned tips), prepared to resist the officials, in case they went there, as had happened on the Içana, that they would wait right there for the whites."

Indeed, Frei Salgado was received hostilely and had to withdraw in danger of his life on March 3, 1858. "According to what has been reported," proceeds the Relatório, "and is taken as certain, the Christ is an Indian, a native of the Uaupés, who resided in the district of Marabitanas, well known there by everyone, called Alexandre. In the retinue of the Christ," concludes the Relatório (Archivo do

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/320 cont./

177 Amazonas, October 3 of 1907, Vol. II, n. 7, pp. 85-90)
792 "are more than 10 captured Macus, who are used by them
[567] as slaves, to the point of selling them in exchange for a weapon, swords, axes, and whatever pleases them."

After Venâncio and Alexandre, a deserter by the name of Basílio Melgueiro renewed the same mistakes, states Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 20).

Around the end of 1880 another individual appeared, this one from the Arapásu tribe, who called himself Vicente Cristo and claimed to maintain dialogues with the spirits of the dead and with God himself, of whom he proclaimed himself to be a representative. He announced himself as "Pai dos Missionários" /Father of the Missionaries/, who, at his request, God had sent to the Caiarí. He fanaticized many, whom he made dance around a cross. Having harmed many seringueiros /rubber workers/ with his fanaticism, he was finally arrested in Barcelos.

A similar episode happened in the last decades of the past century on the Papuri. An Indian from the Tukano tribe (Subdivision of the Sakúro-põrá, see IV - 2, a), Lino Sêwa by name, appeared in the locality of Buxtwá-pweá (today Montfort). Natives of the Papurí and even of the Uaupés and Tiquié ran to him. He ordered each one to make a cross for himself, taught sacred songs, preached that everyone would go to
[115] heaven, and produced many cures with his remedies. The informant for these episodes was an old Indian woman from Pari-cachoeira, called Isabel, who completed her report by offering that, because she had not practiced fornication, "Saint" Lino took her as a helper in the preparation of the remedies. Among the extraordinary events Isabel tells of a marvelous blossoming of beautiful flowers in the entire region included

4: Silva--472 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

* 192 /Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

142
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Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

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Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

4: Silva--473 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucâno SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 321 in the original source/

*192
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Burial in the canoe (juxkõ-sõ-koro)

532

Itacoatiara (rupestrian inscription) in Carurú-cachoeira (river Tiquié)

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Mandú, the Ipeka tuxaua from Urubucuara (Uaupés R.) and his son beside the hole from which the tribes arose (cf. Lendas do Uaupés). The mound in the background (left) is supposed to have resulted from the spit of Wãx-tĩ.

/321/

177 between the Papuri and the Tiquié. Some old people who took
792 some of the remedies of the "Santo" /saint/ are still living (in 1949). These pilgrimages and cures ended with the death of Lino.

c) Concept of Religion.

121 Religion, in a more rigorous sense, is the theoretical and practical acknowledgement of a Supreme Being, whom we call God, as Sovereign Lord of the whole universe, which is a creation of his.

We take it here in a less rigorous and broader meaning, as belief in beings superior to human beings and different from them, with whom it is possible and expedient to be in communication, and the belief in a future extraterrestrial life different from the one that is led on earth (5).

5. M. Morris Jastrow (The Study of Religion -- New York, 1921 /1901/) reduces to three the constituent elements of Religion: 1st. recognition of one or several powers that do not depend on us; 2nd. feeling of man's dependence in relation to this power or powers; 3rd. possibility of dealing and communicating with these powers. Such a concept is inexact and incomplete. Inexact, since it leads one to confuse Religion with Magic. If this power or potency is something impersonal, like the cosmic force, a relationship and intercourse with it are not possible, and although the human being recognizes it as superior to himself, he does not worship it, he fears it and tries to conquer it and dominate it with particular practices that are called magical. We have, then, Magic.

/321 cont./

121 /Footnote 5 cont./ If he conceives it as personal potency, or better "spiritual Being," whom he respects and propitiates by the cult, we then have a religious cult and a Religion. Now it seems to us that we have found indications, even though vague, of a cult and a Religion in the tribes of the Uaupés.

346 Taken in the first meaning, it is affirmed that the Indians of the Uaupés do not have religion, since neither temples in which to worship God (6)

175 346 778 6. This absence has been noted since the time of the discoveries. It is true that Frei Gaspar de Carvajal ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 51), describing the voyage of discovery of Francisco Orrelana /sic/ in 1540, speaks to us of the cult of the sun, with temple and altar: "On this day (Monday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 5, 1540) we moored at an aldeia of medium size, where the people were waiting for us. There was a very large plaza there, and in the middle of the plaza a large plank in a square of ten feet, painted and sculptured in relief, representing a walled city, with its enclosure and a door. On this door there were two very high towers with their windows, the towers with the doors facing each other, each door with two columns. This entire work was supported on top of two very ferocious lions, which were looking back, as though wary of each other, and supported it on the forelegs and on the claws. In the middle of this plaza [782] there was a hole where they put down, as offerings to the sun, the chicha, which is the

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 477 ]

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/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to, and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

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"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

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This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

/321 cont./

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/footnote 6 cont./ idols of gold and silver in the form of women, and many objects of gold and silver for the service of the sun" (o.c. 67).

Carvajal, however, is relating what he heard and his narration is all impregnated with unbelievable things, fruit of credulity and of suggestion.

Pe. Alonso de Rojas, describing the descent of the year 1637, testifies: "They do not have rites or ceremonies to venerate them (their false gods), neither temples of their idols nor priests" (Descobrimentos, /Discoveries/, 110). Precisely as we found them three centuries later.

346 nor persons in charge of the cult, neither priests nor religious ceremonies and prayers to honor the deity, are found among them.

/322/ There are, indeed, many superstitions, and it could
771 not be otherwise among men of so little culture. There is una-
776 nimity in asserting that, if there is a cult, it is that of the Jurupari or demon (7)

7. In his "Diálogos das grandezas do Brazil /Dialogues on the greatnesses of Brazil/," Teixeira Pinto, dealing with the rites of the heathen, asserts: "If they do have any and if they practice some manner of worship, although this is not known, it is the devil to whom they give the name of Jurupari" (ap. Barbosa Rodrigues, Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/, 94). Jurupari and dabacuri are terms from the Lingua Geral or Nheengatú, which is still spoken on all the

/322 cont./

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/footnote 7 cont./ Rio Negro. The use of these terms by the Indians of the Uaupés themselves, when they describe their traditions to us, is of value as proof of the foreign influence in their myths and rites.

(in Tukano Wãx-tĩ), who is celebrated or understood to be placated with the Dabacurís (in Tukano Poosé), in order for him not to harm them, malicious spirit that he is. As for God (in Tukano Wã:kõ or O'ã-kõ) he is a great absent one, who does not concern himself about human beings and is without any influence on their life. There is, then, no need to be interested in Wã:kõ or to think of him in order to worship him.

The study of these tribes convinces us that they are in a phase of great regression or involution, with traces of totemism, its little religious feeling and great preponderance of magic being shown to us by them.

121 Religion in a subjective sense is, according to W. Schmidt, Manuale di Stória comparata delle Religioni /Handbook of the Comparative History of Religions/, p. 2), "the idea and feeling of dependence on a supraterrestrial personal Power, with whom it is /323/ intended to enter into relations"; and, objectively, it is "the conjunction of exterior acts in which religion is expressed and by which it is manifested." We shall consider it especially in this sense.

Let us examine separately for better apprehension of the indications of this weak religious feeling and its exact comprehension: 1st. its doctrinal points; 2nd. its cult practices; 3rd. its rules of moral, religious, and social behavior.

d) Doctrinal points.

776 1) Concept of a Supreme Being.

a) The totality of the Indians of these tribes living in the povoados on the bank of the Brazilian rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí distinguish at the present time, as they did a century ago,

/323 cont./

776 in the time of Wallace, a God Creator and Supreme Rewarder, perfect and good, and call him Wá:kõ (or O'ã-kõ), and an evil spirit that can cause them much harm, and for this reason they fear him, this is Wãx-tĩ. Not only some students and travelers, but also the natives of the younger generation themselves, identify Wãx-tĩ with the Jurupari of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú and the demon himself (8).

8. On the bank of the river Uaupés, above Chibarú, there is a place called Jurupari-ponta, and those of the Tukano language call it Wãx-tĩ nõã, thus identifying Wãx-tĩ and Jurupari.

771 Confronted with this information, one might think that their religion was a Manichaeism, with a double principle: -- the good, which practically does not need to be taken into account, and the evil (9).

9. Concerning this subject, we naturally have to exclude the Indians who have attended the schools of the Salesian Missions for several years and received a more profound and sound religious knowledge, strengthened, besides, by an intense religious and sacramental practical life.

776 Without, for now, questioning the names, it is certain that they admit the existence of a personal Being ("maxsã," people, as they express themselves), a being who has always existed, much superior to human beings, who lives up above. The old [177] people call this Being Bũxpó, the Thunder (thus, for example, old Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié), and those who have some notion of Christianity clarify this by saying that

/323 cont./
776 it is "Deus Pai" /God the Father/ (10).
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10. The young Patrícia Vasconcelos, Christian and alumna of the Salesian Mission, talking to her old uncle and pajé, Marco, from S. Luzia, river Papurí, while speaking about the Padre Eterno /Eternal Father/ (Father of Jesus Christ), heard him interrupt her: "Well, my daughter, this is Bũxpó."

*[192] It is to be pointed out that the term of the Língua Geral for indicating Deus /God/ is Tupana, a simple variation, probably introduced by the catechesis, of the name Tupã, which means Trovão /Thunder/. It would not be a mere /324/ coincidence of names. But either both human groups, that of Nheengatú and that of the Tukano, had the same beliefs and cult; or there was a borrowing of beliefs, or at least of legends.

[115] Some add that the world and the human beings came from this Supreme Being as a result of a simple creative word. This is what we obtained in talking with the old people of different tribes and in different localities, even from those who are not Christians and do not maintain contact with the Missionaries, and probably represents their primitive tradition, because it moreover corresponds to what is narrated by the legends.

776 b) Among the Tukano of the river Tiquié, Padre Eduardo
*[192] Lagório, Salesian, found the belief in a God and a Goddess, who existed per se, that is, were not created by another, "kã õaró, by the will," as they express it in their idiom; and she, too, "ko õaró." Contrary to the native psychology, which is not bound up with the woman, whose physical qualities do not give her any more value, the Indian, who in his realistic pragmatism seems unconcerned about the aesthetic qualities of persons, dwells, on the other hand, on describing the beauty of this goddess. It seems to us, for this reason, permissible to search for a Christian origin for such a fact, to wit, the cult and homage

/324 cont./
776 to the Holy Mother of God (11).

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11. The Indian Sebastião Mariano, of the Yuruparí-tapúya tribe (Arwáke of the Içana) narrated to us in Carará-poço (river Içana), in August of 1957, the legend of Kóay, which he identified and translated as Jurupari, called son of Yaperikuli. And to our question about what his mother was called, he immediately responded "Santa Maria" /Holy Mary/.

*[192] They call God O'ã-kõ, but they did not know the meaning of this word. According to the spirit of the Tukano language, it could be a word made up of o'ã, bone, and the ending of max-kõ, son. Therefore O'ã-kõ means "Son of the bone." They laughed when we gave this translation and added the very common: "that is so," "that is so." Accordingly (or "by analogy") they call the Goddess O'ã-kó or O'ã-kõ. O'ã-kõ means "daughter of the bone" (from O'ã, bone and max-kõ, daughter); O'ã-kó, as is more commonly heard, would mean "mother of the bone" (derived from pax-kó, mother), suggesting that this would be mother of Oã-kõ.

It is not a matter of a couple as a model of the human family, however, as among other peoples, or the deification of the progenitors of the group. Oã-kõ does not beget divine or human children; he creates the one and the other.

It was by invitation of O'ã-kõ or Oã-kó, so they informed Pe. Lagório, that O'ã-kõ came down to earth and there created mountains, rivers, forests, animals, and, at the last, the human beings.

*[192] /325/ c) Oã-kõ, according to legends obtained by us (and which will be studied more fully in another work), is a personage betrayed by his wife, mahãwi (the pirárara /a fish/); and he, in turn, preferred his sister-in-law to his own wife. It is true, the personage who made the tribes come out of the opening of

776 /325 cont./

Urubucuara, Yepásonyá, is also called Yepa-O'ã-kõ̃, and some of the old Christians call this one "Son of God."

Each tribe has its legends which express these doctrinal points, as will be seen in another work.

2) Immortality of the soul.

774 Another truth well established among the tribes of the Uaupés is that of the existence and immortality of the soul. This truth, however, is starting to be contaminated by metempsychosis and confused with the existence of spirits disincarnated or that never were incarnated.

*[192] They admit in man, besides the body, õxpõ, another invisible element which animates it and survives after the death of the individual. The natives of the younger generation (therefore the possibility of this being a term learned in catechesis is not excluded) designate it with the same term that indicates the heart, that is, héri-põra (Uaupés héri-põna) (12).

[115] 12. The veteran Salesian Missionary, Pe. João Marchesi, who speaks Tukano fluently, says that he does not remember having heard mentioned another element or "sombra da pessoa" /shadow of the person/, as some primitive peoples believe. In the Tukano language, "sombra"/shadow/ would be called "bahusé," that is, "thing that appears."

*[192] The old ones, however, do not know how to give any clarification about héri-põra; they never use this term to designate the incorporeal element. They call this only wãx-tĩ (13).

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13. Cf. below, VII-4, g (3), what is said about the wãx-tĩ of the dead. The Catechesis has been using the term héri-põra (or héri-põna, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés and

/325 cont./

*192 797 774

/footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as corresponding to: heart, soul, and conscience. When they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis, the natives naturally give the word héri-põra this threefold equivalence. The old ones, however, only use it in the material sense, to indicate a part of the organism, that is, the assemblage of the principal internal organs, especially the heart and the lungs.

774 They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does it often. According to what Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, p. 317), the Kubêwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

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764 775 On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

775 825 /326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul, upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal. But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic; 14/

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14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

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775 however, to state more precisely as to whether the animal was
825 already alive (so some opine) or was born at the moment when the human soul entered it; or whether it is a matter of a permanent or temporary condition.

According to some, it is only the souls of the bad ones that
756 pass into the body of animals. That of the pajés can enter that
774 of the onça /jaguar/ (15).

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15. The onça, if it is not starving, does not come to the povoados. When there is a lack of food, it growls in the vicinity of the malocas, attacks the dogs, and various episodes of its even entering the huts are cited. Pe. João Marchesi informed us that one time on the upper Papuri an onça killed two Indians and ate part of the cadavers. They set a trap beside the cadavers and managed to catch it. They did not have the courage to kill it, however (probably because they thought that the wãx-tĩ of the victims were in it). But around the trap and the cadavers they put wood and fire until everything was reduced to ashes. And they would cry and say: "You have killed our brother (the Tukano) and our slave (the Makú)," and "they thought that in the onça there was the spirit of a pajé" (so they explained to Pe. Marchesi).

It should be remembered that they call the pajé or sorcerer yai, a term that precisely means onça.

It is a more general belief that the souls of the pajés go to
756 occupy the region of the thunder, from where they send storms
775 and lightning bolts, thus avenging themselves on the men who killed them or did them harm. They think they propitiate them
[782] by sending them the smoke of the cigars or shaking the maracás,
[276] rites that the pajés performed while alive.

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775 All the other souls meet under the ground, in a very deep, dark, and cold place (16),

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16. A young Tukano from Parí-cachoeira, Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why one places a match beside the cadaver which was buried, explained that it was in order not to feel cold. When we pressed as to whether the place where he was going was cold, he said yes. This concept of a cold hell is explained by recalling their warm region and they like the heat. To Padre Kok (according to what brother Pe. Afonso Kuypers told us), who described hell as a place of fire, an Indian said: "Better, so there is no need to make a fire there."

hence the need for fire. Therefore the metempsychosis is an extraordinary case of punishment.

They do not admit, however, human reincarnation, that is, that the spirit reappears, animating the body of a newborn child. One understands perfectly. Reincarnation can only be established in the /327/ human groups in which mortality and the birth rate are balanced. Among our natives there is a slight tendency toward an increase in the population, with periodic epidemics which decimate the malocas.

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Likewise they do not admit a future resurrection of human beings.

764 They have no fear of the cadaver at all (17),

17. It is an unpleasant sight, observed a Missionary (Pe. Umberto Limpens), to the Indian, as it is to all of us, because it makes them think of death.

/327 cont./

764 not even the children; so that they used to bury it in the maloca itself, where life will continue as usual. Nor do they later practice any ritual of purification (like the Jews) when they touch a cadaver. They do show some fear of the soul (18),

> 18. Brother Mateo of Montfort told that, while navigating with some Indians, he reached a place called S. José (river Papurí), where two days before an old man had been buried. Only the brother remained on this bank during the night; the natives, out of fear, went to sleep on the opposite bank.

although they declare, when questioned, that it cannot return or be invoked by the paje or any other person.

775 [115] A Tukano woman (Dorotéia Brito), questioned about what she thought of wãx-tĩ, answered that "it is the shadow of the person." And the Tukano Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why anyone was afraid of the dead, explained "because he becomes wãx-tĩ" (19).

> 19. When an Indian, having died far from the cemetery, was buried inside a hut, the Indians later came to complain to Pe. Umberto Limpens that they did not want to live there any longer, because "the wãx-tĩ of the man" [illegible] wandering all through the house. On January 10, 1949, in Ki-xsẽri-yá (igarapé of the mandioca peelings) on the river Tiquié, near the Colombian frontier, an old man known as Chico died by drowning while fishing. Contrary to custom, they buried the cadaver where it was found, in an abandoned spot, a little below the povoado.

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775 /Footnote 19 cont./ They say that at night cries are heard, and no native dares pass by there. When we were there, about 15 days after the burial, the inhabitants still continued to be frightened.

3) Moral principles.

673 They characterize some acts as "ya'Ïsé"; for example, the marriage of persons of the same tribe, to have children from incest between parents and children or between members of the same tribe, the malefice (dohasé), and stealing.

627 The punishment, however, is the obligation of the one who
756 judges himself hurt, if he can do it. The pajé, by his extraordinary powers, is used as an instrument of justice, or rather of vengeance. They do not think, however, that it is legal for him to do so. They fear him, and, when they can, they also take revenge on him.

/328/ 4) Reward and punishment.

177 The concept of a reward or punishment in the other life is less
775 precise. They know, at present, that the good are rewarded and the bad, punished. Perhaps because of Christian influence, they say that the former will "go up," where they will have "good life"; the bad ones "will go down," where "the life is bad."

The concept of good and bad, however, extends so far as to include all those of the povoado as good, and those of the enemy villages as bad. It is, then, a concept in terms of the group, and not of the life of the individuals.

The fact that they bury the cadaver with its hunting imple-
764 ments (bow and arrow) might perhaps be a vestige of an ancient
775 belief in a "hunting paradise," as exists in hunting tribes. This belief has been obliterated with the change of the system of life from hunting to fishing and agriculture.

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775 The belief in a social life beyond the grave, similar to the present life, with fishing trips and feasts, is still vigorous, as is shown by categorical answers (20).

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> 20. A little girl interrupted a Religious, who, explaining the Catechism, spoke of heaven, in order to ask whether there were fish there in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Professora answered no. The child added promptly: -- Then I do not want to go there.

Some even think that in the other life there is procreation of children (21).

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> 21. A Missionary relates the following: "Once a lad was very surprised to hear that in heaven there will be a plenitude of life, without need for propagation of the species. He asked, almost disappointed: 'Then there in heaven will there not be any women for us?' "

5) Existence of the spirits.

776 They believe in the existence of spirits that never were incarnated in a human body and never will be; they can, nevertheless, become visible in certain circumstances. Such spirits live in certain places: in the interior of the forests, headwaters of the igarapés, caves, stones, etc.

There are many of them, and different categories, each category with its characteristic way of presenting itself. The description as the Indians bring it to us, however, is not unanimous. And some affirm that they see them or hear them with relative frequency. It is an unquestionable fact that they become

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alarmed easily enough, either individuals or entire groups (22),

22. In the Schools, for example, if a child (more frequently the girls; it is to be noted that it is the women who claim to have seen them more often) yells Wãx-tĩ at night in the dormitory, all of them are filled with panic, cover their faces or turn them to the other side. But also in full /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ daylight they will claim to have seen Wãx-tĩ. A similar event happened in Iauareté during the day, and a little girl threw herself from the upper floor of the Mission building. One of the Salesian Missionaries of Taracuá, Valério Fernandes, was with some little boys in the forest, looking for cucura (a fruit). Some women who were nearby and had not been seen by the boys also desired this fruit. The children went helter-skelter, yelling: "Wãx-tĩ" and ran until they came out of the forest, in spite of the calls of the Missionary. The episodes about which we were better able to ask questions are all explained by suggestion. We heard of other episodes brought about by way of experiment, in order to verify the native belief and suggestability. Even though one later tried to prove this to the Indian, he would not believe it and continues to acknowledge that it was really the spirit.

as if they had seen something extraordinary.

/329/ Some of these spirits are tremendously malevolent and harmful, and others, not. Some admit that they are of the two sexes and multiply like human beings.

/329 cont./

776 a) Wãx-tĩ or Jurupari (23).

[115]

23. The young Tukano Casimiro Sampaio gave (1949) this contradictory information: "The Wãx-tĩ live in society. They make noise. They do not appear. They do not do any harm. /The final quotation marks are missing./ This subject about the spirits will be more fully developed in the book "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/."

He lives in the interior of the forests, in the darkest places and in the abandoned huts. He appears, however, even in the malocas, in the form of a black man, hairy, ugly, covered with ashes. A Tukano informant (Doroteia Brito) said that: "When he makes himself seen in some house, it is a sign of sicknesses that will come. He likes to strangle chickens. When the broad hen makes noise, it is because Wãx-tĩ moved it." At any noise that they hear in the house or in the forest, they immediately think of Wãx-tĩ. A strange animal that they see, a figure, it must be he, and they yell, full of fear.

*[192] [822] They attribute the echo, axkã-keoãrõ, to Wãx-tĩ, who is imitating some sound. It seems to them on many occasions that they hear in the noises of the forest and the cachoeiras, and in the whispering of the winds, faraway echoes of the songs and dances performed by Wãx-tĩ.

It is to be noted that Wãx-tĩ is not an individual; there are many of them; rather it is an entire class. Among them one par excellence, who would be the principal one. This one, especially in the origin of the nation, did them much harm: he stole the children, impregnated their women, and did other evil things to them, killed the men, etc. Tired, finally, of their 773 776 /the next line in the original source properly belongs on the next page and is repeated there; it is therefore omitted here in the translation/ yoke, because, besides so many bad things, he forced them into tasks and very difficult demonstrations, the men got

773 /329 cont./
776 together, caught him, tied him up with cipos, and burned him.
According to one legend narrated by the pajé Vicente Rodrigues
*192 of the Taryana tribe and other /330/ Arwake narrators, it was
184 O'ã-kõ who burned Wãx-tĩ, also called Bisiu. From the ashes,
in this same place, there grew two paxiúbas /palms/, waxtá
773 (24).
776

24. It is to be noted that the name of the paxiuba in Tukano, waxtá, reminds one of that of Wãx-tĩ. From the same root, wax, we have the term that indicates the hernia truss or loincloth, waxsó-ro, the wãx-tĩ-kẽõ, tipití or the press with which they squeeze the mass of mandioca to make the flour, objects that, like the sacred instruments, were a gift from Wãx-tĩ. It should be noted that it is also from paxiúba that they make the parís and cacurís for fishing, and, not infrequently, also the walls of the malocas.

with which they make the sacred instrument called mĩĩ̃ĩ (Uaupés mĩhĩ or Jurupari (25)

25. As for the etymology of the term Jurupari, Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Jurupari) recalled to an Indian that someone had told him Jurupari meant "the one produced from the fruit." The Indian answered him: "intimãã, Iurupari, céra onheẽn putáre o munha iarié iurú pari uá, no, not at all, the name of Jurupari means the one that made the closing of our mouth" (iurú, mouth, and pari, enclosure for fishing; cf. 5, a (2b) /Ch. VI/).

in the Língua Geral) in memory of the great feat. So some of their legends say, and with this they identify Wãx-tĩ with the personage Jurupari of the Tupí legends.

/330 cont./

776 Even burned, his spirit still survives, wandering through the forests, taking strange and frightening shapes. To him they attribute all the misfortunes, both the material ones, such as a storm, the destruction of the forest (26),

> 26. Large clearings are frequently found in the forest. It is a matter of tall and thick trees, but with superficial roots, which fall under the force of the hurricanes, dragging many others with them. They attribute this noise and the falling of the trees to Wãx-tĩ.

a harmful animal in the clearing, and the personal ones: the
*192 defect of stuttering, madness, etc. They call the mad person
753 Wãx-tĩ dohõnõkõ, that is, hurt by Wãx-tĩ. They call tuber-
776 culosis Wãx-tĩ poá-ri, hair /Port. cabelos/ of Wãx-tĩ (27).

> 27. The cause of tuberculosis, according to what they think, is butterfly hairs /Port. pêlos, hairs, down, colors/ in the throat.
> [755] The pajé blows on the mingau in order to invoke the "Wãx-tĩ of the butterflies," so that it will not trouble the patient.

776 The fear of Wãx-tĩ that they feel is such that not for any prize will they venture to enter the forest at night, or even during the day in certain dark igarapés. And they go so far as to abandon their clearings for years, because they heard strange noises there.

191 b) Boraró or Curupira (28).

776

> 28. Through relations with the travelers (many of whom speak Nheengatú) the natives know many terms of the língua geral. Just

/330 cont./

191 /footnote 28 cont./ as they identify Wãx-tĩ
776 with Jurupari, so too many of them, to the question: -- who is Boraró? answer at once: he is Curupira.

776 He also lives in the middle of the forest, which is his kingdom, in the sierras or on the headwaters of the igarapés; never in the open places.

*[192] They conceive him as a large and deformed monkey. He emits strange cries in the forest and gives great smacks or blows on the trees, /331/ especially the sapupemas (flat roots) of the sumaúna /ceiba tree/. He attacks the careless one who ventures into the forest, poisoning him with his urine and sucking out his brains. No weapon succeeds in killing him. He eats onça /jaguar/ and animals, and also sucks the blood of human beings. When he wants to suck the blood, he does it in the following manner: first he hits the place, so as to anesthetize it, afterwards he makes the puncture; when he has finished sucking, he blows in order to fill with air the emptiness left. If someone says: "I was sucked" (that is, to mention the appearance of Boraró), he will die.

[115] Dorotéia Brito attests that her grandfather saw Boraró many times. "He plants the clearing, has a wife and children. In the clearing, during the day, words are heard; it is Boraró who is speaking, although he is not seen. He appears as a man, with hair falling over his shoulders, with a red flower in his mouth. He further takes the form of a woman and a boy. He does nothing to the Maku, and is fond of the monkeys. Anyone who has seen him will become ill." He sucked the brains from her aunt, in the clearing, and she died there, a mark on her head remaining as proof.

[115] Another Tukano girl, Kõmã-ro põrã, from the povoado of S. Luzia (river Papurí), states that twice, when she was looking for fruit in the forest a little above S. Luzia, she heard Boraró make a loud noise, as if he had made a shot. On another

/331 cont./

776 occasion, while looking for caraná in the company of a cousin,
*[192] both saw two huge tracks of almost half a meter. Her cousin explained to her that they were the footprints of Boraró, Boraró dõ'pó-kãrĩ.

Boraró, the same witness stated, "always has some animals that accompany him and sing near him." These animals are called Boraró i'á, lice of Boraró. "When they hear singing in the forest: -- moláro... (with the a very prolonged) moláro... (29),

[194]

29. It must be pointed out that the pronunciation moláro announces the origin of the informant. The Tukano language, as can be observed in its better pronunciation on the river Tiquié, does not have the phoneme l. Under the influence of the other tribes, mainly the Taryana, on the Uaupés and Papurí, one hears l in some words. Moláro, we think, in accord with the spirit of the Tukano language, is a corruption of the name Boraró.

they all run away, because Boraró is very near. /The final quotation marks are missing./

[115] According to Casimiro Sampaio -- "Boraró lives in the forest. He appears as a white man (30),

30. Perhaps this "white" is used in the usual sense, that is, as equivalent to civilized, since he finishes by saying that he wears clothing.

large, with a red forehead. He wears clothing. He makes noise in the forest. However, he does not do harm to anyone." In general they all affirm that he is very dangerous, and that his appearances are very frequent. Many claim to have seen him or heard him, and on various occasions.

/332/

776 [797] Some alumni of the Salesian Mission who have already attended pontifical functions at which the Celebrating Bishop wears a miter said that Boraró appears with a miter, and the noise that he produces is precisely with the miter, which he opens and closes.

[115] A native from Parí-cachoeira, José Barreto, tells that his father, M ndú, not baptized, affirmed (1949) that the "demons" are few and that he had learned this from his own grandfather who had never seen any Missionary. He also said that his relatives, inhabitants of the igarapé of the onça /jaguar/, yai-sa, know the poison with which they can chase away or kill Boraró and that for this reason they have no fear of him at all.

*[192] In other places there are likewise individuals with such power, and for this reason they are called Boraró dohãrá, that is, those who cast malefice on Boraró (dohasé, malefice, poisoning). It is the belief of many that Boraró, upon drinking these poisons, will die.

Boraró is married, concluded Patrícia Vasconcelos, and his wife has one normal breast, but the other one is exaggeratedly long. According to others, it is Boraró's mother who shows this anomaly, and they nickname women with long breasts Boraró paxkó (mother of Boraró).

*[192]

c) Bisiu or Juruparí (31).

[115] *[192] [184] 31. A little informant from Iauareté finished by clarifying that Bisiu is Juruparí. According to a legend narrated by the pajé Vicente Rodrigues, Taryana, O'ã-kõ is called Yaperíkuli in Taryana and is the brother of Bisíu; the latter being bad and the former good. In the Arwáke legends, Bisíu is identified with Juruparí.

/332 cont./

776 He is, said Casimiro Sampaio, a mysterious being "who descends from above. He is yellow and appears decorated with arara
*[192] feathers. He speaks, sings, and dances the mĩrĩ (32).

32. Our informant, Casimiro Sampaio, finished by saying that it is the dance of the Jurupari. Bisíu, then, is confused with the great Wãx-tĩ of the legends.

He makes a great deal of noise and eats people. The women cannot see him."

776 We learned from various other informants that Bisiu eats
881 women on the occasion of the first menses: "amõsé baásamĩ," that is, he eats the menstruum, as they express it. A Pirá-
756 tapúya widow, Maria José (in Parí-cachoeira, 1954) clarified
*[192] that "to eat" means that he fecundates the woman. It is for
[115] this reason that she must be shut up in the house, and she herself will call for the services of the pajé or Komũ for the so-called "rite of initiation" (cf. VIII - 1, b (7) ). These personages, with their rites, have the power to ward off the danger for the maiden.

776 A girl of the Tukano tribe from the Papurí said that the
829 Makú women, who almost always live in the interior of the forest, many times become pregnant from coitus with Bisiu.

/333/ d) Nãxkã Wãx-tĩ (Wãx-tĩ of the forest) (33).

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*[192]

33. Nãxkã means mato /forest, wood, thicket/ in Tukano.

He is also from the forest, stated Casimiro Sampaio, -- tall in stature and ugly. He wears long hair, and butterfly wings on his face. He does not speak and does not do harm to anyone.

/333 cont./

776 [115] A young woman with a Wanana mother, and raised among them, told Patrícia Vasconcelos that on the occasion of a mourning feast among the Wanana, when they were doing the traditional dances with masks, a man climbed up on a column of the maloca. With great fright he saw, amidst the dancers, a strange personage who had appeared: he was a short, stocky, ugly man, full of butterflies over his body. That same young woman further described that Yaperíkuli (personage from the Arwáke legends and father of Kóay or Jurupari) has a very small body, but legs so long that he can reach the top of the trees where he gathers honey and fruits.

[115] e) Ö'mõãro Wãx-tĩ. Wãx-tĩ from above, this is what his name means. According to Casimiro Sampaio, he resembles a monkey. "He lives in the trees. He does not speak, but he makes noise like that of a stone that falls. He devours whole men, swallows bone and all. When he wants to do it, he lets himself drop from the trees and the demons come out of his belly."

A Tukano girl from S. Luzia (river Papurí) claims not only to have heard such noise, but moreover to have seen the deep hole that was formed in the ground by the fall of ö'mõãro Wãx-tĩ, who has arms many meters long.

[115] According to another Tukano informant (Dorotéia Brito): "He resembles the sloth. He is tame and her mother saw him many times. Nobody, however, has managed to kill him."

The Amazonian fauna has strange specimens, some already known by the scientist and the caboclos; others perhaps still unknown (34)

34. In 1945 on the road from Urubucuara to Ipanuré, some women engaged in transporting the volumes of cargo of the Mission heard a great noise of branches that were breaking, and they saw from the back a figure like a large monkey, of about two

/333 cont./

776

/footnote 34 cont./ meters, walking erect. Frightened, they ran to the side of the Salesian, Mr. Manoel Crescini, who was directing this transportation. Upon arriving at the place of the noise, the Missionary verified large tracks in the sand of the road, similar to those of an elephant, of an animal that had crossed the road and, upon penetrating into the forest, had broken the branches, and thus opened a passage of about a meter or more in width. A loud and frightening noise, like that of an animal breaking branches, was also heard by the Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch in Barcelos. A hunter from Barcelos (Rio Negro), terrified, told Dom José of having heard /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ frightening howls in the forest about twenty kilometers from Barcelos and of having seen tracks in the sand, measuring approximately half a meter. The Bishop wanted to verify the statement and was able to see these tremendous tracks, similar to human footprints. This same Prelate saw an enormous monkey in the forest in the environs of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié). Taking it for some Indian, at first he did not want to hit it with a shot, and the animal immediately fled.

and seen only by the natives. The mentality of the latter /334/ easily associates such strange or deformed animals with the Wãx-tĩ and other spirits of the legends. Perhaps these beings, Nãxkã Wãx-tĩ, Õmšãro Wãx-tĩ, and others about whom they talk to us, such as Wãx-tĩ Biu, Tsakopáe, etc., are only rare or exotic and frightening animals. We know, for example, that they call some butterflies that live in the hollows of wood Wãx-tĩ-turú, that is, piece of Wãx-tĩ.

*[192]

/334 cont./

771 e) Cult practices.

1) Local cult (litobolia).

There are no temples, that is, buildings solely dedicated to the deity, where the religious functions are performed. Nor has it been reported that there is any private cult or individual worship of the deity, ceremonies, prayers, unless as cult one understands some practices that seem to us magical, such as litobolia.

823 They treat some places with respect and fear; this is
821 tabooism. One does not see there, however, manifestations of cult, individual or social. Such are, for example, some cachoeiras and stones. And about them, in general, they tell interesting legends. They do not allow stones to be taken from such cachoeiras (35).

[797] 35. The Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch
[753] thought of dynamiting the cachoeira of Parí-cachoeira, in order to facilitate navigation. The local population became agitated, and the tuxaua Julio came to advise him not to do it, because otherwise fevers and sickness would come. The Bishop judged it more expedient not to go against the opinion of the Indians. Brother Mateo (of the Congregation of Montfort), at one of these rocks of the cachoeira of the thunder, Bũxpó-pweá, of the igarapé Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, removed a fine splinter, in order to extract a little honey. One of the Indians warned him that he should not do that, because "lightning will strike." And, to his great surprise, lightning did strike at some distance, when absolutely nothing indicated it; it was really "un fulmine a ciel sereno" /a bolt of lightning in a clear sky/. They

/334 cont./

823
821
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/footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the population of Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés, as the consequence of having taken a stone from the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahũ-gã-pweá, actually located some hundreds of kilometers away, on the river Papurí.

asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

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[501]

36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

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[103]

/335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," pixkõ-rõ-ỹa, headwaters of the Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a rock that a woman should not see; if she looks at this rock, she will never have children. And when they go by this place, the women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

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[103]
*[192]

In Jabutí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock called nõ'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxké-sã-i'ãsé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will easily learn any trade.

/335 cont./

823 [103] They likewise believe that the taking of a bath, be it men or women, in the pothole of Tõpa-duri, that is, of the cachoeira of Urubucuara, where the tribes came out (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"), would guarantee them an early marriage.

It does not seem, then, that these caves, rocks, igarapés, interiors of the forest should be regarded as sacred spots of the cult. Rather, on the contrary, they would be "tabooed" places and objects. Nor would the fruits and rocks that are thrown be a form of cult, that called litobolia. Rather they seem to us to be manifestations of magic and tabooism.

823 532 An old Missionary stated that some Indians, while going by those rocks that bear crude figures (37)

37. These are the petroglyphic signs or rupestrian inscriptions common on the rivers of Amazonas, especially the Rio Negro and its tributaries. A diligent study of these inscriptions was done by B. A. da Silva Ramos, under the title "Inscrições e Tradições da América Pré-histórica /Inscriptions and Traditions of Prehistoric America/," -- Imprensa Oficial, Rio de Janeiro, 1930. We do not find engraved anthropomorphic representations. Koch G. 50 years ago saw sculptures of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic ones, among the Kubewana and Wanana (cf. Note 49, VII-3, b (8) /see Note 50, VII-3, b (2)/). We discovered only one, as human heads on the supports of a trocano /signal drum/. They did not look like idols, however, but only decorations and were of recent fabrication (1947).

of animals or of strange beings, with long and skeletal arms and

/335 cont./
823 legs (38),
532

38. One of these drawings is seen on a rock of the Carurú-cachoeira, river Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

prodigious belly, enormous head, would look with dread and say in a low voice: Wãx-tĩ As if these representations were a perpetuation, in granite, of the memory of the terrible and feared monster. We have never witnessed any of these demonstrations of fear. Sometimes we have approached such petroglyphs and summoned near /336/ some Indians, and they have always appeared indifferent to such drawings. Moreover, we have found similar figures on the bark walls of huts and malocas, and, moreover, we have seen children draw them on the ground with a stick, and, therefore, without any semblance of religiousness.

764 It can, then, be affirmed that there is no indication of an
782 individual cult. There is, nevertheless, a social cult to be dis-
881 cussed, which is realized in the maloca and its immediate surroundings. There are principally three manifestations of this social cult: the offering of the first fruits or dabacurís, the puberty initiation, and the funeral. All three of which a spiritual communion, tightening the solidarity of the group.

782 2) Religious feasts with offering of the first fruits.
796 Their Poosé are religious feasts, in our opinion (39),
x [192]

39. An opinion that we have expressed since 1947 and that recently (1954) we verified to be also that of Koch Grünberg, who (Z. I. 372, and passim) distinguishes, moreover, religious dances and profane dances. Koch, nevertheless, accepts the translation demônio /demon/ for Wãx-tĩ, and even for other personages of the native legends.

and were called by the first explorers, with a term from the Língua

782 /336 cont./
796 Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsá, dances of
*[192] Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts con-
[534] sist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩrĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

[123] Ordinarily the native does not know (41)
[124]
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[869]

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

[115] The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506 ]

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/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments

*192
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Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua from Caruru-Cachoeira (river Uaupés), adorned for the dances (acangatara, necklaces, and stone of the husband /marído, "husband," should be mando, "command"/)

Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

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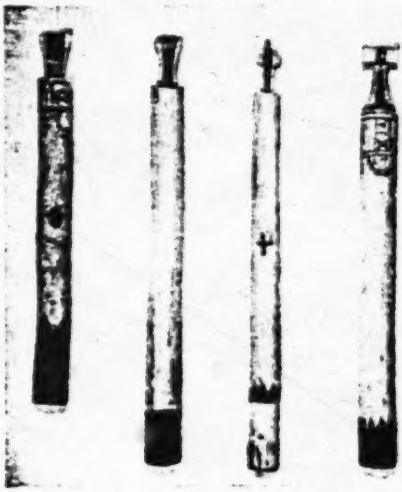

/Illustrations facing p. 337 in the original source/

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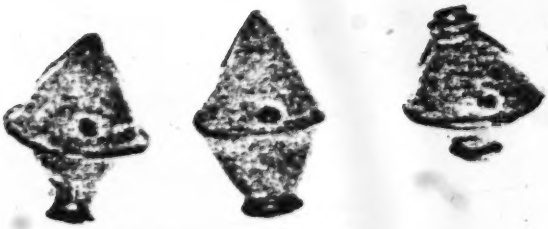
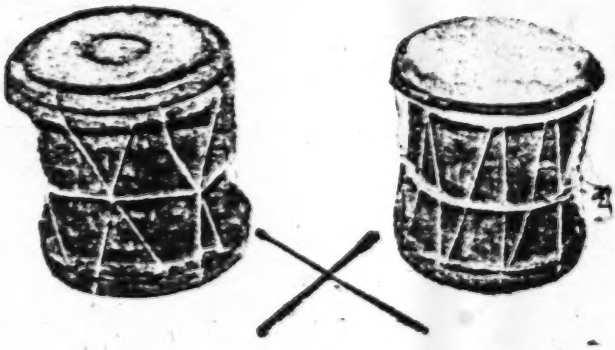
Panpipes: bone flutes (onça /jaguar/ and deer); jabuti /turtle/ (úhuri) in the center



Ocarinas (uxpitu-pa)



Drums (twáthe-pawõ) and drumsticks (twá-tõ pa:-kõ)

/337/

782 with the author: -- "These dances are the rites of the old ones,
796 it is their religion." And after having pointed out the respect
[115] that everyone has for such dances, he added: -- "If a drunken individual were to cross the line of the dancers, he would be thrown out; it is a great profanity, and he would be dishonored.

The sound of the instrument, we imagine, would stand for a propitiatory ceremony and dedication of the feast to Wãx-tĩ (43).

[115]

43. We questioned various native women, even the most intelligent alumnae of the Missions, and all were convinced that the sound was the voice of Wãx-tĩ present at the feast among the human beings. We have heard of episodes in which the presence of ugly, mysterious beings among the dancers was affirmed. It is to be noted that we heard such episodes related by women. Perhaps because of a greater reserve of the men? Or because of a more excitable imagination of the women? It should be observed that in the Tukano language all things belong to the neuter gender. Nevertheless, Mĩrĩ (or Mĩnĩ, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés) is masculine. They positively affirm to us that the Mĩrĩ is maxsã, people. In the plural it becomes Mĩrĩá; and it should be observed that the plural in a is exclusively for animate beings.

*[192] [193]

It is the renewing of his voice, the perpetuation of his teachings and orders, as it were.

*192 /337 cont./
534 Mĩrĩ is probably from the same root as mĩrĩ, which means drowned, immersed, hidden under the water (44).

44. We were not able to learn of any sign of special veneration toward the water of the rivers. Nevertheless it is in the water that they hide the sacred instruments, an indication, so it seems to us, of their original matriarchalism. Just as the human being comes from the maternal liquid, so does Wĩx-tĩ appear for the feast, coming from the water, represented by the instrument Mĩrĩ. According to legend, the first human beings came from the water of the cachoeira of Ipanuré. We have observed, besides, that while bathing the [illegible] immerse themselves a few times. Likewise when our oarsmen jump out of the canoe in order to drag it across the rocks, they also immerse themselves, even when there would be no need for it. When they swim, we have noticed that they prefer to do it with the face immersed in the water.

[481]

778 Hence the concept of occult, sacred. We have heard talk of objects that were mĩriá, that is, occult, mysterious.

276 Tobacco is a magic substance. As a matter of fact, it is one of the principal and most used curing methods of the
778 pajé. The smoke from the cigar can neutralize the malefices, drive away the storms, or attract them to a certain place, has an exorcising force in births and puberty initiation. For this
[855] reason it is even given to children three or four years old to smoke, at the feasts as well as outside of them.

/337 cont./

796 Such feasts are held five to six times a year; not at fixed
782 times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or
585 also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.
881 /338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

*[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tĩye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tĩ. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tĩ of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

[123] [124] [115] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled) of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in general the old people, who know more, are the most reserved. Asking the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

/338 cont./

796 [123] [126] *[192]

/footnote 45 cont./ he would not allow him to attend the dance. Confirmation of this religious character, it seems to us, is also found in the refusal to our request to repeat the ceremony of the offering of the fish (waí poosé) under better conditions, so that we could film it. Nevertheless these Indians repeated the simple dances for us for this same purpose.

The Tukano Antônio Barreto (December of 1953) assured us that they did not do poosé in front of the whites. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to attend it and to film it. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 202): he moreover was able to attend it on the Umarí-igarapé, but many Indians appeared displeased by this, and the tuxáua José did not allow him to take photographs.

[126]

As though they were undertaking a serious ceremony and not a diversion. Nothing will disturb these rites. Singing mysterious words (ancient dialect? or, with more probability, mere corruption) which they do not understand, dancing in a slow cadence and marking the time with stronger beats with the right foot.

[533] [535]

/339/ 4th. -- They attribute to such feasts in addition an efficacious healing action. It can drive away all the sicknesses and even heal large wounds (46).

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46. This is what Koch Grünberg was able to verify (Zwei Iahre, 202): "dem Yurupari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung sugeschrieben /sic/. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen" /a strong magical effect is attributed to the Yurupari dance. It is supposed to drive away all sicknesses, and even

/339 cont./

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/footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1) ), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

[301]

6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

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7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compulsory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca. The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels, and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

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The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same tuxáua:

a) seat of the old ones, bũxkõrá duhurí-ko-mũ-rõ
b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ-rõ
c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ kõ-mũ-rõ
d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'í-khãra duhurí kõ-mũrõ
d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrĩ maxsã duhurí kõ-mũrõ.

The first columns are called sahãrĩ kãrĩ: boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrĩ), when they sleep (kãrĩ:) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrĩ kãrĩ:-tẽrõ (tẽrõ, on the Uaupés tẽnõ, means beam).

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1c -- Sahãri kãrĩ: boxtá-ri (sleeping column of the guests); 2c -- Baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri (column for starting the dancing); 3c -- Do'ákaro-ká boxtá-ri (column of the cooking); a -- Bõxkörá duhurí ko-mũ-rõ (seat of the old ones); b -- Bayá ko-mũ-rõ (little seat of the bayá or dance master); c -- Bayári wetamõgõ ko-mũ-rõ (little seat of the bayá's helper); d, e, f, g -- Wí'khãra duhusé ko-mũ (seats of the occupants of the maloca); d', e', f', g' -- Samãrĩ maxsã duhusé ko-mũ (seats of the guests); i -- Kaxpí-tõ (pot of caapí); j -- Kaxpí tõamĩ duhiri ko-mũ-rõ (seat of the one who distributes the caapí); l -- rede /hammock/ of the tuxáua.

/341/

*192 The second columns are called baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri;
535 because it is beside the second column that the tuxáua takes the
initial position (wihyá: to come out) for the dances (baxsá). And
796 the respective beam is called baxsá wihyári-tẽrõ.

The columns at the back are called do'ákaro-ká-boxtá-ri, because the caxirí is prepared there (do'ákaro, place where one cooks, so explained Júlio). And do'karo-ká-tẽrõ is the beam that corresponds to them.

i) kaxpí-tõ, pot for the kaxpí

j) seat for the one who distributes the kaxpí, kaxpí tõamĩ duhirí kõmũ-rõ

l) hammock of the tuxáua; his compartment is called syõrĩ nĩgõya tuxkũ

The compartments of the residents of the maloca are called wi'i-ikhãraye tuxkũrĩ.

[342] With the hypothesis of its being a religious function, we
[622] must conclude that the temple is the maloca. Its name, baxsarí-wi, should be translated "house of the sacred dance," and not simply "dance house." The Priest is evidently the tuxáua, and not the pajé. The tuxáua, then, ties together the domestic, political, and sacerdotal powers, precisely like the ancient tribal chiefs among the Greeks and the Romans, and, in general, the chiefs of the primitive tribes.

a) "Poosé" without the mysterious instruments.

1) Ritual procession and banquet.

796 The tuxáua of the maloca that decides to hold one of these
(628] feasts determines the day and the offering, and tells this to the tuxáua of another maloca (of the same tribe or of a different tribe) where he is going to give his Poosé. The malocas take turns with
[178] this proposal. Formerly they were held with greater frequency, six or more times a year, as we said above, constituting the great preoccupation of these Indians. Not only are they being put off more, but their duration has also been reduced. Formerly they lasted as long as an entire week; today the cases in which they

796 /341 cont./
[178] last three or four days are already rare, and commonly they are limited to two days.

If it were called wai poosé, offering of fish, every male guest would bring smoked fish. If it is of pupunha, ã'rẽ poosé, they must likewise bring this fruit, etc. The most common poosé
*[192] are those of fish, of beijú (ahũ-ga poosé), of pupunha, of inga (mẽrẽ poosé), of manivara /termite queen/ (mexkã poosé).

[273] In the maloca where the dabacurí will be held, more or less three days before, or even earlier (the time necessary for the fermentation), the women busy themselves preparing a large quantity of drink: caxiri of beijú, or cará, of pupunha or of any other fruit /342/ in tubs or vessels that are covered with banana leaves in order to facilitate the fermentation. The activity is great; there is an extraordinary gaiety, loud laughter, a true clamour.

[574] In the morning of the appointed day (the hour will vary according to the distances from which they come), the offerers start arriving, bringing the offerings. They arrive at the landing place (or at a short distance from the maloca, if they come by land) with only some painting or also with some feathers in their ears. Two men go up to the maloca in order to give a warning of their arrival and to fetch the drink. The chief of the maloca sends the drink to the landing place; while they wait for the strangers, they complete the painting.

When they are ready, which always happens around 9 or 10 o'clock (47),

47. Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, describing these feasts, says in the entry Tauucurí that the strangers arrive late in the afternoon. It did actually happen this way at two poosé that we attended among the Taryana of Iauareté, one of fish and the other
[115] of cunurí. The Tukano Antonio Barreto, however, in describing the dabacurí to us, asserted that on the Tiquié it regularly takes place in

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/footnote 47 cont./ the morning. And the one that we attended in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955 was also in the morning.

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the visitors send another warning -- "it is time!" They take their musical instruments (japurutús or whistles) and the offering and, amid yells, the procession is organized by way of the road from the landing place to the maloca (or by way of the road by which they came).

The tuxáua goes in front, followed by two musicians with their japurutús (see VII - 3 c (3a) /see 3 c (3c)/) (48)

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48. In July of 1955 the seringalista /owner of a seringal/ Armando Sarmento observed at a feast of the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés that the two who opened the procession held with the right hand the Japurutú, which they were playing, and with the left one the respective lady. The other men came behind them, with only the rhythm stick, ahũ-wõ, in the right hand, beating the rhythm of the steps, and without a lady. He also noticed that inside the maloca, where the procession turned around, there were pieces of beijú and peelings of pupunha scattered on the floor (the poosé was one of pupunha).

*[192]

and the men who bring the offering; the rest of the men behind. They make a turn around the maloca, then go in and make two turns inside, yelling, those who are entering and those who are already inside, a prolonged ẽẽẽ... (it is what is called oá:, to cry out). The men and youths of the maloca are arranged in Indian file, according to their rules of precedence, from the left side of the door to the back.

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The visitors deposit the offering on banana leaves or mats or baskets, displayed in the center of the maloca. Perhaps there is still more of the offering at the landing place; they go to fetch it and make their delivery.

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The women and children who have arrived gather at the back, where those of the maloca are already.

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Once the offering is finished, and the shouts and music have stopped, those from outside, starting with their tuxáua, greet individually those of the maloca, /343/ starting with the first one in line, who will, naturally, be the local tuxáua. They are the common and formalistic greetings: -- "Did you come?" -- "I came!" "Did you come to the feast?" -- "I came." -- "Did you bring the offering (fish or the name of the fruit)?" -- "I brought." He goes on to greet in the same way the second man in the line and thus all the rest. All the visitors, in the order of their reception, imitate the first one. All, however, with much gravity. As they finish greeting those of the maloca, the guests are arranging themselves in a long line, according to their importance, on the right side, in front of those of the maloca, from the main door to the back.

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Two or more men of the maloca distribute a cuia /shell from the Crescentia cujete/ of caxirí to each guest. After all have drunk, they sit down, and the women of the maloca come to greet the men at some distance and without giving them their hands. If the women are from the tribe of the guests, these greetings are in the dialect of their own tribe and not in that of the husband.

The chief of the maloca speaks in a loud voice to his own wife (one of the indications of the matriarchalism): "They came to bring the offering (fish, fruit), you give thanks." She, with two women, goes to the center of the maloca and says -- "You brought with so much trouble fish (pupunha) for us. We have prepared a little caxirí in a hurry." Then the visiting chief answers them: -- "You may eat at will. The fishing (or the harvest) was small, but we have brought it with good will."

/343 cont./

796 574 Such formalistic greetings last an hour and a half. Afterwards the ritual banquet starts, without any further pragmatica, each eating whatever pleases him: first the men, more or less grouped in the front part of the maloca; afterwards the women and children, in groups at the back of the maloca.

[785] [273] Once this meal is finished, the ritual fast begins, that is, abstention from any food. It is only permissible to take some of the drink prepared for the feast. They do this, helping themselves copiously, even excessively, to the drink, which, besides, is very nourishing, being as it is, in reality, a thin pap (49).

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49. On a certain occasion, after eleven hours of laborious passage through the forest, we arrived at a maloca of the Bará, located near the headwaters of the stream called marîya (tributary of the Tiquié), when a feast was being given there. One of our traveling companions, of the Bará tribe, who should have been very tired and undernourished, like all of us, since he was carrying the heaviest load, did not accept the food that was prepared for those of our retinue. He preferred to participate in the feast with his "brothers," and contented himself with only beijú caxirí.

2) Preparation for the dances.

*[192] The tuxáua, at a certain moment, tells the chief of the visitors that the banquet is finished and "he may open the box of the decorations" (mahã̄ poári axká-ro).

*[192] [302] /344/ The women of the maloca come to fit the bands (uxtá-seri) to the guests' legs, below the knee, and to execute the body painting. The woman who painted him will be the guest's dance partner. It falls to the man, Pe. Humberto Limpens and the Tukano Antônio Barreto note, to paint the woman, and

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).
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50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom
*[192] they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõó wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

[301] The ornaments are distributed according to the social
[554] importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

[534] When everyone is ready (and this is always done with
*[192] great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaſ o'a). Some minutes
796 later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to enter-
535 tain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a) ); it is a sign that the dances

796 /344 cont./
535 are about to start (51).

51. We have also seen the tuxáua, before distributing the snappers to the dancers, shake them simultaneously, holding in each hand one of the ends of the snappers. These kixtió, in a bunch this way, are what is called kixtió boxká, which is also the name of one of the sacred instruments (see VII-3, c (3c) ).

*[192]

The rest of the men imitate him; then each one ties his kixtió to the right ankle and adjusts his own waxsó-ro (cf. VII - 3, d (2) ).

*[192]

Among the men who participate in the dances, one can distinguish three groups, regularly in pairs (2, 4, 6), according to the number of dancers:

[411]
*[192]

1st) some with a complete outfit, lance and shield, and on the left shoulder the si-a yaxpú /sic/ (see adze, VII-3, d (2 1) );

2nd) others with a splendid outfit, but without shield or lance or the sió-a yaxpú;

*[192]
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/345/ 3rd) in the third category are the young men with simpler ornaments.

Those who do not have the lance carry some rhythm instrument, the ahũ-wõ or yuxkõ, or the flutes, these being covered with feathers from the tail of the arara, mahã i'ti, or from the japú, umú-ka i'ti, or with a necklace of beetle carapaces, pexká pixkõrõá pe'tori (VII 3, d (2m) ).

The dance numbers follow, one after the other, according to the traditional program, corresponding to the various hours of the day and of the night. Some are longer, others, shorter. The intervals for rest are also just as variable.

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796 Some of these dances are performed partially inside and
535 partially outside the maloca, for example, the one that is
*[192] called "wa'wári baxsá," which could be translated as "the dance of the caps," since wá-wá is a cap plaited with arumã splints. The dancers moreover go to the yard of the maloca around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, again around midnight, before dawn, and, finally, around 9 o'clock in the morning. According to the legends, the ancestors of the tribes danced at those times outside the maloca. And the feast is not only a recollection, but is also meant to be a reviviscence of the principal episodes of the epopee of their origins.

[533] In one of these dance numbers the wife of the local tuxáua goes into the middle of the dancers' circle and utters a long and
*[192] shrill cry, while the men continue to dance around her. This soloist is called yõhõgó (52).

52. Yõhõgó is the feminine present participle of ỹohõ, which seems to be an onomatope of the sound that she sings. An informant also called her nõ'mõ bayá, that is, woman bayá (see VII-6, a (2) ).

She must not take a breath during this dance, but cry out with only one breath. If she breathes in the middle of the song, it
[115] means that she will not live long. In this dance, says a Piratapuya informant (Emiliana Castro), they imitate the hopping of the cotias /agouti/.

[273] The dances are about to start. The caxirí is served in large cuias. Each individual will drink as much as he wants. If there is any left, the next companion will empty the cuia, with the right, however, to help himself first from the cuia that will then be filled immediately. Those who distribute the drink represent the butterfly: they have a feather over each ear, representing the wings and a small tendril of cipo in a spiral on the forehead by way of a proboscis. They advance in a rush,

/345 cont./

796 with short steps, in a zigzag, imitating simultaneously with the
535 mouth the humming of an insect. Bearing a cuia in each hand,
they give them to anyone who wants to take them, first the men
[273] and afterwards the women. As the cuias are emptied, they re-
[562] turn to fill them anew and to distribute them in the same place
and in the same way.

/346/ 3) Performance of the dances.

*[192] The tuxaua takes his initial dance position near the second
[622] column to the left of the central nave (baxsá whyarí boxtá; see
illustration above /see p. 511/; at his side, in order of impor-
tance (53),

> 53. Importance which corresponds, more or less, to age. We were not able to verify whether they are arranged in an order strictly corresponding to the importance of the Gens itself (according to the classification -- IV-2, a (2) /see IV-2, a (3)/), because generally all the dancers are of the same Gens.

are arranged the other men. Each one, with a lance or a rhythm instrument in the right hand, places the left one on the right shoulder of his neighbor, and they are more or less in a semicircle. Then, a song starts to the sound of the instruments, which they strike on the ground simultaneously with the right foot (perhaps also with the snappers on the ankle), in a slow rhythm. They take a step toward the center of the circle and draw back, then another one toward the side, and they start to move in a circle, now to the right, now to the left, slowly. Sometimes they gather in a circle, which now becomes tighter, now bigger, now they go around in a circle. At a certain moment the women, one after another, start coming in, in a required, or at least constant, position during all the dance numbers. They place themselves between one man and another, with the head somewhat bent forward, resting the nape of the neck under the arm of one of

/346 cont./

796 the men and with her own arms holding by the waist the two men
535 whom she is between. The eyes are turned toward the center of
*[192] the circle, and the points of the lances, yõxse-phĩrĩ, converge toward this point when they carry them.

At a certain point the local tuxáua gives an order indicating that it is the middle of the dance. Two men, among the leaders, go into the middle of the circle, make some turns, and finally come back to the line with the rest.

At a special order the women abandon their places, each one shouting her word. The dance ends with expressive whooping by the men; all those armed with a lance leave, bending as if they were looking for something, and, advancing toward a corner of the maloca, make a thrust with the lance toward an imaginary
*[192] point about a meter above the ground. They call this "blow-to-the-white, pexká-sã paasé" (54).

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54. The Indians have always appeared very reserved in explaining to us the meaning and purpose of this "blow-to-the-white," although they had revealed its name to us without any embarrassment, perhaps thinking that we would not know how to translate
[115] it. On two occasions a native of the Tukano tribe of the lower Uaupés confirmed to us that "They do not like the whites and consider all of them enemies." Another native, also belonging to the Tukano tribe, although from the Papuri, in response to our question as to whether he liked the "white" or the "caboclo" better, asked us the meaning of the word /this footnote is continued on the next page in the
[829] original source/ "caboclo." To our answer that caboclos were the children of a civilized man and Indian woman, such as are on the Rio Negro, he answered immediately: --"We

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/footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

[115]

55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b) ), melodies affected almost always by deep nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1) ).

[582]

Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

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796 It is also during these intervals that amorous scenes occur,
831 in broad daylight, perhaps in a hidden corner or not, and more freely at night (56).

56. It follows from the information obtained that the rendezvous must take place outside the maloca (cf. VII-5, c). Koch Grünberg saw that the couples indeed went out together, and he was told clearly for what purpose (Zwei Iahre, 372). It is, however, more common for the men to leave by the main door and the women by the back one, according to a previous understanding, and for them to meet outside. Some of the young men who have attended the Mission schools revealed the licentiousness of the native feasts.

[115] It will be enough to cite the following
*[192] episode narrated by Patrícia Vasconcelos. On the Macú River, which empties near Teresita (Colombian bank of the river Papuri) there was a maloca of the Desana where feasts took place with so many immoralities that during one of these orgies the earth opened up and swallowed the maloca and the dancers, "Bisíu bahwápõ baá-peokoápõ, Bisíu /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ appeared and devoured everything." On the following day songs and dance music could be heard at the spot of the vanished maloca, a spot that can still be seen today, marked by a depression in the ground. At present (1955) Patrícia's sister-in-law lives near there.

and they can also go outside the maloca.

796 /348/
535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

[514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young
[534] men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3,
[533] c (3c) ). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, i (4) /see
273 i (3)/). One of the old Kõmũ prepared it during the dabacurí.
*[192] At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over
[533] the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Cururu-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

/348 cont./

796 we have seen. It is, however, a sign of weakness, from which
273 the Indian ordinarily abstains. It is a show of strength and masculinity to drink it and not fall down drunk. Besides it is "the plant which makes one dream," and the forest dweller wants it, in spite of its bitter taste.

Two by two, according to their importance, the men approach in order to drink the kaxpí, and soon after also caxirí, in order to take away the unpleasant flavor of the first drink, so it seems. They come equipped with the cipo shield (VII - 2, e (1) /see VI - 2, e (1b)/) and the stick-of-the-onça /see yaí-gõ above/, if these are in the maloca. The kaxpí will yet again be served twice more, the same ritual being observed. It is no longer obligatory, however, to drink it, and many, in fact, abstain from it. The individuals begin to feel besotted. Some, perhaps, fall on the ground, others vomit. This one seems to see in front of his feet a stick, a snake, /349/ or a lizard; he wants to jump over it and falls down. The inebriating effect varies with the individuals; and it is a satisfaction for those of the maloca to verify that the kaxpí was strong and the guests are dizzy. Some, in this condition of inebriation, give cries, throw down objects, break vessels, bows, arrows, whatever they find at hand. The Kõmũ who "blew" the drink "will blow" now over the drunken and excited individuals, in order to neutralize the effect of the
[115] drunkenness. This is information from the Tukano Antônio Barreto. The last one to drink it will be the local tuxáua, who, with the lance at the ready, takes three turns, saying some unintelligible words. Meanwhile, an Indian beats on the entrance door with a stick, likewise shouting out some words.

In observing such a ritual, the kaxpí is served three times, the vessel that contains the drink being put outside the maloca in the sun after each time. The last time is already in the middle of the night.

[184] According to the Wanana custom, at the first time two cuias are served to each individual, at the second time just one cuia, and at the third one two cuias again. When there are several types of kaxpí, one begins with the weakest one.

/349 cont./

796 [354] Between the last columns of the maloca a fire burns, which an old Indian stirs up frequently (58).

[554] 58. In the subdivisions of the tribes (cf. IV-2, a (2) ) it fell to those of the last category to keep the fire lighted.

"It is to illuminate the earrings of the dances," they explain to us.

So they spend the night, and one after the other falls from drunkenness, tired and sleepy, while the stronger ones continue dancing. At given moments there is a noise like a fight; the men will beat again on the entrance door. Under the effect of the alcohol there are heard at intervals disorderly shouting, noisy laughter, animated discussions, not infrequently fights and violence or even murders. That atmosphere of excitement and [833] darkness is most conducive to immoral practices (59).

59. Already at the end of the eighteenth century the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, vicar of S. Gabriel, was complaining: -- "During their banquets and feasts, there are always spirituous beverages, which they call caxiri, mucururú, pajaauarú and caeçuma, made out of mandioca, batatas, and fruits, with which they get drunk to the point of crapulence" (o. c. p. 486).

[833] At first they perform them more discreetly, going outside the maloca for these relations; later, when they are drunker, they do it even inside the maloca, in the hammocks or on the floor. Generally, however, there is no fecundation in these relations (60).

60. So they assured us, and they attribute

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/footnote 60 cont./ it to the quality of certain plants that they use in these caxirís. It is possible that their state of intoxication makes fecundity difficult; just as it is likely, moreover, that the affirmation of infecundity results only from the lack of means of verification or of attention to the problem.

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/350/ We thought that these immoral practices were a consequence of the intoxication. The Missionaries also thought this, although one of them pointed out to us that the inebriation was intentionally promoted for libidinous satisfactions. We nevertheless had many and categoric affirmations that these sexual practices, even the incestuous ones, are not only licit, but even established by the customs, and for this reason recommended by the "Old Ones," in order to ensure the happiness of the people and the fecundity of nature (cf. VII - 5, c).

5) Legendary commemorations -- Rite of the cigar.

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Legendary commemorations. We have the impression that to the original elements of these feasts, let us call them the ritual elements, with the passing of time, were introduced other profane ones, such as the musical intermezzi performed by the individuals of the younger generation to the sound of the flautas-de-pã /Panpipes/ and the japurutús. Among the ritual elements must appear the Legendary Commemorations. After the first dance numbers, representatives of the tribes who are participating in the Wãx-tĩye baxsá detach themselves from the natives and sit down on little seats, one in front of the other, in the nave occupied by the men. These individuals are chosen from among the Komũã, and they must, naturally, show the qualities necessary for their function, that is, knowledge of the legends, a good memory, a lively imagination, facility with words.

/350 cont./

796 538 [123] At the various times that we had the opportunity to attend these feasts, we did not see any initial ceremony. Each one seated in front of his antagonist, at a distance of a meter perhaps, they start to narrate in a singing tone accompanied by broad gestures and alternately with the right and the left arm. They unravel the legends of the origin of the world and of the tribes, as well as the exploits of their ancestors. They speak alternately and sometimes also simultaneously, breaking off only take a breath and perhaps, at a given time, to recall some further episode. The event told by his competitor will sometimes serve to remind him of another episode. So it seems to us.

If, by any chance, they carry to him the cuia of caxirí, he receives it without looking; he will keep it in his hand until he finishes the episode that he is narrating, and then he will swallow it rapidly, returning it empty to the one who brought it, and who remained patiently waiting.

It seems to be a matter of a true challenge. A competition of oratory and also of time, of rapidity of locution, of physical or, better, pulmonary endurance. During all this time they do not concern themselves about the audience, though there may perhaps be an indiscreet white who has come closer to observe better. At a certain point, however, /351/ one of the old men of the maloca intervenes and interrupts one of the narrators (we do not know whether he does it only to one of another tribe or maloca who came for the poosé, as in the case that we had a chance to observe), directing some words to him in a rapid dialogue. They informed us that it is the practice, and it is a thanks for his activity. But soon afterwards the competition proceeds with the same rhythm and intonation.

276 796 538 The Rite of the Cigar. The principal act of the Legendary Commemorations is the Rite of the Cigar, which takes place around 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning, and which marks, moreover, the official ending of the poosé. Two enormous cigars, each tied to its fork (VI 2, b (5) ), starting with the tuxaua and one of the Kõmũã, will pass simultaneously from mouth to mouth,

796 /351 cont./
276 to the least important of the men who have participated in the
538 dances, and who arrange themselves in two lines, one in front of the other, all, however, sitting down. Each man takes some puffs and passes the cigar to his neighbor, and thus everybody
*[192] smokes several times, until the cigars are consumed. The tuxaua and the bayá alternate with the Komũã the episodes of the history of the origins, dõxporó-kase kextí, recalling the different places from where their ancestors came, and the exploits that marked this ascent. They do it, however, in a singing rhythm, prolonging the final syllables of each part that they narrate.

796 Once this rite is concluded, the sticks and snappers are
574 gathered up, the men take off their ornaments, which are carefully kept in the box for this purpose (VI - 2, d (7) ). The guest
576 tuxaua gives thanks in a loud voice: -- "The poosé was very good. We enjoyed ourselves very much, etc."

796 As the conclusion of this rite and of the fast that they must observe at these feasts, the Kõmũã who prepared the kaxpí puts in the mouth of each man a roasted pepper. For the young ones there is prepared a broth with lemon juice and pepper (and sometimes also salt), and this is applied to their noses with a funnel of leaves. The young man must draw this broth into the mouth and swallow it. After this ceremony, they can take their mingau or any food whatsoever.

The entertainment might continue, principally among the younger persons. Ordinarily, however, they adjourn to the ham-
[513] mock (often two persons in the same hammock) and rest, in order to start the amusements again in the cool of the afternoon, around 4 o'clock.

5) /sic; 6)/ Games.

[524] We have spoken of the number of games that take place between the dances, but occur principally in the prolongation of the feast, that is, from the second day on.

574 /352/
796 1st. -- Some of the guests come buzzing, like the carapanã
524 (crepuscular mosquitos /Culex fatigans/), and, with a little stick in the hand, they start stinging the others, who try to shoo them away.

2nd. -- Afterwards others come, pretending to be ku'síro (an animal perhaps legendary, similar to the dog, some say, and which makes a clamor in the forest), making noise, dragging pot or stick, doing this up to the center of the house. Those of the maloca beat on the ground with a stick in order to chase them away.

We have watched a similar challenge for two hours, finally leaving the competitors, who went on with the same enthusiasm.
[178] Nowadays many of the younger generation, instead of listening to
[535] those monotonous narrations, prefer to dance enthusiastically with their female companions to the sound of the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/.

[273] 3rd. -- The caxirí is served; some no longer want it. The companions force them to take it, always in jest.

796 4th. -- The chief of the guests comes in with a torch of turí
574 (VI 5, a (4a) ), lighted, because it is already dark. His companions come in, throwing down objects, taking fruits, beijú, eating them. All feigning an attack on the maloca. A simulation so well done by the way that the civilized present become frightened, believing that it is a matter of an enemy attack and that a fight is about to start. In reality many feasts degenerate into fights and are intentionally taken advantage of for reciprocal vengeance.

524 5th. -- Some of the guests now come hopping, squatting,
796 imitating the toad, and making the characteristic sound with the
574 mouth: "uão... uão... " They enter the maloca, and those who are there ask the toads: -- "Where are you going?" "I am going to visit my relatives." -- "Your relatives have all died." And the toad, at this news, faints.

/352 cont./

796 524 6th. -- Afterwards some approach equipped with tipitís /mandioca presses/, in order to pretend they are snakes. Upon reaching those of the maloca, they maneuver the tipití, shortening it and lengthening it over them, as though to eat the toads (61).

796 524 535

61. Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, p. 379) describes the "dance of the snake" which he attended at a feast in Iauareté. Two enormous snakes of 30 to 40 feet long, made of cipo, hay, and straw, and painted bright colors. Each one held by 12 to 15 persons, they performed dance movements, as though trying to attack each other, which actually happened after some recoiling and weaving about, to the great liking of the spectators.

/353/ 7th. -- Young men and boys, eight or ten in number, arranged more or less in order of size, starting with the taller ones, position themselves in Indian file, each one holding with his hands the shoulders of the one who precedes him, and half bent over. That whole human column advances step by step, alternately swaying to the right and to the left. The tallest young man, who leads the line, sounds the instrument called "deer head" (see VII - 3, c (3c) ): pẽru wá:tya (bring caxirí) repeatedly. Unexpectedly this standard-bearer of the procession backs up, sounding kéro, kéro, kéro (quickly, quickly, quickly), forcing the whole column to back up. Sometimes the movement is so abrupt that some, generally the last ones, fall to the ground, the game provoking general hilarity. Thus the amusement proceeds.

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796 /353 cont./
574 Those who feel tired go to sleep. In the morning they take their bath, drink their mingau, and leave freely, that is, not all at once, but without a formal farewell, in small groups. Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Tauúcurí) tells that he saw them all leave solemnly in another procession as far as the landing place, as at their arrival.

b) Poosé with the mysterious instruments -- flagellation.

*192 According to the statements by the Tukano pajés Henrique
796 from Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), the
534 sacred instruments, or mĩriá (jurupari's) (62),
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> 62. A young man gave us the following explanation: "This instrument is very old; the one who found it was a man who had a son and two daughters. The daughters stole the instrument, and a bird played it very well. Now fearful that they might steal it again, they do not let it be seen, nor do they tell this story in the presence of the women." This deficient information reminds one of the legend of Uaracapá (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

are used only during the poosé (dabacurís) of fruit (cucura, patatuá, cunurí ucuquí, etc.), therefore not during those of fish (waí poosé). Even during those poosé, instead of the mĩriá, one might sound the flute mawáko (cf. 3, c (3c) ), as the Christian povoados closer to the Missionary Centers generally do. As we have indicated above, there are two types of mawako, both of imbauba, the larger one of about 30 to 40 centimeters, like a common fife, and blown by the upper orifice; the smaller one of 10 to 15 centimeters, with an orifice in the middle, laterally, by which one makes it sound. Two of the dâbacurís that we attended in Iauareté were held with the latter.

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796 534 *778 [192] [562] [858]

Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kãsé.

/354/ The women and children who came to the feast, barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut themselves in (63),

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63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarĩ-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩriã.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

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The guests then go toward that local landing place to which the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women, submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] [278] *[192]

The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ. Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

796 /354 cont./
534 They organize the procession of Wãx-tĩ, which will take
778 the offering, as was described above, from the landing place
562 to the maloca, a procession in which only those of the masculine
786 sex who have gone through the puberty initiation rite participate. They walk naked, all painted, in front, hanging from the waist, the waxsó-ro (or tanga of tururi, see VII 3, d (2) ), sounding the instruments, which at the same time are shaken up and down, and with lateral movements and contortion of the body. The
*[192] shape of the instrument (65),

> 65. It is elongated, wrapped in the inner bark of tururi, which in Tukano is called waxsó-kõ (perhaps from the same root as waxsó, semen; see Note 41, VI-3, a).
> [532] Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 69) tells that on the rocks of the cachoeira of Hipada (Uaupuim-cachoeira, on the river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana) he found a representation of Kúay, son of Yaperikuli, with a long penis. It is proof, it seems to us, of the connection between the cult of Kóay, or Wãx-tĩ of the Tukano, and that of the phallus. Perhaps one is even justified in seeing a phallus in the instrument, and for this reason it might be a symbol of Wãx-tĩ or Kóay.

the movements they give to it, the body contortions of the participants, all the circumstances of this procession and the sexual liberties that go on during the feast, bring it close to the phallic processions of classical antiquity in the cult of Bacchus, and these native feasts well deserve the name of "Phallustanzen" /Ger. "phallus dances"/. There is even a similarity to the paroxysmal flagellations of the cult of Cybele of Greece and Rome, and of the Mediterranean civilization in general.

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Indian playing the mīrĩ (jurupari)

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Always playing the mīrĩã, the men surround the maloca where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door. Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play the mīrĩã. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances. Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during the dances.

796 /355 cont./
562 Then the doors of the maloca are opened, and the women
858 and children come back to it, and the feast and the ritual banquet take place as was seen above.

785 /356/ Before the dances, the flagellation of the boys who
562 have not participated in the procession proceeds. They beat with
796 a reed or with ingá bark. One of the men takes the child by the legs, another by the arms, and the leader of the dances applies some strokes on his back and belly. They explain that it is to make them grow fast, and for this reason they also stretch the child during the flagellation.

The flagellation of the men will be done without interrupting the dances. Each one, standing up, receives three blows on
*[192] the back and then, as retribution, gives them to his neighbor. The instrument for this flagellation is the adabí, in Tukano wã'sõ-rí; it is a stick almost two meters long, but the ligneous part was extracted from its upper end, and it thus became very flexible (66).

[184] 66. Among the Wanãna and Kubewana the
[178] adabis are well made, and because of this they are kept for similar circumstances. In the other tribes nowadays any stick is used for the flagellation. They assured us that sometimes they even omit the flagellation. It seems to us that they might really do so, at least when some civilized is present. The Kubẽwana of Ambaíba (river Querarí) showed us how they customarily applied the flagellation. In order for the blows to be more violent, the flagellator swings two or three times before delivering the blow. Some of the ones flagellated, as if they were boasting of their advantage, showed us deep scars from the flagellation that they had endured.

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*192 776 c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wã:kõ?

In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wã:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we [178] were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wã:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67),

[823] 67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water.
775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not.
776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ.
And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons,
756 and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as
829 inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3) ). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ.
[825] They say about a nocturnal bird, called urukã-tutú, due to the
*[192] similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp, because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of
*[192] a deceased civilized person, pexkã-sã wẽ'ri Wã-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

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776 It seems that we are faced with some confusion between
777 the primitive notions and the ideas that the travelers, colonizers, and Missionaries brought and even taught them in different epochs.

*192 Wãx-tĩ, we have concluded, is a general term to designate these various beings, like our word "Spirit." The term
776 also occurs in the plural, Wãx-tĩa baxsá, dance of the Wãx-tĩ. Probably it is derived from the root wax, and from the substantivizing determinative tĩ. As a matter of fact, there is in the Tukano language the root wax, which would indicate: to imagine, idea, to form ideas, model. Wax-kũ means to think, perhaps from the root wax and the verb kũ, to put.

776 Among the different Wãx-tĩ or spirits, there is one par excellence, the "Wãx-tĩ," as we say "The Supreme, Most Perfect Spirit," or simply the Spirit.

Wãx-tĩ, as follows from the Uaupés legends (which we
776 shall examine in more detail in another study, "Lendas do Uaupés
782 /Legends of the Uaupés/"), is not only a Hero of the tribe, he is the Legislator, therefore the Supreme Lord. He punishes or will punish transgressions. In order to conjure away his punishments, it is important to propitiate him with particular rituals.
*[192] It can be seen in the poosé or wãx-tĩye baxsasé, sacrifices of fish, beijú, or fruits. And there is also communion of the group in the drinking and the smoking. The lyrics of the songs, today
[533] corrupted and without meaning, might perhaps have been the sacrificial hymns (68).

[115] 68. One of the students of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), José Barreto, told that his father, one of the most famous bayá, or singers at the feasts, and dance master, had taught him that the songs during the dabacurí or poosé recalled the creation of the human beings.

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776 [533] Those inserted words and shouts are perhaps ritual words and exclamations. We thus have a cult of the deity.

Later there was confusion between the Legislator Spirit and other spirits, that is, between the Wãx-tĩ and the wãx-tiá or wãx-tĩá maxsã. /358/ What could have been the cause? It is certain that religious instruction that was not very deep could give rise to great confusion, even among the civilized. It is likewise beyond doubt that they had successive contacts with the Christians, and there was not perenniality in the Missionaries' work of Christianization. Who knows but that the concept of one true God, who is Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites" (69),

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69. Dr. Pereira Nunes told us of an interview that he had with an old Indian on the Ilha-das-flôres (mouth of the river Uaupés) when he found out that they were celebrating the feast of Jurupari or Wãx-tĩ at a short distance, deeper in the interior of the forest. -- "Do you believe in the Jurupari?" he asked him. -- "Yes," he answered, "he is our God!" -- "And Jesus Christ?" -- "Jesus Christ is the 'God of the whites,' " was the answer.

as opposed to the false gods, idols, or demons, is what brought such entanglement and identification of Wãx-tĩ with the demon (70).

70. "They have generally called him Yurupari," wrote Paulo Ehrenreich (Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de S. Paulo, 1908, Vol. II, p. 303), "solar or cultural hero, a designation taken from the língua geral and falsely identified with the devil by the Missionaries." The identification

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/footnote 70 cont./ of Wãx-tĩ or Jurupari with the demon dates back to the evangelization of the coastal tribes. For example, the Hollander Gaspar Barleus or Van Baerle (1647), describing the journey of Elias Harchman, apropos of a mountain of Copaóba, states: "nomen monti erat polyssyllabum et terríbile Iurupari bakau, id est, hic respéxit diábolus" (the name of the mountain was strange and terrible, "Iurupari bakau," that is, the demon looked here). Barbosa Rodrigues, "Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/," p. 94. Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, 1882. As for the identification of Wãx-tĩ with Jurupari, see above, Note 8, VII-4, c) /see note 7 in VII-4, c), and note 8 in VII-4, d)/.

*[192] The term that the catechesis uses to designate God, Wá:kõ, which means "the one who is gone," seems to confirm it. It thus makes one think of Jesus Christ who went up to heaven (71).

71. We have just finished reading (May of 1956) in the Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, year of 1954, an article by Marcos Fulop, under the title: "Aspectos de la cultura tukana. Cosmogonia /Aspects of Tucano culture. Cosmogony/." This article seems to confirm the above opinion, which we had already voiced in 1948. After describing the creative activity and that of social organization exercised by Yepá Huake (this is the way the name of the personage Wá:kõ is written), according to the account of the pajé Marcos Sierra from the povpado Guadalajara, on the river Paca, in

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/footnote 71 cont./ June of 1953, it ends: "Entonces Yepá Huake dijo a todos los que estaban en Diawí: di pié todo el mundo. Y Yepá Huake desapareció. Y allí se terminó. Y se subió al cielo Yepá Huake." /Then Yepá Huake said to all those who were in Diawí: stand up, everybody. And Yepá Huake disappeared. And there it was finished. And Yepá Huake went up to heaven (al cielo, "to heaven," or "to the sky")./ It should be noted that the native group to which Marco Sierra belongs, as Marco Fulop has it, a group about which we, too, have some knowledge from one of our excursions along the river Paca, are dissidents from the Mission of the Montfortian Padres of the Papurí. As was to be expected, and follows from the narration obtained by Fulop, the whole account by Marco Sierra is a combination of the tradition of the tribes of the Uaupés and of the Catholic Catechesis.

776 They can say nothing about Waskõ except what the younger gen-
797 eration learned from the Missionaries of Dom Bosco and of /359/ Montfort (72):

72. It was the well-deserving Padre Pedro Kok, Hollander, from the Congregation of Montfort, who in the beginning of this century first studied the Tukano language, and, in this idiom, he left the first books of Catechesis (Catechisms, prayers, gospels, etc.). His confreres, Missionaries in the Território Nacional do Waupés (Colombia), and later the Salesian Missionaries in the adjacent Brazilian area, followed his

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 544]

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/footnote 72 cont./ orientation with regard to the idiom and, consequently, also with regard to the catechetical language. When we dedicated ourselves to the present studies and sought an interview with this wise linguist who doubled as a Missionary, we learned that he had died a short time before. Of course there remained unanswered the first question that we had asked him by letter, anticipating a promised visit, that is: the origin of the word Wá:kõ. 1st. -- Would it have been of his coinage? And, in this case, would it be derived from the verb wá:, to go? Had he adopted this word (properly speaking, it is the singular Masculine Past Participle of wá:) to indicate Jesus Christ? Why should it be given as the translation of the word God? It is certain that the natives of these tribes have absolutely no idea of the divinity; why did he not adopt, in his catechesis, the Latin word Deus (or Spanish Diós) for the new concept that he was going to teach, as he had used so many Latin or Spanish words (Virgo, gracia, pecado, Santu, Anjo, misterio /Virgin, grace, sin, Saint, Angel, mystery/, etc.)?

2. -- Did wa:kõ come from a confusion of his with the legendary personage O'ã-kõ?

On a second trip that we made to the Papurí in 1948, we expressed to the veteran Montfortian Missionaries, Pe. Humberto Limpens and Pe. Afonso Kuipers, the opinion that we explain in these pages and about how it seems to us that "Wá:kõ" meant "the one who is gone," that is, Jesus Christ, who went up to heaven. And we verified that both of them were of the same opinion.

/359 cont./

797
776

/Footnote 72 cont./ When they repeat an idea that the Catechist made them nearly learn by heart, the children of the Mission schools say Wá:kõ. In other circumstances they say O'ã-kõ, especially those who have already left the schools years ago. This verification, which dates from our first trip to the Uaupés (in 1947), is what put us in search of the history or legend of O'ã-kõ (and which today we also possess recorded in the voices of two xamãs /shamans/), and what led us to infer the dilemma: either the natives are identifying the God of the Catechesis, the Christian God, or, more concretely, Jesus Christ, with the legendary personage O'ã-kõ; or, perhaps, Padre Kok, with an imperfect knowledge of the Uaupés legends, thought that O'ã-kõ was the God of these tribes and, because he did not observe the pronunciation very well (perhaps because of poor pronunciation by the informant), he began to write erroneously Wãke, as it appears in his books.

*[192]

It is to be noted that the Christian natives who gave God the name of Wá:kõ make up a feminine Wá:ko (thus Goddess) to designate the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Most Holy Virgin, Mother of Jesus, and the plural Wá:mãra (Uaupés Wá:mãna), gods, in order to indicate the Saints. The Bishop of Manáus, Dom Frederico Benício Costa, in his interesting "Carta Pastoral" /Pastoral Letter/ (Fortaleza, Ceará, 1909), remarks on p. 166 that the caboclos of the Rio Negro, who spoke the Língua Geral, also used the name Tupana to indicate the Saints, and, when they wanted to distinguish them from God, they called the latter Tupana uaçú.

/359 cont./

797 they do not think about him nor are they interested in him. The
776 conclusion would be, not that they do not know God and do not worship him. But that they do not know Wã:kõ, that is, Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites." They only know, fear, and worship Wãx-tĩ, the Legislator who punishes their transgressions, permitting them to have misfortunes, sicknesses, lightning bolts.

771 /360/ This is what we were also able to conclude from a
[115] conversation with an old Indian, almost one hundred years old (1947), Casimiro from Ipanuré.

f) Their rules of conduct -- Magic practices.

The native is convinced of the existence of extrahuman or mysterious forces, both personal and impersonal or cosmic, which can be useful or harmful to him, and which it is possible for him to dominate and take advantage of. This is what is understood by magic, considered subjectively.

The entire life of the natives is, for this reason, filled with so many positive and negative prescriptions (73)

> 73. These prescriptions, or rather, prohibitions, forbidding one to enter a certain place, to look at, to touch some object or person, is what is today called tabooism.

proceeding from this belief of theirs: or, in other words, it is saturated with magic practices. This is magic considered objectively.

Here and there we have indicated some of these magic practices; there are many others, however. Due to the number of superstitious practices that have come to our knowledge (and how many others might there be?), due to their frequency and application to the most common events of each day, perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to conclude that the mentality of the Uaupés Indians is dominated by the magic fears and beliefs as if this were an obsession, and which, naturally, is reflected and manifested in a large part of native activity.

/360 cont./

771 The evil that can come from an event, an action, a person,
*[192] animal, or thing is called wé-boxátise, or wá-boxkátise.

The magic practices can be divided into groups: practices related to places, to things, to animals and to persons.

We shall first indicate some of these superstitious or magic beliefs.

1) Superstitions and magic beliefs.

776 Some of their beliefs have been revealed in connection with various subjects. At this point we have collected others:

a) There is a general belief in the existence of the wai maxsã or "fish people," as literally translated. They not only admit that people can be permanently or temporarily transformed into fish, /361/ but they also cite episodes of such transformations, with indication of the names of persons, the place, the date, and other individualizing circumstances. On certain occasions such persons again assume their human aspect.

They affirm that the botos /boutos/ (cetaceous mammals of the Delphinidae) are "people," "maxsã"; and that on many occasions they appear in the form of handsome young men, in order to have sexual relations with the women, especially with the unmarried maidens.

Not infrequently the female botos appear in the form of seductive women, in order to attract the young men. When such apparitions happen at night to the young men and women, it seems to them as though it was only a dream; nevertheless they actually happened, asserts the Indian.

*[192] The headless snake (Cecilidae) or two-headed snake (Lacertidae), õxsõ, as is said in Tukano, may appear as a pleasant young man and fecundate the women. See the legend of õxsõ. But it is not only a matter of an event that happened in the past (and they admit it with the certainty of a historical event), it can still happen, and, therefore, the women avoid looking at the two-headed snake, in order not to feel its attraction.

/361 cont./

776 823 b) Tamanduaí is a locality situated on the bank of the Rio Negro, in an elevated position, with the bank forming a barrier or slope. They affirm that in the vicinity of this point, but deep in the water, is located the city of the wai maxsã.

776 539 823 They tell that, a few years ago, a woman lived on the bank opposite Tamanduaí. Soon after delivery, against the traditional prescriptions, she cooked and ate cará /yams, Dioscorea/. Later, upon going to the landing place, she saw there a young man, who asked her: -- Why are you there ? -- I want to go away, the woman said to him, because my husband is very rough and often hits me. -- Come with me, the man invited her. And he took her into the water. There, in the depths, she saw that there was a large city with pretty houses, factories of thirst (1) /Port. fábricas de sêde/, and also gardens and forest. She stayed there, living with this young man. On a certain day, she told him: -- I am longing for my son, I am going to get him. The young man took her out of the water. She was covered with algae. She washed herself well, went to her own house, prepared milk (1) for the son. Then the husband asked her: -- Where have you been all this time? It has been a week since you went away. She, however, did not answer him. On the following day she took her child and went to the landing place, went into the river, and did not return again. She remained as wife of the young wai maxsã man.

c) We further heard another episode told about Tamanduaí. A young man from the Uaupés, settled in Tamanduaí (and there are many who, /362/ searching for better lands, leave the Uaupés and go to settle in this region of the Rio Negro), left one day to go fishing. He was going down along a large beach. At a certain moment he saw, at the edge of the nearby forest, a very pretty hammock, and, sitting in the hammock, a blonde girl, very beautiful, with a child in her arms and singing in order to put the child to sleep. The youth paid attention to the harmonious song and could hear that is said: -- "I am

776 /362 cont./
539 going away to my land, it is so beautiful... nothing is lacking
823 there"..., etc. He looked closely and saw that the cords of the hammock were sucuruju /anaconda/. At night the blonde girl appeared to him in a dream and told him: -- "Today I sang for you, and it did not please you."

776 d) Near Bela-Vista, on the river Uaupés, an alumna of
787 the Mission of Taracuá dreamed at night that she had amorous relations with a young man. Then in the morning, when she went to take a bath, she saw close to her a blowing bouto, throwing itself about in the water, agitating it, and wanting to have relations with her. The young woman also heard shots under the ground, smelled the perfume that the "bouto" youths use. She even felt a desire to go to live with the boutos forever.

776 5. /sic/; e)/ -- Patrícia Vasconcelos tells that her grand-
[115] mother was still a young woman when she went looking for turtle eggs on a beach near Pinú-pinu (river Uaupés) with other girl
[222] companions, among them one who had just finished the puberty initiation rite. They started to dig in the sand and found many eggs. At a certain point, however, the sand started to sink with a great noise, and the newly initiated girl disappeared. A little later the sand reappeared. The mother of the maiden who had disappeared went to look for her, shouted everywhere, but the
[192] maiden never returned. The poor mother then understood that the waí maxsã had stolen her daughter: "waí maxsã mĩsa-wapã yõõ maxkõ-ré, the fish people came to get my daughter."

2) Magic practices.

823 a) Places. -- There are places (the most remote parts of the forests, caves, headwaters of the igarapés) where they should never go. If by chance they pass in the vicinity of these places, they will turn their faces to the opposite side.

There is a lake below the Ira-igarapé (middle Uaupés); the old ones did not look at it, in order not to have a weak and whining child.

/362 cont./

823 In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?). If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not [784] look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a flat head.

825 One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because, without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí, 823 near the mouth of the stream Cuiú-cuiú, called Bará õxtã. If a young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and *[192] will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion of the cipo called yõx'kwá-dá (star cipo).

[103] Below the "island of the cuiubí," in the cachoeira of the Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Ã'á-fiõá (point of the louse), there is a rock called muhi-pũ õxtã (rock of the sun or of [782] the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there, deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering, presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro (agitation of the waters by the winds).

754 There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé) in the road or in the clearing:

*[192] 1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick; it is the yuxkõ dohó-kõ; the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

/363 cont./

754 2nd. -- He can also, knowing that a person must pass by way of a trail, close the passage to him, putting across it a stick
*[192] over which he has "blown"; it is what is called kã pe-vyó-kõ.

3rd. -- Nẽ'kã-yusé is said when he has "blown" over a fruit or a plant; if any person (74)

> 74. These local malefices can harm, by mistake, even the one who prepared them. Patrícia Vasconcelos told us that her uncle Marcos had cast a malefice on a cacuri /fish trap/ (see VI-5, a (2b) ) against anyone who went there to steal fish. In the morning he forgot to neutralize the malefice, took some fish, and ate them. Soon he began to feel ill: dizziness, darkening vision, stomach-ache. He then called his own son and said to him: --"My son, I am going to die! I 'blew' on the cacurí, and by accident I ate some of the fish without removing the dohasé." Fortunately he escaped, having recourse to other magic practices.

eats some of this fruit, or even touches this object, he "will become crooked." They believe that all cases of stupor, with paralysis of the facial muscles and contortion of the mouth, are due to the malefices of some enemy.

The Tukano of Parí-cachoeira prepare their jequí /fish trap/ (see VI - 5, a (2a) ) on a certain rock of the cachoeira; if they did it at home, they would not be able to catch any fish.

789 /364/ b) Things. -- Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português (entry Uirá-purú), speaks of the belief in the protective quality of certain charms. It is probable that he is not referring to the tribes of the Uaupés. Among them we not only did not find them, but they could not tell us whether the ancients had used them. In very rare cases we found necklaces of triangular
[301] sheets (see -- 3, d (1) ), with the character, it seems, solely of feminine adornment.

/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in
[224] order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have
[226] similar efficacy.

They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions
*[192] which are called oxkó ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some are prepared by the pajé or kõmũ; others, by any individual. There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacurí, and to guarantee them abundant fish.

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui (puxpyá).

[514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement (75);

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

[832] The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant
789 called tá:-dõxká (in Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca)
824 to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know everything," that is, will be intelligent.
*[192]

There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with magic virtues:

[241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the mandioca will yield very well.

/364 cont./

789 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in
824 order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'téa) fish.

*[192] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the
[226] face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.
[832]

The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many
291 practices and prescriptions:

1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger;
821 if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away Wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small wood-
825 pecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clear-
*[192] ing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tĩrosa (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

* [192] [304] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ̃ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that

[224] [226] is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

Uruká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one

* [192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

[752] /366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

/366 cont./

843 *[192] [226] d) Persons. Every pregnant woman, nihĩ-paxkó (after the fourth month, more or less), is a dangerous being. There are various prescriptions referring to the gestating woman. For example, she cannot eat the fish from the espinhel /line with many hooks/ (VI - 5, a (4 d) ), from the cacurí, nor participate in the large-scale fishing with timbo. If she does so, the fishing will be fruitless, and the espinhel or cacurí will no longer catch fish (77).

> 77. They ruined the espinhel of Dom José Domitrovitsch. The Missionary complained and asked the reason. The espinhel "is no good," the Indian said to him, because my wife ate some of the fish caught in that espinhel and she is pregnant.

She must not touch the bow or arrow, so that she does not "ruin them."

846 *[192] About the father of a newborn baby, it is also said that he is in a state of pregnancy, nihĩ-paxkõ or nihĩ-pkõ. He must, then, take care of himself, "sihyógõ" (cf. "Couvade," VIII -- 1, b (3) ), so that the child will grow strong.

844 It is permissible only for women to attend the delivery; the men must withdraw. If by any chance there are male guests in the maloca, then the woman giving birth will remain in some tightly closed apartment, if there is one. Or she will leave, in order to give birth in some isolated hut or even in the forest. Before taking her puerperium bath, the woman may not see a bow or any instrument of iron (machete, ax, assagai, etc.).

843 If the husband stops with open arms in the door of the house during the pregnancy of his wife, she will have a difficult delivery.

If during her own pregnancy the woman sits down to eat, or sits in a hammock with her legs dangling, her delivery will be difficult.

/366 cont./

846 The first time they go to the clearing after the birth of any child, they practice a special ritual called "mixpĩ purĩ-ré dõ̃ tekũsé," that is, the entwining of the leaves of the açaí /assai/. The father goes in front, and behind, the mother carrying the child. The father, at more or less every ten meters or steps, ties two by two the leaflets of the açaí, and throws them on the road. If they must cross any stream, and the child is of the male sex, he makes a kind of canoe with the leaves and puts it on the /367/
*[192] water. The purpose of these practices is to ensure that the child and those of his house never lose their way, wi'seri-khã̃ra-re mĩx'pĩ pũrĩ-ré dõ̃xté-kũsé.

837 The newly married woman who seeks out many other men becomes transformed during the night into an anta and goes out through the forest to graze (78).

78. There were indicated to us two cases of similar transformations, both having happened shortly before this information was given (1953), one that was supposed to have taken place in Urubucuara and another in Iauareté, the name of these wives "without shame," according to the expression of one of the informants, being cited to us.

*[192] It is what is called "wexkõ dohogó" (literally: ruined into an anta). At dawn she is again transformed into a woman and returns, still taking bits of grass from her teeth. An indication of this event is the paleness of the wife. When she goes out at night, however, she leaves her legs in the hammock. When the husband sees this, he turns the legs in the opposite position, that is, toward the head of the hammock. For this reason, on the following day the woman will feel strong pains in her hips. On the following night the husband turns them in the direction opposite that of the first time, and the wife's pains will cease.

/367 cont./

824 *[192] In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgõ̃, for their own child, soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the bará, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 843 *[192] [515] There is a plant called kã'rá pũrĩ (Uaupés kã'ná pũnĩ), the leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

[797]

79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

[797]

80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

[178]

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

> 81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).
T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.
501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.
T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/368 cont./

621 of the soul, a social cult of the dead would be foreseen. Manifestations of this cult are the elegy-weeping, the interment, the banquet and funeral feast.

758 1) The elegy-weeping. The coldness and insensitivity (82)

> 82. Sometimes, it seems to us, even cruelty, denying them even food and drink (cf. V-17).

with which these natives of the Uaupés see any member of the family waste away, even if it is their own father, mother, or child, is striking. The sick one is found in a hammock hung in a darker corner, and a few meters away the occupants of the maloca or house /369/ laugh, talk, eat, amuse themselves, as if no sick person was there (83).

[797]

> 83. We have already noted that, to the question by the Missionary as to whether anyone is sick (see V-16) in the maloca or povoado, they systematically answer no. Perhaps the silence or the denial has its cause in a belief or some magic concept unknown to us. And from this same concept might be derived the insensitivity, perhaps only apparent, which gives rise to our opinion. To the Padre who scolded a native who left his old father without food, he responded: -- "Why should I give him food? He is going to die!"
>
> Pe. João Marchesi writes (ap. "Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13): "In the same house, sometimes a relative is in agony, but nevertheless they will not take the least care to spare him

/369 cont./

758
[763]

/footnote 83 cont./ the commotion of an infernal orgy of two days. In front of their own dead brother they will burst out in a desperate cry, and with the same aptness they will pass to the noisiest and most indecent laughter."

763
*[192]

Nevertheless, as soon as they notice that he has died -- (perhaps the catastrophe already happened some time ago, and they did not notice it; or there has been a mistake, he has not died yet) -- the men and women present start the elegy-weeping, uxtisé (84).

[797]
[756]

84. Pe. Humberto Limpens, Montfortian, in the early days of the Mission of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí), saw a "weeping," in which primarily the pajés blew smoke for a long time over the dead woman, who was married, while the men shouted threats against the enemies who were the cause of the death. Afterwards the women came, and, placing themselves in a semicircle, began the lamentations.

[797]

The weeping that took place on June 24, 1956, in the hospital of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) and which two Sisters in charge of nursing witnessed was also interesting. A young wife had died as the result of a stillbirth. She was the stepdaughter of the late tuxáua of Parí-cachoeira, Júlio, father of the present local chief. There had been previous treatment with the pajés; and even after she was already in a condition of extreme gravity and she had been taken to the hospital, her mother, of the Tuyuka tribe, had tried to take

/369 cont./

763 /footnote 84 cont./ her out of there in order to subject her again to the rites of the pajés. As soon as the catastrophe happened, in the very room of death, in the hospital, the weeping by men and women, accompanied simultaneously by dancing, began at the sides of the hammock that contained the body. Among the participants in the wailing and dances was a young Tukano woman who had taken the course in midwifery in Manaus. The dancers were distributed in pairs of the same sex, and the dances were intermixed with small hops, beating at this moment, first the arms, then the legs. The husband, also present, did not participate in the dances, but he did participate in the weeping. Later, once the body had been moved to the entrance room of the hospital, the old mother lay down on the floor, under the hammock where the daughter had died, with her legs and arms open, singing the elegy-weeping.

[874] [177] [535] [593]

[761] The men utter cries and imprecations against those who caused the death; because every death, so they think, is a true murder perpetrated by some enemy by means of a malefice. The women too, appropriately called uxtĩra (Uaupés uxtĩna), mourners, between exclamations and with /370/ very sentimental thoughts, do the eulogy of the dead and imprecate against the pajés or persons who cast the spell, the alleged

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/370 cont./

763 causa mortis. They lower their heads, draw the hair over the face, the tears come in abundance, and they constantly collect them with the index finger of the right hand and shake them to the ground. And they proceed in this way for a long time, in a characteristic intonation, in which they go from the lowest notes to the shrillest ones. And the mourners succeed one another in turn in this panegyric-imprecatory weeping. The last notes of their wailing have hardly been lost in the air and their last tears filtered into the floor of the maloca before the shadows of emotion clear away from their faces, and the mourner will go on to talk gaily with her companions, with her habitual good humor and noisy laughter.

[593] The mother or wife, during the wailing, will be squatting or seated on the little seats beside the deceased, and with the right hand drawing lines on the ground. At other times they rub the hands on the cadaver and then stretch the arms in the direction of space, as if they were casting there the curses or the malefice that took the life of the deceased.

*[192] At times three or more women gather in a closed circle, in which their heads touch, and the principal mourner extends her arms, as if to embrace them all by the nape of the neck; it is what is called ʊe'ɛ-kea-uxtisé, weeping embraced. The first mourner then starts to do the eulogy of the dead one, as if directing a dialogue with the others, who repeat her final words; or they address interlocutions, all of it intermixed with sobs and cries.

Once the panegyric-weeping is performed, which may last minutes or whole hours (85),

85. The weeping for the death of Júlio, tuxáua of Parí-cachoeira, on

/370 cont./

763 /footnote 85 cont./ July 5, 1954, lasted from 3 o'clock in the early morning until 10 o'clock in the day, when the burial was concluded.

calm is restored, as if nothing abnormal had happened (86).

86. If it is a husband or child who died, the sorrow at times is sincere and prolonged, and, in order to distract themselves, they go around to other malocas.

They resume their jobs, meal, or conversations with the habitual typical laughter.

If by chance it was during the night that the death took place, they customarily, after the weeping, stay up during the night, but talking gaily and drinking chibé, without concerning themselves about the dead one any longer.

764 The relatives, as they arrive to visit the family, casually or because they have learned of the death, have the same relief of noisy and laudatory wailing. On the occasion of the burial they /371/ reinitiate the weeping.

765 When some relative who lives farther away, even if it is months later, meets the widower or widow for the first time after the death of the spouse, he places his hands on the shoulder and not infrequently the scene of the wailing is renewed.

The simple news of some death is also apt to provoke the official wailing. It is to be noted that, although the dead person might be from the husband's tribe, many times the latter will not show any sign of grief, will calmly continue his gay chatting, leaving to his wife (who is from another tribe) the duty of wailing for the dead.

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Here is one of these elegies (87).

87. It has been furnished to us by the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi.

Paxkó uxtígo
the mother who mourns

Yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ!
o my son! my son! my son!

Derowégo yöö döxporó wẽ'rĩtohati mãã!
why I before not die you?

Mãã añũ-buxtyágõ, tuxtwágõ nĩtohapõ.
you very good (handsome), strong were.

Mãã yöö yukése. yöö ekatisé, yöö maisé-mẽra.
you my hope, my joy, my love-also (you were).

Mãã dyápo-a-ré, yöö ĩ'ãsomé, mãã buhisé-ré,
your face, I shall not see, your smile,

Mãã böxsösé-ré töosomé!
your voice I shall not hear!

De'ró mãã marĩsé-mẽra a'té nãxkã-pö, a'té dyá-pö?
how you without (also shall I live) in these forests, on these rivers?

A'té wi'i-pö ỹa'ã-buxtyasé-mẽra kaxtí-maxsĩsari?
in this house so sad to live will I be able?

Mãã maigõ oxkó-ré, pexká-mẽ-ré yöö-ré axpo-yúgõ.
you lovingly water, fire for me prepared.

Mãã pax-kö wẽ'rise-re nãxkãtise-re darétohapa.
of your father the death not heavy you made for me.

Mãã yöö-ré wai-re dyá-pö-ré oógõ.
you for me fish from the river brought.

Mãã nãxkã-pö yuxkö-döxká-ré oógõ
you from the forest the fruits brought.

Mãã marĩsé-mẽra ỹeé-ré wé bósari?
you without what thing shall I do (now)?

ö'mã-kori nãxkã uxtígo, mãã-mẽra maxsã-pé-pö sooseré.
the days all to weep, with you in the grave to rest.

Yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ!
o my son! my son! my son!

/372/

764 2) The interment. There is no fixed interval between the verification of the death and the burial. One even notices a certain anxiety to bury the corpse as soon as possible. And the cases
763 in which the preparations for this start when the individual is still
764 alive, and even has use of his senses, are not infrequent (88).

[797] 88. One of the Salesian Missionary Sisters, passing through Umarí (river Uaupés), saw in the maloca four holes in the floor. Surprised she asked the reason. It was that there were four children with whooping cough, and, foreseeing their death, they had already prepared the graves.

Another striking episode took place in Taracuá (river Uaupés) in 1934. The tuxáua Miguel, of the Tukano tribe, was near death, and his subjects prepared the coffin-canoe and placed the sick man there, almost suffocating him with his clothes, hammock, eating cuia, etc. The Missionaries arrived still in time, and, noticing that he was still alive, they moved him to the hospital, and actually he did not die until three days later.

[323] Although they are familiar with ceramics and know how to make vessels of large dimensions, they are not in the habit of burying the cadavers in vessels, nor are there any indications of their having had such a custom.

764 The burial is permanent, and the traditional form is the canoe-
501 coffin, yuxkõ-sõ-korõ, that is, in a canoe (89).

*[192] 89. Occasionally, lacking a canoe, we have heard of burial in the caxirí tub in Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí). Pe. André Linssen, Missionary of the Monfort Congregation, did a burial in a mat in Acuaricuara (Colombia,

/372 cont./

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/footnote 89 cont./ river Paca). Today one often hears "yuxkõ-sõ mãrĩ," there is no canoe (since they do not want to render useless the good canoes that they have), and they bury the dead in some hollow piece of timber, or they ask the Missionaries for a casket.

It will be the old canoe, fruit of his work, companion of his travels and of his fishing trips, or one obtained for this purpose. They saw it into two parts. We were unable to find out what they would have done in the old days, before they had a saw or machete, in order to divide the canoe into two halves. Whether they then did it with the help of fire, or whether they used two small canoes as a coffin. On one half they place the corpse with his hammock, bow, arrow, his cuia with a little flour, a cigar, and some coals on a piece of a pot (nowadays a box with some matches). They cover this with the other half of the canoe, closing the orifices, at present with pieces of wood, rags, or anything, and tie the two parts with strong cords of tucum.

764 The burial with part of the utilitarian objects is usually a survival from nomadism. Today the Indians explain to us that it is "to be used in the other life." Other objects (canoes, machetes, axes, hammocks, etc.) are inherited by the family, or, more accurately, by the /373/ oldest son. It is the symbol of a bond that still endures among the members who are living and those already dead (84) /sic; 90/.

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90. Koch Grünberg says of the Kubẽwãna that they burn and throw away the objects that belonged to the dead person, so that his spirit does not come to punish the survivors for their negligence and greediness (Zwei Iahre, p. 314).

/373 cont./

764 although the apparent motive is the ambition and the interests of the Indian. And they have been seen to take long trips in order to acquire some object that belonged to the deceased.

[412] The grave, sufficiently long and not very deep, opened formerly with a simple pointed stick and the hands, is made in the central nave of the maloca (91).

> 91. In January of 1948 in Ambaíba (Colombia, river Querari) the Kubẽwãna were preparing a new maloca, when the death of an Indian took place. They buried him, then, in the area of the new maloca. Since this was still without any covering, however, they improvised a little roof of straw over the grave, a meter above the ground, "so that the dead one will not get the rain."
>
> Near Matapí (river Uaupés) there is an island known precisely as the "island of the cemetery," because the Wanana buried their dead there. We do not know whether this was due to the influence of the civilized.

without any obligatory orientation. On that place, precisely, where he spent the happiest hours of his life, preparing his bow and arrow, adorning himself with the ornaments, in endless talks with his tribal brothers, and danced during the long nights of the poosé (dabacuri); as if the living wished to maintain union with the dead.

The canoe is then placed in the grave, there being renewed among those present, collectively, the "panegyric-weeping (92).

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> 92. This is verified even for the burials that take place in the cemeteries of the Missions, with the assistance of the Missionary, who many times finds himself obliged, after a few minutes, to ask that they cease the weeping

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/373 cont./

/footnote 92 cont./ in order to proceed with the liturgical absolution. Upon leaving the cemetery, the women were seen making broad gestures with the arms, as if to chase away the malignant spirit, or to cast curses over the one who caused the death. Moreover, they were observed burning nettles around the house where the death had taken place.

Everyone will throw handfuls of earth over the coffin, until the grave is completely filled. In a short time, because of the treading of those passing over it, the ground will be as firm as the rest of the floor, and nothing will reveal that anyone was buried there (93).

93. What Wallace tells (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 637) is not likely: "In some of the larger houses there are, at times, more than a hundred graves, and when the houses become too small and are already full, they then make the graves outside." In fact it is a matter of small human groups, which very rarely exceed one hundred persons; therefore, as a rule, there will not be half a dozen /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ deaths a year. The hot and humid climate promotes the rapid disappearance of the mortal remains. And, besides, no sign indicating graves remains.

/374/ One does not perceive any manifestation of fear from viewing or contact with the body.

/374 cont./

764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wãx-tĩ?) ).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubu-
[535] cuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxirí (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

## CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

/374 cont./

121 It is probable that such a practice, in origin, is due to the
266 lack of food. Nevertheless, later, because of the whole orientation of the mentality of primitive man, it came to take on a magical character. One must, then, distinguish economic cannibalism and ritual cannibalism.

/375/ 1. Economic cannibalism.

In economic cannibalism the flesh of enemies, fresh or preserved by various processes that they know, is usually consumed: this is exoanthropophagy. Hence expeditions of war to provide human flesh.

266 This is what Wallace tells us (o. c. 638) about the Kubewana:
--"On the Uaupés only the Cubeus /Cubeo/ are truly cannibals.
721 They eat those of the other tribes whom they kill in battle. In order to obtain human flesh still fresh, they even make war for this single purpose. When the meat exceeds what they can eat at one time, they dry it and smoke it on the fire, and thus it can be stored for a long time. They burn the heads of the dead ones and drink their ashes with caxirí in the same way that has already been described above."

As for the Kubewana or other tribes of the Uaupés, this information obtained by Wallace seems false to us. Perhaps in turn
[727 567] based on Wallace is Bento de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, Director of the "Archivo do Amazonas" (1907, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 80), in his article entitled "As explorações e os exploradores do Uaupés /The explorations and the explorers of the Uaupés/," where he also affirms: -- "When they take a prisoner in war, if it is a man, they massacre, if it is a woman or a young man, they sell, when they find a buyer, otherwise they kill and eat, dividing the pieces among everyone in the tribe."

266 The encounters and reprisals that took place about twenty
648 years ago between the Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/ and the natives of the banks of the Cananari, tributary of the
726 Pirá-paraná, are still remembered (information by the Colombian Napoleão Estrada, in November of 1953, and by others). Still

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266 in 1954 we heard mention of four Colombians murdered, "smoked,"
648 and eaten by the Pamõã-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) Indians of this
726 region; and of how they particularly coveted the legs and feet of the victims. Accepting the accuracy of the news, however, it seems that it is a matter of special irritation and vengeance, and not of anthropophagy as a traditional habit, much less of bellicose attempts for the purpose of obtaining human flesh.

266 Koch Grünberg in various passages of his work Zwei Iahre speaks of the cannibalism of the Hyanakoto. He is, however, only reporting information by natives, and the Hyanakoto are Karaíba and reside outside the area that we are studying here. We have
266 also heard natives of various tribes speak of anthropophagous
829 Indians (94).

94. The Kumãdene tuxaua of Urubucuara, Mandú, knowing that we had made a long excursion by way of the headwaters of the river Tiquié, presented two very interesting questions: whether we had met the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ anthropophagous Indians and whether we had seen the tailed Indians. We answered both questions negatively, and we took the opportunity to ask him whether by chance he too had already seen them, who they were, and where they lived. He also answered us that he did not know, he had only heard such things mentioned.

An old Tukano /376/ from Pari-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, informed us that there are three cannibal tribes, or Baári-maxsã-ré, that is: 1st -- the Yai-peri maxsã, 2nd -- the Píti-yároa, 3rd -- the Yõũrwá, and that they live "up there," that is, on the headwaters of the river Tiquié.

/376 cont./

829 Other natives designated for us the ferocious Indians of the
266 river Cauaburi, tributary from the left of the middle Rio Negro, as being the famous Yai-peri maxsã or Onça /jaguar/ Tooth People. These, however, seem to be only legendary beings (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

Concerning the Pinao Indians of Colombia, we read that they sold the human flesh of their war slaves in their markets. This refers to the Panches, also from Colombian territory, who sold their own children to be eaten. It is said of these anthropophagous tribes that they fattened up the victims intended to serve as food. They ate them boiled with maize in large pots, or, more commonly, roasted them alive on a spit that pierced them through the anus.

2) Ritual cannibalism.

Among the tribes who practice anthropophagy, magic or participative cannibalism is more frequently found.

It is derived from the belief that through the eating of the flesh of an individual comes the most intimate union possible with him, and, therefore, participation in his good qualities: courage, vigor, dexterity, etc., and even in his psychic qualities or his magic power. Hence the sacred repasts, at which were eaten (not infrequently with preceding feasts, homages, and solemn immolation) the personages taken as superior: the chief, the pajé, the brave warriors, the heroes. More commonly, they are personages of their own tribe; this is endoanthropophagy.

765 Among some primitives, the cult of the dead came to be impregnated with such a magic concept. In order to provide themselves with the desired qualities that their own ancestors possessed, there appeared the custom of ingesting their ashes with special drinks on the occasion of particular funeral commemorations.

Wallace affirms (o. c. 638) that "The Tarianos and Tucanos, as well as some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is already in a very advanced state of decomposition, and place it in a large pot or oven over the fire, until the soft parts are destroyed, which is done with the

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765 most horrible stench, there remaining at the end only the carbonized bones, which are immediately ground up and reduced
[415] to powder. This powder is then placed in various enormous tubs (vats or vessels made out of wood) full of caxiri. The group present then drinks the caxiri until the last drop is finished. They believe that by so doing the virtues of the dead are transmitted to everyone who takes this drink."

171 It is a custom that is found among other tribes of America,
765 and even of the Amazon, according to the information from the ancient explorers, for example, among the Warekena of the rivers Içana and Xié, the Šomena of the river Japurá, etc. (cf. "Roteiro /Logbook/" of Pe. Noronha, 222). And, according to what was told us in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, this custom was in force until the end of the last century among the Taryana, until the beginning of this one among the Kubewãna, according to what Koch G. states and, moreover, what the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira told us in 1955, and it is the present practice of the tribes of the river Cauaburi, among whom Pes. Miguel Ghigo and Antônio Goes were present at such events.

[115] The same custom also existed among the Wanãna, we were assured by Tomás Paiva, son of the tuxawa /sic/ of Carurú-cachoeira, and other young Wanãna, but it fell into disuse as early as two generations ago.

765 Among the Kubewãna Koch G. (Z. I. 316) was present at one of these events in the maloca of Namacoliba (?). The Tuxaua disinters the remains of his predecessor, dead for 15 years, and burns it in front of the maloca. The carbonized bones are later cleaned and placed in a pot on the fire day and night for a month, until they are reduced to ashes. These, on the occasion of a solemn caxiri, which is held with a large crowd of people, are pounded, sifted, and mixed with a thick drink, prepared in great abundance with maize. The Tuxaua, with a stick, tries to spread the ashes well in the drink, and afterwards, with a large cuia, distributes it to the men standing around him. It is a drink reserved for the old ones and the fathers and mothers of families, who, although they might not be old, already have three children.

765 /377 cont./
53 Koch concludes that at this cannibalistic feast there were dances of masks on which he could verify the following details: the participants wore a band of yellow bark as a stole on the neck, and on the left arm a banner of bark, in the right hand a rhythm tube (VII -- 3, c (3 c) ) of imbauba, with paintings representing fish. They advance and back up and, marking time with the right foot, carry on a monotonous song with innumerable repetitions.

171 We could seek the origin of this peculiar custom, which is
765 also found among other tropical tribes of South America, teaches Koch, in the belief that the bones that remain after death are the /378/ last place in which the spirits reside. And with the ingestion of the ashes the individuals incorporate in themselves the substance and the spirit of the ancestors.

5. Morality.

121 When we deal with this subject, the necessity of some warn-
831 ings beforehand is imposed:

1st. -- We limit the breadth of the term morality to the common and vulgar meaning, as if it were a synonym of moderation of carnal concupiscence, or further as a synonym of customs in force in sexual relations.

2nd. -- We present, naturally, those points in discrepancy with the norms of Christian morals and which, for this very reason, impress one more.

797 3rd. -- Many of the customs that we were able to collect
831 are not in force, obviously, in those groups or among those individuals who are under the influence of the Catholic Missions. But the Missionaries themselves are the first to confess that the modifications of the ancestral customs that they achieve in the field of morality are the fruit of many exhortations, vigilance, and the frequency of the sacraments and religious practices.

/378 cont./

831 a) Concept of procreation and marriage.

842 The concept of procreation through the participation of the two sexes, and both among human beings and among animals, is known by everyone, even the children.

843 It seems, on the other hand, that the space of nine months as the gestation period is not likewise so well known (95).

[115] 95. A Tukano girl about 20 years old from S. Tomé, river Tiquié, answered us that the period of gestation was five months.

842 And they do not know how fecundation takes place or how the
843 fetus becomes animated and develops.

The most rigorous law of tribal exogamy is in force (VIII --
582 1, a (1) ). Marriage Between tribal "brothers and sisters" is considered bad and impossible (96).

[797] 96. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Paurí /Papurí or Papury/, Colombia, performed two marriages among Pirá-tapuyas who, through religious instruction, had liberated themselves from these prejudices and wanted each other as spouses. Nevertheless, there was great reaction from the Indians, who tried to burn the house of the Missionary. But, under the protection of the latter, the two couples continued to live in Teresita (1947) and with healthy children.

and a fortiori between blood brothers and sisters. If one asks them the reason for this prohibition they simply answer: -- "Because it is bad." /379/ Some add: -- "Because he will not have children," or: -- "Because the children will die."

/379 cont./

581 In marriage, they conceive the relations between husband and wife as natural, and, as the purpose of these relations, or, better, as the purpose of marriage, the procreation of children for the tribe.

836 They do not recognize, however, the exclusive right of one spouse over the other with regard to these relations. There is
837 then nothing to say about conjugal fidelity (97),

[115] 97. One of the Missionaries, with 30 years of residence among the Indians, in conversation with the author of this work, appeared impressed by episodes involving an individual who went so far as to abuse the wife of another, without this causing repulsion on the part of the husband or surprise on the part of the others.

just as there is nothing to be said about virginity (98)

[115] 98. In putting together a vocabulary, we noticed several significant facts. Many natives consulted by us, among them the most educated alumni of the Missions, could not find an equivalent for the Portuguese term fornicação /fornication/, that is, one which would express illegitimate sexual relations. They indicated the same terms as for the legitimate relations between the spouses, affirming positively that different terms for these diverse relations did not exist. Likewise they did not know of a word corresponding to the Portuguese adultério /adultery/, affirming, moreover, that
*[192] it does not exist in the Tukano language. The Veteran Missionary Pe. Pedro Kok, out of need for his ministry, created two terms descriptive of the act, that is, Wõakĩsé manapõ-tígo-ne and Wõakĩsé nõ'mõ-tígõ-ne, in order to express,

/379 cont./

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/footnote 98 cont./ respectively, adultery on the part of the man or of the woman. According to consultations held with nine persons of both sexes, in different places, the result is that these terms combined constituted an inexpressive redundancy. Wõãkĩe or Wõãkahĩe means simply relation of the sexes, without the qualification of legitimate or illegitimate by our Christian morals. The addition to the word Wõãkĩe of the specific term "with one who has a husband," manapõ-tigo-ne, or "with one who has a wife," nõ'mõ-tígõ-ne, does not give it the idea of illegitimacy, which the natives do not even comprehend. Just as there also does not exist in the Tukano language (and moreover in the other native idioms) a term corresponding to the concept of virginity. Already during our first stay among those tribes, in 1947, the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of one of the girls' schools of the Mission told us how some of the students, upon hearing so much talk about virginity, but having difficulty in learning this concept, came to ask her for more clarification.

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of the bride. Legally virginity can not exist, as will be seen below (VIII -- 1, b (7) ). The Catechesis, in referring to the Most Holy Virgin, Mother of God, uses in Tukano the Latin expression "Maria Virgo" /Virgin Mary/.

837

We thought at first (and so manifested) that the acts characterized by us as conjugal infidelities were not punished because the husband feared the vengeance of the rival or that his wife might leave him. We must change this opinion, in the face of numerous and categorical affirmations by natives of eight different tribes (Tukano, Taryana, Pirã-tapuya, Ipeka, Tuyuka, Barã, Desãna, and Wanãna), /380/ some of whom, well informed about

/380 cont./

837 other tribes, with whom they live in the same maloca or povoado, promised us that the same happens among all the tribes of this region.

881 After the individuals of both sexes have gone through the pu-
836 berty initiation, -- be they married or single -- sexual relations with a large number of persons of the tribe and, under some conditions, also with those of other tribes, and with the civilized themselves, are permissible for them.

833 They conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes (99)

[838] [881]

> 99. Male or female homosexualism, it seems, has always been regarded as something reprovable and, for this reason, always practiced secretly. Officially, as far as is reported, it only exists in the puberty rite of the boys.

as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse (100),

> 100. It is understandable that the relations, although legally permissible, might not always be prudent and thus are not practiced publicly. Such is the case for the individual who, having fought with the husband, does not touch his wife in his presence. This comes from positive information obtained.

just as the various physiological acts of eating, drinking, or anything else are performed in front of any person (101).

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> 101. Out of mixed feelings of distrust and hostility toward the civilized, or even because they know directly or indirectly that their morals condemn these liberties, they do not

/380 cont./

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/footnote 101 cont./ practice licit or illicit sexual relations in front of them. Perhaps, yes, in front of some who are better acquainted with them, and with whom they might have had relations. Cf. what will be said about the female initiation.

835

There is only one interdiction, but a strict one, against sexual relations (and the same for the different tribes that we mention in this study), those that take place between blood brothers and sisters, or brothers and sisters in the strict sense, that is, between children of the same parents. These, as well as relations between parents and children, take on a religious character, for this reason are licit, or even advisable and imposed in given circumstances (puberty rite, eclipse, new moon, caxiris, and in the clearing), and outside of that only secretly.

[833]

The woman, legally, can take the initiative in these relations, which happens frequently among single persons. In practice, especially between married persons, due to the feeling of inferiority which dominates her, the woman almost always waits for the invitation of the men. She can never, however, peremptorily refuse, even in the face of prostration of her physical state and the multiplicity of the suitors.

It must further be mentioned that the Australian Pirraúru is also in force among the Uaupesinos. That is, when the husband must /381/ go away, he invites one of his blood brothers (he is the first one designated, unless the husband has had a fight with him, as comes from the information) or a tribal brother to replace him in the habitual conjugal relations (102).

102. Two informants stated that it fell to the wife to invite this brother-in-law. It seems that this information may be based on events perhaps explained by the forgetfulness or sudden departure of the absent husband. The official notice to his substitute falls to him.

/381 cont./

835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

[115]
[797]

103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement.
851 Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrep-
847 ancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

/381 cont./

581 Marriage, then, in the regime that is in force among these tribes, is a social institution intended to ensure the perpetuity of the tribe. Its aim is not to consider the particular interests of the individuals: tendencies to perpetuate themselves, affectionate inclinations, sedatio concupiscentiae, or others. For this reason, in the realization of the matrimonial act, it would be more accurate to say of the matrimonial contract, the will of the individuals, which in the rest of native life has such an ample field, is not consulted. /382/ On the subject of marriage, one again has a great deal of evidence of the "absorption of the individuals by the group," which characterizes the tribes of the Uaupés. Almost every act of native practice gives confirmation that among them there are no individuals, there are only members, there are no persons, there are only cells of the social body. The individual's own will does not seem to know how to want anything except what the group wants!

b) Concept of modesty.

291 834 829 562 It is difficult to answer these three questions: 1st -- whether the Indian really has an idea of modesty; 2nd -- how he shows it, whether through clothes or paintings; 3rd -- which might be the delicate part.

In front of the civilized, the attitude of respect and circumspection that they show, especially the women, is remarkable. An attitude all the more perfected the more frequent their contact with the civilized.

While the men appear, with the utmost ease and without any shame, with only their "Waxsó-ro" or sex-cover in front of the whites, be these men or women, the Indian women nowadays only appear clothed, or at least with a skirt, rarely a short petticoat /Port. saiote/ or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/. Among themselves, however, they do not observe such circumspection. The civilized has many proofs that the woman has dressed in order

/382 cont./

291 562 834 829

to receive him (104):

> 104. In Montfort, river Papurí, an old woman, upon returning from the clearing dressed in a skirt and loaded with her aturá /carrying basket/ full of mandiocas, thinking that she was not observed, took off the skirt, jumped out of the canoe, washed the roots on the beach, and later, with the skirt in her hand, she proceeded toward her house, bending under the weight of the aturá.

Wallace already pointed that out a century ago. Many times, upon approaching unexpectedly, the civilized perceives a scurrying of women toward some dark corner of the maloca or to the neighboring forest, in order to get dressed. During the work in the clearing the women are ordinarily naked. Frequently they leave their skirts in the canoe, at the landing place on some stream where they disembarked in going to the clearing.

291 562

Many tribes went around completely naked, testify the first explorers, such as Padre Acuña (1637). The Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Pe. José M. de Noronha (1759), speaking about the Tecuna nation, writes: -- "Their women do not have any modesty. The males, however, cover the parts intended for generation, with wide fringes made out of thread twisted from certain white tow which they extract from the bark of wood" ("Roteiro /Logbook/," n. 139). *[192] The Poet Gonçalves Dias, who was a School Inspector in Amazonas, writes: -- "The men, who among them seem to be the most modest, wear on the Uaupés something like suspensories, to which they give the name of cueios, similar to or an imitation of the tocamboba: /383/ of the primitive Tupis. In imitation of them, the women also wear today some cueios of beads (puericueios)." (Manaus, October 23, 1861 -- Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas, Vol. II, p. 760.) /In the original source, the end of the last sentence of footnote 104 is repeated here as the last sentence of the paragraph. This sentence is omitted here in the translation./

/383 cont./

291 534 562 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

[115] 105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796] [302] As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are wom exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

178 562 292 106. We were informed by the natives themselves that, while the men at the feasts, besides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/383 cont./

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*[192]

/footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear Waxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament. Some persons declared to us that they had never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that the women always walked around destitute of clothing.

302 About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the
291 breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered
302 without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts
834 with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178] It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),

107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt.
[832] Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

/384 cont./

c) Extramarital incontinence.

831 The freedom with which the Indian deals with some subjects, with a realism at times crude, is well known. And this not only among themselves, but also with the civilized. Equally well known is the immorality of the conversation among themselves on trips, as in the interior of their malocas, in the hours of rest, interlaced with frequent and lewd laughter. There are not only ambiguous words in their vocabulary, but a whole assemblage of words and sentences of immoral caliber.

[521]

*[192] Moreover there are more than enough proofs of premarital and extramarital incontinence, Wõãkĩẽ, wõãkahĩẽ, yõãsé or ñõãsé (108).

108. Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, already revealed this in 1793: --"With respect to the two vices of incontinence and gluttony, vices so natural to the Indian people, that it seems that they have already stifled and destroyed all their freedom" (o. c., p. 499). The same was reported by Frei Gregório de Bene, Apostolic Missionary of the Uaupés from 1850 to 1852, explaining the reason why, especially in some places, he had to delay administering the sacraments.

1) Premarital liberties.

836 One notes some vigilance by the parents, especially the mothers (at least in front of the civilized), over the daughters who have reached a certain age. It is not enough, however, especially if the circumstances of their life, their works, and customs are considered. And a greater sexual impulse is manifested in the girls who have reached a certain physiological development,

/384 cont./
836 inducing them, not infrequently, to provocation (109)

[832]
[515]

109. While bathing, the girls agitate the water, with the hand cupped, from below upwards, with a characteristic noise. The boys respond to this signal by fanning their open hands in front of the chest, one higher than the other, so that they are crossed without meeting, and, since they are almost on the surface of the water, they produce a noise that is heard at a distance of two hundred meters or more. This provocative noise is called Pixtwasé.

*[192]

and invitation to the boys.

832 /385/ Although the old customs state that the bathing of the
836 women precedes that of the men and should be before the break of day, sometimes the Indians are surprised in mixed bathing
[515] during the warm hours of the day.

The young women prepare philters or potions, known by the
*[192] Nheengatú name of Puçanga (in Tukano Ox-kó), which they give
[278] to the young men to drink in order to attract them to them; or, in front of their eyes, they wear or rub on themselves roots and plants to which is attributed an aphrodisiac virtue.

842 The cases of illegitimate pregnancy of maidens are not rare,
847 although they know (110)
848

110. We had gathered for the "centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté some plants considered as sterilizing and abortive. While organizing the herbarium, some identifying labels fell off. We called on three maidens, and with the greatest facility, upon seeing the plants, they indicated the name and the purpose, exactly as was stated on the labels.

842 /385 cont./
847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach these methods.

The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkákõ (literally it means
848 "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
*[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother (111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkákõ brother.

581 It is considered shameful to have children at once in the
842 first year of marriage, Pe. Humberto Limpens of Acuaricuara,
183 river Paca, informed us. They want children only two or three years after the marriage, and this is also the interval between
[797] children. A demonstration that this is artificial is given by the good Christian mother, alumna of the Mission, with successive children and at once from the first year. One understands the
[462] difficulty of the native mother who, besides the care and nursing of the child, is pressed with the work of the house and of the clearing, if she does not have the help of older daughters.

/385 cont./

563 Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

[115]

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113. In Urubucuara and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Antônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Taryana, later married a Wanana.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114)

114. Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

881 In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has
833 theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the pajé or Kõmũ and with another young man
[756] of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).

/386 cont./

881 All these premarital relations (115)

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*[192]

115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b) ), and her fiancé, Mã-ra-põ nỹãkhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

[628]

The Makú maidens and women, while they are working for the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

567 831 648

When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian individuals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

588 628 648 833 881

The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

588 835

/387 cont./

628 At times there are individuals of different tribes participat-
831 ing in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual
648 liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors.

[574]

592 In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem
582 obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an
836 open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage
797 are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

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582 /387 cont./
797 /footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian
836 Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpens /sic/.)

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papuri) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacuris, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxiri, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

/388 cont./

831
[797]

/footnote 120 cont./ only be applied, obviously, to the Christian Indians, instructed in Christian morals; but not at all to the others.

that it is bad, ya'ĩ, and, on the other hand, are very full of shame (?), for this reason they try to hide their miseries and become intoxicated in order to act with more freedom."

[115] They are not embarrassed, however (confirmed another veteran and equally well-deserving Montfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Limpens, of Acuaricuara, who has spent almost 40 years among those tribes), about the immoral occurrences in these circumstances. Sometimes they even boast of them as being conquests.

As a conclusion from the testimony and inquiries made in various circumstances and in different places among the most reliable individuals in them, we can affirm that they judge licit, good, and recommended the sexual relations during the caxiris, as well as those that we characterize as incestuous (121).

[835]

121. Incest by the father with his own daughters is narrated in the legend of the mysterious instruments. And the same is found in other legends. We did not hear, in the legends, about cases of concubinage between "blood brothers and sisters" or brothers and sisters by the same parents. It seems that this does cause them horror.

They even take on, according to what they think and testified, a religious character. As a matter of fact, some informants answered that these sexual liberties used to take place "for the good fortune of the tribe," "in order that the clearing would yield better."

/388 cont./

831 Confirming this opinion is, first, the fact that the relations
833 during the caxiri must take place on the ground, outside the maloca (122),

> 122. When they are more intoxicated and excited, they also violate this custom, relations taking place even inside the maloca. So reported some of the natives.

and that in some tribes the woman must first kiss the ground; whereas the ordinary relations take place inside the maloca and in the hammock.

[241] Another confirmation of this sacred character, it seems to
[835] us, is the opinion that they regard as good and recommended the relations, even incestuous ones, when the women go to the clearing. The relations are even compulsory when it is a matter of a new clearing to which the woman is going for the first time.

[821] Finally, the religious character of the public incestuous
[835] relations is further documented by the circumstance of their indication on the occasion of the new moon and lunar eclipses.

One can conclude, then, that sexual liberties in these cir-
831 cumstances, incestuous or not, have the character of a rite in connection with /389/ the fertility of the soil and of nature in general. We have, thus, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the notion and practice of the intichiuma, which is also in force among other human groups, that is, sexual liberties are magic ceremonies in order to guarantee the reproduction of the animal or vegetable nature. They are, by the way, very common practices, proclaiming lunar beliefs and cults of matriarchalist origin.

And they constitute, in turn, proof of the religious character of their feasts.

/389 cont./

864 d) Sexual education.

With regard to this subject, the precocity of the children, especially of the female sex, is remarkable. It surprises us to see how individuals who on the outside still look like children are subjected to the rite of the puberty initiation (see photo).

How much they appear to know is an even greater surprise. Children still quite young know perfectly all the mystery of life, like any adult.

[797] The girls enter the mission schools at seven or eight years of age, and at this age they not infrequently reveal full knowledge [581] of this subject. Sometimes the thought that already absorbs and preoccupies them is that of marriage, a Missionary Sister Superior revealed to us. They talk of that often, and perhaps they might already even know whom they are going to marry, according to the customs of the tribe and the desires of the parents.

The school of this discipline -- is the maloca with its regime of life, where there are no partitions between the families, where all the licentiousness takes place before the eyes of all and thus the intimate life of each one is known by all. According to the information obtained, the mother herself will give explanations to the daughters and will teach them the sterilizing and abortive resources.

[276] For example, in the intimacy of the malocas or huts during [593] the warm hours of the day, destitute of any clothing at all, the husband will not infrequently amuse himself by blowing the smoke from his cigar over his wife's body. We say he amuses himself, because he does it amidst noisy laughter, as we were able to hear, without excluding the fact that they admit some magic virtue in this rite.

831 The nudity, especially along with the dirtiness, appears somewhat repugnant. Besides, the psychological axiom "ab assuétis non fit pássio" /passion does not arise from what one is accustomed to/ is quite true. And so the influence of the nudity seems somewhat attenuated.

/389 cont./

831 Perhaps, however, nudity alternating with periods in which
291 they are clothed, always renewing the degenerating action of the nudity, aggravates this state of things. Thus their own clothes become transformed into excitation, especially some poorly fitted to the body.

192 /390/ One will not be surprised, then, that on this ground
838 thrive, moreover, unnatural habits, such as masturbation (swesé,
839 pa-daresé, dará-ỹãsé, bestiality (dyayõ-mẽra wõrátise (123),

123. Dyayõ-mẽra wõãrátise means, properly speaking, intercourse-with-dog, perhaps because of being the only form of bestiality that they practice.

sodomy (ná-sirotúse), homosexualism, male (õ'mã-se'saró) (124)

124. It is to be lamented that some of these episodes take place in the piassava groves, in which groups of young men spend months, often in the company of the civilized, engaged in the extraction of the piassava, or other products, in places far from their povoados and where only once a month, if that often, a launch comes to bring merchandise ("aviamento" /preparation, provision/ they say) for their food, etc.

and female (nũ'myó se'saró), and pederasty. And it seems that similar acts are verified even where the instinctive natural satisfaction is possible.

5) Conclusion.

000 In conclusion, grave degeneration of the customs is verified among these tribes, in contrast with the so-called "primitive" peoples.

648 /390 cont./

466 Nowadays more or less numerous and frequent groups of Indians, men and women, are taken, especially the single ones, for the extraction of the cuquirana, balata, chicle, rubber, Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," various species of trees yielding edible nuts/, piassava, in both Brazilian and Colombian territory, or as sailors for the launches. They see, hear, and practice vices and immoralities (125).

[837] [797]

125. The Missionary was scolding a Christian Indian from Urubucuara, river Uaupés, because, in spite of being married, he was living with another woman. And when he reminded him of the commandment of God, he heard from the Indian this expression, certainly learned from some civilized: -- "Commandment does not hurt."

166 One observes a tendency to go down to S. Gabriel (present city of Uaupés) and Tapurucuara. To Manaus, not so much. So far nostalgia periodically brings them to the natal places. How long will this state of things last? The known cases of venereal

164 diseases are very rare, although the legends already allude to them. This rarity is perhaps explained by the simple spontaneous malario-therapy (cf. VII - 2, e (4 i) ).

It is certain that for centuries they have been in more or less frequent and enduring contact with the civilized. It is difficult to determine whether some responsibility falls on them in such a state of things, and up to what point. The problem is serious.

797 One also understands from this that there cannot always be good harmony in the relations between the Missionaries who live among the Indians, trying to bring them to the bosom of civilization and to the practice of /391/ Christian truth and morals (126).

126. The difficulty that the Missionary faces in order to implant Christian morals is great.

/391 cont./

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/Footnote 126 cont./ Pe. Antônio Giacone recalls: "This belief (immortality of the material life, VII-2, e (1) ) makes them almost insensitive and apathetic to the teachings of the eternal truths. They abandon with difficulty the corruption in which they live" ("Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," p. 31).

and some civilized person who, for other reasons (perhaps in contraposition to those of the Missionaries), appears or resides around those regions. Which is the truly humane and patriotic attitude? What will the responsible persons decide?

6. Feasts and Amusements.

a) Feasts or Caxirís.

527

1) Caxiri. We have presented the "poosé" or Wãx-tĩye baxsá (in the Língua Geral, Dabacurí) as a religious rite. It does not seem, however, that all their feasts and dances are religious ceremonies. Rather, some evidently are simple entertainments and are called pêru-sĩrĩrĩ-nãmã̃ (Uaupés, pêru-sĩnĩ-nã̃mã̃) or caxiri (in the Língua Geral) (127).

*[192]

127. This is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg (cf. Zwei Jahre, p. 372; cf. Note 39 /see p. 502/, VII-4 e) 2 a 2nd).

Actually, in some cases they are almost improvised; any reason at all, or even a simple request by a civilized visitor, is enough for a feast. Participation in such dances is not required; but, while some pass the time entertaining themselves, the others remain seated on the small seats or lying in the hammocks, talking and laughing, and at times making fun of those who are dancing, because of some inaccuracy in the movements.

/391 cont./

527 Some of these dances are strictly familial amusements, in
535 which only those of the family (maloca or house) participate, and there are no invitations to strangers. For others, strangers to the family are also invited, without, however, the importance or the number of participants of the "Poosé."

[273] Corresponding to the importance of such entertainments will also be the preparation, the ornaments, the paintings, and the quantity of the drinks, Pẽru (caxirí, see VI - 4, h). The latter will never be missing; the ornaments might be missing, or they might use the simpler ones. Once the feast starts, it goes on uninterruptedly until the drink is finished. Those who are overcome by sleep doze a little, but, barely awake, they continue to dance. It is a
[562] question of pride and conceit, for the persons of the two sexes, to show the greater endurance.

*[192] 2) "Bayá." -- At the dances, both in the Dabacurís and outside of them, appears a personage of distinction, called Bayá. Almost /392/ always he will have an official assistant, with the name of baya-re we-tamõgõ (helper of the Bayá).

The position of Bayá is a lifetime one, in which the son almost always succeeds him, because he learns with his own father, for whom, perhaps, he was already the official assistant. The function of Bayá might be put together with that of tuxáua or wyogõ. This is the case for Júlio from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié); for Vicente, Desana from the Umari-igarapé, for Henrique, Tuyuka from the stream of the onça /jaguar/ (trib. of the Tiquié), for Mandú, Makú from the vicinity of Iauareté, etc. There are no examples, however, of its having been exercised by the pajé.

It falls to the Bayá to direct the songs and dances at the feasts, both religious and profane. He must, then, know them very well and be zealous about the exactness of the dances, teaching them to the younger generation and correcting the mistakes. And we have seen him exercise with authority and grace his function as master of ceremonies in solemn dabacurís.

*[192] When he is not the tuxáua, he ordinarily will be one of the ko-mũ (see VII - 2, e (3) ), and to him falls the first place immediately beside the tuxáua. Like the latter, he will have the most

/392 cont./

527 beautiful ornaments, and in certain dance numbers, in the right
535 hand, the "yu-yú" (see below, dances, 5th part), the significance of
*[192] which it was not possible for us to obtain. It consists of a small stick, having on the tip a cord from whose end hangs a loop of cipo about 15 centimeters in diameter. Cord and loop are decorated with delicate and striking tucano /toucan/ feathers. With this instrument he "beats time for the dances," that is, he shakes it rhythmically, more or less as the conductor who directs an orchestra does with his baton.

*[192] 3) Variety of dances. -- One does not notice variety in the dance steps; they are precisely the same for the most solemn Poosé as for the simplest baxsarí-nãmã (literally it means dance day).

527 There are no distinct terms equivalent to song and dance. The
533 word baxsasé translates their ideas, because they always sing during
535 the dances; and the words correspond to the rhythm of the feet and to the choreography of the movements executed.

They distinguish varieties of baxsasé, according to the musical instrument that they use; each one will have its lyrics or song. In the religious dances they are words or sounds articulated without any meaning, and they are repeated many times for the duration of the movement of the steps. The tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira,
[115] Júlio Silgueira Machado, declared to us, and many others with him, that they do not understand what they are singing.

They also vary the melodies, which are ordinarily slow, sad, although some might be pleasant and quite melodious. For /393/ this reason different names for the dances, sometimes even poetic names, appear.

[184] In different tribes we have verified the similarity in the feasts, the same ornaments and instruments. One must point out this detail: the melodies of the instrumental music are almost identical, whereas those of the song-dances differ a little more. In the steps of the dances one does not perceive any difference from tribe to tribe. That is, even in the two extremes of the native Uaupésina hierarchy, to wit, the noble tribe of the Tukano, and the slave tribe of the Makú from the outskirts of Iauaretê.

535 The tuxáua-bayá Júlio gave us the following names of dances that are performed in the most solemn Poosé:

/393 cont./

*192
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1st. With the rhythm tube or ahũwõ:
Ixki pũrĩ bõrõasé baxsá -- song-dance "the falling of the leaves of the inajá" or
Ixki pũrĩ baxsá -- "song-dance of the leaf of the inajá."

2nd. With the maracá or yaxsã (ya'sá or ñaxsã):
pexká baxsá -- "song-dance of the firewood"
ka'i baxsá -- "song-dance of the mass of the umarí"
kenõ baxsá -- "song-dance of the jatobá."

3rd. With a simple rhythm stick or yuxkõ:
Poori baxsá -- "song-dance of the offering" (of the dabacurí)
wai baxsá -- "song-dance of the fish"
Wãx-tiá baxsá -- "song-dance of the Wãx-tĩ."

4th. With the small flute called bwá (cotias /agoutis/):
bwá baxsá -- "song-dance of the cotias."

115
533

Júlio, the tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), sang for us the various songs whose words or articulations we give in the following, revealing once more that all the "verses" were repeated many times (128).

[126]

128. We lament not having had a recording machine at the time when this tuxaua, with the best state of mind, furnished us this information. Later, in the possession of such apparatus, we went twice to Parí-cachoeira, where we waited for a long time for the opportunity of listening to him and recording his songs. It was not possible, however; the old Tuxáua was in the last months of his life, afflicted, it seems, with an internal ulcer, dying on July 5, 1954. We were able, however, to witness and film the solemn funeral of a highly esteemed Tuxáua. We nevertheless obtained other precious recordings, and, among these, the various songs of the Wanana, performed by the tuxáua Mandú from Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and of the pajés of various tribes (cf. the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/).

*192 /394/
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[124]
[126]

1. Song-dance with the rhythm tube, ahĩ-wõ: 1st part (129):

129. We have tried to be quite accurate in the reproduction of the sounds. According to what seemed to follow from the pronunciation of Júlio, we separated the words and differentiated the verses. It might be that some separation has been the fault of the singer. And they commit it many times, taking a breath or breathing unduly between articulations that should be connected, and vice versa. We have verified, with singers from other places, even though they repeat Júlio's melody, that there is not perfect agreement with the articulated sounds that we publish here. This fact should not be surprising, if we recall that they learn by hearing and that the articulated sounds are without meaning. When one pays close attention, it is noted that in the same dance there is not strict agreement among the dancers. A little difference in the beat and discrepancy in the articulated sounds are observed.

Yá, yá, kapikwá
Yaká perí kapikwá
Nuyaká perí
Dwíká pẽrí deyú deyú ayá
I iroyé.
Mã i-i, i-i-i (final whistle) (he explained that the whistle is to indicate that he is about to finish)

2nd part

Mã-ri-á i-i-i (whistle)
Dẽ-yá ya-yõ mari
Ikawẽ yo
Yóa mari ikawẽ yó
Yó mari ikawẽ dyakó
Dyakú i-i
Yõ yõ yõ mari
Kawẽ mari i-i-i (whistle)

/394 cont./

3rd part

*192
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539

Mã i-i, i-i-i (whistle)
Yéé marwé kaná
Kawá do mariwí akawó-ro
Mariwi mariwí akawó-ro
Yé mariwi a-a-a akawó inawé
A mariwi a-a-a akawó inawé
Yuú kawá inawé
Yuú kawá inawé uu uu
Mari mari
Mari akawá inawé mari i-i-i (whistle)

2. Song-dance with the yaxsã (large maracá)
Ee-yá éeyá má

/395/

Dyaká a pi kapi
Wamá kapi kapi yuamá
Ya mari wemã a-á kapi kapi
Ya kapi nemã yá wamã
Kapi kapi nemã ya wamã
Ye kapi kapi nemã wamã
Ey-á ey-á (whistle)

3. Song-dance with the yaxsã in the other dances (outside the poosé)
Dyá yá i-i-i dyá yá i-i-i
Yé a marikẽna
Mariwé mariwé ya mariwé
Marikenõ ka-yá yá
Marikenõ mariwé marikenõ mariwé
Mariwé mariwé mariwé
Marikenõ ka-yá (he lowers his voice, very low sounds)
Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i
Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i (he observes to us that this song ends without whistles)

4. Song-dance with the rhythm stick, yuxkõ
Yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
Yé kapité
Mari kwá yá kuyá-yari
Kapité mari kwá yakoró yalima

/395 cont./

*192 Koró dikúya ayá kwá-yarí
533 Kapité marí apinã
Kapité marí kapité marí kuyá-yá kuya-arí
539 Kapité marí kuyá-yá yá yá-yá (whistle)

5. Song-dance with the yuxkõ (130)

[171]

130. These sounds Perikuli (7th) and kwai (5th) are precisely the names of the principal personages of the Arwáke legends, corresponding, respectively, to Bũxpó and O'ã-kõ of the Tukano legends. Would it be a mere coincidence of sounds in different languages? Would they be Arwáke songs learned by the tribes of the Tukano group? Might all the dances of these tribes be of Arwáke origin?

Yá yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
E yá yá perikú êê perikwê
Yaká yõ kayó yuaí
Yá piré-ku-li nomé-nõ
Perikwé pyaká wamé tyá
Pamí kwai peri-dikú êê yó
Perí-ku-li yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)

/396/

6. Song-dance with the yuxkõ

Ma dyá pa-wõ (whistle)
Dyá diká apyá kapí akapyá
Kapí pawí diká yukú kapyá
Kapyá dewá yukú
Wapyá yukú deyé-wé
Kapyá kapí pawí dewá yukú
Kapyá kapí pawí dewá jukú
Wapí-a yukú nomã-a yaví
Wapí yá yú mã-di-yá
Wapí yá yú mã-di-yá
Sawé sawé (whistle)

/396 cont./

*192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mamã kapinã
539 Perikũ yaví-i-i davyá (Yaví = long, slim?)
Davyá yavi
Davi kawá-á nomã yavi-nõ
Davi kawá yaú; davi kawá yaú.
Kapiná perikúli
Davyá yavi yú
Kawá-yavyá mã-ã-ã (he blows the flute at length)

[115] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
[534] (For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yẽ-ẽ dyá yakẽ mari
Kemẽ maryé-é
Kemẽ maryé-é kenani
Wekã-ni kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kenã yá marỹé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpekã ané
Wekã-re kenani wekã-re
Kená tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

535 a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple
[115] amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

535 Mandú (131)

237 131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in
301 pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare
[291] for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

/397 cont./

535 wore on his head a wide acangatara /head ornament/ with arara
237 feathers; a wig with braids of monkey skin and with two long, red
301 arara feathers and an onça /jaguar/ bone. From the wig, leaning toward each ear, there was a long, white heron feather. Hanging over the back the cangatá, a cord with tucano /toucan/ feathers. Also on the wig, close to the nape, the crest, or rectangular woven piece with long heron feathers. On the neck three long necklaces of beads and a necklace of seeds with the stone of command. From the ears, earrings made out of a burnished half of a gun cartridge.
[302] As painting on the forehead, a red semicircle turned upward and a large cross from the neck to the waist (132),

[123] 132. At a dance that we attended in the maloca of the Tuyuka in the igarapé of the Onça /jaguar/, upper Tiquié, from the painting of the Kõmũ resulted a cross on the face with a broad stroke from the forehead along the nose and upper lip, and the arms of the cross curved upward almost in a semicircle.

also in the color red. On the left elbow, a bracer of monkey skin. In the form of a belt, over the buttocks, a necklace of teeth, to which he later attached two branches of that magic and intensely
*[192] aromatic shrub called bará. In the course of the dance he fitted to the right ankle a necklace of seeds (Kixtyõ).

Marcelino wore a small, denticulated wreath of fine straw, with yellow down from the arara; at the nape the crest with white plumes and a long feather surrounded by a string of colorful plumes. On the left elbow the armband of monkey skin. Hanging at the back, braids of monkey skin decorated with arara down.

*192 b) Execution. A small rehearsal took place in order to verify whether the japurutús /long flutes/ were in tune with each other, as
534 well as the cariços /Panpipes/. A little caxiri was drunk.

The tuxaua executed the yaí-gõ paasé, that is, he made the
534 rhythm stick, called "stick-of-the-onça /jaguar/," decorated with
535 feathers, vibrate several times on the right muscle of the arm. He
*[192] took some steps in rhythm with the pestle-tube of imbauba, and he

/397 cont./
534 took up a position in front of the second post at the left, in the
535 /398/ central nave (133).

[342]

133. Their rectangular maloca, although not of large dimensions, corresponded to a division of five naves: the central high nave, under the ridge, two side spaces, and, along the side walls, the space reserved for the families. It is to be noted, however, that there is no interior partition between family and family.

The men imitated his steps and, on his left, formed an open semicircle.

*[192] 1st Part: Each one places the left hand on the right shoulder of the companion (Pá-bwasé is the Tukano name for this gesture). They execute some rhythmic beats with the pestle-tube (it is what is called yuxkõ-mẽra doxkesé) and some steps with the right foot forward and back (du'tisé). Then the line moves (nikã-ká eheanõ-kátyãra baxsasé) to the right and to the left until the circumference is closed, making some turns from the left to the right (sũtõasé) (134).

134. They explained to us that they are imitating the bavarí fish, which, before depositing its eggs, makes a few turns.

533 At the same time the men slowly sing unintelligible words, with a
535 frequent burden in which are sounded many times the syllables "paia-paia." The rhythm is accelerated at the end, and a cry and a heavy stroke with the rhythm tubes end the first part. During this
[562] part the women remained seated in conversation near the door, to the left of anyone who enters (135).

[123]

135. We, the three civilized observers, were to be found on the opposite side, at the right.

/398 cont./

533 535 *[192] 2nd Part: Position taken, as in the first part. The left hand on the right shoulder. The dance starts with an accelerated rhythm, a sharp cry and loud whistle (Wyisé) (136).

136. I had found it strange that up to then I had not heard the Indians whistle, when I always expected to hear them whistling in the forest, on walks, on trips, when they were rowing, and there was only silence or conversation in a discreet tone.

*[192] Afterwards the singing takes a slow rhythm, the syllables "kapii-kapii" being heard frequently in the burden. A circle from the right broken up by another from the left. *[192] The women start entering, one by one: the first one places herself to the left of the tuxaua, with the nape she touches his left arm (yohoasé), extended to the right shoulder of the neighbor, and she embraces by the waist the two men between whom she is located. Thus successively. They give only two complete turns, and the women leave. The dance ends with an accelerated rhythm of the singing, of the steps, and with a final whistle. Then follow minutes of rest and of caxirí.

[534] 3rd and 4th Parts: These are numbers in which only the younger ones participate, playing the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/ (3rd part) or the japurutú (4th part), /399/ with an interval during which they smoke and drink caxirí. These intermezzo numbers are very pleasant. Each young man brings his instrument, which harmonizes well with the others, one of them playing the contracanto, or response to the theme that the first one plays. These themes are very melodic short canons, in a florid scale, with ascending and de-*[192] scending notes. Sometimes the young men only dance, and then they go in pairs, the one on the right a little farther behind, holding his instrument with the right hand and, with the left one, the right shoulder of the other (pábwasé), who also plays his own instrument and has the left hand on the hip. Upon reaching the back, they make an evolution and exchange positions, the right one coming in front, with the left hand on the hip, and his companion farther back, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the first one.

/399 cont./

*192 If there are also women, the couples are arranged in such a way
535 that the young man holds the instrument with the right hand, and,
with the left hand above his own shoulder (it is what is called
[534] iñatusé), he holds the right hand of the girl, who rests her left hand
on her own waist (pá-su'sũsé). The dancers start with only the men
advancing toward the interior of the maloca, and, as snappers, a
necklace of small tucum nuts on the right ankle in order to mark the
rhythm. They go around in a circle, one after the other, to the
right, then in the opposite direction to the left; then, opening the
circle wider, they advance four times with the right foot toward the
center, and they come back to the initial position. When the
young men decide to walk, their companions present themselves.
The couples are arranged. Sometimes the couples, one after the
other, make evolutions describing the number eight (baxsá-mãhãmi
betoá) or a spiral (baxsá sõ'tõá) to the right or to the left. At other
times they are arranged in circles that become elongated or tighter,
they turn to the right or to the left. During this entire evolution,
they mark the rhythm with a stronger stroke with the right foot
*192 (dõ'pó-tisé). The women withdraw before the ending. The per-
formances always end with a fortissimo of all the instruments.
533 They are very pleasant melodies, but not infrequently the evo-
535 lutions are so prolonged that they seem to be a contest of endurance.
The spectators watch complacently from their hammocks, laughing
and making comments, probably about the inaccuracy of the steps
of the clumsier ones.

5th Part: While these numbers were displayed, one of the
dancers went to prepare the "Yu'yúri-tiró." The tuxaua with his
rhythm tube takes his position, and this time the men are dis-
tributed symmetrically on his right and on his left, in a semicircle.
They start with an accelerated rhythm, then whistle, a slow dance
following, to the singing of a funeral song. One of the Indians
brings two yu'yú and gives /400/ one of them to the tuxaua, who is
also the Bayá, the other to the latter's brother, bayá-re wetamõgõ,
who is immediately to the left of the tuxaua. They hold the

/400 cont./

533 yú-yú with the left hand, and with the right one they beat the
535 rhythm tube.
*[192]

The yu-yú of the dances

Tobacco form

*[192] The dancers are divided into two groups, who execute the movement by advancing and retreating (baxsá poterí), one in front of the other. Afterwards they place themselves in line, each one with his lady, describing circles. They again divide themselves into two groups, who advance and retreat. Now they turn their backs to one another, always with advances and retreats. It seems that the new song consists of several verses, each one ending with cries and whistles. At given moments some say words in a loud voice, just as the caller of square dances does. Would they be ceremonial words or a simple command for the evolutions to be performed? The women, finally, leave the dance, and the men continue in Indian file, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the preceding one. This file goes to describing circles, stopping from time to time, always, however, singing and beating the rhythm with the strokes of the rhythm tube.

[562] 6th Part: Performed only by the men, as in the first part.
[273] After this part, one of the dancers advances in order to distribute
[276] the caxirí with a cuia in each hand, mumbling some words and stamping the right foot harder, in a winding progression, like that of the snake. He gives one cuia to the tuxaua and the other to the most important person. The second time he brings some to two more, and thus to everyone. Also the long cigar of leaves goes from mouth to mouth.

/400 cont./

*192 7th Part: The tuxaua ties to his right ankle a necklace of dry
533 nuts (kixtyó). He then takes a position with his rhythm tube. The
534 men are arranged on his right and on his left, each one with his
535 rhythm tube in the right hand and the left one on his neighbor's
right shoulder. The yu'yús are brought to the tuxaua and to his
/401/ neighbor. It starts with a rhythm of strokes and steps in the
same place, cry, whistle, and afterwards a funeral song in
pianissimo, which goes crescendo slowly, while they move some
steps to the right and to the left. They stop sometimes to take a
step inside the circle and another backwards and to the side. This
part was more prolonged, and the syllables "tyúko-malía" were
heard many times in the burden. The group of dancers go outside
the maloca, in the yard of which they perform the same steps as
inside (yohá-wihyá). They come back again to the maloca, the
*[192] women abandon their position. At the finish there were only the
men, who, after a small evolution, take the initial position, in a
semicircle, and end the singing with small jumps (bu'pusé) and
somewhat comical cries.

5) Wanãna song-dances.

115 The Wanãna Tomás Paiva, oldest son of Mandú, the present
(1957) tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and his probable
533 successor, confirmed that the ritual songs were "ancient language,"
and, for this reason, they did not understand them. Through the
desire to learn them well, and to maintain the old traditions, he
tried to make inquiries from his father, esteemed local tuxáua-
bayá, and from the "elders," and to write about them. There
might perhaps be about 45 songs, he told us. We are of the opinion
that this number would cover not only the songs, but indeed all the
parts or verses; or perhaps even the repetitions of one and the same
part or verse. It happened, however, that when he went to work
as a carpenter in Venezuela those in his house used his writings for
cigarette paper.

*192 With the collaboration of another Wanãna, Maximiano from
534 Sá, he indicated to us the following order for the dances:

535 1st Dance -- with the bwá flute, hence the name bwá baxsá
[115]

/401 cont./

*192 (dance of the cotias /agouti/) (137).

534

535

137. A big feast was held in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaúpés) on the 24th and 25th days of April of 1955, with the participation of about 250 persons of both sexes and of all ages and representatives of various tribes, especially Wanãna, Kubêwana, and Huhúdene (the latter from the Arwáke group, from Uaupuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana). During this feast the first dance numbers were to the sound of the bwá. They were small taquara flutes of about 30 centimeters in length by about two in diameter, only one side opening, at about 10 centimeters from the mouthpiece, which was vertical. The lower part of these fifes ended with two small sticks of taquara, with two points or horns (perhaps symbolizing the teeth of the cutia /agouti/). As a decoration on this flute there were two strings of white plumes, tied to the flute by the upper extremity and free at the other extremity. In certain dance numbers some individuals would throw their flute to the ground, picking it up immediately afterwards.

In the interval between the verses or parts, the dancers /402/ sound their flutes. It consists of four parts, that is: 1st) õnõfla baxsá (song-dance of the carajurú /carajura/); 2nd) pĩnó baxsá (song-dance of the snake); 3rd) kaxpí baxsá (song-dance of the Caapí); 4th) no-phĩ baxsá (song-dance of the hook for collecting fruits).

2nd Dance -- with the rhythm tube, ahũ-wõ̃ (in Wanãna wanẽ (138).

138. During this same feast of the Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, the rhythm tubes, measuring approximately a meter in length and 10 centimeters in diameter, were painted white (with sorva), having a black lower bar of about 10 centimeters and the handle, by which it is held, decorated with a crest of hawk feathers in the shape of a Greek epsilon.

x 192 /402 cont./
535 It also consists of several parts, the principal ones are: sawároa baxsá (song-dance of the water lizard); ahũ-a baxsá (song-dance of the beijú); ki baxsá (song-dance of the mandioca).

3rd Dance -- with the maracá, yaxsã. It is called pwá baxsá (pwá is the name of a fish that the Wanãna call ñũxkwãna in their idiom). All the men, from the beginning to the end of this long dance, shake the maracá continually and rhythmically with the right hand (the left one holds his own lady by the shoulder, and the latter embraces him by the waist). They also rhythmically sound a whistle of two tubes, which they will let hang from the neck when they must sing. It is the most interesting number of the native dances that we have attended. They first do a movement outside in the yard, then they enter the house, and, after a few minutes of choreography inside, they again go to the dance yard. There is an evolution in a row, which little by little closes into a circle, which now becomes tighter, now larger. At a given moment the pairs of dancers, each man with his lady, are arranged in a column turned toward the east, later in the opposite direction, toward the west. Thus arranged in a column, the last pair goes zigzagging between the other pairs, from the penultimate one to the first one, as if they were sewing. They explained that it is the "dance of the harvest of the caroá" (fiber that is used as fishing line). When their evolution is finished, the last pair returns to their initial position, and then the pair from the other end, that is, the first one, does the same stitching and returns to their position. It falls, now, to the penultimate pair to do the movement, and then to the second one, and thus all the pairs pass by, in turn, performing the stitching or the harvest of the caroá. During this they vibrate only the whistles and the maracá. At other times during this dance there is also singing.

4th Dance -- called "Bwá of the night," because night has already fallen. They again go out, as homage to the night and
[821] to the moon, /403/ muhĩ-pũ (said Tomás Paiva). The tunes vary for these songs, all of which are composed of several parts, with many repetitions.

/403 cont./

533 6) Songs of the women.

562 We have already observed (cf. VII -- 3, c (2 b) ) that the songs of the women are profane, or, with more accuracy, bacchic songs; that is, they regularly sing them when they distribute the caxirí, or in the intervals when they take their drink. Besides being more lively, there are more varied themes than in the religious songs of the men. Another quite striking difference is that, while the latter nowadays are articulations without any meaning, those of the women present a clear meaning. They are recitatives of longer or shorter sentences, with opportune arguments and allusions to her own person or to the one with whom she is having the dialogue.

By the law of exogamy, in one and the same povoado there are women of the tribe of the local inhabitants, and of one or more different tribes, taken as wives. And, by chance, in transit or out walking, still others, their relatives or "sisters." For this reason [184] and also because of the frequency of the dabacurís with the participation of dancers from different tribes, one and the same song might be known and performed by women of various tribes. There follows from this the difficulty in determining from which tribe the melody of a song might originally have come. The question, properly speaking, is about the melody, and not the lyrics. Because, as we have said, the latter is a timely recitative which the singer can say in her own idiom or in that of her husband or of the tribe where the poosé is held. And since nowadays the Tukano language is becoming generalized, many times it will be in thât idiom; just as the songs that we recorded are actually in Tukano, although performed by young women not only from the Tukano group of tribes, but even by a maiden of the Arwáke group, from the Kumãdene tribe.

b) Amusements.

000 The Indian leads a life in contact with the majestic and silent nature of the Amazon forest, cut by innumerable streams. This explains to us why he appears so strong, agile, cheerful, although reserved.

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481 He almost daily walks great distances through the forest, to his clearing, which not infrequently is located several kilometers away from the maloca, or to hunt or to search for fruits. The woman, besides the great movement inside the maloca, which is forced on her by the preparation of the food, will take a long walk through the forest almost every day /404/ to reach her clearing, where, in the sun, she will walk three or four hours without stopping. There is no mountain climbing, because the region, in gen-
[526] eral, is flat. Gymnastic exercises or corporal contests, such as in other human groups, are not known (139).

> 139. We have seen children who, playing, seize one another as though it were for open wrestling, without, however, throwing the companion to the ground.

492 And horseback riding is known just as little. There are as yet no horses around these altitudes, even for use by the civilized.

The sports practiced daily are the aquatic ones, that is, swim-
481 ming and rowing. In the morning, before daybreak, everyone,
515 without exception, goes to the river, a short distance from the maloca or povoado, and takes his bath. Even the babes in arms are taken along by the mothers and bathed. This bath is quick, one immersing oneself in the water three or four times and passing the hand over the body. Sometimes they steady themselves by the arms on some canoe tied up, and kick the feet in the water. Later, at midday, that is, during the warm hours, when they come back perspiring from the forest or from the clearing, they take another bath. This frequency at the river makes everybody learn how to swim. They swim well, but without much endurance. They never cross great distances by swimming. Perhaps no one would even swim a hundred meters for mere exercise.

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481 One of the aquatic amusements of the children is the one
524 called Wãx-tĩ-wãx-kõ, the son of Wãx-tĩ, an obvious reference
*[192] to the legend of Nhamacurú (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"). To wit: two children placed one in front of the other, with the arms toward the back, immerse themselves in the water simultaneously. Moments later, emerging at the same time, they embrace each other quickly. Then, again with the arms to the back, they immerse themselves, in order to emerge again, embrace each other, and sink into the water. This is done a certain number of times, until they become tired, and the entertainment ceases.

501 Another frequent exercise is that of rowing. From childhood
868 on, from about three or four years of age perhaps, they learn how to row and have their small oars. Not infrequently a child alone or two go rowing and travel kilometers from their own home.
[226] Many times it is the children who row, while the men attend to fishing from the canoe. This habit gives them surprising skill
[147] and endurance. They are capable of rowing ten or more hours a day and for six or eight consecutive days on long trips.

501 The striking of the oar handle on the side of the canoe marks the rhythm, and, when there are several rowers, they take pride in the accuracy /405/ of the strokes, as if they were one single stroke. Three different rhythms are to be observed: 1st -- one faster, when they have need to reach some point, and in the currents; there are more or less three deep strokes in two seconds; 2nd -- when there is no current, they change to a slower rhythm: one measure yes and two no, so that one hears two sounds in the water (of two waves which form and strike against the canoe), having three strokes in five seconds; 3rd -- at times they take up another rhythm: two fast strokes and a slow and deeper one.

The following detail can be observed: the hand that holds the handle of the oar describes a perfect circle; and after they give a blow on the edge of the canoe, the oar remains for a moment lying over it, parallel to the water. In order to rest from the effort, they go to rowing from the other side of the canoe;

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501 it now falls to the hand that was holding the handle to pull the blade of the oar. When someone feels tired, he interrupts the exercise, letting his companions proceed with the work. On the calm stretches of the river, or when they go downstream with the current (it is what is called to go downstream floating), it might happen that all stop rowing and entertain themselves in animated conversation.

505 The continuous traveling by way of rivers with dangerous cachoeiras not only gives them extraordinary endurance, but makes them brave and turns them into highly skilled navigators. A superior and serene courage, of someone who relies on his knowledge of the dangerous places and of the process to use in each one of the currents or whirlpools, and, therefore, does not fear surprises. Of someone who relies on his own strength, tested so many times at the most difficult moments; of someone who knows that, in the worst of the possibilities, if the canoe capsizes with the shock of a wave, it will still continue to float, and he will [574] be able to catch it, swimming, a few meters farther on. If some cargo is lost in this accident, he will have beijú and smoked fish at the first maloca, until his wife can prepare beijú for him again and until he catches some fish or kills some game. It is the most excellent control of the nerves that can be imagined, in any danger that the navigation presents. With these qualities it is understandable that they are the indispensable navigators of these rivers, and infuse us with great tranquility when we have them as crewmen. Frequently in the vicinities of the cachoeiras there exist native dwellings or there are Indians engaged in fishing, always ready to give help if they are asked.

According to the level of the waters, they know whether the canoe must seek one channel in preference to another, whether a rock is sufficiently covered, whether one needs to use the pole. In some cases the Indian /406/ will jump quickly from the canoe to a rock (140)

140. Those who are already dressed sometimes

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505 /footnote 140 cont./ take off the shirt and quickly leap into the water with their pants or trunks. Those who are still in a more primitive condition do not have any fear of wetting their own clothes...

that appears nearby and, with a push on the edge, makes it overcome the current, and then, in an agile jump, comes back again inside the canoe and grasps his oar. In other circumstances all the passengers must coast among the indentations of the bank, while the crew pushes the canoe upstream; or, by means of tow-ropes, pulled strongly from the rocks, they force it to go up the small cachoeiras. Or further, they unload all the baggage, and both the load and the canoe will be transported across difficult shortcuts as far as the upper part of the cachoeiras, and from there they resume normal navigation.

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## Chapter VIII

## Social Organization

### 1. -- Family Group

594 The native family of the Uaupés, in the most strict and perfect sense, consists of husband, wife, and children. Indissoluble monogamy is in force among them, that is, each man will have his legitimate wife, and they are joined until death by an indissoluble bond, once the conditions prescribed by the law of the tribe are satisfied.

[592] Such will be the family, whether each one lives in its house, according to the modern tendency, or whether several families are united in the communitarian life of the maloca.

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592 Frequently, the mother who has been widowed, or some single or orphaned relative, might live as added to a family, or, better, incorporated into it, and therefore the family group becomes larger than the family. As we shall see (VIII -- 2), the local group was originally constituted by the family, therefore being identical with the family group. The need for defense and help with the work (construction of the maloca, fishing, etc.) is what favored the local or family group over the isolated family.

On the other hand, among the Uaupesina nations there are some factors that strengthen the family organization or group:

593 428 1st. -- In first place there are the instinct and the right of ownership. There are, indeed, some goods (canoes, hut, pottery, etc.) that constitute family property and pass to the children as an inheritance.

593 583 2nd. -- As among the primitive Romans, the Uaupesino fathers have an exaggerated power over the children. This pátria potéstas reserves exclusively for the father the matrimonial negotiations, through the exchange of the maidens, as wives, from one tribe to another, and, moreover, strengthens the family regime.

3rd. -- Besides the exchange of the daughters, there is also in force an offering of nuptial gifts to the father of the future wife. These gifts, in turn, consolidate the paternal power and the family regime.

593 /408/ 4th. -- The nonexistence of a strong and organized political power is, in turn, an effect and cause of the increase of the paternal powers and a factor of consolidation of the family group.

a) Marriage.

581 We have already pointed out that among all these tribes marriage is a social institution that aims immediately (and it would perhaps not be exaggerated to say exclusively) at the perpetuation of the group. 582 It is the group that is primarily interested in its realization, not the individuals who marry, since their inclinations

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582 are not observed, their wishes are not consulted, and their age is not a matter of concern (1).

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1. Not infrequently the Missionaries have to intervene, even among Christians, in order that the marriage of children who have not yet reached nubile age, according to Brazilian and canonical legislation, will not be performed.

Virginity is not required, since, as we shall say, it can not legally exist; and there are no other conditions, except the agreement of the parents of the ones marrying, once the laws of the tribe, which we shall present in the following, have been observed.

1) The laws of marriage.

*[192] a) The first and inviolable law that is observed in native marriage on the Uaupés is that of tribal exogamy, Axpé maxsã nõ̃mõtise.

We noted (IV -- 2, a (2) ) that there are subdivisions in the tribes. However, at least in the present regime, there are no subdivisions for matrimonial purposes (2).

2. As far as the tradition goes, it can be affirmed that tribal exogamy has always been in force. And, according to the legends, it seems that it can be advanced that the obligation of exogamy goes back to the origin of the tribes, or at least to the establishment of these nations in their present habitat.

Those of one tribe must obligatorily look for wives in another tribe. We are not facing, for now, the question as to whether this law has been imposed as a political measure, in order to avoid wars and murders between the tribes. We know, indeed, that, in spite of the exchange of women between two tribes, the contentions between them are frequent.

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There are, as we have seen (IV -- 2), three groups of tribes, which we call Tukano /Tucano/, Arwake /Arawak/, and Makú /Macu/. The serious obligation is that of exogamy. Once the interdictions that we listed in the Classification of the tribes are observed, however, the woman may be from another tribe of the same group or from another group of tribes. Out of a question of pride, no tribe will marry a Makú, who is considered slave and inferior; /409/ he is not "people," they say (3).

3. We know of a few cases of marriage by men of other tribes (Tukano, Tuyuka, Desana, Ipeka) with a Makú woman. None of a Makú man with a woman from another tribe. Among these few cases, that of a young woman, although already orphaned in 1947, a resident of the Tuyuka maloca of the locality of S. Pedro, river Tiquié, whose father was Tukano and the mother, Makú. We were not able to verify whether her mother was a legitimate wife or simply a concubine; or, further, whether she had been born from a casual relationship. We do not know either, under the first hypothesis, for what reasons such a marriage had taken place. Perhaps a lack of women? Or due to a physical defect of the man (it is to be noted that the girl was cross-eyed)? Or because of living among the Makú of the Gí-paraná or Komé-ya (trib. of the Pirá-paraná)?

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If they nevertheless manage to catch some young Makú girl, they might have her as a concubine, along with the legitimate wife. They will avoid, however, having children with the Makú; and if, in spite of this, they do have them (for example, the grandmother of Maria Gama from Urubucuara), they are considered

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legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).

4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Maku, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

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Marriages between Taryana and Desãna do not take place. We do not know the reasons, however; it does not seem to be because of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most noble group, marry Desãna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desãna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

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Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kõ-Ro. Nor the Pirã-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Miritĩ, Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor, finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Miritĩ-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana, Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirã-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

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b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy, a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son.

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It is what is called Põãperi or põãpeseri. And the young woman will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mã-rapõ nỹãkhõ (future husband) or even Põrã-kõ nỹãkhõ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nõ'mõ nyãkho (future wife) or Põrã-ko nỹãkho (future genitress).

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000 Such a custom is imposed by the desire of the tribe to perpetuate itself.

/410/ The ambilian marriage is not known, that is, it is
591 not the young man who comes to live in the house of the in-laws;
614 but it is the young woman who, through marriage, leaves hers and comes to constitute a family in another tribe.

They desire, then, that a woman from another tribe come to their povoado in order to constitute a new family. The exchange, it seems to us, is not equivalent to a depreciation of the woman or reducing her to the condition of an article of trade. It is a measure of precaution, so that the group will not become extinct, but, on the contrary, the men always remain united, and the tribal traditions and the cordial relations among its components are kept alive.

From this concept and practice some consequences follow:

582 1st. -- The first one is that in fact the so-called preferential
614 marriage is in force among them. The exchanges not only estab-
[611] lish social relations between two malocas, but, as we shall see
[601] later, they conceive kinship as bilateral. But not only the maternal cousins in the strict sense (that is, the nephews and nieces of the mother herself), but all those of their generation of the maternal Gens (IV -- 2, a (2) ) are called brides and bridegrooms /Port. noivos/, Baxsú-kãra (those who are destined for marriage with us).

Let us concretize an example: the Tukano from Parí-cachoeira customarily seek their wives among the Tuyuka of the headwaters of the Tiquié. Then, for the young people of Parí-cachoeira, brides and bridegrooms, or Baxsúkãra, are all the Tuyuka of the
[601] younger generation of the maternal povoado. Or, more exactly, all the young persons of the maternal Gens are their brides and bridegrooms, -- because to each povoado ordinarily corresponds a different Gens, -- and among themselves they call each other "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ (Mamí or Axkabí, see VIII -- 1, c).

As a rule, it is a boy or a girl among the Baxsúkãra who will be the Mã-ra-põ nỹákhõ or the Nõ'mõ nỹakho.

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Those who belong to the generation of the parents of the Baxsúkãra (that is, all those who are considered "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ of the mother herself) are called "uncles," Mẽx-kã (if a man) (5),

5. Notice that the niece must be called Mẽx-kã-sa.

or Mã-gõ (if a woman).

All the Baxsúkãra, in direct discourse, that is, talking among themselves (see Kinship Nomenclature below), are called "cousin," Méõ-kõ (child of the aunt, contraction of Waméõ max-kõ), and the female cousin, Méõ-kõ. It is to be pointed out that the girl may not take the liberty of saying abbreviately Méõ-kõ, Méõ-kõ; she will always say Waméõ max-kõ, Waméõ max-kõ, in full.

After an individual has been married, all the cousins or Baxsúkãra (6)

6. It is to be remembered that within the tribe the individuals who belong to the same generation are called "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/.

naturally become his cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/, and he actually /411/ calls them this when he expresses himself in Portuguese. When he expresses himself in Tukano, he prefers to continue to call them Méõ-kõ or Méõ-kõ; and the brothers-in-law in the strictest sense, that is, the blood brothers of his own wife, he will call Pẽ-ñã (7).

7. The woman will use the term Nihĩ-so pax-kõ to the brothers-in-law older than her husband, and Buhĩ-bakõ to those younger than he.

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582 601 As an exception, the individual, instead of marrying a girl from the generation of the Baxsúkãra, perhaps will marry someone from the class of the "uncles" /Port. tios, uncles, uncles and aunts/, Mẽx-kã-sa or Mã-gõ. It is the components of this class who are now his brothers-in-law, Pẽ-ñã. In Tukano he may continue to call them "uncle," Mẽx-kã, or (if it is a matter of the niece) Mẽx-kã-sa, and in direct discourse he will use the name Pirĩ for the brothers-in-law in the strict sense.

584 2nd. -- A second one is that the negotiations and agreements are realized between the parents, without the ones to be married interfering or being consulted (8).

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> 8. It has happened that the father has brought a wife for his son who is a student in the Mission school, forcing him to leave the school bench in order to marry.

It is highly reprehensible that, while the children enjoy enough freedom in the native family (it can be affirmed that those of the male sex enjoy absolute independence from the parents), on this subject, so serious because the marriage is indissoluble, they do not have any freedom at all (9)

> 9. "Slave marriage" was the expression of one Missionary, citing examples of the absolutism of the parental will against the manifest wishes of the young people.

and show the greatest docility toward the wishes of their parents.

581 [584] Neither marriage for love nor the practice of courtship is known among them. It even seems that they are indifferent to physical beauty; it is certain that in all human groups there are individuals who are more or less sympathetic. No doubt these personal reasons might have an influence in premarital and

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581 extramarital relations, but never in the marriage (10).

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10. Through the influence of the Missionary they have been freeing themselves from these ancestral prejudices, and already cases of marriage through the initiative of the ones getting married, alumni of the Missions, are known. Nevertheless it happens (narrator Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Papuri) that the young man asking for the intervention of the Padre in order to help him find a wife will prove to be indifferent concerning the person. He will say, for example: "Padre, please do me the favor of asking Joaquina, Amélia, or Maria whether one of them wants to marry me."

Marriage does not represent the satisfaction of the sexual instinct, as we had thought and wrote in the beginning, because we found out that this satisfaction has the fullest opportunity imaginable. Marriage, for the individual, is the solution of his economic problem: to have someone who will provide him with food. But it is especially the solution of the social problem: the continuation and propagation of the tribe.

/412/ It is surprising that, in spite of this, family life goes on normally enough. The only plausible explanation is the great respect for the traditional laws establishing the relations between the spouses, and their duties; laws which are faithfully observed.

584 3rd. A third one is that, in order to obtain a wife for an older son nowadays, perhaps a newborn child (11)

11. It does not seem that there are any agreements between the parents about children to be born, because it is contrary to the psychology of the Indian, who is a man of reality.

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584 will be promised in marriage to another family. In practice, they
836 will be bride and bridegroom, with the right to relations between them (with precautions, however, in order not to have children), perhaps for many years and with a great difference in age between the ones being married. And the child, once it has barely reached the age of reason, knows that it must marry such a person.

584 4th. A fourth one is that a widowed father will give up a
587 daughter in order to arrange for a second wife for himself, although with a great disproportion between their ages, before he procures one for his son.

587 5th. A fifth one is that a woman, becoming a widow, can pass to her brother-in-law as a wife, if he is a widower or a bachelor and without a bride, from which his father has an obligation to give a woman to such a family, in exchange for the other one whom he obtained from there. Although the law of the levirate (12)

12. That is, the duty of an individual to marry the sister-in-law who was widowed without children, in order to resuscitate the lineage of his late brother, a custom that was in force among the Jews.

does not exist among our Indians, we thus have its practice.

582 6th. A sixth one is that, from this exchange of women of a
611 tribe A with those of tribe B, since the children are regarded as belonging to the father's tribe, cousins can marry each other. For example, of two pairs of brothers and sisters, M and N from tribe A and P and Q from tribe B, the woman M married P, whose sister Q was joined in matrimony to N. The children of these two couples are, obviously, "cousins-german" or "cousins in the first degree." Nevertheless the children of P belong to the tribe B, and those of N, to the tribe A. They consider themselves reciprocally Baxsúkãra, and they may marry each other.

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582 In conclusion, the preferential marriage of these tribes is between cousins in the first degree.

583 *[192] c) The lack of women might render the exchange, or Põãperi, impossible. As might also an excess of women over the number of male children. The acquisition of a wife will then be done with the donation of some material goods; this is what is called Nõ'mõ duusé (purchase of the wife).

/413/ It seems to us, however, that this is not a matter of a true purchase of the spouse, in spite of the term Duusé, which was given to us by a Tukano interpreter. One tribe was enriched by one family, while the other one lost an element: compensation is just. With the absence of the maiden daughter, the father, and above all the mother, has lost an element of value through her work for the domestic economy; there will be economic indemnification on the part of the future son-in-law.

There are two reasons for such a deduction. The first one is that even when there is Põãperi, or exchange of women, the young man will give some gift to the future father-in-law. The second reason is that there does not exist, as in other human groups, a fixed price of indemnification; or a table of prices according to the category of women. The young man will give according to his means and the wishes of the father-in-law. Always utilitarian objects: ornaments, canoe, machete, trousers, ax, tobacco, salt, etc. (13).

582 13. Wallace presents a detail for which we do not find any confirmation or reminiscence on the Uaupés. "In some tribes," he says, "such as that of the Uacarás, the young man must submit to a test, which consists of a demonstration of his ability to shoot the bow and arrow. If the young man does not hit the target, the girl refuses him, because he thus proves to be incapable of shooting fish or of hunting for the sustenance of the family." We have

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582 /footnote 13 cont./ already said (II-6, b) that we were unable to locate any tribe under the name of Wakará, in order to investigate their customs. However, the affirmation by Wallace (who did not visit the Wakará either) is in absolute opposition to the Uaupesino customs. Actually marriage is a business between the two fathers, not between the ones getting married. In any case the diet does not depend on handling the bow well. Among the tribes of the Uaupés, on the contrary, hunting is light, and fish are more rarely caught with arrows. The basis of the diet is mandioca, and the one who supplies it is the woman, and not the husband. It can be affirmed that among these tribes it is the woman, and not the husband, who supports the family.

584 It is in these cases that one notes the greater freedom of the boy who is looking for a wife, and frequently the initiative in choosing the young woman and in the dealings with her father is his. At times the parents and brothers help him in obtaining the gifts that the father-in-law demands, but with the right to be indemnified later (one more proof of the instinct of ownership).

In general the girl's father will enter into an agreement. He always fears that the young man will take revenge with some malefice. And the youth will certainly do so; or at least he will spread it abroad that the girl has the dohasé (malefice) of sterility, and nobody will seek her as a wife. It is a dreadful revenge, because this cuts short the young woman's future and also sacrifices the economic interests of the father.

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581 It is natural that self-interest (innate and exaggerated in the Indian) takes advantage of these customs. For example, a father who might have more than one daughter perhaps will try to give one of them to some Tuyuka youth (in order to have a /414/ good canoe, because they are specialized canoe-makers), a second one to a Pirá-tapuya (skillful makers of nets and fishing baskets), demanding from them the products of their specialties.

[606] Moreover, these relations of affinity give him a chance to spend part of the year traveling: a sojourn in the house of each son-in-law. Because marriage creates close relations of affinity, all the more singular, since it is known that they are persons from different tribes and all of them with such a deeply racist mentality.

2) The Abduction -- Nũ'myó ỹe'ẽsé or Nũ'myó myãsé.

583 In spite of these precedents of negotiations, there is still
*[192] preserved today a symbolic abduction of the girl, a survival, one might think, of ancient customs in which the young man had to give proof of courage, kidnapping his wife, after having fought against those who tried to protect her.

Or, who knows (it is most probable when one talks about other human groups; not, however, those of the Uaupés), they were clans of one and the same tribe, transformed into enemies because of the dissidences, and who, in this period, had to have recourse to abduction in order to maintain the ancient law of clan exogamy.

'Among our Indians of the Uaupés, there is no fighting at all, although cases of disputes and possible excitation of animus are remembered. The young man's father, with a few more oarsmen, appears in the povoado of the girl. Perhaps the latter, already informed, will be in the vicinity of the landing place
[115] and will then be carried to the canoe. Or the men ask permission from the father, who says nothing (so relates Dorotéia Brito), and seize the girl. The mother, on the other hand, will protest with loud screams and imprecations, recalling the tasks of the

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583 daughter (always the aspect of self-interest), that she is the one who takes care of the children, works in the clearing, makes beijú, etc. No one, however, will stop the abduction.

3) The Act of marriage.

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The abductors (14),

> 14. Some natives informed us of sexual relations which take place between the abductors and the maiden, and some of them added that such relations are always licit in the future. It might be that originally it was a matter of a privilege of the abductors. A privilege, however, that today has lost its justification, being leveled in practice in the great general freedom.

perhaps after several days of traveling by canoe, bring the young woman to the young man's maloca and hand her over with this formula and request (which was given to us by Dorotéia Brito): -- "We went looking for a girl for you; now take care of her; that she may be a good mother, that she does not run away." They do not perform any other rite on this occasion; this was the positive statement made by all of them.

/415/ Frequently for this circumstance a feast takes place in the maloca. It does not seem that such a feast is a religious rite of marriage. Not only does it not have a well-determined date, but perhaps the marriage is not realized either. And in the unfolding of the feast there are no allusions to the marriage. They greatly enjoy feasts, and the one on this occasion has the psychological aim of settling the girl's mind so that she will not greatly feel the distance from her family. All the more since she finds herself in a tribe different from her own, with whose language she is perhaps entirely unfamiliar.

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583 If the girl cannot take any initiative directly, by showing
584 her preferences, she at least enjoys the "right of veto." That is, speaking in thesis: she will not marry someone she does not like. It is true that she will think carefully beforehand, because, rejecting this proposal, perhaps another will not come. And, besides, she will suffer bad treatment from her people, who, according to the compromises of the Põáperi, must give a wife to the other family.

Who knows even whether she will be a victim of malefice, dohasé? Nevertheless, if she absolutely does not want to marry such a youth, two courses are left to her: first, she does not let herself be abducted, and sometimes she flees to another maloca nearby, when she knows that they are coming to fetch her. Or to flee from the young man's house (15).

[115] 15. A Taryana woman, Teodora from Iauareté, informed us that the woman can not say anything. But, if she likes the young man, she lets herself be abducted; in the opposite case she will flee from the maloca of the young man.

4) Stability.

585 The existence of the marriage and its stability are not yet assured. The young woman will give proof of her good will and ability to be the lady of the house.

[591] If they do not live in the regime of a maloca, perhaps later
[606] the young man might build his independent dwelling; for now he will remain in his parents' house, and the mother-in-law orders the girl to prepare the manicuera /fermented manioc-juice/ and the drinks for the nuptial feast.

/415 cont./

585 [241] Many times, principally in the modern regime of family habitations, the young man, as preparation for marriage, has already made a clearing with the help of friends. He will then take the girl to see the spot and will say: "I made the clearing, it is for you to do the planting" (16).

[115] [226]

16. These were the expressions of the Taryana Teodora from Iauareté. Whereas the Tukano Antonio Barreto stated that the father, when he gives the wife to the young man, says to him: "I brought you a woman. Go fish for her." And he added: "He goes, hands her the fish, she takes, which means that she accepts the young man." Might not one perhaps see in these different formulations an allusion to the fact that originally the Taryana Civilization was essentially agricultural, and the Tukano one, a fishing civilization?

/416/ During these first days the young wife will have not only the assistance of the mother-in-law, but the husband will try to ingratiate himself, offering her good fish or good game. If, however, she does not want to adjust to this new order of things, she will then resort to flight (17).

17. It will happen, the Tukano Dorotéia Brito informed us, that they will go looking for her a second time. It is understood that this is so on account of the agreements that preceded the marriage and its conveniences for both of the families. If, however, she flees a second time, she will not be sought any more. But in this case her father will return to the young man the gifts received.

In the environment in which they live and with their way of life, this is not difficult for her.

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585 If the flight does not take place, the marriage is considered realized.

[606] [431] A short time later they customarily take a nuptial trip, on which the young man, accompanied by his wife, goes to visit the father-in-law, taking him presents (smoked fish, fruit, etc.), and thus the friendly relations will be strengthened. These nuptial trips, moreover, appear in the legends.

*[192] The wife will take with her, for the new home, as dowry or property, her pi'ĩkamõ, that is, a small cipo basket, with her ornaments, utilitarian objects, and a cluster of leaves containing õnõñã powder (carajurú /carajura/).

Immediately in the first days of the marriage the husband will give the wife a beating. He will hit her, however, with the hands, so they assured us; and she cannot react. Although it is a matter of a custom that aims at finding out the good will of the girl and her capacity for suffering, it seems, nevertheless, that it is the circumstance of some misunderstanding between the spouses that will provide the opportunity for this beating.

a) /sic; 5)/ Relations between the spouses.

593 The relations between the spouses are normal enough. Perhaps they might be called friendly (18),

[123] 18. We had the opportunity to travel with a Karapanã family from the headwaters of the Papurí and to see the wife in a long and cordial conversation with the husband.

although without caresses and other displays of affection, since it is certain that some familiarity will arise from their living together. The husband will fear that bad treatment will drive [586] away the wife (19),

19. Several episodes have been reported to us. In the beginning of 1954, during our stay in

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/footnote 19 cont./ Pari-cachoeira, a Desana woman married to a Tuyuka from Cabari (a little above Pari-cachoeira), in view of the bad treatment by the husband, abandoned him and a little child a few months old and returned to her povoado on the lower Tiquié. Up to July of this year the Missionary had not yet managed to have her return to her husband.

especially if they do not yet have any children, because the marriage is not yet stabilized. And, finally, it is she who works for him in the clearing and in the house.

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/417/ Although there is no law that obstructs divorce or that makes it impossible for the divorced person to go on to other nuptials, both always have before their eyes the difficulty of a second marriage.

That will not keep them from having misunderstandings, or the husband, especially if he is drunk, from beating the wife. Of the many whom we questioned on this subject, all affirmed to us the bad treatment and even cruelties on the part of their husbands.

The woman, however, will never react, because this is what the tribal laws command (20).

20. We have had news, moreover, of some episodes of reaction on the part of the woman, especially when she perceives that the husband is weakened by drunkenness. It is one more blow that their customs and beliefs have started suffering.

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There is an original and somewhat strange custom, as follows from the report by the Taryana Indian Teodora from Iauareté, confirmed by natives of other tribes. During the day and in the early hours of the night the spouses maintain long conversations with each other in the maloca, each one, for example, lying in

/417 cont./

593 his hammock; nevertheless, they will not talk to each other
521 through the night inside. At night only conversations of man with
[784] man and woman with woman are permitted. If the husband has arrived from his fishing or hunting already late at night, he will hang up the fish or the game in the space between two poles or on the wall, or in some other place, without saying a word to his wife, to whom he will not make delivery of the fruit of his labor until morning.

6) Polygamy and Polyandry.

178 Whether we understand these terms as the possibility for an
595 individual to have several wives simultaneously or successively, and, vice versa, a woman more than one husband, they are not in force nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

[622] In conversation, several among them affirmed that in the old days a man could have two or three wives, particularly the tuxaua (21).

21. In 1849 Wallace attested (o. c. 636): -- "The men as a rule, have only one wife. There is not, however, for this reason a special limit, because many of them have two or three. Some chiefs even have still more." It is what still happens in some tribes, for example, the Karútana of the Içana, the Káwa of the Aiarí, affirms the author of Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar [Sea River]/, (p. 19). The statement of the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza is in agreement, when he says (o. c. 486): -- "They are given to polygamy or plurality of wives, and there are chiefs among them with two or three wives, and sometimes sisters of one another."

178 /418/
595 but a woman could never have several husbands. In the legends there are examples not only of polygamy, but also of polyandry.

It is true that, having procreation as its purpose, the marriage is not considered perfect until after the conception of the first child. From the time of the first signs of pregnancy the marriage was established.

595 If after two or three years of living together the woman has
842 not given birth to a child, the husband will consider her the victim of the malefice of sterility (22)

587 [115]

22. It seems that there is no possibility of rehabilitation for the woman, that is, marriage to another man, although a Tukano man, Mário Chaves by name, in answer to our question, affirmed the possibility of new nuptials for the woman regarded as sterile.

and will look for another wife.

Ordinarily, however, the woman considered sterile prefers to remain with her husband. All the interests of the latter lead him to keep her, even though he has already contracted a second marriage. We are thus confronted with a polygamy, not by right, but de facto. Nor does such an event seem to cause surprise (23).

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23. These events are known nowadays (1947) in Taracuá and Urubucuara.

611 The fact that they regard the children as belonging to the father's tribe seems to reveal, as in other nations, the concept that all the generative capacity belongs exclusively to the father. Nevertheless, the inability to procreate will always be attributed to the mother, never to the men.

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797 These licenses already existed in the historical period, as
595 follows from the first explorers. The great revolt of the year 1757, during which the povoados of Moreira and Thomar were destroyed by the Indians, and that of Barcelos threatened, had its origin in the anger of the Indian Domingos Lamalonga, from whom the Missionary had made a concubine separate (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario /Diary/," n. 553). On the map of his activities, dated from Carurú-cachoeira the first of April of 1853, Frei Gregório de Bene states: -- "It will be very difficult for some time to unite in Holy Matrimony and even to convert these Indians because they live in polygamy and others in concubinage" (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 2, p. 32). Even at the beginning of
595 this century Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 178) testifies that polygamy
622 is a prerogative of the tuxaua and cites the example of José, Tukano tuxaua of Pari-cachoeira, with two wives, one Tuyuka and the other Taryana.

7) Domestic-social position of the woman.

562 During an early contact with the natives of the Uaupés, we were surprised at the position of the woman, seeming to us to be of evident inferiority.

551 /419/ Her name might not even be known (24).

[852] [797] 24. It frequently happens that the Indian man may bring a child to be baptized. When, in order to make the registration, the Padre starts to ask the names and asks what the child's mother is called, the husband will answer: -- "I do not know, ask her."

There is observed in some human groups, for example, those of the river Canaburi (not, however, those of the Uaupés, see below, VIII-1, b (4) ) a prohibition against pronouncing the name of some persons. Some explain this taboo of the name by the "ontological mentality" of the primitives, that is, the name is not something secondary, external, but essential, and is

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551 /footnote 24 cont./ identified with such a person (or object). To pronounce this name is to render present that person or sacred object, which is not licit (religious taboo, properly speaking). Or to pronounce the name of a person (for example, that of one's own husband, among tribes of southern India -- cf. Gordon, o. c. 132) will make him die (it is the magic taboo).

551 They will simply say to identify her: -- "The wife of such-and-
593 such a person" or "The mother of such-and-such a person." The
*[192] husband will use this expression: "Yõ põrá-kó," "the mother of my children," or "the one who gives me children," or "the mother of N" and says the name of the oldest child.

Her tasks are constant, heavy, and of great responsibility. Per-
462 haps in a precarious state of health, for example, during gestation and the delivery, even so, she does them perfectly, without complaining, because they are tribal regulations, therefore they come from a superior will (25).

[593] [123] 25. If, in front of the husband, we purposely show surprise at her great tasks, the woman smiles and says nothing.

[241] The planting and the cleaning of the clearing fall to her. She will spend whole hours in the sun amid the fire and the smoke,
*[192] preparing the piles of branches to be burned, digging and burying the mandioca shoots, cleaning the clearing by the process of pull-
[252] ing out the weeds by hand. Taá kuresé. She is the one who pulls the mandioca, collects it in the aturás /carrying baskets/, and brings it home, where, afterwards, she peels it, grates it, squeezes it, and strains it, in order to make flour. It is she who prepares the foods and the caxiris, takes care of the house and of the rearing of the children. All this while the husband perhaps is idle in

/419 cont./

462 conversation with other men for long hours (26).

[517] 26. At other times she might be gaily conversing while the man is working.

611 She is a foreigner, without any right over her children. They
736 belong to the husband, or rather to the tribe of the husband. If by chance she becomes a widow, she may continue to live in the maloca, and she will ordinarily do so, especially if she is aged and cannot expect another marriage. Or she will return to her tribe, without, however, taking the children with her. With the hypothesis that her husband had a separate house or one in the vicinity of another tribe, the relatives from the husband's tribe will come to take the orphans to their own maloca. If any of the orphans are still /420/ babies at the breast, perhaps they will await until the child can dispense with maternal care, and then they will irrevocably take them away.

587 When it was a matter of her marrying, an exchange or indemnification was negotiated, without her being consulted. Upon establishing her new home, she had the customary test of a beating, and perhaps, due to the bad character of the husband, many others might follow, against which she could never react. Accord-
264 ing to the tribal customs, she will never eat with the husband; she
593 takes out her portion and it is only after he and his friends and guests are satisfied and leave the place that she will take her food.

All this causes surprise, especially if we observe the importance
462 of her "atelier": that is, it is she who performs the tasks necessary for life: she plants the clearing, works with the mandioca, which constitutes the indispensable daily dish, weaves the hammocks for sleeping, makes the vessels for water, prepares the caxiris and the cooking.

593 We leave, Deo volente, for a monograph the study of the indications of a matriarchalist civilization among the Uaupesina tribes. For now we shall say, with the students who have

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593 passed through this region, that to the husband fall the honor and the responsibility of head of the family group. Concerning
462 the tasks, however, more attentive observation will attenuate the
593 impression of the woman's inferiority.

In reality there is a division of labor between the man and the woman, established by the customs. The concepts of importance and gravity, weight and responsibility of these tasks cannot be considered according to the criteria of our culture, but, indeed, of the native mentality.

As the ancient impositions that they are, perhaps they were easier to understand formerly than today, because of the change in the circumstances. At present they are still observed with great strictness, due to the spirit of attachment to the traditions, characteristic of the natives, although the present conditions might counsel a new revision of the customs and a different distribution of the tasks.

It is understandable that the husband, in more difficult times of fighting between the groups or against animals, should always have been in a physical condition to be able to do it and to have available the necessary time, without his family lacking anything because of it. Hence the convenience of having these urgent daily chores assigned to the woman. This also provides, besides the indispensable rest, the physical robustness of the male, who, at given times, would be subjected to difficult tests.

This observation makes us understand the division of labor better. Those tasks that require dexterity, courage, and, up to a certain /421/ point, physical strength belong to the husband. It is the men who select, cut, and transport trunks, beams, poles, and palms for the construction of the residence, as well as performing all the work of building the house of residence and other auxiliary huts. Moreover, the making of barriers in the rivers, with thick trunks, for the large-scale fishing falls to the man. To him, the hunting, exclusively, and in large part the fishing, to which the women are only admitted as helpers. Previously the

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462 man manufactured weapons and implements for one thing and
593 another: canoe, baskets, nets, bows, arrows, traps, etc. In the clearing there fell to him the preliminary work of choosing the spot and felling the trees. The defense of the clearing against the harmful animals or other persons is also his duty. Of the domestic utensils he is the one who manufactures the tipití /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the treatment of the mandioca, as well as the little seats. As for the diet, he is the one who supplies the game, fish, and who brings the fruits from the forest for the caxirís. And he has prepared the ornaments and the musical instruments for the social and religious manifestations. Recognizing, then, the great weight of work that falls upon the woman for the maintenance of the family, we think that it alone does not demonstrate an inferior position for the woman.

593 The Põãperi, in itself, is not a depreciation of the woman,
[583] as we have already noted. The nuptial gifts, more than the dowry of the European customs, properly represent a valorization of the wife. She is really considered greatly useful, not only under the aspect of maternity, so desired and appreciated, since the Indian wishes to have children, but even in the economic one.

[551] As for not knowing the wife's name and the ways of referring to her, they do not seem to be indicators of inferiority. She came from another tribe and another language, perhaps a strange name. In any case they are not accustomed to calling anyone by name, as we shall see. In general, in referring to the wife, the husband uses the expression: -- "The mother of N" and says the name of the first-born child, and this seems to be an affectionate association. She will also say of the husband: "The father of N," which, on her lips, has a particular meaning, as affirmation that it is a legitimate child.

[611] As for the children, this affirmation is of value: the children belong to the tribe more than to the parents. Both the wife and the husband exert little authority over the children, since they are raised with great autonomy. Perhaps she has an ascendancy even greater than the husband, because, at least when they are small, they are exclusively in her care, and they go so far as to learn her idiom.

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593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
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> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[178] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
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> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

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/footnote 29 cont./ many of them have never in fact heard of any woman Tuxaua. Someone answered us precisely that she can be Tuxaua, but they had never heard of a woman Tuxaua. It is to be noted that in the Tukano language there is the feminine Wyógo, a term that is ordinarily applied to the wife of the Tuxaua (Wyogõ) and, in the Missionary centers, also to the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of the girls' school. The example of Caridade (p. 709) seems to authorize our affirmation above.

not, however, those of pajé. This exclusion perhaps expresses, not so much contempt, but the concept that she is not endowed with the magical power necessary for the exercise of the office of pajé.

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In marriage she seems to enjoy even greater freedom than the young man, being able to leave her husband. It must be concluded then that, although recognizing the primary of the husband (as also happens in our civilization), considered from the domestic-social point of view the wife is on a plane of equality with the husband (30).

30. We recently verified that this is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg, who, after prolonged contact with the Kubewana, was able to conclude that the woman is not the beast of burden, but the intelligent lady of the house (Z. I. 354).

8) Moral condition of the woman.

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We once heard from a maiden the expression: "the woman is not worth anything." We questioned many other women, single and married, and all confirmed the accuracy of this concept, without knowing how to give further /423/ explanations. Only one added: "the woman must leave her own tribe."

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562 It is not a matter of inferiority, it seems to us, resulting from her tasks, more constant than those of the men, or, under the political aspect, from not exercising a politico-social authority more in name than in fact, such as, at present, the tuxauaship.

We verified, it is true, a strong feeling of their own inferiority in the minds of the women. I would not know whether it is correct to apply to them an expression so much to the liking of Freudian psychoanalysis, saying that they are dominated by an "inferiority complex."

The obligation to work beside her own mother every day, as soon as she reached the age of reason, while her brothers spent the whole day in idleness and amusements, might have generated in her the envy of this privileged masculine situation.

562 591 Among peoples of an exaggeratedly racist mentality, as all of them are, she must leave her tribe. Who would be able to evaluate this sacrifice? She must live among strangers, whose language she perhaps does not know in the beginning, and maybe never will succeed in mastering. Hearing, because of this defect of hers, gibes and sneers against her tribe, who knows how many times. Frequently episodes of hostility take place between her relatives and those of her husband, and she suffers with the news of these episodes and with the exprobrations.

The feeling of the weakness of the feminine psyche itself is heightened by the knowledge that she is separated from her people, perhaps in an environment of frank hostility to her tribe (since there are no marriages for love, by the choice and arrangement of the ones getting married). Perhaps the bad treatment will be manifestations of the rude character of her husband and of these racial hostilities.

562 All this, well known and experienced by the married women, exaggerates in the feminine soul the concept of her own weakness. The girl who has not yet experienced it witnesses it, hears it, and anxiously awaits a like fate, and her spirit starts weakening and becoming more and more abject.

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534 At the great feast of Wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

> 31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

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562 This moral decadence is not likely to generate in the masculine mind respect (as in fact there is none) for the woman, be she his sister, his wife, or his mother. Any woman represents for them only a worker for the daily tasks and an instrument of very cheap and common pleasures.

The woman senses this real situation, and the more prodigal she is, out of intimate impulses, out of obedience to the customs, because of a desire to please, or out of fear of punishment, the more she is degraded in her own eyes.

The habit of considering situations, rare or none at all, the busy life of work and feasts that she leads, the knowledge that the situation of every woman is identical and that it is a matter of a fact not susceptible to change, because created by the inviolable laws of the tribe, somewhat mitigate her suffering, almost producing conformity and acceptance of this state of things.

When one of them comes into contact with the civilized, however, she gets an idea of a better situation for the woman, she perhaps hears appeals for virtue and her own improvement, she then starts to evaluate the state of decadence of the Indian woman, and she exclaims sorrowfully: "the woman is not worth anything."

9) Division of labor.

462 There is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés a strict division of labor, such that those of one sex will not do the tasks /425/ designated for those of the other one (32).

[177] 32. This statement holds, without any doubt, for the traditional tasks and for the natives with little or no contact with civilization. In the acculturation that is in process, this concept of division of occupations is beginning to evolve. With all naturalness nowadays a young man serves as cook for the civilized. It is very common, likewise, to see a man wash his own clothes, as well as to fit a carrying basket on his back, as the women do, in order to transport a load for the whites.

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462 It is likewise to be noted that, although one task might complement the other, they do not perform them together, but one sex will do its part before or after the other one.

1. It falls to the man: to build his own house and to provide all the material involved in the construction;

the choice of the terrain for the clearing, felling the trees and the burning;

the hunting and fishing;

the preparation of the weapons (bow, arrows, sarabatana /blowgun/);

the making of the tipití /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the preparation of the foods made out of mandioca;

the preparation of the grater (33);

33. We saw on the Içana that the preparation of the plank for the grater fell to the man, and the incrustation of the small stones to the woman.

the making of the dance ornaments and musical instruments;

the manufacturing of the fishing nets and baskets and the traps;

the making of the trocano /signal drum/ and of the caxirí tubs;

the collecting of arumã and the gathering of the splints for the making of the basketry, of the leaves for the extraction of the tucum fibers; as well as of the clay for pottery;

the collecting of the poisonous plants and their preparation for fishing.

2. It falls to the woman: to plant and clean the clearing and the harvesting of the mandioca;

the cleaning of the ground adjacent to the maloca;

to carry the aturá /carrying basket/ with the load;

to make and to fire the pottery;

to manufacture the hammocks for sleeping;

to perform the domestic services (to light the fire, to prepare the food, to bring the water, the firewood, to carry the children, to look for lice, etc.).

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858 b) The Children.

The natives want children, hence the general fact that all constitute regular families. The fertility of the marriage is an essential condition for its validity. The birth of the first child seals the implicit contract of marriage and stabilizes the marriage, changing wives no longer being possible.

[842] /426/ They desire, however, male and female children alternately; the former are the perpetuators of the group, the latter, besides the work that they will perform, facilitate the marriage of the male children by the exchange process. If three girls are born consecutively, the Indian will blame the wife, thinking that it is her fault (34).

[847] 34. An example was mentioned to us in Teresita, river Papuri, Colombia. At the birth of the fourth child of the female sex, the mother buried it alive. The Missionary asked: "Why did you do that?" -- "Because my husband reviled me."

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As to the number of children, due to the difficulties in raising them (especially because the whole burden falls on the mother), numerous progeny are not found. Six or seven children occur with some frequency (35).

[145] 35. It is to be noted that the girl does not always marry young. And, on the other hand, the type of life ages her precociously, and perhaps her fertility ceases quite prematurely. It was not granted us to verify at which age the menses stop for the woman.

[841] We know, to be sure, that menstruation begins around 14 years of age and that they know and use plants for the regulation of the monthly courses.

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842 The interval, as we have already noted, is regularly two or three years between deliveries.

1) Abortion and infanticide.

847 In spite of the fact that they want children, they induce abortion and practice infanticide. When the sterilizing potions have not been enough, they resort to abortion; for this there are the Puçangas, which the woman herself or her mother-in-law prepares. When these are not successful either, the mechanical process is tried, in order to kill the fetus and abort it, going so far as stepping on the belly of the pregnant woman. And if, in spite of this, the unwanted child is born alive, it is eliminated, being buried alive (36).

[115] 36. The Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, with a tirociny of almost 40 years among the tribes of the Uaupés, stigmatizes "the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn children, suffocating them as if it were being done to any little animal" (ap. Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 26).

And as a rule it will be the mother herself who will do it. Perhaps the burial alive indicates a certain feeling, conceiving it as a pleasanter death. In fact they line the grave delicately with banana leaves (37).

[115] 37. Among the most repugnant is the episode narrated by Pe. Afonso Kuipers, which happened in the povoado of Africa, left bank of the Papúri,
[732] Colombia. A child of about eight years of age, deformed with a huge head, was buried standing up; and since the grave was small, the mother stepped on the head, out of the ground, "in order to bury more and not continue crying."

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847 There are four regular cases of infanticide: 1st. -- That
848 of the illegitimate child. Such are all those who are born outside of the legitimate conjugal union. The reason is the shame which it gives rise to (38).

38. /This footnote is on p. 427 in the original source./ It does not constitute, however, a matrimonial obstacle for the unwed mother. It is a sign that she does not have "malefice of sterility."

The children can only come from a legitimate marriage. It is a grave insult to tell someone /427/ that he does not have a
[829] father. There is one exception: the children of the civilized are in general spared (39).

39. Cases are known in which the child's grandparents were proud because their grandchildren were "children of white."

Objects of the greatest shame are the incestuous children. With the utmost secrecy abortion will be induced or infanticide performed.

562 2nd. -- That of the fourth or fifth consecutive child of the
847 same sex. Especially if they are females (40).

40. In March of 1957 a woman, still young, was taken to the hospital of Pari-cachoeira, river Tiquié, in serious condition as a consequence of an abortion. Further investigation showed that it was a matter of criminal abortion, with the expulsion of the fetus in two pieces, with an interval of two days. And the cause was the fear of having a child of female sex, like the two previous ones. We could not find

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/footnote 40 cont./ out whether some pajé, who foresaw the sex of the child to be born, might have intervened in the case.

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3rd. -- That of twin children. One of the two will be eliminated; usually the second one, unless another reason counsels the contrary. For example, they will preferably eliminate the defective one, or the girl. It seems that the reason for this crime is the difficulty, for the mother, of raising two children simultaneously, with all the work that falls to her; and no other reason of magical or superstitious character (41).

[797]

41. The Missionaries have managed to save and raise some twins, and, when grown, that is, after four or five years, the parents receive them willingly, or rather they demand them.

Patrícia Vasconcelos said that the husband beats the wife when she gives birth to twin children.

[736]

Nevertheless this different way of acting causes surprise: when a child becomes orphaned by losing its mother, it will not be killed, but will pass into the care of another woman. When, on the other hand, it is a matter of twins, no woman will take on the burden of raising one of the newborn children, even when there is some newly lactating mother who has just lost her child (42).

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42. Pe. Antonio Giacone confirms this, saying that he saw new mothers emptying their breasts, or nursing some little dog, rather than feed someone else's child (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 53).

Even in these cases there does not appear to be any superstitious motive, but only the selfishness of the women and no friendship at all between them. If they take care of the orphan, it is due to the inviolable imposition of the irrevocable customs of the tribe.

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845 4th. -- That of the defective children. Any noticeable
847 physical defect is fatal to the newborn child. And it can not be believed that it is a matter of a magical reason, but rather, on one hand, the great vanity of the parents, above all of the mother, and, on the other, the thought that it will be a burden to the tribe, which /428/ needs perfect and strong individuals and desires only those. The deaf-mutes escape more easily (as was confirmed) because it is not until much later that they manage to verify their defect.

2) The delivery.

844 The delivery is considered a physiological operation of the woman, like any other, and will not excite attention or care. In spite of the lack of hygiene and of preventive measures, these daughters of Eve seem to have the most normal delivery in the world. Many times they keep on working until that moment (43),

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> 43. There was related to us by the Salesian lay Brother, the Agronomist Teotônio Ferreira, the case of an Indian woman in S. Gabriel, who worked in the clearing in the morning, bore a child in the afternoon, and on the following day came to resume her work. There are frequent cases in which the Missionaries order them to take a rest and they refuse.

and shortly afterwards they begin their normal working life again.

The men, however, will leave the maloca (or wherever the delivery takes place), perhaps leaving the parturient woman in pain, because it is ordered that they cannot witness it. For this reason, if there are guests in the maloca, the parturient woman will withdraw in the some apartment, if there is any, or they will prepare it in time for this purpose, or else she will leave the maloca in order to give birth in the forest. Just as she must also not have in the place any ax, machete, or any other object of iron or metal.

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844 Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have
[608] invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõã (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koá (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

[852] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the
[276] pajé or a Komũ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

846 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).

*[192] The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to
[115] take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

844 As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the
[178] Pax-koá, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45),

[123] 45. The tuxaua of the Íde-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirã-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

/429 cont./

844 and takes the child to the river for the bath.

Except in rare cases of a difficult delivery (or very rarely
846 those of death), the mother soon takes up her household cares and tasks again. The husband, however, considers himself in a state
*[192] of pregnancy, Nihĩ-pkõ from Nihĩ, child, and pax-kõ, father. For this reason he must rest or be sheltered, Sihyogõ, for six days (46):

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> 46. We have seen some of the Indians who have attended the Mission schools subject themselves to such a custom. And they answer the words of the missionary who tries to show the uselessness of the custom: "The old ones want it this way."

he will not work, he will avoid leaving the house, taking the sun, he will spend the greater part of his time in the hammock and subject himself to a strict diet. "If the father works, the child will get sick, will cry day and night," so they explained to us.

593 It is the concept of the bond between the father and his child, as though the father himself were being reproduced. Everything, then, that happens to the father can not fail to affect the child. Since effort or a heavier diet would harm the child, the father must abstain from these things (47).

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> 47. This belief in the intimate connection between the health and well-being of the father and of the son holds not only during the first days of the newborn child, but also during its whole life. D. José Domitrovitsch, when superior
[115] of the Mission of Pari-cachoeira, was able to witness the following episode: Julio, the local Tukano tuxaua, upon learning that his son Mandú (the present tuxaua, 1956) had been bitten by a jararaca, left work, went to his house, put

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/footnote 47 cont./ himself in the hammock and on a diet, in order that his son's condition would not be aggravated; the latter was saved, thanks to the antiophidian injection that was immediately applied to him by the Missionary.

846 The wife, then, is the one who will carefully serve the husband. For four days both the father and the mother will nourish themselves only with mingau, being forbidden the use of fish. This is the diet taboo.

[842] The newborn child is a reproduction of the father. The mother plays only the role of the ground in which the seed germinated; the one who produced the seed was the tree, whose nature the seed will reproduce. From this concept (48)

48. It is a concept evidently patriarchalist. It is to be noted that Pe. João Marchesi affirms that he has heard from the Tukano Tuxaua Julio, from Pari-cachoeira, expressions similar to those of the Jews (who were patriarchalists): "The children of my womb."

logically come two consequences: the first is the chôco or protection of the father, the second is that the child belongs to the paternal tribe and not to the one of its mother.

553 4) Giving the name.

Around three years of age, when the child already walks freely and begins to talk and to give the first indications of understanding, /430/ they proceed with the rite of giving the name, a rite which ends with a caxiri.

*[192] Until that moment the child is Oẽ, that is, "without name." This is how they translate it for us, not knowing how to give any other explanation for this term.

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553 It falls to the father, according to the report by the Taryana Teodora, to choose a name. Any circumstance of the moment or a certain peculiarity noticed in the child will inspire the name. It is seen that thus the names may be repeated, and, as a matter of fact, they are repeated with great frequency, although there is no obligation to give the name of the ancestors (49).

> 49. The obligation to give the newborn children the names of the ancestors is a custom of those who admit reincarnation, and those of these tribes are not such.

With the realistic mentality of the native, there can appear not only beautiful and poetic names, but also ridiculous and even indecorous ones.

At the invitation of the father, two older men, possibly the pajé and Komĩ, or two Komĩã, equipped with a cigar, and one of them also with a pot (as Dorotéia Brito said) with live coals and resin, at the place of the birth itself, blow the smoke and perfume the environment round about, as well as the child's mother, "in order for her not to get sick," they explain. For this reason it is called "Blown Name, Baxséke Wamẽ." It is a rite which gives value to the name given and has the magical power to conjure away from the child any malefice.

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This function lasts an entire day from sun to sun (50).

> 50. In July of 1955 the seringalista Armando Sarmento was able to witness a similar ceremony among the Kubẽwana of the upper Uaupés. He then observed that between the cuias of caxirí and the smokings of the ritual cigar, the Komĩã would narrate the story of the origins of the group, with the peculiarity that, if it is a matter of a child of the female sex, the narrators omit the passages referring to Wãx-tĩ.

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553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present
[273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native ceremonies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier, have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar. Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to leave in the center, between the front door and the back door, a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

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553 through life, as they have protected and accompanied his parents
782 and grandparents, who never failed to provide what is due the
[562] mothers of things. The litany is not short, and they spend hours in the invocation, made in a loud voice, but without accompaniment on the part of those attending, who, seated on the seats, in the hammocks, on the ground, wherever they can, fill the house, and drink cachiry, which is served abundantly by the women, who are in the kitchen and come only for this service. When the sun reaches the highest point, that is, at midday, the officiants, who remained smoking and drinking silently since the first invocation ended, start again. The third invocation begins about two hours before sunset; but then there are already found in the house not only the men, but also all the women and all the children, and everyone repeats in loud voices the name of each mother of things
[821] that the three elders invoke. The child who is to receive the name is left to play as it wishes in the middle of the room with the other children, if there are any, and when the last ray of the sun is about to disappear, the pagé, who with the child's father and the oldest relative has come out of the little room where he spent the day, holds it in his arms and, presenting it to the sun in such a way as to make it receive the last rays, says the name, and this is then repeated by everyone in loud voices. The name that the child
551 receives is often the name which one of the grandparents already
553 bore or some other name which might be pleasing at the moment, and this especially if it is a matter of the chief's child. Many times, however, the child's name is chosen and given to it in consideration of the object that it was holding at the moment when the pagé held it to present it to the sun, to the gesture that it made, to the word that it said, because then it is as if the sun itself /432/ had given it the name. This, then, explains how in many cases, when one looks for the meaning of the native names, one has the surprise of finding the most foolish meanings."

[177] It is observed at present that, even before the baptism, besides the Baxséke Wamẽ given by the pagé, it receives another Christian name, or, better, a name which the civilized customarily use. In general they are not called by name, except by this Christian name.

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177 Many times they refuse to reveal to the civilized the "blown name." It is not probable that a superstitious fear (the taboo of
551 the name) enters into this refusal (51).

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51. Pierre Gordon (L'initiation sexuelle et l'évolution réligieuse /The sexual initiation and religious evolution/, p. 132) explains "teknonymy," that is, the custom (incidentally quite widespread: Asia, Africa, America, Oceania) of not uttering the father's name and designating him by the expression: "the father of So-and-So" (saying the child's name), by means of the taboo of the name. The omission of the name would be a sign of respect, just as among many tribes the name of the sacred objects and, among the Jews, that of Javé /Yahweh/ are omitted. And thus he points out that among the Gold there is an interdiction against mentioning the father's name, while being able to say that of one's own mother or wife, because they are in an inferior position. Likewise among the tribes of the Caburí the woman never pronounces the husband's name, she will always say "the father of N."

as if the name represented part of the personality and, for this reason, to reveal it would be harmful to the individual. As a matter of fact, they call each other by the Christian name, and they indicate their own "blown name" and those of their companions with relative ease. The children at school call their companions by the Baxséke Wamẽ in fun and mockery. They hide it in shame, be it indecent or not, in order to seem civilized.

One notices a tendency to abbreviate the names: Candí (for Cândido), Beré (Bernardo), Mandú (Manoel). And many of them, due to the difficulty of pronunciation, corrupt the names:

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177 Sabá (Sebastião), Putucho (Protásio), Burigúrio (Gregório), Duí
551 (Luiz), Inhú (João), Baria (Maria), etc.

They moreover like to give grotesque nicknames to their companions, especially in the schools.

551 Here are some of the names most commonly used among the tribes of the Uaupés:

| Men's Names | Women's Names |
|---|---|
| Dyákoro | Anosáro |
| Dopíno (a black bird) | Bu'ú (the Tucunaré fish) |
| Dö'nö-sũ (foot flea) | Dixsíro |
| Hakíto | Duhígo (seated) |
| Henã (a fish) | Dumáha |
| Köomãno | Koõ |
| Ñáhuri | Ñamá paxkó (mother of the deer) |
| Ñamá saaró (deer horn) | Ñyĩgõ (black, Negress) |
| Ñyĩgõ (black, Negro) | |
| Ömõsĩ | |

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| | |
|---|---|
| Õre-buru (athlete's foot) | Óri pax-kó (mother of the flowers) |
| Pahíro (large, stout) | Pĩrõ döhöo (seated snake) |
| Pĩrõ döhögö (seated snake) | |
| Poá mãri (bald, without hair) | |
| Sapó-ro (foam) | Semé (paca) |
| Sẽribi | Somé |
| Sibyá põrá (children of the sibyá) | Supyá |
| Sonã toãmi | |
| Umũpo | |
| Ũ'ré (nightingale) | |
| Ũ'ré-tõ (bunch of pupunha) | |
| Wĩrõ (wind) | Wexkoryó (a bird) |
| Yepá-sõnyá (legendary person) | |
| Yuxkó-ro (a wood) | |
| Yupúri | Yu'sío |
| Among the Tuyuka also: | Among the Bará: |
| Tunú (flute?) | Bwénomyo |
| Iñafihĩ | Kamoõ |
| Dèpo (foot) | Neñõ |
| | Nomĩ |
| | Yawíra |
| | Yexpádwa |

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5) Designation of the children according to age.

The nomenclature that they use to designate the child varies according to its development:

1st. -- Until the day of the giving of the name, it is called ōẽ;

2nd. -- Maní, it seems, is a term used in some places, equivalent to baby;

3rd. -- During the first months, in view of the fact that the baby has a lighter and reddish skin, they call it Soãgõãkã, that is, little red one (Fem. Soãgõãkã; pl. Sõarã:kã);

4th. -- When its little body is already a little steadier, so that it can already remain seated on the lap, held in the arm, or leaned against the shoulder, they call it Duhigõ (F. Duhigõ, pl. Duhĩrã) (which means "one who sits down") or Dõxpõ-peõgõ (F. Dõxpõ-peõgo, pl. Dõxpo-peõra), that is, "leaning on the shoulder";

5th. -- It is called Bõagõ or Bũagõ (F. Bũagõ or Bõagõ, pl. Bũãrã or Bõãrã), when it is already creeping (from bõa, to creep); that is, "the one creeping";

6th. -- When it already begins to steady itself on its legs, they call it Nũ'kũgõ (F. nũ'kũgõ, pl. Nũ'kũrã), that is, "the one who is standing up" (from nũ'kũ, to be standing up);

/434/ 7th. -- When it is already walking, they call it, for this very reason, Syagõ or Sihyagõ (F. Syagõ or Sihyagõ, pl. Saãrã or Sihyãrã), that is, "the one walking" (from sihyã, to walk);

8th. -- Around two or three years old it is called Bũxkõãkã or Bõxkõãkã (F. Bũxkõoãkã or Bõxkõoakã, pl. Bũxkõrãkã or Bõxkõras kã), that is, "grown a little" (from bõxkõã, to grow), or Bũxkõ-põ, pl. Bũxkõrã-põ;

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*192 858 9th. -- After the giving of the name it is Buxtuyágõ or Buxtuyégõ (F. Buxtuyágo, Buxtuyégo, pl. Buxtuyãra, Buxtuyẽra);

10th. -- From six years of age more or less, until the initiation, it is Wi'mãgõ (F. Wi'mãgõ, pl. Wi'mãrá);

11th. -- From the time of the puberty initiation, the boy is called Ma'mã, and the maiden, Nõ'myó (this should not be confused with nũ'myó, woman);

12th. -- In order to indicate that it is already beginning to fill out in body, they use the expressions Nĩrí-bũxkõ or Nĩnĩ-bõxkõ for the young man, Nĩrí-bũxkõõ for the maiden (pl. M. and F. nĩrí-bũxkõrá).

6) Education of the children.

854 Throughout early childhood the children of both sexes are in the mother's care. The baby will go from the hammock to the maternal arms, or of an older sister, and will sleep in the same hammock with its mother. The latter will give it her milk, later mingau of flour or of banana.

She takes her child to the bath in the morning, later to the clearing, where it will remain lying in a small hammock in the shade of a tree, or of some branch stuck in the ground, or under the eyes of some little sister, while the mother works.

Sun, rain, baths, insect bites, all will contribute toward enriching the delicate complexion and habituating that organism to resistance.

*[192] Returning home, with an aturá /carrying basket/ filled with mandioca roots on her back, the mother will carry her child against her chest, with the help of a wide embira hanging from her neck (it is the process that is called sã-wõã), or riding on her hip, sã-rẽã.

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855 Being always in the company of its own mother, the child
191 will learn her language first (52),

> 52. It is true that the boys will soon follow the father and will forget the maternal tongue. The mother herself, after having been married for some time, will perhaps speak only the idiom of the inhabitants of the maloca. For this reason the children will rarely know the maternal idiom. We have verified that, at most, they know only some words of it.

if the mother has not yet learned the idiom of her husband. The
866 boys, as soon as they have grown to about five years of age, free themselves from maternal care and will preferably follow the father /435/ hunting or fishing, or remain playing in groups in the forest, in the search for fruits, or around the rivers, swimming and fishing.

The girls, on the contrary, continue at the side and under the vigilancy of the mother herself (53),

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> 53. One Missionary noted that for the girl, used to being at the side of her own mother all the time, the life of the student living in the Mission school is very difficult, whereas the boys adapt more easily, without thinking of returning home.

helping her, according to their capacity, in her tasks. They go with the mother to the clearing, pull mandioca roots, return with their load of mandioca or firewood, or carrying some younger brother or sister, take care of the children, and even help in the preparation of the food.

/435 cont./

858 The girl, although destined to leave the nation and, as a wife, to establish a family in another tribe, is, however, an element of great economic value for her parents. In some cases [648] the parents hand her over to the civilized for domestic service, [466] in exchange for suitable recompense; upon her reaching puberty, however, they will go fetch her for the initiation rite and later for marriage, according to the customs of the tribe (54).

[115] 54. Pe. Humberto Limpens mentioned to us a case that happened shortly before 1947. Until the time of the marriage the girl remained working with the whites. The father had permitted this as payment for a shotgun.

736 If, by chance, an individual dies, leaving children in another povoado or maloca, one of his "brothers" (it might be a close relative, the tuxaua, or someone else), undertaking a long trip, if necessary, will go to look for the orphans, whose support and education will be entrusted to him.

866 The spirit of freedom in which the children are raised is extraordinarily great. They go wherever they desire, without permission from the parents or even notice beforehand (55).

[115] [648] 55. Frei Laureano da Cruz narrates how an imprudence by the capitão João Palácios, in the so-called "Província dos Encabelados" /Province of the Hairy Ones/ (because the Indians wore very long hair), aroused the resentment of the natives, who killed the capitão and many civilized. And he explains: "They are such a noble people that they will not tolerate a snap of the fingers, even from their own parents" ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 99).

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866 They act as they please. They do not listen to the requests that the parents direct to them. They do not perform the tasks requested. The slightest whims of the child (56)

> 56. The child is the one who decides whether he is going to board in the school, whether he will not return the following year, whether he wants to leave during the course of the year, etc. The parents do or say nothing concerning these decisions.

are considered. From an early age they officially smoke and drink the fermented drinks at the caxirís. With such independence one might foresee the development of rebellious and quarrelsome types, which, in fact, does not happen. This is because, counterbalancing the spirit of autonomy, there is that of absolute adherence to the disciplinary laws of the tribe, a spirit that is developed with /436/ the beliefs and becomes firmly established through the example of the elders and the ceremonial practices.

Actually there is no school or official instruction, except for the "course of puberty initiation." The maloca, however, with its habitual life or the extraordinary one of the feasts, is a practical and social school in everything.

562 868 The daughter takes a "course in the domestic profession" at the side of her mother, watching her work, helping her, receiving her corrections. Upon reaching nubile age, she will be perfectly prepared to organize and supervise the new home, whereas a contemporary of hers among the civilized would manage this with difficulty. At present, in the educational establishments [797] of the Missions, they not only attend a real "course in home economics," but some even become skilled at tasks that are specialties of another tribe (57).

> 57. These tasks, however, which are outside the primitive pattern of the tribe, constitute knowledge that the mother either will not

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/footnote 57 cont./ teach or perhaps the daughter does not want to learn. It is a fact that we verified many times: the daughters do not know everything that their mother knows and does.

By preparing their small bows and arrows for amusement or by watching the men work, and sometimes by helping them spontaneously, the boys also become skilled in the different masculine tasks (58).

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58. Never, however, in the feminine ones. They used to laugh in the beginning, Pe. João Marchesi told us, when they saw the Missionary light the fire and prepare his own food, because "it is woman's work." Nowadays one already sees a man of the younger generation, who went through the Mission schools, carrying one of his small children, while the wife is loaded with an aturá on her back or other great burdens.

It is all an intuitive process of apprenticeship, arousing the interest of the children, developing the capacity for imitation that they possess, deeply rooted, in an environment of freedom, happiness, and well-being. A conjunction, finally, of conditions in accord with the native psyche, and, for this reason, assurers of a happy result. Not infrequently the young men become more skilled than their own fathers.

476 There are many tasks that they perform collectively, or at least with the help of others, such as felling trees, cleaning the clearing, building houses, making the canoes. These are done with the display of a greater cheerfulness and emulation, which favor the growth of love of the work and of doing it nicely.

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868 It can be affirmed without fear that the parents are interested in the material education of the children. It is the father's ambition that his son will be a competent fisherman, boatman, or hunter (59).

[797] [829]

59. Today many parents are already interested in something more, and they bring their children to the Mission in order for them to be made "whites." A parent, bringing a girl of about eight years old to the school, recommended to the Directress that she "educate her, teach her Portuguese, in order that later she might be able to marry /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a white." After he has spent some years in school, the child considers himself superior, and is regarded as such by the others. He has become "white."

For this reason he will not deny him his advice and his experience.

/437/ 7) Puberty initiation.

881 By puberty initiation or "rite of passage" is understood the official entrance of the individual, who has reached puberty, into the social life of the tribe, coming to take responsibility for his actions. For this he will also receive the necessary instruction on the "customary law" of the group to which he belongs, the obligations and rights of the individuals. And also, only for the boys, the explanation of certain customs and the legends which constitute the historical and cultural patrimony of the group.

[562] [869]

Both those of the male sex and those of the female sex must be subjected to the "puberty initiation rite" (60).

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60. The Missionaries, with patient and prudent action, have managed to alter the native customs, although slowly, with the adoption of Christian

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/footnote 60 cont./ customs and the extirpation of those which are contrary to the morality of the Gospel, retaining only those that do not harm this morality. For example, many of the young men are boarding in the Mission schools at the time of the puberty initiation. There are few cases in which the young men at such a time of life fail to return to the school, in order to go through the "rite of initiation." And some affirm that the youth can marry even without having been subjected to such a rite.

562 after a theoretico-practical course. It is a matter of a religious function, as if it were the consecration or sanctification of the
881 individual, who is integrated into the group of the worshipers of Wãx-tĩ.

*[192] a) Course of male initiation -- Mĩrĩ-mẽra, a'mõ-yesé (61).

[115]

61. These data are based on descriptions made by natives of the Tukano, Wanana, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Tuyuka, Desana, Bará, Kumãdene, and Baré tribes. This last informant did it accord-
[171] ing to recollections of his initiation, more than thirty years before, in Tamanduá. It is, however, a general custom of all the tribes of the region, of the Tukano group as well as of the Arwáke and of the Makú, as the natives themselves affirmed.

According to the number of inhabitants of a maloca, the young men, upon reaching puberty (62)

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62. The Baré Plácido from Melo informed us that at his initiation there were 20 young men in all, and about ten persons, between pajés and Komũã, instructed them. It was, however,

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/footnote 62 cont./ tremendously boring. When one pajé had finished talking, another one would come, repeating the same things, some already drunk. They would listen in fear, believing everything. He recalled /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ an old pajé who knew many stories and told them, much to the delight of the children. In the smaller povoados there might be perhaps a single candidate for the initiation, as was the case for Felisberto from Urubucuara, and for the youth Graciliano Carvalho, Pirá-tapuya from Tatá-punha. The latter remained isolated for two months in a house, and the old men came there to give him the lessons and to tell him stories, which he would have to repeat on the following day.

(in practice whenever their voices start to change), are gathered together in groups, in a distant spot, for the initiation course, which is called Mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mõ-yesé, that is, "initiation rite with the sacred instruments or Mĩrĩã." In many cases huts are improvised in the interior of the forest for this.

/438/ The course, which lasts several weeks or even two and three months, according to the progress of the students, is directed by one or more pajés and Komũã simultaneously. There is an assemblage of painful tests (63)

63. It seems that there is opportunity for the inventive faculty in the application of the tests. In a Tiquié povoado we came across two young men who bore on each arm a wound around the wrist, as if it had been produced by handcuffs.

in order to verify the spirit of sacrifice and endurance of the youths. Deprived of clothes, they remain exposed to bad weather, they

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881 562 are flogged on the back with reeds four times by the Komũã, keeping their arms crossed on the chest, and they can not cry (64).

[183]

64. We were told of a young man who could not stand the blows and, feeling humiliated and scorned by those of the tribe, had to leave and place himself at the service of the whites in S. Gabriel.

Some child may hide in order to dry his tears, said an informant.

Handfuls of pepper are put in their mouths, and they are ordered to chew them. When there are several, they are arranged in a line, and with a stick they dig a hole, into which they are later going to spit. Not hitting the hole will be a reason for punishment. At dawn they take a bath in the river; upon returning, they drink a little Kaxpí.

*[192]

They are obligated for the great fast, be'tisé, and their obligatory food is the larvae of the wasps.

562 869 881 They spend whole hours sitting on the ground, listening to the pajés narrating the traditions, telling the legends, teaching the obligations as members of the tribe, husbands, and fathers, giving advice, fixing the relations with the neighboring tribes. These instructions are intermingled with caxiri and with the apprenticeship in the fabrication of the baskets, fishing nets, and other tasks of the men.

[534] [778] While narrating the stories of the Mĩrĩã, they place one of the mysterious instruments beside each boy, so that he can observe it well (65).

*[192]

65. The instrument is an essential element for the male initiation. Besides the positive information obtained, it says the very name of the rite: "Na porá-ré mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mo-yẽrá," as the natives express themselves, that is, initiation of the sons with the mĩrĩã. This is also the opinion of Koch G. (Z. I. 220).

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).

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> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coianá Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to
> [115] ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

/439 cont./

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/footnote 67 cont./ Bará, and Makú) we were able to verify that the process is the same. Whatever was peculiar in one narration became harmonized in the whole, and perhaps had happened with all, although some might have forgotten to narrate that detail. Moreover, they assured us that in all the tribes the mõ-yõĩse was performed in a similar way.

In a similar way the girl, "when she becomes a young woman," according to the native expression, that is, when she reaches the age of the menses (68)

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68. They call it "sickness of the moon, Mũhĩ-pũ dux"ti." It is one more proof, among the many that we have had, of how the intimate life of each one is known perfectly by the entire community. The first menstruation takes place around 12 years of age, although the child, from her physical development, looks only about ten. For children of both sexes, it is not until some years after the age of puberty that their bodies fill out, that is, it is only after 14 or 15 years of age that the development of the body takes place, and in an almost perceptible way "they become young men and women." With the onset of menstruation, as in the critical age of the woman and puberty for the man, one does not notice abnormal physiological disturbances. Menstruation, like conception, comes regularly throughout the year. Ordinarily the monthly courses are not very abundant and do not last more than one day.

and the first menstruation, a mõsé, comes, must go through the puberty initiation rite.

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562 881 Naturally one can not mark the date for this beforehand. It is likewise understandable that it is practically impossible to perform this rite with an entire group, as in the male initiation, if we consider that they are small povoades or only a maloca.

*[192] /440/ The first menstruation is a dangerous event for the young woman; she may be a victim of Bisíu (VII -- 4, d (5 c) ), Bisíu a'mõsé-re baásamĩ, they say, that is, Bisíu eats the menstruation. As they explain, to eat means that he will come to fecundate her (69).

[177] [797]

69. A singular phenomenon of acculturation or adaptation has been taking place. A girl, for example, is in school at the time of the first menstruation. She will perform the rite perhaps many months later, when she returns to her povoado. She does not wait, according to information from the young women themselves, until the next menstruation comes to perform the rite. As for the rest, she follows exactly what the customs dictate.

[756] (See Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the U[illegible].) The maiden then will be the first to announce the fact and to request the intervention of the pajé or Komũ (70).

70. One of the young informants asserted that the maiden will be happier if she does this rite with a stronger pajé. Another added that she will be still more so if it has been with a white.

[829]

Besides, the rite is desired by the girl, not only because it gives her freedom for the public sexual relations, but also because, according to her convictions, this rite is going to assure her happy deliveries, as various young women testified. For this reason no maiden would dare to marry without the puberty rite and the mõ-yoãsé (coitus of initiation). Some nubile maiden, especially

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those educated in the schools, might perhaps say, out of shyness (71).

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71. The young Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos, an orphan raised in the Mission of Iauareté, and who, until she was 25 years of age (1956), spent the greater part of her life in the schools of the Salesian Missions, has always denied having submitted to the puberty rite. Although in a conversation on March 9, 1956, apart from any subject, she came out with the statement: "Now the rite of initiation is not done any longer," on many occasions she has affirmed that the natives "all, even people of confession and communion, continue to do all these ancient practices, even the alumni and alumnae of the Mission." In September of 1955 in Taracuá, apropos of the puberty initiation rite, she said literally: -- "Even the Christians do this." Around the fourth or fifth of March of 1956, she related an episode that had happened to her the last time she had been with her relatives in S. Luzia, from September of 1955 to February of 1956, an episode which documents how even from the Christian natives one only slowly manages to eradicate the primitive beliefs. One day she felt somewhat ill (the common discomforts of women). Her uncle Marco, who, although Christian, continues, as pajé, to practice the "blowing" and the other Xamã /shaman/ rites, asked her whether she had already performed the puberty rite. Answering that she had not as yet, her uncle went on: "That is it, my daughter (sic), that is because you have not undergone the rite. Shall we do it now?" She did not accept (she told us). Then the uncle gave her the explanation about the discomfort and about the usefulness of the puberty rite, which we transcribe.

/440 cont./

562 that she has not performed the rite. Nevertheless, she herself
881 will affirm, in agreement with the others, that a woman can not marry without having submitted to these practices.

[115] Patrícia Vasconcelos gave the following explanation of the necessity for the rite, according to the instruction obtained from
*[192] her uncle Marco from S. Luzia, river Papuri. /441/ "The maiden has the nihĩ-koró (vagina?) inverted, and for this reason the child cannot come out. /The final quotation marks are missing./ The pajé or Ko-mũ is going to put it "in the proper position" by means
*[192] of the rite and the coitus. The rite, besides this, makes "the nihĩ-su'ti-ro, uterus, not grow very much, because in this case she would have two children at a time and this is a disgrace for the woman."

This rite is essentially equivalent to the "religious deflora-tion" that other human groups practice. However, due to the previous liberties, although without an official character (rather they must be hidden), which take place even between children and adults, the girl, upon reaching menstruation, already has the hymen ruptured. This, then, is of no importance in the rite. An official coitus, mõ-yoãsé, however, takes place on the first day (and in some povoados also on the following days) with a young man chosen by the girl or by her father (72).

72. The choice of the young man is made by the girl herself in some places, and in others, povoados and malocas, by her father. A young Tukano from Pari-cachoeira declared that she did not like the young man whom her father had chosen. It seems that where there are more Komũã the choice of the executor of the rite is
[835] always by the father of the maiden. If the father is Komũã, he himself will execute the rite with his daughter. We do not know whether this is also an obligation of his. From a Komũã of Juquira, river Uaupés, we found out that he personally did it with his three daughters, as one of them informed

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/footnote 72 cont./ us. The services of the pajé or Komũ are always remunerated, as well as those of the mõ-paxkoá; not, however, those of the young man. He is not the future husband, who must belong to another tribe, and the young man of the a"mõsé regularly is of the same tribe as the maiden. A young Makú added that the young man was her obligatory partner at dances, as we were later able to verify.

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and, on the last day of the rite, with the Komũ or pajé (73).

73. It is to be noted that, according to the descriptions that we obtained, the first coitus is not with the pajé or Komũ, as one might expect, but with the young man.

The concept that the one chosen should be the hero of the group, recognized after a fight with others, as is done among some tribes, has declined. Among the Uaupesinos there is no test to determine the choice; there is only one quality in favor of the chosen one, his youth. Some maidens affirmed that he was a "strong young man." On the rivers visited by the civilized, the latter may be chosen for such a function, and they have done it. For such a choice, we think that not only does the native's instinct of self-interest enter in, but also the white is supposed to have a special nature (74).

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74. Many times and under different circumstances the native has manifested the opinion that the civilized person is endowed with a nature different from that of the Indian. This was the answer that the tuxaua from Paricachoeira, Julio, gave to Pe. João Marchesi, who assured him that he should not fear the

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> /footnote 74 cont./ Dohasé (malefice), just as the Missionary did not fear it. "The white is of a different nature," he answered, "for this reason he does not catch our dohasé."

a connection with which might bring benefits for the girl. This opinion was expressed by several young women.

/442/ The girl must then be separated from the inhabitants of the maloca. The maidens do not know (and this seems to us the most probable hypothesis) or did not want to give the reason for this segregation. It is that in these circumstances she is considered dangerous (75),

> 75. It is to be pointed out that she is dangerous not only during the days of the menstruation, but until the rite has been completed. As a matter of fact, the seclusion might take place outside the menstrual period and might last for an entire moon. It seems that only the first three monthly courses are considered dangerous and thus subject to a special rite. If one is to believe the information, during the subsequent menstruations the woman is not obliged to abstain from sexual relations, as the Jews observed.

for the others, once she has been sought by Bisíu.

*[192]

In the regime of the maloca, an enclosure for the young woman, called a'mõ tuxkũ, is made inside of it. In the regime of the povoado, she might perhaps be isolated inside a hut (76).

> 76. In October of 1947 a young Makú from Iauareté retreated to the hut of the pajé himself for the initiation.

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881 During this time, which runs from three days to four weeks,
562 according to the tribe, the young girl will always be shut in, she cannot take a bath, she will go out only when necessary and quickly, trying not to meet anyone.

562 There, while the girl is kept seated on a stool, her hair will
881 be cut by a woman who is called mõ-paxkoá, that is, godmother
302 of initiation (77).
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77. This godmother will call the girl Yõ-se:ko, my hair-cut; and the maiden will call her Yõõ-ré se:ko, the one who cut me (my hair).

"It is in order to exchange for new hair" was the only explanation. According to information obtained by Koch G. (Z. I. 357), the girl's hair was used for making the masks of Wãx-tĩ. Thus one more element of connection between the puberty rite and the cult of Wãx-tĩ appears.

*[192] The face and especially the body are liberally painted with black dyá-wé dye by another woman, who is likewise considered Paxkoá. Both of the godmothers will receive some gift from the girl and also have a right to her services. The body painting is done as usual, by means of the molongó cylinder (VII-3, b(2) ).

For the haircut they used the sharp teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmo of different species) and other animals. For this reason, wrote Stradelli, the tribes of the Rio Negro, who spoke Nheengatú, when the use of scissors was introduced, called them Piranha. The artifact for the cutting of the hair among the Tukano is called Dõxpóse:ró.

*[192] The Mõ-paxkoá or the mother herself in some tribes pours water with pepper through her nose, using a funnel of the leaf of
/443/ õhoá pũrĩ or yõxsõ-pũri, "in order to become illuminated" (78).

78. "To have the face or skin become illuminated" is an expression that we have heard frequently among the young female informants. It seems

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/footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus, "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

"the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a great deal; the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, pirámirim), ant, mexkã (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beijú of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

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She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cuia with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

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Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /bouto/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

562 /443 cont./
881 work rapidly -- to return home at once" (79).
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79. These recommendations against the piraboto, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tincuam and those of the Jurupari of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uaupés" of the author).

[756] Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin
[869] of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his
[833] cigar, pronouncing at the same time a long and unintelligible exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the pajé Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the nihĩ-koró, which is inverted. But ordinarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the pajé, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoá, as the several informants of the Uaupés stated.

562 /444/
881 The rite ends with a bath of the dawn, Wáwa-'kāsé, which
783 makes us think of the bath of the dawn of the men at the feast of
*[192] Wāx-tĩ (VII-4, e (2 b); cf. Legend of the seizure of the mĩrĩã instruments). A procession of these women who have been associated with the rite, perhaps also other close relatives of the
*[192] maiden, is organized. In front goes the pajé, smoking the path
[776] with a piece of cooking pot, Ki-pu-tõ koró, with hot coals, pitch /Port. breu, a kind of resin/, and pepper, and he will exorcise the river, throwing in it the contents of the pot, in order to "chase away the beast that is in the river" (81).

81. They explained that this beast was the piraboto /bouto/. Now such a mammal does not exist in the upper Uaupés, much less in the small igarapés. We are thus confronted with a transplanting of beliefs and legends.

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881 The mother pushes the daughter into the water, and everyone will
785 take a bath (82).

82. Wallace (o. c.) further brings in here a detail which was not confirmed to us. It is the following: "When this time has passed (one month), the relatives and friends of the parents, who are invited for this, gather there on the designated day, each one of them bringing a piece of cipo (flexible climber). The girl is then taken outside the house, completely naked, to the center of the group, which is in the yard in front of the dwelling. Each one of those present on this occasion is obliged to give her five or six strong lashes with the cipo on the chest and on the back, crosswise, until she falls prostrate, unconscious, this sometimes resulting in her death; if,

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/footnote 82 cont./ however, she recovers her spirits, the operation is further repeated some four or five times with an interval of six hours. It is considered a great offense to the parents if the blows are not given with much force. During this test, all kinds of meats and fish are prepared in huge pots. Following that, those present dip into these the cipos, which immediately afterwards are given to the girl to lick. From then on she will be able to eat everything she wishes. And from this moment on she is considered a woman. She is thus ready for marriage" (o. c. 634).

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There perhaps is confusion with what happens among the tribes of the Içana and among the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés on the occasion of the dabacuris. According to what the Kubewana of the Ambaíba maloca, mouth of the Querari, told us, when the father of a youth decides to look for a wife for his son, he takes advantage of the dabacuri and applies to the chosen girl three lashes with the adabi (VII-4, e (2b) ). If she stoutly endures the blows, it is an indication that she is already mature for dealing with the responsibilities of a home.

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In some Arwake tribes a caxiri is held later; it is the feast called Karyamã (83),

83. Karyamã is the name of the type of beijú prescribed for this circumstance.

which may last as long as four days (it seems that it is the same number of days as the seclusion of the girl). Then she will dance with everyone, including the pajé, and will smoke with them on the cigar made of banana leaves and tobacco. It seems that on

562 /444 cont./
881 this /445/ occasion there are games and entertainments among the
527 young individuals of the maloca (84).
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84. One of the informants spoke to us about the "game of the lemon" for this circumstance. We heard about a Makú girl, Teresa by name, who on this occasion ran away with the youth, with whom she spent a few days. It seems that this is a matter of a conventional flight, because in reality they withdrew to a hut about 20 or 30 meters from the maloca.

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881 Abstention from work for some days is verified; for example,
784 she will not light the fire, "in order not to be burned." Then the young woman resumes her normal life; she will work in the clearing and in the house with her mother. For another month, accord-
[115] ing to information by Dorotéia Brito, she may not taste salt or eat either piraíba or the flesh of large animals, "in order not to ruin the teeth" (85).

85. Concerning a young Bará, sister-in-law of a Karapanã, in whose maloca, on the headwaters of the Áua, she submitted to the puberty rite, we were able to observe that she did in fact subject herself to a severe alimental diet, not accepting our salted foods, nourishing herself with beijú, tapioca, and fruits. We saw her, however, approach the fire, stir it up, and put some green bananas on to roast for herself.

881 During the following menstruation the rite of the seclusion of
562 the young woman is renewed. This second stage of the puberty
*[192] initiation is called Mahã-mĩ-nõsé. It is identical to the first one,

562 /445 cont./
881 without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following men-
*[192] struation, Məhẽka-nĩsé, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

611 Among the tribes of the Uaupés it is generation /Port. geração,
[601] generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (ñõx-kãkõra, grandparents) and descendants (marĩ-bero-maxsã), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

602 The components of the same tribe, although born and living
619 in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerẽra (86),
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> 86. The term axkawerẽra is beginning to be extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

a term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" /relatives/ and sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason we are of the opinion (VIII-2, a) that initially the local group coincided with the family.

*192 Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree
609 of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpẽra (87),

> 87. Axpẽra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpĩ (masculine) and axpego, feminine, other.

that is strangers, foreigners.

602 /446/
619 True kinship, therefore, exists only between the individuals of the same tribe, and with all of them.

2) Affinity.

582 Although strict tribal exogamy is in force, marriage establishes between the children and the relatives of both their father and their mother relations of affinity, similar to those of kinship (not, however, the obligations of vengeance and of matrimonial interdiction) and with a special nomenclature, although not as rich in terms as that of kinship.

582 Since "preferential marriage" is in force (usually with the first cousins of another tribe), that is, with the first cousins on
601 the mother's side, or baxsú-kãra (Masc. sing. baxsukõ, Fem. sing.
602 baxsuko), they admit the relation of affinity of the baxsukãra among themselves, as well as between the parents and the class of the "possible spouses" of the children. There are appropriate terms for these "possible spouses," "possible parents-in-law," and "possible children-in-law."

601 There might perhaps not even exist a term to express the relation of affinity; then they use a term for the relation of kin-
602 ship. For example, the native idioms of the Uaupés do not have terms corresponding to stepfather, stepmother, stepson, stepdaughter. In indirect discourse they describe the relation that exists, that is, one is called: "husband of my mother" (stepfather), "wife of my father" (stepmother), "son or daughter of my husband, or of my wife" (stepson, stepdaughter). And in direct discourse one is called by the name of the relation (uncle, grandfather, etc.), and they will call the stepchildren "children."

601 There are indeed terms, although also classificatory, that is, applicable to a whole class of individuals, corresponding to son-in-law and brother-in-law, but used almost solely for indirect discourse. For direct discourse they prefer the terms of social kinship; of these terms we shall indicate only the most common

/446 cont./

601 one, that is, the one that occurs in the generality of the cases. For example, ordinarily the father-in-law, "ma-ñĩx-kã," belongs to the class of the "maternal uncles" and will be called mẽx-kã. As an exception he might be in the class of the "cousins" (meõ-kõ or tẽ-nõ) or of the grandparents (ñõx-kã) and would then be called by these terms, and not by mẽx-kã.

Likewise the "son-in-law," buhí, in direct discourse is called pakhõ by the father-in-law, and para-maxkõ by the mother-in-law, because ordinarily he is one of the nephews (whose mother is "sister" of the father-in-law, and the father, brother of the mother-in-law).

In the same way the "brother-in-law," pẽ-ñã, as a rule is one of the baxsukãra or cousins, and thus in direct discourse will be called a cousin, meõ-kõ (or tẽ-ñõ, bridegroom). As an exception he might belong to the class of the "uncles," mẽx-kã, or of the "grandparents," ñõx-kã. We shall not /447/ indicate, for reasons of brevity, those other terms which are already listed among those of kinship.

N.B. The wife in indirect discourse uses a special term, nihĩ-so-paxkõ, to designate the brothers-in-law who are mamí of the "Gens" of her husband. Whereas the term nihĩ-so-paxko (pl. nihĩ-so-paxko-nũ'mya) is the equivalent of "concunhada" /co-sister-in-law," wife of husband's brother/.

3) Classificatory nomenclature.

The kinship nomenclature used not only by the Tukano, but also by the other tribes of the Uaupés, is essentially a classificatory nomenclature. With more accuracy, it is a matter of kinship which could be qualified as social or tribal, rather than as personal relations (88).

88. We began by verifying several times that a youth would call some individual of his tribe his "uncle," "mẽẽ," when, through later questioning, the latter proved not to be a brother of his father.

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601 The only terms actually individualizing seem to be those which correspond to father, "pax-kõ," and mother, "paxkõ" (89).

89. That means, then, that "pai" /father/ and "mãe" /mother/ are the only kinship terms in the Portuguese language that have perfect equivalents in Tukano and in the other native languages of the Uaupés. All the rest, whether of consanguinity (such as grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, uncle, cousin, nephew, etc.) or of affinity (father-in-law, son-in-law, brother-in-law, etc.), do not have a precise translation in these native idioms. To the wife, for example, "ma-ĩĩ-kõ," which we have translated as "sogro" /father-in-law/, is not only the father of her husband; it is all the men of the tribe of the husband who make up the category of those whom the latter calls "mẽẽ" (uncle). The very terms corresponding to "son," "max-kõ," "daughter," "max-kõ," are also applied to a whole class of persons.

which are applied to one's own genitors in the strict sense. All the other kinship terms, such as brother, uncle, brother-in-law, etc., are applied to a class of individuals, whether they might be connected to one another by a bond of consanguinity or affinity, or not. It is enough that they are of the same tribe and of the same generation (even though with a great difference in age) as one who is really a brother, uncle, brother-in-law, etc.

For example, within the tribe, all the individuals of the male sex in one's own generation are called mamí or axkabí (they translated them into Portuguese as "irmão" /brother/). They call "mẽẽ," uncle, those of their father's generation, that is, the brothers of their own father (that is, all the mamí or axkabí of

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601 their own father) and are called by them "mẽ-kõ," nephew. And those of their grandparents' generation they call grandfather, "pax-kõ-ro," and are called by them "paramĩ," grandchildren, or max-kõ-kõ, "child-of-my-child."

/448/ As for the "brothers," if they are such in the strict sense (that is, children of the same father and the same mother), the older one is called mamĩ (they translate it "bigger brother") and the younger, axkabĩ ("smaller brother").

When it is a matter of "tribal brother," that is, of the individuals of the tribe who make up one and the same generation or layer, the terms mamĩ and axkabĩ are independent of age; they are, instead, a function of the group. That is, all those of the more important "Gens" (see VIII-3, c /see VIII-3, d/) (we use the Latin term "gens" in order to designate the subdivisions of the tribe or sib of the American Ethnologists), whatever their ages might be, are mamĩ; all those of the inferior "Gens" are axkabĩ. That is, an entire "Gens" (without taking into account the ages of its members) is called mamĩ or axkabĩ of another.

Let us imagine the case of the individual X, who has five children, successively A, B, C, D, E; of which B, C, D are of the male sex, and A, E of the female sex. It is to be observed: 1st, that five is actually the average number of children, according to our "anthropometric file cards"; 2nd, that they wish to have children of both sexes, and that an older daughter is a valuable helper of the mother in raising the younger children. The older daughter A will be mamyõ of all the brothers and sisters; the younger daughter E will likewise be axkabyõ of all. If we consider the son C, he will be mamĩ of D and E and axkabĩ of A and B.

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Let us further suppose that the brothers B, C, D marry (90)

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90. A and E will obligatorily marry husbands, baxsukõ, from another tribe; their children, however, do not belong to tribe X (grandfather), but to that of the father himself. The children of A and E

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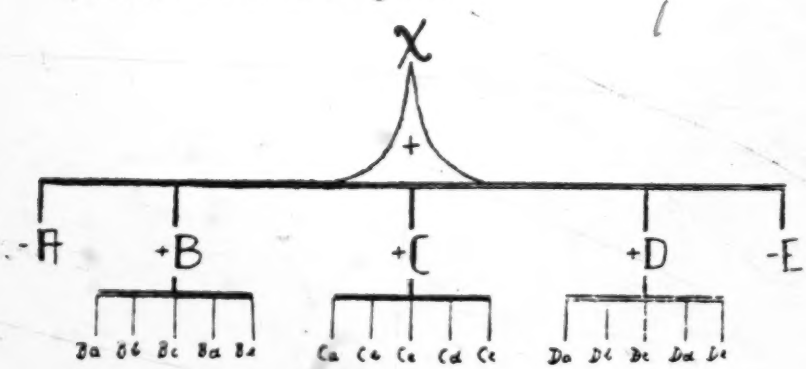
/footnote 90 cont./ (and all the young people of their tribe and layer) make up in turn the class of the baxsukãra or "possible brides and bridegrooms" (that is, of those who can be taken as spouses) of the children of B, C, and D.

and likewise come to have five children each; the children of B: Ba, Bb, Bc, Bd, Be, those of C: Ca, Cb, Cc, Cd, Ce, those of D: Da, Db, Dc, Dd, De.

We would have the following tree:




Genealogical Tree

/449/ a) X in this tree, in relation to the first generation, is pax-kõ, father; in relation to those of the second generation he is pax-kõ-Ro (literally old-father, that is, grandfather).

b) The first generation A, B, C, D, E among themselves are mamí, mamyó, axkabí, axkabyó, as we saw above.

In relation to X, they will be: "max-kõ," son, or "max-kõ," daughter (in the plural "põra," sons, daughters).

Relative to the second generation, they are "pax-kõ," father, or "mẽẽ," uncle; that is, B, for example, is "pax-kõ" for those of the series B, and "mẽẽ" for those of the series C and D; these

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601 will call B "mẽẽ," and B will call them "mekõ," nephew (N.B. He will call the niece "max-kõ," daughter, and the niece will call him "mã-gã," because "mẽẽ" is a term used by the men, and "mã-gã" only by the women).

c) In the second generation (Ba, Bb, Bc, Bd, Be, Ca, Cb, Cc, Cd, Ce, Da, Db, Dc, Dd, De), they distinguish one another among themselves with mamí, mamyó, axkabí, axkabyó, according to their ages, within the same series. Independently of the ages, however, those of series B are all mamí (or mamyó if a woman) for those of the series C and D, because B is mamí of C and D. Those of the series D are all axkabí (or axkabyó, being a woman) for those of the series B and C, without taking into account the ages of the individuals, because D is axkabí of B and C. Those of the series C, also independently of their ages, are mamí for those of the series D, and axkabí for those of the series B.

In relation to X, all are called "paramẽra," grandchildren (paramẽra is plural; Masc. sing. paramaí; F. sing. paramyõ). It is to be noted that all the men of the generation of X (his mamí or axkabí) are considered pax-kõ-Ro, grandparents, of the second generation.

4) Variations in the nomenclature.

d) /sic/ The nomenclature of kinship and affinity, as will be seen later, varies according to:

1st. -- The relationships of consanguinity or affinity between the persons named and naming;

2nd. -- The hierarchical position of the "Gens" to which the persons named and naming belong;

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3rd. -- The sex of the persons naming and named (the letter m indicates that the term is used exclusively by persons of the male sex; f, only by persons of the female sex; m, f, when by both sexes).

4th. -- The social age, or, better, the generation of the one who names.

/450/ 5th. -- There are, in some cases, different terms for direct discourse (appelative or vocative), that is, between the two relatives; or for indirect discourse (designative or nominative), that is, between the relative who speaks, referring to his relative, and a third person. For example, "axkabí" is the term that means "smaller brother" (younger); nevertheless, in direct discourse, that is, in calling the younger brother, the older one will say: "a'tyá nĩhỹã" (come here, nĩhỹa, dear brother /Port. mano/). Likewise axkabyó means "smaller sister" (younger); nevertheless, the older one calls her: "a'tyá nũmyó" (come here, nũmyó, dear sister /Port. mana/).

6th. -- In many cases, speaking with someone about some relative (indirect discourse), the relation of consanguinity or of affinity is described; for this reason we also record the descriptive nomenclature.

When there is no proper term to indicate the relation of kinship and especially of affinity, one has recourse to the descriptive term. Many individuals, either out of ignorance or for facilitation, have recourse to the descriptive terms even when there are proper or adequate terms.

From these concepts arose a nomenclature that is quite complex and richer in terms than that of the Portuguese language (or of the European customs), although it does not attain perfect logical rigor.

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5) The terms of kinship and affinity

(according to the Tukano customs)

Prior observations:

1st. -- According to the native pronunciation, the terms seem to us to be compound (cf. Observações Gramaticais, da língua Daxseyé ou Tukano /Gramatical Observations of the Daxseyé or Tucano language/); for this reason we separate with a hyphen (-) the various elements that make up the words.

2nd. -- Besides the descriptive (or explicative) term, we shall give the nominative (indirect or designative), that is, when in conversation with a third person one wants to indicate the relative (ex. "N. is my cousin"), and the vocative term (direct or appelative), that is, when one calls the relative (ex. "O cousin, come here").

3rd. -- The Tukano tribe (like all those of the Uaupés in general) is divided into groups (cf. IV -- 2, a (2 b) ); it is these that we denoncinate with the Latin term "Gens."

4th. -- They did not know how to explain to us why they call the "cousin" of the same tribe mamí max-kõ or axkabí max-kõ, that is, "son of the brother." They only answered that it is the custom. There are confused, then, the /451/ descriptive terms of "cousin" and "nephew." It is true that in practice they never use the term described for the "cousins."

5th. -- The nomenclature below is in force in the Tukano tribe and does not always correspond to the similar term (with regard to the radical) in another tribe of sister language.

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6th. -- The spouses call each other mãã-ba (you) when they do not have any children. After the birth of the first son (or daughter) and until the death of this one, they call each other, respectively: "N (name of the child) pax-kõ or N. pax-ko, that is, "Father (or mother) of N." When the first child dies, they say the name of the next one. If they no longer have any children, they go back to calling each other mãã-ba.

| Kinship | Descriptive Term | Descriptive Term | Descriptive Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Father | | Pax-kõ (pl. pax-kõ-s'ömõa) | yõõ pax-kõ (my father) | m,f |
| Mother | | pax-ko (pl. pax-ko-sa-nũmya) | yõõ pax-ko | m,f |
| Paternal grandfather | yõõ pax-kõ paxkõ (father of my father) | pax-kõ-Ro (pl. pax-kõ-Rokõra) (old-father) | yõõ pax-kõ-Ro | m,f |
| Old men of the tribe | | pax-kõ-Ro | yõõ pax-kõ-Ro | m,f |
| Maternal grandfather | yõõ pax-ko pax-kõ (father of my mother) | ñõx-kã (pl. ñõx-kãkõra) or ñõx-kã-Ro (ñõ-kã-Rokõra) | yõõ ñõxkã<br>yõõ ñõx-kã-Ro | m,f<br>m,f |
| Paternal grandmother | yõõ pax-kõ pax-ko (mother of my father) | ma:-ko (maa-ko) (pl. ma:kokõra) | yõõ ma:-ko | m,f |
| Old women of the tribe | | wa-meõ-ko (pl. wa-meõ-kokõra) (old-aunt) | yõõ wa-meõ-ko | m,f |
| Maternal grandmother | yõõ pax-kó pax-kó (mother of my mother) | wa-meõ-ko (if from the tribe)<br>ma:-ko (if from another tribe) | yõõ wa-meõ-ko<br>yõõ ma:-ko | m,f<br>m,f |
| Son | | max-kõ (pl. põra) | yõõ max-kõ | m,f |
| Daughter | | max-kõ (pl. põra nũ'mya) | yõõ max-kõ | m,f |
| Bigger brother | (of the more important Gens) | Mami (pl. mami-s'ömõa) or (mami-kõra) | yõõ mami | m,f |
| Bigger sister | (of the more important Gens) | Mamyo (pl. mamyokõra) | yõõ mamyo | m,f |
| Smaller brother | (of the less important Gens) | nihỹã (pl. nihỹãkõra) or axkabi (pl. axkabĩra) | yõõ nihỹã<br>yõõ kabi | m,f<br>m,f |
| Smaller sister | (of the less important Gens) | axkabyo (pl. axkabĩra nũ"mya) | yõõ pana-mõ | f |
| Bigger or smaller brother | | nũmyo (pl. nũmyokõra).<br>pana-mõ (pl. pana-mõa) | yõõ nũmyo<br>yõõ kabyo | m<br>f |
| Paternal male cousin | yõõ mami max-kõ (son of my mami) | mami | yõõ mami | m,f |
| | yõõ kabi max-kõ (son of my axkabi) | nihỹã<br>axkabi | yõõ nihỹã<br>yõõ kabi | m,f<br>m,f |
| Paternal female cousin | yõõ mami max-kõ (daughter of my mami) | mamyo | yõõ mamyo | m,f |
| | yõõ kabi max-kõ (daughter of my axkabi) | nũmyo<br>axkabyo | yõõ nũmyo<br>yõõ kabyo | m<br>m,f |

| Kinship | Descriptive Term | Descriptive Term | Nominative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maternal male cousin | yõõ wa-meõ max-kõ (son of my aunt) | meõ-kõ (pl. meõ-kõkõra) | yõõ meõ-kõ | m |
| | | wa-meõ max-kõ (pl. wameõ max-kõkõra). | yõõ wa-meõ maxkõ | f |
| Maternal female cousin | yõõ wa-meõ max-kõ (daughter of my aunt) | meõ-kõ (pl. meõ-kõkõra) | yõõ mẽ-kõ | m |
| | | wa-meõ max-kõ (pl. wameõ maxkõ-kõra) | yõõ wa-meõ maxkõ | f |
| Paternal uncle | yõõ pax-kõ mamí (or axkabí) (mamí or axkabí of my father) | mẽẽ (pl. mẽẽkõra) | yõõ mẽẽ | m |
| Paternal aunt | yõõ pax-kõ mamyo (axkabyo) (mamyó or axkabyó of my father) | mã-gã (pl. mã-gãkõra) | yõõ mã-gã | f |
| | | wa-meõ (pl. wa-meõkõra) | yõõ wa-meõ | m,f |
| Maternal uncle | yõõ pax-ko mamí (or axkabí) (mamí or axkabí of my mother) | mẽx-kã (pl. mẽx-kãkõra) | yõõ mẽx-kã | m |
| | | mẽx-kã-sa (pl. mẽxkã-sakõra) | yõõ mẽx-kã-sa | f |
| Maternal aunt | yõõ pax-ko mamyo (axkabyo) (mamyó or axkabyó of my mother) | mã-gõ (pl. mã-gõkõra) | yõõ mã-gõ | m,f |
| Nephew (brother's son) | yõõ mamí (or kabí) max-kõ (son of my mamí or axkabí) | mẽ-kõ (pl. mẽ-kõkõra) | yõõ mẽ-kõ | m |
| Niece (brother's daughter) | yõõ mamí (or kabí) max-kõ (daughter of my mamí or axkabí) | para-maxkõ (pl. para-maxkõkõra) | yõõ para-maxkõ | f |
| | | max-kõ (daughter) | yõõ max-kõ | m |
| | | para-maxkõ (pl. para-maxkõkõra) | yõõ para-maxkõ | f |
| Nephew (sister's son) | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ (son of my mamyó or axkabyó) | paa-khõ (pl. paa-khõkõra) | yõõ paa-khõ | m |
| | | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | f |
| Niece (sister's daughter) | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ (daughter of my mamyó or axkabyó) | paa-khõ pl. paa-khõkõra) | yõõ paa-khõ | m |
| | | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | f |
| Grandson | yõõ max-kõ max-kõ (son of my son) | para-mĩ (pl. para-mẽra) | yõõ para-mĩ | m,f |
| | | | or yõõ max-kõ-kõ (pl. maxkõ-kõkõra) | m |
| Granddaughter | yõõ max-kõ max-kõ (daughter of my son) | para-myõ (pl. para-mẽra nũmya) | yõõ parã-myõ | m |
| | | | or yõõ max-kõ-kõ | m |
| Grandson | yõõ max-kõ max-kõ (son of my daughter) | para-mĩ | yõõ para-mĩ | m,f |
| | | | or yõõ max-kõ-kõ | m |
| Granddaughter | yõõ max-kõ max-kõ (daughter of my daughter) | para-mỹõ | yõõ para-mỹõ | m,f |
| | | | or yõõ max-kõ-kõ | m |
| Spouse | yõõ põra pax-kõ (father of my children) | mã-ra-põ (pl. mã-ra-põ-s'ömõa) | mãã-ba or N. pax-kõ (you, or Father of N.) | f |

| Kinship | Nominative Term | Nominative Term | Nominative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wife | yõõ põra pax-ko (mother of my children) | nõ'mõ (pl. nõ'mõ-sa-nu'mya) | mãã-ba or N. pax-ko (you, or Mother of N.) | m |
| Stepfather | yõõ pax-ko mã-ra-põ (husband of my mother) | | | |
| | a) from the 1st husband's tribe | mẽẽ (paternal uncle) | yõõ mẽẽ | m |
| | | mã-gã (paternal uncle) | yõõ mã-gã | f |
| | b) from another tribe | mẽx-kã (maternal uncle) | yõõ mẽ-kã | m |
| | | mẽx-kã-sa (maternal uncle) | yõõ mẽ-kã-sa | f |
| Stepmother | yõõ pax-kõ nõ'mõ (wife of my father) | | | |
| | a) from the 1st wife's tribe | mã-gõ (maternal aunt) | yõõ mã-gõ | m,f |
| | b) from another tribe | mã-gõ | yõõ mã-gõ | m,f |
| Stepson | yõõ nõ'mõ max-kõ (son of my wife) | yõõ nõ'mõ max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ max-kõ (son of my husband) | yõõ mã-ra-põ max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | f |
| Stepdaughter | yõõ nõ'mõ max-kõ (daughter of my wife) | yõõ nõ'mõ max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ max-kõ (daughter of my husband) | yõõ mã-ra-põ max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | f |
| Father-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ pax-kõ (father of my wife) | ma-ñix-kã (pl. ma-ñix-kã-s'ömõa) | yõõ mẽx-kã (uncle) | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ pax-kõ (father of my husband) | ma-ñix-kã | yõõ mẽx-kã-sa | f |
| Mother-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ pax-ko (mother of my wife) | | | |
| | a) from son-in-law's tribe | ma-ñix-kõ (pl. ma-ñix-kõ-sa-nũ'mya) | yõõ wamẽõ (pat. aunt) | m |
| | b) from another tribe | ma-ñix-kõ | yõõ mã-gõ (mat. aunt) | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ pax-ko (mother of my husband) | | | |
| | a) from daughter-in-law's tribe | ma-ñix-kõ | yõõ wa-mẽõ | f |
| | b) from another tribe | ma-ñix-kõ | yõõ mã-gõ | f |

| Kinship | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | Nominative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Son-in-law | yõõ max-kõ mã-ra-põ (husband of my daughter) | | | |
| | a) whose mother is from the father-in-law's tribe | buhi (pl. buhi-s'ömõa or buhikõra) | yõõ pa:-kõ (nephew) | m |
| | | | yõõ para-maxkõ | f |
| | b) whose mother is not from the father-in-law's tribe | buhi | yõõ ti-khã (pl. ti-khãkõra) | m |
| | | | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) maxkõ | f |
| Daughter-in-law | yõõ mạx-kõ nõ'mã (wife of my son) | ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra) para-maxkõ | yõõ ti-khõ | m |
| | | | yõõ para-maxkõ | f |
| Possible bridegroom | a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking | baxsukõ (pl. baxsukãra) | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) | m |
| | | | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | baxsukõ | yõõ tẽ-ñõ (pl. tẽ-ñõkõra) | m |
| | | | yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ (pl. maõ-pa-maxkõköra) | f |
| Possible bride | a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking | baxsuko (pl. baxsukãra nũ'mya) | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) | m |
| | | | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | baxsuko | yõõ tẽ-ñõ (pl. tẽ-ñõkõra) | m |
| | | | yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ (pl. maõ-pa-makõkõra) (= nephew of my mother) | f |
| Possible father-in-law | yõõ baxsukãra pax-kõ (father of my brides or grooms) | yõõ baxsukãra pax-kõ | yõõ mẽx-kã (uncle) | m |
| | | | yõõ mẽx-kã-sa | f |
| Possible mother-in-law | yõõ baxsukãra pax-ko (mother of my brides or grooms) | | | |
| | a) from tribe of the one speaking | yõõ baxsukãra pax-ko | yõõ wa-meõ (pat. aunt) | m,f |
| | b) from another tribe | yõõ baxsukãra pax-kõ | yõõ mã-gõ (mat. aunt) | m,f |
| Possible son-in-law | yõõ põra baxsukõ (bride or groom of my children) | | | |
| | a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ pa:-kõ (nephew) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ mami (kabi) max--kõ | f |

| Kinship | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | Nominative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ | f |
| Possible daughter-in-law | yõõ põra baxsuko (bride of my sons) | | | |
| | a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ pá:-khõ (niece) (pl. pá:khõ kõra) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ | f |
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ | f |
| Brother-in-law | yõõ nõ'mã mami (axkabi) (brother of my wife) | | | |
| | a) married to meõ-kõ | pẽ-ñã (pl. pẽ-ñã-s'õmõa) or pẽ-ñãkõra) | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) | m |
| | b) married to tẽ-ñõ | pẽ-ñã | yõõ tẽ-ñõ (bridegroom) | m |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the brides and bridegrooms | pẽ-ñã | yõõ piri (91) (pl. pirikõra) | m |

91. According to the information obtained, the term piri is recent and used in all the native languages of the Brazilian Uaupés. It seems to us that it is a corruption of the Portuguese term "primo" /cousin/, which, due to faulty pronunciation, they customarily distort into "pirimo." The following are the arguments that authorize this opinion: 1st, some of the informants do not know the term piri; still more numerous are those who do not know piri-mo or piri-mõ and piri-ma; 2nd, of those who have indicated these terms, no one was able to indicate the plural of piri-mo and of piri-ma, and rare were those who presented that of piri; 3rd, according to the spirit of the Tukano language, piri-mo should be the feminine form.

This acceptance of terms from another language is easy. For example, Antônio Barreto (Tukano) informed us that one of his maternal aunts (mã-gõ), who in her first marriage had a Tukano (mẽẽ of the informant) for a husband, married a man from the Yebá-maxsã tribe in her second marriage. Not being able to call him "mẽẽ," of course, he called his new uncle "yõ-ti," a term unknown to the other informants and which in all probability is a corruption of the Portuguese "tio" /uncle/ (yõ-ti would be an abbreviation of yõõ tio, my uncle).

| Kinship | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | or yõõ sêi-mõ (92) | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ mami (brother of my husband) | | | |
| | a) married to wameõ-maxkõ | nihi-so-paxkõ (pl. + s'ömõa) (only the mami of the "Gens") | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | | buhi-bakõ (pl. buhi-bakõra) | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) married to maõ-pa-maxkõ | buhi-bakõ | yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ | f |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms" | buhi-bakõ | yõõ piri-mõ | f |
| Sister-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ mamyo (kabyo) (sister of my wife) | | | |
| | a) married to meõ-kõ | buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra) | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) | m |
| | b) married to tẽ-ñõ | buhi-bako | yõõ tẽ-ñõ (bridegroom) | m |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms" | buhi-bako | yõõ p'ri-ma | m |
| | yõõ mã-rapõ mamyo (kabyo) (sister of my husband) | | | |
| | a) married to wameõ-maxkõ | syõ (pl. syõköra or better, syõrj-nũ'mya) | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) married to maõ-pa-maxkõ | syõ or buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra) | yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ | f |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms" | syõ or buhi-bako | yõõ piri-ma | f |
| Co-brother-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ pẽ-ñã (my wife's brother-in-law) | pesu (pe'su) (pl. pesu-s'ömõa) | | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ buhi-bakõ (my husband's brother-in-law) | | | f |
| Co-sister-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ buhi-bako (my wife's sister-in-law) | | | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ syõ (my husband's sister-in-law) | nihi-so-paxko (pl. + sa-nũ'mya) | | f |

92. Some mentioned the term "sêi-mõ (F. sea-mõ) as equivalent to brother-in-law from a tribe different from that of the baxsukãra. They do not know, however, what the plural form would be. According to another informant, "sêi-mõ" would be a term taken from the Nheengatu language and equivalent to "compatriot," i.e., member of the same tribe or nation.

/458/

619 2) Local or Territorial Group.

628 a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93)

> 93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that not only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

614 592 621 Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large dwelling called maloca, Wi'ĩ pahirĩwi, which means great house, collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

[177] With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort. For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the povoados or groupings of family residences.

[178]

4: Silva--698 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Not rarely the dissension within a group provokes schisms, bringing as a result the departure of the dissidents, who go to build a new maloca or povoado farther away.

It is probable that originally each maloca was, in a strict sense, a family, in which the sons remained beside the father, and under his direction, even after they were married. We thus conceive the local group as being originally an agnatic community. There is, as a matter of fact, an expression current among the natives: "I am a person of N," and he says the name of the tuxaua himself.

[178] At present the two forms of local grouping are found: either everyone lives under one and the same roof, the maloca; or each family has its own residence, the povoados resulting. It is to be noted, however, that there are povoados only on the banks of the large rivers and through the influence and under the protection of the catechesis.

[594] /459/ In one form or another, however, the families constitute distinct groups and, what is even more remarkable in the regime of the maloca, autonomous ones. One understands the reason for this autonomy: there is in the tribes of the Uaupés a fusion of the two "ateliers," the masculine one (of fishing) and the feminine one (tiller), which complement each other and are sufficient for the maintenance of the family.

b) The social organization.

The gregarious life that the forest dwellers live demands the observance of certain norms establishing the relations among the individuals, or a certain social organization is necessary.

These relationships are, besides, quite natural, due to the very simplicity of the life they lead; and, on the other hand, are religiously observed. They are all customary, that is, practiced by custom, and it can not be learned whether they were given by a legislator, Wãx-tĩ, as the legends teach; or whether, on the contrary, they were customs introduced naturally and which experience approved, established, and made inviolable. Or whether

/459 cont./

621 perhaps one should distinguish between the different relations,
592 some of which, for example, that of exogamous marriage, might
614 have had a positive origin, and the others might be of consuetudinary origin.

Even in small groups, although perfectly and smoothly harmonized, the distinction of social assemblages, with their duties, their characteristic attributes, their peculiar directives, is easily perceptible. In each local group we can distinguish four categories of individuals: 1st, the tuxáua; 2nd, the Komũã (elders); 3rd, the men (more or less scaled by their ages and experience); 4th, the women and children.

These different categories, however, are closely connected to one another by unifying and stabilizing principles: 1st, a common house, the regime of the maloca, which, at least in the beginning, was in force as a general norm and without exception; 2nd, the provisions in common: a custom that is maintained in the maloca regime and, in a more attenuated way, also in the povoado system; 3rd, the common inheritance of the maloca, of zones for fishing and hunting, and of everything that is the property of the group; 4th, the fear of the spirits, with great unitive power, corresponding to the native mentality; 5th, vengeance, which the group will exercise against the one suspected of having caused the death of one of its members.

A further word about the first two categories of individuals is advisable.

c) "Bũxkõrá-kurá" -- (Council of elders).

622 Watching over the observance of the customs and the feasts is
623 a Council of elders, the Bũxkõrá-kurá (called Moacaretá in Nheengatú). It is made up of the Tuxaua, who is its hereditary president and also speaker and executor of its decisions, the Pajé, and two or three more /460/ men of greater ascendancy. These men are the Komũã (pl. of Komũ), as the natives express themselves, whom we saw appear (VII - 2, e (3) ) as "initiates" and, up to a certain point, helping the pajé.

/460 cont./

623 "The elders desire it this way" is an expression that is frequently heard when one asks the native the reason for some practice that causes us surprise. This expression is the manifestation of an impersonal will (the name of some of the components, as responsible for the decision, is never revealed), which is always
*[192] respected. This term "elder," "Bũxkõ," applied to the Komũã, is indicative of authority rather than of age, because one sees individuals of perhaps 30 years of age or a little more making up part of the Council.

*[192] The Council acts as electoral college of the Tuxaua, Wyõra bexsesé, and as a tribunal which passes judgment on the omissions and transgressions of the customs.

[115] Vice versa, as follows from the Tukano narrator Antônio Barreto, the choice of the members of the Council falls to the Tuxaua. The zeal of someone from the maloca with regard to the interests of the group, his love for the traditions, his facility in remembering them, are, it seems, the qualities required to be admitted among the Komũã. It is nevertheless necessary for him to be presented by some member of the council, perhaps the candidate's father himself. His admission, however, depends on the favorable opinion of the Council, after the candidate has given proofs of his aptitude, for example, repeating the legends of the tribe, or the songs of the dances, or showing the efficacy of his "blowings." For this a prolonged course at the school of the old Komũã has been necessary, as we saw above (VII - 2, e (3) ).

The title of Komũã is a lifelong one and procures for them the
[756] respect of their contributors. The Komũã, moreover, practice their
[755] activities as "blowers," especially at the delivery and at the giving of the names, as instructors at the puberty rites, and as helpers of the Pajé in treating the sick. The meetings are frequent. The
[115] Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos assured us that sometimes they meet almost every night.

/460 cont./

622 d) "Wyógõ" or Tuxáua (local chief).

*[192] In each maloca or povoado there is a chief or Tuxaua, in Tukano Wyógõ (or Vyógõ), a term that is probably derived from Wi'í, house (94).

[648] 94. The title of Capitão was granted, at the time of the Capitanias, by the provincial Government to the Tuxauas, as a stimulus for attracting them toward contact with the civilized and to take advantage of their influence in order to obtain Indians for the services of public utility. At certain times it went so far as to give them a military uniform, sword, and a monthly salary.

/461/ Originally he would be the head of the family, continuing his paternal power or domestic authority. His is an authority directive and as guardian over the local group of families.

Besides his power and his obligations, as husband and father of his family (and he will do all the tasks, like any other head of a family), it is incumbent upon him to watch over the execution of the traditional laws, to preside and direct the social functions. It falls to him, then, to supervise the construction of the maloca, the cleaning of the adjacent grounds, of the landing place, and of the roads giving access to it (tasks sometimes performed by the women of the maloca under the supervision of the chief's wife), the general and collective fishing, as well as the religious and profane feasts and the periodic dances.

He is the representative of the local group in its relations with other groups, with other tribes, or with the civilized. He stipulates the conditions and, afterwards, chooses and sends the men requested for the services of the whites. He is always obeyed, and, perhaps for this reason, he never uses an imperious, threatening tone.

/461 cont./

622 [595] Nevertheless he does not acquire from his position exemption from work or the right to demand tribute or payment in kind or in work from the other components (cf. Note 102 below /see p. 710 /) or to have more wives (95).

95. We have already noted the polygamy of other times (VIII-1, a (6) ). Still more recently there have been cited cases (information by Pe. João Marchesi) in which, besides their wife, they kept as a concubine some woman who had become widowed. As well as taking a second wife, because "his wife was sick, and he wanted to have children." There is also recalled the case of one, with a healthy wife and two daughters, who took another wife, impelled by the desire to have a male child, "so that his family will not decay with him." As a matter of fact, after the birth of a male child, he sent back its mother. We could not find out whether this attitude was spontaneous or not.

The power of the Wyógõ depends not so much on custom as on his personal influence, and this can come to him from several qualities: oratorical resources, prudence, technical skill, intelligence, knowledge of several languages (Portuguese, Nheengátú, etc.).

[178] Formerly they were invested with greater power (96).

[175] [648]

96. It seems that the same can be said of a more distant past. The reports of the eighteenth century (Pe. Noronha, Ribeiro Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira) show them as principals moving large groups, founding new places at the invitation of the civilized, organizing among themselves defensive and offensive alliances. Hence the interest of the Governadores in having them as allies, granting them the title

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/footnote 96 cont./ of Capitão. Caboquena, Ajuricaba, Camanaus, Comandre, Carunamá, Cabacabari, etc. became famous. During the first years, as well as in the middle of the last century, the Governador, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ as well as the Diretores Gerais dos Indios /General Directors of the Indians/, proceeded with the official appointment of several Principals on the river Uaupés itself, and they took advantage of their authority over the Indians. We found, for example, in the "Archivo do Amazonas," Vol. 1, n. 2, p. 29, the Diretores Gerais dos Indios do Gram-Pará, Brigadeiro Honorário /Honorary Brigadier/ João Henrique de Mattos and the Tenente Coronel Graduado /Graduate Lieutenant-Colonel/ Albino dos Santos Pereira, as well as the Encarregado dos Indios do Rio Uaupés /Agent for the Indians of the Uaupés River/ Capitão Francisco Gonçalves Pinheiro, appointing Tuxauas on the Uaupés River:

1848 -- 1. Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira, from the Wanana tribe.
2. Domingos Dias dos Santos, Tukano, Principal of Carurú-rapecuma.
3. João de Mattos (son of the late Excellent Tuxaua Raymundo José), Tukano, Principal of S. Joaquim.
4. Calisto Antonio, Taryana, Principal of Iauareté.

1850 -- 5. Manuel Calisto, Wanana, son of the late Tuxaua Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira.

District of Marabitanas:

6. The Indian Mathias Antonio, Principal of S. Francisco.
7. The Indian João Bernardo, Principal of Tucurimachi.
8. The Indian Angelo José, principal of Cuyiari.

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/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

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[829]

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*[192]

The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

[574]

97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

592 /462 cont./
622 and directs the collective work of the women, especially the
574 preparations for the caxiris and dabacuris. It is incumbent on her to greet and to thank, in the name of the women, the guests
[535] /463/ who came to the feast in the maloca. In certain dances
*[192] she has the distinctive role of soloist, Yõhõgõ or Nõ'mõ-Bayá (VII - 4, e (2 a 2) ). /Footnote 98 apparently belongs here, although the index number is missing./

[123] 98. At a great feast which we had the opportunity to attend among the Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, we saw the wife of the Tuxaua in one of the intervals of the dances approach the group of women who were seated and rebuke them. We suppose that it might have been due to the women's indecision in appearing for the preceding dance number.

797 On the occasion of the death of the Tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira,
622 the Tukano Júlio, on July 5, 1954, we had the opportunity to see some documents carefully kept by the deceased and his family, that is, a manuscript with the appointment successively of his great-grandfather, João Silgueira, and grandfather, Manoel Silgueira, for the position of Capitão of Parí-cachoeira, appointment made by the Capuchin Missionary Frei Venâncio Zilocchi, on December 5, 1882, with the visa, dated August 7, 1923, of Padre João Bálzola, Salesian. Another letter of appointment with printed heading, signed by the Capuchin Frei Gesualdo Marchetti, on May 30, 1885, also with the visa of Padre João Bálzola, of August 7, 1923. The following are the contents of these documents:

I, below signed, Frei Venancio Zilocchi, Apostolic Franciscan Missionary of the Rio Tiquih., tributary of the Rio Uaupés, and Director of the Missions established on it, appoint Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara the Senhor principal of the said Mission, João Silgueira, and in his absence the Older

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son, Manoel Silgueira, imposing on him the following conditions:

1st. -- To care for the Chapel and the Missionary's house.

2nd. -- To oblige the residents of the said Mission to finish making the houses started, even to make those which they have not had made.

3rd. -- To divide the Mission into streets, during the building of the houses.

4th. -- Every three months, to send (if the Missionary P. is not present) a resident from here to where the Padre is, in order to report the deaths, births, and the usual news during the said three months.

5th. -- To oblige everyone to make their clearings for their own maintenance, and in order to provide for their necessities.

[567]

6th. -- To forbid absolutely the sale of the Macú natives, as well as to impede, in any way possible, the so-called pega-pega /Port. pega, fetters for fugitive slaves/.

/464/ 7th. -- Finally, in case of necessity, to provide people for public service, that is to say, when the Missionary arrives, he must give the people whom he wants for his passage.

In the firm conviction that the said Sr. Principal will fulfill the conditions indicated above, I pass to him this document, in the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara on the fifth day of the month of December of 1882.

Sgd. Frei Venancio Zilocchi
Miss. Ap. Fno.

To Capitão João Silgueira, Sr. Principal of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara (a lapis).

Visa P. João Bálzola Salesian
August 7, 1923

4: Silva--707 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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797 (printed)
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FRIAR GESUALDO MARCHETTI

of the order of the Minor Observantists of St. Francis, Prefect of the Missions, etc. Considering the good qualities and good behavior of the neophyte João Silgueira -- we appoint him Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara, having to fulfill the orders of the respective Rendo Missionário or of the nearest one.

This appointment will last one year, when the year is finished the above-mentioned Missionary will again confirm it, not having any reasons to the contrary.

Hospice of the Propaganda Fide in Manaus May 30, 1885 (Prefecture of the Missions. Provincia do Amazonas, Fr. Gesualdo Marchetti)

(Manuscript) The below signed, in view of the death of Capitão João Paicana Silgueira of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara, passes the above-mentioned patent to the Indian Manoel Iépassonia, legitimate son of the above-mentioned Capitão.

With faith in what I sign

Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara of Pary Cachoeira January 29, 1886

Frei Matheus Canioni

Miss. Apost. Franc.

(a lapis) Visa Pe. João Bálzola August 7, 1923

622 e) The succession.

The tuxauaship has always been a lifelong position and title, and the deposition of one and election of another has never been reported. The latter happened only after the death (perhaps caused) of the former tuxáua. In case of recognized /465/ disability, he still continues to retain the title, and his oldest son will exercise the functions in the meantime.

/465 cont./

622 [115] Rules establishing the succession of the tuxaua or his choice are not known. The only strict norm would perhaps be the observance of the hierarchy of the subdivisions in the povoados in which there are families belonging to various subtribes (IV 2, a (2) ), according to the information by Patrícia Vasconcelos and Antônio Barreto. The democratic-aristocratic spirit of these small groups demands this. A very natural process, with such a spirit, is the succession of the father by the son, especially the first-born, a process which is verified in the greater frequency of the cases. This event was determined by the ascendancy, perhaps great, of the father, as well as the circumstance that the son, while the father was alive, often helped him or replaced him on many occasions.

The recognized ascendancy, the personal qualities, and among them regard for the traditions and respect for the authorities, are what point to the son as a candidate. Or, in the absence or the lack of aptitude of the latter, anyone else, preferably from the family of the deceased Tuxaua.

Violation of the old customs and disobedience toward the father have not infrequently been the cause of passing over some young man, otherwise well qualified, to succeed his own father in the office of tuxaua.

[623] Such a choice is one of the principal functions of the council of Elders, the Būxkōrá-Kurá (99),

[115]

99. On the occasion of the death of the Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, Julio Silgueira, on July 5, 1954, the Council of elders remained for three days deliberating on the qualities and merits of Mandu, the eldest son of the deceased chief, before recognizing him as the successor.

according to the information obtained from some tuxauas (Júlio, Tukano of Pari-cachoeira; Henrique Resende, Tuyuka of the Iaísa igarapé; Fernando, Yurupari of S. Ana on the river Içana; Mandú, Kumãdene of Urubucuara; José, Huhúdeni of Uapuim-cachoeira on the river Aiarí).

/465 cont./

562 The social power of the tuxaua being thus attenuated and
622 with this native democratic mentality, it is to be inferred that
there would be no repugnance toward a female Tuxaua. There
159 is mentioned the example of Caridade (or Carí, according to
562 the common designation) from the Tukano tribe, who exercised
the tuxauaship in Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), recognized
622 by all and in very singular circumstances, because she succeeded
her brother Estevão, who, upon his death, left two sons (100).

100. Carí previously had been a prostitute in S. Gabriel on the Rio Negro and never married. It was not possible to verify whether her ascendancy had an origin of such an order. It would be a problem similar to that of the Hetaerae. Or whether, on the contrary, as seems more probable, it was due to her intelligence, by being a very shrewd woman with the advantage of knowing Portuguese well.

/466/ The situation of Cari can perhaps be explained by her having lived for a long time with the civilized in such a way that she was considered such, being, on the other hand, the daughter of the old and esteemed tuxaua (101).

[648]

101. In Piracuara there were some misunderstandings between Colombians and natives. The Colombian authorities ordered the maloca destroyed, and Cari was manacled, as well as the local pajé. Some time later Pe. João Marchesi, who furnished us this information, was called in order religiously to assist Cari, who appeared in good spirits, in her hour of death.

/466 cont./

622 f) Government and justice.

Even in olden times the tuxaua's power was tempered by the power of the heads of each family, which, as we said, is autonomous regarding its normal life, its trading, its clearing, etc.

622 It was, likewise, moderated by the ascendancy of the Komã̃ã, the "Elders," who still today preside over the dances, take part in
623 the giving of the name to the child, in the initiation of the young men, practice the "blowing," etc. The "Elders" constituted a true Council or Senate of the Tuxaua, the Bũxkõrã-kurã; and even today continue with such function and choose the new tuxaua.

622 The absolute chiefs have always been an exception, which sometimes provoked reaction by his subordinates (102).

[159] [648]

102. José, Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, died poisoned by those of his maloca; properly speaking, by his second wife, a Tuyuka, with the connivance of the other inhabitants of the maloca. During the time of the encarregado dos índios /Indian Agent/ Higino Albuquerque, of the SPI, José exercised in truth a despotic power: he forced the Indians to work for some of the civilized, thrashed the women so that they would make the flour more quickly, etc.

797 Among all the tribes of the Uaupés a democratic regime has always been in force. It is remembered, however, that some tuxauas, in
622 contracting for service with the whites, -- one of the functions of
648 the tuxauaship, -- demanded payment without work, or even keeping almost everything for themselves and distributing little to the others, so that the natives came to ask the Missionary to make the distribution of the payment to them himself.

627 The administration of justice, in the strict sense, does not fall to the tuxaua. There is not even a judiciary or customary penal Law. The questions that arise among the components of the group are resolved among them under the dictates of reciprocal vengeance

627 /466 cont./
[623] or fear. The tuxaua, nevertheless, frequently acted as an arbiter, reprimanding the guilty ones, threatening them, imposing on them restitution of the object stolen or an indemnity, and, as maximum punishment, expelling the undesirables from the maloca; always, however, in accordance with the Komũã components of the
[681] Bũxkõrã-kurã. They have never known the penalty of prison /467/ or corporal punishment. It should be kept in mind that with their type of life, and with the native mentality, innumerable cases that fill our penal codes do not arise.

g) Associations.

797 In the Mission schools it is observed that, although the various
857 tribes with representatives among the school children live together in friendly fashion, the groups of each tribe readily separate in order to play among themselves. A Religious Superior of the Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora (Salesian Sisters), with more than 25 years (103)

103. A similar statement was given by the Superior of the newly founded Salesian Mission of Assunção among the Arwake of the Içana, located in the place known as Carará-poço, in August of 1957, therefore after only five months of the functioning of the local girls' boarding school.

of residence among those tribes, informed us that there was always a girl with ascendancy over the rest, a true "tuxaua," whose orders the others obeyed promptly, although transgressing school regulations and the orders of the Irmãs Superioras /Superior Sisters/; and they brought to this classmate the gifts received. Such deference, however, did not seem to be the fruit of friendship, but of fear. The Indian girl, who hardly cries, did it when admonished

/467 cont./

797 by this companion, whose rebuke (104)

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> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father," and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief."

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

575 We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

562 1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in
796 the feasts of Wãx-tĩ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

623 2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkõrãkurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

756 3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult

/468 cont./

756 cases. It is not known, however, whether there are more frequent meetings, at certain times, whether there are rites, or which acts [622] they practice then. It is known, indeed, that the pajé often convenes the Komũã, in order to resolve the sanitary problems of the maloca or povoado (see VII - 2, e (3) ).

562 4) A Tukano informant, Dorotéia Brito, spoke of womens' meet-
578 ings inside the maloca, during which they reveal among themselves
[115] the bad treatment that they receive from the men. We were not able, however, to verify whether it is a matter of true meetings of a secret society, as defense of class. Or instead, as seems more likely, casual, although frequent meetings of women, during which they open their hearts, revealing their own complaints. It is certain that at times, by the law of exogamy, all the women are from a certain tribe, to which they go to relate anything bad their husbands say against it, from which arise disputes and vengeance. This happens in a very regular way, and with a previous understand-
*[192] ing of the women among themselves. These tales by the women are called ukhá.

h) Social classes.

565 Among these Indians there is no true social stratification or social Classes, in the sense that there are privileged positions, perhaps lifelong and hereditary, with differentiation of tasks, diversity of rights and even of peculiar customs (in the dwelling, clothing, badges, emblems, etc.), as happens in more complex cultural forms. Within the maloca there are no lords and nobles, just
565 as there are no slaves (105);
567

105. In practice the Makú serve as slaves. It is a matter, however, of another tribe, racially, linguistically, and culturally different. Perhaps one can not even truly say slaves, since in exchange for work they receive protection and food. Once the tasks are finished (clearing, aturás /carrying baskets/, etc.) the Makú may leave, just as they may also constitute their maloca with their tuxaua.

/468 cont./

565 but an admirable equality of rights and duties, as well as of prop-
567 erty and of work.

Various circumstances justify such inexistence of classes: 1st, it is a matter of numerically small groups; 2nd, the warm and humid climate, if it facilitates a supply of the necessary food at all /469/ times of the year, it does not allow an abundant pro-
[578] visioning and the development of riches. Now, where there are no rich people, there are no classes, neither masters nor slaves;
[692] 3rd, the life in common, which the conditions introduced and tradition established; 4th, the fear of the envy that the well-being of one might cause in the others, and that so many times is manifested even in connection with the small inequalities (see V - 14); 5th, the lack of a tribunal to restore rights and indemnify damages.

3) Linguistic group.

a) Linguistic group.

619 Above the local Group, among the populations of the Amazonian Northwest, there is only the linguistic group. It is made up of several local groups, forming at times a total of thousands of individuals, with the following elements in common: 1st, they claim to be from one and the same tribe or nation and, therefore, consider themselves "brothers"; 2nd, they speak the same language; 3rd, marriage between them is definitely forbidden.

It is, then, a matter of an ethnic unit only. The groups that constitute it never gather together, they do not own property that might be said to be in common: house, land, fishing waters of such a tribe, etc. Because of the distances the relations between groups from different tribes are more frequent than between groups of the same tribe.

There is, then, no social or political organization of an entire tribe; and the elders do not recall of ever having heard of such an
[622] organization. There has indeed been some tuxaua with greater ascendancy and whom other tuxauas consulted and whose advice

/469 cont./

619 they followed in the more serious questions that involved relations
622 with other tribes or with the whites. Each one, however, judging himself perfectly independent and even with very little power over the other men of his own maloca.

701 It consists, indeed, of the temporary union of several groups
622 for an aggressive or defensive military expedition under the orders of a single chief (106).

175 106. Thus the renowned Ajuricaba of the Manao
721 nation, with his two thousand bows, navigating
648 true fleets under the flag of Holland, hunted Indians
701 of other tribes in order to sell them as slaves to the Hollanders of Guiana (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario," n. 336). In 1858 Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 7, p. 86), narrating the episode of the "Cristo de Juquira" (cf. VII-4, b), estimates that a thousand persons from various localities and tribes gathered in Juquira in declared hostility to the civilized. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" of 1785), apropos of the legendary city of Manoa, vast captial of the Mamao, explains to us that on the river Urubaxi where the Manao formerly were: "the reported aldeia /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ (irananauoca) did not have the qualities and greatnesses that the city of Manoa paraded, because, notwithstanding that all these were confederated, their aldeias were nevertheless independent of one another and many of them as populous as Irananauoca."

622 /470/ There has never been a true authority, but only the
797 ascendancy of one tuxaua over the others. This is more or less the present situation of a Missionary, and, with certain reservations, we can speak of a hypertuxauaship.

/470 cont./

b) Tribe or Nation?

619 Three elements, that is, a certain degree of political cohesion, a concentration of powers in the hands of the chiefs, and an identity of culture, are included and associated under the concept of Tribe, as commonly understood. Now the first two elements are not found among the human groups in the Amazonian Northwest. One can not, then, speak in terms of Tribe. Perhaps it would have been better to call them Nation. We have, in reality, various national groups, each one with its language, presenting characteristic somatic features, in spite of the regime or exogamy in force among them.

All of them, however, constitute a single cultural group. As a matter of fact, they possess common traditions and practices, that is, a similar pattern of life and assemblage of observances that, strange to us, are common to all, such as the rules of marriage, of exogamy, of puberty initiation, etc.

c) Linguistic Families.

197 We await the decision of the specialists on various linguistic questions: 1st, do those that are generally listed as languages deserve to be called this? or might some of them perhaps be merely dialectical variations? 2nd, what is the relationship between them, perhaps one derived from another? which ones would be the derived ones? 3rd, would the present idioms be sister languages, originating from ancient idioms that have already disappeared? which ones would these be? 4th, and, with this last hypothesis, which of the present idioms of the Uaupés comes closest to the original mother tongue?

Attributing a "Language" to each of the "Tribes," as a temporary and hypothetical assumption, we can say (as we have done passim in the present study) that the tribes of the Brazilian Uaupesina area are divided into three distinct and irreducible Families of Languages: the Tukano family, the Arwake family, and the Maku family.

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197 Concerning the components of these linguistic families and their location, as well as their comparative vocabularies, see our work Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia.

/471/ d) Kurá or Gens.

614 We have indicated in a previous chapter (IV - 2-a(2) ) the divisions of the tribes, divisions that are called Kurá in the Tukano language. According to native ideas, these divisions date back to the time of the origin of the tribe, by the will of Wãx-tĩ himself. We shall give in another place (cf. the work by the author, [115] "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") the legend of the origins according to the account of the old Komũ Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira.

614 So many questions awaiting solution arise: When did these
121 subdivisions take place? For what reason? What was their basis or foundation? We have verified for today a phenomenon of dispersion of a nation in small groups; would there have been a fusion in the past, or can we foresee a future one? The two first questions are of historic nature, and we lack the data to answer them. We might be able to add elucidative elements to the last two.

1) From the time that a human group settles in a locale that will provide it with the necessary or even abundant means of subsistence, it will naturally become prolific. It is nomadism, at the same time cause and effect of a deficient diet, that lowers the birth rate: 1st, by the organic depauperation of the parents; 2nd, by forcing a prolonged nursing of the children (up to four or more years); 3rd, favoring certain criminal practices (abortion, infanticide, cannibalism of the children).

The human groups, growing in number, cannot remain in the same maloca. Besides the difficulties of nourishment, which we have already mentioned, the real technical difficulty of enlarging the existing maloca or the building of new and larger ones demands

/471 cont./

614 the division of the original group (107).
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107. It is possible that other reasons might have intervened, such as the misunderstandings that are still verified today.

While the first-born son, with his family, would remain beside the old couple, the other sons of the founder would become, in turn, founders of new malocas, which would grow with the natural fecundity of the native woman. This hypothesis, more in agreement with the nature of things, is confirmed, it seems, by the customs.

614 1st. -- A first one is the denomination of "brother" for all the
601 individuals of the same nation (that is, who are recognized as from such-and-such a tribe and speak the same language), a denomination corresponding, besides, to their feelings (they can not marry each other, mutual aid and understanding, lamentation for a death, and vengeance for the brother who has been a victim of another tribe).

All of them are brothers, but there is a distinction between Mamí (bigger brother) and Axkabí (smaller brother). Among the brothers-german, that is, /472/ children of the same father, the terms mamí and axkabí correspond to the ages. Outside of this case, they no longer correspond. For example, one hears an
614 adult characterize a child as mami. It is, therefore, a matter of a hierarchic classification.

554 An I'ra-pé Tukano said that he regarded the Waú-ro and Oyê
[115] as Mamí; in relation to the Waú-ro we heard the expression
*[192] "Tukano of the head," Dexseá ná dõxpoá," as equivalent to the
[601] principal branch, as was soon explained to us by Patrícia Vasconcelos. We have here, then, indications of an aristocracy (108).

[175] 108. The existence of this aristocracy was already known in 1755 by Pe. Noronha. Xavier de Sampaio

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/footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced."

[304]

the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Ba'ti-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

[115]

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109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tõmpa-duri, but

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/footnote 109 cont./ out of another hole at the mouth of a nearby igarapé. The rivers with dark waters, like the Uaupés, form characteristic and abundant foam when they beat against the stones of the cachoeiras. Upon asking a certain individual why there were these inferior divisions, he answered that it is because they did not come out of the water, but from the foam, as if it were from the dregs of depuration.

2nd. -- A second one is that they attribute to themselves a juridical superiority, deriving from the priority in time, something corresponding to the proverb: "qui prior est témpore pótior est jure" /one who is first with regard to time is better with regard to rights/. Whoever has settled more recently in a povoado is in a [192] certain inferior position; he is a "transient, Sihyári-maxsã," as they say.

/473/ The two customs indicated harmonize perfectly; we 173 might think that the second one is a derivation from the first. Upon 554 asking a Tukano Indian from a povoado on the lower Tiquié as to the inhabitants of which povoado he considered Mamí, he answered 614 those of S. José. Further inquiries made among other Indians came to clarify this answer. One of them said he had heard his own grandfather narrating that the Tukano formerly did not live there, but resided on the Papurí. They were expelled from this river by the Taryana, still being a child, therefore, about 100 or 120 years ago, and came to settle in S. José. This information makes S. José the first Tukano nucleus on the river Tiquié.

[103] One more argument in favor of the probability is given to us by the Tukano name of the locality, which is Maxkã, the town, as if it were the urbs par excellence of these Tukano. All the more probable, since such a designation, besides not being attributed to any other locality, escapes the custom of the names according to the geographical accidents (point, igarapé, stone, cachoeira, hole, etc.), or other circumstances. In the vicinity of S. José,

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173 there is a place that in Tukano is called Bũxkõrã bathã, literally
554 "swimming of the elders," that is, where the elders crossed the
614 river by swimming, fleeing from their enemies. In the vicinity of this spot, about 30 years ago, the elders showed Pe. João Marchesi a section of less dense forest as being the place through which passed the first Tukano coming from the Tiquié on their expeditions of war.

In conclusion, we give the opinion:

174 1st. -- The natural multiplication of the Indians imposed a
554 division into groups which have established themselves in closer
614 or more distant places, according to the circumstances; for this reason we today find groups of one and the same nation dispersed along the three rivers (Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí).

2nd. -- The denominations (110)

[829] 110. The distance between these groups has more and more accentuated the separation. If it is true that each individual, even the children, knows the name of his own and of the neighboring subdivisions (and even of other tribes), few of them know how to make a more complete list of the Gentes that make up their tribe.

that characterize each group (Waú-ro, Oyẽ, etc., cf. IV-2-a (2) ) are names or nicknames by which the respective stipites, or some late more famous descendant who provoked the separation or built the new maloca or performed any other deed, were known.

[628] 3rd. -- The relations between the malocas, and the social situation of those who /474/ inhabit them today, are the same as those that existed among the founders, hence the present hierarchy that is in force among the Indians.

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554 614 [601] 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some are earlier and others later, having originated perhaps from some schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 614 829 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear, however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say who would have precedence.

797 177 614 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

> 111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

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614 If by Phratry we understand any subdivision of the tribe (even if it does not constitute a true community, because it does not have a chief), these Subtribes or Kurá could be called Phratries (or Sibs, as some modern ethnologists prefer). They correspond to the Phratries of ancient Greece, while, like those, they are also exogamous and of paternal descent. It is to be noted, however, that marriage between one phratry and another of the same tribe is not permitted.

/475/ The Phratry or Kurá, which at first is identified with the maloca, with the passing of time unfolds into several local groups. In these, however, there is no trace that this might be a matter of a totemic clan; they are only territorial family groups or agnatic kinship groups, which we could call, using the Latin term, Gens.

f) Totemism?

There are different indications that make one think of the operation of totemism with its totemic clans and customs.

1st. -- The groups (tribes and subtribes) bear names of animals (Tucano /toucan/, arapaço /Dendro colaptidae/ or pica-pau /woodpecker/, jurití /dove/, jibóia, etc.) or of plants (miriti, cunuri /Cunuria/, etc.), as is the custom of totemic clans.

[237] [301] [535] 2nd. -- There appear in the dance ornaments feathers of the garça /heron/, arara, tucano /toucan/, gavião /hawk/; fur of the macaco and onça /jaguar/, teeth of the onça or of other animals; snake vertebrae, etc. These ornaments recall to memory the place in which the animal was wounded, as if it were an exaltation of the animal sacrificed and an identification between the individual and the animal formerly sacrificed by God or (?) to God.

[535] [532] 3rd. -- In the dances there are personages and masks (where they wear them, that is, among the Kubewãna of the Uaupés and the Arwake of the Içana), which represent the borboleta /butterfly/, the cotia /agouti/, etc., and these personages try to imitate the movements of these animals and there are also corresponding chirps or songs.

[825] 4th. -- The tucano /toucan/, due to the disproportionate weight and volume of its beak, does not have great autonomy of

/475 cont./

614 flight, which tends to become lower and lower. When it wants to
825 cross a river, it goes up one of the highest trees on the bank, so they assure us, and from there starts its flight, which little by little loses height, and sometimes, on the rivers that are too wide, they do not manage to reach the other bank. It was observed that the Tukano Indians, seeing a tucano /toucan/ fly over the river Uaupés at one of the widest points, uttered cries, as though of apprehension, in fear that the bird might not succeed in reaching the opposite bank.

They are only traces that at most might lead one to infer an earlier social form of totemic clan, if they are not elements acquired by borrowing (the instinct of imitation of the Indians is so re-
[824] markable) from other groups. One does not note, however, any attention (respect, fear, pleasure) toward the animal or plant whose name they bear; names, besides, without economic importance (except the Baniva or another one), contrary to what happens as a rule in connection with the totemic names.

It has not been noted that they avoid killing it or, on the contrary, try to eat it in some special circumstances. If they find it dead, /476/ no sign of surprise. It is certain that at times they kill it in order to use its feathers in the dance ornaments. But, at least in the present form (112),

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> 112. We so often insist on the idea that these are present customs. This is because it becomes difficult or impossible to verify how they proceeded in other times. And the Indians respond to our questions: -- "It has always been this way."

the ornaments are the same for the various tribes, be they called Tukano, Arara, Tuyuka, Pirá-tapuya, etc. It can even be asserted that their attitude is one of perfect indifference before the animal with their own name, more or less just as before any other animal.

There are no tucano /toucan/, pica-pau /woodpecker/, jurití
614 /dove/, etc. clans, either. They are and they are considered
619 nations or different tribes, each one with its own language and peculiar somatic features. It is true that one and the same tribe is subdivided into groups with names that might seem clanlike (cf. IV-2-a(2) /see a(3)/ ). But they indeed are not the animals that appear

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614 in the dance ornaments. Besides, such groups, or Gentes, are far
619 from the classic type of clan. For example, marriage is not permitted between the Gentes, but only between one and another Nation.

The ornaments with feathers of the tucano /toucan/, arara, garça /heron/, or monkey fur are bound up with the legend of Wãxtĩ, which, due to the mutual relationship between the tribes, has figured in the history of each tribe. The ornaments, however, are
[438] not distinctive for family or clan. They are essentially the same for all the tribes, being an object of trade of one tribe with another. This circumstance alone already speaks against a clan interpretation.

[532] It is absolutely not noted that any tribe or group has any pictorial representation by incision or sculpture of any animal whatso-
[825] ever, and even less of its titular.

As for the dance masks and personages, it is to be observed first
[53] that there is the one of the borboleta /butterfly/, and nevertheless there is no human group with this denomination, and nothing reveals its having existed. In the second place there are mask, dance, and song of the cutia /agouti/, and a subdivision among the Tukano, the Bwá-põrã, children of the cutia, and an Arwake tribe of the Içana, Awadzuranai or cutia-tapuya, are known under this name; and nevertheless there is no such mask among the Tukano, but there is among the Arwake.

It seems that the same personage now does the borboleta /butterfly/, now the cutia, etc. Now one, now another will do such a role; within the same maloca there are the various personages, and it is not a matter of a function inherited from father to son either. All this testifies against the hypothesis of the existence of clan subdivisions.

/477/ As for the episode of the concern for the tucano
[825] /toucan/ that was crossing the river, it could be a manifestation of simple curiosity, which among the Indians comes so many times accompanied by exclamatory noises. The elders relate nothing that might prove to be a matter of a clan totem. At least by what we know up to now.

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614 Just as there is no indication of clan totemism, there is none
532 of individual or personal totemism either. The objects that they make do not represent animals; they are of simple workmanship, according to the purpose. In some quite rare cases the paintings of the walls are anthropomorphic; they seem, however, to have only a sportive character. /Page 478 is blank./

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## Chapter IX

## The Life of the Indian

### 1) Daily cycle.

512 The type and the standard of life of the Indian seem patterned. Even in distinct tribes we find the Indians doing the same things in the same way, and even with a very close timetable. It is indeed a very methodical life, not, however, monotonous. On the contrary, quite varied, in a perfect nature in which daily rest, work, meals, baths, physical exercises succeed one another.

[592] "The Tukano lives in the maloca, which serves him as bedroom, kitchen, dining room in the morning and in the afternoon. The maloca is, in succession, laboratory for the domestic chores, meeting place at times of rain, and ballroom during the great feasts. It is the place where the Tukano lives, dies, and is buried. For the Tukano the maloca is the world" (Report by the First Superior of the Salesian Missions of the Rio Negro, Mons. Lourenço Giordano -- Boletim Salesiano -- Feb. 1918, p. 31).

The ordinary family life can be summarized in this way: the Indian sleeps little, eats much, talks a great deal, works when it is necessary.

From three o'clock in the morning, the maloca still closed, one hears inside quite an animated conversation, noisy and frequent laughs. And many times the noise of the graters at work:
[462] it is the women who are preparing the mandioca for the beijú.
[252] Before five o'clock, with rain or without it, always dark in those
[515] latitudes, the women leave through the back door, individually

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512 [515] [854] *[192] or in small groups of two or three, ordinarily a child riding on her hip and with a vessel on her head, in the direction of the river. Or, more precisely, that point of the river called Pextá, landing place, with suitably prepared access, where the canoes are tied. There they take their quick morning bath, Wa-wa'kãse, of immersion, rubbing the hand quickly over the body, face, and hair. The same is done by the smaller children who accompany them; and they take the opportunity, moreover, to bathe the suckling infants, whom they have left on the bank. Afterwards they fill [312] the vessels with water and, putting them on their heads, go up with the water to the maloca. Then they prepare the morning meal.

[521] [515] /480/ The men and the boys continue to lie down for an hour more or less, conversing from hammock to hammock and, still before six o'clock, go for their bath. Then the mats that closed the two doors of the maloca are lifted.

*[192] [264] The pots of Bɨá-tõ (it is the quinhapira or sauce of fish broth with pepper) or of Yumũ-ku (mingau) of tapioca, and the baskets in the shape of sieves, heaped high with Ahũ-a (beijú), are put on small mats on the floor. -- "Baãra a'tyá," come to eat, is the invitation by the woman. Those of the male sex place themselves in a circle, squatting, and, starting with the chief, eat heartily, amidst conversation and noisy laughter.

The rule of civility is to serve oneself slowly and to eat without voracity. This, besides, is greatly in agreement with the whole attitude of the Indian, normally calm and serene. The women are in charge of the serving, bringing whatever there is, as it becomes necessary. There are no eating implements: one breaks off a piece of beijú with the hand, dips it in the quinhapira, and carries it to the mouth. The mingau is drunk (1)

*[192] 1. To drink is the expression that they use, although this is not very appropriate, because it is more or less thick. -- "Yumũ-ku sĩrɨ̃áti? Did you drink mingau?"

/480 cont./

512 with the beijú or in small cuias, like a spoon. At the end, the woman presents a large cuia with Ñõxká (manicuera /drink made out of manioc juice/) or the Po'ká peosé (the chibé /manioc flour and water/ of generalized use on the Amazon). Like our coffee, they thus ordinarily end their meals with the indispensable chibé, of which as much as is wanted is taken, the cuia then being passed to the neighbor on the right. Finally the women and children simultaneously take their food.

*[192] [264]

The noisy exodus for work starts: it might perhaps be seven or eight o'clock. The men and women leave in groups. The former for the forest, for hunting, to procure textile fibers, wood for building, or to search for fruits, or for the river, with the proper equipment for fishing or in order to prepare the traps.

*[192] [241]

The women with the older daughters and the children (small ones) go to the clearing, taking the Pi'í (aturá), hanging from the forehead on the back, in order to carry mandioca and firewood. In order to reach the field they almost always have to take the canoe, and for this reason they leave with oars of different sizes, some quite small for the children. Some old or sick person (many times nobody) will stay as guard of the deserted and silent maloca.

[462] [854]

The work will last until after eleven o'clock. Around one o'clock the maloca starts to become animated again. The women arrive with their aturás filled with mandioca and, on top, bundles of firewood; the smaller children on their hips or held in front of the chest, and others holding on to their skirt. They are perspiring, with the face flushed, if they did not /481/ touch it with carajurú /carajura/, as a precaution, in order not to suffer so much from the heat of the sun. Little by little the men also begin to arrive with the results of their labor: fruits, fish, game, or fibers and timber.

Another bath will come, with its freshness, to renew their well-being. The woman will grill the fish or the game, will prepare fresh, tasty beijú, the quinhapira, the mingau, some insect, and the chibé. Soon will come the "Baãra a'tyá" and the afternoon meal.

*[192]

/481 cont./

412 There are still a few hours of daylight: the man goes to prepare his arrows, to separate the tucum for the fishing nets or to work on his little seat or on his sieve. The woman will weave a new hammock or will attend to the preparation of the mandioca for the following day. Each one at his task.

[177] [296] Among the individuals of the new generation, the man will perhaps mend or wash his own clothes, as the woman does hers. All tasks done with tranquillity, in the intimacy of family life, to the rhythm of an animated conversation, with noisy laughter.

When the sun goes down, the wood is already piled up inside the house and the vessels are filled with water. Men and children *[192] settle down in their hammocks, while the woman is busy boiling the Ñõxká, with some wild fruit, and all help themselves with their cuias, like evening tea.

The conversation continues more briskly, the episodes of the day are picturesquely narrated, the visitors who appeared, the launches they passed, the news of other malocas. When the night is further advanced, it will perhaps be nine o'clock, the doors of the maloca are lowered. Sleep first conquers the children, later the older ones. Around 11 o'clock or later, however, one will hear a question that comes from a hammock, an ãã and an answer from another hammock. Afterwards the silence is interrupted only by the crackling of so many small fires in each apartment of the large dwelling. The fire never goes out inside the maloca; at any time of the night one may see some figure jump out of a hammock in order to stir up the fire, indispensable for the cooler hours of the dawn, and to scare away snakes or other animals.

178 412 With the advance of civilization the phenomenon of acculturation takes place, new tasks occupying the time and the attention of the Indians. The rhythm of daily life, however, is always the same, in the maloca as well as in the povoado, for the Indians who have always lived there as well as for those who have spent long years in the boarding schools and have returned to their homes.

/481 cont./

2) Annual cycle.

132 221 The climate of those regions does not seem to offer marked changes in order for the rhythm of the daily life of the Indian to be altered. As /482/ a matter of fact, the thermometer, the barometer, and the hygrometer will show the same average throughout the year. Owing to the rains of the headwaters of the rivers, however, a season of high waters and another of low ones are distinguished. And the annual cycle is perhaps more varied for the Indian than it customarily is among the civilized.

476 621 Besides the labor that is incumbent upon every individual for his home life, there are others that concern the entire community and that for this reason are performed collectively under the direction of the tuxaua. They might perhaps be the repairs of the maloca or the building of a new one, in the same place or perhaps quite far away from the old one. Or again it might be the cleaning of the areas adjacent to the maloca, of the common paths or of the landing place. It might be a matter of some clearing for some Indian, who will obtain the help of his tribal brothers, although for his private use. The individuals are advised in advance, in order to make their arrangements. If it is a matter of work for the collectivity, everyone is obliged to participate in it. If, instead, it is help for some brother, one can reasonably excuse oneself; one would not do it, however. And in either case there is only one conventional, sufficient, and agreeable payment: a caxiri, which has also been prepared beforehand. The collective work is done without even any need for a technical director, because it is always done according to the traditions, under the simple directions of the tuxaua or of the individual concerned. It is noisy and cheerful work, true competitions of strength and activity, as well as of good humor and cheerfulness. It is what is called Dará-serẽsé, in Nheengatú ajurí or mutirão (2). [192]

2. Ajurí would properly be the invitation, and putirum (from which the term made into Portuguese, mutirão), the collective work. Stradelli, in his

*192 /482 cont./

621 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese
476 vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

527 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of
221 fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish
of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods
226 the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 At different times of the year great quantities of insects
222 appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the
527 daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the
527 Indians of the different povoados, move to

/483 cont./

797
527

/footnote 3 cont./ the seats of the Salesian Missions, not infrequently several days by canoe, in order to attend there the great religious celebrations (Christmas, Easter, etc.). They spend happy days and weeks in contact with civilization, being instructed in the religious truths and amusing themselves, as if they were school children, with collective games. Processions, songs, luminous projections, theatrical representations, even the food, sweets, presents which they receive on these occasions, everything agrees with their psychology and makes these feasts acceptable and indispensable to them.

484 Anyone who navigates those rivers invariably meets canoes, up river and down river, of tourist Indians. Some spend months visiting acquaintances and relatives in the various povoados.

3) Life cycle.

145 We know the rites that accompany the birth of the children. Under the care and attention of their mother, in contact with nature, they start growing and becoming strong. Upon reaching the use of their muscles, they will try to walk and are put down on the ground to crawl. They will then suffer the attacks of [164] verminosis. They become pale, swollen, big-bellied, and many die. Those who manage to conquer the sickness and reach adolescence are saved.

Lacking positive statistical data about the organic development of the native child, one has the impression that this proceeds by more characteristic jumps than among the civilized of the south of the country.

/483 cont./

562 The girl must get used to work and, with the mother's train-
868 ing, will learn the several skills that someday will make her a good mother of a family. The boys will run loose in the forest, looking for fruits, will wander along the rivers, entertained by swimming or fishing, practicing at shooting arrows at fish or birds, and thus they will become able to provide the subsistence of the /484/ family. In the ajurís, in the traditional tasks, they will acquire beside the father that skill which will make them great oarsmen or expert basketmakers.

881 Children of both sexes start being conscious of themselves as members of the tribe, of which they will learn to be proud. They will eagerly desire to become a member integrated into its life and traditions, that is, they dream of the "initiation."

581 Once the instincts are developed, they understand that it falls to them to perpetuate the existence of the group, and they aspire to marriage. The national customs indicate to them the means of realizing it; for that step they will not lack the intervention and help of the father.

593 He has naturally experienced up to now the love and the attention of his parents and the camaraderie of his contemporaries. Now he is joined to a companion for his entire life. Unknown perhaps and a foreigner, but their cares, their spirit of work, their long life together, vicissitudes, shared joys and sadness, everything ends by making uniform the spirits of the spouses, connected especially by the bond of love for their children in common. Under more difficult conditions, because she is forced to leave the paternal home and go to another nation as a wife, the woman will still feel very actively connected to her tribe of origin, as well as to the new maloca in which she is a wife and mother.

621 With the years the ties that join the Indian to the group in which he was born, which educated him, which gave him assistance and support, for which he has also worked cheerfully on the collective enterprises, are strengthened. The group that provided him with frequent joys with its traditional feasts and, with its mysterious legends, gave satisfaction to his intimate aspirations toward something that he does not understand, but feels will exist beyond the grave.

/484 cont./

888 The old Indian will become a zealous continuer of the ancestral traditions, and he will find himself surrounded by the young men, who will listen with pleasure (4)

> 4. The Irmã Diretora /Sister Directress/ of one of the Missionary schools revealed to us with what surprising attention her young girl students drank in the words of some old Indian woman when she appeared at the school, being immediately surrounded by the school girls.

to his words describing the olden times, his feats, the life and history of the maloca, of the povoado, or of the tribe. And, with the respect of the new generation, he will preside over the births, warding off from the tribe, which is reborn in the children, misfortunes and sicknesses with the smoke of his cigar; he will instruct the young people in the duties and mysteries of the life of the group; he will be an outstanding figure in the sacred dances.

With age, his stout fibers break, and old age comes, with its train of sorrows, more pronounced for the Indian than /485/ for the civilized. He becomes useless to the group and a burden for the family. He then retreats to a dark corner of the maloca, lying in his hammock, perhaps without the strength to get up and sit on a seat. There, in silence, he will take his meal and spend long hours, remote from the noisy cheerfulness of the maloca, which perhaps is burning with life in the orgies of the Pooses.

A sole companion, which has never abandoned him since he saw the light of life, will still be at his side, giving warmth and comfort to his limbs, which are getting cold; it is the fire that burns near his hammock.

When his strength is insufficient for him to take his food by himself, forgotten, abandoned, with no one being concerned about him, he will waste away by starvation, resigned, without a word of complaint, without a moan of pain, until death comes to open for him the mysterious doors beyond the grave, where

/485 cont./

888 he will face Wãx-tĩ, the great Idea, the great Spirit, in which he has always believed, whom he has respected and feared and tried to propitiate, as his ancestors taught him.

764 When they become aware of the quiet and solitary catastrophe, the maloca will be agitated by the clamorous wailing of the nation for the member who has just passed away.

121 This, however, does not complete the cycle of native life.
797 All of those tribes of the Caiarí are nowadays in direct or indirect relation with the "Civilização de Cristo" /Civilization of Christ/. The parents, under the impulse of paternal love, dream of making their child a civilized person, child of Brazil and of the Church. This sacred fire is kindled deep inside each youth, and for this reason he enrolls in the Catholic schools. They spend long and happy years there, without dissociating themselves, however, from their nation. And they return to their "brothers" with their minds more enlightened, greater material comfort, a belief in the Creator God of heaven and earth, Lord, Judge and Father, and a hope of a less sad old age, nourished by the hopes of a happy future life without end.

And the elders, to whom such a chance was not presented, will perhaps have assistance in the hospitals that the charity of Jesus Christ has erected in each Missionary center, and the maternal care of a Religious who tries to alleviate the physical pain and to comfort the soul. And, above all, they will have the hope of the assistance of a Missionary who, in the last moments of life, through the infinite efficacy of the Sacraments, will make him a child of God, will enrich his soul with grace and will open for him the doors of eternal blessedness. /Page 486 is blank./

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104 For the proper reading of the words from the Tukano language, one should keep in mind the following convention:

1. Vowels: a, e, i, o, u, -- open as in Portuguese and Latin
   ã -- like the English o in word
   õ, ũ -- respectively like the corresponding ones in German, that is, more or less like the French eu in peu, and u in lune
   y, w -- respectively like short i and u
2. Consonants: like the corresponding ones in Latin or Portuguese, with the following exceptions:
   x -- velar aspirate, before a consonant
   h -- surd glottal fricative, before a vowel
   bh, kh, gh, ph, th -- after the ordinary sound of these consonants, a slight aspiration follows
3. Symbols: (') the glottal stop (interruption of the pronunciation)
   (-) hyphen, separation of the elements in the compound word
   ( ) indicates the nasal sound /a tilde seems to be missing between the parentheses in the original source/

## GLOSSARY

ahũ-wõ -- rhythm tube or stick (musical instrument)
a'mõ tuxhũ -- enclosure within the maloca for a girl undergoing the puberty rite
a'mõ-yesé -- initiation rite for boys
axkabí -- "brothers" - address to persons belonging to same gens
axkawerẽra -- components of the same tribe although born or living in different malocas
axpẽra -- people of another tribe, even when connected by some degree of affinity
Baári-maxsã-ré -- alleged cannibal tribes
baxséke wamẽ -- name-giving rite
baksúkãra -- "those who are destined for marriage with us" (all maternal cousins)
bayá -- master of ceremonies at various kinds of feasts
baxsasé -- dance and soup at a feast
beijú -- manioc bread
be'tise -- fast during initiation rite
boraró curupira -- spirit of the woods
bũxkõrá-kurá -- council of elders
bwá -- flute or small fife

cowá -- fermented drink
cachoeira -- turbulent place in the river with rapids and sometimes waterfalls
cariços -- panpipes
caxiri -- celebration with drinking; the drinks themselves
descimentos -- voluntary migrations of the Indians
igarapés -- smaller streams that empty into the rivers
japurutús -- long flutes
karyamã -- entertainment feast at girl's puberty initiation rite
komũ -- men of greater ascendancy who belong to community council
kurá -- gens or sib
lingua geral -- the Tupi language of Amazonia
lugares -- place, village, town
mã-gõ -- term of address for female of parental generation of gens with whom bride-exchange is practiced
mahã-mĩ-nõsé -- 2d stage of girl's puberty initiation rite
maloca -- communal house
mamí -- "brother" - address to persons belonging to same gens
macupiára -- lucky in fishing or hunting
mã-ra-põ-nỹákho -- "future husband" "future genitor" - address to young man of marriage exchange group

maxsã -- "people" - actually spirit people
mẽx-ká -- term of address to male parental generation of gens with whom bride-exchange is practiced
mĩrĩa -- sacred flute
mĩrĩ-mẽra -- initiation rite for boys
mõ-paxkoá -- godmother of girl's initiation
mõ'sĩgõ -- lucky in fishing and hunting
mõ-yõãsé -- puberty initiation rite for girls
montarias -- canoes made largely by fitting planks along the sides
nãxkã̃-wax-tĩ -- spirit
Nheengatú -- the Tupi language of Amazonia
nihi-korõ -- vagina
nõ' mõ duusé -- purchase of wife by bride price
nõ' mõ nyãkho -- "future wife" "future genitrix" (address by young man to girl of marriage exchange group)
o'a-kõ -- god, supreme being
o'mõaro wax'ti -- spirit
onça -- jaguar
oxkó -- magic potion
õxsó -- two-headed snake spirit

pajé -- curer-sorcerer
pax-koá -- godmother
pêru -- fermented drink
pi'îkamõ -- small basket for a girl's or woman's ornaments
piraboto -- "beast of the river" - apparently a spirit
píti-yároa -- alleged cannibal tribe
ponta -- usually in proper names, indicates a geographic accident
poóse -- feast of offerings
po'rá-ko nỹákho -- "future genitrix" (address by a young man to a girl of the marriage exchange group)
põrã-kõ nỹákhõ -- "future genitor" (address by girl to young man of marriage exchange group)
povoado -- populated place
principal -- chief of a tribe or subdivision of a tribe, or of a povoado
pupunha -- fermented drink
quinhapira -- a fish dish
tropas de resgate -- bands of men who searched the country for Indians to enslave, and for natural products
tuxáua -- chief of a tribe or subdivision of a tribe, or of a povoado
uxtá-seri -- leg bands as dance decorations
uxtisé -- ritual wailing at death
varadoiros -- passages opened in the forest along unnavigable stretches of rivers, or as shortcuts between bends in a river

verões -- periods of dry weather permitting burning
vila -- town
wá:kõ -- god
wã'sõ-rĩ -- instrument for flagellation at bacchanal feast
wãx-tĩ -- soul, incorporeal element
wé-boxátise -- evil that can come from an event, action, person, animal, or thing
wyógõ -- local chief
yai-peri maxsã -- alleged cannibal tribe
yõũrwá -- alleged cannibal tribe
yaxkẽ waxsó-ro -- women's festive loincloth embroidered with beads
yaxsã -- large maracá (musical instrument)
yuxkõ -- rhythm stick
yu-yú -- dance rhythm stick

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[For data on ethnic identification, see category 116, passim, pp. 5-191.]

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[For information on vocabulary see category 116, passim, especially pp. 32, 47, 89-112, 125-128, 194-231, and 242-392.]

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[pp. 1-2 contain no text material]

# A CIVILIZAÇÃO INDIGENA DO UAUPÉS

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[title page] [p. 3]

DIRETOR do
«CENTRO DE PESQUISAS DE IAUARETÊ»
MISSÃO SALESIANA DO RIO NEGRO — Amazonas - Brasil

SÃO PAULO
1962

4: Silva SQ19 Tucano

SÉRIE DO "CENTRO DE PESQUISAS DE IAUARETÊ
(AMAZONAS — BRASIL)

1. A CIVILIZAÇÃO INDÍGENA DO UAUPÉS — Observações etnográficas
2. DISCOTECA ETNO-LINGUÍSTICO-MUSICAL
3. OBSERVAÇÕES GRAMATICAIS DA LÍNGUA DAXSEYÊ OU TUKANO
4. VOCABULÁRIO TUKANO-PORTUGUÊS
5. VOCABULÁRIO PORTUGUÊS-TUKANO
6. IDIOMAS INDÍGENAS DA AMAZÔNIA (com um Vocabulário de 200 palavras usuais em 38 diferentes idiomas)
7. LENDAS DO UAUPÉS

[p. 4]

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## UMA EXPLICAÇÃO

*Estou por dizer que êste é um livro anônimo. Pois êle não traz o nome dos seus principais colaboradores. O nome que capeia êstes estudos é apenas um endôsso. Cabe-nos, pessolmente, pouco mais que a responsabilidade da redação, como lhe assumimos as canseiras. Os verdadeiros autores, ou, ao menos, os seus principais colaboradores são os beneméritos Missionários que há várias dezenas de anos mourejam no meio da selva quase inhóspita da Amazônia, no afã de incorporar os pobres silvicolas na civilização brasileira e cristã.*

*O título impõe uma explicação. Como se verá, ao passar das páginas, a bacia do Uaupés, compreendendo seus dois principais afluentes, o Tiquié e o Papuri, é povoada por numerosos grupos humanos que vulgarmente se conhecem por Tribos, com densidade demográfica vária. Diferenças somáticas e linguísticas por vêzes bem notáveis, estão denunciando origens étnicas diversas. No entanto, a aproximação e comércio, que, numa ação desgastadora de séculos não conseguiram limar aquelas diferenças, operaram uma fusão nos costumes. O mesmo standard ou padrão de vida que se nota num povoado do baixo Uaupés, encontra-se nas cabeceiras do Papuri ou do Tiquié e dos seus pequenos afluentes. Ao perlongarmos os rios, muda-se o nome da tribo, encontram-se tipos fisionômicos diversos, falando idiomas muitíssimo diferentes, porém residindo em malocas semelhantemente construídas, tomando os mesmos alimentos, executando os mesmos trabalhos, divertindo-se da mesma forma; nota-se, enfim, uma identidade perfeita na maneira de rir e de gesticular. Estamos, pois, diante de um mesmo grupo cultural. Podemos, assim, tomar em conjunto aquelas vinte ou mais tribos, para cuja civilização e cristianização desde 1916 desdobram suas atividades os Filhos de S. João Bosco, dirigidos, vai para 40 anos, nesse seu heroísmo anônimo, pelo dinamismo inteligente a caridade apostólica de Dom Pedro Massa.*

*Em princípios dêste século o conhecido etnólogo alemão Teodoro Koch Grünberg visitou parte da área cujos estudos aqui apresentamos, e condensou suas observações em várias obras, especialmente a que traz por título «Dois anos entre os índios do noroeste Bra-*

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silcíro» (1). Estamos, agora, em condição de aquilatar não só os incômodos da sua viagem, como suas dificuldades de «Branco» e «Estrangeiro», devendo tratar com os índios fechados na sua desconfiança, prevenções e, digamo-lo, hostilidades contra os civilizados; desconhecendo, além disso, os idiomas das tribos do Uaupés (2) e devendo, por êsse motivo, socorrer-se dos préstimos sempre deficientes de intérpretes de emergência.

A nossa tarefa, de redação, em comparação com a de Koch G. ficou grandemente facilitada. Coube-nos o prazer intelectual, patriótico e religioso de quatro excursões pelo amplo e penoso campo do Apostolado Salesiano no Amazonas, e admirar a obra de patriotismo e caridade evangélica que lá realizam os Filhos de Dom Bosco. E servindo-nos da sua companhia, do seu conhecimento dos idiomas indígenas (3), do ascendente que desfrutam não só entre os indígenas que gozam da sua assistência material e moral, mas até entre os outros que só os conhecem de fama, fomos recolhendo os preciosos dados da sua observação e experiência. O material etnográfico que estas páginas encerram pôde ser recolhido em prazo relativamente curto, embora o triplo do de Grünberg. Representam, no entanto, uma existência no convívio mais íntimo possível com os silvícolas: morando na sua maloca, assistindo as suas festas, ouvindo-os nos longos cavaqueios entre si, e com êles entretendo-se em amigável conversa, participando de suas alegrias e de suas tristezas, observando-os nos seus trabalhos, admirando as suas habilidades, aproveitando-se dos seus serviços, curando-os nas suas doenças, sondando o seu espírito, ilustrando a sua inteligência em longos anos de educação, iluminando sua alma com as verdades religiosas, vendo a trechos abrir-se inesperadamente aquelas mentes em clarões que revelam, através de uma ingenuidade encantadora, um mundo interno jamais sonhado. Compreende-se um ambiente vivendo nelas e a ambiência pode explicar-nos uma mentalidade.

Nem pareça exagêro falar numa existência de convívio íntimo com os indígenas. Pois aqui não se registram apenas as nossas

---

(1) "Zwei Jahre bei den Indianer nordwest-Brasiliens" — Stuttgart, 1921. Data de Stuttgart, 1922, o seu trabalho "Festschrift Eduard Seler", contendo a classificação e localização das várias tribos que visitou ou das quais obteve informações.

(2) Na bôca do rio Curicuriari, o remador de Koch, o Tukano João, dá-lhe uma lição do "ininteligível Tukuno": — "Gibt mir Unterricht in Tucano seiner fürchterlichen Stammessprach, voll nasaler, gutturaler und ganz UNDEUTLICHER laute" (Z. I. 137).

(3) Além de encontrarmos já numerosos índios com os quais nos pudemos entender perfeitamente em nossa língua pátria, porque haviam aprendido o português nas escolas das Missões.

observações pessoais. Procuramos conhecer e ouvir a todos os Missionários Salesianos que trabalham nos Rios Negro, Uaupés, Tiquié, Papuri e Içana e Caburi; bem como aos Missionários de Montfort que atenderam os indígenas da região fronteiriça da Colômbia, visto que algumas das tribos em estudo, têm membros residentes na zona que hoje faz parte do território colombiano. E tivemos, por mercê de Deus, o feliz ensejo de conversar com Missionários que desde 1916 estavam vivendo com os filhos das selvas e para êles.

É, portanto, êste trabalho, num sentido rigoroso, uma contribuição dos Missionários Salesianos aos Estudos Etnográricos que, se interessam de um modo geral aos estudiosos de todo o mundo, à nós, Brasileiros, nos falam outrossim, de interêsses políticos e patrióticos.

Estas páginas são um documentário de como decorre a vida dos silvicolas do Uaupés ou Caiari neste meado do séc. XX. Em fôrça de uma mentalidade indobràvelmente tradicionalista, que caracteriza êsses grupos humanos, podemos pensar sejam também, nas linhas gerais, uma descrição de como vivem há séculos, ou talvez mesmo de como vivem essas tribos desde que se aclimataram no habitat atual. Escassos dados dos primeiros exploradores e informação dos indígenas ancião autorizam essa opinião.

Gozando nós, embora, de condições privilegiadas, que não tiveram, ou sequer poderão ter, outros etnólogos, o fundo esquivo da psique indígena tira-nos a ilusão de lhe ter desvendado a alma. Estamos mesmo convencidos que desconhecemos ainda costumes e práticas interessantes sob o ponto de vista etnológico e de muitos outros nos escapam o verdadeiro sentido. A fantasia primitiva, tanto mais desperta quanto livre do freio da razão e o contrôle inibitório da experiência positiva, naquele ambiente misterioso e sugestivo da selva milenar, terá arquitetado um mundo lendário e com belezas fascinantes para as suas almas, como se foram as riquezas estonteantes de castelos encantados, porém defesos para nós, e dos quais só podemos contemplar ao de fora denegridos muralhões, nos fragmentos quase inexpressivos das suas lendas.

Êstes apontamentos são apenas uma picada na brenha. Virão outros estudiosos refazer o caminho; retificarão desvios, ligarão com viadutos pontos anteriormente sem conexão, solidificarão com a firmeza de suas observações aquelas passagens que ora apresentam a ameaça dos atoleiros, e resultará, por fim, a avenida ampla e reta, arejada e segura, arborizada e bela da verdade por onde transitarão multidões no futuro.

Aspiram, porém, a muito mais. Desejam ser um brado de gratidão e de patriotismo. Gratidão para com aquêles abnegados Mis-

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*sionários (e todos êles, sem distinção de nacionalidade ou de institutos, desde Anchieta até o mais modesto Irmão Leigo ou Freira, os quais impulsionados pelo mais puro amor de Deus, renunciam ao carinho da família, ao confôrto da civilização, e muita vez também ao encanto das suas pátrias terrenas, fazendo sua a vida do índio, a fim de fazê-lo filho do Brasil e de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo, só esperando a recompensa de Deus, porém recebendo, não raras vêzes, como antecipação, a ingratidão dos silvícolas e a calúnia de malévolos ou de irresponsáveis.*

*É um brado de um incontido patriotismo, chamando a atenção do Brasil, — Govêrno, facultosos, homens de estudos, — para aquelas raças que se abrigam sob a copa majestosa da selva amazonense. Urge despertar o interêsse de todos os Brasileiros a fim de que se estabeleça uma porfia de auxílios que facilitem uma rápida integração daqueles muitos milhares de patrícios na civilização brasileira e cristã. É, pois, não só obra humanitária e religiosa, preocupar-se da incorporação dos indígenas à civilização brasileira, senão também do mais lídimo patriotismo. Por isso urge se intensifique o apoio do Govêrno aos que consagraram sua vida e suas energias ao bem do silvícola do Uaupés.*

Pe. ALCIONILIO BRÜZZI ALVES DA SILVA, S. D. B.

## Capítulo I

## O HABITAT

A área, cujos elementos etnográficos se recolhem nestes apontamentos, é a bacia do *Rio Uapés* ou *Caiari* (1), como era conhecido até há poucos anos, afluente que desemboca no Rio Negro cêrca de 50 quilômetros acima da cidade de S. Gabriel-da-Cachoeira, hoje denominada *Uaupés*.

Resulta o Uaupés, conforme o Dr. Hamilton Rice, da união dos rios *Unilla*, que é o mais importante, e *Itilla*, ambos com suas nascentes nos planos que lindam os contrafortes dos Andes Colombianos. Após um percurso de cerca de 330 Km em território da Colômbia, o Uaupés avança em direção *SE* e *S*, como demarcador de

---

(1) *Caiari* ou, antes, *Ucaiari* seria o nome primitivo, conforme o Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, o qual no n.º 184 do seu "Roteiro de Viagem" (vd. abaixo, II, 2), diz: — "O verdadeiro nome do Rio Uaupé he Ucayari, que no idioma dos índios Manaos e Barez significa — Rio de água branca: porém, como o gentio que povoa o principal tronco do Ucayari he de nação Uaupé, lhe atribuirão os mais índios o mesmo nome que os Brancos verterão em Goaupé".

Releve-se que, embora as suas águas não sejam tão escuras quanto as do Rio Negro, o Uaupés pertence ao número dos rios de "águas pretas".

"Tôdas estas tribos, informa Wallace ("Travels of the Amazon and Rio Negro" — London, 1849, pág. 335) apresentam algumas peculiaridades nos seus idiomas e costumes, porém, tôdas elas vêm sob o nome geral de Uaupés e distinguem-se, como um todo, dos habitantes dos outros rios. Daqui o ser chamado o rio Rio dos Uaupés (the River of the Uaupés), se bem que pròpriamente o seu nome é Ucaiari e assim é êle denominado pelos índios".

Lemos recentemente (maio de 1956) em Luiz da Câmara Cascudo ("Em memória de Stradelli", Livr. Clássica-Manaus, 1936, pág. 7), que Stradelli cita um poderoso Tuxáua *Buapé*, da tribo Taryana, (cujo nono-neto, Maximiliano José Roberto, acompanhou Stradelli em suas viagens), o qual teria vivido pelo fim do século 16, e emprestado o nome ao rio (cfr. abaixo Nota 5, II Cap.).

Esta crença é hoje perfilhada também no Rio Negro. Não sabemos, porém, se ela se funda na opinião de Stradelli, ou lhe tenha dado origem. No fim do século 19, com Stradelli, o nome *Uaupés* se nos apresenta qual corrupção do vocábulo primitivo *Buapé*. Pelos meados do século 18, ao invés, *Uaupé* seria a forma primitiva donde, por corrupção, se originou o têrmo *Goaupé* e nenhuma menção se faz do Tuxáua por nome *Buapé*, cuja memória, se existiu, deveria, então, ser mais viva. Com quem estaria a razão?

[p. 9]

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fronteiras entre o Brasil e a Colômbia, até *Iauareté-cachoeira* (2), onde se dá, pela margem direita, a afluência do *rio Papuri*. Tomando a seguir a direção *Leste*, corre inteiramente dentro do Brasil até desaguar no Rio Negro, depois de ter recebido, ainda pela direita, o *rio Tiquié*, pouco abaixo do povoado *Taracuá-ponta*. Em território brasileiro avança 520 Km (possuindo, pois, um percurso total de 850 Km) e apresenta uma largura máxima de 3 Km e mínima de 200 metros aproximadamente.

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De qual língua seria o nome *Uaupés*? e que significa? Não o sabem responder os indígenas atuais, nem os de há meio século. Com efeito, Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 131) diz apenas que o nome é *depreciativo*; isto, porém, porque sob o nome de Uaupés se entendem tribos rudes, silvestres (*Wildstaemme*) e desprezadas, como a *Tukano* e a *Kubewãna*, que lutaram contra os Arwake mais adiantados.

No vocabulário Nheengatú-Português de Stradelli encontramos o verbete: "*Iasaná*" — Casta das Rallidas. Nome que no baixo Amazonas e no Grão-Pará dão à *Parra Iaçaná*, que no Solimões chamam *Piasóca* — e no Rio Negro, *Uaupé* e *Uapé*.

Por sua vez o rio emprestou o nome a uma planta característica das pedras das suas cachoeiras. Com efeito, chama-se *uaupé* ou *uaupé-da-cachoeira* (e também *carurú-das-pedras* e *murera-das-cachoeiras*), uma planta aquática que nasce nas pedras das cachoeiras dêsse rio e da qual se serviam outrora os indígenas para a extração do sal (cf. N. 51, VI). (Cfr. Gastão Cruls, *Hiléia Amazônica* — C. E. N., 1944 — pág. 35).

O nome *Ucaiari* (como de ordinário os terminados em *ri* ou *li*) é de origem Arwake. Na língua dos Arara-tapuya e dos Kadáu-puritãna, o rio Uaupés se chama *Ukayali*; na dos Huhúdeni, se diz *Ukávari* (tôdas três são do grupo Arwake). Poderia, talvez, derivar de *U(ni)*, água rio, e *Kawale* (em Kadaú-puritãna) ou *Kawáeri* (em Hihúdeni), vento. No entanto, nenhum dos velhos das várias tribos Arwake dos rios Içana e Aiarí, que pudemos consultar, souberam indicar o significado do têrmo *Cuiari* ou *Ucaiari*. Como também não o souberam os das outras tribos que habitam o *Uaupés*. Todos êstes designam o Uaupés por "*Dya Poxsá*", rio dos *Makú* (?). Essa designação poderia induzir a pensar que so Makú (*Puxsá*) por primeiros habitaram as suas margens, e depois, sob pressão dos invasores *Arwake* e *Tukano*, se internaram nas matas adjacentes, desde os arredores de S. Gabriel até as cachoeiras de Jandú e Carurú (no rio Uaupés). Verdade é que, conforme o espírito da língua, Rio dos Makú dever-se-ia traduzir por "*Poxsá Dyá*" e não "*Dyá Poxsá*".

(2) Na Amazônia denominam-se *cachoeiras* os lugares em que o curso de água apresenta algum declive com rebojos, corredeiras e verdadeiras cachoeiras ou quedas de água; estas aliás, bem raras. Como se trata de denominações indígenas, vêm os nomes numa construção semelhante ao genitivo ou possessivo saxônico, que é muito do espírito da língua *Tukano*, e, em geral, das línguas indígenas da região. Por isso se diz: *Iauareté-cachoeira*, *Parí-cachoeira*, *Taracuá-ponta*, etc., em vêz de: *cachoeira de Iauareté* ou *de Parí*, *ponta de taracuá*, etc., conforme a índole da língua portuguêsa.

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Resulta o *Papuri* (ou *Capuri*, como também se dizia outrora) da união de dois afluentes em território colombiano, pouco acima de «Melo Franco», o *Aua* e o *Paca*. Porém, a quase totalidade do seu percurso, de cêrca de 280 Km, delimita a fronteira entre o Brasil e a Colômbia. Os indígenas denominam-no «*Oxkó ñyisé dyá*», isto é, rio de água preta; efetivamente suas águas são mais escuras que as do Uaupés. Lança-se no Uaupés em *Iaureté-cachoeira*, com a largura de 250 metros. Embora apresente uma declividade média de 0,32 m. por quilômetro, possui um subsolo de granito, com inúmeros afloramentos e cachoeiras (3), que tornam perigosa a navegação. Ou, antes, só é viável por pequenas canoas e *montarias* (4), as quais, algumas vêzes, avançam pelas corredeiras empurradas a braço ou puxadas por espias, ou mesmo são transportadas através das pedras ou matas marginais pelos «*varadoiros*» (5).

O *Tiquié* é o outro afluente, e mais importante que o *Papuri*. Resulta de dois *igarapés*, ou ribeirões: o *Uaracú-pirera* (significa em Nheengatú «pelo de aracú), que toma o nome de *Tiquié*, nome de origem e significação desconhecidas (como, outrossim, *Caiari*, e *Papuri*), depois que recebe o *Macucú*. Os de língua Tukano denominam o Tiquié «*Kösá*», cujo significado, porém, ignoram. Extremamente sinuoso, mede cêrca de 450 Km de percurso, quase todo em território brasileiro. Terá seu meio quilômetro de largura na foz, porém vai estreitando-se sensivelmente para uma centenas de metros em grande parte do percuso. Em *Tucano-cachoeira* sua largura é cêrca de 50 metros, e assim se mantém até *Parí-cachoeira* (até onde chegam as lanchas de pequeno calado), e estreitando-se ainda mais, apresenta até a fronteira uma largura média de 15 a 20 metros.

Corre quase paralelo ao Papuri, seu aspeto, no entanto, é muito diverso. O leito arenoso e profundo permite-lhe curso remansoso, parecendo por isso mais escuras as águas do que o são na realidade (6), sombreadas, ademais, pela densa mata marginante. Tem

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(3) A Comissão Brasileira de Fronteiras, sob a direção do Marechal Boanerges Lopes de Souza, que fêz o levantamento dêste rio, assinalou 39 cachoeiras. Possui ainda alguns ilhotes e ilhas, e por isso, sua largura chega a atingir seus 500 metros.

(4) "*Montarias* são as canoas que foram ampliadas por uma ou mais tábuas longitudinais, adaptadas às suas bordas.

(5) "*Varadoiros*" são as passagens abertas na mata; ou ao longo dos rios, nos trechos não navegáveis; ou como atalhos entre dois pontos, para evitar as longas voltas dos rios.

(6) O seu maior afluente, o rio Castanho, de côr leitosa, clareia sensivelmente as águas do Tiquié.

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poucas cachoeiras, entre elas a denominada «*Carurú*», acima de Pari-cachoeira, por certo uma das mais belas cataratas do Estado do Amazonas.

Tanto o Uaupés, como os seus dois afluentes, recebem a contribuição de inúmeros, porém pequenos, cursos dágua que, na terminologia regional se dizem *igarapés*.

A bacia que estudamos compreende as terras banhadas pelos rios *Uaupés* e os seus dois afluentes, o *Papuri* e o *Tiquié*. Está, pois, situada na zona equatorial (7). Entretanto a temperatura *mínima diária* oscila entre 19° e 22° e a máxima 24° e 32°, raro até os 36°, graças às frequentes precipitações. Apresenta terras não sujeitas a inundações, ou «*terra-firme*», conforme a nomenclatura regional, e grandes extensões banhadas, ao menos durante alguns meses do ano. A vegetação é, por isso, a mata alta e densa do «*tipo hidro-higro-megatérmico*», semelhante à do Rio Negro. Merecem um destaque as palmeiras. São de muitas variedades, por vêzes acompanhando os cursos de água, e outras, dispersas pela mataria, e das quais se servem os silvícolas para vário emprego.

Notamos, entre as palmeiras de «*terra-firme*», o *tucum* (*astrocarium vulgare*, Mart. ou *astr. tucumóides*), a *bacaba* (*oenocárpus bacaba*, Mart.), o *açaí* (*eutérpe oleracea*, Mart.) o *inajá* (*Maximiliána régia*, Mart.), a *pupunha* (*Guilerma speciosa*), a *paxiúba* (*iriartea exorrhiza* ou *settigera*, Mart.). Entre as dos banhados, o *javari* (*astrocárium javari*), o *miriti* ou *buriti* (*mauritia vinifera* e *m. flexuosa*), o *caraná* (*mauritia caraná*), o *jará* (*leopoldinia maior*), a *piaçaba* (*leopoldina piassába*, Wal.), o *tucumã* (*astrocarium tucuman*, Mart.). A palmeira trepadeira, a *jacitára* ou *Kamiwarri*, do gênero *Desmoncus*, é de grande emprêgo na cestaria indígena.

Em geral existe apenas uma pequena camada superficial humosa, donde surge a imponente selva milenar, e a seguir os estratos arenosos ou argilosos. Uma primeira consequência de tão pequena base humosa é o possuirem as árvores raízes muito superficiais, e por isso os temporais freqüentemente as derrubam, causando verdadeiras clareiras nas matas. Uma segunda consequência é que a terra se torna improdutiva após três ou quatro anos da primitiva agricultura indígena.

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(7) Nas 486 voltas ou sinuosidades que apresenta o Tiquié, no percurso da foz até Pari-cachoeira, corta 18 vêzes a linha equatorial.

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Povoam rios e igarapés numerosas espécies de peixes, que constituem um alimento principal do indígena.

A fauna amazônica não é rica de variedades, e menos o é quantitativamente. Além, dos felinos perigosos, a *onça* (*felix onça*) e o *gato maracajá* (*felix pardalis* e *felix mucura*, Neuw.), poucos são os animais que o indígena pode, de ordinário, encontrar e que lhe oferece carne para alimento: o *veado* (*gen. cervus*), a *paca* (*coelógenys paca*), a *cotia* (*dasyprocta aguti*, Lin.), *queixada* e *caetitu* (*dicótyles labiátus*, *tayassú albirostris* e *tayassú tayassú*, Lin.), a *anta* (*tapirus americánus*, Briss.), a *capivara* (*hidrochoerus capybára*, Erxl.) e *macacos* de diversas espécies.

A mesma pobreza pela quantidade, porém maior riqueza pela variedade e plumagem apresentam os pássaros. Entre os apreciados como alimentos pelos servicolas, lembramos os *tucanos* (*ramphastus*), *jacamim* (*psophídeos*), *mutum*, (*crax nigra*, *alector*, etc.), *jacú* (*penélopes*), diversos *pombos* (*columba*). Procuradas pela sua plumagem são as *garças* (*heródias egretta*) e outras variedades de *ardeidae*), *tucanos*, e a variedade portentosa de *araras* e outros *psittacídeos*.

Mais variada e rica é a contribuição entomológica, servindo também algumas variedades de insectos de alimento aos habitantes da região.

Neste *habitat* em que a área para cultivo se adquire abatendo dificilmente a mata secular, e que só é aproveitável regularmente durante três ou quatro anos, não se pode, evidentemente, fazer senão um pequeno plantio. Lembrêmo-nos que primitivamente o homem uapesino dispunha apenas do machado de pedra, e que, no Uaupés, não são nem freqüentes, nem extensos os *verões*, isto é, os períodos de estiagem que permitem «a queima da roça».

A agricultura, por um lado, como também a pesca e caça não permitem grandes ajuntamentos humanos. Vamos, por conseqüência, encontrar a população sempre dispersa em pequenos grupos localizados à margem dos rios e ribeirões (igarapés), os quais além de subministrar, com os peixes, um alimento predileto, lhes servem de meio de comunicação.

Mínimas sendo as exigências dos indígenas, reduzem-se a três as condições que determinam o seu habitat: 1.º *água*, para beber, banhar-se e dar-lhes o peixe; 2.º a *floresta* que lhes proporciona a fruta e a lenha para o fogo; 3.º *terra* suficientemente fértil para o cultivo da mandioca, seu principal alimento vegetal. Nem sempre; antes, muito raramente, no estado atual, se pode, a critério indígena,

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conciliar a primeira condição com a terceira. Por essa razão ordinàriamente plantam a roça «*wezsé*» alguns quilômetros da sua casa. Compensando o incômodo da distância, apresenta-se à inteligência do silvícola a vantagem da segurança da sua propriedade, que assim mais facilmente escapa à vista e à cobiça. A conseqüência natural é que a densidade da população, em cada grupo, é independente da fecundidade das terras adjacentes.

## Capítulo II

# AS TRIBOS DO UAUPÉS NO PERIODO HISTÓRICO

## 1 — DADOS DA HISTÓRIA DOS RIOS NEGRO E UAUPÉS

O importante problema da origem dos silvícolas do Brasil, como da América, espera ainda sua solução. Visto que a ciência antropo-etnológica não os reconhece como autóctones, donde vieram? De uma só ou de várias origens. Em qual época? Por qual via? Com quais meios? Em uma ou em várias migrações sucessivas. Debaixo de qual direção? Como se espalharam?

Não visa o presente trabalho responder a essas ou outras questões conexas. Convém, no entanto, uma rápida visão dêsse grupo cultural do Uaupés dentro do período histórico para êle, isto é, desde a descoberta do Brasil.

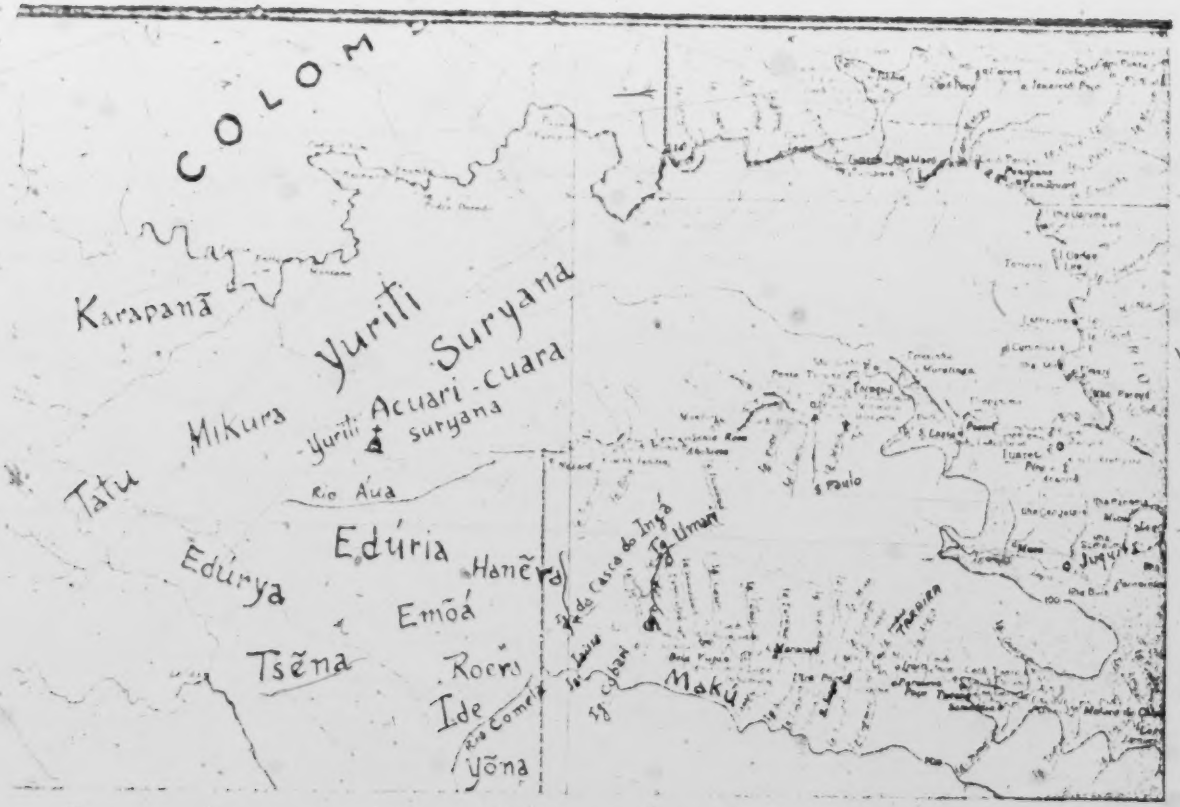
A viagem de descoberta do «Rio das Amazonas», como de então ficou conhecido, foi executada por Francisco Orellana, em 1541, servindo de cronista o frade da Ordem de S. Domingos, Gaspar de Carvajal. Da sua relação, pelo que respeita o Rio Negro, só se depara que no sábado, véspera da festa da SS. Trindade, 3 de junho de 1542, «Vimos uma bóca de outro grande rio, à mão esquerda, que entrava no que navegávamos e de água negra como tinta e por isso lhe pusemos o nome de Rio Negro» («Descobrimentos do rio das Amazonas», 50).

Na breve «Relação do descobrimento do Rio Amazonas, hoje S. Francisco de Quito», do Padre Alonso de Rojas, se lê apenas, no § 6: — «Da banda do norte está um rio grandíssimo com légua e meia de bóca e as águas tão negras que se distinguem das outras, efeito que deu nome ao rio chamando-o *«Negro»*.

«O piloto-mór, de quem depois falaremos, tendo navegado dois ou três dias por êste rio Negro, disse que, segundo as notícias que pôde obter de alguns índios, nasce êste rio em umas serras vizinhas do Novo Reino de Granada e que em sua origem se divide em dois braços; um dêles, com o nome de Rio Negro deságua depois de longo curso no das Amazonas; o outro vem desaguar no mar do Norte, à vista da ilha Trindade, e pensam que êste rio seja o famoso Orinoco» («Descobrimentos», 95).

[p. 15]

[facing p. 16]




Area indígena do Uaupés e Brasil-Colombia

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O Padre Cristobal de Acuña, que acompanhou a Pedro de Teixeira no seu retôrno de Quito a Belém, traz no seu «Novo descobrimento do grande Rio das Amazonas» mais abundantes informes sobre o Rio Negro ou *Caripuacuru* como o chamavam «os naturais que o habitam», ou *Uruna* «que quer dizer água negra», pelos Tupinambas», em sua língua «*Canicuaris, Aguapras, Yacuncarais, Cahuapatis, Manacarus, Yanmas, Guanamas, Carapanaris, Guaranacuapas, Acerabaris, Carupatabas* e *Guaranaquazama*, são as nações que residem nas águas do Rio Negro» («Descobrimentos», 251).

Depois das viagens de Pedro de Teixeira começam as batidas na captura do índio. Denominavam-se «tropas de resgate» estas bandeiras escravizantes. Das primeiras foi a chefiada por Pedro da Costa Favela, de ominosa memória (1).

O Jesuita Padre Manuel Pires (conforme o Padre Serafim Leite, na sua História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil) quatro vêzes entrou o Rio Negro, acompanhando «tropas de resgate». São, no entanto, rápidas penetrações sem escopo de colonização.

Em 1668 retorna Pedro da Costa Favella, acompanhado do Mercedário Frei Teodósio da Veiga, e no lugar denominado *Arumã* funda um povoado de índios *Tarumã*, o qual ao depois se transfere para a foz do rio Jaú, com índios «*Manao, Aruaqui* e *Tacú*», sob a denominação de Santo Elias do Jaú, e hoje se diz *Airão*.

Em 1669 Francisco da Mota Falcão lança os alicerces de uma fortaleza duas léguas acima da foz do rio Negro, onde se formara dos poucos o «*Lugar da Barra* ou o «*Povoado de S. José da Barra*», hoje a moderna e pitoresca cidade de Manaus.

Por carta régia de 1694 aos Religiosos Carmelitas e confiada a catequese do Rio Negro. Por obra dêstes surgem oito aldeamentos: S. Elias do Jaú, S. Alberto de Aracary, S. Angelo do Cumará, N. Senhora da Conceição de Maruiá, S. Rita de Cassia de Itarendaua, N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo de Cabuquena, N. Senhora do Rosario de Bararoá (ao depois denominada Thomar) e N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo do rio Dari, e mais tarde as missões do Uaupés, em S. Joaquim da Foz e S. Jerônimo da Cachoeira ou Ipanoré.

É que o govêrno da metrópole, entrado em mêdo das incursões holandesas e espanholas, e com o desejo das «drogas», se propusera a fundação sistemática de povoados ao longo de todo o rio Negro.

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(1) "A história da província abunda em fatos da mais dura crueldade. No rio Urubú, para citar um, em 1665, uma expedição comandada por Pedro da Costa Favella aniquila completamente uma tribo, matando 700 pessoas, aprisionando 400 e incendiando 300 aldeias" Baena — Compêndio das eras da Província do Pará, 1838 — ap. José Veríssimo, o.c. 304).

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[facing p.17]

Benzedeiro Wanano na pajelança tem por mãe uma Tarvana, a mulher uma Kubewanai

Tipos Pará-tapuya do povoado Pala, rio Papuri

Recem-nascido Para-tapuya com a fachada cranioliatica de carneiro

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Batidas, oficiais ou não, em procura das «drogas» (os produtos naturais) e das «peças» (os índios para os serviços públicos ou mesmo como escravos) se foram sucedendo. Em breve o Rio Negro e seus principais afluentes ficaram bastante conhecidos pelos portugueses, até suas ligações com o Orinoco pelo Cassiquiare e com as Guianas pelo rio Branco.

Por carta régia de 3 de março de 1755 é criada a «*Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro*». Precisamente nesse ano, por decisão do Marquês de Pombal, pelo alvará de 7 de junho, os Missionários Religiosos eram excluídos da direção temporal dos povoados indígenas (direção que passava aos juízes e vereadores), e submetidos no espiritual aos Bispos (não mais aos seus Superiores Religiosos). Em abril desse ano é escolhido o Padre Joseph Monteiro de Noronha como Vigário Geral da Capitania, sob a jurisdição eclesiástica do Bispo do Pará, que nessa época é D. Frei Miguel de Bulhões, da ordem de S. Bento.

Aos 16 de julho de 1757, é nomeado o 1º Governador Joaquim de Melo Povoas, e, em 1759, são elevadas a *Vila* ou *Lugares* várias aldeias, a de Maruia em Vila de Barcelos, como Capital; Itarendaua em *Vila de Moura*; Bararoa em *Vila de Thomar*; Jaú em *Lugar de Ayrão*; Cumaru em *Lugar de Poiares*; Aracari em *Lugar de Carvoeiro*.

As preocupações territoriais da metrópole ditaram ordens para o guarnecimento do alto Rio Negro contra as tendências expansionistas espanholas. Para isso foi destacado em 1761 o capitão José da Silva Delgado que fundou as localidades de S. Pedro de Simape, S. José dos Marabitanas, N. Senhora da Guia, S. Barbara, S. João Batista do Mabe, S. Isabel, Senhor da Pedra, N. Senhora de Nazaré de Curiana, S. Gabriel da Cachoeira, S. Sebastião e S. Antonio do Castanheiro Velho. Este é abandonado mais tarde pela impossibilidade da agricultura sempre danificada pela formiga saúva, e a população transfere-se para cima da foz do Abunã, fundando-se o povoado de S. Antonio do Castanheiro Novo. Como primeiro vigário de S. Gabriel foi nomeado o franciscano Frei José de S. Úrsula.

Em 1772 fundou-se o povoado de N. Senhora de Loreto de Maçaraby, e em 1781 o de N. Senhora das Caldas na margem do rio Cauabori.

Por ordem do General João Pereira Caldas, encarregado de Portugal para a demarcação dos limites (com D. Francisco de Requena, representando os interêsses da Espanha), o coronel Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, em 1784 sobe o Rio Negro, funda a povoação de S. Marcelino na foz do Xié, e entra as águas do Uaupés.

No entanto, reduzidos os Missionários de poderes e número, a não idoneidade dos «Diretores dos Índios», foi prejudicando a sua

cristianização e estabilização em povoados. Os «Diários» de Sampaio e Ferreira documentam-no e contra isto protestam (2).

Não obstante a falta de Missionários o processo de cristianização-se vai realizando, embora mais lentamente, pois índios do Uaupés desciam até S. Gabriel ou arredores, quando sabiam da presença ali de algum sacerdote.

Proclamada a Independência do Brasil, em 1822, à província de S. José do Rio Negro não se concedeu, como às outras, plena autonomia e como «Comarca do Alto Amazonas» passou até 1850 a integrar a Província do Pará.

Com os trabalhos apostólicos do Carmelita Frei José dos Santos Inocentes, no alto Rio Negro e afluentes, por mais de vinte anos a contar de 1832, a evangelização dos indígenas cobrou novo alento.

Criada 5 de setembro de 1850 a Província do Amazonas, o seu primeiro Governador, João Batista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, no mesmo ano de sua posse, 1852, nomeia o Capuchinho Frei Gregório José Maria de Bene, «Vigário encomendado das freguezias e povoações do alto Rio Negro e Missionário dos rios Uaupés e Içana», visto que Frei José dos Santos Inocentes fôra obrigado, por doença, a descer a Manaus. A atividade de Frei Gregório é grande, e, em pouco mais de dois anos, conseguiu pôr-se em relação com 25 tribos (que figuram na sua lista), procurando aldeiá-las, restabele-

(2) Alexandre H. Ferreira na Participação segunda, em data de 30 de janeiro de 1788 afirma: — "Disse o que sempre disse, que os índios depois de livres [illegible] nesta parte de pior condição, que a que tinham na sua escravos. O senhor na vida do escravo zelava o seu dinheiro; o Director na vida do índio não zela interesse algum". E observa que os índios morriam de muito trabalho e pouco alimento. "Só lhes dão beijú, farinha e carne" (c. c. 87).

As pág. 43 fala dos maus tratos que os Diretores infligem aos índios, enquanto se enriquecem e tornam-se tantos fidalguetes: — "De umas para outras mãos absolutas e tão absôlutas que, nas vilas e lugares, ou antes, ducados, marquezados e condados livres dos Diretores os índios sofrem mudos a fiel coluna de seu sofrimento".

A pág. 70 refere do coronel Teodósio Constantino Chermont ao convidar os índios Macuxis para se aldearem em Tabocas, rio Apapóris, ter quem de seu principal Mamanaca que êles o fariam. "Com tanto pedir que se lhes havia de mandar vigario para os baptizar e doutrinar, como elles muito desejavam, e não poucas vezes o tinham pedido de balde" mas por, nenhum modo o Director, porque da conduta de tais elles com os índios nas nossas povoações estavam bem informados, tratando somente de as destruirem e não de as edificarem".

O Presidente da Província Conselheiro Herculano Ferreira Pena, na "Falla dirigida à Assembléa Legislativa Provincial do Amazonas", em 1º de setembro de 1852, depois de reconhecer que tinham falhado os nobres planos de catequese e educação dos índios afirma: — "Por uma

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cendo muitos povoados, e trazendo delas muitos individuos ao christianismo. Citam-se as seguintes povoações para as quaes em 1854 pede mudança de nome a saber: no *Uaupés*: Querari, Macaquinha, Micura-rapecuma (aldeia do S. Coração de Jesus), Carurú-cachoeira (aldeia de S. Fidelis martir), Mutum (aldeia de S. Cruz), Aracapuri (aldeia de S. João-Batista), Jutica, Pacú-cachoeira (aldeia de S. Sebastião), aldeia do Cubeó (aldeia de N. Senhora das Dores), Umiri, Iauaretê (aldeia de S. Ana), Jabuti-rapecuma (aldeia de S. Paulo Apostolo), Juquira (aldeia de S. Domingos), Nania-rapecuma (aldeia de S. Antonio de Lisboa), S. Jerônimo (aldeia da Conceição de N. Senhora), S. Joaquim, Trovão, Pituna-rapecuma, Inuitera, Cunuri, Coró-Coró, Iura-rapecuma (aldeia de S. Francisco das Chagas), Taracuá (S. Francisco das Chagas), Ambaiua, Iviterarapecuma. No *Tiquie*: Tucano (ou S. Isabel), Uira-poço (ou Nazaré), Maracaja (ou S. José), Turi-igarapé (ou S. Pedro). No *Papuri*: S. Luzia dos Tucanos, S. Gregorio Magno dos Pira-tapuya. (Archivo do Amazonas, Anno I, vol. I, n. 2, p. 34 e Anno II, vol. II, n. 5 p. 7).

Com alternados periodos de assistência prosseguiram os Capuchos attendendo aos incolas do alto Rio Negro e Uaupés até 1888, quando se retiraram e extinguiu-se a Missão. Desde essa época civilizados e indigenas do Rio Negro tiveram visitas periódicas de

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tudo tão simples e geralmente conhecida, isto é, por faltarem-lhe fieis executores desde que desappareceram os antigos Missionários que punham posto a essa empreza, digna certamente dos Vieira, dos Nobregas e dos Anchieta.

Exterminando os Jesuitas não previu o governo portuguez que assim decretava também a destruição dos indios, que por espaço de dois séculos tinham vivido felizes e contentes sob a paternal tutela daquelles Religiosos, entendeu pelo contrario o celebre Ministro del Rei D. José que essa tutela poderia ser vantajosamente substituida pelo mando dos Directores então creados, mas o novo systema não teve desgraçadamente outros efeitos, senão a decadencia das aldeias já formadas, e a impossibilidade de fundar outras que as imitassem como se observa no Brasil inteiro.

O que os fatos attestam é que se algum bom resultado se conseguiu foi devido ao zelo e à caridade dos Missionarios.

Entregar, portanto, a direcção das aldeias a religiosos que sejam capazes de fazer completa abnegação dos bens e gozos mundanos, que tenham a paciencia necessaria para relevar aos indigenas os erros e faltas provenientes da incontestavel inferioridade da sua inteligencia; que lhes inspirem o amor do trabalho; que os instruam nas máximas da religião catholica e da doutrina christã; que em summa os eduquem até o ponto de acharem-se habilitados para cumprir os deveres e gozar das vantagens da sociedade civil; é a meu ver o unico systema que poderemos seguir com toda probabilidade de feliz successo". ("Relatorios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas", vol. I, p. 218-9).

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eclesiasticos, raros dos quais passaram além de S. Gabriel, e alguns nem ali chegaram.

Em 1914 a Missão do Rio Negro e Uaupés foi confiada pela Santa Sé à Congregação Salesiana de S. João Bosco e inicia-se nova e mais promissora fase para aquelas tribos. Quatorze delas localizadas ao longo dos rio Uaupés, Tiquie e Papuri são assistidas material, sanitaria e espiritualmente. Os indios são atraidos para as margens desses rios e aldeados em pequenos povoados.

Para mais perfeita assimilação civilizadora, conforme os principios cristãos, além dos hospitais, maternidades, ambulatórios e igrejas, estão funcionando (1958) 13 colégios (6 masculinos e 7 femininos) que no regime de internato, educam e instruem na lingua patria, ciencias e artes cêrca de mil e quinhentas crianças de ambos os sexos. O confronto entre a vida dos ex-alunos da Missão nos seus povoados e a dos que vivem nas malocas aonde não atingiu a ação do Missionário, é a melhor prova do alcance civilizador das Missões Salesianas.

## 2 OS PRIMEIROS RELATÓRIOS

No século 18 aparecem três Relatorios com indicação de tribos do Rio Negro e Uaupés:

1.º «Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará até as últimas colonias dos dominios portuguezes em os Rios Amazonas e Negro. Ilustrado com algumas noticias que podem interessar a curiosidade dos navegantes e dar mais claro conhecimento das duas capitanias do Pará e de S. José do Rio Negro», do Vigário Geral Dr. José Monteiro de Noronha (Collecção de noticias para a História e Geographia das nações ultramarinas que vivem nos Dominios Portuguezes ou lhe são visinhas: publicada pela Academia Real das Sciencias — Tomo VI. Lisboa 1856).

2.º «Diário da viagem que em visita e correição das povoações da Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro fez o Ouvidor e Intendente Geral da mesma Francisco Xavier Ribeiro da Sampaio, no anno 1774 e 1775» (Lisboa — na tipographia da Academia, 1825 — Com licença de S. Magestade»).

3.º «Diário da Viagem Philosophica pela Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro com a informação do Estado, presente pelo Dr. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, naturalista empregado na expedição philosophica do Estado», em 1775-6 (Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro t. 48, Rio de Janeiro 1885 pag. 147 ss.)

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O ouvidor Sampaio, como os Ouvidores precedentes, chegou apenas até a povoação de Thomar; traz, todavia, dados sobre o Rio Negro e Uaupés por informações havidas especialmente do autor do «Roteiro» a quem cita.

Alexandre R. Ferreira sobe todo o Rio Negro e penetra no Uaupés até Ipanoré. Assim, além das notícias hauridas do «Diario» do Ouvidor Sampaio, pôde acrescentar as que obteve pessoalmente. Poucas, seja dito a bem da verdade, pelo que interessa a etnografia.

Data de 1789 a «Descripção Chorographica do Estado do Gram-Para que, por ordem alphabetica, descreveu João Vasco Manuel de Braum, Governador da Praça de Macapá no anno de 1789». Mas, além de apenas repetir os dados do Pe. Noronha, e até na mesma ordem, do Rio Uaupés só aparece a «povoação de S. Joaquim do Cbane» com 200 pessoas das nações *Uaupés* e *Cocuana*» (Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Brasileiro, vol. 36, 1873, pag. 289).

Alguns informes mais interessantes, embora já conhecidos, trazem as «Noticias Geographicas» do Cônego Fernandes de Souza. Datam do sec. 19 porem já em 1793 era êle Vigário em São Gabriel (Cfr. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Brasileiro vol. 10, Rio de Janeiro, 1876).

Desde o meado do século passado temos notícias mais abundantes que visam em especial o Uaupés, a partir da obra «*Travels of the Amazon and Rio Negro by Alfred Russel Wallace*» sob o ponto de vista etnográfico; e, para a *localização das tribos*, os Relatórios do Capuchinho Frei Gregorio de Bene, nomeado Missionario do Rio Uaupés de 1852 a 1854.

## 3. INFORMES ETNOGRAFICOS DO SÉCULO 18

Nas três fontes do sec. 18 conhecidas, e por nós citadas, pouquissimos informes etnográficos encontramos sôbre as tribos da bacia do Uaupés, que estudamos. Sem grande incômodo, pois, podem ser transcritos e o fazemos para maior comodidade dos leitores dêstes estudos.

a. No «*Roteiro*» lemos: — n. 184. «O verdadeiro nome do rio Uaupé he Ucayari que no idioma dos Indios Manáos e Barez significa — Rio de agua branca: porem como o gentio que povoa o principal tronco do Ucayari he de nação Uaupé lhe atribuiram os mais Indios o mesmo nome, que os Brancos verterão em Goaupé (é o mesmo que Condamine chama *Yaquiri* (no Mapa) e *Quiquiari* (no Diario)».

185. «Cinco dias de viagem pela margem austral desemboca o Tiquié. «Em distancia de mais tres dias de viagem tem uma grande catadupa chamada de *Ipanoré*. Mais tres dias a foz do rio Capuri na margem austral. No Rio Tiquié se acharam em o ano de 1719 pétras que depois de examinadas e fundidas, mostraram ser de prata. Por este rio e pelo Capuri se pode ir ao Apuapari (Apapóris) «que desagua na margem septentrional do Japurá, como fica dito: passando-se das fontes daquele para o Rio *Yeyá* ou *Uaya* que desagua no braço oriental do Apuapari».

186. «No rio Ucayari e nos que lhe são collaterais habitão Indios das nações Uaupe, Cocuana, Quererurí, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenaji, Mamanga, Panenuá e outros. O gentio da nação Uaupé tem hum pequeno furo entre a cartilagem e extremidade inferior das orelhas; e outro no beiço inferior entre a barba e a extremidade superior do mesmo beiço. Sôbre o beiço traz uma pedra branca sólida, bem levigada, de figura cylindrica e de uma polegada de diametro, prega ao pescoço com cordão e fio introduzido por um pequeno furo que lhe faz artificialmente pelo meio de uma extremidade a outra: os principaes as trazem de meio palmo de comprido: os nobres pouco menos, e os plebeus muito mais curtas».

187. «Alguns Indios da nação Tariarana habitantes do Rio Capuri forão vistos em outro tempo com folhetas de ouro nas orelhas, as quais compravão a troco de pennas a Indios de outras nações que se ignoravão. Agora se sabe que os Indios da nação Panenuá, que habita na parte superior do Ucayari usa das mesmas folhetas e que delles passavão aos Tarianos. Subsiste porem a duvida donde vem os ditos fragmentos de ouro» (3).

189. O Issana he habitado de Indios das nações Baniva, Tumayari, Tuniari, Deçana, Puetana, Uerequena e outros. Os da nação Uerequena chamada comumente, por corrupção do vocabulo Ari-

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(3) Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada que, por ordem de João Pereira Caldas Governador do Rio Negro, explorou as passagens do Uaupés para o Japurá, em sua relação de 13 de setembro de 1785 assim manifesta a sua opinião ao mesmo Governador (Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis — Lobo D'Almada, p. 32): "No que pertence as Folhetas de ouro das quais se diz que usavão para pendentes de orelhas certos Indios do Rio Uaupés, he cousa esta de que não pude descobrir nem menor notícia por mais que o indaguei das muitas e diferentes Naçoens com que fallei habitantes do mesmo Rio. Bem pode ser que aquelas pertendidas Folhetas de Ouro não fossem mais do que huma illuzão quimerica originada de se verem nas orelhas das ditas Indios as Azas de certo Besouros grandes cor de cobre, cujas Azas depois de secas parecem huma especie metallica pela sua consistencia e luzimento.

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quena, tem por distintivo hum furo mui largo entre a cartilagem e a extremidade inferior das orelhas em que mettem molhos de palha. Entre eles acham-se muitos que antecedentemente á comunicação e conhecimento de Brancos, tinham nomes Hebraicos, huns puros e outros com pouca corrupção, como: Joab, Jacob, Yacobi, Thome, Thomequi, Davidu, Ivanan e Marianan».

b. Xavier Sampaio, no seu «Diario» escreve: — n.º 380. «Mais adiante faz barra o famoso Ucayari por outro nome Uaupés, derivado da nação assim chamada que principalmente o povoa. Desagua com duas bocas e uma ilha triangular de 20 leguas de circuito e inumeraveis cachopos e cachoeiras perigosissimas por causa de medonhos vortices que formam... Pelo sul o Tiquié e Capuri, que são os principais. Pelo norte corre ele hum canal de comunicação com o rio Guabiari que desce das vizinhanças de Santa Fé de Bogotá. Os Indios Daçanas, Tarianas e Uaupés, que comunicarão com os indios do mesmo Guabiari se tem visto com pendentes de orelhas de ouro finissimo, que se conjectura ser extraido das minas de nova Granada».

381. «He o Uaupés habitado de muitas nações das quais as principais são Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena, Uanana, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinana, Timanarã, Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; porem a mais celebre he a Uaupés por causa da diferença que entre si admitem de varios graus de nobreza, a que serve de distintivo, como de uma ordem militar, huma pedra branca muito liza, de figura cylindrica e furada para lhe passarem um cordão com que a trazem ao pescoço. As dos principais chegam a ter meio palmo de comprido. São menores as dos nobres e muito menores as dos plebeus. Trazem os Uaupés as orelhas e beiços furados».

c. Numerosas e interessantes informações encontramos no sec. 19, especialmente nas obras de Wallace e de Koch Grunberg. A medida que se nos apresentar a oportunidade de citálos-emos, como confirmação do que se encontra no presente, ou para verificar uma modificação de costumes indigenas, ou, enfim, para retificar observações daqueles autores que nos parecem inexatas.

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Emfim eu tenho para mim que esta Noticia das tais Folhetas de Ouro do Rio Uaupés, he tão Fabuloza, como o he certamente a que se afirma na Sinopse do Padre Jozé Monteiro, de se terem tirado ou trazido do Rio Tiquié no anno de 1749, Certas Pedras, que fundidas mostrarão ser de prata, quando bem se deixa crer que elas não seriam outra couza mais do que aquelas Pedras Metalicas chamadas Pirites, de que eu remeti a V. Excia algumas apanhadas no Apaporis, e que tambem se achão pelo Rio Tiquié, as quais parecerão prata a maior parte das pessoas da minha cometiva, que já como tal as pretendião carregar".

# 4 LUGARES DO RIO NEGRO NO SECULO 18

## *COM INDICAÇÃO DAS TRIBOS*

(Conforme os dados do Pe. Noronha, Xavier Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira e Braum

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | Tribos |
| A — Aruaque | | | | J — Juri (pixúna) | | P — Passé | |
| Ar — Arauiki, Ayrini, Arilini | | | | Jp — Japiuna | | Pv — Paviana | |
| B — Bare | | | | Jr — Juruna | | Px — Pexuma | |
| Ba — Baniva | | | | M — Manáo | | T — Tacu | |
| Bv — Bariva | | | | Ju — Juma | | Pt — Putteno | |
| C — Cabeuana | | | | Ma — Macú | | Te — Termairari | |
| Ca — Carapá | | | | Mq — Maquirituare | | Tu — Turimari | |
| Ce — Cocuana | | | | Mr — Marapitena | | U — Uaupé | |
| Ce — Cocuana | | | | Md — Mendó | | Ua — Uaranacuacena | |
| D — Dauhais | | | | Mp — Mepuri | | Uc — Uerequena | |
| | | | | | | Uy — Uauuana, Yayauana | |
| | | | | | | X — Xamá | |
| | | | | | | Xp — Xapuena | |
| Manáos - margem esquerda (M.E.) | 2 leguas da foz | | | | | B, Bv, P | |
| Barcelos - margem direita (M.D.) | 30 | " | " | " | | A, M, T | (860 almas) |
| Moura - M.D. | 42 | " | " | " | | M, Ca, Ce, Ju, B, Jp, Jr, | |
| Carvoeiro - M.D. | 50 | " | " | " | | M, Pr, Ua (ext.) | (1786 " ) |
| Poiares - M.D. | 67 | " | " | " | | M, B, P. | |
| Barcelos - M.D. | 74 | " | " | " | | M, B, Ba, Uc, P. | |
| Moreira - M.D. | 90 | " | " | " | | M, B | (164 almas) |
| Tarumã - M.D. | 107 | " | " | " | | M, B, Uy, P | (524 " ) |
| Lindoiampa - M.D. | 111 | " | " | " | | M, B, Bv | (196 " ) |
| S. Isabel - M.E. | 127 | " | " | " | | U, J, P, Ue, Bv, Ma, Mq | (69 almas) |
| S. Ant. do Castanheiro Novo - M.E. | 140 | " | " | " | | B, J, Px P, X, | (108 " ) |
| Mojarabi - M.E. | 154 | " | | " | | J, P | (175 " ) |
| S. José - M.E. | 162 | " | " | " | | B | (99 " ) |
| S. Pedro (antigo Simuper) - M.D. | 168 | " | " | " | | J, P | (95 " ) |
| S. João Nepom. do Camundé - M.E. | 171 | " | " | " | | P, Px, J | (94 " ) |
| S. Bernardo de Cunhanas - M.E. | 175 | " | " | " | | J, P, X, | (109 " ) |
| N. S. de Nazaré de Curiuna - M.E. | 178 | " | " | " | | P, Mp, Ar, Br Mb | (100 " ) |
| S. Gabriel da Cachoeira - M.E. | 180 | " | " | " | | B, Mp, J | (180 " ) |
| S. Joaquim do Coané - M.D. | 185 | " | " | " | | U, Cc | (257 " ) |
| Santa Ana - M.E. | 198 | " | " | " | | Bv | (198 " ) |
| S. Felipe - M.D. | 202 | " | " | " | | Bv | (23 " ) |
| S. Miguel (foz do Içana) - M.E. | 235 | " | " | " | | Bv | |
| N. Senhora da Cruz - M.D. | 200 | " | " | " | | B, Bv. | (87 " ) |
| S. Marcelino (foz do Xié) - M.D. | 222 | " | " | " | | Bv, Ue, Md | (65 " ) |
| S. José dos Marabitanas - M.D. | 231 | " | " | " | | Mr, Ar, B, Bv | (165 " ) |

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## 5 DIFICULDADES DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO

Grandes dificuldades apresenta a decifração da nomenclatura das tribos indígenas, mesmo limitando-nos aos grupos humanos do Uaupés e afluentes.

Tal dificuldade tem várias causas:

1.ª — Cumpre, primeiramente, indicar não apenas a possibilidade, mas a realidade de erros tipográficos. Por exemplo, a importante tribo *Tariana*, do ramo *Arawake*, que se localiza em vários povoados do médio Uaupés brasileiro, desde *Arari-pira* até *Periquito*, no «Roteiro» do Padre Noronha é denominada *Tartarana*; nos «Diários» do ouvidor Sampaio e de Rodrigues Ferreira, respectivamente, *Tariana* e *Carvana*; e nos mapas apostólicos de Frei Gregório, *Itariana* e *Itatiana*.

2.ª — As fontes antigas, de que nos podemos socorrer, trazem notícias de segunda ou mais remota mão, de cuja exatidão ficamos, às vezes, perplexos, os que sabemos quão árduo seja obter amplos esclarecimentos da parte dos indígenas. E muitos dos informantes, para aqueles primeiros exploradores, seriam necessariamente índios.

3.ª — A dificuldade supra, compreende-se, será ainda acrescida pela má pronúncia dos indígenas; ou, quiçá por divergências fonéticas ou mesmo por deficiência de som nas suas línguas. A tribo, dita no próprio idioma *Hanêrã*, e que habita as cabeceiras do Tiquié, é denominada *Panerôã* pelos Tukanos, e *Panênôã* pelos Tuyuka. Esta divergência torna-se muito compreensível se revelarmos que sua língua é da família do Tukano, porém as palavras que em Tukano começaram pelo fonema *p*, em Hanêrã iniciam pela aspirada sonora *h*. Por exemplo, *pai* se diz em Tukano *paxkó*, e em *Hanêrã*, *hakó*; *mãe*, em Tukano *paxkó* e em Hanêrã, *hakó*.

4.ª — A expressão «*região do Uaupés*» ainda hoje é vaga, e muito mais o era no passado, abrangendo também as bacias do *Içana* e do *Apapóris-Japurá*. Por essa razão os primeiros catálogos (do sec. 18) situam no *Uaupés* tribos que na realidade vivem naqueles outros rios.

5.ª — Quase nunca terão podido os informantes saber como alguma tribo se denominava a si mesma. Não raro uma mesma tribo é diversamente denominada pelas outras. Indagando de indivíduos da tribo *Tariana* (entre os quais dois bem idosos: Paulino e Casimiro, de Iauaretê) como se chamavam a si mesmos, responderam: — *Talyaseri* (alguém pronunciou *Talyaseri*). — Que significa a palavra *Tariana*? — Não sabemos, responderam êles. — Quem lhes deu o

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nome de *Taryana?* Responderam: — os brancos» (4). Nas matas banhadas pelo *Komé-ya* (em Tukano) ou *Komé-nyaka* (na língua da região) afluente do rio *Pirá-paraná*, há várias malocas de uma tribo que, no próprio idioma se diz *«Ide-masã»* — isto é, água-tapúya ou gente-água. Como frequentemente empregam a exclamação *sáo* (equivale à afirmativa *sim*), as tribos vizinhas alcunharam-nos «os que dizem «sáo». E assim os Tukanos denominaram-nos *«Aõ-ulrã»*, os Tuyuka *«Ao-nãnã»*. Os Colombianos, naturalmente por informação de alguma outra tribo, designam êsses mesmos *«Ide-masã»* pelo nome *«Makuna»*, termo registrado também por Koch Grünberg, cujo significado, porém, é desconhecido aos atuais *«Ide-masã»*.

6.ª — Como de ordinário as tribos se denominam pelo nome de algum animal ou planta, é certo igualmente que, às vêzes, seu nome é traduzido não só para a língua portuguesa ou para a *língua geral* (5), como também para o idioma de outras tribos. A guisa de exemplos: há no baixo Tiquié uma pequena tribo que se denomina em português *Miriti-tapúya*. Êsse nome é tão só a tradução do nome indígena *Neõrõã* que indica a palmeira *mirití* ou *buriti* (*mauritia flexuosa*). Outra tribo a si mesma se chama *«Mõxtã»*, que é o nome de um mosquito (dos gêneros *stegomya, culex*, etc) que picam durante a noite. Em língua portuguesa é conhecida por *Carapanã*, que é termo regional da Amazônia para indicar tais mosquitos. As várias línguas procuram imitar o som *«Mõxtã»* ou traduzir o nome do inseto, donde os nomes: *Mõxtéã*, em Tukano; *Muxtã*, em Pirá-tapúya; *Moxtea*, em Tuyuka; *Moneã*, em Desana; em Kubéwa, *Morõ-Wa*, em Taryana *Aini-nonc*; em Maku, *Kyira*. A tribo conhecida por *Desana*, no próprio idioma se denomina *Wind*; os Tukano dizem-na *Wnã*; os Pira-tapúya, *Knã*; os Wanãna, *Knã*; os Kumãdene, *Desã*; os Maku, *Mãã-de*. Uma pequena tribo, em caminho de extinção, e até já perdeu o próprio idioma, falando exclusivamente o dos Tu-

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(4) Strudel, no seu "Vocabulario Portuguez-Nheengatú e Nheengatú-Portuguez" ensina que ena é um sufixo Nheengatú que indica abundância [illegible] seu emprêgo em nomes de tribos: Taryana, Wanana, Desana, Kubéwana, Barasana, etc. O termo Taryana, portanto, resulta de Tary-ena ou Talya, com a transformação do l por r pelo fenômeno de rotacismo e o sufixo ana. Ouve-se também Talyãna.

(5) Denomina-se "Língua geral" ou "Nheengatú" (a língua boa, bela) o Tupi da Amazônia, língua sonora e rica de termos e expressões, falada ainda hoje por brancos e caboclos do Rio Negro e entendida por muitos índios do rio Içana. O Tupi, como se falava de S. Vicente (S. Paulo) até o Maranhão, com suas variações dialetais, denominou-se "Abanheenga" (a língua da gente, a língua do índio).

kano, é conhecida por *Arapasu*, têrmo da língua geral que indica o pequeno pica-pau. Outras tribos traduzem êsse nome para a própria língua, e assim os Tukano chamam tal tribo *Kõrèá*; os Desana, *Kõrõ-tea*; os Taryana, *Ku-hõne*; os Makú, *Hom'de*.

7.ª — Pensamos, ainda, que, em alguns casos, a dificuldade aumenta por vir apresentada como tribo alguma subdivisão de tribo. Por exemplo: conhece-se no rio Içana uma tribo pelo nome vulgar de *Cutia* ou *Cutia-tapuya* (do grupo *Arawáke*), e na língua local se diz *Ancadzuruna*. No rio Uaupés, precisamente em Taracuápunta, vivem hoje, ainda, algumas famílias da tribo *Pira-tapúyá*, pertencentes à subtribo *Bisá-põné*, como se diz em seu próprio idioma, e que, traduzindo para o português, significa: «*filhos da cutia*». Acima de Jandia, no rio Papuri, há outrossim, uma subdivisão da tribo Tukano denominada «*Boxsó-põrá*», filhos da cutiáia (cutia pequena).

8.ª — Complicando ainda mais o problema, vêm os «descimentos», como se denominavam as migrações voluntárias dos índios abrigando-se sob a proteção do branco, para escapar às perseguições de outras tribos. Dessas migrações resulta, em dada época, o deslocamento de uma tribo para longe do seu *habitat* anterior. Assim na primeira metade do século passado, índios de várias tribos desceram do Alto Rio Negro e Içana, e vieram estabelecer-se no Baixo Uaupés, como se pode ver nos mapas de Frei Gregorio de Bene (vd. abaixo, pag. 25). Ou talvez aprofundaram-se na selva, sem que dêles se saiba mais notícia alguma. Koch Grunberg informa-nos de vários grupos *Kaica-yari* que das cabeceiras do Içana e Querari, passaram, através das cabeceiras do Uaupés, para o Apapóris. Podem outrossim, dar-se migrações de uma mesma tribo para diversos lugares, e ser designada em uma localidade preferivelmente de um modo, e em outra, de outro.

9.ª — É certo ainda que, por não se distinguirem bem as tribos, sob um mesmo nome podem vir incluídas várias tribos. Engano fácil, particularmente quando são de idênticos costumes, de línguas parecidas e, quem sabe, usando o mesmo idioma. É precisamente o que ocorre no Uaupés. De ordinário os primeiros Relatórios usam a expressão «Nações Uaupés», abrangendo tôdas as tribos que habitam aquele rio e afluentes.

Indicadas estas dificuldades, procuraremos, confrontando as fontes, identificar as tribos atuais com as antigas, e assim indagar do seu *habitat* há dois séculos, e dos movimentos migratórios que talvez se tenham dado nesse período.

## 6 AS TRIBOS DO UAUPÉS E SUA LOCALIZAÇÃO

### a Listas do século 18.

1ª — Padre Noronha no seu «Roteiro» de 1759, cita nove tribos das quais uma no rio Capuri ou Papuri, a *Tariarana* (Taryana) e oito no rio Uaupés.

2ª — Sampaio, 1775, elenca doze tribos no Uaupés e seus tributários.

3ª — Ferreira, 1785, enumera vinte e uma tribos, sendo uma no rio Papuri, a *Caruana* (Taryana) e vinte no Uaupés.

*Observações* — 1ª Nenhuma dessas listas é completa, declaram os próprios autores. Uma servirá, pois, para completar a outra, se apresentar nomes que as outras silenciam.

2ª O não figurar em lista posterior uma tribo da anterior, poderia indicar extinção ou migração de tribo. Quer parecer-nos mais provável um esquecimento do relator; ou o seu silêncio significara que não teve informações sôbre a tribo silenciada.

3ª Estas listas compreendem, outrossim, tribos que residem fora do território brasileiro, ao menos conforme as demarcações atuais das fronteiras (6).

Dispostas em quadro temos

| | Pe. Noronha, 1759 | Sampaio, 1775 | Ferreira, 1785 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | Aguara |
| 2 | | | Arapaxi |
| 3 | | | Arara |
| 4 | | | Baniba |
| 5 | Burutari | Beatari | Burutari |
| 6 | | | Cequeho |

(6) Conforme os marcos delimitadores da fronteira, o rio *Querari* desagua no Uaupés em território colombiano. Asseguram-nos, porém, habitantes da região que em Jurupari-cachoeira (trecho colombiano do Uaupés), pode-se ver na vasante uma pedra com o nome *Brasil* insculpido. Os Relatorios de Jesuino Cordeiro, Tenente da 6ª Companhia do Corpo Policial, e que foi "Diretor dos Indios" nos rios Uaupés e Içana, no-lo mostram aldeando índios em postos que hoje pertencem a Colombia, como a Cachoeira-do-Mutum (hoje Mitu, capital do Território Nacional Colombiano do Waupes), e muito mais acima, no *Lago-do-Espelho* ou Uaruai-lago, etc.

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | Cueuana | Cueuana | Goiana |
| 8 | Cubeuana | | Cubeuana |
| 9 | | | Cudujari |
| 10 | | | Cuenaca |
| 11 | | Deçaca | |
| 12 | | Macu | Macú |
| 13 | | Macucoena | |
| 14 | Mamenga | | Mueino |
| 15 | | Mamenga | Mamanga |
| 16 | | | Paicueno |
| 17 | Panenua | Panenua | Panaoga |
| 18 | | | Pumenica |
| 19 | Quereruri | | Quereruri |
| 20 | Tariatrarina | Tariapia | Cariana |
| 21 | | Timiahará | |
| 22 | | | Uacari |
| 23 | Uananá | Uanana | Uanana |
| 24 | Uaupe | Uaupe | Uaupe |
| 24 | | Uriana | |

a — *Lista do Padre Noronha*

1) *UAUPÉS*. — Uaupes é denominação genérica aplicada (como resulta dos mais antigos documentos) às várias tribos do rio homônimo (7). Vira talvez, sob a denominação de «*Uaupés*» uma tribo em

(7) Eis a íntegra da "Carta Patente" "Manoel Joaquim do Paço, Cavalleiro da Ordem de Christo Sargento Mor addido ao Estado-Maior do Exercito do Brasil e Governador da Capitania do Rio Negro por Sua Magestade Fidelissima &. Faço saber aos que esta minha Carta-Patente virem, que depois me requerido o Indio Abalizado Raymundo José da Nação Uaupes, situado no Lugar *S. Jeronimo*, no Rio Negro, tendo para isso mostrado Documentos authenticos ser agil e sufficiente, e attendendo eu ao justo o seu Requerimento. He, por bem prover o referido Indio Abalizado Raymundo José da Nação Uaupes como por esta fosse nomeado Carro de Principal dos Indios da Nação Uaupes com o qual gosara de todas as honras, liberdades, izempsoens e franquezas que em Cazos do mesmo Cargo lhe tocarem.

Pelo que mando a todos os Officiais seus subalternos e mais Indios a elle subordinados o reconheção por Principal e como tal o honrem, estimem e lhe obedecerão, e guardem suas ordem como devem e são obrigados.

E por firmeza de tudo lhe mandei passar a presente por mim assignada e sellada com o Sinete das Armas Reais, que cumprirá inteiramente como nesta se contem e se declara. Registrando-se aonde tocar. Dada neste quartel do Governo do Rio Negro aos dezesseis dias do mez de Novembro do Anno do Nascimento de Nosso Senhor Jesus Christo de mil oito centos e vinte. E eu Claudio José Carmo, Sargento Miliciano, que Sirvo de Secretário do Governo a Subscrevi. L.S.)

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particular? Sim. De fato, com data de 18 de novembro de 1820 existe uma «Carta-Patente» do Governador da Capitania, Manoel Joaquim do Paço, dando provisão ao índio Abalizado Raymundo José no cargo de «Principal» dos Indios da Nação Uaupés» da localidade de S. Jerônimo (8). Trata-se evidentemente, de uma tribo em particular. Isto resulta: 1.º da redação singular: «Nação» Uaupés; 2.º não se pode pensar em um chefe geral para uma confederação de tribos, fato que não se deu nessa época; 3.º os Tuxauas ou «Principais», não são sequer chefes de tôda uma tribo, porém de pequenos grupos da sua tribo. A nomeação indica que será «Principal» dos Indios Uaupés do lugar de S. Jerônimo.

Hoje não se aplica essa denominação *Uaupé* a nenhuma das tribos do rio homônimo. 8.º Qual seria a tribo conhecida até meado do século passado por *Uaupés*? Aos 27 de março de 1818, o Brigadeiro João Henrique de Matos, Diretor Geral dos Indios, expedia título de nomeação como Tuxaua de S. Joaquim no índio João de Matos, da «Nação Tucano» filho do finado Tuxaua Abalizado Raymundo José (Cfr. Archivos do Amazonas, vol.º I, n.º 2, pág. 30, de 23 de outubro de 1906). Ora, é sabido que os filhos pertencem à tribo do pai, donde se infere facilmente que também era «Tucano» o seu pai, dito da «Nação Uaupés» na Carta-Patente de 1820.

«Nação Uaupés» das listas antigas designa, pois, a tribo *Tukano* mais numerosa e importante do Rio Uaupés, e da qual de modo particular se falará no presente estudo.

Encontramos pela primeira vez o nome *Tucano* e ultima vez a denominação *Uaupé*, em «Noticias Geographicas da Capitania do Rio Negro, no grande Rio Amazonas», do Cônego André Fernandes de Souza, Vigário Geral da Capitania e que aí exerceu seu ministério por 37 anos, sendo já em 1793 Vigário de S. Gabriel (hoje cidade de Uaupés). (Rev. do Inst. e Geog. Bras. t. 10 p. 465 — R. Janeiro, 1870).

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Manoel Joaquim do Paço. Carta Patente porque VSa. há por bem prover ao Indio Abalizado Raymundo José no Cargo de Principal dos Indios da Nação Uaupés no Lugar de S. Jeronimo.

Para VSa. ver. Nº 510 a fl. 118 v.

Pagou de sello desta 1.600 reis. Barra 18 de Novembro de 1820.

Carvalho Costa
1820

(8) Pelo fim do sec. 16 conforme pensa Stradelli (crf. Nota 1, I) viveu um grande Tuxaua *Tarpana*, por nome Buopé, que fixou sua tribo no rio Uaupés. Com felizes façanhas guerreiras, enfrentou as outras tribos, especialmente os Wanana e tornou-se célebre. Suposta a existência do Tuxaua Buopé, pode-se admitir que tenha podido ligar seu nome ao rio e a própria tribo, que é a *Tarpana*. Dificil, porém, de explicar-se

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2) *BURENARI* ou *BOANARI*. O autor de «Pelo Rio Mar» (9) identifica *Burenari* com *Boanara* e *Boyana*, e acrescenta: «homens-cobra, índios de origem caraíba que moram no rio Uaupés». No trecho brasileiro do Uaupés e também no trecho colombiano que visitamos ou do qual podemos obter informações, não existe tribo alguma sob o nome de *Burenari*, *Boanari*, *Boanara* ou *Boyana*. A etimologia insinua realmente, a derivação do nome Nheengatú *boa*, boa, cobra. Nos «Relatórios» (vd. Catálogos do séc. 19, pág. 34) figura igualmente a tribo *Boanari* no rio Uaupés. Entretanto na lista de Frei Gregório de Ilene, Missionário no Uaupés naqueles mesmos anos, não aparece tal tribo. Os «Relatórios» podem ter sido organizados sôbre informações de várias origens, como os «Diários» antigos e o próprio «Roteiro». As relações de Frei Gregório, que viveu mais de dois anos entre os indígenas do Uaupés, trazem as credenciais de valia (vd. abáixo II, 6, b). Cita Frei Gregório em *Arauapiari* (alto Uaupés) a tribo *Giboia*. Por esta localização poderia tratar-se de algum grupo vindo do Aiari ou Içana. Os «Relatórios» não mencionam nenhuma tribo *Giboia*. Encontramos, no entanto, uma tribo *Giboia* no rio Içana. Se a tribo *Burenari* é a mesma *Giboia*, concluimos que é a que se diz no próprio idioma *Dzuréuê* pertencente ao grupo de tribos Arawáke, como se vê pelo vocabulário que recolhemos e gravamos (cfr. o trabalho do Autor «*Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical*»).

Artur Ramos, entretanto, ensina que os *Boanari* são do grupo «*Caraíba* «quase extinctos, que habitam o Uatamá, afluente do Amazonas, e hoje vivem no rio Uaupés» (Introdução à Antropologia Brasileira, I, pág. 198). Talvez essa informação deve ser retificada, ao menos quanto ao *habitat*, ou quiçá mesmo totalmente, conforme o que acabamos de expor.

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é como *Uaupé* passasse a ser a denominação específica da tribo *Tukano*, rival da tribo *Taryana* à qual pertencia Buopé.

A não ser que seja mera coincidência, o mesmo nome para o Tuxáua Taryana e para o rio. Ou quiçá êste já era denominado *Uaupés* muito antes das proezas bélicas do chefe Taryana *Buopé*, e a aproximação dos nomes se deva à confusão ou deturpação. O rio, sim, é que emprestou o nome às nações marginantes e, em particular, a uma tribo mais numerosa e dominante, a dos *Dazscá* ou *Tukano*. Convém recordar que só nestes últimos anos é que se vai generalizando o nome Uaupés para o rio. Até coisa de 20 anos o rio era popularmente conhecido por *Caiari*.

(9) "Pelo Rio Mar" denomina-se um esplêndido Relatório organizado em 1933 pelo Prelado Salesiano do Rio Negro, Dom Pedro Massa, Bispo Titular de Hebrão, contendo um esboço histórico geográfico e etnográfico da Prelazia e as atividades dos Missionários Salesianos e fartamente documentado com fotografias e estatísticas da assistência escolar, sanitária e religiosa prestada aos selvícolas.

[facing p. 32]

Fig. 1. Tucano quindim para as danças [illegible] Inscripções em Papuchi

[illegible] Aruaxi [illegible]

Dentições do tucano Maku e menor leve seus [illegible] cortados no rito da mutilação

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3) *CUBEUANA*. — É a grande tribo conhecida também pelo nome de *Kubeu* ou *Kubeua*, com muitos representantes ainda hoje no alto Uaupés e seu afluente o Querari (vd. IV, 2p).

4) *CUEUANA*. A tribo *Cueuana* figura na «lista das Nações indígenas» dos «Relatórios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas» (Vol. I, pag. 259 ss.) correspondente aos anos de 1852-7. Entretanto nas relações de Frei Gregório não aparece tal tribo. «*Cocuana*» é que figura na lista de Frei Gregorio. Curt Nimuendajú identificou-a também com *Cocuana*, e informa que em 1927 havia remanescentes da tribo «Cocuana ou Cueuana» em três sitios da foz do Uaupés, tendo já perdido o proprio idioma e só falando a *lingua geral* (oã Nheengatú). Já em 1759, conforme noticia o Padre Noronha, os Cocuana residiam na foz do Uaupés em S. Joaquim do Coané. E na relação de 28 de julho de 1853, do Diretor dos Indios, Jesuino Correiro, aí figuram 108 indios da nação «*Chuéuana*» como erradamente grafa.

Pensamos que o nome da localidade *Coané* (S. Joaquim do Coané) deriva precisamente da tribo que aí residia na época do descobrimento. *Coané* seria apenas diferente pronuncia do nome *Cocuané*, como temos ouvido pronunciar, ou *Cueuana*.

5) *MAMANGA*. Na relação de Frei Gregório não aparece esta tribo, embora seja mencionada no I vol. dos Relatórios da Presidência da Provincia do Amazonas, como existente no rio Tiquié. Sob o nome de *Mamangá* não ouvimos falar de nenhuma tribo dos rios Uaupés, Papuri e Tiquié. Aceitando, embora, como exata a informação dessas fontes do sec. 18 pode muito bem ser que se trate de grupo que posteriormente tenha emigrado ou mesmo esteja extinto.

No entanto, não somos proclives a aceitar as hipóteses de extinção ou migração; julgamos mais plausivel que se trate apenas de uma divisão de alguma tribo uaupesina. *Mamengaba*, *mamangá* ou *mangaiga* é o nome das abelhas do gênero *Bombas*. Koch Grünberg assinala (Z.I. 283) na foz do Dyl-igarapé, afluente do Uaupés, uma horda Kubewãna com o nome de *Utí-uaiwa* ou «Indios-Vespas». É possivel que se trate dos *Utsi-ãwekõ*, a 10.ª subdivisão dos Kubewãna, conforme a elencação de Josefa (Cfr. IV; 2p).

Conhecemos tambem uma subdivisão Tukano denominada *Yaí-uxtyá* (Cfr. IV — 2ª) que é o nome de uma vespa grande, e residindo precisamente no Tiquié nos povoados de Caruru e S. Tomé (10).

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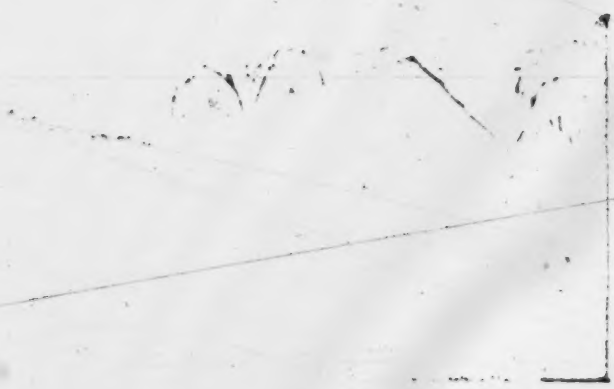
(10) Quica, *Uti-uaiwa* seja simples alteração mórfica de *Yaí-uxtyá*, pela inversão dos termos (Uxtyá-yai), com perda da aspiração daria *Uti-yai* donde ao depois *Uti-uaiwa* ou *Uti-waiwa* na representação da Fonética Internacional.

[facing p. 33]

Maloca em constr
tribo Kulewand

em Ambatina rio Qu
ri afl. do Uaupes



Maloca em constr
tribo Iawarete-t
rio Siari afl. do I

Convem aqui recordar que no Rio Aiari (afluente do Içana) sobrevivem ainda atualmente dois pequenos grupos da tribo Arwake denominada *Kawa-tapuya* (11) ou *Aintdákenai*, no idioma natal. *Caua* é um término da Lingua Geral que significa *vespa*. *Curt Nimuendajú* identificou os *Kawa-tapuya* com os *maulyene* e di-los a mais numerosa tribo do rio Aiari. É possivel que se trate de um engano de Curt (Cfr. nosso trabalho «*Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*»).

6) *PANENÔÁ*. — Figura esta tribo nas listas do Padre Noronha, de Sampaio e de Ferreira. Seria ela a tribo que negociava com os Taryana aquelas folhetas de ouro que êstes usavam como adôrno, conforme narram os primeiros exploradores. Nas Relações de Frei Gregório não aparece essa tribo, embora a encontremos na lista dos Relatórios.

Há uma tribo denominada pelos Tukano *Panênôá* ou *Panêrôá*, e que se diz no idioma natal *Hâuera* (Cfr. IV — 2. g), da familia de linguas Tukano, como se pode verificar pelo vocabulário que obtivemos. (Cfr. «Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical»). Seu *habitat* são as cabeceiras do Tiquié, ou, com mais exatidão, as vizinhanças do igarapé Comé-ia.

Koch Gruberg, entre os Tuyuka do alto Tiquié, obteve noticias dos *Buchpu-machsa*, os *Palanoa*, os *Erúlia*, os *Pamõ-machsa* e outras tribos que moravam no Pirá-paraná, rio dito pelos Tukano Uaiya, e mais para as cabeceiras residiam os *Yahuana* inimigos dos Buchpu-machsa (Z.I. 198). *Palanoá* seria apenas uma grafia diversa, explicavel pelo rotacismo de tantos indios especialmente no Papuri e Uaupés por influências Taryana.

7) *QUERERURI* ou *QUERERUI*. — Do costume de se designarem os rios pelas tribos que o habitam e vice-versa, podemos pensar que se trate de alguma tribo do rio Querari, afluente do Uaupés. Vivem, presentemente, no Querari grupos *Kubowana* e provavelmente dêsse grupo será a tal Quererurí. Ou, à semelhança dos Tukano

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(11) Um indio *Kawa-tapuya*, por nome Miguel Joaquim, da localidade de S. Joaquim, rio Aiari, apresentou-se como "*Cacau-tapuya*". Pensamos se trate de um mero equivoco. São estas as poucas palavras da lingua primitiva *Kawa-tapuya* que nos soube dizer uma velha índia (pois atualmente todos falam o Siwsi):

Cuia, *tiya* ou *tiia*
bálaio, *apa*
anzol, *épiwi*
cachorro, onça, *dzáwi*
panela, *darapi*
cabeça, *xnúida*
êle tem, *hi-katsa*

que foram designados por *Uaupés*, não seria um grupo *Kuberiodna* conhecidos por *Quererurí*, porque dominavam o rio *Querari?*

Não logramos obter notícia alguma sobre a existencia de tribo denominada *Quererurí* ou *Quererui* na bacia do Uaupés.

8) *TARIANA*. — O Padre Noronha menciona como tribo do Papuri. «Alguns índios da nação *Tariarana* (sic) habitantes do rio Capuri foram vistos em outro tempo com folhetas de ouro nas orelhas («Roteiro», n.º 187). Sampaio recensela entre as tribos do Uaupés (incluindo os dois afluentes principais) a *Tariana*, Alexandre Ferreira grafa *Cariana* apelando para o «Roteiro» do Padre Noronha: «os índios *Cariana* do Papuri foram outrora vistos com folhas de ouro nas orelhas compradas por penas aos de outra nação os *Pananuá*» («Diário», Participação).

*Tariana* é a tribo Arwake que presentemente ocupa várias localidades do Uaupés e Papuri, e que no próprio idioma se diz *Talydseri* (em Tukano *Pdana*) (cfr. IV — 2, y).

9) *UANÁNA*. — Em «Pelo Rio Mar» encontramo-la identificada com *Uaiana* ou *Yuriti-tapuya*, etc. *Wanana* é uma tribo com várias malocas e povoados nos Uaupés, acima de Japu-ponta, a qual se denomina a si mesmo *Kotirja* e na lingua Tukano são denominados *Ozkó-ti-khãrã*, e em Pirá-tapuya, *Ozkó-tiria*. *Uaiana*, ao invés é o nome que os Tukano dão à tribo conhecida também por Juriti-tapuya. Atualmente, ao que nos consta, vivem apenas no território colombiano na area banhada pelo rio Paca e outros pequenos afluentes (Acuaricuara, etc. cfr. IV — 2, u). Tanto o idioma dos *Wanana* como o dos *Waiana*, ou Juriti é da família linguística Tukano, como se pode ver pelos respectivos vocabularios (Vd. «*Discoteca Etno-Linguístico-Musical*» do Autor).

b — *De Ribeiro Sampaio.*

Do confronto com a precedente, na lista de tribos de Sampaio, faltam: *Cubeuana e Quererui*
a mais: *Dessana* (ou Deçaca), *Macú*, *Mucucoena*, *Timanará*, *Urinaná*.

1) *DESSANA*. — É elencada nas relações de Frei Gregório e nos «Relatórios». Vários grupos desta tribo subsistem ainda no Uaupés, Tiquié e Papuri, como adiante se verá (IV — 2, w).

2) *MACÚ*. — Figura nas várias listas posteriores. Sob esta denominação vêm indicados diversos grupos humanos, como mais adiante se verá (IV-1, a (4) e IV-2).

3) *MACUCOENA* — Atualmente ao longo dos rios Uaupés, Papuri ou Tiquié e seus afluentes não existe tribo alguma sob o nome

de *Macucoeira*. «Pelo Rio Mar» informa-nos: «derivado do pássaro macu, encontrados no rio Uaupés». Embora figure na lista dos «Relatórios», não a encontramos na relação de Frei Gregório e somos proclives a pensar seja apenas outro nome sob o qual era conhecida alguma das tribos do Uaupés, quiçá mesmo a *Macú* ou *Makuná* (vd. adiante (IV-2, h). A não ser que se trate de um simples erro de imprensa ou de pronúncia.

4) *TIMANARÁ*. — Encontramos em «Pelo Rio Mar»: *Timanará, Timanará*, citados no rio Uaupés» — Aparece igualmente nos «Relatórios»; não, nos mapas de Frei Gregório, e, atualmente, na área do Uaupés não se conhece nenhuma tribo com êsse nome.

5) *URINANÁ*. — Lemos em «Pelo Rio Mar»: Urunaná, urinaná — índios escuro. No rio Uaupés. Consta esta tribo nos Relatórios; não, porém, nas relações de Frei Gregório. Talvez se trate da tribo *Urina*? Conforme Koch Grünberg pertence ela ao grupo Arwake do rio Marati a este do Caciquiare, próxima dos índios *Yabarana* (Koch G. — *Festschrift Eduard Seler* — Stuttgart, 1922, pag. 205 — 6). Chestmir, na sua classificação das línguas, indica como desaparecido o idioma *Wirina*, que êle filia à família de línguas Arwake (cfr. o trabalho do Autor «*Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*»).

c) — *De Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira*

Na lista de Ferreira notamos:

falta: *Cucuana*.

a mais: *Aguará, Arará, Banibá, Cecueno, Golaná, Cudujari, Cucuaca, Macu, Macuno, Pacueno, Pumeuicá*.

1) *AGUARÁ*. — Não figura nas diferentes listas, a não ser que a identifiquemos com a tribo *Agaram* (ou ante *Agarani*) que nos «Relatórios» se indica existir no Rio Branco. «Pelo Rio Mar» informa-nos apenas: «assinalados no Rio Uaupés», e insinua sua identificação com outra tribo também desconhecida, *Agauíra*: «uma tribo mencionada no Rio Negro, talvez os mesmos Aguará».

Poder-se-ia talvez identificar *Aguará* com *Guará*? *Guará*, como ensina Stradelli, é o nome Nheengatu da *ibis rubra*, a qual, ao nascer, é branca, e só no segundo ano se torna vermelha. Esta semelhança de *guará* ainda nova com a *garça*, a cuja família — dos *ardeídae* —também pertence, de sorte que os dicionários tupi traduzem *guará* por *garça* não justificaria quiçá dar aos *índios guará* ou *aguará* o nome de *índios garça*? As lendas Tukano aludem aos índios *yché* ou garça. No século passado Wallace (cfr. II-6, b) cita no rio Papuri índios *garça* ou *uacará* (Cfr. abaixo o que se disse sobre os *Coró-Coró*).

2) *ARAPIXI*. — Também não se lê nas diversas listas que possuimos. Nem existe atualmente nenhuma tribo com êste nome na bacia do Uaupés. «Pelo Rio Mar» apresenta a seguinte insinuação: «Arapixi — citados no rio Uaupés, talvez os mesmos Arapaços» (cfr. IV-2).

3) *ARARA*. — Nos «Relatórios» consta uma tribo *Arará*, a qual, porém, vem localizada no Rio Madeira. Entre os Arwake do Içana existe uma tribo denominada *Arara-Tapuya* que, em lingua Siwsi, se diz *Adarú-dákenci*. (Cfr. infra o que diz sobre os Baniva).

4) *BANIBÁ*. — *Baniva* (*Baniua*, *Banibá*, *Vaniva*, *Maniva*) figurara nas várias listas posteriores.

Mais do que uma tribo, é um conjunto de tribos *Arwake*. Embora se encontrem membros dessas tribos dispersos em uma ou outra localidade do Uaupes, seu *habitat* é o rio Içana. Curt Nimuendajú no seu estudo «Idiomas indígenas del Brasil» apresenta a seguinte divisão:

*Baniwas ocidentais*:

*Karutana* (Baniwa do Içana, em Santa Ana) compreendendo 4 classes: *Mapátse-dákenci* ou Yurupari tapuya, *Wádzoli-dákenci* ou Urubu-tapuya, *Dzawi-minanci* ou Yauaretê-tapuya e *Adarú-minanci* ou Arara-tapuya.

*Kadauparitana* (com duas formas: Baniwa de Tunui e do Mariuá)

*Morinene* ou *Sukurúlu-tapuya* (Baniwa de Seringa-Rupitá)

*Walipari-dákenci* ou Siwsi-tapuya (ou Estrela-tapuya) Baniwa de Caruru-poço, rio Alari)

*Hohódene* (Baniwa do Yandú-cachoeira, rio Içana)

*Máuleni* (12) ou Kawa-tapuya (Baniwa do Uirá-uaçú, rio Alarí)

*Payuliene* ou Paku-tapuya (Baniwa do Acutí-igarapé, rio Içana)

*Adyaneme*, Adyana ou Tatú-tapuya (Baniwa de Santa Rosa, rio Guainia)

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(12) Um dos famosos informantes Siwsi deu-nos *Máuri-weni* como tradução na sua lingua, de Kawa-tapuya. E' possivel que se tenha enganado. Entre as poucas palavras do idioma natal de que ainda se recordavam os Kawa-tapuyas da localidade de S. Joaquim, perto de Uapuim-cachoeira, rio Alari, é o nome da própria tribo, *Aini*, nome pelo qual é também indicado pelas outras Linguas irmãs. Cfr. nosso trabalho "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia")

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*Kumuda-mindnci* ou Ipeka-tapuya (Baniwa de S. Pedro, rio Içana)
*Kapité-mindnci* ou Coati-tapuya (Baniwa de Camuti-poço, rio Içana)

*Baniwas orientais* em Moyo, no rio Orinoco.

5) *CECUENÓ*. — Omitem-na as várias listas, e nenhumas informações logramos alcançar, dos indígenas do Uaupés e Içana ou nos livros, sôbre os *Cecueno*.

6) *CUDUIARI*. — «*Pelo Rio Mar*» informa-nos apenas: tribo mencionada no Rio Negro e Uaupés, no fim do sec. 18». Talvez a esteja identificando com os *Carajari*, que os documentos do sec. 18 atestam localizada em Moura, no baixo Rio Negro? (Cfr. II-6).

Koch-Grunberg (Zwei Jahre, 392) traz notícias de índios *Kuiapari*, que do rio Içana passaram ao Uaupés, Pirá-paraná, Apaporis e outros rios onde ainda hoje se encontram. Trazem, diz, largo batoque nas orelhas, de sorte que os lóbulos destas chegam aos ombros. Seriam, porém, do grupo *Arwake*, e seu idioma muito semelhante aos de outras tribos *Arwake* do Içana. Entretanto Curt N. que estudou os Arwake do Içana, nada informa dos Kuduyari, nem dos *Kauapari*; como também a nós nada souberam informar dessas tribos os indígenas que pudemos consultar nos rios Içana e Aiari.

Dos *Kaua-pari* das cabeceiras do rio Cananari e Tiquié, informou-nos um negociante Colombiano, Napoleão Estrada, que os visitou, são da família de línguas Tukano. É provável, então, que os *Kaua-pari* ou *Kaurpa* das matas do Cananari sejam uma tribo do grupo Tukano, ou talvez sejam os *Kaua-pari* que os Bara apresentam como subdivisão de sua tribo (cfr. IV-2, b).

Opinamos que os *Cuduiari* citados por Ferreira são os *Kubéiedna* do rio Cuduiari, pois não consta, no período histórico, ao menos de dois séculos para cá, deslocamento de índios, ditos *Cuduiari*, para outros rios.

7) *CUENACÁ*. — Não a vemos figurar em nenhuma das outras listas supra-citadas, a não ser que se identifique com a tribo *Queuanaca* que os «*Relatorios*», porém, situam no rio Japurá (cfr. II-6, b).

Não se trata, propriamente, de uma tribo, mas sim de uma subdivisão, *Kuéliaka*, da tribo Taryana (cfr. abaixo, IV, 2, y), com representantes residindo atualmente em Iauareté e Ira-uaçú-ponta. Coincide, pois, com a localização que os mapas desenhados por Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, (Governador da Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro, de 9 de fevereiro de 1787 até a data do seu falecimento, 27 de outubro de 1796, e que de 1784 até 1787 explorara a região do Rio Negro e Rio Branco por ordem da Coroa Portuguesa) sinalam para os índios *Queuenacans*.

8) *GOIANÁ*. — Em «*Pelo Rio Mar*» vêmo-la indentificada com *Cocuana*, *Cabcuana*, *Cubco*, etc. Não aparece na lista dos «Relatórios», nem da de Frei Gregorio. Provavelmente será a que Wallace grafa *Quciuná* e situa em S. Joaquim do Coané, na foz do Uaupés e portanto se identifica com os *Cocuana* e que temos também ouvido denominar-se *Coianá* (cfr. acima).

9) *MUEINÓ*. — Silenciam-na as várias listas. «*Pelo Rio Mar*» traz apenas: «Mueino, citado no rio Uaupés». Num mapa do Território Colombiano do Uaupés, preparado com muito cuidado e pormenores pelos Missionarios da Congregação de Montfort, e que pudemos consultar em Mitú (Capital do Território) citam-se uns índios «*Mocinòn*», porém localizados nas cabeceiras do *Caqueta*, rio que, unindo-se ao *Apapóris*, dá origem ao *Japurá*.

Os «*Relatórios*», seguindo os documentos do sec. 18, enumeram os *Mendo* e os diz localizados no povoado de *S. Marcelino*, na foz do Rio Xié. Os mapas elaborados por Lobo D'Almada situam índios *Mocinans* sôbre o rio Uaupés, nas imediações da cachoeira de Ipanoré. Ora, nessa área do Uaupés residem presentemente vários grupos *Tariána* ou *Ariaúke*. É provável, por essa localização, que se trate realmente de índios *Mendo*, emigrados do rio Xié (ou de alguma subdivisão Tãryana).

10) — *PAICUENO*, *PUMENICÁ*. — Omitidas nas várias listas. Em «*Pelo Rio Mar*» encontra-se apenas, da primeira: «indicados no Uaupés», e da segunda: «indicados no Rio Negro». Nenhumas outras referências nos foi possível encontrar.

11) — *UACARÍ*. — Não figura nas outras listas que conhecemos. Em «*Pelo Rio Mar*» lê-se: «Uacará, Uacaraú, Uacarauá. Mencionados no Rio Negro e no Juruá». *Uacarí* ou *acarí*, é palavra tomada da Língua Geral, e indica o macaco de rabo curto *cacajao*, família dos *cebídeos* (gênero *cacajao*, *os brachyurus rubicundus* ou *macaco inglês*, o qual, no idioma Tukano se denomina *Wax-ti-suru*). É também a designação de vários peixes *locarídas* (em Tukano *Wa'ri*). No Uaupés brasileiro, no Papuri e no Tiquié, não só não existe tribo alguma sob a denominação de *Acarí*, como também não souberam dar informações de tal tribo os indígenas dêsses rios e do Para-paraná que pudemos interrogar. Não seriam, talvez, os *Uacarí* apenas uma subdivisão de alguma tribo? Conhecemos várias subtribos designadas sob o nome de algum macaco; por exemplo, na tribo Tukano os *Waúro*, na Yebá-masã os *Emõã* e os *Sêi*; entre os Kubewãna os *Tóreakó*. Pela localização no Uaupés poder-se-ia

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pensar numa subdivisão Tukano ou Kubewãna. Parece, porém, que não se poderia identificar os *Uacari*, nem com os os *Waú* (Uáia-pisá, sagui,), nem com os *Tóreakõ* (macaco barrigudo).

### b. Listas do século 19.

1.º — Alfred Russell Wallace, ao findar o seu livro de viagens apresenta uma lista de tribos, acrescentando algumas vêzes o significado do nome em português, e a localização da tribo. Releve-se, porém, que Wallace só esteve no Rio Negro e no Uaupés até Micura acima de Uaracapuri. Portanto as localizações das tribos em outros rios, êle, as obteve por informações, e suas notícias já não possuem tôdas o mesmo valor.

2.º — Preciosas pela localização, e bem minuciosas são as relações ou mapas de Frei Gregório de Bene.

3.º — Possuimos a lista oficial, apresentada pelo Presidente Conselheiro Herculano Ferreira Pena, em primeiro de outubro de 1853 na «Falla dirigida à Assembléia Legislativa Provincial» do Amazonas» (pag. 259 ss. do vol. I dos «Relatorios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas»). Esta lista, embora oficial, tem apenas o valor de uma compilação: não traz observações novas, é, tão só, uma transcrição do «Dicionario Topographico, Historico e Descriptivo da Comarca do Alto Amazonas» de Lourenço da Silva Araujo e Amazonas (1852), porem completada com os dados fornecidos por Frei Gregório. No Rio Uaupés são elencadas 26 tribos e no Papuri apenas os *Mamangá* (Cfr. acima o que dissemos sôbre os Mamangá, II — 6, a). Na «Falla dirigida à Assembléia Legislativa Provincial do Amazonas», o Presidente Angelo Thomaz do Amaral, em primeiro de outubro de 1857 apresenta um quadro dos indígenas no qual aparecem quatro tribos que não figuram na lista do Presidente Pena, a saber: *Cariarana, Peixe, Caenatari* e *Beijú*, sendo as duas primeiras apenas grafias diversas de Tariana e Pirá-tapuya, e as duas últimas figuram no catálogo de Frei Gregório. Por essa razão não transcrevemos o elenco do Pres. Amaral.

a — *De Wallace.*

No Rio Uaupés: 1. *Quciná* (= Coeuana ou Cocuana) em S. Joaquim; 2. *Tariana*, em S. Joaquim; 3. *Ananá* (Abacaxi), abaixo de Iauareté; 4. Cubeo, perto de Carurú-cachoeira; 5. *Piratuirú* (bôcas de peixe); 6. *Puçá* (rede); 7. *Carapanã* (mosquitos, em Jurupari-cachoeira; 8. *Tapira* (anta); 9. *Uaracú* (um peixe), acima de Juquiraparaná; 10. *Cóidia;* 11. *Tocandira* (umas formigas);

12. *Jacamin* (pássaro cavadeira); 13. *Miriti* (*Mauritia*, uma palmeira) no Bacate-paraná; 14. *Omaúas* (Hianacoto).

No Rio Tiquié: 15. *Macuna*; 16. *Taiassú* (porco do mato). 17. *Tijuco* (barro).

No Japú-paraná: 18. *Arapasso*.

No Rio Apapóris (13): 19. *Tucano*; 20. *Uacará* (garça), 21. *Pirá* (peixe). 22. *Deçana*.

No Rio Queriri (Cuiari ou Iquiari) (14): 23. *Ipeca* (pato); 24. *Gi* (machado); 25. *Caua* (vespa).

No Rio Cudulari: 26. *Coró-coró* (colheireiro-ibis verde); 27. Bauuna; 28. *Tatú*. No Canici-paraná (15): 29. *Tanimbuca* (cinzas). Em Juquira-paraná: 30. *Macuras* (gambá).

6 — *Dos Relatorios*.

Rio Uaupés (pag. 250 ss.): *Boanari, Carapanã, Cocuana, Cubeo, Deçana, Itariana, Juruá, Jurupari, Macú, Macucocna, Mamengá, Panenoa, Picassu-taputa, Pirá-taputa, Tapiira, Tariana, Timanara, Tocandira, Tucano, Uananá, Uaupés, Urinaná*. Pag. 616: *Catariana, Peixe, Cuinatari, Beijú*.

Rio Tiquié: *Mamengá*.

c — *Lista de Frei Gregorio*

Datados de 1853 (Archivo do Amazonas, de 23 de Outubro de 1906, vol. I, n.º 2, pag. 32-39) os Mapas do labor apostólico de Frei Gregório de Bene entre os índios do Uaupés e Içana, trazem a descriminação das localidades, nome, idade e tribo dos individuos. Resumindo os dados temos, no rio Uaupés, as nações:

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(13) Deve ser um engano de Wallace, não se trata do *Apapóris* (afluente do Japurá) e sim do rio *Papuri* (afluente do Uaupés) onde realmente têm seus principais nucleos as tribos *Tukano, Pirá-taptipa* e *Desána*.

(14) Bento Aranha (no "*Archivo do Amazonas*", Anno II, n.º 5 pag. 2) em resposta a uma carta de Koch Grunberg, registra *Iquiari*, como outro nome do rio Içana: "da mesma maneira por que chamam *Iquiari* ao rio Içana ou Issana".

Presentemente o rio Içana não é conhecido sob nenhuma outra denominação. Tambem não se conhece na região nenhum rio sob o nome de *Iquiari*. Sob o de *Quiari*, sim, existe um afluente da margem esquerda do Aiari, o qual, por sua vez é afluente da margem direita do Içana. Igualmente sob a denominação de *Queriri* não há nenhum rio na região. Talvez a grafia fôsse *Querari*, que é afluente da margem esquerda do Uaupés, na fronteira colombiana. *Cadulari* é um dos afluentes do *Querari*, e *Cuiari* um dos afluentes da esquerda do Içana (cfr. acima II-3 Informes etnograficos sôbre Yaquiri e Quiquiari).

(15) Não nos foi possivel obter informação sôbre a existência do *Canici-Parana*. Trata-se, provavelmente, de um êrro de imprensa.

*Mutum-cachoeira*: Cubeo, Tocandira, Tapiira, Picassú, Bauna, Macu

*Mucura-rapecuma*: Itariana, Cubeo, Beijú

*Aracapuri*: Ananá, Deçana, Cubeo, Giboia

*Pacú-cachoeira*: Onça, Quaty, Tapiira, Caimatari

*Cururu-cachoeira*: Itariana, Ananá, Piratapuia, Cubeo, Baniua, Deçana

*Jabuti-cachoeira*: Cutia

*Jaburete-cachoeira*: Itariana, Tucano, Piratapuia, Baniua

*Juquira*: Juruá, Tucano, Piratapuia, Deçana, Itariana

*S. Jeronimo*: Itariana, Tucano, Piratapuia, Deçana, Arapaço, Anana, Cubeo

*Natia-rapecuma*: Tucano, Deçano, Arapaço, Macú, Itariano, Carapanã, Iravassu

*S. Joaquim*: Caimatari, Macú, Piratapuia, Cubeo, Tucano, Irauassu, Baniua, Itatiana, Arapaço, Jurupari, Carapanã, Tabanna, Itariana, Deçana, Macú, Cocuane.

Dispostas em quadro temos:

*Tribos do Uaupes no seculo 19*

| | *Wallace*, 1848 | *Frei Gregório*, 1852-3 | *Relatórios*, 1853-7 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | ..... | Agarani |
| 2 | Arapaço | Arapaço | ..... |
| 3 | | Baniua | ..... |
| 4 | Bauna | Baniua | Beijú |
| 5 | | Beiju | Boanari |
| 6 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 7 | ..... | Caimatari | Caimatari |
| 8 | Carapanã | Carapanã | Carapanã |
| 9 | Cuia | ..... | ..... |
| 10 | Cuiaia (Anana) | Anaã | Uarana |
| 11 | Coró-coró | ..... | ..... |
| 12 | Cubeo | Cubeo | Cubeo |
| 13 | ..... | Cutia | ..... |
| 14 | Deçana | Deçano | Deçana |
| 15 | G. | ..... | ..... |
| 16 | ..... | Giboia | ..... |
| 17 | Ipeca | Ipeca | Opeca |
| 18 | ..... | Irausu, Iravassú | ..... |
| 19 | Jacami | ..... | ..... |
| 20 | ..... | Juruá | Juruá |
| 21 | ..... | Jurupari | Jurupari |
| 22 | ..... | Macú | Macú |
| 23 | ..... | ..... | Macucoena |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 24 | Macuná | ..... | ..... |
| 25 | Macura | ..... | ..... |
| 26 | ..... | Mamengá | ..... |
| 27 | Miriti | ..... | ..... |
| 28 | Omaua | ..... | ..... |
| 29 | ..... | Onça | ..... |
| 30 | ..... | ..... | Panenoa |
| 31 | Pirá | Piratapuia | Piratapuia |
| 32 | Piraiurú | ..... | ..... |
| 33 | Puçá | ..... | ..... |
| 34 | ..... | Quaty | ..... |
| 35 | Queianá | Cocuane | Coeuana |
| 36 | ..... | ..... | Queuanacá |
| 37 | ..... | Tabaiana | ..... |
| 38 | Tainssá | Quatitu | ..... |
| 39 | Tanimbuca | ..... | ..... |
| 40 | Tapira | Tapiira | Tapiira |
| 41 | Tariana | Itariana | (I)tariana |
| 42 | Tatú | Tatutapuia, tatupiá | ..... |
| 43 | Tijucó | ..... | ..... |
| 44 | ..... | ..... | Timanará |
| 45 | Tocandira | Tocandira | Tocandira |
| 46 | Tucano | Tucano | Tucano |
| 47 | Uacará (garça) | ..... | ..... |
| 48 | Uaracú | ..... | ..... |
| 49 | Urinaná | ..... | Urinaná |

Para um mais fácil cotejo, dispômo-las em quadro, juntamente com as três listas do século anterior:

a. *A lista de Wallace.*

É bem singular. Concorda com as listas do século precedente apenas em três nomes: *Tariana, Anana* (Wanana) e *Cubeo.*

Da grande lista de Frei Gregório difere: *Caua, Cóidia, Coró-coró, Gi, Ipeca, Jacamí, Macuná, Micura, Miriti, Omáua, Piraiurú, Puçá, Queianá, Taiaçú, Tanimbuca, Tatú, Tijucó* e *Uaracú.*

(1) — *CAUA.* — (cfr. Mamangá, II 6, a 5).

(2) — *CÓIDIA.* — Com tôda a probabilidade trata-se da tribo *Coidia* ou *Wanana* (IV — 2, k).

(3) — *CORÓ-CORÓ.* — É o nome de uma ave aquática *(Ibis melanocephala)* que se inclui no grupo das garças (*ardeidae*). «Pelo Rio Mar» acrescenta: «Indios Ibis verde. Nos rios Cuerari e Codolari afluentes do Uapés». Ensina Koch G. (*Festschrift Eduard Seler*, 205-6) que são os *Korod* do grupo Kubewana, vivem no Cudulari, mas desceram do alto Querari.

Pela coincidência da localização opinamos que os *Coró-coró* citados por Wallace sejam uma subdivisão da tribo Kubewana que se denomina *Kortóa* (vd. abaixo IV — 2, p) precisamente o nome da ave *Coró-coró*.

Convém recordar que o *Coró-coró* é uma ave aquática do grupo das *ardeidae* como a garça, donde talvez o chamar a tribo Coró-coró de «índios garças». É verdade que Wallace localiza os *Coró-coró* no rio Cudulari, e os *Garça* no Papuri. Cumpre, porém, relevar que são localizações vagas as que obteve Wallace, e que das cabeceiras do rio Paca, um dos formadores do Papuri, é relativamente facil a passagem para o Uaupés e o Cudulari (cfr. o que se disse acima sôbre os *Aguará*, II — 6, a - c, 1).

(4) — *GI* — É palavra da lingua geral e significa *machado*. Encontramos em «Pelo Rio Mar»: «Gi-tapuias, índios Machado. No rio Querari, afluente do rio Uaupés». Discorda, portanto, da localização de Wallace, que os situa no rio Cuiari, afluente do Içana. A não ser que se trate de uma confusão pois Wallace registra, além do *Cuiari*, a grafia *Queiri*, para o mesmo rio. Deve, pois, tratar-se de uma tribo *Arawake*, como tôdas as dêsses rios.

Hamilton Rice, no seu mapa, localiza os *Gi-tapuia* no igarapé do Cigarro (abaixo Uaupés). No entanto, não foi confirmada a existência aí dessa tribo por nenhum indígena dessas proximidades por nós consultados.

Um pajé do ribeirão Japú (Japú igarapé, rio Uaupés), por nome Henrique à nossa questão se conhecia a tribo *Gi-tapuya* (1955) respondeu-nos que são os «*Pirá-tapuya* da cauda» (isto é, última subdivisão dos Pirá-tapuya), ditos em Tukano *Komé-pá-pôrá*, residentes outrora acima do ribeirão Japú e que hoje moram em S. Francisco (rio Uaupés). Esta localização coincide com a que se pode ver no mapa desenhado por Hamilton Rice (Cfr. Mapas do Rio Uaupés N. A. 19 e Rio Putamayo S. A. 19 — Provisional Edition Published under the Patronage of Hamilton Rice — Geographical Society of New York).

(5) — *IPECA* — São os *Kumãdene*, dos quais um grupo reside hoje em Urubucuara, como mais adiante veremos (Cfr. IV — 2, x).

(6) — *JACAMIM* — Silenciado nas demais listas. Lemos em «Pelo Rio Mar»: «*Jacami-tapuia*, índios trombeteiros. Indicados no rio Uaupés. Talvez os mesmos *Buchpu-machsa*».

Dos indígenas de Pari-cachoeira Koch Grünberg obteve informações sôbre os *Buchpu-machsa* (que quer dizer «Gente da sarabatana», porque especialistas no fabrico dessa arma) ou *Buhãgana*,

como êles mesmos se denominam, habitantes do Dyi-Igarapé, afluente do Pirá-paraná, o qual por sua vez desagua no Japurá. Soube que moravam em barracas redondas, perfuravam os lóbulos das orelhas e traziam avental de casca, ao redor das coxas, e jamais haviam visto civilizado algum. Sua língua, da qual Koch pôde mais tarde recolher um vocabulário de 60 palavras, é quase idêntica à do *Omöd* e ambas, em algumas palavras, se afastam do Tukano (Z. I. 180). Fabricavam sarabatanas grandes (3,5 metros) e pesadas, por isso as usavam apoiadas (Z. I. 207). Releve-se, porém, que os *Buhágana* dos quais nos informa Koch, não se localizam no Uaupés. Por isso pensamos que não se podem identificar com os *Jacamim*. Um confronto dos vocabulários que recolhemos dos *Ide* e dos *Emöd* e o dos *Buhágana* de Koch, ressalta logo a semelhança dêste idioma com os dois primeiros. Em agôsto de 1956 um tuxáua dos *Ide-masã* ou *Makúna*, informou-nos que os *Buhágana* residiam antes nas matas do rio Taraira (afl. do Japurá), porém já se haviam extinguido em conseqüência das vinganças dentro da tribo e das lutas com outras tribos.

Não é improvável que os *Jacamim*, localizados por Wallace no Uaupés, sejam apenas uma subdivisão de tribo, quiçá os *Taitö-parmêra*, isto é, «Netos do Jacamim» (*Cfr.* abaixo as subdivisões dos *Koretcabôa*, IV — 2, p).

(7) — *MACUNA* — Não aparece, igualmente, nas outras listas. *Pelo Rio Mar*, traz pequena relação: «Macú de côr negra» e termina dizendo «são mencionados entre os afluentes do Rio Negro, no Araçanatuba, Apapóris e Jupurá». Ao invés, conforme Koch G., pertencem ao grupo Tukano, e têm seu *habitat* atual às margens do Apapóris, abaixo do Pirá-paraná, em duas malocas. São tipos de boa configuração, prossegue Koch, e falam língua bem próxima dos *Buhágana* (*Zwei Jahre*, 370; e *Festschrift Eduard Seler*, 205-6).

Podemos precisar que *Makúna* é denominação que lhes dão os Colombianos. No próprio idioma êles se dizem *Idemasã* (gente-água) e estivemos entre um grupo dêles que reside no Komé-ya (Vd. abaixo *Ide-masã*, IV — 2, h).

Koch não traz no seu *Zwei Jahre* o Vocabulário dos *Makúna*, porém, sim, o dos *Kueretu*. Ora, o Vocabulário que recolhemos dos *Ide-masã* afasta-se bem do que Koch obteve dos *Kueretu*, apesar de ser êste grupo indicado como subdivisão dos *Ide-masã*.

(8) — *MACURA* — *Macura* ou *Micura* é palavra da Língua Geral que significa *gambá*. De acôrdo com as informações obtidas dos índios Karapanã e Tatú, das cabeceiras do Aua e do Tim-igarapé, uma tribo por nome *Oá-masã* (gente gambá) reside entre os ri-

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beirões *Jare* e o *Tuim* (afluentes do Uaupés), e pertence à família de língua Tukano. Alguns indivíduos *Od-mahã*, como se dizem no próprio idioma, anteriormente à nossa passagem, residiram entre os Tukano de S. Miguel e Melo Franco (rio Papuri).

Encontramos mulheres *Od-mahã* casadas com Tuyuka, nas cabeceiras do Tiquié, o vocabulário que pudemos recolher e cuja pronúncia também gravamos autoriza incluir os indígenas *Micura* ou *Gamba* na família de línguas Tukano. (*Cfr.* IV — 2, n).

Obtivemos da tribo dos *Tatú* (*cfr.* IV 2, o), entre as divisões da sua nação, *Od-masã*. Embora bem próximos, pela língua, dos Tatú, parece-nos que não se podem identificar com os *Od-mahã* a divisão homônima da tribo Tatú.

(9) — *MIRITI* — Em três localidades do baixo Tiquié residem presentemente alguns grupos da tribo *Miriti-tapúya*, da qual falaremos adiante (IV — 2, m). Pela localização que Wallace dá aos *Miriti*, isto é, em *Bacate-paraná*, rio Uaupés, opinamos que se trata, não de uma tribo, e sim de uma subdivisão dos Kubéwãna, a qual no idioma pátrio se diz *Nedboko* (*cfr.* IV — 2, p).

(10) — *Omãnaua* — Também não figuram nas outras listas. Na família linguística Tukano, Chestmir, seguindo Koch Grunberg, inclui os *Omoã*, localizando-os nas cabeceiras do rio Tiquié. Estes são os *Emõã-masã* (*Cfr.* abaixo, IV — 2, f, e o nosso trabalho «*Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*») e que se não podem identificar com os *Omãna*.

Ensina também Koch que não se devem confundir os atuais *Omãua* com os antigos *Omãgua*, muito mais adiantados do que aquêles, e que se puseram logo em relações com os primeiros exploradores espanhóis (*Cfr.* Padre Cristobal de Acuña, «Novo Descobrimento do Grande Rio das Amazonas» — Coleção Brasiliana, v. 203, ed. 104, pág. 226-8).

Da relação de Jesuíno Cordeiro, datada de 1853, vemos que êle conseguiu aldear os *Omãua* junto do Lago-do-espelho ou *Uauruá-lago* (alto Uaupés). Os *Omãua* são puros *Karibe*, como Koch verificou por umas palavras obtidas de José, o tuxáua *Bahuna* da maloca Subiroaka (Z. I. 219); são aparentados aos das Guianas, com muitas subtribos e suas diferenças dialetais, por ex.: os *Ipurukoto*, *Pianakoto*, *Parikoto*, *Purigoto*, *Arimagoto*, *Kumanagoto*, etc. Os *Omãua* ou *Umãua* se denominavam a si mesmos *Hyanakoto*, isto é, Gente-abutre, Urubú-tapuya. A desinência *koto* ou *goto* é karibe e significa gente, povo, índio. Ao conjunto *Hyanakoto* os Wanana chamam *Mazsa-tirtod*, os Taryana, *Ehetod* e os Kubewãna, *Afwõkãwõ*.

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No princípio dêste século viviam, os *Hyanakoto* em 8 malocas nos rios Maciya e Cuniari ou rio dos Enganos, afluente da esquerda do Caquetá-Japurá, informa Koch. A sua língua seria muito afim a dos *Tsaha-tsahá* ou índios-Mergulhão, os quais possuiam 3 malocas nas savanas dos rios Cuniari e Mesai, e a dos *Tsahá-tsahá*, por sua vez, se afasta do idioma dito *Carijona* por Crévaux, do alto rio Japurá. *Karihona*, ou melhor *Karihona* significa *homem, gente*. Não é propriamente nome de tribo e, sim, uma expressão geral usada pelos Colombianos para designar um conjunto de tribos *Karibe* da região compreendida entre o alto Uaupés e o alto Japurá.

(11) — *PIRAIURÚ* — Não se encontra esta tribo citada em outras listas. «Pelo Rio Mar» traz: «Pirayauara-tapuya, Piraiurú, índios de bôca de peixe No rio Uaupés». Não foi possível obter outras informações entre as tribos da região. Convém observar que piraiurú significa, em Nheengatú, bôca de peixe, e *pirayauára* quer dizer peixe-cachorro e é o nome que se dá comumente ao lendário boto vermelho.

(12) — *Puçá* — Não a vemos também figurar em outras listas. Koch Grünberg encontrou duas pequenas casas de *Uasóna* ou *Puçá-tapuya* (por êrro de imprensa grafado *Pisd-tapuya*, Fischnetz-Indianer) no igarapé Manaphalla, afluente da direita do Uaupés (Z. I 284) (16). São de corpo elegante, refere Koch, rosto alongado, parecido aos Tuyuka e Yuriti, e todos com dermatose. A língua também é próxima da Yuriti. Seu centro principal, porém, são as cabeceiras do Papuri.

Em quatro excursões pelo rio Papuri até os seus formadores, os rios Paca e Aua, e navegando êste até as cabeceiras, não obtivémos notícias de tribo alguma conhecida por *Wásóna* ou *Puçá-tapuya*. Os Kubewâna indicam, sim, uma subdivisão da sua tribo por *Puçá* (*Cfr.* abaixo IV — 2, p) e residente no igarapé Pacú (acima de Mitu, Uaupés), portanto não muito distante dos *Wásóna* visitados por Koch, cujo idioma, no entanto, se afasta bastante do dos Kubewâna.

Um índio Tuyuka, por nome Lino, das cabeceiras do Tiquié, porém com prolongada permanência no alto Uaupés, informou-nos ter conhecido por lá índios denominados «*Kwásóna*», de idioma próximo ao dos Bará. É possível que sejam êstes os índios *Puçá* visitados por Koch e citados por Wallace.

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(16) Zwei kleinere Hauser sind hier (im Quellgebiet des Caiari-Uaupés) von Udsona (Fischnetz Indianern — Puçá-Indios) bewohnt, deren Hauptsitz wiederum am oberen Papury ist.

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(13) — *QUEIANÁ*. — Wallace situa-a em S. Joaquim do Coanó. *Queianá* ou *Coianá* (donde o nome Coanó) é a tribo que outros denominam *Cocuana* (*Cfr.* acima II — 6 a).

(14) — *TAIAÇÚ*. — Omitida, igualmente, em outras listas. Koch localiza nas margens do rio Oocá, uns índios do grupo Tukano (*Beiopa* como diz Koch) ditos *Yupuá* ou *Taiasú-tapuya*, de língua próxima à dos *Desâna*, e dos quais recolheu seu pequeno vocabulário. Taiaçú é o nome do porco-do-mato. Os *Desâna* indicam uma subdivisão da sua tribo que se diz, no próprio idioma, *Yezsé-pôná*, «os filhos do taiaçú», e coincidindo precisamente com a localização indicada por Wallace isto é, pelas cabeceiras do Rio Castanho, afluente do Tiquié.

(15) — *TANIMBUCA*. — Na Língua Geral quer dizer *cinza*. São os *Opaina*, conforme Koch Grünberg, da família linguística Tukano, subdivisão da tribo *Yahuna*, a qual se compõe de muitas *hordas*, entre as quais os *Opaina* e os *Dutuana*, vivendo em oito malocas no rio Apaporis, a dois dias de viagem acima da foz do Pirá-paraná. Informa Koch que os *Opaina* são chamados *Hwaina* pelos Tuyuka (Z. I. 379) ou *Hoá-ñiará*, como temos ouvido pronunciar também.

(16) — *TAPIRA*. — *Tapira*, ou *Hôma-dákenaí*, como se diz na língua dos Ira-tapuya é uma tribo Arwáke dispersa em várias localidades do rio Içana, conforme a localização fornecida por Frei Gregório.

(17) — *TATÚ*. — Os índios *Tatú-tapuya* que Wallace cita no rio Cuduiari, devem ser os *Adyá-mene* do grupo Arwáke, da qual nos fala Curt Nimuendajú, ou os *Adza-nene* cujo vocabulário recolhemos e gravamos (*Cfr.* nossos trabalhos «*Discoteca Etnolinguístico-musical*» e «*Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*»). Relève-se, contudo, que Curt encontrou grupos dêles em S. Rosa, no rio Guainia; e Frei Gregório, nos seus mapas registra presença de índios *Tatupiá* em vários lugares do rio Içana, onde efetivamente vivem ainda hoje os *Adzanénei*.

Com êstes não se confundem os índios *Tatú* ou *Páboamahã*, como êles se dizem (ou *Pamúá-mazsá*, gente-tatú, como os chamam os Tukano), os quais pertencem ao grupo de línguas Tukano, como se pode ver pelo vocabulário por nós recolhido (*Cfr.* os dois trabalhos citados supra «*Discoteca* e *Idiomas*»). Seu núcleo principal situa-se entre o Jaré e o Cananari (afluentes do Pirá-paraná). São de estatura mediana, feições mais delicadas, tez e olhos mais claros que nos Tukano (*Cfr.* abaixo, IV — 2, o).

(18) — *TIJUCÓ*. — É a tribo *Tuyuka* das cabeceiras do Tiquie (Cfr. abaixo IV — 2, d).

(19) — *UACARÁ*. — Wallace cita ainda no Papuri, além dos Tukano, Pirá-tapuya e Desana, que efetivamente aí se encontram, a tribo *Uacará* ou *índios garças*. Presentemente nem no Papuri, nem nos seus afluentes, nem na mata circundante, de uma e outra margem, existe tribo alguma sob a denominação de *Uacará*. No tronco fluvial conhecido por Papuri, atualmente só há indígenas das tribos *Tukano*, *Desána* e *Pira-tapuya*. No interno da mata na margem direita, há um grupo *Karapanã*, localizado nas cabeceiras do ribeirão Umari, e alguns grupos de *Makú*, em ambas margens. Dos formadores do Papuri, no rio Paca e seus afluentes há ainda indígenas *Tukano*, *Desána*, *Juriti* e *Suryána*. Às margens do outro formador, o Aua, localizam-se grupos *Tukano* e *Karapanã*.

As outras listas não citam índios *Uacará* ou *garça*. No entanto obtivémos uma lenda que fala de «*índios garça*» (no idioma Tukano, *Yehea*), das cabeceiras do Papuri, ou quiçá mais distante ainda, do Pira-parana (formador do Apapóris). Num dos mapas desenhados por Lobo D'Almada aparece o nome de *Uacarás*, localizados entre as cabeceiras do Tiquie e o rio Pirá-parana.

Seriam os *Uacará* uma tribo hoje extinta? Ou quiça não se trate de uma tribo, e sim, de alguma subdivisão de tribo designada sob o nome de alguma ave aquática, da família das *ardeidae*, como o é a garça, e por isso traduzido pelo termo geral *garça*? No Papuri, coincidindo aproximadamente com a localização dos tais *índios garça* de Wallace, há um subgrupo dos *Suryána*, o qual no idioma nativo se diz «*eõna*», nome de uma ave aquática (cfr. IV — 2, r e II — 6 a, *aguará*). Entre os *Bará* (cfr. IV — 2, b) há uma subdivisão *Waya-pona*, nome também de uma ave aquática, situada, porém, nas cabeceiras do Tiquie; em coincidência, portanto com a localização registrada por Lobo D'Almada para os índios *Uacarás*.

(20) — *UARACÚ*. — Nos «Relatórios» são mencionados os *Uaraicu*, dizem-se porém, localizados nos rios Jutaó e Javari. Na área do Uaupés, presentemente, não se conhece nenhuma tribo sob o nome de *Uaracú*.

*Uaracú* é o nome de um peixe, que em Tukano se diz *Boté*. Talvez, quando se fala de Uaracú, se trate de uma subdivisão de outra tribo. Por exemplo, há uma subdivisão dos *Karapanã*, «*Botéamasá*», no rio Cananari. Traz também o nome do peixe *uaracú* a principal divisão da tribo *Desána*, que se denomina no próprio idioma *Boré-ka pama*»; porém sua residência não coincide com a dada por Wallace, pois se localizam no Papuri e não no Uaupés. Com mais

probabilidade, pela localização, seriam os «*Botéa wahyara*», subdivisão dos *Yuriti*, que vivem entre as cabeceiras do rio Paca e o Uaupés. Êstes, conforme nos asseguraram indígenas do rio Paca, já estão extintos hoje em dia.

b) *Lista Oficial.*

Quanto à lista oficial dos «Relatórios», já assinalamos suas omissões de algumas tribos que figuram nas listas anteriores. No restante coincide ela perfeitamente com as de Frei Gregório, da qual se serve. Faltam-lhe, no entanto, as tribos *Iraussú* e *Cocuana*, e tem a mais: *Coeuana* (que, como vimos são os mesmos *Cocuana*, *Goiana* ou *Coane*) e *Queuanacá*.

*Queuanacan* e como lemos no mapa traçado por Lobo D'Almada, que os localiza no Uaupés, não muito acima da foz do Papuri. Provàvelmente é a tribo Cuenacá, que figura na lista de Rodrigues Ferreira. Ou melhor, é a subdivisão «*Kuénaka*» da tribo *Taryana* (cfr. acima II — 6, a, e abaixo — IV, 2, y).

Observamos apenas que, para a tribo Pirá-tapuya, a expressão *Peixe* é uma tradução para o português do nome da Língua Geral.

c) *Lista de Frei Gregório.*

Notamos, além dos nomes que as precedentes trouxeram, os seguintes: *Anana* (Wanana), *Arapaço*, *Baúna*, *Beijú*, *Cainatari*, *Cocuana*, *Cufia*, *Giboia*, *Iraussú*, *Itatiana*, *Juruá*, *Jurupari*, *Onça*, *Picassú*, *Pirá-tapuia*, *Quati*, *Tabatana*, *Tocandira*.

(1) *ANANA* — É grafia diversa do nome *Wanana* (vd. IV — 2, k) ou *Wananá*. É comum a simplificação da pronuncia dos nomes da Língua Geral que iniciam por *ua* em *a* (cfr. *uacará* e *acará*, *uaracú* e *aracú*, etc.).

Os mapas desenhados pelo explorador (e ao depois Governador) Lobo d'Almada grafam também *Ananás* e os localizam no Uaupés, precisamente onde se acham os *Wanana*.

(2) *ARAPAÇO* — Encontra-se ainda ao longo do Uaupés, de S. José até Paraná-Jucá, e dela se falará depois (IV — 2, j).

(3) *BAÚNA* — Conforme o autor de «Pelo Rio Mar» trata-se de uma tribo espalhada desde o Rio Branco e afluentes, ao Negro, Içana, Uaupés, Japurá, Juruá, etc. e que é conhecida sob muitas denominações, sendo as principais: *Baiana*, *Povoana*, *Pazíana*, *Pautzana*, *Pualava*. Ora a tribo *Pautzana* pertence ao grupo Arwake do Rio Branco (cfr. Arthur Ramos — 172).

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Os Kumãdene de Umbucuara (rio Uaupés), no próprio idioma denominam os Baniva, *Bayanã-sema*. Talvez os *Bayana* dos quais fala «Pelo Rio Mar» sejam os mesmos *Baniva* ou *Arwake* que, efetivamente, povoam o Içana e afluentes.

Frei Gregório, ao invés, localiza os *Baúna* na Cachoeira do Mutum (hoje Mitu, Colombia). Por essa localização, parece-nos mais provável a identificação com o grupo Kubewana (família linguística Tukano), cuja língua citou Curt Nimuendajú e tem por nome *Bahuna* ou *Bahukiwa*, como os chamam os Kubewana. Koch Grunberg informa também que os *Bahuna* residem na parte central do rio Cudulari, afluente do Uaupés (17).

As informantes da tribo *Kubewana*, Heloisa e Josefa (cfr. IV — 2, p) ambas casadas com Wanana e residentes em Carurú-cachoeira (rio Uaupés, 1955), indicaram, como 5.ª divisão da sua tribo, os «*Bahukako*». Em abril de 1957, duas outras mulheres *Kubewana* ou *Korõterabõa* (cfr. IV — 2, p), Nazaria e Byatrina casadas com yawareté-tapuya, e residentes em Arapaço-poço, localidade do rio Içana próxima da foz do rio Aiari, deram-nos também como 5.ª divisão da sua tribo os *Bahukõwa*.

Koch Grunberg que os visitou (Z. I. 278) confirma que os *Bahuna* são ditos *Bahokõoa* pelos Kubewãna e residem na parte central do rio Cudulari.

(4) *BEIJÚ* — Silenciada nas outras tribos. «Pelo Rio Mar» diz apenas que foi missionada por Frei Gregório em 1852-3. O relatório de Jesuíno Cordeiro traz o número de 187 pessoas da tribo *Beiju* que em 1853 viviam no povoado de Cubio-paraná.

Um velho septuagenário Wanana, de Tipiaca (em 1954), por nome José, informou-nos que existe em Cubio-igarape uma tribo *Beiju*, a qual só fala o Kubewãna e se denomina a si própria *Baxtod*.

Outros informantes do alto Uaupés asseguram que, sob o nome de *Beiju*, só é conhecida uma subdivisão dos *Kubewãna* (portanto da família de línguas Tukano) e que no próprio idioma se chama «*Atucko*».

(5) *CAINATARI* — Conforme o autor de «Pelo Rio Mar» são os *Acanjatara-tapuia* que se encontram no rio Castanho, afluente do Tiquié.

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(17) Os Kubewãna informaram a Koch que tanto os *Bahuna*, como seus vizinhos os *Mapalõwa* (conglomerados ambos sob a denominação de *Bahokõa*) são *Boloa* (Makú) e que antes falavam língua "muito feia". No princípio dêste século consideravam-se como legítimos *Kubewãna* cujo idioma era o que exclusivamente falavam (Zwei Iahre, 278).

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A relação de Jesuíno Cordeiro, de 1853, localiza 168 indivíduos da nação *Cainatari* em Pacú-cachoeira, aí recentemente aldeados. Por essa localização (região dos Wanana) poderia tratar-se de uma subdivisão Wanana, a qual, no próprio idioma, se diz «*Witõ monõ*», que quer dizer *acangatara branca*.

6) *COCUANE*. — Conforme Curt Nimuendajú (em carta datada de Belem a 1.º-set. 1945 ao Pe. Antônio Giacone) é a tribo conhecida também por *Cocuana* e da qual em 1927 havia ainda representantes em Jandiá e outros dois sítios da foz do Uaupés. Haviam, porém, perdido o próprio idioma e só falavam a Língua Geral (vd. acima II — 6, a). Foram os índios que mais facilmente se adaptaram à civilização, e dos quais descendem muitos caboclos do Rio Negro.

Em agosto de 1957, conforme Atayde Inácio Cardoso, do SPI (Serviço de Proteção ao Índio), havia ainda sobreviventes dos *Cocuana* ou *Coiand* na povoação de S. Joaquim na foz do Uaupés. João, o pajé Tukano de Umari (rio Uaupés, pouco acima de Iauretécachoeira, narrando as lendas das origens, diz que dentro da Cobra-grande vieram subindo os homens, e que «os *Kuewãna* que em Tukano se dizem *Pettãna*, ficaram na bôca do Uaupés. Mas um dos *Kuewãna* subiu até Taracuá-ponta e até aí ficou o limite de suas terras».

7) *CUTIA*. — Conhece-se no Içana uma tribo sob o nome de *Cutia-tapuya*, do ramo Arwake, cujo nome, em língua Baniva seria *Auddzurudi*.

8) *GIBOIA*. — Como na metade do século último muitos indígenas passaram do Içana para o alto e baixo Uaupés, somos proclives a pensar que os aldeados por Frei Gregório em Aracapuri, são indivíduos da tribo *Jiboya-tapuya* ou *Dzurênê* do Içana, dos quais recolhemos um vocabulário (Cfr. «Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical» do Autor e Boanari (II — 6, a).

9) *IRAUSSÚ* ou *IRAVASSÚ* — Koch Grünberg informa-nos (Z. I. 288) que na Língua Geral eram denominados *Uirãuaçú* os *Hyanakoto*, isto é um grupo de tribos *Karibe* compreendendo também os *Ondua* (Cfr. acima êste nome) dos rios Macáya e Cuniari. Os Hyanakoto se achavam, portanto, localizados pela longitude do lago Uauruá. Ora, os *Irausú* ou *Iravassú* citados por Frei Gergório residem no baixo Uaupés em Naná-rapecuma e S. Joaquim da foz.

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Seriam, então indivíduos descidos do alto Uaupés. A não ser que se trate de uma grafia incorreta e que fôssem membros da tribo Arwake do Içana ditos *Ira-tapuya* ou *Mápanai* no idioma natal.

10) *ITATIANA*. — Não se encontra êsse nome para tribos do Uaupés. A não ser que se trate, como é provável, de um erro de imprensa, e se deva ler *Itariana*, que é como Frei Gregório chama regularmente os *Taryana*.

11) *JURUÁ*. — Não é propriamente uma tribo, senão um ramo da tribo *Tukano* que reside ainda hoje nas vizinhanças de Juquira (rio Uaupés, cfr. IV — 2, a).

12) *JURUPARÍ*. — Serão os *Jurupari-tapuya* do rio Içana, do grupo *Karutana*, da família linguística *Arwake*, denominada no próprio idioma «*Mapítse-dakene*» e do qual recolhemos um vocabulário (cfr. nossos trabalhos «Discoteca Etno-linguístico musical» e «Idioma Indígenas da Amazônia»).

13) *ONÇA*. — Supomos, pela localização indicada por Frei Gregório, sejam como os precedentes, provenientes do Içana, onde existe a tribo *Yawareté-tapuya* ou no próprio idioma e em Siwsi *Dauki-minanei*. O termo *Onça* seria a tradução de *Iawareté* da língua geral. São de língua Arwake, como resulta do Vocabulário que recolhemos (cfr. «Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical» do Autor), e do grupo *Karutana*, conforme a classificação de Curt Nimuendajú.

O velho Wañana, José de Tipiaca, informou-nos da existência de uma tribo Onça ou *Yai-marsá* (como se exprimiu em Tukano) residente nas cabeceiras do Cudulari, acrescentando que êles falam o *Kudewâna*.

Outro velho, um Tukano octogenário de Pari-cachoeira, por nome Gabriel Costa, afirmou também a existência de uma tribo canibal, que os Tukano denominam *Yai-marsá* (gente onça) ou *Yai-peri marsá* (gente dente-de-onça) e reside nas cabeceiras do Tiquie.

14) *PICASSÚ*. — É palavra Nheengatú que quer dizer *pomba*. Frei Gregorio cita a tribo *Picassú* em Mitú, no Uaupés. Pensamos seja a tribo dita também *Yuriti* localizada precisamente em vários igarapés, entre os rios Paca e Uaupés, nas proximidades de Mitú.

15) *PIRA-TAPUIA*. — É a grande tribo que hoje se encontra em muitos lugares do Uaupes e Papuri, e da qual damos informações mais amplas neste trabalho (Vd. abaixo IV — 2, v).

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16) *QUATI*. — São os Coati-tapuya que passaram do Içana, em cujas cabeceiras ainda hoje residem. Pertencem à família linguística *Arwake*, e o nome da tribo no próprio idioma é «*Kapité-minanei*».

17) *TABAIANA*. — Silenciada, outrossim, nas várias listas. É possível, no entanto, que se trate também de um êrro de grafia, e a tribo em questão seja a *Yabaana* (como grafa Arthur Ramos, 170), ou *Yabarana* (de Koch G.-*Festschrift Eduard Seler*, 205), do grupo Arwake quase extinta e que Chestmir localiza no rio Maruiá. De fato, no mapa de Frei Gregório (1 de abril de 1853) consta aí apenas o nome de uma mulher *Yabarana*, residente em S. Joaquim na foz do Uaupés. Consta-nos que presentemente (agosto de 1957) só há um superstite da tribo *Yabahana*, por nome Aniceto, residente na localidade dita S. Paulo, próxima de Tapurucuara (antiga S. Isabel), no Rio Negro.

Koch (Zwei Iahre, 379) informa haver visto indivíduos de corpo elegante, representantes da tribo *Yabahana* que vivem entre os Maauna do Pirá-paraná, e cuja língua (do grupo Tukano) falavam.

Pensa, no entanto, Koch Grunberg que êsses *Yabahana* do Pirá-paraná nada tenham que ver com a tribo Arwake *Yabaana* do alto Rio Negro.

18) *TOCANDIRA* — Presentemente não se conhece nenhuma tribo sob o nome de *Tocandira* em Mitú e em todo o Uaupés para baixo da cachoeira de Jurupari.

José o velho Wanana de Tipiaca, afirmou a existência de uma tribo *Tocandira* nos igarapés Cubio e Miriti (afluentes do Uaupés) e que atualmente só falam o Kubewana.

Poderia também tratar-se da subdivisão Kubewana que no próprio idioma se diz *Pyardkó* (que quer dizer Tocandira), ou ainda seria algum dos grupos Kubewana, conhecido por Tocandira por residirem no igarapé homônimo.

# TRIBOS DA BACIA DO UAUPÉS

*T* = família Tukano, *A* = família Arwake; *K* = família Karaíba;
*gr.* = grupo; *s* = subdivisão

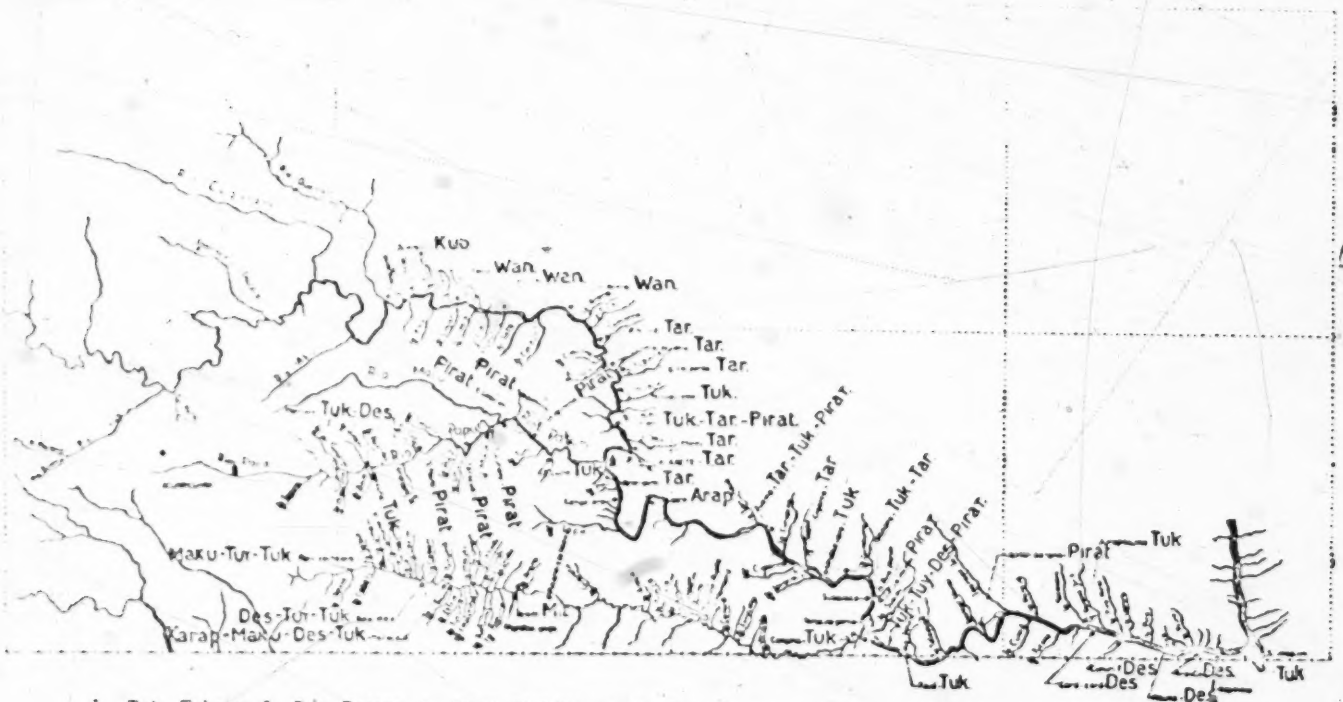
| | Fr. Noronha | Sampaio | Ferreira | Wallace | Fr. Gregório | Relatórios | AUTOR |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ..... | ..... | Aguará | Uacará | ..... | Agaraní | Garça (Yexseá?) (gr. Tukano) |
| 2 | ..... | ..... | Araptxí | Arapaço | Arapaço | ..... | Arapasu (Koneá) (T. rio Uaupés) |
| 3 | ..... | ..... | Arara | ..... | ..... | ..... | Ádaru-dákenai (Arara) (A. rio Içana) |
| 4 | ..... | ..... | Banibá | ..... | Banfua | ..... | Baniva (A. Içana, Xié) |
| 5 | ..... | ..... | ..... | Bauúna | Baúna | ..... | Bahúna (gr. Kubewana) |
| 6 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Beijú | Beiju | Beijú (Awekõ) (s. Kubewana) |
| 7 | Burenarí | Boanarí | Burenarí | ..... | Giboia | Boanarí | (Dzuré-mene, Buya) (A. Içana) |
| 8 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Cainatarí | Cainatarí | Akãgatara (Witõ monõ; s. Wanana) |
| 9 | ..... | ..... | ..... | Carapanã | Carapanã | Carapanã | Karapanã (Mõxtĕá) (T. Papuri) |
| 10 | ..... | ..... | Cequeno | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 11 | ..... | ..... | ..... | Coró-coró | ..... | ..... | Koró-Koró (Koxtõ) (s. kubewana) |
| 12 | Cubeuana | ..... | Cubeuana | Cubeo | Cubeo | Cubeo | Kubewana (Pamíwa) (T. Uauapés |
| 13 | Cueuana | Cueuana | Goianá | Queianá | Cocuana | Cueuana | Kukwana (T. Uaupés) |
| 14 | ..... | ..... | Cudujarí | ..... | ..... | ..... | (Kubewana do rio Cuduiari?) |
| 15 | ..... | ..... | Cuenacá | ..... | ..... | Queuenacá | Kuénaka (s. Taryana) |
| 16 | ..... | Deçaca | ..... | Deçana | Deçano | Deçana | Desana (Winá) (T. Papuri, (Tiquié, Uaupés) |
| 17 | ..... | ..... | ..... | Gi | ..... | ..... | Komé-pá-pona (s. Pirá-tapuya) |
| 18 | ..... | ..... | ..... | Ipeca | Ipeca | Opeca | Kumãdene (Ipeka) (A. Uaupés, Içana) |
| 19 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Iraussú | ..... | Wirá-wasú (Hyanakoto) (K. Uaupés) |
| 20 | ..... | ..... | ..... | Jacamim | ..... | ..... | Taitõ-paramera? (s. Kubewana) |
| 21 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Juruá | Juruá | Thurwá (s. Tukano, Uaupé) |
| 22 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Jurupari | Jurupari | (A. Içana) |
| 23 | ..... | Macú | Marú | ..... | Macú | Macú | Makú (Uaupés, Papuri, Tiquié) |
| 24 | ..... | ..... | ..... | Macuná | ..... | Macucoena | Ide-masã (T. do Komé-ya) |

[p.54]

| | Fr. Nereuba | Sampaio | Ferreira | Wallace | Fr. Gregório | Relatório | Autor |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Macura | ..... | ..... | Oá-mahã (Mikura) (T. Tiquié) |
| 26. | Mamangá | Mamengá | Mamangá | Caua | Mamengá | ..... | Uti-waiwa (S. Kubewana) Aini-dakenai? (Kawa) (A. Içana) |
| 27. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Miritî | ..... | ..... | Neenõã (Miritî) (T. Tiquié) |
| 28. | ..... | ..... | Mucinó | ..... | ..... | Mendó | (Moeinã?) (s. Taryana?) |
| 29. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Omaua | ..... | ..... | Hyanakoto (K. Uaupés) |
| 30. | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Onça | ..... | Dzawí-minánei (Yawareté, A. Içana) |
| 31. | ..... | ..... | Pakueno | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 32. | Panenuá | Panenuá | Panenoá | ..... | ..... | Panenoá | Hanêra T. Tiquié |
| 33. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Pirá | Piratapuia | Paratapuia | Waí-khana (Pirá-tapuya) (T. Uaupés, Papuri, Tiquié) |
| 34. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Piráiurú | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 35. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Puçá | ..... | ..... | Kwásõna? Waí-wehekõ, s. Kubewana) |
| 36. | ..... | ..... | Pumenicá | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 37. | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Quaty | ..... | Kápite-minánei (Koati) (A. Içana) |
| 38. | Quererurí | ..... | Quererurí | ..... | ..... | ..... | (Kubewana do rio Querari?) |
| 39. | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | Tabaiana | ..... | (Yabahansa?) (A. Rio Negro) |
| 40. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Taiassú | Quatitú | ..... | (Yupuá ou Yexsé-poná?) (s. Desana, rio Castanho) |
| 41. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Tanimbuca | ..... | ..... | Opaína (T. rio Apapóris) |
| 42. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Tapira | Tapiira | Tapiira | Hema-dákenai (A. rio Guainía) |
| 43. | Tariarana | Tariana | Cariana | Tariana | (I)tariana | (I)tariana | Talyásari (Taryana) (A. Uaupés) |
| 44. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Tatú | Tatuta(pu)ia | ..... | Ádza-neeni (Tatú) (A. Içana) |
| 45. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Tijucó | ..... | ..... | Doxká-poará (Tuyuka) (T. Tiquié) |
| 46. | ..... | Timanará | ..... | | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 47. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Tocandira | Tocandira | Tocandira | (Pyárakõ?) s. Kubewana) |
| 48. | ..... | ..... | Uacarí | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 49. | Uananá | Uanana | Uananá | Cóidia | Ananá | Uananá | Kótirya (Wanana) (T. Uaupés) |
| 50. | Uaupé | Uaupé | Uaupé | Tucano | Tucano | Tucano | Daxseã (Tukano) (T. Uaupés, Papuri, Tiquié) |
| 51. | ..... | ..... | ..... | Uaracú | ..... | ..... | (Boteá?) (s. Yuritî) |
| 52. | ..... | Urinaná | ..... | ..... | ..... | Urinaná | (Wirinã?) (A. rio Mararí) |

[55]

Tribos localizadas em território Brasileiro ao longo dos rios Uaupés, e seus dois afluentes o Papuri e o Tiquié




1 Tuk. Tukano; 2 Dés. Desana; 3 Pirat. Pirá-tapuya; 4 Tar. Turyana; 5 Ipeka (Kumãdene); 6 Arap. Arapásu; 7. Wan. Wanana; 8 Kub. Kubewana; 9 Maku; 10 Mir. Miriti; 11 Tuy. Tuyuka; 12 Kar. Karapanã; 13 Bará

4: Silva
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## Capítulo III

## MALOCAS (Baxsasé-wi'seri) E POVOADOS (Maxka)

O Uaupés lança suas águas no Rio Negro por duas bôcas, separadas pela «*Ilha das Flores*» (antiga *Ilha do Umiri*, wextinâxkârô) e ilhotes, pontuadas, ademais, de inúmeras pedras e rochedos: a bôca do sul com três barras formadas pelos arrecifes e a «*Cachoeira do Tamanduá*», sendo mais difícil a sua entrada; a do norte, também com muitos rochedos e a «*Cachoeira do Carapanã*».

Quem o sobe, vai encontrando, a pequenos intervalos, barracas ou agrupamentos de barracas, duas ou três aqui, oito ou dez mais além, e até dezoito ou vinte. São os «*Povoados*» (*maxkâ*), como os denominam os da região. Terão o nome de um Santo, por Patrono, ou de algum acidente geográfico, um nome indígena ou outro qualquer escolhido, parece, ao acaso, como em geral acontece à toponímia nacional. Os nomes são, de ordinário, da língua *Nheengatú* ou *Língua geral*, e corresponde-lhe outro em *Tukanô*, quase sempre como mera tradução. É difícil dizer se o nome original seja o *Tukano*, e o da *língua geral*, pelo qual é conhecido, seja apenas tradução, ou vice-versa.

Até 1924, da *Cachoeira de Ipanoré* para cima só existiam *malocas* (1), informa o Pe. João Marchesi, o veterano Missionário Salesiano do Uaupés. Data dêsse ano a substituição das malocas pelas casas familiares, e o aparecimento dos pequenos *povoados*, por influência das Missões Salesianas. Presentemente (1958) só existem malocas, ou no interno das matas, ou, nas margens do Rio Uaupés acima de Iutica, e do Tiquié acima de Carurú-Cachoeira.

A tradição indígena conserva o nome e a localização de malocas e ajuntamentos humanos hoje desaparecidos. Como documentário trazemos as listas abaixo. De alguns lugares, neste meado do sec. 20 existe apenas uma *capoeira* a sinalar o posto onde a mão humana abateu a mataria virgem e construiu uma maloca.

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(1) *Maloca* se diz a grande habitação coletiva (cfr. VI, 1).

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I. *Malocas e Povoados do rio Uaupés* (dyá Poxsá, rio dos Makú?)

| NOME | EM TUKANO | TRADUÇÃO | TRIBOS |
|---|---|---|---|
| S. Joaquim | ? | | Koená ou Kukwana |
| Itapinima | õxtã oharitirí-pa | Pedra pintada | Desana |
| Trovão | buxpõ-pá | Pedra do trovão | Desana |
| Pituna | Naikoro | Lugar onde anoitece | Desana |
| Cunurí | waxpõ-ñõá | Ponta do cunurí (2) | Desana |
| Corõ-Coró | koxtó-duri ou koxtóa | Rochedos do coró-coró (3) | Desana |
| Iú-rapecuma | Poxtá-ñõá | Ponta do espinho | Tukano |
| Pacú-capuamo | unú-nãxkãrõ | Ilha do pacú | Desana |
| Caruatana (4) | buxpú-sero | (Pedaço de) sarabatana | Tukano |
| Macú-capuamo | Poxsá-nãxkãrõ | Ilha do Makú | Tukano |
| Jacaré-ponta | õxsó-ñõá | Ponta do jacaré | Pirá-tapuya |
| Açaí-parará | mix'pí-yuxtí | Paraná do açaí | Pirá-tapuya |
| Arara-ponta | mahã-ñõá | Ponta da arara | Tukano |
| Matapí | buxkõá-wõ-kõ | Água do matapí | Tukano |
| Na[illegible]-rapecuma | sé'rá-ñõá | Ponta do ananaz | Tukano |
| T[illegible] | ewó-yá | Ribeirão do ôcre | Tukano |
| Tocandira | pextá-ñõá | Ponta da tocandira | (sem moradores) (5) |
| Taracuá-ponta | me're-oã"rá-ñõá | Ponta da taracuá (formiga) | Tukano, Desana, Pirá-tapuya |
| Darí-darí | i'ã-buxkõrá-ñõá | Ponta do darí-darí (inseto) | Mirití-tapuya |
| Pirá-murim | sé'á-ya | Ribeirão da Piabinha | Pirá-tapuya |

(2) *Ponta*, na toponímia, indica sempre o acidente geográfico.

(3) Os indígenas forneceram-nos os dois nomes supra. *Coró-coró* é o nome de aves ribeirinhas de várias espécies: *Ibis melanocephala*, *Geronticus infuscata*.

(4) Aí houve, outrora, uma Missão dos Frades Capuchinhos, sob o patrocínio de S. Pedro, informa Koch Grünberg (*Zwei Jahre*, pág. 231). Buxpú-seró é abreviatura de buxpú-kaxsero, pedaço de sarabatana. O nome alude às lendas da sarabatana e de Tupana-ruca.

(5) Sem moradores, isto é, não existe mais o antigo povoado.

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| NOME | EM TUKANO | TRADUÇÃO | TRIBOS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ponta-fria | yõxsõárí-ñõá | Ponta fria | Tukano (Pirá-tapuya) (6) |
| Cabeçudo ponta | u-ñõá | Ponta do cabeçudo | Pirá-tapuya |
| Sussuúka | ñamá-saaró | Chifre de veado | (sem moradores) |
| Paxiúba-igarapé | waxtá (paxka)-ya | Ribeirão da paxiúba (grande) | Pirá-tapuya, Makú |
| Ipanoré | tõpa-duri | "Rochedos" "peneira" | Taryana |
| Urubucuara | yõxká-pũrí-pextá | Porto do tucum | Kumãdene |
| Pinú-pinú | dyá-utíkaro-ñõá | Ponta da sucurujú | Taryana |
| Cigarro | uxtíka-pũrí | Folha do cigarro | Taryana |
| Mariuá | mariwa-dõxpõrí | Galhos de mariuá | Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Desana |
| Buzina | uxpitu-ñõá | Ponta da buzina | Taryana |
| S. José | wirõ-ñõá | Ponta do vento | Arapasu |
| Chibarú | yebárí | Chibarú (madeira) | Arapasu |
| Jurupari ponta | wãx'tí-ñõá | Ponta de Wãx'tí | Arapasu |
| Baía | wí"i-turiró | Sobrado | Arapasu |
| Ponta do Mucuim | u'mú-sũá-ñõá | Ponta dos mucuins | (sem moradores) |
| Loiro | kuma-kõ-ñõá | Ponta do loiro (madeira) | Arapasu |
| Paraná-jucá | Dyá-Poxsá-yõhõró | Estreito do rio dos Makú | Arapasu, Tukano |
| Juquira | mõá-ñõá | Ponta do sal | Tukano |
| Ananaz | sé'ra-pá | Pedra do ananaz | Pirá-tapuya |
| Aracú ponta | bo'tóa-pextá | Porto do aracú | Pirá-tapuya |
| Cangatara | mahã-poarí-ñõá | Ponta das penas de arara | (sem moradores) |
| Jacitara | waú-tu dixtara | Lago da jacitara (palmeira) | Pirá-tapuya |
| Arará pirá | bixpãrí-pweá | Cachoeira do ararí-pirá | Taryana |
| Cunurí | waxpõ-ñõá | Ponta do cunurí (fruta) | (sem moradores) |
| Juí | omã-ya-pitó | Foz do ribeirão da rã | Pirá-tapuya |
| Iauareté | Yaía-pweá | Cachoeira da onça | Taryana |
| Castanho-capuámo | Castanho-nãxkãrõ | Ilha do Castanho | Taryana |
| Micura | oá-pweá | Cachoeira do gambá | Taryana |
| Mirití | neé-ya-pitó | Foz do ribeirão do burití | Taryana |

(6) O nome entre parênteses indica os primitivos moradores.

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| NOME | EM TUKANO | TRADUÇÃO | TRIBOS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Umarí | wamá-pweá | Cachoeira do umarí (fruta) | Tukano |
| Piranha | béo-ñóá | Ponta da piranha | Taryana |
| Mira-pirêra | kaxéri-ñóá | Ponta das cascas | Tukano |
| Jabutí | uhuri-pweá | Cachoeira do jabutí | Taryana |
| Iuquira-ponta | móá-ñóá | Ponta do sal | Taryana |
| Ira-capuamo | mu'mi-nãxkãrõ | Ilha do mel | Taryana |
| Bacaba | yu'mũ-pweá | Cachoeira da bacaba | Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Wanana |
| Arumã | wõhõ-nãxkãrõ | Ilha do arumã | Taryana |
| Cachoeira do machado | komé-pweá | Cachoeira do machado | Taryana |
| ——— (7) | Poxsá-boarisma | Rio de apodrecer makú | Taryana |
| Periquito | kaí-pweá | Cachoeira do periquito | Taryana, Kumãdene |
| Japú-ponta | umũ-ñóá | Ponta do japú | Wanana |
| Arara | mahã-pweá | Cachoeira da arara | Wanana |
| Yandú | buxpó-Ã'rã | Serra (monte) da aranha | Wanana |
| Carurú | móá-pweá | Cachoeira do carurú (planta salgada) | Wanana |
| Matapí | buxkóá-wó-pé | Buraco do matapí | Wanana |
| Jacaré | õxsó-pweá | Cachoeira do jacaré | Wanana |
| Yutica | yaxpí-pweá | Cachoeira da batata | Wanana |
| Tiririca | wí'só-pá | Pedra da tiririca | Wanana |
| Teina (8) | nihi-pá | Pedra da criança | Wanana |
| Taracuá | mé'ré-oã'rã-ñóá | Ponta da taracuá | Wanana |
| Yawareté-ponta | yafa-buxpuró-ñóá | Ponta donde pula a onça | Wanana |
| Pacú-cachoeira | uhú-pweá | Cachoeira do pacú | Wanana |
| Camarinhó-igarapé | tupí-ya ou tupí-ma | Ribeirão do lagarto dágua | Kubewana |
| Querari | soã-yá-pitó | Foz do rio vermelho | Kubewana |

(7) Os traços indicam lugares conhecidos só pela denominação em tukano

(8) Teina em Nheengatú é a criança, de ambos sexos, até quando começa a falar, andar e fazer pequenos serviços. Daí em diante os do sexo masculino dizem-se kurumim, e os do sexo feminino, kuñatai.

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2. *Malocas e Povoados do Tiquié* (Kösá)

| NOME | EM TUKANO | TRADUÇÃO | TRIBOS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Campina | waré-yuró | Campina, descampado | Tukano |
| Cururú-lago | táro-ã'rã | Serra do sapo | Tukano |
| Coró-coró | koxto-be'tó | boía do coró-coró | Tukano |
| Matapí | kaxsá-yá-pitó | Foz do ribeirão do matapí | Tukano, Desana |
| Barreira | mi'mí-toroã | Barreira do beija-flor | Tukano |
| ..... | Oã-kó | Água do gambá | Mirití-tapuya |
| Ponta do veado | ñamã-ñõã | Ponta do veado | Mirití, Tukano, Tuyuka |
| Serrinha | poári-ã'rã | Serra dos cabelos | Tukano, Desana |
| ..... | pirõ-rá | Lago da cobra | Desana, Tukano |
| Fátima | yaí-wa'í | Casa da onça | Tuyuka |
| Sant Ana | bu'sá-yá-pitó | Foz do ribeirão da paima | Tukano, Desana |
| Tucano cachoeira | daxté-pwã | Cachoeira do tucano | Tukano |
| ..... | waxpo-ñõã | Ponta do cunuri | Tukano |
| ..... | ñyĩ-yá-pito | Foz do ribeirão preto | Mirití-tapuya |
| Iraití | oxpé-duri | Rochedos do breu | Mirití-tapuya |
| Nazaré | simeõ-pũrĩ-rá | Lago das folhas do uacú | Mirití-tapuya |
| Piraíba-poço | móõ-tuxkũró | Poço da piraíba | Mirití-tapuya |
| S. Pedro (bôca da estrada) | sẽ'ã paxkũrã dixtára | Lago dos piramirins | Tukano |
| Papagaio | wexkó-wi'í | Casa do papagaio | (sem moradores) |
| Uira-poço | daxsú-ra | Lago do azulão | (sem moradores) |
| ..... | dixtíro-pá | Pedra do ufra-pajé (pássaro) | Tukano, Desana |
| Barreira alta | yuyú thá | Local do yúyú (cfr. VII, 3, a) | Tukano, Desana |
| Bôca do Cutanho | pirõ-perí | Covas da cobra | Desana |
| S. Luiz | a'rã-ra | Lago da cana | Desana |
| Floresta | tho'ã-bwa | amontoado de yúa-pixuna (fruta) | Desana |
| S. José | maxkã | "a vila, o povoado" | Tukano |
| S. Miguel | mixpí-tha | açaizal | Tukano, Desana |
| S. Luzia | waró-sererá | Nado dos velhos (9) | Tukano |

(9) Os primeiros Tukano que vieram do Papurí ao Tiquié, aí atravessaram a nado o rio para a margem direita, quando fugiam dos inimigos.

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| NOME | EM TÜKANO | TRADUÇÃO | TRIBOS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Esteio | boxtãri-yá-pitó | Foz do ribeirão dos esteios | (sem moradores) |
| S. Francisco | ôxtã tí thã | Lugar que tem pedra | Tukano |
| Maracajá (povoado) | tóo-y'ã-ñõã | Ponta do pensamento | Tukano |
| Maracajá (estirão) | yai-kaberó-kusã | Estirão do maracajá (felino) | Tukano |
| S. Antonio | Bayá-pé | Furna do bayá (10) | Tukano, Desana |
| S. João | ñamã-ãhõãri-bwã | Rasto da cobra-grande (11) | Desana |
| Santa Cruz | kurúsa-nũ'kũrõ ou | Lugar onde a cruz está de pé | Tukano |
| | õ'moãri-bwa | Monte alto | |
| Bela vista | nũxkũparo-tha | Praia | Tukano |
| ..... | suxpú-tõrõ | Rampa da bouba | Tukano |
| ..... | pé'ru tõ | Pote de caxirí (bebida) | (Tukano) |
| ..... | ñyirã-bwã | Monte do maruim | Tukano |
| ..... | nimã-yá-pitó | Foz do ribeirão do veneno | (sem moradores) |
| Parí-cachoeira | sirí-pã | Pedra do salto (dos peixes) | Tukano |
| ..... | thũ-pã | Pedra de? | Tukano |
| S. Domingos (Caburí) | ã'rẽ-mi'rí-pã | Pedra do rouxinol (tén-tén) | Tukano, Tuyuka |
| Caburí | kõ'rẽ-kaburí-ñõã | Ponta do rebojo do pica-pau | Tukano, Tuyuka |
| S. Paulo | ki-kaxsêri-ñõã | Ponta da casca da mandioca | Tukano |
| Carurú-cachoeira | mõ-pwerã | Cachoeira do carurú (12) | Tukano, Tuyuka |
| ..... | ñamã-ãhõãri-bwã | Monte de queimar veado | Tuyuka |
| ..... | wãí-maxsã-duhiró | Lugar onde senta a gente-peixe | Tuyuka |
| S. Pedro | pixkõrõ-bwã | Monte da lagarta (tapurú) | Tuyuka |
| ..... | doé-ra | Lago da tarafra | Oá-maxsã (gambá-tapuya) |
| ..... | õxtã-dõxkã | Pedaço de pedra | (sem moradores) |

(10) Pedra com buraco donde sai água. Conforme a lenda se alguém beber três cuias dessa água, adormece e sonha canções, e será um bom bayá, isto é, mestre de danças (cfr. VII, 6, a 12).

(11) Afirmam os Tukano que é nome de origem makú, embora não nos pareça provável. Em tukano a tradução seria pirõ pahigõ waãkaro.

(12) Mõ seria a abreviação de mõã-dari, carurú (e não de mõõ, piraíba).

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| NOME | EM TUKANO | TRADUÇÃO | TRIBOS |
|---|---|---|---|
| ..... | pũrĩ-yá-pitó | Foz do ribeirão da folha | Tuyuka |
| ..... | nãxkãrõ | Ilha | Tuyuka |
| ..... | kaĩ-yá-pitó | Foz do ribeirão da massa do umarí | Tuyuka |
| Sarapó | ixkĩ-seri-yá | Ribeirão da casca do inajá | Tuyuka |

3. *Malocas e Portados do Papurí* (oxkó nyisé-dyá, rio de água preta).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Foz do Papurí | oxkó-ñyisé-pitó | Foz do rio de água preta | Taryana |
| Uaracapá de baixo | wãrõ-phi | Ferro de cova | Taryana |
| ..... | waú-ñõã | Ponta do macaco uaú | Taryana |
| Paraná do tatú | pamõ-yuxtí | Paraná do tatú | Taryana |
| Japurá | batí-bwí | Encima do japurá | Taryana |
| Micura-ponta | oá-ñõã | Ponta do gambá | Pirá-tapuya |
| ..... | bapá-ñõã | Ponta do sablá | Taryana |
| Uaracapá | toóka-pá | Pedra do cercado (13) | Taryana |
| Ituim-ponta | bũxkõã-será-ñõã | Ponta do ituim | Pirá-tapuya |
| Ucapinima | kikaxasẽri-ñõã | Ponta das cascas da mandioca | Pirá-tapuya |
| Serrinha | ã'rã-ñõã | Ponta da serra | Tukano |
| Parí-ponta | imí-sa-pá | Pedra do parí | Tukano |
| S. Luzia | sẽ'pé-ñõã | Ponta da Cobra-grande (14) | Tukano |
| Japim | yõx'xõ-ñõã | Ponta do japim | Pirá-tapuya |
| Caitetú | dyá-burú-ñõã | Ponta do ribeirão do burú (15 | Pirá-tapuya |
| Muiritinga | buxtí-o | Muiritingal | Pirá-tapuya |
| ..... | sã'ã-pweã | Cachoeira do puraquê | Pirá-tapuya |
| Teresita | dyá-yó-pweã | Cachoeira da lontra | Pirá-tapuya, Desana |

(13) Cfr. a lenda do rapto dos instrumentos sagrados ("*Lendas do Uaupés*" do Autor).

(14) Sẽ'pé é o nome de uma das Cobras-grandes das lendas, cfr. pág. 21.

(15) Burú, conforme a explicação dos indígenas, denomina-se uma argila que dá uma tinta preta.

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| NOME | EM TUKANO | TRADUÇÃO | TRIBOS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pirá mirim | sirá pwerá | Cachoeira da piabinha | Pirá-tapuya |
| S. Gabriel | natã pwerá | Cachoeira do natã (sapo) | Pirá-tapuya |
| Macú paraná | tuxsá-yá-pitó | Foz do ribeirão dos Macú | Pirá-tapuya, Desana |
| Tucunaré (ex Olinda) | bwú pwerá | Cachoeira do tucunaré | Pirá-tapuyá |
| Taracuá | mé're-oá'rá-nóá | Ponta da taracuá | Pirá-tapuya |
| S. Paulo | ahã perí | Covas do inambú | Pirá-tapuya |
| Andorinha | Siripi-tuxkúrú | Poço da andorinha | (sem moradores) |
| Jandia | Pawá-doxká | Pedaço de jandiá | Pirá-tapuya |
| Beiju-cachoeira | ahú-a pwerá | Cachoeira do beijú | (sem moradores) |
| Pato | dyá kxtá pá | Pedra do pato dágua | Tukano |
| Urucum | buxsíka-yá | Ribeirão do urucum (16) | Desana |
| Piracuara | wai-perí pwerá | Cachoeira dos buracos dos peixes (17) | Tukano, Desana, Makú |
| Montfort | buxtwá pwerá | Cachoeira do cupim | Tukano, Desana |
| Cuiú cuiú | dyá buxkoá-yá | Ribeirão do cuiú-cuiú | Desana |
| Japú caruamo | umú pwerá | Cachoeira do japú | Desana, Tukano |
| Bôca do abio | kã'te-yá-pitó | Foz do ribeirão do abio | Tukano |
| Iua pixuna | tho'á pwerá | Cachoeira da yúa-pixuna | Tukano |
| Anchieta | muhi pã pwerá | Cachoeira da lua | Tukano, Desana |
| Jandia | ñaxkã-yá pitó | Foz do ribeirão ñaxkã (18) | Desana |
| Nova vida | Pawá pwerá | Cachoeira do jandiá | Tukano, Desana, Makú |
| S. Miguel | porero pextá | Porto do gafanhoto | Tukano |
| Melo Franco | Boxkó pexta | Porto da cobaia | Tukano, Tuyuka |
| | wexkó-sero | Couro de anta (?) | Tukano, Desana, Karapanã |

(16) *Buxsika* é palavra, parece, da língua Desana.

(17) De acôrdo com a tradição indígena, existiria um canal subterrâneo que de Piracuara ligaria o rio Papurí ao Tiquié, pouco acima de Parí-cachoeira.

(18) *Sexkã* é o nome de uma madeira venenosa que deu o nome ao ribeirão.

4 — Observações — 1ª Como acabamos de ver, encontram-se pequenos grupos de uma nação próximos ou mesmo no meio de outras nações. A sociabilidade natural, ou a imposição das circunstâncias relaciona entre si êstes grupos humanos. Várias são as consequências dessas relações.

A primeira, o generalizar-se de uma língua, a da nação tukano, como idioma comum a várias tribos, de modo que, no baixo Uaupés até Iauaretê, quase tôdas as pessoas adultas (19) falarão, além da língua de sua tribo (20) também a da tribo tukano.

Depois, uma fusão dos costumes, com alteração ou até eliminação dos costumes ancestrais e adoção (não raro também com modificações) dos costumes de outros grupos. É a aculturação que há alguns séculos, ou quiça dezenas de séculos se vem processando na área do Uaupés. Nota-se, por isso, uma semelhança e quase identidade de «modus vivendi» nesses ajuntamentos humanos. Explicando e complicando êsse caldeamento étnico, vem o fato de que todas essas tribos admitem, como regra inviolável, da organização da família, o matrimônio exogâmico, pelo qual o indivíduo deve buscar, como esposa, uma mulher de outra tribo.

Quais são as práticas originárias de um grupo? Estarão em sua pureza primitiva ou sofreram o influxo de outros grupos? Quais foram os importados e de qual tribo? Houve, acaso, adaptação nessa

(19) Esta observação data de 1947, logo após nossa primeira excursão pelo Uaupés. Verificamos, então, ao penetrar a área habitada pelos Wanana, que raríssimos indivíduos desta tribo, conseguiam entender uma que outra frase usual Tukano. Em 1957, já se encontraram em todos os povoados de Caruru para baixo, dentre os antigos alunos da Missão de Iauaretê, ou dentre os adultos que aí estiveram empregados durante algum tempo, certo número de pessoas que não só entendiam bem o idioma Tukano, senão também o usavam nas conversas entre si. Relevamos em nossos trabalhos sôbre a língua Tukano, a complacência dos jovens, que passaram pelos colégios da Missão, de falar entre si o idioma Tukano. Pareceu-nos descobrir, nessa complacência, apenas uma ponta de soberba, como se fôra uma superioridade sôbre os próprios pais e outras pessoas idosas, e não por lhes proporcionar um meio de conversa entre companheiros, isento do contrôle dos "velhos".

(20) Relevo-se que não se deu a formação de uma língua, com elementos disparatados das outras, como tem acontecido em condições análogas, por ex. o Sabir (miscelânea do italiano, francês, espanhol, grego e árabe) que se ouve nos portos do Mediterrâneo.

É natural que venha a sofrer, em sua pureza, tanto a língua da própria tribo, como a da Tukano. A língua Tariana está em via de desaparecer. Em Urubucuara apenas dois velhos Ipeca-tapuya sabiam, em 1954 algumas palavras do próprio idioma Kumidene, que recolhemos e gravamos, a saber, o tuxaua septuagenário Mandú, e o quase nonagenário komu, Martinho, que veio a falecer em março de 1956.

importação? São os primeiros e graves problemas com que defronta o etnólogo, que se proponha especificar as várias camadas de cada ciclo cultural.

2.ª O problema da origem dos grupos humanos que povoam o Novo Mundo, já o dissemos, está ainda envolto em densas trevas (21). É certo, porém, que a partir do sec. 18, sempre mais frequentes e duradouras vão sendo as relações dos colonizadores com êsses indígenas. Dessas relações, provaveis umas, provadas outras, vão resultando as modificações dos nativos e adotação mais ou menos alterada, dos usos dos civilizados. É o outro aspeto do fenômeno de aculturação, e bem marcado, que se pode verificar no Uaupés na metade desta centúria.

3.ª Embora biológica e culturalmente tendam a um nivelamento, consideram-se socialmente desiguais. O grupo de tribos *Tukano* é o mais nobre. Os *Makú* são considerados e denominados escravos (em tukano poxsá, termo que, conforme A. Giacone, significa o que trabalha de graça), e êles próprios tais se julgam, servindo sem remuneração às tribos dos grupos *Tukano* e *Taryana*. Dentro do mesmo grupo de tribos, como nas *subdivisões* (cfr. VIII-3, c) de cada tribo, também se escalonam conforme certa nobreza, que é reconhecida sem discussão alguma. A Pré-história dessas tribos viria trazer luz a esta curiosa praxe.

4.ª Emerge ainda uma questão palpitante entre tôdas: esta população indígena caminhará talvez para o desaparecimento? Ou, quem sabe, se mantém numericamente idêntica; ou quiçá mesmo, tende a aumentar? Faltam-nos dados estatísticos para confronto. Podemos, contudo, afirmar:

a) Não consta aumento de um grupo por junção com outra tribo. Nem é possível, se atentarmos à mentalidade exageradamente racista dos grupos humanos do Uaupés. (22)

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(21) Um resumo do que se pensa razoàvelmente em nossos dias, pode-se encontrar na obra de Paul Rivet: "*Les origines de l'Homme Américain*". Montreal, 1943.

(22) Parece, sim, que houve alguns casos de uma assimilação cultural mais perfeita, com perda até do próprio idioma, por exemplo o que afirma Koch Grünberg dos *Kaua-tapuia*. Mas embora os Etnólogos queiram conglobar grupos diferentes como *Sibes* de uma mesma tribo, socialmente êles são considerados pelos índios como tribos distintas. Aliás no Uaupés não existem *Tribos* no sentido rigoroso do termo, como relevamos adiante (VIII-3, b), porém nações diversas fragmentadas em mais ou menos numerosos agrupamentos. Recorde-se o que dissemos (IV-2,a) a propósito dos *Thumé* que, embora havidos por *Tukano*, apresentam peculiares traços somáticos que os diferenciam dos demais Tukanos.

Nem consideramos, porque raros atualmente, os casos de matrimonios ou «menage» de indias com civilizados (de resto todos fugidos), porque o filho não é, nem se considera mais indígena (23).

b) Fato indiscutivel é a fecundidade da mulher india. Das indagações feitas, constou-nos apenas um fato de um individuo repudiar sua mulher por infecunda, a juizo, evidentemente, do marido. Apesar do comodismo ou conveniências da mulher india que não quer ter muitos filhos (e temos várias vêzes ouvido dos seus lábios esta declaração: «é feio ter muitos filhos»), e das práticas que empregam para espaçar cada parto de 2, 3 e até 4 ou mais anos, surpreende-nos agradàvelmente, em cada povoado, a presença de numerosas crianças. Encontramos, em nossas investigações, um indio valido de seus 45 anos mais ou menos, que tinha 11 filhos (24). De uma nossa lista de individuos de várias tribos, na ordem casual em que foram feitas as medidas antropometricas, 20 casados dentre homens e mulheres, de seus 35 anos aproximados para mais, apresentam um total de 101 filhos. Portanto verifica-se uma média de 5 filhos por casal. Note-se que nessa mesma lista figuram apenas 13 filhos mortos, sem discriminação de idade. Se pensamos que todos os adultos se casam (ordinariamente depois dos 20 anos) (25), e que mais ou menos correspondem em número os dois sexos, dever-se-ia concluir pelo aumento da população (26).

c) Pode suceder que se encontre um local parcial ou mesmo totalmente desabitado, e que anos antes fôra florescente. Êste fato de per si não autoriza concluir que se trate de uma diminuição

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(23) Relevamos (n. 105, VII 5.c), que quando nasce algum filho de uma relação esporadica de um civilizado com uma india, a qual naturalmente cabe criar a criança, esta se considera da tribo da mãe, se é solteira, ou da tribo do marido (como se fôra filho dêste), se se trata de mulher casada. Conhecemos em Iauareté (1950) dois irmãos, alunos da Missão, havidos como Taryana, embora filhos de pais diversos, dois aventureiros colombianos.

(24) Trata-se do indio Agostinho Barbosa, da tribo *Taryana*, em Iauareté. É verdade que em dezembro de 1948, de seus 11 filhos 4 eram já falecidos.

(25) Só nos consta o caso de um homem que não achava mulher; note-se, porém, que se tratava de um viúvo.

(26) Com prazer encontramos algumas destas opiniões firmadas pelo Vigário de S. Gabriel, o Cônego André Fernandes de Souza, desde fins do séc. 18. Ao n° 266 das suas "*Noticias Geographicas*" releva: "O que com efeito é digno de nota não haver entre os gentios centrais a enfermidade a que chamam humores gallicos, segundo se tem averiguado nos rios Uaupé, Japurá, Juruá, Jutahi e outros, e por isso talvez haja entre elles summa propagação como mostra a experiência diaria, em qualquer descimento se vê o duplo e triplo de crianças dum e outro sexo".

de população. Pode ter havido migração para outro local como consequência de alguma epidemia ou briga havida no povoado primitivo. Verdade é que tem aparecido surtos epidêmicos de gripes (catarro, chôa, diz o índio), sarampo (27) ou malária (uhiáke) que diminuíram a população de um ou outro grupo. A assistência médica que as Missões Salesianas lhes proporcionam, vem evitando tais surtos ou reduzindo-lhes o perigo.

Infelizmente, porem, é ainda muito alto o índice de mortalidade infantil. Anteriormente ao estabelecimento dos hospitais e ambulatórios das Missões Salesianas, dos 2 aos 10 anos de idade, morriam, por falta de higiene, cerca de 50% das crianças.

Mais alarmante ainda é o perigo da turbereulose. Enviado pelo governo colombiano, o tisiologista Dr. Alvaro Arguello Pinzon, visitou em agosto de 1955 as populações do Uaupes e Papuri. Logo após a visita deste último rio aos povoados da margem colombiana, como da brasileira, afirmou-nos em Iauarete que 75% da população indígena já se achava contagiada pelo bacilo de Koch. A afirmação é dolorosamente verossímil. Não só os indígenas desconhecem as mais simples normas de higiene, convenientes ao caso (convivem no mesmo ambiente impregnado do anidrido carbônico do fogo sempre aceso, deitam-se na mesma rede, introduzem as mãos sujas na comida comum, bebem da mesma cuia, consomem os restos da comida do tuberculótico, sorvem as bebidas mascadas quiça por algum contagiado, etc.), mas também a sua *mentalidade* exclui o emprego dos cuidados impostos pela doença. Com efeito, não crêem em doenças, julgam-se imortais. As doenças são maleficios causados por algum inimigo e que só o pajé com suas práticas mágicas e rapé de-enfumar (práticas que na realidade muitas vezes contribuem apenas para o agravar-se do mal). Por isso não se sujeitam a um tratamento longo nos hospitais da Missão onde, de ordinário, só se recolhem por vontade sua e consentimento dos parentes, depois de tentados inutilmente os tratamentos de vários pajés, já nos derradeiros dias de vida. Nestes últimos anos considerável proporção de óbitos, maxime de adultos, têm tido como *causa mortis* a tuberculose laríngea e pulmonar.

Raros são os indígenas que superam os 70 anos; aos 50 anos o índio é já velho (28), e morrem de ordinário antes dos 60 anos.

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(27) Em agosto e setembro de 1956 um surto sucessivo de coqueluche, sarampo e malária dizimou aproximadamente duas centenas de indígenas nos rios Uaupes, Papuri e Tiquié.

(28) O aspecto faz com que se empregue comumente a palavra *velho* para determinar melhor o indivíduo. Assim se ouve com frequência: "o velho Feupe de tal lugar", "o velho Cândido", etc.

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## Capítulo IV

# DISTINÇÃO E CLASSIFICAÇÃO

### 1 - *DISTINÇÃO*

Abrangem estes estudos, repetimos, as tribos do Brasil e da Colômbia que povoam a *bacia do Uaupés*. Sob tal denominação entendemos o *Rio Uaupés*, desde que penetra no Brasil, logo após o afluxo do rio *Querari*, até sua foz no *Rio Negro*, com seus dois tributários, o *Papuri* e o *Tiquié* e numerosos afluentes pequenos. Nossas pesquisas de campo abrangem não só tôdos os agrupamentos humanos localizados à margem dos três rios supra, como também muitos outros grupos das cabeceiras daqueles rios e no interior da mata. Por isso parece-nos poder considerar de modo geral a área ampla da *bacia do Uaupés*. Tanto mais que alguns dos grupos que se acham mais internados nos *igarapés*, pertencem às tribos ribeirinhas, ou, ao menos, estão de longa data em relação com elas, e desta sorte tem havido assimilação cultural.

Entre as nossas *fichas antropométricas* figuram representantes de quatorze tribos, a saber: 1. *Arapasso*, 2. *Bará*, 3. *Desana*, 4. *Karapanã*, 5. *Kubéwa*, 6. *Pira-tapuya*, 7. *Suryana*, 8. *Tukano*, 9. *Tapuia*, 10. *Yuriti*, 11. *Wanana*, 12. *Kamidene*, (ou *Ipéka-tapuya*, gente pato-dagua), 13. *Taryána*, 14. *Makú*.

Tivemos ainda o ensejo de relações com as tribos: 1. *Bairemasã*, 2. *Edúrya*, 3. *Emôa-masã* (guariba-tapuya), 4. *Hanêrã* (patênôã), 5. *Ide-masã* (gente-água, ou *Aonirã*), 6. *Oá-mahã* (mikura-tapuya), 7. *Puboa-masã* (tatú-tapúya), 8. *Roéra-masã* (tarayra-tapuya), 9. *Yebá-masã*, 10. *Miriti-tapúya*, 11. *Ihuána*, 12. *Tsêna*, tôdas do grupo Tukano, e com uma dúzia de tribos do grupo *Arawáke*, dos rios Içana e Aiari.

Não incluimos no presente estudo as tribos do Içana. São fáceis as relações e frequente o comercio, hoje em dia, entre estas tribos e as que habitam o alto Uaupés. Encontram-se, não raro, indivíduos daquele rio estabelecidos na bacia do Uaupés. Grupos inteiros

tem abandonado o Içana e afluentes, havidos por «famintos», isto é, com escassez de peixe, atraídos também, muitas vêzes, pelo conforto maior que as Missões católicas vão proporcionando aos habitantes dos rios Uaupés e Negro.

Fato impressionante em tão notável caldeamento fisiológico e cultural, é que todos os indígenas, mesmo as crianças, sabem altivamente distinguir e precisar o grupo a que pertencem. Qual seria a base dessa distinção? Vigorando a lei que os filhos pertencem à nação do próprio pai, é fácil ao indivíduo indicar qual seja a própria tribo. Quais seriam, porém, os fundamentos desta distinção de tribo? O primeiro fundamento, em se tratando de *nacionalidade*, será evidentemente de ordem bio-etnológica.

a. *Distinção pelo elemento somático.*

Vimos, como foi dito, entre tôdas essas tribos (exceto os *Makú*) a lei da exogamia. Os *Taryana* de *Iauareté*, por exemplo, obtêm, como esposas, as mulheres da tribo *Tukano* residentes no povoado vizinho, dito *Umari* ambos povoados sôbre o Rio Uaupés. Vice-versa, os *Tukano* de Umari tomam como esposas as *Taryana* de Iauretê. Conforme os conhecimentos atuais sôbre a hereditariedade, os *genídios* (1) paternos se fundem e equilibram. Pode-se, pois esperar que o aspecto físico dos *Taryana* (de mãe Tukano) não apresentará traços físicos indiscutìvelmente caraterizadores, que os distingam dos *Tukano* (de mãe *Taryana*). Êste cruzamento obrigatório, e que data de muitas gerações, explica-nos a semelhança de traços fisionômicos, que não, encontramos, entre indivíduos de tribos diferentes (2).

No entanto, documentando origem étnica diversa, com uma resistência surpreendente aos fatôres biológicos niveladores, notam-

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(1) A ciência nova, a *Genética*, verificou e admite uma concepção granular da hereditariedade. A célula germinativa do homem, no seu núcleo contém 24 pares de pontos *cromáticos*, são os *cromossomos*, cada qual constando de partes menores dêles *gen* ou *genídio* (do radical grego *gen*, que indica *gerar*).

(2) Um caso típico entre os inúmeros, observamos em agôsto de 1956, numa excursão ao ribeirão *Umari*, afluente do Tiquié (próximo de Pari-cachoeira). Encontramos em *Piracema*, povoado da tribo *Desana* no Umari, um menino com os traços fisionômicos extraordinàriamente semelhantes ao de um rapaz *Desana* que nos servia de remador, e justamente dêsse povoado. Verificamos, porém, que o menino era da tribo *Tukano*, do povoado denominado Floresta, à margem esquerda do Tiquié. Na realidade, o menino e o rapaz são entre si *bazukêra* (= primos indicados para casamento preferencial). Efetivamente o menino filho de pai Tukano, tinha por mãe uma *Desana* do povoado de Piracema, e tia do rapaz nosso remador.

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se tipos somaticamente bem diferenciados (3). Parece-nos mesmo que se podem distinguir no Uaupés 5 ou 6 tipos somáticos ou normotipos, com seus traços peculiares. Tentaremos esboçar os traços de alguns desses *tipos somáticos*, aos quais, em falta de outro critério, e por ser mais simples, denominamos pela tribo onde encontramos o maior número de indivíduos com tais lineamentos.

1) *Tipo Tukano.*

Tez: bronzea. As crianças são mais avermelhadas, puxando ao cobre. Após exercício físico (corrida, trabalho) tornam-se notàvelmente acobreados.

Em todos os casos de recém-nascidos, que nos foi dado observar encontramos a característica *mancha mongólica*, arroxeada, oval, medindo aproximadamente um centímetro de diâmetro ou pouco mais, e sempre na região glútea. Informaram-nos os Tukano Antonio Barreto, Dorotéia Brito, e outros, que essa mancha se denomina *Wâr-ti-ôtá*, e é absolutamente geral. Embora desapareça, ordinàriamente, após dois ou três meses, pode, no entanto durar um ano ou mais. A denominação *Wâ-ti-ôtá, fezes de Wâr-ti*, resulta, conforme a lenda, do fato de o primeiro recém-nascido ter sido deposto em local onde havia fezes de *Wâr-ti* (cfr. VII-4, d (5) que o sujaram.

Rosto arredondado, por vêzes alargando-se para as bochechas, como *tipo gastronômico*, ou mesmo afilando em duplo triângulo, para a testa. Esta é fugida e, na totalidade dos casos, em forma de trapézio, com base menor para cima, e frequentemente abaulada lateralmente para as fontes. O zigoma é bem saliente.

Sobrancelhas pouco espessas, pequenas, retas, ou leve e elegantemente arqueadas, separadas por espaço glabro de uns 3 cm (a base do nariz). Cílios curtos e pouco espessos. Olhos pequenos, mongoloides, de pálpebras oblíquas. Íris preta ou bem escura e conjuntiva esbranquiçada, ou, com certa freqüência, amarelada.

Nariz curto, baixo, ordinàriamente côncavo, formando um arco regular. Base larga (entre as sobrancelhas); algumas vêzes se estreita, rebaixa e afina no *násion*, semelhante a um pequeno triângulo, para logo alargar-se até a ponta que é, de ordinário, muito

(3) Temos encontrado dentro da mesma tribo, porém pertencentes a subtribos diferentes, tipos somáticos bem distintos. Por exemplo os Tukano de Iuquira (subdivisão *Ihumuã*) apresentam notável diferença de outras subdivisões Tukano: são mais claros, de testa mais alta e reta, feição mais delicada. Igualmente os *Pirá-tapuya* do povoado S. Paulo, no rio Papuri, os *Desana* de Piracema no Umarí apresentam traços fisionômicos característicos que os distinguem de outros grupos da mesma tribo.

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cicatriz. Narículas grandes, redondas, muito visíveis, porque freqüentemente a ponta é arrebitada. Na quase totalidade dos casos termina em proeminência arredondada.

Orelhas em geral longas, piriformes, acabanadas e de lóbulos presos quase sempre. Na totalidade dos casos que pudemos verificar (mais de duas centenas de indivíduos de ambos sexos e das várias tribos cujas medidas antropométricas executamos) pudemos observar (na parte dorsal do pavilhão auricular tem ambos pavilhões ou num só, e geralmente na parte inferior) uma cicatriz de feitio e dimensão varia. Em muitos casos pareciam marcas de dentadas, com o sinal de 2 ou 3 dentes. Tôdas as pessoas não sabiam ou recusavam dar a explicação dessa cicatriz, respondendo, como o fazem de freqüente: «não sei», ou «é assim mesmo», ou ainda «é de nascença». Uma jovem afirmou que foi seu tio quem executou, e nada mais quis dizer. Um rapaz informou que o fora por sua mãe, quando ainda pequeno, com a finalidade de poder mais tarde prender penas nas danças. Explicação que evidentemente não satisfazia, porque ele não tinha os lóbulos furados. Dorotéia Brito, bem mais tarde informou que se chama tal cicatriz *Wãx-ti-ba'bekaro* (orifício de *Wãx-ti*), porém nada disse da origem, afirmando que era de nascença. Pareceu-nos poder afirmar, como de fato o fizemos: 1º que é artificial, pela aparência; 2º feito antes do rito da puberdade, pois os encontramos em crianças pré-púberes; 3º o nome de *Wãx-ti-ba'bekaro* é indício que a julgam de valor mágico ou transcendente. Talvez mesmo um rito de valor simbólico, como a circuncisão dos judeus. Estas conclusões provisórias tiveram sua ratificação em setembro de 1950, quando o Tukano Antônio Barreto, que apresentava essas cicatrizes em ambas as orelhas, não só confirmou o termo *Wãx-ti-ba'bekaro*, como acrescentou que é feito pelo pai, pela mãe, ou qualquer outra pessoa, depois que a criança recebeu o nome (cfr. Rito da imposição do nome, VIII-1, b (4), isto é, de 3 aos 5 anos). Afirmou, porém, que desconhecia seu significado.

Bôca larga, lábios grossos, prognatismo freqüente, embora leve, dentadura feia, com dentes amarelos, muitas cáries e falhas. Dos indivíduos acima dos 20 anos, poucos possuem todos os dentes. Não raro caninos e incisivos deslocados ou acavalando-se.

Queixo arredondado, pequeno, às vêzes quase imperceptível, e freqüentemente terminando em pequena e elegante ponta.

Nem bigode, nem barba. (4) Poucos indivíduos do sexo masculino apresentam alguns fios esparsos de bigode ou barba, e

(4) Entre as tribos *Ihuãna*, *Rucra*, *Ide-masã*, os *Arucke* do Icana e as tribos do Caburi encontram-se, com muita freqüência, homens com discreto bigode e até com pequena barba no queixo.

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procuram eliminá-los por depilação (*poá-ri kuré*) com os dedos, processo igual para arrancar os pelos dos braços, pernas e outras partes do corpo a si próprio ou a outrem (5). Temos visto, para as axilas, servirem-se do seguinte processo depilatório: uma bola de breu ou da resina dita *si-pe*, que se comprime e volteia nas axilas, aderindo e arrancando os pelos. O apresentar-se glabro, é uma verdadeira de elegância, conforme seus gostos estéticos.

Cabelo negro, ou, mais comumente, castanho escuro, quase preto, bem liso, grosso e abundante, muitas vêzes, porém, quebradiço (6) só. (6). Os que passaram pelo colégio trazem-no de tamanho regular, penteado e partido do lado esquerdo; os mais, tem-nos cortados com tesoura com pequena franja na testa, atrás das orelhas e na nuca. Há um século deixavam-no crescer em longas tranças (7) que podiam atingir até a coxa. As mulheres, ao invés, aparavam-no um pouco, talvez para não embaraçar no serviço. Hoje as mulheres têm-no um pouco baixo dos ombros, mais ou menos preso por alguma fita ou grampo. Vêem-se algumas crianças com o cabelo bem rapado, porém crescendo de largura, como se fôsse uma juba de leão (8). Em alguns poucos casos, cabelos rareando por queda, não, porem, calva completa. Encanecimento raro e tardio, graças ao emprego de algumas loções tintóriais. Nenhum caso de albinismo ou eritrismo, nos 8 ou 10 mil índios que temos visitado.

Pouco piloso o restante do corpo, pêlo fino e castanho, mais ou menos da côr da pele, e por isso desta pouco se distingue.

É de estatura baixa e pescoço curto. Ridicularizam os brancos de pescoço um tanto longo. O tronco bem feito, ligeiramente maior

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(5) Wallace informa ainda: "Os homens têm muito pouca barba, e mesmo esta pouca êles arrancam, puxando os fios. Homens e mulheres, todos arrancam as sobrancelhas (o que hoje não se verifica, ao que parece, ou será mais raro) e pelos dos sovacos e das partes genitais" (Op. cit. 617).

(6) Entre os *Maku*: *Idé-masã*, *Rocrá-masã*, *Yeba-masã*, *Hanêrã*, *Edurya*, *Bareadal*, são freqüentes os tipos quimétricos. Pudemos ver e fotografar algumas mulheres que apresentavam cabelos pretos, finos e *cacheados*.

(7) A. Wallace Russell, em 1850 escrevia: "Os homens não cortam cabelo, deixam-no pender na frente em longa trança, prendendo-a em roda com cordas ou deixando-a cair no meio do dorso, muitas vêzes até as coxas. A cabeleira das mulheres cai-lhes solta sôbre as espáduas e é cortada com um moderado comprimento" (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro, 616).

(8) Cabelo cortado assim: "à juba de leão", embora com faixa mais larga, de uns 5 ou 6 cm, temos visto, outrossim, em crianças cabocias do Rio Negro. Talvez os indígenas tenham imitado êsses exemplos.

que os membros inferiores nos do sexo masculino, e com diferença ainda mais sensível nos do sexo feminino, sem que por isso cheguem a ser deselegantes. Troncudos, com ampla caixa toráxica e com quadris bem mais finos que os ombros. Nos homens, depois dos 40 anos, ventre muitas vêzes grande e caído, o que dá ao tronco um aspecto roliço. O desenvolvimento desproporcional do estômago, como resultado do excesso de alimentanão preponderante de farinha de mandioca, já se nota em tôdas as crianças desde os 3 ou 4 anos de idade.

A mulher moça é de corpo sempre cheio, o que é tido como traço de elegância; chega, às vêzes, a apresentar um aspeto roliço. De ordinário as mulheres têm o busto elegantemente inclinado para trás, talvez pelo modo de carregar os pesos, em grandes cestôs ao longo das costas, porém presos à testa por embira. Quiçá esta é ainda a causa de um desenvolvimento exagerado do *externum*.

Os indivíduos do sexo feminino têm a região glútea bem desenvolvida, embora não exageradamente, qualidade aliás apreciada também como fator da elegância feminina. São, por isso, objeto de zombaria, como *desnalgadas*, *duxkú*, as de corpo mais esguio. Parece porém, que não há processo artificial para o desenvolvimento dessa região e que o próprio modo de andar, com o tronco bem inclinado para trás o abdômen avançando, e o peito e cabeça bem erguidos, ou mesmo inclinados para trás, é que realça as proporções glúteas.

Braços e pernas bem torneados. (9) Aquêles notavelmente desenvolvidos pelo exercício do remo, o que lhes dá uma envergadura de braços sempre maior que a altura, até de 10 ou mesmo 15 centímetros.

Peito musculoso nos homens. Seios semi-esféricos e volumosos nas donzelas, constituindo também elemento de elegância para as jovens. Caídos como ubre de cabra, nas mulheres depois de certa idade. Isto pelo fato de estarem sempre pendentes e oscilantes quando trabalham (10).

(9) O tipo Tucano se apresenta bastante bem. De estatura regular, côr brônzea-clara, cabeça e olhos redondos (?), cabelos geralmente pretos e curtos, tem um conjunto de tão belas proporções que, em perfeita imobilidade, dir-se-ia uma artística estátua de bronze" Mons. Lourenço Giordano (Boletim Salesiano, fevereiro de 1918, pág. 31).

(10) Os seios finos e longos são, outrossim, objeto de zombaria. Alcunham tais mulheres de "mãe do Curupira, *Boraró-parkó*". Temos visto mulheres de seios tão longos que, passando debaixo do braço são sugados pelas crianças postadas atrás, nas costas.

Mãos pequenas, dedos regulares. Pés, ao contrário, grandes, larga a ponta dos pés, como em leque, pela maneira de andar. Dedos de base fina e cabeça achatada, com grande espaço entre êles, especialmente entre o polegar e o imediato; fato que lhes permite notável prensibilidade (segurar e levantar objetos com os pés, ou mesmo dirigir o volante de uma lancha e remar).

Não praticam deformação alguma do corpo (11), a não ser a perfuração dos lóbulos das orelhas, donde pendem os brincos nas danças. Fora dêsse tempo, a fim de conservar aberto o orifício, introduzem pequeno palito de nervura de palmas. Dentre os homens da nova geração, nos povoados assistidos pelas Missões Salesianas, muitos não perfuram mais os lóbulos.

Não são, por certo, tipos de beleza, e alguns, com a velhice e as rugas, tornam-se francamente feios. Nos 8 ou 10 milhares de indivíduos que vimos, porém, nenhum deforme (12). Encontram-se mesmo, entre os mais jovens, tipos simpáticos, e, em velhos, os traços de uma serena gravidade. É verdade que os aleijados e monstruosos são eliminados ao nascer (casos êstes um tanto raros, pelo que nos consta) (13).

Temos assim esboçado um tipo mongolóide, braquicéfalo, lissótrico, platirrínico, levemente prognata, morfològicamente misto, pícnico-atlético, bem próximo da normalidade.

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(11) No entanto o Ouvidor Francisco Xavier R. de Sampaio, no seu "Diário" do ano 1774-5, nota ao nº 318, do rio Anauene, afluente do Rio Negro: "É este rio habitado da nação Arunaqui, muito guerreira e antropófaga, mas sem deformidade alguma artificial das que costumam praticar as nações do Amazonas". E dos Uaupés (nº 381) diz que traziam furadas as orelhas e o lábio inferior. Confirmam-no, no fim do séc. 18, o Cônego André Fernandes de Souza "Noticias Geographicas da Capitania do Rio Negro no grande Rio Amazonas, nº 208) e 50 anos mais tarde Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro), pag. 245 e 634) acrescentando que os Kubeo alargam mais, de sorte que poderia passar pelo orifício da orelha uma rolha de garrafa. Talvez êsse costume já se vá perdendo. Não encontramos sequer um indivíduo com tão grande orifício nas orelhas e pudemos observar algumas centenas de Kubéwãna no alto Uaupés e no Querari. O maior orifício que pudemos observar mediria um cm. de diâmetro e o vimos num homem da tribo *Roéra-masã* residente no Iaraparé Come-ia, afluente do rio Pirá-paraná.

(12) Koch Grunberg (*Zwei Jahre*, 179) encontrou em Parí-cachoeira um anão, de seus 15 ou 18 anos, e medindo 107 cms. de altura, brincando com as crianças. Seus pais, já mortos (1903) eram de estatura normal.

(13) Conhecemos vários casos de aleijões. Por falta de estatística não pudemos dizer qual percentagem representam na escassa população dêsses rios. Parece-nos, porem, que todos são conseqüências de quedas, em pequenos, ou de paralisia infantil.

São algo frequentes os casos de retardamento evolutivo na primeira infância, e até de verdadeiro *raquitismo*, acompanhados por vezes de *debilidade mental* (14).

Completando êsse perfil, convém notar que são de movimentos lentos, de andar às vêzes grave. Caminham com passo curto (15), como pequenos saltos; muitos arrastam ligeiramente e afastam lateralmente a ponta dos pés, e o calcanhar mal toca o solo.

De pé permanecem pouco tempo, quase sempre apoiando-se mais num dos pés (o esquerdo), e apenas na ponta do outro. A mulher resiste menos de pé que o homem. A posição mais frequente e duradoura, quando parados, é de cócoras; é a posição normal para comer, mesmo quando poderiam fazê-lo sentado. Quando se assentam preferem assentos baixos ou o chão; e, então, nunca cruzam as pernas.

Notemos agora alguns traços que variam neste perfil que tratamos.

2) *Tipo Pirá-tapuya*.

Tez mais clara que no Tukano, e rosto ligeira ou pronunciadamente alongado. Zigoma menos saliente. Cabelos lissótricos, castanhos mais claros.

Olhos pardos; às vêzes bastante claros, máxime nas crianças. Nariz alto, porém um tanto chato na ponta, e grande. Bôca regular, dentadura mais bem feita, queixo pequeno, arredondado em curvatura natural do rosto; lábios grossos. Os traços fisionômicos, no entanto, menos simpáticos que nos Tukano.

Tipo mais alto que o Tukano, e também de corpo menos cheio.

3) *Tipo Taryana*.

Mais claro de côr que o Tukano, possui, outrossim, rosto mais alongado, porém malar bem saliente.

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(14) Lamentamos também aqui a falta de dados estatísticos que nos representem a porcentagem dos casos patológicos. Encontramos, em Puricachoeira em 1957, duas crianças do sexo feminino, com raquitismo e debilidade mental, recolhidas no hospital. Uma, da tribo *Desana* de 8 anos, e outra *Tukano* de 14 anos. Ambas, por fraqueza dos órgãos, só puderam caminhar depois dos 5 anos de idade, após longo tratamento. Entre os casos de pronunciado *hebetismo*, ocorrem-nos dois adultos do sexo masculino, um da tribo *Hahudêne* em Uapuim-cachoeira (rio Alari), e outro *Taryana* de Iauaretê, conhecido por Marcelino "Contente", porque ri por qualquer motivo.

(15) Na evolução militar das crianças, num dos colégios das Missões Salesianas, pudemos verificar a tendência a acelerar a marcha.

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O nariz é alto, reto, com ponta, no entanto, muito larga e enormes narinas. Testa quadrada, menos abaulada lateralmente, mais reta e larga que nos Tukano. Bôca larga, queixo bem grande e por vêzes bem afilado.

Corpo menos cheio e estatura mediana como o Tukano.

4) *Tipo Maku.*

Tez mais clara, de um pálido terroso. São tipos quase sempre quimotricos, de cabelos pretos, abundantes e algumas vêzes, finos.

Testa pequena, fugidia, zigoma menos notado. Nariz alto e fino. Olhos mais abertos, quase caucasianos. Há tipos de feição mais delicada e simpática que os das outras tribos, embora se encontrem grupos de aspeto que retraça maior degradação.

Corpo mais delgado e baixo. Assemelha-se mais aos brancos que os das outras nações.

5) *Observação geral.*

Os *Desana* são menores, mais claros que os Tukano, e de traços mais delicados, e, por isso, em geral mais simpáticos. E dentre essas várias tribos, os *Yuriti*, *Suryana* e *Ide-masã* são mais claros (16). Os *Ide-masã*, *Bará* e *Kubéuana* apresentam os tipos mais belos.

b) *Pelos elementos culturais* (trabalho e indústria).

Os *Tukano* são os fabricantes dos *banquinhos*, que ornam com suas pinturas características. E muitas vêzes, em seus objetos, aparecem, como elemento decorativo, as linhas do banco, por exemplo a curvatura na *cigarreira* e no *cabo do remo*.

Os *Desana* são especialistas na fabricação de *balaios* e *esteiras*; também com ornamentação colorida, de motivos originais.

Os *Tupuka* foram os primeiros fabricantes de canoas, vendendo-as depois aos de outras tribos que hoje começam a imitá-los, sem, porem, os superar.

Os *Maku* são fabricantes exclusivos, na região, dos belos balaios de cipó, tipo «atura», do *curare* (veneno para as flechas), e da arma original que é a *sarabatana*, produtos que depois entregam aos de outras tribos, quando lhes servem como escravos.

Os *Banua* ou *Arudke* do Içana fabricam, com exclusividade, o *ralo*, e são, outrossim, êximios canoeiros.

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(16) Os cabelos também, em relação com o pigmento, vão se fazendo menos escuros. Num adolescente *Suryãna* de Acuaricuara eram tão ruivos quanto a barba de um dos Missionários holandeses que os evangelizava.

Enquanto o *cacuri*, como processo de pesca, é geral a tôdas as tribos, os *Pira-tapuya* têm *cestos característicos* para a pesca, e peneiras com seus desenhos.

Quanto aos enfeites de danças, originariamente só o grupo Tukano empregava a *acangatara* e a pedra ornamental do pescoço (VII-3, d). O *pay-pó* (pé da onça, VII-3, c (3) e o escudo de cipó (VI-2, e), que usam nas festas, no momento de beberem o *kazpi* (VI-4, 1 (4) provêm dos *Desâna* (cfr. Koch G., *Zwei Jahre*, 218).

Por outra parte, entre as tribos do Uaupés as *máscaras* são fabricadas e usadas pelos *Kubéua* e *Wanana*, e, mais tardiamente, também pelos *Taryana*. Encontramos, outrossim, *máscaras* entre os *Ide-masã* do ribeirão *Comé-ia* (afluente da margem esquerda do rio Pirá-paraná).

## 2 CLASSIFICAÇÃO

Está ainda aberto à discussão o tentame de classificação das tribos do Brasil, em geral, como as do Amazonas ou do Rio Negro, em particular.

Uma *classificação*, digamos, *culturológica* das tribos uaupesinas é, hoje, impossível. As relações entre as várias tribos, datando já de séculos, operou uma interculturação mais ou menos perfeita entre elas. Podemos, pois, afirmar que as nações do Uaupés constituem, presentemente, um único *grupo cultural*, de cujos elementos culturais dificilmente se pode, na época atual, retraçar a origem. São poucas e insignificantes as particularidades de cada tribo, como acabamos de ver, e não autorizam, por si sós, uma classificação.

Uma *classificação* fundamentalmente *antropológica*, seja *sorológica*, seja *somática*, é igualmente impossível. O exame sanguíneo, realizado há poucos anos pelo Prof. Emilio Blocca, da Universidade de Roma, em 237 indivíduos das tribos *Tukano*, *Taryana* e *Maku*, acusou pertencenrem todos ao tipo *O*, e ser constante a relação entre os *genídios m* e *n*. O regime de absoluta exogamia de tribo que se pratica há séculos entre êles, induz necessàriamente uma assimilação *bio-antropológica*.

Quer-nos parecer que, atualmente, mais fácil e persuasiva seria ainda a *classificação glotológica*, embora nesse *melting-pot* plurissecular alguns idiomas ficaram profundamente alterados e alguns grupos humanos já adotaram o idioma de outros somaticamente bem diferenciados. Esperamos aqui a palavra dos especialistas (17).

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(17) Com colaboração do "Centro de Pesquisas da Prelazia do Rio Negro" para a classificação dos idiomas amerindios, temos recolhido o Vocabulário "teste" de 200 palavras (e de muitos gravada também a pronúncia) sugerido pelo Prof. Morris Swadesh, de Denver (Estados Uni-

Na clássica divisão das tribos do Brasil pelos quatro grupos *Tupi-guarani, Gê, Arawáke* e *Karaíba*, a área dêstes dois últimos grupos abrange a bacia do Rio Negro. No grupo *Karaíba*, porém, entram apenas os *Arekuna* e *Makiritare* (ou *Deukuana*, de Curt Nimuendaju), com representantes no rio Içána, não na bacia uaupesina, embora Chestmir tenha encontrado vestígios *Karaíba*, (como assinalamos na obra «*Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*») em muitos idiomas.

As outras nações foram, a princípio, incluídas tôdas entre os *Arawáke*. Na pena dos primeiros exploradores aparece frequente a denominação «*Arodquis*» abrangendo distintas tribos do Rio Negro.

Daniel G. Brinton, 1892, distinguiu nas tribos que ocupam a região entre o Solimões e as Guianas, a família linguística *Betóya*, a qual compreendia também a Tukano. Posteriormente Paul Rivet mostra que a *Betoya* deve ser incluída entre as *Chibcha*, e propõe para o grupo uaupesino a denominação de *Família Tukano*.

Entre as tribos da região em estudo, sinalamos a presença de pequenos grupos humanos *silvícolas* por excelência, isto é, caçadores, mais ou menos nômades são os *Maku*. Ao passo que as outras tribos são *fluminícolas*, isto é, estabilizadas à margem dos importantes cursos de água e dados à pesca e à agricultura. Embora alguns grupos *Maku* hajam assimilado muitos dos costumes das outras tribos, não os incluímos nestes estudos. Já relevamos (I, Nota 1) que, provàvelmente, os *Maku* são os mais antigos habitantes da região.

Classificam-se, pois, as tribos que estudamos, em duas grandes famílias Linguísticas:

1.ª *Família Tukano*, abrangendo as tribos: 1. *Daxseá* ou Tukano; 2. *Baré* ou Barasana; 3. *Ba:re-masá* ou Temyú-tapuya (gente-comida); 4. *Doxká-foará* ou Tuyuka (gente-argila); 5. *Edúrya* ou Erúlya; 6. *Emõã-masã* ou Wariwa-tapuya (gente-guariba); 7. *Hanêra* ou Panênoã; 8. *Ide-masã*, Aõ-nira, Makuná ou Yi-tapuya

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dos). São as seguintes as Tribos cujo Vocabulário possuímos e que figuram em nosso trabalho "*Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*":

1.ª Da *Família linguística Tukano*: 1. Baré (ou Barasana); 2. Desana (Winá); 3. Edúrya (Erúlya); 4. Ihwana (Yona); 5. Karapanã-tapuya (Moxtã); 6. Kubewana (Pamiwa); 7. Mikura-tapuya (Oá-mahã, gente-gambá); 8. Panenoã (Hanêra); 9. Pirá-tapuya (Waikhana, gente-peixe); 10. Suryana (Surirá); 11. Tarairá-tapuya (Roéra-masã, gente-comida); 12. Tatu-tapuya (Páboa-maxsã, gente tatu); 13. Temyú-tapuya (Ba:re-masã, gente-comida); 14. Tsêna; 15. Tukano (Daxseá); 16. Tuyuka-tapuya (Doxká-foará, gente-argila); 17. Yebá-masã; 18. Yi-tapuya (Ide-masã, gente água); 19. Yuriti-tapuya (Wahyára, Uhaflana, gente-pomba); 20. Wanana (Kórtirya); 21. Wariwa-tapuya (Emõã-masã, gente-guariba); 22. Koréterabôa (Buya-tapuya, gente-cobra).

(gente-água); 9. *Ihicana* ou Yona; 10. *Konea* ou Arapásu (gente-pica-pau); 11. *Kotirya* ou Wanana; 12. *Mõrtá* ou Karapanã-tapuya (gente-perniongo); 13. *Neenõã* ou Miriti-tapuya (gente-buriti); 14. *Oa-mahã* ou Mikura-tapuya (gente gamba); 15. *Pamiica* ou Kubewana; 16. *Puboa-maxsã* ou Tatu-tapuya (gente-tatu); 17. *Ricra-masã* ou Taraira-tapuya (gente traira); 18. *Surirá* ou Suryana; 19. *Tsena*; 20. *Yebá-masã*; 21. *Wahyara*, Waiana ou Yuriti-tapuya (gente-pomba); 22. *Wai-khãna* ou Pirá-tapuya (gente-peixe); 23. *Wina* ou Desana.

2ª *Família Arawake* compreendendo as tribos: 1. *Kumãdene* ou Ipeka-tapuya (gente pato-dagua); 2. *Talyaseri* ou Taryana. Falamos só destas duas, porque as outras tribos desta numerosa família não habitam a bacia do Uaupés, e, sim, a dos rios Içana, Xie e Negro.

A Família Tukano, constando de grupos humanos localizados nos planos colombianos da floresta Amazônica, penetrou no Brasil pela mesopotâmia Uaupés-Japurá, provàvelmente antes do período dos Descobrimentos (18). Quase simultâneamente a Família Arwake saiu da mesopotâmia Orinoco-Negro, chegando até o Japurá, como o prova, conforme Koch Grunberg, os nomes dos rios em *ri*, terminação tipicamente *arwake*. Ao sobrevirem os Tukano, que se postam como uma cunha no Uaupés, os *Arwake* ficaram divididos ao Norte e ao Sul deles. A última migração, é opinião de Koch, foi a dos *Karaiba*, vindos da parte oriental, com relação aos grupos anteriores, isto é, do alto Guaviare.

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2ª — Da *Família linguística Arwake*: 1. Inábu-tapuya (gente-inambú, Hohódene); 2. Ipeka-tapuya (gente pato-dagua, Kumãdene); 3. Maracaya-tapuya (gente-maracajá, Werekena); 4. Pisuna-tapuya (gente-preta, Kadaupuri-tana); 5. Siua-tapuya (gente-estrêla, Wariperi-dekeme); 6. Sukuruyu-Tapuya (gente-sucuri, Mauri-weni); 7. Taryana (Talyaseri); 8. Tatu-tapuya (gente-tatu, Adza-nêêni); 9. Yawareté-tapuya (gente-onça, Dzawi-minãney); 10. Yurunari-tapuya (gente-demonio, Mipatse-dikeney); 11. Yiboya-tapuya (gente-gibóia, Dzuré-mêne).

3ª — Da *Família linguística Maku*: 1. Maku da Serra dos Porcos (nas proximidades do Iuareté, Rio Uaupés). 2. Maku do Japú-igarapé (afluente da direita do médio Uaupés). 3. Maku do Ira-igarapé (afluente da direita do baixo Tiquié). 4. Maku do rio Taraira (afluente do Apaporis).

(18) Um velho Tukano de Iuquira, por nome Justino, do grupo *Ihumeá* ou *Jumá*, informava ao Pe. Antonio Giacone que o seu grupo tomou o nome do rio Juruá, onde residiam. Daí passaram, aos poucos, ao Japurá, Apaporis, e alcançaram o alto Uaupés. Desceram pelo Uaupés até a foz do Papuri, para, em seguida remontá-lo até Turi-igarapé, donde os Maku os guiaram até o Japú-igarapé em cuja foz se fixaram, depois que daí saíram os Arajáku. Tal informação, por alguém que nunca vira um mapa da região, apresenta fortes indícios de veracidade.

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A título de comprovação da filiação dêsses idiomas, recolhemos um *Vocabulario* paralelo das palavras mais usuais, nas diversas línguas indígenas (cfr. nossos trabalhos «*Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*» e «*Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical*».

4) *DAXSEA OU TUKANO*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua* — No idioma natal, dizem-se *Darseá* (sing. Masc. *darsegá*; Fem. *darsegó*), nome do pássaro que em português chamamos *tucano*. No período histórico já se encontram sob o nome de *Uaupés* (cfr. II — 6, a (1)), na bacia dêste rio, de sorte que sob a denominação de «*Nações Uaupés*» são conhecidas e compreendidas as várias tribos dessa região. Talvez a ampliação do nome se deva, não ao fato de se terem impostos os costumes *Tukano*, sendo eliminados os das outras nações, senão ao maior número e dispersão de grupos desta tribo, bem como a generalização do seu idioma. Ainda hoje muitas pessoas adultas (e últimamente, pelo convívio nos internatos das Missões, também crianças) das várias tribos dos rios Uaupés, Tiquié e Papuri entendem e falam a *língua Tukano*, e talvez tenham esquecido o próprio idioma nativo.

Conforme Lucas, um velho Tukano de S. Luzia, no Papuri (em relação ao Pe. Antônio Giacone, em julho de 1947), os *Tukano* desceram do *noroeste* (discordando portanto do velho Justino de Iuquira, conforme se viu em *Nota* anterior) para a bacia do Uaupés, já encontrando ali pequenos grupos de *Makú* que, ou foram escravizados, ou se internaram na selva. Aos *Makú* denominam *Porsá*, isto é, quem serve gratuitamente. «São para o serviço na paz e soldados na guerra», assim dêles se exprimem os velhos (19). As tribos que chegaram depois denominavam os Tukano *Yepá-marsá*, isto é, «gente da terra». Impressionados depois pelo fato de se alimentarem com frequencia e muito, compararam-nos aos *tucanos*.

Será, provàvelmente, uma explicação posterior achada pela fantasia indígena. Note-se, porém, que os dessa tribo a si mesmos sempre se chamaram *Darseá*, e nunca *Yepá-marsá*. Conforme o velho Tukano de Pari-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, *Yepá-marsá* é alcunha dos *Bará*, embora não saiba o que significa aquela denominação. Na realidade *Yeba-marsá* (em Tukano, *Yepá-marsá*) é o nome de uma tribo do grupo Tukano, como adiante veremos (IV — 2, t).

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(19) Não é verossímil que os Tukanos tivessem como aliados os *Makú*, ou dêles se fiassem, se atentarmos que êles se mostram tímidos e se submetem também às outras tribos. Nem as lendas que recolhemos falam de prestimos dos Makú aos Tukanos em guerra.

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A designação de «*Tukano*» obedece evidentemente à estrutura da mentalidade do primitivo, de se denominar por um animal ou planta. Não queremos, por ora, entrar na questão do *Totemismo*, que esperamos tratar mais amplamente em outro estudo. É-nos lícito, agora, apenas inferir para êles um *habitat* onde viva o pássaro *Tucano* (*ramphastus*), como na planície amazônica da Colômbia.

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — Encontram-se grupos mais ou menos numerosos de Tukano desde *Yu-Rapecuma* (quase na foz do Uaupés) até *Umari* (médio Uaupés), no Tiquié da foz até *Cururu-cachoeira*, e no *Papuri* de *Serrinha* para as cabeceiras. Pequenos grupos se estabeleceram também no Rio Negro entre S. Gabriel e Santa Isabel. Os quadros precedentes (II — 6, a, b) mostram os principais lugares onde hoje os encontramos. A principal via de penetração no Brasil, parece-nos, foi o rio Papuri, donde passaram ao Uaupés e Tiquié (20). As subdivisões mais nobres estabelececeram-se de *Piracuara* para cima (rio Papuri), havendo um grupo dos Waú-ro baixado até Ananaz (Uaupés).

Pelos mapas de Frei Gregório, em 1853 os Tukano no rio Uaupés residiam em: Pacú-cachoeira, Iuquira-Rapecuma, S. Joaquim, Nanã-Rapecuma, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré e Iauaretê-cachoeira. Os primeiros «Relatórios» do século 18 (cfr. «Roteiro» do Pe. Noronha, n.º 174; «Diário» de Sampaio, n.º 366) já noticiam a presença de *Tukanos Uaupés* em *S. Isabel*, hoje Tapurucuá, no médio Rio Negro. De fato, ainda se encontra um grupo Tukano por aquelas imediações.

Conforme Koch G. (*Festschrift Eduard Seler*, 206) os *Tukano* atingiriam a 1.500 almas. Devem, porém, ser bem mais numerosos. As estatísticas de «Pelo Rio Mar» acusam, só em território brasileiro, 1622 indivíduos; e são igualmente numerosos os do território colombiano. É possível que ultrapassem os dois milhares.

Esboçamos o aspecto físico dos *Tukano* (IV — 1, a (1)). As qualidades físicas e de espírito em nada revelam superioridade sôbre as demais tribos. Ao invés, algumas destas apresentam traços mais delicados e muita mesmo melhor configuração e proporção anatômica. Entretanto, o *Tukano*, como já o fizemos notar, se considera

(20) O velho tuxáua, José, de Pari-cachoeira, cousa de trinta anos mostrava ao Pe. João Marches uma capoeira no Tiquié, informando que fôra ali a primeira maloca dos seus antepassados, quando vieram do Pakuri. A denominação indígena da localidade de S. Luzia do Tiquié, buórá-bahá, nado dos velhos (cfr. Nota 9, III), é uma confirmação da tradição Tukano sôbre a sua proveniência e migração.

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superior às outras tribos e essa primazia lhe é pacificamente reconhecida. Explicam os Missionários essa superioridade pelo fato de as outras tribos aceitarem a sua língua, como idioma oficial, ou, ao menos, geral, nesses rios. Legicamente a generalização do idioma dever-se-ia explicar pela superioridade da tribo. Releve-se ainda esta incoerência: conforme a tradição *Tukano*, teriam êles sido vencidos pelos «Filhos do sangue do Trovão», os *Taryana*, os quais, por fim, acabaram aceitando a língua Tukano.

Somos propensos a pensar que, independentemente de episódios guerreiros, ou elementos culturais, tenha várias causas essa superioridade dos *Tukano*: 1.º o ser a tribo mais numerosa; pelos dados de velha estatística podemos pensar que se avizinham dos dois milhares. Assim sendo, é duas ou mais vêzes superior em população a qualquer outra tribo; 2.º é provável também que tenham ocupado alguns dos seus centros atuais (donde expulsaram os Makú), antes que outras tribos chegassem a essa área, e, conforme a mentalidade indígena, é grande o valor da prioridade de tempo; 3.º situaram-se mais ou menos regularmente escalonados ao longo dêsses três rios, e pela união entre si (que todos se dizem e consideram irmãos) deveriam constituir uma fôrça temível pelas outras tribos que são menores e têm seus núcleos situados mais distantes um do outro; 4.º o número e a disposição ao longo dos rios, teria aos poucos generalizado a sua língua entre os indivíduos das outras tribos, que viajavam por motivo de comércio com os *Tukano* ou com outras tribos (21). Parece-nos confirmar esta hipótese o fato de já não conhecerem (22) o idioma Tukano, aquêles grupos indígenas do médio Uaupés especialmente acima de Carurú-cachoeira) cujo comércio se faz regularmente entre si ou com as tribos do Alari. Ao passo que a língua Taryana se vai perdendo, porque estão rodeados pelos *Tukano*.

Vigora interdição matrimonial dos *Tukano* com os *Wanâna* e os *Bará*.

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(21) A convivência, como alunos ou empregados, e ao depois os frequentes encontros entre as várias tribos, nos Centros Missionários têm contribuído poderosamente para que o idioma Tukano se propague, sempre mais rápidamente. Pode-se prever, nesse passo, que se tornará a língua geral do Uaupés, como o Nheengatú o é do Rio Negro.

(22) Escrevíamos isto em 1947. Dez anos mais tarde, 1956, já encontramos muitos Wanâna da geração môça, que passaram pelos internatos das Missões, não apenas entendendo o Tukano, mas até preferindo-o à linguagem materna quando se entretêm com os seus colegas.

3) *Divisões* (23) — Embora todos os de uma tribo se considerem *irmãos*, tôdas as tribos da bacia do Uaupés (24) apresentam algumas *subdivisões* atuais, e citam nomes de outras que existiram outrora. Essas subdivisões correspondem a uma antiga aristocracia, como adiante se verá (VIII — 3, d), e no presente estudo denominamo-las *Gens* porque, parece-nos, correspondem a *Gens* da sociedade Romana. Festo traz a seguinte definição de Cincio (op. 94) *Gentilis dicitur et ex eodem genere ortus et is qui simili nomine appellatur*».

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(23) Em 1947 havíamos obtido um elenco de 28 subdivisões. E, em 1953-4 procuramos confirmação com o velho *Komã*, Gabriel Costa (seus 80 anos), de Taracachoeira. Confirmou-nos êle a ordem de procedência que aqui expomos (iniciando pela *Mami* (irmão mais velho) *Wañ-ro-pôra*, e prosseguindo com o termo *Ayãmã* (irmão mais moço) *Oã kaapéa pôra*, etc. Informou-nos ainda que "as primeiras 14 subdivisões são as principais", "as 14 seguintes são inferiores". E acrescentou mais 4 subdivisões como "outras ainda mais baixas". Das que obtivéramos precedentemente êle não mencionou, por exemplo, mas não negou a existência os *U'kleçãra* e *Vidari*. No entanto, da sua existência tivemos confirmação da parte de indivíduos pertencentes a essas subdivisões, respectivamente em S. Miguel e Mello Franco (antigas localidades brasileiras do rio *Papuri*).

A Tukano Doroteia Brito, de Ananaz (Uaupés) informou-nos da existência de outra subdivisão dita *Yauã-nã pôra*, em Tatu-punha, pouco acima de Ananaz. Outra observação: conforme Gabriel Costa, o principal tronco Tukano seria o dos *Wañ-ro pôra*. De acôrdo com esta informação está a lenda e numerosos informantes. Entretanto Doroteia Brito, que pertence ao grupo dos *Wañ-ro*, assegurou-nos que êles não são os "Tukano da cabeça" (conforme o modo geral de se exprimirem nesse sentido) e sim os *Oã*. E não só êstes, senão também, sucessivamente os *Mami*, os *Tourã*, e os *Burôra*. Ao todos "*Mami*" (isto é "irmãos maiores") dos *Wañ-ro pôra*. Parece-nos, entretanto, que aqui há um equívoco dessa nossa ótima e servical colaboradora.

Acrescentou a mesma informante que os últimos ramos Tukano, os "Tukano dos pés", são os *Komã-rã*, *Ba*, *Boxsã kasperi*, *Turo* e *Dyi-pê*. Disse-nos que os *Ihurã*, *O'mã-peri* e *Arpã-kerya* "antigamente não eram Tukano" (e, portanto, podiam casar com os Tukano), e êstes por compensação os chamavão irmãos".

Koch Grunberg (Z I 201) nomeia os *Urica-tapuya* ou Gente-flecha (*Pfeilgift-Indianer*) como uma horda *Tukano*, localizada no Uaupés entre os cachoeiras de Micura e Uaruri. É verdade que o conceito de *Horda*, dos Etnólogos, é vago e tanto pode corresponder a grupos que os índios consideram tribo diversa, como a grupos havidos como subdivisões de sua tribo. Nenhum dos numerosos Tukano com que conversamos jamais falou em tribo ou divisão de sua tribo por nome *Gente-flecha* ou *Urica-Tapuya* (em Nheengatu) que seria, em Tukano *Anã-pã niarsã* ou *Anã-rã-ie niarsã*. Concluindo, ao invés, aproximadamente com a localização indicada por Koch, está residindo o subgrupo Tukano dito *Arpã-kerya* ou "pata-de-Caranguejo".

(24) Fizemos numerosas e inúteis tentativas (abril e maio de 1957), a fim de descobrir se as tribos *Arawáke* do Içana e Aiari possuiam subdivi-

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Entre os *Tukanos* obtivemos as seguintes:

1.º — *Wau-ro pôra* (25) (isto é, os «filhos do *Wau*», um macaco preto de cara branca, dito, em Nheengatú, *udya-pisa*), em Piracuara (rio Papuri) e Ananaz (baixo Uaupés).

2.º — *Oa kazpéa pôrá* (ôlho de gambá), em Piracuara (Papuri)

3.º — *Opé pôra* (gaguice?), em Pato (Papuri)

4.º — *Irápé pôra* (uma formiguinha preta), em Anananaz (Uaupés)

5.º — *Pamõ pôrá* (tatú), em Nazaré ou Uira-poço (rio Tiquié)

6.º — *Menú pôra* (o banhante? ou Nêêrú, nêênú, miritizinho) em Acuaricuara (rio Paca)

7.º — *Toarõ pôra* (um sapo), em Acuaricuara (Paca)

8.º — *Mimi pôra* (beija-flor), em Meio Franco (Papuri), Taracuá (Uaupés)

9.º — *Bôrôra pôrá* (Caídos), em S. Miguel (Papuri)

10.º — *Sararó pôrá* (um gafanhoto grande), em Acuaricuara (Paca)

11.º — *Ba'ti torõ pôra* (chupador de japurá), em Pari-cachoeira, Tucano e Bela Vista (Tiquié)

12.º — *Neêru* (*nêênú*) *pôra* (um miritizinho), em Irati (Tiquié)

13.º — *Dpi-pe pôrá* (buraco de argila), em Uira-poço, S. José (Tiquié)

14.º — *Dáka pôrá* (abandonado?), em Uaracapá

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sões e quais os nomes destas. O resultado foi sempre negativo, isto é, não consta a existência de subtribos. Releve-se, porém, que o grupo *Kumãdêne* residente em Urubucuara (rio Uaupés) forneceu-nos os nomes de subdivisões da sua tribe, ao passo que os *Kumãdêne* do Alari não souberam indicar-nos essas subdivisões. Tê-las-iam esquecido?

(25) *Pôra* (*bu pôra*, como se pronuncia nos rios Uaupés e Papuri) quer dizer gerados, filhos, e só se usa no plural. Para simplificar, nas listas que seguirão, omitiremos, na tradução, a palavra *filhos*.

Os índios mais adiantados (que falam o português e estudaram alguns anos nos colegios das Missões Salesianas), quando interrogados sôbre estas divisões, espontâneamente acrescentam, à guisa de explicação, "são apelidos (que os outros lhes impuseram". Isto, sem dúvida alguma, é verossímil, pois gostam de pôr apelidos. Mas por outra parte não está em desacôrdo com o "*barséke wamé*", *nome soprado*" (Cfr. VIII 1 b, (4). Conforme as lendas, desde o início tiveram os primeiros chefes as alcunhas que passaram para todo o grupo; por exemplo, um dos "cabeça" foi apelidado "mimi", *beija-flor*, os seus descendentes são conhecidos hoje por "Filhos do *beija-flor*, *Mimi-pôrá*".

A Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos, da subdivisão Komã-ro-pôrá, do povoado de S. Luzia, no Rio Papuri, contou-nos, em uma de suas interessantes informações: "Os Wau-ro-pôrá são os Tukano da cabeça. Wau é o seu *barséke wamé* (nome soprado). Antigamente êle se es-

15.º — *Yai-ro põrã* (um inambúzinho), em Beijú-cachoeira (Papuri)

16.º — *Yõrã põrã* (amargosos), na bôca do Tiquié

17.º — *Birpiõe põrã* (tumor) ou *Birpỹã põrã* (azulão, pássaro), em Bela Vista (Tiquié)

18.º — *Sakuro põrã* (saracura), em Montfort (Papuri)

19.º — *Sa: põrã* (cesto de palma), em Nazaré (Papuri)

20.º — *O'mêperi-Ro põrã* (orelhudo), em Uira-poço (Tiquié); Tapurucuara (Uaupés); Yua-pixuna (Papuri) (26)

21.º — *Bubera põrã* (fígado de cutia), em Cabari (Tiquié)

22.º — *Bozsó kurpo-ri põrã* (olhos de preá), em Taracuá acima de Jandiá (Papuri)

23.º — *Tiro põrã* (um sapo pequeno venenoso), em S. José, Tucano e Estrêito (Tiquié)

24.º — *Khoã-pã põrã* (var. de miriti pequeno), em Matapi, Urubúlago (Tiquié)

25.º — *Bã: põrã* (amarrado de fôlhas para moquear), em Turígarapé (Tiquié)

26.º — *Kuinã-rõ põrã* (verão), em S. Luzia (Papuri)

27.º — *Ihuriã põrã* (magricela?), em Juquira (Uaupés) (27)

28.º — *Bayã põrã* (mestre de danças), em Serrinha (Papuri)

29.º — *Bã'ã põrã* (tucunaré, peixe), em Bela Vista (Tiquié)

30.º — *Arpã-kerya põrã* (pernas de caranguejo), em Umari e Mirapirera (Uaupés)

31.º — *Warpékãra borõrã põrã* (cacaos caídos), em Melo Franco (Papuri)

32.º — *U'khuãra põrã* (esp. de macaco pequeno) ou *Ku'kwãra põra* (tartamudos), em Melo Franco (Papuri)

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conduz na planta denominada *Wau-mutõ*, a fim de ver as môças tomando banho. O macaco *Wau* (em Nheengatú *wãya-pisá*) gosta muito dos frutos daquela árvore. As môças, quando se estão banhando ouvem barulho na árvore, olham imediatamente para lá, e avistam o homem escondido entre os ramos. Exclamaram tôdas: *wau nibã! é o wãya pisá!*

(26) O Tukano Henrique, pajé de Japú-igarapé, informou-nos que no igarapé do Tamanduá, *Burko-yé*, vivia outrora um grupo Tukano *o'mêperi põrã* hoje extinto.

(27) Koch Grünberg registra as grafias *Yohoroa* e *Kurawa*. Informa que possuíam cinco malocas nos arredores de Iuquira, e eram mais de 100 pessoas (*Zwei Jahre*, 157 e 238).

G. S. Iva SQ19 Tucano



33 º — *Yai-uxtyá pôrá* (var. de vespa grande), em Cururú e S. Tomé (Tiquié)

34 º — *Viduri pôra* (sardinha), em S. Miguel (Papuri)

35 º — *Buxpõ pôra* (aranha), em Coró-coró (Tiquié)

36 º — *Yami-nó pôrá* (formiga da noite?), em Tatá-punha (Uaupés).

b) *BARA OU BASANA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Lingua* — É o nome pelo qual, sem modificação alguma, nas várias linguas, é conhecida esta tribo; nome, também, de um arbusto perfumoso, com cujos ramos as diversas tribos costumam cingir-se quando dançam.

Sua lingua é da familia *Tukano*, como se pode ver pelo *Vocabulario da Amazônia*». (*Cfr.* os livros do autor: «*Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical*» e «*Idiomas Indigenas*».

Ouvimos alguns Tukano dizer que os *Bará* são seus *Paxkõ-Ro* (avós), porém não nos souberam dizer a razão dêste apelativo, nem encontramos alusão alguma em suas lendas. O certo é que é interditado o matrimônio entre estas duas tribos.

O Pe. Humberto Limpens (28), da Congregação de Montfort, informou-nos que ouviu de alguns velhos *Bará*, que a si mesmos se diziam *Manao*. Não conseguimos porém, confirmação disso. Atualmente ainda nada se sabe de suas relações com a antiga tribo *Manao*, que dominou grande parte do Rio Negro, e é classificada no grupo *Arawáke*. Que um pequeno grupo de *Manao* tenha sido dominado ou absorvido pelos *Tukano*, cujo idioma assimilaram?

Nas vizinhanças da cachoeira de Iauareté há um local denominado *Manao*. Êste nome, para a tribo *Bará*, teria provindo do seu antigo domicilio nessa localidade; ou vice-versa (29)? Pouco sabemos dos antigos *Manao*. Consta que eram de traços fisionômicos mais regulares e simpáticos. Os *Bará* atuais são menos corpulentos que os Tukano, e fisionômicamente também mais simpáticos,

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(28) Foi um dos grandes e beneméritos Missionários Monfortianos das tribos na região Colombiana do Uaupés. Ficou conhecido pelo nome de "*Pe. Clemente*" que fôra o seu antecessor na Missão.

(29) Ouvimos relatar que, quando a Comissão Militar Demarcadora da Fronteira (em 1932) se achava em Iauareté, apresentou-se um grupo de indígenas pedindo passagem para a capital do Estado, Manaus. A Comissão, porém, não lhes concedeu isto, e, após alguns dias de permanência nas vizinhanças de Iauareté, regressaram aos seus povoados. E que, por tal episódio, o local onde se aboarracaram os indígenas, ficou conhecido por *Manao*. No entanto, asseverou-nos o Pe. Limpens, que essa localidade sempre se chamou *Manao*. E, note-se, que o Pe. Limpens já residia na região desde 1916.

mais claros, com malar pouco saliente e traços mongolicos menos carregados (30).

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — É uma tribo pequena, de talvez duas ou três centenas de membros, vivendo ainda no regime de malocas nas cabeceiras do rio Tiquié e seus afluentes, os Igarapés Inambu, Abio, Aracu-pirera e outros.

Observa Koch Grunberg (*Zwei Jahre*, 211) que, pela lingua e modo de vida, os *Bará* se avizinham mais às tribos do Japurá, porem com relações mais intimas com as do Pira-parana.

3) *Divisões* — Informante uma jovem de seus 20 anos (1954), conhecida por *Pasika* (Francisca), da subdivisão *Waya-pôna*. Quiça no presente elenco apareça, como subdivisões, tribos mais proximas com as quais vigore interdição matrimonial. Observe-se, com efeito: 1º — Nas matas do Cananari (afluente do Pirá-parana, como nas dêste último, habita uma tribo conhecida por *Kapyari*, cuja lingua é do grupo Tukano; 2º — *Pamô-pôna* seria talvez a tribo *Tatu* (vd. IV — 2, b)? *Seu habitat* é vizinho do dos *Bará*; 3º — *Dozka poerá*, *poará* ou *foará* é o nome dos *Tuyuka* (cfr. IV — 2, d), e êstes residem proximo dos *Bará*, nas cabeceiras do Tiquié. Não conseguimos apurar se as três últimas divisões são de fato *Tuyuka*, considerados mais aparentados com os *Bará*; ou se trata apenas de *apelidos* de alguns grupos *Bará*.

1º — *Kanayarô* (?), no rio Tiquié (Colômbia)

2º — *Pamô pôna* (tatu), no Igarapé Inambú

3º — *Waya pôna* (uma ave aquática), no Tiquié

4º — *Ozkô kapéa pôna* (filho dágua), no Tiquié

5º — *Da-ryá* (uma fruta) no Komé-ya

6º — *Minô dozka poará* (uma fruta?), no Tiquié

7º — *Paya dozká poará* (?), no Tiquié

8º — *Dahya dozká poará* (camarão), no Rio Castanho (afl. do Tiquié)

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(30) Em parte concorda com a informação de Koch Grunberg que nos descreve: "de corpo esbelto, proporcional, menor que o Tuyuka, semblante mais fino, olhos negros, testa menos fugidia, nariz alto e, levemente convexo, bôca grande lábios grossos". Pelo dizer dos índios, Koch teria sido o primeiro branco visto por êles, e que subira as cabeceiras do Tiquié.

c) *BA RE-MASÁ OU TeMYO-TAPUYA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua* — Pertence igualmente à família de línguas Tukano o idioma dos *Bá re-masá* ou «*gente-comida*». Como se pode verificar pelo Vocabulário que recolhemos (cfr. «Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia»), está bem próxima da língua dos *Roéra*. Encontramos um representante da Tribo *Bá re-masá* vivendo entre os Ide-mará do Come--ia (maloca *Bóhó-rya-hidó*, foz do ribeirão da Granha). Era (em agôsto de 1956) um tipo de seus 38 a 40 anos, de estatura baixa, gordo, tez de um bronzeo-claro, nariz pequeno e alto na ponta, rosto arredondado, zigoma não muito saliente e cabelos pretos quase quimótricos. Tinha as orelhas perfuradas, atravessadas por um batoque de 1 cm. de diâmetro aproximadadamente; o maior orifício nos lóbulos das orelhas que temos encontrado entre as várias tribos do Uaupés.

Vigora também, na tribo, a lei da exogamia, e consta haver matrimonios com os Hanêra, Bará e Ide-masá.

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — A tribo dos *Bá re-masá* está muito reduzida de membros. Sabemos da existência de uma maloca no ribeirão *Unîú-ia* (ribeirão do japú), afluente da margem esquerda do ribeirão Timí-ia (ribeirão da lontra), o qual por sua vez confluí na margem esquerda do Pirá-parana, pouco acima da foz do Comé-ia.

3) *Divisões* — O informante acima, denominado *Titoyá* (conhecido ainda sob o nome de Domingos) indicou-nos como sendo divisões da sua tribo: 1.º — *Ide-masá*, 2.º — *Ogóro-sóroa*. É provável que a primeira subdivisão, Ide-masá, seja a tribo principal do Come-ia (cfr. IV — 2, h) tida como aparentada aos *Bá re-masá*, e não uma simples divisão destes. Os *Ogóro-sóroa* são os *Hógolo-tsóloa* ou *Tsóroa* citados por Koch-Grünberg (Z. I. 370) no Yauaca-Igarape, de idioma quase idêntico ao Edúrya.

d) *DOXKÁ POARÁ OU TUYUKA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua* — Na língua Tukano dizem-se *Dyi-khúra* (*Dyi-khâua*), e no próprio idioma *Dozká poára* ou ainda *Dozka fhuará* ou *foará*; ou, contratamente, *Dozká-rá*. (Sing. Masc. *Dozká-poaro*; Fem. *dozká-poaro*). Tuyuka é palavra Nheengatú que quer dizer barro, lama; e, com mais propriedade, o barro ou argila que serve para o fabrico das panelas. Os Tukano explicam

que o nome se deve ao fato de morarem na terra onde há a argila da panela. É fácil admitir-se que, no princípio, só aí descobriram essa argila, a qual mais tarde foi encontrada em muitas outras jazidas no Uaupés e outros rios. Por êsse fato mesmo, não teriam sido os *Tuyuka* os primeiros oleiros? A cerâmica hoje é usual e perfeita nas várias tribos. Os *Tuyuka* conservam, presentemente, a fama de especializados canoeiros.

Sua língua é da *família Tukano*, (cfr. nossos trabalhos «Discoteca Etno-linguístico musical» e «Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia») com vestígios *Karaíba*, ensina Chestmir. Os idiomas dos *Tuyuka* e dos *Bará* são os mais próximos da língua Tukano, afirma Koch G. Distingue êstes dois tipos somáticos Tuyuka: o *fino* e o *grosso* ou corpulento (*Zwei Jahre*, 202).

Não se casam com os *Desana*.

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — Oscilam por meio milhar de membros (378 no Brasil, em «*Pelo Rio Mar*», sabemos que são mais numerosos em território colombiano), e seu *habitat* atual são as cabeceiras do Tiquié. Frei Gregório com auxílio do Diretor dos Índios Jesuíno Cordeiro, conseguiu fundar a aldeia de S. Pedro do Tiquié, com índios Tuyuka, onde ainda se acham, porém vivendo em maloca (em 1947).

Conforme uma tradição Tukano, recolhida pelo Pe. Antônio Giacone, os *Tuyuka* baixaram da cachoeira *Uaí-numbí* (cabeceiras do Macú-paraná); porém sob pressão dos Tukano foram obrigados a subir as cabeceiras do Papuri, donde passaram às do Tiquié e aí se radicaram.

3) *Divisões* — Informante Henrique Resende, de seus 35 anos (1953), da subdivisão *Dõrpãri*, tuxaua da maloca do *Yaí-sa igarapé* (Tiquié)

1.º — *Dyáta põna* (um peixinho), no Igarapé Inambú

2.º — *Dyatáñó-nõ* (suspenso?), no Igarapé Inambú

3.º — *Dyáta yuzkúro* (cabeça cumprida), nas cabeceiras do Tiquié

4.º — *Iñó-rõ* (?), em S. Pedro (Tiquié)

5.º — *Iñó-rõ oakõ* (estaca), no Igarapé preto (Tiquié)

6.º — *Poõ-ni mani* (calvo), no Igarapé Mari-iá (Tiquié)

7.º — *Dõrpãri* (galhos), no Igarapé *Kurtíro pezíd* (Tiquié)

8.º — *Yurkûro* (bossa ocipital), na foz do Açaí-igarapé (Tiquié)

9.º — *Wesé dorká poará* — (Tuyuka da roça), acima do Caruru (Tiquié)

10.º — *Poá pirá* (?) no alto Cabari (Tiquié). São os pária

11.º — *Azkó karpéa — pôna* (olho dagua), em S. Pedro (Tiquié)

12.º — *Ebera-pôna* (pato dagua), na foz do Igarapé Boá-ia

A jovem Amélia Resende, de 18 anos (1955) aproximadamente, acrescentou:

13.º — *Myõ dyi-Khâra* (doxká-poará), em Cabari e S. Pedro (Tiquié)

14.º — *Arã pôná* (filho da serra?), no Igarapé do breu (dêste grupo é informante).

e) *EDÛRYA OU ERÛLYA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua* — Esta tribo denomina-se, no próprio idioma, *Edûrya*, ao passo que os Tuyuka dizem-nos *Erûlya*. Filiam-se ainda, pela língua, ao grupo Tukano (cfr. Vocabulário em «*Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*»).

São de estatura média, pouco mais alto que os Tukano. Tez cobre claro, cabelos pretos, quimótricos, grossos, testa larga, quadrada, olhos pretos, queixo fino, nariz alto às vêzes ligeiramente aquilino, rosto ovóide e lábios delicados.

Estão vinculados por laços matrimoniais com os *Bará* e *Tuyuka*.

2) *Habitat e habitantes.* — Seu *hábitat* são vários e pequenos afluentes do Pirá-paraná, em território totalmente colombiano. Não foi possível saber o número de habitantes da tribo; parece, porém, que é ainda menor que a tribo Hanêra.

c) *Divisões.* — São as seguintes, indicadas por um jovem de seus 20 anos (em março de 1954) por nome *Tunú*, em *Mosã-bhod* (maloca do urucum, cabeceiras do Tiquié):

1. *Kaupayána* (mestre de dança?), no igarapé Axtáue-ya (31)
2. *Ehéburu* (uma palha), no igarapé Axtáue-ya
3. *Gâbûrkôrô* (*Komû*, «soprador», VII - 2, e (3), no igarapé Scmé-ria
4. *Izkó-masã* (uma cobra), no igarapé Ioxkó-rya
5. *Wezidyoa* (?), no igarapé Ioxkó-rya

f) *EMÔÃ-MASÃ OU GUARIBA-TAPUYA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua.* — *Emõã* é, no idioma natal, o nome do macaco guariba. Sua língua pertence também à família Tukano

(31) Talvez se identificaria com a tribo *Kavirya* das matas do Cananarí?

(cfr. Vocabulário em «Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia»). Encontrei-se Ide-masã da maloca *Buhó-rya-hidó*, do Comé-ia. Era um tipo de estatura mediana, corpo fino, feições delicadas, zigoma pouco saliente, rosto alongado, nariz alto, fino, tez mais clara que a do Tukano, cabelo preto, fino, algo ondulado.

Observa-se a exogamia de tribo. Sabemos de matrimônios com Ide-Masã, Hanêra e Bará.

2) *Habitat e habitantes*. Habitam nas matas entre as cabeceiras do Tiquié e rio Pirá-paraná. São poucos, hoje em dia, conforme a informante, a qual nos soube citar apenas 3 subdivisões. Note-se que, de acordo com a informante os *Yebá* e *Roéra* fazem parte da sua tribo. Concorda com uma informação obtida três anos antes de um *Yéba* o qual entre as divisões de sua tribo citava os *Emõa* e os *Roéra* (cfr. IV-2, t). Se os *Yéba* se devem incluir entre os *Emõá*, serão êstes, no conjunto várias centenas de indivíduos, pois os *Yéba* vivem em várias malocas na região compreendida entre o Comé-ia e o Piraparana.

Koch Grunberg (Z. I. 401) fala dos tão temidos *Guariua* ou *Guariba-Tapuya* localizados abaixo dos Juri e Passé, isto é na bacia do rio Japurá. Os *Emõá* não se podem identifirar rom êsses *Guariua-Tapuya*, porém, sim com os *Omoá* dos mananciais do Tiquié.

3) *Divisões*. Informante a índia *Mistrã*, de seus 50 anos (1957), conhecida também por Joaquina, esposa do tuxáua Ide-masã do Comé-ia:

1 *Satrõa-masã* (gente dagua? gente tagarela?)

2 *Yebá-masã*

3 *Roeá-masã* (gente taraira)

(1) *Gente-Nome-Língua* — *Emõá* é, no idioma natal, o nome do macaco *guariba*. Sua língua pertence também à família Tukano (cfr.

6) *HANERA OU PANENOÁ*.

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua*. — Tipo mais alto e franzino que o Tukano. Tez mais vermelha, rosto longo, queixo fino, nariz alto, testa larga.

O seu idioma, que se deve filiar à família linguística Tukano (cfr. Vocabulário, em «Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia») apresenta êste particular: aparece uma aspirada inicial (*h*, como representamos neste trabalho) em palavras nas quais o Tukano pronuncia um *p*, por exemplo: pai, *hakó* (Tukano *paz-kó*), mãe, *hakó* (Tukano, *paz-kó*), etc. Esta caraterística do seu idioma explica-nos a correspondência do seu nome na própria língua, *Hanêra* e na Tukano, *Panenõá*, ou Parêrcá.

Sabemos que estão ligados por matrimônio com os *Bará* e *Tuyuka*.

2) *Habitat e habitantes*. Temos visto apenas alguns indivíduos de passagem pela maloca denominada *Mosá-bhoá* (monte do urucú), dos Mara, no igarapé Uaracú-pirêra, e na sua maloca próxima da foz do Timi-ya. Não souberam informar-nos sôbre o número aproximado dos indivíduos da sua tribo. Parece que não ultrapassam os 4 centos. Atualmente residem só em território colombiano, em vários igarapés da margem esquerda do Pirá-paraná.

Os informantes do sec. 18 atestam que dos *Panenôá* é que os *Taryana* recebiam por troca, seus enfeites de ouro e prata (cfr. II - 3) e *momôrõ Khuiri* (VII - 3, d).

3) *Divisões*. — A índia Duhigó, de seus 50 anos deu, em março de 1954 as seguintes divisões da sua tribo:

1. *Daseká̃na* (?), no igarapé Umû-ya (cabeceiras do Komé-ya)
2. *Doc* (Taraira), no igarapé Amori-ya
3. *Dyasiama* ou *Ryasuma* (?), no igarapé Amori-ya
4. *Fêniona* (?), no rio Pirá-paraná
5. *Koniya* (?), no Soari-ma-pitó (foz do igarapé vermelho)
6. *Wimona* (?), no igarapé Umû-ya
7. *Nikumepana* (?), no igarapé Umû-ya
8. *Sené* (?), nas cabeceiras do Komé-ya.

h) *IDE-MASÁ, AÕ-NIRA OU MAKUNA*.

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua*. — Assim se denominam no próprio idioma, o qual pertence ainda à família linguística Tukano, como se pode verificar pelo Vocabulário (Cfr. «Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical» e «Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia») e significa «*gente agua*». É costume de tôdas as tribos da região Uapesina, a cada frase que ouvem emitirem: um som exprimindo que se está acompanhando e entendendo a conversa, ou, ainda, que se está de acôrdo com quem fala. Êste som, para as tribos do Uaupés, Papuri e Tiquié, é ãã ou ũũ (cfr. *Gramática da língua Dazseyé*, do autor). Os *Ide-masá*, porem, repetem a cada momento «*aõ*». Por êste costume os indígenas do Tiquié denominam-nos «*Aõ-nira*» ou «*Aõ-nina*», isto é, «os que dizem *aõ*». Esta a explicação que nos forneceu o tuxáua *Ide-masá* da primeira maloca do Komé-ya. No próprio idioma tal alcunha se traduziria: «eu sou dos Aõ-nira, *yoõ aõ-ligõ* (masc.) *aõ-ligo* (fem.), *aõ-lira* (plural)). Êsse mesmo tuxáua informou que os Colombianos os denominam *Makúna*. Não sabem, porém, o signi-

ficado, nem a origem da palavra Makuna que vem registrada por Koch Grünberg.

São os *Ide-masã*, em geral, menos corpulentos que os Tukano. Porém de tez mais clara, um tanto pálida, rosto alongado, nariz alto, levemente aquilino, zigoma não saliente, olhos amendoados quase sempre castanho claros. Os cabelos são, em geral, escuros ou mesmo pretos, finos não lissotricos, ao invés muitas vezes até ondeados.

Vigora entre êles a exogamia de tribo. E conhecemos que estão ligados por matrimônio com os Tuyuka, Bará, Emõa, Yebá, Bá:re, Roéra. Não só as mulheres mas também os homens trazem as orelhas furadas com um pequeno batoque de 2 a 3 mm. de diâmetro que mantem aberto o orifício.

Uma particularidade dessa tribo são as danças de máscaras. Tivemos a oportunidade de ver as máscaras representando *Warti* e o *macaco*. A de Waxti era uma verdadeira máscara branca de casca, como um rosto arredondado, com larga fenda figurando a bôca, um nariz comprido e pontudo, e aos lados da base do nariz duas fendas um tanto obliquas à guisa de olhos. A que representava o macaco era um simples camisolão de tururi com uma parte afilada, como capuz, recobrindo a cabeça. Neste capuz há dois orifícios correspondentes aos olhos e duas pontas para o alto figurando orelhas.

2) *Habitat e habitantes*. Acham-se espalhados por área muito ampla: todo o ribeirão Comé-ia (ribeirão do ferro ou do machado, no idioma Ide, *Komeryaka*, afluente da margem esquerda do Piráparaná), o Miriti-paraná, Apapóris e o Kamori (o qual, conforme indicações do mesmo tuxáua, deve ser um afluente do rio Solimões). Parece que são bem numerosos, isto é, são várias centenas. Parece confirmar esta informação, o número de divisões que apresenta a tribo.

c) *Divisões*. — Fornecidas pelo índio *Hinõ* (i. e. cobra), também conhecido por Fernando), de seus 50 anos (em agosto de 1956), tuxáua da maloca *Buhõ-rya-hido* (foz do igarapé da aranha), na margem esquerda do Komé-ya, cerca de 10 horas de canoa desde a foz.

1. «Aõ, no Komé-ya (a esta divisão pertence o informante)
2. Ide-*hi-nõnya* (?), no Apapóris
3. *Lyaró hi-nõnya letwana* (?), no Apapóris
4. *Yukũra* (?), no Miriti-paraná

5 *Kuêra* (?), no Miriti-paraná

6 *Witata* (?), no Miriti-paraná

7. *Adókya* (?), no Kamori

6 *Witata* (?), no Miriti-paraná

*Observação*. 1.º Koch Grünberg registra como subdivisão dos *Yahuna* (*Z.I.* 362) os *Dahwana*. Não conseguimos apurar se êsses dois grupos citados por Koch se devam identificar com *Yukúra* e *Lehwana* da tribo *Ide-masã*. 2.º Releve-se que no Miriti-paraná, afluente do Japurá, existe uma tribo Arwake, por nome *Yukúna*, da qual Koch (*Z.I.* 286) recolheu seu Vocabulário de 60 palavras. 3.º Koch obteve também informação (*Z.I.* 394) que no rio Caritáya, afluente da direita do Miriti-paraná viviam ainda os *Kueretú* e dêles conseguiu também seu vocabulário. Verificamos, porém, que o idioma Kueretu se afasta notavelmente do dos Ide-masã. 4.º Os *Witata*, que figuram como uma subdivisão dos Ide, não se confundem com os *Uitóto* que habitam a região entre o Caquetá e o Putumayo. Koch, que conseguiu recolher dêles um vocabulário, opina que devem ser considerados um grupo à parte (antes conglobados com os *Karibe*). *Witóto* quer dizer inimigo, nome que lhes deram os *Omáwa* e, depois, os civilizados. Compreendem os *Witóto* um numeroso conjunto de hordas com suas diferenças dialetais.

1) *IHWANA OU YONA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua*. — Não conseguimos saber ao certo o significado do nome *Ihwana* ou *Yona*, seria quiça o nome de um peixe. A língua é da família Tukano, como se depreende do Vocabulário que recolhemos na maloca Wextá, no Pirá-paraná, próxima da foz do Komé-ya.

Os indivíduos da maloca eram mais franzinos e de feições mais delicadas que os Tukano. Todos os homens tinham furados os lóbulos das orelhas, mantidos abertos por um chumaço de plumas de pássaros. Apertando os braços, pouco abaixo dos ombros, um cordão, e pinturas vermelhas pelo rosto, indícios talvez de alguma festa pouco tempo antes. Cabelos escuros, quimótricos, com leve ondulação, e olhos mais claros que os dos Tukano.

2º) *Hábitat e habitantes*. — Residem em malocas ao longo do Pirá-paraná e seus pequenos afluentes próximos e para baixo da cachoeira do Beijú, onde se pode ver na vazante um belo desenho que lembra o dragão chinês. Por deficiência de intérprete não conseguimos apurar o número de componentes da tribo, nem as

suas subdivisões. Das informações obtidas pensamos se possa concluir que são ainda varias centenas.

1) *KÓ'NEA OU ARAPASU*

1) *Gente-Nome-Lingua* — A si mesmos se denominam *Kó'nea* (em Tukano *Kõ-rea*), o nome de uma variedade de pica-pau, dito, em Nheengatú, *arapasu*.

Conforme reminiscências de antiga tradição, foi uma tribo muito numerosa e valente. Quando indivíduos de outras tribos passavam pelo rio Uaupés, na zona dominada pelos *Arapásu*, êstes os cercavam, tiravam-lhe todos os produtos e depois lhes afundavam as canoas, deixando-os, porém, fugir. As vítimas vingavam-se soprando [illegible] e, lançando maleficio; cfr. VII - 2, e (1) sôbre os *Arapasu*, que, aos poucos, se foram extinguindo.

Perderam também o proprio idioma, falando todos, hoje, a língua Tukano.

Koch O. inclui os *Arapásu* como divisão Tukano. Parece-nos inexato, pois até é permitido o matrimônio entre membros dessas duas tribos. Fisicamente os *Arapasu* distinguem-se bem dos Tukano, pois são mais claros, altos e franzinos: Nariz alto, às vêzes um tanto aquilino, zigoma menos saliente e rosto alongado.

Consideram-se, ao invés, *irmãos* dos Pira-tapúya, por isso vigora intercâmbio matrimonial entre *Arapásu* e *Pira-tapúya*, e também com os *Dara*, *Desana*, *Miritti* e *Kumddenc*.

O seu idioma, sim, parece filiar-se à família de línguas Tukano (32).

2) *Habitat e habitantes.* — Em «*Pelo Rio Mar*» lemos que seu centro é a região compreendida entre o Uaupés e o Japurá, donde passaram para o Uaupés e foram aldeados por Frei Gregório em S. Jeronimo, Nanã-Roperuma e S. Joaquim.

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(32) Sua filiação à Família de línguas Tukano, pode-se verificar apenas pelo pequeno número de palavras que nos souberam dizer alguns indígenas *Arapasu*:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| tapioca, *kaveiari* | pai, *mai* | tio paterno, *moamõ* |
| abóbora, *musóua* | mãe, *Yõ* ou *thyõ* | tia paterna, *moamã* |
| peito, *kuiria* | filho, *maakã* | tio materno, *kabo* |
| gente, *nuriã* | filha, *maakõ* | tia materna, *kabõ*, **kabú** |
| cutia, *pako* | irmão menor, *peñã* | primo materna, *kabõ maakã* |
| [illegible] | irmã menor, *peñõ* | primo materno, *kabõ maakõ* |
| fogo, *pe'kûme* | | sobrinho, *peñanã* |
| | | sobrinha, *peñanõ* |

Vai soprar o fogo, *pe'kûme apusumaré*

O Pe. João Marchesi, ao chegar em 1925 entre êles, soube, dos velhos *Arapasu*, eram êles senhores do Uaupés desde S. José até a foz. Por serem mais sociáveis e simpáticos que os outros indígenas, muitas mulheres tornaram-se esposas dos civilizados e muitos homens da tribo foram levados para os trabalhos. Muitos, outrossim, se fixaram no baixo Rio Negro, e outros pereceram. Do cruzamento com *Arapasu* procedem numerosos caboclos daquela região. A tribo ficou assim muito reduzida. Havia um grande grupo em Pinú-pinú (Uaupés), que emigrou para o baixo Rio Negro. Ao regressar encontrou aí estabelecidos os Taryana que não quiseram ceder o lugar, sabendo que êles eram muitos e os *Arapasu* menos numerosos.

Pouco mais de uma centena vive hoje na margem direita do Uaupés, entre S. José e Paraná-juca.

3) *Subdivisões* (33)

1) — *Arpá sorpé pôna* (filhos da ponta do caranguejo), em Caranguejo (Uaupés)

2) — *Winé ñõa pôna* (filhos da ponta do vento), em S. José (Uaupés)

3) — *Kundeko ñõa pôna* (filhos da ponta do louro), em Louro (Uaupés)

4) — *Dyá pursu pohoro pôna* (filhos do estreito do Uaupés), em Paraná-juca (Uaupés)

*k) KOTIRYA OU WANANA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Lingua* — Wanâna é palavra Nheengatú e indica uma ave aquática *chendlopez jubátus*, conhecida comumente por marreco. A si mesmos os *Wanâna* se denominam *Kotirya*, *Kotidya* ou *Kotirica* (Sing. Masc. *Kotirica-kiro*; Fem. *Kotirica-koro*). São chamados pelos Tukano *Ozkó-ti-khâra*, que quer dizer «gente que tem remédio» ou «gente paje», de *oz-kó*, remédio. Se bem que a expressão Tukano autorize semelhante tradução, mais conforme as lendas das origens seria a interpretação *ozkó*, água (e não *oz-kó*), isto é, «gente que está na água ou saiu da água». Os Tuyuka denominam os *Wanana* simplesmente «gente do rio Uaupés, *Dyá-*

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(33) Esta divisão foi-nos obtida pelo Pe. Antônio Giacone, SBD. Relevé-se que não se assemelha aos nomes das divisões das outras tribos. Talvez porque já não os saibam mais. Assim o declararam todos os *Arapasu* que pudemos consultar. E um dêles veio perguntar-nos se sabíamos como se chamavam as antigas divisões da sua tribo. Os nomes supra são apenas indicações dos lugares onde residem presentemente. E' possível que cada povoado atual represente uma das antigas divisões.

*Pozsu-markd*». Desta sorte não se percebe relação alguma entre os nomes nas línguas Nheengatú e Tukano. (34) Já relevamos que o Relatório de Frei Gregório em vez de *Wanãna* traz *Anana*.

São de estatura mais elevada que os Tukano, e sua língua é da família Tukano, embora mais vizinha do idioma Pirá-tapuya, como podemos ver no vocabulário.

Vigora interdição matrimonial com os Pirá-tapuya.

2) *Habitat e habitantes.* — «Pelo Rio Mar» informa que foram aldeados em Thomar no sec. 18 pelos Carmelitas. Foram-no, como resulta do «Diario» de Sampaio, os *Uapuna*. Parece-nos, entretanto, que esta seja uma tribo Arwake do rio Japurá, e não os *Wanãna*, que são da família linguística Tukano. Pensamos também, por esta mesma razão, não se podem identificar com a tribo *Ana*, descida do Orenoco, conforme os exploradores do sec. 18.

Seu *habitat* atual é o médio Uaupés, desde Japú-ponta até a foz do Querari perfazendo uns 600 indivíduos, conforme Koch Grunberg (*Z. I.* 271). Na estatística de «Pelo Rio Mar» encontramos o número 367 para os atendidos pelas Missões Salesianas. Informaram-nos que é bem maior o número dos que vivem em território colombiano.

3) *Divisões* — Informante Maximiano Sá, de seus 25 anos (1953) e um grupo de homens, em Cagurú-cachoeira.

1. *Khenê* (pato dagua) no igarapé Paca (afluente do Uaupés)
2. *Biali* (variedade de pato), em Matapi (rio Uaupés)
3. *Wai kapea ñãrori* (35) *pondyro* (ñãrori de ôlho de peixe), em Macucú, (rio Uaupés)
4. *Uryd ñãrori* (um vermie), em Iutica (rio Uaupés)
5. *Dyãni pondyro* (pato branco), em Carurú-cachoeira (rio Uaupés; os informantes eram dêste grupo)
6. *Batiri-kd pond* (japurá, uma fruta), em Arara (rio Uaupés)
7. *Stupo pond* (panela, talha), em Jacaré (rio Uaupés)
8. *Dozkana pond* (mão de pilão), no igarapé Paca
9. *Wiroyro* (o passaro trovão), no igarapé timbó (rio Uaupés)

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(34) Lemos em "Indios do Brasil" do Major Lima Figueiredo — Brasiliana, n.º 163 — S. Paulo, 1939, pag. 146): "a palavra Wanana, em idioma arusack, significa ladrão".

(35) O Joven Ernesto Domingues, em vez de *Ñãrori*, pronunciou *ÿãhori* e informou que significa o lodo de beira-rio.

10 *Bukupro* (uma árvore), em Tiplaca (rio Uaupés)

11 *Nadi yarpárya* (caroço de miriti), em Tucano-cachoeira (Uaupés)

12 *Yopayriro* (milho), ramo extinto

13 *Nadi ryákiro* (miriti), em Jacaré (Uaupés)

14 *Nuti dirsoryákiro* (pintado de cinza nas pernas, nas danças), em Uaracapuri (Uaupés).

O informante Ernesto Domingues, de uns 22 anos (em 1955), em Jacaré (Uaupés) forneceu 12 subdivisões, 9 das quais coincidem com as obtidas em Carurú. As outras três são:

16 *Witó monó* (acangatara branca), em Uaracapuri (Uaupés)

16 *Witó monó* (acangatara branca), em Uaracapuri (Aaupés)

17 *Yahori ponó* (lodo da beira do rio), em Taiassú (Uaupés)

Outro informante, Gabriel Paiva, de seus 18 anos acrescentou ainda:

18 *Wanirtiro* (acará), em Matapi (Uaupés)

19 *Yarpima* (batata), em Jutica (Uaupés).

1) *MÕXTA OU KARAPANA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua.* Pertencem à família Tukano, quanto ao idioma, no qual se dizem *Mõxtã*, e na língua Tukano, *Mõxtõa*, termo correspondente a *Karapanã* da língua geral, isto é, o nome de um mosquito que pica à noite (gêneros *stegoniya*, *culex* e outros).

Mais franzinos que os Tukano, são também de traços menos mongoloides, claros de epiderme e de olhos e de rosto oval.

2) *Hábitat e habitantes.* — Seu *hábitat* atual é a região colombiana entre o Uaupés e as cabeceiras do Papuri ou melhor do seu formador o Aua, e o Tiquigarapé. Frei Gregório de Bene aldeou alguns grupos *Karapanã* em *Nanã-Rapecúma* e *S. Joaquim*, no baixo Uaupés; e em *S. Luzia*, no Papuri.

Jesuíno Cordeiro, em ofício datado de 1 de julho de 1853, informa ao Presidente da Província, de um ataque dos *Karapanã* ao povoado de S. Cruz dos Kubéwana, junto à cachoeira do Mutum (hoje *Mitú*, capital do Território Nacional del Waupés, Colômbia). Perseguidos pela Polícia colombiana, em 1928, um grupo dêles se estabeleceu em território Brasileiro, nas cabeceiras do Umari-igarapé (afluente do Tiquié). Êsses episódios confirmam sua fama de belicosidade e violências.

3) *Divisões* — Informante Antônio Gentil, de 40 anos (1953) de Uniari igarapé em Paricachoeira.

1.º — *Dúrya mãtará* (um peixe), no Ekê-ya (igarapé do nariz?). São os *Mamí*

2.º — *Poztá-hará* (espinho), no igarapé Po-yá

3.º — *Mãmya pakãna* (abelhas), no Ekê-ya

4.º — *Mãmya* (abelha), no igarapé Po-yá

O informante Vicente, Karapanã (de seus 30 anos) das cabeceiras do Aua, hoje estabelecido em Uaracapá (rio Papuri) deu novos nomes e modificou a ordem, além de pequena diferença de pronúncia.

1.º — *Mumyá* (abelha), no igarapé Po-yá

2.º — *Dorya pakãna* (?) do Pirá-paraná, hoje em Pô-yá

3.º — *Dorya mãtará* (um peixe) no Ekô-ya

4.º — *Poa-ya môztè* (35 *a*), já extintos.

5.º — *Poztá yara* (espinho), no igarapé Po-yá

6.º — *Mãmyá pakãna* (abelhas), no Ekô-ya

7.º — *Kenenô* (jatai), no rio Pirá-paraná

8.º — *Botea matsa* (aracú), no rio Cananari

9.º — *Datô-hyá* (?), no rio Uaupés (disse o informante: «hoje são Kubewãna», isto é assimilarão por êstes) (35 *b*)

10.º — *Pizkô-sè* (gavião tesoura), no rio Cananari

Um jovem Karapanã, de seus 23 anos, Luiz, da maloca de *Hôboômakarya* (cabeceiras do Tiquié), informou que atualmente (1955) só existiam os 7 grupos seguintes e na ordem decrescente de importância:

1.º — *Mãmyá* (abelhas). São «os da cabeça», i. e., principais

2.º — *Dúrya* (cutia) (dêste grupo o informante)

3.º — *Dúrya mõtára*

4.º — *Môztè pakãna*

5.º — *Mõtára*

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(35a) *Poá-yá-môztè*, propriamente significa "Karapanã do igarapé Poá".
(35b) Seria quiçá a subdivisão Kubéwãna denominada *Tatiwa* (javari) ?

4: Silva SQ19 Tucano



6.º — *Poxtã yara*

7.º — *Poxtã yara mõtara*

Não sabemos se se equivocou dizendo em 4.º lugar *Mõxtê pakãna*, em vez de *Mũmya Pakãna*.

m) *NEENOA OU MIRITI-TAPUYA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Lingua* — *Neenoa* é no idioma natal o nome da tribo conhecida por *Miriti-tapuya* (nome derivado de uma palmeira, a *Mauritia flexuosa*) ou *Myariti-tapuya* (36), isto é gente-buriti. São pequenos como os Tukano, porém mais claros, franzinos e de fisionomia mais delicada.

Vigora interdição matrimonial com os *Taryana*, *Arapasu*, *Kamãdene*, *Pirã-tapuya*, *Tuyuka* e *Desana*.

Falam todos, presentemente, a língua Tukano, e os próprios anciãos não se recordam senão de uma meia dúzia de palavras. Afirmam, porem, que a língua era muito semelhante à dos Arapasu, e as poucas palavras que obtivemos justificam a filiação à família de línguas Tukano (37).

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — Os únicos sobreexistentes da tribo no Brasil, uma centena de pessoas, vivem no baixo Tiquié, em Urubu-lago e Iraiti. Informaram-nos que, por motivo de dissenções, um grupo, talvez pelo fim do século passado, fugiu para o rio Japurá (territorio colombiano), e que êsses, provàvelmente, ainda conhecerão a língua materna primitiva.

3) *Divisões* — Fornecidas por Luciano, do grupo *Umũhori*, de seus 50 anos, e Maria Cabral, do grupo *Umiã-põ*, de seus 22 anos, ambos de Iraiti.

1 *Itsé-pi pond* (?), em Iraiti e Urubu-lago (rio Tiquié)

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(36) Artur Ramos (o. c. I, 172), põe como outra denominação dos Miriti, *Matati-tapuya*. Seria um êrro de imprensa por *Matapi-tapuya* (*matapi*, cercado de peixe, VI-5, a (2)? Nesta hipótese parece-nos uma identificação inexata. Conforme Koch G. *Matapi-tapuya* é uma subtribo dos Yukuna existentes em Uacaiacá, afluente da margem esquerda do Miriti-paraná (*Festschrift*, 205 e Z. *I*, 394 e 398).

(37) pai, kõ-ká — avô, kõ-Ro — tio paterno, *mõãma*
mãe, *yõ* — filha, *maxkõga* — tia paterna, *mõãmo*
filho, *maxkõya* — sabão (?), *sã* — fogo, *maryã tukáro*

2) *Pena baya pona* (mestre de dança do caxiri), em Urubulago (vindos do Japurá)

3) *Maha baya pona* (mestre de dança com pena de arara), em Iraiti

4) *Umuhori pona* (?), no ribeirão Umú-ya, afluente do Uaupés

5) *Su-pou* (?), extinta

6) *Umu-pu* (?), em Iraiti e rio Japurá

7) *A-u* (?), extinta

8) *Hoñi-di* (?), em Iraiti.

B) *OÁ-MAHÃ OU MIKURA-TAPUYA*

1) *Gente-Língua-Nome* — Seu idioma é da família linguística Tukano, conforme se verifica pelo Vocabulário que obtivemos de uma índia por nome Kaxpé de seus 45 ou 50 anos, natural do ribeirão Inambú, afluente do Papuri e casada com um Tuyuka do Tapuio, onde reside na última maloca do território brasileiro, próxima à fronteira colombiana. O nome Nheengatú *Mikura-tapuya*, ou *Macucambira*, é a tradução do nome *Oá-mahã*, no idioma natal.

São os *Oá-mahã* de tez mais clara e mais franzinos que os Tukano. Cabelos castanhos escuros ou pretos, finos às vezes ondeados. Rosto mais alongado que nos Tukano, traços também mais delicados e olhos claros.

Observam outrossim, a exogamia de tribo, e sabemos de matrimônios com os Tuyuka, Bará e Tukano.

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — Parece que, atualmente, habitam todos no território colombiano entre as cabeceiras dos rios Tiquié e Papuri.

Os *Pamõã-maxsã* (Tatú-tapuya) citam como divisão da própria tribo os *Oá-mahã*. Não sabemos se se trata da presente tribo, como parece mais provável pela localização, ou realmente se dá uma simples [illegible] com êste nome de *Oá* (genital).

3) *Dialeto* — Não se soube indicar a informante.

C) *PABOA-MAXSA OU TATU-TAPUYA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua* — No próprio idioma, que pertence à família de línguas Tukano (cfr. «Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical»), dizem-se *Paboa-maxsã*, correspondente à denominação Tukano *Pamõã-maxsã* ou *gente Tatú*.

Tez mais clara que os Tukano, e também mais altos e franzinos. Cabelos castanhos escuros, rosto ovóide, olhos claros, lábios finos, nariz alto.

Sabemos de ligações matrimoniais com os Bará e os Karapanã.

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — Atualmente residem na região compreendida entre as cabeceiras do Aua (um dos formadores do Papuri) e o rio Pirá-paraná. Vai por uns vinte anos houve encontros e mortandades recíprocas entre os Tatú-tapuyas e seringueiros colombianos, e recordam-se até episódios de antropofagia, que se explicam, parece, por particular ódio e represálias.

Deve, pelas informações que obtivémos, oscilar pelos 300 o número de habitantes desta tribo.

3) *Divisões* — Fornecidas pela índia Kamóõ, de seus 45 anos (1954), das cabeceiras do rio Aua:

1 *Tsuñinó* (?), no rio Pirá-paraná

2 *Pirõ* (cobra), no Pirá-paraná

3 *Peturi sauinõ* (?), Pirá-paraná

4 *Oa-mazsã* (gente gamba), no rio Pirá-paraná (38)

p) *PAMIWA OU KUBEWANA* — Opina Koch Grünberg (*Z. I.* 277) que o nome *Kobewa* seja apenas uma alcunha dada pelos seus antigos inimigos, os Arwake, pelo uso freqüente da palavra *kõbauõ*, nada, não. No idioma Tukano são denominados *Potori-khãra* que significa «gente ou habitantes das cabeceiras dos rios» (*Cfr.* o seu nome em diferentes línguas indígenas; *Cfr.* IV — 3). Êles, porém, a si mesmos se denominam *Pamiwa* (sing. M. *pamiko*, F. *pamiko*). Curt Nimuendaju e Koch registram *Hehõnawa* como nome da tribo. Os *Hehõnawa* constituem apenas um grupo principal dos Kubewana, que Koch encontrou na maloca de Namakoliba (*Z. I.* 278) (*).

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua* — Sua língua é da família Tukano, como se pode verificar pelo Vocabulário que transcrevemos e gravamos («Discotêca Etno-linguístico-musical» e «Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia»). Chestmir afirma que apresenta atualmente vestígios *Karaíba*.

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(38) Seria a mesma tribo *Oá-nichã* ou *Mikura-tapuya*?

(*) Informa Koch que nos mananciais do Querari há um pequeno grupo Kubewana denominado *Abarõhahãngua*, isto é, Kubewana-Jurupari, nome que os Wanana traduzem *Warrikurtipinos*; e os de Uaracapuri (Uaupés) são *Olobahahanaua*, ditos *Dudãitos* pelos Wanana.

Antropologicamente distinguem-se notavelmente dos Tukano. São mais altos, menos corpulentos e, sobretudo, de fisionomia menos acentuadamente mongólica que êstes.

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — Acham-se domiciliados no alto Uaupés, na fronteira do Brasil e da Colômbia, e nos rios Querari, Cuduiari e cabeceiras do Içana. Os primeiros exploradores já os encontraram nesse *habitat*. Há um século Jesuíno Cordeiro aldeiou algumas centenas dêles em *Mitú* e no *laço do espelho*.

Compreende um milhar de almas, de acôrdo com os cálculos de Koch Grunberg, o qual informa que os *Kubéuana* dominaram dos grupos *Arudke* do Querari e lhe impuseram sua língua e costumes: os *Hohodua* e os *Kaiña* (30). Dêstes últimos porém, muitos emigraram para o rio Içana, e em contato com os grupos *Arudke* de ali, retomaram seu caráter *Arudke* (*Zuei Iahre*, 72).

3) *Divisões* — Obtivemos 4 listas das subdivisões da tribo *Kubéuana*.

1ª — A primeira compreende 9 (nove) nomes, e foi-nos fornecida em novembro de 1953 pela *Kubéuana* Heloísa, de seus 45 anos, casada e residente em Cururu-cachoeira (rio Uaupés). O Wanana Maximiano de Sá, desse mesmo povoado, que nos servia de intérprete deu-nos o significado de cada nome, conforme segue:

1º — *Orobako* (pacova sororoca), em Pindaíba-igarapé (perto de Mitú, rio Uaupés)

2º — *Aurako* (beiju), nas cabeceiras do Cuduiari (afluente do Querari)

3º — *Wararíko* (var. de pimenta), em Tatú-cachoeira (rio Uaupés)

4º — *Hehenakó* (azedo), no rio Cuduiari

5º — *Bahikeko* (aparecido), no rio Cuduiari

6º — *Neaboko* (muriti), no rio Cuduiari

7º — *Barcuko* (manivana), em Pindaíba-igarapé

8º — *Hurako* (?), na lagoa dágua fria (cabeceiras do Cuduiari)

9º — *Pyarako* (tocandira), acima de Mitú (rio Uaupés).

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(30) Há ainda duas ou três famílias superstites dos *Kawa* (cfr. II-6, a (5). Quanto aos *Hohodua*, de que fala Koch G. quiçá seriam os *Hehénakó* ou *Hehenaué* considerados hoje subdivisão dos *Kubéuana*, como se pode ver nos quadros aqui transcritos.

2º — Mais tarde, em abril de 1955, outra Kubewana, Josefa, também de seus 45 anos, esposa do tuxaua de Cururú-cachoeira, o Kaxuna Mandu, revia a lista fornecida por Heloisa, confirmou-a e acrescentou outras nove subdivisões. Negou, no entanto, a existência da 4ª div. no supra *Hurako*, e localizou os *Pyardkò* ou *Myardkò* no igarapé Macaquinha. E quanto ao significado dos nomes no-lo ofereceu em Wanana (ou tukano) o seu esposo, como poremos na mesma ordem na qual foram citadas as subdivisões:

10º — *Ufat-aiteko* (moã-parya), no rio Cuduiari

11º — *Bnorbokò* (tone-neãkiro), no rio Cuduiari

12º — *Koroko* (coro-coro mira, i. e. vermelho), no rio Cuduiari

13º — *Pedikaako* (sovaka, ralo), no rio Cuduiari

14º — *Bpeko* (o passaro-parirou), no rio Cuduiari

15º — *Kowiterabocko* (a planta bosaritena), no rio Içana (deste grupo e Josefa)

16º — *Dyurobokò* (pino maxxã pona), no rio Içana

17º — *Forcoko* (guariba), no rio Içana

18º — *Dyokarbekò* (sem folha), no rio Içana

3º — Um grupo de *Wanana* de Tipiaca (médio Uaupés colombiano), auxiliando-se reciprocamente, citaram-nos em maio de 1954, 16 subdivisões da tribo *Kubewana* que damos a seguir. Pela tradução que nos fizeram, parece-nos que se possam identificar as subdivisões nº 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15 respectivamente com os números 1, 18, 14, 16, 5, 13, 12, 10, 15 e 3 das listas fornecidas por Heloisa e Josefa. A diferença resultaria ùnicamente do fato que a lista de Tipiaca se acha em língua *Wanana*, ao passo que Heloisa e Josefa deram os nomes no seu idioma que é o *Kubewana*.

1º (1) — *Hoporya* (sororoca), no Abio-igarapé

2º (18) — *Phuri marina* (sem folha), no rio Querari

3º (14) — *Yatsroa* (um corante), no Rio Uaupés, acima da foz do Abio-igarapé

4º (16) — *Mokkã piro põnã* (lugar da cobra), cabeceiras do Querari

5º (5) — *Pirta* (tocandira), acima de Mitú-cachoeira (Uaupés)

6º — *Surpuara* (borbulhas de água), nas cabeceiras do Cuduiari

7.º (13) — *Sorkõa* (ralo), no rio Cuduiari

8.º (12) — *Kortoa* (coró-coró vermelho), na bôca do Cuduiari

9.º — *Desoporca* (barbado), abaixo de Mitú (rio Uaupés)

10.º — *Yurya* (alejado), no Karapanã-igarapé

11.º (10) — *Mod-parya* (sal), no Miriti-igarapé (acima de Mitú, Uaupés)

12.º — *Bote dyerya* (ovos de aracú), nas cabeceiras do Cuduiari

13.º (15) — *Wamãtarua* (uma erva), nas cabeceiras do Querari

14.º (7) — *Yebakuroa* (mandiavara), no rio Querari

15.º (3) — *Byêdero* (var. de pimenta), em S. Cruz e Tatú-cachoeira (Uaupés)

16.º — *Wai uchêko* (puçá), em Pacú-igarapé (acima de Mitú, Uaupés)

4.º — Em abril de 1957 encontramos em Arapaçu-poço, localidade sôbre o rio Içana, próximo da foz do Afari, duas mulheres provindas do Querari. Nazária de seus 40 anos e Byatrina de uns 25 a 28 anos, casadas com homens Arwáke da tribo *Yauarcté-tapúya*. Apresentaram-se como sendo da tribo *Koréteraboa*, nome que nos traduziram como *Buya-tapuya* (gente-cobra). Note-se que na 2.ª data supra, Josefa deu como uma subdivisão dos *Kubéwana* os *Koréteraboa*, nome que indica a planta *bosaritena*. Recolhendo o Vocabulário-teste destas mulheres *Koréteraboa*, verificamos que era quase idêntico ao fornecido por Heloísa em 1955. Byatrina indicou as seguintes divisões, servindo-nos de intérprete o índio Ernesto, da tribo Jurupari-tapuya, de S. Ana (rio Içana):

1.º — *Hehêwana* (velho), em Tui (rio Cuduiari)

2.º — *Pa[illegible]* (gato), em Itapinima (rio Cuduiari)

3.º — *Byêdero* (pimenta), em *Pirá-mirim* (rio Querari)

4.º — *Myarúka* (branco), em Sôi-ma (rio Uaupés)

5.º — *Bahuhona* (aparecido), em Uaracú-cachoeira (rio Cuduiari)

6.º — *Wararima* (?), em Macucú (rio Uaupés)

7.º — *Koroa* (coró-coró), em Itapinima (rio Cuduiari)

8.º — *Pyardika* (locandira), em Pirá-mirim (rio Cuduiari)

9.º — *Horóbora paramêra* (argila), em Cupim-igarapé (rio Papuri)

10.º — *Tidua* (um peixe), em Ti-igarapé (rio Uaupés)

11.º — *Akeromona* (formiga de fogo), no rio Pirá-paraná

12.º — *Tapio paramêra* (pavãozinho ou feiticeiro), no rio Uaupés

13.º — *Korébana* (esperado), Iviari-igarapé (afluente do Queari)

14.º — *Kopayona* (cupim branco), no Miriti-paraná (rio Uaupés)

15.º — *Burédua* (uma formiga de cabeça grande), no Miriti-paraná (rio Uaupés)

16.º — *Orubana* (deserto, clareira?), em Jacamim-cachoeira (rio Uaupés)

17.º — *Yamitidona* (fuligem), em Uaracapuri (rio Uaupés)

18.º — *Wirona* (um grilo), em Tipiaka-cachoeira (rio Uaupés)

19.º — *Tatina* (javari), em Paca-igarapé (rio Uaupés)

20.º — *Módkoraua* (olho), em Iutica, (rio Uaupés)

21.º — *Betona* (côco de tucum), em Açaí (rio Uaupés)

22.º — *Bpukona* (estrela), no rio Içana

23.º — *Yarui paramêra* (filhos do veado), em Surubi-igarapé (rio Içana)

24.º — *Mãpia paramêra* (daguiru preto), Cumari-igarapé (rio Içana)

*Observações.* — Confrontando as varias listas verificamos:

1.º — As localizações não coincidem. Esta dificuldade, porém, talvez se explique porque se trata de indicações vagas (rio ou igarapé tal, cabeceiras do rio tal, etc.), ou porque um mesmo grupo pode estar espalhado por varias localidades.

2.º — Os nomes igualmente não coincidem perfeitamente. Também poder-se-ia explicar esta dificuldade admitindo-se que nenhuma lista esta completa, donde o fato de uma omitir nomes que figuram em outras.

3.º — Estranha-nos sobremaneira a última lista: a) é mais numerosa. Talvez além de *subdivisões* propriamente ditas, compreenda também tribos proximas consideradas irmãs e, por isso, com interdição matrimonial entre elas.

b) Não é grande a coincidência com as listas anteriores (apenas em meia duzia de nomes). Tendo presente que a desinência *ko* é indicadora do masculino singular e *ka*, a desinência do plural, descobrimos um maior numero de coincidências. Por exemplo:

A 5ª subdivisão desta lista, *Bahukoica* com *Bahukekó* citada por Heloisa;

A 6ª divisão, *Warárica*, com a 3ª de Heloisa, *Wararikó* (pimenta);

A 9ª, *Horobora*, *argila*, com a 8ª *Hurukó* (?);

A 16ª, *Órobaica*, com a 1ª, *Órobakó* (sororoca).

c) *RODRA-MASÁ OU TARAYRA-TAPUYA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua* — *Rodra-masá*, como dizem no próprio idioma, corresponde ao Tukano *Doca-masá* ou *Taraira-tapuya* da Nhengatú; pois *rod* (em Tukano *doc*) é o nome do peixe taraira (*Erithrynus Taraira*, Lin.).

Seu idioma pertence ainda ao grupo linguístico Tukano, como se vê no Vocabulário (Cfr. «Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia»), que nos forneceu, em agôsto de 1956, um jovem por nome Yami, conhecido ainda sob a denominação de Pedro, de seus 22 anos, e residente na maloca Idemúra no Komé-ya. São êles em geral de estatura mediana, cheio de corpo, rosto arredondado, tez bronzeo-clara, olhos claros, pouquíssimo a nul, fios de pêlo, nariz alto e um tanto aquilino, e cabelo castanho. Todos, homens e mulheres, trazem as orelhas furadas e atravessadas por um pequêno batoque de seus 2mm de diâmetro.

Vigora também entre os *Rodra*, a exogamia de tribo, e sabemos de matrimônios com os *Ide-masá*.

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — Possuem uma maloca próxima da foz do ribeirão Go-ya, afluente da direita do Komé-ya. Parece que são pouco numerosos, salvo se os considerarmos em conjunto com os *Ehuéa* e *Yebá* que nos foram indicados como uma mesma tribo (cfr. IV — 2, 1). Note-se que não é raro que os de uma tribo sejam apresentados como irmãos ou parentes dos de outra tribo com intercâmbio matrimonial, embora se distingam não só pela língua, como se sói dizer, mas também etnologicamente. É o caso, por exemplo, dos Tukano e Bará.

3) *Divisões* — O informante supra indicou-nos apenas os *Yebá-Yeiuna*. Várias tribos, como os *Hunêra*, *Yebá*, *Emód* indicaram como subdivisão sua os *Rodra* ou *Taraira*. Trata-se realmente de

subdivisões dessas tribos, ou constituem os *Roera* uma tribo a se? Se é pequena a diferença dialetal, como nos revelam os Vocabulários comparados, é maior a somática, apesar do regime de matrimônio que liga essas tribos. Se temos em mente que entre tôdas essas tribos vigora o *matrimônio exogâmico* como lei rigorosa (cfr. 1, a, 1) a não interdição matrimonial poderia servir de critério para distinção de tribos, embora a interdição nem sempre valha como um critério classificativo.

7) *SURIRA OU SURYANA*

1) *Gentílico-Nome-Língua* — Êles se denominam a si mesmos *Surira*, de significado desconhecido, e são chamados *Suryana* pelos de outras tribos. Provavelmente é a mesma tribo chamada *Cirango* por Curt Nimuendaju.

Sua língua é do grupo Tukano, como se vê no Vocabulário que coligimos e gravamos (Cfr. «Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical» e «Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia»). Possivelmente a que vem em 36º lugar na classificação linguística de Chestmir (fr. «Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia») e a situa erròneamente no rio Caiari.

São de tez mais clara que os Tukano, rosto miúdo, traços menos proeminentes e também mais baixos e menos corpulentos que aquêles. Moralmente mais decaídos, são tidos pelos Tukano como inferiores, e como tais se julgam a si mesmos. São, na realidade, mais lentos em assimilar a civilização, mais preguiçosos, menos susceptíveis ao estímulo (40).

Em Acuariquara encontramos *Suryana* casado com *Tukano* e com *Desana*. Não vigora pois, interdição matrimonial entre estas tribos. A exogamia é obrigatória também entre os *Suryana*.

2) *Habitat e habitantes*. Encontramos alguns grupos nas cabeceiras do Papuri e no rio Paca (Acuariquara e arredores). Não se confundem com os *Suryana*, de origem *Arawake*, localizados no Demeni, e que Curt Nimuendaju identificou com os *Dahuna*.

Pelas informações obtidas em Acuariquara, a tribo *Suryana* está muito reduzida de membros. Serão uns 200 indivíduos: 120 em S. Geraldo (rio Paca), 60 em Vinha-igarapé, 30 em Ulva-igarapé e 20 em Tapira-cachoeira (rio Paca).

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(40) Confirma a impressão que estão mais decaídos o aspecto de suas casas em Acuariquara. É verdade que em novembro de 1953 duas famílias Suryana estavam construindo as duas melhores casas do povoado missionário. Da decadência moral, o fato de um pai vivendo maritalmente com sua filha. Cumpre relevar que os Tukano não aceitavam *Suryana* como aprendiz de trabalho; no entanto, na escola da Missão, os dois jovens mais inteligentes eram Suryana.

3) *Divisões.* — Informante Manoel Rodriguez de Acuaricuara

1 *Tu-boa* (?), em S. Geraldo

2 *Bebe-bariséra* (Suryana tapurú), em Vinha-igarapé

3 *Wira* (*flecha*), em Ulva-igarapé (rio Paca, acima do Tapira-cachoeira)

4 *Wya-foa* (uma formiga), em Ulva-igarapé

5 *Eond* (jaburu), em Tapira-cachoeira

6 *Bayaro surya mamasurá* (Suryana cantador), nas cabeceiras do Vinha-igarapé

7 *Bara-ka* (?), nas cabeceiras do rio Paca.

8) *TSÊNA.*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua.* — Pertencem os *Tsêna* à família de línguas Tukano, como se deduz do vocabulário «*test*» (*Cfr. Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical*). Não nos foi possível obter dados para um cálculo aproximativo dos Tsêna. Como as tribos vizinhas que residem entre o Tiquié e Pira-paraná, os *Tsêna* são de tez mais clara que os Tukano e traços menos mongolóides. Apresentam, outrossim, cabelos quimétricos, castanhos escuros.

2) *Habitat e habitantes.* — Localizam-se presentemente em malocas no médio *Pira-paraná* e em alguns seus pequenos afluentes como o *Tuni-ya* (igarapé da lontra), *Ahã-ya* (igarapé do inambú), *Iaxpi-ya* (igarapé da batata) e *Utu-ya* (igarapé da campina).

3) *Divisões.* — O índio Tsêna Marco, de seus 25 anos (1958), que nos forneceu e gravou o vocabulário, indicou as seguintes divisões da sua tribo em ordem decrescente de importância:

1 *Odni-sêna* (mucura ou gambá), em Tsêna-pwea (cachoeira do Pira-paraná)

2 *Tsêna-pó* (?), no ribeirão Tuni-ya

3 *Pinã-sêna* (cobra), no ribeirão Ahã-ya

4 *Kãmya* (?), no ribeirão Iaxpi-ya

5 *Wapa-sêna* (um peixe), em Tsêna-pwea. A êste grupo pertence o informante

6 *Pamõ* (tatú), em Utú-ya (Pirá-paraná).

1 *YEBÁ-MASÁ*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua* — Yebá-masá é sua denominação na língua materna, embora não saibam o significado dêste termo (41). Seu idioma se classifica na família Tukano, como se evidencia pelo vocabulário (Cfr. «*Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical*» e «*Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*»). São, em oposição aos Tukano, tipos franzinos, de estatura média como êles ou mais baixos ainda. Rosto pequeno, afilando para o queixo. Fisionomia pouco ou nada monótona. Cabelo mais grosso, preto ou escuro, não lissótrico, como acontece geralmente aos indígenas do Brasil. Às vêzes até apresentam leves ondulações. Olhos escuros, nariz baixo na raiz, como os Tukano, porém ponta mais alta e fina. Os homens têm ordinariamente as orelhas furadas.

Com insignificante agricultura de mandioca, são especialmente caçadores e vivem de frutas silvestres. Por isso é grande entre êles o consumo do *ipadú* (cfr. VI - 4, 1 (3). Usam todos a rede de 30 fios. São freqüentes as suas festas.

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — Um grupo de *Yebá-masá* vive nas cabeceiras do Igarapé Iaissa (igarapé da casa da onça), ainda em território brasileiro, porém a totalidade está em território colombiano, no interno da mata banhada pelo Komé-ya. Provavelmente não superam duas ou três centenas de membros.

3) *Divisões* — As cinco primeiras divisões nos foram fornecidas pelo índio desta tribo por nome Joaquim, de seus 25 anos (em 1954), e as duas últimas pelo índio João, 40 anos, da tribo Tuyuka, da maloca do Iaissa. Nas seguintes divisões figuram os *Roéra* e *Fmôa*. Não conseguimos apurar se são as tribos homônimas, como é mais provável, consideradas como mais aparentadas. O seu hábitat coincide com os destas tribos, como se pode ver nos respectivos lugares.

1 *Doé* ou *Roé* (taraira), no Komé-ya

2 *Wihuri* ou *Wipuri* (?), no Komé-ya

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(41) Lucas o Velho Tukano de S. Luzia, como já foi dito (IV-2), a) explicava ao Padre Antonio Giacone que *Yepá-masá* (como dizem em Tukano), quer dizer *gente-da-terra*; e que os indígenas chegados posteriormente ao Papuri assim denominavam os Tukano. Note-se que *Yepá*, conforme as lendas, é o filho de *Burpó* (o Trovão), e os índios, com algumas noções religiosas, dizem que é Deus Filho. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) encontrou no Tiquié uma índia por nome Inácia, da tribo *Yepáhã*, de belos traços fisionômicos. Seria outra grafia de *Yepá*?

3 *Ajoka* (?), no Komé-ya

4 *Hotu* (?), no Komé-ya

5 *Kutto* (?), no Komé-ya

6 *Enõa-masá* (gente macaco guariba), no Komé-ya

7 *Sé-masá* (gente macaco barrigudo) (42) no Komé-ya

*u) WAHYARA OU YURITI-TAPUYA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Lingua* — Os indios conhecidos por *Yuriti-tapuya* se dizem no proprio idioma *Wahyára* ou *Uhayana* e pertencem a familia linguistica Tukano, cuja lingua, no entanto, apresenta vestigios *Karaiba*, assim afirma Chestmir (cfr. Vocabulário na «Discoteca etno-linguistico-musical»). *Juriti é a tradução do nome da pomba-wahyara*. São de rosto mais longo e tez mais clara que os Tukano, como tambem são mais altos e esbeltos que êstes.

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — Chestmir informa de sua existência no rio Camari. Pelo que nos consta, e na região colombiana entre o Uaupes e o Papuri que vivem alguns grupos dos Juriti, bem como em Acuariquara (rio Paca) e seus arredores. Parece-nos que são mais numerosos que os Suryana.

Em «Pelo Rio Mar» se diz que foram aldeadas em 1852 por Frei Gregorio no rio Uaupes em Aracapuri, Cururú-cachoeira, S. Jerônimo e S. Joaquim, e um século antes pelos Carmelitas em Thomar. E que são muito proximamente aparentados aos Huhúteni e são denominados *Hahkuhuru* pelos Siwsi. Pensamos que haja aqui um certo engano. Os *Huhúteni* são do grupo *Arawake*, e os *Juriti*, dos quais falamos, são, pela lingua, do grupo *Tukano*. É verdade que os traços fisionomicos dos Juriti são menos mongolóides e mais delicados que os dos Tucano.

3) *Druisões* — Informante Emilia Cordeiro, de seus 40 anos em Acuariquara em novembro de 1953.

1 *Derpoa Waxiti panamêna* (cabeça de Waxti), nas cabeceiras do Paca

2 *Tapára Wahpara* (andorinha), na bôca do Turi-igarapé, em Neniya

3 *Dyata pond* (pato dagua), nas cabeceiras do Cussá

4 *Botea Wahpára* (aracú), nas cabeceiras do rio Paca (hoje extintos)

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42) *Sé* é o macaco dos gêneros *Lagothrix* e afins, que se diz também *aimoré*, por isso os indigenas deste grupo algumas vêzes são ditos *Aymoré-tapuya*.

5 *Wakebu ponã* (inga), em Tuim-igarapé (afluente do Uaupés)

6 *Ydsed Wahydra* (juriti mico), no igarapé Komé-ya (afluente do Paca) (43)

7 *Usénina* (cucura), no igarapé Komé-ya

8 *Dyipo putada* (pata pé), no igarapé Komé-ya

9 *Wakó basoka* (seringa), nas cabeceiras do Paca

10 *Dyato panamena* (lua pixuna), no rio Paca (acima de Tapira-cachoeira)

11 *Ahuã betori panamena* (minhoca), nas cabeceiras do Paca.

v) *WAY-KHANA OU PIRA-TAPUYA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua* — Pirá-tapuya é o têrmo da língua geral correspondente a *Way-khana* do idioma materno, ou «gente-peixe» (Sing. Masc. *Wai-khõ*, *Fem.* *Wai-khõ*). O seu nome explica-se pela lenda das origens. Seus particulares traços fisionômicos foram descritos (IV - 1, a (3)). Sua língua é do grupo Tukano, como se pode ver pelo Vocabulário (Cfr. «Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical»), e muito próxima da dos *Wanana*.

Já observamos que vigora interdição matrimonial entre os *Pirá-tapuya* e os Arapasu, Wanana e Juriti.

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — Nas listas do século 18 não figuram. É interessante relevar que os *Pira-tapuya* são indicados nos mapas de Frei Gregório em Caruru-cachoeira, Iauareté, Juquira, S. Joaquim, isto é, em povoados de outras tribos e não onde os encontramos e sinalamos (III). O seu núcleo principal é o Papuri, donde passaram depois ao Uaupés. É provável que tenham chegado ao Brasil antes dos Tukano.

Oscilam por uns seis centos (588 na estatística de «Pelo Rio Mar»), assim distribuídos: no Uaupés, em Jacaré-ponta e arredores de Ananás, de Taracuá, em Urubucuara, Mariuá, Buzina, em Uaracú-ponta que é o seu maior centro atualmente e nos arredores de Umari. No Papuri, em S. Gabriel, S. Paulo. São, outrossim, numerosos em território colombiano fronteiriço.

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(43) Komé-ya é o nome da língua Tukano correspondente a Gi-parana do Ñeengatu, isto é "Ribeirão de ferro ou do machado". Não se confunda com Komé-ya, afluente do rio Pira-parana que banha as matas habitadas pelos Ide-masã, Roera, Yebá e outras tribos.

3) *Divisões* — Indicadas por um grupo de Pirá-tapuyas de Teresita (rio Papuri):

1. *Wehéra* ou *Vetára poné* (polvilho), em Teresita, Ucapinima, Japim, Japu (rio Papuri) e Uaracú (rio Uaupés)
2. *Sukiya poné* (vermelhos), em Macú-paraná e África (Papuri)
3. *Sasiro poné* (sasiro, um gafanhoto grande) em Uaracú (Uaupés)
4. *Kenè poné* (uma barata), no rio Paca
5. *Pàtá poné* (um sapo que incha), em Japim (Papuri)
6. *Busúna poné* (palmeira), em Igarapés do rio Japurá
7. *Buzpo pone* (trovão), em S. Tomé (Bela Vista) no baixo Uaupés
8. *Durkodo poné* (desnalgado), em Bela Vista
9. *Nuna-emèperea poné* (orelha de veado), em Ituim-ponta (Papuri)
10. *Napa pone* (um sapo), em Arari-pirá (Uaupés)
11. *Kome-pa poné* (pedra do machado), em S. Francisco (Uaupés) (44)
12. *Nohu-peoroa* (queimada), em Bacaba (Uaupés) e Japim (Papuri)
13. *Peoroa* (vazante), em Teresita (Papuri)
14. *Numakuli poné* (veado pintado), em Macú-igarapé
15. *Yupè pone* (uma rã), em Cangatara (Uaupés)
16. *Kehólya* (sonhador?), em Ponta-fria (Uaupés)
17. *Bud pone* (cotia), em S. Paulo, S. Gabriel, Tucunaré (Papuri), Taracuá, Bela Vista, Açaí-paraná (Uaupés)
18. *Pardoro poné* (um cipó de flor perfumada) nos ribeirões Macú e Ituim.
19. *Nizti-pá poné* (cinza), em Teresita (Papuri) (45)

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(44) Conforme o Tukano Henrique, pajé do Japú-igarapé (rio Uaupés), os *Kome-pá*, ditos também *Gi-Tapuya*, são os "Pirá-tapuya dos pés" ou "da cauda" (assim se exprimiu) e moravam antigamente acima do Japú-Igarapé, conforme se pode ver desenhado no mapa de Hamilton Rice (cfr. II-6, b).

(45) "Porque traziam o fogo nas danças", assim nos explicaram a razão do nome. Deve ser costume antigo, que hoje não mais vigora. Releve-se que em Teresita no-lo apresentaram como os Párias dos *Pirá-tapuya*; ao passo que no Tiquié qualificaram de escravo aos *Bud poné*, *Pardoro* e *Orkonya*.

20 *Orkdirpa pone* (espuma da água onde apareceram os Pirá-tapuya), em Caruru-cachoeira (Uaupés) (46)

21 *Dyaxtú panamina* (netos de Dyaxtú, i. e. do que bebe caxiri puro), em S. Tomé (Tiquie), Bela Vista (Uaupés) (47)

w) *WINA OU DESANA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua.* — No próprio idioma se dizem *Wina*; nome, parece, de um peixe. Conforme o Padre João Marchesi significa *tentania, trovão, gente do trovão*. Pelos Taryana são chamados *Detsana* ou *Papurinara*. O sufixo *uara* é do Nheengatú e exprime origem, o nome pareceria, então, indicar que penetraram no Brasil pelo Papuri. É certo que quando os Tukano chegaram ao Tiquie, os *Desana* já se achavam aí e nos principais afluentes. Inversamente dos Tukano, depois é que passaram ao Papuri, quiça ainda antes da chegada dos Tukano ao Brasil.

Na língua Tukano dizem-se *Wenã* ou *Wirã*; receberam, outrossim, as alcunhas de «*mahi-pũ pôra*», *filhos do sol*, e «*ô mã-kori marãpa*», *gente do dia*. Tais alcunhas podem derivar de alguma lenda que desconhecemos. Ou quiçá, da localização relativa dessas duas tribos, estando os *Desana* na região oriental, com relação aos Tukano?

O vocabulário que conseguimos (Cfr. «Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical») revela tão grande afastamento do idioma Tukano, quanto antropologicamente se distinguem desta tribo. Baixos como êles, porém mais franzinos e mais claros, e de rosto afilado. Chestmir afirma que seu idioma apresenta intrusão Karaiba.

São especialistas no fabrico de peneiras e no preparo do tucum. Os *Tukano* afirmam haver aprendido com os *Desana* a fazer a «rede de trinta fios» (VI - 2, c. 2).

É-lhes interdito o matrimônio com os *Taryana* e *Arapasu* (48).

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(46) Seriam os *Wanana* considerados como irmãos dos *Pirá-tapuya*, donde a interdição matrimonial que vigora entre estas tribos?

(47) Informaram-nos um indivíduo dêste grupo que êle se identifica com o 7.º grupo acima *Búzapa pone*.

(48) Lemos em Koch Grunberg que se casam com os *Makús*. Não o pudemos verificar. Talvez só tratasse de um caso particular referido a Koch. Nem nos parece aceitável, pelas centenas de indivíduos que observamos, a opinião de Koch que diferem das outras tribos pelos seguintes traços somáticos: "corpo não tão bem proporcional, cabeça alta, cabelo crespo, rosto oval, zigoma saliente, nariz grosseiro, olhos algo oblíquo".

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — São muitas centenas (601 no censo de «Pelo Rio Mar»). Hoje os encontramos numerosos no Papuri e afluentes, porém especialmente no Tiquié e seus tributários — o Castanho, Umari, Ira e Turi-igarapé. Alguns grupos desceram, já em princípio do século passado, para a foz do Uaupés e o Rio Negro. Estes últimos, como temos em Giacone «pelo contato com os Caboclos e brancos, são os mais adiantados; além do próprio dialeto e do Tukano, falam o Nheengatu e muitos, o português. Todos os anos alguns dêles sobem o Tiquié e o Papuri, em visita aos seus irmãos, levando-lhes mercadorias ganhas com os brancos e recebendo em troca farinha de mandioca, peneiras, aturás ou cestos, novêlos de tucum e canoas» («Os Tucanos», 7).

3) *Divisões* — Informantes: Amélia Veiga (30 anos, em 1956) da subdivisão *Yugo-pôna* e Ana Cabral (22 anos, *Depôtino*) ambas de Floresta (Rio Tiquié); Justina Pires (de Embaúba, rio Uaupés) e Judite Monteiro (de Matapi, Tiquié):

1.º — *Bore-ka-pôna anikma* (aracú) (49), no rio Papuri — são os «Mami».

2.º — *Baggéri pôna* (velho), em Tucunaré (Papuri)

3.º — *Sungéri pôna* (uma fruta amarga), no Macú-igarapé (Papuri)

4.º — *Pogéri pôna* (uma fruta semelhante ao abio), no rio Uaupés

5.º — *Depôtino pôna* (uma formiga), em Ira-igarapé (Tiquié)

6.º — *Yugo pôna* (solução), em Trovão (Uaupés) e Floresta (Tiquié)

7.º — *Sipeanuá anikma* (um pássaro), em Umari-igarapé (Tiquié)

8.º — *Anuéri pôna* ou *Aguniguéri pôna* (pé de inambú), no rio Papuri

9.º — *Yerse pôna* (porco do mato), no rio Castanho (afl. do Tiquié)

10.º — *Tôa piana* (lua pixuna, fruta), em Iraiti (Tiquié)

11.º — *Warsupo pôna* (cunuri), em Turi-igarapé (Papuri)

12.º — *Yú pôna* (um inseto?), em Floresta (Tiquié)

13.º — *Yeborúma anikma* (osso?), em S. João (Tiquié)

14.º — *Simpó peru pôna* (caxiri de uacu), em Teresita (Papuri) e Itapinimã (Uaupés)

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(49) *Bore-ka-pôna* quer dizer «filho do aracú». "*Anikma*" é um demonstrativo que emprego com frequência e significa *estes, êles*. Transcrevê-mo-lo para tirar fiel à indicação e pronúncia dos nossos informantes.

15.º — *Yuxpe pafinã* (?) ou *yai buxtinã* (onça branca), em S. Antônio (Tiquie)

16.º — *Bupuka pôna* (sumauma), no rio Papuri

17.º — *Teaburu pôna* (uma fruta), em Floresta (Tiquie)

18.º — *Mahuñana pôna* (uma lagarta comestível), no rio Papuri

19.º — *Monca pôna* (carapanã), em Umari-igarapé (50)

20.º — *Minuma pôna* (andorinha), nas cabeceiras do Papuri

21.º — *Marpinya pôna* (açaí), em Turi-igarapé e Montfort (Papuri)

22.º — *Way-poberi pôna* (canal de peixe) (51), em Piracuára e Montfort (Papuri)

23.º — *Kuperi pôna* (?), em Tucunaré (Papuri); só uma mulher sobrevive, mãe de Sabino Paiva de Iuquira, Uaupés)

24.º — *Poctêna* ou *Po'partêna* (uma planta), em Po-yá igarapé

25.º — *Oiwa anãma* (morcego), no rio Papuri; são os pária.

*Obs.* — O Desana José Prado, de uns 30 anos (1958) confirmou as subdivisões supra, com as seguintes modificações: 1.º não conhece a 11.ª subdivisão *Warsupo pôna*; 2.º corrigiu os nomes da 8.ª, 15.ª e desmembrou a 24.ª, respectivamente *aganigáni pôna*, *yai buxtinã* e *Poparteêna*, porque plantou o igarapé» (assim explicou); 3.º — As três primeiras são as mais nobres, disse, e os *oiwa* são os pária.

x) *KUMADENE OU IPEKA-TAPUYA*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua* — *Ipeka* é têrmo nheengatu que significa pato-dagua. No próprio idioma êles se denominam *Kumãdene*, e na língua Tukano, *Dya-kaxta-porã* (filhos do pato-dagua). Os Taryána dizem-nos *Kumãda Yaperikuli*, patos de Yaperikuli.

Há no Uaupés um pequeno grupo desta tribo de Linhagem *Arukáe* e cujo idioma se filia ao grupo *Baniva*, como se pode ver pelo Vocabulário que recolhemos (Cfr. «Discoteca Etno-Linguístico-musical»)

Consideram-se irmãos dos Taryána, e, por isso, é proibido o matrimônio entre estas tribos. Na lista das subdivisões dos *Taryana*,

(50) Seria talvez a tribo Karapanã que considerem mais intimamente ligada aos Desana? Efetivamente existe um grupo Karapanã nas cabeceiras do ribeirão Uamari ou Umari-igarapé.

(51) Afirmam os indígenas que há um canal subterrâneo entre o Papuri e o Tiquie, por onde, reza sua lenda, passaram os primeiros peixes para o Tiquie.

figuram os *Kumãdã Yaperikuli*. Porém as diferenças somáticas e culturais demonstram-na uma tribo distinta dos Taryana. São menos corpulentos, de compleição mais delicada, mais claros e de cabelos menos abundantes do que estes.

Os do Uaupés já perderam o idioma pátrio falando todos exclusivamente o Tuxáua. Em 1954 encontramos em Urubuara apenas dois velhos que sabiam ainda algumas palavras da língua natal, que pudemos transcrever e gravar: o sexagenário tuxáua Mandú Henriques, e o quase nonagenário *Komã* (xamã) Martinho, falecido em março de 1956. Os do Cuiari, afluente do Içana conservam ainda seu próprio idioma.

2) *Habitat e habitantes.* — Esta tribo participou das primeiras migrações que se localizaram no Cuiari e Içana; tendo, como centro neste último, a localidade de S. Pedro. A escassez do Içana em peixe em relação à população, especialmente em alguns anos, levou, em meado do século passado, alguns grupos a emigrarem para o Uaupés. Em maior número passaram pelas matas do Aiari, e outro, pelo baixo Içana. Entre estes últimos o grupo *Ipeka* que hoje se encontra em Urubucuara e arredores, e nenhuma relação mantém com os Ipeka do Içana. Parece que, presentemente, a tribo inteira não ultrapasse três ou quatro centenas de almas.

3) *Divisões.* — Informante Mandú Henriques, do grupo *Kumãdã-pã*, tuxáua de Urubucara. Releve-se que os vários *Kumãdãne* do rio Cuiari, que pudemos consultar, embora falem o idioma nátal, não souberam indicar as divisões da tribo.

1º — *Kumãdã-da* (?), em Pinú-pinú, já extintos.

2º — *Kumãdã-pã* (?), em Urubucuara

3º — *Kupãi Mãnesi* (gancho?) Cabeceiras do Yaviari

4º — *Hupeka* (?), em Bacaba-cachoeira (Uaupés)

5º — *Wumerida* (?), em Bacaba-cachoeira

6º — *Mãnãipa* (?), em Periquito-cachoeira (Uaupés)

7º — *Wiri-Kurupa* (uirapipi, passaro), em Periquito (Uaupés)

8º — *Kumãdã-di* (fileira), no rio Aiari

2) *TALYSERI OU TARYANA.*

1) *Gente-Nome-Língua.* São os principais representantes, no rio Uaupés, do grupo étnico e linguístico *Arawáke*. Denominam-se, na língua Tuxáua: *Pãdna* (nome de uma planta?), e no próprio

idioma *Talpáseri* ou *Talpéseri* e em vários idiomas Arwáke do Issana *Tariana* ou *Tariri*. De *Talpáseri*, opinamos nós, deriva a palavra *Taryana*, pelo rotacismo (troca do *r* pelo *l*, fenômeno comum entre essas tribos) e o sufixo *ana*, da língua geral, que exprime abundância ou coletividade.

Tentamos dar um esbôço do aspeto somático (cfr. IV - 1, a (2). Caracterizam-se melhor pela língua, que é do ramo *Arwáke*; portanto bem diversa da Tukano pela pronúncia, radicação e flexão. (Cfr. «Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical» e «Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia»). Parece-nos, no entanto, que, quanto à estrutura ou arcabouço lógico da língua (derivação de palavras, ordem da frase, sintaxe, etc.), o *Taryana*, como também os *idiomas Arwáke* e o próprio *Nheengatú*, sejam semelhantes ao da Família de línguas *Tukano*. Envolvidos geograficamente, como se acham por êstes, e pelas relações comerciais e matrimoniais, nota-se que a sua língua tende a desaparecer, sendo substituída pelo Tukano. Atualmente apenas uma centena e meia de adultos entende e fala o idioma *Taryana*. Os moços só conhecem o *Tukano*, que é, muitas vêzes a língua da própria mãe, e muitos o Português aprendido nas Missões Salesianas.

De acôrdo com as lendas teriam saído da terra por buracos que se vêem nas pedras da Cachoeira de *Uapuim* (no rio Alari). Ao emergirem, ainda cobertos de sangue, fez-se ouvir forte trovão, e por isso são ditos «Filhos do sangue do trovão» (em Tukano: *Bürpó di pöra*, ou *Di-rsa*, (gente do sangue).

Por ocasião da chegada ao Uaupés deu-se uma cisão em dois grupos, que ainda hoje se mantêm antagônicos. Um se localizou na cachoeira de *Ipanoré*, e o outro na de *Iauaretê*; e entre ambos se radicaram um grupo *Tukano* em Iuquira, um *Pará-tapúya* em Aracú-ponta e um *Arapaso* em S. José.

A sua ascendência *Arwáke* faz-nos pensar numa descida provável pelo Rio Orinoco-Negro, localizando-se alguns grupos (*Ipeka*, *Baniva*, etc.) pelo vale do Içana e Xié, e outro (*Baré e Taryána*) desceram mais. Os *Baré* chegaram até a foz do Rio Negro, e os *Taryána* até a do Uaupés, cuja corrente depois subiram. Essas migrações devem ter-se processado há vários séculos. Com efeito, na época dos descobrimentos, já se acham os Arwáke nos rios que ocupam atualmente. Mais ainda, os primeiros exploradores, que atingiram o rio Orinoco, encontram entre as tribos locais a crença que os habitantes do Rio Negro eram gigantes (Cfr. Sampaio, «Diario» de 1774-5, pag. 302). Podemos, pois, inferir um intervalo de séculos para o surgir e generalizar-se de lendas dêsse jaez.

2) *Habitat e habitantes* — As estatísticas das Missões dos Frades Capuchinhos de 1880 a 1888 indicam 11 aldeias habitadas pelos Taryána com um total de 2.272 almas, cujos centros principais eram: Iauareté, S. Joaquim, Nanã-Rapecúma, S. Jerônimo, Micura-Rapecúma, Caruru-cachoeira. Podemos afirmar que dêsses centros indicados presentemente só há *Taryána* em Iauareté, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, e Micura-Rapecúma. Os últimos dados que possuímos acusam apenas 717 em *Ipanoré, Pinú-pinú, Cigarro Buzina* e de *Iauareté* para cima até *Periquito*, tôdas localidades sôbre o rio Uaupes, e em Aracapá, Japurá e arredores sôbre o rio Papuri, e no rio Javiari. É possível que no cômputo dos Capuchinhos estivessem incluídos outros grupos *Arúake* mais vizinhos pela língua e costumes, residentes na bacia do Içana.

3) *Divisões* — Em outubro de 1953, um grupo de *Taryana* de Iauareté, entre os quais dois velhos de mais de 60 anos, verificaram a lista que daremos em seguida e obtida em viagens precedentes. Quanto à ordem e significado dos nomes havia indecisão entre os informantes, devido, talvez, à decadência do grupo que, além de sua redução de membros, está perdendo o próprio idioma.

1.º — *Pakurána* (nascido das nuvens), no povoado *Manao* (Iauareté). São os mais importantes.

2.º — *Nérikua Kuenaka* (cara de veado), em Japurá (rio Papuri) (52).

3.º — *Siuiru Ihuriu* (?), em Japurá

4.º — *Kuisi-ada* (cauda de mutum), em Iauareté (Uaupés)

5.º — *Kui-ôafe* (?), em Iauareté

6.º — *Kuenaka* (?), em Iauareté e Ipanoré (quase extinto) (Uaupés)

7.º — *Kui Kuparo* (macaco almoré), em Ipanoré

8.º — *Sami-da* (?), em Arach-ponta, (Uaupés)

9.º — *Maku-pa* (urutaui, bacurau), em Micura (Uaupés)

10.º — *Kumãde Yaperikuli* (Pato de Yaperikuli), em Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) (São propriamente os Kumãdéne, também do grupo Arúake).

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52) Dêsse grupo, hoje quase extinto, o velho Paulino que nos forneceu estas subdivisões.

11° — *Mukurupa-po* (?), em Uafacapá (rio Papuri)

12° — *Hiparikú susari* (*riku* é um pica-pau pequeno), em Iauareté (Missão)

13° — *Sereuni* (um periquito de cauda longa), em Bacaba (Uaupés)

14° — *Kapuroa* (? sonhadores), Iauareté (povoado Dom Bosco)

15° — *Wáparo póna* (um peixe), em Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) (53).

Em maio de 1956, o paje *Taryána* do Ira-igarapé, por nome Henrique, homem de seus 50 anos, contou-nos a lenda das origens dos grupos *Arukáe*, na cachoeira de Uapuim, e deu-nos a relação dos chefes *Taryána* na ordem de saída da panela da cachoeira, e que corresponde igualmente à importância do grupo que dêle se originou. Note-se que se diferencia da precedente, não só quanto ao número das subdivisões e sua *precedência*, como também quanto aos nomes e seu *significado*. Só há acôrdo com a precedente em meia dúzia de nomes. Revelou-se, no entanto, melhor conhecedor das lendas antigas, e por isso mais crédito merece sua palavra, aliás muito respeitada não só pelos simples homens, como também por outros pajés da tribo Taryána.

Começando pelos mais importantes, assim ficam seriadas em ordem decrescente as subdivisões:

*1° grupo dos mais nobres*

1° — *Kuwéna* (?), os cabeça, já se extinguiram ?

2° — *Inipumakeni* ou *Ena-pamákere* (gente do sangue, isto é, nascidos do trovão) dêste grupo Agostinho do povoado Manao (Iauareté)

3° — *Pokurána* (i e irmão mais velho) *Kasúfari*, já extintos; outrora no povoado Manao

4° — *Pokurána tuseri* (?), também extintos, em Iauareté

5° — *Pokurána puriti* (folha), dêste grupo Filipe de Iauareté

(53) Êste nome está em língua Tukano. Uma jovem de 17 anos, Antonia Corrêa, se apresentou em 1954 como sendo *Wáparo póná*, não sabendo dizer o significado de *Wáparo*. Conforme outros é um peixe semelhante ao aracu, porém mais arredondado.

6.º — *Pokurãna Kuenaka* (cunuri), dêste grupo é Joaquim de Iauareté

7.º — *Pokurãna Nerikoa* (testa de veado), extintos, em Iauareté

8.º — *Dapu-kari* (lagarto dagua), Paulino de Iravassú-ponta

9.º — *Kuenaka Pitasifsaiei* (perna de cutia), Iravassú-ponta

10.º — *Kuenaka Siuiru* (pomba), Mandú Moleque de Iauareté

11.º — *Pokurãna Kuisnada* (cauda de mutum), Mandú de Turí-ponta (Uaupés)

12.º — *Pokurãna Wadakõnini* (galho de iúa-pixuna), Benedicto de Tana (ultimamente moravam em Taiaçú)

2.º *Grupo mais abaixo* (i. e. inferior)

13.º — *Kuenaka Kuewãthe*, Nicolau de Iauareté

14.º — *Kuenaka Manuere* (Manuel) *Kuewãthe*, Callisto de Iauareté

15.º — *Kuenaka Manuere Kuewãthe*, Leopoldino de Iauareté (54)

16.º — *Kuenaka Dukurani* (puraquê), os Taryana de Ipanoré

17.º — *Pupuna Sahãni* (cabeça de cutia), os Taryana de Aracu-ponta

18.º — *Sahãni Maru-apanapéri* (sobrinho do Bayá), Feliciano de Mandú

19.º — *Sahãni Karinéseri Buasé-bó* (55), no Ira-igarapé (deste grupo o informante

20.º — *Sahãni Karinéseri — Yauritpápu* (arco de flecha), em Japurá (Papuri)

21.º — *Wuaka* (?), hoje em Ipanoré, outrora na cachoeira do Acari

22.º — *Hunaka* (?), hoje em Cigarro, outrora na cachoeira do Acari

3.º Grupo — *Surára* (os soldados, para os trabalhos inferiores) (56)

23.º — *Kumida Arréda* (pato branco), Agostinho da ilha do bezouro (abaixo de Iauareté)

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(54) Leopoldino foi um tuxaua muito temido de Iauareté, por volta de 1920

(55) Parece ser da língua Tukano o nome *Buasé-bó*; conforme uma lenda foi o personagem que lhes deu a mandioca

(56) Surára é o têrmo, parece, do Nheengatú, corrupção do português soldado e que as diferentes línguas adotaram

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24.º — *Kumãda Kadéita* (pato branco), Martinho de Urubucuara

25.º — *Kumãda Kadéita*, no rio Javiari

4.º *Grupo*

26.º — *Yauria-pe nipe* (gente do Javiari), Paulino de Uaracapá (Pupuri) (57)

27.º — *Yauria-pe nipe* (gente do Javiari), Bibiano de Uaracapá

28.º — *Adari*, (pavãozinho ou feiticeiro, ave), Marcelino de Iauareté

29.º — *Yaryanipe* (tartaruga-bayá), em Iauareté (servem a Nicolau)

5.º *Grupo — dos Kayaroa* (em Tukano Way-penésiriri)

30.º — *Yaryanipe* (jubo de ritmo), os Taryãna de Miriti (Uaupés)

31.º — *Kayaroa*, extintos desde o início (i. e. morreu sem deixar filhos)

32.º — *Hayka Sãni* (coração de pau), João Barrigudo de Iauareté

33.º — *Hipara* (a curvatura do sapo), Eduardo de Iauareté

34.º — *Tepina Masyedana*, são os escravos, em Iauareté (sobrevivem só algumas mulheres)

6.º *Grupo — dos sobrinhos* (?)

35.º — *Pai Penesiri* (=Wai penésiriri?), Antonico de Iauareté

36.º — *Pai Penesiri*, Eduardo de Iauareté (pai de Ricardo)

37.º — *Pai Penesiri*, os Taryana do povoado de Buzina (Uaupés)

7.º *Grupo — dos escravos, «Taryana da cauda»*

38.º — *Mamyari-keni* (neto de Wãx-ti ou Jurupari), Bibiano de Periquito

39.º — *Mamyari-keni*, em Bacaba-cachoeira (Uaupés)

40.º — *Mamyari-keni*, em Juquira-ponta (acima de Iauareté.

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(57) Yauria-pe nipe, com tôda probabilidade é do idioma Tukano, e com melhor pronúncia se escreve Yauria-po nipo, i. e. os que estavam no rio Javari.

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| | | em Tukano | Tuyuka | Pirá-tapuya | Wanana |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Tukano | Daxseá | Daxseá | Daxseá | Daxséa |
| 2 | Tuyuka | Dyí-khãta | Doxká-poatá | Dyí-kena | Dyí-maxkãna |
| | | | Doxká-foatá | | |
| 3 | Pirá-tapuya | Waí-khãra | Waí-maxkãna | Waí-khana | Waí-maxkãna |
| 4 | Wanana | Oxko-ti-khãra | Dyá-poxsã-maxkãna | Oxkó-ti-rya | Kótirya |
| | | | Axko-ti-maxkãna | | |
| 5 | Desana | Wirá | Wina | Kna | Kna |
| 6 | Kubéwana | Kubéwa | Kubéwa | Sí-á (Sí-bá) | Bwísa-maxsã |
| 7 | Bará | Bará | Bará | Bará | Bará |
| 8 | Yurití-tapuya | Walára | Waídyana, Waíaka | Wafana | Wafana |
| 9 | Suryúna | Soryá | Sóryá | Súryá | Suryá |
| 10 | Koropóã | Mõxtéã | Moxteá | Muxtã | Mõxtẽã |
| 11 | Hanéra | Parérõa | Panẽnõá | ——— | Parẽnõa-maxsã |
| 12 | Edúrya | Edúryá | Edúrya | Erúrya | Durya (Verúlya) |
| 13 | Yeba-masã | Yepá-maxsã | Yepá-maxsã | Yepá-maxsã | Yepámati |
| 14 | Tatu-tapuya | Pamõã-maxsã | Pamõã | Pamõ-poné | Phamõ-poná |
| 15 | Mikúra-tapuya | Oá-maxsã | Oá-fõna | Oá-poné | Oá-maxsã |
| 16 | Miriti-tapuya | Neérõã | Neenoã | Neenoã | Neenoã |
| 17 | Atapóna | Koréa | Koneá | Konéa | Kõ'réa |
| 18 | Ide-masã (Makuna, Aonira) | Aonirã | Aonina | Aonina | ——— |

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | Wariwa-tapuya | Ehóa-maxsã | Emóa | Emóa | Emóa |
| 20 | Tatuta-tapuya | Dag-maxsã | Dasea, Daxera | Daxsepya-poné | Daxsã-piwa |
| 21 | Bu-re-mahã | Bua-maxsã | | ——— | ——— |
| 22 | Pusã-tapuya | Wehéko-maxsã | Bafigo-maxsã | Wéhãna-maxsã | Wahiye-kéryá |
| 22 | Kawayari | | ——— | ——— | Kaviaría |
| 24 | Yurú-pi-una | | Wau (?) | Doxsé-betó-ñiena | Doxsé-ro-ñyina |
| 25 | Sarabatena-tapuya | Bugpuwo-maxsã | Bugpuwo-baxsoka | Vuxpu paxká-poné | Pu-maxsã |
| 26 | Tambuka | Nu'hã-maxsã | Hoã-mara | Núl'hõ-paxká-poné | ——— |
| 27 | Wakiriá-tapuya (Yehoa-maxsã, gente gente) | Yehã-maxsã | Ye-maxsã, Ye-poná | Tã-tã-poné | Kóda-ká-maxsã |
| 28 | Akúgotóra-tapuya | Mahã-poarí-maxsã | Mãnõa | Mahã-poarí-poné | Mahã-poaká-maxsã |
| 29 | Tayeu | Yexseã-maxsã | Yeé-pona, Maxkari-yeyé | Yexseã-poné | Yexseã-maxsã |
| 30 | Yakamu-tapuyma | Tã-tã-maxsã | Tã-tã-maxsã | Tã-tã-poné | Tã-tã-perénoã |
| 31 | Arako | Bo'teã-maxsã | Bo'tea-maxsã | Bateã-poné | Bo'téa-maxsã |
| 32 | Irawã | | Dobé | Umi-maxsã | Mí-parénoã |
| 33 | Pikaro | Buhã-maxsã | Buã-pónã | Buhã-maxsã | Buhã-maxsã |
| 34 | Tapura | Wexko-maxsã | Wexke-fóná | Vexko-maxsã | Waxtsé-maxsã |
| 35 | Yawarata-tapuya (Yai-maxsã, gente onça) | Yai-maxsã | Yai-fóná | Yairó-poné | Yairo-parenoã |
| 36 | Pirã-yuru | Waí-oxsero-maxsã | Waí-oxsero-maxsã | Waí-doxse-maxsã | Waí-doxsé-maxsã |
| 37 | Tokatira | Pextãra | Pextã-maxsã | Pextã-poné | Pixtã-maxsã |
| 38 | Jitapuya | Komeã-maxsã | Komeã | Komé-paxká-maxsã | Komã-maxsã |
| 39 | Jiboya-tapuya | Wexsé-koteró-maxsã | Maxká-fino | ——— | Dyátina-maxsã |
| 40 | Uila-walwa | Uxtyá-maxsã | Yãxsó-utyá | Uxtíroa-maxsã | Tiroã-maxsã |
| 41 | Koró-Koró | Koxtoã-maxsã | Koxtoã | Koxtoã | Koxtoã |
| 42 | Omáwa | Omáwa-maxsã | Omã-pónã | Omã-poné | ——— |
| 43 | Meyu-tapuya | Ahúga-maxsã | Webe-fóná | Nahó-poné | Nahú-maxsa |
| 44 | Wotuya | ——— | ——— | Waxpãyakea | ——— |
| 45 | Taryana | Pãana | Pãvara | Pã ne | Pháwana |
| 46 | Ipeka-tapuya | Dyã-kaxtã-pónã | Dyã-kata-fóná | Dyẽni-poné | Dyã-kaxta-poná |
| 47 | Bahiwa | Bexkara | Bexkaná, Bekará | Bexkaná, Bexkeé | Bastyá |
| 48 | Maku | Poxsã | Poxsã | Poxsã | Poxsã |

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| | | Desána | Kubewána | Bará | Yuriti-tapuya |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Tucano | Náxseá | Wéwéwa (Hoéwe) | Dáheá | Daxseá |
| 2 | Tuyuka | Mat-mána | Koroboa-parámena | Dóxká-poará | Dokáspuyána |
| 3 | Bará-tapuya | Wai-abána | Mpa-parámena | Wai-maxkána | Wai-masá |
| 4 | Wanána | Dexko-sore-mãná | Oxkó-diwa | Okó-tiná-maxkána | Oxkó-sutiró-makána |
| 5 | Desana | Winá | Wékowe (wekúywe) | Winá | Winá |
| 6 | Kubewana | Dixpári-maná | Pamiwa | Dyá-mahá | Ptéri-makána |
| 7 | Bará | Bará | Pidida-pwéwa | Bará | Bará |
| 8 | Yuriti-tapuya | Gwaiana | Hurewayra | Waiana | Wahyára (Uhaiana) |
| 9 | Suryana | Soryá | Pwimya (Pwimiwa) | Sorlyá | Sóťyá |
| 10 | Kaapor | Mõnea | Mórewa | Moxteá | Moxteá pónã |
| | | | Hawãnya | | |
| 11 | Honera | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 12 | Edurya | —— | Edúrya | —— | —— |
| | | | ? (Baronina-parámena) | | |
| 13 | Yebá-masá | —— | Yebá-masá | —— | —— |
| 14 | Tariá-tapuya | Pamõ-põná | Pamóa | —— | —— |
| 15 | Mikúra-tapuya | Ódri-koné | Ohowe-paramena | Oá-mõná | —— |
| 16 | Miriti-tapuya | Neenoá | Neawa-paramena | Neenoá | Neenoá |
| 17 | Arapáso | Koneá | Kórewa | Koneá-mahá | Koréa |
| 18 | Ide-masá | —— | Aodina | Aóninã | —— |
| 19 | Guariba-tapuya | —— | —— | —— | —— |

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20 | Tarafra-tapuya | — | — | — | — |
| 21 | Bá-re-maxá | — | — | — | — |
| 22 | Pusi-tapuya | — | — | — | — |
| 23 | Kawayari | — | — | Kawáyari | — |
| 24 | Yurú-pajuna | — | — | — | — |
| 25 | Sarabatana-tapuya | — | — | — | — |
| 26 | Tanikiká | — | — | — | — |
| 27 | Garsa-tapuya | — | — | — | — |
| 28 | Akamiarí-tapuya | — | — | — | — |
| 29 | Tayuti | — | — | — | — |
| 30 | Yakami (jacamim) | — | — | — | — |
| 31 | Araku | — | — | — | — |
| 32 | Iraxi | — | — | — | — |
| 33 | Pikasu | — | — | — | — |
| 34 | Tapura | — | — | — | — |
| 35 | Yawarete-tapuya (Yal-maxá, gente onça) | — | — | — | — |
| 36 | Piká-yaru | — | — | — | — |
| 37 | Tekádira | — | — | — | — |
| 38 | Ji-tapuya | — | — | — | — |
| 39 | Jibeya-tapuya | — | — | — | — |
| 40 | Ufia-wáka | — | — | — | — |
| 41 | Kerú-Korú | — | — | — | — |
| 42 | Omáwá | — | — | — | — |
| 43 | Meyú-tapuya | — | — | — | — |
| 44 | Wakuya | — | Kónoriwa | — | — |
| 45 | Taryána | — | Oráydoa (Ogáydawe) | Páoana | Pawá- |
| 46 | Ipeka-tapuya | Dyá-kaxtá-pôná | Bedé-parámena | Dyá-katá | Dyá-katá-pôná |
| 47 | Banúva | — | Maká-pawa (pôôá) | Bexkána | Bekáne-makána |
| 48 | Maku | Poyá | Boroá | Pohoá | Poxká |

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| | | Suryána | Karapaná | Ranera | Edurya |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Tukano | Daxseá | Ratseá | Daseá | Raseá (Latseá) |
| 2 | Tuyuka | Mak-mana | Rokã-poẽna | Lokaxna | Rokahana |
| 3 | Pira-tapuya | Wai-kana | Wai-makara | Wai-kãna | Wai-makãna |
| 4 | Wanana | 'Bãreá | Witoa | Oxko-ti-kãna | Oxko-di-kãna |
| 5 | Desana | Wirã | Wimã | Wirã | Winã |
| 6 | Kobewana | Dyapori-kãna | Dya-mahã (Kubẽwa) | Kubewa | Kobẽwa |
| 7 | Bara | Bará | Bara | Gabé-masã | Bará |
| 8 | Yurití-tapuya | Wayãna | Waiãna | Wa'ana | Wayãna |
| 9 | Suryana | Surira | 'Surya (Sãtyá) | Tsodya | Tsodya |
| 10 | Kaixana | Morekã-pona | Mõxtea | Moxteá | Mõxteá |
| 11 | Hanera | | | Hanérã | Hanérã |
| 12 | Edurya | | Edúrya | Edúrya | Edúrya (Erúlya) |
| 13 | Yeba-masã | | | Yepá-masã | Yebá-masã |
| 14 | Tariana-tapuya | | Pamõa-yé | Hamõnya | Hamõa-masã |
| 15 | Makuna-tapuya | | Oa-mãkãna | Oá-senõá | Oá-sinõá |
| 16 | Miriti-tapuya | Neenoá | Neenoá | Neenoa | Néroá |
| 17 | Arapaso | Koneá | Koneá | Koneá | Koneá |
| 18 | Ile-masã | Aokará | Aokora | Uhãna | Uheãna (Wahãna) |
| 19 | Guanana-tapuya | | Kamõa | Omõá-masã | Omoá-masã |
| 20 | Tariana-tapuya | | 'Orotse | Roeá-masã | Roeá-masã |
| 21 | Barenana | | | | |

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | Pugá-tapuya | —— | 'Ba-pí | Syãri-ryará | Syãri-hosá |
| 23 | Kawa-yari | —— | Kawárya | Kawadya-masá | Káwayari |
| 24 | Yuru-pisuna | —— | Iroupya | Rise-ñira-masá | Rise-ñira-masá |
| 25 | Sarabatana-tapuya | —— | Buxpu-matsá | Buhwá-masá | Buhú-masá |
| 26 | Tanbuka | —— | Oanára | Ohoã-yára | Mugã-yára |
| 27 | Garça-tapuya | —— | Wanî-matsá | Uxpira | Uxpira |
| 28 | Akagatára-tapuya | —— | Mahã-poá-matsá | Mahã-hoá-kána | Mahã-hoá-hakára |
| 29 | Tayasu | —— | Yetsá-matsá | Yesea-masá | Yesé-masá |
| 30 | Yakami (jacamim) | —— | Tã-toá-mahá | Tã-tã-masá | Tã-tã-masá |
| 31 | Aruku | —— | Boté-ká-mahá | Boté-ká-masá | Bodéa-bwiná |
| 32 | Iranu | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 33 | Pikasu | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 34 | Tapira | —— | —— | Wakó-masá | Wexko-masá |
| 35 | Yaiaretê-tapuya (Yaí-maxsã, gente onça) | —— | —— | Dyai-masá | Yaí-masá |
| 36 | Pira-yuru | —— | —— | Wai-risé-masá | 'Ryá-tóná |
| 37 | Tokádira | —— | —— | Hetári-sanã | Hetari-henã |
| 38 | Jitapuya | —— | —— | Komeá-masá | Kemé-masá |
| 39 | Jiboya-tapuya | —— | —— | Vexsé-koteró-masã | Wexsé-koteró-masã |
| 40 | Utia-waiwa | —— | —— | Utyarí | Yetoá-masã |
| 41 | Kiro-Koró | —— | Kotoá | Hotoá | Kóto-masã |
| 42 | Oanãwa | —— | —— | —— | Omá-masã |
| 43 | Meyú-tapuya | —— | Náoro | Nahũ-háyri-masã | Nahũ-heri |
| 44 | Watúya | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| 45 | Taryóna | Pávana | Pawa | Hawára | Hawána |
| 46 | Ipéka-tapuya | Dyã-kará-póná | Dyá-katã-póná | Dyá-katarora | Dyá-katara |
| 47 | Baniva | Bexkã | Be'kãna | Bexkãna | Bexkãna |
| 48 | Maku | Poyá | Potsá | Hosá | Hosa |

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| | | Yebá-masã | Yatú-tapuya | Ide-masã | Tarna |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Tukano | Daseá | Daheãna | Raseá | Daheá |
| 2 | Tuyuka | Doxkãna | Hóksapãna | Lokáxna | Dóxkavana |
| 3 | Pirá-tapuya | Wai-plaxkãna | Wai-mekãna | Wai-maxkãna | Waí-makãna |
| 4 | Wariana | Wiroa | Wiroa | —— | Wioroa |
| 5 | Desana | Winã | Winã | Winã | Winã |
| 6 | Kubewata | Podé-masã | Kubéwa | Kobewa | Ryá-mahã |
| 7 | Bará | Bará | Bará | Bará | Bará |
| 8 | Yuruti-tapuya | Watana | Watana | Wadyãna | Watana |
| 9 | Suryana | Sudyá | Hutyá | Sudyá | Hótyá |
| 10 | Karapanã | Mõxteá | Mõxteá | Mõxteá | Mõtõá |
| 11 | Hanera | Hawãnya | Panerã | Hanérõa | Panénõa |
| 12 | Edúrya | —— | Edúrya | Edúrya | Edúrya |
| 13 | Yebá-masã | Yebá-masã | Yebá-maxsã | Yebá-maxsã | Yebá-mahã |
| 14 | Tatu-tapuya | Hamónya | Paboá | Hamõã-sená | Pámõa |
| 15 | Mikuga-tapuya | Oá-masã | Oá | Oá-sẽná | Ooa |
| 16 | Mirati-tapuya | Neenoã | Neéroa | Neéroa | Neénoá |
| 17 | Arapáso | Koné | Koneá | Kõ'neá | Kónéa |
| 18 | Ide-masã | Aõdina | Uhãna | Ide-masã | Wohana |
| 19 | Guariba-tapuya | Emõã | Emõa | Emõã-masã | ?Úko |
| 20 | Taraira-tapuya | Roeã | —— | Roeã | Loheã |
| 21 | Bá re-masã | —— | —— | —— | —— |

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | Pusá-tapuya | — | — | — | |
| 23 | Káwa-yari | — | — | — | ?Bapí |
| 24 | Yurú-pūna | — | — | Kaẽ-frya | Wáyakõrõ |
| 25 | Sarahitaná-tapuya | — | Bahábugana | — | — |
| 26 | Tanhuka | — | — | Buñwá-masã | Búpwa |
| 27 | Garsa-tapuya | — | — | Ôhañura (noyõña) | — |
| 28 | Akãpotãra-tapuya | — | — | Wánya-masã | Yé |
| 29 | Tayasũ | — | Yeteá-masã | Mahã-hoá-masã | — |
| 30 | Yakamí (Jacamim) | — | Bodé-wĩnã | Yexsé-masã | — |
| 31 | Araku | — | Tã-tã-masã | Bóteku-masã | — |
| 32 | Irawé | — | — | Tã-tã-masã | — |
| 33 | Pikeró | — | — | Mĩnya-masã | — |
| 34 | Tapira | — | — | — | — |
| 35 | Yaguareté-tapuya (Yaí-masã, gente onça) | Yaia-masã | — | Yaia-masã | — |
| 36 | Pirá-yuru | — | — | Wai-oxseró-masã | — |
| 37 | Tokã-ta | — | — | Hetãra | — |
| 38 | Jitá-puya | — | — | Komé-masã | — |
| 39 | Jitóya-tapuya | — | — | Wexsé-kodé-masã | — |
| 40 | Utiá-wafwa | — | — | Ũtya-masã | — |
| 41 | Koré-Koró | — | — | Koxtoá-masã | — |
| 42 | Omãwa | — | — | Omã-masã | — |
| 43 | Meyũ-tapuya | — | Nahũ-masã | Nahũ-masã | — |
| 44 | Wafuya | — | — | — | — |
| 45 | Taryãna | Hawãnya | Pávina | Hawarã | Páwana |
| 46 | Ipéka-tapuya | Dyá-katãnya | Dyá-kaxtá-põná | Ryáka-tarya | Ryá-potáka |
| 47 | Pariva | Bexkãna | ?Bekãra | Bexkãra | Mĩpya |
| 48 | Maku | Hosã | Pohãre | Hosã | Pohã |

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| | | em Guariba-tapuya | Tarayra-tapuya | Ba re-masa |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Tukana | Raseá | Lasea | Raseá |
| 2 | Tuyuka | Rokāna | Kouhodya | Okāna |
| 3 | Yurá-tapuya | Wai-makāra | Wai-makara | Wai-mākāra |
| 4 | Wakana | Oxko-ti-makāra | ——— | Ryarigana |
| 5 | Desana | Winá | Wina | Winā |
| 6 | Kubewa | Kobéwa | Kobéwa | Kubéwa |
| 7 | Bara | Bará | Bará | Bará |
| 8 | Yardi-tapuya | Wayera | Wadyána | Wadźāna (Watoyána) |
| 9 | Sudya | Sudyá | Sudya | Sudyá |
| 10 | Kotiria | Mõxtéá | Mõxtéá | Mõxtēá |
| 11 | Hanera | Hanéroa | Ahārá | Hanéna |
| 12 | Edurya | Edurya | Édurya | Édurya |
| 13 | Yeba-masã | Yeba-maxsá | Yeba-masá | Yebá-masá |
| 14 | Tariana-tapuya | Hãmõa-séna | Hamoá-masá | Hámorya |
| 15 | Macuna-tapuya | Oá-séná | Oá-séná | Oá-saná |
| 16 | Miriti-tapuya | Neéroá | Neénóa | Neéroa |
| 17 | Arapasso | Kõ'neá | Kõõeá | Kõnea |
| 18 | Ide-masã | Ide-masã | Ide-masã | Ide-masã |
| 19 | Guariba-tapuya | Émõã-masã | Émoa-masã | Émõa-masã |
| 20 | Tariana-tapuya | Roea | Roeá-masã | Roéa-masã |
| 21 | Bá re-masã | Bá re-masá | ——— | Bá re-masá |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | Porá-tapuya | — | Yorí-masá | Yaurí-masá |
| 23 | Kawá-yari | Kawirya | Kawirya | Kawirya |
| 24 | Yuni-pitúna | — | — | — |
| 25 | Sarabotana-tapuya | — | Buhábugana | Buhábugana |
| 26 | Tanibuka | — | — | — |
| 27 | Garú-tapuya | — | — | — |
| 28 | Akágatára-tapuya | — | — | — |
| 29 | Tayasú | — | Yescá-masá | Yescá-masá |
| 30 | Yakami (pacanuni) | TÃ-tÃ-masá | TÃ-tÃ-masá | TÃ-tÃ-masá |
| 31 | Arapu | — | Bodeha-masá | Bodé-winá |
| 32 | Irawa | — | — | — |
| 33 | Pikasú | — | — | — |
| 34 | Tapira | — | — | — |
| 35 | Yawareté-tapuya (Yai-masá, gente onça) | Yaiu-masá | — | — |
| 36 | Piratapuya | — | — | — |
| 37 | Tekaira | — | — | — |
| 38 | Jitapuya | — | — | — |
| 39 | Jibaya-tapuya | — | — | — |
| 40 | Uta-wafeja | — | — | — |
| 41 | Koró-Koró | — | — | — |
| 42 | Omáwa | Omá-masá | Omágwa-masá | Omagúa-masá |
| 43 | Meyú-tapuya | — | Nahú-masá | Nahú-masá |
| 44 | Wátuya | — | — | — |
| 45 | Taryána | Pawárá | Hawána | Awána |
| 46 | Ipéga-tapuya | Ryá-katarya | Ryá-katá-masá | Ryá-katárya |
| 47 | Bardia | Bexkára | Bekára | Bekára |
| 48 | Maku | Hosá | Hosá | Hosá |

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## 3. NOME DAS TRIBOS DO UAUPÉS

*nas diversas línguas indígenas*

| | | em Taryána | Ipeka-Tapuya | Maká |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Tukáno | Yasemá | Yasepiá | Tšokó-dé |
| 2 | Tuyuka | Suru-pêne | Suru-peene | Mãi-dé |
| 3 | Pira-tapuya | Kupé-minanei | Kope-minanei | Mohopi |
| 4 | Wanana | Panúmape | Panumape | Deke-dyohi |
| 5 | Desana | Detsana, Detsenei | Dessa | Mina-de |
| | | Nokã | | |
| 6 | Kobewa | Paseni | Ai-yune | Deheádyore |
| 7 | Bará | Wini-minanei | Siribi-minanei | Pam-hopé |
| 8 | Yurutapuya | Oriputyéne | | Hob-nokáre |
| 9 | Sirianá | Sirêne-minanei | Suryéna | Tjuryáge |
| 10 | Karapanã | Aimi-wené | | Kyisa |
| 11 | Hanóra | | Pareno | |
| 12 | Bararua | | | |
| 13 | Yeba-tapuya | | | |
| 14 | Tatu-tapuya | Yo-minanei | Yee-ém-pe | Yéu-tére |
| 15 | Makú-tapuya | Inali-minanei | Inari-yenipe | Wahoim |
| 16 | Miriti-tapuya | Apyá-mene | Apeã-mane | Neno-tére |
| 17 | Arapasso | Kuhene-minanei | Kuhé-dine | Hom-do |
| 18 | Idemnasã (Makuna, Aonuas) | | | |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | Wariwa-tapuya (Emõã-masã, gente guariba) | — | — | — |
| 20 | Tarairá-tapuya | — | — | — |
| 21 | Bá re-masã | — | Báre | — |
| 22 | Pusã-tapuya | — | — | — |
| 23 | Kawa-yari | — | — | — |
| 24 | Yurú-pũna | — | — | — |
| 25 | Sarabatina-tapuya | — | — | — |
| 26 | Tanibuka | — | — | — |
| 27 | Wakará-tapuya (Yeheá-maxsã, gente onça) | — | — | — |
| 28 | Akagatira-tapuya | — | — | — |
| 29 | Tayaú | — | — | — |
| 30 | Yakamí (jacamim) | — | — | — |
| 31 | Arakú | — | — | — |
| 32 | Iravú | — | — | — |
| 33 | Pikasi | — | — | — |
| 34 | Tapira | — | — | — |
| 35 | Yawaretê-tapuya (Yuí-maxsã, gente onça) | — | — | — |
| 36 | Pirá-yuru | — | — | — |
| 37 | Tokãdira | — | — | — |
| 38 | Ziriapuya | — | — | — |
| 39 | Jiboya-tapuya | — | — | — |
| 40 | Utiá-waiwa | — | — | — |
| 41 | Koró-Koró | — | — | — |
| 42 | Omáwa | — | — | — |
| 43 | Meyú-tapuya | — | — | — |
| 44 | Watuya | — | — | — |
| 45 | Taryãna | Talyáseri | Taryá | Kém-ri |
| 46 | Ipéka-tapuya | Kumãda Yaperíkuli | Kumãdéne | Dexpú-téra |
| 47 | Baniva | Bayaná-semá | Bayaná-semá | Bexkáwa-dé |
| 48 | Makú | | Makú | Mohém-Ketê |

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Cap. V

## OBSERVAÇÕES SÔBRE A PSICOLOGIA DO INDIO (1)

Se tôda alma humana é indevassável, a do índio constitui um mistério. Não são raras as surpresas que têm os que com êles conviveram dezenas de anos e pensavam conhecer a fundo os indivíduos.

Ser humano que é, o indígena apresenta, naturalmente, qualidades boas e más, como qualquer outro homem, tomando algumas delas uma côr ou relêvo que o ambiente de privação e isolamento facilita, e que por essa razão, ressaltam mais aos olhos do civilizado que os visita. Notaremos a seguir algumas bastante gerais e que, por isso, parecem caracterizar a mentalidade e educação indígenas, admitindo-que possa haver alguma exceção, bastante rara de resto.

1) *Morosidade intelectual e física*

Por uma parte a vida material a que estão obrigados, e por outra, a sujeição quase asfixiante às leis da tribo, que não admitem

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(1) Êste capítulo da Psicologia indígena surgiu como os demais, de observações pessoais, em diferentes lugares, e em diversas circunstâncias, sem ter de inquérito apresentado aos Missionários Salesianos e de Montfort e a outros civilizados conhecedores destas tribos. No primeiro esbôço dêste trabalho, organizado em 1948, já estava elaborado um capítulo sôbre os traços psicológicos mais característicos das tribos uaupesinas. A oportunidade de viagens sucessivas e de mais demorada permanência no Uaupés sugeriram, como era natural, correções, retoques e acréscimos ao trabalho. No presente capítulo, porém, é que mais frequentes foram os retoques e as correções, e quiçá onde será mais marcada a diferença entre o esbôço primitivo e a redação atual dêstes estudos. O mais longo e constante contacto com o indígena obrigou-nos a modificar nossa opinião em um ou outro ponto. Alguns que conheçam as tribos que aqui estudamos apenas por informações ou por uma rápida visita, parecerão quiçá carregados os traços que aqui esboçamos. Estamos, porém, convictos que, não só são bem objetivos, como dar-nos-ão razão os que tiverem a oportunidade de verificar in loco estas nossas observações. Podemos assegurar que antes de passá-las para estas páginas, nossas observações foram lidas a pessoas muito criteriosas e que há dezenas de anos convivem familiarmente com êstes indígenas e tôdas estas pessoas nos asseguraram que eram exatas as nossas observações, e correspondiam também a quanto viam nos índios das diversas tribos desta região.

discussão, não deixam campo para a especulação ou, digamos, para o exercício da inteligência teórica. Prova-o a dificuldade de aprender uma verdade religiosa, e a da criança de escola para resolver o mais simples problema de aritmética. Para a totalidade das crianças escolares, os 5 ou 6 anos de estudos, no regime de internato, não bastam para que consigam aprender as 4 operações. O índio, como fisicamente é lento de movimentos (2), também é tardo, para dar-nos a mais óbvia resposta. Moroso para entender uma ordem que lhe damos, encontra dificuldade em acompanhar o nosso raciocínio, quando com êle conversamos. De ordinário é preciso repetir-lhe os ensinos muitas vêzes. Talvez por isso é que, nas conversas entre si, há tantas repetições.

De quanta paciência e tempo se não necessita para obter do indígena um vocabulário, por mais simples que seja, por exemplo, meia dúzia de palavras correspondentes às partes do corpo (cabeça, mão, braço, perna, pé), ou os nomes que dão às várias tribos. E isto até quando nos servimos de uma língua que êles conhecem (por exemplo, o Português, o Nheêngatú ou o Tukano). A dificuldade cresce sobremaneira quando se quer o têrmo correspondente de algum objeto que não temos no momento, ou a noção vai ficando mais abstrata. A modo de exemplo e confirmação, se lhe pedirmos as palavras de sua língua correspondentes a *cadáver*, *comprido* (espaço), *longo* (tempo), *último* (numa enumeração) (3). Pròpriamente não há no idioma Tukano, têrmo equivalente à palavra úl-

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(2) Tivemos estudado não o aspecto bio-fisiológico, esta lentidão pudesse ser [illegible] corrigida por farto alimentar adequado. Alguma correção, mais de natureza psicológica, vão, por certo, recebendo durante os anos que passam na Missão, máxime os alunos nos internatos.

(3) A guisa de confirmação bastam êstes dois episódios. Já possuíamos os nomes das subdivisões da tribo Taryana, obtidos diretamente por nós em excursão precedente, e pelo sr. Pe. Antônio Giacone. Desejando uma verificação, reunimos em conferência seis indivíduos dessa tribo, dos quais 5 entendiam suficientemente o português, e o mais velho, um pouco menos. Foram necessárias duas horas para obter o nome das 18 subdivisões que figuram neste trabalho (IV, 2, *y*), e o local onde [illegible] em outra ocasião, averiguar a procedência exata [illegible] (2) o taquinho quebrado, e "[illegible]" que se deixa no caminho como malefício para alguém. Indagamos numa roda de 6 ou 8 rapazes que falavam o português. Êles trocavam idéia entre si rapidamente, em língua Tukano, ora falava um, ora outro, ora falavam mais simultâneamente e depois ficavam todos calados. Insistimos ora com êste, ora com aquêle, que parecia estar compreendendo nosso desejo. Só depois que abrimos os originais datilografados do presente trabalho, e o mais desembaraçado dêles leu o trecho a que me referia, acrescentou: "é assim mesmo". Para resolver esta simples questão passaram-se 40 minutos!

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tinos, dirão mais concretamente: o da *ponta*, o da *extremidade* (yaxpa-ti-kãgõ, masc., yaxpa-ti-kãgõ, fem., yaxpa-ti-kãra, pl., yaxpa-ti-kãsõ, neutro).

Por esta razão não se deve contentar, por quanto possível, de saber de um só indivíduo, ou numa só ocasião, a tradução de uma palavra. Muitas vezes ouvir-se-á a palavra pronunciada diferentemente. Tratar-se-á de pronúncia defeituosa do indivíduo? de qual delas? de todas? ou a divergência é devida a pronúncias regionais? e então qual delas será a melhor? ou, enfim, trata-se de têrmos correspondentes a uma mesma palavra portuguêsa? qual dêles seria o melhor? seriam perfeitos sinônimos? Acenamos a estas dificuldades para que se compreenda o esfôrço de quem se põe a estudar, diretamente com o índio, a língua dêle. É dez vêzes mais difícil do que estudar um idioma estrangeiro com auxílio de mestres, gramáticas e vocabulários.

O índio é homem da realidade, daí a sua dificuldade para as generalizações e abstrações. Em vez de dizer simples e abstratamente *cabeça*, preferirá dizer «*minha cabeça, tua cabeça*», etc. Não diz *trabalhar*, comer (a língua Tukano não possui sequer o modo infinitivo), dirá: *eu trabalho, tu comes*», etc.

Quanto à memória, tem-na um pouco mais desperta, para os assuntos que lhe interessam. Donde se segue menor dificuldade para aprender algumas palavras ou frases da língua portuguêsa, ou para leitura (4), e para reter os nomes de lugares, de pessoas, ou relembrar os acontecimentos. Com mais dificuldade decorará a tabuada ou as orações. E sente-se satisfeito também, quando o civilizado lhe recorda algum episódio em que o índio tomou parte. Mova-o, depois, o desejo de tornar-se «branco», isto é, de civilizar-se. Por isso adaptam-se ao grande sacrifício de internar-se num colégio e assistir às aulas, bem como sujeitar-se à disciplina escolar.

2) *Inteligência prática*

Quanto à inteligência prática, tem-na mais desenvolvida. Prova-o a solução prática dos problemas que lhe apresenta a vida, e com os recursos que a Natureza lhe pôs à mão. Os civilizados naquelas regiões, quando não dispõem de outros recursos, acabam, em algumas coisas, imitando o índio, ou encarregando-o da execução do que precisa. Basta acenar, por exemplo, à segura e ampla casa

(4) Trouxe, em 1946, para o Museu Salesiano do Índio de S. Paulo, as provas escritas das crianças de Pari-cachoeira, após tão só 8 meses de escola, constando de pequeno ditado executado com boa caligrafia e poucos erros.

ou maloca que constrói, à estável e rápida canoa que faz, e aos numerosos objetos que fabrica (vasos, ralo, cestos).

Merecem admiração a habilidade e perfeição com que abre as palmas para a cobertura da maloca, com o auxílio do remo, ou como executa os seus trançados, o modo de amarrar e transportar um feixe de palmas. É mesmo notável a sua habilidade para essas necessidades práticas da vida. E mais admirável se torna, se pensarmos que a aprendizagem é rápida, sem verdadeiras escolas, e acha-se logo habilitado, por exemplo, para os variados e belos trabalhos de redes e cestos. Com relativa rapidez aprende também os ofícios dos civilizados, como o de pedreiro, ferreiro, carpinteiro, alfaiate nos Colégios Salesianos, embora, quiçá por fôrça do ambiente, das circunstâncias e de sua inconstância, muitas vêzes não alcancem a perfeição no seu ofício. Alguns continuam como oficiais dêsses ofícios nos estabelecimentos missionários. Outros, tornando dos colégios para as suas casas têm a oportunidade de servir-se do que aprenderam, manejando, por exemplo, o serrote, o martelo e até o formão. São êles ainda os maquinistas das lanchas que sobem seus imensos rios, como são capazes de se desincumbirem de trabalhos mais delicados, quais as observações e manejo dos aparelhos meteorológicos (5). São os insubstituíveis «práticos» da navegação daqueles perigosos rios, porque possuem notável memória topográfica das pedras escondidas e bancos de areia, aliada a uma impressionante calma nos perigos que apresentam os temporais e as cachoeiras.

Quiçá nos impressione de primeira luz o pequeno alcance da inteligência do índio, mesmo no campo prático e nas cousas mais evidentes e simples. Verificaremos, por exemplo, os erros que cometem na navegação, o não saber prever e, ao depois, evitar ou sanar um inconveniente. Talvez, por figurar casos concretos, para tirar a água de um bote, não removerão uma tábua que dificulta a operação; se uma árvore ribeirinha obstacula a navegação, cortam-na tão mal que a passagem fica ainda mais difícil, etc. Essa impressão de obtusidade intelectual, no entanto, ficará atenuada se atentarmos que executa o trabalho com despreocupação e desinterêsse.

(5) A. Wallace já observava um século atrás (quiçá com algum exagêro para ressaltar a idéia) que, enquanto um camponês europeu levaria 6 meses a aprender o manêjo de um sextante, um dos nossos índios aprende-o em minutos. Semelhante observação fêz também Koch Grunberg (Zwei Jahre).

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3. *Fantasia ou imaginação*

Uma faculdade grandemente desenvolvida no indígena é a imaginação. Compreende-se facilmente que assim o seja, faltando-lhe o controle de uma inteligência mais desenvolvida e educada, tendo, pelo contrário, o espírito informado por lendas e crenças pueris, incoerentes e mesmo absurdas, e vivendo num ambiente de solidão majestosa e quase esmagadora. Muitas das suas conversas, nas longas horas ociosas do dia e soturnas da noite, versam sôbre lendas, aparições e maleficios. Por isso tem sempre a imaginação inflamada. Só assim se explica como possam ver em algumas pedras estranhas semelhanças com plantas, instrumentos, etc., semelhanças que, mesmo preavisados, não logramos perceber. Basta citar uma rocha da cachoeira de Uaracapá, quase na foz do rio Papuri, apresentada como «uma bananeira» e na qual vemos apenas um desses rochedos comuns que emergem dágua.

As suas conversas desconexas, as suas narrações incompletas, denunciam alguém que supre com a própria fantasia e deixa campo à fantasia dos ouvintes. Algumas vêzes desejamos uma informação rápida e prática (por exemplo, sôbre um caminho, uma cachoeira, uma distância), pedimos a um indígena intérprete que a pergunte a outro. Conversarão 10 ou 15 minutos entre si e, ao cabo dêsse tempo, o nosso intérprete dirá que não sabe, que não entendeu ao seu irmão de tribo. Compreendemos, então, que de narrações imperfeitas, nas quais gestos e rumores enfáticos da bôca suprem palavras e idéias, surgirão mal-entendidos, alteração do pensamento do narrador, variação nas notícias e nos contos.

Quando conseguimos que algum indígena nos fale espontâneamente, com intimidade, verificamos que aquêle homem que nos parece bem equilibrado, de pouca impressionabilidade, aquêle ex-aluno ou ex-aluna dos colégios missionários, com aparência de um quase civilizado, não só tem a cabeça onerada de tantas lendas exóticas e crenças estranhas, porém até vê e ouve com impressionante frequência aparições, vozes, palavras, ditos misteriosos. Surpreendemo-nos às vêzes ouvir dos lábios de moços e môças com muitos anos de convívio com a civilização, quiçá mesmo de vida em cidades, como Manaus, as mais estranhas narrações de visões que tiveram, em pleno dia, na sua barraca, ou na roça, em caminho, na viagem; vozes, ditos que ouviram, fatos inverossímeis, fabulosos ou lendários, que asseveram haver presenciado, citando-nos lugar, tempo, nomes de pessoas (por exemplo, que viram Wáx'ti, Boraró, etc.; pessoas que se transformaram ou se transformam periòdicamente em ani-

mal, anta, piraboto, que passam dias, semanas e até meses no fundo dágua, etc. (6).

Por um lado a reserva do indígena ante o civilizado, porque sabe que êste não o compreende, nem crerá em tais narrações, e quiçá mesmo o repreendera ou ridicularizará; e por outra parte, o desejo de parecer civilizado, fá-lo-á silenciar tudo isto ao «branco», que passa entre êles, de sorte que não advirta êste traço da psicologia do índio.

Talvez não seja exagerado apresentar como *traço geral* da psicologia indígena, esta "superexcitabilidade da fantasia. Quiçá se deve qualifica-la mesmo de *desatirada*, e afirmá-la com desvio da normalidade, se fazemos um confronto com a do civilizado.

Somos levados a crer que a imaginação do homem destas selvas, ao ouvir a narração de alguma de suas lendas, a vá reconstruindo e revivendo, a vá enriquecendo de cenas e pormenores, na proporção da incoerência e omissões do narrador. Mais ainda, temos a convicção que, em alguns casos, uma imagem ou cena (desejada ou odiada), que passou pela imaginação do índio, acaba por se transformar para êle numa realidade; o *imaginado* se lhe converte em *real*, em *fenômeno*. Assim nos explicamos, por exemplo, como surgem (com tal frequência que já nem se leva em conta) notícias e informações sem fundamento algum, e que os próprios acontecimentos vem desmentir (7), e no entanto são cridas sempre que surgem.

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(6) Temos sido consultados por moços e môças, que passaram pelos colégios da Missão, e nos perguntavam, com tôda a convicção: — "Como é possível a gente virar boto?" "virar anta"? Patrícia Vasconcelos, por exemplo, em outubro de 1955 contou-nos o seguinte, como um fato de que ela tem absoluta certeza. N. N. da tribo Taryana, do povoado de Arapiuna (Maués) é antiga aluna da Missão de Iauareté, casou-se com um moço Tukano, que já tem trabalhado várias vêes em Taracuá e outros centros Missionários. Outro rapaz queria tê-la como espôsa, e, por vingança, indo certa vez em passeio pelo mato com o marido dela (isto lá por 1952) deu-lhe, a pegar uma folha de pirá-yaudara-pûri (planta do boto, explicou-nos Patrícia). Certo dia "o marido ficou diferente", "ficou como boto" (isto é resfolegando como faz o boto na superfície dágua), e por fim mergulhou no Rio Negro, lá em Tapurucuara (antiga S. Isabel). Ficou um dia inteiro dentro dágua. Os botos o empurraram para a terra e êle "virou gente" outra vez. Várias vêzes êle tem virado boto. A própria espôsa do infeliz rapaz é que lhe contou êstes episódios e chora muito por esta desgraça.

(7) Vários alguns exemplos dessa exagerada impressionabilidade ou excitabilidade do índio, e de como chegam a convencer-se da realidade de uma mera imaginação. Nem isto causa estranheza aos estudiosos de psicologia e fenômenos parapsíquicos.

Periódicamente viajam as lanchas da Missão que fazem o abastecimento dos diversos centros. É certo que seu rumor pode ser percebido a grande distância, com o favor do silêncio da solidão e da direção do

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4) *Espírito de imitação*

O seu espírito inventivo parece de todo atrofiado, em benefício do espírito de imitação, grandemente desenvolvido. O índio não inventa, faz como aprendeu, sem aperfeiçoar. Como também não é capaz de copiar de um original, sem auxílio de alguém que lho ensine. Costumam, presentemente, adquirir chapéus de palha fabricados em Santarém (Est. do Pará). A um índio, hábil fabricante de peneiras, tipitis e outros trançados, interpelamos no ato da compra de um dêsses chapéus: — «Vocês não têm palha na mata? — Temos-sim. — E então, em vez de comprar, por que não faz o seu chapéu? — Ninguém ensinou para nós», foi a resposta.

O alto conceito que tem do «branco» (é assim que denominam o civilizado, seja qual fôr a côr do seu pigmento), leva o homem da selva a imita-lo em tudo. E fa-lo com animador resultado; por exemplo, na construção da casa com janela e pórtico, e até no talhe de uma veste feminina. Donde o abandonar fácil e espontâneamente certas práticas de sua cultura e seus objetos (rêdes, panelas, fogão, etc.), pelos da nossa civilização, embora continuem aferrados às suas crenças e costumes.

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vento. Não só lhe ouvem o rumor quando não há lancha alguma em marcha, como asseveram que já está em determinada localidade, ou, até que foi deixada lá enquanto pernoitava, por algum indígena que veio navegando durante a noite. Um dêsses casos verificamos em junho de 1956. Vindo de Iauaretê, ao chegarmos em Urubucuara os índios da localidade informaram-nos que a lancha já se achava havia dois dias, em Taracuá, onde ali a vira um índio (do povoado Cigarro) que viera do Taracuá em a noite precedente. Na realidade em Taracuá não havia lancha alguma, a primeira, vinda de S. Gabriel, apareceu três dias depois de nossa chegada a Taracuá.

Cfr. também a informação de Koch Grunberg sôbre o rumor do Jurupari em Ipanoré (VII 4. e (2 a).

Achavamo-nos em Pari-cachoeira (rio Tiquié) em agôsto de 1956. O estado sanitário local era bom, porém os marinheiros da lancha alarmaram a população com a notícia de casos de coqueluche e sarampo em Taracuá (distante cerca de 300 Km.). Surgiu, então, a notícia, sem fundamento algum, que o Diretor de um terceiro centro missionário, Iauaretê, escrevera ao de Pari que reenviasse as crianças internas para as suas casas. Ora, aquêle missionário a quem se atribuiu a recepção e a leitura da carta imaginária (na ausência do Diretor de Pari) de nada sabia. Por sua vez as meninas internas da Missão (pouco mais de uma centena) conversando com uma das suas Irmãs Professôras, informaram-lhe: "Logo que chegar de viagem o Diretor da Missão, os alunos e alunas serão enviados para seus povoados". — "Como vocês souberam disto?" indaga a Irmã. — Respondem-lhe prontamente as meninas: — "Foi a sra. Irmã Diretora que avisou". Ora a sra. Irmã Diretora do Colegio Feminino não só não falara a ninguém sôbre êste assunto, porém nem sequer pensara nisso.

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5) *Espirito de observação e critica*

O indio é um observador de espirito logico e perspicaz. Deduz suas conclusões, tira as consequências do que viu e ouviu, e logo as manifesta aos seus irmãos de tribo. São inúmeras as provas que tem o civilizado de estar sendo observado com muita atenção e julgado com rigor, mesmo quando o silvicola parece indiferente e nem olha. Não raro são espirituosos e até mordazes as observações que faz.

Gostam muito de pôr apelidos ridiculos. Para isto basta uma semelhança ou um episódio. E não só o fazem aos proprios companheiros, porem a todos, sem que lhe mereça consideração a idade e o merito das pessoas. É também um desafôgo contra os civilizados que, podem estar certos, na primeira apresentação ja receberam um apelido, o qual será propagado com incrivel velocidade (8).

6) *Curiosidade*

Dotado de grande curiosidade, de qualquer civilizado que se apresenta quer saber quem é, como se chama, donde vem, para onde se destina, que vem fazer, qual sua nacionalidade; e mil outras perguntas fazem aos seus irmãos de tribo, que acompanham o visitante desconhecido. Um indio é capaz de fazer longa e incômoda viagem para contar aos de outro povoado um episódio que se deu, a visita de um novo missionario, etc. (9).

Se se abre uma mala, um livro, um caderno, o ôlho do indio não se desprega dêsses objetos. E muitas vêzes quer ter um conhecimento mais pratico e completo, aproximando-se dêle, tocando e

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(8) Contaram-nos alguns dêsses apelidos: a um chamavam sôdgó, vermelhão, por causa da sua côr; a outro, subi cremo, porque tinha os cabelos encaracolados; a um terceiro, uxpikã-ro, dentuça; a um quarto, o mêpéro-ro, orelhudo; a um quinto, wau, o macaro; ãdta-pica; a um sexto uxsã-bocano, fêzes de jacaré (por ser alto e magro), etc. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, pag. 206) conta que a êle apelidaram Wüxti (vel. Villa 4 d. 51), por causa da barba (?), e ao seu companheiro Schmidt bómyõ-xaxé, mulher-macáco.

(9) Em julho de 1956, o Exmo. snr. Bispo Coadjutor da Prelazia do Rio Negro, Dom José Domitrovitsch, resolveu fazer uma surpresa aos missionários de Pari-cachoeira (rio Tiquié), e com um pequeno bote acionado por motor de popa foi, vencendo os 300 Km que separam Pari de Taracuá. Pernoita no povoado de S. João, distante uns 30 Km da Missão. Um indio, no coração da noite, põe-se de viagem na sua canoa, e às 6 da manhã informa os Missionários da visita do snr. Bispo que é festivamente recebido na Missão duas horas mais tarde. Humoristicamente se diz que nessas latitudes não há ainda telegrafo sem fio, está porem bem desenvolvido o sistema de comunicação Rádio-cipó.

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observando-o em todos os seus aspetos. E não raro submetendo a observação de todos os sentidos: pega, cheira, morde. O civilizado percebe que está sendo furtivamente tocado nas vestes, ou até na mão, pelas crianças e mesmo pelas mulheres. Não pudemos verificar se neste gesto entraria também algum conceito mágico.

Quando ouve falar português, se o não entende, gosta de repetir os sons que ouviu, pronunciando-os várias vêzes, como para gravar na memória.

7) *Desconfiança*

Inversamente, não gosta de ser observado. Se percebe que o é, retira-se. Responde lacônicamente ao civilizado, afastando-se logo, para evitar nova pergunta, ou deixará sem resposta. Passa horas inteiras de viagem em silêncio numa canoa, quando viaja sòzinho com algum civilizado, ou mesmo com outros da tribo, porém em presença do «branco». É a desconfiança (10) sempre observada e re-

(10) Fomos felizes conseguindo que indígenas de ambos sexos, das diversas tribos, e em localidades diferentes, se abrissem confidencialmente, e nos revelassem muitas cousas mais íntimas e secretas. Além dos freqüentes presentes (embora pequenos (muitas vêzes apenas alguns bombons e cigarros, cousas muito apetecidas por todos)), e da paciência e afabilidade do trato, valeu-nos o mostrar que já conhecíamos algumas das cousas mais secretas, especialmente se pertinente ao assunto da nossa pergunta. Talvez a validade de mostrar que sabia mais e melhor do que os informantes anteriores, abria a bôca dos índios. Muitíssimas vêzes devia instar que dissessem francamente, sem acanhamento, que não só não perderiam nossa estima, mas que até o civilizado gosta mais nas pessoas francas. Podiam falar pois não revelaríamos a ninguém o seu nome.

Dentre as confidências que assim obtivemos (e temos em nossos apontamentos anotado a pessoa, local e data), confirmando sua prevenção contra todos os civilizados, seja embora o mais abnegado Missionário, lembramos aqui as quatro seguintes: 1° — não gostam do civilizado. 2° — crêem-se mais espertos, que o civilizado; julgam-nos precisamente tolos. 3° — gostam de ver irritado o civilizado, mesmo fingindo não entender o que êle deseja. 4° — é cousa boa prejudicar o civilizado.

Seria fácil compilar numerosos episódios que confirmam essas declarações. Mas estas confidências, colhidas dos lábios mesmos dos indígenas, dispensam mais palavras e são mais precisas que quaisquer episódios. A idéia de acrescentar esta Nota ao capítulo de Psicologia do Índio, surgiu-nos a 27 de agôsto de 1957, em Carará-poco no baixo Icana ao ouvir que, pela segunda vez uma jovem mulher siusi-tapuya (com três filhos, abandonada já por dois homens, com os quais viveu, caridosamente acolhida e beneficiada de tantos modos pela Missão Salesiana) falava às outras mulheres: "os Missionários são ladrões como todos os brancos".

velada p[illegible]uantos trataram com os índios, quiçá, em parte, por terem ouvido falar dos enganos causados pelos civilizados (11).

Em parte também porque sente-se inferior ao branco. Uma análise mais acurada revela nele um complexo de inferioridade ante o civilizado. Só após um longo tempo de convivência, maxime quando se fala sua língua, é que de vez em quando se expande. Sinal de alguma confiança e amizade é, então, o aproximar-se do branco e falar-lhe apoiando a mão sobre o ombro. A mulher, como o homem, vem cumprimentar o visitante, dando-lhe, conforme o uso atual, a mão, porém retira-se logo. Como sinais de alegria pela vinda desejada de um civilizado, as mulheres — acompanhando com uma entonação mais longa e elevada de algumas sílabas das palavras de saudação, roçam ambas as mãos do ombro até abaixo do peito dos visitantes, enquanto lhe estão falando.

Por um misto de desconfiança e timidez, conversam entre si em voz baixa diante do branco, de modo que êste não ouça a conversa, se acaso sabe a língua indígena. Talvez por esta mesma razão, dificilmente se presta para ensinar a própria língua (12).

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(11) Muitos viajantes atestaram que à aproximação dos brancos, os índios escondiam seus filhos e mulheres para o mato. Alexandre R. Ferreira, no seu "Diário da Viagem filosófica" pág. 98, informa: "Por outra parte não trataram muito de se fazerem amáveis aos olhos dos índios os primeiros que os descobriram, cuja dura e durará no gentio a memória do tratamento". De fato, davam sua palavra, recebiam a hospitalidade, depois emboscavam os índios para os levarem cativos. "De tal modo ficaram em todos a aversão e horror aos brancos, que só a sua manifesta ou embuçada ação matou. Quando descem é porque sob o dilema, ou morrerem às mãos dos índios seus inimigos, ou descerem a servir aos brancos". O Estabelecimento Missionário Salesiano, Pe. João Marchese, confirmou, lembrando que, cousa de 20 anos atrás, no tempo da barbárie, avistavam alguma embarcação dos brancos fugiam todos. Devido, então, o Missionário pôs-se de pé na proa para ser visto de longe pelos indígenas e assim encontrá-los na malloca.

Conta Koch Grunberg (Zwei Jahre, 203) que à sua chegada na malloca dos Bará no Marabitanapé três moças se puseram em segurança. Fatos semelhantes temos verificado em várias circunstâncias, especialmente entre os Karapanã das cabeceiras do rio Aiuá.

(12) Como é que pronuncia tal palavra? perguntamos ao índio. Êle, porém, indagando — É assim? arriscamos nós. — É assim mesmo, dirá êle prontamente. — Ou é deste outro modo? — É assim mesmo, repetirá êle. Em outros casos responde — não sei, sou Taryana, pergunte a Tukano. O Tukano também se eximirá: não sei. Mas você é Tukano. — Porém os do lugar pronunciam melhor do que eu.

É, de regra, fechado; não gosta de manifestar suas doenças, bem como suas lendas e costumes. Neste ponto os homens são ainda mais reservados que as mulheres, das quais com menos dificuldade se pode obter informações com promessa de presentes.

8) *Volubilidade e inconstância*

Se excetuarmos as prescrições das leis da tribo, às quais se acha perfeito, perfeita e passivamente conformado, no mais o índio goza de grande autonomia. Desde criança, especialmente os do sexo masculino, pode seguir seu alvedrio. Não há, pois, esperar no indígena grande tenacidade de vontade. Não se pode contar com êle para um trabalho sempre idêntico, por exemplo, fazer diariamente observações meteorológicas ou a ligação de um gerador elétrico. São de grande volubilidade, tanto os homens, como as mulheres. Não se conformam com fazer indefinidamente o mesmo trabalho, seja embora o que mais lhes agrade o que êles mesmos escolheram. Não se pode, pois, com rigor falar de profissão de carpinteiro, alfaiate, serrador, etc., em se referindo a algum índio. Êle terá algum conhecimento ou prática de tal ofício. Porém, quando sob o estímulo de interêsse de adquirir algum objeto se dispuser a trabalhar, não só lhe é indiferente sentar-se a uma máquina de costura, servir como marinheiro ou remador, ou fazer outro serviço qualquer, porém, êle próprio pedirá para largar um trabalho e passar a outro muito diverso.

9) *Indolência*

Aos visitantes habituados ao ritmo intenso e constante de atividade e trabalho das novas grandes cidades, causará espécie encontrar os indígenas, durante o dia, deitados nas suas rêdes a dormir ou entretidos horas a fio em amena conversa. A repetição dêsses encontros lhes radicará na mente a convicção tradicional da indolência dos índios. Talvez seja mais exato afirmar que o índio não é nem o herói da fadiga, nem o protótipo da indolência, embora por temperamento seja lento nos movimentos, como o é de espírito.

A natureza que o envolve e o seu modo de vida estabeleceu-lhe um ritmo de trabalho. Exercita todos aquêles trabalhos que lhe impõem os costumes: constrói sua casa, derruba a mata para a roça, prepara suas rêdes de pesca, escava sua canoa, ocupa-se na pesca e caça, fabrica seus utensílios. Se não o encontramos todos os dias ocupado da manhã à noite, como os civilizados, é que não

sente necessidade. Não tem ambições, contenta-se de pouco, e trabalha quanto é necessário para viver. É certo também que o fundo de prevenção que sente contra o civilizado não é um estímulo para que o índio se esforce quando trabalha para o «branco». Menos empenho ainda mostrará do que nos próprios serviços. Produzirá, no entanto, um trabalho razoável sob duas condições: um respeito timoroso do branco e uma fiscalização constante.

Do confronto dos índios entre si, não se pode taxar alguém de miserável. É o mais harmonioso equilíbrio econômico que se concebe, embora o seja de nível muito baixo. São raríssimos os casos, que se conhecem, de tipos singularmente indolentes, *tesé-buhugo*, e parasitas, e que os próprios contribuíes vituperam.

A mulher essa sim, vê-se mais ocupada, absorvida como está na faina da casa (como adiante se verá, VIII — 1, a (9)), ocupando-se com os filhos pequenos, cultivando sua roça e preparando a comida ou fabricando alguns artefatos.

As crianças coloriais mostram algum gôsto e habilidade pelos trabalhos manuais: a menina prefere os trabalhos do campo, e aprecia também os bordados e costura.

Como trabalhador é dotado também de seus predicados. A habilidade, a que já acenamos e acenaremos (Vd. Cap. V), a perfeição e relativa rapidez no gênero de trabalhos que executa tradicionalmente são as melhores provas.

A necessidade de viver obriga-o, por seu lado, a afrontar também grandes dificuldades, a fim de vencer a natureza. Basta conceber os sacrifícios que impõe uma *derrubada* para a roça, com os meios de que dispunha outrora. A sua resistência, por exemplo, para remar, é digna de apreço. Para outros trabalhos, como o agrícola, ou cavar a terra, é fraco. Embora o ritmo de trabalho não seja intenso, antes seja sempre com a calma que lhe é característica, e tenha alimentação melhor do que na sua casa, depois de duas semanas o índio começa a esmorecer, e não raro a emagrecer; e após dois ou três meses deve ser dispensado para férias e descanso (13).

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(13) Além do perigo da malária no baixo Rio Negro, êste enfraquecimento do índio, especialmente quando faltam os seus alimentos habituais, conhecemos processos (que alguns já exploraram), e outros, desconhecedores das circunstâncias, preconizam) de aproveitar o braço indígena na extração da piaçava, castanha ou borracha. Pensamos que tais trabalhos podem, ou antes, devem ser executados só pelos caboclos que já possuem resistência física e disposição psíquica diversa da dos indígenas.

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10) *Paciência*

É um homem de extremada paciência. Como seria útil se essa sua qualidade pudesse ser canalizada em tantos setores da nossa civilização! Documentam-no aquêles trabalhos que exigem não apenas horas, mas por vêzes dias, meses ou anos de trabalho e atenção, como o preparo do tucum e de uma rêde, o fabrico da canoa com o machado de pedra e o fogo, ou perfurar regularmente uma sarabatana ou uma pedra de quartzo amorfo (vd. VII — 3, a (2)) com o auxílio de uma vara e areia finíssima. Suporta sem uma palavra de queixa, dentro de uma canoa, uma chuva por horas a fio, ou um sol requeimando todo um dia.

Nunca o vimos altercar (senão quando já embriagado), ou mostrar-se impaciente e protestar contra outro índio, embora sobejassem as ocasiões para isto. Por exemplo queixar-se do companheiro, porque com sua indolência o obriga a trabalhar mais. Se vai-arcado sob um grande pêso, e outro índio está obstruindo a passagem: não grita para que se retire; porém, pacientemente, contornará fazendo caminho mais longo.

11) *Timidez*

Ante o civilizado, cuja superioridade reconhece e sente, mostra sempre docilidade. Nunca uma revolta aberta; embora não raro deixe de fazer o que lhe mandou. São raros os episódios de uma tomadia para uma represália (14). Note-se que, se o civilizado pede por favor, respondera talvez um «não quero». Porém, se ordena de maneira categórica, o índio obedece e até com alegria. É que as ordens positivas estão mais de acôrdo com seu espírito.

Diante do civilizado o índio é sempre tímido, especialmente se aquêle levanta a voz. Ante os trabalhos perigosos, como abater madeira na mata, transpor cachoeiras, mostra-se ousadamente valente. Fica impávido diante das tempestades. Sua fleugma diante de certos perigos, por exemplo, o de um naufrágio, causará inveja a qualquer inglês. Em outros serviços, ao contrário, revela-se grandemente medroso. Tem mêdo não só das onças, que já têm feito muitas vítimas entre êles, mas até de ser ferido, quando devem tra-

(14) Recordam-se alguns poucos episódios, mas todos êles se deram quando o civilizado violou algum costume da tribo, ou praticou verdadeiras injustiças ou crueldade.

tar de bois ou porcos. O estampido de uma bomba ou um tiro assusta-os. A notícia da aproximação de índios ferozes foge logo (15). Sobretudo grande é o medo que tem dos envenenamentos ou maleficios (dokase) e dos espíritos (udirtyd). Com receio dêstes, por motivo algum penetrara à noite na mata.

12) *Desmazelo*

Talvez a relativa facilidade com que alcançam ou fabricam o de que precisam, torna-os descuidados das cousas e aparelhos, especialmente dos civilizados, deixando-os estragar-se ou perder, sem atender ao seu valor ou necessidade. Muitas vêzes o viajante deve chamar a atenção do índio para que lhe não perca, quebre ou inutilize um aparelho. Há, porém, uma cousa pela qual zelam carinhosamente: são os enfeites das danças, guardados em um estôjo *ad hoc*, em lugar seguro. Como consideram a roupa e outros adereços, um enfeite de ordinário conservam-nos bem. E só se nota algum desleixo naqueles que fàcilmente podem ganhar outras roupas dos civilizados.

13) *Interêsse e gandaia*

Uns tantos defeitos seus chamam a atenção do civilizado. É extraordinariamente interesseiro (16). Nada faz para o branco sem

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15) Os índios da região do Caburi, aos quais se atribuem episódios de truci[illegible] [illegible] quando há grande clareira ao [illegible] dêste, se perceberam que há muitos homens dentro. Entre os Pira-tapuia do Teresita (Colômbia, rio Papuri) conserva-se a tradição de dois índios Bexaguri (Bonival) da Venezuela que invadiram até o Papuri e, na escuridão da noite, mataram a muitos pelas mãos. De vez em quando correm notícias alarmantes, de novas invasões e os Pira-tapuia fugem das suas povoações. Vão para 12 ou 15 anos, no período de Ottaiano (missão colombiana do rio Papuri) surgiram rumores dos índios que se divertem marandúga na língua xeral (Cfr. Supra). Dizem, porém, certo dia, repentinamente, os índios abandonaram por três meses as suas casas e se empenharam em preparar trincheiras e [illegible] para fazer [illegible] marandúga. O Missionário Pe. Afonso Kuhn chegou a prometer presentes para quem lhe trouxesse vivo um dêsses Bexaguri. Alguns chegam a afirmar que já os viram, alguém diz ter ele matou vários deles, porém não pôde ter nenhum cadáver porque os companheiros levaram os seus mortos.

16) Até no serviço de Deus querem saber se êle lhes dará presentes, dará bananas, fitas e vestidos. Perguntou certa vez uma menina à Diretora se no céu lhe daria. Tomada de surpresa a Diretora disse que não. A criança acrescentou prontamente: "então não quero ir para lá".

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paga, e de ordinário a quer antecipada. Verdade é que, de regra, não nega suas dívidas ao civilizado; muitas vêzes, porém, afirma mais trabalho seu e diminuição das dívidas, apesar de constar o contrário nos assentamentos feitos com exatidão e consciência. Vai, com freqüência, deixando passar o tempo, e às vêzes muda-se ou morre, e fica por isso mesmo. Os pais, irmãos, filhos ou outros parentes de alguém falecido, suponhamos, no hospital da missão, apresentar-se-ão logo como legítimos herdeiros da espingarda, rêde, mala ou outros objetos do defunto. Ninguém, no entanto, se responsabiliza pelas dívidas do falecido.

Para tê-los a seu serviço, na época da seringa ou da castanha, os civilizados devem antecipar-lhe a paga. Acontece, não raro, que na época do trabalho (*fábrico*, diz-se no Amazonas) o índio se esconde, ou foge, depois de trabalhar algum tempo.

Não faz presentes ao civilizado, embora dêle os tenha recebido e muitos. Vende-lhos (17). Se neste percebe interêsse por algum objeto indígena, pretende grande pagamento (18). Quando oferece alguma coisa (beiju, frutas, peixe moqueado), faz logo pedido de objeto de maior valor.

Mostram-se gananciosos negociando com outros índios, e até com os da própria tribo. Não é raro que um indivíduo, com seu trabalho ou produtos, adquira abundantemente sal ou fumo, no centro Missionário, e vá depois vendê-lo aos seus contribules com grande usura. Temo-los visto adquirir panelas, espelhos, etc., na Missão, e com êsses pequenos objetos ir negociar com os das malocas mais afastadas, recebendo em troca ralos e canoas (19). Periòdicamente um pe-

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(17) Contam-se episódios até cômicos. O pai com a família veio visitar o filho que era aluno da Missão de Taracuá e trouxe consigo peixe moqueado e beiju. E de cócoras a um canto, comeram, como num piquenique de família. Antes de retirar-se, porém, veio cobrar do Missionário o preço do peixe e do beiju.

Quando na nossa primeira excursão ao Içana, em 1953, em companhia do Pe. José Schneider levava êste consigo, entre os ajudantes, um luxuda da tribo Mupatsé-dakenei (Yurupari-tapuia). Como os outros, recebia êle, além de alimentação e donativos, uma diária de serviço. Ao chegarmos à Tunui, mostra êle um pequeno bulaio e beiju dizendo que era um presente que os Baniva de aí lhe faziam, mas pede ao Pe. sal, fumo e querosene "para dar em agradecimento".

(18) Por exemplo os Kubewana chegaram a pedir-nos uma espingarda por uma zarabatana ou uma simples acangatara.

pequeno bote da Missão de Tauaretê subia em 1953 até S. Miguel e Melo Franco (rio Papuri) comprando farinha para os seus colégios. Os Tucano desta última localidade se prontificaram a guardar por alguns dias os parceiros de farinha dos seus «irmãos» que moravam algumas horas de distância, no rio Aua, até que o bote da Missão [illegible] a recolhê-los. Por êste pequeno favor, porém, exigiam, de seus «irmãos» Tucano do Aua, 30% da farinha, a saber: de 4 paneiros [illegible], dois forma entregues à Missão e os outros dois ficaram de pagamento ao «armazém de guarda».

É porém, hospitaleiro. Quando chega à maloca algum irmão de tribo, ou mesmo um índio de outra tribo, apresenta-lhe logo beiju e quinhapira e, se tiver, também manicuera, bacaba ou outra bebida. O branco, pode igualmente servir-se de tudo com liberdade.

14) Inveja

A inveja é um dos vícios que desfiguram seu caráter, nem se dão o trabalho de disfarçá-lo. Quem, pelas suas qualidades, começa a [illegible] será objeto de inveja dos demais, e deixa-se logo tomar de receio de algum malefício dos outros. Tendo um homem Tukano, com seu trabalho na Missão de Pari-Cachoeira, adquirido [illegible] começou a fazer uma barraca com mais capricho e [illegible]. Os outros amedrontaram logo de envenená-lo, e êle se viu [illegible] a abandonar tudo e fugir. O mesmo verme de inveja é [illegible] na criança. As que aprendem mais fàcilmente o Português [illegible] pelos pontos são elogiadas, inexplicàvelmente [illegible] e [illegible]. Foi por medo da inveja das outras. Nas premia-

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(48) Em [illegible] Alari, em maio de 1957, um dos nossos remadores [illegible] por nome Ernesto do povoado de S. Ana (baixo Içana) [illegible] na Missão de Assunção uma espingarda no valor de 1.200 cruzeiros. Levou-a consigo a fim de trocá-la por uma máquina de costura, [illegible] nova, de um Ilhéu-Ne do Riacrão Waraná (afluente [illegible] Alari) e [illegible] assim se realizou o negócio apesar da máquina valer [illegible] mil cruzeiros.

(49) As próprias [illegible] entre pais e filhos estão contaminadas ou são [illegible]. Os pais vêm periodicamente visitar os filhos [illegible] da Missão e muitas vezes trazem-lhes beiju, peixe [illegible] frutas. O aluno os vê de longe e encaminha-se logo para [illegible] e com êles se entretém, sempre porém de uma maneira fria, sem [illegible], quase fazendo o chão com o dedo do pé. Outra vez vêm os pais sem trazer coisa alguma. O missionário avisa ao menino: — "vai [illegible] seu pai, está aí". "Já sei", responde indiferente. — "Então vai conversar com êle". — "Não dá nada", responde, e não se abala para ver o próprio pai, embora haja meses que não o vê.

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jogos escolares não se pode determinar êste é o primeiro prêmio e é para Fulano, ou premiar só alguns. É mister dar prêmios a todos contentando-se de ir chamando antes os de maior merito e deixa-los escolher. A uma das môças que trabalhavam na Missão a Diretora doou um par de sapatos. Usou-o uma vez apenas. — «Por que não usa mais os sapatos?» — «As outras xingam para mim», foi a resposta.

15) Furto

Sofrendo tão fortemente a picada da inveja, não é de admirar-se que apresente outro ponto fraco: a tendência para o furto. Recalque talvez contra o «branco», a quem julga sempre superior e rico, facilmente se apodera (mesmo fora dos casos patológicos de cleptomania (20)) de alguma cousa dêle, especialmente do que lhe pode ser util para a vida, ou se não o pode fazer, estraga alguma cousa para causar-lhe prejuizo.

É talvez haja ainda outro estimulo para o furto: o julgar-se mais esperto e astucioso que o branco, devendo êste, a fim de evitar atrito com os indios, fechar um olho, como se não houvesse percebido a astucia do indigena. É um circulo vicioso inevitavel naqueles lugares e circunstâncias. O viajante finge que não vê, e essa atitude radica ainda mais no indio a convicção de que é mais ladino do que o civilizado, e sente-se mais estimulado a ludibriar a êste. O civilizado deve, por isso, vigiar sempre atentamente pela propria bagagem, que não raras vêzes será mesmo arrombada (21).

Subtraem objetos aos seus próprios companheiros. Serão furtos mais raros, porque a vida mais ou menos em comum refreia ou elimina os impulsos a determinados furtos. São frequentes os assaltos à roça ou ao cacuri dos outros. Mostram vergonham quando surpreendidos. Se o não fôr, nega o furto. Ou diante da evidência diz: «levei, não furtei». Enquanto o prejudicado diz: — «êle roubou-me». Nota-se uma pendência preponderante, quase escravizante, a roubar comestiveis. Nos furtos revelá, de ordinário, surpreenden-

(20) Em alguns casos, pela precocidade do ladrão, a frequência e as circunstâncias do furto é licito pensar que se trate de cleptomania.

(21) É tão grande a tendência para o furto, a habilidade com que o executam, jamais seguido de arrependimento, que nos assaltou a duvida, se acaso não o julgariam licito e bom, ao menos furtar dos brancos. Indagamos a dois indigenas que nos mereciam mais confiança, e ambos afirmaram que julgam cousa má furtar a quem quer que seja. No entanto, outro dos nossos melhores auxiliares declarou-nos que furtar dos seus irmãos é cousa má, porém roubar dos civilizados é cousa boa!

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te esperteza. Especialmente nos furtos a outros índios abstêm-se de subtrair o que fàcilmente se identifica. Tomará sempre as precauções oportunas, no ato do furto, como ao depois, a fim de ocultar o corpo de delito, por exemplo, as meninas furtam agulhas e escondem-nas na camada dura da sola dos pés.

Insurgem-se quando obrigados a restituir; sobretudo se o deve fazer ao civilizado. Fá-lo mais fàcilmente ao tuxaua que o manda restituir, olhando quer manter-se amigo do branco. Diversamente, máxime se gosta do ladrão, dirá altivamente: — «não há ladrão na maloca» (22).

16) *Mentira — Falta de palavra — Simulação*

O amor à veracidade que tem sido relevado entre alguns primitivos, não é o forte dêsses nossos índios. Responde muitas vêzes falsamente: «não sei», «não vi», às informações que se lhes pede. Vice-versa dão informações do que eles não sabem. E os outros índios presentes não corrigem as informações inexatas. Por exemplo, não gostam de vender seus enfeites de danças, e afirmam regularmente que não os têm. Se se indaga se há algum doente no povoado, responde invariàvelmente que não, embora na realidade haja. Nem se pode pensar, nestes e noutros casos, que houve restrição mental. Haveria, no caso dos doentes, alguma razão de natureza mágica? Não logramos sabê-lo, apesar de muitas indagações em diversas circunstâncias e lugares. Passam para uma segunda e terceira mão a cousa roubada, a fim de ocultá-la. Jamais denunciam os outros, a não ser para se defenderem. Não raras vêzes os apanhamos em contradição (23). Se lha fazemos ressaltar, calam-se. O silêncio é uma defesa e arma de que se servem com freqüência contra o civilizado e suas argumentações. São «mentirosos natos» foi a expressão que usaram duas pessoas que há vários

(22) Se se exceituam êsses raríssimos casos de devolução, pode-se afirmar que, de regra, não devolvem a cousa roubada, nem dão a conveniente satisfação. Do ponto de vista moral parece lícito concluir que não tem a disposição de restituir nem de abster-se dos furtos.

(23) Em abril de 1954 uma jovem do Pari-cachoeira nos havia descrito o ritual de iniciação puberdária com toda a clareza e indicação de pormenores. Em junho dêsse mesmo ano, falando casualmente sôbre o assunto, começou ela a negar que houvesse *Komũ* (cfr. VIII-1, b (7) ou "sonrador" no seu povoado e ter ela passado pela iniciação. — Está esquecida que você já narrou tudo? Não tenha acanhamento... lhe dissemos nós. Então sorriu, confirmou e completou a descrição feita em abril.

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mos convivem com êsses indígenas. Sustenta não raro sua mentira até diante das provas mais evidentes.

Nem, tão pouco, se pode ter absoluta confiança em sua palavra de promessa, encontrar com o índio para uma data combinada, para a execução de um trabalho, de uma viagem, etc. Deixará de comparecer em tal dia ou lugar em que é esperado, ou de fazer o trabalho encomendado. Mais tarde, quiçá, se apresentará sem, no entanto, tratar do assunto ou pedir desculpa. Se, acaso, somos os primeiros a falar e queixamo-nos (o que nem sempre é político), apresentará uma razão qualquer, verdadeira ou falsa. Não lhe passa sequer pela cabeça ponderar se há motivos fortes para cumprir a palavra dada ao branco. Absolutamente não sacrificará nenhum interêsse seu para satisfazer um compromisso assumido.

São dotados de grande capacidade de simulação (24), é a afirmação unânime de todos os que com êles conviveram algum tempo. De maneira perfeita fingirão enfermidade ou indigência, fingirão desconhecer uma ordem ou uma proibição, um esquecimento ou uma inadvertência. Planejando uma ação que julgam má (por exemplo, três ou quatro índios organizando um assalto para fins de furto, ou em fila indiana para espreitar o branco por uma fresta, etc.) não deixam transparecer ansiedade. Mesmo quando surpreendidos, não se desconcertam; separam-se com simplicidade, como se nada houvera acontecido. Quase sempre virá uma gargalhada a rematar o tentativo fracassado.

Mais ainda, são capazes de aparentar emoções que não sentem. Exemplo típico é o *chôro-fúnebre* (com lágrimas, gritos, exclamações) executado com comovedora perfeição, retornando logo em seguida à mesma conversa alegre de minutos antes, entremeada de descompostas gargalhadas, enquanto outros, por seu turno, recitam

(24) A mesma habilidade de simulação apresentam os indígenas *Arapaço* do Içana. Entre os episódios comprobatórios recordamos o seguinte. Eram os inícios do internato feminino dirigido pelas Irmãs Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora ou Irmãs Salesianas (1957). Várias meninas, apesar da largueza da disciplina e da tolerância das Reverendas Irmãs, fugiam. Duas alunas, aproveitando o momento oportuno, escapam e, com uma canoa, alcançam a margem oposta onde, numa pequena barraca, se achava a sua mãe. Esta atravessa imediatamente o rio e vem ao colégio ver as filhas. Não sendo, naturalmente, encontradas, a mãe se mostra muito desolada, põe-se a chorar com sinais de grande aflição, causando séria preocupação às Educadoras. No entanto fôra a própria mãe quem escondera as filhas no mato, como se depois se veio a saber, por testemunhas do fato.

à sua parte, entregando-se ao pranto, para voltar minutos depois à alegria habitual. Talvez pudessem ser aproveitados como atores teatrais.

17) *Vida sentimental: amor, amizade, gratidão*

A sua vida sentimental não parece muito intensa. Nunca se notam expansões muito vivas de sentimentos (25). Embora ria com facilidade, recebe sempre com certa indiferença as grandes alegrias ou desgraças. Não conhecem como expansão do afeto, entre pais e filhos, ou outros parentes, o beijo (26) ou o abraço.

Faltam ao índio alguns sentimentos mais delicados, como o da compaixão. Não só maltratará a um animal, rindo-se das suas contorsões de dor, como até verá com indiferença sofrendo a outro homem, seja embora seu irmão, pai ou mãe (cfr. VII - 4, g (1)

Não padece dúvida a existência nos pais, particularmente na mãe, do amor para com a sua prole, máxime quando ainda na primeira infância. Mesmo então é um amor mais *efetivo* que *afetivo*, a saber industrioso pela saúde dos filhos, aos quais procura remédios nas doenças e alimento. Quando se trata de filhos já crescidos, a estima se contamina de interêsse pelos serviços que dos filhos recebem. E o pesar que exprimem, quando os filhos se ausentam ou morrem, é porque não têm mais quem lhes traga o peixe ou cultive a roça.

Atenuando essa presunção em favor do amor materno, está a vigerigia do infanticídio, e muitas vêzes é a propria mãe que o quer

(25) O encontro entre pais e filhos ou entre esposos, após meses ou quiçá anos de separação, reveste-se sempre de frieza de um encontro qualquer sem se abraçarem, com aquelas expressões convencionais que indicamos adiante formalismo). O Missionário Pe. Antônio Glacone pôde observar este episódio muito curioso: o marido se ausentara quase dois anos para trabalhar com os brancos do baixo Rio Negro, sem enviar nos [illegible] Ao regressar, o encontro com a mulher se deu com a indiferença de costume, na beira do rio ao desembarcar da canoa. Porém, dentro da barraca, depois de lhe ter apresentado a quinhapira e o beijú, [illegible] de cócoras-se lido do marido, desabafa-se com estas queixas: — ô pai dos meus filhos (yo-pôra-kô), tu chegaste finalmente. Fôste com o branco muito longe, muito longe, e a mãe dos teus filhos ficou [illegible] sozinha, sem ter peixe para os filhos, sem poder fazer roça nova, abandonada, sem roupa. Oh! como é triste viver assim! como é triste [illegible] (Os Tucanos, pag. 72-3).

(26) Parece também que não existem as palavras beijo e abraço, na língua tucano. O termo mimi, que o Pe. Antônio Glacone registra em seu vocabulário como correspondente a beijo, propriamente quer dizer chupar. Efetivamente, nos primeiros tempos, quando se lhes ensinava a [illegible] algum objeto, chupavam-no, mesmo quando se tratava da mão de um sacerdote numa função litúrgica.

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e executa. São, outrossim, conhecidos casos em que a mãe abandona os filhos, embora recem-nascidos.

Nos filhos, o sentimento correlativo é contrabalançado, ou talvez superado pelo egoismo. Quando os pais envelhecem, facilmente os abandonam, sem lhes providenciar mais roupas, ou sequer lhes dar remédio, comida ou água (27). Citam-se casos em que enterraram vivos os pais velhos (28).

Ao menos enquanto estão vivendo no próprio ambiente, ligam-se mais entre si, mesmo entre indivíduos de tribo diversa, do que

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(27) Depõe o Pe. João Marchesi, com a autoridade de conhecedor da totalidade dos indígenas entre os quais vive vai para 35 anos, e que pela sua heroica caridade, capa de todos os sacrifícios, mereceu que o Gal. Alexandrino Ferreira da Cunha o chamasse "o Anchieta do Amazonas". — "Entre os elementos da mesma tribo, que se consideram irmãos, há certa cordialidade externa e consideração pelo sofrimento alheio, mas não generosidade, nem oferecimento espontâneo de auxílio e meios, é um egoismo frio e estéril". "Os velhos pais ficam abandonados, quando não passam da casa de um filho para a do outro, a fim de não representarem um pêso". "Nem o amor natural dos genitores se pode dizer que tenha base segura, pelo cinismo com que enterram vivos os recem-nascidos, sufocando-os como se fôra com qualquer animalzinho" (No livro "Os Tucanos", do Pe. Antônio Giacone, pag. 13).

A propósito do matrimônio, escreve o Pe. Antônio Giacone: — "O índio não tendo amor e carinho para com a mulher, ficará satisfeito com a que lhe derem, não se importando que seja bonita ou feia; basta que seja trabalhadora e lhe dê muitos filhos; se fôr estéril, repudiá-la-á, como coisa inutil, pois todo índio se casa fazendo questão de ter muitos filhos" ("Os Tucanos, pag. 22). Acima o tratamento dos velhos pais, por parte dos filhos, de *indiferente e desumano*". (Ibidem pág. 26).

Em novembro de 1953, por ocasião da nossa permanência em Iauaretê, deu-se o seguinte episódio. Um jovem de Uaracú-ponta (rio Uaupés), casado poucos meses antes, gravemente enfermo de tuberculose, pede ao Diretor que o venha buscar para o hospital da Missão. Aí recebe a visita de sua esposa que fica dias em sua companhia. Numa segunda visita ela se expande em pranto tão clamoroso que o Diretor manda avisá-la que se modere ou se retire mais longe, a fim de não aumentar os sofrimentos do esposo doente. No entanto, dois dias antes da morte do esposo, ela quer retirar-se para seu povoado, levando consigo a rede do marido. E o fez, apesar dos pedidos insistentes dêste, que ficasse ainda e deixasse a sua rede.

(28) Foi-nos mostrado em Uaracapã (rio Papuri), ao sair do povoado, o local onde haviam amarrado, entre dois galhos, a rede de um velho doente. E não só o expulsaram assim de casa, senão também aí o deixaram ao relento, sem assistência nem recursos. Apenas falecido, cavaram, de baixo da rede, uma cova, cortaram as cordas da velha rede que se precipitou, com o cadaver, dentro do buraco, e cobriram-

com um civilizado. Não, há, porém, indício de particular amizade entre êles: notam-se os mesmos tratos para com todos. É ainda o espírito de grupo que atrofia os impulsos individuais. A inveja recíproca e o medo de envenenamento, que os atormentam, não permitem florescer entre êles os sentimentos da amizade. Estão sempre com receio um do outro. Com o civilizado, alguém dêles quereria abrir-se mais, e em alguns casos fá-lo-á, quando estão a sós. Fecham-se, porém, logo que aparece outro índio. Tem-se a impressão de que tenham medo de parecer amigo do branco.

Nem é evidente a existência da gratidão em seu ânimo, máxime para com o civilizado. Embora se mostre amigo, falando com êles com expansão e intimidade, jamais agradece os favores recebidos; nem sequer mostra reconhecê-los, mesmo em casos de extraordinários benefícios e até de verdadeiro e heróico devotamento do Missionário ou da Irmã Enfermeira. Não se lhe aproxima para oferecer-lhe algum presente como sinal de gratidão, ou sequer dizer uma palavra carinhosa de agradecimento. Nem consta que entre seus contribuíles faça questão de mostrar gratidão pelos benefícios recebidos do branco. Pode-se afirmar que a cordialidade que mostram com os civilizados é sempre inspirada pelo interêsse, e basta a suposição de uma desatenção da parte do branco, para que desapareçam as manifestações daquela cordialidade.

13) *Vingança-vindicta*

Forte, ao invés, é seu instinto de vingança. Com um perfeito domínio de si, sem que o menor sinal externo ou expressão do rosto revele seu desgosto, o índio recebe as maiores contrariedades. Porém não esquece as afrontas e injustiças, reais ou supostas, nem as perdoa (26). Pensa na vingança, e são numerosos os episódios

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[illegible] irregularmente com terra, como o pudemos ver em novembro de 1953. Em junho de 1954 foi encontrado no pôrto de Iauareté um velho Taryana, de seus 70 ou 80 anos, a tiritar de frio. Não sabemos como chegou até ali. Recolhido ao hospital, em grave estado, é deitado em uma rede, medicado e aplicam-lhe bolsa de água quente (para substituir o fogo que usam sempre debaixo da rede). Dias depois, sentindo-se bem, foi interrogado de onde viera. Êle atalha logo dizendo que não queria voltar para sua casa, pois lá era maltratado pelos filhos.

Fomos informados de um Taryana de Pinú-pinú (rio Uaupés) que maltratava e até várias vêzes espancou o próprio pai, que era de Iauaretê.

(26) Parece que não existe, na língua Tukano, o verbo perdoar. Por necessidade da catequese, às vezes o Missionário emprega o verbo orkóbono, esquecer. Os indígenas, ao invés, empregam o verbo português com a desinência tukano: *perdodpe* (perdoe você), *Perdodpõ* (eu perdoe).

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demonstrando que êle aguarda pacientemente a oportunidade durante anos, e fazem longas viagens, afim de executar uma vingança.

É uma obrigação imprescritível a da *vingicta*, *a'mê-uché*, oficial do grupo, por um membro seu morto ou ferido por algum civilizado ou índio de outra tribo. A vingança será feita também, dentro da tribo, contra indígena de outra subdivisão e até contra seu próprio irmão de sangue. Se, em algum caso, não executa a vingança, é porque tem medo da contravingança (maleficio).

Na aparência o índio é muito pacífico. Não se ouvem os indígenas altercando entre si em voz alta, mesmo quando nos parece que há motivos para isto. Parecem até de grande delicadeza entre si. Quando num grupo de indígenas alguem dentre êles deu, suponhamos, uma informação inexata (note-se que não gostam de declarar: não sei, não estou certo disto) os outros não corrigem no momento a inexatidão ou erro. Talvez algum dos presentes, quando estiver sozinho com o civilizado, retificará, a pedido, a informação errônea.

Não há recordação, se excetuarmos as lendas, de guerra entre as várias tribos (30). São frequentes, no entanto, as brigas por motivos econômicos (assalto à roça, ao cacuri, etc.). Não raro há rixas por intrigas, e destas cabe às mulheres a maior porcentagem.

Para as vinganças entre si a oportunidade é a embriaguez (31), e convidam prèviamente para as festas aquêles dos quais desejam tirar desforra. Após está, mesmo quando a consequência é a morte da vítima, nada no índio revela arrependimento ou remorso (32). As lendas referem semelhantes episódios, e talvez procurem imitar os seus heróis lendários.

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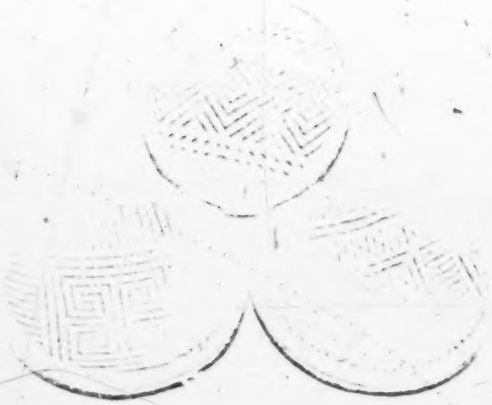
(30) Em outubro de 1947, poucos dias antes de nossa visita à maloca dos Mukú cerca de seis Km de Iauaretê, deu-se, entre êles, por ocasião de um caxiri (festa com bebedeira), uma briga com facão, na qual um índio veio a fulecer e vários ficaram feridos gravemente. Em janeiro de 1946, nessa mesma maloca, dissenção de maior vulto e verdadeira luta com bastão, facão e flechadas se deu entre os Mukú e os Tarpena, ainda por ocasião do caxiri.

(31) Para ter maior valor "tal que enborrachar-se", diz um da Colômbia. Por isso é que nunca há duelos entre êles. Nem consta que façam, por exercícios, lutas corporais. Nas brigas servem-se de qualquer objeto que tenham à mão, facão, massa, arco, etc. ou mesmo espingarda.

(32) Há anos, em 1933, deu-se um episódio de vingança com particulares circunstâncias de crueldade. Em Ananaz, no baixo Uaupés, os Tukano mataram dois homens Desana, cortaram um menino pelo meio, do ombro às pernas. Os indigitados foram levados a S. Gabriel (hoje ci-

[Facing p. 160]



1. Preparando [illegible] grandes [illegible]

2. Dando [illegible] grandes [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ai o meio mais comum de vingança, entretanto, são os envenenamentos. Quando nos falam com intimidade e franqueza, os indígenas afirmam e documentam numerosíssimos casos de envenenamentos por vingança. Donde se compreende o medo geral que a todos domina, uma quase obsessão de ser envenenado. Alguns nos revelaram terem sido vítimas, eles próprios, de envenenamentos que lhes causaram «doenças» graves e demoradas. Conhecemos também casos em circunstâncias tais que, pelo relato das Rvdas. Irmãs Enfermeiras, admitem a suspeição de envenenamento. Entre êstes lembramos aqui dois casos ocorridos durante nossas viagens. E tratar-se-ia de uma forma mais odiosa de vingança, a saber, causar mal aos filhos menores para desforrar-se de injurias causadas pelos seus pais. Duas crianças de seus 10 anos aproximadamente, alunos da Missão Salesiana: uma menina de Iauaretê, em abril de 1955, e um menino de Pari-cachoeira em outubro de 1956. Ambos faleceram ao cabo de poucas horas, após a ingestão de bebidas indígenas.

Não praticam, porem, a antropofagia, e nada revela que tenha havido esse costume no grupo de tribos Tukano (cfr. adiante o que se diz sôbre o *Canibalismo*, VII - 6, h).

19) *Vaidade*

A vaidade é um traço bem pronunciado da psique indígena. As crianças de braço as mães atam ligas, abaixo do joelho e acima do tornozelo, «para engrossar-lhes as pernas». Efetivamente, são na totalidade anatomicamente bem conformados e elegantes, com as pernas bem torneadas. Querem ter-as pernas grossas. É um dos pontos, sobretudo entre as meninas, xingarem-se de perna fina (33). Todos de corpo cheio até cerca dos 30 anos. Depois dessa idade, em alguns homens se exagera a corpulência, e a totalidade das mulheres emagrece, envelhecendo precocemente. Não provocam nenhuma deformação para efeito estético ou guerreiro (34). As donzelas ostentam seios redondos, bem desenvolvidos. Identificam a beleza com a corpulência. Quando alguém muda de clima para

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cade de Ubupes) e interrogados pelo Inspetor do S.P.I. (Serviço de Proteção ao Índio). Sem dificuldade confessaram o crime. — Mas por que vocês os mataram? — "E' isso mesmo", foi a única resposta.

(33) Xingamento em tukano: perna fina, *ñorkã-dyi-Mariçó*; cabelo crespo, *pouri-sukiñ*; olho grande, *kurpeni-bukupó*.

(34) É característica dos caraíbas a deformação do crâneo, aplicando à cabeça das crianças talas apertadas. Entre as tribos do Amazônas, os primeiros exploradores encontraram êste costume entre os Cambeba ("Roteiro" do Pe. Noronha, 145). Em algumas tribos, por exemplo, os Pinão da Colômbia, isto se fazia para tomar aspecto feroz.

[Facing] p. 161

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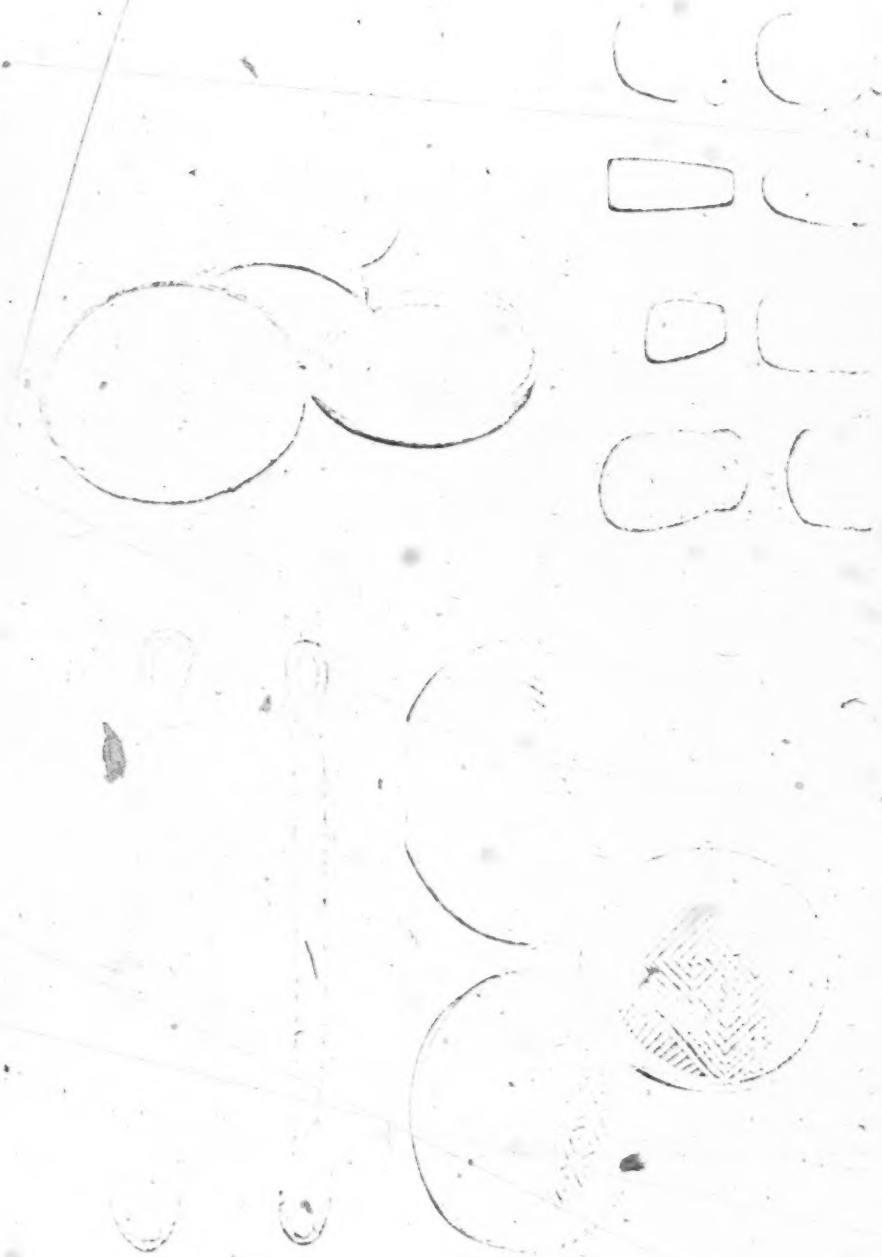

Pl. XXIII

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justificar-se, dizem «que foi buscar carne». Nenhuma preocupação com a cintura, nem usam cinta.

Sobretudo o cabelo é objeto de vaidade. Ajustam-no, penteiam-no amiúde, as mulheres e a nova geração dos homens. Os rapazes, durante as viagens, colhem flores da margem do rio e enfiam-nas no cabelo, por cima da orelha. Aplicam-lhe loções, que preparam com jenipapo e outras plantas, para conservá-los pretos. Eis o segredo por que lhes não embranquecem. Amam as missangas, sabonetes, perfumes. Uma donzela vendeu-se por meio vidro de brilhantina.

Gostam muito de espelho e miram-se com frequência; antigamente davam um remo em troca de um pequeno espelho.

As moças sentem pesar de serem escuras, e para clarear a pele esfregam-na fortemente com sabão e até com areia, remirando-se a cada momento, afim de verificarem se estão ficando mais claras.

20) Soberba.

Equivalente à vaidade é a soberba. Jamais reconhecem o próprio erro. A mínima palavra que lhes soa como repreensão, fecham-se no mutismo, e a criança agira mal por acinte. Citam-se casos por quais a uma simples repreensão do civilizado, retiraram-se e passaram anos sem reaparecer.

Comprazem-se sobremaneira com os elogios; é o meio de que se servem os educadores, afim de estimulá-los ao estudo e ao trabalho. Se acaso a criança é corrigida na escola, porque errou na leitura, abaixa o livro e não lê mais. Nunca faz pergunta na aula, mesmo quando não entendeu e é convidado a pedir explicação. Por outro lado ri-se gostosamente quando outros, especialmente o branco, erra (tropeça, cai, não sabe amarrar uma rede, etc.)

São altivos das próprias qualidades, e comprazem-se em que mas louvem. Embora com suas crenças bem radicadas, assimilam bem a nossa civilização nos seus elementos materiais, e até, quando voltam à sua maloca, imitam o que viu os civilizados fazer. No íntimo atribuem a superioridade dêstes aos recursos de que o indígena não dispõe, e «porque aprenderam de outrem». São estas as duas razões, (assim julgam êles) por que não podem realizar tudo o que os civilizados fazem, seja mesmo um gerador elétrico, um motor de lancha, ou um avião.

No seu íntimo parece radicada a convicção que o civilizado é que precisa dêles, pois vêlo até suas terras; e êles não precisam dos

civilizados (35). E semelhante conceito é difícil de corrigir-se, porque não aceitam se nem acompanham os raciocínios do civilizado. Em realidade o branco que viaja por estas regiões não pode dispensar o trabalho do índio (para guiá-lo, remar, transportar carga, etc.). E não é o período dos descobrimentos, e de modo especial nos últimos anos, sobem negociantes a buscar índios para os trabalhos nos seringais e piaçabais do baixo Rio Negro ou seringais do Colombia. Diante da natureza majestosa e selvagem destas regiões, é natural que o civilizado sinta e manifeste um sentimento de timidez e inadaptação, o que confirmará o índio na convicção da própria superioridade.

Quando transportado a uma das nossas cidades, bem longe dos seus irmãos de tribo e do seu rio natal, êsse mesmo sentimento de inadaptação e timidez fará, com mais facilidade, que o índio se una com fidelidade e quiçá verdadeira afeição ao civilizado com quem vive e para o qual trabalha.

O indígena que se instrui nas escolas da Missão, considera-se «branco», e procura imitar o civilizado. Não gostam que os chamemos «índios» (36); deve-se dizer: «vossa tribo», «vossa nação». Há em todos êles um ponto que de modo particular não se deve ferir, a saber, o orgulho da própria tribo.

21) *Gula*

São também excessivamente gulosos. Estão sempre dispostos a comer. Comem de tudo o que come o branco e que se lhes dá, e quase sempre tudo o que t[illegible] ...o momento (37). São frequentes os distúrbios intestinais. Comerão até se sentirem mal, e sobrevir indigestão e cólicas. Comem sem medida quando têm, e passarão depois o dia todo só com chibé (água com farinha de mandioca

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(35) Durante a última guerra cresceram as dificuldades de abastecimento dos centros missionários. Um dos Superiores da Missão julgou prudente avisar aos indígenas que não era má vontade dos Missionários, porém as dificuldades da época (falta de recursos, de transporte, etc.) impunham a privação de algumas coisas que êles vinham recebendo, por exemplo, do sal. E outro, de um tuxaua êste aparte: — "vocês os brancos é que vão sofrer com isto; a nós não nos faz falta".

(36) Os mais civilizados dentre êles dizem às vêzes: — "eu não sou do Caupéri, como equivalendo a "eu não sou índio". Reservam comumente o nome de índio para os da tribo Makú.

(37) Assistem curiosamente os brancos que comem e depois devoram tudo o que sobra; sempre, porém, repartindo-o entre si. Alguns de Iauaretê não gostaram de chocolate, e cuspiram-no fora.

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mudança (38). As crianças no colégio vão imprimindo as comidas que lhes apetecem até ficarem doentes. Nos caxiris não comem, de acôrdo com os costumes, e assim podem servir maior quantidade de bebida. E tão vomitando por um lado, à maneira dos antigos romanos, e por outro enchendo nova cuia. Verdade é que o caxiri é nutriente, sendo na realidade uma papa bem diluida. Como, às vezes, é servida ainda em fermentação, continua essa no estômago, donde muitos casos de hérnias estomacais, por excesso de bebida. São avidíssimos de aguardente, e uma paga pela qual farão qualquer sacrifício. Sentem-lhe o cheiro de longe. Para evitar repreensões, escondem as garrafas no fundo do rio, donde as retiram quando querem beber-lhes o conteúdo alcoólico.

Gulosíssimos particularmente de doce (39), apreciam também muito o sal, e até o próprio sal amargo (sulfato de sódio) subministrado como remédio. O sal é um artigo que sempre procuram.

(32) *Ingenuidade é alegria.*

Possui, outrossim, um conjunto de virtudes naturais e invejáveis qualidades. Já indicamos algumas, acenemos ainda a outras. Entre as belas qualidades do indígena nota-se a sua encantadora ingenuidade. Simples, inocuo, até quando conta os episódios mais escabrosos, e o faz sempre com os têrmos do mais cru realismo... Ingenuidade estranhamente natural, nas conversas, e especialmente na compostura, mesmo quando, a julgar pelos fatos anteriores, se tem certeza que ela encobre maltem.

É um indivíduo alegre. Ri com a máxima facilidade, e por qualquer motivo explode em grandes, prolongadas e típicas gargalhadas. O riso não é só uma resposta ao ridículo ou ao humorístico, mas a tôda surpresa agradável (40). Muito antes de clarear o dia, desde as 3 ou 4 horas da madrugada, ouvem-se gargalhadas na maloca, e até as 10 ou 11 da noite. É uma raça alegre: na sua

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(38) De resto estão habituados ao jejum. Além dos jejuns forçados (porque não têm o que comer, ou nas viagens), observam numerosos jejuns rituais: na iniciação puberdária, no chôco (couvade), menstruação, etc.

(39) Com um bombom os próprios tuxauas, chefes de povoado, mostram-se satisfeitos, e não raro uma bala é ainda partida, ou passa por mais de uma bôca. Com alguns caramelos e cigarros, davam-se por bem pagos pelo trabalho de se deixarem medir.

(40) Uma índia interrogada porque tantas e tão prolongadas gargalhadas, esclareceu que é porque lhe soltavam a fumaça do cigarro sôbre as diversas partes do corpo. Parece costume comum quando a mulher se acha deitada sôbre a rede para descansar, durante o dia.

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maloca ouvem-se muitas risadas e quase nenhum chôro. As próprias crianças choram menos que os seus irmãozinhos da civilização (41): chôro que dura poucos momentos.

23) *Estoicismo.*

O índio é o mais perfeito tipo do estoico, e supera de muito os antigos filósofos gregos. Homem do presente, o futuro não o preocupa. Não faz depósitos para amanhã; confia que amanhã a natureza lhe seja tão favorável ou mais que hoje, e êle trabalhará também amanhã. Na privação, saberá sofrer, com serena tranquilidade, a fome. Nem sequer pensa na dor futura. Nesta disposição de ânimo se assenta o segrêdo da sua tranqüilidade e bom humor constante. De resto, suporta fàcilmente o sofrimento; não gemerá por intensas que sejam as suas dores (42). Na enfermidade deitar-se-á sôbre a rede e espera que a natureza reaja sob a sugestão dos ritos do pajé. Se êste diz que o doente vai morrer, aguardará êle tranqüilo a morte, sem choros nem gritos. Os parentes não lhe darão remédio, e muitas vêzes nem mesmo alimento ou bebida (44). O

(41) Nas crianças recolhidas nos internatos da Missão, e nas próprias crianças filhas de ex-alunos e criadas à sombra das Missões, observa-se com mais freqüência e prolongadamente choros e gritos de manha.

(42) Nas freqüentes visitas às malocas e aos povoados indígenas, muitas vêzes com admiração nos temos encontrado indivíduos, não só adultos, mas também crianças, suportando grandes dores sem uma lagrima ou um gemido. Ao invés, quando aos cuidados dos civilizados, por exemplo, quando hospitalizados, facilmente se desabafam em gritos e gemidos que parecem até exagerados. Abstemo-nos de apresentar uma explicação para semelhantes fatos, embora a tenhamos inutilmente pedido, em várias ocasiões, aos próprios indígenas.

(43) E vocês têm dado-mingau ao doente? Indagava o Missionário aos de uma maloca, onde encontrara um velho muito mal, deitado na rede. — "Para que" objetaram-lhe os índios, êle vai morrer mesmo". Em Pari-Cachoeira encontrava-se, em maio de 1954, uma jovem esposa gràvemente doente e desenganada pelo pajé, por nome Adelia Abreu, da tribo Tukano. Não aceitava os remédios ou punha-os fora, fingindo tomá-los. Recusava geralmente os alimentos. Se acaso mostrasse alguma disposição a aceitá-los, sua mãe murmurava que não os tomasse, porque o pajé dissera que iria morrer. Com certa dificuldade transportaram-na ao hospital. A Irmã Enfermeira conseguiu vencer a resistência da môça, e esta dispõe-se a tomar os remédios e a alimentação, e notou-se logo esperançosa melhora. A mãe da doente, ao saber disso, correu ao hospital, a fim de impedir êste fato. A quem lhe argüia porque agia assim, respondeu a mãe: — "O pajé disse que ela deve morrer, se ela sarar no hospital, o pajé vai ficar com raiva de mim". É verdade que apenas a môça se sentiu melhor, fugiu do

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paciente não o pedirá, ou até recusará tomar se alguem lhos apresentar. A sua vida foi tôda de lutas e privações suportadas com a mais inalteravel calma, jamais foi vencido pelo desespêro; mostra-se sempre forte até diante da iminência de morte (cfr. VII - 2, e (1).

24) *Formalismo*

O indígena uaupesino é um tipo singularmente formalista. Precisamente êste formalismo rigoroso, atingindo quase cada atividade do individuo, é que esmaga o individual, o pessoal no índio. Dêles, como dos mongóis, os que com êles não têm um contacto muito prolongado e imediato dizem que todos se parecem, porque é difícil distingui-los pelos traços fisionômicos. Na realidade, mais do que no rosto assemelham-se no seu comportamento. Os índios parecem-nos feitos *em série*, se os consideramos na sua maneira de agir. A educação, que lhes subministra a congênita tendência de imitar, e a sujeição aos costumes e tradições é de tal modo absorvente que quase lhes faz desaparecer os traços individualizantes. E esta uniformidade é ainda mais impressionante porque *nivelou* culturalmente *nações distintas* e bem diversas pelos traços somáticos, pela origem bio-étnica e pela fala, e parece haver conseguido moldar todos os componentes das tribos conforme um modêlo único. Por essa razão afirmamos que, até na maneira de rir e gesticular, as diferentes tribos do Uaupés se assemelham, e por isso mesmo a vasta região uaupesina deve-se considerar como uma única área cultural.

Vão aqui alguns acenos ao formalismo indígena do Uaupés.

Nos encontros de parentes não há expansões de júbilo, já o relevamos, embora depois de longa separação, mesmo o encontro de esposos ou entre pais e filhos.

São frequentes entre êles as viagens de visitas: necessidade psicológica por que vivem em pequenos grupos? ou reminiscência de nomadismo ancestral?

As recepções oficiais das grandes festas, ou eventuais de alguma visita, revestem-se sempre de um estranho e indispensável formalismo.

Quando nas suas assíduas viagens de passeio, resolve parar em alguma maloca ou povoado, encosta sua canoa no pôrto e sobe. Se

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hospital. Do parto, que logo se seguiu, teve criança muito fraca que veio a falecer quase imediatamente. Porém a jovem mãe ficou forte e está ainda em gôzo de saúde (em setembro de 1966).

forem vários, fa-lo-ão em *fila indiana*, isto é, um atrás do outro, observando uma ordem em que precede o mais digno. Não entrará absolutamente, sem dizer à porta: «*nê! marsá nii?* olá, há gente aí». Isto dirá mesmo quando viu que havia gente. Virá, então, receber-o o chefe da casa, ou o mais importante que aí estiver, e trocam-se de leve as mãos direitas. Ficando de pé, um em frente do outro, sem se olharem, olhando para o chão ou para um canto, o da casa perguntará: — «você chegou? *ertuti mÃÃ?*» — «Cheguei, *ertupi*». Ou: — «a sua canoa chegou»? O outro responderá: — «chegou». Passarão alguns segundos em silêncio, depois continua: — «Ah! você chegou? — Sim, cheguei». Após pequena pausa insistirá talvez: «Ah! bem! você chegou? — «Sim, cheguei». — «Donde vem você»? (pergunta muitas vezes inutil, pois sabe muito bem a procedência do visitante). — «De X» (e diz o nome da localidade). — Ah! você vem de X? — «Sim, venho de X». Estas e semelhantes expressões são intercaladas de silêncio e de «*dã*», que cada qual vai alternando, como sinal que compreendeu a frase do outro.

O mesmo fará e dirá cada um dos homens da maloca ao hospede, ou aos hospedes, se forem vários. Passarão, outrossim, as mulheres, uma por uma, diante de cada visitante, e tocando-lhe a mão direita farão as mesmas perguntas: — «chegaste? — Cheguei», etc., sem olhar porem para os hospedes, com os olhos baixos. Retiram-se as mulheres e uma delas vai buscar uma pequena esteira, colocando-a diante das visitas, e sôbre a esteira põe uma panela com *tucupi* e uma peneira com beijú, de que se servem sem acabamento os visitantes.

Mais tarde, sentados nos Banquinhos, ou cada qual na sua rede, entabolam longas conversas até horas tardas da noite, com certa rapidez, entremeadas pelos monotissimos «*dã*» e com incontáveis e sonoras gargalhadas. Se pensarmos que a lingua tukano é tão concisa, diz tanta cousa com poucas palavras, teremos uma idéia da loquacidade dos indigenas entre si. A criança contará tudo o que lhe passou nos meses em que estêve no colégio. O adulto relatará as viagens, os episódios da caça ou da pesca, os feitos, as pessoas que encontrou, as conversas que teve, os episódios proprios e alheios, enfim terá um sem-número de noticias a comunicar que nos parecem sem interêsse, porem, para sua mentalidade infantil são muito importantes. A curiosidade de saber, corresponde, da outra parte, grande vontade de contar.

Note-se que o marido nunca conversa com a mulher à noite, só de dia, e mantem longa prosa, quando descansam, após o trabalho. A noite só é permitida a cavaqueira entre pessoas do mesmo

sexo (assim nos informou a velha Taryana Teodora de Guarete, e nos-o confirmou Dorotéia Brito, Tukano) (44).

Singular encontro de pajés proporcionou-nos uma excursão ao médio Uaupés em maio de 1956. Viajávamos em companhia de dois pajés Tukano, Marcelino e Henrique, respectivamente pajé de Juquira e do Japu-garape. Uma avaria do motor de popa obrigou-nos a uma parada mais longa no povoado de *Periquito*, da tribo *Taryana*. Os dois pajés em trânsito cumprimentaram de uma maneira comum o colega Taryana da localidade. Logo em seguida, porém, os três pajés se postaram à margem do rio, à distância de 50 ou 60 em um do outro, cada qual fumando seu cigarro (que um dos visitantes dera aos outros dois). E sem se olharem, voltados para o rio, puseram-se a declamar, em voz bastante alta e característica tonada, que se podia distinguir a uns 20 metros de distância. Mais de meia hora durou aquele diálogo, no qual se alternavam com a palavra ora um ora o outro dos três, sempre com a intervenção dos outros dois que repetiam as últimas palavras da frase do locutor, ou outras palavras à guisa de estribilho. Era uma recordação dos episódios que, de acordo com a lenda das origens, ter-se-iam realizado naquelas paragens, à história das suas ilhas, canais, cachoeiras e pedras, recordação com valor de um exorcismo e augúrio de uma próspera navegação. Se houve também invocação das «mães das cousas», como Stradelli afirma haver assistido por ocasião da imposição do nome, não nos foi possível averiguar (45).

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(44) Entre os Ilé-maxsã, do ribeirão Komé-ya, temos observado, durante a noite, conversa entre marido e mulher. Quiçá não sejam proibidas as frases impostas pela necessidade, e interditas sejam apenas as conversas por entretenimento.

(45) Fato semelhante deu-se em agosto de 1956 no Ribeirão Timi-ya (afluente da esquerda do rio Pirá-paraná). À hora do almôço paramos numa roça que se elevava à mão esquerda de quem desce o ribeirão. Um dos nossos remadores, da tribo Bará, aí encontrou um seu "irmão" de tribo. Suspendeu, então, a refeição o nosso remador, e os dois Bará, de pé sôbre um grande tronco abatido, voltados para o poente (provavelmente para não ter o sol a castigar-lhes o rôsto) lentamente sem se olharem puseram-se a dialogar entre si, em voz muito alta. Era ainda o augúrio de feliz viagem pelas recordações das lendas das origens, como nos foi informado. Terá durado um quarto de hora êsse diálogo, depois os dois sentaram-se sôbre o tronco e continuaram numa conversa alegre, em tom mais baixo e amistoso, enquanto comiam, pois o nosso remador pôs à disposição do seu "irmão" a nossa comida, e ambos dela se serviram desembaraçadamente.

Êsse mesmo remador Bará, propiciou-nos em a noite seguinte espetáculo semelhante, embora em circunstâncias mais desagradáveis. Um temporal e as trevas da noite surpreenderam-nos navegando o Pirá-paraná, e precisamente nas proximidades da perigosa "cachoeira

25. *Habilidade e gosto artístico*

Acenamos a habilidade do índio na execução dos seus trabalhos tradicionais. Mais ainda, possui gôsto artístico, como veremos adiante (VII - 3). A sua malôca é um belo trabalho de engenharia e arte. Harmoniosa e imponente nas suas proporções, e com um perfeito travamento das vigas, está solidamente plantada em terra, a desafiar as tempestades, com estacas de madeira de lei, tôdas bem regulares e admiràvelmente alinhadas.

São trabalhos perfeitos os *yurta-seri*, ou ligas tecidas de tucum (gr. *inheengatu*, *tapacurá*) que as mulheres usam abaixo do joelho para engrossar-lhes as pernas ou como adornos nas danças.

As pinturas nos banquinhos e os desenhos com palhas de diversas côres, nos cestos e peneiras, são perfeitas e agradáveis.

O *yurkê-warsoro* (ou cobre-sexo, (pequeno avental de missangas enfiadas em fios de tucum), que as mulheres usam na frente, quando dançam, demonstra paciência, habilidade e bom gôsto.

A geração nova tanto do sexo feminino, como do masculino, que passou pelos colégios das Missões, aprende a fazer suas roupas, e

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[illegible] A margem esquerda foi improvisada uma tenda com duas [illegible] que abrigavam a bagagem e algumas redes. Pela meia [illegible] o rumor de remos, uma canoa abordou a margem e [illegible] os seus tripulantes, entre os quais um velho da tribo *Ihuêna*. [illegible] ou seria o primeiro encontro, não pudemos [illegible] pela [illegible] de [illegible]. Somos proclives a pensar que [illegible] antes, porque o remador Bará afirmara não co[illegible] a rezar, e os *Ihuêna* moram nessa zona do Pirá-paraná, e [illegible] somente para ajudar-nos a passar a cachoeira, conforme pedimos que fizessemos na malôca visitada horas antes. O remador Bará levantou-se para ver os que havam chegado. Imediatamente teve início, no silêncio da noite, um diálogo em voz alta, como se fôsse uma [illegible] entre o Bará e o velho Ihuêna. Eram os esconjuros tradicionais, com a recordação dos episódios lendários, com o fim de obter a [illegible] da viagem. Assim nos revelou um índio Tukano que [illegible] companhia. Aquelas gritos no coração da noite todos acordaram. Após [illegible] minutos, com o desejo de conciliar o sono tão [illegible] para quem se entrega a tão penosas viagens, procuramos [illegible] para que cessasse aquêle distúrbio. Foi tentativa baldada. Os dois [illegible] ou porque não entendessem nosso desejo, ou, como é mais provável, porque não lhes interessava saber se estavam incomodando [illegible] o que é também um traço marcante e geral da psicologia dos índios do Uaupés, e pela importância que dão às suas praxes, continuaram imperturbados ante nossos apartes e protestos. Depois de quase uma hora dialogando em voz forte e na típica toada dos esconjuros, passaram a falar em voz baixa e discreta, pediram alguma coisa para comer e por fim, deitando-se sôbre a areia, dormiram até o amanhecer.

executam com bastante gôsto e procurando seguir a moda que [illegible] entre os civilizados do Rio Negro. Até os meninos gostam de [illegible]urar e bordar (5).

Revelam pendor pelo desenho, e não só desenham pelo chão, como nos cadernos representam o que viram: animal, objetos, edifícios escolares, etc. A bem da verdade se deve relevar que, por causa de sua inconstancia, nenhum deles até agora prosseguiu a aperfeiçoar-se no desenho.

Dentre as côres preferem o vermelho e o azul, combinando esta última côr com o branco. E amam as côres bem vivas. Note-se que na língua tukano (40) há um só termo, *pôase*, para indicar o *amarelo*, o *vermelho* e o *amarelo*, e outro *pâsase*, para o *verde* e *azul*, embora distingam não só as sete côres simples, como as intermediárias.

Quanto à música, embora não favorecido pela voz, pois tem-na geralmente estridula, nota-se o gôsto e relativa facilidade para aprender os cantos a uma como a mais vozes. Os seus cantos das danças, se bem que monotonos e tristonhos, são muito harmoniosos, e são bem variados e agradáveis os motivos que executam nas suas flautas. Dotada, por assim dizer, do instinto musical, a criança com a maior facilidade aprenderá o ritmo e os passos das danças tradicionais, sem escola, vendo e dançando. Até as crianças são capazes de preparar suas flautas, mesmo aquelas ditas *de Pá* ou *cano*, como pequenos orgãos de 6 a 10 tubos, correspondentes às notas musicais e harmonizando-se perfeitamente entre si os seus varios instrumentos musicais.

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(40) E não só o Tukano, mas também os demais idiomas do Uaúpés (família linguística Tukano) e do Caburi empregam o mesmo têrmo para as côres vermelho e amarelo, e outro para o *verde* e *azul*.

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## Cap. VI

## CULTURA MATERIAL

### HABITAÇÃO

Sob o nome de *cultura material* (*Sachkultur* dos autores alemães) entendemos o conjunto de objetos que o silvícola produz para as necessidades da vida. São, pròpriamente, os *objetos materiais* enquanto manifestam o seu nível cultural.

As tribos que estudamos não são nômades. Na fase atual em que as encontramos, acham-se estabilizadas há várias gerações ou séculos (...quanto avança a memória completada por algumas informações dos primeiros viajantes), no mesmo local, donde só se mudam por motivo de epidemias ou de brigas. O grupo dissidente vai, então, construir nova casa ou iniciar outro povoado, ordinàriamente não muito distante do primeiro, talvez afastado poucos quilômetros apenas. Admiram-se ainda hoje malocas bem antigas; de meio século, quiçá. Circunstâncias particulares (incêndio, tempestade, etc.) podem igualmente forçar a construção de nova maloca. O índio prefere sempre fabricar nova casa, a reparar a antiga, se grandemente avariada. Embora, para a nova construção, muitas vezes aproveite as traves e, mais comumente, as palhas de cobertura, especialmente se estão ainda boas e teria que ir muito longe buscar palhas novas. Em se tratando assim de tribos fixas, é natural que encontremos boas habitações. Como é zona de freqüentes e torrenciais chuvas, não é conveniente a simples construção de barro.

O sistema de cobertura, *peokaro*, é sempre o de duas águas e com grande inclinação, de sorte que o beiral do telhado ficará acima do solo apenas um metro ou pouco mais. A palma de cobertura varia conforme os recursos da região; geralmente empregam o *carandá* (*Maurítia flexuosa*, Wall.) pelo só porque além de abrigar bem das chuvas, dura muitos anos. Regularmente compõem a cobertura começando pelo beiral.

Do carandá empregam as palmas sem mais trabalho, superpondo-as de maneira que uma recubra parte da outra. De outras palmas

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como o buçú *muhi* devem antes tecer os folíolos (é o que se diz *muhi-pama* buçú-trançado), e em diversas camadas, afim de que vedem perfeitamente das chuvas, (é o sistema *muhi-peõkaro*)

Outras vezes preparam o buçú entre talas, no chão; é o *muhi-deroke* (buçú costurado). *Cosem* um amarrado de fôlhas, isto é, prendem algumas palmas entre duas talas de sorte que constituam um pano *retângular* de dois por três metros, mais ou menos; é o que se denomina *muhi-sud-ka-pama* (pano de buçú cosido).

Das paredes, *tpakaro*, as laterais (*so'mûta-tpakaro*) são preferivelmente de palma trançada. Encontram-se com mais freqüência paredes de *pehe*, palma que atinge dois a três metros de comprimento e 30 a 40 cm de largura, ou ainda de *moa*, cujas palmas são mais largas alcançando os folíolos uns 60 cm.

As paredes principais (frente e fundo), no estilo clássico das malocas (assim nos informou Júlio, tuxaua de Pari-cachoeira, rio Tiquié) são, ao invés, de casca de árvore (*puxko-karseri tpakaro*) até certa altura (1), e completada até o telhado por palma de *ocaí*, *mizpi pokaro*.

Preparam a casca de sorte que se assemelham a largas tábuas. Cortam um cipó, como medida do comprimento que devem ter as cascas, ordinariamente de 5 a 6 metros. Vão à mata, escolhem a árvore e com um objeto cortante (antigamente o simples machado de pedra ou mesmo uma ponta aguçada qualquer) dão um talho ao redor, na parte superior e outro na inferior do tronco, conforme o tamanho desejado. Executam, ao depois, pequenos talhos no cortex, batem-no muito bem, com um pau, ao longo da casca a fim de que esta se despregue. Em seguida dão-lhe um talho longitudinal, e com uma pequena espátula vão separando do tronco a casca que pode ter um metro ou mais de largura. Transportam as cascas para casa e, a fim de que não se enrolem, empilham-nas umas sôbre as outras, bem esticadas, com um pêso por cima.

Para fazer as paredes, põe-se uma travessa (*tr*) horizontal a um palmo do solo, e outra mais acima, paralelamente, com intervalo de um metro ou mais, prêsas com cipó a estacas (*e*) bem firmes. A essas travessas ou réguas aplicam-se verticalmente as tábuas de casca já bem sêcas, e sôbre elas põem-se novas réguas, paralelas às primeiras, a fim de reter a casca. Depois um índio pelo lado de fora, e outro pelo de dentro furam quatro orifícios e, com cipó cosem

(1) Em um ou outro lugar vimos barracas que, em vez de casca, tinham as paredes feitas de tronco de paxiúba, aberto e batido, de sorte a apresentar o aspecto de tábuas rústicas ou costaneiras.

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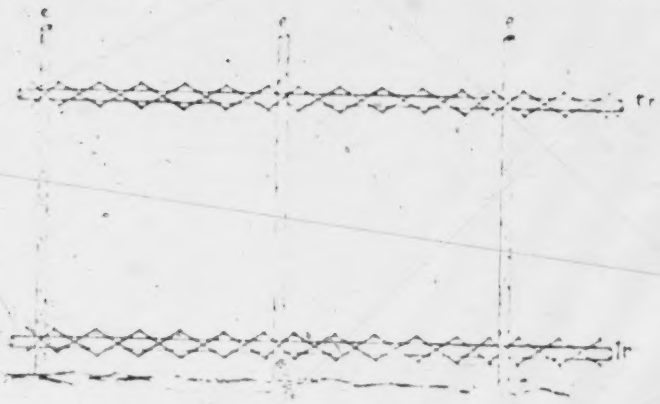
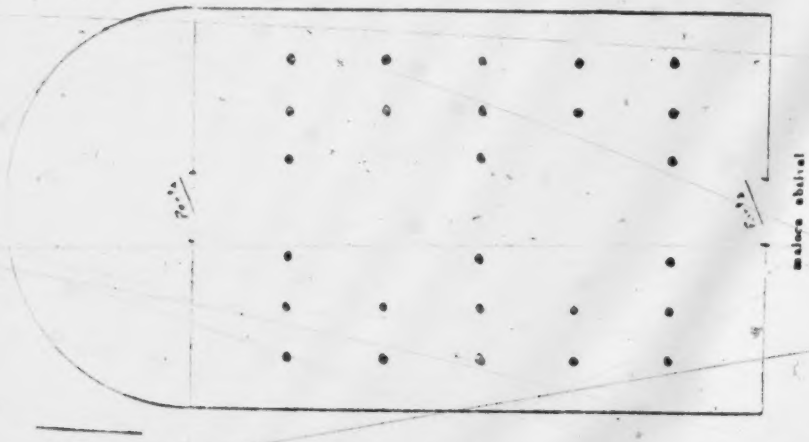


as cascas às réguas, resultando algumas vêzes, dessa costura, um X com bastante regularidade e simetria ao redor das travessas.

Sôbre estas cascas frequentemente se encontram pinturas, servindo de tinta o latex da sorveira, com argila de diversas côres.

Atualmente tôdas as malocas que ainda se encontram pela região do Uaupés e afluentes são retangulares. Até 40 anos atrás viam-se algumas com a parte posterior de forma arredondada, como abside, dita do *ukaro-tiri-ley'i* (maloca-com-cozinha) (2). Esta




(2) Era assim absidal a maloca dos Tuyuka, em *Pinó-koa-liró*, no alto Tiquié e que Kôch Grünberg afirma media 27x17,80x7,80 metros (*Zwei Jahre*, 204).

abside achava-se separada, na parte interna da maloca, por uma divisão de esteira que se dizia *i'misa-ta'tyá* (apartamento de esteira). Nesse compartimento absidal residia a família do tuxaua e se guardavam os enfeites, instrumentos musicais e utensílios de uso comum, que constituíam propriedade coletiva do grupo.

Com o aumento de conforto dos índios e do instinto de propriedade (e até certo ponto e imitação ou mesmo sugestão dos civilizados) aparecem casas pequenas, *wi'i*, familiares, de palha ou casca ou mesmo de pau-a-pique (3), em vez das antigas e grandes malocas, *baxsa-wi* ou *baxsari-wi* (casa de dança) (4) para todo um grupo local.

Nota-se, nos povoados atuais, que as casas têm todas o mesmo estilo retangular. São, em ponto pequeno, uma maloca. Não são, porém, iguais, nem obedecem algum alinhamento, salvo os casos de intervenção dos missionários. Por imitação dos prédios das Missões vêem-se hoje algumas casas com pequeno pórtico ou alpendre.

Quanto à localização, é sempre à margem de um rio ou ribeirão (5). E afim de evitar as enchentes anuais, situam-se em pontos mais elevados ou «*terra-firme*», e nunca se vêem em palafitas (6).

Nos povoados de duas ou mais casas, ou atrás da maloca única, haverá sempre uma área batida que a separa, de uns 50 ou 100 metros, da mata e preserva da incursão dos animais ferozes.

Regularmente plantão nas vizinhanças a *pimenteira* (diversas variedades de *capsicum*), pupunheira, açaizeiro, urucum, e, com menor frequência, a cucura, limoeiro (hoje também a laranjeira), mamoeiro (*papaya carica*), abio (*lucuma caimita*, Roem. e Schulth.),

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(3) Por *pau-a-pique* ou *taipa* (em tukano *di'tá pukaro*) entende-se, em todo o Brasil, a casa cujas paredes constam de um engradado de estacas e ripas o qual depois é enchido e rebocado com barro ou argamassa.

(4) A de Pari-cachoeira, no rio Tiquié, desaparecida vai para 20 anos, media 60 por 30 metros aproximadamente, atesta o snr. Pe. João Marques.

(5) Paulo Rivet qualifica a civilização dessas tribos de "civilização da mandioca". Talvez com mais exatidão se devia dizer "civilização da mandioca e da pesca". Temos encontrado, especialmente na região habitada pelos *Karapanã* e *Tatu*, malocas no interno da mata, distantes 500 ou 600 metros dos ribeirões. Esse afastamento é uma injunção das circunstâncias, a fim de se garantirem contra ataques e violências.

(6) Em alguns postos da fronteira Colombiana, ditos "Comissaria", existe, para os funcionários aduaneiros e da guarda, uma residência construída em ponto elevado, sôbre estacas a dois metros do solo, aproximadamente. Em 1952 um índio da margem brasileira do Papuri imitou êste estilo na construção da sua barraca. Por zombaria os outros a denominaram "comissaria".

cana (*saccharum officinale*, Lin.), fumo (*nicotiana tabacum*) e coca (*erythroxilon coca*).

Amiúde se vê uma pequena moenda, *d'rã arõãrõ* (Uaupés *d'nã arõãrõ*), para cana (7). São geralmente quatro estacas verticais, bem plantadas em terra, suportando dois cilindros de madeira munidos de sulcos longitudinais, e que rodam em sentido contrario, comprimindo entre êles a cana. Embora esta não seja planta nativa do Brasil (8), pensa Nordenskiold que a moenda seja invenção indígena, de acôrdo com a sua matéria e recursos. Não nos parece aceitável a opinião de Nordenskiold, para as moendas e as tribos do Uaupés. Serão imitação das moendas que desde o sec. 18 os civilizados empregavam no baixo Rio Negro.

Uma praça, *merkú-pa*, ou área retangular, limpa de qualquer vegetação, e de ordinário proporcional à população, situa-se adiante da maloca. Denomina-se também *bursari-u'tú*, «páteo de dança»; efetivamente aí se desenvolvem alguns números das danças cerimoniais.

Há sempre uma estrada de alguns metros de largura, e limpa, que leva ao pôrto, ou aos portos, onde amarram as canoas e tomam o seu banho. Estrada que serve, outrossim, para a procissão de *d'ir-ti*, na sua festa (cfr. VII - 4, e (2).

Quando a barranca do rio é muito alta, constroem uma escada com degraus de terra ou de paus. Sendo degraus de terra, êstes são imobilizados com paus roliços de uns dois metros, presos a pequenas estacas, fincadas no chão, ou amarradas transversalmente, por meio de cipós, a duas longas traves paralelas laterais.

A maloca Tuyuka do lugar S. Pedro (alto Tiquié), nas proximidades da fronteira colombiana, era (em 1947) das mais antigas. Semelhante a ela temos visto em outras tribos (Tukano, Kubéwãna, Wanãna, Bãra, Karapanã, Ide-masã, Hanêrã, Ihwãna, Roéra, e Baniva). Verificamos em nossa visita de 1954 que já havia sido abandonada.

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(7) Em uma maloca dos Tuyuka, nas cabeceiras do Tiquié, a moenda se achava dentro da maloca, nas proximidades da porta principal.

(8) Assim se pensa comumente. A cana tem uma origem asiática da China donde passou ao Mediterrâneo, e da Espanha para o Novo Mundo. Marca-se o ano de 1627 como sendo o de sua introdução no Pará. É certo que na época dos descobrimentos os índios já plantavam cana. Alonso de Rojas, na relação da viagem de Pedro de Teixeira, em 1637, no-lo informa (Descobrimento do Rio das Amazonas", pag. 114).

Rio

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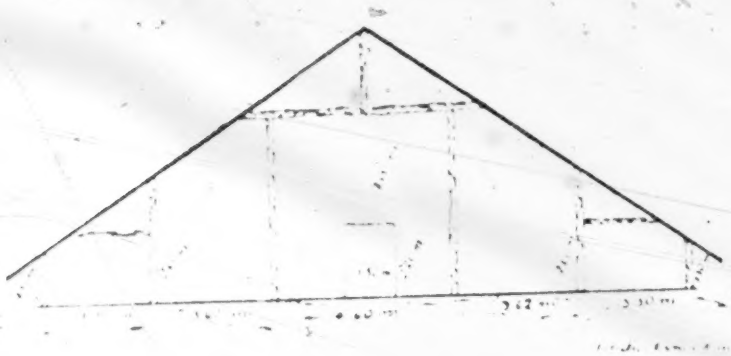
[Facing p. 176]

Vista do Campes no período da vazante e uma canôa cheia de cestos para o comercio com outros tribos



Malóca Tuyuká (S. Pedro, rio Tiquié)

Era construída conforme os antigos costumes. Descrevê-la-emos, pois, como modêlo dêsse tipo de construção. Era retangular, medindo 27,60 metros de comprimento por 16 de largura. A cobertura (2) de duas águas, com declive bem pronunciado, para o rápido escoamento. Media internamente 7,30 metros de altura até a cumeeira, terminando a 90 cm do chão, de sorte que as paredes laterais mediam apenas 1,52 metro de altura. O telhado de carana prolongava-se um pouco mais, na parte correspondente às portas, a fim de defendê-las das chuvas.

As paredes principais obedeciam ao estilo clássico, i. e. eram de casca de árvore até 2,5 metros de altura, e depois, de trançado de ucari. As paredes laterais eram de *pehé*.

Estava construída solidamente sôbre 5 pares de esteios, *boxtá-ri* (9) que delimitam a nave central (vd. a nomenclatura dos colunas - VII - 4, e (2)). Eram paus roliços, retilíneos, rústicos (sem descascar), porém bastante regulares e proporcionais, como o eram também as vigas, *nêxtó-ri* (Uaupés *nêxtó-ni*), e calibros *wa' só-ri* (Uaupés *wa' só-ni*).

Todo o madeirame era solidamente travado com cipó (10). Internamente os esteios, todos êles bem alinhados, dividiam o espaço em 5 naves. As três centrais para uso comum: passagem, reuniões, danças, visitas e trabalho. Aí ficavam, mais para o fundo, os uten-

(9) Muito preferido para esteios é o "pau-vermelho" (mira-piranga) das Cesalpineas.

(10) Em algumas das casas modernas já aparecem pregos em vigas, ripas, etc.

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silos de uso comum, como sejam os grandes vasos de barro cozido e os cochos de madeira para a fermentação dos caxiris, e o forno para o fabrico da farinha. É aqui que se desenvolvem as danças por ocasião das festas (11).

As duas naves mais externas, que correspondem à parte baixa do telhado, ao longo do beiral, eram destinadas à residência das famílias: cada nave tinha 4 divisões, ao todo, pois, oito compartimentos que se dizem *wri-khãra tuxku-ri* (Uaupés *wri-khãna tuxku-ri*).

Na do tuxaua, casualmente, a separação era um pouco melhor, não bastando porem, para tolher a visão do interno. Em algumas malocas nenhuma separação existe absolutamente. Pode-se, pois, dizer que são *divisões imaginárias*, correspondentes às traves e esteios da maloca.

As estacas que suportam o telhado servem para aí se atarem as redes e permitem que, nas duas naves habitadas, se arme um jirau, *kamã-tó*, aproximadamente a 2.00 m do solo, servindo de prateleira onde cada família guarda parte da sua alfaia, e também beijú, farinha, moqueado, ficando por terra os objetos mais pesados.

Cada apartamento tem seu pequeno fogão ou trempe, o qual, em todas as casas indígenas, consta de três vasos, *nitari-a* (vd. VI - 2 a 12) de barro cozido, entre os quais se põem as acendalhas.

Duas são as portas, *sorpé*: uma principal de ingresso, voltada para o rio dita *mirpi-yokaro-sorpé*, e outra no fundo da maloca, para uso dos seus moradores exclusivamente, *doakaro-ká-sorpé*; medindo aquela 2,5 por 1,5 m de largura, com uma trave de 20 cm de altura por soleira.

Servindo de tapume para as duas portas, existe uma esteira, *sorpé-pema* (em Nhengatú *japó*), de fasquias bem forte, com armação de paus roliços. Em algumas malocas a porta assemelha-se a um duplo engradado forte e cerrado, em cujo entremeio são estendidas folhas de palmeiras, afim de vedar melhor da chuva e do vento. As esteiras são suspensas à guisa de persianas, da parte superior do porta. Mantém-se abertas durante o dia, levantando a parte inferior por meio de um cipó, *mi-yori-da*, que pende do teto, ou por meio de uma vara apoiada ao chão, *sorpé-fú-kó* ou *sorpé-fuñé-ká*. As vêzes reforçam a porta, à noite, com uma tranca, *tárto-pi*.

(11) Algumas malocas tem apenas 3 naves, sendo mais larga a central. Vimos também de 4 naves. Nas de 5, as três naves intermediárias servem sempre para os trabalhos (preparo da farinha, do caxiri, etc.) e para as reuniões.

Havendo, pois, apenas duas aberturas, o interior é sempre um tanto escuro, sendo, em parte, iluminado pelos fogões (12).

Nas modernas barracas familiares costuma existir uma separação interna, geralmente feita de cascas. Talvez essa divisão, que se vai adotando, tenha sido sugerida pela conveniência, quando devem abrigar algum hóspede, especialmente o civilizado. O índio é, de ordinário, muito hospitaleiro; não só recebe os convidados para os grandes caxiris, como acolhe qualquer índio ou branco que se encontre em viagem. O primeiro apartamento perto da porta é reservado, com exclusividade, para os hóspedes (vd. VII — 4, e 2 a).

Em alguns povoados, por solicitação do Missionário, constroem uma barraca ampla que serve de pernoite do Padre e de capela, quando não há outro local destinado ao culto.

Algumas malocas (e também barracas de Makú), em que o telhado termina muito vizinho do solo, carecem total ou parcialmente das paredes laterais. Tais paredes são regularmente dispensadas nos *ocoro-aro* (Nheengatú *tapiri* ou *papiri*), ou choças de emergência, que fazem nas roças distantes ou nas margens dos rios onde costumam pernoitar em ocasião de viagens e pescarias.

Ordinàriamente a maloca ou casa é única, e contém tôdas as alfaias da família. Começa, no entanto, a aparecer casas auxiliares. Possui uma dessas a maloca dos Tuyuca acima descrita. Um dos índios, conhecendo um pouco de português, explicou que era a "sucursal" da maloca. Muito menor e parcialmente apenas defendida por paredes laterais, feitas de palha e casca. Havia ali umas 14 redes destinadas aos Makú de serviço, o forno de farinha, peneiras, balaios, tipitis suspensos, vasos de barro cozido e uma vasilha cilíndrica muito bem feita, de casca, semelhante às barricas retas em que guardamos castanhas o bacalhau.

Presentemente (e desde a época dos descobrimentos, como atestam os primeiros exploradores), encontra-se como animal doméstico, nas várias malocas e casas, e em tôdas as tribos, o cão que, além da guarda serve também para a caça. De ordinário pequenos, famintos, excessivamente magros; alguns nem suportam o pêso do corpo. Muitos dêsses animais, pelas picadas da formiga de fogo ou fari, sofreram degenerescência da córnea e por isso têm os olhos brancos.

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(12) Às vezes sôbre ou uma ou mais estacas, parece que plantadas só para essa finalidade, acendem à noite um pedaço de resina dita *cicantá*, que arde com luz bastante intensa e duradoura, e deixa como resíduo um breu que serve também para a calafetagem das canoas.

Aqui e acolá, pelas malocas e povoados, vêem-se também araras, papagaios, mutuns, jacamins ou jacus domesticados. As Missões vem estimulando a criação de porcos e galinhas. As galinhas remontam aos primeiros colonizadores do Rio Negro, e para sua defesa, à guisa de galinheiro onde se abriguem à noite, fazem pequenos cercados cônicos, com o vértice para cima, ou empregam alguma canoa velha emborcada, com uma abertura que fecham à noite, a fim de que não entrem a micura (gambá) ou outro animal perseguidor de galinhas.

Nas línguas *arawáke* a galinha denomina-se *karáku*, provàvelmente uma onomatopéia da voz da galinha. São, de resto, muito comuns entre as tribos do Uaupés os onomatopaicos para designar os pássaros. Quiçá de *karáka* derive a palavra da língua tukano que significa galinha i. e. *kárêkê* ou *kaiêkô* (Uaupés *kaiêkô, kaiêkô*). Nesta hipótese dos *Arawáke* é que os *Tukano* (e, em geral as tribos do Uaupés) teriam recebido os primeiros galináceos ou ao menos o conhecimento dêstes. Torna verossímil tal hipótese não só o maior desenvolvimento cultural dos *Arawáke*, como, outrossim, a sua anterior relação com os civilizados do Rio Negro.

Parece que não há regra alguma quanto à orientação da maloca, nem quanto à distância do rio ou da mata.

2) *ALFAIAS DA CASA E OBJETOS DE USO*

A casa do silvícola, que estêve a serviço do «branco» ou em comércio com êles, apresenta agora muitos objetos obtidos dos civilizados, como caldeirões, canecas, facão, machado, garrafas, anzóis, tesouras, redes e até baús ou malas para guardar suas roupas. Exceto a rede de algodão que, entre as tribos do Uaupés, Tiquié e Papuri, hoje é quase tão comum ou mais que a indígena do tucum, os outros objetos são raridades, no conjunto dos utensílios de fabricação indígena.

Lembraremos agora êstes, e, mais adiante, descreveremos os enfeites e instrumentos musicais.

a) *Cerâmica*

Cabe à mulher todos os trabalhos de cerâmica, e ao homem procurar a argila.

1) *Potes e panelas.* *Camotim* ou *camocim* é um têrmo regional do Amazonas e genérico, da Língua Geral ou Nheengatú, equivale a *pote*, e usa-se para designar diferentes vasos de forma e dimensões muito diversas, conforme o emprêgo. Entre os produtos da cerâmica indígena, alguns se assemelham a uma panela comum das

nossos, dizem-se *ki-pa-to* (Nheengatú, *yapepú*) e se empregam para preparar o mingau e a quinhapira. Existem ainda:

*kini-dod-to*, para cozinhar o peixe;

*ini-baari-pa*, na qual se serve o peixe aos comensais;

*pêru-to*, é uma espécie de talha para guardar o caxiri. Distinguem-se:

*pêru-ahua apari-pa*, grande panela preta em qúe se fermenta o caxiri de beijú;

*pêru-poari-pa*, no qual se guarda o caxiri já preparado;

*saxto-to* é o cântaro de carregar água;

*kaxpi-to* o em que se distribui o kaxpi (VI — 4, 1 (4).

Chamam *baxpa* aos vasos de forma mais achatada, como tigelas ou pratos de diversos tamanhos, alguns bem pequenos, *baxpâryakâ*, usados à guisa de colheres, que não conhecem.

Todos esses vasos são fabricados com a argila dita *dyi* (Nh. *ipiché*), que se encontra em estratos compactos, de côr azul ou verde escura, em certos lugares, especialmente nas margens ou no leito dos cursos de água. Extraem a argila com o auxílio de lascas de madeira, em camadas finas, e conservam-na em lugares úmidos e bem cobertos de fôlhas.

Para o fabrico dos vasos a mulher amassa a argila muito bem, adicionando de cinza (*ocrá*), e para cada 3 partes de barro, uma de cinza da casca do *caripé* (13), reduzida a pó e peneirada. Deixa-se a massa durante alguns dias em repouso.

Não há fôrma alguma para facilitar o fabrico; não obstante isto, os vasos são bem bastante regulares e proporcionais. Preparado o barro em feitio de corda, *torôri-da* (Uaupés *tonôri-da* e *tonini-da*), de um meio metro, começa pelo fundo, depois com estas cordas de argila a mulher vai levantando os bordos, comprimindo uma corda sôbre a outra e alisando bem. Em seguida, com um pedaço de cuia, *tocha-pétto* (Nh. *peruta*) vai desbastando e alisando melhor, por dentro e por fora. Feito o vaso, deixa-se secar à sombra, e, quando adquirida certa consistência, alisa-se bem, até tornar-se lustroso, servindo-se de um seixo rolado que denominam *wa'té-khá*.

A última operação consiste na queima. Ao redor dos vasos acendem-se algumas achas de lenha; aos poucos acrescentam-se outras achas, de sorte que os vasos serão envolvidos pelas chamas até ficarem bem queimados, isto é, a ponto de tinirem. Com meia hora

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13 Árvores de várias espécies da família das rosáceas, (*Licania utilis* e *licania mysticédes*, Benthe., *licania sagba*, Hook). Sua cinza dará forma porosidade ao vaso e não deixa fender-se a argila.

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no fogo intenso estão prontos: alguns apresentam côr esbranquiçada, outros, avermelhada. Êstes são os mais bem cozidos.

Para tornar os vasos escuros, lustrosos e impermeáveis começam por esfregá-los bem, por dentro e por fora, com fôlhas de cubio, *kafoi pûri*, ou de ubio, *kdré pûri*. Acendem, depois, um pequeno fogo com fôlhas úmidas, de modo que haja muita fumaça, a qual é recebida antes na parte interna da panela ou pote emborcado, e depois também na parte externa. O vaso, por fim, será lavado e apresentará, então, a côr escura, quase negra, firme, e está, outrossim, impermeabilizado.

Os vasos são relativamente leves, com a resistência conveniente para seu emprêgo. Podem ser submetidos ao fogo mais intenso, sem que se fendam, nem deixam vasar a água ou o líquido que neles se guarda. Vêem-se algumas talhas com quase um metro de diâmetro e mais de meio metro de altura, portanto com capacidade para várias centenas de litros.

O vaso para o caapi, *karpi-to*, difere dos demais não só pela forma, pois se assemelha a uma ânfora de bôca estreita e munido de duas pequenas asas laterais, como também por ser decorado de desenhos.

O *karpi-to*, depois do uso nas festas, conserva-se regularmente na maloca, suspenso a uma das estacas angulares. Não conseguimos saber o motivo dêste costume.

2) *Fogão ou trempe*. O fogão consta sempre de três vasos de barro cozido, ditos *ntari-a* (em Nheengatú, *itacurúa*), entre os quais se põem os tições. São de forma cilíndrica, porém com as bases um tanto alargadas, quase como se fôssem dois cones truncados superpostos, e isto lhes dá maior estabilidade. Medem, aproximadamente, 25 cm de altura e 10 de diâmetro. São bastante leves e com a vantagem de só se aquecer a face voltada para o fogo, e por isso pode-se tomar com a mão pela outra face, quando se quer mudar de lugar. Dispõem-se com o afastamento conveniente às dimensões das panelas. Sôbre êstes vasos põem-se as panelas para preparar o mingau ou a quinhapira.

3) *Forno*. O forno, *arta-ro* (Nh. *papúna*) consiste num vaso de barro cozido, plano como uma bandeja, de dois a quatro cm de espessura. Mede de 80 a 120 cm (14) de diâmetro, com rebordos

(14) Koch Grunberg (*Zwei Jahre*, 335) diz que encontrou forno de até 2 metros de diâmetro e com desenhos de meandro no suporte.

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de 10 a 15 cm. É preto, da mesma composição dos *camotins*. Pela sua dimensão e pêso não se costuma remover da sua posição, que é sôbre um fogão ou fornalha de barro, de forma circular, com abertura lateral por onde se introduz a lenha. O diâmetro do

trempe (vitari-a) e suporte de panela (sá'ri-ro)

fogão, de 50 a 100 cm, varia de acôrdo com as dimensões do forno, e êste, com a quantidade da farinha a preparar. As vêzes o forno assenta-se simplesmente sôbre 3 ou 4 pedras encravadas no chão.

forno (aka-ro) e grande vaso para as bebidas (pêru-tu)

Os fornos de grande dimensão são fabricados no local em que serão usados. A saber, sôbre a fornalha, preparada precedentemente, a mulher dispõe uma grade de varas bem cerradas, estende por cima uma camada fina de terra, com o fim de nivelar melhor, e com as cordas de barro inicia o fabrico do forno, pelo centro da parte plana, até alcançar as dimensões que deseja. Depois de sêco, aí mesmo é queimado, como se faz com os camotins.

Entre os *Suryana* vimos preparar um grande forno sôbre uma escavação feita no chão da casa, servindo de molde. Aí mesmo foi deixado a secar e, ao depois, foi queimado o forno.

Distingue-se um forno de bordos um pouco mais alto, para o preparo da farinha, e diz-se *pokâ-axtêri axtâ-ro*, e um de bordas mais baixas para o do beiju, é o *ahû-ga peóri-axtâ-ro*.

b) *Utensilios de madeira*

Os instrumentos para seus trabalhos na madeira eram, primitivamente, o machado de pedra *ôxtâ-komé*, a enxó, *syó-a*, também de pedra, e o fogo, *perkâ-mê*.

Com um pedaço de diabase escura (15), polido de encontro às pedras, fabricavam seu machado primitivo. Para isto bastava enfiar a diabase em uma fenda na extremidade de um pau reto, na posição mesma em que encabamos os nossos machados de ferro. Com auxilio de fio de tucum e do breu, se assegurava a estabilidade necessaria. A enxó resultava de uma diabase menor, prêsa à extremidade de um pau recurvado como gancho, *yarpú*. Hoje a *syó-a* é apenas um instrumento usado como adôrno nas danças, enganchado no ombro esquerdo.

1) Canoa. A canoa, *yurkô-só*, é um utensilio de primeira necessidade, pois essas tribos vivem em região onde os cursos de água constituem o único meio de comunicação (16), e o peixe é um alimento principalissimo. Hoje varias tribos sabem construir suas canoas; porém canoeiros especializados são os *Tuyuka*, *Bará*, *Mikura* e *Baniua*.

Sendo os rios da região de grande caudal ou com muitas cachoeiras e pedras, não podem usar canoas de casca, como outras tribos (17), senão de madeira muito resistente e de um só tronco. Algumas de 3 metros de comprimento e seus 40 cm de largura; outras, grandes lenhos de 8 a 10 metros de comprimento e 100 a 120 cm de largura. Tôdas, porém, com *popa* e *proa* altas e afilando. Correntosos como são os rios (18), não permitem embarcações maiores. Canoa pequena determinará, por seu lado, seja pequena a comunidade, por isso vigora a comunidade familiar. Porém mui-

(15) Encontram-se em algumas cachoeiras, por exemplo no Pirá-paraná, e já semitrabalhadas pelas águas.

(16) Os "varadouros" através da mata são poucos e de secundária importância.

(17) O explorador Lobo D'Almada fala também de canoas, com *pachiubas estribadas*" (?). Eram, porém, perigosas e serviam para 2 ou 3 homens descerem o Tiquié no trecho sem cachoeiras. (Cfr. "Lobo D'Almada", de Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis, — Manaos, 1940, pag. 73).

(18) Entendemos falar especialmente do Uaupés e do Papuri, onde estão os mais numerosos núcleos indígenas.

tas vêzes não bastara para o transporte de tôda a família e alfaia. Por outra parte, para a sua construção dois homens são suficientes: pai e filho.

Canoa (Juxkuaá)

Com pancada de machado sôbre a casca da árvore escolhida (19), esta vem a secar. Uma fogueira em redor terminava por abater seu tronco que, com o fogo lento (20) se vai escavando. A enxó servia para raspar o carvão, deixando mais lisa e regular a parte interna. Coloca-se, ao depois, a canoa escavada como se quis, sôbre umas travessas, e um fogo por baixo, de sorte que se aqueça o lenho e não se queime. Sob a ação do calor as fibras tornam-se mais flexíveis e o canoeiro vai, aos poucos, por meio de pequenas hastes à guisa de cunha, forçando de modo que se vai ampliando o vão da canoa, começando pelo centro, depois para a popa e a proa. A fim de que não se contraia ao resfriar-se, põem-se estacas transversalmente, nos lugares onde mais tarde ficarão tábuas para

(19) Empregam, para isto, de preferência o kumã-ko (Nheengatú mirá-tauá, pau amarelo, *Euxylophora paraénsis*, Hub. das rutáceas), muito resistente e leve, de modo que as canoas nunca vão ao fundo. E também o sari-ko (louro preto, *Nectándra mollis*, Nees. das laurácens), o sã-rã (itauba preta e amarela silvia *itauba*, Pax.) e outra laurácea denominada pi'ã-gã.

(20) Para tal efeito acendem a casa do cupim, buxtuá-gã que serve maravilhosamente, porque fornece um fogo lento e duradouro e facilmente o indígena vai controlando, a fim de não desbastar mais do que convém. É o processo de que regularmente se servem quando querem escavar a madeira para o fabrico do cocho, pilão, trocano, canoa etc.

os assentos. Conforme seu comprimento, terão 3, 5 ou mais assentos. Embutam-na com tal maestria que, posta nágua, a embarcação se equilibra perfeitamente, com a popa e proa bem levantadas. Os orifícios ou fendas são obturados com breu, *gxpé*.

Sob influência dos civilizados, aumentam a altura dessas canoas, com tábuas fixadas com pregos às bordas. Tais canoas dizem-se, em têrmo regional, *montarias*.

2) *Remo*. O remo, *wahd-phi* (Uaupés *uhd-phi*) muitas vêzes é feito de *sabi-ko*, como a canoa. O cabo, *wahd-phi dõxpo-d*, é sempre uma pequena saliência cilíndrica transversalmente, de leve curvatura, como pau de muleta. Entre os Tukano está perfeitamente de acôrdo com o estilo do seu banco e da sua cigarreira. As dimensões dependem, evidentemente, da vontade do dono e da finalidade: há remos pequenos para as crianças, médios para as mulheres, e grandes para os homens.

Remo Tukano
(note-se a cabeça em pau-de-muleta e a ponta em breu)

Por influência dos modelos dos remos civilizados que navegam êstes rios, vê-se hoje em dia muita variedade de feitios na pá dos

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remos: arredondada, lanceolada, etc. Não raro trazem, na pá, desenhos coloridos (círculos, etc., evidentemente imitação dos civilizados). Originàriamente, parece, que usavam o remo de pá arredondada, porém com uma ponta quase imperceptível; assim, geralmente, nas malocas mais afastadas.

3) *Ralo*. Em tukano se diz *sorkõ-rõ* (Uaupés *sorkõ-nõ*) e em Nheengatú *ietesé*. É uma especialidade dos índios *Baniva* do rio Içana (vd. IV — 1, b) onde num igarapé próximo da cachoeira de Tunuí existe o quartzito empregado no ralo.

Temos visto no Içana que o preparo da tábua cabe ao homem, sendo a incrustação das pedrinhas executada ordinàriamente pelas mulheres.

Como objeto que é de primeira necessidade, encontra-se em tôdas as malocas e barracas, mesmo em regiões muitíssimo afastadas do Içana, adquiridos dos Baniva por troca.

Fabrica-se geralmente de *marupá* (*simaruba amara*, Aubl.), madeira branca e leve, cujas fibras tendem a voltar à posição primitiva quando desviadas. Em tukano denomina-se precisamente *sorkõ-nõ*, isto é, madeira de ralo. Consiste numa tábua de 60 a 100 e 120 cm de comprimento, e 40 a 50 de largura por 2 a 4 de espessura, e um tanto recurvada. Começam por executar na face côncava o desenho que desejam, ou, antes, tradicional e que facilita a operação de ralar (29), como um pequeno sulco. Depois com uma ponta (hoje servem-se de um prego), e seguindo as linhas do desenho, abrem um pequeno orifício. Antes que as fibras da madeira voltem à posição natural, incrustam pequenas pedras de silex, da forma de um dente, de sorte que emerge apenas uma aresta de meio centímetro. Estabilizam-se melhor as pedrinhas com o latex da seiva, espalhado com um pincel de fibras de bananeira, cujo tanino dá mais consistência ao latex. As pedras são encravadas à distância de um centímetro uma da outra, e ocupam a parte central da tábua, deixando pequenas margens laterais, uma margem inferior de 15 ou 20 cm e outra superior, ou cabeça do ralo, *sorkõ-rõ dõrpod*, de uns 30 cm, tendo esta última uma saliência, a modo de cabo. Êsse cabo, no entanto, serve apenas para suspender o ralo.

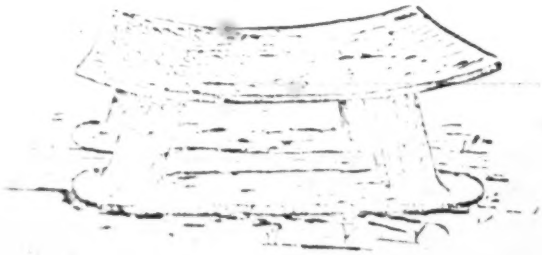
A mulher, ao ralar, fá-lo com as duas mãos alternadamente, e não em ritmo uniforme, porém com arrancos que provocam movimento dos próprios seios. Estará assentada ao chão, tendo entre

(21) Há um modêlo de desenho denominado precisamente *sorkõ-rõ ôori*, flôres do ralo.

as pernas o ralo, cuja cabeça apoiam ao ventre. É um trabalho exclusivamente feminino.

É o ralo um objeto tão útil que, no baixo Rio Negro, os civilizados o adotam, bem como ao tipiti (VI — 2, d (1)).

4) *Banco.* O banco, em tukano *kû-mû-rõ* (Uaupés *kûmû-no*) é de uso geral, embora seus produtores especializados sejam os *Tukano*. São fabricados, geralmente, de *sorva* ou *arara-seringa* (*Couma guianensis*, Muell.), madeira não muito pesada e que dificilmente se fende. Preparavam-no antigamente com o auxílio da sua enxó primitiva. Hoje, em vez da *syó-a*, usam um ferro de cova ou mesmo uma enxó obtida dos civilizados.



Banquinho monóxilo (ku-mû-rõ)

As dimensões são as mais variadas, alguns de 30 a 40 cm apenas, e outros de 120 a 150 cm. Constante, porém, é o estilo, a saber, o lugar do assento é côncavo, com dupla curvatura nos sentidos longitudinal e transversal. É sempre baixo, de 10 a 15 cm tão só de altura, com quatro pernas ligadas por duas travessas longitudinais. E o banco, com os suportes é *monóxilo*, isto é, de um só pedaço de lenho.

Costumam adornar o banco com os desenhos tradicionais, e por cima, um como verniz, obtido do sumo da casca de um ingazeiro silvestre, *mê'nê* (Uaupés *mê'nõ*).

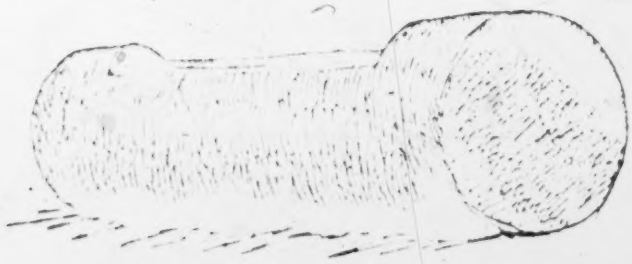
Com dois dias de trabalho um homem prepara o seu banco.

Pelo instinto de imitação, e também por ser mais simples, muitos índios vão alterando o tipo primitivo do banco, usando pregos para fixar os suportes, e êstes em número de quatro, como os pés dos nossos mochos.

Em algumas casas indígenas vimos quatro pequenas estacas encravadas no chão, e sôbre elas uma tábua fixada às escatas por pregos, ou com quatros orifícios por onde se encaixam as estacas.

5) *Cigarreira*. Em tukano denomina-se *ufikaro yazpa* ou também, *ufikaro sere*, ou ainda *mõrõ dõxkõ* (?) (em Nheengatú, *emapu*). Nos dabacuris é ritual o uso do fumo sob forma de um grande cigarro, *ufikaro*, de seus 20 cm de comprimento. No entanto, hoje é raro encontrar-se a cigarreira primitiva. É grande, medindo 50 ou 60 cm, constando de uma *forquilha*, no estilo do banco, a qual prende o cigarro, e um *cabo* em ponta, por onde se segura o *ufikaro* enquanto se fuma e que se encrava no chão quando não se usa mais.

6) *Cocho de caxiri*. Em tukano *pèru yuxkõ-sõ* pròpriamente quer dizer *canoa de caxiri* (em Nheengatú *tiea*, donde o término *uba* que significa *canoa*). São troncos de madeira de até 50 cm de diâmetro, por uns dois metros de comprimento, cujo interior é também escavado com auxílio do fogo, e com uma fenda longitudinal quase da extensão do tronco. Tem capacidade de várias centenas de litros, e aí os indígenas deixam o líquido, coberto com fôlhas de bananeira, a fermentar à sombra, para as festas.



cocho de caxiri (pèru yuxkõ-sõ)

7) *Pilão*. O pilão, *pa-mõ-a* é um dos utensílios indispensáveis e consiste num tronco de madeira escavado. O feitio e dimensões, porém, variarão, conforme a finalidade. Ou terá a forma comum, como se usa entre nós, e é sempre de pequeno tamanho; êste serve, por exemplo, para pilar as fôlhas do *ipadú*.

Ou se assemelhará a um cocho de caxiri, medindo o tronco um metro ou mais de comprimento, porém de pequeno diâmetro (seus 20 cm). Neste segundo pilão é que pisam o *caapi* (e por isso se diz *kazpi pa-mõ-a*) e o cará cozido e mascado para a preparação do caxiri de cará.

A mão-de-pilão, *dõxkõ-kõ*, parece-se com a que se usa entre os civilizados. Consiste em um pau roliço, cuja extremidade inferior se alarga em forma cilíndrica de raio maior.

Pilão (pa-mã-a)

c) *Fiação e tecidos*

1) *Preparo do fio*

As tribos do Uaupés desconhecem o algodão (22) e preparam seus fios com fibras de palmas, especialmente de *ncé* (miriti ou buriti, *Mauritia flexuosa* e *vinifera*) e de *yõzkd* pûri (tucum, *astrocaryum tucumoides*), sendo as fibras dêste mais resistentes e duradouras.

Colhem-se as fôlhas ainda novas do tucum, ou melhor, o grelo de côr amarelo esverdeado, antes de abrir-se. Separam-se de cada folíolo dois feixes de fibras, de seus 30 a 40 cm de comprimento. Depois de lavadas em água natural, expõem-se ao sol para secar e alvejar.

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(22) Parece que as tribos antigas das margens do Amazonas cultivavam o algodão. De fato, o Pe. Alonso de Rojas (Viagem de 1637-*Cfr.* "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas", pág. 116) informa: "a construção de naus é muito facilitada nestas montanhas (?), tanto pela grande abundância de madeiras e de breu, como pelo muito algodão que se colhe, haver grande abundância de pencas de que se faz a pita (?), e palmeiras com que se podem fazer enxárcias tão fortes como as de canhamo". A não ser que por algodão êle entenda a paina.

O processo de cardação se faz com auxílio do «ouriço» do piquiá (*caryocar villosum*, Aubl.), *ipu-pu*, para «pentear», *wohõa-po*, as fibras, tornando os fios bem finos. Tem-se assim o tucum em rama, *pôrka pari pôrã* (Uaupés, *pôrka pûri pôna*).

A mulher (23) prepara o seu fio esfregando um feixe de fibras contra a coxa. É natural que assim resulte encardido o fio. Para tirá-lo, lavam-no bem, servindo-se também das fôlhas do mamoeiro ou do suco do limão; recursos êstes, evidentemente, mais recentes.

Primeiramente toma ela dois feixes de fibras desigualmente, isto é, a ponta de um avança mais de um lado, e a do outro, para a extremidade oposta. Com a mão direita enrola *para a esquerda*, a saber, contra a coxa do joelho para cima. A fim de emendar novas fibras, abre a extremidade do fio assim enrolado, e aí insere mais dois feixes de fibras, combinados também desigualmente, e enrola *para a direita*, isto é, esfregando em sentido oposto, da parte superior da coxa para o joelho. Feita a emenda, enrola os dois feixes de fibras emendadas *para a esquerda*, como o fizera aos dois primeiros feixes, e assim por diante, atritando as fibras com a mão direita sôbre a coxa direita. Para enrolar, atrita-as coxa acima; para emendar, coxa abaixo. Dois feixes de fibras dão o fio mais fino, e torcendo juntos dois ou mais fios obtém-se a espessura que se deseja para o trabalho em vista. Quanto mais fino o fio, mais delicado ficará o tecido.

Quanto está sob forma de *meada*, é que se aproveita para a lavagem e clareamento do fio, e também para tingi-lo. Servem-se, ordinàriamente, de corantes vegetais. As côres preferidas são: a *avermelhada*, obtida de *onôrã pûri* (carajurú, vd. VII — 3, e), a *amarela*, por meio de uma pequena batata semelhante ao gengibre, e que se diz em Nheengatú *makaratafa*, e a *escura*, que se obtém do cozimento do arbusto *dyawé* (jenipapo). Da *meada* se enrola, ao depois, o fio em grandes *novelos*, que se guardam dentro de uma peneira, a fim de se não sujar.

2) *Redes de dormir*

O índio nunca dorme sôbre o chão, sempre em redes (24), *pûghõ*, e transportam-na consigo em suas viagens. A rede corres-

(23) Entre os Tuyuka, Baré, e em geral as tribos das cabeceiras do Tiquié, Papuri, Komé-ya, é o homem quem prepara o fio de miriti e a rede de "trinta fios".

(24) Pelo contacto com os civilizados têm aprendido a dormir sôbre o assoalho ou tolda das lanchas, e depois também sôbre bancos e caixões.

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pende perfeitamente às exigências do clima da região, quente e úmido, pois é fresca, ventilada, leve, de pequeno volume, e tecida como costuma ser, de tucum (25) apresenta suficiente resistência e durabilidade. Fazem-na de diversos tamanhos, para crianças, como para adultos. Existem três tipos de redes de dormir:

a) *Rede de trinta fios.* É a denominação comum em Português; em Nheengatú se diz *kisaiú*, e em Tukano, *ne-é pú-ghõ*, isto é, rede de miriti. É feita sem uso de tear. Dão trinta ou mais voltas ao redor de duas estacas, tão separadas quanto o comprimento que desejam; sempre, porém, maior do que o corpo de quem deve usá-la. Esses fios são unidos em dois *punhos*, como anel, *pú-ya-po*, por onde ficará suspensa a rede. Transversalmente, em ângulo reto, passam os fios que determinam a largura da rede, presos aos horizontais por nós, de sorte que resultam pequenos retângulos de um palmo mais ou menos.

Pela sua simplicidade é conhecida e produzida por tôdas as tribos, embora denominada «*rede de Makú*». Por causa dessa denominação depreciativa, e principalmente pela facilidade atual de adquirir dos civilizados redes de algodão mais duráveis e econômicas, vai perdendo sua aceitação entre os índios das outras tribos, e hoje quase se encontra só entre os Makú e as tribos sem contacto com os civilizados. Os Tukano informam haver aprendido dos *Desána* o processo dêsse tipo de rede. Não souberam esclarecer se antes usavam a *rede-puça*, ou se desconheciam a rede e dormiam sôbre estrados.

b) *Rede batida.* Em Tukano denomina-se *pá-tuke*, e em Nheengatú *makira*. É fabricada com um tear (26) muito simples,

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(25) A "rede de trinta fios" dos Makú costuma ser de fios grossos de miriti.

(26) Koch Grunberg (*Zwei Jahre*, 340) opina que o tear seja de origem européia. Parece-nos aceitável essa opinião, e julgamos poder avançar que também o feitio da "*rede batida*" não é de origem indígena, senão aprendido dos civilizados. Confirmam esta conclusão: 1.º o fato de não serem muitas as índias que sabem fazer a "*rede batida*"; 2.º as que presentemente o sabem (como resulta de nossas indagações) o aprenderam nos colégios da Missão ou com as ex-alunas da Missão; 3.º sabemos que o Governador da Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro, Lobo D'Almada, no seu plano econômico de incentivar a indústria, favoreceu a tecelagem, chegando-se "a confecção de pannos necessários ao fardamento da guarnição, aos colonos e aos índios descidos, empregando dezoito teares e dez rodas de fiar, com vinte e quatro fusos cada uma. Só em 1798 trabalhavam como fiadeiras cento e cincoenta e sete índias" (A. Cesar Ferreira Reis — *Lobo D'Almada* — Manaos 1940, pag. 35); 4.º Nos povoados mais em contacto com a civilização, como nas malocas mais afastadas, nunca se encontra a "*rede-batida*";

*pũ-pá -tuse nerió-ri*, constando de quatro paus roliços ligados em retângulo. Cada uma das suas hastes verticais (urdideiras) possui dois orifícios por onde passam as horizontais. Os orifícios são propositalmente muito grandes, de sorte que com calço conveniente, pode-se variar a distância entre as hastes horizontais e assim obter redes de diversos comprimentos.

A urdidura se faz no sentido vertical (ao redor das travessas horizontais, cuja separação marca o comprimento da rede), passando umas voltas com fio bem extenso. As travessas verticais do tear determinam a largura da rede.

Por entre os fios verticais vai a mulher desenvolvendo a trama, servindo de lançadeira, *wa'mẽ-kõ dõxkã*, pequena vara com o fio enrolado, e batendo com uma régua, *pá -turi-phi*, a fim de unir bem as malhas. Resulta um verdadeiro tecido de malhas bem cerradas, e redes tanto mais elegantes e cômodas, quanto mais fino o fio.

Completam-lhe a elegância com uma «varanda», *pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõri* ou *pá -tuke-udri*, ou franja marginal de feitio variado, como se faz *macramé*.

Prepara-se a varanda esticando-se um fio do tamanho correspondente ao da rede. Ao longo dêsse fio prendem-se com nós as fibras de tucum dobradas ao meio. Com essas fibras variamente coloridas, tece a mulher sem auxílio de *birros*, mas apenas com os dedos um *ponto* de renda um pouco largo, até obter uma barra

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porém os indígenas ou usam só a rede "de trinta fios", ou as compradas dos civilizados. 5.º Parece-nos descobrir ainda um argumento, a saber: fora do Colégio Feminino das Missões Salesianas, em numerosas excursões por rios e igarapés, apenas em dois povoados tivemos a oportunidade de ver o *tear* e o trabalho da "*rede-batida*", e tratava-se nos dois casos de moças que haviam aprendido na Missão e o executavam por encomenda de civilizados. Mais, os termos da língua Tucano que apresentamos a propósito da "*rede-batida*", resultam de inúmeros inquéritos, em diversas épocas e lugares, com os ex-alunos da Missão nunca desenvolvidos. Não se trata de uma *nomenclatura* amplamente conhecida e empregada por todos, como se poderia esperar se a "rede-batida" fôsse uma indústria primitiva. Muitos desconheciam os termos; outros apresentavam termos formados na ocasião e improvisados. Como termos genéricos e de ocasião, eram, às vezes sim e às vezes não, compreendidos e aceitos por outros indígenas.

Antes que entrasse o comércio das atuais redes de algodão (ditas na região, "redes-de-Cena", as civilizadas do Rio Negro e algumas índias do Içana continuaram a "bater" as suas redes nos teares primitivos, como haviam aprendido no baixo Rio Negro. As Missões Salesianas procuram, por sua parte, que não se perca esta habilidade, e ensinam às índias de mais capacidade e jeito, não só a fazer a "rede-batida", como pelo mesmo processo, a preparar tapetes, toalhas de mesa, guardanapos, bolsas e outros artefatos ao gôsto moderno.

de seus 10 ou 15 cm. e esgarça depois as pontas com o ouriço de piaçava. Não só empregam fibras de diversas côres, como até prendem-lhes hoje em dia, belas e coloridas plumas de passaros, conforme o gôsto dos caboclos do Rio Negro.

c) *Rede-puçá*. Em Tukano se diz *pú piõke*, denominamo-la rede-puçá porque se assemelha, pela laçada, as redes de pesca chamadas puçá em Lingua Geral (27). Para o fabrico dêsse tipo de rede usa-se um tear algo diferente do que se viu precedentemente. Consta de dois pares de hastes verticais, com a pequena separação de um palmo mais ou menos. Um espaço maior variável medeia entre um par e outro, e marca o comprimento da rede que se deseja.

Horizontalmente esticam-se dois fios, com a distância entre si de 3 a 4 cm. Entre êles a mulher vai dando *laçadas* ou *pontos* como os de tarrafa. Esticam mais dois fios horizontalmente, e novos pontos se entrelaçam aos primeiros, e assim sucessivamente.

Este tipo de rede é, quiçá, mais trabalhoso que a «batida». Os Tukano a denominam *pú pyõke* porque a linha se enfia, *piõ*; e se dá a laçada com a mão.

3) *Redes de pescar* (puçá)

Os Tukano as denominam *wehé-ko* (28) pela sua finalidade que é *matar* os peixes (*wehé*, quer dizer *matar*), e em Lingua Geral, puçá. É uma malha de *nós* feita de fibras de *caroatá* (*Bromelia pinguin* Lin.), *caroá* (*Neoglaziovia variegata* Ar. Com.) ou mesmo de *tucum*. As malhas são mais estreitas ou mais largas, conforme sua finalidade.

São fabricadas pelo homem. A mulher gravida não pode tocá-la, porque seria infrutuosa a pesca. Quando preparam o seu puçá os homens ficarão em silêncio, para terem sorte na pescaria.

Executam o trabalho de duas maneiras: ou com laçadas sucessivas, como entre os civilizados se preparam as tarrafas de pesca; ou servindo-se de fasquias de arumã, prendendo-as de distância em distância com laçadas de caroatá, como quem estivesse preparando

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(27) Informa o Pe. Ezequiel Lopes que, por volta de 1931, dentre os indiozinhos Pirá-tapuyo do rio Papuri, que vinham internar-se como alunos no colégio de Iauareté (rio Uaupés), alguns apresentavam-se munidos de rede de dormir tipo puçá.

(28) O Missionário Salesiano, Pe. Eduardo Lagório, faz a seguinte observação: "Interessante o verbo *matar*, *wehé*; usa-se quase exclusivamente para indicar a morte de peixes e animais. Para os homens, não havendo quase assassinatos violentos, usam-se as expressões relativas aos vários modos de envenenar".

um cesto. Pronto êste, retiram-se as fasquias e as laçadas de caroatá apresentam a rede desejada.

Fabricam-nas de duas dimensões: uma maior, (*jererê*, em Nheengatú), com a forma de um funil bem largo; mede 1,5 m ou mais de comprimento e mantém-se aberta, no ato da pesca por meio de duas varas amarradas nas extremidades, de sorte que forma com o auxílio de uma terceira vara em cunha, quase uma circunferência.

Fazem também redes menores e afuniladas, tipo ganapão, adaptadas a um aro munido de um cabo, como as que se usam para caçar borboletas. Com estas é que apanham os peixes entontecidos pelo timbó.

Parece que todos os homens sabem tecer suas redes de pesca, com exclusão dos rapazes da última geração.

4) *Outros tecidos*

Com os fios de tucum ou de miriti executam aquelas elegantes ligas, *yurta-seri*, que aplicam às pernas (conf. VII — 3,d (1)).

Com êsses mesmos fios ou com embira retorcida preparam alguns dos enfeites de danças que devem sustentar a bela plumagem.

Servem-se do pêlo do macaco para preparar tranças que usam como adornos de danças.

Em tecidos, como em trançados, combinam elementos de várias côres, resultando desenhos muito regulares e agradáveis. Pela regularidade e acabamento, alguns dos seus trabalhos atingem quase a perfeição.

d) *Cestaria e trançados*

Para a sua cestaria, — e todos êstes trabalhos são executados pelos homens, — a matéria-prima é mais variada. Usam a *embira* ou liber de algumas árvores, especialmente da que denominam *pii-karó-pó*. Empregam *palmas*, com um trançado simples dos folíolos, nas paredes das habitações e, mais raramente, também nos telhos. Servem-se de fasquias de paxiúba, (*waxtá*), patauá, (*yumú*), e jacitára (*wai-tu*, uma palmeira de caule sarmentoso e aéreo) para esteiras (*i'mi-sa*) e cercados de peixe (*sûxteri-ka*). E com o cipó uambé (*mi'si*), que se fabricam os cestos ditos *aturás*, e as nassas de pesca. Mas é especialmente do arumã (*wohó*), reduzido a fasquias (*woho-phi*), que mais se servem, pois com elas preparam cestos, peneiras e o tipiti.

O arumã (*Schinosiphon ovatus*, Kokes, da família das marantáceas) é uma planta de «terra-firme», porém úmida, de fôlhas

largas, cujo colmo pode superar os dois metros. Dêle separam-se fasquias, as quais, depois de sêcas, adquirem a côr amarelada da nossa palhinha de cadeira. Quando desejam executar seus desenhos, os indígenas tingem as palhinhas com seus corantes vegetais. As vezes são coloridas de um só lado, por exemplo para os desenhos do lado interno das peneiras.

Conforme o destino, varia a largura das malhas e o feitio.

Para o trançamento igualam bem as palhas, põem-nas bem ordenadas pelo chão (ou sôbre uma esteira), e de cócoras, firmando-as com os pés, começam a trançar com talas tranversais incolores ou coloridas de acôrdo com os desenhos que entendem executar.

Se se trata de uma peneira ou cesto, arrematam com três ou quatro voltas de cipó, à guisa de aro (*be'tó*), no qual prendem as extremidades do trançado e aparam depois as pontas das palhas ou das fasquias.

A cestaria dessas tribos é das mais ricas que se conhecem. Empregando material mais flexível ou menos, combinam o *trançado* e o torcido em vários processos técnicos, de espaços largos ou cerrados, e de tramas e urdiduras em várias direções, de sorte que resulta uma variedade surpreendente de debuxos. Como demonstração ainda de sua habilidade, entremeiam fasquias coloridas, donde aparecem as gregas caprichosas que caracterizam seus desenhos. E, com tal riqueza de fantasia e técnica, executam objetos de variada dimensão e feitio, consoante suas finalidades.

Cestos e peneiras são fabricados por tôdas as tribos, contudo especialistas são os *Desana*.

1) *Tipiti*. O tipiti, em tukano *wãx-ti-kê-ã*, é a prensa do índio. Consiste num cilindro ou tubo que os homens tecem, mais comumente com palhinha de arumã, de malha bem estreita. Mede 1,50 e até 2 metros de comprimento, e apenas 10 cm de diâmetro. A extremidade superior, *wãx-ti-kê-ã dõrpo-ã* (cabeça do tipiti), é aberta e termina em alça, por onde se suspende o tipiti a um dos esteios da habitação. A outra extremidade é fechada, termina também em alça, *wãx-ti-kê-ã be'tó* (anel do tipiti). Com adequado movimento das mãos reduz-se o tipiti a menor comprimento, o que tem por efeito aumentar-lhe o diâmetro, e pela bôca assim alargada se introduz a massa da mandioca ralada (cfr. VI - 4, a).

2) *Peneiras*. Usam-nas para *coar* a massa da mandioca, *tamisar* a farinha, etc. e são tecidas de palhinha de arumã.

A largura das malhas, dimensões e feitio variarão conforme o uso a que se destina a peneira. Encontram-se algumas rasas, como as nossas peneiras comuns, e outras mais fundas.

Pode-se distinguir três tipos de peneiras: 1.º *tõ-pa* (em Nheengatú, *cumuta*) é grande, de malhas bem estreitas, serve para coar a manicuera e extrair o amido; 2.º *suó*, ou melhor *sóó-a* (Nh. *urupema*), de malha mais aberta, e, algumas vêzes de feitio quadrado, dentro de uma moldura de quatro paus roliços; destina-se a tamisar a massa da farinha dagua; 3.º *Baxti* mais funda, como pequenos cestos para guardar o beiju, e outros alimentos e objetos. Êstes é que costumam trazer os belos desenhos tradicionais.

3) *Cestos*

a) *Pi'i* são cestos grandes, que no Amazonas costumam denominar *aturás*. Usam-no para transportar mandioca, frutos, terra, lenha, bagagem; são tecidos exclusivamente pelos *Makú*, que trabalham tambem para as outras tribos.

A forma tradicional e a cilindrica, com a base um pouco mais larga que a bôca. A matéria é o cipó uambé, *misi-da*, bem forte, escolhido sem nós, e que se põe ao fogo a fim de soltar fàcilmente a casca. Lasca-se o cipo em duas ou três partes, e começa-se o trançado pelo fundo. A bôca é de aneis de cipó, como aro, e se amarra ao cesto com fios tecidos de caroata.

A mulher, a quem compete carregar o *pi'i* (o homem deve andar sempre desembaraçado, a fim de poder defender a si e a familia) carrega-o da seguinte maneira: vai o *aturá* às costas, porém suspenso da fronte por meio de uma embira larga, *pi'i-karõ-pá* (29), cujas extremidades passando pela bôca do cesto, correm-lhe ao longo e se entrelaçam no fundo dêste. Transportam assim carga de 30 a 50 Kg a quilometros de distância.

b) Denomina-se *pi'i-kamõ* um pequeno cesto, do feitio e matéria do *pi'i*, e no qual as mulheres guardam seus adereços e pó de pintura.

c) De cipó costuma ser também um pequeno balaio, dito *wamõ azka-ro*, onde o pajé guarda os seus objetos de tratamento dos doentes (cfr. VIII - 2, e).

d) Para guardar ou transportar a farinha que vendem, fazem-se os *paneiros*, *ferõ-pi* (Uaupés *ténõ-pi*), da fasquias de arumã ou de taquara, e de malhas bem largas (dois a três cm) e assim o fabrico é mais rápido. Forram-nos com muita habilidade, com folhas de *mpó-pó pùri*, ou mesmo de arumã ou outras plantas, de tal mo-

(29) Ou *pi'i-kãrõ-kaxsori*. Parece que a árvore derivou seu nome do *pi'i*, porque sua embira é muito empregada para transportar o *pi'i*. Contudo usam-se também outras embiras, como *só'ú-kaxsero*, *deóti-kõ*.

que não deixam passar a farinha, embora com o pouco cuidado que costuma haver nos embarques, desembarques e transportes.

4) *Abanador*. Com a palma do miriti, do tucum, ou palhinhas de arumã, trançam um objeto semelhante a um abanador, e que pode perfeitamente substituí-lo, diz-se *uê'ri-rõ* (Uaupés *uê'ni-nõ*). Fabricam-no de diversos tamanhos e servem-se dêle para atiçar o fogo bem como de pá para virar o beijú no forno. Tem forma de cunhão, e as próprias palhas enfeixadas constituem o pé ou suporte, por onde se segura o abanador.

Veem-se alguns muito grandes, do tamanho natural das maiores palmas de miriti, de que são feitos, e usam-nos como esteiras para as divisões dos compartimentos das malocas, ou mesmo para servir de parede.

5) *Aljava*. Ainda com fasquias de arumã preparam uma aljava *ba'sa-sa*, de forma cilíndrica, e seus 40 cm de altura, com um diâmetro de 8 ou 10 cm, alargando-se para a bôca. Serve para guardar as pequenas flechas envenenadas da sarabatana, ou *curabis*. A fim de que a água não dissolva o veneno, costumam impermeabilizar essa aljava com breu.

6) *Suporte de panela*. Com talas de paxíúba de 40 ou 50 cm de comprimento, preparam um suporte para as panelas, denominado *sá'ri-rõ* (Uaupés, *sá'ni-nõ*).

É essencialmente um feixe de talas, amarradas com cipó ou embira na parte central, e cujas extremidades se alargam como a formar uma espiral, de sorte que o *sá'rirõ* se assemelha a um duplo cone espiralado, com ligação pelo vértice. As extremidades são firmadas por meio de cipó ou embira a uns dois ou três cm. uma da outra.

7) *Caixa de enfeites*. É uma caixa retangular, geralmente de talo de miriti reduzido a lâminas, e que serve para guardar as plumas e outros enfeites de dança. Como uma caixa é menor que a outra, introduz-se aquela dentro desta, como se fôra sua tampa, de modo a ficar bem fechada e do feitio de um baú. Diz-se em tukano *ñahã-podri-karo*, e em Nheengatú, *pacará*.

8) *Outros trançados*.

a) De várias palmeiras tecem, outrossim, as palmas para servirem de cobertura, *peokaro*; e, mais frequentemente ainda, de paredes, *ryakaro*.

b) Executam esteiras, para fins variados, ditas *imi-sa* (Nh. *tapé*), com folhas de diversas palmeiras ou com cipós mais finos.

c) Com rápido trançado dos folíolos de alguma palma improvisam cestos, *ba*, para transportar frutos da mata.

d) Da pacova sororoca e outras folhas ajeitam pequenos amarrados, ditos *sí* ou *sa* da forma de uma espiga de milho, que enchem de pira-mirins para assá-los.

e) *Pelo contacto com os civilizados êsses trançados vão tendo novas aplicações. Lembramos aqui as que no Amazonas se dizem *panacarica* (em tukano *yuxkó-o-mõarõ*) e *decorrera* (*moãri karsero* ou simplesmente *moãrõ*, Uaupés *riodnõ*). Aquela é uma coberta reta para as canoas e pequenas lanchas, e se prendem a suportes fixos. Esta, ao invés, de forma recurvada, é uma cobertura móvel e por isso pequena e leve, e apoia-se diretamente às bordas das canoas. Ordinariamente a *decorrera* costuma ser de palma com malha bem cerrada; ao passo que a *panacarica* consta de duas esteiras superpostas, trançadas de cipó e malha larga, e entre elas uma camada de palma ou folhas de arumã.

f) Costumam também trançar de cipó um chapeu de abas largas, até de um metro de diâmetro, e, como na panacarica, combinam dois chapeus e entre êles à guisa de entretela, uma camada de folhas de arumã. Tais chapeus servem especialmente para defender do sol na roça e nas viagens de canoa, e também da chuva, embora se tornem incômodos pelo pêso da água.

Outros trançados que convém recordar são os que se empregam na pesca, como *nassas*, *cacuris*, etc. que adiante se citam (cfr. VI - 5, a 12).

c) *Armas*

1) *Armas usadas como adornos de festas*

a) *Tangapema*. A maça do sacrifício ou *tanga-pema* (em Nheengatú, *cuidarú* ou também *acanga-pema*, isto é, achata-cabeça), em tukano *uxpi-o-phi*, foi outrora arma de guerra dos chefes. Depois, como já observava Gonçalves Dias («Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas», vol. II pág. 671) tornou-se apenas símbolo de autoridade nas festas, e quase de todo desaparecida. Os indígenas da geração atual só lhe conhecem o nome, *uxpi-o-phi*. Um dêles lembrava-se de tê-la visto com especiais pinturas, «a fim de incutir valor e trazer sorte ao guerreiro». Outros completavam a informação que ouviram dos velhos, a saber, que, antes de partirem

para as excursões belicosas com suas tangapemas, e a fim de se tornarem invisíveis aos inimigos e invulneráveis aos seus golpes, pintavam-se com o sumo da batata *uxpi*. Fumavam, outrossim, de um grande cigarro dito *uxpi-mõrõ*, adornado de pinturas simbólicas, a fim de se tornarem mais corajosos.

Koch Grünberg encontrou ainda algumas maças ou tangapemas na maloca Namakõliba, alto Uaupés (*Zwei Jahre*, 301). Eram de madeira vermelho-escura, medindo 112 cm de comprimento, com o punho pontudo e a outra extremidade mais larga. Usavam-nas, então, os *Kubêwana* e tribos afins, para as danças e, ocasionalmente, até como banco de canoa. Conclui que a maça de guerra dos *Omawa* é uma prova da origem oriental dessa tribo *Karaiba*, pois é semelhante à das tribos das Guianas. Com efeito, nestas tribos a extremidade superior da maça termina em ponta aguda, a fim de atravessar o inimigo abatido, com um golpe de graça, na fonte ou no ouvido.

b) Antigamente usavam, outrossim, nas lutas um escudo, dito em tukano *bazti-pa'karo*; era tecido de cipó, levíssimo, porém eficiente contra as flechas. Hoje raramente se vê, e foi, até o princípio deste século (informação do Pe. João Marchesi) usado como enxoval de dança, que traziam ao braço esquerdo quando iam beber sua cuia de *uxpi* (cfr. VII — 4, e (2).

c) Igualmente hoje é apenas um instrumento de dança (como o veremos ver), a lança, *pôrsêri-phi*, a qual, essencialmente, é tão só um pau roliço, pesado, de seus dois metros de comprimento, e terminando em ponta aguçada. Usam-na nas danças do dabacuri, e com ela se realiza o «*golpe-ao-branco*» (cfr. VII — 4, e (2 a 3).

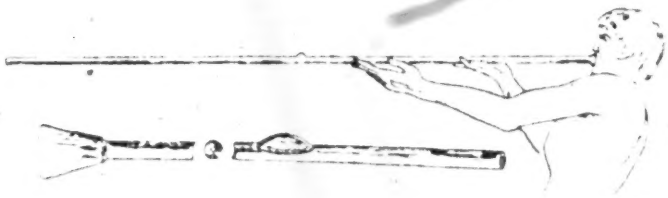
2 — *Arco*. As únicas armas indígenas de uso atual, e assim mesmo de uso muito reduzido no Uaupés, são o *arco* e a *sarabatana*. As tribos do mais interno das matas, com poucas ou nenhumas relações com os civilizados, empregam-nas mais. Em troca, o contacto com a civilização, supriu os indígenas de espingarda, facões e machados, das quais, infelizmente, se servem nas brigas e vinganças recíprocas.

O arco, *boe-ku-fê* ou *boe-kha-thê*, é feito geralmente de pau-de-arco, em tukano, *turto-po* (bignoniácea de flor roxa, espécie de *tecoma*), madeira pesada, resistente, e flexível. As dimensões normais são de 1,5 a 2 metros de comprimento e um diâmetro de uns 3 cm na parte central, afilando-se para as extremidades, com pequena incisão ou talhe para amarrar a corda. A parte externa é arredondada ou convexa, e a parte interna, levemente escavada ou côncava.

Por corda usam um fio de tucum, e o arco conserva-se habitualmente reto, isto é, desarmado, com a corda prêsa só a uma extremi-

dade. Recurva-se sòmente quando vai ser usado. É uma arma de precisão na mão do índio, podendo projetar as flechas a 50 ou 60 metros de distância.

3) *Sarabatana*. É uma arma de origem e fabrico exclusivo dos *Maku*, e que êstes preparam para os índios de outras tribos do Uaupés, aos quais servem. Prepara-se com uma variedade de palmeira nodosa, a *paxiubinha*, dita em tukano *buxpu*, donde, para a sarabatana, o nome de *buxpu-uo*. Mede uns 4 cm de diâmetro e até 3 ou 4 metros de comprimento. Extraem-lhe a medula fàcilmente com uma vareta bem regular, resultando um orifício bem calibrado, como a alma dos fuzis, porem liso. Externamente, mais ou menos pela metade do tubo, encravam-lhe um dente recurvado de cotia ou outro animal, para servir de «massa de mira».



Sarabatana (buxpú-uo)

Na parte que se adapta à bóca, alarga-se uma pequena cavidade como bocal para facilitar a adaptação aos lábios. Por êste bocal introduz-se uma pequena seta, *bu'sá-khá*, com um tampão de paixa de sumauma (*Eriodendron Sumauma*, ou *Ceiba pentandra*, Gartn.), com o duplo papel de obturar o orifício e assim opor resistência ao sôpro, e também dar pêso à extremidade da seta e não permitir que se desvie no ar. Com um sôpro forte e curto conseguem propulsar a seta a 20 ou mais metros de distância, com grande precisão, sobretudo no sentido vertical. É uma arma muito útil, pois é de manejo fácil e rápido, e ademais, a seta não faz barulho algum, e assim conseguem matar um pássaro no alto das árvores, sem que voem os que lhe estão próximos.

É arma para a caça pequena de aves, macacos, etc.

4) *Flechas*. Costumam ser de paxiúba (*Eriartea settigera*, Mart.), e com auxílio de um cordel e do breu adapta-se-lhe fortemente a *ponta*. Conforme a finalidade, variará a forma e a substância desta. Há pontas de paxiuba, de bambú, de dente de onça ou

[illegible] peixe e de espinho de pataua (30). Dos civilizados alcançam [illegible] ou pedaços de ferro donde agora as pontas metalicas.

Algumas flechas são ornadas de plumas de tucano e arara. Encontra-se a emplumação de cavalete e espiral.

Quando se destinam a caça ou à pesca, são muitas vêzes envenenadas com o curare (31). Põem o veneno alguns milimetros abaixo da ponta, para que um arranhão casual não intoxique alguma pessoa.

Distinguem-se três tipos de flechas: para *caçar*, para *pescar* e as *curibis* ou setas pequenas para a sarabatana.

(a) *Para a caça*. As flechas destinadas a caça grande, são pesadas, de pau brasil ou pau-de-arco, com ponta de madeira, ou mais comumente de osso de animal ou de ferro (32). As *pontas* (de pau, osso ou ferro) estão encravadas em um pedaço de madeira, dita *ponteira*, que se prende fortemente ao corpo da flecha com fios e breu.

Quando as flechas se destinam a aves e pequenas caças, são de madeira mais leve e trazem, na extremidade oposta à ponta, três penas da asa de arara dispostas em espiral. Dêste modo a seta descreve sua trajetoria fazendo simultâneamente um movimento de rotação que lhe conserva melhor a direção.

(b) *Para a pesca*. Para os pequenos peixes empregam-se setas comuns e totalmente de paxiuba. Para os grandes peixes (piraiba, pirarara, jacares e tartarugas), a ponta é de ferro (ou de osso) e [illegible] lateralmente de sorte que, uma vez enterrada na carne, não pode sair sem dilacerar o tecido.

O conjunto sarapeca (termo Nheengatú que significa: cousa que [illegible]) é de duas flechas que constam de duas partes, *hastil* e *ponteira*. Ponteira ou *sumba* é de madeira forte (33), com um arpão [illegible] e prende-se ao hastil ou corpo da seta, por um longo fio (34). Quando atingido, o peixe ou a tartaruga foge com a pon-

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(30) As de paxiuba, usadas pelos indios do rio Caburi, são munidas de três ou quatro nós artificiais, a fim de que se quebre e fique enterrada no corpo. Acrescentam, ordinariamente, emplumação bela e colorida.

(31) O veneno fica neutralizado pelo fogo, quando se prepara o alimento ou [illegible] de cozinha, que convem seja subministrado a quem for envenenado pelo "curare".

(32) Antes das relações com os civilizados, usavam igualmente pontas de pedra, conforme a relação de Alexandre Ferreira "Diario" parte 6ª).

(33) Muitas vezes servem-se da *paracôuba*, uma leguminosa, endurecendo ainda a sumba ao fogo.

(34) Os pescadores de tartaruga chamam *virote* ou *espoleta* à ponta de ferro das flechas (cfr. José Veríssimo: "As populações indigenas do Amazonas". Rev. do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Rio de Janeiro: 50, 1887, pag. 377).

teira fisgada ao corpo; porém o hastil de *canarana* (gramínea dos generos *paspalum* e *panicum*), que lhe está prêso por longo fio continua a boiar, e assim denuncia o local em que se escondeu o animal fisgado. O pescador apanha o hastil e vai recolhendo lentamente o fio, e com relativa facilidade recolhe também a tartaruga à canoa (35).

c) Curabi: Curabi é têrmo da Lingua Geral, em Tukano denomina-se *bu'sa-khu*. São as setas para a sarabatana. De ordinário são de paxiubá, e medem uns 30 ou 40 cm de comprimento e 1 ou 2 mm de diâmetro, e afila-se na extremidade. Guardam-se e transportam-se numa aljava de arumã, *bu'sa-sá*, como acima dissemos.

5) O curare. Curare deriva da palavra da Lingua Geral *uirari*, e indica o veneno preparado por várias tribos selvagens com diversas plantas, especialmente variedades de *strychnos*. No Uaupés só os *Maku* (36) sabem prepará-lo e o executam também para as tribos as quais servem. Os Maku de Iauareté (37) fazem-no da seguinte

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(35) Para atingir as tartarugas, os pescadores arremessa[illegible] flecha para o alto, de sorte que caia perpendicularmente e com [illegible] pêso e o impulso da queda penetre o casco do quelônio. Ordinariamente as tartarugas se conservam vivas para a venda e o consumo. Quanto aos peixes de maior tamanho, ao se avizinharem, matam-no com uma remada na cabeça, e dêste modo podem recolhê-lo à canoa sem perigo algum.

(36) Reduze Koch Grunberg (*Zwei Jahre*, pág. 208) que os *Buhágana* (dito também *burpemirsá*, ponte da sarabatana) preparam o *curare* tão forte que o empregam até na caça de animais grandes, como a anta.

(37) O Prof. Ettore Biocca, em 1944, assistiu também à preparação do curare pelos índios Maku do Tiquie, e levou para as observações do Laboratório Paulista de Biologia de S. Paulo, amostras das várias plantas empregadas, e do curare. Mesmo em algumas plantas que os indígenas consideram menos importantes, a análise do Laboratório encontrou alcalóides. Foram identificadas quatro variedades de *strychnos* (*[illegible]*, etc.), duas de *Menispermáceas* (*abuta triana* de Planchon, e *Anomospermum*), e sem alcalóides uma *Malpighacea* e uma Rubiácea (*[illegible]* ou *Psychotria*). Conforme suas conclusões, a preparação do curare pelos indígenas não é "uma simples extração de alcalóides, mas uma complexa operação química, com transformação das propriedades físico-químicas e biológicas dos mesmos alcalóides" ("Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei — vol. II, 1.º sem. 1947). E que as plantas desprovidas de alcalóide (como as Rubiáceas) pode-se supor: "tenham provàvelmente a função de permitir ou de facilitar a preparação indígena de derivados dos próprios alcalóides,

maneira. Raspam caule e raizes de várias espécies de arbustos e põem os fragmentos em um funil feito de fôlhas de arumã. Derramam por cima água, a qual dissolve os alcaloides tóxicos e, gotejando lentamente, é recolhida, como um líquido avermelhado, em uma panela de barro cozido. Em seguida o líquido é submetido a fogo lento durante um ou dois dias, eliminando-se com uma espátula de madeira a espuma, até que adquira consistência xaroposa e côr escura.

Todo o tempo que dura esta operação, o índio não pode deitar-se na rede; porem deve manter-se de cócoras, ao lado do fogo, e nem pode comer beiju, quinhapira, fruta ou qualquer outro alimento animal. Poderá, apenas, servir-se moderadamente do chibé. Se faltar alguma dessas regras, crê êle que o curare não terá sua virtude tóxica.

Conserva-se o curare em pequenos potes de cerâmica. Com o tempo torna-se duro e devem, para usá-lo, destemperá-lo em água morna; ou, se está muito duro, «*acordá-lo*», isto é, acrescentam-lhe água com pimenta malagueta.

f) *Outros objetos de uso doméstico*

1) *Tripé e moquém*. Um utensílio muito simples e muito útil é o que em Tukano se denomina *ñamá*, veado. É, pròpriamente, um tripé, constando de tres varas de seus dois metros ou mais de comprimento e cuja grossura varia conforme o tamanho e o uso, geralmente de poucos centímetros de diâmetro. Acham-se unidas na extremidade superior por meio de um cipó ou embira, e mantidas separadas, na parte inferior, com auxílio de duas varetas distantes do solo de uns 80 ou 100 cm. Sendo apenas duas essas varetas, a base do aparelho pode ser alongada ou apertada, conforme se quer, ou mesmo fecha-se o tripé e encosta-se à parede, para economizar espaço.

Sobrepõe-se a essas varetas a peneira em que se comprime com as mãos a massa da mandioca enquanto um pote recolhe o líquido ou manicuera. Pode-se também sobrepor a essas varetas uma espécie de grelha ou *moquém*, em tukano *waí kazsá*, feito de paus ro-

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com ação altamente curarizante" ("Atti, vol. II — 2.º sem. 1947, pág. 165).

Quanto à atividade tóxica curarizante, uma grama deu até dez mil doses mínimas mortíferas para camondongo, quando aplicadas por via muscular ("Atti, vol. II — 1.º sem. 1947, pág. 695). Ao passo que por via oral ocorriam doses 80 a 90 vêzes maiores ("Atti", vol. V — 2.º sem., 1946, pág. 99).

ço. Sôbre o moquém coloca-se o peixe ou a carne que se deseja «moquear», consoante a expressão amazonense, e o fogo debaixo.

Trípe (fôrma)

Encontra-se também o moquém fixo a quatro estacas plantadas solidamente, a um canto da maloca.

2) *Aparelhagem para o ipadú e o caapi*

a) Para o preparo do *ipadú* (cfr. VI — 4, i (3)), o índio além de uma *panela* de bôca larga, *patu artêri-to*, e de um pequeno *pilão*, *pa-mó-a*, do feitio usual, precisa de *sacolas* e de um longo *tubo*, *patu pa po*. As sacolas obtêm-se do tururi (cfr. VI — 3).

b) Para o *karpi* torna-se necessário um *cocho* de madeira, *karpi pa-mó-a*, (vd. VI — 2, b (7)) em que se pisa o cipó, e um *paso*, *karpi-to* (vd. 2, a (1)), onde se recolhe o sumo e se destempera em água.

3) *Macurú*. Quando a criança começa a firmar-se nas pernas, usam um processo muito prático para entretê-la e ao mesmo tempo ensinar-lhe os primeiros passos. Consiste num aro que se obtém com um cipó grosso enrolado em várias voltas e prêso a uma trave. A criança ficaria de pé dentro do aro que lhe chega à altura do peito. Uma embira muito flexível e macia, prêsa ao aro, passa por entre as pernas da criança, a qual fica assim como a cavalo e pode assentar-se sôbre a embira, quando se sentir cansada. Hoje em dia é muito comum encontrar um pedaço de fazenda em vez da embira primitiva. Êste aparelho que em Língua Geral se diz *macurú*, e em Tukano *bahari be'to*, está seguro a uma das traves do teto por um cipó, e chega à tal distância do solo que permita à criança tocá-lo com os pés e tentar os primeiros passos.

Macuru (baharí-be'te)

Fora dêsse aparelho não conhecem outro para as crianças que, ou ficam abandonadas pelo chão, ou estarão acavaladas às cadeiras da própria mãe ou irmã mais velha (38), quando não estão nos braços ou na rede.

4) *Cuias e cabaças.* Empregam-se, outrossim, cuias (*wahá-ro*) e cabaças (*ÿarsá*), ou *ÿa'sá*, *ña'sá*), de diversos tamanhos e formas,

(38) São sempre as mulheres que carregam as crianças. Por influência dos civilizados, pode-se ver hoje um pai trazendo ao braço o próprio filho, mas por breve tempo, quando a mãe está carregando outra criança qualquer. Em casa nunca se vê um índio carregar e menos ainda acalentar um filho.

como vasos para os mais vários usos: tomar água, preparar o chibé, distribuir o caapi, guardar seus pós coloridos, fabricar o maracá (vd. VII — 3, c (3), etc.

a) *As cabaças* obtidas do cabaceiro reptante (*Cucúrbita lagenária*, Lin., das cucurbitáceas, (*yazsá-ya*), são empregadas, quando sêcas, sem mais trabalho. O mais importante emprêgo das cabaças é a fabricação dos maracás e como continente dos pós corantes.

b) *As cuías*, da planta dita cuieira ou culetezeira (*Crescentia cujete*, Lin., das bignoniáceas) são usadas para tomar água, chibé, mingau, etc. e apresentam a superfície interna de côr preta lustrosa. A mulher alcança isto, com auxílio do *wahá-ko* (quer dizer água de cuia; de *wahá*, cuia, e *ozkó*, água, líquido, sumo).

cuia (waha-ro)

Da planta denominada *wahá-ko-gó* (39), *cumati* (*myrcia atramentifera*, B. Red.) golpeiam a casca que goteja um líquido vermelho escuro, ou dela separam raspas que, deixadas algum tempo em infusão n'água, produzem um líquido grosso escuro, o *wahá-kó*. Na parte interna da cuia espalha-se com um pincel o *wahá-kó*, deixando-o depois secar. Repete-se a operação uma segunda e mais vêzes, até alcançar a espessura de um milímetro aproximadamente. Espalha-se, em seguida, urina pelo chão e nessa área emborcam, sôbre pequenos pedaços de pau, as cuías que desejam pintar. O amoníaco que se desprende da urina transforma a camada de *wahá-kó* do interior da cuia em verniz preto, luzidio e bem aderente.

Obtém-se o mesmo resultado aplicando, sôbre a camada de *waha-kó*, fôlhas de mandioca embebida em urina.

5) *Outros objetos de utilidade*

O índio soube tirar da natureza que o contorna tantos outros objetos e recursos para a sua vida. Lembraremos alguns:

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(39) O Pe. João Marchesi chamou-nos a atenção para o costume dos indígenas de denominarem um vegetal pelo emprêgo que dêle fazem.

a) *Papoque*. O papóque, em Tukano *pápua-khá-sõti*, é a embira de uma árvore que produz espuma, e com ela lavam a cabeça, em falta de sabão.

b) *Tauari*. *Taugari*, como também se diz em Tukano (*couratari tauari*, da família das lecitidáceas) é também uma embira que se desdobra em lâminas muito delgadas e flexíveis, que servem para mortalha de cigarro. Obtém-se da casca, batendo-a com um macete até separar-se tôda a parte lenhosa.

c) *Sacolas, cucio e máscaras*. O tururi, em Tukano *waxsó-gõ*, é uma árvore de várias espécies de *Manicariao*, de cujo líber ou entrecasca preparam as sacolas para o ipadú, as máscaras (vd. VII — 3, d (2)) e os *waxsó-ro* (em Nheengatú *cucio*) de danças (cfr. encaitio, VII — 3, d (2)). Escolhido o galho ou tronco que lhes convém, cortam-no, e com um macete de madeira vão batendo a casca até que assim se obtém, de um tronco grosso emprega-se para o preso fosse uma manga de camisa ou uma capa. Com um objeto cortante (outrora uma taquara) separam a parte que desejam. O líber que assim se obtém, de um tronco grosso emprega-se para o preparo das máscaras, de um ramo pequeno, amarrado numa das extremidades apresenta a forma de uma sacola para os seus vários usos.

Observamos outro processo entre os *Karapanã* das cabeceiras do Papuri. Com o auxílio de uma espátula iam despregando a casca, como quem enrola a manga de um paletó para fora, até alcançar o comprimento que se deseja.

6) *Brinquedos e jogos*

Não encontramos objetos lúdicos característicos das meninas, como as bonecas das civilizadas. De resto, desde tenras, as crianças do sexo feminino são aplicadas ao trabalho e não lhes sobra muito tempo para os brinquedos.

Os meninos, ao invés, constroem seus pequenos arcos e flechas, com que se divertem aprendendo a atirar ou mesmo a matar aves e peixes.

De uma madeira leve e macia, *poo-gõ*, molongó (é a *ambelânia grandiflora*, Hub., da família das apocináceas), constroem minúsculas canoas que soltam à água, prêsas a um cordel, acompanhando-as da margem enquanto deslizam.

Possuem ainda outros brinquedos e divertimentos que se vão sucedendo durante o ano. Entre êstes o que se conhece no sul do Brasil por «cama de gato». Isto é, com um cordel, com as duas extremi-

dades ligadas, executam figuras com os dedos de ambas mãos, passando ao vizinho que, com diversa posição dos dedos, fá-lo tomar outra figura. Temos visto formar com o cordel 8 ou 10 figuras diversas, algumas bem interessantes e parecidas com o objeto ou animal cujo nome levam. Denomina-se êste brinquedo *mi-pesé* (i. e. brinquedo de tomar).

Uma palavra aqui sôbre alguns divertimentos das crianças. As crianças, respeitando sempre a separação dos sexos, reunem-se em bandos e se entretêm em folguedos nos quais figuram as abelhas zumbindo em procura das flôres; é o jôgo das abelhas, *mumi-pesé* (40).

Outro brinquedo coletivo é o «esconde-esconde», e denomina-se em Tukano *wãx-ti mãã-re baagõsamim* (Wãx-ti vai comer-te), porque o sinal de esconder é dado por uma das crianças gritando: «*Wãx-ti vai comer-te*».

Um dos divertimentos mais comuns, e que aparece até nos *Dâbucuris* (vd VII — 4, e (2) é o que se diz brinquedo «*do sapo*», *táro-kõ-pesé*. Algumas crianças põem-se de cocoras e avançando aos saltos vão cantarolando: *táro-kõakã* *táro-kõakã* (sapinho! sapinho!). Outras crianças de pé impedem o salto dos sapinhos, e entre elas trava-se o seguinte diálogo: — «Aonde vão vocês? (*no'õ-pó waati mãrsã?*) — Vamos ver se na roça há algum abacaxi maduro (*õxsã wersepo pãra wa:, sè'rã to'ó-pó buxtise-pa yãra wã:*) — Lá a vossa avó foi comer abacaxi, caiu e machucou-se (*toó-pó mãxsã ñèxkõ sè'rã baãgo myõ-dorkè-pyõ-waapõ*). Então os sapinhos exclamam: — Coitada da nossa avó! (*adé:! õxsã ñèxkõ!*) e fingem desmaiar, caindo por terra.

Com o folíolo de palma enrolado em espiral improvisam uma flauta capaz de emitir sons diversos, conforme o diâmetro da espira.

Fabricam pequenas flautas, *puxtisé*, de taquara ou paxiúba; o pião, *bexiaga*, servindo-se do coco de tucumã e outros. Mais recentemente, de posse de canivete e prego, preparam também seus piões de madeira à imitação do dos civilizados.

3) *Vestes e calçados*

a) *Vestes*

Sob o influxo dos civilizados (o exemplo do branco, a quem o índio gosta de imitar, a instrução dos Missionários e as vestes que

(40) Uma indiazinha falava também do "jôgo do limão", porém não no-lo descreveu, nem tivemos o ensejo de assisti-lo.

estes lhe dão), os indígenas se vão habituando ao uso das vestes. De regra os que passaram alguns anos nos colégios, retornando às suas aldeias, não dispensam mais as vestes. Ao menos uma calça ou calção (os homens) e uma saia (as mulheres); deixando o busto descoberto.

Um particular interessante é que, geralmente, as mulheres só executam, consertam e lavam suas vestes femininas. Os homens recebem roupas feitas, dadas ou compradas, e devem pensar em lavá-las e repará-las. Alguns homens têm sido vistos lavando as vestes de suas esposas.

Primitivamente, isto é, antes de qualquer influência dos civilizados, datando desde os descobrimentos do novo mundo, teriam algum traje? como seria êste?

Por um lado o clima quente não impõe o uso de vestes. Por outro, as chuvas e excursões freqüentes pela mata, que oferece ao indivíduo um abrigo, e lhe gastaria ràpidamente as vestes, desaconselham o emprêgo de roupas. Isto o que podémos a *priori* deduzir do seu *habitat*.

O primeiro Vigário Geral da Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, em 1759, diz muito originalmente: — «Não tendo comumente os Indios destes sertões mais vestido do que aquêles que trajavão nossos primeiros pais no campo Damasceno» (o. c. 145). Releva, como exceção, que os Cambeba usavam vestes compridas de algodão, e sem mangas, abertas lateralmente.

Um século depois, em 1846, o costume é ainda o mesmo, conforme Wallace. — «Êstes indios libertam-se dos estorvos de vestuário, tanto quanto é possível conceber-se. Os homens usam sòmente uma pequena peça de tururi, que lhes passa entre as pernas e prende-se a uma corda que lhes cinge a cintura. Mesmo êsse costume as mulheres o dispensam totalmente, não se cobrindo com qualquer cousa que exista. Vivem em nudez completa, e isso é generalíssimo. Entre os indios do Uaupés não se abandonam tais costumes» (O. c. 629).

Setenta anos mais tarde (Boletim Salesiano, fev. 1918 pág 30) depõe o primeiro Superior Salesiano dessas Missões, Mons. Lourenço Giordano. — «Os homens não trazem veste e as mulheres, ordinàriamente, não têm melhor que êles» «O Tucano pode dizer com mais verdade que o filósofo: *omnia mea mecum porto*. Como vestido leva ... a *poira* (?), isto é, um cordel ao pescoço, com sementes de diversas côres ou um pedaço de mármore branco, e, ordinàriamente, nada mais».

Ainda hoje se encontram muitos homens só com o encacho ou *warsó-ro*, como se diz em Tukano (*cuéio*, em Nheengatú), (41), que se assemelha à primeira vista a uma funda herniária. Consiste numa tira de fazenda de seus 6 ou 8 cm de largura, cobrindo as partes pudendas, passando por entre as pernas e prêsa pelas extremidades a um cordel como cinta, na altura das ilhargas. Naturalmente deve ser incômodo êsse cordel, e, provàvelmente, para se irem habituando, os meninos antes de usarem o *warsó-ro*, começam por trazer apenas o cordel de cinta. Parece também que não há idade prescrita para o uso do *warsó-ro*. Certamente acima dos seis ou oito anos, todos os meninos o trazem.

Quanto às pessoas do sexo feminino dos povoados ao longo dos rios Uaupés, Tiquié e Papuri, desde bem tenras, seguramente desde os 3 ou 4 anos, hoje em dia, se apresentam diante do civilizado com o corpo todo coberto, ou, ao menos com uma saia da cintura até abaixo do joelho. São raríssimos os casos de um simples saiote-acima do joelho, ou um pano envolvente à guisa de tanga.

Evidentemente essas coberturas são subministradas pelos civilizados, propriamente pelas Missões Católicas. Teriam algo de original, como e de qual matéria?

Não há dúvida que o *warsó-ro* masculino, pelo feitio e o uso, nem é imitação do Civilizado, nem conselho dêste ao índio, embora se faça com fazenda importada, e não com o tecido fabricado pelos índios com embira de tururi. O *warsó-ro* é de uso muito antigo e geral nas tribos americanas Karaíba. Wallace um século atrás no-lo descreve entre os índios do Uaupés, como sendo um pedaço de líber ou entrecasca de tururi (42). Os primeiros viajantes do Solimões acenam a índios «de cauda». Wallace tem por certo que o atribuir cauda aos

(41) Pensamos que cuéio seja apenas uma corrupção da palavra portuguêsa cueiro, o encacho que se usa com os recém-nascidos. *Warsó-ro* deriva provàvelmente, conforme o gênio da língua Tukano, de *warsó su'ti-ro*. *Warsó* quer dizer semen; *su'ti-ro*, vestido. Alguns Missionários que falam o Tukano, pensam que *warsó-ro* venha de *warsó-o*, o nome Tukano da planta *tururi* (da família das esterculiáceas), de cuja entrecasca se tira um tecido aproveitado para a bolsa de guardar o ipadú, para o fabrico das vestes ou máscaras de danças. Note-se, todavia, que tais máscaras se dizem *ya'ko-kó su'ti-ro*, veste das lágrimas, porque só se usam tais máscaras nas danças fúnebres. Não seria, pelo contrário, o nome da planta, *warsó-gò*, derivado de *warsó-ro*, pela serventia do seu líber como cueio? Releve-se que êste é precisamente o costume dêsses índios, denominar as plantas pelo uso a que a destinam.

(42) No meado do séc. 18 (1759) o Padre José M. de Noronha o refere dos Tecuna (o. c. n.º 139).

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índios dessas regiões se deva a uma observação imperfeita dos *warsó-ro* sujos e retorcidos.

Não parece, porém, uma «veste de decência», porque demasiado apertado e estreito, e por vêzes só cobrindo parcialmente. Poderia ser «veste de atração». Julgamo-lo antes uma «veste de proteção» (43), em se tratando de parte mais sensível que o restante da epiderme do índio, endurecida pelas intempéries.

Quanto à tanga (44) das mulheres, dita em Nheengatú *muruari*, assemelha-se a um pequeno avental de seus 20 cm de comprimento por 10 cm de largura. Hodiernamente é apenas um ornamento das danças, que as mulheres apresentam juntamente com a pintura; ou estão mesmo sem êle e apenas pintadas. Com as missangas que obtêm dos civilizados, preparam belíssimos *yazkè warsó-ro*. Mesmo os originais, tecidos de tucum, eram notáveis trabalhos de tecedura. Um e outro, porém, parecem antes «veste de atração», do que «veste de decência», pois ficam pendendo à cintura, e pela posição e dimensões (a maior dimensão fica horizontalmente) não recobre suficientemente (cfr. VII — 5, b).

b) *Calçados*

Não fabricam, nem usam calçado de espécie alguma, como o costumam os índios das savanas. São desnecessários para as suas grandes viagens que se fazem por canoa, e incômodos para as excursões na mata, se não forem de matéria resistente como o couro e bem adaptados. Ademais, o clima quente e as chuvas contínuas tornariam seu uso prejudicial à saúde.

4) *Alimentação*

a) *Mandioca*

O índio tira da mandioca (*Manihot utilissima*) seu principal alimento, preparando-o de diversas maneiras, e dela se serve todos os

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(43) Em maio de 1954, expondo a um índio Karapanã, residente desde vários anos em Uaracapá (rio Papuri), por nome Vicente, nosso desejo de visitar a região dos Karapanã, nas cabeceiras do rio Aua, espontâneamente como a prevenir-nos o espírito êle nos informa que por lá ainda não usavam roupa alguma. Depois dessa viagem, conversando com uma senhora Tukano, já cristã e que desde 1926 vive com as Irmãs Missionárias, à questão por que os homens usavam o *warsó-ro* e as mulheres, nada ouvimo-la responder que as mulheres não precisavam de uma proteção física como os homens.

(44) Gaspar de Carvajal, na relação da viagem de Francisco de Orellana, em 1540 (o. c.) informa-nos do uso do *warsó-ro* pelas mulheres. Wallace (o. c. 352), em 1849, informa que no Uaupés as mulheres antes nuas, "à entrada dos brancos cobrem-se com uma tanga". O mesmo ainda acontece um século depois.

dias do ano. Há reminiscências de um período muito longínquo (séculos ou milênios ante do período histórico, que é o séc. XVI) em que não conheciam a mandioca, e comiam a castanha dita *borpé* (informação de Dorotéia Brito).

1) *A Farinha*. A farinha, *po'ká*, é alimento indispensável não apenas para os indígenas de tôdas as tribos do Uaupés, como também para os caboclos do Rio Negro. Sem a farinha não só lhes parece deficiente a mais variada e nutriente refeição, como não suportariam seguidamente nenhum regime alimentar sem a farinha.

Para o fabrico da «farinha dágua», assim denominada, servem-se da «mandioca puba», *ki-bo*. Isto é, são raízes imersas em água (às vezes dentro da canoa, ou em algum paneiro submerso, ou mesmo camotim) por uns seis dias até que apresentam um início de fermentação ou putrefação, com cheiro desagradável. Por simples compressão entre os dedos, solta-se a massa, ficando a casca quase inteira.

A massa, *ki-o'ta*, depois de espremida à mão em uma peneira de malhas finas, *tó-pa*, posta sôbre um camotim que recolhe o líquido, *yórka*, é introduzida no *tipiti*. Depois de cheio, suspende-se êste pela alça superior a um esteio. Na alça inferior a mulher introduz um pau roliço de uns dois metros, servindo de alavanca, ficando esta imobilizada por uma de suas extremidades contra o esteio, e sôbre a outra fará pressão a mulher com os braços ou mesmo sentando-se em cima. Com o pêso do próprio corpo e com movimento conveniente faz alongar-se o tipiti, o qual assim comprime a massa e obriga a escorrer o líquido, que é cuidadosamente recolhido em uma vasilha.

Há três modos de imobilizar a extremidade da alavanca: 1.º) por meio de um anel de cipó, *o'tá buhuri-bo'tó*, que circunda o esteio, ou 2.º) o esteio é munido de orifícios, *ó'tá buhuri-pé*, e a ponta da alavanca se fixa sucessivamente nos vários orifícios, à medida que se alonga o tipiti; ou 3.º) o esteio é cortado como dentes de serra, *ó'tá buhu-pehéró*, nos quais se apoia a extremidade mais curta da alavanca. Entre os Arwake dos rios Içana e Alari, observamos a preferência por êste último processo, e de modo muito prático. A saber, haviam plantado sòlidamente no chão uma estaca roliça, de um metro ou pouco mais de altura e seus 10 cm de diâmetro, munida de dentes como uma serra, contra os quais se imobilizava a alavanca do tipiti.

Por efeito da compressão a massa sai bastante sêca e dura. Passa-se ainda por uma peneira de malhas mais largas, *sóó-a* (Nh. *urupema*), a fim de eliminar os flapos.

Espremendo a massa de mandioca no tipiti

Estando já bem quente o forno, a mulher vai sôbre êle esfarinhando a massa com a mão, espalhando-a bem, em pequenas quantidades, e ao mesmo tempo mexendo-a com uma pá de madeira, porá aitâri-phi (Nh. *farubá*), a fim de ficar bem torrada. Conforme a qualidade da mandioca, a farinha adquirirá côr esbranquiçada (contém sempre *tapioca*, isto é *amido*), ou de um belo amarelo-canário. Do forno passam a farinha para peneiras fundas, *barti*, a fim de esfriar-se, e mais tarde guardam-na em paneiros para o consumo ou para vender aos civilizados.

2) *Tapioca*. A mandioca fresca descasca-se com os dentes, ou com um terçado (facão) se o possuem, e rala-se servindo-se das duas mãos, num movimento alternado e rápido.

A massa apenas ralada adiciona-se água, a fim de separar o *polvilho* ou *amido*, e deixa-se em repouso em vasos ditos *birperi-pá*. O polvilho depois de algumas horas deposita-se no fundo. Eliminado o excêsso de água, cobre-se às vêzes o vaso com um trapo e uma camada de cinza, a fim de clarear melhor o polvilho. Mais tarde leva-se ao forno, e tem-se a *tapioca*, *werfá*, de forma granulada, mui-

to apreciada também pelos civilizados, especialmente para tomar com leite ou café. Os silvícolas costumam guardar a tapioca e dela se servem diàriamente para preparar seu mingau ou beijú.

3) *Maniquera — Tucupim*

a) *Maniquera*. O líquido que escorreu da massa da mandioca espremida, embora venenoso pelo ácido cianídrico que contém, deixado algum tempo fermentando ao sol ou submetido ao fogo perde sua toxicidade, torna-se agradável sendo muito apreciado no caxiri e fora dele. É o que se diz *maniquera* ou *manipuera* (em Tukano *pokka*). Costumam ajuntar-lhe cará, batata doce ou frutas, como uma sopa rala.

b) *Tucupim*. Também o líquido extraído da mandioca puba, evapora-se pela ebulição até tornar-se uma substância escura, de consistência xaroposa, um tanto acidula, porém, grata ao paladar, que se usa como tempêro, e se diz *tucupim* (em Tukano *ki-bo-kó*). Do tucupim afirma Stradelli: «Para meu gôsto, é o rei dos molhos, tanto para as caças, como para o peixe, devendo-se acrescentar que é aconselhado para a cura do bériberi, na dose de um cálice depois de cada refeição, e que se lhe atribuem curas extraordinárias» (Vocabulario Nheengatu-português, verbete «*tucupim*»).

4) *Beijú e alimentos semelhantes*

a) O beijú dito também *meiú* ou *caçábe* (em Tukano *ahũ-ga* ou *ahũ-a*), é um bolo feito de massa da mandioca fresca; depois da compressão no tipiti. Vai a mulher espalhando a massa aos poucos sôbre o forno bem quente, comprimindo com as mãos e alisando com uma pequena espátula, até tomar a espessura de uns 3 cm. Quando já está bem cozida a parte de baixo, vira-o para cima, servindo-se de um abano (*ucéri-rõ*).

b) Prepara-se também, embora seja menos apreciado, o beijú de mandioca puba, e denomina-se em Tukano *karibé-hũa*.

c) Semelhante ao beijú é o *curadá* (em Tukano *sirúkaro* ou *sidakaro*), porém mais espêsso e mais rico de polvilho. É o alimento obrigatório no rito da iniciação das donzelas.

d) *Ó'ta-pekaro* denomina-se o beijú fresco quebradiço, que se obtém da mandioca cozida, ralada e trabalhada no mesmo dia, no intervalo de poucas horas.

e) *Sukaro* é o nome de uma variedade de beijú de mandioca com tapioca.

5) *Mingau*. Obtém-se, geralmente, da tapioca, cozendo-a em água até tomar uma consistência gomosa, como grude mole. Quando podem acrescentam-lhe açúcar ou sal, ou caldo de frutas. É o alimento que, por via de regra, costumam tomar cada manhã, antes de partir para o trabalho. Em Tukano se denomina *yumû-ku*. Note-se que no Tiquié se chama *yumû-ko* a bebida preparada com bacaba; no Uaupés se pronuncia *ñámá-ko* o nome desta bebida, e *yumû-ku*, o mingau).

6) *Arumbé*. Pode-se preparar a massa da mandioca com pimenta. Denomina-se em Língua Geral, *arumbé* ou *arubé*. Parece-nos que tal alimento, do qual raramente se fala, não seja primitivo, porém herdado, como o foi também o nome, das tribos de língua Nheengatú, ou talvez mesmo do caboclo ribeirinho.

7) *Chibé*. Com a farinha d'agua rica de tapioca prepara-se o chibé em tukano *pokâ pooko*). Basta tomar certa quantidade de farinha numa cuia e adicionar-lhe água. Tomam, por exemplo, a água diretamente do rio, enquanto navegam, com um movimento rápido da mão, sem que se entorne a farinha. Esperam alguns segundos, para que subam os fios da mandioca, que existem na farinha (às vêzes facilitam-no, movimentando a massa com os dedos), e escoam fora a água de cima, com êsses fiapos. Após alguns instantes a farinha «cresce», por impregnar-se de água. Está preparado o chibé. Essa água amidosa, de sabor acidulo, é naturalmente refrescante. O chibé serve de merenda para o índio. Com uma cuia de chibé, rema horas a fio. É o alimento regular, ou mesmo único nas viagens, e também sua sobremesa após as refeições.

b) *Milho*

O milho *ohó-ka* (não sabemos se o índio descobre especial relação entre o pé de milho, *ohó-ka*, e a bananeira, *ohó*; ou se se trata de mera casualidade a semelhança dos têrmos), não só é de introdução tardia, como, outrossim, de uso muito restrito. Não há pròpriamente roça de milho, entre as tribos do Uaupés, senão apenas algumas plantas isoladas, quando as há. Um grupo da tribo *Karapanã*, residente entre os rios Papuri e Tiquié, nas cabeceiras do ribeirão do Umari, cultiva em maior abundância o milho, o qual, no entanto, é quase totalmente vendido à Missão Salesiana. Trata-se de uma variedade de grão mole e branco.

Em pequena quantidade, o milho mascado serve, em alguns casos, para facilitar a fermentação das bebidas.

Entra também na preparação de bolos, pelo seguinte processo: depois de pilado o milho, passa-se a farinha pela peneira, e umedece-se com água morna. Com esta massa preparam-se bolos que se

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põem a assar sôbre as brasas, envolvidas em fôlha de bananeira. Se a mulher «tem boa mão», dizem, sai um bolo adocicado e agradável. É, porém, alimento de pequeno consumo e recebido dos civilizados, como dêstes receberam o uso do milho cozido e assado, aliás muito limitadamente.

c) *Peixes e iguarias de peixes*:

1) *Peixe*. Os peixes, em Tukano *wai*, constituem também uma alimentação habitual para os indígenas que habitam as margens do Uaupés e principais afluentes, suficientemente piscosos para os pequenos grupos de população atuais. Comem o peixe quase sempre *moqueado*, *wai sûóko* (Uaupés *wai sòrsókõ*), isto é, assado e enfumaçado a fogo lento, tendo-lhe tirado apenas as vísceras, ou mesmo com elas, se os peixes são pequenos. O fogo é pôsto a 80 ou 100 em baixo de uma grelha de madeira, o *moquém* (cfr. VI, 2, f (1).

O peixe *moqueado* conserva-se muito tempo, pois realiza-se uma desidratação bastante perfeita. E assim, durante semanas, quando a pesca foi abundante, guardam-no em casa ou consomem nas viagens.

2) *Farinha de peixe*. Ao peixe moqueado e ressequido tiram a espinha, pisam-no ao pilão, levam-no ao fôrno, esfarinhando-o com a mão até ficar completamente enxuto, e está preparada a *farinha de peixe*, *wai pókã* (de *wai* peixe, e *po'kã*, farinha; em Nheengatú, *pirá-cui* de *pirá*, peixe, e *cui*, farinha) de que se servem quando não há peixe fresco (45).

3) *Quinhapira e maniçoba*. Preparam, outrossim, o peixe fresco cozendo-o em água com muita pimenta, e também com sal, se o têm.

Mais raramente o cozinham com folhas tenras de mandioca; tal iguaria denomina-se *maniçoba* (do Nheengatú *manib*, mandioca, e *çob*, folha), e em Tukano *dõrko pũ* (Uaupés, *dõrkõ pũnĩ*; de *dõrkõ*, maniva, e *pũnĩ*, fôlhas).

A água apimentada (com ou sem sal) em que se ferveu o peixe ou o *pirácui* é que se chama *bya-tõ* (literalmente, panela de pimenta) e, em Língua Geral, *quinhapira* (de *quinha*, pimenta, e *pirá*,

(45) A propósito desta farinha de peixe, informa-nos o Gen. Couto de Magalhães: "remetida para uma das exposições de Londres, mereceu as honras de ser classificada como a mais perfeita das conservas de peixe". ("Ensaio de Anthropologia — Região e Raça Selvagens, pág. 398; Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, vol. 36 — Rio de Janeiro, 1873).

peixe), e na qual se umedecem os pedaços de beijú antes de serem levados à bôca.

4) *Os peixes*. São muitas as espécies de peixe (46) existentes nos rios dessa zona noroeste do Amazonas, e de quase tôdas se servem os indígenas (47).

Citamos algumas das principais e mais comuns espécies:

ã-mã, jandiá ou bagre (*Rhamdia* de várias espécies)
ã-ñã, arraia (peixe plagiostomo)
bizpari ou *tom-dõzpari*, arari
bolêa, aracú (*Leporinus mülleri*, Gunther).
bolo, piranha (várias espécies de serrasalmos)
bulu, tucunaré (*Cichla ocellaris*, Schneider)
bukoã-siro, ituim (*Sternópygus cordpus*, e várias espécies de gimnotideos).
buzpó, acará (Geophagus brasiliensis e várias outras espécies de ciclideos)
buzpo-toai, peixe aranha (peixe traquinideo)
dõe, traira (*Erythrinus taraira*, Lin.)
ikayã, mandi (várias espécies de silúridas)
i-kõã, jacunda (*Crenicichla seratilis*, Lin.)
iuzipi-pürí-ui, piraíra
mõã, piraíba (*Blanchyplatystoma filamentosum*)
ñrã-bui, uatucupá
ñã-ã, puraquê (*Gimnotus eléctricus*, Lin.)
pêã, pirá-mirim (*Brycon striatus*)
uhã, pacú (*Dóras dorsalis*, Cuv., e várias espécies de prochilodus)
pakã, acari, gascudo (peixe loricarida dos alagadiços)
pozsã-ui, pirá-pucú (*Xiphostoma Cuvieri*, Spix.)

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(46) Calculam-se em cerca de 3.700 as espécies de peixes brasileiros, sendo aproximadamente 1.700 dessas espécies peixes de água doce. (J. H. Leoni. — Peixes Brasileiros. — Edit. Anchieta, 1940).

(47) Um índio Tukano, por nome João, velho pescador de S. Francisco (Rio Tiquié) afirmou-nos em 1935: "comemos de todos os peixes, exceto o pirá-boto". Boto ou pirá-boto, dito também *pirá-yauára* (i. é, peixe cachorro, e em Tukano: *orko puritiéro*, soprador de água?), é um mamífero cetáceo do qual citam quatro espécies na região amazônica: o branco, conhecido por uiara (*Inia Geoffroyensis*, Blaw.); o preto ou pumuã (*Inia Amazônica*); o vermelho ou *pirança* (*Delphinus fluviatilis*, Gervais) e o cinzento ou *tucuxi*, (*Steno tucuxi*). O Boto é, outrossim, um peixe que figura nas lendas, bem como a *pirarara* (em Tukano *mahã-ui*, que quer dizer precisamente *peixe arara*, pelas suas belas côres). Nota-se alguma prevenção contra "os peixes de pele", como sendo causadores de dermatoses.

*wai-wexkó*, peixe boi (*Manatus americánus*, mamífero do baixo Rio Negro)

*wapé*, aracapuri (peixe do gên. *erythrinus*)

d) *Carnes e animais comestíveis*. A caçada para o índio, qual o encontramos na fase atual, é apenas um esporte. Se excetuarmos os «porcos do mato» (dos gêneros *dicótiles e tayassu*), que às vêzes aparecem em varas, em determinados lugares (48), quando o rio vasa e o javarizeiro amadurece seu coco, as caças são raras. Servem, portanto, apenas para variar de vez em quando o «menu». Tanto mais que o índio repartirá sempre o fruto da sua caçada com os que moram na mesma maloca, e comumente o fará para os que residem nas casas vizinhas à sua (se o não vende ao civilizado).

Preparam a caça «moqueando-a», como ao peixe. E parece que jamais comem carne crua; dizem mesmo que quem come carne crua é só o Wix-ti. Como também comem carne de cobra. Os principais animais que lhes servem de alimento são (49):

macacos de várias espécies (*axké, emõã*, guariba, *séi*, almoré, *waú*, *uaiá-piçá*

*porsó* cutiyala, preá (*cavia aperea, leupyga, fulgida*, etc.)

*bu*, cutia (*dasyprocta aguti*)

*bi porsó*, um rato de pelo comprido

*kapo*, lontra (*lutra brasiliensis, paraensis*)

*kia wexkó*, capivara (*hydrochoérus capibara*)

*waipi*, coati (duas de *násua*, mamífero procionídeo)

*ñamã*, veado (*cervus campestris*)

*pamõ*, tatu (*xenartros dasipódidas*; de várias espécies: *pamõ soá, pamõ uho*, etc.

*Seme*, paca (*coelógenis paca*)

*u*, tartaruga (várias espécies de quelônios)

*ahuri*, jabuti (*testudo tabulata*)

(48) Como a piracema se manifesta, de regra, nos mesmos lugares, assim também os porcos do mato têm seu carreiro habitual e costumam atravessar os rios em determinados pontos, onde os surpreende o caçador.

(49) Os cachorros são geralmente magros e muitas vêzes, também, doentes; por isso e pelos serviços que lhes prestam não os comem. Há indícios que, em Parí-cachoeira (rio Tiquié), os indígenas comeram um cachorro gordo morto a tiro. O caboclo do Rio Negro é incapaz de matar um cachorro, embora doente. Receia que êsse "pecado" (assim pensam e dizem) lhes atrairia o castigo de S. Lázaro, que reúm como protetor dos cachorros, e que os puniria, provàvelmente, com a lepra.

[illegible] anta (*tapirus americanus*, Briss.) (50)
[illegible] lagartos (diversas espécies de lacertílios)
[illegible] porco do mato (caitetú, *dicótylis torquatus*, e queixada, *dicótylis labiatus*)

Dentre as aves mais frequentemente se alimentam de:
[illegible] inambú (generos *crypturéllus* e *tinamus*, de várias espécies: *dyuyró*, *puxiua*, etc.)
[illegible] tucano (várias especies de *ramphástus*)
[illegible] *kurtu*, pato-dagua (varias espécies)
[illegible] *kasóró*, jacú (cracídeo penelope)
[illegible] como-coró (*phimósus infuscátus*, dos ibidídeos)
[illegible] jacamim (*psophia crépitans*, Lin.)
[illegible] mutum (varios galináceos do gen. *crax*)
[illegible] cujubim (*pipile cujubi*)

Não se alimentam de *galinha*, nem de *ovos*, nem de *porco*, embora os criem e vendam aos civilizados (e comem algum pedaço que êstes lhes derem). É notavel a habilidade do indio em criar algumas aves como jacú, jacamim, mutum, papagaio, araras e outras que se tornam incrivelmente mansos. Fazem-no, porém, por simples divertimento, sem lhes aproveitar a carne (51). A mulher indígena masca o alimento para os filhotes dessas aves, que algumas vêzes se vêem tirando o alimento dos labios mesmos da mulher.

c) *Tubérculos e verduras.*

Comem cozidos ou assados os tubérculos da batata, *yazpi* (*hipomaea batatas*, Lam.), do cará, *ñómó* (*dioscórea alata*, Lin.) que foram introduzidos no sec. passado, e vários tubérculos da região,

(50) Quando matam alguma anta, cortam-lhe imediatamente a lingua, para que não o conte às outras.

(51) Informa Wallace ("Viagens ao Amazonas e Rio Negro", ed. 1939, pág. 202) que alguns indios criavam araras pela sua plumagem. No local da pena extraida injetavam a secreção leitosa do sapo, e a nova pena nascia de côr amarela ou alaranjada. Outros criavam gaviões reais, *uira-tauá* (*Thrasaetus harpya* Lin.), alimentando-os com duas galinhas por dia, para aproveitar-lhes as penas e por essa razão lhes ficavam caros os seus adornos. Não nos consta que ainda hoje submetam à arara a êsse tratamento. Aliás as araras domesticadas quase que se encontram só nas malocas mais afastadas. Quanto ao *gavião real* e ao *galo da serra* (*rupicola elegans*) hoje em dia só os apanham quando há esperança de vendê-los aos civilizados. Koch Grünberg (*Zum Jahre*, 50) informa também que os Káwa-tapúya obtinham a côr alaranjada das penas injetando gordura de pirara ou a secreção de um sapo.

como *durtú*, *karpo* e outros. Não conhecem a batata inglesa (*solanum tuberosum*, Lin).

Quanto às verduras, recusam-nas, quando se lhes oferecem, dizendo que não são vacas (propriamente, anta, *wezkó*).

Nos molhos de peixe, além da pimenta, às vêzes põem fôlhas tenras de mandioca (vd. acima, *maniçóba*). Algumas vêzes, também, deixam envelhecer as fôlhas da mandioca três ou quatro dias, até adquirir a côr escura; machucam-nas, então, fervem-nas e bebem o caldo. É o que se denomina *ki-pù*.

Serviam-se outrora das cinzas do carurú-da-pedra (*mourera fluviatilis*) que nasce espontamente nas pedras de algumas cachoeiras, em substituição do sal, para salgar-lhes a comida (52). Conforme a descrição do Cônego André Fernandes de Souza (fim do séc. 18) o processo se assemelhava ao do preparo da lixívia para o fabrico do «sabão de cinza». A saber: a planta era reduzida a cinzas que se deixavam em infusão em água, a fim de que se dissolvesse o sal, e êste, ao depois, pela evaporação se depositava sob forma de cristal esbranquiçado» (pag. 467 das «Noticias Geographicas» ap. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 10 — Rio de Janeiro, 1870).

f) *Insetos*

1) *Termitas e formigas*

a) *Mexkó* (em Nheengatú *manituara*, *manivara*) é a rainha de uma espécie de cupim amarelo, que sai em abundância dos buracos da terra logo após a chuva. Comem-nas vivas ou assadas. É o alimento obrigatório dos moços e môças no rito pubertário.

b) Nos tempos de escassez, as mulheres sondam o terreno, com varas, nos lugares onde sabem provavelmente existirá um tipo de manivara sem asas, dito *ezkó*. Elas saem numerosíssimas e são comidas vivas, ou depois de assadas em pequenos amarrados de folhas de sororoca.

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(52) Esta planta fornece excelente salada, já salgada por sua natureza. Porém o índio "não é vaca" para comer verdura. Wallace informa (Travels, 340) que dos frutos das palmeiras *inajá* e *jará* (*Geopoldinia maior* e *pulchra*, Mart.) preparavam uma farinha de sabor salino. Não nos consta, porém, que atualmente o façam, em razão da facilidade de obter o sal. Os índios que trabalham nas Missões compram sacas inteiras de sal e, ao depois, o vendem, até com exagerada usura, aos das malocas mais afastadas, mesmo em território colombiano.

Comem igualmente a tanajura, *dpárá* (Uaupés *dpárá*) e [illegible] espécies de formigas *yami-ka* (formiga-da-noite, porque [illegible] ou de madrugada), *dérpérpura* (*durabá*), *duhusá* (que [illegible] tarde), etc., no emigrarem dos formigueiros. Quando [illegible] grande movimento de formigas, pre[illegible] a altura de meio metro acima do formigueiro. Po[illegible] uma família inteira pousada sôbre êste jirau, e as tana[illegible] à medida que emergem da terra, são comidas cruas, muitas [illegible] também com acompanhamento de beiju ou farinha. Quando e[illegible] abundante a saída, as tanajuras são recolhidas em cestos [illegible] nos quais são, em seguida, torradas.

Igualmente comem, vivas ou assadas, as *saúvas*, *byá-pórá* [illegible] quer dizer filhos ou crias, *pórá*, da pimenta, *byá*, pelo seu [illegible] picante), e ao cupim, *burtied*.

Larvas

[illegible] certas épocas do ano aparecem numerosíssimas larvas [illegible] uns 3 ou 4 cm de comprimento, sôbre as plantas do ju[illegible] (*[illegible] ierásma japurá*, Spr.) e do cunuri, *[illegible]* (*cunúria spru[illegible]* Baill.), devorando-lhes totalmente as folhas. Apenas o per[illegible] abatem as plantas em redor, para que a larva não [illegible] para outras árvores, e ficam assim obrigadas a descer pelo [illegible] em procura de alimento. Na parte inferior do tronco fazem [illegible] com a folha da poeira sororoca (*oho pôri*), *que é muito* [illegible]. As largartas ao chegarem aí, escorregam e caem no chão, sendo [illegible] com pau ou flos em peneiras e depois torradas lenta[illegible] sôbre uma esteira à certa distância do fogo. É tão grande [illegible] que podem encher cestos, que são conservados no [illegible] para ir consumindo aos poucos.

Mesmo quando o descobrem só na fase de crisálida, cortam os [illegible] carregadas de casulos, como uma grande espiga de milho, [illegible] cortam, sendo assim mais fácil de abrir os casulos, como se [illegible] uma casca de amendoim torrado. A crisálida constitui uma [illegible] muito apreciada e serve, outrossim, como isca para o anzol. [illegible] larvas denominam-se em tukano *bá-ti-ya* (piolho? do japurá) e [illegible] (piolho do cunuri).

[illegible] *Mo'ré-pámo* é o nome Tukano de uma larva amarelo-esver[illegible], semelhante ao bicho-da-seda, e que se nutre das folhas do [illegible] (*inga édulis* mimosácea), e que muito apreciam, viva ou torrada.

c) Além das indicadas, há várias outras larvas procuradas como alimento, como as denominadas *mè'rè-ka-pexíorõd*, igualmente do ingazeiro; *uixtyá*, também do cunuri; *nexíod*, que vive na árvore homônima; *suxpi-só*, que se nutre das folhas da acuaricuara (de sementes vermelhas miúdas); *pixkõrõd*, da pupunheira; *sitá*, da árvore dita *uxpisikuri*.

3) *Caba (vespas)*. A palavra Tukáno *uxtyá*, como também a de origem Nheengatu *caba*, indica várias espécies de vespas ou marimbondos (*parachartécus apiculis* e outros da família dos vespídeos e pompilídeos). Comem-lhe as larvas com farinha (53).

4) *Coleópteros e outros alimentos animais*

a) Alimentam-se ainda de certas espécies de gafanhotos e de besouros, vivos ou torrados. Anos há em que uns besouros ditos *uxasya* (Nheengatú *morima*) aparecem em tal abundância que conseguem encher muitos cestos e até mesmo grandes canoas.

b) Atravessando a mata, muitas vêzes se encontram áreas como se fôssem revolvidas por suínos. É que por ali passaram os Makú com um pedaço de pau, ou com a mão, à procura de vermes para comerem.

c) Apreciam sobremaneira certas espécies de pequenas rãs arborícolas, denominadas *omã*. Sem limpá-las sequer, moqueam-nas ou cozinham-nas com pimenta. Igualmente saboreiam muito uma rã grande terrestre, chamada *tõhõd*.

d) Agrada-lhes grandemente um caranguejo, *sã'ã*, dos igapós ou alagados. O Missionário sr. Manoel Valério observou um particular interessante dêsse caranguejo, a saber: êle faz seu ninho à margem dos igapós, porém a tal altura que os paixes não venham comer os seus ovos. E assim, pela altura dos ninhos poder-se-ia prever, ano por ano, a alta das águas na enchente.

Quiçá a riqueza de *Vitaminas A*, hauridas da ingestão de tão variados insetos e larvas, o índio é devedor da admirável visibilidade noturna de que desfruta.

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(53) Curioso o processo que empregam. Quando descobrem uma caixa de caba, esfregam a mão na axila e aproximam-na da caixa. Ao cheiro os marimbondos fogem, apoderam-se, então, da caixa com as larvas, e o próprio vespeiro lhes serve de prato, onde põem farinha que comem com as larvas. (Informação do Missionário agrônomo Teotônio Ferreira).

8) *Frutas*

Se a alimentação indígena carece de verduras e legumes, são muitas as frutas que consomem.

1) Dentre as fruteiras cultivadas, em primeiro lugar vem cinco ou seis variedades de banana, *oho*, e comem-nas cruas, assadas ou cozidas e reduzidas a mingau. Até mesmo ainda verdes, comem-nas cozidas na cinza.

Apreciam ainda o abacaxi, *sõ'nã* (Uaupés *sõ'nã*), biribá, *pizkã*, [illegible] *sõ'nã*), e, mais recentemente, a laranja, *darãñõ*, abacate *ñõmã* abio, *kã'rẽ*.

2) As frutas silvestres que conhecem e comem são numerosíssimas. Lembraremos algumas: *o'sé*, cucura ou mapati (*pourõuma cecropiaefolia*, Mart.), umã moráceа muito parecida com a embaúba, produzindo grandes cachos de frutos do tamanho de uma jabuticaba, os quais, quando maduros, são escuros, doces e mucilaginosos e fermentados dão uma bebida vinhosa; *mõ'rẽ* (U. *mõ'nẽ*), *kim-mõ'rẽ*, várias espécies de ingá (*ingá cinamómea*, *marginata*, *edulis*, etc., mimosáceas); *burukũña*, maracuja; *ãxtã-ñimi*, cumã (fruto da sorveira); *pãgã*, outra espécie de cucura; *kenõ*, jatobá; *tohõ*, [illegible] *tehõ* e *ehpã-pu*, variedades de pequiá; *thoã*, yúa-pi-[illegible], *ñumã*, umari; *uihi*, parica; *extoã*, cubio; *wexti*, umiri; *[illegible]*, pequena fruta branca; *tohoã-karperi*, *omã-karperi* e *ñerõ*, semelhantes ao cumã.

3) E muitas espécies de cocos, mais ou menos oleosos: *ixki*, *[illegible]*, *pupunã*, *ucuqui*, *mirípi*, açaí, *ã'rã*, pupunha de que são guiados, *bexti*, tucumã, que muito apreciam, *ñãmã* (U. *ñumũ*), bacaba e patauá, etc.

Açaí, patauá e bacaba são cocos pequenos, em cachos. Postos em água quente, desprende-se a polpa que o envolve. Esta, depois de amassada e peneirada, espalha-se no chibé ou no mingau, tornando-o mais nutriente e saboroso.

4) Deixam também em água o umari (*paroquéiba paraénsis*, Ducke), depois de lhe chupar a casca amarela adocicada, a fim de que o caroço perca o suco amargo que possui. Costumam misturar ainda sua massa amarela ao mingau.

5) A pupunheira é uma palmeira ornamental, erecta, de belas palmas que plantam em todos os seus povoados. Duas vêzes por ano produz cachos de pequenos cocos vermelhos ou alaranjados, com uma polpa farinhosa e enxuta. Comem-nos cozidos em água.

Apreciam-no tanto que, nessa época, chegam a abster-se de outros alimentos. Sua polpa diluída em água e deixada a fermentar em cametins durante 24 horas, transforma-se numa bebida muito saborosa, o caxiri de pupunha, *â'rê-kó*.

Quando há muita fartura dêsse côco, preparam grande quantidade de massa, e para conservá-la durante o ano sem se estragar, cavam um buraco nas proximidades da casa, forram-no bem com fôlhas de bananeira, e aí introduzem a massa, premendo-a bem, a fim de expulsar todo o ar, depois recobrem com fôlhas de bananeira e uma camada de terra de um palmo ou mais de espessura. Essa massa servirá para ir preparando o caxiri durante meses.

6) Dentre os mais procurados frutos da mata figura o *japurá*, uma dicotiledônea, como amêndoa, dentro de um invólucro mole. Submetem-no à fervura, a fim de eliminar-lhe a pele fina e amarga que a envolve, e depois esmagam-no, resultando uma massa escura, de um picante que lembra o queijo gorgonzola (54). Comem-na com beijú ou como tempêro do peixe. Quando o fabricam em grande quantidade, conservam-no em buracos na terra, como a massa da pupunha.

Note-se que a mulher não deve ir à sentina, nem mesmo beber água, enquanto prepara o japurá. Diversamente a massa ficaria tôda estragada, dizem.

g) O *caxiri*, *warpo*, também é consumido assado ou cozido. Porém depois de cozido deve ser deixado imerso em água corrente a fim de perder o sabor amargo.

h) *Bebidas*

Com um término tomado da Língua Geral denomina-se *caxiri*, em Tukano *pérã*, as várias bebidas que o índio fabrica. O término *caxiri* ou *pérã bazsase*, designa também as suas festas, que se fazem sempre com bebedeiras. Nem sem estas se concebem aquelas.

O *caxiri* assemelha-se a uma cerveja ou vinho de fruta, pelo paladar (55) tão grosso porém, que mais parece um mingau ou

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(54) Disse, já informava o Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha em 1759, no seu "Roteiro do Viagem", pág. 114: "O nome de Japurá lhe imposerão os Indios (o um rio) por ser mui dual entre o gentio dele huma masa tirando negra e de ingratissimo cheiro feita de certas frutas chamadas Yapurá (assim pronunciado entre os indios o nome do rio) depois de corruptas, a qual come com o seu pão ou beijú, e com tudo o que lhes parece".

(55) "Das palmeiras fazem os indios vinho regalado", traz o Pe. Alonso de Rojas, na sua relação da viagem de 1637 (em "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas, pág. 118).

uma rala, alongada. São bebidas fermentadas, e em muitos casos [illegible] outrossim, fermentação alcoólica. O paladar é agradável, especialmente quando se lhes acrescenta caldo de cana. Torna-se, [illegible] mais doce, porém com maior teor de álcool e mais embriante.

Preparam-nas de mandioca, *pôrhã*, de beijú, *ahû-ga*, de cará, [illegible] e de várias espécies de frutas. O beijú para o caxiri deve ser bem torrado, diz-se precisamente *pêru-ahûd*; sendo depois esfarelado e misturado à água que se deixa fermentar durante dois dias.

Os principais tipos de bebidas são:

1º — *Yaïrakê*. Espera-se que o beijú fique meio mofado, adiciona-se depois a mandioca ralada sem descascar, e abundante caldo de cana quente. Para ativar a fermentação o grande vaso, dito [illegible], que contém essa mistura, ficará sôbre a cinza quente. Ao cabo de uma semana, mais ou ménos, acha-se pronto para o consumo.

2º — *Tu-sa'bekê*. É preparado também com beijú desmanchado na mandioca, e depois adiciona-se caldo de cana. A fermentação é mais rápida, em lugar fresco, recobrindo-se com fôlha de bananeira o coxo que a contém. Ao cabo de três dias pode ser bebido. Quando resulta mais forte e estonteante, crêem que isto se dá porque Wãx-tí tomou banho dentro do coxo de bebida, quando ainda recoberto de fôlhas de bananeira (56).

3º — *Dorkê dorpoasé*. Mais apreciado, e dando oportunidades para as suas maiores festas e danças, é o «caxiri de pupunha», *dorkê dorpoasé*, para o qual todos trabalham. Cabe ao homem a colheita das frutas na mata. As mulheres cozinham-no em grandes panelas, adicionando-se à água fôlhas de pupunheira, para facilitar o cozimento, assim no-lo explicaram. As môças solteiras é que ralam a fruta cozida, ou socam-na, quando apenas amassada. Um [illegible] cômodo, embora de pouca duração, é o que se diz *wartá-nõ-sa*, isto é, uma raiz adventícia e aérea, munida de pequenas, porém, numerosas e resistentes saliências, que emite a palmeira paxíuba. As indias mais idosas trazem o milho, mastigam-no e acrescentam-

(56) Patrícia Vasconcelos narrou-nos que, certa ocasião em S. Luzia (rio Puduri) achava-se um velho muito fraco deitado na sua rede próxima ao fogo de tu sabekê. Pôde, da sua rede, ouvir o barulho de Wãx-tí que rasgava a fôlha de bananeira e banhava-se no líquido, e dêle bebia. Chamou, então, seu neto e disse-lhe: — "meu neto, joga essa bebida fora, eu ouvi Wãx-tí tomar banho dentro dela".

no à massa, que se dilui em água e deixa-se a fermentar durante três dias com caldo de cana.

Êsses três tipos de bebidas são os mais fortes que, originàriamente, sabiam preparar. Afirmam que, se os fabricantes têm «mão boa», ficam muito fortes os caxiris. Julgam, outrossim, que os «sopros» dos *Komũ* (VII — 2, e (3) emprestarão ainda maior fôrça incoriante à bebida.

4.º — *Pêru kaxiisé*. É o caxiri habitual, porque se prepara de um dia para o outro, apenas com a manicuera fresca, sem cana. Consome-se num espaço de 24 horas, de meio-dia a meio-dia. Se êste caxiri foi feito em pequena quantidade (informou um indígena Taryana; e o pudemos verificar também entre os Bará do Tiquié), de sorte que até a meia-noite já está tudo terminado, então, talvez fiquem sentados, conversando e soando as flautas-de-pã, porém não dançam. Note-se que fora das danças executam suas músicas sentados, e declararam que o fazem sempre assim, sem contudo indicar a razão dêsse costume.

5.º — *Duxtú-kó*. É o caxiri que se prepara com a batata *duxtú* (semelhante à batata japonesa). Soca-se a batata já cozida e mistura-se com a mandioca e deixa-se fermentar com suficiente quantidade de água.

6.º — *Nomõ-kó*. Prepara-se fazendo-se cozinhar o cará, *nõmõ*, o qual depois é insalivado e esmagado ao pilão. Mistura-se, por fim, ao beiju ou à manicuera e deixa-se fermentar.

7.º — *Sibeóké*. É verdadeira aguardente. Obtém-se destilando ao fogo o caldo de cana (*d'rã-kó* Uapés *d'nã-kó*). O seu uso é mais raro, sendo geralmente reduzido o plantio da cana, *d'rã*. Parece que às vêzes destilam também os caxiris.

alambique (sibeóri-pã)

Sabemos que, embora mais reduzidamente, também no Uaupés se prepara *sibeóké*. Em Ambaíba (rio Içana) vimos um dêsses

alambiques *sibeóri-pá* (Nheengatú *mutiquerepáua*). Constava de um grande *camotim*, com capacidade de uma centena de litros, terminando em bôca mais-estreita, que se fechava por um tampão de madeira ao qual estava adaptada uma *taquara* que conduzia a aguardente para outro *camotim* menor. Os orifícios eram obturados com *ubá*. Não consta ter havido alambiques nem destilação de cachaça nessa região noroeste do Amazonas, e atentando que os indígenas não se preocupam com o problema do resfriamento da destilação, alguns são levados a supor que se trata de uma invenção indígena. Pode, no entanto, ser uma imitação imperfeita dos alambiques que já no séc. 18 havia no baixo Rio Negro.

1) *Excitantes e entorpecentes*

1) *Tabaco*. É pequeno e raro, atualmente, o plantio do tabaco *mõ'nõ* (Uaupes *mõ'nõ*) (*nicotiana tabácum*), e quase que só se vê nos povoados e malocas de pouca ou nenhuma relação com os civilizados. Preparam-nô do modo seguinte: os homens colhem as folhas com o talo, reduzem tudo a pedacinhos e põem-nos ao fogo dentro de uma panela bem quente, movendo o conteúdo até tornar-se uma massa escura. Comprime-se depois a massa em pequenas fôrmas arredondadas. Sob a ação do sol e da fumaça endurecem êsses pães de tabaco *mõ'nõ bé'to* (Nh. *mboti*). Quando querem preparar o cigarro tradicional das festas, esmigalham o tabaco e o enrolam em lâminas finas de tauari (vd. VI — 2, f (5) ou de bananeira, resultando o grande cigarro, *ufikaro*, de 15 a 20 cm de comprimento.

O índio gosta muito de fumar. O fumo, porém, que hoje em dia consome (nos três rios cuja área estudamos), é todo obtido dos civilizados. Costuma êste obsequiar os adultos, homens e mulheres, com alguns cigarros, ou pedaço de fumo em rôlo ou em vara, a título de amizade. O fumo em rôlo é um produto que sempre tem procura da parte dos indígenas, como pagamento pelos seus trabalhos.

Mais rara é a aspiração do tabaco em pó, pelas narinas. Servem-se, então, de dois pequenos tubos de taquara ou osso, ligados entre si em ângulo de 45° por fio e breu. Introduzindo o pó num dos tubos, o índio aplica a extremidade a uma das narinas e a outra extremidade na bôca, e com um sôpro obriga o pó a subir pela narícula.

2) *Pimenta*. O indígena consome a pimenta, *byd*, em grandes dóses, quase sempre como tempéro da quinhapira.

Ordinàriamente já tem preparado o seu tempéro, dito *byd-uhd-Rosé* (isto é, pimenta em infusão em água), para aplicar ao peixe.

É frequente hoje que o índio, em viagens ou mesmo em casa, tenha uma garrafa com pimentas inteiras ou pulverizadas.

Em alguns casos trituram e mastigam a pimenta pura (a malagueta (*capsicum fructéscens*, Willd, das solanáceas), e muitas outras, como as denominadas *koro-byá*, *awí-byá*, *orkó-byá*, etc.

É admirável como até crianças, de dois anos ou talvez menos idade, tomam o beiju molhado na quinhapira sem mostrar sentir o ardor da pimenta, que é excessivo para o nosso paladar.

Serve-lhe a pimenta de estimulante do apetite, em falta de sal ou outros temperos.

3) *Kaxpi* (Nheengatu: *Caápi*) (57)

A origem e uso do *Kaxpi* perde-se na lenda (cfr. «Lendas do Uaupés» do Autor). Em uma festa que se realizou entre os Wanãna de Cururú-cachoeira (rio Uaupés), com a participação dos Kubéwãna e Hohudõne (de Uaupuim-cachoeira, rio Atari, afl. do Içana) e de elementos de várias outras tribos, nos dias 24 e 25 de abril de 1955, um pajé Tukano, por nome Henrique, do Japú-igarapé (afl. do Uaupés), levou, com muito cuidado, um par de instrumentos denominados *chcõnõ* (isto é, catarro, gripe), muito antigos e religiosamente conservados por êle como feliz herdeiro de seus antepassados. Assemelhavam-se a uma pequena corneta de madeira, reforçada com fio de tucum enrolado, e medindo seus 25 cm. Fazia-se soar soprando com fôrça pelo orifício superior, e simultâneamente abrindo lentamente o orifício inferior, um pouco mais largo que o superior, e que a palma da mão estava obturando. O som imitava um vagido de criança. Explica o detentor dos instrumentos que o *chcõnõ* é a «*mãe do kaxpi*». A desenfreada fantasia indígena, excitada pelas bebidas, máxime pelo Kaxpi, ao ouvir êsse som, revive a lenda e quiçá mesmo reproduza a cena lendária dos primeiros componentes do grupo, que assaltaram o recém-nascido e devoraram-lhe os ossos «*que eram Kaxpi*».

*Kaxpi* é uma bebida de sabor amargo, que se obtém de algumas trepadeiras especialmente do gênero *banistéria*. Não saberia se é mais exato chamá-lo excitante ou entorpecente, violento e quase

(57) Como observamos abaixo, a propósito do *Ipadú* a palavra *Kaxpi* pode ter derivado do Nheengatu *Caápi*, ou vice-versa. É certo, por um lado, que o uso do *kaxpi* é muito antigo e perde-se nas lendas, e, por outro, que é generalizado entre tôdas as tribos da região.

4: Silva SQ19 Tucano



instantâneo para os índios (58), à conta do alcalóide *banisterina*, porém, de efeito passageiro. Os pajés Henrique do Japú-igarapé e Marcelino de Juquira (rio Uaupés), ambos da tribo Tukano, informaram que êstes preparam o *kaxpi* com a casca dos seguintes cipós: 1.º) *mêrê-oê-kaxpi-dá* (cipó ingá), 2.º) *boxká-dá*" (cipó encontrado, do qual há duas variedades), 3.º) *kúri-kaxpi-dá*, (um cipó nodoso, que dá kaxpi dos mais fortes), 4.º) *sêi-pixkôrô-dá* (cipó rabo de guariba), 5.º) *yehe-nôxká-dá* (cipó perna de garça). Extraídas as cascas dos cipós, pilam-nas bem em um cocho de madeira e diluem em água. Maceram, outrossim, as fôlhas de *kaxpi-pûri* e de *kúnu-pûri*, reduzindo-as a uma massa como fumo, que se diz precisamente *kaxpi-môhô* (fumo de kaxpi), e que se mistura ao líquido precedente. Misturam-se ainda as fôlhas de *doxké-morôri-dá* e *duxtú-sarêhô-dá*.

Um seringueiro de Urânia (no Uaupés colombiano), de mãe Tukano e criado e vivendo entre os indígenas da região, soube dos Taryana que, além dos cipós precedentes, empregam também o de-

(58) Assim descreve A. R. Wallace ("Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro", 281) o efeito do kaxpi: "Um índio velho avançou para o meio da roda com um grande (?) pote de barro, que parecia pintado de pouco, e o pôs no chão. Então, agachando-se, o velho permaneceu de cócoras em frente do pote, e começou a remexer o conteúdo. Em seguida, cheios de líquido duas pequenas cuias, e, erguendo-se estendeu os braços, sustendo, porém, em cada mão, uma cuia. Depois de pequena pausa, dois índios avançaram em direção dêle, trazendo os arcos e flechas e as suas lanças. Cada um pegando a oferecida cuia, bebeu o que ela continha. Por ser excessivamente amarga a bebida, cada um fez uma cara muito feia. Durante meio minuto, talvez, fizeram imóveis. Repentinamente, ambos deram forte gritaria nas cordas de seus arcos, fazendo-as vibrar; sacudiram as suas lanças, bateram com os pés no solo, e, em seguida, foram procurar os seus assentos. As pequenas cuias de novo se encheram e pela mesma forma foram apresentadas a dois outros índios, que se aproximaram e procederam de maneira idêntica. E assim, dois de cada vez, êles se foram sucedendo, uns aos outros. Alguns, entretanto, ficaram como que mais exaltados. Empunhando as lanças, correram em seguida pela casa furiosamente, como se quisessem matar um inimigo, bateram com os pés no chão, soltaram gritos e pularam selvagemente, numa atitude guerreira e ao mesmo tempo terrível. E, como os outros também o fizeram, voltaram depois, tranqüilamente a ocupar os seus lugares. A maior parte recebe ruidosos e frenéticos aplausos por parte dos assistentes, o que também é feito por vêzes durante as danças". Esta estranha cena final denomina-se "golpeiao-branco" *pexká-sápuxé*, e têmo-la também presenciado (cfr. VII, 4, e (2-8); porém sem relação com a absorpção do *kaxpi*. Pensamos que se trata de um engano de Wallace, supondo-a mero efeito do *kaxpi*, quando, na realidade, é um rito regular dos Dabacuris, e que se pode realizar mesmo antes de beber o *kaxpi*.

nominado *ma-karpi-dá*, do qual há 3 variedades, que produzem bebida muito forte, donde a fama de ser mais violento o *karpi* dos Taryana.

Poucas horas de infusão em água, dentro de uma ânfora de 8 ou 10 litros de capacidade, com os desenhos costumeiros, dita *karpiro*, basta para estar em condições de ser consumido. Seu uso é reservado exclusivamente às pessoas do sexo masculino e de idade madura. Crêem que o «sôpro ritual» do pajé ou de algum *Komú*, aumenta-lhe a virtude excitadora da fantasia. É servido em pequenas cuias, seguido imediatamente de libações de caxiri.

Sob a ação do *karpi* o índio diz ter visões agradáveis. «Vê sinais luminosos», foi a expressão do nosso prestimoso auxiliar Tukano, Antônio Barreto. E foi também o que viu Koch Grünberg (*Zwei Jahre*, 201), ao qual parecia ver maravilhosas lentejoulas claras quando volvia os olhos para o escuro, ou chamas vermelhas, quando os deslizava sôbre o papel.

Um funcionário da alfândega Colombiana de Iauareté (rio Uáupés) tomou-o e viu imagens de objetos com muita nitidez, e com tôda a clareza percebeu figuras geométricas, e até teoremas de trigonometria lhe vieram à imaginação. Um negociante do rio Querari revelou-nos que o kaxpi lhe provocara, em certa ocasião, uma bela e agradável deformação das sensações. Assim as mulheres lhe pareciam cobras coleando com lindíssimos enfeites; as flautas-de-pã davam-lhe a impressão de uma grande orquestra.

Seu efeito é, pois, também uma superexcitação da fantasia. No entanto algumas vêzes tomba por terra sem sentidos. «Na quarta cuia, diz o velho índio Antônio a Koch G. (*Zwei Jahre*, 201), a gente cai violentamente, e tem, então, as mais belas visões» (59).

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(59) De nossa experiência pessoal podemos informar que temos bebido *karpi* preparado por indígenas Makú, Wanána e Taryana. Na grande festa dos Wanána de Caruru-cachoeira (Uáupés), da qual se falou supra, foi servido karpi das tribos Makú, Wanána e Taryána. O da tribo Makú foi preparado por um dos Makú que serviam como escravo aos Wanána da localidade. O dos Taryana o foi pelo velho Taryana Calisto de Iauareté que, desde esta localidade, levara consigo, por esta circunstância, um feixe de cipó grosso (1 polegada de diâmetro e 1,5 m de comprimento aproximadamente). O *karpi* foi distribuído pessoalmente pelo tuxaua local, de nome Mandú, que levava simultâneamente duas pequenas cuias, uma para cada pessoa. O Komú que "soprara" a bebida, antes que fôssem enchidas as cuias remexia o líquido, servindo-se de um pedaço de cipó grosso, com 4 entumescências, e que é um dos ingredientes da bebida. Toma-se sem dificuldade, pois é de um gosto amargo suportável. No entanto, vários índios fizeram caretas e alguns cuspiram o resto fora. Em seguida três homens, cada

4) *Pátu* (Nheengatú: *Ipadú*) (60)

É o produto da *coca*, arbusto da família das eritroxilâceas (*erythróxylon coca*, Lin.) que pega fàcilmente de galho. Bem que as mulheres adultas possam também tomar o *ipadú*, cabe aos homens o seu plantio e o fazem na roça, e por vêzes até perto da maloca, à guisa de sebe. Diàriamente os homens vão colhendo as fôlhas tenras, deixam-nas secar e depois as torram em panela especial, denominada *pátu-axtéri-to*. Como tempêro do ipadú, *pátu-mõd* queimam fôlhas de *embauba* (cecrópias) ou de *cucura*, no interior (61) da maloca, porém junto da porta. Misturando as cinzas com as fôlhas torradas do ipadú, passam longamente por um pilão de forma usual, o *pátu-ahú-gõ* ou *pátu-dorké-khá*, até ficar tudo bem moído. Depositam depois o pó em uma sacola de tururí, a qual denominam *pátu-pa:ri-sutiro*. Atravessa esta sacola uma vara,

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qual com duas grandes cuias de caxirí, vinham em fila, ziguezagueando e fazendo com a boca um rumor como um zumbido de inseto, e distribuíam o caxirí aos que haviam bebido kaxpí, a fim de tirar o gôsto desagradável. Alguns indígenas declararam-nos que haviam visto globos ou chamas luminosas. Nada percebemos nós; experimentamos, então, apenas leve excitação nos músculos das pernas, e, à noite, forte dor occipital de cabeça. Cremos, porém, que tais sensações nenhuma relação tinham com a bebida, e eram apenas efeitos do cansaço, do sol e calor do dia. Observamos depois aos índios Taryana, que nos acompanharam à festa, que o Kaxpí estava fraco e nada sentíramos. Explicaram-nos que faltava um dos ingredientes, um cipó que era plantado por um velho já falecido e não haviam encontrado tal cipó ao empreenderem a viagem. Prometeram-nos preparar mais tarde um Kaxpí bem forte e com tôda a técnica. Efetivamente o fizeram dias mais tarde e no-lo ofereceram. Com receio de uma ação violenta provocada pela bebida não a quisemos tomar publicamente, porém em particular e não apenas uma pequena cuia, porém sorvemos uma boa cuia em três etapas. Embora como Koch G. tivéssemos ante os olhos papel branco, em que anotávamos nossos apontamentos, nenhuma sensação luminosa logramos perceber, ou de outro sentido externo. Apenas o sabor desagradável provocou-nos um mal-estar, embora sem vômito, obrigando-nos a uma dieta naquele dia e ao uso, mais tarde, de gotas amargas e outras poções estomacais. Opinamos, por isso, que os efeitos sinalados nos indígenas devem ser explicados pela fácil excitabilidade da sua fantasia.

(60) O nome Tukano pátu parece derivar do Nheengatú ipadú, fazendo-nos supor que as tribos do Uaupés tenham recebido das tribos do Rio Negro, de língua Nheengatú, o uso do ipadú. É verdade que, hoje em dia, os caboclos do Rio Negro e os índios do Içana não empregam o ipadú.

(61) Não sabemos se a queima à porta da maloca seja uma prescrição de caráter mágico, ou apenas por razão de comodidade. Esta segunda hipótese é mais verossímil; efetivamente, sem dificuldade alguma executam as várias operações do preparo do ipadú também fora da maloca a fim de serem filmadas.

dita *pátu-pá-kó*. Introduzindo-a num tubo de forma de pilão alongado (de 1,80 m. e uns 15 cm de diâmetro, e que se diz *pátu-pá-pó*) vão batendo com as duas mãos a sacola contra as paredes do tubo, até que o pó fique tão finamente pulverizado, que passa através da sacola e se deposita no tubo. A fim de facilitar o trabalho, costumam amarrar êsse tubo a uma das colunas da maloca, de sorte que a abertura fique a um metro de altura do solo, posição cômoda para quem deve «bater» o ipadú, e a extremidade fechada apoia-se no solo.

Retira-se, por fim, o pó e guarda-se em sacolas apropriadas, tambem de tururi, ditas *pátu-ahuró* ou *pátu-warsóro*, cuja bôca é

sacola-de-ipadú (pátu-ahuró)

atravessada por um fino tubo, *pátu-baari-oá*, de taquara ou de osso de garça (*yehé-oá*), pelo qual se aspira o pó, como nos bares se chupa um refresco. Assim nas viagens, pois em casa o *ipadú* é conservado mais comumente dentro de uma cuia e dêle se servem tirando um punhado com uma espátula de madeira ou mesmo uma fôlha. Fazem-no com atenção para evitar que o pó finíssimo caia no solo.

Os Makú preparam-no em bolas. O índio serve-se do *ipadú* especialmente quando vai à caça ou à pesca, porque, entorpecente como é, não lhe deixa sentir fome nem sêde, e dêste modo dispensa-o de levar alimentos. Fazem dêle uma bola que conservam num canto da bôca, e vai chupando aos poucos. As mulheres, salvo raríssimas exceções, não comem o ipadú; apenas os homens adultos.

Seu consumo, hoje, é quase desconhecido no baixo Uaupés, é bem geral, no entanto, entre as tribos do Papuri e Tiquié, mesmo quando têm sua alimentação regular. Talvez o abuso do ipadú seja responsável pelo depauperamento orgânico nos velhos e muitas úlceras estomacais. Vicia, ademais, o indivíduo, e seus filhos nascem fracos, apatetados, tarados (62). A geração môça, que passou pelos colégios da Missão, quase não consome mais o ipadú.

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(62) O Missionário Salesiano, Padre João Marchesi, certa ocasião mostrou a um tuxáua como o filho de um comedor de *ipadú* era tardo de inteligência, não aprendia a ler nem a escrever, não tinha habilidade nos trabalhos manuais, ao passo que as outras crianças o faziam rapidamente.

*Conclusão*

Os indígenas do Uaupés tomam crus apenas os frutos e alguns insetos. Nunca um pedaço de carne ou peixe (63); êstes alimentos são, ordinàriamente, *moqueados*. E o peixe é frequentemente cozido e reduzido a môlho com pimenta, para acompanhar a ingestão de beiju.

O fogo obtém-se hoje pelo fósforo, «*pallito*», como o denominam, e procuram não deixa-lo apagar-se. Dia e noite acha-se aceso o fogo dentro da maloca, e levam, outrossim, panelas com brasas para viagem e nas viagens.

Outrora obtinha-se o fogo girando ràpidamente, entre as palmas da mão, um graveto cuja extremidade munida de uma mecha de palma, se vai esfregando no pequeno orifício de outro graveto bem sêco. É o aparelho denominado, em Tukano, *pexkâ-mê*, «fogo».

A alimentação dêstes indígenas, embora de primeira vista não pareça, é bastante variada, rica em vitaminas de origem vegetal e animal. Quanto aos sais necessários ao organismo, tem-no das frutas e frutas, com efeito, são de forte arcabouço ósseo, e no entanto algumas denunciam deficiência de sais calcáreos. Quanto ao açúcar, não o dão as frutas e da fermentação das suas bebidas. O açúcar da cana de açúcar é insignificante e destinado pràticamente ao preparo dos caxiri, embora uma vez ou outra se veja também algum índio chupando-a.

É grande a quantidade de alimentos que o índio ingere diàriamente, quando tem fartura; embora outros dias, pela falta de alimentos, se veja obrigado a um jejum bem rigoroso. Talvez o próprio caxiri, que bebe em grandes doses, por ocasião das festas, exerça o papel de uma lavagem periódica do estômago, intestinos e rins. E por o que, raramente, se encontram entre êles pessoas magras, se se excetuam as mulheres idosas, que geralmente o são, e os doentes. São, ao contrário, cheios de corpo ou mesmo gordos, sem obesidade ou adiposidades deformantes, fortes e sadios.

Nota-se que o índio exala um cheiro característico que faz pensar seja devido à alimentação preponderante de peixe e pimenta.

(63) Não nos foi possível apurar se é questão ùnicamente de gôsto e costume, ou entrem também motivos supersticiosos. Não nos parece que os haja, embora em uma de suas lendas se diz que Wãã-ti é que come carne crua.

5) *Caça e pesca*

a) *Pesca*

O peixe é um elemento importante na alimentação dos índios, já o vimos. No regime de casa familiar cada chefe de família providencia o peixe, é sua ocupação habitual, embora não exclusiva. No régime de habitação coletiva de várias famílias, a maloca, cabe ainda aos homens a pequena pescaria e saem em grupos de dois ou três, ou mesmo sozinhos, ou acompanhado de algum filho, quiça muito pequeno, que reme e governe a canoa. Tôda a preocupação do índio é fazer do filho um ótimo pescador, um *marupiara*. «Mũ'sigõ» é o têrmo Tukano para indicar o indivíduo feliz na pesca e caça.

Chega, porém, a piracema, época em que os peixes se reunem em cardumes, *uci tũriró*, especialmente nas cachoeiras, tentando vencê-las a fim de ganhar as cabeceiras. É a oportunidade para que o índio prepare suas reservas de peixe para os dias infrutuosos. É o período das grandes pescarias. Ou ainda, sobrevém a vazante, e os peixes que subiram os igarapés e igapós (64) procurarão ganhar o rio, é o momento também das pescarias em comum. Constituem estas um ato social que estreita os habitantes da maloca ou povoado. Mais ainda, é um divertimento ou esporte coletivo, uma época de festa. Se a distância até o local da pescaria fôr grande, como muitas vêzes o é, por lá deverão pernoitar vários dias, e, neste caso, deverão levar suas redes. Não raro improvisam *tapiris* ou barracas nas proximidades, com a conveniente antecedência. As mulheres prepararão o beiju e a farinha. Os homens atenderão às redes e verão se as canoas estão em boas condições. O preparativo completo compreende além dos instrumentos da pesca, os paneiros para guardar o peixe, o fogo, etc.

Os principais processos de pesca são:

1) *Com veneno* (65)

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(64) *Igarapés* são os pequenos afluentes dos rios; *igapós* são os braços d'água ou lagos que se formam nas enchentes.

(65) Discute-se sobre a nocividade do processo, e alguns condenam-no como destruidor dos peixes, dos quais muitos não são aproveitados. O fato é que desde muitas gerações percam nos mesmos lugares, e sempre acham peixe. Se não são atualmente tão grandes e tão abundantes, talvez se deva atribuir não ao processo, mas à freqüência da pescaria. Parece, também, que muitos peixes ficam apenas entontecidos e conseguem escapar. A circunstância de fato inconveniente é que por vêzes os igarapés estão muito vazios e foi muito grande a dose do timbó, e tanto o peixe como a própria água que bebem, provoca desarranjos intestinais aos índios.

a) *Ehú* (timbó). A grande pescaria (*Wai pu'asé*), é a que se realiza com o *tihbó* (66).

Previamente foi escolhido um local adaptado, por exemplo um remanso do rio como pequena baía, ou a foz de um igarapé ou igapó e cevou-se, *burtú-kûse*, isto é, com frequência aí se lançava alimento para os peixes (cupim, *burtwá*, donde o têrmo *burtú-kûse*, a ainda pupunha, farinha, frutas, massa de beijú, etc.). Depois, durante a noite, cercou-se o sítio com o *pari*, em Tukano *suterika*, ou seja com uma cêrca bem cerrada de estacas finas de paxiuba, deixando apenas uma abertura por onde entram os peixes. Para facilitar êste trabalho já fabricam o *pari* com uma esteira, não trançada, mas com talas verticais bem unidas, e que adaptam no local escolhido, com fortes estacas. Na noite precedente à pescaria fecha-se a abertura, de sorte que os peixes que entraram para comer não podem voltar para o rio. É o cêrco do peixe ou *wai-ôô*. Soca-se bem o timbó, batendo-o contra as pedras, ou esmagando-o com um bastão. O sumo, que é de cheiro ativo, se espalhará pela água, matando os peixes pequenos e entontecendo os grandes, os quais logo virão à tona. A fim de que o veneno atinja as camadas inferiores da água, lançam também barro com o sumo da planta. Partem então, as canoas muito de madrugada (ou já se deslocaram com uma antecedência, se o lugar é muito distante), com tôda a família, homens, mulheres carregando os filhos, as crianças, os apetrechos (67). Nesse dia ninguém comerá mingau, nem algo doce (68); devem ir em jejum, porque senão a pesca será infrutuosa. Procurarão todos entrar simultâneamente na água, avançando de cima da correnteza para baixo, gritando em uníssono (e será repreendido quem o fizer atrasado): pud-pud-pud, a fim de amedrontar os peixes. Essa ação se denomina *wai nârá*; é o enxotamento dos peixes, a fim de que penetrem na água envenenada.

Os peixes pequenos sobem à tona mortos e são recolhidos com o puçá, ou com uma peneira, ou mesmo com a mão; é o *wai wa'sá*. Os grandes, apenas entontecidos, são presos com flecha ou azagaia. Alguns peixes conseguem saltar o *pari* de barragem, caso êste tenha

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(66) Timbó é o nome de várias leguminosas dos gêneros *Tephrósia Lonchocarpus* (*densiflorus, rufescens*, etc.).

(67) Não, porem, as mulheres grávidas, porque nesse caso a pescaria não teria bom resultado. Se o cachorro entrar na água, crêem que o timbó perderá sua atividade.

(68) "Eu comi doce e fui feliz na pesca", objetou o Padre Afonso, Missionário Montfortiano de Teresita. — "Mas o senhor não é dos nossos", respondeu-lhe o índio convicto.

fechado muito imerso, mas caem em redes horizontais suspensas ao longo da barragem: é o uaí bu'pá-pcaró.

A pescaria se faz com gritos, risadas, tombos, grande alegria enfim. E todos participam, crianças, mulheres, homens. Nas imediações do local da pescaria preparam o peixe para comerem e moqueiam-no também para conservá-lo.

b) *Wai nimá* (cunambi). *Wai nimá*, quer dizer *veneno-de-peixe*. É (dito em Nheengatu *Cunambi*), *Phyllanthus* cunami, arbusto de fôlhas grandes, da família das euforbiaceas, que costumam ter plantado nas vizinhanças de sua habitação ou na roça. Pisam-lhe as fôlhas e sementes, adicionando farinha, cinza de cana brava, pimenta e japura, obtém uma massa consistente da qual fazem pequenas bolas que são atiradas à água. Antes, porém, de lançar uma dessas bolas, têm-na entre o indicador e o polegar, descrevem com a mão ao redor da cabeça dois circulos para a direita e um para a esquerda. Se se omitir um dêsses gestos, dizem, nada se pegará. Explicam que a cinza sendo de cana que flutua, também o peixe flutuará (69). O peixe engolindo alguma dessas bolinhas virá depois de alguns instantes à flor dagua, atordoado, e os índios, a nado ou em canoas, o-recolhem em cestos. É, porém, passageiro o efeito. A mulher enquanto prepara o japura para semelhante pesca nada deve comer, nem pode ir à sentina, para que o veneno mantenha tôda sua eficiência. Empregam também o veneno-de-peixe como o timbó, misturando seu sumo com o barro.

Do mesmo modo que o *veneno-de-peixe*, podem-se empregar umas fôlhas miúdas conhecidas por *doé nimá*, veneno-de-taraíras.

c) *Shú-pu*. Piquiá (*caryocar villósum*, Aubl.) é o nome de uma castanha comestível, cuja polpa, no entanto, é venenosa. Por isso, depois de machucada resulta uma massa que, lançada à água tem ação mais forte ainda que a do timbó, isto é, entontece os peixes, os quais logo sobem à tona, sendo, então, presos à mão ou flechados.

Êstes dois últimos processos empregam-se nas pequenas pescarias.

2) *Com armadilhas*

São várias as espécies de armadilhas de que se servem para a pesca, as principais são:

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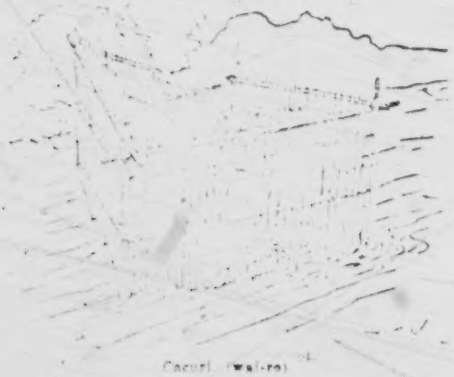
(69) A explicação talvez seja esta, a potassa da cinza atua sôbre a bexiga do peixe, fazendo-a dilatar-se, e o peixe vem à tona.

a) *Buxkod-ico* (em Nheengatú, *matapi*). É uma nassa ou gaiola como a dos pescadores do sul do Brasil. Consiste numa gaiola de varetas de pataúá, de paxiúba, ou mesmo de cipó, em forma de cone ou cilindro alongado. A parte fina é amarrada por cipó, e se abre no momento de, por aí, extrair os peixes presos. Na parte larga (base do cone) há uma abertura de forma afunilada denominada em Tukano *yeé-ñé-pa*, com varetas flexíveis que se alargam a fim de dar passagem ao peixe. Imerge-se o matapi nos pequenos canais, encravando-o entre as pedras da cachoeira, com a boca para o lado de baixo, e a ponta fechada para o lado da correnteza. O peixe, que tem a tendência de subir a correnteza, entra pela bôca, porém encontra o fundo fechado. As vêzes recolhem diariamente dêste modo numerosos e grandes peixes.



Cacuri (Wai-ro)

b) *Wai-ro* (em Nheengatú *cacuri*). Consiste num cercado de varetas de paxiúba ou pataúá, prêso a estacas bem altas e reforçadas, para que a correnteza do rio não o derrube, localizado próximo da beira do rio, ou de ilhas, por onde sabem que os peixes costumam passar na enchente. O cercado, quase sempre de forma triangular, é continuado lateralmente por dois panos ou barragens de pari, que se juntam em ângulo obtuso, encaminhando para o cercado os peixes, os quais, conforme seu instinto, avançam sempre contra a correnteza. Ao chegar ao ângulo da barragem, esta cede passagem, porque aí está solta, porém volta logo a fechar-se pela ação da correnteza. Os peixes avançam, mas encontram o fundo fechado e, não achando o caminho por onde entraram, ficam presos, não raro, em grande quantidade. Êste sistema é muito prático, equivale a um viveiro no qual os peixes são conservados vivos e o

pescador mergulha e vai apanhando com o puçá, *waí wehé-kõ*, os peixes que deseja. As mulheres quando grávidas, não podem comer peixe do cacuri. Pensam que o espírito da criança nascitura vai à noite chorar perto da armadilha e espanta os peixes. Atribuem os insucessos a tal causa, e remedeiam envolvendo a estacada com um cipó venenoso. O espírito da criança, ao percebê-lo fugirá, e os peixes tornarão a entrar na armadilha.

c) *Ivui-nõ*. Assemelha-se ao cacuri; e, porém, de pequenas dimensões, geralmente um metro de comprimento e outro tanto de largura. Costuma ser de varetas e encaixa-se, como a massa, por entre as pedras da correnteza.

Jirau de pesca (ewá)

d) *Ewá* (em Nheengatú *caja* ou *jirau*). O índio sabe que o peixe, em certa época, tenta vencer de salto as pequenas quedas de água. Conhecedor desses lugares, aí arma, durante a vazante, um jirau firmado sôbre grandes paus, de sorte, porém, que ficará como um plano inclinado, com o lado mais baixo correspondendo ao ponto em que os peixes tentam a passagem. Algumas vêzes vêem-se troncos enormes e bem travados que resistem à fôrça da correnteza, representando talvez o trabalho de muitos dias de todos os homens da maloca ou povoado. Os peixes saltam, tentando alcançar a parte de cima da cachoeira, e caem sôbre o jirau, donde, várias vêzes por dia, os recolhem os pescadores. Ou ainda, tal grade é disposta de sorte que receba a água da correnteza e retém os peixes por ela arrastados. São os *sõ'd* (em Nheengatú *pirá-mirim*) os peixes que logram assim apanhar, enchendo por vêzes muitos paneiros.

3) *Com flecha e rede*

a) *Com flecha* — A margem dos rios existem muitas vêzes árvores cujos frutos ou sementes são procurados pelos peixes, como o japurá o é pelo aracu. O índio põe-se, então, à sombra dessas árvores, dentro da sua canoa, e espera que o peixe suba para apanhar esses frutos que sobrenadam; atinge-os nesse momento com flechada certeira, e os recolhe na canoa. É um exercício que muito diverte e se diz *wai bôé*. Em falta de frutos quebram os ninhos de rupim, cheios de larvas, de que os peixes muito gostam, e lançam-nos à água. Quando os peixes saltam para abocanhar essas larvas, são alvejados pelas flechas.

b) *Com rede*. Vimos o emprêgo da rede afunilada puçá, *wehèko*, e com a bôca sempre aberta, para recolher os peixes mortos ou entontecidos pelos venenos. Servem-se também, para o mesmo fim, de suas peneiras ou *barti*, é o processo que se diz *wai wa'sé*.

Note-se que enquanto o homem prepara o seu puçá, fá-lo escondido, sem fumar nem comer, apenas com ipadú na bôca, e abstém-se de falar ou de ir à sentina, a fim de que o puçá seja eficiente.

Empregam-no também para a pesca direta; é o *wai ñûû*. Parado na bôca do igarapé espera que o peixe assustado pelos que fazem barulho de montante, procure o rio, e com um movimento rápido levantam o puçá trazendo quase sempre algum peixe.

Também na escuridão da noite, especialmente nas praias, surpreendem os peixes e os apanham com seus puçás; é o que se denomina *wai ôô*.

Ou ainda, com aquele tipo maior de puçá (VI — 2, e (3), dito em Língua Geral *jereré*, que se abre só no momento do uso, mergulham-no e quando o peixe está dentro fecham a rede, tirando-lhe a cunha. São processos simples, porém, rendosos, especialmente na vazante ou nas piracemas.

Usam ainda o seguinte processo: cercam com paú a bôca de um igarapé deixando uma pequena passagem para os peixes que sobem para dormir. A certa hora da noite um homem se põe com o seu puçá junto dessa abertura, enquanto outros, na parte superior do ribeirão, batem com paus nágua. Os peixes assustados, que procuram voltar ao rio, caem no puçá.

Piracema, *wai furirô*, é a reunião dos cardumes de peixes em certos lugares no tempo da desova, em que, por isso mesmo, são menos arisco. A *piririca*, isto é, o encrespar das águas, e um ruído característico, *wai bôzôrô*, denunciam êsses lugares. Metem-se, então, de canoa entre os cardumes, e com o puçá ou com a flecha os índios apanham grandes quantidades de peixes.

4) *Pesca com anzol, acangaia e arpão*

a) Hábeis pescadores como são, os índios servem-se ainda de outros processos e instrumentos de pesca, e também dos meios introduzidos pelos civilizados, dando-lhes, no entanto, aplicações características.

Às vezes com um facho aceso, entontece o peixe que está dormindo, é o que se diz *encandear* ou *fachear* o peixe, e fisga-o com seu arpão, *yôxé-kô*. Este processo denomina-se *wat wá*, (*tatattica* ou *mafurisana* em Nheengatú). Note-se que a própria mata lhe fornece êste facho com a árvore dita *mârpâri* (turi), do gênero Licânia) cuja madeira se separa em fasquias (70) finas, e uma vez acesa, mantém seu facho até consumir-se tôda a fasquia.

Na época da piracema saem à noite, duas ou mais canoas com certa velocidade e com fachos de turi. Os peixes, mesmo os grandes, acordados com o rumor e tontos pela luz, saltam e muitos caem dentro das canoas. É o que se diz em Nheengátú *pirdquira*, e em Tukano, *wat nâ-â*, isto é, enxotamento dos peixes.

b) *Iscas*. São várias as iscas, *ahûñesé*, que empregam, conforme a qualidade de peixe que desejam e cujo hábitat procuram e conhecem. Por vezes empregam a minhoca, *ahicá*, ou larvas de insetos, gafanhotos, etc.

Muitas dessas minhocas vivem dentro de bromélias (ditas por isso, pelos de língua Nheengatú, mãe da minhoca, *ãmuoi mãía*). O pescador já leva consigo algumas dessas bromélias, verdadeiros depósitos de minhocas vivas (71), denominadas *darakubi* em língua sorá.

Outras vêzes, como isca, empregam pedaços de peixe ou ainda bagas, frutos ou massa de fruto preparada como pequenas bolas. O tambaqui, por exemplo, gosta muito do fruto da jacitara dos igapós, conhecido por *wat-tú-da* (em Nheengatú, *Kamú-kamú*). O pescador, até sem anzol amarra o fruto na ponta da linha, bate com êle n'água, como se o fruto estivesse caindo diretamente da árvore.

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(70) Essas fasquias empregam-se também como ripas, pois a resina torna-a inatacável pelos cupins.

(71) Esse tipo de minhoca darakubi encontra-se nas bromélias dos igapós. o darakubi quer emigrar, corta um pedaço de si, os anéis finais do corpo, e deixa-os cair. Se há peixe pelas proximidades, dará logo um salto para apanhar a isca, e a minhoca pelo ruído tem ciência do perigo e fica quieta. Quando não ouve mais rumor, quer dizer que os peixes já emigraram para o rio, e ela pode sair sem perigo.

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O peixe avança sôfrego e engole o fruto. Então, com rápido movimento o pescador o traz fora d'água. Até com simples bola de pau, *dozké-nõ-wehéká* (Nheengatú *pa-pôga*) conseguem apanhar o tambaqui, agindo como precedentemente.

c) *Anzóis*. Outrora fabricavam o seu anzol com dois espinhos resistentes de tucum, *berta*, unidos em ângulo bem aberto, por um fio com breu, no qual se esmaga *karpó*, uma raiz semelhante à batata japonesa. Explicam que o peixe sentirá o cheiro da raiz e virá morder o anzol.

Este, como o anzol metálico comum, prêso a um cordel e revestido de isca, prende-se nas brânquias do peixe que o engoliu.

Muitas vezes o anzol é deixado prêso a uma vara, *wcheri wá'só*, fincada à margem do rio. É o processo dito *wai wehé-kù*.

Ou o índio o traz à mão, fixo à extremidade de uma vara; diz-se *wai wehô*. *Way-mpó-he* é quando se dispensa a vara, e o anzol; pois o mandi costuma engolir o fio mesmo sem isca alguma.

Por vêzes o caniço do anzol está engenhosamente, com a ponta arqueada e constituindo uma armadilha, *wai pâro*. Quando o peixe morde a isca, o caniço levanta-se e o peixe fica suspenso no ar. Assim costumam apanhar a taraira que vive na beira dos lagos grejos.

É muito curiosa a maneira de apanhar o *buú* (tucunaré), peixe de escama, muito saboroso, e que durante o dia nada na superfície d'água à caça de outros peixes. O aparelho se diz *buú wcheri wásó* (Nheengatú *pindá siririka*). Consta de uma vara tendo na extremidade um cordel com um floco de penas bem vermelhas do pescoço do tucano, entre as quais se escondeu um anzol. Nos lugares em que há o tucunaré, descrevem com a ponta da vara movimentos rápidos semicirculares na água. O peixe segue o movimento da vara a fim de alcançar as penas coloridas e, quando o consegue, dá um salto para abocanhá-las. Nesse momento o índio, com rápida puxão da vara, fisga o peixe que pode pesar até três ou quatro quilogramas.

Às vêzes conseguem apanhá-los com o cordel amarrado à popa da canoa, durante as viagens, de sorte que as penas vão roçando a flor d'água; é o meio dito *buú wahari-da°* (Nheengatú *pindá wa-kéká*).

d) *Espinhel*. Atualmente adquirem os anzóis metálicos dos civilizados e empregam-nos ainda com processos muito rendosos e cômodos. Um dêsses, por exemplo, é o espinhel: processo dito *mó-wehérikaró*.

O *espinhel* consta de um cordel bem forte, de 50 a 100 metros de comprimento, atado por uma extremidade à margem do rio, e pela outra, a uma pedra que se lança no fundo do rio. Um pedaço de molongo, como flutuador, *poopo dorka* ou *pa'sa-ka* (em Nheengatu, *mafufi*), prêso ao centro do cordel, conserva-o em profundidade conveniente e serve para a localização do espinhel. Neste cordel longo, a intervalo de 3 ou 5 metros, estão ligados pequenos cordéis, cada qual com o seu anzol munido de isca. Armam o espinhel à tardinha e pela madrugada com a sua canoa o retiram, começando a puxar pela parte da pedra, no meio do rio. À medida que o peixe preso se avizinha da canoa, matam-no com uma bordoada na cabeça, pois não raro se encontram grandes surubis e piraíbas de 30 kg e até mais. Frequentemente encontram os peixes já cansados pelos esforços feitos para libertar-se, ou até mordidos e semi-comidos pelas piranhas.

O primeiro peixe do espinhel será dado a algum cachorro ou soltam-no à água, ou enterram; o essencial é que não seja comido por pessoa alguma.

A mulher grávida (VII - 4, f (2 d) não pode comer do peixe preso ao espinhel, pois, diversamente, nenhum peixe mais ficará preso.

Na época da enchente quando os rios desbordam, invadindo as matas (são os *igapós*), muitos peixes emigram dos rios, para comer frutas da mata. Aproveita-se, então, o indígena dêsse fato para amarrar aos arbustos ou aos galhos das árvores, cordéis com anzóis, de sorte que êstes fiquem mais ou menos um palmo debaixo d'água. Ao passar revista, de madrugada, encontra quase todos os anzóis com o seu peixe. É a pesca denominada *wai porta-poó*. Nos primeiros dias de enchente podem fazer essa operação duas ou três vêzes por noite, com resultado positivo, a fim de que o jacaré não coma os peixes.

b) *Caçada*

1) *Caçada de perseguição (amá siró-tú pexkayesé)*

A fauna do noroeste amazônico é pobre, qualitativa e quantitativamente, de animais para alimentação. Mas a caça, além de proporcionar o alimento, é um esporte agradável ao índio. Escassa como é, a caçada na densa floresta virgem só pode ser praticada por grupos de dois ou três índios. Raramente sairá sozinho, a não ser muito recentemente, quando obtem dos civilizados uma espingarda. Com a espingarda ou com o arco os índios são apreciáveis

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caçadores. Também raramente irá em grandes grupos; isto só quando localizam em alguma zona uma vara de porcos do mato. Então procuram cercá-los, e com paus terçados e flechas matam grande número (72).

Auxiliar precioso do homem nas caçadas são os cachorros, pequenos, magros e muitas vêzes quase cegos, pelas picadas das formigas *tari*, mas talvez por isso mesmo com o faro mais aguçado.

Os Maku são caçadores especializados. Quando saem ao encalço do animal acuado pelos cachorros, fazem grande algazarra, com gritos característicos, e nada, nem os cipós, espinhos e outros obstáculos, é capaz de deté-los.

2) *Caçada de tocaia* (*pexkaye du'tigõ* ou *pexkaye pe'sá-kõ*)

Os animais têm seus bebedouros (73) onde vão tomar água nos dias quentes, como têm, outrossim, lugares mais ou menos habituais da floresta nonde vão conjer frutas. As pegadas sinalam êsses sítios, e a êles costumam ir em horas mais ou menos constantes. Sabedor dêsse costume, o índio constrói *kaasá-ua* (Nheengatú *mutás*) (74) ou jirau entre os galhos das árvores; é a *pexkaye pe'sá-kõ*) nas proximidades dêsses lugares e aí ficam pacientemente de tocaia sem fazer ruído, ou imitando os pios das aves que desejam matar. Ou mesmo ficará no chão escondido atrás de alguma árvore; é a *pexkaye du'tyase*. Ao aproximar-se o animal dispara uma flecha certeira que atingirá mortalmente o animal, ou, ao menos, o ferirá e, neste caso, perseguem-no até matá-lo.

Se o animal se entoca, acendem pequeno fogo, quase sempre com a casca de algum cupim, à boca da cova, e o calor e a fumaça obrigam-no a sair, sendo então, prêsa dos caçadores.

3) *Caçada de mundéu* (*pexkaye-sã-kõ*)

Os animais, especialmente quando têm sua toca, costumam bater os mesmos caminhos ou *carreiros*, à procura do seu alimento ou de água. Descobrindo um desses carreiros, o índio faz uma cova

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(72) Não raro acontece que a vara de porcos, esfaimada ou atacada, agride os homens que se salvam trepando ágilmente às árvores.

(73) No alto Tiquié, perto da Cachoeira Grande, vê-se uma pedra que as antas vem lamber. Denomina-se "chupador de anta" o terreno ou pedra, com sais naturais, e, por essa razão, procurado pelas antas, veados e outros animais.

(74) Uma pequena queimada, próxima do mutá, atrai algum veado com desejo de lamber as cinzas.

estreita e profunda, tendo o cuidado de transportar para mais distante a terra cavada. Depois recobre bem a cavidade com varas, folhas e detritos, de sorte a não diferenciar do restante trilho, e está feito o *mundéu*, *korpe*. Nas primeiras noites o animal não passa por ali; mais tarde, porém, vem a cair e o índio o mata. Sucede algumas vêzes que se esquece de ir rever o mundéu, e encontrara o animal já morto de fome.

4) *Caçada de armadilha (perkaye-ko yuro)*

É simples o processo que usam para os pequenos animais como a cutia. Uma haste forte, porém flexível, é plantada no chão. Servem-se às vêzes de arbustos já existentes no local escolhido. Vergam a extremidade livre à qual adaptam um laço, prendendo-a a varas, no local em que prevêem passe o animal, e está pronta a armadilha, *yuró* (Nheengatú *ikká*). Quando o animal tenta comer a isca ali deixada, ou mesmo simplesmente ao passar pelo laço, a haste solta-se violentamente e o animal fica suspenso pela perna. E assim ficara até morrer ou será morto à pauladas.

Modernamente em vez do laço está, muitas vêzes, uma espingarda armada que dispara e mata o animal; é a armadilha que se diz *perkaye-ko*.

armadilha para aves e pequenos animais

5) *Caçada de canoa*

Muito frequentemente o veado, a anta, lançam-se ao rio, porque perseguidos pelos cães ou para procurar seu alimento na outra margem. Perseguem-nos então, os caçadores com suas velozes canoas e com o remo, um pau, ou facão os matam. Em algumas ocasiões alcançam assim grandes varas de *queixadas*, e matam-nos em grande número.

Na vazante saem também à caça durante a noite, vogando lentamente e sem fazer rumor, enquanto um dos índios traz um facho de tari. Surpreendem assim as *pacas*, que ficam facheadas pela luz e o índio as flecha. Modernamente utilizam para a caçada noturna um farolete de pilhas.

6) *Agricultura*

A mandioca é que subministra o principal alimento aos índios da bacia do Uaupés. Tôdas essas tribos se acham assim na fase da lavoura, que se pratica, porém, de uma maneira muito primitiva: é a *fase do «catouco»* ou da *«coivara»*.

Escolhem com liberdade a terra que mais lhes agrada, pela proximidade da sua residência, e pela garantia contra o furto (75), e um pouco arenosa, como o são, em geral, as «terras-firmes» de tôda a região, e convém à mandioca. O ato da *derrubada*, *wexsé sa kurú*, é que lhe dá a propriedade do terreno enquanto o cultivar.

A derrubada se faz nos períodos de menos chuva, a saber: de junho a agosto, e de dezembro a fevereiro. É trabalho exclusivo dos homens. Começam pela escolha de uma área conveniente pela distância e não sujeita a inundações, de terra amarelada, semi-arenosa, *di'tá sûrú*, ou preta e algo humosa *nârkâ di'tá ñyirô*.

«Cercam» a roça (*pú-pe*: é o têrmo tukano que usam) isto é, delimitam do restante da mata a área que desejam, com uma pequena picada, cortando as plantas pequenas e quebrando galhos. Antigamente executavam-no só com o machado de pedra, *ôrtá komé*; hoje se faz a derrubada com o auxílio do facão *di-phi*, e, às vêzes, também com o machado de ferro, *komé*. Consiste o trabalho essencialmente em quebrar os arbustos e contornar os troncos grandes com pancadas de modo a fazer saltar a casca. Com isso a árvore vinha a secar e assim podia ser queimada. Sêco todo o arvoredo, de uma área mais ou menos quadrada de seus 50 ou 100 metros de lado (conforme o número de pessoas da família), põe-se fogo em diversos pontos e assim as árvores gigantescas ou se incineram ou ficam reduzidas a um tronco enegrecido, que muitas vêzes tomba por terra. Os bulcões de fumo que se erguem, aqui e ali, da verde

(75) Por isso não se fará à beira do rio, a não ser que seja ao lado da sua habitação. Se é na proximidade do rio, deixará sempre uma nesga de mato entre a roça e o rio, para ocultá-la à vista dos que navegam. E, o pôrto onde desembarca e amarra a canoa será a certa distância da roça, a fim de não denunciar o local da mesma.

mataria, denunciam os lugares em que se está realizando uma boa queimada, *ôhôa-dpakâ-siri*.

Se a queima não foi bem sucedida, porque não estavam secos os paus, ou por falta de vento, refaz-se o trabalho, abatendo galhos ajuntando-os ao redor das árvores; — a isto se chama *coivara*, em Tukano *dozté-pcosé*, e faz-se nova queimada.

Embora a roça seja propriedade individual, ou melhor, familiar, o interessado pedirá, para o trabalho da derrubada e da queima, a colaboração dos seus companheiros da malôca ou do povoado; ou, se ele mora isolado, a dos habitantes mais próximos. E não só da própria tribo, senão até de outra nação. Êsse trabalho coletivo (cfr. IX — 2) diz-se *ncôsé* (em nheengatú *ayuri*). A paga imediata, isto é, no dia ou nos dias do trabalho é um caxiri abundante para todos os trabalhadores, e, mais remotamente, o próprio auxílio, quando solicitado para idêntico trabalho em benefício de outros. O *ayuri* se pratica sempre que se faz mister a participação de muitos para um mesmo trabalho, por exemplo, cortar e trazer madeira da mata, assentar o travamento de uma cobertura de casa, etc. O *ayuri* é uma prática que vigora ainda entre os próprios caboclos do Rio Negro.

Após a operação da *queima* ou da *coivara*, procede-se à *limpa* propriamente dita, *ôasé*, removendo para os lados um ou outro tronco e galho que estejam por terra.

Começa agora o plantio que é reservado às mulheres, isto é, a esposa auxiliada por suas filhas ou mulherês que vivem com ela. Como êsse trabalho pode durar longo tempo, se a roça está muito distante da casa, o homem constrói lá uma pequena barraca ou *pupiri* em Tukano *wi'ykâ-pama*. São quatro estacas suportando uma cobertura de palha. Aí ficará a sua família durante a *limpa* e o plantio. Realiza-se êste, ainda hoje, da maneira mais simples; dita *idzsé bu'bé*, com auxílio do *digging-stick*; a saber, depois de uma chuva, quando a terra está ainda mole, faz-se um buraco em terra com um pau de ponta (mais raramente, hoje em dia, com um ferro de cova), *séri-phi*, e introduz-se obliquamente uma maniva (ramo de mandioca) e ao redor se reune um monticulo de terra.

Atualmente, além da mandioca, plantam nas suas roças, nós de cana (*saccharum officinale*), mudas de bananeira (*musas*), de carás, de batata doce (*hypomoea batata*), de abacaxi (*ananas sativa*), sementes de mamão (*papaya cárica*). Ordinàriamente não plantam de uma só vez tôda a área roçada, mas em duas etapas ou duas roças por ano, nas duas épocas propícias, é o que chamam *dezké bu'besé*, meio plantio. A plantação é feita em desordem, as

mudas muito proximas e sem passagem. Por essa razão, e também pela pobreza do terreno, o rendimento é sempre escasso. De ordinario não arrancam mandioca para farinha senão depois de um ano. As ervas que crescem são extirpadas à mão, *ioa kuresé*, pelas mulheres. Na roça passará a mulher varias horas do dia com seus filhos e ao voltar trará às costas um aturá de mandioca, um feixe de lenha para o fogo e uma criança ou duas enganchadas à cintura.

A colheita, *da'd*, se faz puxando e arrancando com as mãos a planta pela haste. Começam a colheita pela periferia da roça «para enganar a cutia». Dizem que esta, encontrando o terreno revolvido marginalmente, abandona a roça que julga tôda colhida. O indio não é previdente, nem pensa em acumular alimentos. Não tem por isso deposito ou armazém. A circunstância do clima o favorece e o induz a isso. De resto, a mandioca, algumas horas depois de arrancada, pelo clima quente e úmido, começa a deteriorar-se; e a farinha e o beijú frescos são mais saborosos.

O homem só periodicamente irá ver a roça, especialmente quando se torna necessaria a sua participação para o combate à formiga ou aos animais que assaltam à plantação. Extirpam as formigas, quando em quantidade que causa apreensão, fazendo fogo no olho do formigueiro com caixa de cupim, ou para lá encaminhando as águas das frequentes chuvas.

Conforme a fertilidade do terreno, aí se plantará durante três ou quatro anos. No segundo e terceiro plantio, quando as raizes e troncos vão apodrecendo, a limpa, *O'd*, é mais perfeita e se faz arrastando a terra solta com um pedaço de pau. Todo êste processo de queimadas e limpas vai empobrecendo a roça, aí nunca mais se formará mata. Um claro ou uma charneca ficará perpetuando o fogo. No maximo surgirá ali uma raquitica capoeira.

Com frequência perto da casa existe uma pequena roça, quando a outra é muito distante, para os dias de chuva ou doença.

A contingência de derrubar nova roça a curtos espaços; a imprevidência indigena, que é um carateristico racial; a inconstância dos elementos climatéricos, que o é da região (76), acarretam periodos de escassez. Pode-se fixar também em cada três ou quatro anos

(76) A inconstância dos fatôres climatéricos, que caracteriza tôda a bacia do Rio Negro, por um lado, e pelo outro a pobreza quase geral do solo e as pragas (insetos) de tôda espécie, incapacitam a região para uma produção agricola suficiente e econômica. O problema da *fome* chegando para fora os habitantes do Uaupés, ainda não se pôs (e tardará ainda, como notamos alhures), porque se trata de pequenos ajuntamentos humanos com um minimum de exigências e já parcialmente

o *periodismo da fome*, para estas populações. *O conformismo indígena*, filho da indolência, da ignorância, da falta de ambições; o *hábito dos jejuns*, forçados pela carência de alimentos ou impostos pelas tradições; as *reservas de frutas* que a mata proporciona, e, por vêzes justamente na quadra da carestia de farinha, ajudam o índio a superar esta dificuldade que, pela sua frequência, já o não impressiona. Modernamente encontra êle nas Missões Salesianas um alívio para estas crises periódicas. Durante as épocas em que as suas roças não lhes fornecem a mandioca para a farinha e o beiju, corre a família inteira, marido, mulher e filhos, aos centros missionários. Os pais serão ocupados em um serviço qualquer, e, além da diária que vencem, para aquisição de roupas e utensílios, está assegurada a alimentação para si e os filhos todos.

7) *Indústria e comércio*

Já o temos notado, nestas tribos que moram tão vizinhas, em ambiente mais ou menos com idênticos recursos naturais e ligadas entre si pelo matrimônio, e por vêzes morando no mesmo povoado, há um intercâmbio cultural, de sorte que uma tribo vai aprendendo a fabricar objetos que outrora constituíam exclusividade da outra, e ainda hoje é especialidade sua, pois os faz com mais perfeição. Desta exclusividade na produção de certos objetos, que correspondem às primeiras necessidades para a vida, seguia-se, naturalmente, um comércio entre as várias tribos. Parece que dentro da tribo ou maloca não há comércio, porque todos sabem fazer as mesmas coisas. Além disso o espírito comunitário não favorece o comércio pròpriamente dito.

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socorridos pelos gêneros alimentícios que as Missões Salesianas mensalmente carreiam de Manáus e de outros pontos do país.

Vem aqui a propósito uma conversa que tivemos na manhã do dia 8 de março de 1956, com o Missionário Salesiano Pe. João Marchesi, que desde 1922 moureja heroicamente na Prelazia do Rio Negro, e que se acha resumida em 6 pontos, em nosso "Diário", dos quais os cinco últimos se prendem ao assunto em foco. A saber: "1.º — Êste ano morreu um número maior de índios Brasileiros que trabalhavam na Colômbia, entre os quais três de Pari-cachoeira (rio Tiquié); 2.º — O Cairi (Uaupés) hoje tem menos gente do que antes, e vai diminuir ainda mais. 3.º — Os índios tendem a descer, e um bom grupo dêles já se estabeleceu em Tapuruguá (antiga S. Isabel, no baixo Rio Negro); 4.º — Dos Pirá-tapúya de Arucu-ponta (Uaupés) muitos já baixaram para o Rio Negro, e outros querem descer para lá (e efetivamente em nossa companhia, e na mesma lancha, aos 14 de novembro de 1956 baixaram para Tapuruguá umas duas dezenas de Pirá-tapúya; 5.º — Também de S. Luzia (rio Papuri) estão descendo; alguns já se esta-

Nunca houve uma moeda (77) para a realização do seu comércio. Efetuava-se, outrora como hoje, o comércio «em espécie», a saber, a permuta de um objeto por outro. Vai-se acentuando modernamente entre os índios, pelas relações com os civilizados, o conceito de um *valor intrínseco* dos objetos, pela raridade não só, como também pelo trabalhoso do seu fabrico e dificuldade de obter a matéria-prima. Ainda hoje, no entanto, e muito mais intensamente outrora, consideravam apenas o *valor apreciativo*, isto é, o valor dependia do desejo ou da necessidade de um objeto. Compreende-se facilmente que sendo uma tribo produtora exclusiva de uns objetos e outra, de outros, não era difícil chegar a um acôrdo.

Não se tem informação alguma sôbre a existência de mercados intra ou extra-tribais, isto é, lugares para a exposição dos produtos destinados ao comércio. O índio outrora, como ainda hoje o faz, sob a necessidade de um objeto, empreendia uma viagem (e foram sempre muito andejos, parecendo mesmo reminiscência de um nomadismo ancestral) aos povoados de outra tribo, levando algo para a troca (78). Este comércio era mais freqüente com as tribos com as quais havia relações matrimoniais.

Se bem que se mantenha ainda hoje o comércio entre as tribos, pela permuta dos produtos de sua especialidade ou exclusividade, tornou-se êle muito mais intenso pelas relações com os civilizados, que desde o século 18 navegam, com maior ou menor freqüência, aquêles rios.

Em primeiro lugar o civilizado precisa do serviço do indígena. Foram sempre êles os remadores para os primeiros viajantes dos

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[illegible] permaneceram perto de Bela-Vista e Taua (baixo Uaupés), onde há boas terras e vão se dedicar a tirar borracha que venderão ao José Maria (Prefeito de Uaupés). E repetiu-nos, nesta altura, a queixa que ouvira dos índios: "A terra está pobre, não dá. Onde vamos buscar sal e roupinhas para nossas mulheres??

(77) Muitas vêzes vistas as crianças brincando com favas chatas e arredondadas, como as fichas ou moedas, e essas crianças dizem que são a sua moeda. Um grande número delas, hoje em dia, sabem o que é uma moeda. Talvez o denominar moedas a tais favas, derive da forma que apresentam. É possível, no entanto, que os antigos se servissem dessas favas como unidades para facilitar-lhes os cálculos (vd. contagem pelos dedos, VII-2 p).

(78) Temos visto alguns índios levando nas viagens mercadorias recebidas dos civilizados (sal, facão, espelho, etc), com intenção de trazer em troca algum objeto indígena (canoa, ralo, puçá, etc). Em alguns casos sucederá que não encontram para permuta o objeto que desejam, ou não interessa nos dos vários povoados os objetos oferecidos, e o seu dono retorna da viagem com a mercadoria que levara. Podemos pensar que o mesmo se daria outrora, talvez mais raramente do que hoje.

rios (79), e hoje são os «marinheiros», isto é, práticos, maquinistas, remadôres, carregadores das lanchas. É não raro são contratados como guias e interpretes. Todos êstes serviços são pagos com mercadorias. Desde o tempo da Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro e da do Amazonas (80), e em menor escala ainda hoje, com irregularidade descem ao baixo Rio Negro levas mais ou menos numerosas de índios de diversas tribos para os mais variados trabalhos, particularmente a extração de vários produtos (borracha, piaçaba, castanha, madeiras, etc.).

Da indústria indígena objetos de compra não são apenas os seus artefatos para coleções de museus ou adornos de casas particulares. Os que vivem ou viajam por suas regiões obtêm dos índios parte da sua alimentação (81), em frutas (especialmente bananas, mamões, abacaxis), farinha, beiju, peixe, caça. São ainda os silvícolas que fornecem aos civilizados daquelas paragens canoas, material para construção das residências (madeira, cipo, palmas para a cobertura), bancos, cerâmicas, esteiras, cestos, peneiras, etc. Os índios do alto Rio Negro e do Rio Xie dedicam-se atualmente ao fabrico de cordas de piaçaba que são vendidas não só para espias das lanchas daqueles rios, senão também regularmente para os navios do rio Amazonas e até para os Estados.

Dos civilizados os índios quase todos procuram hoje anzóis, fósforos, fazendas (e os acessórios para a roupa), sal, fumo, sabão. Tem menor procura pólvora, chumbo, espoletas, machados, facões, espingardas. A prática mercantil já fixou mais ou menos os preços dos diversos artigos. Não obstante, os índios, sob o estímulo do interêsse e de certos preconceitos contra os brancos, querem sempre vender caro e comprar barato ou obter de graça.

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(79) Sabemos, por exemplo, que na esquadra de Pedro de Teixeira, em 1637, havia 1 200 índios para o labor do remo e outros serviços.

(80) Vide "Relatórios" desses Províncias. Infelizmente em vez de contratos de trabalho, houve negociatas entre os latifundiários ou negociantes do Rio Negro e os tuxauas ou os que, em caráter particular ou oficial, se achavam em relação com os índios ou moravam entre êles, para explorar os silvícolas. Desciam êstes iludidos com promessas que não correspondiam à realidade e eram vítimas de impaludismo ou outras doenças. Não se lhes facilitavam os meios para voltarem aos seus povoados. Explorava-se seu fraco pelo álcool e com algumas garrafas de aguardente pagavam-se-lhe meses de serviço. A exposição documentada dessas "descidas" dos índios constituem capítulos bem negros da futura História dos índios do Brasil.

(81) As Missões Salesianas têm trazido grande estímulo aos índios para a produção dos meios de subsistência, pois mantendo mais de milhar de crianças indígenas no regime de internato, devem comprar ao índio

4: Silva SQ19 Tucano



Os índios que estão em contacto com os civilizados adquirem [illegible] roupas e muitos objetos para depois revendê-los a outros [illegible]genas. Tem-se verificado que nesse comércio revelam tino econômico e sabem auferir grandes lucros não só com os índios de [illegible] diversa, senão também dos seus próprios «irmãos» de tribo (82).

3) *Vias de comunicação*

Para seu comércio e relações sociais as vias de comunicação são os rios e igarapés, a canoa é, pois, o primeiro meio de transporte (83). Como de ordinário êsses rios são bastante largos e sujeitos a grande [illegible]vel e impetuosidade das águas nas enchentes, não é possível a construção de pontes. Quanto à passagem nos pequenos riachos, [illegible] o fazem a vau, ou derrubam árvores sem nenhum cuidado senão [illegible] alguém nas duas margens. Êste trabalho é, aliás, raríssimo, porque a cada passo se encontram árvores, abatidas pelas tempestades, que servem de ponte.

A floresta amazonense entrançada como é de lianas (um pouco menos, é verdade, do que aparece a quem só a vê pela margem dos rios) atravessa-se com certa dificuldade, e talvez por isso não é retalhada de passagens. É conhecido o costume dos índios de caminhar sempre um atrás do outro, jamais ao lado. É o que se diz «fila indiana», isto é, por um de fundo. O indígena não penetra muito na mata, tem mêdo de Wãx-ti (VII — 4, d (5)). Quanto à sua roça, é até desejável que não haja caminho revelador do sítio. Assim estará mais a coberto dos furtos. Por essas razões não abrem estradas senão a que leva da maloca ou povoado ao porto, de ordinário poucas dezenas, ou no máximo, uma ou duas centenas de metros de extensão.

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farinha, beiju, peixe, frutas, caça, etc. para os seus alunos. Durante a [illegible] conflagração mundial passavam regularmente negociantes comprando grande quantidade de farinha para os que trabalhavam nos seringais da Venezuela e Colômbia. Hidroaviões americanos vinham periodicamente até o Papuri recolher e transportar centenas de paneiros de farinha.

(82) Sabemos, por exemplo, que os índios Tukano residentes em Meio Franco recebiam farinha de outros Tukano da foz do Aua para vendê-la à Missão Salesiana, e só por essa transação exigiam dos seus "irmãos" 50% do preço da farinha.

(83) Jamais constroem jangadas. Os *Makú*, porque só vivem no interior das matas, não sabem fazer canoas, nem as possuem. Dizem que algumas vêzes improvisaram jangadas para atravessar os rios ou paranás. São episódios, porém, raríssimos.

Descobrem, no entanto, passagens mais curtas que as intermínas voltas pelos rios ou igarapés, de uma maloca a outra. Tais passagens, quanto mais frequentadas para as trocas de mulheres, as festas ou comércio, tornam-se melhores e constituem o que se denomina *varadouro* (em Tukano *ma'd*) (84). Todo o transporte de carga por terra se faz por meio dos aturás ou *pi'i*, que a mulher carrega às costas.

Na enchente dos rios formam-se entre a mataria canais navegáveis por canoas, pois a selva converte-se num mar, e o indígena disso se aproveita para encurtar as viagens; a sua canoa atalha pela mata a dentro, em vez de seguir tôda a sinuosidade do rio. A sua memória topográfica dos rios nos quais vivem subindo e descendo, não os deixa extraviar-se.

(84) Parece que originàriamente o têrmo Tukano *ma'd* significava só o trajeto que devia seguir a canoa nas passagens perigosas das cachoeiras. Hoje o têrmo *ma'd* se usa como equivalente às palavras portuguêsas: varadouro, caminho, estrada, etc.

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## Cap. VII

# CULTURA ESPIRITUAL

O homem é sempre o animal racional, e são inúmeras e vêm a cada momento, as provas da sua natureza racional. Mas também é sempre verdade o *primum vivere, deinde philosophari*, a saber, só se pode dar às especulações, depois de satisfeitas as necessidades primeiras da matéria. A inteligência necessita de um ambiente favorável para desenvolver-se; porém, mesmo no ambiente mais adverso, dá-nos sempre manifestações de sua presença. E são muitas essas manifestações que nos autorizam a dizer, de uma maneira geral, que o índio é inteligente. A facilidade relativa com que se adapta à nossa civilização, com que aprende e fala várias línguas indígenas e algumas noções do português que lhe são ministradas nas escolas, a perspicácia com que observa o branco, ouve-o e lhe fala, são provas do nosso asserto sôbre a sua inteligência. Até o presente porém, nenhum indígena do Uaupés adquiriu uma instrução secundária ou superior, nem mostrou interêsse de adquiri-la, apesar dos estímulos oferecidos pelas Missões Salesianas (1). Não é para estranhar-se o insucesso das primeiras tentativas, porque a instrução supõe uma civilização, isto é, hábitos de vida, de estudos, que só uma segunda ou terceira geração indígena, criada no regime civilizado, poderá apresentar.

Indicaremos aqui as manifestações primitivas da sua cultura (*Geistlichkeitkultur*), entendendo por esta expressão o que êsses silvícolas apresentam de cultura própria e não recebida do branco, e que facilmente se descobre da convivência com êles.

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(1) Os Salesianos contam entre os seus membros, na qualidade de Irmão Coadjutor, um Indio *Tariana*, com uma instrução maior que a primária, e que é um bom mestre alfaiate, com curso de especialização em Recife. As Madres Mensfortianas recrutaram para o seu Instituto dois índios, um *Desana* e um *Tariana*. Moças de diversas tribos se encontram presentemente (1958) em Manaus fazendo o curso de enfermagem, por conta das Missões Salesianas.

1) *Escritura*

Uma questão que logo surge é se essas tribos conhecem a escritura. Pode-se responder que atualmente não sabem nem usam escritura alguma (2).

É uma questão aberta à discussão se aqueles sinais que se encontram em muitas pedras do Rio Negro e afluentes, isto é, os petroglifos ou itacoatiaras (*ôrtá ohoritiri-pa*, em Tukano), sejam uma escritura de língua falada, ou ao menos *linguagem cifrada* (de qual idioma? de qual tribo? em qual época?), ou sejam apenas *desenhos* quiçá *estilizados* (sinais lúdicos) (3).

Não teriam, porém, uma linguagem por sinais ou sinais correspondentes a algumas ideias? Muitos viajantes que subiram o Rio Negro mostraram-se surpresos de verificar que já era conhecida previamente sua vinda, de quantos se compunha a comitiva, a finalidade desta, etc. (4).

Consta-nos que muitas vêzes tais informações foram fornecidas de viva voz por índios que subiam mais velozmente, por igarapés e atalhos, e uma maloca se encarregava de enviar a notícia à maloca seguinte (Cfr. V Nota 8, sôbre a curiosidade dos indígenas).

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(2) Com exceção naturalmente dos que passaram pelos colégios da Missão. Alguns em particular com alguma facilidade aprendem a escrever a língua tukana, porém com dificuldade escrevem o Tukano. Realmente as letras do alfabeto latino, que usamos e como pronunciamos em português, não reproduzem todos os sons da língua Tukano.

(3) Sôbre os petroglifos, sua antiguidade e sua interpretação, cfr. o notável trabalho de Bernardo da Silva Ramos, *Inscrições e tradições da América pré-colombiana*. Koch Grünberg subindo o rio Curicuriari (afluente da margem direita do Rio Negro), aos 14 de fev. de 1904, encontra numa pedra gravuras com figuras de homem, de macaco e ornamentais, ainda frescas, talvez executadas semanas ou dias antes. Emite, então, a opinião que um índio dá o primeiro risco com alguma pedra. Outro, ao passar, afunda mais o traço, e assim sucessivamente, até resultar um sulco indelevel (Z. I 144). O mesmo Koch indaga de um índio que lhe servia de guia no rio Cuduiari quem teria feito os *petroglifos* que se viam. E o índio lhe responde prontamente: — "Foram os antigos com uma pedra" (Z. I 304).

(4) Lemos, por exemplo, na "Participação Quinta" (da "Viagem Philosophica de Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, datada de Barcelos aos 30 de março de 1780, na sua chegada a Ipanuré): — "Mandei logo reconhecer as cinco malocas do gentio, situadas em cima do buteiro e segunda vez me confirmei que elle já tinha sido avisado da minha subida, achando-se as casas desertas, largando por mão todo o trem de igarabas, tipitis, balaios, etc., enterrada no chão bastante tapioca, os ananasseiros das roças cortados de fresco, e os índios das canoas me informarão que haveria dois dias que elles se tinham retirado" (o. c.).

Porém um dos principais meios dessas comunicações a distância era o *Trocano*. Tido-se, hoje quase totalmente desaparecido, instrumento de sopro, sem caráter religioso e só usado para as relações [illegible] pelo tuxaua.

É um telerresonador constando de um tronco de madeira de [illegible] comprido por cinco a quatro estacas e escavado por meio de [illegible] estreita fenda longitudinal. Percutido à margem da fenda com um macete, *Tu-ú-tu pi-ko*, com saliência de borracha ou de [illegible] de anta, emite um som profundo que, na solidão daquelas [illegible] e com o favor dos ventos ouvia-se a muitos quilômetros de distância (5).

Cada tribo ou maloca possuía o seu instrumento e seus sinais [illegible]. Com êsse instrumento os tuxauas participavam a [illegible] convidavam para os caxiris. Com os trocanos davam outrossim informações sobre as comitivas que subiam os rios (6).

Alguns instrumentos musicais conseguem emitir sons que se [illegible] com palavras. Por exemplo, do instrumento denominado [illegible] (cabeça de veado, cfr. VII, 3 e 3) parece-nos ouvir [illegible] — «*Pera tradipa*» (traga caxiri) ... *péru* ... *pérá* ... *péru*» depressa, depressa, depressa).

Os rapazes dirigem convites amorosos às moças com os sons de [illegible] pífaros. Foi-nos dado no Uaupés (e por isso registramo-lo [illegible] pronúncia [illegible] o seguinte convite que exprimem no [illegible] — «*Yoo-mêna tupá*» (vá comigo), — «*Yoo-mêna vago-fá*» (tu [illegible] comigo), «*añúnõ nigosa*» (seja boa) «*añúnõ ninosa*» (vai [illegible]). Emitir tais convites com o som das flautas é que se diz em Tucano *purti-nerera* (literalmente: queixar-se tocando flauta).

Sabem, outrossim, emitir certos gritos característicos e vários, [illegible] vezes semelhantes à voz dos animais e pio das aves, e com [illegible] sinais se orientam, chamam-se, dão informações, etc. (7).

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(5) Koch G. (Z. I 171) informa que de Cucura-igarapé (uma hora de ca[illegible] acima de S. José, rio Tiquié) os Desana se puseram em relação com os Tukano de Pari-cachoeira (cf. III, os Povoados), por meio de [illegible].

(6) Informações de Plácido Rodrigues, descendente dos Baré. Cfr. também "Notas sôbre os Trocanos" de Carlos Drumond. Boletim 58 da [illegible] de São Paulo. Koch G. (Z. I 303) informa que era muito desenvolvida entre os Witoto do Pira-paraná (Colômbia) a linguagem dos Trocanos, fabricados aos pares, isto é, homem e mulher, conforme a [illegible] expressão indígena.

(7) Numa viagem à grande maloca dos Tuyuka, no alto Tiquié, fronteira com a Colômbia, desapareceu o facão que um dos nossos companheiros de viagem havia emprestado aos índios. No momento de a canoa partir indaga-se pelo facão e ninguém sabe dar informação onde se acharia. Impaciente, queixa-se que é um roubo, e isto é feio. Depois que a

Yaburi (Waiapi) armado durante a vazante porém no caminho frequentado pelos peixes na enchente

[facing p. 256]

Wanjiku

Barragem de um riberão para a pescaria

2) Ciências

a) *Geografia — Topografia*

Seus conhecimentos geográficos da região não são muito numerosos, são porem exatos. É difícil distinguir o que conhecem por experiência individual, por tradição da tribo, ou por influência dos civilizados aos quais consultam, porque dotados de apreciável memória, guardam as informações que recebem, como o que aprendem de visu.

De muitas cachoeiras, rios, ribeirões, ilhas, canais, pedras, montanhas, florestas, etc. admitem uma origem lendária. A guisa de exemplo, para os antigos era uma *bananeira* uma pedra lendária da cachoeira de Uaracapa (rio Papuri) embora em nada se pareça com tal planta. Numa pedra denominada precisamente *Cabeça-de-anta* (cachoeira de Tapira-Jirau, alto Uaupés) os indígenas vêem o focinho de uma anta e uma de suas lendas explica-lhe a origem. Afirmam que de Piracuara, no rio Papuri, parte um canal subterrâneo que liga esse rio ao Tiquie, um pouco acima da cachoeira de Pari. Reclam as lendas que por êste canal é que passaram os primeiros peixes daquele rio para êste. O que se observa em tal ponto do Tiquie, é uma barranca donde corre um pequeno jôrro d'águas de infiltração, como se dá também em outros lugares e rios (cfr. III, Nota 17).

Sua memória topográfica é louvável; não só identificam pelo nome os povoados e malocas que vão passando, como também os rios, igarapés, pontas, etc. Mais ainda, sabem quantas voltas e pontas do rio faziam para chegar a determinados lugar. Parece, no entanto, que êsse conceito de volta, (*mahamisé*), estirão (*ipu-ua-ponta*) é diverso do nosso, ou, quem sabe, seja um tanto subjetivo. Verificamos muitas vêzes que não correspondiam ao número que nos indicavam; êrro quiçá imputável ao seu deficiente conhecimento da matemática.

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dando se afastar uns quatrocentos metros ouve-se um grito característico, que nos parecia mais o pio de alguma ave. Os Tukano que iam comigo com os remadores, interpretaram logo: "É o tuxaua que está chamando para entregar o filho". Efetivamente o tuxaua nos esperava com o farão que foi devolvido ao legítimo dono.

Em outras ocasiões, ao navegar nas cabeceiras dos rios ou pelos igarapés, índios que estavam no interior da mata o percebiam o rumor dos remos, trocavam pessoas com os nossos remadores, os quais depois nos davam particulares informações: quem eram, êles, se estavam caçando, colhendo frutos, procurando curaná ou cortando madeira. Note-se que muitas vêzes vinham cantando trauteando as suas canções ou assobiando por mero divertimento.

Cuia de fibras (musaceas), cipó de 4 tentáculos e pote contendo curare

[facing p.257]

Preparo do curare (Inimã) por um índio Mura

Quanto ao aguçado sentido de orientação dos indígenas na [illegible] que tem sido tão decantado, pa[illegible] ser fruto de imaginação poética, se se generaliza às tribos do Cauari. Conhecem bem os rios e matas que frequentam, não se [illegible] porém, a penetrar muito na selva. Citam-se vários [illegible] em que se perderam na floresta. E para que tal não [illegible] recorrem ao expediente de quebrar ramos, todos no mesmo [illegible] à medida que se afastam dos caminhos habituais. Os *Maku* [illegible] do interior das matas, são caçadores, e por isso se orientam melhor. Relève-se, contudo, que êles são semi-nômades e mudam-se sempre em grupos.

b) *Matemática*

Possuem os indígenas nomes diferentes para os cinco primeiros números e distinguem o *masculino*, *feminino* e *neutro* (cousa), a saber:

| número | masculino | feminino | neutro |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | [illegible] nikõ | nikã | nikã |
| 2 | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 3 | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 4 | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 5 | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 6 | [illegible] | [illegible] | nikã-mũkõse |

Observe-se que *Nikã-mũkõra* propriamente quer dizer *uma mão*. [illegible] preferem indicar o número de dedos (2, 3, etc.) [illegible] preferir os números. De cinco para cima todos pratica[illegible] se contentam de mostrar o número de dedos correspondente. Os mais inteligentes sabem contar até 20, servindo-se dos dedos [illegible] dos pés. Números superiores a 20 não sabem mais contar. Não possuem propriamente medidas de extensão ou comprimento. Falam em *sêrõ* (sêrõ-[illegible]), *nikã sêrõ*, o tamanho da envergadura ou dos dois braços abertos; *pauã sêrõ*, duas envergaduras de braços; *pauro*: *nikã pauro* um passo; palmo, *kamũ-ka* [illegible] *kãpu-pamã-kõero*, *nika pama*, um palmo; *pãu kamũ-ka-sêrõ*, dois palmos; *ba paridse kamũ-ka-pãose*, quatro palmos.

Como meio prático para seus cálculos, fazem até uma varinha com [illegible] de um braço ou um palmo; são, no entanto, medidas indefinidas e casuais.

A tabuada já constitui para as crianças da escola uma séria dificuldade, apesar de ser mera questão de memória. Os de melhor aproveitamento não conseguem executar as quatro operações após

três ou quatro anos de freqüência escolar. E nota-se em todos grande dificuldade para a solução do mais simples problema de matemática.

Parece que lhes é igualmente difícil a avaliação do tempo, como também da distância e da superfície: assim serão capazes de responder que o comprimento de uma sala são três quilômetros e o curso do rio, cem metros.

c) *Astronomia — Cosmografia*

1) *O mundo*

Conforme suas concepções a terra, *Di'tá*, é uma planície recoberta por uma calota esférica regular e sólida que se denomina *o'mã-te*, segundo alguns, o céu, com quatro portas correspondentes aos quatro pontos cardiais, por onde escapam as águas dos rios. Se se fechassem essas portas, as águas inundariam as terras e afogariam toda a humanidade (Cfr. a Lenda da cobra *Sõ*, p.)

Distinguem as nuvens em *ozkõ-kururi*, os nimbos, e *o'mã-kurúri*, cirros.

Aos pontos cardiais chamam «porta», *Sozpé*, e assim os designam: Este, *Sirõ-kã-sozpé* (porta de trás); Oéste, *Po'té-kã-sozpé* (porta da cabeceira, a saber, do rio); Sul, *Kũ'pé-kã-sozpé* (porta à direita de quem sobe o Uaupés); Norte, *Dyakõ-kã-sozpé* (porta da direita).

2) *Astros e estrêlas*

Não sabem explicar como são formadas as estrêlas, *Yórkõa*. Todas as denominações, porém, têm uma origem lendária. Afirmam mesmo que o sol, a lua e as estrêlas são gente, *Marsã*, consoante suas lendas. A guisa de confirmação releve-se que, enquanto todos os seres inanimados pertencem, na língua Tukano (e ao que nos parece, em tôdas as línguas indígenas da região) ao gênero neutro, tal como estrêla, trovão e o instrumento sagrado *miri* (Cfr. VII - 3, c), são do gênero masculino.

Há um só home para designar o sol e a lua, é *Muhi-pũ*. Conceptuamos, primitivamente, como um só e mesmo ente que iluminava o mundo e era sempre dia. Até que apareceu a *noite*, à maneira de poeira escura espalhada pelo espaço.

O eco, *Arkã-kõõra*, se deve a *Wãx-ti* (vd. VII - 4, d (5a) o qual, do meio da mata se diverte a remedar algum rumor. E muitos são rumores da selva (o sibilar do vento, o ciciar da brisa entre as

linhas quedas de galhos) lhes parecem arremedos das músicas e danças que Wáx-ti executa.

A revoada são as criancinhas abortadas, *Pazkó-máriri-khára* (= orfãozinhos de mãe) que choram, porque vai fazer muito calor. Essas pobres crianças andam sozinhas, porque ninguém cuida delas. (Patrício Vasconcelos).

3) *As Constelações*

Distinguem as constelações com nomes de animais ou cousas que lhes parece ver figuradas pelas estrêlas, *Yõrkód*. O conhecimento das constelações é mais generalizado entre os indígenas do que entre os civilizados. Assim perguntando a um grupo de rapazes de seus 16 a 20 anos os nomes das constelações, todos demonstraram conhecê-las, e um lembrava o nome quando o outro só esqueciu, e mostravam-nas no céu.

Distinguem as seguintes constelações cujas figuras principais damos conforme o desenho e na mesma ordem em que no-las forneceu um velho Pirá-tapuya Antônio Goes, do povoado S. Paulo, no rio Tiquié:

1. *Aõá* arraia (peixe batoide; *Aõá* é também o nome do planêta Vênus);
2. *Pamõ dõxke-ke* ou *Pamõ dõxkó* ou *Pamõ dõxkó xuxtéke* (pedaço de tatú);
3. *Kui sirti-ró* (cercado de periquito);
4. *Darigá* (camarão);
5. *Yai ou pai pudé-ro* (enchente da onça);
6. *Syó-o garpu* (cabo de enxó);
7. *Kui karia* (jirau de peixe, VI - 5, a (2c);
8. *Yehé* (garça);
9. *Dyá-po* (lontra);
10. *Bá* (o peixe piranha);
11. *Yõxkudiró* (personagem da lenda);
12. *Yõxkudiró mazkó* (filho de *Yõxkudiró*);
13. *Aõá pazkó-ró* (rabo de arraia);
14. *Nozri-pá* (escorpião);
15. *Ko dyori ma'sá* (amontoado dos seus ovos);
16. *Yai dzée-ka poari* (cabelos da barba da onça);
17. *Mahód* (o peixe jacundá);
18. *Namúxuru* (um veadinho da lenda).

[illegible] 2. [illegible] período de fatu[illegible] 3. Yai pwé-ro, enchente da [illegible] 4. [illegible] 5. [illegible] 6. Wai kasa, [illegible] 7. [illegible] periquito. 8. Yehé, garça. 9. [illegible] 10. [illegible] piranha.

4) O tempo e as estações

Possuem hoje um término para indicar o ano, *Komá* (plural *Komári*) [8] que é o espaço entre uma vazante e outro dos rios. Talvez pelas reações fisiológicas, mas especialmente pelas fases da lua, distinguem o período das luñações ou meses, e o denominam

[8] Contudo declararam alguns dos nossos informantes, o término *Komá* primitivamente indicava apenas o tempo das chuvas menos abundantes que vai de setembro a março. O período da enchente, que se estende ordinariamente de março a setembro, denomina-se *Pwé-kó*. Aquele período de 10 a 15 dias mais secos, com poucas ou nenhumas chuvas (o que é deveras raro) época propícia para as queimadas das roças, denominam *Komá-ró* (Vaupés komá-nó), verão, estio.

[illegible] termo *Muhi-pũ* (9), que se aplica tanto ao sol como à lua, como já dissemos. Esta, quando se quer distinguir do sol, se diz *Yaiá-ka muhi-pũ*, sol-da-noite. Não existe, porem, têrmo para indicar a semana (10).

Conhecem apenas duas estações, as que realmente existem, a sazon o sêrão (sêca ou vazante dos rios), *Wexfiro* ou *komã-rõ*, e o inverno (enchente) *Pue-ko*.

O ano começa, conforme antigamente computavam, no verão ou vazante do Uaupés, quando se dedicavam às derrubadas e roças.

O 1º mês correspondia à metade de agosto a meado de setembro e dizia-se *Pũri Pué-ro* (que quer dizer enchente das fôlhas).

O 2º, *Arê puxfiro* (florescimento da pupunheira), época das derrubadas e queima.

O 3º, *Ãã pue-ro* (enchente da arraia ou de Vênus, porque se nota aumento de água nos rios. É o que no Amazonas se diz «requente dos mortos»).

O 4º, *Ãã pue-ro pitiã* (termina a enchente da arraia), começa a sêca.

O 5º, *inê-rê komã* (tempo do inga).

O 6º, *Komã uãdero* (o ano vai), tempo do plantio da mandioca.

O 7º, *Arê komã* (tempo da pupunha), é a época dos grandes caxiris.

O 8º, *mãmã komã* (ano novo).

O 9º, *Wãmã petiro* (fim do tempo do umari).

O 10º, *Yai-ka pué-ro* (enchente da barba da onça).

O 11º, *Yõxkwãtero pué-ro* (enchente de Yõxkwãtero).

O 12º, *Yõxkwãtero pué-ro pitiro* (fim da enchente de Yõxkwãtero).

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(9) Parece, também, de acôrdo com algumas informações obtidas que, mais remotamente, não distinguiam lunações ou períodos correspondentes aos meses. É certo que o termo *muhi-pũ* (plural *muhi-pũri*, no Uaupés *muhi-pũri*), como correspondente à palavra mês, não só é de emprêgo recente, como também não é muito generalizado.

(10) Usam nos rios Içana e Amari uma régua denticulada com sulcos transversais servindo como Calendário, para marcar os dias da semana e do mês. Uma laçada de tucum (a sendo deslocada dia por dia, de um denticulo para outro). Refere Koch G. (Z. F. 298) que os Juriti tinham também um pau com ranhuras para seus cálculos: numa das extremidades cheias as ranhuras marcavam os dias de viagem até o Lago-do-espelho (Uanuá-lago), na outra, os dias da volta.

Não pudemos alcançar se essas divisões dos meses correspondem [illegible] nos colégios das Irmãs Salesianas, forneceu-nos uma

Uaia Tukano por nome Doroteia Brito, com dezenas de anos de convivência nos colégios das Irmãs Salesianas, forneceu-nos, uma lista de 12 meses, com os correspondentes nomes em português. Como se verá, apenas parcialmente há correspondência de nomes, com a lista precedente que nos foi obtida pelo Padre Antonio Giacone. Doroteia explicou a origem dos nomes como sendo o das figuras que eles parecia ver nas nuvens (sic). Note-se que coincide com os nomes das constelações, precisamente como os antigos dividiam os meses pelas constelações.

São estes os nomes dos meses:

Janeiro — *Mawa bahauri mahi-pũ* (novo mês apareceu)

fevereiro — *Dorayã pizkõ-rã* (rabo de camarão)

março — *Dya-pã* (lontra)

abril — *Yai pudé-ro* (enchente da onça)

maio — *Wirã* (bicho-preguiça)

junho — *Arpã kurã* (jirau do caranguejo)

julho — *Pamã pudé-ro* (enchente do tatú)

agosto — *Wai kurã* (jirau de peixe)

setembro — *Sã-a pazpu* (cabo de enxó)

outubro — *Yuzkudiro* (estrêla dalva)

novembro — *Ana* (arraia)

dezembro — *Yai arpo* (corpo da onça)

## 7 — O dia

Sabem, com bastante aproximação, calcular a hora do dia, pela altura do sol. Não possuem, porém, cálculos de anos, meses, semanas e dias, nem sabem dizer em que data estamos.

Distinguem as seguintes horas do dia:

*Boreu-mãhodise* — (lit. antes de subir a claridade ou aurora), pelas 4 da manhã.

*Bore-kease* — aurora

*Bordko-porõdse* — maior claridade

*wuhi-pu mãhõã-tpase* — (levantar do sol) 6 da manhã

*Azi mãhõã-ti wa ró* — (começa a subir o calor) pelas 9 da manhã

*Azi mãhõã-ti duhoritero tuu'ta nõkã-nimi* — (aumenta o calor, aproxima-se a hora de voltar) pelas 10 horas

*Duhori-tero* — (tempo de voltar, a saber, da roça) pelas 11-12 horas

*mã-ka dezko* — (meio dia) pelas 12 horas

*Duhoritero mãhõã-nimi dohoagõ* — o sol subiu e caiu depois do tempo de voltar) pelas 13 horas

*Turuuro dezko* — (meio do declínio do sol) pelas 14-15 horas

*Sahãgõ wemi-mahã* — (o sol vai entrando) pelas 16 horas

*Sahã-wa pi-mahã* — (o sol entrou) pelas 18 horas

*Nai-kou wa* — (vai escurecendo) pelas 19 horas

*Nayu wa mahã* — (escureceu mais) pelas 19-20 horas

*Yami ni-mahã* — (a noite avançou) pelas 21 horas

*Yami-ka bui* — (acima da noite, noite avançada) pelas 22 horas

*Yami dezko* — (meia-noite) pelas 24 horas

d) *Ciências Naturais*

1) *Idéias sôbre a natureza*

a) Há reminiscências de uma crença antiga, pela qual julgavam que todos os animais eram «gente», *mahsã*. Alguns declararam-nos categoricamente que os animais são «gente». Confirmação, talvez, desta crença seja o fato de todos os animais, na língua Tukano, serem do gênero masculino, ao passo que todos os sêres inanimados são do gênero neutro.

Quando surpreendem um animal ou grupo de animais, por exemplo veado, anta, etc., entretidos a beber água ou a lamber uma pedra (cfr. «Apagador-de-anta» VI — 5, b (2) Nº 73), pensam que êsses animais estão tontos, porque passaram uma noitada de danças e orgias.

Explicam, igualmente, que a piracema é uma grande concentração de peixes solenizando um caxiri.

Há uma espécie de vulpídeos brancos com algumas penas pretas, aos quais denominam *bauro* (conhecido também pelo nome regional de *tesoura*) e que, em certas épocas aparecem em bando à procura de vermes. Sendo de leve peso e abundante plumagem, têm um vôo gracioso e leve. Crêem que é um grupo de espíritos ou [illegible] que dançam no ar. Dizem-nos *d'rã nõ'mpa* (môças da serra) e afirmam que não fazem ninho, pois ninguém jamais os encontrou deitado no ninho.

b) Admitem a transformação dos animais. Crêem, por exemplo, que os vermes que proliferam na bacabeira, por ocasião dos eclipses, transformam-se no peixe *burkod-wi* (ou *matapi*, dos *silúridas*), por acharem certa aparência com tais vermes. Uma confirmação dessa procedência, parece-lhes descobrir no fato de tais peixes serem encontrados ainda vivos no mato, depois de secarem na [illegible] (igapós). Dizem que, por terem sido vermes, fogem para o mato, quando se põe timbó nos ribeirões.

Sinalamos VII — 4 ; (1) que admitem a possibilidade de pessoas humanas se transformarem, temporária ou definitivamente, em animais e vice-versa.

Afirmam que os papagaios são «meninos da mata, *nãrkã wimdé*». Propriamente são filhos de *Boraró* (vd. VII — 4, d (56) ou *Curutejá*). Vivem [illegible] brincando, quando querem passear, tomam penas e voam.

Narram histórias interessantes sôbre a origem de certos animais, por exemplo, [illegible] animais, antes era uma môça muito bonita. Os papagaios teu começaram por transformação de duas irmãs, esposas de um belo rapaz Bare.

c) Revelavam [illegible] (VII — 2, e (1) sua crença na própria mortalidade. Informam que, antigamente não comiam carne de animal. A alimentação exclusivamente de vegetais, era permitido apresentar vermes e insetos. Nessa época de regime vegetariano não havia doenças, dizem. Apareceram estas depois que seus pais começaram a comer carne de peixe e de animais. Em certas doenças o paje prescrevera logo que se abstenham das carnes dos animais grandes (anta, veado, macaco, etc.).

Afirmam, outrossim, que, no princípio, os Tukano não só não morriam, porém nem sequer envelheciam. Depois de viverem muitíssimos anos, sempre fortes, findavam quando alguém lhes lançava uma maleficio, *dohase*.

*Fisiologia humana*

Sôbre a anatomia e fisiologia humanas possuem noções bastante exatas, tanto das funções externas, como algo das internas, a nomenclatura bem rica, para as diversas partes do organismo. A lista de documentação vão êstes têrmos:

[illegible] (pl. [illegible]) corpo (Plural [illegible])
[illegible] (pl. [illegible]) cabeça
[illegible] (pl. [illegible]) cabelo
[illegible] (pl. dyapo-pa), rosto, face
[illegible]-a-pero (pl. [illegible]), testa
dyapo-a-tôrô (pl. tôri), fronte
[illegible]-pero (pl. pe'tori), crâneo
[illegible] (pl. kaxpe-ri), olho
[illegible] (pl. poari), pestana
[illegible] (pl. weri), sobrancelhas
[illegible]-tero (pl. su'ti), palpebra
[illegible]-pero (pl. pori), bochecha
[illegible]-a (pl. waxsu-di-pa), zigoma
[illegible] (pl. [illegible]-pa), nariz
[illegible]-pe (pl. peri), venta, narina
[illegible] (pl. peri), orelha
[illegible] (pl. tousé-peri), orifício auricular
[illegible] (pl. wamá-tari), pescoço
[illegible] (pl. wamá-peri), garganta
[illegible] (pl. [illegible]-pa), corpo hióide (pomo de Adão)
[illegible] (pl. hêri-mi-ri), laringe
[illegible] (pl. meôse), faringe
[illegible]-da (pl. meôse-dari), faringe, esôfago
[illegible] (pl. ox'se-ri), bôca
[illegible] (pl. be'tôri), labio
[illegible] (pl. kari), queixo
[illegible]-pôa (pl. poari), barba
[illegible]-pôa (pl. poari), bigode
[illegible] (pl. inus kori), saliva
[illegible] (pl. kuxti-ri), peito
[illegible] (pl. uxpi-kari), dente
[illegible] (pl. mori), gengiva
[illegible] (pl. dûri-khâsé pikari) dente molar
[illegible] (pl. ye'mê-ri), lingua
[illegible] ou kâto-a (pl. kâto-ri), nuca

xxkõ-poro (pl. porõ), ombro
sõéma (pl. sõémãri), costas
sõéma-oõã (pl. oãri), coluna vertebral
pãti-pãma (pl. pãmãri), costela
oxpõ-ro (pl. oxpõ-ri) seio (mulher)
oxpõ-kõ (pl. ãnus, kõri), leite
oxpõ-yõxxõri (pl. yõxxõri), bico de teta
oxpõ-ro-tõ (pl. tõri), escroto
oxpõ-ro-tõ dye (pl. dyõ-ri), esperma
sõmõ-a (Uaupés sõmõ-a) (pl. sõmõ-pá; Uaupés sõmõ-pá), úmbigo
heri-põra (pl. põrãri), coração, fígado
heri-mise (inv.), respiração
yõmõ-turi (so pl.), guelras, pulmão
nimã-ri (pl. nimã-pá), vesícula biliar, bexiga de fel
sõsõrõ (pl. sõ-sõrõri), trocanter
wa'te-ro (pl. wa'te-ri), virilha
mõhi-sutiro (pl. sõtõ), útero
nimi-koro (pl. korori), vagina
yõxpõ ou yõxpõ (pl. yõxpõ-ri), vulva
kõri-tõxturo (pl. tõxturi), clitóris
sõmõri-phi (pl. phõri), lábios da vulva
nõri-põ (pl. nõri-pab), pênis
ãpõ (inv.), urina
ãpõ-sõtõ (pl. sõtõ), bexiga
sõxkõ (pl. sõxkõri), cintura, região lombar
sõpõ (pl. sõpõ), nádegas
sõpõ-ro (pl. sõpõ-ri), ânus
kõxõ-ro (pl. kõxõ-ri), pele
oõã (pl. oõri), osso
ãxõ-bõõse (pl. bõõse), calor, febre
ãxõ-bõõse (inv.), suor
kõxõ-doxkõ (pl. doxkõri), axila
wãmõ-kõ (pl. kõri), braço, mão
wãmõ-kõ-mipõro (pl. mipõse), sulco oposto ao cotovelo
sõ'-tõ (pl. sõ'-pá), apófise do cotovelo
wãmõ-kõ-oõã (pl. oõri), cotovelo
wãmõ-kõ-kõxtiro (pl. kõxtiri), palma da mão sem os dedos
wãmõ-pãmã (pl. pãmãri), mão
wãmõ-pã (pl. pãri), palma dos dedos juntos
wãmõ-kõ-sõpõ-kõ (pl. kõri), espádua
wãmõ-pikõ (pl. pikõri), dedo da mão
wãmõ-sero (pl. seri), unha da mão
wãmõ-kõ-doxkõ (pl. doxkõri), antebraço

xa-se (pl. ex so-ri), coxa
xa-pa-o-a (pl. pexo-ri), joelho
xa-ñaro (pl. xã-ñase), joelho
nõxkã (pl. nõxkã-ri), perna, tíbia
nõxkã-di-a (pl. nõxkã-di-pa), panturrilha
nõxkã-pa-phi (pl. pairi), canela
do pe-kã (pl. do pekkari), perna, pé, base
do po-di-a (pl. do po-dipa), calcanhar
do po-pama (pl. pamari), planta do pé
do po-pika (pl. pikari), dedo do pé
do po-sero (pl. seri), unha do pé
ñaya-pa (pl. ñaya-pa), tornozelo
ita ou ãtã (inv.), fezes
ita-mãsi (pl. mãsiri ou mãsi-dari), intestinos, entranhas, vísceras
ita-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), estômago
ya'ko-ko ou Ya'ko (inv.), lágrimas
di (inv.), sangue
di ou diito (inv.), carne
di-wa-da (pl. di-wa-dari), veia, artéria
di-wa-se (pl. di-wa-se-dari), veia, artéria.

3) *Classificação dos animais*

Nos animais admitem a seguinte distinção:

1º — *Yaãrã* (Uaupés *ãã'ãnã*) (i. e. *maus, ferozes*) — são as feras e bichos daninhos como a onça, gamba, etc.
2º — *Yãkã-ãhãrã* (U. *ãhãnã*) (i. e. *habitadores do mato*) — são os bravios comestíveis, como a cutia, a paca, etc.
3º — *Ex-kãrã* (U. *ex'kãnã*) (i. e. *os que alimentam*) — são os domésticos, como a galinha, porco, etc.
4º — *Bãdrã* (U. *bãdnã*) (i. e. *os que comem*) — sob esta denominação vêm os peixes, lagartas, insetos, etc., que costumam comer.
5º — *Bãtrã* (U. *bwãnã*) (*bwã*, em cima) — são os voláteis.

e) *Medicina*

1) *Origem das doenças*

Seus conhecimentos neste setor ficaram prejudicados pela magia e superstição. Embora a natureza que o rodeia lhe seja prodiga, o indígena quase não usa remédios caseiros, pelo conceito que faz das doenças, sob a influência do *xamã* ou *pajé* (11).

(11) Em a narração da viagem de 1637, do Pe. Alonso de Rojas ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas", p. 110) encontramos: — "Temem

Por quanto lhes é possível, ocultam suas doenças. Não sabem, ou existem de germes patogênicos ou da ação químico-biológica do organismo e dos venenos que sôbre êle agem. Seu espírito lógico, por outra parte, exige uma explicação para os fatos, está certo que os efeitos exigem uma causa proporcional. Como existem as fôrças manifestas da natureza, admitem haver, outrossim, fôrças ocultas capazes de produzir os mais vários e estranhos fenômenos. Nem pode deixar de impressioná-los os fenômenos meteorológicos e astronômicos. O índio ademais, é uma animista convicto, como adiante veremos. Tôdas as doenças, para êle, têm uma única causa, por mais variadas que sejam as suas manifestações, a saber o *dohasi*, que poderíamos traduzir por maleficio (12). Isto é, as doenças são provocadas pelo espírito malévolo dos homens que, invejando um dos pontos fracos da psique silvícola, o seu sêmelhante, procura fazer-lhe algum mal. Para tanto podem servir os mais variados objetos tornados maléficos por magia: um emaranhado de cabelos, um pedaço de pano, pau, pedra, metal, osso, espinho, muito comumente uma ponta de cigarro (13) e até o simples pensamento. Os objetos maléficos agirão quando colocados no caminho do indivíduo, dentro da sua casa, enterrados no seu terreiro, ou lançado na sua porta ou à sua canoa.

Crêem que informação do tuxaua Júlio de Pari-cachoeira, rio Tiquié, [illegible] maléficos, nos quais denominam *Wai marsá* (gente [illegible]) chegam desenterrado germes de doenças sob as pedras dos rios [illegible] falam em *seré-pá* (pedra do purú-puru), *yohá-pá* (pedra da [illegible]). Por isso opõem-se a que se quebrem essas pedras, porque tais doenças se espalhariam e dizimariam a população. Afirmam de algumas pedras de Pari-cachoeira, que até os peixes, quando aí se encostam, morrem (14).

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[illegible] feiticeiros aos quais consultam, e êstes ao demônio, de quem recebem [illegible] e com embustes enganam aos miseráveis índios".

(12) Como muitos dentre os civilizados crêem no quebranto, mau olhado, [illegible], macumba, candomblé. Consequência dessa opinião sôbre [illegible] nenhuma higiene e cuidados preventivos, donde o [illegible] por exemplo, da malária, da gripe, da tuberculose, etc., como certas em várias oportunidades e lugares.

(13) Tomando-se ao cavar um local, encontra uma ponta de cigarro, o [illegible] imediatamente que se trata de um maleficio.

(14) Um [illegible] Missionários deu uma explicação verossímil para o fato [illegible] existência ali de numerosas piranhas que assaltam os outros peixes.

A causa de uma dor local, inflamação ou febre, pode ser também um daqueles objetos maléficos que se introduziu no organismo. A cura, naturalmente, só se obterá com a eliminação do objeto localizado na parte doente, ou eliminação do malefício. Como atingiu o organismo misteriosamente, por um processo mágico, só outro processo mágico será capaz de provocar a cura. E entra aqui em ação o «feiticeiro» ou «xamã», dito em Tukano *Yai* (pajé) (15).

Pensam também que os civilizados, para fazer-lhes mal, lhes enviam malefício (gripe, etc.) dentro das caixas de mercadoria, as quais ao serem abertas, infeccionarão a muitas pessoas ou a todo o povoado (16).

Dessa persuasão da origem malevolente e mágica das doenças nasce a convicção de que tôda morte tem como autor uma pessoa inimiga. É portanto, violenta; o homem é, naturalmente, imortal. É esforço baldado tentar convencer a um velho decrépito, que êle vai morrer e convém se vá preparando. Tal atitude mental, já se vê, não é favorável ao suicídio, embora se possa encontrar talvez, algum velho que deseje a morte (17).

2) O *Xamã* ou *Yai*

O pajé ou *Yai* é, portanto, o médico e ao mesmo tempo *Xamã* (é um mago ou feiticeiro). Só os homens podem ser pajé.

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(15) *Yai* também quer dizer onça. Haverá talvez alguma relação entre «feitiço» e «onça»? Não nos souberam dizer os índios. Admitem-na os filólogos.

(16) No povoado Tukano de S. Luzia (rio Papuri) morrera de coqueluche (*Ma-ig-tukano*) (1947). Com inveja dos Makú que eram bem remunerados pelos curares adquirido para ser estudado no sul do Brasil, pensou logo que as doenças foram preparadas pelos civilizados com a ajuda dos Makú e enviadas a S. Luzia com a mercadoria.

(17) «Quero morrer» dizia um dêsses velhos ao Pe. Antônio Giacone, porque os meus dentes estão cansados de mastigar!». O Pe. João Marchesi narrou-nos os particulares do único caso de suicídio de que teve notícia. Um índio Tuyuca, do povoado denominado Cigarro, rio Uaupés, fortemente embriagado pelo caxiri, derrubou por terra a própria esposa e a espezinhou até matá-la. Depois deitou-se na rede e dormiu. Enquanto dormia os parentes e outras pessoas enterraram o cadáver. O assassino ao despertar-se na manhã seguinte, chama pela mulher, a fim de que lhe preparasse o mingau. Contaram-lhe, então, como êle mesmo a havia matado em a noite precedente. O assassino, sem falar nada a pessoa alguma, toma a sua canoa e interna-se num igarapé vizinho. Alguns dias depois a canoa foi encontrada bubulando (flutuando em meio da corrente), e dentro alguns pedaços de timbó e um pouco ainda suja do suco de timbó. O pobre homem espremera e sorvera o suco venenoso daquela planta e, talvez nas convulsões da agonia, caíra dentro dágua e morrera afogado.

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a) *Seus poderes*

Seus poderes são muitos. Em primeiro lugar, neutralizar o malefício lançado sôbre um doente, e assim cura-lo. Pode mesmo tornar os indivíduos invulneráveis as doenças.

Reversivamente, êle lançará malefício e causará enfermidade nos outros, e até a morte. Atribuem-lhe ainda poder sôbre os ventos, chuvas, tempestades, raios. É e êle também que fará as crianças crescer ou, ao contrário, as tornará raquíticas. Sabe predizer o futuro.

É capaz de descobrir os criminosos, quando se supõe a existência de um crime e ninguém foi prêso em flagrante.

Como efeito de suas cerimônias os indivíduos serão felizes na caça ou na pesca.

É ainda por ação do pajé, dizem, que o *curare* tem seu formidável poder tóxico, que as bebidas se tornam mais inebriantes ou perdem esta sua qualidade.

Donde se deduz tôda a importância social do pajé e o respeito e temor que o envolve da parte de todos os índios, não só da propria tribo, como das outras tribos também. É talvez o maior sacrifício que a catequese católica impõe aos indígenas cristãos, a renúncia a crença no poder do pajé. Em alguns casos só o consegue parcialmente.

b) *Meios de cura*

Os meios de cura de que serve o pajé correspondem, por seu lado, ao conceito mágico das doenças. Conhece e aplica as plantas medicinais, das quais faz poção, prepara pó, fumigação. Aplicam também a ablução (*Oxkó--pyó-pedsé*), borrifamento (*Oxkó-stásé-mapé*), massagens (*Pá-pudse* ou *Tu-borosé*), sucção (*Pó-ãsesé*). Mas possui além disso todo um aparelhamento de poder mágico conservado ordinariamente num pequeno cesto que se diz *Wamó arkó-ro* (18), o seu estôjo médico, onde há pequenas cabaças contendo pós, e também espinhos, pedaços de osso e de paus cilíndricos, pequenos seixos, pedras polidas de cristal para a visão e, especialmente, o maracá pintado (*Yará-gu*), considerado instrumento mágico e o cigarro (*Barséke mõrõ-rõ*, Uaupés *mõ'nõ-nõ*).

Fuma-o e espalha a fumaça sôbre o corpo ou à parte dolorida do corpo com a fôrça de espancar o *dohasé* e operar a cura. Pela fumaça ele é capaz de pressagiar a morte do doente; e a direção

(18) Para designar êsse estôjo médico do pajé temos ouvido também a expressão *Pi'i-kamó*, se é um cesto, e *Wihyó-sáku*, quando é uma bolsa de fururi.

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que da tomar, ou a figura que descrever no ar indicará quem causou aquele maleficio.

Quando o pajé sopra na mão esquerda fechada, e, abrindo-a depois solta a fumaça em dado sentido, ou com gesto largo, moroso da mão direita impele a fumaça desde a axila esquerda para determinada direção, para lá enviará doenças e desgraças. O simples ato, fechando lentamente a mão esquerda, espancará as nuvens, fazendo cessar a chuva. Se, ao invés, fôr abrindo os dedos, enviará ventos, tempestades, raios. Os raios têm sempre origem de algum pajé. (Cfr. Ermano Stradelli, o c. verbete *Pajé*).

Há uma crença profundamente enraizada na força misteriosa do «Sôpro», «*Bazsesé*», do pajé, porque o sôpro provém do íntimo da pessoa, do seu *Heripôra* (10).

Não se pode, evidentemente, falar que os índios admitam uma força magnética natural no pajé. Têm-no, pois, como possuidor de uma virtude espiritual extraordinária.

c) *Algumas plantas da terapêutica xamanística*

Em um pequeno herbario, em organização no «Centro de Pesquisas» de Iauarete, havia, em 1955, as seguintes plantas da terapêutica indígena, recolhidas por alguns pajés, os quais de cada uma delas nos indicaram o nome, emprêgo, utilidade, método do preparo e posologia. Pelo costume indígena de denominar as plantas pelo seu emprêgo, plantas diversas recebem o mesmo nome, como se verificou no herbario e se indicará abaixo, e, algumas vêzes, com processo de preparo e posologia idênticos ou quase.

1. *Dapôn pariré-ko* (nas dores de cabeça). Raspa-se a casca e deixa-se algum tempo em água, da qual se toma depois uma cuia.

2. *Merê-da* (Uaupés *Meinê-da*) (colírio). Retira-se a seiva que se aplica em gotas aos olhos.

3. *Nazpéri sódsé-ko* (colírio). Deixa-se por algum tempo a raspa da raiz e da casca em água que se pinga cinco vêzes por dia no olho e ao deitar-se.

4. *Nazpéri sódsé-kó* (colírio). Da água, em que estiveram em infusão raspas da casca e da raiz, pinga-se no ôlho algumas vêzes por dia, especialmente antes de ir deitar-se.

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(10) Admitem essa fôrça misteriosa também no sôpro dos brancos, especialmente se êle é médico (e êste julgam um pajé). Sabemos que o próprio Koch Grunberg (Z. I. 101) praticou os sopros entre os indígenas.

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Cesário (octogenário xamã Tukano)

Os xamãs
(dir.) Marcelino (**Wanana** de Jacaré, rio Uaupés)
(esq.) Eduardo (**Huhudeni** de Uapuim-cachoeira, rio Siari, afl. do Içana)

xamãs Tukano:
Marcelino de Juquira (dir.)
Henrique do Japú igarapé (esq.) tocando o **chá**

5 *Pizkõ-ko* (contra dor-de-dente). Deixa-se a casca em infusão na água, a qual depois se pinga no dente dolorido e no nariz.

6 *Pã-purise-ko* (nas dores de estômago). Deixa-se a casca em infusão na água da qual se toma um meio copo. Possui também ação emética.

7 *-Papiu-ko-da* (contra a disenteria). Raspa-se a casca, ferve-se em água, filtra-se e toma-se meio copo três vêzes ao dia. O líber desta planta provoca espuma e é usado para a lavagem da cabeça.

8 *Wazkuri-ko* (nas cólicas hepáticas). Empregam-se as raspas da raiz deixadas em água, da qual se toma uma cuia.

9 *Wazkuri-ko* (nas cólicas hepáticas). Toma-se uma cuia da água na qual estêve em infusão por algum tempo a casca desta planta.

10 *Pirõ-pũri-ko* (Unupes *pirõ-pũri-ko*) (vermífugo). Deixam-se raspas da casca em água, da qual se toma uma meia cuia.

11 *Pirõ pũri-ko* (variedade usada como vermífugo). Toma-se uma cuia da água em que estêve em infusão a casca desta planta.

12 *Pirõ pũri-ko* (outra variedade de vermífugo). Raspas da raiz postas em infusão produzem um líquido avinhado do qual se toma uma cuia.

13 *Wãz-ti pouri-ko* (para tosse e afecções pulmonares). Maceram-se raspas da casca em água da qual se tomam três cuias ao dia.

14 *Wãz-ti pouri-ko* (outra variedade para a tuberculose). Deixa-se a casca em infusão, e tomam-se três cuias dessa água diàriamente, por um espaço de dez dias.

15 *Sere-ko-da* (no puru-puru (20) ou vitiligo). Raspa-se a casca que se ferve em água até lhe dar a côr vinhosa. Desta água tomam-se três colheres ao dia até desaparecerem as manchas.

16 *Dupoa-ñpisé-ko* (para as manchas pretas do rosto). Deixam-se as fôlhas em infusão na água, com a qual se banhará o rosto.

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(20) Consiste o puru-puru numa descoloração da epiderme e mais raramente em manchas pretas causadas por um espiroqueta como a treponema pallidum. Sôbre esta doença, muito espalhada entre os Arawaks do Içana, o Centro de Pesquisas da Missão Salesiana do Rio Negro promoveu estudos do Prof. Dr. Emilio Biocca e outros.

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[illegible] (contra a picada de cobra). Comam-se a casca e [illegible] planta e apliquem-se também no lugar da picada.

[illegible]-hêsu-trise-ko (resinador). Deixam-se as raspas da raiz [illegible] na água, que a mulher deve ir tomando até regularizar [illegible].

[illegible]-ti-ti-koko ñnî-ko (Uaupés pôrã-ti-tiôko ñnî-ko) (para [illegible]). Raspas da raiz são deixadas em infusão em água [illegible] mulher deve ir bebendo até conceber.

[illegible]-di-ta (para ter filho homem). A mulher deve ir be- [illegible] da água na que estiveram em infusão raspas da raiz desta planta.

[illegible]-ñã-ñgu-pôrãise (para ter alternadamente filhos dos [illegible]). A mulher deve beber periodicamente da água em que [illegible] em infusão raspas da raiz desta planta.

[illegible]-tpop-sêrigô-ko-sêrikoko (Uaupés pôrã-tpopo-sêrigô- [illegible] esterilizante). Toma-se a água em que se deixaram [illegible] da raiz em infusão. Seu uso muito prolongado pode trazer [illegible] a esterilidade absoluta e definitiva.

[illegible]-sêritô-ko (Uaupés pôrã-tise sêritô-ko) (esterili- [illegible]). A mulher deve beber da água em que estiveram em inace- [illegible] da raiz desta planta. É preferível misturar com a es- [illegible].

[illegible] (Uaupés pôrã-[illegible]-ko) (esterilizante). [illegible] em infusão em água que a mulher bebe para evitar [illegible].

[illegible]-ko. Raspas da raiz em infusão em água [illegible] mulher vai bebendo até alcançar o efeito.

[illegible]-ko (abortivo). Raspas da raiz em infusão na água [illegible] mulher tomará três ou quatro chás ao dia até alcançar [illegible] desejado.

*Seus processos de cura*

No processo de cura, mesmo nos casos do emprego de remédios [illegible], de plantas de reconhecida virtude terapêutica, se funda- [illegible] ou do menos, e por em auxílio. Com efeito, das [illegible] sucção da parte doente, ou de se fazer cair água dende [illegible] mostram do depois ao doente. Recorrendo à prestidigita- [illegible] que observar Kuen Grunberg, 2 / 99) o objeto [illegible].

pedra, espinho, insetos, escamas, etc.) que lhe extraiu do membro dolorido e lhe causava as pontadas, *Wazkari*.

Com auxílio de narcóticos ou de excitantes, provocará em si estados de crise ou de excitação nervosa, durante o qual vê as causas da doença, ou os causadores do maleficio. Será capaz de fazê-lo ver também ao doente. Preferirá trazer o enfermo à sua barraca, ou ir à do doente durante a noite. Exigirá a ausência de outras pessôas, e, a sós com o doente, começará suas práticas num ambiente de trevas e mistério, resmungando muito ràpidamente (21) palavras ininteligíveis, cantarolando em peculiar entoação e alternando com rudosos suspiros e gemidos. Sabem e executam uma série de canções, cada qual com sua eficiência para dado tipo de enfermidade (22), acompanhadas muitas vêzes pelo som do maracá, (*Yazsá-ga*) havido como instrumento mágico.

Maraca (yazsá-ga)

O desenvolvimento dêsse processo sugestivo é facilitado por várias causas. A primeira é a atitude mental do índio. Depois talvez o efeito natural medicinal do tratamento e coincidências que o índio tomará como [illegible]. Parece, outrossim, que em alguns casos se trate de um hipnotismo inconsciente, quiçá mesmo fôrça magnética e telepátia espontâneas. Conhecem-se fatos de singular manifestação telepática e outros, que espantam e escapam a qualquer explicação da nossa parte (23).

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(21) Costumam nos isso, que o Missionário diga as orações mais apressadamente.

(22) Conseguimos gravar algumas dessas canções dos pajés das tribos Tukano, Wanana, Taryana e Hunhdeni que se podem ouvir na "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" do Centro de Pesquisas de Iauaretê-Endereço: P. Alcionilio Bruzzi-Largo C. de Jesus, 154 — S. Paulo, Brasil.

(23) Em Iauaretê os pajés disseram que debaixo dos alicerces da igreja ficara enterrado um cigarro maléfico, o qual com suas emanações havia [illegible] os fiéis. Na realidade apareceram entre os indígenas vários casos de tuberculose, explicados, naturalmente, como efeito das emanações do cigarro. Em Teresita, outrora Missão dos Padres Monfortanos e hoje do Instituto das Missões Estrangeiras de Yarumal, no Rio Papuri (Colômbia) em menos de três anos morreram seis irmãos, homens fortes, por maleficio, se disse do Pajé Pirá-tapúya de Umuriaçuba.

Pode suceder também que o pajé nos casos graves de doenças epidemias, tempestades convide outros colegas para realizarem uma «junta médica».

Suas qualidades psíquicas

Outrora cada maloca ou povoado possuía o seu xamã e, às vezes, até mais de um. Hoje já não os há tantos. Parece um índio como os demais: terá sua família, sua casa, sua roça como os outros, só há um apartamento na maloca comum. Participa das reuniões sociais: pescaria, caxiri, dabacuris (24).

É porém um indivíduo que deve possuir singular temperamento e um estudo de qualidades especiais: inteligência mais aberta, memória tenaz para conservar os conhecimentos necessários ou úteis, conhecimentos das plantas e dos processos de cura, poder de sugestionar, capacidade de autosugestionar-se, de provocar em si emoções vivas, ou mesmo crises nervosas que causarão contorsões e até perda dos sentidos; e com estas manifestações emocionarão também o seu cliente.

Deve, outrossim, manifestar amor à solidão. Alguns preferem morar em barracas afastadas, mais no interior da mata ou nas cabeceiras dos igarapés.

São as principais qualidades que deve apresentar o pajé. Tais qualidades, conforme pensam, lhe advêm de um espírito especial que pode passar para o seu filho. Por isso êste é o indicado para suceder ao pai. Não é contudo, necessàriamente hereditária a função. Nada e um outro qualquer, com as qualidades convenientes, pode constituir-se pajé.

Além das qualidades requer-se adequada preparação que dura anos. Consiste na solidão, jejuns, em sonhos e excitações e muitas outras práticas para desenvolver, ou mesmo criar, as qualidades supranormais. Para alcançar esta finalidade o candidato por-se-á à escola de outro pajé como servente aprendiz. Não raro um pajé mais célebre atrai à sua escola mais alunos e dá-lhes uma formação coletiva (25).

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24) Deixam por vêzes de comparecer a tais reuniões a fim de se não encontrarem com outros pajés. São oficiais do mesmo ofício...

25) Perto de Taracuá-ponta, na maloca do Suruuca, conforme atesta Mons. Lourenço Giordano, habitava por volta de 1917, um pajé famoso que tinha sempre numerosos alunos, de sorte a constituir como uma "Faculdade de Medicina indígena" no seu barracão. Soubemos também de um prestigioso pajé de Taurete, por nome João, que preparou de uma feita cinco pajés em Meio Franco (rio Papuri).

1) *Preparação do zamé* (26)

É longa a preparação de um pajé. Além das instruções teóricas que recebem, servem-se de várias substâncias e instrumentos mágicos, denominados *Wihió* (27), todos de origem lendária, alguns dos quais teriam aparecido misteriosamente, e se transmitem de pajé a pajé.

Quando um velho pajé quer preparar um filho seu para exercer a pajelança, inicia a preparação desde os primeiros meses, pondo-lhe por três meses um *Wihió* aplicado ao umbigo, *Wihyó peomi kâ mar-ró-re*. Êste *Wihió* é de forma arredondada, de uma substância endurecida, cuja origem se perde na lenda, conforme nos asseguraram. Durante êsses três meses o pajé deve também ter uma alimentação leve, de resguardo, quase exclusivamente mingau e chibé.

Mais tarde, depois de tirar o primeiro *Wihi*, adapta-lhe ao umbigo, por uns cinco meses, o *Axpá--khwi-re Wihió*, o qual consiste numa pedra pequena e arredondada de quartzo, de seus dois a três centímetros de diâmetro.

Ao depois aplicar-lhe-á o *Wihió* de coco de tucumã, bem pintado com carajuru, dito *Ovainé Wihió* (em Taryana *Enúki*).

Há um *Wihió* em forma de rapé, que o pajé e o aprendiz aspiram, e o *Kaiówa Wihió*, obtido do suco de algumas plantas (uacú [illegible]) submetido à evaporação até se reduzir a um pó finíssimo.

O mais maravilhoso é o *Wihió-phi* (em Taryana *Kerá-yúki*). É uma pequena pedra de cristal, com uma cavidade e sua tampa. Conforme a crença indígena êste aparelho remonta à origem da tribo e, misteriosamente, contém uma substância de um perfume leve e agradável. O pajé de vez em quando, nas suas preleções, destampa o *Kerá-yúki*, a fim de que exale aquêle perfume, o qual deve ajudar para esclarecer a inteligência dos seus discípulos, postados em semi-círculo diante dêle.

Dizem que em certa época do ano, lá por abril, essa substância fica seca e quase desaparece, e pelos meses de junho-agosto torna-se a cheher de per si.

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(26) Relação do Índio Taryana Teo Iauaretê, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues que fez o curso comparativo.

(27) *Wihió* provavelmente deriva de *Wihi*, cheirar, e designa propriamente substâncias que aspiram ou cheiram, como o paricá, quase todas de odor intenso, algumas capazes até de entontecer. Talvez, por extensão de sentido, o termo *Wihió* passou a indicar também o conjunto dessas substâncias.

Pelos 10 anos começa o curso intenso de pajelança, e dura mais ou menos uns 15 anos. O candidato só pode casar-se depois de concluído o curso.

Durante todo êsse tempo êle vive ao lado do pajé-mestre, e às suas ordens. Não tem preocupação de preparar sua roça ou participar das pescarias, porque, como o pajé, também êle será mantido pelos donativos dos doentes.

É um curso severo. Levanta-se duas horas antes de clarear o dia e prolongam-se suas atividades até alta noite. Além de ensinar ao aprendiz as lendas das origens de cada tribo e as suas tapanhuns, ensina-lhes, outrossim, o uso dos remédios e sua aplicação. É um curso prático, e o aprendiz acompanha ao pajé nos seus trabalhos junto de cada doente.

Procura o velho pajé desenvolver nos candidatos o poder de engolir. Solenemente, de pé diante dos seus discípulos (assim apunha um dêles), com gesto impressionante, faz invocação dos elementos provocadores das doenças. São especialmente três: *Ortá* (pedra), *Wazkori* (fragmentos de paxiuba) e *Uhé-phi* (cascas de árvore). Os aprendizes percebem vir do ar êsses elementos, em forma de fragmentos de pedra, paxiuba ou de casca. Os mais ágeis apanham logo, outros os deixam cair no chão.

Deve o candidato saber engolir e, ao depois, vomitar êsses fragmentos. Para vomitá-los, conscante o relato, não usam introduzir o dedo na garganta: comprime-se o estômago, inclina-se o busto para a frente e, com esfôrço do estômago, o fragmento é vomitado. Devem fazer tal exercício muitas vêzes, e assim lavam (?) o fragmento que foi vomitado para engoli-lo novamente e expelí-lo daí a pouco.

A pouca habilidade do aprendiz neste exercício, como sua inapetência de memória para guardar as lendas e ensinamentos tradicionais, acarretam sua exclusão. E assim o mestre vai reduzindo o número de aprendizes.

Muitos dos seus conhecimentos advêm ao pajé dos sonhos, que deve saber interpretar. Com o progresso do tempo, em pleno dia, pode cair em torpor, de pé, diante dos alunos, e vê, então, a distância, os doentes que virão consultá-lo e a causa das doenças.

Crê que as nuvens lhe revelam as doenças, bem como outros fatos que interessam ao grupo ou aos indivíduos. Submete os alunos a provas de capacidade. Manda-os observar as nuvens e dar a interpretação e os vai corrigindo — «Aquela forma de nuvem representa mulher e não homem, representa criança e não adulto. Não é tal parte que está doente, porém estoutra».

Já sabe que a doença é incurável, e por isso, quando chamado [illegible] dirá a seus discípulos: — «Não vamos tratar, é inútil, ele vai morrer».

Quando prevê a cura, dirige-se, então, à casa do doente e faz a diagnose, dizendo se a causa das dores é *Oxtá*, *Waxkari* ou *Uhá-phi*. A eliminação desses corpos estranhos que acarretam as dores é a primeira condição de cura. Êle o consegue com sucções profundas, repetidas três ou quatro vêzes, feitas diretamente sôbre o órgão dolorido, entremeadas também de cantos, gemidos e exorcismos.

Não deixa de dar conselho ao doente, para um pronto restabelecimento, ou para evitar a reincidência. Entre êsses conselhos, cita o informante «abster-se do abuso das relações sexuais».

O resto do tratamento fica aos cuidados dos *Kõmũ* (do qual falaremos adiante), conforme as prescrições do pajé. Realiza-se com ervas, infusões, ou esconjuros. São êstes fórmulas antigas, cuja idade ignoram presentemente, e variam conforme a causa da doença. Tendo entre as mãos a cuia de mingau que o doente vai tomar o *Kõmũ*, quando a doença é provocada por *Waxkari* localizado no crânio, pronuncia um esconjuro que começa pelas palavras — «*Yuxá-paranã-ãti*».

Minutos depois o doente começa a sentir-se melhor, e a cura se processará mais tarde.

[illegible] Sua influência

A fama de um pajé dependerá dos fatos favoráveis. Há destarte pajés superiores, ou *Fortes* e inferiores (28), conforme as curas ou

[illegible] são os pajés tidos como [illegible] nas seguintes localidades: Ultra-poço, S. João, [illegible] Ultra-Cachoeira.

[illegible] mais famosos pois, conforme a tradição [illegible] Já em 1800 queixava-se [illegible] Tarquini, a Stradelli (o.c.p. 555-verbete *Pajé*) [illegible] "E eram queixas, escreve Stradelli, de colleguismo, porque eu passei sempre por muito bom pajé graças a photographia, ao microscopio e as coleções de plantas, especie de Caillaciums, que fazia durante o tempo [illegible] dos indígenas no Rio Uaupés". O mesmo Stradelli [illegible] Vocabulário traz esta noção: — "Pajé não é qualquer, só os fortes de coração, os que sabem superar as provas de iniciação, que [illegible] para ser pajé. Com menos de cinco [illegible] não há pajé que possa afrontar impunemente as cobras venenosas, e precisa ter mais de cinco fôlegos para poder curar as doenças [illegible] imposição das mãos e, com o cuspo, as mordidelas das cobras venenosas. Os pajés que têm de sete fôlegos para cima, têm [illegible] o futuro, curam à distância, podem mudar-se à vontade no animal que lhes convém, tornar-se invisível e se transportar de um lugar para outro com o simples esforço do proprio querer".

outros fatos extraordinários que conseguir realizar. Os mais famosos atraírão clientela de grandes distâncias e mesmo de outras tribos. Até alguns civilizados, que se estabelecem por aquelas regiões, deixam-se influenciar e recorrem também aos serviços do pajé.

É tal a influência do pajé que os próprios alimentos do doente são submetidos ao seu sôpro, *Buriéke*. Até os remedios dados aos civilizados são apresentados ao pajé que sôbre eles soprará, para dar-lhes eficácia. Se o doente sarar, o mérito será naturalmente do pajé. Se não conseguir a melhora e vier a falecer, explicará que se trata de malefício de outro «pajé mais forte», ou por ter tomado remedio dos brancos, ou alimento «não soprado», ou, enfim, sobreveio o novo e improviso malefício antes que o pajé pudesse ser chamado.

E se declarar que nada mais pode fazer, o doente será abandonado como alguém fatalmente condenado à morte; e não raro lhe negarão os parentes tôda assistência, e até mesmo a alimentação. O doente muita vez, depois do tal parecer do pajé, acelerará a sua morte, recusando outros remédios do civilizado e qualquer comida ou bebida (vd. V 23 — estoicismo).

Tem acontecido que o pajé declare a maloca ou o povoado imediatamente perigoso, e então os índios não duvidarão de abandonar-lo e transferir-se para outro local, não obstante tôdas as dificuldades (29).

Tem-se visto os índios cavar um terreiro larga e profundamente, por ordens do pajé, a fim de descobrir o cigarro aí enterrado e causador das doenças, e que o pajé fará ver no momento oportuno. Em ocasião um pajé ordenou, e foi fielmente obedecido, que se substituísse o piso da maloca e fôsse substituído por outra terra, para que cessassem as doenças da maloca.

4) Sua posição.

Desfrutando o pajé do máximo ascendente, (30) pois, conforme a crença dos indígenas, depende dêle a vida ou a morte dos homens, da sua como das outras tribos, bem como as tempestades

(29) Tem sucedido inúmeras vezes que, após alguns anos voltam ao mesmo local. Em 1932 um surto de impaludismo vitimou cerca de 70 índios em Taracuá-ponta, rio Uaupés. Apesar de nenhum aluno do colégio missionário ter sido vítima, os índios abandonaram, por medo, a localidade. Em 1947 começou o reinôro.

(30) Vários índios, depois de conquistada a sua confiança, declararam-nos não querer bem, porém apenas temer e, às vêzes, odiar o pajé. Ordinariamente, porém, por receio da vingança do pajé, calam-se quando interrogados sôbre êle, sôbre seus processos de cura, etc.

e a natureza tôda, compreende-se que é privilegiada a sua posição. Embora careça de poder político, o próprio tuxaua e a população inteira respeitam-no e temem-no (31).

Para não o terem inimigo satisfazem-lhe a vontade; para terem-no amigo e alcançar seus bons serviços, dão-lhe presentes, mesmo antes de ter operado alguma cura. Como a sua fama cresce com êxitos e curas a êle atribuídos, decresce, outrossim, com os seus insucessos. Em vista de serem êles os conhecedores dos malefícios (que preparam para instrumento de vingança), aos pajés se atribuem as desgraças e as mortes misteriosas e rápidas em circunstâncias impressionantes; e contra êles também se descarregam as vinganças (32).

A sua presença nas proximidades de um povoado à noite, quando vai fazer a sua pesca, é sempre suspeita. Se após uma sua visita

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(31) Confirmando o Padre Arcuno Giacone — "Pela autoridade que gozam entre os índios e pelo temor que todos têm dos seus sôpros mortíferos, torna-se sumamente [illegible] cheio de si mesmo chegando ali[illegible] Ugue bukue, velho Deus" (o.c. 38).

Tornou-se de nenhum de morto pois também o seu espírito é capaz de fazer mal. Em [illegible] pediram ao Missionário que não enterrasse [illegible] "porque êle assustaré nossos filhos ne[illegible] Argentina as vezes que os indígenas não querem [illegible] Um Missionário Montfortiano, o Pe Umberto Limpo[illegible] (em homenagem ao Pe Clemente, a nome do seu antecessor) viu-se [illegible] que fazer sua barraca mais longe. Em [illegible] de 1947 um menino foi mordido de cobra nas pro[illegible] Montfort, Colômbia. A morrem esquerda do Papuri. O [illegible] a Missão, porém o pajé não o permitiu, [illegible] foi o veneno. Fê-lo, porém o menino [illegible] O [illegible] insurgiu-se contra o pajé, o qual lan[illegible] sôpro mortal, e êle veio a morrer pouco depois. A popu[illegible] contra o pajé. "Deixou êste mais prudente fu[illegible] Cuiá-cuiá (afluente do Papuri) [illegible] Desana costumavam fazer suas grandes pescarias, ameaçando [illegible] sôpro sôbre todos os que lá fossem. Os Desana, naturalmente, ficaram amedrontados e deram curso ao boato que os Missionários Montfortianos estavam também com medo do sôpro do pajé.

(32) Afirmam alguns que o pajé não pode administrar veneno. "Êle vê mesmo de longe". Essa crença o vantajosa aos pajés. Parece, no entanto, que, ao menos agora, nem todos a endossem. Em outubro de 1949 morreu de pneumonia um indígena de Ipanuré. Atribuiram a morte e morte ao pajé do vizinho povoado de Cigarro. Quando tal [illegible] com alguns de [illegible] ao trabalho do transporte da [illegible] de Ipanuré, os índios desta localidade abandonaram o trabalho e escondem-se no mato e, quando o pajé vai passando pela estrada, um dos homens de Ipanuré dá-lhe uma bordoada que êle evita, desviando a cabeça e cobrindo-a com o braço que se quebra ao cotovelo e antebraço.

Numa maloca (especialmente de outra tribo) ai sobreviver alguma morte ou desgraça, o pajé será inculpado (33).

Alguns pajés se viram obrigados a abandonarem os povoados e ausentarem por muito tempo, até que se atenuasse a irritação contra êles.

1) *Seu papel social*

O pajé representa o mais elevado nível intelectual do povoado indígena não só, como também é o zelador pela observância das leis da tribo. Êle as conhece, ensina, e exige seu cumprimento, sendo capaz de punir, (34) com doenças, raios, maleficios, enfim, o desrespeito às práticas tradicionais.

Êle preside a tôda a vida social, tanto da família como o grupo. Ao nascer uma criança quem a soprará, exorcizará e pintará com carajurá, a fim de que ela cresça forte e livre de doenças, é o pajé, como, também dará os remédios à parturiente.

Em algumas tribos a imposição do nome se faz com a presença do pajé. Com seu indispensável cigarro enfumarando a criança, em um período do momento, êle dirá o nome ou sugestionará ao pai que o faça para escolher um nome indicado por uma circunstância qualquer, talvez mesmo um nome indecente.

Quando a menina atinge a puberdade, o pajé passará com ela algum tempo, dando-lhe oportunas instruções teóricas e práticas sôbre a maternidade e obrigações inerentes a esta.

Por ocasião da iniciação masculina cabe-lhe ensinar aos rapazes as lendas tradicionais, seus direitos e deveres como membros do grupo, as práticas rituais e verificar sua habilitação, por meio de interrogatórios, castigos, flagelações, jejuns, etc.

Êle é ainda o principal instrutor dos *Komú* (vd. VII - 2, e (3) de cuja capacidade emitirá parecer, e dos quais será sempre o dirigente, reunindo-os periodicamente em assembléia, e dando-lhes as indicações oportunas a cada circunstância.

2) *Conseqüências*

Uma primeira é que em muitos casos agrava-se a doença por falta de tratamento adequado; ou os próprios processos do pajé

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(33) Numa maloca de Jandu, no igarapé Umari, afluente do Tiquié, pouco antes de nossa passagem por ali (dezembro de 1947) caira um raio. De tal desgraça foi responsabilizado o pajé que ameaçara lançar ali um raio.

(34) Êle é, pois, o maior opositor da assimilação da nossa cultura por parte dos silvícolas.

exacerbam o mal e aceleram a morte. Em vários casos de pneumonia e tuberculose laríngea e pulmonar precipitou-se o desenlace por efeito das abluções do pajé (35).

Outra consequência gravíssima dessa credulidade no poder mágico são as vinganças, em fim e numerosos crimes. Tôda doença, morte ou desgraça teve como causa algum maleficio. O pajé não só procurará neutralizar êsse maleficio, como indicará, outrossim, alguém como causador dêle, e preparará venenos (36) e contra-venenos para a desforra. Ou exortará à vingança a vítima depois da morte, e se ela morrer, os seus parentes. Donde sempre acirrado, ódio de tribo contra tribo, e dentro de uma mesma tribo, de um povoado contra outro, ou de família do mesmo povoado ou maloca. Daqui ainda maior submissão de todos ao pajé, do qual em tudo dependem, e isto é um impecilho ao desenvolvimento do espírito do índio. Por outra parte, essa mesma crença tem por fim de vingar ainda mais o indivíduo à própria família ou grupo, pois garantia que será vingado dos maleficios, e isto é já um preventivo, porque os seus inimigos, com medo da vindita, se abstêm de fazer-lhe mal.

k) *O ramá, convicto ou impostor?*

Há fatos insofismáveis em que o pajé leva, por exemplo, na boca, um pedaço de osso que dirá ter chupado do órgão dolorido, e por precaução, mostrará o côto de cigarro venenoso. Também o pôde observar Grumberg (*Z. I.* 00).

Ocupa, além disto, posição de destaque e muito vantajosa, capaz portanto de despertar inveja e cobiça. Por exemplo, um indivíduo muito feio, quase deforme, faz-se pajé, e um pai, por temor, dá-lhe uma sua filha como esposa (37).

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35) Um Acuricuara, margem Colombiana do Papuri, um indivíduo adoecera, [illegible] pelo pajé. Era, porém, cristão, e vendo que eram [illegible] intensamente, mandou chamar o Missionário, Pe. Clemente, e [illegible] que não desejasse mais o pajé vir à sua casa. Realmente, [illegible] o teria sido possível a cura se se [illegible] dos cuidados do Missionário.

36) [illegible] exerci ou mandou dizem *Nimá toásé* (nimá: [illegible] de dar à beber).

37) É um dos exemplos que nos foi narrado pelo Padre Clemente, Montfortano de Acuricuara, rio Paca. A êsse Missionário veio ter um [illegible] que foi [illegible] o colégio de Montfort e depois [illegible] fizera pajé [illegible] que os outros tivessem medo dêle, e assim poder fazer bem o [illegible], declarou mais tarde. O pajé que o preparara deu-lhe a beber algo que entontecia e "fazia ver muitas cousas". Declarou também que aspirara demais e ficara doente, pedindo que o Padre o curasse. Nesse caso, porém, se verificou um desequilíbrio mental, quiçá agravado pelo tratamento do pajé.

Como retribuição de serviços, os pajés são sempre bem remu-
gados até o ponto de terem o que lhes é necessário para a sua
subsistência sem mais trabalho.

Será ele apenas um espertalhão a explorar a credulidade de
seus patrícios? (38)

Parece que não. Embora inteligente e talvez mesmo dotado de
certa cultura que os mais indígenas não se pode pensar que esteja
isento da crença geral nos espíritos, nas forças ocultas da na-
tureza, às quais crê ligadas a processos e cerimônias que os ante-
passados sempre empregaram. Talvez da sua grande sugestiona-
bilidade é que lhe venha o poder de transferir a outros a sua
sugestão e a cura.

Não se pode excluir, já o dissemos, certo poder magnético ou
psíquico natural. Quem sabe, em algumas circunstâncias se dão
fenômenos de telepatia, tanto mais misteriosos para os pró-
prios profanos, quanto mais ignorantes. Até mesmo as curas
feitas com ervas usadas, ou dos banhos aplicados, e as coinci-
dências totalmente fortuitas, contribuirão para radicar no ânimo do
povo uma convicção profunda sôbre a eficácia de suas cerimônias
e seu poder mágico.

São numerosos os fatos reveladores dessa convicção nos pajés.
Um deles tinha um filho internado no colégio de Taracua-ponta e,
sabendo que estava doente, veio visitá-lo e encontrou-o assistido
por missionários e em uso de remédios. Nada pôde fazer então.
Mais tarde, depois, aproveitando o momento em que todos se achavam
ausentes na igreja para uma função religiosa, sobe apressadamente
o leito de seu filho, e lá foi surpreendido junto à rede do mesmo,
ministrando-lhe seus processos de cura.

Do mesmo modo chegam a convencer-se de seu poder sôbre a
natureza e muitas vêzes ameaçam fazer descer raios. Atribuirão
os insucessos à ação perturbadora de outro pajé mais forte. Os
salesianos construíam em Itauaretê o primeiro grande pavilhão da
sede da Missão, quando, por ocasião de uma tempestade, cai um
raio sôbre a parte recém-construída, com grande susto e alarma, de
todos, sem vítimas, porém. Dias depois aparece o pajé *Taryana* da
localidade, muito penalizado, assegurando ao Superior da Missão que

(38) O Padre João Francisco Baggiaretti, médico e Missionário da Prelazia do Rio Negro, tentou várias vêzes, porém debalde, ouvir e falar a pajés sôbre doenças e curas. Chegou certa vez a convidá-los para uma reunião em Pari-cachoeira, com promessa também de presentes, porém nenhum dêles se apresentou.

não fôra ele absolutamente quem fizera cair aquêle raio. Fôra um pajé mais distante e seu inimigo que fizera aquilo, para atrair a celeridade sôbre êle que residia em Iauaretê.

Uma informação de Patrícia Vasconcelos (outubro de 1955) dá-nos a entender que, ao menos alguns pajés, têm consciência da própria responsabilidade e a noção do dever profissional. Seu tio Marco é um pajé forte do povoado de S. Luzia, margem brasileira do rio Papuri. «Sopra muito, porém não derrama água», dizia Patrícia, isto é, não usa o processo das abluções. Não saberia se é uma defesa espontânea que faz a jovem; quiça teria ouvido algum Missionário criticar êsse processo terapêutico responsável por algumas mortes de doentes pneumônicos. De uma feita disse êle a Patrícia: — Minha sobrinha, a coisa seria ser pajé. Êle deve soprar direito (isto é exercer seus ritos com exatidão). Se não soprar direito, êle será castigado. Seria o conceito de um julgamento após a morte? E repetindo o que ouvira do seu tio, a jovem acrescentou: — «Quando o doente tem dôr de cabeça, o pajé deve invocar (?) todos os espinhos que entraram na cabeça de Jesus. Tôdas as doenças foram as doenças de Jesus». De aqui se evidencia mais uma vez como até nas crenças e ritos do xamã se realiza interculturação de elementos cristãos.

b) O *Komũ* iniciado.

Compreende-se a fácil associação entre a «*fumaça*» e o «*sôpro*», dois importantes recursos mágicos no processo de cura dos pajés. Não é porém apenas o pajé que usa o cigarro pelo seu poder mágico («*sopra*»). Crêem outrossim, que a fumaça espalhada por algumas pessoas, particularmente certos velhos, tem a mesma virtude que a fumaça do pajé ou quase. O mesmo se diga das «*sopradas*». Êsse é o motivo por que em algumas circunstâncias (ritos do *komũ*, VIII - 1, b, 6, iniciação pubertária, VIII - 1 b 7) êle velhos pessoas intervêm «soprando» fumaça.

Sabemos de episódios de indivíduos que se gabavam da força do próprio «sôpro», capaz de enviar doenças e desgraças, e com isso tem dominado os outros.

Êstes «sopradores» se dizem *Komũa* (pl. *Komũ*), correspondente, pelo menos, ao conceito etnológico de «iniciado».

Temos assistido à longa preparação teórica, sob forma de preleções noturnas, que os *Komũ* mais velhos dão aos que aspiram à mesma posição. O velho *Komũ* de cócoras, ou sentado num banquinho, tendo diante de si o aprendiz, também de cócoras ou sentado, vai desenvolvendo o seu programa de instrução. Quando lhe parece

Talvez depois de uma ou duas horas de explanação, dá por encerrada sua lição, despedindo-se do seu aluno com a saudação tradicional: *Ũ, nikũ-ũnũ, ãdeas!* (lit. você vai ficando?).

Sentados à certa distância, em amena conversa entre si, estão os *Komũã*, o *ãtuxuwa*. Quando o primeiro finalizou a sua lição sôbre as histórias, lendas, crenças, tradições, costumes, origem das coisas e das doenças, etc., vira um segundo instruir o aluno que aprendera pacientemente a nova lição, e mostra o seu interêsse e aproveitamento dialogando com o mestre, conforme o costume indígena. Essas lições prolongam-se até horas velhas da noite, encerradas por uma despedida geral. Mestres e alunos, durante estas horas de preleções, servem-se abundantemente de *ipadu* (cfr. VI - 4, 1 (3).

Informou-nos um dos indígenas Taryana mais espertos, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, o qual fizera também o curso de pajelança, que os pajés têm reuniões periódicas, uma ou duas vêzes por mês, com os varios *Komũã*. Preavisa-os de doenças que vão aparecer, e dá-lhes as instruções sôbre o que devem fazer para esconjurar êsses e outros males.

Além destas outras reuniões mais solenes, aproximadamente semestrais, quando dá a cheirar aos *Komũã* o seu *ãthiõ* (*ãthiõ ã ã ã

[illegible] não só a noite, mas também várias horas do dia, no ambiente [illegible] da malocas (ou casas), com fogos acesos e sem escape [illegible] fumaça, seja um campo propício para as gripes e pneumo-[illegible]. No entanto, afirmando que o «catarro» vem dentro dos caixo-[illegible] de mercadoria, temo-los visto fugir do povoado de Pari-cachoeira [illegible] simples alarme de que em tal viagem da lancha as caixas tra-[illegible] catarro.

c) *Anemia — Dipetse*. Observa-se especialmente nas crianças [illegible] da terra e nas senhoras depois de certa idade, pelo [illegible] de trabalho e depauperamento orgânico com a criação dos [illegible].

d) *Bouba ou framboesia tropicalis — Maxã dihydrã*. Consiste em [illegible] dolorosas sobre todo o corpo.

e) *Reumatismo — Uhuké*. Em geral os povoados indígenas [illegible] saudáveis, pois são terras elevadas e, muito [illegible] de várzeas das cachoeiras. Têm aparecido, no entanto, [illegible] ou por causa das águas que se empoçam nas pa-[illegible] durante a vazante, ou pelos lugares inundados, [illegible] que o índio varra durante suas pescarias.

f) *Tuberculose pulmonar e laríngea — Wãz-ti poari*. Dizem-[illegible] Wãz-ti poari isto é, cabelos de Wãz-ti, que supõem pegados à [illegible] do doente. Citam-se vários casos nos rios Uaupés, Tiquié e Papuri com tendência a ampliar-se (cfr. III - 4).

g) *Mal-de-olhos — Kazuc-ri pirisé*. Em tôdas as tribos são [illegible] as chamadas de [illegible] simples irritações por friccionamento dos olhos com as mãos sujas, até os casos de conjuntivite e [illegible]. Há umas formigas amarelas, ditas taxi ou formiga-de-fogo, que vivem em alguns paus e arbustos e cuja picada é dolorida e [illegible], provocando até degenerescência da córnea. Os Makú, especialmente, são muito picados por essas formigas e ficam sofrendo da vista.

h) *Disenteria, Yohã — Diarreia, Di-pohã — Febres intestinais, Uhuké*. Disenterias, diarreias e febres intestinais são frequentes e

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[illegible] de vermifuge. Do cadáver do filho do [illegible] saíam vermes pela bôca, pelo nariz, etc. Em Uaupés [illegible] vermes perfuraram o abdomen de um menino que [illegible] dedos.

[illegible] por comidas deterioradas, aguns corrompidas (40) ou com [illegible] de timboina (por ocasião das pescarias com timbó), [illegible] frequentes, outrossim, as disenterias por ocasião das festas indígenas, cursadas pelo excesso de bebidas.

[illegible] Doenças venereas. Ha nas lendas alusão, parece-nos, a doenças venereas. No entanto são poucos os casos verificados de [illegible] (41). Provando, porem, que não se trata de uma especial [illegible] do organismo ao treponema, bastam os poucos fatos conhecidos no Uaupés, e o contágio apresentado por alguns rapazes [illegible] chegados a Manaos em busca de trabalho. Talvez conheçam [illegible] remedios vegetais. E é provavel tambem que a imunização [illegible] cura da sifilis seja resultado de uma malario-terapia espontânea, [illegible] como é que os indigenas são muitas vezes acometidos de malaria.

[illegible] Ataques epileptiformes. Conhecemos casos de ataques epileptiformes em pessoas de ambos sexos e de varias idades. Tombam [illegible] com perda dos sentidos quase sempre espasmos e convulsões seguidos de sono e completa amnesia do ocorrido, de que foram informados pelos testemunhos (42).

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[illegible] são constituidos em longos trechos por [illegible] que não raro se veem, em toda a superfície inundada, [illegible] elementos orgânicos em decomposição. [illegible] ao menos durante os meses [illegible] se acham em comunicação com [illegible] como facilmente verificará [illegible] um trecho de mata uaupesina. Se [illegible] de uma ahã [illegible] condenasse como insalubre tôda a frente e vasta superfície aquática da região.

[illegible] nos uma veterana Irmã enfermeira que nos seus 25 anos de [illegible] se lhe aparecera um caso de um rapaz afetado de doenças venereas e como se tratava de um rapaz já noivo, julgou de seu dever avisar a mãe, que não devia casar-se sem antes ter êle feito convenente tratamento. Não foi, porem, atendida, com as lamentáveis consequências previstas para a esposa.

[illegible] um dessos casos sabemos a origem dos ataques. Trata-se do [illegible] Henrique, Wanana de Cururu-cachoeira, rio [illegible] aluimento [illegible] seguagenario [illegible] grandes e olhos [illegible]. Ha alguns anos atras um raio atingiu em sua casa, queimando-se ardentemente e de exemplo-o privado dos sentidos por algumas horas. Desde essa epoca sofre ataques periodicos e, por isso, tem receio de entrar-se para as danças, embora delas participe como Baiá (cfr. VIII, a [illegible] que é. Tomo-lo visto, apesar dos seus anos, dançar com perfeição as danças rituais durante 12 horas seguidas.

O conceito mágico sôbre a origem das doenças não lhes permite tomar a mínima precaução. Não evitarão o contacto com a pessoa atacada por tuberculose ou gripe, ou infecção da pele, dormirão ao seu lado, deitar-se-ão na mesma rede, assentar-se-ão no mesmo banco, beberão pela mesma cuia, servir-se-ão da mesma panela em que mergulham os dedos com o beijú.

O Missionário procura persuadi-los, por exemplo, do perigo do contágio na tuberculose. Apesar disso não deixam de tomar caxiri talvez manipulado por uma pessoa tuberculosa.

Não se decidem, senão visitados e constrangidos, a tomar um remédio conforme as prescrições médicas, em tantas doses repetidas com tais intervalos (43). Ludibriando todos os cuidados, não duvidam de pôr fora o remédio que lhes desagrada; se, ao invés, fôr de paladar aceitável, toma-lo-ão todo de uma vez, ou dividi-lo-ão entre o doente e os sãos. Um vidro de xarope será, em poucos minutos, consumido com farinha.

5) *Remédios caseiros*

Em alguns casos indicam-se alguns meios de cura para certas doenças ou de prevenção contra elas, sem o recurso do pajé. É, não como um enfraquecimento de prestígio dêste, quanto, parece-nos, a razão medicinal. Ensinam, por exemplo, que o peixe *surubi* faz mal a quem está com feridas, e a fruta *cubiú*, a quem está com impaludismo. Se alguém comer do peixe *piraiba*, sofrerá da vista, etc.

Os mais conhecidos remédios caseiros são (44):

a) *Para feridas. Receita*: Ferver a casca do cipó *dyi-dá* (cipó de [illegible]) e aplicar a água na ferida. Ou ainda aplicam-se as feridas raspadas da batata cozinhada por *Kumi buxkõ-Ro-kó* (remédio [illegible] chagas).

*Antigas*: Lavam-nas muitas vêzes com a água em que se ferveu cipó de pedra dagua chamado *Mõõ bx'sé-ka-poari* (bigode de pinga).

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(43) A criança no pajé vai sofrendo um golpe lento dos hospitais e ambulatórios do Município e as visitas do Missionário distribuindo remédios. Mas [illegible] presentemente, não só aceitam, como até pedem os remédios [illegible] especialmente quando lhes verificam uma prenha [illegible] por exemplo, os remédios antimaláricos, analgésicos, etc. [illegible] com submeter-se a um demorado tratamento que certos remédios exigem e não duvidam em fugir do hospital.

(44) Tirei-nos esta lista do Mungaro Ladislau Auer que vive há vários anos entre os índios do Uaupés.

Contra picada de cobras. 1º De jararaca: machucam-se as [illegible] e a raiz amarelada de um arbusto denominado precisamente remédio de jararaca, e por isso o cultivam nas roças. Aplicam-se as mordeduras e dão também a beber o sumo ou infusão [illegible] folhas. Uma variedade de raiz preta tem ação ainda mais [illegible]. Contra o veneno da jararaca empregam, outrossim, a in[illegible] da raiz da sororoca.

Para as picadas de cobra em geral, bebem a seiva de um cipó [illegible] *Piró-da* (cipó de cobra), de caule grosso e de seiva [illegible] e agradável, de que se servem igualmente para se desse[illegible] quando caminham pela mata.

Apesar desses seus remédios há cada ano certo número de vítimas das cobras e se esse número não é maior deve-se aos remédios e [illegible] obtidos da Missão.

*Para dor de dentes.* Empregam uma planta que arde como [illegible] *Pirkó-ko* (remédio-para-dentes). Queimam as folhas e apli[illegible] as cinzas ao dente dolorido.

*Para dor de olhos.* 1º Se se trata de crianças, raspam a [illegible] do cipó minhoca, *Ahud-da*, deixam-no em infusão no leite [illegible] ou, na falta dêste, em água, e depois pingam algumas gotas [illegible] dente, servindo de um pequeno funil de folha de arumã. [illegible] único emprêgo, e com o mesmo processo, servem-se também [illegible] uma planta parasita de longas raízes aéreas.

[illegible] o doente é uma pessoa crescida, aplicam-lhe ao olho, [illegible] infusão da raiz do cipó *Wazud-da*, depois de bem lavada [illegible]. Aplicam, ainda, aos olhos doentes sal puro, ou misturado [illegible] de galinha bem pulverizado. Provavelmente o uso do [illegible] uma indicação dos civilizados, aplicado, porém, conforme [illegible] indígena.

*Para queimadura.* Misturam o latex da planta *Yoa-motó* com [illegible] e tomam-no aquecido. Ou comem a tapioca misturada com o latex do cipó *Pirkó-se-da* (cipó do passaro tesoura).

*Para dor de estômago.* Ralam uma batata dita *Bard*, e deitam a massa em água fria, e vão tomando em pequenas doses. Anotem, porém, de remanso-as devem transvasar de uma cuia para outra, e [illegible] sempre a substância. Sem esta precaução, afirmam, o remédio mataria o doente.

Informam que da planta denominada *Tud-dorkó* (45) há [illegible] variedades, cada qual com sua virtude particular (vd. adiante

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[illegible] experimentada, apenas provisória, cujo raiz tem cheiro ativo e a [illegible] atribuem também virtudes afrodisíacas.

VII - 4, f. 2 b) uma para mordedura de cobra; outra serve para as dores-de-barriga; uma terceira para reumatismo, uma quarta as senhoras esfregam nas pernas, nos seus incômodos.

6) *Higiene*

O ambiente em que vive o índio e suas crenças sôbre as doenças não são de molde a facilitar a higiene.

a) *Na maloca*

Sabemos que antes da influência dos civilizados, os defuntos eram enterrados na propria maloca.

A maloca, quanto mais bem feita, mais fechada é, com apenas duas portas e sem janelas, portanto com pouca ventilação e pouca luz. A fumaça dos fogos acesos dia e noite enegrece e conserva as telhas de palha do teto. Mas se êsse fogo é uma necessidade para o aquecimento, vem prejudicar os pulmões com seu gás carbônico respirado à noite e com as portas fechadas.

Pela frequência dos casos, pensamos que as gripes, *Ehô*, e [illegible] não sejam apenas efeitos de um resfriado de alguém que saiu fora da maloca à noite, com o corpo nu. Trata-se porém da verdadeira pneumonia de brônquios irritados pelo ambiente da maloca, com afolhamento e supersaturado de anidrido carbônico.

O chão não é batido, embora seja limpo periodicamente, com um [illegible] por vassoura. Fazem-no, por vêzes, quando já está [illegible] que suportar a poeira.

Não raro porém, por causa, outrossim, dos cães que aí habitam (e temos visto às vezes cães chagados e doentes), o piso é pocirento, favorecendo a proliferação dos bichos-de-pé (*culiex penetrans*) e pulgas.

Não raro as cascas de fruta são atiradas a um canto a apodrecer, provocando desagradavel cheiro. Êste é insuportavel pelos vômitos e defecações na própria maloca, durante os dabacuris. Percebe-se algumas vezes um chêiro peculiar nos povoados indígenas.

b) *Na pessoa*

É também deficiente a higiene corporal. Tomam banho tôdas as manhãs, e mais vêzes durante o dia. É porém, antes um banho para refrescar, do que para limpar. Não dispondo de sabão para eliminar a gordura do corpo e dos cabelos, vêem-se, não raro caspas de superfície sôbre algumas partes da epiderme, especialmente nas dobras da pele e nas partes cabeludas. Mesmo os que usam

sabonete, como os alunos do colégio, exalam odor desagradável e [illegible].

Embora saibam lavar a roupa, e alguns o façam bem, na maioria conservam a roupa no corpo até muito suja, ou mesmo até apodrecer. Nota-se precisamente o seguinte costume: lavar as próprias roupas com certa frequência enquanto novas. Quando as julgam velhas não as lavarão mais. Se se molham, deixam as vestes secar no corpo.

As suas primitivas redes de tucum, de regra nunca são lavadas, e dentro em pouco estão enegrecidas pelo suor, fumaça e imundície. Sobem a rede com o corpo sujo. O único cuidado será, talvez, esfregar as solas dos pés, uma contra a outra, para limpá-las da terra.

Com tôda a liberdade um índio, mesmo estranho e de passagem pela maloca (temo-lo visto até entre índios de tribos diversas), deita-se durante o dia na primeira rede que encontra livre, enquanto descança e conversa.

b) Na alimentação

Não vigora entre os indígenas a prática de preparar e tomar a alimentação com as mãos limpas. Vão cortando os pedaços de beiju com [illegible] e, alternadamente, cada pessoa o mergulha com os dedos na quinhapira. Se esta, por acaso, estiver demasiado quente [illegible] de um pau, encontrado casualmente no chão, para apanhar o fragmento do beiju que lhe escapou dos dedos na panela.

O beiju e outros alimentos não só são seguros com as mãos sujas, pois ainda depositados sôbre a rede ou outro objeto qualquer imundo.

Bebem pela mesma cuia que anda de bôca em bôca. Do mesmo modo o cigarro ou uma bala passará de uma bôca para outra.

Tem sido vistos a tirar e comer algum alimento, quiçá mesmo deteriorado, depositado na recipiente do lixo ou na lavagem dos porcos. E até mesmo, a disputar a ração com algum animal que está comendo, embora esteja ela no chão ou num cocho de porcilga.

c) Nos atos

Praticam igualmente certos atos bem repugnantes. Vai à maneira de exemplo o da mãe que, com a própria língua, limpa o nariz do filhinho, ou vai comendo os parasitas à medida que os encontra na cabeça da suas crianças. Este, aliás, é um costume geral, quando uma mulher «caça» a outra. Quiçá, à guisa de paga, quem tem o

trabalho de catar, vai comendo também os piolhos. Mais raramente dura o parasita a sua legítima proprietária (46).

Desconhecem o uso dos lenços, limpando o nariz com os dedos, os quais, só depois, são esfregados contra alguma parte do corpo.

A mãe, ou outra mulher, com as próprias mãos atende ao asseio da sua criancinha e, depois, para limpar-se, contenta-se de sacudir a mão de lado e esfregá-la por terra ou contra alguma planta.

3) *Artes*

No complexo dos trabalhos que executam os silvícolas não só revelam aptidões preciosas, rara habilidade e outras qualidades já apreciadas alhures, como também singulares prendas artísticas que estão a pedir à nossa civilização maiores oportunidades para se desenvolverem (47).

A casa que constroi, com tôda a sua alfaia, — bancos, cerâmica, tecidos, cangas, armas, utensílios de caça e pesca, cestaria, — revelam além da estabilidade e solidez para os fins a que se destina, uma harmonia no conjunto, uma proporção das partes, um acabamento das pormenores que impressionam agradavelmente. Em tudo se revela um apurado senso artístico que convém particularmente evidenciar em sua tríplice manifestação: *tecidos, desenhos, música*.

a) *Tecidos*

Dentre os trabalhos de tecedura já recordamos as redes de dormir e de pesca. Mas particularmente na *rede batida* (que parece de origem européia) e no pareocio, *Yazkô Wazsô-ro*, (vd. abaixo n. 47) a mulher indígena mostra seu gôsto e habilidade artísticos. No *Yazkô Wazsô-ro* há uma bela combinação do tecido e enfiadura, servindo-se de avelórios coloridos. Admira-se nele uma agradavel combinação de côres, proporção e regularidade no desenho e um acabamento perfeito da peça. No tecido, a malha é diagonal. Apresenta também combinação de fibras coloridas, para efeito de desenho. Na escolha das côres, como no acabamento revela-se bom

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(46) Embora seja um costume geral, é observem sempre que uma mulher procura os parasitas na cabeça de outra pessoa, negam-se a informar se há algum sentido mágico nesta prática. Quando percebem que estão sendo observadas, ou receiam sê-lo, interrompem o ato e recusam-se a efetuá-lo.

(47) Com um canivete improvisado de um pedaço de fita metálica que conseguem de caixas de biscoitos, a criança trabalha na madeira [illegible] e [illegible] outros aviões.

[illegible] que faz dêsse tecido um belo adôrno para as mulheres nas danças. Com missangas ou com fibras coloridas, os desenhos são as provas características destas tribos.

6) *Desenhos*

a) *Desenhos murais*. Os desenhos pintados nas cascas que constituem as paredes das casas, não são reveladores de gôsto artístico [illegible]. É provável que aquilo que nos parece garatuja ou caricatura seja a estilização de representações lendárias. Aceitando, embora essa possibilidade, não se percebe a perícia dos riscos. As circunferências fazem-nas com perfeição. Quiçá seja por influência dos civilizados, servem-se para isto de um cordel, firmando-lhe uma das extremidades e amarrando na outra uma ponta de madeira que deixará a marca regular como a ponta de um compasso.

Nas pinturas murais servem-se da argila de diversas côres (principalmente branca, amarela, avermelhada, azulada), diluída no látex [illegible] (isto é a sorva, *Couma utilis*, Mell. e outras espécies), que depois de sêco adquire grande estabilidade e resistência às [illegible], nem altera as côres.

b) *Desenhos sôbre o corpo*. Executam outrossim, no corpo vários desenhos. Terão seu sentido mágico, mas revelam sem dúvida [illegible] dor artístico e, em alguns casos são feitos com capricho e [illegible] (46).

Observe-se 1º — As pinturas não trazem representações totêmicas [illegible] se trata apenas de uma estilização, cujo sentido [illegible] atuais parecem desconhecer (50).

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[illegible] por exemplo, a representação de figuras humanas com o tronco desproporcional [illegible] informe o pescoço figurado por um traço vertical, etc.

(50) [illegible] remos que a pintura no corpo seja indício de um período de nudismo, não tendo [illegible] executar seus desenhos, faziam-nos sôbre o próprio corpo? Opinamos, antes, que tenham um caráter decorativo (são, pois, indício de pendor artístico), além de os suporem [illegible] de poderes mágicos (virtudes profilaticas, etc).

[illegible] Grünberg (Z.I. 347) encontrou entre os Arawaks do Içana, e os [illegible] Kubeiseena do alto Uaupés, numerosos desenhos antropomórficos e desenhos de plantas e animais, por vêzes mais ou menos [illegible]. E [illegible] que as mesmas figuras das paredes de [illegible] aparecem, nas telas, nos corpos dos índios [illegible] como nos [illegible] e objetos de dança. Relevo, outrossim, a estudada de "[illegible] figuras" antropomórficas e de animais não só na madeira, como também executadas em cipós de [illegible], e dependuradas através e postas da maloca por meio de um cordel.

2.º — O que se diz *Nu'ôse* ou pintura do rosto são semi-círculos com a parte côncava para cima, na testa, e retas em *V* ao lado dos olhos e na face. De ordinário para a execução dêsses desenhos servem-se do *Mami-khu*, isto é, um paozinho como se fôra um *baton*, tendo numa das pontas uma bola de cera à qual adere o pó colorido, que se retira da pequena cuia em que se conserva e se vai aplicando ao rosto.

3.º — No tronco e membro executam vários desenhos, *We'é ohasé*, todos, no entanto, constando de linhas retas. Em alguns casos, nas grandes danças do dabucuri, todo o corpo é pintado como se fôsse uma veste, com riscos longitudinais e transversais. O processo para essas pinturas é o denominado *We-ollari-tyá*, a saber, tomam um pequeno cilindro de uma madeira muito leve dita *molongó* (em Tucano *Poo-pó*, é a umbelânia grandiflora, da família das Apocináceas), com entalhes correspondentes aos traços que desejam, e enquanto a tinta está fresca fazem-no rolar de encontro à pele onde deixa os traços bem regulares. Servem-se igualmente de finas talas

Tarsia incisa em o cilindro do molongó

de arumã, não raro duas ou três amarradas à guisa de pincel, deixando um risco duplo ou triplo. Há também traços grosseiros executados com o dedo indicador molhado na tinta.

Não há, presentemente, marcas que caracterizem as tribos, como mostraram os primeiros exploradores. Observam-se os mesmos desenhos nas várias tribos.

4.º — *As pinturas são feitas com tinta:*

a) preta obtida das fôlhas de uma erva denominada *dyá-vé*, chamada por jenipapo, ou do arbusto dito *we'é*. Do decocto das fôlhas do jenipapo deixado ao sereno resulta uma loção escura que empregam para tingir os cabelos quando vão branqueando. Da casca da vagem do inga laterifólia extraem, também por maceração, uma tinta preta usada para os desenhos dos bancos.

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b) Tinta vermelha do *Onôrá* ou carajurú (51), e do *Mõ'sá* ou urucú (52).

Tôdas estas tintas são bastante resistentes, pois perduram muitos dias, apesar dos seus banhos frequentes.

Muito frequentemente se encontram mulheres com o rosto mais ou menos empapado de vermelho; é a pintura denominada *Tu-dyóró*. Explicaram que é sòmente para não sentirem tanto o ardor do sol nos trabalhos da roça. Êsses pós são preparados com o urucú e carajurú.

Tatuagem verdadeira não usam e até parecem desconhecê-la os indígenas da geração atual (53).

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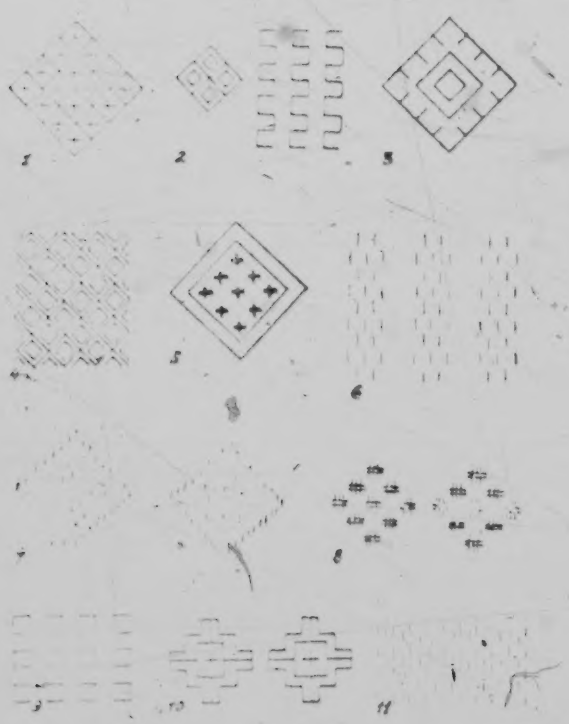
(51) Carajurú, ou carajuru como grafa Gonçalves Dias-Relatório da Projecção do Amazonas, I, p. 766) conhecida também por pirdnga ou pa-[illegible] é uma trepadeira da família das Bignoniáceas, (a Bignonia chica de Humboldt ou arrabidaea chica de Verlot). Das fôlhas secas e [illegible] em maceração durante alguns dias deposita-se um pó vermelho, insolúvel na água que se guarda em cabaças e mistura-se com óleo ou resina quente quando se querem pintar. A pintura do carajurú tem evidentemente um caráter mágico. Assim figura no rito da iniciação puberdária e o Pajé pinta com êle o próprio corpo e objetos quando é chamado para atender a algum doente. Admitem que [illegible] "benzido" pelo pajé o carajurú adquire extraordinária virtude profilática, por isso servem-se dêle para pintar, com pequenas [illegible] as, o rosto das crianças recem-nascidas e, ao depois, quando [illegible] sòmente sempre que há doenças ou receios de doenças.

(52) [illegible] urucú, ou urucu, ou urucum, Hub. da família das Bixáceas, da Koch G. (Z. I. 458) com saliva, óleo ou leite de planta; [illegible] tão resistente como a tinta do carajurú e descora-se à luz.

(53) Wallace contudo informava há um século (o. c.), — "Êstes índios [illegible] fazem tatuagens, mas em pequena escala: para isso pratiam no longo dos braços uma fileira de pintas de formato circular. Os Yaruas distinguem-se das demais tribos por três linhas azuis e verticais que riscam o lábio superior em lugar dos bigodes". Pelos antigos exploradores sabemos das tatuagens de outras tribos do Amazonas, por exemplo, os Yavari, Uruná, Suarrana, Periquita, tôdas localizadas no rio Tapajós (Cfr. "Roteiro" de 1759, n. 54). Quanto às tribos do Rio Negro (sem precisar se estão incluídos os indígenas do Uaupés) escreve o Cônego André Fernandes de Souza (o. c. 455): "Furam as orelhas, beiços e narizes em que introduzem penas e [illegible] dizendo-lhes essas operações dores inestimáveis; outros desenham na pele muitos riscos pretos permanentes, usando destas deformidades [illegible] não tanto por distinção da sua tribo, como por causar um terror e impostor aos seus inimigos". Dos Desana, há 50 anos informava Koch G. (Z. I. 184) são os índios do Caiari que usam tatuagem executada com espinho de palmeira. São duas linhas paralelas azuis, do lábio inferior ao queixo.



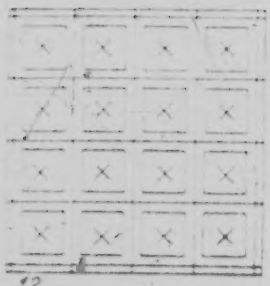
[illegible] — [illegible] (preto); 2. Soakõ-rõ ãirí — [illegible] e branco); 3. Sõ rã — [illegible] (verde e [illegible]); 4. [illegible] — [illegible] (preto e branco); 5. Ilu [illegible] (verde); 6. Nõ ãirí — flor do miriti (vermelho [illegible]); 7. [illegible] — flor [illegible] da andorinha (verde e [illegible]); 8. [illegible] — [illegible] (preto e branco); 9. Ãirí miirí — [illegible] (branco e preto); 10. Nuxu [illegible] — perna de [illegible] (branco e preto); 11. Tuãõ sõ ãma — [illegible] de [illegible] (verde).

3) *Desenhos sôbre os objetos*

Os Banivá costumam executar desenhos nos camutins ou potes e nas outras tribos nas cuias de uso, especialmente no *maracá*. São sôbre vegetais com predomínio do branco, e os desenhos são sempre de aragas. Já mencionamos os desenhos nos banquinhos que os Tukano fabricam.

São êste os principais motivos ornamentais mais comuns que aparecem nos tecidos e trançados das redes e peneiras:

Surkérô-ôri (flôres do raio), isto é, semelhante à disposição das pedrinhas nos raios.



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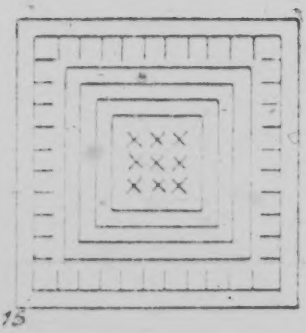

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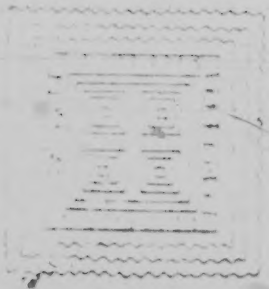

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[illegible] — [illegible] — [illegible] — [

2 *Mijpi pôri* (fôlhas de açaí), desenhos como as fôlhas da palmeira açaí.

3 *Bya-pôra mura* (caminho da saúva).

4 *Nee dori* (flor do muriti).

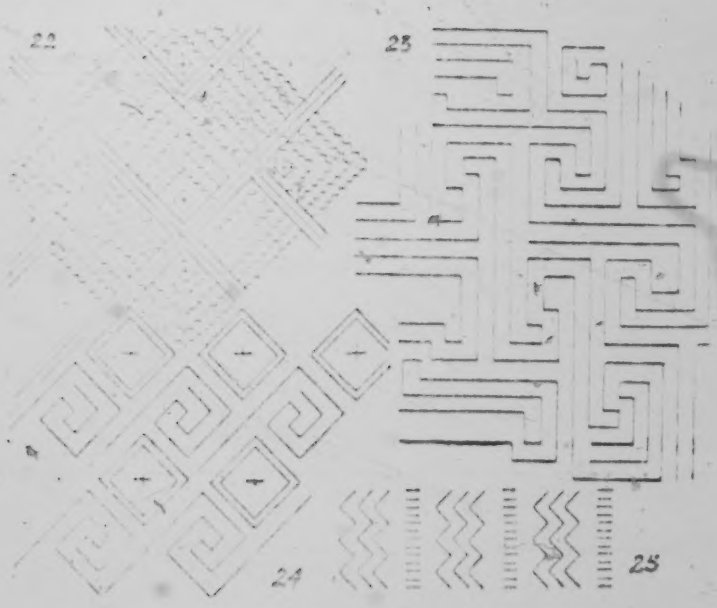
5 *Yaiá seéma* (costa de calango)

6 *Pamo seéma* (costa de tatú)

7 *Dozpari-ferú seéma* (costa de lambari)

8 *Wáx-ti oxsé-pekuri* (joelhos de Wáx-ti), semelhante à cruz gamada ou suástica.

Comprazem-se os índios uaupesinos em combinar êsses motivos e obtêm numerosos desenhos. Casualmente em 24 peneiras adquiridas por mim em 1947, em diversos lugares do Uaupés, havia 23 combinações diversas.




22. Oxsé-pôrá — costa (ou sobra de duas cabeças). 23. Wáx-ti oxsé-pekuri — joelho de Wáx-ti. 24. Wáx-ti-xawá — sipó. 25. Bya-pôra — caminho de saúva (amarelo).

### 2. Música

#### 1) Senso musical

Provavelmente o mais acentuado senso artístico dessas tribos é para a música. É tão notável êste senso musical, que uma criança corta as suas taquaras com as dimensões devidas, amarra cinco ou dez e resulta um pequeno órgão, a «flauta-de-pã» ou «rio», com as notas sucedendo-se com o mesmo intervalo de frequência de vibrações que na escala musical, como se pôde verificar num harmônio. De regra fabricam-na aos pares, de modo que uma ajuda de contraponto à outra.

São, pois, dotados de bom ouvido musical, por isso com muita facilidade aprendem os mais variados dos nossos cantos, mesmo trechos clássicos, a uma e mais vozes, e comprazem-se grandemente com a música instrumental ou vocal. Apreciam, outrossim, muito a «música dos brancos», isto é, dos civilizados.

Por efeito da língua Tukano, cheia de nasais e numerosíssimas vogais guturais e aspiradas, e da influência da alimentação (pimenta), clima e gênero de vida, a voz do índio é de pequena elasticidade (54), metálica, desagradável quando fala, e mais metálica ainda o é no conjunto, quando falam ou cantam.

#### 2) Canções

O indígena gosta de cantar, embora se mostre acanhado de o fazer, fora das festas, diante do civilizado. Possui um repertório de cantos para as danças rituais (cantos religiosos) e outros para os seus divertimentos (cantos profanos). Aquelas sempre corais, sem ritmo e a uma só vêz. Êstes são cantados por um ou mais cantores simultâneamente ou alternadamente, repetindo o mesmo motivo, ou não.

##### a) Cantos religiosos

São cantados exclusivamente pelos homens. São lentos, monótonos, com muitas repetições. Quanto ao ritmo, inspiração e movi-

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(54) É tão pequena a elasticidade da voz que talvez nenhum indígena do Uaupés seja capaz de dar uma oitava inteira. Fora das festas o dançar dos homens jamais cantam, as mulheres raramente o fazem, por exemplo, quando trabalham na roça. Relevase, porem, que as canções dos homens são cantos religiosos, ao passo que as das mulheres são composições baqueiras que executam quando distribuem a bebida. Entre os ex-alunos, e especialmente entre as ex-alunas da Missão Salesiana, há maior elasticidade e ouve-se com mais frequência cantarolar. São, porem, de ordinário os cantos religiosos ou profanos aprendidos no colégio.

[illegible] pouco classificar-se ou enquadrar-se entre as composições [illegible]. Como o canto processo de aprendizado é a oitiva e a memória, segue-se que a música se conserva mais ou menos fiel (55), [illegible] letra se foi corrompendo. Hoje em muitos dêsses cantos, [illegible] apenas sons sem significado, e os próprios silvícolas confessam não entenderem o sentido das articulações que proferem (56).

Alguns dêsses cantos inspiram-se em a natureza: canção da «cutia que come umaã», e «desfolhar-se do açaí», canção da borboleta, da abelha, etc.

Os cantos ou as danças iniciam muita vez com assobios e regularmente terminam também com um *fortissimo* de assobios e gritos.

O Pe. Antonio Giacone informa (*Os Tucanos* pág. 52) que [illegible] reservado ao tuxaua, o com a mesma melodia da dança. Enquanto o grande cigarro ritual vai passando de bôca em bôca entre os homens sentados em seus banquinhos, o tuxaua canta:

*[illegible] pazko-s'omõã bassesé duhí-wé:pãra*
*[illegible] duhi-wé:pã, mãrsé'pod pãra.*

«[illegible] nossos antepassados, sentados faziam cerimônias. Suprimo como faziam êles antigamente, fazei-o vós também [illegible] filhos, fumando sentados».

Cantos eróticos

[illegible] constituem patrimônio artístico exclusivo dos [illegible] sabem cantar, como as pessoas do sexo [illegible] dos homens. Merecem denominação [illegible] porque, de regra, as mulheres ou moças [illegible] bebida, no intervalo das danças. [illegible] cantos apresentam um sentido bem claro, são convites para beber ou pedido de bebidas, não raro referindo também episódios da vida da cantora. São recitativos, e, portanto, respeitando [illegible] excelente [illegible] seus versos, ora mais longos [illegible] vezes com mais fecundidade, outras, com menos [illegible] campo para a inspiração pessoal, embora obedecendo a um padrão tradicional e empregando frases e idéias usuais. Algumas são mais movimentadas, outras, menos, desenvolvendo um mo-

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(55) C[illegible] se em diversas circunstâncias e lugares ou [illegible] as suas letras.

(56) Como de resto ocorre também nos cantos populares dos civilizados. Cfr. também Wilke [illegible] 2.

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[illegible] simples, de poucos compassos, porém melodioso e agradável. [illegible] melódicas e agradáveis embora também de poucos compassos são os cânones musicais que executam na «flauta-de-pã» [illegible] Impurutu.

Quanto à execução, nota-se que, às vêzes, se encontram belas [illegible]. Entre os Baniva e Kubewima observam-se também os trechos [illegible] ou mesmo pianíssimo e os fortes, cuidado que não nos foi [illegible] em outras tribos. Não há, porém, preocupação quanto à respiração, especialmente quando já temulenta, a mulher cantara [illegible] lhe sobrar fôlego, interrompendo depois de improviso o [illegible] à melodia para respirar rumorosamente.

Algumas dessas canções das danças das mulheres, como outras dos pajés, terminam com uma gargalhada ou um grito característico.

[illegible] Canto dos pajés

Há um repertório exclusivo dos pajés. Como um pajé se forma [illegible] outro, doença de tribo diversa (cfr. VII — 2 e 12 f) ex[illegible] fato de haver um mesmo canto executado por pajés de [illegible] tribos. São no entanto bem diversas as melodias dos cantos [illegible] *Tukano* do Tiquié e as dos pajés *Wanána* e *Arucáke* [illegible] gravar (cfr. «Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical»).

[illegible] sempre os pajés cantam ao som do maracá. Seus cantos [illegible] um dos processos de cura, e por isso variará conforme a [illegible] motivo musical é um canon grego-gregoriano, melodioso. [illegible] Em alguns cantos a letra já se acha adulterada; são [illegible] sem sentido. Por vêzes há também gargalhadas [illegible]

3 — *Instrumentos musicais*

R. G. Izikowitz («*Musical and other sounds instruments of the South American Indians — A comparative ethnical study*», 1935) [illegible] quatro grupos de instrumentos musicais: 1º) *idiófonos*, [illegible] *membranofonos*, 3º) *cordofonos* e 4º) *aerófonos*. Do terceiro grupo não encontramos nenhum exemplar nas tribos Uaupés [illegible] 58). Dos outros há vários instrumentos, todos de origem evidentemente indígena.

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[illegible] alguns anos, alguns indígenas que desceram, por motivo de [illegible] ao Rio Negro, se apaixonaram tanto da guitarra que por lá [illegible] nas festas dos caboclos, que o possuir uma delas constitui o [illegible] fruto dos seus trabalhos. E, ao regressarem aos seus povoados [illegible] horas esquecidas do dia e da noite tange, monotonamente o

a) Idiofonos

Como instrumentos de ritmo das danças possuem:

1º — *Tubo-de-ritmo*. No idioma Tukano denomina-se *ahû-uô*, plural *ahû-pakô*. É um cilindro de embauba de um metro de comprimento, e 10 cm de diâmetro, ôco, com a extremidade inferior que toca o solo, obturada, porque corresponde ao nó. A superior é aberta e termina com um prolongamento retangular, por onde se segura com a mão direita. Cada dançante leva o seu instrumento e vão todos juntos marcando o ritmo do passo com uma pancada contra o solo. Com frequência êstes instrumentos são pintados de branco, com o látex da sorva, e com desenhos de gregos de côr vermelha ou preta.

2º — *Bastão-de-ritmo*. Algumas vêzes os dançantes trazem na direita um simples bastão, de qualquer madeira, que se diz em Tukano *pazéo*, também com a finalidade de marcar o ritmo.

3º — *Maracá*. *Maracá* é o têrmo da língua Nheengatú; em Tukano se chama *pazo*, isto é, «pau-da-onça» (Gonçalves Dias denomina-o «tacapus-maracás»; cfr. «Relatório da Província do Amazonas», vol. I, pag. 76). Consiste numa haste de pau brasil (*mirapiranga*), com belas pinturas e adôrno de plumas coloridas, de uns [illegible] de comprimento e seus 3 cm de diâmetro, e a extremidade [illegible] em forma de garfo. Quase ao centro há uma intumescência com fendas e dentro algumas pedrinhas. Feitas as fendas [illegible] o lugar ao fogo, e depois de aquecido dilatam a [illegible] e introduzem as pedrinhas.

O tukano que preside às danças, empunha-o com a mão direita e bate-o contra o bíceps do mesmo braço, produzindo um rumor como de chocalho enquanto a haste inteira se põe a vibrar. Serve para marcar o início das danças.

4º — *Crotalo*. Em Tukano chama-se *kizíyo* e soa como castanholas. São pequenos cocos de tucumã, enfiados em um cordão, que se amarram ao tornozelo direito, em alguns números de danças, a fim de marcar-lhes o ritmo.

5º — *Maracá*. Em Tukano denomina-se *parsá* ou *parsá-ga*, pl. *parsá-pa*. É um chocalho preparado com uma cabaça, na qual

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[illegible] instrumento. Talvez o encanto não lhes derive do prazer auditivo que experimentam, como de parecerem, com isto, mais adiantados e civilizados que os outros seus irmãos. Já se vê também alguma [illegible] ou sanfona ou vitrola entre os ex-alunos da Missão.

... praticou um orifício na parte inferior por onde se introduziram algumas sementes ou pedrinhas e se adaptou um cabo de uns 10 cm por onde se segura e agita. Alguns são pintados com os desenhos comuns já vistos. Em alguns números de danças os homens todos agitam o maracá.

É, além disso, um instrumento mágico, de que se servem os pajés nos seus processos de cura, e com o qual vão ritmando também suas canções terapêuticas.

Do trocano já falamos (VII — 1).

b) *Membranófonos*

Só conhecemos um, de que se servem para anunciar a hora do ... o tambor, em Tukano *tud-tó*, pl. *tudthe-paro*. É um pequeno tambor de seus 20 cm de diâmetro e 20 de altura. A parte cilíndrica é feita de casca de louro, e é fechada em ambas extremidades com pele de macaco sem o pêlo, e bem esticada. Soa-se com uma pequena baqueta de madeira, *tud-to pa-ko*.

c) *Aerófonos*

Neste grupo se inclui o maior número dos instrumentos indígenas, em seus vários tipos de flautas e apitos. Alguns dêstes instrumentos emitem diversos sons, permitindo a execução de variados e agradáveis motivos musicais. Outros, ao invés, apenas um som ... fazendo-o soar sempre ritmadamente. Observe-se que, em geral, a ... começa por pequeno exercício de afinamento dos instrumentos e encerra-se por um *fortissimo* de todo o conjunto instrumental.

1) — *Flauta-de-pã*. É o clarim dos índios, conhecido regionalmente pela denominação de *carição*, e, em Tukano, *uéó*, pl. *uéó-pari*. Consta de 6 a 10 tubos de taboca, de diversos comprimento e grossura, amarrados entre si, com os orifícios num mesmo plano, como uma gaita. Fabricam-nos sempre aos pares, para que os dois tocadores estejam afinados e, com uma terça ou quinta de diferença, ... possa executar o carição e o outro o acompanhamento ou contra-canto. Classificam-se em vários tipos, conforme o número de tubos e a tonalidade: *yendri-pa*, *uéó-pa*, *puritri-pa*, *kanjó-pa*, *ütiri-pa*.

A flauta-de-pã é, por excelência, o instrumento dos rapazes; ... a vimos tangida por homens maduros. Ao som do *carição* desenvolvem-se agradáveis números de danças (vd. VII — 6, a (4)), com variadas melodias, e com caráter recreativo nos intervalos das danças rituais. As moças também participam, como parceiras de ... tocador musical. Os musicadores vêm dançando em ala, segurando

[illegible] direita a flauta e com a esquerda o ombro do companheiro [illegible] Nessas danças postam-se de perfil, segurando pela cintura os dois homens entre os quais se acha, um em cada braço [illegible] vezes os dançadores em coluna, evoluem circularmente ou em [illegible], ora para a direita, ora para a esquerda, e então, com a mão esquerda acima do próprio ombro, seguram a mão de sua [illegible]

[illegible] — *Flauta bovina*. Em Tukano por vezes se diz *burpi-wó*, [illegible] *burpi-pãã*, que propriamente indica a *sarabatana*. Denunciando [illegible] sua origem estranha, este o nome mais comum *yaparu-* [illegible] (aparece em Língua Geral). É uma flauta de paxiuba, sem [illegible], medindo aproximadamente 150 m de comprimento, com [illegible] diâmetro de 3 a 5 cm. Sopra-se pela extremidade superior, tendo, [illegible] 12 cm, abaixo um orifício que se gradua com uma lâmina [illegible] de palheta, como se fôsse a palheta de uma requinta. [illegible] também aos pares, canto e contracanto [illegible] de vários tamanhos e cada qual com seu nome de uma ave [illegible] entre os *Wanano* e *Kubeuana*. O Tuxaua Julio, [illegible] (rio Tiquié) assegurou que êsses nomes são dados por outras tribos, não pelos Tukano.

[illegible] da flauta se executam belos e variados motivos musicais [illegible] o mais agradável dos instrumentos indígenas. Após [illegible] a fim de verificar a afinação dos instrumentos (can- [illegible] contracanto), dois ou quatro homens iniciam a dança: com [illegible] direita seguram o instrumento, enquanto a mão esquerda [illegible] ombro do companheiro ao seu lado. Deslocam-se [illegible] fim da roça, tendo o cuidado que o instrumento de [illegible] e [illegible] do outro ao mudarem de posição para a [illegible] em sentido oposto. As mulheres, que entram para a dança, [illegible] entre dois homens, segurando-os pela cintura.

[illegible] — *Flauta de osso*. Em Nheengatu é conhecida por *membi* [illegible] em Tukano por *kapi-ko o'á* ou também *purtiri o'á*. É uma flauta [illegible] 20 cm, feita de osso da tíbia de animal, com três orifícios [illegible] lateralmente, à semelhança das nossas flautas, e um supe- [illegible] extremidade por onde se sopra, sendo êste orifício em parte [illegible] com breu, para que o ar entre na intensidade e direção [illegible] Tem diferentes nomes, conforme o nome do animal [illegible] se aproveitou: *damã o'á* (osso de veado), *pai o'á* (osso [illegible] etc.

Durante as danças esta flauta estará sempre enfeitada com uma [illegible] de carapaças de diversas côres de coleópteros. Os homens [illegible] o instrumento com a mão direita, em alguns números de

[illegible] fazem-no soar com intermitência, à guisa de apito, nos intervalos dos cantos.

[illegible] — *Flauta-cutia*. Seria a tradução do nome Tukano bud[illegible] pois bud significa cutia (pequeno roedor, *dasyprocta aguti*). É um pequeno pífaro de taboca, de 20 a 30 cm, adorn[illegible] com penas coloridas.

[illegible] uma dança que se denomina bud-bursá, na qual todos os [illegible] trazem na mão direita êsse pífaro. Em dados momentos [illegible] o canto, e cada qual faz soar o próprio instrumento, como [illegible] simples apito, porém ritmadamente. A certa altura alguns atir[illegible] da mão o seu pífaro, mas retomam-no em seguida, fazendo-o [illegible] soar. A dança se encerra com um assobio mais forte [illegible] prolongado.

[illegible] — *Caramujo*. Em Tukano se chama sâ'â. É um apito que [illegible] do caramujo. Um velho indígena informou que, sob êste [illegible] nome, antigamente se designava também um pífaro de ta[illegible] ou taboca, com um orifício no centro que se aplica ao nariz [illegible] imitar o som, e com os dedos obturam-se as extremidades. É [illegible] um instrumento que muitos da geração nova desconhecem.

[illegible] — *Vareteira*. Em Tukano se diz mõxtê-poro, que significa [illegible] mosca-vareteira. É uma pequena flauta de embaúba [illegible] 30 cm, com orifício vertical, como em geral nas flautas. Tan[illegible] nos intervalos das danças. Os sons imitam articulações de [illegible], e assim os rapazes dirigem convites sexuais às moças. É [illegible] se diz purti-uersal, queixar-se tocando flauta (cfr. VII — [illegible]).

[illegible] — *Mutuxo*. Sob êste nome vêm dois tipos diversos de flau[illegible] um pífaro de embaúba, podendo atingir até um metro de [illegible] comprimento, [illegible] uma pequena flauta de 12 a 15 cm, com um ori[illegible] lateral, ao centro, também de embaúba.

[illegible] — Há vários tipos de apitos ou assobios, e que usam nas [illegible], assobiando ritmadamente nos intervalos dos cantos. Um [illegible] é de taboca, tem o feitio de um apito comum, de uns 10 cm [illegible] orifício de sôpro na extremidade superior, e usa-se na dança [illegible] denominada [illegible]-bursá (dança do capacete de arumã).

Outro, também de taboca, e do tamanho do precedente, porém com orifício no meio.

Em outras danças em vez de apito, cada homem tem um pe[illegible] de cipó, de 20 ou 30 cm de comprimento, cuja casca se des[illegible] prende muito facilmente, ficando como uma bainha. Apertando-se com a mão esquerda essa bainha, e com a direita puxando o cerne

do bico, resulta do atrito um silvo muito agudo. Êste apito denomina-se *gomi-mi*.

9 — *Jabuti*. É preparado da carapaça do jabuti, donde lhe vem o nome que em Tukano é *ukuri*, esvaziada de sorte que o casco fique oco. Depois obturam-se, em parte, os orifícios com breu. Prende-se firmemente o instrumento sob o braço esquerdo, enquanto a mão direita abre e vai atritando com força o lábio do orifício superior, emitindo, então, sem rouco, semelhante ao da cuica.

Mais que o homem, ao soar êste instrumento, ia recuando até afastar-se por brincadeira, nas mulheres que se afastavam entre gargalhadas.

10 — *Cabeça de veado*. Em Tukano denomina-se *ñama dorpo-a*. Consiste exclusivamente numa cabeça de veado, tendo obturados com breu os vários orifícios, exceto um, na parte superior, entre os chifres, por onde se sopra. Usam êste instrumento para anunciar o caxiri e precisamente sem procura imitar as palavras: *pêru ud tyo* (traga caxiri) que se repete várias vezes, e termina com a repetição: *kero, kero, kero* (depressa, depressa, depressa).

11 — *Ocarina*. Em Nheengatú *torê*, em Tukano *urpitu*, pl. *urpitu-ri*. É um instrumento de barro cozido, que lembra a ocarina, e que sopram pelo caminho quando se dirigem ao dabacuri (cfr. 10 — 4 e 12).

12 — *Jurupari*. Em Tukano se diz *miri* (Uaupés *mini*). É o instrumento misterioso. São tubos de paxiúba, envolvidos pelo liber de [illegible] grandíssima, enrolado em espiral, com duas varas que emergem como chifres, da extremidade superior, e por onde [illegible] para soprá-lo. Conforme o comprimento que varia de 80 cm a 1,50 m, e diâmetro de 6 a 10 cm, o som será como o de um trombone, ou mais grave, como o de um baixo.

miri (jurupari)

São quatro diversos, porém, como os fazem sempre aos pares, sendo o conjunto, constituem uma banda musical de 8 instrumentos que soam simultâneamente, num conjunto rouco, forte, mas bem harmonizado e que muito agrada ao índio. Na pitoresca no-

[illegible] cultura indígena, em vez de canto e contracanto os instrumen- [illegible] determinados marido e mulher. Já relevamos alhures (VII [illegible] não [illegible], e talvez derive desta [illegible] de marido e mulher.

Cada instrumento tem seu nome, conforme o tamanho; não [illegible] explicar-nos a razão dos nomes.

Começando pelos maiores, é a seguinte a ordem que nos deu o [illegible] Julio de Pari-cachoeira (rio Tiquié), [illegible] 1953:

1º — basoã (uma ave de rapina); 2º — *mahã* (arara); 3º — [illegible]; 4º — *kirípo borka* (feixe de crotalos); 5º — *arú-* [illegible] (um pequeno tucano); 6º — *mèrè-i'si* (um macaquinho, [illegible]); 7º — *doe* (tarara, peixe); 8º — *perfod* (maçarico, ave aquática caradriídea).

Em abril de 1955, dois pajés da tribo Tukano, Marcelino de [illegible] e Henrique de Japu-igarapé (Uaupés), indicaram também [illegible] dos instrumentos, porém com alteração da ordem, a sa- [illegible] registramos sua pronúncia defeituosa), começando pelo maior: [illegible] *kirípo-borka* (conjunto de chocalhos), sua mulher é *anó-* [illegible]; 2º par *ri'i-* ou *mèrè-i'si* (macaquinho branco de [illegible]), sua mulher é *puso* (assim pronunciam, em vez de [illegible] e explicaram o porquê, isto é, serve de criado, é o [illegible]); 3º par *doe* (tarara), sua mulher é *perfod* [illegible]; 4º par *deto* (esquilo), sua mulher também é *puso*.

Parece que cada tribo tem o seu modo peculiar de preparar os [illegible] de [illegible] que, sem prévio ensaio, os de uma tribo não sabem [illegible] convenientemente os instrumentos de outra tribo. Assim, ao [illegible] desfilaram os Wanana de Caruru-cachoeira (Uaupés) [illegible] haver um homem deles que sabia tocar os *mirid* emprestados [illegible] à posição pelos vizinhos Huhudéne de Uaupuim-cachoeira (rio Aiari, af. do Içana).

13º — *Ehednó*. Não é propriamente um instrumento musical, [illegible] um objeto lendário e para comemoração das lendas. Já des- [illegible] acima esta pequena cometa (Cfr. VI — 4, 1 (3).

4 — *Motivos musicais das flautas-de-pã*

O Missionário Salesiano, Pe. Eduardo Lagorio, apreciador da [illegible] indígena [illegible] fornecer as seguintes notícias sôbre as flau- [illegible] e seus motivos musicais.

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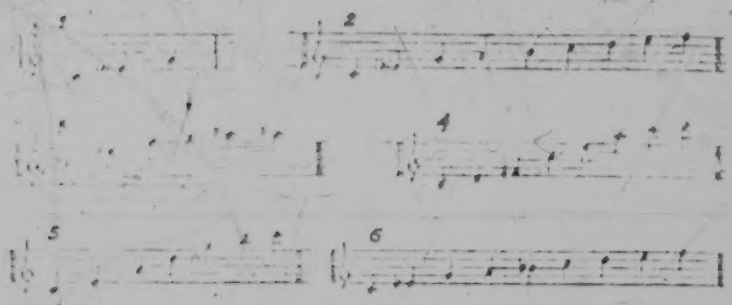
[illegible] E que já se tem inspirado sôbre motivos musicais indígenas para a com- [illegible] de cantos religiosos e profanos.

Os três primeiros tubos (da flauta-de-pã) dão sempre um [illegible] mais das vezes maior, e de vez em quando *menor*, resultando os três primeiros tubos:



[illegible] (1) [illegible] (2) [illegible] de nove tubos; (3) [illegible] de [illegible] tubos; (4) [illegible] de sete tubos; (5) [illegible] de nove tubos.

Os outros tubos se vão sucedendo com mais variedade. Há uma flauta pequena, a que chamam *mãnyõ-pa*, com nove tubos, [illegible] são [illegible] (2 supra).

A [illegible] com que se ordem aos tubos mais grossos, ou vice-versa, toma o nome de *yõtim-pa* (yõt, respondem).

As [illegible] variarão naturalmente com a variação das medidas. Estas dependem da medida que se adotou para o tubo maior, [illegible] do seu fabricante, porque se medem pelas falanges dos [illegible]. A diferença de tamanho entre o 1º e 2º tubo corresponde [illegible] primeiras falanges do indicador; entre o 2º e 3º [illegible] e o 4º a primeira falange do indicador, entre o 4º [illegible] 5º apenas meia falange, entre os outros tubos só a ponta do [illegible].

Nota-se que a partir do 2º tubo o diâmetro vai diminuindo. Essa regra vale para o tipo pequeno *mãnyõ-pa*.

Fabricam, outrossim, uma flauta pequena de seis tubos, a qual chamam *[illegible]-pa* e toca-se sozinha, isto é, sem contracanto.

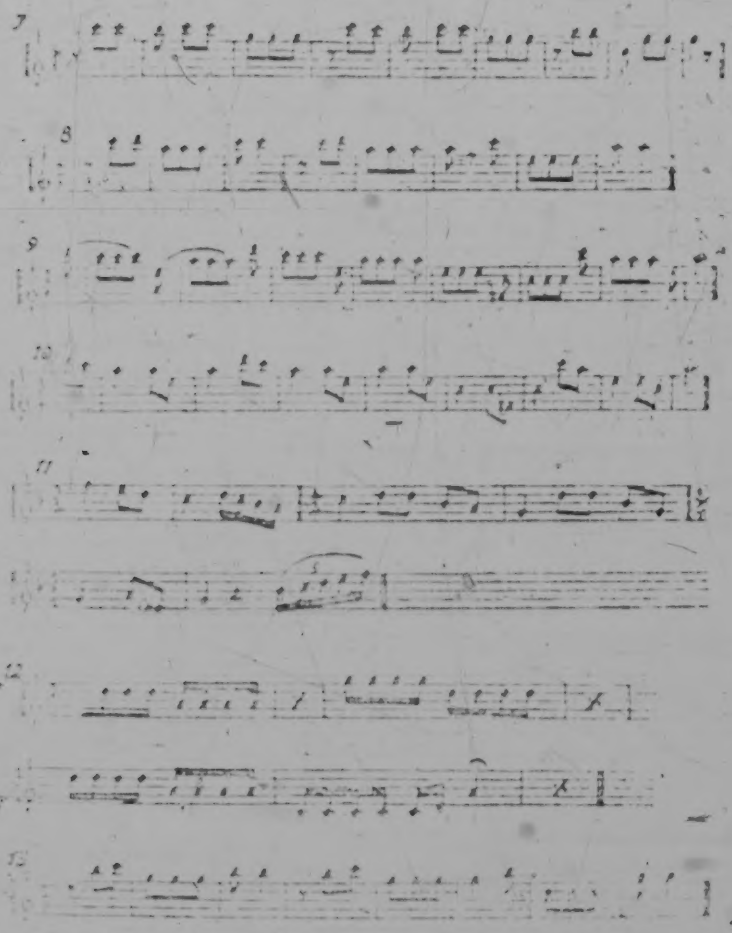
Uma delas dava as seguintes notas (3 supra):

Com [illegible] mais complicada, fabricam vários tipos de flautas, uma denominada *[illegible]-pa*, outra, *pumtiri-pa*.

A [illegible] tubos mais grossos, ou vice-versa, servem de contracanto, e o mais grosso se nomeia também *yõtiri-pa*.

Duas delas, confrontadas com o harmônio, e que serviram para a execução das melodias abaixo, davam as seguintes notas (4 e [illegible] supra):

O mesmo informante forneceu as seguintes melodias, escolhidas [illegible] as mais fáceis do repertório indígena, para adapta-las ao com-



[illegible] com wéépa (7 tubos) [illegible] variante melódica com o instrumento de 8 [illegible] melodia com pattirípa (8 tubos) 10. outra melodia com o de 8 tubos, [illegible] com a pattirípa (8 tubos) 12. melodia com wéépa (7 tubos) 13. outra melodia com wéépa.

SQ19 Tucano



*Plumagem e adornos*

Entre todos os enfeites indígenas, os mais vistosos são para os [illegible] é exclusivo para as danças (60), [illegible] entre as tribos do Uaupés.

Os antigos Muiantes falam (61) em adereços de ouro e prata. Não há tais metais nessas regiões e não sabem trabalha-los. Da mesma sorte outras tribos da Colombia (62) e Venezuela tê-los-ão

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[illegible] conjunto de adornos (braceletes, pulseiras, colares, pentes), o cabelo longo [illegible] cuidadosamente penteado, a depilação da barba [illegible] conforme testemunho de Wallace, um [illegible] na dança quando ainda resguardava [illegible] e a parte inferior do corpo com [illegible] que o cientista inglês pensava [illegible] A opinião de Wallace é que dêsse engano [illegible] as mulheres guerreiras ("Viagens pelo [illegible]

[illegible] mesmo fora das danças temos visto os homens [illegible] pinturas no rosto, pulseira nos [illegible] de um botoque de plumas coloridas, ou

[illegible] a relação de Pedro Teixeira, em [illegible] que chegava 20 léguas abaixo da foz do [illegible] rio abaixo, chapas por nela terem encontrado e [illegible] os índios trazem pendentes [illegible] em Quito e se achou ser de 21 [illegible] nos Amazonas, trad. de C. Melo [illegible] primeiros exploradores, tais chapas [illegible] pontas e grãos de bom tamanho [illegible] serra banhada pelo rio Iquiari.

[illegible] no seu "Roteiro" informa que os [illegible] índios coloniunos *Pandnôa* (Vd. [illegible] Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, que, por ordem [illegible] Rio Negro, João Pereira Caldas, explorou as pas[illegible] em sua relação de 13 de setembro [illegible] mesmo Governador (Cfr. [illegible] Lobo D'Almada, 1.ª ed. Manaos, 1940, [illegible] Folhetas de ouro das quais se diz que [illegible] certos Indios do Rio Uaupés, he [illegible] nem mendr noticia por mais [illegible] Naturais com que falei alguns [illegible] que aquelas pretendidas Folhetas [illegible] numa illusão quimerica ou Linada de se [illegible] Indias de Azas de certos Bizouros grandes [illegible] Azas [illegible] parecem numa especie meta[illegible]

[illegible] para mim que esta Noticia das tais Folhetas do [illegible] Uaupés, como o ha certamente a que [illegible] Pedro José Monteiro, de se terem tirado ou

bendo por troca. Atualmente só se encontram algumas mulheres com lâminas triangulares de prata batida, de variado tamanho, enfiadas em um cordão e se usa como colar ao redor do pescoço. São dizes pela sua aparencia, *mo'mó-rõ khiiri* i. e. fatias de borboleta.

1) *Adornos femininos*

Afora das pinturas sôbre o rosto, selos e corpo, como enfeite (e não como veste), como declaram, possuem as mulheres poucos objetos de adôrno.

a) *Colares*. São de diferentes tamanho, feitio e matéria. Reunia de várias sementes, especialmente um coco miúdo, enfiado em uma fibra de tucum, é o *parakõ-dõ*, ou também missangas, é o *pa'ri-du*, ou contas obtidas dos civilizados e combinando diversamente as diferentes formas, tamanho e côres. Usam-nas mesmo fora das danças, não são, porém, de uso geral, e no tempo de Wallace não se usavam absolutamente («Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro», pág. 630).

b) *Pulseiras*. São de contas ou sementes, como os colares, e denominam-se em Tukano, *parikõ wã-pãsé*.

c) *Ligas* (63). Em Nheengatú denominam-se *tapacura*, e em Tukano *parip-seri*. É uma faixa de delicado e curioso tecido, feita de fio de curoá, às mais das vêzes, colorido de amarelo ou vermelho. Aplica-se uma em cada perna, pouco abaixo do joelho. Em muitos casos é tecido sem emenda, e por isso, quando, pelo crescimento da pessoa, começa a apertar demasiado, cortam-na fora.

Afirmam que tem por finalidade engrossar as pernas.

d) *Brincos*. Atualmente só se vêem brincos (em Nheengatú *numbi-pura*, em Tukano, *yorsase*) obtidos dos civilizados; ou, em lugar dêles, pequenos colares de avelórios.

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Interior do Rio Tiquié no anno de 1749. Certas Pedras, que fundidas mostravão ser de prata, quando bem se deixha crer que elas não sortiam outra cousa mais do que pequenas Pedras Metallicas chamadas Pirinces, de que vulgarmente o V. Vaxim, algumas apanhadas no Apaporis, e que tambem se achão pelo Rio Tiquié, as quais parecerão prata a maior parte das pessoas da minha comitiva, que já como tal as pretendião carregar".

(63) Entre os Ide-masã do ribeirão Komé-ya, afluente do Piré-paraná, vimos tambem rapazes usando ligas. Nas demais tribos os homens só as usam como adornos para as danças.

e) *Pucicucó*. É a tanga feminina da qual falamos antes (VI — 3, a), em Tukano *pa'kó tearsó-ro*. Atualmente só o usam nas danças e muito raramente (65).

f) *Grinalda*. Durante as danças, às vêzes as mulheres ajustam à cabeça uma grinalda de ramos daquele arbusto de odor agradável e intenso dito *baré*. É o que se chama em Tukano *baré pa'sasé*.

g) Muitas mulheres e môças usam habitualmente pentes recurvados e de côres vistosas, *ti be'tó* ou *ti-ro be'tó*, obtidos dos civilizados. Há um século atrás, conforme Wallace, não usavam pente algum.

2) *Adornos masculinos*

Para as danças, os homens pintam o rosto e o corpo, como se disse acima.

a) *Pedra do mundo*. Assim a denominamos porque atualmente é um distintivo dos tuxauas, que a trazem pendente ao pescoço nas ocasiões solenes (danças, recepção de algum civilizado, etc.). Hoje em dia é um adôrno raro, e poucos o possuem. O ouvidor Xavier Sampaio (cfr. acima II — 3), seguindo o Pe. José Noronha, fala na existência dêsse adôrno e o dá como indicador e classificador, pelo seu tamanho, da nobreza do portador. Em Tukano se denomina *bati bohá*, isto é, pedra clara. É um pedaço de quartzo amarelo, bem liso, de forma cilíndrica, e de uns 15 cm de comprimento e 2 a 3 de diâmetro.

Nas margens do Uaupés não é encontradiço o quartzo. Koch Grunberg informa que essas pedras provêm de um local no interior da mata na margem esquerda do Tiquié, próximo das cabeceiras. São atravessadas por um orifício regular de alguns milímetros de diâmetro, no sentido transversal (e em algumas pedras também no sentido longitudinal), por onde se suspende ao pescoço. Êsse orifício constitui uma das melhores documentações da paciência indígena, nos seus trabalhos, pois é executado com auxílio de areia fina e água, servindo-se de uma fina vara, que se rola entre as palmas das mãos enquanto os pés firmam a pedra ao chão.

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(65) "Em seus festivais, quando dansam as mulheres põem, então, uma pequena tanga ouçavental, feito de contas dispostas em padrões regulares, com muito gôsto e muito capricho. Essa tanga tem cerca de 4 polegadas quadradas. Em outras ocasiões nunca é usada, tanto que acabada a festa, as mulheres logo a tiram" (Wallace — "Viagens, etc., pag. 430).

b) *Acangatara*. Em Tukano se designa por vários nomes: *mahã* [illegible]*ri-bersori-be'tó*, ou *mahã pod-ri pe'saró*, ou simplesmente *mahã* [illegible]*ri* (penas de arara). É uma grinalda larga de seus 10 ou 15 cm. [illegible] se adapta à esta, amarrando-se atrás da cabeça. É um tecido [illegible] tucum, ao qual se prendem as penas, servindo-se do leite da [illegible]iva. Costumam dispor as penas de modo que na margem infe[illegible] (a que cobre a testa) fica uma faixa de 3 a 4 cm. de delica[illegible] plumas brancas de garça, *pehé pod-ri*; depois uma faixa, mais [illegible] da metade na largura de penas vermelhas de gavião real, *a — pazkó wirtó*, e uma faixa superior, mais larga, de penas amarelas de arara *mahã pod-ri*.

Os rapazes trazem o seu *mahã pe'saró*. Consta de uma coroa [illegible] antes, de uma pala de palhinha, de 2 ou 3 cm. de largura, à qual se adapta um cordão densamente enfeitado de vistosas plumas vermelhas e amarelas, de arara. Algumas vezes em vez das penas de arara, há as vermelhas do tucano, diz-se, então, *darsé be'tó*.

c) *Tranças*. 1.º *Emõ pod borka-ri* consta de três tranças duplas de seus 40 cm. feitas de pêlo de macaco, e que se amarram à nuca, deixando pender sobre as costas. *Emõ* é o nome tukano do macaco guariba.

2.º No momento da dança ajustam às tranças precedentes, e em sentido horizontal, sôbre a nuca, outro trançado de pêlo de onça e que se denomina *pod-ri do'teri-da*, (*do'teri-da* quer dizer: fio de amarrar).

3.º Acrescentam ao precedente um pequeno osso de onça, *pa'ga dakú*, e um discozinho de casco de tatu, *pamõ pe'toro*, com uma pena no orifício central. Êste enfeite se denomina *tu-si'ti-ôoro*.

d) *Penachos*. 1.º — Sôbre essas tranças adaptam ainda vários penachos. O primeiro consta de um trançado retangular de arumã e tucum, *kka-pêma*, encimado por longas e afiladas penas da cauda de garça, *pehé si-d uhau*, e na base, plumas vermelhas de arara e penas de gavião real, (*si-d uhau*, uropígio).

Êste penacho, como o precedimente, fica verticalmente sôbre a nuca. [illegible] dêstes penachos que, em vez de tucum, entravam no tecido [illegible] coloridos, obtidos dos civilizados, é pêlo de macaco.

Os demais homens usam penacho mais simples, em que sôbre o *kka-pêma* se acham plumas de gavião-real, *a — pazkó si-d uhau*. Êste penacho, como o precedente fica verticalmente sôbre a nuca.

2.º — O segundo penacho denomina-se *a — pazkó wirtó-pó*. Consta de uma haste sôbre a qual, com sorva se fixou ao redor uma

cumada de finíssima penugem branca (*udxtõ*) de gavião real (*u — parkõ*). Ajusta-se perpendicularmente sôbre a nuca, formando ângulo reto com o primeiro.

3.º — Acrescentam ainda uma ou duas longas penas vermelhas da cauda de arara, *muhã pirkõ-rõ*, igualmente em posição perpendicular à nuca.

e) *Boné*. O boné *wa'wa*, consiste num tecido de palhinha de arumã, semelhante precisamente a um boné, e que se usa sôbre a cabeça em certa dança denominada justamente *wa'wã-ri baxsã*, dança dos bonés. A parte posterior é arredondada adaptando-se bem à cabeça, e a anterior é plana como uma pala dos nossos bonés.

f) *Pente*. Sabemos que, antigamente fabricavam um pente semelhante ao nosso pente-fino, dito *waxtã ã-ro*, porque como dentes se empregavam fragmentos de paxiúba, *waxta*. Hoje, porém, muito raramente são usados.

g) *Cangata*. É um cordel com finíssimas e variegadas plumas de tucano, e diz-se, em Tukano *daxsé si-d uhaã-dã*. Fica pendente da nuca, ao longo das costas.

h) *Colares*. 1.º — O que trazem ao pescoço é longo, e feito de sementes pretas e chatas de inajá, e diz-se *ixki-phe patã-dã*. Ou ainda de contas achatadas obtidas dos civilizados, é o *yaxkê-patã-dã*.

2.º — Abaixo da cintura, caindo sôbre as nádegas, usam, amiúde, colares de dentes de onça, *yai-piri-dã*, ou de vertebras de cobra, *pirõ-piri-dã*.

3.º — Ao tornozelo direito amarram um colar, geralmente de pequenos cocos de tucumã, *bexiã* ou de sementes; é o *kixtyõ*, ou chocalho, do qual já falamos, com a finalidade de marcar o ritmo dos passos.

i) *Encacho*. O encacho, *waxsõ-ro*, ou tanga que usam como adôrno de dança é uma lâmina de liber do tururi, de 20 a 30 cm. de largura e uns 40 cm. de comprimento, com pinturas vermelhas de argila. Usa-se pendente da cintura até a coxa. (*Cfr.* o que acima se disse sôbre as vestes, VI - 3, a).

j) *Brincos*. Os homens trazem ainda às orelhas longos brincos, possivelmente de metal dourado, *arpõã-phi* (65). Quando o não

(65) O tuxaua Maku de Iauaretê tinha por brincos um cartucho de fuzil burnido e serrado longitudinalmente em duas metades, uma em cada orelha.

[illegible] também, porém, à guisa de brinco, um molho de plumas coloridas. Observamos que a geração moça, em contacto com os civilizados, [illegible] mais os lóbos das orelhas, e por isso, não usará mais [illegible] nas danças.

g) *Braceleira.* A braceleira, barsá *kurú-pa*, é um grande anel de pelo de-macaco, do qual pendem, como flóculos, cordas do mesmo [illegible] com vistosas penas de arara. Adapta-se ao braço esquerdo, na altura do cotovelo.

h) *Ehuró.* É a enxó primitiva, syó-a *parpú*, para os trabalhos de madeira (vd. VI - 2, b) e hoje usada tão só como enfeite de dança. Consta de um galho recurvado como gancho, *parpú*, de seus 30 cm de altura, bem alisado e com plumas prêsas por meio do leite de-sorva. Numa das extremidades traz encravada uma pedra solida (hoje que é mero enfeite, também um pedaço de madeira durissima) da forma de um machado, porém mais estreita. Êsse instrumento é usado pelos individuos mais importantes (tuxaua, *komú*, [illegible]) e vai sôbre o ombro esquerdo.

i) *Enfeites das flautas.* Em certos números de danças trazem na mão direita uma flauta de osso, *mombí* (vd. acima Instrumentos Musicais), ou mesmo um pequeno osso de onça ou de outro animal, [illegible] enfeitado com um dos seguintes adornos:

1º — *Mahá-ití.* Consta de 8 ou 10 penas vermelhas da cauda da arara, presas a um cordão. Enrola-se êste cordão a uma extremidade da flauta ou ôsso, como um penacho ou leque.

2º — *Umú-ka-ití.* É um penacho de penas brancas de garça (*[illegible]*) e amarelas do japú (*umú*), usado como o precedente.

3º — *Pexká pirkóróá petori* ou, abreviadamente, *pyóróá petorí.* É um colar de carapaça furtacôr de besouros (66), que envolve a flauta de osso durante as danças.

n) *Máscaras.* No Uaupés só os *Wanána* e *Kubéwána* (67) atualmente usam as máscaras nas danças fúnebres, e por isso as denominam *pa'ko-ko su'ti-ro*, isto é, veste de lágrimas.

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(66) O indígena forneceu-nos o esclarecimento que os pirkóróá vivem dentro da primeira bacaba. Acrescentou ainda que dotú é "pai" do besouro pirá. Trata-se provavelmente de insectos com fases diversas, como a borboleta que passa pelas fases de larva e crisálida.

(67) Koch Grunberg (Zwei Jahre, pag. 205) soube que, além dos *Buhápana*, também os *Umoa* e *Sara* usam as máscaras. Parece que até 50 anos atrás ou pouco mais, isto é pelos fins do século passado e inicios dêste o emprêgo das máscaras era bem divulgado entre as tribos do Tiquié e afluentes.

Preparam-nas com o liber do tururi, e tem a forma de um camisolão, que envolve a pessoa da cabeça aos joelhos.

O processo de preparação é como o das sacolas do ipadú. Escolhido o tronco do tururi, de grossura e comprimento desejados, vão batendo a cabeça com um macete até que a parte lenhosa seja eliminada e se desprenda o liber. Ao depois, com o fio de tucum cozem-na, dando-lhe a forma de uma camisa, fecham-lhe algum rasgão, e na altura dos ombros, adaptam-lhe as mangas também de tururi, por onde o dançante introduz os braços. Na parte inferior o tururi será cegarçado em longa fimbria que recobre as pernas.

Essas máscaras trazem pintura variada, pois conforme a simbólica indígena, cada máscara representa um animal. Por essa mesma razão cada uma delas tem seu nome, e vai também variando de uma máscara para outra o feitio da parte superior (que recobre a cabeça do dançante correspondendo à cabeça do animal simbolizado.

Estas máscaras fúnebres não constituem objetos tabuados. Temo-las encontrado conservadas dentro da habitação à vista de todos.

Até fins do século passado, informa Koch Grünberg (*Zwei Jahre*, pag. 230) os *Tariana* usavam máscaras também na festa de *Wari-ñi*. Estas, porém, não podiam, como o instrumento sagrado (cfr. acima) ser vistas pelas mulheres e crianças.

Temos, outrossim, encontrado máscaras entre os *Ide-masã* do Komé-yá (afluente do rio Pirá-paraná) as quais não são objetos tabuados, nem sequer a que se denomina *Wurti* (cfr. acima, IV - 2, h), pois estão à vista de todos e as crianças com tôda a liberdade servem-se delas para os seus brinquedos.

4. *Religião*

a) *Dificuldades*

Constitue êste assunto um dos capítulos mais difíceis da etnografia dessas tribos. Em outros pontos a influência dos civilizados é mais superficial, e logo desaparece, quando cessa o contato com os brancos e o indígena volta à vida das selvas. Ou é facilmente reconhecível pela cultura material que ficou como testemunha. Na Etnologia religiosa não só temos a influência recíproca entre as tribos, como a dos civilizados quem sabe desde a descoberta do Novo mundo (1), tôdos êles cristãos (2), com seu culto que impressio-

(1) Frei Gaspar de Carvajal, O. P., na descrição da viagem de Francisco Orellana, 1542, refere a informação de uma índia. "Prendeu-se nesta aldeia (nas proximidades da foz do Rio Negro) uma índia de muita razão. Disse que, perto daqui, no interior havia muitos cristãos entre êles duas mulheres brancas e que outros viviam com índias das quais tinham

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mais ao selvagem e com suas conversas ou até com sua positiva catequese, querendo trazê-lo ao Cristianismo.

Tribos do Amazonas e Rio Negro (cfr. II - I) (e as do Uaupés mantinham relações com as do Rio Negro e Içana); foram mesmo evangelizadas por Missionários em diferentes épocas. No século 17 estiveram no Rio Negro os Jesuítas e Mercedários, no 18, os Carmelitas, no 19, os Capuchinhos e Padres Seculares.

Os convertidos cristãos eram às vezes uma minoria dentro do seu, o que continuava com suas crenças e práticas. Quiçá, em alguns casos, todo um grupo, por exemplo um povoado indígena, se fez cristão, porém mais tarde perdeu o contacto com os Missionários — e vimos que foram periódicas e intermitentes a catequeses nos rios Negro e Uaupés — e retornou às suas praxes pagãs.

Não teria ficado reminiscência alguma dêsses ensinamentos aprendidos e práticas religiosas? Há indícios que sim, donde é lícito inferir o que os índios hoje praticam e nos declararam, pode não estar isento da influência dos civilizados cristãos.

Outra dificuldade não menor que a primeira é a reserva do indígena, sempre desconfiado, e muito mais se mostra nestes assuntos, sôbre os quais talvez haja até a obrigação de nada revelar aos civilizados. Verifica-se que mais facilmente fazem revelações sôbre assuntos de moralidade que, parece-nos, deveram ficar recatadas, do que sôbre assuntos religiosos (3).

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(1) "Ao que se presume são êstes os que se perderam de Diogo Ordaz" (dos nove que fizeram parte da esquadra de Ordaz, saída de Sevilha em princípios de 1531, com destino ao rio Maranhão, sob o comando de Juan Carrejo, encalhou nesse rio com mais de 300 homens que se internaram entre os índios.

(2) Em nossas viagens sabemos de comerciantes que batizavam índios para fazê-los seus "afilhados" isto é, com obrigação de trabalhar para êles. Citemos episódios protestos dêsses batismos por vêzes de uma maloca inteira, derramando apenas água ou pondo sal na bôca, sem proferir palavra alguma. O próprio Koch Grunberg batizou algumas crianças doentes, como êle depõe no seu livro "Zwei Jahre". Ainda hoje (1957) os Missionários encontram índios esparsos por várias malocas e que afirmam haverem sido batizados "por branco", a saber por civilizados que passaram pela região comerciando.

(3) O General Couto de Magalhães, apesar de suas amistosas relações com muitos indígenas, revela essa silenciosa discrição dêles: "O índios são muito reservados e discretos em tudo quanto diz respeito a assumpto religioso. No meio da conversação mais animada, se se lhes dirige qualquer pergunta tendente a esclarecer qualquer dêsses pontos, elles tornam-se immediatamente frios, as vezes sombrios, e, ou respondem por monosyllabos, ou nada respondem" (Ensaios de Anthropologia, 455).

b) *Influências Cristãs*

Mencionamos apenas três provas da influência Cristã: 1.º a inclusão de elementos da tradição Cristã nas lendas indígenas (como se verá na obra em preparação «Lendas do Uaupés» (4); 2.º Índios com nomes bíblicos (vd. acima II - 3); e 3.º alguns episódios de fanatismo religioso que se deram no século passado nos rios Içana, Uaupés e Papuri, com tal repercussão que, apesar das distâncias,

(4) Em alguns pontos dessas lendas (como veremos em outro volume, "Lendas do Uaupés") que nos fazem admitir uma infiltração Cristã. E não nos referimos às narrações dos ex-alunos das Missões Católicas. Como tivemos mais de uma vez o ensejo de verificar, intercalam êles, na exposição das suas lendas, episódios e nomes de personagens sôbre os quais ouviram no catecismo. Uma prova disso é a Cosmogonia Tukano exposta pelo padre Marcos Sierra a Marcos Fulop (cfr. n. 65, c. VII-4, e (2c)

Marcel Homet, numa conferência realizada em Manaus em março de 1961, defendia a tese da influência da Civilização mediterrânea na bacia Amazônica, porém já, no período cristão, seja vinda diretamente do Mediterrâneo, seja passando pela África. Como um dos argumentos apontava a "tradição de expedições pré-colombianas à América. Poderia nesta tese, haver penetração Cristã nas lendas destas tribos. A propria lenda de Sumé serviria de argumento de tal infiltração.

Mais plausível, parece-nos, seria uma influência pré-cristã ou messânica. Assim como o episódio do dilúvio ocorre em tantas lendas, que os homens Americanos transplantaram do seu habitat original para as terras da América, poderiam, outrossim, trazer outros elementos como o da promessa de um Libertador. Interessante é que êste grande Libertador nasce, conforme as lendas indígenas de uma Virgem, como fôra prometido na primeira grande profecia Bíblica.

Na história da primitiva Humanidade há vários capítulos em branco, entre êles o das migrações dos Camitas, isto é dos descendentes de Cam. Teriam êles progredido muito, como sucedeu aos outros filhos de Adão? Abandonaram êles o primitivo habitat? Por onde terão ido?

É uma tese de difícil defesa que grupos de Camitas foram os primeiros a se afastarem da Mesopotâmia, onde surgiu a Humanidade. É, outrossim, não só defensível, porém muito provável a tese que o dilúvio tenha eliminado e exterminado os habitantes do Oriente próximo. Não teriam êstes grupos dêsses Camitas alcançar as regiões mais distantes do Oriente Polinesiano e Australiano, bem como as do Ocidente Americano?

Parece-nos menos aceitável a tese de Marcel Homet, entendida como uma migração do Oriente próximo para as Américas dentro do período cristão. Remontará, por certo a seis milênios ou mais a existência do homem no solo Americano.

As pesquisas pré-históricas nos sambaquis do Brasil (no do Mar-Casado, Ilha no S. Amaro, sob a direção de Paulo Duarte, nos do Paraná iniciadas por Joseph Emperaire e prosseguidas pelos professôres da Universidade de Curitiba) depararam com homens pré-históricos em camadas para as quais o Carbono 14 acusa seis e oito mil anos. Nos segundos encontros intelectuais promovidos pela Unesco, em S. Paulo em 16 de agosto de 1961, o prof. Crushent informou sobre o achado de artefatos

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...ram a preocupar os governantes de Manaus. Ora, não é impossível que tais episódios impliquem uma mais remota influência ...

Em 1857 o Governador João Baptista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha ouve falar de um grande movimento dos indígenas do rio Içana, atraídos por um pregador que se dizia o «Verdadeiro Christo». Nomeia então Missionário do Içana e Uaupés, ao Padre Romualdo Gonçalves d'Azevedo, «para baldar as prédicas do pretendido Christo, acalmar a agitação promovida e impedir a emigração dos índios para alheio território». Constara, com efeito, ao Govêrno que, o «Christo» procurava seduzir os índios a passarem ao território da Venezuela. Recelou-se até fôsse emissário político estrangeiro, quiçá mesmo da Inglaterra, França ou Estados Unidos. Tratava-se de um índio venezuelano, por nome Venâncio, que se estabelecera na povoação Cuiari, na confluência do rio homônimo com o Içana, e em presença de uma cruz ia pregando a sua falsa doutrina, e crescia seu conceito de Santo. «Prevalecia, diz o Relatório do Pe. Romualdo, do estado a que o reduziu o ataque de catalepsia, de que sofre, para fazer crer que morria, ia ao céu, falava com Deus; e que tinha o poder de perdoar os pecados» (Relatório datado de 10 de fev. de 1858 — Archivo do Amazonas de 23 de julho de 1907, vol. II, n. 5, p. 14). Prevendo os ataques, preanunciava suas relações com Deus, por cuja ordem ia exigindo paga dos índios, em troca do perdão dos pecados. A tais notícias se abalavam para vê-los os silvícolas de onde quer que se achassem. O missionário Frei Manuel de Santana Salgado, o qual, a pedido do Pe. Romualdo impedido por doença, o substituíra, ameaçando com a intervenção policial obrigou Venâncio a retirar-se para a Venezuela. Ainda durante a viagem de Frei Salgado, outro movimento religioso semelhante surge junto à Povoação da Guia, no igarapé Pira-lauara. Desta vez o protagonista era um índio brasileiro, também de nome Venâncio, «que se intitulava Padre Santo enviado do Christo», e «tivera lugar a repetição de tais atos e foi aí que se fizeram as confissões públicas, divorcios, novos casamentos, sucedendo a tudo isto divertimentos profanos de danças, comes e bebes, o que também se praticava no Cuiary em

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em Manzanilla, Venezuela, em jazidas de até 16500 anos, pela análise do Carbono 14.

Nem repugna que para aqui tenham vindo grupos pediluvianos, quiçá dos Carmitas. Se se provasse o conceito de um dilúvio nodíco nas terras amerindias, (e não se tratasse apenas de inundações regionais), ainda assim poder-se-ia concluir que teria havido migrações de grupos pós-diluvianos, sem excluir a possibilidade de migrações pediluvianas.

[Facing p.320]

Festa da colheita do cunuri (waxpo poose)

Rito do cauim e comemorações lendárias

seguida do ensino da doutrina e dos supostos milagres do intitulado Christo».

No seu relatorio datado de Cunury (rio Uaupés, aos 12 de abril de 1880), o Pe. Romualdo informa que em Juquira-rapecuma, no Uaupés, se achavam reunidos índios de várias tribos «venerando outro Christo que alli se apresentara praticando o mesmo que se dera no Igarapé Piraiauara, no Içana, isto é, batizando, casando, etc., que esta reunião contava para mais de mil pessoas armadas de armas de fogo e curabis (flechas com as pontas envenenadas), dispostos a resistir as diligências, caso para alli fôssem, como acontecera no Içana, que alli mesmo esperariam os brancos».

Efetivamente, Frei Salgado foi recebido hostilmente e teve que retirar-se com perigo de vida, a 3 de março de 1858. «Segundo consta, prossegue o Relatório, e passa por certo o Christo he um indio natural do Uaupés, que residia no distrito de Marabitanas, bem conhecido alli de todos, chamado Alexandre. Entre o séquito do Christo conclui o Relatorio (Archivo do Amazonas, dia 23 de Out. de 1907, vol. II, n. 7, p. 85-90) existem para mais de 10 Macus presos, que delles se servem como de escravos, a ponto de vendê-los a troco de uma arma, terçados, machados e de mais que lhes há mister».

Depois de Venâncio e Alexandre, um desertor por nome Basilio Melgueiro renova os mesmos erros, informa Koch Grünberg (*Z. I.* 20).

Pelo fim de 1880 surge outro indivíduo, êste da tribo *Arapásu*, que a si mesmo denominava Vicente Cristo, e afirmava manter diálogos com os espíritos dos mortos e com o próprio Deus, de quem se proclamava representante. Apregoava-se como «Pai dos Missionários», que, a pedido seu, Deus enviou ao Catari. Fanatizou a muitos, dos quais fazia dançar ao redor de uma cruz. Tendo com seu fanatismo prejudicado a muitos seringueiros, foi, por fim, prêso em Barcelos.

Episódio semelhante sucedeu nas últimas décadas do século passado no Papuri. Um índio da tribo *Tukano* (Subdivisão dos Sukuro-pûna, vd. IV - 2. a), por nome Lino Sêwa, apareceu na localidade Buzuc-pisá (hoje Montfort). Acorreram a êle indígenas do Papuri e até do Uaupés e Tiquié. Mandava cada qual fazer uma cruz para si, ensinava cantos sacros, pregava que todos subiriam ao céu e operava muitas curas com seus remédios. Informante dêstes episódios foi uma velha índia de Pari-cachoeira, chamada Isabel, a qual completou seu relato, afirmando que (por não ter praticado a fornicação) o «Santo» Lino a tomou como auxiliar no preparo dos remédios. Entre os fatos extraordinários Isabel conta o de uma floração maravilhosa de belíssimas flôres em tôda a região compreendida

[Figura 1.32]

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Sepultamento destinado ao [illegible] (jexkro-ro-koro)

Recondução (inserção ritual) em Caruru-cachoeira (rio Tiquié)

Mondé, o tucano [illegible] de Urubucuara [illegible] pai e seu filho [illegible] conflito donde surgiu as tribos (Cfr. lenda Uhupôsi). O montículo 2º plano resultado do cuspe [illegible] Wáxti

entre o Papuri e o Tiquie. Estão ainda vivos (em 1949) alguns velhos que tomaram dos remedios do «Santo». Essas romarias e curas terminaram com a morte de Lino.

*Conceito de Religião*

Religião, num sentido mais rigoroso, é o reconhecimento teórico e prático de um Ente Supremo, a quem denominamos Deus, como Soberano Senhor de todo o universo, que é uma criação sua.

Tomamo-la aqui num sentido menos rigoroso e mais amplo, como crença em seres superiores aos homens e diferentes dêles, com os quais é possível e convém estar em relação, e a crença numa vida outra extraterrena e diversa da que se leva em terra (5).

Tomada no primeiro sentido, afirma-se que os índios do Uaupés não tem religião, pois não se encontram entre êles templos onde adorem a Deus (6), nem encarregados do culto, nem sacerdotes, nem cerimônias religiosas e orações para honrar a divindade.

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(5) M. Morris Jastrow («The study of Religion» — N. York, 1921) reduz a três os elementos constitutivos da Religião: 1º reconhecimento de uma ou várias potências que não dependem de nós; 2º sentimento de dependência do homem com relação a essa potência ou potências; 3º possibilidade de trato e comunicação com essas potências. E' inexato e incompleto êste conceito. Inexato, pois leva a confundir *Religião* com *Magia*. Se êste poder ou potência é algo impessoal, como a força cósmica, não é possível uma relação e comércio com êle, e, embora o homem o reconheça superior a si, não o venera, teme-o e procura conquistá-lo e dominá-lo com práticas particulares que se dizem *mágicas*. Temos, pois, a Magia. Se o concebe como potência pessoal, ou melhor "Ser espiritual", a qual respeita e propicia pelo culto, temos então um culto religioso e uma *Religião*. Ora, parece-nos descobrir os indícios, embora vagos, de um culto e uma Religião nas tribos do Uaupés.

(6) Tal afirmação se nota desde a época dos descobrimentos. E' verdade que frei Gaspar de Carvajal («Descobrimentos» p. 51) descrevendo a viagem de descobrimento de Francisco Orrelana, em 1540, fala-nos do culto ali, com templo e altares: "Nesse dia (segunda-feira após a Festa da SS. Trindade, 5 de junho de 1540) aportamos a uma aldeia de medíocre tamanho, onde a gente nos recebeu. Havia lá uma praça muito grande e no meio da praça um grande pranchão de dez pés em quadro, pintado e esculpido em relêvo, figurando uma cidade murada, com sua cerca e uma porta. Nessa porta havia duas altíssimas tôrres com as suas janelas, as tôrres com as portas se defrontavam, cada porta com duas colunas. Toda esta obra era sustentada sôbre dois ferocíssimos leões que olhavam para trás, como acautelados um do outro, e a sustinham nos braços e nas garras. Havia no meio desta praça um buraco por onde deitavam, como oferendas ao sol, a chicha, que é o vinho que êles bebem, sendo o sol que êles adoram, o têm como seu deus.

Era todo êsse edifício coisa digna de ser vista, admirando-se o capitão e nós todos de tão admirável coisa. Perguntou o Capitão a um índio o que era aquilo e que significava aquela praça, e o índio respondeu que

Existem, sim, nem poderia ser diversamente entre homens de tão pouca cultura, muitas superstições. Há unanimidade em afirmar que, se há um culto, é o do *Jurupari* ou demônio (7) (em Tukano *Wãr-ti*), que se festeja ou se entende aplacar com os *Dabacuris* (em Tukano *Pooro*), a fim de que não os prejudique, espírito malvado que e, quanto a Deus (em Tukano *Wa:kõ* ou *O'ã-kõ*) é um grande ausente, que não se preocupa com os homens e sem influência alguma sôbre a sua vida. Não há, portanto, necessidade de interessar-se de *Wa:kõ*, nem de pensar nele para venerá-lo.

O estudo dessas tribos convence-nos que estão numa fase de grande regressão ou involução, com traços de *totemismo*, cujo pequeno sentimento religioso e grande preponderância da magia nos ostentam.

Religião num *sentido subjetivo* é, conforme W. Schmidt *Manuale di Storia comparata delle Religioni*, pag. 2) «a idéia e sentimento da dependência de uma Potência pessoal supraterrestre, com a qual se

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dos vêm sudítos e tributários das Amazonas, e que não as forneciam senão de penas de papagaios e guacamaios (araras) para forrarem os tetos dos seus adoratórios. Que as povoações que êles tinham eram daquela maneira, conservando-o ali como lembrança e o adoravam como símbolo de sua senhora, que é quem governa tôda a terra das ditas mulheres. Encontrou-se também nessa praça uma casa muito pequena, dentro da qual havia muitas vestimentas de plumas de diversas côres, que os índios usavam para celebrar as suas festas e bailar, quando queriam regozijar diante do já referido pranchão, e ali ofereciam seus sacrifícios com a sua danada intenção.

Saímos daqui deste aldeia, encontrando a seguir uma outra, muito grande, que tinha o mesmo pranchão e diviso".

Em outra as tribos "[illegible] fez do rio Nepo. E da região das Amazonas informaram de "Aquelaterra" e casas dedicadas ao sol, as quais são por elas chamadas curanai, e que estas casas são assoalhadas no solo e até mais altura, que os tetos são forrados de pinturas de diversas côres, que nestas casas tem elas ídolos de ouro e prata em figura de mulheres, e muitos objetos de ouro e prata para serviço do sol" (o.c. 67).

Frem Carvajal está referindo o que ouviu e sua narração está tôda impregnada de inverossímeis, fruto de credulidade e de sugestão.

O Pe. Alonso de Rojas, descrevendo a descida do ano 1637, depõe: "Não têm ritos, nem cerimônias para venerá-los (seus falsos deuses); nem templos de seus ídolos, nem sacerdotes". (Descobrimentos, 110). Precisamente como os encontramos três séculos depois.

(7) Nos seus "Diálogos das grandezas do Brazil", Teixeira Pinto, tratando dos ritos dos gentios afirma: "Não ter elle nenhum e si algum modo de adoração fazem, posto que não se lhe conheça, é ao diabo ao qual dão o nome de Jurupari" (ap. Barbosa Rodrigues, Poranduba Amazonense 94). Jurupari e Dabacuri são termos da Língua Geral ou Nheengatu que ainda se fala em todo o Rio Negro. O emprêgo dêsses têrmos pelos próprios índios do Uaupés, quando nos descrevem suas tradições, vale por uma prova da influência estranha nos seus mitos e ritos.

pretende entrar em relação»; e, *objetivamente*, é «o conjunto dos atos exteriores nos quais se exprime a religião e pelos quais se manifesta». Vamos considerá-la especialmente neste sentido.

Examinemos separadamente, para melhor apreensão dos indícios desse fraco sentimento religioso, e sua exata compreensão: 1º seus pontos doutrinais; 2º suas práticas de culto; 3º suas regras de conduta moral, religiosa e social.

d) *Pontos Doutrinais*

1) *Conceito de um Ente Supremo.*

a) A totalidade dos índios destas tribos residentes nos povoados à margem dos rios Uaupés, Tiquié e Papuri brasileiros distinguem, atualmente, como há um século atrás, no tempo de Wallace, um Deus Criador e Remunerador Supremo, perfeito e bom, e o denominam *Wá-kõ* (ou *O'ú-kõ*), e um espírito mau que lhes pode causar muitos males, e por isso o temem, é o *Wáx-ti*. Não só alguns estudiosos e viajantes, como os próprios indígenas da geração môça, identificam *Wáx-ti* com o *Jurupari* da Língua Geral ou Nheengatú e o próprio demônio (8). Diante dessas informações poder-se-ia pensar que a sua religião fôsse um *maniqueísmo*, com um duplo princípio: — o bom, que praticamente não é mister levar em conta, e o mau (9).

Não fazendo, por ora, questão de nomes, é certo que êles admitem a existência de um Ser pessoal («*marsã*, gente, como se exprimem), ser que sempre existiu, muito superior ao homem, que mora lá no alto. Êste Ser os velhos denominam *Búrpó*, o Trovão (assim por exemplo o velho Gabriel Costa, de Pari-cachoeira, rio Tiquié), e os que tem alguma noção de cristianismo esclarecem dizendo que é «*Deus Pai*» (10). Revele-se que o têrmo da Língua Geral para indicar *Deus*, é *Tupana*, simples variação, introduzida provavelmente pela catequese, do nome *Tupã*, que quer dizer *Trovão*. Não será me-

(8) Há um lugar à margem do rio Uaupés, acima de Chibarú, que se denomina *Jurupari-ponto* e os de língua Tukano chamam-no *Wáx-ti nõã*, identificando assim *Wáx-ti* e *Jurupari*.

(9) Temos, naturalmente, que excluir, quanto a êste assunto, os índios que frequentaram por vários anos os colégios das Missões Salesianas e receberam um mais profundo e firme conhecimento religioso, robustecido, ademais, por uma intensa vida prática religiosa e sacramental.

(10) A jovem Patrícia Vasconcelos, cristã e ex-aluna da Missão Salesiana, conversando com seu velho tio e pajé, Marco de S. Luzia, rio Papuri, ao falar sôbre o *Padre Eterno* (Pai de Jesus Cristo), ouviu-o interrompê-la: "ora, minha filha, êsse é *Burpó*".

na coincidência de nomes. Mas, ou ambos grupos humanos, o de Nhengatú e o do Tukano, tinham as mesmas crenças e culto; ou houve um empréstimo de crenças, ou, ao menos, de lendas.

Alguns acrescentam que desse Ser Supremo, precede o mundo e os homens, por efeito de uma simples palavra criadora. Isto, que conseguimos em conversa com os velhos de diversas tribos e em diferentes localidades, mesmo dos que não são cristãos, e não mantem contacto com os Missionários, tem probabilidade de representar a sua tradição primitiva, porque corresponde outrossim ao que narram as lendas.

b) Entre os Tukano do rio Tiquié, o Padre Eduardo Lagório, Salesiano, encontrou a crença em um *Deus* e uma *Deusa*, que existiram de per si, isto é, não criados por outro, «*kã ãaró*, por sua vontade», assim exprimem em seu idioma; e ela também «*ko ãaro*». Contra a psicologia indígena que não liga à mulher, e cujos predicados físicos não a valorizam mais, o índio que em seu pragmatismo realista, parece despreocupado das qualidades estéticas das pessoas, detem-se, ao invés, a descrever a beleza dessa deusa. Parece-nos, por esta razão, lícito procurar para tal fato, uma origem cristã, a saber o culto e homenagem à Mãe SS. de Deus (11).

Ao Deus chamam *O'ã-kõ*, e não souberam dizer o sentido dessa palavra. De acordo com o espírito da língua Tukano, poderia ser palavra composta de *o'ã*, *osso*, e a terminação de *mar-kõ*, filho. Portanto *O'ã-kõ* quer dizer «Filho do osso». Riam-se quando dávamos a tradução e apresentavam o comunissimo: «é assim mesmo», «é assim mesmo». Coerentemente (ou «por analogia») chamam a Deusa *Oã-ko* ou *O'ã-kõ*. *O'ã-kõ* quer dizer filha do osso» (de *O'ã*, osso e *mar-kõ* filhã). *O'ã-kõ*, como mais comumente se ouve, significa «mãe do osso» (derivado de *par-ko*, mãe) insinuando que seria mãe de *Oã-kõ*.

Não se trata, por outra parte, de um casal qual modêlo da família humana, como em outros povos, ou a deificação dos progenitores do grupo. *Oã-kõ* não gera filhos deuses ou homens; êle criará uns e outros.

Foi a convite de *O'ã-kõ* ou *Oã-ko*, assim informaram ao Pe. Lagório, que *O'ã-kõ* desceu à terra e aí criou montes, rios, matas, animais e por último os homens.

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(11) O índio Sebastião Mariano da tribo Yurupari-tapuya (Arwá'te do Içana), narrando-nos em Caruru-poço (rio Içana), em agosto de 1957, a lenda do *Khoy*, que êle identificou e traduziu por *Jurupari*, di-lo filho de Yepemsuli. E à nossa pergunta como se chamava sua mãe, respondeu prontamente «Santa Maria».

c) Od-kõ, conforme lendas obtidas por nós (e que serão estudadas mais amplamente em outro trabalho), é uma personagem traída por sua esposa, *mahãui* (a pirarara); e êle, por vez, preferia a cunhada à própria mulher. É verdade, a personagem que fez sair as tribos do poço de Urubucuara, *Yepdsonye* chamam também *Yem-O'u-kõ*, e alguns dos velhos cristãos dizem-na «Filho de Deus».

Cada tribo possui suas lendas que exprimem êstes pontos doutrinais, como se verá em outro trabalho.

2) *Imortalidade da alma*

Outra verdade bem estabelecida entre as tribos do Uaupés, é a da existência e imortalidade da alma. Esta verdade, entretanto, vai contaminando-se de metempsicose e confundindo-se com a existência de espíritos desencarnados, ou que nunca foram encarnados.

Admitem no homem, além do corpo, *ãxpõ*, outro elemento invisível, que o vivifica e sobrevive após a morte do indivíduo. Os indígenas da geração moça (portanto não excluída a possibilidade de ser um têrmo aprendido na catequese), designam-no com o mesmo têrmo que indica o coração, isto é, *héri-põra* (Uaupés *héri-põna*) (12). Porém os velhos não sabem dar esclarecimento algum sôbre *héri-põra*, jamais empregam êste têrmo para designar o *elemento* incorpóreo. A êste denominam unicamente *wáz-ti* (13).

Admitem a possibilidade de a *alma* sair do *corpo* durante o sono, mas, realmente a do paje o faz muitas vêzes. Conforme atesta Koch Grünberg (*Zwei Jahre*, pag. 317), os *Kubéuna* crêem que a alma dos pajés, não apenas depois da morte vaga pela floresta como «jaguares muito ruins», porém mesmo em vida, quando já velhos, de tempos em tempos transforma-se em jaguar, vai à mata onde caça e come veados e outros animais.

Por ocasião do entêrro sepultam com o cadáver sua rede, fogo (hoje fósforos), a cuia para beber e outros objetos, para que não sofra necessidade na outra vida.

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(12) Informa o veterano Missionário Salesiano, Pe. João Marchesi, que falando fluentemente o Tukano, que não se lembra de ter ouvido falar em outro elemento ou "sombra da pessôa", como crêem alguns primitivos. Em língua Tukano "sombra" se deveria chamar "*bahusé*", isto é, "coisa que aparece".

(13) Ctr. abaixo VII-4, § (3) o que se diz sôbre o *wáz-ti* dos defuntos. A Catequese vem empregando o termo *héri-põra* (ou *héri-põna*, como se pronuncia no Uaupés e Papuri), como correspondente a: *coração*, alma e consciência. Quando repetem os ensinos da Catequese, os indígenas, naturalmente, dão à palavra *héri-põra*, essa tríplice equivalência. Porém os velhos só a empregam no sentido material, para indicar uma parte do organismo, a saber, o conjunto dos principais órgãos internos, especialmente o coração e os pulmões.

Crêem hoje na possibilidade da alma, ao sair do corpo humano, entrar no de um animal. Mas apenas no do veado ou da anta (cfr. lendas do Uaupés) e citam exemplos da alma de determinada pessoa (24) que entrou no corpo dêsses animais. Não sabem, porém, precisar se o animal já estava vivo (assim opinam alguns), ou nasceu no momento em que a alma humana nele entrou; nem se se trata de um estado permanente ou transitório.

Conforme alguns só as almas dos maus é que passam para o corpo dos animais. A dos pajés pode entrar no da onça (15). Convem ter presente que ao pajé ou feiticeiro, chamam *yai*, têrmo que significa precisamente onça.

É crença mais geral que as almas dos pajés vão ocupar a região dos trovões, donde enviam tempestades e raios, vingando-se assim dos homens que os mataram ou lhes fizeram mal. Julgam propiciá-las enviando-lhes o fumo dos cigarros ou agitando os maracás, ritos que os pajés executavam em vida.

Tôdas as outras almas reunem-se debaixo da terra, em lugar muito profundo, escuro e frio (16), donde a necessidade do fogo. Portanto a metempsicose é caso extraordinário de punição.

Não admitem, porem, a reincarnação humana, isto é, que o espírito reapareça animando o corpo de um recém-nascido. Compreende-se perfeitamente. A reincarnação só pôde firmar-se nos

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(14) Por exemplo, um pajé informou a Mandú, filho do tuxaua *Taryana* do Iauaretê, Nicolau, que a alma de sua mãe se encarnara numa anta, e por isso durante algum tempo se abstiveram aí de caçar antas.

(15) A onça, se não está faminta, não vem aos povoados. Quando há falta de alimento, porém, nas vizinhanças das malocas, assaltam os cachorros, e citam-se vários episódios de ter ela entrado até nas barracas. Informou-nos o Pe. João Marchesi que certa vez, no alto Papuri, uma onça matou dois índios e comeu parte dos cadáveres. Fizeram uma armadilha junto dos cadáveres e conseguiram apanhá-la. Não tiveram, porém, coragem de matá-la (provavelmente porque supunham que nela estivessem os tuix-ti das vítimas). Mas ao redor da armadilha e dos cadáveres puseram lenha e fogo até reduzir tudo a cinzas. E iam prantiando e dizendo: "tu mataste nosso irmão (o Tukano) e o nosso escravo (o Mukú), e "pensavam que na onça havia o espírito de um pajé" (assim esclareceram ao Pe. Marchesi).

(16) Um jovem Tukano do Parí-cachoeira, Casimiro Sampaio, indagado por que se punha fúmaro junto ao cadáver que se enterrava explicou que era para não sentir frio. Insistindo nós se o lugar para onde ia era frio, disse que sim. Êste conceito de inferno frio explica-se recordando a sua região quente e gostam do calor. Ao Padre Kok (conforme nos disse o confrade Pe. Afonso Kuypers) que descrevia o inferno como lugar de fogo, um índio disse: "melhor, assim lá não há necessidade de fazer fogo".

grupos humanos em que se equilibrem a mortalidade e a natalidade: entre os possos indígenas há ligeira tendência ao aumento da população, com periódicas epidemias que dizimam as malocas.

Idealmente não admitem uma futura ressurreição dos homens.

Do cadáver nenhum mêdo têm (17), nem mesmo as crianças, tanto que o enterravam na própria maloca, onde a vida continuará regularmente. Nem sequer praticam rito algum purificatório (como os juruns), quando tocam algum cadáver. Da alma, sim, mostram algum receio (18), embora declarem, quando interrogados, que elas não podem voltar, nem ser evocadas pelo pajé ou outra pessoa qualquer.

Uma mulher tukano (Dorotéia Brito) interrogada sôbre o que pensava de wdr-ti, respondeu que «é sombra da pessoa». E o Tukano Casimiro Sampaio, indagado porque alguém tinha mêdo do morto, explicou «porque vira wdr-ti» (19).

3) *Princípios morais.*

Qualificam algumas ações como «*ya'dsé*»; por exemplo, o casamento entre pessoas da mesma tribo, o ter filhos de um incesto entre pais e filhos ou entre membros da mesma tribo, o malefício (*dohasé*) e o furto.

A punição, porém, está a cargo de quem se julgar prejudicado, se o puder fazer. O pajé, pelos seus poderes extraordinários, é aproveitado como instrumento de justiça, ou antes de vingança. Não julgam, entretanto, que lhe seja lícito fazer isto. Temem-no, e quando podem, dêle também se vingam.

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(17) É uma visão desagradável, observou um Missionário (Pe. Umberto Limpens) ao índio, como o é a todos nós, porque os faz pensar na morte.

(18) O Irmão Mateo, de Montfort, contou que navegando com uns índios chegou a um local, dito S. José (rio Papuri), onde dois dias antes fora enterrado um velho. Só o Irmão ficou nessa margem durante a noite; os indígenas foram, por mêdo, dormir na margem oposta.

(19) Tendo morrido um índio longe do cemitério, foi enterrado dentro de uma barraca; vieram depois os índios queixar-se ao Pe. Umberto Limpens que não queriam mais habitar ali, porque "o wdr-ti do homem" ficava vagando por tôda a casa. Aos 10 de janeiro de 1949, em Ki-rsérirá (igarapé das cascas de mandioca) no rio Tiquié, próximo à fronteira colombiana, morre afogado um velho conhecido por Chico, enquanto pescava. Contra o costume enterraram o cadáver onde fôra encontrado, num sítio abandonado, pouco abaixo do povoado. Informam que à noite ouvem-se gritos, e nenhum indígena ousa passar por aí. Quando lá estivemos, uns 15 dias depois do sepultamento, ainda os habitantes continuavam apavorados.

4) *Prêmio e castigo.*

Menos preciso é o conceito de um prêmio ou castigo na outra vida. Sabem, atualmente, que os bons são recompensados e os maus punidos. Talvez por influência cristã, dizem que aquêles «vão para cima», onde terão «vida boa», os maus «irão para baixo», onde «a vida é má».

O conceito de bom ou mau, porém, alarga-se até abranger todos os do povoado como bons, e os dos povoados inimigos como maus. É pois, um conceito em função do grupo, e não da vida dos indivíduos.

O fato de enterrarem o cadáver com seus instrumentos de caça (arco e flecha), talvez seja vestígio de uma crença antiga de um «paraíso da caça», como existe em tribos caçadores. Obliterou-se esta crença com a mudança do sistema de vida da caça para a pesca e a agricultura.

Vigora ainda a crença numa vida social além túmulo, semelhante à vida presente, com *pescarias e festas*, como resulta de respostas categóricas (20). Alguns pensam até que na outra vida há procriação de filhos (21).

5) *Existência dos espíritos.*

Crêem na existência de espíritos que nunca foram encarnados em corpo humano, nem o serão; podem, no entanto, tornar-se visíveis em dadas circunstâncias. Habitam tais espíritos em determinados lugares: interior das matas, cabeceiras dos igarapés, grutas, pedras, etc.

São muitos e de distintas categorias; cada categoria com sua maneira característica de se apresentar. Não é, porém, concorde a descrição como no-la trazem os índios. E alguns afirmam que os vêem ou ouvem com relativa freqüência. É fato indiscutível que, com bastante facilidade, se alarmam, quer indivíduos, como grupos inteiros (22), como se houvessem visto algo extraordinário.

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(20) A uma Religiosa que, explicando o Catecismo, falava do céu, uma menina interrompe para perguntar se lá no céu havia peixe. Tomada de surpresa a Professora, respondeu que não. A criança acrescentou prontamente: — então não quero ir para lá.

(21) Refere um Missionário o seguinte: "uma vez um rapazito estranhou muito ao ouvir que no céu haverá plenitude de vida, sem necessidade de preparação da espécie. Perguntou quase desiludido: "então lá no céu não haverá mulheres para nós?"

(22) Nos Colégios, por exemplo, se uma criança (mais freqüentemente as meninas, note-se que são as mulheres que mais vêzes dizem te-lo visto) grita à noite no dormitório: *Wãr-ti!*, enchem-se todas de pânico, cobrem o rosto ou o viram para o outro lado. Mas também em pleno

Dêsses espíritos uns são grandemente malévolos e nocivos, e outros não. Admitem alguns que os há dos dois sexos, e se multiplicam como os homens.

*Wãz-ti* ou *Jurupari* (23). Vive no interior das matas, nos lugares mais sombrios e nas barracas abandonadas. Aparece, porém, nas malocas, sob forma de homem preto, cabeludo, feio, cheio de cinza. Uma informante tukano (Doretela Brito) dizia: quando êle se faz ver em alguma casa, é sinal de doenças. Pelo contrário. Gosta de estrangular galinhas. Quando a galinha "fala" rumor, é que *Wãz-ti* mexeu com ela. Qualquer barulho em qualquer casa ou na mata, pensam logo em *Wãz-ti*. Um animal estranho que vejam, um vulto, deve ser êle, e gritam, cheios de pavor.

Atribuem o eco, *aziu-keoõrõ*, a *Wãz-ti* que está arremedando o rumor qualquer. Parece-lhes, em muitas ocasiões, ouvir, nos rumores da mata e das cachoeiras, e no sibilar dos ventos, ecos longínquos das músicas e danças executadas por *Wãz-ti*.

Note-se que *Wãz-ti* não é um indivíduo, há os muitos; antes, uma classe inteira. Entre êles um por excelência, que seria o principal dêles. Êste, segundo na origem da nação, lhe fez muito mal: devorava as crianças, fecundava suas mulheres, e lhes fazia crianças-monstros, matava aos homens, etc. Cansados, afinal, do seu jugo. Das cinzas, mesmo, pícamo lutar, nasceram duas paxíbas, que, além de tanto, mais obrigava-os a trabalhos e provas. Mas, os homens se reuniram, apoderam-se dêle, amarram-no com cipós e o queimaram. Conforme uma lenda narrada pelo padre Vicente Rodrigues da tribo Taryana, e outros narradores,

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(23) Afirmaram ser *Wãz-ti*. Fato semelhante passou-se em Iauaretê de uma menina atirou-se do andar superior do edifício da Missão. Um dos Missionários Salesianos de Taracuá, Valério Fernandes, se encontrava com alguns meninos na mata à procura de cucura (uma fruta). Algumas mulheres que se achavam próximas e não tinham sido vistas pelos meninos, pediram-lhe também dessa fruta. As crianças puseram-se a correr gritando "*Wãz-ti*!" e correram até saírem da mata, apesar de chamadas pelo Missionário. Os episódios dos quais pudemos ainda indagar, explicam-se todos por sugestão. Soubemos de outros casos provocados à guisa de experiência, afim de verificar a crença e a sugestionabilidade indígena. Embora depois se tente prová-lo ao índio, êle não crê, e continua a admitir que foi realmente o espírito.

(23) O jovem tukano Casimiro Sampaio, em (1919) essa informação contraditória: "os *Wãz-ti* vivem em sociedade. Fazem barulho. Não aparecem. Não fazem mal algum. Êste assunto sôbre os espíritos será mais amplamente desenvolvido no livro "Lendas do Uaupés".

*Arutáke*, foi *O'ã-kã* quem queimou *Wãr-ti*, dito também *Bisiu*. Das cinzas, nesse mesmo lugar, nasceram duas paxíubas, *warta'* (24), com a qual fazem o instrumento sagrado denominado *miri*. (Uaupés *mirí* ou *Jurupari* (25) na Língua Geral), para lembrança da grande proeza. Assim teram algumas das suas lendas, e com isso identificam *Wãr-ti* com a personagem *Jurupari* das lendas tupi.

Mesmo queimado, sobrevive ainda o seu espírito, que vaga pelas matas, tomando formas estranhas e assustadoras. A êle atribuem todas as desgraças, tanto as *materiais*, como uma tempestade, a devastação da mata (26), um animal nocivo na roça, quanto as pessoais: o defeito da gaguice, a loucura, etc. Ao louco dizem *Wãr-ti dohuãkõ*, isto é, estragado por *Wãr-ti*. A tuberculose chamam *Wãr-ti pau-ti*, cabelos de *Wãr-ti*. (27).

É tal o pavor que sentem de *Wãr-ti*, que por prêmio algum se aventuram a entrar na mata a noite, ou mesmo de dia em certos igarapés sombrios. E chegam a abandonar por anos as suas roças, porque lá ouviram rumores estranhos.

b) *Boraro* ou *Curupira* (28). Mora também no centro da mata, que é o seu reino, nas serras ou nas cabeceiras dos igarapés; nunca nos lugares abertos.

Conhecem-no como grande e disforme macaco. Emite gritos estranhos na selva, e dá grandes estalos ou pancadas nas árvores.

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(24) Notemos que o nome da paxíuba em tukano, *warta*, lembra o de *Wãr-ti*. Do mesmo radical *wãr*, temos o termo que indica a funda hérnia-umbilical, *warsé-ro*, e *wãr-ti-kõõ*, tipiti ou a prensa com que espremem a massa de mandioca para o fabrico da farinha, objetos que, como os instrumentos sagrados, foram presente de *Wãr-ti*. Convém recordar que é também de paxíuba que preparam os *paris* e *cacuris* para a pesca, e não raro, também as paredes das malocas.

(25) Quando a etimologia do termo Jurupari Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatu-português, verbete Jurupari) lembrava a um índio alguem lhe haver dito Jurupari significava "o gerado da fruta". Respondeu-lhe o índio: "intimã, Jurupari deba ouheen putare o munha *iorié iurú pari* ui, nada disso, o nome de Jurupari quer dizer que fez o fecho da nossa boca" (*iurú*, boca, e *pari*, cercado para a pesca; cfr. 5, a (2b)

(26) Encontram-se com frequência grandes clareiras na mata. Trata-se de árvores altas e grossas, porém com raízes superficiais e que tombam ao ímpeto das furacões, arrastando consigo muitas outras. Êsse rumor e a derrubada atribuem a *Wãr-ti*.

(27) Causa da tuberculose, segundo, pensam, são os pêlos de mariposa na garganta. O pajé *tapra* sobre o mingau, para invocar o "*Wãr-ti* das mariposas", a fim de que não moleste o doente.

(28) Pelas relações com os vizinhos (dos quais muitos falam o Nheengatu) sabem os melhores muitos têrmos da língua geral. Como identificam *Wãr-ti* com o Jurupari, assim também muitos à pergunta: — quem é *Boraro*? Respondem prontamente: é o Curupira.

[illegible] particularmente as supupemas (raízes chatas) da sumauna. Ataca o [illegible] que se aventura na floresta, envenenando-o com sua urina [illegible] chupa-lhe os miolos. Nenhuma arma consegue matá-lo. Come [illegible] animais, e suga também o sangue dos homens. Quando lhes [illegible] chupar o sangue, faz-lo da seguinte maneira: bate primeiro no [illegible] como para anestesiá-lo; depois faz a punção; quando acaba [illegible] sopra para encher de ar o vazio deixado. Se alguém disser «foi chupado» (isto é, contar a aparição do Boraró) morrerá.

Atesta Dorotéia Brito que seu avô viu muitas vêzes a Boraró. «Ele planta roça, tem mulher e filhos. Na roça, de dia, ouvem-se palavras e Boraró que está falando, embora não se veja. Aparece como homem, de cabelos caídos sôbre os ombros, com flor vermelha na boca. Toma ainda a forma de mulher e de menino. Aos Makú [illegible] nada faz, e quer bem aos macacos. Quem o viu ficará doente». Ele chupou os miolos de sua tia, na roça, e ela lá morreu, ficando como prova um sinal na cabeça.

Depõe outra môça Tukano, *Kómã-ro pôrã*, do povoado de S. Luzia (no Papuri) que duas vêzes, quando ia procurar fruta na [illegible] pouco acima de S. Luzia ouviu Boraró fazer forte ruído, como [illegible] um tiro. Em outra ocasião, indo buscar caraná em companhia de um primo seu, viram ambos duas enormes pegadas, de [illegible] meio metro. Seu primo explicou-lhe que eram as pisadas de Boraró. *Boraró do pó-kari.*

Boraró informou a mesma depoente, «tem sempre alguns bichinhos que o acompanham e cantam perto dêle». Dizem-se êsses animais Boraró *da piolhos de Boraró*. «Quando êles ouvem cantar na [illegible] — *moláro*... (Com a *o* muito prolongado) *moláro*... (29) fogem todos, porque Boraró está muito perto.

Conforme Casimiro Sampaio — «Boraró vive no mato. Aparece como homem branco (30), grande, com a testa vermelha. Traz roupa. Faz barulho no mato. Porém não faz mal a ninguem». Em Ipanoré afirmam todos que é grandemente perigoso, e que são freqüentíssimas as suas aparições. Muitos declaram havê-lo visto ou ouvido, e em várias ocasiões.

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(29) Observe-se que o pronúncia *moláro* denuncia a origem da informante. A língua Tukano, como se pode observar na sua melhor pronúncia no [illegible] Papuri, não possui o fonema *l*. Por influência das outras tribos, máxime a Taryana, no Uaupés e Papuri, ouve-se *l* em algumas palavras. *Moláro*, pensamos nós, de acôrdo com o espírito da língua Tukano, é uma corrupção do nome *Boraró*.

(30) Talvez êsse "branco" seja empregado no sentido usual, isto é, como equivalente de civilizado, pois completa dizendo que usa roupa.

Alguns ex-alunos da Missão Salesiana, que já assistiram funções pontificais nas quais o Bispo Celebrante usa *mitra*, disseram que Boraro aparece com mitra, e o barulho que produz é justamente com a mitra que êle abre e fecha.

Um indígena de Pari-cachoeira, José Barreto, diz que seu pai, Mandu, não batizado afirmou (1949), que são poucos os «demônios» e que isso êle aprendera do próprio avô, o qual nunca vira Missionário algum. Informou também que os seus parentes, moradores do igarapé da onça, pui-sa, conhecem o veneno com o qual podem afugentar ou matar o *Boraro*, e que por isso dêle nenhum mêdo tem.

Em outros lugares encontram-se igualmente indivíduos com tal poder e denominam-se por essa razão, *Boraró dohãrã*, isto é, os que lançam maleficio em Boraro (*dohasé*, maleficio, envenenamento). É crença de muitos que Boraro bebendo êsses venenos, morre.

Boraro é casado, completou Patricia Vasconcelos, e sua mulher tem um dos seios normal, porém o outro é exageradamente comprido. Conforme outros é a mãe de Boraró que apresenta essa anomalia, e alcunham de *Boraro pazkó* (mãe de Boraro), as mulheres de seios compridos.

c) *Bisiu ou Jurupari* (31) É, disse Casimiro Sampaio, um ser misterioso «que desce do alto». É amarelo e vem ornado de penas de arara. Ele fala, canta e dança a *miri* (32). Faz muito barulho como as pessôas. A mulheres não o podem ver».

Soubemos de vários outros informantes que *Bisiu* come as mulheres por ocasião das primeiras regras: «*amõsé badsami*», isto é, como o menstruo, assim se exprimem. Uma viúva Pira-tapuya, Maria José (em Pari-cachoeira, 1954) esclareceu que «*comer*» quer dizer que fecunda a mulher. É por isso que deve ser fechada em casa, e ela mesma invocara o serviço do pajé ou *Komũ*, para o chamado «rito da iniciação» (cfr. VIII - 1, b (7)). Êstes personagens, com seus ritos, têm o poder de afastar o perigo para a donzela.

Uma môça da tribo Tukano do Papuri informou que as mulheres Makú, que vivem quase sempre no interno das matas, muitas vêzes ficam grávidas do couto com *Bisiu*.

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(31) Um pequeno informante de Iauaretê completou esclarecendo que *Bisiu* é o *Jurupari*. Conforme uma lenda narrada pelo pajé Vicente Rodrigues, Taryana, O-ã-ã se diz em Taryana *Yaperikuli*, e é irmão de *Bisiu*, sendo êste mau, e aquêle bem. Nas lendas *arudke Bisiu* vem denunciado com *Jurupari*.

(32) O nosso informante Casimiro Sampaio completou dizendo que é a dança do *Jurupari*. *Bisiu*, pois, confunde-se com o grande *Wãr-tĩ* das lendas.

d) *Nîrkâ Wâz-ti* (*Wâz-ti da mata*). (33) É também do mato, informou Casimiro Sampaio, — de estatura alta e feio. Traz cabelos compridos, e asas de borboleta no rosto. Não fala e não faz mal a ninguém.

Uma jovem de mãe *Wanana*, e criada entre êstes, contou a Patricia Vasconcelos que, por ocasião de uma festa de luto entre os Wanana, quando se procedia as tradicionais danças com máscaras, um homem subiu numa coluna da maloca. Com grande susto seu, viu ele, no meio dos dançantes, uma personagem estranha que apareceu: era um homem baixote, troncudo, feio, cheio de borboletas pelo corpo. Aquela mesma jovem descrevia ainda que *Yaperikuli* (personagem das lendas Arwake e pai de *Kôay* ou *Jurupari*) tem corpo muito pequeno, porém pernas tão grandes que lhe permite atingir a copa das árvores onde colhe mel e frutas.

e) *O'mõãro Wâz-ti*. *Wâz-ti do alto*, que assim significa o seu nome. Conforme Casimiro Sampaio assemelha-se a um macaco. «Vive sôbre as árvores. Não fala, porém faz rumor como o de uma pedra que cai. Êle devora homens inteiros, engole com osso e tudo. Quando quer fazê-lo, deixa-se cair das árvores e saem os demônios da sua barriga».

Uma môça Tukano de S. Luzia (rio Papuri) assevera não só ter ouvido tal rumor, porém ter visto, outrossim, a cova profunda que se formou no chão pela queda de *O'mõãro Wâz-ti*, o qual tem braços de muitos metros de comprimento.

De acôrdo com outra informante Tukano (Dorotéia Brito): «assemelha-se ao bicho-preguiça. É manso, e sua mãe o viu inúmeras vêzes. Ninguem, no entanto, conseguiu matá-lo».

A fauna amazonense possui exemplares estranhos, alguns já conhecidos dos cientistas e dos caboclos; outros talvez ainda desconhecidos (34) e só vistos dos indígenas. A mentalidade dêstes

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(33) *Nîrkâ* significa mato, em tukano.

(34) Em 1945 na estrada de Urubucuara a Ipanuré, algumas mulheres ocupadas em transportar os volumes de carga da Missão, ouviram grande rumor de galhos que se quebravam e viram pelas costas um vulto como um grande macaco, de seus dois metros, caminhando ereto. Apavoradas, correm para junto do Salesiano, sr. Manoel Crescini, que dirigia êsse transporte. Ao chegar ao local do rumor, verificou o Missionário grandes pegadas na areia da estrada, semelhantes às de um elefante, de um animal que havia atravessado a estrada e, ao penetrar na mata foi rompendo a galharia, e assim abrindo uma passagem de um metro ou mais de largura. Rumor forte e assustador, como de algum animal quebrando galhos foi ouvido também pelo Bispo Missionário Dom José Domitrovitsch, em Barcelos. Um caçador de Barcelos (Rio Negro) narrou, apavorado, a Dom José ter ouvido urros

associara com facilidade tais animais estranhos ou deformes com o *Wãz-ti* e outros espíritos das lendas. Quiçá éstes sêres *Nhãã Wãz-ti*, *Omaãro Wãz-ti* e outros de que nos falam, como *Wãz-ti Bia*, *Tekupiá*, etc., serão apenas animais raros ou exóticos e assustadores. Sabemos, por exemplo que a umas mariposas que vivem no meio dos dos paus, denominam *Wãz-ti-turú*, isto é, *pedaço de Wãz-ti*.

e) *Práticas do culto*

1) *Culto à pedra (Itobolla)*

Não há templos, nem edifícios unicamente dedicados à divindade onde se desenvolvam as funções religiosas. Nem consta que haja culto particular ou a veneração individual da divindade, cerimônias orações, a não ser que como *culto* s entendam umas *práticas* que são perfeitamente lícitas, como a *Itobolla*.

Tratam aíndas coisas com respeito e temor; é o *tabuísmo*. Não [illegible] porém as manifestações de culto, nem individual nem social. Tais são, por exemplo, algumas cachoeiras e pedras. E delas, [illegible] contam lendas interessantes. Não permitem que se tirem [illegible] das cachoeiras [illegible], afirmando que se alguém o tentasse, [illegible] haveria de fulminá-lo. Em algumas dessas pedras é que [illegible] o fabrico de sua canoa, ou o preparo de suas redes [illegible] de pesca [illegible]

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[illegible] a uns vinte quilômetros de Barcelos e haver [illegible] pedra medindo cousa de meio metro. O Bispo quis [illegible] e pôde ver [illegible] descomunais pegadas, semelhan- [illegible] foto mesmo Prelado viu, na mata dos arredores [illegible] um enorme macaco. Tomando por al- [illegible] no momento não quis alvejá-lo com um tiro e [illegible] fugiu.

35 [illegible] Bispo Dom José Domitrovitsch dinamitar a cachoeira de [illegible] afim de facilitar a navegação. Alvoroçou-se a popu- [illegible] e [illegible] veio aconselhar que não o fizesse, pois [illegible] fortes e doenças. O Bispo julgou de melhor alvitre não [illegible] opinião dos índios. O Irmão Mateo (da Congregação [illegible] das cachoeiras do trovão, *Burpó-pueá*, [illegible] afluente do Papuri, tirou uma lasca fina, afim [illegible] de mel. Um dos índios avisou-lhe que não de- [illegible] pois "Vai cair raio". E, com grande pasmo, a certa dis- [illegible] tomou um raio, quando nada absolutamente o indicava, foi, na [illegible] "céu sereno". Explicam o surto de malária [illegible] 1942-2 atacou a população de Taracuá-ponta, rio Uaupés, co- [illegible] consequência de se haver tirado pedra da cachoeira do beijú, *Ahã-pueá*, situada na realidade algumas centenas de quilômetros, no rio Papuri.

36 Há uma dessas pedras junto do povoado de Parí-cachoeira, rio Tiquié.

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Perto do «igarapé da lagarta» *pizkõ-rõ-ỹa*, cabeceiras do Culúcuã afluente do Papuri, há uma rocha que a mulher não deve ver; se olhar para essa pedra, jamais terá filhos. E quando passam por aquele lugar as mulheres e donzelas, volvem o rosto para outro lado. Disse e de alguns outros igarapés não se pode comer peixe, se alguém o fizer, sofrerá dor de dentes.

Em Jabuti-cachoeira, no rio Tiquié, há uma pedra dita *nõ'mpa-ga* (pedra das mulheres, ou pedra mulher?) com um sulco que aos indígenas parece uma vulva. Quando os rapazes passam aí, atiram-lhe desde a sua canoa um pedaço de beiju, um limão ou outra fruta qualquer. É o que denomina *dozke-sã-ríse*, isto é, jogam para acertar. Porque, explicam êles, se o objeto atirado permanecer no sulco, terão boas esposas. Essa pedra, para êles, é grandemente preciosa. Pensam também que, roçagando por ela a mão, depois aprenderão com facilidade qualquer ofício.

Crêem igualmente que o tomarem banho, sejam homens ou mulheres, naquela panela de *Tõpa-duri*, isto é, da cachoeira de Urucuçuara, donde saíram as tribos (cfr. «*Lendas do Uaupés*») lhes garante um próximo casamento.

Não parece, pois, que se devam considerar essas grutas, pedras, igarapés, interiores de florestas, como lugares sagrados e de culto. Ao contrário, seriam antes lugares e objetos «*tabuados*». Nem as frutas e pedras que se atiram, seriam forma de culto, a denominada *tabu*. Quer nos parecer, antes, manifestações da *magia* e do *tabu*.

Um velho Missionário declarava que alguns índios, ao passarem por grandes pedras que trazem toscas figuras (37) de animais ou de seres estranhos, com braços e pernas esqueléticos e compridos (38), barriga descomunal, cabeça enorme, olhavam com horror e diziam baixinho: *Wãr-ri!* Como se essas representações fôssem uma perpetuação, no granito, da lembrança do monstro terrível e temido. Jamais presenciamos nenhuma dessas demonstrações de mêdo. Algumas vêzes nos temos aproximado de tais *petróglifos* e chamado perto

(37) São ainda petroglíficos ou inscrições rupestres, freqüentes em rios da Amazônia, especialmente o Rio Negro e seus afluentes. Estudo amplo sôbre essas inscrições fez B. A. da Silva Ramos, sob o título "Inscrições e Tradições da América Pré-histórica". — Imprensa Oficial, Rio de Janeiro, 1930. Não encontramos representações antropomórficas esculpidas. Koch G. há 50 anos atrás viu esculturas de "ausentes figuras" antropomórficas entre os Kubewana e Wanana (cfr. Nota 40, VII-3, b (8)). Descobrimos uma única como cabeças humanas, nos suportes de um trocano. Porém não pareciam ídolos, mas apenas adornos, e eram de recente fabricação (1947).

(38) Um dêsses desenhos se vê numa pedra do Carurú-cachoeira, rio Tiquié, pouco acima de Pari-cachoeira.

Tubo-de-ritmo (ahũ-pawã)

dos índios, e estes sempre se mostraram indiferentes a tais desenhos. Muitas vêzes encontramos semelhantes figuras nas paredes de casas de barrêiras e malocas, e temos visto, outrossim, crianças desenhando com um pau por terra, e, portanto, sem visos de religiosidade.

Pode-se, pois, afirmar que não há indício de um culto individual. Deve-se falar, no entanto, num culto social, que se realiza em ocasiões e atos bem determinados. São três, principalmente, as manifestações dêste culto social: a *oferta das primícias* ou dabacuris, a *iniciação* ou *puberdade* e o *funeral*. Todas três qual comunhão espiritual, exteriorizam a solidariedade do grupo.

2) *Festas religiosas com oferta das primícias.*

Festas religiosas, opinamos nos (39), são as suas *Poosé*, que os primeiros exploradores denominaram, com um término da Língua Geral, Dabacuri. Também se dizem *Wáx-tiye baxsé*, danças de *Wáx-ti*.

*Pôosé* propriamente quer dizer *oferta*. Consistem tais festas especialmente na oferta de peixe, do beiju ou dos frutos (40), e na comunhão da bebida e perfume, acompanhadas de danças religiosas e ritos, e com o instrumento misterioso que se denomina *Mpi* e sol no princípio da festa.

Do ordinário o indígena não sabe (41) (é o que nos parece mais provável), ou não quer dizer o motivo ou o sentido da festa. Respondem-nos que fazem assim porque os antigos sempre assim fizeram. Mas um, porém, assegurou-nos que assim fazem a fim de que nunca lhes falte nem o peixe nem a fruta.

O Wanano Tomás Paiva, (42) filho e possível sucessor do tuxaua de Caruru-cachoeira, rio Uaupés, aos 20 de abril de 1955 assim se

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(39) [illegible] que [illegible] desde 1947 e que recentemente (1954) [illegible] Koch Grünberg, o qual (Z. I, 372, e passim) [illegible] danças religiosas e danças profanas. Koch, [illegible] para Wáx-ti, e até para outras [illegible] danças profanas.

(40) A [illegible] oferta que Cuim oferecia à Divindade os frutos [illegible] e mais tarde os povos pastores, como [illegible] tambem [illegible] cerimônias religiosas com a oferta de [illegible].

(41) Tenho a impressão que os moços mais em contacto com o civilizado e que falam o português especialmente aos que estudaram nos colégios da Missão Salesiana não revelam algumas coisas, com receio que as contem aos civilizados.

(42) É um indígena inteligente, viajado e bem desembaraçado. Estudou na Missão Salesiana de Iauaretê, onde aprendeu também o ofício de carpinteiro e já tem trabalhado várias vêzes para os civilizados da Colômbia e da Venezuela.

[facing p. 337]

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[illegible] com o autor: — «Estas danças são os ritos dos velhos, é [illegible]». E depois de ressaltar o respeito que todos têm [illegible] danças, acrescentou: — «Se um indivíduo bêbado [illegible] a fala dos dançantes, será atirado fora, e uma grande [illegible] que dele fora desonrado».

[illegible] instrumento valeria, pensamos nós, por uma cerimônia [illegible] Wax-ti. É a renovação da [illegible] como se fora a perpetuação do seus ensinos e ordens.

[illegible] ravelmente, da mesma raiz que miri, que quer dizer [illegible] escondido debaixo daqui [illegible]. Donde o conceito [illegible]. Ouvimos falar de objetos miri: isto é, ocultos, [illegible].

[illegible] e uma substância mágica. Com efeito, é um dos prin- [illegible] mais de fora do país. A fumaça do cigarro [illegible] as tempestades ou as atrai sôbre [illegible] exercícios rituais dos nascimentos e iniciação pu- [illegible]. Por que razão dizemos a fumaçade as crianças de três [illegible] festas, como fora delas?

[illegible] festas ocorre a três vezes por ano, não em épo- [illegible] independente à maturação dos frutos, ou à época [illegible], como se se tratasse de sacrifício das frutas. [illegible] ou ainda, por ocasião de [illegible] iniciação dos moços.

[illegible] das mais inteligen- [illegible] que o sem era [illegible] Tomas ouvimos [illegible] mistérios [illegible] contar por [illegible] ou por fortuna mais [illegible] Tukano tidas [illegible] Miri ou Miri, como [illegible] Miri-mas, pensamento que [illegible] Miri, observe-se que o plural [illegible] para os seres miri.

[illegible] prendeu nenhum [illegible] de [illegible] veneração para com [illegible] Ao entanto e [illegible] que [illegible] as influ- [illegible] aparece no seu intercâmbio pri- [illegible] Como a ser [illegible] sutis do mundo material, assim aparece [illegible] e Kuzeh, vindo da água [illegible] no instrumento Miri [illegible] as cerimônias [illegible] a água da cachoei- [illegible] Guerreiros [illegible] que [illegible] os indígenas se [illegible] vezes. Igualmente [illegible] os [illegible] remadores [illegible] para arrostar as ondas [illegible], emergem-se [illegible] [illegible] necessidade. Quando nadam, temos notado [illegible] com o rostinho [illegible] água.

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Atestam o caráter religioso da festa:

1º — Em primeiro lugar a denominação mesma de *Wax-tipebaxsi*, dança de Wáx-ti. A Koch G. os indígenas de Ipanuré-cachoeira contaram que em certos dias ouviam na cachoeira rumor profundo, como do grande instrumento sagrado o *Miri*. É sinal, então, que o Wax-ti da cachoeira quer que se lhe faça uma festa.

2º — As afirmações (mais claras umas, mais veladas outras) dos indígenas, embora conservem oculta muita cousa, e em geral os velhos, que mais sabem, são os mais reservados. Indagando ao velho Tukano cristão Júlio, *tuxaua-bupá* de Pari-cachoeira (isto é chefe local e mestre-danças), porque punham aqueles enfeites na cabeça, nuca, braço, etc., respondeu-nos prontamente: «Assim como o Padre põe o barrete e seus paramentos na Missa, assim nós pomos a cangatara».

Manifestando ao mesmo tuxaua o desejo de assistir a um *Poose* promovido por êle, a fim de filmá-lo, respondeu prontamente: — Tal dança não é de brincadeira. Esse mesmo tuxaua, depois de nos haver feito algumas revelações e de nos haver cantado as canções do *Poose*, manifestou a um Missionário o escrúpulo de haver com isso cometido uma falta.

3º — A seriedade com que procedem. Nada de distrações ou levandade, nada de risos ou conversas (45). Como se estivessem cumprindo uma cerimônia séria e não um divertimento. Nada viram perturbar o seu rito. Cantando palavras misteriosas (dialeto antigo? ou com mais probabilidade mera corrupção) que êles não entendem, e dançando numa cadência lenta e marcando o tempo com pancadas mais fortes do pé direito.

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(45) Em uma delas dança, alguém, entre os assistentes civilizados, pôs-se a rir. O tuxaua enviou um dos seus homens a avisar que não devia rir, como êle também não ria nas funções dos brancos. Se continuasse a fazê-lo, êle não lhe permitiria assistir à dança. Uma confirmação disso, como de religioso, parece-nos, descobri-lo também na recusa a um pedido nosso de repetir a cerimônia da oferta do peixe (*twaí poosé*) em melhores condições, afim de que pudéssemos filmá-la. Entretanto, êsses índios repetiram-nos, para êsse mesmo fim, as simples danças.

O tukano Antônio Barreto (dezembro de 1953) afirmou-nos que não fazem *poose* diante dos brancos. No entanto, tivemos oportunidade de assistir-lo e filmá-lo. Koch Grunberg (*Zwei Jahre*, pag. 202) pôde outrossim, assistir-lo no Umari-Mirapé, porém muitos índios mostraram-se desgostosos disto, e o tuxaua José não lhe permitiu tirar fotografias.

4º — Atribuem ademais a tais festas uma enérgica ação curativa. Pode expulsar tôdas as doenças e mesmo curar grandes chagas (46).

5º — As próprias liberdades sexuais, como adiante desenvolvemos (VII - 5, c (1)) constituem também uma prova do caráter religioso das festas.

6º — O sentido que atribuem à ornamentação. Esclareceu-nos o tuxaua Mandu de Iauarete, que punha na nuca as penas de gavião, porque foi aí que Deus (19) a ferira com a sarabatana. As penas de tucano nas costas, porque Deus o ferira nas costas. Enquanto que o braçal de pelo de macaco estava junto ao cotovêlo esquerdo, sendo êste o local onde fôra atingido pela sarabatana de Deus.

7º — Argumento ainda, seria, talvez, a disposição obrigatória e constante dos dançantes dentro da maloca. O mesmo Tuxaua-baya Julio, construiu por encomenda, para o Museu Salesiano de Etnografia de Manaus, em dezembro de 1953, uma miniatura de maloca, pondo os diversos objetos (bancos, vasos e instrumentos musicais) nos respectivos lugares, conforme o esquema abaixo.

É a seguinte a nomenclatura fornecida pelo mesmo tuxaua:

a) banco dos velhos, *buzkôrá duhuri-ko-mû-rõ*

b) banquinho do baya *kõ-mû-rõ*

c) banquinho do ajudante do baya, *bayari ice-tamõgõ kõ-mû-rõ*

d) e, f, g) bancos dos habitantes da maloca, *wîi-khâra duhuri kõ-mûrõ*

d) e, f, g) bancos dos convidados *samâri mazsâ duhuri kõ-mûrõ*.

As primeiras colunas denominam-se *sahâri kâri*: *boxta-ri*, porque os hospedes (*sâhari*), quando dormem (*kâri*) na maloca, armam suas redes próximas destas primeiras colunas (*boxta-ri*). Por essa mesma razão a trave que se apóia sôbre as duas primeiras colunas, diz-se *sâhâri kâri-tõrõ* (*tórõ*, no Uaupés *tênõ*, quer dizer trave).

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(46) É o que pôde verificar Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 202): dem Yurunari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung zugeschrieben. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen". Jamais pudemos assistir tais festas em ocasião de epidemias, mas nem sequer ouvimos falar que as tenham realizado.

1 — Xatari xarã boxta-ri (coluna de dormir dos hóspedes). 2c — Ilaxsa wihyarã boxta-ri (coluna da cozinha). 3c — Dokasarieka boxta-ri (coluna da cozinha). 4 — Ilaxsa kuhari kuemũ-rã (banco do anfitrião). 5 — Ilaya kuemũ-rã (banquinho do chefe) ou mesa-mobília. 6 — Ilaxari xeramãgi kuemũ-rã (banquinho do ajudante). 7, 8 e 9 — Wirakara nahise kuemũ (bancos dos habitantes da malocal). 10 — Samari massã dutuxe kuemũ (banco dos convidados). 11 — Kaxpi-to (gato do xamã). 12 — Kaxpi tsamã dutuxi kuemũ-ri (banco de quem distribui o caapi). 13 — rede da tuxaua.

As segundas colunas dizem-se *baxsa ichhyari boxtá-ri*, porque junto à segunda coluna é que o tuxáua toma a posição inicial (*ichhyari*) para as danças (*baxsa*). E a respectiva trave chama-se *baxsa ichhyari-ferô*.

As colunas do fundo são denominadas *do'dkaro-ká-boxtá-ri*, pois aí se prepara o caxiri (*do'dkaro*, lugar onde se cozinha, assim explicou Julio). E *do'karo-ká-ferô* é a trave que lhe corresponde.

*Kuxpi-to*, pote do *kuxpi*.

Banco para quem distribui o *kuxpi*, *kuxpi tóami duhiri kômú-rô*.

Rede do tuxáua; o seu compartimento se diz *syôri nigôya turkú*.

Os compartimentos dos residentes da maloca se dizem *wi'i-ukhá-ropé turkúri*.

Na hipótese de ser uma função religiosa, devemos concluir que o templo é a maloca. O seu nome, baxsari-wi, dever-se-ia traduzir «casa da dança sagrada», e não simplesmente, «casa de dança». O Sacerdote é, evidentemente, o tuxáua, e não o pajé. Enfeixa, então, o tuxáua, os poderes doméstico, político e sacerdotal, precisamente como os antigos chefes de tribo entre os Gregos e os Romanos, e em geral, os chefes das tribos primitivas.

a) *«Poosé» sem os instrumentos misteriosos.*

b) *Procissão e Banquete rituais*

O tuxáua da maloca, que resolve promover uma dessas festas, determina o dia e a *oferenda*, e disso informa ao tuxáua de outra maloca (da mesma tribo ou de tribo diversa) onde vai fazer o seu *Poosé*. Nessa iniciativa as malocas se vão revezando. Outrora realizavam-se com maior frequência, 6 ou mais vêzes por ano, como o mostramos acima, constituindo a grande preocupação dêsses índios. Vão se vão ficando mais espaçadas, como também reduzida a sua duração. Antigamente duravam até uma semana inteira; hoje já são raros os casos em que duram 3 ou 4 dias, e comumente limita-se a dois dias.

Se o denominou *uai poosé*, oferta de peixe, todos os homens hóspedes levarão peixe moqueado. Se é de pupunha, *ãrê poosé*, devem obrigatoriamente trazer esta fruta, etc. Os *poosé* mais comuns são os de peixe, de beiju (*ahû-pa poosé*), de pupunha, de ingá (*mêrê poosé*), de manivara (*mexkê poosé*).

Na maloca onde se realizará o dabacuri, mais ou menos uns três dias antes, ou mais cedo ainda (o tempo necessário para a fermentação), as mulheres se ocupam no preparo de grande quantidade de bebida: caxiri de beiju, de cará, de pupunha ou de outra fruta qual-

quer em cochos ou talhas que são cobertos com folhas de bananeira, a fim de facilitar a fermentação. A atividade é grande, há extraordinária alegria, fortes gargalhadas, uma verdadeira algazarra.

Na manhã do dia aprazado (a hora variará conforme as distâncias donde procedem), vão chegando os ofertantes, trazendo a oferenda. Chegam ao porto (ou a pequena distância da maloca, se vêem por terra) somente com alguma pintura, ou também com algumas penas nas orelhas. Dois homens vão até à maloca, a fim de dar aviso da chegada e buscar a bebida. O chefe da maloca manda a bebida ao porto. Enquanto esperam os forasteiros vão completando as pinturas.

Quando já estão prontos, o que se dá sempre pelas 9 ou 10 horas, os visitantes mandam novo aviso — «está na hora». Tomam seus instrumentos musicais (*japurutús* ou apitos) e a *oferta* e, entre gritos, [illegible] a procissão pela estrada do porto à maloca (ou pelo caminho por onde vieram).

A frente vai o tuxáua seguido por dois músicos com seus *japurutús* (cf. VII-N e (Ja) 143) e os homens que trazem a *oferta*; atrás, os demais homens. Dão uma volta no redor da maloca, depois entram e dão duas voltas dentro, gritando, os que entram e os que já estão dentro preenchendo [illegible] o que se diz out, clamar). Os homens [illegible] da maloca estão dispostos, conforme suas regras de precedência, [illegible] do lado esquerdo da porta até o fundo.

As mulheres demonstram a oferta sôbre folhas de bananeiras ou [illegible], espalhadas no centro da maloca. Talvez tenha sobrado alguma oferenda no porto, vão buscá-la e fazem sua entrega.

As mulheres e crianças, que chegaram, reunem-se ao fundo, onde já estão os da maloca.

Terminada a oferta, e cessados os gritos e músicas, os de fora, [illegible] pelo seu tuxáua saudando individualmente os da maloca,

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[illegible] na sua Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, descrevendo estas [illegible] versão Tucano, que quando os forasteiros chegam à tardinha. [illegible] em dois posse que assistimos entre os Tucano [illegible] um de peixe e outro de cunuri. Porém, o Tukano [illegible] afirmou que no Tiquié se [illegible] pela manhã. E foi também de manhã o que assistiu em Cachoeira (rio Uaupés) nos 24 e 25 de abril de 1955. [illegible] o etnólogo Armando Sarmento observou, em [illegible] Uaupés, que os dois que abriam a [illegible] tocando, e com [illegible] Atrás, vinham os outros homens, apenas [illegible] na mão direita, ritmando os passos [illegible] Nesta ainda que no interno da maloca, por onde voltou a procissão, havia espalhados pelo chão pedaços de beijú e cascas de pupunha (o posse era de pupunha).

começando pelo primeiro da fila, que será naturalmente, o tuxáua [illegible]. São os cumprimentos comuns e formalísticos: — «Viste? — Vim! [illegible] a festa? — Vim. — Trouxeste a oferta (peixe ou o nome da [illegible]? — Trouxe». Passa a cumprimentar do mesmo modo ao [illegible] homem da fila e depois a todos os demais. Todos os visitantes, por ordem de ingresso, iniciam o primeiro. Tudo, porém, com muita [illegible]. À medida que terminarem de cumprimentar os da maloca, [illegible] formando da fila direito, defronte aos da maloca, [illegible] da fila, conforme sua importância, da porta principal para o [illegible].

Dois mais homens da maloca distribuem uma cuia de caxiri a [illegible] hóspede. Depois que todos beberam, sentam-se, e as mulheres [illegible] vem cumprimentar os homens à relativa distância e sem [illegible] as mãos. Se as mulheres são da tribo dos hóspedes, êsses [illegible] são no [illegible] da própria tribo, e não na do marido.

[illegible] dos [illegible] fala em voz alta à própria esposa (um dos inúmeros da multiarcaísmo). Elas vieram trazer a oferta (peixe, fruta), [illegible] aranaçá. Ela, com duas mulheres vai ao meio da maloca e — «Vocês trouxeram com tanto trabalho peixe (pupunha) para [illegible]. Não preparamos um pouco de caxiri, às pressas». Então responde o chefe visitante: — «Podem comer à vontade. Foi pequena [illegible] (a oferta), mas trouxemos com boa vontade».

Os cumprimentos formalísticos duram uma hora e meia. Em [illegible] começa o banquete ritual, sem mais pragmática, comendo cada [illegible] quanto lhe apetece, antes os homens, mais ou menos agrupados na primeira parte da maloca; depois as mulheres e crianças, em grupos pelo fundo da maloca.

Terminada essa refeição começa o *jejum ritual*, i. e. a abstenção de qualquer comida. Só é lícito tomar da bebida preparada para a festa. Fá-lo-á servindo-se abundantemente, até mesmo exageradamente, de bebida, que, de resto, é muito nutriente, sendo como é, na realidade, uma papa rala (40).

*3º) Preparação para as danças*

O tuxáua a certa altura fala ao chefe dos visitantes, que está findo o banquete e «pode abrir a caixa dos enfeites» (*miahã pori, axkã-ro*).

(40) Certa vez, após onze horas de penosa travessia pela mata, chegamos a uma maloca dos Bará, situada perto das cabeceiras do ribeirão dito [illegible] (afluente do Tiquié), quando aí se fazia festa. Um dos nossos companheiros de viagem, da tribo Bará, que deveria estar cansadíssimo e mal nutrido, como todos nós, pois transportava a carga mais pesada, não aceitou os alimentos que foram preparados para os da nossa comitiva. Preferiu participar da festa com seus "irmãos", e contentar-se apenas de caxiri de beiju.

As mulheres da maloca vêm ajustar à perna dos hóspedes as [illegible] (*uria-sérã*), abaixo do joelho e executar a pintura do corpo. Essa mulher que o pintou será a parceira de dança do hóspede. Cabe ao homem, referem o Pe. Humberto Limpens e o Tukano Antônio Barreto, pintar a mulher, e vice-versa (50). Não nos esclareceram, nem pudemos verificar, se devem obedecer a uma regra ou é livre a escolha da pessoa a quem devem pintar. «*Yõo ka'rénõkõ*, o pintado por mim», assim é designado o homem pela mulher que o pintou; e «*yoo ka'rékõ* a que me pintou», é a expressão com que o homem a chama.

Distribuem-se os adornos conforme a importância social dos indivíduos, alternadamente, um para um dos hóspedes, outro para um homem da maloca. Se não houver bastantes para todos, e a maloca possuir também seus adornos, empresta-os para completar. Pode dar-se que alguns devam ficar com enfeites mais simples ou quiçá nenhum, só com pinturas, por falta de adornos.

Quando todos estão prontos, (e isto se faz sempre com muita paciência) sentam-se nos banquinhos os hóspedes tocam a flauta de osso de onça (*Yai o'ã*). Alguns minutos depois o seu tuxáua (*kumú*) — «Nós vamos festejar os da maloca com nossa dança e [illegible] até enquanto durar o caxiri». Faz, então, soar o seu *kistió* (amarrado ao tornozelo, cfr. VII-3, c (3a)); é sinal que vão começar as danças (51). Os demais homens imitam-no; depois cada qual amarra o seu *kistió* ao tornozelo direito, e ajusta o próprio *warsó-ro* (Cfr. VII-3, d (3)).

Nos homens que participam das danças pode-se distinguir três grupos, [illegible] aos pares (2, 4, 6), conforme o número dos dançantes.

1º) alguns com enxoval completo, lança, e escudo e, no ombro esquerdo, o *si-a parpa* (Vd. cura, VII-3, d (2));

2º) outros com enxoval precioso, porém sem escudo, nem lança, nem o *si-a parpa*.

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(50) [illegible] a oportunidade de observar o "pintar" as mulheres pintando os homens. Servem-se elas, para êsse trabalho, não só do próprio dedo como também de fragmentos de arumã, à guisa de pincel, por vêzes três pedaços de arumã amarrados, de sorte a resultar, de cada movimento, um traço tríplice bem regular. O próprio Koch Grünberg (*Zwei Jahre*, 217) deixou-se pintar no busto e braços por uma índia.

(51) Tomou vulto também o tuxáua, antes de distribuir aos dançantes os crótalos, agitá-los simultâneamente tendo em cada mão uma das extremidades dos crótalos. Êstes *kistió*, assim num feixe, é que se denominam *kistio bazké*, que é o nome também de um dos instrumentos sagrados (Vd. VII-3, c (3c)).

3 (V) da terceira categoria são os rapazes, com adornos mais simples.

Os que não têm lança trazem algum instrumento de ritmo, o [illegible] ou pirako, ou as flautas, vindo estas envolvidas em penas de [illegible] de [illegible] *mahã iti*, ou do japú, *umũ-ka iti*, ou com um colar de carapaças de escaravelho, *pirako pirkõrõd pe'tori* (VII 3, d (2m).

Os números de danças seguem-se, um ao outro, conforme o programa tradicional, correspondentes às várias horas do dia e da noite. Alguns são mais longos, outros mais breves. Como variáveis também são os intervalos de descanso.

Algumas dessas danças desenvolvem-se parte dentro e parte fora da maloca, por exemplo a que se denomina «*wa'ãdri bazad*», que se poderia traduzir por «dança dos bonés», pois *wã-wã* é um boné trançado com fasquias de arumã. Os dançantes vão, outrossim, ao pátio da maloca pelas 4 horas da tarde, outra vez pela meia-noite, antes da aurora e, enfim, pelas 9 horas da manhã. Conforme as lendas os antepassados das tribos dançaram naquelas horas fora da maloca. E a festa é não só uma recordação, porém quer ser também uma reminiscência dos principais episódios da epopéia das suas origens.

Num dêsses numerosos de dança a mulher do tuxáua local entra no meio da roda dos dançantes e emite um grito longo e agudo, enquanto os homens continuam bailando ao redor dela. Essa solo é dita *yohogo* (52). Não deve tomar respiração durante êsse bailado, mas gritar com um só fôlego. Se respirar no meio do canto, [illegible] que não viverá muito. Nesta dança, diz uma informante Pira-tapuya (Emiliana Castro), imitam o pulo das cotias.

Vão ter início as danças. O caxiri é servido em grandes cuias. Cada indivíduo beberá quanto quiser. Se houver sobejo, o companheiro seguinte esvaziará a cuia, com direito, porém, a servir-se em primeiro lugar da cuia que logo em seguida será enchida. Os que distribuem a bebida representam a borboleta: têm uma pena sôbre cada orelha, simbolizando as asas e uma pequena gavinia do cipó com espiral na testa, à guisa de tromba. Avançam de carreira, com passos curtos, em ziguezague, imitando simultâneamente com a boca o zumbido de um inseto. Trazendo uma cuia em cada mão, dão-na a quem quiser tomar, antes aos homens e depois às mulheres. À medida que se esvaziam as cuias, voltam a enchê-las de novo e a distribuir no mesmo local e da mesma maneira.

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(52) *Yohogo* é o particípio presente feminino de *yoho*, que parece ser uma onomatopéia do som que ela cantará. Uma informante chamou-a também *yohó bayá*, isto é *bayá* mulher (Vd. VII-6, a (2).

3 — Execução das danças

O tuxaua toma a sua posição inicial de dança, perto da segunda coluna à esquerda da nave central (*baxa phyari borta*). Vd. figura ao lado. Ao seu lado, por ordem de importância (53), se dispõem os outros homens. Todos com lança ou instrumento rítmo na mão direita, porém a esquerda sobre o ombro direito do vizinho e estão mais ou menos em semicírculo. Começa, então, um canto ao som dos instrumentos que batem no chão, simultâneamente com o pé direito (que os também com o crotalo ao tornozelo), num ritmo lento. Dão um passo para o centro do círculo e recuam, depois outro para o lado e vão-se deslocando circularmente, ora para a direita, ora para a esquerda, lentamente. Por vêzes se reunem num círculo que ora se estreita ora se alarga, ora saem rodando. Em dado momento as mulheres, uma após outra, vão entrando, numa posição obrigatória ao menos constante, durante todos os números de dança. Cada mulher cingi um homem e outro, com a cabeça algo inclinada para o lado, apoiando a mão sob o braço de um dos homens e os próprios braços segurando pela cintura os dois homens entre os quais ficam. Os olhares estão voltados para o centro do círculo, para o ponto convergem as pontas das lanças, *põxsc-phiri*, quando se trazem.

A certo ponto o tuxaua local da uma ordem indicando que está no meio da dança. Dois homens, dentre os principais, entram no círculo todos, fazem alguns giros e, por fim, voltam à fileira com

Uma ordem especial as mulheres abandonam seus lugares, gritando como que sua palavra. A dança termina com expressivo vozerio dos homens, todos os armados de lança saem, inclinando-se como a procurar alguma coisa e, avançando para um canto da maloca, dão um golpe com a lança para um ponto imaginário, a um metro de altura do chão. A isto chamam «golpe-ao-branco, *pexkã-à pundo*» (54).

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(53) Importância que corresponde, mais ou menos, à idade. Não pudemos verificar se se colocam numa ordem rigorosamente correspondente à importância na própria Gens (conforme a classificação — IV-2, a (2), porque regularmente os dançantes são todos da mesma Gens.

(54) Que nos mostraram-se sempre muito reservados em explicar-nos o sentido e a finalidade dêsse "golpe-ao-branco", embora sem acanhamento, alguém nos tivessem revelado o seu nome, talvez supondo que não o soubessemos traduzido. Em outras ocasiões um indígena da tribo Tukano de Cachoeira Tapuia, confirmou-nos que "Não gostam dos brancos e os consideram todos inimigos". Outro indígena, pertencente ainda à tribo Tukano, porém do Papuri, à nossa questão se gostava mais do "branco" ou do "caboclo", indagou-nos o sentido da palavra

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Essas danças duram cêrca de vinte minutos, e terminam com os assobios, acelerar de passos e avançam para determinado ponto (55).

Seguem-se intervalos, durante os quais sentam-se em seus bancos, a proó então, os homens de um lado, as mulheres do outro, conversam alegremente.

Nesses intervalos é que as mulheres, regularmente um par ou trio, com uma cuia em cada mão, e cantando canções, lhes servem sucessivamente o caxiri, antes dos homens, depois as mulheres e crianças. São canções corriqueiras, ou, antes baqueiras, como dissemos (VII-3, e 2b), melodias, movimentadas, quase sempre de fundo nostálgico. Entremeiam, talvez, canções da tribo do marido às da própria tribo, pois pela lei da exogamia, as esposas serão obrigatoriamente de outra tribo (Cfr. VIII - 1, a (1).

Circula, outrossim, no intervalo um longo cigarro do qual todos fumam, desde o tuxaua até o último menino, passando-o, depois às mulheres. Os adolescentes e as crianças aproveitam dessas interrupções para algumas das suas brincadeiras.

E nesses intervalos, também, que se passam cenas amorosas, em pleno dia, talvez num canto mais escuro ou não, e mais livremente à noite (56) e podem retirar-se também para fora da maloca.

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"Caboclo". A nossa resposta que caboclos eram os filhos de civilizado com mulher índia, como se dá no Rio Negro, respondeu prontamente: "Tus caboclos minha 'kuatiá', porque são nossos parentes". Porém isso não demonstrava muita consideração pelos próprios caboclos. Armando Sarmento, numa festa dos Kubewana, em julho de 1951, notou que se realizou quatro vêzes o golpe-no-branco, e que só um dos homens fincava a lança no chão, e sempre no mesmo ponto.

(55) O Padre Missionário Dom João Domitrovitsch explicou-nos que as voltas são a provocação do inimigo, e o grito final é o da vitória sôbre o mesmo.

(56) Resulta das informações obtidas que os coitos devem realizar-se fora da maloca (Cfr. VII-5, c). Koch Grunberg viu que os pares já saiam juntos, e foi-lhe dito claramente com qual finalidade (Zwei Jahre, 372). Porém, mais comum saírem os homens pela porta principal, e as mulheres pela do fundo, conforme prevê entendimento e encontram-se fora. Alguns dos jovens que passaram pelos colégios das Missões desprezam a libertinagem das festas indígenas.

Bastaria citar o seguinte episódio narrado por Patrícia Vasconcelos. No Rio Macú, que desemboca perto de Teresita (margem colombiana do rio Papuri) havia uma maloca dos Desana onde se faziam festas com tantas imoralidades que, numa dessas orgias abriu-se a terra e engoliu a maloca e os dançantes, "Bisiu bahudpó bad-peckoupó, Bisiu

O tuxáua dá início à segunda parte do programa pondo-se, como na primeira vez, junto da segunda coluna; seguem-no os outros e recomeça a dança.

Durante os intervalos que se sucedem às danças, aproveitam para dar vazão às suas necessidades, os homens pela porta da frente, as mulheres pela do fundo da maloca.

Há *intermezzi musicali* executados pelos moços que tangem «*flautas-de-pé*» ou *japurutus* (VII - 3, c (3c)). Temos observado que são, em geral, os rapazes mais moços, especialmente os solteiros, que tocam as *flautas-de-pé* e um pouco mais idosos os que tangem os *japurutus*. Os instrumentos estão combinados aos pares, desenvolvendo belos motivos musicais de pergunta e resposta.

49. *Distribuição do kurpi*

Pelas quinze horas serve-se o *kurpi* (Cfr. VI - 4, 1 (4)). Um dos velhos *Kêmü* preparou-o durante o dabacúri. Neste momento, para dar-lhe mais fôrça, êle «sopra» sôbre o *kurpi*. Depois afasta-se do pote, canta uma canção fazendo soar também o *yaí-gö* (Vd. VII - 3, c (3c)). Um índio velho, que simboliza a *borboleta*, pelos seus enfeites, postá-se entre as duas colunas centrais da maloca, sentado em um banquinho, para fazer a distribuição (57). Enche duas pequenas cuias e apresenta-as, com os braços estendidos, começando pelo velho que preparou o *kurpi* e depois aos demais, por ordem decrescente de idade. Quem quiser pode, depois, cuspi-lo fora, conforme indicamos e o demos visto. É, porém, sinal de fraqueza de que geralmente se abstém o índio. Demonstração de fôrça e masculinidade é bebê-lo e não tombar embriagado. Ademais é «a planta que faz sonhar», e o índio a quer, apesar do seu gôsto amargo. Após a ceia, por sua importância, aproximam-se os homens afim de beber o *kurpi* e logo em seguida também caxiri, para tirar o desagradável da primeira bebida, assim parece. Vêm munidos de *jacundá* de cipó (VII - 2, e (1)) e do *pau-da-onça*, se os há na maloca. O *kurpi* será servido ainda mais duas outras vêzes, observando-se o mesmo ritual. Não é, porém, mais obrigatório bebê-lo e muitos de fato, disto se abstêm. Começam os indivíduos a sentir-se entontecidos. Alguns, quiçá, tombem por terra outros vomitam. A êste, parece-lhe ver diante dos pés um pau, uma cobra

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aparecer e devorar tudo". No dia seguinte ouviam-se as canções e mulheres de dança, no local da maloca desaparecida, local que ainda hoje se pode ver, sinalado por uma depressão do terreno. Aí perto mora, presentemente (1956) a cunhada de Patrícia.

(57) Na festa dos Wenamã de Caruru-cachoeira (rio Uaupés), aos 24 e 25 de abril de 1956, o primeiro *kurpi* foi servido pelo próprio tuxáua-loca, e antes das danças, pelas 13 horas.

os barritos, quer falta-lo e cai. O efeito inebriante varia com os indivíduos e é uma satisfação para os da maloca verificarem que o karpi era forte e os hóspedes estão tontos. Alguns, nesse estado de embriaguez, dão gritos, derrubam objetos, quebram vasos, arcos, flechas, o que encontram à mão. O Kõmã que «soprou» a bebida, [illegible] agora sôbre os indivíduos embriagados e excitados, a fim de neutralizar o efeito da embriaguez. Estas são informações do Tuxáua Antônio Barreto. O último, a bebê-lo será o tuxáua local, qual de lança em riste, dá três voltas dizendo umas palavras ininteligíveis. Enquanto isto um índio bate com uma vara na porta de entrada, gritando, outrossim, umas palavras.

Observando-se semelhante ritual serve-se três vêzes o *karpi*, sendo depois de cada vez, pôsto fora da maloca, ao sol, o vaso que contém a bebida. A última vez é já no coração da noite.

Conforme o costume Wanana, na primeira vez servem-se duas cuias a cada indivíduo, na segunda vez apenas uma cuia, e na terceira, duas cuias novamente. Quando há vários tipos de *karpi*, começa-se pelo mais fraco.

Por entre as últimas colunas da maloca arde uma fogueira, que um velho índio ativara com frequência (58). «É para iluminar os brincos dos bailados», explicam-nos.

Assim passam a noite, e um após outro vai caindo de embriaguez, cansaço e sono, enquanto os mais fortes continuam dançando. Em dados momentos há rumores como brigas, os homens vão bater violentamente na porta de ingresso. Sob a ação do alcool ouvem-se, a intervalos, gritos descompostos, risadas barulhentas, discussões animadas, não raro brigas e violências ou mesmo assassinatos. Aquele ambiente de excitação e de trevas é o mais propício para as práticas imorais (59). «A princípio executam-nas mais discretamente, saindo fora da maloca para essas relações, depois, quando mais alcoolizados, fazem-no mesmo dentro da maloca, nas redes ou pelo chão. Regularmente, porém, não há fecundação nessas relações (60).

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(58) Nas subdivisões das tribos (Cfr. IV-2, a (2) cabia aos da última categoria manter aceso o fogo.

(59) [illegible] lamentava em fins do século 18 o Cônego André Fernandes de Souza, vigário de S. Gabriel: — "Nos seus banquetes e comezainas sempre há bebidas espirituosas a que chamam caxiri, mucururu, pajauaru e caeçuma, fôlas de mandioca, batatas e frutas, com que se embebedam até chegar à crapula". (O. c. p. 486).

(60) Assim nos asseveraram, e o atribuem à virtude de certas plantas que empregam nesses caxiris. É possível que o seu estado de embriaguez dificulte a fecundidade, como é verossímil, outrossim, que a afirmação de infecundidade resulte tão só da falta de meio de verificação ou de atenção ao problema.

Pensávamos que essas práticas imorais fôssem conseqüência da embriaguez. Assim também supunham os Missionários, embora um dêles nos relevasse que a embriaguez era intencionalmente provocada para satisfações libidinosas. Tivemos, no entanto, muitas e categóricas afirmações que essas práticas sexuais, mesmo os incestos não são ilícitas, senão mesmo estabelecidas pelos costumes, e por isso recomendadas pelos «Velhos», para assegurar a felicidade dos homens e a fecundidade da natureza (Cfr. VII - 5, c).

5º) *Comemorações lendárias — Rito do cigarro*

*Comemorações lendárias*. Temos a impressão que aos elementos primitivos dessas festas, chamemo-los *os elementos rituais*, com o correr do tempo se introduziram outros *profanos*, como os *intermezzi* musicais executados pelos indivíduos da geração môça, ao som das *flautas-de-pã* e dos *zaparutus*. Entre os elementos rituais devem figurar as *Comemorações lendárias*. Após os primeiros números de danças, destacam-se dos indígenas representantes das tribos que participam do *Wuz-tipe barsa*, e sentam-se em banquinhos, em frente um do outro, em a nave ocupada pelos homens. Êstes indivíduos são escolhidos entre os *Komuã*, e devem, naturalmente, apresentar as qualidades necessárias à sua função, a saber, conhecimento das lendas, memória feliz, viveza de fantasia, desembaraço de palavras.

Não vimos, nas várias vezes que nos foi dado presenciar essas festas, nenhuma cerimônia inicial. Sentados um em frente do seu antagonista, à distância de um metro, talvez, põem-se a narrar num tom cantarolado acompanhado de gestos largos e alternados do braço direito e esquerdo. Vão desfiando as lendas da origem do mundo e das tribos, bem como as façanhas dos seus ancestrais. Falam alternadamente, e, às vêzes, também simultâneamente interrompendo apenas para tomar fôlego, e quiçá, em dado momento, para recordar-se de mais algum episódio. O fato contado pelo seu competidor lhe servirá, alguma vêz, para lembrar outro episódio. Assim nos parece.

Se, por acaso, lhe trazem a cuia de caxiri, êle a recebe sem olhar, ficará com ela em mão até terminar o episódio que narra, e depois a sorverá rápidamente, entregando-a vazia a quem lha trouxe, e que ficou pacientemente esperando.

Parece tratar-se de um verdadeiro desafio. Um concurso de oratória e também de tempo, de rapidez de locução, de resistência física, ou melhor, pulmonar. Durante tôdo êsse tempo não se preocupam com os assistentes, seja talvez um branco indiscreto que se avizinhou para melhor observar. A certa altura, porém, interfere

um dos velhos da maloca e interrompe um dos narradores (não sabemos se o faz apenas no da outra tribo ou maloca que veio para o *poosé*, como no caso que nos foi dado observar), dirigindo-lhe umas palavras num rápido diálogo. Informaram-nos que é de praxe, e é um agradecimento pela sua atuação. Mas logo em seguida prossegue a competição com o mesmo ritmo e entoação.

*O Rito do Cigarro*. O ato principal das *Comemorações lendárias* é o *Rito do Cigarro*, que se realiza pelas 9 ou 10 horas da manhã, e que marca, outrossim, o encerramento oficial do *poose*. Dois enormes cigarros, presos cada um em sua forquilha (VI 2, b (5)), começando pelo tuxaua e um dos *Kõmũã*, passarão simultâneamente de bôca em bôca, até o menos importante dos homens que participaram das danças, e que se dispõem em duas linhas, uma em frente da outra, todos, porém, sentados. Cada homem puxa umas fumaças e passa o cigarro ao vizinho, e assim todos fumam várias vêzes, até consumirem-se os cigarros. O tuxaua e o bayá, vão alternando com os *Kõmũã* os episódios da história das origens, *dorporo-kase kezti*, recordando os diversos lugares por onde vieram os seus ancestrais, e as façanhas que sinalaram essa subida. Fazem-no, porém, num ritmo cantarolado, prolongando as sílabas finais de cada trecho que narram.

Concluído êste rito, recolhem-se os bastões e crótalos, os homens devolvem seus enfeites, que são guardados cuidadosamente dentro da caixa a isso destinada (VI - 2, d (7)). O tuxaua hóspede agradece em voz alta: — «Esteve muito bom o *poose*. Nós nos divertimos muito, sim».

Como remate dêsse rito e do *jejum* que devem observar nessas festas, o *Kõmũã* que preparara o *kurpi*, põe na bôsa de cada homem uma pimenta torrada. Para os jovens prepara-se um caldo com suco de limão e pimenta (e às vêzes também sal), e aplica-se-lhes ao nariz por um funil de fôlhas. O jovem deve puxar êsse caldo para a bôca e engoli-lo. Depois dessa cerimônia, podem tomar seu mingau ou outro alimento qualquer.

O divertimento pode continuar, principalmente entre as pessoas mais môças. Ordinàriamente, porém, recolhem-se à rede (freqüentemente duas pessoas na mesma rede) e descansam, para recomeçar os divertimentos com a fresca da tarde, pelas 16 horas.

5) *Brincadeiras*

Falamos dos números de *brincadeiras* que se realizam entre as danças, mas ocorrem principalmente no prolongamento da festa, isto é, do segundo dia em diante.

1º — Alguns dos hóspedes vêm zumbindo, como o carapanã (mosquitos crepusculares) e com um pauzinho na mão, vão picando os demais, que procuram enxotá-los.

2º — Chegam depois outros, fingindo-se *ku'siro* (animal talvez lendário, semelhante ao cachorro, dizem alguns, e que faz barulho na mata), fazendo rumor, arrastando pote ou pau, assim até o meio da casa. Os da maloca batem com um pau no chão para afugentá-los.

Temos assistido por duas horas a semelhante desafio, deixando por fim os competidores que prosseguiam com a mesma animação. Hoje, em dia, muitos da geração môça, em vez de ficar a ouvir aquelas monotonas narrações, preferem dançar animadamente com suas companheiras ao som da flauta-de-pã.

3º — Serve-se o caxiri; alguns não o querem mais. Os companheiros obrigam-no a tomar, sempre por brincadeira.

4º — O chefe dos hóspedes entra com um facho de turi (VI 5 a 4A) aceso, pois já está escuro. Os seus companheiros entram apanhando objetos, tirando frutas, beijú, comendo-os. Tudo fingindo um assalto à maloca. Simulação, de resto, tão bem feita, que os mulheres presentes se assustam, crendo que se trate de um ataque de inimigos e que vai ter início uma briga. Realmente muitas festas degeneram em brigas, e são intencionalmente aproveitadas para as vinganças recíprocas.

5º — Alguns dos hóspedes vêm agora aos saltos, de cócoras, arremedando o sapo, e com a bôca fazendo rumor caraterístico: «[illegible]». Entram na maloca e os que aí se acham perguntam aos sapos: — «Aonde vai?» — «Vou visitar os meus parentes» — «Os parentes morreram todos». E o sapo, a esta notícia, desmaia.

6º — Depois alguns se aproximam munidos de tipitis, para fingirem-se de cobras. Ao chegarem junto dos da maloca manobram o tipiti, encurtando-o e alongando-o sôbre êles como para comer os sapos (61).

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(61) Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro, pág. 379) descreve a "dança da cobra" que assistiu numa festa em Iauaretê. Duas enormes cobras de 30 a 40 pés de comprimento, feitas de cipó, capim e palha, e pintadas de côres vivas. Cada uma segurada por 12 a 15 pessoas, executaram movimentos de danças como ensaiando arremeter-se uma contra a outra, o que efetivamente se deu após alguns recuos e voltejos, com grande agrado dos espectadores.

— Rapazes e meninos, em número de oito ou dez, dispostos, pelo menos por ordem de tamanho, começando pelos maiores, [illegible] fila indiana, segurando cada qual, com as mãos os ombros do que o precede, e semirecurvados. Tôda aquela coluna humana vai passo a passo, gingando alternadamente para a direita e para a esquerda. O rapaz maior, que abre a fila, vai soando [illegible] denominado «cabeça-de-veado» (vd. VII - 3, c (3c)), [illegible] que tirava daxiri, repetidamente. De improviso êsse guião [illegible] recua, soando kero, kero, kero (depressa, depressa, de[illegible]), arrastando tôda a coluna a recuar. Às vêzes o movimento é [illegible] que alguns, geralmente os últimos, caem ao chão, provocando o brinquedo à hilaridade geral. Assim prossegue o folguedo.

Os que se sentem cansados vão dormir. Pela manhã tomam seu banho, bebem seu mingau e retiram-se à escoteira, isto é, todos de uma vez, sem despedida solene, mas aos pequenos grupos. Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, verbete *Tuucuri*) [illegible] que vai soar todos, solenemente, com nova procissão até o [illegible] na chegada.

*Poose* com os instrumentos misteriosos — *flagelação*

Adiante, com as declarações dos pajés Tukano Henrique de [illegible] e Marcelino de Juquira (rio Uaupés), empregam-se os [illegible] sagrados, ou *mirim* (*jurupari*s), (62), somente nos [illegible] de fruta (cucura, patatuá, cunuri, ucuqui, etc.), [illegible] de peixe (*kuri poosé*). Mesmo naqueles *poosé*, [illegible] pode-se soar a flauta *mirudko* (cfr. 3, c (3c)), como [illegible] fazer os povoados cristãos mais próximos dos [illegible]. Como indicamos acima, há dois tipos de *mandi*, o *mirumbu*, o maior, de seus 30 a 40 cm, como um [illegible] e que se sopra pelo orifício superior, o menor de [illegible] 15 cm com orifício no meio, lateralmente, por onde se faz soar. [illegible] último se realizaram, dois dos *dabucuris* que assistimos em [illegible].

Muito de madrugada, talvez pelas três horas, alguns homens fazem soar no pôrto, os instrumentos misteriosos, a intervalos. É o [illegible] da alvorada *ca ka-ti kifsé*.

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(62) "Que devem cavar-nos os seguintes esclarecimentos: "Êste instrumento [illegible] antigo quem o encontrou foi um homem que tinha um filho [illegible] filhas. As filhas roubaram o instrumento e um passaro tocou-o [illegible]. Agora, com medo que o roubem outra vez, não o deixam [illegible] nem contam esta história na presença das mulheres". Este informa[illegible] deliciente lembra a lenda de Uaracapã (cfr. "Lendas do Uaupés").

As mulheres e crianças, que vieram para a festa, mal desembarcadas, dirigem-se logo para a maloca e fecham-se dentro (63) enquanto os homens vão preparar a procissão de *Wãr-ti*.

Dirigem-se, então, os hospedes para aquêle local pôrto para onde foram levados os instrumentos que habitualmente se conservam escondidos às mulheres, submerso no rio ou em algum igarapé. Eram os sons dos instrumentos sagrados. Nenhuma pessoa do sexo feminino pode vê-lo. Se o vissem *Wãr-ti* lhes causaria os mesmos males que outrora. Na realidade tal mulher deve morrer (64). A execução será feita pelo próprio pai ou marido, com veneno (raro violentamente), parecendo uma vingança de *Wãr-ti*. Ao ouvir os instrumentos, respondem elas em grito, dentro da maloca: «*ayu! ayú! miri, miri miri! ai! ai!* é o jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!»

Organiza-se a procissão de *Wãr-ti*, que levará a oferta conforme se descreveu acima, do pôrto até a maloca, procissão da qual só participam os do sexo masculino que passaram pelo rito da iniciação puberdária. Caminham nus, todos pintados, à frente, pendurado da cintura, o *warsó-ro* (ou tanga de tururi, vd. VII 3, d (2), cujos instrumentos são ao mesmo tempo agitados para cima e para baixo, e com movimentos laterais e contorsão do corpo. A semelhança do instrumento (65), os movimentos que lhe dão, as contorções do corpo dos participantes, as circunstâncias tôdas desta procissão e as liberdades sexuais que se seguem durante a festa, aproximam das procissões fálicas da antiguidade clássica no culto de Baco, Príapo, etc. Nestas festas indígenas, o nome de «*Phallus*» [illegible]. Nem sequer falta a semelhança das flagelações paroxísmicas [illegible] Cibele de Grécia e Roma, e em geral da civilização [illegible]

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(63) [illegible] Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 217) que numa festa no Umari [illegible] Tiquie, havia-se construído uma barraca de palmeiras [illegible] as mulheres e crianças, enquanto na maloca [illegible] os homens, [illegible] nas paredes, faziam soar os *mirú*.

(64) Um dos informantes (Felisberto Kumõdene de Urubucuara, rio Uaupés) afirmou claramente: «se alguma mulher o vir, matá-la-ão». Outras mulheres declararam-nos que não podem ver o tal instrumento, porque se o vissem adoeceriam e haveriam de morrer.

(65) [illegible] envolvido pela entrecasca de tururi, que em Tukano se [illegible] *warsó-ro* (ligação da mesma raiz que *warsó*, semen; vd. N. 41, VI-[illegible]). Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 69) informa que nas pedras da cachoeira de Hipana (Uaupés-cachoeira, no rio Aiarí, afluente do Uaupés) encontrou uma representação do *Kóay*, filho de *Yapenkuli*, com longo pênis. É uma prova, parece-nos, da ligação entre o culto de *Kóay* ou *Wãr-ti* dos Tukano, e o do phallus. Talvez mesmo autorize a ver no instrumento um phallus, e por isso seja símbolo de *Wãr-ti* ou *Kóay*.

4: Silva SQ19 Tucano

Indio tocando o miri (Juruparí)

Sempre tocando os *miri* os homens rodeiam a maloca, onde se acham fechadas as mulheres e crianças. Tôdas estas saem pela porta do fundo, enquanto os homens penetram, pela porta principal, na maloca. Os homens, então, se fecham dentro, e por uma meia hora soam os *miri*. Não se tocam, nestas circunstâncias, outros instrumentos. Depois os instrumentos misteriosos são escondidos em outra barraca, ou no mato, donde, a intervalos, durante as danças, alguns homens os fazem soar.

Abrem-se, então, as portas da maloca, e regressam a ela as mulheres e crianças e a festa e o banquete ritual realizam-se como se viu acima.

Antes das danças se procede à flagelação dos meninos que não [illegible] da preclusão. Apanham com um caniço, ou com casca [illegible]. Um dos homens toma a criança pelas pernas, outro pelos [illegible] Nas danças lhe aplica umas pancadas nas costas e [illegible] Explicam que é para crescerem depressa, e por isso também, durante a flagelação, cuticam a criança.

A flagelação dos homens realizar-se-á sem interromper as danças. Cada qual, colando de pé, recebe três golpes nas costas e os retribui [illegible] O instrumento desta flagelação é o *adabi*, [illegible] é uma vara de quase dois metros de comprimento, [illegible] de cuja extremidade superior se extraiu a parte lenhosa e [illegible] muito flexível (66).

c) *Conclusão: Que pensar de Wãz-ti e de Wa:kõ?*

Perguntando aos índios da atual geração moça ou adulta quem é *Wãz-ti*, responderão prontamente: — «É o demônio»! — Contarão-se suas aparições e façanhas tremendas, como referimos acima. Aos [illegible] tradições ancestrais, e as leis dadas por êle, as quais [illegible] os costumes das tribos, e não podem ser violadas, a fim [illegible] seu espírito, que ainda sobrevive, e atrair seus cas-[illegible]

[illegible] mesmos índios informarão que *Wa:kõ* é [illegible] e alguns velhos atuais que chegamos a [illegible] nada sabem dizer dêle, nem pensam ou falam em [illegible]

[illegible] tribos, uma religião ou culto dos espíritos. São, pois, [illegible] uma verdadeira legião dêles. «*Wãz-ti* [illegible] *Wa:kõ*» é uma expressão que ouvimos. Há *Wãz-ti* [illegible] caverna, naquela gruta desse igarapé. Admitem *wai marsã*, [illegible] (67), como se fossem sereias ou espíritos que moram

(66) [illegible] *adabis* são bem feitos, e por isso são [illegible] para semelhantes circunstâncias. Nas outras tribos, presen-[illegible] servem-se para o flagelo de uma vara qualquer. Assegu-[illegible] muitas vezes, muitas mesmo a flagelação. Parece-nos [illegible] ao menos enquanto se acha presente [illegible] Os Ruãbãna de Amaduba (rio Querari) mostra-[illegible] como costumavam [illegible] a flagelação. A fim de que os [illegible] o flagelador toma impulso duas ou três [illegible] Alguns dos flagelados, como a [illegible] podemos ver profundas cicatrizes da flagelação [illegible]

(67) [illegible] (rio Papuri, Colômbia) há grutas, e os indígenas [illegible] entrar por dentro das *wai marsã*.

[illegible] Há alguns espíritos que foram encarnados, e outros, não. [illegible] com efeito, que o morto transforma-se em *Wãz-ti*. E mul[illegible] nem o Wãz-ti dos pajés, das p[illegible] das inimizas, e também do [illegible] os consideram inutilmente como inimigo, e, quiçá, [illegible] inimigo [illegible] n. 54 VII 4 e (2 a 3º). Receiam, por isso, [illegible] onde foi enterrado algum civilizado, com medo do seu espí[illegible] Wãz-ti. De uma ave noctívaga, denominada *uruãdi*[illegible] semelhança com o seu pio, dizem que não se lhe deve [illegible] pio, porque o que se aproximará, jogará pedra e fará mal [illegible] a tendou. [illegible] ave, conforme suas crenças, é alma de [illegible] defunto, porque é [illegible] Wã-ti. Há bons e maus espíritos.

[illegible] que estamos diante de uma confusão entre as noções pri[illegible] e as idéias que os viajantes, colonizadores e Missionários, em [illegible] épocas lhe trouxeram e até ensinaram.

Wãz-ti conhecemos nós é um término geral, para designar êsses [illegible] seres, como a nossa palavra «Espírito». Ocorre também o ter[illegible] plural, Wãz-tiã bassã, dança dos Wãz-ti. Provavelmente [illegible] do radical wãz e da determinação substantivante ti. Existe, de fato, na língua Tukano o radical wãz, que indicaria: *imaginar*, [illegible] *idéia*, *modêlo*. Wãz-kũ quer dizer *pensar*, quiçá do radical wãz [illegible]

Entre os diversos Wãz-ti ou *espíritos*, há um por excelência, o [illegible] como nós dizemos «O Espírito Supremo, Perfeitíssimo», ou [illegible] o Espírito.

Wãz-ti como se pode ver das lendas Uaupesinas (que examinaremos [illegible] detalhadamente em outro estudo, «Lendas do Uaupés»), não [illegible] um *Herói* da tribo e o *Legislador*, portanto o Supremo Se[illegible]. Êle pune ou pune as transgressões. A fim de esconjurar os [illegible] espíritos, cumpre propiciá-lo por ritos particulares. Pode-se ver [illegible] ou Wãz-tiã [illegible] sacrifícios de peixe, beijú ou frutas. É [illegible] também uma comunhão do grupo na bebida e no fumo. A *letra dos* [illegible] hoje corrompida e sem sentido, talvez fôssem os hinos sacri[illegible] (68). Aquelas palavras e gritos intercalares, quiçá sejam pa[illegible] e exclamações rituais. Temos assim um culto da divindade.

Mais tarde houve uma confusão entre o *Espírito Legislador* e [illegible] espíritos, isto é, entre o Wãz-ti e os wãz-tiã ou wãz-tiã *massã*.

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(68) Um dos alunos da Missão de Pari-cachoeira (rio Tiquié), José Barreto, informou, que seu pai, um dos mais famosos bayá, ou cantores das festas e mestre de danças, lhe ensinara que os cantos durante o dabacuri ou posse, lamentavam a criação dos homens.

Qual poderia ser a causa? É certo que uma instrução religiosa não bem aprofundada pode dar origem a grandes confusões, até entre civilizados. E, indubitavelmente, fora de dúvida que tiveram sucessivamente contato com os cristãos, e não houve perenidade na obra de cristianização dos Missionários. O conceito, quem sabe, de um único Deus verdadeiro, que é Jesus Cristo, o «Deus dos brancos» (69) em contraposição aos falsos deuses, ídolos ou demônios, é que trouxe tal confusão. A identificação de *Wai-ti* com o demônio (70).

Tal se confirma-se o termo que a catequese emprega para designar a Deus, *Waskó*, que quer dizer «o que se foi». Faz assim pensar em Jesus Cristo que subiu ao céu (71). De *Waskó*, exceto o que a geração moça aprendeu dos Missionários de Dom Bosco e de Mont-

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(69) Conversando [illegible] Dr. Pereira Nunes uma entrevista que teve com um [illegible] na Una-mas-fóros (foz do rio Uaupés), quando soube que [illegible] estavam a festa de Jurupari ou *Wai-ti* a pouca distância, mais [illegible] — Vocês acreditam no Jurupari? perguntou-lhe. [illegible] — E Deus? — E Jesus Cristo? — Jesus [illegible] Deus dos brancos), foi a resposta.

(70) [illegible] Yurupari, escreveu Paulo Ehrenreich (Re[illegible] Histórico e Geográfico de S. Paulo, [illegible], vol. II, p. [illegible] cultural, designação tomada [illegible] geral e fal[illegible] pelos Missionários [illegible] identificação [illegible] data da evangelização das tri[illegible] Gaspar Barleus ou Van Baerle [illegible] Marchman, a propósito de um [illegible] "nomen numti erat polysyllabum et ter[illegible] dubius" o nome do monte [illegible] "Jurupari-pukú", isto é, aqui o demônio [illegible] Amazonense", p. 94, Anais [illegible] Janeiro, 1882). Quanto à identifica[illegible] Nota 8, VII-4, c).

(71) [illegible] de 1956) na "Revista Colombiana de Antropo[illegible] um artigo de Marcos Fulop, sob o título: [illegible] "Cosmozonia". Êste artigo parece [illegible] que já conhecíamos em 1948. Depois de [illegible] criadora e de organização social exercida por Yepá Huake (assim grafa o nome da personagem *Waskó*), conforme [illegible] Marcos Sierra do povoado Guadalajara, sôbre o rio [illegible] termina: "Entonces Yepá Huake dijo a todos [illegible] en Diaw, [illegible] todo el mundo. Y Yepá Huake de[illegible] Y así se termina. Y se subió al cielo Yepá Huake". Con[illegible] grupo ao qual pertence Marco Sierra, [illegible] Marcos Fulop, grupo do qual também temos conhecimento, [illegible] dissidentes da Missão [illegible] Pirapuã. Como era de prever-se, a re[illegible] obtida por Fulop, tôda a relação de Marco Sierra [illegible] combinação da tradição das tribos do Uaupés e da Catequese [illegible]

[72] nada mais sabem dizer, nem pensam nele ou dêle se interessam. A conclusão seria, não que êles não conheçam a Deus, nem o venerem. Mas, sim, que desconhecem a Wá-kô, isto é, Jesus Cristo, o Deus dos brancos. Só conhecem, temem e veneram a Wáxiri, o Legislador que lhes pune as transgressões, permitindo-lhes [illegible] ações [illegible].

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(72) Foi o benemérito Padre Pedro Kuk, holandês, da Congregação de Montfort, em princípios dêste século, quem por primeiro estudou a [illegible] Tukano, nesse idioma, deixou os primeiros livros de Catequese (Catecismos, orações, evangelhos, etc.). Os seus confrades, Missionários no Território Nacional do Waupés (Colômbia) e, ao depois, Missionários Salesianos, na área brasileira limítrofe, seguiram sua [illegible] quanto ao idioma e, consequentemente, também quanto à [illegible] catequética. Quando nos dedicamos aos presentes estudos, procuramos uma entrevista com êsse sábio glotólogo, doublé de Missionário; soubemos que havia falecido pouco tempo antes. Naturalmente ficou sem resposta a primeira questão que, por escrito, lhe fizemos, antecipando uma prometida visita, o saber: a origem da palavra Wá-kô. 1º — teria sido de sua cunhagem? e, neste caso, derivou do verbo wá- (= ser) adotara esta palavra (pròpriamente o [illegible] Masculino singular de wá-) para indicar Jesus Cristo? [illegible] como tradução a palavra Deus? É certo que os indígenas [illegible] não têm absolutamente noção da divindade, porque [illegible] na sua gramática, a palavra/latina *Deus* (ou castelhana [illegible]) para o novo conceito que a ensinar, como se serviu de tantas [illegible] nu castelhana (Virgo, gracia, pecado,=Santu, Anjo, [illegible]).

2º — Wá-kô provém de uma confusão sua com a personagem lendária O'i-kô?

Nunca [illegible] que fizemos ao Papuri, em 1948, expuseram-nos [illegible] Missionários Montfortianos Pe. Humberto Limpens e Pe. Afonso Kuipers, a opinião que explanamos nestas páginas, e [illegible] nos [illegible] "Wá-kô" significava "o que se foi", isto é, [illegible] Cristo que subiu ao céu. E verificamos que ambos eram da [illegible]

[illegible] repetem uma noção que o Catequista lhes fez pròximamente [illegible], as crianças dos Colégios Missionários pronunciam Wá-kô. Em outras circunstâncias, especialmente os que já há anos [illegible] os colégios pronunciam O'i-kô. Esta verificação que [illegible] da nossa primeira viagem ao Uaupés (em 1947), é que nos pôs [illegible] da história ou lenda de O'i-kô (e que hoje possuímos também [illegible] na fez de dois xamãs), e que nos levou a inferir o dilema: ou os indígenas estão identificando o Deus da Catequese, o Deus Cristão, [illegible] mais concretamente, Jesus Cristo, com a personagem lendária O'i-kô, ou, quiçá, o Padre Kuk, de um conhecimento imperfeito das lendas uaupesinas supôs que O'i-kô fôsse o Deus dessas dessas tribos e, por não notar bem a pronúncia (talvez por má prolação do seu informante), começou a grafar viciosamente Wáke, como aparece nos seus livros.

Note-se que os indígenas cristãos, os quais dão a *Deus* o nome de Wá-kô, fizeram um feminino Wá-kô (portanto Deusa), para designar a

É o que pudemos concluir também de uma conversa com um índio velho quase centenário (1947), Casimiro de Ipanuré.

1) *Suas Regras de conduta — Práticas mágicas*

O indígena está persuadido da existência de fôrças extra-humanas, ou misteriosas, tanto pessoais, como impessoais ou cósmicas, que podem ser úteis ou nocivas, e que lhe é possível dominá-las e de-[illegible] aproveitar-se. Isto é o que se entende por *magia* subjetivamente considerada.

Tôda a vida dos indígenas está, por esta razão, impregnada de tantas prescrições positivas ou negativas (73), decorrente dessa sua crença, ou, em outras palavras, está saturada de *práticas mágicas* ou *magia* considerada objetivamente.

Temos, lá e acima, indicado algumas dessas *práticas mágicas*, [illegible] outras, porém. Pelo número de práticas supersticiosas que vamos no nosso conhecimento (e quantas outras haverá?), pela sua frequência e aplicação nos fatos mais comuns de cada dia, tal-vez possa-se concluir que a mentalidade dos índios uaupesinos está dominada pelas crenças e temores mágicos como se fôra uma obsessão, o que, naturalmente, se reflete e manifesta em grande parte da atividade indígena.

Temos *ua-bozufise*, ou *ua-bozkufise*, o mal que pode advir de um dito, uma ação, uma pessoa, animal, ou cousa.

Podem dividir-se as práticas mágicas em grupos: práticas relativas à *lagoa*, à *cousas*, a *animais* e a *pessoas*.

Indicaremos antes algumas dessas *crenças supersticiosas* ou *magia*.

2) *Superstições e crenças mágicas*

A gamas das suas crenças têm sido expostas a propósito de vários assuntos. Nesta altura reunimos outras:

a) É uma crença geral a da existência dos *uai maxsã* ou «gente-peixe», como literalmente se traduz. Não só admitem que as pessoas podem transformar-se definitiva ou temporariamente em peixe,

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(72) Virgem, Mãe de Jesus, e o plural *Wámãra* (Uaupés *Wámãna*) [illegible] para indicar os Santos. O Bispo de Manáus, Dom Frederico Benício Costa, na sua interessante "Carta Pastoral" (Fortaleza, Ceará, [illegible]) relêva à pág. 186 que os caboclos do Rio Negro, que falavam a Língua Geral, empregavam também o nome *Tupana* para indicar os Santos, e quando os queriam distinguir de *Deus*, chamavam a êste *Tupana-açu*.

(73) Estas prescrições, ou antes, proibições vedando entrar em algum lugar, [illegible] algum objeto ou pessoa, é o que hoje se denomina *tabuísmo*.

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como também citam episódios de tais transformações, com indicação dos nomes de pessoas, o local, a data e outras circunstâncias individualizantes. Em dadas ocasiões tais pessoas retomam seu aspecto humano.

Afirmam que os botos (mamíferos cetáceos da família dos delfinídeos) são «gente», «mazsd», e que em muitas ocasiões êles se apresentam sob forma de botos rapazes, a fim de ter relações sexuais com as mulheres, especialmente com as donzelas inuptas.

Não raro se mostram as fêmeas dos botos sob forma de mulheres adultas, a fim de atrair os rapazes. Quando tais aparições se dão à noite, dos rapazes e donzelas, parece-lhes que foi apenas um sonho, no entanto realizaram-se de fato, afirma o índio.

A *cobra-sem-cabeça* (*cecilídeo*) ou *cobra-de-duas-cabeças* (*lacertídeo*) *ozsó*, como se diz em Tukano, pode apresentar-se como rapaz simpático e fecundar as mulheres. Veja-se a lenda de *ozsó*. Porém não se trata apenas de um fato que se deu outrora (e o sabem com a certeza de um fato histórico), pode ainda suceder e, por isso, as mulheres evitam de ver a cobra-de-duas cabeças a fim de não sentirem sua atração.

b) Tamanduai é uma localidade situada à margem do Rio Negro, em posição elevada, com margem formando uma barreira ou rampa. Afirmam que nas vizinhanças dêsse ponto, porém no fundo do rio, situa-se a cidade dos *nat mazsd*.

Contam que, poucos anos faz, na margem oposta a Tamanduai, morava uma mulher. Logo depois do parto, contra as prescrições tradicionais, ela cozinhou e comeu cará. Indo, em seguida ao porto, encontrou um rapaz que lhe perguntou: — porque você está aí? — Quero ir embora, disse-lhe a mulher, porque o meu marido é muito bruto e me bate com frequência. — Vem comigo, convida-a o rapaz. E levou-a para dentro dagua. Lá no fundo ela viu que havia uma grande cidade com casas bonitas, fábricas de sêde (!), e também jardins e mata. Ela ficou aí morando com êsse rapaz. Certo dia ela lhe disse: — estou com saudade do meu filho, vou buscá-lo. O rapaz trouxe-a para fora dagua. Ela se achava recoberta de limo. Lavou-se bem, foi à própria casa, preparou leite (?) para o filho. Perguntou-lhe, então, o marido: — onde você estêve todo êste tempo? Há uma semana que está ausente. Ela, porém, não lhe deu resposta. No dia seguinte ela tomou sua criança e foi para o pôrto, entrou rio a dentro e não voltou mais. Ficou como esposa do rapaz nat mazsd.

c) Ainda de Tamanduai ouvimos relatar outro episódio. Um índio do Uaupés, estabelecido em Tamanduai (e são muitos os que,

à procura de melhores terras, abandonam o Uaupés e vêm se estabelecer nesta região do Rio Negro), saiu certo dia a pescar. Foi descendo ao longo de uma grande praia. Em dado momento vê êle, na beira da próxima mata, uma rede muito bonita, e sentada sôbre a rede uma môça loura, muito bela, com uma criança nos braços e cantando para adormecer a criança. O rapaz prestou atenção no harmonioso canto e pôde ouvir que dizia: — «vou embora para a minha terra, ela é tão bela ... lá não falta nada»... etc. Observou bem e viu que as cordas da rede eram sucurujú. De noite a môça loura lhe apareceu em sonho e lhe disse: — «eu hoje cantei para você, e você nem ligou».

a) Perto de Bela-Vista, no rio Uaupés, uma ex-aluna da Missão de Taracuá sonhou de noite que teve relações amorosas com um rapaz. Pois de manhã, quando foi tomar banho, veio perto dela um bôto bufando, agitando-se nagua, fazendo banzeiro, e querendo ter relação com ela. A môça ouviu também tiros debaixo da terra, sentiu o perfume que usam os moços «botos». Ela até sentiu desejo de morar sempre com os botos.

b) — Conta Patrícia Vasconcelos que sua avó era ainda mocinha e foi procurar ovos de tartaruga numa praia perto de Pinú-pinú (rio Uaupés) com outras companheiras, entre as quais uma que acabava de chegar ao ponto da iniciação puberdária. Foram cavando na areia e tiraram muitos ovos. Porém, em certo ponto a areia foi afundando, ouviu-se certo rumor e sumiu a donzela recem-iniciada. Pouco depois desapareceu a praia. A mãe da donzela desaparecida foi procurar por tôda a parte, porém a donzela não voltou mais. Lamentou, então, a pobre mãe, que os *uai marsã* lhe haviam roubado a filha, dizendo: *mãe, mãe, mãe, mãe-wapé yéõ markõ-ré*, as gentes que foram buscar minha filha».

2. *Práticas Mágicas*

Lugares — Há lugares (recesso das matas, grutas, cabeceiras de igarapés) a que jamais devem ir. Se por acaso passarem perto vizinhanças dêsses lugares, volverão o rosto para o lado oposto.

Abaixo de Ira-igarapé (médio Uaupés) há um lago, os velhos não o atravessam a fim de não terem filho mole e chorão.

Em Ira-igarapé há nagua uns panelões de pedra. Quando um indivíduo mergulha nesses panelões, se êle é preguiçoso ouve, então, um ruído como choque elétrico (rebôo das águas na concavidade? ou mais do puraqué?). Se não é preguiçoso, nada lhe acontece.

Perto de Jandiá (margem esquerda do rio Papuri) vêem-se três pedras achatadas e dispostas triangularmente. As mulheres não

devem olhar para essas pedras, a fim de que seus filhos não nasçam com a cabeça chata.

Não se deve pisar no rasto da onça, pois ela virá, sem ser percebida, sôbre aquêle que o fizer.

III. Uma pedra alta, à margem esquerda do rio Papuri, próxima da foz do ribeirão Cunu-cunú, denominada *Bard ôrtã*. Se uma môça subir sôbre aquela pedra, e algum rapaz, passando por aí, olhar para a môça, sentir-se-á atraído e acabará unindo-se a ela. Es a atração, no entanto, desaparece se o jovem pingar logo nos olhos gotas de líquido do cipó dito *pôrkud-da* (cipó estrêla).

Abaixo da «ilha do cunubi», na cachoeira da Bacaba (rio Uaupés), no lugar denominado *Ro-ñôã* (ponta do picilho), há uma pedra denominada *muhi-pú ôrtã* (pedra do sol ou da lua). Os que navegam o rio, quando por aí passam, depositam peixe moqueado, beijú, banana ou outra fruta. Conforme o wanana Tomás Paiva, o ofertante ao deixar a sua oferta apresenta a seguinte súplica: «meu avô, faça que o dia seja bom, não seja quente, não haja banzeiro (agitação das águas pelos ventos)».

III. Vários processos de lançar maleficios (*dohasé*) no caminho da roça.

1. — enterram alguma vara pelo caminho por onde deve passar o indivíduo desafeto, e «sopram» sôbre a vara; é o *yuzkö dohó-kö*; o malefício atingirá a pessoa apênas passar por aí;

2. — pode também, ao saber que uma pessoa deve passar por um trilho, cercar-lhe a passagem, atravessando um pau sôbre o qual se «sopra»; é o que se diz *kã pe-tpó-kö*;

3. — *Yi kã-pued* se diz quando «soprou» sôbre um fruto ou planta de uma pessoa qualquer (74) comer dêsse fruto, ou mesmo tocar em objeto «ficará retorcido». Crêem que todos os casos de estupefamento com paralisia dos músculos faciais e retorção da bôca, se devem a maleficios de algum inimigo.

Os Tuxano de Pari-cachoeira preparam seu jequí (vd. VI - 5, a ...) em determinada pedra da cachoeira; se o fizessem em casa, não conseguiriam pescar.

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(74) Êstes maleficios locais, podem prejudicar, por engano, até quem o preparou. Contou-nos Patrícia Vasconcelos que seu tio Marcos lançara um maleficio num cacuri (vd. VI-5, a (2b)) contra quem aí fôsse pescar peixe. Pela manhã se esquecera de neutralizar o maleficio e tirou alguns peixes e dêles comeu. «Começou logo a sentir-se mal: dor de cabeça, vista escura, dor de estômago. Chamou, então ao próprio filho e declarou-lhe: — Meu filho, vou morrer! "Soprei" no cacuri, e por descuido comi dos peixes sem tirar o *dohasé*». Por felicidade escapou, recorrendo a outras práticas mágicas.

b) *Colares* — Stradelli, no seu Vocabulário Nheengatú-portuguêz (verbete *Uira-pura*) fala da crença na virtude protetora do colar, talismã. É provável que não se refira às tribos do Uaupés. Nestas não só não os encontramos, nem nos souberam informar que os houvesse antigos. Em casos muito raros, encontramos colares de sementes tricromiáticas (Vd. — 3, d (1)), com o caráter, parece, únicamente de adôrno feminino.

Põem sementes de determinadas plantas dentro da espingarda, a fim de atrair a caça. Os ovos de pescado, no anzol, têm semelhante valor.

Crêem na eficácia mágica de certas poções que se dizem *oxkó puçanga* (em Língua Geral). Algumas são preparadas pelo pajé ou feiticeiro; outras, por qualquer indivíduo. Há *puçangas* para lavar o paiol e o cacuri, e garantir-lhes abundante pesca.

Os pós para o preparo das *puçangas* são guardados dentro de cabaças, como o tucumã (*bexú*) e o ucuqui (*puxpyá*).

Mostram um asco particular pela defecação humana (75); por isso não capinam aquela parte do povoado que serve de sentina.

As mulheres preparam uma *puçanga*, e dão-na a beber aos rapazes, a fim de atraí-los para fins amorosos.

Na lua nova as mães dão a beber aos filhos chá de uma planta determinada (é *dipá* em Nheengagatú *peri-pirioca; cyperus piptorus*) e a criança «vem a saber tudo», isto é, ficará inteligente.

Há muitas variedades dessa planta, dotadas tôdas de virtudes mágicas:

1.º — de uma delas a mulher rala a raiz, ou esfrega-a nas mãos, antes de ir para a roça, e assim a mandioca dará muito bem;

2.º — outra variedade se esfrega no fio de anzol para atrair os peixes tucunaré (*bá-ú*) e aracú (*bo'tém*);

3.º — com uma terceira variedade a môça esfrega o rosto, mãos e seios, a fim de atrair a si os rapazes.

A primeira vez que usam uma calça nova, deve ser por cima de outra já velha.

Com relação aos fenômenos atmosféricos há muitas práticas e prescrições:

1.º — não se deve mostrar o arco-íris com o dedo; se o fizer, o dedo apodrecerá;

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(75) Temos observado que, praticamente, a sentina é aquela parte menos profunda do pôrto, onde costumam tomar seu banho. Como já se acham mesmo nagua, fica facilitado o asseio pessoal.

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2º — quando há eclipse de lua, e enquanto durar o fenômeno todos se põem a trabalhar ruidosamente: o homem rachará lenha, a mulher limpará rumorosamente a sua casa, etc.; a finalidade dêsses rumores, já o revelava Wallace, é afugentar *Wãr-ti* que julgam estar matando a lua.

3º — quando aparece a lua nova, as crianças fazem ginástica, abrem as pernas, estendem os braços, etc. Dizem que assim o praticam para crescerem.

Põem-se a soprar para o céu, a fim de afastar as tempestades ou a chuva.

Quando as mulheres não querem trabalhar na roça, batem com a mão aberta nas orelhas, com o fim de chamar a chuva.

c) *Animais.* Se canta o *serê'nõ* (Uaupés *sene'nõ*) (um pica-pau pequeno) quando estão plantando, dizem que a roça será bem viçosa: *«serê'nõ uukã, komã-ro a'tirosa* (quanto canta o pica-pau, chegará o verão).

Atiram ao rio as cobras que matam; o enterrá-las atrairia outras cobras.

Quando encontram um pinto pelado de asas para cima, crêem que é porque êle viu o *curupira*.

Quando as mulheres vêem uma cobra-cega ou cobra-sem-cabeça, então elas volvem o rosto para o lado, a fim de que não venha à noite fecundá-las.

Quando alguem é mordido de cobra, os seus parentes devem abster-se de sal, pimenta e de peixe.

Quando uma criança é tarda para aprender a falar, dão-lhe a comer a carne moqueada do sapo *nãrterõ*, afirmando que assim começará logo a falar (76).

Fazem talhos no corpo dos filhos, quando ainda são pequenos, com dente de peixe, especialmente da piraíba, para que êle se torne *nãrapã* (em Nheengatu *marupiára*), isto é, feliz na pesca e na caça.

*Urukã-tufu* é o nome onomatopaico, em Língua Geral e em Tukano, de uma ave notívaga, cujo pio não se deve remedar, porque ela vira vingar-se de quem o fêz, atirando-lhe pedradas. Afirmam que essa ave é o espírito desencarnado de algum branco ou civilizado, *pezkõ-sã uè'ri wãr-ti*.

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(76) Patrícia Vasconcelos, tukano do S. Luzia, rio Papuri, afirma que assim se passou com ela. E pouco depois de haver comido a carne do tal sapo, pôs-se a falar.

Queimam a casa do cupim e põem as cinzas nas feridas, a fim de não deixar cicatriz. Explicam que como os cupins refazem perfeitamente o seu ninho, quando arrebentado, as cinzas do seu ninho operam o mesmo resultado nas feridas humanas.

Se o cachorro entrou nágua na qual se espalhou o timbó para a pesca, o veneno não terá mais fôrça.

As senhoras, no estado de gravidez, não devem comer os peixes pirarucu e pirandira, nem a pirara, porque «êste come defunto», é a explicação que fornecem.

a) *Pessoas*. Tôda mulher grávida, *nihi-pazkó* (depois do quarto mês, mais ou menos), é um ser perigoso. São várias as prescrições referentes à mulher gestante. Por exemplo, não pode comer do peixe do espinhel (VI — 5, a (4 d)), do cacuri, nem participar da grande pescaria com o timbó. Se o fizer, a pescaria será infrutuosa, e o espinhel ou cacuri não apanhará mais peixe (77). Não deve tocar no arco ou flecha, a fim de não «estragá-los».

Do pai da criança recém-nascida diz-se também que está em estado de gravidez, *nihi-pazkó* ou *nihi-pkó*. Deve, então, pôr-se de resguardo «*ãtpoã*» (cfr. «Couvade, VIII — 1, b (3)), para que a criança fique forte.

Entre as mulheres é lícito assistir ao parto; os homens devem retirar-se. Se acaso há hospedes homens na maloca, então a parturiente fica em algum apartamento bem fechado, se houver. Ou retira-se, para dar à luz, em alguma barraca isolada ou mesmo no mato.

Antes de tomar seu banho de puerpério, a mulher não pode ver arco nem instrumento algum de ferro (facão, machado, azagaia, etc.).

Se o homem parar de braços abertos na porta da casa, durante a gravidez da mulher, ésta terá um parto difícil.

Se durante a própria gravidez a mulher se assentar para comer ou assentar-se à rede com as pernas pendentes, será difícil o seu parto.

A primeira vez que vão à roça, depois do nascimento de algum filho, praticam um rito especial denominado «*mirpi puri-ré dõ'tekũsé*», isto é, enlaçamento das fôlhas do açaí. O pai vai à frente e, atrás, a mãe carregando a criança. O pai, mais ou menos cada dez metros ou passos, amarra dois a dois os folíolos do açaí, e os atira sôbre o caminho. Se devem atravessar algum ribeirão, e a criança é do sexo masculino, faz com as fôlhas uma espécie de canoa e a põe sôbre a

(77) A Dom José Domitrovitsch estragaram o espinhel. Queixa-se o Missionário e indaga a razão. O espinhel "não presta", diz-lhe o índio, porque minha mulher comeu do peixe prêso naquele espinhel e está grávida.

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água. A finalidade dessas práticas é assegurar que a criança e os da sua casa nunca errem o caminho, *wiseri-khára-re mir'pi pùri-ré* (literalmente).

A mulher recém-casada, que procura muito outros homens, transforma-se durante à noite em anta e sai pela mata a pastar (78). É o que se diz «kerko dohogo» (literalmente: estragada em anta). De madrugada transforma-se novamente em mulher e volta tirando ainda dos dentes os restos de capim. Indício dêsse fato é o empallidecimento da esposa. Porém, quando ela sai à noite, deixa as pernas na rede. Quando o marido o percebe, vira-lhe as pernas em posição contrária, isto é, para a cabeceira da rede. Por causa disso a mulher sentirá no dia seguinte fortes dores nos quadris. Em a noite seguinte o marido vira-as em sentido contrário ao da primeira vez, e cessarão as dores da esposa.

A fim de fazer *marupiara*, *mó'sipõ*, ao próprio filho, logo depois da imposição do nome, começam a dar-lhe a beber, em cada lua nova, a infusão das fôlhas de algumas plantas, como o *bará*, *peripiroca* e de uma variedade de *arucea* (de fôlhas menores que as da maloca). O mesmo resultado se obtem, esfregando as mãos, na mesma ocasião da lua nova, com tais fôlhas.

Há uma planta denominada *ká'nd pùri* (Uaupés *ká'nd*) cujas fôlhas tem um longo pedunculo, e das quais se servem para enxugar as mãos, como nós de uma toalha. Quando a esposa está no período de gestação, nem ela, nem seu esposo podem comer da fruta preta dessa planta, porque o filho nascerá com pescoço comprido. Ambos terão, igualmente, cuidado, durante a gravidez, de apanhar o ápice dessas fôlhas que usarem. Se o não fizerem, o filho nascerá com cabelo comprido sôbre o rosto ao longo das orelhas.

Os rapazes e môças quando se encontram fora da maloca, volvem as costas um para o outro, e dizem-se desaforos (79).

Cospem de lado quando passam perto de alguma pessoa com quem não se simpatizarem.

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(78) Foram-nos indicados dois casos de semelhante transformação, ambos sucedidos pouco tempo antes desta informação (1953), um que se teria passado em Urubucuara, e outro em Iauarete, citando-nos o nome dessas esposas "sem vergonha", conforme a expressão de um dos informantes.

(79) Até os meninos e meninas dos colégios da Missão, quando se encontram em grupos, nos passeios, trocam desaforos entre si. Por exemplo, quando lhes dizem: — Vocês são preguiçosas! E elas revidaram: — Vocês são sujões de roupas (as meninas ajudam a lavar as roupas também dos meninos internos da Missão).

Se se casarem entre si os da mesma tribo, não terão filhos (80).

Admitem uma fôrça particular no «sôpro», capaz de operar curas (81).

Para ter filhos do sexo masculino, a mulher não deve tomar banho durante a última gravidez.

A mulher grávida quando trabalha, procura não fazer muito barulho (por exemplo evitar o rumor da cuia dentro do pote quando vai buscar água). Em caso contrário o seu filho será chorão.

Enquanto o homem queima a sua canoa não deve comer, nem beber, nem ir à sentina, para que se não fenda a embarcação.

Quando se está preparando o pari, não se deve comer carne.

Os Makú, no dia em que preparam o «curare» devem jejuar; diversamente o veneno não terá fôrça alguma.

Os defuntos transformam-se em mãz-ti (cfr. abaixo Festa Fúnebre). Êsses espíritos desencarnados, quando o são de um pajé, de indivíduos de tribo inimiga ou dos civilizados, são muito perigosos. Por essa razão não dormem perto do lugar onde foi enterrado alguém civilizado.

### 3) O culto dos mortos

Como consequência das duas crenças tão firmemente radicadas: a da alma dos indivíduos de cada grupo, que se julgam e denominam [illegible] e da existência e imortalidade da alma, era de prever um culto social dos mortos. Manifestações dêsse culto são o *chorô-elegia*, o *enterro*, o *banquete* e *festa fúnebre*.

1) *O chorô-elegia*. É impressionante a frieza e insensibilidade (82) com as quais êstes indígenas do Uaupés vêem definhar um membro qualquer da família, mesmo que seja o próprio pai, mãe ou filho. O doente acha-se numa rede, armada a um canto mais escuro; a poucos metros distantes, os habitantes da maloca ou casa

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(80) O Pe. Afonso Kuipers, de Teresita (Colômbia, Rio Papurí) promoveu dois matrimônios de casais Pirá-tapúya, e foram fecundos, nascendo filhos sadios. Apesar disto não perderam a própria crença.

(81) Em setembro de 1947, de uma briga entre os Makú, nas proximidades do Igarapé, por ocasião de uma festa, um índio recebeu 5 grandes e profundos golpes de facão (nos dois ombros, testa, mão e nádega direita). Um mês depois estavam quase cicatrizadas, e explicaram-nos que o único processo de cura foi o seguinte: antes de tomar o seu mingau todos os homens sopravam sôbre o alimento que o doente devia comer.

(82) Por vezes parece-nos até uma crueldade, negando-lhes até a comida e a bebida. (Cfr. V-17).

nem conversam, comem, divertem-se, como se nenhum doente ali estivera.[83]

No entanto, mal advertem que faleceu — (talvez já se deu o decesso há algum tempo, e não o perceberam, ou houve engano [...] não faleceu) — homens e mulheres presentes iniciam o chôro-elegia uarirá.[84] Os homens emitem gritos e imprecações contra os causadores daquela morte, pois, tôda morte, assim pensam, é um verdadeiro assassinato perpetrado por algum inimigo, por meio de um malefício. Também as mulheres, denominadas justamente [...] (Uaupés uarirá), carpideiras, entre exclamações e com pen-

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(83) Indagamos quando a pergunta do Missionário se há algum doente (vd. V-16) na maloca ou povoado, respondem sistemàticamente que não. Talvez o silêncio, ou a negativa, tenha sua causa numa crença ou conceito — algo qualquer, que nos é desconhecido. E desse mesmo conceito deriva a insensibilidade, quiçá apenas aparente, que nos causa espécie. Ao Padre que repreendia a um indígena que deixava sem alimentos o velho pai, respondeu: — "prra que dar-lhe comida? êle vai morrer!"

O Pe. João Marchesi escreve (op. "Os Tucanos "do Pe. Antônio [...] pag. 13): "Na mesma casa, às vezes agoniza um parente, mas [...] não terão o menor cuidado para poupar-lhe a algazarra de [...] trabalho de dois dias. Diante do próprio irmão morto prorrompem em chôro desesperado, e com a mesma naturalidade passarão [...] brincadeiras mais sonoras e descompostas".

(84) O Pe. Humberto Lummens, Montfortiano, nos primeiros tempos da Missão de Teresita (Colômbia, rio Papuri) viu um "chôro" no qual primeiramente os pajés reprimiram longamente fumaça sôbre a defunta, [...] casa, enquanto os homens gritavam ameaças contra os inimigos que, [...] causa da morte. Depois vieram as mulheres, e, ponde-se em círculo, iniciaram as lamentações.

Interessante, outrossim, o chôro que se realizou a 24 de junho de 1956 no hospital da Missão de Pari-cachoeira (rio Tiquié), e que presenciaram as duas Irmãs Enfermeiras. Uma jovem espôsa morrera, como conseqüência de um parto natimorto. Era enteada do falecido [...] Pari-cachoeira, Julio, pai do atual chefe local. Houve prévio [...] com os pajés, e mesmo depois que já em estado de extrema [...] fôra recolhida ao hospital, sua mãe, da tribo Tuyuka, tentara arrancá-la de aí para, novamente, submetê-la aos ritos dos pajés. Apenas se deu o desenlace, teve início na própria sala do falecimento, no hospital, o chôro, pelos homens e mulheres, acompanhado simultâneamente de dança, aos lados da rede que continha o cadáver. Entre os participantes do pranto e danças se achava uma jovem Tukano, que fazera o curso de parteira em Manaus. Distribuiram-se os dançantes aos pares, do mesmo sexo, e entremeavam as danças com pequenos [...] batendo, nesse momento ora nos braços, ora nas pernas. O [...] também presente, não participou das danças, porém, sim, do [...]. Transportado mais tarde o cadáver para a sala de entrada do [...], a velha mãe deitou-se no chão, debaixo da rede onde se deu a morte da filha, com as pernas e braços abertos, cantando o chôro-elegia.

[illegible] muito sentimentais, fazem o elogio do morto e imprecam contra as [illegible] ou pessoas que lhe lançaram o malefício reputado [illegible] morte. Abaixam-lhes a cabeça, atiram os cabelos para o rosto [illegible] lágrimas lhes vêm abundantes e a cada momento as recolhem com o indicador da mão direita e as sacodem ao chão. E [illegible] em longo tempo, numa tonalidade característica em que passam das notas mais graves às mais agudas. E as carpideiras sucedem-se por turno neste chôro panegírico-imprecatório. Mal se perderam no ar as últimas notas do seu pranto e suas últimas lágrimas se infiltraram no chão da maloca, as sombras da emoção desvaneceram-se-lhe do rosto, e a carpideira passará a conversar alegremente com suas companheiras, com seu habitual bom-humor e [illegible] gargalhadas.

A mãe ou esposa, estará, durante o pranto, de cócoras ou sentada nos banquinhos ao lado do defunto, e com a mão direita fazendo traços no chão. Em outros momentos roçam as mãos pelo cadáver e alongam depois os braços em uma direção do espaço, como se para lá estivessem projetando as pragas ou o malefício que vitimou aquele defunto.

Por vezes três ou mais mulheres se reunem num círculo fechado em que as cabeças se tocam, e a principal carpideira estende os braços, como a abraçá-las tôdas pela nuca: é o que se diz *ÿc'ô-[illegible]* chôro abraçado. A primeira carpideira começa, então, a fazer o elogio do morto, como dirigindo um diálogo com as demais que lhe repetem as palavras finais: ou dirigem interlocuções, tudo entremeado de soluços e gritos.

Findado o chôro-panegírico, que pode durar minutos ou horas inteiras [illegible] volta a serenidade, como se nada de anormal houvera acontecido. [illegible] Retomam seus trabalhos, alimentação ou conversas com as típicas gargalhadas habituais.

Se por acaso foi durante a noite que se deu o passamento, costumam [illegible] o chôro, velar porem conversando alegremente e bebendo chicha sem mais se preocupar com o morto.

Os parentes, à medida que vão chegando para visitar a família, casualmente ou porque souberam do falecimento, têm o mesmo desabafo de pranto rumoroso e laudativo. Por ocasião do entêrro rei-

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[illegible] O outro pela morte de Julio, tuxáua de Pari-cachoeira, a 5 de julho [illegible] durou das 6 da madrugada até as 10 horas do dia, quando se [illegible] sepultamento.

[illegible] Se é um dos esposos ou filho que morreu, o pesar às vêzes, é sincero [illegible] relembrando, e para distrair-são vão passear por outras malocas.

miam o choro. Quando algum parente que morava mais distante, mesmo que seja meses depois, encontra o viúvo ou viúva, pela primeira vez, depois do falecimento do cônjuge, põe-lhe as mãos sôbre o ombro e não raro se renova a cena do pranto.

A simples notícia de algum falecimento é capaz de provocar também o pranto oficial. Note-se que, embora o morto seja da tribo do marido, muitas vêzes êste não dará nenhum sinal de pesar, continuará tranqüilo sua alegre conversa, deixando à sua mulher (que é de outra tribo) o encargo de prantear o morto.

Eis uma dessas elegias (87).

Paxkõ uxtigo —
a mãe que chora

Yoõ maxkõ! yoõ max-kõ! yoõ max-kõ!
meu filho! meu filho! meu filho!

Dexkõ yoõ doxporõ wẽ'ritohati mãã!
tudo eu antes não morri de ti?

Mãã ahũ-buxtyãgo, tuxtwãgo ritohapõ,
tu muito bem (belo), forte criaste

Mãã yoõ yukõse yoõ ekatise, yoõ maisé-mẽra,
minha alegria, meu amor-também (eras)

Mãã oyépo-a-ré, yoõ tisomẽ, mãã buhise-ré,
tu eu não verei, teu sorriso,

Mãã boxsoto-ré tisomẽ
tua voz não ouvirei?

Dexa-mãã marisé-mẽra até nãxkã-põ, até dyá-põ?
sem (também viverei) nestas matas, nestes rios?

Até wẽ-põ ya'ã-tuxtyasé-mẽra kaxti-maxsisari?
Nesta casa tão triste viver-poderei?

Mãã mãgo oxku-ré, poxkõ-mé-ré yoõ-ré axpo-yúgõ
tu carinhoso água, fogo para-mim aprontaves.

Mãã paxkõ wẽ'rise-re nãxkãtise-re dorétohapa.
tu pai a morte não pesada tornaste-me.

Mãã yoõ-re wai-re dyá-põ-ré yúgõ
tu para mim peixe do rio trazias

Mãã nãxkã-põ yuxko-dõxka-re yúgõ
tu da mata os frutos trazias

Mãã marisé-mẽra ỹoé-ré wẽ bésari?
tu sem que coisa farei eu (agora)?

Mãã-kori nãxkã uxtigo, mãã-mẽra maxsã-pé-põ sooseré.
os dias todos chorar, contigo no sepulcro descansar

Yoõ max-kõ! yoõ max-kõ! yoõ max-kõ!
o meu filho! meu filho! meu filho!

(87) Fornece-no-la o Missionário Salesiano, Pe. João Marchesi.

2) *O enterro*. Não há intervalo fixo entre a verificação da morte e o sepultamento. Nota-se mesmo certa ansiedade de sepultar o cadáver quanto antes. E não são raros os casos em que os preparativos para isto começam quando o indivíduo está ainda em vida, e antes em uso dos seus sentidos (88). Embora conheçam a cerâmica, e saibam executar vasos de grandes dimensões, não costumam sepultar os cadáveres em vasos, nem há indícios de que tenha havido tal costume.

O sepultamento é definitivo e a forma tradicional é o féretro-canoa, *puzko-so-koro*, isto é, dentro de uma canoa (89). Será a velha canoa, fruto do seu trabalho, companheira de suas viagens e de suas pescarias, ou alguma arranjada para essa finalidade. Serram-na em duas partes. Não pudemos saber como fariam antigamente, antes de possuírem serrote ou facão, para partirem a canoa em duas metades. Se o faziam, então, com o auxílio do fogo, ou se empregavam duas canoas pequenas como féretro. Sôbre uma metade depõe-se o cadáver com sua rede, arco, flecha, sua cuia com um pouco de farinha, um cigarro, e algumas brasas num pedaço de pau-d'arco (hoje uma caixa com alguns palitos de fósforos). Cobrem com a outra metade da canoa, fechando os orifícios, presentemente com pedaços de madeira, trapos ou qualquer cousa, e amarram as duas partes com fortes cordas de tucum.

O sepultamento com parte dos objetos de uso, costuma ser sobrevivência de nomadismo. Hoje explicam-nos os índios que é «para usar na outra vida». Outros objetos (canoas, facões, machados, redes, etc.) são herdados pela família; ou, mais pròpriamente, pelo

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(88) Uma das Irmãs Missionárias Salesianas, de passagem por Umari (rio Uaupés), vê na maloca 4 buracos no chão. Surpreendida indaga o motivo. Disse que havia quatro crianças com coqueluche e, prevendo a morte, havia já preparado as covas.

Outro episódio impressionante deu-se em Taracuá (rio Uaupés), em 1954. Estava à morte o taxinda Miguel, da tribo Tukano, e os seus companheiros prepararam a canoa-esquife, e aí depositaram o enfermo quase sufocando-o com suas roupas, rede, cuia de comida, etc. Chegaram ainda a tempo os Missionários e observando que ainda estava vivo, transportaram-no para o hospital, e só veio realmente a falecer três dias depois.

(89) Ocasionalmente, na falta de canoa, soubemos de sepultamento dentro de tronco de caxari, em Teresita (Colômbia, rio Papuri). O Pe. André Lambert, Missionário da Congregação de Montfort, em Acuaricuara (Colômbia, rio Paca) fêz sepultar em esteira. Hoje, ouve-se muitas vezes "puzko-so mãri" não há canoa (pois não querem inutilizar as canoas boas que possuem), e sepultam em algum pau ôco, ou pedem um caixão aos missionários.

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filho mais velho. É símbolo de uma ligação que anda perdura entre os membros que estão vivos e os já falecidos (84); embora o motivo aparente seja a ambição e o interêsse do índio. E têmo-los visto fazer longas viagens, a fim de se apossar de algum objeto que pertenceu ao defunto.

A cova, suficientemente longa e pouco profunda, aberta outrora com simples pau de ponta e as mãos, se faz em a nave central da maloca (91), sem nenhuma orientação obrigatória. Naquele local, precisamente, onde êle passou as horas mais alegres da sua vida, preparando seu arco e flecha, adornando-se com os enfeites, em palestras interminas com os irmãos de tribo, e dançou nas longas noitadas da *poosé* (dabacuri), como se os vivos quisessem manter-se em união com os mortos.

É então, deposta na cova a canoa, renovando-se pelos presentes, coletivamente, o «chôro-panegírico» (92). Todos lançarão sôbre o féretro punhados de terra, até que a cova fique completamente cheia. Dentro em breve, pelo pisar dos transeuntes, o terreno estará tão firme como o restante do piso, e nada revelará que ali foi sepultado alguem (93).

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(90) Dos *Kubéuãna* Koch Grunberg informa que queimam e lançam fora os objetos que pertenceram ao morto, a fim de que seu espírito não venha castigar os sobreviventes por sua negligência e cobiça (Zwei Jahre, pág. 314).

(91) Em Ambalha (Colômbia, rio Querari) os *Kubéuãna* estavam preparando, em janeiro de 1948, nova maloca, quando se deu o falecimento de um índio. Sepultaram-no, então, na área da nova maloca. Como, porém, esta estivesse ainda sem cobertura, improvisaram pequena coberta de palha sôbre a cova, à distância de um metro do solo "para o morto não tomar chuva".

Perto de Matapi (rio Uaupés) há uma ilha conhecida justamente como "ilha do cemitério", porque aí os Wanana sepultavam seus mortos. Não sabemos se isto se deva à influência dos civilizados.

(92) Isto se verifica até nos sepultamentos que se dão nos cemitérios das Missões, com a assistência do Missionário, o qual, muita vez, se vê obrigado, após alguns minutos, a pedir que cessem o chôro, a fim de proceder à absolvição litúrgica. Ao sair do cemitério foram vistas as mulheres fazendo gestos largos, com os braços, como para afastar o espírito maligno, ou projetar as maldições sôbre o causador da morte. Foram, outrossim, observadas queimando urtiga ao redor da casa onde se deu o falecimento.

(93) Não é verossímil o que informa Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro, 637): "Em algumas das maiores casas há, às vêzes, mais de cem sepulturas, e quando as casas se tornam pequenas, e já estão cheias, fazem-se, então as sepulturas fora". Trata-se, com efeito, de pequenos grupos humanos, que muito raramente superam uma centena de pessoas; portanto não haverá, regularmente, nem meia dúzia de

Não se percebe manifestação alguma de mêdo pela vista ou contato do cadáver.

3) *Libação e festa funebre*. Pouco depois do sepultamento (talvez em a noite imediata), conforme as circunstâncias e o espaço necessário para os preparativos, realiza-se uma festa na maloca. Constando obrigatòriamente, como sempre, de abundantes libações de caxiri e das danças tradicionais, sôbre a tumba do companheiro.

Não consta, porém, que nesse caxiri funebre haja menção particular do finado. Quiça um dos convidados seja aquêle, a cujo maleficio se atribui a morte. Convidam-no para, na exaltação alcoólica, vingarem-se da morte do «*irmão*».

Note-se que não há repugnância em falar do «morto», *mihi* (finado).

Não há prova, nem, portanto, sinal externo de luto, que seja observado durante algum tempo. Nem vestígios de comemoração dos mortos, como poderíamos esperar de tanta união em vida, e de algumas circunstâncias do sepultamento, que já salientamos. A não ser que isto ocorra nas danças e cantos dos *poosé*. Porém não souberam, ou não quiseram esclarecer-nos os nossos informantes indígenas.

Em contradição com esta aproximação ou ligação com os mortos, existe a crença que o morto se transforma em *Wãx-ti* (espírito desencarnado) e que pode assustá-los ou até prejudica-los, como foi dito precedentemente (cfr. VII — 4 e 2 c — Que pensar de Wãx-ti?).

Outrora, entre os Taryana, informou Felisberto de Urubucuara, se, após a morte de um tuxáua, ou de algum *kõmũ*, realizava-se o caxiri (festa funebre) com «*dança de máscaras*» ou o «*chóro grande*».

## *CANIBALISMO*

Denomina-se *canibalismo* ou *antropofagia* a praxe de comer a carne humana.

Na América é costume verificado entre os *Karaiba*, donde a tendencia de incluir-se neste grupo tôdas as tribos canibais.

É provável que tal prática, em origem, se deva à falta de alimento. Veio, no entanto, mais tarde, pela orientação tôda da mentalidade do primitivo, a tomar um sentido mágico. Cumpre, pois, distinguir o *canibalismo econômico* e o *ritual*.

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óbitos por ano. O clima quente e úmido provocará ràpidamente o desfazer-se dos restos mortais. E, ademais, não fica sinal algum denunciador de sepulturas.

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1. *Canibalismo econômico*

No canibalismo econômico ordinàriamente consome-se carne dos inimigos fresca ou conservada por vários processos que conhecem: é a *exoantropofagia*. Donde expedições guerreiras a fim de prover-se de carne humana.

É o que nos afirma Wallace (o. c. 639) dos Kubewana: — «Em Uaupés somente os Cubeus é que são verdadeiramente canibais. Êles comem os das outras tribos, aos quais matam em batalha. Para obter carne humana ainda fresca, fazem mesmo guerra com êsse fito proposito. Quando a carne ultrapassa o que podem comer de uma vez secam-na e enfumaçam-na ao fogo e assim pode ela ficar guardada por muito tempo. Êles queimam as cabeças dos mortos e bebem-lhe as cinzas com caxiri da mesma maneira que já foi escrito acima».

Quanto aos Kubewana ou outras tribos do Uaupés, parece-nos boa essa informação obtida por Wallace. Talvez em Wallace se baseie por sua vez Bento de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, Diretor do «Arquivo do Amazonas» (1907, vol. 1, n.º 3, p. 80), no seu artigo por título «As explorações e os exploradores do Uaupés» onde afirma também: — «Quando na guerra fazem um prisioneiro, se é homem, massacram, se é mulher ou rapaz vendem, quando encontram comprador senão matam e comem, repartindo os pedaços por todos os da tribo».

São ainda recordados os recontros e represálias que se passaram há dois vinte anos entre os seringueiros colombianos e indígenas das margens do Cananari, afluente do Pirá-paraná (informação do colombiano Napoleão Estrada, em novembro de 1953, e de outros). Ainda em 1954 ouvimos falar de quatro colombianos trucidados, «moqueados» e comidos pelos índios *Pamõd-mazsã* (Tatú-piranga) dessa região, e de como lhes apetecem particularmente as pernas e os pés das vítimas. Aceitando, embora, a exatidão da notícia, parece que se trata de especial irritação e vingança, e não de antropofagia como um hábito tradicional, e muito menos de iniciativas coletivas com a finalidade de obter carne humana.

Koch Grunberg em várias passagens da sua obra *Zwei Jahre* fala do canibalismo dos *Hyanakoto*. Está, porém, apenas relatando informações de indígenas, e os Hyanakoto são Karaíba e residem fora da área que estudamos aqui. Temos também ouvido indígenas de várias tribos falar de *índios antropófagos* (94). Um velho Tukano

(94) O tuxaua Kumõdene de Urubucuara, Mandú, sabendo que havíamos feito longa excursão pelas cabeceiras do rio Tiquié, apresentou duas questões bem interessantes: se havíamos encontrado os índios antro-

de Pari-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, informou-nos que há três tribos canibais, ou *Bauri-marsã*-se, a saber: 1º — os *Yat-peri marsã*, 2º — os *Pitt-parod*, 3º — os *Yourieã*, e que moram «lá para cima», isto é, nas cabeceiras do rio Tiquié.

Outros indígenas indicaram-nos os ferozes índios do rio Cauaburi, afluente da esquerda do médio Rio Negro, como sendo os famosos *Yat-peri marsã* ou Gente dente de onça. Êstes, porém, parecem ser apenas entes lendários (cfr. «Lendas do Uaupés»).

Dos índios *Pitao* da Colômbia, lemos que vendiam nos seus mercados carne humana dos seus escravos de guerra. Refere-se dos *Panches*, também do território Colombiano, que vendiam seus próprios filhos para serem comidos. Dessas tribos antropófagas narra-se que engordavam as vítimas destinadas a servir de alimento. Comiam-nas cozidas com milho em grandes panelas, ou mais comumente assando-os vivos num espêto que os atravessava pelo ânus.

*Canibalismo ritual*

Nas tribos que praticam a antropofagia é mais frequente encontrar o canibalismo mágico ou participativo.

Deriva da crença que, pela manducação das carnes de um indivíduo, se dá a mais íntima união possível com êle, e, portanto, a participação de suas boas qualidades: coragem, vigor, destreza, e até mesmo de suas qualidades psíquicas ou de seu poder mágico. Daqui os repastos sagrados, em que eram comidos (não raras vêzes em antecedência de festas, homenagens e solene imolação) as personagens tidas como superiores: o chefe, o pajé, os guerreiros valentes, etc. Mais comumente são personagens da própria tribo, é a endo-antropofagia.

Do tal conceito mágico se impregnou, entre alguns primitivos, o culto dos mortos. A fim de se revestir das qualidades desejadas que possuiam os próprios antepassados, surgiu o costume de ingerir-lhes as cinzas com especiais bebidas, por ocasião de particulares comemorações funebres.

Afirma Wallace (o. c. 638) que «Os Tarianos e Tucanos, bem como algumas outras tribos, cêrca de um mês após o funeral, desenterram o cadáver, que já está em adiantadíssimo estado de decomposição, e põem-no em uma grande panela ou forno sôbre o fogo, até que lhe extingam as partes moles, e o que se faz com o fétido

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pofagos e se viramos os índios de cauda. Respondemos negativamente a ambas questões e aproveitamos para indagar dêle se acaso também já os vira, quem eram e onde residiam. Respondeu-nos também que não sabia, tão só ouvira falar dessas cousas.

[illegible] inteiro, ficando por fim apenas os ossos carbonizados, que são [illegible] cuidadosamente triturados e reduzidos a pó. Este pó, em seguida, é [illegible] em vários cochos (cubas ou tinas feitas de madeira) enor[illegible] de caxiri. O grupo presente, então, bebe o caxiri até [illegible] a última gota. Eles crêem assim procedendo que as virtudes do morto se transmitem a todos os que ingeriram esta be-

É costume que se encontra entre outras tribos da América, e [illegible] do Amazonas, conforme as informações dos antigos explo[illegible] por exemplo entre os *Warekena* dos rios Içana e Xié os *Ko*[illegible] do rio Japura, etc. (cfr. «Roteiro» do Pe. Noronha, 222). E. [illegible] me foi informado em Urubucuara, rio Uaupés, até co[illegible] vigorou até fins do século passado entre os *Taryana*, até pri[illegible] dêste entre os *Kubeuana*, conforme depõe Koch G. e no-lo [illegible] ram, outrossim, os Wanana de Carurú-cachoeira, em 1955, e e[illegible] xe atual das tribos do rio Cauaburi entre as quais os Pes. Miguel [illegible] e Antonio Goes presenciaram tais fatos.

O mesmo costume existiu também entre os Wanana asseverou-[illegible] Tomás Silva, filho do tuxawa de Carurú-cachoeira, e outros jo[illegible] Wanana, porém há já duas gerações caiu em desuso.

Entre o *Kubeuana* Koch G. (Z. I 310) presenciou um dêsses [illegible] maloca de Namacomba (?). O Tuxáua desenterra a cinza [illegible] predecessor, falecido 15 anos antes, e queima-a diante da ma[illegible] Os ossos carbonizados são, ao depois, limpos e postos num pi[illegible] fogo, dia e noite, por um mês, até que se reduzem a cinzas. [illegible] por ocasião de um solene caxiri, que se realiza com grande [illegible] de pessoas, são pisados, peneirados e misturados a uma be[illegible] preparada em grande abundância com milho. O Tuxáua, com um bastão, procura espalhar bem as cinzas na bebida e depois, com uma grande cuia, a distribui aos homens postados de pé ao seu derredor. É uma bebida reservada aos velhos e aos pais e mães de família que, embora não sejam idosos, já tenham três filhos.

Completa Koch que, nessa *festa cambalesca*, houve danças de [illegible] nas quais pôde verificar o seguinte particular: os parti[illegible] cipantes traziam uma faixa de casca amarela como estola, ao pescoço, e no braço esquerdo um estandarte de casca, na mão direita um tubo-de-ritmo (VII — 3, c (3 c) de embaúba com pinturas representando peixes. Avançam e recuam e vão marcando com o pé direito um monótono canto com inúmeras repetições.

A origem desse singular costume, que se encontra também em outras tribos tropicais da América do Sul, ensina Koch, podemos procurar na crença que os ossos que ficam depois da morte são o

último lugar em que residem os espíritos. E com a ingestão das cinzas incorporam os indivíduos a si a substância e o espírito dos antepassados.

5) *Moralidade*

Ao tratarmos dêste assunto, impõe-se a necessidade de umas advertências prévias.

1º — Limitamos a amplitude do têrmo *moralidade* ao sentido comum e vulgar, como se fôra sinônimo de moderação da concupiscência carnal, ou ainda como sinônimo de costumes vigentes nas relações sexuais.

2º — Apresentamos, naturalmente, aquêles pontos em discrepância com as normas da moral cristã e que, por isso mesmo, mais impressionam.

3º — Muitos dos costumes que conseguimos recolher não vigoram, evidentemente naqueles grupos, ou entre aquêles indivíduos que estão sob a influência das Missões Católicas. Mas os próprios Missionários são os primeiros a confessar, as modificações dos costumes ancestrais que conseguem no campo da moralidade, são fruto de muitas exortações, vigilância e da freqüência dos sacramentos e práticas religiosas.

a) *Conceito de procriação e matrimônio*

O conceito de procriação pela participação dos dois sexos, e tanto entre os homens como entre os animais, é conhecido por todos, até pelas crianças.

Parece, por outra parte, que não é igualmente tão conhecido o espaço de nove meses, como período de gestação (95). Nem sabem como se dá a fecundação ou se anima e se desenvolve o feto.

Vigora a lei mais rigorosa de exogamia de tribo (VIII — 1, a (1). É considerado mal e impossível o matrimônio entre «irmãos» de tribo (96), e *a fortiori* entre os irmãos de sangue. Se se lhes indaga o motivo da proibição, respondem simplesmente: — «Porque é mal».

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(95) Uma moça Tukano de seus 20 anos, de S. Tomé, rio Tiquié, respondeu-nos que o período de gestação eram cinco meses.

(96) O Pe. Afonso Kuipers, de Teresita, rio Pauri, Colômbia, fêz dois casamentos entre *Piré-tapuias* que se tinham libertado, pela instrução religiosa, dêsses preconceitos, e se queriam como esposos. Deu-se, no entanto, grande reação dos índios que tentaram queimar a casa do Missionário. Mas, sob a proteção dêste, continuaram os dois casais a morar dentro de Teresita (1947), e com filhos sadios.

Alguns acrescentam: — «Porque não terá filhos», ou: — «Porque os filhos morrerão».

Dentro do matrimônio concebem como regulares as relações entre esposo e esposa, e como fim dessas relações, ou melhor, como fim do matrimônio, a *procriação de filhos* para a tribo.

Não reconhecem, porém, o direito exclusivo de um cônjuge sôbre o outro, quanto a essas relações. Não há, pois, falar sôbre a *fidelidade conjugal* (97) como não se fala de *virgindade* (98) da noiva. Legalmente nem pode existir a virgindade, como adiante se verá (VIII — I, b (7)). A Catequese, ao referir-se à Virgem SS. Mãe de Deus, emprega em Tukano, a expressão latina «Maria Virgo».

Supunhamos de início (e assim o manifestamos), que os fatos, por nós qualificados de *infidelidades conjugais*, não eram punidos porque o marido receiaria a vingança do rival ou que a mulher o abandonasse. Temos que reformar esta opinião, ante numerosas e categóricas afirmações de indígenas de oito tribos diversas (Tukano, Taryana, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka, Tuyuka, Bará, Desána e Wanána), al-

(97) Um dos Missionários, com 30 anos de permanência entre os índios, em conversa com o autor dêste trabalho, mostrava-se impressionado por episódios de indivíduo que chegava a abusar da mulher de outrem, sem que isto causasse repulsa ao marido, nem estranheza aos demais.

(98) Na combinação de um vocabulário, havíamos notado vários fatos significativos. Muitos indígenas consultados por nós dentre os mais instruídos ex-alunos das Missões, não achavam um correspondente ao têrmo português *fornicação*, isto é, que exprimisse as relações sexuais ilegítimas. Indicavam os mesmos têrmos que para as relações legítimas entre os esposos, afirmando positivamente que não existiam têrmos diferentes para essas diversas relações. Igualmente desconheciam uma palavra correspondente à portuguêsa *adultério*, afirmando, outro sim, que não existe na língua Tukano. O Veterano Missionário Pe. Pedro Kloe, por necessidade de seu ministério, criou dois têrmos descritivos do fato, a saber, *Wodkise manapo-tipo-ne* e *Wodkisé nõmõ-tipõ-ne*, para exprimir respectivamente adultério por parte do homem ou da mulher. De acôrdo com consultas feitas a nove pessoas dos dois sexos, em diversos lugares, resulta que êsses têrmos combinados constituiam uma redundância inexpressiva. *Wodkise* ou *Wodkahise* significa simplesmente relação dos sexos, sem a qualificação da nossa moral cristã de legítima ou ilegítima. O acrescentar à palavra *Wodkise* o têrmo especificativo "com a que tem marido", *manapo-tipo-ne*", ou "com o que tem mulher, *nõmõ-tipõ-ne*" não lhe traz a noção de ilegitimidade que os indígenas nem concebem. Como também não existe na língua Tukano (e outrossim nos demais idiomas indígenas) um têrmo correspondente ao conceito de *virgindade*. Já em nossa primeira estada entre aquelas tribos, em 1947, a Irmã Superiora de uma das escolas femininas da Missão contava-nos como, ao ouvir tanto falar sôbre a Virgindade, com dificuldade de aprender êste conceito, algumas alunas vinham pedir-lhe mais esclarecimentos.

guns dos quais, bem informados sôbre outras tribos, com as quais convivem na mesma maloca ou povoado, nos afiançaram que o mesmo se passa com tôdas as tribos dessa região.

Depois que os indivíduos de ambos sexos passaram pela iniciação pubertária, — sejam êles casados ou solteiros —, lícitas lhes são as relações sexuais com grande número de pessoas da tribo e, sob certas condições, também com os de outras tribos, e com os próprios civilizados.

Concebem êles as relações sexuais entre os dois sexos (99) como um prazer normal para os indivíduos que atingiram a *maioridade* legal pelo rito pubertário, e, por isso, praticam-se tais relações publicamente, diante dos próprios pais ou do próprio cônjuge (100), como diante de qualquer pessoa realizam as várias ações fisiológicas de comer, beber, ou outra qualquer (101).

Só há uma e severa interdição de relações sexuais (e a mesma para as diferentes tribos das quais falamos nestes estudos), as que se passam entre irmãos de sangue, ou irmãos no sentido estrito, pelo e, entre filhos dos mesmos pais. Estas, bem como as relações entre pais e filhos, revestem-se de um caráter religioso, por essa razão são lícitas, ou mesmo aconselhadas e impostas em dadas circunstâncias (rito pubertário, eclipse, lua nova, caxiris e na roça) e fora disso se veladamente.

A mulher pode, legalmente, tomar a iniciativa para essas relações, o que sucede freqüentemente entre solteiros. Na prática, especialmente entre casados, pelo sentimento de inferioridade que a cultura à mulher dispensa quase sempre o convite dos homens. Jamais, porém, pode peremptòriamente recusar-se mesmo diante da proximação do seu estado físico e da multiplicidade dos pretendentes.

Cumpre ainda mencionar que também vigora entre os Uaupesinos o *Pirauíra* australiano. A saber, quando o marido deve ausen-

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(99) O homossexualismo masculino ou feminino, parece, sempre foi tido como algo reprovável e, por essa razão, praticado sempre veladamente. Oficialmente, ao que consta, só existe no rito pubertário dos meninos.

(100) É compreensível que as relações embora legalmente lícitas, nem sempre sejam prudentes, e, por isso, não se realizem publicamente. É o caso do indivíduo que tendo brigado com o espôso, diante dêste não lhe toca a espôsa. Assim resulta de positivas informações obtidas.

(101) Por um sentimento misto de desconfiança e hostilidade para com os civilizados, ou mesmo por saberem direta ou indiretamente que sua moral condenam essas liberdades, não praticam diante dêles relações sexuais lícitas ou ilícitas. Talvez, sim, diante de alguns mais conhecidos, e com os quais quiçá tenham tido relações. *Cfr.* o que se dirá sôbre a iniciação feminina.

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tar-se, convida um seu irmão de sangue (é o primeiro indicado, a não ser que com êle o marido esteja brigado, assim resulta das informações), ou de tribo, para substituí-lo nas relações conjugais habituais (102).

Todos os informantes foram concordes em declarar que êsse substituto poderia procriar filhos com a mulher do ausente (103). Quanto à paternidade, no entanto, não foi concorde a resposta. Dois asseveraram que a criança será tida como filha do verdadeiro pai; enquanto os demais declararam que se considerava filha do marido ausente. Alguns até acrescentaram que se êste é «bom» (sic) agradece o serviço que lhe prestou o substituto, satisfazendo à sua mulher e dando-lhe um filho. Releve-se bem que ao substituto não advém nenhuma obrigação financeira, de manutenção da família do esposo ausente.

Parece-nos poder concluir que essa parcial discrepância das informações se explica sabendo-se: 1.º — que outrora não deveriam ser muito prolongadas as ausências, de sorte a criar o problema cuja solução pediramos; 2.º — que é frequente o uso de esterilizantes e abortivos, e que a mulher procura regularmente espaçar de dois ou mais anos o intervalo entre os seus partos.

Das informações supra pensamos se deva inferir que o *matrimônio oficial* visa apenas a *determinação da paternidade* e, portanto, a determinação da tribo a que pertence a criança, e de quem pessoa (pai e mãe) à sua criação.

O matrimônio é, pois, no regime que vigora entre aquelas tribos, uma *instituição social* destinada a assegurar a perpetuidade da tribo. Não visa atender a interêsses particulares dos indivíduos: tendências de perenizar-se, inclinações afetivas, *sedatio concupiscentiae* ou outros. Por isso, na realização do *ato matrimonial*, mais exato seria dizer do *contrato matrimonial*, não se consulta a vontade dos indivíduos, a qual, no restante da vida indígena, tem campo tão

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(102) Dois informantes declararam que cabia à espôsa convidar êsse cunhado. Parece que essas informações se baseiam em fatos quiçá explicados por esquecimento ou precipitação de partida do marido ausente. A êste cabe o aviso oficial ao seu substituto.

(103) Em setembro de 1956, o Missionário Salesiano, Pe. João Marchesi, em uma viagem de assistência religiosa e sanitária ao rio Papuri, encontrou, entre os indígenas cristãos da localidade denominada Melo Franco, um episódio que confirma as informações acima que obtivéramos dois anos antes. A saber, um índio Tukano, casado, ausentara-se por dois anos, a fim de trabalhar nos seringais da Colômbia. Durante a ausência dêste, seu irmão mantivera relações sexuais com a espôsa do ausente, vindo a nascer um filho dessas relações adulterinas.

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amplo. No assunto matrimonial tem-se mais uma grande prova da «absorpção dos individuos pelo grupo», que caracteriza as tribos do Uaupés. Quase a cada ato da praxe indígena tem-se uma comprovação que entre êles não há *individuos*, só há *membros*, não há *pessoas*, só há *celulas do corpo social*. A própria vontade do individuo parece não saber querer senão o que o grupo quer!

b) *Conceito de pudor*

É difícil responder a estas três questões: 1.º — se o índio tem realmente noção de pudor, 2.º — como o manifesta, se por vestes ou pinturas, 3.º qual seja a parte pundonorosa.

Diante do civilizado é admirável a atitude de respeito e recato que mostram, sobretudo as mulheres. Atitude tanto mais perfeita quanto mais frequente seu contacto com os civilizados.

Enquanto os homens se apresentam com a máxima naturalidade e sem acanhamento algum, apenas com o seu «*Warsó-ro* ou cobre-sexo, diante dos brancos, sejam êstes homens ou mulheres, as índias, hoje em dia, só se apresentam vestidas, ou ao menos com uma saia, raríssimamente um saiote ou tanga. Porém, entre si não observam tal recato. O civilizado tem muitas provas de que a mulher se vestiu para recebê-lo (104), já o relevava Wallace, há um século. Muitas vezes, ao aproximar-se inopinadamente, percebe o civilizado correria de mulheres para algum canto escuro da maloca ou para a mata vizinha, a fim de se vestirem. Nos trabalhos da roça, de ordinário as mulheres estão nuas. É frequente deixarem suas saias na canoa, no pôrto de algum ribeirão onde desembarcaram em demanda da roça.

Muitas tribos andavam completamente nuas, depõem os primeiros exploradores, como o Padre Acuña (1637). O Vigário Geral, Dr. José M. de Noronha (1759) falando da nação Tecuna escreve: — «As suas mulheres não tem compostura alguma. Os varões todavia cobrem as partes destinadas à geração com franjas largas, feitas de [illegible] de certa estopa branca que tiram de cortiças de pao» («Roteiro», n. 139). O Poeta Gonçalves Dias, que foi Inspetor Escolar no Amazonas, escreve: — «Os homens que entre êles parecem ser os mais pudicos, usão no Uaupés, de uns como suspensórios a que dão o nome de *cucios*, semelhança ou arremedo das *tocambobas*

(104) Pensando não ser observada, em Montfort, rio Papuri, uma velha, ao voltar da roça vestida de saia e carregada com seu aturá cheio de mandiocas, tirou a saia, saltou da canoa, lavou as raizes na praia, depois, com a saia na mão prosseguiu para sua casa, arcada sob o pêso do aturá.

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dos primitivos Tupis. A imitação delles, também as mulheres usam "saias de uns cuelos de contas (puericuelos)". (Manaus 23 de out. de 1881 — Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas, vol. II p. 700). Com a saia na mão prosseguiu para sua casa, arcada sob o peso da atura.

Já dissemos (VI-3) o *Waxsó-ro* não parece ser para os homens uma «veste de cerimônia». Com efeito, encontram-se meninos grandes sem o *Waxsó-ro*, apenas com o cordel como cinta. Os homens com facilidade o tiram em presença de outras pessoas. Alguns o tem tão pequeno e imperfeito que mal cobrem, nem se percebe a preocupação de ajustá-lo bem. Por isso concluimos que é apenas uma veste de defesa na mata (105).

Quanto ao *Waxsó-ro* feminino, opinamos seja «veste de adôrno» ou «de atração». 1.º não só porque são artísticos, os de tucum, como especialmente os de missanga; 2.º quanto pelo fato de serem tão pequenos que não cobrem suficientemente; 3.º e de serem usados exclusivamente durante as festas, juntamente com as pinturas (106).

Das pinturas sabemos que as consideram apenas como adôrno, adôrno.

Quanto às partes pundonorosas, não parece que sejam os seios. Com efeito, sem acanhamento algum apresentam-se com o busto descoberto. Nas danças adornam os seios com circunferências vermelhas que permanecem ainda por muitos dias. Nem há também grande recato com as pernas, pois quando se sentam, ou se põem de cócoras, puxam a saia para o vão das pernas, deixando porém descobertas pernas e coxas.

Parece que mais se impressionam com o busto das pessoas, donde maior esmêro por parte dos indígenas, mesmo dos que já estão

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(105) Em maio de 1954 expusemos a um índio Karapanã, por nome Vicente, residente havia vários anos em Uaracapá (rio Pupuri), nosso desejo de visitar a região dos Karapanãs, das cabeceiras do Aua. Espontâneamente, como a prevenir-nos o espírito, êle nos informa que por lá ainda não usavam veste alguma. Depois dessa excursão, conversando com uma senhora Tukanó, já cristã e que desde 1920 vive com as Irmãs Missionárias, à questão por que os homens usavam o Waxsó-ro e as mulheres, nada, ouvimo-la responder que as mulheres "não precisavam de uma proteção" física como os homens.

(106) Fomos informados pelos próprios indígenas que, enquanto os homens nas festas, além do pequeno *Waxsó-ro* se adatam o grande, próprio das danças, as mulheres, hoje em dia, raramente usam *Waxsó-ro*, nem sequer como enfeite da dança. Algumas pessoas declararam-nos que nunca haviam visto um *Waxsó-ro* feminino de avelórios, o *Yarkê Waxsó-ro*, e que as mulheres andavam sempre desprovidas de veste.

em relação com os civilizados, em tê-lo descoberto e pintado para as danças (107) talvez enquanto o resto do corpo está coberto com calça ou saia. Alguns indígenas afirmaram-nos positivamente a atração que os homens sentem pelo busto das mulheres.

c) *Incontinência extramatrimonial*

É conhecida a liberdade com que o índio trata de certos assuntos, com um realismo por vêzes grosseiro. E isto não apenas entre si, senão também com o civilizado. É sabida igualmente a imoralidade das conversas entre si nas viagens, como no interior das suas malocas, nas horas de descanso, intercaladas de frequentes e devastas gargalhadas. Há no seu vocabulário não só palavras ambíguas, como todo o conjunto de palavras e frases de calão imoral.

Sobram, outrossim, provas de incontinência prematrimonial e extramatrimonial. *Wodkise, toodkahise, yõdsé* ou *nõdsé* (108).

d) *Liberdades prematrimoniais*

Nota-se alguma vigilância dos pais, particularmente das mães (ao menos diante dos civilizados), sôbre as filhas que atingiram certa idade. Não basta, porém, máxime se atentarmos às circunstâncias de sua vida, seus trabalhos e costumes. É é manifesto um maior impuso sexual nas meninas que alcançaram certo desenvolvimento fisiológico, levando-as, não raro, à provocação (109) e convite aos rapazes.

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(107) Sem perceber que estava sendo observada (assim nos parece), pudemos notar uma jovem Baré, logo após o rito de sua iniciação puberdade, absorvida em pintar os próprios seios, com o pó vermelho de urucú que tinha embrulhado em uma folha. Uma menina de seus 5 ou 6 anos procurou logo imitá-la, com desenhos semelhantes.

(108) Já o revelava o Cônego André Fernandes de Souza, Vigário de S. Gabriel, em 1793 — "Pelo que respeita aos dois vícios da incontinência e da gula, vícios tão genuínos à gente índia, que parece terem-lhe já sufocado e extinta tôda a liberdade" (o. c. p. 499). O mesmo depunha Frei Gregório de Bene, Missionário Apostólico do Uaupés de 1850 a 1852, explicando o motivo por que, especialmente em alguns lugares, devia diferir a administração dos sacramentos.

(109) As moças, durante o banho, movimentam a água com a mão aconcavada de baixo para cima, com rumor característico. A êste sinal responden os rapazes abanando diante do peito as mãos abertas, uma mais alta que a outra, de sorte que se cruzam sem se encontrarem, e como estão quase à flor dágua, produzem um rumor que é ouvido a distância de duzentos metros ou mais. Diz-se *Pixtwase* êsse rumor provocador.

4: Silva .SQ19 Tucano



Embora os velhos costumes estatuam que o banho das mulheres preceda o dos homens, e seja antes de clarear o dia, algumas vêzes se surpreendem os índios, nas horas quentes do dia, em banhos mistos.

As môças preparam filtros ou poções, conhecidas pelo nome Nheengatu de *Paçanga* (em Tukano *Or-kó*), que dão a beber aos rapazes para atraí-los a si, ou, ante os olhos dêles, trazem ou esfregam em si raízes e plantas às quais é atribuída uma virtude afrodisíaca.

Não são raros os casos de gravidez ilegítima de donzelas, embora conheçam (110) e empreguem meios anticoncepcionais e abortivos. A própria mãe (ou sogra quando se trata de recém-casada) ensinará êsses meios.

O filho ilegítimo se diz *Ko-borkáko* (literalmente significa "achado por ela ou dela"; no feminino *Ko-borkáko*), e não vem a constituir um obstáculo para o casamento da mãe solteira (111), nem cria problema para a mãe casada (112).

É considerado vergonhoso ter filhos logo no primeiro ano de casado, informou-nos o Pe. Humberto Limpens, de Acuaricuara, rio Paca. Querem filhos apenas dois ou três anos depois do matrimônio, e êste é também o intervalo entre os filhos. Uma demonstração de isso é artificial o dá a boa mãe cristã, ex-aluna da Missão, com filhos sucessivos e logo desde o primeiro ano. Compreende-se a dificuldade da mãe indígena que, além do cuidado e amamentação do filho, arca com o trabalho da casa e da roça, se não tiver o auxílio das filhas maiores.

Pelo conceito elevado que têm do *Branco*, não excluindo a influência das suas crenças mágicas, e pelos presentes que lhes pode

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(110) Havíamos recolhido para o "centro de Pesquisas" de Iauaretê, algumas plantas havidas como esterilizantes e abortivas. Ao organizar o herbário, caíram algumas etiquetas identificadoras. Recorremos a três donzelas, e, com tôda a facilidade, ao verem as plantas, indicaram o nome e a finalidade, precisamente como constava nas etiquetas.

(111) Em Pari-cachoeira pudemos ver, em abril de 1954, uma jovem Tukano (só depois casada com um Desana de Iraití, rio Tiquié) carregando um filho ilegítimo, das suas relações com um rapaz Tuyuka, o qual, na Páscoa dêsse ano, casou-se com uma jovem Tukano de Pari-cachoeira.

(112) Com tôda a naturalidade, Maria Game, uma jovem *Ipeka* de Urubucuara, falando conosco sôbre a sua família, informou-nos ter um irmão menor *ko-borkáko*.

dar, as mulheres facilmente cedem aos desejos dos civilizados, e até orgulham-se de ter filhos com êles (113). Infelizmente entre os civilizados que alcançam aquelas regiões há aventureiros sem nenhum conceito moral, sem família constituída (114) ou com família regular da qual se acham afastados por longa temporada.

No rito de iniciação pubertária, a donzela não só tem uma instrução teórica das obrigações matrimoniais, mas também uma prática imediata com o pajé ou Kõmũ, e com outro rapaz de sua escolha ou da escolha do próprio pai (conforme a tribo).

Tôdas essas relações prematrimoniais (115) passam-se pública e oficialmente dentro da maloca ou casa, assim como as matrimoniais. Dão-se comumente entre elementos da mesma tribo, e, em alguns casos, também entre tribos diversas.

As donzelas e mulheres *Makú*, enquanto estão trabalhando para os residentes da maloca, acham-se na situação legal de concubinas de todos êles. É uma forma de serviço que devem prestar, sem que possam recusar, nem por êle receberão paga alguma.

Quando excepcionalmente, para a *amõsé* da donzela serviu um índio de outra tribo (sabemos de vários casos em Urubucuara, Pinúpinũ, Pari-cachoeira), ou algum civilizado (estamos igualmente informado de casos com indivíduos colombianos e brasileiros), também com êstes são lícitas indefinidamente as relações, e não apenas por parte da donzela. «Êle ficou da família», foi a expressão que ouvimos.

A afinidade que o matrimônio legal acarreta com a tribo da esposa torna, outrossim, legais as relações sexuais com os «parentes

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(113) Em Urubucuara e Carurú-cachoeira, rio Uaupés, duas mulheres declararam-nos, em conversa, com certo orgulho, que não eram filhas de índio, porém de civilizados. Observamos aqui que, para o efeito de classificação social e de futuro matrimônio, eram consideradas da tribo a que pertencia sua mãe. Por exemplo, Antônia de Carurú-cachoeira, falecida em 1956, filha de paraense e tida como *Taryana*, casada mais tarde com Wanana.

(114) Não raro suas ligações com mulheres índias são de certa duração, a saber, todo o tempo que ficarão entre os índios, talvez a serviço público, ou são relações casuais.

(115) Desde 1947 sabíamos dêsse caráter oficial e público das relações das donzelas com o pajé, o Komũ, o rapaz do seu *amõsé* (VIII-1, b (7 b) e o seu noivo, *Mã-ra-pö nÿãkhõ*. E assim o informamos desde aquela época. Hoje sabemos que essas licenças legais tem uma extensão muito maior.

4: Silva SQ19 Tucano



da mulher); parentes no sentido amplo da expressão indígena, isto abrangendo todos os do seu povoado ou «*Gens*».

Às vêzes, participando dos caxiris e dabacuris há indivíduos de tribos diversas, e entre êles se passam, então, regularmente as mesmas liberdades sexuais (116).

No regime moderno de casas familiares (e o problema evidentemente só se pode pôr para êste regime) são raros os casos de uma aberta e duradoura vida conjugal fora do matrimônio oficial (117).

Mais raro ainda (é verdade que usam de tantas liberdades sexuais e são grupos tão pequenos que não poderiam ser numerosos tais casos) os concubinatos incestuosos entre pais e filhos (118). Nestes casos sempre evitam filhos, não só com auxílio das *puçangas* senão também por processos físicos e mecânicos (119).

2) *Liberdades extramatrimoniais*

Pensamos a princípio, e assim também os Missionários, que eram apenas eclipses na vida sexual reta e normal dos indígenas, a devassidão dos periódicos caxiris.

Já foi notado que nos mais solenes, os Dabacuris, as pinturas do corpo são executadas por pessoas do outro sexo.

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(116) Koch Grünberg em várias circunstâncias ressalta as liberdades sexuais das môças até com indivíduos de outra tribo (*Z. I.* 189). Um Tuyuka declara-lhe sem rebuços a finalidade dos pares que saem da maloca: é a satisfação dos seus apetites (*Z. I.* 372). Uma jovem Tukano adiantou que nos Dabacuris, quando uma môça é convidada ao mesmo tempo por homens de diversas tribos, atenderá antes aos de outra tribo. Talvez seja uma forma de cortesia para com os visitantes.

(117) Embora se conheçam também exceções, em que intervém o Missionário para acelerar o matrimônio. Em Acuariçuára, 1946, rio Pàca, uma môça da tribo Suryana órfã de pai, passou a morar com um rapaz da sua tribo, em casa dêste que vivia em companhia de sua mãe viúva. Diante de tal fato bem conhecido, o Missionário observou-lhe que deveriam realizar o matrimônio religioso. O môço mostrou-se disposto e pede ao Padre que fale com sua mãe. Esta, porém, não só não consentiu por serem os môços da mesma tribo, mas expulsou imediatamente a môça da sua casa. (Fato referido pelo Missionário Montfortiano, Pe. Humberto Limpens).

(118) Um caso público em Teresita (rio Papuri), entre um indivíduo Desana, que não encontrava mulher, e sua própria mãe.

(119) Soubemos de um homem em Urubucuara, rio Uaupés, que teve dois filhos das relações com a própria filha: um foi abortado de alguns meses, e o outro pouco sobreviveu ao nascimento.

Em qualquer caxiri, quando exaltados pelas bebidas, sobrevém as liberdades. Fora do caxiri, depunha o Pe. Afonso Kuipers, de Teresita, «têm consciência (120) que é mal *ya'd*, e são, por outra parte, muito cheios de vergonha (?), por êsse motivo procuram esconder suas misérias e se embriagam a fim de agir com mais liberdade».

Não se pejam, porém, (confirmava outro veterano e igualmente benemérito Missionário Montfortiano, Pe Humberto Limpens, de Auaricuara, o qual passou quase 40 anos entre aquelas tribos), dos fatos imorais ocorridos nessas circunstâncias. Algumas vêzes até se gabam como sendo conquistas.

Qual conclusão dos depoimentos e inquéritos feitos, em várias circunstâncias e em lugares diferentes aos indivíduos mais fidedignos dentre êles, podemos afirmar que julgam *lícitas, boas* e *aconselháveis* as relações sexuais durante os caxiris, também aquelas que qualificamos de *incestuosas* (121). Revestem-se mesmo, conforme pensam e o depuseram, de um caráter religioso. Com efeito alguns informantes responderam que essas licenças sexuais se davam «para felicidade da tribo», «para que a roça desse melhor».

Confirmando essa opinião está, primeiramente, o fato que, as relações durante o caxiri se devem realizar por terra, fora da maloca (122), e que, em algumas tribos, a mulher deve antes beijar a terra, ao passo que as relações ordinárias se dão dentro da maloca e na rede.

Outra confirmação, parece-nos, dêsse caráter sagrado, é a opinião que têm como boas e aconselhadas as relações, mesmo incestuosas, quando as mulheres vão à roça. Relações até obrigatórias quando se trata de roça nova, à qual a mulher vai pela primeira vez.

Enfim, o caráter religioso das *relações incestuosas públicas*, documenta-se ainda pela circunstância de sua indicação na ocasião da lua nova e dos eclipses lunares.

Pode-se, pois, concluir que as liberdades sexuais, incestuosas ou não, nessas circunstâncias, têm o caráter de um rito em conexão com

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(120) Êste conceito do Missionário só se pode aplicar, evidentemente, aos índios cristãos, instruídos na moral cristã; mas de nenhum modo aos demais.

(121) Na lenda dos instrumentos misteriosos narra-se o incesto do pai com as próprias filhas. E o mesmo se encontra em outras lendas. Não ouvimos em lendas casos de concubinato entre "irmãos de sangue" ou irmãos germanos. Parece que êsse, sim, lhes cause horror.

(122) Quando já se acham mais embriagados e excitados, violam também êsse costume, dando-se relações mesmo dentro da maloca. Assim referiram alguns dos indígenas.

a fecundidade da terra e da natureza em geral. Temos assim, entre as tribos do Uaupés, a noção e prática da *infichiume* que vigora também entre outros grupos humanos, isto é, as liberdades sexuais são cerimônias mágicas para garantir a reprodução da natureza animal ou vegetal. Aliás são práticas muito comuns, denunciadoras de crenças e cultos lunares, de origem matriarcalista.

E constituem, por sua vez, uma prova do caráter religioso das suas festas.

d) *Educação sexual*

É notável a precocidade das crianças, especialmente do sexo feminino, quanto a êsse assunto. Causa-nos admiração ver como são submetidos ao rito da iniciação pubertária indivíduos que, pelo exterior, parecem ainda crianças (Vd. foto).

Maior admiração ainda, o quanto mostram saber. Crianças bem tenras ainda, conhecem perfeitamente todo o mistério da vida, como qualquer adulto.

As meninas entram com sete ou oito anos para os colégios da missão e, nessa idade revelam não raro pleno conhecimento dêste assunto. Algumas vêzes o pensamento que já as absorve e preocupa é o do matrimônio, revelou-nos uma Irmã Superiora Missionária. Dêle falam amiúde, e talvez já saibam até com quem se vão casar, conforme os costumes da tribo e a vontade dos pais.

A escola dessa disciplina — é a maloca com o seu regime de vida, onde não há separações entre as famílias, onde tôdas as liconsiosidades se dão aos olhos de todos e por isso é de todos conhecida a vida íntima de cada um. Consoante informações obtidas, a própria mãe dará esclarecimentos às filhas e lhes ensinará os recursos esterilizantes e abortivos.

Por exemplo, na intimidade das malocas ou barracas, durante as horas quentes do dia, desprovidos de qualquer veste, o marido se divertirá, não raramente, defumando o corpo de sua esposa com a fumaça do seu cigarro. Dizemos se divertirá, porque o fazem entre sonoras gargalhadas, como pudemos ouvir, sem excluir que admitam neste rito alguma virtude mágica.

O nudismo, especialmente aliado à sujeira, apresenta algo de repugnante. Ademais, é bem verdade o axioma psicológico «*ab assuétis non fit passio*». E assim parece algo atenuada a influência do nudismo.

Talvez, porém, venha agravar êste estado de cousas, renovando sempre a ação degeneradora do nudismo, sua alternância com períodos em que se acham vestidos. Desta sorte as próprias roupas se transformam em excitação, máxime algumas mal ajustadas ao corpo.

Não se estranhará, pois, que nesse terreno medrem, outrossim, costumes antinaturais, como a masturbação (*swesé, pa-daresé, daraçáse*), a bestialidade (*dyayo-mêra wórátise* (123)), a sodomia (*nd-sirotise*), o homossexualismo masculino (*ó'mã-se'sarõ*) (124) e feminino (*nũ'mpo se'sarõ*), e a pederastia. E parece que semelhantes fatos se verificam mesmo onde é possível a satisfação instintiva natural.

5. *Conclusão*

Em conclusão, verifica-se entre essas tribos grave degeneração dos costumes, em confronto com os chamados «primitivos» humanos.

Presentemente grupos mais ou menos numerosos e frequentes de índios, homens e mulheres, são levados, especialmente os solteiros, para a extração da cuquirana, balata, chicles, seringa, castanha, piaçaba, tanto em território brasileiro como para o colombiano, ou como marinheiros das lanchas. Vão vendo, ouvindo e praticando vícios e imoralidades (125).

Observa-se uma tendência a baixar para S. Gabriel (hoje cidade de Uaupés) e Tapurucuará. Para Manaus não tanto. Por enquanto a noitada os traz periodicamente aos lugares natais. Até quando durará este estado de cousas? São raríssimos os casos conhecidos de doenças venéreas, embora a elas já aludam as lendas. Essa raridade talvez se explique pela simples malárioterapia espontânea (cfr. VII - 2 e (4 1).

É certo que há séculos estão em contactos mais ou menos frequentes e duradouros com os civilizados. É difícil determinar se nos cabe alguma responsabilidade em tal estado de cousas, e até que ponto. O problema é grave.

Compreende-se também daqui, que não sempre podem ser de boa harmonia as relações entre os Missionários, que vivem entre os índios, procurando trazê-los ao seio da civilização e à prática da

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(123) *Dyayo-mêra wórátise* significa, propriamente, couto-com-cachorro, talvez por ser a única forma de bestialidade que praticam.

(124) Lembram-se alguns dêsses episódios nos piaçabais, em que grupos de rapazes passam meses, frequentemente em companhia dos civilizados, ocupados na extração da piaçaba, ou outros produtos, em lugares distantes dos seus povoados e aonde apenas uma vez por mês, quando muito, vem uma lancha trazendo mercadoria ("aviamento", dizem), pesca e sua alimentação, etc.

(125) A um índio cristão de Urubucuara, rio Uaupés, o Missionário chamava à ordem, porque apesar de casado vivia com outra mulher. E quando lhe recordou o mandamento de Deus, ouviu do índio essa expressão certamente aprendida de algum civilizado: — "Mandamento não dói".

verdade e moral cristãos (126) e algum civilizado que, por outros motivos, (talvez em contraposição aos dos Missionários), aparece ou reside por aquelas regiões. Qual a atitude verdadeiramente humana e patriótica? A que se decidirão os responsáveis?

6) *Festas e Desportos*

a) *Festas ou Caxiris*

1) *Caxiri*. Apresentamos o «poosé» ou *Wãz-tiye bursá* (em Língua Geral, *Dabacuri*) como um rito religioso. Não parece, porém, que tôdas as suas festas e danças sejam cerimônias religiosas. Antes, algumas são, evidentemente, simples divertimentos, e dizem-se pérú-siniri-nâmã (Uaupés, pêru-sini-nâmã) ou *caxiri* (em Língua Geral) (127). Com efeito, em alguns casos são quase improvisadas, bastando para a festa um motivo qualquer, ou mesmo um simples pedido de um visitante civilizado. Em tais danças não é obrigatória a participação, mas, enquanto alguns se entretêm divertindo, os outros continuam sentados nos banquinhos ou deitados nas redes, conversando e rindo, e, por vêzes, zombando dos que dançam, por alguma inexatidão dos movimentos.

Dêsses bailes, alguns são divertimentos estritamente familiares, dos quais só participam os da família (maloca ou casa), e não há convites a estranhos. Para outros são convidados também estranhos à família, sem, no entanto, a importância nem o número dos participantes do «*Poosé*».

Conforme a importância de tais divertimentos, será também a preparação, os enfeites, as pinturas e a quantidade das bebidas. Para (caxiri) vd. VI - 4, h). Esta nunca faltará; os enfeites podem faltar, ou serão usados os mais simples. Iniciada a festa, prossegue ininterrupta até que se acabe a bebida. Os que são vencidos pelo sono, cochilam um pouco, porém apenas despertos, continuam a dançar. É questão de orgulho e capricho mostrarem, as pessoas de ambos sexos, a maior resistência.

2) «*Bayá*». — Nas danças, tanto nos *Dabacuris*, como fora dêles, aparece uma personagem em destaque, denominada *Bayá*. Quase

(126) É grande a dificuldade com que defronta o Missionário para implantar a moral cristã. O Pe. Antônio Giacone lembra: "Essa crença (imortalidade da vida material, VII-2, e (1) os torna quase insensíveis e apáticos aos ensinamentos das verdades eternas. Dificilmente abandonam a corrupção em que vivem" ("Os Tucanos", p. 31).

(127) É também a opinião de Koch Grunberg (cfr. *Zwei Jahre*, pág. 372, cfr. N. (39) VII-4, e) 2 e 2°).

sempre terá um assistente oficial, com a denominação de *baya-re* ne-tandpô (auxiliar do Bayá).

O de *Bayá* é um cargo vitalício, no qual quase sempre lhe sucede o filho, porque vai aprendendo com o próprio pai, de quem, talvez já era o *assistente oficial*. A função de *Bayá* pode ser cumulada com de *tuxáua* ou *pajé*. É o caso de Júlio, de Pari-cachoeira (do Tiquié), de Vicente, Desana do Umari-igarapé, de Henrique Tayuka do ribeirão da onça (afl. do Tiquié), de Mandú, Makú das proximidades de Iauaretê, etc. Não há, porém, exemplos que tenha sido exercida pelo pajé.

Cabe ao *Bayá* dirigir os *cantos* e *danças*, nas festas, tanto religiosas, como profanas. Deve, então, sabê-los muito bem e zelar pela exatidão das danças ensinando-as à geração nova e corrigindo os defeitos. E témo-lo visto exercer com autoridade e garbo a sua função de mestre-sala em solenes *dabucuris*.

Quando não é êle o tuxáua, será, ordinariamente, um dos *ko-mú* (vd. VII - 2, e 3) e cabe-lhe o primeiro lugar imediatamente ao lado do tuxáua. Como êste terá os mais belos enfeites e, em certos números de dança na mão direita o «pu-pú» (vd. abaixo) danças *sa* parte, cujo significado não nos foi possível obter. Consta de uma pequena vara, tendo na ponta um cordel, de cuja extremidade pende um aro de cipó de seus 15 cm de diâmetro. Cordel e aro são ornados de delicadas e vistosas plumas de tucano. Com êste apa-rato «marca as danças», isto é, movimenta-o ritmadamente, mais ou menos como faz com a sua batúta o maestro que dirige uma orquestra.

3) *Variedade de danças* — Não se nota variedade nos passos de dança, são precisamente os mesmos para os mais solenes *Poosé*, como para os mais simples baxsari-nâmâ (literalmente quer dizer dia de dança).

Não há têrmos distintos equivalentes a *canto* e *dança*. A palavra *baxsasé* traduz as suas idéias, porque sempre cantam nas danças; e as palavras correspondem ao ritmo dos pés e à coreografia das evoluções executadas.

Distinguem variedades de *baxsasé*, conforme o instrumento musical que usam; cada uma terá a sua letra ou canção. São, nas danças religiosas, palavras ou sons articulados sem sentido algum, e repetem-se muitas vezes até que dura a evolução dos passos. O tuxáua-baya de Pari-cachoeira, Júlio Silgueira Machado, declarou-nos, e muitos outros com êle, que não entendem o que estão cantando.

Variam também as melodias que, de ordinário, são lentas, tristonhas, embora algumas sejam agradáveis e bem melodiosas. Por

[illegible] recem diversas denominações para as danças, algumas vêzes até nomes poéticos.

Em tribos diversas temos verificado a semelhança nas festas, os mesmos adornos e instrumentos. Cumpre relevar êste particular: as melodias das músicas instrumentais são quase idênticas, ao passo que a das danças-canções diferenciam-se um pouco mais. Nos passos das danças é que se não percebe diferença alguma de tribo para tribo. Isto, mesmo nos dois extremos da hierarquia indígena uaupesina, a saber: a nobre tribo dos *Tukano*, e a tribo escrava dos *Yaxu* dos arredores de Iauarete.

O tuxáua-baya Júlio deu-nos os seguintes nomes de danças, que se executam nos mais solenes *Poosé*:

1º com o *tubo-de-ritmo* ou *ahũnõ*:
*Ixki pũri bórosé barsá* — dança-canção «o cair das fôlhas do *Ixki pũri barsá* — «dança-canção» da folha do inajá», ou «inajá».

2º com o *maraca* ou *yarsá* (*ya'sá* ou *ñarsá*)
*yerkó barsá* — «dança-canção» da lenha»
*kari barsá* — «dança canção da massa do umari»
*kenó barsá* — «dança-canção do jatobá».

3º com um simples bastão-de-ritmo ou *yurkó*
*Poori barsá* — «dança-canção da oferta» (do dabacuri).
*Iuá barsá* — «dança-canção dos peixes»
*Wáx-ti barsá* — «Dança-canção dos Wáx-ti»

4º com a pequena flauta denominada *buá* (cotias)
*buá barsá* — «dança-canção das cotias».

Cantou-nos Júlio, o tuxáua-bayá de Pari-cachoeira (rio Tiquié) as várias canções, cujas palavras ou articulações damos a seguir, relevando uma vez ainda que todos os «versos» eram repetidos muitas vêzes (128).

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(128) Lamentamos não ter tido uma máquina gravadora de som, no momento em que êsse tuxáua, com a sua melhor disposição de espírito, nos fornecia estas informações. Mais tarde, de posse de tal aparelho nos dirigimos duas vêzes a Pari-cachoeira, onde aguardamos longamente a oportunidade de ouvi-lo e gravar-lhe as canções. Não foi, porém, possível, o velho Tuxáua estava nos últimos meses de vida, atormentado, parece por uma úlcera interna, vindo a falecer a 5 de julho de 1954. Pudemos, [illegible] presenciar e filmar o sonoro funeral de um Tuxáua muito estimado. Obtivemos, no entanto, outras preciosas gravações e entre estas, as várias canções dos Wanana, executadas pelo tuxáua Mandú, de Caruru-cachoeira (rio Uaupés) e dos pajés de várias tribos (cfr. a "*Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical*").

1 Dança-canção com o tubo-de-ritmo, ahú-wõ; 1.ª parte (129)

Ya, yá, kapikwa
Yaka peri kapikwá
Nuyaka peri
Dwika peri deyú deyú ayá
I royé
Má i-i, i-i-i (assobio final) (esclareceu que o assobio é para indicar que vai terminar)

2.ª parte

Ma-ri-a i-i-i (assobio)
De-yá ya-yó mari
Ikawé yo
Yoa mari ikawé yó
Yo mari ikawé dyakó
Dyaku i-i
Yo yó yó mari
Kawé mari i-i-i (assobio)

3.ª parte

Mi i-i, i-i-i (assobio)
Yoé marwé kana
Kawa do mariwi akawó-ro
Mariwi mariwi akawó-ro
Yé mariwi a-a-a akawó inawé
A mariwi a-a-a akawó inawé
Yoa kawá inawé
Yoa kawá inawé uu uu
Mari mari
Mari akawá inawé mari i-i-i (assobio)

2 Dança-canção com o yaxsá (maracá grande)

Ée-ya éóyá má

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(129) Procurmos ser bem exatos na reprodução dos sons. Conforme nos parece resultar da prolação de Júlio, fomos separando as palavras e distinguindo os versos. Pode ser que alguma separação tenha sido um vício de cantor. E o cometem muitas vêzes, tomando fôlego ou respiração indevidamente entre articulações que deviam estar unidas, e vice-versa. Temos verificado que, com cantores de outros lugares, embora nos repitam a melodia de Júlio, não há coincidência perfeita, com os sons articulados que aqui publicamos. Êste fato não é de se estranhar, se nos lembramos que aprendem de oitiva e que são sons articulados sem sentido algum. Quando se atenta bem, nota-se que numa mesma dança não há rigorosa coincidência entre os dançantes. Observa-se pequena diferença de compasso e discrepância dos sons articulados.

Dyaka a pi kapi
Wamá kapi kapi yuamá
Ya mari wemá a-a kapi kapi
Ye kapi nemá yá wamá
Kapi kapi nemá yá wamá
Ye kapi kapi nemá wamá
Ey-a ey-á (assobio)

3 Dança-canção com o yarsá nas outras danças (fora do poosé)
Dyá ya i-i-i dyá yá i-i-i
Yé a marikêna
Mariwé mariwé ya mariwé
Marikenõ ka-yá yá
Marikenõ mariwé marikenõ mariwé
Mariwé mariwé mariwé
Marikenõ ka-yá (abaixa a voz, sons muito graves)
Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i
Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i (observou-nos que êste canto termina sem assobios).

4 Dança-canção com o bastão-de-ritmo, yuxkõ
Yá-yá yá-yá (assobio)
Yé kapité
Mari kwá yá kuyá-yari
Kapité mari kwá yakorõ yalima
Korõ dikuya ayá kwá-yari
Kapité mari apiná
Kapité mari kapité mari kuyá-yá kuya-ari
Kapite mari kuyá-yá yá yá-yá (assobio)

5 Dança-canção com o yuxkõ (130)
Yá yá-yá yá-yá (assobio)
E yá yá periku êê perikwé
Yaká yõ kayó yuai
Yá piré-ku-ii nomé-nõ
Perikwé pyaká wamé tyá
Pami kwai peri-dikú êê yó
Peri-ku-ii yá-yá yá-yá (assobio)

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(130) Estes sons *Perikuii* (7.º) e *kuai* (5.º), são exatamente os nomes dos personagens principais das lendas Arwáke, correspondente respectivamente a *Buzpó* e *Oú-kõ* das lendas Tukano. Seria mera coincidência de sons, em línguas diversas? seriam canções arwáke aprendidas pelas tribos do grupo Tukano? Não seriam de origem Arwáke tôdas as danças destas tribos?

6 Dança-canção com o *yuzkó*
Ma dyá pa-wó (assobio)
Dyá diká apyá kapí akapyá
Kapí pawí diká yukú kapyá
Kapyá dewá yuku
Wapyá yuku deye-we
Kapyá kapí pawí dewá yukú
Kapyá kapí pawí dewá jukú
Wapí-a yukú nomã-a yavi
Wapí yá yú mã-di-yá
Wapí yá yú mã-di-yá
Sawé sawe (assobio)

7 Dança-canção com o *bied* (flauta ou pífaro pequeno)
Mã-á-á Eyari mamã eyari mamã kapinã
Periků yavi-i-i davyá (Yavi = comprido, delgado?)
Davyá yavi
Davi kawa-á nomã yavi-nõ
Davi kawá yaú; davi kawá yaú.
Kapina perikuli
Davyá yavi yú
Kawa-yavya mã-á-á (sopra a flauta longamente)

8 Dança-canção com o *yarsá* ou maracá pequeno.
(Por exemplo, disse Júlio, «Tuyuka convida Tukano para a festa. Os Tuyuká cantam dentro da maloca, quando acabam de cantar, os Tukano, do lado de fora cantam» o seguinte:)
Yé-é dyá yuké mari
Kemé maryé-é
Kemé maryé-é kenani
Wekã-ni kená amyá
Weka kená maryé pyá
Kená yá maryé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpekã ané
Wekã-re kenani wekã-re
Kená tsé! tsá!
(Repetem alternadamente, ora cantam os Tuyuka, ora os Tukano)

4º *As danças*

a) *Preparação.* Descreveremos um dos bailados de simples diversão, executados, porém, com grande solenidade, e como se apresentavam, então, a personagem mais importante do grupo, o tuxaua

Mandu de Iauarete, e o mais simples dos comparsas, um rapaz de 18 a 20 anos, por nome Marcelino.

Mandu (131) trazia à cabeça um *acangatara* larga com plumas de arara, uma peruca com tranças de pêlo de macaco e com duas longas penas vermelhas de arara e um osso de onça. Da peruca, inclinada para cada orelha havia uma longa pena branca de garça. Pendente sôbre as costas o cangatá, cordel com penas de tucano. Ainda sôbre a peruca, junto à nuca, o *penacho* ou tecido retangular com longas penas de garça. Ao pescoço três longos colares de missanga e um colar de semente com a pedra-do-mando. Das orelhas brincos de meio cartucho de fuzil brunido. Como pintura na testa um semicírculo vermelho voltado para cima e grande cruz do pescoço à cintura (132), também com tinta vermelha. Ao cotovêlo esquerdo, um braçal de pêlo de macaco. Em forma de cinto, sôbre as nadegas, um colar de dentes, ao qual prendeu mais tarde dois galhos daquele arbusto mágico e intensamente perfumoso denominado bará. No decorrer da dança ajustou ao tornozelo direito um colar de sementes (*Kirpo*).

Marcelino usava uma *grinalda* de palhinha, pequena, denticulada, com penugem amarela de arara; à nuca o *penacho* com plumas brancas e uma pena longa rodeada por um cordel de plumas coloridas. Ao cotovêlo esquerdo a *braceleira* de pêlo de macaco. Pendente às costas, tranças de pêlo de macaco adornadas de penugens de arara.

b) *Execução*. Realizou-se um pequeno ensaio a fim de verificar se combinavam entre si os *japurutus*, bem como os *cariços*. Bebeu-se um pouco de caxiri.

O tuxaua executa o *pai-pô pasé*, isto é, faz vibrar várias vêzes ao músculo direito do braço o bastão de ritmo chamado «pau-da-onça», ornado de penas. Dá uns passos ritmados com o tubo-pilão de embaúba, e tomou posição diante do segundo poste à esquerda, na

(131) O tuxaua, que nos recebera vestido de calças, porém sem camisa, a fim de preparar-se para as danças tirou as calças e continuou com o seu Warso-ro de pano, nem pôs, como em outras ocasiões, o grande Warsó-ro de entrecasca pendente.

(132) Em uma dança que assistimos na maloca dos Tuyuka no igarapé da Onça, alto Tiquié, da pintura do Kômũ resultava uma cruz no rosto com grande traço da testa ao longo do nariz e lábio superior, e os braços da cruz recurvados para cima quase num semi-círculo.

nave central (133). Imitam-no nos passos os homens, que, à sua esquerda, se vão formando em semi-círculo aberto.

*1.ª Parte*: Cada qual põe a mão esquerda sôbre o ombro direito do companheiro (*Pá-bkase* é o nome Tukano dêsse gesto). Executam algumas pancadas rítmicas com o tubo-pilão (é o que se diz *gurko-kera dorkese*) e uns passos com o pé direito para diante e para trás (*dartise*). Em seguida a ala se desloca (*nikã-ká eheanõ-kuiyara bersase*) para a direita e para a esquerda até que se fecha a circunferência, fazendo algumas voltas da esquerda para a direita (*saloase*) (134). Ao mesmo tempo os homens cantam lentamente palavras ininteligíveis, com um ritornelo freqüente em que soam muitas vezes as sílabas «*pata-pata*». O ritmo se acelera no final, e um grito e pancada forte dos tubos-de-ritmo encerra a primeira parte. As mulheres, nesta parte, mantiveram-se sentadas em conversa, vizinhas da porta, à esquerda de quem entra (135).

*2.ª Parte*: Tomada de posição, como na primeira parte. A mão esquerda sôbre o ombro direito. Inicia-se a dança com um ritmo acelerado, um grito fino e assobio alto (*Wytisé*) (136). Depois o canto toma ritmo lento, ouvindo-se no ritornelo, com freqüência, as sílabas «*kapu-kapu*». Uma circunferência pela direita desfeita por outra pela esquerda. Vão entrando uma a uma as mulheres: a primeira se coloca à esquerda do tuxaua, com a nuca toca-lhe o braço esquerdo (*pohòase*) estendido ao ombro direito do vizinho, e abraça pela cintura os dois homens entre os quais se acha. Assim sucessivamente. Dão apenas duas voltas completas e as mulheres saem. A dança termina com um ritmo acelerado do canto, dos passos e com um assobio final. Seguem-se minutos de descanso e de caxiri.

*3.ª e 4.ª Partes*: São números em que participam só os mais jovens tocando a *flauta-de-pã* (3.ª parte) ou o *japurutú* (4.ª parte),

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(133) A sua maloca retangular, embora de não grandes dimensões, correspondia a uma divisão de cinco naves: nave central alta, sob a cumieira, dois espaços laterais e, ao longo das paredes laterais, o espaço reservado às famílias. Note-se, porém, nenhuma divisão interna entre família e família.

(134) Explicaram-nos que estão imitando o peixe *bavari* o qual, antes de pôr seus ovos, faz umas voltas.

(135) Os três observadores civilizados nos achávamos do lado oposto, à direita.

(136) Estranhara que até então não ouvira os índios assobiar, quando esperava ouvi-los assobiando sempre na mata, nas caminhadas, nas viagens, quando remavam, e só havia silêncio ou conversa em tom secreto.

com um intervalo em que se fuma e se bebe caxiri. São números muito graciosos êstes de *intermezzo*. Cada rapaz traz o seu instrumento que se harmoniza bem com os outros, executando um dêles o contracanto ou resposta ao motivo que o primeiro executa. Êstes motivos são pequenos cânones muito melodiosos, em escala floreada, com notas ascendentes e descendentes. Algumas vêzes dançam apenas os rapazes e, então vão aos pares, o da direita um pouco mais atrás, segurando com a direita o seu instrumento e com a esquerda o ombro direito do outro (*pdbuasé*), o qual também tange o próprio instrumento e tem a esquerda ao quadril. Ao chegar ao fundo fazem uma evolução e trocam posição, vindo à frente o da direita com a mão esquerda ao quadril e o seu companheiro mais atrás, com a mão esquerda sôbre o ombro direito do primeiro.

Se há também mulheres, dispõem-se os casais de modo que o rapaz retém o instrumento com a direita, e, com a mão esquerda acima do próprio ombro (é o que se diz *iñatusé*), segura a direita da môça, a qual, apoia a esquerda na própria cintura (*pá-su'sûsé*). Os dançantes iniciam avançando apenas os homens, para o interior da maloca e, como crótalo, um colar de pequenos cocos de tucum ao tornozelo direito para marcar o ritmo. Rodam em círculo, um após o outro, para a direita, depois em sentido contrário para a esquerda, em seguida, abrindo mais o círculo, avançam quatro vêzes com o pé direito para o centro e voltam à posição inicial. Quando os rapazes se dispõem a caminhar, apresentam-se as suas companheiras. Organizam-se os casais. Às vêzes os casais, um após o outro, fazem evoluções desenhando o número oito (*barsá-mâhâmi bétod*) ou um caracol (*barsá so'tód*) para a direita ou para a esquerda. Outras vêzes se dispõem em círculos que se alongam ou apertam, rodam para a direita ou para a esquerda. Em tôda essa evolução com uma pancada mais forte do pé direito (*dó'pó-tisé*) vão marcando o ritmo. As mulheres se retiram antes do final. As execuções findam sempre com um *fortissimo* de todos os instrumentos.

São melodias muito agradáveis, porém não raro tão prolongadas as evoluções, que parecem uma competição de resistência. Os assistentes desde as suas redes, observam complacentes, rindo e comentando, provàvelmente, a inexatidão dos passos dos mais bisonhos.

*5ª Parte*: Enquanto se desenvolvem êstes números, um dos bailantes foi preparar o «*Yu'yiri-tiró*». O tuxaua com o seu tubo-de-ritmo toma a posição e desta vez os homens se distribuem simètricamente à sua direita e à sua esquerda, em semi-círculo. Iniciam com ritmo acelerado, depois assobiam, seguindo-se uma dança lenta ao canto de uma nênia. Um dos índios traz dois *yu'yi* e entrega

um dêles ao tuxaua que é também o *Bapá*, o outro, ao irmão dêste, *bapá-re uetamõpõ* e que está imediatamente à esquerda do tuxaua. Seguram o *yu-yu* com a esquerda e com a direita batem o tubo-de-ritmo.

O yu-yu das danças

Fôrma de tabaco

Os bailantes dividem-se em dois grupos, que evoluem avançando e recuando (*barsá potari*), um em frente do outro. Depois põem-se em fila, cada qual com sua dama, descrevendo circunferências. Tornam a dividir-se em dois grupos que avançam e recuam. Agora se dão as costas, sempre com avanços e recuos. Parece que o novo canto consta de várias estrofes, terminando cada uma com gritos e assobios. Em dados momentos alguns dizem palavras em voz alta, como o faz o marcador de quadrilhas. Seriam palavras cerimoniais e, por exemplo, ordem das evoluções a serem executadas? As mulheres, por fim, abandonam a dança e os homens continuam em fila indiana, com a mão esquerda sôbre o ombro direito do que o precede. Essa fila vai descrevendo círculos, parando de vez em quando, sempre, porém, cantando e ritmando com as pancadas do tubo-de-ritmo.

6.ª *Parte*: Executada só pelos homens, como a primeira parte. Após esta parte um dos bailantes avança para distribuir o caxiri com uma cuia em cada mão, resmungando algumas palavras e batendo mais forte o pé direito, numa marcha coleante como a da cobra. Dá uma cuia ao tuxaua e a outra ao mais importante. Numa segunda vez traz a mais dois, e assim a todos. Corre também, de bôca em bôca, o longo cigarro de fôlhas.

7.ª *Parte*: O tuxaua amarra ao seu tornozelo direito um colar de cocos secos (*kirfyo*). Toma, em seguida, posição com o seu tubo-de-ritmo. Os homens distribuem-se à sua direita e à sua esquerda, cada qual com o seu tubo-de-ritmo na mão direita e a esquerda sôbre o ombro direito do seu vizinho. Ao tuxaua e ao seu vi-

zinho são trazidos os *pu'pus*. Inicia-se com um ritmo de pancadas e passos no mesmo lugar, gritos, assobio e depois uma nênia em *pianissimo* à qual vai crescendo lentamente, enquanto se deslocam para a direita e à esquerda de alguns passos. Param algumas vêzes para dar um passo para dentro do círculo e outro atrás e ao lado. Por mais prolongada esta parte e no ritornelo ouviam-se muitas vezes as sílabas «*tpuko-malta*». O grupo de dançantes encaminhou-se para fora da maloca, em cujo pátio executou os mesmos passos que dentro (*poha-tahpá*). Torna de novo à maloca, as mulheres abandonam sua posição. À conclusão estão só os homens que após pequena evolução tomam a posição inicial, em semi-círculo, e encerram o canto com pequenos saltos (*bu'pusé*) e gritos seu tanto cômicos.

5) *Danças-canções Wanâna*

O Wanâna Tomás Paiva, filho mais velho de Mandú, o atual (1957) tuxáua de Carurú-cachoeira (rio Uaupés), e seu presumível sucessor, confirmou que as canções rituais eram «língua antiga», e por isso não as entendiam. Pelo desejo de aprendê-las bem, e manter as velhas tradições, procurou indagar de seu pai, estimado tuxaua-baya local, e dos «velhos», e escrevê-las. Seriam talvez umas 45 canções, disse-nos. Opinamos que êsse número abrangeria não apenas as *canções*, mas sim tôdas as *partes* ou *estrofes*; ou, quiçá mesmo, as repetições de uma mesma parte ou estrofe. Sucedera-lhe, porém, que indo trabalhar como carpinteiro na Venezuela, os da sua casa serviram-se dos seus escritos como de *papel de cigarro*.

Com a colaboração de outro Wanâna, Maximiano de Sá, indicou-nos a seguinte ordem para as danças:

1.ª *Dança* — com a flauta *bud*, donde o nome *bud bazsá* (dança das cutias) (137). No intervalo das *estrofes* ou *partes*, os dançan-

(137) Uma grande festa realizou-se em Carurú-cachoeira (rio Uaupés), nos dias 24 e 25 de abril de 1955, com a participação de uma 250 pessoas de ambos os sexos e de tôdas as idades e representantes de várias tribos, especialmente *Wanâna*, *Kubéwana* e *Hohódene* (esta do grupo Arwáke, de Uaupuim-cachoeira, rio Aiari, afluente do Içana). Nesta festa os primeiros números de danças foram no som dos *bud*. Eram pequenas flautas de taquara, de uns 30 cm de comprimento por uns dois de diâmetro, um só orifício lateral, a uns 10 cm da embocadura que era vertical. A parte inferior dêsses pífaros terminava com duas pequenas varetas de taquara, com duas pontas ou chifres (simbolizando quiçá os dentes da cutia). Como adorno dessas flauta havia dois cordões de plumas brancas presos à flauta pela extremidade superior e livre a outra extremidade. Em certos números de danças, alguns indivíduos atiravam ao chão a sua flauta, recolhendo-a logo em seguida.

tes fazem soar suas flautas. Consta de quatro partes a saber: 1.ª) *wuñu barsu* (dança-canção do carajurú); 2.ª) *pinó barsá* (dança-canção da cobra); 3.ª) *karpi barsá* (dança-canção do Caapi); 4.ª) *uo-phi barsá* (dança-canção do ganço de colhér fruta).

*2.ª Dança* — com o tubo-de-ritmo, *ahũ-wõ* (em wanãna *wanõ*) (138). Consta também de várias partes, as principais são: *saudrea barsá* (dança-canção do calango dágua); *ahũ-a barsá* (dança-canção do beiju); *ki barsá* (dança-canção da mandioca).

*3.ª Dança* — com o maracá, *barsá*. Chama-se *pwá barsá* (*pwá* é o nome de um peixe que os Wanãna, em seu idioma, denominam *dũrkudna*). Todos os homens, do começo ao fim desta longa dança, agitam contínua e ritmadamente o maracá com a mão direita (a esquerda segura a própria dama pelo ombro, e esta abraça-lhe a cintura). Soam também ritmadamente um apito de dois tubos, que deixarão pender do pescoço, quando devem cantar. É o mais interessante número de danças indígenas que temos assistido. Evoluem primeiramente fora, no pátio, depois entram em casa e após alguns minutos de coreografia no interior, saem novamente ao pátio de dança. Há evolução *em ala* que aos poucos se fecha *em círculo*, que ora se estreita, ora se alarga. Em dado momento os pares de dançantes, cada homem com a sua dama, se dispõem em coluna, voltados para o nascente, depois em direção oposta, para o poente. Dispostos assim em coluna, o último par sai ziguezagueando entre os outros pares, do penúltimo ao primeiro, como se estivesse *cosendo*. Explicaram que é a «dança da colheita do caroá» (fibra que se emprega como linha de anzol). Quando terminou sua evolução, o último par volta à sua posição inicial, e, então o par da outra extremidade, a saber, o primeiro, faz a mesma *costura* e volta à sua posição. Cabe, agora, ao penúltimo par evoluir, e depois ao segundo, e assim passam todos os pares, por seu turno, executando a costura ou colheita do caroá. Durante esta, vibram apenas os apitos e o maracá. Em outros momentos desta dança também se canta.

*4.ª Dança* — denomina-se «*Pwá* da noite», porque já sobrevieram as trevas. Saem ainda fora, como homenagem à noite e à lua.

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(138) Nessa mesma festa dos Wanãna de Carurú-cachoeira, os tubos-de-ritmo, medindo aproximadamente um metro de comprimento e 10 cm de diâmetro, estavam pintados de branco (com sorva), tendo uma barra inferior preta de uns 10 cm e o cabo, por onde se segura, enfeitado com penacho de penas de gavião com o feitio de um ipsilon grego.

muhi-pú (disse Tomás Paiva). Variam as toadas destas canções que se compõem tôdas de varias partes com muitas repetições.

6) *Canções das mulheres*

Já observamos (cfr. VII — 3, c (2 b) que as canções das mulheres são *profanas*, ou com mais exação, *canções baquicas*; isto é, regularmente as cantam quando distribuem o caxiri, ou nos intervalos quando tomam a sua bebida. Além de mais movimentadas, há motivos mais variados, do que nas canções religiosas dos homens. Outra diferença bem marcante, é que, enquanto estas são, presentemente, articulações sem significado algum, as das mulheres apresentam um sentido claro. São *recitativos* de frases maiores ou menores, com argumentos de oportunidade e alusões à própria pessoa ou àquela com quem está dialogando.

Pela lei da exogamia, no mesmo povoado há mulheres da tribo dos habitantes locais, e de uma ou mais tribos diversas, tomadas como esposas. E, casualmente, em trânsito ou passeio, ainda outras suas parentes ou «irmãs». Por essa razão e também pela frequência de dapacuris com participação de dançantes de tribos distintas, uma mesma canção pode ser conhecida e executada por mulheres de varias tribos. Donde se infere a dificuldade que há de determinar de qual tribo seja originàriamente a *melodia* de uma canção. A questão, propriamente, é da *melodia*, e não da *letra*. Pois, como dissemos, esta é um *recitativo de ocasião* que a cantora pode dizer no proprio idioma ou no do marido ou da tribo onde se faz o *poosé*. E como presentemente a lingua Tukano se vai generalizando, muitas vêzes será neste idioma; como realmente são em Tukano as canções que gravamos, embora executadas por môças não só do grupo de tribos Tukano, como até por uma donzela do grupo Arwáke, da tribo *Kumádene*.

b) *Desportos*

O índio leva uma vida no contacto com a natureza majestosa e silente da selva amazonense, cortada por inúmeros caudais. Isto nos explica porque se apresenta assim forte, ágil, alegre, embora retraído.

Caminha quase diàriamente grandes distâncias através da mata para a sua roça, a qual não raro dista vários quilômetros da maloca, ou para a caça ou à procura de frutas. A mulher, além do grande movimento dentro da maloca, a que a obriga o preparo da alimentação, quase todos os dias fará longa caminhada pela mata, em

demanda da sua roça, onde, ao sol, trabalhará três ou quatro horas a fio. Alpinismo não há, porque a região, em geral, é plana. Não se conhecem exercícios de ginástica ou lutas corporais, como em outros grupos humanos (139). Nem tão pouco a equitação. Ainda não há cavalos por aquelas alturas, nem para serviço dos civilizados.

Os esportes diàriamente praticados são os aquáticos, a saber, a natação e o remo. Pela manhã, antes de clarear o dia, todos, sem exceção, encaminham-se para o rio, pouco distante da maloca ou povoado, e tomam o seu banho. Até as crianças de braço são conduzidas pelas mães e banhadas. Êste banho é rápido, imergindo-se dentro dágua três ou quatro vêzes e passando a mão pelo corpo. Algumas vêzes firmam-se com os braços a alguma canoa amarrada e agitam os pés na água. Mais tarde, pela metade do dia, isto é, nas horas quentes, quando voltam suados da mata ou da roça, tomam novo banho. Esta freqüência ao rio faz com que todos aprendam a nadar. Nadam bem, mas, sem grande resistência. Nunca atravessam nadando grandes distâncias. Talvez mesmo ninguém nadará, por mero exercício, uma centena de metros.

Um dos divertimentos aquáticos das crianças é o que se denomina *Wãx-ti Mux-kõ*, o filho de Wãx-ti, de evidente alusão à lenda de Nhamacuru (cfr. «Lendas do Uaupés»). A saber: duas crianças postas uma em frente da outra, com os braços para trás, imergem-se simultâneamente nagua. Instantes após, emergindo ao mesmo tempo, abraçam-se rápidamente. Depois novamente os braços para trás, imergem-se, para novamente emergir, abraçar-se e aprofundar-se nágua. Assim certo número de vêzes até que se cansam e cessa o divertimento.

Outro exercício freqüente é o do remo. Desde crianças, de três ou quatro anos talvez, aprendem a remar e têm os seus remos pequenos. Não raro saí uma criança sózinha ou duas remando e se afastam quilômetros da própria casa. Muitas vêzes são as crianças que remam, enquanto os homens atendem à pesca desde a canoa. Êste hábito lhes confere habilidade e resistência surpreendentes. São capazes de remar dez ou mais horas por dia e assim seis ou oito dias consecutivos, nas longas viagens.

A pancada com o cabo do remo no bordo da canoa marca o ritmo, e quando são vários remadores, levam a capricho a exatidão

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(139) Temos visto crianças que, brincando, se agarram como se fôsse para uma luta livre, sem, no entanto, atirar ao chão o companheiro.

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das pancadas, como se fôsse um só golpe. Observam-se três ritmos diversos: 1.º — um mais apressado, quando têm urgência de alcançar algum ponto, e nas correntezas; são mais ou menos três remadas profundas em dois segundos; 2.º — quando não há correnteza, passam a um ritmo mais lento: um tempo sim e dois não, de sorte que se ouvem dois rumores na água (de duas ondas que se formam e batem contra a canoa), havendo três remadas em cinco segundos; 3.º — por vêzes tomam outro ritmo: duas remadas apressadas e uma lenta e mais profunda.

Pode-se observar o seguinte particular: a mão que segura o cabo do remo descreve uma circunferência perfeita; e depois que dão uma pancada no bordo da canoa, o remo fica um instante deitado sôbre esta, paralelo à água. Para alívio do esfôrço, passam a remar do outro lado da canoa, cabendo agora à mão que segurava o cabo puxar a pá do remo. Quando alguém se sente fatigado, interrompe o exercício, deixando que os companheiros prossigam no labor. Nos trechos remansosos do rio, ou quando descem a favor da corrente, (é o que se diz descer de bubúia), pode acontecer que todos cessem de remar e se entretenham em animada conversa.

O contínuo viajar por rios de cachoeiras perigosas não só lhes da extraordinária resistência, como os torna corajosos e fa-los habilíssimos navegadores. Uma coragem superior e serena, de quem confia no conhecimento dos lugares perigosos e do processo a empregar em cada uma das correntezas ou vórtices, e, portanto, não teme surpresas. De quem confia na propria fôrça, tantas vêzes provada nos momentos mais dificeis; de quem sabe que, na pior das hipoteses, se a canoa virar, ao choque de uma onda, continuará ainda a flutuar, e poderá alcançá-la a nado, alguns metros mais adiante. Se alguma carga se perde com êste acidente, na primeira maloca terá beijú e peixe moqueado; até que sua mulher lhe possa preparar novo beijú e êle apanhe alguns peixes ou mate alguma caça. É o mais perfeito domínio dos nervos que se possa conceber, em qualquer perigo que a navegação apresente. Com estas qualidades compreende-se que são os navegadores indispensáveis daqueles rios, e nos infundem grande tranquilidade quando os temos como marinheiros. Freqüentemente, nas vizinhanças das cachoeiras, existem habitações indígenas ou estão índios entretidos na pesca, sempre prontos a prestar auxílio, se fôrem solicitados.

Conforme o nível das águas, sabem se a canoa deve procurar um canal de preferência a outro, se uma pedra está suficientemente encoberta, se é preciso servir-se do varejão. Em alguns casos, o índio

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saltara rapidamente da canoa para uma pedra (140) que emerge proxima e, com um empuxão pelo bordo, fá-la vencer a correnteza, e depois, num ágil salto, volta outra vez para dentro da canoa e empunha o seu remo. Em outras circunstâncias todos os passageiros devem costear por entre o serrado da margem, enquanto os marinheiros empurram a canoa correnteza acima; ou, por meio de espias, fortemente puxadas desde as pedras, obrigam-na a escalar as pequenas cachoeiras. Ou ainda, descarregam tôda a bagagem, e tanto a carga como a canoa será transportada por difíceis atalhos até a parte superior das cachoeiras e daí se retoma a navegação normal.

(140) Os que já estão vestidos, às vêzes saçam da camisa, e pulam prontamente nágua, com sua calça ou calção. Os que se acham ainda em estado mais primitivo, nem recelo têm de molhar a própria roupa...

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## Cap. VIII

# ORGANIZAÇÃO SOCIAL

### 1. — Grupo familiar

A família indígena do Uaupés, no sentido mais estrito e perfeito, consta de *marido, mulher* e *filhos*. Vigora entre êles a *monogamia indissolúvel*, isto é, cada homem terá á sua esposa legítima e estão ligados até a morte por vínculo indissolúvel, uma vez satisfeitas as condições prescritas pela lei da tribo.

Tal será a família, quer viva cada qual na sua casa, conforme a tendência moderna, quer se reunam várias famílias na vida comunitária da maloca.

Frequentemente como adidos, ou melhor, incorporados a uma família, viverão a mãe que enviuvou, algum parente órfão ou solteiro, e destarte o *grupo familiar* se torna maior que a *família*. Como veremos (VIII — 2) o *grupo local* era constituído originàriamente pela família, identificando-se, portanto, com o *grupo familiar*. A necessidade de defesa e auxílio nos trabalhos (construção da maloca, pescaria, etc.) é que favoreceu o *grupo familiar* ou *local* de preferência à família isolada.

Por outro lado há, entre as nações uaupesinas alguns fatôres que certificam a *organização* ou *grupo familiar*.

1.º — Em primeiro lugar está o *instinto* e o *direito de propriedade*. Há, efetivamente, alguns bens (canoas, barraca, cerâmica, etc.) que constituem propriedade da família, e passam qual herança aos filhos.

2.º — Como entre os primitivos Romanos, os pais uaupesinos dispõem de um exagerado poder sôbre os filhos. Essa *patria potéstas* reserva exclusivamente ao pai as *tratativas matrimoniais*, mediante a permuta das donzelas, como esposas, de uma tribo para outra, e robustece, outrossim, o regime familiar.

3.º — Além da permuta das filhas, vigora ainda uma *oferta de dons nupciais* ao pai da futura esposa. Esses dons, por seu lado, consolidam o poder pátrio e o regime familiar.

4.º — A inexistência de um poder político forte e organizado é, por sua vez, efeito e causa do acréscimo dos poderes paternos e fator de consolidação do grupo familiar.

a) *Matrimônio*

Já relevamos que o matrimônio entre tôdas estas tribos é uma instituição social que visa imediatamente (e talvez não seja exagerado dizê-lo exclusivamente) a *perpetuação do grupo*. O primeiro interessado em sua realização é o grupo, não os indivíduos que se casam, pois não se lhes observam as afeições, não se lhes consulta a vontade, nem se lhes atende à idade (1).

Não se exige a *virgindade*, pois, como diremos, legalmente não pode existir; nem há outras condições senão o acôrdo dos pais dos nubentes, uma vez observadas as leis da tribo, que exporemos em seguida.

1) *As leis do matrimônio*

a) A primeira e inviolável lei, que se observa no matrimônio indígena do Uaupés, é a da exogamia de tribo, *Arpé mazsã nõ'mõ-fise*.

Notamos (IV — 2, a) (2) que há subdivisões nas tribos. Porém, ao menos no regime atual, não é subdivisão para efeito matrimonial (2). Os de uma tribo devem obrigatòriamente buscar suas esposas em outra tribo. Não afrontamos, por ora, a questão se essa lei se tenha impôsto como medida política, a fim de impedir guerras e assassinatos entre as tribos. Sabemos, sim, que, apesar da troca de mulheres entre duas tribos, são freqüentes as contendas entre elas.

Há, como vimos (IV — 2) três grupos de tribos, aos quais denominamos grupos *Tukano*, *Arawake* e *Makú*. A obrigação grave é a da exogamia. Observadas, porém, as interdições que enumeramos na Classificação das tribos, a mulher pode ser de outra tribo do mesmo grupo ou de outro grupo de tribos. Por uma questão de orgulho, nenhuma tribo se casará com Makú, que se considera escravo, e infe-

(1) Não raras vêzes os Missionários têm que intervir, afim de que se não realize, mesmo entre cristãos, matrimônio de crianças que ainda não atingiram a idade núbil de acôrdo com as legislações brasileira e canônica.

(2) Até onde alcança a tradição, pode-se afirmar que sempre vigorou a exogamia tribal. E, de acôrdo com as lendas, parece que se pode avançar que a obrigação da exogamia remonta à origem das tribos; ou, ao menos, ao estabelecimento dessas nações no seu habitat atual.

rior, nem é «gente», dizem (3). Se conseguem, no entanto, pegar alguma môça Makú, podem tê-la como concubina, ao lado da legítima esposa. Evitarão, entretanto, ter filhos com a Makú; e se, apesar disso, os tiverem, (por exemplo a avó de Maria Gama de Urubucuara) são considerados legítimos e pertencentes à tribo do pai (4).

Não se dão matrimônios entre *Taryana* e *Desána*. Desconhecemos, porém, as razões; não parece ser motivo de orgulho, porque os próprios Tukano, considerado o grupo mais nobre, casam-se com Desana, como também com Taryana. Note-se que pertencendo os idiomas Taryana e Desána a famílias linguísticas diversas, fazem-nos pensar em grande afastamento dessas tribos. No entanto respondem-nos que não há casamento entre êles porque são «irmãos».

Igualmente os *Tukano* não se casam com os *Bará*. Explicam os Tukano que os Bará são seus avós, *Paz-kõ-Ro*. Nem os *Pirá-tapuya* com os *Wanana* e *Arapásu*; ou os *Arapásu* com os *Miriti*, *Wanana* e *Desana*; nem os *Taryaná* com *Ipeka-tapuya*; nem, enfim, os *Desana* com *Taryana*, *Tuyuka*, *Pira-tapuya* e *Arapásu*.

Entre os *Miriti-tapuya* é que vigora o maior número de interdições, a saber, não podem casar-se com os *Desana*, *Tuyuka*, *Arapásu*, *Pira-tapuya*, *Ipeka-tapuya* e *Taryana*.

b) A segunda lei é a da *troca das mulheres* de uma tribo, pelas mulheres de outra. Ou, com mais exatidão, um pai cederá sua filha como esposa ao filho de outra família, para ter uma irmã dêste como esposa do seu filho. É o que se denomina *Podpari* ou *Podpoieri*. E a môça chamará tal rapaz de noivo isto é, *Mã-ra-pó nyãkho* (futuro marido) ou mesmo *Põrã-kõ nyãkho* (futuro genitor); e, vice-versa, êle a «*No'mó nyãkho* (futura esposa) ou *Pórã-ko nyãkho* (genitora futura).

Tal costume é impôsto pelo desejo da tribo de se perpetuar.

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(3) Conhecemos poucos casos de conúbio de homens de outras tribos (Tukano, Tuyuka, Desana, Ipeka) com mulher Makú. Nenhum, de homem Makú com mulher de outra tribo. Entre êstes poucos casos, o de uma môça, porém já órfã em 1947, residente na maloca Tuyuka da localidade de S. Pedro, rio Tiquié, cujo pai era Tukano e a mãe, Makú. Não pudemos averiguar se sua mãe era legítima esposa ou uma simples concubina, ou ainda se nascera de uma relação casual. Nem sabemos, na primeira hipótese, por quais razões se dera tal matrimônio. Talvez falta de mulher? ou por defeito físico do homem (note-se que a môça era estrábica)? ou por viver entre os Makú do Ci-paraná ou Komé-ya (afl. do Pirá-paraná)?

(4) Em Parajba-poço, rio Tiquié, um Tukano, ao apresentar, para ser batizada, uma criança que tivera de uma Makú, a princípio nega sua paternidade, informando que "não tinha pai".

Não se conhece o *matrimônio ambiliano*, isto é, não é o moço que vem morar em casa dos sogros; porém a môça é que, pelo casamento, se afasta da sua e vai constituir família em outra tribo.

Desejam, pois, que para seu povoado venha uma mulher de outra tribo, a fim de aí constituir nova família. A troca, parece-nos, não equivale a uma depreciação da mulher e reduzi-la à condição de cousa negociável. É uma medida de precaução para que o grupo não se extinga, mas, ao contrário, os varões se conservem sempre unidos e se mantenham vivas as tradições da tribo e as relações cordiais entre os seus componentes.

Dêste conceito e prática seguem-se algumas conseqüências:

1.ª — A primeira é que de fato vigorá entre êles, o denominado *casamento preferencial*. As trocas não só estabelecem relações sociais entre duas malocas, mas, como adiante veremos, concebem o parentesco como *bilateral*. Porém, não só os *primos maternos* no sentido estrito (isto é, os sobrinhos da própria mãe), mas todos os da geração da *Gens* materna (IV — 2, a' (2) se dizem noivos, *Barsúkára* (os que nos são destinados para matrimônio).

Concretizemos um exemplo: os *Tukano* do Pari-cachoeira costumam buscar suas esposas entre os *Tuyuka* das cabeceiras do Tiquié. Então, para os moços de Pari-cachoeira, noivos ou *Barsúkára* são todos os Tuyuka da geração môça do povoado materno. Ou, mais exatamente, são seus noivos todos os moços da *Gens* materna — porque a cada povoado corresponde ordinàriamente *Gens* diversa — e que entre si se tratam de «irmãos» (*Mami* ou *Arkabi*, vd. VIII — 1, c).

De regra um ou uma dentre os *Barsúkára*, é que será o *Mã-ra-ia-nyákho* ou a *Nõ'mõ nyákho*.

Os que pertencem a geração dos pais dos *Barsúkára* (isto é, todos os que são considerados «irmãos» da própria mãe), são denominados «tios», *Mãr-kã* (se homem) (5), ou *Mã-gõ* (se mulher).

A todos os *Barsúkára*, no *tratamento direto*, isto é, conversando entre si (vd. adiante Nomenclatura do Parentesco) se chamará primo, *Meõ-kõ* (filho da tia, contração de *Waméõ mar-kõ*), e, a prima, *Meõ-kõ*. Releve-se que a môça não pode tomar a liberdade de dizer abreviadamente *Méõ-kõ*, *Méõ-kõ*; dirá sempre por extenso, *Waméõ mar-kõ*, *Waméõ mar-kõ*.

Depois que um indivíduo se casou, todos os primos ou *Barsúkára* (6) ficam, naturalmente, sendo cunhados seus, e assim efeti-

(5) Note-se que a sobrinha deve chamá-la *Mãr-kã-sa*.

(6) Recorde-se que dentro da tribo os indivíduos que pertencem a uma mesma geração se dizem "irmãos".

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vamente os denomina quando se exprime em português. Quando se exprime em Tukano, prefere continuar a chamá-los *Méõ-kõ* ou *Méõ-kõ*, e, aos cunhados no sentido mais estrito, a saber, os irmãos de sangue da própria esposa, tratará de *Pé-ñã* (7).

Excepcionalmente o indivíduo, em vez de desposar uma da geração dos *Bazuãdra*, talvez se case com alguém da classe dos «tios», *Méz-kã-ra* ou *Mã-pó*. Os componentes desta classe é que são, agora, seus cunhados, *Pé-ñã*. Em Tukano pode continuar a chamá-los «tio», *Méz-kã* ou (se se trata da sobrinha) *Méz-kã-sa*, e no tratamento direto empregará o nome *Piri* para os cunhados no sentido estrito.

2ª — Uma segunda é que as tratativas e acordos se realizam entre os pais sem que intervenham ou sejam consultados os nubentes (8). É grandemente estranhável que, enquanto os filhos gozam de bastante liberdade na família indígena, (pode-se afirmar que os do sexo masculino gozam de absoluta independência dos pais), neste assunto tão grave, pois o matrimônio é indissolúvel, não têm liberdade alguma (9), e mostram-se da máxima docilidade à vontade dos seus pais.

Não se conhece entre êles o matrimônio de amor, nem a prática do namôro. Parecê mesmo que são indiferentes à beleza física, e é certo que em todos os grupos humanos há indivíduos mais simpáticos ou menos. Sem dúvida esses motivos pessoais influirão nas relações que e extrumatrimoniais; nunca, porém, no *matrimônio* (10).

O matrimônio não representa a satisfação do instinto sexual, como de início pensávamos e escrevemos, pois verificamos que esta satisfação tem a mais ampla oportunidade imaginável. O matrimônio para o indivíduo é a solução do seu *problema econômico*: ter quem lhe proporcionará o alimento. Mas é especialmente a solução do problema social: a continuação e propagação da tribo.

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(7) A mulher usará o tratamento *Nihi-so paz-kõ* para os cunhados mais velhos que seu marido e *Buhi-bakõ*, para os mais moços que êle.

(8) Tem acontecido que o pai traz espôsa para o seu filho que é aluno no colégio da Missão, obrigando-o a deixar o banco escolar para casar-se. "Casamento escravo" foi a expressão de um Missionário, citando exemplos do absolutismo da vontade paterna contra a vontade manifesta dos jovens.

(10) Por influência do Missionário vão se libertando dêsses preconceitos ancestrais, e já se conhecem casos de matrimônio por iniciativa dos nubentes ex-alunos das Missões. No entanto acontece (relator Pe. Afônso Kuipers, de Teresita, rio Papuri), que o moço pedindo a intervenção do Padre para ajudá-lo a arranjar uma esposa, mostre-se indiferente sôbre a pessoa. Dirá por exemplo: "Padre, faça o favor de perguntar a Joaquina, Amélia ou Maria se alguma delas quer casar comigo".

E' de admirar-se que, não obstante isto, a vida familiar decorra bastante normal. Única explicação plausível é o grande respeito às leis tradicionais fixando as relações entre os esposos, e seus deveres; leis que são fielmente observadas.

3.ª Uma terceira é que, a fim de obter atualmente uma espôsa para um filho mais velho, talvez uma criança recém-nascida (11) seja prometida em matrimônio a outra família. Na prática serão noivos, com direito a relações entre si (com as precauções, porém, para não ter filhos), talvez desde muitos anos e com grande diferença de idade entre os nubentes. E a criança, mal atinge o uso da razão, sabe que deverá casar-se com tal pessoa.

4.ª Uma quarta é que, um pai viúvo cederá uma filha para arranjar uma segunda esposa para si, embora com grande desproporção entre suas idades, antes que procurá-la para seu filho.

5.ª Uma quinta é que uma mulher, ficando viúva, pode passar como espôsa ao seu cunhado, se o houver viúvo ou solteiro e sem noiva desde que seu pai tenha obrigação de dar uma mulher a tal família, em troca de outra que de ali obteve. Embora não exista entre nossos índios a lei do *levirato* (12), temos assim a sua prática.

6.ª Uma sexta, é que desta troca de mulheres de uma tribo *A* com as da tribo *B*, visto como os filhos se consideram da tribo do pai, podem casar-se entre si os primos. Por exemplo, de dois pares de irmãos *M* e *N* da tribo *A*, e dois *P* e *Q*, da tribo *B*, a mulher *M* casou-se com *P*, cuja irmã *Q* se uniu em matrimônio a *N*. Os filhos dêsses dois casais são, evidentemente «primos irmãos» ou «primos em primeiro grau». No entanto os filhos de *P* são da tribo *B* e os de *N*, da tribo *A*. Êles se consideram reciprocamente *Bayaikúra*, e podem casar entre si.

Em conclusão o casamento *preferencial* destas tribos é entre primos no primeiro grau.

c) A falta de mulher pode tornar impossível a permuta ou *Pauper*. Como o pode também um excesso de mulheres sôbre o número de filhos varões. A aquisição de uma esposa se fará, então, com a doação de algum bem material; é o que se diz *Nó'mõ duusé* (compra da esposa).

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(11) Não parece que haja acordos dos pais sôbre os filhos nascituros, pois isto é contra a psicologia do índio que é homem da realidade.

(12) Isto é, o dever de um indivíduo desposar a cunhada que enviuvou sem filhos, para ressuscitar a descendência do seu irmão falecido, costume que vigorava entre os judeus.

Parece-nos, contudo, que não se trata de uma verdadeira compra do cônjuge, apesar do têrmo *Duusé*, que nos forneceu um intérprete Tucano. Uma tribo se enriqueceu de uma família, enquanto a outra perdeu um elemento: é de justiça uma compensação. Com a ausência da filha môça, o pai, e sobretudo a mãe, perdeu um elemento de valor pelo seu trabalho, para a economia doméstica, haverá uma indenização econômica por parte do futuro genro.

São duas as razões para tal dedução. A primeira é que mesmo quando há o *Podperi*, ou permuta de mulheres, o môço fará algum presente ao futuro sogro. A segunda é que não existe, como em outros grupos humanos, um preço fixo de indenização; ou uma tabela de preços pela categoria das mulheres. O môço dará de acôrdo com suas posses e os desejos do sogro. Sempre objetos de utilidade: enfeites, canoa, facão, calças, machado, fumo, sal etc. (13).

Nestes casos é que se nota mais liberdade do môço que procura uma espôsa e, com frequência é sua a iniciativa na escolha da môça e nas tratativas com o pai dela. Às vêzes os pais e irmãos o ajudam na obtenção dos presentes que o sogro exige, porém com direito a serem indenizados mais tarde (mais uma prova do instinto de propriedade).

Em geral o pai da môça entrará em acôrdo. Receia sempre que o môço se vingue com algum maleficio. E o rapaz fá-lo-á certamente ou, ao menos, espalhará que a môça tem o *dohasé* (maleficio) da esterilidade, e ninguém a procurará por espôsa. E' uma vingança temível, porque assim corta o futuro da môça e sacrifica também os interêsses econômicos do pai.

É natural que o interêsse (inato e exagerado no índio) aproveite dêstes costumes. Um pai por exemplo, que tiver mais de uma filha, talvez procure ceder uma delas a algum rapaz Tuyuká (para ter uma

(13) Wallace traz um particular do qual não encontramos confirmação nem remiscência alguma no Uaupés: "Em algumas tribos, diz, como a dos Wakarás, o môço tem de submeter-se a uma prova que consiste na demonstração de sua habilidade para atirar de arco e flecha. Se o rapaz não acertar no alvo, a môça o recusa, pois êle assim demonstra ser incapaz de atirar em peixes ou de caçar para o sustento da família". Já o vimos (II-6, b) não conseguimos localizar tribo alguma sob a denominação de Wakará, afim de verificar seus costumes. Porém a afirmação de Wallace (o qual também não visitou os Wakará) está em absoluta oposição aos costumes uaupesinos. Com efeito, o casamento é reciproco entre os dois pais, não entre os nubentes. De resto, não depende do bom manejo do arco a alimentação. Entre as tribos do Uaupés, ao contrário, a caça é escassa e os peixes se apanham mais ràramente com flechadas. A base da alimentação é a mandioca, e quem a providencia é a mulher e não o marido. Pode-se afirmar que, entre estas tribos, é a mulher e não o marido, quem sustenta a família.

hor canoa, pois são canoeiros especializados), uma segunda a um Pirá-tapuya (peritos fabricantes de redes e pestos de pesca), exigindo dêles os produtos de suas especialidades.

Mais ainda, essas relações de afinidade lhes propiciam o ensejo de passar uma parte do ano em passeios: uma temporada em casa de cada genro. Pois o matrimônio cria estreitas relações de afinidade, tanto mais singulares, quanto se sabe que são pessoas de tribos diversas e tôdas elas com mentalidade tão profundamente racista.

2) *O Rapto — Nû'myó ʒerôsé ou Nû'myo mydsé.*

Apesar dêstes precedentes de negociações, conserva-se, ainda hoje, um rapto simbólico da môça, sobrevivência, conforme se pode pensar, de costumes antigos em que o jovem devia dar prova de valor, arrebatando sua esposa, depois de lutar contra os que procuravam defendê-la.

Ou, quem sabe (é o mais provável quando se fala de outros grupos humanos; não, porém, os do Uaupés), são clãs de uma mesma tribo, transformados em inimigos pelas dissidências e que deveram, nesse período, recorrer ao rapto a fim de manter a antiga lei da exogamia do clã.

Entre os nossos índios do Uaupés não há luta alguma, embora se registrem casos de disputas e exaltação eventual de ânimo. O pai do môço, com mais alguns remadores apresenta-se no povoado da môça. Talvez esta, já ciente, se achará nas vizinhanças do pôrto e será enfim carregada para a canôa. Ou os homens pedem licença ao pai, que nada diz (assim o relato de Dorotéia Brito) e apoderam-se da môça. A mãe, ao invés, protestará em altos brados e imprecações, lembrando os trabalhos da filha (sempre o aspecto interesseiro), que ela é quem toma conta das crianças, trabalha na roça, faz beijú, etc. Ninguém, no entanto, impedirá o rapto.

3) *O Ato do matrimônio*

Os raptores (14), quiçá depois de vários dias de viagem de canoa, trazem-na môça à maloca do jovem e lha entregam com êste formulário e voto (que nos forneceu Dorotéia Brito): — «Fomos buscar môça para você; agora tome conta dela; que seja boa mãe, que não fuja». Não praticam nenhum outro rito por essa ocasião, foram as declarões positivas que todos fizeram.

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(14) Alguns indígenas informaram-nos de relações sexuais que se passam entre as raptores e a donzela e alguns acrescentaram que tais relações são sempre lícitas para o futuro. Pode ser que originàriamente se tratasse de um privilégio dos raptores. Privilégio, porém, que hoje perdeu sua razão, nivelado praticamente na grande liberdade geral.

Com frequência, por essa circunstância tem lugar na maloca uma festa. Não parece que tal festa seja rito religioso do matrimônio. Não se não tem data bem determinada, como talvez nem se realize o matrimônio. Nem há, no desenrolar-se da festa, alusões ao casamento. Gostam muito de festas, e a desta ocasião tem o alcance psicológico de dispor o ânimo da môça a fim de não sentir muito o afastamento da sua família. Tanto mais que ela se acha em tribo diversa da sua, cuja língua quiçá desconheça totalmente.

Se a môça não pode tomar diretamente nenhuma iniciativa, mostrando suas preferências, goza, ao menos, do «direito de veto». Isto é, falando em tese, ela não se casará com quem não deseja. E' verdade que ela pensará bem antes, pois rejeitando essa proposta, talvez não venha outra. E, ademais, ela sofrerá os maus tratos dos seus, os quais pelos compromissos do *Pódpem* devem dar uma espôsa à outra família.

Quem sabe até, se ela será vítima de maleficio, *dohasé*? Todavia se ela absolutamente não deseja casar-se com tal rapaz, sobram-lhe dois recursos: o primeiro não se deixar raptar, e às vêzes ela foge para outra maloca vizinha, quando sabe que vêm buscá-la. Ou foge da casa do môço (15).

4. *Estabilidade*

A existência do matrimônio e sua estabilidade ainda não está estabelecida. A môça dará prova de boa vontade e capacidade para ser dona de casa.

Se não vivem no regime de maloca, talvez mais tarde o môço constrói a sua habitação independente; por ora continuará na casa de seu pai, e a sogra manda a môça preparar a manicuera e as bebidas para a festa de nupcias.

Muitas vêzes, principalmente no regime moderno de habitações familiares, o môço, como preparativo do matrimônio, já fêz a derrubada com o auxílio dos amigos. Levará, então, a môça para ver o local e dirá: «Eu fiz a derrubada, é para você fazer a plantação» (16).

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(15) Uma mulher Taryana, Teodora de Iauareté, informou-nos que a mulher nada pode dizer. Porém, se gosta do rapaz deixa-se roubar; em caso contrário, fugirá da maloca do môço.

(16) Foram as expressões da Taryana Teodora de Iauareté. Ao passo que o Tukano Antonio Barreto declarou que o pai, quando entrega a esposa ao rapaz diz-lhe: "Eu trouxe mulher para você. Vai pescar para ela". E acrescentou: "Este vai entrega-lhe o pescado, ela recebe, quer dizer que aceita o rapaz". Não se poderia, quiçá, nesses diversos formulários ver uma alusão ao fato que originariamente a Civilização Taryana era essencialmente agrícola, e a Tukano, civilização da pesca?

Nesses primeiros dias terá a jovem esposa, não só a assistência da sogra, como o esposo procurará insinuar-se, proporcionando-lhe bom pescado ou boa caça. Se ela, porém, não quiser adaptar-se a essa nova ordem de cousa, recorrerá, então, à fuga (17). No ambiente em que se acham e com seu regime de vida isto não lhe é difícil.

Se não se der a fuga, considera-se realizado o matrimônio.

Costumam, pouco tempo depois, fazer uma viagem de núpcias em que o môço em companhia de sua espôsa, vai visitar o sogro, levando-lhe presentes (peixe moqueado, fruta, etc.), e assim se vão estreitando as relações amistosas. Aparecem, outrossim, nas lendas essas viagens nupciais.

A esposa levará consigo, para o novo lar, como dote ou propriedade o seu *pikamã*, isto é, um pequeno cesto de cipó, com seus enfeites, objetos de uso e um amarrado de fôlhas contendo pó de onõña (carajuru).

Logo nos primeiros tempos de casado o marido dará uma surra na mulher. Bater-lhe-á, porém, com as mãos, assim nos asseguraram; ela não pode reagir. Embora se trate de um costume que visa experimentar a boa vontade da môça e sua capacidade de sofrimento, parece, no entanto, que a circunstância de algum desentendimento entre os esposos é que dará o ensejo a essa surra.

*a) Relação entre os esposos*

As relações entre os esposos são bastante normais. Talvez se possam dizer amistosas (18) embora sem carícias e outras manifestações de afeto, pois é certo que do convívio nasce certa familiaridade. O marido recearà que os maus tratos afugentem a mulher (19), especialmente se ainda não tiverem filho algum, pois não está ainda estabelecido o matrimônio. E, enfim ela é que trabalha para êle na roça e em casa.

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(17) Sucedeu, informou-nos a Tukano Dorotéia Brito que a vão procurar uma segunda vez. Compreende-se que assim seja, pelos acordos que precederam o casamento e suas conveniências para ambas as famílias. Se, porém, ela fugir uma segunda vez, não será mais procurada. Mas neste caso o seu pai restituirá ao môço os presentes recebidos.

(18) Tivemos a oportunidade de viajar com uma família Karapanã das cabeceiras do Papuri, e presenciar a esposa em longa e cordial conversa com o marido.

(19) Constatamos vários exemplos. Em princípio de 1954, quando de nossa viagem em Puri-cachoeira, uma Desana, casada com um Tuyuka de Cabeceiras (acima de Puri-cachoeira), em vista dos maus tratos do marido, abandonou a êste e uma criancinha de meses e retorna ao seu povoado no baixo Tiquié. Até julho dêsse ano o Missionário ainda não havia conseguido que ela voltasse para junto do seu marido.

Embora não haja lei alguma que impeça o divórcio, ou que impossibilite o divorciado de passar a outras núpcias, ambos têm sempre os olhos à dificuldade de um segundo matrimônio.

Isso não impedirá que haja desinteligências, e o marido, especialmente se embriagado, bata na mulher. Das muitas que interrogamos sôbre êste assunto, tôdas nos afirmaram os maus tratos e mesmo sevícias da parte dos seus maridos.

A mulher, porém, jamais reagirá, pois assim o mandam as leis do costume (20).

Há um costume original e seu tanto estranho, como resulta do relato da índia Taryana Teodora de Iauareté, confirmado por indígenas de outras tribos. Durante o dia e nas primeiras horas da noite, os esposos se entretêm em longas conversas, na maloca, cada qual, por exemplo, deitado na sua rede; entretanto não se falarão, pela noite a dentro. À noite são permitidas apenas as conversas de homem com homem e mulher com mulher. Se o marido chegou da sua pescaria ou caçada, já noite avançada, dependura o peixe ou a caça no vão de duas estacas ou da parede, ou em outro lugar qualquer sem dizer palavra à sua mulher, à qual só pela manhã fará entrega do fruto do seu trabalho.

*Poligamia e Poliandria*

Quer entendamos êstes termos como a possibilidade de um indivíduo ter várias esposas simultânea ou sucessivamente, e, vice-versa, uma mulher mais de um marido, não vigora presentemente entre as tribos do Uaupés.

Em conversa, vários dentre êles afirmaram que antigamente podia o homem ter duas ou três mulheres, especialmente o tuxaua (21).

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(20) Temos tido notícia, outrossim, de alguns episódios de reação por parte da mulher, especialmente quando percebe que o marido está enfraquecido pela embriaguez. É mais um golpe que vão sofrendo seus costumes e crenças.

(21) Em 1849 Wallace depunha (o. c. 636): — "Os homens, por via de regra, têm apenas uma mulher. Não há, porém, para isso um limite especial, pois muitos deles têm duas ou três. Alguns chefes têm mesmo "muitas mulheres". É o que se passa ainda com algumas tribos, por exemplo, os Karutana do Içana, os Kanu do Aiari, afirma o autor de "Pelo Rio Mar" (p. 18). Concorde é a afirmação do Cônego André Fernandes de Souza quando diz (o. c. 486): — "São dados à poligamia ou pluralidade de mulheres e há principal dentre elles com duas e três mulheres, e algumas vezes innãs uma das outras".

nunca, porém, uma mulher ter vários maridos. Nas lendas há exemplos de poligamia, não só, mas também de poliandria.

É verdade que, tendo por finalidade a procriação, o matrimônio não se considera perfeito senão após a concepção do primeiro filho. Desde os primeiros sinais de gravidez, ficou firmado o casamento.

Se após dois ou três anos de convivência, a mulher não deu à luz filho algum, o marido a considera vítima do malefício de esterilidade (22) e procurará outra espôsa.

Regularmente, porém, a mulher considerada estéril, prefere ficar com o espôso. Todos os interêsses dêste levam-no a retê-la, embora já tenha contraído um segundo matrimônio. Estamos assim diante de uma poligamia não de direito, porém de fato. Nem tal fato parece causar estranheza (23).

O fato de se considerarem os filhos como pertencendo à tribo do pai, parece revelar, como em outras nações, o conceito que tôda a capacidade reprodutora é exclusiva do pai. No entanto, sempre se atribuirá à mãe a impotência de procriar, nunca aos homens.

No período histórico, como resulta dos primeiros exploradores, já havia essas tradições. A grande revolta do ano 1757, em que foram assassinados pelos índios os povoados de Moreira e Thomar, e ameaçado o de Barcelos, teve por origem o rapto da irritação do índio Domingos Inhamuncu, do qual o Missionário fizera separar-se uma concubina (Cfr. Navio Sampaio, Diário, n. 1334). No mapa de suas atividades, datado de Caruru-cachoeira, a 1º de abril de 1853, Frei Gregorio de Bene informa: — «Será mui difficil por algum tempo unir no Santo Matrimonio e mesmo converter êstes indios por motivo que havem em poligamia e outros em concubinato» (*Archivo do Amazonas*, V. II, n. 4, p. 324). Ainda em princípio dêste século Koch Grünberg (Z. 7, 178) depõe que a poligamia é uma prerrogativa do tuxaua e cita o exemplo de José, tuxaua Tukano de Pari-cachoeira, com duas espôsas, uma Tuyuka e outra Taryana.

7) *Posição doméstico-social da mulher*

Num primeiro contacto com os indígenas do Uaupés, estranhamos a situação da mulher, parecendo-nos de evidente inferioridade.

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22) Parece que não há possibilidade de reabilitação para a mulher, isto é, casamento com outro homem, embora um Tukano por nome Mario Chaves, em resposta à nossa indagação, afirmasse a possibilidade de novas núpcias para a mulher tida como estéril.

23) Conhecem-se dêstes fatos atualmente (1947) em Taracuá e Urubucuara.

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O seu nome talvez nem seja conhecido (24). Dirão simplesmente para identificá-la: — «A mulher de fulano» ou «A mãe de sicrano». O marido usará esta expressão: «*Yo pórd-kó*», «a mãe dos meus filhos» ou «a que me dá filhos», ou «a mãe de N» e diz o nome do filho mais velho.

Seus trabalhos são constantes, pesados e de grande responsabilidade. Quiça em estado precário de saúde, por exemplo na gestação e no parto, assim mesmo ela os cumpre perfeitamente, sem se queixar, porque são prescrições da tribo, portanto procedem de uma vontade superior (25). A ela cabe o plantio e a limpa da roça. Ela passará horas inteiras ao sol, entre o fogo e a fumaça, preparando a coivara, cavando e enterrando a maniva, limpando a roça pelo processo de extirpação das ervas à mão. *Tod kuresé*. Ela é que arranca a mandioca, recolhe-a nos aturás e traz para casa, onde, depois, descasca, rala, espreme e peneira para fazer farinha. Ela é quem prepara os alimentos e os caxiris, toma conta da casa e da criação dos filhos. Isto tudo enquanto o marido talvez esteja longas horas ocioso em conversa com outros homens (26).

Ela é uma estrangeira sem nenhum direito sôbre seus filhos. Pertencem êstes ao marido, ou antes à tribo do marido. Se acaso ficar viúva poderá continuar a morar na maloca, e assim o fará ordinariamente, maxime se idosa e não pode esperar novo matrimônio. Ou voltará para a sua tribo, sem no entanto levar consigo os filhos. Na hipótese que seu marido tivesse casa isolada ou na vizinhança de outra tribo, virão os parentes da tribo do marido buscar os órfãos para a própria maloca. Se algum dos órfãos for ainda

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(24) Acontece com freqüência que o índio traz um filho para ser batizado. Quando, a fim de fazer os assentamentos, o Padre começa a indagar os nomes e pergunta como se chama a mãe da criança, o marido responde-lhe — "Não sei, pergunte a ela".

Observa-se em alguns grupos humanos, por exemplo os do rio Canabur (não porém os do Uaupés, vd adiante VIII-1, b (4) a interdição de pronunciar o nome de algumas pessoas. Explicam alguns êsse tabú do nome pela "mentalidade entelequica" dos primitivos, isto é, o nome não é algo secundário, exterior, mas *essencial* e se identifica com tal pessoa (ou objeto). Pronunciar êste nome é tornar presente aquela pessoa ou objeto sagrado, o que não é lícito (tabu religioso propriamente dito). Ou pronunciar o nome de uma pessoa (por exemplo o do próprio marido, entre tribos da Índia meridional — Cfr. Gordon, o. c. 132) e fará morrer (é o tabu mágico).

(25) Se diante do marido propositalmente manifestarmos estranheza pelos seus grandes trabalhos, a mulher sofre e nada diz.

(26) Em outras horas ela estará conversando alegremente, enquanto o homem está trabalhando.

criança de perto, talvez atendam até que a criança possa dispensar os cuidados maternos, e então, irrevogàvelmente lhos tirarão.

Quando se tratava de casá-la, foi negociada uma permuta ou noivado, sem que ela fôsse consultada. Ao instalar seu novo lar teve a prova costumeira de uma sova, e talvez, por mau caráter do marido se tenham seguido muitas outras, contra as quais ela nada pode redigir. Conforme os costumes da tribo, jamais comera com o marido; separa sua parte e, só depois que êle com seus amigos e convivas se saciaram e abandonaram o local, é que tomará seus alimentos.

Tudo isto causa espécie principalmente se atentarmos para a importância do seu atelier; isto é, ela é que executa os trabalhos necessários para a vida: planta a roça, trabalha com a mandioca, que constitui o prato cotidiano indispensável, tece as redes para dormir, fabrica os vasos para água, prepara os caxiris e a cozinha.

Deixamos, *Dio-volente*, para uma monografia o estudo dos indícios de uma civilização matriarcalista entre as tribos uaupesinas. Por ora, sabemos, com os estudiosos que passaram por essa região, que cabe ao marido a honra e a responsabilidade de chefe do grupo familiar. Quanto aos trabalhos, porém, uma observação mais atenta vem atenuar a impressão de inferioridade da mulher.

Na realidade existe uma divisão dos trabalhos entre o homem e a mulher, fixada pelo costumes. Os conceitos de importância e gravidade, peso e responsabilidade dêsses trabalhos não podem ser ponderados conforme critérios da nossa cultura, porém, sim da mentalidade indígena.

Como impressões antigas que são, talvez fôssem mais fácil de compreender-se outrora do que hoje, pelo mudar-se das circunstâncias. Atualmente são observadas ainda com grande rigor, pelo espírito de apego às tradições, característica dos indígenas, embora os dentistas tenham aconselhassem nova revisão dos costumes, e diversa distribuição dos trabalhos.

Compreende-se que o marido em épocas mais difíceis de luta entre os grupos ou contra os animais, devia estar sempre em condições físicas de poder fazê-lo e dispor do tempo necessário, sem que por isso algo viesse a faltar à sua família. Donde a conveniência de serem, esses trabalhos diários, inadiáveis, atribuídos à mulher. Com isso se provia também ao repouso indispensável à robustez física do varão o qual, em dados momentos, seria submetido a provas difíceis.

Esta observação faz-nos compreender melhor a divisão do trabalho. Aqueles labores que exigem destreza, coragem, e, até certo

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pento, fôrça física pertencem ao marido. São os homens que escolhem, cortam, transportam troncos, vigas, estacas palmas, para a construção da residência, bem como executarão todo o trabalho de construção da casa de moradia e outras barracas, auxiliares. Cabe, outrossim, ao homem a barragem dos rios com grossos troncos para a grande pescaria. A êle a caça exclusivamente, e, em grande parte a pesca, à qual as mulheres são admitidas apenas a título de auxiliares. Previamente o homem confeccionou armas e aparelhos para uma e outra coisa: canoa, cestos, redes, arcos, flechas, armadilhas, etc. Na roça coube-lhe o trabalho prévio da escolha do local e da derrubada. A defesa da roça contra os animais daninhos ou outras pessoas, é também dever seu. Dos utensílios domésticos êle é que fabrica o tipiti, balaios e peneiras, para o tratamento da mandioca, bem como os banquinhos. Quanto à alimentação, êle é quem providencia a caça, pexe e traz os frutos da mata para os cariris. E para as manifestações sociais e religiosas, êle preparou os enfeites e os instrumentos musicais. Reconhecendo, pois, o grande pêso de trabalho que recai sôbre a mulher, para a manutenção da família, pensamos que só êle não demonstra uma situação inferior da mulher.

O *Pôapéra*, em si, não é uma depreciação da mulher, já o notamos. Os presentes de núpcias, mais do que o dote dos costumes europeus, representam propriamente uma valorização da esposa. Ela é sobretudo considerada grandemente útil, não só sob aspecto da maternidade, tão desejada e apreciada, pois o índio deseja ter filhos, mas até no econômico.

Quanto a desconhecer o nome da mulher e as maneiras de a ela se referir, não parecem indicadores de inferioridade. Ela veio de outra tribo e outra língua, quiçá nome estranho. De resto não se costumam chamar pelo nome, como veremos. Em geral, ao referir-se à espôsa, o marido usa a expressão: — «A mãe de N.» e diz o nome do filho primogênito e isto parece uma associação afetiva. Ela também dirá do marido: «O pai de N.», que nos seus lábios, tem um sentido particular, como afirmação de que é filho legítimo.

Quanto aos filhos, vale a afirmação: mais do que aos pais, os filhos pertencem à tribo. Tanto a espôsa, como o marido exercem pouca autoridade sôbre os filhos, pois são criados com grande autonomia. Talvez tenha ela ainda maior ascendente do que o marido, pois, ao menos quando pequenos, estão exclusivamente a seu cuidado e chegam até a aprender o seu idioma.

Mesmo já crescidas, as filhas estão sempre a seu lado, auxiliando-a nos trabalhos.

Uma prova a mais de certa equiparação ao marido, embora à tribo dêste pertençam os filhos (27) é que se estabelece o *parentesco bilateral*, como o prova a *Nomenclatura de parentela* (28). Tanto mais notável êste fato se atentarmos ao espírito dessas nações, e como os sogros, cunhados, etc., entre os quais se passam relações amistosas, são necessàriamente de outra tribo.

É reconhecido à esposa o direito de propriedade do seu enxoval e do que fabrica, e tal direito cada vez vai tendo maior campo para se exercitar. Hoje em dia é comum ver a mulher vendendo ao civilizado a farinha que fabricou e comprando para si fazenda, linho, botões, agulha, tesoura e até objetos que diríamos de luxo, fitas, grampos, brilhantina, etc.

A mulher pode até exercer as funções de Tuxaua (29); não, porém, as de pajé. Talvez determine esta exclusão não tanto um desprêzo quanto o conceito de que não seja dotada de poder mágico necessário para o exercício da pajelança.

No casamento ela parece gozar ainda de maior liberdade que o rapaz, podendo abandonar o marido. Deve-se, pois, concluir que reconhecendo embora a primazia do marido (como também se dá em nossa civilização), considerando sob o ponto de vista doméstico-sócial, a esposa situa-se num plano de igualdade com o marido (30).

*Condição moral da mulher*

Ouvimos certa vez a uma donzela a expressão: «a mulher não vale nada». Indagamos a muitas outras mulheres, solteiras e casadas, e todas confirmaram a exatidão dêste conceito, sem saber dar maio-

(27) A [illegible] apresenta o costume europeu: a mulher, ao casar-se, [illegible] o nome de família, para adotar o do marido, cujo nome será [illegible] de todos os seus filhos.

(28) [illegible] qualificar de bilateral a nomenclatura e portanto também o parentesco. Com efeito a certos termos de consaguinidade correspondem outros de afinidade.

(29) A [illegible] tal questão aos índios [illegible] uns responderam sim, e outros [illegible] não. Como não há [illegible] escritas, só podem deduzir dos fatos. Ora, muito dêles, jamais souberam de fato algum de mulher Tuxaua. Alguém respondeu-nos precisamente que ela pode ser Tuxaua, porque nunca ouviram falar de mulher Tuxaua. Note-se que existe na língua Tuxaua o feminino *Wpopo*, têrmo que se aplica ordinàriamente à esposa do Tuxaua (*Wpopo*) e, nos centros Missionários, também à Irmã Superiora do colégio feminino. O exemplo de Caridade (p. 370) parece autorizar-nos a afirmação supra.

(30) Verificamos recentemente que esta é também a opinião de Koch Grunberg, o qual, após demorado contato com os Kubewana pôde concluir que a mulher não é a bêsta de carga, mas a inteligente dona de casa. Z. I, 354.

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tes estabelecimentos. Apenas uma acrescentou: «a mulher deve sair da propria tribo».

Não se trata de uma inferioridade, parece-nos, resultante dos seus trabalhos mais constantes que os dos homens, nem sob o aspecto político, de não exercer uma autoridade político-social mais de título que de fato, como presentemente o é o tuxáuaua.

Verificamos, sim, um grande sentimento da propria inferioridade no ânimo das mulheres. Não saberia se é exato aplicar-lhes uma expressão tão ao sabor da psicanálise freudiana, dizendo-as dominadas por um «complexo de inferioridade».

Mas lhe ratou a razão, a obrigação de trabalhar o dia todo, ao lado da propria mãe, enquanto os seus irmãos entregavam-se o dia inteiro à ociosidade e aos divertimentos, lhe terá gerado a noção dessa situação masculina privilegiada.

Entre povos de uma mentalidade racista exagerada, como são todos êles, deve ela abandonar sua tribo. Quem seria capaz de avaliar êste sacrifício? Deve viver entre estranhos, cuja língua talvez no princípio desconheça, e quiçá nunca logre possuir. Ouvindo, quem sabe quantas vêzes, metejos por êsse seu defeito, e zombarias contra a sua tribo. Com frequência se passam episódios de hostilidades entre os seus parentes e os do seu esposo, e dêsses episódios ela sofre com a notícia e com as exprobrações.

O sentimento da própria fraqueza da psique feminina, engrandecendo saber que se acha separada dos seus, talvez num ambiente de franca hostilidade à sua tribo (pois não há casamentos de amor, por eleição e tratativa dos pais). Manifestações quiçá do caráter rude do seu marido e dessa hostilidade racial serão os maus tratos.

Não tudo, muito conhecido e experimentado pelas casadas, exaspera na alma feminina o conceito da propria fraqueza. A menina que ainda não o experimentou, presencia-o, ouve-o, e espera ansiosamente sorte igual, e o seu ânimo se vai enfraquecendo e avaliando-se sempre mais.

Na grande festa de Wáx-ti, a parte mais solene lhe é interdita. Não pode assisti-la, não pode ver o instrumento misterioso sob pena de morte.

As grandes notícias das origens da tribo ela deve desconhecer. Temos a impressão que as mais perspicazes das mulheres, saibam quase tudo o que os homens mais afiliados conhecem das lendas, porém, com a convicção dolorosa para elas, de ignorar muito e o principal. De fato, temos ouvido as mesmas lendas contadas por

homens e mulheres (31). A totalidade dos homens nada mais sabem do que as mulheres. Sòmente lhes levam uma vantagem: o haver visto o instrumento misterioso, sagrado, o *Miri*, e tê-lo feito soar. Por seu lado talvez *tôdas* as mulheres supõem que o instrumento que os homens soam, seja realmente *Wãz-ti*.

Mais que tudo, porém, a decadência moral, esta sim, é máxima na mulher indígena das tribos uaupesinas. Carregando as taras de uma perversão moral, quiçá milenária, sente imperiosos os impulsos sexuais. Os costumes lhe facilitam a satisfação, e, portanto, também o seu agravamento. Mas, por isso mesmo as põe à mercê dos varões, aos quais sempre devem atender.

*Filha*, e, ao depois, *mãe*, os costumes lhe impõem até o *incesto* com caráter religioso. No exercício dessas relações, não faltarão, é natural, práticas aviltantes.

Essa decadência moral não é apta para gerar no ânimo masculino o respeito (como de fato não há) à mulher, seja ela sua irmã, sua espôsa ou sua mãe. Qualquer mulher representa para êles apenas uma empregada para os trabalhos diários, e um instrumento de prazeres muito baratos e comuns.

A mulher sente essa situação real, e quanto mais se prodiga, por impulsos íntimos, por obediência aos costumes, pelo desejo de agradar, ou por medo dos castigos, mais se avilta perante si própria.

O pouco ou nenhum hábito de ponderar as situações, a vida agitada de trabalhos e festas que leva, o saber que idêntica é a situação de tôdas as mulheres, e que se trata de um fato não susceptível de mudança, porque criado pelas leis invioláveis da tribo, mitigam um tanto seu sofrimento, gerando uma quase conformidade e aceitação dêsse estado de cousas.

Porém, quando alguma delas se põe em contacto com os civilizados, tem noção de uma melhor situação para a mulher, ouve quiçá apelos para a virtude e o próprio enobrecimento, começa, então, a avaliar o estado de decadência da mulher índia e exclama pesarosa: «a mulher não vale nada».

31. *Divisão do trabalho*

Vigora, entre as tribos do Uaupés uma divisão rigorosa dos trabalhos, de sorte que os de um sexo não farão os trabalhos mar-

(31) Nenhuma mulher nos soube contar a origem do instrumento *Miri*. Para não ferir as susceptibilidades dos indígenas, não as deixamos ler essa lenda que os homens nos contaram em confidência, nem ver o instrumento tabuado para elas.

dados para os do outro (32). Nota-se igualmente que, embora um trabalho seja complementar do outro, não o executam juntos, porém um sexo fará a sua parte antes ou após o outro.

1 — *Cabe ao homem:* construir a própria casa e providenciar todo o material ocorrente para a construção;
- a escolha do terreno para roça a derrubada e a queima;
- a caça e a pesca;
- o preparo das armas (arco, flechas, sarabatana);
- o fabrico do tipiti, balaios e peneiras para a preparação dos alimentos da mandioca;
- a preparação do ralo (33);
- a confecção dos enfeites de dança e instrumentos musicais;
- o fabrico das redes e cestos de pescas e das armadilhas;
- a execução do trocano e dos cochos de caxiri;
- a colheita do arumã e fasquias para a fabricação da cestaria, das fôlhas para a extração das fibras de tucum; bem como do barro para a cerâmica;
- a colheita das plantas venenosas e seu preparo para a pesca.

2 — *Cabe à mulher:* o plantio e limpeza da roça e a colheita da mandioca;
- a limpeza do terreno adjacente à maloca;
- carregar o aturá com a carga;
- confeccionar e queimar a cerâmica;
- fazer as redes de dormir;
- executar os serviços domésticos (acender o fogo, fazer a comida, trazer a água, a lenha, carregar os filhos, catar piolho, etc.)

b) *Os Filhos*

Os indígenas desejam filhos, donde o fato geral de todos constituírem família regular. A fecundidade do matrimônio é condição essencial para a sua validade. O nascimento do primeiro filho sela o contrato implícito de casamento e estabiliza o matrimônio, não sendo mais possível trocar de espôsa.

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(32) Esta afirmação vale, não padece dúvida, para os trabalhos tradicionais e para os indígenas com poucos ou nenhuns contactos com a civilização. Na aculturação que se vai processando, êste conceito de divisão das ocupações vai evoluindo. Com tôda a naturalidade, hoje em dia, um rapaz serve de cozinheiro para os civilizados. E' comuníssimo, igualmente, ver um homem lavar a própria roupa, como o é também, adatar-se um aturá às costas, como o fazem as mulheres, para transportar uma carga para os brancos.

(33) Vimos no Içana que cabia ao homem o preparo da tábua para o ralo, e, à mulher, a incrustação das pedrinhas.

Desejam, porém, filhos alternadamente homem e mulher, aquêles são os perpetuadores do grupo, estas, além do trabalho que produzem facilitam o casamento dos filhos homens, pelo processo de troca. Se nascem seguidamente três mulheres, o índio repreenderá a esposa, achando que é culpa dela (34).

Quanto ao número de filhos, pelas dificuldades de criá-los (máximo porque todo o pêso recai sôbre a mãe), não se encontra prole numerosa. Com alguma freqüência ocorrem 6 ou 7 filhos (35). O intervalo, já o notamos é regularmente de dois ou três anos entre os partos.

1) *Abôrto e infanticídio*

Apesar de desejarem filhos, provocam o abôrto e praticam o infanticídio. Quando não bastaram as poções esterilizantes, recorrem ao abôrto: para isso há as *Piçangas*, que a própria mulher ou sua sogra prepara. Quando nem estas foram eficientes, tenta-se o processo mecânico para matar o feto e abortá-lo até pisando no ventre da gestante. E se, apesar disso, nasce vivo o filho indesejado, elimina-se, enterrando-o vivo (36). E será de regra a própria mãe que o fará. Talvez o enterrar vivo denote certo sentimento, considerando-se, como morte mais suave. De feito forram delicadamente a cova com fôlhas de bananeira (37).

São quatro os casos regulares de infanticídio: 1.º — o do *filho ilegítimo*. Tais são todos os que nascem fora da legítima união conjugal. A razão é a vergonha que daí advém (38). Os filhos só podem derivar de matrimônio legítimo. É grave insulto dizer a alguém

(34) Um exemplo dêste foi relatado em Teresita, rio Papuri, Colômbia. Ao nascer, a mãe, primeira do sexo feminino, a mãe a enterrou viva. O Missionário indagou "Por que fez isto?" — "Porque meu marido me xingou".

(35) Note-se que nem sempre a moça se casa cedo. E, por outra parte, o género de vida envelhece-a precocemente, e talvez bem prematuramente cesse a sua fecundidade. Não nos foi dado verificar em qual idade terminam as regras na mulher. Sabemos, sim, que a menstruação inicia pelos 14 anos e que conhecem e empregam plantas para a regulação do catimônio.

(36) O missionário Pe. João Marchesi, com um tirocínio de quase 40 anos entre as tribos do Uaupés, estigmatiza "o cinismo com que enterram vivos os recém-nascidos, sufocando-os como se faria a qualquer animalzinho" (ap. "Os Tucanos", p. 26).

(37) Dentre os mais repugnantes, o episódio narrado pelo Pe. Afonso Kuipers, ocorrido ho...ovendo de Africa, margem esquerda do Papuri, Colômbia. Ele, enterrando que uma criança de seus oito anos, deforme, de cabeça grande, e como a cova era pequena, a mãe pisava na cabeça, fora da terra "para enterrar mais e não continuar chorando".

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que êle não tem pai. Há uma exceção: em geral são poupados os filhos dos civilizados (39).

Objetos da maior vergonha são os filhos incestuosos. Com o máximo segrêdo será provocado o abôrto ou executado o infanticídio.

2.º — *do quarto ou quinto filho consecutivo do mesmo sexo.* Especialmente se forem mulheres (40).

3.º — *dos filhos gêmeos.* Um dos dois será eliminado; Regularmente o segundo a não ser que outro motivo aconselhe o contrário. Por exemplo, eliminarão de preferência o defeituoso, ou a menina. Parece que a razão dêsse crime é a dificuldade, para a mãe, de criar dois filhos simultâneamente, com todo o trabalho que lhe cabe; e não outro motivo de carater mágico ou supersticioso (41). Informou Patrícia Vasconcelos que o marido bate na mulher quando dá à luz filhos gêmeos.

Entretanto causa espécie êste diverso modo de agir: quando uma criança ficou órfã de mãe não será morta, porém passará nos cuidados de outra mulher. Quando, ao invés, se trata de gêmeos, nenhuma mulher tomará a si o encargo de criar um dos recém-nascidos, mesmo quando haja alguma recém-lactante que acabou de perder o seu filho (42). Ainda nestes casos não transparece motivo algum supersticioso, senão apenas o egoísmo das mulheres e a nenhuma amizade entre si. Se tomam cuidado do órfão, é por imposição inviolável dos irrevogáveis costumes da tribo.

4.º — *dos filhos defeituosos.* Qualquer defeito físico notável é fatal ao recém-nascido. Nem se pode crer que se trate de razão mágica, senão, por um lado, a grande vaidade dos pais, sobretudo da mãe; e, por outro o pensamento que será de pêso à tribo, a qual

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(38) Não constitui, porém, impedimento matrimonial para a donzela-mãe. É um sinal de que não tem "malefício de esterilidade".

(39) Conhecem-se casos em que os avós da criança se orgulharam, porque os netos eram "filhos de branco".

(40) Em março de 1957 uma mulher ainda moça recolheu-se ao hospital de Parachoeira, rio Tiquié, em estado grave, em consequência de um abôrto. Inquérito posterior apurou que se tratava de abôrto criminoso, com expulsão do feto em dois pedaços, com intervalo de dois dias. E o caso fôra o recebe de uma criança do sexo feminino, como as duas precedentes. Não conseguimos apurar se no caso teria intervindo algum pajé, que premira o sexo do nascituro.

(41) Os Missionários têm conseguido salvar e criar alguns gêmeos, e, quando crescidos, isto depois dos quatro ou cinco anos, os pais os recebem de bom grado, antes os exigem.

(42) Confirma-o o Pe. Antonio Giacone dizendo que viu mulheres recém-parturientes descarregando os peitos, ou amamentando algum cachorrinho, antes que alimentar um filho alheio ("Os Tucanos" p.53).

precisa de indivíduos perfeitos e fortes, e só a êstes deseja. Mais fàcilmente escapam (como se comprovou) os surdos-mudos, por que só muito mais tarde conseguem verificar-lhes o defeito.

2) *O parto*

O parto considera-se uma operação fisiológica da mulher, como qualquer outra, e que não despertará atenção ou cuidados. Apesar da falta de higiene e de medidas preventivas, estas filhas de Eva parecem ter o parto mais normal do mundo. Muitas vêzes continuam trabalhando até aquêle momento (43), e reencetarão pouco depois sua vida normal trabalhosa.

Os homens, porém, sairão da maloca (ou de onde se der o parto), abandonando, quiçá, a parturiente entre dores, porque está determinado que não podem assisti-lo. Por esta razão, se há hóspedes na maloca, a parturiente se recolherá dentro de algum apartamento, se houver, ou o prepararão a tempo, para essa finalidade, ou então sairá da maloca para dar à luz no mato. Como também não deve haver no local machado, fação ou qualquer outro objeto de ferro ou metal.

Entretanto, na maioria dos casos, a mãe terá convidado outra mulher para assisti-la. Esta, como se fôra madrinha da parturiente, adquire sôbre ela alguns direitos: chamá-la-á *Mar-kôá* (*afilhada*), e, por seu turno, di-la *Pax-koá* (madrinha), e deve prestar-lhe os serviços pedidos.

A fim de esconjurar qualquer mal para o recém-nascido, o paje ou um *Kamã* vira «sopra-lo» e a sua mãe, com a fumaça do seu cigarro, informou Dorotéia Brito. Como preventivo de doenças marcará o rosto da criança com numerosas mas pequenas manchas vermelhas da substância mágica carajurú.

3) *Nhã-pkô* («Couvade» ou chôco)

Vigora o chôco (*Couvade*) entre as tribos do Uaupés (44). Mal nascida a criança, a mãe, com auxílio da *Pax-koá*, corta-lhe o cordão umbilical. Outrora faziam-no batendo entre duas pedras, hoje com uma graminea cortante, a tiririca, ou uma fasquia de taquara, ou

(43) Foi-nos relatado pela Irmão leigo Salesiano, o Agrônomo Teotônio Ferreira, no caso de uma índia em S. Gabriel, a qual trabalhou na roça pela manhã, à tarde teve criança, e do dia seguinte veio retomar seu trabalho. São freqüentes os casos em que os Missionários mandam-nas tomar repouso e elas recusam.

(44) De algumas lendas de evidente origem patriarcalista, resulta que não mais existe o chôco. É que a mulher é que se recolhia à rede nos seus incômodos. A narradora, Dorotéia Brito, a certa altura da lenda

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mesmo uma tesoura (45), e leva a criança ao rio para o banho.

Salvo raros casos de parto difícil (raríssimos os de morte) a mãe retoma logo os cuidados e trabalhos da casa. O marido, porém, se considera em estado de gravidez, *Nihi-pkô* de *Nihi*, criança, e *pkô* (*-kô*, pai). Por isso deve pôr-se de repouso ou resguardo, *Sihyogo*, durante seis dias (46): não trabalhará, evitará sair de casa, de tomar sol, passará a maior parte do tempo na rede e sujeita-se a uma rigorosa dieta. «Se o pai trabalhar a criança adoece, chorará dia e noite», assim nos explicaram.

É o conceito da ligação do pai com o seu filho, como sendo o próprio pai que se reproduz. Tudo, pois, o que acontece ao pai, não pode deixar de afetar a criança. Como o esfôrço, uma alimentação mais grosseira prejudicaria a criança, o pai deve abster-se dessas coisas (47). A espôsa, então, é que servirá ao marido cuidadosamente.

Tanto o pai, como a mãe, durante quatro dias só se alimentarão de mingau, sendo vedado o uso do peixe. É o tabú da alimentação.

O recém-nascido é uma reprodução do pai. A mãe faz apenas o papel da terra em que germinou a semente: quem produziu a semente foi a árvore, cuja natureza a semente reproduzirá. Desta concepção (48) derivam lògicamente duas conseqüências: a primeira é o chôco ou resguardo do pai, a segunda, é que o filho pertence a tribo paterna e não à de sua mãe.

4) - *Imposição do nome*

Pelos três anos de idade, quando a criança já caminha desembaraçadamente e começa a falar e dar os primeiros indícios de com-

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acrescentou espontaneamente que "antigamente era a mulher que se deitava na rede".

(45) O Tuxaua da tribo Jue-masã das cabeceiras do Komé-ya, afluente do Piri-paraná, pediu-nos com instância que na visita sucessiva lhe trouxessemos uma tesoura, de cuja utilidade ouvira falar.

(46) Temos visto alguns dos índios que freqüentaram as escolas da Missão submeterem-se a tal costume. E a palavra do missionário que tenta mostrar a inutilidade do costume, respondem: "Os velhos assim o querem".

(47) Esta crença da ligação íntima entre a saúde e bem-estar do pai e do filho, não vale apenas nos primeiros dias do recém-nascido, senão também que dura tôda a vida. D. José Domitrovitsch, quando superior da Missão de Pari-cachoeira pôde assistir o seguinte episódio: Julio, o Tuxaua Tukano local, ao saber que seu filho Mandú (o atual tuxaua, 1956) fôra mordido por uma jararaca, abandona o trabalho, vai para a sua casa, põe-se na rede e de regime, a fim de que não se agrave o estado do filho, o qual se salvou graças à injeção anti-ofídica que imediatamente lhe aplicou o Missionário.

(48) É um conceito evidentemente patriarcalista. Note-se que afirma o Pe. João Marchesi haver ouvido do Tuxaua Tukano Julio, de Pari-cachoeira, expressões semelhantes às dos Judeus (que eram patriarcalistas): "Os filhos do meu útero".

prensão, procede-se ao rito de *imposição do nome*, rito que termina com um caxiri.

Até esse momento a criança é *Oé*, isto é, «sem nome». Assim no-lo traduzem, nem sabem dar outra explicação dêste têrmo.

Cabe ao pai, conforme o relato da Taryana Teodora, escolher um nome. Uma circunstância qualquer do momento, ou certa particularidade notada na criança, inspirará o nome. Percebe-se que assim os nomes podem se repetir, e efetivamente se repetem com grande freqüência, embora não haja obrigação de impor o nome dos antepassados (49).

Com a mentalidade realista do indígena, podem aparecer não só nomes belos e poéticos, mas também ridículos e até indecorosos.

A convite do pai, dois velhos, possivelmente o pajé e um *Komũ*, ou dois *Komũ*, munidos de cigarro, e um dêles também com uma panela (como informou Dorotéia Brito), com brasa e resina, no próprio local do nascimento sopram a fumaça e defumam o ambiente em derredor, bem como a mãe da criança, «para não ficar doente», explicam. Por isso se diz «Nome Soprado, *Baxéke Wamê*». É um rito que valoriza o nome imposto e tem a fôrça mágica de esconjurar da criança qualquer malefício.

Esta função dura um dia inteiro de sol a sol (50). Aparece ainda neste rito uma mulher com a função de *Pax-koi*, que nos traduzem por *Madrinha*. A criança é deixada à vontade, divertindo-se dentro da maloca, porém a intervalos sua *pax-koi* derrama abundantemente sôbre ela um corante preto, preparado com a planta [illegible], deixando-o escorrer pela cabeça e o corpo do bebê. Os *Komũa*, e todos os presentes servem-se em profusão da bebida (caxiri) preparada para esta circunstância, e que é dada também à criança.

Não sabemos se no nosso conhecimento o que Stradelli escrevera sôbre a imposição do nome e o lemos a Dorotéia Brito, a qual confirmou que não se passa atualmente como foi escrito por aquêle autor no fim do século passado. Por essa razão transcrevemos o que se lê no seu Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português, ao verbete *Mainã* (p. 307):

«A de dar o nome, é uma das bonitas cerimonias indigenas, a que tenho assistido mais de uma vez. A imposição do nome se effectua

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(49) A obrigação de dar aos recem-nascidos os nomes dos ancestrais, é costume dos *Juruna* a reencarnação, e tais não são os destes tribos.

(50) Em junho de 1955, o seringalista Armando Sarmento, pôde assistir semelhante cerimônia entre os *Kuikúruna* do alto Uaupés. Observou, entretanto, que entre as cinzas de caxiri e as fumaças do cigarro ritual, os *Komũa* iam narrando a história das origens do grupo, com o particular que, em se tratando de crianças do sexo feminino, os narradores omitem as passagens referentes a *Wáx-ti*.

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quando o menino, que deve recebê-lo, já começa a fallar e já anda por si, — entre os dous e três annos de edade. No dia aprazado os vizinhos se reunem todos desde a madrugada, logo depois do banho matinal, na casa dos paes. O pagé, o pae do menino e o mais velho dos parentes, que tomaram banho mais cedo, estão desde antes do levantar do sol fechados num repartimento especial, preparado *ad hoc*, na extremidade opposta à entrada. Cada um tem na mão uma cuia de carajuru da luz, e no chão, no meio dos três, está fumando o cigarro ceremonial. Os que chegam se assentam em bancos dispostos de forma a deixar no centro entre a porta da frente e a dos fundos uma passagem livre e desempêdida. As mulheres vão para a cozinha. Os três que estão fechados no quartozinho, depois de ter cada um enchidas as bochechas de fumaça, logo ao nascer do sol assopram por cima das cuias de carajuru em todas as direções, invocando pelos seus nomes as mães das cousas que vivem no ceu, nas aguas, nas mattas e sobre a terra, para virem e prestar attenção ao nome, que o menino vai receber, para protegê-lo e acompanhá-lo na vida, como protegeram e accompanharam os paes e os avós delle, que nunca faltaram com o que é devido às mães das cousas. A litania não é curta, e levam horas na invocação feita em voz alta, mas sem acompanhamento por parte dos assistentes, que sentados nos bancos, nas redes, em terra como podem, enchem a casa, e bebem caxiry, que é servido largamente pelas mulheres que estão na cozinha e somente vem para este serviço. Quando o sol chega a pino, isto é, ao meio dia os officiantes, que ficaram fumando e bebendo calados desde que acabou a primeira invocação, recomeçam outra vez. A terceira invocação começa umas duas horas antes de deitar-se o sol; mas então já não se acham na casa somente os homens, mas tambem todas as mulheres e todas as crianças, e todos repetem em altas vozes o nome de cada mãe das cousas que os três velhos invocam. A criança que deve receber o nome é deixada a brincar à vontade no meio do quarto, com os outros meninos se os ha, e quando está para desapparecer o ultimo raio do sol, o pagé, que com o pae do menino e o parente mais velho saiu do quartinho onde passou o dia, o pega nos braços e apresentando-o ao sol, de modo a fazer-lhe receber os ultimos raios diz o nome, e este é então repetido por todos em altas vozes. O nome que o menino recebe é muitas vezes o nome, que já trouxe algum dos avós ou algum outro nome de que ao momento se agradem, e isto especialmente se trata de filho do chefe. Muitas vezes, todavia, o nome do menino é escolhido e lhe é dado em attenção ao objecto que estava pegando no momento em que o pagé o pegou para apresentá-lo ao sol, ao gesto que fez, à palavra que disse, porque então é como se o proprio sol lhe

[illegible] o nome. Isso, pois explica como em muitos casos, quando se procura a significação dos nomes indígenas, se tem a surpresa de encontrar significações as mais disparatadas.

Observa-se atualmente que, mesmo antes do batismo, além do *Barzéke Wimé* dado pelo pagé, recebe outro nome cristão, ou melhor um nome que costumam usar os civilizados. Em geral não se nomeiam senão por êste nome cristão.

Muitas vezes recusam revelar ao civilizado o «nome soprado». Não é provável que nesta recusa entre um terror supersticioso do tabu do nome (31), como se o nome representasse parte da personalidade, e, por isso, revelá-lo seja prejudicial ao indivíduo. Com efeito tratam-se pelo nome cristão, e, com relativa facilidade indicam o próprio «nome soprado» e os dos companheiros. As crianças no colégio por brincadeira e zombaria chamam os companheiros pelo *Barzéke Wimé*. Ocultam-no por vergonha, seja indecoroso ou não a fim de parecerem civilizados.

Observa-se uma tendência a abreviar os nomes: Candi (por Candido), Bepe (Bernardo), Mandu (Manoel). E muitos, pela dificuldade de pronúncia, adulteram os nomes: Sahá (Sebastião), Puluno (Paulino), Burigurio (Gregório), Dui (Luiz), Inhú (João), Dafik (Manoel), etc.

Gostam outrossim de dar alcunhas grotescas aos companheiros, mais nos colégios.

Vejamos alguns dos nomes mais usados entre as tribos do Uaupés:

| Nomes de homem | Nomes de mulher |
|---|---|
| [illegible] | Anodiro |
| [illegible] um passaro preto | Bu[illegible] (o peixe Tucunaré) |
| Di[illegible] (dente-de-gato) | Dieiro |
| [illegible] | Dutiko (sentada) |
| [illegible] (um peixe) | Dumuha |
| K[illegible] | Koá |
| Kahar | Nemé paxko (mão do veado) |
| Nema suaro (chifre do veado) | |
| Sykã (preto, negro) | Sykã (preto, negro) |
| Omõs | |

(31) Pierre Gordon ("L'initiation sexuelle et l'évolution religieuse", p. 132) explica pelo tabu do nome a "teknonimia", isto é, o costume (de resto bastante espalhado: Asia, Africa, América, Oceania), de não proferir o nome do pai e designá-lo pela expressão: "o pai de Fulano" (dizendo o nome do filho). A omissão do nome seria um sinal de respeito, como se dá, em muitos lugares, o nome dos objetos sagrados e a Judeus, o de Jeová. E assim relata que entre os Gala há interdição de citar o nome do pai, pois, pronunciá-lo, porém, o ser o da própria mãe ou esposa, porque estão em posição inferior. Igualmente entre as tribos do Caburi a mulher jamais pronuncia o nome do marido, dirá sempre "o Pai de N."

| | |
|---|---|
| [illegible] (frieira) | Ori pex-kô (mãe das flores) |
| [illegible] (grande, grosso) | |
| [illegible] (cobra sentada) | Pirô dohoo (cobra sentada) |
| [illegible] (calvo, sem cabelo) | |
| [illegible] (espuma) | Semé (paca) |
| [illegible] | Sumé |
| [illegible] pôrã (filhos do sibya) | Supyá |
| [illegible] tuãni | |
| [illegible] | |
| [illegible] (rouxinol) | |
| [illegible] (cacho de pupunha) | |
| [illegible] (vento) | Wexkoryó (um pássaro) |
| Yupu-kúnyá (pessoa lendária) | |
| Yuxxá-ro (uma madeira) | |
| Yuxuri | Yu'sio |
| Entre os *Tuyuka* também | Entre os *Baré* |
| Tunu (flauta) | Dwenomyo |
| Kafini | Kamoã |
| [illegible] (pé) | Nuã |
| | Nemi |
| | Yawira |
| | Yexpádwa |

5) *Designação dos filhos conforme a idade*

É variada a nomenclatura que usam para designar a criança, de acôrdo com o seu desenvolvimento:

1.º — Até o dia da imposição do nome diz-se *bê*;

2.º — «*Mani*, parece, é um têrmo usado em alguns lugares equivalente a *bebê*;

3.º — Nos primeiros meses, visto que o bêbe tem a epiderme mais clara e avermelhada, dizem-no *Sodpêxkô*, isto é, vermelhinho (Fem. *Sodpêxkô*; pl. *Sodrá-kô*);

4.º — Quando já tem o corpinho um pouco mais firme, de sorte que já pode ficar sentado no colo, carregado ao braço ou reclinado no ombro, dizem-na *Duhipó* (F. *Duhípó*, pl. *Duhirá*), (que quer dizer «o que se senta», ou *Dóxpó-peopo* (F. *Dóxpó-peopo*, pl. *Dóxpo-pirá*), i. e. «reclinado ao ombro»;

5.º — Diz-se *Dóapô* ou *Buapó* (F. *Buapó* ou *Dóapó*, pl. *Dúdrá* ou *Pádrá*), quando já engatinha (de boa, engatinhar); isto é «o engatinhante»;

6.º — Quando já começa a firmar-se sôbre as pernas dizem-na *Nú'kûpó* (F. *nû'kûpó*, pl. *Nû'kû-rá*), i. e. «o que está de pé» (de *nû'kû*, estar de pé);

7º — Quando já caminha dizem-na, por isso mesmo *Syagõ* ou *Sihyãgo* (F *Syago* ou *Sihyãgo*, pl *Saúrá* ou *Sihyãrã*), i. e «o caminhante» (de *sihyã*, caminhar).

8º — Pelos dois ou três anos se diz *Bũrkõdikõ* ou *Bõrkõdikõ* (F *Buxkõdikõ* ou *Bõrkõdikõ*, pl. *Buxkõrikã* ou *Bõrkõrãs kã*), i.e «cresidinho» (de *bũrkõ*, crescer), ou *Bũrko-po*, pl. *Buxkõrã-põ*).

9º — Após a imposição do nome é *Buxtuyãgõ* ou *Buxtuyõgõ* (F *Buxtuyãgõ*, *Bũxtuyõgo* pl. F *Buxtuyãrã*, *Buxtuyõrã*).

10º — Dos seis anos mais ou menos, até a iniciação é *Wi'nãpõ* (F *Wi'nãpõ*, pl. *Wi'nãrã*).

11º — Desde a época da iniciação pubertária, o rapaz se diz *Ni'nã* e a donzela, *Nõ'nyõ*. (Não se confunda com *nũ'nyõ*, mulher).

12º — Para indicar que já está ficando mais encorpado, usam as expressões *Niri-bũrkõ* ou *Niri-bõrkõ*, para o rapaz, *Niri-buxkõõ*, para a donzela (pl. M. e F. *niri-buxkõrã*).

C — *Educação dos filhos*

Em toda a primeira infância as crianças de um e outro sexo estão dos cuidados maternos. O bebê passará da rede para os braços maternos ou de uma irmã mais velha, e dormirá na mesma rede com sua mãe. Dar-lhe-á esta do seu leite, mais tarde mingau de farinha ou de banana.

Levará a criança ao banho, pela manhã, depois à roça, onde ficará deitada a uma pequena rede à sombra de uma árvore, ou de algum modo espetado no chão, ou sob as vistas de alguma irmã, enquanto a mãe trabalha.

Sol, chuva, banhos, picadas de insetos, tudo contribuirá para ir endurecendo a delicada epiderme e habituando aquêle organismo à resistência.

Voltando para casa, com um aturá às costas, cheio de raízes de mandioca, a mãe trará sua criança de encontro ao peito, com auxílio de larga embira, que lhe pende do pescoço, (é o processo que se diz *sã-tõa*) ou acavalada ao quadril, *sã-rõã*.

Estando sempre em companhia da própria mãe, a criança aprenderá antes a sua língua (52), se a mãe ainda não aprendeu o idioma do marido. Os meninos, apenas crescidos, pelos cinco anos, se emancipam dos cuidados maternos e seguirão de preferência o pai

(52) — Acontece que os meninos logo seguirão o pai e se esquecerão da língua materna. A própria mãe, depois de algum tempo de casada, talvez se fará o idioma dos habitantes da maloca. Por isso raramente os filhos saberão o idioma materno. Temos verificado que, no máximo, êles conhecem apenas alguns vocábulos.

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à caça ou à pesca ou ficam brincando em grupos pelo mato, à procura de frutos ou pelos rios, nadando e pescando.

As meninas, ao contrário, continuam ao lado e sob a vigilância da própria mãe (53), ajudando-a, conforme a sua capacidade, nos seus trabalhos. Vão com a mãe à roça, arrancam raízes de mandioca, voltam com seu fardo de mandioca ou de lenha, ou carregando algum irmão menor, tomam conta das crianças e até ajudam na preparação dos alimentos.

A menina embora destinada a abandonar a nação e, como esposa, fundar uma família em outra tribo, é contudo elemento de grande valor econômico para seus pais. Em alguns casos os pais a cedem aos civilizados, para os serviços de casa, em troca da conveniente recompensa; ao atingir porém, a puberdade, buscá-la-ão para o rito da iniciação e depois para o casamento conforme os costumes da tribo (54).

Se, por acaso, um indivíduo morre deixando filhos em outro povoado ou maloca, um seu «irmão» (será um parente próximo, o tuxaua ou outro qualquer) fazendo longa viagem, se necessário for, irá buscar os órfãos de cuja manutenção e educação se encarregará.

É extraordinàriamente grande o espírito de liberdade em que são criados os meninos. Vão aonde querem, sem licença dos pais ou sequer aviso prévio (55). Agem como lhes apraz. Não atendem aos pedidos que lhes dirigem os pais. Não executam os trabalhos pedidos. Os mínimos caprichos da criança (56) são atendidos. Desde cedo oficialmente fumam e bebem as bebidas fermentadas nos cauins. Com tal independência poder-se-ia prever o desenvolver-se de tipos revoltosos e briguentos, o que efetivamente não se dá. É que, contrabalançando ao espírito de autonomia existe o de absoluta adesão às leis disciplinares da tribo, espírito que se desenvolve com

(53) Notava um Missionário que à menina, habituada a estar sempre ao lado da própria mãe, custa-lhe muito a vida do internato no colégio das Missões, ao passo que os meninos se adaptam mais fàcilmente, nem pensam em voltar para a casa.

(54) O Pe. Humberto Limpens citou-nos um caso sucedido pouco antes de 1947. Até a época do casamento a menina ficou trabalhando com os brancos. O pai o havia permitido como paga de uma espingarda.

(55) Frei Laureano da Cruz narra como uma imprudência do capitão João Palácios, na denominada "Província dos Encabelados" (por trazerem os índios cabelos muito compridos) provocou o ressentimento dos indígenas que trucidaram o capitão e muitos civilizados. E explica: "É gente tão fidalga que até dos próprios pais não toleram um piparote" ("Descobrimentos" p. 98).

(56) O menino é que decide se se vai internar no colégio, se não voltará no ano seguinte, se quer sair no decorrer do ano, etc. Os pais nada fazem ou dizem para essas decisões.

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as crenças, e firma-se pelo exemplo dos velhos e as práticas cerimoniais.

Não há realmente nenhuma escola ou instrução oficial, a não ser o «curso de iniciação pubertária». Porém, a maloca quer com sua vida habitual, ou a extraordinária das festas, é tôda ela uma escola prática e social.

Um «curso de profissão doméstica», a filha o faz ao lado da mãe, vendo-a trabalhar, ajudando-a, recebendo as suas correções. Ao chegar à idade núbil, estará perfeitamente preparada para organizar e dirigir o novo lar, como dificilmente uma sua coetânea dentre os civilizados o conseguira. Atualmente, nos educandários das Missões, não se freqüentam um verdadeiro «curso de economia doméstica», mas até algumas se habilitam em trabalhos que são especialidades de outra tribo (57).

Preparando seus pequenos arcos e flechas para os divertimentos, ou vendo trabalhar os homens e, algumas vêzes, auxiliando-os espontâneamente, os meninos também se habilitam nos diferentes trabalhos masculinos (58). É todo um processo intuitivo de aprendizagem, despertando o interêsse das crianças, desenvolvendo a capacidade de imitação que possuem bem radicada, num ambiente de liberdade, alegria e bem-estar. Um conjunto, enfim, de condições de acôrdo com a psique indígena, e por isso asseguradoras de um feliz resultado. Não raro os rapazes se tornam mais hábeis que os próprios pais.

Há certos trabalhos que executam coletivamente, ou, ao menos, com auxílio de outros, como as derrubadas, as limpas da roça, a construção das casas, a fabricação das canoas. Êsses se fazem com desenvolvimento de uma maior alegria e emulação, que favorecem o crescimento do amor ao trabalho e ao seu aprimoramento.

Pode-se, sem receio, afirmar que os pais se interessam pela educação material dos filhos. É ambição do pai que seu filho seja um guapo pescador, marinheiro ou caçador (59). Não lhe negará para isso os seus conselhos e sua experiência.

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(57) Contudo êstes trabalhos, que estão fora do padrão primitivo da tribo, constituem conhecimento que a mãe ou não ensinará ou talvez a filha não queira aprender. E' fato que muitas verificamos: as filhas não sabem tudo o que sabe e faz sua mãe.

(58) Nunca, porém, nos femininos. Riam-se, a princípio, contou-nos o Pe. João Marchesi, quando viam o Missionário acender fogo e preparar a própria comida, porque "é trabalho de mulher". Hoje em dia já se vê um homem da geração môça, que passou pelas escolas da Missão, carregando um seu filhinho, quando a mulher está onerada com um alguém nas costas ou outros grandes pesos.

(59) Hoje muitos pais já se interessam por algo mais, e trazem seus filhos à Missão para que os faça "brancos". Um pai trazendo uma menina de seus oito anos para o colégio, recomendava à Diretora que a "instruísse, ensinasse o português, a fim de que depois pudesse casar

7) *Iniciação puberfaria*

Por iniciação puberfaria ou «rito de passagem» entende-se a entrada oficial do indivíduo que atingiu a puberdade, para a vida social da tribo, passando a tomar a responsabilidade de suas ações. Para isso recebera também a devida instrução sôbre o «direito costumeiro» do grupo a que pertence, às obrigações e direitos dos indivíduos. E também, só para os rapazes, a explicação de certos costumes e as lendas que constituem o patrimônio histórico e cultural do grupo.

Tanto os do sexo masculino como os do feminino devem submeter-se ao «rito de iniciação puberfaria» (60), após um curso teórico-prático. Trata-se de uma função religiosa, como se fôsse a consagração ou santificação do indivíduo, que é integrado no grupo dos cultuadores de Wáx-tí.

a) *Curso de iniciação masculina — Mirí-mêra d'mó-yesé* (61)

Conforme o número de habitantes de uma maloca, os jovens, ao atingirem a puberdade (62) (pràticamente quando começam a mudar de voz), são reunidos em grupos, em lugar apartado, para o curso de iniciação, que se denomina *Mirí-mêra d'mó-yesé*, isto é «rito de iniciação com os instrumentos sagrados ou *Mirí*». Em muitos casos improvisam-se para isso barracas mais no interior das matas.

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sem branco". Depois que passou alguns anos no colégio, a criança se considera superior, e como tal é tida pelos outros. Passou a ser "branco".

(60) Os Missionários com ação paciente e prudente vão conseguindo alterar os costumes "malévolos" embora lentamente, com adoção dos costumes cristãos e extirpação dos que se opõem à moral do Evangelho, ficando tão só os que não ferem a esta moral. Por exemplo, muitos dentre os rapazes se acham internados nos colégios da Missão na época da iniciação puberfaria. São poucos os casos em que os jovens, em tal época da vida, deixam de voltar ao colégio, a fim de passarem pelo "rito da iniciação". E alguns afirmam que o rapaz pode casar-se mesmo sem se haver submetido a tal rito.

(61) Estes dados se baseiam em descrições feitas por indígenas das tribos Tukano, Wanana, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Tuyuka, Desana, Baré, Kumãdene e Baré. Este último informante fê-lo conforme reminiscências de sua iniciação, mais de trinta anos antes, em Tamanduá. É, porém, um costume geral de tôdas as tribos da região do grupo Tukano, como do Arawak e do Maku, assim afirmaram os próprios indígenas.

(62) O Baré Plácido de Melo informou-nos que, quando da sua iniciação eram ao todo uns 20 rapazes, e os instruíam umas dez pessoas, entre pajés e Komãã. Era, porém, tremendamente enfadonho. Quando um pajé acabava de falar, vinha outro, repetindo as mesmas coisas. Alguns já bêbados. Eles ouviam com medo, acreditando em tuco. Lembrava-

O curso que dura várias semanas, ou até dois e três meses, conforme o aproveitamento dos alunos, é dirigido por um ou mais pajés e *Komdá* simultâneamente. Há um conjunto de provas dolorosas (63) para verificar o espírito de sacrifício e resistência dos rapazes. Desprovidos de roupas, ficam sujeitos às intempéries, quatro vêzes são açoitados pelos *Komdá*, nas costas com caniço, mantendo os braços cruzados no peito e não podem chorar (64). Alguma criança disfarça para enxugar as lágrimas, disse um informante.

Põem-lhes punhados de pimenta na bôca e ordenam que as mastiguem. Quando são vários, estão dispostos em linha, e, com um pau cavam um buraco no qual cuspirão depois. O não acertar com o orifício, será motivo para castigo. Pela madrugada tomam banho no rio, ao regressar bebem um pouco de *Kazpi*.

São obrigados a grande jejum, *bo'tsó*, e seu alimento obrigatório são as larvas das cabas.

Passam horas inteiras sentados ao chão, ouvindo os pajés narrando as tradições, contando as lendas, ensinando as obrigações como membros da tribo, esposos e pais, dando conselhos, fixando as relações com as tribos vizinhas. Estas instruções são entremeadas de cantos e do aprendizado de fabricação dos cestos, redes de pesca, e outros trabalhos dos homens.

Ao narrar as histórias dos *Mi-ki*, põem ao lado de cada menino um dos instrumentos misteriosos, a fim de poder observá-lo bem (65). Não consta que haja o instrumento «serra-bois» (*bull-roar*) entre êsses índios.

Devem dar prova de aproveitamento dessas instruções, diversamente são batidos pelos *Komdá*. Êsse curso, embora curto, é, porém, intensivo e exerce grande influência nos jovens. Cresce no-

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se de um velho pajé que sabia muitas histórias e as contava muito no início nas reuniões. Nos povoados menores, será talvez um único candidato a iniciação, como foi o caso de Felisberto de Urubucuara, e do jovem Gracciano Carvalho, Pirá-tapuya de Tuiá-punha. Êste ficou dois meses isolado numa casa e ali vinham os velhos durante as lições e contar-lhe as histórias que êle devia repetir no dia seguinte.

(63) Parece que há campo para a inventiva na aplicação das provas. Num povoado de Tiquie, encontramos dois rapazes que traziam em cada braço uma ferida do redor do punho, como se fôra produzida por uma algema.

(64) Constatou-nos de um jovem que não resistiu aos golpes e sentindo-se humilhado e desprezado pelos da tribo, teve que retirar-se pôr-se a serviço dos brancos em S. Gabriel.

(65) O instrumento é elemento essencial para a iniciação masculina. Além das informações positivas obtidas, dá-lo o próprio nome do rito: "No pera-ré mi-ki-mãra a'mo-yérú" exprimem-se os indígenas, isto é, iniciação dos filhos com instrumento. Esta é também a opinião de Koch G. (Z. I, 320).

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os o temor do pajé (66), tomam consciência que deixaram de ser meninos, tornam-se sérios, graves, ostentando certa altivez no seu procedimento, pois agora são cidadãos perfeitos e habilitados a constituir família.

Termo dêsse curso é o incesto com a propria mãe, com a assistência do pai e do pajé ou *Kowú*, assim depuseram indigenas de varias tribos. Êsse rito marca o início da vida sexual pública, porque até essa época só podem praticá-lo às escondidas.

*(b) — Curso de iniciação feminina — Mó-yóãsé* (67)

De modo semelhante a menina «quando fica môça», conforme a expressão indígena, isto é, quando atinge a idade das regras (68) e lhe vem o primeiro mênstruo, *a mósé*, deve passar pelo rito de iniciação pubertária.

Naturalmente não se pode com antecipação marcar data para isso. Compreende-se igualmente que é praticamente impossível realizar-se êsse rito com um grupo inteiro, como na iniciação masculina se atentarmos que são pequenos povoados ou apenas uma maloca.

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(66) Nota: instiu muito um dos informantes, grande medo do pajé, pois, [illegible] não lhes bater diretamente, cremava que os velhos, os *Kumãã* o fizessem.

(67) Corria que se pratica também, e com especial solenidade, entre os Cubeos descendentes dos índios Coiana, no interno da mata a uns três quilômetros de S. Joaquim do Cuanê (foz do Uaupés). Ouvimos a desmentida que seria diretamente de pessoas que passaram pelo rito, duas delas logo imediatamente após a iniciação, podendo não só fotografar [illegible] os cabelos cortados, mas alcançando até mediante a [illegible] um vestido, os seus cabelos. Pertencendo os informantes a [illegible] tribos (Tukano, Pira-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana, Bará e Makú) pudemos verificar que [illegible] é o mesmo. O que de particular havia em uma narração se [illegible] no conjunto, e talvez se dera com tôdas, embora alguma se [illegible] de narrar aquêle pormenor. Mais ainda, afirmaram-nos que em tôdas as tribos se realiza de modo semelhante o *mó-yóãsé*.

(68) Denominam-no "doença da lua, Mihã-pã dur"ã". É uma prova a mais entre tantas que tivemos, de como a vida íntima de cada qual é perfeitamente conhecida de tôda a comunidade. O primeiro mênstruo se dá pelos 12 anos, embora a criança aparente, pelo seu desenvolvimento físico, apenas uns dez. As crianças de ambos os sexos só alguns anos após a idade pubertária é que se encompam, isto é, só depois dos 14 ou 15 anos é que se dá, e de maneira quase sensível, o desenvolvimento do corpo, "tornam-se moços". No aparecimento do mênstruo, como na idade crítica da mulher, e pubertária do homem, não se notam perturbações fisiológicas anormais. A menstruação, como a concepção, sobrevém com regularidade durante todo o ano. De ordinário o catamênio é pouco abundante e não ultrapassa um dia.

A primeira menstruação é um fato perigoso para a jovem, ela pode ser vítima de Bisiu (VII — 4, d (5 c), *Bisíu a'mõsé-re bodsami*, [illegible] isto é Bisiu come o mênstruo. Conforme explicam, como quer dizer que viria fecundá-la (69). (Vd. «*Lendas do Uaupés*»). A donzela será, então, a primeira a anunciar o fato e pedir a intervenção do pajé [illegible] Kamã (70).

Ademais, o rito é desejado pela menina, não só porque lhe dá liberdade para as relações sexuais públicas, como também porque, conforme as suas convicções, êsse rito lhe vai assegurar [illegible] felizes, como depuseram várias jovens. Por essa razão nenhuma donzela ousaria casar-se sem o rito pubertário e o *pió-podsé* (couto de iniciação). Alguma donzela nubil especialmente as educadas nos colégios, talvez diga, por acanhamento (71) que não praticou o rito. No entanto, ela mesma afirmará, em consonância com as outras, que uma mulher não se pode casar sem se haver submetido a essas práticas.

Patrícia Vasconcelos deu a seguinte explicação da necessidade do rito, conforme instrução obtida do seu tio Marco de S. Luzia, rio Pa-

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(69) Vários dados singulares fenômeno de aculturação ou adaptação. Uma jovem por exemplo, [illegible] no colégio na época da primeira mestruação. Ela realizará o rito talvez muitos meses depois, quando volta ao [illegible]. Nem [illegible] conforme informação das próprias jovens, [illegible] mãe [illegible] instruir para realização do rito. Quanto ao [illegible] que [illegible] os costumes.

(70) [illegible] jovens informantes asseguraram que será mais feliz a donzela [illegible] rito com um moço mais forte. Outra acrescentou que o [illegible] casaria se fosse com um branco.

(71) A jovem Tuxaua Patrícia Vasconcelos, órfã criada na Missão de Iauaretê [illegible] 23 [illegible] 1936, tendo passado a maior parte da vida [illegible] Missão Salesiana, sempre negou haver-se submetido [illegible] Entretanto numa conversa aos 9 de março de 1956, [illegible] todo êsse tempo tenha sido bem a afirmação: "Agora não se [illegible] ação", em muitas ocasiões têm afirmado que [illegible] mesmo [illegible] confissão e comunhão, continuam [illegible] práticas antigas, também os ex-alunos e ex-alunas [illegible] Missão. Em Setembro de [illegible] em Taracuá, a propósito do rito [illegible] pubertária disse-me eloqüentemente: — "Até as cristãs fazem [illegible]". Pelo dia 4 ou 5 de março de 1956 contou um episódio que se deu consigo na última temporada em que estivera com seus parentes de S. Luzia de setembro de 1955 a fevereiro de 1956, episódio que documenta como dos próprios indígenas cristãos só lentamente se consegue extirpar as crenças primitivas. Um dia, sentira-se um tanto mal (os incômodos habituais das senhoras). O seu tio Marco, o qual, embora cristão, continua como pajé a praticar o "sôpro" e os outros ritos de Kamã, indaga se ela já havia feito o rito da puberdade. Respondeu-lhe ela que ainda não, o seu tio continuou: "Pois é, minha filha (sic), isso é porque você não fêz o rito. Vamos fazê-lo agora!" Ela não aceitou (disse-nos). Então o tio dura-lhe a explicação do incômodo e da utilidade do rito pubertário, que transcrevemos.

puri. «A donzela tem o *mihi-koro* (vagina?) invertido e, por isso, não poderá sair a criança. O pajé ou *Ko-mũ* vai pô-lo «na posição conveniente», mediante o rito e o couto. O rito além disso, faz que o *mihi-su ti-ro*, útero, não cresça muito, pois, neste caso, terá dois filhos de uma vez, e isso é uma vergonha para a mulher».

Êste rito equivale essencialmente à «defloração religiosa» que praticam outros grupos humanos. Porém pelas liberdades precedentes, embora sem caráter oficial (antes devem ser ocultas), que se passam mesmo entre crianças e adultos, a menina ao atingir a menstruação já tem o himen rompido. Disto, pois, não se fará questão no rito. Dar-se-á, porém, um couto oficial, *mõ-podsé*, no primeiro dia (e em alguns povoados também nos dias sucessivos) com um rapaz da escolha da môça ou do seu pai (72), e, no último dia do rito, com o *Komũ* ou pajé (73).

Degenerou o conceito de que êsse escolhido devia ser o *herói* do grupo reconhecido depois de uma luta com outros, como se faz entre algumas tribos. Entre os uaupesinos não há prova alguma que determine a escolha, a favor do escolhido só há um título, a sua juventude. Algumas donzelas afirmaram que era um «môço forte». Nos rios frequentados pelos civilizados, também êstes podem ser escolhidos para tal função, e o têm sido. Para tal escolha, pensamos não entra apenas o simples interesseiro do indígena, senão também o supor o branco de uma natureza especial (74), de cuja relação pode vir benefício para a jovem. Esta opinião foi manifestada por várias jovens.

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(72) A escolha do rapaz é feita pela própria moça (em alguns lugares, e em outros, povoados e malocas, pelo seu pai. Uma jovem Tukano de Parichachoeira declarou que não gostava do rapaz que seu pai escolheu. Parece que onde há mais *Komũ* a escolha do executor do rito é simples do pai da donzela. Se o pai é *Komũ*, êle mesmo executará o rito com sua filha. Não sabemos se rito é também uma obrigação sua. De um *Komũ* de Juquira, rio Uaupés, soubemos que êle pessoalmente o fez com suas três filhas, como uma delas no-lo informou. Os serviços do pajé ou *Komũ* são sempre remunerados, bem como os do *mõ-podsé*, não, porém, os do rapaz. Êste não é o futuro esposo, que deve pertencer a outra tribo, e o rapaz do *mõ-podsé* é da mesma tribo que a donzela. Uma jovem Makú acrescentou que o rapaz era seu parceiro obrigatório de danças, como o pudemos posteriormente verificar.

(73) Note-se que, de acôrdo com as descrições que obtivemos, o primeiro couto não é com o pajé ou *Komũ*, como se poderia prever, porém com o jovem.

(74) Muitas vêzes, e em circunstâncias diversas, o indígena tem manifestado a opinião de ser o civilizado dotado de uma natureza diversa da do índio. Foi essa a resposta que o tuxaua de Parichachoeira, *Sulo* deu ao Pe. João Marchesi, que lhe afirmava não devia receio do *Dohodé* (maléfico), assim como não o temia o Missionário. "O branco é de natureza diversa", respondeu, por isso não pega o nosso *dohodé*.

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A moça deve ser, então, separada dos habitantes da maloca. Não sabem se está parece-nos a hipótese mais provável de não quererem os homens dar o motivo dessa segregação. E' que se considera, nessas circunstâncias (75) perigosa para os demais, uma vez que é procurada por *Bisiu*.

No regime de maloca, faz-se dentro desta um cercado para a moça (*Wó-pazkoa*). No regime de povoado, talvez ela seja isolada dentro de uma cortada (76). Durante êste tempo, que vai de trés a quatro semanas, conforme as tribos, a jovem estará sempre fechada, não pode tomar banho, sairá apenas quando necessário e rapidamente, procurando não encontrar-se com pessoa alguma.

Em seguida a moça se mantem sentada num banquinho, serve-se cortado o cabelo por uma mulher que se diz *wó-pazkoa*, isto é, *mãe da iniciação* (77) e para trocar por um cabelo novo, foi a única explicação. Conforme informações obtidas por Koch G. Z. I. 1907 o cabelo da jovem era aproveitado para a confecção das máscaras de Wax-ti. Aparece assim mais um elemento de ligação entre o *Jurupari* e o culto de Wax-ti.

Depois, especialmente o corpo, são pintados abundantemente com *pega de wax-ti*, por outra mulher, que se considera igual-mente parente, todas as mulheres receberão algum presente da moça e também com direito aos serviços seus. A pintura do corpo é feita remoentemente, por meio do cilindro de molonro.

Para o corte do cabelo servem-se dos dentes afiados da *paca*, *cutia*, de diversas espécies e outros animais. Por essa razão, nas tribos do Rio Negro, que falavam Nheengatu, o dente afiado, a vara de taquara, denominaram-na *Pirá-ti*. O utensílio para o corte dos cabelos entre os Tukano chama-se *Dipopoé-ro*.

A *Wó-pazkoa* ou, em algumas tribos, a própria mãe derrama-lhe pela fronte água com pimenta, servindo-se de um funil de folha de

(75) Parece que é por pura não atingir nos dias do mênstruo, mas até [illegible] prolongam o rito. Com efeito, a reclusão pode dar-se fora do período menstrual, e pode durar tôda uma lua. Parece que só [illegible] consideram [illegible] como perigosos, e por isso sujeitos a [illegible] especial. A [illegible] nas informações, durante as menstruações sucessivas a mulher [illegible] obrigada a abster-se das relações sexuais, como observavam os Juruna.

(76) Uma jovem Makú de Iauaretê, em outubro de 1947, retirou-se, para a [illegible] própria cortada pelo [illegible].

(77) Estas informações trataram a moça de Yé-se-ko, minha cortada de cabelo, e o [illegible] de Yé-se-ko, a que me cortou os cabelos.

[illegible] pum ou pôrsô-puri, «a fim de ficar iluminada» (78), «sair a gordura do rosto, e ficar sempre moça».

Executados o corte dos cabelos e a pintura do rosto, nenhuma pessoa poderá entrar na reclusão senão o pajé ou Ko-mû, o rapaz, e a mãe da moça (e, em falta desta, a avó ou mulher de quem depende a jovem) e a própria Mô-pa-kod. Jejuará muito, únicos alimentos permitidos são beiju, peixes pequenos (jacundá, piramirim), formigas-saúvas (manivura) e sirukaro (beijú de tapioca). Serve-se da manivura (explicou Patrícia Vasconcelos) «porque não tem gordura e o pajé lhe quebrou o ferrão».

Será, outrossim, sujeita a provas dolorosas: passará longas horas sentada no chão e tôda a última noite de vigília. O pajé ou o Ko-mû queruçando-a sôbre o fôgo, cobri-la-á com uma peneira e «sprará» sobre ela, que se mantém sentada com a cabeça abaixada sôbre os braços cruzados.

Traz-lhe durante esta cerimônia uma cuia com pimenta e dá-lhe a cheirar, «para o rosto ficar sempre liso», isto é, não ficar cedo com o rosto enrugado. Simultâneamente a instrui sôbre os deveres de esposa e mãe.

Algumas dessas instruções do pajé, como nos relatam as informantes, são: «ter bom procedimento para com a própria mãe — trabalhar bem — não fazer como fazem as outras (?) — quando moça trabalhar mais — ter caminho para com os velhos, guardar-se do parento — evitar a cobra grande porque engole (isto é fecunda) a mulher — deve fazer comida para o homem — trabalhar na roça — não apanhar muito sol, porque senão ficará velha depressa — trabalhar rapidamente — voltar logo para casa» (79).

Nada, entretanto, lhe diz sôbre a origem da tribo. Depois de defumá-la com a fumaça do seu cigarro, pronunciando ao mesmo tempo longo e ininteligível exorcismo, tem lugar a cópula (80).

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(78) "Ficar com o rosto ou a pele iluminada" é uma expressão que temos ouvido com frequência, entre as jovens informantes. Parece que quer dizer um colorido sadio da face e, em alguns casos, pareceu-nos ter o sentido de "illuminatio vultus" dos Judeus.

(79) Essas recomendações contra o piraiauto, a cobra-grande, e a proibição de comer do peixe pereiba, são índices de uma penetração das lendas tupi na civilização uaupésina. Como prova e para uma melhor compreensão dessas recomendações recordem-se algumas lendas especialmente as de Tinduam e as do Jurupari das versões Bare, a Taryana de Iziz ("Lendas do Uaupés", do autor).

(80) A cópula, conforme revelou o pajé Marco, de S. Luzia, rio Papuri, tem entre os Tukano, a finalidade de pôr em posição o nihi-kbrô, que se acha invertido. Mas tem, de ordinário, em semelhantes ritos, o simbolismo de uma união de fôrças e propriedades preservadoras dos ma-

O rito se encerra com um banho da alvorada, *Wuita-kisé*, que [illegible] pensar no banho da alvorada dos homens na festa de *Wáz-ti* (VII-4 e 2 b). Cfr. Lenda do rapto dos instrumentos *mirid*). Organiza-se uma procissão dessas mulheres que se associaram ao rito, que é também outros parentes mais próximos da donzela. A frente vai o pajé defumando o caminho com um pedaço de panela *Ki-pu-to* [illegible] com brasas, breu e pimenta, e exorcizará o rio jogando nele o conteúdo da panela, a fim de afastar o bicho que está no rio (81). A mãe empurra a filha à água e todos tomarão seu banho (82).

Em algumas tribos Arawáke realizar-se-á depois um cauiri, é a festa que se dá *Kanpamã*, (83) a qual pode durar até quatro dias (parece que é o mesmo número de dias da reclusão da jovem). Então, dançará ela com todos, inclusive com o pajé, e fumará com êles no cigarro feito de folhas de bananeira e de tabaco. Parece que nessa

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[illegible] não vão escapar. Talvez por isso tanto o [illegible]je ou *Komã*, [illegible] pria com mestruação a cópula não só com a moça, se[illegible] mãe [illegible] e a sua *paxkod*, conforme declararam [illegible] no Uaupés.

[illegible] que [illegible] o *pirulop*. Ora, tal mamífero não [illegible] muito menos nos roçados *karapés*. Estamos [illegible] de crianças e lerdas.

[illegible] particular que não nos foi con[illegible] esse prazo (um mês) reunem-se [illegible] um dêles um pedaço de cipó (trepadeira [illegible]). A mãe o pega, trazida para fora da casa, perfeitamente [illegible] que se acha no terreiro fronteiro à habi[illegible] nessa ocasião, e obrigado a dar-lhe [illegible] chicotadas, no peito e nas costas, de [illegible] sem sentidos acontecendo disso re[illegible] contentar-se em receber o animo ainda [illegible] cinco vêzes com intervalo [illegible] grande ofensa nos pais, quando as [illegible] Depois [illegible] e [illegible] todas as espécies de carne e de peixe. [illegible] presentes mojam nelas os cipós que são dados, logo em [illegible] a mamma para as lamber. Dali por diante, ela poderá comer [illegible] que desejar. E desde êsse momento é, então, considerada mu[illegible] para o casamento (o. c. 634).

Talvez seja uma confusão com o que se passa entre as tribos do Içana e entre os Kubewana do rio Uaupés, por ocasião dos dabacuris. Conforme nos disseram os Kubewana da maloca Ambaiba, fez do Queri[illegible] o pai de um rapaz trata de arranjar uma esposa para o [illegible] no dabacuri e [illegible] a moça escolhida três chicotadas [illegible] VII-4 e 2b). Se ela suporta fortemente as nancadas, é indício [illegible] está madura para arcar com as responsabilidades do lar.

(83) Kanpamã é o nome do tipo de beijú prescrito para essa circunstância.

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[illegible] há jogos e brinquedos entre os indivíduos moços da malocas.

Por algumas dias se verifica a abstenção de trabalhos, por exemplo não pegará no fogo «para não se queimarem». A seguir a moça retoma a vida normal, trabalhará na roça e em casa com sua mãe. Por um mês ainda, consoante informação de Dorojéa Brito, não poderá provar sal, nem comer piraíba ou carne de animais grandes, «para não afinarem os dentes» (85).

Na instrução imediata renova-se o rito da reclusão da jovem. Na segunda etapa da iniciação pubertária denomina-se *Mahã-mi-[illegible]*. É idêntica à primeira, porém com o corte do cabelo. Na mensstrução sucessiva, *Mahã-ka-[illegible]* realizam-se ainda as práticas da iniciação pubertária. Desta vez, porem, não há segregação da jovem, e todos os atos se dão com mais solenidade, à vista de todos.

c) *Nomenclatura do parentesco e da afinidade;*

1) *Parentesco*

Entre as tribos do Uaupés é a geração que estabelece verdadeiro parentesco. Reconhecem-no não só entre ascendentes (*mõr-kãkõro*, [illegible]) e descendentes (*inari-bero-mazã*), como também em linha colateral. E o parentesco impõe duas obrigações gravíssimas a saber, a de defesa (*indaia*) e a de interdição matrimonial.

Os componentes da mesma tribo, embora nascidos e residentes [illegible] povoados diversos, consideram-se *axkauerõra* (86); [illegible], pelos que se exprimem em português por «parentes» [illegible] vezes, também por «irmãos». Por essa razão opinamos [illegible] que inicialmente o grupo local coincidia com a *família*.

Os de outra tribo, mesmo os ligados por algum grau de *afinidade* ou [illegible] e também os *casticidos*, são todos «*arpura*» (87), isto é, *estranhos, estrangeiros*.

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84) Encontramos uma das informantes em «jejuo do limão» por esta circunstância. Soubemos de uma menina Mhau, por nome Teresa, que, nessa ocasião fugiu com o rapaz, com quem passou algumas dias. Parece que se trata de uma fuga convencional, porque, na realidade retiraram-se para uma barraca a vinte ou trinta metros da maloca.

85) A um jovem Baré, cunhado de um Karapanã, em cuja maloca, nas cabeceiras do Aiá, ela se sujeitara ao rito pubertário, pudemos observar que, efetivamente, se sujeitava a uma severa dieta alimentar, não aceitando os nossos alimentos salgados, nutrindo-se de beiju, tapioca e fruta. Vimo-la, porém, aproximar-se do fogo, ativá-lo e pôr a assar para si algumas bananas verdes.

86) Chega a estender-se o termo *axkauerõra* também aos indivíduos de outra tribo ligados pelos vínculos de afinidade e de sangue.

87) *Arpura* propriamente é o plural do pronome-adjetivo *arpi* (masculino) e *arpego* (feminino, outro.

Verdadeiro parentesco, portanto, só existe entre os indivíduos da mesma tribo e com todos êles.

2) *Afinidade*

Embora vigore rigorosa *exogamia de tribo*, o matrimônio estabelece, entre os filhos e os parentes, tanto do seu pai, como de sua mãe, relações de *afinidade*, semelhantes às de *parentesco* (não, porém, as outras relações de *tiriôdn* e de *interdição matrimonial*) e com uma nomenclatura especial, conquanto menos rica de têrmos que a do parentesco.

Como vigora o «*casamento preferencial*» (regularmente com os primos de outra tribo) i. e. com os primos por parte de mãe ou *barsukára*. Mas e sing *barsuko*, Fem sing *barsuko*), admitem relação de afinidade dos *barsukára* entre si, como também entre os pais e a classe dos «possíveis esposos» dos filhos. Há têrmos proprios para êsses «possíveis esposos», «possíveis sogros» e «possíveis genros».

Talvez mesmo não exista um têrmo para exprimir a relação de afinidade, empregam, então, um termo da relação de *parentesco*. Por exemplo, não possuem, os idiomas indígenas do Uaupés, têrmos para pretendentes, a *padrasto*, *madrasta*, *enteado*, *enteada*. No tratamento indireto descrevem a relação que se passa, a saber, se diz: «marido da minha mãe» (padrasto) «mulher do meu pai» (madrasta) «filho ou filha do meu marido, ou da minha mulher» (enteado, enteada). E no tratamento direto rhama-lo-ão pelo nome do parentesco (tio, avô, etc.), e aos *enteados* dirão «*filhos*».

Há, em, têrmos, embora também *classificatórios*, i. e. aplicáveis a tôda uma classe de indivíduos, correspondentes a *genro* e *cunhado*, porém usados quase só para o tratamento *indireto*. Para o *direto* preferem os termos do parentesco *social*, dêstes têrmos indiraremos apenas o mais comum, isto é, o que ocorre na generalidade dos casos. Por exemplo, ordinariamente o sogro «*ma-dix-kâ* pertence à classe dos «tios maternos» e se chamará *mel-kâ*. Excepcionalmente poderia ser da classe dos «primos» (*meõ-kõ* ou *tê-nõ*) ou dos *avós* (*nõx-kâ*), e seria, então, chamado por êstes têrmos, e não por *mèx-kâ*.

Igualmente o «genro», *buhi*, no tratamento direto é chamado *pa-kõ* pelo sogro e *para-maxkõ* pela sogra, porque ordinariamente é um dos sobrinhos (cuja mãe é «irmã» do sogro e o pai, irmão da sogra).

Do mesmo modo o «cunhado» *nè-kõ* é, por via de regra, um dos *barsukára* ou primos, e por isso, no tratamento direto será chamado «um primo» *meõ-kõ*, ou *tê-nõ*, novo. Por via de exceção poderia ser da classe dos «tios», *mèx-kâ*, ou dos «avós», *nõx-kâ*. Não indi-

raremos, por razão de brevidade, êstes outros têrmos que já estão incluídos entre os do parentesco.

NB — A Mulher emprega no tratamento indireto, um têrmo especial: nihi-so-païkõ, para designar os cunhados que são *mami* da mãe do seu marido. Ao passo que o têrmo *nihi-so-païko* (pl: nihi-so-païko-ro-pa) equivale a «concunhada».

3) *Nomenclatura classificatória*

A nomenclatura do parentesco, usada não só pelos Tukano, como também pelas outras tribos do Uaupés, é essencialmente uma nomenclatura classificatória. Trata-se, com mais exatidão, de um *parentesco* que se poderia qualificar de *social* ou *tribal*, antes que de relações pessoais (88).

Êstes termos realmente *individualizantes* parece que sejam os correspondentes a pai, «paï-kos», e mãe, «païko» (89), os quais se aplicam aos próprios genitores no sentido estrito. Todos os demais termos de parentesco, como irmão, tio, cunhado, etc., aplicam-se a uma classe de indivíduos, sejam êles ligados entre si por vínculo de consanguinidade ou afinidade ou não. Basta que sejam da mesma tribo e da mesma geração (embora com grande diferença de idades) de um que é realmente irmão, tio, cunhado, etc.

Por exemplo, dentro da tribo a todos os indivíduos do sexo masculino da própria geração, denominam *mami* ou *aïkabi* (irmão, traduzem-nos para o português). Dizem «meê», tio, aos da geração do seu pai, tio e aos irmãos do próprio pai (a saber, a todos os *mami* do próprio pai) e por êstes são chamados «mê-kõ», sobrinho. E aos da geração dos seus avós dizem avô, «paï-kõ-ro», e são por êles denominados «*paramia*», netos ou *max-kõ-kõ*, «filho-do-meu-filho».

(88) Começamos verificando várias vêzes que um rapaz dizia seu "tio", "mãe" (dizem indivíduo da sua tribo ao qual uma indagação posterior apurava não ser irmão do seu pai.

(89) Quer dizer, portanto, que "pai" e "mãe" são os únicos termos de parentesco da língua portuguesa que têm perfeitos equivalentes em Tukano, e nas demais línguas indígenas do Uaupés. Todos os demais, quer de consanguinidade (como avô, avó, irmão, irmã, tio, primo, etc.) como de afinidade (sogro, genro, cunhado, etc.) não tem perfeita tradução nesses idiomas indígenas. Max-kõ, por exemplo, que traduzimos por "sogro" não é para a esposa apenas o pai do seu marido, são todos os homens da tribo do esposo, que integram a categoria dos que êste chama "mãe" (tio). Os próprios termos correspondentes a "filho", "max-kõ" "filha", max-kõ "aplicam-se também a tôda uma classe de pessoas.

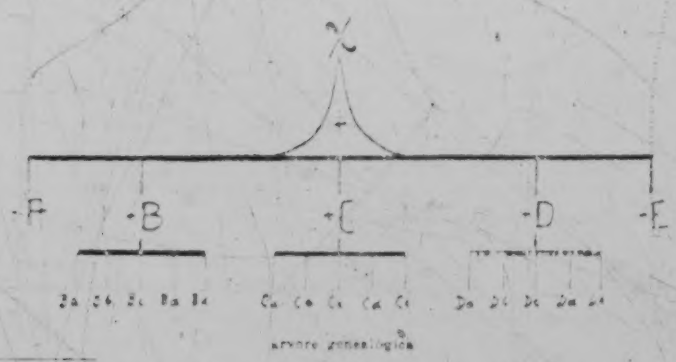
Quanto aos «irmãos», se o são no sentido estrito (isto é, filhos do mesmo pai e da mesma mãe), o mais velho se diz *mami* (traduzem-nos «irmão-maior») e o mais môço, *arkabi* («irmão menor»).

Quando se trata de «*irmão de tribo*», isto é, dos indivíduos da tribo que compõem uma mesma geração ou camada, os têrmos *mami* e *arkabi* independem das idades, estão, ao invés, em função do grupo. A saber, todos os da «*Gens*» (vd. VIII-3, cf. (empregamos o têrmo latino «gens» para designar as subdivisões da tribo ou *sib* dos Etnologos Americanos» mais importante, qualquer que sejam suas idades, são *mami*; todos os da «*Gens*» inferior são *arkabi*. Isto é, uma «*Gens*» inteira, (sem levar em conta as idades dos seus membros) se diz *mami* ou *arkabi* de outra.

Figuremos o caso do indivíduo *X* que tem cinco filhos, sucessivamente *A,B,C,D,E*, dos quais *B,C,D* são do sexo masculino, e *A,E*, do sexo feminino. Observe-se: 1º que cinco é realmente o número médio de filhos conforme nossas «*tabelas antroponométricas*»; 2º que desejam ter filhos de ambos sexos, e que uma filha mais velha é preciosa auxiliar da mãe na criação dos filhos menores. A filha mais velha *A* será *mampó* de todos os irmãos, a mais môça *E* será igualmente *epsebpo* de todos. Se considerarmos o filho *C* será *mami* de *D* e *E*, e *arkabi* de *A* e *B*.

Suponhamos ainda que os irmãos *B, C, D* se casem (90) e venham a ter igualmente cinco filhos cada um: os filhos de *B*: *Ba, Bb, Bc, Bd, Be*; os de *C*: *Ca, Cb, Cc, Cd, Ce*, os de *D*: *Da, Bb, Dc, Dd, De*.

Teríamos a árvore seguinte:




(90) *A* e *E* casam-se obrigatoriamente com esposos, *barakó*, de outra tribo; os seus filhos podem não pertencer à tribo X (avô), e sim à do pai, *Ba*. Os filhos de *A* e *E* (e todos os jovens de sua tribo e camada) integram, por sua vez, a classe dos *baitukóro* ou "possíveis noivos" (), e dos que podem ser tomados como esposos dos filhos de *B, C* e *D*.

a) *X*, nessa árvore, com relação à primeira geração é *paz-kô*, pai; com relação aos da segunda geração é *paz-kô-Ro* (lit. pai-velho, isto é avô).

b) A 1ª geração *A,B,C,D,E* entre si são *mami*, *mamyó*, *azkabi*, *akabyó*, como vimos acima.

c) Em relação a *X* serão «*maz-kô*», *filho*, ou «*maz-kô*», *filha* (no plural «*pêra*», filhos, filhas).

Relativamente à 2ª geração, são «*paz-kô*» pai, ou «*mêê*», tio; *B*, por exemplo é «*paz-ko*» para os da série *B*, e «*mêê*» para os da série *C* e *D*, êstes chamarão a *B* de «*mêê*» e *B* os tratará de «*mê-kô*», sobrinho (*NB*: a sobrinha chamará «*maz-kô*», filha, e a sobrinha tratará de «*mê-pâ*», porque «*mêê*» é têrmo usado pelos homens, e «*mê-pâ*» só pelas mulheres).

d) Na 2ª geração (*Ba, Bb, Bc, Bd, Be; Ca, Cb, Cc, Cd, Ce; Da, Db, Dc, Dd, De*) entre si distinguem-se em *mami*, *mamyó*, *azkabi*, *akabyó* conforme as idades, dentro da mesma série. Porém independentemente das idades, os da série *B* todos são *mami* (ou *mamyó* se 2ª mulher) para os das séries *C* e *D*, porque *B* é *mami* de *C* e *D*. Os da série *D* são todos *azkabi* (ou *azkabyó*, sendo mulher para os das séries *B* e *C*, sem levar em conta as idades dos indivíduos porque *D* é *azkabi* de *B* e *C*. Os da série *C*, também independentemente de suas idades, são *mami* para os da série *D*, e *azkabi*, para os da série *B*.

Com relação a *X*, todos se dizem «*paramêra*», *netos* (*paramêra* é plural. Masc. sing. *paramêi*; F. sing. *paramyó*). Note-se que todos os homens da geração de *X* (seus *mami* ou *azkabi*) são considerados *paz-ko-Ro*, avós, da 2ª geração.

4) Variações na nomenclatura.

a) A nomenclatura de *parentesco* e *afinidade*, como se verá a seguir, varia conforme:

1º — As *relações de consanguinidade* ou *afinidade* entre as pessoas nomeada e nomeante;

2º — A *posição hierárquica* da «Gens» a que pertencem as pessoas nomeada e nomeante;

3º — O sexo das pessoas nomeante e nomeada (a letra *m* indica que o têrmo é empregado exclusivamente por pessoas do sexo masculino; *f.* só por pessoas do sexo feminino, *m, f.* quando por ambos sexos).

4º — A *idade social*, ou melhor, a *geração* de quem nomeia.

5º — Há, em alguns casos, termos diversos para o *tratamento direto* (apelativo ou vocativo), isto é, entre os dois parentes; ou para o *tratamento indireto* (designativo ou nominativo), a saber entre o parente que fala, referindo-se ao seu parente, e uma terceira pessoa. Por exemplo, «*arkabi*» é o termo que significa «*irmão menor*» (mais moço), entretanto, no tratamento direto, isto é, ao chamar o irmão mais moço, dirá o mais velho: «*a'tyá nihyá*» (venha cá, irmão menor). Igualmente *arkabyó* quer dizer «*irmã menor*» (mais moça), no entanto, o mais velho chama-lua: «*a'tyá nimpó*» (venha cá, irmã mana).

6º — Em muitos casos, ao falar de algum parente, com alguém (tratamento indireto), descreve-se a relação de consanguinidade ou de afinidade, por isso registramos também a *nomenclatura descritiva*.

Quando não há termo próprio para indicar relação de parentesco, especialmente de afinidade, recorre-se ao *termo descritivo*. Muitos indivíduos, ou por ignorância ou por facilitação, recorrem aos termos descritivos, mesmo quando há os termos próprios ou adequados.

Destes conceitos originou-se uma *nomenclatura* assás complexa, e mais rica de termos, que a da Língua Portuguesa (ou dos costumes europeus), embora não chegue a perfeito rigor lógico.

3. *Os termos de parentesco e afinidade*

(conforme os costumes Tukano)

Observações preliminares:

1ª — De acôrdo com a pronúncia indígena, os *termos* parecem-nos compostos (cfr. *Observações Gramaticais da Língua Daxseyé* ou *Tukano*), por isso, separamos com (hífen-) os vários elementos que compõem as palavras.

2ª — Além do *termo descritivo* (ou *explicativo*), daremos o nominativo (indireto ou designativo), isto é, quando em conversa com uma terceira pessoa se quer indicar o parente (ex. «*N.* é meu primo»), e o termo vocativo (direto ou apelativo), isto é, quando se chama o parente (ex. «ó primo, vem cá»).

3ª — A tribo Tukano (como em geral tôdas as do Uaupés) divide-se em grupos (cfr. IV — 2, a, (2 b)), a êstes é que denominamos com o termo latino «*Gens*».

4ª — Não nos souberam explicar porque ao «primo» da própria tribo dizem *mani mar-kõ* ou *arkabi mar-kõ*, isto é, «*filho do irmão*». Responderam tão só que o costume é êsse. Confundem-se, pois, os

termos descritivos de «primo» e «sobrinho». É verdade que, na prática, nunca usam o término descrito para os «primos».

5ª — A nomenclatura abaixo vigora dentro da tribo *Tukano*, e nem sempre corresponde ao término semelhante (quanto ao *radical*) em outra tribo de língua irmã.

6ª — Os esposos se chamam por *mãã-ba* (você), enquanto não tem filhos. Depois do nascimento do primeiro filho (ou filha) e até a morte deste, se chamam respectivamente por: «*N* (nome do filho) *pãr-kõ* ou *N. pãr-ko*, isto é, «*Pai* (ou mãe) de *N*». Quando morre o primeiro filho, dizem o nome do seguinte. Se não têm mais filhos, voltam a tratar-se por *mãã-ba*.

| Parentesco | Termo descritivo | Termo descritivo | Termo descritivo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pai | | Pax-ko (pl. pax-kõ-s'omõa) | yoõ pax-kõ (meu pai) | m,f |
| Mãe | | pax-ko (pl. pax-ko-se-nũmya) | yoõ pax-ko | m,f |
| Avô paterno | yõo pax-ko pax-ko (pai de meu pai) | pax-kõ-Ro (pl. pax-ko-Rokõra) (pai velho) | yoõ pax-kõ-Ro | m,f |
| Velhos da tribo | | pax-ko-Ro | yóo pax-kõ-Ro | m,f |
| Avó materna | yoo pax-ko pax-ko (pai de minha mãe) | nõx-kã (pl. nõx-kãkõra) | yoo nõxkã | m,f |
| Avó paterna | yõo pax-ko pax-ko (mãe do meu pai) | ou nõx-kã-Ro (nõ-kã-Rokõra) | yóo nõx-kã-Ro | m,f |
| Velhas da tribo | | ma-kó (maa-ko) (pl. ma-kokõra) | yoo ma-ko | m,f |
| Avó materna | yoo pax-kõ pax-ko (mãe de minha mãe) | wa-meõ-ko (pl. wa-meõ-kokõra) (tia velha) | yóo wa-meõ-ko | m,f |
| | | wa-meõ-ko (se é da tribo) | yóo wa-meõ-ko | m,f |
| Filho | | ma-ko (se é de outra tribo) | yóo ma-ko | m,f |
| Filha | | max-kõ (pl. põra) | yóõ max-kõ | m,f |
| Irmão maior | (da Gens mais importante) | max-kõ (pl. põra nũ'mya) | yóõ max-kõ | m,f |
| Irmã maior | (da Gens mais importante) | Mami (pl. mami-s'õmõa) | yoo mami | m,f |
| Irmão menor | (da Gens menos importante) | ou (mami-kõra) | | |
| Irmã menor | (da Gens menos importante) | Mamyo (pl. mamyokõra) | yoõ mamyo | m,f |
| Irmão maior ou menor | | nihyã (pl. nihyãkõra) | yoõ nihyã | m,f |
| | | ou axkabi (pl. axkabira) | yoõ kabi | m,f |
| Primo paterno | yõõ mami max-kõ (filho do meu mami) | axkabyo (pl. axkabira nũ'mya) | yoõ pana-mõ | f |
| | yoõ kabi max-kõ (filho do meu axkabi) | nũmyo (pl. nũmyokõra) | yóõ nũmyo | m |
| Prima paterna | yoõ mami max-kõ (filha do meu mami) | pana-mõ (pl. pana-mõõa) | yóõ kabyo | f |
| | yóõ kabi max-kõ (filha do meu axkabi) | mami | yoõ mami | m,f |
| | | nihyã | yõo nihyã | m,f |
| | | axkabi | yoõ kabi | m,f |
| | | mamyo | yóõ mamyo | m,f |
| | | nũmyo | yoo nũmyo | m |
| | | axkabyo | yõõ kabyo | m,f |

| Parentesco | Termo descritivo | Termo descritivo | Termo nominativo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Primo materno | yóo wa-meõ max-kõ (filho de minha tia) | meõ-kõ (pl. meõ-kõkõra) | yóo meõ-kõ | m |
| | | wa-meõ max-kõ (pl. wameõ max-kõkõra) | yóo wa-meõ maxkõ | f |
| Prima materna | yóo wa-meõ max-kõ (filha de minha tia) | meõ-kõ (pl. meõ-kõkõra) | yóo mẽ-kõ | m |
| | | wa-meõ max-kõ (pl. wameõ maxkõ-kõra) | yóo wa-meõ maxkõ | f |
| Tio paterno | yóo pax-kõ mamí (ou axkabí) (mamí ou axkabí do meu pai) | mẽẽ (pl. mẽẽkõra) | yóo mẽẽ | m |
| Tia paterna | yóo pax-kõ mamyo (axkabyo) (mamyo ou axkabyo do meu pai) | mã-gã (pl. mã-gãkõra) | yóo mã-gã | f |
| Tio materno | yóo pax-ko mamí (ou axkabí) (mamí ou axkabí de minha mãe) | wa-meõ (pl. wa-meõkõra) | yóo wa-meõ | m,f |
| Tia materna | yóo pax-ko mamyo (axkabyo) (mamyo ou axkabyo de minha mãe) | mẽx-kã (pl. mẽx-kãkõra) | yóo mẽx-kã | m |
| | | mẽx-kã-sa (pl. mẽxkã-sakõra) | yóo mẽx-kã-sa | f |
| | | mã-gõ (pl. mã-gõkõra) | yóo mã-gõ | m,f |
| Sobrinho (filho do irmão) | yóo mamí (ou kabí) max-kõ (filho do meu mamí ou axkabí) | mẽ-kõ (pl. mẽ-kõkõra) | yóo mẽ-kõ | m |
| | | para-maxkõ (pl. para-maxkõkõra) | yóo para-maxkõ | f |
| Sobrinha (filha do irmão) | yóo mamí (ou kabí) max-kõ (filha do meu mamí ou axkabí) | max-kõ (filha) | yóo max-kõ | m |
| | | para-maxkõ (pl. para-maxkõkõra) | yóo para-maxkõ | f |
| Sobrinho (filho da irmã) | yóo mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ (filho da minha mamyo ou axkabyo) | paa-khõ (pl. paa-khõkõra) | yóo paa-khõ | m |
| | | yóo mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ | yóo max-kõ | f |
| Sobrinha (filha da irmã) | yóo mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ (filha de minha mamyo ou axkabyo) | paa-khõ (pl. paa-khõkõra) | yóo paa-khõ | m |
| | | yóo mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ | yóo max-kõ | f |
| Neto | yóo max-kõ max-kõ (filho do meu filho) | para-mi (pl. para-mẽra) | yóo para-mi | m,f |
| | | | ou yóo max-kõ-kõ (pl. maxkõ-kõkõra) | m |
| Neta | yóo max-kõ max-kõ (filha do meu filho) | para-myõ (pl. para-mẽra nũmya) | yóo para-myõ | m |
| | | | ou yóo max-kõ-kõ | m |
| Neto | yóo max-kõ max-kõ (filho da minha filha) | para-mi | yóo para-mi | m,f |
| | | | ou yóo max-kõ-kõ | m |
| Neta | yóo max-kõ max-kõ (filha da minha filha) | para-myõ | yóo para-myõ | m,f |
| | | | ou yóo max-kõ-kõ | m |
| Enteado | yóo pára pax-kõ (pai dos meus filhos) | mã-ra-põ (pl. mã-ra-põ-sõmda) | mãã-ba-ou N. pax-kõ (você ou Pai de N.) | f |

| Parentesco | Termo vocativo | Termo nominativo | Termo nominative | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Esposa | yoõ pota pax-kõ<br>(mãe dos meus filhos) | nõ'mõ (pl. nõ'mõ-sa-nu'mya) | mãã-ba ou N. pax-kõ<br>(você, ou Mãe de N.) | m |
| Marido | yoõ pa'ã-ã ma-ra-põ<br>(marido de minha mãe)<br>a) da tribo do 1º marido | | | |
| | b) de outra tribo | mee (tio paterno)<br>mã-gã (tio paterno)<br>max-kã (tio materno)<br>máx-kã-sa (tio materno) | yoo mee<br>yoõ mã-gã<br>yoõ mẽ-kã<br>yoõ mẽ-kã-sa | m<br>f<br>m<br>f |
| Madrasta | yoõ pax-kõ nõ'mõ<br>(mulher do meu pai)<br>a) da tribo da 1ª mulher<br>b) de outra tribo | mã-gõ (tia materna)<br>mã-gõ | yoõ mã-gõ<br>yoõ mã-gõ | m,f<br>m,f |
| Enteado | yoõ nõ'mõ max-kõ<br>(filho de minha mulher)<br>yoõ ma-ra-põ max-kõ<br>(filho do meu marido) | yoõ nõ'mõ max-kõ | yoõ max-kõ | m |
| | | yoõ mã-ra-põ max-kõ | yoõ max-kõ | f |
| Enteada | yoõ nõ'mõ max-kõ<br>(filha de minha mulher)<br>yoõ ma-ra-põ max-kõ<br>(filha do meu marido) | yoõ nõ'mõ max-kõ | yoõ max-kõ | m |
| | | yoõ mã-ra-põ max-kõ | yoõ max-kõ | f |
| Sogro | yoõ nõ'mõ pax-kõ<br>(pai de minha mulher)<br>yoõ mã-ra-põ pax-kõ<br>(pai do meu marido) | ma-ñix-kã (pl. ma-ñix-kã-s'omõa) | yoõ mẽx-kã (tio) | m |
| | | ma-ñix-kã | yoõ mẽx-kã-sa | f |
| Sogra | yoõ nõ'mõ pax-kõ<br>(mãe de minha mulher)<br>a) da tribo do genro<br>b) de outra tribo<br>yoõ ma-ra-põ pax-kõ<br>(mãe do meu marido)<br>a) da tribo da nora<br>b) de outra tribo | ma-ñix-kõ (pl. ma-ñix-kõ-sa-nũ'mya)<br>ma-ñix-kõ | yoõ wamẽõ (tia pat.)<br>yoõ mã-gõ (tia mat.) | m<br>m |
| | | ma-ñix-kõ<br>ma-ñix-kõ | yoõ wa-mẽõ<br>yoõ mã-gõ | f<br>f |

| Parentesco | Termo vocativo | Termo genitivo | Termo nominativo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Genro | yoõ maxkõ mãra põ (marido de nossa filha) | | | |
| | a) cuja mãe é da tribo do sogro | buhi (pl. buhi sumõa ou buhikõra) | yoõ pa-kõ (sobrinho) | m |
| | | | yoõ para-maxkõ | f |
| | b) cuja mãe não é da tribo do sogro | buhi | yoõ ti-khã | m |
| | | | (pl. ti-khãkora) | |
| | | | yoõ mamyo (kabyo) maxkõ | f |
| Nora | yoõ maxkõ nomõ (mulher do meu filho) | ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra) para-maxkõ | yoõ ti-khõ | m |
| | | | yoõ para-maxkõ | f |
| Possível noivo | a) cuja mãe é da tribo de quem fala | baxsukõ (pl. baxsukãra) | yoõ meõ-kõ (primo) | m |
| | | | yoõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) cuja mãe não é da tribo de quem fala | baxsukõ | yoõ te-nõ | m |
| | | | (pl. tẽ-ñõkõra) | |
| | | | yoõ maõ-pa-maxkõ | f |
| | | | (pl. maõ-pa-maxkõkora) | |
| Possível noiva | a) cuja mãe é da tribo de quem fala | baxsukõ (pl. baxsukãra nũ'mya) | yoõ meõ-kõ (prima) | m |
| | | | yoõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) cuja mãe não é da tribo de quem fala | baxsukõ | yoõ te-nõ | m |
| | | | (pl. tẽ-ñõkõra) | |
| | | | yoõ maõ-pa-maxkõ | f |
| | | | (pl. maõ-pa-makõkõra) | |
| | | | (= sobrinho de mamãe) | |
| Possível sogro | yoõ baxsukãra paxkõ (pai dos meus noivos) | yoõ baxsukãra paxkõ | yoõ mẽx-kã (tia) | m |
| | | | yoõ mẽx-kã-ra | f |
| Possível sogra | yoõ baxsukãra paxkõ (mãe dos meus noivos) | | | |
| | a) da tribo de quem fala | yoõ baxsukãra paxkõ | yoõ wa-meõ (tia-nt.) | m.f |
| | b) de outra tribo | yoõ baxsukãra paxkõ | yoõ mã-ge (tia mat.) | m.f |
| Possível genro | yoõ pũra baxsukõ (noivo dos meus filhos) | | | |
| | a) cuja mãe é da tribo de quem fala | yoõ pũra baxsukõ | yoõ pa-kõ (sobrinho) | m |
| | cuja pai é da tribo de quem fala | yoõ pũra baxsukõ | yoõ mami (kabi) maxkõ | f |

| Parentesco | Término vocativo | Término recíproco | Término nominativo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | b) cuja mãe não é da tribo de quem fala | yõõ põra baxuko | yoo ti-khõ (pl ti-khõkõra) | m |
| | cujo pai é da tribo de quem fala | yõõ põra baxuko | yoo mami (kabi) max-kõ | f |
| Primo | yõõ põra baxuko (noiva dos meus filhos) | | | |
| | a) cuja mãe é da tribo de quem fala | yõõ põra baxuko | yõõ pá-khõ (sobrinha) (pl pá-khõ kõra) | m |
| | cujo pai é da tribo de quem fala | yõõ põra baxuko | yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ | f |
| | b) cuja mãe não é da tribo de quem fala | yõõ põra baxuko | yõõ ti khõ (pl ti-khõkõra) | m |
| | cujo pai é da tribo de quem fala | yõõ põra baxuko | yõõ mamí (kabí) ma-kõ | f |
| Cunhado | yõõ pó'mõ mami (xabi) (irmão de minha esposa) | | | |
| | a) casado com meu kõ | pé-ñã (pl pé-ñã-komõa) ou pé-ñãkõra) | yõõ meõ kõ (primo) | m |
| | b) casado com ti-ñõ | pé-ñã | yõõ té-ñõ (noivo) | m |
| | c) casado em tribo diversa da do "noivo" | pé-ñã | yõõ piri (91) (pl pirikõra) | m |

(91) Pelas nossas informações atuais, o término piri é recente e empregado em tôdas as línguas indígenas do Uaupés brasileiro. Parece-nos seja uma tradução do término português "primo" que por defeito de pronúncia costumam designar em "pirimo". São os seguintes os argumentos que autorizam esta opinião: 1.º Alguns dos informantes desconhecem o término piri, mais raros ainda os que ignoram piri-mo ou piri-mõ e piri-ma. 2.º Dos que conhecem êstes têrmos, ninguém sabe indicar o plural de piri-mo e de piri-ma, e raros os que apresentaram o de piri. 3.º De acôrdo com o espírito da língua Tukano piri-mo deveria ser forma feminina.

É fácil esta aceitação de têrmos de outra língua. Por exemplo, Antônio Barreto (Tukano) informou-nos que uma sua tia materna (ti-ñã-kõ) que no primeiro matrimônio tivera por esposo um Tukano (meõ do informante), tendo-se em segundo matrimônio com um homem da tribo Yebá-masa. Não podendo, naturalmente trata-lo por "meõ", chamava-o seu novo marido por "ti-ñã", término desconhecido de outros informantes e que, com tôda a probabilidade, é forma do português "tia" (pois seria abreviação de yõõ 'tio, meu tio').

| Parentesco | Término vocativo | Término vocativo | Término vocativo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | ou yõo sẽi-mõ (92) | m |
| | yõo mã-ra-põ-mani (irmão do meu marido) | | | |
| | a) casada com wameõ-maxkõ | nihi-so-paxkõ (pl. + s'õmõa) (só os mami da "Gens") | yõo wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | | buhi-bakõ (pl. buhi-bakõra) | yõo wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) casada com maõ-pa-maxkõ | buhi-bakõ | yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ | f |
| | c) casada em tribo diversa da dos "noivos" | buhi-bakõ | yõõ piri-mõ | f |
| Cunhada | yõõ nõ-mõ mamyo (kabyo) (irmã da minha esposa) | | | |
| | a) casado com meõ-kõ | buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra) | yõo meõ-kõ (prima) | m |
| | b) casado com tẽ-ñõ | buhi-bako | yõo tẽ-ñõ (noivo) | m |
| | c) casado em tribo diversa da dos "noivos" | buhi-bako | yõo pri-ma | m |
| | yõõ mã-rapõ mamyo (kabyo) (irmã do meu esposo) | | | |
| | a) casada com wameõ-maxkõ | syõ (pl. syõkõra ou melhor, syõri-nõ'mya) | yõo wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) casada com maõ-pa-maxkõ | syõ ou buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra) | yõo maõ-pa-maxkõ | f |
| | c) casada em tribo diversa da dos "noivos" | yõ ou buhi-bako | yõo pri-ma | f |
| Cunhado | yõõ nõ-mõ pe-sõ (cunhado de minha mulher) | pesu (pe'su) (pl. pesu s'õmõa) | | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ buhi-bako (cunhado do meu marido) | | | f |
| Cunhada | yõõ nõ-mõ buhi-bako (cunhada de minha mulher) | | | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ syõ (cunhada do meu marido) | nihi-so-paxkõ (pl. + sa-nõ'mya) | | f |

(92) Alguns falaram o termo "sẽi-mõ" (F. sea-mõ) como equivalente a cunhado de tribo diferente da dos baxubõra. Não sabem, porém, como seria na forma plural. De acordo com outro informante "sẽi-mõ" seria término recíproco da língua Nheengatu, equivalente a "primo" i.e. membro da mesma tribo ou nação.

2) *Grupo Local ou Territorial*

a) *Grupo-local*

Demonstração de grande espírito de sociabilidade dão os indígenas do Uaupés. Vivem, a pequena distância uma da outra, tribos diversas pela origem e pela língua, ligadas entre si pelos laços do *cauinagem* e *cropaméro*, a cordialidade (93) em suas relações sociais, convidando-se reciprocamente para as grandes festas e guardando a tradicional de hospitalidade generosa. Mais ainda, num mesmo povoado encontram-se hoje indivíduos ou famílias de outra tribo, quase sempre para facilitar a aplicação da *cropaméro*. Uma mesma tribo, como se viu (Cap. III) acha-se dispersa ao longo dos rios, em amplo território, subdividida em grupos que se alternam com os de outra tribo.

Primitivamente cada grupo ou *Gens* morava em comunidade numa grande habitação dita maloca, *Wii pahiriwi*, que quer dizer casa grande, habitação coletiva. Além das vantagens de ordem econômica, isto facilitava a defesa contra os animais e os homens.

Com o avanço da civilização, a segurança vai crescendo e aumentando, por outro lado, as exigências de confôrto. Por isso as malocas primitivas vão desaparecendo e sucedem-lhe os *povoados* ou agrupamentos de residências familiares.

Não raro as dissensões, dentro de um grupo provocam cismas, trazendo como resultado a retirada dos dissidentes que vão construir uma nova maloca ou povoado mais distante.

É provável que, em origem, cada maloca fôsse, no sentido rigoroso, uma família, na qual, ao lado do pai, e sob sua direção, continuavam os filhos mesmo depois de casados. Concebemos assim o grupo local como sendo ordinàriamente uma *comunidade agnática*. É bem viva uma expressão corrente entre os indígenas: «Eu sou pai de N.», e diz o nome do próprio tuxaua.

Distinguem-se, atualmente, as duas formas de agrupamento local: ou moram todos debaixo de um mesmo teto, a *maloca*; ou cada família possui sua residência, resultando os *povoados*. Note-se porém, que só há povoados à margem dos grandes rios e por influência e sob a proteção da catequese.

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93) Parece-nos poder avançar esta afirmação, sabendo embora que não [illegible] um ressentimento e outrem desejos de vingança contra outros indivíduos, até de sua mesma tribo, lembrando-nos, [illegible] que há grão nosbi a outro da mesma tribo. As vinganças e brigas, especialmente nos ocasiões do cauim, revelam essas inimizades e aversões que os indígenas sabem ocultar sob a máscara de uma externa cordialidade.

Numa ou noutra forma as *famílias* constituem, porém, grupos autônomos e, o que é ainda mais admirável no regime de maloca, autônomos. Compreende-se a razão dessa autonomia: há nas tribos do Uaupés uma fusão dos dois «ateliers», o masculino (de pesca) e o feminino (agrícola), que se completam e bastam para a manutenção da família.

b) *A organização social*

A vida gregária que vivem os silvícolas exige a observância de certas normas fixando as relações entre os indivíduos, ou, faz-se mais certa organização social.

Essas relações são, de resto, bastante naturais, pela simplicidade mesma da vida que levam; e, por outra parte, religiosamente respeitadas. São tôdas *costumeiras*, isto é, praticadas por costume, nem se pode saber se foram dadas um legislador, Wax-ti, como ensinam lendas, ou se, ao contrário, foram costumes introduzidos naturalmente e que a experiência aprovou, finalmente tornou inviolável. Ou seja talvez distinguir entre as diversas relações, algumas das quais, por exemplo, a do matrimônio exogâmico, tenham tido uma origem positiva, e as outras sejam de origem consuetudinária.

É facilmente perceptível, mesmo nos pequenos grupos, embora perfeita e suavemente harmonizados, a distinção de conjuntos sociais com seus deveres, suas atribuições características, suas diretivas peculiares. Em cada grupo local podemos distinguir quatro categorias de indivíduos: 1º o tuxaua, 2º os *Komuã* (anciãos), 3º os homens (mais ou menos escalonados por suas idades e experiência), 4º as mulheres e crianças.

Essas diversas categorias estão, porém, bem ligadas entre si por princípios unificadores e estabilizantes: 1º uma coisa comum é o regime de maloca, o qual, ao menos de início, vigorou como norma rígida, e sem exceção; 2º as *provisões em comum*: costume que se mantém no regime de maloca e, de modo mais atenuado, também no sistema de povoados; 2º a *herança comum*, da maloca, de canas de pescaria e caça, e de tudo o que é propriedade do grupo; 4º o *medo dos espíritos*, com grande poder unitivo, conforme a mentalidade indígena; 5º a *vindita*, que o grupo exercerá contra quem se supuser o causador da morte de um dos seus membros.

Convém uma palavra ainda sôbre as duas primeiras categorias de indivíduos.

c) «*Buzxôrd-kurá*» — (*Conselho dos anciãos*)

Velando pela observância dos costumes e das festas existe um Conselho de anciãos, o *Buzxôrd-kurá* (dito *Modcaroá* em Nheengatú).

Compõe-se do Tuxaua que é o seu presidente-nato e também porta-voz e executor das suas decisões, o *Pajé* e mais dois ou três

homens de maior ascendente. Êsses homens são os *Komũã* (pl. de *Komũã*, como se exprimem os indígenas, e que vimos figurar (VII - 2, e (3) como «iniciados» e, até certo ponto, auxiliando o pajé.

«Os velhos assim o querem», é uma expressão que se ouve com frequência, quando se indaga do indígena a razão de alguma prática que nos causa estranheza. Essa expressão é a manifestação de uma tonidade impessoal (nunca se revela o nome de algum dos componentes, como responsável pela decisão), a qual é sempre acatada. Êsse termo «velho», *Buzko*, aplicado aos *Komũã*, é antes indicador de autoridade do que de idade, pois vêem-se indivíduos de talvez 30 anos ou pouco mais, integrando o Conselho.

Atua o Conselho como colégio eleitoral do Tuxaua, *Wyõra bezsese* e como tribunal que se pronuncia sôbre as omissões e transgressões dos costumes.

Vice-versa, conforme resulta do relator Tukano Antônio Barreto, cabe ao Tuxaua a escolha dos membros do Conselho. O zêlo de algum da maloca pelos interêsses do grupo, seu amor às tradições, sua facilidade em recordá-las, são, parece, as qualidades requeridas para ser admitido entre os *Komũã*. Torna-se, no entanto, necessária a apresentação por algum membro do conselho, talvez o próprio pai do candidato. Sua admissão, porém, depende da opinião favorável do Conselho, depois que o candidato deu provas de sua idoneidade, por exemplo, repetindo as lendas da tribo, ou os cantos das danças ou mostrando a eficácia dos seus «sôpros». Foi-lhe necessário para isto um curso prolongado à escola dos antigos *Komũã*, como vimos acima (VII - 2, e (3).

O de *Komũã* é um título vitalício, e que lhe grangeia o respeito dos seus conterrâneos. Os *Komũã* exercem, outrossim, suas atividades como «esconderos», especialmente no parto, na imposição dos nomes, como instrutores nos ritos puberários, e como auxiliares do Pajé no tratamento dos doentes. São frequentes as reuniões. A Tuxaua Patrícia Vasconcelos assegurou-nos que às vêzes se reunem quase tôdas as noites.

d) «*Wpogo*» ou *Tuxaua* (Chefe local)

Em cada maloca ou povoado há um chefe ou Tuxaua, em Tukano *Wpogo* (ou *Vpogo*), termo que provavelmente deriva de *Wpi*), casa (94).

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(94) O título de Capitão foi, no tempo das Capitanias, outorgado pelo Govêrno provincial aos Tuxauas, como estímulo para chamá-los ao contacto com os civilizados e aproveitar sua influência afim de obter índios para os serviços de utilidade pública. Em certas épocas davam-lhes até uniforme militar, espada e uma paga mensal.

Ordinariamente seria o chefe da família, continuando o seu poder paterno ou autoridade doméstica. A sua é uma autoridade privada e de tutela sôbre o grupo local de família.

Além de seu poder e suas obrigações, como esposo e pai da sua família, se fará todos os trabalhos, como qualquer outro chefe de família, tem a incumbência de velar pelo cumprimento das leis tradicionais, de prevenir e dirigir as funções sociais. Cabe-lhe, pois, a direção na construção da maloca, na limpa dos terreiros adjacentes, do pôrto e das estradas de acesso a êste (trabalhos às vêzes executados pelas mulheres da maloca sob a direção da esposa do chefe), nas pescarias gerais e coletivas, como nas festas religiosas e profanas e nos bailes periódicos.

Êle é o representante do grupo local para as relações com outros grupos, com outras tribos ou com os civilizados. Estipula as condições e, depois, escolhe e manda os homens pedidos para os serviços dos brancos. É sempre obedecido, e, talvez por isso, nunca usa tom imperioso, cominativo.

Dentro sua posição, no entanto, não lhe advém isenção de trabalho ou direito de exigir tributo ou pagamento em espécie ou em trabalho dos outros componentes (cfr. Nota (102) abaixo), nem de ter mais esposas (95).

O poder do Wbôpo depende não tanto de um costume, como de sua influência pessoal, e está lhe pode derivar de vários títulos: regalias oratórios, prudência, habilidade técnica, inteligência, conhecimento de várias línguas (Português, Nheengatú, etc.).

Outrora achavam-se investidos de maior poder (96). Citam-se nomes de Tuxauas conhecidos, respeitados e obedecidos não só nas

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(95) Da aognamos à poligamia de outros tempos (VIII-1, a (6)). Ainda mais recentemente citam-se casos (informação do Pe. João Marchbs.) que além de sua esposa retinham, como concubina, alguma mulher que ficara viúva. Bem como de tomar uma segunda esposa, porque "a sua mulher era doente, e êle desejava ter filhos". Recorda-se também de um com uma mulher só e duas filhas, o qual toma mais outra esposa, não pelo desejo de ter um filho homem, "para que a sua família não se apodrecesse com êle". Efetivamente, após o nascimento de um filho, varão, remandou a mãe dêste. Não logramos apurar se foi espontânea ou não esta atitude.

(96) Parece que o mesmo se possa afirmar de um passado mais longínquo. As relações do sec. 18 (Pe. Noronha, Ribeiro Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira) mostram-nos principais deslocando grandes grupos, fundando novas localidades a convite dos civilizados, organizando entre si alianças defensivas e ofensivas. Donde o interêsse dos Governadores de tê-los aliados, conferindo-lhes o título de Capitão. Ficaram famosos Caboquena, Ajuricaba, Camanaus, Comandre, Carunama, Cabacaburi, etc. Nos primeiros anos, como nos do meio do sec. passado, o Governador,

[illegible] pelas malocas ou povoados, como também em malocas e povoados [illegible] Por exemplo, ainda em princípio dêste século, [illegible] de Para-cachoeira, pai de Julio e avô de Mandú, o atual chefe [illegible] 1950) entre os Tuxaua, respeitado e temido em todo o rio Tiquié e Uaupés, o Uapadino de Inauaríte entre os Taryana.

Compreende-se a necessidade de maior poder, sendo malocas de [illegible] população e mais isoladas da que hoje estão. A evolução na[illegible] que segue a tribo explica-nos o enfraquecimento do poder do TUXAUA. Indígenas que passam vários anos na Missão, onde fazem um curso primário, aprendem o Português, a ler, escrever, contar, [illegible] um ofício, e se encaminham para a civilização; os civilizados que [illegible] e que muitas vêzes se relacionam diretamente com os índios são outros tantos fatos que vão minando a autoridade do chefe indígena. O Chefe do SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Índios) e o Missionário são fundamentos, pelo conceito mesmo que o índio tem do branco.

A esposa do tuxaua goza também de certa primazia e autoridade entre as mais mulheres, e, por vêzes, chamam-na *Wyógo*. Cabe-lhe a presidência nas recepções sociais (97), dirigir o trabalho coletivo das mulheres, sobretudo na preparação dos caxiris e dabacuris. Toca-lhe saudar e agradecer, em nome das mulheres, os hóspedes

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[illegible] os Diretores Gerais dos Índios" procedem à nomeação oficial [illegible] e aproveitam-se da auto[illegible] Encontramos, por exemplo, no "Archivo [illegible] os Diretores Gerais dos Índios do [illegible] João Henrique de Matos e o Tenente [illegible] Antônio Pereira, bem como o Encarre[illegible] Cidadão Francisco Gonçalves Pinheiro, [illegible]

[illegible] — 1. [illegible] de Carurú-cachoeira, da tribo Wanana
2. [illegible] Tuxaua dos Santos, Tukano, Principal de Carurú-[illegible]
3. [illegible] de Matos, filho do finado Tuxaua Abalizado Ruyinuh-[illegible] Jorge, Tukano, Principal de S. Joaquim.
4. Cândido Antônio, Tukano, Principal de Inauaríte
1850 — 5. Manuel Cândido, Wanana, filho do finado Tuxaua Alexandre, Principal de Carurú-cachoeira.

Distrito de Maraã-Coari

6. o índio Matias Antônio, Principal de S. Francisco
7. o índio João Bernardo, Principal de Tucurimachi
8. o índio Antônio José, principal de Cuiá-Ir[illegible]
Francisco do Rio Xiara
9. o índio Silvério Antônio, de Tunui
1851 — 10. o índio Alexandre Correia, de S. Bento.

(97) Mesmo quando recebe algum visitante civilizado, ela é a primeira e [illegible] vêzes a única que o vem cumprimentar.

...ram para a festa da maloca. Em certas danças tem o papel ...ado de solista, *Yohogõ* ou *Nomó-Sapá* (VII - 4 e 2 a 2º).

Por ocasião da morte do Tuxaua de Pari-cachoeira, o Tukano ... 5 de julho de 1934, tivemos o ensejo de ver alguns documentos ... cuidadosamente pelo extinto e sua família, a saber: ... manuscrito com a nomeação sucessivamente de seu bisavô, João ..., e avô, Manoel Silgueira, para o cargo de *Capitão* de Pari-cachoeira, nomeação feita pelo Missionário Capuchinho Frei Venâncio Zilocchi, em 5-12-1882, com o visto datado de 7-8-1923 do Padre João Balzola, Salesiano. Outra carta de nomeação com cabeçalho impresso, firmada pelo Capuchinho Frei Gesualdo Marchetti, em 13-5-1885, também com o visto do Padre João Balzola, de 7-8-1923. São os seguintes os dizeres dêsses documentos:

«Eu, abaixo assinado, Frei Venancio Zilocchi, Missionario Apostolico Franciscano do Rio Tiquih, affluente do Rio Uaupés, e Director das Missões nelle estabelecidas, nomeio Capitão da Missão de S. Pedro d'Alcantará ao Senhor principal da dita Missão João Silgueira, e em sua ausência ao filho Mor, Manoel Silgueira, impondo-lhe as seguintes condições:

1º — Cuidar da Capella e casa do Missionário.

2º — Obrigar aos moradores da dita Missão, a que acabem as casas principiadas, mesmo a fazer aquellas que não ha tem feitas.

3º — Arruar, na construção das casas, a Missão.

4º — Cada 3 meses, mandar (se o P. Missionário não está presente) um morador de cá donde acha-se o Padre para notificar os obitos, nascimentos e as novedades habidas nos ditos tres meses.

5º — Obrigar a todos fazerem suas roças para o proprio mantenimento, e para prover-se das suas necessidades.

6º — Proibir absolutamente a venta dos indigenas Macú, como tambem impedir de modo que poder as assim ditas pega-pega.

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(28) Numa grande festa a que tivemos a oportunidade de assistir entre os Maiuna de Caruru-cachoeira, rio Uaupés, vimos a esposa do Tuxáua bem dos intervalos das danças, dirigir-se ao grupo de mulheres que se estavam sentadas e reprendê-las. Supomos que seja pela indecisão das mulheres em se apresentarem para o número de dança que precedera.

7º — Finalmente, em caso de necessidade, dar gente para o serviço publico, e dizer, cuando chega o Missionário, tem que dar a gente que ele quer, para seu transito.

Na firme confiança que dito Sr. Principal cumprirá as condições assima indicadas, passo-lhe este documento, na Missão de S. Pedro d'Alcantara aos 5 dias do mes de dezembro de 1882

Ass. Frei Venâncio Zilocchi
Miss. Ap. Fno

Ao Capitão João Silgueira, Sr. Principal da Missão de S. Pedro d'Alcantara (a lapis).

Visto P. João Balzola Salesiano
7-8-1923

(impresso)

FREI GESUALDO MARCHETTI

da ordem dos Menores Observantes de S. Francisco, Prefeito das Missões, etc. Considerando as boas qualidades e bom comportamento do neophito João Silgueira — o nomeamos Capitão da Missão de S. Pedro d'Alcantara, devendo cumprir as ordens do Rendo Missionario respetivo ou do mais proximo.

Esta nomeação durará um ano, acabado o ano o mencionado Missionario o tornará a confirmar não tendo motivos encontrario.

Hospicio da Propaganda Fide em Manaus 30 de maio de 1885
(Prefeitura de Missões. Provincia do Amazonas, Fr. Gesualdo Marchetti)

(Manuscrito) O abaixo assignado, em vista da morte do Capitão João Balcana Silgueira da Missão de S. Pedro d'Alcantara, passa a sobredita patente ao Indio Manoel Iepassonia filho legitimo do sobredito Capitão

Com fé do que me assigno
Missão de S. Pedro d'Alcantara de Pary Cachoeira 29 de janeiro de 1886

Frei Matheus Canioni
Miss. Apost. Franc.

(a lapis) Visto Pe. João Balzola 7-8-1923

*e) A sucessão*

O tuxauato foi sempre uma posição e titulo vitalicios, nem consta de fato de deposição de um e eleição de outro. Esta só se dava após a morte (quiçá provocada) do antigo tuxaua. Em caso de reconhe-

pela invalidez, continua ainda a reter o título, e o seu filho mais velho exercerá as funções interinamente.

Não se conhecem regras fixando a sucessão do tuxaua ou a sua escolha. A única norma rigorosa, seria talvez a observância da jerarquia das subdivisões nos povoados em que há famílias pertencentes a várias subtribos — IV 2, a (2), conforme as informações de Patrício Vasconcelos e Antônio Barreto. Assim o exige o espírito democrático-aristocrático dêsses pequenos grupos. Processo muito natural, dentro de tal espírito, é a sucessão do pai pelo filho, especialmente o primogênito, processo que se verifica na maior freqüência dos casos. Determinava êste fato o ascendente talvez grande do pai, bem como a circunstância de muitas vêzes o filho, em vida do pai, tê-lo ajudado ou substituído em tantas ocasiões.

O ascendente reconhecido, as qualidades pessoais, e entre essas o acatamento das tradições e o respeito às autoridades, é que indicam como candidato o filho. Ou, na falta ou a não idoneidade dêste, outro qualquer, preferìvelmente da família do Tuxaua extinto.

A violação dos velhos costumes e a desobediência ao pai têm sido, não raras vêzes, a causa da preterição de algum jovem, de muito bem prendado, para suceder ao próprio pai no tuxauato.

Tal escolha é uma das principais funções do conselho de Anciãos, o *Buzkóru-Kúrd*, (99), de acôrdo com informações obtida de alguns tuxauas: Júlio, Tukano de Pari-cachoeira, Henrique Resende, Tuxaua do Iauaretê (Tarapé), Fernando, Yurupari de S. Ana no rio Içana; Mandu, Kumádene de Urubucuara; José, Huhudeni de Uapuim-cachoeira no rio Alari).

Sendo assim atenuado o poder social do tuxaua, e com essa mentalidade democrática indígena, infere-se a não repugnância de alguma mulher *Tuxaua*. Cita-se o exemplo de *Caridade* (ou *Cari*, conforme a denominação comum), da tribo Tukano, a qual exerceu em Piracuara (rio Papuri, Colômbia) o *tuxauato* reconhecido por todos e em circunstâncias muito singulares, pois sucedera a seu irmão Estevão, o qual, ao morrer deixava dois filhos (100).

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(99) Por ocasião da morte do tuxaua Tukano de Pari-cachoeira, Júlio Silveira, aos 5 de julho de 1954, o Conselho de anciãos ficou três dias deliberando sôbre as qualidades e méritos de Mandu, o filho mais velho do defunto chefe, antes de reconhecê-lo como sucessor.

(100) Cari fôra antes mulher pública em S. Gabriel, no rio Negro, e nunca se casou. Não foi possível verificar se o seu ascendente tivesse origem de tal ordem. Seria um problema semelhante ao das Heteras. Ou se, ao contrário, como parece mais provável, se deva à sua inteligência, por ser mulher muito esperta, com a vantagem de conhecer bem o Português.

A situação de Cari talvez se explique pela longa convivência com os civilizados, de modo que como tal fôsse considerada, sendo, por outro lado, filha do antigo e conceituado tuxaua (101)

*f) Govêrno e justiça*

Mesmo antigamente o poder do tuxaua era temperado pelo poder dos chefes de cada família, a qual, como dissemos, é autônoma quanto à sua vida normal, seus interesses, seus negócios, sua roça, etc.

Era, outrossim, moderado pelo ascendente dos *Komùd*, os «Velhos», os quais ainda hoje presidem às danças, tomam parte na imposição do nome à criança, na iniciação dos rapazes, praticam o «Sôpro», etc. Os «Velhos» constituiam um verdadeiro Conselho ou Senado do Tuxaua, o *Burkôra-kurd*, e ainda hoje continuam com tal função e escolhem o novo tuxaua.

Os chefes absolutos sempre foram exceção que algumas vêzes provocou a reação dos seus subordinados (102). Vigorou sempre entre tôdas as tribos do Uaupés um *regime democrático*. Recorda-se contudo de alguns tuxauas que, no contrato de serviço com os brancos, — uma das funções do tuxauato — pretendiam paga sem trabalhar, ou até ficando com quase tudo para si e pouco distribuindo aos outros, de sorte que os indígenas vinham pedir ao Missionário fizesse êle mesmo a distribuição do pagamento.

Não cabe ao tuxaua a administração da justiça, no sentido rigoroso. Nem há mesmo um *Direito judiciário* ou *penal costumeiro*. As questões que surgem entre os componentes do grupo são resolvidas entre êles, sob ditame da vingança ou do temor recíprocos. O tuxaua, no entanto, agia com freqüência como árbitro repreendendo os culpados, ameaçando-os, impondo-lhes a restituição do objeto roubado ou uma indenização e, como punição máxima, expulsando da maloca os indesejáveis, sempre porém de acôrdo com os *Komùd* componentes do *Burkôra-kurd*. Jamais conheceram a pena de pri-

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(101) Sucederam-se em Piracuara desinteligências entre Colombianos e indígenas. As autoridades colombianas mandaram desfazer a maloca e Cari foi municiada, bem como o pajé local. Algum tempo depois o Pe. João Marchesi, que nos forneceu esta informação, foi chamado para assistir religiosamente, na hora da morte, a Cari que se mostrava bem disposta.

(102) José, tuxaua Tukano de Pari-cachoeira, morreu envenenado pelos da sua maloca, propriamente pela sua segunda esposa Tuyuka, com conivência dos demais habitantes da maloca. No tempo do encarregado dos índios Higino Albuquerque, do SPI, José exerceu, na verdade, poder despótico, constrangia os índios a trabalhar para alguns civilizados, espancava as mulheres para que fizessem mais depressa a farinha, etc.

4: Silva SQ19 Tucano



são ou os castigos corpóreos. Convém ter presente que não cabem, no seu gênero de vida e na mentalidade indígena, um sem-número de casos que enchem os nossos códigos penais.

g) *Associações*

Nos colégios das Missões observa-se que, embora na convivência amiga das várias tribos com representantes entre as crianças escolares, separam-se facilmente os grupos de cada tribo para brincar entre si. Informava-nos uma Superiora Religiosa das Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora (Irmãs Salesianas), com mais de 25 anos (103) de permanência entre aquelas tribos, que havia sempre uma menina convascendente sôbre as mais, uma verdadeira «tuxaua», a cujas ordens as demais obedeciam prontamente, transgredindo embora o regulamento colegial e as ordens das Irmãs Superioras, e a essa colega traziam os presentes recebidos. Tal deferência, porém, não parecia fruto de amizade, e sim do medo. A menina índia que dificilmente chora, fazia-o quando admoestada por essa companheira, cuja repreensão (104) temia mais do que a das Superioras Religiosas.

Já ressaltamos a grande sociabilidade dessas tribos, no entanto parece não existir entre os uaupésinos *Sociedades secretas*, ou mais ou menos públicas das várias espécies que proliferam entre as tribos norte-americanas, especialmente entre as matriarcalistas. As causas podem ser várias: 1.º vivem, ordinariamente, em pequenos grupos humanos; ao passo que os grandes agrupamentos é que favorecem as subdivisões em sociedades menores; 2.º vivem a vida comum de uma maloca, sendo cada qual observado em todos os seus atos; 3.º a vida familiar é bem autônoma, mesmo quando várias famílias moram na mesma maloca, sem separações de espécie alguma; 4.º a quase inexistência de tabú separativo dos homens e mulheres.

1) Índice de uma separação maior dos sexos, e de uma sociedade que hoje só reúne poucas vêzes e rapidamente, temos nas festas de Wãx-ti. Os homens congregam-se para a precissão fálica, como descrevemos (VII - 4, e (2 a 1º) e as mulheres ficam fora da maloca, com proibição sob pena de morte, de olhar o instrumento.

2) Relevamos nas malocas e povoados a existência de um Senado, o *Bũrkõrakurá*, que se reúne com freqüência, gozando de

(103) Depoimento semelhante deu-o a Superiora da recém-fundada Missão Salesiana de Assunção, entre os Arwake do Içana, situada na localidade conhecida por Carara-poço, em agosto de 1957, portanto cinco meses tão só desde o funcionamento do internato feminino local.

(104) Entre os insultos recíprocos, alguém disse: — "Você não tem pai", e outra respondeu-lhe: — "Sua mãe é uma ladra".

grande ascendente, impondo e exigindo a observância dos costumes ancestrais, com a competência de escolha do chefe.

3) Outra sociedade existente, parece, é a dos *Xamãs* ou *Pajés*. O processo de preparação do paje é, sempre, frequentando a escola de outro paje, mesmo por turmas de alunos-xamãs. Até depois de formados, e no exercício de sua profissão, encontram-se periodicamente, convidados para solucionar os casos mais difíceis. Não se sabe, contudo, se há reuniões mais frequentes, em determinadas epocas, se há ritos nem quais atos pratiquem então. Sabe-se, sim, que o pajé convoca muitas vezes os *Komũã*, para resolver os problemas sanitários da maloca ou povoado (vd. VII - 2, e (3).

4) Uma informante Tukano, Dorotéia Brito, falou de reuniões das mulheres dentro da maloca, nas quais revelam entre si os maus tratos que recebem dos homens. Não conseguimos, porém, verificar se se trata de verdadeiras reuniões de sociedade secreta, como defesa de classe. Ou, ao invés, como mais parece, encontros casuais, embora frequentes, de mulheres, nos quais se desabafam revelando as próprias mágoas. É certo que, pela lei da exogamia, sucede às vezes tôdas as mulheres são de determinada tribo, à qual vão referir o que os seus maridos dizem de mal contra ela, donde surgem contendas e vinganças. Isto acontece de uma maneira muito regular, e com entendimento prévio das mulheres entre si. Dizem-se *ukhá* êsses mexericos das mulheres.

h) *Classes sociais*

Verdadeira *estratificação social*, ou *Classes sociais*, no sentido que traz posições privilegiadas, talvez vitalícias e hereditárias, com diferenciação de trabalhos, diversidade de direito e até de costumes peculiares (na habitação, vestes, distintivos, emblemas, etc.), como se dá em forma culturais mais complexas, não há entre êsses índios. Dentro da maloca não há senhores e nobres, como não há escravos (105), porém, uma admirável igualdade de direitos e deveres, como de propriedade e de trabalho.

Várias circunstâncias justificam tal inexistência de classes: 1.º trata-se de grupos numericamente pequenos; 2.º o clima quente e úmido, se facilita a provisão de alimentos necessários em tôdas as

(105) Praticamente servem de escravos os Maku. Trata-se, porém, de outra tribo, racial, linguística e culturalmente diversa. Talvez nem se possa dizer verdadeiramente escravos, pois em troca do trabalho recebem proteção e alimentos. Terminados os trabalhos (roça, aturás, etc.) os Maku podem retirar-se, como também podem constituir sua malôca com seu tuxaua.

épocas do ano, não permite abundante aprovisionamento e o desenvolvimento de riquezas. Ora, onde não há ricos, não há classes, nem senhores nem escravos; 3º a vida em comum, que as condições introduziram e a tradição firmou; 4º o medo da inveja que o bem-estar de um pode causar em outrem, e que tantas vêzes se manifesta até nas pequenas desigualdades (vd. V - 14); 5º a falta de um tribunal para restituir os direitos e indenizar danos.

3) *Grupo linguístico*

a) *Grupo linguístico*

Acima do *Grupo local* só existe, entre as populações do noroeste amazônense, o *grupo linguístico*. Consta de vários grupos locais, perfazendo às vêzes um total de milhares de indivíduos, com os seguintes elementos em comum: 1º dizem-se de uma mesma tribo ou nação, e, por isso, se consideram «irmãos»; 2º falam uma mesma língua; 3º entre si é terminantemente proibido o matrimônio.

Trata-se, pois, de uma *unidade étnica*, apenas. Os grupos que a constituem nunca se unem, nem possuem propriedades que se possam dizer em comum: casa, terreno, águas de pesca de tal tribo, etc. Por causa das distâncias são mais freqüentes as relações entre grupos de tribos diversas, do que entre grupos da mesma *tribo*.

Não há, pois, *organização social* ou *política* de tôda uma tribo; nem se recordam os mais velhos de ter ouvido falar em tal organização. Houve, sim, algum tuxaua com maior ascendente e ao qual, outros tuxauas consultavam e seguiam-lhe os conselhos, nas questões mais graves, que envolviam as relações com outras tribos ou com os brancos. Cada qual, porém, julgando-se perfeitamente independente e até com bem pequeno poder sôbre os outros homens da sua própria maloca.

Consta, sim, da fusão temporária de vários grupos, para uma expedição militar agressiva ou defensiva, às ordens de um único chefe (106).

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(106) Assim o famigerado Ajuricaba, da nação *Manao*, com seus dois milhares de arcos, navegando em verdadeiras flotilhas sob a bandeira holandesa, dava caça aos índios de outras tribos para vendê-los como escravos aos holandeses da Guiana (cfr. Xavier Sampaio, "Diário", n. 336). Em 1658 o Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (archivo do Amazonas, vol. II, n. 7, p. 80), narrando o episódio do "Cristo de Juquira" (cfr. VII-4, b) avalia em mil pessoas, de várias localidades e tribos, reunidas em Juquira em declarada hostilidade aos civilizados. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" de 1783) a propósito da lendária cidade de Manoa, extensa capital dos Manao esclarece-nos que no rio Urubaxi onde estavam outrora os Manao: "a referida aldeia

Nunca houve uma verdadeira *autoridade*, mas apênas ascendente de um tuxaua sôbre outros. Esta, é mais ou menos, a situação atual de um Missionário, e, com certas reservas, podemos falar de um seu *hipertuxauato*.

b) *Tribo ou Nação?*

No conceito de *Tribo*, como comumente se entende, incluem-se e associam-se três elementos, a saber, certo grau de coesão política, uma concentração de poderes na mão dos chefes, e uma identidade de cultura. Ora, os dois primeiros elementos não se encontram entre os grupos humanos no noroeste amazonense. Não se pode, portanto, falar em *Tribo*. Talvez melhor fôra denominá-las *Nação*. Temos, na realidade, vários *grupos nacionais*, cada qual com sua língua, apresentando traços somáticos característicos, apesar do regime de exogamia que entre êles vigora.

Todos êles, porém, constituem um único *grupo cultural*. De fato, possuem tradições e práticas comuns, a saber, um *padrão* de vida semelhante, e o conjunto de observâncias que, estranhas para nós, são comuns a todos, como sejam as regras do matrimônio, da exogamia, da iniciação de puberdade, etc.

c) *Famílias Linguísticas*

Aguardamos a decisão dos especialistas sôbre várias questões fundamentais: 1.º as que geralmente se elencam como línguas, merecem assim denominadas? ou, talvez, algumas delas seriam apenas variações dialetais? 2.º qual a relação entre elas, quiçá uma derivada de outra? quais seriam as derivadas? 3.º seriam os idiomas atuais línguas-mãe, provenientes de idiomas antigos já desaparecidos? quais seriam êstes? 4.º e, nesta última hipótese, qual dos idiomas atuais do Uaupés mais se aproxima da língua mãe original?

Atribuindo, a título provisório e hipotético, a cada uma das «*Tribos*» uma «*Língua*», podemos dizer (como o temos feito *passim* no presente estudo) que as tribos da área uaupesina brasileira se dividem em três *Famílias de línguas* distintas e irredutíveis: a *Família Tukano*, a *família Arawake* e a *família Maku*.

Sôbre os componentes destas famílias linguísticas e sua localização, bem como seus vocabulários comparados, veja nosso trabalho «*Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*».

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(Iranamuoca) nem tinha as qualidades e grandezas com que se fingiu a cidade de Manoá, pois não obstante serem estes todos *confederados*, eram contudo as suas aldeias independentes uma das outras e muitas delas tão populosas como a Iranamuoca".

d) *Kurá ou Gens*

Indicamos em capítulo precedente (IV - 2-a(2) as divisões das tribos, divisões que na língua Tukano se dizem *Kurá*. De acôrdo com a mentalidade indígena, essas divisões remontam à época da origem da tribo, por vontade mesma de Wãx-ti. Daremos em outro lugar (na obra do autor «Lendas do Uaupés») a lenda das origens conforme o relato do velho *Komã* Gabriel Costa de Puri-cachoeira.

Emergem tantas questões à espera de uma solução: quando se deram essas subdivisões? por qual razão? qual a sua base ou fundamento? Verificamos hoje um fenômeno de dispersão de uma nação em pequenos grupos, teria havido uma fusão em tempos idos ou podemos prever uma futura? As duas primeiras questões são de natureza histórica e falecem-nos dados para responder-lhes. As duas últimas talvez se possam aduzir elementos elucidativos.

1º Desde que um grupo humano se radica num local que lhe proporcione os meios de subsistência necessários ou até abundantes, torna-se naturalmente prolífero. O nomadismo, ao mesmo tempo causa e efeito de uma alimentação deficiente, é que reduz a natalidade: 1º pelo depauperamento orgânico dos pais; 2º obrigando a uma amamentação prolongada das crianças (até quatro ou mais anos); 3º favorecendo certas práticas criminosas (abôrto, infanticídio canibalismo das crianças).

Os grupos humanos crescendo em número não podem continuar na mesma maloca. Além das dificuldades de alimentação, a que já aceno, a própria dificuldade técnica de ampliar a maloca existente ou a construção de novas e maiores impõe a divisão do grupo primitivo (107). Enquanto o filho primogênito continuava ao lado do velho casal com sua família, os outros filhos do fundador tornavam-se por seu turno, fundadores de novas malocas, que iam crescendo com a fecundidade natural da mulher indígena. Esta hipótese, a mais de acôrdo com a natureza das coisas, vem confirmada, parece, pelos costumes.

1º — Um primeiro é a denominação de «irmão» para todos os indivíduos da mesma nação (isto é, que se reconhecem de tal tribo e falam a mesma língua), denominação correspondente, de resto, aos sentimentos (não podem casar entre si, mútuo auxílio e entendimento, pranto na morte e a vindicta do irmão vítima de outra tribo).

Se todos são irmãos, há, porém, uma distição entre *Mumí* (irmão maior) e *Axkabí* (irmão menor). Dentre os irmãos germanos, isto é,

(107) É possível que hajam interferido outras razões, como as desinteligências que ainda hoje se verificam.

filhos do mesmo pai os termos *mami* e *arkabi*, correspondem às idades. Fora dêsse caso, não correspondem mais. Ouve-se, por exemplo, um adulto qualificar uma criança de *mami*. Trata-se, portanto, de uma classificação hierarquica.

Um Tukano Tra-pé informou que considerava como *Mami* os *Wau-ro* e *Ôpi* ouvimos, com relação aos *Wau-ro* a expressão «Tukano da cabeça. *Dersed na dempega*, como equivalente ao ramo principal, como no-lo explicou logo em segunda Patricia Vasconcelos. Temos, pois aqui indícios de uma aristocracia (108) cuja principal consequência atualmente, parece seja a *precedência* quer nas danças, quer na preferência para o tuxauato, no caso de coexistência de várias subdivisões na mesma maloca ou povoado. Em base de tal costume pode-se organizar uma tabela classificatória, a qual, por exemplo, para a tribo Tukano, ficaria constituída como se viu IV. - 2-a(2), conforme a enumeração dada em dezembro de 1953 pelo octogenário Tukano de Puré - cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (pertencente à 11.ª divisão dos *Bati-tóró*), ordem que, de resto, corresponde a informações que obtivemos de outras fontes e em diversos lugares (109).

2.º — Um segundo é o atribuirem-se uma superioridade jurídica, derivante da prioridade de tempo, algo correspondente ao brocardo: «*qui prior est tempore potior est jure*.» Quem se estabeleceu mais recentemente num povoado, está em certa inferioridade, é um «passageiro. *Sihpari-mogód*», como dizem.

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(108) A existência dessa aristocracia era já conhecida em 1755 pelo Pe. Nóbrega Xavier de Sampaio no seu "Diário" de 1774 (n. 381) informa: "A mais celebre (das nações do Rio Uaupés) he a Uaupés por causa da differença que entre si admittem de varios graus de nobreza, a que serve de distintivo, como de uma ordem militar, uma pedra branca muito lisa, de figura cylindrica e furada para lhe passarem um cordão com que a trazem pendente ao pescoço. As dos principaes chegam a ter meio palmo de comprido. São menores as dos nobres e muito menores as dos plebeus. Trazem também os Uaupés as orelhas e beiços inferiores furados".

(109) Quando se fala a respeito das últimas subdivisões, com indivíduos das primeiras, ouve-se com frequência esta expressão: "São nossos escravos". Seriam acaso grupos de origem diversa que foram dominados e absorvidos? Em alguns casos parece-nos isto admissível. Por exemplo, os *Juruá* apresentam diferenças somáticas bem notáveis dos outros Tukano. Conforme as lendas não teriam saído de *Tóni-pamari*, e sim de outro orifício à bôca de um vizinho igarapé. Os rios de águas pretas, como o Uaupés, formam característica e abundante espuma quando batem nas pedras das cachoeiras. Indagando de certo indivíduo porque havia essas divisões inferiores, êle respondeu que é porque não saíram da água, mas da espuma, como se fôsse de uma bôrra de depuração.

Os dois costumes indicados se harmonizam perfeitamente; podemos pensar que o segundo é uma derivação do primeiro. Indagando de um índio Tukano de um povoado do baixo Tiquié, aos habitantes do qual povoado êle considerava *Mamiá*, respondeu-nos que aos de S. José. Indagações posteriores feitas a outros índios vieram esclarecer esta resposta. Um dêles informou, ouvira ao próprio avô narrando que os Tukano outrora não moravam aí, porém residiam no Papuri. Dêste rio, sendo o próprio avô, ainda menino, portanto cousa de uns 100 a 120 anos atrás, foram expulsos pelos Taryana e vieram estabelecer-se em S. José. Êsse informe faz de S. José o primeiro núcleo Tukano no rio Tiquié.

Um argumento a mais de probabilidade dá-nos o nome Tukano da localidade, que é *Mazkõ*, a vila, como se fôsse a *urbs* por excelência dêsses Tukano. Tanto mais provavel, enquanto tal denominação além de não ser atribuida a nenhuma outra localidade, foge ao costume das denominações pelos acidentes geográficos (ponta, igarapé, pedra, cachoeira, buraco, etc.), ou outras circunstâncias. Nas vizinhanças de S. José há um local que em Tukano se diz *Buzkõrã bahã*, literalmente «nado dos velhos», isto é onde os velhos atravessaram o rio a nado, fugindo dos inimigos. Nas proximidades dêsse local, vai para 30 anos os velhos mostraram ao Pe. João Marchesi um trecho de mata menos densa, como sendo o local por onde passaram os primeiros Tukano vindos do Tiquié em suas expedições guerreiras.

Em conclusão, opinamos:

1º — A multiplicação natural dos índios impõe uma divisão em grupos, que se estabeleceram em lugares mais vizinhos ou mais distantes, conforme as circunstâncias; por isso encontramos hoje grupos de uma mesma nação dispersos pelos três rios (Uaupés, Tiquié e Papuri).

2º — As denominações (110) que caracterizam cada grupo (*Wanano Opi*, etc. cfr. IV-2-a(2), são nomes ou alcunhas pelos quais foram conhecidos os respectivos estipites, ou algum tardio descendente mais famôso, que provocou a separação ou construiu a nova maloca ou praticou outra proeza qualquer.

3º — As relações entre as malocas, e a situação social dos que

(110) O afastamento dêsses grupos vai acentuando cada vez mais a separação. Se é verdade que cada indivíduo, mesmo as crianças, sabem o nome da própria e das subdivisões vizinhas (e até de outras tribos), poucos sabem fazer uma elencação mais completa das Gentes que constituem a sua tribo.

hoje a habitam são as mesmas que se passavam entre os fundidores, donde a presente hierarquia que vigora entre os índios.

4º — Não datam da mesma época as malocas, uma são anteriores e outras mais tardias, originadas, quiçá, de algum cisma. Os grupos que se organizam mais recentemente respeitam sempre a primazia dos mais antigos, chama-los-ão *Mani*.

5º — O grande número de grupos que foi aparecendo, no entanto complicou essa hierarquização, daí a dúvida prática que assalta o índio, em algum caso, não sabendo dizer quem terá a precedência.

(2) Com o avançar da civilização para aquelas regiões, acentua-se a divisão e pode-se descobrir dupla causa para tal fato. A primeira é o estreitar-se dos laços da família e sua valorização cada vez maior, graças ao apôio das autoridades religiosa e civil, e por isso, o grupo familiar já pode bastar-se a si mesmo. A segunda são os povoados que surgem constando de famílias de diferentes subtribos ou até de tribos diversas. Pode-se prever, se as cousas marcharem como vão, que não se dará mais uma fusão de tribos, mas, ao invés, um nivelamento e amalgamento na nacionalidade brasileira.

Favorece êsse amalgamento não tanto os matrimônios com os civilizados, que até o presente são fatos raríssimos, quanto à exogamia tradicional e o conhecimento e amor à pátria brasileira que germina terreno entre êsses filhos da selva, graças à ação das Missões Religiosas e das suas escolas.

c) *Fratrias (sibes) ou clans totêmicos*

Como a *Tribo*, melhor dita *Nação* não tem um chefe, nem sequer o possuem as suas subdivisões ou *Subtribos* (111), quais as encontramos atualmente. Não são unidades políticas, porém apenas comunas.

Se por *Fratria* entendemos qualquer subdivisão da tribo (mesmo que não constitua verdadeira comunidade, porque não possui um chefe), a estas Subtribos ou *Kurá*, poder-se-ia chamar *Fratrias* (ou *Sibes*, como preferem alguns etnólogos modernos). Coincidem com as *Fratrias* da antiga Grécia, enquanto, como aquelas, são também exogâmicas e de descendência paterna. Note-se, porém, que não é permitido o matrimônio entre uma fratria e outra da mesma tribo.

(111) Evidentemente é impróprio o têrmo *Subtribo*; como o de *Tribo* não se aplica com rigor ao conjunto nacional dêsses indígenas.

A *Maloca* ou *Kurá*, que a princípio se identifica com a maloca, encontra-se, com o decorrer do tempo, em vários *grupos locais*. Nesses grupos, entanto, nenhum vestígio há que se trate de um *clã totêmico*, são apenas *grupos familiares territoriais* ou *grupos de parentesco* específico que poderíamos chamar com o termo latino *Gens*.

1) *Totemismo?*

São diversos os indícios que fazem pensar na vigência do *totemismo* com seus *clãs* e *costumes totêmicos*.

1.º — Os grupos (tribos e subtribos) trazem nomes de animais (tucano, arapaço ou pica-pau, juriti, jibóia, etc.) ou de vegetais (miriti, camuri etc.) como costumam os clãs totêmicos.

2.º — Nos adornos de danças figuram penas de garça, arara, tucano, gavião, pêlos de macaco e de onça, dentes de onça ou de outros animais, vértebras de cobra, etc. Êsses adornos lembram o lugar em que o animal foi ferido, como se fôsse uma exaltação do animal sacrificado e uma identificação entre o indivíduo e o animal outrora sacrificado por Deus ou (?) a Deus.

3.º — Nas danças há personagens e máscaras (onde as usam, a saber entre os Kubewâna do Uaupés e os Arwake do Içana), que figuram a borboleta, a cotia, etc. e estas personagens procuram imitar os movimentos dêsses animais e há pios ou cantos também correspondentes.

4.º — O tucano pelo peso e volume desproporcional do seu bico, não tem grande autonomia de vôo, que tende a abaixar-se cada vez mais. Quando deseja atravessar um rio sobe a uma das árvores mais altas da margem, assim nos afirmam, e daí desfere seu vôo que, aos poucos, vai perdendo altura e, alguma vez, nos rios demasiado largos, não conseguem alcançar a outra margem. Foi observado que os índios Tukano, vendo um tucano sobrevoar o rio Uaupés num dos pontos mais largos, emitiram gritos, como de apreensão, com receio que o pássaro não lograsse atingir a margem oposta.

São vestígios apenas, que no máximo levaria a inferir uma forma social anterior de *clã totêmico*, se é que não são elementos tomados de empréstimo (é tão notável o instinto de imitação dos índios) a outros grupos. Não se nota, porém, nenhuma atenção (respeito, temor, prazer) para com o animal ou planta cujo nome levam; nomes de resto, sem importância econômica (exceto o *Bunivo* ou outro), contra o que de regra acontece aos nomes totêmicos.

Não se nota que evitem matá-lo ou procurem, ao contrário, comê-lo em algumas circunstâncias especiais. Se o encontram morto,

nenhum sinal de surpresa. É certo que às vêzes o matam para aproveitar suas penas nos adornos de dança. Mas, ao menos na forma atual (112) os enfeites são os mesmos para as várias tribos, chame-se ela Tukano, Arara, Tuyuka, Pirá-tapuya, etc. Pode-se mesmo assegurar que a sua atitude é de perfeita indiferença diante do animal do próprio nome, mais ou menos como diante de outro animal qualquer.

Nem há *clãs* tucano pica-pau, juriti, etc. São considerados nações ou tribos diversas, cada qual com sua própria língua e peculiares traços somáticos. É verdade que uma mesma tribo subdivide-se em grupos, com nomes que poderiam parecer *clânicos* (cfr. IV-2-a(2). Já não são, porém, os animais que aparecem nos enfeites de dança. Além disso tais grupos, ou *Gentes*, afastam-se do tipo clássico de clã. Por exemplo, não se admite o matrimônio entre as *Gentes*, mas apenas entre uma e outra Nação.

Os adornos de penas de tucano, arara, garça ou pêlo de macaco prendem-se com a lenda de Wãx-tí a qual, pela relação mútua entre as tribos, passa a figurar na história de cada tribo. Os enfeites, porém, não são distintivos de família ou clã. São essencialmente os mesmos para tôdas as tribos, sendo objeto de negócio de uma tribo com outra. Só esta circunstância já depõe em desfavor de uma interpretação *clânica*.

Não se nota absolutamente que uma tribo ou grupo tenha representação pictórica, de incisão ou escultória de um animal qualquer, e menos ainda do seu titular.

Quanto às máscaras e personagens de dança, observe-se primeiramente que há a da borboleta, e, entretanto, não há nenhum grupo humano com esta denominação; e nada revela ter existido. Em segundo lugar, há máscara, dança e canto da *cutia* e sob êste nome conhece-se uma subdivisão entre os Tukano, a *Dwá-pôrã*, filhos da cutia e uma tribo Arwaka do Içana, *Awadzirandi* ou cutia-tapuya; e, entretanto, não há tal máscara entre os Tukano e sim entre os Arwaka.

Parece que a mesma personagem ora faz de borboleta, ora de cutia, etc. Ora um, ora outro fará tal papel; e dentro da mesma maloca há as várias personagens, nem se trata de uma função hereditária de pai a filho. Tudo isto depõe contra a hipótese da existência de subdivisões *clânicas*.

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(112) Tantas vêzes insistimos no conceito que são costumes atuais. É que se torna difícil ou impossível verificar como procediam em outras eras. E os índios respondem às nossas perguntas: — "Foi sempre assim."

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Quando ao episódio da atenção pelo tucano que atravessava o rio, pode ser manifestação de simples curiosidade, que entre os índios vem tantas vêzes acompanhada de rumores exclamativos. Os velhos nada contam que prove tratar-se de um *totem* de clã. Ao menos pelo que sabemos até agora.

Como não há indício de um *totemismo clânico*, também nenhum, de *totemismo individual* ou pessoal. Os objetos que fabricam não figuram animais, são de feitio simples, de acôrdo com a finalidade. Em alguns casos bem raros as pinturas das paredes são antropomórficas, parecem, porém, ter apenas o caráter lúdico.

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## Cap. IX

# A VIDA DO INDIO

1) *Ciclo diario*

O tipo e o estilão de vida do indio parece padronizado. Mesmo em tribos distintas encontramos os indios fazendo as mesmas cousas do mesmo modo e até com um horário bem aproximado. É sim, uma vida bem metódica, não, porém, monotona. Ao contrário, bem variada, dentro de uma perfeita naturalidade em que se sucedem dinamicamente repouso, trabalho, refeições, banhos, exercicios fisicos.

O Tukano vive na maloca que lhe serve de dormitorio, de refeitorio pela manhã e à tarde. A maloca é, sucessivamente laboratorio para os trabalhos domésticos, lugar de reunião nas horas de chuva e sala de baile nas grandes festas. É o lugar em que o Tukano vive, morre e é sepultado. Para o Tukano a maloca é o mundo. (Relação do 1º Superior das Missões Salesianas do Rio Negro, Mons. Lourenço Giordano — Boletim Salesiano — fev. 1918 p. 31).

A vida familiar ordinária pode-se assim resumir: o indio dorme pouco, come muito, conversa bem, trabalha quanto é necessário.

Desde as três horas da manhã, ainda fechada a maloca, ouve-se dentro conversa bem animada risadas sonoras e freqüentes. Muitas vezes também o rumor dos ralos em funcionamento: são as mulheres que preparam a mandioca para o beijú. Antes das cinco horas, com chuva ou sem ela, sempre escuro naqueles latitudes, as mulheres saem pela porta do fundo individualmente ou em pequenos grupos de duas ou três, ordinariamente uma criança enganchada ao quadril e com um vaso à cabeça, em direção ao rio. Ou, mais exatamente, àquele ponto do rio que se diz *Porto*, porto de acesso convenientemente preparado, onde se amarram as canoas. Ali tomam seu rápido banho matinal, *Wá-uakáse* de imersão, esfregando rapidamente a mão pelo corpo, rosto e cabelo. O mesmo fazem os filhos menores que a acompanharam; e elas aproveitam, outrossim, para banhar as criancinhas de peito que deixaram à margem. Depois enchem de água as vazilhas e pondo-as à cabeça sobem com agua de volta à maloca. Em seguida preparam a refeição da manhã.

Os homens e os rapazes continuam deitados, por uma hora mais ou menos, conversando de rêde para rêde e, ainda antes das seis horas, vão ao seu banho. Suspendem-se, então, as esteiras que fechavam as duas portas da maloca.

Sôbre pequenas esteiras são postas pelo chão as panelas de *Bydô* (é a quinhapira ou molho de caldo de peixe com pimenta) ou de *Yumû-ku* (mingau) de tapioca, e os baiaios em forma de peneiras bem abauladas com *Ahû-a* (beijú). — «*Badra a'tyd*», venham comer, é o convite da mulher. Os do sexo masculino se põem em círculo, de cócoras e, começando pelo chefe, comem abundantemente, entre conversas e sonoras risadas.

A regra de civilidade é servir-se lentamente e comer sem voracidade. Isto, de resto, está muito de acôrdo com a atitude tôda do índio, normalmente calmo e sereno. As mulheres se encarregam do serviço, trazendo o que ocorre, à medida que for necessário. Não há talheres: corta-se com a mão um pedaço de beijú mergulha-se na quinhapira e leva-se à bôca. O mingau bebe-se (1) com o beijú ou em pequenas cuias à guisa de colher. Ao fim a mulher apresenta grande cuia com *Sôrkd* (manicuera) ou o *Po'kd pcosé* (o chibé, de uso generalizado no Amazonas). À guisa do nosso café, assim ordinàriamente encerram suas refeições com o indispensável chibé, do qual se serve quanto quiser, passando depois a cuia ao vizinho da direita. Por fim mulheres e crianças tomam simultâneamente o seu alimento.

Começa o êxodo barulhento para o trabalho: serão talvez sete ou oito horas. Vão saindo em grupo os homens e as mulheres. Aquêles para a mata para a caça extração de fibras têxteis, de madeira para construção, ou à procura de frutas ou para o rio, com os apetrechos convenientes para a pesca, ou a fim de preparar as armadilhas.

As mulheres com as filhas maiores e as crianças pequenas, vão para a roça, levando pendente da testa para as costas o *Pi'i* (aturá) para trazer mandioca e lenha. Para alcançar a roça quase sempre deverão tomar a canoa, e por isso saem com remos de diversos tamanhos, alguns bem pequenos para as crianças. Algum velho ou doente (muitas vêzes ninguém) ficará como guarda da maloca deserta e silenciosa.

O trabalho durará até depois das onze horas. Pelas 13 horas começa a reanimar-se a maloca. Chegam as mulheres com seus aturás cheios de mandioca e, por cima, feixe de lenha; as crianças menores aos quadris ou seguras ante o peito, e outras agarradas à sua saia. Estão suadas, com o rosto afogueado, se por precaução não

(1) *Beber* é a expressão que usam, embora não muito própria, porque mais ou menos gense — "*Yumû-ku ãrydij? você bebeu mingau?*"

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se untaram com carajuru, a fim de não sofrer tanto o ardor do sol. Nos poços vão chegando também os homens com o resultado dos seus trabalhos: frutos, peixe, caça ou fibras e madeiras.

Novo banho virá, com seu frescor, renovar o bem-estar. A mulher moqueará o peixe ou a caça, aprontará beiju fresco saboroso, o mukhapira, o mingau, algum inseto e o chibé. Virá logo o «*Badro*», o peixe, e a refeição da tarde.

Há ainda algumas horas de luz: o homem vai preparar suas fréchas, desfiar o tucum para as redes de pesca ou trabalhar o seu banquinho ou a sua peneira. A mulher tecerá nova rede ou atender-á ao preparo da mandioca para o dia seguinte. Cada qual no seu trabalho.

Entre os indivíduos da geração nova, o homem talvez remendará ou lavará a própria roupa, como a mulher o faz à sua. Trabalhos todos feitos com tranquilidade, na intimidade da vida familiar, ao ritmo de uma animada conversa, com sonoras gargalhadas.

Quando o sol tomba, a lenha já está amontoada dentro da casa e as lanchas estão providas de água. Homens e crianças se acomodam nas suas redes, enquanto a mulher se ocupa em ferver o *Nũrka*, com algum fruto da mata, e todos se servem com suas cuias, como de costume da noite.

Continua mais viva a conversa, são pitorescamente narrados os acontecimentos do dia, as visitas que apareceram, as lanchas que passaram, as notícias de outras malocas. Quando a noite vai mais alta, serão talvez as 21 horas, baixam-se as portas da maloca. O sono vai vencendo primeiramente as crianças, depois os mais velhos. Porém, pelas 23 horas, ou mais tarde, ouvir-se-á uma pergunta que parte de uma rede, um ai e uma resposta de outra rede. Depois o silêncio só interrompido pelo crepitar de tantos pequenos fogos em cada apartamento do grande casarão. O fogo jamais se apaga dentro da maloca; a qualquer hora da noite vê-se algum vulto saltar de uma rede para reavivar o fogo, indispensável para as horas mais frescas da madrugada, e para afugentar as cobras ou outros bichos.

Com o avanço da civilização dá-se o fenômeno de aculturação, novos trabalhos vão ocupando o tempo e a atenção dos índios. Porém o ritmo da vida cotidiana é sempre o mesmo, na maloca como no povoado, para os índios que sempre aí viveram como para os que passaram longos anos no internato dos colégios e retornam às suas casas.

2) *Ciclo anual*

O clima daquelas regiões parece não oferecer mudanças notáveis para que fôsse alterado o ritmo da vida cotidiana do índio. Com

efeito, o termômetro, o barômetro e o higrômetro acusarão sensivelmente a mesma média durante todo o ano. Devido, porém, às chuvas das cabeceiras dos rios, distinguem-se uma estação de enchente e outra de vazante. E o ciclo anual é talvez mais variado para o índio do que costuma ser entre os civilizados.

Além do trabalho que compete a cada indivíduo, para a vida do seu lar, outros há que interessam a tôda a comunidade e que, por isso, são feitos coletivamente sob a direção do tuxaua. Talvez sejam as reparações da maloca ou a construção de outra nova, no mesmo local ou quiçá bem distante da antiga. Ou ainda, será a limpeza das áreas adjacentes à maloca, dos caminhos comuns ou do pôrto. Poderá tratar-se de uma derrubada para algum índio, o qual alcançará o auxílio dos irmãos de tribo, embora para utilidade sua particular. Os indivíduos são avisados com antecedência, a fim de tomar suas providências. Se se trata de trabalho para a coletividade, todos estão obrigados a dêle participar. Se, ao invés, é um auxílio para algum irmão, poderá razoàvelmente eximir-se: não o fará, porém. Em um e outro caso, só há uma paga convencional, suficiente e indispensável, um caxiri que foi também previamente preparado. O trabalho coletivo realiza-se sem necessidade sequer de um diretor técnico, porque sempre de acôrdo com as tradições, sob a simples direção do tuxaua ou do indivíduo interessado. É um trabalho rude, ou, antes, verdadeiras competições de fôrça e atividade, sob o bom humor e alegria do que se denomina *Dará-serôsé*, em Nheengatu *ajuri* ou *mutirão* (2).

Com a enchente ocorre a *piracema*, isto é os cardumes de peixes que sobem para a desova. Na vazante os peixes dos igapós querem tornar aos rios. Nesses períodos realizam-se as «grandes pescarias», constituindo, ao mesmo tempo, um trabalho coletivo, um esporte e uma festa, como indicamos (VI-a(1ª)).

Em diversas épocas do ano aparecem grandes quantidades de insetos, larvas ou voadores, cuja captura e preparo alteram o ritmo cotidiano da vida.

As árvores frutificam em diferentes estações, nas quais o índio realizará colheitas mais abundantes, e de muitas preparará saborosas bebidas, consumidas invariàvelmente entre música, cantos e danças.

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(2) *Ajuri* será propriamente o convite e *putirum* (donde o têrmo aportuguesado "mutirão") o trabalho coletivo. Stradelli, no seu vocabulário Nheengatu-Português ensina: — "*Ajuri*. É o mesmo que no baixo Amazonas chamam *mutirum*".

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Além dessas «festas das árvores» ou «das frutas», anuais e regulares, não faltarão outras pelo nascimento, iniciação, casamento de algum membro do grupo. Haverá talvez algum morto a lamentar com o *pranto social* e a *festa funebre* de tradição.

Índice de um caráter nômade ocorrerão oportunidades durante o ano para viagens de divertimento. Será a procura de uma noiva, um motivo de comércio, pescarias a realizar, *Pcosé* a que foram convidados, visitas a outras malocas, mesmo aos de tribo diversa, à qual está ligado pela afinidade. E o índio com tôda a sua família redes, aturás, e outros apetrechos, e até algum cachorrinho, abarrota uma ou várias canoas e segue horas ou mesmo dias em demanda de outros povoados ôndé passarão dias ou semanas despreocupados (3). Quem navega aquêles rios encontra invariàvelmente canoas, rio acima e rio abaixo, de índios turistas. Alguns passam meses visitando conhecidos e parentes pelos vários povoados.

3) *Ciclo da vida*

Conhecemos os ritos que acompanharam o nascimento das crianças. Sob os cuidados e desvelos de sua mãe, ao contacto com a natureza, elas vão crescendo e enrijecendo-se. Ao atingir o exercício dos seus músculos elas tentarão andar e são lançadas ao chão para engatinhar. Sofrerão, então, o ataque da verminose. Tornam-se pálidas, inchada, barrigudas e muitas sucumbem. As que conseguem vencer a doença e atingir a adolecência, estão salvas.

Em falta de dados positivos estatísticos sôbre o desenvolvimento orgânico da criança indígena, tem-se a impressão que êste se processa em saltos mais característicos do que entre os civilizados do sul do país.

A menina deve habituar-se ao trabalho e, à escola de sua mãe, aprenderá as várias habilidades que a farão, um dia, boa mãe de família. Os meninos correrão soltos pela mata procurando frutas, vagarão pelos rios entretidos a nadar ou a pescar, exercitando-se em flechar peixes ou aves, e assim se habilitarão para a subsistência da

(3) Atualmente duas ou três vêzes por ano os índios dos diversos povoados não raro com vários dias de canoa, deslocam-se para as aldeias das Missões Salesianas, a fim de aí assistirem às grandes solenidades religiosas (Natal, Páscoa, etc.). Passam dias e semanas alegres em contacto com a civilização, instruindo-se nas verdades religiosas e divertindo-se como se fôssem meninos de colégio, com brinquedos coletivos. Procissões, cantos, projeções luminosas, representações teatrais, até as comidas, doces, presentes que recebem nessas ocasiões, tudo corresponde à sua psicologia e lhes torna gratas e indispensáveis essas festas.

família. Nos sports, nos trabalhos tradicionais, adquirirão ao lado do pai aquela habilidade que fará dêle um grande canoeiro ou um perito ceteiro.

Crianças de ambos sexos vão tomando consciência de si, como membros da tribo, de que aprenderão a orgulhar-se. Anelarão sôfregamente tornar-se membro integrado dentro da sua vida e das suas tradições, isto é, sonham com a *iniciação*.

Desenvolvendo-se-lhes os instintos, compreendem que lhes cabe perpetuar a existência do grupo, e aspiram ao matrimônio. Os costumes nacionais lhes indicam os meios de realizá-lo; não lhes faltará nesse passo a intervenção e auxílio do pai.

Experimentou, naturalmete, até agora o amor e a atenção dos pais e a camaradagem dos coetâneos. Agora liga-se a uma companheira para a vida inteira. Desconhecida, talvez, e estrangeira, mas seus cuidados, seu espírito de trabalho, a longa convivência, vicissitudes, alegrias e tristezas condivididas, tudo acaba por uniformizar os ânimos dos esposos, ligados especialmente pelo vínculo do amor aos filhos comuns. Em condições mais difíceis, porque obrigada a abandonar a casa paterna e a seguir para outra nação como esposa, a mulher sentir-se-á ainda vivamente ligada à tribo de origem, como a nova malôca na qual é esposa e mãe.

Com os anos se enrijecem os laços que prendem o índio ao grupo no qual nasceu, que o educou, que lhe deu assistência e amparo, para o qual também trabalhou alegremente nas empresas coletivas. Grupo que lhe proporcionou alegrias frequentes com suas festas tradicionais, e, com suas lendas misteriosas, deu satisfação às suas aspirações íntimas para algo que êle não compreende, mas palpita existir além-tumba.

O velho índio tornar-se-á continuador zeloso das tradições ancestrais, e ver-se-á rodeado dos jovens que ouvirão com delícia (4) as suas palavras descrevendo os tempos antigos, as suas proezas a vida e a história da malôca do povoado ou da tribo. E, com o respeito de geração nova, êle presidirá os nascimentos, com a fumaça do seu cigarro afastando da tribo que renasce nas crianças, as desgraças e as doenças; instruirá os jovens nos deveres e mistérios da vida do grupo, será figura marcante nas danças sagradas.

Com a idade quebram-se as suas rijas fibras e sobrevem a velhice com seu cortejo de tristezas, mais acentuadas para o índio que

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(4) A Irmã Diretora de um dos colégios Missionários revelava-nos com qual surpreendente atenção as suas jovens alunas bebiam as palavras de alguma velha índia, quando aparecia no colégio, sendo logo envolvida, pelas colegiais.

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para os civilizados. Torna-se inútil ao grupo e de pêso à família. Recolhe-se, então a um canto escuro da maloca, deitado em sua rede, fraca sem fôrça para levantar-se e sentar-se em um banquinho. Ali, no silêncio, tomará sua refeição e passará longas horas, alheio à alegria barulhenta da maloca que talvez estue de vida nas orgias dos Poose's.

Um único companheiro, que jamais o abandonou, desde que viu a luz da vida, estará ainda a seu lado, dando-lhe calor e conforto nos membros que se vão esfriando, é o fogo que arde próximo da sua rede.

Quando as fôrças lhe não bastare mpara tomar por si o seu alimento, esquecido, abandonado sem que alguém dêle se ocupe, definhará à míngua, resignado, sem uma palavra de queixa, sem um gemido de dor até que a morte lhe venha abrir as portas misteriosas do além túmulo, onde defrontará com Wãx-ti, a grande Idéia, o grande Espírito, em quem êle sempre creu, a quem respeitou e temeu e procurou propiciar, como lhe ensinaram os seus antepassados.

Quando se derem conta do desenlace manso e recolhido, a maloca se alvoroçará no pranto clamoroso da nação no membro que acaba de finar.

Não está, porém, completo o ciclo da vida indígena. Todos dos sinos do Cabari, estão hoje em dia em relação direta ou indireta com a «Civilização de Cristo». Os pais, sob impulso do amor paterno, querem fazer do seu filho um civilizado, filho do Brasil e da Igreja. No íntimo de cada jovem acende-se êste fogo sagrado e por êsse motivo matricula-se nos colégios católicos. Aí passam longos e alguns anos, sem dissociar-se, porém, da sua nação. E voltam entre os seus «irmãos» com a mente mais esclarecida, um confôrto material maior, uma crença no Deus Criador do céu e da terra, Senhor, Juiz e Pai, e uma esperança de uma velhice menos triste, alentada pelas esperanças de uma vida futura feliz e sem têrmo.

E os anciãos, a quem não foi proporcionado tal ensejo, terão, talvez, uma assistência nos hospitais que a caridade de Jesus Cristo levantou em cada centro Missionário e os carinhos maternos de uma Religiosa que lhe procura minorar as dores físicas e confortar a alma. E sobretudo terão a esperança da assistência de um Missionário que nos últimos momentos da vida, mediante a eficácia infinita dos Sacramentos, o faça filho de Deus, enriqueça a sua alma com a graça e lhe abra as portas da bem-aventurança eterna.

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Para a conveniente leitura das palavras da língua Tukáno convém ter presente a seguinte convenção:

1º *Vogais* — *a, e, i, o, u* — abertas como em Português e Latim
*ä* — como o *a* inglês em *word*
*ö, ü* — respectivamente como os correspondentes em alemão, isto é, mais ou menos como *eu* francês de *peu*, e *u* de *lune*
*y, ü* — respectivamente como *i* e *u* breves

2º *Consoantes* — como as correspondentes Latinas ou Portuguesas, com as seguintes exceções:
*x* — aspirada velar, diante de consoante
*h* — fricativa glotal surda, diante de vogal
*bh, kh, gh, ph, th,* — ao som ordinário dessas consoantes segue-se uma leve aspiração

3º *Símbolos* — (') é o *glottal stop* (interrupção da prolação)
(-) hífen, separação dos elementos na palavra composta
(~) indica o som nasal

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# THE CUBEO

## INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST AMAZON

*Irving Goldman*

ILLINOIS STUDIES IN ANTHROPOLOGY NO. 2

[Title Page]

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*To Hannah*

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# *Introduction*

No region of the South American tropical forest can claim greater anthropological interest than any other. The entire area of the two great river basins, the Orinoco and the Amazon, is still an anthropological terra incognita. Of its hundreds of tribes most are known only by name, and where more than the name is known it is not the full life but a scattering of information about assorted customs and a handful of word lists that is most often available. The region is an ethnographic swamp where few features rise clearly and vividly above the surface. Whoever undertakes to survey the data confronts a morass of customs dispersed over the vastness of the Amazon Basin with no easily discernible patterns. A few major studies are landmarks and serve as guides to social systems and to cultural patterns. Yet many of these landmark studies are but the surveys of explorers and museum collectors, indefatigable and observant, but understandably preoccupied with the survey in space more than with the study in depth. More recent studies have greater depth, revealing more fully the structure of social life. But of such studies there are few. So slight is our knowledge of this, one of the great natural areas of primitive man, that both kinds of study, the survey of traits and the intensive study of a society, are eminently justifiable. The survey plots the broad features and their variations; the intensive study provides the patterns of tribal life.

One of the astonishing and saddening oversights of twentieth-century anthropological research has been its still-continuing neglect

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121 of the lowland South American tropical forest and savannah. Before too long we shall recognize this oversight as tragic, because Indian life in the entire area is rapidly disappearing. When it is gone what will anthropology have lost? It will have lost patterns of cultural life, forms of religious life, forms of social structure, and profiles of personality types, not to mention knowledge of countless customs that have no precise counterpart elsewhere in the primitive world. From what we now know, the Amazon Basin, taken as a whole, contains an extraordinarily wide range of variations on every human cultural institution. It represents countless combinations of a common pool of similar cultural traits spread over its area of over 2,500,000 square miles.

The region of the two river basins, really one great Amazon Basin, provides a common lowland setting within which to study human and cultural variability and potentiality. Here we find a common economic adaptation of root horticulture with its strong emphasis upon bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*) as a source of carbohydrate, supplemented by fish protein. For more refined ecological analysis the region also offers the distinction between tropical forest and open savannah as well as gradations in form of forest and in elevation of land. Throughout the region a common economic base supports a variety of social and cultural systems with the exception of states or protostates. For the student of social structure the great attraction of the region is its variety of "smaller" structures. Relative simplicity of social structure cannot be explained away simply as a tropical forest adaptation. The West African states and the example of lowland Maya indicate that a tropical forest environment can support complex social and cultural systems. Even more pointedly, the archeology of the mouth of the Amazon suggests some "high" culture phase in the region even if only relatively short-lived (Meggers and Evans, 1957). The Amazon Basin may, indeed, have supported far greater populations in favored areas than is indicated by present Indian populations. Orellana, the first to descend the Amazon from the headwaters of the Napo River in Peru, was impressed by the unbroken line of houses along the river. He noted villages of 500 houses and unbroken lines of dwellings up to five leagues (15 miles) long.[1]

[1] Friar Carvajal, who accompanied Orellana, reported: ". . . the territory occupied by the subjects of this great overlord named Machiparo, which in the opinion of all extended for more than eighty leagues . . . there was not from village to village (in most cases) a crossbow shot and the one which was farthest (removed from the next) was not half a league away, and there was one settlement that stretched for five leagues without there intervening any space from house to house" (Medina, 1934, p. 198).

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Thus, if we are to answer the evolutionary question of how complex social systems develop we shall have to turn to a more thorough study of social structures. In this respect, the Cubeo, who inhabit the northwest corner of the Amazon Basin, offer an example of a social structure with "advanced" features of integration and hierarchy that have, however, never quite taken hold. 121 [131]

Tropical forest life is not so much sylvan as it is riverine. The rivers facilitate the ceaseless flow of peoples, of splinters of communities, and of tribes along an intricate water network that binds together a virtual subcontinent. Thus, in the Amazon Basin one finds cultural traits and languages far from their ancestral sources. Not only are tropical forest cultures composite, but occasionally the tribes themselves are made up of ethnically and linguistically distinct segments. Along the river routes there are few barriers. Tribes that have adapted themselves to one corner of the basin have little difficulty in adjusting to a new location a thousand miles or more away, for even where ecologies differ the changes are neither abrupt nor drastic. Forest peoples moving on to the plains along the Orinoco Basin, for example, still have the familiar river and sylvan pattern along the river edges. Climate, vegetation, and fauna are everywhere about the same. The ease of movement and the similarity of environment account for the deposition of a common groundwork upon which all Amazon cultures are built.

One of the features of the common groundwork that defines the tropical forest as a major culture area includes slash-burn horticulture with bitter manioc as the principal but by no means the only crop. Bitter manioc offers a high yield per acre but it exhausts the soil after three to five years and demands, therefore, some kind of community circulation in which people move on, or recirculate within, a fixed zone, until new forest growth has replenished the soil. Bitter manioc, a perennial, grows readily in the Amazon Basin, but it demands a complex and time-consuming procedure for removing its poisonous prussic acid content. Manioc cultivation is almost everywhere women's work. Thus it sets a common pattern of sexual division of labor as well as a basic technology. Along the margins of the Andes, maize supplants or supplements manioc as the food crop and sets its own patterns. Maize, for example, may be regarded as a masculine crop, in which case its cultivation is more readily ritualized. But whether maize or manioc is the staple of plant diet, the tropical forest tribes, with the exception of many Ge-speaking peoples, are given over to chicha, a beer of manioc, maize, or other carbohydrate plants. Almost

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121 everywhere narcotics and excitants, stimulants and vision-producing drugs are valued for their ritual effects.

No common psychological pattern, to be sure, encompasses the area. Yet the Cubeo ritual pattern, with its exaltation of intoxication and of frenzied emotional experience, is far from uncommon in the tropical forest. In religion the Amazon Basin is a region of the shaman and of minor cults rather than of priests and of the worship of important deities. Tropical forest religion is small in scale, a feature that is parallel to and assuredly related to the decentralization of social life.

Compared with the Andes, tropical forest communities by and large are small. In many regions community size is unduly small because of severe population decline since white contact. In the Northwest Amazon, the subarea of the Cubeo, the multifamily single house is the common residence. The sense of family and of kinship are very strong, making of religion and ritual largely domestic affairs, with cults of the dead and initiation rites of outstanding importance. Considering the importance of crops, horticultural ritual is strikingly undeveloped. Here we can point to a fruitful field for the study of the commonly accepted functionalist doctrine that magic and religious ritual tend to surround areas of uncertainty such as farming. [241] In the case of the Cubeo one can state with confidence that the lack [796] of rite in farming is related to the strongly secular position of the women as horticulturists and not to the lack of hazard in farming. [462] Manioc cultivation is no less uncertain than yam cultivation in the Trobriand Islands. Uncertainty, after all, is not necessarily an objective condition. Existence is uncertain for all peoples and each society has the choice of underscoring those areas of life where it believes the fears and uncertainties to lie. Since the tropical forest is one of the major world areas of the *couvade*, the rites by which the father plays a part in parturition, it might seem as though it were the fate of the newborn infant more than the fate of the crops that is at the heart of their concern.

There is the fundamental question of the relation of the tropical forest to the "high" cultures of South and of Central America. On this there is still not much to say. Yet the problem of relationship cannot be ignored. One cannot divide lowland and highland into totally distinct and unrelated worlds. The archeology of the lower Amazon calls attention to cultural developments either related to or parallel to the marginal areas of the Andes. Highland and lowland share many traits such as maize, chicha, coca, textiles, and complex basketry. The jaguar "cult" of the Northwest Amazon may well be

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part of the Central American and Andean jaguar distribution; perhaps the Cubeo ranked clans and ancestral cult are also part of the Andean picture. However, where there is a cultural relationship it is probable that it moves in either direction. The lowlands took from the Andes, it is likely that they gave as well. Perhaps a close study of social conditions in the tropical forest could shed specific light on the spectacular historical developments in the Andes. The way in which the Cubeo maloca, the multifamily residence, tends to become a sib ceremonial center for those sib members who have broken away from it illustrates, for example, a possible process of ceremonial center formation.

Questions of culture history are inevitably to the fore when one compares the tropical forest with the Andes. But even as a separate entity the tropical forest area commands culture historical interest. Cubeo social structure, for example, suggests some of the ways in which small social units such as extended and joint families and lineages grow into and combine to form more complex and more highly integrated social systems. Segments of one tribe attach themselves as entities to other tribes adopting a new language. Federations of segments are formed by various combinations of adoption, adhesion, and fission, these bind themselves together by ceremonial ties and not by ordinary political means of suprachieftainship. Other processes are at work elsewhere in the region. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that detailed comparative studies of tropical forest social structures could provide a rich foundation for the reconstruction of modes of social evolution, within a fixed range of social integration. As native Africa is a natural laboratory for the study of nascent states, the South American tropical forest as a major culture area is a natural laboratory for the study of variations in a small community, and lineage and clan organization.

In the foregoing discussion my intent was to provide the reader with a broad problem setting in which the Cubeo are viewed generally as a tropical forest culture. Since tropical forest anthropology is not too widely known this seemed a useful thing to do. However, the Cubeo are more specifically a part of the Northwest Amazon subculture area. The Northwest Amazon is designated as a subarea of the tropical forest in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. Not a sharply delineated area, it includes several of the major languages of lowland South America: Arawakan, Cariban, Tucanoan, Witotoan, and Macú. Of these language groups, Tucanoan (the language of the Cubeo), Witotoan, and Macú are restricted to the Northwest Amazon and were until recently listed as unclassified languages

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121 (Beuchat and Rivet, 1912; Mason, 1950). A new classification now
197 places Macú with Tucanoan in a Macro-Tucanoan subfamily, and both, together with Arawakan, in a larger Andean-Equatorial family. In this new classification Witotoan is, together with Cariban, part of a Macro-Cariban subfamily under a larger Ge-Pano-Cariban family (Greenberg, 1960). Culturally, the Tucanoans fall into two groups, an eastern one to which the Cubeo belong and a western one about which we know relatively little. Information on the Arawakan and Cariban tribes in the area is somewhat fuller, but still lacking in necessary detail on social structure and cultural patterns. The Witotoans are somewhat better known through the work of Whiffen and of Preuss, while the Tucuna, who speak an isolated tongue, have been professionally described by Nimuendajú. The present volume on the
121 Cubeo attempts a more comprehensive account of the social life and social structure of a Northwest Amazon tribe. Thus the characterization of the area based upon criteria other than those of material culture rests mainly upon our knowledge of the Witotoans, the Tucuna, and the writer's field work among the Cubeo. The presence of well-developed patrilineal sibs among the Cubeo, Witotoans, and Tucuna, elaborate initiation rites, secret rites involving sacred trumpets, the use of bark cloth masks in mourning ceremonies, and the single large house constituting the community are some of the traits that set this area apart. All of these traits, it should be said, occur outside the area as well but not in quite the same combination.

By cultural criteria the Achagua also belong in the Northwest Amazon area. This large group of Arawakan-speaking peoples, occupying an extensive area on the Colombian-Venezuelan border along the Meta, Vichada, Guaviare, and Orinoco rivers, bears some striking resemblances to the Cubeo (Steward and Faron, 1959, p. 356 ff.). These Arawakans share such traits as the exogamic patrilineal sibs, the communal dwellings, and the secret male cult of the Tucanoans. Economy and material culture are also similar, although in the tropical forest such similarities are of no great significance since they seem almost to blanket the region. Even so, on the score of subsistence the Achagua have the distinctive maize and bean complex of the highlands while the Tucanoans and their Arawakan neighbors have maize but not beans. Since patrilineal sibs are not common in the tropical forest, the Northwest area stands out strikingly in this respect. Prior to 1950 patrilineal sibs had been identified among the
[614] Witotoans only (Whiffen, 1915). The writer reported them for the Cubeo of the Cuduiari on the basis of his field work (Goldman, 1948). Nimuendajú, in a report published in 1950, independently

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Nimuendajú, in a report published in 1950, independently identified the social organizations of the Vaupés River as patrilineal sibs, and more recently a young Colombian anthropologist, Marcos Fulop (1954), described a patrilineal sib organization with a phratric grouping among the Tucano Indians. Work on the patrilineal Yagua and the Tucuna was also done after 1940. Before 1940 Kirchoff (1931), using the then best available information, had incorrectly characterized the Northwest Amazon region as based upon bilateral kin-groups that favored patrilocal residence. [121] [614] [615]

If we are to conceive of the Northwest Amazon as a geographic region then the Macú must also be included. Macú is a catchall name for very simple nonhorticultural peoples whose center seems to be the Rio Negro but who have been moving westward into the Vaupés-Caquetá area (Métraux, 1948). There they have either been assimilated in the Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking tribes or have lived among these more powerful tribes as servants or "slaves" or in some other symbiotic relationship. The *Bahúkiwa* sibs of the Cubeo acknowledged Macú ancestry and may well have been, as Koch-Grünberg has claimed, one of the assimilated Macú groups. The Macú are shorter in stature than the other Indians in the region. They lack fixed residences, the hammock, and the canoe. If the Macú languages are truly, as Greenberg (1960) has suggested, Macro-Tucanoan, they are not an altogether alien group among their more culturally advanced neighbors. The Macú, however, have not been studied at all so that we do not know whether they are to be considered a remnant of very early nonhorticulturists or as uprooted people who had given up farming. The tropical forest has a number of examples of the latter case. *Bahúkiwa* traditions, on the other hand, refer to a prehorticultural period. [614] [174]

Since our knowledge of the tribes of the entire Northwest Amazon drainage, including the basin of the Rio Negro, is so slight, too much importance cannot be attached to "Northwest Amazon" as a subculture type. However, the entire Northwest Amazon region, which includes an area somewhat greater than the cultural area designated in the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward, 1948), has unusual potential interest, potential in the sense that the ethnological problems it poses can become real only after further field work has clarified the state of cultural patterns and cultural institutions there. This northwest quadrant of the Amazon Basin is open to the entire lower Amazon and has, at the same time, contact with the eastern margins of Andean cultures as well as with the southern margins of the Circum-Caribbean cultures. That is to say, on its northern and western flanks it is subject to influences from more highly developed

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121 societies. In reconstructing tropical forest culture history, note must be taken of the extraordinary ease of cultural transfers over the entire area. For this reason alone knowledge of total cultural systems seems essential. As matters stand now, much reconstruction must be based upon the very unreliable foundation of trait comparisons. What has [177] been of special interest in my study of the Cubeo has been the way in which some widespread cultural traits, particularly masked dances, harvest rites, and sacred trumpets, have been taken up and fitted into distinctive cultural patterns with a focus in an ancestral cult.

133 The Northwest Amazon region is bounded on the south by the Amazon, from where it is joined by the Rio Negro eastward to where the Marañón issues from the Andes. The Guaviare River is its northern boundary, the Andean cordillera bounds it in the west, and the Rio Negro in the east. The principal rivers of the region are the Caquetá, Apaporis, Tiquié, Papurý, Isana, Vaupés (known in Brazil as the Caiarý), Cuduiari, Querari, Ajari, Tie, and Guainía. All drain into the Amazon. Ecologically, the Northwest Amazon is sharply differentiated only from the neighboring Andean region to the west and to a lesser degree from the open prairie or llanos on its northern [137] side. Eastward it fades into the flatter and lower-lying forests of the Amazon. Its southern margin is fixed only by an arbitrary river boundary. It is a densely wooded region of tall trees closely packed and interlaced with vines and lianas. At the river edges the forest growth is lower and more brushlike. It is also an elevated region whose streams are punctuated by hazardous cataracts. On the Vaupés, between Yuruparí and the Rio Negro, Dr. Hamilton Rice (1910) counted 90 major cataracts and 60 small ones. The cataracts (*cachoeiras*) are for the Indians focal points of residence. Traditional sites, they often mark tribal and sib boundaries. Every cataract has its petroglyphs that depict mythical figures still known to the Indians. In some areas, as I have observed, the residents of the *cachoeiras* freshen the petroglyphs from time to time with deepening incisions. The rapids are more of a navigational hazard to the European traveler than to the Indians, who are expert canoemen and whose light craft [502] is easily portaged. Dr. Rice, who knew a good deal about the Amazon, [501] declared the Cubeo to be the most expert canoemen on the river. I can also testify to their coolness and skill in navigating their small dugout canoes, that have only an inch or two of freeboard, through the twisting boulder-strewn channel of a thundering rapids.

The land slopes abruptly eastward. In its western part the area is often a tumble of ravine-cut hills, exposed rock, and swamp. The Vaupés flows past high, open, uninhabited mesas. Scattered hills of

[text continues on p. 10]

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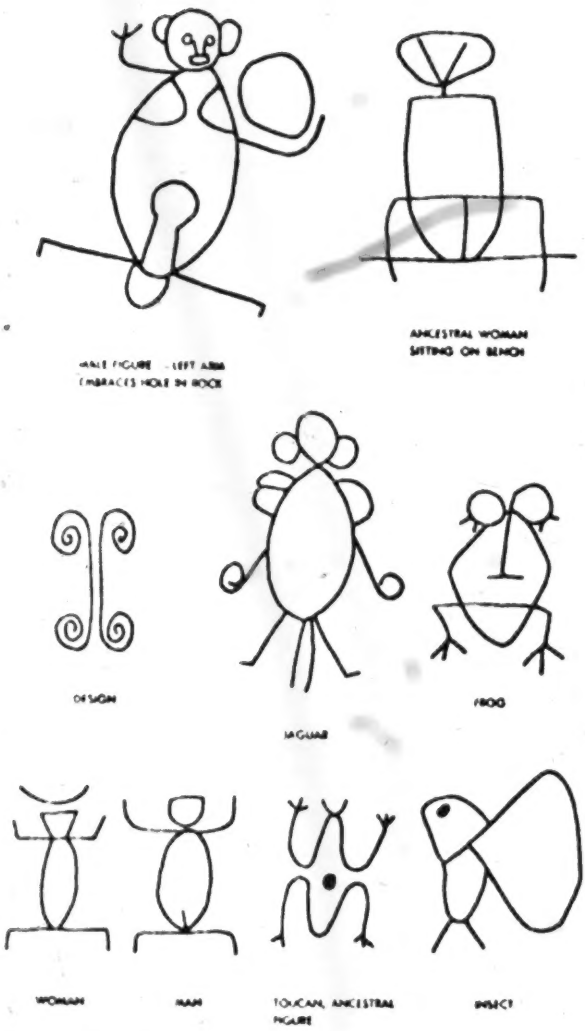


Fig. 1. Petroglyphs on the Cuduiari.

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133 igneous rock dot the country. These hills seem to have little interest for the Cubeo, but the mesas with their sandstone caves are held to be the dwellings of dangerous demons.

136 Fishes are generally abundant and are represented by hundreds of
(251) species. The favorite of all tribes is the aracú, which the Indians commonly smoke to preserve. The piranha and the river anaconda are the constant river hazards. The piranha seem always to be present, as can be proved by throwing animal entrails into the river. The waste is hit by the fish almost instantly and devoured within minutes. The Indians, however, do not dread either the anaconda or the piranha, but when preparing to bathe they circumspectly drum the surface of the water with their cupped hands to drive these creatures off. The river anaconda reaches a length of over 20 feet and is regarded as dangerous only in the vicinity of submerged trees, which it uses for leverage in seizing a victim and pulling him under. However, children who play constantly in such waters are aware of the hazard but are not afraid, nor are their elders anxious for them. I heard of no specific cases of injury from either piranha or anaconda. The man-eating cayman of the sluggish llanos rivers is absent here and the smaller cayman is a minor hazard.

The Northwest Amazon has its share of tropical forest game, although, as Lord Wallace observed (1870, p. 446), the Amazon is a mammal-poor region. The jaguar is feared in its supernatural aspect only. The peccary, until recently hunted by a group of men armed with spears, is acknowledged to be dangerous and aggressive when challenged. The tapir will also charge when annoyed, but neither animal fills the Indian with dread. For the rest, the forest game is small and shy. It consists of the small red deer, the rodents such as paca, capybara, and agouti, the raccoon-like coati, monkeys, and armadillo. River otters are common but are not molested. When they surround a canoe with their excited barking the Indians greet them with a discreet silence and wait for them to submerge again. Bird life is rich but of small economic importance.

All visitors to the region have described vividly their unpleasant encounters with its insect life. The Indians are made equally miserable by the swarms of pium gnats and sand flies. Careless scratching
(164) of an insect bite produces dangerous ulcerations. I have seen Indians who had lost several square feet of skin from such spreading ulcers. Chigger (*neguas*) hygiene is a preoccupation of all residents of the Northwest Amazon. The Indians are expert in expelling the spherical sacs with a deft pressure from a stick or knife blade. In the forest the sting of the red ant bothers the naked Indians more than the clothed

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visitor. On the other hand, the leaf-cutter ant is a specialist on 136
clothing. I was once covered by a swarm of these ants while asleep. [114]
When I had carefully removed the last of them I was left with but a
leather belt and a few tatters of trousers and shirt.

The anopheles mosquito is generally absent in the Cuduiari region [114]
where I did my field work. On the whole, the health of the Cuduiari [101]
Indians is good. Carate (*puru*), a skin pigment disorder apparently 164
of pinoche origin, common everywhere else in the Northwest
Amazon, was far less in evidence on the Cuduiari. Children suffered [165]
from worms and other intestinal parasites but infant mortality was
not particularly high. There were no epidemics during my stay. The
recollections of the Indians about serious illness go back to the 1918
influenza epidemic that apparently ravaged the native populations in
the region. Women, in particular, suffered from the painful purulent
conjunctivitis, which they attributed to insect molestation in their 146
[illegible] gardens. The bloated abdomens of children whose diet is too
generous with carbohydrate and deficient in protein is a common
sight along the Vaupés, but is less evident on the Cuduiari, where 614
native life and diet is still almost intact. As for the C[illegible] itself,
the people at the mouth of the river, the higher ran[illegible] Tucano 142
subs, seemed generally more sturdy, vigorous, and aggressive than the
Indians who lived upstream.

Dr. Hamilton Rice, who explored the Vaupés in 1907–08, observed 142
that the most physically powerful Indians came from the Cuduiari.
He noted men who were six feet tall and over, strongly built with
thick arms and powerful torsos. Actually somatological variability
is considerable on the Cuduiari, ranging from marked mesomorphy
to moderate ectomorphy. But this observation of mine is not based on
measurements. Dr. Rice (1910) has published a physical description
of the Cubeo based upon anthropometric observations. I quote from
it:

> Their color is an olive brown corresponding to No. 4 of Broca's scale and seems invariable, a conclusion based on a comparison of the scale with many hundreds of subjects on parts of the cuticle least exposed to sun and pigmented decoration. The eye is dark, palpebral fissure narrow, not oblique, pointed at its external aspect, and the upper lid so heavy at times as to suggest the puffiness of oedema; but the eye by no means conforms invariably to so Mongolian a criterion, closely resembling the European eye in many other cases. The hair is black, lanky, coarse in the male, fine and glossy in the female. The faces are escutcheon shaped and hairless, the chins rounded and receding, noses from straight and busque to hooked and Chinese flat types, region of cheek bones flat, lower lips large and inclined to turn slightly downward. The ears are not large, lobes absent or slightly devel-

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142 oped heads of the brachycephalic type; though I have noticed cases of extreme dolichocephalic variations. Teeth are generally poor.

147 Dr. Rice also commented on the capacity of the Cubeo Indians for great exertion on a minimum of food and rest. I can corroborate this judgment. I accompanied Indians on canoe trips when we paddled for as long as 17 consecutive hours with little rest or nourishment other than a handful of manioc meal in water. There was usually no urgent necessity for such exertion or privation. The Indians cus-
[484] tomarily eat lightly when traveling, and if there is any chance of
[261] reaching home rather than camping out or imposing upon the hospitality of another sib they prefer to keep going. However, it was not unusual for strong young men to topple from their canoes in a dead faint upon reaching home. Revived by the river they scrambled
[157] ashore, secured the canoe, and entered the house with the appropriate vigorous air, effectively concealing their acute fatigue. It is in fact characteristic of the Cubeo to make light of their accomplishments and not to yield readily to physical weakness.

114 Ethnographically, the Northwest Amazon was first fully brought to light by Dr. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, ethnographer and museum collector. Koch-Grünberg's systematic survey of the region at the turn of the century covered all main tribes and their settlements along the principal rivers. He spent many weeks on the Cuduiari among the *Hehéneua* sibs of the Cubeo, and ascended the Cuduiari to the limits of its habitation (1909). His published reports are invaluable even though he never stayed long enough in one place to get a deep grasp of the culture. He was, however, an excellent observer and reported
114 fully on language, custom, and material culture. I did not read Koch-
127 Grünberg before going to the field so that my observations are totally independent. It is a source of satisfaction, therefore, that our observations agree closely on most details. Koch-Grünberg's information was deficient on social structure and ceremonial patterns. It is in these two respects that my study represents a carrying forward of the work he so ably began. I have drawn freely upon his published works to fill in gaps in my own information on the Cubeo and of course for the rich data on surrounding Tucanoan, Arawakan, and Cariban tribes.
114 His was the pioneering survey of the entire region, whereas mine is a relatively limited study of a single community. Koch-Grünberg died among the Indians of the Northwest Amazon in 1924, his ethnographic work prematurely cut off.

The first scientific observer to report on the Indians of the Vaupés was Alfred Russell Wallace (1870), who was there in 1853. While his interests were mainly those of the naturalist, he found Indian life to

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be interesting and he recorded tribal distributions and physical conditions of life as well as many customs. It is to Wallace that we owe the first report on mortuary endocannibalism among the Cubeo. Curiously, this information has never been properly authenticated. Wallace learned about it at second hand, as did Koch-Grünberg many years later. I observed what I thought to be this custom, but I could not verify that the bones being prepared for imbibing with chicha were human. The annoyance of the Indians when I accidentally came upon them while they were reducing bones to meal and pouring it into the chicha at the conclusion of a mourning ceremony led me to suspect that the bones were human. In response to my questions, however, no Cubeo would confirm my conjectures.

Wallace (1870, p. 354) traveled up the Vaupés to the mouth of the Cuduiari River at the rapids of Uaracapurí, where he observed a community of several malocas. He did not enter the Cuduiarí, reporting only that to his knowledge no European had ever gone up that river. As for the Vaupés, this river, particularly in its Brazilian reaches, had in Wallace's time already become an important artery of European trade. Along the Isana River Wallace noted that the Indians were living in European-style dwellings. The Cuduiarí then had the reputation of a totally wild region. The Cubeo Indians seen by Wallace were still wearing large circular woolen plugs in their ears. By 1905, in the time of Koch-Grünberg, this form of male ornamentation had already been given up.

Curt Nimuendajú surveyed the Isana, Aiari, and Vaupés rivers in 1927. In his notes, published posthumously in 1950, it is revealed that he correctly identified Tucano and Cubeo descent groups as patrilineal clans. He did not, however, enter the Cuduiarí, and his information on that river, being secondhand, is not too reliable.

My own field work on the Cuduiarí began in September 1939 and continued through June 1940. (Goldman, 1948, is a preliminary report.) The Cuduiarí had the advantage of being relatively accessible and as yet almost completely unacculturated. I decided upon the Cuduiarí after a survey of the Cubeo communities along the Vaupés.

## CULTURE CHANGE

Cubeo culture has been subjected to acculturative influences from two sources, one from other Indian tribes and the other from European, Colombian, and Brazilian missionaries, settlers, traders, and latex extractors. Cultural interchange among Indian tribes in the Northwest Amazon region is, of course, an old and intricate process,

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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character
[342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupian influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor.
[596] The Tupian intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu-
[553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social seg-
[614] ments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are
[796] founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kúwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yaví*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul-
197 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Carib-speaking Umana group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hüröwä* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djuremawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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back to Arawakan, so that the young people were still Tucanoan speakers while their elders were already back to Arawakan (1909, I, 116). Where Arawakan and Tucanoan coexist, Koch-Grünberg has observed, Arawakan becomes the language of ritual and Tucanoan the everyday language (1909, II, 182). 177 177

In general the region of the Vaupés, the only part of the Northwest Amazon that I can speak of from personal knowledge, exhibits a high degree of cultural cosmopolitanism. Many Indians are multilingual because of the frequency of intermarriage with other linguistic groups and the love of the Indians for travel and intertribal trade. Not only do the Indians have some knowledge of the standard languages in the region, but they also employ the *lingoa geral*, a lingua franca based on Tupian, and many are conversant with Spanish and Portuguese. As they adopt languages the Indians also adopt new customs; these are always welcomed, almost in the same way in which women eagerly acquire from one another new varieties of manioc, or in the way in which men and women collect and try to cultivate almost anything that grows. This, in short, is not a region of cultural conservatism. Having freshly arrived from an ethnographic survey in the Colombian Andes, I was literally overwhelmed by the contrast between the secretiveness and wariness of the highland Indians and the openness and friendliness of the Cubeo. 177

Of course, the question of cultural relations between Tucanoans and Arawakans is one of great complexity and uncertainty. We have only the most general knowledge of these relations; but even this provides a very useful background for understanding the nature of Indian-white relations and of Cubeo acculturation. The essential point in this background would seem to be what I have called the Indian's cosmopolitanism. I speak now only for the Indians of the Cuduiari. There, it has seemingly provided a strong measure of immunity against the potentially overwhelming effects of European contacts.

The Northwest Amazon has been subject to persistent white influence from the sixteenth century onward.[2] As early as 1557 Francisco Pérez de Quesada founded the community of Moxoa on the Caquetá River. The Dominicans entered the region in 1550, the Franciscans some 20 years later. Prior to their expulsion in 1767 the Jesuits founded many missions on the Orinoco, on the Meta, on the Casanare, on the Guaviare, and on the Vichada. On the Vaupés proper the first mission was founded in 1852 at Carurú by P. Gregorio, a Carmelite. 175 177 177

[2] For historical background consult: Archivo do Amazonas, 1916; Bauer, 1919; Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 153 ff., for missions on the Vaupés; Gumilla, 1791; Koch-Grünberg, 1909; Martius, 1867, I, 591 ff.

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He succeeded in bringing together a village of some 300 Indians. By 1881 the mission was disbanded and the Indians returned to their original communities. At about the same time the mission of Santa Cruz dos Cobeus was established at Mitú *cachoeira* near the Cuduiarí. Missionary activity in the region has been generally discontinuous but nonetheless energetic; and while Christian doctrine has left only a vague imprint in native religious practices it has succeeded in acquainting the Indians with new ideas of dress and in disturbing their convictions about some practices such as cannibalism. For a period between 1875 and the early 1900's there was a flurry of nativist agitation in the Vaupés. Between 1875 and 1878 an Indian from the Isana River, called Anizetto, reportedly a hermaphrodite, led a messianic movement against the whites until he was arrested by the Brazilian authorities. In 1880 a shaman who called himself Vicente Cristo led another messianic movement along the middle Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg observed that the native messianic leaders were always Arawakan-speaking (1809, I, 99). There is nothing to suggest that any of these movements ever took strong hold on the Indians. On the Cuduiarí tangible evidences either of Christian influence or of native messianism were slight in 1940.

European commercial penetration started slowly but reached a sudden expansion with the rubber boom that subsided shortly before World War I. The Putumayo, where thousands of Indians perished in the rubber camps, was a notorious and baleful focus of white influence (Hardenburg, 1912). From then on the Indians and the whites along the Vaupés were in constant contact and in frequent conflict. On the lower Vaupés in Brazilian territory many Indian tribes had taken on the outward appearance of the mestizo, or caboclo as he is called in Brazil, as early as 1852, when Wallace was there. The upper Vaupés in Colombian territory retained its true Indian character for very much longer. The Cuduiarí was still very strongly native at the time of my field work in 1939–40.

Only close study will reveal how far acculturation has gone even among those Indians most closely associated with the whites on the main streams. There the Indians wear the dress of the mestizo, live in European-style shacks, and celebrate the Christian holidays. They also carry out native ceremonials, not, to be sure, with the traditional elegance, but strongly enough to suggest that a good deal of native life goes on beneath the shabby surface of ragged clothing, poor housing, and the litter of cheap manufactured utensils and ornaments.

The resistance of the Indians of the Cuduiarí to cultural loss and breakdown may be attributed in the main to relative isolation, but

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in part, I believe, to cosmopolitanism, to the capability of the Indians 177
to adopt foreign objects and foreign customs without losing their 182
sense of identity as Indian. As long as the point of view remains Indian, the culture may change but it will still retain for the Indian a distinctive and satisfying pattern. It is when the clear identification as Indian in the cultural sense is lost that change is likely to mean breakdown.

Cosmopolitanism is but one general factor in a process of culture change that is exceedingly intricate and subtle, in which there are no clear-cut stages but endless gradations in the transition from Indian to the new cultural and psychological entity that emerges. Another general factor is the white agent. On the Cuduiari the white man does not intrude directly upon the Indian's daily life. The missionary ex- 177
pects the Indian to come to him at the mission station. Even then 797
the missionary effort is a patient one. Mainly it goes through the children who are educated at the mission school. Mission Indians and tribal Indians lead different lives but they are not mutually antagonistic. Between them there is a gradation but not a gap.

The commercial white man, the rubber collector (*balatero*), or the 177
trader has only a limited interest in the Indians. The Indian, having 464
completed his contract work in the rubber forest, returns to his own community and is instantly enmeshed in the tribal life. But even in the rubber forests his associates have been fellow Indians, of foreign tribes, to be sure, but to this experience the Indian has been well accustomed. As for the white employer, he is often less a carrier of European culture than he is a frontiersman, a distinct tropical forest product himself. He is partly Indianized and he is generally the husband of an Indian wife.

Among the Mundurucú of central Brazil, as vividly described 171
by Robert Murphy (1960), an anthropologist, work in the rubber 177
forests and the contractual production of farinha, a manioc flour, 182
for the white man were potent factors in the disruption, indeed in the virtual obliteration, of the native culture. To compare Mundurucú with Cubeo is to set off a society that has become ugly and disordered with its meager hoard of cheap objects of white manufacture with a well-ordered and fundamentally satisfying way of life. Unlike the Mundurucú, the Cubeo have succeeded in withstanding both the rubber forest and manioc trade. Far from being overcome, the Cubeo have been able to use the income from labor in the rubber forests and from the sale of farinha to further their own cultural objectives. Murphy tells of the insatiable longing of the Mundurucú for the trinkets and gadgets of the white trader. For these objects of intrin-

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177 sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom
182 and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's
[171] trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small mestizo-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand,
[342] when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments
[796] he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a
[346] residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness.
177 As late as 1909 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper
291 Vaupés and all over the Cuduiari where the women were totally naked
182 and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiari and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

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men have learned to wear trousers and a cotton tunic at home. For ceremony, however, they wear only the perineal band, now made of trade cloth. For women the skirt has replaced the ornamental ceremonial apron, but for men ceremonial participation in trousers means an important change in outlook in which the ceremony has become secularized. I learned this from young Indian men, visitors to the Cuduiari, who, wearing the cotton trousers and tunic of the mestizo, insisted in explaining to me that they were taking part in dances "just for fun." In the truly solemn ceremonies on the Cuduiari I saw no man in European dress. 177 291 182

The use of Spanish or Portuguese is another sign of change in cultural identification. But here, too, the process is complex. Indian cosmopolitanism is traditionally multilingual. Wives often speak distinct dialects of Tucanoan or else speak Cariban or Arawakan. Children learn the language of the mother first and then learn to speak Cubeo. The Tupian lingua franca has been a traditional trade language between Indians as well as between Indian and white for a very long time. Thus, the Indian who has learned Spanish and Portuguese is simply extending his multilingualism. These European languages have also come to play an important role in native interrelationships. Spanish and/or Portuguese has become the customary language of violent drunken quarrels among men at a drinking party. Used in this context the insults and threats in a foreign language are less ominous, and easier, therefore, to disregard than the same words uttered in the native language. The Cubeo usage is as with us: the foreign phrase used scatologically modifies the impact. Thus, in this respect the Cubeo adoption of foreign European phrases is a matter of enriching the native culture and is far from being a mark of cultural breakdown. I met only a few Indians on the Vaupés and none on the Cuduiari who had given up their native speech in favor of Spanish or Portuguese. 177 182 191

The use of European personal names offers another example of adaptation to the native cultural pattern. Among the Cubeo, personal names come from the traditional genealogy of the sib. They have a sacred character and are not used freely. Knowing a person's sib name is a sign of intimacy and such intimacy is not readily yielded up. I did not learn native personal names for weeks, and even at the end, one of the more embarrassing questions I could ask was simply a person's sib name. In common discourse kinship designations were used. The native name is not so much an appellation as it is sib identification. The headman of the *Bahukiwa* sib was the first to tell me his name. He uttered it in a whisper close to my ear. Thus, for the Cubeo, 177 551 182 614 [123]

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177 Thus, for the Cubeo,
551 being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most
182 exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It
[553] has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a
[123] European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiari who had a European name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

177 On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tribu-
[797] taries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civilized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no cultivated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did
[464] the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor. At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in 1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

177 Many Indians of the Cuduiari had visited Mitú, the capital of the
648 *Comisaría* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in 1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station. After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important administrative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio station, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business. Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiari were not altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

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with its white residents, they had no reason not to regard it as a 177
friendly place. The *Comisaria* protected their labor rights, supervis- 648
ing terms of contract and entertaining their complaints of unfair treatment. When an Indian completed his term of labor he was "paid off" in the presence of an official in charge of Indian affairs. The Indians regarded the government as fair. The *Comisaria* provided medical aid to those Indians who came to seek it. At the same time it respected native life and interfered with the Indians as little as possible. Although the Cuduiari is readily accessible from Mitú it was [114] entered only rarely by administrative personnel. When I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* some 15 hours by canoe from Mitú, I had the sense of total isolation from this administrative center. The normal everyday life on the Cuduiari was completely Indian. In the time of Wallace there had been bad blood between Indians and Colombians, but by the time Koch-Grünberg arrived relations between the Cubeo and the government had already become peaceable. )

In Mitú I met Mandú, headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib of the middle 122
Cuduiari. He had come to seek medical treatment for his young son, 123
who had injured his knee in a fall. The headman and I became friends [614]
and he invited me to visit. When I promptly accepted his invitation I was surprised to find that he had already begun to build a house for me and that the Indians had expected me to settle among them. He had discussed the matter with his people, he told me later, and they had agreed that it would be good to have me live among them. The reasons for wanting me never became too clear, but I came to believe that they thought I would offer them some protection from the pressure of the labor recruiters.

I was informally "adopted" as the younger brother of Mandú. For 123
a white people were amused to address me by an appropriate kinship [597]
term. In time this jest lost its freshness and I came to be regarded simply as *pakomá* (kinsman). Nevertheless, I was considered to be a member of Mandú's household even though I had a house of my own alongside the maloca. Mandú sent his older wife, with whom he was no longer living, to serve as my cook. With Mandú's household I had all the privileges of informality. My relations with other households were friendly but more restrained. Since I did not contribute an appropriate share of fish and game to the household, or to the maloca as a whole, I felt obliged to reciprocate food and services with periodic gifts of cloth, tobacco, fishhooks, and ammunition. At one time during a drinking party at which I was not present, a son of Mandú distributed all my trade goods to the guests "in my behalf." However, during the period of many weeks when I no longer had trade goods

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123 my status in the community was as before. I still could count upon
[122] food and services.

I participated to some degree in the male life of the community and came to learn the language and the culture as much by slow enculturation as by questioning. I had no principal informants because no
123 124 one would serve in that capacity. All were willing to talk, to explain matters to me, but only in the accustomed atmosphere of easy and genial chatter. The people I knew best and the household of Mandú, in particular, were paradoxically the poorest systematic informants. They were most impatient and most *easily vexed with the informant* role. They regarded the open notebook and the persistent line of questioning as counter to our relationship. For prolonged and probing investigations I called upon the head of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib. Even this man was a very patient informant only when he was my guest among the *Bahúkiwa*. On his home grounds we were back on small talk. In Mitú I could talk to Indian women more freely than I could on the Cuduiari, where my relations with them had to be more correct. My house alongside the maloca was an informal social center which children and unattached women felt free to visit without invitation. The children taught me things they thought I ought to know about native customs. This was a privilege they had which adults, with their acute tactfulness about criticizing, intruding, or imposing upon others, could not exercise.

The Indians placed no serious obstacles in the way of my studies. They would not explain or discuss openly a ritual act at the time it was going on because to do so would be to counteract its effects.
[831] They did not, however, mind answering questions later and in a more
[521] general context. Moreover, they expected me to preserve the proprieties of tact in asking questions about domestic matters. Sex was a difficult subject, as were invidious comparisons. The Cubeo are not eager purveyors of gossip. After trouble had erupted in the open one could ask for and receive a discreet and sober account of some domestic difficulty. At the same time that the Indians imposed upon me their own reserve they were also sensitive to any evident disappointment which my questions went unanswered. Thus, if I persisted I often could get an answer, but I had to follow protocol, since personal rela-
[831] tions among adults are rich in decorum and social etiquette. I also had available to me the more informal channels of the play pack of children, which delighted in passing on some household gossip, as well as of old women, whose verbal bawdiness was in marked contrast to the customary verbal restraint of the men on sexual matters.

114 I chose to stay in one community and to benefit from the intimacy

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that such an identification gives one. Had I chosen to move from one sib to another I would have had a better account of the formal principles of social structure but at the expense of a knowledge of the patterns of cultural life. My choice of the *Bahúkiwa* among all the Cubeo sibs was partly, as I have explained, fortuitous, but the site, halfway up the Cuduiari, had its advantages in giving me some command of events along the entire river. 114

The reader, however, will understand that this study has a special perspective. Although I have made some effort to present "Cubeo," the point of view is unavoidably that of the *Bahúkiwa*, a low ranking sib and perhaps even an alien sib of probable Macú ancestry. Strictly speaking, a Cubeo perspective can be only an artificial composite pieced together and generalized from the distinctive perspectives of each of its principal sibs. I would imagine that the Cubeo presented from the point of view of the *Hehéneiwa*, a high-ranking sib, would bring out somewhat more emphasis upon social status and upon the authority of the headman. One wonders how the Cubeo would appear if studied from the point of view of those of its sibs now along the Querari that were once Arawakan speaking, or if studied from the point of view of those Cubeo speaking sibs that now form one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe. 121 614

The theoretical position of a study is best understood from what the writer does with the material. What he claims to be doing with it is far less important. My own theoretical viewpoint will emerge from the text and more explicitly from the final summation or conclusion. At this point it should be sufficient to say that my purpose is to present the Cubeo in terms of fundamental principles of social structure and in terms of basic cultural patterns. I have chosen a level of description and of analysis that lies between the idiosyncratic and the universal. The detailed account of person and of personal reaction is an example of the idiosyncratic, and the analysis of a culture as an apparatus for the satisfaction of "basic human needs" is an example of the universal. The idiosyncratic and the universal approaches are pancultural. One deals with individual responses that can occur in any society, the other deals with cultural functions that are true of all societies. The level of description chosen here is intended to set the Cubeo apart as a particular social and cultural type and yet to allow bases for cross-cultural comparison with other societies on its cultural level. 121

Finally, it is necessary to say that this study is incomplete. It had been my hope to do a restudy. When this hope did not seem realizable it was obviously better to submit an incomplete report on the Cubeo than not to submit one at all.

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# 1

## *The Cubeo Community*

361 The Cubeo Indians occupy a string of settlements along a small stretch of the Vaupés River from Uarúa Lake upstream to Uaracapuri and downstream to near the Brazilian border, as well as along several of the Vaupés tributaries, namely the Cuduiarí and the
[61] Querari and Pirabatón. The tribe consists of some 30 or more patrilineal, exogamous sibs[1] that are grouped into three unnamed confederations or phratries of unequal size that are also exogamous. Although the bulk of the Cubeo now live on the smaller streams – the Cuduiarí, in particular, being heavily populated – the broad
[614] Vaupés, that joins with the Rio Negro to enter the Amazon, is regarded by the Indians as their main stream and as their source. Their
173 leading sibs still live there. Native traditions place the emergence of
614 all the Cubeo sibs at two Vaupés sites, at the turbulent cataracts of
361 Yuruparí and of Uaracapuri. From there the people moved up the nearby tributary streams, the Cuduiarí, the Querari, and the
173 Pirabaton, a tributary of the Querari. The traditions record that
361 the first people displaced groups that were already living along
[174] these streams and, in this respect, square with historical observations that pressures of enemy Indian tribes, and, lately, the more potent pressures of white colonizers, have been forcing the Indians to leave the main rivers and take shelter in the more
361 distant and constricted feeder streams, or else face physical or cultural
614 extinction. The more timid and the more humble of the sibs have

[1] Following the usage of Lowie (1920, p. 111), "sib" is synonymous with "clan."

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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

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61 *pamiwa* or a *pudiwa*. The group of exogamous sibs that form a phratry are spoken of as *kwináwü*, *ünhiwü*, or *kwinánokauwü*, all terms with the general meaning of "one kinfolk" or "the same kinfolk." However, I have also heard the expression *nuhénokauwü* (my own kinfolk) used to refer to both tribe and phratry.

61 If tribal designation is vague, the native concept of tribe is only a little more definite. Tribe refers more or less to a common identity of language, descent, and custom. One of the Cubeo phratries was, in fact, once Arawakan. To become tribesmen they adopted the language, customs, and traditions of the Cubeo. Other sibs appear to have been at one time Macú as well as sections of the Tucano "tribe."

614 There are no formal bonds of tribe and there is no acknowledgment of tribal overlordship. Cubeo social structure is segmentary, the patrilineal sib being the basic segment. Every sib has established relationships with other sibs to regulate marriage, ceremonial participation, friendships, and hospitality along traditional lines, but also to some degree along lines that suit its own particular interests.

615 The phratry is a more sharply defined and a far more important
614 social aggregate than tribe. A phratry is a confederation of sibs that are closely bound by rules of exogamy, by common residence along the same river, by a tradition of common origin and descent, by a graded order of rank that assigns to each sib its place in a social hierarchy, and, finally, by a series of ceremonies, solemn as well as secular, such as drinking parties at which each sib entertains its fellow sibs. Withal, there is no phratric overlordship, no phratric council or other agency to consider policy for the phratry as a whole.

What gives a phratry cohesiveness is the pattern of relations that the individual sibs, each acting individually, have formed with one another. The most important of these relationships is the rule of exogamy. By adhering to a rule of exogamy the sibs regard themselves as "brothers," for fraternity is based on the kinship principle that brothers cooperate and share the same rules of exogamy. Most sibs in a phratry have been joined together from the traditional beginnings or the time of first emergence, others are newcomers who have been adopted into the cofraternity of sibs. Adoption is the prerogative of an individual sib. A sib adopts an alien group as a subsib and automatically gives it a place and rank in the phratry. The phratry is no homogeneous federation of fraternal sibs. It is differentiated by rank, by historic background, and by geography. Sibs of the same historic background and of similar rank who are neighbors on the river feel closer to one another and form, therefore, an unofficial but still evident inner circle. Normally, rank, historic background, and propin-

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quity coincide and so the informal clusterings are strengthened. Thus, when one speaks of sibs within the phratry it is necessary to distinguish between "close" sibs and "distant" sibs. As the discussion of kinship will show, these distinctions between "close" and "distant" sibs are formally expressed in kinship usages. Among the Cubeo, relative ranking of sibs is not as formally expressed as it is among the Tucano tribe. Among the latter, all the lower ranking sibs of a phratry are junior siblings and are addressed by the term "junior sibling." The highest ranking sib is "older brother" to all the other sibs (Fulop, 1955). 615 614 614 615 601

The basic segment is the sib. A sib is an exogamic, patrilineal, and patrilocal descent group that claims to share a line of descent through males (with some exceptions) back to a founding ancestor at the beginnings. The sense of sib is that of a local group capable of sharing a common residence and of regarding itself as a fraternal kingroup. Sib members may be, and often are, dispersed. This, however, is, in the Cubeo view of things, an abnormal situation. Sib identity, in any case, is never lost. Even women who must marry "out" are forever [illegible] parental sib. The sib, as we have already said, has a name. It has a headman, a common residence or sib center, and is on any critical issue autonomous politically and economically. It may break out of the exogamic grouping of the phratry by moving away and joining another phratric organization. This, however, it will be very reluctant to do. Sibs are not static entities and that is why one cannot obtain an exact count of their number. Fission is an ever active process and reveals itself in what may be called "phases of separation." Within a common residence site most families live in a long house, called in the region a maloca. Others live alongside the maloca in smaller houses. I have called the occupants of the smaller houses "Independents" because of their expressed intention to remain somewhat outside of the jurisdiction of the sib headman. 614 592 614

Some sib members live at a nearby but distinct site with very considerable autonomy, but recognize the main maloca as their sib center. These people are still more estranged from the sib and I have called them "Satellites." The Satellites may estrange themselves to the point of complete separation. They then assume a sib name that is a compound of the original sib name with a new designation and so take on the status of a subsib. A subsib has a strong sentimental attachment to its parent sib, but in all other respects it is autonomous. A Satellite may also give up its satellite standing by rejoining the parent sib. Subsibs are held together by sharing a common sib name and a common genealogy. This is true whether subsibs have been 614

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614 formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

[613] A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib 614 are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group 592 of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of 614 cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important 594 unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

121 What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization 61 that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component 621 segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

## THE COMMUNITY

621 The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous 182 entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

361 From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the [615] Cuduiari the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

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along the same river belong to a common phratry and share, therefore, rules of exogamy, origin traditions, and mutual obligations of hospitality. 361 [615]

Close up, a community is revealed as a clearing of a dozen acres or so hacked out in a crude semicircle from the banks of the river. Since the river may rise some ten feet or more in the rainy season the clearing is always on the high bank and will necessarily follow in its shape the contours of high land. The maloca stands toward the river. A house is not aligned according to absolute directions, but always with reference to the river, which the Cubeo, in contrast to other tribes in the region, insist upon keeping in view. No house will have its front door facing the forest, though its rear door may. In some cases the rear door abuts almost on the very edge of the manioc cultivations. 361 342

A residence site is commonly called *tawá*, a term that appears in the naming chants and that I have rendered in free translation as "soil." A related term that is also used is *taibo* (a made place), a clearing. These two terms refer then to that part of the territory that has been prepared both for cultivation and for housing. A more inclusive territorial term is *makanu*, that embraces the uncleared forest and can also mean "forest." Still another term for a residence site is *hobanu*, based on *hoba*, a cleared place for planting. More commonly, however, the manioc cultivations are called *hawabó* (food place). 361

Within the requirements of contour and with leeway granted to accommodate individual community preferences, clearings tend to conform to a common plan. The maloca is the hub from which the outer edges of the clearing are plotted with approximately equal radii—footpaths—leading to the bitter manioc cultivations. The manioc cultivations form a broad outer belt of the clearing that, in poorer communities, begins very close to the rear or rear side wall of the house and that in prosperous and more prideful communities is at some distance. In the latter communities, the zone of plantings begins far enough away so that the women at work in their manioc gardens are out of sight and out of sound, only the plumes of white smoke from each garden signaling silently that a woman is at work there. No matter how confined the total clearing, the house rests within an inner clearing of secondary cultivations and, ultimately, within a totally cleared space or plaza. The maloca is more or less at the center of these three concentric zones. The river (*hya*) itself is a fourth zone. [342] [351]

These four zones have their social counterparts in that they may be identified as male and female, although, it should be said, the Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. [562]

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361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens. Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[844] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity
[854] of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
241 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (*kaapi*, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[270] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[248] cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[77] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahuiéton* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1905, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 8a). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361
household dishes, while tobacco, *mahi*, and coca are for ceremonial 241
purposes. 462

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351
entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361
kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562
staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622]
for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and
for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist
that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [778]
plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755]
medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear
plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521]
of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards,
and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip.
During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is ac-
centuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests
are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351
a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361
vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562
an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574
realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situa-
tion I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made
this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was
received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as
he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361
a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562
the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823
of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614]
Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534]
edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again [515]
to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833]
women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842]
But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621
high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512
of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing
that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahukina*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361
tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241
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621
512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712
[361] In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise at-
712 tack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the
725 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were confident they left the women and children behind in the house with
[123] a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361
504 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza.
504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state
574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests
[417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be al-
[576] lowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men
504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning
796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe
[778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504
833 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiari these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahükiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiari proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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361 Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-
554 tain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or en-
[157] couraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they
[123] did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the
342 new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one require-
361 ment of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with
622 him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines
768 of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new ma-
loca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change
at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the
victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a
361 fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations.
244 At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to
768 ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is
moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the
old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transi-
tional period when the community is actually working both clearings.
The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until
they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they
will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old
*chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

361 The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to
[311] circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some
15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again.
Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the
forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally
dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later
moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiari and the
361 Querari. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this
614 connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or
554 along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs
occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely
associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks
deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong oc-
cupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or
by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become
dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites
and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Gia-
361 cone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (refer-
554 ring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only
along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5). 361 554

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence. 361 554 648. 177

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiari, for example, a trail leads to the Querari. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker. 487 [721] [481]

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 300 baskets (50-60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiroa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller. 621 311 453 244 [622]

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. 621 592 [162] [342] [578]

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621
592 the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. The Cubeo believe that one roof unites a community while several roofs divide it.

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311 Size of maloca is adapted in some measure to cultivable terrain. We have already noted that seasonal flooding and the requirement of good river frontage limit the availability of land for relatively permanent cultivation. But these are highly variable factors. Along the Vaupés, a deep river basin that can carry a great volume of water, there are vast stretches of dry land that have become the sites of civilized population centers. There is no doubt that from terrain alone the Vaupés could have supported far greater Indian populations than it did at the time of first contact. Along the Vaupés the limiting factor seems to have been social. On the Cuduiari, on the other hand, land contours are such as to divide frontages into much smaller segments. On this smaller stream, terrain has been a more significant factor in limiting community size. But even on the Cuduiari, land utilization is subject to strong social considerations. One consideration is that sibs
[614] must retain their traditional boundaries. This means that with slash-burn horticulture the sib territory must provide, as a minimum, a three-step cycle in which a community returns to its original land after 10 to 15 years. The well-situated tract must then be at least three times the average land requirement at any given time.

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244 There is still another consideration, and that is the distance of manioc gardens from the residence. When they prepare a clearing, the Cubeo bear in mind the distance a woman will have to trudge with her burdens of manioc, a baby, and firewood. That is why the gardens are laid out along a semicircle. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop. It needs reasonably dry soil and it makes heavy demands upon the time and energy of a woman for its cultivation, transportation, and preparation. Whatever can be saved from travel time is an advantage.

621
182 The thesis of ecological adaptation, however, can be argued most successfully in the abstract. If one notes the actual events in the life of a community, then the processes of community growth and community fission appear in quite a different light. The balance of forces of fusion and of fission that hold community size to its stable limits in harmony with the natural environment are not entirely economic. They often include personal factors. To state this more precisely: the economic factor affects fusion strongly but has less direct bearing upon fission. Satellites, for example, are urged to return to the fold, guests are urged to stay on, and daughters are invited to take up residence
[578] in their own sib if there is ample land. Splitting, on the other hand, occurs because of personal quarrels and rarely because of a feeling of land shortage.

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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiari; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way. 621 182

Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain. 621 342 182 [592]

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses. [171]

In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y generál*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habókū*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kenámi upákū* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along 178 342 621 614 [177]

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the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahukiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. [514]
The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

342
The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a [796]
vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its [764]
great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food [252]
is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- [32]
factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- [517]
side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza
in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure
time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 342
way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 574
exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests 576
are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and
facing inward.

342
When I came among the *Bahúkwa* they were on the upswing, hav- 622
ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had [114]
put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com-
partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was
75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof
extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the
work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is
carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction.
The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the
maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The
headman is known as *kenámi upáku* (owner of the house). The house
is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority
of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo be-
lieve, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation- 342
ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578
Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592
is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook dis-
courtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that
such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are
acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one
sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will
move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community.
The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove
the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they
have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
(592) self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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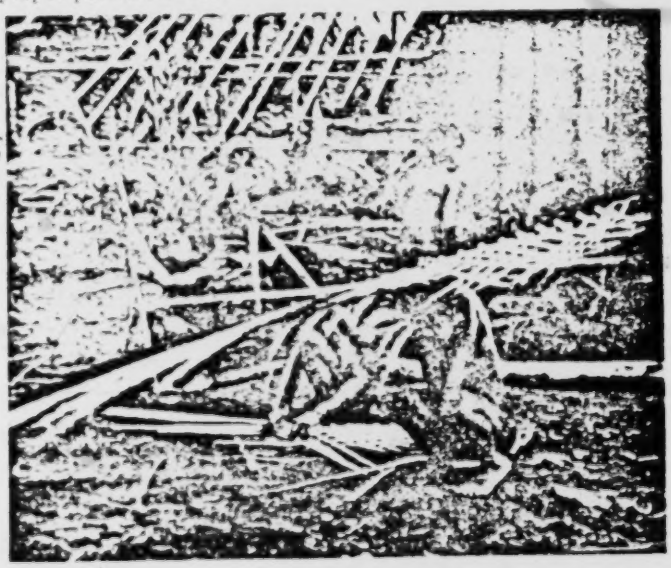

Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding

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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small 621
malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a 342
square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The
distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well [177]
known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following 342
spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12 household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a [354]
hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared 342
with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own 513
hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the 352
hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging
hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no [353]
partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we [833]
have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. [514]
The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one 342
another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house [572]
sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage [574]
facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and [352]
the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article
that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark- [353]

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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Maloca are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahukuwa*, whose ancestry
[184] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the 614
governor of exogamy (Kirchhoff, 1981). In a sense this seems to be true 591
of the Cubeo as well.

Among the *Bahukiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of 621
the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters 614
and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She 589
prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed 592
chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the [591]
entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in
sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahukiwa* generation 621
mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage 614
partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tema* (cross-cousin). The 589
boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sib- 592
ling group, and were initiated into the *Bahukiwa* ancestral cult. Be- 582
cause of the close association of these boys with their *Bahukiwa* age
mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not
marry *Bahukiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they
wished, marry into the *Bahukiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy
reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How
can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman
thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be em-
barrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The
widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her
children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and
so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably
not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had 621
come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of 736
his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people 588
called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awk- 614
ward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only com- [591]
munity exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has 621
grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib ex- 614
ogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The 582
Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They 571
have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them
into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly
friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers"
and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a
community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those
of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient,
or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

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614 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a
582 girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother.
571 If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

## THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

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614 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some ex-
554 ceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most
[823] important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish
[146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals
[224] are hunted along the river banks.

The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward
361 the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers
823 are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source
[103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of
361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear
614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo
615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiari River and belongs more properly on the Querari. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiari phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahükiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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of the pull of propinquity. The Cubeo welcome and respect neighborliness. 361 614 615

The river has its natural boundaries. These are the segments of river demarcated by rapids and by the tributaries or creeks. A boundary is from one such feature to the next, from a *cachoeira* (rapids) to a creek, from a creek to a creek, but rarely from *cachoeira* to *cachoeira*. A boundary defines only sib territory. There is no phratric territory as such. If there is phratric and tribal territoriality it is because each of the sibs undertakes to defend the principle in terms of its own interests. A sib may adopt a stranger and in this way incorporate it into the phratry. It needs no permission to do this. On the other hand, a sib may appeal to phratry mates for help in warding off by force unwanted intruders. Boundaries do not close a river to traffic. The river is always an open highway for travel, and travelers may fish and hunt along it freely. They may not put up fixed installations such as weirs or show other signs of residence such as fishing a particular spot with regularity without permission. Men regularly fish only within the sib limits. The discussion of boundaries, it should be explained, does not flow naturally from the Cubeo. It is drawn out by the ethnographer. The Cubeo are not jealous of boundaries and they rarely have issues over them, but they do know them. Occasionally someone violates the common law of courtesy of the use of fish weirs and keeps the barrier closed beyond the allowable period. The Cubeo cannot and do not attribute this unmannerly act to gluttony. Gluttony is an incomprehensible notion to them. They attribute it either kindly to forgetfulness, in which case there is no issue, or to unfriendliness, in which case there is a quarrel and an effort is made to tear down the barrier. On the forest side there are no boundaries at all except for the clearing itself. It is not land but river frontage that is valued.

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## CANOEING

So much of a man's time is spent in a canoe that no description of native life would be complete that did not relate the Indian to the river as a canoeman or that failed to bring out the motor rhythms of canoeing. Motor rhythms are patterned, the rhythm of paddling and the characteristic rhythms of the dance showing particularly striking parallels. 501 516

Paddling follows a definite though irregular rhythm. The prowsman on a long trip is keeper of the stroke. Paddling is noisy. On the downstroke the stem of the paddle just above the blade is struck

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501 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke
516 are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been over-
[461] come the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oarsman's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a
501 long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spon-
461 taneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!"
501 On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about
517 two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying
[123] some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why didn't you shoot them?"

501 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of
462 steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys, each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are
[857] in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of balance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

502 All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the
[823] canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided because of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline. Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push. High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. 501 Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging 501 from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for 505 the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner [422] but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually [622] owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely [422] borrowed. [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, 501 but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompa- 562 nied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is [422] accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk [481] great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. [422] A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, [558] and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry.

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is 396 cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have 501 been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. [857] Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it [415] serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are [252] brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a [273] drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with [531] painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellish- [178] ments had disappeared.

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but 501 are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. 504 A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. [685] He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will

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recover it. Away from home, a canoe is moored completely out of the water.

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COMMUNITIES ON THE CUDUIARI (upstream from mouth)

| PLACE NAME | SIB | PLACE NAME | SIB |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kakómba | *Hehéneuw* | 16. Xiábewa | *Pedíkuw* |
| 2. Kuridi kenámi | *Hehéneuw* | 17. Kuraría | *Kendnikauwũ* |
| 3. Toipakpríba * | *Hehéneuw* | 18. Abúhakũ | *Kendnikauwũ* |
| 4. Okóhambũ | *Bahúkiuw* | 19. Xwévebo | *Hũrũwd* |
| 5. Vekókũ | *Bahúkiuw* | 20. Bedébo | *Hũrũwd* |
| 6. Ewáhubo | *Bahukũdjauwũ* | 21. Kobéhowa | *Pyéndo-Hehéneuw* |
| 7. Hurédo | *Bahukũdjauwũ* | 22. Avyákoríba | *Hũrũwd* |
| 8. Nváparatainio | *Bahukũdjauwũ* | 23. Kwitóro | *Kadjá-Hũrũwd* |
| 9. Yavibi | *Bahukũdjauwũ* | 24. Bedébũ | *Hũrũwd* |
| 10. Kiráda | *Bahúkiuw* | 25. Toróhambũ | *Hũrũwd* |
| 11. Cbo | *Pedíkuw* | 26. Hokóbũ | *Kendnikauwũ* |
| 12. Mákavekũ | *Bahúkiuw* | 27. Horáhararía | *Hũrũwd* |
| 13. Makatóta | *Bahúkiuw* | 28. Hudjibũ | *Bahúkiuw* |
| 14. Toidibũ | *Pedíkuw* | 29. Mátakwe | *Pyéndo-Hehéneuw* |
| 15. Monékenpaunwa | *Pedíkuw* | | |

* A small *Kordúw* settlement is at *Urupera* between 3 and 4. It is, however, only a fraction of a Querari River sib and not a full community.

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# 2

# *Economic Life*

## ECOLOGICAL SETTING

The Northwest Amazon region abuts on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Oriental and has an average elevation of some 200–300 meters. Many of its rivers flow quickly and the terrain generally lacks the flat and swampy character of the lowland Amazonian rain forest. The headwaters of the Cuduiari are within the territory of the Cubeo and apparently arise in a high savannah, an eroded plateau laced with caverns and supporting on its remarkably flat surface only a meager xerophytic vegetation. There are other highlands in Cubeo territory along the Vaupés. Of no economic value to the Indians, the highlands form for them a setting of mystery because of their strangeness and their desert quality, and are held to be the domain of mythological beings. 133 [823]

The Cuduiari is a narrow river that runs swiftly past several cataracts into the Vaupés. At the peak of the dry season it is barely navigable along its full length. At that time a large canoe is pushed across several inches of water and the river course is beset with sandbanks. The smaller tributaries or *igarapés* dry up altogether, stranding their low status occupants seriously. Perhaps this is one reason why the Cubeo associate social standing with frontage along a big river. [361] The Cuduiari is an intimate river—along much of its length the trees and creepers that line its banks reach overhead to gridstream to form a bower. The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire [554]

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133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, roc'
and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high wa
and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks,
in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihibo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people
have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height
of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the
river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an
island; the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always
on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter
routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons
of high water (*ilákoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative
scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and
game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water,
fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now
abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant,
are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in
November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers
have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihibo* as summer and
*ilákoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaino* (falling river)
and as *edáwaya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December,
and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During
these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams,
game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river
banks and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons
for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer
dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking
parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase
and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
524 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc
[805] gardens are extended or new clearings started.

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aunhoku* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bucu*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Hubukoku* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turii* (poison), another *pudpii* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapika* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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773 From *Kuwai*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
in or will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*aiuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkündye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

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A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

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## FISHING

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[462]

Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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226 nor do all the men fish on the same day. A man who has had no luck one day temporarily loses interest in fishing. He turns to other activities, perhaps to hunting or to making household implements, or he may do nothing. As the season begins to taper off one fisherman after another gives up. The last to stop is the most successful. The Cubeo believe that a dispirited fisherman will catch nothing anyway. [261] When all have stopped fishing the community hungers. After about a week of poor meals the women nag, but the men do not move until 226 they have received a sign. The sign usually comes from the young 857 male play pack. When the men have retired to the maloca to sulk, the youngsters turn their play fully toward the river. They take out canoes, and they set lines along the shore. For this they win immediate praise from the women, who say, "Look, the boys can catch fish but the men cannot." The boys patrol the river. One sights a school of fish and rushes into the house shouting, "The fish are coming." The men run to the bank to see. Then with great hilarity and good-natured pummeling of the boys they take to their canoes and the fishing cycle resumes.

226 Periodically, the routine of individual fishing is interrupted by organized collective fishing parties. The organizer is often the headman, but any man who has a plan will enlist a party. Summer is the season for fishing parties, when fish can be trapped in a shallow pool and stupefied with fish poison. Fishing parties are festive and noisy. The young play pack attends them, and the catch, which may be large, is collective. Each fisherman secures his own catch. When the party returns they distribute the total catch to all households. The [183] distribution, according to an important Cubeo principle, is personal and never anonymous or generalized.

Fishing a shallow pond requires equipment and preparation. One man locates the place and asks his fellows to join him in fishing it. Several, or all, contribute sections of splint fencing that forms the weir. One party undertakes to put up the weir while another manages to gather and prepare fish poison. The men, as always, work efficiently together with a minimum of formal direction. Most have been members of a common play pack so that teamwork is automatic. Each household head has brought his own canoe into which he loads his "own" catch. Some shoot with bow and arrow, others use a dip net, and some thrash about seizing the dulled fish with their hands. Such fishing is never solemn. The men joke, they address each fish, and when they have tired of the sport they stop. A man may take secret pride in his individual catch, but he is expected to behave as though he were lampooning rivalry.

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each [251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [417] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [614] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. [237] They sing songs (*máopuwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaúrteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiari, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiari the problem of shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 226 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiari, camping out or 484 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for 574 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites 602 of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman, not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*vekú*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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He brings home the hide for a
224 trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle
[237] that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary
[554] and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bakukwa* the headman's son – an aspirant for the position – killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

## GARDENING

462 I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions
262 of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

462 An important distinction between the labor of men and women
461 is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

462 On days when only subsistence manioc – that is, the manioc cake
461 – is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its
252 preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is
244 to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

462 Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time,
244 leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast.
[512] Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against
[751] sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is
[789]

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usually accompanied by an unmarried daughter, who is both helper and chaperon, a dog, and her breast baby. Her equipment is a machete (in the past it was a digging stick), a portage basket, and a tray upon which she rests her baby. 244 [412] [178] [415]

With the machete she cuts the long root at the base of a mature manioc plant and then loosens the earth so as to pull out the cluster of tubers. Each root yields an average of six tubers, two of which are large, two medium, and two small. This phase of the work is difficult but the woman moves quickly and silently. She does not sing at her work. Her daughter, assistant and apprentice, tears each tuber from the root, scrapes it clear of earth, and drops it in the basket. When a basket has been filled the woman gathers up the stems of the manioc plant, trims them of their leaves, and stacks the cuttings neatly in small heaps. She burns the leaves to add ash to the soil. She does not replant the cuttings immediately, but allows them to lie for several days. After an accumulation a woman devotes a morning to replanting. She breaks up the soil of the segment she has harvested and forms it into small mounds, into each of which she puts a number of trimmed cuttings, setting them in at a sharp angle. She works segments of garden that are about 25 yards square. After replanting, the earliest harvest will be after half a year, but full maturity takes two years. Each 25 square yard segment yields from 50 to 60 pounds of manioc, or one basket load. [461]

Among the *Bahukuan*, for whom I have productivity figures, the household of the headman harvested 400 baskets of manioc annually. Another household that had three adult women harvested 500. One old woman had a minimum yield of 150 and all other households averaged close to 200. Ten households produced 2,550 baskets, or some 75 tons of manioc a year. A basket of manioc converts into two large manioc cakes. In the headman's household of seven people three cakes were eaten every two days, leaving a "surplus" of close to 50 per cent for use as chicha and as farinha. On the other hand, households producing 200 baskets annually are close to the subsistence line. 244 433

The point of this digression into production figures has been to show how exigent are the demands upon the woman's labor. The women feel that they cannot afford to interrupt their labors or they will fall behind. Nevertheless, childbirth, illness, ceremonies – women do not garden on the day of a ceremony – and the press of other activities such as accompanying men on prolonged trips for hunting (in the nature of a respite for a woman) take their toll of labor time. Women do not complain of having too much to do. On the contrary, I have heard the grievance that the manioc garden is too small. 244 433 461 462

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244 433 [462] A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They 244 242 [571] are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When women from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahukiwa'* cul- [439] tivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for [252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake 244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's 462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

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Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

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place the blame upon the material conditions. The woman, then, is more than a mere toiler in the garden. She qualifies as agronomist as well. 244 462

Women return from their gardens in the very early afternoon. They pause at the rear door of the house only long enough to drop the machete, and without putting down their burdens of manioc and infant, go directly to the river to bathe themselves and to wash the tubers. This is a pleasurable hour. Refreshed from the heat of the morning, the women play with their infants and jest with one another. Washing the tubers is a simple task of dipping the entire basket into the water. A light midday meal follows the washing, and the routine of processing the tubers begins. The woman may start with fresh roots, but for a more tender manioc cake she will allow the roots to soften for several days either in the house or in the river. 512 462 252 [515] [264]

The first step is peeling. The woman seats herself at her own household compartment, her back braced against a post, her legs stretched out stiff and straight before her into the dance corridor – the public alley of the house. The manioc basket is at one side and a tray at the other. She bites the butt end of the tuber to break the skin, and using teeth and fingers pulls off the readily peelable skin. This phase of the work is leisurely. Women who are not at the moment occupied come by to chat and help casually in the peeling. A woman's daughters sit with her and help. Enough is peeled for one manioc cake – that is, one half of a basket. 462 252 461 [516]

The next step is the most arduous and least liked – grating the peeled tubers on a wooden board (*pediba*) that has been set with abrasive stones. A woman can usually shift this work on to her daughter or her daughter-in-law.

The scraping process is as follows. The woman sits with her feet stretched out straight before her and slightly spread. She sets the grate on her legs with its far end braced against a house post, the forward end pressed against her abdomen. She takes up two large manioc tubers from a tray, one in each hand, and scrapes vigorously with alternate arm movements with the hardest pressure on the forward stroke. The action is vigorous, involving not only full arm movements but the bending of the back from the hips. Young women of marriageable age work rapidly and continuously until bathed in sweat. When worn down to a size where it cannot be conveniently scraped any more, the tuber is thrown aside and two others taken up. Finally, a collection of scraps is assembled into a single bunch clutched in both hands and scraped down virtually to the very bottom. This is a break in the work rhythm since both hands are used together and the move- [516]

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462 ment is slower and altogether less vigorous. Usually, except when she
461 is very strong and young, the woman interrupts her scraping for a
252 rest or change of occupation. For example, the work may be staggered. If the mother begins the scraping and the daughter continues with the peeling, the daughter, when she has finished peeling, will take over the scraping, while the mother prepares to begin the next process. The manioc mash that has accumulated at the far end of the board is removed by hand and thrown into a basket tray, and the liquid drained off into a pot to be poured out.

A substantial part of the poisonous liquid of the manioc has been
[415] removed in the scraping on the grater; the mash is further dried by pounding it through a tightly woven basket sieve. A tripodal frame is set up and the sieve set on it at a woman's waist level. The pounding, also strenuous work, requires vigorous motion of the arms, back, and shoulders. With both fists clenched the woman attacks the mash,
[516] using her arms as pistons in a crisscross motion. The mash is frequently turned. As this work is done standing up, the woman has a chance to limber her legs. Because of the height at which the sieve is set, little girls are not very efficient at the pounding, and only help out for a little while. When the mash is relatively dry after a thorough pounding it is put into a long tubular squeezer (the tipiti). The woman grips the lower end of the flexible tube between her knees, and bending the top toward her, fills it with the mash from the sieve. When full, the squeezer is hung from a projecting beam at one of the house posts. Through a loop at the lower end of the squeezer a long pole of heavy wood is inserted, the fulcrum end going through a few twists of heavy rope around the post. This phase of the work affords the woman a rest from the strenuous labor of scraping and pounding. She may sit on the pole, adjusting the pressure by the distance from the fulcrum. A woman is sometimes joined by another, who helps her sit on the pole. The liquid starch that runs down the sides of the squeezer is collected in a pot set for it. The pot is covered with a layer of ash that absorbs the volatile prussic acid, and the clear starch is used as the base for a porridge.

The mash, free of much of its prussic acid content, is finally formed into a cake upon the flat circular oven at the rear of the house. The baking is leisurely and as women wait their turn at the communal oven they enjoy some sociable moments.

462 A good housewife prepares a fresh manioc cake daily since the
252 cake tastes best when fresh, moist, and warm. On the second day a cake is dry and considerably less palatable. Thus, under ordinary con-
[512] ditions, the routine of manioc preparation is daily. However, a wom-

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an who has daughters to help her can prepare a surplus of mash 462
that, covered with banana leaves or stored in a circular bark bin, holds 252
over to the next day. Whatever time a woman spares from manioc cake preparation is immediately absorbed by other duties, among them the making of chicha and farinha, which is simply the manioc routine all over again. When a woman prepares manioc for chicha, however, she has the help of her husband, but only at those stages that are totally distinct from manioc cake preparation. The Cubeo tradition is for men to take no part in *ãnno* production, once they have made the clearing. Still, men do help their wives in peeling the manioc tuber. Since the knife has begun to supplant the teeth as a peeling implement, men, who are the most expert in handling knives, (412) (178) feel somewhat more free than formerly to help — but not without embarrassment. I once walked into the house and saw the headman sitting amicably beside his wife and peeling manioc with a knife. Were I a proper Cubeo I would have managed to appear as though I had seen nothing. But the sight was so unexpected I stared. The man flushed and dropped the knife and tuber. Then he collected himself and explained that his wife was not well and so he felt he should help her. He assured me, as his wife smiled, that he never did this ordinarily. 123 462 252

Whereas all women share the same general manioc routine, individual circumstances differ. A young married woman with young 461 462
children has no one to help her and must work very hard in contrast 252
to an older woman with several daughters who can relieve her of much 592
of the work. A woman with many sons and no daughters has a very heavy burden. The men provide her with a very large garden; they eat heavily, they are sociable and plan drinking parties. An old woman living alone prepares her own small manioc cake ration, and worries rather that she can call on no man to enlarge her manioc garden. Yet in all these individual circumstances one observes leveling factors as well. The household with very young children eats less, has less need to entertain, and has smaller trade needs. The household with grown daughters eats more, entertains more — suitors and their parties for example — and has great needs for trade goods, skirts, and ornaments for the girls. The household with many men has greater access to trade goods through their wage labor and saves on farinha. An old woman living alone may eat with her close kin and so devote her manioc production entirely to farinha, if she desires. There are no significant differences in manioc cake consumption. Families dif- 592
fer only in the rather small prestige of owning trade goods and in 554

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592 providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor
554 in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.
[433]

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling
291 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy
262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*uydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*kaiaive*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaiwáryo*, *waiwari*, *mod*, *pudyú*, *kanéka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kavámene*), pineapple, (*ihíbo*), banana (*ápuéve*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*une*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash
[273] (*bahamu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butei*), and capsicum (*bya*). The
[415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of
[273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the
[272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com-
[462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza.
[431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful
[621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an-
[857] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock
235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought
[262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they
[439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, 231
and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as 235
pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and 123
animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had 245
been living among the *Bahuéneo* a short time when they learned of 439
my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiari. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more [262] than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. [302] Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

## MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest 121
tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes 28
that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by 32
Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men 28
ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women 32
specialize in ceramics. Thus the great bulk of material equipment 462
has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a [415] small basket, *pohiro*, in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pediba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men 462
work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a 461

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462 simple basket is often a matter of several weeks. Every man has at
461 his side, so to speak, a number of unfinished objects which he hopes to get at before too long.

462 The sexual division of labor in manufactures is rather firmly main-
323 tained. I learned of few objects in use that were not made by a member of the proper sex. Young men are drawn to pottery making, but they may handle clay in a playful manner only. They make pots and dishes in strange shapes, working rather expertly. Such dishes are given to children as toys and are soon destroyed. Children, boys and girls, play with clay, making small animal or human figures and quickly destroying them. No permanent clay figures are ever made. Serious pottery work is an annual affair, undertaken by the women when the falling river has exposed the clay banks. All at once the women working together renew the household ceramic ware.

342 Manufacture is most often a group activity, and like all group ac-
[461] tivities is regarded by the Indians as a pleasurable recreation. The
[476] exception to this rule is perhaps housebuilding, which is often strenuous. Even then, when the exertion of the task has broken the spell of good feeling, the men stop and turn to another task. A large maloca can be a very long time in building. Among the *Bahukiwa* a house begun when I arrived was not yet complete when I left almost a year later. A house must be built by a group working together not only for technical reasons, but in obedience to the principle that all who are going to live in it must work on it.

Building the communal house is a major technical and social enterprise. It tests the capabilities of the headman and the morale of the community. The true maloca is a solid structure built with great care, skill, and concern for details. Temporary houses may be slipshod in construction, but when a house is slipshod it is either clearly designated as temporary or it will be a cause of shame. Every
342 part of the house is built with the greatest care, but nothing reveals
284 more clearly the Cubeo concern for combining structural integrity and aesthetic design than the lashings that hold all the materials together. The most conspicuous lashings are those that bind the main beams. The builders start with temporary house posts and with temporary lashings. Finally, when the entire structure is in place, an expert lasher goes over the entire inner structure, replacing the beams and rebinding them in a consistent pattern, using carefully chosen
342 lianas. The Cubeo are painstaking in all crafts, but the maloca is
[114] their supreme creation. I was able to observe almost every stage in
[461] the construction of a maloca among the *Bahukiwa*. I do not recall that a single bundle of roofing thatch was laid under pressure or

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under duress. Men worked on the house only when they felt cheerful and dedicated to the work. The man who felt out of sorts dropped away and returned only when his spirits had improved. Dependency upon mood was one of the most important factors delaying completion of a house. 342 461

Even so, the magnitude of the technical problems is not to be underestimated. The mere assemblage of material is a complex, arduous, and time-consuming task. Construction materials are not always close to hand. The *Bahükiwa* fetched roofing thatch from the mouth of the Cuduiari in what was technically the territory of the *Hehénewa* sib. Their house of 12 compartments consumed 3,60 bundles of thatch, and, since each canoe could transport only five bundles, over a hundred canoe loads were needed, a task that would normally be spread out over many months. The *Bahükiwa* headman was able to borrow from the *Comisaria* a large cargo barge and in this way a great deal of time was saved. Even so, a large party of several households camped for weeks on the lower river during a dry season, gathering and preparing the parana palm thatch (*teimá*). Altogether, thatch gathering consumed 50 days of the time of at least half the community. The practice is for the headman to institute a "crash program" to get each phase of the work well under way. His problem is to fit each phase of construction into the routine of daily and of seasonal life with minimum disruption. Strictly speaking, the decisions are not his. His is the technical voice, but he will do nothing without discussion with the household heads. Roofing can be cut during the two dry seasons and can never be finished in only one. Gathering, trimming, and binding the parana palm leaves into sheaves is the only housebuilding task in which women share. [427] [505] [462]

The headman, together with his firmest supporters, that is, his own sons and blood brothers, has the specific responsibility for erecting the central framework, the three pairs of heavy posts that will support the main weight of the roof. Others may help in this if they wish but they have no specific obligation to do so. The inner framework of three pairs of heavy posts forms the inner box around which the rest of the house is built. The timbers must be carefully chosen and then well dug in, while the parallelogram must be very carefully laid out. The floor plan is laid out with long sticks, and right angles are very accurately estimated. The rest of the framework including the ridgepole is a collective enterprise and is the second stage of construction. Roofing is the third stage. When enough roof has been laid down to provide even a bare shelter, the close kin of the headman move in. 342 335 [622] 342 [622] [602]

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342 move in. The walls and the two great doors that can be swung up are built long after the house is fully occupied.

283 824 Much of a man's spare time is devoted to preparing string of one sort or another – fishline, hammock strings, binding ropes. The most common material is from the miriti palm. The palm leaf is boiled in water and allowed to soak until long, strong fibers can be drawn from it. These fibers have extraordinary tensile strength and, therefore, have wide use among the Indians. The lower and thicker part of the leaf is slit with a knife or broken by hand to expose the fibers, which are then stripped off in one smooth, continuous motion. The man holds the leaf pinned to the ground with his great toe and pulls [462] the fibers upward. Essentially it is men's work but women and children help in pulling out the fibers. After the fibers have been allowed to dry by exposure to the air, several are joined together and rolled on the thigh into a string. Occasionally a woman helps her husband roll fishline. The end of the string is gripped between the great toe and its adjacent member and allowed to pass under the frontal arch of the foot and so is held firm. Rolling twine is leisurely work. Men rarely make more than they need for a particular pur- [314] pose. Fishline is coated with resin. This will not only strengthen it and make it easier to handle, but, the men told me, the resin darkens the line so that it will not be seen by the fish.

463 The Cubeo have no true category of specialist. That is to say, they expect all adults to possess the skills for making all ordinary household articles that are on the roster of sib manufactures. They must, of course, contend with differences in aptitude. They do so by giving the inept the fullest technical help, either by advice, or, if necessary, by virtually making the article. But even when total aid is given, the object is considered to have been made by its owner with help. 463 Items of public use, and these include ceremonial equipment and 622 musical instruments, require special proficiency and are made by the headman and by aspirants to the office. The headman then is a specialist, but his specialty is in esoteric objects for public use.

## TRADE

439 The entire Northwest Amazon area is a vastly complex trading network. Objects of every description, household implements, ornaments, musical instruments, ceremonial objects, plants, pets, and magical substances are in constant circulation from tribe to tribe, from sib to sib. Indians who are in contact with the trading centers of Colombians and Brazilians are often middlemen, pumping manu-

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factured goods into the stream of trade – cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, 439
machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are [438]
sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves.

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since 439
World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in 464
Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small 177
enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiari had [191]
spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these 439
objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does 265
not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water [262]
to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods – chickens, fish, and fruit.

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly 439
because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against 648
undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business.

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439 business. The Indians are now aware that in their dealings with the whites their labor and their products have a fixed value with some
[462] leeway for bargaining. Direct commercial trade, object for object, is almost exclusively the province of the Indian women. This is not a new role for them because they also are active in intertribal and intersib trade. Because women do not have as much contact with whites as do their men they still inject into the commercial trading much that is traditional.

439 The traditional attitude is that any exchange is part of a patterned
571 social relationship. An exchange establishes a linkage between the principals and each is aware of his obligations and of the showing he must make. The obligation is of generosity, the temptation to give somewhat more than one has received. The impression to be made
[831] is that one does not haggle over objects. An exchange between a man and a woman who are sexually eligible to one another introduces the additional element of flirtatiousness. All of these elements enter into and complicate and enliven the farinha trade. The more experienced men are able to adapt to commercial methods, but since it is improper for a man to conduct his wife's business for her he will stand aside when she is trading her farinha.

439 I never witnessed the intertribal trade, but when I pointed to an object and asked who had made it or where it had come from, its provenience and the nature of the transaction were always known. Manioc grating boards, for example, generally come from the Isana River. The Cubeo often traded European articles for tribal manufactures, less because they needed the tribal object than to satisfy another Indian's need for the European article. A Macú once wanted matches and gave a small basket for a box. The Macú baskets are highly valued, but in this case the initiative was with the Macú. An
[183] important principle of native trade in the area is that an object asked
[576] for must be surrendered. One must be careful, therefore, not to ask for something the owner might be reluctant to part with. Thus the
[123] *Bahiykwa* headman asked me as a condition of my staying in his community not to offer to buy ceremonial objects. "If you ask for them," he explained, "we shall have to give them to you. How shall we replace them?" Thus, there is an element of delicacy in intertribal trade. At the same time there is a compulsion to engage in trade so as to give significance to the meeting of people of different tribes. In sum, while intertribal trade eventually satisfies the requirements of the Indians for specialized objects they would not ordinarily have, each individual transaction responds to motives that are often only indirectly economic. Trade objects circulate readily. Thus, a set of

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calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges. 439 [582]

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accordance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as submen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehénewa* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maize, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiari. 438

## PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered. Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations. 423 [61] [103]

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sentiment rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo. 423 614 [615] [619]

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423 The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of
615 river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these
[578] arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies
[768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate relationship between land and its cultivator.

241 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual
614 or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the alloca-
361 tion of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing
241 is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective
614 effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a
361 clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and
622 stake out allocation. There are two ways in which the cultivation of
476 a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman to organize a collective work party, including all household heads. If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually. Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots, establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later arrivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. Annually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the *chagra*, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field for a two-year harvest.

244 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman.
423 A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plantation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daughters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

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The relation of the men to the manioc cultivations is as follows. By working jointly in making a clearing the men are fulfilling, in part, a sib obligation. This is of minor importance, however, as compared with the specific obligations and the ensuing relationship between a man and a woman. No bond between a man and a woman is of greater importance and richer in sentiment than that set up by the making and cultivating of a manioc garden. Every garden plot defines a relationship between a specific man and a specific woman. A woman without a man can have no garden. A man without a woman has no clearing to make; he can have subordinate status only in another household. Each side gains status from the arrangement. The only firm bond is that between husband and wife. A widow has only a frail claim upon the labor of her brother, whose primary obligation is to his own household, where his wife keeps jealous watch over her own *chagra*; for a woman's pride is deeply involved in the size of her manioc clearing. The Cubeo regard the size of clearing as a sign of a husband's affection for his wife. A widow has a better claim upon an unmarried son. As we shall see, between unmarried brother and unmarried sister a semiconjugal relationship develops over the material holding of land. 244 423 593 571 [614]

We have spoken of a reciprocity in status involved in the manioc *chagra*. There is also a specific and related economic reciprocity. By making a clearing a man obligates his wife's production. The preparation of manioc cake is never spoken of as a wifely obligation, but chicha and farinha are. The point of economic reciprocity as it sometimes emerges in the course of conjugal quarrels is entirely one of status and not of so fundamental an issue as food. If we are to speak of male female reciprocity on matters of food the issue is between the male flesh foods and the female cultivated foods. Although a man obligates his wife's labor for chicha and for farinha he evidently does not obligate all of it, for a woman will suddenly declare that she is cosponsoring a drinking party by a contribution of "her" manioc. Moreover, it is part of the status of a wife that she can freely contract part of her farinha production for personal objects, such as cloth and trinkets. If there is a formal principle governing this kind of connubial economic arrangement I did not learn what it is. 244 423 462 593 [261]

The point to emphasize with respect to manioc cultivations, then, is that the issue in possession of land is not simply that of subsistence. It would be unthinkable for a Cubeo to allow a yibmate, or phratry mate for that matter, to hunger if he had any food for him. When a solitary woman laments that her *chagra* is exhausted and no kinsman is moving to make another for her, the fear she voices is not that she 244 423 261 602

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and sharing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege [431] of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled 422 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, 431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 423 614 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one territorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of 226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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use it, and, as the others do, he shares his catch with the community. 226
Weir sites are inherited by a son so that there is some tendency for 423
this specialty in fishing to descend in certain families and not in [428]
others.

In objects there are two main kinds of property rights, those of 421
the community and those of the individual. Community rights are in all objects made for public use by the headman or his wife, such as a large canoe, great chicha urns, the manioc oven, the sugar cane press, and guest benches. Of a somewhat less public nature are ceremonial objects and musical instruments also made by the headman or by an aspirant to his office. The first group of objects are fully in the public domain and subject to constant use. The second group are in the possession of their maker and are brought out by him alone on the proper occasion. Full individual ownership resides in all other personal possessions: household utensils, canoes, weapons, trinkets and ornaments, all trade goods from Europeans, and items of clothing. Disposition of these objects is subject entirely to the discretion of the owner.

Infants also own property and their rights are more or less respected. 858
Sometimes a planting is set in an infant's name by the parent or 421
grandparent. A mother commonly dedicates a brood of chicks to her nursing child. The feeling is that, as with ornaments, possessions confer human status. That is, a person should own things. If the child is 858
old enough to understand possession it assumes charge, more or less, 421
otherwise its possessions are administered by its mother. I have nego- 593
tiated, for example, the purchase of chickens owned by children. In 123
one instance a mother prevailed upon her little boy to sell me a 425
chicken. After the sale was made, however, the child wailed miserably 867
so that I felt obliged to make him a gift of it. His mother kept the purchase price and announced that she owed the child the value of the chicken. When the child does not understand the transaction, its mother announces publicly the facts of ownership and her intentions to make restitution.

The attitude of the Cubeo toward personal possessions is best 421.
described as casual. They are not indifferent to objects but they regard strongly proprietary feelings as improper. Their attitude toward ownership is governed by the important status principle that giving is honorific. Among sibmates objects circulate freely, the closer the tie between people the more active the exchanges. Sisters exchange orna- [602]
ments and trinkets and men borrow freely from one another with [593]
or without permission. They seem to be most free with objects of economic utility, such as a canoe, weapons, implements, and somewhat

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more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahukiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

## INHERITANCE

Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped up on the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahúkiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities. 261 574 123 [122]

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil. 261 431 [584] [572] 252

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeling, it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. 462 261 574

Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting. 261 561 522

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes 264

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264 eat together, crouched about the small pot of prepared food or sitting
in a hammock. Such meals are usually light and rarely consist of
264 fresh fish or freshly caught game. It may be a pepper pot into which
262 preserved fish or meat has been flaked or a dish of dried meat chopped
fine with dry peppers. If it is the morning meal, taken just upon
arising an hour or so before dawn, it is a *mungau*, a tapioca porridge
sometimes mixed with crushed pineapple. There is not much eating
between meals. If men have been working hard they refresh them-
selves with sugar cane. Youngsters, however, eat as often as they like,
and that is most of the time. Youngsters are free to draw upon the
household larder, but much of what they eat they have foraged for
themselves, fruits, sugar cane, small game, and fish. A youngster,
however, will take only manioc cake prepared by his own mother.

264 The main meal, taken just before sunset so that it concludes shortly
after sunset, is usually formal and separates men and women. A col-
lective meal, it is eaten in the center of the dance corridor. The men
crouch in a tight circle around the cluster of pots that each woman
has set down. Their sons are before them in an inner circle. Women
and girls sit in an outer circle behind their fathers and husbands.
The men eat first and when they have finished they rise and return to
their hammocks while the women and girls then move in to finish
what is left over. The Cubeo are not voracious eaters. They eat almost
261 daintily and are amused at the uncouthness of those who eat as
264 though they were hungry. When I ate with them I always left the
table hungry. I never saw any Indian eat to repletion even when great
quantities of food were available. The method of eating, with the
women waiting hungrily behind them, is perhaps a deterrent to gorg-
ing. It is my impression, however, that the Cubeo associate excess
only with drink and associate food with moderation. That is to say,
[183] excess is pertinent to intersib gatherings, moderation is the keynote
[64] within the closer community of kin that is the sib.

264 People eating together are gay, though not boisterous; even the
522 older men, ordinarily solemn, unbend. The younger men laugh,
tease one another, remember with amusement an incident in the
catching of the food they are now eating. The women join in the
laughter most generously and the men gallantly pass back to them
morsels of food on bits of manioc cake. The normal movement of
food at this point is from a man to his wife, daughter, or sister. But
in the spirit of jest he will pass food to another woman. This will
provoke mirthful calls of "ha, sour sweetheart." No man would be so
foolish as to pass back food to a woman with whom he might be
having an affair even though this is a permissible jesting occasion. If

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts. 264 [522] [184]

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed, and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel free about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit. 264 765 261 [574] [796] [273] 261 264 577

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband, 264 574 [614] [123]

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264 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahúkiwa* to pay a
574 courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to
123 eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahúkiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may
758 explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack
571 fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest
866 for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This
[857] attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in
183 leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good
571 part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances
431 of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice; one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy
[123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

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others. I doubt that any nonsharing goes unobserved and I expect 261
that the nonsharer is not too concerned with being unobserved. Often 183
enough, boys will quarrel about the distribution of food, but never 571
with a nonsharer. They sense the significance of the gesture and are 431
embarrassed by it, waiting for the delinquent to finish. He rejoins them and their play resumes as though nothing had happened. Elders will not correct nonsharing among children because they regard what the boys do in the play pack as a matter of no adult concern. I was never aware that the children themselves ever rebuked or punished a nonsharer in their midst. The nonsharer always received his portion. The play pack leader, who does not hesitate to censure a member for indecent sexual behavior, is comfortable in his role as a giver and will not censure a nongiver. He understands, to be sure, that nonsharing is a form of deliberate estrangement from the intimacies of the group, but he also knows that no headman will censure a household head who chooses to become an Independent or a Satellite. Similarly, the nonsharer may estrange himself from the play pack but the play-pack will not ostracize him. Among the *Bahiukwa* the flagrant nonsharer was also the boy who ran away during the ancestral whipping rites. Every example of a case of nonsharing that came to my attention (five or six only) was that of a boy who had no father. Orphan boys are deprived of one of the more pleasurable in- [736]
timacies of receiving a portion of fish or game that a father brings
home. A man's son is the first to greet him when he beaches his canoe. [593]
He is given a fish or a bit of meat, which he prepares by broiling or baking and shares with his play pack. He has the status of a giver. The orphan child, in these circumstances, has the lower status of a receiver and is denied a food intimacy. The nonsharer acknowledges at the same time a status of subordination as well as of estrangement.

Among adults, nonsharing is more disturbing and more consequential. A man who does not share food eventually refuses to do his share of work. Such a person is called "one who does nothing." A [578]
household head who is angry or out of sorts will not join the sib meal but will gather his family around him at the household hearth for a private meal. A mood is respected and the incident passes with little notice. If it is repeated, it is assumed that the nonsharer will soon move out and become an Independent. Nonsharing does become a touchy issue when food is scarce. We were experiencing hungry days during the height of the rainy season, most meals consisting of manioc cake dipped in peppers, fortified occasionally with a minnow. One late afternoon a household head entered the maloca with a

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261 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily
183 toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that
571 he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own
431 hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about preparing it, never once turning her eyes out upon the maloca. The house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however, venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head
183 prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He
571 chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly
431 caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand
522 gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible household head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave. The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not like us.

261 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of
183 anger. Just as the boys of the play pack will only stand aside as their
571 nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do
431 nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He
578 does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the dissatisfied household departs. I was told, but could not verify it,
[754] that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people, it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

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## THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The Cubeo economy may be characterized as essentially inelastic, sustenance-oriented, and egalitarian. In these respects it contrasts with parallel root horticulture economies in other parts of the world, such as in Oceania and Africa. In those areas economies are generally in the service of social status and of political power and are, consequently, dynamic, fostering social and economic inequality. Among the Cubeo, on the other hand, and in the South American tropical forest as a whole, social status is a minor issue in production, while the headman, who in Oceania and in Africa plays a commanding role in economic distribution, has here only the most diffuse economic functions. 433 171

The relative inelasticity of an economy is, needless to say, a function of many factors. In the case of tropical forest horticulture, the nature of crops, soils, methods of cultivation, and tools are all relevant. Even more significant, however, are such factors as the social organization of production, including such fundamental matters as the division of labor, as well as the nature of political controls. The motives of production are of greatest importance. Motives of status and of political power provide, all other factors being equal, for an expanding economy. When the aim of production is mainly to provide sustenance and to maintain a limited network of lateral (as opposed to hierarchical) exchanges the economy tends to remain in equilibrium with its customary standards of community size. Such an economy is conservative and traditionalistic. 433

With respect to physical factors, Cubeo manioc horticulture has come close to reaching a productive limit in terms of yield per acre. The yield from *Manihot utilissima* normally ranges from six to ten tons per acre. Among the *Bahiikiwa* I estimated the acreage yield to be between five and six tons, a productivity that reflects considerable agronomical skill and effort. Any substantial increase in aggregate production would have to come more from expanded acreage, for which the land is available, than from more intensive cultivation of present plots. Acreage expansion, however, is limited by a combination of social and cultural conditions as well as by the peculiar nature of bitter manioc itself. As is well known, the ease of cultivation of bitter manioc and its relatively high yield is offset by the great effort required to rid the tubers of hydrocyanic acid. I have already described the processing of manioc from raw tuber to a cake and its heavy demands on the time of the women. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop and the load of 50–60 pounds that a woman carries home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. 244 433 [147].

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244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
433 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except
in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
244 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
433 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
462 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any
461 community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the man-
244 ioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
[261] Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[273] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There
[614] is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the
[182] drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[2] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the re-
[614] sponsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the
[554] chicha is pluralty-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

43 It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[2] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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the production of farinha by women is a partial counterpart to the work of the men in the rubber forest. The man takes most of his earnings in "capital goods," muzzle-loading guns, machetes, fishhooks, matches, knives, thread, needles, ammunition. The remainder goes to a few vanity items for himself and in gifts for his wife, sister, and female ceremonial friend. It is these gifts that a woman is obligated to reciprocate through her farinha trade. Since these gift exchanges involve traditional relations of status equality they quickly achieve a relatively stable equilibrium. Only a small part, then, of commercial exchange leaves the traditional channels of lateral circulation of goods. As for "vanity" purchases, they form no part of any institutionalized expression of social prestige. The issue for the Cubeo is rather one of a limited degree of self-indulgence. For a woman, in particular, the privilege of indulging a fancy for some trinket and freely contracting her farinha for it is an essential part of her sense of domestic well-being. It is an expression, on the one hand, of her autonomy, and, on the other, of domestic felicity. A dissatisfied wife does not indulge her personal vanity more; on the contrary, she produces less.

Another important element in production is the attitude toward labor. For the Cubeo all effort must be inherently satisfying. Women accept more drudgery than do men, but they no more than the men would accept the bitter peasant philosophy that hard and unrewarding work is man's lot. Men and women alike are accustomed to a variety of effort. They do not care to drive themselves beyond the onset of boredom or of fatigue. All work patterns are based upon short and diversified rhythms. I have demonstrated this in the work cycle of women. It is even more marked in the work cycle of men. Food gathering and preparing does demand continuity and completion. The hunter must complete his chase, the fisherman must return home with a suitable catch, and the housewife must complete her daily ration of manioc cake. Even so, there are many opportunities for rest and diversion that the Indians take. They would rather eat less than work more. In the course of a year there are many holidays. Among the *Baluhiwa* these averaged almost one a week. On the occasion of a drinking party women do not go into the fields either on the day of preparation or on the day after. In manufactures, which form part of the domestic economy, the pace of work is very slow. Men, who make the baskets that are important home utensils as well as major items in trade, work very sporadically. There is no compulsion to finish something quickly. Thus, on the whole, the Cubeo work habits also contribute to general economic inelasticity.

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There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby foodstuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate disproportionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own

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state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiari than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the scale of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his trip to Koch-Grunberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial

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in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families to travel about visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the

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right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a nontraditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind siblings and phratry mates. When hunters kill a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

[431]

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Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol-

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unity of the highly knit sib community; the other, and a related condition, is that the total economic product is divorced from considerations of status and power. Thus, the Cubeo cannot think of economic advantage as a political advantage over others, and, conversely, they cannot regard the economic advantage of others as a threat to their own autonomy. Economic equalization through the various formal channels of distribution is taken for granted. There are no sanctions or techniques deliberately designed to promote equality, but simply provision of sustenance for all persons within the network of kinship and friendship.

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# 3

## *The Sib*

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The Cubeo sib is a unilineal descent group whose members regard themselves as being descended from common ancestors but cannot [illegible] an actual genealogical relationship. Sibs are named, nor-
(615) [illegible] exogamic, patrilocal, and patriarchal. They are bound [illegible] exogamic rules within which they occupy an order [illegible] reflects the sequence in which they emerged during [illegible] emergence. Sib members claim descent from the [illegible] brother-sister pair. Each sib bears a name that in [illegible] is the name of the sib founder, but in any case is the name [illegible] that is an early ancestor. The first ancestors are called [illegible] the Ancients. The sib is the center of the social struc-
(622) [illegible] and regulation of all main social, religious, and eco-[illegible] activities. It is the only true political unit since only a sib has [illegible]. A person's identification as only by sib. The strongest [illegible] the Cubeo have for the sib is that it is a family in which [illegible] the strongest solidarity because they are the ones who [illegible] together. The women never lose their sib identity. [illegible] married woman returns home, as a widow, divorced, or [illegible] she may take up a position in the sib that is [illegible] equivalent to that of a male head of household. She [illegible] place in the informal council of household heads and takes [illegible] in giving drinking parties to her sibmates.

[illegible] Since my details of the Cubeo sib system is incomplete, being based [illegible] information from a few sibs only, the principles of sib nomen-

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clarifie can only be hinted at and not definitely established. One principle, that of eponymy, seems to hold for sibs of high social standing. But my information on this point is limited to only one of the phratries. In this phratry, composed of sibs along the Cuduiari and the Vaupes, the two top-ranking sibs bear the names of Ancients who were the very first men to emerge from the traditional emergence site. The founders of the *Ovobawa* and of the *Aunbwawü* were, respectively, *Ovobaku* and *Aunku*.[1] These men, it is said, named all the other sibs of the phratry that emerged after they did. I could not discover the source of these names. They may have been from the genealogical list of the two top-ranking sibs, in accordance with the current principle that when a new sib is adopted into the phratry the adopting or sponsoring sib endows its members with names from its own genealogical list. However, Cubeo traditions suggest diverse origins for the sibs so that it is unlikely that a single principle will explain the sib names.

The first ancestors of the sibs, other than the top-ranking two, had names that were not the same as the sib names. The founder of the *Bahükiwa*, for example, was *Buü* (Agouti) and the founder of the *Hehénewa* was *Dputedo*, but later Ancients took as personal names the sib name itself, thus establishing in subsequent generations the principle of eponymy. In later generations, *Bahüküü* becomes a leading *Bahükiwa* Ancient and *Hehenaku* a leading *Hehénewa* Ancient. Any Ancient may also be referred to generically by the sib name, so that one may speak of a specific *Bahüküü* or *Bahüko*[2] or of a generic *Bahüküü* or *Bahüko*, meaning in the latter instance an Ancient man or woman of the *Bahükiwa* sib.

A proper sib name must have some eponymous quality. Some sib names are descriptive, such as *Manapawawa*, meaning "Trail People," a derogatory reference to people who arrived on the Cuduiari overland like the Macu instead of decently along the river by canoe. These people reject this name in favor of a subsib name which has the orthodox merit of having been bestowed by the founders of the phratry. Cubeo sib names are normally descriptive only insofar as personal names are descriptive. The legendary method by which the first sibs got their names from a higher-ranking source stands for the Cubeo as the model by which newcomers are brought into the phratry. An adopted sib is given a name that has in its stem the name of the adopting sib. All the sibs of the *Hehénewa* are differentiated by a descriptive prefix, while the sibs of the *Bahükiwa* are differen-

[1] There is a full list of sibs following the present discussion.
[2] The suffix *ko* is masculine, *ko* is feminine.

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614 193 tiated by a suffix. From the *Hehénewa* traditions it seems likely that they were originally an independent tribe, probably Tucano, that had joined in with the group of sibs that were headed by the *Órobawa* and the *Aunbwawu*, bringing with them their associated sibs. The sibs that carry the *Hehénewa* stem with their descriptive prefixes are also known by names that are compounded of the prefixes as well. Thus, the *Byari-Hehénewa* are also known as *Byaridowa*, and the *Pyéndo Hehénewa* as *Pyéndowa*. According to Koch-Grünberg, the 614 *Órobawa* regard themselves as a branch of the *Hehénewa* and are also known as *Ólaba Hehénewa*. His information was that the *Hehénewa* were the "true" Cubeo and that the *Bahúkiwa* were intrusive Macú (1909, II, 87). The actual history of the sibs is clouded in uncertainty. We can be reasonably sure only of a composite of several distinctive peoples or "tribes." The few *Wathariwa* sibs in my list are also named in a fashion similar to that of the *Hehénewa*.

614 551 Each sib also possesses a list of personal names that constitutes its traditional genealogy.[3] These are names that all sib members must bear. They are called *ainheme* (*ain*: anaconda; *heme*: tongue) to indicate their origin from the speech of the anaconda, the animal form in which all first ancestors emerged from the earth. In these names there is a note of prestige, in that some names are illustrious, being part of the earliest genealogies, while others, having been added later, are less important. Since only one name can be held at a time, names are allocated in order of seniority, but not, insofar as I know, within a senior line. Names with an honorific connotation circulate within [613] the sib, and not by lineage. They are transmitted in alternate gener- [424] ations, going from a deceased grandparent to a grandchild. It should be said at once that while the notions of sib rank and of the distinction between more honorific and less honorific names suggests a structured system of social status, the social significance of status hierarchy is not great. The Cubeo have the skeleton of an aristocratic system that is fleshed with an egalitarian ethos.

Personal names are often those of birds, insects, and beasts, less commonly of fish. In the recent past, it is said, sib members did not eat the flesh of any creature whose name was then being carried by a sib member. This taboo is no longer in force. The explanation given is that hunting is more important now and they do not wish to deprive themselves of animal meat.[4] Without a proper sib name,

[3] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* names at the end of this chaper.

[4] On the other hand, there is the tradition that in the past they lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering rather than by farming. If this taboo did indeed exist it may have lapsed for the same reason that other ceremonial observances have

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Without a proper sib name,
a child will not grow, the Cubeo say. Growth is an attribute of the 614
Ancients. The giving of a name is one of the ways in which the growth 551
magic of the Ancients is utilized. These names from the sib genealo- [856]
gies are not used freely, the Indians preferring to use Christian names [601]
and to address one another by a kinship term.

The sib has permanence and it has continuity with the past. The 614
"history" of each sib is known and is recited at all major ceremonial occasions.[9] In narrating sib "history," distinctions are drawn between original sibs, later comers, and the newest-formed sibs. Since ancientness is honorific and the Cubeo have a sentiment of egalitarianism, these distinctions are underplayed. But when people have been drinking and quarreling the matter of ancestry will be brought up. [578]

The tradition of phratric organization is that all its member 614
sibs are kin. Tradition holds, too, that once all sibs of the same 615
phratry were united under a single headman. But this tradition may refer to the scheme of sib rank and the acknowledgment of the leading sib as the "head" rather than to an actual political organization. On the other hand, since there is little doubt but that tribal organization in this region of the Amazon is highly fluid, with smaller segments forming new enlarged formations and enlarged formations breaking up again into smaller and relatively more stable sib segments, the tradition of the phratry as a political unit cannot be dismissed.

The Cubeo distinguish between *kwinâwü* (one kin) and *abéwetema* (they are not ours) in referring to their own phratry and to an opposite phratry. In the past, there may have been at least four phratries, since the traditions speak of one group of sibs as having amalgamated with another. Previously, these two groups had intermarried, it is averred. According to one version of the origin myth the sibs of a phratry are all descended from a single water anaconda called *Pwénte ainku* (Anaconda person), who divided himself into segments, the head becoming the leading sib of the phratry, and each subsequent segment forming the remainder of the sib hierarchy. A variant version states that pairs of anacondas emerged from a crevice among the rocks of a rapids, shed their skins, and formed a brother-sister pair. Subsequently, the sisters married out and the brothers took wives from people they met in their wanderings. The first pair to emerge were the head sib, and they gave names to all that followed

lapsed, out of simple neglect. Also to be considered in this connection is the common Cubeo view that the life of past generations was more severe than it is today.

[9] The text of the *Bahúkiwa* "history" follows the sib list in this chapter.

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615 614 them. Either version accounts for sib hierarchy. In the first version the Cubeo visualize the phratry as the body of the anaconda spread along a river with its head anchored at the site of emergence and its tail lying upstream to form the lowest-ranking sib. In the second version the sib parts moved upstream and located themselves according to the sequence of their emergence. The theme of common descent that sanctions exogamy and confraternity is conveyed not by a common anaconda ancestor, for the Cubeo would not doubt that all human beings were descended from anacondas, but rather by common emergence from the same site. All sibs of the same phratry should ideally have emerged from the same rapids. But even among those having emerged from the same rapids there are still distinctions of relative closeness depending upon whether they emerged from the same hole or from adjacent holes. It would seem that the origin myth must be in harmony with current social relationships and that a particular version is employed depending upon the present state of affairs. When a sib is newly admitted into the phratry it must adapt its own origin traditions to the common mythical theme of emergence in the form of an anaconda at a preferred emergence site.

From the *Bahukewa* I heard at least three versions of the story 614 that placed the *Hehénewa* within the phratry. One said that the *Hehénewa* were really strangers, having emerged somewhere along the Papury River. They heard the *Orobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets, and attracted by the music — a sign of identity — they came

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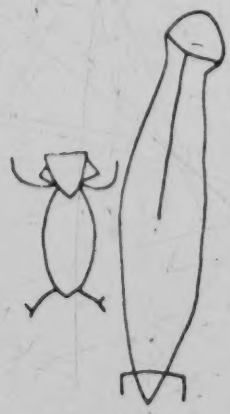

Fig. 4. Petroglyph: *Kuaori* and *Anku* (scale: 1" = 6').

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to the true emergence site of Uaraquiri, where they were received by the *Oiobawa*, who bestowed upon them the name *Hehénewa*. This version would account for Koch-Grünberg's information that the *Hehénewa* are also known as *Olaba Hehénewa*. Another version suggests a closer relationship by making the point that the *Hehénewa* had wanted to emerge in the same place with all the others of the phratry, but because other sibs were hostile to them they came out instead at the Papuri and then journeyed to join their kin. A third version is simply that the *Hehénewa* and *Bahukiwa* were once alien groups that joined into a confederation after the *Hehénewa* had befriended the *Bahukiwa*.

The theme of hostility in the *Hehénewa* emergence was explained by informants in the following way. The first people were very fierce and those that came out of the emergence hole wanted to prevent others from emerging. The *Oiobawa*, having come out first, made a hole for the others to come out of. Those they willingly allowed to come out formed with them one group. Those that came out despite opposition formed another. Subsequently both divisions were reunited.

But *Pedikwa*, a branch of the *Hehénewa*, also tell that they had been prevented by the hostility of the other sibs from emerging at Uaraquiri and so they emerged at the Papuri. They came out in the form of a single macunaíma who cut himself into many parts, each of which became a parakeet (*kudiaru*). The parakeets flew about looking for food and settled at a lagoon at *Yaibabu* near the Mitú (*gaiupe*), an affluent of the upper Cuduiari. After a time, they cut a path through the forest and arrived at *Pediwa*, a rock on the Cuduiari where they built a house and became the *Pedikwa*. A more honorific version of this tale that the *Pedikwa* also tell is that, having come to *Pediwa*, the site of a major rapids on the Cuduiari, they re-emerged. Since, they insist, they had never taken human form until they had re-emerged at *Pediwa*, they feel justified in claiming that rapids as a true emergence site and they have the distinction, therefore, of now residing as does the *Oiobawa* kinship, at an original emergence site. An unknown people, the tradition relates, had been living at *Pediwa*, now known as *Pondibu* (Painted rocks – petroglyphs) but moved away when the *Pedikwa* re-emerged.

The *Bahukiwa* explain their relationship to the *Hehénewa* as follows. *Bua* (Agouti), the Ancient of the *Bahukiwa*, was leading his people from the Vaupés up into the Cuduiari when they encountered the *Bwari Hehénewa*, a now extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*. They fought and all the *Bahukiwa* were killed except for one boy, who

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614 came to be known as *Buabekudjo* (*Buea* the Ancient). The *Byaru-Hehenewa* took him captive. Sometime later, the *Hehénewa*, coming to visit their kin, determined to rescue the boy. They did so, killing off the *Byaru Hehénewa* who were holding him. They released
614 *Buabekudjo*, giving him two *Borõwa* (Macú) women as wives. The
648 *Borõwa* were then servants of the *Hehénewa*. The Macú women bore *Buabekudjo* ten children. It was from the males of this sibling group that the *Bahukiwa* sib was reconstituted.

614 This concession of kinship alliance with the Macú stigmatizes the
648 *Bahukiwa* as an inferior sib even though the descent is still in the
554 male line. Normally, Cubeo used *Borõwa* women sexually but did not marry them. The *Bahukiwa* do not concede that they are *Borõwa*.
[611] And I learned early in my stay among them that nothing was more offensive than to even hint that someone was *Borõwa*. The *Hehénewa* had told Koch-Grünberg that the *Bahukiwa* were *Borõwa* who had assimilated themselves to the Cubeo and were still to be regarded with contempt (1909, II, 186). No *Hehenewa* made this observation to me, but possibly out of courtesy since I was living with the *Bahukiwa*.

614 The origin of the *Bahukubuanawa*, a subsib of the *Bahukiwa*, is also attributed to an act of kindness by a fellow sib, in this case at the hands of the second ranking *Aiuhuanawa*. In the course of an attack on them, all but one *Bahukiwa* girl were killed. She was sec-
614 cured by the *Aiuhuanawa*, among whom she lived until she married.
611 The narrator claimed that no one knew whom she had married, a lapse of information of utmost importance, since the point of the story is that despite patriliny a woman can also re-establish a sib. She bore eight children and they and their descendants took the name of *Bahukubuanawa*. Descent then reverted to patriliny.

65 The Cubeo view of the phratry, as revealed by the traditions, is
4 of a grouping of essentially autonomous sibs into a loose fraternity that takes its sanction not from descent from a common ancestor but emergence from a common place. The genealogical relationship determines sib identity, but it is geography that determines phratric identity. The principal idea that is expressed is that the closer the sibs were spatially at the time of emergence the closer should be their present fraternal bonds. Thus, the traditions draw fine distinctions between emergence from the very same crevice on the rocks, from the same rapids, and from the same river. Unfortunately for our in-
615 terest in reconstructing tribal history, the traditions lack consistency.
614 This inconsistency reflects perhaps the ethnic heterogeneity of the
174 region, which, together with the lack of a central source for tradition,

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places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. To be sure, the custom of resiting a sib origin tradition at the regular drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multi-sib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin traditions are the most important sanctions for regulating current relationships among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yaimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).[a] This group, consisting of *Oyobawa*, *Aunbwawu*, *Hehenewa*, *Wathariwa*, *Bya Wathariwa*, and *Bya Heheneiwa*, is supposed to have emerged together at *Yaibebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapuri cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yaimaniawa*, according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one another as *pakoma* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehenewa*, for example, discounting *Bahukiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

[a] This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has of course, an honorific reference. There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is applied to the Macú. Giacone (1940, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onca*.

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615 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their
614 part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hier-
614 archical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social structure and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither,
554 as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo.
[301] Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it begins at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of
[177] seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that
[721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political authority over the entire Cuduiari.

614 The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point
[613] whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old
[867] man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

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genealogies is not strong, so that they have only a general, albeit a strong, feeling that the family lines presently in a sib are related. What keeps the sib from being a lineage is then the technical fact that the Cubeo cannot link up their present descent lines with their ancient descent lines. 614 [829] [613]

One is tempted, therefore, to think of the Cubeo descent group as a transitional form, hovering between sib and lineage. At first glance the distinction between sib and lineage seems to hang by the technicality of how sophisticated a people are about genealogies. Yet this sophistication is a matter of major importance. Sib continuity and growth is a relatively simple matter of transmitting a sib name and a line of descent with an origin myth to give historical sanction. Lineage continuity and growth, on the other hand, demand motivation as well as the capability for maintaining accurate or presumably accurate genealogical records. Societies organized upon aristocratic lines can do this readily. Egalitarian societies, on the other hand, can have small lineages or large clans and kindreds but they cannot readily support large or historically deep lineages. The Cubeo have a shadow aristocracy only, not enough to sustain the necessary degree of genealogical sophistication. On the other hand, if the Cubeo could not sustain the growth of lineages neither could they sustain the growth of sibs. Two social conditions seemed to stand in the way of the enlargement of sibs. One was the inherent fissility of the sib, the other was the organization of the phratry. The phratry allowed the sibs to split without endangering their survival by virtue of being too small. 614 613 614 615 182

The basic social organization that provides for autonomous confederation of small units conforms readily to the requirements of easy absorption of new groups. The modes of group-binding, such as exogamy, the cycle of drinking parties, and the segmented forms of ceremonial participation that allow each sib to function as a ceremonial unit, are also admirably adapted to rapid assimilation of foreign tribes without benefit of a central administration. In case of assimilation, all the necessary joint activities to which the sibs of a phratry are bound will inevitably encourage a common language. Just as the phratric organization allows for easy binding of autonomous sibs into a convenient fraternity that provides for peace, cooperation, and sociability, it allows as readily for fission without serious disruption. From these observations it may be inferred that the history of the Northwest Amazon region has been one of constant formation and disruption of sociopolitical entities. What a tribe is at any time is a core of sib segments that may have persevered through [174] 614 619 174

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614 time. And then have drawn to them new sibs from peoples speak-
69 ing the same as well as other languages. The Cubeo tribe, as we have
74 already observed, seems to be an aggregate of Tucanoan-speaking, Arawakan-speaking, and "Macuan"-speaking peoples. A particular sib that belongs to one tribe today may incorporate itself into another tomorrow.

614 It is possible that sib formation in the Northwest Amazon region
74 has been an outgrowth of this process of repeated assimilation of new groups. The reasoning behind this assumption is as follows: patrilocal extended families need only assert and maintain a tradition of common origin and then live up to the requirement of maintaining a firm group identity, within a confederation, to make the transition to sib or clan. The suggestion is, however, that sib formation cannot be accounted for merely by the growth of extended patrilocal families or by the enlargement of lineages – because of the ease of fission – but, rather, as a response to quite another process, that of confederation in which the identity of the joining segments is retained. A confederation of descent groups heightens the probability that all will defend their autonomy by asserting their identity of common descent.

## THE SIB AND PHRATRIC ORGANIZATION

614 The sibs are listed in approximate order of rank. This rank order
615 should be considered as provisional, since it represents mainly the
554 *Hehenewa* view of sib rank.
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### PHRATRY I

*Orobawa*. The leading sib; they still live at Uaracapuri on the Vaupés, the site of a rapids from which they first emerged. Their first male ancestor was called *Orobaku*. According to one version of the origin tale, he was the head of the anaconda from which all Cubeo are descended. He then named all the sibs of the phratry that followed after him. Koch-Grünberg identified them as *Olabá Hehenewa* and hence as a branch of the *Hehenewa*. Nimuendajú listed them as *Orobawa*. According to my in-
[114] formation, they are most closely linked with the *Hwani-Hehenewa* and with the *Aunuewa*, the easternmost or most downstream community of the Cubeo.

*Aunkuwa*. The second sib, occupying the next site upstream on the Vaupés at Urania. Their first ancestor was *Aunku*. Some informants said that *Aunku* was the last to emerge but was granted second place by *Orobaku*. In any case, their position on the Vaupés gives them second rank. They are regarded as very closely linked with the *Hehenewa*. In 1940 they were reduced to four households. Some had taken up residence

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at Pindaiva on the Cuduiari. Nimuendaju's reference to the *Ambomamara* on the Cuduiari, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiari group. The Vaupes group is not mentioned in either his or Koch Grunberg's lists. 614 615 554 361 [114]

*Heheneuwa*. In the present social structure, the *Hehéneuwa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Heheneuwa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grunberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiari and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papuri River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xweve-Heheneuwa* or *Toucan Heheneuwa*. Their origin site on the Papuri is known as *Wahudja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Orobawa*. The story goes that the *Heheneuwa* heard the *Orobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Heheneuwa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapuri. This notes that the *Heheneuwa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Heheneuwa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiari, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiari and have a maloca on the Vaupes near Uranta close by the *Aunbwawu*.

*Bya Heheneuwa*. A subsib of the *Heheneuwa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiari.

*Wathariuwa*. The *Bahukiuwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Heheneuwa* and the *Aunbwawu*. They emerged at *Byatankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupes. Their first Ancient was called *Kwabebo*. They still live on the Vaupes at *Uacuiuwa*, near Tatu *cachoeira*, and at *Umari* just below. Koch-Grunberg located them above Uaracapuri falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

*Bya Wathariuwa*. A subsib of the *Wathariuwa* on the Vaupes.

*Ureiariuwa*. Perhaps a subsib of the *Wathariuwa* on a small stream of the Vaupes.

*Bahukiuwa*. They list their emergence site as *Impenani* on the Uaracapuri falls of the Vaupes. Their first Ancient was *Bucu* and his sister was *Onpucendoka*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiari. Koch-Grunberg referred to them as *Bahuna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Boroca*) who wandered into the Cuduiari and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahukiuwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Boroua* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Boroua*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Boroua*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet. [563] [648] [186]

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is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahukiwa* regard the *Oriobana* as their "head."

*Bahukipahuwa*. A subsib of the *Bahukiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahukiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahukiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiari and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucura *igarapes*.

*Bahukuamuwa*. A subsib of the *Bahukudgauwa* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiari.

*Bamukubuawa*. A subsib of the *Bahukiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Manapuawa* (Trail people) or *Manawa*. According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, perhaps Macu, who had come to the Cuduiari overland, and whose emergence site was the Querari *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiari. The *Bahukiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy.

[648] [563] [551]

*Pedikiwa*. A subsib of the *Hehenewa* on the Cuduiari above the *Bahukiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papuri River with the *Hehenewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toidibu*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. Thes say their first Ancient was *Dyaredu* of the *Hehenewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedi Hehenewa* because they emerged at *Pedikiwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch Grunberg encountered them in the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiari. They are also known as *Piatokawa*.

*Kemamikiwa*. A subsib of the *Pedikiwa* on the upper Cuduiari at *Piramiri* and at *Ibahaka*. They used to live at *Toidibu* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch Grunberg's or Nimuendaju's lists.

*Kehomiwa*. A subsib of the *Pedikiwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiari.

*Uteiwawa*. Their emergence site was the Yurupari *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupes from Caracapuri. Having come from a different emergence site, they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahukiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miriti *igarapes* below the Yurupari falls on the Vaupes. Koch Grunberg found them on the Dyi *igarapes*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupes. They may be the same as the *Bacchawa* mentioned on the Vaupes by Nimuendaju. Their first ancestor was called *Uteiwehuedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

*Baryawawawa*. A sib that emerged from Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupes and is related to the *Uteiwawa*. They are also known as *Baryawa* and still live on the Vaupes.

*Piarawa*. A sib that emerged at Caracapuri rapids, from a particular site called *Mumiku*. They live at Miriti *cachoeira* on the Vaupes and at the headwaters of the Muchu, a left bank tributary of the Vaupes. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehenewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewa.

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associated with the *Kompainyewa*. Koch-Grunberg found them on the left bank of the Vaupés at a site called *Naiho*, where they were known in the longest geral as *Tukandira Tapuyo*. He recorded their self name as *Ura Pinawa*. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari. 554 361 [101]

*Pyendo Hehenewa*. A dissident sub of the *Hehenewa* group, maintaining no friendly relations with the other *Hehenewa*. Their close sib ties are with the *Pelikwa* and the *Kenanikauwa*. They occupy several sites above Pari at the headwaters of the Cuduiari, the main maloca being at Querari (see *Empanaue*). They are also at *Abahudja* on the Yuruparí [114] and are known also as *Pyendokauwa*.

*Huam Hehenewa*. A *Hehenewa* subsib on the Vaupés at Paraná *picuna* and at Tukano *rachoeira*. Their origin site is *Impenani* of the Uaracapuri *cachoeira* and they are, therefore, closely related to the *Orobawa* and the *Ituyewa*, in contrast to the *Hehenewa* proper, whose emergence was Sirigüi on the Papuri.

*Aunweua*. A subsib of the *Aunowauu* on the Vaupés at *Upuaria* just above Mitu. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari and referred to them as *Iucca*. They are also listed as a sib of a Tucano phratry. [114]

*Kompainyewa*. Closely linked with the *Piaroawa*, they live at Pindaiva on the Vaupés just above Uaranía near the Yuruparí falls. Their emergence site is Uaracapuri.

*Pelikwa Hehenewa*. A subsib on the upper Querari mentioned by Koch-Grunberg, for which there is no information.

*Kenanikauwa*. A subsib on the Cuduiari mentioned by Nimuendajú, on which there is no information. From the name it would appear to be a subsib of the *Aunhauwa*.

*Bya Hehenewa*. An extinct subsib of the *Hehenewa*, who had lived on the Cuduiari as well as at Carará Lake on the upper Vaupés. They were also known as *Bya Pinawa*.

*Papuri Hehenewa*. A sib living on the Cuduiari during the time of Koch-Grunberg's visit at Surubarigá but now extinct. They came from the Papuri and were closely linked with the Tucano tribe of the Tiquie River.

*Kenanikauwa*. A sib on the upper Cuduiari, presumably a subsib, along with the *Kenanikauwa*, of the *Pelikwa*.

Phratry I consists of two divisions that represent distinct origins. In the past these two divisions may have been intermarrying, because even now, although the entire phratry is exogamic, informants disagree as to the propriety of intermarriage between the two divisions. The dominant division from the point of view of prestige and of numbers is known as *Yaiumanawa* (Children of the jaguar) and includes the *Orobawa*, *Aunhauwa*, *Heheneuwa*, *Wathariwa*, and their subsibs: *Bya Heheneuwa*, *Bya Wathariwa*, *Pelikwa*, *Kenanikauwa*, *Ituyewa*, *Pyendo Heheneuwa*, *Huam Heheneuwa*, and *Aunweua*. The second division has no name and consists of the *Bahukwa* groups, the *Piaroawa*, and the *Kompainyewa*.

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PHRATRY II

*Bahukiwa* The leading sib of the phratry, living at Muchú on the Vaupés. According to tradition, they came from the Isana River originally. They emerged at a rapids called *Aindoribo* at a site called *Hobonoburúno*. Originally they fought with the *Byowa*, now a sister sib of the phratry. Koch-Grunberg encountered an abandoned maloca of theirs at Uarúa Lake, where they had been living adjacent to the Tucanoan-speaking but non-Cubeo *Pamoa*. The indications are that they had moved in recent years considerably downstream on the Vaupes.

*Byowa* A group occupying all of the Pirabatón, an affluent of the Querari. Koch-Grunberg placed them at the headwaters of the Querari, but since he had not identified the Pirabatón that may be the river that he called the upper Querari. They are strongly intermarried with *Bahúkiwa*.

*Huruwa* Members of a foreign phratry living on the Cuduiari, where they occupy a number of upriver sites, having replaced a *Heheneuwa* subsib. They emerged from a site called *Kohedariwa* above Uaracapuri on the Vaupes. Koch-Grunberg met them in the same locations on the Cuduiari. He claimed they were originally Arawakan-speaking Baniwa who had wandered in from the Vaupes.

*Wadia Huruwa* A subsib of the *Huruwa* at *Kuitoro* on the Cuduiari.

*Kowiwa* Primarily a Querari River sib that had spilled over onto the Cuduiari at one time. Wallace reported them there in 1853. They are closely linked with, and according to Koch-Grunberg politically subordinate to, the *Byowa*. In more recent times they have settled on the Vaupes, where they have also been reported by Nimuendaju. They also had a house on the lower Cuduiari. They are known as *Korokoro-Tapuyo* (Green Ibis Indians).

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*Waigoja* A group mentioned by Nimuendaju as living on the Vaupés. Presumably a subsib of the *Kowiwa*.

*Mianawa* A group occupying several sites in the vicinity of the Tukunaré igarapes on the upper Vaupes – *Makakinyo*, *Jacare*, *Seima* – as well as at Pirabatón igarapes. Koch-Grunberg found a small group of only four families living at the Yúrupari falls on the lower Vaupes. Nimuendajú also found them on the Vaupés.

PHRATRY III

*Djuremawa* Nimuendajú has identified them as the *Yiboya-Tápuyo* of the Atari River in Brazil. He says they came to the mouth of the Querari on the Vaupes in 1901. According to Koch-Grunberg, they were once hostile Arawakan Baniwa who had assimilated to Cubeo and are close kin of the Kaua of the Atari. The Uanana, Koch-Grunberg reports, call them *Maxka-Pinopona* (Boa).

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*Tuniawa* A sib on the Querari, originally Arawakan-speaking, that claims to have come from the Isana.

*Kowitarabowa* According to Koch-Grunberg, who referred to them as *Kowitalapoawo*, they were Baniwa Arawakans who settled on the Querari and assimilated to the Cubeo language. He noted that they were intermarried with the *Heheneuwa* of the Cuduiari. The *Bahúkiwa* also married them. Nimuendajú mentions a *Kowitarabewa* on the Querari, perhaps the

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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowetarabawa* on the Querari.

*Yaniwa*. A sib at the mouth of the Querari. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querari as *Dyaniwa*.

*Yukukubewa*. A sib on the lower Querari.

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*Batowa*. Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapes*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querari. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendaju.

*Ilheadowa*. A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendaju, but not on my lists. Nimuendaju says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiari, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiari, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *parana* on the Vaupés to the *Hehenewa* of the Cuduiari.

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*Kawa*. A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Ariari. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoiera*. The Siusi called them *Mauheni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querari and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Ariari near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djuremawa*, but they are not in my lists.

## THE *BOROWA*

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The *Borowa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borowa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borowa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borowa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borowa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borowa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borowa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahukiwa* were once given *Borowa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borowa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borowa* had become established, they

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were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behorú* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapuri and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapuri that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querari but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiari had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grunberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Parý *cachoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

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day the *Borówa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grunberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

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**BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS**

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*meákamóteewu yeiaiwu*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

*pueniewu* – the people came out
*feuniauwa* – and shed (their anaconda skins)
*hahadamu* – they went forward
*ware borikapindo* – the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
*opéko tamana* – crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
*eminiakori* – the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
*kanuiubo* – (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
*buuhũrukuwu* – the rock where *Bwũ* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwu*)
*bvaiakue* – the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
*kuubebo* – the place of *Kuákũ* (a name in the *Hehéneua* genealogies)
*borikabo* – the place of *Borikakũ* (a name in the *Hehéneua* genealogies – it means the aracú fish)
*opéko tawa* – the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk. *Borikaku* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
*nahó puãnua* – the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
*buutaunru* – the tree beneath which *Bwũ* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwu* passed beneath it)
*buũtaunrũ* – the tree beneath which Bwũ passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
*waokun* – the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

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[illegible] – the river bank of the jaguar (a jaguar tried to climb the high bank and failed; an Ancient came along and the jaguar, frightened, slashed into a tree where it became transfixed)

[illegible]kun – the beach of the kumari plant (there was a kumari [[illegible]] bush here; an Ancient cut it down and it turned to sand)

*pupe[illegible]* – the place of the war club (an Ancient arrived here to drink and met one of his own kinsmen; they quarreled and the Ancient killed his kinsman with his war club [*popebul*])

*opeko [illegible]* – the milk of the tree (a reference to a place when an Ancient passed among the others a small calabash of palm milk)

*opeko [illegible]* – (the name of a rock where they paused again to drink milk)

*ok[illegible]* – the whirlpool of milk (a reference to a rapids, the place of white waters)

*[illegible]* – the place of the dove (a rapids where a dove flying by fell and turned into a rock)

*[illegible]kun* – (the name of a beach where there were many small fish)

*[illegible]* – the rock of the [illegible] tree

*[illegible]* – (a reference to the part of the rock that projects into the river [*[illegible]pindo*])

*[illegible] [illegible] kiwu* – there the Ancients crossed to the other side to live

*[illegible]* – they made pottery vessels

*[illegible] [illegible] kitamada* – they crossed a hill and there they [illegible]

*[illegible] [illegible]keruku* – the hill of the han han bird (a fish-catching bird)

*[illegible] [illegible]* – milk of the mountain of rock (a rocky outcrop where they paused to drink milk)

*[illegible]* – the place where the han han played (the name of a rock)

*[illegible]* – the rock of the [illegible] monkey (they killed this monkey and it turned into a rock)

*[illegible]kun* – the high bank with the great round eyes (when one of the Ancients saw this place he looked at it with huge round eyes of astonishment)

*[illegible]* – they came upriver

*[illegible]* – they passed

*[illegible]* – the narrow passage of the *[illegible]* spine

*pidari [illegible]* – the burrow of *pidari* (a reference to a place at the headwaters of the *[illegible]* creek where the water is as black as *pidari* [a dark liquid formed when manioc is left in the water to decay]; here an Ancient made a burrow such as an animal makes and in it left the calabash of milk as a cache)

*[illegible] pidari kubo* – at the forest of *pidari* he made the cache

*[illegible]* – at the milk trail he went out of the river

*[illegible]* – to live on a high hill

*[illegible] kitarebo* – the bend of *kitarebo* (a rock at the mouth of the Cuduiari where it enters the Vaupés)

*[illegible]da* – (a lake near Urania on the Vaupés)

*[illegible]* – (the sandy beach of that name)

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*nyemi hwaimendi* – (the place name for what is now Mitú, the capital of the *Comisaria del Vaupes*)
*opeko'tokoie* – the small stream of milk (a creek that was then pure milk but is now only water)
*dyaridu* – the slippery rock
*tuwaria hiveda* – the stream of blood (*hiwé*, a reference to waters that run red)
*rotenekoiba bekedoua* – there the Ancients arrived to stay
*pitoanimeda* – there they explored upriver
*nenbudpa* – and then back
*nomd hiyoderi* – to *hiveda*
*kempaimeda* – they returned
*opeko'lavatemi* – they drank milk
*hoiwi opeko* – the cold milk
*tawé wena pimitani* – the rapids where they emerged
*dimanikiuia* – they came to live
*opeko tesibubu* – where the waters were like milk
*kenahamedo* – the lake of *kenahume* (yellow clay used in dyeing the ceremonial ligatures, the lake is just above Santa Marta)
*nangukoriliana* – the place of the *namukoriba* fish (near the mouth of the Guainia)
*[illegible]* – they reached
*[illegible]* – and then they passed
*opeko [illegible]* – an urn of milk (a reference to water that looked like milk at the Rapids)
*[illegible]* – they came upon
*[illegible]* – their in laws
*-[illegible] nehoriam* – and already at the creek of grease (a reference to its waters, which were then pure grease)
*kenari kemoiki'pora* – the place of the closed-off creek (a site above Curaíto Lake)
*nehisa paipubu* – above them the whirlpool of Guaui
*pa'i kenikarina* – and the fast black waters
*opia'kepora* – the whirlpool of the tree trunk
*[illegible]* – (a place name)
*mikaricku* – the place of parrots' wings
*[illegible]* – they portaged overland
*pa'i mirakobe* – and quickly arrived at
*hiveda bupeku* – the place of the *bupeku* butterflies
*peombu* – the lake shaped like a *peombo* (a container for curare)
*djuiana mano* – the place of the many grubs (a reference to a thick mass of grubs they found and cooked into a stew)
*mi'ikia tonicendo* – the high bank where the water rushes with a lucking sound
*mumbaia* – the place of the tangle of roots
*yeriekamu* – the house of the jaguars (a reference to their having encountered many jaguars here)
*mahopanua warindo* – (a place name)
*wamikeiaua* – the place of the *tawu* fish (a reference to fish that resembled *tawu*, bark cloth masks worn in mourning ceremonies)

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*mumikutcendu* – the creek of the *mumiku* bird
*unenjkubo* – the place of the pupunha trees
[Then they began to return and they came to]
*wakudjari* – (a creek named after the *wakudjari* fruit)
*teipidikoriba* – (a place name)
*teipeu tavano* – (a place name)
*pauddjaribu* – the slippery place
*kenoha mututu* – the bank of the yellow clay
*tuibu* – (a place name)
*xupando* – (a creek named after a red fish)
*xenbokutcendu* – the hill of the háku fish
*hororakipuru* – (a place name)
*puunaku* – the high bank of mud out of which water seeps
*xekuku* – the place of the parrots (the present site of the *Bahukiwa*)
*xekuro* – the creek of the parrots
*nomi tavibo* – the circle of women (a reference to a circular trench around a house, built by women to ward off enemies)
*kuhuatha hutchindu* – he untied himself and escaped (a reference to an Ancient who was tied up by enemies during a fight but who untied himself [*kuma huku* to untie oneself] and escaped)
*kanjapika* – the place of the sweet potato (*yapika*)
*huanotia* – the creek of the pigs (*huani*)
*enubiba* – the lake of the birds
*mumice* – the bird place
*emihenia* – the creek of the sweet waters
*huredo* – the place of the doves
*takuindia* – the place where the maize grew
*yaxibu kuddibu* – the buttocks of the jaguar rock (a reference to a sharp rock upon which an Ancient sat down to rest, the rock penetrated his rectum and killed him)
*teriaria* – the place of the milk palm
*yaxibota* – the garden of the jaguar
*kumine* – the place where the *kamindu* turned to stone
*kuinuu dntoto* – the place where *Kuinkuu* settled (a reference to an Ancient who decided not to be human and so turned himself back into an anaconda)
*xeabo mumburu* – (a place within a creek where there are háku and puño fish)
*wari pani* – the place of *Wari* (a forest monster, addressed by an Ancient as "in-law" [*pani*])
*kumenioba* – the hill of the woodpeckers
*komoru kenuiakue* – the rocky rapids where *Komóri* lived (a reference to a *Bahukiwa* Ancient)
*makipunbo* – the parrot beak rock
*uho* – the place of *U* (the sloth)
*tukin* – the place of the bark cloth trees
*xiberbo pediwa* – the rocks carved with manioc graters (*pediwa*)
*mamuua* – the place of the deer
*kudupanua* – the place of the small parakeets
*Opumbibeku* – (a dwarf whose penis was the length of an arm)

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*kenánokaku* – the place of the stone people (a reference to figures of people in stone in the highlands of the Cuduiari)

FREE TRANSLATION

The people came out and shed their anaconda skins. They went on to the place of the star ray rock, where they crossed over the milky waters. They came to the rock where the minnows pass, to the hill called *kanúrubo*, and then to the rapids of the four channels. They came to *bwahúrukuwú*, the rock where *Bwu* [Agouti] jumped across the rapids of *byatakwe*, at the place of the pepper plants. They came to the place of *Kwaku* the Ancient, and then to the place of *Borikaku* the Ancient, at the place where he spilled the milk of the tree as he was drinking it. They came to the place of the worm people, and to the tree across a stream under which *Bwu* passed. They came to the rock of the jaguar, where an Ancient killed a jaguar and it turned into a rock. They came to the beach of the monkey, where an Ancient killed a monkey and it turned to sand. They came to the river bank of the jaguar, where a jaguar, failing to scale the high bank, took fright at the sight of an Ancient and dashed into a tree, where it became transfixed. They came to the beach of the kumari plant, where an Ancient cut down a kumari bush and it turned to sand. They came to the place of the war club, where an Ancient, coming for a drink of water, met a kinsman. They quarrelled and the Ancient clubbed his kinsman to death. They came to the place called "milk of the tree," where an Ancient passed out a calabash of palm tree milk. There, at the rock called "drinking milk," they drank it.

They came to the place of rushing waters, a whirlpool of milk, to the rapids of the dove, where a dove dropped into the water and turned into a rock. They came to the beach of the many small fish, and to the rock where the umari tree grew. They came to the point of the rock, and there the Ancients crossed over to reside. They stopped here and made pottery vessels. Then they crossed a hill and there they resided, at the hill of the hán han bird. They paused at the rocky hill of ipilk, the place where the han han birds played. They came to the rock of the marúku monkey, where they killed a marúku and it turned into a rock. They came to the high bank which the Ancients looked upon with the rounded eyes of wonderment. They went upriver and they passed through the passage of spume, out into the black waters of *pidari*, at the head of the *wanindo* creek. Here an Ancient made a burrow and left in it a calabash of milk. At this place, called "the trail of milk," they left the river to reside on a high hill at the bend of *kwaieba* [where the Cuduiari enters the Vaupes]. They went on and came to *kwitotedo*, to *kwitoiekú*, and to *nyemi hwainéndi* [where Mitú now stands]. There, at the milky creek, at the slippery rock, at the stream of blood where the waters are reddened by the rays of the sun, there the Ancients arrived and there they lived. From there they explored upriver and then came back to *hweda*.

They returned and drank milk, the cold milk at the rapids from which they had emerged. There they came to live, at the place where the waters were like milk, at the lake of the yellow clay. Then they went on until they came to the place of the *nanúkoriba* fish [near the mouth of the Cuduiari]. And then they passed a rapids that was like an urn of milk. There they came upon their in-laws. They were already at the greasy creek, at the

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place of the closed-off creek [a site above Garaffo Lake on the Cuduiari]. Above them was the whirlpool of Guassi and the fast black waters. There, at the whirlpool of the tree trunk, at *hiwakapunawü*, at the place of parrots' wings, they portaged overland and they quickly arrived at the place of the *bupekü* butterflies, at the lake shaped like a container for curare.

They came to the place of many grubs which they cooked into a stew. They came to the high bank where the water rushes in with a sucking sound, to the place of the tangle of roots. They came to the place of the jaguars, to *mahópanwa warindo*, to the place of the bark cloth fishes, to the creek of the *mimíkü* bird, and then to the place of the pupunha trees. From there they returned and they came to the creek of the *wakúdjari* fruit, to *tcipedikoriba* and *tcipéü tawéno*, and then to the slippery place, and then to the bank of the yellow clay, and then to *tuibü*, where the creek of the red fish is, and then to the hill of the háku fish. Then, at a place called *hororákipúru*, they came to the high bank of mud, and then to the place of the parrots [the present site of the *Bahúkiwa* sib]. At the creek of the parrots they came upon the circular trench called "the circle of women" [because it is the women who dug this trench]. There an Ancient who had been tied up by his enemies managed to free himself and escape. Now they continued up the creek to the place of the sweet potato, and they came to the creek of the wild peccary and then on to the lake of the birds and the bird place.

From there they went up the creek of the sweet waters to the place of the doves. And then they went to the place where maize grew and then to the sharp jaguar rock. Here an Ancient, sitting down on the rock, pierced his rectum and died. They went on to the place of the milk palm, to the garden of the jaguar, to the place where the *kamindü* turned to stone. They came to *kuunkuúntoto*, where *Kuúnkuü* the Ancient decided to settle down. [This is the *Bahúkiwa* Ancient who later decided that he did not care to be human and turned himself back into an anaconda.]

The Ancients moved on to the place of the háku and puño fish, to the place of *Wari* the in-law, the hill of the woodpeckers, to the rocky rapids where *Komori* the Ancient settled down, then to the parrot beak rock, then to the place of the sloth, then to the place of the bark-cloth trees, then to the rocks of the manioc graters, then to the place of the deer, and then to the place of the small parakeets, where *Opómbibekü* lived [a dwarf with an enormous penis]. Finally, they went to the place of the stone people [at the head of the Cuduiari].

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**TRADITIONAL NAMES IN THE *BAHÚKIWA* GENEALOGIES**

| MALE | MALE | FEMALE |
|---|---|---|
| *Aribahukü* | *Kuúnkuü* or | *Bahúko* |
| *Arienakü* | *Kuúhúnkuü* | *Hehénabo* |
| *Bahukü* | *Miabekudjo* | *Henéako* |
| *Bahukubekúdjo* | *Onpóhena* | *Henákuwa* |
| *Bahukúdjitca* | *Onpuéanba* | *Iho* |
| *Bekúbo* | *Onpuénda* | *Ihoruko* |
| *Buü* | *Onpuéndabu* | *Kokáhenako* |
| *Harúkü* | *Onpuéndakü* | *Kokáiko* |

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| MALE | MALE | FEMALE |
|---|---|---|
| *Hehena* | *Onpuénda kuéhõnkuõ* | *Midnko* |
| *Itõlu* | *Onpuéndrua* | *Opuéndoko* |
| *Kokahena* | *Wahena* | |
| *Kokai* | *Wai* | |
| *Kokaidi* | *Waikomu* | |
| *Kokaikõ* | *Waikomühõtõ* | |
| *Komóri* | *Waimoya* | |
| *Kumúra* | | |

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# 4

## *Kinship*

The focus of Cubeo kinship is the sibling group, of which the brothers form a permanent body, the hard core, so to speak, and the sisters an emotionally close but separable group, since they are the ones who marry out. The sibling group is the model for the extension of terms of consanguinity throughout the phratry.[1] More people are addressed and referred to as "sibling" than by any other term. When the Cubeo speak in Spanish or in Portuguese they identify all their age mates within the range of patrilineal consanguinity as "my brother" or "my sister." Their own language differentiates degrees of sibling closeness, distinguishing lineage brothers, sib brothers, and phratry brothers. But the linguistic device for drawing these distinctions, by manipulating prefixes and suffixes without altering the stem itself, seems to be a finely contrived compromise between the desire to embrace all patrilineal consanguineal kin within the bonds of brotherhood and the need to deal with the actualities of relationships. The Cubeo are very sensitive to terms of address and so they use terms not merely to designate a precise degree of relationship, but diplomatically to create a mood of closeness or of distance. I believe this diplomatic use of kinship draws mainly, perhaps exclusively, upon the sibling terms, since all other terms of consanguinity are by comparison of far lesser significance. A phratry brother may be called by the term appropriate for sib or even lineage brother and vice versa. When this is done, the speaker indicates by his manner

[1] There is a list of relationship terms at the end of this chapter.

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or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother." Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwa*, an ego term that means literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

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593 rilny, the closest of all. On occasions uterine brothers form a common front from which brothers of the same father but of different mothers are excluded. A father expects his sons to stand by him and not by their mother, who is a sib outsider. Yet the simple fact that a woman keeps her own children close to her side, lavishing upon them all her attentions and affection, and ignoring, as much as she can afford, the other of her husband's children by other wives, creates a basis in sentiment for a maternal attachment that no amount of official sib doctrine can override. The attachment to the mother is recognizable in modes of behavior, such as intimacy or susceptibility to cleavage. Uterine brothers also quarrel and part, but they are unlikely to drift apart as readily as can mere agnatic brothers. However, kinship terms draw no distinction between uterine and agnatic brothers. A woman addresses all her husband's sons by the same term, just as her husband does.

593 601 The term for brother of the closest degree embraces lineage as well as blood brothers. Still, a distinction of sorts does enter into kinship usage, through a sister. A girl, as a mother's helper, has a very important role in looking after younger children of the household. Her first responsibility is to her uterine siblings. Like her mother she favors the boy child over the girl. In later years she still calls her younger uterine brother by the affectionate term *teumi*, while reserving the conventional term, *hoyokii*, for an agnatic younger brother. Women, however, take more liberties, generally, in the use of kin terms than do men. They are particularly free with terms that define nearness and intimacy. Thus, a sister's discrimination between uterine and agnatic brother may be regarded not as official usage but as a special female prerogative.

As to formal principles of kinship, the distinction between uterine [595] and agnatic brothers is of no great importance. Most marriages are monogamous and in most families there are no stepchildren. Headmen, however, are generally polygynous, and it is in their households 622 that the distinction assumes some importance. Since a headman's 593 household is a focal point of sib activity, whatever occurs within it 595 will affect the state of being within the sib and ultimately its unity. 614 Should a cleavage develop among brothers of different wives of the headman it could split the sib. Cleavages develop around rivalry for position. A headman's sons are inclined to model themselves after the father and to seek leadership of the community. Since the mantle of leadership will in any case fall upon one of them they are, in any case, virtually obligated to seek leadership. Thus it appears, paradoxically, that the line of cleavage in a sib tends to form at its very

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center in all respects, among the blood brothers, who are the sons of the headman, the very symbol and guardian of the unity of the sib. The Cubeo attribute the source of this "fault" in the sib to the unruly and passionate nature of women, that does not adapt itself readily to the requirements of the sib. The women are said to be at fault in having drawn their sons too closely to them and in having divided the sons of one wife from those of another. Men deplore this, yet they concede that it is in the nature of a woman to do so. Much of the formal and ceremonial relationship between men and women seems to be designed to overcome this femigine and maternal influence.

All sibling terms indicate relative seniority. If the terms refer to near siblings, that is, to siblings of the same sib, their seniority refers strictly to relative age. When sibling terms are used among members of different sibs in the phratry, then the forms of senior-junior indicate respect. An older person may then use the senior term in addressing a younger person. Men may use the senior term in referring to a member of a higher ranking clan, or, apart from formal rank, to pay respect to a phratry mate who has been generous. Among the Cubeo rank and seniority are marked by giving more than receiving. Thus, a generous and hospitable person can come to be an "older brother." Women pay respect to men by using the senior term—outside the sib—rather freely. It is a pleasing relationship for a woman to have an older brother and for a man to have a younger sister. When a woman addresses a man as "younger brother" she cannot help but endow the term with an almost maternal tenderness. She finds it more comfortable, one might say, to address a more distant sibmate as "older brother."

There is a more formal usage of terms of relative seniority that acknowledges the ranking of sibs. My information of these seniority usages, coming only from the *Bahukiwa*, is therefore incomplete. According to the *Bahukiwa*, all men of the head *Órabawa* sib who are of one's own generation are addressed as *mamũ*, the stem term for "older brother," while the reciprocal term that is applied to them by the *Órabawa* is *hwa*, the stem term for "youngster." In the case of the *Bahukiwa* relations with three sibs of the phratry, the *Pedikiwa*, the *Kenãnikauiwã*, and the *Piarãwa*, the women of the *Bahukiwa* address the women of these three as *amikõ*, the somewhat more distant form for "older sister," and are called in turn *hwamyõ*, or "youngster." Though in the case of the *Órabawa* the seniority usage applies only to the men, in the latter case the usage applies only to the women. My informants could not account for the latter usages

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614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedikwa*
[554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiari that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kenánikawu* are a subsib of the *Pedikwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piaráwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grunberg's information that since they call themselves *Clá-Piaráwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahúkiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior.
571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship
[622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac-
[857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come
[614] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves
[796] at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere-
[622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance,
562 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of cere-
796 mony women take precedence according to the order of precedence
[622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis a vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substi-
[593] tute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to
[614] the sib as a widow, a divorcee, or with her husband, a ceremonial
[553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother.
561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring
584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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so an older brother is *amyobaku* (older brother-father) to his younger sister. He is her guardian. He may arrange her marriage, or offer her sexually to a friend, if she is willing. It is a special relationship in many respects. 593 561 [584] [836]

Seniority is of consequence only in the sibling generation. There is no concept of senior line and no recognition in terminology of descendants of older or younger siblings.

Apart from sex and seniority, Cubeo sibling terms also demarcate social distance. They differentiate, as already noted, three degrees of sibling closeness: lineage sibling, near phratry sibling, and distant phratry sibling. They do so, ingeniously, by the linguistic device of using a common root for sibling – this usage is only in the senior term, because only the senior term is important – indicating distance or closeness by the use of appropriate prefixes and suffixes. The root for senior sibling of either sex is *ame*. With the possessive prefix *hi* and the gender suffix *ko* or *ku* (*himámiko*, *-ku*) it connotes utmost closeness and is applied to older brother and sister of one's own family, including the extended joint family or lineage. Since sib and lineage may often be coextensive these terms are also sib-wide. The term *himámiko* (my older sister) does not apply to a mother's sister's daughter unless she happens to be – via brother-sister exchange marriage – a father's brother's daughter as well. The intimate usage, that is, must also correspond with coresidence. One's own sister, to be sure, does marry out, but in the meantime there has been a long period of coresidence. In any case, there is not the slightest tendency to slur over a nuclear kinship relationship. In the case of father's brother's daughter the intimate term applies only when she is still a coresident. After she has married she falls into the next more distant category. 601 [614] 601 193

The second range of kinship intimacy is the most widespread of all, including sib, subsib, and all close sibs within the phratry. It may even be applied to all members of the phratry of one's generation, in which case the third and most distant form of sibling terminology is reserved for those people whom one does not know well. The terms used in this second range are *amiyo* and *amiko*. The suffix *yo* conveys the meaning of "such as" or "one who is of the class of." It is also used in the term *bakudyo* (father's brother) and means literally "one who is in the class of a father." In *amiyo* it means, therefore, "one who is in the class of an older brother." Strictly speaking, the suffix *yo* has no sex gender and if it were applied to a woman would constitute no major linguistic blunder. But since one's contacts are almost invariably with male siblings, the sisters normally at a distance, the [614] [615] 601 193

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term has apparently taken on a masculine meaning and *amikó* is used to specify the female. A term *amikû* does not exist to my knowledge. With the loss of the possessive prefix *hi* some of the intimacy has gone out of the term. Nevertheless, being diplomatic in their use of kinship terms, the Cubeo sometimes employ the form *himamiyo* and so give the term a warmer tone.

Finally, the most distant usage is to employ only the stem *mamû* ("older one") equally to male and female to connote the barest sibling relationship. I never heard this term used because, I suppose, the Cubeo find it too formal. Rather than call a person *mamû* they prefer the more cordial *pakomá* (kinsman). The special respect use of this term for men of the head sib has already been described.

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The junior sibling term is rather unusual. I am inclined to regard it as a quasi-kinship term because it has equally a kinship and an age-grade connotation. *Hwainyó* means literally "one who is in the class of youths." Like *amiyó* it can refer to females, but *hwainkó* is the special term for a younger sib and phratry sister. Because it is an age grade term, the kinship meaning of *hwainyó* is so wide that it has come to mean any person of sib or phratry who is younger either by relative age within one's generation or is of a younger generation. When it is used as the reciprocal for *amiyó*, as a respect term, it refers to one to whom one condescends somewhat as a donor or good Samaritan. It would seem that the Cubeo have developed only the senior term as a true kinship term and have given seniors the prerogative of addressing all their juniors, whether by age or status, simply as "youth." Nor is the term bound by phratry, since it is applied to all grandchildren (male or female) who are not of the lineage. *Hwainyo* also means son-in-law and any nephew or niece. *Hwainko* is the daughter-in-law. *Hwankû* is a serviceable male form giving it somewhat greater intimacy and thus is limited generally to younger men of one's own sib or of closely related sibs. The abbreviated form *hwa*, a more jocular term, is also used.

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## BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

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Lineage brothers and sib brothers are joined by all the strong bonds of a localized patrilineal sib organization. The obligations of lineage brothers toward one another are very little less binding than those of blood brothers, and the obligations of sib brothers, while somewhat less binding, are still considered to be strong. But these brotherly ties are general and taken for granted, whereas the relationship between brother and sister, as indeed that between husband

[593]

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister [244] [437] and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act [273] as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular [261] obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not ex- [592] change, the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, [835] though in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since [836] the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange [583] marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

593 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relation-
583 ship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bar-
583 gaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material trade price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for siliqueta. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen
58 that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household [593] [illegible] renegade and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be [593] counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

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hand, the assigned sister can be counted on to act in her brother's behalf and to accept the exchange marriage. On the other, if his bride should leave him he believes that he can ask his sister to leave her husband so that accounts will be squared. This arrangement does not work perfectly, but it works well. 58 593

Not every young man has a sister assigned to him. The son of a headman who is in line for the succession has preference, as has a favored son, since it is the parents who play an important part in establishing this relationship. In the case of an apparent heir to the headmanship the assigned sister enhances his status in two ways. It makes him part of an adult status economic relationship in that he has a woman "working" for him and it smoothes the way for his marriage. 593 622 [182] [885]

I could get no term for this rather specialized brother-sister relationship. Ordinary relationships between brother and sister lack the specific economic exchange features. Lacking the intensity of the paired relationship, the ordinary relationship is still charged with considerable emotion. 593

From the point of view of the sib, the brother-sister relationship may be considered as a source of holding women to the sib even after they have taken up residence in another sib. There is the curious expectation that a woman will some day come back to her own sib. She will do this as a widow or after a break in her marriage. When a young man is on his way to his "alloyal" sib to bring back a wife his parents say to him, half in jest, "Try to make your sister come home." The symbolic act of marriage for the Cubeo is the drama of a "marriage by capture." The groom seizes the bride, who protests, and carries her forcibly to the beach and into his canoe. Her outcries bring her kinsmen on the run, who then try to prevent her "abduction" by cudgeling the groom. This dramatic enactment makes the point that the bride is unwilling to leave her sib and that her kin are determined not to let her go. It is a strong demonstration of attachment that soothes the feelings of the sib and particularly of the brother. It satisfies the sentiment that no one wishes to leave the sib. 593 614 182 582

The relationship between brother and sister may also be considered in the context of the sib origin myth which states that the founders of a sib were always a brother-sister pair who only later entered into exchange marriages. The tradition of the *Bahükiwa* sib that a woman re-established the sib after all her brothers had been killed by enemies illustrates still again the Cubeo sentiment that a woman really belongs to her sib. Thus a sib has a female ancestress as well as a male ancestor. 593 614

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## PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

593 604 [601] The Cubeo distinguish between father and father's brothers, but do not distinguish between mother and mother's sisters. The term *bakũdyó* means "like a father."[2] This distinction conveys rather precisely the actualities of the relationship. Relations between fathers and sons (the daughters are linked in household duties with the mother) are intimate, and one important sign of intimacy is the privilege that a youngster has of taking food from his father before it is brought into the maloca or into the individual household. Boys value this privilege enormously when they are preadolescent. Without a father a boy will be fed by his father's brother but will lack this privilege with food that he had with his own father. The relationship between paternal uncle and nephew is a strongly supportive one, but with restraint in it. A boy does not take or handle objects belonging to his father's brother without permission. With his father's possessions he has the same freedom as with the possessions of his sibmates of his own generation.

593 601 604 [587] [595] 593 [601] [595] Parents and children share an exclusive set of kinship terms and thereby set themselves apart from the fraternal joint family. Even though mother and mother's sister are equated, a woman distinguishes, as does her husband, between her own and her sister's children. The equation of mother and mother's sister is normal clan usage in a classificatory system. Among the Cubeo, this equation is not related either to the sororate or to sororal polygyny. It would seem to correspond rather to the principle of generalizing relationships that are less important and differentiating very sharply relationships that are most important. With respect to the term for "mother," this is not to say that the actual relationship between children and mother lacks real importance, but only that from the point of view of patriliny of the sib the incoming females, such as mothers, are less important. Actually, the feeling for one's own mother is very strong, not only on the part of the daughters but on the part of the sons too. In a polygynous household the sons of the same mother share a close link with one another; and as we have

[114] [2] Koch-Grünberg, who stayed with a *Henéneva* group at the mouth of the Cuduiari, reported that father and father's brother were equated, as were mother and father's sister (1909, II, 82). Since he did not use the genealogical method it is likely that he was in error with respect to both reported usages. The equation of mother with father's sister controvenes, of course, the patriliny of the sib. On the other hand, the grouping of father and father's brother is conceivable since the distinction between *bakũ* and *bakũdyó* is not great for the Cubeo. In calling attention to this difference of information I should add that the nature of the Cubeo tribe is such that variations in minor usages are perhaps to be expected.

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already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in behavior.

The father's sister is *panimó*, a term built on the root *pani*, which means "in-law." Although a woman of the sib, she rates as an in-law because her daughter is normally eligible as a cross-cousin marriage partner. *Panimó* also means "mother-in-law." There are no formal avoidances with a mother-in-law. Ordinarily, because of the rules of residence, a man sees little of his mother-in-law.

Mother's brother (*paniyó*) is a parallel relative to father's sister. He is father-in-law. There are no formal avoidances in this relationship. The important relationship is between a woman and her father-in-law. There is a good deal of restraint between these two. The father-in-law is her mentor on moral issues, and if she commits adultery he will often act in the matter before his son does. Reserve between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is eased after a time but never lapses. The Cubeo defend the unity of the sib by regarding the in-marrying women as permanent strangers. It is the father-in-law as a sib elder who is expected to enforce the separateness. Coupled with this reserve and, in a sense, counteracting it, is the fact that he calls her *hwainkó*. Reserve prevents sexual joking, licentious bodily contact, and other undue levity. It does not bar the father-in-law from beating his daughter-in-law. Father-in-law and son-in-law may refer to one another by the common term, *pani*. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there is only the reserve of unfamiliarity. But when a man does come with his wife to visit her parents he is warmly welcomed as a son and is drawn into all common activities. The visit of a daughter is so exciting an occasion for the Cubeo that the son-in-law is readily tempted in the aura of warmth and good cheer to prolong his stay.

The terms that siblings apply to one another's children are only partially based on considerations of the marriage possibilities between their young. Primarily, the children of siblings are regarded as "youngsters." As juniors they merit generalized terms. Thus, the common terms for nephew and niece within the sib are respectively *hwainyó* and *hwainkó*. The son of a sibling of opposite sex is *pani* — an in-law — but the daughter is not. She enters the household as *hwainkó*. Again we notice the neutral character of the term. *Hwainkó* is not a term of the sib necessarily. The point is, rather, that it is not

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614 a term that connotes out-of-the-sib, as does *pani*. Thus, Cubeo usage
[601] with respect to daughter-in-law points up again the strength of their feelings about membership in the common residence group.

The problematical relatives are the mother's sister's children. There is no problem if they are also father's brother's children, or if
[615] they have been born within one phratry. But since mother's sisters marry into other phratries or into other tribes, their children are in
[582] effect strangers who belong to their paternal sib or tribe. They are not included in the kinship system, they are lost sight of, and such parallel cousins one may marry since they do not belong to the phratry.

## GRANDPARENT - GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP

603 The two grandparent terms, *nyéko* (*kü*) and *nyekundjó*, refer to
601 all kin of the generation of grandparents and beyond, irrespective
614 of sib or phratry affiliation. Correspondingly, their reciprocals
615 (*panaihinkü*, *-ko* and *hipanimekü*, *-ko*) do not differentiate between a child of the sib or phratry and a child outside the sib or phratry. The grandchild terms are all formed of the *pani* stem from which affinal terms are constructed. *Panaihinkü* means "my very little in-law," and *hipanimekü* means "of my in-law line." The ignoring of sib lines for grandparents seems to follow from the simple fact that at this generation level exogamy is not an issue.

603 I could get no explanation from the Cubeo as to why the grand-
601 child should be classed with the affinal line. It may result from the
[593] Cubeo interpretation of cross-cousin marriage. Brother and sister negotiate for the marriage to one another of their children and so
[584] would be inclined to regard the offspring of that marriage as a con-
[614] tribution from the affinal line to the sib. Often enough, however, I have encountered the use of the descriptive terms such as *himákü-makü* (my son's son) to distinguish between a lineal descendant of the sib and other grandchildren.

601 Elders of a distant sib of the phratry may be addressed and referred
[614] to as "grandparent" even if of one's own generation. Their children consequently are called "father" or "mother." In these usages the
[615] reciprocal is always *hwainyó* or *hwainkó* and never a specific "child" or "grandchild" term. Among the Tucano, Fulop (1955) has noted that one of the sibs of a phratry is the "grandparent" to all the others so that all persons of one's own generation in that sib are "grandparents." If this is also the case among the Cubeo of the Cuduiari then the fact must have escaped my notice. This usage of grandparent

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This usage of grandparent terms is different from the seniority respect usages previously discussed, because "older sibling" among the Cubeo has a formal connotation of respect, whereas the grandparent term is a genial one as in English. 601 561

## CROSS-COUSINS

Cross-cousins of the same sex often have a relationship that is formed by the fact that they have been principals in a brother-sister exchange marriage. Since their parents, who were siblings of the opposite sex, were also principals in arranging such a marriage, they have shared in some of the intimacy of relationship between these two. Cross-cousins of the same sex have, of course, little contact with one another, but having so much in common, their relationship tends to be a warm one. It is a curious relationship, in that it also has in it a latent threat of trouble, trouble that arises from marital discord. As already noted, one of the expectations of a brother-sister exchange marriage from the male viewpoint is that if his wife leaves him he can get his sister to leave her husband in retaliation. He believes that he can apply pressure upon his cross-cousin brother-in-law to send back the runaway wife or face the breakup of his own marriage. Thus, what begins as a family squabble in one community may embroil a happy marriage in the affinal community. The expectation that a woman will leave her husband only because her brother wants her to is in practice a vain hope, unless he has the cooperation of his male cross-cousin brother-in-law, who urges the woman, his sister, to return to her husband. 605 605 586 593

Cross-cousins of opposite sex refer to one another as *hitcimako* or *hitcimakü*, the possessive prefix connoting closeness. By contrast, *tcimá* has the connotation of distance. The relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex is governed by the customs of courtship and is, therefore, an individual matter. 605 [601] [193]

## THE AFFINAL GROUP

Among affinals there are two principal relationships. The most important is that between parents and children-in-law, the *pani* relationship. This relationship is both consanguineal and affinal since it includes the children of siblings of opposite sex and reciprocally the cross aunt and uncle. The Cubeo draw no distinction, incidentally, between parents and their children-in-law who are of the consanguineal kin and those who may be complete strangers. The emphasis in 606

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606 [591] [601] this group is on the affinal relationship. Because of patrilocal residence it is the daughter-in-law who occupies a special position. She is *hwainkó* (younger female), a term that receives her with familiarity and some condescension as an in-group member. A daughter-in-law is considered to be at first a replacement for a daughter who has married out, and she lives for a time under the jurisdiction of her mother-in-law, helping her in gardening and in all food preparation. A woman tries to keep her daughter-in-law within her household as long as possible, speaking of her not as her son's wife but as a replacement for her daughter who has been lost to her by marriage. One aspect of the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is stereotyped, and that is the tug of war between a woman's desire to keep her daughter-in-law within her jurisdiction and the desire of the young wife to win autonomy by cultivating her own garden. For the rest, the relationship depends upon the interplay of personalities and upon the circumstance of whether the bride is a foreigner or a brother's daughter or a member of the brother's sib or phratry. When a child has been born and a woman has her own garden, she and her mother-in-law achieve a relationship of greater equality. Terminology [601] does not change, even though the reference to an elderly woman as *hwainkó* may seem incongruous. The term defines the relationship at its inception.

[867] [868] It is the role of a woman to introduce her daughter-in-law to the economic routines and to the local customs of the community, a task that would be inappropriate for her husband. Since the Cubeo often marry women who do not even speak their language or dialect the initial period of tutelage is most important, even though the Cubeo do not stress this feature of what is really an apprenticeship.

The relationship with a son-in-law is governed by the circumstance that he normally does not become a member of the community. At best he will be a visitor who joins in the male activities. His relationship with his mother-in-law is one of restraint rather than of formal avoidance. It is perhaps for this reason that she addresses him as [601] *hwainyó*. His relationship with his father-in-law, on the other hand, borders on intimacy and is predicated upon the equality of men engaged in their common tasks of hunting, fishing, and the conduct of ceremonies. Perhaps it is this equality that governs the use of *pani* or *paniyó* as a reciprocally used term between father-in-law and son-in-law.

607 601 The other set of affinal relationships recognized by the Cubeo are those involving spouse's siblings, for whom a variety of terms are applied. The general affinal term is *kodjú* or its plural form *hikódju-*

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*mana* (my in-law group). These generalized terms are most appropriate in referring to members of a phratry into which one has married. They have a connotation of a claim to hospitality and of expectation of further intermarriage. Of this group of terms there is also *hikódjumu*, that is used reciprocally between men – sister's husband and wife's brother as well as sister's husband's brothers and brother's wife's brothers. Across the sexes women call their sister's husband's brothers as well as their husband's brothers *hikápenámu* and are called by these men *hikápenamo*. Women call their husband's sisters *hiwemu* and are called by them *dyáko*. *Dya* is a very general term that may be applied reciprocally between any actual in-laws of the same generation. Finally, I have an alternate term for spouse's siblings, *hibáwükimana*, and the term *kibü* for brother's son's wife. What may be observed about the affinal terms in own generation is that affinals are generally not confused with cross-cousins. As we have noted, the *teimá* usage, which has the connotation of "sweetheart" for the Cubeo, is entirely inappropriate when one of them has married. Should a man be courting his brother's wife's sister, who is his cross-cousin, she is his *teimá*, or rather *hiteimako*. If not, courtesy calls for the use of the affinal terms.

## ORPHANS AND STEPCHILDREN

The treatment of orphans and stepchildren underscores the importance of the actual blood tie for the Cubeo. Parents lavish affection only on their own children. While a woman is obligated to look after all her husband's children, this need mean nothing more than that she feed them. That she will favor her own children and neglect or treat the others harshly is more or less expected. A man does not expect his second wife to accept as her own his children by another wife. A girl with a stepmother has a more difficult time than a boy, since women generally favor their sons and are harsh with daughters. The mother is her daughter's disciplinarian in household work. Her son is the little lord of the household, his sister its slavey. Stepdaughters are set the most burdensome tasks while own daughters are then freer to play. Own daughters then make common cause with their mother at the stepdaughter's expense. Since the father does not mix in the female side of the household he can do little to improve his daughter's lot with her stepmother.

A boy with a stepmother is less underprivileged. His is the male prerogative of being looked after by a woman, his mother or his sisters. He has his male play pack for companionship and can look

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593 to his father for personal attention. On the whole, a child is at a greater disadvantage if it has lost a parent of its own sex, that is, a girl with a stepmother, a boy with a stepfather. A girl with a stepmother has a hard life of chores and of open neglect. A boy with a stepfather does not have a hard life at all in the material sense. He is deprived more subtly of intimacy with a paternal figure, and this usually shows itself in his own reserve with respect to his fellows. If he has no father at all the effect upon his personality is even more marked.

593 736 [597] My direct acquaintance with the situation of a true orphan is limited to the observation of one case among the *Bahükiwa*. This was a girl from another tribe who had lost both parents and was adopted by the *Bahükiwa* headman as his "daughter." The little girl, about nine, was addressed as "daughter" but held the status in the household of a servant. She took on the heaviest chores and was almost never free to play. Her lowly status was truly stigmatized by [301] her lack of possessions. She was the only child among the Cubeo [123] whom I had ever seen unadorned, until I gave her a necklace which she was allowed to keep. The children of the household enjoyed beating her as a way of teasing her, rather than wickedly. She took their pinchings and cuffings good-naturedly, on the whole, and had learned to pretend not to notice. Once, in the presence of the headman, her "father," the children were overdoing their teasing. She looked imploringly at the headman. Finally, she caught his eye and he said to her, "It is all right for you to run away." He saw no need to reprimand his own children.

[114] In reading Giacone (1949) on the Tucano tribe I found my observations on orphans corroborated. He, too, reported that orphans do not lack food but that they appear to be melancholy.

## CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP

572 193 A parallel to the brother-sister relationship is the *hikü-hiko* relationship, a ceremonial friendship. These terms, formed by combining the possessive prefix with the gender suffix, connote a relationship of exceptional closeness. The linguistic significance of possessive prefix and gender suffix for kinship terms has already been brought out. The curious feature of *hikü* and *hiko* is that these terms are composed of the two intimate-indicating particles.[8] The ceremonial

[8] *Hi* is also the verb stem "to give," but if *hikü* were translated as "giver"—a feasible rendering—it should be possible to say *hihikü*. But this form does not exist.

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The ceremonial
friendship is an intimate relationship, indeed. The Cubeo expectation of it is that it have a quality of warmth and of privilege, if not beyond, then at least equal to a close, recognized kinship relationship. Since ceremonial friends are already sib or phratry mates, their relationship, if it is to have any meaning at all, must make them at least the equivalent of lineage kin; and that is what it is intended to do. Ceremonial friendship gives vividness and exclusiveness to sib and phratry relationships that are often too tepid and too generalized for Cubeo tastes. 572 614 615 572

When ceremonial friends are of opposite sex they forgo the erotic play that even brother and sister are supposedly allowed to indulge in, asserting, thereby, that theirs is the closest bond of friendship attainable. The relationship is often a substitute for a brother-sister pairing. Not every sibling line is so conveniently arranged as to provide for a brother-sister pairing. Hence, if no sister is allowed to a man he casts about for a girl of his age group and asks her to become his *hiko*. If she agrees he acquires the equivalent of an assigned sister, and she of a brother. They will form a team in an exchange marriage and they will exchange products. She will provide him with manioc for chicha, if he wishes to sponsor a drinking party, and she will prepare farinha for him, which he will use to trade for objects of white manufacture. He will reciprocate with appropriate gifts and with making household implements for her. When he is paid for his labor in the rubber forests he will surely bring cloth and trinkets for his *hiko*. 572 [832]

To cite one specific example of gift exchange between ceremonial friends: A man of a *Bahikiwa* subsib took a sib sister as his *hiko*. He gave her, immediately, cloth for two petticoats, two boxes of matches, two decorative combs, two small hand mirrors, thread and needles, two tins of brilliantine hair dressing, and a bar of soap. In return she gave him four big chicha serving calabashes, two balls of miriti twine, and a valuable necklace of silver triangles known as "butterflies." In addition, her father gave her two fishing bows to give to her ceremonial friend. 572 431

The relationship between *hikū* and *hiko* does fill the gap left by the normal imbalance between male and female siblings. But the Cubeo do not regard it as a mere substitute for a missing brother or a missing sister. Men who have sisters assigned to them still seek a *hiko*, if only to enjoy an individualized relationship of their own choice. If exchange marriage is not to be a central feature of the relationship, the *hikū* is still entitled to a gift from the groom at his 572

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572 *hiko*'s marriage and he will expect to have been consulted so that he may consent to her marriage.

[775] Ceremonial friendship should be permanent, the Cubeo say. Whoever breaks it has become an enemy and his soul after death will be that of an insect and not of a human being. Marriage, of [574] course, separates *hikū* and *hiko*, but they visit one another, as do [431] brother and sister, bringing gifts, and they try to arrange the mar- [584] riage of their children to one another. The *hikū* has the first claim upon his *hiko*'s daughter as a bride for his son.

[431] Between members of the same sex, ceremonial friendship is also the equivalent of a blood sibling relationship except that they exchange gifts in a formal manner. Whereas a man has reason to suspect 572 that his own brother might commit adultery with his wife, he be- 684 lieves that his *hikū* will never cuckold him. Still, when it comes to adultery even ceremonial friends sometimes succumb. Adultery or even flirting with a ceremonial friend's spouse is a principal cause for a break in this otherwise very stable relationship. A ceremonial friend who has been wronged by his partner retaliates by entering the offender's house to break or carry off everything belonging to him except the hammock. This act of vandalism declares the friendship broken. Eternal animosity succeeds it. Women are less inclined 572 to seek a ceremonial friend among their own sex. When they do, they have acquired mainly a confidante. Since women are likely to be dispersed at marriage the pledge against adultery with one another's husband is of no great consequence.

Ceremonial friends advise and assist one another. They feel that they actually have more freedom in their relationship with each other than they do with their own siblings. This may be correct, but I suspect that the Indians exaggerate the closeness of the relationship when talking about it. Ceremonial friends give up the use of their normal kinship designations in favor of the more intimate term.

Most ceremonial friendships are based upon simple reciprocity and so are modeled very closely, or I should say precisely, upon the sibling relationship. They satisfy in the main the longings of youths just before marriage and apparently fade with age. I was told that not everyone has a ceremonial friend but I could get no figures on its extent. Some ceremonial friendships model themselves after unequal kinship relationships, such as uncle-aunt or nephew-niece and grandparent-grandchild. These, I gathered, were not common and were rather aberrant forms of the true relationship. An older man takes a little girl as his *hiko* and is content with an unbal-

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anced relationship in which he lavishes gifts upon her. "When she grows up," the Indians say, "she will repay him." A young man enters a friendship pact with an elderly widow because she has no one to look after her. This relationship, though, is like mother-son, and the woman will provide the young man with chicha and farinha if he has provided her with a manioc garden. 572

The Cubeo believe that ceremonial friendships persist in the afterlife. As spirits, they walk about arm-in-arm, one informant said, rapturously. The spirit of the friend who dies first hovers about the house until the other dies. It then leads its spirit friend away. 572 775

The ceremony for inaugurating ceremonial friendship is a simple one. At a drinking party, friends paint one another with red pigment which they refer to as "blood." Applying body paint to another, picking lice, or removing insect-bite scabs from the body is a gesture of intimacy normally confined to the immediate family. It is this intimacy that makes it appropriate between ceremonial friends. 572 302 515

Ceremonial friends tend to form a network. When a man has taken a girl as his *hiko* he is likely to take her brother as his *hikü*; his own brother will then take her sister as his *hiko* and so on. There are many network possibilities. Men who are *hikü* encourage their children to become ceremonial friends. The friendship network encompasses the phratry, giving to people special privileges of hospitality along the river. The network of kinship already encompasses the phratry, to be sure. But ceremonial friendship interlaces these bonds with the quality of close kinship. This seems to be its special significance. One may also look at the relationship from an economic point of view, noting the circulation of goods through its requirement of gift exchange. The Cubeo, however, are not so much property-minded as they are person-minded. The Cubeo joke about the gift aspect of ceremonial friendship and laughingly say that some people enter into the relationship with many people in order to acquire gifts. They are amused at the thought that a girl with many ceremonial friends will be a burden upon her suitor, who must make a gift to each ceremonial friend. The parents of young people are also burdened because they will be asked for something to be used as a gift. However, it is not goods they seek but intense relationships. It is not that the sib and the phratry fail to provide people with warmth and mutual assistance. The ordinary organization does this to a high degree. It seems, rather, that being virtually surrounded by "brothers" and "sisters" the Cubeo have exalted expectations of warmth and assistance which ceremonial friendship helps satisfy. 572 571 572 431 571

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KINSHIP TERMS

*nyéko* Grandmother and all old women of grandparent generation of maternal and paternal lines, as well as older women of an opposite phratry, regardless of generation.

*nyékundjó* Grandfather and all old men of grandparent generation of the lineage and of the sib, including maternal or paternal lineages.

*nyékü* "Grandfather": all old men of own phratry or of opposite phratry regardless of lineage.

*bakó* or *hipako* Mother, mother's sisters, all women married to father's brothers, and all mothers of sib brothers.

*bakü* or *badjü* or *hipakü* Own father, as well as sons of men of the phratry who are called *nyékü*. (*Badjü* is the affectionate term.)

*baküdyó* Father's brother and all father's sib brothers.

*himámiko* My own and lineage older sister.

*himámikü* My own and lineage older brother.

*hiyoko* My own and lineage younger sister.

*hiyokü* My own and lineage younger brother.

*amiyó* My older sib or phratry brother; includes all male parallel cousins, but only those mother's sisters' sons who are of the phratry.

*amikó* My older sib or phratry sister; includes all female parallel cousins, but only those mother's sisters' daughters who are of the phratry.

*hwainyó* "Youngster." It is applied to all children of siblings, to all younger male parallel cousins of the sib and phratry, to all children of sib brothers, and to all of grandchild generation of the phratry who are outside of the lineage.

*hwainkó* The female counterpart of *hwainyó*. It is also the term for daughter-in-law.

*hwankü* An alternative form of *hwainyó* generally restricted to younger men of a close sib in the phratry.

*hwa* A short and colloquial form of *hwainyó* used between younger men of same generation of the phratry without necessary regard for relative age.

*mamü* A variant form of amiyó that is used only between members of different sibs of the same phratry.

*mamüko* The female counterpart of *mamü*.

*amyóbakü* Literally "older brother-father." A special respect term a woman applies to an older brother.

*himako* My own daughter.

*himakü* My own son.

*hipanimeko* Granddaughter of the maternal or paternal lineage.

*hipanimekü* Grandson of the maternal or paternal lineage.

*panaihinko* Granddaughter (literally "my little in-law") and alternative and more affectionate reference.

*panaihinkü* Grandson, counterpart of *panaihinko*.

*tcumi* Generalized affectionate term for male grandchild (literally "little one"). Can be extended as an affectionate term toward any younger male, but only by a woman.

*tcumiko* Female counterpart of *tcumi*. Only a woman would use it for a younger sister.

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*pakomá* Kinsman (male or female) of my own phratry.
*tcimá* Cross-cousin of my own sex.
*hitcimako* Female cross-cousin (m.s),* wife's sister.
*hitcimakü* Male cross-cousin (w.s.),* husband's brother.
*hipánimo* Mother-in-law, father's sister (m.s., w.s.).
*hipániyo* Father-in-law, mother's brother (m.s., w.s.).
*pani* Generalized term for parent-in-law or child-in-law.
*himanipako* Wife (literally "my children's mother").
*himanipakü* Husband (literally "my children's father").
*tcumipako* or *tcumipakü* These are alternative terms for husband and wife with colloquial connotations.
*kodju* Generalized term for members of a phratry into which one marries.
*hikápenamu* Husband's brother, sister's husband (w.s.).
*hikápenamo* Wife's sister, brother's wife (m.s.).
*hikódjumana* My sibling's spouse, a generalized term.
*hikódjumu* My sister's husband (m.s.).
*hikáwükimana* My spouse's sibling.
*hikópwimana* Wife's brother in an exchange marriage.
*hiwemu* Husband's sister.
*dyáko* Reciprocal of *hiwemu*.
*dya* Any in-law of one's own generation.
*kibü* Brother's son's wife.
*hiwá* Any relative (literally "my people").

CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP TERMS

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*hikünahu* A very close friend.
*hihwimu* My male friend (w.s.).
*djuré hwiyo* * My female friend (m.s.).
*hikü* Generalized term for male friend.
*hiko* Generalized term for female friend.
*adjuré hwinomwa* Ceremonial friendship between two women.

* Man speaking.
* Woman speaking.
* *Djuré* has the connotation of "sweetheart."

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# 5

## *Marriage*

614 615 The rule in marriage is that a wife cannot be taken from within the sib or phratry. She may be taken from another tribe and, of course, from any of the other two phratries. There is no actual prohibition against marrying a woman from one's own community if she belongs to a group that is outside the phratry. As I have already noted, such marriages are not common because of a preference for marrying someone from a distance. Since true friendship is apt to mean brotherhood [626] for the Cubeo, and so is identified with exogamy, the parties to a coresidence marriage, the man in particular, are made to feel as though 614 they were behaving indecently. The only case of a coresidence 597 marriage that I learned about was complicated somewhat by an issue of adoption, but it illustrates the ambiguity of feeling the Cubeo have about such marriages, nevertheless. A boy, born a *Bahúkiwa*, was orphaned and adopted by the *Hürüwá*, a sib of the opposite phratry. He then married a *Hürüwá* girl. Opinion was divided. The boy and his supporters claimed that he was *Bahúkiwa* and so the marriage was proper. The other side argued that since he was raised by the *Hürüwá* he had no business marrying a *Hürüwá* girl. Since the girl's family allowed the marriage to stand we must assume 582 that the boy's position was legally sound. Marriage is preferred between age equals, and since a groom must be forceful enough to make a good impression he will not marry until his very late teens and so 192 neither will the girl. The term for marriage is *nomíkükü*, meaning simply "woman getting."

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There is a strong preference for taking a wife from the same sib 614
from which one's mother has come. This establishes a pattern of cross-cousin marriage and creates a very close bond between the maternal and paternal sibs. The *Bahúkiwa*, for example, are closely intermarried with the *Byówa*[1] and the relations between these two sibs accordingly are cordial, even warm, in contrast to the stiff relationships that generally prevail between sibs of opposite phratries. Preferential marriage into the mother's sib arises naturally from the strong bonds of affection and of formal relationship between brother and sister. The principal way in which brother and sister maintain their ties even after marriage has separated them [593]
is by arranging for the marriage of their children to one another. We have seen that the grandchild is called a "little affinal," a designation that I have taken to mean that a man, having arranged for his son to marry his sister's daughter, regards the offspring as a contribution by the affinal sib to his own. He has the satisfaction of regarding his sister as responsible for this. She has succeeded in getting something from the "other" sib over to his sib. In this way, exchange, which is the greatest of human binders, is kept active.

From the point of view of the boy, marriage with a father's sister's 614
daughter also seems most natural and certainly convenient. Having 584
had virtually no opportunities for courtship, he does not know where to go for a bride. His father suggests that he visit his aunt in his mother's sib and his mother is delighted that her son will visit her kin. There is no more desirable guest than a boy who is visiting both his father's sister and his mother's kin. The warmth with which he is received should put even the shyest boy at ease. There are, to be sure, other opportunities for finding a bride, but by and large even the most aggressive young men still prefer to go to a community where the way has been smoothed for them. Since Indians travel mainly to visit kinfolk they are more or less bound to marry a woman from a sib from which, if not the mother, then a brother's wife has been taken.

Work in the rubber forests has broadened opportunities for mar- [464]
riage because men from different tribes are brought together and [571]
form friendships that allow them to visit one another and to exchange sisters. But even with these opportunities the preference for marriage into the mother's sib is still strong. A boy's parents will have opened the negotiations for him. There is no formal betrothal, but there is a kind of understanding that a particular marriage will

[1] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* marriages at the end of this chapter.

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take place, although, it must be emphasized, these are never binding. Marriage is always thought of in terms of a boy getting a wife. A girl thinks a great deal about getting a husband, but her parents prefer not to think about that. The Cubeo know bachelors but not spinsters. Parents of a boy have in mind a little girl somewhere, usually in the maternal sib, as a wife for their son. Unable to bespeak her – a girl is bespoken only as a result of a brother-sister exchange marriage in which her brother has already taken possession of his wife – they keep an eye on her, waiting for her to grow up. She may marry someone else, in which case their disappointment will be keen although they will have no grounds for complaint.

There comes a day when a boy's parents say to him that there is a girl ready for marriage and that he ought to go and see if he can bring her home. If it is not the second stage of a brother-sister exchange marriage they will not say to him that they have already pursued the matter with the parents on the other side, through earlier exchanges of visits or through an emissary. Out of deference for his feelings should he fail to get the bride, they may instruct him as though he were going to broach marriage for the first time. If the girl is "vowed" to the sib his instructions are simply to bring her back, or, failing that, to take back his sister.

The young man sets out with a party of sibmen, some of his age group and some of his father's age group. The parents may come along, because a woman welcomes this chance for a home visit. A party does not necessarily announce itself as a wedding party. They prefer to announce upon arriving that they have come only to visit. If the parents are not to accompany the party, the father assembles the marriage party in the plaza and, in the presence of the entire community, instructs his son in the exchange procedures. If it is the completion of an exchange marriage he recapitulates the history of the earlier marriage, the promises of exchange that have been made, and declares what is due the sib. In an exchange marriage a particular girl has been promised and a substitute has usually been indicated if the girl who has been promised is unwilling. There is also the question of supplementary gifts to the bride's parents, such as a small canoe, a gun, ornaments, and the like, that the father authorizes his son to offer. If this is to be the initial marriage, from which an exchange will follow, the boy is instructed to say which sister or other girl of the sib will be offered. Under any circumstances both bride and groom have the option of deciding that they do not care for one another. This option is no mere formality and many a marriage party has had to settle for a social visit alone because the prin-

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cipals in the marriage were not attracted to each other. It is to avoid 614
this embarrassment that the marriage party does not declare its in- 583
tentions. They announce that they have come to visit relatives. They 584
are made welcome, assigned to sleeping quarters, and are drawn into 574
the general round of activities of the house. They may stay for many weeks. The groom-to-be joins in the activities of his age group, hunting and fishing with them. He spends part of his time in making gifts for his host's wife, who need not be the prospective mother-in-law, and for the mother-in-law-to-be as well, if he has been a guest in her household. He may make baskets, trays, or a hammock. Every woman treasures an object that a suitor has made. These objects, however, are not presented as marriage gifts but as offerings in return for hospitality.

The courtship itself is a slow process. For some time the prospective bride and groom virtually avoid one another. The young man is attentive to the other girls of the sib, and his own age mates, if single, act as though they are courting the prospective bride. They are all looking one another over. The young man's personality is evaluated, and his skills in hunting, fishing, and crafts are observed. The visiting party, for its part, makes close observations on the bride-to-be. The nature of this opening phase of the courtship in which bride and groom are being "looked over" is such that unexpected matches are sometimes made. It has happened that a boy who has been flirting with his bride-to-be's sister to divert attention from his real objective falls in love with her. Or the sister falls in love with the suitor and seeks her betrothed sister's permission to marry him. This happened among the *Bahúkiwa*. A man, having reached the final stages of courtship with a girl, had arranged the formal elopement tryst with her. At the end it was the sister who appeared, explaining that it was she who wanted to marry him, with her sister's consent. The suitor was not disappointed, and all went well.

If the young man is satisfied with the bride-to-be the party prolongs 614
its stay. Otherwise it leaves quickly. Once it has decided to stay, the 584
groom awaits a sign of acceptance from the girl. One of the first in- [574]
dications of sexual interest that she shows is to run rather than walk [481]
in his presence. When the older folk see a girl running when she should be walking they smile knowingly at one another. One day she throws a handful of manioc mash in his face in the presence of company and laughs at him. He pretends anger and moves upon her. She pretends fright and runs off to her manioc garden, where he overtakes her. They have coitus and they are then engaged. She may [836]
show her interest in other ways, pinching him or cuffing him as she

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614 584 walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest
[836] is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting
[832] coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of
these is an extract of *ũwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult,
[789] a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she
is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

614 583 584 [601] Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *tcimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *tcimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *tcimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *tcimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

614 574 583 584 It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the maloca and of the community – the groom joining the age group of his *tcimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

614 619 574 583 584 This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

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 619 583 584 574 [614] [114]

marriage. These suspicions are not overcome even though they may already have affinal kin in the other tribe.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, I was witness to some of the events of the full cycle of an exchange marriage involving the neighboring Tucanoan-speaking *Tatúyo*. The opening wedge for this marriage was made by a *Bahúkiwa* woman who had married a *Tatúyo*. One day she reappeared among the *Bahúkiwa* with her husband and young children and settled down for a long wait. She was given a manioc garden and her husband devoted himself to making household implements for the wife of the headman. The headman had two marriageable daughters and two marriageable sons, to each of whom had been assigned, in the traditional manner, a sister whom he would exchange for a bride. One of the daughters, the elder, was very attractive, vivacious, flirtatious, and ardently desired by many young men. She had been married and divorced several times and was accused of having aborted; or killed at birth, several of her offspring. Because she was headstrong and not very industrious, sober-minded folk regarded her as a poor choice for a bride. Nevertheless, she was assigned to the older son, a very capable young man who showed every promise of becoming a headman. By seniority his was to be the prior marriage. Among the Cubeo the problem is to have the sons marry in proper age sequence and not the daughters. The *Bahúkiwa* visitor stated her opinion that such a girl needed a *Tatúyo* as a husband. "A *Tatúyo* could tame her," she said. The *Tatúyo* indeed had a reputation for ferocity because at the time they were still at war with the whites. By contrast with the Cubeo, those I saw were sullen and certainly appeared to be far more aggressive. She added that the *Tatúyo* also had many fine young girls, girls who had not been spoiled by contact with whites. The headman had no sooner grasped the possibilities of such a marriage for his undisciplined older daughter than a party of *Tatúyo* appeared to visit their fellow *Tatúyo*, who, they remarked jokingly, had lived away for so long that they now thought of him as a *Bahúkiwa*. It was a "large" party of eight men of warrior age. They came in two canoes. They were quartered among the various households and they stayed for several weeks, showing great skill in hunting, fishing, and in making implements. No one spoke marriage; but the signs were soon evident in the flirtatiousness of the daughters of the headman and two of the *Tatúyo* youths. When the *Tatúyo* announced that they were now ready to go home, a drinking party was quickly arranged as a farewell. When the *Tatúyo* party had left, it was discovered that the younger daughter was missing and that the older sister, whose "elopement" was taken [582]

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619 583 584 574 for granted, had remained home. When this was discovered the headman and all the able-bodied men he could muster rushed for their canoes and paddled furiously downriver to intercept the "abductors." The girl's mother sputtered with indignation at the *Tatúyo* who had "tricked them" and at her daughter who had betrayed them. This, it emerged, was a genuine elopement. The older sister, willful as ever, had no intention of being "tamed" by anyone, least of all by backwater Indians. Her younger sister was eager, however, and it was no trouble to get the *Tatúyo* to accept her. In due time the *Tatúyo* were intercepted. Assuredly they allowed themselves to be intercepted. Since the girl would under no circumstances agree to come home, the parties had only to settle the conditions of an exchange marriage. The *Tatúyo* designated a girl, ripe to be taken as a wife at any time, and by way of apologizing for eloping with the wrong daughter agreed to add a large canoe. Back home, the headman berated his sister for thinking more of the interests of her *Tatúyo* husband than of her *Bahúkiwa* people.

The elopement postponed the marriage of the older son, who was eager for a wife and precipitated the younger one into a marriage to which he had not yet been giving thought, so strong is the Cubeo convention of pairing a brother and sister for an exchange marriage. In a few months the younger son was sent to "demand" the bride promised. I did not accompany the marriage party to the *Tatúyo*. But when the party returned with a very attractive young bride they reported to the satisfaction of the headman that the groom, having first offered his sister a chance to return home, asked for the bride. The girl was brought out. He took her by the hand and led her to the canoe. "We [614] did not even stay overnight," he boasted. Such brusqueness and calculated discourtesy would not occur if the exchange were with the maternal sib.

581 Sheer sexual attractiveness is regarded as the wrong reason for choosing a bride. The point is not only that physical sturdiness and industriousness are better traits, but that a sexually provocative woman will be a source of trouble to the sib. A responsibility of an elder accompanying a marriage party is to remind the groom-to-be to pay attention to the sterling qualities of a bride, that do include, however, such erotically desirable features as large, full breasts, a strong back, and a clear skin. They would prefer to have her sullen rather than vivacious.

583 585 614 Formal marriage is signalized by what must be regarded as the "rite of abduction." The groom seizes his bride and runs with her to the canoe. She cries out for help and her male kin rush out and

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beat her "abductor" with sticks or with their bare hands. His own 585
companions aid him, and if the girl is willing, they get to the canoe
landing with no serious damage. This display of ceremonial violence 614
satisfies two Cubeo doctrines, one that affinal sibs are "hostile" and the other that a woman will not leave her sib by her own volition but must be torn from it by brute force. There is also a third notion, namely, that a man be strong enough to capture a bride. I heard many accounts, perhaps apocryphal, of fainthearted striplings who could not bring home a bride. Such stories are often told to tease young bride seekers.

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Father Giacone (1949, p. 21), who studied the Tucano tribe, re- 583
ported no courtship and no marriage ceremony but did note forcible
seizure of the bride. Father Giacone's information does suggest some 585
variation in practice among the Tucano. There, the bride is not (114)
seized by the groom but by the groom's father, who has been accompanied by some men. They pretend they have come to purchase a canoe. In the midst of their visit for this purpose they carry off the girl and bring her home, unmolested, to the waiting groom. Often, he notes, this is the first time they have met. The girl is timid and retiring, he reports, and the women undertake to cheer her up by inviting her to accompany them on their labors. When the bride begins to work with satisfaction at all her tasks the marriage is considered settled. Some weeks later her parents come to reclaim her and the groom hides her. Her parents are given presents if she is unwilling to return home. At a later visit they repay with gifts of their own.

In general, Tucano and Cubeo marriage practices are alike; the most striking difference is in the fetching home of the bride. Cubeo notions of manhood would be offended at the notion that the father should bring a bride home for his son.

Among the Cubeo, the early stages of marriage are almost invari- 585
ably difficult for the young couple. They are barely acquainted and
the husband is expected to show his wife only the barest semblance of 593
affection so as not to interfere with his mother, whose role it is to 606
assimilate the young bride into her household as a replacement for the "lost daughter." The bride enters her mother-in-law's service, working with her in the manioc garden and in the preparation of manioc. Doing all the chores that she has done as an unmarried girl in her own community but under a strange woman, she is understandably disappointed, even though she is received very warmly. She is immediately locked in a conflict with her mother-in-law for her freedom. The issue is the manioc garden. A woman wants her daughter-in-law to help her in her garden and the daughter-in-law,

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585 593 606 knowing that her full status as a married woman begins with her having her own garden, must get her husband to get her out of her mother-in-law's household. He, however, knows his mother's will and is also aware that the men of the sib are watching him to see if he will be strong enough to stand up against his wife, the "alien" to the sib.

585 586 593 614 If the stalemate continues too long the young wife has the means to break it. She runs away. It is a married woman's privilege to run away at any time during her marriage. Her husband will pursue her, but she has many sanctuaries. She can get back to her own community, where she is safe and has the certainty that she will not be yielded up to a pursuing husband and that he has no claim against her parents. The common view is that if a man is not strong enough to hold a wife that is his misfortune. A runaway wife may find sanctuary in any sib, even in one that is closely related to that of her husband. A neighboring sib is only a temporary stopover for a runaway wife. It provides a more neutral atmosphere, however, in which she and her pursuing husband can discuss the reasons why she has run away. It is young brides who most frequently run off. Occasionally a girl is seriously determined to leave her husband and she will then most certainly find her way home, even if she has to go afoot all the way. Ordinarily she expects her husband to intercept her. When he brings her back the headman will say to him, "Take charge of your wife," [837] and the husband will proceed to prepare a manioc garden for his wife. Some young wives provoke a crisis by seducing the husband's brother and allowing the community to find out. Again the headman will say, "Take charge of your wife."

585 586 593 614 182 These crises are so common in the early stages of marriage that I am inclined to regard them as quasi-ritual, and as part of a prolonged marriage ceremony at the end of which the wife achieves her proper status as controller of an autonomous zone, her manioc garden, and as female head of household. The act of running away suggests a counterpart to the initial act of "abduction." Both acts acknowledge the unruly role of the alien woman and emphasize the power of the man in restoring order. The man who brings his runaway wife back has scored a victory in the eyes of his sib. This victory absolves him from the onus of seeming to "give in" to the demands of his wife. But if the act of bringing back a runaway wife is a bit of ritual, it must also be stated that it is not devoid of spontaneous and rich human emotion.

595 Monogamy is the rule and is consistent with the preference for exchange marriage. Polygyny and polyandry, however, are not barred.

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Plural marriages are uncommon only because they are not convenient. 595
Polygyny is usually limited to the headman. Two wives (I never heard 622
of any man having more than two wives at the same time) are regarded as suitable for a headman, first because he has the personal qualities to sustain a complex household and second because the maloca will be more orderly if two women are responsible for looking after it. A headman's prospects for getting two wives are enhanced somewhat, since he will almost certainly have had a sister assigned to him as an exchange for his first wife, and his prestige and perhaps affluence will help him get a wife through bride price alone. Brother-sister exchange is preferred, to be sure, but circumstances are such that an enterprising man will find many other ways of getting an additional wife from among widows, divorcées, and orphan children. He will not, however, marry a woman, either widow or divorcée, who has been brought to his community as a wife by a sibmate. A man may well have a surplus sister. These opportunities are available to all men, but it is the headman who is most likely to seize upon them. Koch-Grünberg, noting the common occurrence of polygyny along [114] the Vaupés, commented that plural marriages were harmonious. From what I observed and from what I heard I have a very different impression. Polygynous households are rather turbulent.

If a man has two wives, he must prepare two clearings and set each 595
up in her own household. Even so, my informants told me, the wives quarrel and bear tales against one another to the husband, accusing one another of laziness. The first wife taunts her colleague as being a mere second wife. The second retorts that she would not have been chosen if the husband had really cared for the first wife. Since men take it for granted that women are an unruly element they expect wives to quarrel. A headman, however, should be able to manage [622] them, it is believed.

One man told me that after he had married his present wife he 593
was offered a girl for bride price alone – a shotgun and cloth – and 595
so for three years he maintained a polygynous household. He then [583] decided that it would not work. At first the new wife refused to garden and urged him to come and live at her sib. They did this for a time and he left his first wife at home with their children. After a year he returned with the second wife. He made a large clearing and divided it into two parts, assigning each to one wife. His first wife, he said, cultivated her part but the second did nothing and just sat about the house. One day she departed and he did not chase her. He claimed that he did not understand why she had left since he had not forced her to do anything she did not wish to do.

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Fig. 6. Old *Bahúkina* couple.

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The *Bahúkiwa* headman also had had two wives. In his case the second and younger wife succeeded in displacing the older woman. The younger woman insisted that her husband give up sexual relations with his first wife. She bothered him so much that he yielded and told his first wife to leave him. She refused, insisting that she would stay on with her children. An old woman now, she has a grandmother role. A son not yet married has provided her with a small manioc garden. Her relations with the headman and her successor are cool but not unpleasant. That women regard polygyny as contrary to their interests is further indicated by the fact that they are reputed to possess an herb (*pedídya*) which, mixed into a husband's porridge, causes him to lose interest in acquiring a second wife.

Polyandry is rare. I knew of only one case, a man who took his brother into his ménage because the man had been unable to get a wife on his own. This occurred in a small Satellite community and seems to have been an accommodation to what might otherwise have been a troublesome situation of adultery. The woman fed both men and was a sexual partner of the junior husband only when her first husband was away.

Common marital difficulties have their counterpart in Cubeo folklore, as these tales reveal. *Kúwai* the culture hero and his two brothers shared the same woman. When one brother was away fishing or hunting, the other two took turns copulating with her. *Kúwai* plotted to get rid of his brothers so that he would have exclusive possession of her. They were then living at Urania on the Vaupés by a lake called *Marúkuwari* [Lake of the marúku monkey]. In this lake grew a great miriti palm. *Kúwai* asked his brothers to climb the tree to fetch a ball of miriti to make a hammock. Both brothers climbed the tree, after warning *Kúwai* not to start anything. As they climbed, *Kúwai* caused the tree to grow higher and higher and the lake to grow wider. When they reached the top, *Kúwai* cut down the tree. Then a great wind blew up and swept the men and the tree away. One brother was blown to the Cuduiarí, where he formed the river. The other was blown to the Querarí, where he formed the other river. As each man fell, his legs formed the mouth of the river, his outstretched arms two creeks, and his head a whirlpool. *Kúwai* then returned to his wife, who was now living alone. Later *Kúwai*, walking in the forest, passed a *wahókakü* tree. Each time he passed it, it made a sucking sound at him. This happened day after day. Then it seemed to *Kúwai* that the tree was human, so he cut it down and carved a woman out of its trunk. *Konéko*, a bird, came and opened up the woman's vagina. The

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539 woman was very pretty and *Kúwai* was happy. He named her "Carved Woman." He took her home as his wife and drove out the other woman. *Mamûwũ* came along and asked *Kúwai*, "Are you living alone?" *Kúwai* told him what had happened. This made *Mamûwũ* angry and he took "Carved Woman" away from *Kúwai*. Now *Kúwai* lived alone and went about looking for another wife. He sat upon the branch of a tree and wept. Then along came Otter. He asked *Kúwai* why he was weeping. *Kúwai* told him that *Mamûwũ* had taken away his wife. Otter then told *Kúwai* where his wife was living. He led *Kúwai* to a beautifully painted house that was under the river. There *Kúwai* saw his wife. He seized her and fetched her home to Urania. One day *Kúwai* saw an angry *Mamûwu* come after him. In fright *Kúwai* leaped up and fled. He never returned. He is now living at Çarurú on the Vaupés without a wife.

In another version *Kúwai* cut down a tree and carved it into the form of a woman. He brought it to his grandmother and asked her to make all the body parts that belong to a woman. He returned to find that his grandmother had completed a beautiful woman. This woman did not know where she had come from. She went to the river to fetch water. An anaconda came by and copulated with her. Each day when she went for water the anaconda came and they copulated. *Kúwai* noticed this. One day he watched, and when his wife and the anaconda were copulating, *Kúwai* blew a dart from his blowgun very high into the air. It came down with great force, struck the anaconda in the back, and killed him. *Kúwai* seized the anaconda and cut off his penis. He transformed it into four minnows which he gave to his wife to eat. As she ate the minnows, *Kúwai* told her she was eating the penis of her lover. The woman spit out the food and went to the river to look for her lover, but he did not appear. *Kúwai* then threw his wife away and she became a tree again.

In a third version the saddened wife, awaiting the return of her anaconda lover at the river, was disappointed when only a little anaconda "as thin as a string" appeared to tell her that her lover was dead.

[587] It is perhaps indicative of Cubeo attitudes on marital stability that *Kúwai* is depicted as ultimately unsuccessful in marriage, and, disillusioned with the faithlessness of woman, retires to live in solitude on a nearby hilltop.

593 601 The terms for spouse, *himanípako* (wife) and *himanípakũ* (husband), denote the important emphasis in marriage. These terms mean literally "my children's mother" and "my children's father." Before children are born husband and wife address one another simply with the common expression hàpyako (listen!).

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the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patriloral sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

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586 Divorce is easy and rather frequent during the early years of marriage. Most often it is the woman who leaves her husband, for the general reason that she does not like him and, more rarely, because he beats her. If a woman has no intention of going back to her husband she returns home, re-enters her parents' household, and her husband has no further claim upon her. If she is undecided, she claims the hospitality of a neighboring sib and awaits a reconciliation. A marriage is not officially severed, on the woman's part, unless she returns home. She cannot run away with another man and expect to avoid trouble. Men send wives away mainly because they are barren. [842] The Cubeo have no other official view of infertility than that the woman is using an abortifacient. They therefore tend to view barrenness as a hostile act. A wife who is asked to leave has no choice but to do so. Her grown children are expected to remain behind in their own sib, while the nursing baby accompanies the mother.

586 684 The most common source of marital discord that may also lead to divorce is adultery. From quarrels that erupt during drinking parties the impression is created that adultery is very common. Almost invariably it is the woman who is blamed, partly because women commonly are sexually aggressive, and partly because that is the least disruptive view to take of the matter; it does least damage to the important male solidarity of the sib.

614 **BAHÚKIWA MARRIAGES**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Byówa* | 14 | *Tatúyo* | 3 |
| Canana | 7 | *Siriana* | 2 |
| *Miandwa* | 5 | *Buébowa* | 1 |
| *Hürüwá* | 4 | *Hurédariwa* | 1 |
| *Korówa* | 4 | Karapana | 1 |
| *Yuritá* | 4 | *Piratapúyo* | 1 |
| *Djurémawa* | 3 | *Tóriawú* | 1 |
| *Konéntaraboiwú* | 3 | | |

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# 6

## *Leadership and Authority*

Leadership among the Cubeo follows a principle that tends to understate authority. This principle asserts that leadership derives from giving more than one receives. Authoritarian relationships, by contrast, follow an opposing principle, that of receiving more than one gives. Authority, to be sure, can be established on a personal basis of personality and prowess. However, societies that have developed strong authority systems have usually done so by economic means, by inequality in the flow of goods. An authority system based on unequal flow of goods upward, from the community to a chief, is likely to respond quickly to economic development, and at the same time to foster economic growth. The Cubeo theory effectively minimizes the economic impact of leadership. The principle of greater flow to the top creates the condition for an expanding economic-political system, whereas the principle of greater flow from the top down creates the conditions for a static political-economic system. The economic role of the Cubeo headman is confined largely to stimulating the production of chicha. In short, the Cubeo headman gives all of his effort and ability to the community. The community, for its part, has no obligation to give anything to him. Since he has no authority to command economic productivity, for he is not an economic redistributor, he is devoid of significant economic function. At the same time the headman is a secular figure; he has no greater magical or religious powers than any other and so he is lacking in sacred authority. He may be a war leader, but he need not be; and even when he is a war leader, it is a very small party that he commands. Thus,

571 433 622 571 433 [701]

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622 571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habókũ* and *kenámi upákũ*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókũ* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment [592] is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákũ*, on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókũ* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókũ*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókũ* attributes. Thus 622 614 554 not all headmen qualify as *habókũ*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, such as the *Ómbawa*, *Aúnbwawũ*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókũ* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókũ* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókũ* as headman. Not every *habókũ* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the head- [701] man. In time of war the *habókũ* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

622 614 554 301 292 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókũ* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókũ* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókũ*. The *Bakúkiwa* define *habókũ* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókũ*.[1]

[114] [565] [1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kénádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since
301 stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
554 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[756] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[437] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region.
[614] The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grün-
[184] berg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *hnbóhũ* status or *kenámi upáhũ*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[135] [2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[324] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Aiarí it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election – one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihi*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

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622 692 No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

622 614 574 273 156 Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may berome burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib [554] is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókũ* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kenámi upákũ*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that [47K] their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

622 614 571 578 156 The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed [157] about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

622 648 156 The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their [614] forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

600 There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

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There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grünberg was told the same thing (1909, I, 264). One is also told that other people have powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this, but Koch-Grünberg, who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desanas had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grünberg that great chiefs ruled along the Papurý and Tiquié rivers. When he got there he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now. 643 622 114

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grünberg notes that the headmanship is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it that the house is kept in order; and if he leaves for any length of time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took him seriously. Koch-Grünberg had the impression, however, that the oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a headman. 622 171 [888] [554]

## LAW AND JUSTICE

With respect to the administration of justice and of order the headman is no magistrate. He is a mediator, a counselor, and often a persuasive advocate of his own views. It is the entire adult community that must reach a decison. The headman provides for orderly discussion until a decision is reached. Within the sib a primary objective of the headman's efforts is to smooth over difficulties, calm tempers, and restore the atmosphere of congeniality. There are, however, serious breaches of the peace, such as sorcery, persistent adultery, chronic and malicious theft of food, and murder when punishment is called for. In such cases the aim of the headman is not to calm 622 627 [614]

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622
627 tempers but to inflame and to focus angry passions upon the culprit. He does so because the Cubeo do not tolerate a judicious and cold-blooded administration of punishment. Their view is that malicious
[673] acts are committed in anger. Such acts provoke anger in return, in the course of which the culprit is suitably punished. Thus, a wrongdoer always runs away. Even if he should regard himself as innocent of the charge, when he learns that charges are being discussed he deems it prudent to leave. He need not be gone very long – perhaps just a few months. When he returns the anger against him has died down and there will be no basis for action. In cases where a sibman
622 is being provocatively uncooperative and the senior households, to-
627 gether with the headman, agree that he should be made to leave,
574 they wait for a drinking party when someone, or the headman him-
614 self, picks a quarrel with the culprit. In the heat of the quarrel the unwelcome sibman is asked to leave. The traditional drinking party
[182] seems to serve as the most appropriate setting for the airing and settling of grievances and of disputes.

578 Fighting is the most common social disturbance and is inevitable
574 during a drinking party. A quarrel between two men draws in others, usually close kin; each man entering the fray loudly proclaims his reason for joining, justifying by anger his right to take part. Members of the same household always have justifiable cause for anger in assisting one another. More distant kin must cite a personal motive. They can claim a past insult. A host or headman is privileged
578 to intervene to stop a fight but will do so reluctantly. In a Cubeo
574 quarrel the detached bystander is not welcome. Women are usually
622 strongly disturbed by fighting. They dread that someone will get hurt and when a fracas becomes bloody they loudly demand that the headman put a stop to it. If he ignores them, pretending to be drowsy with drink, they abuse him and say he is not fit to be a headman. A headman is drawn to anger and to participation in a fray if a cere-
578 monial friend has joined a fight without asking his permission.
574 Ceremonial friends are as one and should share the same quarrels. Fighting at a drinking party, although actually disliked by the Cubeo,
[572] is not a punishable offense, since the angry parties have had full opportunity to retaliate. When the fight is over the issue is usually closed, unless new threats and insults are uttered. Those will be remembered at the next drinking party and serve to start a new fight.

682 Retaliation for murder is the responsibility only of the members of the victim's own household and lineage. Sibmates are under no
[614] obligation to avenge a murder unless, they reason publicly, the mur-

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682 derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault. [614]

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when [593] his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a [578] monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. [763] In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to [825] shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, [625] however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer [697] and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is 682 no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The 593 only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, [266] crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as [762] he then cut his throat and died.

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old 683 *Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves 685 pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihí*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihí* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft [276] is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

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684 Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatiyo*. In the case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

[754] Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless com-
[562] pounded by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery, never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel. An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the hus-
684 band or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman,
622 concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by
614 emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example
574 illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahikiwa*, when intoxication was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Whereupon the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned. The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the pro-
684 prieties of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to re-
622 quest coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger
834 unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the
883 errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is re-
684 viled as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger
[562] at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kiwai*'s diffi-
[773] culties with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kiwai* crushes his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her manioc garden.

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Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. 754
Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine [753]
men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering [761]
mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning" is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent
death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In 683
all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

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Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

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754 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the
694 hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle
[756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man
[622] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The headman is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused if he can refute the charges.

## WARFARE (*bwaíno*)

721 People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one
[615] another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently ex-
[614] changed wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from Querarí killed Hühû, an old *Bahúkiwa* who was then living at Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the Querari, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants, and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a plundering raid. When they killed Hühû and others in his house they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for
[614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a
[648] *Hehénewa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cuduiarí; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban, Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas raided the Cuduiarí annually during the dry season, when they could move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war
[114] alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert.
[723] I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

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pared. The defense leader was the headman's son. An earlier alarm had already brought the Independents to the main house and a boy had been sent to call in the Satellites and to warn the neighboring sibs. The headman's son, after a hasty consultation with the other young adults, decided upon a psychological defense. He fetched a police officer's discarded white tunic with brass buttons and shoulder straps that he had been cherishing, put it on over his bare body, and strode out to frighten the enemey. The women and children were assembled in the maloca with one man as their guard. Other men fanned out through the manioc gardens and into the surrounding brush to search out the enemy. One stray shot was fired by a defender. The house was kept under guard for several nights thereafter and then the danger was declared past. 721 723

An attack by the Cariban Umaua (*Maúnwa*) that occurred three generations ago is still vividly recalled. The *Bahúkiwa*, warned that the enemy was ascending the Cuduiarí by canoe, prepared an ambush. They dammed the river with the bark sheeting of house walls and waited to assail the enemy with bow and arrow. But the enemy were armed with rifles and they killed a great many of the *Bahúkiwa*. 726 648 [173]

When the attackers first came, the Indians on the Cuduiarí did not know whether they were men or women, because they wore their hair long and were dressed in long shirts. The Umaua attacks were so fierce that for several years the Indians were forced to abandon the Cuduiarí altogether. Some gave up farming and lived on the savannah, foraging fruits and nuts and eating tree bark. When they finally returned to the Cuduiarí, the manioc plantations were all gone and they had to resume manioc cultivations from seeds they had preserved. The other Indians of the Cuduiarí gathered on the Vaupés under the direction of a *Hehénewa* war leader, who told them that the white man would save them from their enemies. He made a clay image called a *tupana* (the Tupían and lingua franca for a deity). They danced and sang for two months, until a Colombian came. The idea of the *tupana* came, they say, from a Brazilian caboclo. When the Colombian arrived, he told them that he had heard their singing in Bogotá and had come to rescue them. They then returned to their former homes on the Cuduiarí. 648 722 648 [789] [177]

In past years raids were more frequent and determined.[8] The Cubeo fought with bow and arrow and protected themselves with body-length shields of stiffened animal hide, deer, jaguar, or tapir. The 726 411 714

[8] Tribes with whom the Indians of the Cuduiarí claim to have fought include the Cariban Umaua, all the formerly Arawakan sibs of the Querarí River, tribes of the Isana River, and the *Hehénewa*, after they had arrived from the Papurí. [648]

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411 shields rested on the ground and the men fired their arrows from
714 behind them.

At a victory dance the men wore the smoked genitals of the killed
727 warriors over their own genitals as an ornamental trophy. After the
266 dance the women were offered the penises to eat for fertility. Except
[842] for the intestines, deemed not fit to eat, the enemies were consumed at a sib feast and drinking party. The head, limbs, liver, and heart were spit roasted, the rest of the meat was boiled.

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# *Development of the Individual*

The development of individual character is always relevant to an 121
understanding of social organization. In the case of Cubeo social 621
organization, founded, as it is, upon the lifelong continuity of the sibling group of males, the psychological factors are of particular importance. The following discussion will attempt to show the relationship between some of the experiences of a Cubeo from infancy to adulthood and some of the formal principles of Cubeo social organization. By and large, Cubeo social organization must conform to the direct psychological dispositions of its members for the commanding reason that the people have a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. The sib, as we have noted, is readily split; this means, in [614]
psychological terms, that those who find any cause for dissatisfaction [578]
with life within the community are quick to leave. The community, therefore, is constantly being drained of its malcontents. Those who remain are, in a manner of speaking, in harmony with one another. This harmony, it should be said at once, is not that of homogeneity. It is based rather upon individual complementarities, of extraversion-introversion, active-passive, and leader-follower, as in any community. The harmony is between the requirements of adult life and the experiences of childhood.

The Cubeo use the following age-grade terms. The nursing infant 561
from birth until it learns to crawl is called *abohoidjó* (male) or 192
*abohokó* (female); a crawling infant is *tcumi* (male or female, although *tcumiko* is possible for the female); the walking child who

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561 still needs help is *tcumíhinkü* (male) or *tcumíhinko* (female); the
192 youngster until puberty is *hwainyó* (male) or *hwainkó* (female); the adult male is *ümü* (male) or *nomyó* (female), and finally, the old people are *bekü* (male) or *bekó* (female).

## BIRTH AND INFANCY

842 The Cubeo believe it is the spermatic fluid (*hürü*) that causes conception. They regard the womb as a ground in which the fetus grows, or is cultivated as seeds are planted in the earth. Since men and women do not discuss together the biology of conception and of
[843] pregnancy, their views differ. Men I spoke to dated conception from the time when the abdomen begins to swell, while women dated it
843 from the cessation of menstruation. Both sexes believe that con-
833 tinued coitus after conception will add to the number of children
842 that will grow in the womb. Stories are told of people who did not heed this so that the woman burst from an accumulation of fetuses. Coitus is stopped, however, by the male reckoning.

842 It is a common view of men that women are not eager to bear
847 children. Women, they say, know how to bring about abortion and frequently resort to infanticide. They explain that women are sexu-
[833] ally too ardent and rather than forgo coitus during the long nursing period they would rather not have a child at all. Moreover, a woman who has not been enjoying sexual intercourse with her husband will abort or kill her offspring. If she chooses infanticide, however, she spares the boy. Women do concede knowledge and use of abortifacients and they acknowledge that others of their sex practice infanticide. They agree that a woman who does not love her husband
842 punishes him by denying him a child. Thus, the Cubeo are disin-
[586] clined to believe in barrenness or in sterility, attributing infertility to female design. A man, therefore, has cause to abandon a wife who bears him no children. One man told that he had abandoned his wife for not bearing children. Later they became reconciled; his wife had a change of heart and began to bear children.

847 Male infanticide, I was assured, was rare, for even the most dis-
[562] affected or self-indulgent woman would not have the heart to kill a male child. Both men and women agreed that a girl was less important. The unwanted child is buried alive, it is said, at the very spot where it was born.

842 The likelihood is very strong, then, that a child is born to a family that desires it, and in which husband and wife are happy with each other. Parturition takes place in the woman's manioc garden. A

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woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen 844
a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by [606]
her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give [789]
birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a bi- -ite. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the womar ..ires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Inc nsist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of tl ı. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and i... ted by proper ceremony in the male domain. There [591]
is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

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Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and 776
require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not [756]
affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in [754]
labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may [761]
be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwānīadjū*: making a person) is a dangerous period. 844
First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural 789
perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety 84
of the newborn infant rests with the parents — with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the pre- [833]
cautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may 846
also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten 826
plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

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843 826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating. [302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to another, [763] her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 854 302 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers) she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red [789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment, [856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on [603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these [606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

546 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the [262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others [372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their [828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians. 846

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kūrûdjū*) by painting its body with genipa. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow. [789] [856]

The arrival of an infant to the maloca is a period of grave crisis. It is the principal responsibility of the men of the maloca to dispel the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *couvade* — the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chanting away its dangers with appropriate spells. The grandmother paints the infant with genipa. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbilical cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant. 846 789 [604] [622] [756] [757] [837]

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly troublesome feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its distinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the 846 789 262

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846 789 262 fish that are mentioned. For example, a small fish that has many small bones, the *dóthe*, is addressed, "Son of the *dóthe* have no spines. Do not cause harm to our offspring. Allow [yourself] to be eaten."

[603] In the case of the aracú, the most common fish in the diet, the grandfather who is reciting the spells takes up a fish and cuts off its tail. If he did not do this, the tail when eaten would grow into a full-sized fish in the stomach and kill the child. After each spell has been recited the grandfather blows tobacco smoke, wafting his breath by an outward motion of the hand. The magical mechanism, as it was explained to me, is that the recitation invokes the fish and the blowing (*pupúdjü*) has the effect of dispelling the danger.

Capsicum is spelled and blown so that its odor, which has the power to dispel ghosts and spirits, will not harm the child. Manioc has a disturbing odor when raw. This odor will be harmful and the manioc itself will not nourish if the spell is not recited. The child will remain thin. Eating unspelled manioc cake will also cause the child's skin to become as hard and coarse as the bark of a tree. Each variety of manioc, however, must be mentioned by name.

For birds, however, the small white eagle is invoked because this bird, the *towáve*, eats all birds that the Cubeo eat. The spell states that as the "odor of burned birds" does not harm the *towáve* so it will not harm the human young. Similarly, for animals the young of the jaguar are invoked in behalf of all the game they eat. However, whereas the *towáve* is addressed generally in behalf of all birds, the spell for the jaguar must mention each of the animals he eats by name. Again, the danger to be avoided is in each case that of the odor of cooking.

846 789 The spell that is chanted as the river is "blown" refers to the anacondas, asking them not to notice the people who are bathing. The cigarette smoke as it is wafted over the river is told to form a heavy coating as of miriti fibers so that nothing that is below water can come to the surface.

The reference of these spells seems ambiguous for the Cubeo. It is clear, of course, that what is sought is protection for the newborn [551] infant. Since the infant has as yet no name and must be referred to only by the general designation *pwénte hyédokü* (offspring person), the spells, my informant explained, have beneficial effects for all offspring of the sib.

[302] The man who "blows" the river coats his hands and feet with genipa so that he seems to be wearing gloves and stockings. The genipa has magical power to dispel water spirits. He carries a handful of burning faggots from the hearth of the natal household while

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act be- 846
lieved to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, 789
scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press any- 846
thing, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of [789]
these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is 551
not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given 851
a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child [789]
comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. [856]
To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to 826
understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body *size*, how much
they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. *Size* is a virtue in [192]
itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahii* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahiimikũ* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is con- 553
ducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the 603
name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the 789
house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather re- 593
peatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father
accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's [272]
mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to [614]
emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it
grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth [856]
magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihí*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urâhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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They are given milk
Milk of our soil
Milk that causes to grow
People who are being grown
People of our soil
People who are our younger sisters
Milk of the calabash
Milk that makes one grow quickly
Milk of our soil
People of our soil
People who are our younger brothers
The first one to grow fat
He [also] will grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
Milk that is nourishing that will make [him] fat
People of our soil
*Urúhana* who was the first to grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
He will grow fat
Milk that is liquid
Milk that is nourishing
The manioc gruel that is nourishing
Milk of our land
People of our land
*Urúhana* was the first one
The manioc gruel that he ate
The milk that was given to him.

Milk of our soil
That our offspring may grow
That we may all grow
Milk of the calabash
The offspring of *Urúhana*[9]
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of the calabash it drank
A child was being born to *Urúhana*
The offspring of *Urúhana*
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of our soil
She saw him grow
The son of *Hihédã*
Her fat offspring
Milk of our soil
She saw them grow

[9] The first child was born to *Hehdnowa* Ancients *Urúhana* and his wife *Hihédã*. *Djurédo* was the sister of *Urúhana* and she gave the child milk drawn from her own breast into a calabash.

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urähana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

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[157] Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the in-
[515] fant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early
[296] afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo
[252] child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and
854 if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I
155 once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow
[853] log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtu-
[853] ally impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to
[831] make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's
000 genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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The Cubeo are also fond of the
young of animals and treat them with intelligent solicitude. One man 825
built a long platform in his house so that his dogs would not have to sleep on the ground. Men, having shot some monkeys, found an infant clinging to its mother's dead body. They massaged the monkey's breast, saying, "The baby should have the last drop of its mother's milk."

Toilet training is casual. No one who carries a child about shows 863
annoyance or disgust at being soiled. The Cubeo are reticent about excretory functions but they do not teach by chiding. They have no fixed ideas as to when a child should be toilet trained. The only injunctions a crawling baby is likely to hear are warnings against injury, if it is too near the fire or the liquid starch with its poisonous content of prussic acid. Still, it is rare for a walking child to urinate or defecate in the house.

Walking and talking are actively encouraged. To help the child 856
walk the father provides a harness (*taro*) through [illegible] child's legs pass, allowing it to sit, stand, or walk. The ha[illegible] often suspended from a beam and serves as a tether for the child. Mother and father stimulate the child to talk by fluttering its lips. Lip fluttering is a game that persists into late childhood. Cubeo parents dread passivity in a child. They want to see it stirring about and restless. It is for this reason that the mother teases her infant, stirring it to anger or gaiety. The story is told that *Kiiwai* once observed a passive child. He said, "The child must be made to move about," and so [773]
created the bothersome pium flies.

The crawling baby is still in its mother's charge. When it has be- 85
gun to walk and to take solid nourishment, and its parents have resumed sexual relations, it is transferred to the care of an older sister. Every little girl from the age of six on is burdened with a walking baby that rides her left hip as it did its mother's. At this age, when it is learning to walk, many people look after the child. Its paternal [603]
grandmother becomes a principal guardian and looks after the child's feeding. After a new baby is born the separation of the young walking child from its mother becomes almost complete. A woman [862]
discourages nursing by coating her nipples with a bitter substance even though a boy has casual and playful access to his mother's breast until about the age of six.

## CHILDHOOD

In the life of a boy there is an interval of some four years when he 855
no longer receives the same close attention from his mother and has

[text continues on p. 177]

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Fig. 8. *Bahukina* mother and child.

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not yet joined the male play pack. By the time he is old enough for 855
active play he has been well weaned from dependence upon the mother. In the case of a girl, this "dead" interval is one in which she waits to be useful to her mother. I saw no temper tantrums. Children of this age seem rather passive and steadfastly attached to the little sister.

For the boy, growth means a gain in autonomy, for the girl it [562]
means closer ties to the mother but with ever increased chores. The boy is the favorite of his mother; the girl, who is to become a drudge, receives more severe attention from a disciplinarian mother.

What I have called the play pack, the grouping of boys from the 857
age of six to past adolescence, is the major educational institution of [614]
the sib. It is in a sense an age grade whose members remain closely associated throughout their lives in most cases. The distinctive feature of the Cubeo play pack is that it is an autonomous body subject to virtually no regulation or supervision. A boy occasionally joins his father, but his primary linkage is to the "pack." The pack forms its own leadership, forages for food, plays in the river, roams the bush, attaches itself from time to time to the collective activities of the men, practices songs and dances in anticipation of ceremonies, and spies and reports on lovers. The pack leader assumes responsibility for proper behavior, scolding boys for wayward sexual behavior, that is, breaching the incest rules, and lending assistance and encouragement with skills. The boys are never mischievous and are never scolded or disciplined by adults. A youngster does not actually understand anger directed against him. Only once did I see a father [593]
strike his young son in a fit of temper. The boy neither flinched nor cowered. He merely stared at his father as though waiting for an explanation. The man rapidly regained his poise, laughed, and pretended he had struck the boy playfully. On another occasion, a little girl tipped over a large tray of manioc mash so that it was totally spoiled. Although the accident cost hours of work it provoked only amused laughter. One might add here that even the depredations of [231]
a pet monkey, some of which were quite costly, were met only with amusement.

The pack is not sealed off from adult activities, but its relationship to adult work is voluntary. The Cubeo distinguish sharply between play that is appropriate to young boys and work and ceremonial life that is appropriate to adult males. Thus, whatever work the play pack chooses to help with is welcomed, but when the boys become bored with a task and leave it there is no ground for complaint against them. The young unmarried men who have left the

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857 [883] The young unmarried men who have left the play pack are a link between the pack and the circle of adults. The older men take no notice of the pack as a group at all. After dark each boy returns to his own household.

The life of the boy is largely collective, that of the girl is individualized. She is bound, so to speak, to the household hearth, and her social or play life corresponds rather closely to that of her mother. Girls have no independent games of their own. They assemble with their infant charges for gossip, looking rather sedate as they admire one another's ornaments. They are not free to mix with the boys unless invited to take part in games. Such games as they join often have a mythological reference and may be interpreted, I think, as children's ceremonies.

524 The Northwest Amazon is rather rich in children's games and toys. Among the *Bahúkiwa* a popular children's game is that of the *abúhuwa*, the forest ogres or demons, and the tem tem bird, the *taíntürü*. Boys and girls, including the smallest toddlers, form a circle around a child, who is always a grown boy. The circle is of the *abúhuwa*, who have surrounded the *taíntürü*. When the game starts the "bird" is crouched in the center, his head resting on his knees, and the circle is dancing around him. From time to time a boy enters the circle to tap the "bird" on the head and to pinch his flesh to determine if he is grown enough to be eaten. Then the children stop circling and several raise the *taíntürü* to his feet, who announces that he is now awake by stopping his ears with his fingers and calling out *hru hru hru*. The *abúhuwa* link hands and again dance around him in a circle. The "bird" must now make an effort to break out. He can easily break out by charging at a weak link. But this he will not do because it would be disheartening to a very little child, who must be part of the game but not a spoiler of the game. As he hurls himself at the line the "bird" hears two kinds of encouragement. One group calls to the line *paré paré* (strength! strength!), encouraging it to hold, another calls at the boy *temúdjo temúdjo* (break through! break through! [as an arrow from a bow]). When the boy breaks through he is called back to the circle where he again frees himself, this time by verbal means. Standing in the center he turns suddenly upon a child in the line and points to part of the child's body. The child must immediately reply, "The [naming the part] of the *abúhukü*." What usually confuses the child is the necessity of saying "of the *abúhukü*." When a number of children have failed to answer properly the child who is the *taíntürü* breaks through the line once more and a new "bird" is chosen.

This game is played only on cool, pleasant evenings and seems to

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be a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident 524
that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the
game, or ceremony, to me as follows. Some children were left or- 524
phaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their 773
mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked
their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing
for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed
in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch
of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children
returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother
gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their
tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days
they had become *taíntürü* birds. They returned to the house and
lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each
day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa*
but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his
younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and
seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their
parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so
can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or 524
any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grünberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahúkiwa*.

## PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood 881
to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual
matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely
be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are [789]
subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until [856]
they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter.
The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere
in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. 852
An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this 831
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852 831 [887] [614] task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen [881] [833] intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; offi- [844] cially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, [821] a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not [881] yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be 881 secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, [514] through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she [826] will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To [515] develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that [302] creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me [515] see how much pain you can stand."

[302] At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is [574] held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

114 When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them 881 she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. 756 Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father 881 Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

881 After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[3] She is also known as *nomínysivi* (becoming a woman).

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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe. 841 [833] [828] [758]

Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her. 826 841 821 [828]

## SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy. 836 835 [838] [775] [867] [626]

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis. 838

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831
832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[191] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavímiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekũku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwá*, and armpit hair is *pwá butcí* (literally, hair tobacco).

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Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *ayd*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

## POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1949, p. 25), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

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888 as well. The fixed relationships of mutual obligation are, as has been
[593] seen, between husband and wife, between parents and dependent
[57] children, between unmarried brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends. These relationships either do not apply to the aged, or, if they do, they may not be of great value to them. Generally speaking, the aged can depend upon those who are younger and vigorous only for the generalized sib benefits of sustenance and companionship. The deprivation of the aged is in what one might mistakenly call "the nonessentials." There is no one to buy an old lady a new petticoat or to get for an old man commercial tobacco. The
888 aged do not protest such neglect because they acknowledge their lack
123 of claim. Nonetheless, they feel their neglect and loss of status keenly enough. When I was among the *Bahúkiwa*, an aged lady employed all her senile charms to wheedle from me a new petticoat. Her husband, a very proud old man, deigned to accept only an occasional cigarette. From time to time he brought me fish and the old lady fetched me some of her small garden produce to reciprocate my favors.

888 The old must look after themselves. The very old *Bahúkiwa* couple maintained a semblance of an independent household. The old woman, unable to carry a load of manioc, no longer gardened, but she fetched firewood and looked after children. She cooked for her husband. Her daughter-in-law provided her with manioc cake. The old man was still a good fisherman, contributing to the maloca. Besides, he was a consultant on many matters, particularly on trees to be used in manufactures.

[18] The focus of Cubeo culture is upon the vigorous household heads.
[769] The aged simply fall out of things. They are entitled to no particular respect, nor have they cause to be feared as spirits-to-be, for the Cubeo are interested only in their first ancestors and not in the spirits of the more recent dead.

## DEATH

761 Death may be attributed by the Cubeo to natural causes such as
[754] accidents, violence, old age, but if it is the result of illness, it must be laid to some agency that has willed it. The most common agency
763 is human. Whether the agency is human or supernatural the reaction to death is patterned on grief, anger, and fear. The Cubeo reaction to death is to give full rein to grief and anger and to short-circuit as quickly as possible the forebodings that what has happened to one may happen to all. The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were

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The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were all attributed to human sorcery so that I have no information on the 763
Cubeo response to natural death or to death attributed to spirits. 754
Mourning is extensive but does not impose unusually onerous duties 76
or restrictions upon the survivors. Mourning goes through three 114
phases. In the first, from the moment of death to burial, which follows quickly, the immediate kin and all sibmates yield to their spontaneous emotions, but up to a point, for the ritualization of emotion sets in quickly. In the second, which is the period from burial to the great mourning ceremony, the nearest female kin of the household – wife, mother, sister – accept the burden of mourning. Finally, in the third phase, the entire living cosmos of the Cubeo – people, Ancients, birds, beasts, fish, insects, and demons – join in the mourning. This third phase, an intricate ceremony, is described in a separate chapter. The dead, as already indicated, are buried beneath the dance floor of the house, emphasizing, it seems to me, the importance the Cubeo place on the house itself rather than upon mere locality. [182]

I was present at the last hours of old João, a *Bahúkiwa* and *bakũdyá* 763
of the headman. He had been ill for several weeks, the medicine men [114]
had given up on him, and his death was, therefore, not unexpected. The Cubeo are not solicitous of the dying. Once its inevitability has been accepted death is awaited almost with indifference. Father Giacone (1949, p. 29), speaking for the neighboring Tucano, also observed that once the illness appears to be fatal the patient is given up for lost. Such patients, he adds, will be buried alive. When death seemed near – the old man was breathing with difficulty with a dry rasp – his wife took up the death watch at his hammock. At the moment of death her loud wailing awakened the house and all rushed to surround the hammock except the headman and his wife. Since it is the duty of the headman to preside over the inquest that follows upon the first outburst of grief he must plan upon a properly timed arrival. A shaman of another sib who was in the house also did not intrude upon the mourners, both in his role as shaman and as a sib outsider. [622]

The old woman, truly grief-stricken, had embraced her dead husband's body in the hammock and rocked over it, moaning and wailing. She withdrew, however, when the younger brother of João arrived. He felt for the heartbeat and then covered the old man's face with some rags that had been the sick man's blanket. The women had all gathered to one side of the hammock and they wept continuously, chorusing the loud and emphatic wailing of the widow. The 764
brother fetched his shotgun, moving slowly and grimly. He loaded

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764 it with a wad and turned to face the corpse. Each man now went with the same slow deliberateness to fetch his gun. The armed men formed a tight circle about the hammock, the widow in their midst pressed against it. Brandishing the weapon, the brother began the funeral declamation, a statement of grief and then anger and the threat of retaliation against the enemy. Each male mourner delivered his own address, always declaring his kinship relationship to the old man. The women accompanied the hoarse shouts of masculine anger with their own counterpoint of grief. After the last man had spoken they all fired their guns into the air together. The widow then withdrew to her hammock and lay silently while the men gathered about the hammock, caressed the corpse, and wept, accompanied in their grief by the women.

[537] When this first wave of mourning, which lasted some two hours, had subsided, the headman's wife arrived, took her place at the head of the hammock, and delivered a long funeral oration that began in anger and ended in tears. As she finished it seemed that the [761] grief had subsided; people stirred about more. Informally, and apparently spontaneously, the inquest began; names were mentioned and evidence cited. Women added their observations to those of the men, each citation being delivered in a loud and angry voice. [622] The headman broke in on this, an hour after his wife had finished [537] speaking. Armed with a gun he, too, approached the head of the hammock and delivered his funeral oration, concluding like the others with grief. During the angry part of his oration he summarized the suspicions and submitted his own. When the headman concluded, all the mourners drifted off and, since it was the middle of the night, all went to sleep. The respite was brief, and well before dawn mourning began again; mourners, men and women, approached the corpse (*yaiyũ*) in the hammock, caressed it, and wept.

[823] Preparations for burial began promptly at sunrise. Four men of the sib dug the grave (*tobĩkatcino*: hole underneath) four feet deep in an east-west direction to the left of the dance floor at the forward end of the house. They measured the corpse to get dimensions of the grave. When the grave had been dug halfway down one of the men lighted a cigarette and, bending over the sides but not entering the grave itself, blew cigarette smoke into each of its four corners, "so that the dead would always have tobacco."

[412] It took several hours to dig out the grave with machetes. While this was being done, others were preparing a canoe as the old man's coffin. A man is buried in his own canoe as a rule. However, the canoe of João was an excellent one, whereas one of the men had only re-

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cently split a new canoe while spreading it. It was decided to substi- 764
tute the split canoe. The canoe was cut in half, one end serving as the bottom and the other as the top of the coffin.[6] When the canoe was ready, the headman and three sib elders untied the hammock in which the dead man was lying and brought the corpse, bound in the hammock, to the canoe half that lay alongside the grave. The Cubeo prefer not to handle a corpse, except to caress it as a gesture of grief and affection. The corpse is wrapped in its hammock in the same way in which household effects are wrapped in it for transportation. The corpse lying in the hammock had naturally assumed a moderately flexed position, the knees drawn up and the hands folded across the abdomen. They laid it carefully in the canoe, face down. A woman of the sib brought a gourd dish that had a hole drilled in it and placed it over the old man's head. The dish is for use in the afterlife and the hole is for breathing. A young man brought up the sib's *behórũ*, dance staff and pennant of all social ceremonial. He broke it in two and laid the pieces alongside the corpse. From what I had been told about burial practices I had expected that all the personal effects of the old man would be buried with him. When I asked they shrugged and said, "He won't need them." Koch-Grünberg, among 764
the *Hehénewa*, reported, on the other hand, that a man is buried 184
with his dance feathers, which are laid upon his breast. His bow and arrows, fishing gear, and other possessions are burned upon the grave. A woman's trays and dishes are burned and her pots broken up and thrown into the woods. These things must be disposed of, he observed, to prevent the dead from coming back. Presumably burial practices have changed to some degree. When I was among the *He-* 764
*hénewa* they were not burying a man's ceremonial feathers with 184
him, but used them in the mourning ceremony as a representation 178
of the deceased.

The entire community had gathered to watch the preparations for 764
burial. Men and women wept, except those men who were handling the burial. The widow punctuated the weeping with her own loud wails. The top of the canoe was lashed into place and the canoe was lowered by ropes into the grave by four men. All the men of the sib [614]
crowded over the grave and reached into it to touch the canoe, weeping unrestrainedly.

Through all of the first stage of mourning the children had taken

[6] An alternative method of burial is in a large pottery jar. Urn burial is preferred for women and children, who may not have a canoe. In their tales the Cubeo do not mention canoe burial at all. They speak of the body as put in a large urn in a sitting position.

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764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to [615] grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON

537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

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[he shall be abandoned]. His flesh will not be firm, he will rot away. He shall not shorten the days of my life. This one here [the deceased], he has departed. We shall endure. That thoughtless person, he did it. That poison had no power to make us sick, but he died. We do not have such poison. Such is not with us. He is the one who died. He did not live long enough to go and walk with us. Now we do not have a companion. As he died, so we, too, are going to die in this evil land. Let us bury him in our house, under the earth. Let us cover him. He has poisoned us and so we have lost one of us. And so my father has died. Where shall I see my father? He is buried. He has gone. He is ended on this day. He made me a man, he left me as a male descendant. I am still here. My father, my father. It is as if I, too, had died. I, too, can go. I know how. I am a man. When I shall see him [the murderer] I shall confront him. He and I shall meet. He who poisoned my father. It is I who live here. He did not care to behold my father and so he did it. My father raised me here. In my own land, in my father's house I will continue to live. He died, but I am not dead. I am still here. My father reared me as a man. I am going to kill him who poisoned my father. He who did this. I will do the same thing to him. [He fires his gun.]

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### FUNERAL ORATION BY A WIDOW

My husband has died. That evil person who did this to me, he, too, will die. We here shall not survive. He whom I wed at this place, my husband. Where shall I see him? They have buried him who was mine. He is gone now. It is finished. It is only today that he began to live here. They schemed, those who are of another place. They schemed about this, and so my own, my husband, has died. He died while with me. Now I remain a widow. Your father has died. Come and bury him. Your father said he had raised men as descendants of ours. My children, you are our men. They who did it did not care to behold your father and so now we are no more.

### FUNERAL REMARKS OF A PHRATRY VISITOR

Over there where I live, I heard about it so I came to your house. Is it true you have lost your father? Where did you bury him? I heard about it over there where I live, so I came to your house. It is my privilege to shed tears for your father. Do not scheme revenge. He who killed him will also die. You and I, we have lost one of our own. We shall all die.

### REPLY BY A SON

All right! Come in. I allowed my father—we allowed my father to die. In the same way that he died, we shall die. You have come from over there to shed tears. We are already finished, because we have lost one of ours. I allowed my father to die. As you have just spoken to me and asked, it is here that my father is buried. He did not last through the day. That evil one, he did not wish to behold us. He poisoned my father and that is why he died. Look over here [drawing the guest over to the grave]. Here is where he is. Here is where he is residing. Behold my father's house. My father has died. He is no longer alive. Badly he went.

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# 8

## *The Ancestor Cult*

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The ancestors of the sibs, the *Bekûpwänwa* (*bekû*: old man; *pwänwa*: people), literally, the Ancients, form the center of what may properly be called a cult.[1] The ancestral cult is neither elaborate nor well integrated. What it includes are a number of rites in which the ancestors, or Ancients, are invoked. In some cases the invocation of the Ancients has no special magical significance, as when the origin myths are recited at major drinking parties, or again when the ancestral couple *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikü* come to mourn for the sib dead. The first occasion is simply a remembrance by the sib of their ancestors, and the second is a reciprocal remembering and honoring of their sib by the ancestors. The relationship in both instances is mainly social. On the other hand, when an infant receives a sib name, when cohabiting couples bathe in the river, when youths bathe before dawn and sound the trumpets that embody the Ancients, and finally, when the young boys as well as the mature are whipped by the Ancients, the relationship is then fundamentally magical. On these occasions the Ancients bestow upon their sibmen the specific benefits of bodily growth, vigor, potency, and fertility.

The Cubeo do not assemble all of these rites and cite them as a connected series. The term *Bekûpwänwa*, in fact, is used to refer only to the Ancients when the origin myth is recited and to the bathing and whipping in the presence of the flutes and trumpets that embody

[1] The ancestors are also known as *Bekûdowa* (Old ones), a term that has the connotation of a grouping comparable to that of a sib.

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the Ancients. In the naming and in the mourning ceremonies specific ancestors are invoked by name and by specific kinship reference, as the mother or the grandmother of the sib. In the case of postcoital connubial bathing the ancestors are not invoked either by name or by spell; the bathers merely participate in their magical presence in the river. Some cult activities are secret, others are not. The rule of secrecy applies to the flutes and trumpets. These bear the names of ancestors and may not be seen by women. However, whenever these instruments appear, a specific ceremonial role is assigned to the women. In the whipping rites, which are also initiation rites for boys, the women receive gifts of fruits and berries in the name of the Ancients. In the mourning rites the ancestor trumpets sound their notes of grief, to which the women respond with wailing of their own. That is, when the Ancients enter the maloca they naturally establish a relationship with the women of the house. On the other hand, when the Ancients' blessings are invoked, but without the ancestral presence, the women have no part in the proceedings. The women are ignored during the naming ceremony and during the recitation of the sib mythology. Basically, the ancestral cult belongs to the men. When the boys are shown the hiding place of the flutes and trumpets and are taught their names they are being initiated into a male cult and are drawn fully, thereby, into their roles as sibmen. The social function of the initiation is twofold: to complete the separation of the boy from his mother and align him with his father and his father's brothers, and to draw him from the immaturity of the play pack into the mature company of men. We may speak of these rites, therefore, as *rites de passage* as well, bearing in mind, however, that the passage is a long and gradual one. The Cubeo emphasis with respect to the development of the male is not that he suddenly crosses a dividing line from boyhood to manhood but that he grows. The magic of the initiation ceremony is a magic of growth. Growth magic, it will be recalled, occurs at three stages in a boy's development: at birth, after a year when he receives his name, and then for a series of years after he has entered the play pack.

For a fuller understanding of the Cubeo cult of *Bekûpuãnuwa* one would need to know more about corresponding ceremonies among neighboring tribes. Curiously, no other ancestral cult has been reported for the entire Northwest Amazon. Koch-Grünberg, whose knowledge of the tribes of the region extended over many years, did not mention any ancestral doctrines even though he had lived for several months with the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiari. But like others who have studied this region his investigations were surely led astray

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769 171 [114] by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[2] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involv-
769 534 171 ing the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kówai* (*Kúwai*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are [241] quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries during the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano In- [881] dians, where sacred horns are used in the initiation of young boys, [184] the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and [552] agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as tamed animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral cult (Ypiringa Monteiro, 1960).

769 171 As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Cágaba (Park, 1946), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921–23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1948), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may
769 534 194 speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among
534 elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[2] Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekeboikelehapuivr*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.

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that are specifically identified as the *Bekûpurãnwa*, and that are used in the whipping and initiation ceremonies as well as in ritual bathing. 534

1. *Emíhehika* (also known as *haraibipobũ*: whipping staff) is a wide-mouth trumpet of bark wound within a framework of splints. It has a short palm-tube mouthpiece set into a ceramic plate that is mounted firmly to the upper end of the bark. This trumpet is some 30 inches long.

2. *Kwûhũnku* (also known as *Umênahonkũ*) is also a wide-mouth bark trumpet that is over five feet long and is played with one end resting on the ground.

3. *Bwũ* (Agouti) is a long flute of a black palm, also with a mouthpiece set in a clay mount and with two external reeds bound around an opening toward the top. It is about four feet long.

4. *Onpwénda* is a flute similar to *Bwũ* except that it has no separate mouthpiece and is only some 30 inches long.

5. *Onpwénda kûdjũwe* is identical with *Onpwénda* and is the length of a man's forearm. It is the shortest of the flutes.

*Bwũ* and *Onpwénda kûdjũwe* are said to be the strongest and fiercest of the ancestors and are esteemed for the vigor with which they whip. They are referred to as *parihihekũ* (very powerful beings). *Bwũ* is, of course, the founding ancestor of the *Bahúkiwa*. 769 [614]

Among the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí the largest bark-wound trumpet is also called *Umênahonkũ*. Koch-Grünberg translated this name correctly as "Dragonfly." The name, however, is that of a first ancestor of the *Hehénewa*. [534] [614]

The whipping rites, the Cubeo say, go back to the "first people," who were taught what to do by *Kúwai*. At the beginning, however, it was women who played the flutes and trumpets. They spent so much time on play that they did nothing else. *Kúwai* corrected this. He took the instruments from the women and gave them to the men, warning them never to allow the women to get them back.[3] This is the story that is cited to explain why the instruments are taboo to 769 534 773 [784]

[3] A variant account states that the *Bekûpurãnwa* had belonged to the women and that the men were afraid of them. The women came out of the forest bearing the instruments and the men ran away in fear. Then *Dekókũ* (Ghost person) learned about this and said, "Women have no right to this." He came down to witness the ceremony of the women. He saw only women and he said to them, "You are women, you have no right to this. Now I am going to take this away from you." He brought the instruments to the men and laid them on their forearms. When the women had the *Bekûpurãnwa* they danced all the time and never worked. After the men had received the instruments they allowed one old woman to see them. She turned insane and they had to kill her. Since then women have not been allowed to see the *Bekûpurãnwa*.

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534 women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekũpwänwa* to
[788] the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears
[773] about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she
[828] dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is
[754] felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will be kept from the other women.

769 The *Bekũpwänwa* come annually in the summer when a species of
796 palm berry (*konhd*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not grow. The *Bahũkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, however, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would seem to be an obvious one.

[561] As an age grade, youths are known as *hwainyõ*, but as boys who need whipping for growth they are known as *bahũdjo*, which may be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping voluntarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahũkiwa* and one among its subsib, the *Bahũkũdjauwũ*.

The *Bahũkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capable in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys subdued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the headman's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive 769
sib cult. 796

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance [534]
feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the [533]
river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the oncoming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent [202]
the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, [533]
swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and [291]
having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, as- [229]
cended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional [534]
five were used, *Bwũ*, *Onpwénda kũdjũwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They [535]
marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwũ* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kũdjũwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at [576]
the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was taboo but as a courtesy.

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769 taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters
796 went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca
[614] counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him
[222] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits
[857] and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konhá*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door.
[273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konhá* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and
[276] had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konhá*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Bwõ* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Bwõ* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch (*hardinw*) that he had picked at the water's edge.[4] The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

[614] [4] Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *haralhume* (*haral*: to strike; *humé*: bitter, unpleasant).

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pated. Other men picked up the horns and danced. The whipping could not begin before dark and it was evident that the man preparing the switch was working slowly so as not to finish too soon. The deliberation of his movements added to the apprehension of the boys. As the last rays of light in the doorway faded, the boys suddenly leaped from the bench and bolted out of the house. The man who was preparing the whip ran to the doorway and shouted at them to come back. All but one returned. The boy who did not return was a fatherless orphan and a maverick who did not share foraged food with his age mates. 769 796 [17 36]

The boys took their seats again and the men resumed dancing with the ancestor horns. They danced until the house was pitch black. A taper was lighted and *Buu*, represented by the senior member of the initiating group, stepped forward. He dragged the first boy to [354]

Fig. 9. *Bahúkiwa* boy.

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769 be whipped violently to the center of the dance floor. He chose an
796 eight-year-old boy, his own son. Normally the most amiable of men, he glowered at the boy, and in a harsh voice commanded him to stand straight, his legs together and his arms above his head. The little boy solemnly obeyed. The father faced his son, poised his whip for the first blow, and waited while the dancers circled them once, sounding the ancestor horns. When the dancers had completed one turn, the man inserted the switch in the far end of the horn and stirred it about to "draw from it the power of *Bwũ*." He then struck the boy across the loins with such force that the child ran screaming down the corridor toward the door. His father ran after him and without a word dragged him back. The first blow across the loins left a bloody scar on the boy's abdomen and was to impart sexual vigor, which resides inside the horn. The boy's paternal uncle stepped forward and rolled the second *Bwũ* horn along the child's back, starting at the calves and rolling it up to the head. This was to impart growth of stature, that resides on the outside of the horn. The boy had now regained his composure, and his father brought him a calabash of chicha. His father whipped him a second time, in the same way, and this time the boy controlled his fright, emitting only a gasp of pain as the whip lashed across his abdomen, raising a second welt. Again the uncle rolled the horn up the back. His father gave him a second calabash of chicha and the boy returned to his place on the bench, where he displayed his scars to his companions, composed and grinning from ear to ear.

Next to be initiated was the son of the headman's sister, the boy
[534] who was not of the sib. The same man did the whipping, using not *Bwũ* but *Onpwénda*, the least powerful of the three ancestors they were invoking. I concluded that a father would naturally initiate his own son with the most powerful and the very first of the ancestors, while saving the least potent for his cross nephew. When I mentioned
[182] this to the man he assured me I was wrong, explaining that it made
[614] no difference who was whipped with which ancestor since their blessings went not to any one person, but to all being initiated as well as to the sib as a whole. The important thing, he said, was not to neglect an ancestor who had been brought to the house. I am inclined to accept this explanation with some skepticism, because the Indians always deny inequality as a matter of courtesy, but they recognize it nonetheless. When informants discussed *Bahúkiwa* ancestors in general terms they all agreed that it was best to be whipped by *Bwũ* because "he is the strongest."

This boy was exceedingly apprehensive. Before the first blow

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could be struck he had bolted and had to be literally dragged back. 769
The first blow reduced him to such a state of trembling and hysterical 796
sobbing that I thought he would collapse. He could not swallow the chicha. The men paid no attention to the boy's terror and when he returned finally to the bench, still sobbing, his companions ignored him.* The first boy was by this time enjoying himself immensely.

The third initiate was the son of the headman, a boy who was the leader of his play pack. This lad strode confidently forward and raised his arms above his head without command. He faced his age mates, smiled at them, and took the blows without flinching. The next boy faced the ordeal with equal composure. The men waited for the orphan boy to return. When he did not they sent the youngsters to bring him, but they returned very quickly to say that he had run away.

There now remained two very young boys to be whipped. These were treated in a sense as junior initiates, old enough to know the secrets of the *Bekûpwãnwa* but too tender to be whipped very hard. The senior initiator who had begun to whip with *Bwũ* was said to have a very hard blow, because of having absorbed the strength of *Bwũ* in his arm. He therefore turned the whipping over to his younger brother, who used *Onpwénda*. This man, who was unmarried and therefore closer in spirit to the age group being initiated, assumed a jesting manner. He dragged a little boy forcefully to the center but in a playful manner. He measured his blow carefully, heavy enough for the child to know he had been through the ordeal but without raising a welt. The two blows were spaced farther away from the genital region because the children were too young to receive sexual power from the ancestors yet. The gentle blows meant that growth would still be gradual. At puberty, I was told, a boy receives the full hard blows of *Bwũ*. However, since some precocity is welcomed, the full blows, as on this occasion, may precede puberty by some years. [831]

After all the youngsters had been whipped and were seated together on the guest bench drinking chicha, the ancestors, who had been dancing inside the house, now danced about them several times in a close circle, finally leaving in single file through the door. They circled the house on the outside and returned to the front plaza. When they stopped playing, the youngsters rose from their bench and went outside to watch as the men hid the horns in a clump of bushes nearby. Then all cut swatches of leaves and ran through the

* It is hardly a disgrace for a young boy to weep. When young adults, young married men, are injured in a drunken brawl, they will also weep freely. [152]

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house, sweeping every bit of ground to remove the traces of the ancestors. They bent low and uttered low cries of *hi hi hi iii iii*, the same sound used when *mihi* is brought in. This is a sound that spirits understand.

When the last traces of the ancestors had been swept out, the men called to the women to return. The return of the women restores the house to its normal condition. Before that it is a man's house, a cult house and not a true domicile. This change was marked by having the guests, who had already taken part in the earlier ceremonies, leave, go down to the landing place, march up the path, and be received at the front door in the usual reception line. What seemed to be the beginning of an ordinary drinking party then followed. However, later that night the women were told to move to the rear and to sit facing the rear door. The torches were put out and some old men fetched the hidden horns to play them in the forward men's section. They danced out again and hid the instruments. When the playing stopped, the women rose, lighted the torches again, and took possession of the *konhá* berries. The headman's wife, in her traditional role, supervised and assisted in the preparation of a *konhá* porridge, and the remainder of the berries were distributed to all the adult women. The porridge was prepared quickly and calabashes of it were sent down to the forward end of the house for the men.

Now the mothers turned to their sons to inspect the welts raised by the whippings. But the boys turned away and the mothers knew enough not to persist. The ceremony was over.

This was a truncated ceremony. Normally, the elders who have danced into the house with the ancestor horns after the lights have been put out dance among the women, while other men thrash the women with switches. Then the adult men take turns in whipping one another. None of this was done, they said, because most of the guests they had invited had not come, and feeling dispirited they cut the ceremony short.

However, I had the opportunity of attending another whipping ceremony at the maloca of a subsib. This one was well attended and the atmosphere was properly charged with excitement, helped by a great quantity of chicha and *mihi*. Yet here too the whippings were confined to the young boys and the women were unmolested. At one point, however, the ancestors danced outside the house, and two boys guarded the door while youngsters pelted the front door with berries. This was done not to frighten the women within but to give them a more vivid sense of the "presence" of the ancestors. This was re-

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peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the origin traditions. 769 796 184

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors. 769 796 178

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a cal bash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors. 866

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective during the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplementary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt. 789 856 [515] [534] [824] [515]

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# 9

## *The Drinking Party*

574
614 The drinking party (*unkúndye*: chicha, or *unkwínemu*: drinking
[615] affair) is the mode of exchange that, generally speaking, governs the relationships among the sibs of the same phratry. Sibs, as I have already noted, do not feast one another, an observation that Koch-Grünberg also made. A sib has its internal drinking parties during which one household head serves chicha to the rest; but the serious and regular drinking parties are those that are held for the purpose of entertaining the sibs of the phratry. I could not determine defi-
[554] nitely the pattern of intersib drinking parties, but I believe that an important principle is one of social rank. Higher-ranking downstream settlements prepare chicha more often than do lower-ranking sibs. This accords with the aforementioned Cubeo doctrine that leadership comes from giving and subordination comes from receiving. Drinking party invitations, however, must also be reciprocated, so that over a long enough period of time each sib will have entertained all the others. Since sibs are under no formal obligation to honor a drinking party invitation, the result is that most drinking parties bring together only near sibs who are obligated to attend for personal reasons. Nevertheless, each full-fledged sib plans at least one event during the year when it will have entertained most if not all of its fellow sibs. Attendance at an intersib drinking party is normally by an entire sib although there is flexibility in this.

[182] The drinking parties are of prime importance in unifying the sibs of a phratry. Their frequency and their attendance attest to the state

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of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates. 574 614 182

The *unkúndye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited to sibs of the phratry, the *unkúndye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkúndye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkúndye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity. [831] [837]

The hosts of an *unkúndye* have two very evident anxieties as they go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkúndye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As already mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy 574 614 273 574 614 554 [123]

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574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahúkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahúkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkúndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkúndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkúndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

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In preparing chicha, the manioc is allowed to soften for four days. 574
It is left in the maloca covered with leaves until it has turned a dark 273
green color and has lost much of its moisture. Then it is grated, pounded through a sieve, and put through the tipiti press. The dry lumps are toasted lightly on the manioc oven and stirred into a fine grain. Small manioc cakes are prepared from these grains. The cakes are thoroughly masticated and the saliva-drenched balls are mixed with water. After fermentation has begun, a quantity of sugar cane extract is added, and this mixture is left to ferment for several days. Masticated pupunha mash may be substituted for the manioc. A mixture of pupunha mash with sugar cane extract makes a potent and very laxative drink. Many communities add maize as well as a variety of root plants to a basic manioc mash.

This period of preparation is one in which the house is spruced up 574
and personal possessions and ornaments are inspected, compared, [292]
and readied for wear and display. Nowadays women regard their [178]
long cloth skirts as gala wear. If it is to be an important drinking party a woman hopes to have a new skirt that she has never worn before. All the elaborate male ornamentation of feather headdresses, necklaces, girdles, and pendants are fetched out and tried on. Musi- [534]
cal instruments – Panpipes, long flageolets, whistles – are tuned and repaired. Songs are practiced and dance steps tried out. A nightly respite from the labors of manioc preparation is the amusement of watching the children play at dancing the adult dances, singing the dance songs, tasting the freshly prepared batches of chicha, taking coca, smoking, and listening to the old men chant snatches of the origin traditions. The mood is such that the minor rancors of community life are smoothed out. The headman takes advantage of this 574
mood to bring the Satellites back as permanent residents of the com- 621
munity. The Satellites are normally invited to be cosponsors of a 622
sib affair, bringing a contribution not of manioc but of sugar cane, or pupunha when that fruit is in season. The headman believes that when the estranged sibmates see how happy all are they will want to come back. There is no doubt that a Satellite is strongly drawn to the festive spirit of the main maloca. But he always has the time during the hangover of the morning after to consider whether it is worth returning.

The headman makes the first proposal for a drinking party and 574
discusses the date and its scale with the male household heads. Co- [622]
sponsorship means that a household head undertakes to prepare a notable amount of chicha that can be shown to the guests. When the invitations go out, the names of the cosponsors are given, and when

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574 the guests arrive they are asked to drink from the chicha prepared
[554] by each cosponsor. Those who do not choose to be cosponsors help in inconspicuous ways. There is honor in being a cosponsor but no competition for the privilege either. A household head feels free to decide when he desires cosponsorship. Those who have the most manioc to spare accept cosponsorship most freely. Major drinking parties are always sponsored by the headman, but smaller parties that bring together only close sibs may be offered in the name of a household head who wants the honor. The headman paternalistically defers to this. Some drinking parties are announced as being sponsored by a group of brothers. Of course if there is a special occasion
[562] the household head most closely concerned is expected to be a main sponsor. Women do not sponsor or cosponsor drinking parties except for the father's sister, who as widow or divorcée living in her
[182] own sib has the status of a household head. The Cubeo use drinking party sponsorship as a means of dealing with the minor frictions of community life, for cosponsors, by the symbolic act of doing something together, have reaffirmed their closeness. On a larger scale, attendance at drinking parties serves the same function.

574 The guest list provokes much discussion and entails in a sense
614 a review of the sib's relations with its fellow sibs. An invitation may
203 help achieve a reconciliation or it might yield only a humiliating rebuff. Invitations will be delivered in person, by the headman and by all cosponsors, the headman undertaking the downstream higher-status sibs, the others the upstream lower-ranking sibs. The proper time to deliver an invitation is six days before the event. The host delivers the invitation in a chanting tone during which he does not look at the guest but over his shoulder, and the guest replies in the
[201] same manner. The host holds up his hands, palms out and thumbs together. When the thumb of the right hand meets the thumb of the left hand it means there will be drinking. Holding two thumbs together is also a jesting sign, meaning, "Now we are going to drink." The four fingers of the right hand mean days of work, and the right-hand thumb means a day of very heavy preparation. The invitation means, then, "We are going to be very active for five days. On the sixth we shall drink."

574 One principle of Cubeo social structure is that whatever is accom-
614 plished on a multisib scale must have its counterpart on the smaller community scale in which household stands for sib. Thus, the five preparatory days are all small drinking parties within the sib so calibrated by degree of festivity—drinking, taking coca, singing, smoking—that each day the festive atmosphere is heightened, so that

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when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends. 574 614

On the morning of the drinking party the *behórũ* dancing staff is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behórũ* they go to the river to bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river. 574 535 [515] [823]

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather headdresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated 574 614 [554] 574 576 [614] [562]

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574 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with
576 each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkúndye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good
574 part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are
576 particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has
273 set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting
576 follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which
182 is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately man-
796 ner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by sub-
[765] sidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged
[831] and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the
[276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker,

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the malora yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center. 574 [342]

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough. 574 571 614

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers. 574 273 [462]

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihi* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner. [535] [191] [184] [276]

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saw them serve chicha in this manner. The Cubeo offer the calabash with a jest: "Drink quickly so that you may be drunk soon." The aim of the drinking party is to achieve an intense state of excitement and to maintain that until overcome by sheer fatigue and sleep. Tobacco, coca, and *mihí* supplement drinking to intensify and hasten the reaction. When *mihí* is taken, producing color visions and finally a blackout, the Indians say, "Now we shall get drunk quickly." *Mihí* is associated with *míwa* (birds), which are the patrons of ecstatic intoxication.[1] Drunkenness is not to be avoided. If a little boy gets drunk his father is proud of his precociousness. Women, however, are not expected to get drunk and they rarely do.

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*Mihí* is not taken at every drinking party but only at those that are considered very important. At the mourning festival (*óyne*) a great quantity is consumed. The narcotic plants (*Banisteriopsis caapi* and others) from which *mihí* is prepared are cultivated by the men only and they alone drink it. The Cubeo regard it as a sacred drug, and from all indications it is so regarded throughout the Western Amazon region where it is used. Along the Orinoco the Indians chew the skin, but all along the Vaupés an infusion is prepared by boiling the leaves, bark, and roots to form a greenish-brown "soup" that is strongly bitter. The Cubeo prepare several varieties that are graded according to potency. Upon truly solemn occasions they begin with a mild infusion from the leaf of a variety that is taken exactly at midday, and conclude with a very strong variety just before sunset. This sequence of *mihí* transports a man from vague and mild visions of whiteness to intense hallucinatory experiences, bursts of violence, and finally loss of consciousness. *Mihí* almost invariably causes vomiting, and for that reason alone each man must take many servings. For each type of *mihí* there are four servings taken from a small gourd dipper. The first service is of two dippers, the second of one, and the third and fourth of two each. At the beginning, the Indians say, the vision becomes blurred, things begin to look white, and one begins to lose the faculty of speech. The white vision turns to red. One Indian described it as a room spinning with red feathers. This passes and one begins to see people in the bright coloring of the jaguar. When the final strong forms of *mihí* are taken the hallucinations begin to assume a disturbing and fearful form. One becomes aware of violent people milling about, shouting, weeping, threatening to kill. One is seized with the fear that he no longer has a home. The house posts and trees come alive and take the form of people.

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[1] There is also a bird called *mihíté*.

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There is a strong sensation that an animal is biting one's buttocks, a feeling of the feet being tied. The earth spins and the ground rises to the head. There are moments of euphoria as well, when one hears music, the sound of people singing, and the sound of flowing water. The Cubeo do not take *mihí* for the pleasure of its hallucinations but for the intensity of the total experience, for the wide range of sensation. I spoke to no one who pretended to enjoy it. 574 276

A sacred drug, *mihí* is handled in a ritualistic manner and is served from a distinctive pottery jug that is never washed. When the hosts – always a pair, one man holding the jug and the other the serving dish – offer *mihí* the following stylized exchange takes place. The guests exclaim, "*ho ho ho ho ho o o o*, here it comes." The host asks, "How are you?" and the guest replies, "I am well. I have come well." The host stirs the *mihí*, saying to it, "Stir! Look, it is bitter. It tastes bitter. Our Ancients also drank it." The guest replies, "Let me take it. Let me see if I can drink it in the same way as our Ancients did. I am going to drink." He drinks it down and is offered a mandatory second drink. The host says, "Look. Here it is, drink again." The guest now replies, "I am going to drink so as to see [a vision]." A guest whose father is dead will say upon receiving the *mihí*, "My father, when he was alive, drank like this, so he told me. He sought me out that I might drink. My father never got drunk when he drank it." 574 276 576

When each guest has had his two portions of *mihí* the hosts drink off two portions and then serve one portion to each guest again. The guests murmur *ba ha a a a*, meaning "well done." When the last portion is given, the host announces, "We have finished drinking," and each guest replies, "I am pleased." At this the host announces he is sitting down to have a vision, and he retires. Suddenly he leaps up at the guests in the characteristic *mihí* dance and with the sucking sound. He intends to frighten them and shouts *wetcówe* (vomit!), and the guests reply, "Bring it on. We wish to vomit."

Drinking, smoking, chewing coca powder, and taking the infusion of *mihí* are all acts with strong symbolism of sharing a group experience. Out of bravado a man may down an entire calabash of chicha. More often he will pass it to a neighbor, who will also take a few swallows and pass the calabash along. The drinker will also have taken chicha from the quantity prepared by each cosponsor. The cigarette is passed from mouth to mouth. The host provides tobacco, which he passes among his guests from a bark-cloth pouch, and a bark wrapper, which is tied to the house posts. Guests may smoke their own tobacco but will always use the wrapper that is 574 276 273 574 276

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574 provided. Men pass cigarettes to one another after a puff or two. A
276 man will ordinarily pass a cigarette to his own wife only, for the giving of a cigarette to a woman has a potentially erotic significance. When a woman receives the cigarette she passes it among her children until finally the suckling baby has had a smoke. She then returns it to her husband. The custom of sharing the cigarette has been widely observed along the Vaupés and its tributaries. The Indians [521] accept it as a mark of friendship and of trust. Ceremonious smoking [887] of cigars held in forked holders accompanies the dignified conversa- [614] tions of the sib elders and is mandatory when these old men get together to chant the sib origin traditions. Several cigars are lighted and are passed around. There is no way of sharing coca, but *mihi*, as we have noted, is "danced in" by the sons of the hosts, and the little ornamented beaker in which it is kept is passed around.

574 Dancing begins when the assembly is warmed up with drink. At
535 an *unkúndye*, dancing, being secular, is for the young, the adolescents and unmarried and the younger married men and women. In the most common dance three or four young men line up abreast, [533] left arm across a companion's shoulder, with the long dance flageolet, that sounds the song of the butterfly, in the right hand. An orchestra of Panpipes, seated to one side, sets the rhythm to which the dancers move and sound the flageolets. Starting at the rear of the house they move down the long dance corridor to a beat that starts as one slow step, a pause, two shorter steps, a pause, and then three rapid, almost running, steps, the inevitable Cubeo procedure of placing all ritual in the metric structure of *adagio* to *presto*. They reach the front of the house, their bodies swaying forward and back as they come down the corridor and gracefully swinging from side to side as they prepare to pivot, swinging the flageolets up and around in unison. The first dancers are usually of the host sib and are [614] brothers. During the early stages of the dance, as each of the visiting sibs puts its dancers on the floor, the formation is of brothers. It is not until much later during the night that drink and excitement have dissolved the fraternal bonds and allowed for the indiscriminate formation of dance teams. As the dancers move down the corridor the unmarried girls begin to stir; they giggle, nudge one another, sway forward with the desire to get up and join. But they are shy. They seek encouragement from one another. Often an older woman, a girl's mother, whispers sharply, "Go on, dance." Then two or three girls get up from the side lines and run behind the dancers, pacing themselves so as to slip under the yokes of the men's arms in the precise beat.

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Koch-Grünberg has observed this dance among neighboring Tucanoans as well as among Arawakan-speaking tribes. He observed it as a courting dance, boys and girls leaving the house after a dance and disappearing into the surrounding darkness (1909, I, 293, II 272). There is no mistaking the erotic undertones of this dance among the Cubeo. But it cannot ordinarily be a courting dance since the participants are normally sibmates and phratry mates if unmarried. The first girls to join the dancers are, in fact, their sisters. But as the evening wears on, the erotic character of the dance emerges in a dangerous form. An unmarried girl too often chooses to thrust herself beneath the arms of her sister's husband, a married woman "chooses" a husband's brother. What is ordinary courtship in tribes that bring together potential marriage mates at their drinking parties is largely adultery or the threat of adultery among the Cubeo, who entertain within the exogamous circle. I suspect that in the case of the Cubeo, simple courtship dances have become embroiled in a changing social order that has gradually built up a phratric system out of independent exogamous local groups. In the process the dance has lost its innocence.

The dancing has a deceptively decorous appearance. As the girls insert themselves between two male dancers, under the arm of one, the men never pause, turn their heads, or change expression. The girl puts her right arm lightly around her partner's waist. She holds her left hand before her, at her skirt. Crouched beneath the yoke

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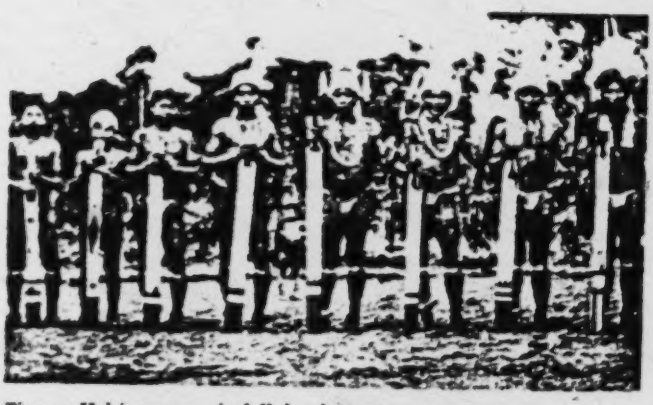

Fig. 10. *Hehénewa* men in full dancing costume.

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535 she looks uncomfortable and solemn. The girls accompany the men
831 for a few turns and then as unobtrusively as they entered the dance formation they leave it, disengaging their heads, backing away, and running quickly back to their places among the women. They are replaced by another group. Much later in the evening an observer is startled to discover heated and even violent disputes erupting all over the house as a result of these innocent-appearing dances.

574 There is another dance in which the sexes are actually paired. The
535 man plays either a Panpipe or a long flageolet and drops his left
[533] arm over the woman's shoulder while she encircles his waist lightly with her arm. This dance formation starts as a circle which, after making several turns, breaks up into couples who dance down the corridor one behind the other. During the circle dance a woman emits a long piercing shriek. I was given no explanation for this other than the vague comment, "Women feel like doing this."

Perhaps it is not overinterpreting too much to suggest that the form of the dance parallels some basic principles of Cubeo social structure: the unity of the fraternal sibling group; women as ancillary, fitting themselves in between the brothers, coming and going; the segmentary nature of the sibs; the feeling for obliterating what is after all an indelible mark of sib apartness. As for the erotic connota-
535 tions of the dance, one may perhaps speculate on the phallic char-
574 acter of the flageolet. This instrument, by the way, is so long that
831 when the dancer holds it before him the bottom is only bare inches from the ground. If he is careless as he dances and allows it to strike
534 the ground he may lose his teeth. The dance starts with the instrument held down close to the earth. When the dancer has reached the forward end of the house he arcs the instrument high over his head. The flageolet resembles, but is not to be confused with, one of the ancestor trumpets that is brought out during ancestral cult celebrations. Then the deep sound of the flageolet stands for the deep and sacred voices of the ancestors, that bring to the men physical
[533] force, sexual potency, and bodily growth. The Cubeo make the obvious association between the deep tones and the solemn, and the high tones and the frivolous. In ensemble playing they also recognize one of the instruments as a leader and the others of the same group as followers. In the drinking party dances, flutes and Panpipes complement each other; the flutes are butterflies and the large Panpipes are vultures. Solemnity is always associated with the acquisi-
574 tion of powers. The movement of the dance is, as we have already
535 noted, from slow to rapid. The last step before the dancers leave the floor is very rapid, almost a run, and the dancers in their excitement

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shout *hi i i i* and are answered by the audience. The men start dancing alone and finish dancing alone. Dancers of the host sib begin their dance in the house and may sally out onto the plaza, an extension of the house, and then dance back in. Guests, on the other hand, begin their dance formation on the plaza, move into the house, and conclude on the plaza. 574 535 [614]

The Cubeo regard women as disruptive elements at a drinking party. They have cause to do so, since it is the women who are encouraged by the character of the dancing to make the overtures of flirtatiousness. Women choose their partners and men maintain an air of innocence. A woman's sexual forwardness goes beyond that. Young girls and many married women wear love charms in their hair at a drinking party. This is nothing more than a colorful blossom that declares that a woman would like to attract the interest of a man. The Indians themselves are not quite sure whether the blossom, which they call *chondú* (*pedidya* in Cubeo) has inherent qualities as a love charm – a serious woman has truly powerful love charms that she uses secretly – or is merely provocative symbolically. In any case a man cannot be blamed if *chondú* provokes him. The use of *chondú* adds intensity to the atmosphere of a drinking party as effectively as do chicha, coca, tobacco, *mihí*, and dancing. Whether or not *chondú* is an official ingredient it is hard to say. The men speak of it as a feminine provocation. Yet if one looks at the drinking party in its inevitable progression from calm to frenzy it seems that, whether it is an official ingredient or not, it fits. Just as the counterpoint of male and female is part of everyday community life, so the more intensely experienced counterpoint of male and female is exploited for its frenzy-producing quality. 574 562 832 [535]

A married woman should not wear *chondú*, but a man cannot stop his wife from displaying her interest in other men. He then excuses her by saying she does it only to look pretty and keeps a wary eye on his brother sib and phratry mates. For the unmarried girls *chondú* is formal wear, even though the only man whose eye it might catch is likely to be a sister's husband or a forbidden phratry mate. Curiously, unmarried girls are often even more provocative by not wearing *chondú*. This is arrogance that says, "I am not interested in the men here." A married woman may wear *chondú* only to tease her husband in a lighthearted way. Understanding this he is even delighted. She may do so, on the other hand, to irritate him. The rule of sober everyday life is to avoid quarrels and issues. The drinking party roils up feelings to the point where what has been latent erupts forcefully into the open. If emotional catharsis is a "function" 574 832 [593] [154]

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574 832 154 of the *unkündye* then it should be said that it is the women who supply the charge that explodes the emotions and issues into the open.

574 562 154 Because they are so much in the background during everyday life, compartmentalized in the manioc garden as in the house itself, women are strongly stimulated by the social heterogeneity of the *unkündye* as by the inherent excitement of drinking, dancing, noise, and close body contact. The women's responsiveness seems to be spontaneous from the very beginning of the drinking party, whereas the men groom their emotions by stages, until at the end they are responding with a spontaneity of their own. The spontaneous emotional excitement of the women feeds into the emotional pool, so to [831] speak, of the whole *unkündye*. During the great mourning festival with its ritual eroticism this counterplay of men and their formal ceremoniousness and women and their emotional spontaneity leads finally to a unified response that is ceremony deeply charged with feeling. At the mourning ceremony this juxtaposition of male and female roles is very evident. And it is because of my observation of the mourning ceremonies that I have been led to see each drinking party in a similar fashion. In short, for the men the drinking party is collective and ritualistic; for the women it is individual and personal. In the end, these two roles are fused so that the aim of strong feeling within a formal setting is achieved. Perhaps it would be better to say overachieved, since the jealous quarrels that women provoke are sometimes serious, splitting sibs from one another and antagonizing close sibmates.

574 578 Every drinking party that I ever attended ended in a quarrel. All quarrels were sexual, either provoked directly by jealousy or by disparaging remarks about a man's virility. The quarrels may lead to minor violence and may have no consequences. Sometimes, however, they stir up unexpectedly deep layers of feeling. A fresh affront recalls earlier offenses. These are aired. Before long the disputants have brought out a tangle of charges and countercharges revealing long smoldering issues. Men start a quarrel over an accusation of adultery. One man then comments that the father of the other had once said that he would not mind if his, the complainant's, sib were to die out. It is a remark of this nature that suddenly and chillingly transforms a simple quarrel into a later suspicion and then open accusation of sorcery, should someone sicken on either side.

The quarreling of men sounds more violent than it really is. If they are content to merely pummel one another with their fists there is little interference except that the women fret anxiously. Should they reach for dangerous weapons they are restrained and content

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themselves with an exchange of vituperation. Brothers will defend one another, as well as sibmates, so that a quarrel is difficult to isolate. The men listen to the vituperation and, far from regarding what is said as meaningless drunken chatter, draw implications that may involve them. What began as a quarrel between only two men over one man's wife can become a maloca-wide brawl. Then the sibs taunt one another, each reviling the other's weaknesses and calling attention to its own strength. It may all come to nothing. A diplomatic elder calms tempers; the headmen remember their obligations to preserve the peace at drinking parties. Some disputants have enough sense of humor to laugh. It can all blow over quickly and will then have served as another way in which feelings are lightened, provided the sinister specter of sorcery has not been drawn in.

The following is an example of a quarrel at a drinking party. A man began to beat his wife because she was dancing too often with the same man. The latter remonstrated and soon he and the angry husband came to blows. The bystanders remarked that the husband's jealousy was unwarranted. Encouraged by these remarks, the woman's father got angry and attacked his son-in-law with his fists. The son-in-law did not defend himself, whereupon the old man calmed down and proceeded to explain to those present that his daughter's conduct was altogether proper. At this point the wife became enraged, and flinging herself upon her now pacified husband, pummeled him soundly on the back with her fists. Since he did not strike back her fury subsided and this incident blew over.

However, another young man who had been witnessing this violent flurry began in a tearful voice to inform his audience that his wife was having an affair with a phratry mate of his. He named the woman's lover, who was present, but for the moment said nothing. The accused's father, however, jumped quickly to his son's defense, shouting that the charges against his son were false. The jealous husband turned upon the old man and shouted at him angrily, "You are already an old man. It is time you were dead!" At this, the accused man rushed forward, livid with fury. In a hoarse voice he shouted to the assembly, "Did you hear? He is planning to kill my father." But the jealous husband was already beyond calming down. Instead he shouted back that the sib of the accused adulterer was weak and few in numbers, whereas his own sib was strong. With these ominous remarks this incident closed, for the time being. All felt that the outraged husband had gone too far. No further remarks

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were exchanged, but the two sibs did not invite one another to their drinking parties for the remainder of the season.

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Sorcery is the great fear. All illness is attributed to sorcery and so are deaths that cannot be readily accounted for. When the drinking party is over and someone has become ill, the quarrels will be recalled and a phratry brother will be charged with sorcery. If the shaman bears out the allegation, the sib of the accused will not be invited to the drinking party of the afflicted sib. In the course of a ten-month stay on the Cuduiari I have seen drinking parties go through a cycle from full participation by most of the sibs to dismal solitary affairs where subdued members of the sib drank with one another and a few friendly phratry mates from closely adjacent sibs. When the fear of sorcery begins to grow, accusations may strike within the sib and split it down the middle. Gradually confidence is restored, headmen begin to think again of large *unkúndye*, and step by step the scale of attendance mounts.

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# 10

## *The Mourning Ceremony*

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bah*[illegible] subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Uménahonkü* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *ohwinu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day [illegible]monies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. Th[illegible]e-day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

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765 534 114 769 [773] for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 786 [154] The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual [536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate 765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, 266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion [775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the sub- [614] stance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 562 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritual- [786] ized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 765 [776] The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimalwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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its inevitable crescendo of excitement and disorder, dances and songs are interchanged.

In the course of the ceremonies, the relationship between the nonhuman world of the masked representations and the people, represented by the women, becomes increasingly more intimate, culminating, as we have already noted, in the total intimacy of coitus. The spirit of Cubeo ceremonialism is generally Dionysian. In religious excitement the Cubeo achieve a desired and temporary dissolution of the segmentation and conceptual separatenesses in normal social and religious life.

Koch-Grünberg (1906a), who observed part of an *óyne* in 1903 among the *Hehénewa*, saw in the masked dances two themes, an appeasement of evil spirits and fertility rites. My own information does not agree entirely with this interpretation. It is a fact that several of the masked dancers represent malevolent beings; the jaguar, that is the embodiment of the dreaded sorcerer, the butterfly, that symbolizes the act of sorcery, and the *abúhuwa* or forest monsters, that devour human victims. In addition the masked dancers represent the dung beetle and the vulture, eaters of offal and carrion. These creatures represent to the Cubeo the facts of death. Except for the *abúhuwa*, who are not taken too seriously, the most common agency of death is to the Cubeo a particular human enemy. Evil sorcery can be warded off by particular magical means. The masked dances, however, are not magical means for warding off danger. They are, rather, dramatic rituals whose purpose is to generate a frame of mind in which the fact of death is confronted and made to appear natural and tolerable. By coming to the house as guests, to dance, to sing, to drink chicha, and to "copulate" with women, the masked creatures are made to appear, finally, as a friendly part of the Cubeo world. The malevolent creatures are not singled out, but appear in the context of the whole ensemble of masked dancers.

As for the fertility theme, this has been a cherished cliché of earlier anthropology that promptly labeled any ritualization of sex as "fertility rites." The situation is more complex. The dancers do indeed represent male potency, but the simulated coitus emphasizes rather the carnal aspect of sex, for it is the older women, possessing the privilege of obscenity, whom the masked dancers "attack sexually."

## THE MASKS

The dance masks of the Cubeo are made of a white bark cloth called *táwü* (tree bark), which is also the name by which the masks are generically known.

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532 masks are generically known. Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has argued
114 that they are sacred, citing as evidence that after the ceremonies the
778 masks are burned. Many masks, however, are spared at the insistence of children who wish to play with them, and some masks are spared and used as storage sacks. Sanctity, I would say, is attached to individual masks, and is the sanctity of the being represented and not of the mask itself. Women, it is true, do not handle the masks, not out of taboo but rather out of the feeling that the masks are in the masculine domain. The masks represent spirits who are called generically
[776] *takahédekoků* (bark-cloth spirits). These spirits are visible only to
[756] the shaman.[3] All masks have a common basic shape, a large triangu-
532 lar sack that fits over the head and covers the body to the knees. Armpits are always cut out, and sleeves that come below the elbow are sewn in. The bottom of the skirt is stiffened with a circular hoop, and sleeves and skirt are hung with bark fringes. The masks have a head section, a middle section, and a bottom part. The head section is ordinarily painted with a face design that has eyes and a nose but not necessarily a mouth. Two eye holes and a nose hole are sometimes torn through for the wearer's convenience and do not correspond to the painted design. In some masks the head section is soft and in others it is surmounted by a calabash, painted brown or black, depicting a skull top; or the calabash itself has a face design painted on it and depicts, therefore, the face. The middle section is divided into several panels, half of them at the front and half at the rear. Each panel is painted in a geometric pattern that depicts the characteristic body features of the being that is to be represented. Fish, for example, have scale designs, and birds and flying insects wing designs. These designs are painted with great care by men who are particularly proficient. They follow traditional forms rather casually, however, each artist giving his own interpretation. The Cubeo do not quibble about the details of design. The fact is that no one can identify a particular representation with certainty without knowing who has made it. Only some of the masks, such as Jaguar, Butterfly, and *Abúhuwa*, are distinctive enough to be immediately recognizable. These masks, incidentally, also seem to be the most important.

532 The use of ceremonial masks is common enough in South America,
171 as Professor Alfred Métraux (1948) has observed, but we have as yet little information as to their meaning, nor do we know their full distribution. What is certain, though, is that masked cults have

[3] Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has observed that while the animal represented may be harmless, the spirit itself is magically powerful.

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different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kúwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucanoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

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765 174 535 532 larly, they have adapted harvest and demon cult ceremonies to ancestral cult rites. Evidences of religious syncretism are important in interpreting a complex ceremony. Thus, the fact that the mourning rites commonly begin during the pupunha season and the fact that at one point in the ceremonies the men pelt the roof of the house with pupunha fruit to "frighten the women" must be evaluated in the light of the possibility that we are dealing with a portion of a foreign ceremony, incorporated in the structure of the *óyne*. Cubeo ancestral or initiative rites also include "harvest festival" elements. But in these, as in the *óyne*, the harvest theme is a minor one.

## MASK REPRESENTATIONS

532 776 825 765 Dr. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels through the Vaupés region, collected some 50 different mask representations. My own observations along the Cuduiarí covered 30. Altogether, there is now a combined list of 62.[4] Since the masks are intended to portray *all* the living creatures of the Cubeo world the number of masks is potentially vast. No one ceremony uses them all. There are, however, key characters that are most commonly represented. These are Jaguar, Dung beetle, Carrion vulture, Butterfly, Aracú fishes, Eagle, Sloth, Parrot, Dragonfly, Minnows (who are not masked but are an important element in the ceremonial dramatization), *Pyénkü* (a small black fish), Frogs, and a variety of cannibalistic ogres or forest demons, the *Abúhuwa*. Informants would not say which of the masked representations was most important, presumably because invidiousness is, to the Cubeo, in poor taste. Judging, however, by their prominence, I would say that Jaguar, Butterfly, *Abúhuwa*, Dung beetles, Carrion vulture, and Aracú fishes were most important, more or less in that order. Except for the aracú, the esteemed fish of the region, these creatures all have an association with death. The jaguar is, of course, the dreaded sorcerer. 532 825 754 765 [753] The sorcerer is called *yavi* (jaguar) and the Cubeo regard any jaguar as likely to be either a sorcerer or a sorcerer's dog. The morpho butterfly with its beautiful blue wings is a creature of sorcerers and of evil. The information Koch-Grünberg received was that the morpho butterfly (*tatárako*) lives at Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés, where he brews malaria in a calabash and strews it over the land (1909, II, 181). I did not hear this account, but I was told that when a sorcerer is cooking a brew that will kill a victim at a distance the morpho butterfly appears and encircles the pot. Finally, it falls in and is consumed and at that moment the victim dies.

[4] See the end of this chapter.

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Mahálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*kerutamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kavá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represents the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

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The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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535 765 danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and 765 fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from 533 that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, [114] when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they [534] were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The [171] song I recorded was:

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*yavirárü yavirákü* [repeated]
*yavirárü maníka*
*yavirárü ya*
*ho ho ho o ho.*

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákü* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg [171] collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiari River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yavi*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

532 765 The mask of Butterfly (*Tatárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip 535 arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, 765 often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kaviré kaviré* and is not the 532 same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiari.

776 765 Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *manáwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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a dwarf pair, several pairs of giants, a great owl demon, and two kinds of *abúhuwa*. I saw three *Abúhuwa*. The *Abúhuwa* are made to appear grotesque. Their masks are of coarse brown bark cloth and, unlike any other dancer, they sometimes wear bark-cloth trousers. One Indian said to me rather maliciously, "They are like the white man." One of the *Abúhuwa* not wearing trousers had large flapping breasts of bark cloth and was a "wife." The headpiece has a calabash to form a face painted with human features. The masks are intended to be as grotesque as possible. Since the *Abúhuwa* act clownishly, they induce in the spectators only mock alarm. The *Abúhuwa* have no song of their own and no fixed dance. They are free to improvise. There are two kinds of improvisation: wild when young men impersonate them, and listless and lolling when acted by old men. While the Jaguars act to build up a sense of violence, the *Abúhuwa* work to create disorder. Thus, no masked dancers will enter the women's quarter through the rear or women's door except the *Abúhuwa*. They burst in through the rear door, hopping in short strides as though they were on pogo sticks. They interfere with dances and perform a number of amusing skits.

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The Dung beetles (*Keralamówa*) are a pair. The masks have a white facepiece with a pair of eyes, or sometimes with no features at all. The body design includes the wide bars of the insect's body flanked by lozenge designs on each side. The headpiece is surmounted by a short hourglass-shaped tube of splints and bark cloth. They dance holding hands. Each holds a short stick. In a dance Koch-Grünberg saw, they pushed along another stick on the ground in imitation, he noted, of their work as cleaners. I saw them holding their short sticks before them like wands. Their dance is a slow movement, forward and back. The songs recorded by me and by Koch-Grünberg are not the same.

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The Carrion vulture (*Kawá*) wears a mask with human features, although Koch-Grünberg saw one that he described as "naturalistic." The main design consists of very large lozenges (to depict the large feathers of the bird) flanked by horizontal bars suggesting outspread wings. The Carrion vulture carries a short stick held against the back of his neck, its ends extending over his shoulders, where his upraised hands hold it in place. The dancers bow gracefully from the waist to suggest the bird's soaring flight.

The Aracú (*Borikakũ*) are usually represented in their several varieties. The headpiece is built up to a high peak made of splints covered with bark cloth in an hourglass design. The Aracú dance slowly, in pairs, and hold hands. Each carries a ten-foot pole bear-

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765 535 532 ing, like a pennant, bark-fringe streamers. The *Borikakü* usually dances with *Máwayo*, its compatriot, the red-mouthed aracú. In a joint dance they carry a rope ladder (*towándo*) made of three parallel strands of rope into which wooden rungs are set. Attaching the ladder to a roof beam, they climb and descend.

## THE MINNOWS

Although the Minnows (*Emíwa*) wear no masks they are definitely part of the dance ensemble; they have a dance step, a song, and a dramatic role. The Minnows are the youngsters and form a school of fish that presumably stands for the youngsters' play pack.[8] They are a boisterous element, moving in and out among the masked dancers. Lacking masks and, accordingly, formal ceremonial status they play a counterpoint of sheer spontaneity to the more solemn dances of the masks. While the role clearly belongs to youngsters, boys are not limited to it. Prepubescent boys do, indeed, wear masks. Those I saw were Butterflies and I was told that a youngster may dance any role but *Ywí*, the Jaguar. The Minnows play on curious [534] shrill whistles. The whistles resemble a short three-tube Panpipe and are mounted at the end of a stick about a yard in length that is hung with three streamers of bark cloth. The dancers wear ankle rattles and dance in a spiral formation, taking two accented steps forward and then two oblique steps back. They hold their whistle sticks pointing up. They have no particular formation, dancing sometimes abreast, sometimes in line, and, alternately, in disorder. The Minnows do all their dancing among the women, who dote on them and ply them with chicha.

## *XUDJÍKO* AND *XUDJÍKÜ*

765 534 769 The "grandmother" and her consort are, for the Cubeo, the truly solemn and sacred element of the *óyne*. Represented by giant 15-foot-long trumpets of wound bark that are bound as twins to a single frame, they are taboo to all the women, as are all ancestral horns. The trumpets are capable only of deep, mournful notes and represent ancestral mourning. It is the grandmother, however, who has [462] come to mourn and not the grandparents. The reason for this is that it is a woman's role to be an official weeper. Men may and do

[8] It will be recalled that in the story of *Kúwai* and the anaconda, the penis of the anaconda is transformed into four minnows that are given to the adulterous wife to eat.

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjíko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjíko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjíko* and *Xudjíkũ* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

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## THE SIB UNITS

The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

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## ORGANIZATION OF THE *ÓYNE*

As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyñe* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur-

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765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point 765 614 532 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is [203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will [533] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a [535] mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted [776] by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

## MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ÓYNE

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows: There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

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"*Dekóku*[7] has punished you." Then other people came and wrapped the boy in his hammock, put him into a large jar, and buried him in the house. No one wept. After three days an old man began to think what people should do about death. They decided to have an *óyne*. They made dance masks. At first they did not know how to make bark cloth so they made masks of leaves. *Kúwai* came and told them this was not good. In one day *Kúwai* made all the bark-cloth masks for the people. They did not know how to paint the masks and *Kúwai* showed them how. They gathered red pigment and carbon soot, and by midday the masks were all finished. *Kúwai* climbed the duka tree. At the top he cut off the bark and brought it down to make the fringes for the skirt and sleeves. The people then divided the maloca into a men's and women's part. In the men's part an old woman sat down to sing. But soon the real *Xudjiko* came along singing and the people were frightened. But *Kúwai* said, "Don't be afraid. This old woman is *Xudjiko*, who has come to help you weep." The old lady ran away and *Xudjiko* took her place. Then *Kúwai* said, "When other people die do the same thing. Weep for a short time only." He told them to dance and sing. When they had finished *Xudjiko* went away. She no longer comes. Instead they make a horn.

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*Xudjiko* and her consort live at Uaracapurí, the source of the Cubeo. They were the first of the Ancients to die and they were the first to make the bark-cloth masks. The headpieces of the masks are set with feathers; the most prominent vertical feather is said to represent *Xudjikü* and the most prominent horizontal feather is said to represent *Xudjiko*.[8]

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## RITUAL THEMES IN THE *ÓYNE*

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The five main sets of characters in the *óyne* each represent then one major ritual theme: the women represent weeping; the masks, the concern of the living world for the deceased as well as for the living; the minnows, the boisterous character of young men;

[7] The term means "ghost" or "spirit" but it has here the connotation of "Great Spirit." However, since I did not learn of a Cubeo belief in a Great Spirit the allusion is puzzling, and is to be considered as unexplained. [776] [114]

[8] The apparent inconsistency between this account and the previous one referring to *Kúwai* illustrates two strands in Cubeo mythical thought. One strand, nonancestral, focuses on *Kúwai*, a figure of the Arawakan tribes. The other strand is ancestral and is, perhaps, truly Tucanoan. The Cubeo do not reconcile both strands. The question of which version is produced depends on the context, which may be either general or ancestral. [114]

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*Xudjiko* and her consort, the mourning by the primordial ancestors; and the sib units, the solidarity of the phratry in expressing both grief and anger. The dramatizations and mimetic dances present a variety of minor themes, such as menace and hilarity. If one looks at the *óyne* as a whole, however, and follows the sequence of events from their slow and solemn beginning to their conclusion in a simulated sexual orgy and then in a real one, a single main theme emerges, and that is the sexual interplay between men and women. By contrast to the sexual emphasis, the ritual of dealing with the spirit of the deceased seems almost minor and anticlimactic. It is only at the very end, when most guests have departed, that the ghost is dispatched. The climax of the first part of the *óyne* is ritual coitus, just as the climax of the second part is sexual license. We can therefore describe the *óyne* in terms of ritualized sexual sequence.

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Fig. 11. Mourning ceremony, women's entrance.

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The sexual play between men and women begins when the first visiting women arrive and try to pass through the rear entrance of the maloca. The rear door has been removed and the opening barred by poles set in an × over which the women must climb. The Dung beetles, armed with wooden staffs, "guard" the entrance by thrusting at the women as they climb in. The women are burdened with great baskets containing household utensils. Many carry a nursing baby in a sling across the hip, with a walking child clutching the skirt. A woman can make no dignified entrance. Prodded by the Dung beetles she tumbles into the house, clutching her infant, her skirts flying, her utensils scattered. She laughs with excitement, recognizing her fall as a burlesque of the rough play that initiates sexual courtship. At this moment the men are being solemnly and decorously received at the front door. However, after having been tumbled into the house the women reassemble outside, the bars are removed, and they, too, are received in the conventional manner by the host women. They then settle themselves along the left wall of the women's section. 765 831 786 [535]

The second molestation of the women comes at nightfall, when little boys rush in among them with a bark *dúpu* (a lizard which supposedly makes the women squeamish) suspended along a sturdy rope. They invite the little girls to join them in a tug of war. The little girls act shy so the boys first play of tug of war among themselves, arranging to fall among the girls. Emboldened, the girls seize the *dúpu* and join the tug of war. Another group of boys also bearing a *dúpu* enters and engages more girls in a tug of war. The purpose of the *dúpu* is to generate excitement among the women. The boys fall upon the little girls, who shriek with laughter and mock alarm while their mothers dodge the thrashing bodies artfully. 765 831 786 857

The youngsters are followed by an older group of Minnows, not masked, who swarm in noisily, stomping and whistling, dancing close among the women and pestling them. Finally, all the masked dancers, the adult males, enter. The air clouds with dust, and the women's section resounds to the shrieks of laughter, to song, and to the thump of dancing feet and the dry clatter of rattles. Young boys who are sent to sprinkle the floor with moist chicha mash, to settle the dust, pelt one another, and "accidentally" the women, with balls of mash. Throwing chicha mash is, for the Cubeo, a common form of flirtation. Ordinarily the woman throws at a lover. Children do not ordinarily play this game. Thus, the incongruity of being hit with mash thrown by little boys amuses the women enormously. It is the guest women who are flirtatiously singled out at this time. The host [535] [832] 765 831 786

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765 The host
831 women stand apart on their side of the house and serve chicha to
786 the Minnows.

The males leave and the excitement of the women subsides.
765 Through the night, however, the men come to dance among the
831 women. The fence that divides the house into a male and female
786 half is also an emotional dividing line. Dances form on the male
535 side, where they are solemn and subdued. When they pass to the women's side, the dancers are excited. When they go back they revert to calm. It is tempting to interpret the movement of the masked dancers – who look phallic – through the overlapping slit in the wall as symbolizing coitus, particularly since with almost each passage the level of excitement is heightened.

The excitement of the Minnows is allowed to subside in a calm interval. *Máwayo* (the red-mouthed aracú), and *U* (sloth) do a slow dance, holding long poles with a crook at one end which they suspend from a roof beam and upon which they swing. The Sloth always falls. He lies on the ground kicking a leg and making feeble gestures of arising, only to fall again. But *Máwayo* is slow and graceful and swings gently on his pole. The Sloth arises, and the dancers cross poles and gracefully dance out.

[532] They are all followed by the Minnows. Each Minnow now carries a long pole that is joined to all the others by a string from which dangles a carved wooden bird. They do a circle dance with the bird in the center. As they circle, stamping strongly to accent the beat on the right foot, they jostle the women, moving in upon them to enclose them in the circle. The Jaguars now rush in, wilder than ever,
[857] leaping about among the women and falling upon them. They are followed by the boys with the *dúpu* on its string. The boys ensnare the young girls in the *dúpu* string. Now two masked dancers comé in with long flaming broomsticks. They dash about among the women, swinging the flaming fibers among them. The women scatter in noisy panic, kicking over baskets and dishes. The attack by flame excites the Jaguars as well, and they whirl around among the women in sheer frenzy. As they flee this new menace, the women say, "The jaguars are angry. They will soon attack people." The Jaguars, how-
[534] ever, are no menace to the men. One climbs on top of the partition and blows noisily into his jug horn, and another climbs a roof beam overlooking the women, both in a simulated attack upon them.

The Jaguars withdraw, and the next entrance is again a quiet one. Two Spiders, slowly and gracefully holding a long string from the middle of which hangs a feather, dance toward one another, winding up the string until they are face to face at the feather and

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then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure. [831] [786]

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudiiko* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping. [535] [533]

This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *óyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *óyne*. 765 831 786 535 [182]

From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out – one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Miavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs. [152]

The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abúhuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakúiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamiré, kamiré*. These dancers leave, and another *Abúhukü* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudúki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among 765 536 [535]

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536 the women and dives clumsily after it, rolling among the women and over them. He recovers it and tries to crack it in his mouth, but of course he is wearing a mask, and finally he examines it with a marvelously executed air of puzzlement and dejection. The women have been so dazed by now that the comic virtuosity of this "clown" does
[152] not draw the expected laughs. The *Abühukü* leaves and there is a respite. The women stir about and look after their children, and it seems as though the emotional gradient, having been broken in its upward ascent, has dropped to the most ordinary level.

765 But this quiet interlude is short. At midmorning all the masked
831 dancers storm noisily among the women in a dance called the
786 *hwananiwa* (wild peccary). They throw themselves upon the
525 women, forcing them to the ground and to the copulatory position. Three or four men cover a woman. The dancers rise again to dance in sheer frenzy, careening about the room, shrieking and falling again upon another woman. But even though their excitement seems more feverish than ever, the men still do not lay a hand upon a woman. They choose for their attentions only the older women. The
[887] older women among the Cubeo are licentious, and they behave at this time as though they have become sexually aroused. They laugh and shriek and reach for a man's thighs. The daughters observe this spectacle of their mother's sexual excitement with evident dismay and great interest. The mothers shrilly command their daughters to run away and so escape sexual molestation. At the command to run they begin to leave, but they come back to watch. Again, the very young
[152] boys who share this masculine license are carried away by sexual excitation and lustfully attack the women, the wives of their phratry mates. The women "fight them off" with the standard courting resistance and succeed in inflaming them all the more. Not all the masked dancers join this revelry in the same spirit. Some men, the older ones in particular, are restrained, treating the dance symbolically, and some are simply shy and only brush lightly against the
765 women. The point of view is that of symbolic frenzy rather than of
182 sheer unrestraint. The mastery of this mood is surely a difficult one,
152 because the women, who are a laity, are under no compulsion to dis-
831 cipline their feelings. This is presumably the Cubeo ceremonial con-
786 ception – pitting masculine symbolically controlled behavior against
535 the spontaneous emotionality of the women. This interplay between emotional form and substance, so to speak, adds spontaneity and emotional spice to the ceremony but always within the framework of form. That the youngsters should succumb to simple lust in this licentious dance is, to be sure, a spontaneous consequence of the

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *hwananiwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

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The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* – the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

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The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

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The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

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535 recognizing the symbolic distinction between an alligator and a
536 jaguar, do not throw it back at the men. Then the Jaguars kill a deer, who is represented by a masked dancer. The Jaguars dance wildly about their "victim," blowing loudly into their jugs. The victim writhes and falls agonizingly to the ground, kicking up a leg, moving an arm, and then lying inert. Other dancers, his "comrades," come to look at him. They lift his arm and it falls back. They lift his leg and it falls back. They sniff his body and murmur *ttt tttt*. Now the Carrion vultures come, with their short staffs held against the back of the neck. They dance about the victim singing the jaguar song. They buzz about the victim and bend down and kiss him. The Jaguars also kill *Pampámibo* (a frog), and the procedure is repeated.

This dramatization of the modes of violent death – the killing of the alligator, the lustful adulterer, the killing of the jaguar, the dread killer himself, and the killing of the weaker and defenseless game animals – restores the mood to one of sobriety. The dance of the Carrion vultures has a note of pathos that is not lost on the women.

765 When these sequences are done there is an intermission. The boys
831 busy themselves with the fabrication of great bark-cloth penises.
[535] The phallic dance that is to follow is known as the "dance of the
[857] potent penises" and is under the jurisdiction of the young men. As they complete the penises, the boys begin a sexual play with them, thrusting at one another in a hilarious burlesque of coitus. It is all play, in a spirit of gaiety and with much noise.

765 During this interval of male sexual play, that takes place in the men's part of the house, the women on their side are mourning in the conventional fashion, arms about one another's neck, faces together, crouching in a mournful circle.

765 On this, the third day, the women's section is not entered again by
535 the men until late in the afternoon. Then the entire corps of masked
831 dancers dances in, each man carrying a sprig of leaves with which
786 he beats the women, centering attention on the elderly. Some strike with such force as to make the women scream with pain. Others brush a woman's shoulder lightly. They then dance into the men's section and whip the hosts, but perfunctorily, since the real interest is in the women, from whom they should draw blood. The Jaguars enter briefly among the women. They leave and all the masked dancers – the *nowánparatowü* (potent penises) – come in. Each holds a bark-cloth phallus before him with both hands. The dancers thrust at the older women, some doing so very mildly, and others, the younger men, forcing the phalluses between a woman's legs. The women again shriek at their daughters to escape. As before, the girls

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark-fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner. 765 535 831 786

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark-cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one-month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks. [838] [857]

The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion. 765 786 831 182 837

The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women – the sexually most desirable – are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of [838]

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenádox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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765 way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will announce the arrival of *Xudjíko* and her consort. Bearing their masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza. [535] [574]

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grandmother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A trumpeter accompanies with a rattle. 765 534 574

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grandmother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a framework to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the "grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occasionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the doorway with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will be used for making the *dúpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other paraphernalia. 765 533 534 765 535 [202] [789]

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they represent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pendant, jaguar-tooth and aramadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out. 765 614

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy 765

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765 staff as a weapon. They pose with head bowed, both hands resting
765 on the weapon. The chief mourner holds a rattle hung with a feather
53 and eagle down in his right hand. He begins the formal oration, an angry declaration denouncing the unknown sorcerers who have killed his father. As he speaks, in a hoarse, changing voice, he swings the rattle in a vertical arc, pivoting on his left foot, facing one mourner and then the next. His gestures are vigorous and his pivot is crisply executed. He swings the rattle upward almost into the face of the mourner whom he is addressing. He has hardly completed the circle when each of the mourners, swinging his right arm in an arc, turns to a companion and recites a similar angry declaration. The companion to whom he turns also pivots to face him, awaiting his return to reply. This part of the ritual is executed as a ballet. The declaimer is poised with his right foot forward, waiting for his partner to pivot and face him, and not until the partner has executed his pivot does he begin his declaration. The headman, having initiated these hoarse and angry harangues, turns his attention to the ceremonial remains of the deceased. His head bowed, he gently shakes the rattle over them and utters a sad lament that he has lost a father. After an interval of angry shouting the mourners re-form the close circle, bow their heads, and weep. They pause to blow their noses, wiping their hands on the fringes of the masks that have been hung nearby.

765 Other members of the sib are not part of this close mourning circle.
614 They put on their masks and dance, circling the mourners. The
535 *Xudjiko* trumpets are silent because they are sounded only by the
[533] men of the household of the deceased, who are now part of the circle of mourners. The mourning of the men signals the women to begin again their wailing, their piercing lamentations rising clearly above every other angry and mournful sound.

765 This interval of mourning lasts some 15 minutes. The ceremonial property of the deceased is then removed and the men rest, drinking
[535] chicha and smoking. Dancing resumes after half an hour. At dawn
[789] the Jaguars cut off the brown bark-cloth trimmings from their jug trumpets and pass them among the men to chew. This will guard them, they say, against sorcery from their phratry mates, who will arrive as mourners late in the afternoon.

765 Later in the morning the men put up crossbars to "guard" the
276 women's entrance. After this *mihi* is prepared. A sibman staggers in with a bundle of the narcotic vine. *Mihi*, as always, is carried in the ritual manner, one of its features being a representation of great weight. The bearer bends low, raising his knees high, and circles the

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled 276
once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is
considered a great deal.

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The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already 532
been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A
completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the [276]
last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies
to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be [273]
lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits
not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also [574]
complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at
the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete
their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives. 765

The first guests to arrive are the Satellites – members of the sib – 574
who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of [614]
the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional [431]
Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return
to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the
house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each 765
Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side 574
wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the
house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in 576
order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head.
Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his
side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly de-
livered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound
*ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is
brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not
look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoul-
der. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes
with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the
first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha
by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted
at the rear door by female hosts.

While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing 765
the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat 574
for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, 789
since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *óyne* in particular, as
a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards 754
also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that character-
izes the early stages of the *óyne*.

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After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to 574

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765 After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to
574 complete the decorations on the masks they have brought and to ap-
[532] ply personal body decorations.
[302] The sibs of the phratry arrive in late afternoon. These later ar-
rivals are greeted by the hosts wearing dance masks. When they
765 sight their guests they sally out of the house dancing and singing in
574 a winding line around the front plaza. The guests respond by don-
535 ning their own masks and dance up the path, each pair of masked
614 dancers singing its own song. They mingle with the hosts. All com-
plete a circle about the dance plaza, the hosts dance into the house,
and the guests continue dancing outside.

765 Two Butterflies from among the guests approach the open door-
574 way. Each in turn strikes the side wall violently with his rattles. From
535 within Sloth and *Mdueyo* thrust their long poles out at them and
"beat them off." The Butterflies rejoin the others. Suddenly all the
dancers rush the doorway and skirmish with the spirits within. Those
with staffs thrust them at the attackers or use them to ward off a
thrust. Those with rattles shake them violently. The "attack" is
noisy and spirited. Beaten off again, the attackers re-form their dance
line and dance to the rear of the house, seeking an entry through that
quarter. But here the doorway is blocked with crossbars and guarded
by Dung beetles, who thrust their long lances at the "attackers."
Again the attacking dancers retire and resume their dance at the
front of the house. After a while they take off their masks, hanging
the garments on poles that have been set for this purpose along the
front walls. Now, as humans, each strikes the side wall violently with
his staff and enters the house. This entry is ritualized. The men flit in
swiftly and silently on tiptoe, whispering *t t t i i i*, and circle the
ceremonial remains of the deceased.

The male hosts have formed themselves into an outer semicircle
facing the guest dancers. They lean on their staffs and look on grimly
as the dancers complete the circle; then they whistle. At this the
[537] dancers come to an abrupt halt in a semicircle facing the hosts and
launch into the orations already described. The speeches are short,
and the men change partners often, each moving out of position when
necessary, or leaning past a companion at his side. After a few minutes
the guests resume the flitting dance. They circle clockwise, whispering
*iii iii iii*, and having completed one circle, dance counterclock-
[622] wise and whistle. Alternating between clockwise and counter-
clockwise and whispering and whistling, they complete several circles
led by their headman, who carries a rattle in his right hand. Dur-
ing this dance only the host headman remains standing and facing
the dancers; the others retire to the benches set behind the dance

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masks and drink chicha. The guests finally stand in a circle around the ceremonial remains of the deceased. With heads bowed and leaning on their guns or staffs before them they chant a lamentation, their leader shaking his rattle slowly. They weep, the *Xudjiko* trumpets pick up the lament, and the women join in. They repeat this performance with little variation three times. After the third, they break ranks and face their hosts again in the postures of the angry harangue. Finally each guest breaks away and rushes toward the open doorway brandishing his weapon outside and shouting defiance at the sorcerer or other enemies of the phratry.

Concluding this phase of mourning, the guests leave the house so as to make still another entrance, this time to be received as men with the formal salutations at the doorway.

Guests from others sibs arrive by maloca groupings, each group of eight or ten men acting out the same ritual. Each group appears in three roles: as spirit beings who are repulsed, as generalized mourners who act out grief and anger, and finally as kinsmen, each of whom is received individually and with a kinship greeting as he makes his final entrance to the house. When they are greeted as kinsmen, the ceremonial remains of the deceased have been removed; they are welcomed at this point with a calabash of chicha and with *mihi*.

There are some minor variations in this pattern of greeting. At the *Hehénewa óyne* one group "attacked" with a barrage of pupunha thrown against the roof and the front walls. This "attack" had, however, another side to it. In part it was an attack and some of the fruit was thrown violently through the door, where the defenders threw it back at the masked attackers. But punpunha is also regarded at this time as an offering for the women of the house – just as it is during the ancestral whipping ceremony, when the house is showered with fruit by the ancestral spirits. The sound of pupunha fruit striking the roof frightens the women.

This dualism of assault and of offering is carried out in somewhat different form in the course of the ritual receptions to the house. The first instance is when the guests arrive as masked dancers or as spirit beings. They are received first in a friendly way, joining in a dance with their hosts. Then the two groups separate and engage in ritual attack and defense. In the second entrance, as generalized human beings, there are a number of alternations between aggression and friendliness and between anger and grief. Even the circle dance around the ceremonial remains of the deceased has a gentle clockwise motion symbolized by the whispered *t t t t* followed by a more

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574 violent counterclockwise motion for which the symbol is the loud
[535] whistle.

On the women's side a parallel form of greeting, but with a minimum of ritual, is going on at the same time. The greetings among the women are, in many respects, a counterpoint to the greetings among the men. I have already mentioned how the women are made to tumble into the house so that their entrance is as ludicrous as the entrance of the men is somber. However, having picked herself up and having straightened out her belongings, each woman is greeted
[561] in a file by the host women. Like the men, the women are grouped by maloca and in order of their husbands' age seniority. Having been
765 greeted with the conventional handshake, the group of hostesses and
574 the group of guests face each other and shout angrily at one another;
152 these shouts are not accusations or recriminations, but expressions
[576] of anger at the enemy who has killed the deceased. Two women who have been facing one another in postures of anger suddenly fall to a squatting position, each with an arm around the other's shoulder, drop their heads, and weep. Women who are nursing babies seem

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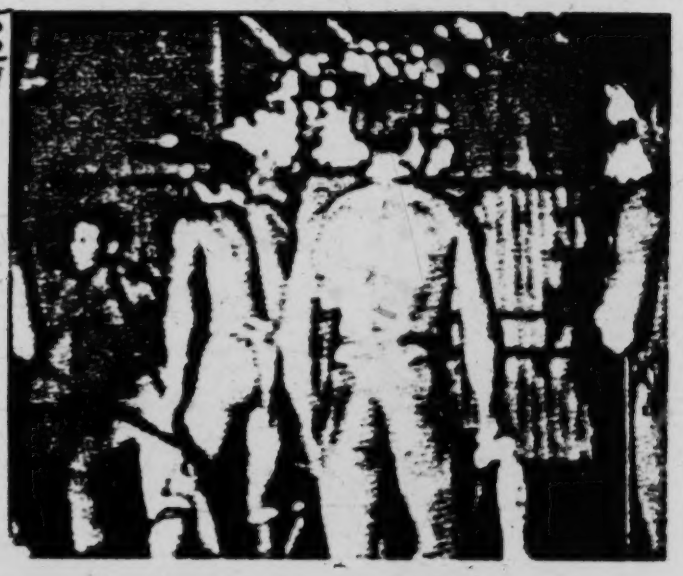

Fig. 12. Angry declamation at mourning ceremony.

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able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep.

## FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly.

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the *óyne*. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Helénewa* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough.

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly.

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765 273 152 Drinking at the *oyne* is disciplined and follows the emotional gradient of the ceremony. On the first day, which is intramural, the mood is somber and little chicha is taken. On the second day, when guests arrive and the mood is anger-grief, the drinking is still slow. [574] Guests receive the welcome offering of chicha after their third entrance into the maloca and thereafter they drink during all intervals between dances. Formal drinking begins two hours before sundown. 765 273 276 152 The moment is signaled when the hosts brings in *mihi*, the symbol of intoxication. Only the older men take the potion. Thereafter all drinkers are free to grow excited. The elders remain restrained, however, since it is their role to license the excitement of others. They describe their own intoxication as an inner state. They feel a change in mood, they see color visions, but they do not overstep to overt excitement. That is the role assigned to the younger men.

766 273 276 152 562 The rate of drinking and the shift in mood gains momentum in the course of the interplay with the women. Women drink as much as men, but do not take *mihi* and do not get drunk. Their excitement is imparted to them by the men. Thus, the men drink to initiate excitement; the women drink so that they may react. When the men are not among them the women sit passively among their young, the dogs, and their household goods.

765 276 [778] *Mihi* has magical power which the bearers portray dramatically. They pretend to stagger under its weight because *mihi* has power to fell a man. The people I asked did not know, however, why the bearer of *mihi* pranced with his torso bent forward and his knees kicked up high. The bearers whisper *he he he* and then whistle. These are the sounds of spirits and they are the same as the sounds made by the guests when they circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased. A bundle of *mihi* vines is laid with the ceremonial remains 765 532 276 during this dance. From a roof beam at the exact center of the house, where it overlooks equally the male half and the female half, hangs a vulture figure. The body is an ear of corn, the head is carved of wood, and the spreading wings and tail feathers are made of old basket fragments. The bird hangs like a mobile. It is said to be "drunk" on *mihi*, and it presides over the *oyne* to give the proper spirit of intoxication. The vulture of intoxication is the patron, so to speak, of the *oyne*.* Mobiles of other birds are also hung about the house, as are painted images of fish. I did not learn the significance of these.

* The vulture is thought of here not so much in the sense of its being a carrion eater, but for its quality of soaring. Compare *kard* (vulture) with *kaudno* (sky).

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The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth 574
day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing 576
the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep [152]
once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehéneun* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

765
One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjiko* is sounded. [535]
At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial [534]
paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

765
That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening 535
include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, [533]
*kenadjú marié kenadjú pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. 765
As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and 535
leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the 786
dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has [531]
become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the 765
following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted 775
to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first 266
of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have 114
been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

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765 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I ob-
775 served the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around
266 him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an
114 urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in
824 the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. There-
783 after, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for
775 at least another generation.

532 MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE ÓYNE

765 Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons
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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Makuko* | (K-G)[a] | A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun. |
| 2. *Kohako* | (K-G) | Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them. |
| 3. *Hailako* | (K-G) | A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand. |
| 4. *Palutxiko* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 5. *Anauako* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 6. *Abúhuwa* | (K-G;IG)[b] | Forest demons. |
| 7. *Hokoaboxoko* | (K-G) | Giant tree demons. |

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

171 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of
184 caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe
266 that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wal-
lace, 1870, p. 498).

765 Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéos. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabucuris, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enrivant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'energie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 173).

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|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | *Valuliabozoko* | (K-G) | A giant demon, killer of fish, who is actually the carara bird, a great devourer of fish. |

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**Birds**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | *Murukutuko (pupuli)* and | (K-G) | The owl. Has a mask covering only the head. Holds a torch in one hand and a stick in the other and jumps up and down in imitation of the owl jumping from branch to branch. Regarded as an evil devourer of people. |
| 10. | *Hauhabo* | (K-G) | |
| 11. | *Kavá* | (K-G;IG) | The carrion vulture. |
| 12. | *Miavi* | (K-G;IG) | The eagle. The mask has a white facepiece with an hourglass frame surmounting it. |
| 13. | *Kolapilabo* | (K-G) | A small prey bird. |
| 14. | *Kulika* | (K-G) | A bird of the parrot family. |
| 15. | *Vekó* | (K-G;IG) | A bird of the parrot family. |
| 16. | *Kobauako* | (K-G) | A bird of the parrot family. |
| 17. | *Olo mo oko* | (K-G) | The aracua. |
| 18. | *Umanami* | (K-G) | The tem tem (*Tachyphonus*). |
| 19. | *Yolourua* | (K-G) | Swallows. |
| 20. | *Penikabokü* | (IG) | A small white bird. |

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**Fish**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21. | *Borikakü* | (K-G;IG) | The aracú. |
| 22. | *Mawayo* | (K-G;IG) | The red mouthed aracú. |
| 23. | *Aqali* | (K-G) | A small aracú. |
| 24. | *Pyénkü* | (IG) | A small black fish. |
| 25. | *Ihiabolü* | (K-G;IG) | A small fish. |
| 26. | *Haima* | (K-G) | The yaudia. |
| 27. | *Batakahaima* | (K-G) | The black yaudia. |
| 28. | *Auaholabo* | (K-G) | The colored aracú. |
| 29. | *Iyudyo* | (K-G) | A small aracú. |
| 30. | *Emiwa* | (IG) | Minnows. |

**Insects**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 31. | *Keratamówa* | (K-G;IG) | Dung beetles. |
| 32. | *Tatárako* | (K-G;IG) | The butterfly. |
| 33. | *Maka* | (K-G) | A bird catching spider. |
| 34. | *Pekó penkünkü* | (IG) | Beetle larvae. |
| 35. | *Budyauobo* | (K-G) | The leaf bug. |
| 36. | *Bobubo* | (K-G) | The house spider. |
| 37. | *Uménahonkü* | (K-G;IG) | The dragonfly. |
| 38. | *Malakaibo* | (K-G) | A large night butterfly. |
| 39. | *Bobako* | (K-G) | A small night swarmer. |
| 40. | *Kumatidiauo* | (K-G) | A caterpillar. |
| 41. | *Tadyiwa pikoa* | (K-G) | A caterpillar. |
| 42. | *Kohidívcko* | (IG) | The cockroach. |
| 43. | *Himáuwa* | (IG) | Caterpillars. |
| 44. | *Utáwe* | (K-G) | The firefly. |
| 45. | *Henohenóri* | (IG) | The bee. |
| 46. | *Utcikü* | (K-G;IG) | The wasp. |
| 47. | *Kubuwa* | (K-G) | Sand flies. |

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**Mammals**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 48. *Yavi* | (K-G:IG) | The jaguar. |
| 49. *Nyamáko* | (K-G:IG) | The deer. |
| 50. *U* | (K-G:IG) | The sloth. |
| 51. *Pamúrü* | (IG) | The armadillo. |
| 52. *Kapáro* | (IG) | The monkey. |
| 53. *Hwani* | (IG) | The peccary. |

**Reptiles and Amphibians**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 54. *Ha* | (K-G) | The yararaca snake. |
| 55. *Ba ko ko ko* | (K-G) | A small frog. |
| 56. *Umúua* | (IG) | Frogs. |
| 57. *Pampámibo* | (IG) | Frogs (another variety). |
| 58. *Pucúnwa* | (IG) | Small frogs. |
| 59. *Xuíbu* | (IG) | The alligator. |

**Unidentified**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 60. *Pikuá* | (IG) | |
| 61. *Tonkakü* | (IG) | |
| 62. *Imihikü* | (IG) | |

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# 11

## *Religion*

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. 771
Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, 776
fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekûpwänwa* and 787
*Kuwai* the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which specific results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious attitude must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of relations among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one neither commands, nor submits. People enter willingly into a relationship that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood. In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seek to establish a relationship with a supernatural being. 771 571 [787]

The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikū* they come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how- 771 769 [856] [765] [614]

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771 769 ever, does not compel them to make the sib child grow. The Cubeo think it absurd to suggest that the *Bekûpwänwa* might need any urging to do for the sib what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing. It is impossible for a Cubeo to say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have withheld a benefit or that they can be made to do more under 771 769 some circumstances and less under others. What is required – and the Cubeo do not say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have set requirements – is 787 that a proper mode of social intercourse be established and maintained. The spirit and the manner of social intercourse must be correct, however, although not letter perfect. The spirit in which the social intercourse is carried out is more important than the ritual act. Many Cubeo ceremonies are abridged because, as they explain, the mood was wrong. Guests who should have come did not, and in the feeling of disappointment the ceremony is cut short. An error in a chant, in a dance, in a song, or in a ritual sequence is of no impor- 771 769 tance. Failure to conform to the rules of social intercourse with the supernatural beings, such as the Ancients, may have serious conse- 784 quences only if the neglect is deliberate. In any case, *Bekûpwänwa* do not punish. They only withhold. In the case of the boy who ran away from his whipping at the hands of the *Bekûpwänwa*, my informants assured me that he would not be deprived of a year's growth. Since they, the elders, were prepared to forgive the youngster his uncontrollable timorousness on this occasion, the Ancients, they knew, would do likewise.

771 769 [776] The Ancients are not referred to as "spirits." The term for spirit is *dekökü* and has, for the Cubeo, a more alien connotation than the term *Bekûpwänwa*. The Ancients or the ancestors are referred to by name so that association with them conveys directness and immediacy. I believe that it is for the sake of maintaining a sense of immediacy and of directness with the *Bekûpwänwa* that the Cubeo do not place them in some ancestral abode in some other world. [778] The Ancients, to be sure, are known to have been buried in the ancestral rocks from which they emerged, at the rapids of Uaracapuri and Yurupari. But the burial place is not their place of abode. Strictly speaking they have no place of abode. The flutes and trumpets that embody them reside in a *caño* near the main stream of the sib. The Cubeo do not, however, claim that these sacred crypts are the resi- [775] dences of the Ancients. The ordinary dead, on the other hand, do have an abode. The point of distinction for the Cubeo is that the ordinary dead have been sent away and are no longer welcome, whereas the Ancients, who are not spirits of the dead in the ordinary sense, are always welcome.

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Apart from the Ancients there is *Kúwai*, who has been referred to 776
here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the [171]
area share *Kúwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. There are no rites in- [178]
volving *Kúwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Kúwai* in the past. *Kúwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Kúwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and [773]
frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Kúwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Kúwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkũ* 771
(my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*kavánu*) in a house with his 776
wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in 797
a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkũ*, an Ancient, but *himéni-* 177
*hinkũ* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been badly understood by the Indians of the Cuduiarí, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkũ* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without excep- 771
tion reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. 776
In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupian and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahúkiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true benefi- 769
cent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note 771
that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

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769 move against other powers or forces. That is to say, the Cubeo know
771 that growth, potency, and fertility are part of the ordinary scheme of things and that there is no force conspiring against such ordinary developments. The *Bekûpwänwa* are not thought of as jealous, sensitive, threatening, or likely to take offense. It is noteworthy, too, that the emphasis in growth is upon the individual far more than it is upon the more abstract concept of sib. The Ancients will not guard the people against any unexpected dangers. To guard against menace, whether general or specific, there are specific measures that the sibmen themselves must take.

771 All other anthropomorphic beings in the Cubeo cosmos are either
776 menacing, mischievous, or harmless. Menace from supernaturals, however, is relatively moderate, not to be minimized but lacking in dread. The only menace that truly frightens the Cubeo is that which they attribute to persons.

776 The *abúhuwa* are cannibalistic forest monsters, the bogy men of the children. At the mourning ceremonies they are made to appear grotesque and absurd and hence harmless. There are many stories of human encounters with *abúhuwa* as ogres. In most, the *abúhuwa* are overcome. They can be outwitted, caught, and killed.

The story is told of an old woman alone in the maloca with two young children. *Abúhuwa* entered the house and the children were able to escape by climbing up to the house beams. But the old woman was caught. An *abúñukü* rolled her between his palms until she became all soft and he sucked her out from the top of the head in the way a Cubeo child eats a banana. He hung her skin over the branch of a tree. When the others of the maloca returned they saw an *abúhuwa* family within. They set capsicum afire at the door of the house and as the *abúhuwa* sought to escape its acrid smoke, that is noxious to all unwanted spirits, they struck them down with clubs and killed them all.

Another tale is told of a hunter who, in the woods at night, was seized by the throat from behind. It was an *abúhukü*. He struggled with it and killed it with a knife. In the morning he went to see it and it had taken the form of a sloth. *Abúhuwa*, it is said, are all very
[754] hairy. Their armpit hair makes a very potent sorcery "poison." Any man who is bold enough may seize an *abúhukü* and tear his armpit
[821] hair. It is said that the ogre can be seized only when the moon is in eclipse or is red and low in the sky. The hair must be from the left armpit and can be cut only with a corn husk. It is cooked until reduced to ash, and then is mixed with water and allowed to dry to a paste in the sun. The paste is kept in a small gourd dish sealed with

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beeswax. When enemy *Maũnwa* attack, the paste is thrown among them, causing them to fall stupefied to the ground. It is the shaman, however, who can contend with these orgres most successfully. The *abũhuwa* are frightening to behold, the Indians say, because they have two faces, one in front and one in back. Some have sticky bodies and when they embrace an unwary victim he can no longer escape. A mother and child are favorite targets of these *abũhuwa*. The mother is killed and the child is reared as one of them. It in turn then seizes people. Female *abũhuwa* have a preference for men and the *abũhukũ* tries to catch a woman. 776 [789] [756]

*Nyáma abũhuko* (Deer ogre) is a black ogress, an evil spirit of the deer, who catches children wandering about alone. She tosses them into the air so as to break their necks and then and there eats them.

Another ogre is *Opómbibekũ*, a dwarf with an enormous penis, who flies about at night, seizes little boys, and eats them.

*Kómi* is also an ogre, one who emerged with the first people. Eventually people caught him and burned him alive. They then noticed that whatever came near his ashes died. Sorcerers still go to fetch his ashes for their "poisons." [754]

Snakes, the boa and anaconda in particular, are dangerous to women. The land boa rapes women in their manioc gardens so that they give birth to snakes. The water anaconda attacks menstruating women who come to the river. A menstruant is endangered by land snakes, too, but can ward them off by painting with genipa. Nothing, however, will protect her in the water. The water anaconda is a threat to a newborn child and to its father as well. This menace, however, is easily counteracted by the simple magical techniques of the old men. The dangerous anaconda is the white anaconda and not the ancestral black anaconda, which is regarded as friendly "because he knows his people." He is not venerated and is not the object of ritual although he is represented in petroglyphs on the Cuduiari. In the old days, I was told, he was kept as a household pet but for sentimental reasons only. 776 825 [841] [789]

The river is also the home of the *mwápwãnwa* (fish people), who are anthropomorphic spirits. They are small people who live in a house beneath the river and move about at night, sometimes brushing moistly against travelers and frightening them but otherwise harmless. 776

The fish, who are of great importance in Cubeo ceremonials, not only in the *óyne* but in their own fish dances and fish songs by which the Cubeo celebrate great catches, are a "people." They, too, live in a house and have a chief, *Munyũnbekũku* (Old man *munyũn*), a 776 825

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776 mythical fish with a mouth that has the lower jaw of the puño and
825 an upper jaw shaped like the beak of a parrot. Should a menstruant enter a canoe he will break it to bits. The Cubeo do not say that their fish ceremenials are for the purpose of promoting success in fishing. Their view rather is that when they are happy with a catch of fish they enjoy dancing with them. Increase magic may underlie the Cubeo relationship with fish. But if it does they either no longer recognize the instrumental motive or else they refuse to acknowledge it.

825 As with the *Bekûpwänwa*, the Cubeo relationship with the animal
771 world is largely one of establishing proper social relationships. In such relationships compulsion is out of place. In the animist world view of the Cubeo the entire animal world is communicant with the world of man. Some relationships, as has been noted, are dangerous, and therefore stand out in a special category. Among the dangerous relationships is that of the jaguar. Since the jaguar is identified with the shaman, it is more suitably discussed under the heading of shamanism. There are birds, such as a parrot called *bauvéko* and marúku monkeys, who are feared because they are foretellers of misfortune. For the rest, and with the exceptions noted previously, the relationship between man and the animal world is casual and friendly. On the river, as we have already observed, the Indians address birds and fish by name. Their intense interest in domesticating animals of almost every variety as household pets must also be considered as part of the effort at communication of a concrete form.

825 The birds, *miwa*, are friendly spirits. They emerged, it is said,
776 from Uaracapurí with the Ancients and were originally in human form. The birds are the planters of fruits and berries and are their
[273] guardian spirits. They are appropriately at the same time the guard-
[532] ian spirits of intoxication, a bird with a corn-cob body and wings of
[765] a manioc tray fragment presiding in that capacity over the *óyne*.

The luminary *aiyá*, who is both sun and moon, is a more distant
776 anthropomorphic spirit.[1] The Cubeo interest is in the moon, the li-
821

[1] The doctrine of *aiyá* as both sun and moon is mythological only. It does not mean that the Cubeo do not distinguish clearly between these two bodies. *Aiyá* refers to the anthropomorphic being whose activities are actually in moon form; it refers also to direction. East is called by the Cubeo *aiyádaino* (*aiyá* [the sun] is coming). West correspondingly is expressed as "*aiyá* is going." To express time, however, the sun is referred to by the particular name of *hanáwûkakû*, an anthropomorphic form that has, however, no anthropomorphic connotation to my knowledge. *Hanáwû* refers to time in the abstract, while *hanáwû koriha* (sun in the center) means "midday." All specific times are given by describing the position of the sun in the sky. The word for "day" or "daylight" is *hánan* and is apparently based upon the verb root *ha* (to see). The Cubeo disclaim any anthro-

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *ayyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaíbo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *ayyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

## HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwn*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *ayyá* form.

[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédé* (pulse) and *umédé* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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775 form. "Since they did not care for people," the Cubeo say, "they cannot live among the souls of people after death." Those who have committed incest or have eaten a forbidden fish called *namúri* have souls after death in the form of the *banvéko*, a bird that is feared greatly.

The ghost is called *dekóků* (dream man) or *pwânků dekóků* (dream man person).[a] The distinction between *umé* and *dekóků* is not precise. That is, when the Cubeo speak of the death of a person they will say that the *umé* leaves and the souls take on human form, and add that the *umé* may return to the house and disturb people. Having begun to speak of *umé*, they follow it into its ghostly phase. On the other hand, it is when the narration begins with the spirits of the dead that they will use the term *dekóků*.

The Cubeo have no dread of the spirits of the dead. The spirits depart and live their own life under their own headman. Beliefs on the nature of the afterlife are not uniform among the Cubeo, however. The most common view is that the spirits of the dead of the same phratry live together, all in one great phratry house under a headman. Women, however, occupy a vague place in the afterlife, wives staying with their husbands. The women spirits, however, lack their full economic function, since in the afterlife spirits live by hunting and gathering but not by farming. The dead do constitute a nuisance. [824] [789] Shortly after death the ghost returns to the house hoping to entice a sibmate to go with him, but he is easily dispatched by burning capsicum. The grave, in the house, is no hallowed place, and shortly after the earth has been packed in place the children play over it. When people encounter a place on the river where the spirits of the dead can be heard they do not hurry on but pause to listen. The spirits of the dead will never be encountered at high noon, the zenith, so to speak, of the secular part of the day. The spirits of the dead hunt only at night. They eat butterflies, grubs, and all snakes including the founding anaconda. Significantly, they do not drink chicha. The Cubeo do not say why, but it would seem that they have visualized an afterlife that is lacking in the essences of life, that is to say, the ingredients that the Cubeo associate with vital intensity. The spirits of the dead also lack manioc. There is some debate among the Indians as to whether the dead live in a house; they lack ceremonial life and sib autonomy. Literally, then, the Cubeo visualize a shadow existence after death.

The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All

[193]

[a] *Dekó* is the stem in the verb "to cause to disappear."

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The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All the dead of the sibs of a river are joined together. While the individual spirit has his sib identity, the sibs do not exist in the afterlife as social entities. The *habokii* of the dead is *Mavitcikori*, grandson of *Djurédo*, an Ancient of the *Orobawa* and of other high-ranking sibs such as the *Hehéneua*, who was the first headman at Uaracapuri. However, the Cubeo have no great interest in speculating about the life of the spirits of the dead, since, except for the Ancients, they have no formal relationship with them. With the dead, the point is to break the bonds, and for this reason alone Cubeo speculation about the spirits of the dead is at best a moderate one. I have already related the story of the woman who, having died and been buried, returned to her husband and pleaded with him to take her back. It is said that if the husband had accepted her she would really have come to life, but that because he drove her away people who die remain dead.

In Freudian theory, fear of the dead is a projection of ambivalent feelings toward the living. From this point of view one would have to assume, most incorrectly, that the Cubeo are markedly lacking in the ambivalences of love and hate. The Cubeo attitude of neutrality toward the spirits of the dead is due rather to the fact that they attribute almost all misfortune to active human agency. If one is to look for evidences of ambivalence in Cubeo feelings toward kin the proper source is in the imputation of sorcery and not in the attitudes toward ghosts.

## THE CONCEPT OF POWER

An important concern of all instrumental, as distinct from ethical, religions is power, the grasp of power and its control and manipulation. Power, to be sure, is valued for its direct application to common human interests in food, safety, and the overcoming of enemies, to name but a few, but it would be rash to underestimate the sheer attractiveness of power acquired and power used for its own sake. In Cubeo religious thought, too, power is both instrumental and compelling in its own right. In keeping with the moderate role of power in social and political life, however, the power theme in religion is a muted one. The Cubeo do not attribute to anyone, man or supernatural being, grandiose powers. If anything, the Cubeo are rather conscious of the limitations of power. We have seen this in how little power they attribute to the Ancients. *Kiwai* is a more telling illustration of the point, for this being ordinarily fails when he is truly manipulating power, while his successes are in the ordinary relations

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778 of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

778 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known
756 as *pariékokü* (man of power) or as *yaví* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékokü* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yaví* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every *yaví* is a *pariékokü* but not every *pariékokü* is a *yaví*. The *yaví* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékokü* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékokü*, but *yavís* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yaví* and the *pariékokü*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékokü*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parükü*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an
778 exceptional act it is his *parükü*, it is said, that enabled him to do it.
756 The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unplea-
821 santly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the
823 depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of
789 the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Sha-
778 manistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Gener-
756 ally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding,
787 in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman
825 on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

756 Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the
778 shamans wage against one another. A *yaví*, I was told, has a different
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A yavi, I was told, has a different 756
kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An 778
injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I 554
spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked (754)
through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong (774)
*yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *pariékokũ* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became 756
fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from 825
laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some 754
informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a (124)
*yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókũ*) becomes a jaguar. According to this (775)
view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also (774)
the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pwãnyaviwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahúkiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yauí* or *pariékokü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yauí*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yauí*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duwáiyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhókükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenádox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhókükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;* (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridkü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duwáiyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenádox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

* Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kuriákü* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kúria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kúria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the insertions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kúria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*duwáiyo*) and crystals (*kenádox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *duwáitüwü* (to extract spines). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the poisons that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *yaví*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *yaví*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted

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755 phrases I could not hear but which I was told much later were spells to send the illness away. When the blowing was finished the *yaví* poured water from the earthenware pot into the blackened calabash, scooping into it with his left hand the palm spines. He poured the water over the head of the old man, taking pains to get it into the ears, the patient helping by rolling his head. The black spines now lay scattered on the ground near the old man. The *yaví* went about carefully picking them all up. The entire community had gathered to watch the cure and the *yaví* asked them to help gather the spines. The people did not dare touch the spines. Cautiously, without coming too near, they pointed them out. Having gathered all the spines after a very careful search, the *yaví* went off to the brush at the edge of the plaza. He returned rubbing his hands together and making blowing sounds with his mouth in all directions. He poured once more, this time from the second pot, shaking his rattle but uttering no sound. When he had disposed of the second collection of spines the cure was finished. For reasons of magical secrecy no one interpreted to me what was being done. Later, after the old man had died, I was told that the diagnosis had been unfavorable. The quantity of *duwáyo* spines found was great, indicating a serious ailment, and the shaman thought that the ailment (*ihé*) was probably not curable.

For minor ailments such as headache, hangover, indigestion, mild bronchial disturbances, and the like, blowing with tobacco smoke is all that is required, and many an old man has the knowledge and preparation to do that. For hangover, smoke is blown onto the top of the head; for stomachache onto the abdomen, and for bronchial disturbances onto the chest. Minor ailments of this sort are treated
[756] by kinsmen, who receive no payment other than a small gift. Imported *yavís*, however, may demand as much as a machete or a musket for their services.

754 If curing seems unspectacular, the arts of killing or of causing serious illness are to the Cubeo mind extraordinarily well developed. As the Indians see it, most deaths, illnesses, and misfortunes are products of human malevolence. I doubt that any Cubeo seriously believes in dangerous encounters with *abúhuwa*. All, however, live in dread of sorcery. Fear of the *yaví* as jaguar seems genuine enough.
754 Yet despite tales of packs of human "jaguars" going from house to
756 house devouring people, actual incidents of assault by jaguars against
(648) people are rare. The Indians, in fact, say that since the establishment of a police garrison at Mitú on the Vaupés the *yavís* have become cautious and no longer attack people.

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yavi* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yavi* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yavi*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yavi*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yavi* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives. 754 756

The *yavis* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokübéwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yavi* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakü dekókü* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several [828] [177] [776] 754 775 825

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754 [775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yaví*. The insect
[825] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatárako* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcíkü* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dúwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by
278 the *lingoa geral* term *mavakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term
824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaíye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but
824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by
754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi-
682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapibü kowaíye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti-
824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge.
682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has
[241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

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When the rains come the abdomen swells. After days of steady rain the swollen abdomen bursts.

*Yokaihye* (leaf poison) is reputed to be so poisonous a leaf that it is never touched with the bare hand. The leaf is boiled in water and allowed to dry. Its powder is wrapped in a leafy bag and dipped in any liquid to form an infusion. Some of this liquid spilled on the victim leaves a black spot that quickly disappears. Shortly thereafter the victim dies.

*Pothaiye* is a berry poison. Its extract is put in chicha or at the end of a stick if it is to be poked up the victim's nose when he is asleep. It causes a slow death by wasting.

*Dyóka* is a forest plant that kills only children but will sicken adults. A moist packet is allowed to drip over the forehead of the sleeping victim. There is said to be a remedy for this.

There are many other *ihé* products that were not identified to me by name. Some, from the end of a stick, are inserted into the nostrils of a sleeper. People who specialize in this are night wanderers called *parébohe abúhuwa* (very powerful *abúhuwa*). They can see in the dark and are difficult to observe. They lack specific motive for their deeds and may be regarded as male witches. It is these witches who are tortured by having their flesh torn with fishhooks – one tear for each victim – when they are caught.

Another *ihé* product is *pená*, an ash that comes from a secret site

Fig. 13. Petroglyph: *Kómi* playing the ancestral trumpet, Alligator (*Pedikuwa* sib).

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754 278 824 682 at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale accounts for the origin of *pend*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekûpwänwa*. Suddenly *Kómi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kómi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kómi* told them to take him to a creek called *Manánkanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kómi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the Cuduiarí from Arawakan Indians by way of the Querarí.

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278 824 Curare (*himá*) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only in war and not as a secret potion.

751 As a far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutcûdü*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

75 776 789 771 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man. The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*wei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhá*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yaví*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*talárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawi* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihi*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

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## *Conclusion: Principles and Patterns*

Cubeo is a representative of that group of horticultural societies whose economics serve subsistence needs in the main. Such societies, commonly described as "simple," lack formal structures of social status and of power. Their social structures are built around relatively small segments, and they have religious doctrines and patterns of ceremonial organization that correspond to the primitiveness of social and economic relations.

Such a description does no more, however, than set a most general frame for the discussion of the type. We now know that the term "simple society" does little justice to the variety and intricacy of social relationships and of patterns of thought that even so materially impoverished a society as the Arunta of Australia possesses. Closer to our area, we are aware of the diversity and intricacy of social relationships among such "marginal" cultures as represented by the Ge-speaking Indians of central Brazil. The more closely a people are studied the more evident does it become that even for very broad descriptive purposes the old rubrics – simple or complex, seminomadic, egalitarian, segmentary, subsistence economy, to mention but a few of the more common – are inadequate to identify the true state of affairs. We need to locate in greater analytic depth the social and cultural principles upon which such broadly characterized societies are founded.

The emphasis in anthropology has, indeed, shifted from the descriptive to the analytical account of a society. In the analytical ac-

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121 count the concern is with the structure of relationships, that is, with the more fundamental principles and patterns of social behavior. In deriving such principles and patterns we are now ready to go beyond those elementary and very general theoretical doctrines according to which culture is an apparatus for satisfying basic human needs. By now this doctrine impresses us as both obvious and tautological. Cultural anthropology seeks a characterization of distinctive cultural types rather than a generalized characterization of Culture or Society. In its recognition of the distinctiveness of cultures, cultural anthropology is close to history in method and aim. In its search for general principles it is close to sociology. The proper route of cultural anthropology, therefore, lies somewhere between the poles of generality and of uniqueness. Thus, in the summation of principles and of patterns that I am about to present, my aim is to find a level of analytic abstraction that is specific enough to characterize and to identify the Cubeo and yet has enough generality to provide a basis for identifying the broader sociocultural type to which the Cubeo may belong. The justification for a level that is between the generalizing and the particularizing is that it offers promise of greater analytic refinement than a level at either pole. The problem is to move as closely as possible to the ultimate uniqueness of a cultural configuration without losing the capability for comparative study. After all, one can profitably move up the scale from the particular to the general, but there is no good way of moving down. The aim of the present analysis, therefore, is to depict what is specifically Cubeo and yet allow bases for two successively broader typological characterizations, namely, tropical forest economies of South America and "simple" horticultural economies in general.

## LINKAGE AND AUTONOMY

571 614 615 With respect to social structure, the most fundamental Cubeo principle involves a relationship between the apparent opposites of linkage and of autonomy. That is to say, the Cubeo will find a way to assert their independence of each group of which they are a part. The clearest example of this principle is the relationship between phratry and sib. What this relationship brings out is not an antagonism between opposing principles of collectivism and of individualism but rather a complementarity. The phratry does not impede the autonomy of the sib. On the contrary, it fosters this autonomy. It does so by fostering a strong sense of sib identity; for the consciousness of sib identity is actually heightened by the enforced relationship of

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sibs with one another, particularly in ceremony. Since the phratry 571
represents a fraternal federation, promoting peace and security, the 614
political and economic autonomy of a small and therefore potentially 615
weak segment encounters no additional external threat. Thus, as we have seen, the phratry, by providing a zone of peace and security, facilitates sib fission, which may be regarded as a still further development of autonomy.

For the Cubeo, autonomy and linkage are equally strong attrac- 571
tions, and I think it is fair to say that they cannot visualize one without the other, or one as stronger than the other. The compulsions to form and to proliferate linkages are balanced, so to speak, by provisions for maintaining the identity and the potential autonomy of each component segment. No linkage is established that will interfere with autonomy, and, in fact, many linkages are established for the purpose of providing greater autonomy. Ceremonial friendship [572]
is a case in point, illustrating the way in which a self-initiating and hence autonomous paired relationship grows out of and complements, as well as extends, patterned relationships that have traditionally been established by kinship and by sib membership. In viewing Cubeo social structure, one is inclined to suspect that when relationships have become too solidly established, a way is found to assert the autonomous complement of that relationship. The striking [615]
oscillation between phratric solidarity and sib isolationism observed [614]
in the drinking parties may perhaps also be attributed to this very strong Cubeo tendency to assert autonomy wherever collectivism looms large. We shall return to oscillation as another principle of Cubeo social structure. At this point, we may review the principal linkage-autonomy relationships that have been described for the Cubeo. The following relationships are included, going from the largest to the smallest segments and fragments of segments.

1. *Tribe-phratry.* This is not an actual but only a potential rela- 571
tionship, since the Cubeo tribe has virtually no structural significance. 615
If the principle that we have described as to the nature of linkage-autonomy is correct, it would follow that if the tribe were ever activated as a sociopolitical entity, the phratries would emerge as even stronger entities. This, however, is only an academic speculation. More pertinent is the hypothesis that the Cubeo phratry is weak because it lacks a higher, a more collective, counterpart against which to assert itself.

2. *Sib-phratry.* In this relationship we see the classic statement of 571
linkage-autonomy. The phratry as the collective entity heightens the 614
significance of the sib as the autonomous counterpart. The implica- [615]

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tion of this statement would be that the development of the sib organization out of perhaps some more amorphous form of patrilineal, patrilocal organization is to be attributed to the process of federation itself. That is to say, by confronting a series of equivalent segments, each segment undertakes to assert its own clear identity. A sib, after all, is a unilinear descent group that has undertaken to differentiate itself categorically from like groups by means of such obvious symbolic devices as a name, a common tradition, and a theory of common descent. In the absence of federation this process of categorical self-identification would probably not occur. The process of sib formation, as a consequence of federation, is alleged in this instance for the Cubeo only. It may, however, prove to be a more general process. Elsewhere in the tropical forest the clan organization (parallel to the Cubeo sib) is associated with moieties. The apparent exception of the Witotoans is in all probability simply a matter of incomplete information.

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3. *Independents and Satellites.* It is at this social level that the issues of linkage-autonomy can be most readily analyzed. From the standpoint of those who have removed themselves some distance from the sib, the issue is simply that of autonomy with its counterpart, a circumspectly defined linkage to the main body of the sib. The issue of autonomy arises specifically in relation to the authority of the headman, limited though such authority may be. The Satellites and Independents do not disengage themselves from the sib; they are content simply to assert their autonomously considered degree of independence from the headman. The differentiated form of the Satellite and Independent house may be a practical expedient for building a small house. Nevertheless, it does illustrate graphically the point of linkage-autonomy, since the square house, as has been demonstrated, does not meet the requirements for total autonomy with respect to sib functions.

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4. *Sib-household.* The household, as has been demonstrated, has its clearly defined zone of autonomy. It has its own compartment in the maloca; it prepares its own food; it has its own manioc plantation; and it contributes its identified share of the chicha to both intrasib and intersib drinking parties. No one who has lived any time at all among the Cubeo can fail to be acutely aware of the assertion of autonomy, within the context of linkage, of each household. A sib-lineage and a lineage-household relationship along the linkage-autonomy gradient did not emerge clearly enough in my study to be included in this discussion.

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5. *Patrilocal household–wife.* The demand of a newly wed wife for

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a *zone* of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband. 592 571 [593] [606]

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack. 571 561

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart. 571 572

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in *size* and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their 571 614 615 621 571 621 [622] [856] [769] [553]

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(621) main emphasis upon the person and not upon the community. Such an emphasis, needless to say, tends to favor autonomy over linkage.

It is evident that the foregoing discussion of linkage-autonomy is in many respects simply a restatement of the familiar concept of segmentation. There are, however, significant differences that justify the use of other terminology. Segmentation as defined by Nadel (1953, p. 177) refers to a more limited set of relationships than have been included here. As an example of segment he describes a "hierarchical structure being arranged in an order of progressive inclusiveness, as lineages, for example, build up clans, and clans build up a tribe, or as several village communities form a district, and several districts the state. . . ." From the standpoint of this definition, Cubeo society is, of course, segmentary. The concept of segmentation, however, is purely objective, and as such is pertinent to the purposes of social anthropology. However, the term "segmentation" carries no cultural connotations, since it does not define the point of view of the members of the culture. Therefore it is inadequate for the aims of cultural anthropology. The concept of linkage-autonomy, on the other hand, expresses a cultural, a Cubeo, point of view and indicates how this point of view is embodied in social structure. This Cubeo point of view, which places a value both upon extending relationships and maintaining autonomy, goes beyond the structural patterns that are commonly included under the concepts of segmentation. It is a more inclusive concept.

## LATERAL AND HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS

All social structures are regulated by bonds of relatively equivalent status relationships, as well as by bonds of nonequivalent or unequal status relationships. The former, existing on roughly the same social plane, are called lateral, and the latter, existing on different social planes, are called hierarchical. Hierarchy is always a culturally defined term and represents a clear-cut distinction of relative worth. Lateral is also a culturally defined term, but laterality is not a clearly set relationship of status equivalence. Hence it must be modified by
571 the adjective "relative." The ranking of sibs is a clear example of
602 hierarchy among the Cubeo, whereas kinship relations, including
554 ceremonial friendships, are lateral. However, since kinship relations
(614) also embody formal principles of hierarchy, such as generation, seniority, consanguinity, and affinity they are lateral only by contrast with the strongly hierarchical distinctions of authority, power, pres-

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tige, and rank. Societies differ with respect to the relative role these 571
two principles have in the social structure. That of the Cubeo is very 602
strongly lateral and only weakly hierarchical. Even the ranking of 554
sibs has ritualistic rather than political significance. Rank confers prestige but no power. On the other hand, it does confer economic privilege of a sort by granting to the high ranks superior river rights. But the Cubeo themselves do not make an issue of this economic distinction. Political authority, as we have shown, is relatively slight. In kinship, age, generational, and descent seniority elicit some respect and provide for ritual precedence. Such precedence is a prestige point. But the prestige accrues less in everyday affairs than upon formal occasions. Thus, from the Cubeo point of view virtually all 571
relationships between persons and between groups are lacking in dominance-subordination, whereas only in rituals, that is, only upon the plane of the sacred, are there distinctions of worth and of respect. Even these are rather minor, involving only ritual precedence. The ritual pattern itself is not hierarchical. Now segmentation, as Nadel has observed, is a hierarchical form of organization, yet in the case of the Cubeo, segmental hierarchy has little cultural significance. Since [615]
the phratry has no organization of leadership it is not, in actuality, a "higher" segment. For all secular purposes the sibs deal with one another as equals.

The principal characteristic of a strong lateral structure, such as that of the Cubeo, is its considerable flexibility in forming new linkages and in rearranging old ones. Hierarchical structures, on the other hand, are dependent upon, or subject to, the authority of a higher-ranking segment. The new linkages that any Cubeo household is free to establish are limited far more by personal preferences than by inviolable principles. Sib exogamy is such an inviolable principle, but phratric exogamy is somewhat different. It [614]
involves not the "dread" of incest but rather the sentiment of con- [615]
fraternity. Cubeo flexibility responds to the absence of political constraint. Sibs can move about, and can, if they wish, change phratric affiliation.

## FISSILITY

From the two preceding principles of sociocultural structure there 571
follows a third, ease of fission. Every segment of the entire social 621
structure has the capability of detaching itself from the larger body. The factions that have actually broken off include sib clusters, sibs,

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621 households, and individuals. Fission is an objective social process, a by-product of Cubeo cultural principles of autonomy and social equality. It is promoted, as well, by another cultural principle that we have not yet discussed. That principle I would describe as a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. That is to say, in the absence of political constraint and of economic necessity the Cubeo find it easier to leave an uncomfortable situation than to endure it.

## PERIODICITY

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614 Since the sibs join together on the basis of linkage-autonomy and upon lateral rather than hierarchical lines, some loosening of bonds
(574) would seem to be inevitable. The periodicity in drinking parties is the only measure we have of changes in the strength of attachment of sib bonds. These parties, we have noted, follow a cycle starting from full attendance and a very high state of mutual confidence and ending in a series of parties that are poorly attended and are conducted in an atmosphere that is dismal and heavy with distrust. Eventually confidence is restored and a new cycle begins. The period from high to low runs about one year. Periodicity is not a cultural principle: it is a consequence of several other cultural principles. As already suggested, linkage-autonomy and lateralization play a part in this periodicity because they allow relationships to find a "natural" level. That is to say, there is no formal authority that can step in to restore good relations when the social climate has been poisoned by
(621) drunken quarrels and by accusations of sorcery. Periodicity is perhaps
(615) to be regarded as an incomplete form of fission at the level of the phratry. Since the phratry is a stronger exponent of autonomy than is the sib, it develops only a few of the pressures that might lead to actual fission. As for other principles of Cubeo culture involved in the periodicity of sib bonds, we have already mentioned the low tol-
571 erance for psychic discomfort, and have described its relevance to
152 fission of the sib. In the context of the drinking party, and indeed in the context of all collective activities, this principle can be stated in still another way: that collectivity demands its appropriate atmosphere of good feeling. We have seen this principle strongly at work in the mourning ceremony, where the atmosphere of grief, grimness, hostility, suspicion, and fear is systematically and ritually trans-
(578) formed to one of excitement and gaiety. We have also observed that the Cubeo do not harbor grudges for long. When a feeling begins to subside they allow it to subside. When a more neutral atmosphere forms, a new cycle of good feeling can begin.

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## POLARITY - COMPLEMENTARITY

The complementary role of conceptual opposites is, of course, a universal type of cultural patterning. Cultural distinctions occur in variations of the pattern. Under any circumstances, the general pattern of polarity-complementarity produces a mode of order and hence of social cohesiveness. In Cubeo life, polarity-complementarity is very strongly expressed. Its most prominent area is the male-female polarity. From a purely sociological point of view, the male-female opposition would seem to be a reflection of the patriliny-patrilocality of the sib, in which the women are outsiders as wives and outsiders-to-be as sisters and daughters, while the men are the permanent group. To this basic social condition the Cubeo add a variety of symbolic modes of opposition. Those that have been described include opposing but complementary roles in all ritual. In the ancestral cult and in mourning ceremonies these distinguishing roles of men and women are very sharply delineated. In ritual, men supply order, while women give spontaneity. Since female spontaneity in ritual is evidently complementary to masculine formalism, it is to be understood that we are dealing here with a somewhat dramatized rather than with a "pure" spontaneity. Generally speaking, and using the Durkheimian categories broadly, the men represent the sacred side of life and the women the profane. However, in the case of the Cubeo the female as profane is a complement of the sacred and not altogether outside of it.

From a more secular point of view, the male-female distinction can be expressed in terms of a collectivist-sectionalist dichotomy: the men represent the collectivism of the sib, the women the sectionalism of the individual household. The contrast between the gregariousness of the male play pack and the solitariness of the little girls is perhaps the most pointed demonstration of this distinction. Another illustration of this pattern is in the form of the dance in which the girls slip under the linking yokes of the men's arms, occupying, so to speak, interstices of the dance pattern. The collectivist-sectionalist distinction is also clear in economic activities. Hunting and fishing are commonly collective, whereas female-prepared food, that is, manioc cake and tapioca porridges, are largely sectional (household). If we were to attempt a hypothetical linking together of the various patterns of Cubeo culture we could argue that the principle of linkage-autonomy is related to the broad principle of male-female polarity-complementarity, on the grounds that the male side in relation to the female

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562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 The second most important area in which polarity-complementar-
796 ity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvi-
152 ous distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage
571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly
765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the
614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine
152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihí*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib
[615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The significance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that,
152 as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context
571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel
574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib
614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moder-
273 ate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who
574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and
273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no
562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual
152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

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The relationship between the patterns of calm-frenzy and linkage- 627
autonomy appears also in the juridical area. Here, as we observed, 152
justice is carried out not in an atmosphere of calm deliberation but 614.
in an atmosphere of high excitement, as befits a situation in which the collectivity of the sib has been broken both by commission of the crime and by the act of expelling the offender. The juridical is not a ritual area. The example, however, demonstrates the continuity of ritual polarity-complementarity with a more general patterning of mood.

## PATTERNING OF MOOD

The point has been made repeatedly that the Cubeo will under- 571
take no significant action unless the mood is appropriate. The previ- 152
ous example of the juridical process is illustrative. Punishment or vengeance must correspond with appropriate anger. Ritual acts and dances are omitted when the mood is wrong. All collective enterprises of the sib, such as hunting, fishing, foraging, and housebuilding, require a mood of geniality. When such a mood begins to break, a fairly rapid chain reaction ensues. The sense of collectivity weakens and this, in turn, darkens the mood. This cycle of mood periodicity has been discussed in the context of the drinking party. In a different context it applies to other major collective efforts such as housebuilding, which also follows a cyclical rhythm of spurts of work alternating with lulls. The fishing cycle is still another example of Cubeo dependence on mood.

## OVER-ALL PATTERN

Some examples of linkage of smaller patterns have been presented 121
to suggest at least the possibility of describing Cubeo society in some 571
broader and more inclusive terms. The problem, however, is that the concept of pattern is a hypothetical construction based upon calling of attention to analogies or parallelisms. The method of pattern construction is largely intuitive and the demonstration of its validity is largely a matter of presenting a credible argument. Despite these self-evident scientific shortcomings there can be little doubt that the presentation or analysis of a culture without the concept of pattern must involve a serious distortion of reality. The aim of a theoretical construction that would present a culture in terms of over-all pattern is to provide appropriate bases for a more sophisticated culture typology than anthropology presently possesses. Pattern need

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121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-
[428] complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

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generally, this relationship of appropriateness between mood and activity is not novel. It seems, in fact, altogether natural. Cultures, however, as we well know, do not necessarily pattern themselves quite so naturally. Civilizations, in particular, place the emphasis upon the social action and expect the mood to be disciplined or to be subordinated to the social occasion. The Cubeo, on the other hand, expect a rather high degree of emotional spontaneity. In this respect they correspond oddly to the eighteenth-century notions of "natural man." In secular affairs the spontaneity of correspondence between emotion and action is much greater than in ritual. In ritual the effort is made to establish the correspondence between feeling and the concept of the sacred. Ritual in primitive society generally expresses in a symbolic or highly compressed form the fundamental cultural themes of a society. We have repeatedly shown the integration of ritual with social structure. Cubeo ritual, similarly, reveals not only the role of emotionality in Cubeo life but exhibits that spectrum of emotionality that has greatest significance for the Cubeo.[1] It is indeed in ritual, as Ruth Benedict has demonstrated in *Patterns of Culture*, that the ethos of a culture is most vividly displayed. Cubeo ritual, as has been seen, dramatizes the interplay between formal pattern and spontaneity. The most vivid example of this interplay is the interaction between men as sacred and women as a laity during the mourning ceremony. The effect of this interplay is to add significance to the spontaneity of emotion, and at the same time to give emotional zest to the formal ritual pattern. In short, what seems an inescapable conclusion about Cubeo culture is that neither form nor action can be comfortably tolerated unless charged with a proper feeling or emotion.

The relationship between form and emotion and social action and emotion is but one part of the pattern. The pattern also includes the emotional preferences. It is not simply that the Cubeo prefer to run a gamut, since an emotional gamut is a range within a particular plane. In ritual the emotional gamut moves from sobriety and order, as we have already explained, to intoxication and disorder. On a smaller scale, the ritual pattern moves from slow to fast. In the mourning ceremony these related planes of emotional modulation seemed to find their focus in a sexual rhythm, culminating in what is almost literally an orgasmic excitement. From this there may be reason to conclude that it is coitus, a very elementary biological

[1] It is to be understood, of course, that the roles of emotionality in secular life are not the same as they are in the sacred realm. In secular life moderation is more appropriate than excitement or intensity.

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152 model, that underlies an important aspect of the Cubeo ethos.
796 What is surprising about finding coitus as a model for ritual ethos is
181 not that this obvious pattern has been drawn upon, but that it is not
831 drawn upon more often. Among the Carajá of central Brazil, I am
(171) informed, the coital ritual pattern is explicitly recognized, each phase of the dance being named from a phase of sexual intercourse.[3] It is quite possible that I simply failed to discover the same explicit rela-
571 tionship among the Cubeo. The explicitness that I did discover,
796 though, is in their assertion that ritual excitement, whether produced
181 by drugs, alcohol, or the ritualization of sex, is a necessary comple-
152 ment to the ritual magic of the below-the-knee ligature of long life. This identification of emotional intensity with life itself is also an obvious and therefore a simple relationship. In sum, we can say that the main features of Cubeo ethos draw upon very obvious and simple biopsychological models and – this is the significant point – adhere rather closely, almost literally, to them. Since the social pattern also draws upon a very elementary model we must conclude that the socio-cultural pattern as a whole is built upon the simplest of social and biopsychological models. Needless to say, even the bare and incomplete account of Cubeo life that has been presented suggests that the elements of over-all pattern described here do not encompass the "totality" of the culture. In all probability, however, no concept of pattern can ever encompass a total social and cultural system. From the point of view of culture theory the question is a different one. The proper question is: Does the theory of pattern provide an adequate approach to an understanding of the culture?

121 We can attempt to answer this question by applying the concept
571 of pattern that has been presented to an analysis of two fundamental cultural problems: the problem of social homeostasis and the problem of ecological adaptation. Strictly speaking, equilibrium and adaptation are one problem. It is simply that this problem can be approached from two sides.

## SOCIAL HOMEOSTASIS

The assumption of social homeostasis is that a cultural system consists of relationships and interactions that are so patterned that their net effect is to perpetuate the system, generation after generation. It is understood, of course, that homeostasis, or equilibrium, is a relative condition only, since no society today is a precise duplicate of

[3] Personal communication from Dr. William Lipkind.

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what it was yesterday. Moreover, the concept of homeostasis, like that 121
of pattern, is a theory of society. As a theory it rests upon further 571
theoretical assumptions as to what are the significant relationships, what are the normal patterns, and what are the disharmonious and stressful interactions. In the final analysis, a theory of homeostasis deals primarily with the ways in which a society handles conflicts and stresses. From a broad perspective, one can say that Cubeo society depends rather heavily upon what might be called "mood management" for equilibrium. Its homeostasis rests a good deal less upon networks of reciprocal obligations and upon formal exchanges of goods than, let us say, in Melanesian societies. The clearest illustration of this Cubeo equilibrium principle is in the role of the headman. In Cubeo culture he is not an economic redistributor (the drinking parties cannot be regarded as an economic exchange) but a regulator of community sentiment and of good feeling. However, the nature of Cubeo equilibrium is best considered at each particular level of social integration.

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Cubeo society may be presented diagrammatically as encompassing 571
five orbits of relationship, arranged in order of progressively weaker 61
bonds of unity. The innermost orbit is represented by the male sib- 602
lings, the nucleus of the sib; the second orbit is the sib itself; the third orbit is the phratry; the fourth, the affinal kin; and the fifth and outermost, the tribe. The brother-sister relationships and the husband-wife relationships may be regarded as within the confines of the first and second orbits. [593]

Each orbit has its own characteristics of equilibrium. To take them 571
in reverse order: Tribal unity is so tenuous that fragmentation into 619
subtribal units is of little consequence. New combinations are readily formed and whatever disturbance this may cause is very temporary. Tribal continuity rests upon tradition and common language and customs, on the one hand, and upon the phratric organization, of which it is a summation, on the other. With respect to tribe, the question of equilibrium is more pertinently not what holds the tribe together, but rather what there is to disperse it. Tradition and common customs and language are little more than bonds of inertia. Once set, they hold unless some stronger force intervenes. Against what counterforces are the relatively weak bonds of tradition to contend? The answer is that there are no such counterforces arising from within the society, since tribal unity has no tasks to accomplish that could involve stresses and strains. Paradoxically, the very absence of a tribal leadership is a source of unity. By virtue of the linkage-

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571 619 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 606 607 593 [583] [616] [582] [614] Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geographic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 615 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest. 571 614 578 [615] [754] Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

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safeguards sib solidarity. On the other hand, when the disputants are of different sibs it is relatively easy for the issue to embroil the sibs as entities and correspondingly difficult to confine the issue to the actual principals. The fiction of phratric consanguinity notwithstanding, the sib is still, in Cubeo thought, a natural unit that holds within itself the constant potentiality of antagonism toward the fellow sib. The fact that each sib arrives at a drinking party or other ceremony armed and as a unit is the symbolic expression of latent antagonism. The ritual theme of dissolving the semblance of sib unity through intoxication is presumably counteractive to sib solidarity and antagonism. Yet this counteraction via intoxication contains the paradox of bringing the undercurrents of antagonism to the surface. To be sure, when a quarrel occurs in the late stages of a drinking party it often is isolated because the other sibmen may not be fully aware of what is going on. The safety device does work, to a degree and for a time. Moreover, some men are known to be quarrelsome by temperament and are consequently ignored. Granted all these mitigating circumstances, it is easy for a man to involve his own sib in a dispute with another. When illness and death occur, one conclusion is inevitable. That is found in the expression "*they* want *us* to die." This theme recurs in the funeral orations. Perhaps it is because the Cubeo sibs have a history of separate though related origins and a tradition of past antagonisms that present-day intersib hostility can flare, and is expected to flare, even though the issues that disturb them are, at bottom, trifling. However, in conformity with the minor nature of the disputes is the absence, in recent times, of intersib warfare. The disputes result in coolness and social distance and not in organized fighting. In summary, phratric unity is readily disturbed but never very seriously. It is restored by the process described under "Periodicity." It is because the issues are not irreconcilable that the social "governor" that restores peace by separation can work so well

The orbit of the sib has the same general form as the orbit of the phratry, with the formal difference that the sib has a leader whereas the phratry has no leadership at all. In the sib, moreover, all the ties are substantially firmer than in the phratry. Since the cultural view holds that sib unity is a natural expectation and since there are no important issues dividing sibmates, we are faced with a truly difficult theoretical problem in accounting for sib fission. The common explanation, that fission of local groups in simple societies is due simply to insufficiency of food in the immediate locality, does not apply to the Cubeo, who, at least in modern times – a period of population decline – are not confronted by land shortage. There is, in

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571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
[578] Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a com-
[182] plex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen to-
[857] gether. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken -- and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the preva-
578 lence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordi-
831 narily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship? Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost al-
837 ways the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
[562] discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

578 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
571 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
837 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
593 acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
[562] status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional
[554] cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

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Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry
the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. 571
The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict 578
that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pa- 614
thology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized 154
and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly resentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these standards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its 571
natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in 614
Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. 578
That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indicated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the [622]
prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punish- [627]
ments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the difficulty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The [626]
function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, composed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by draining away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse senti- [622]
ment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood 571
brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. 614
The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. Yet 593
this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is 621
spotted with social "'ions," free-floating men who, with their wives

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571 and children, circulate from community to community attaching
614 themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear
593 family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual auton-
621 omy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low toler-
ance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the
firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

121 Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or
571 as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is
viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalanc-
[619] ing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest sug-
[615] gestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless
configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and
to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has
the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance.
On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of
being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the
study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only
vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical
grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

121 The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural.
174 It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting
the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cu-
beo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In
[614] historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the
[615] allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honor-
ific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further so-
cial and political development. Though the phratric organization is
largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization
provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through polit-
[648] ical and economic means. Some of the potential political means are
already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding
of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and
economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is
seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an
acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they
also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether
unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolu-
tion, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the
answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of pat-
terns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single
variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence
on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of

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these conditions is relevant to an understanding of Cubeo culture. 121
But even taken together they do not account for the principal pat- 174
terns of Cubeo culture, which have a natural history of their own. The question, however, is not whether cultural patterns have a natural history, but only whether the ecological and the technological theories are adequate accounts of the natural history of a culture.

## ADAPTATION

Thus, the problem of cultural adaptation to an environment can- 182
not be dealt with simply and one-sidedly by describing the hypothet- 121
ical shaping of a culture to the environment. Adaptation is a study of interaction. Generally speaking, highly specialized environments demand highly specialized and hence relatively predictable cultural responses. The tropical forest is not an example of a highly specialized economic environment judged empirically by the diversity of cultural patterns it has sustained. Bitter manioc is clearly a cumber- 182
some crop, its high yield and relative ease of cultivation being offset 241
by its very heavy demands on labor, specifically on that of women. 121
It can be argued, therefore, that this crop offers a poor economic base for social and political development. Yet the Northwest Amazon also is familiar with maize, yams, and sweet manioc, not to mention beans and squash and gourd. These crops have traditionally sustained high cultures. Can we explain in ecological terms why the Northwest Amazon tribes chose to specialize in bitter manioc rather than maize and beans, as did, for example, the lowland Maya? It would seem that here is a case of cultural choice in which prefer- 121
ences for quick yield, minimum care in cultivation, strong sexual divi- 181
sion of labor, and perennial harvest rather than the problems of 182
storage and seasonal periodicity may have been compelling factors. 433
Since the Cubeo social system placed no great demands upon an ex- (241)
panding economic productivity the "easy" adaptation to nature was always feasible. The main patterns of Cubeo life do not stress the disciplines of prolonged and closely managed effort. The habitual (461)
rhythms of masculine labor are discontinuous and varied. Leadership is based on the principle of mood regulation rather than on dedication to an ideal or submission to authority. High cultures are based on strongly disciplined and collective ways of life. By contrast, the Cubeo values greater emotional spontaneity and personal autonomy. An economy, needless to say, will in the end transform cultural values as well as the personal character of the members of a culture. Before

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it can do so, however, it must be given a chance, so to speak, by the culture. There is nothing in physical nature that dictates the form of an economy beyond the requirement that it satisfy subsistence needs. In the case of the Cubeo the simplicity of the economy, and the corresponding simplicity of the culture as a whole, would seem to be far more a product of its fundamental patterns and principles of organization than of an external nature. If this conclusion is correct, it would suggest that the simple horticultural societies, as a type, are not mere victims of inhospitable environments but rather that they constitute a range of cultural systems with characteristic modes of equilibrium and adaptation that do not readily foster economic expansion and higher levels of social and political integration. This statement leads to one other conclusion, namely, that a culture is only partly a functional system adapted to the satisfaction of basic needs. With respect to these satisfactions, most societies have surplus capacity, a great deal of room for maneuver and for improvisation. Much of the form of a culture represents a style of life that need not, indeed cannot, be explained simply in terms of function, equilibrium, or adaptation. A style of life then must be studied in its own terms since it too is part of the diversity of nature.

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by

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# Tukano

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# I

# *El Diablo*

Lying only four and a half degrees north of the Equator but eight and a half thousand feet above sea level, Bogotá is a city of cool weather – some say of perpetual spring. Once the surrounding highlands had been the home of the Chibcha who like the Inca of Peru had been overwhelmed by the *conquistadores*. To the north and south the mountains form a continuous chain, to the east and west lie the rolling grasslands of the Llanos and the valley of the Río Magdalena, from where Jiménez de Quesada, the first of the Spaniards, reached the high plateau to found the present city, followed more than three hundred years later by Simon Bolívar, the Liberator, in whose army served many Scots and Irish mercenaries.

Today Bogotá seems to retain her past in a modern setting. Aloof and dignified, she is often called the Athens of Latin America. Overlooking the city from the peak of Monserrate is a chapel, on another peak a monastery and on a third a gigantic figure of Christ. Beneath, clinging to the lower slopes are the steep, cobbled streets of the old city, and stretching towards the centre is an ever-increasing conglomeration of office blocks and banks, one skyscraper towering higher than another.

By day *ruana*-clad peasants move about in their donkey carts, the shoe-shine boys squat on the street corners and the shouts of lottery vendors mingle with the peals of taxi horns and gramophone records. From the fifteenth storey of an office building you can look down on to the red-tiled roofs surrounding the patios of the old Spanish houses, and mules carrying jerrycans of water through the streets and underneath the skyscrapers.

By night the long-distance lorries and buses rumble away, their roofs roped high with sacks and crates, their passengers bound for opposite ends of Colombia. Lights blaze from the stores and cafés; beer and *aguadiente* are served by sensuous girls in bright dresses; there is music and dancing; the brothels open and for a time Bogotá detaches herself from her mountain dignity. But by midnight, with the last cinemas over and the people streaming out, their handkerchiefs held tight to their faces for fear of catching colds, the quiet returns. In the city centre only the gigantic neon signs still flicker and, high above, the floodlit chapel of Monserrate shines white against an ink-black sky.

To us the invigorating atmosphere of the city was a welcome change. The

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



122 cool fresh air, the eternal rush of people, the noise of traffic, all spurred us on to prepare for our next journey to Amazonia. For three weeks we were able to enjoy the luxuries of a modern city. Our bare attic was the store-room and we slept on the floor, while Joan the landlady with true North Country generosity fed us large meals of Yorkshire pudding and shepherd's pie. There were newspapers, films, exhibitions, concerts, parties and pretty girls, but our time was always short. When we returned to our sleeping bags we were faced by huge piles of film, cooking pots, tarpaulins and hammocks, all waiting to be rearranged and repacked for the next journey.

Each journey was to demand different organization but the one to the Río Piraparaná was to be the longest and hardest of all. We would be out of touch with all traces of civilization for three months. Even at this stage we were unable to predict our route. Neither the maps nor the information available were sufficient for us to make definite plans. Dr Schultes, the Harvard botanist, had originally advised us to go to the Piraparaná, though he had also warned us not to go too far down because of the extensive and dangerous rapids. A Colombian botanist told us to take the opposite route and go up the Piraparaná from its mouth. Our efforts to find the right solution met with many conflicting answers.

The only direct means of reaching this river in a remote part of Colombia some four hundred miles south-east of Bogotá was to fly. We settled on Mitú as our starting point, having decided to descend the river largely because of the advice of the Catholic Mission there. This settlement, close to Brazil on the Río Vaupés, was the Mission's base and the most accessible point to the Piraparaná. During the planning stages in September Brian had flown in on a cargo plane and discussed our plans with the Monseñor and the padres. Even then the Monseñor warned us that if we arrived any later than the end of November we might run into severe difficulties – there would be no water in the beds of the streams. It was now the beginning of December.

We had to find a plane to take not only ourselves but also an aluminium boat, two outboard motors and all our equipment. The regular fortnightly service was out of the question because the passenger plane could not carry our boat, and to charter an aircraft was beyond our means. So we asked the Colombian Air Force whether they could help. Our chances seemed hopeful since some troops had to be collected from another nearby frontier post. However, only a week before we were due to leave we had a severe setback. An unfortunate article about the expedition appeared in the Press, there were many exaggerations – we were even supposed to have a portable laboratory! – and mainly as a result of this the director of one of the scientific institutes withdrew his support, which meant that Nestor probably would not be able

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000 *Noanamá headman with pendant silver ear-plugs.*

 [see p. 34-A]

6: Moser & Taylor E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano
Choco SC12

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Noanamá headman with pendant silver ear-plugs.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano
Choco SC12

/p. 34-B/

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ABOVE LEFT: Noanamá boy, his face painted with bija. ABOVE Right: Jagua patterns a boy's body. BELOW: Children listening to our tape recorder.

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



to come with us. We were also afraid that the Catalina flying boat would be withdrawn as well. We had nothing more than letters of recommendation from scientific bodies in Britain and, with no official support behind us, the Colombians had every reason to doubt our validity. They could well feel that this was work they could do just as well themselves. For two days the fate of the expedition seemed in the balance. 122

Fate was on our side. The Commander of the Air Force agreed to fly the expedition to Mitú on 15 December. The only restriction was that the two hundred gallons of fuel given to us by an oil company could not travel in the same aircraft. We would have to find another way of flying our fuel to Mitú. As we walked out of the Air Ministry and across the road towards the vast Tequendama Hotel we unexpectedly came upon Horacio, strolling dejectedly along the pavement.

'I've just left the bookshop,' he said. 'I had a quarrel with the boss's daughter, and now once more I'm without a job. I think I'll go back to the Llanos, find a canoe and stay down there until the rains arrive. All I need are books, some rice and beans, my hammock and my mosquito net, and I'll be happy.'

'Heavens,' we said. 'Why don't you come with us?'

Horacio's eyes twinkled and later that evening he came to our attic and said he would join us. Educated in Europe, he and his brother had both been to Bedales and later he had graduated from a Swiss university with a degree in chemical engineering. On returning to Colombia he had found a wandering life more agreeable than research or business. Now in his mid-forties he lived and worked in Bogotá as little as possible. With his wide knowledge and complete fluency in five European languages, he had been a great asset to many expeditions which he usually accompanied as a professional photographer under the pseudonym of Robinson. But he preferred to travel alone. Though always helpful, he was nevertheless a strangely remote person. Our meeting turned out to be one of the most fortunate moves of the whole expedition, for besides his vast experience and fund of jungle knowledge Horacio turned out to be a marvellous friend.

The final three days were ones of hectic preparation. The motors had to be checked, the aluminium boat transported to the military airbase; these had been loaned to us on the understanding that we would carry out a reconnaissance geological survey for an oil company. Food supplies piled higher and higher in Joan's attic, for we had to feed not only ourselves but our Indian guides and helpers as well. Colombian money would be of no use to these people. So, on Horacio's advice, yards and yards of coloured cloth were

ABOVE LEFT: *Noanamá boy, his face painted with* bija. ABOVE RIGHT: Jagua *patterns a boy's body.* BELOW: *Children listening to our tape recorder.* 000

 [see p. 34-B]

122 bought. Pins, needles, reels of thread, mirrors, brightly-coloured combs and extra fish-hooks to supplement those Donald had already brought from England were all found in the market area. After hours of haggling we would wend our way homewards, laden with tins, paraffin lamps, rope, candles and many other items. Up to the very last moment we were packing endless supplies into plastic bags and rubber bags, inside kitbags and into tins which we had painted bright red to cheer us up in the green forest.

Early on the morning of the 15th a truck arrived; we loaded and left for the airbase, only to find the boat would not fit into the Catalina. They had been trying since six in the morning. There was nothing we could do, we had to take the flight or not go at all. So we left, without Nestor and without our boat. We had luckily sent the fuel ahead to Mitú in a cargo plane.

We slowly climbed above Bogotá and thence across the Eastern Cordillera towards the Llanos. As we landed at Villavicencio the oppressive heat seeped into the aircraft. Situated directly underneath the foothills of the Cordillera, it is the port of entrance to the Llanos and the tropical forests bordering the plains to the south. Here ranchers ride the streets, tether their horses and carouse in the beer saloons till dawn; then they return to their *fincas* deep in the plains. From here the rivers run east, to the Orinoco and then to the Atlantic.

We continued on our way southwards over undulating grasslands, then over unbroken forest. Suddenly we entered a storm and, as we bumped up and down, became lost in swirling rain. An hour later we emerged and a ridge appeared on the horizon. Beyond, the wide brown Vaupés with a straggling line of painted wooden houses broke the unending carpet of green. We landed on the white sandy strip of Mitú; once a rubber boom town, now a lonely outpost settlement and mission station, an oasis in the forest.

648 Earlier we had heard we might find it difficult to make friendly contact with the Indians of the Piraparaná. Very few white men had been able to enter the river, either from its source or its mouth, since the beginning of the century, when the most brutal atrocities had been committed by the Casa Arana[1]. This rubber company, financed by British and Peruvian interests, had extracted rubber from north-west Amazonia to export it down the Amazon through Manaos. The camp chiefs established themselves as potentates and were greatly feared. Their labour was entirely drawn from the Indians whom they treated not as human beings but as slaves. Women were raped, men who displeased their masters brutally murdered, those who failed to carry sufficient loads had their hands slashed off with machetes and were left to die. Many spent their lives in chains. So serious were the atrocities that in 1912 Sir Roger Casement brought the matter before the House of Commons. Many Indians retreated into the Amazon's remoter tributaries.

[1] The atrocities were in the Putumayo region – not the Piraparaná – but their influence was felt throughout north-west Amazonia.

*El Diablo*

Today the *caucheros* still avoid the Piraparaná. Only a few years previously one had entered and tried to take an Indian's wife. He was shot with poisoned arrows and savagely cut to pieces. Two botanists had travelled some distance up the river from its mouth, but no one had descended its entire course. At Mitú only Padre Elorza was able to give us first-hand information. Young and zealous, he had been the first missionary to enter the Piraparaná, one month before we arrived. He had travelled half-way down the river and then turned up a tributary to Brazil. A wooden canoe could withstand the rough journey, he said; an aluminium one would not only be too wide for the creeks of the headwaters but would get ripped on the boulders. A suitable canoe, with a hollowed tree-trunk base and sides built up with planks, was lying half-filled with water in the mud at the side of the Vaupés; it belonged to the Mission but he thought the Monseñor might lend it to us. He also told us that his Spanish-speaking guide, an Indian from the Brazilian tributary he had ascended, was still in Mitú and he advised us to take him. He knew the river and he spoke the Tukano dialects. So we employed José, a small and somewhat shifty-looking man, together with his more genial brother, Uriel. We would pay them in pesos and feed them; they would take us to the Piraparaná and from there return to their home. From Padre Elorza we also learnt that two Persian anthropologists had reached the first house on the river only the year before. They had arrived earlier in the season than ourselves, stayed two weeks with the Indians and then returned to Mitú. The headwater streams still had had water in them. We were not to be so lucky.

That evening as we drank cold sweet lemon juice with the padres, their lives for a moment seemed blissfully peaceful and remote. They showed us their museum of countless ceremonial death masks, once worn by the Indians of the Vaupés. It seemed a curious paradox that we were entering territory with the help of a mission which was doing everything to displace the culture we had come so far to see. We walked back to the wooden house of the Commissioner where our host Don Alonso, wizened and immaculate, sat listening to the radiogram beneath an old tarnished chandelier – Mitú had known better days. Don Alonso insisted we drank beer and *aguadiente* and met everyone in his town; the negro who could repair the canoe and whose wife cooked delicious mealy *tamales*; the doctor and nurses from the hospital; the mechanic to test the outboard motors; many *caucheros* and finally a young Argentinian dentist who aimed to make his fortune capping people's teeth with gold. His price was high, but he would accept crude rubber, pelts and crocodile skins as payment before he moved on to the next outpost. The evening ended in hilarity as we danced to scratched seventy-eights revolving on a gramophone whose coiled trumpet betrayed its age.

Next morning before dawn, our thick heads were stirred by resounding hymns. It was Sunday and the Mission had their loudspeakers at work to call the town to Mass. We too went inside the crowded church. Later that day

122 the Friar Tuck Monseñor formally lent us *El Diablo*, the leaky canoe which we now had to repair. Horacio became more and more perturbed by the enormous quantity of fuel and equipment we had decided to take with us; we would be bogged down in no time, he said. Much was left behind and through fear of the rapids ahead we decided not to risk the Kudelski, the most valuable tape recorder; this after all was only the second of five journeys. We cabled Nestor to follow us with the aluminium boat as soon as he could, but to travel as light as possible; for the rivers would be even lower by the time he arrived. In anticipation we left him drums of fuel and supplies. Still we had too great a load for *El Diablo* alone and Don Alonso kindly lent us his larger canoe, *El Vencedor* (The Conqueror), with his motorman Candilo and an assistant. Time was short, we had to go now and, as Horacio aptly remarked 'muddle our way through to the Piraparaná'.

This was the most difficult of all our journeys. The past few days had been filled with worries and doubts, while our plans had had to be modified beyond recognition. Yet we had been warned to always be flexible when travelling in Amazonia, a place where 'two and two never make four'.

*El Vencedor* sank lower and lower into the water as we loaded, first the fifteen-gallon fuel drums, thirteen in all, then our mountain of equipment and food supplies, planned to last us for the next three months. Now we were ready to leave with the two boats lashed together fore and aft with two wooden poles. Suddenly there came a rumour that an Avianca plane would be arriving, and we decided to await the final chance of news from Nestor; perhaps the aluminium canoe was to be sent through after all. While waiting we said good-bye to the padres whose bearded faces barely concealed their obvious doubts about our future. Then we learnt that the plane had been cancelled.

The motor started and the three of us, together with four Indians, left the landing stage with a wave from Don Alonso and the villagers. They had all been more than kind to us, had in fact enabled us to start the journey when at one stage, with no boat, all had seemed lost. Now, as we travelled up the wide, 'black' Río Vaupés, we had every reason to wonder what lay ahead. Our raft-like craft moved slowly but steadily up either bank, never in mid-stream, for the current was very strong. We took it in turns at the outboard motor but soon realized that Candilo was by far the most capable hand, so we sat and read. Horacio, his broken glasses perched on the end of his aquiline nose, looked the ideal sage, lost in a German book on atomic physics.

The lower reaches of the Vaupés, as it runs into Brazil to join the larger Río Negro, are a series of dangerous rapids. Only recently one of the padres from

000 *Noanamá woman cutting sugar cane.*

[see p. 38-A]

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano
Choco SC12

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Noanamá woman cutting sugar cane.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano
Choco SC12

/p. 38-B/

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Working a trapiche, a press for crushing the juice from sugar cane.

*El Diablo*

Mitú had met his death with two of his Indians when their canoe overturned. 122
The upper reaches of the river have a gentler gradient, passing through softer sandstones instead of the hard igneous rocks of the lower course. Nonetheless we soon had to negotiate our first rapids. To the uninitiated eye it seemed impossible to pass through, but Candilo, after one false attempt when the motor stalled, took the half-loaded *Vencedor* skilfully through the jutting boulders. Donald followed with our smaller motor powering the loaded *El Diablo*, her bows nosing into the frothing water and the waves breaking over the fuel drums. This was our first rapid; we had no idea that we would have so many more to negotiate before the end of our journey. Brian examined the rocks, chipping off pieces, looking at them through a lens and packing samples away for our geological collection. Then we lashed the canoes together as fast as possible and continued to creep along the banks, eating our lunch of dry biscuits and *farinha* – a thirst-quenching mixture of manioc flour and water, the Indian's habitual meal when travelling.

The tropical sunset is swift, with no extended twilight, and so by five-thirty each day we had to stop travelling and quickly find a break in the forested bank where we could make camp. Our boats tied and the cooking equipment ashore, we set about cutting a clearing. Horacio was a cook *par excellence*. Years of travel had taught him that the most efficient stove was to be made from a tall biscuit tin; you made your fire at the bottom and placed the pressure cooker on the top. We were eating our diet of rice and corned beef within half an hour of landing and, slinging our hammocks, were soon gazing up at the starry sky, listening to the croak of the bullfrogs.

Soon we left behind the wide Vaupés with its deserted forest banks and entered the black enclosed waters of the Río Ti. With the dry season already well advanced and with less water every day, we were forced to unlash our two canoes and continue with one following the other. The stream narrowed, the black waters shallowed and the white sandbanks crept closer on every bend. Near the mouth of the river we had arranged for two more Indians, the brothers Matias and Bernavez, to come to help us. They 114
knew the route through to the Piraparaná and they warned us that, with our heavy loads, we were going to find the journey extremely difficult – unless it rained. Their warning was fully justified, for with the lower river level the fallen tree trunks formed one long barricade to our movement upstream. In the rainy season with the high water, one could float over them, but now every trunk had to be cut. Fortunately the Indians were experts with our axes, their muscular bodies perched precariously on a water-borne log, the axe falling rhythmically against the hard wood, the water splashing up into their faces. These were civilized Indians who could speak Spanish; they had [177] [191]

*Working a* trapiche, *a press for crushing the juice from sugar cane.* 000

 [see p. 38-B]

114 originally worked wild rubber for one of the great rubber barons and they
177 had earned their clothing in exchange for their labours. Their torn trousers
191 were only a veneer of the civilized world, for here they seemed to come into their own element: they talked to each other in Tukano; they became alert to the forest they knew so well.

122 We were living in a closed world of limited horizons, on either side the thick forest, ahead the river and above a ribbon of sky. Giant emerald king-
[136] fishers with orange heads and long black beaks darted out in front of us.
[137] Myriads of white butterflies rose off the sandbanks, settling on our bodies to enjoy the salty sweat. On occasions we saw a delicate wader like a sandpiper bob up and down on the sand near the water's edge. The water had now changed colour, no longer black but a deep wine red, as it flowed over the
[134] pale sandy bed. We supposed this colour was due to the high iron content in the rock.

Our first major halt was made at Pedro's house. He had established himself as a tradesman between the Indians on the upper Piraparaná and the
[439] civilized rubber gatherers of Mitú. He bought *farinha* from the Tukano in exchange for fish-hooks, salt and cloth. His magnificent thatched house was a foretaste of what we were to see. But the occupants with their dishevelled clothes, the sheets of crude rubber hanging from the beams and the iron cooking pots, seemed a strange paradox.

We unloaded all our equipment, sending Candilo and his assistant back to Mitú with *Vencedor* and the larger outboard motor. With him went one of our valuable cameras whose shutter had jammed during the first day, and a note to Nestor in Bogotá, warning him of the difficulties he would encounter and advising him again to travel as light as possible. Of the now depleted party, José and Uriel were to be our guides throughout the journey; Matias would ensure that we reached the first Indian habitation on the Piraparaná; while Bernavez went on ahead in his dugout canoe carrying two drums of our fuel. We were joined by one more man, old Miguez, who brought his own small Indian canoe. From now on we would have to make double journeys with *El Diablo* until we reached Indians who would carry our loads in their own canoes.

Next morning, while Donald and Horacio repacked much of the kit, Brian and José went ahead with a small load in *El Diablo*. The Ti narrowed and then divided; here our route towards the Piraparaná portage lay up a tiny tributary, the Caño Berada or Fish Bow Creek, as it was known to the Indians. With our arrival in the Berada, a mere stream flowing out of the undergrowth, our whole mode of travel changed. We could no longer use the motor; instead we had to push the boat upstream. We spent the rest of the day waist-deep in water, clambering over submerged timbers and occasional rocks; an Indian out in front cut a way through the fallen trees.

Christmas Day saw us cross two rock ledges where the boat had to be com-

pletely unloaded and then dragged over. That evening was a beautiful one 122
and we made camp at an old *mitasava*, the Indian traveller's staging point,
where he erects a small palm-thatch shelter. We must have been on higher [137]
ground, for it was dry and sandy while the forest had changed to small birch-
like trees, with lichen and moss underfoot. Somehow this was an appropriate [136]
place to eat our wild Christmas turkey which Miguez had shot earlier in the day
and drink each other's health from the precious bottle of 'medicinal' whisky.

The next day our watery struggle continued and progress became even slower. Only half the equipment reached our camp site, this time back in low-lying forest. That evening Donald and José went ahead to the next stream junction to return at dark with the news that there was barely any water at all in the stream, and that we would be pushing the boat over dried-out sandbanks. Matias, our hardest worker, departed across country to the Piraparaná. He left at dusk; his coca pouch slung across his back to ward off the pangs of hunger. He promised to return in three days with men from the first habitation on the river; he was true to his word but it took him more than three days.

That night there was a disquieting atmosphere in the camp. Horacio was 114
even more unhappy than usual about our excessive amount of equipment. Our three remaining Indians, José, Uriel and Miguez, kept to themselves, talking through half the night. We awoke to find Miguez vanished, never to be seen again, and José and Uriel packing their own belongings on to their backs. They said they were going to join Matias and bring back more men – we knew they were about to desert us.

We made them put down their gear and then listened to their tale of woe. We were not feeding them well enough; they wanted more than just *farinha*, they needed rice as well. They were being made to carry too much, and the stream beds were so dry that it would be impossible for us to get through until the rains arrived. So we compromised, we agreed to leave behind some of the fuel if necessary and to give them the same food as ourselves; we repeated our promise to pay all the Indians who worked for us in cloth and trade goods – or even money if it was of any use to them.

During the day we pushed the boat, first down to the previous site and 122
then, fully loaded, back towards our present camp. Once Horacio lost his way when taking a short cut; he was not well and we thought it was due to a recurrence of malaria. That night he became worse, and with him unfit we decided to go ahead on a reconnaissance with José, leaving him to guard the equipment and recover, while we tried to reach the other side of the portage; if necessary we would go overland to find the first house.

Early next morning we packed our rucksacks and left with a week's supplies. Walking over high ground with willows, lichen and moss, to our great joy we reached the western entrance to the portage after only two hours. We walked through the low scrub for half an hour, along the path

122 over which we would have to drag our boat. Then on the far side we saw the headwaters of the Piraparaná – there was water, not much, but at least more than in the headwaters of the Ti. We knew then we could reach the main river, even if we should find it difficult to take all the equipment. Enthusiastically we returned to tell Horacio the good news. We found him lying in his hammock and reading, and to our surprise he told us that all the trouble stemmed from a fish bone which had lodged itself in his throat.

Our best plan was to take the boat forward, leaving all the equipment ready for Matias and his Indians. We pushed with renewed efforts but over such dry sands that we often had to stop, dam the trickle behind us, then wait for the water to rise sufficiently to see us over the next sandbank. At other times we had to dig down into the sand to make a channel through which we could push *El Diablo*. Two days later we reached the portage.

Travel in Amazonia is almost entirely by water; on the smaller rivers by dug-out canoe, on the larger ones by launch or even steamer. In headwater areas it is frequently necessary to cross from one river system to another, and to do this the Indians and *caucheros* make portages or paths, along which they can carry their canoes. Portages are also used to skirt long sections of rapids where it is too dangerous to take canoes through the river. Some may be five miles long, others only a few hundred yards. The size of the boat and the number of people at hand determine the time it takes to cross. With five of us, three pulling a rope attached to *El Diablo*'s bows and two pushing from behind, it took only four hours to cover the mile over the watershed. On the flat pathway with the boat's hull sliding smoothly over rollers cut by the Indians, there was little difficulty. But when we had to heave the canoe out of the gullies it took us all the effort we could muster to bring the heavy water-logged craft – which weighed eight hundred pounds – out of the root-strewn quagmire on to the sandy track.

The choice of camp sites while travelling in such areas is a difficult one. Very often lack of time in the approaching darkness forces a rapid decision. Obviously it is best to find high ground above a rising river but this ground is often a refuge for thousands of ants and all manner of crawling insects – who naturally have the same idea in mind. It was such a camp that we hit that night and we found that all the kitbags, tins and crates were already a seething mass of black ants. Termites had completely covered a pair of boots which we had left lying on the ground, and we were besieged by sweat bees.

122 After dark there was a sudden calm. In the distance a faint hiss could be heard, gradually coming closer and closer. It was the wind racing through the forest – nearer and nearer, until it became a roar and the whole jungle was in turmoil; trees swaying, clouds of leaves flying and rotten branches crashing to the ground. In a moment torrential rain was upon us. Horacio sought safety under the plastic sheet of his mosquito net; Donald took refuge

under his battered trilby and the groundsheets, while Brian dived beneath the tarpaulin and spent the night stretched over tins and kitbags. 122

The New Year came in with more rain. For all the discomfort it brought we could only look upon such deluges as a sign of good fortune; they were early this year, the rivers would now be higher and our descent easier. So we started on our journey downstream. *El Diablo*, lumbering along like a loaded ark, was stopped by every snag and log. She took days to cover the same distance as the slim canoes of the Indians, when they later travelled back up the river in a matter of hours to pick up the fuel drums we had had to leave behind on the portage.

One day canoes appeared gliding towards us, both loaded down with large wicker baskets of *farinha* and paddled by two men in loincloths. Strings of minute white beads were around their necks and black berry bracelets around each arm. An old man, his wizened face eyeing us suspiciously, was sitting in the bows of the first canoe. [291] [301]

This was our first real contact with the Indians of the Piraparaná. Their immediate reaction was not one of fear, but rather, like our own, of enquiry and interest. They said nothing until José hailed them in their own dialect. There ensued a long, almost formal exchange of greetings which we were to hear many times when travelling through their territory. Before they left we asked them to carry a message for Nestor – in case they should meet him, for they were travelling to the Río Ti. [609] [576]

Much depended on our guide José. That he had been with Padre Elorza was not necessarily to our advantage, for in the first place we could not be sure what effect the first contact with Catholicism had had on the Indians of the Piraparaná, nor did we know what instructions José had been given by the padres. We had to depend on him entirely both for our own safety when travelling downstream and for the information we were to get. He was not a very pleasant or easy character. From the outset he had always wanted to have his own way and if this was not granted then he became moody and unco-operative. We could never be certain what he would do next and after his attempt at desertion we could not trust him. However he worked very hard and showed remarkable common sense, and without him we would never have got through the rapids ahead of us. 114

His experience with white men had not only come from the Mission. Some five years previously a *cauchero* had come to his river home close to the Brazilian frontier. He had taken six boys away with him to work the wild rubber trees and one of them was José. Later he had escaped from the *cauchero*, but during those four years he had learnt how to operate an outboard motor, to handle money and had even been in an aeroplane. He had come under the Mission's wing only recently, and it may have been this combination of experiences that had complicated his character. He no longer possessed the Indian's direct simplicity.

*Tukano*

122 The last days before reaching the first Tukano house on the Piraparaná were not easy ones. At one point we had to cross two formidable waterfalls where all the equipment and fuel was carried overland, while we dragged the boat over the riverside rocks to avoid the midstream torrent. At the first of these the boat was lowered over a twenty-foot rock wall by means of a crevice into which we had forced timbers. *El Diablo* began to show severe signs of weakness. The ribbing above the hollowed log hull began to give and the planking above it worked loose at the joints. Large lumps of pitch came astray and we found ourselves caulking her sides with strips torn from our trousers. On many occasions we hit submerged rocks and logs, and the further we went the more we had to bale. Once a jagged rock edge pierced a large hole in the bows and water came gushing in. One thing was certain: an aluminium boat would by this time have been ripped to pieces.

Our journey downstream was a cold, wet and dreary affair. Both Donald and Horacio had ceased to wear boots because of raw blisters. Our shins had become a mass of open sores from knocks sustained underwater. But these exposed rocks gave Brian opportunities for geology. Much to everyone's dismay – except his – *El Diablo* became more and more weighed down by samples which found their way into the used biscuit tins. José always wanted to know whether there was gold, but there never was, nor indeed were there any fossils. We were attempting to make a compass traverse of our route, but our methods at this stage were hardly accurate.

We made camp one night on the driest land available, near a junction with another tributary. It was an unhealthy spot with bats swooping low beneath the trees. Later one of our guides had his toe incised by a vampire bat and woke in the morning to find his hammock soaked in blood; these bats often carried rabies. While Horacio was making breakfast, a scorpion ran up his arm. When he yelled, José, who was standing close by, flicked it dexterously into the hot ashes of the fire.

Some days later, after an unusually long stretch of paddling, we jumped
136 into the water to pull *El Diablo* over a fallen tree. A large boa constrictor unfurled itself from beneath the boat, shot between our legs and zigzagged swiftly through the water in front, its dark green body coiling and recoiling as it vanished down the river.

It is a mistake to think that the forest is alive with poisonous reptiles and fierce animals. The discomforts stem from ants, insects and many varieties of stinging flies. We rarely saw wild animals although birds were quite plentiful. In this higher part of the river, a particular small bird would always warn all other creatures of our approach with a piercing three-note whistle. Calling louder and louder it was answered by others in the vicinity. The noise was rending and the more we talked, the more it sang. The Indians called it the *Wa-pey-yer*, and we later heard this bird had driven some explorers mad.

122 For the first time in a week the sun pierced the thick canopy of leaves,

catching the shining emerald, blue and yellow wings of giant butterflies. 122
José, who had been carefully watching the passing bank, asked to borrow one of our shotguns. He soon returned with three *pava* – a type of large black-cock – which he had shot with four cartridges. Like all Indians, he was much more adept at hunting than ourselves.

The day wore on and the river widened, trees and creepers came right down to the water's edge, their leaves reflected peacefully by the calm surface. Sometimes the thick green foliage was covered in pale purple flowers, rather like lilac, whose sweet smell floated across the water as the boat moved through the beams of sunlight. It was warm and the scene had changed. We were no longer enclosed and we only once had to jump into the water to guide the loaded boat through a rapid.

Here Horacio, whose ankles had swollen to an alarming size, stumbled and fell in the rushing torrent. Perhaps this was an indication of our condition and the need to reach dry land. Sores had not healed and many had started to go septic. By contrast José and Uriel had gone from strength to strength, their bodies seeming to profit from the very hard work they had had to undergo.

Now the trees' shadows were lengthening across the river and three white egrets glided ahead of us. José's voice broke the silence: 'Only one more turn and we reach Kuarumey's *maloca*. His father was a famous chief who refused to allow any white man to enter the river – now he is dead.' As he said this we rounded the last bend.

There in front of us rising from the water's edge was a clearing of green 123
manioc with an expanse of sky behind. We paddled the boat alongside the wooden canoes moored to the bank, while in the dusk we could barely distinguish the features of the Indians as they came down the path towards us. They carried no arms and seemed to be friendly. Soon they were helping us unload *El Diablo*. We debated whether we would stay the night by the river or in the *maloca*. The Indians however were in no two minds about this, and we found ourselves stumbling up the path in the darkness, following our laden hosts, very glad to feel the good dry earth beneath our bare feet and the warmth of the fires inside the great *maloca*.

# 2

# *A Death*

114 Matias arrived at the *maloca* the following day with the rest of the equipment we had left behind at the portage. Without his help we would have had to abandon it. That same night he started back on the return journey with his brother Bernavez, back to their *maloca* on the Río Ti. With them seemed to go our last contact with the outside world. Now was the time to collect our thoughts, to reorganize the equipment and to decide how we were going to carry out our work. The surroundings, the atmosphere, the Indians, everything was new. Each day, when evening arrived and we had eaten, we would sit across our hammocks and read by the light of a candle, or write up the day's events in our diaries. On Friday 6 January Brian wrote:

123 'Did not sleep very well last night, probably because I had taken a large
276 mouthful of coca just before getting into my hammock. Nearly choked, the fine green powder making it virtually impossible to breathe; so had to run down to the river and wash my mouth free. The Tukano must have a special method for swallowing it.

512 The women got up very early, long before dawn, but I couldn't tell the time because my watch was lost on the way over the portage – too bad. They rubbed down manioc and the continuous noise made all further sleep
126 impossible. Horacio left for the river before first light to develop a film he had taken with his old Rollei, also one of mine to see whether I'm giving the correct exposure in these dark conditions. He prepared the hypo last night and has to develop before the water temperature rises.

114 At dawn Kuarumey opened the door and the cold air rushed into the *maloca*. I went out to the jungle to relieve myself, armed as usual with a bottle to collect a humus sample. We do this nearly every morning – all these tiny bottles. I wonder whether the American drug company will ever discover a new Amazonian anti-biotic? Lovely pale pinks and delicate blues, the mist rising in great banks off the forest, and dew dripping from the trees. It was so peaceful and cool.

We joined Horacio for a late breakfast; all of us rather at sixes and sevens with each other as to what to do. The last days have taken a lot out of us and

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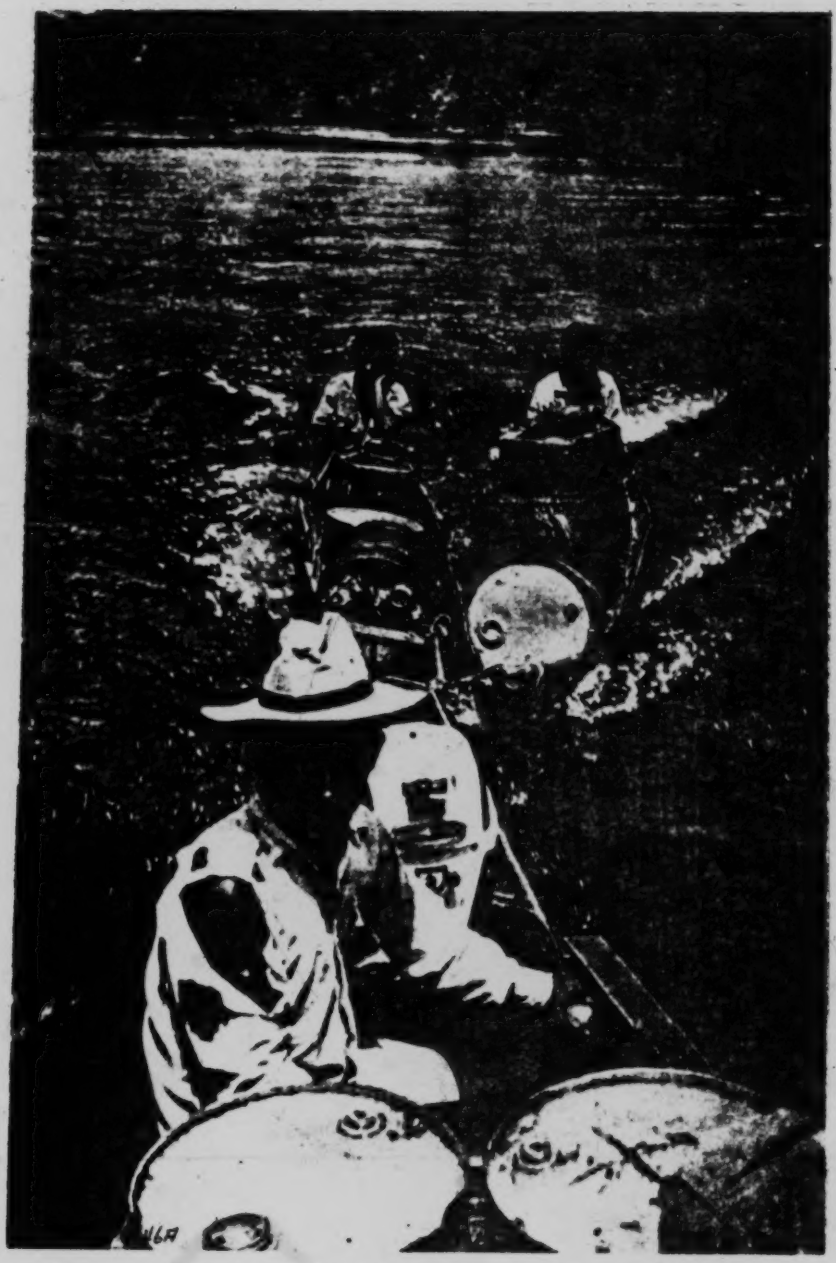
000 *Our train of canoes on the Piraparand – José in front.*

 [see p. 46-A]

/p. 46-A/

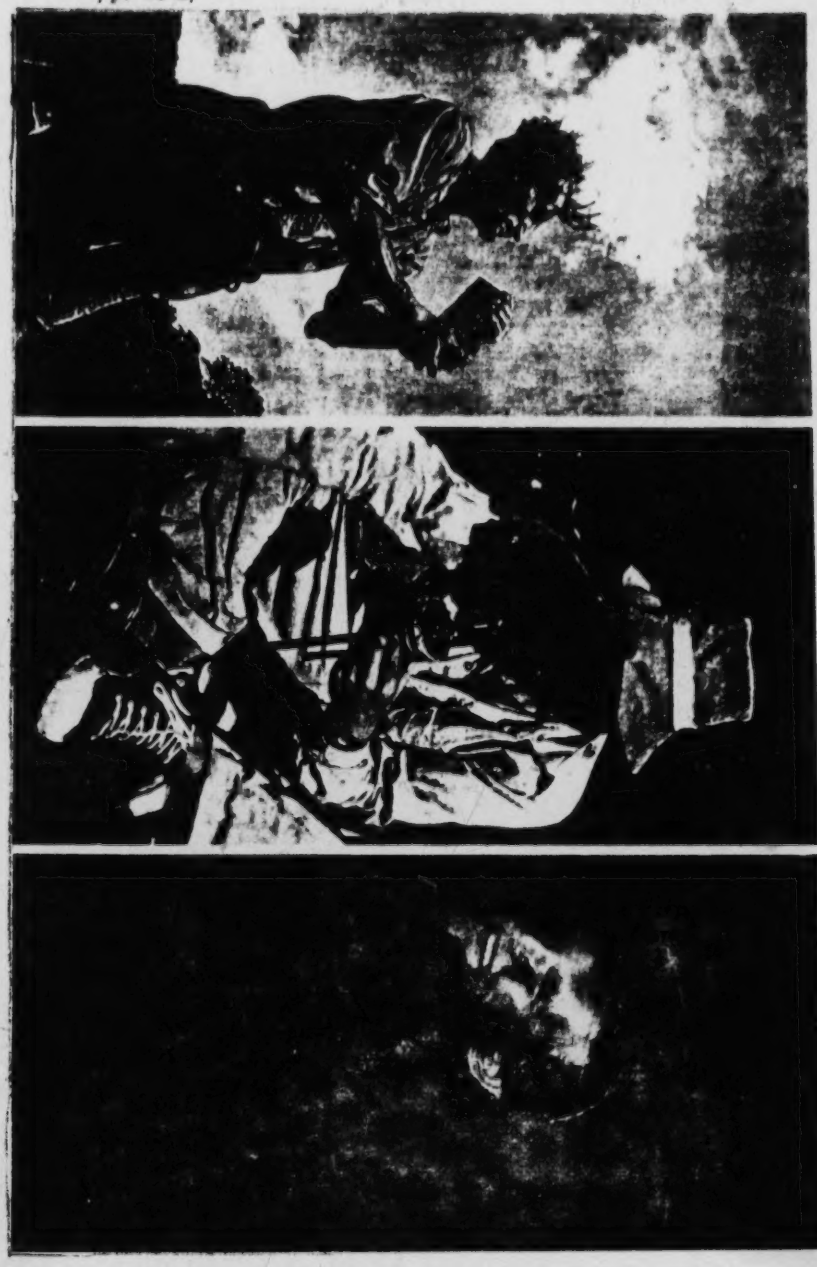




Our train of canoes on the Piraparaná - José in front.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

114 /p. 46-B/



LEFT: Horacio López. CENTRE: Donald Tayler. RIGHT: Brian Moser.

at times we are very irritable. Donald, the most silent, is by far the most 114
understanding, while Horacio and I with our opposite points of view tend to get across one another.

Spread out the two tarpaulins on the sand in front of the *maloca*, then all the equipment on top of them, once more throwing everything to the air and the sun. Donald and I doctored our sores. Both he and Horacio have the beginnings of boils on their arms; this could be dangerous. If our sores go septic we really shall be in a mess – we had better take some penicillin. Donald dealt with the medical kit, Horacio checked over all the food supplies. With his blue and red pinstripe shirt, a Roman nose and scruffy growth, he looked just like an Arab street vendor squatting over his wares in the *souk*. We seem short of meat and Nescafé but otherwise all right. I took out all the cameras. Some of the lenses are in poor shape and neither the electronic flash nor my Japanese one is working. Spent ages trying to repair them and reached the conclusion that the filament on the electronic had broken – probably knocked as we came over the portage. Donald discovered a dud contact on the Jap flash and after much wastage of bulbs and various electric shocks got it to work.

The heat at midday is tremendous but a swim in the river refreshed me. José and Kuarumey had gone out with our two twelve-bores and returned 123
at noon with three *pava*. Being stationary is a blessing; we can send the Indians off hunting – they love using our guns – and so supplement our rations. Have to be careful because Nestor should soon be arriving.

*p.m.* I slung my hammock between two trees – the sandflies never seemed 114
to leave me alone – and wrote up my geological notes till the sun went down. Am putting all the specimens in sample bags, and it's lucky we have them, for some of the sandstones are crumbling to pieces. Horacio measured the rice into our bright-red tins – funny to think they were once green and with me in the snow and ice of Cocuy. Donald spent the whole afternoon drawing the *maloca* – beautiful, he should have been an architect. The children love watching him, and one little boy – I think he's Kuarumey's son – kept tugging his long beard, then racing over to feel mine, completely intrigued by our hairy faces. [123]

Spent the evening editing birdsong tapes with Uriel who gave me long [126]
descriptions of each bird; we had seen very few of them. Surrounded by many overwhelmed listeners, and one boy started to imitate some of the songs amazingly. Ate rice and stewed bird and after silica-jelling the cameras (the plastic bags seem to puncture easily) climbed into my hammock. It's 123
now late, a woman is still rubbing manioc somewhere in the darkness: they 622
always seem so willing to help us, but Kuarumey, no ... he's sitting beneath

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LEFT: *Horacio López*. CENTRE: *Donald Tayler*. RIGHT: *Brian Moser*.

 [See p. 46-B]

123 the *bréo* flame taking coca with two other men. He is silent and has offered
622 little real assistance; I wonder whether he resents our presence here.'

It did seem at times as though Kuarumey resented our presence, and he later had some cause for his suspicions – certainly in his own mind – when events took an unexpected turn. He was a striking man, tall and rather gaunt, with a proud almost arrogant manner. There was no doubt as to who was the head of the *maloca*, nor that we were visitors, fortunate to have his hospitality. We saw little of him during the daytime and it was some time before we learnt he was making a canoe some distance away in the forest.

501 Though the Tukano travel through the forest on hunting expeditions, canoes are used to go further afield, to fish or to trade with other groups. They are a river people as much as a forest people, and like many Amazonian tribes they have evolved their own methods of making canoes.

[171] The Noanamá, we found, dug out and shaped their canoes from solid wood, and it was necessary for them to find very large trees to do this. Many tribes of the southern Amazon use the bark of a tree, like the North American Indian, while some groups of the Guahibo and the Maku living in areas remote from the larger rivers do not use canoes at all. The Tukano, however, shape their canoes by a process of heat-warping.

A tree – a hard type of cedar – had first been felled, then a twenty-foot section was cut and barked, and allowed to lie for several weeks, before
[293] Kuarumey started to cut the wood. Each day he went to the clearing, setting up a palm frond to shade himself when the midday sun broke into the clearing, through the gap in the trees overhead.

[412] Using his *azador*, a curved hoe-like blade, and a long stick with a sharp metal end, he first shaped the outside of the log, scraping off the bark. Then he made holes along its length and began to cut out the centre. It was hard work and he would often break off to make himself a cheroot, using the rolled leaf of a palm, while his eldest son continued the work. Once he disappeared in the jungle to set a monkey trap, a ring-snare high in a tree with fruit as the bait.

[224] He worked carefully, feeling the sides of the canoe so as not to make the shell too thin. After several days it was ready, braced with two small stumps to prevent the sides from closing. Then Kuarumey and several Indians from the *maloca* dragged the hull along the forest paths to the river bank nearly a mile away.

Now the canoe was ready to be warped by burning. This could be undertaken only at certain times of the year when there was no risk of rain, for
[412] water on the hot wood might split it. Before they obtained iron and steel the Indians used to cut the trees with their stone axes. They would only partly shape the hull and burn out the centre with fire. Now, with the canoe already shaped, the burning was quicker and it would be completed within a day.

*A Death*

The tinder-dry wood heaped underneath was soon alight and Kuarumey, helped again by his son, began to turn the hull, holding the canoe on rollers, first the right way up, then upside down and lastly on its side. The flames from the fire leapt five feet into the air all along its length and the men began to sweat as they watched. Soon they were covered in charcoal from head to foot. Every so often Kuarumey reached for his coca bag and shook some of the powder into his mouth. Gradually the sides of the trunk were forced open and wedges were placed along its length. 501

'In the Llanos they hang the canoe over the fire and there is less danger of the wood actually bursting into flames,' said Horacio. At that moment Kuarumey's wife approached us along the path carrying an earthen bowl full of *chicha*. 'And they don't let women approach during the burning for fear of the wood splitting.' [415]

All day long they worked on the smouldering canoe. About midday they bound the ends with liana to prevent it splitting and occasionally put mud on the thinner parts to prevent further burning. The work was completed before dusk. The canoe would cool gradually during the night, and in the morning the braces would be removed and replaced by flat wooden supports. Then Kuarumey would try out his new canoe in the river. It was well built and the sides were even, barely half an inch thick throughout. It should last him for several seasons, providing he did not lose it during the winter floods.

The sun shone warmly on the russet water as Kuarumey paddled the slim canoe away from the port and down the river – so light, so strong, so manageable and in shape so beautiful, yet for ourselves unthinkable – we would have capsized in a moment; only Horacio could master an Indian craft. *El Diablo* was now on the bank drying in the sun, and Horacio and José were starting to recaulk the battered shell.

The rough passage over dried-out river channels, through log-strewn stream beds, across the portage and over vicious rocks, had jarred the joints so much that, were we now to have slid her into the water, she would have sunk like a sieve. For days we had left her on the bank to absorb the heat of the morning sun, turned her and then covered her with a tarpaulin against the occasional afternoon storms, Now the old caulking was pulled away and melted down together with the pitch we had brought from Mitú. However, this was not sufficient and José exchanged some of our fish-hooks for wild beeswax and resin, and this too was melted down. 114

The fragrant smell of pitch and beeswax filled the air and as the lumps slowly dispersed in the bubbling black syrup, José began to tell of the rapids which lay ahead: 'Listen to the water,' he said, and in the distance we could hear the rumbling; the falls were three bends downstream. 'Only half a day's journey away is the fall we call Piña. In the dry season it is a long series of rapids and we need help to carry everything from the upper end, through

114 the forest to the port at the lower side. We generally take three hours along this trail, but you will take more.'

So he went on. We would need people to help us through at each major fall. Now we fully realized what an encumbrance our equipment was still going to be. But there seemed to be a *maloca* near most major rapids and with luck we could ask for help from the people living in them, though here again José was uncertain: 'Much depends on whether there are any men at home and whether they want to carry such heavy loads. There are many *cachiveras*, and Yavakaka – the Otter – one of the largest, has no one living near it.'

We counted sixteen major falls in all, but often one *cachivera* would consist of many rapid sections covering at least two or three bends in the river. José would demonstrate these by drawing with his finger in the sand. Our imaginary map of the Piraparaná became a hazardous line curling southwards. There would be at least two interruptions a day on a journey which would take the Indian in his fast canoe seven days to complete, but ourselves – we hardly dared guess.

*El Diablo* was due for as hard a buffeting, if not harder, than she had already had. Her hollowed tree-trunk shell was, with the exception of one hole, in perfect condition. Above, forming a freeboard, were the planks from which we had stripped the caulking. We dipped hemp – instead of our trousers – into the boiling pitch and Horacio vigorously tamped the sticky black wads into the seams and cracks. Once the outside was complete we wedged the same cracks from the inside. By early afternoon all the seams shone black, the wood was dry, and as we slid her down to the river she seemed barely half the weight we had dragged up the stream beds. *El Diablo* had a new look.

Late the same evening, after we had taken our boat and the remaining eight fuel drums below the first rapids, José came up to us as we sat talking in our hammocks. In the centre of the *maloca* the men were squatting on their stools taking coca. At the far end a woman delicately turned a cassava cake to bake its underside on the hot clay oven. José stood between our hammocks, slung in a triangle, the candlelight flickering on his face.

'After the journey to the next *maloca*, I do not want to work for you any more. My brother and I are going home to our *maloca* on the Querarí.'

This was a shock. The house was only two days downstream, and José had threatened to leave us before. We treated the matter more lightly than he perhaps had expected. He asked to borrow one of the shotguns and Brian lent him his twelve-bore. Such a move might be judged foolish, but we knew

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000 ABOVE: *Negotiating shallow rapids with* El Diablo *on the Piraparaná.* BELOW: *Getting the fuel drums across the river.* [see p. 50-A]

/p. 50-A/

ABOVE: Negotiating shallow rapids with El Diablo on the Piraparaná.
BELOW: Getting the fuel drums across the river.

/p. 50-B/

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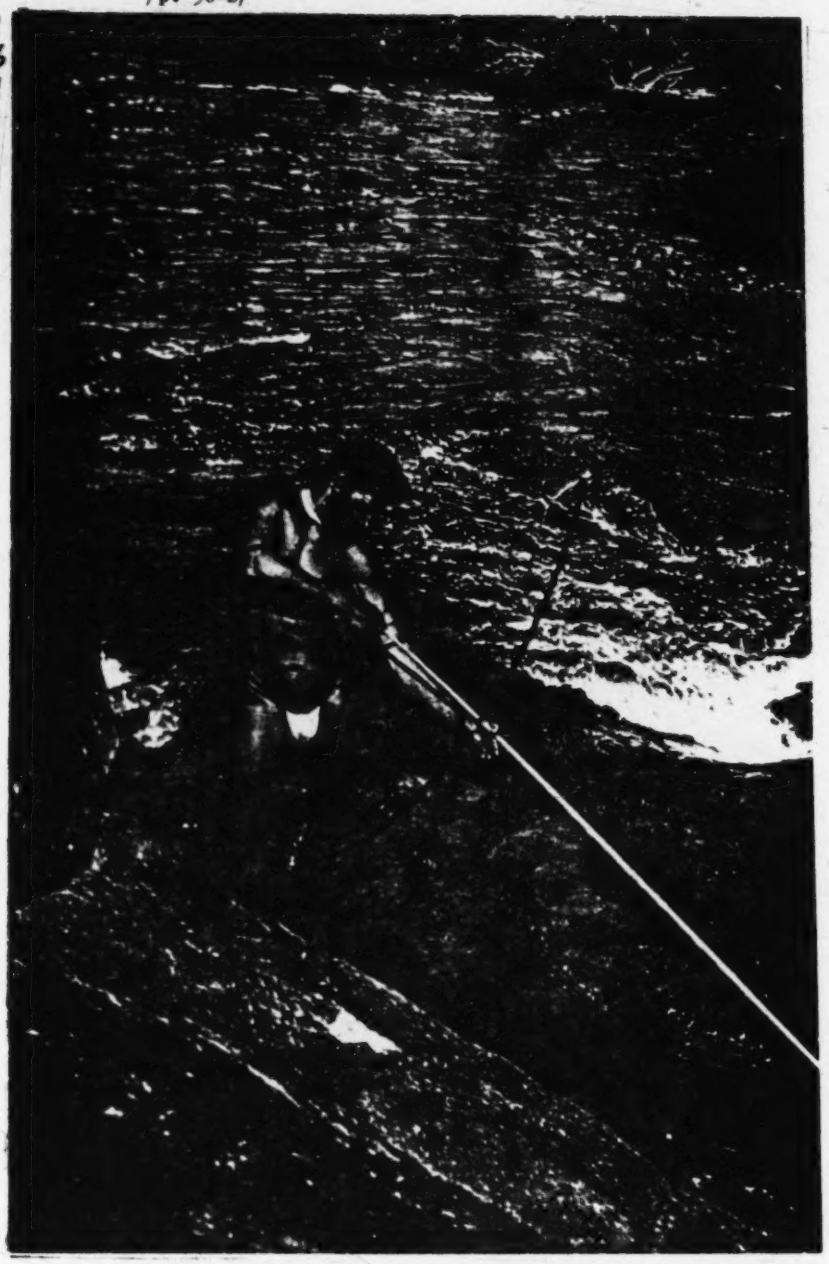

A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.

that José was the one man who could take us through to the mouth of the Piraparaná. 114

Throughout the whole journey the factor which played more on our minds than anything else was uncertainty. The way back over the dry channels was almost out of the question and the Indians would never have taken us; the way forward appeared to be a long succession of cataracts. Then there was the question of Nestor – would he ever arrive and how long should we wait? The longer we stayed the more insistent José became about leaving. He did not enjoy his role as an interpreter, he did not like asking his fellow-Indians questions and he seemed completely indifferent to the work we were trying to do. All this was understandable but it did not ease our position.

It was cold and wet when José and Uriel left early next morning to take a load of equipment ahead. Mist hung low over the forest and the trees dripped with moisture. 'This is white rain,' said Horacio. 'It is more usual in the winter months, so perhaps we are due for a wet spell and Nestor will get through after all.' We all had doubts in our minds and now, with José gone, we had no means of talking to the people in the *maloca*.

Suddenly Kuarumey's wife ran out and grabbed Brian's arm, beckoning him to follow her inside. From the far end of the dark interior, behind the palm screens, came strange sobs. The sounds rose and fell; across the bare earthen floor a slight figure bent over the embers of a dying fire. It was Watsora whose husband had been away on a hunting expedition for nearly a week. Her naked body, lit only by a dull red glow, was doubled up. She heaved and hardly seemed able to breathe. Only the day before she had carried her heavy basket of manioc from the plantation. Now her thin, drawn face, her sagging breasts, her dishevelled hair, aged her beyond belief. A young girl clutched her around the waist and moved to and fro with the heaving figure, quietly chanting to herself. Watsora's baby son ran to his mother's side and clasping her arm began to cry. 123 763

Kuarumey's wife implored us to help. She pointed to the black medicine chest. Only the previous night we had given the headman aspirin, but this illness seemed much more serious than a headache. We could not be sure what was wrong. Perhaps she had an internal haemorrhage, maybe it was consumption, or was it appendicitis? We couldn't know, none of us was a doctor. Horacio was firm: 'No, we must not give her any drugs, for if she dies, then what do you think will happen to us?' For a time we argued but eventually agreed. Horacio was right: no matter what we felt, we could not afford to be held responsible for her death, nor could we interfere.

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*A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.* 000

[see p. 50-B]

123 The wails increased, the young girl's chant grew louder as she repeated
763 the same notes over and over. The atmosphere in the *maloca* became unbearably tense and, while Horacio read outside, we went down to the river, trying to escape a situation which we could do nothing about. Our minds were not at rest and, when Horacio's drawn figure appeared walking slowly down the sandy track, we could guess what had happened.

'Watsora died five minutes ago,' he said and went back up the path. We said little and silently followed him back to the *maloca*. On the way we passed Kuarumey's old mother. Her normally jovial face was now serious. She avoided our eyes and continued to feed her toucan with beetle grubs. Inside all was silent, the wails had ceased, even the children were quiet and their innocent curiosity had turned to wariness. There was nothing we could do except wait and keep to ourselves. The boat was downstream and we had no means of talking to anyone. The tiny black sandflies converged on us in the stifling heat of the early afternoon. A woman came over to our equipment, undid a tin and took out a handful of rice, looked at the grains, smelt them and then carefully poured them back again, wiping her hands on a kitbag when she had finished.

123 Our anxiety increased. To read or write was impossible. We left the *maloca* to walk across the forest clearing. The question of giving or not giving drugs to the woman before she died had produced one dilemma. Now the question was – what next?

764 Returning later we noticed that the earth in the centre of the floor had been disturbed and fresh yellow clay lay on the surface. None of us had actually seen the corpse, but Donald had seen the young girl, who had been wailing at Watsora's side, take the dead woman's hammock down to the river and wash it. Later we learnt that the Tukano always bury their dead inside the *maloca*. The method is much like that of the Noanamá and the highland burials of the ancient Chibcha. They dig a trench and excavate a horizontal vault about three feet beneath the surface. The corpse, with the knees bound to the chest in the foetal position, is wrapped in his own hammock or in barkcloth and then inserted in the vault which is blocked with leaves, so that earth never touches the body. With the body are placed private possessions: pottery or a basket in the case of a woman; a bow and arrows, coca pouch or snuff-shell in the case of a man. They retain these possessions for the afterlife, the happy hunting grounds where they will travel in spirit.

123 No ceremony could have taken place in so short a time, and the women continued to make cassava, as though nothing had happened. Before the death they were wailing, now they were silent. The people who had once been so ready to smile, the children who normally followed at our side, were aloof and distant. Each one of us was tense and worried and it was a relief when a new face came to the entrance of the *maloca*. He seemed familiar and we recognized one of the Indians we had first met on crossing into the head-

waters of the Piraparaná. He was returning home after leaving his baskets of *farinha* on the Río Ti and offered to take some of the equipment downstream in his empty canoe. The offer we accepted. 123

'There are *jakaratinga* in a small creek near my maloca.' he said in broken Spanish, 'and I want to borrow a shotgun and a torch to go and shoot one tonight.'

We had heard that this type of baby crocodile was good to eat, and this was another chance to restore the Indians' confidence in us. With a certain reluctance Donald lent his twelve-bore. Now only Horacio's ·22 remained. We always had to rely on their help. If they looked on us as friends, they would not steal our guns. If they did not, they could kill us just as easily, whether they had our weapons or not.

That night the men squatted on their stools, around but not on the patch where the woman was buried. As they chewed coca, they mumbled at times in answer to Kuarumey. Several times one of his younger brothers left the group and came over to our hammocks to look inquisitively at our kitbags and finger them, his solemn face caught in the failing light of the torchwood. Horacio was more worried than either of us, for only a few years before he had been attacked by a group of Aucas in Ecuador and had escaped by swimming under his raft; the same tribe later killed five American evangelical missionaries who, in attempting to establish friendly contact, had landed their plane near one of the Auca settlements. Horacio had always preferred to travel alone, paddling his canoe along deserted rivers and slinging his hammock close to the bank. To live under the same roof as the Indian made him feel ill at ease. Our anxiety was only increased by his recollections of a journey he had made in the Llanos the year before, on a tributary of the Orinoco: 000

'Moving downstream late one evening, I was paddling my small canoe, when I heard voices. Rounding a bend I saw a small group of Guahibos on the bank. Before I had even drawn level with them I heard the hiss of arrows. Suddenly I felt a searing pain as one passed through my left arm and pinioned it to my side.' He showed us the great scar on his arm. 'I continued on down the river using my paddle as best as I was able, lying in the bottom of the canoe with the arrows thudding into the side.' How he had to extract the arrow from his arm and continue for days before he could get help was a grim story, all the more so in our own predicament.

It was still raining the next morning. Without any warning, Kuarumey stalked out of the *maloca* leaning on his stave, looking neither to left nor right. Some moments later two men followed him down to the river, their paddles on their shoulders and coca pouches slung across their backs. They were taking Kuarumey to the shaman who lived deep in the forest below the Piña *cachivera*. For the time being, all we could do was to wait. An old man sat humming to himself in front of the palm screen where Watsora died. Here 123 [756]

123 was an opportunity to make a unique recording, but it was not the time to upset the Indians.

Donald wrote in his diary, 'José took Brian's gun with him when he left, now mine has gone too. As B. just said, "This is the sort of thing that could have happened twenty years ago – they take away your boat, then your guns, then murder you." It doesn't do to have too much imagination!'

All afternoon we waited in suspense, feeling trapped within the area of the *maloca* and the green manioc plantation surrounding it. Then, with dusk approaching, José and his brother walked up the path from the river. They carried nothing and José seemed ill at ease while Uriel remained silent. Over the evening meal we told them that we would leave early next morning and that our intention was to descend the Piraparaná, then the Apaporis, and eventually arrive at La Pedrera on the Caquetá. To return to Mitú was now out of the question. Up to now José had thought we were going to return to Mitú and he greeted the new plan with apparent enthusiasm. Still we could not be sure of his intentions. When they went back to *El Diablo* to collect the gun and their own belongings and did not return after an hour, doubts once more entered our minds. Horacio left for the river carrying his rifle and we followed, but our alarm was without foundation – we met our guides as they were coming back along the path.

That night we were able to relax a little for the first time in three days. At least our guides and the canoe had returned, though we began to think Nestor would never get through. In case he did we left detailed instructions in the *maloca*, together with a projected sketch of the Piraparaná and supplies to last him until he reached the proposed rendezvous. More important was the shaman's decision, but this we did not know, for by dawn next day we had left the *maloca* and Kuarumey had not returned.

000 *A manioc plantation below a Tukano* maloca.

 [see p. 54-A]

/p. 54-A/

A manioc plantation below a Tukano maloca.

/p. 54-B/

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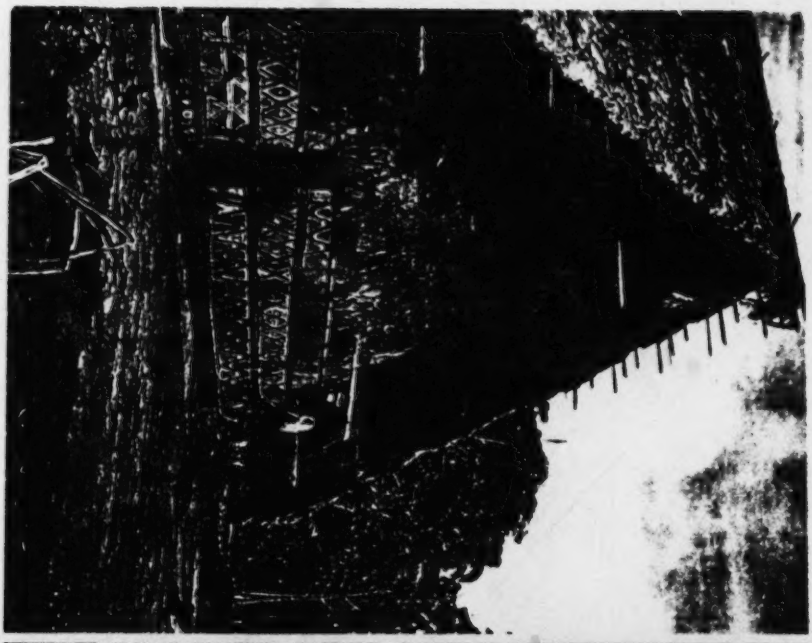

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LEFT: The front, painted with a design in charcoal and clay, and great eaves of a maloca. RIGHT: Cutting palm fronds to thatch the roof.

# 3
# *Warpaint*

Below Kuarumey's the river was wider and deeper – deep enough to use our diminutive 7-h.p. Johnson outboard motor. Frequently during a day's journey we would come to rapids or a fall where everything had to be removed from the boat and carried to a point where it would be possible to reload. Then, using ropes, slithering over the rocks, pulling, pushing and heaving, we would get the empty eight-hundred-pound shell over the rapid sections. Sometimes the canoe seemed on the point of being swept away to destruction, but José and Uriel, together with the Indians, who for the small reward of beads, a piece of cloth or nylon fishing line were always ready to join us, seemed to know exactly how to manage it, though much bigger than their own light and portable craft. 114 [123]

Where the rapids were long and severe or there was a bend in the river, the Indians would sometimes have made a portage through the forest. On these occasions we would disappear for long periods, pushing and heaving *El Diablo* over the twisted roots and swampy ground through a jungle labyrinth, to reappear shouting and yelling to encourage ourselves at the lower end of the rapids, ready to load and continue on our way. During the severer overland passages the canoe might get a bad knock, and in spite of the recent overhaul it would be necessary to do more caulking. Sometimes, in despair, we doubted whether the old boat would even reach the Apaporis before she finally gave up and sank. To return the way we had come – which had been our original intention – was out of the question. Our only way out was to the Caquetá, a major tributary of the Amazon. What this journey would entail we could not imagine, for all the maps we possessed had often proved incredibly inaccurate. Of the time it would take us and the route we knew nothing. We had, however, heard that the lower reaches of the Apaporis were impossible to navigate owing to a series of great falls and rapids. This knowledge certainly gave us cause to worry during the ensuing weeks.

José by now had taken over responsibility for the motor. We took it in

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LEFT: *The front, painted with a design in charcoal and clay, and great eaves of a maloca.* RIGHT: *Cutting palm fronds to thatch the roof.* [see p.54-B] 000

114 turns to take bearings and to time distances for our very rudimentary compass traverse. Often we came to fast sections of the river, where we would stop the engine, raise it off the back of the canoe – to which it was lashed by a piece of rope in case of an accident – pick up our paddles and guide the canoe through the swirling waters. It was as well we had the Indians with us on these occasions, for we never knew what lay ahead, and the water swirled by faster and faster. The following was a daily occurrence: '*El Diablo* was filling with water rushing in over her stern. We hung desperately on to extremely slippery rocks, then suddenly got lost in the froth with the boat going safely ahead. The boys take it all in their stride and utter high-pitched yells as they miraculously guide us through the more dangerous parts with their paddles.' Horacio was in his element at such times; all his travels by canoe in the higher tributaries of the Orinoco had been done with a paddle as his only means of propulsion. An engine was anathema to him, something totally unreliable, which invariably broke down at the worst possible moments and wasted days in repairs – if repairs were possible – whereas a paddle provided unfailing if slow progress.

At this stage we not only had to travel down the river but also to return up it, as we still had too much equipment to take at once. Normally José and the Indians would travel downstream for several hours with the equipment, then return for us. It was on one such journey of José's that the outboard started misbehaving. It was too late to do anything when the engine finally stopped and refused to restart. The following morning we found to our dismay that it had seized up. We stripped it down and after completely dismantling it found that the gearbox oil had leaked away and the whole shaft had locked solid. Fortunately we had enough gearbox oil in reserve – later we learnt that bananas make an excellent substitute – and we thought all was well again until, as the gearcase was being replaced, the clutch sleeve snapped. This rendered the engine useless. So that day we continued paddling down river in a very despondent mood – the thought of paddling our way to the Caquetá was not a happy one. The best we could do was to make for the next *maloca* and if possible effect a repair.

We arrived at the *maloca* that afternoon. Not a single Indian was within sight, not even a dog. At first we assumed the house had been abandoned, but a smell of wood smoke lingered. Puzzled, we noticed the fires had only recently been left. This was the first time we had encountered such a breach of hospitality, for the Indians must have known of our approach. We assumed however, they would return at nightfall, so we set about hanging our hammocks and preparing our beans and rice.

[123] The Indians did not return that night or the next, and the deserted *maloca* seemed strange and forbidding. Horacio was certain that these were unfriendly Indians and that this was their way of showing it. We should therefore be cautious and move on as soon as possible. But the broken

engine enforced a stay. We tried wood, then Perspex to replace the broken sleeve, and it was several days before we found that a section from one of our aluminium eating plates was the answer. 114

One day, while we were waiting in the deserted *maloca*, we were suddenly surprised by shouts. Outside a fierce-looking Indian with a carved redwood club in his right hand stamped and grunted his way round the bare sandy ground in front of the *maloca*. He was followed by three younger men, each carrying a machete, all with their faces covered in red warpaint. Mario Capitan, who had been made a 'chief' by the *caucheros* wore a long white feather in his ear-plug; he seemed annoyed. Probably he had come out of curiosity or to demonstrate his authority, or he may have heard of Watsora's death. His father had had great influence over the lower Piraparaná, murdering all whites who entered. Mario, we reflected, could well do the same. Then suddenly and silently he and his small band of warriors departed to the river, to their canoes, back to their own forest home. 123

It was with some relief that we set off again from the deserted *maloca* to continue downstream. At night we would clear an area near the bank for a camp site, put up the tarpaulin for the equipment, then sling our hammocks to the nearest trees. If it started raining we would have to huddle under the tarpaulin till dawn. It was much pleasanter when a *maloca* was close by at the end of a day's journey, as there we were assured of warmth and a roof over our heads. 114

During the course of our journey we visited fifteen *malocas*; in some we only stayed overnight, in others several days. They extended a distance of about 250 river miles – from Kuarumey's to the last rapids on the Piraparaná, about 100 miles from its mouth.

Though at times we were angry with José for always hustling us on with threats of desertion if we did not continue downstream, it was for the most part only through him that we could talk to the Tukano: only those who had worked rubber knew any Spanish. It was during these visits that we became better acquainted with the Indians, though they remained remote, perhaps because they distrusted us, true 'Sons of the Forest', their personalities hidden as deep within themselves as they were deep in Amazonia.

# 4

# *The Forest Addicts*

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the earplug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run;
whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves
147 in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
302 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
411 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undis-
609 turbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little. When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into
152 the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would be shown where we could sling our hammocks. 576 [123]

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punctuated by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst themselves. They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling on his body. 562 522 888

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre Elorza only the month before we arrived. 797

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these are evil spirits. 776

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead, usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma. 775 774 756

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over a man's life. 776 775

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and 000

551 nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 752 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the [123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly un-753 concerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of [123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con-756 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on 123 whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*. [775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

796 instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by
[534] Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey
[526] hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

88 As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and
582 brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the
592 plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

462 The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks
592 up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

592 Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities,
361 the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

342 A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

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000 *Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.*

 [See p. 62-A]

/p. 62-A/

Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 62-B/

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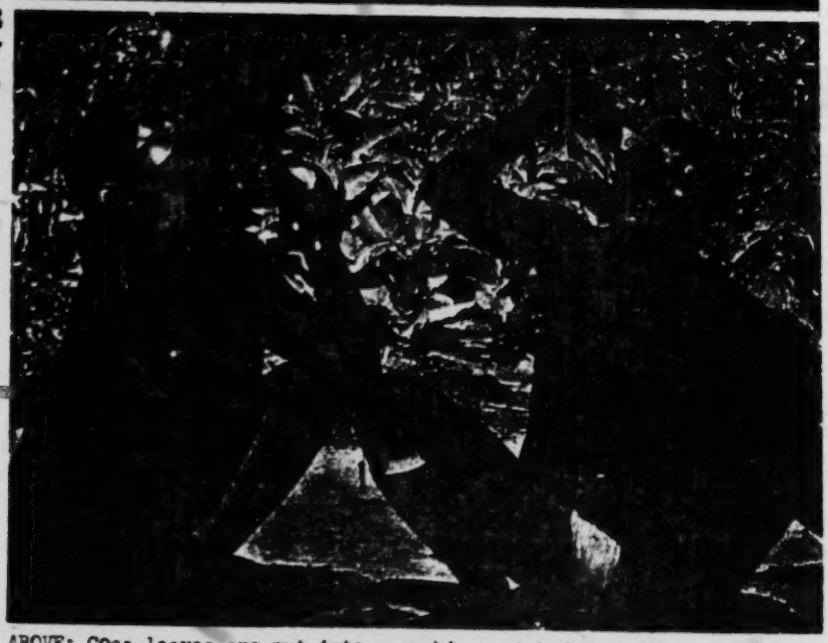

ABOVE: Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking. BELOW: Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.

sixty feet wide, with the ridge of its roof thirty feet above the ground. This 342
ridge is supported by six great posts, three on either side; the central space extending down the length of the *maloca* is like the nave of a church. The roof is thatched with palm fronds overlapping to a depth of four inches and extending almost to ground level on either side. These fronds may have to be brought from a great distance and vary in quality – the best lasting for years, while others rot quickly and require frequent patching.

As the sun rises each morning over the surrounding forest it lights on the [532]
striking clay and charcoal designs which are painted along the whole width of the front wall. Slivers of light find their way through the palm screening and form patterns on the floor and the walls inside. The only other light comes from the men's and women's entrances at opposite ends of the house, entrances which are often kept shut to discourage the flying insects that are usually at their worst during the middle of the day. From these doorways 353
bars of sunlight cross the hard earth floor, lighting the main posts of the house. Beyond, just discernible, is the *chicha* canoe, the great vat which quenches the thirst of the dancing guests at festivals. Near by stands a forked pole where hang coca pouches, fruit-husk ankle-rattles and fretworked gourd *maracas*. On the floor are calabashes, some with coca inside, others with tobacco, and the wooden stools on which the men squat, passing half the night over their stories of past deeds in tribal wars and great hunting expeditions.

Overhead the smoke-blackened thatch is hidden in the gloom. Hanging [292]
from a beam is the most treasured possession: the barkcloth-covered palm box containing ceremonial feathers, monkey-fur belts and puma-tooth necklaces – all the precious adornments for the tribal dances, the greatest occasion of all in the lives of the Indians. The palm-woven screens, which [354]
divide the quarters of the women and the head of the house from those of guests, reach from floor to thatch. Near by are the great, flat, pottery cassava ovens. Hosts of baskets and *cumare* hammocks are strung from the house posts around the fires, and the hard earth floor is kept spotlessly clean by thousands of tiny scavenger ants.

Why the *malocas* should have been built on such a vast and gloomy scale 342
remains a mystery. It is possible that their very size gives the Indian a sense of 161
protection from the surrounding forest. It may also help to keep the interior cooler. But it is most likely a sign of depopulation, the breaking up of the clans through rubber exploitation and disease; where once a hundred or more people lived, now there are twenty.

José once told us that his father spoke of tribal wars on the river, when ...

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ABOVE: *Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking.* BELOW: *Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.* [see p. 62-B]

721 many more people lived there. We are told by Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his 727 neighbour. *Malocas* were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were knocked to the ground with wooden clubs which the Indians still have today, their bodies hacked to pieces, their forearms used to stir the *chicha* and the armbones later made into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the sexual organs were eaten by the headman's wife to ensure brave offspring. even the bones were boiled into broth and the orgy continued until the cannibals had completed their spoil and the *chicha* had run dry.

Such a description of warfare and cannibalism would not fit the Indian who lives in the Piraparaná today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the [178] daily life we saw in their *malocas*. We found the Indian's day measured by a peaceful regularity.

512 Slowly the great house comes to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *maloca* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-screen door and eases it up to its hook like a portcullis, then saunters leisurely out into the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the *maloca*, still only vague shapes in the gathering light as they prepare cassava, pick up the water pots and go down to the river to bathe.

[264] The men returning from the river squat on their haunches on the low [262] stools in the centre of the *maloca*, and without any ceremony consume their breakfast of cassava bread, manioc juice and probably some leftovers from the previous night – boiled fish or a piece of bush pig. The women, who have eaten separately with the children, collect their large manioc baskets and leave [482] for the *chagra*, the forest clearing where they grow their crops. The baskets are slung from a strip of sapling bark across the forehead; they hold their babies on their hips, walking rapidly, almost awkwardly – the Indian woman's gait is not a graceful one. Children run along beside them, some [855] affectionately holding the hands of their mothers, others playing. A few of [857] the elder children return to the river to fish, and some of the men go off in [226] pairs to hunt and fish, while others move off to collect coca leaves from their *chagras*.

249 The Piraparaná has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the river and its tributaries are one of the few remaining strongholds of the drug in north-west Amazonia. Carrying no more than their small coca pouches and the basket for the leaves, five or six men, led by the headman, go down to the stream, perhaps taking a drink and washing themselves before they climb up the far bank. They move along a path through the thick vegetation of an old *chagra* fallen into disuse. Although an occasional banana or *pupuña* palm

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



survives, the cultivated plants have been strangled by weeds and secondary growth. 249

The *cacique*, the *maloca*'s pet bird, accompanies the Indians, flying from bush to bush and cawing raucously as she glides low over their heads, her olive-green breast almost brushing their hair. She perches on a charred tree-stump, looks at them as they leave the old *chagra* and enter the forest, gives a loud 'caw' and flies back to the *maloca* to see what edible scraps can be found. [136]

In the early morning the tall forest is dank and cool, a place of silence broken only by the occasional chatter of the Indians as they move rapidly along, their sure footsteps delicately gliding over the mass of roots which forms a base to the pathway. Few birds and no animals are about; the sun's rays piercing through the thick leaf vault give life to what might be a dead world. Suddenly they come to a wide expanse of cleared land. There is a chaotic mass of fallen trees, black from recent fires, surrounded by the forest wall. It is as if a great explosion had occurred leaving behind only the charred remains.

Every year or two, when the dry season comes in late November or December, the men cut down an area of forest, and about two months later, just before the rains return, they burn the fallen timber to make a new *chagra*. With each new *chagra*, the men, who do all the clearing and burning, move further afield, so that eventually, after some five years or more, the *maloca* too will be moved to be near the plantation. 241 462

This system of shifting agriculture, the men as it were preparing the ground for the women to work on, is carried on incessantly. Partly owing to soil exhaustion, partly because of weed strangulation, the areas of cultivation must be constantly changed, and so the moving Indian population covers wide areas of otherwise untouched Amazonian forest. 241 221

It is now January; the smell of the fire still clings to this battlefield of black charcoal. Soon, with the arrival of the rains in March, the women will plant out the manioc cuttings and by late October the first crop will be harvested; so for two years they may expect to get reasonable manioc yields from their *chagra*, after which they must move again. 241 462

The men run over the fallen tree-trunks and from the new *chagra* they move into an area partly overgrown by weeds and secondary growth. Here, placed almost mathematically across the *chagra*, in contrast to the haphazard cultivation of other plants, are the avenues of coca shrubs. 249 462

Perhaps the ritual associated with the taking of cocaine during festivals and tribal ceremonies, apart from its daily use, explains the attention given not only to its later preparation but also to the planting and picking of the leaves. The common coca shrub, always tended by the men, stands about five feet high when fully grown and may last five or more years. It is the most important of the stimulants taken by the Tukano, some of whom are heroic addicts taking as much as two ounces a day. Their life is partly geared to their addiction, and their daily practice is to come to the *chagra* and

249 spend the greater part of the morning collecting the leaves which they pre-
462 pare during the afternoon and evening. It is a serious task and one which each man undertakes with a strange air of concentration. Each coca plant is selectively stripped leaf by leaf before the next one is tackled. The headman carries the basket with him and gradually it fills with handfuls of pale sage-green leaves. The younger men collect the leaves almost reverently in their right hands before emptying them into the basket, their faces serious, their crouched bodies shining in the strong morning sun, their short, clipped speech broken occasionally by a high-pitched laugh.

512 In the distance small ribbons of smoke rise in a misty cloud. The women
244 are just visible, their squat figures crouching among the manioc plants. They
462 can be heard laughing; occasionally a baby cries and the children romp and
85 play among the bright-green manioc plants whose tall spindly branches stretch skywards some six feet, terminating in clusters of long, thin, starlike leaves. With their babies straddled across their backs the women spend the morning cutting out the long potato-like roots from the sandy soil and putting the waste foliage into piles to be burnt. It is hot with the sun streaming down, the fires crackling and the smoke enshrouding the working bodies. There is little time for rest, though a woman will stop to swing her child around and let it suckle her breast; a mother may give a fat yellow beetle grub to her child to eat, having detached the head – a great delicacy, tasting like butter. Soon large baskets are filled with roughly peeled and half-cleaned roots.

512 The sun is high overhead and the men leave for the *maloca* with their basket
[482] full of coca leaves; on top they place large dried leaves from the *yarumo* (Cecropia) trees which grow like weeds in the *chagra*. The women too load their heavy baskets on to their backs, the headbands taking the greater part
[222] of the fifty-pound weight. The whole group hurries through the forest in silence, passing the old *chagra* where the headman's wife leaves the other women to collect pineapples, then down to the stream beneath the *maloca*. At this point comes one of the noisiest and most amusing incidents in their
[515] daily life. Not only the manioc roots are washed in the water but the babies
[85] too; the mothers vigorously shake their large baskets of roots, then stop to splash water over the backs of the children. For a short time there is cacophony, with screaming babies, splashing water, continuous chatter and laughter, and even barking dogs. But soon the stream is left to myriads of white and brimstone-yellow butterflies which circle everlastingly over the sandbanks, and the women, refreshed, their long black hair glistening in the sun, return up the path to the *maloca*.

Tobacco plants are nearly always grown in a little patch directly in front

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000 *A graceful Tukano canoe.*

[see p. 66-A]

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 66-A/

501

A graceful Tukano canoe.

/p. 66-B/

396

[483]

ABOVE: The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.
BELOW: Then it is warped open over a fire.

of the men's entrance. Boys carefully pick the tobacco leaves one by one and 249
lay them out on cane matting to dry. An Indian sits in the shade of the *maloca's* overhanging eaves and starts to make string from strands of tough *cumare*. His graceful movements as he rolls the fibre with the palm of the 285
hand on his shining thigh, the string looped around his right big toe, are like those used in the making of Venetian glass. An older man sits near by, deeply engrossed in the construction of a large, shallow cassava basket, a maze of cane strips almost hiding his wizened face.

The women file through their entrance, their great loads of manioc white 512
and clean after their river washing. They pause for a moment or two and eat 252
some cassava or the pineapples and wild fruit which they have just brought back, but soon they are working again, pulverizing the manioc on the shield-shaped wooden grating boards which have minute flints or tough palm spines set into their baked-clay surface. They work as a team, some grating, others washing the manioc in vast basket-sieves slung between wooden tripods, while yet others extract the poisonous prussic acid by placing the grated manioc flour in a snake-like *matapí*, a long squeezer of plaited cane. With the upper end looped over a pole, a woman stretches its mesh by sitting on a second pole placed in the lower loop. The *matapí* contracts and the poisonous juice runs out.

When the flour from the *matapí* is ready it is placed on the large flat ovens to make rough cassava pancakes, the Amazonian daily bread, which they eat at every meal together with fish and meat brought back from the forest. The starch from the washed manioc is also baked to make wafer-thin toasted biscuits to add to the *chicha*. Some of the flour is spread thinly on another oven to make the nutty grounds of *farinha*, and the liquid from the washing and squeezing is boiled to neutralize the poison, then poured into the long canoe-trough to make *chicha*.

The noise of grating and the creaking of the tripods lasts all afternoon. A 512
girl feeds her pet parrot some insects, then, taking a strand of *cumare* and winding it around her toe, she starts plaiting string for a hammock to re- [283]
place her old one. Squatting on the ground, an old woman kneads clay and [323]
wood ash. She rolls the clay mixture into coils on a flat board and between the palms of her hands. Then she places them coil upon coil about a clay base, smooths the clay with a pebble and leaves the completed pot in the shade of the *maloca*. Later it will be put on a fire and surrounded with wood bark and ash to bake. Occasionally we saw an iron pot, which at some time in the past 415
must have been traded up the rivers from the Caquetá or the Vaupés. These were sufficiently few to be highly treasured and hadn't affected their own

ABOVE: *The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.* BELOW: 000
*Then it is warped open over a fire.* [see p. 66-B]

415 pottery making, a craft which has been all but forgotten among many of the Indians of Colombia.

512 Throughout the afternoon the women continue with their tasks while the men prepare their tobacco and smoke it wrapped in long cylinders of
276 banana leaf, or take snuff, lying in their hammocks or crouching on small wooden stools. The snuff, kept in gourds or large snail shells, is made in most cases from ground tobacco; it is first placed in the palm of the hand, then a small quantity is poured into a hollow V-shaped deer bone, and is injected into the nostrils by inserting one end of the V in the nose and the other in the mouth and blowing.

During the afternoon an Indian burns the *yarumo* leaves from the coca basket in the centre of the *maloca*, the ash being carefully raked into a neat
276 pile on the earthen floor. Earlier the coca leaves from the basket had been baked in a large earthenware pot over a hot fire, all the while being stirred with a hooped stick. The toasted leaves were then powdered inside a short wooden cylinder. They are further refined by being put into a barkcloth bag wrapped round a heavy stick, and beaten inside a large cylinder. The *yarumo* ash is added to the finely ground powder – this ash takes away the bitterness, and perhaps also the worst effects of the drug – and once again the mixed coca and ash is beaten in the long cylinder to the consistency of dust. Often this involved procedure goes on far into the night, and we became quite accustomed to go to sleep with the monotonous thudding noise still reverberating around the *maloca*. With the final process completed the powder is emptied into a half-gourd or into small barkcloth pouches, ready for the next journey or hunting trip, during which an Indian may live solely on the drug, going without sleep, food and drink for days.

The inscrutable nature of the Tukano may in part be due to his addiction to cocaine which deadens his senses and affects the eyes so that the pupils often appear dilated. This may also account for a lack of individuality among many of the men who often appear listless and resigned.

354 At dusk the hunters return and sometimes a monkey or a wild turkey helps out with the evening meal of cassava. The only light in the *maloca* after dark comes from the fires, but on special occasions, such as a festival, the head of the house places a chunk of beeswax taken from a wild bees' nest in the forest on a large post in the centre of the *maloca*, lighting it with a firebrand. But the flickering light barely penetrates the gloom. At other times a strip of slow-burning resinous wood is put in a fork of the same post. It is this wood – a type of cedar – which the Indians use to travel with at night, allowing it to
512 smoulder and blowing it into flame when needed. As night comes the doors are secured and, except for the sporadic mumblings of a few old Indians squatting around the fires, all is silent.

224 The Tukano is a hunter. From his early childhood he develops the ability

to track wild animals in the forest and the sense of location and direction which enables him to do this. The deprivations of the jungle, its innate hostility, its snakes, wild animals, poisonous plants and insects, its daytime silence and oppressiveness are nothing to the fear of being lost. To be lost in the forest is slow, inevitable death. This is a fear which is common to the traveller, the explorer and the *cauchero*, but to the Indian does not exist. He may be forty miles from his *maloca*, yet he will know his way back without faltering, as the Cockney would know his way across London in the black-out, forty miles over half-tracks or no tracks at all, across deep ravines, balanced precariously on slippery logs. He will find his way, perhaps by a glimpse of the sun, the movement of birds overhead, or the track of a tapir. Between dawn and dusk, he has only his bag of cocaine to sustain his quick jogging walk. 224 [484]

During the time we passed in their *malocas* the Indians would often disappear in groups for hunting expeditions. Sometimes they would go at night and ask to borrow our torches to dazzle their prey. They carry hard *macana*-wood bows and sheaths of arrows tipped with curare, a black strychnine poison, or a long ten-foot blowpipe. Also beautifully-woven palm cases filled with poisoned darts secured in kapok, as though stuffed into a pin-cushion. These are slung across the back and carried upside down with the beeswaxed end uppermost, so as to prevent the rain washing off the curare and to enable the hunter to extract the dart quickly. [278]

With the hunters go their dogs, thin wiry beasts like whippets, usually pale buff or fawn in colour and well cared for by their masters. Their lives are short, and more often than not they go totally blind within five years; for the tiny red *majiñal* fire-ants drop on their eyes as they run through the undergrowth and inject formic acid. There is seldom game near the *maloca*, but further afield, beyond the *chagras* in the forest proper there would usually be waterside rodents and *agouti*, small rabbit-like forest dwellers. There were peccary as well, the black jungle pig which the Indian fears because, if wounded, it sometimes cries for its companions who turn on the aggressor with their small sharp tusks and inflict terrible gashes. These small pigs are strangely affectionate and are sometimes adopted by Indians as pets. [231] [231]

Their bows, five feet long and strung with *cumare*, will launch an arrow two hundred feet, but to be certain of a target the Indian will approach to within twenty or thirty yards. The arrows, without feathers and unnotched, are made of cane, with a hard *macana*-wood point dipped in lethal curare. Some tribes carry a pot of this poison round their necks; when about to shoot, they dip an arrow in the black gum and cut the head just above the point with the razor-sharp tooth of a *piraña*. Thus the poisoned point will break off in the wound if the arrow falls out. [278]

At that time we assumed that the Indians made their own poison, but we 278

278 learnt many weeks later from a *cauchero* that there were specialists in this art. The Maku, he told us, are the expert curare makers in this area. They boil the scrapings of a liana together with two herbs, then strain the liquid through leaves and boil it again until it forms a black glutinous mass. This they place in small pots and trade it with other tribes, often for food and shelter; for the Maku are nomads. Though strychnine is always the base, various ingredients are occasionally added, from ants to putrefied animal remains. The most deadly poison, which was once reserved for human beings, is said to paralyse the victim in a matter of seconds.

224 252 [123] The monkey is the most common of all the animals hunted for the pot. These are hung over a fire and smoked for days. The first time we were offered monkey, we were given the head, which we thought we were supposed to admire. But the brain, we learnt, is the greatest delicacy, like the head and eyes of a fish. The monkey often grips a branch as it dies, and for this reason the Indians would shoot many more than they ever managed to retrieve.

224 123 We never ventured to go with the Indians when they went hunting, as we would have made more noise than them and frightened the game. Moreover, we felt we could never keep up. One morning the children came to a *maloca* we were staying in to say that a *capybara* had strayed along the river bank close to where they had been bathing. Immediately an Indian picked up his bow and arrow and quickly made for the river. It was unusual for an animal to stray so close to the house and we followed at a distance hoping that we might see the hunt.

Half-crouched, with his bow and curare-tipped arrows gripped in his hand, he began to stalk the large water rat. Getting as close as he dared, he put the small beeswax quiver head down on the ground, with the arrow shafts upright. He placed one arrow in the bow. Twisting one leg around the shafts, his toes braced against the base of the quiver, he drew back the bow waiting for the *capybara* to move into the open, ready to take a second arrow from the sheath should the first miss. He held the bow fully stretched, crouched lower, hesitated for an instant, then released the arrow. The rodent [252] rolled over without a sound. No second arrow was needed. That night we boiled the *capybara* which tasted like pork. The poison never taints the meat; it only affects the nervous system through the bloodstream.

224 The tapir is the largest of the forest mammals hunted by the Indian. It is the size of a cow, with a long snout, small eyes and slotted feet, and its only defence is camouflage. Speckled brown and black like the sun-dappled forest floor, when young, and turning to a dull slate-brown when fully grown, they gather at their watering places to drink. They were hunted relentlessly by the

000 *A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his* kurubeti *pebble stave.*

 [Cave p. 70-A]

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 70-A/

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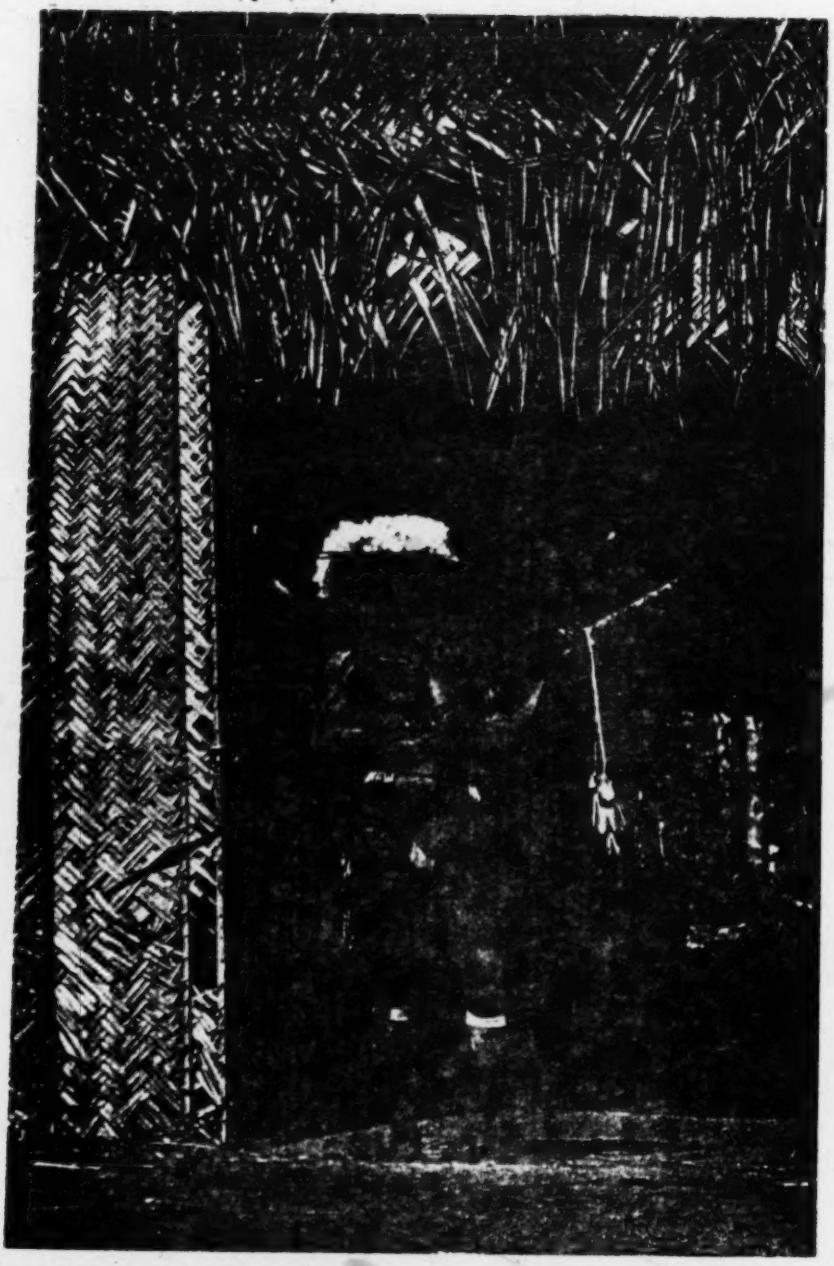

A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his kurubeti pebble stave.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 70-B/

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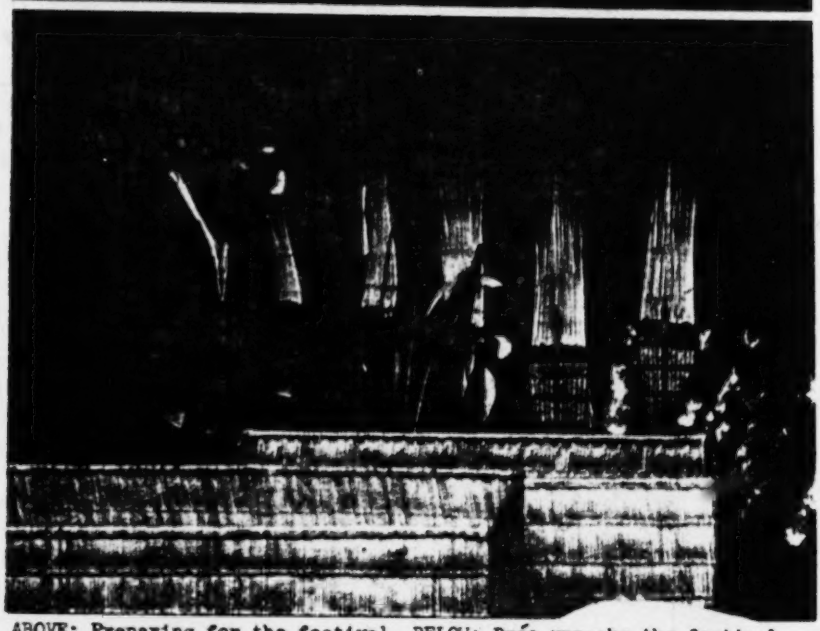

ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Bréo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.

6: Moser and Tayler E, N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



early rubber gatherers, who on occasions would shoot dozens at a time, more for sport than to supply meat. They are now nearly extinct in many areas. 224

Having killed such a large animal the difficulty is to keep the meat. The *caucheros* build great platforms over the fires and smoke it for days. This is the only way it can be preserved. It is not possible to eat very much of the rich, sweet meat at a time, and the Indians believe that at certain times of the year it is bad to touch it, for it is almost inedible and causes skin blemishes. Though the Indian professes to despise tapirs, he nevertheless assigns human characteristics to them; he believes they dance, drink *chicha* and even build *malocas*. He also believes that by eating a particular animal he may acquire some of its characteristics. From a peccary he can gain faith and resolution, for the wild boar's habit of going to the rescue of a wounded companion has left an indelible impression on the Indians. Just as the puma is credited with human characteristics, the *agouti*, like the legendary African hare, is attributed wisdom and wit. 825

The blowpipe is of as much importance to the hunter as his bow and arrow. The Tukano make their pipes from a small palm. A length of from eight to ten feet is cut and allowed to dry. The pith is removed and an inner bore put into position and polished with tree roots. The outside is bound along its whole length with bark and covered with a resinous wax. A small pig-bone sight is fixed on one end and a hard wooden mouthpiece on the other. The Indian will travel through the forest all day long, looking for birds, small monkeys and squirrels, and carrying his match-thin ten-inch darts, perhaps thirty at a time, in wicker holders.

He constantly watches the trees overhead; he may suddenly see a parrot on a branch ahead of him. He moves forward slowly; if he can stand directly beneath the bird he has less difficulty in steadying his aim. He raises the pipe cautiously and places the cupped lower end over his mouth. He reaches behind with his free arm and draws a poison-tipped dart. Inserting it in the shaft with its cotton wad, he aligns the pig-bone sight on to the bird and inflates his cheeks. There is a barely discernible puff. Seventy feet over his head the parrot squawks, starts to fly, falters and crashes through the branches to the ground. Sometimes there are other birds near by and the Indian will kill three or four before he begins to look for them lying somewhere in the dense thickets, but he never loses one. Parrots are the most common target and the most easily approached, but unless cooked for many hours they are quite inedible. We would occasionally make a soup from them. Macaws, toucans and egrets are sought after, more for their feathers than as food. Pigeon, turkey, duck and geese are far more palatable; while frogs, snakes and various grubs, ants and beetles are considered delicacies. 262 [825]

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ABOVE: *Preparing for the festival.* BELOW: *Bréo unpacks the festival feather head-dresses from their boxes.* [see p. 70-B] 000

# 5
# *Ni*

172 It was on the rapids of Kaperwa, while Brian was searching for fossils, that we came across the first rock engravings (see p. 74). These man-like figures, no more than two feet high, extended along the face of an ancient deposit of volcanic ash exposed just above river level. All seemed to be in grotesque dancing postures, their outlined figures carved half an inch into the face of the rock, their webbed hands and feet splayed out and the face portrayed in relief with indentations for the eyes and the mouth. There appeared to have been more which had been almost completely eroded away except for a hand or a foot. We found a similar set of figures extending along the rock on the other side of the channel, equally strange but portraying the same subtle vitality of movement, as if caught in some prehistoric dance.

In all we counted thirty dancers at Kaperwa. How long they had been there was impossible to say. The rock was a hard volcanic tuff. With a high river all the engravings would have been completely submerged. Those on the south bank were sheltered from the sun and mostly covered in moss. There was no pigment or colouring matter and, even had we known the period of time for which they had been submerged, the rate of erosion would have been mere conjecture. Certainly the Indians could explain nothing about them.

Later we came across many such engravings on the Apaporis and the Caquetá. Some on the Apaporis depicted human figures of obscure abstract form with the body shown as a triangle or a square and with foreshortened arms reminiscent of Chibcha art in the Colombian Andes – a civilization contemporary to that of the Incas. Near by on the same rock were two forms representing a crocodile or snake. These were the only animal designs we ever saw. On the Caquetá we found engravings of a more formalized type, seldom depicting human beings but coiled, spiralled and fretted designs; many were very elaborate and covered five or six square feet of the rock face. Some were etched half an inch or more into the hard sandstone, others were mere chipped designs on the surface.

It has been suggested that as these engravings occur mainly at rapids they are more than likely the work of passing canoe men. But it is usually only at these rapids that there are rocks on which these petroglyphs could be drawn. Moreover, many are of such elaborate design that they would take

weeks to carve into the hard rock. It is possible that some in the past represented boundary marks. The Indians do not appear to recognize territorial areas within the forest, but they may have rights to fish over certain sections of the rivers. 172

It is unlikely that the engravings can be ascribed to any one period and there seemed little resemblance to contemporary Indian art. Certainly Tukano design is mostly limited to triangles and crosses, and relies more on colour than form. The most striking example we saw was the Tatuya *maloca* on the Piraparaná, the bark front wall of which was covered with a series of cross, square and triangle designs coloured with brown, yellow and white river clays and a black charcoal compound. But this is by far the most dramatic example of Tukano art, with the possible exception of the elaborate body painting and the magnificent head-dresses used during the festivals. Their pottery, though finely made, bears no design, except for a pot containing the narcotic *yajé*, used only by the elders during certain festivals and curing sessions. This is covered with different coloured clays, charcoal and red *karayuru* dye. Similar triangular coloured designs are also found on the *yarumo* dancing-staves. 531 532

The most common type of engraving is the fretted design on the gourd maracas used during tribal dances. One end of the pebble stave, a lance-like rattle used by the shaman, is also carved with lines and triangles together with a pattern of bird feathers, said to give it greater magical power. This stave and a drinking gourd with an elaborate circular design of triangles, loops and chevrons, we tried to obtain for our collection, but without success. Certain articles were so highly regarded by the Indians that they would not part with them, no matter what they were offered in exchange.

Of all the rock engravings we saw, that of Ni the river god (see drawing on p. 31) was by far the most striking. Travelling on from Kaperwa, we came to an unusually long set of rapids through which we guided the boat with our paddles. We were concentrating so hard on the rapids and the water swirling around the boat, that the unexpected sight of a pyramid of rock jutting massively out of the river in front came as rather a shock. Even more unexpected was the grotesque figure cut deeply into the granite face of the giant boulder. With arms and legs outstretched he seemed to dominate the river, to embrace it with a hypnotic spell. 532 776

Unlike the other carvings we saw, Ni was engraved in granite. The finely-drawn lines, carved half an inch deep, gave symmetry to the life-size figure which must have taken an Indian craftsman months of labour to create. Our own steel knives were easily blunted by the hard crystalline rock.

Ni faced upstream into the setting sun. Behind, on the east slope of the rock, were suns and a quarter-moon. The suns, some with emanating rays, were composed of a series of three or four concentric rings up to two feet in diameter.

*Tukano*

115 Hitherto José had remained silent and appeared to know nothing of these engravings nor had he given us any indication of their whereabouts. This was surprising, for, being himself a Barasana, of a Tukano clan, he was presumably aware of their existence. Then one evening, perhaps encouraged by our curiosity, he told us the following anecdote:

101 773 776 'The Barasana have always lived here, they were born here. They and the Taiwano have always been friends and had common enemies in the Tatuya, Karapana and Ureti whom they used to fight with bow and arrows. They both have the same god who has power over all things. It is he who made Ni, in his own likeness, the drawings have been here for ever, and this is the only place where they occur. The other Indians do not have them.' He pointed to a great natural pillar of granite called the Bee, which stood in the river upstream of Ni: 'That rock was once a pile of manioc, which the people had placed there. Ni turned it into stone. Below the rapids is the underwater cave, his palace, where the god sings to the drawings and the spirits.'

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# 6

# *Panpipes and Don Giovanni*

In early February we started to make a small collection. For exchange we had brought rolls of coloured cloth, cigarettes, combs, thread and beads, fishing line and hooks. When we arrived at a *maloca* we would give presents to the headman and his wife, then to the rest of his family. There was never any hesitation in allowing us to sling our hammocks in their houses, but our giving gifts perhaps assured them of our friendly intentions. Moreover, in return they would often give us *farinha* which would help out with our own food. Of all the trade goods, small beads, and cloth especially in primary colours, red, blue and yellow, were the most popular. They preferred white beads and were prepared to exchange many of their own possessions for them. But even if we had lived with the Indians for some time, so that they knew us, they would have been loath to part with certain things. In order to obtain one of their magnificent head-dresses, which may have taken a man months to complete because of the scarcity of the feathers, we had to give them one of our shotguns, nothing less. A shotgun was as good as a bow and arrow. For the Indian it had the advantage that you could shoot more than one bird at a time and it had a greater range than an arrow. But for years their gun would probably be useless because of a lack of shot and powder. Also the gun made a great noise and this frightened the game away. The only three we saw were ancient hammer guns, probably taken from *caucheros* they had killed.

In one of the last *malocas* of the Piraparaná we obtained a canoe. This proved extremely useful as it could be loaded with some of the lighter equipment, such as the collection, and towed from the back of *El Diablo*. Unfortunately it was narrow and unstable and on one occasion as we passed through some turbulent water, it swung sideways in an eddy and overturned. Before we were able to do anything several pieces of our small collection had already disappeared. As a result of this we learnt to keep an Indian in the stern of the canoe to guide it.

The rivers of the Amazon are usually termed black or white, to differentiate between clear and muddy water. Because of the amount of suspended sediment, white rivers are said to have many more fish. There were however a variety of fish in the 'black' Piraparaná. When we travelled on the river we would often see large gate-traps at the mouths of the smaller creeks. The

226 fish hooks and line we carried for bartering were greatly sought after, though José for some reason sabotaged much of our exchange. He told the Indians that our nylon was not as good as their own *cumare* line and he broke the barbs of our steel hooks on the house posts to show that their own were better.

226 'That is barbasco, a poisonous liana.' José pointed to several bundles of
796 saplings lying on the floor of a *maloca* we were visiting. 'Soon, in late February or March, before the first rains, all the Indians near here will gather for the fish poisoning. They will build small dams in the streams, and the *barbasco* will be pounded and thrown into the water above these dams. All the fish float to the surface and, with nets made from *cumare*, or long spear arrows with forked metal ends, they will be caught in great quantities and carried to a *maloca*. Usually a particular house is chosen each year and, when enough fish have been collected, the festival will start. This may go on for days with *chicha*, panpipes and painted *yarumo* dancing-staves, and many people – and more fish than we see at any other time in the year.' This was a festival we wished to see, but we did not expect to be in the Piraparaná in March. Besides they might have been reluctant to let us watch a ceremony on which the abundance of fish during the following year depended.

Four days below Ni we came to the great falls of Beiju, and there, as we dragged *El Diablo* over the portage, we met some Indians who told us they were going to a festival at a Makuna *maloca* belonging to a headman called Bréo. It was two days' journey up a tributary, but we decided to go.

The Tukano have many festivals throughout the year; among the most important are the Fish Festivals and the Harvest Festivals for the pineapple,
533 *miriti* palm and *guamo* fruits, and for the manioc. At all these they dance,
534 sing and play their instruments. But to the Indian, music is also a form of relaxation and enjoyment. Often as the men laze in their hammocks they happily while away the time playing on their bamboo panpipes. Blowing across the eight- or nine-stemmed pipes two men may accompany each other for hours on end, ascending and descending the same scale, rhythmically counterbalancing one another in tuneful but repetitive melodies. They continue, apparently oblivious of repetition, and the panpipe tunes soon be-
[184] came imprinted on our minds. Each clan has its own variations; most of the tunes are based on their dances, though some are in imitation of birds. At night the young boys play their pipes crouched around the central posts of the *maloca*, and the clear notes carry across the still forest like church bells ringing on a cold winter's night. Only occasionally do the Indians actually sing for enjoyment; one headman uttered a staccato war song as he pounded coca leaves and occasionally the women hummed as they rocked their babies to sleep. Their instruments are more important to them; of these the snail-shell and deer-bone flutes, the tortoise shells and the clay horns are the most unusual.

It is hard to believe that a river-snail shell no more than three inches long

can produce a most haunting tune. This tiny flute, the three-holed *sihoo*, is more often played outdoors than inside the house. Its clear rippling notes mingle with the forest calls, perhaps imitating a bird drawn closer and closer to the Indian hunter. The deer-bone flute, in contrast, has a harsh, piercing, eerie sound. It is made from a deer's tibia and three holes are drilled into the bone with a *capybara's* tooth. A little slit is cut into the head of the deer-bone, down which the man blows. Small lumps of beeswax are melted into the apexes and shrill notes come flowing out – bizarre perhaps, but melodious. This instrument is generally heard during the *chicha* ceremonies between the dances. The tortoise shell, too, is an instrument which has a weird, almost hypnotic tone. It is played by a man who squats on the ground with the shell gripped under the knee between thigh and calf muscles. Rapidly he rubs, almost jerks, the palm of his hand over the beeswax-coated head of the shell. Sometimes two men will play two tortoise shells and a pair of panpipes at the same time, and the continuous reverberation of the *goos*, as the tortoise shells are known, together with the syncopation of the panpipes produces an amazing effect. The high muffled tones of the *goos* echo round the *maloca*, driving the Indian's coca-bemused senses into a semi-hypnotic trance. To us this was not an unpleasant sensation and on listening closer we could pick out what was in fact a highly sophisticated rhythm. Each panpipe entered just off beat in an exciting, almost modernistic manner, more reminiscent of a modern jazz quartet than four primeval instruments of the Amazon. 533 534

Our recording equipment intrigued the Indians – those small boxes with wheels which turned, lengths of 'string' with weird metal objects on the end, held close to their faces or hung from the ridge poles of their *malocas*. It was all beyond their comprehension. At first they were frightened but once they had listened to their own voices and music, they were astounded and could not wait to hear more. We all too soon found ourselves using as much of our precious battery power to play back as we did to record. Sometimes they were intrigued by Western music – Beethoven piano concertos, Brahms and Gershwin had little effect, but the Bach double violin concerto drew many eager faces, a Haydn trumpet concerto brought smiles of approval and on hearing the Commendatore's deep voice in the last act of *Don Giovanni* the whole *maloca* drew near in wonder. Perhaps this really was the white man's shaman. 123 533

We waited four days at Bréo's while the women brought in baskets and baskets of manioc to prepare for *chicha*, and the men pounded coca leaves incessantly. During this time the *maloca* filled with families who had travelled by canoe from their distant forest homes along the winding river courses. Some had already been warned by messengers of the coming festival to celebrate the manioc harvest, but on the afternoon before it started Bréo left for a high knoll of ground, and stood blowing a clay horn – perhaps to warn 796 [534]

796 the people that the festival would start that night. The low booms rang out
534 across the forest like blasts on a ship's foghorn. To the south, near the Caquetá, giant wooden drums were slung on a slant from two central poles of the *maloca* and beaten in a secret code as warning signals to other members of the tribe. The *mangwaré* drums were the jungle telegraph of Amazonia and their signals could be heard over twenty miles away.

796 More and more families arrived at the riverside port, where they left their canoes moored to the bank or tied to each other with thin strands of liana.
574 Some thirty canoes formed a series of star-like patterns with the water rushing down between them, haphazardly tied, yet buoyant and secure. Each family made its way up the steep sandy path to the *maloca*: the men with their paddles, some with fishing rods, and many with panpipes strung to their hammocks; the women bent low under heavy loads of manioc and their babies on their hips. Here the head of each family was greeted by Bréo and shown where they could sling their hammocks around the sides of the house. The women handed the manioc to Wanina, his young wife – he had two, but the elder could no longer bear him children.

796 The amount of time it takes for the festival to be prepared depends on the
273 amount of *chicha* to be consumed. With over a hundred people present, four days were barely enough for the manioc roots to be rubbed down, the poisonous juice extracted and then boiled to form the basis of *chicha*. The starch sediment was baked over the clay ovens into giant wafer-thin biscuits. The boiling liquid was poured into the long *chicha* canoe which lay on the floor between two of the central posts; the toasted cassavas were broken into the liquid and fermentation began. The *chicha* gained rapidly in potency and the canoe was covered with an exquisitely woven cane mat like Japanese lattice. One ceremonial canoe was not enough, and another was brought from the river to be filled with yet more fermenting *chicha*.

796 In the evening the men sat chewing cocaine. Led by the shaman they con-
[787] sulted the spirits and their subdued mumblings continued far into the night. Their crouched bodies, lit only by the flickering of the resinous *turi* torch-wood, reminded us of the semi-human rock carvings of their ancestors.

302 The *chicha* had fermented, the coca was prepared, the *maloca* was now a
796 seething mass of people. The afternoon before the festival began, Wanina and the shaman's wife began to paint the bodies of the men. First deep red *karayuru* was smeared down the front of the torso, the thighs and along each arm with firm strokes of the fingers. A black liquid, the boiled juice from the leaves of a tree growing in their *chagras*, was painted on to the body with a three-pronged piece of cane. The hands and feet were totally blackened to above the wrists and ankles, and the arms and legs patterned with a lattice of

*A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.*

 [see p. 78-A]

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-S (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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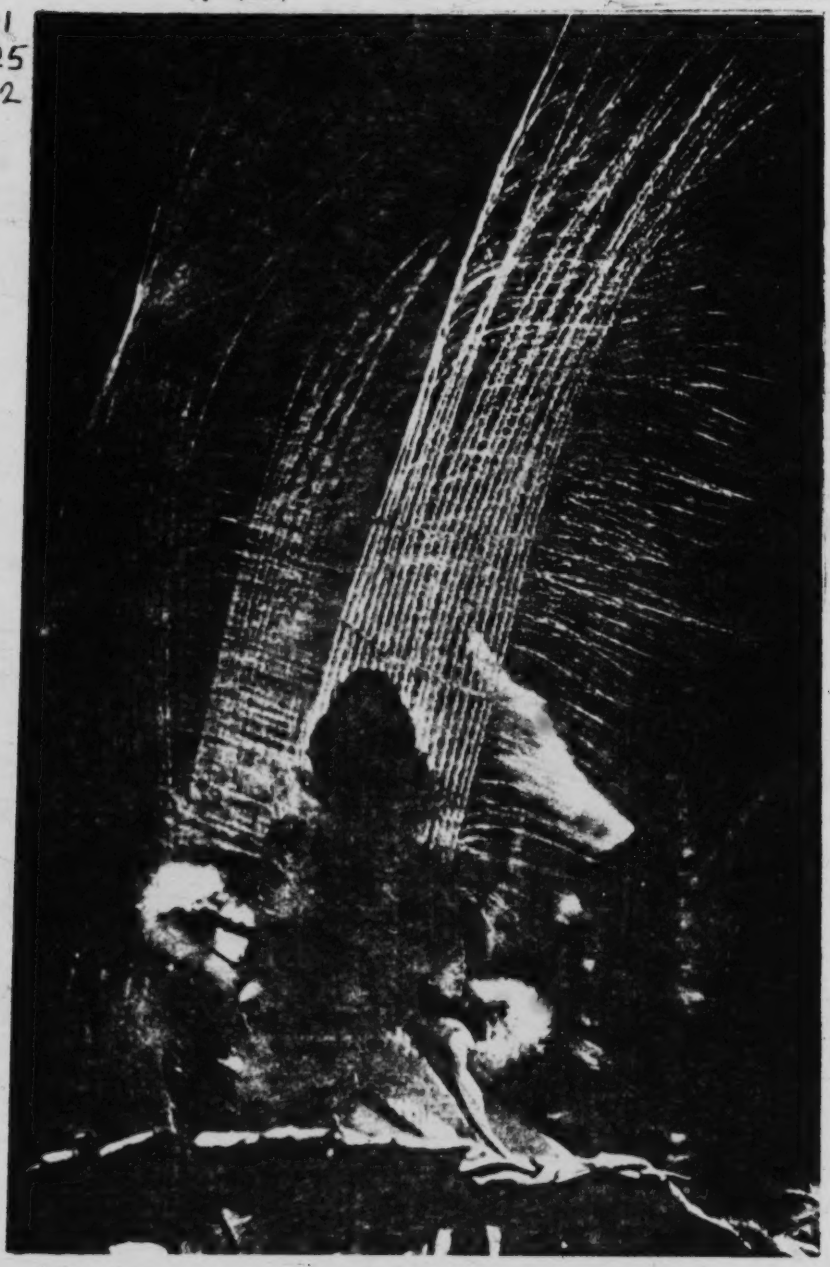

A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.

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Tukano profile and festival head-dress.

diagonal lines. Then the women painted their own faces with *karayuru* and blackened their hands and feet. 796 [302]

As the sun's last rays filtered into the *maloca* and the mumblings of the council of elders died down, the shaman left the dark interior and stood in front of the men's doorway. In his hand he carried the *Kurubeti*, the sacred pebble stave. Intricate circles of blue and purple humming-bird feathers adorned one end, a swollen spearhead formed the other. This swelling was produced by soaking a bulge in the wood in water, then inserting this into a banana stem and heating the spearhead over a fire. The swollen wood is cut open and three pebbles are inserted. During cooling the wood shrinks and the pebbles are locked in the cavity. The shaman stood pointing the stave away from the *maloca*. He hit it with his right hand and the stave swayed from side to side in front of his body. The rattling of the pebbles prevented the evil spirits from entering the *maloca*. In the days of tribal war, we were told, among the people living further to the south, each warrior carried one of these staves and after victory would dance himself into a frenzy, beating the stave against his shoulder. 796 789

With darkness the festival began. Bréo carefully rolled back the cane mat from the *chicha* canoe and the women handed round gourd after gourd, full of the bitter drink. More and more *chicha* was handed round to groups of people sitting contentedly by their family fires. Some of the younger men began to play their panpipes, but as yet there was no cohesion; the groups seemed rather to be competing with one another and different tunes came from all sides, one drowning the other. Many of these men had put sprigs of sweet-smelling leaves under their loin-cloth strings and berry arm-bands. The scent from the leaves was curiously sensuous, like sweet lemon, and used as an elixir of love by the Tukano during their festivals. 796

The same confused cacophony of dancing and panpipes continued well into the night; it was the young men's duty to keep the shaman awake, for not once during the course of the festival was he allowed to sleep. Small groups moved up and down the *maloca*, joyfully playing their panpipes as they danced, then they retired to their family fires and drank more *chicha*. The shaman remained apart, sitting on his stool in the centre of the *maloca*, gazing as if in a trance. At his side lay a calabash of coca and the sacred pot of *yajé*, the most powerful narcotic used by Amazonian Indians. Prepared from the boiled juices of a jungle creeper, the red liquid gives the shaman hallucinations and he is able to predict the future progress of the festival. Suddenly he summoned Bréo to his side. All the men came to the centre of the *maloca* carrying their wooden stools and sat down near him. With heads bent low the men started a muffled chant, answering in unison the solo [756] [276] [787]

*Tukano profile and festival head-dress.* [see p. 78-B]

796 monotone of the shaman. At intervals the coca calabash passed from hand to hand and each man threw a deer-bone spoon of the sage-green powder into his mouth. He stored it in his cheek and gradually the coca, mixed with saliva, filtered down his throat. Louder and louder, faster and faster became the chanting, echoing between the walls of the vast dark interior. The shaman worked himself into a frenzy, waving his arms out in front of him, his hands moving in wild gesticulations, his voice a rapid series of falsetto monotones; he was expelling all evil spirits from the tribal precincts to the heads of the *caños* and to other lands. The incantations continued for nearly two hours and then in the early hours of the morning there was silence.

796 301 The time had arrived for Bréo to unlock the precious box of plumages and he lowered it to the floor. He unwrapped the barkcloth cover and took off the lid of the beautifully woven palm box. Item by item he distributed the contents to the waiting figures, eagerly clambering to adorn themselves. First the smaller boys were given their simple crowns of red and yellow macaw and toucan tail-feathers, and they dashed away to adjust these on their heads. Underneath lay monkey-fur belts, ancient quartz pendants, puma-tooth necklaces and the most important items of all, magnificent feather head-dresses. These Bréo carefully selected and gave to the elders of the tribe. Crowns of toucan feathers woven on *cumare* frames adorned their heads, brilliant gold and red, ringed with white duck-down. Majestic royal crane plumage, stuck into a banana stem which projected down the back, jutted vertically up from the back of the head. The white feathers were woven together in a *cumare* mesh and stood out like quivering spindles of spun glass, gleaming in the darkness. Behind was a single red macaw tail-feather, a deer bone bound to the banana stem with monkey fur and last of all the wing plumage of an egret.

301 Many of the men wore giant quartz obelisks dangling from their necks. They make them no more, but their ancestors used to spend days rubbing down large chunks of quartz in pebbleworn channels in the river beds. Others had necklaces of wild boars' tusks, pointing concentrically outwards. There were many monkey-fur armlets with glistening beetle wings which [292] jingled as the men moved. Around the waist was another belt of monkey fur with puma teeth attached; below the knees finely-woven *cumare* garters, rubbed yellow with river clay, and above the right ankle dried *watcha* nut [302] rattles. This, with the fierce red facial paint and black body design, made up the splendid dancing regalia of the Tukano. The women had no adornments; [562] south of the Caquetá they stuck rings of white duck-down to their ankles with mud, but here they only painted their faces and bodies.

796 535 Now the dancing proper began. Since it was the manioc festival only the ceremonial *Nahubasa*, signifying the complete cycle of manioc from the time it was planted to the time it became cassava, was danced. Each man carried a long cane stave in his right hand and they joined in a line across the centre of

the *maloca*, facing the women's quarters. Dazed from the *chicha* and coca they gazed in front of them and sang a slow dirge, beating their staves on the ground. Slowly they moved off in a clockwise circle inside the four central posts. The tempo increased, but the chant remained the same, the voices grew louder and combined with the hollow thuds from the staves and castanet-like rattles. The whole atmosphere changed, no longer were there rival groups competing with their neighbours, instead everyone took part in the dance. The women joined in, slipping their small bodies under the linked arms of the moving men. The circle increased, the women with their right hand to the small of the back of one man, and their left to the hip of another. Only Wanina, the headman's wife, accompanied by her small children and carrying Bréo's youngest son under her arm, did not join the circle. She moved slowly round the centre, her eyes fixed constantly to the ground, uttering a high-pitched wail as the dancers moved solemnly about her. 796 535

The manioc dance continued through the night, but with the approach of dawn the younger members became impatient for a change of rhythm. To them such festivals were an opportunity for amusement, heavy drinking bouts and the possibility of finding a wife. One or two started to play on their panpipes, they were joined by others and soon the whole *maloca* became alive with young couples and trios weaving happily across the floor, in between the posts and along the sides of the house. Their young bodies gliding through the darkness, their feet delicately stamping the time on the ground, they seemed completely lost in the lovely panpipe tunes of the *chiruru*, the Tukano courtship dance. All too soon the thuds of the bamboo staves were heard and the elders again took control.

Throughout the entire festival the dominating figure was the shaman. Existing as he does in complete detachment from the rest, he sat alone, occasionally taking snuff from his snail-shell box. It was he who influenced the festival which, without him, would not take place. Every few hours he summoned the elders about him and as coca was passed round the mysterious chanting began. No one would tell us what was being recited, we could only gather that the tribal ancestors were being consulted and evil spirits exorcized. They did not like us to record this part of the ceremony, for quite understandably they believed we might take away their magic power. 796 756 789

Day and night the people danced, their plumed bodies glistening with sweat, caught in the beams of the sun or the dull glow of the torch-wood. There was continual sound – of panpipes, of cane staves, nutshell rattles and people's voices. Gradually the *chicha* canoes were drained. Gallons of the liquid had been consumed and the men had to rid themselves of their hangovers. Nonchalantly they poured boiled green-pepper juice down their nostrils from funnels made of leaves. With grunts and snorts they cleared their heads and staggered down to the river to bathe. Inside the *maloca* those that remained were asleep; many of the women had already left for the 796 [757]

796 *chagra* and the visiting families began to leave. They moved quietly in single file down to their canoes, unleashed them and paddled away. Life returned to normal. The plumages stood in the sand, shimmering in the sun, before Bréo meticulously packed them away, and with them remained the memory of the dancing figures, resplendent as birds of paradise.

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000 ABOVE LEFT: *An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth.* ABOVE RIGHT: *Boy playing panpipes.* BELOW: *A headman lights a torch of beeswax.* [see p. 82-A]

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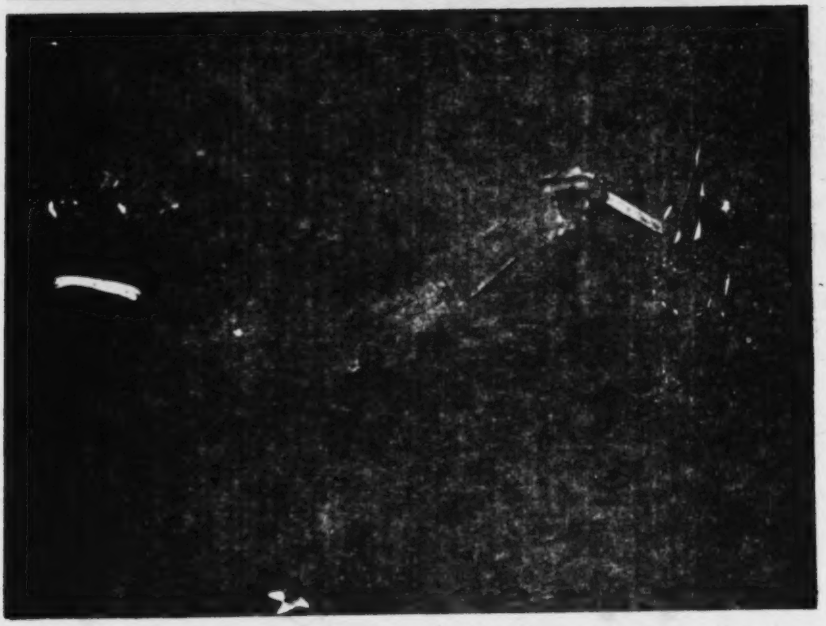

ABOVE LEFT: An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth. ABOVE RIGHT: Boy playing pan-pipes. BELOW: A headman lights a torch of beeswax.

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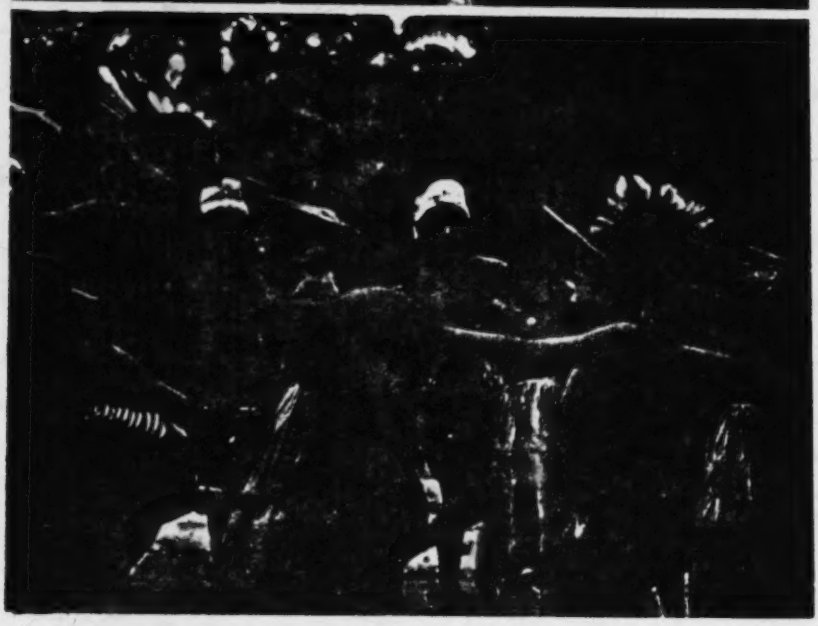

ABOVE AND BELOW: Dancing at the festival to celebrate the manioc harvest.

# 7

# *Missing Links*

Until we had passed the last rapids on the Piraparaná we were always anxious, as we were never sure how long José would stay with us. Had he left us we might have found it difficult to get other Indians to help, and certainly we could never have managed *El Diablo* ourselves. There were many occasions when he had threatened to leave, but so far he had been persuaded not to. So it was with some relief that we passed these rapids, though there was nearly disaster, for José determined to take *El Diablo* through fully loaded. We watched aghast from the bank as for a moment the boat completely disappeared from view in the turbulent water. But somehow she stayed afloat.

Now the river was anything from thirty to a hundred yards across. It wound sluggishly this way and that between low banks covered in dense forest and bordered with *miriti* palms. There were no houses, for most of the land was liable to flooding during the wetter months. We saw no Indians on the river, nor any canoes moored to the banks. At times the river meandered forming giant oxbows, where, through the sparse jungle, we could see a bend in the river that we had passed perhaps an hour before. At one of the bends a low cliff rose sheer from the water's edge. It was formed from clay and shales of Tertiary age, and in the beds Brian found deposits of lignite, tree-trunks and plant remains. To the west of us lay the Apaporis, to the east continuous forest as far as the Río Negro, the home of strange, seldom-seen foresters, the nomadic Maku.

Since leaving Bréo's *maloca* we had been troubled less by flies and insects; the jigger worms, which had laid their eggs in our feet when we walked barefoot about the *malocas*, no longer bothered us. Only the *nutchis* remained as they took some days to incubate. One night after an exceptionally large one was removed from Donald's shin, he wrote, 'A rather painful process. However it had its reward for it was definitely a record breaker – fat, furry, and fully half an inch in length....' They could only be extracted by using nicotine to poison them, or rubber latex to block their breathing holes where they lay under the skin. We never learnt how we got these painful worms.

ABOVE AND BELOW: *Dancing at the festival to celebrate the manioc harvest.*

114 Probably they resulted from a small fly or mosquito injecting the egg into
136 the bloodstream. Horacio had come across them in the Llanos, but only in cattle and dogs, never in humans.

Though seldom bothered by mosquitoes we occasionally ran into a belt of the *pium* fly which could give very irritating bites. At night when we found a sand-spit, or dry ground in the forest where we could sling our hammocks in the trees, we would first inspect the ground to ensure that our equipment would not be covered in termites or ants by the morning. Fish, which the Indians caught for us, was now our main food. One type looked and tasted almost like salmon; another, a flat fish, was very similar to the *piraña* with its razor teeth and protruding lower jaw. Even in February, towards the end of the dry season, many days were overcast. When the sun did appear, it was usually followed by a heavy afternoon rainstorm often accompanied by a cold wind, so that in spite of our nylon jackets we found ourselves shivering with cold. One day we passed very close to a green water snake. It coiled itself and thrashed the water with its tail, its head out of sight, until it finally disappeared locked in the jaws of its invisible assailant.

Along the river banks and high in the trees overhead, we saw herons, ibis and egrets, a brownish bird similar to a bittern; king-fishers, not so brilliantly coloured as the British kind, and duck would rise off the water in front of the boat. The varying shades of green were broken by white hibiscus, the crimson flowers of the chocolate tree, the flashing blue wings of the giant morphous butterfly or the wasp yellow of a swallowtail, beautiful butterflies which sting like fire-ants as caterpillars and live on blood, offal and manure. Sometimes the transparent glinting wings of a dragonfly passed by, while at night shadowy nightjars flitted over the river between the pin-point glows of the fireflies.

114 On the evening of the second day after leaving the rapids we sighted the
133 Apaporis, a river of strange contrasts with its great width, muddy banks and putty-coloured water. We had decided to reach the falls of Jirijimo. They were alleged to be a magnificent sight when the river was in full spate. A few people had seen the falls from the air, though in the days of the rubber boom the river was used as a highway, and the *caucheros* had made ramps through the forest as a portage. But this movement up and down the river had always been during the wet season, and we were travelling during the last month of summer, when in fact the river was at its lowest ebb.

For two days we moved up the Apaporis after making a dump of all our equipment, including the Indian canoe which we hid in the forest, for we knew we would have to return the same way. On the evening of the second day we reached the falls of Playa, somewhere below Jirijimo. In the winter it would have been possible to have hauled the boat on to the great sandstone slabs and pulled it up the ramps, which, th[illegible] terribly overgrown during
114 the last thirty years of disuse, could have been cleared sufficiently. But now

to our dismay we were confronted with the magnificent but daunting falls. The river tumbled a vertical forty feet over the lip of the basin into the turbulent water below, with a roar and a mass of spray, while all around were sheer walls of rock. 114

We tried to find a solution. We spent a day walking up the river only to find more falls above Playa. Somewhere behind, further up the river, lay Jirijimo, but how far away we did not then know. Should we try to walk through the jungle to the falls, even if it meant several days' journey without any certainty of finding them at the end? This might have been our best chance. Should we return to pick up our small Indian canoe, and carry that over the falls? It would take too long and we did not have the reserve of fuel. Could the five of us manage to pull *El Diablo* up the vertical face and, once over that, find our way up the next falls? As the boat was already in a flimsy condition, it seemed unlikely that she would remain in one piece. She would have to survive the return journey as well, and we did not relish the thought of walking to the Caquetá.

That night Brian, who had remained the most undaunted, wrote in his diary, 'We clambered over the rocks and through the very overgrown and at times almost vertical ramp – this will prove a hellish problem with only five of us and a boat which is semi-rotten, held together by beeswax and old trouser legs....' The following day: 'We all seemed in a bleary state, probably because *a fondo* all of us knew this would be the furthest we would get ... I still think we could make it, but the time factor and the risk involved to the whole expedition just do not make the attempt worthwhile.'

Realizing the futility of continuing, we prepared to spend another night below the falls. Over the river a tern circled, hovered, dived into the water with a splash, came up, then dived again, on and on till the dusk turned the greens to black. The moon rose high, the colour of straw changing to a white so brilliant that we could read in our hammocks. The water moving down from the falls was covered with a froth of giant bubbles, making the surface look like an ice-floe, dazzling white in the moonlight. The following day we turned back the way we had come. Some hours after starting Horacio found that he had left his rifle behind, so we had to return to the falls. That night we all seemed a little despondent; we still had a long way to go and we did not know what lay ahead. There was no need to build a shelter or raise a tarpaulin, the sky was clear and the sands still hot from the day-long sun. Earlier we had washed our clothes in the river and bathed, sliding our feet along the muddy bottom; for there were rays, and by doing this there was less risk of stepping on one. Along the edge of the sand-spit were the cloven-hoofed slots of a tapir, and the rounded pad marks of a puma. Perhaps that night we had disturbed many forest animals at their usual watering place, the only sandbank for many miles along this side of the river. Overhead hung the Milky Way and Orion's Belt – with the binoculars we could see

114 the nebula in his sword. Sirius stood out a pale electric blue and later we could see the Morning Star in the east.

The river was wide and very shallow, and we got into difficulties: 'José went to sleep on the engine and we hit a rock in midstream – a horrible grinding noise as it passed under the boat, then a crash as it hit the engine. She is letting a lot of water in, though it does not seem to have damaged her seriously. We are lucky; if this had been an aluminium boat she would have ripped from end to end.'

Two days below the falls we reached our dump again and reloading our equipment set off downstream, waving goodbye to Uriel who set off for his *maloca* on the Querarí; only José now remained. *El Diablo* was fully loaded again, she began leaking badly and Horacio made running repairs as we moved down the river. Soon a wind got up, the water became very choppy and we found ourselves baling continuously as the water slopped over her two or three inches of freeboard. She was not going to last very much longer.

All along the banks the forest presented a solid wall. There were seldom any
175 breaks where there might have been a habitation. A clan of the Tukano, the Letuama, had lived here before the advance of the rubber barons early in the
342 century. A few still remained and we visited one of their houses. The *maloca* was shaped like a pagoda, quite unlike anything we had seen before, round at the base with a steeply slanting thatched roof, terminating in a ridge about thirty feet above the hard earth-baked floor. Inside, every sheaf of each section of thatch seemed to have been measured and the whole had an appearance of amazing symmetry. The light came in through two roof apertures and inside, though cool, it was nearly as bright as outdoors. This was surprising as the darkness of the Amazonian house is a deterrent to flying
[415] insects. In strange contrast to the house were the old aluminium pots and tin trunks lying inside – a sharp reminder that we had left the Piraparaná. The headman and his family had deserted the house and it was now used by the occasional passing Indian as a resting-place.

114 We met two *caucheros* who had their houses on the river bank. One of them, Alirio, was half-Indian by birth. His father had been a European-educated official of the Colombian government, who in his later years had preferred the life of the forest. Alirio had known no other life; he had married an Indian girl and now spent his days collecting wild rubber, selling it to another *cauchero* further down the river. He was talkative and eager to help; he told us of a botanist – Dr Schultes – whom he had accompanied beyond the first rapids on the Piraparaná. When he knew we had come all the way from the Vaupés he seemed almost disbelieving. He told us on no account should we continue all the way to the Caquetá on this river, for there were many rapids; moreover, nearer the mouth of the river there were falls, one nearly as big as Jirijimo. Our only way was by a portage which led through the forest to another river, the Miritiparaná. From there it was possible, he

said, to travel all the way to the Caquetá without encountering more rapids. 114
We would have to leave our boat behind on the Apaporis, as it would be impossible to take it across without the assistance of many Indians. We would have to get help from the Miritiparaná, and a boat, in order to continue our journey to the Caquetá. This was the first time that we knew exactly what lay ahead of us; from then on we would follow Alirio's instructions. He kindly sent his son and one of his workmen to help us over the rapids which we had to pass before the portage. That night we came to Lugo's house where we had a less friendly welcome. Heavy-set, urbane and gold-toothed, Lugo offered us little. We asked if we could sling our hammocks in the house and he grudgingly consented; so Brian asked him to join us in a meal. Horacio was furious. 'Why?' he said. 'Why should we offer him our hospitality?... It is for him to invite us.'

The following day, as we continued down the river, we wondered why Lugo should have been forced to live out his life in the forests of the Amazon. Surely it could not have been his wish; and what did he fear in strangers? Perhaps it was better than a lifetime in gaol. Later, while we were collecting 172
rock samples, we came across the rock carvings called Boheniambo. Scattered over the flat sandstone island in the centre of the river, these formalized carvings, none of them more than two feet long, seemed to be imitations of Chibcha art from the Andean highlands. The figures, with stylized triangular head, square body and foreshortened arms crossed in front of the chest, were a contrast to the more natural art of the Piraparaná.

There was no moon that night and the rain clouds were heavy, as we tried 114
to find the small hut which would show where the portage lay. Flashing our torch along the bank we became anxious. Somewhere below us lay more rapids and we were afraid of being swept away into them. Suddenly the beam of the torch showed up a small grass-roofed shelter – it was the portage. We knew the worst of our journey was over. The same night Horacio went ahead with José to see if he could make contact with a *cauchero*, Don Carlos, whom Alirio had spoken of. We unloaded *El Diablo* for the last time, for here she had to be abandoned.

Don Carlos greeted us as if passing travellers were an everyday occurrence. Tall, slim and proud, like a Bogotano, he was the last person we would have expected to find here. Though he wore a pyjama top and had a towel round his neck to flick flies and wipe the sweat from his forehead, he looked as if he might be equally at home in a dark suit, with white collar and furled umbrella.

In no time our great heap of equipment was whisked away by Indian helpers across the portage. The difficulties we had foreseen seemed to vanish. Five hours later we were sitting down to a magnificent meal of chicken and rice in Don Carlos's wooden-frame house, surrounded by green banana palms and manioc plantations overlooking the muddy Miritiparaná.

249
464 That evening the conversation turned to rubber, the exploitation of the
648 Indians and the atrocities. There had been two booms in the area. The first died out with the end of the First World War and the increased production in Malaya. Then with the Japanese occupation of South-East Asia during the Second World War, attention again switched to the Amazon and this continued into the fifties. Now only small interests remain and although the Indians are well paid and housed, the old fear of the *caucheros* is still there and many prefer to live their own lives.

Carlos told us that he had sixteen Indians working for him. Most of them only worked during the summer months – from November to March – when the forest was drier. If there was rain the latex from the wild rubber could not be collected. During the winter months the Indians returned to their homes to attend to their *chagras*. The men cut traces through the forest at fifty-yard intervals within easy shouting distance of one another, so that none of the trees are missed. Each morning they place small wooden cups beneath a fresh slash in the bark, returning later to empty the latex into rubber bags slung on their backs. A different section of the forest is covered each day until the cycle is completed and they start again. When the rubber is brought back to the house formic acid is added, though any organic acid can be used, even lemon juice. This coagulates the rubber which is then rolled into sheets, some of which Carlos showed us hanging from the roof-beams of his house.

At the end of a season's gathering the rubber is shipped in bales up the Caquetá to Araracuara. From there it is flown to the merchants in Bogotá – usually in May and June – and Carlos added, 'This is about the only time in the year when I see civilization. To save costs we arrange that the plane brings all our supplies and merchandise for the next year on its inward journey. These are mainly for the Indians, for there is nothing he can buy with money here, so I keep a small trade store.'

000 Later Carlos spoke of the Missing Link or Loys' Ape, which he maintained lived in the area. Three years before, one of his young workers was out in his rubber trace when he was suddenly attacked by a beast, which held him fastened to the ground all night. The boy who had fainted from fear, was found the next day and brought to Carlos's house where he took forty-eight hours to recover. He was thoroughly washed but the foul smell of the beast was impossible to remove. Several rubber gatherers claim to have seen the ape in the area of the Miritiparaná. Something very similar has also been reported from the Llanos, in the wooded river valleys near the Orinoco.

539 Stories of the half-human ape are as common as those of lost cities, the Amazonian women and the tribes of white Indians who hunt by night. All occur in the myth and legends of the tribes. But to hear a first-hand account of this ape-man from a reliable witness was unusual.

114 Before dawn we set off down river in Carlos's long, narrow, shallow-draught Caquetá boat, faster and more graceful than the stouter ones of the

Vaupés. Horacio said that every river he had known on the Orinoco and Amazon had something different about it. Each had its own character, its individual appearance; in the same way you could almost tell a river by the boats on it and the way they were handled. 114

As we travelled down the twisting river we passed an old covered launch going up to the Mission Station. A rotund and bald padre standing at the wheel gave us a cheerful wave as the boat chugged on its way. Close behind him came a canoe full of tin-helmeted anti-malarial workers. We reflected that one day they might reach the Piraparaná and daub their black DDT stamps over the *maloca* entrances. That night we camped on a long sand-bar and, armed with shotgun and torches, we dazzled the crocodiles. Few of them were more than five feet long. Carlos shot at them before they could run off the spit into the water. One was half-stunned by the roar of a near miss; his back glistening emerald-green in the torchlight, he glared defiance at us as we slipped a noose about his belly. We had had a request from Dr Medem, the zoologist in Bogotá, to bring a crocodile back, alive. Luckily, perhaps, he escaped a few days later.

The Caquetá seemed like a great lake studded with sandbanks and wooded islands. It was impossible to tell at a glance which way the water was flowing. We learnt the reason for this as we came to the rapids of Cordoba. These acted as a dam and funnelled a river over a mile wide through a channel no more than a hundred yards across. Keeping well to the right bank, we passed through the swirling white water and rocky projections without mishap. Two days later four convicts escaped from the national prison at Araracuara; being unfamiliar with the river they took the left bank of the rapid in their flimsy raft, only to be swept into a whirlpool. The two who survived were taken prisoner by the frontier-post guards. They had been less than ten miles from the Brazilian border and freedom.

Two hours below the rapids we saw a white statue of the Virgin Mary overlooking the river and, behind, the green sward and grey huts of La Pedrera, the military border post. There we could put through a radio call – a Catalina would pick us up and we would be back in Bogotá in forty-eight hours. It was an incredible thought. On the bank where we moored the boat there was an old wooden bandstand, like those you find in an Oslo park. Inside was a barber's chair and a broken mirror. We looked at our three-month-old beards, our sun-blackened faces – and laughed.

But that evening as we glumly surveyed the pile of equipment and the collection, we pondered on the Commandante's words: 'No plane will land here on the river, there have been too many accidents in the past. Besides, we have no means of communication, the transmitter has broken down. I am sorry . . .!'

What were we to do? It was better that one of us should make contact as soon as possible, so Brian travelled down river to the Brazilian frontier post.

000 A week later an Air Force Catalina flew in from Belem and he was allowed to travel on it to Leticia. There he notified the naval authorities of our plight, and requested passages on a Colombian gunboat which was to call at La Pedrera if the low river level would allow it.

We paid José his salary but he seemed angry that it was so little. Someone found Brian's lost watch in his baggage and he was put in detention by the soldiers. Before we could intervene he had escaped and returned to the forest. A week later the gunboat got through, and Donald and Horacio travelled down river again on the Yarrow-built *Cartagena*. Twice she went aground in the shallow Caquetá and had to be moved by manpower. All on board had to stand up to their necks in water for hours on end. In the early days of March we reached the Amazon. After travelling upstream for four days and nights, we arrived in Leticia with all the equipment, including the Tukano canoe.

And Nestor? He had decided, perhaps wisely, not to join us. We had already left Mitú before he could get any communication through to us, and after that it was too late. So maps, food and fuel await the next traveller to pass the same way, over the portage to Kuarumey's and the *malocas* of the Piraparaná.

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# *Epilogue*

## 1. COLOMBIAN KALEIDOSCOPE

It was July before we left the Motilon. Nearly ten months had passed since we first set out. We had visited four Indian tribes, each for a few weeks, and had had a glimpse at a fifth. Now it seemed time to take stock, not only of what was left to do, but of what had already been done. What in fact had been done? All our experiences seemed fragmentary, superficial. We had a veritable kaleidoscope of memories of Indians – impressions, no more. 000

Perhaps it would have been better to have lived with one tribe during those ten months and learnt more about them. But then we would have defeated our purpose which was to record the music of several tribes. Had we lingered with one group we should never have completed the whole. This was always our dilemma. But what could we have gained by staying longer? None of us, with the exception of Nestor, was academically qualified to study an Indian tribe, and to our misfortune he could come on only two of our journeys. What were we then? Perhaps we could have called ourselves adventurers or explorers, but these names are anachronisms in the twentieth century. Perhaps we were just travellers, human beings trying to catch a glimpse of another kind of man, the South American Indian, that strange perceptive being who is fast disappearing off the face of the earth. 121

What surprised us most was the diversity of these Indians. One tends to think all Indians alike, living in primeval forest, wearing barkcloth and covered in paint. But every Indian we met was very much an individual personality. Some were gay, others sad, some shy, others aggressive, tall, short and fat, fine-looking and ugly; taken as a whole one might describe them as introspective, reserved and very independent. 000

Like the individual, the tribes also were diverse, each one to a greater or lesser extent influenced by its environment – Noanamá, Tukano, Kogi and Motilon, and also Guajiro, though of these last our impressions were as fleeting as our days among them were few.

The four tribes could be more simply classified by grouping the Noanamá and Tukano together. They were living under fairly similar conditions, those of the tropical forest. Their fishing and hunting existence was in many respects alike, as was much of their material culture. Moreover, in the social sense, both tribes showed an absence of any central authority or chieftain; 171 105

171 the only authority lay with the heads of the houses, and the considerable
105 but not excessive influence of the shaman. In addition, the family groupings within the scattered forest *malocas* and waterside stilted houses, in the ceremonies and, to a lesser extent, their art and music, all seemed to show a certain relationship.

They recognized a supreme being. He had little effect on their everyday lives, he was something remote but nevertheless present. What the Tukano called him we never knew – he may have been Jurupari; to the Noanamá he was Evandama. There were also the spirits of the forest and the ancestors. To them Severiano sang his Canta Haí, to them the Tukano shaman chanted during the festival on the Piraparaná. There was the custom among Noanamá boys and girls of putting flowers in their hair and in the holes bored in their ears, which prompted Nestor to remark that they were almost Polynesian, and we found later that the Tukanô had the same habit.

There were differences too: the partly sedentary cultivation of the Noanamá and their dependence on maize, compared with the shifting agriculture of the Tukano and their staple of manioc. There were differences in craftsmanship and design: pottery, basket weaving and the methods of making canoes, to mention but a few.

But what does all this tell us? Here were two peoples living six hundred miles apart, divided by the high Andes. It only tells us that at some time in the past there was a contact, perhaps a migration, or even that they formed one major group which was divided by the Chibcha advance.

The Motilon and Kogi – and this includes the Bintukua – were essentially highland dwellers, the one living in the lower 'cloud forest', the other in the high savannah tundra. The most noticeable thing about them was that they wore clothes; the Motilon a long cloak reaching to his ankles, the Kogi a jerkin, trousers and a sash. They had developed the use of the loom and wove cotton, *fiqué* sisal and even wool, unlike the forest dwellers who would still have gone naked or worn barkcloth but for the influx of trade cotton. Moreover, they rarely used body paint. We only once saw a Motilon painting his face – which they do when they go to war.

Perhaps their most distinctive feature is that, unlike the tropical forest dwellers, they live in small settlements and villages: the wattle-walled houses of the Sierra de Perijá with the surrounding barricade as a defence against the depredations of wild animals and warlike neighbours, and the small, round, wattle-and-daub temples and houses of the high Sierra Nevada.

It has been said of the Amazonian Indian: 'One word from the chief and everyone does exactly as he pleases.' This is a dictum which could apply equally to the Tukano or the Noanamá. In a way this lack of authority, this

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*Guajiro women take in water from* Rigtender.
[See p. 178-A]

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano
Goajiro SC13

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Guajiro women take in water from Rigtender.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano
Goajiro SC13

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Ortelia, Kechenko's sister.

nonchalance seems to add to their charm, it makes life a little happy-go-lucky. But not so with the highlanders. Here one senses authority and a martial spirit, particularly among the Motilon who were always itching for a fight; frustrated perhaps at being unable to fight other groups, they resorted to fighting amongst themselves, always clutching their sheaves of arrows and twanging their bowstrings in anger. Here – and among the Kogi too – we found aggressiveness; underneath they were still the same humorous, perceptive people, but outwardly they wore an air of purposefulness, as if life had become a serious matter. To the Kogi life had become more than that; they had a duty to live by the rules of their priests. This was the wish of their mother goddess Nabulwé, the supreme power in their lives. It seemed to us at the time that a Kogi set down beside a Tukano would have found him as alien to his conception of a human being as we ourselves were; yet both are Indians.

The most primitive of all South American Indians is the wandering nomadic Maku, still to be found in the isolated depths of the Amazon forests, living solely on what he can gather with a stone axe as his only implement. He still represents Stone Age man. At the other end of the scale is the monotheistic Kogi, the nearest present-day equivalent we saw to the highest state of culture the Indian has reached. Between these extremes are such tribes as the Tukano, Noanamá and Motilon, each in a sense representing a different stage in development.

On the one hand are cultural traits which denote common origin or the influence of early migrations. On the other hand is the diversity representing stages of social development which were still evolving at the time of the Spanish conquest and which since then have each, in varying degrees and at different times, been subjected to a completely new force – European culture in all its complexity.

And how did the different tribes react to this influence? Generally speaking, the forest lowlanders like the Tukano have survived longer because of their remoteness. Yet when a contact is made the shock is great and their lack of cohesion may lead to rapid extinction.

The highlander, who in most instances has been in contact with the European for centuries, has – perhaps because of the greater cohesion imposed by the Kogi priests and the Motilon chiefs – either wholly resisted or adapted himself to the new influence in such a way that much of his own culture is incorporated in the new, as has happened in Atanquez, and indeed in the case of countless thousands who in the past four and a half centuries have become fully integrated into a European society.

There are very few places left in the world where the notion of Western

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*Ortelia, Kechenko's sister.* [see p. 178-B]

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105 culture is unknown. There may still be one or two isolated hill tribes in New Guinea; and wandering-nomadic groups of foresters like the Amazonian Maku. The Tukano certainly were not isolated in this sense. Some of them had had direct contact with the rubber collectors of the early part of the century, and many of them today still tap rubber. It is possible that the obvious signs of depopulation among the people of the Piraparaná are due to this yearly migration of the younger men. Essentially, however, they remain simple uncomplicated people believing in an amazing world of spirits and demons and quite happy in that belief; taking part in their festivals with great gusto, extremely creative with their beautiful head-dresses, woven baskets and pottery, to mention but a few of their artefacts, and delighting in their music. Perhaps we influenced them unduly in this last respect. Perhaps when we left, the panpipes were put back on their neglected wall. But this is unlikely.

Nor were the Noanamá completely isolated. Among them one felt a growing conflict between the negro settlers and the Indian. We recalled an argument between Severiano and an old negro: in a rage Severiano had shouted, 'Respect me!' Perhaps the negro's cheerful arrogance infuriated the Indian more than the taking of his land. Then there was the Mission. We had seen Severiano calling to the ancestors with his Canta Haí sticks in front of him, facing a lighted candle under an image of the Virgin Mary. The Indians were gradually disappearing from the San Juan and moving northwards to Panama, in a pathetic attempt to continue the only way of life they knew.

But the Motilon were different, and the Kunuguasaya had adopted an openly hostile attitude towards all intruders. To this day they remain, like the Maku, almost unknown – but not because of inaccessibility or remoteness. The Yuco-Chaké, however, whom we visited, though still extremely warlike among themselves, are not so much under the influences of *colono* expansion from the plains as of the work of the missionaries.

000 If only in the past the missionaries could have concentrated less on the outlawing of those aspects of tribal life which constituted the very basis, the very roots of Indian existence – their spiritual and ceremonial life, which ran completely contrary to the teaching of Christianity. If only they could have restrained their overwhelming zealousness to eradicate these and tried to understand them and show tolerance instead. Then the inevitable shock to the Indians would have been less – of losing their own beliefs in the face of a religion apparently far more terrible, one that involved only one alternative to eternal damnation and hell, which was so totally at variance with their own charming optimism for a better life to come. This was followed by a second more lasting shock, the realization that few but missionaries really practised this faith – and to the Indian religion was part of his being. Then their despair and disillusion could have been softened.

The real tragedy of it is this. Why should it be necessary to change the lives of these people at all? Why cannot they all be left like the Kogi who, it seems, have survived four and a half centuries of independence? But one has to consider the strength of Kogi society, something which the Amazonian has never acquired. Moreover, the Kogi have isolated themselves in such a way that the land they occupy can be of little use to the *colono*. If change does come, as it surely must, then it will take place in the same way as has happened to the Bintukua, the Atanquez creole and countless thousands of Colombian Indians. 000

Nevertheless, whether integration with another culture is involved, or simply extinction of the tribe, in the long run it means the loss of a way of life, be it the disciplined life of the Kogi or the insouciance of the Amazonian – a way of life from which we ourselves have become extraordinarily removed, a life which in its own way is very down to earth, realistic and natural, and which we regard as primitive. . . .

So our discussions went on, after that journey to the border of the territory of the Kunuguasaya. Sometimes in Ben's *finca* we talked far into the night. From Ben, we began to appreciate the point of view of the *colonos* among whom he lived: the need for more land as these smallholders were pushed off their own by the magnates; the move into apparently empty land; their natural desire for revenge after the Indians' sudden attacks; the armed posses riding into the hills. It was like the early expansion in North America and the Indian wars.

We argued too, endlessly, with Padre Atanasio and Alec Clark, pointing out the terrible things they were doing. They would tell us equally convincingly their own point of view. In a sense their work was utterly selfless. It was done for no gain on their part, and were they not giving the Indians the rudiments of Christian education? Who else would do it? Was it not better to do something than nothing, than to stand aside like ourselves and criticize? It was an anachronism to say missionaries were ignorant of the lives of the people they worked among. Many knew their languages and had studied their customs.

When we look back now, from a distance of many months and many thousands of miles, there are certain recollections which stand out more clearly: the first Indian we saw from the boat on the Río San Juan, suddenly appearing out of the dusk and balancing his canoe over our wake as if he were part of it; the Tukano dancing in the glow of burning beeswax, bodies glistening with sweat and head-dresses flashing in the darkness; a Kogi with his long hair blowing in the wind, the stone cairns beside the mountain lake and the glacier in the moonlight; the Motilon with the blood from his gaping wound forming a puddle about his feet, and the outburial cave with the mummified bodies and the lone nightjar.

*Epilogue*

172 Then there were the rock carvings in the Amazon, archaic yet extraordinarily alive. If art is an expression of a culture, these drawings could not have been the work of tropical foresters like the Tukano. From a hunting-fishing people you might expect to see fish or animals drawn naturalistically or in the abstract; yet we only once found this side of their existence expressed, and that was not in the Piraparaná. Many of the figures portrayed suns and moons, yet as far as we were aware neither had special significance in Tukano life. Moreover, Ni, standing as he did, isolated on a pinnacle of rock high above the river, made an almost emotional impact, as if the artist had wished to identify himself with the figure. It was drawn with an intensity of feeling completely foreign to the personality of the Amazonian. Yet José was able to tell us of a legend about it and the Indians had identified their own mystical spirit or water god with it.

Most of the figures were cut in sandstone and might have been sculptured by chipping with a harder rock, perhaps flint. But a fair number, including Ni, were cut as much as half an inch deep into granite rock which blunted our own knives. It is puzzling to know what implement could have been used, and staggering to consider the work involved.

Then there were the strange squared figures on the Apaporis, like the cardmen in Alice. We had noticed half-moon shapes like necklaces with pendants. These, like the squares, reminded us of Inca and Chibcha ornaments and loom-worked cotton cloaks, unshaped by the hand of a tailor.

In the Caquetá there seemed to be a third style of art, abstract, rather intellectual. Here the human form mattered little. Heads were squared, bodies were contorted into extraordinary shapes. There were large carvings covering ten square feet, a mass of intricate squares, frets, coils and spirals. It was as if the rocks had for ages been used as a vast sketchbook on which passing travellers had engraved their own conception of artistic design.

An Indian came to us during those endless days of waiting at the frontier post and told us of a cliff-face which was covered in drawings, many of
000 them coloured. He offered to take us there if we wished. But it was several days' journey through the forest and we dared not go, for while we were away the gunboat might have come and gone, and that would have meant waiting for months.

What is the significance of all these drawings? One immediately begins to think of past civilizations in the forest. They may be some form of writing or communication. Perhaps they are the work of migratory peoples, moving north – south or east – west, from Panama to the Pampas, from the Andes to the mouth of the Amazon. In time it may be possible to make a compre-

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ABOVE: *Maraca woman playing a musical bow.* BELOW LEFT: *A boy with bird arrows and a pet toucan.* BELOW RIGHT: *The Motilon discover the wheel.*

[see p. 182-A]

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano
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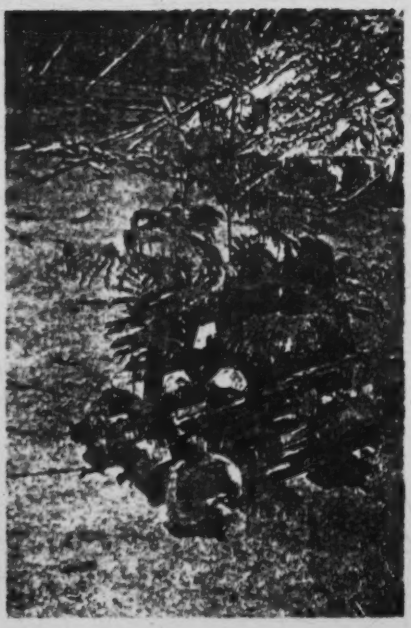

ABOVE: Maraca woman playing a musical bow. BELOW LEFT: A boy with bird arrows and a pet toucan. BELOW RIGHT: The Motilon discover the wheel.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano
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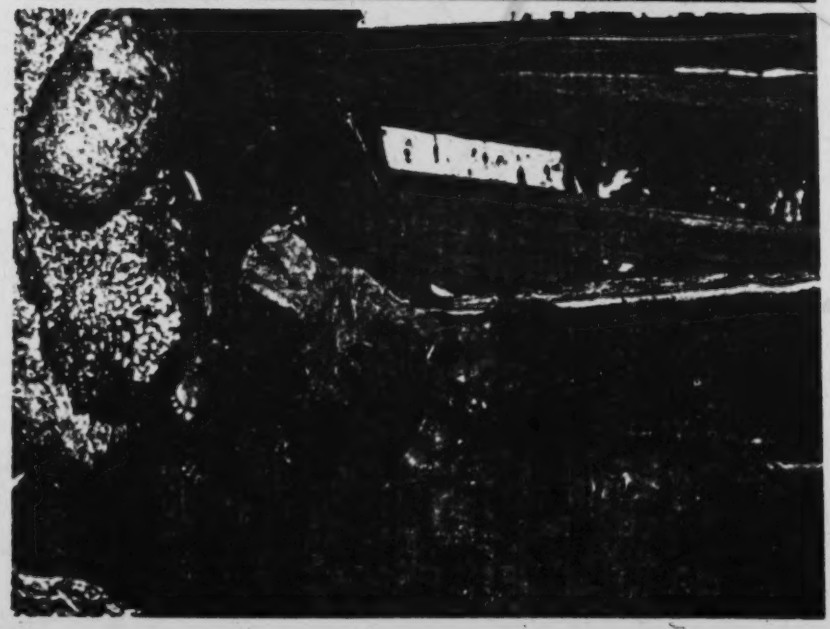

LEFT: / Motilon playing an axe-head flute. RIGHT: / child at his mother's breast; in front of them is ground maize.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



hensive study of these designs all over South America. Certain trends might be found, early migrations might be illustrated by particular styles. The study might also tell us something of the character of these people. It could show the course of their migrations and possibly even date them, though, unlike the cave art of Europe, it is impossible to date individual drawings. But if the diversity of the trends of art in the small area we visited is any indication, a survey of the whole would seem an almost superhuman task. 000

Among the highlanders artistic expression had less of the foresters' spontaneity. Their art had a particular purpose. The coloured stripes and markings on their cotton mantles showed the lineage or family of the wearer. The Kogi, we were told, had gold ornaments, face-masks and even feather head-dresses in their temples. But they were kept hidden as objects of religious ceremonial. The Motilon found expression in the bindings of their arrow-heads, but these, again, were probably once tribal marks used for identification. 532

The foresters seemed to decorate everything: the patterned basket-weaves of the Noanamá, their bead caps and gourd designs; the musical instruments, the clay or charcoal designs on the front of a Tukano *maloca*, and their gay festival paraphernalia. Here there was a more natural outflow of creativeness, which had become inhibited among the highlanders. There were a few signs of outside influence, yet it was essentially traditional art. The head-dress we brought back to the British Museum was compared with one obtained on the Caquetá by the botanist Richard Spruce over a hundred years ago. It is impossible to tell the difference. Here as in all Indian art is evidence of the supernatural, the power of an unfathomed spirit world. There is none of the triumph of mind over matter, none of the intellectualism we find in European art with the evolution of classicism and the baroque. In this sense even the work of the Maya or the Aztec was still primitive.

The forest dweller's art has the spontaneity of a child, yet his approach is both sophisticated and intelligent. He will weave a pattern for a basket because the idea appeals to him and shape a paddle with the finish of a craftsman and the design of an artist.

The Indian is something of a connoisseur. This is the result of a natural critical sense. The Tukano would never accept cloth, fish-hooks or beads from us without a thorough previous inspection. The colour of the cloth is of prime importance, its strength would be tested, as would be that of the fish-hooks and nylon line, and the test for a good bead was to place it between the teeth – to see if it cracked! Pottery or baskets we had obtained by barter 123 437

LEFT: *A Motilon playing an axe-head flute.* RIGHT: *A child at his mother's breast; in front of them is ground maize.* [see p. 182-B]

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



123 437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 171 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 778 562 171 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nut-shells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 171 825 [777] When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

6t Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



occur constantly in the myth and legend of the tribes, as does the Motilon legend of the twins. It is a legend known from Mexico to the tribes living in Tierra del Fuego, which suggests a considerable antiquity. 171 773 825

Just as the puma is usually the symbol of fear, so the deer is credited by the Indian with fairy-like, almost feminine, qualities, perhaps because of its shyness and speed. It has been suggested that the deer is the symbol of new life, having been regarded as such by early migrations of hunting folk moving south along the chain of the Andes from North America. It was thus associated with first menstruation and all the accompanying rites when a girl reaches puberty and is able to create new life, and its hooves were used by women as ornaments or rattles. The deer-bone flute may have been the first musical instrument used by the Indians.

Several tribes have no musical instruments at all. Possibly these were the first people to reach South America. Later migrations may have brought instruments with them, possibly others evolved on the spot. The similarity of some Kogi and Motilon instruments to those used in Central America suggests a more recent influence. 171 534

At first we found it difficult to distinguish the sounds of the different instruments if we could not see them. But after a while we learnt to recognize not only the instrument but also the many different tunes of each tribe. A Noanamá girl would sing to herself for hours on end. The Motilon had a vast repertoire of walking, war and harvest songs. Instrumental tunes were fewer and some, as in the case of the haunting call of the snail shell, tended to be very repetitive. The Tukano, however, had innumerable panpipe tunes. 533 534 171

Indian music we at first found strange because we were accustomed to the European tone system. They have no conception of note vibrations to obtain an octave. Yet they can tell whether one instrument is in tune or not with another. A panpipe can be cut to a certain length to produce a particular sound, but it is difficult to produce the exact note, so they may raise the pitch by adding sand, or putting water or even *chicha* inside.

The panpipe tunes in the Tukano festival were the nearest thing we heard to orchestral music; each group played antiphonally, with sometimes two or three groups playing different tunes. We could not however make out whether combination or competition was the motive behind this weird performance.

The Tukano had no conception of counterpoint, though their playing was often harmonious. We did find it in the singing of the Noanamá – perhaps the result of mission teaching. One Tukano chant is almost identical to a western Irish folk lament.

In contrast to African negro music in which stringed instruments and drums predominate, Indian music is mainly that of the rattle and the flute. Every type of construction is found, from humming top and conch shell to

533 panpipes and the whistling jars of the Andes. Since the time of the Conquest
534 European music and more particularly African music has had an increasing
171 influence on the conservative Indian. The Noanamá and the highlanders showed signs of this influence, though the Tukano were still free of it. In some cases the instrument had been adopted and was played in the Indian idiom. The Noanamá had a type of drum probably copied from their negro neighbours, but they still played their own halting rhythms. The Motilon had a musical bow, but its use was entirely Indian in conception.

In the Sierra Nevada we found a direct clash of musical idioms, in the *chicote* and *gaita* played by the Indian-creole inhabitants. Perhaps in this are the seeds of a new music combining the atonal, remote and sad Indian music with the gay, sophisticated, ebullient harmonies of the negro-creole. Perhaps the folk music of Colombia as a whole, from the Spanish mountain songs to the negro rhythms of the coast, is a manifestation of a Euro-Afro-Indian music evolving like the arts and the people themselves into a new wholly South American dimension.

171 Such are the idle thoughts of travellers written in retrospect. But of all our
609 memories – Kogi temples, Noanamá children paddling to their stilted houses in a Pacific sunset, a Tukano *maloca* at dawn with the steam rising off the night-wetted thatch – the one that will remain longest will be that of the Indian himself, whether a Kogi regarding us with the scorn of a man who knows himself to be a superior being, or a Tukano who never looks *at* you, rather into you with a strange trustful-untrusting eye, as if to try and penetrate your innermost thoughts.

000 Walk with him long enough in the forest and you too will learn to see the track of a tapir; to tell if it was running by the depth of the spoor; to tell if it was wounded by the clot of blood beside the path; even to tell the time when it passed, by the dryness of an upturned leaf, the only one on a shower-soaked forest floor. Perhaps if you could speak his language he would teach you how to walk through the forest for days and never lose your way, to use a bow and arrow, to kill a parrot with one dart from your blowpipe. You might even come to accept the forest for what it is. You would become part of it and it would be the only world you knew....

If you ever reached that stage, then you would be like an Indian. Then you would understand the shock of civilization. It would be like going for a very long holiday in a remote countryside, perhaps the Outer Hebrides, never seeing another soul, and then returning to the heart of a city. Only it would be a hundred times worse.

You would take cocaine because to you it would be perfectly natural. Your father took it and his father before him. You were told as a child that you could not live without it when in the late summer, at the end of the dry season, you had to travel great distances to find deer at the water holes.

Without that small bag you would never reach your destination. The sun would travel many times across the sky before you could return. 000

It is fairly obvious now that in those few weeks in the Piraparaná when we became unduly agitated at the break-down of an engine or the disappearance of our guides, at the delays and frustrations, we had not begun to acquire the philosophical detachment of the Indian.

'When I feel like that,' Horacio would say, 'I just sling my hammock and let the world pass by,' and so saying would proceed to do precisely that. An Indian might have given us the same advice could he have understood the cause of our agitation or the complex mentality of the *civilizado*.

Perhaps if we could recall our childhood impressions before familiarity blunted our senses, before our minds or the pictures or images they formed were channelled along a specific course by what we were taught, before in fact we became specialists, we might understand the way an Indian looks at life – and perhaps even learn something from it.

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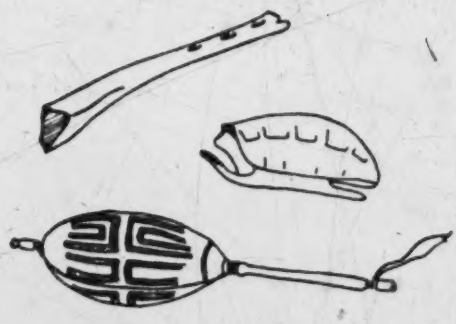

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# Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

ARTHUR P. SORENSEN, JR.
*State University of New York at Binghamton*

101 191 197 582

*In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Makú and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.*

## THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

### *Setting and Culture Area*

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000. 161

The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875. 13 501

Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one 101 [361]

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101 large, homogeneous cultural group in the center of what is identified in the literature as the Northwest Amazon culture area. (For culture area descriptions, see Steward 1946–1959, Goldman 1948, Murdock 1958, Steward and Faron 1959, and Galvão 1960.) There is
174 historical as well as traditional evidence that
101 some of these tribes may have originated outside of the Vaupés area, subsequently acculturating to the general central Northwest Amazon culture. Other tribes seem to have originated locally, from proliferation by fission. Koch-Grünberg (1909–1910), for instance, considers the Wanâno newcomers (among others). Although it has not been especially noted in the literature, some tribes present social organizations that are atypical
[616] for the area. The Piratapuyo, for instance, retain moieties, which until recently functioned as exogamous intermarrying units in an otherwise tribally exogamous and moiety-lacking culture area. Goldman (1963), who noted multilingualism, also reports on the diverse origin of various sibs among the Kubeo. On the other hand, field notes on the Tuyuka-Yuruti (or Dochkapüra-Uaiana [the *Uaikana* are the Piratapuyo]) set of tribes and languages suggest their derivation from a common source.

101 A couple of the larger tribes do not live in one continuous area, but in several areas. The
[131] numerous Tukano tribe occupies several continuous stretches of the Vaupés River and its principal tributaries, the Tikié and the Papuri, and also sites at the mouths of tributaries to these rivers. Historically, they have exerted

[P. 670-B]

101 a dominant influence in the area. The Tukano tribal language serves as the lingua franca of
[191] the entire area. (Its use as a lingua franca antedates the appearance of other linguae francae in the region.)

The various tribes making up this large, homogeneous cultural group contain about 90 percent of the people in the area. The remainder consists of two ethnic groups. One is the Makú Indians, who live away from the rivers and are more or less nomadic. They do not intermarry with the riverine Indians. The other consists of the non-Indians, who call themselves *blancos* (in Spanish) or *brancos* (in Portuguese), and who number perhaps 1,500. Most of them live in the two or three air-strip towns. Their economy is centered around rubber gathering, and they include about 150 missionaries, who maintain some dozen missionary posts. The non-Indians have a strong monolingual tradition, speaking only either Spanish or Portuguese. They have shown little inclination to learn the Indian languages or to participate in Indian culture.[3] There is little intermarriage between Indians and *blancos* (who mostly consist of *mestizo-criollos*).

184 Here, then, is a large, culturally homogeneous area where multilingualism—and poly-
191 lingualism in the individual—is the cultural norm. Anthropologically, this is a culture trait, and it is an outstanding culture trait of the area.

*Social Units*

61 Social units of primary importance to the analysis of multilingualism in the central Northwest Amazon culture area are the nuclear family, lineage, sib, tribe, phratry; the longhouse group; the linguistic group; and the
[797] exogamy group. Secondarily important, as they represent aggregations from among the above, are the mission village, the rubber-working group (an incipient *patrón-peón* group), and the nationality group. In the structural interrelations of all these groups, the sib occupies a focal position.

Several nuclear families may be found in a lineage, and several lineages in a sib (or patrilineal clan), which is the named and localized unit of social organization. A tribe is a named political and ceremonial unit, consisting of several sibs; it has a separate history and is identifiable by a distinct language. Barring the few exceptions where some of its sibs belong to a different phratry from that of the major-

[P. 671-A]

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of
61 the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse group, which is also the basic unit of economic
594 redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with
[251] its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each mar-
[354] ried woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her
[264] hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by
[562] the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A
61 well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cul-
582 tural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

[P. 671 - B]

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to more than one phratry are well known and are taken for granted as minor exceptions to the stated rule. This rule is expressed in a formula that one does not marry inside of one's own tribe-and-language group because one would then be marrying a brother or a sister. Although informants do not explicitly refer to it, they recognize exogamy at the phratry level, and all marriages conform to a rule of phratry exogamy as well as of tribal exogamy. Recognition of the multitribal composition of the phratry is expressed as: "A Tukano will not marry a Baré because the Baré are brothers and sisters with the Tukanos."

The exogamic phratry system is extended fictitiously to all tribes peripheral and beyond the central Northwest Amazon area, even though members of these tribes may not themselves be aware that they fit into such a system. Despite this fiction, it is safe to assume that any marriage with a member of one of these tribes will be phratry-exogamous. The nonriverine, marginal Makú of the interior lands back from the Papuri River, with whom the riverine Indians described in this paper do not intermarry, are considered to belong to the phratries to which the Tukano belong (the "Tukano-Makú") and to which the Desano belong (the "Desano-Makú"), and are said to intermarry among themselves accordingly.[8]

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A larger mission village is a unit that has been created by missionaries from two or more longhouse groups representing two or more tribes (hence linguistic groups) that have been required to tear down their longhouses, move together, and build separate adobe huts for each nuclear family. A larger mission village also contains a contingent of non-Indian missionaries and a boarding house of school children from nearby settlements. A smaller mission village is a single longhouse group that has been persuaded to tear down its longhouse and substitute a series of adobe huts, one for each nuclear family.

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The rubber-working group, for the Indian, is a unit of eight to ten months' duration per year, to which he belongs over a period of several years, usually in his youth. There are a great many such groups in the Upper Vaupés-Apaporis rubber-gathering area, each operating out of a camp, to which the Indians of the Middle Vaupés region are recruited. Properly speaking, the group includes one or more non-

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Indians, who are the patrón and his foremen, but they tend to keep themselves apart socially and linguistically from their Indian workers. The rubber-working group forms economically a patrón-peón system, or, more precisely for the Vaupés area, a patrón-padre-peón system. A benevolent role of missionaries in the Vaupés has been to minimize the depredations and excessive abuses of the rubber-working barons by requiring them to acquire their Indian workers through the missionaries as middle men.

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A clear distinction is made between tribal group and nationality; a word glossing as "landsmen" is the term used in Tukano for nationality group. There are two nationality groups among the multilingual Indians described in this paper—the Colombian Indians and the Brazilian Indians (the periphery of the multilingual area may include some Venezuelan Indians)—and even the members of the longhouses in the zone most unacculturated to "civilization" know whether they are Colombians or Brazilians. Also, Indians and non-Indians both agree that there are two clear-cut categories of people in the Vaupés: in Spanish these are called the *indígenas*, or Indians, and the *blancos*, or non-Indians (including Negros). However, the Indians feel uncertain and confused about ethnic and presumably "tribal" groups among the non-Indians. A favorite topic of conversation with me was inquiry about ethnic descent groups among such known nationality groups as Colombians, Brazilians, Venezuelans, and "Americans" (of the U.S.A.). Apparently the Indians are trying to set up a folk taxonomy for non-Indians within the Indian frame of reference. They have long been familiar with members of Dutch, German, English, Spanish, and Portuguese ethnic groups; they are confused about the nationality as against the ethnic status of some of these, especially of the latter two. Many Colombian and Brazilian nationals whom the Indians frankly regard as mestizos or creoles claim not only to be blancos but also "Spaniards" or "Portuguese"; yet they do not resemble the Dutch, German, or English blancos. (In Tukano the word for "blanco," best glossed from Spanish as "non-Indian," is derived from a form also used in the derivations of "fire, shotgun, fireplace"; the occasional blanco-sponsored request for a new form in Tukano that would gloss as "white" is consistently rejected.)

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829 Although the Indians reckon, for reference, in terms of ethnic groups, their attitude toward non-Indians is roughly the same as that of Americans in the United States toward European immigrants, who are looked upon as potentially becoming more and more American. I observed that Indians behold the visitor as potentially becoming more and more Indian-like unless he actively rejects Indian food, customs, and so forth. Most non-Indians are unaware of this attitude, and many would be contemptuous of it if they did know of it.

With respect to the Dutch, Germans, etc., an identifying criterion important to the Indian is that each of these ethnic groups is a separate language-bearing group. I was surprised that Indians do not naïvely assume that the English-speaking "American" necessarily belongs to the English ethnic group; the occasional North American traveler who insists (in Spanish) that he is "American" by *tribe* as well as by nationality is simply not believed. The North American who can be more explicit about his ethnic background is appreciated, especially if the background includes languages other than English and more than one ethnic group (thus simulating in form the exogamic language-bearing groups among the Colombian or Brazilian Indians). The Indians have also noted the widespread and, to them, notorious endogamy of the non-Indians and figure that there must be some sort of sib exogamy. The Indians ask a great deal about non-Indian marriage customs—partly because missionaries at times have suggested that the Indians' exogamy system is cumbersome and uncivilized, and that it promotes close cousin marriage, whereas the Indians feel that it is the non-Indian, with his lack of a clearly definable exogamy system, who is indiscriminate.

[582] [797]

As for nationality-and-language, the Indians know that Spanish is the language of non-Indians on the Colombian side of the border and that Portuguese is the corresponding language on the Brazilian side of the border. They also know that Spanish is the language of Venezuela and that English is the language of "America." Nationality has no bearing on exogamy.

*The Tribal Unit*

619 In the central Northwest Amazon the term "tribe" has been used both for individual language-bearing units and for composites of these units sharing the same culture. In general

[P. 673-A]

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practice, the designation of "tribe" implies a distinct culture-bearing entity. But the use of "tribe" for social units in the central Northwest Amazon has been ambiguous because of the use sometimes of linguistic and sometimes of cultural criteria. The problem of identifying tribal units has been recognized on a more general level in South American ethnology by Steward and Faron (1959:17, 21) and the concept of "tribe" in the world-wide anthropological literature has most recently been challenged by Fried (1966), who indicates that assumptions regarding the diachronic and politico-evolutionary status of so-called tribes need re-examination.

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The Tukano, Tuyuka, Barasana, and other Eastern Tukanoan-speaking Indians of the central Northwest Amazon have no simple term for "tribe" in their languages, nor for "lineage," "sib," "phratry." In discussion these units are designated by proper names (e.g., "the Tukanos") or, if the context is clear, by demonstratives suffixed with one of the various classifiers glossing as "group," "class," "persons," any one of which may pertain to any of these social units. When Spanish is used, however, *tribu* is applied by Indians to the language-bearing unit only, whereas *familia* and *grupo* are applied to various units, including the tribe. When an informant is asked to explain the meaning of "tribu" in Tukano (or in another Eastern Tukanoan language), he invariably gives the proper name of the language-bearing unit, and follows up further questioning about other social units by giving the proper names of those that he knows, especially of those in his own lineage-sib-tribe hierarchy, and he concludes with a statement such as, "They're all my relatives." If recourse is made to Spanish to explain a hierarchical arrangement, an informant will say something like "*Este grupo tiene tres grupos.*" In Tukano he would say, "This-group is three-groups: the 'Anteater' people are three-groups: the A are at X rapids, the B are at Y stretch of the Papuri River, and the C are at Z mission village." Linguistically, the name for the language is the name for the tribe in the plural possessive form, nominalized; the plural infinitive of the word for "to speak" is the form glossing as "language," and if this form also appears along with the tribal name, then the plural possessive form of the tribal name also appears but it is not nominalized.

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619 As travelers, missionaries, and rubber-gatherers became familiar with the area, they noted that certain bonds of preferential hospitality and recognition existed among the longhouse groups representing sibs of the same (father-) language group, and that this unit occupied a given, continuous territory. The missionaries and rubber-gatherers, as representatives of the colonial situation, tended to deal with each language-bearing unit separately, designating each one as a "tribe."

Nevertheless, some writers, such as Reichel-Dolmatoff (1963), have referred to the composite of all the Indian tribes (except the Makú) that share the same homogeneous culture and that participate in the system of exogamous phratries as the "Tukano tribe." In this definition, the social aggregate circumscribed by the phratry system is the tribe. Martius (1867) and Markham (1910) likewise spoke of the "Uaupés" Indians. Another argument for regarding this larger social unit as the one that could appropriately be designated as the "tribe" has been its tendency at times to be organized, partially at least, as a confederacy (Markham 1910). Continuing acculturation throughout the area at the present time may indeed lead to the loss of internal lines of social differentiation, resulting in the emergence of a single, regional society (Galvão 1959) in much the same way that the diverse Mapuche groups have emerged as a single tribe (Faron 1961). I believe that such a society here, unless interfered with, will retain a marriage system marked by exogamous, father-language groups of sibs.

At present, however, Indians recognize the set of longhouses speaking the same father-language as the maximal unit, and this is the "tribe" that is exogamous; that is, it is of these units that the exogamous phratry consists. As mentioned earlier, many of these units appear to have separate histories. The Indian identification of this exogamous, language-bearing unit as the maximal one is crucial in the analysis of multilingualism in the central Northwest Amazon. I shall use the term "tribe" in accord with this identification.[4]

*Languages: Degree and Nature of Relationships*

197 The criterion used in this paper to differentiate languages is mutual unintelligibility. The Indians' identification of tribe with language was initially relied on to prepare a

[P. 674-A]

197 tentative list of languages, as the listing of "tribes" was ostensibly also a listing of "languages." For the many informants asked, the criterion of tribal distinctiveness includes, by their own cultural definition, mutual unintelligibility between languages. It seemed premature to construct formal tests to explore degrees of mutual intelligibility between languages that were obviously genetically related (Voegelin and Harris 1951), but when asked directly, informants confirmed their mutual unintelligibility. The field procedure [125] that I preferred and used was to watch for occasions when an Indian would comment that he had not understood someone else in a discussion where more than one language was spoken, at which time I would inquire what were the languages concerned. I depended on an Indian commenting in Tukano to identify nonunderstanding situations, but I was also able to pick up cues of "I don't understand" that I recognized in a number of the other languages. Thus I learned that such apparently closely related languages as Desano and Siriano, and even Tuyuka and Yuruti (see next two paragraphs), are mutually unintelligible. These and similar languages that are very closely related genetically make the central Northwest Amazon area an excellent one for close examination of the problem of language versus dialect (see Haugen 1966b).

Several language families are represented in this multilingual area: Eastern Tukanoan, Arawakan, Indo-European, Tupí-Guaranían, and others that remain undetermined (cf. Mason 1950, Noble 1965). Of these, the family most widely represented and with the largest number of languages is the Eastern Tukanoan, a family that seems to be contained entirely within the Northwest Amazon. The following discussion of my impressions is limited to this family.

I have made a preliminary attempt to reconstruct the Eastern Tukanoan family, using the comparative method on 13 of its languages on which I have field materials. The resulting subgroupings (see list in the appendix) definitely do not correlate with *phratric* groupings. Apparently the language most closely related to Tukano is Tuyuka, which is not intelligible to Tukano-speakers, not even "with difficulty." In phonology, morphology, and lexicon, one is considerably more distant from the other than Jutish is from Standard Danish (cf. Haugen 1955). However, in the field and on

[P. 674-B]

197 paper a person can not help but note the close similarity between others of these languages, e.g., between Tuyuka and Yurutí, or between
[191] Desano and Siriano. Discussions with informants of the Desano linguistic group, some of whom knew Siriano and some of whom did not, and with informants of the Siriano linguistic group, reveal that Sirano is not immediately intelligible to Desano-speakers but becomes largely intelligible after continuous exposure for at least several days. It so happens, however, that all members of the Siriano linguistic group know Desano, at least to understand it, because of polylingualism. Desano informants who know both Spanish and Portuguese recognize the relationship between Desano and Siriano as being on a par with that between Spanish and Portuguese (which are definitely recognized among Indians as being quite similar).

The degree of relationship among these Eastern Tukanoan languages can not be rigorously stated yet, but it is my impression that the languages separated by commas in the list in the appendix are a little farther apart than are the languages in the Romance group or in the Scandinavian group. One can look at the Romance languages as a dialect chain, but in the Eastern Tukanoan language family the *intermediate* "dialects" are missing, except perhaps for those languages in the appendix connected by "and." Central Algonquian languages (Bloomfield 1946, Hockett 1948) are more closely related than the Eastern Tukanoan languages seem to be. Approaching the problem from the opposite perspective, that is, from the point of view of reasonably demonstrated *dialects* within a language, the correspondences among the Eastern Tukanoan languages do not present the tightness or neatness that is so evident among those of the Karen dialects as drawn by Jones (1961).

Structural interrelationships are generally close among Eastern Tukanoan languages, but in the finer details of their similarities the languages do not coincide. In *broad* phonetic transcription, most of the Eastern Tukanoan languages share most of the same grid of phones, but the patterning of phonemes and the distribution of allophones vary from lan-
[194] guage to language. (Eastern Tukanoan languages, incidentally, have phonemic tone and phonemic stress.) To the unaccustomed ear, the Eastern Tukanoan languages all sound fairly similar and, indeed, can be recognized

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197 as Tukanoan by contrast with Indian languages of other families. After a person becomes familiar with one of them, the other Eastern Tukanoan languages begin to sound different to him; but the "Tukano ear," while helpful in recording Eastern Tukanoan languages, turns out not to be helpful in recording phonetic detail from languages outside of the Eastern Tukanoan family. The speaker-hearer of an Eastern Tukanoan language is culturally very sensitive to the fine phonetic detail, which he perceives in the form of an "accent." Such detail varies considerably from language to language and, even within some languages, from region to region.

194 Phonologically, differences in accent reflect a number of things: allophonic fronting of vowels, or lowering of vowels; more opening or less opening of the mouth during production of the vowels; incomplete (versus complete) closure of obstruents in syllables that are not marked by strong stress; more or less contouring of canonically level tones in given environments. These differences are mostly very subtle in quality, and usually speaker-hearers are unable to describe the specific phonological details involved in what they hear as an "accent."

193 The morphologies of these languages are generally similar, but they vary considerably on specific points. There can even be said to be an Eastern Tukanoan type, but each language still has its own distinctive differences. For instance, most Eastern Tukanoan languages have only two general forms for person in the verbal paradigm, but not all: Piratapuyo has three. The participial system seems to be more developed in some languages than in others. In lexicon, there is again general similarity, but not coincidence, between languages. In the [601] exceptional area of kinship terminology, for example, more relatives may be distinguished in one language than in another, and what appear to be cognate terms in two languages may not refer to the same relative.

191 I have observed that when an Indian knows how to speak two closely related languages (of the sort connected by "and" in the appendix), he carefully and even consciously keeps them apart. It has occurred to me that the exogamic and other cultural institutions to be discussed below may be exerting a force that makes a speaker want to render closely related languages farther apart, even to an artificial extent, but so far I have detected no

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191 linguistic innovations to this end. Here, however, I run the risk of overstating the dialect problem. As Weinreich has pointed out (1961: section 1.3), the learning of a new dialect presents the same situation as the learning of a new language.

193 The Eastern Tukanoan languages clearly share the same syntax. By this I mean that they share the same types of multiword constructions. For example, they share a preference for a series of clauses in parataxis with a strong avoidance of hypotaxis; the same preferred (and not rigidly fixed) word order prevails (subject-object-verb); the same kinds of multiword constructions are used as techniques for apposition, statements of purpose, and "afterthought" statements of consequences or conditions; the same procedure is followed for developing a discourse topic, the sentence being prolonged by clauses in parataxis so as to provide more and more specificity to an original proposition stated in a main, and usually first, clause; listeners show the same pattern of response, attentively, politely, or distinterestedly repeating the last verb of the speaker's sentence. (I do not have enough material from languages of the other Indian language families to be able to comment on their
191 syntaxes.) It is important for this discussion that Indian speakers do not ascribe the Tukanoan type of syntax to Spanish. Neither is the full syntactic range of Spanish as used by Colombian non-Indian Spanish-speakers found in the Indians' Spanish. As a result of much Spanish-to-Tukano and Tukano-to-Spanish work with informants, I can say that the Indians' Spanish is spoken in shorter and more numerous sentences than is the normal case in either Spanish or Tukano; dependent clauses are mostly lacking, with sentences supplied instead in an approximation of the paratactic subordinate clause of Tukano.

Further evidence comes from the response of Indians to metalinguistic questions. Monolingual Spanish-speakers, when quizzing Indians for forms in their language, typically ask for the forms one word at a time, following the order of the Spanish sentence (which may be phrased quite elegantly to ensure getting elegant Tukano). The translation process breaks down almost immediately; new Tukano forms for former Tukano forms are given as the Spanish sentence progresses, and the Spanish-speaker decides the Indian must be very indeterminate in whatever he says. The actual

191 manner in which an Indian normally translates from Spanish to Tukano is so regular that it can be stated almost as a rule: the Indian remains silent until the full statement has been made in Spanish, he waits then for a few seconds until apparently the way he would say it in Tukano comes to him, and then he restates it in a normal Tukano sentence that generally has a syntactic structure very different from that of the Spanish sentence. This suggests that most Indians may be "coordinate" in their knowledge of Spanish and Tukano rather than "merged" (Weinreich 1953). Or, the cultural pattern may favor coordinate rather than merged control. This procedure can be enervating, culturally, to the monolingual Spanish-speaker, who expects to be replied to almost without audible pause between the end of his statement and the beginning of his responder's statement in rapid-fire repartee.

191 576 Anything said in Spanish is customarily repeated aloud in translation, even when all the Indians present already know Spanish. For the Indian, repeating a part of what a speaker says is a formal conversational device indicating understanding, assent (dissent if repeated with a negative suffix), and respect. In a formal gathering, as in the men's circle in the evening when the day's tasks are over, the amount of respect accorded to the older men who begin the session is indicated by how much the listeners repeat them. In the same setting, the remarks of a visitor speaking in another language are repeated in their entirety if someone present does not understand the language; as the conversation acquires more informal character and smaller conversation groups form, the repeating is dropped except for the respectful, assenting repeating of the last verbs of clauses and sentences; the visitor, indeed, may change to the language of the longhouse, if he knows it.

191 Repeating in translation something said in Spanish or Portuguese takes place in an interesting culture-contact situation. The encounter is rarely in a formal context for the Indian. It may be on a river bank, or on a trail, or on boats with the paddlers holding on to each others' boats and holding on to vines, or it may be on the street in a mission town. It almost never takes place in a formal gathering of Indians, as many situations calling for formal gatherings are discouraged by non-Indians. Nevertheless, many, or all, Indians of the settlement may be present.

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191 576 The repeating is first of all a respectful recognition of the Spanish-speaking non-Indians, but there also seems at times to be an additional quality of defensiveness connected with the practice. The repeating seems to serve as a stalling device so that the Indians can evaluate something of the intentions of the non-Indians, as indicated by their demands, their mood, and their degree of tolerance of Indian habits (for example, whether they permit beer, or admonish women—and men—for going without upper garments). Most non-Indians issue orders and interrogate loudly, according to the Latin American stereotype of the way to speak to Indians, rather than "converse" with them. The Indians, for various reasons, want to be sure that they have heard every question and order correctly. Consequently, repeating serves as a double-checking device, for corrections in translation are supplied unhesitatingly and immediately by other listeners following the translator. In sum, then, repeating is a formal conversational device indicating respect that also has an adaptive defensive function.

171 193 Inasmuch as the Eastern Tukanoan languages share the same general syntax, the Indians' ability to recognize and cope with the different syntactic system of Spanish suggests that other Indian languages and language families in the Northwest Amazon may have different syntactic structures, too.

191 Certain formulaic communication styles—regardless of Indian language family—are probably the same throughout the area, particularly greetings on entering a new longhouse in traveling. I have witnessed and participated in many such situations where the longhouse language was unknown either to me or to some of my Indian traveling companions, and always the content of the initial sequence of bilingual statements was clear to all (namely, the assertion that one has arrived; from which direction—upriver or downriver—one has come, and from what named spot; how many days one has been traveling; and who one's father and mother and brothers and sisters are, and how they are faring). There are other occasional formulaic conventions, especially those involving repeating, that can help a novice gain familiarity with a language. Many languages also seem to share interjections. (In these respects the central Northwest Amazon area may constitute what J. Neustupny has termed a *Sprechbunde* [speech

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191 area].) "Semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) based on a partial knowledge of a language that is closely related to one already known may also occur.

MULTILINGUALISM

[611] Because descent is patrilineal in the Northwest Amazon and residence is normatively and
[582] predominantly patrilocal, an individual belongs to his (or her) father's tribe, and to his father's linguistic group, which is also his
[591] own. Because of exogamy, his mother always represents a different tribe—tribal membership does not change for her upon marriage—and a different linguistic group. A woman invariably uses the language of the longhouse—her husband's language—when talking directly with her children. But she is usually not the only woman from her tribe in a longhouse. In a longhouse of any size there are usually several women of her tribe, as well as groups of other women from other tribes; and during the course of a day, these several groups of women usually find occasion to converse with each other in their own original languages.

[484] In addition to these multilingual contacts in the longhouse, others occur as a result of
[583] considerable traveling. Youths travel to investigate and evaluate available brides. A prospective bridegroom, if he does not know it already, learns his prospective wife's language from his prospective mother-in-law. Families also travel to visit relatives and affines. And there is travel for the sheer sake of travel.

A man's *mother's* language may be quite important because of the preferential marriage system. There is a preference, though not
[582] an obligation, to marry his cross-cousin, particularly his mother's brother's daughter,
[593] real or classificatory. (The kinship system is of Iroquoian type [Fulop 1955].) She will, of course, be of his *mother's* tribe and speak his *mother's* language. Therefore there is an added cultural incentive for a man to know his mother's language. If he has little opportunity to learn it—if she, for instance, is the only one of her tribe in the longhouse, and her tribe lives at a distance—his mother, nevertheless, will teach him lists of words in her language and how to say various things in it. Children are usually bilingual in both their father's and their mother's languages, but commonly use the former.

A child is frequently exposed to the other

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7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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languages spoken in the longhouse by the married women, who are ordinarily from more than one outside tribe, and by visitors. Visitors, especially, expose him to the lingua franca (which may also be the father's language or the mother's language for some individuals). Most children remain bilingual or trilingual in speech (with the lingua franca Tukano as the third language) until adolescence.

In the course of time, an individual is exposed to at least two or three languages that are neither his father's nor his mother's language. He comes to understand them and, perhaps, to speak them. I observed that as an individual goes through adolescence, he actively and almost suddenly learns to speak these additional languages to which he has been exposed, and his linguistic repertoire is elaborated. In adulthood he may acquire more languages; as he approaches old age, field observation indicates, he will go on to perfect his knowledge of all the languages at his disposal.

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Each individual, then, has a personal repertoire of languages. Each longhouse, too, has its own characteristic language repertoire. Thus, the second longhouse up the Inambú River is a Tuyuka tribe longhouse that speaks Tuyuka; one third of the married women there are from the Barasana tribe, another third from the Desano tribe, and another third from the Tukano tribe. Careful field checking definitely corroborates that all individuals of this longhouse actually control at least these particular four languages within their individual repertoires. Most individuals know other languages besides these, but all share the basic longhouse inventory. The longhouse language, Tuyuka, is used to men and among men; women use the longhouse language with each other, but women who are classificatory sisters and hence from the same tribe have the option of using their own language when women from another tribe are not actually in the active conversation group, although other women (and men) within hearing understand it. All children use the longhouse language (i.e., their father's) to both their father and mother. As one continues up the river to the next longhouse, the proportion of Barasana women increases as the proportion of Desano women decreases, although the same four languages remain in a common longhouse repertoire shared by the individuals of that longhouse.

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191 Eventually a point will be reached where one of these languages will drop out of the longhouse repertoire, and perhaps another language (e.g., Tatuyo or Paneroa) will enter.

I must emphasize again that it is not just scattered individuals who know the various languages used in a given longhouse, but *all* the longhouse residents know them. In the [797] mission villages, where what formerly were two, three, or more longhouses are now gathered together in one village of adobe huts, the linguistic picture resembles that of the single longhouse, but usually more than one father-language is present, for most missionary villages contain men from more than one tribe. There seemed to be an incipient age-grading pattern between two father-tongues at one of the missions, but not at the others.

Periodically the missions have tried to prohibit the use of Indian languages, but these efforts were subsequently dropped. In aboriginal settings, in the mission compounds away from face-to-face contact with the missionaries themselves, and in any gathering of Indians, whether traveling, visiting, working rubber, no Spanish or Portuguese is used (except occasionally when Indians drink alcoholic beverages!). The field worker must rely upon a knowledge of at least one of the Indian languages in order to keep track of what languages are actually being spoken.

The Indians are quite unself-conscious about their multilingualism. They take it for granted. There is no development of cross-linguistic puns. There is no stylistic device of switching from one language to another or of interspersing one's conversation with quotes from another language. Conversations in two or more languages indeed occur on occasion, as in visiting, but no one takes special note of it. Each individual initially speaks in his own father-language during such a conversation in order to assert his tribal affiliation and identification, but after a while the junior persons change, without comment, to the longhouse language, to Tukano as the lingua franca, or to another language, whatever one is most convenient for the others. A person usually cannot enumerate how many languages he knows, and is perplexed at being asked to do so. The interviewer has to go over with him one by one the whole list of languages spoken in the area. But when approached, in this way, each individual definitely knows his own repertoire and can state what languages

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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191 he speaks well, what ones he only understands but does not speak, etc.[1]

I observed no tendency for people to claim knowledge of a language not actually known. I also observed that the Indians' terms for rating fluency, when translated into English, are *under*estimates. Thus when an Indian says he speaks such-and-such a language "some," we would be more prone in English-speaking culture to say he speaks it "quite well." The unequally weighted rating scale used by informants in Tukano is perhaps best rendered by these English glosses and paraphrases: (1) "none"; (2) "hardly any" or "just a few words"; (3) "some, but not *well*" ("well" referring to pronunciation), or "halfway"; (4) "*almost* all" or "just a little lacks"; (5) "all." To an unqualified question, an informant usually gives his *speaking* fluency rating. He must be questioned separately for ratings on languages he understands but does not speak or "hardly speaks." All these observations make it appear that the Indians are indifferent or, perhaps, blasé about their multilingualism.

Their orientation to multilingualism is instrumental and practical, but not devious. The languages used in a given situation are not chosen with motives of concealment from [576] others. Politeness leads visitors to use their hosts' language, if they know it. Reliance on 191 one language as against another is not con- 578 sidered impolite, however, and only on rare occasions, when such a reliance is exaggerated insistently and provocatively, can it signal the expression of anything resembling a militant tribal rivalry. This may, but need not, occur during beer-drinking bouts, as at a formally arranged product-exchanging and friendship-renewing ceremony between two longhouses representing two tribes; but here it should be viewed as a means for expressing and releasing accumulated, and usually minor, tensions rather than as a product of the drunken brawl pictured by most non-Indians. The stereotypes of unsympathetic non-Indians may have prejudiced accounts of some of the unsuccessful ceremonies that have received notoriety. Overt rivalry in most of these ceremonies seldom needs to go beyond the all-night competitive dancing of the separate rival troupes; and by the second day, the older men's chanting may end up entirely in the host-longhouse's language, while the younger men form one cooperative, consoli-

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191 578 dated dancing body. During the course of the ceremony, the women group according to their own tribal affiliations and sing as choruses in their own father-tongues. Married women alternate between singing in their original father-language, in their husband's language, and in the longhouse language of the hosts.

191 197 619 If neither one's father nor mother is Tukano, one nevertheless will speak Tukano as a lingua franca. Indirect evidence suggests that Tukano existed aboriginally, or at least early in the historic period, as a lingua franca, although its epicenter may have formerly been in the Lower Vaupés. The Tukano tribe may even have been the dominant group in a confederation or nation of sorts (Markham 1910). At any rate, the Tukano are widely and strategically located and appear to have exerted a dominant influence in the whole area. The Tukano claim a mild prestige as the senior sibs of the area and regard all the other tribes as younger-brother sibs in a particular rank order (see Fulop 1955); this ranking is accepted by the other tribes. Because the Tukano tribe is so widespread, almost every longhouse has at least one Tukano woman in it. Therefore, persons who do not have a Tukano for father or mother still have someone in their longhouse from whom they can absorb the correct pronunciation of Tukano.

197 Now, the Tukano language contains at least six dialects. As a lingua franca it is not pidginized but is learned in one or another of its tribal dialect forms, whatever one the learner is exposed to. Speakers for whom Tukano is not their father- or mother-language can still be identified as to regional dialect. Tukano, incidentally, is not an easy language to learn. It has a great many phonemes and an intricate tonal system; and apart from the tonal system, it has an intricate system of stress. This suggests the hypothesis that sheer intricacy may foster an all-or-none attitude toward learning to speak a phonologically elaborate language. Maintenance of Tukano as a lingua franca has probably been reinforced by there being some 25 or more language groups that it serves.

191 The Indians do not practice speaking a language that they do not know well yet. Instead, they passively learn lists of words, forms, and phrases in it and familiarize themselves with the sound of its pronunciation. The diverse and discrete phonologies of these languages and their dialects loom very prominently in

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191 the Indians' regard. They may make an occasional preliminary attempt to speak a new language in an appropriate situation, but if it does not come easily, they will not try to force it. One of the preconditions of language-learning in the area is a passive familiarity with lists of words (including inflected and derived forms) in languages likely to be learned. Much language-learning (especially of linguae francae) takes place within the peer group. Among closely related languages, a stage of "semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) may be important in learning. Informants estimate that it takes them from at least one to two years to learn a new language fluently, regardless of language family. Most of them also estimate that it takes longer to learn Spanish than to learn Tukano or another Eastern Tukanoan language.

191 197 An Indian, then, does not want to try to speak a language until he knows it quite well. He is conscious of his pronunciation in it and deliberately tries to sound like an authentic speaker. Each language has its own phonetic niceties, nuances of voice placement, and other details of accent not unlike the sort that distinguish some regional dialects of American English. Some languages (e.g., Tukano, Desano, Kubeo) exhibit more than one accent because they have regional dialects. There is such a phenomenon, then, as speaking Tukano with a Tuyuka accent, and vice versa, although many Tuyukas speak Tukano without a Tuyuka accent. A mild Siriano accent is acceptable to speakers of the Upper Papuri River dialect of Tukano, where the Siriano tribe is located. A Tukano child of this area with a Siriano mother who has a Siriano accent in her Tukano will himself speak Tukano without a Siriano accent.

191 648 The early non-Indians who started coming into the area brought with them another language as lingua franca: Nheengatú (Inekatú), also called Tupí, and also commonly referred to as *lingoa geral* (which means "lingua franca" in Portuguese) or just "Geral." This is a Tupí-Guaraní language, and it is still spoken, even monolingually, along many portions of the Rio Negro by the detribalized Indian and White-Indian population, collectively known as *caboclos*. Nheengatú spread as the lingua franca of the early rubber boom days, 1875–1920. When the rubber boom declined with the development of rubber plantations in Malaysia, the use of Nheengatú declined also. Now only some older people in

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191 648 the multilingual area described in this report know Nheengatú. Some younger people can repeat lists of words and forms in it, but they do not speak it. According to informants, it can be heard conversationally in the lower portions of the Vaupés, but I have not heard it used conversationally in the Middle Vaupés [797] region. It was originally brought up the Amazon and to the Rio Negro by the Jesuits as the language of instruction; and it was well established there by the 18th century, when a contest with Portuguese began (Martius 1867). Its grammar, originally adapted from a Latin model, was artificially built on a Tupí-Guaraní base similar to that of present-day Guaraní.

191 After Nheengatú, Portuguese came in as another lingua franca. It is now the language of the non-Indians on the Brazilian side of the border and the language taught in the mission schools there.

On the Colombian side, Spanish is the official lingua franca. There was much learning of Spanish in the rubber-gathering area during the rubber boom, and Spanish superseded Nheengatú as the dominant lingua franca there. The increasing importance of Spanish at the expense of Portuguese and the already fading Nheengatú coincided with a change in the rubber industry: to extract the *siringa* type of rubber, found in abundance in the Upper Vaupés River and Upper Apaporis River region of interior Colombia, instead of the less valuable but more widespread *balata* type found in both Colombia and Brazil. The stability of Tukano during this period of change probably enhanced its position as a lingua franca. The Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis region is just outside of the culture area being described in this paper, and it includes Indian workers who have come in from still other culture areas. While the knowledge of Spanish is spreading, via this rubber-gathering area, into the adjacent culture areas, the knowledge of Tukano is also spreading.

191 648 For about 20 years there has been a concerted attempt to teach Colombian Indians Spanish in the schools. Perhaps one-third to one-half of the Indians already know Spanish as a second lingua franca. Many learned it when, as youths, they worked a few years in the rubber-gathering area. Theirs is good, understandable, and effective Spanish, although it may lack the subjunctive and certain other details of normative grammar. It

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cannot be called a "broken Spanish." At the missions, the insistence on using only Spanish has at times had an effect the reverse of the one desired and has invigorated Tukano and the other Indian languages. Along with measures to civilize the Indian linguistically and get him out of the longhouse and into civilized villages, there have been attempts to detribalize the Indians by de-emphasizing exogamy. All these efforts, however, have only served to reinforce the persistence of the native languages.

Because this area is politically divided by the boundary between Colombia and Brazil, an Indian from Brazil who knows Portuguese finds that when he goes any distance into Colombia, Portuguese is not understood. Conversely, Colombian Indians find they cannot use their Spanish in the interior of the Brazilian section. They then resort to their principal lingua franca, Tukano, which is understood on both sides of the border. And this situation obviously helps also in continuing Tukano as the main lingua franca.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR SOME CURRENT ISSUES

### *The One Language/One Culture Image*

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As I have shown, the multilingualism in the homogeneous culture of the central Northwest Amazon area serves to demarcate distinct, exogamous social units. Homogeneity of culture in this area does not mean homogeneity of language. And to speak of one language is not to speak of one entire culture. Indeed, with minor regional variations, the larger Northwest Amazon cultural area extends far beyond the bounds of the central, multilingual area described in this paper. Moreover, the cultural area includes some societies acculturated to lesser or greater degree to civilization but whose populations still prefer to speak aboriginal languages and to coin new terms in their own languages rather than borrow alien words. Data from the central Northwest Amazon bear directly, therefore, on the prevalent one language/one culture assumption, which, as Hymes (1964) and Gumperz (1961) point out, needs critical review.

The homogeneous culture area of the central Northwest Amazon has been circumscribed, perhaps somewhat artificially, as the area characterized by multilingualism as a culture trait. Within it there is no one language that

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101 is father-language to all, nor is there any one
197 language that is mother-language to everyone. What is father-language to some is mother-language to others and an unknown language to still others, all people who bear the same culture. The distribution of Tukano, as the lingua franca, does largely coincide with the extent of this culture area. But this is partly because a lingua franca accompanies multilingualism, and it is this trait of multilingualism that sets off the cultural area. The widespread distribution of Tukano and its near coincidence with the central Northwest Amazon culture area does not lend any special monolithic quality to Tukano such as is revealed in the promulgation of Spanish and Portuguese. Despite much situational reinforcement, Tukano continues to exist as a lingua franca at all only because it has tenuously and flexibly become amalgamated into the cultural picture. Indeed, the linguistic area of Tukano merges into the area of Nheengatú and thence into the area of Portuguese; the cultural areas of tribal Indians and of detribalized caboclos have perimeters that differ from those of the linguistic areas.[6]

*Implications for Transformational Linguistic*
191 *Theory*

A number of details in the preceding description of the multilingual society in the central Northwest Amazon force some reconsideration of certain basic premises of transformational linguistic theory. Chomsky (1965:3–9) states that linguistic theory is concerned with the tacit knowledge of an ideally fluent speaker-hearer in a homogeneous speech community. An ideally fluent speaker-hearer in the central Northwest Amazon has to be someone who is *not* monolingual. This poses the question of whether the ideally fluent speaker is to carry one model of Language or several models, one for each of his languages, in his head. Even very closely related languages appear to be kept fastidiously apart by speakers, and the very differences among these closely related languages often are of the same kind of subtlety, especially of surface structure rules and near-surface structure rules, whose exposure has been a major contribution of transformational linguistics. This leads to the further question of how any one language, which forms only part of a normal polylinguistic individual's repertoire (which in turn varies from individual to individual), is to be accounted for. There is also the question of

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191 what is to be considered a homogeneous speech community. I have suggested that the best candidates in this community are the longhouse group and the mission village group, whose members share common poly- and multilingual patterns. This necessitates our recognizing hundreds of distinct homogeneous speech communities in the one culture area.

To treat the description of any *one* of these languages as representing the tacit knowledge of a speaker or the language of a speech community is clearly unrealistic. The one language represents only part of the individual's competence in Language, and only part of the speech community's configuration of languages. Description of only one language necessarily can account for only part of the grammatical sentences an individual within a speech community may utter—unless the description of a "single language" can incorporate several, or alternative languages. A linguistic theory limited to one language/one group situations is inadequate to explain the actual linguistic competence of the people of the central Northwest Amazon.

## APPENDIX: INVENTORY OF TRIBES AND LANGUAGES

101 The following tribes and languages have been noted and checked directly in the field.

197 (1) Tribes and languages directly involved in multilingualism:

191 (A) Eastern Tukanoan language family, arranged in subgroupings suggested by a preliminary attempt at reconstruction by the comparative method (there are probably a few more languages to be documented in this group in subsequent field trips): Tukano, Tuyuka and Yuruti, Paneroa and Eduria, Karapana and Tatuyo, Barasana; Piratapuyo, Wanano; Desano and Siriano; Kubeo.

(B) Arawakan language family: Tariano; Baré. Most Tarianos now use Tukano as their household or father-language, and they marry Tukanos; many younger Tarianos do not know Tariano, although they are polylingual in other languages. The Baré along the Middle and Lower Vaupés use either Tukano or Nheengatú as their household or father-language, and very few speakers of the original Baré are left; the Baré are largely detribalized and caboclo-ized.

(C) Several tribes-and-languages of various families of the Pirá-Paraná (Moser 1963) await direct checking in the field: Tabaino, Erulia (distinct from Eduria), Makuna,

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Yekuana, Datuana, and others. The status of some of these as dialects or languages also remains to be determined. For example, Tatuyo informants have mentioned an Owa language spoken by some Tatuyos, but there has not been an opportunity to check this out. The few Miritítapuyo of the Middle Tikié appear to use either Tukano or Desano as their household or father-language.

(D) Tupí-Guaranían language family: Nheengatú.

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(2) Tribes and languages bordering the multilingual area (many members of these tribes may be bilingual or even polylingual, but multilingualism is not widespread in a given tribe; many Indians of the multilingual area may include one or more of these languages in their repertoires):

(A) Arawakan language family: Kuripaka and Baniva. These are reported by some informants to be almost mutually intelligible.

(B) Undetermined language families: Karihona, Guayavero. I also have names, in Tukano only, of some dozen other languages spoken around the periphery of the area and along the Rio Negro.

(3) Languages spoken in the multilingual area, but by speakers who do not possess multilingualism as a culture trait:

(A) Undetermined language family: Makú (Makú may be more than one language). A few Makú know Tukano or Desano or some other language, including Spanish or Portuguese, but most Makú do not; a few Tukanos, Desanos, Piratapuyos, and Tuyukas know some Makú.

(B) Indo-European language family: Spanish, Portuguese, Italian. Two Colombian dialects of Spanish are found: Antioqueño, spoken by most missionaries, and Llanero, spoken by most rubber-gatherers. "Vaupense" Spanish is basically Llanero Colombian Spanish with the addition of many Nheengatú and some Portuguese terms for things pertaining to the tropical rainforest.[1]

(C) A special case is provided by languages neither spoken in the area nor represented there by groups of speakers. Small lists of words in Dutch can be obtained from older Indians on the Papuri, even though the former Dutch Montfortiano Fathers did not attempt to use Dutch with the Indians. Some Indians, moreover, have learned a considerable amount of Latin.

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*Spellings.* Most names for languages and tribes in the literature are Nheengatú names, carried over into Spanish, Portuguese, Ger-

[P. 682-B]

104 man, English, etc. There is great variation in the spellings. The spellings in this paper tend to follow those of Koch-Grünberg, who still remains the general authority for the area as a whole. His spellings are close to those used for Nheengatú. They generally conform with those used for world-wide ethnographic spellings; in addition, they seem to have been the spellings more commonly used in English, German, Portuguese, and Spanish ethnographies on South America.

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191 pressionistic. Tribes with 1,000–2,000 members: Tukano, Kubeo, Baré; Spanish-only speakers. Tribes with 500–1,000 members: Piratapuyo, Wanano, Desano. Tribes with 150–500 members: Tuyuka, Yuruti, Paneroa, Eduria, Karapana, Tatuyo, Barasana, Siriano, Tariano, Tabaino, Makuna, Tekuana, Datuana; Portuguese-only speakers. Of the latter tribes, Yuruti, Yekuana, and Datuana may number
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There are probably a few hundred Makú in occasional contract with the multilingual Indians in this area.

Non-Indians probably number about 1,500 and are concentrated in the few air-strip towns.

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[P. 683-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [2] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921-22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177 563 61- 582 [3] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Cabocios are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1963). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of cabocios. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "*cabaco*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be cabocios.

000 [4] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

124 191 [5] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data *about* each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 101 197 [6] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

[P. 683-B]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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114 [1] See Rivera's powerful, authentic novel *La Vorágine* (1948) for Vaupense Spanish terms. The setting for much of this novel is the Colombian Vaupés region and the adjacent Casnare region (not dealt with, except indirectly, in this report). Rivera projected his morally and passionately torn protagonist, Arturo Cova, in ever-increasingly involved relief against the convoluted setting of the exploits of the notorious rubber barons. His Indians show up only as shadowy figures in the background—no doubt the way the rubber-gatherers, caught up in their own problems, saw them as they paused in dimly lit longhouses for their night's rest.

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4: Silva--192 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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# Chapter V

## Observations on the Psychology of the Indian (1)

• 12

1. This chapter on the native Psychology arose, like the rest of them, from personal observations in different places and in diverse circumstances, as well as from inquiries presented to the Salesian Missionaries and those of Montfort and to other civilized persons knowledgeable about these tribes. A chapter about the psychological features more characteristic of the Uaupesina tribes had already been elaborated in the first outline of this work, organized in 1948. The opportunity for subsequent travels and for a more prolonged stay on the Uaupés suggested, as was natural, corrections, retouches, and additions to the work. It is in the present chapter, however, that the retouches and the corrections were more frequent, and perhaps where the difference between the original resumé and the present redaction of these studies will be more marked. The more prolonged and constant contact with the native obliged us to modify our opinion at one point or another. To some who might know the tribes that we study here only through information or through a quick visit, the traits that we outline here will perhaps seem dark. We are convinced, however, that not only are they quite objective, but those who have the opportunity to verify our observations in loco will grant that we are right. We can affirm that, before being put on these pages, our observations were read to persons who are very discerning and who lived intimately with these natives for decades, and all these persons assured us that our observations were accurate and corresponded to what they saw in the Indians of the different tribes of this region.

/138 cont./

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/footnote 3 cont./ the Tukano language; first one would talk, then another, then two or more simultaneously, and afterwards all remained silent. We would first press this one, then that one, who seemed to understand our wishes. Only after we had opened the typed originals of the present work and the most unrestrained of them had read the excerpt that I was referring to did he add: "that is the way it is." In order to solve this simple question, 40 minutes went by!

• 12 * [192] [196]

Properly speaking there is no term in the Tukano idiom equivalent to the word /139/ ultimate; they would say, more concretely: the one of the end, the one of the extremity (yaxpa̱-ti̱-kã̄gõ masc., yaxpa̱-ti̱-kã̄gõ, fem., yaxpa̱-ti̱-kã̄ra, pl., yaxpa̱-ti̱-kã̄se, neuter).

For this reason one must not be content, insofar as possible, to obtain the translation of a word from only one individual or on only one occasion. Many times the word is heard pronounced differently. Is it a matter of faulty pronunciation by the individual? By which one of them? By all? Or is the divergence due to regional pronunciations? And then which of them will be the best? Or, finally, is it a matter of terms corresponding to a similar Portuguese word? Which of them would be the best? Would they be perfect synonyms? We point out these difficulties in order for one to understand the efforts of anyone who decides to study directly with the Indian the language of the latter. It is ten times more difficult than to study a foreign idiom with the help of teachers, grammars, and vocabularies.

[193]

The Indian is a man of reality, hence his difficulty with generalizations and abstractions. Instead of saying simply and abstractly head, he will prefer to say "my head, your head," etc. He does not say: to work, to eat (the Tukano language does not even have the infinitive form). He will say: "I work, you eat," etc.

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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# Aspects of Tucano Culture
## Mythology -- Part I

By Marcos Pulop

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114 [101] /337/

## Preliminary Note

The material presented here was collected between June 11 and September 9, 1954, when field work was done in the village /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Performing the functions of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra respectively, blood brothers and residents of the village of Guadalajara.

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The mythology that appears in this article is a very small portion of the total Tukano /Tucano/ mythology. The author has considered it advisable not to analyze individually the myths published here, but to wait until all the Tukano mythology has been collected and published.

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*539 /339/ I. Boraró and Boraró Numió

A man and a woman stayed in Diaojpekowí, and they were brother and sister. These two beings do not have children, but will never die. When they want to leave Diaojpekowí, they turn themselves into spirits. The man is named Boraró, and the woman is named Boraró Numió. Boraró and Boraró Numió kill people by opening a hole in their heads and sucking out the entire body through this hole. They leave only the skin of the victim, which they throw on a tree /Sp. palo/. To kill her victim, Boraró Numió lies down face up and begins to urinate at a distance of about 150 meters from her victim. Boraró, to kill his victim, urinates standing at a distance of about 150 meters from his victim. And when Boraró and Boraró Numió urinate, everyone that is within those 150 meters falls dead instantly.

*539 761

/97/

# Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

121 [122] /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 [101] 124 128 772 772 769 The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as interpreter. Owing to the short time of the investigation and to having consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

105 [171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

/7 cont./

121 dazzling riches of enchanted castles, but forbidden for us, and of which we can contemplate, from the outside, only blackened walls, in the almost inexpressive fragments of their legends.

These notes are only a path in the wilderness. Other students will come to rebuild the road; they will straighten out detours, join with viaducts points previously without connection, solidify with the firmness of their observations those passages that now face the threat of mires, and the final result will be the wide and straight avenue, open and safe, planted with trees and made beautiful by the truth, along which multitudes will pass in the future.

They aspire to much more, however. They wish to be a cry of gratitude and patriotism. Gratitude to those dedicated /8/ Missionaries (and all of them, without distinction as to nationality or institutions, from Anchieta up to the most modest Lay Brother or Nun) who, inspired by the purest love of God, renounce the affection of the family, the comfort of civilization, and many times the charm of their homelands as well, making the life of the Indian theirs, in order to make him a son of Brazil and of Our Lord Jesus Christ, expecting only God's reward, but not infrequently receiving beforehand the ingratitude of the forest dwellers and the slander of malevolent and irresponsible people.

It is a cry of unrestrained patriotism, calling the attention of Brazil, -- the Government, the wealthy, the men of letters, -- to those races who take shelter under the majestic crown of the Amazon forest. It urges the interest of all Brazilians to awaken in order to provide for an investigation of aids that will facilitate the rapid integration of those many thousands of countrymen into Brazilian and Christian civilization. Therefore, to be concerned about the incorporation of the natives into Brazilian civilization is not only a humanitarian and religious work, but also of the most legitimate patriotism. Thus it urges that the support of the Government be intensified for those who have dedicated their lives and their energies to the well-being of the forest dweller of the Uaupés.

Padre Alcionilio Brüzzi Alves da Silva, S. D. B.

/6 cont./

115 It should not seem exaggerated to speak of an existence
123 of intimate contact with the natives. Because not only our /7/ personal observations are recorded here. We tried to know and to listen to all the Salesian Missionaries who work along the rivers Negro, Uaupés, Tiquié, Papuri, Içana, and Caburi; as well as the Montfort Missionaries who attended to the natives of the region bordering Colombia, since some of the tribes in the study have members living in the zone that today is part of Colombian territory. And, through the mercy of God, we had the happy opportunity to talk with Missionaries who have been living with the children of the forests and for them since 1916.

Therefore, this work, in the strict sense, is a contribution by the Salesian Missionaries to ethnographic studies that, if they are of interest in a general way to the students of the whole world, also speak to us, Brazilians, of political and patriotic interests.

• 121 These pages are a documentary on how the life of the forest people of the Uaupés or Caiarí runs its course in the middle of the twentieth century. By dint of an unyieldingly traditionalist mentality which characterizes these human groups, we may also think that they are, on general lines, a description of how they have lived for centuries, or perhaps even of how these tribes have lived since they acclimated themselves in their present habitat. Scarce data from the first explorers and information from the old natives justify this opinion.

Even though we enjoyed privileged conditions which other ethnologists have not had, or at least will not be able to have, the intractable depths of the native psyche takes from us the illusion of having unveiled their soul. We are also convinced that we do not yet know customs and practices of interest from the ethnological point of view, and the true meaning of many others escapes us. The primitive fantasy, all the more active the freer it is from the curb of reason and the inhibiting control of positive experience in that mysterious and suggestive environment of the millenary forest, will have built a legendary world with fascinating beauties for their souls, as if they were the

/14 cont./

361 the intelligence of the forest dweller the advantage of the safety of his property, which thus more easily escapes being seen and covetousness. The natural consequence is that the density of the population in each group is independent of the fertility of the adjacent lands.

/15/ Chapter II

## The Tribes of the Uaupés in the Historical Period

### 1 -- Data on the History of the Rio Negro and the Uaupés River

174 The important problem of the origin of the forest dwellers of Brazil, as of America, still awaits solution. Since anthropo-ethnological science does not recognize them as autochthons, where did they come from? From only one or from various origins? In what era? By which path? With what means? In one or several successive migrations? Under what direction? How did they spread?

[121] The present work does not aim at answering these or other connected questions. Nevertheless a rapid survey of this cultural group of the Uaupés within the historical period for it, that is, since the discovery of Brazil, is advisable.

175 The voyage of discovery of the "Rio das Amazonas," as it became known at the time, was made by Francisco Orellana in 1541, the friar of the Order of Saint Dominic, Gaspar de Carvajal, serving as chronicler. From his account there appears with respect to the Rio Negro only that on Saturday, the eve of the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 3, 1542, "We saw the mouth of another large river, on the left bank, which entered the one that we were navigating and of water black as ink and therefore we gave it the name of Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos do rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," 50).

/68 cont./

165 The natives who are over 70 years of age are rare; at 50 years of age the Indian is already old (28),

28. The appearance makes one commonly use the word old in order to specify the individual better. Thus one frequently hears: "old Felipe of such-and-such a place," "old Cândido," etc.

and he usually dies before 60.

/69/

## Chapter IV

## Distinction and Classification

### 1. Distinction

• 121 *101 These studies cover, we repeat, the tribes of Brazil and Colombia who populate the basin of the Uaupés. Under such denomination we mean the Uaupés River, from where it enters Brazil, soon after the afflux of the river Querarí, up to its mouth in the Rio Negro, with its two tributaries, the Papurí and the Tiquié, and numerous small tributaries. Our field research covers not only all the human groupings located on the banks of the three rivers above, but also many other groups from the headwaters of those rivers and in the interior of the forest. For this reason it seems to us that we can consider in a general way the large area of the "basin of the Uaupés." All the more since some of the groups that are found farther in the interior on the igarapés belong to the riverine tribes, or at least they have had relations with them for a long time, and in this way there has been cultural assimilation.

/78 cont./

532 On the other hand, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the
184 masks are manufactured and worn by the Kubêwana and Wanana, and, [illegible]r, also by the Taryana. We likewise find masks among the Íde-masã of the stream Comé-ia (tributary of the left bank of the river Pirá-paraná).

## 2. Classification

121 The attempt to classify the tribes of Brazil in general, as well as those of the Amazon or of the Rio Negro in particular, is still open for discussion.

A classification, let us say, culturological, of the tribes of the Uaupés is impossible today. The relations among the various tribes, already dating back centuries, brought about a more or less perfect interculturation among them. We can, then, affirm that the nations of the Uaupés constitute at present a single cultural group, the origin of whose cultural elements is difficult to retrace at the present time. The peculiarities of each tribe are few and insignificant, as we have just seen, and do not, by themselves, permit a classification.

A classification fundamentally anthropological, be it serological, be it somatic, is likewise impossible. The blood
143 examination done a few years ago by Prof. Emílio Biocca of the University of Rome on 237 individuals of the Tukano, Taryana, and Maku tribes showed that all of them belonged to type O, and the relation between the genes m and n was constant. The regimen of absolute tribal exogamy, which has been practiced for centuries among them, necessarily brings about bio-anthropological assimilation.

Though it seems to us that at present the glottologic
197 classification would be still easier and more persuasive, nevertheless in this plurisecular melting-pot some idioms were profoundly altered and some human groups have already adopted

/79 cont./

121 171 433 241 Among the tribes of the region being studied, we noted the presence of small human groups of sylvicolists par excellence, that is hunters, more or less nomadic; they are the Maku. Whereas the other tribes are fluminicolists, that is, established on the banks of the important watercourses and given to fishing and agriculture. Although some Maku groups have assimilated many of the customs of the other tribes, we do not include them in these studies. We have already pointed out (I, Note 1) that the Maku are probably the most ancient inhabitants of the region.

The tribes that we studied are classified, then, in two large linguistic families:

101 121 1st. Tukano Family, covering the tribes: 1. Daxseá or Tukano; 2. Bará or Barasana; 3. Bá:re-masã or Temyú-tapuya (food people); 4. Doxká-foará or Tuyuka (clay people); 5. Edúrya or Erúlya; 6. Emõá-masã or Waríwa-tapuya (guariba people); 7. Hanẽra or Panẽnoá; 8. Íde-masã, Aõ-nĩra, Makuná or Yí-tapuya /80/ (water people); 9. Ĩhwana or Yona; 10. Koneá or Arapásu (woodpecker people); 11. Kótirya or Wanana; 12. Mõxtã or Karapanã-tapuya (daddy-longlegs people); 13. Neenõá or Miriti-tapuya (buriti people); 14. Oá-mahã or Mikura-tapuya (gambá people); 15. Pamĩwa or Kubewana; 16. Páboa-maxsã or Tatu-tapuya (tatu people); 17. Roéra-masã or Taraíra-tapuya (taraíra people); 18. Surirá or Suryana; 19. Tsẽna; 20. Yebá-masã; 21. Wahyara, Waíana or Yuriti-tapuya (dove people); 22. Waí-khãna or Pirá-tapuya (fish people); 23. Winá or Desana.

2nd. Arwake Family, including the tribes: 1. Kumãdene or Ipeka-tapuya (water-duck people); 2. Talyáseri or Taryana. We speak only of these two, because the other tribes of this numerous family do not inhabit the Uaupés basin, and, indeed, that of the rivers Içana, Xié, and Negro.

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# Chapter VI

## Material Culture

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### 1. Dwelling, wi'ĩ.

Under the name of material culture (Sachkultur of the German authors), we mean the conjunction of objects that the forest dweller produces for the necessities of life. They are, properly speaking, the material objects in which they manifest their cultural level.

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The tribes that we have studied are not nomads. They have been established in the actual phase in which we found them for several generations or centuries (as far as the record completed by some pieces of information from the first travelers extends) in the same place, from where they move only because of epidemics or fights. The dissident group then goes to build a new house or to start another povoado, ordinarily not very far from the first one, perhaps barely a few kilometers away. Even today malocas that are quite old, half a century perhaps, are admired. Particular circumstances (fire, storm, etc.) might likewise force the construction of a new maloca. The Indian always prefers to make a new house instead of repairing the old one, if it is greatly damaged. Although for the new construction he will often make use of the beams and, more commonly, the straw of the covering, especially if it is still good and he would have to go very far to find new straw. Thus, in dealing with sedentary tribes, it is natural that we find good dwellings. Since it is a zone with frequent and torrential rains, the simple construction of clay is not suitable.

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The system of covering, peõkaro, is always that of two slopes and with great inclination, so that the drip of the roof will remain only a meter or a little more above the ground.

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The palm for the covering will vary according to the resources of the region; they generally use the caraná (maurítia flexuósa, Wall.), pũ'sẽ, because, besides protecting well from the rains, it lasts for many years. They usually complete the covering starting from the drip.

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121 We shall indicate here the primitive manifestations of their culture (Persönlichkeitkultur), meaning by this expression what these forest dwellers exhibit from their own culture and not received from the white, and which is easily discovered from living with them.

212 /254/ 1. Writing.

A question that immediately arises is whether these tribes know how to write. One can answer that at present they do not [797] know or use any kind of writing (2).

2. With the exception, naturally, of those who have passed through the Mission schools. One notices this peculiarity: they learn how to write the Portuguese language with some facility, but they write Tukano with difficulty. Actually the letters of the Latin alphabet, which we use and such as we pronounce in Portuguese, do not reproduce all the sounds of the Tukano language.

172 It is a question open to discussion as to whether those signs
532 that are found on many stones of the Rio Negro and tributaries, that is, the petroglyphs or itacoatiaras (ãxtã ohoritirí-pa in Tukano), are a writing of spoken language, or at least ciphered language (of which idiom? of which tribe? in which era?); or are only designs, perhaps stylized (sportive signs /Port. sinais lúdicos/) (3).

3. About the itacoatiaras, their antiquity and their interpretation, cf. the notable work by Bernardo da Silva Ramos, Inscrições e tradições da América pré-histórica /Inscriptions and traditions of Prehistoric America/. Koch Grünberg, going up the river Curicuriari (tributary of the right bank of the Rio Negro), on February 14, 1904, found on a stone designs with the figures

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177 between the Papurí and the Tiquié. Some old people who took
792 some of the remedies of the "Santo" /saint/ are still living (in 1949). These pilgrimages and cures ended with the death of Lino.

c) Concept of Religion.

• 121 Religion, in a more rigorous sense, is the theoretical and practical acknowledgement of a Supreme Being, whom we call God, as Sovereign Lord of the whole universe, which is a creation of his.

We take it here in a less rigorous and broader meaning, as belief in beings superior to human beings and different from them, with whom it is possible and expedient to be in communication, and the belief in a future extraterrestrial life different from the one that is led on earth (5).

5. M. Morris Jastrow (The Study of Religion -- New York, 1921 /1901/) reduces to three the constituent elements of Religion: 1st. recognition of one or several powers that do not depend on us; 2nd. feeling of man's dependence in relation to this power or powers; 3rd. possibility of dealing and communicating with these powers. Such a concept is inexact and incomplete. Inexact, since it leads one to confuse Religion with Magic. If this power or potency is something impersonal, like the cosmic force, a relationship and intercourse with it are not possible, and although the human being recognizes it as superior to himself, he does not worship it, he fears it and tries to conquer it and dominate it with particular practices that are called magical. We have, then, Magic.

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121 /Footnote 5 cont./ If he conceives it as personal potency, or better "spiritual Being," whom he respects and propitiates by the cult, we then have a religious cult and a Religion. Now it seems to us that we have found indications, even though vague, of a cult and a Religion in the tribes of the Uaupés.

346 Taken in the first meaning, it is affirmed that the Indians of the Uaupés do not have religion, since neither temples in which to worship God (6)

175 346 778 6. This absence has been noted since the time of the discoveries. It is true that Frei Gaspar de Carvajal ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 51), describing the voyage of discovery of Francisco Orrelana /sic/ in 1540, speaks to us of the cult of the sun, with temple and altar: "On this day (Monday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 5, 1540) we moored at an aldeia of medium size, where the people were waiting for us. There was a very large plaza there, and in the middle of the plaza a large plank in a square of ten feet, painted and sculptured in relief, representing a walled city, with its enclosure and a door. On this door there were two very high towers with their windows, the towers with the doors facing each other, each door with two columns. This entire work was supported on top of two very ferocious lions, which were looking back, as though wary of each other, and supported it on the forelegs and on the claws. In the middle of this plaza [782] there was a hole where they put down, as offerings to the sun, the chicha, which is the

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 477]

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/footnote 7 cont./ Rio Negro. The use of these terms by the Indians of the Uaupés themselves, when they describe their traditions to us, is of value as proof of the foreign influence in their myths and rites.

(in Tukano Wɨx-tĩ), who is celebrated or understood to be placated with the Dabacurís (in Tukano Poosé), in order for him not to harm them, malicious spirit that he is. As for God (in Tukano Wá:kõ or O'ɨ-kõ) he is a great absent one, who does not concern himself about human beings and is without any influence on their life. There is, then, no need to be interested in Wá:kõ or to think of him in order to worship him.

The study of these tribes convinces us that they are in a phase of great regression or involution, with traces of totemism, its little religious feeling and great preponderance of magic being shown to us by them.

• 121 Religion in a subjective sense is, according to W. Schmidt, Manuale di Stória comparata delle Religioni /Handbook of the Comparative History of Religions/, p. 2), "the idea and feeling of dependence on a supraterrestrial personal Power, with whom it is /323/ intended to enter into relations"; and, objectively, it is "the conjunction of exterior acts in which religion is expressed and by which it is manifested." We shall consider it especially in this sense.

Let us examine separately for better apprehension of the indications of this weak religious feeling and its exact comprehension: 1st. its doctrinal points; 2nd. its cult practices; 3rd. its rules of moral, religious, and social behavior.

d) Doctrinal points.

776 1) Concept of a Supreme Being.

a) The totality of the Indians of these tribes living in the povoados on the bank of the Brazilian rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí distinguish at the present time, as they did a century ago,

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764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wãx-tĩ?) ).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubu-
[535] cuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxirí (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

## CANNIBALISM

• 121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

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121 It is probable that such a practice, in origin, is due to the
266 lack of food. Nevertheless, later, because of the whole orientation of the mentality of primitive man, it came to take on a magical character. One must, then, distinguish economic cannibalism and ritual cannibalism.

/375/ 1. Economic cannibalism.

In economic cannibalism the flesh of enemies, fresh or preserved by various processes that they know, is usually consumed; this is exoanthropophagy. Hence expeditions of war to provide human flesh.

266 This is what Wallace tells us (o. c. 638) about the Kubewana:
--"On the Uaupés only the Cubeus /Cubeo/ are truly cannibals.
721 They eat those of the other tribes whom they kill in battle. In order to obtain human flesh still fresh, they even make war for this single purpose. When the meat exceeds what they can eat at one time, they dry it and smoke it on the fire, and thus it can be stored for a long time. They burn the heads of the dead ones and drink their ashes with caxirí in the same way that has already been described above."

As for the Kubewana or other tribes of the Uaupés, this information obtained by Wallace seems false to us. Perhaps in turn
[727 567] based on Wallace is Bento de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, Director of the "Archivo do Amazonas" (1907, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 80), in his article entitled "As explorações e os exploradores do Uaupés /The explorations and the explorers of the Uaupés/," where he also affirms: -- "When they take a prisoner in war, if it is a man, they massacre, if it is a woman or a young man, they sell, when they find a buyer, otherwise they kill and eat, dividing the pieces among everyone in the tribe."

266 The encounters and reprisals that took place about twenty
648 years ago between the Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/ and the natives of the banks of the Cananari, tributary of the
726 Pirá-paraná, are still remembered (information by the Colombian Napoleão Estrada, in November of 1953, and by others). Still

765 /377 cont./
53 Koch concludes that at this cannibalistic feast there were dances of masks on which he could verify the following details: the participants wore a band of yellow bark as a stole on the neck, and on the left arm a banner of bark, in the right hand a rhythm tube (VII -- 3, c (3 c) ) of imbauba, with paintings representing fish. They advance and back up and, marking time with the right foot, carry on a monotonous song with innumerable repetitions.

171 We could seek the origin of this peculiar custom, which is
765 also found among other tropical tribes of South America, teaches Koch, in the belief that the bones that remain after death are the /378/ last place in which the spirits reside. And with the ingestion of the ashes the individuals incorporate in themselves the substance and the spirit of the ancestors.

5. Morality.

121 When we deal with this subject, the necessity of some warn-
831 ings beforehand is imposed:

1st. -- We limit the breadth of the term morality to the common and vulgar meaning, as if it were a synonym of moderation of carnal concupiscence, or further as a synonym of customs in force in sexual relations.

2nd. -- We present, naturally, those points in discrepancy with the norms of Christian morals and which, for this very reason, impress one more.

797 3rd. -- Many of the customs that we were able to collect
831 are not in force, obviously, in those groups or among those individuals who are under the influence of the Catholic Missions. But the Missionaries themselves are the first to confess that the modifications of the ancestral customs that they achieve in the field of morality are the fruit of many exhortations, vigilance, and the frequency of the sacraments and religious practices.

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197. Concerning the components of these linguistic families and their location, as well as their comparative vocabularies, see our work Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia.

/471/ d) Kurá or Gens.

614 We have indicated in a previous chapter (IV - 2-a(2) ) the divisions of the tribes, divisions that are called Kurá in the Tukano language. According to native ideas, these divisions date back to the time of the origin of the tribe, by the will of Wãx-tĩ himself. We shall give in another place (cf. the work by the author, [115] "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") the legend of the origins according to the account of the old Komũ Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira.

614 So many questions awaiting solution arise: When did these subdivisions take place? For what reason? What was their basis • 121 or foundation? We have verified for today a phenomenon of dispersion of a nation in small groups; would there have been a fusion in the past, or can we foresee a future one? The two first questions are of historic nature, and we lack the data to answer them. We might be able to add elucidative elements to the last two.

1) From the time that a human group settles in a locale that will provide it with the necessary or even abundant means of subsistence, it will naturally become prolific. It is nomadism, at the same time cause and effect of a deficient diet, that lowers the birth rate: 1st, by the organic depauperation of the parents; 2nd, by forcing a prolonged nursing of the children (up to four or more years); 3rd, favoring certain criminal practices (abortion, infanticide, cannibalism of the children).

The human groups, growing in number, cannot remain in the same maloca. Besides the difficulties of nourishment, which we have already mentioned, the real technical difficulty of enlarging the existing maloca or the building of new and larger ones demands

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614 the division of the original group (107).

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107. It is possible that other reasons might have intervened, such as the misunderstandings that are still verified today.

While the first-born son, with his family, would remain beside the old couple, the other sons of the founder would become, in turn, founders of new malocas, which would grow with the natural fecundity of the native woman. This hypothesis, more in agreement with the nature of things, is confirmed, it seems, by the customs.

614 601 1st. -- A first one is the denomination of "brother" for all the individuals of the same nation (that is, who are recognized as from such-and-such a tribe and speak the same language), a denomination corresponding, besides, to their feelings (they can not marry each other, mutual aid and understanding, lamentation for a death, and vengeance for the brother who has been a victim of another tribe).

All of them are brothers, but there is a distinction between Mamí (bigger brother) and Axkabí (smaller brother). Among the brothers-german, that is, /472/ children of the same father, the terms mamí and axkabí correspond to the ages. Outside of this case, they no longer correspond. For example, one hears an adult characterize a child as mami. It is, therefore, a matter of a hierarchic classification.

614 554 An I'ra-pé Tukano said that he regarded the Waú-ro and Oyê as Mamí; in relation to the Waú-ro we heard the expression "Tukano of the head," Dexseá ná dõxpoá," as equivalent to the principal branch, as was soon explained to us by Patrícia Vasconcelos. We have here, then, indications of an aristocracy (108).

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[175] 108. The existence of this aristocracy was already known in 1755 by Pe. Noronha. Xavier de Sampaio

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888 he will face Wãx-tĩ, the great Idea, the great Spirit, in which he has always believed, whom he has respected and feared and tried to propitiate, as his ancestors taught him.

764 When they become aware of the quiet and solitary catastrophe, the maloca will be agitated by the clamorous wailing of the nation for the member who has just passed away.

121 This, however, does not complete the cycle of native life.
797 All of those tribes of the Caiarí are nowadays in direct or indirect relation with the "Civilização de Cristo" /Civilization of Christ/. The parents, under the impulse of paternal love, dream of making their child a civilized person, child of Brazil and of the Church. This sacred fire is kindled deep inside each youth, and for this reason he enrolls in the Catholic schools. They spend long and happy years there, without dissociating themselves, however, from their nation. And they return to their "brothers" with their minds more enlightened, greater material comfort, a belief in the Creator God of heaven and earth, Lord, Judge and Father, and a hope of a less sad old age, nourished by the hopes of a happy future life without end.

And the elders, to whom such a chance was not presented, will perhaps have assistance in the hospitals that the charity of Jesus Christ has erected in each Missionary center, and the maternal care of a Religious who tries to alleviate the physical pain and to comfort the soul. And, above all, they will have the hope of the assistance of a Missionary who, in the last moments of life, through the infinite efficacy of the Sacraments, will make him a child of God, will enrich his soul with grace and will open for him the doors of eternal blessedness. /Page 486 is blank./

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# *Introduction*

No region of the South American tropical forest can claim greater anthropological interest than any other. The entire area of the two great river basins, the Orinoco and the Amazon, is still an anthropological terra incognita. Of its hundreds of tribes most are known only by name; and where more than the name is known it is not the full life but a scattering of information about assorted customs and a handful of word lists that is most often available. The region is an ethnographic swamp where few features rise clearly and vividly above the surface. Whoever undertakes to survey the data confronts a morass of customs dispersed over the vastness of the Amazon Basin with no easily discernible patterns. A few major studies are landmarks and serve as guides to social systems and to cultural patterns. Yet many of these landmark studies are but the surveys of explorers and museum collectors, indefatigable and observant, but understandably preoccupied with the survey in space more than with the study in depth. More recent studies have greater depth, revealing more fully the structure of social life. But of such studies there are few. So slight is our knowledge of this, one of the great natural areas of primitive man, that both kinds of study, the survey of traits and the intensive study of a society, are eminently justifiable. The survey plots the broad features and their variations; the intensive study provides the patterns of tribal life.

One of the astonishing and saddening oversights of twentieth-century anthropological research has been its still-continuing neglect

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121 of the lowland South American tropical forest and savannah. Before too long we shall recognize this oversight as tragic, because Indian life in the entire area is rapidly disappearing. When it is gone what will anthropology have lost? It will have lost patterns of cultural life, forms of religious life, forms of social structure, and profiles of personality types, not to mention knowledge of countless customs that have no precise counterpart elsewhere in the primitive world. From what we now know, the Amazon Basin, taken as a whole, contains an extraordinarily wide range of variations on every human cultural institution. It represents countless combinations of a common pool of similar cultural traits spread over its area of over 2,500,000 square miles.

The region of the two river basins, really one great Amazon Basin, provides a common lowland setting within which to study human and cultural variability and potentiality. Here we find a common economic adaptation of root horticulture with its strong emphasis upon bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*) as a source of carbohydrate, supplemented by fish protein. For more refined ecological analysis the region also offers the distinction between tropical forest and open savannah as well as gradations in form of forest and in elevation of land. Throughout the region a common economic base supports a variety of social and cultural systems with the exception of states or protostates. For the student of social structure the great attraction of the region is its variety of "smaller" structures. Relative simplicity of social structure cannot be explained away simply as a tropical forest adaptation. The West African states and the example of lowland Maya indicate that a tropical forest environment can support complex social and cultural systems. Even more pointedly, the archeology of the mouth of the Amazon suggests some "high" culture phase in the region even if only relatively short-lived (Meggers and Evans, 1957). The Amazon Basin may, indeed, have supported far greater populations in favored areas than is indicated by present Indian populations. Orellana, the first to descend the Amazon from the headwaters of the Napo River in Peru, was impressed by the unbroken line of houses along the river. He noted villages of 500 houses and unbroken lines of dwellings up to five leagues (15 miles) long.[1]

[1] Friar Carvajal, who accompanied Orellana, reported: ". . . the territory occupied by the subjects of this great overlord named Machiparo, which in the opinion of all extended for more than eighty leagues . . . there was not from village to village (in most cases) a crossbow shot and the one which was farthest (removed from the next) was not half a league away, and there was one settlement that stretched for five leagues without there intervening any space from house to house" (Medina, 1934, p. 198).

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Thus, if we are to answer the evolutionary question of how complex social systems develop we shall have to turn to a more thorough study of social structures. In this respect, the Cubeo, who inhabit the northwest corner of the Amazon Basin, offer an example of a social structure with "advanced" features of integration and hierarchy that have, however, never quite taken hold. 121 [131]

Tropical forest life is not so much sylvan as it is riverine. The rivers facilitate the ceaseless flow of peoples, of splinters of communities, and of tribes along an intricate water network that binds together a virtual subcontinent. Thus, in the Amazon Basin one finds cultural traits and languages far from their ancestral sources. Not only are tropical forest cultures composite, but occasionally the tribes themselves are made up of ethnically and linguistically distinct segments. Along the river routes there are few barriers. Tribes that have adapted themselves to one corner of the basin have little difficulty in adjusting to a new location a thousand miles or more away, for even where ecologies differ the changes are neither abrupt nor drastic. Forest peoples moving on to the plains along the Orinoco Basin, for example, still have the familiar river and sylvan pattern along the river edges. Climate, vegetation, and fauna are everywhere about the same. The ease of movement and the similarity of environment account for the deposition of a common groundwork upon which all Amazon cultures are built.

One of the features of the common groundwork that defines the tropical forest as a major culture area includes slash-burn horticulture with bitter manioc as the principal but by no means the only crop. Bitter manioc offers a high yield per acre but it exhausts the soil after three to five years and demands, therefore, some kind of community circulation in which people move on, or recirculate within, a fixed zone, until new forest growth has replenished the soil. Bitter manioc, a perennial, grows readily in the Amazon Basin, but it demands a complex and time-consuming procedure for removing its poisonous prussic acid content. Manioc cultivation is almost everywhere women's work. Thus it sets a common pattern of sexual division of labor as well as a basic technology. Along the margins of the Andes, maize supplants or supplements manioc as the food crop and sets its own patterns. Maize, for example, may be regarded as a masculine crop, in which case its cultivation is more readily ritualized. But whether maize or manioc is the staple of plant diet, the tropical forest tribes, with the exception of many Ge-speaking peoples, are given over to chicha, a beer of manioc, maize, or other carbohydrate plants. Almost

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121 everywhere narcotics and excitants, stimulants and vision-producing drugs are valued for their ritual effects.

No common psychological pattern, to be sure, encompasses the area. Yet the Cubeo ritual pattern, with its exaltation of intoxication and of frenzied emotional experience, is far from uncommon in the tropical forest. In religion the Amazon Basin is a region of the shaman and of minor cults rather than of priests and of the worship of important deities. Tropical forest religion is small in scale, a feature that is parallel to and assuredly related to the decentralization of social life.

Compared with the Andes, tropical forest communities by and large are small. In many regions community size is unduly small because of severe population decline since white contact. In the Northwest Amazon, the subarea of the Cubeo, the multifamily single house is the common residence. The sense of family and of kinship are very strong, making of religion and ritual largely domestic affairs, with cults of the dead and initiation rites of outstanding importance. Considering the importance of crops, horticultural ritual is strikingly undeveloped. Here we can point to a fruitful field for the study of the commonly accepted functionalist doctrine that magic and religious ritual tend to surround areas of uncertainty such as farming. [24] In the case of the Cubeo one can state with confidence that the lack [796] of rite in farming is related to the strongly secular position of the women as horticulturists and not to the lack of hazard in farming. [462] Manioc cultivation is no less uncertain than yam cultivation in the Trobriand Islands. Uncertainty, after all, is not necessarily an objective condition. Existence is uncertain for all peoples and each society has the choice of underscoring those areas of life where it believes the fears and uncertainties to lie. Since the tropical forest is one of the major world areas of the *couvade*, the rites by which the father plays a part in parturition, it might seem as though it were the fate of the newborn infant more than the fate of the crops that is at the heart of their concern.

There is the fundamental question of the relation of the tropical forest to the "high" cultures of South and of Central America. On this there is still not much to say. Yet the problem of relationship cannot be ignored. One cannot divide lowland and highland into totally distinct and unrelated worlds. The archeology of the lower Amazon calls attention to cultural developments either related to or parallel to the marginal areas of the Andes. Highland and lowland share many traits such as maize, chicha, coca, textiles, and complex basketry. The jaguar "cult" of the Northwest Amazon may well be

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part of the Central American and Andean jaguar distribution; perhaps the Cubeo ranked clans and ancestral cult are also part of the Andean picture. However, where there is a cultural relationship it is probable that it moves in either direction. The lowlands took from the Andes; it is likely that they gave as well. Perhaps a close study of social conditions in the tropical forest could shed specific light on the spectacular historical developments in the Andes. The way in which the Cubeo malora, the multifamily residence, tends to become a sib ceremonial center for those sib members who have broken away from it illustrates, for example, a possible process of ceremonial center formation.

Questions of culture history are inevitably to the fore when one compares the tropical forest with the Andes. But even as a separate entity the tropical forest area commands culture-historical interest. Cubeo social structure, for example, suggests some of the ways in which small social units such as extended and joint families and lineages grow into and combine to form more complex and more highly integrated social systems. Segments of one tribe attach themselves as entities to other tribes adopting a new language. Federations of segments are formed by various combinations of adoption, adhesion, and fission; these bind themselves together by ceremonial ties and not by ordinary political means of suprachieftainship. Other processes are at work elsewhere in the region. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that detailed comparative studies of tropical forest social structures could provide a rich foundation for the reconstruction of modes of social evolution, within a fixed range of social integration. As native Africa is a natural laboratory for the study of nascent states, the South American tropical forest as a major culture area is a natural laboratory for the study of variations in a small community, and lineage and clan organization.

In the foregoing discussion my intent was to provide the reader with a broad problem setting in which the Cubeo are viewed generally as a tropical forest culture. Since tropical forest anthropology is not too widely known this seemed a useful thing to do. However, the Cubeo are more specifically a part of the Northwest Amazon subculture area. The Northwest Amazon is designated as a subarea of the tropical forest in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. Not a sharply delineated area, it includes several of the major languages of lowland South America: Arawakan, Cariban, Tucanoan, Witotoan, and Macú. Of these language groups, Tucanoan (the language of the Cubeo), Witotoan, and Macú are restricted to the Northwest Amazon and were until recently listed as unclassified languages

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121 197 (Beuchat and Rivet, 1911; Mason, 1950). A new classification now places Macú with Tucanoan in a Macro-Tucanoan subfamily, and both, together with Arawakan, in a larger Andean-Equatorial family. In this new classification Witotoan is, together with Cariban, part of a Macro-Cariban subfamily under a larger Ge-Pano-Cariban family (Greenberg, 1960). Culturally, the Tucanoans fall into two groups, an eastern one to which the Cubeo belong and a western one about which we know relatively little. Information on the Arawakan and Cariban tribes in the area is somewhat fuller, but still lacking in necessary detail on social structure and cultural patterns. The Witotoans are somewhat better known through the work of Whiffen and of Preuss, while the Tucuna, who speak an isolated tongue, have been professionally described by Nimuendajú. The present volume on the 121 Cubeo attempts a more comprehensive account of the social life and social structure of a Northwest Amazon tribe. Thus the characterization of the area based upon criteria other than those of material culture rests mainly upon our knowledge of the Witotoans, the Tucuna, and the writer's field work among the Cubeo. The presence of well-developed patrilineal sibs among the Cubeo, Witotoans, and Tucuna, elaborate initiation rites, secret rites involving sacred trumpets, the use of bark-cloth masks in mourning ceremonies, and the single large house constituting the community are some of the traits that set this area apart. All of these traits, it should be said, occur outside the area as well but not in quite the same combination.

By cultural criteria the Achagua also belong in the Northwest Amazon area. This large group of Arawakan-speaking peoples, occupying an extensive area on the Colombian-Venezuelan border along the Meta, Vichada, Guaviare, and Orinoco rivers, bears some striking resemblances to the Cubeo (Steward and Faron, 1959, p. 356 ff.). These Arawakans share such traits as the exogamic patrilineal sibs, the communal dwellings, and the secret male cult of the Tucanoans. Economy and material culture are also similar, although in the tropical forest such similarities are of no great significance since they seem almost to blanket the region. Even so, on the score of subsistence the Achagua have the distinctive maize and bean complex of the highlands while the Tucanoans and their Arawakan neighbors have maize but not beans. Since patrilineal sibs are not common in the tropical forest, the Northwest area stands out strikingly in this respect. Prior to 1940 patrilineal sibs had been identified among the [614] Witotoans only (Whiffen, 1915). The writer reported them for the Cubeo of the Cuduiarí on the basis of his field work (Goldman, 1948). Nimuendajú, in a report published in 1950, independently

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Nimuendajú, in a report published in 1950, independently identified the social organizations of the Vaupés River as patrilineal sibs, and more recently a young Colombian anthropologist, Marcos Fulop (1954), described a patrilineal sib organization with a phratric grouping among the Tucano Indians. Work on the patrilineal Yagua and the Tucuna was also done after 1940. Before 1940 Kirchoff (1931), using the then best available information, had incorrectly characterized the Northwest Amazon region as based upon bilateral kin-groups that favored patrilocal residence.

If we are to conceive of the Northwest Amazon as a geographic region then the Macú must also be included. Macú is a catchall name for very simple nonhorticultural peoples whose center seems to be the Rio Negro but who have been moving westward into the Vaupés-Caquetá area (Métraux, 1948). There they have either been assimilated in the Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking tribes or have lived among these more powerful tribes as servants or "slaves" or in some other symbiotic relationship. The *Bahúkiwa* sibs of the Cubeo acknowledged Macú ancestry and may well have been, as Koch-Grünberg has claimed, one of the assimilated Macú groups. The Macú are shorter in stature than the other Indians in the region. They lack fixed residences, the hammock, and the canoe. If the Macú languages are truly, as Greenberg (1960) has suggested, Macro-Tucanoan, they are not an altogether alien group among their more culturally advanced neighbors. The Macú, however, have not been studied at all so that we do not know whether they are to be considered a remnant of very early nonhorticulturists or as uprooted people who had given up farming. The tropical forest has a number of examples of the latter case. *Bahúkiwa* traditions, on the other hand, refer to a prehorticultural period.

Since our knowledge of the tribes of the entire Northwest Amazon drainage, including the basin of the Rio Negro, is so slight, too much importance cannot be attached to "Northwest Amazon" as a sub-culture type. However, the entire Northwest Amazon region, which includes an area somewhat greater than the cultural area designated in the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward, 1948), has unusual potential interest, potential in the sense that the ethnological problems it poses can become real only after further field work has clarified the state of cultural patterns and cultural institutions there. This northwest quadrant of the Amazon Basin is open to the entire lower Amazon and has, at the same time, contact with the eastern margins of Andean cultures as well as with the southern margins of the Circum-Caribbean cultures. That is to say, on its northern and western flanks it is subject to influences from more highly developed

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• 121 societies. In reconstructing tropical forest culture history, note must be taken of the extraordinary ease of cultural transfers over the entire area. For this reason alone knowledge of total cultural systems seems essential. As matters stand now, much reconstruction must be based upon the very unreliable foundation of trait comparisons. What has [177] been of special interest in my study of the Cubeo has been the way in which some widespread cultural traits, particularly masked dances, harvest rites, and sacred trumpets, have been taken up and fitted into distinctive cultural patterns with a focus in an ancestral cult.

133 The Northwest Amazon region is bounded on the south by the Amazon, from where it is joined by the Rio Negro eastward to where the Marañón issues from the Andes. The Guaviare River is its northern boundary, the Andean cordillera bounds it in the west, and the Rio Negro in the east. The principal rivers of the region are the Caquetá, Apaporis, Tiquié, Papurý, Isana, Vaupés (known in Brazil as the Caiarý), Cuduiarí, Querarí, Aiarí, Tie, and Guainía. All drain into the Amazon. Ecologically, the Northwest Amazon is sharply differentiated only from the neighboring Andean region to the west and to a lesser degree from the open prairie or llanos on its northern [137] side. Eastward it fades into the flatter and lower-lying forests of the Amazon. Its southern margin is fixed only by an arbitrary river boundary. It is a densely wooded region of tall trees closely packed and interlaced with vines and lianas. At the river edges the forest growth is lower and more brushlike. It is also an elevated region whose streams are punctuated by hazardous cataracts. On the Vaupés, between Yurupari and the Rio Negro, Dr. Hamilton Rice (1910) counted 30 major cataracts and 60 small ones. The cataracts (*cachoeiras*) are for the Indians focal points of residence. Traditional sites, they often mark tribal and sib boundaries. Every cataract has its petroglyphs that depict mythical figures still known to the Indians. In some areas, as I have observed, the residents of the *cachoeiras* freshen the petroglyphs from time to time with deepening incisions. The rapids are more of a navigational hazard to the European traveler than to the Indians, who are expert canoemen and whose light craft [502] is easily portaged. Dr. Rice, who knew a good deal about the Amazon, [501] declared the Cubeo to be the most expert canoemen on the river. I can also testify to their coolness and skill in navigating their small dugout canoes, that have only an inch or two of freeboard, through the twisting boulder-strewn channel of a thundering rapids.

The land slopes abruptly eastward. In its western part the area is often a tumble of ravine-cut hills, exposed rock, and swamp. The Vaupés flows past high, open, uninhabited mesas. Scattered hills of

[text continues on p. 10]

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that such an identification gives one. Had I chosen to move from one sib to another I would have had a better account of the formal principles of social structure but at the expense of a knowledge of the patterns of cultural life. My choice of the *Bahûkiwa* among all the Cubeo sibs was partly, as I have explained, fortuitous, but the site, halfway up the Cuduiari, had its advantages in giving me some command of events along the entire river. 114

The reader, however, will understand that this study has a special perspective. Although I have made some effort to present "Cubeo," the point of view is unavoidably that of the *Bahûkiwa*, a low ranking sib and perhaps even an alien sib of probable Macú ancestry. Strictly speaking, a Cubeo perspective can be only an artificial composite pieced together and generalized from the distinctive perspectives of each of its principal sibs. I would imagine that the Cubeo presented from the point of view of the *Hehénewa*, a high-ranking sib, would bring out somewhat more emphasis upon social status and upon the authority of the headman. One wonders how the Cubeo would appear if studied from the point of view of those of its sibs now along the Querari that were once Arawakan-speaking, or if studied from the point of view of those Cubeo-speaking sibs that now form one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe. 121 614

The theoretical position of a study is best understood from what the writer does with the material. What he claims to be doing with it is far less important. My own theoretical viewpoint will emerge from the text and more explicitly from the final summation or conclusion. At this point it should be sufficient to say that my purpose is to present the Cubeo in terms of fundamental principles of social structure and in terms of basic cultural patterns. I have chosen a level of description and of analysis that lies between the idiosyncratic and the universal. The detailed account of person and of personal reaction is an example of the idiosyncratic, and the analysis of a culture as an apparatus for the satisfaction of "basic human needs" is an example of the universal. The idiosyncratic and the universal approaches are pancultural. One deals with individual responses that can occur in any society, the other deals with cultural functions that are true of all societies. The level of description chosen here is intended to set the Cubeo apart as a particular social and cultural type and yet to allow bases for cross-cultural comparison with other societies on its cultural level. 121

Finally, it is necessary to say that this study is incomplete. It had been my hope to do a restudy. When this hope did not seem realizable it was obviously better to submit an incomplete report on the Cubeo than not to submit one at all.

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614 formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

[613] A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of 614 minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group 592 of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of 614 cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important 594 unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

121 What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization 61 that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component 621 segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

## THE COMMUNITY

621 The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous 182 entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

361 From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the [615] Cuduiari the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as pets.



The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had been living among the *Bahúkwa* a short time when they learned of my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiari. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

## MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a small basket (*pòbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pediba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a

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# *Development of the Individual*

The development of individual character is always relevant to an 121 •
understanding of social organization. In the case of Cubeo social 621
organization, founded, as it is, upon the lifelong continuity of the sibling group of males, the psychological factors are of particular importance. The following discussion will attempt to show the relationship between some of the experiences of a Cubeo from infancy to adulthood and some of the formal principles of Cubeo social organization. By and large, Cubeo social organization must conform to the direct psychological dispositions of its members for the commanding reason that the people have a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. The sib, as we have noted, is readily split; this means, in [614]
psychological terms, that those who find any cause for dissatisfaction [578]
with life within the community are quick to leave. The community, therefore, is constantly being drained of its malcontents. Those who remain are, in a manner of speaking, in harmony with one another. This harmony, it should be said at once, is not that of homogeneity. It is based rather upon individual complementarities, of extraversion-introversion, active-passive, and leader-follower, as in any community. The harmony is between the requirements of adult life and the experiences of childhood.

The Cubeo use the following age-grade terms. The nursing infant 561
from birth until it learns to crawl is called *abohoidjó* (male) or 192
*abohokó* (female); a crawling infant is *tcumí* (male or female, although *tcúmiko* is possible for the female); the walking child who

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## *Conclusion: Principles and Patterns*

Cubeo is a representative of that group of horticultural societies whose economies serve subsistence needs in the main. Such societies, commonly described as "simple," lack formal structures of social status and of power. Their social structures are built around relatively small segments, and they have religious doctrines and patterns of ceremonial organization that correspond to the primitiveness of social and economic relations. 121

Such a description does no more, however, than set a most general frame for the discussion of the type. We now know that the term "simple society" does little justice to the variety and intricacy of social relationships and of patterns of thought that even so materially impoverished a society as the Arunta of Australia possesses. Closer to our area, we are aware of the diversity and intricacy of social relationships among such "marginal" cultures as represented by the Ge-speaking Indians of central Brazil. The more closely a people are studied the more evident does it become that even for very broad descriptive purposes the old rubrics – simple or complex, seminomadic, egalitarian, segmentary, subsistence economy, to mention but a few of the more common – are inadequate to identify the true state of affairs. We need to locate in greater analytic depth the social and cultural principles upon which such broadly characterized societies are founded.

The emphasis in anthropology has, indeed, shifted from the descriptive to the analytical account of a society. In the analytical ac-

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121 count the concern is with the structure of relationships, that is, with the more fundamental principles and patterns of social behavior. In deriving such principles and patterns we are now ready to go beyond those elementary and very general theoretical doctrines according to which culture is an apparatus for satisfying basic human needs. By now this doctrine impresses us as both obvious and tautological. Cultural anthropology seeks a characterization of distinctive cultural types rather than a generalized characterization of Culture or Society. In its recognition of the distinctiveness of cultures, cultural anthropology is close to history in method and aim. In its search for general principles it is close to sociology. The proper route of cultural anthropology, therefore, lies somewhere between the poles of generality and of uniqueness. Thus, in the summation of principles and of patterns that I am about to present, my aim is to find a level of analytic abstraction that is specific enough to characterize and to identify the Cubeo and yet has enough generality to provide a basis for identifying the broader sociocultural type to which the Cubeo may belong. The justification for a level that is between the generalizing and the particularizing is that it offers promise of greater analytic refinement than a level at either pole. The problem is to move as closely as possible to the ultimate uniqueness of a cultural configuration without losing the capability for comparative study. After all, one can profitably move up the scale from the particular to the general, but there is no good way of moving down. The aim of the present analysis, therefore, is to depict what is specifically Cubeo and yet allow bases for two successively broader typological characterizations, namely, tropical forest economies of South America and "simple" horticultural economies in general.

## LINKAGE AND AUTONOMY

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With respect to social structure, the most fundamental Cubeo principle involves a relationship between the apparent opposites of linkage and of autonomy. That is to say, the Cubeo will find a way to assert their independence of each group of which they are a part. The clearest example of this principle is the relationship between phratry and sib. What this relationship brings out is not an antagonism between opposing principles of collectivism and of individualism but rather a complementarity. The phratry does not impede the autonomy of the sib. On the contrary, it fosters this autonomy. It does so by fostering a strong sense of sib identity; for the consciousness of sib identity is actually heightened by the enforced relationship of

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The relationship between the patterns of calm-frenzy and linkage-autonomy appears also in the juridical area. Here, as we observed, justice is carried out not in an atmosphere of calm deliberation but in an atmosphere of high excitement, as befits a situation in which the collectivity of the sib has been broken both by commission of the crime and by the act of expelling the offender. The juridical is not a ritual area. The example, however, demonstrates the continuity of ritual polarity-complementarity with a more general patterning of mood.

## PATTERNING OF MOOD

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The point has been made repeatedly that the Cubeo will undertake no significant action unless the mood is appropriate. The previous example of the juridical process is illustrative. Punishment or vengeance must correspond with appropriate anger. Ritual acts and dances are omitted when the mood is wrong. All collective enterprises of the sib, such as hunting, fishing, foraging, and housebuilding, require a mood of geniality. When such a mood begins to break, a fairly rapid chain reaction ensues. The sense of collectivity weakens and this, in turn, darkens the mood. This cycle of mood periodicity has been discussed in the context of the drinking party. In a different context it applies to other major collective efforts such as housebuilding, which also follows a cyclical rhythm of spurts of work alternating with lulls. The fishing cycle is still another example of Cubeo dependence on mood.

## OVER-ALL PATTERN

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Some examples of linkage of smaller patterns have been presented to suggest at least the possibility of describing Cubeo society in some broader and more inclusive terms. The problem, however, is that the concept of pattern is a hypothetical construction based upon calling of attention to analogies or parallelisms. The method of pattern construction is largely intuitive and the demonstration of its validity is largely a matter of presenting a credible argument. Despite these self-evident scientific shortcomings there can be little doubt that the presentation or analysis of a culture without the concept of pattern must involve a serious distortion of reality. The aim of a theoretical construction that would present a culture in terms of over-all pattern is to provide appropriate bases for a more sophisticated culture typology than anthropology presently possesses. Pattern need

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121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-
[428] complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

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model, that underlies an important aspect of the Cubeo ethos. What is surprising about finding coitus as a model for ritual ethos is not that this obvious pattern has been drawn upon, but that it is not drawn upon more often. Among the Carajá of central Brazil, I am informed, the coital ritual pattern is explicitly recognized, each phase of the dance being named from a phase of sexual intercourse.[2] It is quite possible that I simply failed to discover the same explicit relationship among the Cubeo. The explicitness that I did discover, though, is in their assertion that ritual excitement, whether produced by drugs, alcohol, or the ritualization of sex, is a necessary complement to the ritual magic of the below-the-knee ligature of long life. This identification of emotional intensity with life itself is also an obvious and therefore a simple relationship. In sum, we can say that the main features of Cubeo ethos draw upon very obvious and simple biopsychological models and – this is the significant point – adhere rather closely, almost literally, to them. Since the social pattern also draws upon a very elementary model we must conclude that the sociocultural pattern as a whole is built upon the simplest of social and biopsychological models. Needless to say, even the bare and incomplete account of Cubeo life that has been presented suggests that the elements of over-all pattern described here do not encompass the "totality" of the culture. In all probability, however, no concept of pattern can ever encompass a total social and cultural system. From the point of view of culture theory the question is a different one. The proper question is: Does the theory of pattern provide an adequate approach to an understanding of the culture?

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We can attempt to answer this question by applying the concept of pattern that has been presented to an analysis of two fundamental cultural problems: the problem of social homeostasis and the problem of ecological adaptation. Strictly speaking, equilibrium and adaptation are one problem. It is simply that this problem can be approached from two sides.

## SOCIAL HOMEOSTASIS

The assumption of social homeostasis is that a cultural system consists of relationships and interactions that are so patterned that their net effect is to perpetuate the system, generation after generation. It is understood, of course, that homeostasis, or equilibrium, is a relative condition only, since no society today is a precise duplicate of

[2] Personal communication from Dr. William Lipkind.

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what it was yesterday. Moreover, the concept of homeostasis, like that of pattern, is a theory of society. As a theory it rests upon further theoretical assumptions as to what are the significant relationships, what are the normal patterns, and what are the disharmonious and stressful interactions. In the final analysis, a theory of homeostasis deals primarily with the ways in which a society handles conflicts and stresses. From a broad perspective, one can say that Cubeo society depends rather heavily upon what might be called "mood management" for equilibrium. Its homeostasis rests a good deal less upon networks of reciprocal obligations and upon formal exchanges of goods than, let us say, in Melanesian societies. The clearest illustration of this Cubeo equilibrium principle is in the role of the headman. In Cubeo culture he is not an economic redistributor (the drinking parties cannot be regarded as an economic exchange) but a regulator of community sentiment and of good feeling. However, the nature of Cubeo equilibrium is best considered at each particular level of social integration. 121 571 121 571 622

Cubeo society may be presented diagrammatically as encompassing five orbits of relationship, arranged in order of progressively weaker bonds of unity. The innermost orbit is represented by the male siblings, the nucleus of the sib; the second orbit is the sib itself; the third orbit is the phratry; the fourth, the affinal kin; and the fifth and outermost, the tribe. The brother-sister relationships and the husband-wife relationships may be regarded as within the confines of the first and second orbits. 571 61 602 [593]

Each orbit has its own characteristics of equilibrium. To take them in reverse order: Tribal unity is so tenuous that fragmentation into subtribal units is of little consequence. New combinations are readily formed and whatever disturbance this may cause is very temporary. Tribal continuity rests upon tradition and common language and customs, on the one hand, and upon the phratric organization, of which it is a summation, on the other. With respect to tribe, the question of equilibrium is more pertinently not what holds the tribe together, but rather what there is to disperse it. Tradition and common customs and language are little more than bonds of inertia. Once set, they hold unless some stronger force intervenes. Against what counterforces are the relatively weak bonds of tradition to contend? The answer is that there are no such counterforces arising from within the society, since tribal unity has no tasks to accomplish that could involve stresses and strains. Paradoxically, the very absence of a tribal leadership is a source of unity. By virtue of the linkage- 571 619

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571 614 593 621 and children, circulate from community to community attaching themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual autonomy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low tolerance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

121 571 Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalancing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest suggestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance. On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

121 174 The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural. It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cubeo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honorific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further social and political development. Though the phratric organization is largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through political and economic means. Some of the potential political means are already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolution, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of patterns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of

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these conditions is relevant to an understanding of Cubeo culture. 121
But even taken together they do not account for the principal pat- 174
terns of Cubeo culture, which have a natural history of their own. The question, however, is not whether cultural patterns have a natural history, but only whether the ecological and the technological theories are adequate accounts of the natural history of a culture.

## ADAPTATION

Thus, the problem of cultural adaptation to an environment can- 182
not be dealt with simply and one-sidedly by describing the hypothet- 121
ical shaping of a culture to the environment. Adaptation is a study of interaction. Generally speaking, highly specialized environments demand highly specialized and hence relatively predictable cultural responses. The tropical forest is not an example of a highly specialized economic environment judged empirically by the diversity of cultural patterns it has sustained. Bitter manioc is clearly a cumber- 182
some crop, its high yield and relative ease of cultivation being offset 241
by its very heavy demands on labor, specifically on that of women. 121
It can be argued, therefore, that this crop offers a poor economic base for social and political development. Yet the Northwest Amazon also is familiar with maize, yams, and sweet manioc, not to mention beans and squash and gourd. These crops have traditionally sustained high cultures. Can we explain in ecological terms why the Northwest Amazon tribes chose to specialize in bitter manioc rather than maize and beans, as did, for example, the lowland Maya? It would seem that here is a case of cultural choice in which prefer- 121
ences for quick yield, minimum care in cultivation, strong sexual divi- 181
sion of labor, and perennial harvest rather than the problems of 182
storage and seasonal periodicity may have been compelling factors. 433
Since the Cubeo social system placed no great demands upon an ex- [241]
panding economic productivity the "easy" adaptation to nature was always feasible. The main patterns of Cubeo life do not stress the disciplines of prolonged and closely managed effort. The habitual [461]
rhythms of masculine labor are discontinuous and varied. Leadership is based on the principle of mood regulation rather than on dedication to an ideal or submission to authority. High cultures are based on strongly disciplined and collective ways of life. By contrast, the Cubeo values greater emotional spontaneity and personal autonomy. An economy, needless to say, will in the end transform cultural values as well as the personal character of the members of a culture. Before

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it can do so, however, it must be given a chance, so to speak, by the culture. There is nothing in physical nature that dictates the form of an economy beyond the requirement that it satisfy subsistence needs. In the case of the Cubeo the simplicity of the economy, and the corresponding simplicity of the culture as a whole, would seem to be far more a product of its fundamental patterns and principles of organization than of an external nature. If this conclusion is correct, it would suggest that the simple horticultural societies, as a type, are not mere victims of inhospitable environments but rather that they constitute a range of cultural systems with characteristic modes of equilibrium and adaptation that do not readily foster economic expansion and higher levels of social and political integration. This statement leads to one other conclusion, namely, that a culture is only partly a functional system adapted to the satisfaction of basic needs. With respect to these satisfactions, most societies have surplus capacity, a great deal of room for maneuver and for improvisation. Much of the form of a culture represents a style of life that need not, indeed cannot, be explained simply in terms of function, equilibrium, or adaptation. A style of life then must be studied in its own terms since it too is part of the diversity of nature.

# *Epilogue*

## 1. COLOMBIAN KALEIDOSCOPE

It was July before we left the Motilon. Nearly ten months had passed since we first set out. We had visited four Indian tribes, each for a few weeks, and had had a glimpse at a fifth. Now it seemed time to take stock, not only of what was left to do, but of what had already been done. What in fact had been done? All our experiences seemed fragmentary, superficial. We had a veritable kaleidoscope of memories of Indians – impressions, no more.

Perhaps it would have been better to have lived with one tribe during those ten months and learnt more about them. But then we would have defeated our purpose which was to record the music of several tribes. Had we lingered with one group we should never have completed the whole. This was always our dilemma. But what could we have gained by staying longer? None of us, with the exception of Nestor, was academically qualified to study an Indian tribe, and to our misfortune he could come on only two of our journeys. What were we then? Perhaps we could have called ourselves adventurers or explorers, but these names are anachronisms in the twentieth century. Perhaps we were just travellers, human beings trying to catch a glimpse of another kind of man, the South American Indian, that strange perceptive being who is fast disappearing off the face of the earth.

What surprised us most was the diversity of these Indians. One tends to think all Indians alike, living in primeval forest, wearing barkcloth and covered in paint. But every Indian we met was very much an individual personality. Some were gay, others sad, some shy, others aggressive, tall, short and fat, fine-looking and ugly; taken as a whole one might describe them as introspective, reserved and very independent.

Like the individual, the tribes also were diverse, each one to a greater or lesser extent influenced by its environment – Noanamá, Tukano, Kogi and Motilon, and also Guajiro, though of these last our impressions were as fleeting as our days among them were few.

The four tribes could be more simply classified by grouping the Noanamá and Tukano together. They were living under fairly similar conditions, those of the tropical forest. Their fishing and hunting existence was in many respects alike, as was much of their material culture. Moreover, in the social sense, both tribes showed an absence of any central authority or chieftain;

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# Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

121 [122] /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 [101] 124 128 772 772 769 The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as interpreter. Owing to the short time of the investigation and to having consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

105 [171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

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## *Acknowledgments*

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Colombian educator, Dr. Augustín Nieto Caballero, for sound and friendly advice. To my teachers, Franz Boas and Ruth Fulton Benedict, I owe more than I can express in words. Finally, I can never thank enough the subjects of this study for their friendship, their patience, and their tact.

For encouragement in writing this work I wish to thank Dr. Alfred 128
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with its white residents, they had no reason not to regard it as a 177
friendly place. The *Comisaría* protected their labor rights, supervis- 648
ing terms of contract and entertaining their complaints of unfair treatment. When an Indian completed his term of labor he was "paid off" in the presence of an official in charge of Indian affairs. The Indians regarded the government as fair. The *Comisaría* provided medical aid to those Indians who came to seek it. At the same time it respected native life and interfered with the Indians as little as possible. Although the Cuduiarí is readily accessible from Mitú it was [114]
entered only rarely by administrative personnel. When I lived among the *Bahûkiwa* some 15 hours by canoe from Mitú, I had the sense of total isolation from this administrative center. The normal everyday life on the Cuduiarí was completely Indian. In the time of Wallace there had been bad blood between Indians and Colombians, but by the time Koch-Grünberg arrived relations between the Cubeo and the government had already become peaceable.

In Mitú I met Mandú, headman of the *Bahûkiwa* sib of the middle 122
Cuduiarí. He had come to seek medical treatment for his young son, 123
who had injured his knee in a fall. The headman and I became friends [614]
and he invited me to visit. When I promptly accepted his invitation I was surprised to find that he had already begun to build a house for me and that the Indians had expected me to settle among them. He had discussed the matter with his people, he told me later, and they had agreed that it would be good to have me live among them. The reasons for wanting me never became too clear, but I came to believe that they thought I would offer them some protection from the pressure of the labor recruiters.

I was informally "adopted" as the younger brother of Mandú. For 123
a while people were amused to address me by an appropriate kinship [597]
term. In time this jest lost its freshness and I came to be regarded simply as *pakomá* (kinsman). Nevertheless, I was considered to be a member of Mandú's household even though I had a house of my own alongside the maloca. Mandú sent his older wife, with whom he was no longer living, to serve as my cook. With Mandú's household I had all the privileges of informality. My relations with other households were friendly but more restrained. Since I did not contribute an appropriate share of fish and game to the household, or to the maloca as a whole, I felt obliged to reciprocate food and services with periodic gifts of cloth, tobacco, fishhooks, and ammunition. At one time during a drinking party at which I was not present, a son of Mandú distributed all my trade goods to the guests "in my behalf." However, during the period of many weeks when I no longer had trade goods

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123 my status in the community was as before. I still could count upon food and services.

[122] I participated to some degree in the male life of the community and came to learn the language and the culture as much by slow enculturation as by questioning. I had no principal informants because no one would serve in that capacity. All were willing to talk, to explain matters to me, but only in the accustomed atmosphere of easy and genial chatter. The people I knew best and the household of Mandú, in particular, were paradoxically the poorest systematic informants. They were most impatient and most easily vexed with the informant role. They regarded the open notebook and the persistent line of questioning as counter to our relationship. For prolonged and probing investigations I called upon the head of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib. Even this man was a very patient informant only when he was my guest among the *Bahúkiwa*. On his home grounds we were back on small talk. In Mitú I could talk to Indian women more freely than I could on the Cuduiari, where my relations with them had to be more correct. My house alongside the maloca was an informal social center which children and unattached women felt free to visit without invitation. The children taught me things they thought I ought to know about native customs. This was a privilege they had which adults, with their acute tactfulness about criticizing, intruding, or imposing upon others, could not exercise.

The Indians placed no serious obstacles in the way of my studies. They would not explain or discuss openly a ritual act at the time it was going on because to do so would be to counteract its effects. They did not, however, mind answering questions later and in a more general context. Moreover, they expected me to preserve the proprieties of tact in asking questions about domestic matters. Sex was a difficult subject, as were invidious comparisons. The Cubeo are not eager purveyors of gossip. After trouble had erupted in the open one could ask for and receive a discreet and sober account of some domestic difficulty. At the same time that the Indians imposed upon me their own reserve they were also sensitive to any evident disappointment when my questions went unanswered. Thus, if I persisted I often could get an answer, but I had to follow protocol, since personal relations among adults are rich in decorum and social etiquette. I also had available to me the more informal channels of the play pack of children, which delighted in passing on some household gossip, as well as of-old women, whose verbal bawdiness was in marked contrast to the customary verbal restraint of the men on sexual matters.

[831] [521] [831]

114 I chose to stay in one community and to benefit from the intimacy

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahikiua* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities. 261 574 123 [122]

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil. 261 431 [584] [572] 252

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. 462 261 574

Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting. 261 561 522

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes 264

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



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cool fresh air, the eternal rush of people, the noise of traffic, all spurred us on to prepare for our next journey to Amazonia. For three weeks we were able to enjoy the luxuries of a modern city. Our bare attic was the store-room and we slept on the floor, while Joan the landlady with true North Country generosity fed us large meals of Yorkshire pudding and shepherd's pie. There were newspapers, films, exhibitions, concerts, parties and pretty girls, but our time was always short. When we returned to our sleeping bags we were faced by huge piles of film, cooking pots, tarpaulins and hammocks, all waiting to be rearranged and repacked for the next journey.

Each journey was to demand different organization but the one to the Río Piraparaná was to be the longest and hardest of all. We would be out of touch with all traces of civilization for three months. Even at this stage we were unable to predict our route. Neither the maps nor the information available were sufficient for us to make definite plans. Dr Schultes, the Harvard botanist, had originally advised us to go to the Piraparaná, though he had also warned us not to go too far down because of the extensive and dangerous rapids. A Colombian botanist told us to take the opposite route and go up the Piraparaná from its mouth. Our efforts to find the right solution met with many conflicting answers.

The only direct means of reaching this river in a remote part of Colombia some four hundred miles south-east of Bogotá was to fly. We settled on Mitú as our starting point, having decided to descend the river largely because of the advice of the Catholic Mission there. This settlement, close to Brazil on the Río Vaupés, was the Mission's base and the most accessible point to the Piraparaná. During the planning stages in September Brian had flown in on a cargo plane and discussed our plans with the Monseñor and the padres. Even then the Monseñor warned us that if we arrived any later than the end of November we might run into severe difficulties – there would be no water in the beds of the streams. It was now the beginning of December.

We had to find a plane to take not only ourselves but also an aluminium boat, two outboard motors and all our equipment. The regular fortnightly service was out of the question because the passenger plane could not carry our boat, and to charter an aircraft was beyond our means. So we asked the Colombian Air Force whether they could help. Our chances seemed hopeful since some troops had to be collected from another nearby frontier post. However, only a week before we were due to leave we had a severe setback. An unfortunate article about the expedition appeared in the Press, there were many exaggerations – we were even supposed to have a portable laboratory! – and mainly as a result of this the director of one of the scientific institutes withdrew his support, which meant that Nestor probably would not be able

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*Noanamá headman with pendant silver ear-plugs.*

 [see p. 34-A]

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



to come with us. We were also afraid that the Catalina flying boat would be withdrawn as well. We had nothing more than letters of recommendation from scientific bodies in Britain and, with no official support behind us, the Colombians had every reason to doubt our validity. They could well feel that this was work they could do just as well themselves. For two days the fate of the expedition seemed in the balance. 122

Fate was on our side. The Commander of the Air Force agreed to fly the expedition to Mitú on 15 December. The only restriction was that the two hundred gallons of fuel given to us by an oil company could not travel in the same aircraft. We would have to find another way of flying our fuel to Mitú. As we walked out of the Air Ministry and across the road towards the vast Tequendama Hotel we unexpectedly came upon Horacio, strolling dejectedly along the pavement.

'I've just left the bookshop,' he said. 'I had a quarrel with the boss's daughter, and now once more I'm without a job. I think I'll go back to the Llanos, find a canoe and stay down there until the rains arrive. All I need are books, some rice and beans, my hammock and my mosquito net, and I'll be happy.'

'Heavens,' we said. 'Why don't you come with us?'

Horacio's eyes twinkled and later that evening he came to our attic and said he would join us. Educated in Europe, he and his brother had both been to Bedales and later he had graduated from a Swiss university with a degree in chemical engineering. On returning to Colombia he had found a wandering life more agreeable than research or business. Now in his mid-forties he lived and worked in Bogotá as little as possible. With his wide knowledge and complete fluency in five European languages, he had been a great asset to many expeditions which he usually accompanied as a professional photographer under the pseudonym of Robinson. But he preferred to travel alone. Though always helpful, he was nevertheless a strangely remote person. Our meeting turned out to be one of the most fortunate moves of the whole expedition, for besides his vast experience and fund of jungle knowledge Horacio turned out to be a marvellous friend.

The final three days were ones of hectic preparation. The motors had to be checked, the aluminium boat transported to the military airbase; these had been loaned to us on the understanding that we would carry out a reconnaissance geological survey for an oil company. Food supplies piled higher and higher in Joan's attic, for we had to feed not only ourselves but our Indian guides and helpers as well. Colombian money would be of no use to these people. So, on Horacio's advice, yards and yards of coloured cloth were

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ABOVE LEFT: *Noanamá boy, his face painted with* bija. ABOVE RIGHT: Jagua *patterns a boy's body.* BELOW: *Children listening to our tape recorder.* 000

 [see p. 34-B]

122 bought. Pins, needles, reels of thread, mirrors, brightly-coloured combs and extra fish-hooks to supplement those Donald had already brought from England were all found in the market area. After hours of haggling we would wend our way homewards, laden with tins, paraffin lamps, rope, candles and many other items. Up to the very last moment we were packing endless supplies into plastic bags and rubber bags, inside kitbags and into tins which we had painted bright red to cheer us up in the green forest.

Early on the morning of the 15th a truck arrived; we loaded and left for the airbase, only to find the boat would not fit into the Catalina. They had been trying since six in the morning. There was nothing we could do, we had to take the flight or not go at all. So we left, without Nestor and without our boat. We had luckily sent the fuel ahead to Mitú in a cargo plane.

We slowly climbed above Bogotá and thence across the Eastern Cordillera towards the Llanos. As we landed at Villavicencio the oppressive heat seeped into the aircraft. Situated directly underneath the foothills of the Cordillera, it is the port of entrance to the Llanos and the tropical forests bordering the plains to the south. Here ranchers ride the streets, tether their horses and carouse in the beer saloons till dawn; then they return to their *fincas* deep in the plains. From here the rivers run east, to the Orinoco and then to the Atlantic.

We continued on our way southwards over undulating grasslands, then over unbroken forest. Suddenly we entered a storm and, as we bumped up and down, became lost in swirling rain. An hour later we emerged and a ridge appeared on the horizon. Beyond, the wide brown Vaupés with a straggling line of painted wooden houses broke the unending carpet of green. We landed on the white sandy strip of Mitú; once a rubber boom town, now a lonely outpost settlement and mission station, an oasis in the forest.

648 Earlier we had heard we might find it difficult to make friendly contact with the Indians of the Piraparaná. Very few white men had been able to enter the river, either from its source or its mouth, since the beginning of the century, when the most brutal atrocities had been committed by the Casa Arana[1]. This rubber company, financed by British and Peruvian interests, had extracted rubber from north-west Amazonia to export it down the Amazon through Manaos. The camp chiefs established themselves as potentates and were greatly feared. Their labour was entirely drawn from the Indians whom they treated not as human beings but as slaves. Women were raped, men who displeased their masters brutally murdered, those who failed to carry sufficient loads had their hands slashed off with machetes and were left to die. Many spent their lives in chains. So serious were the atrocities that in 1912 Sir Roger Casement brought the matter before the House of Commons. Many Indians retreated into the Amazon's remoter tributaries.

[1] The atrocities were in the Putumayo region – not the Piraparaná – but their influence was felt throughout north-west Amazonia.

*El Diablo*

Today the *caucheros* still avoid the Piraparaná. Only a few years previously one had entered and tried to take an Indian's wife. He was shot with poisoned arrows and savagely cut to pieces. Two botanists had travelled some distance up the river from its mouth, but no one had descended its entire course. At Mitú only Padre Elorza was able to give us first-hand information. Young and zealous, he had been the first missionary to enter the Piraparaná, one month before we arrived. He had travelled half-way down the river and then turned up a tributary to Brazil. A wooden canoe could withstand the rough journey, he said; an aluminium one would not only be too wide for the creeks of the headwaters but would get ripped on the boulders. A suitable canoe, with a hollowed tree-trunk base and sides built up with planks, was lying half-filled with water in the mud at the side of the Vaupés; it belonged to the Mission but he thought the Monseñor might lend it to us. He also told us that his Spanish-speaking guide, an Indian from the Brazilian tributary he had ascended, was still in Mitú and he advised us to take him. He knew the river and he spoke the Tukano dialects. So we employed José, a small and somewhat shifty-looking man, together with his more genial brother, Uriel. We would pay them in pesos and feed them; they would take us to the Piraparaná and from there return to their home. From Padre Elorza we also learnt that two Persian anthropologists had reached the first house on the river only the year before. They had arrived earlier in the season than ourselves, stayed two weeks with the Indians and then returned to Mitú. The headwater streams still had had water in them. We were not to be so lucky.

That evening as we drank cold sweet lemon juice with the padres, their lives for a moment seemed blissfully peaceful and remote. They showed us their museum of countless ceremonial death masks, once worn by the Indians of the Vaupés. It seemed a curious paradox that we were entering territory with the help of a mission which was doing everything to displace the culture we had come so far to see. We walked back to the wooden house of the Commissioner where our host Don Alonso, wizened and immaculate, sat listening to the radiogram beneath an old tarnished chandelier – Mitú had known better days. Don Alonso insisted we drank beer and *aguadiente* and met everyone in his town; the negro who could repair the canoe and whose wife cooked delicious mealy *tamales*; the doctor and nurses from the hospital; the mechanic to test the outboard motors; many *caucheros* and finally a young Argentinian dentist who aimed to make his fortune capping people's teeth with gold. His price was high, but he would accept crude rubber, pelts and crocodile skins as payment before he moved on to the next outpost. The evening ended in hilarity as we danced to scratched seventy-eights revolving on a gramophone whose coiled trumpet betrayed its age.

Next morning before dawn, our thick heads were stirred by resounding hymns. It was Sunday and the Mission had their loudspeakers at work to call the town to Mass. We too went inside the crowded church. Later that day

122 the Friar Tuck Monseñor formally lent us *El Diablo*, the leaky canoe which we now had to repair. Horacio became more and more perturbed by the enormous quantity of fuel and equipment we had decided to take with us; we would be bogged down in no time, he said. Much was left behind and through fear of the rapids ahead we decided not to risk the Kudelski, the most valuable tape recorder; this after all was only the second of five journeys. We cabled Nestor to follow us with the aluminium boat as soon as he could, but to travel as light as possible; for the rivers would be even lower by the time he arrived. In anticipation we left him drums of fuel and supplies. Still we had too great a load for *El Diablo* alone and Don Alonso kindly lent us his larger canoe, *El Vencedor* (The Conqueror), with his motorman Candilo and an assistant. Time was short, we had to go now and, as Horacio aptly remarked 'muddle our way through to the Piraparaná'.

This was the most difficult of all our journeys. The past few days had been filled with worries and doubts, while our plans had had to be modified beyond recognition. Yet we had been warned to always be flexible when travelling in Amazonia, a place where 'two and two never make four'.

*El Vencedor* sank lower and lower into the water as we loaded, first the fifteen-gallon fuel drums, thirteen in all, then our mountain of equipment and food supplies, planned to last us for the next three months. Now we were ready to leave with the two boats lashed together fore and aft with two wooden poles. Suddenly there came a rumour that an Avianca plane would be arriving, and we decided to await the final chance of news from Nestor; perhaps the aluminium canoe was to be sent through after all. While waiting we said good-bye to the padres whose bearded faces barely concealed their obvious doubts about our future. Then we learnt that the plane had been cancelled.

The motor started and the three of us, together with four Indians, left the landing stage with a wave from Don Alonso and the villagers. They had all been more than kind to us, had in fact enabled us to start the journey when at one stage, with no boat, all had seemed lost. Now, as we travelled up the wide, 'black' Río Vaupés, we had every reason to wonder what lay ahead. Our raft-like craft moved slowly but steadily up either bank, never in mid-stream, for the current was very strong. We took it in turns at the outboard motor but soon realized that Candilo was by far the most capable hand, so we sat and read. Horacio, his broken glasses perched on the end of his aquiline nose, looked the ideal sage, lost in a German book on atomic physics.

The lower reaches of the Vaupés, as it runs into Brazil to join the larger Río Negro, are a series of dangerous rapids. Only recently one of the padres from

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*Noanamá woman cutting sugar cane.*

[see p. 38-A]

*El Diablo*

Mitú had met his death with two of his Indians when their canoe overturned. 122 ●
The upper reaches of the river have a gentler gradient, passing through softer sandstones instead of the hard igneous rocks of the lower course. Nonetheless we soon had to negotiate our first rapids. To the uninitiated eye it seemed impossible to pass through, but Candilo, after one false attempt when the motor stalled, took the half-loaded *Vencedor* skilfully through the jutting boulders. Donald followed with our smaller motor powering the loaded *El Diablo*, her bows nosing into the frothing water and the waves breaking over the fuel drums. This was our first rapid; we had no idea that we would have so many more to negotiate before the end of our journey. Brian examined the rocks, chipping off pieces, looking at them through a lens and packing samples away for our geological collection. Then we lashed the canoes together as fast as possible and continued to creep along the banks, eating our lunch of dry biscuits and *farinha* – a thirst-quenching mixture of manioc flour and water, the Indian's habitual meal when travelling.

The tropical sunset is swift, with no extended twilight, and so by five-thirty each day we had to stop travelling and quickly find a break in the forested bank where we could make camp. Our boats tied and the cooking equipment ashore, we set about cutting a clearing. Horacio was a cook *par excellence*. Years of travel had taught him that the most efficient stove was to be made from a tall biscuit tin; you made your fire at the bottom and placed the pressure cooker on the top. We were eating our diet of rice and corned beef within half an hour of landing and, slinging our hammocks, were soon gazing up at the starry sky, listening to the croak of the bullfrogs.

Soon we left behind the wide Vaupés with its deserted forest banks and entered the black enclosed waters of the Río Ti. With the dry season already well advanced and with less water every day, we were forced to unlash our two canoes and continue with one following the other. The stream narrowed, the black waters shallowed and the white sandbanks crept closer on every bend. Near the mouth of the river we had arranged for two more Indians, the brothers Matias and Bernavez, to come to help us. They 114
knew the route through to the Piraparaná and they warned us that, with our heavy loads, we were going to find the journey extremely difficult – unless it rained. Their warning was fully justified, for with the lower river level the fallen tree trunks formed one long barricade to our movement upstream. In the rainy season with the high water, one could float over them, but now every trunk had to be cut. Fortunately the Indians were experts with our axes, their muscular bodies perched precariously on a water-borne log, the axe falling rhythmically against the hard wood, the water splashing up into their faces. These were civilized Indians who could speak Spanish; they had [177 191]

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*Working a* trapiche, *a press for crushing the juice from sugar cane.* 000

 [see p. 38-B]

114 177 191 originally worked wild rubber for one of the great rubber barons and they had earned their clothing in exchange for their labours. Their torn trousers were only a veneer of the civilized world, for here they seemed to come into their own element: they talked to each other in Tukano; they became alert to the forest they knew so well.

122 We were living in a closed world of limited horizons, on either side the thick forest, ahead the river and above a ribbon of sky. Giant emerald kingfishers with orange heads and long black beaks darted out in front of us. Myriads of white butterflies rose off the sandbanks, settling on our bodies to enjoy the salty sweat. On occasions we saw a delicate wader like a sandpiper bob up and down on the sand near the water's edge. The water had now changed colour, no longer black but a deep wine red, as it flowed over the pale sandy bed. We supposed this colour was due to the high iron content in the rock.

Our first major halt was made at Pedro's house. He had established himself as a tradesman between the Indians on the upper Piraparaná and the civilized rubber gatherers of Mitú. He bought *farinha* from the Tukano in exchange for fish-hooks, salt and cloth. His magnificent thatched house was a foretaste of what we were to see. But the occupants with their dishevelled clothes, the sheets of crude rubber hanging from the beams and the iron cooking pots, seemed a strange paradox.

We unloaded all our equipment, sending Candilo and his assistant back to Mitú with *Vencedor* and the larger outboard motor. With him went one of our valuable cameras whose shutter had jammed during the first day, and a note to Nestor in Bogotá, warning him of the difficulties he would encounter and advising him again to travel as light as possible. Of the now depleted party, José and Uriel were to be our guides throughout the journey; Matias would ensure that we reached the first Indian habitation on the Piraparaná; while Bernavez went on ahead in his dugout canoe carrying two drums of our fuel. We were joined by one more man, old Miguez, who brought his own small Indian canoe. From now on we would have to make double journeys with *El Diablo* until we reached Indians who would carry our loads in their own canoes.

Next morning, while Donald and Horacio repacked much of the kit, Brian and José went ahead with a small load in *El Diablo*. The Ti narrowed and then divided; here our route towards the Piraparaná portage lay up a tiny tributary, the Caño Berada or Fish Bow Creek, as it was known to the Indians. With our arrival in the Berada, a mere stream flowing out of the undergrowth, our whole mode of travel changed. We could no longer use the motor; instead we had to push the boat upstream. We spent the rest of the day waist-deep in water, clambering over submerged timbers and occasional rocks; an Indian out in front cut a way through the fallen trees.

Christmas Day saw us cross two rock ledges where the boat had to be com-

pletely unloaded and then dragged over. That evening was a beautiful one 122 •
and we made camp at an old *mitasava*, the Indian traveller's staging point,
where he erects a small palm-thatch shelter. We must have been on higher [137]
ground, for it was dry and sandy while the forest had changed to small birch-
like trees, with lichen and moss underfoot. Somehow this was an appropriate [136]
place to eat our wild Christmas turkey which Miguez had shot earlier in the day
and drink each other's health from the precious bottle of 'medicinal' whisky.

The next day our watery struggle continued and progress became even slower. Only half the equipment reached our camp site, this time back in low-lying forest. That evening Donald and José went ahead to the next stream junction to return at dark with the news that there was barely any water at all in the stream, and that we would be pushing the boat over dried-out sandbanks. Matias, our hardest worker, departed across country to the Piraparaná. He left at dusk, his coca pouch slung across his back to ward off the pangs of hunger. He promised to return in three days with men from the first habitation on the river; he was true to his word but it took him more than three days.

That night there was a disquieting atmosphere in the camp. Horacio was 114
even more unhappy than usual about our excessive amount of equipment. Our three remaining Indians, José, Uriel and Miguez, kept to themselves, talking through half the night. We awoke to find Miguez vanished, never to be seen again, and José and Uriel packing their own belongings on to their backs. They said they were going to join Matias and bring back more men – we knew they were about to desert us.

We made them put down their gear and then listened to their tale of woe. We were not feeding them well enough; they wanted more than just *farinha*, they needed rice as well. They were being made to carry too much, and the stream beds were so dry that it would be impossible for us to get through until the rains arrived. So we compromised, we agreed to leave behind some of the fuel if necessary and to give them the same food as ourselves; we repeated our promise to pay all the Indians who worked for us in cloth and trade goods – or even money if it was of any use to them.

During the day we pushed the boat, first down to the previous site and 122
then, fully loaded, back towards our present camp. Once Horacio lost his way when taking a short cut; he was not well and we thought it was due to a recurrence of malaria. That night he became worse, and with him unfit we decided to go ahead on a reconnaissance with José, leaving him to guard the equipment and recover, while we tried to reach the other side of the portage; if necessary we would go overland to find the first house.

Early next morning we packed our rucksacks and left with a week's supplies. Walking over high ground with willows, lichen and moss, to our great joy we reached the western entrance to the portage after only two hours. We walked through the low scrub for half an hour, along the path

122 over which we would have to drag our boat. Then on the far side we saw the headwaters of the Piraparaná – there was water, not much, but at least more than in the headwaters of the Ti. We knew then we could reach the main river, even if we should find it difficult to take all the equipment. Enthusiastically we returned to tell Horacio the good news. We found him lying in his hammock and reading, and to our surprise he told us that all the trouble stemmed from a fish bone which had lodged itself in his throat.

Our best plan was to take the boat forward, leaving all the equipment ready for Matias and his Indians. We pushed with renewed efforts but over such dry sands that we often had to stop, dam the trickle behind us, then wait for the water to rise sufficiently to see us over the next sandbank. At other times we had to dig down into the sand to make a channel through which we could push *El Diablo*. Two days later we reached the portage.

Travel in Amazonia is almost entirely by water; on the smaller rivers by dug-out canoe, on the larger ones by launch or even steamer. In headwater areas it is frequently necessary to cross from one river system to another, and to do this the Indians and *caucheros* make portages or paths, along which they can carry their canoes. Portages are also used to skirt long sections of rapids where it is too dangerous to take canoes through the river. Some may be five miles long, others only a few hundred yards. The size of the boat and the number of people at hand determine the time it takes to cross. With five of us, three pulling a rope attached to *El Diablo*'s bows and two pushing from behind, it took only four hours to cover the mile over the watershed. On the flat pathway with the boat's hull sliding smoothly over rollers cut by the Indians, there was little difficulty. But when we had to heave the canoe out of the gullies it took us all the effort we could muster to bring the heavy water-logged craft – which weighed eight hundred pounds – out of the root-strewn quagmire on to the sandy track.

The choice of camp sites while travelling in such areas is a difficult one. Very often lack of time in the approaching darkness forces a rapid decision. Obviously it is best to find high ground above a rising river but this ground is often a refuge for thousands of ants and all manner of crawling insects – who naturally have the same idea in mind. It was such a camp that we hit that night and we found that all the kitbags, tins and crates were already a seething mass of black ants. Termites had completely covered a pair of boots which we had left lying on the ground, and we were besieged by sweat bees.

122 After dark there was a sudden calm. In the distance a faint hiss could be heard, gradually coming closer and closer. It was the wind racing through the forest – nearer and nearer, until it became a roar and the whole jungle was in turmoil; trees swaying, clouds of leaves flying and rotten branches crashing to the ground. In a moment torrential rain was upon us. Horacio sought safety under the plastic sheet of his mosquito net; Donald took refuge

under his battered trilby and the groundsheets, while Brian dived beneath the tarpaulin and spent the night stretched over tins and kitbags. 122

The New Year came in with more rain. For all the discomfort it brought we could only look upon such deluges as a sign of good fortune; they were early this year, the rivers would now be higher and our descent easier. So we started on our journey downstream. *El Diablo*, lumbering along like a loaded ark, was stopped by every snag and log. She took days to cover the same distance as the slim canoes of the Indians, when they later travelled back up the river in a matter of hours to pick up the fuel drums we had had to leave behind on the portage.

One day canoes appeared gliding towards us, both loaded down with large wicker baskets of *farinha* and paddled by two men in loincloths. Strings of minute white beads were around their necks and black berry bracelets around each arm. An old man, his wizened face eyeing us suspiciously, was sitting in the bows of the first canoe. [291] [301]

This was our first real contact with the Indians of the Piraparaná. Their immediate reaction was not one of fear, but rather, like our own, of enquiry and interest. They said nothing until José hailed them in their own dialect. There ensued a long, almost formal exchange of greetings which we were to hear many times when travelling through their territory. Before they left we asked them to carry a message for Nestor – in case they should meet him, for they were travelling to the Río Ti. [609] [576]

Much depended on our guide José. That he had been with Padre Elorza was not necessarily to our advantage, for in the first place we could not be sure what effect the first contact with Catholicism had had on the Indians of the Piraparaná, nor did we know what instructions José had been given by the padres. We had to depend on him entirely both for our own safety when travelling downstream and for the information we were to get. He was not a very pleasant or easy character. From the outset he had always wanted to have his own way and if this was not granted then he became moody and unco-operative. We could never be certain what he would do next and after his attempt at desertion we could not trust him. However he worked very hard and showed remarkable common sense, and without him we would never have got through the rapids ahead of us. 114

His experience with white men had not only come from the Mission. Some five years previously a *cauchero* had come to his river home close to the Brazilian frontier. He had taken six boys away with him to work the wild rubber trees and one of them was José. Later he had escaped from the *cauchero*, but during those four years he had learnt how to operate an outboard motor, to handle money and had even been in an aeroplane. He had come under the Mission's wing only recently, and it may have been this combination of experiences that had complicated his character. He no longer possessed the Indian's direct simplicity.

*Tukano*

122 The last days before reaching the first Tukano house on the Piraparaná were not easy ones. At one point we had to cross two formidable waterfalls where all the equipment and fuel was carried overland, while we dragged the boat over the riverside rocks to avoid the midstream torrent. At the first of these the boat was lowered over a twenty-foot rock wall by means of a crevice into which we had forced timbers. *El Diablo* began to show severe signs of weakness. The ribbing above the hollowed log hull began to give and the planking above it worked loose at the joints. Large lumps of pitch came astray and we found ourselves caulking her sides with strips torn from our trousers. On many occasions we hit submerged rocks and logs, and the further we went the more we had to bale. Once a jagged rock edge pierced a large hole in the bows and water came gushing in. One thing was certain: an aluminium boat would by this time have been ripped to pieces.

Our journey downstream was a cold, wet and dreary affair. Both Donald and Horacio had ceased to wear boots because of raw blisters. Our shins had become a mass of open sores from knocks sustained underwater. But these exposed rocks gave Brian opportunities for geology. Much to everyone's dismay – except his – *El Diablo* became more and more weighed down by samples which found their way into the used biscuit tins. José always wanted to know whether there was gold, but there never was, nor indeed were there any fossils. We were attempting to make a compass traverse of our route, but our methods at this stage were hardly accurate.

We made camp one night on the driest land available, near a junction with another tributary. It was an unhealthy spot with bats swooping low beneath the trees. Later one of our guides had his toe incised by a vampire bat and woke in the morning to find his hammock soaked in blood; these bats often carried rabies. While Horacio was making breakfast, a scorpion ran up his arm. When he yelled, José, who was standing close by, flicked it dexterously into the hot ashes of the fire.

Some days later, after an unusually long stretch of paddling, we jumped
136 into the water to pull *El Diablo* over a fallen tree. A large boa constrictor unfurled itself from beneath the boat, shot between our legs and zigzagged swiftly through the water in front, its dark green body coiling and recoiling as it vanished down the river.

It is a mistake to think that the forest is alive with poisonous reptiles and fierce animals. The discomforts stem from ants, insects and many varieties of stinging flies. We rarely saw wild animals although birds were quite plentiful. In this higher part of the river, a particular small bird would always warn all other creatures of our approach with a piercing three-note whistle. Calling louder and louder it was answered by others in the vicinity. The noise was rending and the more we talked, the more it sang. The Indians called it the *Wa-pey-yer*, and we later heard this bird had driven some explorers mad.

122 For the first time in a week the sun pierced the thick canopy of leaves,

catching the shining emerald, blue and yellow wings of giant butterflies. 122 José, who had been carefully watching the passing bank, asked to borrow one of our shotguns. He soon returned with three *pava* – a type of large black-cock – which he had shot with four cartridges. Like all Indians, he was much more adept at hunting than ourselves.

The day wore on and the river widened, trees and creepers came right down to the water's edge, their leaves reflected peacefully by the calm surface. Sometimes the thick green foliage was covered in pale purple flowers, rather like lilac, whose sweet smell floated across the water as the boat moved through the beams of sunlight. It was warm and the scene had changed. We were no longer enclosed and we only once had to jump into the water to guide the loaded boat through a rapid.

Here Horacio, whose ankles had swollen to an alarming size, stumbled and fell in the rushing torrent. Perhaps this was an indication of our condition and the need to reach dry land. Sores had not healed and many had started to go septic. By contrast José and Uriel had gone from strength to strength, their bodies seeming to profit from the very hard work they had had to undergo.

Now the trees' shadows were lengthening across [illegible] and three white egrets glided ahead of us. José's voice broke the silence. 'Only one more turn and we reach Kuarumey's *maloca*. His father was a famous chief who refused to allow any white man to enter the river – now he is dead.' As he said this we rounded the last bend.

There in front of us rising from the water's edge was a clearing of green 123 manioc with an expanse of sky behind. We paddled the boat alongside the wooden canoes moored to the bank, while in the dusk we could barely distinguish the features of the Indians as they came down the path towards us. They carried no arms and seemed to be friendly. Soon they were helping us unload *El Diablo*. We debated whether we would stay the night by the river or in the *maloca*. The Indians however were in no two minds about this, and we found ourselves stumbling up the path in the darkness, following our laden hosts, very glad to feel the good dry earth beneath our bare feet and the warmth of the fires inside the great *maloca*.

/6 cont./

114 Our task, of editing, in comparison with that of Koch G.,
128 was greatly facilitated. There fell to us the intellectual, patriotic, and religious pleasure of four excursions through the vast and laborious field of the Apostolado Salesiano no Amazonas /Salesian Apostolate in Amazonas/ and of admiring the work of patriotism and evangelical charity that the Filhos de Dom
[191] Bosco are achieving there. And benefiting ourselves by means
[797] of their company, their knowledge of the native idioms (3),

3. Besides having already found numerous Indians with whom we could communicate perfectly in the language of our native country, because they had learned Portuguese in the schools of the Missions.

the prestige that they enjoy, not only among the natives who profit from their material and moral assistance, but even among the others who only know them by repute, we start collecting
114 the precious data of their observations and experience. The
123 ethnographic material contained in these pages could be collected in a relatively short period, although triple that of
124 Grünberg. Nevertheless they describe an existence in the closest possible contact with the forest dwellers: living in their maloca, attending their festivities, listening to them during their long chats among themselves, and entertaining themselves in amiable conversation with them, participating in their joys and their sorrows, observing them in their work, admiring their abilities, using their services, curing their illnesses, probing their spirit, illustrating their intelligence in long years of education, illuminating their soul with religious truths, now and then seeing those minds unexpectedly open in flashes that reveal, through a charming ingenuousness, an internal world never dreamed of. One understands an environment by living in it; and the environment can explain to us a mentality.

/6 cont./

115 It should not seem exaggerated to speak of an existence
• 123 of intimate contact with the natives. Because not only our /7/ personal observations are recorded here. We tried to know and to listen to all the Salesian Missionaries who work along the rivers Negro, Uaupés, Tiquié, Papuri, Içana, and Caburi; as well as the Montfort Missionaries who attended to the natives of the region bordering Colombia, since some of the tribes in the study have members living in the zone that today is part of Colombian territory. And, through the mercy of God, we had the happy opportunity to talk with Missionaries who have been living with the children of the forests and for them since 1916.

Therefore, this work, in the strict sense, is a contribution by the Salesian Missionaries to ethnographic studies that, if they are of interest in a general way to the students of the whole world, also speak to us, Brazilians, of political and patriotic interests.

121 These pages are a documentary on how the life of the forest people of the Uaupés or Caiarí runs its course in the middle of the twentieth century. By dint of an unyieldingly traditionalist mentality which characterizes these human groups, we may also think that they are, on general lines, a description of how they have lived for centuries, or perhaps even of how these tribes have lived since they acclimated themselves in their present habitat. Scarce data from the first explorers and information from the old natives justify this opinion.

Even though we enjoyed privileged conditions which other ethnologists have not had, or at least will not be able to have, the intractable depths of the native psyche takes from us the illusion of having unveiled their soul. We are also convinced that we do not yet know customs and practices of interest from the ethnological point of view, and the true meaning of many others escapes us. The primitive fantasy, all the more active the freer it is from the curb of reason and the inhibiting control of positive experience in that mysterious and suggestive environment of the millenary forest, will have built a legendary world with fascinating beauties for their souls, as if they were the

/144 cont./

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/footnote 9 cont./ traveling in his canoe and at six o'clock in the morning informed the Missionaries of the visit of the Bishop, who is festively received at the Mission two hours later. Humorously one says that in these latitudes there is not yet wireless telegraph, but the communication system of radio-cipó is well developed.

153 If one opens a suitcase, a book, a notebook, the Indian's eye does not leave these objects. And many times he wants to have a more practical and complete knowledge, approaching them, touching them, and /145/ observing them in all their aspects. And not rarely subjecting them to observation by all the senses: he touches, smells, bites. The civilized man realizes that he is being furtively touched on his clothes, or even on the hand, by the children and even by the women. We were not able to verify whether in this gesture some magic concept might also enter.

When he hears Portuguese being spoken, if he does not understand it, he likes to repeat the sounds that he heard, pronouncing them several times, as if to engrave them in his memory.

7) Distrust.

829 Conversely, he does not like to be observed. If he perceives that he is, he withdraws. He answers the civilized laconically, going away as soon as possible, in order to avoid a new question; or he will leave without answering. He spends entire hours of travel in silence in a canoe when he travels alone with some civilized man, or even when he travels with others from the tribe, [123] but in the presence of a "white." It is the mistrust (10)

10. We were lucky in getting Indians of both sexes, from diverse tribes and in different localities, to unbosom themselves confidentially

/145 cont./

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• 123

/footnote 10 cont./ and reveal to us many more intimate and secret things. Besides the frequent presents, although small (many times only some candies and cigarettes, things greatly appreciated by all), and the patience and kindness of the treatment, it helped us to show that we already knew some of the more secret things, especially pertaining to the subject of our questions. Perhaps the vanity in showing that he knew more and better than the previous informers would open the Indian's mouth. One must insist many, many times that they speak frankly, without embarrassment, that not only would they not lose our esteem, but the civilized person likes frank people better. They could talk because we would not reveal their name to anyone.

Among the confidences that we obtained in this way (and in our notes we have recorded the person, place, and date), confirming their preconceived opinion against all the civilized, even though one may be the most abnegative Missionary, we remember here the following four: 1st. -- they do not like the civilized; 2nd. -- they believe themselves more ingenious than the civilized; they consider them just silly; 3rd. -- they like to see the civilized irritated, even pretending not to understand what he wants; 4th. -- it is a good thing to hurt the civilized.

829

It would be easy to compile several episodes that confirm these statements. But these confidences, collected from the very lips of the natives, dispense with any more words and are more valuable than any

[797]

episode. The idea of adding this Note to the chapter on the Psychology of the Indian came to us on August 27, 1957, in Carará-poco on the lower Içana, upon hearing that, for the second time, a young Siusí-tapuya woman (with three children, already

/146 cont./

829

/Footnote 11 cont./ Koch Grünberg tells (Zwei Iahre, 209) that, upon his arrival in the maloca of the Bará, on the Macucú-igarapé, three young women were put in a safe place in a second maloca. We have verified similar events in various circumstances, especially among the Karapanã of the headwaters of the river Áua.

In part also because he feels inferior to the white. A more accurate analysis reveals in him an inferiority complex before the civilized. Only after a long period of living together, especially when one speaks his language, does he sometimes become more open. It is a sign of some trust and friendliness then when he approaches the white and talks to him, resting his hand on one's shoulder. The woman, like the man, comes to wait on the visitor, offering him her hand, according to the present practice; but she soon withdraws. As signs of happiness because of the desired visit by a civilized person, the women -- accompanied by a longer and higher intonation of some syllables of the words of greeting, rub both hands from the shoulder to below the chest of the visitors while they are talking to them.

Due to a mixture of mistrust and shyness, they talk among themselves in a low voice in front of the white, in order that the latter not hear the conversation, if, by chance, he knows the native language. Perhaps for this same reason it is difficult for them to teach their own language (12).

• 123

12. "How is such-and-such a word pronounced?" we would ask the Indian. He, however, does not answer. -- "Is it this way?" we venture. -- "Yes, it is like that," he will say immediately. -- "Or is it this other way?" -- "Yes, it is like that," he will repeat again. In other cases he answers -- "I don't know, I am Taryana, ask the

/146 cont./

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/footnote 12 cont./ Tukano." The Tukano will also excuse himself: "I don't know." "But you are Tukano." -- "But those from such-and-such a place pronounce it better than I do."

/147/ He is, as a rule, reserved; he does not like to divulge his illnesses, nor his legends and customs. On this point the men are even more reserved than the women, from whom one can obtain information with less difficulty, with the promise of presents.

8) Volubility and inconstancy.

157

If we except the prescriptions of the tribal laws, to which, it seems, he finds himself perfectly and passively adapted, as for the rest the Indian enjoys great autonomy. From childhood, especially for those of the male sex, he can follow his fancy. Great tenacity of will then is not to be expected in the native. One can not count on him for a job always the same, for example, to make daily meteorological observations or the connection of an electrical generator. They are very voluble, both the men and the women. They do not adapt to doing the same job indefinitely, although what they themselves choose is more acceptable to them. One can not, then, strictly speak of a profession of carpenter, tailor, sawyer, etc. in referring to some Indian. He might have some knowledge or practice concerning such a trade. But, when under the stimulus of an interest in acquiring some object he is disposed to work, not only is it a matter of indifference to him if he sits down at a sewing machine, serves as a sailor or oarsman, or does any other service, but he himself will ask to leave a job and go to another, quite different one.

/150 cont./

648 He does nothing for the white without /151/ pay, and ordinarily
466 he wants it in advance. The truth is that, as a rule, he does not deny his debts to the civilized; many times, however, he maintains that he has done more work and reduces his debts, in spite of the fact that the contrary appears in the entries made with precision and conscientiousness. He frequently lets the time go by, and sometimes he moves away or dies; and that
428 is the end of that. The parents, brothers, children, or other relatives of someone who passed away, let us say in the mission hospital will present themselves at once as legitimate heirs to the shotgun, hammock, suitcase, or other objects belonging to the dead person. No one, however, becomes responsible for the debts of the deceased.

648 In order to have them at his service, at the time of the seringa or the Brazil nut, the civilized must pay them in advance.
466 It not infrequently happens that at the time of the work (fàbrico, as is said in Amazonas) the Indian hides; or runs away after working for a time.

431 He does not give gifts to the civilized, even though he has
648 received many from him. He sells to him (17).

> 17. Episodes going so far as to be comic are told. A father, with the family, came to visit his son, who was a student at the Mission in Taracuá, and brought with him dried fish and beijú /manioc bread/. And, squatting in a corner, they ate, as on a family picnic. Before leaving, however, he came to charge the Missionary the price of the fish and the beijú.
>
> At the time of our first excursion to the
> • 123 Içana, in 1953, accompanied by Pe. José
> 431 Schneider, the latter took with him, among his helpers, a tuxaua of the Mapatse-dákenei (Yuruparí-tapúia) tribe. Like the others, he

/151 cont./

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/footnote 17 cont./ received, besides food and donations, daily service pay. When we arrived in Tunuí, he showed a small basket and beijú, saying that it was a gift that the Baniva from there had given him, but he asked the Pe. for salt, tobacco, and kerosene, "in order to give as thanks."

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If he notices in the latter an interest in some native object, he demands a large payment (18).

[123]

18. For example, the Kubewana came to ask us for a shotgun for a sarabatana /blow-gun/ or a simple acangatara /feather head-ornament/.

When he offers something (beijú, fruits, dried fish), he immediately asks for an object of greater value.

They appear greedy in dealing with other Indians, and even with those of their own tribe. It is not rare that an individual, with his work or products, will acquire salt or tobacco in abundance in the Missionary center and later go to sell it to his fellow tribesmen with great usury. We have seen him acquire pots, mirrors, etc. in the Mission and with these small objects go to trade with those of the more distant malocas, receiving in exchange graters and canoes (19).

19. /This footnote is on p. 152 in the original source./ On our excursion to the Aiarí in May of 1957, one of our oarsmen, from the Siusi tribe, Ernesto by name, from the povoado of S. Ana (lower Içana), had acquired at the Mission in Assunção a shotgun valued at 1,200 cruzeiros. He took it with him, in order to exchange it for a sewing machine,

/153 cont./

577 They take objects from their own companions. Thefts will be rarer, because life more or less in common restrains or eliminates the impulses toward certain thefts. The attacks on the clearing or the cacurí /fish trap/ of others are frequent. They show shame when they are surprised. If he is not, he denies the theft. Or, confronted with the evidence, he will say: "I took, I did not steal." While the injured one says: -- "He robbed me." One notes a preponderant tendency, almost enslaving, to steal edibles. He ordinarily reveals in the thefts amazing /154/ cunning. Especially in the thefts from the other Indians he abstains from taking anything that might easily identify him. He always takes timely precautions, in the act of stealing as well as afterwards, to hide the corpus delicti; for example, the little girls steal needles and hide them in the hard layer of the soles of their feet.

He rebels when he is forced to make restitution; especially if he must do so to the civilized. He will do it more readily for the tuxaua, who orders him to make restitution whenever he wants to stay friendly with the white. In a different way, especially if he likes the thief, he will say haughtily: -- "There is no thief in the maloca" (22).

22. If they perform these very rare acts of restoration, it can be affirmed that, as a rule, they do not restore the thing stolen, nor do they give proper indemnification. From the moral point of view, it seems legitimate to conclude that they do not have any intention of making restitution or of abstaining from stealing.

• 123 16) Lying -- Not keeping one's word -- Simulation.

577 The love of the truth that has been noted among some primitives is not the strong point of these Indians of ours. He often answers, falsely, the inquires asked of him: "I do not know," "I did not see." Vice versa, they give information about what they do not know. And the other Indians present do not correct

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/154 cont./

the inaccurate information. For example, they do not like to sell their dance ornaments and regularly affirm that they do not have them. If one asks whether there is anybody sick in the povoado, he will invariably answer no, although in reality there is. One cannot even think, in these and other cases, that there was a mental reservation. Would there be, in the case of the sick ones, some reason of a magic nature? We were not able to find out, in spite of many inquiries in different circumstances and places. They pass to a second and third party the thing stolen, in order to hide it. They never denounce the others, except to defend themselves. Not infrequently we caught them in contradictions (23).

> 23. In April of 1954 a young woman from Pari-cachoeira described to us her puberty initiation rite with all clarity and indication of details. In June of that same year, speaking casually about the subject, she started to deny that there was Komũ (cf. VIII-1,b (7) ) or "blower" in her povoado and that she had gone through the initiation. -- Have you forgotten that you already told everything? Don't be bashful ... we told her. Then she smiled, confirmed and completed the description made in April.

If we make this evident to them, they are silent. Silence is a defense and weapon that they frequently use against the civilized and his arguments. They are "born liars" was the expression used by two persons who for several /155/ years lived with these Indians. Not infrequently he maintains his lie even before the most evident proofs.

/230 cont./

276 Thus its effect is also a superexcitation of the imagination. Nevertheless he sometimes falls to the ground, unconscious. "With the fourth cuia," says the old Indian Antônio to Koch G. (Zwei Iahre, 201), "people fall violently and then have the most beautiful visions" (59).

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59. From our personal experience we can say that we have drunk kaxpí prepared by Makú, Wanãna and Taryana natives. At the great feast of the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés), which was discussed above, kaxpí of the Makú, Wanãna, and Taryãna tribes was served. That of the Makú tribe was prepared by one of the Makú who served as slaves to the Wanãna of the locality. That of the Taryana was made by the old Taryana Calisto from Iauareté, who brought with him from that locality, for this occasion, a bunch of thick cipo (one inch in diameter and 1.5 meters in length approximately). The kaxpí was distributed personally by the local tuxaua, Mandú by name, who simultaneously took two small cuias, one for each person. The Komũ, who "had blown" the drink before the cuias were filled, stirred the liquid, using a piece of thick cipo, with four intumescences, and which is one of the ingredients of the drink. It is taken without difficulty, since it has a bearable bitter taste. Nevertheless, several Indians made faces and some of them spit out the rest. Following that, three men, each /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ with two large cuias of caxirí, came in a line, zigzagging and making a noise with the mouth like the buzzing of an insect, and distributed the caxirí to those who had drunk kaxpí, in order to take away the unpleasant taste. Some Indians declared to us that they had seen luminous globes or flames. We did not preceive

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/230 cont./

/footnote 59 cont./ anything; we experienced, then, only a slight excitation in the muscles of the legs and, at night, strong occipital pain in the head. We believe, however, that such sensations had nothing to do with the drink and were only the effects of tiredness, of the sun and the heat of the day. We later observed to the Taryana Indians who had accompanied us to the feast that the kaxpí was weak and we had felt nothing. They explained to us that one of the ingredients was missing, a cipo that was planted by an old man who had already died and they had not found such cipo upon undertaking the trip. They promised us to prepare later, with all the technique, a quite strong kaxpí. Actually they did it days later and offered it to us. With fear of a violent reaction caused by the drink, we did not want to take it in public, but in private, and not only a small cuia, but we drank quite a good cuia in three stages. Although, like Koch G., we had before our eyes a white paper on which we wrote down our notes, we did not get to perceive any luminous sensation or any other external feeling. Only the unpleasant taste made us indisposed, although without vomiting, forcing us to diet that day, and to use bitter drops and other stomach potions later. We are of the opinion that, for this reason, the effects indicated in the Indians must be explained by the easy excitability of their imaginations.

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/footnote 6 cont./ the Witoto of Pirá-paraná (Colombia) the language of the Trocanos, made in pairs, that is, man and wife, according to the picturesque native expression, was quite well developed.

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With some musical instruments they manage to emit sounds that are similar to words. For example, with the instrument called Ñamá dõxpoá (deer head, cf. VII, 3 c (3) /see VII, 3 c (10)/), we seemed to hear the syllables -- "Pẽru wáatya" (bring caxiri) ... pẽru... pẽru... pẽru" (quickly, quickly, quickly).

[832]

The young men direct amorous invitations to the young women with the sounds of some fifes. We were given on the Uaupés (and for this reason we recorded it with the pronunciation of this river) the following invitation, which they express on the fife -- "Yõõ-mẽna váya" (go with me), -- "Yõõ-mẽna vágo-tá" (you just go with me), "aĩũnõ nĩgosa" (be good), "aĩũnõ nĩhosa" (it is going to be good). To send out such invitations with the sound of the flutes is what is called in Tukano puxtí-weresã (literally: to complain by playing the flute).

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They likewise know how to emit certain characteristic and various cries, sometimes similar to the voice of animals and chirping of the birds, and they orient themselves, call one another, give information, etc., with these signals (7).

7. On a trip to the great maloca of the Tuyuka, on the upper Tiquié, frontier with Colombia, the machete that one of our traveling companions had loaned to the Indians disappeared. At the time for the canoe to leave, he asked about the machete and no one could give any information as to where it might be. Impatient, he complained that it was a theft, and this was wicked. After the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ canoe

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/255 cont./

/footnote 7 cont./ had gone about four hundred meters, a characteristic cry, which seemed to us more like the chirping of some bird, was heard. The Tukano who came along with us as oarsmen interpreted at once: "It is the tuxaua who is calling in order to return the machete." Truly the tuxaua was waiting for us with the machete, which was returned to its legitimate owner.

On several occasions, as we navigated the headwaters of the rivers or the igarapés, Indians who were in the interior of the forest and heard the noise of the oars exchanged whistles with our oarsmen, who afterwards would give us detailed information: who they were, if they were hunting, picking fruits, looking for caraná, or cutting lumber. It is to be noted that we never heard the Indian humming his songs or whistling for mere diversion.

[533]

/256/ 2. Sciences.

a) Geography -- Topography.

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Their geographic notions of the region are not very numerous, but they are accurate. It is difficult to distinguish what they know through individual experience, through tribal tradition, or through the influence of the civilized whom they consult, because, endowed with an excellent memory, they retain the information that they receive, like that which they learn visually.

782 /336 cont./
796 Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsá, dances of
*[192] Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts con-
[534] sist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩrĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

• [123] Ordinarily the native does not know (41)
[124]
[177]
[869]

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the [illegible] for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

[115] The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506]

/337 cont./

796 Such feasts are held five to six times a year: not at fixed
782 times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or
585 also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.
881 /338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

*[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tĩye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tĩ. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tĩ of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

• [123] [124] [115] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled) of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in general the old people, who know more, are the most reserved. Asking the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

/338 cont./

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[123]
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*[192]

/footnote 45 cont./ he would not allow him to attend the dance. Confirmation of this religious character, it seems to us, is also found in the refusal to our request to repeat the ceremony of the offering of the fish (waí poosé) under better conditions, so that we could film it. Nevertheless these Indians repeated the simple dances for us for this same purpose.

[126]

The Tukano Antônio Barreto (December of 1953) assured us that they did not do poosé in front of the whites. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to attend it and to film it. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 202): he moreover was able to attend it on the Umarí-igarapé, but many Indians appeared displeased by this, and the tuxáua José did not allow him to take photographs.

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As though they were undertaking a serious ceremony and not a diversion. Nothing will disturb these rites. Singing mysterious words (ancient dialect? or, with more probability, mere corruption) which they do not understand, dancing in a slow cadence and marking the time with stronger beats with the right foot.

[755]

/339/ 4th. -- They attribute to such feasts in addition an efficacious healing action. It can drive away all the sicknesses and even heal large wounds (46).

46. This is what Koch Grünberg was able to verify (Zwei Iahre, 202): "dem Yurupari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung sugeschrieben /sic/. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen" /a strong magical effect is attributed to the Yurupari dance. It is supposed to drive away all sicknesses, and even

/342 cont./

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• [123]

/footnote 47 cont./ the morning. And the one that we attended in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955 was also in the morning.

[534]

the visitors send another warning -- "it is time!" They take their musical instruments (japurutús or whistles) and the offering and, amid yells, the procession is organized by way of the road from the landing place to the maloca (or by way of the road by which they came).

The tuxáua goes in front, followed by two musicians with their japurutús (see VII - 3 c (3a) /see 3 c (3c)/) (48)

[115]

48. In July of 1955 the seringalista /owner of a seringal/ Armando Sarmento observed at a feast of the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés that the two who opened the procession held with the right hand the Japurutú, which they were playing, and with the left one the respective lady. The other men came behind them, with only the rhythm stick, ahũ-wõ, in the right hand, beating the rhythm of the steps, and without a lady. He also noticed that inside the maloca, where the procession turned around, there were pieces of beijú and peelings of pupunha scattered on the floor (the poosé was one of pupunha).

*[192]

and the men who bring the offering; the rest of the men behind. They make a turn around the maloca, then go in and make two turns inside, yelling, those who are entering and those who are already inside, a prolonged ɛɛɛ... (it is what is called oá:, to cry out). The men and youths of the maloca are arranged in Indian file, according to their rules of precedence, from the left side of the door to the back.

[562]

/343 cont./

796 574 Such formalistic greetings last an hour and a half. Afterwards the ritual banquet starts, without any further pragmatica, each eating whatever pleases him: first the men, more or less grouped in the front part of the maloca; afterwards the women and children, in groups at the back of the maloca.

[785] [273] Once this meal is finished, the ritual fast begins, that is, abstention from any food. It is only permissible to take some of the drink prepared for the feast. They do this, helping themselves copiously, even excessively, to the drink, which, besides, is very nourishing, being as it is, in reality, a thin pap (49).

• [123]

49. On a certain occasion, after eleven hours of laborious passage through the forest, we arrived at a maloca of the Bará, located near the headwaters of the stream called marĩya (tributary of the Tiquié), when a feast was being given there. One of our traveling companions, of the Bará tribe, who should have been very tired and undernourished, like all of us, since he was carrying the heaviest load, did not accept the food that was prepared for those of our retinue. He preferred to participate in the feast with his "brothers," and contented himself with only beijú caxirí.

2) Preparation for the dances.

*[192] The tuxáua, at a certain moment, tells the chief of the visitors that the banquet is finished and "he may open the box of the decorations" (mahã̃ poári axká-ro).

*[192] [302] /344/ The women of the maloca come to fit the bands (uxtá-seri) to the guests' legs, below the knee, and to execute the body painting. The woman who painted him will be the guest's dance partner. It falls to the man, Pe. Humberto Limpens and the Tukano Antônio Barreto note, to paint the woman, and

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).

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• [123]
[126]
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50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom
*[192] they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõõ wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

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The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

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*[192]
When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to enter-
796 tain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance
535 as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a) ); it is a sign that the dances

/346 cont./

796 the men and with her own arms holding by the waist the two men
535 whom she is between. The eyes are turned toward the center of
*[192] the circle, and the points of the lances, yõxse-phĩrĩ, converge toward this point when they carry them.

At a certain point the local tuxáua gives an order indicating that it is the middle of the dance. Two men, among the leaders, go into the middle of the circle, make some turns, and finally come back to the line with the rest.

At a special order the women abandon their places, each one shouting her word. The dance ends with expressive whooping by the men; all those armed with a lance leave, bending as if they were looking for something, and, advancing toward a corner of the maloca, make a thrust with the lance toward an imaginary
*[192] point about a meter above the ground. They call this "blow-to-the-white, pexká-sã paasé" (54).

• [123]
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54. The Indians have always appeared very reserved in explaining to us the meaning and purpose of this "blow-to-the-white," although they had revealed its name to us without any embarrassment, perhaps thinking that we would not know how to translate it. On two occasions a native of the Tukano
[115] tribe of the lower Uaupés confirmed to us that "They do not like the whites and consider all of them enemies." Another native, also belonging to the Tukano tribe, although from the Papuri, in response to our question as to whether he liked the "white" or the "caboclo" better, asked us the meaning of the word /this footnote is continued on the next page in the
[829] original source/ "caboclo." To our answer that caboclos were the children of a civilized man and Indian woman, such as are on the Rio Negro, he answered immediately: --"We

/350 cont./

796 538 [123] At the various times that we had the opportunity to attend these feasts, we did not see any initial ceremony. Each one seated in front of his antagonist, at a distance of a meter perhaps, they start to narrate in a singing tone accompanied by broad gestures and alternately with the right and the left arm. They unravel the legends of the origin of the world and of the tribes, as well as the exploits of their ancestors. They speak alternately and sometimes also simultaneously, breaking off only take a breath and perhaps, at a given time, to recall some further episode. The event told by his competitor will sometimes serve to remind him of another episode. So it seems to us.

If, by any chance, they carry to him the cuia of caxirí, he receives it without looking; he will keep it in his hand until he finishes the episode that he is narrating, and then he will swallow it rapidly, returning it empty to the one who brought it, and who remained patiently waiting.

It seems to be a matter of a true challenge. A competition of oratory and also of time, of rapidity of locution, of physical or, better, pulmonary endurance. During all this time they do not concern themselves about the audience, though there may perhaps be an indiscreet white who has come closer to observe better. At a certain point, however, /351/ one of the old men of the maloca intervenes and interrupts one of the narrators (we do not know whether he does it only to one of another tribe or maloca who came for the poosé, as in the case that we had a chance to observe), directing some words to him in a rapid dialogue. They informed us that it is the practice, and it is a thanks for his activity. But soon afterwards the competition proceeds with the same rhythm and intonation.

276 796 538 The Rite of the Cigar. The principal act of the Legendary Commemorations is the Rite of the Cigar, which takes place around 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning, and which marks, moreover, the official ending of the poosé. Two enormous cigars, each tied to its fork (VI 2, b (5) ), starting with the tuxaua and one of the Kõmũã, will pass simultaneously from mouth to mouth,

/397 cont./

535 wore on his head a wide acangatara /head ornament/ with arara
237 feathers; a wig with braids of monkey skin and with two long, red
301 arara feathers and an onça /jaguar/ bone. From the wig, leaning toward each ear, there was a long, white heron feather. Hanging over the back the cangatá, a cord with tucano /toucan/ feathers. Also on the wig, close to the nape, the crest, or rectangular woven piece with long heron feathers. On the neck three long necklaces of beads and a necklace of seeds with the stone of command. From the ears, earrings made out of a burnished half of a gun cartridge.
[302] As painting on the forehead, a red semicircle turned upward and a large cross from the neck to the waist (132),

• [123]

132. At a dance that we attended in the maloca of the Tuyuka in the igarapé of the Onça /jaguar/, upper Tiquié, from the painting of the Kõmũ resulted a cross on the face with a broad stroke from the forehead along the nose and upper lip, and the arms of the cross curved upward almost in a semicircle.

also in the color red. On the left elbow, a bracer of monkey skin. In the form of a belt, over the buttocks, a necklace of teeth, to which he later attached two branches of that magic and intensely
*[192] aromatic shrub called bará. In the course of the dance he fitted to the right ankle a necklace of seeds (Kixtyó).

Marcelino wore a small, denticulated wreath of fine straw, with yellow down from the arara; at the nape the crest with white plumes and a long feather surrounded by a string of colorful plumes. On the left elbow the armband of monkey skin. Hanging at the back, braids of monkey skin decorated with arara down.

*192 b) Execution. A small rehearsal took place in order to verify whether the japurutús /long flutes/ were in tune with each other, as
534 well as the cariços /Panpipes/. A little caxiri was drunk.

The tuxaua executed the yaí-gõ paasé, that is, he made the
534 rhythm stick, called "stick-of-the-onça /jaguar/," decorated with
535 feathers, vibrate several times on the right muscle of the arm. He
*[192] took some steps in rhythm with the pestle-tube of imbauba, and he

/397 cont./
534 took up a position in front of the second post at the left, in the
535 /398/ central nave (133).

[342]

133. Their rectangular maloca, although not of large dimensions, corresponded to a division of five naves: the central high nave, under the ridge, two side spaces, and, along the side walls, the space reserved for the families. It is to be noted, however, that there is no interior partition between family and family.

The men imitated his steps and, on his left, formed an open semicircle.

*[192] 1st Part: Each one places the left hand on the right shoulder of the companion (Pá-bwasé is the Tukano name for this gesture). They execute some rhythmic beats with the pestle-tube (it is what is called yuxkõ-mẽra doxkesé) and some steps with the right foot forward and back (du'tisé). Then the line moves (nikã-ká eheanõ-kátyãra baxsasé) to the right and to the left until the circumference is closed, making some turns from the left to the right (sũtõasé) (134).

134. They explained to us that they are imitating the bavarí fish, which, before depositing its eggs, makes a few turns.

533 At the same time the men slowly sing unintelligible words, with a
535 frequent burden in which are sounded many times the syllables "paia-paia." The rhythm is accelerated at the end, and a cry and a heavy stroke with the rhythm tubes end the first part. During this
[562] part the women remained seated in conversation near the door, to the left of anyone who enters (135).

135. We, the three civilized observers, were to be
• [123] found on the opposite side, at the right.

/416 cont./

585 If the flight does not take place, the marriage is considered realized.

[606] [431] A short time later they customarily take a nuptial trip, on which the young man, accompanied by his wife, goes to visit the father-in-law, taking him presents (smoked fish, fruit, etc.), and thus the friendly relations will be strengthened. These nuptial trips, moreover, appear in the legends.

*[192] The wife will take with her, for the new home, as dowry or property, her pi'ĩkamõ, that is, a small cipo basket, with her ornaments, utilitarian objects, and a cluster of leaves containing õnõñá powder (carajurú /carajura/).

Immediately in the first days of the marriage the husband will give the wife a beating. He will hit her, however, with the hands, so they assured us; and she cannot react. Although it is a matter of a custom that aims at finding out the good will of the girl and her capacity for suffering, it seems, nevertheless, that it is the circumstance of some misunderstanding between the spouses that will provide the opportunity for this beating.

a) /sic; 5)/ Relations between the spouses.

593 The relations between the spouses are normal enough. Perhaps they might be called friendly (18),

• [123]

> 18. We had the opportunity to travel with a Karapanã family from the headwaters of the Papurí and to see the wife in a long and cordial conversation with the husband.

although without caresses and other displays of affection, since it is certain that some familiarity will arise from their living together. The husband will fear that bad treatment will drive away the wife (19),

[586]

> 19. Several episodes have been reported to us. In the beginning of 1954, during our stay in

/419 cont./

551 /footnote 24 cont./ identified with such a person (or object). To pronounce this name is to render present that person or sacred object, which is not licit (religious taboo, properly speaking). Or to pronounce the name of a person (for example, that of one's own husband, among tribes of southern India -- cf. Gordon, o. c. 132) will make him die (it is the magic taboo).

551 They will simply say to identify her: -- "The wife of such-and-
593 such a person" or "The mother of such-and-such a person." The
*[192] husband will use this expression: "Yõ põrá-kó," "the mother of my children," or "the one who gives me children," or "the mother of N" and says the name of the oldest child.

462 Her tasks are constant, heavy, and of great responsibility. Perhaps in a precarious state of health, for example, during gestation and the delivery, even so, she does them perfectly, without complaining, because they are tribal regulations, therefore they come from a superior will (25).

[593] • [123] 25. If, in front of the husband, we purposely show surprise at her great tasks, the woman smiles and says nothing.

[241] The planting and the cleaning of the clearing fall to her. She will spend whole hours in the sun amid the fire and the smoke,
*[192] preparing the piles of branches to be burned, digging and burying the mandioca shoots, cleaning the clearing by the process of pulling out the weeds by hand, Taá kuresé. She is the one who pulls
[252] the mandioca, collects it in the aturás /carrying baskets/, and brings it home, where, afterwards, she peels it, grates it, squeezes it, and strains it, in order to make flour. It is she who prepares the foods and the caxiris, takes care of the house and of the rearing of the children. All this while the husband perhaps is idle in

/423 cont./

534 At the great feast of Wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

> 31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

/428 cont./

844 Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were [608] the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõã (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koã (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

[852] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the [276] pajé or a Komũ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

846 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).

*[192] The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to take to the hammock during her discomfort. The [115] narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

844 As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the Pax-koã, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting [178] it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45).

• [123] 45. The tuxaua of the Ídé-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

592 /462 cont./
622 and directs the collective work of the women, especially the
574 preparations for the caxiris and dabacuris. It is incumbent on her to greet and to thank, in the name of the women, the guests /463/ who came to the feast in the maloca. In certain dances [535] she has the distinctive role of soloist, Yõhõgõ or Nõ'mõ-Bayá *[192] (VII - 4, e (2 a 2) ). /Footnote 98 apparently belongs here, although the index number is missing./

• [123]

98. At a great feast which we had the opportunity to attend among the Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, we saw the wife of the Tuxaua in one of the intervals of the dances approach the group of women who were seated and rebuke them. We suppose that it might have been due to the women's indecision in appearing for the preceding dance number.

797 On the occasion of the death of the Tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira,
622 the Tukano Júlio, on July 5, 1954, we had the opportunity to see some documents carefully kept by the deceased and his family, that is, a manuscript with the appointment successively of his great-grandfather, João Silgueira, and grandfather, Manoel Silgueira, for the position of Capitão of Parí-cachoeira, appointment made by the Capuchin Missionary Frei Venâncio Zilocchi, on December 5, 1882, with the visa, dated August 7, 1923, of Padre João Bálzola, Salesian. Another letter of appointment with printed heading, signed by the Capuchin Frei Gesualdo Marchetti, on May 30, 1885, also with the visa of Padre João Bálzola, of August 7, 1923. The following are the contents of these documents:

I, below signed, Frei Venancio Zilocchi, Apostolic Franciscan Missionary of the Rio Tiquih., tributary of the Rio Uaupés, and Director of the Missions established on it, appoint Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara the Senhor principal of the said Mission, João Silgueira, and in his absence the Older

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be interesting and he recorded tribal distributions and physical conditions of life as well as many customs. It is to Wallace that we owe the first report on mortuary endocannibalism among the Cubeo. Curiously, this information has never been properly authenticated. Wallace learned about it at second hand, as did Koch-Grünberg many years later. I observed what I thought to be this custom, but I could not verify that the bones being prepared for imbibing with chicha were human. The annoyance of the Indians when I accidentally came upon them while they were reducing bones to meal and pouring it into the chicha at the conclusion of a mourning ceremony led me to suspect that the bones were human. In response to my questions, however, no Cubeo would confirm my conjectures.

Wallace (1870, p. 354) traveled up the Vaupés to the mouth of the Cuduiarí River at the rapids of Uaracapurí, where he observed a community of several malocas. He did not enter the Cuduiarí, reporting only that to his knowledge no European had ever gone up that river. As for the Vaupés, this river, particularly in its Brazilian reaches, had in Wallace's time already become an important artery of European trade. Along the Isana River Wallace noted that the Indians were living in European-style dwellings. The Cuduiarí then had the reputation of a totally wild region. The Cubeo Indians seen by Wallace were still wearing large circular wooden plugs in their ears. By 1903, in the time of Koch-Grünberg, this form of male ornamentation had already been given up.

Curt Nimuendajú surveyed the Isana, Aiarí, and Vaupés rivers in 1927. In his notes, published posthumously in 1950, it is revealed that he correctly identified Tucano and Cubeo descent groups as patrilineal clans. He did not, however, enter the Cuduiarí, and his information on that river, being secondhand, is not too reliable.

My own field work on the Cuduiarí began in September 1939 and continued through June 1940. (Goldman, 1948, is a preliminary report.) The Cuduiarí had the advantage of being relatively accessible and as yet almost completely unacculturated. I decided upon the Cuduiarí after a survey of the Cubeo communities along the Vaupés.

## CULTURE CHANGE

Cubeo culture has been subjected to acculturative influences from two sources, one from other Indian tribes and the other from European, Colombian, and Brazilian missionaries, settlers, traders, and latex extractors. Cultural interchange among Indian tribes in the Northwest Amazon region is, of course, an old and intricate process,

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men have learned to wear trousers and a cotton tunic at home. For ceremony, however, they wear only the perineal band, now made of trade cloth. For women the skirt has replaced the ornamental ceremonial apron, but for men ceremonial participation in trousers means an important change in outlook in which the ceremony has become secularized. I learned this from young Indian men, visitors to the Cuduiari, who, wearing the cotton trousers and tunic of the mestizo, insisted in explaining to me that they were taking part in dances "just for fun." In the truly solemn ceremonies on the Cuduiari I saw no man in European dress. 177 291 182

The use of Spanish or Portuguese is another sign of change in cultural identification. But here, too, the process is complex. Indian cosmopolitanism is traditionally multilingual. Wives often speak distinct dialects of Tucanoan or else speak Cariban or Arawakan. Children learn the language of the mother first and then learn to speak Cubeo. The Tupian lingua franca has been a traditional trade language between Indians as well as between Indian and white for a very long time. Thus, the Indian who has learned Spanish and Portuguese is simply extending his multilingualism. These European languages have also come to play an important role in native interrelationships. Spanish and/or Portuguese has become the customary language of violent drunken quarrels among men at a drinking party. Used in this context the insults and threats in a foreign language are less ominous, and easier, therefore, to disregard than the same words uttered in the native language. The Cubeo usage is as with us: the foreign phrase used scatologically modifies the impact. Thus, in this respect the Cubeo adoption of foreign European phrases is a matter of enriching the native culture and is far from being a mark of cultural breakdown. I met only a few Indians on the Vaupés and none on the Cuduiari who had given up their native speech in favor of Spanish or Portuguese. 177 182 191

The use of European personal names offers another example of adaptation to the native cultural pattern. Among the Cubeo, personal names come from the traditional genealogy of the sib. They have a sacred character and are not used freely. Knowing a person's sib name is a sign of intimacy and such intimacy is not readily yielded up. I did not learn native personal names for weeks, and even at the end, one of the more embarrassing questions I could ask was simply a person's sib name. In common discourse kinship designations were used. The native name is not so much an appellation as it is sib identification. The headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib was the first to tell me his name. He uttered it in a whisper close to my ear. Thus, for the Cubeo, 177 551 182 614 [123]

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177 Thus, for the Cubeo,
551 being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most
182 exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It
[553] has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a
[123] European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiari who had a European name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

177 On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tribu-
[797] taries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civilized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no cultivated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for
[464] which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor. At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in 1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

177 Many Indians of the Cuduiari had visited Mitú, the capital of the
648 *Comisaría* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in 1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station. After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important administrative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio station, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business. Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiari were not altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

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with its white residents, they had no reason not to regard it as a 177
friendly place. The *Comisaría* protected their labor rights, supervis- 648
ing terms of contract and entertaining their complaints of unfair treatment. When an Indian completed his term of labor he was "paid off" in the presence of an official in charge of Indian affairs. The Indians regarded the government as fair. The *Comisaría* provided medical aid to those Indians who came to seek it. At the same time it respected native life and interfered with the Indians as little as possible. Although the Cuduiarí is readily accessible from Mitú it was [114] entered only rarely by administrative personnel. When I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* some 15 hours by canoe from Mitú, I had the sense of total isolation from this administrative center. The normal everyday life on the Cuduiarí was completely Indian. In the time of Wallace there had been bad blood between Indians and Colombians, but by the time Koch-Grünberg arrived relations between the Cubeo and the government had already become peaceable.

In Mitú I met Mandú, headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib of the middle 122
Cuduiarí. He had come to seek medical treatment for his young son, 123
who had injured his knee in a fall. The headman and I became friends [614]
and he invited me to visit. When I promptly accepted his invitation I was surprised to find that he had already begun to build a house for me and that the Indians had expected me to settle among them. He had discussed the matter with his people, he told me later, and they had agreed that it would be good to have me live among them. The reasons for wanting me never became too clear, but I came to believe that they thought I would offer them some protection from the pressure of the labor recruiters.

I was informally "adopted" as the younger brother of Mandú. For 123
a while people were amused to address me by an appropriate kinship [597]
term. In time this jest lost its freshness and I came to be regarded simply as *pakomá* (kinsman). Nevertheless, I was considered to be a member of Mandú's household even though I had a house of my own alongside the maloca. Mandú sent his older wife, with whom he was no longer living, to serve as my cook. With Mandú's household I had all the privileges of informality. My relations with other households were friendly but more restrained. Since I did not contribute an appropriate share of fish and game to the household, or to the maloca as a whole, I felt obliged to reciprocate food and services with periodic gifts of cloth, tobacco, fishhooks, and ammunition. At one time during a drinking party at which I was not present, a son of Mandú distributed all my trade goods to the guests "in my behalf." However, during the period of many weeks when I no longer had trade goods

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• 123 my status in the community was as before. I still could count upon food and services.

[122] I participated to some degree in the male life of the community and came to learn the language and the culture as much by slow enculturation as by questioning. I had no principal informants because no one would serve in that capacity. All were willing to talk, to explain matters to me, but only in the accustomed atmosphere of easy and genial chatter. The people I knew best and the household of Mandú, in particular, were paradoxically the poorest systematic informants. They were most impatient and most easily vexed with the informant role. They regarded the open notebook and the persistent line of questioning as counter to our relationship. For prolonged and probing investigations I called upon the head of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib. Even this man was a very patient informant only when he was my guest among the *Bahúkiwa*. On his home grounds we were back on small talk. In Mitú I could talk to Indian women more freely than I could on the Cuduiari, where my relations with them had to be more correct. My house alongside the maloca was an informal social center which children and unattached women felt free to visit without invitation. The children taught me things they thought I ought to know about native customs. This was a privilege they had which adults, with their acute tactfulness about criticizing, intruding, or imposing upon others, could not exercise.

The Indians placed no serious obstacles in the way of my studies. They would not explain or discuss openly a ritual act at the time it was going on because to do so would be to counteract its effects. [831] They did not, however, mind answering questions later and in a more [521] general context. Moreover, they expected me to preserve the proprieties of tact in asking questions about domestic matters. Sex was a difficult subject, as were invidious comparisons. The Cubeo are not eager purveyors of gossip. After trouble had erupted in the open one could ask for and receive a discreet and sober account of some domestic difficulty. At the same time that the Indians imposed upon me their own reserve they were also sensitive to any evident disappointment when my questions went unanswered. Thus, if I persisted I often could get an answer, but I had to follow protocol, since personal rela- [831] tions among adults are rich in decorum and social etiquette. I also had available to me the more informal channels of the play pack of children, which delighted in passing on some household gossip, as well as of old women, whose verbal bawdiness was in marked contrast to the customary verbal restraint of the men on sexual matters.

114 I chose to stay in one community and to benefit from the intimacy

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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamiwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

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361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
[844] Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[854] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
241 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[270] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[245] cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[177] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahukiana* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[2] This

[2] When Koch-Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 82). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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621 512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712 [361] In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise attack. 712 When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the 725 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were confident they left the women and children behind in the house with [123] a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361 504 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza. 504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state 574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests [417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be al- [576] lowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men 504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning 796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe [778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504 833 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital

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361 Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-
554 tain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or en-
[157] couraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they
[123] did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the
342 new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one require-
361 ment of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with
622 him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines
768 of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new ma-
loca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change
at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the
victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a
361 fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations.
244 At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to
768 ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is
moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the
old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transi-
tional period when the community is actually working both clearings.
The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until
they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they
will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old
*chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

361 The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to
[311] circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some
15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again.
Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the
forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally
dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later
moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiari and the
361 Querari. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this
614 connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or
554 along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs
occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely
associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks
deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong oc-
cupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or
by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become
dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites
and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Gia-
361 cone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (refer-
554 ring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only
along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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501 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke
516 are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been over-
[461] come the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oarsman's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the
501 canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a
461 long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spontaneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!"
501 On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about
517 two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying
[123] some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why didn't you shoot them?"

501 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of
462 steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys, each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are
[857] in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of balance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

502 All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the
[823] canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided because of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline. Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push. High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

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an who has daughters to help her can prepare a surplus of mash that, covered with banana leaves or stored in a circular bark bin, holds over to the next day. Whatever time a woman spares from manioc cake preparation is immediately absorbed by other duties, among them the making of chicha and farinha, which is simply the manioc routine all over again. When a woman prepares manioc for chicha, however, she has the help of her husband, but only at those stages that are totally distinct from manioc cake preparation. The Cubeo tradition is for men to take no part in *dúno* production, once they have made the clearing. Still, men do help their wives in peeling the manioc tuber. Since the knife has begun to supplant the teeth as a peeling implement, men, who are the most expert in handling knives, feel somewhat more free than formerly to help – but not without embarrassment. I once walked into the house and saw the headman sitting amiably beside his wife and peeling manioc with a knife. Were I a proper Cubeo I would have managed to appear as though I had seen nothing. But the sight was so unexpected I stared. The man flushed and dropped the knife and tuber. Then he collected himself and explained that his wife was not well and so he felt he should help her. He assured me, as his wife smiled, that he never did this ordinarily.

Whereas all women share the same general manioc routine, individual circumstances differ. A young married woman with young children has no one to help her and must work very hard in contrast to an older woman with several daughters who can relieve her of much of the work. A woman with many sons and no daughters has a very heavy burden. The men provide her with a very large garden, they eat heavily, they are sociable and plan drinking parties. An old woman living alone prepares her own small manioc cake ration, and worries rather that she can call on no man to enlarge her manioc garden. Yet in all these individual circumstances one observes leveling factors as well. The household with very young children eats less, has less need to entertain, and has smaller trade needs. The household with grown daughters eats more, entertains more – suitors and their parties for example – and has great needs for trade goods, skirts, and ornaments for the girls. The household with many men has greater access to trade goods through their wage labor and saves on farinha. An old woman living alone may eat with her close kin and so devote her manioc production entirely to farinha, if she desires. There are no significant differences in manioc cake consumption. Families differ only in the rather small prestige of owning trade goods and in

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as pets. 231 235

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had been living among the *Bahükiwa* a short time when they learned of my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiari. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash. 123 245 439 [262] [302]

## MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life. 121 28 32

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a small basket (*pobü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pediba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a 28 32 462 [415] 462 461

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439 business. The Indians are now aware that in their dealings with the whites their labor and their products have a fixed value with some [462] leeway for bargaining. Direct commercial trade, object for object, is almost exclusively the province of the Indian women. This is not a new role for them because they also are active in intertribal and intersib trade. Because women do not have as much contact with whites as do their men they still inject into the commercial trading much that is traditional.

439 The traditional attitude is that any exchange is part of a patterned 571 social relationship. An exchange establishes a linkage between the principals and each is aware of his obligations and of the showing he must make. The obligation is of generosity, the temptation to give somewhat more than one has received. The impression to be made [831] is that one does not haggle over objects. An exchange between a man and a woman who are sexually eligible to one another introduces the additional element of flirtatiousness. All of these elements enter into and complicate and enliven the farinha trade. The more experienced men are able to adapt to commercial methods, but since it is improper for a man to conduct his wife's business for her he will stand aside when she is trading her farinha.

439 I never witnessed the intertribal trade, but when I pointed to an object and asked who had made it or where it had come from, its provenience and the nature of the transaction were always known. Manioc grating boards, for example, generally come from the Isana River. The Cubeo often traded European articles for tribal manufactures, less because they needed the tribal object than to satisfy another Indian's need for the European article. A Macú once wanted matches and gave a small basket for a box. The Macú baskets are highly valued, but in this case the initiative was with the Macú. An [183] important principle of native trade in the area is that an object asked [576] for must be surrendered. One must be careful, therefore, not to ask for something the owner might be reluctant to part with. Thus the [123] *Bahükiwa* headman asked me as a condition of my staying in his community not to offer to buy ceremonial objects. "If you ask for them," he explained, "we shall have to give them to you. How shall we replace them?" Thus, there is an element of delicacy in intertribal trade. At the same time there is a compulsion to engage in trade so as to give significance to the meeting of people of different tribes. In sum, while intertribal trade eventually satisfies the requirements of the Indians for specialized objects they would not ordinarily have, each individual transaction responds to motives that are often only indirectly economic. Trade objects circulate readily. Thus, a set of

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use it, and, as the others do, he shares his catch with the community. 226 Weir sites are inherited by a son so that there is some tendency for 423 this specialty in fishing to descend in certain families and not in [428] others.

In objects there are two main kinds of property rights, those of 421 the community and those of the individual. Community rights are in all objects made for public use by the headman or his wife, such as a large canoe, great chicha urns, the manioc oven, the sugar cane press, and guest benches. Of a somewhat less public nature are ceremonial objects and musical instruments also made by the headman or by an aspirant to his office. The first group of objects are fully in the public domain and subject to constant use. The second group are in the possession of their maker and are brought out by him alone on the proper occasion. Full individual ownership resides in all other personal possessions: household utensils, canoes, weapons, trinkets and ornaments, all trade goods from Europeans, and items of clothing. Disposition of these objects is subject entirely to the discretion of the owner.

Infants also own property and their rights are more or less respected. 858 Sometimes a planting is set in an infant's name by the parent or 421 grandparent. A mother commonly dedicates a brood of chicks to her nursing child. The feeling is that, as with ornaments, possessions confer human status. That is, a person should own things. If the child is 858 old enough to understand possession it assumes charge, more or less, 421 otherwise its possessions are administered by its mother. I have nego- 593 tiated, for example, the purchase of chickens owned by children. In 123 one instance a mother prevailed upon her little boy to sell me a 425 chicken. After the sale was made, however, the child wailed miserably 867 so that I felt obliged to make him a gift of it. His mother kept the purchase price and announced that she owed the child the value of the chicken. When the child does not understand the transaction, its mother announces publicly the facts of ownership and her intentions to make restitution.

The attitude of the Cubeo toward personal possessions is best 421. described as casual. They are not indifferent to objects but they regard strongly proprietary feelings as improper. Their attitude toward ownership is governed by the important status principle that giving is honorific. Among sibmates objects circulate freely, the closer the tie between people the more active the exchanges. Sisters exchange orna- [602] ments and trinkets and men borrow freely from one another with [593] or without permission. They seem to be most free with objects of economic utility, such as a canoe, weapons, implements, and somewhat

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animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped upon the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahúkiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts. 264 [522] [184]

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit. 264 765 261 [574] [796] [273] 261 264 577

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband, 264 574 [614] [123]

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264 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahikiwa* to pay a
574 courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to
● 123 eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahikiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may
768 explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack
571 fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest
866 for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This
[857] attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in
183 leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good
571 part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances
431 of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice; one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy
[123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

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593 to his father for personal attention. On the whole, a child is at a greater disadvantage if it has lost a parent of its own sex, that is, a girl with a stepmother, a boy with a stepfather. A girl with a stepmother has a hard life of chores and of open neglect. A boy with a stepfather does not have a hard life at all in the material sense. He is deprived more subtly of intimacy with a paternal figure, and this usually shows itself in his own reserve with respect to his fellows. If he has no father at all the effect upon his personality is even more marked.

593 My direct acquaintance with the situation of a true orphan is 736 limited to the observation of one case among the *Bahükiwa*. This [597] was a girl from another tribe who had lost both parents and was adopted by the *Bahükiwa* headman as his "daughter." The little girl, about nine, was addressed as "daughter" but held the status in the household of a servant. She took on the heaviest chores and was almost never free to play. Her lowly status was truly stigmatized by [301] her lack of possessions. She was the only child among the Cubeo whom I had ever seen unadorned, until I gave her a necklace which [123] she was allowed to keep. The children of the household enjoyed beating her as a way of teasing her, rather than wickedly. She took their pinchings and cuffings good-naturedly, on the whole, and had learned to pretend not to notice. Once, in the presence of the headman, her "father," the children were overdoing their teasing. She looked imploringly at the headman. Finally, she caught his eye and he said to her, "It is all right for you to run away." He saw no need to reprimand his own children.

[114] In reading Giacone (1949) on the Tucano tribe I found my observations on orphans corroborated. He, too, reported that orphans do not lack food but that they appear to be melancholy.

## CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP

572 193 A parallel to the brother-sister relationship is the *hikü-hiko* relationship, a ceremonial friendship. These terms, formed by combining the possessive prefix with the gender suffix, connote a relationship of exceptional closeness. The linguistic significance of possessive prefix and gender suffix for kinship terms has already been brought out. The curious feature of *hikü* and *hiko* is that these terms are composed of the two intimate-indicating particles.[8] The ceremonial

[8] *Hi* is also the verb stem "to give," but if *hikü* were translated as "giver" — a feasible rendering — it should be possible to say *hihikü*. But this form does not exist.

888 [593] [570] as well. The fixed relationships of mutual obligation are, as has been seen, between husband and wife, between parents and dependent children, between unmarried brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends. These relationships either do not apply to the aged, or, if they do, they may not be of great value to them. Generally speaking, the aged can depend upon those who are younger and vigorous only for the generalized sib benefits of sustenance and companionship. The deprivation of the aged is in what one might mistakenly call "the nonessentials." There is no one to buy an old lady a new petticoat or to get for an old man commercial tobacco. The aged do not protest such neglect because they acknowledge their lack of claim. Nonetheless, they feel their neglect and loss of status keenly enough. When I was among the *Bahúkiwa*, an aged lady employed all her senile charms to wheedle from me a new petticoat. Her husband, a very proud old man, deigned to accept only an occasional cigarette. From time to time he brought me fish and the old lady fetched me some of her small garden produce to reciprocate my favors.

888 123

888 The old must look after themselves. The very old *Bahúkiwa* couple maintained a semblance of an independent household. The old woman, unable to carry a load of manioc, no longer gardened, but she fetched firewood and looked after children. She cooked for her husband. Her daughter-in-law provided her with manioc cake. The old man was still a good fisherman, contributing to the maloca. Besides, he was a consultant on many matters, particularly on trees to be used in manufactures.

[18] [769] The focus of Cubeo culture is upon the vigorous household heads. The aged simply fall out of things. They are entitled to no particular respect, nor have they cause to be feared as spirits-to-be, for the Cubeo are interested only in their first ancestors and not in the spirits of the more recent dead.

## DEATH

761 [750] 763 Death may be attributed by the Cubeo to natural causes such as accidents, violence, old age, but if it is the result of illness, it must be laid to some agency that has willed it. The most common agency is human. Whether the agency is human or supernatural the reaction to death is patterned on grief, anger, and fear. The Cubeo reaction to death is to give full rein to grief and anger and to short-circuit as quickly as possible the forebodings that what has happened to one may happen to all. The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were

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of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates.

The *unkúndye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited to sibs of the phratry, the *unkúndye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkúndye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkúndye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity.

The hosts of an *unkúndye* have two very evident anxieties as they go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkúndye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As already mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy

catching the shining emerald, blue and yellow wings of giant butterflies. 122
José, who had been carefully watching the passing bank, asked to borrow one of our shotguns. He soon returned with three *pava* – a type of large black-cock – which he had shot with four cartridges. Like all Indians, he was much more adept at hunting than ourselves.

The day wore on and the river widened, trees and creepers came right down to the water's edge, their leaves reflected peacefully by the calm surface. Sometimes the thick green foliage was covered in pale purple flowers, rather like lilac, whose sweet smell floated across the water as the boat moved through the beams of sunlight. It was warm and the scene had changed. We were no longer enclosed and we only once had to jump into the water to guide the loaded boat through a rapid.

Here Horacio, whose ankles had swollen to an alarming size, stumbled and fell in the rushing torrent. Perhaps this was an indication of our condition and the need to reach dry land. Sores had not healed and many had started to go septic. By contrast José and Uriel had gone from strength to strength, their bodies seeming to profit from the very hard work they had had to undergo.

Now the trees' shadows were lengthening across the river and three white egrets glided ahead of us. José's voice broke the silence: 'Only one more turn and we reach Kuarumey's *maloca*. His father was a famous chief who refused to allow any white man to enter the river – now he is dead.' As he said this we rounded the last bend.

There in front of us rising from the water's edge was a clearing of green 123
manioc with an expanse of sky behind. We paddled the boat alongside the wooden canoes moored to the bank, while in the dusk we could barely distinguish the features of the Indians as they came down the path towards us. They carried no arms and seemed to be friendly. Soon they were helping us unload *El Diablo*. We debated whether we would stay the night by the river or in the *maloca*. The Indians however were in no two minds about this, and we found ourselves stumbling up the path in the darkness, following our laden hosts, very glad to feel the good dry earth beneath our bare feet and the warmth of the fires inside the great *maloca*.

# 2

# *A Death*

114 Matias arrived at the *maloca* the following day with the rest of the equipment we had left behind at the portage. Without his help we would have had to abandon it. That same night he started back on the return journey with his brother Bernavez, back to their *maloca* on the Río Ti. With them seemed to go our last contact with the outside world. Now was the time to collect our thoughts, to reorganize the equipment and to decide how we were going to carry out our work. The surroundings, the atmosphere, the Indians, everything was new. Each day, when evening arrived and we had eaten, we would sit across our hammocks and read by the light of a candle, or write up the day's events in our diaries. On Friday 6 January Brian wrote:

123 'Did not sleep very well last night, probably because I had taken a large
276 mouthful of coca just before getting into my hammock. Nearly choked, the fine green powder making it virtually impossible to breathe; so had to run down to the river and wash my mouth free. The Tukano must have a special method for swallowing it.

512 The women got up very early, long before dawn, but I couldn't tell the time because my watch was lost on the way over the portage – too bad. They rubbed down manioc and the continuous noise made all further sleep
126 impossible. Horacio left for the river before first light to develop a film he had taken with his old Rollei, also one of mine to see whether I'm giving the correct exposure in these dark conditions. He prepared the hypo last night and has to develop before the water temperature rises.

114 At dawn Kuarumey opened the door and the cold air rushed into the *maloca*. I went out to the jungle to relieve myself, armed as usual with a bottle to collect a humus sample. We do this nearly every morning – all these tiny bottles. I wonder whether the American drug company will ever discover a new Amazonian anti-biotic? Lovely pale pinks and delicate blues, the mist rising in great banks off the forest, and dew dripping from the trees. It was so peaceful and cool.

We joined Horacio for a late breakfast; all of us rather at sixes and sevens with each other as to what to do. The last days have taken a lot out of us and

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000 *Our train of canoes on the Piraparaná – José in front.*

 [see p. 46-A]

at times we are very irritable. Donald, the most silent, is by far the most 114
understanding, while Horacio and I with our opposite points of view tend to get across one another.

Spread out the two tarpaulins on the sand in front of the *maloca*, then all the equipment on top of them, once more throwing everything to the air and the sun. Donald and I doctored our sores. Both he and Horacio have the beginnings of boils on their arms; this could be dangerous. If our sores go septic we really shall be in a mess – we had better take some penicillin. Donald dealt with the medical kit, Horacio checked over all the food supplies. With his blue and red pinstripe shirt, a Roman nose and scruffy growth, he looked just like an Arab street vendor squatting over his wares in the *souk*. We seem short of meat and Nescafé but otherwise all right. I took out all the cameras. Some of the lenses are in poor shape and neither the electronic flash nor my Japanese one is working. Spent ages trying to repair them and reached the conclusion that the filament on the electronic had broken – probably knocked as we came over the portage. Donald discovered a dud contact on the Jap flash and after much wastage of bulbs and various electric shocks got it to work.

The heat at midday is tremendous but a swim in the river refreshed me.
José and Kuarumey had gone out with our two twelve-bores and returned 123
at noon with three *pava*. Being stationary is a blessing; we can send the Indians off hunting – they love using our guns – and so supplement our rations. Have to be careful because Nestor should soon be arriving.

*p.m.* I slung my hammock between two trees – the sandflies never seemed 114
to leave me alone – and wrote up my geological notes till the sun went down. Am putting all the specimens in sample bags, and it's lucky we have them, for some of the sandstones are crumbling to pieces. Horacio measured the rice into our bright-red tins – funny to think they were once green and with me in the snow and ice of Cocuy. Donald spent the whole afternoon drawing the *maloca* – beautiful, he should have been an architect. The children love [123]
watching him, and one little boy – I think he's Kuarumey's son – kept tugging his long beard, then racing over to feel mine, completely intrigued by our hairy faces.

Spent the evening editing birdsong tapes with Uriel who gave me long [126]
descriptions of each bird; we had seen very few of them. Surrounded by many overwhelmed listeners, and one boy started to imitate some of the songs amazingly. Ate rice and stewed bird and after silica-jelling the cameras (the plastic bags seem to puncture easily) climbed into my hammock. It's 123
now late, a woman is still rubbing manioc somewhere in the darkness: they
always seem so willing to help us, but Kuarumey, no . . . he's sitting beneath 622

LEFT: *Horacio López*. CENTRE: *Donald Tayler*. RIGHT: *Brian Moser*.

 [See p. 46-B]

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 .SQ19 Tucano SQ19



123 the *bréo* flame taking coca with two other men. He is silent and has offered
622 little real assistance; I wonder whether he resents our presence here.'

It did seem at times as though Kuarumey resented our presence, and he later had some cause for his suspicions – certainly in his own mind – when events took an unexpected turn. He was a striking man, tall and rather gaunt, with a proud almost arrogant manner. There was no doubt as to who was the head of the *maloca*, nor that we were visitors, fortunate to have his hospitality. We saw little of him during the daytime and it was some time before we learnt he was making a canoe some distance away in the forest.

501 Though the Tukano travel through the forest on hunting expeditions, canoes are used to go further afield, to fish or to trade with other groups. They are a river people as much as a forest people, and like many Amazonian tribes they have evolved their own methods of making canoes.

[171] The Noanamá, we found, dug out and shaped their canoes from solid wood, and it was necessary for them to find very large trees to do this. Many tribes of the southern Amazon use the bark of a tree, like the North American Indian, while some groups of the Guahibo and the Maku living in areas remote from the larger rivers do not use canoes at all. The Tukano, however, shape their canoes by a process of heat-warping.

A tree – a hard type of cedar – had first been felled, then a twenty-foot section was cut and barked, and allowed to lie for several weeks, before [293] Kuarumey started to cut the wood. Each day he went to the clearing, setting up a palm frond to shade himself when the midday sun broke into the clearing, through the gap in the trees overhead.

[412] Using his *azador*, a curved hoe-like blade, and a long stick with a sharp metal end, he first shaped the outside of the log, scraping off the bark. Then he made holes along its length and began to cut out the centre. It was hard work and he would often break off to make himself a cheroot, using the rolled leaf of a palm, while his eldest son continued the work. Once he disappeared in the jungle to set a monkey trap, a ring-snare high in a tree with fruit as the bait.

[224] He worked carefully, feeling the sides of the canoe so as not to make the shell too thin. After several days it was ready, braced with two small stumps to prevent the sides from closing. Then Kuarumey and several Indians from the *maloca* dragged the hull along the forest paths to the river bank nearly a mile away.

Now the canoe was ready to be warped by burning. This could be undertaken only at certain times of the year when there was no risk of rain, for [412] water on the hot wood might split it. Before they obtained iron and steel the Indians used to cut the trees with their stone axes. They would only partly shape the hull and burn out the centre with fire. Now, with the canoe already shaped, the burning was quicker and it would be completed within a day.

that José was the one man who could take us through to the mouth of the Piraparaná. 114

Throughout the whole journey the factor which played more on our minds than anything else was uncertainty. The way back over the dry channels was almost out of the question and the Indians would never have taken us; the way forward appeared to be a long succession of cataracts. Then there was the question of Nestor – would he ever arrive and how long should we wait? The longer we stayed the more insistent José became about leaving. He did not enjoy his role as an interpreter, he did not like asking his fellow-Indians questions and he seemed completely indifferent to the work we were trying to do. All this was understandable but it did not ease our position.

It was cold and wet when José and Uriel left early next morning to take a load of equipment ahead. Mist hung low over the forest and the trees dripped with moisture. 'This is white rain,' said Horacio. 'It is more usual in the winter months, so perhaps we are due for a wet spell and Nestor will get through after all.' We all had doubts in our minds and now, with José gone, we had no means of talking to the people in the *maloca*.

Suddenly Kuarumey's wife ran out and grabbed Brian's arm, beckoning him to follow her inside. From the far end of the dark interior, behind the palm screens, came strange sobs. The sounds rose and fell; across the bare earthen floor a slight figure bent over the embers of a dying fire. It was Watsora whose husband had been away on a hunting expedition for nearly a week. Her naked body, lit only by a dull red glow, was doubled up. She heaved and hardly seemed able to breathe. Only the day before she had carried her heavy basket of manioc from the plantation. Now her thin, drawn face, her sagging breasts, her dishevelled hair, aged her beyond belief. A young girl clutched her around the waist and moved to and fro with the heaving figure, quietly chanting to herself. Watsora's baby son ran to his mother's side and clasping her arm began to cry. 123 763

Kuarumey's wife implored us to help. She pointed to the black medicine chest. Only the previous night we had given the headman aspirin, but this illness seemed much more serious than a headache. We could not be sure what was wrong. Perhaps she had an internal haemorrhage, maybe it was consumption, or was it appendicitis? We couldn't know, none of us was a doctor. Horacio was firm: 'No, we must not give her any drugs, for if she dies, then what do you think will happen to us?' For a time we argued but eventually agreed. Horacio was right: no matter what we felt, we could not afford to be held responsible for her death, nor could we interfere.

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*A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.* 000

[see p. 50-B]

*Tukano*

● 123 763 The wails increased, the young girl's chant grew louder as she repeated the same notes over and over. The atmosphere in the *maloca* became unbearably tense and, while Horacio read outside, we went down to the river, trying to escape a situation which we could do nothing about. Our minds were not at rest and, when Horacio's drawn figure appeared walking slowly down the sandy track, we could guess what had happened.

'Watsora died five minutes ago,' he said and went back up the path. We said little and silently followed him back to the *maloca*. On the way we passed Kuarumey's old mother. Her normally jovial face was now serious. She avoided our eyes and continued to feed her toucan with beetle grubs. Inside all was silent, the wails had ceased, even the children were quiet and their innocent curiosity had turned to wariness. There was nothing we could do except wait and keep to ourselves. The boat was downstream and we had no means of talking to anyone. The tiny black sandflies converged on us in the stifling heat of the early afternoon. A woman came over to our equipment, undid a tin and took out a handful of rice, looked at the grains, smelt them and then carefully poured them back again, wiping her hands on a kitbag when she had finished.

123 Our anxiety increased. To read or write was impossible. We left the *maloca* to walk across the forest clearing. The question of giving or not giving drugs to the woman before she died had produced one dilemma. Now the question was – what next?

764 Returning later we noticed that the earth in the centre of the floor had been disturbed and fresh yellow clay lay on the surface. None of us had actually seen the corpse, but Donald had seen the young girl, who had been wailing at Watsora's side, take the dead woman's hammock down to the river and wash it. Later we learnt that the Tukano always bury their dead inside the *maloca*. The method is much like that of the Noanamá and the highland burials of the ancient Chibcha. They dig a trench and excavate a horizontal vault about three feet beneath the surface. The corpse, with the knees bound to the chest in the foetal position, is wrapped in his own hammock or in barkcloth and then inserted in the vault which is blocked with leaves, so that earth never touches the body. With the body are placed private possessions: pottery or a basket in the case of a woman; a bow and arrows, coca pouch or snuff-shell in the case of a man. They retain these possessions for the afterlife, the happy hunting grounds where they will travel in spirit.

123 No ceremony could have taken place in so short a time, and the women continued to make cassava, as though nothing had happened. Before the death they were wailing, now they were silent. The people who had once been so ready to smile, the children who normally followed at our side, were aloof and distant. Each one of us was tense and worried and it was a relief when a new face came to the entrance of the *maloca*. He seemed familiar and we recognized one of the Indians we had first met on crossing into the head-

waters of the Piraparaná. He was returning home after leaving his baskets of *farinha* on the Río Ti and offered to take some of the equipment downstream in his empty canoe. The offer we accepted. 123

'There are *jakaratinga* in a small creek near my maloca.' he said in broken Spanish, 'and I want to borrow a shotgun and a torch to go and shoot one tonight.'

We had heard that this type of baby crocodile was good to eat, and this was another chance to restore the Indians' confidence in us. With a certain reluctance Donald lent his twelve-bore. Now only Horacio's ·22 remained. We always had to rely on their help. If they looked on us as friends, they would not steal our guns. If they did not, they could kill us just as easily, whether they had our weapons or not.

That night the men squatted on their stools, around but not on the patch where the woman was buried. As they chewed coca, they mumbled at times in answer to Kuarumey. Several times one of his younger brothers left the group and came over to our hammocks to look inquisitively at our kitbags and finger them, his solemn face caught in the failing light of the torchwood. Horacio was more worried than either of us, for only a few years before he had been attacked by a group of Aucas in Ecuador and had escaped by swimming under his raft; the same tribe later killed five American Evangelical missionaries who, in attempting to establish friendly contact, had landed their plane near one of the Auca settlements. Horacio had always preferred to travel alone, paddling his canoe along deserted rivers and slinging his hammock close to the bank. To live under the same roof as the Indian made him feel ill at ease. Our anxiety was only increased by his recollections of a journey he had made in the Llanos the year before, on a tributary of the Orinoco: 000

'Moving downstream late one evening, I was paddling my small canoe, when I heard voices. Rounding a bend I saw a small group of Guahibos on the bank. Before I had even drawn level with them I heard the hiss of arrows. Suddenly I felt a searing pain as one passed through my left arm and pinioned it to my side.' He showed us the great scar on his arm. 'I continued on down the river using my paddle as best as I was able, lying in the bottom of the canoe with the arrows thudding into the side.' How he had to extract the arrow from his arm and continue for days before he could get help was a grim story, all the more so in our own predicament.

It was still raining the next morning. Without any warning, Kuarumey stalked out of the *maloca* leaning on his stave, looking neither to left nor right. Some moments later two men followed him down to the river, their paddles on their shoulders and coca pouches slung across their backs. They were taking Kuarumey to the shaman who lived deep in the forest below the Piña *cachivera*. For the time being, all we could do was to wait. An old man sat humming to himself in front of the palm screen where Watsora died. Here 123 [756]

123 was an opportunity to make a unique recording, but it was not the time to upset the Indians.

Donald wrote in his diary, 'José took Brian's gun with him when he left, now mine has gone too. As B. just said, "This is the sort of thing that could have happened twenty years ago – they take away your boat, then your guns, then murder you." It doesn't do to have too much imagination!'

All afternoon we waited in suspense, feeling trapped within the area of the *maloca* and the green manioc plantation surrounding it. Then, with dusk approaching, José and his brother walked up the path from the river. They carried nothing and José seemed ill at ease while Uriel remained silent. Over the evening meal we told them that we would leave early next morning and that our intention was to descend the Piraparaná, then the Apaporis, and eventually arrive at La Pedrera on the Caquetá. To return to Mitú was now out of the question. Up to now José had thought we were going to return to Mitú and he greeted the new plan with apparent enthusiasm. Still we could not be sure of his intentions. When they went back to *El Diablo* to collect the gun and their own belongings and did not return after an hour, doubts once more entered our minds. Horacio left for the river carrying his rifle and we followed, but our alarm was without foundation – we met our guides as they were coming back along the path.

That night we were able to relax a little for the first time in three days. At least our guides and the canoe had returned, though we began to think Nestor would never get through. In case he did we left detailed instructions in the *maloca*, together with a projected sketch of the Piraparaná and supplies to last him until he reached the proposed rendezvous. More important was the shaman's decision, but this we did not know, for by dawn next day we had left the *maloca* and Kuarumey had not returned.

000 *A manioc plantation below a Tukano* maloca.

 [see p. 54-A]

# 3

# *Warpaint*

Below Kuarumey's the river was wider and deeper – deep enough to use our diminutive 7-h.p. Johnson outboard motor. Frequently during a day's journey we would come to rapids or a fall where everything had to be removed from the boat and carried to a point where it would be possible to reload. Then, using ropes, slithering over the rocks, pulling, pushing and heaving, we would get the empty eight-hundred-pound shell over the rapid sections. Sometimes the canoe seemed on the point of being swept away to destruction, but José and Uriel, together with the Indians, who for the small reward of beads, a piece of cloth or nylon fishing line were always ready to join us, seemed to know exactly how to manage it, though much bigger than their own light and portable craft.

Where the rapids were long and severe or there was a bend in the river, the Indians would sometimes have made a portage through the forest. On these occasions we would disappear for long periods, pushing and heaving *El Diablo* over the twisted roots and swampy ground through a jungle labyrinth, to reappear shouting and yelling to encourage ourselves at the lower end of the rapids, ready to load and continue on our way. During the severer overland passages the canoe might get a bad knock, and in spite of the recent overhaul it would be necessary to do more caulking. Sometimes, in despair, we doubted whether the old boat would even reach the Apaporis before she finally gave up and sank. To return the way we had come – which had been our original intention – was out of the question. Our only way out was to the Caquetá, a major tributary of the Amazon. What this journey would entail we could not imagine, for all the maps we possessed had often proved incredibly inaccurate. Of the time it would take us and the route we knew nothing. We had, however, heard that the lower reaches of the Apaporis were impossible to navigate owing to a series of great falls and rapids. This knowledge certainly gave us cause to worry during the ensuing weeks.

José by now had taken over responsibility for the motor. We took it in

LEFT: *The front, painted with a design in charcoal and clay, and great eaves of a maloca.* RIGHT: *Cutting palm fronds to thatch the roof.*

114 turns to take bearings and to time distances for our very rudimentary compass traverse. Often we came to fast sections of the river, where we would stop the engine, raise it off the back of the canoe – to which it was lashed by a piece of rope in case of an accident – pick up our paddles and guide the canoe through the swirling waters. It was as well we had the Indians with us on these occasions, for we never knew what lay ahead, and the water swirled by faster and faster. The following was a daily occurrence: '*El Diablo* was filling with water rushing in over her stern. We hung desperately on to extremely slippery rocks, then suddenly got lost in the froth with the boat going safely ahead. The boys take it all in their stride and utter high-pitched yells as they miraculously guide us through the more dangerous parts with their paddles.' Horacio was in his element at such times; all his travels by canoe in the higher tributaries of the Orinoco had been done with a paddle as his only means of propulsion. An engine was anathema to him, something totally unreliable, which invariably broke down at the worst possible moments and wasted days in repairs – if repairs were possible – whereas a paddle provided unfailing if slow progress.

At this stage we not only had to travel down the river but also to return up it, as we still had too much equipment to take at once. Normally José and the Indians would travel downstream for several hours with the equipment, then return for us. It was on one such journey of José's that the outboard started misbehaving. It was too late to do anything when the engine finally stopped and refused to restart. The following morning we found to our dismay that it had seized up. We stripped it down and after completely dismantling it found that the gearbox oil had leaked away and the whole shaft had locked solid. Fortunately we had enough gearbox oil in reserve – later we learnt that bananas make an excellent substitute – and we thought all was well again until, as the gearcase was being replaced, the clutch sleeve snapped. This rendered the engine useless. So that day we continued paddling down river in a very despondent mood – the thought of paddling our way to the Caquetá was not a happy one. The best we could do was to make for the next *maloca* and if possible effect a repair.

We arrived at the *maloca* that afternoon. Not a single Indian was within sight, not even a dog. At first we assumed the house had been abandoned, but a smell of wood smoke lingered. Puzzled, we noticed the fires had only recently been left. This was the first time we had encountered such a breach of hospitality, for the Indians must have known of our approach. We assumed however, they would return at nightfall, so we set about hanging our hammocks and preparing our beans and rice.

[123] The Indians did not return that night or the next, and the deserted *maloca* seemed strange and forbidding. Horacio was certain that these were unfriendly Indians and that this was their way of showing it. We should therefore be cautious and move on as soon as possible. But the broken

engine enforced a stay. We tried wood, then Perspex to replace the broken sleeve, and it was several days before we found that a section from one of our aluminium eating plates was the answer. 114

One day, while we were waiting in the deserted *maloca*, we were suddenly surprised by shouts. Outside a fierce-looking Indian with a carved redwood club in his right hand stamped and grunted his way round the bare sandy ground in front of the *maloca*. He was followed by three younger men, each carrying a machete, all with their faces covered in red warpaint. Mario Capitan, who had been made a 'chief' by the *caucheros* wore a long white feather in his ear-plug; he seemed annoyed. Probably he had come out of curiosity or to demonstrate his authority, or he may have heard of Watsora's death. His father had had great influence over the lower Piraparaná, murdering all whites who entered. Mario, we reflected, could well do the same. Then suddenly and silently he and his small band of warriors departed to the river, to their canoes, back to their own forest home. 123

It was with some relief that we set off again from the deserted *maloca* to continue downstream. At night we would clear an area near the bank for a camp site, put up the tarpaulin for the equipment, then sling our hammocks to the nearest trees. If it started raining we would have to huddle under the tarpaulin till dawn. It was much pleasanter when a *maloca* was close by at the end of a day's journey, as there we were assured of warmth and a roof over our heads. 114

During the course of our journey we visited fifteen *malocas*; in some we only stayed overnight, in others several days. They extended a distance of about 250 river miles – from Kuarumey's to the last rapids on the Piraparaná, about 100 miles from its mouth.

Though at times we were angry with José for always hustling us on with threats of desertion if we did not continue downstream, it was for the most part only through him that we could talk to the Tukano: only those who had worked rubber knew any Spanish. It was during these visits that we became better acquainted with the Indians, though they remained remote, perhaps because they distrusted us, true 'Sons of the Forest', their personalities hidden as deep within themselves as they were deep in Amazonia.

as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would be shown where we could sling our hammocks.

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punctuated by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst themselves. They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling on his body.

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre Elora only the month before we arrived.

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these are evil spirits.

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead, usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma.

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over a man's life.

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and

551 nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 752 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the [123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly un-753 concerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of [123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con-756 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on 123 whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*. [775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be

278 learnt many weeks later from a *cauchero* that there were specialists in this art. The Maku, he told us, are the expert curare makers in this area. They boil the scrapings of a liana together with two herbs, then strain the liquid through leaves and boil it again until it forms a black glutinous mass. This they place in small pots and trade it with other tribes, often for food and shelter; for the Maku are nomads. Though strychnine is always the base, various ingredients are occasionally added, from ants to putrefied animal remains. The most deadly poison, which was once reserved for human beings, is said to paralyse the victim in a matter of seconds.

224 The monkey is the most common of all the animals hunted for the pot.
252 These are hung over a fire and smoked for days. The first time we were
• [123] offered monkey, we were given the head, which we thought we were supposed to admire. But the brain, we learnt, is the greatest delicacy, like the head and eyes of a fish. The monkey often grips a branch as it dies, and for this reason the Indians would shoot many more than they ever managed to retrieve.

224 We never ventured to go with the Indians when they went hunting, as we
123 would have made more noise than them and frightened the game. Moreover, we felt we could never keep up. One morning the children came to a *maloca* we were staying in to say that a *capybara* had strayed along the river bank close to where they had been bathing. Immediately an Indian picked up his bow and arrow and quickly made for the river. It was unusual for an animal to stray so close to the house and we followed at a distance hoping that we might see the hunt.

Half-crouched, with his bow and curare-tipped arrows gripped in his hand, he began to stalk the large water rat. Getting as close as he dared, he put the small beeswax quiver head down on the ground, with the arrow shafts upright. He placed one arrow in the bow. Twisting one leg around the shafts, his toes braced against the base of the quiver, he drew back the bow waiting for the *capybara* to move into the open, ready to take a second arrow from the sheath should the first miss. He held the bow fully stretched, crouched lower, hesitated for an instant, then released the arrow. The rodent
[252] rolled over without a sound. No second arrow was needed. That night we boiled the *capybara* which tasted like pork. The poison never taints the meat; it only affects the nervous system through the bloodstream.

224 The tapir is the largest of the forest mammals hunted by the Indian. It is the size of a cow, with a long snout, small eyes and slotted feet, and its only defence is camouflage. Speckled brown and black like the sun-dappled forest floor, when young, and turning to a dull slate-brown when fully grown, they gather at their watering places to drink. They were hunted relentlessly by the

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000 *A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his* kurubeti *pebble stave.*

 [see p. 70-A]

# 6

# *Panpipes and Don Giovanni*

In early February we started to make a small collection. For exchange we had brought rolls of coloured cloth, cigarettes, combs, thread and beads, fishing line and hooks. When we arrived at a *maloca* we would give presents to the headman and his wife, then to the rest of his family. There was never any hesitation in allowing us to sling our hammocks in their houses, but our giving gifts perhaps assured them of our friendly intentions. Moreover, in return they would often give us *farinha* which would help out with our own food. Of all the trade goods, small beads, and cloth especially in primary colours, red, blue and yellow, were the most popular. They preferred white beads and were prepared to exchange many of their own possessions for them. But even if we had lived with the Indians for some time, so that they knew us, they would have been loath to part with certain things. In order to obtain one of their magnificent head-dresses, which may have taken a man months to complete because of the scarcity of the feathers, we had to give them one of our shotguns, nothing less. A shotgun was as good as a bow and arrow. For the Indian it had the advantage that you could shoot more than one bird at a time and it had a greater range than an arrow. But for years their gun would probably be useless because of a lack of shot and powder. Also the gun made a great noise and this frightened the game away. The only three we saw were ancient hammer guns, probably taken from *caucheros* they had killed.

In one of the last *malocas* of the Piraparaná we obtained a canoe. This proved extremely useful as it could be loaded with some of the lighter equipment, such as the collection, and towed from the back of *El Diablo*. Unfortunately it was narrow and unstable and on one occasion as we passed through some turbulent water, it swung sideways in an eddy and overturned. Before we were able to do anything several pieces of our small collection had already disappeared. As a result of this we learnt to keep an Indian in the stern of the canoe to guide it.

The rivers of the Amazon are usually termed black or white, to differentiate between clear and muddy water. Because of the amount of suspended sediment, white rivers are said to have many more fish. There were however a variety of fish in the 'black' Piraparaná. When we travelled on the river we would often see large gate-traps at the mouths of the smaller creeks. The

can produce a most haunting tune. This tiny flute, the three-holed *sihoo*, is more often played outdoors than inside the house. Its clear rippling notes mingle with the forest calls, perhaps imitating a bird drawn closer and closer to the Indian hunter. The deer-bone flute, in contrast, has a harsh, piercing, eerie sound. It is made from a deer's tibia and three holes are drilled into the bone with a *capybara's* tooth. A little slit is cut into the head of the deer-bone, down which the man blows. Small lumps of beeswax are melted into the apexes and shrill notes come flowing out – bizarre perhaps, but melodious. This instrument is generally heard during the *chicha* ceremonies between the dances. The tortoise shell, too, is an instrument which has a weird, almost hypnotic tone. It is played by a man who squats on the ground with the shell gripped under the knee between thigh and calf muscles. Rapidly he rubs, almost jerks, the palm of his hand over the beeswax-coated head of the shell. Sometimes two men will play two tortoise shells and a pair of panpipes at the same time, and the continuous reverberation of the *goos*, as the tortoise shells are known, together with the syncopation of the panpipes produces an amazing effect. The high muffled tones of the *goos* echo round the *maloca*, driving the Indian's coca-bemused senses into a semi-hypnotic trance. To us this was not an unpleasant sensation and on listening closer we could pick out what was in fact a highly sophisticated rhythm. Each panpipe entered just off beat in an exciting, almost modernistic manner, more reminiscent of a modern jazz quartet than four primeval instruments of the Amazon. 533 534

Our recording equipment intrigued the Indians – those small boxes with wheels which turned, lengths of 'string' with weird metal objects on the end, held close to their faces or hung from the ridge poles of their *malocas*. It was all beyond their comprehension. At first they were frightened but once they had listened to their own voices and music, they were astounded and could not wait to hear more. We all too soon found ourselves using as much of our precious battery power to play back as we did to record. Sometimes they were intrigued by Western music – Beethoven piano concertos, Brahms and Gershwin had little effect, but the Bach double violin concerto drew many eager faces, a Haydn trumpet concerto brought smiles of approval and on hearing the Commendatore's deep voice in the last act of *Don Giovanni* the whole *maloca* drew near in wonder. Perhaps this really was the white man's shaman. 123 533

We waited four days at Bréo's while the women brought in baskets and baskets of manioc to prepare for *chicha*, and the men pounded coca leaves incessantly. During this time the *maloca* filled with families who had travelled by canoe from their distant forest homes along the winding river courses. Some had already been warned by messengers of the coming festival to celebrate the manioc harvest, but on the afternoon before it started Bréo left for a high knoll of ground, and stood blowing a clay horn – perhaps to warn 796 [534]

6: Moser and Tayler E, N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



hensive study of these designs all over South America. Certain trends might be found, early migrations might be illustrated by particular styles. The study might also tell us something of the character of these people. It could show the course of their migrations and possibly even date them, though, unlike the cave art of Europe, it is impossible to date individual drawings. But if the diversity of the trends of art in the small area we visited is any indication, a survey of the whole would seem an almost superhuman task.

Among the highlanders artistic expression had less of the foresters' spontaneity. Their art had a particular purpose. The coloured stripes and markings on their cotton mantles showed the lineage or family of the wearer. The Kogi, we were told, had gold ornaments, face-masks and even feather head-dresses in their temples. But they were kept hidden as objects of religious ceremonial. The Motilon found expression in the bindings of their arrow-heads, but these, again, were probably once tribal marks used for identification.

The foresters seemed to decorate everything: the patterned basket-weaves of the Noanamá, their bead caps and gourd designs; the musical instruments, the clay or charcoal designs on the front of a Tukano *maloca*, and their gay festival paraphernalia. Here there was a more natural outflow of creativeness, which had become inhibited among the highlanders. There were a few signs of outside influence, yet it was essentially traditional art. The head-dress we brought back to the British Museum was compared with one obtained on the Caquetá by the botanist Richard Spruce over a hundred years ago. It is impossible to tell the difference. Here as in all Indian art is evidence of the supernatural, the power of an unfathomed spirit world. There is none of the triumph of mind over matter, none of the intellectualism we find in European art with the evolution of classicism and the baroque. In this sense even the work of the Maya or the Aztec was still primitive.

The forest dweller's art has the spontaneity of a child, yet his approach is both sophisticated and intelligent. He will weave a pattern for a basket because the idea appeals to him and shape a paddle with the finish of a craftsman and the design of an artist.

The Indian is something of a connoisseur. This is the result of a natural critical sense. The Tukano would never accept cloth, fish-hooks or beads from us without a thorough previous inspection. The colour of the cloth is of prime importance, its strength would be tested, as would be that of the fish-hooks and nylon line, and the test for a good bead was to place it between the teeth – to see if it cracked! Pottery or baskets we had obtained by barter

LEFT: *A Motilon playing an axe-head flute.* RIGHT: *A child at his mother's breast; in front of them is ground maize.* [see p. 182-B]

123 437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 171 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 778 562 171 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nutshells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 171 825 [777] When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alex Clark told us that the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

114 [101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría [124] Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant [614] and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, [615] two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

615 As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the 361 existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one 197 another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It 619 could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of 615 tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other 571 phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in * 574 Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who [601] did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the corre- [101] spondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the 615 Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged 197 to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and 124 on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great 114 distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four [124] phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

∞∞ /335/ Aspects of Tucano Culture
Mythology -- Part I

By Marcos Pulop

/Page 336 is blank./

114 /337/ Preliminary Note
[101]

The material presented here was collected between June 11 and September 9, 1954, when field work was done in the village /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Performing the functions of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra respectively, blood brothers and residents of the village of Guadalajara.

121 773 The mythology that appears in this article is a very small portion of the total Tukano /Tucano/ mythology. The author has considered it advisable not to analyze individually the myths published here, but to wait until all the Tukano mythology has been collected and published.

∞∞ /Page 338 is blank./

* 539 /339/ I. Boraró and Boraró Numió

A man and a woman stayed in Diaojpekowí, and they were brother and sister. These two beings do not have children, but will never die. When they want to leave Diaojpekowí, they turn themselves into spirits. The man is named Boraró, and the woman is named Boraró Numió. Boraró and Boraró Numió kill people by opening a hole in their heads and sucking out the entire body through this hole. They leave only the skin of the victim, which they throw on a tree /Sp. palo/. To kill her victim, Boraró Numió lies down face up and begins to urinate at a distance of about 150 meters from her victim. Boraró, to kill his victim, urinates standing at a distance of about 150 meters from his victim. And when Boraró and Boraró Numió urinate, everyone that is within those 150 meters falls dead instantly.

* 539 761

/97/

# Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

121 [122] /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 [101] The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as interpreter. Owing to the short time of the investigation and to having consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yurupari.

124 128 772 772 769

105 [171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

/6 cont./

114 Our task, of editing, in comparison with that of Koch G.,
128 was greatly facilitated. There fell to us the intellectual, patriotic, and religious pleasure of four excursions through the vast and laborious field of the Apostolado Salesiano no Amazonas /Salesian Apostolate in Amazonas/ and of admiring the work of patriotism and evangelical charity that the Filhos de Dom Bosco are achieving there. And benefiting ourselves by means
[191 797] of their company, their knowledge of the native idioms (3),

> 3. Besides having already found numerous Indians with whom we could communicate perfectly in the language of our native country, because they had learned Portuguese in the schools of the Missions.

the prestige that they enjoy, not only among the natives who profit from their material and moral assistance, but even among the others who only know them by repute, we start collecting
114 the precious data of their observations and experience. The
123 ethnographic material contained in these pages could be collected in a relatively short period, although triple that of
● 124 Grünberg. Nevertheless they describe an existence in the closest possible contact with the forest dwellers: living in their maloca, attending their festivities, listening to them during their long chats among themselves, and entertaining themselves in amiable conversation with them, participating in their joys and their sorrows, observing them in their work, admiring their abilities, using their services, curing their illnesses, probing their spirit, illustrating their intelligence in long years of education, illuminating their soul with religious truths, now and then seeing those minds unexpectedly open in flashes that reveal, through a charming ingenuousness, an internal world never dreamed of. One understands an environment by living in it; and the environment can explain to us a mentality.

/138 cont./

153 it is necessary to repeat the teachings many times. Perhaps it is for this reason that there are so many repetitions in the conversations among themselves.

How much patience and time one needs to obtain from the native a vocabulary as simple as it can be, for example, half a dozen of words corresponding to the parts of the body (head, hand, arm, leg, foot), or the names that they give the various tribes. And this even when we make use of a language that they know (for instance, Portuguese, Nheengatú, or Tukano). The difficulty grows excessive when one wants the term corresponding to some object that we do not have at the time, or when the idea is more abstract. By way of example and confirmation, if we ask him the words of his language that correspond to cadaver, large (space), long (time), ultimate (in an enumeration) (3).

[124]

3. By way of confirmation, two episodes are sufficient. We already had the names of the subdivisions of the Taryana tribe, obtained directly by us on a previous excursion and by Pe. Antônio Giacone. Wishing verification, we met in conference six individuals from this tribe, five of whom understood Portuguese sufficiently, and the oldest one, a little less. Two hours were necessary in order to obtain the names of the 15 subdivisions that appear in this work (IV, 2, y /see IV, 2, z, pp. 171 ff./) and the locality where they live. On another occasion we wanted to ascertain the exact pronunciation of nê'kã-yuse (cf. below VII, 4, f (2) ), the little branch, broken and "blown," that is left on the road as a malefice for someone. We asked in a circle of six or eight young men who spoke Portuguese. They rapidly exchanged ideas among themselves in

[192]

782 /336 cont./
796 Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsá, dances of
* [192] Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts con-
[534] sist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Gaim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩrĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

Ordinarily the native does not know (41)

[123] [124] [177] [869]

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

[115] The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506]

/337 cont./

796 Such feasts are held five to six times a year: not at fixed
782 times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or
585 also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.
881 /338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tĩye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tĩ. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tĩ of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

[123] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled)
[124] of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in general the old people, who know more, are the most reserved.
[115] Asking the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

/346 cont./

796 the men and with her own arms holding by the waist the two men
535 whom she is between. The eyes are turned toward the center of
*[192] the circle, and the points of the lances, yõxse-phĩrĩ, converge toward this point when they carry them.

At a certain point the local tuxáua gives an order indicating that it is the middle of the dance. Two men, among the leaders, go into the middle of the circle, make some turns, and finally come back to the line with the rest.

At a special order the women abandon their places, each one shouting her word. The dance ends with expressive whooping by the men; all those armed with a lance leave, bending as if they were looking for something, and, advancing toward a corner of the maloca, make a thrust with the lance toward an imaginary
*[192] point about a meter above the ground. They call this "blow-to-the-white, pexká-sã paasé" (54).

[123]
[124]

54. The Indians have always appeared very reserved in explaining to us the meaning and purpose of this "blow-to-the-white," although they had revealed its name to us without any embarrassment, perhaps thinking that we would not know how to translate
[115] it. On two occasions a native of the Tukano tribe of the lower Uaupés confirmed to us that "They do not like the whites and consider all of them enemies." Another native, also belonging to the Tukano tribe, although from the Papuri, in response to our question as to whether he liked the "white" or the "caboclo" better, asked us the meaning of the word /this footnote is continued on the next page in the
[829] original source/ "caboclo." To our answer that caboclos were the children of a civilized man and Indian woman, such as are on the Rio Negro, he answered immediately: --"We

*192 /394/
533
539
[124]
[126]

1. Song-dance with the rhythm tube, ahũ-wõ; 1st part (129):

129. We have tried to be quite accurate in the reproduction of the sounds. According to what seemed to follow from the pronunciation of Júlio, we separated the words and differentiated the verses. It might be that some separation has been the fault of the singer. And they commit it many times, taking a breath or breathing unduly between articulations that should be connected, and vice versa. We have verified, with singers from other places, even though they repeat Júlio's melody, that there is not perfect agreement with the articulated sounds that we publish here. This fact should not be surprising, if we recall that they learn by hearing and that the articulated sounds are without meaning. When one pays close attention, it is noted that in the same dance there is not strict agreement among the dancers. A little difference in the beat and discrepancy in the articulated sounds are observed.

Yá, yá, kapikwá
Yaká perí kapikwá
Nuyaká perí
Dwikã perí deyú deyú ayá
I iroyê.
Mã i-i, i-i-i (final whistle) (he explained that the whistle is to indicate that he is about to finish)

2nd part

Mã-ri-á i-i-i (whistle)
Dê-yá ya-yõ marí
Ikawê yo
Yóa marí ikawê yó
Yó marí ikawê dyakó
Dyakú i-i
Yô yô yô marí
Kawê marí i-i-i (whistle)

/421 cont./

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

[611] /422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[601] although the children belong to his tribe (27),

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[178] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
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• [124]

> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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123 my status in the community was as before. I still could count upon
food and services.

[122] I participated to some degree in the male life of the community and
came to learn the language and the culture as much by slow enculturation as by questioning. I had no principal informants because no
123 one would serve in that capacity. All were willing to talk, to explain
● 124 matters to me, but only in the accustomed atmosphere of easy and genial chatter. The people I knew best and the household of Ma.adú, in particular, were paradoxically the poorest systematic informants. They were most impatient and most easily vexed with the informant role. They regarded the open notebook and the persistent line of questioning as counter to our relationship. For prolonged and probing investigations I called upon the head of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib. Even this man was a very patient informant only when he was my guest among the *Bahúkiwa*. On his home grounds we were back on small talk. In Mitú I could talk to Indian women more freely than I could on the Cuduiari, where my relations with them had to be more correct. My house alongside the maloca was an informal social center which children and unattached women felt free to visit without invitation. The children taught me things they thought I ought to know about native customs. This was a privilege they had which adults, with their acute tactfulness about criticizing, intruding, or imposing upon others, could not exercise.

The Indians placed no serious obstacles in the way of my studies. They would not explain or discuss openly a ritual act at the time it was going on because to do so would be to counteract its effects.
[831] They did not, however, mind answering questions later and in a more
[521] general context. Moreover, they expected me to preserve the proprieties of tact in asking questions about domestic matters. Sex was a difficult subject, as were invidious comparisons. The Cubeo are not eager purveyors of gossip. After trouble had erupted in the open one could ask for and receive a discreet and sober account of some domestic difficulty. At the same time that the Indians imposed upon me their own reserve they were also sensitive to any evident disappointment when my questions went unanswered. Thus, if I persisted I often
[831] could get an answer, but I had to follow protocol, since personal relations among adults are rich in decorum and social etiquette. I also had available to me the more informal channels of the play pack of children, which delighted in passing on some household gossip, as well as of old women, whose verbal bawdiness was in marked contrast
114 to the customary verbal restraint of the men on sexual matters.

I chose to stay in one community and to benefit from the intimacy

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihi*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urâhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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A yavi, I was told, has a different kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong *yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *pariékokü* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a *yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókü*) becomes a jaguar. According to this view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pwãnyaviwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahükiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [3] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921-22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177 563 61 582 [4] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *cabocio* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Cabocios are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Cabocio culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The cabocio population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1963). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of cabocios. The cabocio population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*cabocio*" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "*cobaro*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be cabocios.

000 [5] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1963). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

• 124 191 [6] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data about each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 101 197 [7] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a cabocio type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

[P. 683-B]

/139 cont./

153 As for the memory, he has one a little more awake for the subjects that interest him. Thus he has less difficulty in learning some words or sentences of the Portuguese language, or in reading (4)

[125]

> 4. In 1948 I took to the Museu Salesiano do Índio de S. Paulo /Salesian Museum of the Indian in São Paulo/ the written tests of the children of Pari-cachoeira, after only eight months of school, consisting of a short dictation executed with good penmanship and few mistakes.

and in retaining the names of places, of persons, or in recalling the events. With more difficulty he will learn by heart the arithmetic tables or the prayers. And he also feels happy when the civilized man reminds him of some episode in which the Indian took part. Later, the desire to become "white," that is, to become civilized, moves him. For this reason he adjusts to the great sacrifice of entering a boarding school and attending classes, as well as of subjecting himself to the school discipline.

[829] [872]

2) Practical intelligence.

As for the practical intelligence, it is more highly developed. This is proved by the practical solution of the problems that life presents to him, and with the resources that nature makes available to him. The civilized in those regions, when they do not have other resources available, end up, in certain things, imitating the Indian, or entrusting him with the execution of what is needed. It is enough to point out, for example, the solid and large house /140/ or maloca that he builds, the stable and rapid canoe that he makes, and the numerous objects that he manufactures (vessels, grater, baskets).

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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pwánwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwánwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

197 tentative list of languages, as the listing of "tribes" was ostensibly also a listing of "languages." For the many informants asked, the criterion of tribal distinctiveness includes, by their own cultural definition, mutual unintelligibility between languages. It seemed premature to construct formal tests to explore degrees of mutual intelligibility between languages that were obviously genetically related (Voegelin and Harris 1951), but when asked directly, informants confirmed their mutual unintelligibility. The field procedure that I preferred and used was to watch for occasions when an Indian would comment that he had not understood someone else in a discussion where more than one language was spoken, at which time I would inquire what were the languages concerned. I depended on an Indian commenting in Tukano to identify nonunderstanding situations, but I was also able to pick up cues of "I don't understand" that I recognized in a number of the other languages. Thus I learned that such apparently closely related languages as Desano and Siriano, and even Tuyuka and Yurutí (see next two paragraphs), are mutually unintelligible. These and similar languages that are very closely related genetically make the central Northwest Amazon area an excellent one for close examination of the problem of language versus dialect (see Haugen 1966b).

[125]

Several language families are represented in this multilingual area: Eastern Tukanoan, Arawakan, Indo-European, Tupí-Guaranían, and others that remain undetermined (cf. Mason 1950, Noble 1965). Of these, the family most widely represented and with the largest number of languages is the Eastern Tukanoan, a family that seems to be contained entirely within the Northwest Amazon. The following discussion of my impressions is limited to this family.

I have made a preliminary attempt to reconstruct the Eastern Tukanoan family, using the comparative method on 13 of its languages on which I have field materials. The resulting subgroupings (see list in the appendix) definitely do not correlate with *phratric* groupings. Apparently the language most closely related to Tukano is Tuyuka, which is not intelligible to Tukano-speakers, not even "with difficulty." In phonology, morphology, and lexicon, one is considerably more distant from the other than Jutish is from Standard Danish (cf. Haugen 1955). However, in the field and on

[P. 674-B]

/44 cont./

*101 Koch makes the similarity of this idiom with the first two stand out immediately. In August of 1956 a tuxáua /chief/ of the Ide-masã or Makuna informed us that the Buhágana formerly resided in the forests of the river Taraira (trib. of the Japurá), but they had already died out as a consequence of the avengements within the tribe and the fights with other tribes.

It is not improbable that the Jacamim, located by Wallace on the Uaupés, are only a tribal subdivision, perhaps the Taitõ-paramẽra, that is "Grandchildren of the Jacamim" (cf. below the subdivisions of the Korẽterabõa, IV -- 2, p /p. 106 f./).

(7) -- MACUNÁ -- It likewise does not appear in the other lists. Pelo Rio Mar gives a brief report: "Macú of black color" and ends by saying "they are mentioned among the tributaries of the Rio Negro, on the Araganatuba, Apapóris and Jupurá." On the contrary, according to Koch G., they belong to the Tukano group and have their present habitat on the banks of the Apapóris, below the Pirá-paraná, in two malocas. They are types of good configuration, Koch continues, and they speak a language quite close to the Buhágana (Zwei Iahre, 379; and Festschrift Eduard Seler, 205-6).

We can state that Makúna is a denomination that the Colombians give to them. In their own idiom they call themselves Idemasã (water people) and we were with a group of them that resides on the Komẽ-ya (see below Ide-masã, IV -- 2, h /p. 137/).

[114] [126] Koch does not give in his Zwei Iahre the Vocabulary of the Makúna, but that of the Kueretu. Now, the Vocabulary that we gathered from the Íde-masã deviates considerably from the one that Koch obtained from the Kueretu, in spite of the fact that this group is indicated as a subdivision of the Íde-masã.

/65 cont./

191 /footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in
197 the Mediterranean ports.

It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. The Taryaña language is on the way to disappearing. In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

[178] [115] [126]

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

177 Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely
178 also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

[563] [582]

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

000 2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

/80 cont./

*101 The Tukano Family, being made up of human groups located in the Colombian plains of the Amazon forest, entered Brazil by the Uaupés-Japurá valley, probably before the period of the Discoveries (18).

[115] 18. An old Tukano of Iuquira, Justino by name, of the Ihurwá or Juruá group, informed Pe. Antônio Giacone that his group took the name of the river Juruá, where they lived. From there, they moved little by little to the Japurá, Apapóris, and reached the upper Uaupés. They came down the Uaupés to the mouth of the Papuri, and later went up it again as far as Turí-igarapé, from where the Maku guided them to the Japú-igarapé on the mouth of which they established themselves, after the Arapásu had left there. Such information, by someone who had never seen a map of the region, presents strong indications of veracity.

Almost simultaneously the Arwake family came down the Orinoco-Negro valley, reaching the Japurá, as is proved, according to Koch Grünberg, by the names of the rivers with ri, a typically Arwake ending. Having come upon the Tukano, who are located like a wedge on the Uaupés, the Arwake remained divided to the north and south of them. The last migration, in Koch's opinion, was the one of the Karaíba, who came from the eastern part, in relation to the previous groups, that is, from the upper Guaviare.

197 /81/ By way of confirming the affiliation of these idioms,
126 we gathered a parallel Vocabulary of the most used words in the different indigenous languages (cf. our works "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia" and "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical."

/273 cont./

d) His curing processes.

755 The curing process, even in cases of the use of adequate remedies, of plants of recognized therapeutic virtue, is based on suggestion, or at least it is helped by it. As a matter of fact, from the massages or suction of the ailing part, or from making water fall there from a cuia, they later show the patient (having recourse to prestidigitation, as Koch Grünberg, Z. I. 99 was able to observe) the object (bone, /274/ stone, thorn, insects, scales, etc.) that has been extracted from the painful member and caused him the pains, Waxkarí.

With the help of narcotics or stimulants, he will induce in himself states of crisis or of nervous excitation, during which he sees the causes of the sickness, or those who have caused the malefice. He will be able to make the patient see it too. He will prefer to bring the patient to his hut; or he will go to that of the patient during the night. He will demand the absence of other persons, and, alone with the patient, he will start his practices in an atmosphere of darkness and mystery, muttering very rapidly (21)

[797] 21. For this reason they like the Missionary to say the prayers more quickly.

unintelligible words, sung in a peculiar tone and alternated with loud sighs and groans. They know and perform a series of songs, each one with its efficacy for a given type of infirmity (22).

[533] [534] [126] [113]

22. We have managed to record some of those songs of the pajés from the Tukano, Wanana, Taryana, and Huhúdeni tribes, which can be heard in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" of the Centro de Pesquisas of Iauareté. Address: P. Alcionilio Brüzzi, Largo C. de Jesus, 154, S. Paulo, Brazil.

/306 cont./

534 There are four different ones; since, however, they always make them in pairs, canto and contracanto, they constitute a musical band of eight instruments that sound simultaneously in a hoarse, loud, but well-harmonized ensemble which is very pleasing to the Indian. In the picturesque /307/ native nomenclature, instead of canto and contracanto, the instruments are called husband and wife. We have already pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, c (2) ) the belief that the mĩrĩa are "people," and perhaps the denomination of husband and wife is derived from this belief.

Each instrument has its name, according to size; they could not explain to us the reason for the names, however.

Starting with the largest ones, the order that the tuxáua-bayá Júlio of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) gave us in 1953 was the following:

*192 534 1st. -- baaró (a bird of prey); 2nd. -- mahã (arara); 3rd. -- dẽ'tõ (squirrel); 4th. -- kixtyó boxká (bunch of snappers); 5th. -- arũtõ (assarí, a small toucan); 6th. -- mẽrẽ-i'sĩ (a small monkey, perhaps the marmoset); 7th. -- doé (taraira, fish); 8th. -- pextoá (kingfisher, aquatic bird, Caradrifdea).

[115] [126] In April of 1955 two pajés of the Tukano tribe, Marcelino of Iuquira and Henrique of Japú-igarapé (Uaupés) also indicated the names of the instruments, with an alteration in the order, however, to wit (we have recorded their defective pronunciation), starting with the largest: 1st pair: kixtyó-boxká (ensemble of rattles), its wife is anõnõ (assarí); 2nd pair: i'tãĩ or mẽ'nẽ-i'sĩ (small white monkey with a yellow back), its wife is pusõ (they pronounce it this

/338 cont./

796 [123] [126] [192]

/footnote 45 cont./ he would not allow him to attend the dance. Confirmation of this religious character, it seems to us, is also found in the refusal to our request to repeat the ceremony of the offering of the fish (waí poosé) under better conditions, so that we could film it. Nevertheless these Indians repeated the simple dances for us for this same purpose.

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The Tukano Antônio Barreto (December of 1953) assured us that they did not do poosé in front of the whites. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to attend it and to film it. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 202): he moreover was able to attend it on the Umarí-igarapé, but many Indians appeared displeased by this, and the tuxáua José did not allow him to take photographs.

[533] [535]

As though they were undertaking a serious ceremony and not a diversion. Nothing will disturb these rites. Singing mysterious words (ancient dialect? or, with more probability, mere corruption) which they do not understand, dancing in a slow cadence and marking the time with stronger beats with the right foot.

[755]

/339/ 4th. -- They attribute to such feasts in addition an efficacious healing action. It can drive away all the sicknesses and even heal large wounds (46).

46. This is what Koch Grünberg was able to verify (Zwei Iahre, 202): "dem Yurupari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung sugeschrieben /sic/. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen" /a strong magical effect is attributed to the Yurupari dance. It is supposed to drive away all sicknesses, and even

/339 cont./

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/footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1) ), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

[301]

6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

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[115]
[126]

7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compulsory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca. The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels,and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

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The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same tuxáua:

a) seat of the old ones, bũxkõrá duhurí-ko-mũ-rõ
b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ-rõ
c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ kõ-mũ-rõ
d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'í-khãra duhurí kõ-mũrõ
d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrí maxsã duhurí kõ-mũrõ.

The first columns are called sahãrí kãrĩ: boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrí), when they sleep (kãrĩ:) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrí kãrĩ:-tẽrõ (tẽrõ, on the Uaupés tẽnõ, means beam).

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).

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[126]
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50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom
*[192] they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõõ wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

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[554]

The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

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*[192]

When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to enter-
796 tain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance
535 as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a) ); it is a sign that the dances

/393 cont./

*192
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1st. With the rhythm tube or ahũwõ:
Ixki pũrĩ bõrõasé baxsá -- song-dance "the falling of the leaves of the inajá" or
Ixki pũrĩ baxsá -- "song-dance of the leaf of the inajá."

2nd. With the maracá or yaxsã (ya'sá or ñaxsã):
pexká baxsá -- "song-dance of the firewood"
ka'i baxsá -- "song-dance of the mass of the umarí"
kenõ baxsá -- "song-dance of the jatobá."

3rd. With a simple rhythm stick or yuxkõ:
Poori baxsá -- "song-dance of the offering" (of the dabacurí)
wai baxsá -- "song-dance of the fish"
Wãx-tiá baxsá -- "song-dance of the Wãx-tĩ."

4th. With the small flute called bwá (cotias /agoutis/):
bwá baxsá -- "song-dance of the cotias."

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Júlio, the tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), sang for us the various songs whose words or articulations we give in the following, revealing once more that all the "verses" were repeated many times (128).

[126]

128. We lament not having had a recording machine at the time when this tuxaua, with the best state of mind, furnished us this information. Later, in the possession of such apparatus, we went twice to Parí-cachoeira, where we waited for a long time for the opportunity of listening to him and recording his songs. It was not possible, however; the old Tuxáua was in the last months of his life, afflicted, it seems, with an internal ulcer, dying on July 5, 1954. We were able, however, to witness and film the solemn funeral of a highly esteemed Tuxáua. We nevertheless obtained other precious recordings, and, among these, the various songs of the Wanana, performed by the tuxáua Mandú from Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and of the pajés of various tribes (cf. the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/).

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1. Song-dance with the rhythm tube, ahũ-wõ; 1st part (129):

129. We have tried to be quite accurate in the reproduction of the sounds. According to what seemed to follow from the pronunciation of Júlio, we separated the words and differentiated the verses. It might be that some separation has been the fault of the singer. And they commit it many times, taking a breath or breathing unduly between articulations that should be connected, and vice versa. We have verified, with singers from other places, even though they repeat Júlio's melody, that there is not perfect agreement with the articulated sounds that we publish here. This fact should not be surprising, if we recall that they learn by hearing and that the articulated sounds are without meaning. When one pays close attention, it is noted that in the same dance there is not strict agreement among the dancers. A little difference in the beat and discrepancy in the articulated sounds are observed.

Yá, yá, kapikwá
Yaká peri kapikwá
Nuyaká peri
Dwiká peri deyú deyú ayá
I iroyé.
Mã i-i, i-i-i (final whistle) (he explained that the whistle is to indicate that he is about to finish)

2nd part

Mã-ri-á i-i-i (whistle)
Dê-yá ya-yõ mari
Ikawé yo
Yóa mari ikawé yó
Yó mari ikawé dyakó
Dyakú i-i
Yõ yô yô mari
Kawé mari i-i-i (whistle)

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother, in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
835 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public
881 sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).

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*[192]
[171]
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> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coianã Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtain-
> [115] ing the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirã-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

/447 cont./

601 their own father) and are called by them "mẽ-kõ," nephew. And those of their grandparents' generation they call grandfather, "pax-kõ-ro," and are called by them "paramí," grandchildren, or max-kõ-kõ, "child-of-my-child."

/448/ As for the "brothers," if they are such in the strict sense (that is, children of the same father and the same mother), the older one is called mamí (they translate it "bigger brother") and the younger, axkabí ("smaller brother").

When it is a matter of "tribal brother," that is, of the individuals of the tribe who make up one and the same generation or layer, the terms mamí and axkabí are independent of age; they are, instead, a function of the group. That is, all those of the more important "Gens" (see VIII-3, c /see VIII-3, d/) (we use the Latin term "gens" in order to designate the subdivisions of the tribe or sib of the American Ethnologists), whatever their ages might be, are mamí; all those of the inferior "Gens" are axkabí. That is, an entire "Gens" (without taking into account the ages of its members) is called mamí or axkabí of another.

Let us imagine the case of the individual X, who has five children, successively A, B, C, D, E; of which B, C, D are of the male sex, and A, E of the female sex. It is to be observed: [126] [162] 1st, that five is actually the average number of children, according to our "anthropometric file cards"; 2nd, that they wish to have children of both sexes, and that an older daughter is a valuable helper of the mother in raising the younger children. The older daughter A will be mamyó of all the brothers and sisters; the younger daughter E will likewise be axkabyó of all. If we consider the son C, he will be mamí of D and E and axkabí of A and B.

Let us further suppose that the brothers B, C, D marry (90)

[582] [611]

90. A and E will obligatorily marry husbands, baxsukõ, from another tribe; their children, however, do not belong to tribe X (grandfather), but to that of the father himself. The children of A and E

# 2

# *A Death*

114 Matias arrived at the *maloca* the following day with the rest of the equipment we had left behind at the portage. Without his help we would have had to abandon it. That same night he started back on the return journey with his brother Bernavez, back to their *maloca* on the Río Ti. With them seemed to go our last contact with the outside world. Now was the time to collect our thoughts, to reorganize the equipment and to decide how we were going to carry out our work. The surroundings, the atmosphere, the Indians, everything was new. Each day, when evening arrived and we had eaten, we would sit across our hammocks and read by the light of a candle, or write up the day's events in our diaries. On Friday 6 January Brian wrote:

123 'Did not sleep very well last night, probably because I had taken a large
276 mouthful of coca just before getting into my hammock. Nearly choked, the fine green powder making it virtually impossible to breathe; so had to run down to the river and wash my mouth free. The Tukano must have a special method for swallowing it.

512 The women got up very early, long before dawn, but I couldn't tell the time because my watch was lost on the way over the portage – too bad. They rubbed down manioc and the continuous noise made all further sleep
126 impossible. Horacio left for the river before first light to develop a film he had taken with his old Rollei, also one of mine to see whether I'm giving the correct exposure in these dark conditions. He prepared the hypo last night and has to develop before the water temperature rises.

114 At dawn Kuarumey opened the door and the cold air rushed into the *maloca*. I went out to the jungle to relieve myself, armed as usual with a bottle to collect a humus sample. We do this nearly every morning – all these tiny bottles. I wonder whether the American drug company will ever discover a new Amazonian anti-biotic? Lovely pale pinks and delicate blues, the mist rising in great banks off the forest, and dew dripping from the trees. It was so peaceful and cool.

We joined Horacio for a late breakfast; all of us rather at sixes and sevens with each other as to what to do. The last days have taken a lot out of us and

000 *Our train of canoes on the Piraparaná – José in front.*

 [see p. 46-A]

at times we are very irritable. Donald, the most silent, is by far the most 114
understanding, while Horacio and I with our opposite points of view tend to get across one another.

Spread out the two tarpaulins on the sand in front of the *maloca*, then all the equipment on top of them, once more throwing everything to the air and the sun. Donald and I doctored our sores. Both he and Horacio have the beginnings of boils on their arms; this could be dangerous. If our sores go septic we really shall be in a mess – we had better take some penicillin. Donald dealt with the medical kit, Horacio checked over all the food supplies. With his blue and red pinstripe shirt, a Roman nose and scruffy growth, he looked just like an Arab street vendor squatting over his wares in the *souk*. We seem short of meat and Nescafé but otherwise all right. I took out all the cameras. Some of the lenses are in poor shape and neither the electronic flash nor my Japanese one is working. Spent ages trying to repair them and reached the conclusion that the filament on the electronic had broken – probably knocked as we came over the portage. Donald discovered a dud contact on the Jap flash and after much wastage of bulbs and various electric shocks got it to work.

The heat at midday is tremendous but a swim in the river refreshed me.
José and Kuarumey had gone out with our two twelve-bores and returned 123
at noon with three *pava*. Being stationary is a blessing; we can send the Indians off hunting – they love using our guns – and so supplement our rations. Have to be careful because Nestor should soon be arriving.

*p.m.* I slung my hammock between two trees – the sandflies never seemed 114
to leave me alone – and wrote up my geological notes till the sun went down. Am putting all the specimens in sample bags, and it's lucky we have them, for some of the sandstones are crumbling to pieces. Horacio measured the rice into our bright-red tins – funny to think they were once green and with me in the snow and ice of Cocuy. Donald spent the whole afternoon drawing the *maloca* – beautiful, he should have been an architect. The children love [123]
watching him, and one little boy – I think he's Kuarumey's son – kept tugging his long beard, then racing over to feel mine, completely intrigued by our hairy faces.

Spent the evening editing birdsong tapes with Uriel who gave me long [126]
descriptions of each bird; we had seen very few of them. Surrounded by many overwhelmed listeners, and one boy started to imitate some of the songs amazingly. Ate rice and stewed bird and after silica-jelling the cameras (the plastic bags seem to puncture easily) climbed into my hammock. It's 123
now late, a woman is still rubbing manioc somewhere in the darkness: they 622
always seem so willing to help us, but Kuarumey, no ... he's sitting beneath

LEFT: *Horacio López*. CENTRE: *Donald Tayler*. RIGHT: *Brian Moser*.

 [See p. 46-B]

# 6

# *Panpipes and Don Giovanni*

In early February we started to make a small collection. For exchange we had brought rolls of coloured cloth, cigarettes, combs, thread and beads, fishing line and hooks. When we arrived at a *maloca* we would give presents to the headman and his wife, then to the rest of his family. There was never any hesitation in allowing us to sling our hammocks in their houses, but our giving gifts perhaps assured them of our friendly intentions. Moreover, in return they would often give us *farinha* which would help out with our own food. Of all the trade goods, small beads, and cloth especially in primary colours, red, blue and yellow, were the most popular. They preferred white beads and were prepared to exchange many of their own possessions for them. But even if we had lived with the Indians for some time, so that they knew us, they would have been loath to part with certain things. In order to obtain one of their magnificent head-dresses, which may have taken a man months to complete because of the scarcity of the feathers, we had to give them one of our shotguns, nothing less. A shotgun was as good as a bow and arrow. For the Indian it had the advantage that you could shoot more than one bird at a time and it had a greater range than an arrow. But for years their gun would probably be useless because of a lack of shot and powder. Also the gun made a great noise and this frightened the game away. The only three we saw were ancient hammer guns, probably taken from *caucheros* they had killed.

In one of the last *malocas* of the Piraparaná we obtained a canoe. This proved extremely useful as it could be loaded with some of the lighter equipment, such as the collection, and towed from the back of *El Diablo*. Unfortunately it was narrow and unstable and on one occasion as we passed through some turbulent water, it swung sideways in an eddy and overturned. Before we were able to do anything several pieces of our small collection had already disappeared. As a result of this we learnt to keep an Indian in the stern of the canoe to guide it.

The rivers of the Amazon are usually termed black or white, to differentiate between clear and muddy water. Because of the amount of suspended sediment, white rivers are said to have many more fish. There were however a variety of fish in the 'black' Piraparaná. When we travelled on the river we would often see large gate-traps at the mouths of the smaller creeks. The

/23 cont

133 the north there runs a channel of communication with the
river Guabiari, which descends from the environs of Santa
171 Fé de Bogotá. The Daçanas, Tarianas and Uaupés Indians
301 who might communicate with the Indians of the same
Guabiari have been seen with earrings of very fine gold,
which is supposedly extracted from the mines of New
Granada."

*101 381. "The Uaupés is inhabited by many nations, the
301 principal ones of which are Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena,
Uananã, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinanã, Timanará,
554 Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; the most famous one,
however, is the Uaupés because of the difference of various
degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what
serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very
smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in
order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it at
the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span
in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of
[304] the common people much smaller. The Uaupés wear the
ears and lips pierced."

•127 c. Numerous and interesting pieces of information
are found in the nineteenth century, especially in the
works of Wallace and Koch Grünberg. We shall cite them
whenever an opportunity presents itself to us, as confirma-
tion of what is found at present, or to verify a modification
of indigenous customs, or, finally, to rectify those
authors' observations that seem incorrect to us.

/25/ 5. Difficulties of Identification

*101 • 127 128 The deciphering of the nomenclature of the indigenous tribes presents great difficulties, even limiting them to the human groups of the Uaupés and tributaries.

Such difficulty has various causes:

1st. -- We must first indicate, not only the possibility, but the real existence of typographical errors. For example, the important tribe Taryana, of the Arwake branch, which is located in various povoados of the Brazilian middle Uaupés, from Ararí-pirá to Periquito, is called Tariarana in the "Roteiro" of Padre Noronha; in the "Diarios" of the ouvidor /auditor/ Sampaio and of Rodrigues Ferreira, respectively, Taryana and Caryana; and on the apostolic maps of Frei Gregório, Itariana and Itatiana.

2nd. -- The ancient sources that can be of help to us carry secondhand or more remote information, the exactitude of which sometimes perplexes us, we who know how arduous it is to obtain full clarifications from the side of the natives. And many of the informants for those first explorers were necessarily Indians.

3rd. -- The above difficulty, understandably, will be increased even more because of the bad pronunciation of the natives; or perhaps because of phonetic differences or even because of deficiency of sound in their languages. The tribe called Hanẽrã in its own idiom, and which inhabits the headwaters of the Tiquié, is called Panẽrõá by the Tukanos, and Panẽnõá by the Tuyuka. This divergence becomes very understandable when we reveal that its language is of the Tukano family, but the words that start with the phoneme p in Tukano begin with the aspirated sound h in Hanẽrã. For example, *[192] father in Tukano is paxkõ, and in Hanẽrã, hakõ; mother in Tukano, paxkó, and in Hanẽrã, hakó.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



142 oped; heads of the brachycephalic type; though I have noticed cases of extreme dolichocephalic variations. Teeth are generally poor.

147 Dr. Rice also commented on the capacity of the Cubeo Indians for great exertion on a minimum of food and rest. I can corroborate this judgment. I accompanied Indians on canoe trips when we paddled for as long as 17 consecutive hours with little rest or nourishment other than a handful of manioc meal in water. There was usually no urgent necessity for such exertion or privation. The Indians cus-
[484] tomarily eat lightly when traveling, and if there is any chance of
[261] reaching home rather than camping out or imposing upon the hospitality of another sib they prefer to keep going. However, it was not unusual for strong young men to topple from their canoes in a dead faint upon reaching home. Revived by the river they scrambled
[157] ashore, secured the canoe, and entered the house with the appropriate vigorous air, effectively concealing their acute fatigue. It is in fact characteristic of the Cubeo to make light of their accomplishments and not to yield readily to physical weakness.

114 Ethnographically, the Northwest Amazon was first fully brought to light by Dr. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, ethnographer and museum collector. Koch-Grünberg's systematic survey of the region at the turn of the century covered all main tribes and their settlements along the principal rivers. He spent many weeks on the Cuduiari among the *Hehénewa* sibs of the Cubeo, and ascended the Cuduiari to the limits of its habitation (1909). His published reports are invaluable even though he never stayed long enough in one place to get a deep grasp of the culture. He was, however, an excellent observer and reported
114 fully on language, custom, and material culture. I did not read Koch-
127 Grünberg before going to the field so that my observations are totally independent. It is a source of satisfaction, therefore, that our observations agree closely on most details. Koch-Grünberg's information was deficient on social structure and ceremonial patterns. It is in these two respects that my study represents a carrying forward of the work he so ably began. I have drawn freely upon his published works to fill in gaps in my own information on the Cubeo and of course for the rich data on surrounding Tucanoan, Arawakan, and Cariban tribes.
114 His was the pioneering survey of the entire region, whereas mine is a relatively limited study of a single community. Koch-Grünberg died among the Indians of the Northwest Amazon in 1924, his ethnographic work prematurely cut off.

The first scientific observer to report on the Indians of the Vaupés was Alfred Russell Wallace (1870), who was there in 1853. While his interests were mainly those of the naturalist, he found Indian life to

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/124/ All the native terms that appear in this study are in the Tukana language, an idiom that the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry speaks.

I wish to express my thanks to Professor Segundo Bernal Villa for his valuable observations on the organization of the present work.

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## Abbreviations Used for the Kinship Terms

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| f | = | father | ol | = | older |
| m | = | mother | yg | = | younger |
| so | = | son | si | = | sibling |
| da | = | daughter | -o- | = | of, of the /masc./, of the /fem./ |
| br | = | brother | (M) | = | male Ego |
| sis | = | sister | (F) | = | female Ego |
| sp | = | spouse | (V) | = | vocative |
| | | | (R) | = | reference |

*601

## Kinship Terms

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| f | Pajké | (M-F) | (V) |
| f | Yeé Pajké | (M-F) | (R) |
| m | Maú | (M-F) | (V) |
| m | Yeé Pajkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| so | Majké | (M-F) | (V) |
| so | Yeé Majké | (M-F) | (R) |
| da | Majkó | (M-F) | (V) |
| da | Yeé Majkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| ol-br | Mamí | (M-F) | (V) |
| ol-br | Yeé Mamí | (M-F) | (R) |
| yg-br | Nijiá | (M-F) | (V) |
| yg-br | Yeé Kabí | (M-F) | (R) |
| ol-sis | Mamió | (M-F) | (V) |
| ol-sis | Yeé Mamió | (M-F) | (R) |
| yg-sis | Numió | (M-F) | (V) |
| yg-sis | Yeé Kabió | (M-F) | (R) |
| f-br | Mé | (M) | (V) |

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128

## YEPA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs belonging to this phratry are located on the Paca, Papurí /Papury/ and Tiquié rivers, and on the Vaupés /Uaupés/ River from the stream of Umarí to the confluence of the Vaupés River with the Río Negro. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Tukano. The sibs that form this phratry can be divided into two artificial groups that correspond to patterns of kinship and are the following:

LIST "A"

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Yúpuri Baúro | (B) | (1) | (2) Yepára Oakajpeá | (+) | (2) |
| (3) Yepára Oyé | (B) | | (4) Yepára Suí | (C) | (3) |

1. The B in front /sic/ of the name of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Brazilian territory.

2. The + in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib has disappeared.

3. The C in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Colombian territory.

/147/

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5) Bejsémi Kuiseré | (C) | (6) Ajúsiro Sóbaro | (B) |
| (7) Suí Makúpi | (C) | (8) Ajkíto Netedejká | (C) |
| (9) Kemáru Isiadejpuá | (+) | (10) Yúpuri Pamó | (B) |
| (11) Yepára Merú | (C) | (12) Yúpuri Uajsóro Marí | (C) |
| (13) Sérvi Bojsé | (C) | (14) Doétiro Mimisipé | (C) |
| (15) Ajkíto Patíro | (C) | (16) Kemáru Kukú | (C) |
| (17) Urémiri Sióropo Bayá | (B) | (18) Urémiri Sáraro | (C) |
| (19) Parisí | (B) | (20) Yúpuri Búbera | (B) |
| (21) Ajúsiro Mocí | (B) | (22) Najóri Dipé | (B) |
| (23) Yáitoro | (C) | (24) Urémiri Sakuró | (C) |
| (25) Buú Púra | (B) | (26) Suí Amoperí | (B) |
| (27) Ajúsiro Túro | (B) | (28) Arú Perí | (B) |

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# Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

121 [122] /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 [101] The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, 124 and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as interpreter. 128 Owing to the short time of the investigation and to hav- 772 ing consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee 772 the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by 769 Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

105 [171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [801] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

[262] [753] [178]

773 177 [128] [114] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

115 756

/Pages 1-4 are title pages./

/5/ An Explanation

• 128 I am going to say that this is an anonymous book. Because it does not bear the name of its principal collaborators. The name that heads these studies is only an endorsement. There fell upon us personally little more than the responsibility of the editing, as we assumed the fatiguing labors of this. The true authors, or at least the principal collaborators, are the well-deserving Missionaries who for several decades have been toiling in the midst of the almost inhospitable forest of Amazonia, in the desire to incorporate the poor forest dwellers into the Brazilian and Christian civilization.

*101 The title demands an explanation. As will be seen in going through the pages, the basin of the Uaupés, including its two principal tributaries, the Tiquié and the Papuri /Papury/, is populated by numerous human groups, which are commonly known as Tribes, with different demographic density. Somatic and linguistic differences, sometimes quite noticeable, proclaim diverse ethnic origins. Nevertheless, proximity and trade, which, in a destructive action of centuries, did not succeed in grinding away those differences, did bring about a fusion in the customs. The same standard /given in English/ or pattern of life that is observed in a povoado /populated place/ on the lower Uaupés is found at the headwaters of the Papuri or the Tiquié and their small tributaries. As we travel along the rivers, the name of the tribe changes, one finds different physiognomic types, speaking very different idioms, although living in malocas /communal houses/ similarly constructed, eating the same foods, performing the same tasks, entertaining themselves the same way; one observes, finally, perfect identity in the way of laughing and gesticulating. We are, then, looking at one and the same cultural group. We can thus take in conjunction those 20 or more tribes toward whose civilization and Christianization the activities of the Filhos de S. João Bosco /Sons of Saint John Bosco/ have been directed since 1916, led

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/6 cont./

114 Our task, of editing, in comparison with that of Koch G.,
128 was greatly facilitated. There fell to us the intellectual, patriotic, and religious pleasure of four excursions through the vast and laborious field of the Apostolado Salesiano no Amazonas /Salesian Apostolate in Amazonas/ and of admiring the work of patriotism and evangelical charity that the Filhos de Dom Bosco are achieving there. And benefiting ourselves by means
[191] of their company, their knowledge of the native idioms (3),
[797]

3. Besides having already found numerous Indians with whom we could communicate perfectly in the language of our native country, because they had learned Portuguese in the schools of the Missions.

the prestige that they enjoy, not only among the natives who profit from their material and moral assistance, but even among the others who only know them by repute, we start collecting
114 the precious data of their observations and experience. The
123 ethnographic material contained in these pages could be collected in a relatively short period, although triple that of
124 Grünberg. Nevertheless they describe an existence in the closest possible contact with the forest dwellers: living in their maloca, attending their festivities, listening to them during their long chats among themselves, and entertaining themselves in amiable conversation with them, participating in their joys and their sorrows, observing them in their work, admiring their abilities, using their services, curing their illnesses, probing their spirit, illustrating their intelligence in long years of education, illuminating their soul with religious truths, now and then seeing those minds unexpectedly open in flashes that reveal, through a charming ingenuousness, an internal world never dreamed of. One understands an environment by living in it; and the environment can explain to us a mentality.

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. 304 171 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of the same lip. 301 On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well [554] polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/25/ 5. Difficulties of Identification

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The deciphering of the nomenclature of the indigenous tribes presents great difficulties, even limiting them to the human groups of the Uaupés and tributaries.

Such difficulty has various causes:

1st. -- We must first indicate, not only the possibility, but the real existence of typographical errors. For example, the important tribe Taryana, of the Arwake branch, which is located in various povoados of the Brazilian middle Uaupés, from Arari-pirá to Periquito, is called Tariarana in the "Roteiro" of Padre Noronha; in the "Diarios" of the ouvidor /auditor/ Sampaio and of Rodrigues Ferreira, respectively, Taryana and Caryana; and on the apostolic maps of Frei Gregório, Itariana and Itatiana.

2nd. -- The ancient sources that can be of help to us carry secondhand or more remote information, the exactitude of which sometimes perplexes us, we who know how arduous it is to obtain full clarifications from the side of the natives. And many of the informants for those first explorers were necessarily Indians.

3rd. -- The above difficulty, understandably, will be increased even more because of the bad pronunciation of the natives; or perhaps because of phonetic differences or even because of deficiency of sound in their languages. The tribe called Hanẽrã in its own idiom, and which inhabits the headwaters of the Tiquié, is called Panẽrõá by the Tukanos, and Panẽnõá by the Tuyuka. This divergence becomes very understandable when we reveal that its language is of the Tukano family, but the words that start with the phoneme p in Tukano begin with the aspirated sound h in Hanẽrã. For example, father in Tukano is paxkõ, and in Hanẽrã, hakõ; mother in Tukano, paxkó, and in Hanẽrã, hakó.

*[192]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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[p. vii]

## *Acknowledgments*

I wish to thank the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University for financing my field work in Colombia. I am indebted to the Colombian government under the administration of Dr. Eduardo Santos for extending every courtesy and aid. The administration of the *Comisaría del Vaupés* was most generous with its hospitality, counsel, and aid. I owe a great deal to the distinguished Colombian educator, Dr. Augustin Nieto Caballero, for sound and friendly advice. To my teachers, Franz Boas and Ruth Fulton Benedict, I owe more than I can express in words. Finally, I can never thank enough the subjects of this study for their friendship, their patience, and their tact.

For encouragement in writing this work I wish to thank Dr. Alfred Métraux. I am grateful to Professor Oscar Lewis of the University of Illinois for a critical evaluation of the manuscript, as well as to Dr. Donald Lathrap, also of the University of Illinois, for helpful suggestions.

[p viii is blank]

# 7
# *Missing Links*

Until we had passed the last rapids on the Piraparaná we were always anxious, 114
as we were never sure how long José would stay with us. Had he left us we might have found it difficult to get other Indians to help, and certainly we could never have managed *El Diablo* ourselves. There were many occasions when he had threatened to leave, but so far he had been persuaded not to. So it was with some relief that we passed these rapids, though there was nearly disaster, for José determined to take *El Diablo* through fully loaded. We watched aghast from the bank as for a moment the boat completely disappeared from view in the turbulent water. But somehow she stayed afloat.

Now the river was anything from thirty to a hundred yards across. It 13
wound sluggishly this way and that between low banks covered in dense 114
forest and bordered with *miriti* palms. There were no houses, for most of the land was liable to flooding during the wetter months. We saw no Indians on the river, nor any canoes moored to the banks. At times the river meandered forming giant oxbows, where, through the sparse jungle, we could see a bend in the river that we had passed perhaps an hour before. At one of the bends a low cliff rose sheer from the water's edge. It was formed from clay and shales of Tertiary age, and in the beds Brian found deposits of lignite, tree-trunks and plant remains. To the west of us lay the Apaporis, to the east [101]
continuous forest as far as the Río Negro, the home of strange, seldom-seen foresters, the nomadic Maku.

Since leaving Bréo's *maloca* we had been troubled less by flies and insects; 136
the jigger worms, which had laid their eggs in our feet when we walked 114
barefoot about the *malocas*, no longer bothered us. Only the *nutchis* remained as they took some days to incubate. One night after an exceptionally large one was removed from Donald's shin, he wrote, 'A rather painful process. However it had its reward for it was definitely a record breaker – fat, furry, and fully half an inch in length....' They could only be extracted by using nicotine to poison them, or rubber latex to block their breathing holes where they lay under the skin. We never learnt how we got these painful worms.

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ABOVE AND BELOW: *Dancing at the festival to celebrate the manioc harvest.*
[see p 82-B]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

# Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

ARTHUR P. SORENSEN, JR.
*State University of New York at Binghamton*

*In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Makú and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.*

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## THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

### *Setting and Culture Area*

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

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The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

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Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

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[361]

[P. 670-A]

/97/

# Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

121 [122] /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 [101] The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, 124 and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as interpreter. 128 Owing to the short time of the investigation and to having consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee 772 the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by 769 Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

105 [171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

• 131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

• 131 /99 cont./
167 As is seen, the Tukano group is found distributed both in Colombian territory and Brazilian, and the migratory movements of natives between these two countries are quite frequent.

241 The Tukano work the land by means of the slash-and-burn
[462] method. The piece of ground intended for agriculture is always cleaned of underbrush and trees by the /100/ men, a job at which each man works individually or assisted by his male
[412] relatives. At one time, before the arrival of the Creole rubber
[177] workers in the region, the trees and underbrush were cut with stone axes, but since the arrival of the rubber worker the machete has been introduced, and today no Tukano Indian would consider using the lithic instrument again.

Trees of great size are generally left in the place in which they fell, but small trees and bushes are burned toward the end of summer, or the dry season. The ashes obtained from the burning are used as fertilizer to improve the soil, but owing to the thin vegetal layer, to erosion, and to the general poorness of the land, the Tukano Indian is obliged to select and clear a
[242] new garden every three or four years. The method of crop rotation is not practiced because the forest vegetation rapidly returns to invade the land that is not cultivated and tended. The field under cultivation rarely exceeds one or two hectares.

[412] The planting is done immediately after finishing the burning, among the stumps of the felled trees and the trunks of the toppled trees. Probably the only aboriginal implement used in the planting is the planter's stick (2),

2. Digging-stick /this term is given in English/.

which is used primarily to loosen the earth and to open holes in it for planting seeds or young plants. The ground is rarely cultivated and tended after the planting is done, but weeds are pulled out and care is taken that the forest does not invade the garden.

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On the Apapóris (13)

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13. It must be a mistake by Wallace; one is not dealing with the Apapóris (tributary of the Japurá), but with the Papurí River (tributary of the Uaupés), where the Tukano, Pirá-tapúya, and Desãna tribes actually have their main nuclei.

River: 19. Tucano; 20. Uacará (garça); 21. Pirá (fish); 22. Deçana.

On the Querirí (Cuiarí or Iquiarí) (14)

[103]

14. Bento Aranha (in the Archivo do Amazonas, Year II, No. 5, p. 2), in answer to a letter from Koch Grünberg, records Iquiarí as another name of the river Içana: "in the same manner as they call Iquiarí the river Içana or Issana. /The final quotation marks are missing./

At present the river Içana is not known under any other denomination. And no river in the region is known under the name of Iquiarí. Under that of Quiarí, yes, there exists a tributary of the left bank of the Aiarí, which, in turn, is a tributary of the right bank of the Içana. Likewise there is no river under the denomination of Querirí in the region. Perhaps the spelling was Querarí, which is a tributary of the left bank of the Uaupés, on the Colombian border. Caduiari is one of the tributaries of the Querarí; and Cuiarí, one of the tributaries of the left of the Içana (cf. above II-3, "Ethnographic Information," on Yaquiri and Quiquiari /see p. 27 /).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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[P X]

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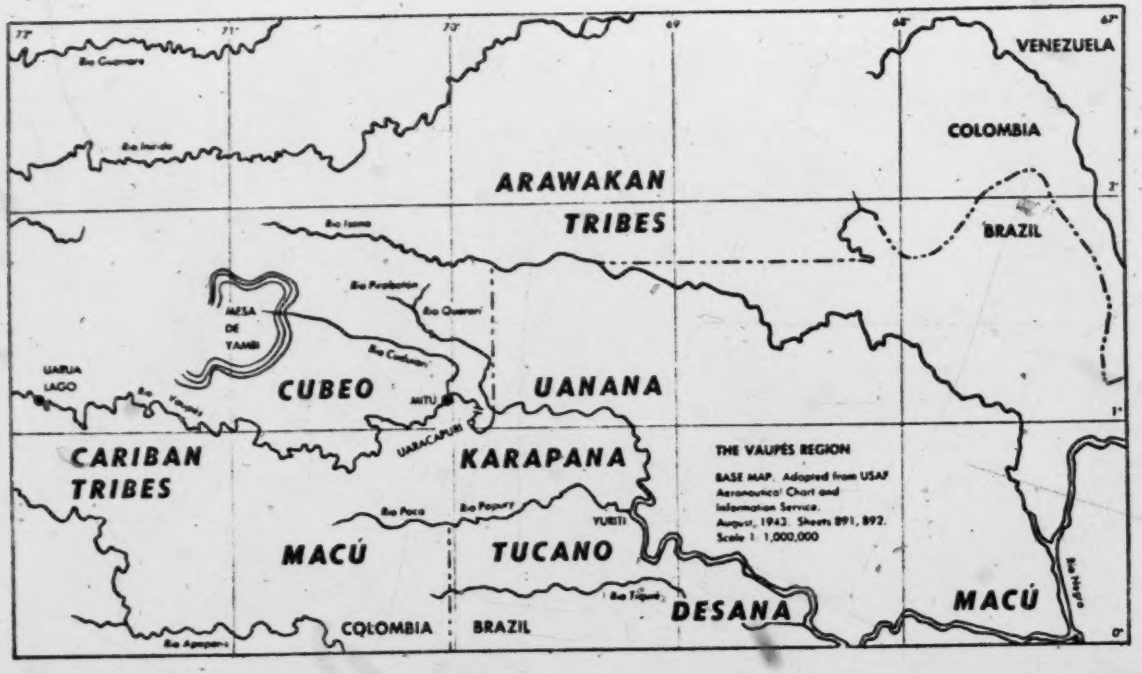

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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Thus, if we are to answer the evolutionary question of how complex social systems develop we shall have to turn to a more thorough study of social structures. In this respect, the Cubeo, who inhabit the northwest corner of the Amazon Basin, offer an example of a social structure with "advanced" features of integration and hierarchy that have, however, never quite taken hold. 121 [131]

Tropical forest life is not so much sylvan as it is riverine. The rivers facilitate the ceaseless flow of peoples, of splinters of communities, and of tribes along an intricate water network that binds together a virtual subcontinent. Thus, in the Amazon Basin one finds cultural traits and languages far from their ancestral sources. Not only are tropical forest cultures composite, but occasionally the tribes themselves are made up of ethnically and linguistically distinct segments. Along the river routes there are few barriers. Tribes that have adapted themselves to one corner of the basin have little difficulty in adjusting to a new location a thousand miles or more away, for even where ecologies differ the changes are neither abrupt nor drastic. Forest peoples moving on to the plains along the Orinoco Basin, for example, still have the familiar river and sylvan pattern along the river edges. Climate, vegetation, and fauna are everywhere about the same. The ease of movement and the similarity of environment account for the deposition of a common groundwork upon which all Amazon cultures are built.

One of the features of the common groundwork that defines the tropical forest as a major culture area includes slash-burn horticulture with bitter manioc as the principal but by no means the only crop. Bitter manioc offers a high yield per acre but it exhausts the soil after three to five years and demands, therefore, some kind of community circulation in which people move on, or recirculate within, a fixed zone, until new forest growth has replenished the soil. Bitter manioc, a perennial, grows readily in the Amazon Basin, but it demands a complex and time-consuming procedure for removing its poisonous prussic acid content. Manioc cultivation is almost everywhere women's work. Thus it sets a common pattern of sexual division of labor as well as a basic technology. Along the margins of the Andes, maize supplants or supplements manioc as the food crop and sets its own patterns. Maize, for example, may be regarded as a masculine crop, in which case its cultivation is more readily ritualized. But whether maize or manioc is the staple of plant diet, the tropical forest tribes, with the exception of many Ge-speaking peoples, are given over to chicha, a beer of manioc, maize, or other carbohydrate plants. Almost

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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of the pull of propinquity. The Cubeo welcome and respect neighborliness. 361 614 615

The river has its natural boundaries. These are the segments of river demarcated by rapids and by the tributaries or creeks. A boundary is from one such feature to the next, from a *cachoeira* (rapids) to a creek, from a creek to a creek, but rarely from *cachoeira* to *cachoeira*. A boundary defines only sib territory. There is no phratric territory as such. If there is phratric and tribal territoriality it is because each of the sibs undertakes to defend the principle in terms of its own interests. A sib may adopt a stranger and in this way incorporate it into the phratry. It needs no permission to do this. On the other hand, a sib may appeal to phratry mates for help in warding off by force unwanted intruders. Boundaries do not close a river to traffic. The river is always an open highway for travel, and travelers may fish and hunt along it freely. They may not put up fixed installations such as weirs or show other signs of residence such as fishing a particular spot with regularity without permission. Men regularly fish only within the sib limits. The discussion of boundaries, it should be explained, does not flow naturally from the Cubeo. It is drawn out by the ethnographer. The Cubeo are not jealous of boundaries and they rarely have issues over them, but they do know them. Occasionally someone violates the common law of courtesy of the use of fish weirs and keeps the barrier closed beyond the allowable period. The Cubeo cannot and do not attribute this unmannerly act to gluttony. Gluttony is an incomprehensible notion to them. They attribute it either kindly to forgetfulness, in which case there is no issue, or to unfriendliness, in which case there is a quarrel and an effort is made to tear down the barrier. On the forest side there are no boundaries at all except for the clearing itself. It is not land but river frontage that is valued. 131 614 423 615 131 614 423 131 423 578

## CANOEING

So much of a man's time is spent in a canoe that no description of native life would be complete that did not relate the Indian to the river as a canoeman or that failed to bring out the motor rhythms of canoeing. Motor rhythms are patterned, the rhythm of paddling and the characteristic rhythms of the dance showing particularly striking parallels. 501 516

Paddling follows a definite though irregular rhythm. The prowsman on a long trip is keeper of the stroke. Paddling is noisy. On the downstroke the stem of the paddle just above the blade is struck

101 large, homogeneous cultural group in the center of what is identified in the literature as the Northwest Amazon culture area. (For culture area descriptions, see Steward 1946–1959, Goldman 1948, Murdock 1958, Steward and Faron 1959, and Galvão 1960.) There is 174 historical as well as traditional evidence that 101 some of these tribes may have originated outside of the Vaupés area, subsequently acculturating to the general central Northwest Amazon culture. Other tribes seem to have originated locally, from proliferation by fission. Koch-Grünberg (1909–1910), for instance, considers the Wanano newcomers (among others). Although it has not been especially noted in the literature, some tribes present social organizations that are atypical [616] for the area. The Piratapuyo, for instance, retain moieties, which until recently functioned as exogamous intermarrying units in an otherwise tribally exogamous and moiety-lacking culture area. Goldman (1963), who noted multilingualism, also reports on the diverse origin of various sibs among the Kubeo. On the other hand, field notes on the Tuyuka-Yurutí (or Dochkapüra-Uaiana [the *Uaikana* are the Piratapuyo]) set of tribes and languages suggest their derivation from a common source.

101 A couple of the larger tribes do not live in one continuous area, but in several areas. The [131] numerous Tukano tribe occupies several continuous stretches of the Vaupés River and its principal tributaries, the Tikié and the Papuri, and also sites at the mouths of tributaries to these rivers. Historically, they have exerted

[P. 670-B]

/11 cont./

103 of it in Brazilian territory. It would be about half a kilometer
133 in width at the mouth, but it narrows sensibly to a few hundred meters in a great part of its course. At Tucano-cachoeira its width is about 50 meters, and this is maintained up to Parí-cachoeira (up to where the launches of small draft reach) and, narrowing even more, presents an average width of 15 to 20 meters up to the border.

It runs almost parallel to the Papurí, but its appearance is very different. The sandy and deep bed allows it a calm course, the waters therefore seeming darker than they are in reality (6).

6. Its major tributary, the river Castanho, of milky color, sensibly lightens the waters of the Tiquié.

shadowed besides by the dense forest bordering them. It has /12/ few cachoeiras, among them the one called "Carurú," above Parí-cachoeira, certainly one of the most beautiful cataracts of the State of Amazonas.

The Uaupés and its two tributaries receive the contribution of innumerable, though small, watercourses, which in the regional terminology are called igarapés.

The basin that we studied covers the lands watered by the rivers Uaupés and its two tributaries, the Papurí and the Tiquié. It is thus located in the equatorial zone (7).

7. In the 486 windings or sinuosities that the Tiquié presents in its course from the mouth up to Parí-cachoeira, it crosses the equatorial line 18 times.

132 Nevertheless the minimum daily temperature fluctuates between 19° and 22°, and the maximum 24° and 32°, rarely up to 36°,
133 thanks to frequent precipitation. It presents lands not subject to floods, or "terra-firme," according to the regional nomenclature, and large areas inundated, at least during some months
000 of the year. The vegetation, therefore, is the high and dense

/481 cont./

2) Annual cycle.

132 221 The climate of those regions does not seem to offer marked changes in order for the rhythm of the daily life of the Indian to be altered. As /482/ a matter of fact, the thermometer, the barometer, and the hygrometer will show the same average throughout the year. Owing to the rains of the headwaters of the rivers, however, a season of high waters and another of low ones are distinguished. And the annual cycle is perhaps more varied for the Indian than it customarily is among the civilized.

476 621 Besides the labor that is incumbent upon every individual for his home life, there are others that concern the entire community and that for this reason are performed collectively under the direction of the tuxaua. They might perhaps be the repairs of the maloca or the building of a new one, in the same place or perhaps quite far away from the old one. Or again it might be the cleaning of the areas adjacent to the maloca, of the common paths or of the landing place. It might be a matter of some clearing for some Indian, who will obtain the help of his tribal brothers, although for his private use. The individuals are advised in advance, in order to make their arrangements. If it is a matter of work for the collectivity, everyone is obliged to participate in it. If, instead, it is help for some brother, one can reasonably excuse oneself; one would not do it, however. And in either case there is only one conventional, sufficient, and agreeable payment: a caxiri, which has also been prepared beforehand. The collective work is done without even any need for a technical director, because it is always done according to the traditions, under the simple directions of the tuxaua or of the individual concerned. It is noisy and cheerful work, true competitions of strength and activity, as well as of good humor and cheerfulness. It is what is called Dará-serẽsé, in Nheengatú ajurí or mutirão (2). [192]

2. Ajurí would properly be the invitation, and putirum (from which the term made into Portuguese, mutirão), the collective work. Stradelli, in his

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ildkoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ildkoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaíno* (falling river) and as *eddwaiyn* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[805] [1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

115 Hitherto José had remained silent and appeared to know nothing of these engravings nor had he given us any indication of their whereabouts. This was surprising, for, being himself a Barasana, of a Tukano clan, he was presumably aware of their existence. Then one evening, perhaps encouraged by our curiosity, he told us the following anecdote:

101 773 776 'The Barasana have always lived here, they were born here. They and the Taiwano have always been friends and had common enemies in the Tatuya, Karapana and Ureti whom they used to fight with bow and arrows. They both have the same god who has power over all things. It is he who made Ni, in his own likeness, the drawings have been here for ever, and this is the only place where they occur. The other Indians do not have them.' He pointed to a great natural pillar of granite called the Bee, which stood in the river upstream of Ni: 'That rock was once a pile of manioc, which the people had placed there. Ni turned it into stone. Below the rapids is the underwater cave, his palace, where the god sings to the drawings and the 'spirits.'

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[824]
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/9 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./ /see note 52, p. 320/, VI). (Cf. Gastão Cruls, Hileia Amazônica -- C. E. N., 1944 -- p. 35.)

The name Ucaiari (as is usual for the ones that end in ri or li) is of Arwake origin. In the language of the Arara-tapuya and the Kadáu-puritãna, the Uaupés River is called Ukayalí; in the Huhúdeni /Huhuteni/ it is called Ukávari (all three are of the Arwake group). It might perhaps be derived from U(ni), water river, and Kawale (in Kadáu-puritãna) or Kawáeri (in Hihúdeni /sic/), wind. Nevertheless, none of the old people of the various Arwake tribes of the Içana and Aiarí rivers whom we could consult were able to indicate the meaning of the term Caiarí or Ucaiari. Just as the other tribes who inhabit the Uaupés did not know it either. All of them designate the Uaupés as "Dya Poxsá," river of the Makú (?). This designation might induce one to think that the Makú (Puxsá /sic/) were the first to inhabit its shores, and afterwards, under pressure from the Arwake and Tukano invaders, went to settle in the interior, in the adjacent forests, from the environs of S. Gabriel as far as the cachoeiras of Jandú and Carurú (on the Uaupés River). The truth is that, according to the spirit of the language, River of the Makú should be translated as "Poxsá Dyá" and not as "Dyá Poxsá."

as it was known up to a few years ago, a tributary that flows into the Rio Negro about 50 kilometers above the town of S. Gabriel-da-Cachoeira, now called Uaupés.

133 The Uaupés results, according to Dr. Hamilton Rice, from the union of the rivers Unilla, which is the more important, and Itilla, both with their origins in the plains that border the buttresses of the Colombian Andes. After a course of about 330 kilometers in Colombian territory, the Uaupés advances in the

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# Chapter I

## The Habitat

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The area whose ethnographic elements are collected in these notes is the basin of the Uaupés or Caiari River (1).

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

1. Caiari, or formerly Ucaiari, would be the original name, according to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, who, in No. 184 of his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/" (see below, II, 2 /see p. 25/), says: -- "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manaos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attribute to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé."

It is to be noted that, although its waters are not as dark as those of the Rio Negro, the Uaupés is one of a number of rivers of "black waters."

"All these tribes," reports Wallace ("Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro" -- London, 1849, p. 335), "present some peculiarities in their idioms and customs, but all of them come under the general name of Uaupés and distinguish themselves, as a whole, from the inhabitants of the other rivers. This is the reason that the river is called Rio dos Uaupés (the River of the Uaupés), although actually its name is Ucaiari and it is called this by the Indians."

We read recently (May of 1956) in Luiz da Câmara Cascudo ("Em memória de Stradelli /In memory of Stradelli/," Livr. Clássica-Manaus, 1936, p. 7) that Stradelli mentions a powerful Tuxáua /chief/ Buapé, of the Taryana /Tariana/ tribe (whose ninth-generation grandson, Maximiliano José Roberto, accompanied Stradelli on his journeys), who would have lived around the end of the sixteenth century and lent the name to

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/footnote 1 cont./ the river (cf. below, Note 5, Ch. II /see note 8, Ch. II, p. 40/).

This belief has also been adopted today on the Rio Negro. We do not know, however, if it is based on the opinion of Stradelli, or if he gave rise to it. At the end of the nineteenth century, with Stradelli, the name Uaupés is presented to us as a corruption of the original word Buapé. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Uaupé would be the original form from which, through corruption, the term Goaupé originated, and no mention is made of the Tuxáua by the name of Buapé, the memory of whom, if he existed, should have been more vivid at that time. Who is right? /The footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

Which language would the name Uaupés belong to? And what does it mean? The present-day natives do not know how to answer that, nor did those of half a century ago. As a matter of fact, Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 131) says only that the name is depreciative; this, however, because under the name of Uaupés are included tribes that are ignorant, wild (Wildstaemme), and scorned, such as the Tukano /Tucano/ and the Kubewãna, who fought against the more advanced Arwake /Arawak/.

In Stradelli's Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, we find the remark: "Iasaná" -- Breed of the Afflicted /Port. Casta das Rallidas/. Name that on the lower Amazon and on the Grão-Pará is given to Parra Iaçaná, which on the Solimões is called Piasóca -- and on the Rio Negro, Uaupé and Uapé.

The river in turn lent the name to a plant characteristic of the stones of its cachoeiras /rapids; see note 2, p. 9/. As a matter of fact, it is called uaupé or uaupé-da-cachoeira (and also carurú-das-pedras /carurú of the stones/ and murera-das-cachoeiras), an aquatic plant that grows on the stones of the cachoeiras of this river and that furthermore serves the Indians for the extraction of salt (cf. Note 51

[824]
[263]

/9 cont./

• 133 direction SE and S as a demarcator of /10/ frontiers between Brazil and Colombia, as far as Iauareté-cachoeira (2),

2. In Amazonia, places in which the course of the water exhibits some slope with eddies, rapids, and true cascades or waterfalls, the latter, by the way, being rare, are called cachoeiras. Since native denominations are involved, the names come in a construction similar to the Saxonic genitive or possessive, which is very much in the spirit of the Tukano language and of the native languages of the region in general. For this reason one says: Iauareté-cachoeira, Parí-cachoeira, Taracuá-ponta, etc., instead of cachoeira de Iauareté /cachoeira of Iauareté/ or de Parí, ponta /point/ de taracuá, etc., according to the character of the Portuguese language.

where, on the right bank, the tributary of the Papurí River occurs. Then, taking the direction east, it runs completely inside Brazil until it drains into the Rio Negro, after having received, again from the right, the Tiquié River, a little below the povoado /populated place/ of Taracuá-ponta. Inside Brazilian territory it advances 520 kilometers (thus having a total course of 850 kilometers) and exhibits a maximum width of 3 kilometers and a minimum of approximately 200 meters.

103 /11/ The Papurí (or Capurí, as it was also formerly called)
133 results from the union of two tributaries in Colombian territory, a little above "Melo Franco," the Áua and the Paca. Nearly the totality of its course, however, about 280 kilometers, delimits the frontier between Brazil and Colombia. The natives call it "Oxkó ñyísé dyá," that is, river of black water; indeed, its waters are darker than those of the Uaupés. It runs into the Uaupés at Iaureté-cachoeira, with a width of 250 meters.

/11 cont./

103 Although it presents an average declivity of 0.32 m. per
• 133 kilometer, it possesses a subsoil of granite, with innumerable levelings and cachoeiras (3)

[114] 3. The Comissão Brasileira de Fronteiras /Brazilian Commission of Frontiers/, under the direction of Marechal /Marshal/ Boanerges Lopes de Souza, who did the surveying of this river, recorded 39 cachoeiras. Moreover, it has some islets and islands, and therefore its width reaches 500 meters.

[505] which endanger navigation. Or, rather, it is only passable with small canoes and montarias (4),

[501] 4. "Montarias" are the canoes that have been enlarged by one or more longitudinal planks fitted to their sides.

which sometimes advance through the rushing rapids by arm or pulled by tow ropes, or are even transported across the rocks or bordering forest by way of the "varadoiros" (5).

5. "Varadoiros" are the passages opened up in the forest, or along the rivers in the stretches that are not navigable; or as shortcuts between two points, in order to avoid the long windings of the rivers.

The Tiquié is the other tributary, and more important than the Papurí. It results from two igarapés, or streams: the Uaracú-pirera (in Nheengatú it means "skin of aracú /a fish/"), which takes the name of Tiquié, a name of unknown origin and meaning (also like Caiarí and Papurí), after it receives the Macucú. Those of Tukano language name the Tiquié "Kõsá," the meaning of which, however, they do not know. Extremely sinuous, it measures about 450 kilometers in course, almost all

4: Silva--17 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Map facing p. 16 in the original source/

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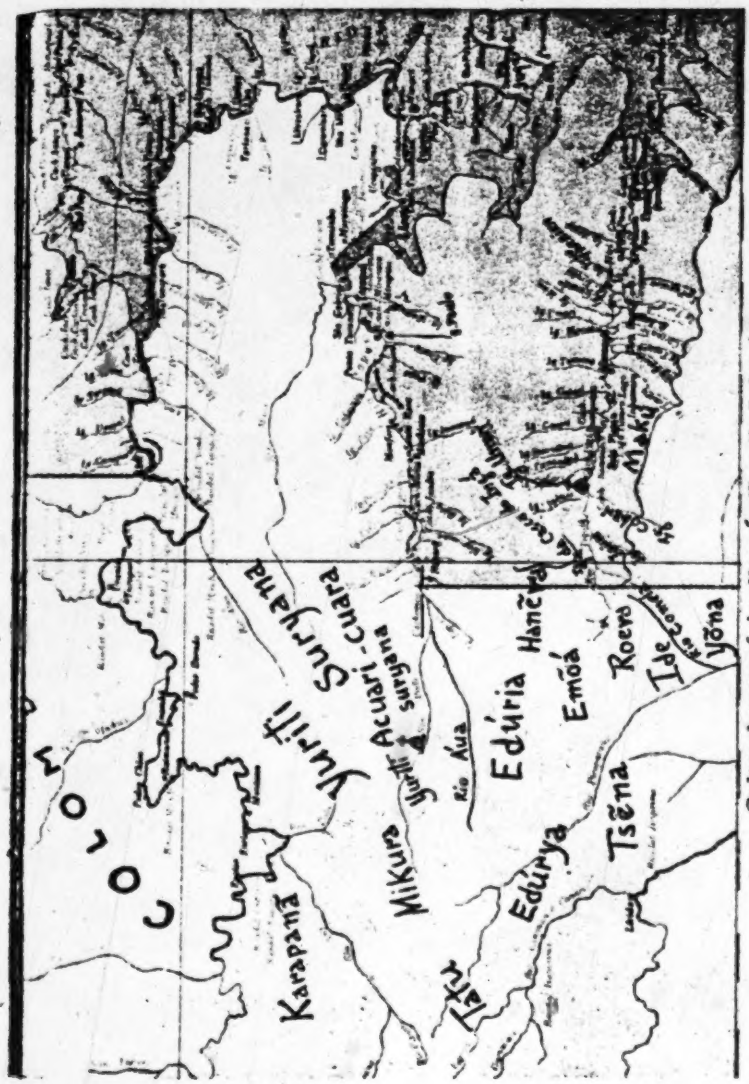


Cultural area of the Uaupés (Brazil-Colombia)

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

• 133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. 304 171 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of the same lip. 301 On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well [554] polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/22 cont./

135 /footnote 3 cont./ Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, extracted or brought from the Tiquié River in the year of 1749, if melted, appear to be of silver, when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already carrying them as such."

*101 189. "The Issana is inhabited by Indians of the nations Baniva, Tumayari, Tuniari, Deçana, Puetana, Uerequena
171 and others. Those of the nation commonly called Uerequena,
[304] through corruption of the word /23/ Ariquena, have as a mark of distinction a very large hole between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears, in which they put
[551] bunches of straw. Among them are found many who, prior to communication and knowledge of Whites, had Hebrew names, some pure and others with slight corruption, such as: Joab, Jacob, Yacobí, Thomé, Thomequí, Davidú, Ivanan and Marianan."

b. Xavier Sampaio, in his "Diario," writes: -- No.
• 133 380. "Farther down the famous Ucayari, by another name
*[101] the Uaupés, derived from the nation called this, who principally inhabit it, creates a bar. It empties with two mouths and a triangular island of 20 leagues around and innumerable rocks and cachoeiras, very dangerous because of the frightening whirlpools they form... Toward the south the Tiquié and Capuri, which are the principal ones. Toward

/23 cont./

133 the north there runs a channel of communication with the river Guabiari, which descends from the environs of Santa
171 Fé de Bogotá. The Daçanas, Tarianas and Uaupés Indians
301 who might communicate with the Indians of the same Guabiari have been seen with earrings of very fine gold, which is supposedly extracted from the mines of New Granada."

*101 381. "The Uaupés is inhabited by many nations, the
301 principal ones of which are Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena,
554 Uananá, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinaná, Timanará, Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; the most famous one, however, is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of
[304] the common people much smaller. The Uaupés wear the ears and lips pierced."

127 c. Numerous and interesting pieces of information are found in the nineteenth century, especially in the works of Wallace and Koch Grünberg. We shall cite them whenever an opportunity presents itself to us, as confirmation of what is found at present, or to verify a modification of indigenous customs, or, finally, to rectify those authors' observations that seem incorrect to us.

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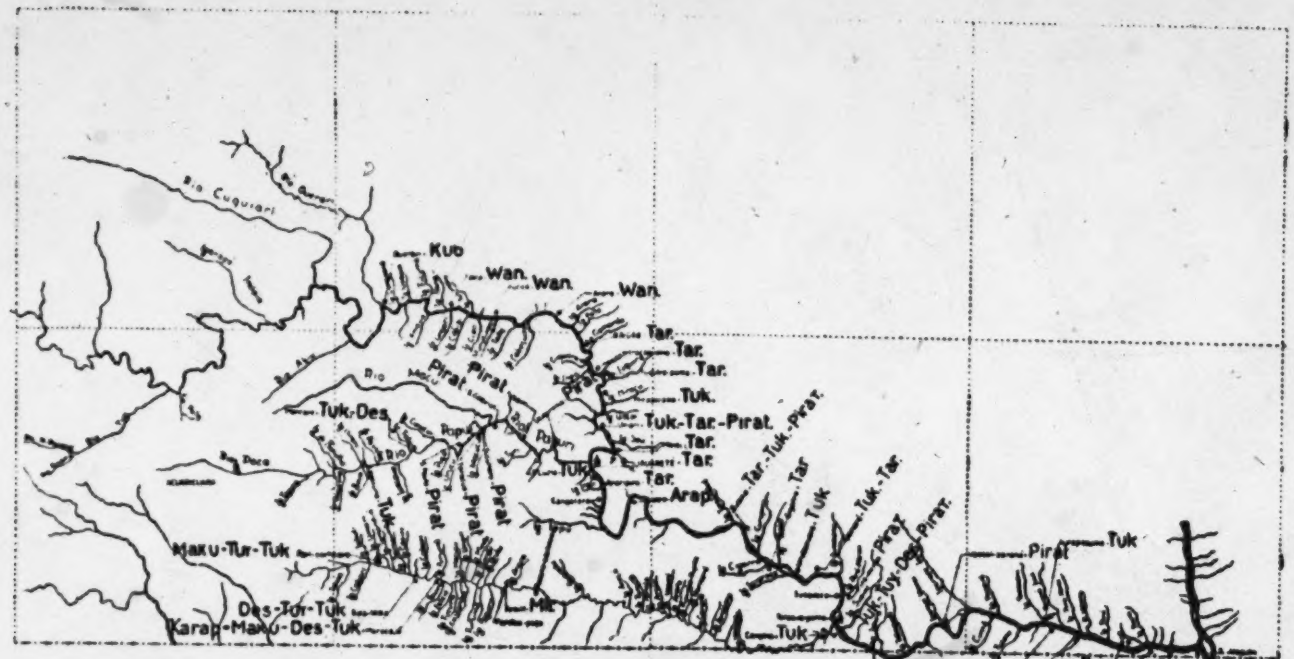
4: Silva--80 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/56/ Tribes located in Brazilian territory along the rivers Uaupés and its two tributaries, the Papuri and the Tiquié




1. Tuk. Tukano; 2. Des. Desana; 3. Pirat. Pirá-tapuya; 4. Tar. Taryana; 5. Ipeka (Kumãdene); 6. Arap. Arapásu; 7. Wan. Wanana; 8. Kub. Kubewana; 9. Makú; 10. Mir. Miriti; 11. Tuy. Tuyuka; 12. Kar. Karapanã; 13. Bará

/57/

## Chapter III

### Malocas (Baxsasé-wi'seri) and Povoados (Maxka)

133 The Uaupés pours its waters into the Rio Negro by two mouths, separated by the "Ilha das Flores" /Island of Flowers/ (former Ilha do Umirí, wextí-nãxkãro) and islets, dotted besides with innumerable stones and rocks: the southern mouth, with three bars formed by the reefs and the "Cachoeira do Tamanduá," its entrance being more difficult; the northern one, also with many rocks and the "Cachoeira do Carapanã."

361 Whoever goes up it will find at short intervals huts, or groups of huts, two or three here, eight or ten farther on, and even eighteen or twenty. They are the "Povoados" /populated [103] places/ (maxkã), as those of the region call them. They will have the name of a Saint as a Patron, or of some geographic accident, a native name, or any other one chosen, it seems, by chance, as happens in general with national toponymy. The names are ordinarily from the Nheengatú language or Língua geral and correspond to others in Tukano, almost always as mere translation. It is difficult to say whether the original name is the Tukano one, and the one from the língua geral, by which it is known, is only a translation, or vice versa.

178 Until 1924, from the Cachoeira de Ipanoré upwards, there
361 were only malocas (1),
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[797]

1. Maloca is the name of the large collective dwelling (cf. VI, 1).

reports Padre João Marchesi, the veteran Salesian Missionary of the Uaupés. The replacement of the malocas by family houses and the appearance of small povoados, due to the influence of the Salesian Missions, date from that year. At present (1958) malocas only exist either in the interior of the forests or on the banks of the Uaupés River above Iutica and on the Tiquié above Carurú-Cachoeira.

The native tradition preserves the name and the location of malocas and human assemblages that have now disappeared. As documentation we present the lists below. For some places, in this middle of the twentieth century, there is only underbrush to mark the place where the human hand felled the virgin forest and built a maloca.

/Illustrations facing p. 176 in the original source./

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Grater
(One is seeing the small stones incrusted in a regular design.)

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View of the Uaupés during the period of low tide and a canoe filled with baskets for trading with other tribes

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

[P. X]

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



121 societies. In reconstructing tropical forest culture history, note must be taken of the extraordinary ease of cultural transfers over the entire area. For this reason alone knowledge of total cultural systems seems essential. As matters stand now, much reconstruction must be based upon the very unreliable foundation of trait comparisons. What has [177] been of special interest in my study of the Cubeo has been the way in which some widespread cultural traits, particularly masked dances, harvest rites, and sacred trumpets, have been taken up and fitted into distinctive cultural patterns with a focus in an ancestral cult.

• 133 The Northwest Amazon region is bounded on the south by the Amazon, from where it is joined by the Rio Negro eastward to where the Marañón issues from the Andes. The Guaviare River is its northern boundary, the Andean cordillera bounds it in the west, and the Rio Negro in the east. The principal rivers of the region are the Caquetá, Apaporis, Tiquié, Papurý, Isana, Vaupés (known in Brazil as the Caiarý), Cuduiarí, Querarí, Aiarí, Tie, and Guainía. All drain into the Amazon. Ecologically, the Northwest Amazon is sharply differentiated only from the neighboring Andean region to the west and to a lesser degree from the open prairie or llanos on its northern [137] side. Eastward it fades into the flatter and lower-lying forests of the Amazon. Its southern margin is fixed only by an arbitrary river boundary. It is a densely wooded region of tall trees closely packed and interlaced with vines and lianas. At the river edges the forest growth is lower and more brushlike. It is also an elevated region whose streams are punctuated by hazardous cataracts. On the Vaupés, between Yurupari and the Rio Negro, Dr. Hamilton Rice (1910) counted 30 major cataracts and 60 small ones. The cataracts (*cachoeiras*) are for the Indians focal points of residence. Traditional sites, they often mark tribal and sib boundaries. Every cataract has its petroglyphs that depict mythical figures still known to the Indians. In some areas, as I have observed, the residents of the *cachoeiras* freshen the petroglyphs from time to time with deepening incisions. The rapids are more of a navigational hazard to the European traveler than to the Indians, who are expert canoemen and whose light craft [502] is easily portaged. Dr. Rice, who knew a good deal about the Amazon, declared the Cubeo to be the most expert canoemen on the river. [501] I can also testify to their coolness and skill in navigating their small dugout canoes, that have only an inch or two of freeboard, through the twisting boulder-strewn channel of a thundering rapids.

The land slopes abruptly eastward. In its western part the area is often a tumble of ravine-cut hills, exposed rock, and swamp. The Vaupés flows past high, open, uninhabited mesas. Scattered hills of

[text continues on p. 10]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



133 igneous rock dot the country. These hills seem to have little interest for the Cubeo, but the mesas with their sandstone caves are held to be the dwellings of dangerous demons.

136 Fish are generally abundant and are represented by hundreds of [251] species. The favorite of all tribes is the aracú, which the Indians commonly smoke to preserve. The piranha and the river anaconda are the constant river hazards. The piranha seem always to be present, as can be proved by throwing animal entrails into the river. The waste is hit by the fish almost instantly and devoured within minutes. The Indians, however, do not dread either the anaconda or the piranha, but when preparing to bathe they circumspectly drum the surface of the water with their cupped hands to drive these creatures off. The river anaconda reaches a length of over 20 feet and is regarded as dangerous only in the vicinity of submerged trees, which it uses for leverage in seizing a victim and pulling him under. However, children who play constantly in such waters are aware of the hazard but are not afraid, nor are their elders anxious for them. I heard of no specific cases of injury from either piranha or anaconda. The man-eating cayman of the sluggish llanos rivers is absent here and the smaller cayman is a minor hazard.

The Northwest Amazon has its share of tropical forest game, although, as Lord Wallace observed (1870, p. 446), the Amazon is a mammal-poor region. The jaguar is feared in its supernatural aspect only. The peccary, until recently hunted by a group of men armed with spears, is acknowledged to be dangerous and aggressive when challenged. The tapir will also charge when annoyed, but neither animal fills the Indian with dread. For the rest, the forest game is small and shy. It consists of the small red deer, the rodents such as paca, capybara, and agouti, the raccoon-like coati, monkeys, and armadillo. River otters are common but are not molested. When they surround a canoe with their excited barking the Indians greet them with a discreet silence and wait for them to submerge again. Bird life is rich but of small economic importance.

All visitors to the region have described vividly their unpleasant encounters with its insect life. The Indians are made equally miserable by the swarms of pium gnats and sand flies. Careless scratching [164] of an insect bite produces dangerous ulcerations. I have seen Indians who had lost several square feet of skin from such spreading ulcers. Chigger (*neguas*) hygiene is a preoccupation of all residents of the Northwest Amazon. The Indians are expert in expelling the spherical sacs with a deft pressure from a stick or knife blade. In the forest the sting of the red ant bothers the naked Indians more than the clothed

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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# 2

# *Economic Life*

## ECOLOGICAL SETTING

The Northwest Amazon region abuts on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Oriental and has an average elevation of some 200–300 meters. Many of its rivers flow quickly and the terrain generally lacks the flat and swampy character of the lowland Amazonian rain forest. The headwaters of the Cuduiarí are within the territory of the Cubeo and apparently arise in a high savannah, an eroded plateau laced with caverns and supporting on its remarkably flat surface only a meager xerophytic vegetation. There are other highlands in Cubeo territory along the Vaupés. Of no economic value to the Indians, the highlands form for them a setting of mystery because of their strangeness and their desert quality, and are held to be the domain of mythological beings. [133] [823]

The Cuduiarí is a narrow river that runs swiftly past several cataracts into the Vaupés. At the peak of the dry season it is barely navigable along its full length. At that time a large canoe is pushed across several inches of water and the river course is beset with sand banks. The smaller tributaries or *caños* dry up altogether, stranding their low-status occupants seriously. Perhaps this is one reason why the Cubeo associate social standing with frontage along a big river. The Cuduiarí is an intimate river – along much of its length the trees and creepers that line its banks reach overhead to midstream to form a bower. The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire [361] [554]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ilákoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ilákoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaíno* (falling river) and as *eddwaiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[805] [1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

6: Moser and Tayler E, N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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• 133
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[ P. 32 ]

# 6

# *Panpipes and Don Giovanni*

In early February we started to make a small collection. For exchange we had brought rolls of coloured cloth, cigarettes, combs, thread and beads, fishing line and hooks. When we arrived at a *maloca* we would give presents to the headman and his wife, then to the rest of his family. There was never any hesitation in allowing us to sling our hammocks in their houses, but our giving gifts perhaps assured them of our friendly intentions. Moreover, in return they would often give us *farinha* which would help out with our own food. Of all the trade goods, small beads, and cloth especially in primary colours, red, blue and yellow, were the most popular. They preferred white beads and were prepared to exchange many of their own possessions for them. But even if we had lived with the Indians for some time, so that they knew us, they would have been loath to part with certain things. In order to obtain one of their magnificent head-dresses, which may have taken a man months to complete because of the scarcity of the feathers, we had to give them one of our shotguns, nothing less. A shotgun was as good as a bow and arrow. For the Indian it had the advantage that you could shoot more than one bird at a time and it had a greater range than an arrow. But for years their gun would probably be useless because of a lack of shot and powder. Also the gun made a great noise and this frightened the game away. The only three we saw were ancient hammer guns, probably taken from *caucheros* they had killed. 123 126 [411]

In one of the last *malocas* of the Piraparaná we obtained a canoe. This proved extremely useful as it could be loaded with some of the lighter equipment, such as the collection, and towed from the back of *El Diablo*. Unfortunately it was narrow and unstable and on one occasion as we passed through some turbulent water, it swung sideways in an eddy and overturned. Before we were able to do anything several pieces of our small collection had already disappeared. As a result of this we learnt to keep an Indian in the stern of the canoe to guide it.

The rivers of the Amazon are usually termed black or white, to differentiate between clear and muddy water. Because of the amount of suspended sediment, white rivers are said to have many more fish. There were however a variety of fish in the 'black' Piraparaná. When we travelled on the river we would often see large gate-traps at the mouths of the smaller creeks. The 133 • 226

114 Probably they resulted from a small fly or mosquito injecting the egg into
136 the bloodstream. Horacio had come across them in the Llanos, but only in cattle and dogs, never in humans.

Though seldom bothered by mosquitoes we occasionally ran into a belt of the *pium* fly which could give very irritating bites. At night when we found a sand-spit, or dry ground in the forest where we could sling our hammocks in the trees, we would first inspect the ground to ensure that our equipment would not be covered in termites or ants by the morning. Fish, which the Indians caught for us, was now our main food. One type looked and tasted almost like salmon; another, a flat fish, was very similar to the *piraña* with its razor teeth and protruding lower jaw. Even in February, towards the end of the dry season, many days were overcast. When the sun did appear, it was usually followed by a heavy afternoon rainstorm often accompanied by a cold wind, so that in spite of our nylon jackets we found ourselves shivering with cold. One day we passed very close to a green water snake. It coiled itself and thrashed the water with its tail, its head out of sight, until it finally disappeared locked in the jaws of its invisible assailant.

Along the river banks and high in the trees overhead, we saw herons, ibis and egrets, a brownish bird similar to a bittern; king-fishers, not so brilliantly coloured as the British kind, and duck would rise off the water in front of the boat. The varying shades of green were broken by white hibiscus, the crimson flowers of the chocolate tree, the flashing blue wings of the giant morphous butterfly or the wasp yellow of a swallowtail, beautiful butterflies which sting like fire-ants as caterpillars and live on blood, offal and manure. Sometimes the transparent glinting wings of a dragonfly passed by, while at night shadowy nightjars flitted over the river between the pin-point glows of the fireflies.

114 On the evening of the second day after leaving the rapids we sighted the
133 Apaporis, a river of strange contrasts with its great width, muddy banks and putty-coloured water. We had decided to reach the falls of Jirijimo. They were alleged to be a magnificent sight when the river was in full spate. A few people had seen the falls from the air, though in the days of the rubber boom the river was used as a highway, and the *caucheros* had made ramps through the forest as a portage. But this movement up and down the river had always been during the wet season, and we were travelling during the last month of summer, when in fact the river was at its lowest ebb.

For two days we moved up the Apaporis after making a dump of all our equipment, including the Indian canoe which we hid in the forest, for we knew we would have to return the same way. On the evening of the second day we reached the falls of Playa, somewhere below Jirijimo. In the winter it would have been possible to have hauled the boat on to the great sandstone slabs and pulled it up the ramps, which, though terribly overgrown during
114 the last thirty years of disuse, could have been cleared sufficiently. But now

The vegetation, therefore, is
/12 cont./ the high and dense
137 forest of the "hydro-hygro-megathermic type," similar to that of the Rio Negro. The palm trees merit special attention. There are many varieties, sometimes following the course of the water and at other times dispersed through the woodland, which the forest dwellers use for various purposes.

We noted among the palms of "terra-firme" the tucum (astrocárium /Astrocaryum/ vulgare, Mart. or astr. tucumóides), the bacaba (oenocárpus bacaba, Mart.), the açaí /assai/ (eutérpe olerácea, Mart.), the inajá (Maximiliána régia, Mart.), the pupunha (Guilerma /Guilielma/ speciosa), the paxiúba (iriartea exorrhiza or settígera, Mart.). Among those of the inundated places, the javarí (astrocárium javarí), the miritíí or buritíí (maurítia vinifera and m. flexuosa), the caraná (maurítia caraná), the jará (leopoldinia maior), the piaçaba (leopoldinia piassába, Wal.), the tucumã (astrocarium tucuman, Mart.). The climbing palm, the jacitára or Kamwarri, of the genus Desmoncus, is of great use in the indigenous basketry.

134 In general there is only a small superficial humous layer,
137 from which emerges the imposing millenary forest, and after that the sandy or clayey strata. A primary consequence of such a small humous base is that the trees have very superficial roots, and therefore the storms frequently knock them down, producing true clearings in the forests. A second consequence is that the
[241] land becomes unproductive after three or four years of the primitive native agriculture.

136 /13/ The rivers and igarapés are populated by many species of fish, which constitute one of the principal foods of the native.

The Amazonian fauna is not rich in varieties, and less so quantitatively. Besides the dangerous felines, the onça /jaguar/ (felix /Felis/ onça) and the gato macarajá /ocelot/ (felix pardalis and felix mucura, Neuw.), there are few animals that the native ordinarily can find and that offer him meat for food: the veado /deer/ (gen. cervus), the paca (coelógenys paca), the cotia /agouti/ (dasyprocta aguti, Lin.), queixada and caetitu /species of peccary/ (dicotyles labiátus, tayassú albirostris, and tayassú tayassú, Lin.), the anta /tapir/ (tapírus americánus,

114 177 191 originally worked wild rubber for one of the great rubber barons and they had earned their clothing in exchange for their labours. Their torn trousers were only a veneer of the civilized world, for here they seemed to come into their own element: they talked to each other in Tukano; they became alert to the forest they knew so well.

122 We were living in a closed world of limited horizons, on either side the thick forest, ahead the river and above a ribbon of sky. Giant emerald king-[136] fishers with orange heads and long black beaks darted out in front of us. [137] Myriads of white butterflies rose off the sandbanks, settling on our bodies to enjoy the salty sweat. On occasions we saw a delicate wader like a sandpiper bob up and down on the sand near the water's edge. The water had now changed colour, no longer black but a deep wine red, as it flowed over the [134] pale sandy bed. We supposed this colour was due to the high iron content in the rock.

Our first major halt was made at Pedro's house. He had established himself as a tradesman between the Indians on the upper Piraparaná and the [439] civilized rubber gatherers of Mitú. He bought *farinha* from the Tukano in exchange for fish-hooks, salt and cloth. His magnificent thatched house was a foretaste of what we were to see. But the occupants with their dishevelled clothes, the sheets of crude rubber hanging from the beams and the iron cooking pots, seemed a strange paradox.

We unloaded all our equipment, sending Candilo and his assistant back to Mitú with *Vencedor* and the larger outboard motor. With him went one of our valuable cameras whose shutter had jammed during the first day, and a note to Nestor in Bogotá, warning him of the difficulties he would encounter and advising him again to travel as light as possible. Of the now depleted party, José and Uriel were to be our guides throughout the journey; Matias would ensure that we reached the first Indian habitation on the Piraparaná; while Bernavez went on ahead in his dugout canoe carrying two drums of our fuel. We were joined by one more man, old Miguez, who brought his own small Indian canoe. From now on we would have to make double journeys with *El Diablo* until we reached Indians who would carry our loads in their own canoes.

Next morning, while Donald and Horacio repacked much of the kit, Brian and José went ahead with a small load in *El Diablo*. The Ti narrowed and then divided; here our route towards the Piraparaná portage lay up a tiny tributary, the Caño Berada or Fish Bow Creek, as it was known to the Indians. With our arrival in the Berada, a mere stream flowing out of the undergrowth, our whole mode of travel changed. We could no longer use the motor; instead we had to push the boat upstream. We spent the rest of the day waist-deep in water, clambering over submerged timbers and occasional rocks; an Indian out in front cut a way through the fallen trees.

Christmas Day saw us cross two rock ledges where the boat had to be com-

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel [illegible] the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. 304 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between 171 the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of the same lip. 301 On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well [554] polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/22 cont./

301 hole that is made artificially across the middle from one
554 extremity to the other: the principals wear them about half a span long; the nobles, a little less, and the common people much shorter."

301 187. "Some Indians of the Tariarana nation, inhabitants
135 of the Capuri River, were seen at another time with little
171 plates of gold /Port. folhetas de ouro/ in the ears, which, in exchange for feathers, they bought from Indians of other nations, whom they did not know. Now it is known that the Indians of the Panenuá nation, who inhabited the upper part of the Ucayari, wear the same little plates and that from them they are passed on to the Tarianos. There is doubt, however, as to where the above-mentioned fragments of gold come from" (3).

3. Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of João Pereira Caldas, Governador of the Rio Negro, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador (Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, p. 82) as follows: "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn by certain Indians of the Uaupés River as earrings; this is one thing about which I could not discover the slightest bit of information, although I have questioned many and different Nations, inhabitants of the same River, with whom I have talked. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing but a chimeric illusion that originated from having seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, whose wings, after being dried, resemble some metallic kind because of their thickness and shine. /This footnote is continued on the next page of the original source./

135 "Finally I believe that this Notice of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is to that degree Fabulous, as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of

/22 cont./

• 135 /footnote 3 cont./ Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, extracted or brought from the Tiquié River in the year of 1749, if melted, appear to be of silver, when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already carrying them as such."

*101 189. "The Issana is inhabited by Indians of the nations Baniva, Tumayari, Tuniari, Deçana, Puetana, Uerequena
171 and others. Those of the nation commonly called Uerequena,
[304] through corruption of the word /23/ Ariquena, have as a mark of distinction a very large hole between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears, in which they put bunches of straw. Among them are found many who, prior
[551] to communication and knowledge of Whites, had Hebrew names, some pure and others with slight corruption, such as: Joab, Jacob, Yacobí, Thomé, Thomequí, Davidú, Ivanan and Marianan."

b. Xavier Sampaio, in his "Diario," writes: -- No.
133 380. "Farther down the famous Ucayari, by another name
*[101] the Uaupés, derived from the nation called this, who principally inhabit it, creates a bar. It empties with two mouths and a triangular island of 20 leagues around and innumerable rocks and cachoeiras, very dangerous because of the frightening whirlpools they form... Toward the south the Tiquié and Capuri, which are the principal ones. Toward

/310 cont./

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and Venezuela they might have been /311/ obtained in barter. At the present time one only finds some women with triangular sheets of beaten silver, of varied size, strung on a cord, and used as a necklace around the neck. They are called, due to their appearance, mo'mõ-rõ khwíri, that is, pieces of butterfly. [192]

292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since
301 stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
554 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
[756 major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[437] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
{614} told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region.
[184] The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *habókü* status or *kenámi upákü*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[135] [2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[324] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

/12 cont./ The vegetation, therefore, is the high and dense
137 forest of the "hydro-hygro-megathermic type," similar to that of the Rio Negro. The palm trees merit special attention. There are many varieties, sometimes following the course of the water and at other times dispersed through the woodland, which the forest dwellers use for various purposes.

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/13 cont./

• 136 Briss.), the capivara /capybara/ (hidrochoerus /Hydrochoerus/ capybara, Erxl.) and macacos of various species.

The birds present the same scarcity in quantity, but a greater richness in variety and plumage. Among those appreciated as foods by the forest dwellers, we remember the tucanos /toucans/ (ramphastus /Ramphastos/), jacamim /trumpeter/ (psophídeos /Psophidae/), mutum /curassow/ (crax nigra, alector, etc.), jacú (penélopes), several pombos /doves/ (columba). Procured for their plumage are the garças /herons/ (herodias egretta) and other varieties of ardeídae, tucanos, and the extraordinary variety of araras and other psittacídeos /Psittacidae/.

The entomological contribution is more varied and richer, some varieties of insects also serving as food for the inhabitants of the region.

241 In this habitat in which the area to be cultivated is acquired by arduously hewing down the secular forest and which is only used regularly for three or four years, one can make only a small planting. We must remember that originally the Uaupés man had at his disposal only the stone ax, and that on the Uaupés the verões, that is, the periods of dry weather that permit "the burning of the clearing," are neither frequent nor extended.

361 The agriculture, on one side, as well as the fishing and the
[262] hunting, do not permit large human assemblages. As a consequence, we are going to find the population always dispersed in small groups located on the banks of the rivers and streams (igarapés), which, besides furnishing, with the fish, a favorite food, also serve them as a means of communication.

The demands of the natives being minimal, the conditions that determine their habitat are reduced to three: 1st, water, to drink, to bathe, and to give them fish; 2nd, the forest, which furnishes fruit and the wood for the fire; 3rd, land sufficiently fertile for the cultivation of mandioca, their principal vegetable food. Not always, but rather very rarely in the present situation can /14/ the first condition be reconciled with the third, accord-
[241] ing to native criteria. For this reason, they ordinarily plant the clearing, "wexsé," some kilometers from their house. Compensating for the inconvenience of the distance, there is presented to

/42 cont./

*101 (3) -- CORÓ-CORÓ. -- It is the name of an aquatic bird (ibis melanocéphala), which is included in the group of the garças /herons/ (ardeídae). Pelo Rio Mar adds: "Green ibis Indians. On the rivers Cuerarí and Codoiarí, tributaries of the Uapés." Koch G. (Festschrift Eduard Seler, 205-6) indicates that they are the Koroá of the Kubewana group, live on the Cuduiarí, but came down from the upper Querarí.

/43/ Because of the coincidence of the location, we are of the opinion that the Coró-coró mentioned by Wallace are a subdivision of the Kubewana tribe, which is called Koxtóa (see below, IV -- 2, p /p. 151/), precisely the name of the bird Coró-coró.

[136] It should be noted that the Coró-coró is an aquatic bird of the group of the ardeídae, like the garça /heron/, hence perhaps the calling of the Coró-coró tribe "Índios garças." It is true that Wallace locates the Coró-coró on the river Cuduiarí, and the Garça on the Papurí. It must be pointed out, however, that the locations obtained by Wallace are vague, and that, from the headwaters of the river Paca, one of the sources of the Papurí, the passage to the Uaupés and the Cuduiarí is relatively easy (cf. what was said above about the Aguará, II -- 6, a - c, 1 /p. 50 /).

(4) -- GI -- It is a word of the língua geral and means machado /ax/. We find in Pelo Rio Mar: "Gí-tapuias, Machado Indians. On the river Querarí, tributary of the river Uaupés." It disagrees, therefore, with Wallace's location, which places them on the river Cuiari, tributary of the Içana. Unless it is a matter of some confusion, since Wallace records, besides Cuiarí, the spelling Querirí for the same river. One must be dealing, then, with an Arwake tribe, like all those of these rivers.

Hamilton Rice, on his map, locates the Gí-tapuia on the igarapé of the Cigarro (below Uaupés). The existence there of that tribe, however, was not confirmed by any native of the vicinity consulted by us.

/111 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- One group of Yebá-masã lives on the headwaters of the igarapé Iaíssa (igarapé of the house of the onça /jaguar/), still in Brazilian territory; but the totality is in Colombian territory, in the interior of the forest watered by the Komé-ya. Probably they do not exceed two or three hundred members. [161]

[115] 3) Divisions. -- The five primary divisions were furnished to us by an Indian of the tribe, named Joaquim, about 25 years of age (in 1954), and the last two, by the Indian João, 40 years old, of the Tuyuka tribe, from the maloca of the Iaíssa. The Roéra and Emõã appear in the following divisions. We were not able to find out whether they are homonymous tribes, as is more probable, considered as more closely related. Their habitat coincides with those of these tribes, as can be seen in the respective places.

1. Doé or Roé (taraíra /fish/), on the Komé-ya
2. Wĩhuri or Wĩpuri (?), on the Komé-ya

/112/

3. Áyawa (?), on the Komé-ya
4. Héta (?), on the Komé-ya
5. Kuíto (?), on the Komé-ya
6. Emõã-masã (guariba /howler/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya
7. Sêi-masã (barrigudo /woolly/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya (42)

• [136] 42. Sêi is the monkey of the genera Lagothrix and related ones, which is also called aimoré, because of which the natives of this group are sometimes called Aymoré-tapuya.

/216 cont./

*192
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More rarely they cook it with tender leaves of mandioca; such a dish is called maniçoba (from the Nheengatú manib, mandioca, and çob, leaf), and in Tukano dõxkõ pũ (Uaupés dõxkõ pũnĩ; from dõxkõ, maniva /manioc cutting for planting/, and pũnĩ, leaves).

The peppery water (with or without salt) in which the fish or the piracuí was boiled is what is called byá-tõ (literally pepper pot) and in the Lingua Geral quinhapira (from quinha, pepper, and pirá, /217/ fish); and in which the pieces of beijú are moistened before being taken to the mouth.

*192
• 136

4) The fish. There are many species of fish (46)

46. It is estimated that there are about 3,700 species of Brazilian fish, approximately 1,700 of these species being fresh-water fish. (J. H. Leoni -- Peixes Brasileiros /Brazilian Fish/ -- Edit. Anchieta, 1946.)

existing in the rivers of this zone northwest of the Amazon, and the natives use almost all of them (47).

[115]

47. A Tukano Indian, João by name, an old fisherman from S. Francisco (river Tiquié) assured us in 1955: "We eat all the fish, except the pirá-boto." Boto or pirá-boto /dolphin/, also called pirá-yauara (that is, dog fish, and in Tukano oxkó puxtistéro, blower of water?), is a cetacean mammal, four species of which are given for the Amazon region: the white one, known as uiára (Inia Geoffroyensis, Blaw.); the black one or pixúna (Inia Amazonica); the red one or piranga (Delphines fluviátilis, Gervais), and the gray one or tucuxí (Stena tucuxi). The Boto, moreover, is a fish that appears in the legends, as well as the pirarara (in Tukano mahã-wí, which means precisely

/217 cont./

*192
• 136

/footnote 47 cont./ arara fish, due to its beautiful colors). One notices some prejudice against "the fish with skin," as being causes of dermatosis.

We shall mention some of the principal and most common species:

a'mã, jandiá or catfish (Rhamdia of various species)
á'fia, ray (plagiostomous fish)
bixpári or wai-dõxparí, ararí
bo'téa, aracú (Leporínus múlleri, Gunther)
bõ'õ, piranha (various species of Serrasalmo)
bu'ú, tucunaré (Cíchla ocelláris, Schneider)
bũxkõã-siró, ituim (Sternópygus carápus, and various species of Gymnotidae)
bũxpó, acará (Geophagus brasiliensis and various other species of Cichlidae
bũxpõ wai, spider fish (trachinoid fish)
doé, traira (Erythrinus taraíra, Lin.)
ixkyã, mandí (various species of Siluridae)
mã'hõã, jacundá (Crenicíchla sexatílis, Lin.)
mĩx'pĩ-pũrĩ-wí, piraíra
mõõ, piraíba (Blanchyplatystoma filamentosum)
õxtã-bwí, uatucupá
sã-ã, puraquê (Gimnótus /Gymnotus/ eléctricus, Lin.)
sẽ'ã, pirá mirim (Brycon striatus)
uhú, pacú (Dóras dorsális, Cuv. and various species of Prochilodus)
yaká, acarí, cascudo (loricaridoid fish of the swamps)
yox'sõ-wí, pirá-pucú (Xiphostoma Cuvieri, Spix.)
/218/ wai-wexkõ, cow fish (Manátus americánus, mammal of the lower Rio Negro)
waxpé, aracapurí (fish of the genus Erythrinus)

/286 cont./

*192 164 [136] g) Eye trouble -- Kaxpé-ri pũrĩsé. Ophthalmia is frequent in all the tribes, from simple irritation by rubbing the eyes with the dirty hands, up to cases of conjunctivitis and trachoma. There are yellow ants, called taxi or fire ants, which live in some woods and bushes and whose bite is painful and poisonous, even causing a degenerescence of the cornea. The Makú, especially, are often bitten by these ants and suffer in their vision.

*192 164 h) Dysentery, Yohá -- Diarrhea, Di-yohá -- Intestinal fevers, Uháke. Dysentery, diarrhea, and intestinal fevers are frequent and /287/ caused by spoiled food, waters polluted (40)

> 40. Rivers and streams (igarapés) are made up in long stretches by stagnate waters, in which not infrequently are seen, on the whole liquid surface, pollen, petals, leaves, and other organic elements in decomposition. Ordinarily these same watercourses, at least during the months of high water or even during the entire year, are found in communication with swamps and putrefactive waters, as will easily be verified by anyone who crosses some stretch of the Uaupés forest. If we exclude perhaps the stretches with cachoeiras in the great rivers, it is possible that a meticulous analysis would condemn as unhealthy all the remaining and vast aqueous surface of the region.

or with a high dosage of timboina (at the time of fishing with timbo). Dysentery is frequent, moreover, on the occasion of the native feasts, caused by excessive drinking.

164 i) Venereal diseases. In the legends, it seems to us, there is a reference to venereal diseases. Nevertheless, there are few

/290 cont./

356 Not infrequently, however, because of the dogs that also live
[136] there (and we have at times seen dogs sick and covered with sores),
[231] the ground is dusty, favoring the procreation of the bichos-de-pé /foot fleas/ (cullex pénetrans) and fleas.

Not infrequently the fruit rinds are thrown into a corner to rot,
[514] producing an unpleasant odor. This is unbearable, due to the vomitings and defecations in the maloca itself during the dabacuris. One can sometimes perceive a peculiar odor in the native povoados.

b) On the person.

515 The body hygiene is also deficient. They take a bath every morning, and more during the day. It is a bath to refresh, however, rather than to clean. Not having soap available to eliminate the grease from the body and hair, one not infrequently sees layers of dirt on some parts of the epidermis, especially in the folds of the skin and in the hairy parts. Even those who use /291/ soap, such as the school pupils, give off an unpleasant and characteristic odor.

296 Although they know how to wash clothes, and some of them do it well, in the majority of cases they keep the clothes on the body until they are very dirty, or even until they rot. Precisely the following custom is to be noted: they wash their own clothes with certain frequency when new. When they consider them old, they will not wash them any more. If they get wet, they let the clothes dry on the body.

356 Their primitive hammocks of tucum are never washed as a
515 rule, and in a little while they are darkened by the sweat, smoke, and grime. They climb into the hammock with the body dirty. The only care will be, perhaps, to rub the soles of the feet, one against the other, in order to clean them of soil.

574 With all freedom, an Indian, even a strange one passing by the maloca (we have seen this even in the case of Indians of different tribes), will lie down during the day in the first hammock that he finds vacant, while he rests and converses.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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133 igneous rock dot the country. These hills seem to have little interest for the Cubeo, but the mesas with their sandstone caves are held to be the dwellings of dangerous demons.

136 Fish are generally abundant and are represented by hundreds of (251) species. The favorite of all tribes is the aracú, which the Indians commonly smoke to preserve. The piranha and the river anaconda are the constant river hazards. The piranha seem always to be present, as can be proved by throwing animal entrails into the river. The waste is hit by the fish almost instantly and devoured within minutes. The Indians, however, do not dread either the anaconda or the piranha, but when preparing to bathe they circumspectly drum the surface of the water with their cupped hands to drive these creatures off. The river anaconda reaches a length of over 20 feet and is regarded as dangerous only in the vicinity of submerged trees, which it uses for leverage in seizing a victim and pulling him under. However, children who play constantly in such waters are aware of the hazard but are not afraid, nor are their elders anxious for them. I heard of no specific cases of injury from either piranha or anaconda. The man-eating cayman of the sluggish llanos rivers is absent here and the smaller cayman is a minor hazard.

The Northwest Amazon has its share of tropical forest game, although, as Lord Wallace observed (1870, p. 446), the Amazon is a mammal-poor region. The jaguar is feared in its supernatural aspect only. The peccary, until recently hunted by a group of men armed with spears, is acknowledged to be dangerous and aggressive when challenged. The tapir will also charge when annoyed, but neither animal fills the Indian with dread. For the rest, the forest game is small and shy. It consists of the small red deer, the rodents such as paca, capybara, and agouti, the raccoon-like coati, monkeys, and armadillo. River otters are common but are not molested. When they surround a canoe with their excited barking the Indians greet them with a discreet silence and wait for them to submerge again. Bird life is rich but of small economic importance.

All visitors to the region have described vividly their unpleasant encounters with its insect life. The Indians are made equally miserable by the swarms of pium gnats and sand flies. Careless scratching (164) of an insect bite produces dangerous ulcerations. I have seen Indians who had lost several square feet of skin from such spreading ulcers. Chigger (*neguas*) hygiene is a preoccupation of all residents of the Northwest Amazon. The Indians are expert in expelling the spherical sacs with a deft pressure from a stick or knife blade. In the forest the sting of the red ant bothers the naked Indians more than the clothed

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visitor. On the other hand, the leaf-cutter ant is a specialist on clothing. I was once covered by a swarm of these ants while asleep. When I had carefully removed the last of them I was left with but a leather belt and a few tatters of trousers and shirt.

The anopheles mosquito is generally absent in the Cuduiari region where I did my field work. On the whole, the health of the Cuduiari Indians is good. Carate (*puru*), a skin pigment disorder apparently of spirochete origin, common everywhere else in the Northwest Amazon, was far less in evidence on the Cuduiari. Children suffered from worms and other intestinal parasites but infant mortality was not particularly high. There were no epidemics during my stay. The recollections of the Indians about serious illness go back to the 1918 influenza epidemic that apparently ravaged the native populations in the region. Women, in particular, suffered from the painful purulent conjunctivitis, which they attributed to insect molestation in their manioc gardens. The bloated abdomens of children whose diet is too generous with carbohydrate and deficient in protein is a common sight along the Vaupés, but is less evident on the Cuduiari, where native life and diet is still almost intact. As for the Cuduiari itself, the people at the mouth of the river, the higher-ranking *Hehénewa* sibs, seemed generally more sturdy, vigorous, and aggressive than the Indians who lived upstream.

Dr. Hamilton Rice, who explored the Vaupés in 1907–08, observed that the most physically powerful Indians came from the Cuduiari. He noted men who were six feet tall and over, strongly built with thick arms and powerful torsos. Actually somatological variability is considerable on the Cuduiari, ranging from marked mesomorphy to moderate ectomorphy. But this observation of mine is not based on measurements. Dr. Rice (1910) has published a physical description of the Cubeo based upon anthropometric observations. I quote from it:

> Their color is an olive brown corresponding to No. 4 of Broca's scale and seems invariable, a conclusion based on a comparison of the scale with many hundreds of subjects on parts of the cuticle least exposed to sun and pigmented decoration. The eye is dark, palpebral fissure narrow, not oblique, pointed at its external aspect, and the upper lid so heavy at times as to suggest the puffiness of oedema; but the eye by no means conforms invariably to so Mongolian a criterion, closely resembling the European eye in many other cases. The hair is black, lanky, coarse in the male, fine and glossy in the female. The faces are escutcheon-shaped and hairless, the chins rounded and receding, noses from straight and busque to hooked and Chinese flat types, region of cheek bones flat, lower lips large and inclined to turn slightly downward. The ears are not large, lobes absent or slightly devel-

114 177 191 originally worked wild rubber for one of the great rubber barons and they had earned their clothing in exchange for their labours. Their torn trousers were only a veneer of the civilized world, for here they seemed to come into their own element: they talked to each other in Tukano; they became alert to the forest they knew so well.

122 We were living in a closed world of limited horizons, on either side the thick forest, ahead the river and above a ribbon of sky. Giant emerald kingfishers with orange heads and long black beaks darted out in front of us. [136] [137] Myriads of white butterflies rose off the sandbanks, settling on our bodies to enjoy the salty sweat. On occasions we saw a delicate wader like a sandpiper bob up and down on the sand near the water's edge. The water had now changed colour, no longer black but a deep wine red, as it flowed over the pale sandy bed. [134] We supposed this colour was due to the high iron content in the rock.

Our first major halt was made at Pedro's house. He had established himself as a tradesman between the Indians on the upper Piraparaná and the civilized rubber gatherers of Mitú. [439] He bought *farinha* from the Tukano in exchange for fish-hooks, salt and cloth. His magnificent thatched house was a foretaste of what we were to see. But the occupants with their dishevelled clothes, the sheets of crude rubber hanging from the beams and the iron cooking pots, seemed a strange paradox.

We unloaded all our equipment, sending Candilo and his assistant back to Mitú with *Vencedor* and the larger outboard motor. With him went one of our valuable cameras whose shutter had jammed during the first day, and a note to Nestor in Bogotá, warning him of the difficulties he would encounter and advising him again to travel as light as possible. Of the now depleted party, José and Uriel were to be our guides throughout the journey; Matias would ensure that we reached the first Indian habitation on the Piraparaná; while Bernavez went on ahead in his dugout canoe carrying two drums of our fuel. We were joined by one more man, old Miguez, who brought his own small Indian canoe. From now on we would have to make double journeys with *El Diablo* until we reached Indians who would carry our loads in their own canoes.

Next morning, while Donald and Horacio repacked much of the kit, Brian and José went ahead with a small load in *El Diablo*. The Ti narrowed and then divided; here our route towards the Piraparaná portage lay up a tiny tributary, the Caño Berada or Fish Bow Creek, as it was known to the Indians. With our arrival in the Berada, a mere stream flowing out of the undergrowth, our whole mode of travel changed. We could no longer use the motor; instead we had to push the boat upstream. We spent the rest of the day waist-deep in water, clambering over submerged timbers and occasional rocks; an Indian out in front cut a way through the fallen trees.

Christmas Day saw us cross two rock ledges where the boat had to be com-

pletely unloaded and then dragged over. That evening was a beautiful one 122
and we made camp at an old *mitasava*, the Indian traveller's staging point,
where he erects a small palm-thatch shelter. We must have been on higher [137]
ground, for it was dry and sandy while the forest had changed to small birch-
like trees, with lichen and moss underfoot. Somehow this was an appropriate [136]
place to eat our wild Christmas turkey which Miguez had shot earlier in the day
and drink each other's health from the precious bottle of 'medicinal' whisky.

The next day our watery struggle continued and progress became even slower. Only half the equipment reached our camp site, this time back in low-lying forest. That evening Donald and José went ahead to the next stream junction to return at dark with the news that there was barely any water at all in the stream, and that we would be pushing the boat over dried-out sandbanks. Matias, our hardest worker, departed across country to the Piraparaná. He left at dusk, his coca pouch slung across his back to ward off the pangs of hunger. He promised to return in three days with men from the first habitation on the river; he was true to his word but it took him more than three days.

That night there was a disquieting atmosphere in the camp. Horacio was 114
even more unhappy than usual about our excessive amount of equipment.
Our three remaining Indians, José, Uriel and Miguez, kept to themselves, talking through half the night. We awoke to find Miguez vanished, never to be seen again, and José and Uriel packing their own belongings on to their backs. They said they were going to join Matias and bring back more men – we knew they were about to desert us.

We made them put down their gear and then listened to their tale of woe. We were not feeding them well enough; they wanted more than just *farinha*, they needed rice as well. They were being made to carry too much, and the stream beds were so dry that it would be impossible for us to get through until the rains arrived. So we compromised, we agreed to leave behind some of the fuel if necessary and to give them the same food as ourselves; we repeated our promise to pay all the Indians who worked for us in cloth and trade goods – or even money if it was of any use to them.

During the day we pushed the boat, first down to the previous site and 122
then, fully loaded, back towards our present camp. Once Horacio lost his way when taking a short cut; he was not well and we thought it was due to a recurrence of malaria. That night he became worse, and with him unfit we decided to go ahead on a reconnaissance with José, leaving him to guard the equipment and recover, while we tried to reach the other side of the portage; if necessary we would go overland to find the first house.

Early next morning we packed our rucksacks and left with a week's supplies. Walking over high ground with willows, lichen and moss, to our great joy we reached the western entrance to the portage after only two hours. We walked through the low scrub for half an hour, along the path

*Tukano*

122 The last days before reaching the first Tukano house on the Piraparaná were not easy ones. At one point we had to cross two formidable waterfalls where all the equipment and fuel was carried overland, while we dragged the boat over the riverside rocks to avoid the midstream torrent. At the first of these the boat was lowered over a twenty-foot rock wall by means of a crevice into which we had forced timbers. *El Diablo* began to show severe signs of weakness. The ribbing above the hollowed log hull began to give and the planking above it worked loose at the joints. Large lumps of pitch came astray and we found ourselves caulking her sides with strips torn from our trousers. On many occasions we hit submerged rocks and logs, and the further we went the more we had to bale. Once a jagged rock edge pierced a large hole in the bows and water came gushing in. One thing was certain: an aluminium boat would by this time have been ripped to pieces.

Our journey downstream was a cold, wet and dreary affair. Both Donald and Horacio had ceased to wear boots because of raw blisters. Our shins had become a mass of open sores from knocks sustained underwater. But these exposed rocks gave Brian opportunities for geology. Much to everyone's dismay – except his – *El Diablo* became more and more weighed down by samples which found their way into the used biscuit tins. José always wanted to know whether there was gold, but there never was, nor indeed were there any fossils. We were attempting to make a compass traverse of our route, but our methods at this stage were hardly accurate.

We made camp one night on the driest land available, near a junction with another tributary. It was an unhealthy spot with bats swooping low beneath the trees. Later one of our guides had his toe incised by a vampire bat and woke in the morning to find his hammock soaked in blood; these bats often carried rabies. While Horacio was making breakfast, a scorpion ran up his arm. When he yelled, José, who was standing close by, flicked it dexterously into the hot ashes of the fire.

Some days later, after an unusually long stretch of paddling, we jumped
136 into the water to pull *El Diablo* over a fallen tree. A large boa constrictor unfurled itself from beneath the boat, shot between our legs and zigzagged swiftly through the water in front, its dark green body coiling and recoiling as it vanished down the river.

It is a mistake to think that the forest is alive with poisonous reptiles and fierce animals. The discomforts stem from ants, insects and many varieties of stinging flies. We rarely saw wild animals although birds were quite plentiful. In this higher part of the river, a particular small bird would always warn all other creatures of our approach with a piercing three-note whistle. Calling louder and louder it was answered by others in the vicinity. The noise was rending and the more we talked, the more it sang. The Indians called it the *Wa-pey-yer*, and we later heard this bird had driven some explorers mad.

122 For the first time in a week the sun pierced the thick canopy of leaves,

survives, the cultivated plants have been strangled by weeds and secondary growth. 249

The *cacique*, the *maloca*'s pet bird, accompanies the Indians, flying from bush to bush and cawing raucously as she glides low over their heads, her olive-green breast almost brushing their hair. She perches on a charred tree-stump, looks at them as they leave the old *chagra* and enter the forest, gives a loud 'caw' and flies back to the *maloca* to see what edible scraps can be found. [136]

In the early morning the tall forest is dank and cool, a place of silence broken only by the occasional chatter of the Indians as they move rapidly along, their sure footsteps delicately gliding over the mass of roots which forms a base to the pathway. Few birds and no animals are about; the sun's rays piercing through the thick leaf vault give life to what might be a dead world. Suddenly they come to a wide expanse of cleared land. There is a chaotic mass of fallen trees, black from recent fires, surrounded by the forest wall. It is as if a great explosion had occurred leaving behind only the charred remains.

Every year or two, when the dry season comes in late November or December, the men cut down an area of forest, and about two months later, just before the rains return, they burn the fallen timber to make a new *chagra*. With each new *chagra*, the men, who do all the clearing and burning, move further afield, so that eventually, after some five years or more, the *maloca* too will be moved to be near the plantation. 241 462

This system of shifting agriculture, the men as it were preparing the ground for the women to work on, is carried on incessantly. Partly owing to soil exhaustion, partly because of weed strangulation, the areas of cultivation must be constantly changed, and so the moving Indian population covers wide areas of otherwise untouched Amazonian forest. 241 221

It is now January; the smell of the fire still clings to this battlefield of black charcoal. Soon, with the arrival of the rains in March, the women will plant out the manioc cuttings and by late October the first crop will be harvested; so for two years they may expect to get reasonable manioc yields from their *chagra*, after which they must move again. 241 462

The men run over the fallen tree-trunks and from the new *chagra* they move into an area partly overgrown by weeds and secondary growth. Here, placed almost mathematically across the *chagra*, in contrast to the haphazard cultivation of other plants, are the avenues of coca shrubs. 249 462

Perhaps the ritual associated with the taking of cocaine during festivals and tribal ceremonies, apart from its daily use, explains the attention given not only to its later preparation but also to the planting and picking of the leaves. The common coca shrub, always tended by the men, stands about five feet high when fully grown and may last five or more years. It is the most important of the stimulants taken by the Tukano, some of whom are heroic addicts taking as much as two ounces a day. Their life is partly geared to their addiction, and their daily practice is to come to the *chagra* and

# 7
# *Missing Links*

Until we had passed the last rapids on the Piraparaná we were always anxious, 114
as we were never sure how long José would stay with us. Had he left us we might have found it difficult to get other Indians to help, and certainly we could never have managed *El Diablo* ourselves. There were many occasions when he had threatened to leave, but so far he had been persuaded not to. So it was with some relief that we passed these rapids, though there was nearly disaster, for José determined to take *El Diablo* through fully loaded. We watched aghast from the bank as for a moment the boat completely disappeared from view in the turbulent water. But somehow she stayed afloat.

Now the river was anything from thirty to a hundred yards across. It 13
wound sluggishly this way and that between low banks covered in dense 114
forest and bordered with *miriti* palms. There were no houses, for most of the land was liable to flooding during the wetter months. We saw no Indians on the river, nor any canoes moored to the banks. At times the river meandered forming giant oxbows, where, through the sparse jungle, we could see a bend in the river that we had passed perhaps an hour before. At one of the bends a low cliff rose sheer from the water's edge. It was formed from clay and shales of Tertiary age, and in the beds Brian found deposits of lignite, tree-trunks and plant remains. To the west of us lay the Apaporis, to the east [101]
continuous forest as far as the Río Negro, the home of strange, seldom-seen foresters, the nomadic Maku.

Since leaving Bréo's *maloca* we had been troubled less by flies and insects; 136
the jigger worms, which had laid their eggs in our feet when we walked 114
barefoot about the *malocas*, no longer bothered us. Only the *nutchis* remained as they took some days to incubate. One night after an exceptionally large one was removed from Donald's shin, he wrote, 'A rather painful process. However it had its reward for it was definitely a record breaker – fat, furry, and fully half an inch in length....' They could only be extracted by using nicotine to poison them, or rubber latex to block their breathing holes where they lay under the skin. We never learnt how we got these painful worms.

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ABOVE AND BELOW: *Dancing at the festival to celebrate the manioc harvest.*

[see p 82-B]

114 Probably they resulted from a small fly or mosquito injecting the egg into
• 136 the bloodstream. Horacio had come across them in the Llanos, but only in cattle and dogs, never in humans.

Though seldom bothered by mosquitoes we occasionally ran into a belt of the *pium* fly which could give very irritating bites. At night when we found a sand-spit, or dry ground in the forest where we could sling our hammocks in the trees, we would first inspect the ground to ensure that our equipment would not be covered in termites or ants by the morning. Fish, which the Indians caught for us, was now our main food. One type looked and tasted almost like salmon; another, a flat fish, was very similar to the *piraña* with its razor teeth and protruding lower jaw. Even in February, towards the end of the dry season, many days were overcast. When the sun did appear, it was usually followed by a heavy afternoon rainstorm often accompanied by a cold wind, so that in spite of our nylon jackets we found ourselves shivering with cold. One day we passed very close to a green water snake. It coiled itself and thrashed the water with its tail, its head out of sight, until it finally disappeared locked in the jaws of its invisible assailant.

Along the river banks and high in the trees overhead, we saw herons, ibis and egrets, a brownish bird similar to a bittern; king-fishers, not so brilliantly coloured as the British kind, and duck would rise off the water in front of the boat. The varying shades of green were broken by white hibiscus, the crimson flowers of the chocolate tree, the flashing blue wings of the giant morphous butterfly or the wasp yellow of a swallowtail, beautiful butterflies which sting like fire-ants as caterpillars and live on blood, offal and manure. Sometimes the transparent glinting wings of a dragonfly passed by, while at night shadowy nightjars flitted over the river between the pin-point glows of the fireflies.

114 On the evening of the second day after leaving the rapids we sighted the
133 Apaporis, a river of strange contrasts with its great width, muddy banks and putty-coloured water. We had decided to reach the falls of Jirijimo. They were alleged to be a magnificent sight when the river was in full spate. A few people had seen the falls from the air, though in the days of the rubber boom the river was used as a highway, and the *caucheros* had made ramps through the forest as a portage. But this movement up and down the river had always been during the wet season, and we were travelling during the last month of summer, when in fact the river was at its lowest ebb.

For two days we moved up the Apaporis after making a dump of all our equipment, including the Indian canoe which we hid in the forest, for we knew we would have to return the same way. On the evening of the second day we reached the falls of Playa, somewhere below Jirijimo. In the winter it would have been possible to have hauled the boat on to the great sandstone slabs and pulled it up the ramps, which, though terribly overgrown during
114 the last thirty years of disuse, could have been cleared sufficiently. But now

3: Fulop--53 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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137

Typical maloca (house) of the Tukano linguistic group. (Photos by M. Fulop.)

The vegetation, therefore, is
/12 cont./ the high and dense
137 forest of the "hydro-hygro-megathermic type," similar to that of the Rio Negro. The palm trees merit special attention. There are many varieties, sometimes following the course of the water and at other times dispersed through the woodland, which the forest dwellers use for various purposes.

We noted among the palms of "terra-firme" the tucum (astrocárium /Astrocaryum/ vulgare, Mart. or astr. tucumóides), the bacaba (oenocárpus bacaba, Mart.), the açaí /assai/ (eutérpe olerácea, Mart.), the inajá (Maximiliána régia, Mart.), the pupunha (Guilerma /Guilielma/ speciosa), the paxiúba (iriartea exorrhiza or settígera, Mart.). Among those of the inundated places, the javarí (astrocárium javarí), the mirití or burití (maurítia vinífera and m. flexuosa), the caraná (maurítia caraná), the jará (leopoldinia maior), the piaçaba (leopoldinia piassába, Wal.), the tucumã (astrocarium tucuman, Mart.). The climbing palm, the jacitára or Kamwarri, of the genus Desmoncus, is of great use in the indigenous basketry.

134 In general there is only a small superficial humous layer,
137 from which emerges the imposing millenary forest, and after that the sandy or clayey strata. A primary consequence of such a small humous base is that the trees have very superficial roots, and therefore the storms frequently knock them down, producing true clearings in the forests. A second consequence is that the
[241] land becomes unproductive after three or four years of the primitive native agriculture.

136 /13/ The rivers and igarapés are populated by many species of fish, which constitute one of the principal foods of the native.

The Amazonian fauna is not rich in varieties, and less so quantitatively. Besides the dangerous felines, the onça /jaguar/ (felix /Felis/ onça) and the gato macarajá /ocelot/ (felix pardalis and felix mucura, Neuw.), there are few animals that the native ordinarily can find and that offer him meat for food: the veado /deer/ (gen. cervus), the paca (coelógenys paca), the cotia /agouti/ (dasyprocta aguti, Lin.), queixada and caetitu /species of peccary/ (dicotyles labiátus, tayassú albirostris, and tayassú tayassú, Lin.), the anta /tapir/ (tapírus americánus,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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CUBEO



121 societies. In reconstructing tropical forest culture history, note must be taken of the extraordinary ease of cultural transfers over the entire area. For this reason alone knowledge of total cultural systems seems essential. As matters stand now, much reconstruction must be based upon the very unreliable foundation of trait comparisons. What has [177] been of special interest in my study of the Cubeo has been the way in which some widespread cultural traits, particularly masked dances, harvest rites, and sacred trumpets, have been taken up and fitted into distinctive cultural patterns with a focus in an ancestral cult.

133 The Northwest Amazon region is bounded on the south by the Amazon, from where it is joined by the Rio Negro eastward to where the Marañón issues from the Andes. The Guaviare River is its northern boundary, the Andean cordillera bounds it in the west, and the Rio Negro in the east. The principal rivers of the region are the Caquetá, Apaporis, Tiquié, Papurý, Isana, Vaupés (known in Brazil as the Caiarý), Cuduiarí, Querarí, Aiarí, Tié, and Guainía. All drain into the Amazon. Ecologically, the Northwest Amazon is sharply differentiated only from the neighboring Andean region to the west and to a lesser degree from the open prairie or llanos on its northern • [137] side. Eastward it fades into the flatter and lower-lying forests of the Amazon. Its southern margin is fixed only by an arbitrary river boundary. It is a densely wooded region of tall trees closely packed and interlaced with vines and lianas. At the river edges the forest growth is lower and more brushlike. It is also an elevated region whose streams are punctuated by hazardous cataracts. On the Vaupés, between Yurupari and the Rio Negro, Dr. Hamilton Rice (1910) counted 30 major cataracts and 60 small ones. The cataracts (*cachoeiras*) are for the Indians focal points of residence. Traditional sites, they often mark tribal and sib boundaries. Every cataract has its petroglyphs that depict mythical figures still known to the Indians. In some areas, as I have observed, the residents of the *cachoeiras* freshen the petroglyphs from time to time with deepening incisions. The rapids are more of a navigational hazard to the European traveler than to the Indians, who are expert canoemen and whose light craft [502] is easily portaged. Dr. Rice, who knew a good deal about the Amazon, declared the Cubeo to be the most expert canoemen on the river. [501] I can also testify to their coolness and skill in navigating their small dugout canoes, that have only an inch or two of freeboard, through the twisting boulder-strewn channel of a thundering rapids.

The land slopes abruptly eastward. In its western part the area is often a tumble of ravine-cut hills, exposed rock, and swamp. The Vaupés flows past high, open, uninhabited mesas. Scattered hills of

[text continues on p. 10]

114 177 191 originally worked wild rubber for one of the great rubber barons and they had earned their clothing in exchange for their labours. Their torn trousers were only a veneer of the civilized world, for here they seemed to come into their own element: they talked to each other in Tukano; they became alert to the forest they knew so well.

122 We were living in a closed world of limited horizons, on either side the thick forest, ahead the river and above a ribbon of sky. Giant emerald king-[136] fishers with orange heads and long black beaks darted out in front of us. [137] Myriads of white butterflies rose off the sandbanks, settling on our bodies to enjoy the salty sweat. On occasions we saw a delicate wader like a sandpiper bob up and down on the sand near the water's edge. The water had now changed colour, no longer black but a deep wine red, as it flowed over the [134] pale sandy bed. We supposed this colour was due to the high iron content in the rock.

Our first major halt was made at Pedro's house. He had established himself as a tradesman between the Indians on the upper Piraparaná and the [439] civilized rubber gatherers of Mitú. He bought *farinha* from the Tukano in exchange for fish-hooks, salt and cloth. His magnificent thatched house was a foretaste of what we were to see. But the occupants with their dishevelled clothes, the sheets of crude rubber hanging from the beams and the iron cooking pots, seemed a strange paradox.

We unloaded all our equipment, sending Candilo and his assistant back to Mitú with *Vencedor* and the larger outboard motor. With him went one of our valuable cameras whose shutter had jammed during the first day, and a note to Nestor in Bogotá, warning him of the difficulties he would encounter and advising him again to travel as light as possible. Of the now depleted party, José and Uriel were to be our guides throughout the journey; Matias would ensure that we reached the first Indian habitation on the Piraparaná; while Bernavez went on ahead in his dugout canoe carrying two drums of our fuel. We were joined by one more man, old Miguez, who brought his own small Indian canoe. From now on we would have to make double journeys with *El Diablo* until we reached Indians who would carry our loads in their own canoes.

Next morning, while Donald and Horacio repacked much of the kit, Brian and José went ahead with a small load in *El Diablo*. The Ti narrowed and then divided; here our route towards the Piraparaná portage lay up a tiny tributary, the Caño Berada or Fish Bow Creek, as it was known to the Indians. With our arrival in the Berada, a mere stream flowing out of the undergrowth, our whole mode of travel changed. We could no longer use the motor; instead we had to push the boat upstream. We spent the rest of the day waist-deep in water, clambering over submerged timbers and occasional rocks; an Indian out in front cut a way through the fallen trees.

Christmas Day saw us cross two rock ledges where the boat had to be com-

pletely unloaded and then dragged over. That evening was a beautiful one 122
and we made camp at an old *mitasava*, the Indian traveller's staging point,
where he erects a small palm-thatch shelter. We must have been on higher [137]
ground, for it was dry and sandy while the forest had changed to small birch-
like trees, with lichen and moss underfoot. Somehow this was an appropriate [136]
place to eat our wild Christmas turkey which Miguez had shot earlier in the day
and drink each other's health from the precious bottle of 'medicinal' whisky.

The next day our watery struggle continued and progress became even slower. Only half the equipment reached our camp site, this time back in low-lying forest. That evening Donald and José went ahead to the next stream junction to return at dark with the news that there was barely any water at all in the stream, and that we would be pushing the boat over dried-out sandbanks. Matias, our hardest worker, departed across country to the Piraparaná. He left at dusk, his coca pouch slung across his back to ward off the pangs of hunger. He promised to return in three days with men from the first habitation on the river; he was true to his word but it took him more than three days.

That night there was a disquieting atmosphere in the camp. Horacio was 114
even more unhappy than usual about our excessive amount of equipment. Our three remaining Indians, José, Uriel and Miguez, kept to themselves, talking through half the night. We awoke to find Miguez vanished, never to be seen again, and José and Uriel packing their own belongings on to their backs. They said they were going to join Matias and bring back more men – we knew they were about to desert us.

We made them put down their gear and then listened to their tale of woe. We were not feeding them well enough; they wanted more than just *farinha*, they needed rice as well. They were being made to carry too much, and the stream beds were so dry that it would be impossible for us to get through until the rains arrived. So we compromised, we agreed to leave behind some of the fuel if necessary and to give them the same food as ourselves; we repeated our promise to pay all the Indians who worked for us in cloth and trade goods – or even money if it was of any use to them.

During the day we pushed the boat, first down to the previous site and 122
then, fully loaded, back towards our present camp. Once Horacio lost his way when taking a short cut; he was not well and we thought it was due to a recurrence of malaria. That night he became worse, and with him unfit we decided to go ahead on a reconnaissance with José, leaving him to guard the equipment and recover, while we tried to reach the other side of the portage; if necessary we would go overland to find the first house.

Early next morning we packed our rucksacks and left with a week's supplies. Walking over high ground with willows, lichen and moss, to our great joy we reached the western entrance to the portage after only two hours. We walked through the low scrub for half an hour, along the path

/75 cont./

14 They are certainly not types of beauty, and some, with old age and wrinkles, become frankly ugly. Among the eight
732 or ten thousand individuals we saw, however, none were deformed (12).

12. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 179) in Parí-cachoeira met a midget, about 15 or 18 years old and measuring 107 centimeters in height, playing with the children. His parents, already dead (1903), were of normal stature.

Among the youngest there are even attractive types, and on the older ones touches of a serene majesty. It is true that the
[847] crippled and the deformed are eliminated at birth (cases that are rare, according to what we found) (13).

13. We know of several cases of crippling. Because of the lack of statistics, we could not say what percentage they represent in the sparse population of these rivers. It seemed to us, however, that they are all consequences of falls while young, or of infantile paralysis.

14 We have thus sketched a Mongoloid type, brachycephalic, lissotrichous, platyrrhinian, slightly prognathic, morphologically mixed, pyknico-athletic, quite close to the norm.

732 /76/ There are somewhat frequent cases of evolutive retardation in early childhood, and even of true rachitis, accompanied at times by mental debility (14).

14. We also regret here the lack of statistical data that would present to us the percentage of pathological cases. We found in Parí-cachoeira in 1957 two female children with rachitis and mental debility, admitted to the hospital. One eight years old from the Desana tribe, and the other, Tukano, 14 years old. Both,

# 4

# *The Forest Addicts*

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the ear-plug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run;
whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves
147 in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his
302 home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
411 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
609 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undisturbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little.
152 When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yuruti women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper part: Yuruti woman grating bitter yuca.

Lower part: Siriano man weaving balaya (basket).

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

4: Silva--18 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 17 in the original source/

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Wanana girls (the younger one has a Taryana mother; the older one, a Kubêwana)

Pirá-tapuya types (from the settlement Patu, Papuri River)

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Newborn Pirá-tapuya child (with the prophylactic painting of carajura)

.4: Silva--45 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Macu SQ10

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/Illustrations facing p. 32 in the original source/

Tukano type (painted for the dances) (settlement of Iua-pixuna, Papuri River)

Woman of the Aõnira or Ídé-masã tribe

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Girls of the Makú tribe (the younger one had her hair cut in the initiation rite)

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*101 (17) -- TATÚ. -- The Tatú-tapuya Indians whom Wallace mentions on the river Cuduiari must be the Adyá-mene of the Arwáke group, about which Curt Nimuendajú tells us, or the Ádza-nene, whose vocabulary we gathered and recorded (cf. our works, "Discoteca Etnolinguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"). It must be noticed, however, that Curt found groups of them in S. Rosa, on the river Guainía; and Frei Gregório, on his maps, records the presence of Tatupiá Indians in several places along the river Içana, where, as a matter of fact, the Adzanénei still live today.

One must not confuse with these the Tatú or Páboamahã Indians, as they call themselves (or Pamõã-maxsã, armadillo-people, as the Tukano call them), who belong to the Tukano group of languages, as can be seen by the vocabulary collected by us (cf. the two works mentioned above, "Discoteca" and "Idiomas"). Their principal nucleus is located between the Jaré and the Cananarí (tributaries of the Pirá-paraná). [142] They are of average stature, more delicate features, complexion and eyes lighter than on the Tukano (cf. below, IV -- 2, o /p. 150/).

/48/ (18) -- TIJUCÓ. -- It is the Tuyuka tribe of the headwaters of the Tiquié (cf. below IV -- 2, d /p. 132/).

(19) -- UACARÁ. -- Wallace also mentions on the Papurí, besides the Tukano, Pirá-tapúya, and the Desana, who in fact are found there, the Uacará tribe, or índios garças /Heron Indians/. At present, neither on the Papurí, on its tributaries, nor in the surrounding forest, on one or the other bank, does any tribe exist under the denomination of Uacará. On the fluvial trunk known as Papurí there are at present only natives of the Tukano, Desãna, and Pirá-tapúya tribes. In the interior of the forest on the right bank there is a Karapanã group, located on the headwaters of the stream Umarí, and some groups of Makú on both banks. As to the sources of the Papuri, on the river

/70 cont./

144 /footnote 2 cont./ Floresta on the left bank of the Tiquié. In reality the boy and the youth, between themselves, are baxsúkãra, that is, cousins designated for preferential marriage. Actually, the boy, son of a Tukano father, had as mother a Desana from the povoado of Piracema, and aunt of the youth, our oarsman.

• 142 144 Nevertheless, documenting diverse ethnic origins, with a surprising resistance to the leveling biological factors, one notices /71/ types quite distinct somatically (3).

3. We have found, within the same tribe, but belonging to different subtribes, quite distinct somatic types. For example, the Tukano of Iuquíra (Ihurwá subdivision) exhibit a noticeable difference from other Tukano subdivisions: they are fairer, with a higher and straighter forehead, more delicate features. Likewise the Pirá-tapuya of the povoado S. Paulo on the river Papurí, the Desana of Piracema on the Umarí exhibit characteristic physiognomic features that distinguish them from other groups of the same tribe.

It even seems to us that five or six somatic types or normo-types, with their peculiar features, can be distinguished on the Uaupés. We shall try to sketch the features of some of these somatic types, which, lacking other criteria, and because it is simpler, we shall name according to the tribe where we found the greatest number of individuals with such lineaments.

1) Tukano type.

142 Bronze-colored skin. The children are more reddish, approaching copper. After physical exercise (running, working) they become notably copper-colored.

/71 cont./

In all the cases of newborn children that we were able to observe, we found the characteristic Mongolian spot, purplish, oval, measuring approximately one centimeter in diameter or a little more and always in the gluteal region. The Tukano Antônio Barreto, Dorotéia Brito, and others informed us that this spot is called Wãx-tĩ-õtá and is absolutely general. Although it ordinarily disappears after two or three months, it may, however, last one year or longer. The denomination Wãx-tĩ-õtá, feces of Wãx-tĩ, results, according to the legend, from the fact that the first newborn child was supposed to have been laid on a place where there were feces of Wãx-tĩ (cf. VII-4, d (5) ), which soiled him.

[115] *[192]

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Roundish face, at times widening toward the cheeks, as a gastronomic type; or even narrowing into a double triangle toward the forehead. This is receding and, in all cases, in the shape of a trapezium, with the smaller base upward, and frequently sloping laterally toward the temples. The zygoma is quite pronounced.

Eyebrows not very thick, small, straight, or light and elegantly arched, separated by a bare space of about three centimeters (the base of the nose). Short and not very thick eyelashes. Small eyes, Mongoloid, with slanted eyelids. Black or very dark iris and whitish, or with some frequency yellowish, conjunctiva.

Short nose, low, ordinarily concave, forming a regular arch. Wide base (between the eyebrows); sometimes it narrows, deepens, and becomes thinner in the nasion, like a small triangle, soon to widen up to the point, which is usually very /72/ flat. Large nostrils, round, very visible, because frequently the point is turned up. In almost all cases it ends in a roundish protuberance.

304 /72 cont./

[142] [144] Generally long ears, pyriform, protruding, and with the lobes almost always held tightly. In all the cases that we could verify (more than two hundred individuals of both sexes and from various tribes, whose anthropometric measurements we took), we could observe on the dorsal part of the auricular pavilion (on both pavilions or only one, and generally in the lower part) a scar of varying shape and size. In many cases it looked like teeth marks, with the mark of two or three teeth. No one knew or they all refused to give any explanation for this scar, answering, as they frequently do, "I do not know," or "that is the way it is," or again "it is from birth." A young woman affirmed that it was her uncle who executed it, and she did not want to say anything else. A youth gave the information that it had been done by his mother when he was still small, for the purpose of his later being able to attach the feather for the dances there. An explanation that obviously was not satisfactory, because he did not have pierced ears. [115] [192] Dorotéia Brito, much later, told that such a scar is called Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro (orifice of Wãx-tĩ), but did not say anything about the origin, affirming that it was from birth. It seemed to us that we could establish, as in fact we did: 1st, that it is artificial, from the appearance; 2nd, it is done before the puberty rites, because we found it on prepubescent children; 3rd, the name of Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro is an indication that they judge it to be of magic or transcendental value. Maybe even a rite of symbolic value, like the circumcision of the Jews. [115] [553] These provisional conclusions were confirmed in September of 1956, when the Tukano Antônio Barreto, who exhibited these scars on both ears, not only confirmed the term Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro, but added that it is done by the father, by the mother, or any other person, after the child has received a name (cf. Rite of the imposition of the name, VIII-1, b (4) ), that is, from 3 to 5 years of age. He maintained, however, that he did not know its significance.

/72 cont./

142 144 [164] Wide mouth, thick lips, frequent prognathism, although slight, ugly dentition, with yellow teeth, many cavities and defects. Few individuals over 20 years old had all their teeth. Not rarely canines and incisors were malposed or maloccluded.

Rounded chin, small, at times almost imperceptible, and frequently ending in a small and elegant point.

Neither mustache nor beard (4).

4. Men with a discreet mustache and even with a small beard on the chin are found with considerable frequency among the Ihwãna, Roéra, and Ídé-masã tribes, the Arwáke of the Içana, and the tribes of the Caburí.

A few individuals of the male sex exhibit some sparse mustache *[192] or beard hairs and /73/ try to eliminate them by depilation (poá-ri kuré:) with the fingers. It is the usual process for pulling out the hair of the arms, legs, and other parts of the body, on oneself or on others (5).

5. Wallace also reports: "The men have very little beard, and even this little they pull out, plucking out the hairs. Men and women, all pull out the eyebrows (which is not true today, it seems, or it would be more rare) and the hair of the armpits and of the genital parts" (op. cit., 617).

*[192] We have seen, for the axillae, that they use the following depilatory process: a ball of breu /a kind of resin/ or of the resin called sí-pé, which is pressed together and rubbed on the axillae until it holds and pulls out the hairs. To appear smooth is a quality of elegance, according to their aesthetic tastes.

/73 cont./

142 Black hair, or more commonly dark brown, almost black,
144 straight, shiny, coarse and thick; many times, though, burned by the sun (6).

6. Among the Maku, Íde-masã, Roéra-masã, Yebá-masã, Hanẽrã, Edúrya, and Ba:re-masã, cymotrichous types are common. We could see and photograph some women who exhibited black hair that was fine and cacheados /curled in ringlets/.

178 The ones who have attended school wear it in a regular length,
302 combed, and parted on the left side; the others have it cut with scissors with a short fringe on the forehead, behind the ears, and on the neck. Up to a century ago they used to let it grow in long braids (7),

7. A. Russell Wallace wrote in 1850: "The men do not cut the hair, they let it hang in front in a long braid, tying it around with cords, or they let it fall in the middle of the back, often as far as the thighs. The hair of the women falls loosely over the shoulders and is cut with a moderate length" (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 616).

which might reach as far as the thigh. The women, instead, trimmed it a little, perhaps in order not to be inconvenienced in their work. Today the women have it a little below the shoulders, more or less fastened with a ribbon or pin. One sees some children with the hair quite shorn, but growing in breadth, as if it were a lion's mane (8).

8. Hair cut this way, "like a lion's mane," although with a wider zone, that is, about 5 or 6 centimeters, has been seen, likewise, in caboclo children of the Rio Negro. Perhaps the natives have imitated these examples.

/73 cont./

142 144 In some few cases, hair becoming thin due to loss; not, however, complete baldness. Rare and late graying, thanks to the use of some dyeing lotions. No case of albinism or erythrism in the eight or ten thousand Indians whom we have visited.

The rest of the body is not very pilose; the hair is fine and brown, more or less the color of the skin, and thus it is barely distinguishable from it.

He is of short stature and short neck. They ridicule the whites for having so long a neck. Well-formed torso, slightly longer /74/ than the inferior members on those of the male sex, and with an even more noticeable difference on those of the female sex, without, however, coming to be inelegant. Broad-chested, with an ample thorax, and with hips considerably narrower than the shoulders. In the men, after 40 [145] [262] years of age, the belly often large and sagging, which gives the torso a chubby appearance. The disproportionate development of the stomach, as a result of an excess of nourishment preponderantly of mandioca flour, is already noticeable in all the children from three or four years of age.

[832] The young woman is always plump in body, which is considered a feature of elegance; she sometimes comes to exhibit a chubby appearance. Ordinarily the women have the bust elegantly inclined backwards, perhaps due to the way they carry the loads, in large baskets the length of their backs, but tied to the forehead with embira. Perhaps this is also the cause of an exaggerated development of the sternum.

[832] The individuals of the female sex have the gluteal region well developed, although not exaggeratedly, a quality, by the way, appreciated also as a factor of female elegance. * [192] For this reason, the ones with a slimmer body are objects of derision, as desnalgadas /thin ones/, duxkú. It seems, however, [481] that there is no artificial process for the development of that region, and that the very way of walking, with the torso well arched toward the rear, the abdomen forward, and the chest and head quite erect, or even inclined backward, is what sets off the gluteal proportions.

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Arms and legs well formed (9).

9. "The Tucano type presents quite a good appearance. Of regular stature, light bronze color, round head and eyes (?), hair generally black and short; he has a conjunction of such handsome proportions that, in perfect immobility, he could be taken as an artistic statue of bronze." Mons. Lourenço Giordano (Boletim Salesiano, February of 1918, p. 31).

The former notably developed through the exercise of rowing, which gives them a span of arms always greater than the height, up to 10 or even 15 centimeters.

Muscular chest in the men. Hemispherical and voluminous breasts in the maidens, also constituting an element of elegance for the young women. Sagging like the udder of a nanny goat in the women beyond a certain age. This due to the fact that they are always bending and swinging when they work (10).

[145]
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*[192]

10. Slender and long breasts are likewise objects of derision. They nickname such women "mother of the Curupira, Boraró-paxkó." We have seen women with breasts so long that, passed under the arms, they are sucked by the children placed behind them on the back.

/75/ Small hands, regular fingers. Feet, on the contrary, large; the tip of the toes is wide, as in a fan, due to the way of walking. Digits with a narrow base and flattened top, with a wide space between them, especially between the great one /Port. polegar, thumb or great toe/ and the next one; a fact that allows them notable prehension (securing and raising objects with the feet, or even guiding the wheel of a launch and rowing).

/76 cont./

732 /footnote 14 cont./ due to weakness of the organs, were not able to walk until five years of age, after long treatment. Among the cases of pronounced hebetude, we recall two adults of the male sex, one from the Huhúdëne tribe in Uapuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí), and the other a Taryana of Iauareté, known as Marcelino, "Contented," because he laughs at anything.

481 Completing this profile, it should be noted that they are slow of movement, at times clumsy in their way of walking. They walk with a short step (15),

15. In the military formations of the children, at one of the schools of the Salesian Missions, we could verify the tendency to accelerate the march.

like small jumps; many drag slightly and set the tip of the toes apart laterally, and the heel barely touches the ground.

516 They do not remain on their feet very long, almost always leaning more on one foot (the left one) and just on the tip of the other one. The woman withstands being on her feet less than the man. The most common and lasting position, when still, is the squat; it is the normal position for eating, even when they could do it sitting down. When they sit, they prefer low seats or the ground, and then they never cross the legs.

Let us now note some features that vary in this profile that we have sketched.

2) Pirá-tapuya type.

142 144 Skin lighter than in the Tukano, and face slightly or markedly elongated. Zygoma less prominent. Lissotrichous hair, lighter brown.

/76 cont./

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Brown eyes; sometimes quite light, mainly in the children. High nose, but somewhat flat at the tip and large. Regular mouth, better formed set of teeth, small chin, rounded in the natural curve of the face; thick lips. The physiognomic features, however, are less attractive than in the Tukano.

A taller type than the Tukano, and also less plump of body.

3) Taryana type.

Lighter in color than the Tukano, he likewise has a more elongated face, but with more prominent cheekbones.

/77/ The nose is high, straight, with nevertheless a very wide point and big nostrils. Square forehead, less curved laterally, straighter and wider than in the Tukano. Wide mouth, a chin quite large and sometimes quite pointed.

Less plump body and average stature like the Tukano.

4) Maku type.

Lighter skin, of an earth-colored paleness. There are almost always cymotrichous types, with dark, thick, and sometimes fine hair.

Small forehead, receding, zygoma less noticeable. High and thin nose. More open eyes, almost Caucasian. There are types with more delicate and attractive features than those of the other tribes, although one does find groups with an appearance that retraces greater degradation.

Body slenderer and shorter. He is more similar to the whites than those of the other nations.

5) General observations.

The Desana are smaller, lighter than the Tukano, and of more delicate features, and therefore in general more attractive in appearance. And among these various tribes, the Yuriti,

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.

171 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

*192 The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-
[531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[411] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[567] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirã-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/89 cont./

*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People-Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyi-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká
[317] poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found
[323] there. Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent
[501] in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba,
[142] Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Iahre, 202).

[582] They do not marry the Desana.

[161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

/91 cont./

*101 e) EDÚRYA OR ERÚLYA

1) People-Name-Language -- This tribe, in their own idiom, is called Edúrya, whereas the Tuyuka call them Erúlya. They are also affiliated by language to the Tukano group (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia").

[142] They are of average stature, a little taller than the Tukano. Light coppery skin, coarse, black, cymotrichous hair, a wide, square forehead, black eyes, delicate chin, high nose sometimes slightly acquiline, ovoid face, and thin lips.

They are connected by matrimonial ties with the Bará and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Their habitat is several and small tributaries of the Pirá-paraná, in territory completely Colombian. It was not possible to find out the number of inhabitants of the tribe: it seems, however, that it is even smaller than the Hanêra tribe.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions -- They are the following, indicated by a young man about 20 years old (in March of 1954), Tunú by name, in Mosã-bhoá (maloca of the urucum, headwaters of the Tiquié):

1. Kavyayána (master of dancing?), on the igarapé Axtáue-ya (31)

31. Should it perhaps be identified with the Kavírya tribe of the forests of the Cananarí?

2. Ehéburu (a straw), on the igarapé Axtáue-ya
3. Gãbũxkõró (Komũ, "blower," VII -- 2, e (3) ), on the igarapé Semé-ria
4. Ixkó-masã (a snake), on the igarapé Ioxkó-rya
5. Wextáyoa (?), on the igarapé Ioxkó-rya

/92 cont./

*101

1. Sarõa-masã (water people? gossiping people?)
2. Yebá-masã
3. Roeá-masã (taraíra /a fish/ people)

/In the original text, the last two lines of p. 91 are repeated here, which is apparently a misprint and is omitted in the translation./

g) HANERA OR PANENÕÁ.

1) People-Name-Language. -- A type taller and slighter than the Tukano. A redder complexion, long face, delicate chin, high nose, wide forehead. [142]

Their idiom, which must be affiliated with the Tukano linguistic family (cf. Vocabulary, in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), presents this peculiarity: an initial aspirate (h, as we represent it in this work) appears in words in which the Tukano pronounces a p; for example: father, hakõ (Tukano pax-kõ), mother, hakó (Tukano, pax-kó), etc. This characteristic of their idiom explains to us the correspondence of their name in their own language, Hanẽra, and in the Tukano, Panenõá, or Parẽroá.

/93/ We know that they are connected by marriage with the Bará and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We have only seen a few individuals in passing by the maloca called Mosã-bhoá (mountain of the urucú) of the Bará, on the igarapé Uaracú-pirẽra, and in their maloca close to the mouth of the Timí-ya. They were unable to give us any information about the approximate number of individuals in their tribe. It seems that they do not exceed four hundred. At present they reside only in Colombian territory, on various igarapés on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná. [161]

The informants of the eighteenth century testify that it was from the Panenõá that the Taryana obtained by barter their ornaments of gold and silver (cf. II -- 3) and momõrõ Khwirí (VII -- 3, d). [301] [439]

/95 cont./

i) IHWANA OR YONA

*101 1) People-Name-Language. -- We were unable to find out for certain the meaning of the name Ihwana or Yona; it might be the name of a fish. The language is of the Tukano family, as is seen from the Vocabulary that we collected in the Wextá maloca on the Pirá-paraná near the mouth of the Komé-ya.

[142] [30] The individuals of the maloca were slighter and had more delicate features than the Tukano. All the men had pierced their ear lobes, keeping them open with a bunch of bird feathers. A cord binding the arms a little below the shoulders, and red paint across the face, indications perhaps of some feast a short [142] time before. Dark hair, cymotrichous, with slight waviness, and eyes lighter than those of the Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They reside in malocas along the Pirá-paraná and its small tributaries nearby, and below the cachoeira of the Beijú, where at low water one can see a beautiful design that resembles a Chinese dragon. Because of a lack of interpreters, we were unable to find out the number [161] of members of the tribe or /96/ its subdivisions. From the information obtained, we think it might be concluded that there are still several hundreds.

j) KÕ'NEÁ OR ARAPÁSU

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Kõ'neá (in Tukano Kõ-rẽá), the name of a variety of woodpecker called arapásu in Nheengatú.

[173] According to reminiscences of an ancient tradition, it was a very numerous and brave tribe. When individuals of other tribes passed the river Uaupés in the zone dominated by the Arapásu, the latter surrounded them, took away all their products, and afterwards sank their canoes, allowing them, however, to escape. The victims would avenge themselves "blowing" [161] (that is, casting an evil spell; cf. VII -- 2, e (1) ) on the Arapásu, who, little by little, became extinct.

/96 cont./

*101 They also lost their own idiom, everyone today speaking the Tukano language.

[582] Koch G. includes the Arapásu as a Tukano division. It seems to us incorrect, because even marriage is allowed between
• [142] members of these two tribes. Physically the Arapásu are easily distinguished from the Tukano, because they are lighter, taller, and more slender. High nose, sometimes a bit aquiline, less prominent zygoma, and elongated face.

They consider themselves, instead, brothers of the Pirá-tapúya, because of which a matrimonial interdiction is in force between Arapásu and Pirá-tapúya, and also with the Bará, the Desãna, Mirití, and Kumãdẽne.

*[192] Their idiom does seem to be affiliated with the Tukano family of languages (32).

32. Their affiliation with the Tukano Family of languages can be verified only by the small number of words that some Arapásu natives were able to tell us:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| tapioca, kávetari | father, mái | paternal uncle, mõamõ |
| fan, misõna | mother, Yõ or ihyõ | paternal aunt, mõamã |
| chest, kutiró | son, maxkã | maternal uncle, kabõ |
| people, maxsã | daughter, maxkõ | maternal aunt, kabô, kabú |
| snake, pinó | younger brother, peñã | maternal fem. cousin, kabô maxkã |
| fishhook, sináke | younger sister, peñõ | maternal male cousin, kabô maxkõ |
| fire, pe'kãme | | nephew, peñanã |
| | | niece, peñanõ |

go to blow the fire, pe'kãme apusumaré

/97 cont./

*101 1st. -- Axpã soxpé põná (children from the ponta do caranguejo /point of the crab/), in Caranguejo (Uaupés)

2nd. -- Wĩhó ñõá põná (children from the ponta do vento /point of the wind/), in S. José (Uaupés)

3rd. -- Kumã-kõ ñõá põñá (children from the ponta do louro /a kind of wood/), in Louro, (Uaupés)

4th. -- Dyá poxsá yõhõró põná (children from the strait of the Uaupés), in Paraná-jucá (Uaupés)

k) KÓTIRYA OR WANÃNA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Wanãna is a Nheengatú word and indicates an aquatic bird, chenálopex jubátus, commonly known as marrecão. The Wanãna call themselves Kótirya, Kótidya or Kótirwa (sing., masc. Kótirwa-kiro; fem. Kótirwa-koro). They are called by the Tukano Oxkó-tí-khãra, which means "people who have medicine" or "pajé people," from ox-kó, medicine. Although the Tukano expression authorizes a similar translation, an interpretation more in accordance with the legends of the origins would be oxkó, water (and not ox-kó), that is, "people who are on the water or came from the water." The Tuyuka call the Wanana simply "people from the river Uaupés, Dyá- /98/ Poxsá-maxkã." Thus one does not perceive any relation between the names in the Nheengatú and Tukano languages (34).

34. We read in "Indios do Brasil /Indians of Brazil/" by Major Lima Figueiredo -- Brasiliana, No. 163 -- S. Paulo, 1939, p. 146): "the word Wanana, in the Aruack /Arawak/ idiom, means thief."

We have already noted that the Relatório of Frei Gregório mentions Ananá instead of Wanãna.

[142] They are taller in stature than the Tukano, and their language is of the Tukano family, although closer to the Pirá-tapuya idiom, as we can see in the vocabulary.

/101 cont./

m) NEENOÁ OR MIRITÍ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- Neenoá in the native idiom is the name of the tribe known as Mirití-tapuya (name derived from a palm tree, the Maurítia flexuosa) or Myarití-tapuya (36),

36. Artur Ramos (o. c. I, 172) uses Matatí-tapuya as another name for the Miriti. Would it be a printing error for Matapi-tapuya (matapi, fish enclosure, VI-5, a (2) )? It seems to us there is an incorrect identification in this hypothesis. According to Koch G., Matapi-tapuya is a subtribe of the Yukuna living in Uacaiacá, tributary of the left bank of the Mirití-paraná (Festschrift, 205, and Z. I. 394 and 398).

• [142] that is, buriti people. They are small like the Tukano, but lighter, more slender, and have a more delicate physiognomy.

Matrimonial interdiction with the Taryana, Arapasu, Kumãdene, Pirã-tapuya, Tuyuka, and Desana is in force.

All of them at present speak the Tukano language, and the old ones themselves cannot remember but half a dozen words.

*[192] They affirm, however, that the language was very similar to that of the Arapasu, and the few words that we obtained justify the affiliation to the Tukano family of languages (37).

37. father, kõ-kã grandfather, kõ-Ro paternal uncle, mõãma
mother, yõ daughter, maxkõga paternal aunt, mõãmo
son, maxkõga soap (?), sã fire, maryé tukáro

/102 cont./

* 101 The Oá-mahã are lighter in complexion and more slender
• [142] than the Tukano. Dark brown or black hair, fine, sometimes wavy. Face more elongated than among the Tukano, also more delicate features and light eyes.

[582] They likewise observe tribal exogamy, and we know of marriages with the Tuyuka, Bará, and Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It seems that at present all of them live in Colombian territory between the headwaters of the rivers Tiquié and Papurí.

The Pamõá-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) mention the Oá-mahã as a division of their own tribe. We do not know whether it is a matter of the present tribe, as seems more probable by the location, or if it is actually only a division of the Tatú /armadillo/, with this name of Oá (gambá).

3) Divisions -- The informant did not know how to indicate them.

o) PÁBOA-MAXSÃ OR TATÚ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- In their own idiom, which belongs to the Tukano family of languages (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/"), they call themselves Páboá-maxsã, corresponding to the Tukano denomination Pamõá-maxsã or Tatú /armadillo/ people.

[142] /103/ Lighter in complexion than the Tukano, and also taller and more slender. Dark brown hair, ovoid face, light eyes, fine lips, high nose.

[582] We know of matrimonial ties with the Bará and the Karapanã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Presently they live in the
[721] region embraced between the headwaters of the Áua (one of
[648] the sources of the Papurí) and the river Pirá-paraná. About 20
[266] years ago there were encounters and reciprocal massacres between the Tatú-tapuyas and Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/, and even episodes of anthropophagy are remembered, which are explained, it seems, by special hate and reprisals.

/108/

*101 b) The agreement with the previous lists is not great (only in half a dozen names). Having in mind that the ending kõ indicates the masculine singular, and wa, the ending for the plural, we have discovered a larger number of agreements. For example:

The 5th subdivision of this list, Bahúkõwa, with Bahúkekõ mentioned by Heloisa;

The 6th division, Wararíwa, with the 3rd one of Heloisa, Wárarikõ (pepper);

The 9th, Horóbora, clay, with the 8th, Húrukõ (?);

The 16th, Órobawa, with the 1st, Órobakõ (sororoca)

q) ROÉRA-MASÃ OR TARAYRA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Roéra-masã, as they say in their own idiom, corresponds to the Tukano word Doeá-maxsã or Taraíra-tapuya of the Nheengatú, since roé (in Tukano doé) is the name of the taraíra fish (Erithrynus Taraira, Lin.).

[115] Their idiom also belongs to the Tukano linguistic group, as is seen in the Vocabulary (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") that was given to us in August of 1956 by a young man named Yamĩ, also known under the name of Pedro, about 22 years old

[142] and residing in the Ídemasã maloca of the Komé-ya. They are in general of medium stature, plump of figure, roundish face, light bronze complexion, light eyes inclined toward blue, mustache hairs, nose high and a little aquiline, and lissotrichous hair. All of them, men and women, wear the ears pierced

[301] [304] and a small plug of about two millimeters in diameter stuck through them.

[582] Tribal exogamy is also in force among the Roéra, and we know of marriages with the Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They have a maloca near the mouth of the stream Gó-ya, right tributary of the Komé-ya. It seems that they are not very numerous, except if we consider them in conjunction with the Emõá and Yebá, which were designated to us as one and the same tribe (cf. IV -- 2, t). It is to be noted that it is not rare that those of one tribe are presented

/111/

*101 t) YEBÁ-MASÃ

1) People-Name-Language. -- Yebá-masã is their denomination in the mother tongue, although they do not know the meaning of this term (41).

[115] 41. Lucas, the old Tukano from S. Luzia, as has already been said (IV-2, a), explained to Padre Antonio Giacone that Yepá-maxsã (as they say in Tukano) means gente-da-terra /people of the land/, and that the natives who reached the Papurí afterwards called the Tukano this. It is to be noted that Yepá, according to the legends, is the son of Bũxpó (the Thunder), and the Indians, with some religious notions, say that it is God, the Son. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) met on the Tiquié an Indian woman by the name of Inácia, of the Yepália tribe, with beautiful physiognomic features. Would it be another spelling of Yepá?

[773]

Their idiom is classified in the Tukano family, as it is shown by the Vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical and Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia). In contrast to the Tukano, they are slender types, of medium stature like them or even shorter. Small face, tapering toward the chin. Physiognomy little or not at all Mongoloid. Coarser hair, black or dark, not lissotrichous, as generally befalls the natives of Brazil. At times they even exhibit slight waves. Dark eyes, nose low at the root, like the Tukano, but higher and finer tip. The men ordinarily have the ears pierced.

[142]

[244] [222] [224] [284] With an insignificant mandioca-agriculture, they are principally hunters, and they live on wild fruits. For this reason the consumption of ipadú /coca/ is great among them (cf. VI - 4, i (4). They all use the hammock of 30 threads. Their festivals are frequent.

/115 cont./

*101 The vocabulary we managed to get (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical") reveals as great a distance from the Tukano idiom as they are different anthropologically from this tribe. [142] Short, as they are, but more slender and fairer, and with a tapered face. Chestmir affirms that their idiom exhibits Karaíba intrusion.

They are specialists in making sieves and in the preparation of the tucum. The Tukano affirm that they learned with the [284] [184] Desana how to make the "hammock of thirty threads" (VI - 2, c (2) ).

[582] Marriage with the Taryana and Arapásu is forbidden for them (48). [142]

48. We read in Koch Grünberg that they marry the Makús. We could not verify that. Perhaps it was a matter of a particular case reported to Koch. From the hundreds of individuals we observed, Koch's opinion that they differ from the other tribes in the following somatic features does not seem acceptable to us either: "not so well proportioned body, high head, coarse hair, oval face, prominent zygoma, large nose, somewhat slanted eyes."

[161] /116/ 2) Habitat and inhabitants. They come to several hundreds (601 in the census of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/"). Today we find them in large numbers on the Papurí and tributaries, but especially on the Tiquié and its tributaries -- the Castanho, Umarí, Ira, and Turí-igarapé. Some groups came down, as early as the beginning of the last century, to [191] the mouth of the Uaupés and the Rio Negro. These last ones, as we read in Giacone, "from the contact with the Caboclos and whites, are the most advanced; besides their own dialect and the Tukano, they speak Nheengatú, and many, Portuguese. [438] Every year some of them go up the Tiquié and the Papurí, visiting their brothers, taking them goods acquired with the whites,

/117 cont./

*101 Obs. The Desana José Prado, about 30 years old (1956),
[115] confirmed the above subdivisions, with the following modifi-
[554] cations: 1st. he does not know the 11th subdivision Waxsúpo põná; 2nd. he corrected the names of the 8th, 15th, and he divided up the 24th, respectively, aganĩgãnĩ põna, yai buxtiná, and Poyaxtẽna, "because it planted the igarapé" (so he explained); 3rd. -- The first three are the most noble, he said, and the óiwa are the pariahs.

x) KUMÃDENE OR IPEKA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Ipéka is a Nheengatú term that means water duck. In their own idiom they call themselves Kumãdene, and in the Tukano language, Dya-kaxtá-põrá (children of the water duck). The Taryãna call them Kumãda Yaperíkuli, ducks of Yaperíkuli.

On the Uaupés there is a small group of this tribe of Arwake extraction, whose idiom is affiliated with the Baniva group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary which we collected (cf. "Discoteca Etno-Linguístico-Musical").

[582] They consider themselves brothers of the Taryãna, and, because of this marriage is forbidden between these tribes. In the list of the subdivisions of the Taryana /118/ the Kumãda Yaperíkuli appear. The somatic and the glottologic differences, however, demonstrate that it is a tribe distinct from the Taryãna.
[142] They are less corpulent, more delicate in constitution, fairer, and have hair less lissotrichous than theirs.

The ones from the Uaupés have already lost their native
[115] idiom, all speaking Tukano exclusively. In Urubuara in 1954 we met only two old men who still knew some words of their native language that we could transcribe and record: the sexagenarian tuxáua Mandú Henriques, and the almost nonagenarian Komú (xamã /shaman/) Martinho, who passed away in March of 1956. The ones from the Guiarí, tributary of the Içana, still preserve their own idiom.

/160 cont./

142 All of them have a full figure, up to about 30 years of age. After that age, corpulence becomes exaggerated in some men, and the women on the whole lose weight, growing old prematurely. They do not promote any deformation for aesthetic or warlike effect (34).

[171]
[304]

34. The deformation of the skull is characteristic of the Caraîbas /Carib/, applying tight splints to the children's heads. Among the Amazon tribes the first explorers found this custom among the Cambeba ("Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, 145). In some tribes, for example, the Pinao of Colombia, this was done in order to have a fierce appearance.

826 The maidens exhibit round, well-developed breasts. They identify beauty with corpulence. When someone changes climate in order /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /161/ to gather strength, they say that "he went in search of meat." No preoccupation with the waistline; they do not use a girdle.

302 The hair in particular is an object of vanity. They arrange it, comb it often, the women and the new generation of men. The young men, during trips, gather flowers from the bank of the river and string them through their hair, over the ear. They apply lotions, which they prepare with genipap and other plants, in order to keep it black. This is the secret in why they never become gray... They love beads, soaps, perfumes. A maiden sold herself for half a jar of pomade.

They like the mirror very much and stare at it frequently; formerly they gave an oar in exchange for a small mirror.

The young women are sad about being dark, and in order to lighten the skin they rub it vigorously with soap and even with sand, looking at themselves again each time, in order to see whether they are becoming fairer.

4: Silva--398 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

*115 /Illustrations facing p. 272 in the original source./

• 142
291
302
756

Cesário (Tukano octogenarian shaman)

The shamans:
(right) Marcelino (Wanana from Jacaré, river Uaupés)
(left) Eduardo (Huhúdeni from Uapuim-cachoeira, river Siari, trib. of the Içana)

*[192]
[534]

Tukano shamans:
Marcelino from Juquira (right)
Henrique from the Japú igarapé (left), playing the chõ

4: Silva--399 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 273 in the original source./

142
291
302
462
482
857

From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the py:)

One of the feminine occupations

142
291
302
853

4: Silva--472 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

* 192 /Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

• 142
291
302
516
796

Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

142
291
276
301
302
516
796

Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

*192
291
531
562

/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments

*192
• 142
301
302
237
←

Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua from Caruru-Cachoeira (river Uaupés), adorned for the dances (acangatara, necklaces, and stone of the husband /marido, "husband," should be mando, "command"/)

Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

*192
531
534

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



visitor. On the other hand, the leaf-cutter ant is a specialist on clothing. I was once covered by a swarm of these ants while asleep. When I had carefully removed the last of them I was left with but a leather belt and a few tatters of trousers and shirt.

The anopheles mosquito is generally absent in the Cuduiari region where I did my field work. On the whole, the health of the Cuduiari Indians is good. Carate (*puru*), a skin pigment disorder apparently of spirochete origin, common everywhere else in the Northwest Amazon, was far less in evidence on the Cuduiari. Children suffered from worms and other intestinal parasites but infant mortality was not particularly high. There were no epidemics during my stay. The recollections of the Indians about serious illness go back to the 1918 influenza epidemic that apparently ravaged the native populations in the region. Women, in particular, suffered from the painful purulent conjunctivitis, which they attributed to insect molestation in their manioc gardens. The bloated abdomens of children whose diet is too generous with carbohydrate and deficient in protein is a common sight along the Vaupés, but is less evident on the Cuduiari, where native life and diet is still almost intact. As for the Cuduiari itself, the people at the mouth of the river, the higher ranking *Hehénewa* subs, seemed generally more sturdy, vigorous, and aggressive than the Indians who lived upstream.

Dr. Hamilton Rice, who explored the Vaupés in 1907–08, observed that the most physically powerful Indians came from the Cuduiari. He noted men who were six feet tall and over, strongly built with thick arms and powerful torsos. Actually somatological variability is considerable on the Cuduiari, ranging from marked mesomorphy to moderate ectomorphy. But this observation of mine is not based on measurements. Dr. Rice (1910) has published a physical description of the Cubeo based upon anthropometric observations. I quote from it:

> Their color is an olive brown corresponding to No. 4 of Broca's scale and seems invariable, a conclusion based on a comparison of the scale with many hundreds of subjects on parts of the cuticle least exposed to sun and pigmented decoration. The eye is dark, palpebral fissure narrow, not oblique, pointed at its external aspect, and the upper lid so heavy at times as to suggest the puffiness of oedema; but the eye by no means conforms invariably to so Mongolian a criterion, closely resembling the European eye in many other cases. The hair is black, lanky, coarse in the male, fine and glossy in the female. The faces are escutcheon-shaped and hairless, the chins rounded and receding, noses from straight and busque to hooked and Chinese flat types, region of cheek bones flat, lower lips large and inclined to turn slightly downward. The ears are not large, lobes absent or slightly devel-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



142 oped; heads of the brachycephalic type; though I have noticed cases of extreme dolichocephalic variations. Teeth are generally poor.

147 Dr. Rice also commented on the capacity of the Cubeo Indians for great exertion on a minimum of food and rest. I can corroborate this judgment. I accompanied Indians on canoe trips when we paddled for as long as 17 consecutive hours with little rest or nourishment other than a handful of manioc meal in water. There was usually no urgent necessity for such exertion or privation. The Indians cus-
[484] tomarily eat lightly when traveling, and if there is any chance of
[261] reaching home rather than camping out or imposing upon the hospitality of another sib they prefer to keep going. However, it was not unusual for strong young men to topple from their canoes in a dead faint upon reaching home. Revived by the river they scrambled
[157] ashore, secured the canoe, and entered the house with the appropriate vigorous air, effectively concealing their acute fatigue. It is in fact characteristic of the Cubeo to make light of their accomplishments and not to yield readily to physical weakness.

114 Ethnographically, the Northwest Amazon was first fully brought to light by Dr. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, ethnographer and museum collector. Koch-Grünberg's systematic survey of the region at the turn of the century covered all main tribes and their settlements along the principal rivers. He spent many weeks on the Cuduiari among the *Hehéneewa* sibs of the Cubeo, and ascended the Cuduiari to the limits of its habitation (1909). His published reports are invaluable even though he never stayed long enough in one place to get a deep grasp of the culture. He was, however, an excellent observer and reported
114 fully on language, custom, and material culture. I did not read Koch-
127 Grünberg before going to the field so that my observations are totally independent. It is a source of satisfaction, therefore, that our observations agree closely on most details. Koch-Grünberg's information was deficient on social structure and ceremonial patterns. It is in these two respects that my study represents a carrying forward of the work he so ably began. I have drawn freely upon his published works to fill in gaps in my own information on the Cubeo and of course for the rich data on surrounding Tucanoan, Arawakan, and Cariban tribes.
114 His was the pioneering survey of the entire region, whereas mine is a relatively limited study of a single community. Koch-Grünberg died among the Indians of the Northwest Amazon in 1924, his ethnographic work prematurely cut off.

The first scientific observer to report on the Indians of the Vaupés was Alfred Russell Wallace (1870), who was there in 1853. While his interests were mainly those of the naturalist, he found Indian life to

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo



244 A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total
433 productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects
[462] favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They
244 are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their
242 characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When wom-
[571] en from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cul-
[439] tivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for
[252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake
244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's
462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

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Fig. 5. Preparing manioc.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

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Fig. 6. Old *Bahúkiwa* couple.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo



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Fig. 8 *Bahukiwa* mother and child.

/p. 50-B/

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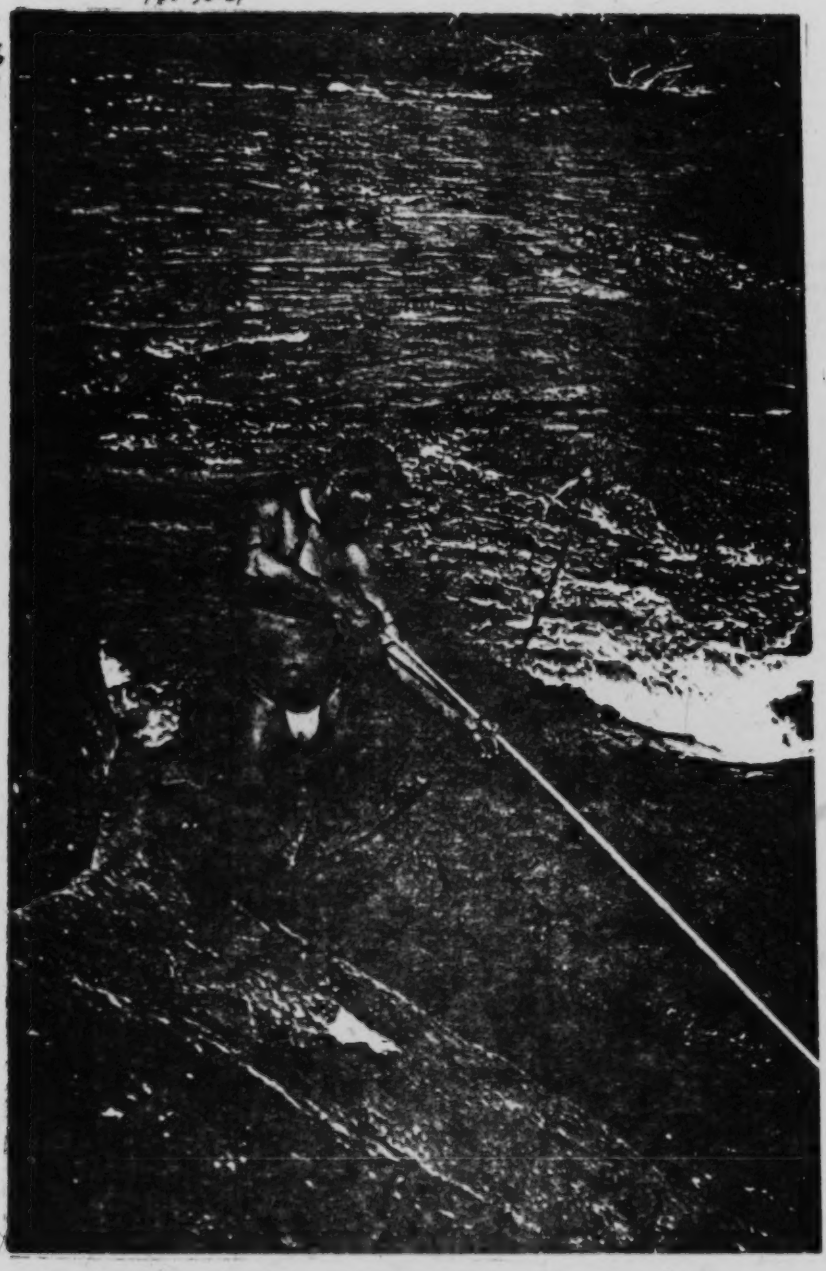

A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-S (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 78-B/

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Tukano profile and festival head-dress.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 82-A/

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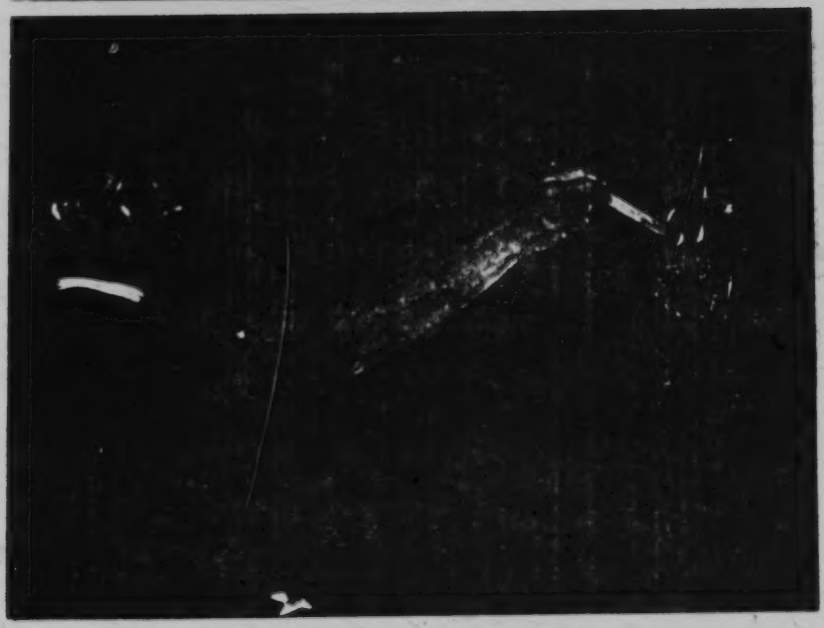

ABOVE LEFT: An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth. ABOVE RIGHT: Boy playing pan-pipes. BELOW: A headman lights a torch of beeswax.

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Chiriguano SF10
Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Tehuelche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucanians SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH6

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: 4: Hill et al., 8818 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

/78 cont./

532 On the other hand, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the
184 masks are manufactured and worn by the Kubêwana and Wanana, and, later, also by the Taryana. We likewise find masks among the Íde-masÎ of the stream Comé-ia (tributary of the left bank of the river Pirá-paraná).

## 2. Classification

121 The attempt to classify the tribes of Brazil in general, as well as those of the Amazon or of the Rio Negro in particular, is still open for discussion.

A classification, let us say, culturological, of the tribes of the Uaupés is impossible today. The relations among the various tribes, already dating back centuries, brought about a more or less perfect interculturation among them. We can, then, affirm that the nations of the Uaupés constitute at present a single cultural group, the origin of whose cultural elements is difficult to retrace at the present time. The peculiarities of each tribe are few and insignificant, as we have just seen, and do not, by themselves, permit a classification.

A classification fundamentally anthropological, be it serological, be it somatic, is likewise impossible. The blood
143 examination done a few years ago by Prof. Emílio Biocca of the University of Rome on 237 individuals of the Tukano, Taryana, and Maku tribes showed that all of them belonged to type O, and the relation between the genes m and n was constant. The regimen of absolute tribal exogamy, which has been practiced for centuries among them, necessarily brings about bio-anthropological assimilation.

197 Though it seems to us that at present the glottologic classification would be still easier and more persuasive, nevertheless in this plurisecular melting-pot some idioms were profoundly altered and some human groups have already adopted

/70 cont./

a. Distinction by the somatic element.

582 As was said, the law of exogamy is in effect among all
563 these tribes (except the Maku). The Taryana of Iauareté, for example, obtain for wives the women of the Tukano tribe residing in the neighboring povoado called Umarí, both
563 povoados on the Uaupés River. Vice versa, the Tukano of
• 144 Umarí take as wives the Taryana women of Iauareté. According to present knowledge about heredity, the paternal genídios /genes/ (1)

1. The new science, Genetics, verified and admits a granular conception of heredity. The germ cell of the human being contains in its nucleus 24 pairs of chromatic points, they are the chromosomes, each of them being made up of smaller parts called gene or genídio (from the Greek root gen, which indicates to generate).

are blended and balanced. One can expect, then, that the physical aspect of the Taryana (of Tukano mother) will not present notably characteristic physical features that would
144 distinguish them from the Tukano (of Taryana mother). This compulsory crossing, which dates from many generations, explains to us the similarity of physiognomic features, which we find today among individuals of different tribes (2).

2. We observed a typical case, among the many, in August of 1956, during an excursion to the stream Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié (near Parí-cachoeira). We found in Piracema, povoado of the Desana tribe on the Umarí, a boy with physiognomic features extraordinarily similar to those of a Desana youth who served us as an oarsman, and from this very povoado. We verified, however, that the boy belonged to the Tukano tribe, of the povoado called

/70 cont./

144 /footnote 2 cont./ Floresta on the left bank of the Tiquié. In reality the boy and the youth, between themselves, are baxsúkãra, that is, cousins designated for preferential marriage. Actually, the boy, son of a Tukano father, had as mother a Desana from the povoado of Piracema, and aunt of the youth, our oarsman.

142 144 Nevertheless, documenting diverse ethnic origins, with a surprising resistance to the leveling biological factors, one notices /71/ types quite distinct somatically (3).

3. We have found, within the same tribe, but belonging to different subtribes, quite distinct somatic types. For example, the Tukano of Iuquíra (Ihurwá subdivision) exhibit a noticeable difference from other Tukano subdivisions: they are fairer, with a higher and straighter forehead, more delicate features. Likewise the Pirá-tapuya of the povoado S. Paulo on the river Papurí, the Desana of Piracema on the Umarí exhibit characteristic physiognomic features that distinguish them from other groups of the same tribe.

It even seems to us that five or six somatic types or normo-types, with their peculiar features, can be distinguished on the Uaupés. We shall try to sketch the features of some of these somatic types, which, lacking other criteria, and because it is simpler, we shall name according to the tribe where we found the greatest number of individuals with such lineaments.

1) Tukano type.

142 Bronze-colored skin. The children are more reddish, approaching copper. After physical exercise (running, working) they become notably copper-colored.

304 /72 cont./

[142] [144] Generally long ears, pyriform, protruding, and with the lobes almost always held tightly. In all the cases that we could verify (more than two hundred individuals of both sexes and from various tribes, whose anthropometric measurements we took), we could observe on the dorsal part of the auricular pavilion (on both pavilions or only one, and generally in the lower part) a scar of varying shape and size. In many cases it looked like teeth marks, with the mark of two or three teeth. No one knew or they all refused to give any explanation for this scar, answering, as they frequently do, "I do not know," or "that is the way it is," or again "it is from birth." A young woman affirmed that it was her uncle who executed it, and she did not want to say anything else. A youth gave the information that it had been done by his mother when he was still small, for the purpose of his later being able to attach the feather for the dances there. An explanation that obviously was not satisfactory, because he did not have pierced ears. [115] [192] Dorotéia Brito, much later, told that such a scar is called Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro (orifice of Wãx-tĩ), but did not say anything about the origin, affirming that it was from birth. It seemed to us that we could establish, as in fact we did: 1st, that it is artificial, from the appearance; 2nd, it is done before the puberty rites, because we found it on prepubescent children; 3rd, the name of Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro is an indication that they judge it to be of magic or transcendental value. Maybe even a rite of symbolic value, like the circumcision of the Jews. [115] [553] These provisional conclusions were confirmed in September of 1956, when the Tukano Antônio Barreto, who exhibited these scars on both ears, not only confirmed the term Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro, but added that it is done by the father, by the mother, or any other person, after the child has received a name (cf. Rite of the imposition of the name, VIII-1, b (4) ), that is, from 3 to 5 years of age. He maintained, however, that he did not know its significance.

/72 cont./

142 Wide mouth, thick lips, frequent prognathism, although
• 144 slight, ugly dentition, with yellow teeth, many cavities and
[164] defects. Few individuals over 20 years old had all their teeth. Not rarely canines and incisors were malposed or maloccluded.

Rounded chin, small, at times almost imperceptible, and frequently ending in a small and elegant point.

Neither mustache nor beard (4).

4. Men with a discreet mustache and even with a small beard on the chin are found with considerable frequency among the Ihwãna, Roéra, and Íde-masã tribes, the Arwáke of the Içana, and the tribes of the Caburí.

A few individuals of the male sex exhibit some sparse mustache
*[192] or beard hairs and /73/ try to eliminate them by depilation (poá-ri kuré:) with the fingers. It is the usual process for pulling out the hair of the arms, legs, and other parts of the body, on oneself or on others (5).

5. Wallace also reports: "The men have very little beard, and even this little they pull out, plucking out the hairs. Men and women, all pull out the eyebrows (which is not true today, it seems, or it would be more rare) and the hair of the armpits and of the genital parts" (op. cit., 617).

*[192] We have seen, for the axillae, that they use the following depilatory process: a ball of breu /a kind of resin/ or of the resin called sí-pé, which is pressed together and rubbed on the axillae until it holds and pulls out the hairs. To appear smooth is a quality of elegance, according to their aesthetic tastes.

/73 cont./

142 Black hair, or more commonly dark brown, almost black,
144 straight, shiny, coarse and thick; many times, though, burned by the sun (6).

6. Among the Maku, Ídé-masã, Roéra-masã, Yebá-masã, Hanẽrã, Edúrya, and Ba:re-masã, cymotrichous types are common. We could see and photograph some women who exhibited black hair that was fine and cacheados /curled in ringlets/.

178 The ones who have attended school wear it in a regular length,
302 combed, and parted on the left side; the others have it cut with scissors with a short fringe on the forehead, behind the ears, and on the neck. Up to a century ago they used to let it grow in long braids (7),

7. A. Russell Wallace wrote in 1850: "The men do not cut the hair, they let it hang in front in a long braid, tying it around with cords, or they let it fall in the middle of the back, often as far as the thighs. The hair of the women falls loosely over the shoulders and is cut with a moderate length" (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 616).

which might reach as far as the thigh. The women, instead, trimmed it a little, perhaps in order not to be inconvenienced in their work. Today the women have it a little below the shoulders, more or less fastened with a ribbon or pin. One sees some children with the hair quite shorn, but growing in breadth, as if it were a lion's mane (8).

8. Hair cut this way, "like a lion's mane," although with a wider zone, that is, about 5 or 6 centimeters, has been seen, likewise, in caboclo children of the Rio Negro. Perhaps the natives have imitated these examples.

/73 cont./

142 In some few cases, hair becoming thin due to loss; not, however,
144 complete baldness. Rare and late graying, thanks to the use of some dyeing lotions. No case of albinism or erythrism in the eight or ten thousand Indians whom we have visited.

The rest of the body is not very pilose; the hair is fine and brown, more or less the color of the skin, and thus it is barely distinguishable from it.

He is of short stature and short neck. They ridicule the whites for having so long a neck. Well-formed torso, slightly longer /74/ than the inferior members on those of the male sex, and with an even more noticeable difference on those of the female sex, without, however, coming to be inelegant. Broad-chested, with an ample thorax, and with hips considerably narrower than the shoulders. In the men, after 40
[145] years of age, the belly often large and sagging, which gives the
[262] torso a chubby appearance. The disproportionate development of the stomach, as a result of an excess of nourishment preponderantly of mandioca flour, is already noticeable in all the children from three or four years of age.

[832] The young woman is always plump in body, which is considered a feature of elegance; she sometimes comes to exhibit a chubby appearance. Ordinarily the women have the bust elegantly inclined backwards, perhaps due to the way they carry the loads, in large baskets the length of their backs, but tied to the forehead with embira. Perhaps this is also the cause of an exaggerated development of the sternum.

[832] The individuals of the female sex have the gluteal region well developed, although not exaggeratedly, a quality, by the way, appreciated also as a factor of female elegance.
* [192] For this reason, the ones with a slimmer body are objects of derision, as desnalgadas /thin ones/, duxkú. It seems, however,
[481] that there is no artificial process for the development of that region, and that the very way of walking, with the torso well arched toward the rear, the abdomen forward, and the chest and head quite erect, or even inclined backward, is what sets off the gluteal proportions

/74 cont./

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Arms and legs well formed (9).

9. "The Tucano type presents quite a good appearance. Of regular stature, light bronze color, round head and eyes (?), hair generally black and short; he has a conjunction of such handsome proportions that, in perfect immobility, he could be taken as an artistic statue of bronze." Mons. Lourenço Giordano (Boletim Salesiano, February of 1918, p. 31).

The former notably developed through the exercise of rowing, which gives them a span of arms always greater than the height, up to 10 or even 15 centimeters.

Muscular chest in the men. Hemispherical and voluminous breasts in the maidens, also constituting an element of elegance for the young women. Sagging like the udder of a nanny goat in the women beyond a certain age. This due to the fact that they are always bending and swinging when they work (10).

[145]
[481]

*[192]

10. Slender and long breasts are likewise objects of derision. They nickname such women "mother of the Curupira, Boraró-paxkó." We have seen women with breasts so long that, passed under the arms, they are sucked by the children placed behind them on the back.

/75/ Small hands, regular fingers. Feet, on the contrary, large; the tip of the toes is wide, as in a fan, due to the way of walking. Digits with a narrow base and flattened top, with a wide space between them, especially between the great one /Port. polegar, thumb or great toe/ and the next one; a fact that allows them notable prehension (securing and raising objects with the feet, or even guiding the wheel of a launch and rowing).

/76 cont./

732 /footnote 14 cont./ due to weakness of the organs, were not able to walk until five years of age, after long treatment. Among the cases of pronounced hebetude, we recall two adults of the male sex, one from the Huhúdẽne tribe in Uapuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí), and the other a Taryana of Iauareté, known as Marcelino, "Contented," because he laughs at anything.

481 Completing this profile, it should be noted that they are slow of movement, at times clumsy in their way of walking. They walk with a short step (15),

15. In the military formations of the children, at one of the schools of the Salesian Missions, we could verify the tendency to accelerate the march.

like small jumps; many drag slightly and set the tip of the toes apart laterally, and the heel barely touches the ground.

516 They do not remain on their feet very long, almost always leaning more on one foot (the left one) and just on the tip of the other one. The woman withstands being on her feet less than the man. The most common and lasting position, when still, is the squat; it is the normal position for eating, even when they could do it sitting down. When they sit, they prefer low seats or the ground, and then they never cross the legs.

Let us now note some features that vary in this profile that we have sketched.

2) Pirá-tapuya type.

142 Skin lighter than in the Tukano, and face slightly or
144 markedly elongated. Zygoma less prominent. Lissotrichous hair, lighter brown.

/76 cont./

142 144 Brown eyes: sometimes quite light, mainly in the children. High nose, but somewhat flat at the tip and large. Regular mouth, better formed set of teeth, small chin, rounded in the natural curve of the face; thick lips. The physiognomic features, however, are less attractive than in the Tukano.

A taller type than the Tukano, and also less plump of body.

3) Taryana type.

Lighter in color than the Tukano, he likewise has a more elongated face, but with more prominent cheekbones.

/77/ The nose is high, straight, with nevertheless a very wide point and big nostrils. Square forehead, less curved laterally, straighter and wider than in the Tukano. Wide mouth, a chin quite large and sometimes quite pointed.

Less plump body and average stature like the Tukano.

4) Maku type.

Lighter skin, of an earth-colored paleness. There are almost always cymotrichous types, with dark, thick, and sometimes fine hair.

Small forehead, receding, zygoma less noticeable. High and thin nose. More open eyes, almost Caucasian. There are types with more delicate and attractive features than those of the other tribes, although one does find groups with an appearance that retraces greater degradation.

Body slenderer and shorter. He is more similar to the whites than those of the other nations.

5) General observations.

The Desana are smaller, lighter than the Tukano, and of more delicate features, and therefore in general more attractive in appearance. And among these various tribes, the Yuriti,

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).

• 144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.

171 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

*192 The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small

[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-

[531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;

[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling

[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for

[411] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana

[567] /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

/78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to

[226] all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/87 cont./

*101 In the vicinity of the cachoeira of Iauareté there is a place called Manao. Might this name for the Bará tribe have come from their former domicile in this locality; or vice versa (29)?

[103] [648]

29. We heard it told that, when the Comissão Militar Demarcadora da Fronteira /Military Commission to Demarcate the Frontier/ was in Iauareté (in 1932), a group of natives presented themselves, asking for passage to the capital of the State, Manaus. The Comissão, however, did not grant this to them, and, after staying a few days in the vicinity of Iauareté, they returned to their povoados. And that, because of such an episode, the place where the natives pitched camp became known as Manao. Nevertheless, Pe. Limpens assured us that this locality has always been called Manao. And, it must be noted, Pe. Limpens has resided in the region since 1916.

[144] We know little about the ancient Manao. It appears that they had more regular and pleasant physiognomic features. The present Bará are less corpulent than the Tukano, and physiognomically more pleasant as well, /88/ fairer, with not very prominent malar and less marked Mongoloid features (30).

30. In part this agrees with the information of Koch Grünberg, who describes them to us: "slender in body, well-proportioned, smaller than the Tuyuka, finer countenance, black eyes, less receding forehead, nose high and slightly convex, large mouth, thick lips." According to what the Indians say, Koch would have been the first white man seen by them, and the one who went up to the headwaters of the Tiquié.

/89/

c) BÁ:RE-MASÃ OR TẽMYÚ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- The idiom of the Bá:re-masã, or "food people," likewise belongs to the family of Tukano languages. As can be verified by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), it is quite close to the language of the Roéra. We met a representative of the Bá:re-masã Tribe living among the Íde-masã of the Comé--ía (maloca Bõhõ-
• [144] rya-hidó, mouth of the stream of the spider). He was (in August of 1956) a type of about 38 to 40 years old, short in stature, fat, skin of a light bronze, nose small and high at the point, rounded face, not very prominent zygoma, and
[301] almost cymotrichous black hair. He had pierced ears, with
[304] a plug approximately one centimeter in diameter stuck
[171] through them, the largest orifice in the lobes that we have found among the various tribes of the Uaupés.

[582] The law of the exogamy is also in force within the tribe, and marriages seem to be concluded with the Hanẽra, Bará, and Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The tribe of the Bá:re-masã is very reduced in members. We know of the existence of a maloca on the stream Umũ-ía (stream of the japú /bird/), tributary of the left bank of the stream Timí-ia (stream of the otter), which, in turn, flows in on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná, a little above the mouth of the Comé-ia.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The above informant, called Titõyã (also known by the name of Domingos), indicated to us as being divisions of his tribe: 1st. -- Íde-masã, 2nd. -- Ogóro-sõroa. It is probable that the first subdivision, Íde-masã, is the principal tribe of the Comé-ia (cf. IV -- 2, h) considered related to the Bá:re-masã, and not a simple division of the latter. The Ogóro-sõroa are the Hógolo-tsõloa or Tsõroa mentioned by Koch-Grünberg (Z. I. 370) on the Yauacacá-Igarapé, almost identical to the Edúrya in idiom.

/91 cont./

*101 f) EMÕÁ-MASÃ OR GUARIBA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Emõá, in the native idiom, is the name of the guariba /howler/ monkey. Their language also belongs to the Tukano family /92/ (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia"). We found /some words, perhaps a line of the text, are missing here in the original source/ [144] Ide-masã of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hidó of the Comé-ia. This was a type of average stature, slender body, delicate features, not very prominent zygoma, elongated face, high, thin nose, skin lighter than that of the Tukano, fine, black, somewhat [171] wavy hair.

[582] Tribal exogamy is observed. We know of marriages with Ide-Masã, Hanẽra, and Bará.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They inhabit the forests between the headwaters of the Tiquié and the river Pirá-paraná. They are few nowadays, according to the informant, who could give us barely 3 subdivisions. It is to be noted that, according to the informant, the Yebá and Roéra are part of her tribe. This agrees with some information obtained three years previously from a Yéba, who, among the divisions of his tribe, named [361] the Emõá and the Roéra (cf. IV-2, t). If the Yéba are to be [171] included among the Emõá, these would be, in all, several hundreds of individuals, because the Yéba live in several malocas in the region embraced between the Comé-ia and the Pirá-paraná.

Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 401) speaks of the greatly feared Guarĩua or Guariba-Tapuya located below the Jurí and Passé, that is, in the basin of the river Japurá. The Emõá can not be identified with these Guariua-Tapuya, but rather with the Õmõá of the sources of the Tiquié.

[115] 3) Divisions. Informant, the Indian woman Misirã, about 50 years old (1957), also known as Joaquina, wife of the Ide-masã tuxáua of the Comé-ia:

/108 cont./

*101 as brothers or relatives of those of another tribe, with matrimonial interdication, although they are distinguished, not only by the language, but even somatically or bio-ethnologically. This is the case, for example, with regard to the Tukano and Bará.

3) Divisions -- The informant above indicated to us only the Yebá-Yetána. Various tribes, such as the Hanēra, Yebá, Emõã, indicated as their subdivision the Roéra or Taraíra. Is it actually a matter of /109/ subdivisions of these tribes, or do the Roéra constitute a tribe per se? If the dialectic difference is small, as the Vocabularies compared reveal to us, the somatic one is greater, in spite of the matrimonial arrangement that binds these tribes. If we keep in mind the fact that among all these tribes exogamous marriage is in force as a strict law (cf. 1, a (1) ), matrimonial non-interdiction could serve as a criterion for distinguishing the tribes, although the interdiction is not always useful as a classificatory criterion.

r) SURIRÁ OR SURYANA

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Surirá, meaning unknown, and they are called Suryana by those of other tribes. Probably it is the same tribe as the one called Cirango by Curt Nimuendajú.

Their language belongs to the Tukano group, as is seen in the Vocabulary that we collected and recorded (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"). Possibly the one that comes in the 16th place in the linguistic classification of Chestmir (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"), and he has located it erroneously on the river Caiari.

[144] [171] They are lighter in complexion than the Tukano, small face, less Mongoloid features, and also shorter and less corpulent than [829] they are. Morally more decayed, they are regarded by the Tukano as inferior, and they judge themselves as such. They are, in reality, slower in assimilating civilization, lazier, less

/73 cont./

142 In some few cases, hair becoming thin due to loss; not, however,
144 complete baldness. Rare and late graying, thanks to the use of some dyeing lotions. No case of albinism or erythrism in the eight or ten thousand Indians whom we have visited.

The rest of the body is not very pilose; the hair is fine and brown, more or less the color of the skin, and thus it is barely distinguishable from it.

He is of short stature and short neck. They ridicule the whites for having so long a neck. Well-formed torso, slightly longer /74/ than the inferior members on those of the male sex, and with an even more noticeable difference on those of the female sex, without, however, coming to be inelegant. Broad-chested, with an ample thorax, and with hips considerably narrower than the shoulders. In the men, after 40 [145] years of age, the belly often large and sagging, which gives the [262] torso a chubby appearance. The disproportionate development of the stomach, as a result of an excess of nourishment preponderantly of mandioca flour, is already noticeable in all the children from three or four years of age.

[832] The young woman is always plump in body, which is considered a feature of elegance; she sometimes comes to exhibit a chubby appearance. Ordinarily the women have the bust elegantly inclined backwards, perhaps due to the way they carry the loads, in large baskets the length of their backs, but tied to the forehead with embira. Perhaps this is also the cause of an exaggerated development of the sternum.

[832] The individuals of the female sex have the gluteal region well developed, although not exaggeratedly, a quality, by the way, appreciated also as a factor of female elegance.
* [192] For this reason, the ones with a slimmer body are objects of derision, as desnalgadas /thin ones/, duxkú. It seems, however,
[481] that there is no artificial process for the development of that region, and that the very way of walking, with the torso well arched toward the rear, the abdomen forward, and the chest and head quite erect, or even inclined backward, is what sets off the gluteal proportions.

/74 cont./

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Arms and legs well formed (9).

9. "The Tucano type presents quite a good appearance. Of regular stature, light bronze color, round head and eyes (?), hair generally black and short; he has a conjunction of such handsome proportions that, in perfect immobility, he could be taken as an artistic statue of bronze." Mons. Lourenço Giordano (Boletim Salesiano, February of 1918, p. 31).

The former notably developed through the exercise of rowing, which gives them a span of arms always greater than the height, up to 10 or even 15 centimeters.

Muscular chest in the men. Hemispherical and voluminous breasts in the maidens, also constituting an element of elegance for the young women. Sagging like the udder of a nanny goat in the women beyond a certain age. This due to the fact that they are always bending and swinging when they work (10).

[145]
[481]

*[192]

10. Slender and long breasts are likewise objects of derision." They nickname such women "mother of the Curupira, Boraró-paxkó." We have seen women with breasts so long that, passed under the arms, they are sucked by the children placed behind them on the back.

/75/ Small hands, regular fingers. Feet, on the contrary, large; the tip of the toes is wide, as in a fan, due to the way of walking. Digits with a narrow base and flattened top, with a wide space between them, especially between the great one /Port. polegar, thumb or great toe/ and the next one; a fact that allows them notable prehension (securing and raising objects with the feet, or even guiding the wheel of a launch and rowing).

/425 cont./

858 b) The Children.

The natives want children, hence the general fact that all constitute regular families. The fertility of the marriage is an essential condition for its validity. The birth of the first child seals the implicit contract of marriage and stabilizes the marriage, changing wives no longer being possible.

[842] /426/ They desire, however, male and female children alternately; the former are the perpetuators of the group, the latter, besides the work that they will perform, facilitate the marriage of the male children by the exchange process. If three girls are born consecutively, the Indian will blame the wife, thinking that it is her fault (34).

[847] 34. An example was mentioned to us in Teresita, river Papuri, Colombia. At the birth of the fourth child of the female sex, the mother buried it alive. The Missionary [797] asked: "Why did you do that?" -- "Because my husband reviled me."

As to the number of children, due to the difficulties in raising them (especially because the whole burden falls on the mother), numerous progeny are not found. Six or seven children occur with some frequency (35).

35. It is to be noted that the girl does not [145] always marry young. And, on the other hand, the type of life ages her precociously, and perhaps her fertility ceases quite prematurely. It was not granted us to verify at which age the menses stop for the woman. [841] We know, to be sure, that menstruation begins around 14 years of age and that they know and use plants for the regulation of the monthly courses.

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[115]

/footnote 67 cont./ Bará, and Makú) we were able to verify that the process is the same. Whatever was peculiar in one narration became harmonized in the whole, and perhaps had happened with all, although some might have forgotten to narrate that detail. Moreover, they assured us that in all the tribes the mõ-yõãse was performed in a similar way.

In a similar way the girl, "when she becomes a young woman," according to the native expression, that is, when she reaches the age of the menses (68)

*[192]
[145]
[841]

68. They call it "sickness of the moon, Mũhĩ-pũ dux"ti." It is one more proof, among the many that we have had, of how the intimate life of each one is known perfectly by the entire community. The first menstruation takes place around 12 years of age, although the child, from her physical development, looks only about ten. For children of both sexes, it is not until some years after the age of puberty that their bodies fill out, that is, it is only after 14 or 15 years of age that the development of the body takes place, and in an almost perceptible way "they become young men and women." With the onset of menstruation, as in the critical age of the woman and puberty for the man, one does not notice abnormal physiological disturbances. Menstruation, like conception, comes regularly throughout the year. Ordinarily the monthly courses are not very abundant and do not last more than one day.

and the first menstruation, a mõsé, comes, must go through the puberty initiation rite.

/483 cont./

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/footnote 3 cont./ the seats of the Salesian Missions, not infrequently several days by canoe, in order to attend there the great religious celebrations (Christmas, Easter, etc.). They spend happy days and weeks in contact with civilization, being instructed in the religious truths and amusing themselves, as if they were school children, with collective games. Processions, songs, luminous projections, theatrical representations, even the food, sweets, presents which they receive on these occasions, everything agrees with their psychology and makes these feasts acceptable and indispensable to them.

484 Anyone who navigates those rivers invariably meets canoes, up river and down river, of tourist Indians. Some spend months visiting acquaintances and relatives in the various povoados.

3) Life cycle.

145 We know the rites that accompany the birth of the children. Under the care and attention of their mother, in contact with nature, they start growing and becoming strong. Upon reaching the use of their muscles, they will try to walk and are put down on the ground to crawl. They will then suffer the attacks of [164] verminosis. They become pale, swollen, big-bellied, and many die. Those who manage to conquer the sickness and reach adolescence are saved.

Lacking positive statistical data about the organic development of the native child, one has the impression that this proceeds by more characteristic jumps than among the civilized of the south of the country.

224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
• 146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

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visitor. On the other hand, the leaf-cutter ant is a specialist on clothing. I was once covered by a swarm of these ants while asleep. When I had carefully removed the last of them I was left with but a leather belt and a few tatters of trousers and shirt. 136 [114]

The anopheles mosquito is generally absent in the Cuduiari region where I did my field work. On the whole, the health of the Cuduiari Indians is good. Carate (*puriú*), a skin pigment disorder apparently of spirochete origin, common everywhere else in the Northwest Amazon, was far less in evidence on the Cuduiari. Children suffered from worms and other intestinal parasites but infant mortality was not particularly high. There were no epidemics during my stay. The recollections of the Indians about serious illness go back to the 1918 influenza epidemic that apparently ravaged the native populations in the region. Women, in particular, suffered from the painful purulent conjunctivitis, which they attributed to insect molestation in their manioc gardens. The bloated abdomens of children whose diet is too generous with carbohydrate and deficient in protein is a common sight along the Vaupés, but is less evident on the Cuduiari, where native life and diet is still almost intact. As for the Cuduiari itself, the people at the mouth of the river, the higher ranking *Hehénewa* sibs, seemed generally more sturdy, vigorous, and aggressive than the Indians who lived upstream. [114] [101] 164 [165] 146 614 142

Dr. Hamilton Rice, who explored the Vaupés in 1907–08, observed that the most physically powerful Indians came from the Cuduiari. He noted men who were six feet tall and over, strongly built with thick arms and powerful torsos. Actually somatological variability is considerable on the Cuduiari, ranging from marked mesomorphy to moderate ectomorphy. But this observation of mine is not based on measurements. Dr. Rice (1910) has published a physical description of the Cubeo based upon anthropometric observations. I quote from it: 142

> Their color is an olive brown corresponding to No. 4 of Broca's scale and seems invariable, a conclusion based on a comparison of the scale with many hundreds of subjects on parts of the cuticle least exposed to sun and pigmented decoration. The eye is dark, palpebral fissure narrow, not oblique, pointed at its external aspect, and the upper lid so heavy at times as to suggest the puffiness of oedema; but the eye by no means conforms invariably to so Mongolian a criterion, closely resembling the European eye in many other cases. The hair is black, lanky, coarse in the male, fine and glossy in the female. The faces are escutcheon-shaped and hairless, the chins rounded and receding, noses from straight and busque to hooked and Chinese flat types, region of cheek bones flat, lower lips large and inclined to turn slightly downward. The ears are not large, lobes absent or slightly devel-

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621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

## THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, [823] the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward 361 the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers 823 are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahükiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aúnhokü* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwü*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Húbükokü* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turü* (poison), another *pudjü* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapíka* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

/222 cont./

147 262 Perhaps the Indian owes to the richness of Vitamin A, taken in three the consumption of such a variety of insects and larvae, the admirable night vision that he enjoys.

/223/ g) Fruits.

*192 245 If the native diet is lacking in green vegetables and legumes, many are the fruits that they eat.

252 262 1) Among the fruit trees cultivated, there come first five or six varieties of banana, ohó; and they eat them raw, baked, or boiled and reduced to mingau. Even when they are still green, they eat them roasted in the ashes.

They are also fond of pineapple, sẽ'rá (Uaupés sẽ'ná), biriba, pixká, cashew nuts, sõ'rá (U. sõ'ná), and, more recently, the orange, darãñõ, avocado, ñõmõ, abio /Lucuma caimito/, kã'rẽ.

*192 222 252 262 [273] 2) The wild fruits that they know and eat are very numerous. We shall recall some: Õ'sé, cucura or mapatí (pouroúma cecropiaefóliae, Mart.), one of the Moraceae very similar to the imbauba, producing large bunches of fruits the size of a jabuticaba /Mouriria pusa/, which, when ripe, are dark, sweet, and mucilaginous, and, fermented, give a wine-like drink; mẽ'rẽ (U. mẽ'nẽ), wirí-mẽ'rẽ, various species of ingá (ingá cinamómea, marginata, édulis, etc., Mimosaceae); burukũña, maracujá /species of Passiflora/; õxtã-ñĩmĩ, cumã (fruit of the service tree); pãgá, another species of cucura; kenõ, jatobá /locust tree/; simiõ, uacú /Monopterix uaucú/; teheõ and ehyũ-pu, varieties of piquia; thoá, yúa-pixuna; wamã, umarí; wĩhĩ, paricá /Leguminosae/; extoá, cubio /Solanum sessiliflorum/; wextí, umirí; wikasoró, small white fruit; tohoá-kaxperí, omã-karperí, and ñerẽ, similar to the cumã.

3) And many species of palm nuts, more or less oily: ixkí, inajá; puxpyá, ucuquí; mĩx'pĩ, assai; ã'rẽ, pupunha, for which they are eager; bextá, tucumã, which they like very much, ñãmã (U. ñumũ), bacaba and patauá; etc.

/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or carĩço, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale, as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto /countersong/ to the other.

533 They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs, even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly
[177] appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very
[194] many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of
[147] the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice has little elasticity (54),

54. The voice has so little elasticity that perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and
[562] dances the men never sing; the women do it infrequently, for example, when they work in the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however, that the men's songs are religious hymns, whereas those of the women are bacchic compositions that they render when they distribute the drink. Among the alumni, and especially among the
[797] alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a greater elasticity, and one hears humming more frequently. This, however, is usually the religious or secular songs learned at school.

/299 cont./

533 is metallic and unpleasant when he speaks, and it is even more
[147] metallic in conjunction, when they speak or sing.
[194]

2) Songs.

The native likes to sing, although he appears bashful about doing it, outside the feasts, in front of the civilized. He has a repertoire of songs for the ritual dances (religious songs), and others for his amusement (secular songs). The former are always in choir, without solos and in only one voice. The latter are sung by one or more singers simultaneously or alternately, repeating the same theme or not.

a) Religious songs.

They are sung exclusively by the men. They are slow, monotonous, with many repetitions. As for the rhythm, inspiration, and /300/ movement, they can be classified or grouped among the Gregorian compositions. Since the only process of
[178] apprenticeship is by hearing and the memory, it follows that the music is preserved more or less faithfully (55);

55. As is verified by watching their feasts in different circumstances and places or among different tribes.

[178] the lyrics, however, have been corrupted. Nowadays in many of these songs there are only sounds without meaning, and the forest dwellers themselves confess that they do not understand the meaning of the articulations that they utter (56).

56. As happens, incidentally, in the popular songs of the civilized. (Cf. also VII-6, a (2) /see a (3)/.)

/404 cont./

481 One of the aquatic amusements of the children is the one
524 called Wãx-tĩ Max-kõ, the son of Wãx-tĩ, an obvious reference
*[192] to the legend of Nhamacurú (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"). To wit: two children placed one in front of the other, with the arms toward the back, immerse themselves in the water simultaneously. Moments later, emerging at the same time, they embrace each other quickly. Then, again with the arms to the back, they immerse themselves, in order to emerge again, embrace each other, and sink into the water. This is done a certain number of times, until they become tired, and the entertainment ceases.

501 Another frequent exercise is that of rowing. From childhood
868 on, from about three or four years of age perhaps, they learn how to row and have their small oars. Not infrequently a child alone or two go rowing and travel kilometers from their own home.
[226] Many times it is the children who row, while the men attend to fishing from the canoe. This habit gives them surprising skill
• [147] and endurance. They are capable of rowing ten or more hours a day and for six or eight consecutive days on long trips.

501 The striking of the oar handle on the side of the canoe marks the rhythm, and, when there are several rowers, they take pride in the accuracy /405/ of the strokes, as if they were one single stroke. Three different rhythms are to be observed: 1st -- one faster, when they have need to reach some point, and in the currents; there are more or less three deep strokes in two seconds; 2nd -- when there is no current, they change to a slower rhythm: one measure yes and two no, so that one hears two sounds in the water (of two waves which form and strike against the canoe), having three strokes in five seconds; 3rd -- at times they take up another rhythm: two fast strokes and a slow and deeper one.

The following detail can be observed: the hand that holds the handle of the oar describes a perfect circle; and after they give a blow on the edge of the canoe, the oar remains for a moment lying over it, parallel to the water. In order to rest from the effort, they go to rowing from the other side of the canoe;

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142 oped: heads of the brachycephalic type; though I have noticed cases of extreme dolichocephalic variations. Teeth are generally poor.

147 Dr. Rice also commented on the capacity of the Cubeo Indians for great exertion on a minimum of food and rest. I can corroborate this judgment. I accompanied Indians on canoe trips when we paddled for as long as 17 consecutive hours with little rest or nourishment other than a handful of manioc meal in water. There was usually no urgent necessity for such exertion or privation. The Indians cus-
[484] tomarily eat lightly when traveling, and if there is any chance of
[261] reaching home rather than camping out or imposing upon the hospitality of another sib they prefer to keep going. However, it was not unusual for strong young men to topple from their canoes in a dead faint upon reaching home. Revived by the river they scrambled
[157] ashore, secured the canoe, and entered the house with the appropriate vigorous air, effectively concealing their acute fatigue. It is in fact characteristic of the Cubeo to make light of their accomplishments and not to yield readily to physical weakness.

114 Ethnographically, the Northwest Amazon was first fully brought to light by Dr. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, ethnographer and museum collector. Koch-Grünberg's systematic survey of the region at the turn of the century covered all main tribes and their settlements along the principal rivers. He spent many weeks on the Cuduiari among the *Hehénewa* sibs of the Cubeo, and ascended the Cuduiari to the limits of its habitation (1909). His published reports are invaluable even though he never stayed long enough in one place to get a deep grasp of the culture. He was, however, an excellent observer and reported
114 fully on language, custom, and material culture. I did not read Koch-
127 Grünberg before going to the field so that my observations are totally independent. It is a source of satisfaction, therefore, that our observations agree closely on most details. Koch-Grünberg's information was deficient on social structure and ceremonial patterns. It is in these two respects that my study represents a carrying forward of the work he so ably began. I have drawn freely upon his published works to fill in gaps in my own information on the Cubeo and of course for the rich data on surrounding Tucanoan, Arawakan, and Cariban tribes.
114 His was the pioneering survey of the entire region, whereas mine is a relatively limited study of a single community. Koch-Grünberg died among the Indians of the Northwest Amazon in 1924, his ethnographic work prematurely cut off.

The first scientific observer to report on the Indians of the Vaupés was Alfred Russell Wallace (1870), who was there in 1853. While his interests were mainly those of the naturalist, he found Indian life to

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## THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The Cubeo economy may be characterized as essentially inelastic, sustenance-oriented, and egalitarian. In these respects it contrasts with parallel root horticulture economies in other parts of the world, such as in Oceania and Africa. In those areas economies are generally in the service of social status and of political power and are, consequently, dynamic, fostering social and economic inequality. Among the Cubeo, on the other hand, and in the South American tropical forest as a whole, social status is a minor issue in production, while the headman, who in Oceania and in Africa plays a commanding role in economic distribution, has here only the most diffuse economic functions. 433 171

The relative inelasticity of an economy is, needless to say, a function of many factors. In the case of tropical forest horticulture, the nature of crops, soils, methods of cultivation, and tools are all relevant. Even more significant, however, are such factors as the social organization of production, including such fundamental matters as the division of labor, as well as the nature of political controls. The motives of production are of greatest importance. Motives of status and of political power provide, all other factors being equal, for an expanding economy. When the aim of production is mainly to provide sustenance and to maintain a limited network of lateral (as opposed to hierarchical) exchanges the economy tends to remain in equilibrium with its customary standards of community size. Such an economy is conservative and traditionalistic. 433

With respect to physical factors, Cubeo manioc horticulture has come close to reaching a productive limit in terms of yield per acre. The yield from *Manihot utilissima* normally ranges from six to ten tons per acre. Among the *Bahúkiwa* I estimated the acreage yield to be between five and six tons, a productivity that reflects considerable agronomical skill and effort. Any substantial increase in aggregate production would have to come more from expanded acreage, for which the land is available, than from more intensive cultivation of present plots. Acreage expansion, however, is limited by a combination of social and cultural conditions as well as by the peculiar nature of bitter manioc itself. As is well known, the ease of cultivation of bitter manioc and its relatively high yield is offset by the great effort required to rid the tubers of hydrocyanic acid. I have already described the processing of manioc from raw tuber to a cake and its heavy demands on the time of the women. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop and the load of 50–60 pounds that a woman carries home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. 244 433 [147].

# 4

# *The Forest Addicts*

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the ear-plug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run;
147 whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
302 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
411 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undis-
609 turbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little. When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into
152 the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

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Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *ayyá*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

## POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1949, p. 25), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*wehd*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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868 The skill and perfection with which he opens out the palms for the covering of the maloca, with the help of the oar, or how he makes his plaitings, the way of tying and transporting a bundle of palms, merit admiration. His ability with regard to these practical necessities of life is very remarkable. And it becomes more admirable if we consider that the training is very quick, without true schools, and he soon finds himself skilled, for example, in the varied and beautiful work of nets and baskets.
797 They also learn with relative speed the trades of the civilized,
868 such as mason, blacksmith, carpenter, tailor, in the Salesian
177 Schools, although, perhaps due to the force of the environment, circumstances, and their inconstancy, they do not often reach perfection in their trade. Some continue as artisans of these trades in the missionary establishments. Others, returning from the schools to their homes, have an opportunity to use what they learned, handling, for instance, the saw, the hammer, and even the chisel. They are also the machinists of the launches that go up their immense rivers; just as they are capable of executing more delicate work, such as the observations and handling of meteorological instruments (5).

5. Wallace already observed a century ago (perhaps with some exaggeration to emphasize the idea) that, while a European countryman would take six months to learn how to handle a sextant, one of our Indians learns it in minutes. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre) also made a similar observation.

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502 They are the irreplaceable "practitioners" of the navigation of those dangerous rivers, because they have an amazing topographic memory of the hidden rocks and sandbanks, bound up with an impressive calm during the dangers presented by the storms and the cachoeiras.

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Perhaps, at first glance, the small range of the Indian's intelligence would impress us, even in the practical field and in the most obvious and simple things. We will verify, for instance, the mistakes they make in navigation, the fact of not knowing how to foresee and, later, how to avoid or to remedy an accident. Perhaps, to present concrete cases, in order to get the water out of a boat, they will not remove a plank that makes the operation difficult; if a riverside tree impedes navigation, they cut it so badly that the passage remains even more difficult, etc. This impression of intellectual obtuseness, nevertheless, will be lessened if we realize that he performs the work with disprejudice and disinterest.

/141/ 3) Fantasy or imagination.

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A faculty highly developed in the native is the imagination. One easily understands why he is like that, since he lacks the control of a more highly developed and educated intelligence, having, on the contrary, a spirit animated by incoherent and even absurd childish legends and beliefs, and living in an environment of majestic and almost crushing solitude. Many of their conversations in the long hours, idle during the day and dull at night, deal with legends, apparitions, and spells. For this reason they always have their imaginations stimulated. Only in this way is it to be explained how they can see in some strange rocks similarities with plants, tools, etc., similarities that, even when warned, we could not perceive. It is enough to mention a rock of the cachoeira de Uaracapá, almost at the mouth of the river Papuri, presented as "a banana tree" and in which we only see one of those common rocks that rise out of the water.

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Their incoherent conversations, their incomplete narrations, denounce someone who supplies his own fantasy and leaves room for the fantasy of the listeners. Sometimes when we want fast and practical information (for example, about a road, a cachoeira, a distance), we ask a native interpreter to ask another. They will talk 10 or 15 minutes between themselves, and at the end of that time our interpreter will say that

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152 The Indian is always shy before the civilized, especially if the latter raises his voice. Faced with dangerous jobs, such as cutting timber in the forest, crossing cachoeiras, he shows himself daringly brave. He remains undaunted during storms. His coolness in the face of certain dangers, for instance, that of a shipwreck, will cause envy in any Englishman. In other jobs, on the contrary, he appears extremely afraid. He is afraid not only of the onças /jaguars/, which have already taken many victims among them, but even of being hurt when he must /150/ deal with oxen or pigs. The burst of a bomb or a shot terrifies him. At the news of the approach of fierce Indians, he runs away immediately (15).

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15. The Indians of the Caburi region, to whom are attributed episodes of murder, never assault the seringueiros /rubber workers/ when there is a large clearing around the latters' hut or when they realize that there are many men inside. Among the Pirá-tapuia of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí) there has been preserved a tradition about some Béxkhana (Baniva) Indians from Venezuela, who invaded as far as the Papurí and in the middle of the night killed many in the malocas. Sometimes alarming reports of new invasions comes through, and the Pirá-tapúia flee from their villages. About 12 or 15 years ago, in the povoado of Olinda (Colombian bank of the river Papurí), similar reports (which are called marandúa in the lingua geral; cf. Stradelli-Dictionary, note on "induiaméne") arose, and the Indians abandoned their houses for three months and devoted themselves to preparing trenches and traps. In order to stop these marandúas the Missionary Pe. Afonso Kuipers came to promise gifts for anyone who brought

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/footnote 15 cont./ him one of these Béxkana /sic/ dead or alive. Some came to affirm that they had indeed seen them, one would go so far as to say that he had killed several of them, but he could not have any corpse, because their companions took their dead...

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His fear of poisonings or spells (dohasé) and of the spirits (wãx'tỹá) is especially great. Out of fear of these, for any reason, he will go at night into the forest.

12) Carelessness.

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Perhaps the relative ease with which they get or manufacture whatever they need makes them careless of things and tools, especially those of the civilized, letting them become damaged or lost, without paying any attention to their value or necessity. Many times the traveler must draw the attention of the Indian in order for him not to lose, break, or render useless an implement. There is, however, one thing which they are tenderly zealous about: the ornaments for the dances, kept in a case ad hoc, in a safe place. Since they consider clothing and other attire an ornament, they ordinarily take good care of them. And one notices some carelessness only in those who can easily get other clothes from the civilized.

13) Profit and gain.

Some of his faults attract the attention of the civilized. He is extraordinarily selfish (16).

16. Even in the service of God they want to know whether he will give them gifts, if he will give feasts, ribbons, and garments. A little girl once asked the Directress if there are fish in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Directress said no. The child added at once: "Then I don't want to go there."

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/footnote 24 cont./ Educadoras /Educators/. Nevertheless, it was the mother herself who had hidden the daughters in the forest, as was found out later through witnesses of the act.

In a perfect manner they will feign illness or indigence, they will feign ignorance of an order or a prohibition, loss of memory or an oversight. Planning a deed which they consider bad (for example, three or four Indians organizing an attack with the purpose of stealing, or in Indian file to spy on the white through a crack, etc.), they do not let any anxiety show. Even when they are surprised, they are not disconcerted. They simply separate, as though nothing had happened. Almost always a hearty laugh will come to terminate the disrupted attempt.

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Furthermore they are capable of showing emotions that they do not feel. A typical example is the funeral weeping (with tears, screams, exclamations), performed with moving perfection, returning immediately afterwards to the same gay conversation of minutes before, intermixed with immodest laughs; while others, in turn, recite /156/ their part, surrendering to crying, only to turn back minutes later to their habitual gaiety. Perhaps they could be used as theatrical actors.

17) Sentimental life: love, friendship, gratitude.

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Their sentimental life does not seem very intense. One never observes displays very ardent with feeling (25).

25. The meeting between parents and children or between spouses, after months or perhaps years of separation, is always invested with the coolness of any meeting, without looking at each other, with those conventional expressions that we have indicated (cf. formalism below). The Missionary Pe. Antônio Giacone was able to observe this very curious episode: the husband had been absent for almost two years in order

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/footnote 25 cont./ to work with the whites of the lower Rio Negro, without having sent any news. Upon returning, the meeting with his wife took place with the customary indifference on the bank of the river as he disembarked from the canoe. Inside the hut, however, after having presented him with the quinhapira /a fish dish/ and the beijú /manioc bread/, the wife, squatting beside the husband, opened up with these complaints: -- "O father of my children (yõ-põra-kõ), you have finally arrived. You were gone with the white very far away, very far away, and the mother of your children remained here alone, without having fish for the children, without being able to make a new clearing, abandoned, without clothes... Oh! How sad it is to live like this! How sad it is! (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, pp. 72-3).

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[832]
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Although he laughs easily, he always receives the great joys or tragedies with a certain indifference. They do not know the kiss (26)

26. It also seems that words for kiss and embrace do not exist in the Tukano language. The term mĩ'mĩ, which Pe. Antônio Giacone records in his vocabulary as corresponding to kiss, actually means to suck. As a matter of fact, in the early days when they were taught to kiss some object, they sucked it, even when it was a matter of the priest's hand at a liturgical function.

or the embrace as a display of affection between parents and children or other relatives.

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152 The Indian lacks some of the more delicate feelings, such as that of compassion. He will not only mistreat an animal, laughing at its painful contortions, but even watch with indifference another person's suffering, even if it is his brother, father, or mother (cf. VII - 4, g (1) ).

593 There is no doubt about the existence in the parents, particularly in the mother, of love for their offspring, especially when still in the first childhood. Even then it is a love more effective than affective, diligently learning about the children's health, for whom they procure remedies during illnesses and food. When it is a matter of children already grown, the esteem is contaminated by interest in the services they receive from them. And the grief that they express when the children are absent or die is because they no longer have anyone to bring them fish or cultivate the clearing.

847 Attenuating this presumption in favor of mother love is the use of infanticide, and many times it is the mother herself who wants /157/ and executes it. Moreover, cases in which the mother abandons the children, even though newborn, are known.

593 In the children the correlative feeling is counterbalanced, or perhaps exceeded, by their selfishness. When the parents
888 become old, they easily abandon them, without providing clothing for them any longer, or even giving them medicine, food, or water (27).

[115] 27. Pe. João Marchesi bears witness, with the authority of one who knows the totality of the natives, among whom he has lived for 35 years, and who, because of his heroic charity, cover for all the sacrifices, merited it when General Alexandrino Ferreira da Cunha called him "the Anchieta of the Amazon": -- "Among the elements of the same tribe, who consider themselves brothers, there is a certain outward cordiality and consideration toward someone else's suffering, but neither generosity nor a spontaneous

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/footnote 40 cont./ cigarette smoke over the several parts of the body. It seems to be a common custom when the woman is lying in the hammock to rest during the day.

Long before daybreak, from three or four o'clock in the morning, laughs can be heard in the maloca, and until ten or eleven at night. They are a happy race; in their /164/ maloca one can hear much laughter and almost no crying. The children themselves cry less than their little brothers of civilization (41):

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41. In the children taken into the Mission boarding schools, and even in the small children who are sons and daughters of alumni and raised in the shadow of the Missions, one observes with more frequency and for a longer time habitual crying and shrieking.

crying that lasts a few moments.

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23) Stoicism.

The Indian is an absolutely perfect type of the stoic and greatly surpasses the ancient Greek philosophers. Man of the present, the future does not worry him. He does not save for tomorrow; he trusts that tomorrow nature will be as favorable to him or more so than today, and he will also work tomorrow. In privation he knows how to suffer hunger with serene tranquility. He does not even think about future pain. The secret of his tranquility and constant good humor rests on this state of mind. As for the rest, he easily endures suffering; he will not moan, however intense his pains may be (42).

42. During our frequent visits to the malocas and to the native povoados, many times, with our admiration, we have found individuals, not only adults, but also children, enduring

/164 cont./

• 152 /footnote 42 cont./ great pain without a tear or a groan. On the other hand, when under the care of the civilized, for example, when hospitalized, they readily burst out in shrieks and groans that even seem exaggerated. We are prevented from presenting an explanation for similar facts, although we have in vain asked for one from the natives themselves on several occasions.

758 761 [755] [797] During illnesses, he will lie in the hammock and wait for nature to react to the prompting of the rites of the pajé. If the latter says that the sick man is going to die, he will await death calmly, without cries or shrieks. The relatives will not give him medicine, and many times not even food or drink (43).

758 797 43. And have you given mingau /a paste made with manioc flour/ to the sick man -- asked the Missionary to those of a maloca where he had found a very sick old man lying in a hammock. -- "What for?" objected the Indians, "he is going to die anyway." In May of 1954, a young wife gravely ill and given up by the pajé, Adelia Abreu by name, of the Tukano tribe, was found in Pari-cachoeira. She did not accept the medicines or threw them away, pretending to take them. She generally refused food. If by chance she showed any disposition to accept it, her mother whispered that she should not take it, because the pajé had said that she was going to die. With some difficulty they transported her to the hospital. The Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/ managed to overcome the young woman's resistance, and the latter decided to take the medicines and the food, and a hopeful improvement was

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/footnote 43 cont./ noticed immediately. The sick woman's mother, upon learning this, ran to the hospital, in order to stop it. To anyone who argued with her because she acted so, the mother answered: -- "The pajé said that she is to die; if she gets well in the hospital, the pajé is going to be furious with me." It is true that as soon as the woman felt better she ran away from the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ hospital. From the delivery, which soon followed, she had a very weak child that died almost immediately. The young mother, however, became strong and is still enjoying good health (in September of 1956).

• 152 The /165/ patient will not ask for it or will even refuse to take it if someone presents it to him. His life has been full of fights and deprivations endured with the most inalterable calm, he was never defeated by despair, he always appears strong, even before the imminence of death (cf. VII - 2, e (1) ).

24) Formality.

The Uaupésino native is a singularly formal type. It is precisely this rigorous formality, touching almost every activity of the individual, that crushes the individual, the personal in the Indian. About these, as about the Mongols, those who do not have very prolonged and immediate contact with them say that they all look alike, because it is difficult to distinguish them by physiognomic features. In reality, they are more alike in behavior than in the face. The Indians seem to us to have been made in series, if we consider them in their way of acting. Education, which subministers to them the congenital tendency to imitate, and the subjection to the customs and traditions are so absorptive that it almost makes the individualizing traits in them disappear. And this uniformity is still more impressive because it culturally

/165 cont./

152 leveled out nations distinct and quite different in somatic traits, in bio-ethnic origin, and in speech, and it seems to have managed to mold all the components of the tribes according to a single model. For this reason we affirm that, even in the way of laughing and gesticulating, the different tribes of the Uaupés are similar, and for this same reason, the vast Uaupésina region must be considered as a single cultural area.

Here are some indications of the native formality of the Uaupés.

At the meetings of relatives, indeed, as we have already pointed out, even at the meetings of spouses or between parents and children after a long separation, there are no displays of jubilation.

484 Trips for visits are frequent among them; psychological necessity because they live in small groups? Or reminiscence of an ancestral nomadism?

576 The official receptions at the great feasts or possible ones at some meeting are always invested with a strange and indispensable formality.

574 576 521 *[192] When during his frequent pleasure trips he decides to stop at some maloca or povoado, he leaves his canoe at the landing place and goes up. If /166/ there are several, they will do it in Indian file, that is, one after the other, observing an order in which the most dignified goes in front. He will absolutely not enter, without saying at the door: "nẽ! maxsã nĩti? Hello, are there people there?" He will say this even when he sees that there are people. Then the head of the house, or the most important person there, will come to receive him, and they touch *[192] each other lightly with their right hands. Standing up, facing each other, without looking at each other, staring at the ground or at a corner, the one from the house will ask: -- "You have arrived? extatí mãã?" -- "I have arrived, extápõ." Or: -- "Has your canoe arrived?" The other will answer: -- "It arrived." They will spend a few seconds in silence, then he will continue: -- "Ah! You have arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." After a short pause he will perhaps insist: "Ah! Well! You have

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could be struck he had bolted and had to be literally dragged back. 769
The first blow reduced him to such a state of trembling and hysterical 796
sobbing that I thought he would collapse. He could not swallow the chicha. The men paid no attention to the boy's terror and when he returned finally to the bench, still sobbing, his companions ignored him.[6] The first boy was by this time enjoying himself immensely.

The third initiate was the son of the headman, a boy who was the leader of his play pack. This lad strode confidently forward and raised his arms above his head without command. He faced his age mates, smiled at them, and took the blows without flinching. The next boy faced the ordeal with equal composure. The men waited for the orphan boy to return. When he did not they sent the youngsters to bring him, but they returned very quickly to say that he had run away.

There now remained two very young boys to be whipped. These were treated in a sense as junior initiates, old enough to know the secrets of the *Bekûpwānwa* but too tender to be whipped very hard. The senior initiator who had begun to whip with *Bwū* was said to have a very hard blow, because of having absorbed the strength of *Bwū* in his arm. He therefore turned the whipping over to his younger brother, who used *Onpwénda*. This man, who was unmarried and therefore closer in spirit to the age group being initiated, assumed a jesting manner. He dragged a little boy forcefully to the center but in a playful manner. He measured his blow carefully, heavy enough for the child to know he had been through the ordeal but without raising a welt. The two blows were spaced farther away from the genital region because the children were too young to receive sexual power from the ancestors yet. The gentle blows meant that growth would still be gradual. At puberty, I was told, a boy receives the full hard blows of *Bwū*. However, since some precocity is welcomed, the full blows, as on this occasion, may precede puberty by some years. [831]

After all the youngsters had been whipped and were seated together on the guest bench drinking chicha, the ancestors, who had been dancing inside the house, now danced about them several times in a close circle, finally leaving in single file through the door. They circled the house on the outside and returned to the front plaza. When they stopped playing, the youngsters rose from their bench and went outside to watch as the men hid the horns in a clump of bushes nearby. Then all cut swatches of leaves and ran through the

[6] It is hardly a disgrace for a young boy to weep. When young adults, young married men, are injured in a drunken brawl, they will also weep freely. [152]

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574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahúkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahúkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkúndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkúndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkúndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

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765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point 765 614 532 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is [203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will [533] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a [535] mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted [776] by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

## MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ÓYNE

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

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then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure. [831] [786] [535]

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudjiko* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping. [533]

This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *óyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *óyne*. 765 831 786 535 [182]

From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out – one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Mlavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs. [152]

The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abúhuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakúiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamiré, kamiré*. These dancers leave, and another *Abúhukü* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudúki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among 765 536 [535]

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765 536 the women and dives clumsily after it, rolling among the women and over them. He recovers it and tries to crack it in his mouth, but of course he is wearing a mask, and finally he examines it with a marvelously executed air of puzzlement and dejection. The women have been so dazed by now that the comic virtuosity of this "clown" does [152] not draw the expected laughs. The *Abühukü* leaves and there is a respite. The women stir about and look after their children, and it seems as though the emotional gradient, having been broken in its upward ascent, has dropped to the most ordinary level.

765 831 786 535 But this quiet interlude is short. At midmorning all the masked dancers storm noisily among the women in a dance called the *hwananiwa* (wild peccary). They throw themselves upon the women, forcing them to the ground and to the copulatory position. Three or four men cover a woman. The dancers rise again to dance in sheer frenzy, careening about the room, shrieking and falling again upon another woman. But even though their excitement seems more feverish than ever, the men still do not lay a hand upon a woman. They choose for their attentions only the older women. The [887] older women among the Cubeo are licentious, and they behave at this time as though they have become sexually aroused. They laugh and shriek and reach for a man's thighs. The daughters observe this spectacle of their mother's sexual excitement with evident dismay and great interest. The mothers shrilly command their daughters to run away and so escape sexual molestation. At the command to run they begin to leave, but they come back to watch. Again, the very young [152] boys who share this masculine license are carried away by sexual excitation and lustfully attack the women, the wives of their phratry mates. The women "fight them off" with the standard courting resistance and succeed in inflaming them all the more. Not all the masked dancers join this revelry in the same spirit. Some men, the older ones in particular, are restrained, treating the dance symbolically, and some are simply shy and only brush lightly against the women. The point of view is that of symbolic frenzy rather than of sheer unrestraint. The mastery of this mood is surely a difficult one, because the women, who are a laity, are under no compulsion to discipline their feelings. This is presumably the Cubeo ceremonial conception – pitting masculine symbolically controlled behavior against the spontaneous emotionality of the women. This interplay between emotional form and substance, so to speak, adds spontaneity and emotional spice to the ceremony but always within the framework of form. That the youngsters should succumb to simple lust in this licentious dance is, to be sure, a spontaneous consequence of the

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *hwananíwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

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The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* – the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

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The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

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The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *dyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjiko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenádox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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574 violent counterclockwise motion for which the symbol is the loud
[535] whistle.

On the women's side a parallel form of greeting, but with a minimum of ritual, is going on at the same time. The greetings among the women are, in many respects, a counterpoint to the greetings among the men. I have already mentioned how the women are made to tumble into the house so that their entrance is as ludicrous as the entrance of the men is somber. However, having picked herself up and having straightened out her belongings, each woman is greeted
[561] in a file by the host women. Like the men, the women are grouped by
765 maloca and in order of their husbands' age seniority. Having been
574 greeted with the conventional handshake, the group of hostesses and
152 the group of guests face each other and shout angrily at one another;
[576] these shouts are not accusations or recriminations, but expressions of anger at the enemy who has killed the deceased. Two women who have been facing one another in postures of anger suddenly fall to a squatting position, each with an arm around the other's shoulder, drop their heads, and weep. Women who are nursing babies seem

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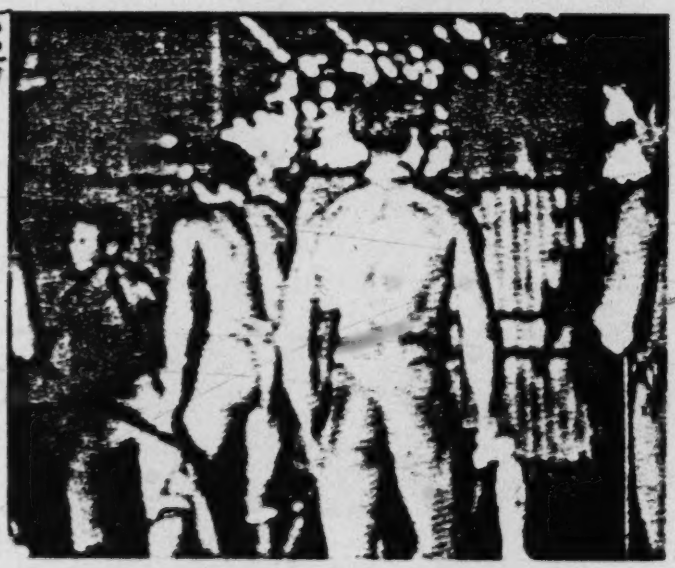

Fig. 12. Angry declamation at mourning ceremony.

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able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep. 765 574 152

## FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly. 765 152 154 [276] [273]

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the *óyne*. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Hehênewa* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough. 765 273 [261] [276]

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly. 273 791 [574] [154]

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765 273 152 Drinking at the *óyne* is disciplined and follows the emotional gradient of the ceremony. On the first day, which is intramural, the mood is somber and little chicha is taken. On the second day, when guests arrive and the mood is anger-grief, the drinking is still slow. [574] Guests receive the welcome offering of chicha after their third entrance into the maloca and thereafter they drink during all intervals between dances. Formal drinking begins two hours before sundown. 765 273 276 152 The moment is signaled when the hosts brings in *mihí*, the symbol of intoxication. Only the older men take the potion. Thereafter all drinkers are free to grow excited. The elders remain restrained, however, since it is their role to license the excitement of others. They describe their own intoxication as an inner state. They feel a change in mood, they see color visions, but they do not overstep to overt excitement. That is the role assigned to the younger men.

765 273 276 152 562 The rate of drinking and the shift in mood gains momentum in the course of the interplay with the women. Women drink as much as men, but do not take *mihí* and do not get drunk. Their excitement is imparted to them by the men. Thus, the men drink to initiate excitement; the women drink so that they may react. When the men are not among them the women sit passively among their young, the dogs, and their household goods.

765 276 [778] *Mihí* has magical power which the bearers portray dramatically. They pretend to stagger under its weight because *mihí* has power to fell a man. The people I asked did not know, however, why the bearer of *mihí* pranced with his torso bent forward and his knees kicked up high. The bearers whisper *he he he* and then whistle. These are the sounds of spirits and they are the same as the sounds made by the guests when they circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased. A bundle of *mihí* vines is laid with the ceremonial remains 765 during this dance. From a roof beam at the exact center of the house, 532 where it overlooks equally the male half and the female half, hangs 276 a vulture figure. The body is an ear of corn, the head is carved of wood, and the spreading wings and tail feathers are made of old basket fragments. The bird hangs like a mobile. It is said to be "drunk" on *mihí*, and it presides over the *óyne* to give the proper spirit of intoxication. The vulture of intoxication is the patron, so to speak, of the *óyne*.* Mobiles of other birds are also hung about the house, as are painted images of fish. I did not learn the significance of these.

* The vulture is thought of here not so much in the sense of its being a carrion eater, but for its quality of soaring. Compare *kawi* (vulture) with *kawíno* (sky).

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The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehéneua* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, *kenadjú marié kenadjú pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disenter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawá* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[5] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihi*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[5] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

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621 households, and individuals. Fission is an objective social process, a by-product of Cubeo cultural principles of autonomy and social equality. It is promoted, as well, by another cultural principle that we have not yet discussed. That principle I would describe as a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. That is to say, in the absence of political constraint and of economic necessity the Cubeo find it easier to leave an uncomfortable situation than to endure it.

## PERIODICITY

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614 Since the sibs join together on the basis of linkage-autonomy and upon lateral rather than hierarchical lines, some loosening of bonds
(574) would seem to be inevitable. The periodicity in drinking parties is the only measure we have of changes in the strength of attachment of sib bonds. These parties, we have noted, follow a cycle starting from full attendance and a very high state of mutual confidence and ending in a series of parties that are poorly attended and are conducted in an atmosphere that is dismal and heavy with distrust. Eventually confidence is restored and a new cycle begins. The period from high to low runs about one year. Periodicity is not a cultural principle; it is a consequence of several other cultural principles. As already suggested, linkage-autonomy and lateralization play a part in this periodicity because they allow relationships to find a "natural" level. That is to say, there is no formal authority that can step in to restore good relations when the social climate has been poisoned by
(621) drunken quarrels and by accusations of sorcery. Periodicity is perhaps
(615) to be regarded as an incomplete form of fission at the level of the phratry. Since the phratry is a stronger exponent of autonomy than is the sib, it develops only a few of the pressures that might lead to actual fission. As for other principles of Cubeo culture involved in the periodicity of sib bonds, we have already mentioned the low tol-
571 erance for psychic discomfort, and have described its relevance to
152 fission of the sib. In the context of the drinking party, and indeed in the context of all collective activities, this principle can be stated in still another way: that collectivity demands its appropriate atmosphere of good feeling. We have seen this principle strongly at work in the mourning ceremony, where the atmosphere of grief, grimness, hostility, suspicion, and fear is systematically and ritually trans-
(578) formed to one of excitement and gaiety. We have also observed that the Cubeo do not harbor grudges for long. When a feeling begins to subside they allow it to subside. When a more neutral atmosphere forms, a new cycle of good feeling can begin.

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562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 The second most important area in which polarity-complementar-
796 ity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvi-
● 152 ous distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage
571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly
765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the
614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine
152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihi*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib
[615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The significance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that,
152 as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context
571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel
574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib
614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moder-
273 ate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who
574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and
273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no
562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual
152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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571
The relationship between the patterns of calm-frenzy and linkage- 627
autonomy appears also in the juridical area. Here, as we observed, 152
justice is carried out not in an atmosphere of calm deliberation but 614.
in an atmosphere of high excitement, as befits a situation in which the collectivity of the sib has been broken both by commission of the crime and by the act of expelling the offender. The juridical is not a ritual area. The example, however, demonstrates the continuity of ritual polarity-complementarity with a more general patterning of mood.

## PATTERNING OF MOOD

The point has been made repeatedly that the Cubeo will under- 571
take no significant action unless the mood is appropriate. The previ- 152
ous example of the juridical process is illustrative. Punishment or vengeance must correspond with appropriate anger. Ritual acts and dances are omitted when the mood is wrong. All collective enterprises of the sib, such as hunting, fishing, foraging, and housebuilding, require a mood of geniality. When such a mood begins to break, a fairly rapid chain reaction ensues. The sense of collectivity weakens and this, in turn, darkens the mood. This cycle of mood periodicity has been discussed in the context of the drinking party. In a different context it applies to other major collective efforts such as housebuilding, which also follows a cyclical rhythm of spurts of work alternating with lulls. The fishing cycle is still another example of Cubeo dependence on mood.

## OVER-ALL PATTERN

Some examples of linkage of smaller patterns have been presented 121
to suggest at least the possibility of describing Cubeo society in some 571
broader and more inclusive terms. The problem, however, is that the concept of pattern is a hypothetical construction based upon calling of attention to analogies or parallelisms. The method of pattern construction is largely intuitive and the demonstration of its validity is largely a matter of presenting a credible argument. Despite these self-evident scientific shortcomings there can be little doubt that the presentation or analysis of a culture without the concept of pattern must involve a serious distortion of reality. The aim of a theoretical construction that would present a culture in terms of over-all pattern is to provide appropriate bases for a more sophisticated culture typology than anthropology presently possesses. Pattern need

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-
[428] complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

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generally, this relationship of appropriateness between mood and activity is not novel. It seems, in fact, altogether natural. Cultures, however, as we well know, do not necessarily pattern themselves quite so naturally. Civilizations, in particular, place the emphasis upon the social action and expect the mood to be disciplined or to be subordinated to the social occasion. The Cubeo, on the other hand, expect a rather high degree of emotional spontaneity. In this respect they correspond oddly to the eighteenth-century notions of "natural man." In secular affairs the spontaneity of correspondence between emotion and action is much greater than in ritual. In ritual the effort is made to establish the correspondence between feeling and the concept of the sacred. Ritual in primitive society generally expresses in a symbolic or highly compressed form the fundamental cultural themes of a society. We have repeatedly shown the integration of ritual with social structure. Cubeo ritual, similarly, reveals not only the role of emotionality in Cubeo life but exhibits that spectrum of emotionality that has greatest significance for the Cubeo.[1] It is indeed in ritual, as Ruth Benedict has demonstrated in *Patterns of Culture*, that the ethos of a culture is most vividly displayed. Cubeo ritual, as has been seen, dramatizes the interplay between formal pattern and spontaneity. The most vivid example of this interplay is the interaction between men as sacred and women as a laity during the mourning ceremony. The effect of this interplay is to add significance to the spontaneity of emotion, and at the same time to give emotional zest to the formal ritual pattern. In short, what seems an inescapable conclusion about Cubeo culture is that neither form nor action can be comfortably tolerated unless charged with a proper feeling or emotion.

The relationship between form and emotion and social action and emotion is but one part of the pattern. The pattern also includes the emotional preferences. It is not simply that the Cubeo prefer to run a gamut, since an emotional gamut is a range within a particular plane. In ritual the emotional gamut moves from sobriety and order, as we have already explained, to intoxication and disorder. On a smaller scale, the ritual pattern moves from slow to fast. In the mourning ceremony these related planes of emotional modulation seemed to find their focus in a sexual rhythm, culminating in what is almost literally an orgasmic excitement. From this there may be reason to conclude that it is coitus, a very elementary biological

[1] It is to be understood, of course, that the roles of emotionality in secular life are not the same as they are in the sacred realm. In secular life moderation is more appropriate than excitement or intensity.

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571
152 model, that underlies an important aspect of the Cubeo ethos.
796 What is surprising about finding coitus as a model for ritual ethos is
181 not that this obvious pattern has been drawn upon, but that it is not
831 drawn upon more often. Among the Carajá of central Brazil, I am
171 informed, the coital ritual pattern is explicitly recognized, each phase of the dance being named from a phase of sexual intercourse.[2] It is quite possible that I simply failed to discover the same explicit rela-
571 tionship among the Cubeo. The explicitness that I did discover,
796 though, is in their assertion that ritual excitement, whether produced
181 by drugs, alcohol, or the ritualization of sex, is a necessary comple-
152 ment to the ritual magic of the below-the-knee ligature of long life. This identification of emotional intensity with life itself is also an obvious and therefore a simple relationship. In sum, we can say that the main features of Cubeo ethos draw upon very obvious and simple biopsychological models and – this is the significant point – adhere rather closely, almost literally, to them. Since the social pattern also draws upon a very elementary model we must conclude that the socio-cultural pattern as a whole is built upon the simplest of social and biopsychological models. Needless to say, even the bare and incomplete account of Cubeo life that has been presented suggests that the elements of over-all pattern described here do not encompass the "totality" of the culture. In all probability, however, no concept of pattern can ever encompass a total social and cultural system. From the point of view of culture theory the question is a different one. The proper question is: Does the theory of pattern provide an adequate approach to an understanding of the culture?

121 We can attempt to answer this question by applying the concept
571 of pattern that has been presented to an analysis of two fundamental cultural problems: the problem of social homeostasis and the problem of ecological adaptation. Strictly speaking, equilibrium and adaptation are one problem. It is simply that this problem can be approached from two sides.

## SOCIAL HOMEOSTASIS

The assumption of social homeostasis is that a cultural system consists of relationships and interactions that are so patterned that their net effect is to perpetuate the system, generation after generation. It is understood, of course, that homeostasis, or equilibrium, is a relative condition only, since no society today is a precise duplicate of

[2] Personal communication from Dr. William Lipkind.

# 4

# *The Forest Addicts*

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the ear plug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run;
whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always [illegible]s
147 in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallo[illegible]l drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
302 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
411 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undis-
609 turbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little. When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into
● 152 the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

551 nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 752 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the [123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly un-753 concerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of [123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con-756 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on 123 whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*. [775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be

/137 cont./

000 If every human soul is invisible, that of the Indian constitutes a mystery. Those who have lived with them for decades and thought they knew the individuals in depth have surprises that are not infrequent.

To be human as he is, the native naturally presents good and bad qualities, like any other human being, some of them taking a color or relief that the environment of deprivation and isolation facilitates and that for this reason stand out more to the eyes of the civilized man who visits them. We shall point out in the following some quite general ones, which for this reason seem to characterize the native mentality and education, admitting that there could be some very rare exception.

1) Intellectual and physical slowness.

• 153 On the one hand, the material life to which they are forced and, on the other, the almost asphyxiating subjection to the tribal laws, which do not allow /138/ discussion, do not leave any room for speculation or, let us say, for the exercise of the [872] theoretical intelligence. This is proved by their difficulty in learning a religious truth and that of the school child in solving the simplest arithmetic problem. For the totality of the school children, the five or six years of studies in the boarding-school regime are not enough for them to be able to learn the four [481] operations. The Indian, just as he is slow in movement physically (2),

> 2. Perhaps, studied under the bio-physiological aspect, this slowness could be partially corrected by an adequate dietary regimen. They are certainly receiving some correction, more psychological in nature, during the years that they spend in the Mission, especially the students in the boarding schools.

is also slow in giving us the most obvious response. Slow in understanding an order we give him, he encounters difficulty in following our reasoning when we talk with him. Ordinarily

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153 it is necessary to repeat the teachings many times. Perhaps it is for this reason that there are so many repetitions in the conversations among themselves.

How much patience and time one needs to obtain from the native a vocabulary as simple as it can be, for example, half a dozen of words corresponding to the parts of the body (head, hand, arm, leg, foot), or the names that they give the various tribes. And this even when we make use of a language that they know (for instance, Portuguese, Nheengatú, or Tukano). The difficulty grows excessive when one wants the term corresponding to some object that we do not have at the time, or [124] when the idea is more abstract. By way of example and confirmation, if we ask him the words of his language that correspond to cadaver, large (space), long (time), ultimate (in an enumeration) (3).

3. By way of confirmation, two episodes are sufficient. We already had the names of the subdivisions of the Taryana tribe, obtained directly by us on a previous excursion and by Pe. Antônio Giacone. Wishing verification, we met in conference six individuals from this tribe, five of whom understood Portuguese sufficiently, and the oldest one, a little less. Two hours were necessary in order to obtain the names of the 15 subdivisions that appear in this work (IV, 2, y /see IV, 2, z, pp. 171 ff./) and the [192] locality where they live. On another occasion we wanted to ascertain the exact pronunciation of nê'kã-yuse (cf. below VII, 4, f (2) ), the little branch, broken and "blown," that is left on the road as a malefice for someone. We asked in a circle of six or eight young men who spoke Portuguese. They rapidly exchanged ideas among themselves in

/138 cont./

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/footnote 3 cont./ the Tukano language; first one would talk, then another, then two or more simultaneously, and afterwards all remained silent. We would first press this one, then that one, who seemed to understand our wishes. Only after we had opened the typed originals of the present work and the most unrestrained of them had read the excerpt that I was referring to did he add: "that is the way it is." In order to solve this simple question, 40 minutes went by!

12 * [192] [196] Properly speaking there is no term in the Tukano idiom equivalent to the word /139/ ultimate; they would say, more concretely: the one of the end, the one of the extremity (yaxpa-ti-kãgõ masc., yaxpa-ti-kãgõ, fem., yaxpa-ti-kãra, pl., yaxpa-ti-kãse, neuter).

For this reason one must not be content, insofar as possible, to obtain the translation of a word from only one individual or on only one occasion. Many times the word is heard pronounced differently. Is it a matter of faulty pronunciation by the individual? By which one of them? By all? Or is the divergence due to regional pronunciations? And then which of them will be the best? Or, finally, is it a matter of terms corresponding to a similar Portuguese word? Which of them would be the best? Would they be perfect synonyms? We point out these difficulties in order for one to understand the efforts of anybne who decides to study directly with the Indian the language of the latter. It is ten times more difficult than to study a foreign idiom with the help of teachers, grammars, and vocabularies.

The Indian is a man of reality, hence his difficulty with [193] generalizations and abstractions. Instead of saying simply and abstractly head, he will prefer to say "my head, your head," etc. He does not say: to work, to eat (the Tukano language does not even have the infinitive form). He will say: "I work, you eat," etc.

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153 As for the memory, he has one a little more awake for the subjects that interest him. Thus he has less difficulty in learning some words or sentences of the Portuguese language, or in reading (4)

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> 4. In 1948 I took to the Museu Salesiano do Índio de S. Paulo /Salesian Museum of the Indian in São Paulo/ the written tests of the children of Pari-cachoeira, after only eight months of school, consisting of a short dictation executed with good penmanship and few mistakes.

and in retaining the names of places, of persons, or in recalling the events. With more difficulty he will learn by heart the arithmetic tables or the prayers. And he also feels happy when the civilized man reminds him of some episode in which the Indian took part. Later, the desire to become "white," that is, to become civilized, moves him. For this reason he adjusts to the great sacrifice of entering a boarding school and attending classes, as well as of subjecting himself to the school discipline.

[829] [872]

2) Practical intelligence.

As for the practical intelligence, it is more highly developed. This is proved by the practical solution of the problems that life presents to him, and with the resources that nature makes available to him. The civilized in those regions, when they do not have other resources available, end up, in certain things, imitating the Indian, or entrusting him with the execution of what is needed. It is enough to point out, for example, the solid and large house /140/ or maloca that he builds, the stable and rapid canoe that he makes, and the numerous objects that he manufactures (vessels, grater, baskets).

/143/

• 153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

[438] [291] [285]

His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

177 829 [342] [291]

/144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism. 153

The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

/144 cont./

551 the civilized, who, they can be sure, already at the first presentation, receive a nickname, which will be propagated with incredible speed (8).

*[192]

8. They told us of some of these nicknames: one they called sõãgõ, vermilion, because of his color; another, subí, curled, because he had curly hair; a third one, uxpíka-ro, crooked teeth; a fourth one, o'mẽpero-ro, big ears; a fifth one, waú, the uáia-piçá monkey; a sixth one, õxsó-boekhõ, arrow of alligator (because of being tall and thin), etc. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, p. 206) tells that they nicknamed him Wãx'tĩ (see VII-4, d (5) ), because of the beard (?), and his companion Schmidt, nõ'myõ-axké, monkey-woman.

6) Curiosity.

• 153 Endowed with great curiosity, he wants to learn from any
203 civilized person to whom he is introduced who he is, what his name is, where he comes from, where he is headed, what he came to do, what his nationality is; and they ask their tribal brothers who are accompanying the unknown visitor a thousand
[797] other questions. An Indian is apt to make a long and uncomfortable journey in order to tell those of another povoado an episode that happened, the visit of a new missionary, etc. (9).

9. In July of 1956 His Excellency the Coadjutor Bishop of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, Dom José Domitrovitsch, decided to surprise the missionaries of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), and he was covering the 300 kilometers that separate Parí from Taracuá with a small motorboat. He stayed overnight in the povoado of S. João, about 30 kilometers from the Mission. An Indian, in the middle of the night, set out

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/footnote 9 cont./ traveling in his canoe and at six o'clock in the morning informed the Missionaries of the visit of the Bishop, who is festively received at the Mission two hours later. Humorously one says that in these latitudes there is not yet wireless telegraph, but the communication system of radio-cipó is well developed.

153 If one opens a suitcase, a book, a notebook, the Indian's eye does not leave these objects. And many times he wants to have a more practical and complete knowledge, approaching them, touching them, and /145/ observing them in all their aspects. And not rarely subjecting them to observation by all the senses: he touches, smells, bites. The civilized man realizes that he is being furtively touched on his clothes, or even on the hand, by the children and even by the women. We were not able to verify whether in this gesture some magic concept might also enter.

When he hears Portuguese being spoken, if he does not understand it, he likes to repeat the sounds that he heard, pronouncing them several times, as if to engrave them in his memory.

7) Distrust.

829 Conversely, he does not like to be observed. If he perceives that he is, he withdraws. He answers the civilized laconically, going away as soon as possible, in order to avoid a new question; or he will leave without answering. He spends entire hours of travel in silence in a canoe when he travels alone with some civilized man, or even when he travels with others from the tribe, [123] but in the presence of a "white." It is the mistrust (10)

10. We were lucky in getting Indians of both sexes, from diverse tribes and in different localities, to unbosom themselves confidentially

4: Silva--368 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/253/

# Chapter VII

## Spiritual Culture

000 Man is always the rational animal, and proofs of his rational nature are innumerable and appear at every moment. But also true is the primum vívere, deínde philosophári, that is, one can only speculate after the pressing material needs have been satisfied. The intelligence needs a favorable environment in order to develop; but, even in the most adverse environment, it will always give manifestations of its presence. And these manifestations are many, which entitles us to say that, in a general way, the Indian is intelligent. The relative ease with which he adapts himself to our civilization, with which he learns and speaks several native languages and some ideas from the Portuguese that is taught him in the schools, the perspicacity with which he observes the white, listens to him, and talks to him, are proofs of our assertion concerning his intelligence. Up to now, however, no native from the Uaupés has acquired a secondary or higher education, nor has he shown an interest in acquiring it, in spite of the stimuli offered by the Salesian Missions (1).

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1. The Salesians count among their members, in the position of Coadjutor Brother, a Taryana Indian with an education higher than a primary one and who is a good teacher of tailoring, with a specialization course in Recife. The Montfortian Padres have recruited for their Instituto two Indians, a Desana and a Taryana. Young women of different tribes are found at present (1958) in Manaus, taking the course in nursing, supported by the Salesian Missions.

The failure of the first attempts is not surprising, because education assumes a civilization, that is, habits of life, of studies, which only a second or third native generation, raised in the civilized regimen, will be able to present.

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/footnote 7 cont./ had gone about four hundred meters, a characteristic cry, which seemed to us more like the chirping of some bird, was heard. The Tukano who came along with us as oarsmen interpreted at once: "It is the tuxaua who is calling in order to return the machete." Truly the tuxaua was waiting for us with the machete, which was returned to its legitimate owner.

On several occasions, as we navigated the headwaters of the rivers or the igarapés, Indians who were in the interior of the forest and heard the noise of the oars exchanged whistles with our oarsmen, who afterwards would give us detailed information: who they were, if they were hunting, picking fruits, looking for caraná, or cutting lumber. It is to be noted that we never heard the Indian humming his songs or whistling for mere diversion.

[533]

/256/ 2. Sciences.

a) Geography -- Topography.

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Their geographic notions of the region are not very numerous, but they are accurate. It is difficult to distinguish what they know through individual experience, through tribal tradition, or through the influence of the civilized whom they consult, because, endowed with an excellent memory, they retain the information that they receive, like that which they learn visually.

/140 cont./

152 Perhaps, at first glance, the small range of the Indian's
502 intelligence would impress us, even in the practical field and in the most obvious and simple things. We will verify, for instance, the mistakes they make in navigation, the fact of not knowing how to foresee and, later, how to avoid or to remedy an accident. Perhaps, to present concrete cases, in order to get the water out of a boat, they will not remove a plank that makes the operation difficult; if a riverside tree impedes navigation, they cut it so badly that the passage remains even more difficult, etc. This impression of intellectual obtuseness, nevertheless, will be lessened if we realize that he performs the work with disprejudice and disinterest.

/141/ 3) Fantasy or imagination.

• 154 A faculty highly developed in the native is the imagination. One easily understands why he is like that, since he lacks the control of a more highly developed and educated intelligence, having, on the contrary, a spirit animated by incoherent and even absurd childish legends and beliefs, and living in an environment of majestic and almost crushing
154 solitude. Many of their conversations in the long hours, idle during the day and dull at night, deal with legends, apparitions,
521 and spells. For this reason they always have their imaginations stimulated. Only in this way is it to be explained how they can see in some strange rocks similarities with plants, tools, etc., similarities that, even when warned, we could not perceive. It is enough to mention a rock of the cachoeira de Uaracapá, almost at the mouth of the river Papuri, presented as "a banana tree" and in which we only see one of those common rocks that rise out of the water.

Their incoherent conversations, their incomplete narrations, denounce someone who supplies his own fantasy and leaves room for the fantasy of the listeners. Sometimes when we want fast and practical information (for example, about a road, a cachoeira, a distance), we ask a native interpreter to ask another. They will talk 10 or 15 minutes between themselves, and at the end of that time our interpreter will say that

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154 521 he does not know, that he does not understand his tribal brother. We understand, then, that from imperfect narrations, in which emphatic gestures and noises from the mouth supply words and ideas, will appear misunderstandings, alteration of the narrator's thought, variation in the reports and in the tales.

154 825 When we manage to get some native to talk to us spontaneously, with intimacy, we verify that this man who seems to us well-balanced, of little impressionability, that alumnus or alumna of the missionary schools, with an appearance of one almost civilized, not only has a head burdened with so many exotic legends and strange beliefs, but he even hears and sees with impressive frequency apparitions, voices, words, mysterious sayings. It surprises us at times to hear from the lips of young men and women, with many years of contact with civilization, perhaps even of life in cities such as Manaus, the strangest tales of visions that they had, in full daylight, in their hut or in the clearing, on the road, on a trip: voices, sayings that they heard, unbelievable events, fabulous or legendary, that they are sure of having witnessed, giving us place, time, names of persons (for example, that they saw Wīx'ti, Boraró, etc.: persons who have changed, or who periodically change, into /142/ animal, anta, piraboto /dolphin/, who spend days, weeks, and even months in the depths of the water, etc.) (6).

6. We have been consulted by young men and women who have been through the Mission schools and who asked us with all conviction: -- "How is it possible for people to turn into a dolphin?" "to turn into an anta?" Patrícia Vasconcelos, for example, in October of 1955 told us the following as a fact about which she has absolute certainty. So-and-So of the Taryana tribe, from the povoado of Ararípirá (Uaupés) and former student of the Mission of Iauareté, married a Tukano youth who has already worked several times in Taracuá and

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*[192]

/142 cont./

/footnote 6 cont./ other Missionary centers. Another young man wanted to have her as his wife and, in revenge, one time while walking through the forest with her husband (this around 1952), gave him a leaf of pirá-yawára-pĩrĩ (plant of the dolphin, Patricia explained to us) to touch. One day "the husband became different," "he became like a dolphin" (that is, breathing like the dolphin does on top of the water), and he finally dove into the Rio Negro there in Tapurucuara (formerly S. Isabel). He stayed in the water a whole day. The dolphins pushed him toward the land, and he "became a person" again. Several times "he has tumed into a dolphin." The wife of the unhappy young man herself is the one who told her these episodes, and she cries a great deal because of this misfortune.

829 On one side, the reserve of the native before the civilized, because he knows that the latter does not understand him or believe in such tales, and perhaps will even scold or ridicule him, and, on the other side, the desire to seem civilized will make him remain silent about all this to the "white" who travels among them, in order that he will not notice this trait of the psychology of the Indian.

154 Perhaps it will not be an exaggeration to present as a general trait of the native psychology this superexcitability of the fantasy. Maybe one should even qualify it as confused and establish it as a deviation from normality, if we make a comparison with that of the civilized.

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• 154 We tend to believe that the imagination of the man from these forests, listening to the narration of some of his legends, starts reconstructing and reliving it, enriching it with scenes and details, in proportion to the incoherence and the omissions of the narrator. Even more, we have the conviction that in some cases an image or scene (desired or hated) that passed through the imagination of the Indian ends up by being transformed into a reality for him; the imagined is converted by him into the real, into the true. Thus we have explained, for example, how reports and information without any foundation arise (with such frequency that one does not even take them into account), and which the events themselves come to belie (7).

7. Here are some examples of this exaggerated impressionability or excitability of the Indian, and of how they manage to convince themselves of the reality of a mere fancy. Nor does this cause surprise among students of psychology and parapsychical phenomena.

The Mission launches that bring supplies to the several centers travel periodically. It is certain that their noise can be perceived at a great distance, thanks to the silence of the solitude and the direction /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original text/ of the wind. They not only hear the noise when there is no launch on the way, but they assert that indeed it is in a specific locality, or even that it was left there overnight by some native who was navigating during the night. We verified one of these cases in June of 1956. Coming from Iauareté, as we were arriving in Urubucuara the Indians of the locality informed us that the launch had already arrived two days ago in Taracuá, where an Indian (from the povoado Cigarro), who

/142 cont./

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/footnote 7 cont./ had come from Taracuá the night before, had seen it. In reality there was no launch at all in Taracuá; the first one, coming from S. Gabriel, appeared three days after our arrival in Taracuá.

Cf. also Koch Grünberg's information about the noise of the Jurupari in Ipanoré (VII, 4, e (2 a) /see p. 508/).

We found ourselves in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) in August of 1956. The local sanitary conditions were good, but the sailors from the launch alarmed the population with news of cases of whooping cough and measles in Taracuá (about 300 kilometers away). Then there appeared the news, without any foundation, that the Director of a third missionary center, Iauareté, had written to the one at Parí for him to send the boarding-school children back to their homes. Now that missionary to whom the receipt and the reading of the imaginary letter (in the absence of the Director at Parí) were attributed knew nothing about it. In turn, the boarding-school girls of the Mission (a little over one hundred), talking to one of the Irmãs Professôras /Teacher Sisters/, informed her: "As soon as the Director of the Mission arrives from his trip, the students, boys and girls, will be sent to their povoados." -- "How did you find this out?" asks the Irmã. -- The girls answer her immediately: -- "It was the Irmã Diretora /Sister Director/ who gave the information." Now the Irmã Diretora of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ not only had not spoken to anyone about this subject, but she had not even thought about it.

and nevertheless they are believed every time they appear.

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shout *hi i i i* and are answered by the audience. The men start dancing alone and finish dancing alone. Dancers of the host sib begin their dance in the house and may sally out onto the plaza, an extension of the house, and then dance back in. Guests, on the other hand, begin their dance formation on the plaza, move into the house, and conclude on the plaza. 574 535 [614]

The Cubeo regard women as disruptive elements at a drinking party. They have cause to do so, since it is the women who are encouraged by the character of the dancing to make the overtures of flirtatiousness. Women choose their partners and men maintain an air of innocence. A woman's sexual forwardness goes beyond that. Young girls and many married women wear love charms in their hair at a drinking party. This is nothing more than a colorful blossom that declares that a woman would like to attract the interest of a man. The Indians themselves are not [illegible]re whether the blossom, which they call *chondú* (*pedidya* i[illegible] has inherent qualities as a love charm—a serious woman has truly powerful love charms that she uses secretly—or is merely provocative symbolically. In any case a man cannot be blamed if *chondú* provokes him. The use of *chondú* adds intensity to the atmosphere of a drinking party as effectively as do chicha, coca, tobacco, *mihí*, and dancing. Whether or not *chondú* is an official ingredient it is hard to say. The men speak of it as a feminine provocation. Yet if one looks at the drinking party in its inevitable progression from calm to frenzy it seems that, whether it is an official ingredient or not, it fits. Just as the counterpoint of male and female is part of everyday community life, so the more intensely experienced counterpoint of male and female is exploited for its frenzy-producing quality. 574 562 832 [535]

A married woman should not wear *chondú*, but a man cannot stop his wife from displaying her interest in other men. He then excuses her by saying she does it only to look pretty and keeps a wary eye on his brother sib and phratry mates. For the unmarried girls *chondú* is formal wear, even though the only man whose eye it might catch is likely to be a sister's husband or a forbidden phratry mate. Curiously, unmarried girls are often even more provocative by not wearing *chondú*. This is arrogance that says, "I am not interested in the men here." A married woman may wear *chondú* only to tease her husband in a lighthearted way. Understanding this he is even delighted. She may do so, on the other hand, to irritate him. The rule of sober everyday life is to avoid quarrels and issues. The drinking party roils up feelings to the point where what has been latent erupts forcefully into the open. If emotional catharsis is a "function" 574 832 [593] [154]

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574 232 154 of the *unkúndye* then it should be said that it is the women who supply the charge that explodes the emotions and issues into the open.

574 562 154 Because they are so much in the background during everyday life, compartmentalized in the manioc garden as in the house itself, women are strongly stimulated by the social heterogeneity of the *unkúndye* as by the inherent excitement of drinking, dancing, noise, and close body contact. The women's responsiveness seems to be spontaneous from the very beginning of the drinking party, whereas the men groom their emotions by stages, until at the end they are responding with a spontaneity of their own. The spontaneous emotional excitement of the women feeds into the emotional pool, so to [231] speak, of the whole *unkúndye*. During the great mourning festival with its ritual eroticism this counterplay of men and their formal ceremoniousness and women and their emotional spontaneity leads finally to a unified response that is ceremony deeply charged with feeling. At the mourning ceremony this juxtaposition of male and female roles is very evident. And it is because of my observation of the mourning ceremonies that I have been led to see each drinking party in a similar fashion. In short, for the men the drinking party is collective and ritualistic; for the women it is individual and personal. In the end, these two roles are fused so that the aim of strong feeling within a formal setting is achieved. Perhaps it would be better to say overachieved, since the jealous quarrels that women provoke are sometimes serious, splitting sibs from one another and antagonizing close sibmates.

574 578 Every drinking party that I ever attended ended in a quarrel. All quarrels were sexual, either provoked directly by jealousy or by disparaging remarks about a man's virility. The quarrels may lead to minor violence and may have no consequences. Sometimes, however, they stir up unexpectedly deep layers of feeling. A fresh affront recalls earlier offenses. These are aired. Before long the disputants have brought out a tangle of charges and countercharges revealing long smoldering issues. Men start a quarrel over an accusation of adultery. One man then comments that the father of the other had once said that he would not mind if his, the complainant's, sib were to die out. It is a remark of this nature that suddenly and chillingly transforms a simple quarrel into a later suspicion and then open accusation of sorcery, should someone sicken on either side.

The quarreling of men sounds more violent than it really is. If they are content to merely pummel one another with their fists there is little interference except that the women fret anxiously. Should they reach for dangerous weapons they are restrained and content

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themselves with an exchange of vituperation. Brothers will defend one another, as well as sibmates, so that a quarrel is difficult to isolate. The men listen to the vituperation and, far from regarding what is said as meaningless drunken chatter, draw implications that may involve them. What began as a quarrel between only two men over one man's wife can become a maloca-wide brawl. Then the sibs taunt one another, each reviling the other's weaknesses and calling attention to its own strength. It may all come to nothing. A diplomatic elder calms tempers; the headmen remember their obligations to preserve the peace at drinking parties. Some disputants have enough sense of humor to laugh. It can all blow over quickly and will then have served as another way in which feelings are lightened, provided the sinister specter of sorcery has not been drawn in.

The following is an example of a quarrel at a drinking party. A man began to beat his wife because she was dancing too often with the same man. The latter remonstrated and soon he and the angry husband came to blows. The bystanders remarked that the husband's jealousy was unwarranted. Encouraged by these remarks, the woman's father got angry and attacked his son-in-law with his fists. The son-in-law did not defend himself, whereupon the old man calmed down and proceeded to explain to those present that his daughter's conduct was altogether proper. At this point the wife became enraged, and flinging herself upon her now pacified husband, pummeled him soundly on the back with her fists. Since he did not strike back her fury subsided and this incident blew over.

However, another young man who had been witnessing this violent flurry began in a tearful voice to inform his audience that his wife was having an affair with a phratry mate of his. He named the woman's lover, who was present, but for the moment said nothing. The accused's father, however, jumped quickly to his son's defense, shouting that the charges against his son were false. The jealous husband turned upon the old man and shouted at him angrily, "You are already an old man. It is time you were dead!" At this, the accused man rushed forward, livid with fury. In a hoarse voice he shouted to the assembly, "Did you hear? He is planning to kill my father." But the jealous husband was already beyond calming down. Instead he shouted back that the sib of the accused adulterer was weak and few in numbers, whereas his own sib was strong. With these ominous remarks this incident closed, for the time being. All felt that the outraged husband had gone too far. No further remarks

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765 for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented
534 at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never
114 mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted,
769 refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since
[773] Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first
786 three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common
[154] purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual
[536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate
765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however,
266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion
[775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the sub-
[614] stance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual
562 role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritual-
[786] ized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the
765 beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as
[776] well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimalwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep.

## FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly.

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the *óyne*. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Hehénewa* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough.

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly.

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The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All the dead of the sibs of a river are joined together. While the individual spirit has his sib identity, the sibs do not exist in the afterlife as social entities. The *habóků* of the dead is *Mavitcikori*, grandson of *Djurédo*, an Ancient of the *Órobawa* and of other high-ranking sibs such as the *Hehénewa*, who was the first headman at Uaracapuri. However, the Cubeo have no great interest in speculating about the life of the spirits of the dead, since, except for the Ancients, they have no formal relationship with them. With the dead, the point is to break the bonds, and for this reason alone Cubeo speculation about the spirits of the dead is at best a moderate one. I have already related the story of the woman who, having died and been buried, returned to her husband and pleaded with him to take her back. It is said that if the husband had accepted her she would really have come to life, but that because he drove her away people who die remain dead.

In Freudian theory, fear of the dead is a projection of ambivalent feelings toward the living. From this point of view one would have to assume, most incorrectly, that the Cubeo are markedly lacking in the ambivalences of love and hate. The Cubeo attitude of neutrality toward the spirits of the dead is due rather to the fact that they attribute almost all misfortune to active human agency. If one is to look for evidences of ambivalence in Cubeo feelings toward kin the proper source is in the imputation of sorcery and not in the attitudes toward ghosts.

## THE CONCEPT OF POWER

An important concern of all instrumental, as distinct from ethical, religions is power, the grasp of power and its control and manipulation. Power, to be sure, is valued for its direct application to common human interests in food, safety, and the overcoming of enemies, to name but a few, but it would be rash to underestimate the sheer attractiveness of power acquired and power used for its own sake. In Cubeo religious thought, too, power is both instrumental and compelling in its own right. In keeping with the moderate role of power in social and political life, however, the power theme in religion is a muted one. The Cubeo do not attribute to anyone, man or supernatural being, grandiose powers. If anything, the Cubeo are rather conscious of the limitations of power. We have seen this in how little power they attribute to the Ancients. *Kiawi* is a more telling illustration of the point, for this being ordinarily fails when he is truly manipulating power, while his successes are in the ordinary relations

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Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry
the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. 571
The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict 578
that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pa- 614
thology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized 154
and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly re-
sentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to
exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these stand-
ards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are
unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a
brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a 571
more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its
natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in 614
Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. 578
That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indi-
cated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between
brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal
with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the [622]
prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punish- [627]
ments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only
with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either
soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the diffi-
culty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The [626]
function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to
ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to
overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the
issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be
restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not
an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib
fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, com-
posed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or
with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by drain-
ing away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the
disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves
in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse senti-
ment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well [622]
equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood 571
brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. 614
The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. Yet 593
this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is 621
spotted with social "ions," free-floating men who, with their wives

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urihana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

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[157] Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the in-
[515] fant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early
[296] afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo
[252] child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

854 An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I
155 once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow
[853] log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtu-
[853] ally impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to
[831] make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's
000 genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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574 He is, however, hospitable. When some tribal irmão
*[192] /brother/, or even an Indian from another tribe, arrives at the maloca, he at once presents to him beijú and quinhapira /a fish dish/, and, if there is any, also manicuera, bacaba, or some other drink. The "white" can likewise help himself liberally to everything.

156 14) Envy.

Envy is one of the vices that mar their character; they do not even take care to disguise it. Anyone who begins to distinguish himself because of his talents, becomes an object of the envy of the others, and he soon is afflicted by fear of some malefice from the others. A Tukano man, having acquired some planks with his work in the Mission of Pari-Cachoeira, started to make a hut with more luxury and comfort. The others at once threatened to poison him, and he found himself forced to abandon everything and run away. The same worm of envy is already great in the children. The ones who learn Portuguese more easily, win good marks, and are praised inexplicably become slack and decline. It was out of fear of the envy of the others. At the time of the /153/ school awards, it can not be specified that this is the first prize and is for So-and-So; or to reward only a few. It is imperative to give awards to all, being satisfied with calling first those with greater merit and letting them choose. The Directress gave a pair of shoes to one of the young women who worked in the Mission. She hardly used them once. "Why don't you wear the shoes any more?" -- "The others insult me" was the answer.

829 15) Theft.
577 Suffering so strongly the sting of envy, it is not surprising that he presents another weak point: the tendency to steal. Resistance perhaps against the "white," whom he always considers superior and rich, he readily seizes (even outside of the

/157 cont./

593 888 Cases in which they buried their old parents alive are cited (28).

28. There was shown to us in Uaracapá (river Papurí), upon leaving the povoado, the place where the hammock of a sick old man had been tied between two branches. And they had not only turned him out of the house in this condition, but also left him there in the open, without assistance or resources. As soon as he had died, they dug a grave under the hammock, cut the ropes of the old hammock, which fell, with the cadaver, into the hole, and covered /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ it irregularly with earth, as we could see in November of 1953. In June of 1954 an old Taryana about 70 or 80 years of age, shivering with cold, was found in the port of Iauareté. We do not know how he got there. Taken to the hospital in serious condition, he was laid on a hammock, given medicine, and had a hot water bottle applied (to replace the fire that they always use under the hammock). Days later, feeling well, he was questioned about where he came from. He interrupted immediately, saying that he did not want to go back to his house, because he was mistreated there by the children.

[764]

We were informed about a Taryana from Pinú-pinú (river Uaupés) who mistreated and several times even spanked his own father, who was from Iauareté.

156 571 At least while they are living in their own environment, they cling together among themselves, even among individuals of a different tribe, more than /158/ with a civilized person. There is not, however, any sign of particular friendship among

156 /158 cont./
571 them: one notices the same treatment for all. It is still the group spirit that atrophies the individual impulses. The reciprocal envy and the fear of poisoning that torment them do not allow the feelings of friendship to flourish among them. They are always afraid of one another. Some of them would like to open up more with the civilized, and in some cases they do when they are alone. He will become reserved, however, as soon as another Indian appears. One has the impression that they are afraid of appearing as a friend of the white.

648 Nor is there any evidence of the existence of gratitude in
156 his heart, especially toward the civilized. Although he appears friendly, speaking to them with expansiveness and intimacy, he never gives thanks for the favors received; he does not even show acknowledgement of them, even in cases of extraordinary benefits, and even of the true and heroic devotion of the Missionary or of the Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/. He does not approach him to offer any gift as a sign of gratitude, or even say a tender word of thanks. It is not reported either that among his fellow tribesmen he is concerned about showing gratitude for the benefits received from the white. One can affirm that the cordiality that they show toward the civilized is always inspired by self-interest, and the supposition of lack of attention on the part of the white is enough to make the manifestations of that cordiality disappear.

18) Revenge-vengeance.

627 On the other hand, his instinct for revenge is strong. With
628 perfect control of himself, without the slightest outward sign or facial expression revealing his displeasure, the Indian accepts the greatest contrarieties. He does not, however, forget the
*[192] insults and the injustices, real or supposed, nor does he forgive
*[797] them (29).

29. It seems that the verb to forgive does not exist in the Tukano language. Out of the necessity for catechising, the Missionary sometimes uses the verb oxkó-boho, to forget. The

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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Aiari it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election – one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihi*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

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No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kenámi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yavi* or *pariékokü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yavi*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yavi*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvaiyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhókükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenddox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhókükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridkü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvaiyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenddox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

/146 cont./

123 /footnote 12 cont./ Tukano." The Tukano will also excuse himself: "I don't know." "But you are Tukano." -- "But those from such-and-such a place pronounce it better than I do."

/147/ He is, as a rule, reserved; he does not like to divulge his illnesses, nor his legends and customs. On this point the men are even more reserved than the women, from whom one can obtain information with less difficulty, with the promise of presents.

8) Volubility and inconstancy.

• 157 If we except the prescriptions of the tribal laws, to which, it seems, he finds himself perfectly and passively adapted, as for the rest the Indian enjoys great autonomy. From childhood, especially for those of the male sex, he can follow his fancy. Great tenacity of will then is not to be expected in the native. One can not count on him for a job always the same, for example, to make daily meteorological observations or the connection of an electrical generator. They are very voluble, both the men and the women. They do not adapt to doing the same job indefinitely, although what they themselves choose is more acceptable to them. One can not, then, strictly speak of a profession of carpenter, tailor, sawyer, etc. in referring to some Indian. He might have some knowledge or practice concerning such a trade. But, when under the stimulus of an interest in acquiring some object he is disposed to work, not only is it a matter of indifference to him if he sits down at a sewing machine, serves as a sailor or oarsman, or does any other service, but he himself will ask to leave a job and go to another, quite different one.

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10) Patience.

He is a man of extreme patience. How useful it would be if this quality of his could be channeled into so many sectors of our civilization! It is documented by those jobs which require not only hours, but sometimes days, months, or years of work and attention, such as the preparation of the tucum and of a net, the making of a canoe with the stone ax and fire, or to pierce regularly a sarabatana /blowgun/ or a stone of amorphous quartz (see VII -- 3, d (2) ) with the help of a stick and very fine sand. In a canoe he endures a rain for hours on end, or a scorching sun the whole day, without a word of complaint.

We never saw him fight (except when already drunk) or show impatience and protest against another Indian, although the occasions for it were superabundant. For example, to complain about a companion, because his indolence forces him to work harder. If he walks bent under a heavy load, and another Indian is blocking his way, he does not yell for him to move, but will patiently go around, taking a longer route.

11) Shyness.

157

Before the civilized, whose superiority he recognizes and feels, he always shows docility. Never an open revolt; although he not infrequently fails to do what he told him to do. Rare are the episodes of joining together for a reprisal (14).

> 14. Some few episodes are recalled, but all of them were when the civilized violated some tribal custom or practiced true injustices or cruelty...

It is to be noted that, if the civilized asks him for a favor, he will perhaps answer with "I do not want to." If he is ordered in a categorical way, however, the Indian obeys and even cheerfully. Positive orders are more in accord with his spirit.

/150 cont./

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/footnote 15 cont./ him one of these Béxkana /sic/ dead or alive. Some came to affirm that they had indeed seen them, one would go so far as to say that he had killed several of them, but he could not have any corpse, because their companions took their dead...

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*[192]

His fear of poisonings or spells (dohasé) and of the spirits (wãx'tỹã) is especially great. Out of fear of these, for any reason, he will go at night into the forest.

12) Carelessness.

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Perhaps the relative ease with which they get or manufacture whatever they need makes them careless of things and tools, especially those of the civilized, letting them become damaged or lost, without paying any attention to their value or necessity. Many times the traveler must draw the attention of the Indian in order for him not to lose, break, or render useless an implement. There is, however, one thing which they are tenderly zealous about: the ornaments for the dances, kept in a case ad hoc, in a safe place. Since they consider clothing and other attire an ornament, they ordinarily take good care of them. And one notices some carelessness only in those who can easily get other clothes from the civilized.

13) Profit and gain.

Some of his faults attract the attention of the civilized. He is extraordinarily selfish (16).

16. Even in the service of God they want to know whether he will give them gifts, if he will give feasts, ribbons, and garments. A little girl once asked the Directress if there are fish in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Directress said no. The child added at once: "Then I don't want to go there."

/161 cont./

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20) Pride.

Their pride is equivalent to their vanity. They never recognize their own mistake. At the least word that sounds to them like a scolding, they lock themselves up in muteness; and the child will act badly out of spite. There are cited cases in which, at a simple scolding by the civilized, they left and spent years without reappearing.

They are excessively pleased over praise; it is the means that the educators use in order to stimulate them to study and to work. If by chance the child is corrected at school because he made a mistake in reading, he lowers the book and will not read any more. He never asks questions in class, even when he does not understand and is invited to ask for an explanation. On the other hand, he laughs with delight when others, especially the white, makes a mistake (stumbles, falls down, does not know how to tie a hammock, etc.).

They are haughty about their own qualities and are pleased when they are praised. Even with their deep-rooted beliefs, they readily assimilate our civilization in its material elements, and even when they return to their maloca they imitate what they saw the civilized do. Deep within them they attribute the superiority of the latter to the resources that the Indian does not have at his disposal and "because they have learned from others." These are the two reasons (so they think) that they cannot accomplish everything that the civilized make, be it even an electric generator, a motor for boats, or an airplane.

Deep within them there seems to be rooted the conviction that the civilized is the one who requires them, since he came as far as their lands; and they do not require the /162/ civilized (35).

35. During the last war, the difficulties of supplying the missionary centers grew. One of the Superiors of the Mission thought it prudent to warn the natives that it was not the ill-will of the Missionaries, but the

/162 cont./

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/footnote 35 cont./ difficulties of the epoch (lack of resources, of transportation, etc.) that inflicted want of some things that they had been receiving, for instance, salt. And he heard this comment from a tuxaua: -- "You, the whites, are the ones who are going to suffer with this; we do not miss them."

And similar thoughts are difficult to correct, because they neither accept nor follow the reasoning of the civilized. And, in reality, the white who travels through these regions cannot dispense with the Indian's work (to guide him, to row, to transport cargo, etc.). And since the period of the discoveries, and in a special way in these last years, traders go up to fetch Indians for the work on the seringals and piassava grounds of the lower Rio Negro or seringals of Colombia. Before the majestic and savage nature of these regions, it is natural that the civilized person feels and manifests a feeling of timidity and inadaptation, which will confirm the Indian in his conviction of his own superiority.

When he is transported to one of our cities, quite far from his tribal brothers and from his native river, this same feeling of inadaptation and timidity will, with greater facility, cause the Indian to attach himself, with faithfulness and perhaps true affection, to the civilized man with whom he lives and for whom he works.

829

The native who is educated in the Mission schools considers himself "white" and tries to imitate the civilized. They do not like us to call them "índios" (36);

36. The more civilized among them say at times: -- "I am not from the Uaupes," as equivalent to "I am not an Indian." They commonly reserve the name of Indian for those of the Maku tribe.

one must say: "your tribe," "your nation." There is in all of

/163 cont./

273 the odor from afar. In order to avoid reprimands, they hide the bottles on the bottom of the river, from where they remove them when they want to drink their alcoholic contents.

261 They are particularly gluttonous over sweets (39);

> 39. The tuxauas, povoado chiefs, themselves appeared satisfied with a piece of candy; and not infrequently even a candy ball is divided up, or it passes through more than one mouth. With some caramels and cigarettes, they considered themselves well paid for the work of letting themselves be measured.

they also appreciate salt very much, and even the bitter salt (sodium sulphate) itself, provided as a medicine. Salt is an article that they are always seeking.

32) /sic/ Ingenuity and cheerfulness.

• 157 Moreover he possesses an assemblage of natural virtues and enviable qualities. We have already indicated some; let us also point out others. Among the fine qualities of the native one notices his charming ingenuity. Simple, frank, even when he is telling the most disagreeable episodes, and he always does it with terms of the crudest realism. A strangely natural ingenuity in conversation and especially in composure, even when, judging by the previous facts, one is certain that it covers malice.

He is a cheerful individual. He laughs with the greatest of ease, and for any reason whatsoever he bursts out in great, prolonged, and typical hearty laughs. The laugh is not only a response to the ridiculous or to the humorous, but to every pleasant surprise (40).

> 40. An Indian woman, questioned about the reason for so many and such prolonged laughs, explained that it was because they loosen the

/163 cont./

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/footnote 40 cont./ cigarette smoke over the several parts of the body. It seems to be a common custom when the woman is lying in the hammock to rest during the day.

Long before daybreak, from three or four o'clock in the morning, laughs can be heard in the maloca, and until ten or eleven at night. They are a happy race; in their /164/ maloca one can hear much laughter and almost no crying. The children themselves cry less than their little brothers of civilization (41):

[797]

41. In the children taken into the Mission boarding schools, and even in the small children who are sons and daughters of alumni and raised in the shadow of the Missions, one observes with more frequency and for a longer time habitual crying and shrieking.

crying that lasts a few moments.

152

23) Stoicism.

The Indian is an absolutely perfect type of the stoic and greatly surpasses the ancient Greek philosophers. Man of the present, the future does not worry him. He does not save for tomorrow; he trusts that tomorrow nature will be as favorable to him or more so than today, and he will also work tomorrow. In privation he knows how to suffer hunger with serene tranquility. He does not even think about future pain. The secret of his tranquility and constant good humor rests on this state of mind. As for the rest, he easily endures suffering; he will not moan, however intense his pains may be (42).

42. During our frequent visits to the malocas and to the native povoados, many times, with our admiration, we have found individuals, not only adults, but also children, enduring

/292 cont./

515 They are ignorant of the use of handkerchiefs, cleaning the nose with the fingers, which afterwards are rubbed against some part of the body.

[854] The mother, or another woman, with her own hands, attends to the cleaning of her baby, and afterwards, in order to clean herself, is satisfied with shaking her hand to one side and rubbing it on the ground or against some plant.

3. The arts.

• 157 In the complex of works that the forest dwellers execute, they not only reveal splendid aptitudes, rare ability, and other qualities already mentioned elsewhere, but also particular artistic tendencies which are begging our civilization for more opportunities to develop (47).

[857] 47. With a knife improvised out of a piece of the metallic binding that goes around the crates of merchandise, the child produces canoes, and now even small airplanes, in wood.

The house that he builds, with all its furnishings, -- stools, ceramics, woven goods, canoes, weapons, hunting and fishing gear, baskets, -- reveal, besides the stability and sturdiness required for the purpose for which they are intended, an over-all harmony, a proportion of the parts, a finish in the details, which give a pleasing impression. In all there is revealed a notable artistic sense which should be considered in detail in its threefold manifestation: woven products, designs, music.

a) Woven products.

286 Among the works of weaving, we have already called to mind the nets /Port. rede, net, hammock/ for sleeping and for fishing. But particularly in the rede batida /beaten hammock/ (which seems to be of European origin) and in the puericueio /a covering that hangs from the waist/, Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro (see below - d (1) ), the native woman shows her artistic taste and skill. In the Yaxkẽ

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142 oped: heads of the brachycephalic type; though I have noticed cases of extreme dolichocephalic variations. Teeth are generally poor.

147 Dr. Rice also commented on the capacity of the Cubeo Indians for great exertion on a minimum of food and rest. I can corroborate this judgment. I accompanied Indians on canoe trips when we paddled for as long as 17 consecutive hours with little rest or nourishment other than a handful of manioc meal in water. There was usually no urgent necessity for such exertion or privation. The Indians cus-
[484] tomarily eat lightly when traveling, and if there is any chance of
[261] reaching home rather than camping out or imposing upon the hospitality of another sib they prefer to keep going. However, it was not unusual for strong young men to topple from their canoes in a dead faint upon reaching home. Revived by the river they scrambled
• [157] ashore, secured the canoe, and entered the house with the appropriate vigorous air, effectively concealing their acute fatigue. It is in fact characteristic of the Cubeo to make light of their accomplishments and not to yield readily to physical weakness.

114 Ethnographically, the Northwest Amazon was first fully brought to light by Dr. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, ethnographer and museum collector. Koch-Grünberg's systematic survey of the region at the turn of the century covered all main tribes and their settlements along the principal rivers. He spent many weeks on the Cuduiarí among the *Hehénewa* sibs of the Cubeo, and ascended the Cuduiarí to the limits of its habitation (1909). His published reports are invaluable even though he never stayed long enough in one place to get a deep grasp of the culture. He was, however, an excellent observer and reported
114 fully on language, custom, and material culture. I did not read Koch-
127 Grünberg before going to the field so that my observations are totally independent. It is a source of satisfaction, therefore, that our observations agree closely on most details. Koch-Grünberg's information was deficient on social structure and ceremonial patterns. It is in these two respects that my study represents a carrying forward of the work he so ably began. I have drawn freely upon his published works to fill in gaps in my own information on the Cubeo and of course for the rich data on surrounding Tucanoan, Arawakan, and Cariban tribes.
114 His was the pioneering survey of the entire region, whereas mine is a relatively limited study of a single community. Koch-Grünberg died among the Indians of the Northwest Amazon in 1924, his ethnographic work prematurely cut off.

The first scientific observer to report on the Indians of the Vaupés was Alfred Russell Wallace (1870), who was there in 1853. While his interests were mainly those of the naturalist, he found Indian life to

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361 Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-
554 tain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or en-
• [157] couraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they
[123] did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the
342 new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one require-
361 ment of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with
622 him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines
768 of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new ma-
loca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change
at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the
victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a
361 fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations.
244 At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to
768 ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is
moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the
old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transi-
tional period when the community is actually working both clearings.
The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until
they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they
will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old
*chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

361 The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to
[311] circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some
15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again.
Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the
forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally
dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later
moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiari and the
Querari. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this
361 connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or
614 along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs
554 occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely
associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks
deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong oc-
cupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or
by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become
dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites
and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Gia-
361 cone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (refer-
554 ring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only
along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*rekil*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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622 692 No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

622 614 574 273 156 Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habóků* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kendmi upáků*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party. [554] [47K]

622 614 571 578 156 The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman. [157]

622 648 156 The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well. [614]

600 There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urúhana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

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[157]

Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the infant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

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An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtually impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yaví* or *pariékokü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yaví*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yaví*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvalyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhókükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenádox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhókükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridkü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvalyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenádox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

/269 cont./
761 person who longs for death (17).

17. "I want to die," said one of these old men to Pe. Antônio Giacone, "because my teeth are tired of chewing." Pe. João Marchesi related to us the details of the only case of suicide that he had heard of. A Taryana Indian from the povoado called Cigarro, river Uaupés, violently inebriated by the caxirí, threw his own wife down on the ground and ill-treated her until he killed her. Afterwards he lay in the hammock and fell asleep. While he slept, the relatives and other persons buried the body. The murderer, upon awakening in the morning, called for his wife to prepare the mingau for him. They then told him how he himself had killed her the night before. The murderer, without saying anything to anyone, took his canoe and went to a nearby igarapé. Some hours later the canoe was found bubuiando (floating at the mercy of the stream) and, inside, some pieces of timbo and a cuia still dirty with timbo juice. The poor man squeezed and drank the poisonous juice of that plant and, perhaps in the convulsions of the agony, fell in the water and drowned.

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756 2) The Xamã /shaman/ or Yaí.

*[192] The pajé or Yaí is, therefore, the doctor and at the same time Xamã /shaman/ (that is, a magician or sorcerer). Only men can be pajé.
[562]

/270/ a) His powers.

His powers are many. In the first place, to neutralize the malefice cast upon a sick person and thus cure him. He can even make individuals invulnerable to sicknesses.

/465 cont./

562 The social power of the tuxaua being thus attenuated and
622 with this native democratic mentality, it is to be inferred that
there would be no repugnance toward a female Tuxaua. There
• 159 is mentioned the example of Caridade (or Carí, according to
562 the common designation) from the Tukano tribe, who exercised
622 the tuxauaship in Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), recognized
by all and in very singular circumstances, because she succeeded
her brother Estevão, who, upon his death, left two sons (100).

100. Carí previously had been a prostitute in S. Gabriel on the Rio Negro and never married. It was not possible to verify whether her ascendancy had an origin of such an order. It would be a problem similar to that of the Hetaerae. Or whether, on the contrary, as seems more probable, it was due to her intelligence, by being a very shrewd woman with the advantage of knowing Portuguese well.

/466/ The situation of Cari can perhaps be explained by her having lived for a long time with the civilized in such a way that she was considered such, being, on the other hand, the daughter of the old and esteemed tuxaua (101).

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101. In Piracuara there were some misunderstandings between Colombians and natives. The Colombian authorities ordered the maloca destroyed, and Cari was manacled, as well as the local pajé. Some time later Pe. João Marchesi, who furnished us this information, was called in order religiously to assist Cari, who appeared in good spirits, in her hour of death.

/466 cont./

622 f) Government and justice.

Even in olden times the tuxaua's power was tempered by the power of the heads of each family, which, as we said, is autonomous regarding its normal life, its trading, its clearing, etc.

622 It was, likewise, moderated by the ascendancy of the Komĩã,
623 the "Elders," who still today preside over the dances, take part in the giving of the name to the child, in the initiation of the young men, practice the "blowing," etc. The "Elders" constituted a true Council or Senate of the Tuxaua, the Bũxkõrã-kurã; and even today continue with such function and choose the new tuxaua.

622 The absolute chiefs have always been an exception, which sometimes provoked reaction by his subordinates (102).

• [159] [648]

102. José, Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, died poisoned by those of his maloca; properly speaking, by his second wife, a Tuyuka, with the connivance of the other inhabitants of the maloca. During the time of the encarregado dos índios /Indian Agent/ Higino Albuquerque, of the SPI, José exercised in truth a despotic power: he forced the Indians to work for some of the civilized, thrashed the women so that they would make the flour more quickly, etc.

797 Among all the tribes of the Uaupés a democratic regime has always
622 been in force. It is remembered, however, that some tuxauas, in contracting for service with the whites, -- one of the functions of
648 the tuxauaship, -- demanded payment without work, or even keeping almost everything for themselves and distributing little to the others, so that the natives came to ask the Missionary to make the distribution of the payment to them himself.

627 The administration of justice, in the strict sense, does not fall to the tuxaua. There is not even a judiciary or customary penal Law. The questions that arise among the components of the group are resolved among them under the dictates of reciprocal vengeance

*539 /131 cont./
be the first war, and Siópuri Uejké will make the first war, and Siópuri Uejké will have his country taken away from him. The Brazilians will take from him the country of Siópuri Uejké, and Siópuri Uejké will find another country toward the cordillera. After finding his country, Siópuri Uejké and his people will bury their bones in their country when they die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "And you and all your people will bury your bones in your country when you die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You too are going to make war. And that is going to be all right." And Yepá Huáke sustained the country of Yúpuri Baúro. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "When that war is over, Siópuri Uejké will come to your country and do not kill him. Then the Ereya (50)

50. The Brazilians.

will come, and you may kill the Ereya. And in this way you are going to learn to read and to write, and then you will put an end to your malocas" (51).

51. Put an end to the Tukano culture, that is, they will learn to live differently.

Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "I made this world for you. All the people will fight for three years, and in that way the world will end. It will rain and the world will burn and it will become dark." And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: /132/ "While they are fighting, you will not fight, because your tribe will come to an end before the war and the end of the world. After Siópuri Uejké and Ereya arrive in your land, you are only going to have one woman, and that woman will have only one child or two children, and the woman of your brother will not have children, and that is how the Tukano will end (52).

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• [161]

52. The Christian Missionary has prohibited

*539 [797] [595] [161] *539 582 583

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polygyny. Explanation for the constant diminution of the Tukano population.

And Siópuri Uejké and Ereya will command you. And they will have you as slaves and humiliated ones. I forbid the Tukano to take their woman from their own tribe, but they can get their woman from outside their tribe (53).

53. Obligatory exogamy exists in Tukano culture.

for example, a Yurutí or Tariana or Desana woman." And there were only three tribes from which the Tukano could get women. Yurutí, Tariano /Tariana/, and Desano /Desana/. And they did not fight with these tribes in order to get women, because a brother and sister of one tribe exchanged with a brother and sister of another tribe. And Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúroc "If you want to get a woman from another tribe that is not Yurutí, Tariano, or Desano, you will have to do it by fighting (54).

54. With any other tribe that is not the Yurutí, the Tairiano /sic/, and the Desano, the form of marriage is by abduction. During the abduction fights take place between the male relatives of the girl who is abducted and the committee of men who have come to get the wife for the bridegroom. This committee is formed by the male relatives of the bridegroom and the bridegroom does not take part in the abduction.

*539 And the first woman that you will get by fighting will be Tuyuca. Do not kill, just fight and take the woman. The second woman will be Uanana, and do not kill them either, just take the woman.

/66 cont./

000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

177 648 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Makú are [567] considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that, [648] according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis), and they themselves considered themselves such, serving without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana [554] groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some light on this curious practice.

• 161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same; or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

/67 cont./

842 b) An unquestionable fact is the fertility of the Indian woman. From the investigations made, there was reported to us only one instance of an individual's sending his wife back as sterile, the judgment, evidently, of the husband. In spite of the advantages or convenience of the Indian woman who does not want to have many children (and we have heard from their lips several times this declaration: "it is ugly to have many children"), and the practices that they use to space each delivery 2, 3, and even 4 or more years apart, the presence of numerous children in each povoado pleasantly surprises us. In our investigations we found a vigorous Indian man about 45 years of age, who had 11 children (24).

[171] 24. It is a matter of the Indian Agostinho Barbosa of the Taryana tribe, in Iauareté. It is true that in December of 1948 four of his 11 children had already died.

163 On one of our lists of individuals of various tribes, in the casual order in which the anthropometric measurements were made, 20 married people among men and women, of about 35 years of age or older, presented a total of 101 children. Therefore an average of 5 children per couple is shown. It is to be noted that only 18 dead children, without discrimi-
161 nation as to age, appear on this same list. If we imagine that all adults marry (ordinarily after 20 years of age) (25),

[587] 25. There was reported to us only the case of one man who did not find a wife; it is to be noted, however, that it was a matter of a widower.

and that the two sexes more or less correspond in number, it should be concluded that the population has

/67 cont./

161 increased (26).

26. With pleasure we found some of these opinions confirmed by the Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, from the end of the eighteenth century. In No. 208 of his "Noticias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/" he points out: "What indeed is worth noting is that there is not found among the central heathen the sickness that is called humores gallicos /French disease, syphilis/, according to what has been ascertained on the rivers Uaupé, Japurá, Juruá, Jutahí, and others, and because of that perhaps there is among them great propagation as daily experience shows; in any descimento /descent; see p. 35 / one sees double and triple the children of both sexes."

[164]

c) It might happen that one finds partially or even totally uninhabited a place that, years before, was flourishing. This fact per se does not authorize one to conclude that one is dealing with a decrease /68/ in population. There might have been migration to another place, as a consequence of there having been some epidemic or fight in the original povoado. It is true that there have been epidemic attacks of colds ("catarro, ehõ," says the Indian), measles (27),

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27. In August and September of 1956 successive attacks of whooping cough, measles, and malaria decimated approximately 200 natives on the rivers Uaupés, Papurí, and Tiquié.

or malaria (uhâke), which have decimated the population of one group or another. The sanitary assistance that the Salesian Missions are giving them has avoided such attacks or has reduced the danger of them.

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*701 The more noble subdivisions established themselves from Piracuara upwards (river Papurí), with a group of the Waú-ro coming down as far as Ananaz (Uaupés).

According to Frei Gregório's maps, in 1853 the Tukano on the river Uaupés lived in: Pacú-cachoeira, Iuquira-Rapecuma, S. Joaquim, Nanã-Rapecuma, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Iauareté-cachoeira. The first "Relatórios" of the eighteenth century (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, No. 174; "Diario" /Diary/ of Sampaio, No. 366) already report the presence of Índios Uaupés in S. Isabel, today Tapurucuá, in the middle Rio Negro. In fact, a Tukano group is still found in that vicinity.

161 According to Koch G. (Festschrift Eduard Seler, 206) the Tukano would come to 1,500 souls. They must, however, be rather more numerous. The statistics of Pelo Rio Mar report in Brazilian territory alone 1,622 individuals; and those of Colombian territory are equally numerous. It is possible that they exceed two thousand.

829 We have sketched the physical appearance of the Tukano (IV -- 1, a (1) ). The physical and spiritual qualities do not reveal any superiority over the other tribes. On the contrary, some of these present more delicate features and perhaps even a better configuration and anatomical proportions. Nevertheless, the Tukano, as we have already noted, considers himself /83/ superior to the other tribes and this primacy is peacefully granted [197] to him. The Missionaries explain this superiority by the fact that the other tribes accepted his language as the official, or at least general, idiom on these rivers. Logically the generalization of the idiom would be explained by the superiority of [173] the tribe. This inconsistency is to be pointed out: according to the Tukano tradition, they were defeated by the "Blood children of the Thunder," the Taryana, who finally accepted the Tukano language.

/89 cont./

*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People-Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyi-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká
[317] poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found
[323] there. Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent
[501] in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba,
[142] Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Iahre, 202).

[582] They do not marry the Desana.

[161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

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1. Sañõa-masã (water people? gossiping people?)
2. Yebá-masã
3. Roeá-masã (taraíra /a fish/ people)

/In the original text, the last two lines of p. 91 are repeated here, which is apparently a misprint and is omitted in the translation./

g) HANERA OR PANENÕÁ.

1) People-Name-Language. -- A type taller and slighter than the Tukano. A redder complexion, long face, delicate chin, high nose, wide forehead. [142]

Their idiom, which must be affiliated with the Tukano linguistic family (cf. Vocabulary, in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), presents this peculiarity: an initial aspirate (h, as we represent it in this work) appears in words in which the Tukano pronounces a p; for example: father, hakõ (Tukano pax-kõ), mother, hakó (Tukano, pax-kó), etc. This characteristic of their idiom explains to us the correspondence of their name in their own language, Hanẽra, and in the Tukano, Panenõá, or Parẽroá.

/93/ We know that they are connected by marriage with the Bará and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We have only seen a few individuals in passing by the maloca called Mosã-bhoá (mountain of the urucú) of the Bará, on the igarapé Uaracú-pirẽra, and in their maloca close to the mouth of the Timí-ya. They were unable to give us any information about the approximate number of individuals in their tribe. It seems that they do not exceed four hundred. At present they reside only in Colombian territory, on various igarapés on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná. [161]

[301] [439] The informants of the eighteenth century testify that it was from the Panenõá that the Taryana obtained by barter their ornaments of gold and silver (cf. II -- 3) and momõrõ Khwirí (VII -- 3, d).

/94 cont./

*101 The Ide-masã are in general less corpulent than the Tukano. Although of lighter complexion, somewhat pale, elongated face, high, slightly aquiline nose, not very prominent zygoma, almond-shaped eyes almost always light brown. The hair in general is dark or even black, fine, not lissotrichous; instead, many times even wavy.

[582] Tribal exogamy is in force among them. And we know that they are connected by marriage with the Tuyuka, Bará, [301] Emõa, Yebá, Bãtre, Roéra. Not only the women, but also the [304] men wear pierced ears with a small plug two to three millimeters in diameter, which keeps the orifice open.

A peculiarity of this tribe is the dances with masks. We had the opportunity to see the masks representing Waxtĩ and the [532] monkey. The one of Waxtĩ was a true white mask, made of bark, like a round face, with a long slit representing the mouth, a long and pointed nose, and, on the sides of the base of the nose, two slits, somewhat slanted, by way of eyes. The one that represented the monkey was a plain shirt of tururi, with a pointed part, like a hood, covering the head. In this hood there were two holes corresponding to the eyes and two points upwards representing ears.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They are found scattered over a very wide area: all the stream Comé-ia (stream of the iron or of the ax, in the Ide idiom Koméryaka, tributary of the left bank of the Pirá-paraná), the Miritĩ-paraná, Apapóris, and the Kamorĩ (which, according to indications by the same tuxáua, • [161] must be a tributary of the river Solimões). They seem to be quite numerous, that is, several hundreds. The number of divisions that the tribe presents seems to confirm this information.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian Hinõ (that is, snake), also known as Fernando, about 50 years old (in August of 1956), tuxáua of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hido (mouth of the igarapé of the spider), on the left bank of the Komé-ya, about 10 hours by canoe from the mouth.

/95 cont./

1) IHWANA OR YONA

*101 1) People-Name-Language. -- We were unable to find out for certain the meaning of the name Ihwana or Yona; it might be the name of a fish. The language is of the Tukano family, as is seen from the Vocabulary that we collected in the Wextá maloca on the Pirá-paraná near the mouth of the Komé-ya.

[142] The individuals of the maloca were slighter and had more delicate features than the Tukano. All the men had pierced [30] their ear lobes, keeping them open with a bunch of bird feathers. A cord binding the arms a little below the shoulders, and red paint across the face, indications perhaps of some feast a short [142] time before. Dark hair, cymotrichous, with slight waviness, and eyes lighter than those of the Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They reside in malocas along the Pirá-paraná and its small tributaries nearby, and below the cachoeira of the Beijú, where at low water one can see a beautiful design that resembles a Chinese dragon. Because of a lack of interpreters, we were unable to find out the number [161] of members of the tribe or /96/ its subdivisions. From the information obtained, we think it might be concluded that there are still several hundreds.

j) KÕ'NEÁ OR ARAPÁSU

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Kõ'neá (in Tukano Kõ-rẽá), the name of a variety of woodpecker called arapásu in Nheengatú.

[173] According to reminiscences of an ancient tradition, it was a very numerous and brave tribe. When individuals of other tribes passed the river Uaupés in the zone dominated by the Arapásu, the latter surrounded them, took away all their products, and afterwards sank their canoes, allowing them, however, to escape. The victims would avenge themselves "blowing" [161] (that is, casting an evil spell; cf. VII -- 2, e (l) ) on the Arapásu, who, little by little, became extinct.

/96 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- In Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/ we read that their center is the region embraced between the Uaupés and the Japurá, from where they moved to the Uaupés and were settled by Frei Gregório in S. Jerônimo, Naná-Rapecuma, and S. Joaquim.

/97/ Pe. João Marchesi, arriving among them in 1925, learned from the old Arapásu that they were the masters of the Uaupés from S. José to the mouth. Because they were more sociable and pleasant than the other natives, many women became wives of the civilized, and many men of the tribe were taken for labor. Many, on the other hand, established themselves on the lower Rio Negro, and others perished. Many caboclos of that region come from the crossing with Arapásu. The tribe thus became greatly reduced. There was a large group in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) that emigrated to the lower Rio Negro. Upon returning, it found the Taryana established there, and they did not want to relinquish the place, alleging that they were many and the Arapásu were less numerous.

[161]

Today a little over a hundred of them live on the right bank of the Uaupés, between S. José and Paraná-jucá.

3) Subdivisions (33)

[115]

33. This division was furnished to us by Pe. Antônio Giacone, SBD. It is to be noted that it is not similar to the names of the divisions of the other tribes. Perhaps, indeed, because they do not know them any longer. All the Arapásu whom we could consult maintained this. And one of them came to ask us whether we knew how the ancient divisions of his tribe were named. The names below are only indications of the places where they presently live. It is possible that each povoado today represents one of the ancient divisions.

/98 cont./

*101 Matrimonial interdiction with the Pirá-tapuya is in force.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/" says that they were settled in Thomar in the eighteenth century by the Carmelites. They were, as is shown from the "Diário" of Sampaio, the Uayuna. It seems to us, however, that this is an Arwake tribe of the river Japurá, and not the Wanãna, who are of the Tukano linguistic family. We also think, for this same reason, that they cannot be identified with the Ana tribe, who came down from the Orinoco, according to the explorers of the eighteenth century.

• [161] Their present habitat is the middle Uaupés, from Japú-ponta to the mouth of the Querarí, coming to about 600 individuals, according to Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 271). In the statistics of "Pelo Rio Mar" we find the number 367 for the ones attended to by the Salesian Missions. They informed us that the number of those who live in Colombian territory is much greater.

*[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Maximiano Sá, about 25 years old (1953), and a group of men in Carurú-cachoeira.

1. Khenẽ (water duck) on the igarapé Paca (tributary of the Uaupés)
2. Biali (variety of duck), in Matapí (river Uaupés)
3. Wai kapéa ñãrori (35)

35. The young man Ernesto Domingues, instead of Ñãrori, said ʔáhori and informed us that it means the mud from the bank of the river.

ponáyro (ñãrori of eye of fish), in Macucú (river Uaupés)

4. Uryá ñãrori (a worm), in Iuníca (river Uaupés)
5. Dyãni ponáyro (white duck), in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés; the informants were from this group)
6. Batíri-ká poná (japurá, a fruit), in Arara (river Uaupés)
7. Stúpo poná (pot, water vessel), in Jacaré (river Uaupés)
8. Doxkana poná (pestle hand), on the igarapé Paca

/101 cont./

*101 [161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The only survivors of the tribe in Brazil, about a hundred persons, live on the lower Tiquié in Urubu-lago and Iraiti. They informed us that, because of dissension, one group, perhaps around the end of the last century, fled to the river Japurá (Colombian territory), and that they probably still know the original mother tongue.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Furnished by Luciano, of the Umũhori group, about 50 years old, and Maria Cabral, of the Umú-põ group, about 22 years old, both from Iraití.

1. Ixsé-pi poná (?), in Iraití and Urubu-lago (river Tiquié)

/102/

2. Pêru bayá poná (master of the caxirí /see p. 595 / dance), Urubu-lago (came from the Japír)
3. Mahã bayá poná (master of dance with arara feather), in Iraití
4. Umũhori poná (?), on the stream Umú-ya, tributary of the Uaupés
5. Sõ-poá (?), extinct
6. Umú-põ (?), in Iraití and river Japurá
7. A-ú (?), extinct
8. Horí-di (?), in Iraití.

n) OÁ-MAHÃ OR MIKURA-TAPUYA

[115] 1) People-Name-Language -- Their idiom belongs to the Tukano linguistic family, as is verified by the Vocabulary that we obtained from an Indian woman named Kaxpé, about 45 or 50 years old, a native of the stream Inambú, tributary of the Papurí, and married to a Tuyuka from the Tiquié, where she resides in the last maloca on Brazilian territory, near the Colombian border. The Nheengatú name Mikura-tapuya, or gambá /opossum/ people, is the translation of the name Oá-mahã in the native idiom.

*101 /103 cont./
• [161] From the information that we obtained, the number of inhabitants of this tribe must fluctuate around 300.

[115] 3) Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian woman Kamõõ, about 45 years old (1954), from the headwaters of the river Áua:

1. Tsuninó (?), on the river Pirá-paraná
2. Pirõ (snake), on the Pirá-paraná
3. Petári suninõ (?), Pirá-paraná
4. Oá-maxsã (gambá /opossum/ people), on the river Pirá-paraná (38)

38. Would Oá-mahã or Mikura-tapuya be the same tribe?

*[192] p) PAMÍWA OR KUBEWÃNA -- Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 87) is of the opinion that the name Kobéua is only a nickname given by their ancient enemies, the Arwake, from the frequent use of the word kõbãuõ, nothing, no. In the Tukano idiom they are called Poterí-khãra, which means "people or inhabitants of the headwaters of the rivers" (cf. their name in different native languages; cf. IV -- 3). They, however, call themselves Pamíwa (sing., masc. pamíkõ, fem. pamíko). Curt Nimuendajú and Koch record Hehénawa as the name of the tribe. The Hehénawa constitute only a principal group of the Kubewana, whom Koch found in the maloca of Namakoliba (Z. I. 276) (*).

* Koch says that on the sources of the Querari there is a small Kubewana group called Abóxõhãhãnaua, that is, Kubewana-Jurupari, a name that the Wanana translate Waxtíkuxtipinoa; and the ones from Uaracapuri (Uaupés) are Olobahãhãnaua, called Diádãitoa by the Wanana.

/103 cont./

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- Their language belongs to the Tukano family, as can be verified by the Vocabulary that we transcribed and recorded (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous idioms of Amazonia/"). Chestmir affirms that it now shows Karaíba vestiges.

/104/ Anthropologically they are readily distinguished from the Tukano. They are taller, less corpulent, and, above all, less markedly Mongoloid in physiognomy than the latter.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They are found living on the upper Uaupés, on the frontier of Brazil and Colombia, and on the rivers Querarí, Cuduiarí, and the headwaters of the Içana. [797] The first explorers already found them in this habitat. About a century ago Jesuino Cordeiro settled some hundreds of them in Mitú and on the lago do espelho /lake of the mirror/.

• [161] Including a thousand souls, according to the calculations of Koch Grünberg, who says that the Kubêwãna dominated two Arwáke groups of the Querarí and imposed on them their language and customs: the Hõhõwa and the Káwa (39).

39. Two or three families of the Káwa still survive (cf. II-6, a (5) ). As for the Hõhõwa, whom Koch G. talks about, perhaps they would be the Hehénakõ or Hehénawõ, now considered a subdivision of the Kubêwana, as it can be seen on the charts transcribed here.

Many of the latter, however, emigrated to the Içana River, and in contact with the Arwáke groups there, they again took on their Arwáke character (Zwei Iahre, 72).

/111 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- One group of Yebá-masã lives on the headwaters of the igarapé Iaíssa (igarapé of the house of the onça /jaguar/), still in Brazilian territory; but the totality is in Colombian territory, in the interior of the forest watered by the Komé-ya. Probably they do not exceed two or three hundred members. [161]

[115] 3) Divisions. -- The five primary divisions were furnished to us by an Indian of the tribe, named Joaquim, about 25 years of age (in 1954), and the last two, by the Indian João, 40 years old, of the Tuyuka tribe, from the maloca of the Iaíssa. The Roéra and Emõã appear in the following divisions. We were not able to find out whether they are homonymous tribes, as is more probable, considered as more closely related. Their habitat coincides with those of these tribes, as can be seen in the respective places.

1. Doé or Roé (taraíra /fish/), on the Komé-ya
2. Wĩhuri or Wípuri (?), on the Komé-ya

/112/

3. Áyawa (?), on the Komé-ya
4. Héta (?), on the Komé-ya
5. Kuíto (?), on the Komé-ya
6. Emõã-masã (guariba /howler/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya
7. Sẽi-masã (barrigudo /woolly/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya (42)

[136] 42. Sẽi is the monkey of the genera Lagothrix and related ones, which is also called aimoré, because of which the natives of this group are sometimes called Aymoré-tapuya.

/112 cont./

*101 u) WAHYÁRA OR YURITÍ-TAPUÚA

1) People-Name-Language. -- The Indians known as Yurití-tapuya are called in their own idiom Wahyara or Uhayána and belong to the Tukano linguistic family, but their language exhibits Karaíba vestiges, so Chestmir affirms (cf. Vocabulary in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical"). Jurití is the translation of the name of the dove wahyara. They have a longer face and lighter complexion than the Tukano, as well as being taller and slimmer than the latter.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- Chestmir tells of their existence on the river Caiari. As far as has been reported to us, it is in the Colombian region between the Uaupés and the Papurí that some groups of the Jurití live, as well as in Acuaricuara (river Paca) and its surroundings. It seems to us that they are more numerous than the Suryana. [161]

In "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/" it is said that they were settled in 1852 by Frei Gregório on the river Uaupés, in Aracapurí, Carurú-cachoeira, S. Jerônimo and S. Joaquim, and a century before by the Carmelites in Thomar. And that they are very closely related to the Huhúteni and are called Halikuliarú by the Siwsí. We think that there is a serious mistake here. The Huhúdeni are of the Arwake group, and the Jurití, whom we are talking about, belong, by language, to the Tukano group. It is true that the physiognomic features of the Jurití are less Mongoloid and more delicate than those of the Tukano.

[115] 3) Divisions. -- Informant Emília Cordeiro, about 40 years old, in Acuaricuara in November of 1953.

1. Dexpoá Waxtí panamẽna (head of Waxtí), on the headwaters of the Paca
2. Tsyára Wahyára (swallow), at the mouth of the Turí-igarapé, in Nenfya
3. Dyáta poná (water duck), on the headwaters of the Cussá

/113 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They do not appear on the lists of the eighteenth century. It is interesting to point out that the Pira-tapuya are indicated on Frei Gregório's maps in Carurú-cachoeira, Iauareté, Juquira, S. Joaquim, that is, in povoados of other tribes and not where we found and recorded them (III). Their principal nucleus is the Papurí, from where they later moved to the Uaupés. It is probable that they arrived in Brazil before the Tukano.

[161] They fluctuate around six hundred (588 in the statistics of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/," distributed in this way: on the Uaupés, in Jacaré-ponta and surroundings of Ananás and Taracuá, in Urubucuara, Mariuá, Buzina, in Uaracú-ponta, which is their largest center nowadays, and on the outskirts of Umarí. On the Papurí: in S. Gabriel, S. Paulo. They are, moreover, numerous in the Colombian frontier territory.

[115] /114/ 3) Divisions. -- Indicated by a group of Pirá-tapuya from Teresita (river Papuri).

1. Wehétera or Vetára poné (powder), in Teresita, Ucapinima, Japim, Japú (river Papuri), and Uaracú (river Uaupés)
2. Swãrya poné (red ones), in Macú-paraná and África (Papurí)
3. Sasíro poné (sasíro, a large grasshopper), in Uaracú (Uaupés)
4. Kenẽ poné (a cockroach), on the river Paca
5. Pãta poné (a toad that swells), in Japim (Papurí)
6. Busãna poné (paineira /tree/), on the igarapés of the river Japurá
7. Buxpó poné (thunder), in S. Tomé (Bela Vista) on the lower Uaupés
8. Duxkodõ poné (thin), in Bela Vista
9. Ñamá-emẽperoa poné (deer ear), in Ituim-ponta (Papurí)
10. Ñapá poné (a toad), in Ararí-pirá (Uaupés)
11. Komé-pá poné (stone of the ax), in S. Francisco

/115 cont./

*101 The vocabulary we managed to get (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical") reveals as great a distance from the Tukano idiom as they are different anthropologically from this tribe.
[142] Short, as they are, but more slender and fairer, and with a tapered face. Chestmir affirms that their idiom exhibits Karaíba intrusion.

They are specialists in making sieves and in the preparation of the tucum. The Tukano affirm that they learned with the
[284] Desana how to make the "hammock of thirty threads" (VI - 2,
[184] c (2) ).

[582] Marriage with the Taryana and Arapásu is forbidden for them (48).
[142]

48. We read in Koch Grünberg that they marry the Makús. We could not verify that. Perhaps it was a matter of a particular case reported to Koch. From the hundreds of individuals we observed, Koch's opinion that they differ from the other tribes in the following somatic features does not seem acceptable to us either: "not so well proportioned body, high head, coarse hair, oval face, prominent zygoma, large nose, somewhat slanted eyes."

[161] /116/ 2) Habitat and inhabitants. They come to several hundreds (601 in the census of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/"). Today we find them in large numbers on the Papurí and tributaries, but especially on the Tiquié and its tributaries -- the Castanho, Umarí, Ira, and Turí-igarapé. Some groups came down, as early as the beginning of the last century, to
[191] the mouth of the Uaupés and the Rio Negro. These last ones, as we read in Giacone, "from the contact with the Caboclos and whites, are the most advanced: besides their own dialect and the Tukano, they speak Nheengatú, and many, Portuguese.
[438] Every year some of them go up the Tiquié and the Papurí, visiting their brothers, taking them goods acquired with the whites,

/118 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- This tribe participated in the first migrations that took place on the Cuiarí and Içana, having as center on this river the locality of S. Pedro. The scarcity of fish in the Içana, in relation to the population, especially in some years, led some groups to migrate to the Uaupés in the middle of the last century. In larger number they passed through the forests of the Aiari, and others by way of the lower Içana. Among these last ones, the Ipeka group, which is found today in Urubucuara and surroundings and does not maintain any relations with the Ipeka of the Içana. It [161] seems that at present the whole tribe does not exceed three or four hundred souls.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Mandú Henriques of the Komãda-pú group, tuxaua of Urubucuara. It is to be noted that the various Kumãdẽne of the river Cuiarí whom we could consult, although they speak the native idiom, did not know how to indicate the divisions of the tribe.

1st. -- Kumãda-da (?), in Pinú-pinú, already extinct
2nd. -- Kumãda-pú (?), in Urubucuara
3rd. -- Kapási Máwesi (hook?), headwaters of the Yaviarí
4th. -- Hapáka (?), in Bacaba-cachoeira (Uaupés)
5th. -- Wamerída (?), in Bacaba-cachoeira
6th. -- Murisépa (?), in Periquito-cachoeira (Uaupés)
7th. -- Wirí-karúpa (uiripipí, bird), in Periquito (Uaupés)
8th. -- Kumãdáwẽi (row /Port. fileira, row, line, rank/), on the river Aiari.

z) /sic/ TALYSERI OR TARYÃNA

1) People-Name-Language. They are the principal representatives, on the river Uaupés, of the Arwáke ethnic and linguistic group. In the Tukano language, they are called Pãã̃na (name of a plant?), and in their own /119/ idiom Talyáseri or Talyéseri, and in various Arwáke idioms of the Issana, Tarídza or Taría. We think the word Taryana is derived from Talyaseri by rotacismo /sound shifting/ (exchange

4: Silva--360 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/247 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 76 cont./ plagues (insects) of every kind incapacitate the region for sufficient and economical agricultural production. The problem of hunger, driving away the inhabitants of the Uaupés, has not yet set in (and will be still longer in coming, as we note elsewhere), because it is a matter of small human bands, with a minimum of demands and already partially /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ helped by the food supplies that the Salesian Missions send in monthly from Manáus and other points of the country.

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[115]

Pertinent here is a talk that we had on the morning of the eighth of March 1956 with the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, who since 1922 has toiled heroically in the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, and which is found summarized in 6 points in our "Diário," the last five of which have to do with the subject in focus. That is: "1st. -- This year a larger number of Brazilian Indians who worked in Colombia died, among them three from Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié); 2nd. -- The Caiarí (Uaupés) has fewer people today than before, and it is going to decrease even more; 3rd. -- The Indians tend to come down, and a good-sized group of them is already established in Tapurucuá (former S. Isabel, on the lower Rio Negro); 4th. -- Many of the Pirá-tapúya of Aracú-ponta (Uaupés) have already come down to the Rio Negro, and others want to come down to there (and actually in our company, and in the same launch, on November 14, 1956, about two dozen Pirá-tapúya came down to Tapurucuá; 5th. -- They are also coming down from S. Luzia (river Papurí); some have already /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ settled near Bela-Vista and Tauá (lower Uaupés), where there are good lands, and they devote themselves to gathering rubber, which they will sell to José Maria

241 /247 cont./
• 161
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[222]
[438]

/footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the complaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The
241 indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance, and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory
731 by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits
797 that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today; because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It
[438] seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

/326 cont./

775 All the other souls meet under the ground, in a very deep, dark, and cold place (16),

[115]
[764]

16. A young Tukano from Parí-cachoeira, Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why one places a match beside the cadaver which was buried, explained that it was in order not to feel cold. When we pressed as to whether the place where he was going was cold, he said yes. This concept of a cold hell is explained by recalling their warm region and they like the heat. To Padre Kok (according to what brother Pe. Afonso Kuypers told us), who described hell as a place of fire, an Indian said: "Better, so there is no need to make a fire there."

hence the need for fire. Therefore the metempsychosis is an extraordinary case of punishment.

They do not admit, however, human reincarnation, that is, that the spirit reappears, animating the body of a newborn child. One understands perfectly. Reincarnation can only be established in the /327/ human groups in which mortality and the birth rate are balanced. Among our natives there is a slight tendency toward an increase in the population, with periodic epidemics which decimate the malocas.

[161]

Likewise they do not admit a future resurrection of human beings.

764 They have no fear of the cadaver at all (17),

17. It is an unpleasant sight, observed a Missionary (Pe. Umberto Limpens), to the Indian, as it is to all of us, because it makes them think of death.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamiwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

sixty feet wide, with the ridge of its roof thirty feet above the ground. This 342
ridge is supported by six great posts, three on either side; the central space extending down the length of the *maloca* is like the nave of a church. The roof is thatched with palm fronds overlapping to a depth of four inches and extending almost to ground level on either side. These fronds may have to be brought from a great distance and vary in quality – the best lasting for years, while others rot quickly and require frequent patching.

As the sun rises each morning over the surrounding forest it lights on the [532]
striking clay and charcoal designs which are painted along the whole width of the front wall. Slivers of light find their way through the palm screening and form patterns on the floor and the walls inside. The only other light comes from the men's and women's entrances at opposite ends of the house, entrances which are often kept shut to discourage the flying insects that are usually at their worst during the middle of the day. From these doorways 353
bars of sunlight cross the hard earth floor, lighting the main posts of the house. Beyond, just discernible, is the *chicha* canoe, the great vat which quenches the thirst of the dancing guests at festivals. Near by stands a forked pole where hang coca pouches, fruit-husk ankle-rattles and fretworked gourd *maracas*. On the floor are calabashes, some with coca inside, others with tobacco, and the wooden stools on which the men squat, passing half the night over their stories of past deeds in tribal wars and great hunting expeditions.

Overhead the smoke-blackened thatch is hidden in the gloom. Hanging [272]
from a beam is the most treasured possession: the barkcloth-covered palm box containing ceremonial feathers, monkey-fur belts and puma-tooth necklaces – all the precious adornments for the tribal dances, the greatest occasion of all in the lives of the Indians. The palm-woven screens, which [354]
divide the quarters of the women and the head of the house from those of guests, reach from floor to thatch. Near by are the great, flat, pottery cassava ovens. Hosts of baskets and *cumare* hammocks are strung from the house posts around the fires, and the hard earth floor is kept spotlessly clean by thousands of tiny scavenger ants.

Why the *malocas* should have been built on such a vast and gloomy scale 342
remains a mystery. It is possible that their very size gives the Indian a sense of 161 ●
protection from the surrounding forest. It may also help to keep the interior cooler. But it is most likely a sign of depopulation, the breaking up of the clans through rubber exploitation and disease; where once a hundred or more people lived, now there are twenty.

José once told us that his father spoke of tribal wars on the river, when ooo

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ABOVE: *Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking.* BELOW: *Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.* [see p. 62-B]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

# Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

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*In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Maku and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.*

## THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

### *Setting and Culture Area*

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

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The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

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Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

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[361]

[P. 670-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

104 man, English, etc. There is great variation in the spellings. The spellings in this paper tend to follow those of Koch-Grünberg, who still remains the general authority for the area as a whole. His spellings are close to those used for Nheengatú. They generally conform with those used for world-wide ethnographic spellings; in addition, they seem to have been the spellings more commonly used in English, German, Portuguese, and Spanish ethnographies on South America.

101 *Population estimate.* Population figures are hard to estimate. The following are very impressionistic. Tribes with 1,000–2,000 members: 161 Tukano, Kubeo, Baré; Spanish-only speakers. 191 Tribes with 500–1,000 members: Piratapuyo, Wanano, Desano. Tribes with 150–500 members: Tuyuka, Yurutí, Paneroa, Eduria, Karapana, Tatuyo, Barasana, Siriano, Tariano, Tabaino, Makuna, Tekuana, Datuana; Portuguese-only speakers. Of the latter tribes, Yurutí, Yekuana, and Datuana may number [797] fewer than 150 members. A few Salesian missionaries, in Brazil, are Italians.

There are probably a few hundred Makú in occasional contract with the multilingual Indians in this area.

Non-Indians probably number about 1,500 and are concentrated in the few air-strip towns.

For a very round figure, a population of 10,000 has been estimated for the multilingual area in which Tukano is the chief lingua franca. Of these 10,000, only the non-Indians, the Makú, and some of the Kubeo are not multilingual, so that over 80 percent of the population is multilingual. As the non-Indians are concentrated in the few air-strip towns and a dozen missionary posts, the effective distribution of multilingualism is much higher; close to 100 percent of the communities encountered in the area are multilingual. Of the multilingual Indians, well over 90 percent know Tukano at least as a lingua franca, with young children accounting for the majority of the few who do not.

NOTES

[114] [12] [1] This report is an expanded version of a paper presented to the Tenth Annual National Conference on Linguistics in New York on March 13, 1965. Field work was done in the summers of 1959, 1960, and 1962 and from June to December 1963. It was supported during much of this time by USPHS Research Grant MH-17,258. I wish to acknowledge the hospitality and cooperation extended to me by the Xaveriano missionary order in Colombia and the Salesian missionaries of the Brazilian Vaupés region. Various drafts of this paper were read by Drs. Charles

[P. 683-A]

342 /102 cont./
There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed
at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by
[824] slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials
mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the
construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592 The size of the maloca varies according to the number of
342 its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to
shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano
•[162] maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family;
at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements
596 /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large
maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is
a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for
half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements
exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to
shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the
rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily
clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only
[287] a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both
articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from
pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the
177 Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental
797 clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the
protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed
enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

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•162
797 /105 cont./
177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny; he has two wives.

756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

## Cosmogony

*539 The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115] [177]

4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5),

[177]

5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

/447 cont./

601 their own father) and are called by them "mẽ-kõ," nephew. And, those of their grandparents' generation they call grandfather, "pax-kõ-ro," and are called by them "paramí," grandchildren, or max-kõ-kõ, "child-of-my-child."

/448/ As for the "brothers," if they are such in the strict sense (that is, children of the same father and the same mother), the older one is called mamí (they translate it "bigger brother") and the younger, axkabí ("smaller brother").

When it is a matter of "tribal brother," that is, of the individuals of the tribe who make up one and the same generation or layer, the terms mamí and axkabí are independent of age; they are, instead, a function of the group. That is, all those of the more important "Gens" (see VIII-3, c /see VIII-3, d/) (we use the Latin term "gens" in order to designate the subdivisions of the tribe or sib of the American Ethnologists), whatever their ages might be, are mamí; all those of the inferior "Gens" are axkabí. That is, an entire "Gens" (without taking into account the ages of its members) is called mamí or axkabí of another.

Let us imagine the case of the individual X, who has five children, successively A, B, C, D, E; of which B, C, D are of the male sex, and A, E of the female sex. It is to be observed: 1st, that five is actually the average number of children, according to our "anthropometric file cards"; 2nd, that they wish to have children of both sexes, and that an older daughter is a valuable helper of the mother in raising the younger children. The older daughter A will be mamyó of all the brothers and sisters; the younger daughter E will likewise be axkabyó of all. If we consider the son C, he will be mamí of D and E and axkabí of A and B.

[126] [162]

Let us further suppose that the brothers B, C, D marry (90)

[582] [611]

90. A and E will obligatorily marry husbands, baxsukõ, from another tribe; their children, however, do not belong to tribe X (grandfather), but to that of the father himself. The children of A and E

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiari, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiari there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5). 361 554

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence. 361 554 648. 177

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiari, for example, a trail leads to the Querari. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker. 487 [721] [481]

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller. 621 311 453 244 [622]

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. 621 592 [162]. [342] [578]

/67 cont./

842 b) An unquestionable fact is the fertility of the Indian woman. From the investigations made, there was reported to us only one instance of an individual's sending his wife back as sterile, the judgment, evidently, of the husband. In spite of the advantages or convenience of the Indian woman who does not want to have many children (and we have heard from their lips several times this declaration: "it is ugly to have many children"), and the practices that they use to space each delivery 2, 3, and even 4 or more years apart, the presence of numerous children in each povoado pleasantly surprises us. In our investigations we found a vigorous Indian man about 45 years of age, who had 11 children (24).

[171] 24. It is a matter of the Indian Agostinho Barbosa of the Taryana tribe, in Iauareté. It is true that in December of 1948 four of his 11 children had already died.

163 On one of our lists of individuals of various tribes, in the casual order in which the anthropometric measurements were made, 20 married people among men and women, of about 35 years of age or older, presented a total of 101 children. Therefore an average of 5 children per couple is shown. It is to be noted that only 18 dead children, without discrimi-
161 nation as to age, appear on this same list. If we imagine that all adults marry (ordinarily after 20 years of age) (25),

[587] 25. There was reported to us only the case of one man who did not find a wife; it is to be noted, however, that it was a matter of a widower.

and that the two sexes more or less correspond in number, it should be concluded that the population has

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

/67 cont./

161 increased (26).

26. With pleasure we found some of these opinions confirmed by the Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, from the end of the eighteenth century. In No. 208 of his "Noticias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/" he points out: "What indeed is worth noting is that there is not found among the central heathen the sickness that is called humores gallicos /French disease, syphilis/, according to what has been ascertained on the rivers Uaupé, Japurá, Juruá, Jutahí, and others, and because of that perhaps there is among them great propagation as daily experience shows; in any descimento /descent; see p. 35 / one sees double and triple the children of both sexes."

[164]

c) It might happen that one finds partially or even totally uninhabited a place that, years before, was flourishing. This fact per se does not authorize one to conclude that one is dealing with a decrease /68/ in population. There might have been migration to another place, as a consequence of there having been some epidemic or fight in the original povoado. It is true that there have been epidemic attacks of colds ("catarro, ehõ," says the Indian), measles (27),

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27. In August and September of 1956 successive attacks of whooping cough, measles, and malaria decimated approximately 200 natives on the rivers Uaupés, Papurí, and Tiquié.

or malaria (uhãke), which have decimated the population of one group or another. The sanitary assistance that the Salesian Missions are giving them has avoided such attacks or has reduced the danger of them.

[797]

/68 cont./

165 d) Unfortunately, however, the index of child mortality is still very high. Prior to the establishment of hospitals and [797] ambulatories by the Salesian Missions, about 50 per cent of the children from 2 to 10 years of age died because of the lack of hygiene.

164 More alarming still is the danger of tuberculosis. Sent by the Colombian government, in August of 1955 the phthisiologist Dr. Alvaro Arguillo Pinzon visited the populations of the Uaupés and Papurí. Soon after his visit to this latter river, at the povoados of the Colombian bank as well of the Brazilian one, he affirmed to us in Iauareté that 75 per cent of the indigenous population was already infected by the Koch bacillus. The affirmation is painfully true. Not only are the Indians ignorant of the simplest standards of hygiene suitable to the case (they live together in the same environment filled with carbonic anhydride from the always lighted fire, they sleep on the same hammock, put their dirty hands in the common food, drink from the same cuia /gourd container/, consume the remains of the food of the tuberculars, sip the drinks chewed perhaps by some infected person, etc.), but also to their mentality the observance of the [753] precautions required by the sickness is excluded. As a matter of fact, they do not believe in sicknesses; they consider themselves immortal. The sicknesses are evils caused by some enemy, and only the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ with his magic practices (practices that in reality often contribute only to making the ailment worse) is able to eliminate them. For [797] this reason, they do not subject themselves to long treatment in the Mission hospitals, to which, ordinarily, they retreat voluntarily and with the permission of the relatives only after having uselessly tried the treatments of various pajés, already in the last days of life. In recent years a considerable proportion of deaths, mainly of adults, has had as causa mortis laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis.

/72 cont./

142 Wide mouth, thick lips, frequent prognathism, although
144 slight, ugly dentition, with yellow teeth, many cavities and
defects. Few individuals over 20 years old had all their teeth.
• [164] Not rarely canines and incisors were malposed or maloccluded.

Rounded chin, small, at times almost imperceptible, and frequently ending in a small and elegant point.

Neither mustache nor beard (4).

4. Men with a discreet mustache and even with a small beard on the chin are found with considerable frequency among the Ihwĩna, Roéra, and Ĩde-masã tribes, the Arwáke of the Içana, and the tribes of the Caburí.

A few individuals of the male sex exhibit some sparse mustache
*[192] or beard hairs and /73/ try to eliminate them by depilation (poá-ri kuré:) with the fingers. It is the usual process for pulling out the hair of the arms, legs, and other parts of the body, on oneself or on others (5).

5. Wallace also reports: "The men have very little beard, and even this little they pull out, plucking out the hairs. Men and women, all pull out the eyebrows (which is not true today, it seems, or it would be more rare) and the hair of the armpits and of the genital parts" (op. cit., 617).

*[192] We have seen, for the axillae, that they use the following depilatory process: a ball of breu /a kind of resin/ or of the resin called sĩ-pé, which is pressed together and rubbed on the axillae until it holds and pulls out the hairs. To appear smooth is a quality of elegance, according to their aesthetic tastes.

/162 cont./

829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always will-
262 ing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever
[177] is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauareté did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during the chôco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

* [192] [784]

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they
273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí
[164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

/234 cont./

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The principal methods of fishing are:

1) With poison (65).

65. The harmfulness of the method is under discussion, and some condemn it as destructive of the fish, many of which cannot be used. The fact is that for many generations they have fished in the same places, and there is always fish. If at present they are not as large and as plentiful, perhaps one should attribute it, not to the method, but to the frequency of the fishing. It also seems that many fish only become stupefied and manage to escape. The actual difficult circumstance is that at times the igarapés are quite low and the amount of timbo quite large, and both the fish and the very water that they drink cause intestinal disorders among the Indians.

• [164]

/235/ a) Ehũ (timbo). The large-scale fishing (Waí pu'asé) is that which is done with timbo (66).

66. Timbo is the name of various Leguminosae of the genera Tephrósia, Lonchocarpus (densiflorus, rufescens, etc.).

A suitable spot was chosen beforehand, for example, a widening of the river like a small bay, or the mouth of an igarapé or igapó, and baited, buxtú-kĩse, that is, food was thrown there frequently for the fish (termites, buxtẽã, hence the term buxtú-kĩse, or also pupunha, flour, fruits, mass of beijú, etc.). Afterwards, during the night, the site was surrounded with the parí, in Tukano sũtérika, or with a very tight fence of thin stakes of paxiúba, leaving only an opening through which the fish came in. Nowadays, in order to facilitate this work, they make the

/250 cont./

464 and of that of the Amazon (80),

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80. See "Relatórios" /Reports/ on these Provinces. Unfortunately, instead of job contracts, there were deals between the latifundiários or traders of the Rio Negro and the tuxauas or those who, in a private or official manner, established relations with the Indians or lived among them in order to take advantage of the forest dwellers. The latter would come down, deluded by promises that did not correspond to reality and were victims of malaria or other illnesses. The means to return to their povoados were not made easy for them to get. Their weakness for alcohol was taken advantage of, and months of their services would be bought with some bottles of aguardiente. The documented exposure of these "descidas" /descents/ of the Indians will constitute quite dark chapters in the future History of the Indians of Brazil.

[466]

[164]

[273]

and on a smaller scale even today, more or less numerous Indians of different tribes irregularly come down to the lower Rio Negro for the most varied jobs, particularly the extraction of various products (rubber, piaçaba /piassava/, nuts, timber, etc.).

439 Objects of native industry for purchase are not only their artifacts for museum collections or decorations for private homes. Those who live or travel in these regions obtain from the Indians part of their food (81)

[797]

81. The Salesian Missions have brought great stimulus to the Indians for the production of the means of subsistence, because,

/278 cont./

756 according to the cures or /279/ other extraordinary deeds that they managed to achieve. The more famous ones will attract a clientele from great distances and even from other tribes. Even some of the civilized who have settled in those regions let themselves be influenced, and they too avail themselves of the services of the pajé.

755 The influence of the pajé is such that the very foods of the
756 sick person will be subjected to his blowing, Baxséke. Even the
*[192] remedies given by the civilized are presented to the pajé, who will blow on them in order to give them efficacy. If the sick person gets better, the merit will naturally belong to the pajé. If he does not happen to improve and dies, he will explain that it is a matter of a malefice of another "stronger pajé," or because of having taken a remedy of the whites, or food "not blown," or, finally, of having been overcome by a new and unexpected malefice before the pajé could be called.

And if it is declared that nothing more can be done, the patient will be abandoned as somebody fatally condemned to death; and not infrequently the relatives will deny him any assistance, and even food itself.

[763] The patient, many times, after such a verdict from the pajé, will hasten his own death, refusing other medicines from the civilized and any food or drink (see V 23, stoicism).

167 It has happened that the pajé might declare the maloca or the
756 povoado irremediably dangerous, and then the Indians will not have any hesitation about abandoning it and will move to another place, in spite of all the difficulties (29).

[164] 29. It has likewise happened that after a few years they return to the same place. In 1932 an outbreak of malaria killed about 70 Indians in Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés. Although none of the students of the missionary school fell victim to it, the Indians, in fear, abandoned the locality. In 1947 they started to return.

276 /285 cont./
756 are going to appear and gives them instructions on what they are to do in order to conjure away these and other evils.
*[192] There are, besides these, other more solemn meetings, approximately each semester, when he gives his wĩhĩõ to the Komũã to sniff ("wĩhĩõ wĩhõõti kã̃ axkawerẽra-ré peókamĩ"; he sniffs and gives all his relatives his "rappee" to sniff).

4) Sicknesses and cures.

• 164 There are various sicknesses that attack that forest dwellers and often prostrate them. The principal ones, according to the frequency and the greater number of victims, are:

*[192] a) Verminosis -- Pirõ pũrĩsé (Uaupés Pinõ punĩsé). The verminous diseases attack them even when they are old, but especially the children from two to ten years old, almost 50 per cent of whom fall victim to them (39).

[797] 39. This seriously alarming proportion was pointed out to us by the Missionary Pe. João Marchesi. Naturally this happened and perhaps still happens to those tribes and native localities unprovided with any sanitary assistance. Thanks to the hospitals of the Salesian Mission and the ambulatory-launches which monthly come up the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri, taking to the Indians the sanitary resources and provisions, and transporting the more gravely ill persons to the hospitals, this figure has decreased ten times or even more. Truly /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ impressive episodes of victims of verminosis are mentioned. From the cadaver of the son of the tuxaua of Taracuá in 1934, vermin came out through the mouth, through the nose, etc. In Urubucuara the vermin perforated the abdomen of a boy, who would take them out with the fingers.

/285 cont./

Or they would become so weak that they would succumb to the attack of any other ailment whatsoever.

b) Grippe and pneumonia -- Ehõ. They indicate them with a general term Ehõ, catarrh. We think that the organism of the native who /286/ spends, not only the night, but also several hours of the day in the smoky environment of the maloca (or houses), with fires lighted and without any vent for the smoke, might be a propitious field for grippe and pneumonia. Nevertheless, asserting that the "catarrh" comes inside the boxes of merchandise, we have seen them flee from the povoado of Paricachoeira at the simple alarm that on this trip of the launch the boxes were bringing "catarrh."

c) Anemia -- Dí-petisé. One observes it especially in the children, due to the ingestion of the soil, and in the women, after a certain age, due to the excess of work and organic depauperation with the raising of the children.

d) Buba or framboesia tropicalis -- Maxsã dihyãrá. It consists of painful sores over the entire body.

e) Impaludism -- Uhãke. In general the native povoados are located in salubrious places, since they are high lands and, very frequently, neighbor the cachoeiras. Nevertheless paludic outbreaks have appeared, either because of the waters that form pools in the potholes among the rocks during low water, or because of the inundated places (the igapós), which the Indian visits during his fishing trips.

f) Laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis -- Wãx-tĩ poarí. They call them Wãx-tĩ poa-rí, that is, hairs of Wãx-tĩ, which they suppose are stuck in the patient's throat. Several cases have been found on the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri, with a tendency to spread (cf. III - 4).

/286 cont./

*192 • 164 [136] g) Eye trouble -- Kaxpé-ri pũrĩẽ. Ophthalmia is frequent in all the tribes, from simple irritation by rubbing the eyes with the dirty hands, up to cases of conjunctivitis and trachoma. There are yellow ants, called taxi or fire ants, which live in some woods and bushes and whose bite is painful and poisonous, even causing a degenerescence of the cornea. The Maku, especially, are often bitten by these ants and suffer in their vision.

*192 164

h) Dysentery, Yohá -- Diarrhea, Di-yohá -- Intestinal fevers, Uháke. Dysentery, diarrhea, and intestinal fevers are frequent and /287/ caused by spoiled food, water polluted (40)

> 40. Rivers and streams (igarapés) are made up in long stretches by stagnate waters, in which not infrequently are seen, on the whole liquid surface, pollen, petals, leaves, and other organic elements in decomposition. Ordinarily these same watercourses, at least during the months of high water or even during the entire year, are found in communication with swamps and putrefactive waters, as will easily be verified by anyone who crosses some stretch of the Uaupés forest. If we exclude perhaps the stretches with cachoeiras in the great rivers, it is possible that a meticulous analysis would condemn as unhealthy all the remaining and vast aqueous surface of the region.

or with a high dosage of timboina (at the time of fishing with timbo). Dysentery is frequent, moreover, on the occasion of the native feasts, caused by excessive drinking.

164 i) Venereal diseases. In the legends, it seems to us, there is a reference to venereal diseases. Nevertheless, there are few

/287 cont./

• 164 [797]

verified cases of syphilis (41).

41. A veteran Sister of nursing revealed to us that in her 25 years of nursing there had appeared only one case of a young man afflicted with venereal disease; and, since it was the case of a man already engaged, she thought it was her duty to warn the girl that she should not get married before he had had suitable treatment. She was not heeded, however, with the foreseen lamentable consequences for the wife.

Proving, however, that it is not a matter of any special resistance of the organism to the treponema, the few facts known on the Uaupés and the infection presented by some young men who had just arrived in Manaos looking for work are sufficient. Perhaps they know and use vegetable remedies. And it is also probable that the immunization or cure against syphilis is the result of a spontaneous malaria-therapy, since it is known that the natives are many times afflicted with malaria.

j) Epileptiform attacks. We know cases of epileptiform attacks in persons of both sexes and of various ages. They fall down struck with loss of the senses, almost always spasms and convulsions, followed by sleep and complete amnesia of the event, about which they were informed by witnesses (42).

42. For one of the cases we heard the origin of the attacks. It is the case of the Bayá (dance master) Henrique, Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, now (1955) a septuagenarian with gray hair and clear eyes. Some years ago a bolt of lightning struck his house, burning him severely and leaving him unconscious for some hours. Since that

/287 cont./

• 164 /footnote 42 cont./ time he suffers periodic attacks, and for this reason he is afraid of painting himself for the dances, although he participates in them as Bayá (cf. VII-6, a (2) ) that he is. We have watched him, in spite of his years, direct the ritual dances valiantly for 24 hours without interruption.

751 /288/ The magic concept of the origin of sicknesses do not allow them to take the minimum precautions. They will not avoid contact with a person afflicted with tuberculosis or grippe, or skin infection; they will sleep at his side, lie in the same hammock, sit on the same seat, drink from the same cuia, help themselves from the same pot, into which they dip their fingers with the beijú.

797 The Missionary tries to persuade them, for example, of the
177 danger of contagion in tuberculosis. In spite of this, they do not stop taking caxiri perhaps masticated by a tubercular person.

757 They do not resolve, unless watched and forced, to take a remedy according to the medical prescriptions, in so many doses repeated at such-and-such intervals (43).

[756] 43. The belief in the pajé is suffering a lingering shock from the hospitals and ambulatories of the Mission and the trips of the Missionary distributing remedies. Many of them, at present, not only accept, but even ask for the remedies of the civilized, especially when they prove to have prompt efficacy, for example, the antimalarial remedies, analgesics, etc. They do not submit, however, to subjecting themselves to the prolonged treatment that various ailments demand and do not hesitate to run away from the hospital.

278 /289 cont./
757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant
*[192] called Taá-dõxká (45).

45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b) ): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

[178] [764] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night [164] [354] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

648 /390 cont./

466 Nowadays more or less numerous and frequent groups of Indians, men and women, are taken, especially the single ones, for the extraction of the cuquirana, balata, chicle, rubber, Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," various species of trees yielding edible nuts/, piassava, in both Brazilian and Colombian territory, or as sailors for the launches. They see, hear, and practice vices and immoralities (125).

[837] [797]

125. The Missionary was scolding a Christian Indian from Urubucuara, river Uaupés, because, in spite of being married, he was living with another woman. And when he reminded him of the commandment of God, he heard from the Indian this expression, certainly learned from some civilized: -- "Commandment does not hurt."

166 One observes a tendency to go down to S. Gabriel (present city of Uaupés) and Tapurucuara. To Manaus, not so much. So far nostalgia periodically brings them to the natal places. How long will this state of things last? The known cases of venereal

• 164 diseases are very rare, although the legends already allude to them. This rarity is perhaps explained by the simple spontaneous malario-therapy (cf. VII - 2, e (4 1) ).

It is certain that for centuries they have been in more or less frequent and enduring contact with the civilized. It is difficult to determine whether some responsibility falls on them in such a state of things, and up to what point. The problem is serious.

797 One also understands from this that there cannot always be good harmony in the relations between the Missionaries who live among the Indians, trying to bring them to the bosom of civilization and to the practice of /391/ Christian truth and morals (126),

126. The difficulty that the Missionary faces in order to implant Christian morals is great.

4: Silva--732 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/483 cont./

797
527

/footnote 3 cont./ the seats of the Salesian Missions, not infrequently several days by canoe, in order to attend there the great religious celebrations (Christmas, Easter, etc.). They spend happy days and weeks in contact with civilization, being instructed in the religious truths and amusing themselves, as if they were school children, with collective games. Processions, songs, luminous projections, theatrical representations, even the food, sweets, presents which they receive on these occasions, everything agrees with their psychology and makes these feasts acceptable and indispensable to them.

484 Anyone who navigates those rivers invariably meets canoes, up river and down river, of tourist Indians. Some spend months visiting acquaintances and relatives in the various povoados.

3) Life cycle.

145 We know the rites that accompany the birth of the children. Under the care and attention of their mother, in contact with nature, they start growing and becoming strong. Upon reaching the use of their muscles, they will try to walk and are put down on the ground to crawl. They will then suffer the attacks of [164] verminosis. They become pale, swollen, big-bellied, and many die. Those who manage to conquer the sickness and reach adolescence are saved.

Lacking positive statistical data about the organic development of the native child, one has the impression that this proceeds by more characteristic jumps than among the civilized of the south of the country.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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133 igneous rock dot the country. These hills seem to have little interest for the Cubeo, but the mesas with their sandstone caves are held to be the dwellings of dangerous demons.

136 Fish are generally abundant and are represented by hundreds of
(251) species. The favorite of all tribes is the aracú, which the Indians commonly smoke to preserve. The piranha and the river anaconda are the constant river hazards. The piranha seem always to be present, as can be proved by throwing animal entrails into the river. The waste is hit by the fish almost instantly and devoured within minutes. The Indians, however, do not dread either the anaconda or the piranha, but when preparing to bathe they circumspectly drum the surface of the water with their cupped hands to drive these creatures off. The river anaconda reaches a length of over 20 feet and is regarded as dangerous only in the vicinity of submerged trees, which it uses for leverage in seizing a victim and pulling him under. However, children who play constantly in such waters are aware of the hazard but are not afraid, nor are their elders anxious for them. I heard of no specific cases of injury from either piranha or anaconda. The man-eating cayman of the sluggish llanos rivers is absent here and the smaller cayman is a minor hazard.

The Northwest Amazon has its share of tropical forest game, although, as Lord Wallace observed (1870, p. 446), the Amazon is a mammal-poor region. The jaguar is feared in its supernatural aspect only. The peccary, until recently hunted by a group of men armed with spears, is acknowledged to be dangerous and aggressive when challenged. The tapir will also charge when annoyed, but neither animal fills the Indian with dread. For the rest, the forest game is small and shy. It consists of the small red deer, the rodents such as paca, capybara, and agouti, the raccoon-like coati, monkeys, and armadillo. River otters are common but are not molested. When they surround a canoe with their excited barking the Indians greet them with a discreet silence and wait for them to submerge again. Bird life is rich but of small economic importance.

All visitors to the region have described vividly their unpleasant encounters with its insect life. The Indians are made equally miserable by the swarms of pium gnats and sand flies. Careless scratching
● [164] of an insect bite produces dangerous ulcerations. I have seen Indians who had lost several square feet of skin from such spreading ulcers. Chigger (*neguas*) hygiene is a preoccupation of all residents of the Northwest Amazon. The Indians are expert in expelling the spherical sacs with a deft pressure from a stick or knife blade. In the forest the sting of the red ant bothers the naked Indians more than the clothed

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visitor. On the other hand, the leaf-cutter ant is a specialist on clothing. I was once covered by a swarm of these ants while asleep. When I had carefully removed the last of them I was left with but a leather belt and a few tatters of trousers and shirt.

The anopheles mosquito is generally absent in the Cuduiari region where I did my field work. On the whole, the health of the Cuduiari Indians is good. Carate (*puru*), a skin pigment disorder apparently of spirochete origin, common everywhere else in the Northwest Amazon, was far less in evidence on the Cuduiari. Children suffered from worms and other intestinal parasites but infant mortality was not particularly high. There were no epidemics during my stay. The recollections of the Indians about serious illness go back to the 1918 influenza epidemic that apparently ravaged the native populations in the region. Women, in particular, suffered from the painful purulent conjunctivitis, which they attributed to insect molestation in their manioc gardens. The bloated abdomens of children whose diet is too generous with carbohydrate and deficient in protein is a common sight along the Vaupés, but is less evident on the Cuduiari, where native life and diet is still almost intact. As for the Cuduiari itself, the people at the mouth of the river, the higher-ranking *Hehénewa* sibs, seemed generally more sturdy, vigorous, and aggressive than the Indians who lived upstream.

Dr. Hamilton Rice, who explored the Vaupés in 1907–08, observed that the most physically powerful Indians came from the Cuduiari. He noted men who were six feet tall and over, strongly built with thick arms and powerful torsos. Actually somatological variability is considerable on the Cuduiari, ranging from marked mesomorphy to moderate ectomorphy. But this observation of mine is not based on measurements. Dr. Rice (1910) has published a physical description of the Cubeo based upon anthropometric observations. I quote from it:

> Their color is an olive brown corresponding to No. 4 of Broca's scale and seems invariable, a conclusion based on a comparison of the scale with many hundreds of subjects on parts of the cuticle least exposed to sun and pigmented decoration. The eye is dark, palpebral fissure narrow, not oblique, pointed at its external aspect, and the upper lid so heavy at times as to suggest the puffiness of oedema; but the eye by no means conforms invariably to so Mongolian a criterion, closely resembling the European eye in many other cases. The hair is black, lanky, coarse in the male, fine and glossy in the female. The faces are escutcheon-shaped and hairless, the chins rounded and receding, noses from straight and busque to hooked and Chinese flat types, region of cheek bones flat, lower lips large and inclined to turn slightly downward. The ears are not large, lobes absent or slightly devel-

# 4
# *The Forest Addicts*

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the ear-plug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run; whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves
147 in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
302 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
411 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undis-
609 turbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little. When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into
152 the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

/68 cont./

165 d) Unfortunately, however, the index of child mortality is still very high. Prior to the establishment of hospitals and [797] ambulatories by the Salesian Missions, about 50 per cent of the children from 2 to 10 years of age died because of the lack of hygiene.

164 More alarming still is the danger of tuberculosis. Sent by the Colombian government, in August of 1955 the phthisiologist Dr. Alvaro Arguillo Pinzon visited the populations of the Uaupés and Papurí. Soon after his visit to this latter river, at the povoados of the Colombian bank as well of the Brazilian one, he affirmed to us in Iauareté that 75 per cent of the indigenous population was already infected by the Koch bacillus. The affirmation is painfully true. Not only are the Indians ignorant of the simplest standards of hygiene suitable to the case (they live together in the same environment filled with carbonic anhydride from the always lighted fire, they sleep on the same hammock, put their dirty hands in the common food, drink from the same cuia /gourd container/, consume the remains of the food of the tubercularis, sip the drinks chewed perhaps by some infected person, etc.), but also to their mentality the observance of the precautions required by the sickness is excluded. As a matter [753] of fact, they do not believe in sicknesses; they consider themselves immortal. The sicknesses are evils caused by some enemy, and only the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ with his magic practices (practices that in reality often contribute only to making the ailment worse) is able to eliminate them. For [797] this reason, they do not subject themselves to long treatment in the Mission hospitals, to which, ordinarily, they retreat voluntarily and with the permission of the relatives only after having uselessly tried the treatments of various pajés, already in the last days of life. In recent years a considerable proportion of deaths, mainly of adults, has had as causa mortis laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis.

/68 cont./

165 The natives who are over 70 years of age are rare; at 50 years of age the Indian is already old (28),

> 28. The appearance makes one commonly use the word old in order to specify the individual better. Thus one frequently hears: "old Felipe of such-and-such a place," "old Cândido," etc.

and he usually dies before 60.

/69/

## Chapter IV

## Distinction and Classification

### 1. Distinction

121 *101 These studies cover, we repeat, the tribes of Brazil and Colombia who populate the basin of the Uaupés. Under such denomination we mean the Uaupés River, from where it enters Brazil, soon after the afflux of the river Querarí, up to its mouth in the Rio Negro, with its two tributaries, the Papurí and the Tiquié, and numerous small tributaries. Our field research covers not only all the human groupings located on the banks of the three rivers above, but also many other groups from the headwaters of those rivers and in the interior of the forest. For this reason it seems to us that we can consider in a general way the large area of the "basin of the Uaupés." All the more since some of the groups that are found farther in the interior on the igarapés belong to the riverine tribes, or at least they have had relations with them for a long time, and in this way there has been cultural assimilation.

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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

648 /390 cont./

466 Nowadays more or less numerous and frequent groups of Indians, men and women, are taken, especially the single ones, for the extraction of the cuquirana, balata, chicle, rubber, Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," various species of trees yielding edible nuts/, piassava, in both Brazilian and Colombian territory, or as sailors for the launches. They see, hear, and practice vices and immoralities (125).

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126. The difficulty that the Missionary faces in order to implant Christian morals is great.

131 /99 cont./
•167 As is seen, the Tukano group is found distributed both in Colombian territory and Brazilian, and the migratory movements of natives between these two countries are quite frequent.

241 The Tukano work the land by means of the slash-and-burn
[462] method. The piece of ground intended for agriculture is always cleaned of underbrush and trees by the /100/ men, a job at which each man works individually or assisted by his male
[412] relatives. At one time, before the arrival of the Creole rubber
[177] workers in the region, the trees and underbrush were cut with stone axes, but since the arrival of the rubber worker the machete has been introduced, and today no Tukano Indian would consider using the lithic instrument again.

Trees of great size are generally left in the place in which they fell, but small trees and bushes are burned toward the end of summer, or the dry season. The ashes obtained from the burning are used as fertilizer to improve the soil, but owing to the thin vegetal layer, to erosion, and to the general poorness of the land, the Tukano Indian is obliged to select and clear a
[242] new garden every three or four years. The method of crop rotation is not practiced because the forest vegetation rapidly returns to invade the land that is not cultivated and tended. The field under cultivation rarely exceeds one or two hectares.

[412] The planting is done immediately after finishing the burning, among the stumps of the felled trees and the trunks of the toppled trees. Probably the only aboriginal implement used in the planting is the planter's stick (2),

2. Digging-stick /this term is given in English/.

which is used primarily to loosen the earth and to open holes in it for planting seeds or young plants. The ground is rarely cultivated and tended after the planting is done, but weeds are pulled out and care is taken that the forest does not invade the garden.

/26 cont./

*101 its own idiom; the Tukano say Wirã; the Pirá-Tapúya, Knã; the Wanãna, Kná; the Kumãdene, Desá; the Maku, Miná-dé. A small tribe on the road to extinction, and which has already even lost its own idiom, speaking exclusively that of the /27/ Tukano, is known as Arapasu, a term from the língua geral, which indicates a small woodpecker. Other tribes translate this name into their own language, and thus the Tukano call this tribe Kõ'rẽá; the Kubẽwãna, Kõré-wa; the Taryãna, Ku-hẽne; the Makú, Hom'de.

7th. -- We also think that in some cases the difficulty is increased because some subdivision of a tribe is presented as a tribe. For example: on the river Içana there is a tribe known by the common name of Cutia or Cutia-tapúya (of the Arwáke group), and in the local language called Awadzurunai. On the river Uaupés, precisely at Taracuá-ponta, there are still living today some families of the tribe Pirá-tapúya, belonging to the subtribe Bwá-põné, as is said in its own idiom, which, translated into Portuguese, means: "filhos da cutia" /children of the cutia (agouti)/. Above Jandiá, on the river Papurí, there is likewise a subdivision of the Tukano tribe, named "Boxsó-põrá," children of the cutiváia (small cutia).

*101 • 167 8th. -- Complicating the problem even more, there are the "descimentos" /descents/, as the voluntary migrations of the Indians were called, when they took shelter under the protection of the white, in order to escape the persecutions of other tribes. In a given period these migrations resulted in the displacement of a tribe far from its previous habitat. Thus, in the first half of the last century, Indians of various tribes descended from the upper Rio Negro and Içana and came to establish themselves on the Lower Uaupés, as one can see on the maps of Frei Gregorio de Bene (see below, p. 25 /the author refers to this page number in the original source, but see pp. 40 ff. in the original source, pp. 59 ff. in the translation/). Or perhaps they went deep into the forest, without anything further being known of them. Koch Grünberg tells us about several Káwa-yari groups, who, from the

*101 /27 cont./
• 167 headwaters of the Içana and Querari, went on to the Apapóris by way of the headwaters of the Uaupés. Moreover there might be migrations by one and the same tribe to different places, and it will be designated in one locality preferably in one way, and in another, in another way.

*101 9th. -- It is also certain that, because the tribes are not distinguished very well, various tribes can come to be included under one and the same name. An easy mistake, particularly when they have identical customs, similar languages, and, who knows, using the same idiom. This is precisely what happens on the Uaupés. Ordinarily the first Relatórios /Accounts/ use the expression "Nações Uaupés" /Uaupés Nations/, including all the tribes that inhabit that river and tributaries.

These difficulties having been indicated, we shall try, comparing the sources, to identify the present-day tribes with the ancient ones, and thus to inquire into their habitat two centuries ago and the migratory movements that perhaps have taken place in this period.

/28/ 6. The Tribes of the Uaupés and Their Location

a. Lists of the eighteenth century.

1st. -- Padre Noronha in his "Roteiro" of 1759 mentions nine tribes, one of them on the Capurí or Papurí River, the Tariarana (Taryana), and eight on the Uaupés River.

2nd. -- Sampaio, 1775, lists 12 tribes on the Uaupés and its tributaries.

3rd. -- Ferreira, 1785, enumerates 21 tribes, one being on the Papurí River, the Cariana (Taryana), and 20 on the Uaupés.

Observations -- 1st. None of these lists is complete, their own authors declare. One will serve, then, to fill out the other, if it presents names that the others do not mention.

2nd. If a tribe from an earlier list does not appear on a later one, it might indicate extinction or migration of the tribe. Although forgetfulness of the reporter seems more probable to

/247 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 76 cont./ plagues (insects) of every kind incapacitate the region for sufficient and economical agricultural production. The problem of hunger, driving away the inhabitants of the Uaupés, has not yet set in (and will be still longer in coming, as we note elsewhere), because it is a matter of small human bands, with a minimum of demands and already partially /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ helped by the food supplies that the Salesian Missions send in monthly from Manáus and other points of the country.

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[115]

Pertinent here is a talk that we had on the morning of the eighth of March 1956 with the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, who since 1922 has toiled heroically in the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, and which is found summarized in 6 points in our "Diário," the last five of which have to do with the subject in focus. That is: "1st. -- This year a larger number of Brazilian Indians who worked in Colombia died, among them three from Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié); 2nd. -- The Caiarí (Uaupés) has fewer people today than before, and it is going to decrease even more; 3rd. -- The Indians tend to come down, and a good-sized group of them is already established in Tapurucuá (former S. Isabel, on the lower Rio Negro); 4th. -- Many of the Pirá-tapúya of Aracú-ponta (Uaupés) have already come down to the Rio Negro, and others want to come down to there (and actually in our company, and in the same launch, on November 14, 1956, about two dozen Pirá-tapúya came down to Tapurucuá; 5th. -- They are also coming down from S. Luzia (river Papurí); some have already /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ settled near Bela-Vista and Tauá (lower Uaupés), where there are good lands, and they devote themselves to gathering rubber, which they will sell to José Maria

241 /247 cont./
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• 167
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/footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the complaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The
241 indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance, and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory
731 by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits
797 that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It
[438] seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

/278 cont./

756 according to the cures or /279/ other extraordinary deeds that they managed to achieve. The more famous ones will attract a clientele from great distances and even from other tribes. Even some of the civilized who have settled in those regions let themselves be influenced, and they too avail themselves of the services of the pajé.

755 The influence of the pajé is such that the very foods of the
756 sick person will be subjected to his blowing, Baxséke. Even the
*[192] remedies given by the civilized are presented to the pajé, who will blow on them in order to give them efficacy. If the sick person gets better, the merit will naturally belong to the pajé. If he does not happen to improve and dies, he will explain that it is a matter of a malefice of another "stronger pajé," or because of having taken a remedy of the whites, or food "not blown," or, finally, of having been overcome by a new and unexpected malefice before the pajé could be called.

And if it is declared that nothing more can be done, the patient will be abandoned as somebody fatally condemned to death; and not infrequently the relatives will deny him any assistance, and even food itself.

[763] The patient, many times, after such a verdict from the pajé, will hasten his own death, refusing other medicines from the civilized and any food or drink (see V 23, stoicism).

• 167 It has happened that the pajé might declare the maloca or the
756 povoado irremediably dangerous, and then the Indians will not have any hesitation about abandoning it and will move to another place, in spite of all the difficulties (29).

[164] 29. It has likewise happened that after a few years they return to the same place. In 1932 an outbreak of malaria killed about 70 Indians in Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés. Although none of the students of the missionary school fell victim to it, the Indians, in fear, abandoned the locality. In 1947 they started to return.

3: Fulop--1 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/97/

# Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

121 [122] /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 [101] 124 128 772 772 769 The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as interpreter. Owing to the short time of the investigation and to having consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

105 [171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. 304 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between 171 the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of the same lip. 301 On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well [554] polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/22 cont./

301 hole that is made artificially across the middle from one
554 extremity to the other: the principals wear them about half a span long; the nobles, a little less, and the common people much shorter."

301 187. "Some Indians of the Tariarana nation, inhabitants
135 of the Capuri River, were seen at another time with little
171 plates of gold /Port. folhetas de ouro/ in the ears, which, in exchange for feathers, they bought from Indians of other nations, whom they did not know. Now it is known that the Indians of the Panenuá nation, who inhabited the upper part of the Ucayari, wear the same little plates and that from them they are passed on to the Tarianos. There is doubt, however, as to where the above-mentioned fragments of gold come from" (3).

3. Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of João Pereira Caldas, Governador of the Rio Negro, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador (Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, p. 82) as follows: "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn by certain Indians of the Uaupés River as earrings; this is one thing about which I could not discover the slightest bit of information, although I have questioned many and different Nations, inhabitants of the same River, with whom I have talked. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing but a chimeric illusion that originated from having seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, whose wings, after being dried, resemble some metallic kind because of their thickness and shine. /This footnote is continued on the next page of the original source./

135 "Finally I believe that this Notice of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is to that degree Fabulous, as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of

/22 cont./

135 /footnote 3 cont./ Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, extracted or brought from the Tiquié River in the year of 1749, if melted, appear to be of silver, when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already carrying them as such."

*101 189. "The Issana is inhabited by Indians of the nations Baniva, Tumayari, Tuniari, Deçana, Puetana, Uerequena
171 and others. Those of the nation commonly called Uerequena,
[304] through corruption of the word /23/ Ariquena, have as a mark of distinction a very large hole between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears, in which they put bunches of straw. Among them are found many who, prior
[551] to communication and knowledge of Whites, had Hebrew names, some pure and others with slight corruption, such as: Joab, Jacob, Yacobí, Thomé, Thomequí, Davidú, Ivanan and Marianan."

b. Xavier Sampaio, in his "Diario," writes: -- No.
133 380. "Farther down the famous Ucayari, by another name
*[101] the Uaupés, derived from the nation called this, who principally inhabit it, creates a bar. It empties with two mouths and a triangular island of 20 leagues around and innumerable rocks and cachoeiras, very dangerous because of the frightening whirlpools they form... Toward the south the Tiquié and Capuri, which are the principal ones. Toward

/23 cont./

133 the north there runs a channel of communication with the river Guabiari, which descends from the environs of Santa
• 171 Fé de Bogotá. The Daçanas, Tarianas and Uaupés Indians
301 who might communicate with the Indians of the same Guabiari have been seen with earrings of very fine gold, which is supposedly extracted from the mines of New Granada."

*101 381. "The Uaupés is inhabited by many nations, the
301 principal ones of which are Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena,
554 Uananá, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinaná, Timanará, Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; the most famous one, however, is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of
[304] the common people much smaller. The Uaupés wear the ears and lips pierced."

127 c. Numerous and interesting pieces of information are found in the nineteenth century, especially in the works of Wallace and Koch Grünberg. We shall cite them whenever an opportunity presents itself to us, as confirmation of what is found at present, or to verify a modification of indigenous customs, or, finally, to rectify those authors' observations that seem incorrect to us.

4: Silva--46 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 33 in the original source/

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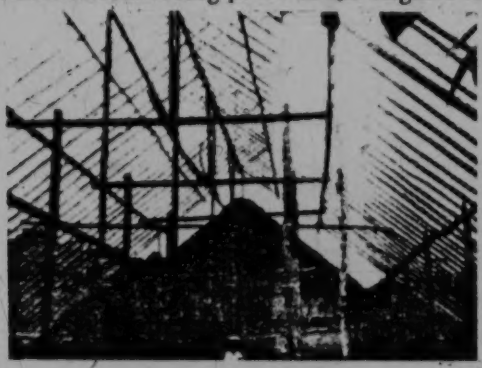

Maloca under construction (Kubewana tribe)

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At Ambaína (Querari River, tributary of the Uaupés)

Maloca under construction (Iawareté-tapuya tribe, Siari River, tributary of the Içana)

/67 cont./

842 b) An unquestionable fact is the fertility of the Indian woman. From the investigations made, there was reported to us only one instance of an individual's sending his wife back as sterile, the judgment, evidently, of the husband. In spite of the advantages or convenience of the Indian woman who does not want to have many children (and we have heard from their lips several times this declaration: "it is ugly to have many children"), and the practices that they use to space each delivery 2, 3, and even 4 or more years apart, the presence of numerous children in each povoado pleasantly surprises us. In our investigations we found a vigorous Indian man about 45 years of age, who had 11 children (24).

[171] 24. It is a matter of the Indian Agostinho Barbosa of the Taryana tribe, in Iauareté. It is true that in December of 1948 four of his 11 children had already died.

163 On one of our lists of individuals of various tribes, in the casual order in which the anthropometric measurements were made, 20 married people among men and women, of about 35 years of age or older, presented a total of 101 children. Therefore an average of 5 children per couple is shown. It is to be noted that only 18 dead children, without discrimi-
161 nation as to age, appear on this same list. If we imagine that all adults marry (ordinarily after 20 years of age) (25),

[587] 25. There was reported to us only the case of one man who did not find a wife; it is to be noted, however, that it was a matter of a widower.

and that the two sexes more or less correspond in number, it should be concluded that the population has

/69 cont./

*101 On our anthropometric file cards representatives of fourteen tribes appear, to wit: 1. Arapásu, 2. Bará, 3. Desana, 4. Karapanã, 5. Kubêwana, 6. Pirá-tapuya, 7. Suryana, 8. Tukano, 9. Tuyuka, 10. Yurití, 11. Wanana, 12. Kumãdene (or Ipéka-tapuya, water-duck people), 13. Taryãna, 14. Makú.

We also had an opportunity for communication with the tribes: 1. Ba:remasã, 2. Edúrya, 3. Emõá-masã (guariba-tapuya), 4. Hanẽrã (panẽnõa), 5. Íde-masã (water people, or Aõnĩrã), 6. Oá-mahã (mikura-tapúya), 7. Páboa-masã (tatú-tapúya), 8. Roéra-masã (tarayra-tapuya), 9. Yebá-masã, 10. Mirití-tapúya, 11. Ihwãna, 12. Tsẽna, all of the Tukano /Tucano/ group, and with a dozen tribes of the Arwáke /Arawak/ group, of the rivers Içana and Aiarí.

We do not include in the present study the tribes of the Içana. Nowadays relations are free and easy and trade is frequent between these tribes and the ones who inhabit the upper Uaupés. Not infrequently individuals from that river are found settled in the basin of the Uaupés. Entire groups /70/ have abandoned the Içana and tributaries, judged as "blighted," that is, through the scarcity of fish, and many times attracted by the greater comfort that the Catholic Missions provide for the inhabitants of the rivers Uaupés and Negro.

829 An impressive fact in such a notable physiological and cultural melting-pot is that all the natives, even the children, • 171 proudly know how to distinguish and express precisely the group to which they belong. What would be the basis for this distinction? There being in effect the law that the children belong to the nation of their own father, it is easy for the 000 individual to indicate what his own tribe would be. What, however, would be the foundations for this distinction between tribes? The first foundation, in dealing with nationality, would evidently be of a bio-ethnological order.

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).

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16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.

• 171 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

*192 The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small

[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-

[531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;

[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling

[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for

[411] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana

[567] /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/79 cont./

121 Among the tribes of the region being studied, we noted
171 the presence of small human groups of sylvicolists par
433 excellence, that is hunters, more or less nomadic; they are
241 the Maku. Whereas the other tribes are fluminicolists, that is, established on the banks of the important watercourses and given to fishing and agriculture. Although some Maku groups have assimilated many of the customs of the other tribes, we do not include them in these studies. We have already pointed out (I, Note 1) that the Maku are probably the most ancient inhabitants of the region.

The tribes that we studied are classified, then, in two large linguistic families:

101 1st. Tukano Family, covering the tribes: 1. Daxseá
121 or Tukano; 2. Bará or Barasana; 3. Bá:re-masã or Temyú-tapuya (food people); 4. Doxká-foará or Tuyuka (clay people); 5. Edúrya or Erúlya; 6. Emõá-masã or Waríwa-tapuya (guariba people); 7. Hanẽra or Panẽnoá; 8. Íde-masã, Aõ-nĩra, Makuná or Yí-tapuya /80/ (water people); 9. Ihwana or Yona; 10. Koneá or Arapásu (woodpecker people); 11. Kótirya or Wanana; 12. Mõxtã or Karapanã-tapuya (daddy-longlegs people); 13. Neenõá or Miriti-tapuya (buriti people); 14. Oá-mahã or Mikura-tapuya (gambá people); 15. Pamĩwa or Kubewana; 16. Páboa-maxsã or Tatu-tapuya (tatu people); 17. Roéra-masã or Taraíra-tapuya (taraíra people); 18. Surirá or Suryana; 19. Tsẽna; 20. Yebá-masã; 21. Wahyara, Waíana or Yuriti-tapuya (dove people); 22. Waí-khãna or Pirá-tapuya (fish people); 23. Winá or Desana.

2nd. Arwake Family, including the tribes: 1. Kumãdene or Ipeka-tapuya (water-duck people); 2. Talyáseri or Taryana. We speak only of these two, because the other tribes of this numerous family do not inhabit the Uaupés basin, and, indeed, that of the rivers Içana, Xié, and Negro.

/89/

c) BÁ:RE-MASÃ OR TẽMYÚ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- The idiom of the Bá:re-masã, or "food people," likewise belongs to the family of Tukano languages. As can be verified by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), it is quite close to the language of the Roéra. We met a representative of the Bá:re-masã Tribe living among the Íde-masã of the Comé--ía (maloca Bõhõ-
[144] rya-hidó, mouth of the stream of the spider). He was (in August of 1956) a type of about 38 to 40 years old, short in stature, fat, skin of a light bronze, nose small and high at the point, rounded face, not very prominent zygoma, and
[301] almost cymotrichous black hair. He had pierced ears, with
[304] a plug approximately one centimeter in diameter stuck
[171] through them, the largest orifice in the lobes that we have found among the various tribes of the Uaupés.

[582] The law of the exogamy is also in force within the tribe, and marriages seem to be concluded with the Hanẽra, Bará, and Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The tribe of the Bá:re-masã is very reduced in members. We know of the existence of a maloca on the stream Umũ-ía (stream of the japú /bird/), tributary of the left bank of the stream Timí-ia (stream of the otter), which, in turn, flows in on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná, a little above the mouth of the Comé-ia.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The above informant, called Titõyã (also known by the name of Domingos), indicated to us as being divisions of his tribe: 1st. -- Íde-masã, 2nd. -- Ogóro-sõroa. It is probable that the first subdivision, Íde-masã, is the principal tribe of the Comé-ia (cf. IV -- 2, h) considered related to the Bá:re-masã, and not a simple division of the latter. The Ogóro-sõroa are the Hógolo-tsõloa or Tsõroa mentioned by Koch-Grünberg (Z. I. 370) on the Yauacacá-Igarapé, almost identical to the Edúrya in idiom.

/91 cont./

*101 f) EMÕÁ-MASÃ OR GUARIBA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Emõá, in the native idiom, is the name of the guariba /howler/ monkey. Their language also belongs to the Tukano family /92/ (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia"). We found /some words, perhaps a line of the text, are missing here in the original source/ [144] Ide-masã of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hidó of the Comé-ia. This was a type of average stature, slender body, delicate features, not very prominent zygoma, elongated face, high, thin nose, skin lighter than that of the Tukano, fine, black, somewhat [171] wavy hair.

[582] Tribal exogamy is observed. We know of marriages with Ide-Masã, Hanẽra, and Bará.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They inhabit the forests between the headwaters of the Tiquié and the river Pirá-paraná. They are few nowadays, according to the informant, who could give us barely 3 subdivisions. It is to be noted that, according to the informant, the Yebá and Roéra are part of her tribe. This agrees with some information obtained three years previously from a Yéba, who, among the divisions of his tribe, named [361] the Emõá and the Roéra (cf. IV-2, t). If the Yéba are to be included among the Emõá, these would be, in all, several [171] hundreds of individuals, because the Yéba live in several malocas in the region embraced between the Comé-ia and the Pirá-paraná.

Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 401) speaks of the greatly feared Guaríua or Guariba-Tapuya located below the Jurí and Passé, that is, in the basin of the river Japurá. The Emõá can not be identified with these Guariua-Tapuya, but rather with the Õmõá of the sources of the Tiquié.

[115] 3) Divisions. Informant, the Indian woman Misirã, about 50 years old (1957), also known as Joaquina, wife of the Ide-masã tuxáua of the Comé-ia:

/108 cont./

*101 as brothers or relatives of those of another tribe, with matrimonial interdication, although they are distinguished, not only by the language, but even somatically or bio-ethnologically. This is the case, for example, with regard to the Tukano and Bará.

3) Divisions -- The informant above indicated to us only the Yebá-Yetána. Various tribes, such as the Hanẽra, Yebá, Emõã, indicated as their subdivision the Roéra or Taraíra. Is it actually a matter of /109/ subdivisions of these tribes, or do the Roéra constitute a tribe per se? If the dialectic difference is small, as the Vocabularies compared reveal to us, the somatic one is greater, in spite of the matrimonial arrangement that binds these tribes. If we keep in mind the fact that among all these tribes exogamous marriage is in force as a strict law (cf. 1, a (1) ), matrimonial non-interdiction could serve as a criterion for distinguishing the tribes, although the interdiction is not always useful as a classificatory criterion.

r) SURIRÁ OR SURYANA

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Surirá, meaning unknown, and they are called Suryana by those of other tribes. Probably it is the same tribe as the one called Cirango by Curt Nimuendajú.

Their language belongs to the Tukano group, as is seen in the Vocabulary that we collected and recorded (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"). Possibly the one that comes in the 16th place in the linguistic classification of Chestmir (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"), and he has located it erroneously on the river Caiari.

[144] [171] [829] They are lighter in complexion than the Tukano, small face, less Mongoloid features, and also shorter and less corpulent than they are. Morally more decayed, they are regarded by the Tukano as inferior, and they judge themselves as such. They are, in reality, slower in assimilating civilization, lazier, less

/109 cont./
*101 susceptible to stimulus (40).

40. The appearance of their homes in Acuaricuara confirms the impression that they are more decayed. It is true that in November of 1953 two Suryana families were building the two best houses of the missionary povoado. About the moral decadence, the fact that a father was living maritally with his daughter. It must be pointed out that the Tukano did not accept a Suryana as a labor overseer; nevertheless, in the Mission school the two most intelligent young men were Suryana.

[171] [835] [829] [797]

In Acuaricuara we found Suryana married to Tukano and to Desana; matrimonial interdiction is thus not in force between these tribes. Exogamy is also mandatory among the Suryana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We found some groups on the headwaters of the Papurí and on the river Paca (Acuaricuara and surroundings). They are not to be confused with the Širyaná of Arwake origin located on the Demêni, whom Curt K. identified with the Bahuna.

According to the information obtained in Acuaricuara, the Suryana tribe is greatly reduced in members. There would be about 250 individuals: 120 in S. Geraldo (river Paca), 80 in Vinha-igarapé, 30 in Uiva-igarapé, and 20 in Tapira-cachoeira (river Paca).

[115] /110/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Manoel Rodriguez from Acuaricuara.

1. Tu-boá (?), in S. Geraldo
2. Behé burisêra (Suryana tapurú /caterpillar/), in Vinha-igarapé
3. Wiva (arrow), in Uíva-igarapé (river Paca, above Tapira-cachoeira)

/119 cont./

A/101 Their Arwáke ancestry makes us think of a probable descent by way of the rivers Orinoco-Negro, some groups (Ipeka, Baniva, etc.) becoming localized through the valley of the Içana and Xié, and others (Baré and Taryãna) descended farther. The Baré went as far as the mouth of the Rio Negro, and the Taryãna as far as that of the Uaupés, whose stream they later went up. These migrations must have taken place several centuries ago. Actually, at the time of the discoveries, the Arwáke were already found on the rivers that they now occupy. Furthermore, the first explorers who reached the Orinoco River found among the local tribes the belief that the inhabitants of the Rio Negro were giants (cf. Sampaio, "Diario" of 1774-5, p. 302). We can then infer an interval of centuries for the appearance and generalization of legends of this sort.

[829] [171]

/120/ Habitat and inhabitants. -- The statistics of the Missions of the Capuchin Monks from 1880 to 1888 indicate 11 aldeias inhabited by the Taryana, with a total of 2,272 souls, whose principal centers were: Iauareté, S. Joaquim, Nanã-Rapecũma, S. Jerônimo, Micura-Rapecũma, Carurú-cachoeira. We can affirm that, of these centers indicated, at present there are Taryãna only in Iauareté, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Micura-Rapecũma. The last data that we have show only 717 in Ipanoré, Pinú-pinú, Cigarro Buzina and from Iauareté up to Periquito, all the localities on the river Uaupés, and in Aracapá, Japurá and surroundings on the river Papurí, and on the river Javiarí. It is possible that other Arwáke groups closer in language and customs, residing in the basin of the Içana, were included in the reckoning of the Capuchins.

3) Divisions. -- In October of 1953 a group of Taryana from Iauareté, among them two old men more than 60 years of age, verified the list that we are giving below and obtained on previous trips. There was indecision among the informants regarding the order and meaning of the names, due, perhaps, to the decline of the group, which, besides its reduction in members, is losing its own idiom.

/160 cont./

142 All of them have a full figure, up to about 30 years of age. After that age, corpulence becomes exaggerated in some men, and the women on the whole lose weight, growing old prematurely. They do not promote any deformation for aesthetic or warlike effect (34).

[171] [304]

34. The deformation of the skull is characteristic of the Caraîbas /Carib/, applying tight splints to the children's heads. Among the Amazon tribes the first explorers found this custom among the Cambeba ("Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, 145). In some tribes, for example, the Pinao of Colombia, this was done in order to have a fierce appearance.

826 The maidens exhibit round, well-developed breasts. They identify beauty with corpulence. When someone changes climate in order /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /161/ to gather strength, they say that "he went in search of meat." No preoccupation with the waistline; they do not use a girdle.

302 The hair in particular is an object of vanity. They arrange it, comb it often, the women and the new generation of men. The young men, during trips, gather flowers from the bank of the river and string them through their hair, over the ear. They apply lotions, which they prepare with genipap and other plants, in order to keep it black. This is the secret in why they never become gray... They love beads, soaps, perfumes. A maiden sold herself for half a jar of pomade.

They like the mirror very much and stare at it frequently; formerly they gave an oar in exchange for a small mirror.

The young women are sad about being dark, and in order to lighten the skin they rub it vigorously with soap and even with sand, looking at themselves again each time, in order to see whether they are becoming fairer.

/166 cont./

521 593 [115] It is to be noted that the husband never converses with his wife at night, only during the day, and they carry on long talks when they are resting after work. At night only gossip among persons of the same /167/ sex is permitted (so we were informed by the old Taryana woman Teodora from Iauareté, and Dorotéia Brito, Tukano, confirmed it) (44).

[184] 44. Among the Ide-maxsã of the stream Koméya, we have observed conversation between husband and wife during the night. Perhaps phrases imposed by necessity are not forbidden, and only conversation for diversion is prohibited.

171 521 574 [115] A singular meeting of pajés gave us the chance of an excursion to the middle Uaupés in May of 1956. We were traveling in the company of two Tukano pajés, Marcelino and Henrique, the pajé of Juquira and of Japú-igarapé, respectively. A breakdown in the stern motor forced us to stop longer in the povoado of Periquito, of the Taryana tribe. The two pajés in transit greeted in a common manner the Taryana colleague of the locality. Soon afterwards, however, the three pajés settled down on the bank of the river at a distance of 50 or 60 centimeters from one another, each one smoking his cigarette (which one of the visitors had given to the other two). And without looking at each other, turned toward the river, they started to recite, in quite a loud voice and characteristic tone, which could be distinguished some 20 meters away. That dialogue lasted more than half an hour, during which now one and then another of the three would take turns speaking, always with the intervention of the other two, who would repeat the last words of the speaker's sentence, or other words, by way of refrain. It was a recollection of the episodes that, according to the legends of the origins, took place in those surroundings, the story of their islands, canals, cachoeiras, and rocks, a recollection with the power of an exorcism and augury of successful navigation. It was not possible for us to determine whether there was also an invocation of the "mothers of the things,"

171 /167 cont./
521 as Stradelli affirms having witnessed on the occasion of the imposition of the name (45).
574

521 45. A similar event took place in August of 1956
574 on the Ribeirão /stream/ Timí-ya (left tributary
[115] of the river Pirá-paraná). At the hour for breakfast we stopped in a clearing that rose on the left of anyone who went down the stream. One of our oarsmen, of the Bará tribe, found there a tribal "brother" of his. Our oarsman, then, stopped his repast, and the two Bará, standing on a large felled trunk, turned toward the west (probably in order not to have the sun hurting their face), likewise without looking at each other, engaged in a dialogue with each other in a very loud voice. It was again the augury of a happy trip, through the recollections of the legends of the origins, as we were told. This dialogue must have lasted a quarter of an hour; afterwards the two of them sat down on the trunk and continued in a cheerful conversation, in a lower and friendly tone, while they ate, since our oarsman put our food at the disposal of his "brother," and both served themselves freely.

This same Bará oarsman provided us with a similar spectacle the following night, although in more unpleasant circumstances. A storm and the dark of the night caught us navigating the Pirá-paraná, and precisely in the vicinity of the dangerous "cachoeira /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ of the beijú." A tent was improvised with two small canvases, which protected the luggage and some hammocks, on the left bank. About midnight the sound of oars was heard; a canoe approached the bank and its crew came up, among them an old man of the Ihwãna tribe. Either they already knew each other or this

\ /210 cont./

291

/footnote 41 cont./ point out that this is precisely the custom of these Indians, to name the plants according to the use for which they are intended.

which at first sight is similar to a hernia truss. It consists of a strap of goods about six or eight centimeters in width, covering the private parts, passing in between the legs and tied at the ends to a cord as a waistband, at the height of the flanks. Naturally this string must be uncomfortable, and probably, in order to get used to it, the little boys, before wearing the waxsó-ro, start by wearing only the waist string. It also seems that there is no prescribed age for the wearing of the waxsó-ro. Certainly all the boys wear it after six or eight years of age.

As for the persons of female sex in the povoados along the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí, from a very early age, certainly from 3 or 4 years old, they now appear before the civilized with the body completely covered, or at least with a skirt from the waist to below the knee. The cases of a simple short skirt above the knee or a piece of cloth wrapped around like a tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ are very rare.

Evidently these coverings are prescribed by the civilized, notably by the Catholic Missions. Would they have anything original, how and of what material?

There is no doubt but that the masculine waxsó-ro, from the shape and the use, is neither imitation of the Civilized nor advice of the latter to the Indian, although it is made with imported goods and not with the fabric made by the Indians or embira of tururí. The waxsó-ro is of very ancient and general use among the Karaíba tribes of America. Wallace, a century ago, among the Indians of the Uaupés, describes it to us as being a piece of liber or bast of tururí (42).

[171]

42. In the middle of the eighteenth century (1759) Padre José M. de Noronha reports it for the Tecuna (o. c. No. 139).

/218 cont./

224 d) Meats and edible animals. Hunting, as we find it in the present stage, is only a sport for the Indian. If we exclude the "wild pigs" (of the genera Dicotyles and Tayassu), which sometimes appear in herds in certain places (48),

> 48. Just as the piracema /shoal of fish/ appears, as a rule, in the same places, so do the wild pigs have their habitual path and customarily cross the rivers at certain points, where the hunter catches them.

when the river is low and the javarizeiro /palm tree, Astrocaryum/ ripens its fruit, game is rare. It is used, therefore, only to vary the "menu" from time to time. All the more since the Indian will always share the fruit of his hunting with those who live in the same maloca, and he will commonly do it for those who reside in houses neighboring his (if he does not sell it to the civilized).

252 They prepare the game by "moqueando-a" /smoking it/, like the fish. And it seems that they never eat raw meat; they even say that it is only Wax-tí who eats raw meat. And they also eat snake meat. The principal animals that serve them as food
262 are (49):

231

> 49. The dogs are generally skinny and often also sick; for this reason and because of the services that they render, they do not eat them. There are indications that in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) the natives ate a fat dog killed by a shotgun. The caboclo of the Rio Negro is incapable of killing a dog, even a sick one. He fears that this "sin" (as they think and say) would bring upon them the punishment of S. Lazarus, who they regard as protector of the dogs and who would punish them, probably, with leprosy.

[171]

/242 cont./

224 *[192] b) Hunting.

1) Hunting by pursuit (amã̃ siró-tú pexkayesé).

The fauna of the Amazonian northwest is poor, in quality and quantity, in animals for eating. But hunting, besides providing food, is an enjoyable sport for the Indian. Poor as it is, hunting in the dense virgin forest can only be practiced by groups [177] of two or three Indians. Rarely will he go out alone, until very recently, when he obtained a shotgun from the civilized. With the shotgun or with the bow, the Indians are worthy /243/ hunters. He will also rarely go in large groups; this only when they locate in some zone a herd of wild pigs. Then they try to surround them, and with arrows and stabbing sticks /Port. paus terçados/ they kill a large number (72).

> 72. Not infrequently it happens that the herd of pigs, starving or attacked, attacks the men, who save themselves by quickly climbing the trees.

A man's treasured helpers in hunting are the dogs, small, skinny, and often almost blind because of the stings of the ants, taxi, but, perhaps for this very reason, with a more acute sense of smell.

[171] The Makú are specialized hunters. When they go to track the animal chased by the dogs, they make a lot of noise, with characteristic cries, and nothing, neither the cipos, thorns, nor other obstacles, is able to stop them.

*[192] 2) Hunting by ambush (pexkáye du'tigõ or pexkáye pe'sã-kõ).

The animals have their drinking places (73)

> 73. On the upper Tiquié, near the Cachoeira Grande, one sees a stone that the antas come to lick. The ground or stone with natural salts, and for this reason sought by the antas, deer, and other animals, is called "anta sucker."

/251/

439 The Indians who are in contact with the civilized obtain clothing and many objects from them in order later to resell these to other natives. It has been verified that in this trade they show economic judgment and know how to make large profits, not only among the Indians of a different tribe, but also among their own tribal "brothers" (82).

[437]

82. We know, for example, that the Tukano Indians residing in Melo Franco received flour from other Tukano from the mouth of the Áua in order to sell it to the Salesian Mission, and for this transaction alone they demanded from their "brothers" 50 per cent of the price of the flour.

8) Means of communication.

501 For their trade and social relations the means of communication are the rivers and igarapés; the canoe, then, is the primary means of transportation (83).

[171]

83. They never build rafts. The Maku, because they only live in the interior of the forests, do not know how to make canoes, nor do they possess them. They say that sometimes they improvise rafts in order to cross rivers or their branches. These are very rare events, however.

491 Since ordinarily these rivers are quite wide and subject to great differences in level and impetuousness of the waters during the time of high water, it is not possible to build bridges. As for passage across small brooks, they either do it by fording them or they take down trees without any concern except that they connect the two banks. This work, by the way, is very rare, because at every step one finds trees felled by storms, which serve as bridges.

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484 As for the sharp sense of direction of the natives in the forest, or
823 their topographic sense, which has been praised so much, it seems to be the fruit of poetic imagination, if it is generalized for the tribes of the Caiarí. They know very well the rivers and forests that they frequent; however, they do not risk going very far into the forest. They tell of various episodes in which they were lost in the forest. And, in order for this not to happen, they avail themselves of the expedient of breaking branches, all in the same direction, as they draw
• [171] away from the usual paths. The Makú live in the interior of the forests, are hunters, and therefore orient themselves better. It is to be pointed out, however, that they are seminomadic and always travel in groups.

b) Mathematics.

*192 The natives have different names for the first five numbers and
802 distinguish the masculine, feminine, and neuter (thing), to wit:

| Number | Masculine | Feminine | Neuter |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | nikã, nikõ | nikõ | nikã |
| 2 | põãra, põana | põãra, põana | põã, põãro |
| 3 | i'tyãra, i'tyãna | i'tyãra, i'tyãna | i'tyã, I'tyãro |
| 4 | ba'pári-tĩra | ba'pári-tĩra | ba'pári-tise |
| (Uaupés) | bapári-tĩna | ba'pári-tĩna | |
| 5 | nikã-mũköra | nikã-mũköra | nikã-mũköse |
| (Uaupés) | nikã-mũköna | nikã-mũköna | |

It should be noted that Nikã-mũkõ̃ra, properly speaking, means one hand. And ordinarily they prefer to indicate the number of fingers (2, 3, etc.) rather than pronounce the numbers. From five on, all of them, practically, are content to show the corresponding number of fingers. The more intelligent ones know how to count up to twenty, using the fingers of the hands and the toes. They no longer know how to count numbers higher than twenty.

*192 Properly speaking they do not have measures of extension or
804 length. They speak of sẽẽrõ (sẽẽnõ), nikáti sẽẽrõ, the breadth of the arm span or the two open arms, põãti sẽẽrõ, two arm-spans, etc.; a step, yeraró, nikáti yeraró, one step; a handspan, wamũ-ka keoró or wamũ-pama-keoró, nikã pama, one handspan, põã wamũ-ka-keoró, two handspans, ba'páritise wamũ-ka-peosé, four handspans.

/314 cont./

*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõã-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Maku tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of earrings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that [177] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer [304] pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komĩ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 535 237 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

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765 most horrible stench, there remaining at the end only the carbonized bones, which are immediately ground up and reduced [415] to powder. This powder is then placed in various enormous tubs (vats or vessels made out of wood) full of caxiri. The group present then drinks the caxiri until the last drop is finished. They believe that by so doing the virtues of the dead are transmitted to everyone who takes this drink."

171 765 It is a custom that is found among other tribes of America, and even of the Amazon, according to the information from the ancient explorers, for example, among the Warekena of the rivers Içana and Xié, the Šomena of the river Japurá, etc. (cf. "Roteiro /Logbook/" of Pe. Noronha, 222). And, according to what was told us in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, this custom was in force until the end of the last century among the Taryana, until the beginning of this one among the Kubewãna, according to what Koch G. states and, moreover, what the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira told us in 1955, and it is the present practice of the tribes of the river Cauaburi, among whom Pes. Miguel Ghigo and Antônio Goes were present at such events.

[115] The same custom also existed among the Wanãna, we were assured by Tomás Paiva, son of the tuxawa /sic/ of Carurú-cachoeira, and other young Wanãna, but it fell into disuse as early as two generations ago.

765 Among the Kubewãna Koch G. (Z. I. 316) was present at one of these events in the maloca of Namacoliba (?). The Tuxaua disinters the remains of his predecessor, dead for 15 years, and burns it in front of the maloca. The carbonized bones are later cleaned and placed in a pot on the fire day and night for a month, until they are reduced to ashes. These, on the occasion of a solemn caxiri, which is held with a large crowd of people, are pounded, sifted, and mixed with a thick drink, prepared in great abundance with maize. The Tuxaua, with a stick, tries to spread the ashes well in the drink, and afterwards, with a large cuia, distributes it to the men standing around him. It is a drink reserved for the old ones and the fathers and mothers of families, who, although they might not be old, already have three children.

765 /377 cont./
53

Koch concludes that at this cannibalistic feast there were dances of masks on which he could verify the following details: the participants wore a band of yellow bark as a stole on the neck, and on the left arm a banner of bark, in the right hand a rhythm tube (VII -- 3, c (3 c) ) of imbauba, with paintings representing fish. They advance and back up and, marking time with the right foot, carry on a monotonous song with innumerable repetitions.

171 We could seek the origin of this peculiar custom, which is
765 also found among other tropical tribes of South America, teaches Koch, in the belief that the bones that remain after death are the /378/ last place in which the spirits reside. And with the ingestion of the ashes the individuals incorporate in themselves the substance and the spirit of the ancestors.

5. Morality.

121 When we deal with this subject, the necessity of some warn-
831 ings beforehand is imposed:

1st. -- We limit the breadth of the term morality to the common and vulgar meaning, as if it were a synonym of moderation of carnal concupiscence, or further as a synonym of customs in force in sexual relations.

2nd. -- We present, naturally, those points in discrepancy with the norms of Christian morals and which, for this very reason, impress one more.

797 3rd. -- Many of the customs that we were able to collect
831 are not in force, obviously, in those groups or among those individuals who are under the influence of the Catholic Missions. But the Missionaries themselves are the first to confess that the modifications of the ancestral customs that they achieve in the field of morality are the fruit of many exhortations, vigilance, and the frequency of the sacraments and religious practices.

/395 cont./

*192 Koró dikúya ayá kwá-yarí
533 Kapité marí apinã
539 Kapité marí kapité marí kuyá-yá kuya-arí
Kapité marí kuyá-yá yá yá-yá (whistle)

5. Song-dance with the yuxkõ (130)

• [171]

130. These sounds Perikuli (7th) and kwai (5th) are precisely the names of the principal personages of the Arwáke legends, corresponding, respectively, to Bũxpõ and O'ã-kõ of the Tukano legends. Would it be a mere coincidence of sounds in different languages? Would they be Arwáke songs learned by the tribes of the Tukano group? Might all the dances of these tribes be of Arwáke origin?

Yá yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
E yá yá perikú êê perikwê
Yaká yõ kayó yuaí
Yá piré-ku-li nomé-nõ
Perikwé pyaká wamé tyá
Pamí kwai peri-dikú êê yó
Perí-ku-li yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)

/396/

6. Song-dance with the yuxkõ
Ma dyá pa-wõ (whistle)
Dyá diká apyá kapi akapyá
Kapi pawi diká yukú kapyá
Kapyá dewá yukú
Wapyá yukú deyé-wé
Kapyá kapi pawi dewá yukú
Kapyá kápi pawi dewá jukú
Wapi-a yukú nomã-a yavi
Wapi yá yú mã-di-yá
Wapi yá yú mã-di-yá
Sawé sawé (whistle)

/432 cont./

177 Many times they refuse to reveal to the civilized the "blown
551 name." It is not probable that a superstitious fear (the taboo of the name) enters into this refusal (51),

[171]

51. Pierre Gordon (L'initiation sexuelle et l'évolution réligieuse /The sexual initiation and religious evolution/, p. 132) explains "teknonymy," that is, the custom (incidentally quite widespread: Asia, Africa, America, Oceania) of not uttering the father's name and designating him by the expression: "the father of So-and-So" (saying the child's name), by means of the taboo of the name. The omission of the name would be a sign of respect, just as among many tribes the name of the sacred objects and, among the Jews, that of Javé /Yahweh/ are omitted. And thus he points out that among the Gold there is an interdiction against mentioning the father's name, while being able to say that of one's own mother or wife, because they are in an inferior position. Likewise among the tribes of the Caburí the woman never pronounces the husband's name, she will always say "the father of N."

as if the name represented part of the personality and, for this reason, to reveal it would be harmful to the individual. As a matter of fact, they call each other by the Christian name, and they indicate their own "blown name" and those of their companions with relative ease. The children at school call their companions by the Baxséke Wamẽ in fun and mockery. They hide it in shame, be it indecent or not, in order to seem civilized.

One notices a tendency to abbreviate the names: Candí (for Cândido), Beré (Bernardo), Mandú (Manoel). And many of them, due to the difficulty of pronunciation, corrupt the names:

/437 cont./

881
[797]

/footnote 60 cont./ customs and the extirpation of those which are contrary to the morality of the Gospel, retaining only those that do not harm this morality. For example, many of the young men are boarding in the Mission schools at the time of the puberty initiation. There are few cases in which the young men at such a time of life fail to return to the school, in order to go through the "rite of initiation." And some affirm that the youth can marry even without having been subjected to such a rite.

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after a theoretico-practical course. It is a matter of a religious function, as if it were the consecration or sanctification of the individual, who is integrated into the group of the worshipers of Wãx-tĩ.

*[192]

a) Course of male initiation -- Mĩĩ-mẽra, a'mõ-yesé (61).

[115]

61. These data are based on descriptions made by natives of the Tukano, Wanana, Pirã-tapuya, Taryana, Tuyuka, Desana, Bará, Kumãdene, and Baré tribes. This last informant did it according to recollections of his initiation, more than thirty years before, in Tamanduá. It is, however, a general custom of all the tribes of the region, of the Tukano group as well as of the Arwáke and of the Makú, as the natives themselves affirmed.

• [171]

According to the number of inhabitants of a maloca, the young men, upon reaching puberty (62)

[115]

62. The Baré Plácido from Melo informed us that at his initiation there were 20 young men in all, and about ten persons, between pajés and Komũã, instructed them. It was, however,

562
869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother, in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
835 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public
881 sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).
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> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coianã Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirã-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

[192]
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[126]
[115]

562 /444 cont./

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/footnote 82 cont./ however, she recovers her spirits, the operation is further repeated some four or five times with an interval of six hours. It is considered a great offense to the parents if the blows are not given with much force. During this test, all kinds of meats and fish are prepared in huge pots. Following that, those present dip into these the cipos, which immediately afterwards are given to the girl to lick. From then on she will be able to eat everything she wishes. And from this moment on she is considered a woman. She is thus ready for marriage" (o. c. 634).

[184]

There perhaps is confusion with what happens among the tribes of the Içana and among the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés on the occasion of the dabacuris. According to what the Kubewana of the Ambaíba maloca, mouth of the Querari, told us, when the father of a youth decides to look for a wife for his son, he takes advantage of the dabacuri and applies to the chosen girl three lashes with the adabi (VII-4, e (2b) ). If she stoutly endures the blows, it is an indication that she is already mature for dealing with the responsibilities of a home.

[584]

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In some Arwake tribes a caxiri is held later; it is the feast called Karyamã (83),

83. Karyamã is the name of the type of beijú prescribed for this circumstance.

which may last as long as four days (it seems that it is the same number of days as the seclusion of the girl). Then she will dance with everyone, including the pajé, and will smoke with them on the cigar made of banana leaves and tobacco. It seems that on

562 /444 cont./
881 this /445/ occasion there are games and entertainments among the
527 young individuals of the maloca (84).
171

84. One of the informants spoke to us about the "game of the lemon" for this circumstance. We heard about a Maku girl, Teresa by name, who on this occasion ran away with the youth, with whom she spent a few days. It seems that this is a matter of a conventional flight, because in reality they withdrew to a hut about 20 or 30 meters from the maloca.

562
881 Abstention from work for some days is verified; for example,
784 she will not light the fire, "in order not to be burned." Then the young woman resumes her normal life; she will work in the clearing and in the house with her mother. For another month, accord-
[115] ing to information by Dorotéia Brito, she may not taste salt or eat either piraíba or the flesh of large animals, "in order not to ruin the teeth" (85).

85. Concerning a young Bará, sister-in-law of a Karapanã, in whose maloca, on the headwaters of the Áua, she submitted to the puberty rite, we were able to observe that she did in fact subject herself to a severe alimental diet, not accepting our salted foods, nourishing herself with beijú, tapioca, and fruits. We saw her, however, approach the fire, stir it up, and put some green bananas on to roast for herself.

881 During the following menstruation the rite of the seclusion of
562 the young woman is renewed. This second stage of the puberty
*[192] initiation is called Mahã-mĩ-nõsé. It is identical to the first one,

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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character
[342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor.
[596] The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu-
[553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social seg-
[614] ments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into
[796] one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kúwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yuvi*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul-
197 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papuri River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiari River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querari River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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in part, I believe, to cosmopolitanism, to the capability of the Indians to adopt foreign objects and foreign customs without losing their sense of identity as Indian. As long as the point of view remains Indian, the culture may change but it will still retain for the Indian a distinctive and satisfying pattern. It is when the clear identification as Indian in the cultural sense is lost that change is likely to mean breakdown.

Cosmopolitanism is but one general factor in a process of culture change that is exceedingly intricate and subtle, in which there are no clear-cut stages but endless gradations in the transition from Indian to the new cultural and psychological entity that emerges. Another general factor is the white agent. On the Cuduiari the white man does not intrude directly upon the Indian's daily life. The missionary expects the Indian to come to him at the mission station. Even then the missionary effort is a patient one. Mainly it goes through the children who are educated at the mission school. Mission Indians and tribal Indians lead different lives but they are not mutually antagonistic. Between them there is a gradation but not a gap.

The commercial white man, the rubber collector (*balatero*), or the trader has only a limited interest in the Indians. The Indian, having completed his contract work in the rubber forest, returns to his own community and is instantly enmeshed in the tribal life. But even in the rubber forests his associates have been fellow Indians, of foreign tribes, to be sure, but to this experience the Indian has been well accustomed. As for the white employer, he is often less a carrier of European culture than he is a frontiersman, a distinct tropical forest product himself. He is partly Indianized and he is generally the husband of an Indian wife.

Among the Mundurucú of central Brazil, as vividly described by Robert Murphy (1960), an anthropologist, work in the rubber forests and the contractual production of farinha, a manioc flour, for the white man were potent factors in the disruption, indeed in the virtual obliteration, of the native culture. To compare Mundurucú with Cubeo is to set off a society that has become ugly and disordered with its meager hoard of cheap objects of white manufacture with a well-ordered and fundamentally satisfying way of life. Unlike the Mundurucú, the Cubeo have succeeded in withstanding both the rubber forest and manioc trade. Far from being overcome, the Cubeo have been able to use the income from labor in the rubber forests and from the sale of farinha to further their own cultural objectives. Murphy tells of the insatiable longing of the Mundurucú for the trinkets and gadgets of the white trader. For these objects of intrin-

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177 sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom
182 and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's
[171] trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small mestizo-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand,
[342] when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments
[796] he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a
[346] residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are
177 stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness.
291 As late as 1903 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper
182 Vaupés and all over the Cuduiarí where the women were totally naked and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiarí and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiarí; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way. 621 182

Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain. 621 342 182 [592]

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses. [171]

In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y general*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habóhũ*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kenámi upáhũ* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along 178 342 621 614 [177]

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## THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The Cubeo economy may be characterized as essentially inelastic, sustenance-oriented, and egalitarian. In these respects it contrasts with parallel root horticulture economies in other parts of the world, such as in Oceania and Africa. In those areas economies are generally in the service of social status and of political power and are, consequently, dynamic, fostering social and economic inequality. Among the Cubeo, on the other hand, and in the South American tropical forest as a whole, social status is a minor issue in production, while the headman, who in Oceania and in Africa plays a commanding role in economic distribution, has here only the most diffuse economic functions. 433 171

The relative inelasticity of an economy is, needless to say, a function of many factors. In the case of tropical forest horticulture, the nature of crops, soils, methods of cultivation, and tools are all relevant. Even more significant, however, are such factors as the social organization of production, including such fundamental matters as the division of labor, as well as the nature of political controls. The motives of production are of greatest importance. Motives of status and of political power provide, all other factors being equal, for an expanding economy. When the aim of production is mainly to provide sustenance and to maintain a limited network of lateral (as opposed to hierarchical) exchanges the economy tends to remain in equilibrium with its customary standards of community size. Such an economy is conservative and traditionalistic. 433

With respect to physical factors, Cubeo manioc horticulture has come close to reaching a productive limit in terms of yield per acre. The yield from *Manihot utilissima* normally ranges from six to ten tons per acre. Among the *Bahúkiwa* I estimated the acreage yield to be between five and six tons, a productivity that reflects considerable agronomical skill and effort. Any substantial increase in aggregate production would have to come more from expanded acreage, for which the land is available, than from more intensive cultivation of present plots. Acreage expansion, however, is limited by a combination of social and cultural conditions as well as by the peculiar nature of bitter manioc itself. As is well known, the ease of cultivation of bitter manioc and its relatively high yield is offset by the great effort required to rid the tubers of hydrocyanic acid. I have already described the processing of manioc from raw tuber to a cake and its heavy demands on the time of the women. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop and the load of 50–60 pounds that a woman carries home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. 244 433 [147].

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There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grünberg was told the same thing (1909, I, 264). One is also told that other people have powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this, but Koch-Grünberg, who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desanas had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grünberg that great chiefs ruled along the Papurý and Tiquié rivers. When he got there he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now. 643 622 114

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grünberg notes that the headmanship is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it that the house is kept in order; and if he leaves for any length of time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took him seriously. Koch-Grünberg had the impression, however, that the oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a headman. 622 171 [888] [554]

## LAW AND JUSTICE

With respect to the administration of justice and of order the headman is no magistrate. He is a mediator, a counselor, and often a persuasive advocate of his own views. It is the entire adult community that must reach a decison. The headman provides for orderly discussion until a decision is reached. Within the sib a primary objective of the headman's efforts is to smooth over difficulties, calm tempers, and restore the atmosphere of congeniality. There are, however, serious breaches of the peace, such as sorcery, persistent adultery, chronic and malicious theft of food, and murder when punishment is called for. In such cases the aim of the headman is not to calm 622 627 [614]

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831
832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
562 age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to
[171] have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavimiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Küwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbeküku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Küwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Küwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Küwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Küwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Küwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pud*, and armpit hair is *pud buiri* (literally, hair tobacco).

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the Ancients. In the naming and in the mourning ceremonies specific ancestors are invoked by name and by specific kinship reference, as the mother or the grandmother of the sib. In the case of postcoital connubial bathing the ancestors are not invoked either by name or by spell; the bathers merely participate in their magical presence in the river. Some cult activities are secret, others are not. The rule of secrecy applies to the flutes and trumpets. These bear the names of ancestors and may not be seen by women. However, whenever these instruments appear, a specific ceremonial role is assigned to the women. In the whipping rites, which are also initiation rites for boys, the women receive gifts of fruits and berries in the name of the Ancients. In the mourning rites the ancestor trumpets sound their notes of grief, to which the women respond with wailing of their own. That is, when the Ancients enter the maloca they naturally establish a relationship with the women of the house. On the other hand, when the Ancients' blessings are invoked, but without the ancestral presence, the women have no part in the proceedings. The women are ignored during the naming ceremony and during the recitation of the sib mythology. Basically, the ancestral cult belongs to the men. When the boys are shown the hiding place of the flutes and trumpets and are taught their names they are being initiated into a male cult and are drawn fully, thereby, into their roles as sibmen. The social function of the initiation is twofold: to complete the separation of the boy from his mother and align him with his father and his father's brothers, and to draw him from the immaturity of the play pack into the mature company of men. We may speak of these rites, therefore, as *rites de passage* as well, bearing in mind, however, that the passage is a long and gradual one. The Cubeo emphasis with respect to the development of the male is not that he suddenly crosses a dividing line from boyhood to manhood but that he grows. The magic of the initiation ceremony is a magic of growth. Growth magic, it will be recalled, occurs at three stages in a boy's development: at birth, after a year when he receives his name, and then for a series of years after he has entered the play pack.

For a fuller understanding of the Cubeo cult of *Bekûpwänuu* one would need to know more about corresponding ceremonies among neighboring tribes. Curiously, no other ancestral cult has been reported for the entire Northwest Amazon. Koch-Grünberg, whose knowledge of the tribes of the region extended over many years, did not mention any ancestral doctrines even though he had lived for several months with the *Hehénewu* on the Cuduiari. But like others who have studied this region his investigations were surely led astray

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769 171 [114] by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[2] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involving the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kówai* (*Kúwai*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries during the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano Indians, where sacred horns are used in the initiation of young boys, the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as tamed animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral cult (Ypiringa Monteiro, 1960).

769 534 171

[241] [881] [184] [552]

769 171 As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Gágaba (Park, 1946), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921–23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1948), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

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Among the *Bahúkiwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[2] Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekeboikelehapuive*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center. 574 [342]

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough. 574 571 614

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers. 574 273 [462]

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihi* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner. [535] [171] [184] [276]

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saw them serve chicha in this manner. The Cubeo offer the calabash with a jest: "Drink quickly so that you may be drunk soon." The aim of the drinking party is to achieve an intense state of excitement and to maintain that until overcome by sheer fatigue and sleep. Tobacco, coca, and *mihí* supplement drinking to intensify and hasten the reaction. When *mihí* is taken, producing color visions and finally a blackout, the Indians say, "Now we shall get drunk quickly." *Mihí* is associated with *miwa* (birds), which are the patrons of ecstatic intoxication.[1] Drunkenness is not to be avoided. If a little boy gets drunk his father is proud of his precociousness. Women, however, are not expected to get drunk and they rarely do.

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*Mihí* is not taken at every drinking party but only at those that are considered very important. At the mourning festival (*óyne*) a great quantity is consumed. The narcotic plants (*Banisteriopsis caapi* and others) from which *mihí* is prepared are cultivated by the men only and they alone drink it. The Cubeo regard it as a sacred drug, and from all indications it is so regarded throughout the Western Amazon region where it is used. Along the Orinoco the Indians chew the skin, but all along the Vaupés an infusion is prepared by boiling the leaves, bark, and roots to form a greenish-brown "soup" that is strongly bitter. The Cubeo prepare several varieties that are graded according to potency. Upon truly solemn occasions they begin with a mild infusion from the leaf of a variety that is taken exactly at midday, and conclude with a very strong variety just before sunset. This sequence of *mihí* transports a man from vague and mild visions of whiteness to intense hallucinatory experiences, bursts of violence, and finally loss of consciousness. *Mihí* almost invariably causes vomiting, and for that reason alone each man must take many servings. For each type of *mihí* there are four servings taken from a small gourd dipper. The first service is of two dippers, the second of one, and the third and fourth of two each. At the beginning, the Indians say, the vision becomes blurred, things begin to look white, and one begins to lose the faculty of speech. The white vision turns to red. One Indian described it as a room spinning with red feathers. This passes and one begins to see people in the bright coloring of the jaguar. When the final strong forms of *mihí* are taken the hallucinations begin to assume a disturbing and fearful form. One becomes aware of violent people milling about, shouting, weeping, threatening to kill. One is seized with the fear that he no longer has a home. The house posts and trees come alive and take the form of people.

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[1] There is also a bird called *mihíkã*.

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Koch-Grünberg has observed this dance among neighboring Tucanoans as well as among Arawakan-speaking tribes. He observed it as a courting dance, boys and girls leaving the house after a dance and disappearing into the surrounding darkness (1909, I, 293, II 272). There is no mistaking the erotic undertones of this dance among the Cubeo. But it cannot ordinarily be a courting dance since the participants are normally sibmates and phratry mates if unmarried. The first girls to join the dancers are, in fact, their sisters. But as the evening wears on, the erotic character of the dance emerges in a dangerous form. An unmarried girl too often chooses to thrust herself beneath the arms of her sister's husband, a married woman "chooses" a husband's brother. What is ordinary courtship in tribes that bring together potential marriage mates at their drinking parties is largely adultery or the threat of adultery among the Cubeo, who entertain within the exogamous circle. I suspect that in the case of the Cubeo, simple courtship dances have become embroiled in a changing social order that has gradually built up a phratric system out of independent exogamous local groups. In the process the dance has lost its innocence.

The dancing has a deceptively decorous appearance. As the girls insert themselves between two male dancers, under the arm of one, the men never pause, turn their heads, or change expression. The girl puts her right arm lightly around her partner's waist. She holds her left hand before her, at her skirt. Crouched beneath the yoke

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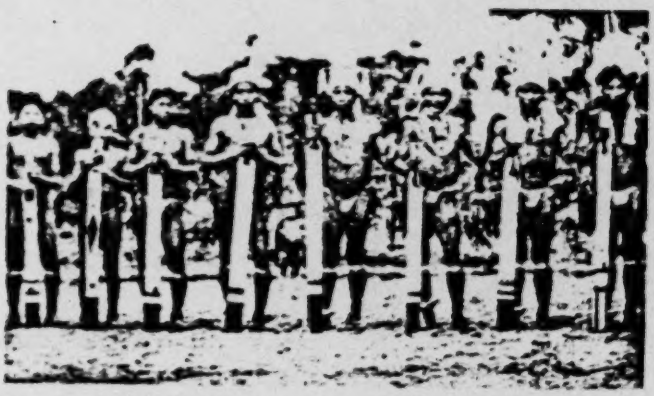

Fig. 10. *Hehénewa* men in full dancing costume.

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532 masks are generically known. Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has argued
114 that they are sacred, citing as evidence that after the ceremonies the
778 masks are burned. Many masks, however, are spared at the insistence of children who wish to play with them, and some masks are spared and used as storage sacks. Sanctity, I would say, is attached to individual masks, and is the sanctity of the being represented and not of the mask itself. Women, it is true, do not handle the masks, not out of taboo but rather out of the feeling that the masks are in the masculine domain. The masks represent spirits who are called generically
[776] *takahédekokü* (bark-cloth spirits). These spirits are visible only to
[756] the shaman.[3] All masks have a common basic shape, a large triangu-
532 lar sack that fits over the head and covers the body to the knees. Armpits are always cut out, and sleeves that come below the elbow are sewn in. The bottom of the skirt is stiffened with a circular hoop, and sleeves and skirt are hung with bark fringes. The masks have a head section, a middle section, and a bottom part. The head section is ordinarily painted with a face design that has eyes and a nose but not necessarily a mouth. Two eye holes and a nose hole are sometimes torn through for the wearer's convenience and do not correspond to the painted design. In some masks the head section is soft and in others it is surmounted by a calabash, painted brown or black, depicting a skull top; or the calabash itself has a face design painted on it and depicts, therefore, the face. The middle section is divided into several panels, half of them at the front and half at the rear. Each panel is painted in a geometric pattern that depicts the characteristic body features of the being that is to be represented. Fish, for example, have scale designs, and birds and flying insects wing designs. These designs are painted with great care by men who are particularly proficient. They follow traditional forms rather casually, however, each artist giving his own interpretation. The Cubeo do not quibble about the details of design. The fact is that no one can identify a particular representation with certainty without knowing who has made it. Only some of the masks, such as Jaguar, Butterfly, and *Abühuwa*, are distinctive enough to be immediately recognizable. These masks, incidentally, also seem to be the most important.

532 The use of ceremonial masks is common enough in South America,
● 171 as Professor Alfred Métraux (1948) has observed, but we have as yet little information as to their meaning, nor do we know their full distribution. What is certain, though, is that masked cults have

[3] Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has observed that while the animal represented may be harmless, the spirit itself is magically powerful.

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different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kúwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucanoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in 532
the region call him *Makálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked 825
dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are gro- 776
tesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, [191]
tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kavá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each 535
illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being repre- 532
sented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, 765
but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown [287]
bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by [824]
how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with [828]
later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is 535
a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made ex- 765
pressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs [534]
that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus [533]
allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

*yavirárü yavirákü* [repeated]
*yavirárü maníka*
*yavirárü ya*
*ho ho ho o ho.*

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákü* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiarí River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yavi*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

The mask of Butterfly (*Tatárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kaviré kaviré* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiarí.

Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *manéwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, *kenadjü marié kenadjü pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

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765 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I ob-
775 served the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around
266 him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an
114 urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in
824 the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. There-
783 after, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for
775 at least another generation.

532 **MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *ÓYNE***

765 **Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons**
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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Makuko* | (K-G)[a] | A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun. |
| 2. *Kohako* | (K-G) | Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them. |
| 3. *Hailako* | (K-G) | A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand. |
| 4. *Palutxiko* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 5. *Anauako* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 6. *Abúhuwa* | (K-G;IG)[b] | Forest demons. |
| 7. *Hokoaboxoko* | (K-G) | Giant tree demons. |

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

171 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of
184 caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe
266 that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wal-
lace, 1870, p. 498).

765 Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéos. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les desséchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabucuris, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enivrant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'énergie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 173).

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Apart from the Ancients there is *Kúwai*, who has been referred to here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the area share *Kúwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. There are no rites involving *Kúwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Kúwai* in the past. *Kúwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Kúwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Kúwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Kúwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkũ* (my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*kavánu*) in a house with his wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkũ*, an Ancient, but *himénihinkũ* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been badly understood by the Indians of the Cuduiari, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkũ* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without exception reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupían and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahúkiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true beneficent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yavi* or *paridkoků*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yavi*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yavi*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvaiyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhókůků* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokůwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenddox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhókůků* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kůria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridků* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kůria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvaiyo*, the *hokůwe*, and the *kenddox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*vei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhá*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yavi*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedídya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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571 152 796 181 831 171 571 796 181 152

model, that underlies an important aspect of the Cubeo ethos. What is surprising about finding coitus as a model for ritual ethos is not that this obvious pattern has been drawn upon, but that it is not drawn upon more often. Among the Carajá of central Brazil, I am informed, the coital ritual pattern is explicitly recognized, each phase of the dance being named from a phase of sexual intercourse.[3] It is quite possible that I simply failed to discover the same explicit relationship among the Cubeo. The explicitness that I did discover, though, is in their assertion that ritual excitement, whether produced by drugs, alcohol, or the ritualization of sex, is a necessary complement to the ritual magic of the below-the-knee ligature of long life. This identification of emotional intensity with life itself is also an obvious and therefore a simple relationship. In sum, we can say that the main features of Cubeo ethos draw upon very obvious and simple biopsychological models and – this is the significant point – adhere rather closely, almost literally, to them. Since the social pattern also draws upon a very elementary model we must conclude that the sociocultural pattern as a whole is built upon the simplest of social and biopsychological models. Needless to say, even the bare and incomplete account of Cubeo life that has been presented suggests that the elements of over-all pattern described here do not encompass the "totality" of the culture. In all probability, however, no concept of pattern can ever encompass a total social and cultural system. From the point of view of culture theory the question is a different one. The proper question is: Does the theory of pattern provide an adequate approach to an understanding of the culture?

121 571

We can attempt to answer this question by applying the concept of pattern that has been presented to an analysis of two fundamental cultural problems: the problem of social homeostasis and the problem of ecological adaptation. Strictly speaking, equilibrium and adaptation are one problem. It is simply that this problem can be approached from two sides.

## SOCIAL HOMEOSTASIS

The assumption of social homeostasis is that a cultural system consists of relationships and interactions that are so patterned that their net effect is to perpetuate the system, generation after generation. It is understood, of course, that homeostasis, or equilibrium, is a relative condition only, since no society today is a precise duplicate of

[3] Personal communication from Dr. William Lipkind.

the *bréo* flame taking coca with two other men. He is silent and has offered little real assistance; I wonder whether he resents our presence here.'

It did seem at times as though Kuarumey resented our presence, and he later had some cause for his suspicions – certainly in his own mind – when events took an unexpected turn. He was a striking man, tall and rather gaunt, with a proud almost arrogant manner. There was no doubt as to who was the head of the *maloca*, nor that we were visitors, fortunate to have his hospitality. We saw little of him during the daytime and it was some time before we learnt he was making a canoe some distance away in the forest.

Though the Tukano travel through the forest on hunting expeditions, canoes are used to go further afield, to fish or to trade with other groups. They are a river people as much as a forest people, and like many Amazonian tribes they have evolved their own methods of making canoes.

The Noanamá, we found, dug out and shaped their canoes from solid wood, and it was necessary for them to find very large trees to do this. Many tribes of the southern Amazon use the bark of a tree, like the North American Indian, while some groups of the Guahibo and the Maku living in areas remote from the larger rivers do not use canoes at all. The Tukano, however, shape their canoes by a process of heat-warping.

A tree – a hard type of cedar – had first been felled, then a twenty-foot section was cut and barked, and allowed to lie for several weeks, before Kuarumey started to cut the wood. Each day he went to the clearing, setting up a palm frond to shade himself when the midday sun broke into the clearing, through the gap in the trees overhead.

Using his *azador*, a curved hoe-like blade, and a long stick with a sharp metal end, he first shaped the outside of the log, scraping off the bark. Then he made holes along its length and began to cut out the centre. It was hard work and he would often break off to make himself a cheroot, using the rolled leaf of a palm, while his eldest son continued the work. Once he disappeared in the jungle to set a monkey trap, a ring-snare high in a tree with fruit as the bait.

He worked carefully, feeling the sides of the canoe so as not to make the shell too thin. After several days it was ready, braced with two small stumps to prevent the sides from closing. Then Kuarumey and several Indians from the *maloca* dragged the hull along the forest paths to the river bank nearly a mile away.

Now the canoe was ready to be warped by burning. This could be undertaken only at certain times of the year when there was no risk of rain, for water on the hot wood might split it. Before they obtained iron and steel the Indians used to cut the trees with their stone axes. They would only partly shape the hull and burn out the centre with fire. Now, with the canoe already shaped, the burning was quicker and it would be completed within a day.

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

# *Epilogue*

## 1. COLOMBIAN KALEIDOSCOPE

It was July before we left the Motilon. Nearly ten months had passed since we first set out. We had visited four Indian tribes, each for a few weeks, and had had a glimpse at a fifth. Now it seemed time to take stock, not only of what was left to do, but of what had already been done. What in fact had been done? All our experiences seemed fragmentary, superficial. We had a veritable kaleidoscope of memories of Indians – impressions, no more.

Perhaps it would have been better to have lived with one tribe during those ten months and learnt more about them. But then we would have defeated our purpose which was to record the music of several tribes. Had we lingered with one group we should never have completed the whole. This was always our dilemma. But what could we have gained by staying longer? None of us, with the exception of Nestor, was academically qualified to study an Indian tribe, and to our misfortune he could come on only two of our journeys. What were we then? Perhaps we could have called ourselves adventurers or explorers, but these names are anachronisms in the twentieth century. Perhaps we were just travellers, human beings trying to catch a glimpse of another kind of man, the South American Indian, that strange perceptive being who is fast disappearing off the face of the earth.

What surprised us most was the diversity of these Indians. One tends to think all Indians alike, living in primeval forest, wearing barkcloth and covered in paint. But every Indian we met was very much an individual personality. Some were gay, others sad, some shy, others aggressive, tall, short and fat, fine-looking and ugly; taken as a whole one might describe them as introspective, reserved and very independent.

Like the individual, the tribes also were diverse, each one to a greater or lesser extent influenced by its environment – Noanamá, Tukano, Kogi and Motilon, and also Guajiro, though of these last our impressions were as fleeting as our days among them were few.

The four tribes could be more simply classified by grouping the Noanamá and Tukano together. They were living under fairly similar conditions, those of the tropical forest. Their fishing and hunting existence was in many respects alike, as was much of their material culture. Moreover, in the social sense, both tribes showed an absence of any central authority or chieftain;

171 the only authority lay with the heads of the houses, and the considerable
105 but not excessive influence of the shaman. In addition, the family groupings within the scattered forest *malocas* and waterside stilted houses, in the ceremonies and, to a lesser extent, their art and music, all seemed to show a certain relationship.

They recognized a supreme being. He had little effect on their everyday lives, he was something remote but nevertheless present. What the Tukano called him we never knew – he may have been Jurupari; to the Noanamá he was Evandama. There were also the spirits of the forest and the ancestors. To them Severiano sang his Canta Haí, to them the Tukano shaman chanted during the festival on the Piraparaná. There was the custom among Noanamá boys and girls of putting flowers in their hair and in the holes bored in their ears, which prompted Nestor to remark that they were almost Polynesian, and we found later that the Tukano had the same habit.

There were differences too: the partly sedentary cultivation of the Noanamá and their dependence on maize, compared with the shifting agriculture of the Tukano and their staple of manioc. There were differences in craftsmanship and design: pottery, basket weaving and the methods of making canoes, to mention but a few.

But what does all this tell us? Here were two peo[illegible]g six hundred miles apart, divided by the high Andes. It only tells us that at some time in the past there was a contact, perhaps a migration, or even that they formed one major group which was divided by the Chibcha advance.

The Motilon and Kogi – and this includes the Bintukua – were essentially highland dwellers, the one living in the lower 'cloud forest', the other in the high savannah tundra. The most noticeable thing about them was that they wore clothes; the Motilon a long cloak reaching to his ankles, the Kogi a jerkin, trousers and a sash. They had developed the use of the loom and wove cotton, *fiqué* sisal and even wool, unlike the forest dwellers who would still have gone naked or worn barkcloth but for the influx of trade cotton. Moreover, they rarely used body paint. We only once saw a Motilon painting his face – which they do when they go to war.

Perhaps their most distinctive feature is that, unlike the tropical forest dwellers, they live in small settlements and villages: the wattle-walled houses of the Sierra de Perijá with the surrounding barricade as a defence against the depredations of wild animals and warlike neighbours, and the small, round, wattle-and-daub temples and houses of the high Sierra Nevada.

It has been said of the Amazonian Indian: 'One word from the chief and everyone does exactly as he pleases.' This is a dictum which could apply equally to the Tukano or the Noanamá. In a way this lack of authority, this

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*Guajiro women take in water from* Rigtender.
[See p. 178-A]

nonchalance seems to add to their charm, it makes life a little happy-go-lucky. But not so with the highlanders. Here one senses authority and a martial spirit, particularly among the Motilon who were always itching for a fight; frustrated perhaps at being unable to fight other groups, they resorted to fighting amongst themselves, always clutching their sheaves of arrows and twanging their bowstrings in anger. Here – and among the Kogi too – we found aggressiveness; underneath they were still the same humorous, perceptive people, but outwardly they wore an air of purposefulness, as if life had become a serious matter. To the Kogi life had become more than that; they had a duty to live by the rules of their priests. This was the wish of their mother goddess Nabulwé, the supreme power in their lives. It seemed to us at the time that a Kogi set down beside a Tukano would have found him as alien to his conception of a human being as we ourselves were; yet both are Indians.

The most primitive of all South American Indians is the wandering nomadic Maku, still to be found in the isolated depths of the Amazon forests, living solely on what he can gather with a stone axe as his only implement. He still represents Stone Age man. At the other end of the scale is the monotheistic Kogi, the nearest present-day equivalent we saw to the highest state of culture the Indian has reached. Between these extremes are such tribes as the Tukano, Noanamá and Motilon, each in a sense representing a different stage in development.

On the one hand are cultural traits which denote common origin or the influence of early migrations. On the other hand is the diversity representing stages of social development which were still evolving at the time of the Spanish conquest and which since then have each, in varying degrees and at different times, been subjected to a completely new force – European culture in all its complexity.

And how did the different tribes react to this influence? Generally speaking, the forest lowlanders like the Tukano have survived longer because of their remoteness. Yet when a contact is made the shock is great and their lack of cohesion may lead to rapid extinction.

The highlander, who in most instances has been in contact with the European for centuries, has – perhaps because of the greater cohesion imposed by the Kogi priests and the Motilon chiefs – either wholly resisted or adapted himself to the new influence in such a way that much of his own culture is incorporated in the new, as has happened in Atanquez, and indeed in the case of countless thousands who in the past four and a half centuries have become fully integrated into a European society.

There are very few places left in the world where the notion of Western

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*Ortelia, Kechenko's sister.* [see p. 178-B]

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



171 105 culture is unknown. There may still be one or two isolated hill tribes in New Guinea; and wandering-nomadic groups of foresters like the Amazonian Maku. The Tukano certainly were not isolated in this sense. Some of them had had direct contact with the rubber collectors of the early part of the century, and many of them today still tap rubber. It is possible that the obvious signs of depopulation among the people of the Piraparaná are due to this yearly migration of the younger men. Essentially, however, they remain simple uncomplicated people believing in an amazing world of spirits and demons and quite happy in that belief; taking part in their festivals with great gusto, extremely creative with their beautiful head-dresses, woven baskets and pottery, to mention but a few of their artefacts, and delighting in their music. Perhaps we influenced them unduly in this last respect. Perhaps when we left, the panpipes were put back on their neglected wall. But this is unlikely.

Nor were the Noanamá completely isolated. Among them one felt a growing conflict between the negro settlers and the Indian. We recalled an argument between Severiano and an old negro: in a rage Severiano had shouted, 'Respect me!' Perhaps the negro's cheerful arrogance infuriated the Indian more than the taking of his land. Then there was the Mission. We had seen Severiano calling to the ancestors with his Canta Haí sticks in front of him, facing a lighted candle under an image of the Virgin Mary. The Indians were gradually disappearing from the San Juan and moving northwards to Panama, in a pathetic attempt to continue the only way of life they knew.

But the Motilon were different, and the Kunuguasaya had adopted an openly hostile attitude towards all intruders. To this day they remain, like the Maku, almost unknown – but not because of inaccessibility or remoteness. The Yuco-Chaké, however, whom we visited, though still extremely warlike among themselves, are not so much under the influences of *colono* expansion from the plains as of the work of the missionaries.

000 If only in the past the missionaries could have concentrated less on the outlawing of those aspects of tribal life which constituted the very basis, the very roots of Indian existence – their spiritual and ceremonial life, which ran completely contrary to the teaching of Christianity. If only they could have restrained their overwhelming zealousness to eradicate these and tried to understand them and show tolerance instead. Then the inevitable shock to the Indians would have been less – of losing their own beliefs in the face of a religion apparently far more terrible, one that involved only one alternative to eternal damnation and hell, which was so totally at variance with their own charming optimism for a better life to come. This was followed by a second more lasting shock, the realization that few but missionaries really practised this faith – and to the Indian religion was part of his being. Then their despair and disillusion could have been softened.

123 437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music • 171 or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just 778 as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments 562 reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nut- 171 shells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that 171 the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them 825 luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the [777] deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



occur constantly in the myth and legend of the tribes, as does the Motilon legend of the twins. It is a legend known from Mexico to the tribes living in Tierra del Fuego, which suggests a considerable antiquity.

Just as the puma is usually the symbol of fear, so the deer is credited by the Indian with fairy-like, almost feminine, qualities, perhaps because of its shyness and speed. It has been suggested that the deer is the symbol of new life, having been regarded as such by early migrations of hunting folk moving south along the chain of the Andes from North America. It was thus associated with first menstruation and all the accompanying rites when a girl reaches puberty and is able to create new life, and its hooves were used by women as ornaments or rattles. The deer-bone flute may have been the first musical instrument used by the Indians.

Several tribes have no musical instruments at all. Possibly these were the first people to reach South America. Later migrations may have brought instruments with them, possibly others evolved on the spot. The similarity of some Kogi and Motilon instruments to those used in Central America suggests a more recent influence.

At first we found it difficult to distinguish the sounds of the different instruments if we could not see them. But after a while we learnt to recognize not only the instrument but also the many different tunes of each tribe. A Noanamá girl would sing to herself for hours on end. The Motilon had a vast repertoire of walking, war and harvest songs. Instrumental tunes were fewer and some, as in the case of the haunting call of the snail shell, tended to be very repetitive. The Tukano, however, had innumerable panpipe tunes.

Indian music we at first found strange because we were accustomed to the European tone system. They have no conception of note vibrations to obtain an octave. Yet they can tell whether one instrument is in tune or not with another. A panpipe can be cut to a certain length to produce a particular sound, but it is difficult to produce the exact note, so they may raise the pitch by adding sand, or putting water or even *chicha* inside.

The panpipe tunes in the Tukano festival were the nearest thing we heard to orchestral music; each group played antiphonally, with sometimes two or three groups playing different tunes. We could not however make out whether combination or competition was the motive behind this weird performance.

The Tukano had no conception of counterpoint, though their playing was often harmonious. We did find it in the singing of the Noanamá – perhaps the result of mission teaching. One Tukano chant is almost identical to a western Irish folk lament.

In contrast to African negro music in which stringed instruments and drums predominate, Indian music is mainly that of the rattle and the flute. Every type of construction is found, from humming top and conch shell to

533 panpipes and the whistling jars of the Andes. Since the time of the Conquest
534 European music and more particularly African music has had an increasing
171 influence on the conservative Indian. The Noanamá and the highlanders showed signs of this influence, though the Tukano were still free of it. In some cases the instrument had been adopted and was played in the Indian idiom. The Noanamá had a type of drum probably copied from their negro neighbours, but they still played their own halting rhythms. The Motilon had a musical bow, but its use was entirely Indian in conception.

In the Sierra Nevada we found a direct clash of musical idioms, in the *chicote* and *gaita* played by the Indian-creole inhabitants. Perhaps in this are the seeds of a new music combining the atonal, remote and sad Indian music with the gay, sophisticated, ebullient harmonies of the negro-creole. Perhaps the folk music of Colombia as a whole, from the Spanish mountain songs to the negro rhythms of the coast, is a manifestation of a Euro-Afro-Indian music evolving like the arts and the people themselves into a new wholly South American dimension.

171 Such are the idle thoughts of travellers written in retrospect. But of all our
609 memories – Kogi temples, Noanamá children paddling to their stilted houses in a Pacific sunset, a Tukano *maloca* at dawn with the steam rising off the night-wetted thatch – the one that will remain longest will be that of the Indian himself, whether a Kogi regarding us with the scorn of a man who knows himself to be a superior being, or a Tukano who never looks *at* you, rather into you with a strange trustful-untrusting eye, as if to try and penetrate your innermost thoughts.

000 Walk with him long enough in the forest and you too will learn to see the track of a tapir; to tell if it was running by the depth of the spoor; to tell if it was wounded by the clot of blood beside the path; even to tell the time when it passed, by the dryness of an upturned leaf, the only one on a shower-soaked forest floor. Perhaps if you could speak his language he would teach you how to walk through the forest for days and never lose your way, to use a bow and arrow, to kill a parrot with one dart from your blowpipe. You might even come to accept the forest for what it is. You would become part of it and it would be the only world you knew....

If you ever reached that stage, then you would be like an Indian. Then you would understand the shock of civilization. It would be like going for a very long holiday in a remote countryside, perhaps the Outer Hebrides, never seeing another soul, and then returning to the heart of a city. Only it would be a hundred times worse.

You would take cocaine because to you it would be perfectly natural. Your father took it and his father before him. You were told as a child that you could not live without it when in the late summer, at the end of the dry season, you had to travel great distances to find deer at the water holes.

191 576 The repeating is first of all a respectful recognition of the Spanish-speaking non-Indians, but there also seems at times to be an additional quality of defensiveness connected with the practice. The repeating seems to serve as a stalling device so that the Indians can evaluate something of the intentions of the non-Indians, as indicated by their demands, their mood, and their degree of tolerance of Indian habits (for example, whether they permit beer, or admonish women—and men—for going without upper garments). Most non-Indians issue orders and interrogate loudly, according to the Latin American stereotype of the way to speak to Indians, rather than "converse" with them. The Indians, for various reasons, want to be sure that they have heard every question and order correctly. Consequently, repeating serves as a double-checking device, for corrections in translation are supplied unhesitatingly and immediately by other listeners following the translator. In sum, then, repeating is a formal conversational device indicating respect that also has an adaptive defensive function.

• 171 193 Inasmuch as the Eastern Tukanoan languages share the same general syntax, the Indians' ability to recognize and cope with the different syntactic system of Spanish suggests that other Indian languages and language families in the Northwest Amazon may have different syntactic structures, too.

191 Certain formulaic communication styles—regardless of Indian language family—are probably the same throughout the area, particularly greetings on entering a new longhouse in traveling. I have witnessed and participated in many such situations where the longhouse language was unknown either to me or to some of my Indian traveling companions, and always the content of the initial sequence of bilingual statements was clear to all (namely, the assertion that one has arrived; from which direction—upriver or downriver—one has come, and from what named spot; how many days one has been traveling; and who one's father and mother and brothers and sisters are, and how they are faring). There are other occasional formulaic conventions, especially those involving repeating, that can help a novice gain familiarity with a language. Many languages also seem to share interjections. (In these respects the central Northwest Amazon area may constitute what J. Neustupny has termed a *Sprechbunde* [speech

[P. 677-A]

/253 cont./

121 We shall indicate here the primitive manifestations of their culture (Persönlichkeitkultur), meaning by this expression what these forest dwellers exhibit from their own culture and not received from the white, and which is easily discovered from living with them.

212 /254/ 1. Writing.

A question that immediately arises is whether these tribes know how to write. One can answer that at present they do not [797] know or use any kind of writing (2).

2. With the exception, naturally, of those who have passed through the Mission schools. One notices this peculiarity: they learn how to write the Portuguese language with some facility, but they write Tukano with difficulty. Actually the letters of the Latin alphabet, which we use and such as we pronounce in Portuguese, do not reproduce all the sounds of the Tukano language.

172 532 It is a question open to discussion as to whether those signs that are found on many stones of the Rio Negro and tributaries, that is, the petroglyphs or itacoatiaras (õxtã ohoritirí-pa in Tukano), are a writing of spoken language, or at least ciphered language (of which idiom? of which tribe? in which era?); or are only designs, perhaps stylized (sportive signs /Port. sinais lúdicos/) (3).

3. About the itacoatiaras, their antiquity and their interpretation, cf. the notable work by Bernardo da Silva Ramos, Inscrições e tradições da América pré-histórica /Inscriptions and traditions of Prehistoric America/. Koch Grünberg, going up the river Curicuriari (tributary of the right bank of the Rio Negro), on February 14, 1904, found on a stone designs with the figures

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/footnote 3 cont./ of a man, monkey, and decorative ones, still fresh, perhaps made weeks or days before. He then gives the opinion that an Indian makes the first stroke with some rock. Another, upon going by, makes the line deeper, and so on, until an indelible furrow results (Z. I. 144). The same Koch asked an Indian who served him as guide on the river Cuduiarí who might have made the petroglyphs that were seen. And the Indian answered him immediately: -- "The old people did with a rock" (Z. I. 304).

203 Would they not, however, have a language for signs or signs corresponding to some ideas? Many travelers who have gone up the Rio Negro were surprised to verify that their coming was already known beforehand, how many made up the retinue, the purpose of the latter, etc. (4).

4. We read, for example, in the "Participação Quinta /Fifth Communication/" (of the "Viagem Philosophica" of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, dated from Barcelos on March 30, 1789, upon his arrival in Ipanuré): -- "I immediately ordered an examination of the five malocas of the savages, located on top of the hill, and for the second time it was confirmed to me that they had already been warned of my ascent; the houses were found deserted, there being left behind all the gear of igaçabas /clay pots/, tipitis, hampers, etc., sufficient tapioca buried in the ground, the pineapples of the clearing freshly cut, and the Indians of the canoes informed me that they had left two days ago" (o. c.).

# 5

# *Ni*

172 It was on the rapids of Kaperwa, while Brian was searching for fossils, that we came across the first rock engravings (see p. 74). These man-like figures, no more than two feet high, extended along the face of an ancient deposit of volcanic ash exposed just above river level. All seemed to be in grotesque dancing postures, their outlined figures carved half an inch into the face of the rock, their webbed hands and feet splayed out and the face portrayed in relief with indentations for the eyes and the mouth. There appeared to have been more which had been almost completely eroded away except for a hand or a foot. We found a similar set of figures extending along the rock on the other side of the channel, equally strange but portraying the same subtle vitality of movement, as if caught in some prehistoric dance.

In all we counted thirty dancers at Kaperwa. How long they had been there was impossible to say. The rock was a hard volcanic tuff. With a high river all the engravings would have been completely submerged. Those on the south bank were sheltered from the sun and mostly covered in moss. There was no pigment or colouring matter and, even had we known the period of time for which they had been submerged, the rate of erosion would have been mere conjecture. Certainly the Indians could explain nothing about them.

Later we came across many such engravings on the Apaporis and the Caquetá. Some on the Apaporis depicted human figures of obscure abstract form with the body shown as a triangle or a square and with foreshortened arms reminiscent of Chibcha art in the Colombian Andes – a civilization contemporary to that of the Incas. Near by on the same rock were two forms representing a crocodile or snake. These were the only animal designs we ever saw. On the Caquetá we found engravings of a more formalized type, seldom depicting human beings but coiled, spiralled and fretted designs; many were very elaborate and covered five or six square feet of the rock face. Some were etched half an inch or more into the hard sandstone, others were mere chipped designs on the surface.

It has been suggested that as these engravings occur mainly at rapids they are more than likely the work of passing canoe men. But it is usually only at these rapids that there are rocks on which these petroglyphs could be drawn. Moreover, many are of such elaborate design that they would take

weeks to carve into the hard rock. It is possible that some in the past represented boundary marks. The Indians do not appear to recognize territorial areas within the forest, but they may have rights to fish over certain sections of the rivers. 172

It is unlikely that the engravings can be ascribed to any one period and there seemed little resemblance to contemporary Indian art. Certainly Tukano design is mostly limited to triangles and crosses, and relies more on colour than form. The most striking example we saw was the Tatuya *maloca* on the Piraparaná, the bark front wall of which was covered with a series of cross, square and triangle designs coloured with brown, yellow and white river clays and a black charcoal compound. But this is by far the most dramatic example of Tukano art, with the possible exception of the elaborate body painting and the magnificent head-dresses used during the festivals. Their pottery, though finely made, bears no design, except for a pot containing the narcotic *yajé*, used only by the elders during certain festivals and curing sessions. This is covered with different coloured clays, charcoal and red *karayuru* dye. Similar triangular coloured designs are also found on the *yarumo* dancing-staves. 531 532

The most common type of engraving is the fretted design on the gourd maracas used during tribal dances. One end of the pebble stave, a lance-like rattle used by the shaman, is also carved with lines and triangles together with a pattern of bird feathers, said to give it greater magical power. This stave and a drinking gourd with an elaborate circular design of triangles, loops and chevrons, we tried to obtain for our collection, but without success. Certain articles were so highly regarded by the Indians that they would not part with them, no matter what they were offered in exchange.

Of all the rock engravings we saw, that of Ni the river god (see drawing on p. 31) was by far the most striking. Travelling on from Kaperwa, we came to an unusually long set of rapids through which we guided the boat with our paddles. We were concentrating so hard on the rapids and the water swirling around the boat, that the unexpected sight of a pyramid of rock jutting massively out of the river in front came as rather a shock. Even more unexpected was the grotesque figure cut deeply into the granite face of the giant boulder. With arms and legs outstretched he seemed to dominate the river, to embrace it with a hypnotic spell. 532 776

Unlike the other carvings we saw, Ni was engraved in granite. The finely-drawn lines, carved half an inch deep, gave symmetry to the life-size figure which must have taken an Indian craftsman months of labour to create. Our own steel knives were easily blunted by the hard crystalline rock.

Ni faced upstream into the setting sun. Behind, on the east slope of the rock, were suns and a quarter-moon. The suns, some with emanating rays, were composed of a series of three or four concentric rings up to two feet in diameter.

6: Moser and Tayler E, N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



said, to travel all the way to the Caquetá without encountering more rapids. 114
We would have to leave our boat behind on the Apaporis, as it would be impossible to take it across without the assistance of many Indians. We would have to get help from the Miritiparaná, and a boat, in order to continue our journey to the Caquetá. This was the first time that we knew exactly what lay ahead of us; from then on we would follow Alirio's instructions. He kindly sent his son and one of his workmen to help us over the rapids which we had to pass before the portage. That night we came to Lugo's house where we had a less friendly welcome. Heavy-set, urbane and gold-toothed, Lugo offered us little. We asked if we could sling our hammocks in the house and he grudgingly consented; so Brian asked him to join us in a meal. Horacio was furious. 'Why?' he said. 'Why should we offer him our hospitality?... It is for him to invite us.'

The following day, as we continued down the river, we wondered why Lugo should have been forced to live out his life in the forests of the Amazon. Surely it could not have been his wish; and what did he fear in strangers? Perhaps it was better than a lifetime in gaol. Later, while we were collecting 172
rock samples, we came across the rock carvings called Boheniambo. Scattered over the flat sandstone island in the centre of the river, these formalized carvings, none of them more than two feet long, seemed to be imitations of Chibcha art from the Andean highlands. The figures, with stylized triangular head, square body and foreshortened arms crossed in front of the chest, were a contrast to the more natural art of the Piraparaná.

There was no moon that night and the rain clouds were heavy, as we tried 114
to find the small hut which would show where the portage lay. Flashing our torch along the bank we became anxious. Somewhere below us lay more rapids and we were afraid of being swept away into them. Suddenly the beam of the torch showed up a small grass-roofed shelter – it was the portage. We knew the worst of our journey was over. The same night Horacio went ahead with José to see if he could make contact with a *cauchero*, Don Carlos, whom Alirio had spoken of. We unloaded *El Diablo* for the last time, for here she had to be abandoned.

Don Carlos greeted us as if passing travellers were an everyday occurrence. Tall, slim and proud, like a Bogotano, he was the last person we would have expected to find here. Though he wore a pyjama top and had a towel round his neck to flick flies and wipe the sweat from his forehead, he looked as if he might be equally at home in a dark suit, with white collar and furled umbrella.

In no time our great heap of equipment was whisked away by Indian helpers across the portage. The difficulties we had foreseen seemed to vanish. Five hours later we were sitting down to a magnificent meal of chicken and rice in Don Carlos's wooden-frame house, surrounded by green banana palms and manioc plantations overlooking the muddy Miritiparaná.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



172 Then there were the rock carvings in the Amazon, archaic yet extraordinarily alive. If art is an expression of a culture, these drawings could not have been the work of tropical foresters like the Tukano. From a hunting-fishing people you might expect to see fish or animals drawn naturalistically or in the abstract; yet we only once found this side of their existence expressed, and that was not in the Piraparaná. Many of the figures portrayed suns and moons, yet as far as we were aware neither had special significance in Tukano life. Moreover, Ni, standing as he did, isolated on a pinnacle of rock high above the river, made an almost emotional impact, as if the artist had wished to identify himself with the figure. It was drawn with an intensity of feeling completely foreign to the personality of the Amazonian. Yet José was able to tell us of a legend about it and the Indians had identified their own mystical spirit or water god with it.

Most of the figures were cut in sandstone and might have been sculptured by chipping with a harder rock, perhaps flint. But a fair number, including Ni, were cut as much as half an inch deep into granite rock which blunted our own knives. It is puzzling to know what implement could have been used, and staggering to consider the work involved.

Then there were the strange squared figures on the Apaporis, like the cardmen in Alice. We had noticed half-moon shapes like necklaces with pendants. These, like the squares, reminded us of Inca and Chibcha ornaments and loom-worked cotton cloaks, unshaped by the hand of a tailor.

In the Caquetá there seemed to be a third style of art, abstract, rather intellectual. Here the human form mattered little. Heads were squared, bodies were contorted into extraordinary shapes. There were large carvings covering ten square feet, a mass of intricate squares, frets, coils and spirals. It was as if the rocks had for ages been used as a vast sketchbook on which passing travellers had engraved their own conception of artistic design.

An Indian came to us during those endless days of waiting at the frontier post and told us of a cliff-face which was covered in drawings, many of
000 them coloured. He offered to take us there if we wished. But it was several days' journey through the forest and we dared not go, for while we were away the gunboat might have come and gone, and that would have meant waiting for months.

What is the significance of all these drawings? One immediately begins to think of past civilizations in the forest. They may be some form of writing or communication. Perhaps they are the work of migratory peoples, moving north – south or east – west, from Panama to the Pampas, from the Andes to the mouth of the Amazon. In time it may be possible to make a compre-

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ABOVE: *Maraca woman playing a musical bow.* BELOW LEFT: *A boy with bird arrows and a pet toucan.* BELOW RIGHT: *The Motilon discover the wheel.*

[see p. 182-A]

/82 cont./

*701 The more noble subdivisions established themselves from Piracuara upwards (river Papurí), with a group of the Waú-ro coming down as far as Ananaz (Uaupés).

According to Frei Gregório's maps, in 1853 the Tukano on the river Uaupés lived in: Pacú-cachoeira, Iuquira-Rapecuma, S. Joaquim, Nanã-Rapecuma, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Iauareté-cachoeira. The first "Relatórios" of the eighteenth century (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, No. 174; "Diario" /Diary/ of Sampaio, No. 366) already report the presence of Índios Uaupés in S. Isabel, today Tapurucuá, in the middle Rio Negro. In fact, a Tukano group is still found in that vicinity.

161 According to Koch G. (Festschrift Eduard Seler, 206) the Tukano would come to 1,500 souls. They must, however, be rather more numerous. The statistics of Pelo Rio Mar report in Brazilian territory alone 1,622 individuals; and those of Colombian territory are equally numerous. It is possible that they exceed two thousand.

829 We have sketched the physical appearance of the Tukano (IV -- 1, a (1) ). The physical and spiritual qualities do not reveal any superiority over the other tribes. On the contrary, some of these present more delicate features and perhaps even a better configuration and anatomical proportions. Nevertheless, the Tukano, as we have already noted, considers himself /83/ superior to the other tribes and this primacy is peacefully granted [197] to him. The Missionaries explain this superiority by the fact that the other tribes accepted his language as the official, or at least general, idiom on these rivers. Logically the generalization of the idiom would be explained by the superiority of [173] the tribe. This inconsistency is to be pointed out: according to the Tukano tradition, they were defeated by the "Blood children of the Thunder," the Taryana, who finally accepted the Tukano language.

/90 cont./

*101 According to a Tukano tradition collected by Pe. Antônio
• [173] Giacone, the Tuyuka came down from the cachoeira Uaí-numbí (headwaters of the Macú-paraná); but, under pressure from the Tukano, they were forced to go up the headwaters of the Papurí, from where they went over to those of the Tiquié and settled there.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Henrique Resende, about 35 years old (1953), of the subdivision Dõxpãri, tuxaua of the maloca of the Yai-sa igarapé (Tiquié)

1st. -- Dyáta põna (a small fish), on the Igarapé Inambú
2nd. -- Dyatãñõ-nõ (suspended?), on the Igarapé Inambú
3rd. -- Dyáta yuxkúro (long head), on the headwaters of the Tiquié
4th. -- Iñó-rõ (?), in S. Pedro (Tiquié)
5th. -- Iñó-rõ oaká (stake), on the Black Igarapé (Tiquié)
6th. -- Poã-nĩ manĩ (bald), on the Igarapé Marĩ-iá (Tiquié)
7th. -- Dõxpãri (branches), on the Igarapé Kuxtíro pextá (Tiquié)

/91/

8th. -- Yuxkũro (occipital protuberance), at the mouth of the Açaí-igarapé (Tiquié)
9th. -- Wesé doxká poará -- (Tuyuka of the clearing), above Cururú (Tiquié)
10th. -- Poá pirá (?) on the upper Cabari (Tiquié). They are the pariahs.
11th. -- Axkó kaxpéa -- põna (eye of water), in S. Pedro (Tiquié)
12th. -- Ébera-põna (water duck), on the mouth of the igarapé Boá-ia

[115] The young woman Amélia Resende, 18 years old (1955), added:

13th. -- Myõ dyi-Khãra (doxká-poará), in Cabarí and S. Pedro (Tiquié)
14th. -- Arã põná (child of the mountain range?), on the Igarapé of the breu /a resinous tree/ (the informant is from this group).

/95 cont./

i) IHWANA OR YONA

*101 1) People-Name-Language. -- We were unable to find out for certain the meaning of the name Ihwana or Yona; it might be the name of a fish. The language is of the Tukano family, as is seen from the Vocabulary that we collected in the Wextá maloca on the Pirá-paraná near the mouth of the Komé-ya.

[142] The individuals of the maloca were slighter and had more delicate features than the Tukano. All the men had pierced [30] their ear lobes, keeping them open with a bunch of bird feathers. A cord binding the arms a little below the shoulders, and red paint across the face, indications perhaps of some feast a short [142] time before. Dark hair, cymotrichous, with slight waviness, and eyes lighter than those of the Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They reside in malocas along the Pirá-paraná and its small tributaries nearby, and below the cachoeira of the Beijú, where at low water one can see a beautiful design that resembles a Chinese dragon. Because of a lack of interpreters, we were unable to find out the number [161] of members of the tribe or /96/ its subdivisions. From the information obtained, we think it might be concluded that there are still several hundreds.

j) KÕ'NEÁ OR ARAPÁSU

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Kõ'neá (in Tukano Kõ-rẽá), the name of a variety of woodpecker called arapásu in Nheengatú.

[173] According to reminiscences of an ancient tradition, it was a very numerous and brave tribe. When individuals of other tribes passed the river Uaupés in the zone dominated by the Arapásu, the latter surrounded them, took away all their products, and afterwards sank their canoes, allowing them, however, to escape. The victims would avenge themselves "blowing" [161] (that is, casting an evil spell; cf. VII -- 2, e (1) ) on the Arapásu, who, little by little, became extinct.

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/footnote 109 cont./ out of another hole at the mouth of a nearby igarapé. The rivers with dark waters, like the Uaupés, form characteristic and abundant foam when they beat against the stones of the cachoeiras. Upon asking a certain individual why there were these inferior divisions, he answered that it is because they did not come out of the water, but from the foam, as if it were from the dregs of depuration.

2nd. -- A second one is that they attribute to themselves a juridical superiority, deriving from the priority in time, something corresponding to the proverb: "qui prior est tempore potior est jure" /one who is first with regard to time is better with regard to rights/. Whoever has settled more recently in a povoado is in a certain inferior position; he is a "transient, Sihyári-maxsã," as they say.

*[192]

/473/ The two customs indicated harmonize perfectly; we might think that the second one is a derivation from the first. Upon asking a Tukano Indian from a povoado on the lower Tiquié as to the inhabitants of which povoado he considered Mamí, he answered those of S. José. Further inquiries made among other Indians came to clarify this answer. One of them said he had heard his own grandfather narrating that the Tukano formerly did not live there, but resided on the Papurí. They were expelled from this river by the Taryana, still being a child, therefore, about 100 or 120 years ago, and came to settle in S. José. This information makes S. José the first Tukano nucleus on the river Tiquié.

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[103]

One more argument in favor of the probability is given to us by the Tukano name of the locality, which is Maxkã, the town, as if it were the urbs par excellence of these Tukano. All the more probable, since such a designation, besides not being attributed to any other locality, escapes the custom of the names according to the geographical accidents (point, igarapé, stone, cachoeira, hole, etc.), or other circumstances. In the vicinity of S. José,

/473 cont./

173 there is a place that in Tukano is called Bũxkõrã bathã, literally
554 "swimming of the elders," that is, where the elders crossed the
614 river by swimming, fleeing from their enemies. In the vicinity of this spot, about 30 years ago, the elders showed Pe. João Marchesi a section of less dense forest as being the place through which passed the first Tukano coming from the Tiquié on their expeditions of war.

In conclusion, we give the opinion:

174 1st. -- The natural multiplication of the Indians imposed a
554 division into groups which have established themselves in closer
614 or more distant places, according to the circumstances; for this reason we today find groups of one and the same nation dispersed along the three rivers (Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri).

2nd. -- The denominations (110)

[829] 110. The distance between these groups has more and more accentuated the separation. If it is true that each individual, even the children, knows the name of his own and of the neighboring subdivisions (and even of other tribes), few of them know how to make a more complete list of the Gentes that make up their tribe.

that characterize each group (Waú-ro, Oyẽ, etc., cf. IV-2-a (2) ) are names or nicknames by which the respective stipites, or some late more famous descendant who provoked the separation or built the new maloca or performed any other deed, were known.

[628] 3rd. -- The relations between the malocas, and the social situation of those who /474/ inhabit them today, are the same as those that existed among the founders, hence the present hierarchy that is in force among the Indians.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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# 1

## *The Cubeo Community*

361 The Cubeo Indians occupy a string of settlements along a small stretch of the Vaupés River from Uarúa Lake upstream to Uaracapurí and downstream to near the Brazilian border, as well as along several of the Vaupés tributaries, namely the Cuduiarí and the [61] Querarí and Pirabatón. The tribe consists of some 30 or more patrilineal, exogamous sibs[1] that are grouped into three unnamed confederations or phratries of unequal size that are also exogamous. Although the bulk of the Cubeo now live on the smaller streams—the Cuduiarí, in particular, being heavily populated—the broad [614] Vaupés, that joins with the Rio Negro to enter the Amazon, is regarded by the Indians as their main stream and as their source. Their 173 leading sibs still live there. Native traditions place the emergence of 614 all the Cubeo sibs at two Vaupés sites, at the turbulent cataracts of 361 Yurupari and of Uaracapurí. From there the people moved up the nearby tributary streams, the Cuduiarí, the Querarí, and the 173 Pirabatón, a tributary of the Querarí. The traditions record that 361 the first people displaced groups that were already living along [174] these streams and, in this respect, square with historical observations that pressures of enemy Indian tribes, and, lately, the more potent pressures of white colonizers, have been forcing the Indians to leave the main rivers and take shelter in the more 361 distant and constricted feeder streams, or else face physical or cultural 614 extinction. The more timid and the more humble of the sibs have

[1] Following the usage of Lowie (1920, p. 111), "sib" is synonymous with "clan."

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361 Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-
554 tain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or en-
[157] couraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they
[123] did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the
342 new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one require-
361 ment of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with
622 him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines
768 of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new ma-
loca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change
at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the
victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a
361 fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations.
244 At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to
768 ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is
moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the
old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transi-
tional period when the community is actually working both clearings.
The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until
they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they
will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old
*chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

361 The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to
[311] circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some
15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again.
Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the
forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally
dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later
moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiari and the
361 Querari. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this
614 connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or
554 along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs
occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely
associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks
deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong oc-
cupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or
by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become
dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites
and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Gia-
361 cone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (refer-
554 ring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only
along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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place of the closed-off creek [a site above Garaño Lake on the Cuduiarí]. Above them was the whirlpool of Guassí and the fast black waters. There, at the whirlpool of the tree trunk, at *hiwakapunáwü*, at the place of parrots' wings, they portaged overland and they quickly arrived at the place of the *bupékü* butterflies, at the lake shaped like a container for curare.

They came to the place of many grubs which they cooked into a stew. They came to the high bank where the water rushes in with a sucking sound, to the place of the tangle of roots. They came to the place of the jaguars, to *mahópanwa warindo*, to the place of the bark-cloth fishes, to the creek of the *mimíkü* bird, and then to the place of the pupunha trees. From there they returned and they came to the creek of the *wakúdjari* fruit, to *tcipédikoriba* and *tcipéü tavano*, and then to the slippery place, and then to the bank of the yellow clay, and then to *tuíbü*, where the creek of the red fish is, and then to the hill of the háku fish. Then, at a place called *hororákipúru*, they came to the high bank of mud, and then to the place of the parrots [the present site of the *Bahúkiwa* sib]. At the creek of the parrots they came upon the circular trench called "the circle of women" [because it is the women who dug this trench]. There an Ancient who had been tied up by his enemies managed to free himself and escape. Now they continued up the creek to the place of the sweet potato, and they came to the creek of the wild peccary and then on to the lake of the birds and the bird place.

From there they went up the creek of the sweet waters to the place of the doves. And then they went to the place where maize grew and then to the sharp jaguar rock. Here an Ancient, sitting down on the rock, pierced his rectum and died. They went on to the place of the milk palm, to the garden of the jaguar, to the place where the *kamindü* turned to stone. They came to *kwünkwüntoto*, where *Kwünkwü* the Ancient decided to settle down. [This is the *Bahúkiwa* Ancient who later decided that he did not care to be human and turned himself back into an anaconda.]

The Ancients moved on to the place of the háku and puño fish, to the place of *Wari* the in-law, the hill of the woodpeckers, to the rocky rapids where *Komóri* the Ancient settled down, then to the parrot beak rock, then to the place of the sloth, then to the place of the bark-cloth trees, then to the rocks of the manioc graters, then to the place of the deer, and then to the place of the small parakeets, where *Opómbibekü* lived [a dwarf with an enormous penis]. Finally, they went to the place of the stone people [at the head of the Cuduiarí].

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TRADITIONAL NAMES IN THE *BAHÚKIWA* GENEALOGIES

| MALE | MALE | FEMALE |
|---|---|---|
| *Aribahúkü* | *Kwünkwü* or *Kwühünkwü* | *Bahúko* |
| *Arienakü* | *Miahekudjo* | *Hehénabo* |
| *Bahúkü* | *Onpóhena* | *Henéako* |
| *Bahúkübekúdjo* | *Onpwéanba* | *Hendkuwa* |
| *Bahúkúdjitca* | *Onpwénda* | *Iho* |
| *Bekübo* | *Onpwéndabu* | *Ihoruko* |
| *Bwü* | *Onpwéndakü* | *Kokóhenako* |
| *Hardkü* | | *Kokóiko* |

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| MALE | MALE | FEMALE |
|---|---|---|
| *Hehéna* | *Onpwénda kwdhûnkwü* | *Midinko* |
| *Iidtü* | *Onpwéndewa* | *Opwéndoko* |
| *Kohdhena* | *Wéhena* | |
| *Kohai* | *Wai* | |
| *Kohaidi* | *Waihomu* | |
| *Kohaihü* | *Waihomühütü* | |
| *Komári* | *Waimoya* | |
| *Kumúra* | | |

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pared. The defense leader was the headman's son. An earlier alarm had already brought the Independents to the main house and a boy had been sent to call in the Satellites and to warn the neighboring sibs. The headman's son, after a hasty consultation with the other young adults, decided upon a psychological defense. He fetched a police officer's discarded white tunic with brass buttons and shoulder straps that he had been cherishing, put it on over his bare body, and strode out to frighten the enemey. The women and children were assembled in the maloca with one man as their guard. Other men fanned out through the manioc gardens and into the surrounding brush to search out the enemy. One stray shot was fired by a defender. The house was kept under guard for several nights thereafter and then the danger was declared past. 721 723

An attack by the Cariban Umaua (*Maúnwa*) that occurred three generations ago is still vividly recalled. The *Bahúkiwa*, warned that the enemy was ascending the Cuduiarí by canoe, prepared an ambush. They dammed the river with the bark sheeting of house walls and waited to assail the enemy with bow and arrow. But the enemy were armed with rifles and they killed a great many of the *Bahúkiwa*. 726 648 [173]

When the attackers first came, the Indians on the Cuduiarí did not know whether they were men or women, because they wore their hair long and were dressed in long shirts. The Umaua attacks were so fierce that for several years the Indians were forced to abandon the Cuduiarí altogether. Some gave up farming and lived on the savannah, foraging fruits and nuts and eating tree bark. When they finally returned to the Cuduiarí, the manioc plantations were all gone and they had to resume manioc cultivations from seeds they had preserved. The other Indians of the Cuduiarí gathered on the Vaupés under the direction of a *Hehénewa* war leader, who told them that the white man would save them from their enemies. He made a clay image called a *tupana* (the Tupían and lingua franca for a deity). They danced and sang for two months, until a Colombian came. The idea of the *tupana* came, they say, from a Brazilian caboclo. When the Colombian arrived, he told them that he had heard their singing in Bogotá and had come to rescue them. They then returned to their former homes on the Cuduiarí. 648 722 648 [789] [177]

In past years raids were more frequent and determined.[8] The Cubeo fought with bow and arrow and protected themselves with body-length shields of stiffened animal hide, deer, jaguar, or tapir. The 726 411 714

[8] Tribes with whom the Indians of the Cuduiarí claim to have fought include the Cariban Umaua, all the formerly Arawakan sibs of the Querarí River, tribes of the Isana River, and the *Hehénewa*, after they had arrived from the Papurí. [648]

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361 the intelligence of the forest dweller the advantage of the safety of his property, which thus more easily escapes being seen and covetousness. The natural consequence is that the density of the population in each group is independent of the fertility of the adjacent lands.

/15/ Chapter II

## The Tribes of the Uaupés in the Historical Period

### 1 -- Data on the History of the Rio Negro and the Uaupés River

174 The important problem of the origin of the forest dwellers of Brazil, as of America, still awaits solution. Since anthropo-ethnological science does not recognize them as autochthons, where did they come from? From only one or from various origins? In what era? By which path? With what means? In one or several successive migrations? Under what direction? How did they spread?

[121] The present work does not aim at answering these or other connected questions. Nevertheless a rapid survey of this cultural group of the Uaupés within the historical period for it, that is, since the discovery of Brazil, is advisable.

175 The voyage of discovery of the "Rio das Amazonas," as it became known at the time, was made by Francisco Orellana in 1541, the friar of the Order of Saint Dominic, Gaspar de Carvajal, serving as chronicler. From his account there appears with respect to the Rio Negro only that on Saturday, the eve of the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 3, 1542, "We saw the mouth of another large river, on the left bank, which entered the one that we were navigating and of water black as ink and therefore we gave it the name of Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos do rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," 50).

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Due to its simplicity, it is known and produced by all the tribes, although it is called "rede de Makú" /Makú hammock/. Because of this depreciatory name, and mainly because of the present ease of acquiring more durable and economical cotton hammocks from the civilized, it is beginning to lose its acceptance among the Indians of the other tribes and today is found almost solely among the Makú and the tribes without contact with the civilized. The Tukano tell of having learned from the Desana how to make this type of hammock. They were not able to clarify whether they had previously used the rede-puçá /puçá hammock/, or if they knew the hammock and slept on platforms.

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b) Beaten hammock. In Tukano it is called pá-tuke, and in Nheengatú, makíra. It is manufactured with a very simple loom (26).

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26. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 340) is of the opinion that the loom is of European origin. This opinion seems acceptable to us, and we believe one could say that the form of the "rede batida" /beaten hammock/ as well is not of native origin, but learned from the civilized. This conclusion is confirmed by: 1st, the fact that not many Indian women know how to make the "rede batida"; 2nd, those who presently know how to do it (as is shown by our inquiries) learned it in the Mission schools or from the alumnae of the Mission; 3rd, we know that the Governador of the Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro, Lobo D'Almada, in his economic plan to encourage industry, favored the weaver's trade, aiming at "the making of the cloth needed for the uniforms of the garrison, the colonists, and the Indians who came down, using eighteen looms and ten spinning wheels, with twenty-four spindles each. In 1798 only 157 Indian women were working as spinners"

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/footnote 26 cont./ (A. Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada -- Manaos, 1940, p. 35); 4th, in the povoados more in contact with civilization, as well as in the more remote malocas, one never finds the "rede-batida"; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ but the natives either use only the hammock "de trinta fios" /of thirty threads/ or those bought from the civilized; 5th, it seems that we can discover still another argument, to wit: outside of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ of the Salesian Missions, on numerous excursions along rivers and igarapés, in only two povoados did we have an opportunity to see the loom and the work of the "rede-batida," and in the two cases it was a matter of young women who had learned it in the Mission and did it on order from the civilized. Furthermore: the terms of the Tukano language that we have presented in relation to the "rede-batida" result from innumerable inquiries at different times and places, with the more educated alumni of the Mission. It is not a matter of an ordinary nomenclature known and used by all, as one would expect if the "rede-batida" were a primitive industry. Many did not know the terms; others presented improper terms made up for the occasion. As generic terms for the occasion, they sometimes were and sometimes were not understood and accepted by other natives.

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Before there came into being the trade in the present cotton hammocks (called in the region redes-do-Ceará /hammocks from Ceará/), the civilized women of the Rio Negro and some Indian women of the Içana continued to "bater" /to beat/ their hammocks on the primitive looms, as they had learned in the lower Rio Negro. The Salesian Missions in turn try to keep this skill from being lost, and they teach the Indian women of greater ability and skill, not only how to make the

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/footnote 26 cont./ "rede-batida," but, by the same process, to make rugs, tablecloths, napkins, bags, and other artifacts to suit modern taste.

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/192/ pũ-pá:-tuse nextõ-rĩ, consisting of four rounded sticks connected in a rectangle. Each of their vertical staffs (warp) has two holes through which the horizontal ones pass. The holes are purposely very large, so that with a suitable wedge the distance with regard to the horizontal staffs can be varied and thus hammocks of different lengths obtained.

The warp is made in the vertical direction (around the horizontal crossbars, the separation of which marks the length of the hammock), some turns going around with quite a long thread. The vertical crossbars of the loom determine the width of the hammock.

In between the vertical threads the woman starts developing the woof, a small stick with the rolled thread serving as a shuttle, wa'mẽ-kõ dõxká, and beating with a straightedge, pá:-turi-phĩ, in order to join the meshes well. The result is a true fabric of quite tight meshes, and the more elegant and comfortable the hammocks, the finer the thread.

They complete the elegance with a "veranda," pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõrĩ or pá:-tuke-wári, or a side fringe of varied form, as macramé is made.

The veranda is prepared by stretching a thread of a size corresponding to that of the hammock. Along this thread are tied with knots the tucum fibers folded in half. With these variously colored fibers, the woman spins, without the help of bobbins, but only with the fingers, a somewhat wide lace "ponto" /stitch/, until she obtains a trimming /193/ of some 10 or 15 centimeters, and she afterwards tears the ends with the ouriço /prickly part/ of the piquiá. They not only use fibers of different colors, but they even attach to them nowadays beautiful and colorful feathers of birds, in conformity with the taste of the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

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173 there is a place that in Tukano is called Bũxkõrá bathá, literally
554 "swimming of the elders," that is, where the elders crossed the
614 river by swimming, fleeing from their enemies. In the vicinity of this spot, about 30 years ago, the elders showed Pe. João Marchesi a section of less dense forest as being the place through which passed the first Tukano coming from the Tiquié on their expeditions of war.

In conclusion, we give the opinion:

174 1st. -- The natural multiplication of the Indians imposed a
554 division into groups which have established themselves in closer
614 or more distant places, according to the circumstances; for this reason we today find groups of one and the same nation dispersed along the three rivers (Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí).

2nd. -- The denominations (110)

[829]

> 110. The distance between these groups has more and more accentuated the separation. If it is true that each individual, even the children, knows the name of his own and of the neighboring subdivisions (and even of other tribes), few of them know how to make a more complete list of the Gentes that make up their tribe.

that characterize each group (Waú-ro, Oyê, etc., cf. IV-2-a (2) ) are names or nicknames by which the respective stipites, or some late more famous descendant who provoked the separation or built the new maloca or performed any other deed, were known.

[628] 3rd. -- The relations between the malocas, and the social situation of those who /474/ inhabit them today, are the same as those that existed among the founders, hence the present hierarchy that is in force among the Indians.

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Nimuendajú, in a report published in 1950, independently identified the social organizations of the Vaupés River as patrilineal sibs, and more recently a young Colombian anthropologist, Marcos Fulop (1954), described a patrilineal sib organization with a phratric grouping among the Tucano Indians. Work on the patrilineal Yagua and the Tucuna was also done after 1940. Before 1940 Kirchoff (1931), using the then best available information, had incorrectly characterized the Northwest Amazon region as based upon bilateral kin-groups that favored patrilocal residence. 121 [614] [615]

If we are to conceive of the Northwest Amazon as a geographic region then the Macú must also be included. Macú is a catchall name for very simple nonhorticultural peoples whose center seems to be the Rio Negro but who have been moving westward into the Vaupés-Caquetá area (Métraux, 1948). There they have either been assimilated in the Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking tribes or have lived among these more powerful tribes as servants or "slaves" or in some other symbiotic relationship. The *Bahúkina* sibs of the Cubeo acknowledged Macú ancestry and may well have been, as Koch-Grünberg has claimed, one of the assimilated Macú groups. The Macú are shorter in stature than the other Indians in the region. They lack fixed residences, the hammock, and the canoe. If the Macú languages are truly, as Greenberg (1960) has suggested, Macro-Tucanoan, they are not an altogether alien group among their more culturally advanced neighbors. The Macú, however, have not been studied at all so that we do not know whether they are to be considered a remnant of very early nonhorticulturists or as uprooted people who had given up farming. The tropical forest has a number of examples of the latter case. *Bahúkina* traditions, on the other hand, refer to a prehorticultural period. [614] [174]

Since our knowledge of the tribes of the entire Northwest Amazon drainage, including the basin of the Rio Negro, is so slight, too much importance cannot be attached to "Northwest Amazon" as a subculture type. However, the entire Northwest Amazon region, which includes an area somewhat greater than the cultural area designated in the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward, 1948), has unusual potential interest, potential in the sense that the ethnological problems it poses can become real only after further field work has clarified the state of cultural patterns and cultural institutions there. This northwest quadrant of the Amazon Basin is open to the entire lower Amazon and has, at the same time, contact with the eastern margins of Andean cultures as well as with the southern margins of the Circum-Caribbean cultures. That is to say, on its northern and western flanks it is subject to influences from more highly developed

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# 1

## *The Cubeo Community*

361 The Cubeo Indians occupy a string of settlements along a small stretch of the Vaupés River from Uarúa Lake upstream to Uaracapurí and downstream to near the Brazilian border, as well as along several of the Vaupés tributaries, namely the Cuduiarí and the [61] Querarí and Pirabatón. The tribe consists of some 30 or more patrilineal, exogamous sibs[1] that are grouped into three unnamed confederations or phratries of unequal size that are also exogamous. Although the bulk of the Cubeo now live on the smaller streams—the Cuduiarí, in particular, being heavily populated—the broad [614] Vaupés, that joins with the Rio Negro to enter the Amazon, is regarded by the Indians as their main stream and as their source. Their 173 leading sibs still live there. Native traditions place the emergence of 614 all the Cubeo sibs at two Vaupés sites, at the turbulent cataracts of 361 Yurupari and of Uaracapurí. From there the people moved up the nearby tributary streams, the Cuduiarí, the Querarí, and the 173 Pirabatón, a tributary of the Querarí. The traditions record that 361 the first people displaced groups that were already living along [174] these streams and, in this respect, square with historical observations that pressures of enemy Indian tribes, and, lately, the more potent pressures of white colonizers, have been forcing the Indians to leave the main rivers and take shelter in the more 361 distant and constricted feeder streams, or else face physical or cultural 614 extinction. The more timid and the more humble of the sibs have

[1] Following the usage of Lowie (1920, p. 111), "sib" is synonymous with "clan."

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614 came to be known as *Bwübekúdjo* (*Bwü* the Ancient). The *Byarí-Hehénewa* took him captive. Sometime later, the *Hehénewa*, coming to visit their kin, determined to rescue the boy. They did so, killing off the *Byarí-Hehénewa* who were holding him. They released
614 *Bwübekúdjo*, giving him two *Borówa* (Macú) women as wives. The
648 *Borówa* were then servants of the *Hehénewa*. The Macú women bore *Bwübekúdjo* ten children. It was from the males of this sibling group that the *Bahúkiwa* sib was reconstituted.

614 This concession of kinship alliance with the Macú stigmatizes the
648 *Bahúkiwa* as an inferior sib even though the descent is still in the
554 male line. Normally, Cubeo used *Borówa* women sexually but did
[611] not marry them. The *Bahúkiwa* do not concede that they are *Borówa*. And I learned early in my stay among them that nothing was more offensive than to even hint that someone was *Borówa*. The *Hehénewa* had told Koch-Grünberg that the *Bahúkiwa* were *Borówa* who had assimilated themselves to the Cubeo and were still to be regarded with contempt (1909, II, 136). No *Hehénewa* made this observation to me, but possibly out of courtesy since I was living with the *Bahúkiwa*.

614 The origin of the *Bahúkübwauwü*, a subsib of the *Bahúkiwa*, is also attributed to an act of kindness by a fellow sib, in this case at the hands of the second-ranking *Aúnbwawü*. In the course of an attack on them, all but one *Bahúkiwa* girl were killed. She was suc-
614 cored by the *Aúnbwawü*, among whom she lived until she married.
611 The narrator claimed that no one knew whom she had married, a lapse of information of utmost importance, since the point of the story is that despite patriliny a woman can also re-establish a sib. She bore eight children and they and their descendants took the name of *Bahúkübwauwü*. Descent then reverted to patriliny.

615 The Cubeo view of the phratry, as revealed by the traditions, is
614 of a grouping of essentially autonomous sibs into a loose fraternity that takes its sanction not from descent from a common ancestor but emergence from a common place. The genealogical relationship determines sib identity, but it is geography that determines phratric identity. The principal idea that is expressed is that the closer the sibs were spatially at the time of emergence the closer should be their present fraternal bonds. Thus, the traditions draw fine distinctions between emergence from the very same crevice on the rocks, from the same rapids, and from the same river. Unfortunately for our in-
615 terest in reconstructing tribal history, the traditions lack consistency.
614 This inconsistency reflects perhaps the ethnic heterogeneity of the
● 174 region, which, together with the lack of a central source for tradition,

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places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. To be sure, the custom of reciting a sib origin tradition at the regular drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multi-sib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin traditions are the most important sanctions for regulating current relationships among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).[8] This group, consisting of *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, and *Byá-Hehénewa*, is supposed to have emerged together at *Yavíbebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapuri cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yavimanawa*, according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one another as *pakomá* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehénewa*, for example, discounting *Bahúkiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

[8] This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has, of course, an honorific reference. There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is applied to the Macú. Giacone (1949, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onca*.

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genealogies is not strong, so that they have only a general, albeit a strong, feeling that the family lines presently in a sib are related. What keeps the sib from being a lineage is then the technical fact that the Cubeo cannot link up their present descent lines with their ancient descent lines. 614 [829] [613]

One is tempted, therefore, to think of the Cubeo descent group as a transitional form, hovering between sib and lineage. At first glance the distinction between sib and lineage seems to hang by the technicality of how sophisticated a people are about genealogies. Yet this sophistication is a matter of major importance. Sib continuity and growth is a relatively simple matter of transmitting a sib name and a line of descent with an origin myth to give historical sanction. Lineage continuity and growth, on the other hand, demand motivation as well as the capability for maintaining accurate or presumably accurate genealogical records. Societies organized upon aristocratic lines can do this readily. Egalitarian societies, on the other hand, can have small lineages or large clans and kindreds but they cannot readily support large or historically deep lineages. The Cubeo have a shadow aristocracy only, not enough to sustain the necessary degree of genealogical sophistication. On the other hand, if the Cubeo could not sustain the growth of lineages neither could they sustain the growth of sibs. Two social conditions seemed to stand in the way of the enlargement of sibs. One was the inherent fissility of the sib, the other was the organization of the phratry. The phratry allowed the sibs to split without endangering their survival by virtue of being too small. 614 613 614 615 182

The basic social organization that provides for autonomous confederation of small units conforms readily to the requirements of easy absorption of new groups. The modes of group-binding, such as exogamy, the cycle of drinking parties, and the segmented forms of ceremonial participation that allow each sib to function as a ceremonial unit, are also admirably adapted to rapid assimilation of foreign tribes without benefit of a central administration. In cases of assimilation, all the necessary joint activities to which the sibs of a phratry are bound will inevitably encourage a common language. Just as the phratric organization allows for easy binding of autonomous sibs into a convenient fraternity that provides for peace, cooperation, and sociability, it allows as readily for fission without serious disruption. From these observations it may be inferred that the history of the Northwest Amazon region has been one of constant formation and disruption of sociopolitical entities. What a tribe is at any time is a core of sib segments that may have persevered through [174] 614 619 174

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614 time and then have drawn to them new sibs from peoples speak-
619 ing the same as well as other languages. The Cubeo tribe, as we have
174 already observed, seems to be an aggregate of Tucanoan-speaking, Arawakan-speaking, and "Macuan"-speaking peoples. A particular sib that belongs to one tribe today may incorporate itself into another tomorrow.

614 It is possible that sib formation in the Northwest Amazon region
174 has been an outgrowth of this process of repeated assimilation of new groups. The reasoning behind this assumption is as follows: patrilocal extended families need only assert and maintain a tradition of common origin and then live up to the requirement of maintaining a firm group identity, within a confederation, to make the transition to sib or clan. The suggestion is, however, that sib formation cannot be accounted for merely by the growth of extended patrilocal families or by the enlargement of lineages — because of the ease of fission — but rather as a response to quite another process, that of confederation in which the identity of the joining segments is retained. A confederation of descent groups heightens the probability that all will defend their autonomy by asserting their identity of common descent.

## THE SIB AND PHRATRIC ORGANIZATION

614 The sibs are listed in approximate order of rank. This rank order
615 should be considered as provisional, since it represents mainly the
554 *Bahúkiwa* view of sib rank.
361

### PHRATRY I

*Órobawa* The leading sib: they still live at Uaracapurí on the Vaupés, the site of a rapids from which they first emerged. Their first male ancestor was called *Órobakũ*. According to one version of the origin tale, he was the head of the anaconda from which all Cubeo are descended. He then named all the sibs of the phratry that followed after him. Koch-Grünberg identified them as *Ólaba-Hehénewa* and hence as a branch of the *Hehénewa*. Nimuendajú listed them as *Órobawa*. According to my in-
[114] formation, they are most closely linked with the *Hwáni-Hehénewa* and with the *Aúnwewa*, the easternmost or most downstream community of the Cubeo.

*Aúnbwawũ* The second sib, occupying the next site upstream on the Vaupés at Urania. Their first ancestor was *Aúnkũ*. Some informants said that *Aúnkũ* was the last to emerge but was granted second place by *Órobakũ*. In any case, their position on the Vaupés gives them second rank. They are regarded as very closely linked with the *Hehénewa*. In 1940 they were reduced to four households. Some had taken up residence

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were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behórũ* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapurí and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapurí that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querarí but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiarí had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Parý *cachoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

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769 171 [114] by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[2] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involv-
769 534 171 ing the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kúwai* (*Kúwai*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are [241] quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries dur-
[881] ing the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano In-
[184] dians, where sacred horns are used in the initiation of young boys, the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and
[552] agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as tamed animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral cult (Ypiringa Monteiro, 1960).

769 171 As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Gágaba (Park, 1946), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921–23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1948), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may
769 534 speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic
● 194 whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among
534 elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[2] Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekeboikelehapuive*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kiwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucanoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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larly, they have adapted harvest and demon cult ceremonies to ancestral cult rites. Evidences of religious syncretism are important in interpreting a complex ceremony. Thus, the fact that the mourning rites commonly begin during the pupunha season and the fact that at one point in the ceremonies the men pelt the roof of the house with pupunha fruit to "frighten the women" must be evaluated in the light of the possibility that we are dealing with a portion of a foreign ceremony, incorporated in the structure of the *óyne*. Cubeo ancestral or initiative rites also include "harvest festival" elements. But in these, as in the *óyne*, the harvest theme is a minor one.

## MASK REPRESENTATIONS

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Dr. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels through the Vaupés region, collected some 50 different mask representations. My own observations along the Cuduiarí covered 30. Altogether, there is now a combined list of 62.[4] Since the masks are intended to portray *all* the living creatures of the Cubeo world the number of masks is potentially vast. No one ceremony uses them all. There are, however, key characters that are most commonly represented. These are Jaguar, Dung beetle, Carrion vulture, Butterfly, Aracú fishes, Eagle, Sloth, Parrot, Dragonfly, Minnows (who are not masked but are an important element in the ceremonial dramatization), *Pyénkü* (a small black fish), Frogs, and a variety of cannibalistic ogres or forest demons, the *Abúhuwa*. Informants would not say which of the masked representations was most important, presumably because invidiousness is, to the Cubeo, in poor taste. Judging, however, by their prominence, I would say that Jaguar, Butterfly, *Abúhuwa*, Dung beetles, Carrion vulture, and Aracú fishes were most important, more or less in that order. Except for the aracú, the esteemed fish of the region, these creatures all have an association with death. The jaguar is, of course, the dreaded sorcerer. The sorcerer is called *yaví* (jaguar) and the Cubeo regard any jaguar as likely to be either a sorcerer or a sorcerer's dog. The morpho butterfly with its beautiful blue wings is a creature of sorcerers and of evil. The information Koch-Grünberg received was that the morpho butterfly (*intárako*) lives at Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés, where he brews malaria in a calabash and strews it over the land (1909, II, 181). I did not hear this account, but I was told that when a sorcerer is cooking a brew that will kill a victim at a distance the morpho butterfly appears and encircles the pot. Finally, it falls in and is consumed and at that moment the victim dies.

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[4] See the end of this chapter.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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571 and children, circulate from community to community attaching
614 themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear
593 family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual auton-
621 omy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low toler-
ance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the
firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

121 Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or
571 as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is
viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalanc-
[619] ing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest sug-
[615] gestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless
configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and
to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has
the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance.
On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of
being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the
study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only
vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical
grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

121 The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural.
● 174 It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting
the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cu-
[614] beo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In
[615] historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the
allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honor-
ific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further so-
cial and political development. Though the phratric organization is
largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization
provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through polit-
[648] ical and economic means. Some of the potential political means are
already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding
of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and
economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is
seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an
acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they
also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether
unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolu-
tion, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the
answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of pat-
terns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single
variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence
on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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these conditions is relevant to an understanding of Cubeo culture. 121
But even taken together they do not account for the principal pat- 174
terns of Cubeo culture, which have a natural history of their own. The question, however, is not whether cultural patterns have a natural history, but only whether the ecological and the technological theories are adequate accounts of the natural history of a culture.

## ADAPTATION

Thus, the problem of cultural adaptation to an environment can- 182
not be dealt with simply and one-sidedly by describing the hypothet- 121
ical shaping of a culture to the environment. Adaptation is a study of interaction. Generally speaking, highly specialized environments demand highly specialized and hence relatively predictable cultural responses. The tropical forest is not an example of a highly specialized economic environment judged empirically by the diversity of cultural patterns it has sustained. Bitter manioc is clearly a cumber- 182
some crop, its high yield and relative ease of cultivation being offset 241
by its very heavy demands on labor, specifically on that of women. 121
It can be argued, therefore, that this crop offers a poor economic base for social and political development. Yet the Northwest Amazon also is familiar with maize, yams, and sweet manioc, not to mention beans and squash and gourd. These crops have traditionally sustained high cultures. Can we explain in ecological terms why the Northwest Amazon tribes chose to specialize in bitter manioc rather than maize and beans, as did, for example, the lowland Maya? It would seem that here is a case of cultural choice in which prefer- 121
ences for quick yield, minimum care in cultivation, strong sexual divi- 181
sion of labor, and perennial harvest rather than the problems of 182
storage and seasonal periodicity may have been compelling factors. 433
Since the Cubeo social system placed no great demands upon an ex- (241)
panding economic productivity the "easy" adaptation to nature was always feasible. The main patterns of Cubeo life do not stress the disciplines of prolonged and closely managed effort. The habitual (461)
rhythms of masculine labor are discontinuous and varied. Leadership is based on the principle of mood regulation rather than on dedication to an ideal or submission to authority. High cultures are based on strongly disciplined and collective ways of life. By contrast, the Cubeo values greater emotional spontaneity and personal autonomy. An economy, needless to say, will in the end transform cultural values as well as the personal character of the members of a culture. Before

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101 large, homogeneous cultural group in the center of what is identified in the literature as the Northwest Amazon culture area. (For culture area descriptions, see Steward 1946–1959, Goldman 1948, Murdock 1958, Steward and Faron 1959, and Galvão 1960.) There is historical as well as traditional evidence that some of these tribes may have originated outside of the Vaupés area, subsequently acculturating to the general central Northwest Amazon culture. Other tribes seem to have originated locally, from proliferation by fission. Koch-Grünberg (1909–1910), for instance, considers the Wanano newcomers (among others). Although it has not been especially noted in the literature, some tribes present social organizations that are atypical for the area. The Piratapuyo, for instance, retain moieties, which until recently functioned as exogamous intermarrying units in an otherwise tribally exogamous and moiety-lacking culture area. Goldman (1963), who noted multilingualism, also reports on the diverse origin of various sibs among the Kubeo. On the other hand, field notes on the Tuyuka-Yuruti (or Dochkapüra-Uaiana [the *Uaikona* are the Piratapuyo]) set of tribes and languages suggest their derivation from a common source.

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A couple of the larger tribes do not live in one continuous area, but in several areas. The numerous Tukano tribe occupies several continuous stretches of the Vaupés River and its principal tributaries, the Tikié and the Papuri, and also sites at the mouths of tributaries to these rivers. Historically, they have exerted

[P. 670-B]

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361 the intelligence of the forest dweller the advantage of the safety of his property, which thus more easily escapes being seen and covetousness. The natural consequence is that the density of the population in each group is independent of the fertility of the adjacent lands.

/15/ Chapter II

## The Tribes of the Uaupés in the Historical Period

### 1 -- Data on the History of the Rio Negro and the Uaupés River

174 The important problem of the origin of the forest dwellers of Brazil, as of America, still awaits solution. Since anthropo-ethnological science does not recognize them as autochthons, where did they come from? From only one or from various origins? In what era? By which path? With what means? In one or several successive migrations? Under what direction? How did they spread?

[121] The present work does not aim at answering these or other connected questions. Nevertheless a rapid survey of this cultural group of the Uaupés within the historical period for it, that is, since the discovery of Brazil, is advisable.

• 175 The voyage of discovery of the "Rio das Amazonas," as it became known at the time, was made by Francisco Orellana in 1541, the friar of the Order of Saint Dominic, Gaspar de Carvajal, serving as chronicler. From his account there appears with respect to the Rio Negro only that on Saturday, the eve of the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 3, 1542, "We saw the mouth of another large river, on the left bank, which entered the one that we were navigating and of water black as ink and therefore we gave it the name of Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos do rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," 50).

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175 In the brief "Relação do descobrimento do Rio Amazonas, hoje S. Francisco de Quito /Account of the discovery of the Amazon River, today S. Francisco de Quito/," by Padre Alonso de Rojas, one only reads, in § 6: "At the north side there is a very large river with a league and a half at the mouth and waters so black that they are distinguished from the others, an effect that gave the name to the river, it being called 'Negro.' "

"The first steersman, of whom we shall speak later, having navigated two or three days along this Rio Negro, said that, according to the information that he could obtain from some Indians, this river rises in some mountain ranges neighboring the Novo Reino de Granada and in its origin it is divided into two branches: one of them, with the name of Rio Negro, empties, after a long course, into the Amazon; the other comes to empty into the sea of the North, in view of the island Trindade, and they think that this river might be the famous Orinoco" ("Descobrimentos," 95).

[103] /16/ Padre Cristobal de Acuña, who accompanied Pedro de Teixeira on his return from Quito to Belém, gives in his "Novo descobrimento do grande Rio das Amazonas /New discovery of the great Amazon River/" more abundant information concerning the Rio Negro, or Curiguacurú, as "the natives who inhabit it" called it, or Uruna, "which means black water," by the "Tupinambás" in their language. "Caniçuaris, Aguayras, Yacuncarais, Cahuayapitis, Manacarús, Yanmas, Guanamás, Carapanaris, Guarianacaguas, Acerabarís, Carupatabas and Guaranaquazama /the quotation marks that perhaps belong here are missing in the original source/ are the nations "who live along the waters of the Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos," 251).

175 648 After the travels of Pedro de Teixeira, the scouting for the capture of the Indian started. These enslaving bands were called "tropas de resgate" /ransom troops/. One of the first ones was that headed by Pedro da Costa Favela, of ominous memory (1).

1. "The history of the province abounds in facts of the harshest cruelty. On the river Urubú, to cite one of them, in 1665, an expedition commanded by

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• 175 648 /footnote 1 cont./ Pedro da Costa Favella completely annihilated a tribe, killing 700 persons, imprisoning 400, and burning 300 villages." Baena -- Compêndio das eras da Província do Pará, 1838 /Compendium of the eras of the Province of Pará, 1838/ -- ap. José Veríssimo, o. c., 304.

The Jesuit Padre Manuel Pires (according to Padre Serafim Leite, in his História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil /History of the Company of Jesus in Brazil/) traveled on the Rio Negro four times, accompanying "tropas de resgate." They were swift penetrations, however, without the goal of colonization.

In 1668 Pedro da Costa Favella returned, accompanied by the Mercedarian Frei /Brother/ Teodósio da Veiga, and, in the place called Aruim, founded a povoado /populated place/ of Tarumã Indians, which was later transferred to the mouth of the river Jaú, with "Manao, Aruaqui and Tacú" Indians, under the name of Santo Elias do Jaú, and now called Airão.

In 1669 Francisco da Mota Falcão laid the foundations of a fort two leagues above the mouth of the Rio Negro, where there would be formed, little by little, the "Lugar /place, village, town/ da Barra," or the "Povoado de S. José da Barra," today the modern and picturesque city of Manaus.

175 797 By royal letter of 1694 the catechizing of the Rio Negro was entrusted to the Carmelite Religious. Through their work eight aldeaments emerged: S. Elias do Jaú, S. Alberto de Aracary, S. Angelo do Cumarú, N. Senhora da Conceição de Maruiá, S. Rita de Cassia de Itarendaua, N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo de Cabuquena, N. Senhora do Rosário de Bararoá (later called Thomar), and N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo do rio Dari, and later the missions of the Uaupés, in S. Joaquim da Foz and S. Jerônimo da Cachoeira or Ipanoré.

175 648 Then the government of the metropolis, struck by fear of the Dutch and Spanish incursions, and eager to obtain the "drogas" /literally "drugs," here natural products/, proposed the systematic founding of settlements along the whole Rio Negro.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19]

4: Silva--19 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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175 648 The scouting, official or not, in search of the "drogas" (the natural products) and the "peças" /pieces/ (the Indians for public service or even as slaves) was going on. Soon the Rio Negro and its principal tributaries were quite well known by the Portuguese, even the connections with the Orinoco by way of the Cassiquiare and with the Guianas by way of the Rio Branco.

175 648 797 By royal letter of March 3, 1755, the "Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro" was created. In that very year, by decision of the Marquês /Marquis/ de Pombal, by decree of June 7, the Religious Missionaries were excluded from the secular direction of the native povoados (the direction being transferred to the judges and aldermen) and, in the spiritual one, were subject to the Bishops (no longer to their Religious Superiors). In April of that year Padre Joseph Monteiro de Noronha was chosen as Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Pará, who at that time was D. Frei Miguel de Bulhões, of the order of S. Bento.

On July 16, 1757, the first Governador, Joaquim de Melo Póvoas, was appointed, and in 1758 several aldeias were elevated to Vila /town/ or Lugares: that of Maruiá to Vila de Barcelos, as Capital; Itarendaua to Vila de Moura; Bararoá to Vila de Thomar; Jaú to Lugar de Ayrão; Cumarú to Lugar de Poiares; Aracarí to Lugar de Carvoeiro.

175 648 The territorial preoccupations of the metropolis dictated orders for the garrisoning of the upper Rio Negro against the Spanish expansionist tendencies. Capitão José da Silva Delgado was appointed for this in 1761, and he founded the localities of S. Pedro de Simapé, S. José dos Marabitanas, N. Senhora da Guia, S. Bárbara, S. João Batista do Mabé, S. Isabel, Senhor da Pedra, N. Senhora de Nazaré da Curiana, S. Gabriel da Cachoeira, S. Sebastião, and S. Antonio do Castanheiro Velho. This last one was later abandoned due to the impossibility of agriculture, always damaged by the leaf-cutting ant, and the population was transferred above the mouth of the Abunã, founding the povoado of S. Antonio do Castanheiro Novo. The Franciscan Frei José de S. Úrsula was appointed as the first vicar of S. Gabriel.

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In 1772 the povoado of N. Senhora de Loreto de Maçaraby was founded, and in 1781 that of N. Senhora das Caldas on the bank of the Cauaburí River.

By order of General João Pereira Caldas, commissioned by Portugal for the demarcation of the boundaries (with D. Francisco de Requena representing the interests of Spain), Coronel Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada went up the Rio Negro in 1784, founded the town of S. Marcelino at the mouth of the Xié, and traveled on the waters of the Uaupés.

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Nevertheless, with the Missionaries reduced in number and powers, the unfitness of the "Diretores dos Índios" /Directors of the Indians/ was prejudicial to their /18/ Christianization and settlement in povoados. The "Diários" /Diaries/ of Sampaio and Ferreira document that and protest against it (2).

2. Alexandre R. Ferreira in the Participação segunda /second Communication/, dated January 30, 1786, affirmed: -- "I say what I have always said, that the Indians, after being freed, will remain in this respect in a worse condition than the one they had when slaves. The master in the life of the slave carefully looked after his money; the Director in the life of the Indian does not look after any interest." And he notes that the Indians died from much work and little food. "They give them only beijú or ticoara and caribé /dishes made with manioc/" (o.c., 87).

On p. 43 he talks about the bad treatment that the Directors inflicted on the Indians, while they enriched themselves and became so many petty noblemen: -- "From one pair of absolute hands to another, and so absolute that in the vilas and lugares, or rather, free dukedoms, marquisates, and earldoms of the Directors, the Indians suffer, tied to the tenacious pillar of their suffering."

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/Footnote 2 cont./ On p. 70 he reports of Coronel Teodósio Constantino Chermont, upon inviting the Mucunas Indians to settle in Tabocas, Apapóris River, that he heard from their principal /chief/, Maimanaca, that they would do it, "Provided, however, that he would have sent to them a vicar to baptize and indoctrinate them, as they greatly wished, and had requested in vain not a few times; but by no means the Director, because they were very well informed about the conduct of all of them with regard to the Indians in our towns, managing only to destroy them and not to edify them."

The Presidente of the Província, Conselheiro /Counselor/ Herculano Ferreira Pena, in the "Falla dirigida à Assembleia Legislativa Provincial do Amazonas /Speech directed to the Provincial Legislative Assembly of Amazonas/," on October 1, 1853, after recognizing that the noble plans of catechizing and educating the Indians had failed, affirmed: -- "For a /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ very simple and generally well-known reason, that is, because of the lack of faithful executors when the old Missionaries have disappeared, the ones who put their hearts into this enterprise, worthy certainly of Vieira, Nobregas, and Anchieta.

"By eliminating the Jesuits, the Portuguese government did not foresee that it was thus also ordering the destruction of the Indians, who, during the period of two centuries, had lived happily and contentedly under the paternal tutelage of those Religious; on the contrary, the famous Ministro del Rei D. José understood that this tutelage could advantageously be replaced by the command of the Directors then created; but the new system unfortunately did not have any effects other than the decline of the aldeias already formed, and

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/footnote 2 cont./ the impossibility of founding others that would resemble them, as is observed throughout Brazil.

"What the facts attest to is that if any good result was achieved, it was due to the zeal and the charity of the Missionaries.

"Therefore, to hand over the direction of the aldeias to religious who will be able to renounce completely the goods and the pleasures of the world, who will have the patience needed to forgive the Indians the mistakes and the faults stemming from the incontestable inferiority of their intelligence, who will inspire in them a love of work, who will instruct them in the principles of the Catholic religion and of the Christian doctrine, who, in sum, will educate them to the point of finding themselves able to fulfill the duties and to enjoy the advantages of civil society, is, in my view, the only system that we can follow with every probability of happy success." ("Relatorios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas," Vol. 1, pp. 218-9.)

[797] In spite of the lack of Missionaries, the process of Christianization was being accomplished, although more slowly, since Indians from the Uaupés went down to S. Gabriel or its environs when they heard of the presence of some priest there.

With the independence of Brazil proclaimed in 1822, complete autonomy was not granted to the province of S. José do Rio Negro, as it was to the others, and, as "Comarca do Alto Amazonas," it came to be integrated, up to 1850, with the Province of Pará.

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With the apostolic works of the Carmelite Frei José dos Santos Inocentes on the upper Rio Negro and tributaries for more than 20 years, counting from 1832, the evangelization of the natives acquired new vigor.

The Province of Amazonas having been created on September 5, 1850, its first Governador, João Batista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, in the same year that he came into office, 1852, appointed the Capuchin Frei Gregorio José Maria de Bene "Vigário encomendado das freguezias e povoações do alto Rio Negro e Missionário dos rios Uaupés e Içana" /Removable vicar of the parishes and towns of the upper Rio Negro and Missionary of the rivers Uaupés and Içana/, since Frei José dos Santos Inocentes was forced by illness to go down to Manaus. The activity of Frei Gregorio was great, and in little more than two years he managed to establish relations with 25 tribes (who appear in his list), trying to put them in aldeias, /19/ re-establishing many povoados, and bringing many individuals among them to Christianity. [103] The following towns are mentioned as those for which, in 1854, he asked for a change of name, to wit: on the Uaupés: Querari, Macaquinha, Micura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Coração de Jesus), Carurú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Fidelis martir), Mutum (aldeia of S. Cruz), Aracapuri (aldeia of S. João Batista), Jutica, Pacú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Sebastião), aldeia of Cubeo (aldeia of N. Senhora das Dores), Umarí, Iauareté (aldeia of S. Ana), Jabutí-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Paulo Apóstolo), Juquira (aldeia of S. Domingos), Nanã-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Antônio de Lisboa), S. Jerônimo (aldeia of Conceição de N. Senhora), S. Joaquim, Trovão, Pitúna-rapecuma, Inuitera, Cunurí, Coró-Coró, Iura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Francisco das Chagas), Taracuá (S. Francisco das Chagas), Ambaíua, Ivitera-rapecuma. On the Tiquié: Tucano (or S. Isabel), Uíra-poço (or Nazaré), Maracajá (or S. José), Turí-igarapé (or S. Pedro). On the Papurí: S. Luzia dos Tucanos, S. Gregório Magno dos Pirá-tapuya. (Archivo do Amazonas, Year I, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 34, and Year II, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 7.)

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175 797 With alternating periods of assistance, the Capuchins proceeded to attend to the inhabitants of the upper Rio Negro and Uaupés until 1888, when they withdrew and the Mission vanished. Since that time the civilized and the natives of the Rio Negro have had periodic visits from /20/ ecclesiastics, few of whom went beyond S. Gabriel, and some did not reach there.

In 1914 the Mission of the Rio Negro and Uaupés was entrusted by the Holy See to the Salesiana Congregação de S. João Bosco, and a new and more promising phase for those tribes began. Fourteen of them located along the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié and Papurí are assisted materially, sanitarily, and spiritually. The Indians are attracted to the banks of these rivers and settled in small povoados.

For better civilizing assimilation, in accordance with Christian principles, besides the hospitals, maternity clinics, ambulatories, and churches, there are 13 schools (six male and seven female) operating (1958), which, in the regime of a boarding school, educate and instruct about 1500 children of both sexes in the language of the homeland, sciences, and arts. The contrast between the life of the former students of the Mission in their povoados and that of those who live in the malocas where the action of the Missionary has not reached is the best proof of the civilizing attainments of the Salesian Missions.

## 2. The First Relatórios

175 In the eighteenth century three Relatórios /Accounts/ with references to tribes of the Rio Negro and Uaupés appeared:

1st. "Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará até as últimas colonias dos dominios portuguezes em os Rios Amazonas e Negro. Ilustrado com algumas notícias que podem interessar a curiosidade dos navegantes e dar mais claro conhecimento das duas capitanias do Pará e de S. José do Rio Negro /Logbook of the voyage from the city of Pará up to the last colonies of the

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175 Portuguese dominions on the Amazon and Negro Rivers. Illustrated with some notes that might interest the curiosity of the navigators and give clearer knowledge of the two capitanias of Pará and S. José do Rio Negro/," by the Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Dr. José Monteiro de Noronha ("Colleção de notícias para a História e Geographia das nações ultramarinas que vivem nos Dominios Portuguezes ou lhe são visinhas /Collection of notes for the History and Geography of the ultramarine nations that live in the Portuguese Dominions or are their neighbors/"; published by the Academia Real das Sciencias -- Vol. VI. Lisbon, 1856).

2nd. "Diário da viagem que em visita e correição das povoações da Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro fez o Ouvidor e Intendente Geral da mesma Francisco Xavier Ribeiro da Sampaio, no anno 1774 e 1775 /Diary of the voyage that, for a visit and the administration of justice in the town of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro, the Auditor and Intendant-general of the same, Francisco Xavier Ribeiro da Sampaio, made in the years 1774 and 1775/" ("Lisbon -- in the printing office of the Academia, 1825 -- With permission of H. Majesty").

3rd. "Diário da Viagem Philosophica pela Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro com a informação do Estado, presente pelo Dr. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, naturalista empregada na expedição philosophica do Estado /Dairy of the Philosophical Voyage through the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro with the information of the State, presented by Dr. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, naturalist employed on the philosophical expedition of the State/," in 1775-6 (Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 48, Rio de Janeiro, 1885, pp. 147 ff.).

/21/ Ouvidor /Auditor/ Sampaio, like the preceding Ouvidores, only reached as far as the town of Thomar; he gives data on the Rio Negro and Uaupés, however, through information received from the author of the "Roteiro," whom he cites.

/21 cont./

175 Alexandre R. Ferreira went up the entire Rio Negro and on the Uaupés penetrated as far as Ipanoré. Thus, besides the pieces of information obtained from the "Diario" of Ouvidor Sampaio, he could add the ones that he obtained personally. Few, let it be said for the sake of the truth, that would be of interest to ethnography.

The "Descripção Chorographica do Estado do Gram-Pará que, por ordem alphabetica, descreveu João Vasco Manuel de Braum, Governador da Praça de Macapá no anno de 1789 /Chorographic Description of the State of Gram-Pará, which, in alphabetical order, João Vasco Manuel de Braum, Governor of the Praça de Macapá, described in the year of 1789/" dates from 1789. But, besides only repeating the data of Pe. Noronha, and even in the same order, concerning the Uaupés River, there appears only the "town of S. Joaquim do Coané, with 200 persons of the Uaupés and Coeuana nations" (Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Brasileiro, Vol. 36, 1873, p. 289).

Some more interesting information, although already known, is given by the "Noticias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/" of Cônego /Canon/ Fernandes de Souza. They date from the nineteenth century, but in 1793 he was already Vigário /Vicar/ in São Gabriel. (Cf. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Brasileiro, Vol. 10, Rio de Janeiro, 1876.)

Since the middle of the last century we have had more abundant notes that deal especially with the Uaupés, starting with the work Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro, by Alfred Russel Wallace, from the ethnographic point of view; and for the localization of the tribes, the Relatórios of the Capuchin Frei Gregorio de Bene, appointed Missionary of the Uaupés River from 1852 to 1854.

/310/

d) Plumage and adornment.

301 The native ornaments are many; the most striking ones are
302 for the men (59),

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> 59. This assemblage of ornaments (earrings, bracelets, necklaces, combs), the long hair in a braid, carefully combed, the depilation of the beard and the mustache, gave the Indian, according to Wallace's testimony, an appearance so effeminate, especially in the dance, when they even protected the chest with the shield of cipo and the lower part of the body with the long waxsó-ro of hanging tururí, that the English scientist thought he was in front of a woman. Wallace's opinion is that the legend of the Amazons or women warriors arose from this mistake (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 630).

but their use on the latter is exclusively for the dances (60),

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> 60. In the Roéra and Ihwãna tribes, even outside of the dances, we have seen the men, especially the young ones, with paintings on the face, bracelets on the arms, and earrings made up of a plug of colored or white feathers.

at least nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

The ancient travelers speak (61)

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> 61. Pe. Cristovão de Acuña, referring to the journey of Pedro Teixeira in 1639, concerning the nation of the Curizaris, which started 28 leagues below the mouth of the river Juruá,

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/footnote 61 cont./ says: "The Portuguese called the first aldeia of this nation, coming down the river, "aldeia de ouro" /aldeia of gold/, because in it they found and bought some, which, in small sheets, the Indians wear hanging from their noses and ears and which was examined in Quito and found to be of 21 carats" ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," trans. of C. Melo Leitão, p. 236). According to these first explorers, such plates were obtained by beating "this gold, all in bits and grains of good size," which they extracted from a mountain range watered by the river Iquiarí.

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of gold and silver ornaments. There are no such metals in these regions, and they do not know how to work them. From their relations with other tribes of Colombia (62)

62. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha, in his "Roteiro" /Logbook/, states that the Taryana obtained such sheets from the Colombian Panẽnõá Indians (see above, p. 47). -- Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of the Governador of the Rio Negro, João Pereira Caldas, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador as follows (cf. Artur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, 1st ed., Manaos, 1940, p. 82): "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn as earrings by certain Indians of the Uaupés River;

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/footnote 62 cont./ it is something about which I could not discover the least news, although I did question many and different Nations with whom I talked, inhabitants of the same River. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing more than a chimeric illusion originating from there being seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, the Wings of which, after having dried, appear to be a metallic kind because of their thickness and shine.

[135]

"Finally I think that this News of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is as Fabulous as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, taken or /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ brought from the Tiquié River in 1749, when melted, appeared to be of silver; when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already planning to present them as such."

and Venezuela they might have been /311/ obtained in barter. At the present time one only finds some women with triangular sheets of beaten silver, of varied size, strung on a cord, and used as a necklace around the neck. They are called, due to their appearance, mo'mõ-rõ khwíri, that is, pieces of butterfly.

*[192]

/316 cont./

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/footnote 2 cont./ book Zwei Iahre. Still today (1957) the Missionaries find Indians scattered through various malocas who claim to have been baptized "by white," that is, by civilized who passed by the region trading.

with their cult, which would impress /317/ the savage, and with their talks or even with their positive catechizing, wishing to bring him to Christianism.

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Tribes of the Amazon and Rio Negro (cf. II - 1) (and those of the Uaupés maintained relations with those of the Rio Negro and Içana) were even evangelized by Missionaries in different times. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits and the Mercedarians were on the Rio Negro, in the eighteenth the Carmelites, in the nineteenth the Capuchins and Secular Priests.

The Christian converts were at times a minority within the group which would continue with their beliefs and practices. Perhaps in some cases an entire group, for example, a native povoado, became Christian, but later lost contact with the Missionaries -- and we saw that the catechizing on the Rio Negro and Uaupés was periodic and intermittent -- and returned to their pagan rituals.

Would there not have remained some trace of these learned teachings and religious practices? There are indications that affirm this, from which it is permissible to infer: what the Indians practice today and declared to us may not be exempt from the influence of the Christian civilized.

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Another difficulty no smaller than the first one is the reserve of the native, always suspicious, and he appears much more so on these subjects, about which there may even be an obligation to reveal nothing to the civilized. It has been verified that they more easily make disclosures about subjects of morality, which, it seems to us, should remain hidden, than about religious

/321 cont./

121 /Footnote 5 cont./ If he conceives it as personal potency, or better "spiritual Being," whom he respects and propitiates by the cult, we then have a religious cult and a Religion. Now it seems to us that we have found indications, even though vague, of a cult and a Religion in the tribes of the Uaupés.

346 Taken in the first meaning, it is affirmed that the Indians of the Uaupés do not have religion, since neither temples in which to worship God (6)

175 346 778 6. This absence has been noted since the time of the discoveries. It is true that Frei Gaspar de Carvajal ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 51), describing the voyage of discovery of Francisco Orrelana /sic/ in 1540, speaks to us of the cult of the sun, with temple and altar: "On this day (Monday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 5, 1540) we moored at an aldeia of medium size, where the people were waiting for us. There was a very large plaza there, and in the middle of the plaza a large plank in a square of ten feet, painted and sculptured in relief, representing a walled city, with its enclosure and a door. On this door there were two very high towers with their windows, the towers with the doors facing each other, each door with two columns. This entire work was supported on top of two very ferocious lions, which were looking back, as though wary of each other, and supported it on the forelegs and on the claws. In the middle of this plaza [782] there was a hole where they put down, as offerings to the sun, the chicha, which is the

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 477]

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/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to, and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

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"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

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This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

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/footnote 6 cont./ idols of gold and silver in the form of women, and many objects of gold and silver for the service of the sun" (o.c. 67).

Carvajal, however, is relating what he heard and his narration is all impregnated with unbelievable things, fruit of credulity and of suggestion.

Pe. Alonso de Rojas, describing the descent of the year 1637, testifies: "They do not have rites or ceremonies to venerate them (their false gods), neither temples of their idols nor priests" (Descobrimentos, /Discoveries/, 110). Precisely as we found them three centuries later.

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nor persons in charge of the cult, neither priests nor religious ceremonies and prayers to honor the deity, are found among them.

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/322/ There are, indeed, many superstitions, and it could not be otherwise among men of so little culture. There is unanimity in asserting that, if there is a cult, it is that of the Jurupari or demon (7)

7. In his "Diálogos das grandezas do Brazil /Dialogues on the greatnesses of Brazil/," Teixeira Pinto, dealing with the rites of the heathen, asserts: "If they do have any and if they practice some manner of worship, although this is not known, it is the devil to whom they give the name of Jurupari" (ap. Barbosa Rodrigues, Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/, 94). Jurupari and dabacuri are terms from the Lingua Geral or Nheengatú, which is still spoken on all the

/461 cont./

622 [595] Nevertheless he does not acquire from his position exemption from work or the right to demand tribute or payment in kind or in work from the other components (cf. Note 102 below /see p. 710 /) or to have more wives (95).

95. We have already noted the polygamy of other times (VIII-1, a (6) ). Still more recently there have been cited cases (information by Pe. João Marchesi) in which, besides their wife, they kept as a concubine some woman who had become widowed. As well as taking a second wife, because "his wife was sick, and he wanted to have children." There is also recalled the case of one, with a healthy wife and two daughters, who took another wife, impelled by the desire to have a male child, "so that his family will not decay with him." As a matter of fact, after the birth of a male child, he sent back its mother. We could not find out whether this attitude was spontaneous or not.

The power of the Wyógõ depends not so much on custom as on his personal influence, and this can come to him from several qualities: oratorical resources, prudence, technical skill, intelligence, knowledge of several languages (Portuguese, Nheengatú, etc.).

[178] Formerly they were invested with greater power (96).

[175] [648]

96. It seems that the same can be said of a more distant past. The reports of the eighteenth century (Pe. Noronha, Ribeiro Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira) show them as principals moving large groups, founding new places at the invitation of the civilized, organizing among themselves defensive and offensive alliances. Hence the interest of the Governadores in having them as allies, granting them the title

4: Silva--703 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/footnote 96 cont./ of Capitão. Caboquena, Ajuricaba, Camanaus, Comandre, Carunamá, Cabacabari, etc. became famous. During the first years, as well as in the middle of the last century, the Governador, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ as well as the Diretores Gerais dos Indios /General Directors of the Indians/, proceeded with the official appointment of several Principals on the river Uaupés itself, and they took advantage of their authority over the Indians. We found, for example, in the "Archivo do Amazonas," Vol. 1, n. 2, p. 29, the Diretores Gerais dos Indios do Gram-Pará, Brigadeiro Honorário /Honorary Brigadier/ João Henrique de Mattos and the Tenente Coronel Graduado /Graduate Lieutenant-Colonel/ Albino dos Santos Pereira, as well as the Encarregado dos Indios do Rio Uaupés /Agent for the Indians of the Uaupés River/ Capitão Francisco Gonçalves Pinheiro, appointing Tuxauas on the Uaupés River:

1848 -- 1. Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira, from the Wanana tribe.

2. Domingos Dias dos Santos, Tukano, Principal of Carurú-rapecuma.

3. João de Mattos (son of the late Excellent Tuxaua Raymundo José), Tukano, Principal of S. Joaquim.

4. Calisto Antonio, Taryana, Principal of Iauareté.

1850 -- 5. Manuel Calisto, Wanana, son of the late Tuxaua Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira.

District of Marabitanas:

6. The Indian Mathias Antonio, Principal of S. Francisco.

7. The Indian João Bernardo, Principal of Tucurimachi.

8. The Indian Angelo José, principal of Cuyiari.

4: Silva--704 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

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The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

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97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

/469 cont./

619 they followed in the more serious questions that involved relations
622 with other tribes or with the whites. Each one, however, judging himself perfectly independent and even with very little power over the other men of his own maloca.

701 It consists, indeed, of the temporary union of several groups
622 for an aggressive or defensive military expedition under the orders of a single chief (106).

175 106. Thus the renowned Ajuricaba of the Manao
721 nation, with his two thousand bows, navigating
648 true fleets under the flag of Holland, hunted Indians
701 of other tribes in order to sell them as slaves to the Hollanders of Guiana (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario," n. 336). In 1858 Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 7, p. 86), narrating the episode of the "Cristo de Juquira" (cf. VII-4, b), estimates that a thousand persons from various localities and tribes gathered in Juquira in declared hostility to the civilized. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" of 1785), apropos of the legendary city of Manoa, vast captial of the Manao, explains to us that on the river Urubaxi where the Manao formerly were: "the reported aldeia /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ (irananauoca) did not have the qualities and greatnesses that the city of Manoa paraded, because, notwithstanding that all these were confederated, their aldeias were nevertheless independent of one another and many of them as populous as Irananauoca."

622 /470/ There has never been a true authority, but only the
797 ascendancy of one tuxaua over the others. This is more or less the present situation of a Missionary, and, with certain reservations, we can speak of a hypertuxauaship.

/471 cont./

614 the division of the original group (107).
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107. It is possible that other reasons might have intervened, such as the misunderstandings that are still verified today.

While the first-born son, with his family, would remain beside the old couple, the other sons of the founder would become, in turn, founders of new malocas, which would grow with the natural fecundity of the native woman. This hypothesis, more in agreement with the nature of things, is confirmed, it seems, by the customs.

614 1st. -- A first one is the denomination of "brother" for all the
601 individuals of the same nation (that is, who are recognized as from such-and-such a tribe and speak the same language), a denomination corresponding, besides, to their feelings (they can not marry each other, mutual aid and understanding, lamentation for a death, and vengeance for the brother who has been a victim of another tribe).

All of them are brothers, but there is a distinction between Mamí (bigger brother) and Axkabí (smaller brother). Among the brothers-german, that is, /472/ children of the same father, the terms mamí and axkabí correspond to the ages. Outside of this case, they no longer correspond. For example, one hears an adult characterize a child as mami. It is, therefore, a matter of
614 a hierarchic classification.

554 An I'ra-pé Tukano said that he regarded the Waú-ro and Oyê
[115] as Mamí; in relation to the Waú-ro we heard the expression
*[192] "Tukano of the head," Dexséá ná dõxpoá," as equivalent to the
[601] principal branch, as was soon explained to us by Patrícia Vasconcelos. We have here, then, indications of an aristocracy (108).

• [175] 108. The existence of this aristocracy was already known in 1755 by Pe. Noronha. Xavier de Sampaio

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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back to Arawakan, so that the young people were still Tucanoan speakers while their elders were already back to Arawakan (1909, I, 116). Where Arawakan and Tucanoan coexist, Koch-Grünberg has observed, Arawakan becomes the language of ritual and Tucanoan the everyday language (1909, II, 182).

In general the region of the Vaupés, the only part of the Northwest Amazon that I can speak of from personal knowledge, exhibits a high degree of cultural cosmopolitanism. Many Indians are multilingual because of the frequency of intermarriage with other linguistic groups and the love of the Indians for travel and intertribal trade. Not only do the Indians have some knowledge of the standard languages in the region, but they also employ the *lingoa geral*, a lingua franca based on Tupian, and many are conversant with Spanish and Portuguese. As they adopt languages the Indians also adopt new customs; these are always welcomed, almost in the same way in which women eagerly acquire from one another new varieties of manioc, or in the way in which men and women collect and try to cultivate almost anything that grows. This, in short, is not a region of cultural conservatism. Having freshly arrived from an ethnographic survey in the Colombian Andes, I was literally overwhelmed by the contrast between the secretiveness and wariness of the highland Indians and the openness and friendliness of the Cubeo.

Of course, the question of cultural relations between Tucanoans and Arawakans is one of great complexity and uncertainty. We have only the most general knowledge of these relations; but even this provides a very useful background for understanding the nature of Indian-white relations and of Cubeo acculturation. The essential point in this background would seem to be what I have called the Indian's cosmopolitanism. I speak now only for the Indians of the Cuduiari. There, it has seemingly provided a strong measure of immunity against the potentially overwhelming effects of European contacts.

The Northwest Amazon has been subject to persistent white influence from the sixteenth century onward.[2] As early as 1557 Francisco Perez de Quesada founded the community of Mocoa on the Caquetá River. The Dominicans entered the region in 1550, the Franciscans some 20 years later. Prior to their expulsion in 1767 the Jesuits founded many missions on the Orinoco, on the Meta, on the Casanare, on the Guaviare, and on the Vichada. On the Vaupés proper the first mission was founded in 1852 at Carurú by P. Gregorio, a Carmelite.

[2] For historical background consult: Archivo do Amazonas, 1906; Bauer, 1919; Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 155 ff., for missions on the Vaupés; Gumilla, 1791; Koch-Grünberg, 1909; Martius, 1867, I, 591 ff.

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997 He succeeded in bringing together a village of some 300 Indians. By 1881 the mission was disbanded and the Indians returned to their original communities. At about the same time the mission of Santa Cruz dos Cobeus was established at Mitú *cachoeira* near the Cuduiari. Missionary activity in the region has been generally discontinuous but nonetheless energetic; and while Christian doctrine has left only a vague imprint in native religious practices it has succeeded in acquainting the Indians with new ideas of dress and in disturbing their
175 convictions about some practices such as cannibalism. For a period between 1875 and the early 1900's there was a flurry of nativist agitation in the Vaupés. Between 1875 and 1878 an Indian from the Isana River, called Anizetto, reportedly a hermaphrodite, led a messianic movement against the whites until he was arrested by the Brazilian authorities. In 1880 a shaman who called himself Vicente Cristo led another messianic movement along the middle Vaupés. Koch-Grün-
[668] berg observed that the native messianic leaders were always Arawakan-speaking (1809, I, 39). There is nothing to suggest that any of these movements ever took strong hold on the Indians. On the Cuduiari tangible evidences either of Christian influence or of native messianism were slight in 1940.

175 European commercial penetration started slowly but reached a
177 sudden expansion with the rubber boom that subsided shortly before
648 World War I. The Putumayo, where thousands of Indians perished in the rubber camps, was a notorious and baleful focus of white influence (Hardenburg, 1912). From then on the Indians and the whites along the Vaupés were in constant contact and in frequent conflict. On the lower Vaupés in Brazilian territory many Indian tribes had taken on the outward appearance of the mestizo, or caboclo as he is called in Brazil, as early as 1852, when Wallace was there. The upper Vaupés in Colombian territory retained its true Indian character for very much longer. The Cuduiari was still very strongly native at the time of my field work in 1939–40.

177 Only close study will reveal how far acculturation has gone even among those Indians most closely associated with the whites on the main streams. There the Indians wear the dress of the mestizo, live in European-style shacks, and celebrate the Christian holidays. They also carry out native ceremonials, not, to be sure, with the traditional elegance, but strongly enough to suggest that a good deal of native life goes on beneath the shabby surface of ragged clothing, poor housing, and the litter of cheap manufactured utensils and ornaments.
[184] The resistance of the Indians of the Cuduiari to cultural loss and breakdown may be attributed in the main to relative isolation, but

114 the nebula in his sword. Sirius stood out a pale electric blue and later we could see the Morning Star in the east.

The river was wide and very shallow, and we got into difficulties: 'José went to sleep on the engine and we hit a rock in midstream – a horrible grinding noise as it passed under the boat, then a crash as it hit the engine. She is letting a lot of water in, though it does not seem to have damaged her seriously. We are lucky; if this had been an aluminium boat she would have ripped from end to end.'

Two days below the falls we reached our dump again and reloading our equipment set off downstream, waving goodbye to Uriel who set off for his *maloca* on the Querarí; only José now remained. *El Diablo* was fully loaded again, she began leaking badly and Horacio made running repairs as we moved down the river. Soon a wind got up, the water became very choppy and we found ourselves baling continuously as the water slopped over her two or three inches of freeboard. She was not going to last very much longer.

All along the banks the forest presented a solid wall. There were seldom any
175 breaks where there might have been a habitation. A clan of the Tukano, the Letuama, had lived here before the advance of the rubber barons early in the
342 century. A few still remained and we visited one of their houses. The *maloca* was shaped like a pagoda, quite unlike anything we had seen before, round at the base with a steeply slanting thatched roof, terminating in a ridge about thirty feet above the hard earth-baked floor. Inside, every sheaf of each section of thatch seemed to have been measured and the whole had an appearance of amazing symmetry. The light came in through two roof apertures and inside, though cool, it was nearly as bright as outdoors. This was surprising as the darkness of the Amazonian house is a deterrent to flying
[415] insects. In strange contrast to the house were the old aluminium pots and tin trunks lying inside – a sharp reminder that we had left the Piraparaná. The headman and his family had deserted the house and it was now used by the occasional passing Indian as a resting-place.

114 We met two *caucheros* who had their houses on the river bank. One of them, Alirio, was half-Indian by birth. His father had been a European-educated official of the Colombian government, who in his later years had preferred the life of the forest. Alirio had known no other life; he had married an Indian girl and now spent his days collecting wild rubber, selling it to another *cauchero* further down the river. He was talkative and eager to help; he told us of a botanist – Dr Schultes – whom he had accompanied beyond the first rapids on the Piraparaná. When he knew we had come all the way from the Vaupés he seemed almost disbelieving. He told us on no account should we continue all the way to the Caquetá on this river, for there were many rapids; moreover, nearer the mouth of the river there were falls, one nearly as big as Jirijimo. Our only way was by a portage which led through the forest to another river, the Miritiparaná. From there it was possible, he

*
601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
615 to
Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

614

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that
614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of
554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-
[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two
595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of
614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with
615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing
•177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.
587 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.
611 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-
591 tended patrilineal families.
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/164 cont./

Among the components of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry all these models of social structure are disappearing. Today it is very rare to find among the members of this phratry marriages between cross cousins, and there have appeared, with this social dislocation, new kinship terms that correspond to the new patterns of marriage and kinship. It would be interesting to see to what point the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry varies from the other Tukana phratries, but so far it has been impossible to undertake this work.

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● 177
797

/For an example of the effects of "western" acculturation and missionization on Tucano cosmogony, see the tale entitled "The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean", in either category 539 or category 116, pp. 8-49, 54./

131 /99 cont./
167 As is seen, the Tukano group is found distributed both in Colombian territory and Brazilian, and the migratory movements of natives between these two countries are quite frequent.

241 The Tukano work the land by means of the slash-and-burn
[462] method. The piece of ground intended for agriculture is always cleaned of underbrush and trees by the /100/ men, a job at which each man works individually or assisted by his male
[412] relatives. At one time, before the arrival of the Creole rubber
[177] workers in the region, the trees and underbrush were cut with stone axes, but since the arrival of the rubber worker the machete has been introduced, and today no Tukano Indian would consider using the lithic instrument again.

Trees of great size are generally left in the place in which they fell, but small trees and bushes are burned toward the end of summer, or the dry season. The ashes obtained from the burning are used as fertilizer to improve the soil, but owing to the thin vegetal layer, to erosion, and to the general poorness of the land, the Tukano Indian is obliged to select and clear a
[242] new garden every three or four years. The method of crop rotation is not practiced because the forest vegetation rapidly returns to invade the land that is not cultivated and tended. The field under cultivation rarely exceeds one or two hectares.

[412] The planting is done immediately after finishing the burning, among the stumps of the felled trees and the trunks of the toppled trees. Probably the only aboriginal implement used in the planting is the planter's stick (2),

2. Digging-stick /this term is given in English/.

which is used primarily to loosen the earth and to open holes in it for planting seeds or young plants. The ground is rarely cultivated and tended after the planting is done, but weeds are pulled out and care is taken that the forest does not invade the garden.

/100 cont./

241 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth
462 from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting
[249] are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, ñame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The
[437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function
[262] of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the
224 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow
223 and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a
•[177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

342 /102 cont./
There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed
[824] at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592 The size of the maloca varies according to the number of
342 its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to
[162] shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements
596 /Spanish caserfos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only
[287] a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the
• 177 Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental
797 clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
•177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

•177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

[262] [753] [178]

773 177 [128] [114] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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797 /105 cont./
•177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny; he has two wives.

756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

## Cosmogony

*539 The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115] [177] 4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5),

[177] 5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

*539 /120 cont./
they began to work again, and they worked very strenuously for one hour. They were about to begin another hour of work and from then on they could not work any longer because the words were changed. All the people who had worked before were only Tukano, and then the words became confused and they began to speak Siriano, Cubeo, Maniva, Miraña, Yucuna, Bicula, Tatuyo, Carapaná, Barasano, Tuyuca, Desano, Matapí, Uanano, Tariano, Piratapuyo, Macú, Guayabero, Carijona, Putumayo Indian, Baré, Petara, Detuana, and Yurutí (35).

• [177]

35. Passage that has a great similarity to the episode of the Tower of Babel. Possible Christian influence.

A book of Yepá Huáke fell on top of the tower and Duétiro received this paper, and he was not able to read it. Then Duétiro smoked a cigar, ate coca, and with pure memory called Siópuri Uejké to read the book. And Siópuri Uejké read for himself what the book said, and then he said: "This is not good for all the world, nor for the Colombians, nor for the Tukano." Siópuri Uejké asked: "Who is the chief of all your tribe?" Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "This is the chief of all the tribe," pointing to Duétiro. Siópuri Uejké said: "There is a maloca missing from our life, and there Yepá Huáke is going to appear again. We are going to enter that maloca. If we do not enter that maloca, we will die forever." And Siópuri Uejké returned to his land again. Then Yúpuri Baúro was again left as chief of the Tukano. They boarded the boat of the gũío again and continued going upriver and looking with binoculars, which are called Miriapuraeoro in Tukano, and they were able to see as far as Diamukakuwí. And Diamukakuwí was farther away than Diadasukawí. And he arrived at Diadasukawí and he entered that maloca and took a necklace. In /121/ Tukano, necklace is called Dajsúke. And he left Diadasukawí again and boarded the boat of the gũío and continued going upriver. And he arrived at Diamukakuwí and he entered

563 /65/ 4. Observations -- 1st. As we have just seen, small groups of a nation are found close to or even in the midst of other nations. Natural sociability or the requirements of circumstances relate these human groups to one another. The consequences of these relations are several:

191 The first, one language becoming general, that of the
197 Tukano nation, as an idiom common to several tribes, in such
a way that on the lower Uaupés up to Iauareté almost all the
[177] adult persons (19)
[178]

19. This observation dates from 1947, soon after our first excursion to the Uaupés. We verified then, upon entering the area inhabited by the Wanana, that very rarely individuals of this tribe could understand one or another common Tukano phrase. In 1957 a certain number of persons who not only understood the Tukano idiom well, but also used it in conversations among themselves were already encountered in all the povoados from Cururú downward, among the former students of the Mission of Iauareté, or among the adults who had been employed there for some time. In our work on the Tukano language, we noticed the complacency of the young people, who had attended Mission schools, in speaking the Tukano idiom among themselves. We seemed to discover in this complacency only a touch of proudness, as if there were a superiority over their own parents and other elderly persons, and not because it could afford them a means of conversation among companions, exempt from the control of the "old ones."

speak, besides the language of their tribe (20),

20. It is to be noted that it did not lead to the formation of a language, with elements not connected with the others, as has happened in similar conditions, for example, the Sabir (miscellany of Italian, French, Spanish, Greek,

/65 cont./

191 /footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in
197 the Mediterranean ports.

It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing. In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

[178] [115] [126]

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

177 Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even
178 elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

[563] [582]

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

000 2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

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000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

177 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth
648 century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The
[567] group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Maku are
[648] considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that, according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis), and they themselves considered themselves such, serving without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana
[554] groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some light on this curious practice.

161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same; or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

/140 cont./

868 The skill and perfection with which he opens out the palms for the covering of the maloca, with the help of the oar, or how he makes his plaitings, the way of tying and transporting a bundle of palms, merit admiration. His ability with regard to these practical necessities of life is very remarkable. And it becomes more admirable if we consider that the training is very quick, without true schools, and he soon finds himself skilled, for example, in the varied and beautiful work of nets and baskets. 797 They also learn with relative speed the trades of the civilized, 868 such as mason, blacksmith, carpenter, tailor, in the Salesian 177 Schools, although, perhaps due to the force of the environment, circumstances, and their inconstancy, they do not often reach perfection in their trade. Some continue as artisans of these trades in the missionary establishments. Others, returning from the schools to their homes, have an opportunity to use what they learned, handling, for instance, the saw, the hammer, and even the chisel. They are also the machinists of the launches that go up their immense rivers; just as they are capable of executing more delicate work, such as the observations and handling of meteorological instruments (5).

5. Wallace already observed a century ago (perhaps with some exaggeration to emphasize the idea) that, while a European countryman would take six months to learn how to handle a sextant, one of our Indians learns it in minutes. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre) also made a similar observation.

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502 They are the irreplaceable "practitioners" of the navigation of those dangerous rivers, because they have an amazing topographic memory of the hidden rocks and sandbanks, bound up with an impressive calm during the dangers presented by the storms and the cachoeiras.

/143/

153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

[438] [291] [285]

His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

• 177 829 [342] [291]

/144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

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The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

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/footnote 25 cont./ to work with the whites of the lower Rio Negro, without having sent any news. Upon returning, the meeting with his wife took place with the customary indifference on the bank of the river as he disembarked from the canoe. Inside the hut, however, after having presented him with the quinhapira /a fish dish/ and the beijú /manioc bread/, the wife, squatting beside the husband, opened up with these complaints: -- "O father of my children (yõ-põra-kõ), you have finally arrived. You were gone with the white very far away, very far away, and the mother of your children remained here alone, without having fish for the children, without being able to make a new clearing, abandoned, without clothes... Oh! How sad it is to live like this! How sad it is! (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, pp. 72-3).

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[832]
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Although he laughs easily, he always receives the great joys or tragedies with a certain indifference. They do not know the kiss (26)

26. It also seems that words for kiss and embrace do not exist in the Tukano language. The term mí'mí, which Pe. Antônio Giacone records in his vocabulary as corresponding to kiss, actually means to suck. As a matter of fact, in the early days when they were taught to kiss some object, they sucked it, even when it was a matter of the priest's hand at a liturgical function.

or the embrace as a display of affection between parents and children or other relatives.

/162 cont./

829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always will-
262 ing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever
• [177] is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauareté did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous
* [172] ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during
[784] the chôco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they
273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí
[164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

/168/

25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 286 301 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú, tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 291 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

177 291 The new generation, both of the female and male sex, which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

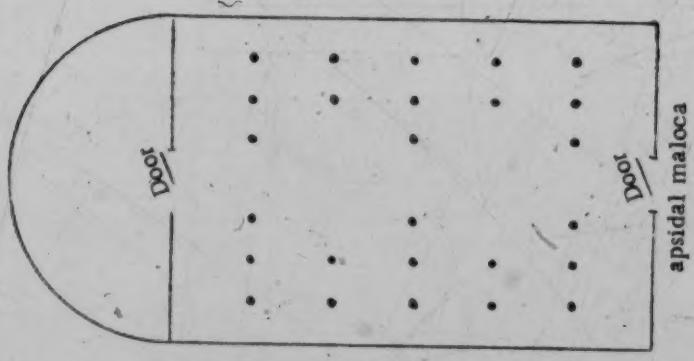
532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

/173 cont./

342 *[192] [178] At present all the malocas that are still found in the region of the Uaupés and its tributaries are rectangular. Up to 40 years ago, one saw some with the posterior part of roundish shape, like an apse, called do'ãkaro-tirĩ-wy'ĩ (maloca with kitchen) (2).

2. The maloca of the Tuyuka in Pinõ-koa-liro on the upper Tiquié, which Koch Grünberg affirmed measured 27x17.80x7.80 meters, was apsidal in this way (Zwei Iahre, 204).




353 *[192] [421] This /174/ apse was separated, in the interior of the maloca, by a partition of matting that was called i'mĩã-ta'tyã (separation of matting). The family of the tuxaua resided in this apsidal compartment, and the ornaments, musical instruments, and utensils of common use, which constituted the collective property of the group, were kept in it.

• 177 342 *[192] With the increase in comfort of the Indians and in the instinct of ownership (and up to a certain point it is imitation or even the prompting of the civilized), there appear small houses, wi'ĩ,

/174 cont./

177 family type, of straw or bark or even of pau-a-pique (3),

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*[192]

> 3. By pau-a-pique or taipa (in Tukano di'tá pyákaro) is understood, in all Brazil, the house whose walls consist of a hurdle of pales and laths, which is then filled in and plastered with mud or mortar.

instead of the old and large malocas, baxsá-wi or baxsarí-wi (dance house) (4).

> 4. That of Parí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, disappeared about 20 years ago, measured approximately 60 by 30 meters, attests Pe. João Marchesi.

for a whole local group.

It is to be noted in the present povoados that all the houses have the same rectangular style. They are, on a small scale, a maloca. They are not alike, however, nor do they follow any [797] alignment, except for the cases of intervention by the missionaries. In imitation of the houses of the Mission, today one sees some houses with a small porch or shed.

361 As for the location, it is always on the bank of a river or stream (5).

> 5. Paulo /Paul/ Rivet characterizes the civilization of these tribes as "mandioca civilization." Perhaps with more accuracy one should say "mandioca and fishing civilization." We have found, especially in the region inhabited by the Karapanã and Tatú, malocas in the interior of the forest 500 or 600 meters from the streams. This distance is dictated by the circumstances, in order for them to protect themselves against attacks and violence.

/175 cont./

249 them. Although this is not a plant native to Brazil (8),

415 8. This is commonly thought. The cane has an Asiatic origin from China, from where it passed to the Mediterranean, and from Spain to the New World. The year of 1627 is marked as being the one of its introduction in Pará. It is certain that at the time of the discoveries the Indians were already planting cane. Alonso de Rojas, in the report on the journey of Pedro de Teixeira in 1637, tells us this ("Descobrimento do Rio das Amazonas," p. 114).

Nordenskiöld thinks that the press is a native invention, according to his material and resources. Nordenskiöld's opinion does not seem acceptable to us for the presses and the tribes of the Uaupés. [177] They would be an imitation of the presses that the civilized have used on the lower Rio Negro since the eighteenth century.

351 A square, maxkĩ-pá, or rectangular area, cleaned of any vegetation, and usually proportional to the population, is located *[192] in front of the maloca. It is also called baxsarí-u'tú, "dance yard"; actually some numbers of the ceremonial dances are performed there.

There is always a road a few meters wide, and clean, that 351 leads to the landing place, or places, where they tie the canoes 504 and take their bath. A road that serves, moreover, for the procession of Wãx-tĩ at his festival (cf. VII - 4, e (2) ).

When the steep bank of the river is very high, they build a 504 stairway with steps of earth or of timbers. If the steps are of earth, they are made immovable with roundish timbers of about two meters, tied to small stakes driven into the ground or tied transversely, by means of cipos, to two long lateral parallel beams.

*192 /176 cont./
342 It was solidly built upon five pairs of supports, boxtá-ri (9),

9. Greatly preferred for supports is the "pau-vermelho" /red wood/ (mira-piranga) of the Caesalpiniaceae.

which demarcate the central nave (see the nomenclature of the columns - VII - 4, e (2) ). They were roundish pieces of timber, straight, rustic (without removal of the bark), but quite regular and well-proportioned, as were also the beams, nẽxtõ-rĩ (Uaupés, nẽxtõ-nĩ), and rafters, wa' sõ-rĩ (U. wa' sõ-nĩ).

All the timberwork was solidly joined together with cipo (10).

•[177]

10. In some of the modern houses nails are already appearing in beams, laths, etc.

353 In the interior the supports, all of them nicely aligned, divided the space into five naves. The three central ones for common use: passage, meetings, dances, visits, and work. Kept there, but toward the back, were the utensils [415] /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /177/ of common use, such were the large vessels of baked clay and the wooden tubs for the fermentation of the caxirís, and the oven for making the flour. It is here that the dances are performed on the occasion of the festivals (11).

11. Some malocas have only three naves, the central one being wider. We have also seen four naves. In those with five, the three intermediary naves are always used for work (preparation of the flour, of the caxirí, etc.) and for meetings.

/178/

342 373 Having, then, only two openings, the interior is always somewhat dark, being, in part, illuminated by the stoves (12).

*[192] 12. Sometimes, on one or more posts, which seem planted only for this purpose, they light at night a piece of resin called cicantá, which burns with a quite intense and long-lasting light, and leaves as residue a tar which also serves for calking the canoes.

• 177 342 574 In the modem family-huts, there is customarily an interior partition, generally made of bark. Perhaps this division, which is being adopted, has been suggested by the convenience when they must house some guest, especially the civilized. The Indian ordinarily is very hospitable; he not only receives guests for the great caxirís, but he also shelters any Indian or white who might be traveling. The first division near the door is reserved exclusively for the guests (see VII - 4, e 2 a).

[797] In some povoados, at the request of the Missionary, they build a large hut that serves for overnight stays of the Padre and as a chapel, when there is no other place reserved for worship.

342 *[192] Some malocas (and also Makú huts), in which the roof ends very close to the ground, completely or partially lack side walls. Such walls are regularly dispensed with in the oxkóro-áro (Nheengatú tapirí or papirí), or emergency huts, which they make in the distant clearings or on the banks of the rivers where they are accustomed to staying overnight on the occasion of trips and fishing expeditions.

177 342 Ordinarily the maloca or house is alone and contains all the family household goods. Auxiliary houses, however, are beginning to appear. The maloca of the Tuyuca, described above, has one of these. One of the Indians, knowing a little Portuguese, explained that it was the "succursal" of the maloca. Much smaller and only partially protected by side walls, made of straw and bark. There were about 14 hammocks reserved for the Makú in service, the flour oven, sieves, hampers, suspended tipitis,

[353] [415]

177 /178 cont./
342 vessels of baked clay, and a cylindrical bark container, quite
353 well made, similar to the straight barrels in which we keep
415 chestnuts and codfish.

Nowadays (and since the time of the discoveries, as the
231 first explorers attest) the dog, which, besides guarding, also serves for hunting, is found as a domestic animal in the various malocas and houses, and in all the tribes. Ordinarily small, hungry, extremely thin; some do not support the weight of the body. Many of these animals, due to the stings of the fire ant or taxi, have suffered degeneration of the cornea and for this reason have white eyes.

/179/ Here and there in the malocas and povoados are also seen araras, parrots, mutums /Crax/, jacamins, or domes-
[797] ticated jacus. The Missions have encouraged the raising of
[177] pigs and chickens. The chickens go back to the first colonizers of the Rio Negro, and to protect them, by way of a chicken coop where they are sheltered during the night, they make small conical enclosures with the vertex upwards, or they use some old canoe, turned upside down, with an opening that they close at night, in order that the micura (gambá /opossum/) or some other animal that chases chickens can not enter.

*[192] In the Arwáke languages the chicken is called karáka, probably onomatopoeia for the chicken's voice. Onomatopes are otherwise very common among the tribes of the Uaupés to designate the birds. Perhaps from karáka is derived the word of the Tukano language which means chicken, i.e., ká'rẽkẽ or ka'rẽkẽ (Uaupés ká'nẽkẽ, ka'nẽkẽ). According to this hypothesis, it is from the Arwáke that the Tukano (and the tribes of the Uaupés in general) would have received the first chickens, or at least knowledge of them. Such a hypothesis is made probable, not only by the greater cultural development of the Arwáke, but also by their prior relationship with the civilized of the Rio Negro.

342 It seems that there is no rule with regard to the orientation of the maloca or with regard to the distance from the river or from the forest.

/179 cont./

177 2) Household goods and utilitarian objects.

41 The house of the forest dweller who has been in the service of the "white" or has traded with them now displays many objects obtained from the civilized, such as kettles, mugs, ax, bottles, fishhooks, scissors, hammocks, and even trunks or suitcases in which to keep their clothes. Except for the cotton hammock, which among the tribes of the Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí is today almost as common or more so than the native one made of tucum, the other objects are rarities in the conjunction of the utensils of native manufacture.

We shall now recall these, and later on we shall describe the ornaments and musical instruments.

323 a) Ceramics.

462 All the ceramic work falls to the woman; looking for the clay, to the man.

*192 1) Earthen pots and cooking pots. Camotim or camocim
323 is a regional term of the Amazon, and a generic one of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú, equivalent to pot, and is used to designate vessels of very different shape and dimensions, according to their use. Among the products of native ceramics, some are similar to a common pan of /180/ ours, are called ki-pu-tõ (Nheengatú, yapepú), and are used to prepare mingau /a manioc dish/ and quinhapira /a fish dish/. There also exist:

wai-doá-tõ, to cook the fish;

wai-baarí-pá, in which to serve the fish to the guests;

pẽru-tõ, a kind of large vessel in which to keep caxirí. They distinguish the:

pẽru-ahũa aparí-pa, large black cooking pot in which the beijú caxirí is fermented;

pẽru-poorí-pá, in which the caxirí already prepared is kept;

sũxtõ-wõ is the water pot for carrying water;

kaxpí-tõ, the one in which the kaxpí is distributed (VI -- 4, 1 (3) ).

/184 cont./

501 this starts to dry. A bonfire around it will end up by bringing down its trunk, which, with a slow fire (20),

*[192]

20. For such an effect they kindled the house of the cupim /a kind of ant/, buxtwá-gá, which serves marvelously, because it provides a slow and long-lasting fire easily controlled by the native, in order not to remove more than is required. It is the process that they regularly use when they want to hollow out wood for the making of the tub, mortar, trocano /signal drum/, canoe, etc.

will be hollowed out. The adze was used to scrape the charred wood, leaving the interior part more smooth and regular. Afterwards the canoe, hollowed out as desired, is put on some crossbars, and a fire below, in such a way that the wood is heated and not burned. Under the action of the heat the fibers become more flexible and the canoe-maker starts, little by little, by means of small staffs used as a wedge, exerting pressure so that the hollow of the canoe starts to become larger, beginning at the center, then the stern and the bow. In order that it not contract upon cooling, they place poles transversely at the places where later planks for /185/ the seats will be installed. According to its length, they will have three, five, or more seats. They make it with such a mastery that, put in the water, the craft is perfectly balanced, with the stern and the bow quite high. The holes or cracks are calked with breu, oxpé.

• [177] Under the influence of the civilized, they add to the height of these canoes, with planks set in with nails at the edges. Such canoes are called, in the regional term, montarias.

/185 cont./

501 *[192] 2) Oar. The oar, wahá-phĩ (Uaupés uhá-phĩ), is often made of savĩ-kõ, like the canoe. The end, wahá-phĩ dõxpo-á, is always a small cylindrical transverse projection, slightly curved, like a crutch. Among the Tukano it is perfectly in accordance with the style of their seat and their cigar holder. The dimensions depend, evidently, on the wish of the owner and its purpose: there are small oars for the children, medium-sized ones for the women, and large ones for the men.

Tukano oar
(note the crutch top and the beak-shaped tip)

[177] Due to the influence of the models of the civilized oars that navigate these rivers, one sees nowadays a great variety of shapes in the blade of the /186/ oars: roundish, lanceolate, etc. Not infrequently they produce on the blade colorful designs (circles, etc., evidently in imitation of the civilized). Originally it seems that they used an oar with a roundish blade, but with an almost imperceptible point; this generally in the more remote malocas.

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2) Sleeping hammocks.

The Indian never sleeps on the ground, always in hammocks (24),

> 24. Through contact with the civilized they have learned to sleep on the floor or quarter-deck of the launches, and later also on benches and chests.

pũghõ, and they carry them with them on their travels. The hammock /191/ meets perfectly the demands of the climate of the region, warm and humid, since it is cool, ventilated, light, small in volume, and, woven, as it usually is, out of tucum (25),

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> 25. The "hammock of thirty threads" of the Makú is usually made of thick threads of mirití.

it presents sufficient resistance and durability. They make it in different sizes, for children as well as for adults. There are three types of hammocks for sleeping:

a) Rede de trinta fios /hammock of thirty threads/. This is the common name in Portuguese; in Nheengatu it is called kisáw, and in Tukano neé pũ-ghõ, that is, hammock of mirití. It is made without the use of a loom. They make thirty or more turns around two stakes, as far apart as the length desired; always, however, longer than the body of the one who is to use it. These threads are joined in two clews /Port. punhos/, like a ring, pũ-ỹapõ, by means of which the hammock will be suspended. Transversally, at a right angle, pass the threads that determine the width of the hammock, tied to the horizontal ones by knots in such a way that small rectangles of one span more or less result.

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/191 cont./

Due to its simplicity, it is known and produced by all the tribes, although it is called "rede de Makú" /Makú hammock/. Because of this depreciatory name, and mainly because of the present ease of acquiring more durable and economical cotton hammocks from the civilized, it is beginning to lose its acceptance among the Indians of the other tribes and today is found almost solely among the Makú and the tribes without contact with the civilized. The Tukano tell of having learned from the Desana how to make this type of hammock. They were not able to clarify whether they had previously used the rede-puçá /puçá hammock/, or if they knew the hammock and slept on platforms.

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b) Beaten hammock. In Tukano it is called pá-tuke, and in Nheengatú, makíra. It is manufactured with a very simple loom (26).

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26. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 340) is of the opinion that the loom is of European origin. This opinion seems acceptable to us, and we believe one could say that the form of the "rede batida" /beaten hammock/ as well is not of native origin, but learned from the civilized. This conclusion is confirmed by: 1st, the fact that not many Indian women know how to make the "rede batida"; 2nd, those who presently know how to do it (as is shown by our inquiries) learned it in the Mission schools or from the alumnae of the Mission; 3rd, we know that the Governador of the Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro, Lobo D'Almada, in his economic plan to encourage industry, favored the weaver's trade, aiming at "the making of the cloth needed for the uniforms of the garrison, the colonists, and the Indians who came down, using eighteen looms and ten spinning wheels, with twenty-four spindles each. In 1798 only 157 Indian women were working as spinners"

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/footnote 26 cont./ (A. Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada -- Manaos, 1940, p. 35): 4th, in the povoados more in contact with civilization, as well as in the more remote malocas, one never finds the "rede-batida"; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ but the natives either use only the hammock "de trinta fios" /of thirty threads/ or those bought from the civilized; 5th, it seems that we can discover still another argument, to wit: outside of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ of the Salesian Missions, on numerous excursions along rivers and igarapés, in only two povoados did we have an opportunity to see the loom and the work of the "rede-batida," and in the two cases it was a matter of young women who had learned it in the Mission and did it on order from the civilized. Furthermore: the terms of the Tukano language that we have presented in relation to the "rede-batida" result from innumerable inquiries at different times and places, with the more educated alumni of the Mission. It is not a matter of an ordinary nomenclature known and used by all, as one would expect if the "rede-batida" were a primitive industry. Many did not know the terms; others presented improper terms made up for the occasion. As generic terms for the occasion, they sometimes were and sometimes were not understood and accepted by other natives.

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Before there came into being the trade in the present cotton hammocks (called in the region redes-do-Ceará /hammocks from Ceará/), the civilized women of the Rio Negro and some Indian women of the Içana continued to "bater" /to beat/ their hammocks on the primitive looms, as they had learned in the lower Rio Negro. The Salesian Missions in turn try to keep this skill from being lost, and they teach the Indian women of greater ability and skill, not only how to make the

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797 /191 cont./
• 177 /footnote 26 cont./ "rede-batida," but, by
174 the same process, to make rugs, tablecloths,
286 napkins, bags, and other artifacts to suit
modern taste.

*192 /192/ pũ-pá:-tuse nextõ-rĩ, consisting of four rounded sticks
286 connected in a rectangle. Each of their vertical staffs (warp)
352 has two holes through which the horizontal ones pass. The holes are purposely very large, so that with a suitable wedge the distance with regard to the horizontal staffs can be varied and thus hammocks of different lengths obtained.

The warp is made in the vertical direction (around the horizontal crossbars, the separation of which marks the length of the hammock), some turns going around with quite a long thread. The vertical crossbars of the loom determine the width of the hammock.

In between the vertical threads the woman starts developing the woof, a small stick with the rolled thread serving as a shuttle, wa'mẽ-kõ dõxká, and beating with a straightedge, pá:-turi-phĩ, in order to join the meshes well. The result is a true fabric of quite tight meshes, and the more elegant and comfortable the hammocks, the finer the thread.

They complete the elegance with a "veranda," pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõrĩ or pá:-tuke-wári, or a side fringe of varied form, as macramé is made.

The veranda is prepared by stretching a thread of a size corresponding to that of the hammock. Along this thread are tied with knots the tucum fibers folded in half. With these variously colored fibers, the woman spins, without the help of bobbins, but only with the fingers, a somewhat wide lace "ponto" /stitch/, until she obtains a trimming /193/ of some 10 or 15 centimeters, and she afterwards tears the ends with the ouriço /prickly part/ of the piquiá. They not only use fibers
[237] of different colors, but they even attach to them nowadays
[531] beautiful and colorful feathers of birds, in conformity with the taste of the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

/199 cont./

*192 war expeditions with their tangapemas, and in order to become
178 invisible to the enemies and invulnerable to their blows, they
411 [276] painted themselves with the juice of the batata uxpí. Moreover, they smoked a big cigar called uxpí-mõrõ, decorated with symbolic paintings, in order to become more courageous.

Koch Grünberg still found some clubs or tangapemas in the Namakoliba maloca, upper Uaupés (Zwei Jahre, 301). They were of a dark red wood, measuring 112 centimeters in length, with the handle painted and the other end wider. The Kubẽwana and related tribes used them then for the dances and occasionally also as a seat in the canoe. It may be concluded that the war club of the Omawa is proof of the eastern origin of this Karaíba tribe, because it is similar to that of the tribes of the Guianas. Actually, among these tribes the upper end of the club terminates in a sharp point, in order to run through the fallen enemy, with a coup de grâce, in the temple or in the ear.

178 b) In battle, moreover, they formerly used a shield, called
714 in Tukano baxtí-pá:karo; it was woven out of cipo and was very
535 light, but efficient against arrows. Today it is rarely seen and,
*192 up to the beginning of this century (information from Pe. João Marchesi), was used as dance attire, which they wore on the left arm when they went to drink their cuia /gourd/ of kaxpí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2) ).

c) Likewise only a dance implement today (as far as we could observe) is the lance, yõxsẽrĩ-phĩ, which essentially is only a heavy rounded stick about two meters in length and ending in a sharp point. They use it in the dabacurí dances, and the "golpe-ao-branco" /blow to the white/ is performed with it (cf. VII -- 4, e (2 and 3) ).

• 177 2) Bow. The only indigenous weapons of present-day use,
178 and, even so, of very limited use on the Uaupés, are the bow
411 and the sarabatana /blowgun/. The tribes farthest in the interior
*[192] of the forests, with few or no relations with the civilized, use them more. On the other hand, contact with civilization supplied the natives with shotgun, machetes, and axes, which, unfortunately, are used in the fights and reciprocal vengeance.

M /200 cont./
411 or Cêiba petándra, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the
M dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the
[224] vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees, without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T 4) Arrows. They are usually made out of paxiúba (Eriártea
411 settígera, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the
T point is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary accord-
[237] ing to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the
[824] teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of patauá (30).

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30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

T
[177] From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which now come the metallic points.

T Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers.
[531] The feathering is found in a row /Port. cavalete/ or in a spiral.

T When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often
[224] poisoned with curare (31).

31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

/204 cont./

*192 2) Equipment for the ipadú and the caapí

415 a) To prepare the ipadú (cf. VI -- 4, i (3) /see 4, i (4)/), the Indian, besides a pot with a wide mouth, pátu axtẽrí-tõ, and a small mortar, pa-mõ-a, in the usual fashion, needs bags and a long tube, patu pa:põ. The bags are obtained from the tururí (cf. VI -- 3).

b) For the kaxpí there becomes necessary a wooden tub, kaxpí pa-mõ-a (see VI -- 2, b (7) ), in which the cipo is pounded, and a vessel, kaxpí-tõ (see 2, a (1) ), in which the juice is collected and diluted with water.

855 3) Macurú. When the child starts to steady itself on its legs, they use a very practical process to entertain it and at the same time to teach it the first steps. It consists of a hoop which is obtained from a thick cipó wound several turns and tied to a beam. The child will stand inside the hoop, which reaches the height of its chest. A very flexible and soft embira, tied to the hoop, passes between the legs of the child, who thus remains as though riding a horse and can sit on the embira when it feels tired. Nowadays it is very common to find a piece of cloth instead of the primitive embira. This apparatus, which in the Lingua Geral is called macurú, and in Tukano bahari be'tó, is secured to one of the roof beams by a cipo and reaches a distance from the ground that allows the child to touch it with the feet and to try its first steps.

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Macurú (bahari-be'tó)

Outside of this apparatus they do not know another for the children, who either remain abandoned on the ground or will ride on the hips of their own mother or older sister (38),

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38. It is always the women who carry the children. Due to the influence of the civilized, one can see today a father carrying his own child in his arms, but for a short time, while the mother is carrying some other load. In the house one never sees an Indian man holding a child, and even less lulling one to sleep.

when they are not in the arms or in the hammock.

*192 /208 cont./
524 bees, mumí-pesé (40).

40. A little Indian also talked about the "game of the lemon," but she did not describe it to us, and we did not have a chance to see it.

Another collective game is "hide and seek," called in Tukano wãx-tĩ mãã-ré baágõsamim (Wãx-tĩ is going to eat you), because the signal to hide is given by one of the children, calling "Wãx-tĩ is going to eat you."

One of the most common amusements, and which appears even in the Dabacurís (see VII -- 4, e (2) ), is what is called game "of the toad," tárokõ-pesé. Some children squat and, advancing by jumping, start singing: táro-kõakã... táro-kõakã (little toad! little toad!). Other children, standing up, block the jump of the toads, and among them the following dialogue is started: -- Where are you going? (no'õ-põ waati mãxsã?) -- We are going to see whether there is any ripe pineapple in the clearing (õxsã wexsé-põ yãra wá:, sẽ'rá to'ó-põ buxtise-pa yãra wá:) -- Your grandmother went there to eat pineapple, fell down, and hurt herself (toó-põ mãxsã ñẽxko sẽ'rá baágo myõ-doxké-pyõ-waápõ). Then the little toads exclaim: -- Poor grandmother! ... (adé:! õxsã ñẽxkõ!) and pretend to faint, falling on the ground.

524 With the palm leaflet rolled in a spiral, they improvise a
534 flute capable of emiting different sounds, according to the diameter of the spiral.

• 177 They make small flutes, puxtisé, out of taquara or paxiúba;
524 the spinning top, bextága, using the nut of the tucumã and others.
*[192] More recently, in possession of jacknife and nail; they also prepare their wooden tops in imitation of the one of the civilized.

/208 cont./

177 3. Clothing and shoes.

291 a) Clothing.

Under the influx of the civilized (the example of the white, whom the Indian likes to imitate, the instruction of the Missionaries, and the clothes that /209/ the latter give them), the natives are getting into the habit of wearing clothes. As a rule, those who have spent some years in the schools, upon returning to their aldeias, do not dispense with clothing any longer. At least a pair of pants or shorts (the men) and a skirt (the women), leaving the bust uncovered.

294 296 462 An interesting detail is that generally the women only make, maintain, and wash feminine clothes. The men obtain ready-made clothes, given or bought, and they must attend to washing and repairing them. Some men have been seen washing the clothing of their wives.

291 Originally, that is, before any influence from the civilized, dating from the discoveries of the New World, did they have any clothing? What would it have been?

For one thing, the warm climate does not impose the use of clothing. For another, the rains and frequent excursions into the forest, which offers shelter to the individual and would quickly wear out the clothes, discourage the wearing of clothing. This is what we could deduce, a priori, from their habitat.

The first Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro, Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, in 1759, says very originally: --"The Indians of these sertões /interior parts of the country/ commonly not having any more clothes than those that our first parents wore in the field of Damascus" (o. c. 145). He notices, as an exception, that the Cambeba wore long garments of cotton and without sleeves, open on the side.

A century later, in 1846, the costume is still the same, according to Wallace: -- "These Indians free themselves from the hindrance of clothing as much as is possible to conceive. The men wear only a small piece of tururí, which goes between their legs and is tied to a cord that goes around the waist. The

/210 cont./

291 The first travelers of the Solimões mention Indians "with a tail." Wallace is certain that attributing a tail to the /211/ Indians of these regions is due to faulty observation of the dirty and twisted waxsó-ro.

It does not seem, however, a "dress of decency," because it is too tight and narrow, and at times it only covers partially. It could be a "dress of attraction." We consider it rather a "dress of protection" (43).

> 43. In May of 1954, expressing to a Karapanã Indian, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papurí), Vicente by name, our desire to visit the region of the Karapanã on the headwaters of the river Áua, he informed us spontaneously, as to warn us, that over there they do not wear any clothing. After this trip, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has lived with the Irmãs Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women did not need bodily protection like the men.

it being a matter of a more sensitive part than the rest of the Indian's skin, hardened by the inclemencies.

*[192] As for the tanga (44)

• [177]

> 44. Gaspar de Carvajal, in the account of the journey of Francisco de Orellana in 1540 (o. c.), tells us about the use of the waxsó-ro by the women. Wallace (o. c. 352), in 1849, says that, on the Uaupés, the women, previously naked, "upon the entrance of the whites cover themselves with a tanga." The same still happens a century later.

/226 cont./

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6th. -- Ñomõ-kó. It is prepared by cooking the cará /Dioscorea/, ñõmõ, which is afterwards moistened with saliva and crushed in the mortar. Finally, it is mixed with the beijú or the manicuera and left to ferment.

7th. -- Sibeókẽ. It is true aguardiente. It is obtained by distilling cane juice (ã'rã̃-kó, Uaupés a'nã̃-kó) on the fire. Its use is more infrequent, the planting of the cane, ã'rã̃, being generally limited. It seems that at times the caxirís are also distilled.

Still (sibeóri-pá)

We know that sibeókẽ is also prepared on the Uaupés, although in a more limited way. In Ambaíba (river Içana) we saw one of these /227/ stills, sibeóri-pá (Nheengatú mutiquerepáua). It consisted of a large camotim, with a capacity of about one hundred liters, terminating in a narrower mouth, which was closed with a wooden plug to which was fitted a taquara /bamboo/ which carried the aguardiente to another smaller camotim. The orifices were plugged with clay. It has not been reported that there were stills or distillation of cachaça in this region northwest of the Amazon, and, noticing that the natives do not worry about the problem of cooling the distillation, some are led to believe that it is a matter of an indigenous invention. It might, however, be an imperfect imitation of the stills that existed on the lower Rio Negro as early as the eighteenth century.

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*192 i) Stimulants and narcotics.

276 [178] 1) Tobacco. The planting of tobacco, mõ'rõ (Uaupés mõ'nõ) (nicotiana tabácum), is little and rare nowadays, and it is almost only seen in the povoados and malocas with little or no connection with the civilized. They prepare it in the following way: the men pick the leaves with the stem, reduce all of it to small bits, and put them on the fire in a very hot pot, stirring the contents until they become a dark mass. Afterwards the mass is pressed into small roundish molds. Under the effect of the sun and smoke these loaves of tobacco, mõ'rõ be'tó (Nh. mboti), harden. When they want to prepare the traditional cigar of the feasts, they crumble the tobacco and roll it in thin sheets of tauarí (see VI -- 2, f (5) ) or of banana, producing the large cigar, utíkaro, 15 to 20 centimeters in length.

[177] The Indian greatly likes to smoke. The tobacco that is consumed nowadays (on the three rivers whose area we studied), however, is all obtained from the civilized. The latter customarily shows kindness to the adults, men and women, with some cigarettes, or a piece of tobacco in a roll or on a stick, in friendship. The tobacco in a roll is a product that is always sought on the part of the natives as payment for their work.

More infrequent is the inhaling of tobacco, in powder, through the nostrils. They then use two small tubes of taquara or bone, connected at a 45° angle with string and pitch. Introducing the powder into one of the tubes, the Indian places the end at one of the nostrils and the other end in the mouth and, with a puff, forces the powder to go up the nose.

*192 263 2) Pepper. The native consumes pepper, byá, in large doses, almost always as seasoning for the quinhapira.

Ordinarily he has already prepared his seasoning, called byá-uhá-pyosé (that is, pepper in a water infusion), for application to the fish. /228/ It is common today for the Indian, on journeys or even at home, to have a bottle with whole or ground peppers.

/232 cont./

184 Its consumption is almost unknown today on the lower Uaupés;
276 it is quite general, however, among the tribes of the Papuri and Tiquié, even when they have their regular food. Perhaps the abuse of the ipadú is responsible for the organic depauperation in the elderly and many stomach ulcers. Besides, the individual becomes addicted and his children are born weak, silly, defective (62).

> 62. The Salesian Missionary, Padre João Marchesi, on a certain occasion showed a tuxaua how the son of an ipadú eater was slow in intelligence, did not learn how to read or write, did not have any manual skills, whereas the other children did this quickly.

[797] The young generation, which has gone through the Mission schools,
[178] scarcely consumes ipadú any longer.

/233/ 8) /sic; j)/ Conclusion.

252 The natives of the Uaupés take only fruits and some insects raw. Never a piece of meat or fish (63);

> 63. It was not possible for us to investigate as to whether it is a question only of taste and custom, or if superstitious motives also enter in. It does not seem to us that they exist, although in one of their legends it is said that Wãx-tĩ is the one who eats raw meat.

these foods ordinarily are moqueados /smoked/. And the fish is frequently boiled or reduced to a sauce with pepper, to accompany the ingestion of the beijú.

372 Fire is obtained today with a match, "palito" /toothpick/, as
*[192] they call it, and they try not to let it go out. Day and night
•[177] one finds the fire burning inside the maloca, and they also take pots with live coals to the clearing and on trips.

/242 cont./

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b) Hunting.

*[192]

1) Hunting by pursuit (amã siró-tú pexkayesé).

The fauna of the Amazonian northwest is poor, in quality and quantity, in animals for eating. But hunting, besides providing food, is an enjoyable sport for the Indian. Poor as it is, hunting in the dense virgin forest can only be practiced by groups of two or three Indians. Rarely will he go out alone, until very recently, when he obtained a shotgun from the civilized. With the shotgun or with the bow, the Indians are worthy /243/ hunters. He will also rarely go in large groups; this only when they locate in some zone a herd of wild pigs. Then they try to surround them, and with arrows and stabbing sticks /Port. paus terçados/ they kill a large number (72).

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> 72. Not infrequently it happens that the herd of pigs, starving or attacked, attacks the men, who save themselves by quickly climbing the trees.

A man's treasured helpers in hunting are the dogs, small, skinny, and often almost blind because of the stings of the ants, taxi, but, perhaps for this very reason, with a more acute sense of smell.

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The Makú are specialized hunters. When they go to track the animal chased by the dogs, they make a lot of noise, with characteristic cries, and nothing, neither the cipos, thorns, nor other obstacles, is able to stop them.

*[192]

2) Hunting by ambush (pexkáye du'tigõ or pexkáye pe'sá-kõ).

The animals have their drinking places (73)

> 73. On the upper Tiquié, near the Cachoeira Grande, one sees a stone that the antas come to lick. The ground or stone with natural salts, and for this reason sought by the antas, deer, and other animals, is called "anta sucker."

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4) Hunting by trap (pexkáye-kõ yuró).

The method that they use for small animals, such as the cutia /agouti/ is simple. A strong, but flexible pole is planted in the ground. Sometimes they use bushes that already exist in the chosen location. They bend the free end, to which they fit a snare, tying it to sticks in the place where they foresee that the animal might pass, and the trap, yuró (Nheengatú žuká), is ready. When the animal tries to eat the bait left there, or even simply to pass through the snare, the pole is released violently, and the animal remains hanging by the leg. And thus it will stay until it dies, or it will be killed with blows of sticks.

[177] Nowadays, instead of the snare, there is often a loaded shotgun that fires and kills the animal; it is the trap called pexkáye-wõ.

Trap for birds and small animals

5) Hunting by canoe.

Very frequently the deer and the anta throw themselves into the river, because they are being pursued by dogs or in order to look for food on the other bank. Then the hunters pursue them with their fast canoes, and they kill them with the oar, a stick, or machete. On some occasions they reach in this way large herds of queixadas /white-lipped peccary/ and kill them in large number.

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224 During low water they also go hunting at night, drifting
373 slowly and without making any noise, while one of the Indians brings a torch of turí. They thus surprise the pacas, which are blinded by the light, and the Indian kills them with arrows.
[177] Nowadays they use a battery flashlight for night hunting.

6) Agriculture.

241 The mandioca is what provides the principal food of the Indians of the basin of the Uaupés. All these tribes are thus found in the phase of tillage, which is practiced, however, in a very primitive manner: it is the phase of the "cavouco" /digging, pit, hollow/ or of the "cova" /hole/.

They freely choose the land that pleases them the most, because of the proximity of their dwelling and because of the guarantee against theft (75),

> 75. For this reason he will not do it at the edge of the river, unless it is beside his dwelling. If it is in the vicinity of the river, he will always leave a wedge of forest between the clearing and the river, in order to hide it from the view of those who are traveling on the water. And the landing place where he disembarks and ties his canoe will be at a certain distance from the clearing, in order not to reveal its location.

and which is a little sandy, as the "terras-firmes" of the entire region generally are, and suitable for mandioca. The act of
*[423] clearing, wexsé pá:kĩrõ, is what gives them the ownership of
[192] the land while cultivating it.

Clearing is done in the periods of less rain, that is, from
[462] June to August and from December to February. It is work exclusively for the men. They start by choosing an area con-
*[192] venient as to distance and not subject to floods, with yellowish soil, semisandy, di'tá sõarã, or black and somewhat humous, nãxkã di'tá ĩyĩrõ.

*192 /245 cont./
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They "go around" the clearing (pũ-pé: it is the Tukano term that they use), that is, they mark off from the rest of the forest the area they want, with a small lane, cutting down the small plants and breaking branches. Formerly they did it only with the stone ax, õxtã komé; today clearing is done with the help of the machete, di-phĩ, and also at times with the iron ax, komé. The work consists essentially of breaking off the bushes and going around the large trunks with blows in such a way as to make the bark come off. With this the tree would dry and could then be burned. Once all the trees are dried in a more or less square area of about 50 or 100 meters on a side (according to the number of persons in the family), fire is set at various spots, and thus the gigantic trees either are incinerated or are reduced to a blackened trunk, which often falls to the ground. The clouds of smoke that rise here and there from the green /246/ forest reveal the places where a good burning, õhõã-dyakã-siri, is taking place.

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If the burning was not very successful, because the sticks were not dry or because of a lack of wind, the work is done again, taking down branches, assembling them around the trees -- this is called coivara, in Tukano doxté-peosé, and burning is done anew.

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Although the clearing is individual or, better, family property, for the work of clearing and burning the one interested will ask for the collaboration of his companions in the maloca or in the povoado; or, if he lives isolated, that of the closest inhabitants. And not only of his own tribe, but even of another nation. This collective work (cf. IX -- 2) is called neõsé (in Nheengatú ayurí). The immediate pay, that is, on the day or days of work, is a plentiful caxirí for all the workers; and more distantly his own help when solicited for identical work for the benefit of others. The ayurí is always practiced whenever the participation of many persons is needed for one job, for example, to cut and bring wood from the forest, to put in place the timberwork of a house roof, etc. The ayurí is a practice that is still in force even among the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

241 /247 cont./

161 /footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of
167 Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the com-
[222] plaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The
[438] land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The
241 indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance,
731 and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory
797 by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beiju, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It
[438] seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

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438 [177]

taking something for the exchange (78).

> 78. We have seen some Indians taking along on trips goods received from the civilized (salt, machete, mirror, etc.), with the intention of bringing back some native object in exchange (canoe, grater, puçá, etc.). In some cases it will happen that they will not find for exchange the object that they desire, or the objects offered do not interest those of the various povoados, and their owner returns from the trip with the goods that he took. We might think that the same would have happened in former times, perhaps more rarely than today.

This trade was more frequent with the tribes with which there were matrimonial relations.

Although the trade among the tribes is still being maintained today through the exchange of the products of their specialty or exclusivity, it has become much more intense due to the relations with the civilized, who, since the eighteenth century, have navigated those rivers with more or less frequency.

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In the first place, the civilized needs the services of the native. They were always the oarsmen for the first travelers of the /250/ rivers (79),

> 79. We know, for example, that in the squadron of Pedro de Teixeira, in 1637, there were 1,200 Indians for the work of rowing and other services.

and today they are the "sailors," that is, pilots, mechanics, oarsmen, loaders of the launches. And not infrequently they are hired as guides and interpreters. All these services are paid for with goods. Since the time of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro

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## Chapter VII

### Spiritual Culture

000 Man is always the rational animal, and proofs of his rational nature are innumerable and appear at every moment. But also true is the primum vívere, deínde philosophári, that is, one can only speculate after the pressing material needs have been satisfied. The intelligence needs a favorable environment in order to develop; but, even in the most adverse environment, it will always give manifestations of its presence. And these manifestations are many, which entitles us to say that, in a general way, the Indian is intelligent. The relative ease with which he adapts himself to our civilization, with which he learns and speaks several native languages and some ideas from the Portuguese that is taught him in the schools, the perspicacity with which he observes the white, listens to him, and talks to him, are proofs of our assertion concerning his intelligence. Up to now, however, no native from the Uaupés has acquired a secondary or higher education, nor has he shown an interest in acquiring it, in spite of the stimuli offered by the Salesian Missions (1).

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1. The Salesians count among their members, in the position of Coadjutor Brother, a Taryana Indian with an education higher than a primary one and who is a good teacher of tailoring, with a specialization course in Recife. The Montfortian Padres have recruited for their Instituto two Indians, a Desana and a Taryana. Young women of different tribes are found at present (1958) in Manaus, taking the course in nursing, supported by the Salesian Missions.

The failure of the first attempts is not surprising, because education assumes a civilization, that is, habits of life, of studies, which only a second or third native generation, raised in the civilized regimen, will be able to present.

/283 cont./

756 821 [797] In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike. They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another, stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauareté the first large pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon the one who lived in Iauareté.

755 756 [115] Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955) makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian bank of the river Papurí. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patricia: --"My niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right, [177] he will be punished." Would this be the concept of a judgment after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle, the young woman added: -- "When the patient has a headache, the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komũ, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing process of the pajés.

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/footnote 42 cont./ time he suffers periodic attacks, and for this reason he is afraid of painting himself for the dances, although he participates in them as Bayá (cf. VII-6, a (2) ) that he is. We have watched him, in spite of his years, direct the ritual dances valiantly for 24 hours without interruption.

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/288/ The magic concept of the origin of sicknesses do not allow them to take the minimum precautions. They will not avoid contact with a person afflicted with tuberculosis or grippe, or skin infection; they will sleep at his side, lie in the same hammock, sit on the same seat, drink from the same cuia, help themselves from the same pot, into which they dip their fingers with the beijú.

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The Missionary tries to persuade them, for example, of the danger of contagion in tuberculosis. In spite of this, they do not stop taking caxiri perhaps masticated by a tubercular person.

They do not resolve, unless watched and forced, to take a remedy according to the medical prescriptions, in so many doses repeated at such-and-such intervals (43).

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43. The belief in the pajé is suffering a lingering shock from the hospitals and ambulatories of the Mission and the trips of the Missionary distributing remedies. Many of them, at present, not only accept, but even ask for the remedies of the civilized, especially when they prove to have prompt efficacy, for example, the antimalarial remedies, analgesics, etc. They do not submit, however, to subjecting themselves to the prolonged treatment that various ailments demand and do not hesitate to run away from the hospital.

/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or caríço, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale, as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto /countersong/ to the other.

533 They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs, even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly
• [177] appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very
[194] many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of
[147] the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice has little elasticity (54),

54. The voice has so little elasticity that perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give
[562] a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and dances the men never sing; the women do it infrequently, for example, when they work in the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however, that the men's songs are religious hymns, whereas those of the women are bacchic compositions that they render when they distribute the drink.
[797] Among the alumni, and especially among the alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a greater elasticity, and one hears humming more frequently. This, however, is usually the religious or secular songs learned at school.

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534 Uaupés (55) /sic; (57)/.

• [177]

55 /57/. During these past years some natives who came down to the Rio Negro for work became so enamored of the guitar that they heard there at the feasts of the caboclos that the possession of one of them constituted the dreamed-of fruit of their labor. And, upon returning to their povoados, they spend long hours of the day and the night strumming monotonously on the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ poor instrument. Perhaps for them the charm is not derived from the auditory pleasure which they experience as much as appearing, with this, more advanced or civilized than their other brothers. One also already sees some harmonica /Port. gaita/ or accordion or victrola among the alumni of the Mission.

Of the others, there are various instruments, all obviously of native origin.

/302/ a) Idiophones.

534 As rhythm instruments for the dances they have:

535 1st. -- Rhythm tube. In the Tukano idiom it is called ahũ-wõ,

* [192] plural ahũ-pawõ. It is a cylinder of imbauba a meter long and 10 centimeters in diameter, hollow, with the lower end touching the ground, obstructed because it corresponds to the node. The upper one is open and ends with a rectangular extension by which it is held with the right hand. Each dancer takes his instrument, and they go all together, marking the rhythm of the step with a stroke against the ground. Frequently these instruments are painted with

[531] white, with the latex from the sorva, and with designs of Greek frets in red or black color.

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*192 1) Feminine adornment.

301 Besides the paintings on the face, breasts, and body as decora-
562 tion (and not as clothing), as they declare, the women own few objects of adornment:

a) Necklaces. They are of different size, shape, and material. They are made from various seeds, especially a tiny nut, threaded on a tucum fiber, the parakẽ-dá; or also little glass beads, [178] the yax'kẽ-dá; or beads obtained from the civilized, the different shapes, sizes, and colors being combined in various ways. They wear them even outside the dances; they are not, however, of general use, and in Wallace's time they were not used at all (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro, p. 630).

b) Bracelets. They are of beads or seeds, like the necklaces, and are called in Tukano, yax'kẽ wã-yãsé.

c) Knee bands (63).

63. Among the Ide-masã of the stream Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, we also saw young men using knee bands. Among the rest of the tribes the men only wear them as ornaments for the dances.

[286] In Nheengatú they are called tapacúra, and in Tukano yuxtá-seri. It is a band of delicate and curious weave, made of caroá fiber, most of the time, colored yellow or red. One is applied on each leg, a little below the knee. In many cases it is woven without any pieces added, and, thus, when, due to the person's growth, it starts to be too tight, they cut it off.

They assert that its purpose is to thicken the legs.

[177] d) Earrings. Nowadays one only sees earrings (in Nheengatú nambí-purá, in Tukano yoxsasé) obtained from the civilized, or, in place of them, small necklaces of glass beads.

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*192 562 178 291

e) Puericueio. It is the feminine tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ that we discussed before (VI -- 3, a), in Tukano yax'kẽ waxsó-ro. Nowadays they only use it in the dances and very rarely (65) /sic; 64/.

> 64. "In their festivals, when they dance, the women then put on a small tanga or apron, made of beads arranged in regular patterns, with much taste and much caprice. This tanga is about six square inches in size. It is never worn on other occasions, so that, once the feast is over, the women take it off immediately" (Wallace -- "Viagens," etc., p. 630).

*192 301 562

f) Wreath. At times during the dances the women fit to their heads a wreath of branches from that shrub of pleasant and intense aroma called bará. It is what is called bará pu'sasé in Tukano.

[177]

g) Many women and girls habitually wear curved combs of striking colors, i'í be'tó or i'í-ro be'tó, obtained from the civilized. A century ago, according to Wallace, they did not wear any comb.

2) Masculine adornment.

[302]

For the dances the men paint the face and the body, as was said above.

[178]

a) Stone of command. We call it this because it is actually a badge of the tuxauas, who wear it hanging at the neck on solemn occasions (dances, reception for some civilized, etc.). Nowadays it is a rare ornament, and few own it. The ouvidor /auditor/ Xavier Sampaio (cf. above, II -- 3), following Pe. José Noronha, mentions the existence of this ornament and gives it as an indicator and classifier, by its size, of the nobleness of the wearer. In Tukano it is called õxtã bohá, that is, clear stone. It is a piece of amorphous quartz, quite smooth, cylindrical in shape, and about 15 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 in diameter.

/314 cont./

*192 291 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá ií-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. [177] Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá.

[237] 2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrí-dá.

[534] 3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps.

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

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*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõá-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of earrings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that [177] [304] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komũ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 535 237 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

/316 cont./

287 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadú bags.
532 Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and
764 length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg
532 (Zwei Iahre, p. 236), the Taryana wore masks also at the feast
778 of Wãx-tĩ. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the Ide-masã of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called Waxtĩ (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a) Difficulties.

177 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters
771 of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

4: Silva--464 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/316 cont./

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culture that remained as evidence. In the religious Ethnology we not only have the reciprocal influence among the tribes, but that of the civilized, perhaps since the discovery of the New World (1),

1. Frei Gaspar de Carvajal, O. P., in the description of the voyage of Francisco Orellana, 1540, relates the information of an Indian woman. "In this aldeia (in the vicinity of the mouth of the Rio Negro) an Indian woman with much sense was taken. She said that near here, in the interior, there were many Christians, among them two white women, and that others lived with Indian women from whom they had /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ children. It is presumed that these are the ones who disappeared from Diogo Ordaz." One of the ships that made up part of the squadron of Ordaz, having left Seville at the beginning of 1531, with a destination on the river Maranhão, under the command of Juan Cornejo, ran aground in this river with more than 300 men, who settled among the Indians.

all of them Christians (2),

2. /From p. 317 in the original source./ In our days we know of traders who baptized Indians in order to make them their "godchildren," that is, with an obligation to work for them. Grotesque episodes are told about these baptisms, sometimes of an entire maloca, just pouring on water or putting salt in the mouth, without uttering any words. Koch Grünberg himself baptized some sick children, as he tells in his

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/footnote 2 cont./ book Zwei Iahre. Still today (1957) the Missionaries find Indians scattered through various malocas who claim to have been baptized "by white," that is, by civilized who passed by the region trading.

with their cult, which would impress /317/ the savage, and with their talks or even with their positive catechizing, wishing to bring him to Christianism.

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Tribes of the Amazon and Rio Negro (cf. II - 1) (and those of the Uaupés maintained relations with those of the Rio Negro and Içana) were even evangelized by Missionaries in different times. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits and the Mercedarians were on the Rio Negro, in the eighteenth the Carmelites, in the nineteenth the Capuchins and Secular Priests.

The Christian converts were at times a minority within the group which would continue with their beliefs and practices. Perhaps in some cases an entire group, for example, a native povoado, became Christian, but later lost contact with the Missionaries -- and we saw that the catechizing on the Rio Negro and Uaupés was periodic and intermittent -- and returned to their pagan rituals.

Would there not have remained some trace of these learned teachings and religious practices? There are indications that affirm this, from which it is permissible to infer: what the Indians practice today and declared to us may not be exempt from the influence of the Christian civilized.

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Another difficulty no smaller than the first one is the reserve of the native, always suspicious, and he appears much more so on these subjects, about which there may even be an obligation to reveal nothing to the civilized. It has been verified that they more easily make disclosures about subjects of morality, which, it seems to us, should remain hidden, than about religious

/317 cont./
771 subjects (3).

3. General Couto de Magalhães, in spite of his friendly relations with many natives, reveals this silent discretion of theirs: "The Indians are very reserved and discreet in everything concerning a religious topic. In the middle of the most animated conversation, if one directs to them any question intended for the clarification of any of these points, they immediately become cool, at times somber, and either answer with monosyllables or do not answer at all" (Ensaios de Anthropologia, /Essays in Anthropology/, 495).

/318/ b) Christian influences.

177 We mention only three proofs of Christian influence: 1st --
773 the inclusion of elements of the Christian tradition in the native legends (as will be seen in the work in preparation "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") (4);

4. There are some points in these legends (as we shall see in another volume, "Lendas do Uaupés") that make us admit Christian diffusion. And we are not referring to the narrations of the alumni of the Catholic Missions. As we more than once had the opportunity to verify, in the exposition of their legends they insert episodes and names of personages about which they have heard in the catechesis. One proof of this is the Tukano Cosmogony revealed by the pajé Marcos Sierra to Marcos Fulop (cf. n. 65 /sic; see note 71/, Ch. VII-4, e (2c) ).

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/footnote 4 cont./ concluded that there had been migrations of postdiluvian groups, without excluding the possibility of prediluvian migrations.

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2nd -- Indians with Biblical names (see above II - 3); and 3rd -- some episodes of religious fanaticism that took place in the last century on the rivers Içana, Uaupés, and Papurí, with such repercussion that, in spite of the distances, /319/ they managed to worry the ones governing Manaus. Now it is not improbable that such episodes imply a more remote Christian influence.

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In 1857 the Governador João Baptista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha heard talk of a great movement of the natives of the river Içana, attracted by a preacher who called himself the "Verdadeiro Cristo" /True Christ/. He then appointed as Missionary of the Içana and Uaupés Padre Romualdo Gonçalves d'Azevedo, "in order to thwart the preachings of the pretended Christ, to calm the agitation promoted and to obstruct the migration of the Indians to another people's territory." It indeed became clear to the Government that the "Christ" was trying to induce the Indians to move to the territory of Venezuela. It was feared that he was a foreign political emissary, perhaps even from England, France, or the United States. It was a matter of a Venezuelan Indian, Venâncio by name, who had settled in the povoação /village, town/ Cuiari, on the confluence of the homonymous river with the Içana, and, in the presence of a cross, he would preach his false doctrine, and the concept of him as Saint would grow. "He took advantage," says the Relatorio of Pe. Romualdo, "of the condition to which he was reduced by attacks of catalepsy, from which he suffered, to make believe that he would die, go to heaven, speak with God; and that he had the power to forgive sins" (Relatorio dated February 10, 1858 -- Archivo do Amazonas of July 23, 1907,

4: Silva--470 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/319 cont./

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Vol. II, n. 5, p. 14). Foreseeing the attacks, he would proclaim beforehand his relations with God, by whose order he would demand payment from the Indians in exchange for the forgiveness of sins. At such news, the forest dwellers would go to see him from wherever they were found. The Missionary Frei Manuel de Santana Salgado, who, at the request of Pe. Romualdo, handicapped by illness, had replaced him, threatening police intervention, forced Venâncio to withdraw to Venezuela. Again during the journey of Frei Salgado another similar religious movement appeared near the "Povoação da Guia" /Town of the Leader/, on the igarapé Pirá-iauára. This time the protagonist was a Brazilian Indian, also named Venâncio, "who called himself Padre Santo enviado do Christo" /Holy Father sent by Christ/, and "the repetition of such acts took place, and it was there that the public confessions, divorces, and new marriages were made, all this being followed by profane entertainments with dances, eating and drinking, which also was practiced on the Cuiary in /320/ consequence of the teaching of the doctrine and the supposed miracles of the so-called Christ."

In his report dated from Cunury (river Uaupés) on April 12 of 1859, Pe. Romualdo told that Indians of several tribes were gathered in Juquira-rapecuma, on the Uaupés, "worshiping another Christ who had appeared there, practicing the same that had happened on Igarapé Piraiauára, on the Içana, that is, baptizing, marrying, etc., that this gathering numbered over a thousand persons armed with firearms and curabís (arrows with poisoned tips), prepared to resist the officials, in case they went there, as had happened on the Içana, that they would wait right there for the whites."

Indeed, Frei Salgado was received hostilely and had to withdraw in danger of his life on March 3, 1858. "According to what has been reported," proceeds the Relatório, "and is taken as certain, the Christ is an Indian, a native of the Uaupés, who resided in the district of Marabitanas, well known there by everyone, called Alexandre. In the retinue of the Christ," concludes the Relatório (Archivo do

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4: Silva--471 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/320 cont./

177 Amazonas, October 3 of 1907, Vol. II, n. 7, pp. 85-90) "are more than 10 captured Macus, who are used by them as slaves, to the point of selling them in exchange for a weapon, swords, axes, and whatever pleases them."

792 [567]

After Venâncio and Alexandre, a deserter by the name of Basílio Melgueiro renewed the same mistakes, states Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 20).

Around the end of 1880 another individual appeared, this one from the Arapásu tribe, who called himself Vicente Cristo and claimed to maintain dialogues with the spirits of the dead and with God himself, of whom he proclaimed himself to be a representative. He announced himself as "Pai dos Missionários" /Father of the Missionaries/, who, at his request, God had sent to the Caiarí. He fanaticized many, whom he made dance around a cross. Having harmed many seringueiros /rubber workers/ with his fanaticism, he was finally arrested in Barcelos.

A similar episode happened in the last decades of the past century on the Papuri. An Indian from the Tukano tribe (Subdivision of the Sakúro-põrá, see IV - 2, a), Lino Sêwa by name, appeared in the locality of Buxtwá-pweá (today Montfort). Natives of the Papurí and even of the Uaupés and Tiquié ran to him. He ordered each one to make a cross for himself, taught sacred songs, preached that everyone would go to heaven, and produced many cures with his remedies. The informant for these episodes was an old Indian woman from Pari-cachoeira, called Isabel, who completed her report by offering that, because she had not practiced fornication, "Saint" Lino took her as a helper in the preparation of the remedies. Among the extraordinary events Isabel tells of a marvelous blossoming of beautiful flowers in the entire region included

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177 792 between the Papurí and the Tiquié. Some old people who took some of the remedies of the "Santo" /saint/ are still living (in 1949). These pilgrimages and cures ended with the death of Lino.

c) Concept of Religion.

121 Religion, in a more rigorous sense, is the theoretical and practical acknowledgement of a Supreme Being, whom we call God, as Sovereign Lord of the whole universe, which is a creation of his.

We take it here in a less rigorous and broader meaning, as belief in beings superior to human beings and different from them, with whom it is possible and expedient to be in communication, and the belief in a future extraterrestrial life different from the one that is led on earth (5).

5. M. Morris Jastrow (The Study of Religion -- New York, 1921 /1901/) reduces to three the constituent elements of Religion: 1st. recognition of one or several powers that do not depend on us; 2nd. feeling of man's dependence in relation to this power or powers; 3rd. possibility of dealing and communicating with these powers. Such a concept is inexact and incomplete. Inexact, since it leads one to confuse Religion with Magic. If this power or potency is something impersonal, like the cosmic force, a relationship and intercourse with it are not possible, and although the human being recognizes it as superior to himself, he does not worship it, he fears it and tries to conquer it and dominate it with particular practices that are called magical. We have, then, Magic.

/323 cont./

776 in the time of Wallace, a God Creator and Supreme Rewarder, perfect and good, and call him Wã:kõ (or O'ã-kõ), and an evil spirit that can cause them much harm, and for this reason they fear him, this is Wãx-tĩ. Not only some students and travelers, but also the natives of the younger generation themselves, identify Wãx-tĩ with the Jurupari of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú and the demon himself (8).

8. On the bank of the river Uaupés, above Chibarú, there is a place called Jurupari-ponta, and those of the Tukano language call it Wãx-tĩ nõã, thus identifying Wãx-tĩ and Jurupari.

771 Confronted with this information, one might think that their religion was a Manichaeism, with a double principle: -- the good, which practically does not need to be taken into account, and the evil (9).

9. Concerning this subject, we naturally have to exclude the Indians who have attended the schools of the Salesian Missions for several years and received a more profound and sound religious knowledge, strengthened, besides, by an intense religious and sacramental practical life.

776 Without, for now, questioning the names, it is certain that they admit the existence of a personal Being ("maxsã," people, as they express themselves), a being who has always existed, much superior to human beings, who lives up above. The old [177] people call this Being Bũxpó, the Thunder (thus, for example, old Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié), and those who have some notion of Christianity clarify this by saying that

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776 it is "Deus Pai" /God the Father/ (10).

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10. The young Patrícia Vasconcelos, Christian and alumna of the Salesian Mission, talking to her old uncle and pajé, Marco, from S. Luzia, river Papurí, while speaking about the Padre Eterno /Eternal Father/ (Father of Jesus Christ), heard him interrupt her: "Well, my daughter, this is Bũxpó."

*[192] It is to be pointed out that the term of the Língua Geral for indicating Deus /God/ is Tupana, a simple variation, probably introduced by the catechesis, of the name Tupã, which means Trovão /Thunder/. It would not be a mere /324/ coincidence of names. But either both human groups, that of Nheengatú and that of the Tukano, had the same beliefs and cult; or there was a borrowing of beliefs, or at least of legends.

[115] Some add that the world and the human beings came from this Supreme Being as a result of a simple creative word. This is what we obtained in talking with the old people of different tribes and in different localities, even from those who are not Christians and do not maintain contact with the Missionaries, and probably represents their primitive tradition, because it moreover corresponds to what is narrated by the legends.

776 b) Among the Tukano of the river Tiquié, Padre Eduardo

*[192] Lagório, Salesian, found the belief in a God and a Goddess, who existed per se, that is, were not created by another, "kã õaró, by the will," as they express it in their idiom; and she, too, "ko õaró." Contrary to the native psychology, which is not bound up with the woman, whose physical qualities do not give her any more value, the Indian, who in his realistic pragmatism seems unconcerned about the aesthetic qualities of persons, dwells, on the other hand, on describing the beauty of this goddess. It seems to us, for this reason, permissible to search for a Christian origin for such a fact, to wit, the cult and homage

/324 cont./
776 to the Holy Mother of God (11).

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11. The Indian Sebastião Mariano, of the Yuruparí-tapúya tribe (Arwáke of the Içana) narrated to us in Carará-poço (river Içana), in August of 1957, the legend of Kóay, which he identified and translated as Juruparí, called son of Yaperikuli. And to our question about what his mother was called, he immediately responded "Santa Maria" /Holy Mary/.

*[192] They call God O'ĩ-kõ̃, but they did not know the meaning of this word. According to the spirit of the Tukano language, it could be a word made up of o'ĩ, bone, and the ending of max-kõ, son. Therefore O'ĩ-kõ̃ means "Son of the bone." They laughed when we gave this translation and added the very common: "that is so," "that is so." Accordingly (or "by analogy") they call the Goddess O'ĩ-kó or O'ĩ-kõ. O'ĩ-kõ means "daughter of the bone" (from O'ĩ, bone and max-kõ, daughter); O'ĩ-kó, as is more commonly heard, would mean "mother of the bone" (derived from pax-kó, mother), suggesting that this would be mother of Oĩ-kõ̃.

It is not a matter of a couple as a model of the human family, however, as among other peoples, or the deification of the progenitors of the group. Oĩ-kõ̃ does not beget divine or human children; he creates the one and the other.

It was by invitation of O'ĩ-kõ or Oĩ-kó, so they informed Pe. Lagório, that O'ĩ-kõ̃ came down to earth and there created mountains, rivers, forests, animals, and, at the last, the human beings.

*[192] /325/ c) Oĩ-kõ̃, according to legends obtained by us (and which will be studied more fully in another work), is a personage betrayed by his wife, mahĩwi (the pirárara /a fish/); and he, in turn, preferred his sister-in-law to his own wife. It is true, the personage who made the tribes come out of the opening of

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775 /Footnote 19 cont./ They say that at night cries are heard, and no native dares pass by there. When we were there, about 15 days after the burial, the inhabitants still continued to be frightened.

3) Moral principles.

673 They characterize some acts as "ya'ãsé"; for example, the marriage of persons of the same tribe, to have children from incest between parents and children or between members of the same tribe, the malefice (dohasé), and stealing.

627 The punishment, however, is the obligation of the one who judges himself hurt, if he can do it. The pajé, by his extraor-
756 dinary powers, is used as an instrument of justice, or rather of vengeance. They do not think, however, that it is legal for him to do so. They fear him, and, when they can, they also take revenge on him.

/328/ 4) Reward and punishment.

177 The concept of a reward or punishment in the other life is less
775 precise. They know, at present, that the good are rewarded and the bad, punished. Perhaps because of Christian influence, they say that the former will "go up," where they will have "good life"; the bad ones "will go down," where "the life is bad."

The concept of good and bad, however, extends so far as to include all those of the povoado as good, and those of the enemy villages as bad. It is, then, a concept in terms of the group, and not of the life of the individuals.

The fact that they bury the cadaver with its hunting imple-
764 ments (bow and arrow) might perhaps be a vestige of an ancient
775 belief in a "hunting paradise," as exists in hunting tribes. This belief has been obliterated with the change of the system of life from hunting to fishing and agriculture.

782 /336 cont./
796 Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsá, dances of
*[192] Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts con-
[534] sist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩrĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

Ordinarily the native does not know (41)

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> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

[115] The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506]

/357 cont./

776 It seems that we are faced with some confusion between
177 the primitive notions and the ideas that the travelers, colonizers, and Missionaries brought and even taught them in different epochs.

*192 Wãx-tĩ, we have concluded, is a general term to designate these various beings, like our word "Spirit." The term
776 also occurs in the plural, Wãx-tĩã baxsá, dance of the Wãx-tĩ. Probably it is derived from the root wax, and from the substantivizing determinative tĩ. As a matter of fact, there is in the Tukano language the root wax, which would indicate: to imagine, idea, to form ideas, model. Wax-kũ means to think, perhaps from the root wax and the verb kũ, to put.

776 Among the different Wãx-tĩ or spirits, there is one par excellence, the "Wãx-tĩ," as we say "The Supreme, Most Perfect Spirit," or simply the Spirit.

Wãx-tĩ, as follows from the Uaupés legends (which we
776 shall examine in more detail in another study, "Lendas do Uaupés
782 /Legends of the Uaupés/"), is not only a Hero of the tribe, he is the Legislator, therefore the Supreme Lord. He punishes or will punish transgressions. In order to conjure away his punishments, it is important to propitiate him with particular rituals.
*[192] It can be seen in the poosé or wãx-tĩye baxsasé, sacrifices of fish, beijú, or fruits. And there is also communion of the group in the drinking and the smoking. The lyrics of the songs, today
[533] corrupted and without meaning, might perhaps have been the sacrificial hymns (68).

[115] 68. One of the students of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), José Barreto, told that his father, one of the most famous bayá, or singers at the feasts, and dance master, had taught him that the songs during the dabacurí or poosé recalled the creation of the human beings.

/369 cont./

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/footnote 84 cont./ her out of there in order to subject her again to the rites of the pajés. As soon as the catastrophe happened, in the very room of death, in the hospital, the weeping by men and women, accompanied simultaneously by dancing, began at the sides of the hammock that contained the body. Among the participants in the wailing and dances was a young Tukano woman who had taken the course in midwifery in Manaus. The dancers were distributed in pairs of the same sex, and the dances were intermixed with small hops, beating at this moment, first the arms, then the legs. The husband, also present, did not participate in the dances, but he did participate in the weeping. Later, once the body had been moved to the entrance room of the hospital, the old mother lay down on the floor, under the hammock where the daughter had died, with her legs and arms open, singing the elegy-weeping.

[874] [177] [535] [593]

[761] The men utter cries and imprecations against those who caused the death; because every death, so they think, is a true murder perpetrated by some enemy by means of a malefice. The women too, appropriately called uxtĩra (Uaupés uxtĩha), mourners, between exclamations and with /370/ very sentimental thoughts, do the eulogy of the dead and imprecate against the pajés or persons who cast the spell, the alleged

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/footnote 89 cont./ river Paca). Today one often hears "yuxkõ-sõ mãrĩ," there is no canoe (since they do not want to render useless the good canoes that they have), and they bury the dead in some hollow piece of timber, or they ask the Missionaries for a casket.

It will be the old canoe, fruit of his work, companion of his travels and of his fishing trips, or one obtained for this purpose. They saw it into two parts. We were unable to find out what they would have done in the old days, before they had a saw or machete, in order to divide the canoe into two halves. Whether they then did it with the help of fire, or whether they used two small canoes as a coffin. On one half they place the corpse with his hammock, bow, arrow, his cuia with a little flour, a cigar, and some coals on a piece of a pot (nowadays a box with some matches). They cover this with the other half of the canoe, closing the orifices, at present with pieces of wood, rags, or anything, and tie the two parts with strong cords of tucum.

764 The burial with part of the utilitarian objects is usually a survival from nomadism. Today the Indians explain to us that it is "to be used in the other life." Other objects (canoes, machetes, axes, hammocks, etc.) are inherited by the family, or, more accurately, by the /373/ oldest son. It is the symbol of a bond that still endures among the members who are living and those already dead (84) /sic; 90/,

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90. Koch Grünberg says of the Kubẽwãna that they burn and throw away the objects that belonged to the dead person, so that his spirit does not come to punish the survivors for their negligence and greediness (Zwei Jahre, p. 314).

/411 cont./

581 extramarital relations, but never in the marriage (10).

[797]
[177]
[584]

10. Through the influence of the Missionary they have been freeing themselves from these ancestral prejudices, and already cases of marriage through the initiative of the ones getting married, alumni of the Missions, are known. Nevertheless it happens (narrator Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Papuri) that the young man asking for the intervention of the Padre in order to help him find a wife will prove to be indifferent concerning the person. He will say, for example: "Padre, please do me the favor of asking Joaquina, Amélia, or Maria whether one of them wants to marry me."

Marriage does not represent the satisfaction of the sexual instinct, as we had thought and wrote in the beginning, because we found out that this satisfaction has the fullest opportunity imaginable. Marriage, for the individual, is the solution of his economic problem: to have someone who will provide him with food. But it is especially the solution of the social problem: the continuation and propagation of the tribe.

/412/ It is surprising that, in spite of this, family life goes on normally enough. The only plausible explanation is the great respect for the traditional laws establishing the relations between the spouses, and their duties; laws which are faithfully observed.

584 3rd. A third one is that, in order to obtain a wife for an older son nowadays, perhaps a newborn child (11)

11. It does not seem that there are any agreements between the parents about children to be born, because it is contrary to the psychology of the Indian, who is a man of reality.

/421 cont./

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
[601]

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[178] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
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[124]

> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

/424 cont./

562 This moral decadence is not likely to generate in the masculine mind respect (as in fact there is none) for the woman, be she his sister, his wife, or his mother. Any woman represents for them only a worker for the daily tasks and an instrument of very cheap and common pleasures.

The woman senses this real situation, and the more prodigal she is, out of intimate impulses, out of obedience to the customs, because of a desire to please, or out of fear of punishment, the more she is degraded in her own eyes.

The habit of considering situations, rare or none at all, the busy life of work and feasts that she leads, the knowledge that the situation of every woman is identical and that it is a matter of a fact not susceptible to change, because created by the inviolable laws of the tribe, somewhat mitigate her suffering, almost producing conformity and acceptance of this state of things.

When one of them comes into contact with the civilized, however, she gets an idea of a better situation for the woman, she perhaps hears appeals for virtue and her own improvement, she then starts to evaluate the state of decadence of the Indian woman, and she exclaims sorrowfully: "the woman is not worth anything."

9) Division of labor.

462 There is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés a strict division of labor, such that those of one sex will not do the tasks /425/ designated for those of the other one (32).

• [177]

32. This statement holds, without any doubt, for the traditional tasks and for the natives with little or no contact with civilization. In the acculturation that is in process, this concept of division of occupations is beginning to evolve. With all naturalness nowadays a young man serves as cook for the civilized. It is very common, likewise, to see a man wash his own clothes, as well as to fit a carrying basket on his back, as the women do, in order to transport a load for the whites.

/431 cont./

553 through life, as they have protected and accompanied his parents
782 and grandparents, who never failed to provide what is due the
[562] mothers of things. The litany is not short, and they spend hours in the invocation, made in a loud voice, but without accompaniment on the part of those attending, who, seated on the seats, in the hammocks, on the ground, wherever they can, fill the house, and drink cachiry, which is served abundantly by the women, who are in the kitchen and come only for this service. When the sun reaches the highest point, that is, at midday, the officiants, who remained smoking and drinking silently since the first invocation ended, start again. The third invocation begins about two hours before sunset; but then there are already found in the house not only the men, but also all the women and all the children, and everyone repeats in loud voices the name of each mother of things
[821] that the three elders invoke. The child who is to receive the name is left to play as it wishes in the middle of the room with the other children, if there are any, and when the last ray of the sun is about to disappear, the pagé, who with the child's father and the oldest relative has come out of the little room where he spent the day, holds it in his arms and, presenting it to the sun in such a way as to make it receive the last rays, says the name, and this is then
551 repeated by everyone in loud voices. The name that the child
553 receives is often the name which one of the grandparents already bore or some other name which might be pleasing at the moment, and this especially if it is a matter of the chief's child. Many times, however, the child's name is chosen and given to it in consideration of the object that it was holding at the moment when the pagé held it to present it to the sun, to the gesture that it made, to the word that it said, because then it is as if the sun itself /432/ had given it the name. This, then, explains how in many cases, when one looks for the meaning of the native names, one has the surprise of finding the most foolish meanings."

[177] It is observed at present that, even before the baptism, besides the Baxséke Wamẽ given by the pagé, it receives another Christian name, or, better, a name which the civilized customarily use. In general they are not called by name, except by this Christian name.

/432 cont./

• 177 551 Many times they refuse to reveal to the civilized the "blown name." It is not probable that a superstitious fear (the taboo of the name) enters into this refusal (51),

[171]

51. Pièrre Gordon (L'initiation sexuelle et l'évolution réligieuse /The sexual initiation and religious evolution/, p. 132) explains "teknonymy," that is, the custom (incidentally quite widespread: Asia, Africa, America, Oceania) of not uttering the father's name and designating him by the expression: "the father of So-and-So" (saying the child's name), by means of the taboo of the name. The omission of the name would be a sign of respect, just as among many tribes the name of the sacred objects and, among the Jews, that of Javé /Yahweh/ are omitted. And thus he points out that among the Gold there is an interdiction against mentioning the father's name, while being able to say that of one's own mother or wife, because they are in an inferior position. Likewise among the tribes of the Caburí the woman never pronounces the husband's name, she will always say "the father of N."

as if the name represented part of the personality and, for this reason, to reveal it would be harmful to the individual. As a matter of fact, they call each other by the Christian name, and they indicate their own "blown name" and those of their companions with relative ease. The children at school call their companions by the Baxséke Wamẽ in fun and mockery. They hide it in shame, be it indecent or not, in order to seem civilized.

One notices a tendency to abbreviate the names: Candí (for Cândido), Beré (Bernardo), Mandú (Manoel). And many of them, due to the difficulty of pronunciation, corrupt the names:

/432 cont./

• 177 Sabá (Sebastião), Putucho (Protásio), Burigúrio (Gregório), Duí
551 (Luiz), Inhú (João), Baria (Maria), etc.

They moreover like to give grotesque nicknames to their companions, especially in the schools.

551 Here are some of the names most commonly used among the tribes of the Uaupés:

| Men's Names | Women's Names |
|---|---|
| Dyákoro | Anosáro |
| Dopíno (a black bird) | Bu'ú (the Tucunaré fish) |
| Dö'pó-sũ (foot flea) | Dixsíro |
| Hakíto | Duhígo (seated) |
| Henã (a fish) | Dumáha |
| Köomãno | Koõ |
| Ñáhuri | Ñamá paxkó (mother of the deer) |
| Ñamá saaró (deer horn) | Ñyĩgõ (black, Negress) |
| Ñyĩgõ (black, Negro) | |
| Ômõsi | |

/433/

| | |
|---|---|
| Õre-buru (athlete's foot) | Óri pax-kó (mother of the flowers) |
| Pahíro (large, stout) | Pírõ döhöo (seated snake) |
| Pírõ döhögö (seated snake) | |
| Poá mãri (bald, without hair) | |
| Sapó-ro (foam) | Semé (paca) |
| Sériba | Somé |
| Sibyá põrá (children of the sibyá) | Supyá |
| Soná toãmi | |
| Umũpo | |
| Ũ'ré (nightingale) | |
| Ũ'ré-tõ (bunch of pupunha) | |
| Wirõ (wind) | Wexkoryó (a bird) |
| Yepá-sõnyá (legendary person) | |
| Yuxkó-ro (a wood) | |
| Yupúri | Yu'sío |
| Among the Tuyuka also: | Among the Bará: |
| Tunú (flute?) | Bwénomyo |
| Iñafíhi | Kamoõ |
| Dépo (foot) | Neñõ |
| | Nõmí |
| | Yawíra |
| | Yexpádwa |

/439 cont./

562 881 Naturally one can not mark the date for this beforehand. It is likewise understandable that it is practically impossible to perform this rite with an entire group, as in the male initiation, if we consider that they are small povoades or only a maloca.

*[192] /440/ The first menstruation is a dangerous event for the young woman; she may be a victim of Bisíu (VII -- 4, d (5 c) ), Bisíu a'mõsé-re baásamĩ, they say, that is, Bisíu eats the menstruation. As they explain, to eat means that he will come to fecundate her (69).

• [177] [797]

69. A singular phenomenon of acculturation or adaptation has been taking place. A girl, for example, is in school at the time of the first menstruation. She will perform the rite perhaps many months later, when she returns to her povoado. She does not wait, according to information from the young women themselves, until the next menstruation comes to perform the rite. As for the rest, she follows exactly what the customs dictate.

[756] (See Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/.) The maiden then will be the first to announce the fact and to request the intervention of the pajé or Komũ (70).

70. One of the young informants asserted that the maiden will be happier if she does this rite with a stronger pajé. Another added that she will be still more so if it has been with a white.

[829]

Besides, the rite is desired by the girl, not only because it gives her freedom for the public sexual relations, but also because, according to her convictions, this rite is going to assure her happy deliveries, as various young women testified. For this reason no maiden would dare to marry without the puberty rite and the mõ-yoãsé (coitus of initiation). Some nubile maiden, especially

562 /443 cont./
881 work rapidly -- to return home at once" (79).
[756]
[867]
[177]

79. These recommendations against the piraboto, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tincuam and those of the Jurupari of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uaupés" of the author).

[756] Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin
[869] of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his
[833] cigar, pronouncing at the same time a long and unintelligible exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the pajé Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the nihĩ-koró, which is inverted. But ordinarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the pajé, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoá, as the several informants of the Uaupés stated.

| Kinship | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | Nominative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ | f |
| Possible daughter-in-law | yõõ põra baxsuko (bride of my sons) | | | |
| | a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ pá:-khõ (niece) (pl. pá:khõ kõra) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ | f |
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ | f |
| Brother-in-law | yõõ nõ'mã mami (axkabi) (brother of my wife) | | | |
| | a) married to meõ-kõ | pẽ-ñã (pl. pẽ-ñã-s'õmõa) or pẽ-ñãkõra) | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) | m |
| | b) married to tẽ-ñõõ | pẽ-ñã | yõõ tẽ-ñã (bridegroom) | m |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the brides and bridegrooms | pẽ-ñã | yõõ piri (91) (pl. pirikõra) | m |

91. According to the information obtained, the term piri is recent and used in all the native languages of the Brazilian Uaupés. It seems to us that it is a corruption of the Portuguese term "primo" /cousin/, which, due to faulty pronunciation, they customarily distort into "pirimo." The following are the arguments that authorize this opinion: 1st, some of the informants do not know the term piri; still more numerous are those who do not know piri-mo or piri-mõ and piri-ma; 2nd, of those who have indicated these terms, no one was able to indicate the plural of piri-mo and of piri-ma, and rare were those who presented that of piri; 3rd, according to the spirit of the Tukano language, piri-mo should be the feminine form.

This acceptance of terms from another language is easy. For example, Antônio Barreto (Tukano) informed us that one of his maternal aunts (mĩ-gõ), who in her first marriage had a Tukano (mẽẽ of the informant) for a husband, married a man from the Yebá-maxsã tribe in her second marriage. Not being able to call him "mẽẽ," of course, he called his new uncle "yõ-ti," a term unknown to the other informants and which in all probability is a corruption of the Portuguese "tio" /uncle/ (yõ-ti would be an abbreviation of yõõ tio, my uncle).

| Kinship | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | or yõõ sêi-mõ (92) | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ mami (brother of my husband) | | | |
| | a) married to wameõ-maxkõ | nihĩ-so-paxkõ (pl. + s'ömõa) (only the mami of the "Gens") | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | | buhi-bakõ (pl. buhi-bakõra) | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) married to maõ-pa-maxkõ | buhi-bakõ | yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ | f |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms" | buhi-bakõ | yõõ piri-mõ | f |
| Sister-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ mamyo (kabyo) (sister of my wife) | | | |
| | a) married to meõ-kõ | buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra) | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) | m |
| | b) married to tẽ-ñõ | buhi-bako | yõõ tẽ-ñõ (bridegroom) | m |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms" | buhi-bako | yõõ p ri-ma | m |
| | yõõ mã-rapõ mamyo (kabyo) (sister of my husband) | | | |
| | a) married to wameõ-maxkõ | syõ (pl. syõkõra or better, syõrĩ-nũ'mya) | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) married to maõ-pa-maxkõ | syõ or buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra) | yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ | f |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms" | syõ or buhi-bako | yõõ piri-ma | f |
| Co-brother-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ pẽ-ñã (my wife's brother-in-law) | pesu (pe'su) (pl. pesu-s'ömõa) | | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ buhi-bakõ (my husband's brother-in-law) | | | f |
| Co-sister-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ buhi-bako (my wife's sister-in-law) | | | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ syõ (my husband's sister-in-law) | nihĩ-so-paxko (pl. + sa-nũ'mya) | | f |

92. Some mentioned the term "sêi-mõ (F. sea-mõ) as equivalent to brother-in-law from a tribe different from that of the baxsukãra. They do not know, however, what the plural form would be. According to another informant, "sêi-mõ" would be a term taken from the Nheengatu language and equivalent to "compatriot," i.e., member of the same tribe or nation.

/458/

619 2) Local or Territorial Group.

628 a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93)

> 93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that not only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

614 592 621 Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large dwelling called maloca, Wi'ĩ pahirĩwi, which means great house, collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

[177] With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort. For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the povoados or groupings of family residences.

[178]

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/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

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[829]

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The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

[574]

97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

/474 cont./

554 614 [601] 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some are earlier and others later, having originated perhaps from some schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 614 829 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear, however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say who would have precedence.

797 • 177 614 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

> 111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

/481 cont./

412 There are still a few hours of daylight: the man goes to prepare his arrows, to separate the tucum for the fishing nets or to work on his little seat or on his sieve. The woman will weave a new hammock or will attend to the preparation of the mandioca for the following day. Each one at his task.

[177] [296] Among the individuals of the new generation, the man will perhaps mend or wash his own clothes, as the woman does hers. All tasks done with tranquillity, in the intimacy of family life, to the rhythm of an animated conversation, with noisy laughter.

When the sun goes down, the wood is already piled up inside the house and the vessels are filled with water. Men and children settle down in their hammocks, while the woman is busy boiling the Ñõxkã, with some wild fruit, and all help themselves with their cuias, like evening tea. *[192]

The conversation continues more briskly, the episodes of the day are picturesquely narrated, the visitors who appeared, the launches they passed, the news of other malocas. When the night is further advanced, it will perhaps be nine o'clock, the doors of the maloca are lowered. Sleep first conquers the children, later the older ones. Around 11 o'clock or later, however, one will hear a question that comes from a hammock, an [illegible] and an answer from another hammock. Afterwards the silence is interrupted only by the crackling of so many small fires in each apartment of the large dwelling. The fire never goes out inside the maloca; at any time of the night one may see some figure jump out of a hammock in order to stir up the fire, indispensable for the cooler hours of the dawn, and to scare away snakes or other animals.

178 412 With the advance of civilization the phenomenon of acculturation takes place, new tasks occupying the time and the attention of the Indians. The rhythm of daily life, however, is always the same, in the maloca as well as in the povoado, for the Indians who have always lived there as well as for those who have spent long years in the boarding schools and have returned to their homes.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



121 societies. In reconstructing tropical forest culture history, note must be taken of the extraordinary ease of cultural transfers over the entire area. For this reason alone knowledge of total cultural systems seems essential. As matters stand now, much reconstruction must be based upon the very unreliable foundation of trait comparisons. What has [177] been of special interest in my study of the Cubeo has been the way in which some widespread cultural traits, particularly masked dances, harvest rites, and sacred trumpets, have been taken up and fitted into distinctive cultural patterns with a focus in an ancestral cult.

133 The Northwest Amazon region is bounded on the south by the Amazon, from where it is joined by the Rio Negro eastward to where the Marañón issues from the Andes. The Guaviare River is its northern boundary, the Andean cordillera bounds it in the west, and the Rio Negro in the east. The principal rivers of the region are the Caquetá, Apaporis, Tiquié, Papurý, Isana, Vaupés (known in Brazil as the Caiarý), Cuduiari, Querari, Aiari, Tie, and Guainia. All drain into the Amazon. Ecologically, the Northwest Amazon is sharply differentiated only from the neighboring Andean region to the west and to a lesser degree from the open prairie or llanos on its northern [137] side. Eastward it fades into the flatter and lower-lying forests of the Amazon. Its southern margin is fixed only by an arbitrary river boundary. It is a densely wooded region of tall trees closely packed and interlaced with vines and lianas. At the river edges the forest growth is lower and more brushlike. It is also an elevated region whose streams are punctuated by hazardous cataracts. On the Vaupés, between Yurupari and the Rio Negro, Dr. Hamilton Rice (1910) counted 30 major cataracts and 60 small ones. The cataracts (*cachoeiras*) are for the Indians focal points of residence. Traditional sites, they often mark tribal and sib boundaries. Every cataract has its petroglyphs that depict mythical figures still known to the Indians. In some areas, as I have observed, the residents of the *cachoeiras* freshen the petroglyphs from time to time with deepening incisions. The rapids are more of a navigational hazard to the European traveler than to the Indians, who are expert canoemen and whose light craft [502] is easily portaged. Dr. Rice, who knew a good deal about the Amazon, [501] declared the Cubeo to be the most expert canoemen on the river. I can also testify to their coolness and skill in navigating their small dugout canoes, that have only an inch or two of freeboard, through the twisting boulder-strewn channel of a thundering rapids.

The land slopes abruptly eastward. In its western part the area is often a tumble of ravine-cut hills, exposed rock, and swamp. The Vaupés flows past high, open, uninhabited mesas. Scattered hills of

[text continues on p. 10]

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be interesting and he recorded tribal distributions and physical conditions of life as well as many customs. It is to Wallace that we owe the first report on mortuary endocannibalism among the Cubeo. Curiously, this information has never been properly authenticated. Wallace learned about it at second hand, as did Koch-Grünberg many years later. I observed what I thought to be this custom, but I could not verify that the bones being prepared for imbibing with chicha were human. The annoyance of the Indians when I accidentally came upon them while they were reducing bones to meal and pouring it into the chicha at the conclusion of a mourning ceremony led me to suspect that the bones were human. In response to my questions, however, no Cubeo would confirm my conjectures.

Wallace (1870, p. 354) traveled up the Vaupés to the mouth of the Cuduiari River at the rapids of Uaracapuri, where he observed a community of several malocas. He did not enter the Cuduiari, reporting only that to his knowledge no European had ever gone up that river. As for the Vaupés, this river, particularly in its Brazilian reaches, had in Wallace's time already become an important artery of European trade. Along the Isana River Wallace noted that the Indians were living in European-style dwellings. The Cuduiari then had the reputation of a totally wild region. The Cubeo Indians seen by Wallace were still wearing large circular wooden plugs in their ears. By 1903, in the time of Koch-Grünberg, this form of male ornamentation had already been given up.

Curt Nimuendajú surveyed the Isana, Aiari, and Vaupés rivers in 1927. In his notes, published posthumously in 1950, it is revealed that he correctly identified Tucano and Cubeo descent groups as patrilineal clans. He did not, however, enter the Cuduiari, and his information on that river, being secondhand, is not too reliable.

My own field work on the Cuduiari began in September 1939 and continued through June 1940. (Goldman, 1948, is a preliminary report.) The Cuduiari had the advantage of being relatively accessible and as yet almost completely unacculturated. I decided upon the Cuduiari after a survey of the Cubeo communities along the Vaupés.

## CULTURE CHANGE

Cubeo culture has been subjected to acculturative influences from two sources, one from other Indian tribes and the other from European, Colombian, and Brazilian missionaries, settlers, traders, and latex extractors. Cultural interchange among Indian tribes in the Northwest Amazon region is, of course, an old and intricate process,

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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character
[342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilocal
[596] families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor. The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its trib-
[553] utaries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social seg-
[614] ments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted a[illegible] into
[796] one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kówai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yaví*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul-
197 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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back to Arawakan, so that the young people were still Tucanoan speakers while their elders were already back to Arawakan (1909, I, 116). Where Arawakan and Tucanoan coexist, Koch-Grünberg has observed, Arawakan becomes the language of ritual and Tucanoan the everyday language (1909, II, 182). 177 197

In general the region of the Vaupés, the only part of the Northwest Amazon that I can speak of from personal knowledge, exhibits a high degree of cultural cosmopolitanism. Many Indians are multilingual because of the frequency of intermarriage with other linguistic groups and the love of the Indians for travel and intertribal trade. Not only do the Indians have some knowledge of the standard languages in the region, but they also employ the *lingoa geral*, a lingua franca based on Tupían, and many are conversant with Spanish and Portuguese. As they adopt languages the Indians also adopt new customs; these are always welcomed, almost in the same way in which women eagerly acquire from one another new varieties of manioc, or in the way in which men and women collect and try to cultivate almost anything that grows. This, in short, is not a region of cultural conservatism. Having freshly arrived from an ethnographic survey in the Colombian Andes, I was literally overwhelmed by the contrast between the secretiveness and wariness of the highland Indians and the openness and friendliness of the Cubeo. 197

Of course, the question of cultural relations between Tucanoans and Arawakans is one of great complexity and uncertainty. We have only the most general knowledge of these relations; but even this provides a very useful background for understanding the nature of Indian-white relations and of Cubeo acculturation. The essential point in this background would seem to be what I have called the Indian's cosmopolitanism. I speak now only for the Indians of the Cuduiari. There, it has seemingly provided a strong measure of immunity against the potentially overwhelming effects of European contacts.

The Northwest Amazon has been subject to persistent white influence from the sixteenth century onward.[2] As early as 1557 Francisco Perez de Quesada founded the community of Mocoa on the Caquetá River. The Dominicans entered the region in 1550, the Franciscans some 20 years later. Prior to their expulsion in 1767 the Jesuits founded many missions on the Orinoco, on the Meta, on the Casanare, on the Guaviare, and on the Vichada. On the Vaupés proper the first mission was founded in 1852 at Carurú by P. Gregorio, a Carmelite. 175 177 797

[2] For historical background consult: Archivo do Amazonas, 1908; Bauer, 1919; Coudreau, 1886-87, II, 153 ff., for missions on the Vaupés; Gumilla, 1791; Koch-Grünberg, 1909; Martius, 1867, I, 391 ff.

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He succeeded in bringing together a village of some 300 Indians. By 1881 the mission was disbanded and the Indians returned to their original communities. At about the same time the mission of Santa Cruz dos Cobeus was established at Mitú *cachoeira* near the Cuduiarí. Missionary activity in the region has been generally discontinuous but nonetheless energetic; and while Christian doctrine has left only a vague imprint in native religious practices it has succeeded in acquainting the Indians with new ideas of dress and in disturbing their convictions about some practices such as cannibalism. For a period between 1875 and the early 1900's there was a flurry of nativist agitation in the Vaupés. Between 1875 and 1878 an Indian from the Isana River, called Anizetto, reportedly a hermaphrodite, led a messianic movement against the whites until he was arrested by the Brazilian authorities. In 1880 a shaman who called himself Vicente Cristo led another messianic movement along the middle Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg observed that the native messianic leaders were always Arawakan-speaking (1809, I, 39). There is nothing to suggest that any of these movements ever took strong hold on the Indians. On the Cuduiarí tangible evidences either of Christian influence or of native messianism were slight in 1940.

European commercial penetration started slowly but reached a sudden expansion with the rubber boom that subsided shortly before World War I. The Putumayo, where thousands of Indians perished in the rubber camps, was a notorious and baleful focus of white influence (Hardenburg, 1912). From then on the Indians and the whites along the Vaupés were in constant contact and in frequent conflict. On the lower Vaupés in Brazilian territory many Indian tribes had taken on the outward appearance of the mestizo, or caboclo as he is called in Brazil, as early as 1852, when Wallace was there. The upper Vaupés in Colombian territory retained its true Indian character for very much longer. The Cuduiarí was still very strongly native at the time of my field work in 1939-40.

Only close study will reveal how far acculturation has gone even among those Indians most closely associated with the whites on the main streams. There the Indians wear the dress of the mestizo, live in European-style shacks, and celebrate the Christian holidays. They also carry out native ceremonials, not, to be sure, with the traditional elegance, but strongly enough to suggest that a good deal of native life goes on beneath the shabby surface of ragged clothing, poor housing, and the litter of cheap manufactured utensils and ornaments.

The resistance of the Indians of the Cuduiarí to cultural loss and breakdown may be attributed in the main to relative isolation, but

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in part, I believe, to cosmopolitanism, to the capability of the Indians to adopt foreign objects and foreign customs without losing their sense of identity as Indian. As long as the point of view remains Indian, the culture may change but it will still retain for the Indian a distinctive and satisfying pattern. It is when the clear identification as Indian in the cultural sense is lost that change is likely to mean breakdown. 177 182

Cosmopolitanism is but one general factor in a process of culture change that is exceedingly intricate and subtle, in which there are no clear-cut stages but endless gradations in the transition from Indian to the new cultural and psychological entity that emerges. Another general factor is the white agent. On the Cuduiari the white man does not intrude directly upon the Indian's daily life. The missionary expects the Indian to come to him at the mission station. Even then the missionary effort is a patient one. Mainly it goes through the children who are educated at the mission school. Mission Indians and tribal Indians lead different lives but they are not mutually antagonistic. Between them there is a gradation but not a gap. 177 797

The commercial white man, the rubber collector (*balatero*), or the trader has only a limited interest in the Indians. The Indian, having completed his contract work in the rubber forest, returns to his own community and is instantly enmeshed in the tribal life. But even in the rubber forests his associates have been fellow Indians, of foreign tribes, to be sure, but to this experience the Indian has been well accustomed. As for the white employer, he is often less a carrier of European culture than he is a frontiersman, a distinct tropical forest product himself. He is partly Indianized and he is generally the husband of an Indian wife. 177 464

Among the Mundurucú of central Brazil, as vividly described by Robert Murphy (1960), an anthropologist, work in the rubber forests and the contractual production of farinha, a manioc flour, for the white man were potent factors in the disruption, indeed in the virtual obliteration, of the native culture. To compare Mundurucú with Cubeo is to set off a society that has become ugly and disordered with its meager hoard of cheap objects of white manufacture with a well-ordered and fundamentally satisfying way of life. Unlike the Mundurucú, the Cubeo have succeeded in withstanding both the rubber forest and manioc trade. Far from being overcome, the Cubeo have been able to use the income from labor in the rubber forests and from the sale of farinha to further their own cultural objectives. Murphy tells of the insatiable longing of the Mundurucú for the trinkets and gadgets of the white trader. For these objects of intrin- 176 177 182

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177 sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom
182 and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's
[171] trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small mestizo-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand,
[342] when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments
[796] he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a
[346] residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are
177 stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness.
291 As late as 1903 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper
182 Vaupés and all over the Cuduiarí where the women were totally naked and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiarí and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

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men have learned to wear trousers and a cotton tunic at home. For ceremony, however, they wear only the perineal band, now made of trade cloth. For women the skirt has replaced the ornamental ceremonial apron, but for men ceremonial participation in trousers means an important change in outlook in which the ceremony has become secularized. I learned this from young Indian men, visitors to the Cuduiari, who, wearing the cotton trousers and tunic of the mestizo, insisted in explaining to me that they were taking part in dances "just for fun." In the truly solemn ceremonies on the Cuduiari I saw no man in European dress. 177 291 182

The use of Spanish or Portuguese is another sign of change in cultural identification. But here, too, the process is complex. Indian cosmopolitanism is traditionally multilingual. Wives often speak distinct dialects of Tucanoan or else speak Cariban or Arawakan. Children learn the language of the mother first and then learn to speak Cubeo. The Tupian lingua franca has been a traditional trade language between Indians as well as between Indian and white for a very long time. Thus, the Indian who has learned Spanish and Portuguese is simply extending his multilingualism. These European languages have also come to play an important role in native interrelationships. Spanish and/or Portuguese has become the customary language of violent drunken quarrels among men at a drinking party. Used in this context the insults and threats in a foreign language are less ominous, and easier, therefore, to disregard than the same words uttered in the native language. The Cubeo usage is as with us: the foreign phrase used scatologically modifies the impact. Thus, in this respect the Cubeo adoption of foreign European phrases is a matter of enriching the native culture and is far from being a mark of cultural breakdown. I met only a few Indians on the Vaupés and none on the Cuduiari who had given up their native speech in favor of Spanish or Portuguese. 177 182 191

The use of European personal names offers another example of adaptation to the native cultural pattern. Among the Cubeo, personal names come from the traditional genealogy of the sib. They have a sacred character and are not used freely. Knowing a person's sib name is a sign of intimacy and such intimacy is not readily yielded up. I did not learn native personal names for weeks, and even at the end, one of the more embarrassing questions I could ask was simply a person's sib name. In common discourse kinship designations were used. The native name is not so much an appellation as it is sib identification. The headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib was the first to tell me his name. He uttered it in a whisper close to my ear. Thus, for the Cubeo, 177 551 182 614 [123]

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177 Thus, for the Cubeo,
551 being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most
182 exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It
[553] has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a
[123] European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiari who had a European name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

177 On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tribu-
[797] taries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civilized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no cultivated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for
[464] which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor. At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in 1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

177 Many Indians of the Cuduiari had visited Mitú, the capital of the
648 *Comisaría* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in 1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station. After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important administrative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio station, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business. Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiari were not altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

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with its white residents, they had no reason not to regard it as a 177 ●
friendly place. The *Comisaría* protected their labor rights, supervis- 648
ing terms of contract and entertaining their complaints of unfair treatment. When an Indian completed his term of labor he was "paid off" in the presence of an official in charge of Indian affairs. The Indians regarded the government as fair. The *Comisaría* provided medical aid to those Indians who came to seek it. At the same time it respected native life and interfered with the Indians as little as possible. Although the Cuduiarí is readily accessible from Mitú it was [114] entered only rarely by administrative personnel. When I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* some 15 hours by canoe from Mitú, I had the sense of total isolation from this administrative center. The normal everyday life on the Cuduiarí was completely Indian. In the time of Wallace there had been bad blood between Indians and Colombians, but by the time Koch-Grünberg arrived relations between the Cubeo and the government had already become peaceable.

In Mitú I met Mandú, headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib of the middle 122
Cuduiarí. He had come to seek medical treatment for his young son, 123
who had injured his knee in a fall. The headman and I became friends [614]
and he invited me to visit. When I promptly accepted his invitation I was surprised to find that he had already begun to build a house for me and that the Indians had expected me to settle among them. He had discussed the matter with his people, he told me later, and they had agreed that it would be good to have me live among them. The reasons for wanting me never became too clear, but I came to believe that they thought I would offer them some protection from the pressure of the labor recruiters.

I was informally "adopted" as the younger brother of Mandú. For 123
a while people were amused to address me by an appropriate kinship [597]
term. In time this jest lost its freshness and I came to be regarded simply as *pakomá* (kinsman). Nevertheless, I was considered to be a member of Mandú's household even though I had a house of my own alongside the maloca. Mandú sent his older wife, with whom he was no longer living, to serve as my cook. With Mandú's household I had all the privileges of informality. My relations with other households were friendly but more restrained. Since I did not contribute an appropriate share of fish and game to the household, or to the maloca as a whole, I felt obliged to reciprocate food and services with periodic gifts of cloth, tobacco, fishhooks, and ammunition. At one time during a drinking party at which I was not present, a son of Mandú distributed all my trade goods to the guests "in my behalf." However, during the period of many weeks when I no longer had trade goods

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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

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361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden
is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for
casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the
garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the
latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and
everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was defi-
nitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual
significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man
was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[844] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity
[854] of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are
no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual
hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
241 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[27] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[245] cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*),
pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco,
*mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[177] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from
the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then
regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that be-
longs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahi-
kina* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch-Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the up-river communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 8a). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5). 361 554

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence. 361 554 648. 177

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiarí, for example, a trail leads to the Querarí. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker. 487 [721] [481]

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller. 621 311 453 244 [622]

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another — architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. 621 592 [162] [342] [578]

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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiari; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way. 621 182

Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain. 621 342 182 [592]

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses. [171]

In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y generál*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habókũ*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kenámi upákũ* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along 178 342 621 614 [177]

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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

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773 From *Kúwai*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment — a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each [251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [417] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [614] basket and is called *nyukdro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. [237] They sing songs (*mdopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaieteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 484 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 574 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for 602 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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224 pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his [177] small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting [593] party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood [614] brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, [151] of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are ex- [157] cellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*vekú*), who is awaited at a salt lick near 224 a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, 825 arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase 224 the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed [184] quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The [262] Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I partici- [114] pated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped near- by, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as [251] entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused 224 themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal 614 had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib [431] house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presen- tation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for 224 prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has sur- rendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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factured goods into the stream of trade – cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves.

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiari had spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods – chickens, fish, and fruit.

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business.

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615 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their
614 part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hier-
614 archical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social structure and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither,
554 as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo. Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no
[301] actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of
[177] seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that
[721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political au-
614 thority over the entire Cuduiarí.

The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point
[613] whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old
[867] man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

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pared. The defense leader was the headman's son. An earlier alarm had already brought the Independents to the main house and a boy had been sent to call in the Satellites and to warn the neighboring sibs. The headman's son, after a hasty consultation with the other young adults, decided upon a psychological defense. He fetched a police officer's discarded white tunic with brass buttons and shoulder straps that he had been cherishing, put it on over his bare body, and strode out to frighten the enemey. The women and children were assembled in the maloca with one man as their guard. Other men fanned out through the manioc gardens and into the surrounding brush to search out the enemy. One stray shot was fired by a defender. The house was kept under guard for several nights thereafter and then the danger was declared past. 721 723

An attack by the Cariban Umaua (*Maúnuwa*) that occurred three generations ago is still vividly recalled. The *Bahúkiwa*, warned that the enemy was ascending the Cuduiarí by canoe, prepared an ambush. They dammed the river with the bark sheeting of house walls and waited to assail the enemy with bow and arrow. But the enemy were armed with rifles and they killed a great many of the *Bahúkiwa*. 726 648 [173]

When the attackers first came, the Indians on the Cuduiarí did not know whether they were men or women, because they wore their hair long and were dressed in long shirts. The Umaua attacks were so fierce that for several years the Indians were forced to abandon the Cuduiarí altogether. Some gave up farming and lived on the savannah, foraging fruits and nuts and eating tree bark. When they finally returned to the Cuduiarí, the manioc plantations were all gone and they had to resume manioc cultivations from seeds they had preserved. The other Indians of the Cuduiarí gathered on the Vaupés under the direction of a *Hehénewa* war leader, who told them that the white man would save them from their enemies. He made a clay image called a *tupana* (the Tupian and lingua franca for a deity). They danced and sang for two months, until a Colombian came. The idea of the *tupana* came, they say, from a Brazilian caboclo. When the Colombian arrived, he told them that he had heard their singing in Bogotá and had come to rescue them. They then returned to their former homes on the Cuduiarí. 648 722 648 [789] [177]

In past years raids were more frequent and determined.[3] The Cubeo fought with bow and arrow and protected themselves with body-length shields of stiffened animal hide, deer, jaguar, or tapir. The 726 411 714

[3] Tribes with whom the Indians of the Cuduiarí claim to have fought include the Cariban Umaua, all the formerly Arawakan sibs of the Querarí River, tribes of the Isana River, and the *Hehénewa*, after they had arrived from the Papurí. [648]

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Apart from the Ancients there is *Kúwai*, who has been referred to here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the area share *Kúwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. There are no rites involving *Kúwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Kúwai* in the past. *Kúwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Kúwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Kúwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Kúwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkũ* (my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*kawáno*) in a house with his wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkũ*, an Ancient, but *himénihinkũ* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been badly understood by the Indians of the Cuduiari, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkũ* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without exception reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupían and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahúkiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true beneficent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yavi* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yavi* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yavi*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yavi*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yavi* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives. 754 756

The *yavis* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokübéwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yavi* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakü dekókü* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several [828] [177] [776] 754 775 825

*El Diablo*

Mitú had met his death with two of his Indians when their canoe overturned. 122
The upper reaches of the river have a gentler gradient, passing through softer sandstones instead of the hard igneous rocks of the lower course. Nonetheless we soon had to negotiate our first rapids. To the uninitiated eye it seemed impossible to pass through, but Candilo, after one false attempt when the motor stalled, took the half-loaded *Vencedor* skilfully through the jutting boulders. Donald followed with our smaller motor powering the loaded *El Diablo*, her bows nosing into the frothing water and the waves breaking over the fuel drums. This was our first rapid; we had no idea that we would have so many more to negotiate before the end of our journey. Brian examined the rocks, chipping off pieces, looking at them through a lens and packing samples away for our geological collection. Then we lashed the canoes together as fast as possible and continued to creep along the banks, eating our lunch of dry biscuits and *farinha* – a thirst-quenching mixture of manioc flour and water, the Indian's habitual meal when travelling.

The tropical sunset is swift, with no extended twilight, and so by five-thirty each day we had to stop travelling and quickly find a break in the forested bank where we could make camp. Our boats tied and the cooking equipment ashore, we set about cutting a clearing. Horacio was a cook *par excellence*. Years of travel had taught him that the most efficient stove was to be made from a tall biscuit tin; you made your fire at the bottom and placed the pressure cooker on the top. We were eating our diet of rice and corned beef within half an hour of landing and, slinging our hammocks, were soon gazing up at the starry sky, listening to the croak of the bullfrogs.

Soon we left behind the wide Vaupés with its deserted forest banks and entered the black enclosed waters of the Río Ti. With the dry season already well advanced and with less water every day, we were forced to unlash our two canoes and continue with one following the other. The stream narrowed, the black waters shallowed and the white sandbanks crept closer on every bend. Near the mouth of the river we had arranged for two more Indians, the brothers Matias and Bernavez, to come to help us. They 114
knew the route through to the Piraparaná and they warned us that, with our heavy loads, we were going to find the journey extremely difficult – unless it rained. Their warning was fully justified, for with the lower river level the fallen tree trunks formed one long barricade to our movement upstream. In the rainy season with the high water, one could float over them, but now every trunk had to be cut. Fortunately the Indians were experts with our axes, their muscular bodies perched precariously on a water-borne log, the axe falling rhythmically against the hard wood, the water splashing up into their faces. These were civilized Indians who could speak Spanish; they had [177] [191] •

*Working a* trapiche, *a press for crushing the juice from sugar cane.* 000

 [see p. 38-B]

114
• 177 originally worked wild rubber for one of the great rubber barons and they
191 had earned their clothing in exchange for their labours. Their torn trousers were only a veneer of the civilized world, for here they seemed to come into their own element: they talked to each other in Tukano; they became alert to the forest they knew so well.

122 We were living in a closed world of limited horizons, on either side the
[136] thick forest, ahead the river and above a ribbon of sky. Giant emerald king-
[137] fishers with orange heads and long black beaks darted out in front of us. Myriads of white butterflies rose off the sandbanks, settling on our bodies to enjoy the salty sweat. On occasions we saw a delicate wader like a sandpiper bob up and down on the sand near the water's edge. The water had now changed colour, no longer black but a deep wine red, as it flowed over the
[134] pale sandy bed. We supposed this colour was due to the high iron content in the rock.

Our first major halt was made at Pedro's house. He had established himself as a tradesman between the Indians on the upper Piraparaná and the
[439] civilized rubber gatherers of Mitú. He bought *farinha* from the Tukano in exchange for fish-hooks, salt and cloth. His magnificent thatched house was a foretaste of what we were to see. But the occupants with their dishevelled clothes, the sheets of crude rubber hanging from the beams and the iron cooking pots, seemed a strange paradox.

We unloaded all our equipment, sending Candilo and his assistant back to Mitú with *Vencedor* and the larger outboard motor. With him went one of our valuable cameras whose shutter had jammed during the first day, and a note to Nestor in Bogotá, warning him of the difficulties he would encounter and advising him again to travel as light as possible. Of the now depleted party, José and Uriel were to be our guides throughout the journey; Matias would ensure that we reached the first Indian habitation on the Piraparaná; while Bernavez went on ahead in his dugout canoe carrying two drums of our fuel. We were joined by one more man, old Miguez, who brought his own small Indian canoe. From now on we would have to make double journeys with *El Diablo* until we reached Indians who would carry our loads in their own canoes.

Next morning, while Donald and Horacio repacked much of the kit, Brian and José went ahead with a small load in *El Diablo*. The Ti narrowed and then divided; here our route towards the Piraparaná portage lay up a tiny tributary, the Caño Berada or Fish Bow Creek, as it was known to the Indians. With our arrival in the Berada, a mere stream flowing out of the undergrowth, our whole mode of travel changed. We could no longer use the motor; instead we had to push the boat upstream. We spent the rest of the day waist-deep in water, clambering over submerged timbers and occasional rocks; an Indian out in front cut a way through the fallen trees.

Christmas Day saw us cross two rock ledges where the boat had to be com-

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [2] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921–22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

• 177 563 61- 582 [3] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Caboclos are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1965). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of caboclos. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "*cabaco*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be caboclos.

000 [4] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

124 191 [5] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data *about* each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 101 197 [6] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

[P. 683-B]

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Among the components of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry all these models of social structure are disappearing. Today it is very rare to find among the members of this phratry marriages between cross cousins, and there have appeared, with this social dislocation, new kinship terms that correspond to the new patterns of marriage and kinship. It would be interesting to see to what point the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry varies from the other Tukana phratries, but so far it has been impossible to undertake this work.

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224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
•[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano [262] [753] [178] Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

773 177 [128] [114] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, 115 756 Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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## Chapter III

### Malocas (Baxsasé-wi'seri) and Povoados (Maxka)

133 The Uaupés pours its waters into the Rio Negro by two mouths, separated by the "Ilha das Flores" /Island of Flowers/ (former Ilha do Umirí, wextí-nãxkãro) and islets, dotted besides with innumerable stones and rocks: the southern mouth, with three bars formed by the reefs and the "Cachoeira do Tamanduá," its entrance being more difficult; the northern one, also with many rocks and the "Cachoeira do Carapanã."

361 Whoever goes up it will find at short intervals huts, or groups of huts, two or three here, eight or ten farther on, and even eighteen or twenty. They are the "Povoados" /populated [103] places/ (maxkã), as those of the region call them. They will have the name of a Saint as a Patron, or of some geographic accident, a native name, or any other one chosen, it seems, by chance, as happens in general with national toponymy. The names are ordinarily from the Nheengatú language or Língua geral and correspond to others in Tukano, almost always as mere translation. It is difficult to say whether the original name is the Tukano one, and the one from the língua geral, by which it is known, is only a translation, or vice versa.

178 361 592 [797] Until 1924, from the Cachoeira de Ipanoré upwards, there were only malocas (1),

1. Maloca is the name of the large collective dwelling (cf. VI, 1).

reports Padre João Marchesi, the veteran Salesian Missionary of the Uaupés. The replacement of the malocas by family houses and the appearance of small povoados, due to the influence of the Salesian Missions, date from that year. At present (1958) malocas only exist either in the interior of the forests or on the banks of the Uaupés River above Iutica and on the Tiquié above Carurú-Cachoeira.

The native tradition preserves the name and the location of malocas and human assemblages that have now disappeared. As documentation we present the lists below. For some places, in this middle of the twentieth century, there is only underbrush to mark the place where the human hand felled the virgin forest and built a maloca.

563 /65/ 4. Observations -- 1st. As we have just seen, small groups of a nation are found close to or even in the midst of other nations. Natural sociability or the requirements of circumstances relate these human groups to one another. The consequences of these relations are several:

191 The first, one language becoming general, that of the
197 Tukano nation, as an idiom common to several tribes, in such
[177] a way that on the lower Uaupés up to Iauareté almost all the
[178] adult persons (19)

19. This observation dates from 1947, soon after our first excursion to the Uaupés. We verified then, upon entering the area inhabited by the Wanana, that very rarely individuals of this tribe could understand one or another common Tukano phrase. In 1957 a certain number of persons who not only understood the Tukano idiom well, but also used it in conversations among themselves were already encountered in all the povoados from Cururú downward, among the former students of the Mission of Iauareté, or among the adults who had been employed there for some time. In our work on the Tukano language, we noticed the complacency of the young people, who had attended Mission schools, in speaking the Tukano idiom among themselves. We seemed to discover in this complacency only a touch of proudness, as if there were a superiority over their own parents and other elderly persons, and not because it could afford them a means of conversation among companions, exempt from the control of the "old ones."

speak, besides the language of their tribe (20),

20. It is to be noted that it did not lead to the formation of a language, with elements not connected with the others, as has happened in similar conditions, for example, the Sabir (miscellany of Italian, French, Spanish, Greek,

/65 cont./

191 /footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in
197 the Mediterranean ports.

It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing. In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

[178] [115] [126]

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

177 Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even
178 elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

[563] [582]

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

000 2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

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142 Black hair, or more commonly dark brown, almost black,
144 straight, shiny, coarse and thick; many times, though, burned by the sun (6).

6. Among the Makú, Íde-masã, Roéra-masã, Yebá-masã, Hanẽrã, Edúrya, and Ba:re-masã, cymotrichous types are common. We could see and photograph some women who exhibited black hair that was fine and cacheados /curled in ringlets/.

178 The ones who have attended school wear it in a regular length,
302 combed, and parted on the left side; the others have it cut with scissors with a short fringe on the forehead, behind the ears, and on the neck. Up to a century ago they used to let it grow in long braids (7),

7. A. Russell Wallace wrote in 1850: "The men do not cut the hair, they let it hang in front in a long braid, tying it around with cords, or they let it fall in the middle of the back, often as far as the thighs. The hair of the women falls loosely over the shoulders and is cut with a moderate length" (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 616).

which might reach as far as the thigh. The women, instead, trimmed it a little, perhaps in order not to be inconvenienced in their work. Today the women have it a little below the shoulders, more or less fastened with a ribbon or pin. One sees some children with the hair quite shorn, but growing in breadth, as if it were a lion's mane (8).

8. Hair cut this way, "like a lion's mane," although with a wider zone, that is, about 5 or 6 centimeters, has been seen, likewise, in caboclo children of the Rio Negro. Perhaps the natives have imitated these examples.

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304 They do not practice any deformation of the body (11),

11. Nevertheless the Ouvidor /Auditor/ Francisco Xavier R. de Sampaio, in his "Diário" of the year 1774-5, notices, in No. 318, concerning the river Anauene, tributary of the Rio Negro: "This river is inhabited by the Aruaquí nation, very warlike and anthropophagous, but without any artificial deformity such as those customarily practiced by the nations of the Amazon." And about the Uaupés (No. 381) he says that they pierced the ears and the lower lip. This is confirmed at the end of the eighteenth century by Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, "Noticias Geographicas da Capitania do Rio Negro no grande Rio Amazonas /Geographical Notes on the Capitania of Rio Negro on the great Amazon River/," No. 208), and 50 years later Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, pp. 245 and 634) adds that the Kubeo /Cubeo/ enlarge it more, in such a way that a bottle cork could pass through the orifice of the ear. Perhaps this custom is already being lost. We did not find even one individual with such a large orifice in the ears, and we were able to observe several hundreds of Kubêwãna on the upper Uaupés and on the Querarí. The largest orifice we could observe would measure one centimeter in diameter, and we saw it on a man of the Roéra-masã tribe, residing on the Igarapé Comé-ia, tributary of the river Pirá-paraná.

except for the piercing of the ear lobes, from where they hang the earrings at the dances. Outside of this occasion, in order to keep the orifice open, they introduce a small stick from the ribs of palm trees. Among the men of the new generation, in the povoados assisted by the Salesian Missions, many no longer pierce the lobes.

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# Chapter VI

## Material Culture

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### 1. Dwelling, wi'ĩ.

Under the name of material culture (Sachkultur of the German authors), we mean the conjunction of objects that the forest dweller produces for the necessities of life. They are, properly speaking, the material objects in which they manifest their cultural level.

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The tribes that we have studied are not nomads. They have been established in the actual phase in which we found them for several generations or centuries (as far as the record completed by some pieces of information from the first travelers extends) in the same place, from where they move only because of epidemics or fights. The dissident group then goes to build a new house or to start another povoado, ordinarily not very far from the first one, perhaps barely a few kilometers away. Even today malocas that are quite old, half a century perhaps, are admired. Particular circumstances (fire, storm, etc.) might likewise force the construction of a new maloca. The Indian always prefers to make a new house instead of repairing the old one, if it is greatly damaged. Although for the new construction he will often make use of the beams and, more commonly, the straw of the covering, especially if it is still good and he would have to go very far to find new straw. Thus, in dealing with sedentary tribes, it is natural that we find good dwellings. Since it is a zone with frequent and torrential rains, the simple construction of clay is not suitable.

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The system of covering, peókaro, is always that of two slopes and with great inclination, so that the drip of the roof will remain only a meter or a little more above the ground. The palm for the covering will vary according to the resources of the region: they generally use the caraná (maurítia flexuósa, Wall.), pũ'sẽ, because, besides protecting well from the rains, it lasts for many years. They usually complete the covering starting from the drip.

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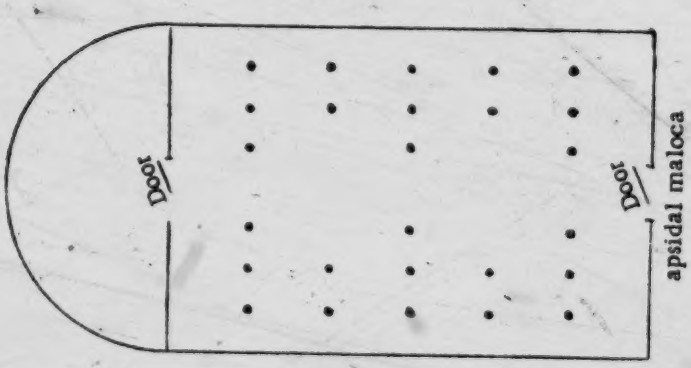
342 *[192] [178] At present all the malocas that are still found in the region of the Uaupés and its tributaries are rectangular. Up to 40 years ago, one saw some with the posterior part of roundish shape, like an apse, called do'ákaro-tirí-wy'í (maloca with kitchen) (2).

2. The maloca of the Tuyuka in Pinó-koa-liró on the upper Tiquié, which Koch Grünberg affirmed measured 27x17.80x7.80 meters, was apsidal in this way (Zwei Iahre, 204).




353 *[192] [421] This /174/ apse was separated, in the interior of the maloca, by a partition of matting that was called i'mña-ta'tyá (separation of matting). The family of the tuxaua resided in this apsidal compartment, and the ornaments, musical instruments, and utensils of common use, which constituted the collective property of the group, were kept in it.

177 342 *[192] With the increase in comfort of the Indians and in the instinct of ownership (and up to a certain point it is imitation or even the prompting of the civilized), there appear small houses, wi'í,

/175 cont./

178 342 The Tuyuka maloca of the place S. Pedro (upper Tiquié), in the vicinity of the Colombian border, was (in 1947) one of the oldest ones. We have seen similar ones in other tribes (Tukano, Kubẽwãna, Wanãna, Bara, Karapanã, Ide-masã, Hanẽrã, Ihwãna, Roéra, and Baniva). During our visit in 1954 we verified that it had already been abandoned.

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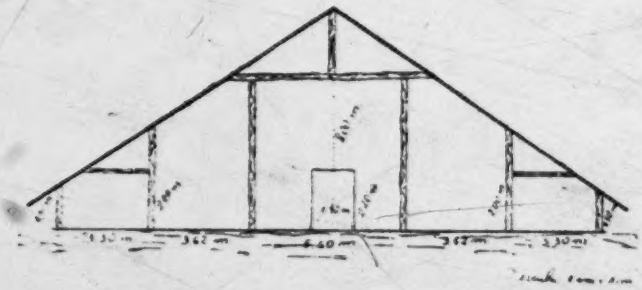


Tuyuka maloca (S. Pedro, river Tiquié)

It was built according to the ancient customs. We shall describe it, then, as a model of this type of construction. It was rectangular, measuring 27.60 meters in length by 18 meters in width. The covering was of two slopes, with a quite pronounced declivity for rapid flow. On the interior it measured 7.30 meters in height up to the ridge, ending at 90 centimeters from the ground, in such a way that the side walls measured only 1.52 meters in height. The caraná roof extended a little farther in the part corresponding to the doors, in order to protect them from the rains.

The main walls followed the classical style, that is, they were made of tree bark up to 2.5 meters of height, and afterwards *[192] of assai plaiting. The side walls were of pehé.

/187 cont./

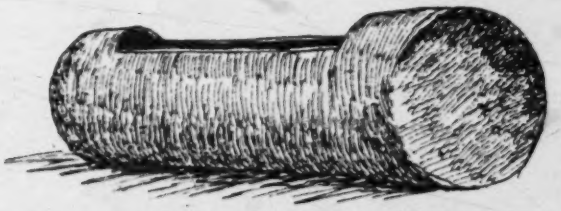
352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 276 [796] [178] /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utĩkaro yaxpú or also utĩkaro seré, or again mõrõ dõxkõ (?) (in Nheengatú emapú). In the dabacurís /religious celebrations/ the use of tobacco in the form of a large cigar, utĩkaro, about 20 centimeters long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utĩkaro is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 273 415 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pêru yuxkõ-sõ properly speaking means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú iwá, hence the term ubá, which means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxiri tub (pêru juxkõ-sõ)

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*192 285 e) Through contact with the civilized, these plaited products are starting to have new applications. We recall here that on the Amazon they are called panacarica (in Tukano yuxkõ-sõ-mõarõ) and decorrera (moãri kaxsero or simply moãrõ, Uaupés moãnõ). The former is a straight cover for the canoes and small launches and is attached to fixed supports. The latter, on the other hand, of curved shape, is a movable cover and, because of this, small and light, and rests directly on the edges of the canoes. Ordinarily it is the custom to make the decorrera out of palm leaves with quite a tight mesh; whereas the panacarica consists of two superimposed mats, plaited out of cipo and with wide mesh, and between them a layer of palm or arumã leaves.

285 291 f) They also customarily plait out of cipo a hat with a wide brim, up to a meter in diameter, and, as in the panacarica, they combine two hats, and between them, in the manner of buckram, a layer of arumã leaves. Such hats are especially used for protection from the sun in the clearings and on canoe trips, and also from the rain, although they become uncomfortable because of the weight of the water.

*[192] Other plaited products worth mentioning are those that are used in fishing, such as nassas, cacurís, etc., which are mentioned later (cf. VI - 5, a (2)).

e) Weapons.

1) Weapons used as festival ornaments.

*192 • 178 411 a) Tangapema. The sacrificial club, or tanga-pema (in Nheengatú cuidarú or also acanga-pema, that is, head-flattener), in Tukano uxpí-o-phĩ, was formerly a war weapon of the chiefs. Afterwards, as was already observed by Gonçalves Dias ("Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas," Vol. II, p. 671), it became only a symbol of authority at the festivals and disappeared almost completely. The natives of the present generation only know its name, uxpí-o-phĩ. One of them remembered having seen it with special paintings, "in order to inspire valor and bring luck to the warrior." Others supplied the information that they had heard from the old people, to wit, that before leaving /199/ for

/199 cont./

*192 war expeditions with their tangapemas, and in order to become
• 178 invisible to the enemies and invulnerable to their blows, they
411 painted themselves with the juice of the batata uxpí. Moreover,
[276] they smoked a big cigar called uxpí-mõrõ, decorated with symbolic paintings, in order to become more courageous.

Koch Grünberg still found some clubs or tangapemas in the Namakoliba maloca, upper Uaupés (Zwei Jahre, 301). They were of a dark red wood, measuring 112 centimeters in length, with the handle painted and the other end wider. The Kubêwana and related tribes used them then for the dances and occasionally also as a seat in the canoe. It may be concluded that the war club of the Omawa is proof of the eastern origin of this Karaíba tribe, because it is similar to that of the tribes of the Guianas. Actually, among these tribes the upper end of the club terminates in a sharp point, in order to run through the fallen enemy, with a coup de grâce, in the temple or in the ear.

178 b) In battle, moreover, they formerly used a shield, called
714 in Tukano baxtí-pá:karo; it was woven out of cipo and was very
535 light, but efficient against arrows. Today it is rarely seen and,
*192 up to the beginning of this century (information from Pe. João Marchesi), was used as dance attire, which they wore on the left arm when they went to drink their cuia /gourd/ of kaxpí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2) ).

c) Likewise only a dance implement today (as far as we could observe) is the lance, yõxsẽrĩ-phĩ, which essentially is only a heavy rounded stick about two meters in length and ending in a sharp point. They use it in the dabacurí dances, and the "golpe-ao-branco" /blow to the white/ is performed with it (cf. VII -- 4, e (2 and 3) ).

177 2) Bow. The only indigenous weapons of present-day use,
178 and, even so, of very limited use on the Uaupés, are the bow
411 and the sarabatana /blowgun/. The tribes farthest in the interior
*[192] of the forests, with few or no relations with the civilized, use them more. On the other hand, contact with civilization supplied the natives with shotgun, machetes, and axes, which, unfortunately, are used in the fights and reciprocal vengeance.

/211 cont./

291 *[192] • [178] [535] [531] *[192]

of the women, called in Nheengatú muruarí, it is similar to a small apron of about 20 centimeters in length by 10 centimeters in width. Nowadays it is only a dance ornament which the women exhibit together with the painting; or they are even without it and only painted. With the jewelry that they have obtained from the civilized, they prepare very beautiful yaxkẽ waxsó-ro. Even the original ones, woven out of tucum, were outstanding works of weaving. The one and the other, however, seem to be a "dress of attraction" rather than a "dress of decency," because they remain hanging at the waist and, due to the position and dimensions (the largest dimension is horizontally), do not cover enough (cf. VII -- 5, b).

b) Shoes.

They do not manufacture or use shoes of any kind, as is the custom of the Indians of the savannas. They are unnecessary for their long trips, which are made by canoe, and are inconvenient for the excursions in the forest, if they are not made out of a resistant material, such as leather, and well fitted. Besides, the warm climate and the continuous rains would render their use harmful to the health.

4) Alimentation.

*192 178 262

a) Mandioca.

The Indian obtains from the mandioca (Mánihot utilíssima) his principal food, preparing it in different ways, and he uses it every /212/ day of the year. There are recollections of a very remote period (centuries or millennia before the historical period, which is the sixteenth century) when they did not know mandioca, and they ate the chestnut /Port. castanha, any of several trees having edible nuts/ called boxpé (information of Dorotéia Brito).

235 /219 cont./
262 birds, such as the jacú, jacamim, mutum, parrot, araras, and others, which become unbelievably tame, is remarkable. They do it, however, simply for amusement, without using the meat (51).

51. Wallace tells (Viagens ao Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 1939 ed., p. 202) that some Indians raised araras because of their plumage. In the place of the removed feather they injected the milky secretion of the toad, and the new feather would grow with a yellow or orange color. Others raised harpy eagles, uira-uaçú (Thrasaétus harpya Lin.), feeding them two chickens a day, in order to use their feathers, and for this reason their ornaments were dear. We do not know whether they still subject the arara to this treatment today. Besides the domesticated araras are found almost solely in the more remote malocas. As for the harpy eagle and the mountain cock (rupícola élegans), nowadays they catch them only when there is hope of selling them to the civilized. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 50) also tells that the Káwa-tapúya obtained the orange color of the feathers by injecting pirara /sic/ fat or the secretion from a toad.

• 178

The native woman chews the food for the offspring of these birds, which sometimes are seen taking the food from the very lips of the woman.

/219 cont./

*192 e) Tubers and green vegetables.

262 They eat, boiled or roasted, the tubers of the batata, yaxpĩ (hipomaéa /Ipomoea/ batátas, Lam.), of the cará, fiõmõ (dioscórea alata, Lin.), which were introduced in the last century, and various tubers of the region, /220/ such as duxtú, kaxpó, and others. They do not know the English potato (solánum tuberósum, Lin.).

As for green vegetables, they refuse them when they are offered to them, saying that they are not cows (literally, anta, wexkõ).

*192 In the fish sauces, besides the pepper, at times they put tender
252 leaves of mandioca (see above, maniçóba). Sometimes, too,
263 they let the mandioca leaves age for three or four days, until they acquire the dark color; then they crush them, boil them, and drink the broth. It is what is called ki-pũ.

*192 They formerly used the ashes of the carurú-da-pedra (mourera
263 fluviátilis), which grows spontaneously on the rocks of some
• 178 cachoeiras, in place of salt, to season their food (52).

52. This plant provides an excellent salad, already salty by nature. The Indian, however, "is not a cow" to eat green vegetables. Wallace tells (Travels, 340) that from the fruits of the palm trees inajá and jará (leopoldinia maior and pulchra, Mart.), they prepared a flour of salty taste. It has not been reported to us, however, that they make it now, because of the ease of obtaining salt. The Indians who work in the Missions buy whole bags of salt, and later they sell them, even with exaggerated usury, to those of the more remote malocas, in Colombian territory too.

[797]
[439]

/227 cont./

*192 i) Stimulants and narcotics.

276 1) Tobacco. The planting of tobacco, mõ'rõ (Uaupés
[178] mõ'nõ) (nicotiana tabácum), is little and rare nowadays, and it is almost only seen in the povoados and malocas with little or no connection with the civilized. They prepare it in the following way: the men pick the leaves with the stem, reduce all of it to small bits, and put them on the fire in a very hot pot, stirring the contents until they become a dark mass. Afterwards the mass is pressed into small roundish molds. Under the effect of the sun and smoke these loaves of tobacco, mõ'rõ be'tó (Nh. mboti), harden. When they want to prepare the traditional cigar of the feasts, they crumble the tobacco and roll it in thin sheets of tauarí (see VI -- 2, f (5) ) or of banana, producing the large cigar, utíkaro, 15 to 20 centimeters in length.

[177] The Indian greatly likes to smoke. The tobacco that is consumed nowadays (on the three rivers whose area we studied), however, is all obtained from the civilized. The latter customarily shows kindness to the adults, men and women, with some cigarettes, or a piece of tobacco in a roll or on a stick, in friendship. The tobacco in a roll is a product that is always sought on the part of the natives as payment for their work.

More infrequent is the inhaling of tobacco, in powder, through the nostrils. They then use two small tubes of taquara or bone, connected at a 45° angle with string and pitch. Introducing the powder into one of the tubes, the Indian places the end at one of the nostrils and the other end in the mouth and, with a puff, forces the powder to go up the nose.

*192 2) Pepper. The native consumes pepper, byá, in large
263 doses, almost always as seasoning for the quinhapira.

Ordinarily he has already prepared his seasoning, called byá-uhá-pyosé (that is, pepper in a water infusion), for application to the fish. /228/ It is common today for the Indian, on journeys or even at home, to have a bottle with whole or ground peppers.

/232 cont./

184 Its consumption is almost unknown today on the lower Uaupés;
276 it is quite general, however, among the tribes of the Papurí and Tiquié, even when they have their regular food. Perhaps the abuse of the ipadú is responsible for the organic depauperation in the elderly and many stomach ulcers. Besides, the individual becomes addicted and his children are born weak, silly, defective (62).

> 62. The Salesian Missionary, Padre João Marchesi, on a certain occasion showed a tuxaua how the son of an ipadú eater was slow in intelligence, did not learn how to read or write, did not have any manual skills, whereas the other children did this quickly.

[797] The young generation, which has gone through the Mission schools,
[178] scarcely consumes ipadú any longer.

/233/ 8) /sic; j)/ Conclusion.

252 The natives of the Uaupés take only fruits and some insects raw. Never a piece of meat or fish (63);

> 63. It was not possible for us to investigate as to whether it is a question only of taste and custom, or if superstitious motives also enter in. It does not seem to us that they exist, although in one of their legends it is said that Wãx-tĩ is the one who eats raw meat.

these foods ordinarily are moqueados /smoked/. And the fish is frequently boiled or reduced to a sauce with pepper, to accompany the ingestion of the beijú.

372 Fire is obtained today with a match, "palito" /toothpick/, as
*[192] they call it, and they try not to let it go out. Day and night
[177] one finds the fire burning inside the maloca, and they also take pots with live coals to the clearing and on trips.

/254 cont./

203 It is reported to us that many times such information was furnished by word of mouth by Indians who went up faster, by way of igarapés and shortcuts, and one maloca undertook to send the news to the next maloca (cf. V, Note 9, about the curiosity of the natives).

/255/ One of the principal means for these long-distance communications, however, was the Trocano, Twá-tõ, almost completely gone today, an instrument, moreover, without religious character and used only for social relations by the tuxáua.

202 *[192] • 198

It is a teleresonator consisting of a trunk of hard wood suspended by cipos to four stakes and hollowed by means of a narrow longitudinal cleft. Struck on the edge of the cleft with a wooden mallet, Twá-tõ pá-kõ, with a projection of rubber or of anta hide, it emits a deep sound, which, in the solitude of those forests and with the help of the winds, is heard many kilometers away (5).

*[192]

5. Koch G. (Z. I. 171) tells that from Cucura-igarapé (one hour by canoe above S. José, river Tiquié) the Desana got in contact with the Tukano of Pari-cachoeira (cf. III, the Povoados) by means of the trocano.

[184] Each tribe or maloca had its instrument and its conventional signals. With this instrument the tuxauas communicated the date and offered invitations for the caxiris. With the trocanos, moreover, they would give information about the retinues that were coming up the rivers (6).

[115] [184]

6. Information by Plácido Rodrigues, descendant of the Baré. Cf. also "Notas sôbre os Trocanos /Notes about the Trocanos/," by Carlos Drummond, Boletim 58 of the Univ. de São Paulo. Koch G. (Z. I. 393) tells that among

/275 cont./

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• [178]

e) His psychic qualities.

Formerly each maloca or povoado had its xamã /shaman/ and, at times, even more than one. Today there are not so many. He appears to be an Indian like the others, he will have his family, his house, his clearing, like the others, or even an apartment in the common maloca. He participates in the social gatherings: fishing, caxirís, dabacurís (24).

> 24. At times they fail to appear at such gatherings in order not to encounter other pajés. They are craftsmen in the same trade...

He is, however, an individual who must possess a particular temperament and be endowed with special qualities: broader intelligence, a tenacious memory in order to retain the necessary or useful knowledge, knowledge of the plants and of the curing processes, power of suggestion, capacity for autosuggestion, to produce in himself lively emotions, or even nervous crises which will cause contortions and even loss of the senses; and also to stir his patient emotionally with these manifestations.

He must, moreover, show a love of solitude. Some prefer to live in remote huts, farther in the interior of the forest or on the headwaters of the igarapés.

These are the principal qualities which the pajé must exhibit. Such qualities, according to what they think, come to him from a special spirit, which he can pass on to his son. Therefore the latter is the one designated to succeed his father. The office of pajé is not, however, necessarily hereditary, and another person, with suitable qualities, might become established as pajé.

Besides the qualities, adequate preparation, which will last for years, is required. It consists of solitude, fasts, dreams and excitations, and many other practices in order to develop, or even to create, the suggestive qualities. In order to achieve this end, the candidate will place himself under the training of

/278 cont./

g) His influence.

756 The fame of a pajé will depend on favorable events. There are therefore superior or Strong pajés and inferior ones (28).

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28. It is reported to us that at present (1954) there are five pajés regarded as strong on the Tiquié River in the following localities: Uira-poço, S. João, Matapi, Cabari, and Carurú-cachoeira.

In the distant past they were even more famous, because, according to native tradition, they performed extraordinary things. Already in 1900 one of them, the old Taracuá, complained to Stradelli (o.c. p. 595, entry Paié) -- "Today there are no longer pajés, we are all curers." "And there were complaints," explains Stradelli, "from colleague to colleague, because I have always passed as a very good pajé, thanks to the photography, to the microscope, and to the collections of plants, species of Calladiums, which I would make during the time that I spent among the natives on the Uaupés River." The same Stradelli puts forth this idea in his Vocabulário: -- "Pajé is not anyone, only those strong of heart, those who know how to surmount the initiation tests, who have the breath necessary to aspire to be pajé. With less than five breaths there is no pajé who can face with impunity the poisonous snakes; it is necessary to have more than five breaths in order to be able to cure the sicknesses with the simple laying on of hands, and, with the saliva, the bites of the poisonous snakes. The pajés who have from seven breaths upwards clearly read the future, cure at a distance, can change at will into the animal that suits him, become invisible, and transport himself from one place to another with the simple effort of his own will."

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278 /289 cont./
757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant
*[192] called Taá-dõxká (45),

45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b) ): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

• [178] [764] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night [164] [354] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

/299 cont./

533 [147] [194] is metallic and unpleasant when he speaks, and it is even more metallic in conjunction, when they speak or sing.

2) Songs.

The native likes to sing, although he appears bashful about doing it, outside the feasts, in front of the civilized. He has a repertoire of songs for the ritual dances (religious songs), and others for his amusement (secular songs). The former are always in choir, without solos and in only one voice. The latter are sung by one or more singers simultaneously or alternately, repeating the same theme or not.

a) Religious songs.

They are sung exclusively by the men. They are slow, monotonous, with many repetitions. As for the rhythm, inspiration, and /300/ movement, they can be classified or grouped among the Gregorian compositions. Since the only process of [178] apprenticeship is by hearing and the memory, it follows that the music is preserved more or less faithfully (55);

55. As is verified by watching their feasts in different circumstances and places or among different tribes.

[178] the lyrics, however, have been corrupted. Nowadays in many of these songs there are only sounds without meaning, and the forest dwellers themselves confess that they do not understand the meaning of the articulations that they utter (56).

56. As happens, incidentally, in the popular songs of the civilized. (Cf. also VII-6, a (2) /see a (3)/.)

/311 cont./

*192 1) Feminine adornment.

301 Besides the paintings on the face, breasts, and body as decora-
562 tion (and not as clothing), as they declare, the women own few objects of adornment:

a) Necklaces. They are of different size, shape, and material. They are made from various seeds, especially a tiny nut, threaded on a tucum fiber, the parakẽ-dá; or also little glass beads, [178] the yax'kẽ-dá; or beads obtained from the civilized, the different shapes, sizes, and colors being combined in various ways. They wear them even outside the dances; they are not, however, of general use, and in Wallace's time they were not used at all (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro, p. 630).

b) Bracelets. They are of beads or seeds, like the necklaces, and are called in Tukano, yax'kẽ wã-yãsé.

c) Knee bands (63).

63. Among the Ide-masã of the stream Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, we also saw young men using knee bands. Among the rest of the tribes the men only wear them as ornaments for the dances.

[286] In Nheengatú they are called tapacúra, and in Tukano yuxtá-seri. It is a band of delicate and curious weave, made of caroá fiber, most of the time, colored yellow or red. One is applied on each leg, a little below the knee. In many cases it is woven without any pieces added, and, thus, when, due to the person's growth, it starts to be too tight, they cut it off.

They assert that its purpose is to thicken the legs.

[177] d) Earrings. Nowadays one only sees earrings (in Nheengatú nambí-purá, in Tukano yoxsasé) obtained from the civilized, or, in place of them, small necklaces of glass beads.

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*192 562 • 178 291 e) Puericueio. It is the feminine tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ that we discussed before (VI -- 3, a), in Tukano yax'kẽ waxsó-ro. Nowadays they only use it in the dances and very rarely (65) /sic; 64/.

> 64. "In their festivals, when they dance, the women then put on a small tanga or apron, made of beads arranged in regular patterns, with much taste and much caprice. This tanga is about six square inches in size. It is never worn on other occasions, so that, once the feast is over, the women take it off immediately" (Wallace -- "Viagens," etc., p. 630).

*192 301 562 f) Wreath. At times during the dances the women fit to their heads a wreath of branches from that shrub of pleasant and intense aroma called bará. It is what is called bará pu'sasé in Tukano.

[177] g) Many women and girls habitually wear curved combs of striking colors, i'í be'tó or i'í-ro be'tó, obtained from the civilized. A century ago, according to Wallace, they did not wear any comb.

2) Masculine adornment.

[302] For the dances the men paint the face and the body, as was said above.

[178] a) Stone of command. We call it this because it is actually a badge of the tuxauas, who wear it hanging at the neck on solemn occasions (dances, reception for some civilized, etc.). Nowadays it is a rare ornament, and few own it. The ouvidor /auditor/ Xavier Sampaio (cf. above, II -- 3), following Pe. José Noronha, mentions the existence of this ornament and gives it as an indicator and classifier, by its size, of the nobleness of the wearer. In Tukano it is called õxtã bohá, that is, clear stone. It is a piece of amorphous quartz, quite smooth, cylindrical in shape, and about 15 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 in diameter.

/315 cont./

*192 237 534 535

2nd. -- Umũ-ka-iti. It is a crest of white garça /heron/ feathers (yehé) and yellow ones from the japú /Icteridae/ (umũ), used like the preceding one.

3rd. -- Pexká pixkõrõá petorí, or, abbreviated, pyõrõá pe'torí. It is a beetle-carapace necklace of changeable colors (66),

> 66. A native furnished us the explanation that the pixkõrõá live inside the bacaba palm. He further added that do'tõ is "father" of the beetle pixkõrõ. It is probably a matter of insects with different phases, like the butterfly, which passes through the stages of larva and chrysalid.

which covers the bone flute during the dances.

*192 184 532 764 [178]

n) Masks. On the Uaupés only the Wanãna and the Kubêwãna (67)

> 67. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 205) learned that, besides the Buhágana, the õmõa /sic/ and Sãra also wear masks. It seems that until 50 years ago or a little more, that is, around the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, the use of the masks was quite widespread among the tribes of the Tiquié and tributaries.

nowadays wear the masks in the funeral dances, and for this reason they call them ya'ko-kó su'tí-ro, that is, clothing of tears.

/316/ They are prepared with the liber of the tururí and have the shape of a nightgown, which covers the person from the head to the knees.

/316 cont./

287 532 764 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadú bags. Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 532 778 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 236), the Taryana wore masks also at the feast of Wãx-tĩ. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the Ide-masã of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called Waxtĩ (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a) Difficulties.

177 771 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

/341/

*192 The second columns are called baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri;
535 because it is beside the second column that the tuxáua takes the
initial position (wihyá: to come out) for the dances (baxsá). And
796 the respective beam is called baxsá wihyári-tẽrõ.

The columns at the back are called do'ákaro-ká-boxtá-ri, because the caxirí is prepared there (do'ákaro, place where one cooks, so explained Júlio). And do'karo-ká-tẽrõ is the beam that corresponds to them.

i) kaxpí-tõ, pot for the kaxpí

j) seat for the one who distributes the kaxpí, kaxpí tõamĩ duhirí kõmũ-rõ

l) hammock of the tuxáua; his compartment is called syõrĩ nĩgõya tuxkũ

The compartments of the residents of the maloca are called wi'i-ikhãraye tuxkũrĩ.

[342] With the hypothesis of its being a religious function, we
[622] must conclude that the temple is the maloca. Its name, baxsarí-wi, should be translated "house of the sacred dance," and not simply "dance house." The Priest is evidently the tuxáua, and not the pajé. The tuxáua, then, ties together the domestic, political, and sacerdotal powers, precisely like the ancient tribal chiefs among the Greeks and the Romans, and, in general, the chiefs of the primitive tribes.

a) "Poosé" without the mysterious instruments.

1) Ritual procession and banquet.

796 The tuxáua of the maloca that decides to hold one of these
[628] feasts determines the day and the offering, and tells this to the tuxáua of another maloca (of the same tribe or of a different tribe) where he is going to give his Poosé. The malocas take turns with
• [178] this proposal. Formerly they were held with greater frequency, six or more times a year, as we said above, constituting the great preoccupation of these Indians. Not only are they being put off more, but their duration has also been reduced. Formerly they lasted as long as an entire week; today the cases in which they

796 /341 cont./

[178] last three or four days are already rare, and commonly they are limited to two days.

If it were called wai poosé, offering of fish, every male guest would bring smoked fish. If it is of pupunha, ã'ṛẽ poosé, [192] they must likewise bring this fruit, etc. The most common poosé are those of fish, of beijú (ahũ-ga poosé), of pupunha, of inga (mẽṛẽ poosé), of manivara /termite queen/ (mexkã poosé).

[273] In the maloca where the dabacurí will be held, more or less three days before, or even earlier (the time necessary for the fermentation), the women busy themselves preparing a large quantity of drink: caxiri of beijú, or cará, of pupunha or of any other fruit /342/ in tubs or vessels that are covered with banana leaves in order to facilitate the fermentation. The activity is great; there is an extraordinary gaiety, loud laughter, a true clamour.

[574] In the morning of the appointed day (the hour will vary according to the distances from which they come), the offerers start arriving, bringing the offerings. They arrive at the landing place (or at a short distance from the maloca, if they come by land) with only some painting or also with some feathers in their ears. Two men go up to the maloca in order to give a warning of their arrival and to fetch the drink. The chief of the maloca sends the drink to the landing place; while they wait for the strangers, they complete the painting.

When they are ready, which always happens around 9 or 10 o'clock (47).

47. Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, describing these feasts, says in the entry Tauucurí that the strangers arrive late in the afternoon. It did actually happen this way at two poosé that we attended among the Taryana of Iauareté, one of fish and the other of cunurí. The Tukano Antonio Barreto, however, in describing the dabacurí to us, asserted that on the Tiquié it regularly takes place in

[115]

574 /352/
796 1st. -- Some of the guests come buzzing, like the carapanã
524 (crepuscular mosquitos /Culex fatigans/), and, with a little stick in the hand, they start stinging the others, who try to shoo them away.

2nd. -- Afterwards others come, pretending to be ku'síro (an animal perhaps legendary, similar to the dog, some say, and which makes a clamor in the forest), making noise, dragging pot or stick, doing this up to the center of the house. Those of the maloca beat on the ground with a stick in order to chase them away.

We have watched a similar challenge for two hours, finally leaving the competitors, who went on with the same enthusiasm.
[178] Nowadays many of the younger generation, instead of listening to
[535] those monotonous narrations, prefer to dance enthusiastically with their female companions to the sound of the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/.

[273] 3rd. -- The caxirí is served; some no longer want it. The companions force them to take it, always in jest.

4th. -- The chief of the guests comes in with a torch of turí
796 (VI 5, a (4a) ), lighted, because it is already dark. His compan-
574 ions come in, throwing down objects, taking fruits, beiju, eating them. All feigning an attack on the maloca. A simulation so well done by the way that the civilized present become frightened, believing that it is a matter of an enemy attack and that a fight is about to start. In reality many feasts degenerate into fights and are intentionally taken advantage of for reciprocal vengeance.

5th. -- Some of the guests now come hopping, squatting,
524 imitating the toad, and making the characteristic sound with the
796 mouth: "uão... uão... " They enter the maloca, and those who
574 are there ask the toads: -- "Where are you going?" "I am going to visit my relatives." -- "Your relatives have all died." And the toad, at this news, faints.

796 /355 cont./
562 Then the doors of the maloca are opened, and the women
858 and children come back to it, and the feast and the ritual banquet take place as was seen above.

785 /356/ Before the dances, the flagellation of the boys who
562 have not participated in the procession proceeds. They beat with
796 a reed or with ingá bark. One of the men takes the child by the legs, another by the arms, and the leader of the dances applies some strokes on his back and belly. They explain that it is to make them grow fast, and for this reason they also stretch the child during the flagellation.

The flagellation of the men will be done without interrupting the dances. Each one, standing up, receives three blows on the back and then, as retribution, gives them to his neighbor. The
*[192] instrument for this flagellation is the adabí, in Tukano wã'sõ-rĩ; it is a stick almost two meters long, but the ligneous part was extracted from its upper end, and it thus became very flexible (66).

[184] 66. Among the Wanãna and Kubewana the adabis are well made, and because of this they are kept for similar circumstances. In
• [178] the other tribes nowadays any stick is used for the flagellation. They assured us that sometimes they even omit the flagellation. It seems to us that they might really do so, at least when some civilized is present. The Kubewana of Ambaíba (river Querarí) showed us how they customarily applied the flagellation. In order for the blows to be more violent, the flagellator swings two or three times before delivering the blow. Some of the ones flagellated, as if they were boasting of their advantage, showed us deep scars from the flagellation that they had endured.

/356 cont./

*192 776 c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wã:kõ?

In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wã:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we [178] were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wã:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67),

[823] 67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water. 775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not. 776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ. And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons, 756 and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as 829 inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3) ). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ. [825] They say about a nocturnal bird, called urukã-tutú, due to the *[192] similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp, because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of *[192] a deceased civilized person, pexkã-sã wẽ'ri Wã̃-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

/367 cont./

824 In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgõ̃, for their own child,
*[192] soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the bará, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 There is a plant called kã'rá pũrĩ (Uaupés kã'ná pũnĩ), the
843 leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of
*[192] gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black
[515] fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

[797]

79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

[797]

80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose
• [178] their own belief.

/383 cont./

291 534 562 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

[115] 105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapã (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warm us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796] [302] As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are worn exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

• 178 562 292 106. We were informed by the natives themselves that, while the men at the feasts, besides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/383 cont./

178 292 562 *[192]

/footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear Waxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament. Some persons declared to us that they had never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that the women always walked around destitute of clothing.

302 About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the 291 breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered 302 without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts 834 with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178] It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),

107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt. [832] Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

/417 cont./

593 his hammock; nevertheless, they will not talk to each other
521 through the night inside. At night only conversations of man with
[784] man and woman with woman are permitted. If the husband has arrived from his fishing or hunting already late at night, he will hang up the fish or the game in the space between two poles or on the wall, or in some other place, without saying a word to his wife, to whom he will not make delivery of the fruit of his labor until morning.

6) Polygamy and Polyandry.

• 178 Whether we understand these terms as the possibility for an
595 individual to have several wives simultaneously or successively, and, vice versa, a woman more than one husband, they are not in force nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

[622] In conversation, several among them affirmed that in the old days a man could have two or three wives, particularly the tuxaua (21),

21. In 1849 Wallace attested (o. c. 636): -- "The men as a rule, have only one wife. There is not, however, for this reason a special limit, because many of them have two or three. Some chiefs even have still more." It is what still happens in some tribes, for example, the Karútana of the Içana, the Káwa of the Aiarí, affirms the author of Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar [Sea River]/, (p. 19). The statement of the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza is in agreement, when he says (o. c. 486): -- "They are given to polygamy or plurality of wives, and there are chiefs among them with two or three wives, and sometimes sisters of one another."

178 /418/
595 but a woman could never have several husbands. In the legends there are examples not only of polygamy, but also of polyandry.

It is true that, having procreation as its purpose, the marriage is not considered perfect until after the conception of the first child. From the time of the first signs of pregnancy the marriage was established.

595 If after two or three years of living together the woman has
842 not given birth to a child, the husband will consider her the victim of the malefice of sterility (22)

587 [115]

> 22. It seems that there is no possibility of rehabilitation for the woman, that is, marriage to another man, although a Tukano man, Mário Chaves by name, in answer to our question, affirmed the possibility of new nuptials for the woman regarded as sterile.

and will look for another wife.

Ordinarily, however, the woman considered sterile prefers to remain with her husband. All the interests of the latter lead him to keep her, even though he has already contracted a second marriage. We are thus confronted with a polygamy, not by right, but de facto. Nor does such an event seem to cause surprise (23).

[178]

> 23. These events are known nowadays (1947) in Taracuá and Urubucuara.

611 The fact that they regard the children as belonging to the father's tribe seems to reveal, as in other nations, the concept that all the generative capacity belongs exclusively to the father. Nevertheless, the inability to procreate will always be attributed to the mother, never to the men.

/421 cont./

593 [857] [611] [601] Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side, helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband, although the children belong to his tribe (27),

> 27. The European custom presents something similar; the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] [178] [177] [439] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is common to see the woman selling to the [illegible]lized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 562 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),

756 [124]

> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

/428 cont./

844 Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have
[608] invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõã (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koã (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

[852] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the
[276] pajé or a Komũ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

846 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).

*[192] The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to
[115] take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

844 As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the
• [178] Pax-koã, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45).

[123] 45. The tuxaua of the Ídé-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present
[273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native cere-
monies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of
the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has
already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between
two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors
all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in
the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and
the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier,
have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has
in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the
ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar.
Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to
leave in the center, between the front door and the back door,
a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them
has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the
cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the
mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on
the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child
is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

562 /445 cont./
881 without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following men-
*[192] struation, Məhẽka-nĩsé, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

611 Among the tribes of the Uaupés it is generation /Port. geração,
[601] generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (ñõx-kãkõra, grandparents) and descendants (marĩ-bero-maxsã), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

602 The components of the same tribe, although born and living
619 in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerẽra (86),
[601]
• [178]

86. The term axkawerẽra is beginning to be extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

a term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" /relatives/ and sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason we are of the opinion (VIII-2, a) that initially the local group coincided with the family.

*192 Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree
609 of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpẽra (87),

87. Axpẽra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpĩ (masculine) and axpego, feminine, other.

that is strangers, foreigners.

/458/

619 2) Local or Territorial Group.

628 a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93)

> 93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that not only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

614 592 621 Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large dwelling called maloca, Wi'ĩ pahirĩwi, which means great house, collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

[177] With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort. For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the povoados or groupings of family residences.

[178]

/458 cont./

621 592 614 Not rarely the dissension within a group provokes schisms, bringing as a result the departure of the dissidents, who go to build a new maloca or povoado farther away.

It is probable that originally each maloca was, in a strict sense, a family, in which the sons remained beside the father, and under his direction, even after they were married. We thus conceive the local group as being originally an agnatic community. There is, as a matter of fact, an expression current among the natives: "I am a person of N," and he says the name of the tuxaua himself.

[178] At present the two forms of local grouping are found: either everyone lives under one and the same roof, the maloca; or each family has its own residence, the povoados resulting. It is to be noted, however, that there are povoados only on the banks of the large rivers and through the influence and under the protection of the catechesis.

[594] /459/ In one form or another, however, the families constitute distinct groups and, what is even more remarkable in the regime of the maloca, autonomous ones. One understands the reason for this autonomy: there is in the tribes of the Uaupés a fusion of the two "ateliers," the masculine one (of fishing) and the feminine one (tiller), which complement each other and are sufficient for the maintenance of the family.

b) The social organization.

The gregarious life that the forest dwellers live demands the observance of certain norms establishing the relations among the individuals, or a certain social organization is necessary.

These relationships are, besides, quite natural, due to the very simplicity of the life they lead; and, on the other hand, are religiously observed. They are all customary, that is, practiced by custom, and it can not be learned whether they were given by a legislator, Wãx-tĩ, as the legends teach; or whether, on the contrary, they were customs introduced naturally and which experience approved, established, and made inviolable. Or whether

/461 cont./

622 [595] Nevertheless he does not acquire from his position exemption from work or the right to demand tribute or payment in kind or in work from the other components (cf. Note 102 below /see p. 710 /) or to have more wives (95).

95. We have already noted the polygamy of other times (VIII-1, a (6) ). Still more recently there have been cited cases (information by Pe. João Marchesi) in which, besides their wife, they kept as a concubine some woman who had become widowed. As well as taking a second wife, because "his wife was sick, and he wanted to have children." There is also recalled the case of one, with a healthy wife and two daughters, who took another wife, impelled by the desire to have a male child, "so that his family will not decay with him." As a matter of fact, after the birth of a male child, he sent back its mother. We could not find out whether this attitude was spontaneous or not.

The power of the Wyógõ depends not so much on custom as on his personal influence, and this can come to him from several qualities: oratorical resources, prudence, technical skill, intelligence, knowledge of several languages (Portuguese, Nheengatú, etc.).

[178] [175] [648] Formerly they were invested with greater power (96).

96. It seems that the same can be said of a more distant past. The reports of the eighteenth century (Pe. Noronha, Ribeiro Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira) show them as principals moving large groups, founding new places at the invitation of the civilized, organizing among themselves defensive and offensive alliances. Hence the interest of the Governadores in having them as allies, granting them the title

4: Silva--704 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

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[177]
[829]

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*[192]

The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

[574]

97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

/475 cont./

614 flight, which tends to become lower and lower. When it wants to
825 cross a river, it goes up one of the highest trees on the bank, so they assure us, and from there starts its flight, which little by little loses height, and sometimes, on the rivers that are too wide, they do not manage to reach the other bank. It was observed that the Tukano Indians, seeing a tucano /toucan/ fly over the river Uaupés at one of the widest points, uttered cries, as though of apprehension, in fear that the bird might not succeed in reaching the opposite bank.

They are only traces that at most might lead one to infer an earlier social form of totemic clan, if they are not elements acquired by borrowing (the instinct of imitation of the Indians is so re-
[824] markable) from other groups. One does not note, however, any attention (respect, fear, pleasure) toward the animal or plant whose name they bear; names, besides, without economic importance (except the Baniva or another one), contrary to what happens as a rule in connection with the totemic names.

It has not been noted that they avoid killing it or, on the contrary, try to eat it in some special circumstances. If they find it dead, /476/ no sign of surprise. It is certain that at times they kill it in order to use its feathers in the dance ornaments. But, at least in the present form (112),

[178]

112. We so often insist on the idea that these are present customs. This is because it becomes difficult or impossible to verify how they proceeded in other times. And the Indians respond to our questions: -- "It has always been this way."

the ornaments are the same for the various tribes, be they called Tukano, Arara, Tuyuka, Pirá-tapuya, etc. It can even be asserted that their attitude is one of perfect indifference before the animal with their own name, more or less just as before any other animal.

614 There are no tucano /toucan/, pica-pau /woodpecker/, jurití
619 /dove/, etc. clans, either. They are and they are considered nations or different tribes, each one with its own language and peculiar somatic features. It is true that one and the same tribe is subdivided into groups with names that might seem clanlike (cf. IV-2-a(2) /see a(3)/ ). But they indeed are not the animals that appear

/481 cont./

412 There are still a few hours of daylight: the man goes to prepare his arrows, to separate the tucum for the fishing nets or to work on his little seat or on his sieve. The woman will weave a new hammock or will attend to the preparation of the mandioca for the following day. Each one at his task.

[177] [296] Among the individuals of the new generation, the man will perhaps mend or wash his own clothes, as the woman does hers. All tasks done with tranquillity, in the intimacy of family life, to the rhythm of an animated conversation, with noisy laughter.

When the sun goes down, the wood is already piled up inside the house and the vessels are filled with water. Men and children settle down in their hammocks, while the woman is busy boiling the Ñõxká, with some wild fruit, and all help themselves with their cuias, like evening tea. *[192]

The conversation continues more briskly, the episodes of the day are picturesquely narrated, the visitors who appeared, the launches they passed, the news of other malocas. When the night is further advanced, it will perhaps be nine o'clock, the doors of the maloca are lowered. Sleep first conquers the children, later the older ones. Around 11 o'clock or later, however, one will hear a question that comes from a hammock, an [illegible] and an answer from another hammock. Afterwards the silence is interrupted only by the crackling of so many small fires in each apartment of the large dwelling. The fire never goes out inside the maloca; at any time of the night one may see some figure jump out of a hammock in order to stir up the fire, indispensable for the cooler hours of the dawn, and to scare away snakes or other animals.

178 412 With the advance of civilization the phenomenon of acculturation takes place, new tasks occupying the time and the attention of the Indians. The rhythm of daily life, however, is always the same, in the maloca as well as in the povoado, for the Indians who have always lived there as well as for those who have spent long years in the boarding schools and have returned to their homes.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiari; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way. 621 182

Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain. 621 342 182 [592]

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses. [171]

In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y generál*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habókü*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kenámi upákü* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along 178 342 621 614 [177]

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the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged arross a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. 501 Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 501 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each [251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [417] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [614] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated [237] with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaúeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very 484 bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 574 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 602 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult [462] male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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usually accompanied by an unmarried daughter, who is both helper and chaperon, a dog, and her breast baby. Her equipment is a machete (in the past it was a digging stick), a portage basket, and a tray upon which she rests her baby. [412] [178] [415]

With the machete she cuts the long root at the base of a mature manioc plant and then loosens the earth so as to pull out the cluster of tubers. Each root yields an average of six tubers, two of which are large, two medium, and two small. This phase of the work is difficult but the woman moves quickly and silently. She does not sing at her work. Her daughter, assistant and apprentice, tears each tuber from the root, scrapes it clear of earth, and drops it in the basket. When a basket has been filled the woman gathers up the stems of the manioc plant, trims them of their leaves, and stacks the cuttings neatly in small heaps. She burns the leaves to add ash to the soil. She does not replant the cuttings immediately, but allows them to lie for several days. After an accumulation a woman devotes a morning to replanting. She breaks up the soil of the segment she has harvested and forms it into small mounds, into each of which she puts a number of trimmed cuttings, setting them in at a sharp angle. She works segments of garden that are about 25 yards square. After replanting, the earliest harvest will be after half a year, but full maturity takes two years. Each 25-square-yard segment yields from 50 to 60 pounds of manioc, or one basket load. [461]

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for whom I have productivity figures, the household of the headman harvested 400 baskets of manioc annually. Another household that had three adult women harvested 500. One old woman had a minimum yield of 150 and all other households averaged close to 200. Ten households produced 2,550 baskets, or some 75 tons of manioc a year. A basket of manioc converts into two large manioc cakes. In the headman's household of seven people three cakes were eaten every two days, leaving a "surplus" of close to 30 per cent for use as chicha and as farinha. On the other hand, households producing 200 baskets annually are close to the subsistence line. 244 433

The point of this digression into production figures has been to show how exigent are the demands upon the woman's labor. The women feel that they cannot afford to interrupt their labors or they will fall behind. Nevertheless, childbirth, illness, ceremonies – women do not garden on the day of a ceremony – and the press of other activities such as accompanying men on prolonged trips for hunting (in the nature of a respite for a woman) take their toll of labor time. Women do not complain of having too much to do. On the contrary, I have heard the grievance that the manioc garden is too small. 244 433 461 462

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an who has daughters to help her can prepare a surplus of mash that, covered with banana leaves or stored in a circular bark bin, holds over to the next day. Whatever time a woman spares from manioc cake preparation is immediately absorbed by other duties, among them the making of chicha and farinha, which is simply the manioc routine all over again. When a woman prepares manioc for chicha, however, she has the help of her husband, but only at those stages that are totally distinct from manioc cake preparation. The Cubeo tradition is for men to take no part in *áuno* production, once they have made the clearing. Still, men do help their wives in peeling the manioc tuber. Since the knife has begun to supplant the teeth as a peeling implement, men, who are the most expert in handling knives, feel somewhat more free than formerly to help – but not without embarrassment. I once walked into the house and saw the headman sitting amiably beside his wife and peeling manioc with a knife. Were I a proper Cubeo I would have managed to appear as though I had seen nothing. But the sight was so unexpected I stared. The man flushed and dropped the knife and tuber. Then he collected himself and explained that his wife was not well and so he felt he should help her. He assured me, as his wife smiled, that he never did this ordinarily.

Whereas all women share the same general manioc routine, individual circumstances differ. A young married woman with young children has no one to help her and must work very hard in contrast to an older woman with several daughters who can relieve her of much of the work. A woman with many sons and no daughters has a very heavy burden. The men provide her with a very large garden, they eat heavily, they are sociable and plan drinking parties. An old woman living alone prepares her own small manioc cake ration, and worries rather that she can call on no man to enlarge her manioc garden. Yet in all these individual circumstances one observes leveling factors as well. The household with very young children eats less, has less need to entertain, and has smaller trade needs. The household with grown daughters eats more, entertains more – suitors and their parties for example – and has great needs for trade goods, skirts, and ornaments for the girls. The household with many men has greater access to trade goods through their wage labor and saves on farinha. An old woman living alone may eat with her close kin and so devote her manioc production entirely to farinha, if she desires. There are no significant differences in manioc cake consumption. Families differ only in the rather small prestige of owning trade goods and in

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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831 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
832 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
562 age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to
[171] have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavimiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
826 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head
773 upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwá*, and armpit hair is *pwá butéi* (literally, hair tobacco).

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cently split a new canoe while spreading it. It was decided to substitute the split canoe. The canoe was cut in half, one end serving as the bottom and the other as the top of the coffin.[5] When the canoe was ready, the headman and three sib elders untied the hammock in which the dead man was lying and brought the corpse, bound in the hammock, to the canoe half that lay alongside the grave. The Cubeo prefer not to handle a corpse, except to caress it as a gesture of grief and affection. The corpse is wrapped in its hammock in the same way in which household effects are wrapped in it for transportation. The corpse lying in the hammock had naturally assumed a moderately flexed position, the knees drawn up and the hands folded across the abdomen. They laid it carefully in the canoe, face down. A woman of the sib brought a gourd dish that had a hole drilled in it and placed it over the old man's head. The dish is for use in the afterlife and the hole is for breathing. A young man brought up the sib's *behórü*, dance staff and pennant of all social ceremonial. He broke it in two and laid the pieces alongside the corpse. From what I had been told about burial practices I had expected that all the personal effects of the old man would be buried with him. When I asked they shrugged and said, "He won't need them." Koch-Grünberg, among the *Hehénewa*, reported, on the other hand, that a man is buried with his dance feathers, which are laid upon his breast. His bow and arrows, fishing gear, and other possessions are burned upon the grave. A woman's trays and dishes are burned and her pots broken up and thrown into the woods. These things must be disposed of, he observed, to prevent the dead from coming back. Presumably burial practices have changed to some degree. When I was among the *Hehénewa* they were not burying a man's ceremonial feathers with him, but used them in the mourning ceremony as a representation of the deceased.

The entire community had gathered to watch the preparations for burial. Men and women wept, except those men who were handling the burial. The widow punctuated the weeping with her own loud wails. The top of the canoe was lashed into place and the canoe was lowered by ropes into the grave by four men. All the men of the sib crowded over the grave and reached into it to touch the canoe, weeping unrestrainedly.

Through all of the first stage of mourning the children had taken

[5] An alternative method of burial is in a large pottery jar. Urn burial is preferred for women and children, who may not have a canoe. In their tales the Cubeo do not mention canoe burial at all. They speak of the body as put in a large urn in a sitting position.

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769
peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the 796
origin traditions. 184

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One 769
man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a 796
horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another 178
gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the 866
region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through 789
adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned 856
bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective dur- [515]
ing the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplemen- [534]
tary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is [824]
to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also [515]
favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

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In preparing chicha, the manioc is allowed to soften for four days. 574
It is left in the maloca covered with leaves until it has turned a dark 273
green color and has lost much of its moisture. Then it is grated, pounded through a sieve, and put through the tipiti press. The dry lumps are toasted lightly on the manioc oven and stirred into a fine grain. Small manioc cakes are prepared from these grains. The cakes are thoroughly masticated and the saliva-drenched balls are mixed with water. After fermentation has begun, a quantity of sugar cane extract is added, and this mixture is left to ferment for several days. Masticated pupunha mash may be substituted for the manioc. A mixture of pupunha mash with sugar cane extract makes a potent and very laxative drink. Many communities add maize as well as a variety of root plants to a basic manioc mash.

This period of preparation is one in which the house is spruced up 574
and personal possessions and ornaments are inspected, compared, and readied for wear and display. Nowadays women regard their [292]
long cloth skirts as gala wear. If it is to be an important drinking [178]
party a woman hopes to have a new skirt that she has never worn before. All the elaborate male ornamentation of feather headdresses, necklaces, girdles, and pendants are fetched out and tried on. Musi- [534]
cal instruments – Panpipes, long flageolets, whistles – are tuned and repaired. Songs are practiced and dance steps tried out. A nightly respite from the labors of manioc preparation is the amusement of watching the children play at dancing the adult dances, singing the dance songs, tasting the freshly prepared batches of chicha, taking coca, smoking, and listening to the old men chant snatches of the origin traditions. The mood is such that the minor rancors of community life are smoothed out. The headman takes advantage of this 574
mood to bring the Satellites back as permanent residents of the com- 621
munity. The Satellites are normally invited to be cosponsors of a 622
sib affair, bringing a contribution not of manioc but of sugar cane, or pupunha when that fruit is in season. The headman believes that when the estranged sibmates see how happy all are they will want to come back. There is no doubt that a Satellite is strongly drawn to the festive spirit of the main maloca. But he always has the time during the hangover of the morning after to consider whether it is worth returning.

The headman makes the first proposal for a drinking party and 574
discusses the date and its scale with the male household heads. Co- [622]
sponsorship means that a household head undertakes to prepare a notable amount of chicha that can be shown to the guests. When the invitations go out, the names of the cosponsors are given, and when

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Apart from the Ancients there is *Kúwai*, who has been referred to here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the area share *Kúwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. There are no rites involving *Kúwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Kúwai* in the past. *Kúwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Kúwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Kúwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Kúwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkü* (my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*kawáno*) in a house with his wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkü*, an Ancient, but *himénihinkü* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been badly understood by the Indians of the Cuduiari, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkü* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without exception reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupian and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahúkiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true beneficent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

721 many more people lived there. We are told by Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his
727 neighbour. *Malocas* were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were knocked to the ground with wooden clubs which the Indians still have today, their bodies hacked to pieces, their forearms used to stir the *chicha* and the armbones later made into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the sexual organs were eaten by the headman's wife to ensure brave offspring. even the bones were boiled into broth and the orgy continued until the cannibals had completed their spoil and the *chicha* had run dry.

Such a description of warfare and cannibalism would not fit the Indian who lives in the Piraparaná today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the
[178] daily life we saw in their *malocas*. We found the Indian's day measured by a peaceful regularity.

512 Slowly the great house comes to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *maloca* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-screen door and eases it up to its hook like a portcullis, then saunters leisurely out into the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the *maloca*, still only vague shapes in the gathering light as they prepare cassava, pick up the water pots and go down to the river to bathe.

[264] The men returning from the river squat on their haunches on the low
[262] stools in the centre of the *maloca*, and without any ceremony consume their breakfast of cassava bread, manioc juice and probably some leftovers from the previous night – boiled fish or a piece of bush pig. The women, who have eaten separately with the children, collect their large manioc baskets and leave
[482] for the *chagra*, the forest clearing where they grow their crops. The baskets are slung from a strip of sapling bark across the forehead; they hold their babies on their hips, walking rapidly, almost awkwardly – the Indian
[855] woman's gait is not a graceful one. Children run along beside them, some affectionately holding the hands of their mothers, others playing. A few of
[857] the elder children return to the river to fish, and some of the men go off in
[226] pairs to hunt and fish, while others move off to collect coca leaves from their *chagras*.

249 The Piraparaná has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the river and its tributaries are one of the few remaining strongholds of the drug in north-west Amazonia. Carrying no more than their small coca pouches and the basket for the leaves, five or six men, led by the headman, go down to the stream, perhaps taking a drink and washing themselves before they climb up the far bank. They move along a path through the thick vegetation of an old *chagra* fallen into disuse. Although an occasional banana or *pupuña* palm

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888 [593] [571] as well. The fixed relationships of mutual obligation are, as has been seen, between husband and wife, between parents and dependent children, between unmarried brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends. These relationships either do not apply to the aged, or, if they do, they may not be of great value to them. Generally speaking, the aged can depend upon those who are younger and vigorous only for the generalized sib benefits of sustenance and companionship. The deprivation of the aged is in what one might mistakenly call "the nonessentials." There is no one to buy an old lady a new petticoat or to get for an old man commercial tobacco. The aged do not protest such neglect because they acknowledge their lack 888 of claim. Nonetheless, they feel their neglect and loss of status keenly 123 enough. When I was among the *Bahúkiwa*, an aged lady employed all her senile charms to wheedle from me a new petticoat. Her husband, a very proud old man, deigned to accept only an occasional cigarette. From time to time he brought me fish and the old lady fetched me some of her small garden produce to reciprocate my favors.

888 The old must look after themselves. The very old *Bahúkiwa* couple maintained a semblance of an independent household. The old woman, unable to carry a load of manioc, no longer gardened, but she fetched firewood and looked after children. She cooked for her husband. Her daughter-in-law provided her with manioc cake. The old man was still a good fisherman, contributing to the maloca. Besides, he was a consultant on many matters, particularly on trees to be used in manufactures.

[18] [769] The focus of Cubeo culture is upon the vigorous household heads. The aged simply fall out of things. They are entitled to no particular respect, nor have they cause to be feared as spirits-to-be, for the Cubeo are interested only in their first ancestors and not in the spirits of the more recent dead.

## DEATH

761 [754] Death may be attributed by the Cubeo to natural causes such as accidents, violence, old age, but if it is the result of illness, it must be laid to some agency that has willed it. The most common agency 763 is human. Whether the agency is human or supernatural the reaction to death is patterned on grief, anger, and fear. The Cubeo reaction to death is to give full rein to grief and anger and to short-circuit as quickly as possible the forebodings that what has happened to one may happen to all. The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were

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its inevitable crescendo of excitement and disorder, dances and songs are interchanged.

In the course of the ceremonies, the relationship between the nonhuman world of the masked representations and the people, represented by the women, becomes increasingly more intimate, culminating, as we have already noted, in the total intimacy of coitus. The spirit of Cubeo ceremonialism is generally Dionysian. In religious excitement the Cubeo achieve a desired and temporary dissolution of the segmentation and conceptual separatenesses in normal social and religious life.

Koch-Grünberg (1906a), who observed part of an *óyne* in 1903 among the *Hehénewa*, saw in the masked dances two themes, an appeasement of evil spirits and fertility rites. My own information does not agree entirely with this interpretation. It is a fact that several of the masked dancers represent malevolent beings; the jaguar, that is the embodiment of the dreaded sorcerer, the butterfly, that symbolizes the act of sorcery, and the *abúhuwa* or forest monsters, that devour human victims. In addition the masked dancers represent the dung beetle and the vulture, eaters of offal and carrion. These creatures represent to the Cubeo the facts of death. Except for the *abúhuwa*, who are not taken too seriously, the most common agency of death is to the Cubeo a particular human enemy. Evil sorcery can be warded off by particular magical means. The masked dances, however, are not magical means for warding off danger. They are, rather, dramatic rituals whose purpose is to generate a frame of mind in which the fact of death is confronted and made to appear natural and tolerable. By coming to the house as guests, to dance, to sing, to drink chicha, and to "copulate" with women, the masked creatures are made to appear, finally, as a friendly part of the Cubeo world. The malevolent creatures are not singled out, but appear in the context of the whole ensemble of masked dancers.

As for the fertility theme, this has been a cherished cliché of earlier anthropology that promptly labeled any ritualization of sex as "fertility rites." The situation is more complex. The dancers do indeed represent male potency, but the simulated coitus emphasizes rather the carnal aspect of sex, for it is the older women, possessing the privilege of obscenity, whom the masked dancers "attack sexually."

## THE MASKS

The dance masks of the Cubeo are made of a white bark cloth called *tdwû* (tree bark), which is also the name by which the masks are generically known.

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121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-
[428] complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
• 181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

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generally, this relationship of appropriateness between mood and activity is not novel. It seems, in fact, altogether natural. Cultures, however, as we well know, do not necessarily pattern themselves quite so naturally. Civilizations, in particular, place the emphasis upon the social action and expect the mood to be disciplined or to be subordinated to the social occasion. The Cubeo, on the other hand, expect a rather high degree of emotional spontaneity. In this respect they correspond oddly to the eighteenth-century notions of "natural man." In secular affairs the spontaneity of correspondence between emotion and action is much greater than in ritual. In ritual the effort is made to establish the correspondence between feeling and the concept of the sacred. Ritual in primitive society generally expresses in a symbolic or highly compressed form the fundamental cultural themes of a society. We have repeatedly shown the integration of ritual with social structure. Cubeo ritual, similarly, reveals not only the role of emotionality in Cubeo life but exhibits that spectrum of emotionality that has greatest significance for the Cubeo.[1] It is indeed in ritual, as Ruth Benedict has demonstrated in *Patterns of Culture*, that the ethos of a culture is most vividly displayed. Cubeo ritual, as has been seen, dramatizes the interplay between formal pattern and spontaneity. The most vivid example of this interplay is the interaction between men as sacred and women as a laity during the mourning ceremony. The effect of this interplay is to add significance to the spontaneity of emotion, and at the same time to give emotional zest to the formal ritual pattern. In short, what seems an inescapable conclusion about Cubeo culture is that neither form nor action can be comfortably tolerated unless charged with a proper feeling or emotion.

The relationship between form and emotion and social action and emotion is but one part of the pattern. The pattern also includes the emotional preferences. It is not simply that the Cubeo prefer to run a gamut, since an emotional gamut is a range within a particular plane. In ritual the emotional gamut moves from sobriety and order, as we have already explained, to intoxication and disorder. On a smaller scale, the ritual pattern moves from slow to fast. In the mourning ceremony these related planes of emotional modulation seemed to find their focus in a sexual rhythm, culminating in what is almost literally an orgasmic excitement. From this there may be reason to conclude that it is coitus, a very elementary biological

[1] It is to be understood, of course, that the roles of emotionality in secular life are not the same as they are in the sacred realm. In secular life moderation is more appropriate than excitement or intensity.

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152 model, that underlies an important aspect of the Cubeo ethos.
796 What is surprising about finding coitus as a model for ritual ethos is
181 not that this obvious pattern has been drawn upon, but that it is not
831 drawn upon more often. Among the Carajá of central Brazil, I am
[171] informed, the coital ritual pattern is explicitly recognized, each phase of the dance being named from a phase of sexual intercourse.[3] It is quite possible that I simply failed to discover the same explicit rela-
571 tionship among the Cubeo. The explicitness that I did discover,
796 though, is in their assertion that ritual excitement, whether produced
181 by drugs, alcohol, or the ritualization of sex, is a necessary comple-
152 ment to the ritual magic of the below-the-knee ligature of long life. This identification of emotional intensity with life itself is also an obvious and therefore a simple relationship. In sum, we can say that the main features of Cubeo ethos draw upon very obvious and simple biopsychological models and – this is the significant point – adhere rather closely, almost literally, to them. Since the social pattern also draws upon a very elementary model we must conclude that the socio-cultural pattern as a whole is built upon the simplest of social and biopsychological models. Needless to say, even the bare and incomplete account of Cubeo life that has been presented suggests that the elements of over-all pattern described here do not encompass the "totality" of the culture. In all probability, however, no concept of pattern can ever encompass a total social and cultural system. From the point of view of culture theory the question is a different one. The proper question is: Does the theory of pattern provide an adequate approach to an understanding of the culture?

121 We can attempt to answer this question by applying the concept
571 of pattern that has been presented to an analysis of two fundamental cultural problems: the problem of social homeostasis and the problem of ecological adaptation. Strictly speaking, equilibrium and adaptation are one problem. It is simply that this problem can be approached from two sides.

## SOCIAL HOMEOSTASIS

The assumption of social homeostasis is that a cultural system consists of relationships and interactions that are so patterned that their net effect is to perpetuate the system, generation after generation. It is understood, of course, that homeostasis, or equilibrium, is a relative condition only, since no society today is a precise duplicate of

[3] Personal communication from Dr. William Lipkind.

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these conditions is relevant to an understanding of Cubeo culture. 121
But even taken together they do not account for the principal pat- 174
terns of Cubeo culture, which have a natural history of their own. The question, however, is not whether cultural patterns have a natural history, but only whether the ecological and the technological theories are adequate accounts of the natural history of a culture.

## ADAPTATION

Thus, the problem of cultural adaptation to an environment can- 182
not be dealt with simply and one-sidedly by describing the hypothet- 121
ical shaping of a culture to the environment. Adaptation is a study of interaction. Generally speaking, highly specialized environments demand highly specialized and hence relatively predictable cultural responses. The tropical forest is not an example of a highly specialized economic environment judged empirically by the diversity of cultural patterns it has sustained. Bitter manioc is clearly a cumber- 182
some crop, its high yield and relative ease of cultivation being offset 241
by its very heavy demands on labor, specifically on that of women. 121
It can be argued, therefore, that this crop offers a poor economic base for social and political development. Yet the Northwest Amazon also is familiar with maize, yams, and sweet manioc, not to mention beans and squash and gourd. These crops have traditionally sustained high cultures. Can we explain in ecological terms why the Northwest Amazon tribes chose to specialize in bitter manioc rather than maize and beans, as did, for example, the lowland Maya? It would seem that here is a case of cultural choice in which prefer- 121
ences for quick yield, minimum care in cultivation, strong sexual divi- 181
sion of labor, and perennial harvest rather than the problems of 182
storage and seasonal periodicity may have been compelling factors. 433
Since the Cubeo social system placed no great demands upon an ex- [241]
panding economic productivity the "easy" adaptation to nature was always feasible. The main patterns of Cubeo life do not stress the [461]
disciplines of prolonged and closely managed effort. The habitual rhythms of masculine labor are discontinuous and varied. Leadership is based on the principle of mood regulation rather than on dedication to an ideal or submission to authority. High cultures are based on strongly disciplined and collective ways of life. By contrast, the Cubeo values greater emotional spontaneity and personal autonomy. An economy, needless to say, will in the end transform cultural values as well as the personal character of the members of a culture. Before

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it can do so, however, it must be given a chance, so to speak, by the culture. There is nothing in physical nature that dictates the form of an economy beyond the requirement that it satisfy subsistence needs. In the case of the Cubeo the simplicity of the economy, and the corresponding simplicity of the culture as a whole, would seem to be far more a product of its fundamental patterns and principles of organization than of an external nature. If this conclusion is correct, it would suggest that the simple horticultural societies, as a type, are not mere victims of inhospitable environments but rather that they constitute a range of cultural systems with characteristic modes of equilibrium and adaptation that do not readily foster economic expansion and higher levels of social and political integration. This statement leads to one other conclusion, namely, that a culture is only partly a functional system adapted to the satisfaction of basic needs. With respect to these satisfactions, most societies have surplus capacity, a great deal of room for maneuver and for improvisation. Much of the form of a culture represents a style of life that need not, indeed cannot, be explained simply in terms of function, equilibrium, or adaptation. A style of life then must be studied in its own terms since it too is part of the diversity of nature.

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

• [182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano [262] Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical [753] Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our [178] interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

773 177 [128] [114] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, 115 756 Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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part of the Central American and Andean jaguar distribution; perhaps the Cubeo ranked clans and ancestral cult are also part of the Andean picture. However, where there is a cultural relationship it is probable that it moves in either direction. The lowlands took from the Andes; it is likely that they gave as well. Perhaps a close study of social conditions in the tropical forest could shed specific light on the spectacular historical developments in the Andes. The way in which the Cubeo maloca, the multifamily residence, tends to become a sib ceremonial center for those sib members who have broken away from it illustrates, for example, a possible process of ceremonial center formation.

Questions of culture history are inevitably to the fore when one compares the tropical forest with the Andes. But even as a separate entity the tropical forest area commands culture-historical interest. Cubeo social structure, for example, suggests some of the ways in which small social units such as extended and joint families and lineages grow into and combine to form more complex and more highly integrated social systems. Segments of one tribe attach themselves as entities to other tribes adopting a new language. Federations of segments are formed by various combinations of adoption, adhesion, and fission; these bind themselves together by ceremonial ties and not by ordinary political means of suprachieftainship. Other processes are at work elsewhere in the region. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that detailed comparative studies of tropical forest social structures could provide a rich foundation for the reconstruction of modes of social evolution, within a fixed range of social integration. As native Africa is a natural laboratory for the study of nascent states, the South American tropical forest as a major culture area is a natural laboratory for the study of variations in a small community, and lineage and clan organization.

In the foregoing discussion my intent was to provide the reader with a broad problem setting in which the Cubeo are viewed generally as a tropical forest culture. Since tropical forest anthropology is not too widely known this seemed a useful thing to do. However, the Cubeo are more specifically a part of the Northwest Amazon subculture area. The Northwest Amazon is designated as a subarea of the tropical forest in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. Not a sharply delineated area, it includes several of the major languages of lowland South America: Arawakan, Cariban, Tucanoan, Witotoan, and Macú. Of these language groups, Tucanoan (the language of the Cubeo), Witotoan, and Macú are restricted to the Northwest Amazon and were until recently listed as unclassified languages

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175 177 997 He succeeded in bringing together a village of some 300 Indians. By 1881 the mission was disbanded and the Indians returned to their original communities. At about the same time the mission of Santa Cruz dos Cobeus was established at Mitú *cachoeira* near the Cuduiarí. Missionary activity in the region has been generally discontinuous but nonetheless energetic; and while Christian doctrine has left only a vague imprint in native religious practices it has succeeded in acquainting the Indians with new ideas of dress and in disturbing their 175 convictions about some practices such as cannibalism. For a period between 1875 and the early 1900's there was a flurry of nativist agitation in the Vaupés. Between 1875 and 1878 an Indian from the Isana River, called Anizetto, reportedly a hermaphrodite, led a messianic movement against the whites until he was arrested by the Brazilian authorities. In 1880 a shaman who called himself Vicente Cristo led another messianic movement along the middle Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg observed that the native messianic leaders were always Arawakan-speaking (1809, I, 39). There is nothing to suggest that any of these movements ever took strong hold on the Indians. On the Cuduiarí tangible evidences either of Christian influence or of native messianism were slight in 1940. [668]

175 177 648 European commercial penetration started slowly but reached a sudden expansion with the rubber boom that subsided shortly before World War I. The Putumayo, where thousands of Indians perished in the rubber camps, was a notorious and baleful focus of white influence (Hardenburg, 1912). From then on the Indians and the whites along the Vaupés were in constant contact and in frequent conflict. On the lower Vaupés in Brazilian territory many Indian tribes had taken on the outward appearance of the mestizo, or caboclo as he is called in Brazil, as early as 1852, when Wallace was there. The upper Vaupés in Colombian territory retained its true Indian character for very much longer. The Cuduiarí was still very strongly native at the time of my field work in 1939–40.

177 Only close study will reveal how far acculturation has gone even among those Indians most closely associated with the whites on the main streams. There the Indians wear the dress of the mestizo, live in European-style shacks, and celebrate the Christian holidays. They also carry out native ceremonials, not, to be sure, with the traditional elegance, but strongly enough to suggest that a good deal of native life goes on beneath the shabby surface of ragged clothing, poor housing, and the litter of cheap manufactured utensils and ornaments. [182]

The resistance of the Indians of the Cuduiarí to cultural loss and breakdown may be attributed in the main to relative isolation, but

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in part, I believe, to cosmopolitanism, to the capability of the Indians to adopt foreign objects and foreign customs without losing their sense of identity as Indian. As long as the point of view remains Indian, the culture may change but it will still retain for the Indian a distinctive and satisfying pattern. It is when the clear identification as Indian in the cultural sense is lost that change is likely to mean breakdown. 177 182

Cosmopolitanism is but one general factor in a process of culture change that is exceedingly intricate and subtle, in which there are no clear-cut stages but endless gradations in the transition from Indian to the new cultural and psychological entity that emerges. Another general factor is the white agent. On the Cuduiari the white man does not intrude directly upon the Indian's daily life. The missionary expects the Indian to come to him at the mission station. Even then the missionary effort is a patient one. Mainly it goes through the children who are educated at the mission school. Mission Indians and tribal Indians lead different lives but they are not mutually antagonistic. Between them there is a gradation but not a gap. 177 797

The commercial white man, the rubber collector (*balatero*), or the trader has only a limited interest in the Indians. The Indian, having completed his contract work in the rubber forest, returns to his own community and is instantly enmeshed in the tribal life. But even in the rubber forests his associates have been fellow Indians, of foreign tribes, to be sure, but to this experience the Indian has been well accustomed. As for the white employer, he is often less a carrier of European culture than he is a frontiersman, a distinct tropical forest product himself. He is partly Indianized and he is generally the husband of an Indian wife. 177 464

Among the Mundurucú of central Brazil, as vividly described by Robert Murphy (1960), an anthropologist, work in the rubber forests and the contractual production of farinha, a manioc flour, for the white man were potent factors in the disruption, indeed in the virtual obliteration, of the native culture. To compare Mundurucú with Cubeo is to set off a society that has become ugly and disordered with its meager hoard of cheap objects of white manufacture with a well-ordered and fundamentally satisfying way of life. Unlike the Mundurucú, the Cubeo have succeeded in withstanding both the rubber forest and manioc trade. Far from being overcome, the Cubeo have been able to use the income from labor in the rubber forests and from the sale of farinha to further their own cultural objectives. Murphy tells of the insatiable longing of the Mundurucú for the trinkets and gadgets of the white trader. For these objects of intrin- 171 177 182

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177 sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom
182 and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's
[171] trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small mestizo-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand,
[342] when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments
[796] he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a
[346] residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are
177 stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness.
291 As late as 1903 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper Vaupés and all over the Cuduiarí where the women were totally naked
182 and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiarí and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

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men have learned to wear trousers and a cotton tunic at home. For ceremony, however, they wear only the perineal band, now made of trade cloth. For women the skirt has replaced the ornamental ceremonial apron, but for men ceremonial participation in trousers means an important change in outlook in which the ceremony has become secularized. I learned this from young Indian men, visitors to the Cuduiari, who, wearing the cotton trousers and tunic of the mestizo, insisted in explaining to me that they were taking part in dances "just for fun." In the truly solemn ceremonies on the Cuduiari I saw no man in European dress. 177 291 182

The use of Spanish or Portuguese is another sign of change in cultural identification. But here, too, the process is complex. Indian cosmopolitanism is traditionally multilingual. Wives often speak distinct dialects of Tucanoan or else speak Cariban or Arawakan. Children learn the language of the mother first and then learn to speak Cubeo. The Tupian lingua franca has been a traditional trade language between Indians as well as between Indian and white for a very long time. Thus, the Indian who has learned Spanish and Portuguese is simply extending his multilingualism. These European languages have also come to play an important role in native interrelationships. Spanish and/or Portuguese has become the customary language of violent drunken quarrels among men at a drinking party. Used in this context the insults and threats in a foreign language are less ominous, and easier, therefore, to disregard than the same words uttered in the native language. The Cubeo usage is as with us: the foreign phrase used scatologically modifies the impact. Thus, in this respect the Cubeo adoption of foreign European phrases is a matter of enriching the native culture and is far from being a mark of cultural breakdown. I met only a few Indians on the Vaupés and none on the Cuduiari who had given up their native speech in favor of Spanish or Portuguese. 177 182 191

The use of European personal names offers another example of adaptation to the native cultural pattern. Among the Cubeo, personal names come from the traditional genealogy of the sib. They have a sacred character and are not used freely. Knowing a person's sib name is a sign of intimacy and such intimacy is not readily yielded up. I did not learn native personal names for weeks, and even at the end, one of the more embarrassing questions I could ask was simply a person's sib name. In common discourse kinship designations were used. The native name is not so much an appellation as it is sib identification. The headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib was the first to tell me his name. He uttered it in a whisper close to my ear. Thus, for the Cubeo, 177 551 182 614 (123)

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177 Thus, for the Cubeo,
551 being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most
182 exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It
[553] has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a
[123] European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiari who had a European name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

177 On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tribu-
[797] taries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civilized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no cultivated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for
[464] which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor. At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in 1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

177 Many Indians of the Cuduiari had visited Mitú, the capital of the
648 *Comisaría* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in 1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station. After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important administrative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio station, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business. Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiari were not altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

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614 formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

[613] A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib 614 are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group 592 of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of 614 cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important 594 unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

121 What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization 61 that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component 621 segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

## THE COMMUNITY

621 The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous ● 182 entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

361 From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the [615] Cuduiari the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

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592 the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. The Cubeo believe that one roof unites a community while several roofs divide it.

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311 Size of maloca is adapted in some measure to cultivable terrain. We have already noted that seasonal flooding and the requirement of good river frontage limit the availability of land for relatively permanent cultivation. But these are highly variable factors. Along the Vaupés, a deep river basin that can carry a great volume of water, there are vast stretches of dry land that have become the sites of civilized population centers. There is no doubt that from terrain alone the Vaupés could have supported far greater Indian populations than it did at the time of first contact. Along the Vaupés the limiting factor seems to have been social. On the Cuduiari, on the other hand, land contours are such as to divide frontages into much smaller segments. On this smaller stream, terrain has been a more significant factor in limiting community size. But even on the Cuduiari, land utilization is subject to strong social considerations. One consideration is that sibs
[614] must retain their traditional boundaries. This means that with slash-burn horticulture the sib territory must provide, as a minimum, a three-step cycle in which a community returns to its original land after 10 to 15 years. The well-situated tract must then be at least three times the average land requirement at any given time.

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244 There is still another consideration, and that is the distance of manioc gardens from the residence. When they prepare a clearing, the Cubeo bear in mind the distance a woman will have to trudge with her burdens of manioc, a baby, and firewood. That is why the gardens are laid out along a semicircle. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop. It needs reasonably dry soil and it makes heavy demands upon the time and energy of a woman for its cultivation, transportation, and preparation. Whatever can be saved from travel time is an advantage.

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● 182 The thesis of ecological adaptation, however, can be argued most successfully in the abstract. If one notes the actual events in the life of a community, then the processes of community growth and community fission appear in quite a different light. The balance of forces of fusion and of fission that hold community size to its stable limits in harmony with the natural environment are not entirely economic. They often include personal factors. To state this more precisely: the economic factor affects fusion strongly but has less direct bearing upon fission. Satellites, for example, are urged to return to the fold, guests are urged to stay on, and daughters are invited to take up residence
[578] in their own sib if there is ample land. Splitting, on the other hand, occurs because of personal quarrels and rarely because of a feeling of land shortage.

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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiarí; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way. 621 182

Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain. 621 342 182 [592]

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses. [171]

In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y generál*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habóhũ*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kenámi upáhũ* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along 178 342 621 614 [177]

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244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
433 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except
in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
244 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
433 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
462 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any
461 community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the man-
244 ioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
[261] Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[273] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There
[614] is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be
[182] said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[3] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the re-
[614] sponsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the
[554] chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

43 It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[3] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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genealogies is not strong, so that they have only a general, albeit a strong, feeling that the family lines presently in a sib are related. What keeps the sib from being a lineage is then the technical fact that the Cubeo cannot link up their present descent lines with their ancient descent lines. 614 [829] [613]

One is tempted, therefore, to think of the Cubeo descent group as a transitional form, hovering between sib and lineage. At first glance the distinction between sib and lineage seems to hang by the technicality of how sophisticated a people are about genealogies. Yet this sophistication is a matter of major importance. Sib continuity and growth is a relatively simple matter of transmitting a sib name and a line of descent with an origin myth to give historical sanction. Lineage continuity and growth, on the other hand, demand motivation as well as the capability for maintaining accurate or presumably accurate genealogical records. Societies organized upon aristocratic lines can do this readily. Egalitarian societies, on the other hand, can have small lineages or large clans and kindreds but they cannot readily support large or historically deep lineages. The Cubeo have a shadow aristocracy only, not enough to sustain the necessary degree of genealogical sophistication. On the other hand, if the Cubeo could not sustain the growth of lineages neither could they sustain the growth of sibs. Two social conditions seemed to stand in the way of the enlargement of sibs. One was the inherent fissility of the sib, the other was the organization of the phratry. The phratry allowed the sibs to split without endangering their survival by virtue of being too small. 614 613 614 615 182

The basic social organization that provides for autonomous confederation of small units conforms readily to the requirements of easy absorption of new groups. The modes of group-binding, such as exogamy, the cycle of drinking parties, and the segmented forms of ceremonial participation that allow each sib to function as a ceremonial unit, are also admirably adapted to rapid assimilation of foreign tribes without benefit of a central administration. In cases of assimilation, all the necessary joint activities to which the sibs of a phratry are bound will inevitably encourage a common language. Just as the phratric organization allows for easy binding of autonomous sibs into a convenient fraternity that provides for peace, cooperation, and sociability, it allows as readily for fission without serious disruption. From these observations it may be inferred that the history of the Northwest Amazon region has been one of constant formation and disruption of sociopolitical entities. What a tribe is at any time is a core of sib segments that may have persevered through [174] 614 619 174

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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hand, the assigned sister can be counted on to act in her brother's behalf and to accept the exchange marriage. On the other, if his bride should leave him he believes that he can ask his sister to leave her husband so that accounts will be squared. This arrangement does not work perfectly, but it works well.

Not every young man has a sister assigned to him. The son of a headman who is in line for the succession has preference, as has a favored son, since it is the parents who play an important part in establishing this relationship. In the case of an apparent heir to the headmanship the assigned sister enhances his status in two ways. It makes him part of an adult status economic relationship in that he has a woman "working" for him and it smoothes the way for his marriage.

I could get no term for this rather specialized brother-sister relationship. Ordinary relationships between brother and sister lack the specific economic exchange features. Lacking the intensity of the paired relationship, the ordinary relationship is still charged with considerable emotion.

From the point of view of the sib, the brother-sister relationship may be considered as a source of holding women to the sib even after they have taken up residence in another sib. There is the curious expectation that a woman will some day come back to her own sib. She will do this as a widow or after a break in her marriage. When a young man is on his way to his "affinal" sib to bring back a wife his parents say to him, half in jest, "Try to make your sister come home." The symbolic act of marriage for the Cubeo is the drama of a "marriage by capture." The groom seizes the bride, who protests, and carries her forcibly to the beach and into his canoe. Her outcries bring her kinsmen on the run, who then try to prevent her "abduction" by cudgeling the groom. This dramatic enactment makes the point that the bride is unwilling to leave her sib and that her kin are determined not to let her go. It is a strong demonstration of attachment that soothes the feelings of the sib and particularly of the brother. It satisfies the sentiment that no one wishes to leave the sib.

The relationship between brother and sister may also be considered in the context of the sib origin myth which states that the founders of a sib were always a brother-sister pair who only later entered into exchange marriages. The tradition of the *Bahikiwa* sib that a woman re-established the sib after all her brothers had been killed by enemies illustrates still again the Cubeo sentiment that a woman really belongs to her sib. Thus a sib has a female ancestress as well as a male ancestor.

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585 593 606 knowing that her full status as a married woman begins with her having her own garden, must get her husband to get her out of her mother-in-law's household. He, however, knows his mother's will and is also aware that the men of the sib are watching him to see if he will be strong enough to stand up against his wife, the "alien" to the sib.

585 586 593 614 If the stalemate continues too long the young wife has the means to break it. She runs away. It is a married woman's privilege to run away at any time during her marriage. Her husband will pursue her, but she has many sanctuaries. She can get back to her own community, where she is safe and has the certainty that she will not be yielded up to a pursuing husband and that he has no claim against her parents. The common view is that if a man is not strong enough to hold a wife that is his misfortune. A runaway wife may find sanctuary in any sib, even in one that is closely related to that of her husband. A neighboring sib is only a temporary stopover for a runaway wife. It provides a more neutral atmosphere, however, in which she and her pursuing husband can discuss the reasons why she has run away. It is young brides who most frequently run off. Occasionally a girl is seriously determined to leave her husband and she will then most certainly find her way home, even if she has to go afoot all the way. Ordinarily she expects her husband to intercept her. When he brings her back the headman will say to him, "Take charge of your wife," [837] and the husband will proceed to prepare a manioc garden for his wife. Some young wives provoke a crisis by seducing the husband's brother and allowing the community to find out. Again the headman will say, "Take charge of your wife."

585 586 593 614 182 These crises are so common in the early stages of marriage that I am inclined to regard them as quasi-ritual, and as part of a prolonged marriage ceremony at the end of which the wife achieves her proper status as controller of an autonomous zone, her manioc garden, and as female head of household. The act of running away suggests a counterpart to the initial act of "abduction." Both acts acknowledge the unruly role of the alien woman and emphasize the power of the man in restoring order. The man who brings his runaway wife back has scored a victory in the eyes of his sib. This victory absolves him from the onus of seeming to "give in" to the demands of his wife. But if the act of bringing back a runaway wife is a bit of ritual, it must also be stated that it is not devoid of spontaneous and rich human emotion.

595 Monogamy is the rule and is consistent with the preference for exchange marriage. Polygyny and polyandry, however, are not barred.

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622 627 tempers but to inflame and to focus angry passions upon the culprit. He does so because the Cubeo do not tolerate a judicious and cold-blooded administration of punishment. Their view is that malicious [673] acts are committed in anger. Such acts provoke anger in return, in the course of which the culprit is suitably punished. Thus, a wrong-doer always runs away. Even if he should regard himself as innocent of the charge, when he learns that charges are being discussed he deems it prudent to leave. He need not be gone very long – perhaps just a few months. When he returns the anger against him has died 622 down and there will be no basis for action. In cases where a sibman 627 is being provocatively uncooperative and the senior households, to- 574 gether with the headman, agree that he should be made to leave, 614 they wait for a drinking party when someone, or the headman himself, picks a quarrel with the culprit. In the heat of the quarrel the unwelcome sibman is asked to leave. The traditional drinking party [182] seems to serve as the most appropriate setting for the airing and settling of grievances and of disputes.

578 Fighting is the most common social disturbance and is inevitable 574 during a drinking party. A quarrel between two men draws in others, usually close kin: each man entering the fray loudly proclaims his reason for joining, justifying by anger his right to take part. Members of the same household always have justifiable cause for anger in assisting one another. More distant kin must cite a personal mo- 578 tive. They can claim a past insult. A host or headman is privileged 574 to intervene to stop a fight but will do so reluctantly. In a Cubeo 622 quarrel the detached bystander is not welcome. Women are usually strongly disturbed by fighting. They dread that someone will get hurt and when a fracas becomes bloody they loudly demand that the headman put a stop to it. If he ignores them, pretending to be drowsy with drink, they abuse him and say he is not fit to be a headman. A headman is drawn to anger and to participation in a fray if a cere- 578 monial friend has joined a fight without asking his permission. 574 Ceremonial friends are as one and should share the same quarrels. [572] Fighting at a drinking party, although actually disliked by the Cubeo, is not a punishable offense, since the angry parties have had full opportunity to retaliate. When the fight is over the issue is usually closed, unless new threats and insults are uttered. Those will be remembered at the next drinking party and serve to start a new fight.

682 Retaliation for murder is the responsibility only of the members of the victim's own household and lineage. Sibmates are under no [614] obligation to avenge a murder unless, they reason publicly, the mur-

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Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *aiyá*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

## POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1949, p. 25), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

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The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were all attributed to human sorcery so that I have no information on the 763
Cubeo response to natural death or to death attributed to spirits. 754
Mourning is extensive but does not impose unusually onerous duties 76
or restrictions upon the survivors. Mourning goes through three 114
phases. In the first, from the moment of death to burial, which follows quickly, the immediate kin and all sibmates yield to their spontaneous emotions, but up to a point, for the ritualization of emotion sets in quickly. In the second, which is the period from burial to the great mourning ceremony, the nearest female kin of the household – wife, mother, sister – accept the burden of mourning. Finally, in the third phase, the entire living cosmos of the Cubeo – people, Ancients, birds, beasts, fish, insects, and demons – join in the mourning. This third phase, an intricate ceremony, is described in a separate chapter. The dead, as already indicated, are buried beneath the dance floor of the house, emphasizing, it seems to me, the importance the Cubeo place on the house itself rather than upon mere locality. [182]

I was present at the last hours of old João, a *Bahúkiwa* and *bakúdyá* 763
of the headman. He had been ill for several weeks, the medicine men [114]
had given up on him, and his death was, therefore, not unexpected. The Cubeo are not solicitous of the dying. Once its inevitability has been accepted death is awaited almost with indifference. Father Giacone (1949, p. 29), speaking for the neighboring Tucano, also observed that once the illness appears to be fatal the patient is given up for lost. Such patients, he adds, will be buried alive. When death seemed near – the old man was breathing with difficulty with a dry rasp – his wife took up the death watch at his hammock. At the moment of death her loud wailing awakened the house and all rushed to surround the hammock except the headman and his wife. Since it [622]
is the duty of the headman to preside over the inquest that follows upon the first outburst of grief he must plan upon a properly timed arrival. A shaman of another sib who was in the house also did not intrude upon the mourners, both in his role as shaman and as a sib outsider.

The old woman, truly grief-stricken, had embraced her dead husband's body in the hammock and rocked over it, moaning and wailing. She withdrew, however, when the younger brother of João arrived. He felt for the heartbeat and then covered the old man's face with some rags that had been the sick man's blanket. The women had all gathered to one side of the hammock and they wept continuously, chorusing the loud and emphatic wailing of the widow. The 764
brother fetched his shotgun, moving slowly and grimly. He loaded

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# 8

## *The Ancestor Cult*

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The ancestors of the sibs, the *Bekûpwänwa* (*bekû*: old man; *pwânwa*: people), literally, the Ancients, form the center of what may properly be called a cult.[1] The ancestral cult is neither elaborate nor well integrated. What it includes are a number of rites in which the ancestors, or Ancients, are invoked. In some cases the invocation of the Ancients has no special magical significance, as when the origin myths are recited at major drinking parties, or again when the ancestral couple *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikü* come to mourn for the sib dead. The first occasion is simply a remembrance by the sib of their ancestors, and the second is a reciprocal remembering and honoring of their sib by the ancestors. The relationship in both instances is mainly social. On the other hand, when an infant receives a sib name, when cohabiting couples bathe in the river, when youths bathe before dawn and sound the trumpets that embody the Ancients, and finally, when the young boys as well as the mature are whipped by the Ancients, the relationship is then fundamentally magical. On these occasions the Ancients bestow upon their sibmen the specific benefits of bodily growth, vigor, potency, and fertility.

The Cubeo do not assemble all of these rites and cite them as a connected series. The term *Bekûpwänwa*, in fact, is used to refer only to the Ancients when the origin myth is recited and to the bathing and whipping in the presence of the flutes and trumpets that embody

[1] The ancestors are also known as *Bekûdowa* (Old ones), a term that has the connotation of a grouping comparable to that of a sib.

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the Ancients. In the naming and in the mourning ceremonies specific ancestors are invoked by name and by specific kinship reference, as the mother or the grandmother of the sib. In the case of postcoital connubial bathing the ancestors are not invoked either by name or by spell; the bathers merely participate in their magical presence in the river. Some cult activities are secret, others are not. The rule of secrecy applies to the flutes and trumpets. These bear the names of ancestors and may not be seen by women. However, whenever these instruments appear, a specific ceremonial role is assigned to the women. In the whipping rites, which are also initiation rites for boys, the women receive gifts of fruits and berries in the name of the Ancients. In the mourning rites the ancestor trumpets sound their notes of grief, to which the women respond with wailing of their own. That is, when the Ancients enter the maloca they naturally establish a relationship with the women of the house. On the other hand, when the Ancients' blessings are invoked, but without the ancestral presence, the women have no part in the proceedings. The women are ignored during the naming ceremony and during the recitation of the sib mythology. Basically, the ancestral cult belongs to the men. When the boys are shown the hiding place of the flutes and trumpets and are taught their names they are being initiated into a male cult and are drawn fully, thereby, into their roles as sibmen. The social function of the initiation is twofold: to complete the separation of the boy from his mother and align him with his father and his father's brothers, and to draw him from the immaturity of the play pack into the mature company of men. We may speak of these rites, therefore, as *rites de passage* as well, bearing in mind, however, that the passage is a long and gradual one. The Cubeo emphasis with respect to the development of the male is not that he suddenly crosses a dividing line from boyhood to manhood but that he grows. The magic of the initiation ceremony is a magic of growth. Growth magic, it will be recalled, occurs at three stages in a boy's development: at birth, after a year when he receives his name, and then for a series of years after he has entered the play pack.

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For a fuller understanding of the Cubeo cult of *Bekûpuãnua* one would need to know more about corresponding ceremonies among neighboring tribes. Curiously, no other ancestral cult has been reported for the entire Northwest Amazon. Koch-Grünberg, whose knowledge of the tribes of the region extended over many years, did not mention any ancestral doctrines even though he had lived for several months with the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiari. But like others who have studied this region his investigations were surely led astray

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796 be whipped violently to the center of the dance floor. He chose an eight-year-old boy, his own son. Normally the most amiable of men, he glowered at the boy, and in a harsh voice commanded him to stand straight, his legs together and his arms above his head. The little boy solemnly obeyed. The father faced his son, poised his whip for the first blow, and waited while the dancers circled them once, sounding the ancestor horns. When the dancers had completed one turn, the man inserted the switch in the far end of the horn and stirred it about to "draw from it the power of *Bwü*." He then struck the boy across the loins with such force that the child ran screaming down the corridor toward the door. His father ran after him and without a word dragged him back. The first blow across the loins left a bloody scar on the boy's abdomen and was to impart sexual vigor, which resides inside the horn. The boy's paternal uncle stepped forward and rolled the second *Bwü* horn along the child's back, starting at the calves and rolling it up to the head. This was to impart growth of stature, that resides on the outside of the horn. The boy had now regained his composure, and his father brought him a calabash of chicha. His father whipped him a second time, in the same way, and this time the boy controlled his fright, emitting only a gasp of pain as the whip lashed across his abdomen, raising a second welt. Again the uncle rolled the horn up the back. His father gave him a second calabash of chicha and the boy returned to his place on the bench, where he displayed his scars to his companions, composed and grinning from ear to ear.

Next to be initiated was the son of the headman's sister, the boy
[534] who was not of the sib. The same man did the whipping, using not *Bwü* but *Onpwénda*, the least powerful of the three ancestors they were invoking. I concluded that a father would naturally initiate his own son with the most powerful and the very first of the ancestors, while saving the least potent for his cross nephew. When I mentioned
[182] this to the man he assured me I was wrong, explaining that it made
[614] no difference who was whipped with which ancestor since their blessings went not to any one person, but to all being initiated as well as to the sib as a whole. The important thing, he said, was not to neglect an ancestor who had been brought to the house. I am inclined to accept this explanation with some skepticism, because the Indians always deny inequality as a matter of courtesy, but they recognize it nonetheless. When informants discussed *Bahúkiwa* ancestors in general terms they all agreed that it was best to be whipped by *Bwü* because "he is the strongest."

This boy was exceedingly apprehensive. Before the first blow

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# 9

## *The Drinking Party*

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614 The drinking party (*unkúndye*: chicha, or *unkwínemu*: drinking
[615] affair) is the mode of exchange that, generally speaking, governs the relationships among the sibs of the same phratry. Sibs, as I have already noted, do not feast one another, an observation that Koch-Grünberg also made. A sib has its internal drinking parties during which one household head serves chicha to the rest; but the serious and regular drinking parties are those that are held for the purpose of entertaining the sibs of the phratry. I could not determine defi-
[554] nitely the pattern of intersib drinking parties, but I believe that an important principle is one of social rank. Higher-ranking downstream settlements prepare chicha more often than do lower-ranking sibs. This accords with the aforementioned Cubeo doctrine that leadership comes from giving and subordination comes from receiving. Drinking party invitations, however, must also be reciprocated, so that over a long enough period of time each sib will have entertained all the others. Since sibs are under no formal obligation to honor a drinking party invitation, the result is that most drinking parties bring together only near sibs who are obligated to attend for personal reasons. Nevertheless, each full-fledged sib plans at least one event during the year when it will have entertained most if not all of its fellow sibs. Attendance at an intersib drinking party is normally by an entire sib although there is flexibility in this.

[182] The drinking parties are of prime importance in unifying the sibs of a phratry. Their frequency and their attendance attest to the state

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of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates. 574 614 182

The *unkúndye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited to sibs of the phratry, the *unkúndye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkúndye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkúndye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity. [831] [837]

The hosts of an *unkúndye* have two very evident anxieties as they go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkúndye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As already mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy 574 614 273 574 614 554 [123]

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574 the guests arrive they are asked to drink from the chicha prepared
[554] by each cosponsor. Those who do not choose to be cosponsors help in inconspicuous ways. There is honor in being a cosponsor but no competition for the privilege either. A household head feels free to decide when he desires cosponsorship. Those who have the most manioc to spare accept cosponsorship most freely. Major drinking parties are always sponsored by the headman, but smaller parties that bring together only close sibs may be offered in the name of a household head who wants the honor. The headman paternalistically defers to this. Some drinking parties are announced as being sponsored by a group of brothers. Of course if there is a special occasion
[562] the household head most closely concerned is expected to be a main sponsor. Women do not sponsor or cosponsor drinking parties except for the father's sister, who as widow or divorcée living in her
[182] own sib has the status of a household head. The Cubeo use drinking party sponsorship as a means of dealing with the minor frictions of community life, for cosponsors, by the symbolic act of doing something together, have reaffirmed their closeness. On a larger scale, attendance at drinking parties serves the same function.

574 The guest list provokes much discussion and entails in a sense
614 a review of the sib's relations with its fellow sibs. An invitation may
203 help achieve a reconciliation or it might yield only a humiliating rebuff. Invitations will be delivered in person, by the headman and by all cosponsors, the headman undertaking the downstream higher-status sibs, the others the upstream lower-ranking sibs. The proper time to deliver an invitation is six days before the event. The host delivers the invitation in a chanting tone during which he does not look at the guest but over his shoulder, and the guest replies in the
[201] same manner. The host holds up his hands, palms out and thumbs together. When the thumb of the right hand meets the thumb of the left hand it means there will be drinking. Holding two thumbs together is also a jesting sign, meaning, "Now we are going to drink." The four fingers of the right hand mean days of work, and the right-hand thumb means a day of very heavy preparation. The invitation means, then, "We are going to be very active for five days. On the sixth we shall drink."

574 One principle of Cubeo social structure is that whatever is accom-
614 plished on a multisib scale must have its counterpart on the smaller community scale in which household stands for sib. Thus, the five preparatory days are all small drinking parties within the sib so calibrated by degree of festivity—drinking, taking coca, singing, smoking—that each day the festive atmosphere is heightened, so that

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574 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with
576 each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkúndye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good
574 part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are
576 particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has
273 set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting
576 follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which
182 is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately man-
796 ner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by sub-
[765] sidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged
[831] and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the
[276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker,

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its inevitable crescendo of excitement and disorder, dances and songs are interchanged.

In the course of the ceremonies, the relationship between the nonhuman world of the masked representations and the people, represented by the women, becomes increasingly more intimate, culminating, as we have already noted, in the total intimacy of coitus. The spirit of Cubeo ceremonialism is generally Dionysian. In religious excitement the Cubeo achieve a desired and temporary dissolution of the segmentation and conceptual separatenesses in normal social and religious life.

Koch-Grünberg (1906a), who observed part of an *óyne* in 1903 among the *Hehénewa*, saw in the masked dances two themes, an appeasement of evil spirits and fertility rites. My own information does not agree entirely with this interpretation. It is a fact that several of the masked dancers represent malevolent beings; the jaguar, that is the embodiment of the dreaded sorcerer, the butterfly, that symbolizes the act of sorcery, and the *abúhuwa* or forest monsters, that devour human victims. In addition the masked dancers represent the dung beetle and the vulture, eaters of offal and carrion. These creatures represent to the Cubeo the facts of death. Except for the *abúhuwa*, who are not taken too seriously, the most common agency of death is to the Cubeo a particular human enemy. Evil sorcery can be warded off by particular magical means. The masked dances, however, are not magical means for warding off danger. They are, rather, dramatic rituals whose purpose is to generate a frame of mind in which the fact of death is confronted and made to appear natural and tolerable. By coming to the house as guests, to dance, to sing, to drink chicha, and to "copulate" with women, the masked creatures are made to appear, finally, as a friendly part of the Cubeo world. The malevolent creatures are not singled out, but appear in the context of the whole ensemble of masked dancers.

As for the fertility theme, this has been a cherished cliché of earlier anthropology that promptly labeled any ritualization of sex as "fertility rites." The situation is more complex. The dancers do indeed represent male potency, but the simulated coitus emphasizes rather the carnal aspect of sex, for it is the older women, possessing the privilege of obscenity, whom the masked dancers "attack sexually."

## THE MASKS

The dance masks of the Cubeo are made of a white bark cloth called *tówũ* (tree bark), which is also the name by which the masks are generically known.

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjiko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjiko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikũ* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

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## THE SIB UNITS

The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

765 614 [615] [754] [535]

## ORGANIZATION OF THE *ÓYNE*

As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur-

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765 ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics,
0182 and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disinte-
614 grate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized
[615] melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the sym-
bolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing
of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer.
For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the
*óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point
765 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for pre-
614 paring a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and
532 for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib
has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is
[203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, al-
though when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his
messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the
purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will
[533] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a
[535] mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted
[776] by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe
that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about
it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor
535 a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general
152 order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of
mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the
ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An
ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of
dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional
level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

## MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ÓYNE

765 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time
539 when people did not die and there were then very many people. One
morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copu-
lated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told
what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him
out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling
ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very
thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in
his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

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*Xudjiko* and her consort, the mourning by the primordial ancestors; and the sib units, the solidarity of the phratry in expressing both grief and anger. The dramatizations and mimetic dances present a variety of minor themes, such as menace and hilarity. If one looks at the *oyne* as a whole, however, and follows the sequence of events from their slow and solemn beginning to their conclusion in a simulated sexual orgy and then in a real one, a single main theme emerges, and that is the sexual interplay between men and women. By contrast to the sexual emphasis, the ritual of dealing with the spirit of the deceased seems almost minor and anticlimactic. It is only at the very end, when most guests have departed, that the ghost is dispatched. The climax of the first part of the *oyne* is ritual coitus, just as the climax of the second part is sexual license. We can therefore describe the *oyne* in terms of ritualized sexual sequence.

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Fig. 11. Mourning ceremony, women's entrance.

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then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure. [831] [786] [535]

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudjiko* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping. [533]

This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *óyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *óyne*. 765 831 786 535 [182]

From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out – one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Mîavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs. [152]

The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abûhuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakûiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamirê, kamirê*. These dancers leave, and another *Abûhukû* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudûki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among 765 536 [535]

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536 the women and dives clumsily after it, rolling among the women and over them. He recovers it and tries to crack it in his mouth, but of course he is wearing a mask, and finally he examines it with a marvelously executed air of puzzlement and dejection. The women have been so dazed by now that the comic virtuosity of this "clown" does
[152] not draw the expected laughs. The *Abühukü* leaves and there is a respite. The women stir about and look after their children, and it seems as though the emotional gradient, having been broken in its upward ascent, has dropped to the most ordinary level.

765 But this quiet interlude is short. At midmorning all the masked
831 dancers storm noisily among the women in a dance called the
786 *hwananiwa* (wild peccary). They throw themselves upon the
535 women, forcing them to the ground and to the copulatory position. Three or four men cover a woman. The dancers rise again to dance in sheer frenzy, careening about the room, shrieking and falling again upon another woman. But even though their excitement seems more feverish than ever, the men still do not lay a hand upon a woman. They choose for their attentions only the older women. The
[887] older women among the Cubeo are licentious, and they behave at this time as though they have become sexually aroused. They laugh and shriek and reach for a man's thighs. The daughters observe this spectacle of their mother's sexual excitement with evident dismay and great interest. The mothers shrilly command their daughters to run away and so escape sexual molestation. At the command to run they begin to leave, but they come back to watch. Again, the very young
[152] boys who share this masculine license are carried away by sexual excitation and lustfully attack the women, the wives of their phratry mates. The women "fight them off" with the standard courting resistance and succeed in inflaming them all the more. Not all the masked dancers join this revelry in the same spirit. Some men, the older ones in particular, are restrained, treating the dance symbolically, and some are simply shy and only brush lightly against the
765 women. The point of view is that of symbolic frenzy rather than of
182 sheer unrestraint. The mastery of this mood is surely a difficult one,
152 because the women, who are a laity, are under no compulsion to dis-
831 cipline their feelings. This is presumably the Cubeo ceremonial con-
786 ception – pitting masculine symbolically controlled behavior against
535 the spontaneous emotionality of the women. This interplay between emotional form and substance, so to speak, adds spontaneity and emotional spice to the ceremony but always within the framework of form. That the youngsters should succumb to simple lust in this licentious dance is, to be sure, a spontaneous consequence of the

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really pro- 786
vides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony. 535

The *hwananiwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is fol- [182]
lowed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return [152]
with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), [522]
and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. [825]
The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the leg- [287]
ends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, 765
carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alliga- 536
tor." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* — the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women 765
strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. 536
Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at 182
the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the un- 831
controlled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals 765
representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes 535
less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation 536
of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark-fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner. 765 535 831 786

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark-cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one-month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks. [838] [857]

The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion. 765 786 831 182 837

The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women – the sexually most desirable – are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of [838]

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenádox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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safeguards sib solidarity. On the other hand, when the disputants are of different sibs it is relatively easy for the issue to embroil the sibs as entities and correspondingly difficult to confine the issue to the actual principals. The fiction of phratric consanguinity notwithstanding, the sib is still, in Cubeo thought, a natural unit that holds within itself the constant potentiality of antagonism toward the fellow sib. The fact that each sib arrives at a drinking party or other ceremony armed and as a unit is the symbolic expression of latent antagonism. The ritual theme of dissolving the semblance of sib unity through intoxication is presumably counteractive to sib solidarity and antagonism. Yet this counteraction via intoxication contains the paradox of bringing the undercurrents of antagonism to the surface. To be sure, when a quarrel occurs in the late stages of a drinking party it often is isolated because the other sibmen may not be fully aware of what is going on. The safety device does work, to a degree and for a time. Moreover, some men are known to be quarrelsome by temperament and are consequently ignored. Granted all these mitigating circumstances, it is easy for a man to involve his own sib in a dispute with another. When illness and death occur, one conclusion is inevitable. That is found in the expression "*they* want *us* to die." This theme recurs in the funeral orations. Perhaps it is because the Cubeo sibs have a history of separate though related origins and a tradition of past antagonisms that present-day intersib hostility can flare, and is expected to flare, even though the issues that disturb them are, at bottom, trifling. However, in conformity with the minor nature of the disputes is the absence, in recent times, of intersib warfare. The disputes result in coolness and social distance and not in organized fighting. In summary, phratric unity is readily disturbed but never very seriously. It is restored by the process described under "Periodicity." It is because the issues are not irreconcilable that the social "governor" that restores peace by separation can work so well

The orbit of the sib has the same general form as the orbit of the phratry, with the formal difference that the sib has a leader whereas the phratry has no leadership at all. In the sib, moreover, all the ties are substantially firmer than in the phratry. Since the cultural view holds that sib unity is a natural expectation and since there are no important issues dividing sibmates, we are faced with a truly difficult theoretical problem in accounting for sib fission. The common explanation, that fission of local groups in simple societies is due simply to insufficiency of food in the immediate locality, does not apply to the Cubeo, who, at least in modern times – a period of population decline – are not confronted by land shortage. There is, in

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571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
[578] Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a com-
[182] plex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen to-
[857] gether. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken -- and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the preva-
578 lence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordi-
831 narily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship?
837 Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
[562] discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

578 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
571 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
837 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
593 acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
[562] status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional
[554] cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

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these conditions is relevant to an understanding of Cubeo culture. 121
But even taken together they do not account for the principal pat- 174
terns of Cubeo culture, which have a natural history of their own. The question, however, is not whether cultural patterns have a natural history, but only whether the ecological and the technological theories are adequate accounts of the natural history of a culture.

## ADAPTATION

Thus, the problem of cultural adaptation to an environment can- 182
not be dealt with simply and one-sidedly by describing the hypothet- 121
ical shaping of a culture to the environment. Adaptation is a study of interaction. Generally speaking, highly specialized environments demand highly specialized and hence relatively predictable cultural responses. The tropical forest is not an example of a highly specialized economic environment judged empirically by the diversity of cultural patterns it has sustained. Bitter manioc is clearly a cumber- 182
some crop, its high yield and relative ease of cultivation being offset 241
by its very heavy demands on labor, specifically on that of women. 121
It can be argued, therefore, that this crop offers a poor economic base for social and political development. Yet the Northwest Amazon also is familiar with maize, yams, and sweet manioc, not to mention beans and squash and gourd. These crops have traditionally sustained high cultures. Can we explain in ecological terms why the Northwest Amazon tribes chose to specialize in bitter manioc rather than maize and beans, as did, for example, the lowland Maya? It would seem that here is a case of cultural choice in which prefer- 121
ences for quick yield, minimum care in cultivation, strong sexual divi- 181
sion of labor, and perennial harvest rather than the problems of 182
storage and seasonal periodicity may have been compelling factors. 433
Since the Cubeo social system placed no great demands upon an ex- (241)
panding economic productivity the "easy" adaptation to nature was always feasible. The main patterns of Cubeo life do not stress the disciplines of prolonged and closely managed effort. The habitual (461)
rhythms of masculine labor are discontinuous and varied. Leadership is based on the principle of mood regulation rather than on dedication to an ideal or submission to authority. High cultures are based on strongly disciplined and collective ways of life. By contrast, the Cubeo values greater emotional spontaneity and personal autonomy. An economy, needless to say, will in the end transform cultural values as well as the personal character of the members of a culture. Before

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it can do so, however, it must be given a chance, so to speak, by the culture. There is nothing in physical nature that dictates the form of an economy beyond the requirement that it satisfy subsistence needs. In the case of the Cubeo the simplicity of the economy, and the corresponding simplicity of the culture as a whole, would seem to be far more a product of its fundamental patterns and principles of organization than of an external nature. If this conclusion is correct, it would suggest that the simple horticultural societies, as a type, are not mere victims of inhospitable environments but rather that they constitute a range of cultural systems with characteristic modes of equilibrium and adaptation that do not readily foster economic expansion and higher levels of social and political integration. This statement leads to one other conclusion, namely, that a culture is only partly a functional system adapted to the satisfaction of basic needs. With respect to these satisfactions, most societies have surplus capacity, a great deal of room for maneuver and for improvisation. Much of the form of a culture represents a style of life that need not, indeed cannot, be explained simply in terms of function, equilibrium, or adaptation. A style of life then must be studied in its own terms since it too is part of the diversity of nature.

842 /385 cont./
847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach these methods.

The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkákõ (literally it means
848 "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
*[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother (111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkákõ brother.

581 It is considered shameful to have children at once in the
842 first year of marriage, Pe. Humberto Limpens of Acuaricuara,
• 183 river Paca, informed us. They want children only two or three years after the marriage, and this is also the interval between
[797] children. A demonstration that this is artificial is given by the good Christian mother, alumna of the Mission, with successive children and at once from the first year. One understands the
[462] difficulty of the native mother who, besides the care and nursing of the child, is pressed with the work of the house and of the clearing, if she does not have the help of older daughters.

/438 cont./

881 562 are flogged on the back with reeds four times by the Komũã, keeping their arms crossed on the chest, and they can not cry (64).

• [183] 64. We were told of a young man who could not stand the blows and, feeling humiliated and scorned by those of the tribe, had to leave and place himself at the service of the whites in S. Gabriel.

Some child may hide in order to dry his tears, said an informant.

Handfuls of pepper are put in their mouths, and they are ordered to chew them. When there are several, they are arranged in a line, and with a stick they dig a hole, into which they are later going to spit. Not hitting the hole will be a reason for punishment. At dawn they take a bath in the river; upon returning, they drink a little Kaxpí. [192]

They are obligated for the great fast, be'tisé, and their obligatory food is the larvae of the wasps.

562 869 881 They spend whole hours sitting on the ground, listening to the pajés narrating the traditions, telling the legends, teaching the obligations as members of the tribe, husbands, and fathers, giving advice, fixing the relations with the neighboring tribes. These instructions are intermingled with caxiri and with the apprenticeship in the fabrication of the baskets, fishing nets, and other tasks of the men.

[534] [778] While narrating the stories of the Mĩrĩã, they place one of the mysterious instruments beside each boy, so that he can observe it well (65).

[192] 65. The instrument is an essential element for the male initiation. Besides the positive information obtained, it says the very name of the rite: "Na porá-ré mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mo-yẽrá," as the natives express themselves, that is, initiation of the sons with the mĩrĩã. This is also the opinion of Koch G. (Z. I. 220).

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the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails — but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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226 nor do all the men fish on the same day. A man who has had no luck one day temporarily loses interest in fishing. He turns to other activities, perhaps to hunting or to making household implements, or he may do nothing. As the season begins to taper off one fisherman after another gives up. The last to stop is the most successful. The Cubeo believe that a dispirited fisherman will catch nothing anyway. [261] When all have stopped fishing the community hungers. After about a week of poor meals the women nag, but the men do not move until 226 they have received a sign. The sign usually comes from the young 857 male play pack. When the men have retired to the maloca to sulk, the youngsters turn their play fully toward the river. They take out canoes, and they set lines along the shore. For this they win immediate praise from the women, who say, "Look, the boys can catch fish but the men cannot." The boys patrol the river. One sights a school of fish and rushes into the house shouting, "The fish are coming." The men run to the bank to see. Then with great hilarity and good-natured pummeling of the boys they take to their canoes and the fishing cycle resumes.

226 Periodically, the routine of individual fishing is interrupted by organized collective fishing parties. The organizer is often the headman, but any man who has a plan will enlist a party. Summer is the season for fishing parties, when fish can be trapped in a shallow pool and stupefied with fish poison. Fishing parties are festive and noisy. The young play pack attends them, and the catch, which may be large, is collective. Each fisherman secures his own catch. When the party returns they distribute the total catch to all households. The [183] distribution, according to an important Cubeo principle, is personal and never anonymous or generalized.

Fishing a shallow pond requires equipment and preparation. One man locates the place and asks his fellows to join him in fishing it. Several, or all, contribute sections of splint fencing that forms the weir. One party undertakes to put up the weir while another manages to gather and prepare fish poison. The men, as always, work efficiently together with a minimum of formal direction. Most have been members of a common play pack so that teamwork is automatic. Each household head has brought his own canoe into which he loads his "own" catch. Some shoot with bow and arrow, others use a dip net, and some thrash about seizing the dulled fish with their hands. Such fishing is never solemn. The men joke, they address each fish, and when they have tired of the sport they stop. A man may take secret pride in his individual catch, but he is expected to behave as though he were lampooning rivalry.

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439 business. The Indians are now aware that in their dealings with the whites their labor and their products have a fixed value with some [462] leeway for bargaining. Direct commercial trade, object for object, is almost exclusively the province of the Indian women. This is not a new role for them because they also are active in intertribal and intersib trade. Because women do not have as much contact with whites as do their men they still inject into the commercial trading much that is traditional.

439 571 The traditional attitude is that any exchange is part of a patterned social relationship. An exchange establishes a linkage between the principals and each is aware of his obligations and of the showing he must make. The obligation is of generosity, the temptation to give somewhat more than one has received. The impression to be made [831] is that one does not haggle over objects. An exchange between a man and a woman who are sexually eligible to one another introduces the additional element of flirtatiousness. All of these elements enter into and complicate and enliven the farinha trade. The more experienced men are able to adapt to commercial methods, but since it is improper for a man to conduct his wife's business for her he will stand aside when she is trading her farinha.

439 I never witnessed the intertribal trade, but when I pointed to an object and asked who had made it or where it had come from, its provenience and the nature of the transaction were always known. Manioc grating boards, for example, generally come from the Isana River. The Cubeo often traded European articles for tribal manufactures, less because they needed the tribal object than to satisfy another Indian's need for the European article. A Macú once wanted matches and gave a small basket for a box. The Macú baskets are highly valued, but in this case the initiative was with the Macú. An [183] important principle of native trade in the area is that an object asked [576] for must be surrendered. One must be careful, therefore, not to ask for something the owner might be reluctant to part with. Thus the [123] *Buhúkiwa* headman asked me as a condition of my staying in his community not to offer to buy ceremonial objects. "If you ask for them," he explained, "we shall have to give them to you. How shall we replace them?" Thus, there is an element of delicacy in intertribal trade. At the same time there is a compulsion to engage in trade so as to give significance to the meeting of people of different tribes. In sum, while intertribal trade eventually satisfies the requirements of the Indians for specialized objects they would not ordinarily have, each individual transaction responds to motives that are often only indirectly economic. Trade objects circulate readily. Thus, a set of

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and shar- [431] ing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled 423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, 431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites 423 for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one ter- 614 ritorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of 226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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264 eat together, crouched about the small pot of prepared food or sitting in a hammock. Such meals are usually light and rarely consist of
264 fresh fish or freshly caught game. It may be a pepper pot into which
262 preserved fish or meat has been flaked or a dish of dried meat chopped fine, with dry peppers. If it is the morning meal, taken just upon arising an hour or so before dawn, it is a *mingau*, a tapioca porridge sometimes mixed with crushed pineapple. There is not much eating between meals. If men have been working hard they refresh themselves with sugar cane. Youngsters, however, eat as often as they like, and that is most of the time. Youngsters are free to draw upon the household larder, but much of what they eat they have foraged for themselves, fruits, sugar cane, small game, and fish. A youngster, however, will take only manioc cake prepared by his own mother.

264 The main meal, taken just before sunset so that it concludes shortly after sunset, is usually formal and separates men and women. A collective meal, it is eaten in the center of the dance corridor. The men crouch in a tight circle around the cluster of pots that each woman has set down. Their sons are before them in an inner circle. Women and girls sit in an outer circle behind their fathers and husbands. The men eat first and when they have finished they rise and return to their hammocks while the women and girls then move in to finish
261 what is left over. The Cubeo are not voracious eaters. They eat almost
264 daintily and are amused at the uncouthness of those who eat as though they were hungry. When I ate with them I always left the table hungry. I never saw any Indian eat to repletion even when great quantities of food were available. The method of eating, with the women waiting hungrily behind them, is perhaps a deterrent to gorging. It is my impression, however, that the Cubeo associate excess
• [183] only with drink and associate food with moderation. That is to say, excess is pertinent to intersib gatherings, moderation is the keynote
[614] within the closer community of kin that is the sib.

264 People eating together are gay though not boisterous; even the
522 older men, ordinarily solemn, unbend. The younger men laugh, tease one another, remember with amusement an incident in the catching of the food they are now eating. The women join in the laughter most generously and the men gallantly pass back to them morsels of food on bits of manioc cake. The normal movement of food at this point is from a man to his wife, daughter, or sister. But in the spirit of jest he will pass food to another woman. This will provoke mirthful calls of "ha, your sweetheart." No man would be so foolish as to pass back food to a woman with whom he might be having an affair even though this is a permissible jesting occasion. If

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264 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahûkiwa* to pay a
574 courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to
123 eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahûkiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may
788 explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack
571 fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest
866 for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This
[857] attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader — not necessarily the headman — makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in
183 leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good
571 part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances
431 of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice; one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy
[123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

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others. I doubt that any nonsharing goes unobserved and I expect that the nonsharer is not too concerned with being unobserved. Often enough, boys will quarrel about the distribution of food, but never with a nonsharer. They sense the significance of the gesture and are embarrassed by it, waiting for the delinquent to finish. He rejoins them and their play resumes as though nothing had happened. Elders will not correct nonsharing among children because they regard what the boys do in the play pack as a matter of no adult concern. I was never aware that the children themselves ever rebuked or punished a nonsharer in their midst. The nonsharer always received his portion. The play pack leader, who does not hesitate to censure a member for indecent sexual behavior, is comfortable in his role as a giver and will not censure a nongiver. He understands, to be sure, that nonsharing is a form of deliberate estrangement from the intimacies of the group, but he also knows that no headman will censure a household head who chooses to become an Independent or a Satellite. Similarly, the nonsharer may estrange himself from the play pack but the play pack will not ostracize him. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the flagrant nonsharer was also the boy who ran away during the ancestral whipping rites. Every example of a case of nonsharing that came to my attention (five or six only) was that of a boy who had no father. Orphan boys are deprived of one of the more pleasurable intimacies of receiving a portion of fish or game that a father brings home. A man's son is the first to greet him when he beaches his canoe. He is given a fish or a bit of meat, which he prepares by broiling or baking and shares with his play pack. He has the status of a giver. The orphan child, in these circumstances, has the lower status of a receiver and is denied a food intimacy. The nonsharer acknowledges at the same time a status of subordination as well as of estrangement.

Among adults, nonsharing is more disturbing and more consequential. A man who does not share food eventually refuses to do his share of work. Such a person is called "one who does nothing." A household head who is angry or out of sorts will not join the sib meal but will gather his family around him at the household hearth for a private meal. A mood is respected and the incident passes with little notice. If it is repeated, it is assumed that the nonsharer will soon move out and become an Independent. Nonsharing does become a touchy issue when food is scarce. We were experiencing hungry days during the height of the rainy season, most meals consisting of manioc cake dipped in peppers, fortified occasionally with a minnow. One late afternoon a household head entered the maloca with a

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261 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily
183 toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that
571 he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own
431 hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about preparing it, never once turning her eyes out upon the maloca. The house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however, venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head
183 prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He
571 chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly
431 caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand
522 gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible household head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave. The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not like us.

261 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of
183 anger. Just as the boys of the play pack will only stand aside as their
571 nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do
431 nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in
578 extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the dissafferted household departs. I was told, but could not verify it,
[754] that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people, it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

/77 cont./

142 Suryāna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryāna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

• 184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwāna exhibit the handsomest types.
171
*192

b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-
[531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the c[illegible]ve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, s[illegible]ng
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginni[illegible] imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[411] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana
[567] /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

/78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to
[226] all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desāna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/78 cont./

532 On the other hand, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the
184 masks are manufactured and worn by the Kubêwana and Wanana, and, later, also by the Taryana. We likewise find masks among the Íde-masã of the stream Comé-ia (tributary of the left bank of the river Pirá-paraná).

## 2. Classification

121 The attempt to classify the tribes of Brazil in general, as well as those of the Amazon or of the Rio Negro in particular, is still open for discussion.

A classification, let us say, culturological, of the tribes of the Uaupés is impossible today. The relations among the various tribes, already dating back centuries, brought about a more or less perfect interculturation among them. We can, then, affirm that the nations of the Uaupés constitute at present a single cultural group, the origin of whose cultural elements is difficult to retrace at the present time. The peculiarities of each tribe are few and insignificant, as we have just seen, and do not, by themselves, permit a classification.

A classification fundamentally anthropological, be it serological, be it somatic, is likewise impossible. The blood
143 examination done a few years ago by Prof. Emílio Biocca of the University of Rome on 237 individuals of the Tukano, Taryana, and Maku tribes showed that all of them belonged to type O, and the relation between the genes m and n was constant. The regimen of absolute tribal exogamy, which has been practiced for centuries among them, necessarily brings about bio-anthropological assimilation.

Though it seems to us that at present the glottologic
197 classification would be still easier and more persuasive, nevertheless in this plurisecular melting-pot some idioms were profoundly altered and some human groups have already adopted

/115 cont./

*101 The vocabulary we managed to get (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical") reveals as great a distance from the Tukano idiom as they are different anthropologically from this tribe.
[142] Short, as they are, but more slender and fairer, and with a tapered face. Chestmir affirms that their idiom exhibits Karaíba intrusion.

They are specialists in making sieves and in the preparation of the tucum. The Tukano affirm that they learned with the
[284] Desana how to make the "hammock of thirty threads" (VI - 2,
• [184] c (2) ).

[582] Marriage with the Taryana and Arapásu is forbidden for them (48).
[142]

48. We read in Koch Grünberg that they marry the Makús. We could not verify that. Perhaps it was a matter of a particular case reported to Koch. From the hundreds of individuals we observed, Koch's opinion that they differ from the other tribes in the following somatic features does not seem acceptable to us either: "not so well proportioned body, high head, coarse hair, oval face, prominent zygoma, large nose, somewhat slanted eyes."

[161] /116/ 2) Habitat and inhabitants. They come to several hundreds (601 in the census of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/"). Today we find them in large numbers on the Papurí and tributaries, but especially on the Tiquié and its tributaries -- the Castanho, Umarí, Ira, and Turí-igarapé. Some groups came down, as early as the beginning of the last century, to
[191] the mouth of the Uaupés and the Rio Negro. These last ones, as we read in Giacone, "from the contact with the Caboclos and whites, are the most advanced; besides their own dialect and the Tukano, they speak Nheengatú, and many, Portuguese.
[438] Every year some of them go up the Tiquié and the Papurí, visiting their brothers, taking them goods acquired with the whites,

/166 cont./

521 593 [115] It is to be noted that the husband never converses with his wife at night, only during the day, and they carry on long talks when they are resting after work. At night only gossip among persons of the same /167/ sex is permitted (so we were informed by the old Taryana woman Teodora from Iauareté, and Dorotéia Brito, Tukano, confirmed it) (44).

• [184] 44. Among the Ide-maxsã of the stream Komé-ya, we have observed conversation between husband and wife during the night. Perhaps phrases imposed by necessity are not forbidden, and only conversation for diversion is prohibited.

171 521 574 [115] A singular meeting of pajés gave us the chance of an excursion to the middle Uaupés in May of 1956. We were traveling in the company of two Tukano pajés, Marcelino and Henrique, the pajé of Juquira and of Japú-igarapé, respectively. A breakdown in the stern motor forced us to stop longer in the povoado of Periquito, of the Taryana tribe. The two pajés in transit greeted in a common manner the Taryana colleague of the locality. Soon afterwards, however, the three pajés settled down on the bank of the river at a distance of 50 or 60 centimeters from one another, each one smoking his cigarette (which one of the visitors had given to the other two). And without looking at each other, turned toward the river, they started to recite, in quite a loud voice and characteristic tone, which could be distinguished some 20 meters away. That dialogue lasted more than half an hour, during which now one and then another of the three would take turns speaking, always with the intervention of the other two, who would repeat the last words of the speaker's sentence, or other words, by way of refrain. It was a recollection of the episodes that, according to the legends of the origins, took place in those surroundings, the story of their islands, canals, cachoeiras, and rocks, a recollection with the power of an exorcism and augury of successful navigation. It was not possible for us to determine whether there was also an invocation of the "mothers of the things,"

/195 cont./

285 415 *[192] If it is a matter of a sieve or basket, they finish with three or four turns with the cipo, by way of a hoop (be'tõ), on which they tie the ends of the plaiting and later trim the tips of the straws or the strips.

285 531 The basketry of these tribes is one of the richest known. Using a more or less flexible material, they combine the plaited and the twined in several technical processes, with wide or closed spaces, and warps and woofs in various directions, in such a way that an amazing variety of patterns results. As a further demonstration of their ability, they interpose colored strips, from which appear the fanciful Greek frets /Port. gregas/ that characterize their designs. And, with such richness of imagination and technique, they make objects of varied size and shape, according to their purposes.

285 415 Baskets and sieves are made by all the tribes, but the specialists are the Desana.

• 184 *[192] 1) Tipití. The tipití, in Tukano wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ, is the press of the Indian. It consists of a cylinder or tube, which the men weave most commonly with arumã straw, with a very tight mesh. It measures 1.50 and even 2 meters in length, and barely 10 centimeters in diameter. The upper end, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ dõxpo-á (head of the tipití), is open and terminates in a handle, by which the tipití is hung on one of the supports of the house. The other end is closed and also terminates in a handle, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ bé'tõ (ring of the tipití). With the proper movement of the hands, the tipití is reduced to a shorter length, which has the effect of increasing the diameter, and through the mouth thus enlarged is introduced the mass of the grated mandioca (cf. VI - 4, a).

2) Sieves. They are used to strain the mass of mandioca, to sift the flour, etc., and are woven out of arumã straw.

The width of the meshes, dimensions, and shape will vary according to the use for which the sieve is intended. One finds some shallow, like our common sieves, and others deeper.

M /200 cont./
411 or Cêiba petándra, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the
M dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the
[224] vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees, without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T 4) Arrows. They are usually made out of paxiúba (Eriártea
411 settígera, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the
T point is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary accord-
[237] ing to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the
[824] teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of patauá (30).

T
[184]

30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

T
[177] From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which now come the metallic points.

T Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers.
[531] The feathering is found in a row /Port. cavalete/ or in a spiral.

T When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often
[224] poisoned with curare (31).

31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

/215 cont./

252 *[192] 7) Chibé. The chibé, in Tukano po'ká põõke, is prepared with the water flour rich in tapioca. It is enough to take a certain amount of flour in a cuia and add water to it. For example, they take the water directly from the river while they are traveling on it, with a quick movement of the hand, without spilling the flour. They wait for a few seconds, in order for the mandioca fibers that are in the flour to come up (at times they facilitate this, moving the mass with the fingers) and empty out the water from the top, along with these fibers. After a few moments the flour "grows," because of being impregnated with water. The chibé has then been prepared. This starchy water, acid in flavor, is naturally refreshing. The chibé is used as a snack by the Indian. With a cuia of chibé, he rows for endless hours. It is the regular food, or even the sole food, on journeys, and also his dessert after meals.

243 *[192] b) Maize.

The maize, ohó-ka (we do not know whether the Indian sees any special relation between the maize stalk, ohó-ka, and the banana tree, ohó; or if the similarity of the terms is a matter of mere accident), is not only of late introduction, but, moreover, of very restricted use. Properly speaking, there is no maize clearing among the tribes of the Uaupés, but only a few isolated plants, when there are any. A group from the Karapanã tribe, residing between the rivers Papurí and Tiquié, on the headwaters of the stream Umarí, cultivates maize in greater abundance, but it is almost entirely sold to the Salesian Mission. It is a matter of a variety with a soft and white grain.

• [184] [197]

273 In small quantity the chewed maize is used, in some cases, to facilitate the fermentation of the drinks.

252 It also enters into the preparation of cakes, through the following process: after the maize is pounded, the meal is sifted and moistened with lukewarm water. With this dough they prepare cakes that are /216/ put on to bake over coals, wrapped in banana leaves. If the woman "has a good hand," they say, a sweet and pleasing cake comes out. It is, however, a food of

/232 cont./

• 184 276 Its consumption is almost unknown today on the lower Uaupés; it is quite general, however, among the tribes of the Papurí and Tiquié, even when they have their regular food. Perhaps the abuse of the ipadú is responsible for the organic depauperation in the elderly and many stomach ulcers. Besides, the individual becomes addicted and his children are born weak, silly, defective (62).

62. The Salesian Missionary, Padre João Marchesi, on a certain occasion showed a tuxaua how the son of an ipadú eater was slow in intelligence, did not learn how to read or write, did not have any manual skills, whereas the other children did this quickly.

[797] [178] The young generation, which has gone through the Mission schools, scarcely consumes ipadú any longer.

/233/ 8) /sic: j)/ Conclusion.

252 The natives of the Uaupés take only fruits and some insects raw. Never a piece of meat or fish (63);

63. It was not possible for us to investigate as to whether it is a question only of taste and custom, or if superstitious motives also enter in. It does not seem to us that they exist, although in one of their legends it is said that Wãx-tĩ is the one who eats raw meat.

these foods ordinarily are moqueados /smoked/. And the fish is frequently boiled or reduced to a sauce with pepper, to accompany the ingestion of the beijú.

372 *[192] [177] Fire is obtained today with a match, "palito" /toothpick/, as they call it, and they try not to let it go out. Day and night one finds the fire burning inside the maloca, and they also take pots with live coals to the clearing and on trips.

/254 cont./

203 It is reported to us that many times such information was furnished by word of mouth by Indians who went up faster, by way of igarapés and shortcuts, and one maloca undertook to send the news to the next maloca (cf. V, Note 9, about the curiosity of the natives).

/255/ One of the principal means for these long-distance communications, however, was the Trocano, Twá-tõ, almost completely gone today, an instrument, moreover, without religious character and used only for social relations by the tuxáua.

202 *[192] 198

It is a teleresonator consisting of a trunk of hard wood suspended by cipos to four stakes and hollowed by means of a narrow longitudinal cleft. Struck on the edge of the cleft with a wooden mallet, Twá-tõ pá-kõ, with a projection of rubber or of anta hide, it emits a deep sound, which, in the solitude of those forests and with the help of the winds, is heard many kilometers away (5).

*[192]

5. Koch G. (Z. I. 171) tells that from Cucura-igarapé (one hour by canoe above S. José, river Tiquié) the Desana got in contact with the Tukano of Pari-cachoeira (cf. III, the Povoados) by means of the trocano.

• [184] Each tribe or maloca had its instrument and its conventional signals. With this instrument the tuxauas communicated the date and offered invitations for the caxiris. With the trocanos, moreover, they would give information about the retinues that were coming up the rivers (6).

[115] [184]

6. Information by Plácido Rodrigues, descendant of the Baré. Cf. also "Notas sôbre os Trocanos /Notes about the Trocanos/," by Carlos Drummond, Boletim 58 of the Univ. de São Paulo. Koch G. (Z. I. 393) tells that among

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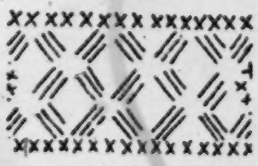
2nd. -- What is called Nõ'õsé or face painting is semicircles with the concave part upwards, on the forehead, and straight lines in a V on the side of the zygomata and on the face. Ordinarily, to execute these designs they use the Mumíkha, that is, a small stick, like a lipstick, having on one of the tips a ball of wax to which adheres the colored powder, which is taken out of the small cuia in which it is kept and is applied to the face.

3rd. -- On the trunk and limb they execute various designs, We'é ohasé, all, however, consisting of straight lines. In some cases, at the great dances of the dabacurí, the whole body is painted as if it were a robe, with lengthwise and transverse strokes. The process for these paintings is that called We-oharí-tyã, that is, they take a small cylinder of a very light wood, called molongó (in Tukano Poó-gõ: it is the ambelânia grandíflora, of the family of the Apocynaceae), with carvings corresponding to the lines that one wishes, and, while the color is fresh, they roll it against the skin where it leaves quite regular traces. They likewise use fine splints of



Design imprinted with the molongó cylinder

arumã, not infrequently two or three tied together as a paint brush, leaving a double or triple stroke. There are also coarse strokes executed with the index finger moistened in the color.

• [184] There are not, at present, marks that characterize the tribes, as the first explorers suggest. The same designs are observed in the various tribes.

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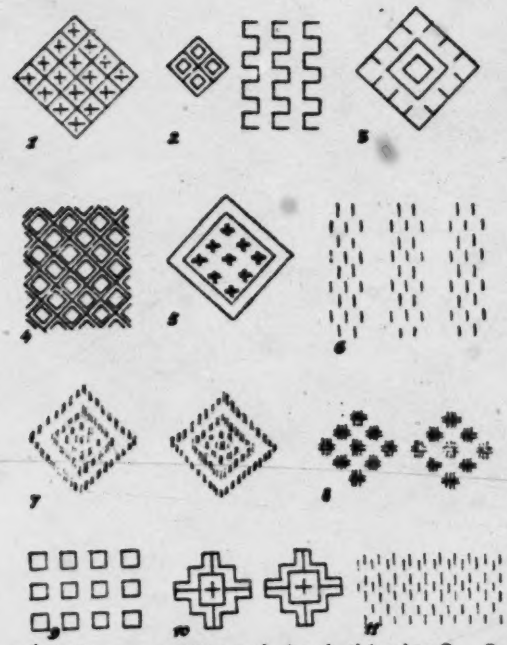

1. Yóãsõ paxkó sẽ'ẽma -- alligator's back (black); 2. Soxkõ-rõ ótri -- flower (design) of the grater (black and white); 3. Sẽ'rá -- pineapple (green and yellow); 4. Ahũ-dõxkarí -- pieces of beijú (black and white); 5. Buwahá-ro -- cuia of cutia /agouti/ (green); 6. Neé ótri -- flower of the miriti (yellow); 7. Sirí-pía ótrí -- flower (design) of the swallow (green and purple); 8. Ũhuri sẽ'ẽma -- back of the land turtle (black and white); 9. Ótri mãrĩ -- design without flowers (black and white); 10. Sakú dõ'pó-ka -- leg of saracura /Rallidae/ (white and black); 11. Yóãsõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of calango /small lizard/ (green).

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3) Designs on objects.

The Baniva customarily execute designs on the camutins or pots, and the other tribes, on the cuias used, especially on the maracá. These are vegetable colors with a predominance of white, and the designs are always Greek frets. We have already mentioned the designs on the small stools that the Tukano make.

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There are eight more common principal ornamental motifs that appear on the woven and plaited work of the hammocks and strainers:

/301 cont./

533 As for the execution, one must point out that beautiful voices are sometimes found. Among the Baniva and the Kubẽwãna one also observes piano or even pianissimo passages and forte ones, a consideration that we did not notice among other tribes. There is no preoccupation, however, with the breathing; especially when, already temulent, the woman will sing while she has any breath, then suddenly interrupts the verse or the melody in order to breathe noisily.

Some of these songs of the dances of the women, as well as of the pajés, end with laughing or a characteristic cry.

c) Songs of the xamã /shaman/.

533 756 [184] There is a repertoire belonging exclusively to the pajés. Since one pajé is trained in the school of another, perhaps of a different tribe (cf. VII -- 2, e (2 f) ), this explains the fact of hearing the same song rendered by pajés of different tribes. Nevertheless the melodies of the songs of the Tukano pajés of the Tiquie are quite different from those of the Wanana and Arwáke pajés that we were able to record (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/").

[534] [755] The pajés almost always sing to the sound of the maracá. Their songs constitute one of the curing processes and thus will vary according to the sickness. The musical theme is a Greek-Gregorian canon, melodious, slow, solemn. In some songs the words are already found adulterated; they are articulated sounds without meaning. At times laughs are also inserted.

3) Musical instruments.

534 R. G. Izikowitz (Musical and other sound instruments of the South American Indians -- A comparative ethnical study, 1935) presents four groups of musical instruments: 1st) idiophones, 2nd) membranophones, 3rd) chordophones, and 4th) aerophones. We do not find any example of the third group among the tribes of the

/303 cont./

534 the interval between the ritual dances. The young women also
535 participate as partners to each young musician. The musicians at times dance in a row, holding /304/ the flute with the right hand, and with the left one the shoulder of the companion beside him; in this case the ladies position themselves in between, holding by the waist the two men whom one is between, one in each arm. At other times the players, in a column, go around in a circle or on a winding path, now to the right, now to the left, and then, with the left hand above their own shoulder, hold the hand of their lady.

534 2nd. -- Long flute. In Tukano at times it is called buxpú-
*[192] wõ, pl. buxpú-pawõ, which, properly speaking, indicates the sarabatana /blowpipe/. Announcing its foreign origin, however, the more common name is yapúrutu (yapurutú in the Língua Geral). It is a flute of paxiúba, without registers, measuring approximately 1.50 meters in length, with a diameter of 3 to 5 centimeters. It is blown by the upper end, having, at about 10 centimeters below, an orifice that is regulated with a thin sheet of palm leaflet, as if it were the reed of a clarinet. They are also combined in pairs, canto and contracanto.

• [184] They are of various sizes and each with its name of a bird or animal, thus among the Wanãna and Kubêwana. The Tuxáua Julio of Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié) asserted that these names are given by other tribes, not by the Tukano.

Beautiful and varied musical themes are played with this
[535] flute. It is certainly the most pleasing of the native instruments. After a short rehearsal, in order to verify the tuning of the instruments (canto and contracanto), two or four men start the dance: they hold the instrument with the right hand, while the left hand rests on the shoulder of the companion beside them. They thus move to the end of the maloca, being careful that the instrument of one does not hit that of the other as they change position to march in the opposite direction. The women who enter for the dance place themselves between two men, holding them by the waist.

/307 cont./

*192 way, instead of poxsõ, makú; and they explained why,
that is, it serves as a servant, it is the makú of the jurupari);
534 3rd pair: doé (taraira), its wife is pextoá (kingfisher);
4th pair: dẽ'tõ (squirrel), its wife is also pusõ.

•[184] It seems that each tribe has its peculiar way of preparing the mĩrĩã, so that, without previous practicing, those of one tribe do not know how to play properly the instruments of another tribe. At least the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) apologized for having only one man among them who knew how to play the mĩrĩã loaned for the occasion by the neighboring Huhudẽne of Uaupuim-cachoeira (river Aiari, trib. of the Içana).

13th. -- Eheõnõ. It is not properly speaking a musical instrument, but a legendary object and for commemoration of the legends. We have already described this small horn above (cf. VI -- 4, i (3) ).

4) Musical themes of the Panpipes.

533 The Salesian Missionary, Pe. Eduardo Lagório, admirer
[115] of the native music (58),

> 58. And who has already been inspired by the native musical themes for the composition of religious and secular songs.

provided the following notes about the Panpipes /flautas-de-pã/ and their musical themes.

/310/

d) Plumage and adornment.

301 The native ornaments are many; the most striking ones are
302 for the men (59).
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59. This assemblage of ornaments (earrings, bracelets, necklaces, combs), the long hair in a braid, carefully combed, the depilation of the beard and the mustache, gave the Indian, according to Wallace's testimony, an appearance so effeminate, especially in the dance, when they even protected the chest with the shield of cipo and the lower part of the body with the long waxsó-ro of hanging tururí, that the English scientist thought he was in front of a woman. Wallace's opinion is that the legend of the Amazons or women warriors arose from this mistake (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 630).

but their use on the latter is exclusively for the dances (60).

[184]

60. In the Roéra and Ihwãna tribes, even outside of the dances, we have seen the men, especially the young ones, with paintings on the face, bracelets on the arms, and earrings made up of a plug of colored or white feathers.

at least nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

The ancient travelers speak (61)

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61. Pe. Cristovão de Acuña, referring to the journey of Pedro Teixeira in 1639, concerning the nation of the Curizaris, which started 28 leagues below the mouth of the river Juruá,

/315 cont./

*192 237 534 535

2nd. -- Umũ-ka-iti. It is a crest of white garça /heron/ feathers (yehé) and yellow ones from the japú /Icteridae/ (umũ), used like the preceding one.

3rd. -- Pexká pixkõrõá petorí, or, abbreviated, pyõrõá pe'torí. It is a beetle-carapace necklace of changeable colors (66),

> 66. A native furnished us the explanation that the pixkõrõá live inside the bacaba palm. He further added that do'tõ is "father" of the beetle pixkõrõ. It is probably a matter of insects with different phases, like the butterfly, which passes through the stages of larva and chrysalid.

which covers the bone flute during the dances.

*192 • 184 532 764 [178]

n) Masks. On the Uaupés only the Wanãna and the Kubêwãna (67)

> 67. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 205) learned that, besides the Buhágana, the õmõa /sic/ and Sãra also wear masks. It seems that until 50 years ago or a little more, that is, around the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, the use of the masks was quite widespread among the tribes of the Tiquié and tributaries.

nowadays wear the masks in the funeral dances, and for this reason they call them ya'ko-kó s[illegible]-ro, that is, clothing of tears.

/316/ They are prepared with the liber of the tururí and have the shape of a nightgown, which covers the person from the head to the knees.

773 /329 cont./
776 together, caught him, tied him up with cipos, and burned him.
According to one legend narrated by the pajé Vicente Rodrigues
*192 of the Taryana tribe and other /330/ Arwake narrators, it was
• 184 O'ã-kõ who burned Wãx-tĩ, also called Bisiu. From the ashes,
in this same place, there grew two paxiúbas /palms/, waxtá
773 (24).
776

24. It is to be noted that the name of the paxiuba in Tukano, waxtá, reminds one of that of Wãx-tĩ. From the same root, wax, we have the term that indicates the hernia truss or loincloth, waxsó-ro, the wãx-tĩ-kẽõ, tipití or the press with which they squeeze the mass of mandioca to make the flour, objects that, like the sacred instruments, were a gift from Wãx-tĩ. It should be noted that it is also from paxiúba that they make the parís and cacurís for fishing, and, not infrequently, also the walls of the malocas.

with which they make the sacred instrument called mũ̃ĩ̃ (Uaupés mĩ̃hĩ or Jurupari (25)

25. As for the etymology of the term Jurupari, Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Jurupari) recalled to an Indian that someone had told him Jurupari meant "the one produced from the fruit." The Indian answered him: "intimãã, Iurupari, céra onheẽn putáre o munha iarié iurú pari uá, no, not at all, the name of Jurupari means the one that made the closing of our mouth" (iurú, mouth, and pari, enclosure for fishing; cf. 5, a (2b) /Ch. VI/).

in the Língua Geral) in memory of the great feat. So some of their legends say, and with this they identify Wãx-tĩ with the personage Jurupari of the Tupí legends.

/332/

776 Some alumni of the Salesian Mission who have already attended pontifical functions at which the Celebrating Bishop [797] wears a miter said that Boraró appears with a miter, and the noise that he produces is precisely with the miter, which he opens and closes.

[115] A native from Parí-cachoeira, José Barreto, tells that his father, Mandú, not baptized, affirmed (1949) that the "demons" are few and that he had learned this from his own grandfather who had never seen any Missionary. He also said that his relatives, inhabitants of the igarapé of the onça /jaguar/, yai-sa, know the poison with which they can chase away or kill Boraró and that for this reason they have no fear of him at all.

*[192] In other places there are likewise individuals with such power, and for this reason they are called Boraró dohãrá, that is, those who cast malefice on Boraró (dohasé, malefice, poisoning). It is the belief of many that Boraró, upon drinking these poisons, will die.

Boraró is married, concluded Patrícia Vasconcelos, and his wife has one normal breast, but the other one is exaggeratedly *[192] long. According to others, it is Boraró's mother who shows this anomaly, and they nickname women with long breasts Boraró paxkó (mother of Boraró).

c) Bisiu or Juruparí (31).

[115] *[192] • [184]

31. A little informant from Iauareté finished by clarifying that Bisiu is Juruparí. According to a legend narrated by the pajé Vicente Rodrigues, Taryana, O'ã-kõ is called Yaperíkuli in Taryana and is the brother of Bisíu; the latter being bad and the former good. In the Arwáke legends, Bisíu is identified with Juruparí.

/348 cont./

796 we have seen. It is, however, a sign of weakness, from which
273 the Indian ordinarily abstains. It is a show of strength and masculinity to drink it and not fall down drunk. Besides it is "the plant which makes one dream," and the forest dweller wants it, in spite of its bitter taste.

Two by two, according to their importance, the men approach in order to drink the kaxpí, and soon after also caxirí, in order to take away the unpleasant flavor of the first drink, so it seems. They come equipped with the cipo shield (VII - 2, e (1) /see VI - 2, e (1b)/) and the stick-of-the-onça /see yaí-gõ above/, if these are in the maloca. The kaxpí will yet again be served twice more, the same ritual being observed. It is no longer obligatory, however, to drink it, and many, in fact, abstain from it. The individuals begin to feel besotted. Some, perhaps, fall on the ground, others vomit. This one seems to see in front of his feet a sna[illegible]49/ or a lizard; he wants to jump over it and falls dow[illegible] inebriating effect varies with the individuals; and it is a satisfaction for those of the maloca to verify that the kaxpí was strong and the guests are dizzy. Some, in this condition of inebriation, give cries, throw down objects, break vessels, bows, arrows, whatever they find at hand. The Kõmã who "blew" the drink "will blow" now over the drunken and excited individuals, in order to neutralize the effect of the
[115] drunkenness. This is information from the Tukano Antônio Barreto. The last one to drink it will be the local tuxáua, who, with the lance at the ready, takes three turns, saying some unintelligible words. Meanwhile, an Indian beats on the entrance door with a stick, likewise shouting out some words.

In observing such a ritual, the kaxpí is served three times, the vessel that contains the drink being put outside the maloca in the sun after each time. The last time is already in the middle of the night.

[184] According to the Wanana custom, at the first time two cuias are served to each individual, at the second time just one cuia, and at the third one two cuias again. When there are several types of kaxpí, one begins with the weakest one.

796 /355 cont./

562 Then the doors of the maloca are opened, and the women
858 and children come back to it, and the feast and the ritual banquet take place as was seen above.

785 /356/ Before the dances, the flagellation of the boys who
562 have not participated in the procession proceeds. They beat with
796 a reed or with ingá bark. One of the men takes the child by the legs, another by the arms, and the leader of the dances applies some strokes on his back and belly. They explain that it is to make them grow fast, and for this reason they also stretch the child during the flagellation.

The flagellation of the men will be done without interrupting the dances. Each one, standing up, receives three blows on
*[192] the back and then, as retribution, gives them to his neighbor. The instrument for this flagellation is the adabí, in Tukano wã'sõ-rĩ; it is a stick almost two meters long, but the ligneous part was extracted from its upper end, and it thus became very flexible (66).

• [184]
[178]

66. Among the Wanãna and Kubewana the adabis are well made, and because of this they are kept for similar circumstances. In the other tribes nowadays any stick is used for the flagellation. They assured us that sometimes they even omit the flagellation. It seems to us that they might really do so, at least when some civil[illegible] is present. The Kubẽwana of Ambaíba (river Querarí) showed us how they customarily applied the flagellation. In order for the blows to be more violent, the flagellator swings two or three times before delivering the blow. Some of the ones flagellated, as if they were boasting of their advantage, showed us deep scars from the flagellation that they had endured.

/372 cont./

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*[192]
[797]
[177]

/footnote 89 cont./ river Paca). Today one often hears "yuxkõ-sõ mãrĩ," there is no canoe (since they do not want to render useless the good canoes that they have), and they bury the dead in some hollow piece of timber, or they ask the Missionaries for a casket.

It will be the old canoe, fruit of his work, companion of his travels and of his fishing trips, or one obtained for this purpose. They saw it into two parts. We were unable to find out what they would have done in the old days, before they had a saw or machete, in order to divide the canoe into two halves. Whether they then did it with the help of fire, or whether they used two small canoes as a coffin. On one half they place the corpse with his hammock, bow, arrow, his cuia with a little flour, a cigar, and some coals on a piece of a pot (nowadays a box with some matches). They cover this with the other half of the canoe, closing the orifices, at present with pieces of wood, rags, or anything, and tie the two parts with strong cords of tucum.

764 The burial with part of the utilitarian objects is usually a survival from nomadism. Today the Indians explain to us that it is "to be used in the other life." Other objects (canoes, machetes, axes, hammocks, etc.) are inherited by the family, or, more accurately, by the /373/ oldest son. It is the symbol of a bond that still endures among the members who are living and those already dead (84) /sic; 90/,

• [184]

90. Koch Grünberg says of the Kubẽwãna that they burn and throw away the objects that belonged to the dead person, so that his spirit does not come to punish the survivors for their negligence and greediness (Zwei Jahre, p. 314).

/392 cont./

527 beautiful ornaments, and in certain dance numbers, in the right
535 hand, the "yu-yú" (see below, dances, 5th part), the significance of
*[192] which it was not possible for us to obtain. It consists of a small stick, having on the tip a cord from whose end hangs a loop of cipo about 15 centimeters in diameter. Cord and loop are decorated with delicate and striking tucano /toucan/ feathers. With this instrument he "beats time for the dances," that is, he shakes it rhythmically, more or less as the conductor who directs an orchestra does with his baton.

*[192] 3) Variety of dances. -- One does not notice variety in the dance steps; they are precisely the same for the most solemn Poosé as for the simplest baxsarí-nãmã (literally it means dance day).

527 There are no distinct terms equivalent to song and dance. The
533 word baxsasé translates their ideas, because they always sing during
535 the dances; and the words correspond to the rhythm of the feet and to the choreography of the movements executed.

They distinguish varieties of baxsasé, according to the musical instrument that they use; each one will have its lyrics or song. In the religious dances they are words or sounds articulated without any meaning, and they are repeated many times for the duration of the movement of the steps. The tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira,
[115] Júlio Silgueira Machado, declared to us, and many others with him, that they do not understand what they are singing.

They also vary the melodies, which are ordinarily slow, sad, although some might be pleasant and quite melodious. For /393/ this reason different names for the dances, sometimes even poetic names, appear.

• [184] In different tribes we have verified the similarity in the feasts, the same ornaments and instruments. One must point out this details: the melodies of the instrumental music are almost identical, whereas those of the song-dances differ a little more. In the steps of the dances one does not perceive any difference from tribe to tribe. That is, even in the two extremes of the native Uaupésina hierarchy, to wit, the noble tribe of the Tukano, and the slave tribe of the Maku from the outskirts of Iauareté.

535 The tuxáua-bayá Júlio gave us the following names of dances that are performed in the most solemn Poosé:

/403 cont./

533 6) Songs of the women.

562 We have already observed (cf. VII -- 3, c (2 b) ) that the songs of the women are profane, or, with more accuracy, bacchic songs; that is, they regularly sing them when they distribute the caxirí, or in the intervals when they take their drink. Besides being more lively, there are more varied themes than in the religious songs of the men. Another quite striking difference is that, while the latter nowadays are articulations without any meaning, those of the women present a clear meaning. They are recitatives of longer or shorter sentences, with opportune arguments and allusions to her own person or to the one with whom she is having the dialogue.

By the law of exogamy, in one and the same povoado there are women of the tribe of the local inhabitants, and of one or more different tribes, taken as wives. And, by chance, in transit or out walking, still others, their relatives or "sisters." For this reason [184] and also because of the frequency of the dabacurís with the participation of dancers from different tribes, one and the same song might be known and performed by women of various tribes. There follows from this the difficulty in determining from which tribe the melody of a song might originally have come. The question, properly speaking, is about the melody, and not the lyrics. Because, as we have said, the latter is a timely recitative which the singer can say in her own idiom or in that of her husband or of the tribe where the poosé is held. And since nowadays the Tukano language is becoming generalized, many times it will be in that idiom; just as the songs that we recorded are actually in Tukano, although performed by young women not only from the Tukano group of tribes, but even by a maiden of the Arwáke group, from the Kumãdene tribe.

b) Amusements.

000 The Indian leads a life in contact with the majestic and silent nature of the Amazon forest, cut by innumerable streams. This explains to us why he appears so strong, agile, cheerful, although reserved.

562 /444 cont./
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/footnote 82 cont./ however, she recovers her spirits, the operation is further repeated some four or five times with an interval of six hours. It is considered a great offense to the parents if the blows are not given with much force. During this test, all kinds of meats and fish are prepared in huge pots. Following that, those present dip into these the cipos, which immediately afterwards are given to the girl to lick. From then on she will be able to eat everything she wishes. And from this moment on she is considered a woman. She is thus ready for marriage" (o. c. 634).

[184]

There perhaps is confusion with what happens among the tribes of the Içana and among the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés on the occasion of the dabacuris. According to what the Kubewana of the Ambaíba maloca, mouth of the Querari, told us, when the father of a youth decides to look for a wife for his son, he takes advantage of the dabacuri and applies to the chosen girl three lashes with the adabi (VII-4, e (2b) ). If she stoutly endures the blows, it is an indication that she is already mature for dealing with the responsibilities of a home.

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In some Arwake tribes a caxiri is held later; it is the feast called Karyamã (83),

83. Karyamã is the name of the type of beijú prescribed for this circumstance.

which may last as long as four days (it seems that it is the same number of days as the seclusion of the girl). Then she will dance with everyone, including the pajé, and will smoke with them on the cigar made of banana leaves and tobacco. It seems that on

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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahukiwa*, whose ancestry
[604] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*wekû*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

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There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby foodstuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate disproportionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiarí than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families to travel about, visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a nontraditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. When hunters kill a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

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Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol-

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beat her "abductor" with sticks or with their bare hands. His own companions aid him, and if the girl is willing, they get to the canoe landing with no serious damage. This display of ceremonial violence satisfies two Cubeo doctrines, one that affinal sibs are "hostile" and the other that a woman will not leave her sib by her own volition but must be torn from it by brute force. There is also a third notion, namely, that a man be strong enough to capture a bride. I heard many accounts, perhaps apocryphal, of fainthearted striplings who could not bring home a bride. Such stories are often told to tease young bride seekers. 583 585 614

Father Giacone (1949, p. 21), who studied the Tucano tribe, reported no courtship and no marriage ceremony but did note forcible seizure of the bride. Father Giacone's information does suggest some variation in practice among the Tucano. There, the bride is not seized by the groom but by the groom's father, who has been accompanied by some men. They pretend they have come to purchase a canoe. In the midst of their visit for this purpose they carry off the girl and bring her home, unmolested, to the waiting groom. Often, he notes, this is the first time they have met. The girl is timid and retiring, he reports, and the women undertake to cheer her up by inviting her to accompany them on their labors. When the bride begins to work with satisfaction at all her tasks the marriage is considered settled. Some weeks later her parents come to reclaim her and the groom hides her. Her parents are given presents if she is unwilling to return home. At a later visit they repay with gifts of their own. 184 583 585 (114)

In general, Tucano and Cubeo marriage practices are alike; the most striking difference is in the fetching home of the bride. Cubeo notions of manhood would be offended at the notion that the father should bring a bride home for his son.

Among the Cubeo, the early stages of marriage are almost invariably difficult for the young couple. They are barely acquainted and the husband is expected to show his wife only the barest semblance of affection so as not to interfere with his mother, whose role it is to assimilate the young bride into her household as a replacement for the "lost daughter." The bride enters her mother-in-law's service, working with her in the manioc garden and in the preparation of manioc. Doing all the chores that she has done as an unmarried girl in her own community but under a strange woman, she is understandably disappointed, even though she is received very warmly. She is immediately locked in a conflict with her mother-in-law for her freedom. The issue is the manioc garden. A woman wants her daughter-in-law to help her in her garden and the daughter-in-law, 585 593 606

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292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since
301 stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
554 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
[756] major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[437] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[614] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region. The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox*
[184] with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *habókü* status or *kenámi upákü*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[135] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers
[324] and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mikí*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urúhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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cently split a new canoe while spreading it. It was decided to substitute the split canoe. The canoe was cut in half, one end serving as the bottom and the other as the top of the coffin.[6] When the canoe was ready, the headman and three sib elders untied the hammock in which the dead man was lying and brought the corpse, bound in the hammock, to the canoe half that lay alongside the grave. The Cubeo prefer not to handle a corpse, except to caress it as a gesture of grief and affection. The corpse is wrapped in its hammock in the same way in which household effects are wrapped in it for transportation. The corpse lying in the hammock had naturally assumed a moderately flexed position, the knees drawn up and the hands folded across the abdomen. They laid it carefully in the canoe, face down. A woman of the sib brought a gourd dish that had a hole drilled in it and placed it over the old man's head. The dish is for use in the afterlife and the hole is for breathing. A young man brought up the sib's *behórũ*, dance staff and pennant of all social ceremonial. He broke it in two and laid the pieces alongside the corpse. From what I had been told about burial practices I had expected that all the personal effects of the old man would be buried with him. When I asked they shrugged and said, "He won't need them." Koch-Grünberg, among the *Hehénewa*, reported, on the other hand, that a man is buried with his dance feathers, which are laid upon his breast. His bow and arrows, fishing gear, and other possessions are burned upon the grave. A woman's trays and dishes are burned and her pots broken up and thrown into the woods. These things must be disposed of, he observed, to prevent the dead from coming back. Presumably burial practices have changed to some degree. When I was among the *Hehénewa* they were not burying a man's ceremonial feathers with him, but used them in the mourning ceremony as a representation of the deceased.

The entire community had gathered to watch the preparations for burial. Men and women wept, except those men who were handling the burial. The widow punctuated the weeping with her own loud wails. The top of the canoe was lashed into place and the canoe was lowered by ropes into the grave by four men. All the men of the sib crowded over the grave and reached into it to touch the canoe, weeping unrestrainedly.

Through all of the first stage of mourning the children had taken

[6] An alternative method of burial is in a large pottery jar. Urn burial is preferred for women and children, who may not have a canoe. In their tales the Cubeo do not mention canoe burial at all. They speak of the body as put in a large urn in a sitting position.

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769 171 [114] by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and Tupían for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[3] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involv-
769 534 171 ing the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kúwai* (*Kúwai*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are [241] quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries during the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano In- [881] dians, where sacred horns are used in the initiation of young boys, [184] the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as [552] tamed animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral cult (Ypiringa Monteiro, 1960).

769 171 As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Cágaba (Park, 1946), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921–23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1948), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may
769 534 speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic
174 whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among
534 elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[3] Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*beheboihelehapuive*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.

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796 house, sweeping every bit of ground to remove the traces of the ancestors. They bent low and uttered low cries of *hi hi hi iii iii*, the same sound used when *mihí* is brought in. This is a sound that spirits understand.

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574 When the last traces of the ancestors had been swept out, the men called to the women to return. The return of the women restores the house to its normal condition. Before that it is a man's house, a cult house and not a true domicile. This change was marked by having the guests, who had already taken part in the earlier ceremonies, leave, go down to the landing place, march up the path, and be received at the front door in the usual reception line. What seemed to be the beginning of an ordinary drinking party then followed. However, later that night the women were told to move to the rear and to sit facing the rear door. The torches were put out and some old men fetched the hidden horns to play them in the forward men's section. They danced out again and hid the instruments. When the playing stopped, the women rose, lighted the torches again, and took possession of the *konhá* berries. The headman's wife, in her traditional role, supervised and assisted in the preparation of a *konhá* porridge, and the remainder of the berries were distributed to all the adult women. The porridge was prepared quickly and calabashes of it were sent down to the forward end of the house for the men.

Now the mothers turned to their sons to inspect the welts raised by the whippings. But the boys turned away and the mothers knew enough not to persist. The ceremony was over.

This was a truncated ceremony. Normally, the elders who have danced into the house with the ancestor horns after the lights have been put out dance among the women, while other men thrash the women with switches. Then the adult men take turns in whipping one another. None of this was done, they said, because most of the guests they had invited had not come, and feeling dispirited they cut the ceremony short.

769
796 However, I had the opportunity of attending another whipping ceremony at the maloca of a subsib. This one was well attended and the atmosphere was properly charged with excitement, helped by a
184 great quantity of chicha and *mihí*. Yet here too the whippings were confined to the young boys and the women were unmolested. At one point, however, the ancestors danced outside the house, and two boys guarded the door while youngsters pelted the front door with berries. This was done not to frighten the women within but to give them a more vivid sense of the "presence" of the ancestors. This was re-

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peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the 796
origin traditions. 184

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One 769
man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a 796
horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another 178
gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the 866
region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

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Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through 856
adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned [515]
bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective dur- [534]
ing the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplemen- [824]
tary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is [515]
to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also
favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously
shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center. 574 [342]

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough. 574 571 614

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers. 574 273 [462]

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihi* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner. [535] [171] [184] [276]

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[171]
[184]

Koch-Grünberg has observed this dance among neighboring Tucanoans as well as among Arawakan-speaking tribes. He observed it as a courting dance, boys and girls leaving the house after a dance and disappearing into the surrounding darkness (1909, I, 293, II 272). There is no mistaking the erotic undertones of this dance among the Cubeo. But it cannot ordinarily be a courting dance since the participants are normally sibmates and phratry mates if unmarried. The first girls to join the dancers are, in fact, their sisters. But as the evening wears on, the erotic character of the dance emerges in a dangerous form. An unmarried girl too often chooses to thrust herself beneath the arms of her sister's husband, a married woman "chooses" a husband's brother. What is ordinary courtship in tribes that bring together potential marriage mates at their drinking parties is largely adultery or the threat of adultery among the Cubeo, who entertain within the exogamous circle. I suspect that in the case of the Cubeo, simple courtship dances have become embroiled in a changing social order that has gradually built up a phratric system out of independent exogamous local groups. In the process the dance has lost its innocence.

The dancing has a deceptively decorous appearance. As the girls insert themselves between two male dancers, under the arm of one, the men never pause, turn their heads, or change expression. The girl puts her right arm lightly around her partner's waist. She holds her left hand before her, at her skirt. Crouched beneath the yoke

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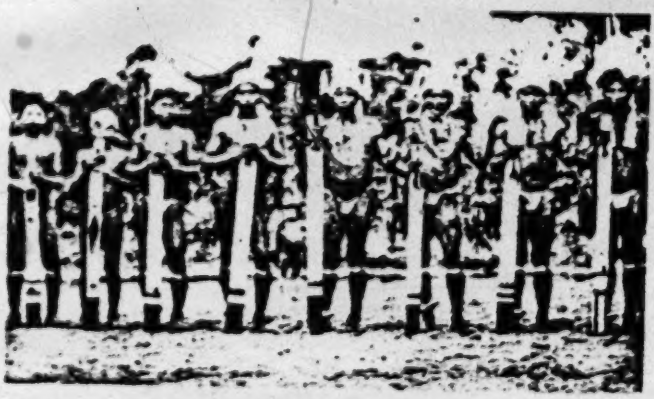

Fig. 10. *Hehénewa* men in full dancing costume.

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different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kiuai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucanoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *dyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjiko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenddox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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masks and drink chicha. The guests finally stand in a circle around 574
the ceremonial remains of the deceased. With heads bowed and [535]
leaning on their guns or staffs before them they chant a lamentation,
their leader shaking his rattle slowly. They weep, the *Xudjiko* trum- [533]
pets pick up the lament, and the women join in. They repeat this
performance with little variation three times. After the third, they
break ranks and face their hosts again in the postures of the angry
harangue. Finally each guest breaks away and rushes toward the open
doorway brandishing his weapon outside and shouting defiance at
the sorcerer or other enemies of the phratry.

Concluding this phase of mourning, the guests leave the house so as to make still another entrance, this time to be received as men with the formal salutations at the doorway.

Guests from others sibs arrive by maloca groupings, each group of eight or ten men acting out the same ritual. Each group appears in three roles: as spirit beings who are repulsed, as generalized mourners who act out grief and anger, and finally as kinsmen, each of whom is received individually and with a kinship greeting as he makes his final entrance to the house. When they are greeted as kinsmen, the ceremonial remains of the deceased have been removed; they are welcomed at this point with a calabash of chicha and with *mihi*.

765
There are some minor variations in this pattern of greeting. At 574
the *Hehénewa óyne* one group "attacked" with a barrage of pu- 184●
punha thrown against the roof and the front walls. This "attack" had, however, another side to it. In part it was an attack and some of the fruit was thrown violently through the door, where the defenders threw it back at the masked attackers. But punpunha is also regarded at this time as an offering for the women of the house – just as it is during the ancestral whipping ceremony, when the house is showered with fruit by the ancestral spirits. The sound of pupunha fruit striking the roof frightens the women.

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This dualism of assault and of offering is carried out in somewhat 574
different form in the course of the ritual receptions to the house. [535]
The first instance is when the guests arrive as masked dancers or as spirit beings. They are received first in a friendly way, joining in a dance with their hosts. Then the two groups separate and engage in ritual attack and defense. In the second entrance, as generalized human beings, there are a number of alternations between aggression and friendliness and between anger and grief. Even the circle dance [535]
around the ceremonial remains of the deceased has a gentle clockwise motion symbolized by the whispered *t t t t* followed by a more

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The first phase of the *ôyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth 574
day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing 576
the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep [152]
once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

765
One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjiko* is sounded. [535]
At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial [534]
paraphernalia made specifically for the *ôyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

765
That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening 535
include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindũwũ* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, [533]
*kenadjù marié kenadjù pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. 765
As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and 535
leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the 786
dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has [831]
become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *ôyne*, and the 765
following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted 775
to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first 266
of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that 114

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

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765 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I ob-
775 served the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around
266 him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an
114 urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in
824 the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. There-
783 after, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for
775 at least another generation.

532 **MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *ÓYNE***

765 **Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons**
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|---|---|---|
| 1. *Makuko* | (K-G)[a] | A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun. |
| 2. *Kohako* | (K-G) | Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them. |
| 3. *Hailako* | (K-G) | A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand. |
| 4. *Palutziko* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 5. *Anauako* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 6. *Abúhuwa* | (K-G;IG)[b] | Forest demons. |
| 7. *Hokoaboxoko* | (K-G) | Giant tree demons. |

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

171 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of
184 caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe
266 that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wal-
765 lace, 1870, p. 498).

Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéos. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabucuris, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enivrant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'energie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886-87, II, 173).

226 fish hooks and line we carried for bartering were greatly sought after, though José for some reason sabotaged much of our exchange. He told the Indians that our nylon was not as good as their own *cumare* line and he broke the barbs of our steel hooks on the house posts to show that their own were better.

226 'That is barbasco, a poisonous liana.' José pointed to several bundles of
796 saplings lying on the floor of a *maloca* we were visiting. 'Soon, in late February or March, before the first rains, all the Indians near here will gather for the fish poisoning. They will build small dams in the streams, and the *barbasco* will be pounded and thrown into the water above these dams. All the fish float to the surface and, with nets made from *cumare*, or long spear arrows with forked metal ends, they will be caught in great quantities and carried to a *maloca*. Usually a particular house is chosen each year and, when enough fish have been collected, the festival will start. This may go on for days with *chicha*, panpipes and painted *yarumo* dancing-staves, and many people – and more fish than we see at any other time in the year.' This was a festival we wished to see, but we did not expect to be in the Piraparaná in March. Besides they might have been reluctant to let us watch a ceremony on which the abundance of fish during the following year depended.

Four days below Ni we came to the great falls of Beiju, and there, as we dragged *El Diablo* over the portage, we met some Indians who told us they were going to a festival at a Makuna *maloca* belonging to a headman called Bréo. It was two days' journey up a tributary, but we decided to go.

The Tukano have many festivals throughout the year; among the most important are the Fish Festivals and the Harvest Festivals for the pineapple,
533 *miriti* palm and *guamo* fruits, and for the manioc. At all these they dance,
534 sing and play their instruments. But to the Indian, music is also a form of relaxation and enjoyment. Often as the men laze in their hammocks they happily while away the time playing on their bamboo panpipes. Blowing across the eight- or nine-stemmed pipes two men may accompany each other for hours on end, ascending and descending the same scale, rhythmically counterbalancing one another in tuneful but repetitive melodies. They continue, apparently oblivious of repetition, and the panpipe tunes soon be-
[184] came imprinted on our minds. Each clan has its own variations; most of the tunes are based on their dances, though some are in imitation of birds. At night the young boys play their pipes crouched around the central posts of the *maloca*, and the clear notes carry across the still forest like church bells ringing on a cold winter's night. Only occasionally do the Indians actually sing for enjoyment; one headman uttered a staccato war song as he pounded coca leaves and occasionally the women hummed as they rocked their babies to sleep. Their instruments are more important to them; of these the snail-shell and deer-bone flutes, the tortoise shells and the clay horns are the most unusual.

It is hard to believe that a river-snail shell no more than three inches long

101 a dominant influence in the area. The Tukano tribal language serves as the lingua franca of
[191] the entire area. (Its use as a lingua franca antedates the appearance of other linguae francae in the region.)

The various tribes making up this large, homogeneous cultural group contain about 90 percent of the people in the area. The remainder consists of two ethnic groups. One is the Makú Indians, who live away from the rivers and are more or less nomadic. They do not intermarry with the riverine Indians. The other consists of the non-Indians, who call themselves *blancos* (in Spanish) or *brancos* (in Portuguese), and who number perhaps 1,500. Most of them live in the two or three air-strip towns. Their economy is centered around rubber gathering, and they include about 150 missionaries, who maintain some dozen missionary posts. The non-Indians have a strong monolingual tradition, speaking only either Spanish or Portuguese. They have shown little inclination to learn the Indian languages or to participate in Indian culture.[5] There is little intermarriage between Indians and *blancos* (who mostly consist of *mestizo-criollos*).

• 184 Here, then, is a large, culturally homogeneous area where multilingualism—and poly-
191 lingualism in the individual—is the cultural norm. Anthropologically, this is a culture trait, and it is an outstanding culture trait of the area.

*Social Units*

61 Social units of primary importance to the analysis of multilingualism in the central Northwest Amazon culture area are the nuclear family, lineage, sib, tribe, phratry; the longhouse group; the linguistic group; and the
[797] exogamy group. Secondarily important, as they represent aggregations from among the above, are the mission village, the rubber-working group (an incipient *patrón-peón* group), and the nationality group. In the structural interrelations of all these groups, the sib occupies a focal position.

Several nuclear families may be found in a lineage, and several lineages in a sib (or patrilineal clan), which is the named and localized unit of social organization. A tribe is a named political and ceremonial unit, consisting of several sibs; it has a separate history and is identifiable by a distinct language. Barring the few exceptions where some of its sibs belong to a different phratry from that of the major-

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places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. To be sure, the custom of reciting a sib origin tradition at the regular drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multi-sib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin traditions are the most important sanctions for regulating current relationships among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).* This group, consisting of *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawũ*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, and *Byá-Hehénewa*, is supposed to have emerged together at *Yavibebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapuri cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yavimanawa*, according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one another as *pakomá* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehénewa*, for example, discounting *Bahúkiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

* This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has, of course, an honorific reference. There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is applied to the Macú. Giacone (1949, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onca*.

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at Pindaíva on the Cuduiarí. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambomamára* on the Cuduiarí, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiarí group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists. 614 615 554 361 [114]

*Hehénewa* In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiarí and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurý is known as *Wahúdja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Orobawa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Orobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapuri. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiarí, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiarí and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbuawü*.

*Byá-Hehénewa* A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiarí.

*Wathariwa* The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbuawü*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uarurúwa*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umarí* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapuri falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

*Byá-Wathariwa* A subsib of the *Wathariwa* on the Vaupés.

*Urérariwa* Perhaps a subsib of the *Wathariwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

*Bahúkiwa* They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapuri falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Bacü* and his sister was *Onpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiarí. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Borówa*) who wandered into the Cuduiarí and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borówa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borówa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borówa*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet. [563] [648] [186]

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day the *Borówa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

**BAHÚXIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS**

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*mɛ́ɛhamɛ́ɛtɛwu yawiwũ*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

*pwɛ́ntɛwũ* — the people came out
*tcúntcawwa* — and shed (their anaconda skins)
*hahádami* — they went forward
*waré borikapindo* — the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
*opɛ́ko tamána* — crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opɛ́ko*])
*emintakori* — the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
*kanúrũbo* — (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
*bwũhũrũkũwũ* — the rock where *Bwũ* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwũ*)
*byátakwe* — the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
*kwíbebo* — the place of *Kwíkũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
*borikabo* — the place of *Borikakũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies — it means the aracú fish)
*opɛ́ko tawá* — the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakũ* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
*nahó pwɛ́nwa* — the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
*bwũtaunrũ* — the tree beneath which *Bwũ* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwũ* passed beneath it)
*bwũtaunrũ* — the tree beneath which Bwũ passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
*waokún* — the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An underorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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114 Our task, of editing, in comparison with that of Koch G.,
128 was greatly facilitated. There fell to us the intellectual, patriotic, and religious pleasure of four excursions through the vast and laborious field of the Apostolado Salesiano no Amazonas /Salesian Apostolate in Amazonas/ and of admiring the work of patriotism and evangelical charity that the Filhos de Dom Bosco are achieving there. And benefiting ourselves by means
[191] [797] of their company, their knowledge of the native idioms (3),

3. Besides having already found numerous Indians with whom we could communicate perfectly in the language of our native country, because they had learned Portuguese in the schools of the Missions.

the prestige that they enjoy, not only among the natives who profit from their material and moral assistance, but even among the others who only know them by repute, we start collecting
114 the precious data of their observations and experience. The
123 ethnographic material contained in these pages could be collected in a relatively short period, although triple that of
124 Grünberg. Nevertheless they describe an existence in the closest possible contact with the forest dwellers: living in their maloca, attending their festivities, listening to them during their long chats among themselves, and entertaining themselves in amiable conversation with them, participating in their joys and their sorrows, observing them in their work, admiring their abilities, using their services, curing their illnesses, probing their spirit, illustrating their intelligence in long years of education, illuminating their soul with religious truths, now and then seeing those minds unexpectedly open in flashes that reveal, through a charming ingenuousness, an internal world never dreamed of. One understands an environment by living in it; and the environment can explain to us a mentality.

563 /65/ 4. Observations -- 1st. As we have just seen, small groups of a nation are found close to or even in the midst of other nations. Natural sociability or the requirements of circumstances relate these human groups to one another. The consequences of these relations are several:

191 197 [177] [178] The first, one language becoming general, that of the Tukano nation, as an idiom common to several tribes, in such a way that on the lower Uaupés up to Iauareté almost all the adult persons (19)

19. This observation dates from 1947, soon after our first excursion to the Uaupés. We verified then, upon entering the area inhabited by the Wanana, that very rarely individuals of this tribe could understand one or another common Tukano phrase. In 1957 a certain number of persons who not only understood the Tukano idiom well, but also used it in conversations among themselves were already encountered in all the povoados from Carurú downward, among the former students of the Mission of Iauareté, or among the adults who had been employed there for some time. In our work on the Tukano language, we noticed the complacency of the young people, who had attended Mission schools, in speaking the Tukano idiom among themselves. We seemed to discover in this complacency only a touch of proudness, as if there were a superiority over their own parents and other elderly persons, and not because it could afford them a means of conversation among companions, exempt from the control of the "old ones."

speak, besides the language of their tribe (20),

20. It is to be noted that it did not lead to the formation of a language, with elements not connected with the others, as has happened in similar conditions, for example, the Sabir (miscellany of Italian, French, Spanish, Greek,

/65 cont./

191 /footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in the Mediterranean ports.

197 It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing. In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

[178] [115] [126]

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

177 Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

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[563] [582]

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

000 2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

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*101 a) DAXSEÁ OR TUKANO

1) People-Name-Language -- In the native idiom, they are called Daxseá (sing., masc. daxségõ; fem. daxségo), name of the bird that we call tucano /toucan/ in Portuguese. In the historical period they are already found under the name of Uaupés (cf. II -- 6, a (1) ), in the basin of this river, so that the various tribes of this region are known and understood under the denomination of "Nações Uaupés" /Uaupés Nations/. Perhaps the broadening of the term is due, not to the fact of the Tukano customs having been imposed, those of the other nations being eliminated, but to the greater number and dispersion of groups of this tribe, as well as to the generalization of its idiom. Even today many adult persons (and lately, [191] because of living together in the boarding schools of the Missions, children as well) of the various tribes of the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí understand and speak the Tukano language, and perhaps have forgotten their own native idiom.

[115] According to Lucas, an old Tukano from S. Luzia, on the Papurí (in an account to Pe. Antônio Giacone, in July of 1947), [648] the Tukano descended from the northwest (thus disagreeing with [567] old Justino from Iuquira, as was seen in a previous Note) to the Uaupés basin, already finding there small groups of Makú who were either enslaved or went into the forest in the interior. They call the Makú Poxsá, that is, one who serves without pay. "They are servants in peace and soldiers in war," as the old people expressed themselves about them (19).

19. It is not likely that the Tukanos had the Makú as allies, or that they would rely on them, if we note that they are shy and also subject themselves to other tribes. Nor do the legends that we collected speak of favors by the Makú to the Tukanos in war.

The tribes who arrived later called the Tukano Yepá-maxsã,

/115 cont./

*101 The vocabulary we managed to get (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical") reveals as great a distance from the Tukano idiom as they are different anthropologically from this tribe.
[142] Short, as they are, but more slender and fairer, and with a tapered face. Chestmir affirms that their idiom exhibits Karaíba intrusion.

They are specialists in making sieves and in the preparation
[284] of the tucum. The Tukano affirm that they learned with the
[184] Desana how to make the "hammock of thirty threads" (VI - 2, c (2) ).
[582] Marriage with the Taryana and Arapásu is forbidden for them (48).
[142]

48. We read in Koch Grünberg that they marry the Makús. We could not verify that. Perhaps it was a matter of a particular case reported to Koch. From the hundreds of individuals we observed, Koch's opinion that they differ from the other tribes in the following somatic features does not seem acceptable to us either: "not so well proportioned body, high head, coarse hair, oval face, prominent zygoma, large nose, somewhat slanted eyes."

[161] /116/ 2) Habitat and inhabitants. They come to several hundreds (601 in the census of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/"). Today we find them in large numbers on the Papurí and tributaries, but especially on the Tiquié and its tributaries -- the Castanho, Umarí, Ira, and Turí-igarapé. Some groups came down, as early as the beginning of the last century, to
• [191] the mouth of the Uaupés and the Rio Negro. These last ones, as we read in Giacone, "from the contact with the Caboclos and whites, are the most advanced; besides their own dialect and the Tukano, they speak Nheengatú, and many, Portuguese.
[438] Every year some of them go up the Tiquié and the Papurí, visiting their brothers, taking them goods acquired with the whites,

/330 cont./

776 Even burned, his spirit still survives, wandering through the forests, taking strange and frightening shapes. To him they attribute all the misfortunes, both the material ones, such as a storm, the destruction of the forest (26),

> 26. Large clearings are frequently found in the forest. It is a matter of tall and thick trees, but with superficial roots, which fall under the force of the hurricanes, dragging many others with them. They attribute this noise and the falling of the trees to Wãx-tĩ.

a harmful animal in the clearing, and the personal ones: the
* 192 defect of stuttering, madness, etc. They call the mad person
753 Wãx-tĩ dohónõkõ, that is, hurt by Wãx-tĩ. They call tuber-
776 culosis Wãx-tĩ poá-ri, hair /Port. cabelos/ of Wãx-tĩ (27).

> 27. The cause of tuberculosis, according to what they think, is butterfly hairs /Port. pêlos, hairs, down, colors/ in the throat.
> [755] The pajé blows on the mingau in order to invoke the "Wãx-tĩ of the butterflies," so that it will not trouble the patient.

The fear of Wãx-tĩ that they feel is such that not for any
776 prize will they venture to enter the forest at night, or even during the day in certain dark igarapés. And they go so far as to abandon their clearings for years, because they heard strange noises there.

* 191 b) Boraró or Curupira (28).

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> 28. Through relations with the travelers (many of whom speak Nheengatú) the natives know many terms of the língua geral. Just

/330 cont./

• 191 776 /footnote 28 cont./ as they identify Wãx-tĩ with Jurupari, so too many of them, to the question: -- who is Boraró? answer at once: he is Curupira.

776 He also lives in the middle of the forest, which is his kingdom, in the sierras or on the headwaters of the igarapés; never in the open places.

*[192] They conceive him as a large and deformed monkey. He emits strange cries in the forest and gives great smacks or blows on the trees, /331/ especially the sapupemas (flat roots) of the sumaúna /ceiba tree/. He attacks the careless one who ventures into the forest, poisoning him with his urine and sucking out his brains. No weapon succeeds in killing him. He eats onça /jaguar/ and animals, and also sucks the blood of human beings. When he wants to suck the blood, he does it in the following manner: first he hits the place, so as to anesthetize it, afterwards he makes the puncture; when he has finished sucking, he blows in order to fill with air the emptiness left. If someone says: "I was sucked" (that is, to mention the appearance of Boraró), he will die.

[115] Dorotéia Brito attests that her grandfather saw Boraró many times. "He plants the clearing, has a wife and children. In the clearing, during the day, words are heard; it is Boraró who is speaking, although he is not seen. He appears as a man, with hair falling over his shoulders, with a red flower in his mouth. He further takes the form of a woman and a boy. He does nothing to the Maku, and is fond of the monkeys. Anyone who has seen him will become ill." He sucked the brains from her aunt, in the clearing, and she died there, a mark on her head remaining as proof.

[115] Another Tukano girl, Kõmã-ro põrá, from the povoado of S. Luzia (river Papuri), states that twice, when she was looking for fruit in the forest a little above S. Luzia, she heard Boraró make a loud noise, as if he had made a shot. On another

796 /342 cont./
574 The visitors deposit the offering on banana leaves or mats or baskets, displayed in the center of the maloca. Perhaps there is still more of the offering at the landing place; they go to fetch it and make their delivery.

[562] The women and children who have arrived gather at the
[858] back, where those of the maloca are already.

Once the offering is finished, and the shouts and music have
[622] stopped, those from outside, starting with their tuxáua, greet individually those of the maloca, /343/ starting with the first one
[576] in line, who will, naturally, be the local tuxáua. They are the common and formalistic greetings: -- "Did you come?" -- "I came!" "Did you come to the feast?" -- "I came." -- "Did you bring the offering (fish or the name of the fruit)?" -- "I brought." He goes on to greet in the same way the second man in the line and thus all the rest. All the visitors, in the order of their reception, imitate the first one. All, however, with much gravity. As they finish greeting those of the maloca, the guests are arranging themselves in a long line, according to their importance, on the right side, in front of those of the maloca, from the main door to the back.

[431] Two or more men of the maloca distribute a cuia /shell
[576] from the Crescentia cujete/ of caxirí to each guest. After all have drunk, they sit down, and the women of the maloca come to greet
[562] the men at some distance and without giving them their hands.
[191] If the women are from the tribe of the guests, these greetings are in the dialect of their own tribe and not in that of the husband.

The chief of the maloca speaks in a loud voice to his own wife (one of the indications of the matriarchalism): "They came to bring the offering (fish, fruit), you give thanks." She, with two women, goes to the center of the maloca and says -- "You brought with so much trouble fish (pupunha) for us. We have prepared a little caxirí in a hurry." Then the visiting chief answers them: -- "You may eat at will. The fishing (or the harvest) was small, but we have brought it with good will."

/434 cont./

855 Being always in the company of its own mother, the child
191 will learn her language first (52).

> 52. It is true that the boys will soon follow the father and will forget the maternal tongue. The mother herself, after having been married for some time, will perhaps speak only the idiom of the inhabitants of the maloca. For this reason the children will rarely know the maternal idiom. We have verified that, at most, they know only some words of it.

if the mother has not yet learned the idiom of her husband. The
866 boys, as soon as they have grown to about five years of age, free themselves from maternal care and will preferably follow the father /435/ hunting or fishing, or remain playing in groups in the forest, in the search for fruits, or around the rivers, swimming and fishing.

The girls, on the contrary, continue at the side and under the vigilancy of the mother herself (53).

[797]

> 53. One Missionary noted that for the girl, used to being at the side of her own mother all the time, the life of the student living in the Mission school is very difficult, whereas the boys adapt more easily, without thinking of returning home.

helping her, according to their capacity, in her tasks. They go with the mother to the clearing, pull mandioca roots, return with their load of mandioca or firewood, or carrying some younger brother or sister, take care of the children, and even help in the preparation of the food.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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men have learned to wear trousers and a cotton tunic at home. For ceremony, however, they wear only the perineal band, now made of trade cloth. For women the skirt has replaced the ornamental ceremonial apron, but for men ceremonial participation in trousers means an important change in outlook in which the ceremony has become secularized. I learned this from young Indian men, visitors to the Cuduiari, who, wearing the cotton trousers and tunic of the mestizo, insisted in explaining to me that they were taking part in dances "just for fun." In the truly solemn ceremonies on the Cuduiari I saw no man in European dress. 177 291 182

The use of Spanish or Portuguese is another sign of change in cultural identification. But here, too, the process is complex. Indian cosmopolitanism is traditionally multilingual. Wives often speak distinct dialects of Tucanoan or else speak Cariban or Arawakan. Children learn the language of the mother first and then learn to speak Cubeo. The Tupian lingua franca has been a traditional trade language between Indians as well as between Indian and white for a very long time. Thus, the Indian who has learned Spanish and Portuguese is simply extending his multilingualism. These European languages have also come to play an important role in native interrelationships. Spanish and/or Portuguese has become the customary language of violent drunken quarrels among men at a drinking party. Used in this context the insults and threats in a foreign language are less ominous, and easier, therefore, to disregard than the same words uttered in the native language. The Cubeo usage is as with us: the foreign phrase used scatologically modifies the impact. Thus, in this respect the Cubeo adoption of foreign European phrases is a matter of enriching the native culture and is far from being a mark of cultural breakdown. I met only a few Indians on the Vaupés and none on the Cuduiari who had given up their native speech in favor of Spanish or Portuguese. 177 182 191

The use of European personal names offers another example of adaptation to the native cultural pattern. Among the Cubeo, personal names come from the traditional genealogy of the sib. They have a sacred character and are not used freely. Knowing a person's sib name is a sign of intimacy and such intimacy is not readily yielded up. I did not learn native personal names for weeks, and even at the end, one of the more embarrassing questions I could ask was simply a person's sib name. In common discourse kinship designations were used. The native name is not so much an appellation as it is sib identification. The headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib was the first to tell me his name. He uttered it in a whisper close to my ear. Thus, for the Cubeo, 177 551 182 614 [123]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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factured goods into the stream of trade – cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves.

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiari had spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods – chickens, fish, and fruit.

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business.

*El Diablo*

Mitú had met his death with two of his Indians when their canoe overturned. 122
The upper reaches of the river have a gentler gradient, passing through softer sandstones instead of the hard igneous rocks of the lower course. Nonetheless we soon had to negotiate our first rapids. To the uninitiated eye it seemed impossible to pass through, but Candilo, after one false attempt when the motor stalled, took the half-loaded *Vencedor* skilfully through the jutting boulders. Donald followed with our smaller motor powering the loaded *El Diablo*, her bows nosing into the frothing water and the waves breaking over the fuel drums. This was our first rapid; we had no idea that we would have so many more to negotiate before the end of our journey. Brian examined the rocks, chipping off pieces, looking at them through a lens and packing samples away for our geological collection. Then we lashed the canoes together as fast as possible and continued to creep along the banks, eating our lunch of dry biscuits and *farinha* – a thirst-quenching mixture of manioc flour and water, the Indian's habitual meal when travelling.

The tropical sunset is swift, with no extended twilight, and so by five-thirty each day we had to stop travelling and quickly find a break in the forested bank where we could make camp. Our boats tied and the cooking equipment ashore, we set about cutting a clearing. Horacio was a cook *par excellence*. Years of travel had taught him that the most efficient stove was to be made from a tall biscuit tin; you made your fire at the bottom and placed the pressure cooker on the top. We were eating our diet of rice and corned beef within half an hour of landing and, slinging our hammocks, were soon gazing up at the starry sky, listening to the croak of the bullfrogs.

Soon we left behind the wide Vaupés with its deserted forest banks and entered the black enclosed waters of the Río Ti. With the dry season already well advanced and with less water every day, we were forced to unlash our two canoes and continue with one following the other. The stream narrowed, the black waters shallowed and the white sandbanks crept closer on every bend. Near the mouth of the river we had arranged for two more Indians, the brothers Matias and Bernavez, to come to help us. They 114
knew the route through to the Piraparaná and they warned us that, with our heavy loads, we were going to find the journey extremely difficult – unless it rained. Their warning was fully justified, for with the lower river level the fallen tree trunks formed one long barricade to our movement upstream. In the rainy season with the high water, one could float over them, but now every trunk had to be cut. Fortunately the Indians were experts with our axes, their muscular bodies perched precariously on a water-borne log, the axe falling rhythmically against the hard wood, the water splashing up into their faces. These were civilized Indians who could speak Spanish; they had [177] [191]

*Working a* trapiche, *a press for crushing the juice from sugar cane.* 000

 [see p. 38-B]

114 177 191 originally worked wild rubber for one of the great rubber barons and they had earned their clothing in exchange for their labours. Their torn trousers were only a veneer of the civilized world, for here they seemed to come into their own element: they talked to each other in Tukano; they became alert to the forest they knew so well.

122 We were living in a closed world of limited horizons, on either side the thick forest, ahead the river and above a ribbon of sky. Giant emerald king-[136] fishers with orange heads and long black beaks darted out in front of us. [137] Myriads of white butterflies rose off the sandbanks, settling on our bodies to enjoy the salty sweat. On occasions we saw a delicate wader like a sandpiper bob up and down on the sand near the water's edge. The water had now changed colour, no longer black but a deep wine red, as it flowed over the [134] pale sandy bed. We supposed this colour was due to the high iron content in the rock.

Our first major halt was made at Pedro's house. He had established himself as a tradesman between the Indians on the upper Piraparaná and the [439] civilized rubber gatherers of Mitú. He bought *farinha* from the Tukano in exchange for fish-hooks, salt and cloth. His magnificent thatched house was a foretaste of what we were to see. But the occupants with their dishevelled clothes, the sheets of crude rubber hanging from the beams and the iron cooking pots, seemed a strange paradox.

We unloaded all our equipment, sending Candilo and his assistant back to Mitú with *Vencedor* and the larger outboard motor. With him went one of our valuable cameras whose shutter had jammed during the first day, and a note to Nestor in Bogotá, warning him of the difficulties he would encounter and advising him again to travel as light as possible. Of the now depleted party, José and Uriel were to be our guides throughout the journey; Matias would ensure that we reached the first Indian habitation on the Piraparaná; while Bernavez went on ahead in his dugout canoe carrying two drums of our fuel. We were joined by one more man, old Miguez, who brought his own small Indian canoe. From now on we would have to make double journeys with *El Diablo* until we reached Indians who would carry our loads in their own canoes.

Next morning, while Donald and Horacio repacked much of the kit, Brian and José went ahead with a small load in *El Diablo*. The Ti narrowed and then divided; here our route towards the Piraparaná portage lay up a tiny tributary, the Caño Berada or Fish Bow Creek, as it was known to the Indians. With our arrival in the Berada, a mere stream flowing out of the undergrowth, our whole mode of travel changed. We could no longer use the motor; instead we had to push the boat upstream. We spent the rest of the day waist-deep in water, clambering over submerged timbers and occasional rocks; an Indian out in front cut a way through the fallen trees.

Christmas Day saw us cross two rock ledges where the boat had to be com-

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

# Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

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*In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Makú and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.*

## THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

### *Setting and Culture Area*

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

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The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

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Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

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[361]

[P. 670-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

101 a dominant influence in the area. The Tukano tribal language serves as the lingua franca of
• [191] the entire area. (Its use as a lingua franca antedates the appearance of other linguae francae in the region.)

The various tribes making up this large, homogeneous cultural group contain about 90 percent of the people in the area. The remainder consists of two ethnic groups. One is the Makú Indians, who live away from the rivers and are more or less nomadic. They do not intermarry with the riverine Indians. The other consists of the non-Indians, who call themselves *blancos* (in Spanish) or *brancos* (in Portuguese), and who number perhaps 1,500. Most of them live in the two or three air-strip towns. Their economy is centered around rubber gathering, and they include about 150 missionaries, who maintain some dozen missionary posts. The non-Indians have a strong monolingual tradition, speaking only either Spanish or Portuguese. They have shown little inclination to learn the Indian languages or to participate in Indian culture.[3] There is little intermarriage between Indians and *blancos* (who mostly consist of *mestizo-criollos*).

184 Here, then, is a large, culturally homogeneous area where multilingualism—and poly-
191 lingualism in the individual—is the cultural norm. Anthropologically, this is a culture trait, and it is an outstanding culture trait of the area.

*Social Units*

61 Social units of primary importance to the analysis of multilingualism in the central Northwest Amazon culture area are the nuclear family, lineage, sib, tribe, phratry; the longhouse group; the linguistic group; and the
[797] exogamy group. Secondarily important, as they represent aggregations from among the above, are the mission village, the rubber-working group (an incipient *patrón-peón* group), and the nationality group. In the structural interrelations of all these groups, the sib occupies a focal position.

Several nuclear families may be found in a lineage, and several lineages in a sib (or patrilineal clan), which is the named and localized unit of social organization. A tribe is a named political and ceremonial unit, consisting of several sibs; it has a separate history and is identifiable by a distinct language. Barring the few exceptions where some of its sibs belong to a different phratry from that of the major-

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197 paper a person can not help but note the close similarity between others of these languages, e.g., between Tuyuka and Yurutí, or between
• [191] Desano and Siriano. Discussions with informants of the Desano linguistic group, some of whom knew Siriano and some of whom did not, and with informants of the Siriano linguistic group, reveal that Sirano is not immediately intelligible to Desano-speakers but becomes largely intelligible after continuous exposure for at least several days. It so happens, however, that all members of the Siriano linguistic group know Desano, at least to understand it, because of polylingualism. Desano informants who know both Spanish and Portuguese recognize the relationship between Desano and Siriano as being on a par with that between Spanish and Portuguese (which are definitely recognized among Indians as being quite similar).

The degree of relationship among these Eastern Tukanoan languages can not be rigorously stated yet, but it is my impression that the languages separated by commas in the list in the appendix are a little farther apart than are the languages in the Romance group or in the Scandinavian group. One can look at the Romance languages as a dialect chain, but in the Eastern Tukanoan language family the *intermediate* "dialects" are missing, except perhaps for those languages in the appendix connected by "and." Central Algonquian languages (Bloomfield 1946, Hockett 1948) are more closely related than the Eastern Tukanoan languages seem to be. Approaching the problem from the opposite perspective, that is, from the point of view of reasonably demonstrated *dialects* within a language, the correspondences among the Eastern Tukanoan languages do not present the tightness or neatness that is so evident among those of the Karen dialects as drawn by Jones (1961).

Structural interrelationships are generally close among Eastern Tukanoan languages, but in the finer details of their similarities the languages do not coincide. In *broad* phonetic transcription, most of the Eastern Tukanoan languages share most of the same grid of phones, but the patterning of phonemes and the distribution of allophones vary from lan-
[194] guage to language. (Eastern Tukanoan languages, incidentally, have phonemic tone and phonemic stress.) To the unaccustomed ear, the Eastern Tukanoan languages all sound fairly similar and, indeed, can be recognized

197 as Tukanoan by contrast with Indian languages of other families. After a person becomes familiar with one of them, the other Eastern Tukanoan languages begin to sound different to him; but the "Tukano ear," while helpful in recording Eastern Tukanoan languages, turns out not to be helpful in recording phonetic detail from languages outside of the Eastern Tukanoan family. The speaker-hearer of an Eastern Tukanoan language is culturally very sensitive to the fine phonetic detail, which he perceives in the form of an "accent." Such detail varies considerably from language to language and, even within some languages, from region to region.

194 Phonologically, differences in accent reflect a number of things: allophonic fronting of vowels, or lowering of vowels; more opening or less opening of the mouth during production of the vowels; incomplete (versus complete) closure of obstruents in syllables that are not marked by strong stress; more or less contouring of canonically level tones in given environments. These differences are mostly very subtle in quality, and usually speaker-hearers are unable to describe the specific phonological details involved in what they hear as an "accent."

193 The morphologies of these languages are generally similar, but they vary considerably on specific points. There can even be said to be an Eastern Tukanoan type, but each language still has its own distinctive differences. For instance, most Eastern Tukanoan languages have only two general forms for person in the verbal paradigm, but not all: Piratapuyo has three. The participial system seems to be more developed in some languages than in others. In lexicon, there is again general similarity, but not coincidence, between languages. In the exceptional area of kinship terminology, for example, more relatives may be distinguished in one language than in another, and what appear to be cognate terms in two languages may not refer to the same relative.

[601]

• 191 I have observed that when an Indian knows how to speak two closely related languages (of the sort connected by "and" in the appendix), he carefully and even consciously keeps them apart. It has occurred to me that the exogamic and other cultural institutions to be discussed below may be exerting a force that makes a speaker want to render closely related languages farther apart, even to an artificial extent, but so far I have detected no

[P.675-B]

191 linguistic innovations to this end. Here, however, I run the risk of overstating the dialect problem. As Weinreich has pointed out (1961: section 1.3), the learning of a new dialect presents the same situation as the learning of a new language.

193 The Eastern Tukanoan languages clearly share the same syntax. By this I mean that they share the same types of multiword constructions. For example, they share a preference for a series of clauses in parataxis with a strong avoidance of hypotaxis; the same preferred (and not rigidly fixed) word order prevails (subject-object-verb); the same kinds of multiword constructions are used as techniques for apposition, statements of purpose, and "afterthought" statements of consequences or conditions; the same procedure is followed for developing a discourse topic, the sentence being prolonged by clauses in parataxis so as to provide more and more specificity to an original proposition stated in a main, and usually first, clause; listeners show the same pattern of response, attentively, politely, or distinterestedly repeating the last verb of the speaker's sentence. (I do not have enough material from languages of the other Indian language families to be able to comment on their syntaxes.) It is important for this discussion
191 that Indian speakers do not ascribe the Tukanoan type of syntax to Spanish. Neither is the full syntactic range of Spanish as used by Colombian non-Indian Spanish-speakers found in the Indians' Spanish. As a result of much Spanish-to-Tukano and Tukano-to-Spanish work with informants, I can say that the Indians' Spanish is spoken in shorter and more numerous sentences than is the normal case in either Spanish or Tukano; dependent clauses are mostly lacking, with sentences supplied instead in an approximation of the paratactic subordinate clause of Tukano.

Further evidence comes from the response of Indians to metalinguistic questions. Monolingual Spanish-speakers, when quizzing Indians for forms in their language, typically ask for the forms one word at a time, following the order of the Spanish sentence (which may be phrased quite elegantly to ensure getting elegant Tukano). The translation process breaks down almost immediately; new Tukano forms for former Tukano forms are given as the Spanish sentence progresses, and the Spanish-speaker decides the Indian must be very indeterminate in whatever he says. The actual

• 191 manner in which an Indian normally translates from Spanish to Tukano is so regular that it can be stated almost as a rule: the Indian remains silent until the full statement has been made in Spanish, he waits then for a few seconds until apparently the way he would say it in Tukano comes to him, and then he restates it in a normal Tukano sentence that generally has a syntactic structure very different from that of the Spanish sentence. This suggests that most Indians may be "coordinate" in their knowledge of Spanish and Tukano rather than "merged" (Weinreich 1953). Or, the cultural pattern may favor coordinate rather than merged control. This procedure can be enervating, culturally, to the monolingual Spanish-speaker, who expects to be replied to almost without audible pause between the end of his statement and the beginning of his responder's statement in rapid-fire repartee.

191 Anything said in Spanish is customarily
576 repeated aloud in translation, even when all the Indians present already know Spanish. For the Indian, repeating a part of what a speaker says is a formal conversational device indicating understanding, assent (dissent if repeated with a negative suffix), and respect. In a formal gathering, as in the men's circle in the evening when the day's tasks are over, the amount of respect accorded to the older men who begin the session is indicated by how much the listeners repeat them. In the same setting, the remarks of a visitor speaking in another language are repeated in their entirety if someone present does not understand the language; as the conversation acquires more informal character and smaller conversation groups form, the repeating is dropped except for the respectful, assenting repeating of the last verbs of clauses and sentences; the visitor, indeed, may change to the language of the longhouse, if he knows it.

191 Repeating in translation something said in Spanish or Portuguese takes place in an interesting culture-contact situation. The encounter is rarely in a formal context for the Indian. It may be on a river bank, or on a trail, or on boats with the paddlers holding on to each others' boats and holding on to vines, or it may be on the street in a mission town. It almost never takes place in a formal gathering of Indians, as many situations calling for formal gatherings are discouraged by non-Indians. Nevertheless, many, or all, Indians of the settlement may be present.

[P. 676 - B]

191 576 The repeating is first of all a respectful recognition of the Spanish-speaking non-Indians, but there also seems at times to be an additional quality of defensiveness connected with the practice. The repeating seems to serve as a stalling device so that the Indians can evaluate something of the intentions of the non-Indians, as indicated by their demands, their mood, and their degree of tolerance of Indian habits (for example, whether they permit beer, or admonish women—and men—for going without upper garments). Most non-Indians issue orders and interrogate loudly, according to the Latin American stereotype of the way to speak to Indians, rather than "converse" with them. The Indians, for various reasons, want to be sure that they have heard every question and order correctly. Consequently, repeating serves as a double-checking device, for corrections in translation are supplied unhesitatingly and immediately by other listeners following the translator. In sum, then, repeating is a formal conversational device indicating respect that also has an adaptive defensive function.

171 193 Inasmuch as the Eastern Tukanoan languages share the same general syntax, the Indians' ability to recognize and cope with the different syntactic system of Spanish suggests that other Indian languages and language families in the Northwest Amazon may have different syntactic structures, too.

191 Certain formulaic communication styles—regardless of Indian language family—are probably the same throughout the area, particularly greetings on entering a new longhouse in traveling. I have witnessed and participated in many such situations where the longhouse language was unknown either to me or to some of my Indian traveling companions, and always the content of the initial sequence of bilingual statements was clear to all (namely, the assertion that one has arrived; from which direction—upriver or downriver—one has come, and from what named spot; how many days one has been traveling; and who one's father and mother and brothers and sisters are, and how they are faring). There are other occasional formulaic conventions, especially those involving repeating, that can help a novice gain familiarity with a language. Many languages also seem to share interjections. (In these respects the central Northwest Amazon area may constitute what J. Neustupny has termed a *Sprechbunde* [speech

[P. 677-A]

• 191 area].) "Semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) based on a partial knowledge of a language that is closely related to one already known may also occur.

MULTILINGUALISM

[611] Because descent is patrilineal in the Northwest Amazon and residence is normatively and
[582] predominantly patrilocal, an individual belongs to his (or her) father's tribe, and to his father's linguistic group, which is also his
[591] own. Because of exogamy, his mother always represents a different tribe—tribal membership does not change for her upon marriage—and a different linguistic group. A woman invariably uses the language of the longhouse—her husband's language—when talking directly with her children. But she is usually not the only woman from her tribe in a longhouse. In a longhouse of any size there are usually several women of her tribe, as well as groups of other women from other tribes; and during the course of a day, these several groups of women usually find occasion to converse with each other in their own original languages.

[484] In addition to these multilingual contacts in the longhouse, others occur as a result of
[583] considerable traveling. Youths travel to investigate and evaluate available brides. A prospective bridegroom, if he does not know it already, learns his prospective wife's language from his prospective mother-in-law. Families also travel to visit relatives and affines. And there is travel for the sheer sake of travel.

A man's *mother's* language may be quite important because of the preferential marriage system. There is a preference, though not
[582] an obligation, to marry his cross-cousin, particularly his mother's brother's daughter,
[593] real or classificatory. (The kinship system is of Iroquoian type [Fulop 1955].) She will, of course, be of his *mother's* tribe and speak his *mother's* language. Therefore there is an added cultural incentive for a man to know his mother's language. If he has little opportunity to learn it—if she, for instance, is the only one of her tribe in the longhouse, and her tribe lives at a distance—his mother, nevertheless, will teach him lists of words in her language and how to say various things in it. Children are usually bilingual in both their father's and their mother's languages, but commonly use the former.

A child is frequently exposed to the other

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• 191 languages spoken in the longhouse by the married women, who are ordinarily from more than one outside tribe, and by visitors. Visitors, especially, expose him to the lingua franca (which may also be the father's language or the mother's language for some individuals). Most children remain bilingual or trilingual in speech (with the lingua franca Tukano as the third language) until adolescence.

In the course of time, an individual is exposed to at least two or three languages that are neither his father's nor his mother's language. He comes to understand them and, perhaps, to speak them. I observed that as an individual goes through adolescence, he actively and almost suddenly learns to speak these additional languages to which he has been exposed, and his linguistic repertoire is elaborated. In adulthood he may acquire more languages; as he approaches old age, field observation indicates, he will go on to perfect his knowledge of all the languages at his disposal.

191 592 Each individual, then, has a personal repertoire of languages. Each longhouse, too, has its own characteristic language repertoire. Thus, the second longhouse up the Inambú River is a Tuyuka tribe longhouse that speaks Tuyuka; one third of the married women there are from the Barasana tribe, another third from the Desano tribe, and another third from the Tukano tribe. Careful field checking definitely corroborates that all individuals of this longhouse actually control at least these particular four languages within their individual repertoires. Most individuals know other languages besides these, but all share the basic longhouse inventory. The longhouse language, Tuyuka, is used to men and among men; women use the longhouse language with each other, but women who are classificatory sisters and hence from the same tribe have the option of using their own language when women from another tribe are not actually in the active conversation group, although other women (and men) within hearing understand it. All children use the longhouse language (i.e., their father's) to both their father and mother. As one continues up the river to the next longhouse, the proportion of Barasana women increases as the proportion of Desano women decreases, although the same four languages remain in a common longhouse repertoire shared by the individuals of that longhouse.

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• 191 Eventually a point will be reached where one of these languages will drop out of the longhouse repertoire, and perhaps another language (e.g., Tatuyo or Paneroa) will enter.

I must emphasize again that it is not just scattered individuals who know the various languages used in a given longhouse; but *all* [797] the longhouse residents know them. In the mission villages, where what formerly were two, three, or more longhouses are now gathered together in one village of adobe huts, the linguistic picture resembles that of the single longhouse, but usually more than one father-language is present, for most missionary villages contain men from more than one tribe. There seemed to be an incipient age-grading pattern between two father-tongues at one of the missions, but not at the others.

Periodically the missions have tried to prohibit the use of Indian languages, but these efforts were subsequently dropped. In aboriginal settings, in the mission compounds away from face-to-face contact with the missionaries themselves, and in any gathering of Indians, whether traveling, visiting, working rubber, no Spanish or Portuguese is used (except occasionally when Indians drink alcoholic beverages!). The field worker must rely upon a knowledge of at least one of the Indian languages in order to keep track of what languages are actually being spoken.

The Indians are quite unself-conscious about their multilingualism. They take it for granted. There is no development of cross-linguistic puns. There is no stylistic device of switching from one language to another or of interspersing one's conversation with quotes from another language. Conversations in two or more languages indeed occur on occasion, as in visiting, but no-one takes special note of it. Each individual initially speaks in his own father-language during such a conversation in order to assert his tribal affiliation and identification, but after a while the junior persons change, without comment, to the longhouse language, to Tukano as the lingua franca, or to another language, whatever one is most convenient for the others. A person usually cannot enumerate how many languages he knows, and is perplexed at being asked to do so. The interviewer has to go over with him one by one the whole list of languages spoken in the area. But when approached, in this way, each individual definitely knows his own repertoire and can state what languages

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• 191 he speaks well, what ones he only understands but does not speak, etc.[5]

I observed no tendency for people to claim knowledge of a language not actually known. I also observed that the Indians' terms for rating fluency, when translated into English, are *under*estimates. Thus when an Indian says he speaks such-and-such a language "some," we would be more prone in English-speaking culture to say he speaks it "quite well." The unequally weighted rating scale used by informants in Tukano is perhaps best rendered by these English glosses and paraphrases: (1) "none"; (2) "hardly any" or "just a few words"; (3) "some, but not *well*" ("well" referring to pronunciation), or "half-way"; (4) "*almost* all" or "just a little lacks"; (5) "all." To an unqualified question, an informant usually gives his *speaking* fluency rating. He must be questioned separately for ratings on languages he understands but does not speak or "hardly speaks." All these observations make it appear that the Indians are indifferent or, perhaps, blasé about their multilingualism.

Their orientation to multilingualism is instrumental and practical, but not devious. The languages used in a given situation are not chosen with motives of concealment from others. Politeness leads visitors to use their hosts' language, if they know it. Reliance on one language as against another is not considered impolite, however, and only on rare occasions, when such a reliance is exaggerated insistently and provocatively, can it signal the expression of anything resembling a militant tribal rivalry. This may, but need not, occur during beer-drinking bouts, as at a formally arranged product-exchanging and friendship-renewing ceremony between two longhouses representing two tribes; but here it should be viewed as a means for expressing and releasing accumulated, and usually minor, tensions rather than as a product of the drunken brawl pictured by most non-Indians. The stereotypes of unsympathetic non-Indians may have prejudiced accounts of some of the unsuccessful ceremonies that have received notoriety. Overt rivalry in most of these ceremonies seldom needs to go beyond the all-night competitive dancing of the separate rival troupes; and by the second day, the older men's chanting may end up entirely in the host-longhouse's language, while the younger men form one cooperative, consoli-

[576] 191 578

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• 191 578 dated dancing body. During the course of the ceremony, the women group according to their own tribal affiliations and sing as choruses in their own father-tongues. Married women alternate between singing in their original father-language, in their husband's language, and in the longhouse language of the hosts.

191 197 619 If neither one's father nor mother is Tukano, one nevertheless will speak Tukano as a lingua franca. Indirect evidence suggests that Tukano existed aboriginally, or at least early in the historic period, as a lingua franca, although its epicenter may have formerly been in the Lower Vaupés. The Tukano tribe may even have been the dominant group in a confederation or nation of sorts (Markham 1910). At any rate, the Tukano are widely and strategically located and appear to have exerted a dominant influence in the whole area. The Tukano claim a mild prestige as the senior sibs of the area and regard all the other tribes as younger-brother sibs in a particular rank order (see Fulop 1955); this ranking is accepted by the other tribes. Because the Tukano tribe is so widespread, almost every longhouse has at least one Tukano woman in it. Therefore, persons who do not have a Tukano for father or mother still have someone in their longhouse from whom they can absorb the correct pronunciation of Tukano.

197 Now, the Tukano language contains at least six dialects. As a lingua franca it is not pidginized but is learned in one or another of its tribal dialect forms, whatever one the learner is exposed to. Speakers for whom Tukano is not their father- or mother-language can still be identified as to regional dialect. Tukano, incidentally, is not an easy language to learn. It has a great many phonemes and an intricate tonal system; and apart from the tonal system, it has an intricate system of stress. This suggests the hypothesis that sheer intricacy may foster an all-or-none attitude toward learning to speak a phonologically elaborate language. Maintenance of Tukano as a lingua franca has probably been reinforced by there being some 25 or more language groups that it serves.

131 The Indians do not practice speaking a language that they do not know well yet. Instead, they passively learn lists of words, forms, and phrases in it and familiarize themselves with the sound of its pronunciation. The diverse and discrete phonologies of these languages and their dialects loom very prominently in

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• 191 the Indians' regard. They may make an occasional preliminary attempt to speak a new language in an appropriate situation, but if it does not come easily, they will not try to force it. One of the preconditions of language-learning in the area is a passive familiarity with lists of words (including inflected and derived forms) in languages likely to be learned. Much language-learning (especially of linguae francae) takes place within the peer group. Among closely related languages, a stage of "semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) may be important in learning. Informants estimate that it takes them from at least one to two years to learn a new language fluently, regardless of language family. Most of them also estimate that it takes longer to learn Spanish than to learn Tukano or another Eastern Tukanoan language.

191 An Indian, then, does not want to try to
197 speak a language until he knows it quite well. He is conscious of his pronunciation in it and deliberately tries to sound like an authentic speaker. Each language has its own phonetic niceties, nuances of voice placement, and other details of accent not unlike the sort that distinguish some regional dialects of American English. Some languages (e.g., Tukano, Desano, Kubeo) exhibit more than one accent because they have regional dialects. There is such a phenomenon, then, as speaking Tukano with a Tuyuka accent, and vice versa, although many Tuyukas speak Tukano without a Tuyuka accent. A mild Siriano accent is acceptable to speakers of the Upper Papurí River dialect of Tukano, where the Siriano tribe is located. A Tukano child of this area with a Siriano mother who has a Siriano accent in her Tukano will himself speak Tukano without a Siriano accent.

191 The early non-Indians who started coming
648 into the area brought with them another language as lingua franca: Nheengatú (Inekatú), also called Tupí, and also commonly referred to as *lingoa geral* (which means "lingua franca" in Portuguese) or just "Geral." This is a Tupí-Guaraní language, and it is still spoken, even monolingually, along many portions of the Rio Negro by the detribalized Indian and White-Indian population, collectively known as *caboclos*. Nheengatú spread as the lingua franca of the early rubber boom days, 1875–1920. When the rubber boom declined with the development of rubber plantations in Malaysia, the use of Nheengatú declined also. Now only some older people in

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191 648 the multilingual area described in this report know Nheengatú. Some younger people can repeat lists of words and forms in it, but they do not speak it. According to informants, it can be heard conversationally in the lower portions of the Vaupés, but I have not heard it used conversationally in the Middle Vaupés [799] region. It was originally brought up the Amazon and to the Rio Negro by the Jesuits as the language of instruction; and it was well established there by the 18th century, when a contest with Portuguese began (Martius 1867). Its grammar, originally adapted from a Latin model, was artificially built on a Tupí-Guaraní base similar to that of present-day Guaraní.

191 After Nheengatú, Portuguese came in as another lingua franca. It is now the language of the non-Indians on the Brazilian side of the border and the language taught in the mission schools there.

On the Colombian side, Spanish is the official lingua franca. There was much learning of Spanish in the rubber-gathering area during the rubber boom, and Spanish superseded Nheengatú as the dominant lingua franca there. The increasing importance of Spanish at the expense of Portuguese and the already fading Nheengatú coincided with a change in the rubber industry: to extract the *siringa* type of rubber, found in abundance in the Upper Vaupés River and Upper Apaporis River region of interior Colombia, instead of the less valuable but more widespread *balata* type found in both Colombia and Brazil. The stability of Tukano during this period of change probably enhanced its position as a lingua franca. The Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis region is just outside of the culture area being described in this paper, and it includes Indian workers who have come in from still other culture areas. While the knowledge of Spanish is spreading, via this rubber-gathering area, into the adjacent culture areas, the knowledge of Tukano is also spreading.

191 648 For about 20 years there has been a concerted attempt to teach Colombian Indians Spanish in the schools. Perhaps one-third to one-half of the Indians already know Spanish as a second lingua franca. Many learned it when, as youths, they worked a few years in the rubber-gathering area. Theirs is good, understandable, and effective Spanish, although it may lack the subjunctive and certain other details of normative grammar. It

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cannot be called a "broken Spanish." At the missions, the insistence on using only Spanish has at times had an effect the reverse of the one desired and has invigorated Tukano and the other Indian languages. Along with measures to civilize the Indian linguistically and get him out of the longhouse and into civilized villages, there have been attempts to detribalize the Indians by de-emphasizing exogamy. All these efforts, however, have only served to reinforce the persistence of the native languages.

Because this area is politically divided by the boundary between Colombia and Brazil, an Indian from Brazil who knows Portuguese finds that when he goes any distance into Colombia, Portuguese is not understood. Conversely, Colombian Indians find they cannot use their Spanish in the interior of the Brazilian section. They then resort to their principal lingua franca, Tukano, which is understood on both sides of the border. And this situation obviously helps also in continuing Tukano as the main lingua franca.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR SOME CURRENT ISSUES

### *The One Language/One Culture Image*

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As I have shown, the multilingualism in the homogeneous culture of the central Northwest Amazon area serves to demarcate distinct, exogamous social units. Homogeneity of culture in this area does not mean homogeneity of language. And to speak of one language is not to speak of one entire culture. Indeed, with minor regional variations, the larger Northwest Amazon cultural area extends far beyond the bounds of the central, multilingual area described in this paper. Moreover, the cultural area includes some societies acculturated to lesser or greater degree to civilization but whose populations still prefer to speak aboriginal languages and to coin new terms in their own languages rather than borrow alien words. Data from the central Northwest Amazon bear directly, therefore, on the prevalent one language/one culture assumption, which, as Hymes (1964) and Gumperz (1961) point out, needs critical review.

The homogeneous culture area of the central Northwest Amazon has been circumscribed, perhaps somewhat artificially, as the area characterized by multilingualism as a culture trait. Within it there is no one language that

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is father-language to all, nor is there any one language that is mother-language to everyone. What is father-language to some is mother-language to others and an unknown language to still others, all people who bear the same culture. The distribution of Tukano, as the lingua franca, does largely coincide with the extent of this culture area. But this is partly because a lingua franca accompanies multilingualism, and it is this trait of multilingualism that sets off the cultural area. The widespread distribution of Tukano and its near coincidence with the central Northwest Amazon culture area does not lend any special monolithic quality to Tukano such as is revealed in the promulgation of Spanish and Portuguese. Despite much situational reinforcement, Tukano continues to exist as a lingua franca at all only because it has tenuously and flexibly become amalgamated into the cultural picture. Indeed, the linguistic area of Tukano merges into the area of Nheengatú and thence into the area of Portuguese; the cultural areas of tribal Indians and of detribalized caboclos have perimeters that differ from those of the linguistic areas.[6]

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*Implications for Transformational Linguistic Theory*

A number of details in the preceding description of the multilingual society in the central Northwest Amazon force some reconsideration of certain basic premises of transformational linguistic theory. Chomsky (1965:3–9) states that linguistic theory is concerned with the tacit knowledge of an ideally fluent speaker-hearer in a homogeneous speech community. An ideally fluent speaker-hearer in the central Northwest Amazon has to be someone who is *not* monolingual. This poses the question of whether the ideally fluent speaker is to carry one model of Language or several models, one for each of his languages, in his head. Even very closely related languages appear to be kept fastidiously apart by speakers, and the very differences among these closely related languages often are of the same kind of subtlety, especially of surface structure rules and near-surface structure rules, whose exposure has been a major contribution of transformational linguistics. This leads to the further question of how any one language, which forms only part of a normal polylinguistic individual's repertoire (which in turn varies from individual to individual), is to be accounted for. There is also the question of

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• 191 what is to be considered a homogeneous speech community. I have suggested that the best candidates in this community are the longhouse group and the mission village group, whose members share common poly- and multilingual patterns. This necessitates our recognizing hundreds of distinct homogeneous speech communities in the one culture area.

To treat the description of any *one* of these languages as representing the tacit knowledge of a speaker or the language of a speech community is clearly unrealistic. The one language represents only part of the individual's competence in Language, and only part of the speech community's configuration of languages. Description of only one language necessarily can account for only part of the grammatical sentences an individual within a speech community may utter—unless the description of a "single language" can incorporate several, or alternative languages. A linguistic theory limited to one language/one group situations is inadequate to explain the actual linguistic competence of the people of the central Northwest Amazon.

## APPENDIX: INVENTORY OF TRIBES AND LANGUAGES

101 The following tribes and languages have been noted and checked directly in the field.

197 (1) Tribes and languages directly involved in multilingualism:

191 (A) Eastern Tukanoan language family, arranged in subgroupings suggested by a preliminary attempt at reconstruction by the comparative method (there are probably a few more languages to be documented in this group in subsequent field trips): Tukano, Tuyuka and Yurutí, Paneroa and Eduria, Karapana and Tatuyo, Barasana; Piratapuyo, Wanano; Desano and Siriano; Kubeo.

(B) Arawakan language family: Tariano; Baré. Most Tarianos now use Tukano as their household or father-language, and they marry Tukanos; many younger Tarianos do not know Tariano, although they are polylingual in other languages. The Baré along the Middle and Lower Vaupés use either Tukano or Nheengatú as their household or father-language, and very few speakers of the original Baré are left; the Baré are largely detribalized and caboclo-ized.

(C) Several tribes-and-languages of various families of the Pirá-Paraná (Moser 1963) await direct checking in the field: Tabaino, Erulia (distinct from Eduria), Makuna,

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Yekuana, Datuana, and others. The status of some of these as dialects or languages also remains to be determined. For example, Tatuyo informants have mentioned an Owa language spoken by some Tatuyos, but there has not been an opportunity to check this out. The few Miritítapuyo of the Middle Tikié appear to use either Tukano or Desano as their household or father-language.

(D) Tupí-Guaranían language family: Nheengatú.

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(2) Tribes and languages bordering the multilingual area (many members of these tribes may be bilingual or even polylingual, but multilingualism is not widespread in a given tribe; many Indians of the multilingual area may include one or more of these languages in their repertoires):

(A) Arawakan language family: Kuripaka and Baniva. These are reported by some informants to be almost mutually intelligible.

(B) Undetermined language families: Karibona, Guayavero. I also have names, in Tukano only, of some dozen other languages spoken around the periphery of the area and along the Rio Negro.

(3) Languages spoken in the multilingual area, but by speakers who do not possess multilingualism as a culture trait:

(A) Undetermined language family: Makú (Makú may be more than one language). A few Makú know Tukano or Desano or some other language, including Spanish or Portuguese, but most Makú do not; a few Tukanos, Desanos, Piratapuyos, and Tuyukas know some Makú.

(B) Indo-European language family: Spanish, Portuguese, Italian. Two Colombian dialects of Spanish are found: Antioqueño, spoken by most missionaries, and Llanero, spoken by most rubber-gatherers. "Vaupense" Spanish is basically Llanero Colombian Spanish with the addition of many Nheengatú and some Portuguese terms for things pertaining to the tropical rainforest.[7]

(C) A special case is provided by languages neither spoken in the area nor represented there by groups of speakers. Small lists of words in Dutch can be obtained from older Indians on the Papuri, even though the former Dutch Montfortiano Fathers did not attempt to use Dutch with the Indians. Some Indians, moreover, have learned a considerable amount of Latin.

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*Spellings*. Most names for languages and tribes in the literature are Nheengatú names, carried over into Spanish, Portuguese, Ger-

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104 man, English, etc. There is great variation in the spellings. The spellings in this paper tend to follow those of Koch-Grünberg, who still remains the general authority for the area as a whole. His spellings are close to those used for Nheengatú. They generally conform with those used for world-wide ethnographic spellings; in addition, they seem to have been the spellings more commonly used in English, German, Portuguese, and Spanish ethnographies on South America.

101 *Population estimate.* Population figures are
161 hard to estimate. The following are very im-
• 191 pressionistic. Tribes with 1,000–2,000 members: Tukano, Kubeo, Baré; Spanish-only speakers. Tribes with 500–1,000 members: Piratapuyo, Wanano, Desano. Tribes with 150–500 members: Tuyuka, Yurutí, Paneroa, Eduria, Karapana, Tatuyo, Barasana, Siriano, Tariano, Tabaino, Makuna, Tekuana, Datuana; Portuguese-only speakers. Of the latter tribes, Yurutí, Yekuana, and Datuana may number
[797] fewer than 150 members. A few Salesian missionaries, in Brazil, are Italians.

There are probably a few hundred Makú in occasional contract with the multilingual Indians in this area.

Non-Indians probably number about 1,500 and are concentrated in the few air-strip towns.

For a very round figure, a population of 10,000 has been estimated for the multilingual area in which Tukano is the chief lingua franca. Of these 10,000, only the non-Indians, the Makú, and some of the Kubeo are not multilingual, so that over 80 percent of the population is multilingual. As the non-Indians are concentrated in the few air-strip towns and a dozen missionary posts, the effective distribution of multilingualism is much higher; close to 100 percent of the communities encountered in the area are multilingual. Of the multilingual Indians, well over 90 percent know Tukano at least as a lingua franca, with young children accounting for the majority of the few who do not.

NOTES

[114] [12] [1] This report is an expanded version of a paper presented to the Tenth Annual National Conference on Linguistics in New York on March 13, 1965. Field work was done in the summers of 1959, 1960, and 1962 and from June to December 1963. It was supported during much of this time by USPHS Research Grant MH-17,258. I wish to acknowledge the hospitality and cooperation extended to me by the Xaveriano missionary order in Colombia and the Salesian missionaries of the Brazilian Vaupés region. Various drafts of this paper were read by Drs. Charles

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000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [2] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921–22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177 563 61 582 [3] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *cabocle* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Cabocles are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Cabocle culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The cabocle population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1965). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of cabocles. The cabocle population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "caboclo" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "cabuso," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be cabocles.

000 [4] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

124 191 [5] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field work. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data *about* each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politics-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 101 197 [6] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a cabocle type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

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*539 /112 cont./
•192 German in Tukano is called Alemán. And then Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Colombians, who are called Siópuri Uejké in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. Then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Americans, who are called Pubricanos in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the English /Spanish ingleses/, who are called Ingleses in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Italians /Spanish italianos/, who are called Italianos in Tukano, to leave. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the French to leave Diaojpekowí. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Brazil-
*539 ians, who are called Ereya in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Spanish to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Peruvians to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Syrians to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another
[192] order for the Portuguese to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the bicudos, who are also white Brazilians, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Negroes, who are called Tapañumas in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. In other words, all the people of the world left Diaojpekowí. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Baré, who are people who speak Geral (18),
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18. Geral is the name with which is designated a language that is formed in its major part by the Tupí language.

to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Ananicas, who are very small people and whom the whites call pygmies, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for an old woman of the whites to leave Diaojpekowí.

Yepá Huáke gave the order for all the whites, those who were not Tukano, to march to where the Tukano were, that is, to Diaojpekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke performed a great miracle. With this miracle came all kinds of armaments, clothing, shoes,

* /128 cont./
539 was left above the surface of the land, and drawing it a little
•[192] toward one side, it remained fixed in the sky. The sky is called Emese in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke did the same with another little bell-stick in the tail of the gũío, and the little stick remained fixed between Diauamundia and the sky. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "All the tribes of Tukano come and jump on top of the gũío, between the two sticks of Yaig." And that is where the Tukano learned the discipline of war. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people: "Start to march four times on top of the gũío; march two times looking at the sky and march two times looking at the surface of the land." And all marched on top of the gũío. And Yepá Huáke said: "Turn around and jump off the back of the gũío!" And they jumped. And then the gũío shook himself and there was like a flash of lightning and that was to kill the people who were on top of the gũío. And Yepá Huáke gave the order to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people to climb on top of the gũío again and to march four more times on top of the gũío, two times looking at the sky and two times looking at the surface of the land. And Yúpuri Baúro and all his people did as Yepá Huáke ordered, and afterwards they turned around and jumped off the gũío again. And Yepá Huáke gave them orders to do the same thing again. And Yepá Huáke gave orders to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people to do the same thing again. And all of them did the same thing. Then Yepá Huáke said: "No more for you." Then Yepá Huáke gave orders to Siópuri Uejké for him and all his people to jump on top of the gũío. And they marched differently, for /129/ they crossed one foot and then they crossed the other. And Yepá Huáke did not order them to look at the sky, but instead he told them to look only at the land. Siópuri Uejké and his people marched four times on top of the gũío, and the four times that they marched they looked at the land. And Yepá Huáke ordered them to jump off the gũío to the land. And the gũío trembled and sent a flash of lightning to kill them. And Yepá Huáke ordered Siópuri Uejké and all his people to jump on the gũío again, and they did it, and this time

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[For information on vocabulary see category 116, passim, especially pp. 32, 47, 89-112, 125-128, 194-231, and 242-392.]

/258 cont./

*192 821 noted that, while all the inanimate beings belong to the neuter gender in the Tukano language (and, it seems to us, in all the indigenous languages of the region), sun, moon, star, thunder, and the sacred instrument miri (cf. VII - 3, c (3c) ) are of the masculine gender.

There is only one name to designate the sun and the moon, Muhĩ-pũ. They originally imagined them as only one and the same being, which illuminated the world, and it was always day. Until night appeared, in the form of dark dust scattered through space.

*822 • 192 The echo, Axkã-keoãra, is owed to Wãx-tĩ (see VII - 4, d (5a) ), who, from amidst the forest, amuses himself by imitating some noise. And many of the noises of the forest (the whispering of the wind, the murmuring of the breeze among the /259/ leaves, branches falling) seem to them to be imitations of the music and sounds of the dances that Wãx-tĩ performs.

*192 821 The thunderclap is the aborted children, Paxkõ-mãrĩrã-khãra (that is, orphans without a mother), who cry, because it is going to be very hot. "These poor children go around alone, because nobody takes care of them" (Patrícia Vasconcelos).

3) The constellations.

They distinguish the constellations with names of animals or things that they seem to see represented by the stars, Yõxkõã. The knowledge of the constellations is more generalized among the natives than among the civilized. Thus, [115] upon asking a group of young men of 16 to 20 years of age the names of the constellations, all showed that they knew them, and one would recall the name when another had forgotten it, and they pointed to them in the sky.

/353 cont./

796 534 778 *192 562 858

Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kãsé.

/354/ The women and children who came to the feast, barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut themselves in (63),

[343]

63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩriá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

796 534 778 562 688

The guests then go toward that local landing place to which the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women, submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] [278] *[192]

The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ. Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

* [192] [304] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ̃ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that [224] [226] is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

Uruká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one *[192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

/366/ [752] They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

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# 5

## *Marriage*

614 615 The rule in marriage is that a wife cannot be taken from within the sib or phratry. She may be taken from another tribe and, of course, from any of the other two phratries. There is no actual prohibition against marrying a woman from one's own community if she belongs to a group that is outside the phratry. As I have already noted, such marriages are not common because of a preference for marrying someone from a distance. Since true friendship is apt to mean brotherhood [626] for the Cubeo, and so is identified with exogamy, the parties to a coresidence marriage, the man in particular, are made to feel as though they were behaving indecently. The only case of a coresidence 614 marriage that I learned about was complicated somewhat by an issue 597 of adoption, but it illustrates the ambiguity of feeling the Cubeo have about such marriages, nevertheless. A boy, born a *Bahúkiwa*, was orphaned and adopted by the *Hürüwá*, a sib of the opposite phratry. He then married a *Hürüwá* girl. Opinion was divided. The boy and his supporters claimed that he was *Bahúkiwa* and so the marriage was proper. The other side argued that since he was raised by the *Hürüwá* he had no business marrying a *Hürüwá* girl. Since the girl's family allowed the marriage to stand we must assume 582 that the boy's position was legally sound. Marriage is preferred between age equals, and since a groom must be forceful enough to make a good impression he will not marry until his very late teens and so ● 192 neither will the girl. The term for marriage is *nomíkükü*, meaning simply "woman getting."

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7

# *Development of the Individual*

The development of individual character is always relevant to an 121
understanding of social organization. In the case of Cubeo social 621
organization, founded, as it is, upon the lifelong continuity of the sibling group of males, the psychological factors are of particular importance. The following discussion will attempt to show the relationship between some of the experiences of a Cubeo from infancy to adulthood and some of the formal principles of Cubeo social organization. By and large, Cubeo social organization must conform to the direct psychological dispositions of its members for the commanding reason that the people have a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. The sib, as we have noted, is readily split; this means, in [614]
psychological terms, that those who find any cause for dissatisfaction [578]
with life within the community are quick to leave. The community, therefore, is constantly being drained of its malcontents. Those who remain are, in a manner of speaking, in harmony with one another. This harmony, it should be said at once, is not that of homogeneity. It is based rather upon individual complementarities, of extraversion-introversion, active-passive, and leader-follower, as in any community. The harmony is between the requirements of adult life and the experiences of childhood.

The Cubeo use the following age-grade terms. The nursing infant 561
from birth until it learns to crawl is called *abohoidjó* (male) or 192
*abohokó* (female); a crawling infant is *tcumí* (male or female, although *tcúmiko* is possible for the female); the walking child who

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561 still needs help is *tcumihinkü* (male) or *tcumihinko* (female); the
192 youngster until puberty is *hwainyó* (male) or *hwainkó* (female); the adult male is *ümü* (male) or *nomyó* (female), and finally, the old people are *bekü* (male) or *bekó* (female).

## BIRTH AND INFANCY

842 The Cubeo believe it is the spermatic fluid (*hürü*) that causes conception. They regard the womb as a ground in which the fetus grows, or is cultivated as seeds are planted in the earth. Since men and women do not discuss together the biology of conception and of
[843] pregnancy, their views differ. Men I spoke to dated conception from the time when the abdomen begins to swell, while women dated it
843 from the cessation of menstruation. Both sexes believe that con-
833 tinued coitus after conception will add to the number of children
842 that will grow in the womb. Stories are told of people who did not heed this so that the woman burst from an accumulation of fetuses. Coitus is stopped, however, by the male reckoning.

842 It is a common view of men that women are not eager to bear
847 children. Women, they say, know how to bring about abortion and frequently resort to infanticide. They explain that women are sexu-
[833] ally too ardent and rather than forgo coitus during the long nursing period they would rather not have a child at all. Moreover, a woman who has not been enjoying sexual intercourse with her husband will abort or kill her offspring. If she chooses infanticide, however, she spares the boy. Women do concede knowledge and use of abortifacients and they acknowledge that others of their sex practice infanticide. They agree that a woman who does not love her husband punishes him by denying him a child. Thus, the Cubeo are disin-
842 clined to believe in barrenness or in sterility, attributing infertility to
[586] female design. A man, therefore, has cause to abandon a wife who bears him no children. One man told that he had abandoned his wife for not bearing children. Later they became reconciled; his wife had a change of heart and began to bear children.

847 Male infanticide, I was assured, was rare, for even the most dis-
[562] affected or self-indulgent woman would not have the heart to kill a male child. Both men and women agreed that a girl was less important. The unwanted child is buried alive, it is said, at the very spot where it was born.

842 The likelihood is very strong, then, that a child is born to a family that desires it, and in which husband and wife are happy with each other. Parturition takes place in the woman's manioc garden. A

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act be- 846
lieved to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, 789
scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press any- 846
thing, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of [789] these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is 551
not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given 851
a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child [789]
comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. [856]
To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much 826
they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in [192]
itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahü* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahümikü* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is con- 553
ducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the 603
name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the 789
house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather re- 593
peatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's [272]
mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to [614]
emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth [856]
magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

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danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

*yavirárü yavirákü* [repeated]
*yavirárü maníka*
*yavirárü ya*
*ho ho ho o ho.*

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákü* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiari River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yavi*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

The mask of Butterfly (*Tatárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kavirè kavirè* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiari.

Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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778 of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." [192] [193] Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

778 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known
756 as *pariékoků* (man of power) or as *yaví* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékoků* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yaví* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every [554] *yaví* is a *pariékoků* but not every *pariékoků* is a *yaví*. The *yaví* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékoků* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékoků*, but *yavís* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yaví* and the *pariékoků*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékoků*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parúků*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an
778 exceptional act it is his *parúků*, it is said, that enabled him to do it.
756 The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unplea-
821 santly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the
823 depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural
789 causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Sha-
778 manistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Gener-
756 ally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding,
787 in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman
825 on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

756 Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the
778 shamans wage against one another. A *yaví*, I was told, has a different
554

619 practice, the designation of "tribe" implies a distinct culture-bearing entity. But the use of "tribe" for social units in the central Northwest Amazon has been ambiguous because of the use sometimes of linguistic and sometimes of cultural criteria. The problem of identifying tribal units has been recognized on a more general level in South American ethnology by Steward and Faron (1959:17, 21), and the concept of "tribe" in the world-wide anthropological literature has most recently been challenged by Fried (1966), who indicates that assumptions regarding the diachronic and politico-evolutionary status of so-called tribes need re-examination.

619 The Tukano, Tuyuka, Barasana, and other
• 192 Eastern Tukanoan-speaking Indians of the central Northwest Amazon have no simple term for "tribe" in their languages, nor for "lineage," "sib," "phratry." In discussion these units are designated by proper names (e.g., "the Tukanos") or, if the context is clear, by demonstratives suffixed with one of the various classifiers glossing as "group," "class," "persons," any one of which may pertain to any of these social units. When Spanish is used, however, *tribu* is applied by Indians to the language-bearing unit only, whereas *familia* and *grupo* are applied to various units, including the tribe. When an informant is asked to explain the meaning of "tribu" in Tukano (or in another Eastern Tukanoan language), he invariably gives the proper name of the language-bearing unit, and follows up further questioning about other social units by giving the proper names of those that he knows, especially of those in his own lineage-sib-tribe hierarchy, and he concludes with a statement such as, "They're all my relatives." If recourse is made to Spanish to explain a hierarchical arrangement, an informant will say something like "*Este grupo tiene tres grupos*." In Tukano he would say, "This-group is three-groups: the 'Anteater' people are three-groups: the A are at X rapids, the B are at Y stretch of the Papuri River, and the C are at Z mission village." Linguistically, the name for the language is the name for the tribe in the plural possessive form, nominalized; the plural infinitive of the word for "to speak" is the form glossing as "language," and if this form also appears along with the tribal name, then the plural possessive form of the tribal name also appears but it is not nominalized.

[P. 673-B]

*539 /106 cont./
Tukano. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he is named (6)

•[193]

6. Here the interpreter uses the present indicative of the verb llamarse /"to be called" or "to be named"/; he discontinues in this form the use of the imperfect indicative of the same verb.

Yepára Suí, and these people were the ones who made the money for all the Tukano. The money used by the Tukano were feathers of all kinds. Feathers represented wealth for the Tukano. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he is named Ajúsiro Sóbaro, who was the first lieutenant of all the Tukano. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he is named Yúpuri Pamó, and he was the architect of all the malocas (houses) of the Tukano. From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Yepára Merú, and this was the corps (musicians) for the official feasts. From Diaojpekowí came another man, who is named Doétiro Mimisipé, and he is the maker of fine articles: such as mamatisjé (this means paint for the face, and in Geral is called carayurú), such as perfumes of all kinds and fine herbs of every kind for beautifying all the Tukano. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he is named Ajkíto Patíro, and he was the propagandist of the politics of the Tukano. From Diaojpekowí came another man, who is named Kemáru Kukú, and he was like a captain of the army of the Tukano, but Ajúsiro Sóbaro gave orders to Kemáru Kukú. From Diaojpekowí came another man, who is named Urémiri Sáraro, and he was in charge of all the Republic of the Tukano, he was a kind of Ministro de Gobierno /Minister of Government/ (7).

7. Example of transculturization.

And he was in charge of all the land of the Tukano; and this same gentleman was in charge of and guarded the spirits of Yuruparí,

/138 cont./

153 /footnote 3 cont./ the Tukano language: first one would talk, then another, then two or more simultaneously, and afterwards all remained silent. We would first press this one, then that one, who seemed to understand our wishes. Only after we had opened the typed originals of the present work and the most unrestrained of them had read the excerpt that I was referring to did he add: "that is the way it is." In order to solve this simple question, 40 minutes went by!

12 * [192] [196] Properly speaking there is no term in the Tukano idiom equivalent to the word /138/ ultimate: they would say, more concretely: the one of the end, the one of the extremity (yaxpa̱-ti̱-kã̄gõ masc., yaxpa̱-ti̱-kã̄gõ, fem., yaxpa̱-ti̱-kã̄ra, pl., yaxpa̱-ti̱-kã̄se, neuter).

For this reason one must not be content, insofar as possible, to obtain the translation of a word from only one individual or on only one occasion. Many times the word is heard pronounced differently. Is it a matter of faulty pronunciation by the individual? By which one of them? By all? Or is the divergence due to regional pronunciations? And then which of them will be the best? Or, finally, is it a matter of terms corresponding to a similar Portuguese word? Which of them would be the best? Would they be perfect synonyms? We point out these difficulties in order for one to understand the efforts of anyone who decides to study directly with the Indian the language of the latter. It is ten times more difficult than to study a foreign idiom with the help of teachers, grammars, and vocabularies.

The Indian is a man of reality, hence his difficulty with generalizations and abstractions. Instead of saying simply and [193] abstractly head, he will prefer to say "my head, your head," etc. He does not say: to work, to eat (the Tukano language does not even have the infinitive form). He will say: "I work, you eat," etc.

/337/

782 with the author: -- "These dances are the rites of the old ones,
796 it is their religion." And after having pointed out the respect
[115] that everyone has for such dances, he added: -- "If a drunken individual were to cross the line of the dancers, he would be thrown out; it is a great profanity, and he would be dishonored.

The sound of the instrument, we imagine, would stand for a propitiatory ceremony and dedication of the feast to Wĩx-tĩ (43).

[115]

43. We questioned various native women, even the most intelligent alumnae of the Missions, and all were convinced that the sound was the voice of Wĩx-tĩ present at the feast among the human beings. We have heard of episodes in which the presence of ugly, mysterious beings among the dancers was affirmed. It is to be noted that we heard such episodes related by women. Perhaps because of a greater reserve of the men? Or because of a more excitable imagination of the women? It should be observed that in the Tukano language all things belong to the neuter gender. Nevertheless, Mĩrĩ (or Mĩnĩ, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés) is masculine. They positively affirm to us that the Mĩrĩ is maxsã, people. In the plural it becomes Mĩrĩá; and it should be observed that the plural in a is exclusively for animate beings.

*[192]
•[193]

It is the renewing of his voice, the perpetuation of his teachings and orders, as it were.

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clature can only be hinted at and not definitely established. One principle, that of eponymy, seems to hold for sibs of high social standing. But my information on this point is limited to only one of the phratries. In this phratry, composed of sibs along the Cuduiarí and the Vaupés, the two top-ranking sibs bear the names of Ancients who were the very first men to emerge from the traditional emergence site. The founders of the *Órobawa* and of the *Aúnbwawü* were, respectively, *Órobakü* and *Aúnkü*.[1] These men, it is said, named all the other sibs of the phratry that emerged after they did. I could not discover the source of these names. They may have been from the genealogical list of the two top-ranking sibs, in accordance with the current principle that when a new sib is adopted into the phratry the adopting or sponsoring sib endows its members with names from its own genealogical list. However, Cubeo traditions suggest diverse origins for the sibs so that it is unlikely that a single principle will explain the sib names.

The first ancestors of the sibs, other than the top-ranking two, had names that were not the same as the sib names. The founder of the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, was *Bwü* (Agouti) and the founder of the *Hehéneüwa* was *Djurédo*, but later Ancients took as personal names the sib name itself, thus establishing in subsequent generations the principle of eponymy. In later generations, *Bahúkü* becomes a leading *Bahúkiwa* Ancient and *Hehénakü* a leading *Hehéneüwa* Ancient. Any Ancient may also be referred to generically by the sib name, so that one may speak of a specific *Bahúkü* or *Bahúko*[2] or of a generalized *Bahúkü* or *Bahúko*, meaning in the latter instance an Ancient man or woman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib.

A proper sib name must have some eponymous quality. Some sib names are descriptive, such as *Mánapwänwa*, meaning "Trail People," a derogatory reference to people who arrived on the Cuduiarí overland like the Macú instead of decently along the river by canoe. These people reject this name in favor of a subsib name which has the orthodox merit of having been bestowed by the founders of the phratry. Cubeo sib names are normally descriptive only insofar as personal names are descriptive. The legendary method by which the first sibs got their names from a higher-ranking source stands for the Cubeo as the model by which newcomers are brought into the phratry. An adopted sib is given a name that has in its stem the name of the adopting sib. All the sibs of the *Hehéneüwa* are differentiated by a descriptive prefix, while the sibs of the *Bahúkiwa* are differen-

[1] There is a full list of sibs following the present discussion.
[2] The suffix *kü* is masculine, *ko* is feminine.

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614 tiated by a suffix. From the *Hehénewa* traditions it seems likely that
● 193 they were originally an independent tribe, probably Tucano, that had joined in with the group of sibs that were headed by the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnbwawü*, bringing with them their associated sibs. The sibs that carry the *Hehénewa* stem with their descriptive prefixes are also known by names that are compounded of the prefixes as well. Thus, the *Byarí-Hehénewa* are also known as *Byaridowa*, and the *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* as *Pyéndowa*. According to Koch-Grünberg, the
614 *Órobawa* regard themselves as a branch of the *Hehénewa* and are also known as *Ólaba-Hehénewa*. His information was that the *Hehénewa* were the "true" Cubeo and that the *Bahúkiwa* were intrusive Macú (1909, II, 87). The actual history of the sibs is clouded in uncertainty. We can be reasonably sure only of a composite of several distinctive peoples or "tribes." The few *Wathariwa* sibs in my list are also named in a fashion similar to that of the *Hehénewa*.

614 Each sib also possesses a list of personal names that constitutes its
551 traditional genealogy.[3] These are names that all sib members must bear. They are called *aínheme* (*aín*: anaconda; *heme*: tongue) to indicate their origin from the speech of the anaconda, the animal form in which all first ancestors emerged from the earth. In these names there is a note of prestige, in that some names are illustrious, being part of the earliest genealogies, while others, having been added later, are less important. Since only one name can be held at a time, names are allocated in order of seniority, but not, insofar as I know, within a senior line. Names with an honorific connotation circulate within
[613] the sib, and not by lineage. They are transmitted in alternate gener-
[424] ations, going from a deceased grandparent to a grandchild. It should be said at once that while the notions of sib rank and of the distinction between more honorific and less honorific names suggests a structured system of social status, the social significance of status hierarchy is not great. The Cubeo have the skeleton of an aristocratic system that is fleshed with an egalitarian ethos.

Personal names are often those of birds, insects, and beasts, less commonly of fish. In the recent past, it is said, sib members did not eat the flesh of any creature whose name was then being carried by a sib member. This taboo is no longer in force. The explanation given is that hunting is more important now and they do not wish to deprive themselves of animal meat.[4] Without a proper sib name,

[3] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* names at the end of this chaper.

[4] On the other hand, there is the tradition that in the past they lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering rather than by farming. If this taboo did indeed exist it may have lapsed for the same reason that other ceremonial observances have

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# 4

## *Kinship*

539 The focus of Cubeo kinship is the sibling group, of which the
601 brothers form a permanent body, the hard core, so to speak, and the sisters an emotionally close but separable group, since they are the ones who marry out. The sibling group is the model for the extension of terms of consanguinity throughout the phratry.[1] More people are
601 addressed and referred to as "sibling" than by any other term. When
602 the Cubeo speak in Spanish or in Portuguese they identify all their age mates within the range of patrilineal consanguinity as "my brother" or "my sister." Their own language differentiates degrees of sibling closeness, distinguishing lineage brothers, sib brothers, and
[93] phratry brothers. But the linguistic device for drawing these distinctions, by manipulating prefixes and suffixes without altering the stem itself, seems to be a finely contrived compromise between the desire to embrace all patrilineal consanguineal kin within the bonds of brotherhood and the need to deal with the actualities of relationships. The Cubeo are very sensitive to terms of address and so they use terms not merely to designate a precise degree of relationship, but diplomatically, to create a mood of closeness or of distance. I believe this diplomatic use of kinship draws mainly, perhaps exclusively, upon the sibling terms, since all other terms of consanguinity are by comparison of far lesser significance. A phratry brother may be called by the term appropriate for sib or even lineage brother and vice versa. When this is done, the speaker indicates by his manner

[1] There is a list of relationship terms at the end of this chapter.

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602 or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

593 The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In [574] any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the 601 thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother." 602 Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means [193] literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

593 Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

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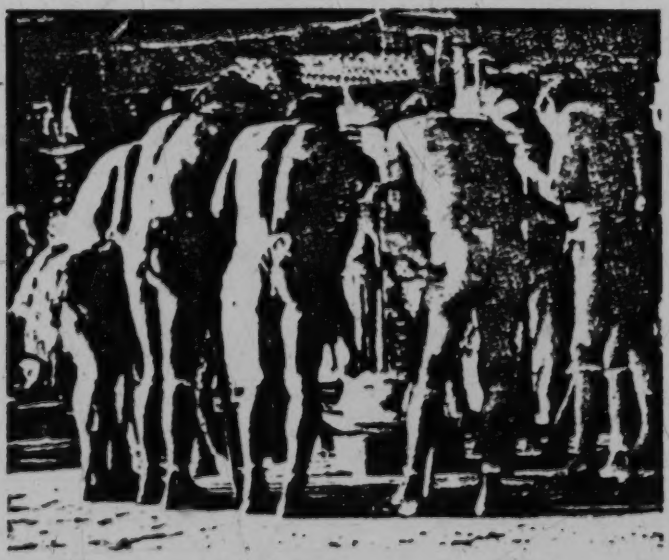

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

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so an older brother is *amyóbakü* (older brother-father) to his younger sister. He is her guardian. He may arrange her marriage, or offer her sexually to a friend, if she is willing. It is a special relationship in many respects. 593 561 [584] [836]

Seniority is of consequence only in the sibling generation. There is no concept of senior line and no recognition in terminology of descendants of older or younger siblings.

Apart from sex and seniority, Cubeo sibling terms also demarcate social distance. They differentiate, as already noted, three degrees of sibling closeness: lineage sibling, near phratry sibling, and distant phratry sibling. They do so, ingeniously, by the linguistic device of using a common root for sibling – this usage is only in the senior term, because only the senior term is important – indicating distance or closeness by the use of appropriate prefixes and suffixes. The root for senior sibling of either sex is *ami*. With the possessive prefix *hi* and the gender suffix *ko* or *kü* (*himámiko*, *-kü*) it connotes utmost closeness and is applied to older brother and sister of one's own family, including the extended joint family or lineage. Since sib and lineage may often be coextensive these terms are also sib-wide. The term *himámiko* (my older sister) does not apply to a mother's sister's daughter unless she happens to be – via brother-sister exchange marriage – a father's brother's daughter as well. The intimate usage, that is, must also correspond with coresidence. One's own sister, to be sure, does marry out, but in the meantime there has been a long period of coresidence. In any case, there is not the slightest tendency to slur over a nuclear kinship relationship. In the case of father's brother's daughter the intimate term applies only when she is still a coresident. After she has married she falls into the next more-distant category. 601 193 601 [614]

The second range of kinship intimacy is the most widespread of all, including sib, subsib, and all close sibs within the phratry. It may even be applied to all members of the phratry of one's generation, in which case the third and most distant form of sibling terminology is reserved for those people whom one does not know well. The terms used in this second range are *amiyó* and *amikó*. The suffix *yo* conveys the meaning of "such as" or "one who is of the class of." It is also used in the term *baküdyó* (father's brother) and means literally "one who is in the class of a father." In *amiyó* it means, therefore, "one who is in the class of an older brother." Strictly speaking, the suffix *yo* has no sex gender and if it were applied to a woman would constitute no major linguistic blunder. But since one's contacts are almost invariably with male siblings, the sisters normally at a distance, the [614] [615] 601 193

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term has apparently taken on a masculine meaning and *amikó* is used to specify the female. A term *amikû* does not exist to my knowledge. With the loss of the possessive prefix *hi* some of the intimacy has gone out of the term. Nevertheless, being diplomatic in their use of kinship terms, the Cubeo sometimes employ the form *himámiyo* and so give the term a warmer tone.

Finally, the most distant usage is to employ only the stem *mamû* ("older one") equally to male and female to connote the barest sibling relationship. I never heard this term used because, I suppose, the Cubeo find it too formal. Rather than call a person *mamû* they prefer the more cordial *pakomá* (kinsman). The special respect use of this term for men of the head sib has already been described.

601 [554] [614]

The junior sibling term is rather unusual. I am inclined to regard it as a quasi-kinship term because it has equally a kinship and an age-grade connotation. *Hwainyó* means literally "one who is in the class of youths." Like *amiyó* it can refer to females, but *hwainkó* is the special term for a younger sib and phratry sister. Because it is an age-grade term, the kinship meaning of *hwainyó* is so wide that it has come to mean any person of sib or phratry who is younger either by relative age within one's generation or is of a younger generation. When it is used as the reciprocal for *amiyó*, as a respect term, it refers to one to whom one condescends somewhat as a donor or good Samaritan. It would seem that the Cubeo have developed only the senior term as a true kinship term and have given seniors the prerogative of addressing all their juniors, whether by age or status, simply as "youth." Nor is the term bound by phratry, since it is applied to all grandchildren (male or female) who are not of the lineage. *Hwainyó* also means son-in-law and any nephew or niece. *Hwainkó* is the daughter-in-law. *Hwankû* is a serviceable male form giving it somewhat greater intimacy and thus is limited generally to younger men of one's own sib or of closely related sibs. The abbreviated form *hwa*, a more jocular term, is also used.

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## BROTHER - SISTER RELATIONSHIP

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Lineage brothers and sib brothers are joined by all the strong bonds of a localized patrilineal sib organization. The obligations of lineage brothers toward one another are very little less binding than those of blood brothers, and the obligations of sib brothers, while somewhat less binding, are still considered to be strong. But these brotherly ties are general and taken for granted, whereas the relationship between brother and sister, as indeed that between husband

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This usage of grandparent terms is different from the seniority respect usages previously discussed, because "older sibling" among the Cubeo has a formal connotation of respect, whereas the grandparent term is a genial one as in English. 601 561

## CROSS-COUSINS

Cross-cousins of the same sex often have a relationship that is formed by the fact that they have been principals in a brother-sister exchange marriage. Since their parents, who were siblings of the opposite sex, were also principals in arranging such a marriage, they have shared in some of the intimacy of relationship between these two. Cross-cousins of the same sex have, of course, little contact with one another, but having so much in common, their relationship tends to be a warm one. It is a curious relationship, in that it also has in it a latent threat of trouble, trouble that arises from marital discord. As already noted, one of the expectations of a brother-sister exchange marriage from the male viewpoint is that if his wife leaves him he can get his sister to leave her husband in retaliation. He believes that he can apply pressure upon his cross-cousin brother-in-law to send back the runaway wife or face the breakup of his own marriage. Thus, what begins as a family squabble in one community may embroil a happy marriage in the affinal community. The expectation that a woman will leave her husband only because her brother wants her to is in practice a vain hope, unless he has the cooperation of his male cross-cousin brother-in-law, who urges the woman, his sister, to return to her husband. 605 605 586 593

Cross-cousins of opposite sex refer to one another as *hitcimako* or *hitcimakü*, the possessive prefix connoting closeness. By contrast, *tcimá* has the connotation of distance. The relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex is governed by the customs of courtship and is, therefore, an individual matter. 605 [601] [193]

## THE AFFINAL GROUP

Among affinals there are two principal relationships. The most important is that between parents and children-in-law, the *pani* relationship. This relationship is both consanguineal and affinal since it includes the children of siblings of opposite sex and reciprocally the cross aunt and uncle. The Cubeo draw no distinction, incidentally, between parents and their children-in-law who are of the consanguineal kin and those who may be complete strangers. The emphasis in 606

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593 to his father for personal attention. On the whole, a child is at a greater disadvantage if it has lost a parent of its own sex, that is, a girl with a stepmother, a boy with a stepfather. A girl with a stepmother has a hard life of chores and of open neglect. A boy with a stepfather does not have a hard life at all in the material sense. He is deprived more subtly of intimacy with a paternal figure, and this usually shows itself in his own reserve with respect to his fellows. If he has no father at all the effect upon his personality is even more marked.

593 736 [597] My direct acquaintance with the situation of a true orphan is limited to the observation of one case among the *Bahúkiwa*. This was a girl from another tribe who had lost both parents and was adopted by the *Bahúkiwa* headman as his "daughter." The little girl, about nine, was addressed as "daughter" but held the status in the household of a servant. She took on the heaviest chores and was almost never free to play. Her lowly status was truly stigmatized by [301] her lack of possessions. She was the only child among the Cubeo [123] whom I had ever seen unadorned, until I gave her a necklace which she was allowed to keep. The children of the household enjoyed beating her as a way of teasing her, rather than wickedly. She took their pinchings and cuffings good-naturedly, on the whole, and had learned to pretend not to notice. Once, in the presence of the headman, her "father," the children were overdoing their teasing. She looked imploringly at the headman. Finally, she caught his eye and he said to her, "It is all right for you to run away." He saw no need to reprimand his own children.

[114] In reading Giacone (1949) on the Tucano tribe I found my observations on orphans corroborated. He, too, reported that orphans do not lack food but that they appear to be melancholy.

## CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP

572 193 A parallel to the brother-sister relationship is the *hikū-hiko* relationship, a ceremonial friendship. These terms, formed by combining the possessive prefix with the gender suffix, connote a relationship of exceptional closeness. The linguistic significance of possessive prefix and gender suffix for kinship terms has already been brought out. The curious feature of *hikū* and *hiko* is that these terms are composed of the two intimate-indicating particles.[8] The ceremonial

[8] *Iii* is also the verb stem "to give," but if *hikū* were translated as "giver"—a feasible rendering—it should be possible to say *hihikū*. But this form does not exist.

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775 form. "Since they did not care for people," the Cubeo say, "they cannot live among the souls of people after death." Those who have committed incest or have eaten a forbidden fish called *namúrí* have souls after death in the form of the *bauwéko*, a bird that is feared greatly.

The ghost is called *dekókũ* (dream man) or *pwánkũ dekókũ* (dream man person).[3] The distinction between *umé* and *dekókũ* is not precise. That is, when the Cubeo speak of the death of a person they will say that the *umé* leaves and the souls take on human form, and add that the *umé* may return to the house and disturb people. Having begun to speak of *umé*, they follow it into its ghostly phase. On the other hand, it is when the narration begins with the spirits of the dead that they will use the term *dekókũ*.

The Cubeo have no dread of the spirits of the dead. The spirits depart and live their own life under their own headman. Beliefs on the nature of the afterlife are not uniform among the Cubeo, however. The most common view is that the spirits of the dead of the same phratry live together, all in one great phratry house under a headman. Women, however, occupy a vague place in the afterlife, wives staying with their husbands. The women spirits, however, lack their full economic function, since in the afterlife spirits live by hunting and gathering but not by farming. The dead do constitute a nuisance. [824] [789] Shortly after death the ghost returns to the house hoping to entice a sibmate to go with him, but he is easily dispatched by burning capsicum. The grave, in the house, is no hallowed place, and shortly after the earth has been packed in place the children play over it. When people encounter a place on the river where the spirits of the dead can be heard they do not hurry on but pause to listen. The spirits of the dead will never be encountered at high noon, the zenith, so to speak, of the secular part of the day. The spirits of the dead hunt only at night. They eat butterflies, grubs, and all snakes including the founding anaconda. Significantly, they do not drink chicha. The Cubeo do not say why, but it would seem that they have visualized an afterlife that is lacking in the essences of life, that is to say, the ingredients that the Cubeo associate with vital intensity. The spirits of the dead also lack manior. There is some debate among the Indians as to whether the dead live in a house; they lack ceremonial life and sib autonomy. Literally, then, the Cubeo visualize a shadow existence after death.

The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All

[193] [3] *Dekó* is the stem in the verb "to cause to disappear."

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778 of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

[192] [193]

778 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known
756 as *pariékoků* (man of power) or as *yaví* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékoků* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yaví* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every
[554] *yaví* is a *pariékoků* but not every *pariékoků* is a *yaví*. The *yaví* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékoků* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékoků*, but *yavís* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yaví* and the *pariékoků*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékoků*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *pariků*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an
778 exceptional act it is his *pariků*, it is said, that enabled him to do it.
756 The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unplea-
821 santly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the
823 depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural
789 causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Sha-
778 manistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Gener-
756 ally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding,
787 in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman
825 on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

756 Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the
778 shamans wage against one another. A *yaví*, I was told, has a different
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197 as Tukanoan by contrast with Indian languages of other families. After a person becomes familiar with one of them, the other Eastern Tukanoan languages begin to sound different to him; but the "Tukano ear," while helpful in recording Eastern Tukanoan languages, turns out not to be helpful in recording phonetic detail from languages outside of the Eastern Tukanoan family. The speaker-hearer of an Eastern Tukanoan language is culturally very sensitive to the fine phonetic detail, which he perceives in the form of an "accent." Such detail varies considerably from language to language and, even within some languages, from region to region.

194 Phonologically, differences in accent reflect a number of things: allophonic fronting of vowels, or lowering of vowels; more opening or less opening of the mouth during production of the vowels; incomplete (versus complete) closure of obstruents in syllables that are not marked by strong stress; more or less contouring of canonically level tones in given environments. These differences are mostly very subtle in quality, and usually speaker-hearers are unable to describe the specific phonological details involved in what they hear as an "accent."

193 The morphologies of these languages are generally similar, but they vary considerably on specific points. There can even be said to be an Eastern Tukanoan type, but each language still has its own distinctive differences. For instance, most Eastern Tukanoan languages have only two general forms for person in the verbal paradigm, but not all: Piratapuyo has three. The participial system seems to be more developed in some languages than in others. In lexicon, there is again general similarity, but not coincidence, between languages. In the [601] exceptional area of kinship terminology, for example, more relatives may be distinguished in one language than in another, and what appear to be cognate terms in two languages may not refer to the same relative.

191 I have observed that when an Indian knows how to speak two closely related languages (of the sort connected by "and" in the appendix), he carefully and even consciously keeps them apart. It has occurred to me that the exogamic and other cultural institutions to be discussed below may be exerting a force that makes a speaker want to render closely related languages farther apart, even to an artificial extent, but so far I have detected no

[P.675-B]

191 linguistic innovations to this end. Here, however, I run the risk of overstating the dialect problem. As Weinreich has pointed out (1961: section 1.3), the learning of a new dialect presents the same situation as the learning of a new language.

• 193 The Eastern Tukanoan languages clearly share the same syntax. By this I mean that they share the same types of multiword constructions. For example, they share a preference for a series of clauses in parataxis with a strong avoidance of hypotaxis; the same preferred (and not rigidly fixed) word order prevails (subject-object-verb); the same kinds of multiword constructions are used as techniques for apposition, statements of purpose, and "afterthought" statements of consequences or conditions; the same procedure is followed for developing a discourse topic, the sentence being prolonged by clauses in parataxis so as to provide more and more specificity to an original proposition stated in a main, and usually first, clause; listeners show the same pattern of response, attentively, politely, or distinterestedly repeating the last verb of the speaker's sentence. (I do not have enough material from languages of the other Indian language families to be able to comment on their

191 syntaxes.) It is important for this discussion that Indian speakers do not ascribe the Tukanoan type of syntax to Spanish. Neither is the full syntactic range of Spanish as used by Colombian non-Indian Spanish-speakers found in the Indians' Spanish. As a result of much Spanish-to-Tukano and Tukano-to-Spanish work with informants, I can say that the Indians' Spanish is spoken in shorter and more numerous sentences than is the normal case in either Spanish or Tukano; dependent clauses are mostly lacking, with sentences supplied instead in an approximation of the paratactic subordinate clause of Tukano.

Further evidence comes from the response of Indians to metalinguistic questions. Monolingual Spanish-speakers, when quizzing Indians for forms in their language, typically ask for the forms one word at a time, following the order of the Spanish sentence (which may be phrased quite elegantly to ensure getting elegant Tukano). The translation process breaks down almost immediately; new Tukano forms for former Tukano forms are given as the Spanish sentence progresses, and the Spanish-speaker decides the Indian must be very indeterminate in whatever he says. The actual

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191 576 The repeating is first of all a respectful recognition of the Spanish-speaking non-Indians, but there also seems at times to be an additional quality of defensiveness connected with the practice. The repeating seems to serve as a stalling device so that the Indians can evaluate something of the intentions of the non-Indians, as indicated by their demands, their mood, and their degree of tolerance of Indian habits (for example, whether they permit beer, or admonish women—and men—for going without upper garments). Most non-Indians issue orders and interrogate loudly, according to the Latin American stereotype of the way to speak to Indians, rather than "converse" with them. The Indians, for various reasons, want to be sure that they have heard every question and order correctly. Consequently, repeating serves as a double-checking device, for corrections in translation are supplied unhesitatingly and immediately by other listeners following the translator. In sum, then, repeating is a formal conversational device indicating respect that also has an adaptive defensive function.

171 193 Inasmuch as the Eastern Tukanoan languages share the same general syntax, the Indians' ability to recognize and cope with the diffgrent syntactic system of Spanish suggests that other Indian languages and language families in the Northwest Amazon may have different syntactic structures, too.

191 Certain formulaic communication styles—regardless of Indian language family—are probably the same throughout the area, particularly greetings on entering a new longhouse in traveling. I have witnessed and participated in many such situations where the longhouse language was unknown either to me or to some of my Indian traveling companions, and always the content of the initial sequence of bilingual statements was clear to all (namely, the assertion that one has arrived; from which direction—upriver or downriver—one has come, and from what named spot; how many days one has been traveling; and who one's father and mother and brothers and sisters are, and how they are faring). There are other occasional formulaic conventions, especially those involving repeating, that can help a novice gain familiarity with a language. Many languages also seem to share interjections. (In these respects the central Northwest Amazon area may constitute what J. Neustupny has termed a *Sprechbunde* [speech

[P. 677-A]

/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or carĩço, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale, as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto /countersong/ to the other.

533 They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs, even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly
[177] appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

[194] As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of
[147] the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice has little elasticity (54),

54. The voice has so little elasticity that perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and
[562] dances the men never sing; the women do it infrequently, for example, when they work in the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however, that the men's songs are religious hymns, whereas those of the women are bacchic compositions that they render when they distribute the drink. Among the alumni, and especially among the
[797] alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a greater elasticity, and one hears humming more frequently. This, however, is usually the religious or secular songs learned at school.

/299 cont./

533 [147] [194] is metallic and unpleasant when he speaks, and it is even more metallic in conjunction, when they speak or sing.

2) Songs.

The native likes to sing, although he appears bashful about doing it, outside the feasts, in front of the civilized. He has a repertoire of songs for the ritual dances (religious songs), and others for his amusement (secular songs). The former are always in choir, without solos and in only one voice. The latter are sung by one or more singers simultaneously or alternately, repeating the same theme or not.

a) Religious songs.

They are sung exclusively by the men. They are slow, monotonous, with many repetitions. As for the rhythm, inspiration, and /300/ movement, they can be classified or grouped among the Gregorian compositions. Since the only process of [178] apprenticeship is by hearing and the memory, it follows that the music is preserved more or less faithfully (55);

55. As is verified by watching their feasts in different circumstances and places or among different tribes.

[178] the lyrics, however, have been corrupted. Nowadays in many of these songs there are only sounds without meaning, and the forest dwellers themselves confess that they do not understand the meaning of the articulations that they utter (56).

56. As happens, incidentally, in the popular songs of the civilized. (Cf. also VII-6, a (2) /see a (3)/.)

/331 cont./

776 occasion, while looking for caraná in the company of a cousin,
*[192] both saw two huge tracks of almost half a meter. Her cousin explained to her that they were the footprints of Boraró, Boraró dõ'pó-kãrĩ.

Boraró, the same witness stated, "always has some animals that accompany him and sing near him." These animals are called Boraró i'á, lice of Boraró. "When they hear singing in the forest: -- moláro... (with the a very prolonged) moláro... (29),

• [194]

> 29. It must be pointed out that the pronunciation moláro announces the origin of the informant. The Tukano language, as can be observed in its better pronunciation on the river Tiquié, does not have the phoneme l. Under the influence of the other tribes, mainly the Taryana, on the Uaupés and Papurí, one hears l in some words. Moláro, we think, in accord with the spirit of the Tukano language, is a corruption of the name Boraró.

they all run away, because Boraró is very near. /The final quotation marks are missing./

[115] According to Casimiro Sampaio -- "Boraró lives in the forest. He appears as a white man (30),

> 30. Perhaps this "white" is used in the usual sense, that is, as equivalent to civilized, since he finishes by saying that he wears clothing.

large, with a red forehead. He wears clothing. He makes noise in the forest. However, he does not do harm to anyone." In general they all affirm that he is very dangerous, and that his appearances are very frequent. Many claim to have seen him or heard him, and on various occasions.

197 paper a person can not help but note the close similarity between others of these languages, e.g., between Tuyuka and Yuruti, or between [191] Desano and Siriano. Discussions with informants of the Desano linguistic group, some of whom knew Siriano and some of whom did not, and with informants of the Siriano linguistic group, reveal that Sirano is not immediately intelligible to Desano-speakers but becomes largely intelligible after continuous exposure for at least several days. It so happens, however, that all members of the Siriano linguistic group know Desano, at least to understand it, because of polylingualism. Desano informants who know both Spanish and Portuguese recognize the relationship between Desano and Siriano as being on a par with that between Spanish and Portuguese (which are definitely recognized among Indians as being quite similar).

The degree of relationship among these Eastern Tukanoan languages can not be rigorously stated yet, but it is my impression that the languages separated by commas in the list in the appendix are a little farther apart than are the languages in the Romance group or in the Scandinavian group. One can look at the Romance languages as a dialect chain, but in the Eastern Tukanoan language family the *intermediate* "dialects" are missing, except perhaps for those languages in the appendix connected by "and." Central Algonquian languages (Bloomfield 1946, Hockett 1948) are more closely related than the Eastern Tukanoan languages seem to be. Approaching the problem from the opposite perspective, that is, from the point of view of reasonably demonstrated *dialects* within a language, the correspondences among the Eastern Tukanoan languages do not present the tightness or neatness that is so evident among those of the Karen dialects as drawn by Jones (1961).

Structural interrelationships are generally close among Eastern Tukanoan languages, but in the finer details of their similarities the languages do not coincide. In *broad* phonetic transcription, most of the Eastern Tukanoan languages share most of the same grid of phones, but the patterning of phonemes and the distribution of allophones vary from lan- [194] guage to language. (Eastern Tukanoan languages, incidentally, have phonemic tone and phonemic stress.) To the unaccustomed ear, the Eastern Tukanoan languages all sound fairly similar and, indeed, can be recognized

[2675-A]

197 as Tukanoan by contrast with Indian languages of other families. After a person becomes familiar with one of them, the other Eastern Tukanoan languages begin to sound different to him; but the "Tukano ear," while helpful in recording Eastern Tukanoan languages, turns out not to be helpful in recording phonetic detail from languages outside of the Eastern Tukanoan family. The speaker-hearer of an Eastern Tukanoan language is culturally very sensitive to the fine phonetic detail, which he perceives in the form of an "accent." Such detail varies considerably from language to language and, even within some languages, from region to region.

194 Phonologically, differences in accent reflect a number of things: allophonic fronting of vowels, or lowering of vowels; more opening or less opening of the mouth during production of the vowels; incomplete (versus complete) closure of obstruents in syllables that are not marked by strong stress; more or less contouring of canonically level tones in given environments. These differences are mostly very subtle in quality, and usually speaker-hearers are unable to describe the specific phonological details involved in what they hear as an "accent."

193 The morphologies of these languages are generally similar, but they vary considerably on specific points. There can even be said to be an Eastern Tukanoan type, but each language still has its own distinctive differences. For instance, most Eastern Tukanoan languages have only two general forms for person in the verbal paradigm, but not all: Piratapuyo has three. The participial system seems to be more developed in some languages than in others. In lexicon, there is again general similarity, but not coincidence, between languages. In the [601] exceptional area of kinship terminology, for example, more relatives may be distinguished in one language than in another, and what appear to be cognate terms in two languages may not refer to the same relative.

191 I have observed that when an Indian knows how to speak two closely related languages (of the sort connected by "and" in the appendix), he carefully and even consciously keeps them apart. It has occurred to me that the exogamic and other cultural institutions to be discussed below may be exerting a force that makes a speaker want to render closely related languages farther apart, even to an artificial extent, but so far I have detected no

/138 cont./

153 /footnote 3 cont./ the Tukano language; first one would talk, then another, then two or more simultaneously, and afterwards all remained silent. We would first press this one, then that one, who seemed to understand our wishes. Only after we had opened the typed originals of the present work and the most unrestrained of them had read the excerpt that I was referring to did he add: "that is the way it is." In order to solve this simple question, 40 minutes went by!

12 Properly speaking there is no term in the Tukano idiom equivalent
[192] to the word /139/ ultimate; they would say, more concretely:
[196] the one of the end, the one of the extremity (yaxpa-ti-kãgõ masc., yaxpa-ti-kãgõ, fem., yaxpa-ti-kãra, pl., yaxpa-ti-kãse, neuter).

For this reason one must not be content, insofar as possible, to obtain the translation of a word from only one individual or on only one occasion. Many times the word is heard pronounced differently. Is it a matter of faulty pronunciation by the individual? By which one of them? By all? Or is the divergence due to regional pronunciations? And then which of them will be the best? Or, finally, is it a matter of terms corresponding to a similar Portuguese word? Which of them would be the best? Would they be perfect synonyms? We point out these difficulties in order for one to understand the efforts of anyone who decides to study directly with the Indian the language of the latter. It is ten times more difficult than to study a foreign idiom with the help of teachers, grammars, and vocabularies.

The Indian is a man of reality, hence his difficulty with
[193] generalizations and abstractions. Instead of saying simply and abstractly head, he will prefer to say "my head, your head," etc. He does not say: to work, to eat (the Tukano language does not even have the infinitive form). He will say: "I work, you eat," etc.

000 /121/ [illegible]tes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

114 [101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría [124] Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant [614] and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, [615] two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

615 As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the 361 existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one 197 another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It 619 could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of 615 tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other 571 phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in * 574 Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who [601] did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the corre- [101] spondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the 615 Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged 197 to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and 124 on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great 114 distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four [124] phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

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[615]

/124/ All the native terms that appear in this study are in the Tukana language, an idiom that the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry speaks.

I wish to express my thanks to Professor Segundo Bernal Villa for his valuable observations on the organization of the present work.

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## Abbreviations Used for the Kinship Terms

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| f | = | father | ol | = | older |
| m | = | mother | yg | = | younger |
| so | = | son | si | = | sibling |
| da | = | daughter | -o- | = | of, of the /masc./, of the /fem./ |
| br | = | brother | (M) | = | male Ego |
| sis | = | sister | (F) | = | female Ego |
| sp | = | spouse | (V) | = | vocative |
| | | | (R) | = | reference |

*601

## Kinship Terms

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| f | Pajké | (M-F) | (V) |
| f | Yee Pajké | (M-F) | (R) |
| m | Maú | (M-F) | (V) |
| m | Yeé Pajkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| so | Majké | (M-F) | (V) |
| so | Yeé Majké | (M-F) | (R) |
| da | Majkó | (M-F) | (V) |
| da | Yeé Majkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| ol-br | Mamí | (M-F) | (V) |
| ol-br | Yeé Mamí | (M-F) | (R) |
| yg-br | Nijiá | (M-F) | (V) |
| yg-br | Yeé Kabí | (M-F) | (R) |
| ol-sis | Mamió | (M-F) | (V) |
| ol-sis | Yeé Mamió | (M-F) | (R) |
| yg-sis | Numió | (M-F) | (V) |
| yg-sis | Yeé Kabió | (M-F) | (R) |
| f-br | Mé | (M) | (V) |

/146 cont./

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## YEPA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs belonging to this phratry are located on the Paca, Papurí /Papury/ and Tiquié rivers, and on the Vaupés /Uaupés/ River from the stream of Umarí to the confluence of the Vaupés River with the Río Negro. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Tukano. The sibs that form this phratry can be divided into two artificial groups that correspond to patterns of kinship and are the following:

LIST "A"

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | Yúpuri Baúro | (B) (1) | (2) | Yepára Oakajpeá | (+) (2) |
| (3) | Yepára Oyé | (B) | (4) | Yepára Suí | (C) (3) |

1. The B in front /sic/ of the name of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Brazilian territory.

2. The + in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib has disappeared.

3. The C in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Colombian territory.

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5) | Bejsémi Kuiseré | (C) | (6) | Ajúsiro Sóbaro | (B) |
| (7) | Suí Makúpi | (C) | (8) | Ajkíto Ñetedejká | (C) |
| (9) | Kemáru Isiadejpuá | (+) | (10) | Yúpuri Pamó | (B) |
| (11) | Yepára Merú | (C) | (12) | Yúpuri Uajsóro Marí | (C) |
| (13) | Sérvi Bojsé | (C) | (14) | Doétiro Mimisipé | (C) |
| (15) | Ajkíto Patíro | (C) | (16) | Kemáru Kukú | (C) |
| (17) | Urémiri Sióropo Bayá | (B) | (18) | Urémiri Sáraro | (C) |
| (19) | Parisí | (B) | (20) | Yúpuri Búbera | (B) |
| (21) | Ajúsiro Merí | (B) | (22) | Ñajóri Dipé | (B) |
| (23) | Yáitoro | (C) | (24) | Urémiri Sakuró | (C) |
| (25) | Buú Púra | (B) | (26) | Suí Amoperí | (B) |
| (27) | Ajúsiro Túro | (B) | (28) | Arú Perí | (B) |

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*601 614 (7) The sons of Yúpuri Baúro call the sister of Suí Ajpuékeri: Uaméu. The sons of Suí Ajpuékeri call the sister of Yúpuri Baúro: Uaméu.

Etc.

Examples of kinship terms used among the components of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mé.
(2) Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Meké.
(3) The son of Umu Sasí calls the son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá, since Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the son of Umu Sasí: Mamí, since Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates Umu Sasí: Mamí.
(5) Umu Sasí calls the daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Majkó. Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the daughter of Umu Sasí: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mengué. The daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls Umu Sasí: Mengué.
(7) The sons of Umu Sasí call the sister of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Uaméu. The sons of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu call the sister of Umu Sasí: Uaméu.

Examples of kinship terms used between the Component Sibs of LIST "A" and the Component Sibs of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Yúpuri Baúro: Meké, since the father of Yúpuri Baúro and the son of Umu Sasí are siblings.
(2) Yúpuri Baúro denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Mé.
(3) The son of Yúpuri Baúro calls the son of Umu Sasí: Pajké-Ró.
(4) The son of Umu Sasí denominates the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Yeé Párame.

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## MIRIAPURA DIARA MAJSA

614 [615] [361] [197] The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Pirá-paraná, Apaporis, Cananarí, and Tuy. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Carapaná. It consists of the following sibs:

*
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(7) The sons of Mumiá Pajkáre denominate the sister of Séra Majsé: Uaméu. The sons of Séra Majsé denominate the sister of Mumiá Pajkáre: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Yajuána denominates Mumiá Pajkáre: Meké, since the father of Mumiá Pajkáre and the son of Yajuána are siblings.

(9) Mumiá Pajkáre calls the son of Yajuána: Mé.

(10) The son of Mumiá Pajkáre denominates the son of Yajuána: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Yajuána calls the son of Mumiá Pajkáre: Yeé Párame.

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## ÑUJKUA DIARA MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located at the headwaters of the Tiquié River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Barasano. It consists of the following sibs:

(1) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé — Bará Majsé (C)
(2) Buajá Ñajkoroá (C) (3) Ñujkuá (C)
(4) Uamúta Ñárague (C) (5) Uamúta Dáyaroague (C)

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Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Ñujkuá Diára Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-4), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (4-1), the last one calls the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 4 denominate 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-4): Yeé Párame.

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[615]
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•[197]

MIRIAPURA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Isana, Querarí, Surubí, and Uainía. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Maniva. It consists of the following sibs:

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Bejkári | (C) | (2) Mijpiágue | (C) |
| (3) Mijpiá Diára | (C) | (4) Majkápiro Púra | (C) |
| (5) Borékearo | (C) | (6) Petároague | (C) |
| (7) Majároague | (C) | | |

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Kinship Terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-6), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (6-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 6 denominate 7 (Majároague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Majároague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-6): Yeé Párame.

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mé.
(2) Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Meké.
(3) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Petároague: Nijiá, since Bejkári denominates Petároague: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Mamí, since Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mamí.
(5) Bejkári denominates the daughter of Petároague: Majkó. Petároague calls the daughter of Bejkári: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mengué. The daughter of Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mengué.

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614 (7) The sons of Bejkári denominate the sister of Petároague: Uaméu. The sons of Petároague denominate the sister of Bejkári: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Majároague denominates Bejkári: Meké, since the father of Bejkári and the son of Majároague are siblings.

(9) Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Mé.

(10) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Majároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Yeé Párame.

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614 [615] [361] •[197]

## EMEKO BAJUARI MAJSA

The component sibs of this phratry are located on the Vaupés River between the hamlet of Urania and a little above the place where the Yí River empties into the Vaupés River, and on all of the Cuduiarí River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Cubeo. It consists of the following sibs:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Utíwiague | (C) | (2) Socóro Páramero | (C) |
| (3) Biá Déroague | (C) | (4) Purí Máriroague | (C) |
| (5) Aúwuewague | (C) | (6) Uejsári Téroague | (C) |

*601 614 Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuari Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-5), the first one denominates the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one denominates the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (5-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 5 denominate 6 (Uejsári Téroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Uejsári Téroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-5): Yeé Párame.

* 539 /112 cont./
192 German in Tukano is called Alemán. And then Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Colombians, who are called Siópuri Uejké in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. Then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Americans, who are called Pubricanos in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the English /Spanish ingleses/, who are called Ingleses in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Italians /Spanish italianos/, who are called Italianos in Tukano, to leave. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the French to leave Diaojpekowí. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Brazilians, who are called Ereya in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí.
* 539 And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Spanish to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Peruvians to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Syrians to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another
[192] order for the Portuguese to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the bicudos, who are also white Brazilians, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Negroes, who are called Tapañumas in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. In other words, all the people of the world left Diaojpekowí. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Baré,
• [197] who are people who speak Geral (18),

18. Geral is the name with which is designated a language that is formed in its major part by the Tupí language.

to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Ananicas, who are very small people and whom the whites call pygmies, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for an old woman of the whites to leave Diaojpekowí.

Yepá Huáke gave the order for all the whites, those who were not Tukano, to march to where the Tukano were, that is, to Diaojpekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke performed a great miracle. With this miracle came all kinds of armaments, clothing, shoes,

563 /65/ 4. Observations -- 1st. As we have just seen, small groups of a nation are found close to or even in the midst of other nations. Natural sociability or the requirements of circumstances relate these human groups to one another. The consequences of these relations are several:

191 The first, one language becoming general, that of the
• 197 Tukano nation, as an idiom common to several tribes, in such
a way that on the lower Uaupés up to Iauareté almost all the
[177] adult persons (19)
[178]

19. This observation dates from 1947, soon after our first excursion to the Uaupés. We verified then, upon entering the area inhabited by the Wanana, that very rarely individuals of this tribe could understand one or another common Tukano phrase. In 1957 a certain number of persons who not only understood the Tukano idiom well, but also used it in conversations among themselves were already encountered in all the povoados from Cururú downward, among the former students of the Mission of Iauareté, or among the adults who had been employed there for some time. In our work on the Tukano language, we noticed the complacency of the young people, who had attended Mission schools, in speaking the Tukano idiom among themselves. We seemed to discover in this complacency only a touch of proudness, as if there were a superiority over their own parents and other elderly persons, and not because it could afford them a means of conversation among companions, exempt from the control of the "old ones."

speak, besides the language of their tribe (20),

20. It is to be noted that it did not lead to the formation of a language, with elements not connected with the others, as has happened in similar conditions, for example, the Sabir (miscellany of Italian, French, Spanish, Greek,

/65 cont./

191 /footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in the Mediterranean ports.

197 It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing. In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

[178] [115] [126]

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

177 Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

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[563] [582]

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

000 2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

/78 cont./

532 184 On the other hand, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the masks are manufactured and worn by the Kubêwana and Wanana, and, later, also by the Taryana. We likewise find masks among the Íde-masã of the stream Comé-ia (tributary of the left bank of the river Pirá-paraná).

## 2. Classification

121 The attempt to classify the tribes of Brazil in general, as well as those of the Amazon or of the Rio Negro in particular, is still open for discussion.

A classification, let us say, culturological, of the tribes of the Uaupés is impossible today. The relations among the various tribes, already dating back centuries, brought about a more or less perfect interculturation among them. We can, then, affirm that the nations of the Uaupés constitute at present a single cultural group, the origin of whose cultural elements is difficult to retrace at the present time. The peculiarities of each tribe are few and insignificant, as we have just seen, and do not, by themselves, permit a classification.

A classification fundamentally anthropological, be it serological, be it somatic, is likewise impossible. The blood 143 examination done a few years ago by Prof. Emílio Biocca of the University of Rome on 237 individuals of the Tukano, Taryana, and Maku tribes showed that all of them belonged to type O, and the relation between the genes m and n was constant. The regimen of absolute tribal exogamy, which has been practiced for centuries among them, necessarily brings about bio-anthropological assimilation.

• 197 Though it seems to us that at present the glottologic classification would be still easier and more persuasive, nevertheless in this plurisecular melting-pot some idioms were profoundly altered and some human groups have already adopted

/78 cont./

197 the idiom of others somatically quite different. Here we await the word of the experts (17).

17. In collaboration with the "Centro de Pesquisas da Prelazia do Rio Negro" /Research Center of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro/ for the classification of the Amerindian idioms, we have collected the "test" Vocabulary of 200 words (and also recorded the pronounciation of many) suggested by Prof. Morris Swadesh of Denver (United States). /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./ The following are the tribes whose Vocabulary we have and which appear in our work "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia":
1st. Of the Tukano linguistic Family: 1. Bará (or Barasana); 2. Desana (Winá); 3. Edúrya (Erúlya); 4. Ihwana (Yona); 5. Karapanã-tapuya (Mõxtã); 6. Kubewana (Pamĩwa); 7. Mikura-tapuya (Oá-mahã, gambá /opossum/ people); 8. Panenoá (Hanẽra); 9. Pirá-tapuya (Waĩkhana, fish people); 10. Suryana (Surirá); 11. Taraíra-tapuya (Roéra-masã, food people); 12. Tatu-tapuya (Páboa-maxsã, tatu /armadillo/ people); 13. Temyú-tapuya (Ba:re-masã, food people); 14. Tsẽna; 15. Tukano (Daxseá); 16. Tuyuka-tapuya (Doxká-foará, clay people); 17. Yebá-masã; 18. Yí-tapuya (Íde-masã, water people); 19. Yuriti-tapuya (Wahyára, Uhaíia-na, dove people); 20. Wanana (Kórtirya); 21. Waríwa-tapuya (Emõá-masã, guariba /howling monkey/ people); 22. Korẽterabõa (Buya-tapuya, snake people). /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./
2nd. Of the Arwake linguistic Family: 1. Iñabu-tapuya (inambú /tinamou/ people, Huhúdene); 2. Ipeka-tapuya (water-duck people, Kumãdene); 3. Marakayá-tapuya (maracaja /a wild cat/ people, Werekena); 4. Pisuna-tapuya (black people, Kadaupuri-tana); 5. Siusi-tapuya (star people, Wariperž-dékene); 6. Sukuruyu-Tapuya (sucuri people, Mauri-weni); 7. Taryana (Talyáseri);

/78 cont./

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/footnote 17 cont./ 8. Tatú-tapuya (tatu people, Ãdza-nẽẽni); 9. Yawareté-tapuya (onça people, Dzawí-mináney); 10. Yurupari-tapuya (demon people, Mapatse-dákeney); 11. Yiboya-tapuya (giboia people, Dzuré-mẽne).

3rd. Of the Makú linguistic Family: 1. Makú of the Serra dos Porcos (in the vicinity of Iauareté, Uaupés River). 2. Makú of the Japú-igarapé (tributary, from the right, of the middle Uaupés). 3. Makú of the Ira-igarapé (tributary, from the right, of the lower Tiquié). 4. Makú of the river Taraíra (tributary of the Apapóris).

/79/ In the classic division of the tribes of Brazil into the four groups Tupi-guarani, Gê, Arwáke /Arawak/, and Karaíba /Carib/, the area of these last two groups covers the basin of the Rio Negro. In the Karaíba group, however, there are only the Arekuna and Makiritare (or Deukwana of Curt Nimuendajú), with representatives on the river Içana, not in the Uaupés basin, although Chestmir has found vestiges of Karaíba (as we pointed out in the work "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") in many idioms.

At first the other nations were all included among the Arwake. In the writings of the first explorers the denomination "Aroaquís," covering distinct tribes of the Rio Negro, frequently appears.

Daniel G. Brinton, 1892, distinguished among the tribes that occupy the region between the Solimões and the Guianas the Betóya linguistic family, which also included the Tukano. Later Paul Rivet shows that the Betóya must be included among the Chibcha, and proposes the denomination of Tukano Family for the Uaupés group.

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*101 The Tukano Family, being made up of human groups located in the Colombian plains of the Amazon forest, entered Brazil by the Uaupés-Japurá valley, probably before the period of the Discoveries (18).

[115] 18. An old Tukano of Iuquira, Justino by name, of the Ihurwá or Juruá group, informed Pe. Antônio Giacone that his group took the name of the river Juruá, where they lived. From there, they moved little by little to the Japurá, Apapóris, and reached the upper Uaupés. They came down the Uaupés to the mouth of the Papuri, and later went up it again as far as Turí-igarapé, from where the Maku guided them to the Japú-igarapé on the mouth of which they established themselves, after the Arapásu had left there. Such information, by someone who had never seen a map of the region, presents strong indications of veracity.

Almost simultaneously the Arwake family came down the Orinoco-Negro valley, reaching the Japurá, as is proved, according to Koch Grünberg, by the names of the rivers with ri, a typically Arwake ending. Having come upon the Tukano, who are located like a wedge on the Uaupés, the Arwake remained divided to the north and south of them. The last migration, in Koch's opinion, was the one of the Karaíba, who came from the eastern part, in relation to the previous groups, that is, from the upper Guaviare.

• 197 126 /81/ By way of confirming the affiliation of these idioms, we gathered a parallel Vocabulary of the most used words in the different indigenous languages (cf. our works "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia" and "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical."

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*701 The more noble subdivisions established themselves from Piracuara upwards (river Papurí), with a group of the Waú-ro coming down as far as Ananaz (Uaupés).

According to Frei Gregório's maps, in 1853 the Tukano on the river Uaupés lived in: Pacú-cachoeira, Iuquira-Rapecuma, S. Joaquim, Nanã-Rapecuma, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Iauareté-cachoeira. The first "Relatórios" of the eighteenth century (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, No. 174; "Diario" /Diary/ of Sampaio, No. 366) already report the presence of Índios Uaupés in S. Isabel, today Tapurucuá, in the middle Rio Negro. In fact, a Tukano group is still found in that vicinity.

161 According to Koch G. (Festschrift Eduard Seler, 206) the Tukano would come to 1,500 souls. They must, however, be rather more numerous. The statistics of Pelo Rio Mar report in Brazilian territory alone 1,622 individuals; and those of Colombian territory are equally numerous. It is possible that they exceed two thousand.

829 We have sketched the physical appearance of the Tukano (IV -- 1, a (1) ). The physical and spiritual qualities do not reveal any superiority over the other tribes. On the contrary, some of these present more delicate features and perhaps even a better configuration and anatomical proportions. Nevertheless, the Tukano, as we have already noted, considers himself /83/ superior to the other tribes and this primacy is peacefully granted to him. The Missionaries explain this superiority by the fact that the other tribes accepted his language as the official, or at least general, idiom on these rivers. Logically the generalization of the idiom would be explained by the superiority of the tribe. This inconsistency is to be pointed out: according to the Tukano tradition, they were defeated by the "Blood children of the Thunder," the Taryana, who finally accepted the Tukano language.

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648 We are inclined to think that, independently of war episodes or cultural elements, this superiority of the Tukano has various causes: 1st, the tribe's being more numerous; by the data of the old statistics we can imagine that they approach two thousand. If that is the case, it is two or three times larger in population than any other tribe; 2nd, it is also probable that they had occupied some of their present centers (from where they expelled the Makú) before other tribes arrived in this area, and, according to the native mentality, the value of priority in time is great; 3rd, they located themselves more or less regularly scattered along these three rivers, and due to the unity among them (that all call themselves and consider themselves brothers), they must constitute a feared force for the other tribes, who are smaller and have their nuclei located farther apart; 4th, the number and the arrangement along the rivers would have, little by little, generalized their language among the individuals of the other tribes, who traveled for the sake of trade with the Tukano or with other tribes (21).

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21. Living together as students or employees, and later the frequent meetings among the various tribes, in the Missionary Centers has contributed powerfully toward the ever more rapid propagation of the Tukano idiom. One can foresee, at this pace, that it will become the língua geral of the Uaupés, as the Nheengatú is on the Rio Negro.

It seems to us that this hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that those indigenous groups of the middle Uaupés (especially above Cururú-cachoeira) whose trade is regularly carried on among themselves or with the tribes of the Aiarí indeed do not know (22)

22. We wrote this in 1947. Ten years later, 1956,

/83 cont./

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/footnote 22 cont./ we already found many Wanãna of the younger generation, who had passed through the boarding schools of the Missions, not only understanding the Tukano, but even preferring it to the mother tongue when they are amusing themselves with their classmates.

the Tukano idiom. At the same time the Taryana language is on the way to being lost, because they are surrounded by the Tukano.

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The matrimonial interdiction of the Tukano with the Wanãna and the Bará is in force.

/84/ 3) Divisions (23) --

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23. In 1947 we had obtained a list of 28 subdivisions. And in 1953-4, we procured confirmation with the old Komĩ, Gabriel Costa (about 80 years old), from Parí-cachoeira. He confirmed to us the order of derivation that we present here, starting with the Mamí (older brother) Waú-ro-põrá, and proceeding with the term Axkabí (younger brother) Oá kaxpéa põrá, etc. He also informed us that the first 14 subdivisions are the "principal ones," "the following 14 are inferior." And he added four more subdivisions as being "the lowest." Of the ones that we had obtained previously, he not only failed to mention, but even denied the existence of the U'khwãra and Vidari. Nevertheless we had confirmation of their existence on the part of individuals belonging to these subdivisions in S. Miguel and Melo Franco (last Brazilian localities on the river Papurí), respectively.

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*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People-Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyi-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká
[317] poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found
[323] there. Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent
[501] in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba,
[142] Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Jahre, 202).

[582] They do not marry the Desana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a
[161] thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

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b) Tribe or Nation?

619 Three elements, that is, a certain degree of political cohesion, a concentration of powers in the hands of the chiefs, and an identity of culture, are included and associated under the concept of Tribe, as commonly understood. Now the first two elements are not found among the human groups in the Amazonian Northwest. One can not, then, speak in terms of Tribe. Perhaps it would have been better to call them Nation. We have, in reality, various national groups, each one with its language, presenting characteristic somatic features, in spite of the regime or exogamy in force among them.

All of them, however, constitute a single cultural group. As a matter of fact, they possess common traditions and practices, that is, a similar pattern of life and assemblage of observances that, strange to us, are common to all, such as the rules of marriage, of exogamy, of puberty initiation, etc.

c) Linguistic Families.

197 We await the decision of the specialists on various linguistic questions: 1st, do those that are generally listed as languages deserve to be called this? or might some of them perhaps be merely dialectical variations? 2nd, what is the relationship between them, perhaps one derived from another? which ones would be the derived ones? 3rd, would the present idioms be sister languages, originating from ancient idioms that have already disappeared? which ones would these be? 4th, and, with this last hypothesis, which of the present idioms of the Uaupés comes closest to the original mother tongue?

Attributing a "Language" to each of the "Tribes," as a temporary and hypothetical assumption, we can say (as we have done passim in the present study) that the tribes of the Brazilian Uaupesina area are divided into three distinct and irreducible Families of Languages: the Tukano family, the Arwake family, and the Maku family.

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197 Concerning the components of these linguistic families and their location, as well as their comparative vocabularies, see our work Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia.

/471/ d) Kurá or Gens.

614 We have indicated in a previous chapter (IV - 2-a(2) ) the divisions of the tribes, divisions that are called Kurá in the Tukano language. According to native ideas, these divisions date back to the time of the origin of the tribe, by the will of Wãx-tĩ himself. We shall give in another place (cf. the work by the author, [115] "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") the legend of the origins according to the account of the old Komũ Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira.

614 121 So many questions awaiting solution arise: When did these subdivisions take place? For what reason? What was their basis or foundation? We have verified for today a phenomenon of dispersion of a nation in small groups; would there have been a fusion in the past, or can we foresee a future one? The two first questions are of historic nature, and we lack the data to answer them. We might be able to add elucidative elements to the last two.

1) From the time that a human group settles in a locale that will provide it with the necessary or even abundant means of subsistence, it will naturally become prolific. It is nomadism, at the same time cause and effect of a deficient diet, that lowers the birth rate: 1st, by the organic depauperation of the parents; 2nd, by forcing a prolonged nursing of the children (up to four or more years); 3rd, favoring certain criminal practices (abortion, infanticide, cannibalism of the children).

The human groups, growing in number, cannot remain in the same maloca. Besides the difficulties of nourishment, which we have already mentioned, the real technical difficulty of enlarging the existing maloca or the building of new and larger ones demands

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part of the Central American and Andean jaguar distribution; perhaps the Cubeo ranked clans and ancestral cult are also part of the Andean picture. However, where there is a cultural relationship it is probable that it moves in either direction. The lowlands took from the Andes; it is likely that they gave as well. Perhaps a close study of social conditions in the tropical forest could shed specific light on the spectacular historical developments in the Andes. The way in which the Cubeo maloca, the multifamily residence, tends to become a sib ceremonial center for those sib members who have broken away from it illustrates, for example, a possible process of ceremonial center formation.

Questions of culture history are inevitably to the fore when one compares the tropical forest with the Andes. But even as a separate entity the tropical forest area commands culture-historical interest. Cubeo social structure, for example, suggests some of the ways in which small social units such as extended and joint families and lineages grow into and combine to form more complex and more highly integrated social systems. Segments of one tribe attach themselves as entities to other tribes adopting a new language. Federations of segments are formed by various combinations of adoption, adhesion, and fission; these bind themselves together by ceremonial ties and not by ordinary political means of suprachieftainship. Other processes are at work elsewhere in the region. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that detailed comparative studies of tropical forest social structures could provide a rich foundation for the reconstruction of modes of social evolution, within a fixed range of social integration. As native Africa is a natural laboratory for the study of nascent states, the South American tropical forest as a major culture area is a natural laboratory for the study of variations in a small community, and lineage and clan organization.

In the foregoing discussion my intent was to provide the reader with a broad problem setting in which the Cubeo are viewed generally as a tropical forest culture. Since tropical forest anthropology is not too widely known this seemed a useful thing to do. However, the Cubeo are more specifically a part of the Northwest Amazon subculture area. The Northwest Amazon is designated as a subarea of the tropical forest in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. Not a sharply delineated area, it includes several of the major languages of lowland South America: Arawakan, Cariban, Tucanoan, Witotoan, and Macú. Of these language groups, Tucanoan (the language of the Cubeo), Witotoan, and Macú are restricted to the Northwest Amazon and were until recently listed as unclassified languages

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121 (Beuchat and Rivet, 1911; Mason, 1950). A new classification now
197 places Macú with Tucanoan in a Macro-Tucanoan subfamily, and both, together with Arawakan, in a larger Andean-Equatorial family. In this new classification Witotoan is, together with Cariban, part of a Macro-Cariban subfamily under a larger Ge-Pano-Cariban family (Greenberg, 1960). Culturally, the Tucanoans fall into two groups, an eastern one to which the Cubeo belong and a western one about which we know relatively little. Information on the Arawakan and Cariban tribes in the area is somewhat fuller, but still lacking in necessary detail on social structure and cultural patterns. The Witotoans are somewhat better known through the work of Whiffen and of Preuss, while the Tucuna, who speak an isolated tongue, have been professionally described by Nimuendajú. The present volume on the
121 Cubeo attempts a more comprehensive account of the social life and social structure of a Northwest Amazon tribe. Thus the characterization of the area based upon criteria other than those of material culture rests mainly upon our knowledge of the Witotoans, the Tucuna, and the writer's field work among the Cubeo. The presence of well-developed patrilineal sibs among the Cubeo, Witotoans, and Tucuna, elaborate initiation rites, secret rites involving sacred trumpets, the use of bark-cloth masks in mourning ceremonies, and the single large house constituting the community are some of the traits that set this area apart. All of these traits, it should be said, occur outside the area as well but not in quite the same combination.

By cultural criteria the Achagua also belong in the Northwest Amazon area. This large group of Arawakan-speaking peoples, occupying an extensive area on the Colombian-Venezuelan border along the Meta, Vichada, Guaviare, and Orinoco rivers, bears some striking resemblances to the Cubeo (Steward and Faron, 1959, p. 356 ff.). These Arawakans share such traits as the exogamic patrilineal sibs, the communal dwellings, and the secret male cult of the Tucanoans. Economy and material culture are also similar, although in the tropical forest such similarities are of no great significance since they seem almost to blanket the region. Even so, on the score of subsistence the Achagua have the distinctive maize and bean complex of the highlands while the Tucanoans and their Arawakan neighbors have maize but not beans. Since patrilineal sibs are not common in the tropical forest, the Northwest area stands out strikingly in this respect. Prior to 1940 patrilineal sibs had been identified among the
[614] Witotoans only (Whiffen, 1915). The writer reported them for the Cubeo of the Cuduiarí on the basis of his field work (Goldman, 1948). Nimuendajú, in a report published in 1950, independently

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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character
[342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupian influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor.
[596] The Tupian intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu-
[553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social seg-
[614] ments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are
[796] founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kówai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yavi*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul-
197 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isána, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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back to Arawakan, so that the young people were still Tucanoan speakers while their elders were already back to Arawakan (1909, I, 116). Where Arawakan and Tucanoan coexist, Koch-Grünberg has observed, Arawakan becomes the language of ritual and Tucanoan the everyday language (1909, II, 182).

In general the region of the Vaupés, the only part of the Northwest Amazon that I can speak of from personal knowledge, exhibits a high degree of cultural cosmopolitanism. Many Indians are multilingual because of the frequency of intermarriage with other linguistic groups and the love of the Indians for travel and intertribal trade. Not only do the Indians have some knowledge of the standard languages in the region, but they also employ the *lingoa geral*, a lingua franca based on Tupían, and many are conversant with Spanish and Portuguese. As they adopt languages the Indians also adopt new customs; these are always welcomed, almost in the same way in which women eagerly acquire from one another new varieties of manioc, or in the way in which men and women collect and try to cultivate almost anything that grows. This, in short, is not a region of cultural conservatism. Having freshly arrived from an ethnographic survey in the Colombian Andes, I was literally overwhelmed by the contrast between the secretiveness and wariness of the highland Indians and the openness and friendliness of the Cubeo.

Of course, the question of cultural relations between Tucanoans and Arawakans is one of great complexity and uncertainty. We have only the most general knowledge of these relations; but even this provides a very useful background for understanding the nature of Indian-white relations and of Cubeo acculturation. The essential point in this background would seem to be what I have called the Indian's cosmopolitanism. I speak now only for the Indians of the Cuduiari. There, it has seemingly provided a strong measure of immunity against the potentially overwhelming effects of European contacts.

The Northwest Amazon has been subject to persistent white influence from the sixteenth century onward.[2] As early as 1557 Francisco Perez de Quesada founded the community of Mocoa on the Caquetá River. The Dominicans entered the region in 1550, the Franciscans some 20 years later. Prior to their expulsion in 1767 the Jesuits founded many missions on the Orinoco, on the Meta, on the Casanare, on the Guaviare, and on the Vichada. On the Vaupés proper the first mission was founded in 1852 at Carurú by P. Gregorio, a Carmelite.

[2] For historical background consult: Archivo do Amazonas, 1906; Bauer, 1919; Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 155 ff., for missions on the Vaupés; Gumilla, 1791; Koch-Grünberg, 1909; Martius, 1867, I, 591 ff.

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

# Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

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*In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Makú and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.*

## THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

### *Setting and Culture Area*

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

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The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

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Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

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[P. 670-A]

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of
61 the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse
594 group, which is also the basic unit of economic redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with
[251] its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each mar-
[354] ried woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her
[264] hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by
[562] the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A
61 well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
• 197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cul-
582 tural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

[P. 671 - B]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

619 As travelers, missionaries, and rubber-gatherers became familiar with the area, they noted that certain bonds of preferential hospitality and recognition existed among the longhouse groups representing sibs of the same (father-) language group, and that this unit occupied a given, continuous territory. The missionaries and rubber-gatherers, as representatives of the colonial situation, tended to deal with each language-bearing unit separately, designating each one as a "tribe."

Nevertheless, some writers, such as Reichel-Dolmatoff (1963), have referred to the composite of all the Indian tribes (except the Makú) that share the same homogeneous culture and that participate in the system of exogamous phratries as the "Tukano tribe." In this definition, the social aggregate circumscribed by the phratry system is the tribe. Martius (1867) and Markham (1910) likewise spoke of the "Uaupés" Indians. Another argument for regarding this larger social unit as the one that could appropriately be designated as the "tribe" has been its tendency at times to be organized, partially at least, as a confederacy (Markham 1910). Continuing acculturation throughout the area at the present time may indeed lead to the loss of internal lines of social differentiation, resulting in the emergence of a single, regional society (Galvão 1959) in much the same way that the diverse Mapuche groups have emerged as a single tribe (Faron 1961). I believe that such a society here, unless interfered with, will retain a marriage system marked by exogamous, father-language groups of sibs.

At present, however, Indians recognize the set of longhouses speaking the same father-language as the maximal unit, and this is the "tribe" that is exogamous; that is, it is of these units that the exogamous phratry consists. As mentioned earlier, many of these units appear to have separate histories. The Indian identification of this exogamous, language-bearing unit as the maximal one is crucial in the analysis of multilingualism in the central Northwest Amazon. I shall use the term "tribe" in accord with this identification.[4]

*Languages: Degree and Nature of Relationships*

• 197 The criterion used in this paper to differentiate languages is mutual unintelligibility. The Indians' identification of tribe with language was initially relied on to prepare a

[P. 674-A]

• 197 tentative list of languages, as the listing of "tribes" was ostensibly also a listing of "languages." For the many informants asked, the criterion of tribal distinctiveness includes, by their own cultural definition, mutual unintelligibility between languages. It seemed premature to construct formal tests to explore degrees of mutual intelligibility between languages that were obviously genetically related (Voegelin and Harris 1951), but when asked directly, informants confirmed their mutual unintelligibility. The field procedure that I preferred and used was to watch for occasions when an Indian would comment that he had not understood someone else in a discussion where more than one language was spoken, at which time I would inquire what were the languages concerned. I depended on an Indian commenting in Tukano to identify nonunderstanding situations, but I was also able to pick up cues of "I don't understand" that I recognized in a number of the other languages. Thus I learned that such apparently closely related languages as Desano and Siriano, and even Tuyuka and Yuruti (see next two paragraphs), are mutually unintelligible. These and similar languages that are very closely related genetically make the central Northwest Amazon area an excellent one for close examination of the problem of language versus dialect (see Haugen 1966b).

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Several language families are represented in this multilingual area: Eastern Tukanoan, Arawakan, Indo-European, Tupí-Guaranían, and others that remain undetermined (cf. Mason 1950, Noble 1965). Of these, the family most widely represented and with the largest number of languages is the Eastern Tukanoan, a family that seems to be contained entirely within the Northwest Amazon. The following discussion of my impressions is limited to this family.

I have made a preliminary attempt to reconstruct the Eastern Tukanoan family, using the comparative method on 13 of its languages on which I have field materials. The resulting subgroupings (see list in the appendix) definitely do not correlate with *phratric* groupings. Apparently the language most closely related to Tukano is Tuyuka, which is not intelligible to Tukano-speakers, not even "with difficulty." In phonology, morphology, and lexicon, one is considerably more distant from the other than Jutish is from Standard Danish (cf. Haugen 1955). However, in the field and on

[P. 674-B]

• 197 paper a person can not help but note the close similarity between others of these languages, e.g., between Tuyuka and Yurutí, or between Desano and Siriano. Discussions with informants of the Desano linguistic group, some of whom knew Siriano and some of whom did not, and with informants of the Siriano linguistic group, reveal that Sirano is not immediately intelligible to Desano-speakers but becomes largely intelligible after continuous exposure for at least several days. It so happens, however, that all members of the Siriano linguistic group know Desano, at least to understand it, because of polylingualism. Desano informants who know both Spanish and Portuguese recognize the relationship between Desano and Siriano as being on a par with that between Spanish and Portuguese (which are definitely recognized among Indians as being quite similar).

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The degree of relationship among these Eastern Tukanoan languages can not be rigorously stated yet, but it is my impression that the languages separated by commas in the list in the appendix are a little farther apart than are the languages in the Romance group or in the Scandinavian group. One can look at the Romance languages as a dialect chain, but in the Eastern Tukanoan language family the *intermediate* "dialects" are missing, except perhaps for those languages in the appendix connected by "and." Central Algonquian languages (Bloomfield 1946, Hockett 1948) are more closely related than the Eastern Tukanoan languages seem to be. Approaching the problem from the opposite perspective, that is, from the point of view of reasonably demonstrated *dialects* within a language, the correspondences among the Eastern Tukanoan languages do not present the tightness or neatness that is so evident among those of the Karen dialects as drawn by Jones (1961).

Structural interrelationships are generally close among Eastern Tukanoan languages, but in the finer details of their similarities the languages do not coincide. In *broad* phonetic transcription, most of the Eastern Tukanoan languages share most of the same grid of phones, but the patterning of phonemes and the distribution of allophones vary from language to language. (Eastern Tukanoan languages, incidentally, have phonemic tone and phonemic stress.) To the unaccustomed ear, the Eastern Tukanoan languages all sound fairly similar and, indeed, can be recognized

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197 as Tukanoan by contrast with Indian languages of other families. After a person becomes familiar with one of them, the other Eastern Tukanoan languages begin to sound different to him; but the "Tukano ear," while helpful in recording Eastern Tukanoan languages, turns out not to be helpful in recording phonetic detail from languages outside of the Eastern Tukanoan family. The speaker-hearer of an Eastern Tukanoan language is culturally very sensitive to the fine phonetic detail, which he perceives in the form of an "accent." Such detail varies considerably from language to language and, even within some languages, from region to region.

194 Phonologically, differences in accent reflect a number of things: allophonic fronting of vowels, or lowering of vowels; more opening or less opening of the mouth during production of the vowels; incomplete (versus complete) closure of obstruents in syllables that are not marked by strong stress; more or less contouring of canonically level tones in given environments. These differences are mostly very subtle in quality, and usually speaker-hearers are unable to describe the specific phonological details involved in what they hear as an "accent."

193 The morphologies of these languages are generally similar, but they vary considerably on specific points. There can even be said to be an Eastern Tukanoan type, but each language still has its own distinctive differences. For instance, most Eastern Tukanoan languages have only two general forms for person in the verbal paradigm, but not all: Piratapuyo has three. The participial system seems to be more developed in some languages than in others. In lexicon, there is again general similarity, but not coincidence, between languages. In the [601] exceptional area of kinship terminology, for example, more relatives may be distinguished in one language than in another, and what appear to be cognate terms in two languages may not refer to the same relative.

191 I have observed that when an Indian knows how to speak two closely related languages (of the sort connected by "and" in the appendix), he carefully and even consciously keeps them apart. It has occurred to me that the exogamic and other cultural institutions to be discussed below may be exerting a force that makes a speaker want to render closely related languages farther apart, even to an artificial extent, but so far I have detected no

191 578 dated dancing body. During the course of the ceremony, the women group according to their own tribal affiliations and sing as choruses in their own father-tongues. Married women alternate between singing in their original father-language, in their husband's language, and in the longhouse language of the hosts.

191 • 197 619 If neither one's father nor mother is Tukano, one nevertheless will speak Tukano as a lingua franca. Indirect evidence suggests that Tukano existed aboriginally, or at least early in the historic period, as a lingua franca, although its epicenter may have formerly been in the Lower Vaupés. The Tukano tribe may even have been the dominant group in a confederation or nation of sorts (Markham 1910). At any rate, the Tukano are widely and strategically located and appear to have exerted a dominant influence in the whole area. The Tukano claim a mild prestige as the senior sibs of the area and regard all the other tribes as younger-brother sibs in a particular rank order (see Fulop 1955); this ranking is accepted by the other tribes. Because the Tukano tribe is so widespread, almost every longhouse has at least one Tukano woman in it. Therefore, persons who do not have a Tukano for father or mother still have someone in their longhouse from whom they can absorb the correct pronunciation of Tukano.

197 Now, the Tukano language contains at least six dialects. As a lingua franca it is not pidginized but is learned in one or another of its tribal dialect forms, whatever one the learner is exposed to. Speakers for whom Tukano is not their father- or mother-language can still be identified as to regional dialect. Tukano, incidentally, is not an easy language to learn. It has a great many phonemes and an intricate tonal system; and apart from the tonal system, it has an intricate system of stress. This suggests the hypothesis that sheer intricacy may foster an all-or-none attitude toward learning to speak a phonologically elaborate language. Maintenance of Tukano as a lingua franca has probably been reinforced by there being some 25 or more language groups that it serves.

191 The Indians do not practice speaking a language that they do not know well yet. Instead, they passively learn lists of words, forms, and phrases in it and familiarize themselves with the sound of its pronunciation. The diverse and discrete phonologies of these languages and their dialects loom very prominently in

[P. 679-B]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

191 the Indians' regard. They may make an occasional preliminary attempt to speak a new language in an appropriate situation, but if it does not come easily, they will not try to force it. One of the preconditions of language-learning in the area is a passive familiarity with lists of words (including inflected and derived forms) in languages likely to be learned. Much language-learning (especially of linguae francae) takes place within the peer group. Among closely related languages, a stage of "semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) may be important in learning. Informants estimate that it takes them from at least one to two years to learn a new language fluently, regardless of language family. Most of them also estimate that it takes longer to learn Spanish than to learn Tukano or another Eastern Tukanoan language.

191 • 197 An Indian, then, does not want to try to speak a language until he knows it quite well. He is conscious of his pronunciation in it and deliberately tries to sound like an authentic speaker. Each language has its own phonetic niceties, nuances of voice placement, and other details of accent not unlike the sort that distinguish some regional dialects of American English. Some languages (e.g., Tukano, Desano, Kubeo) exhibit more than one accent because they have regional dialects. There is such a phenomenon, then, as speaking Tukano with a Tuyuka accent, and vice versa, although many Tuyukas speak Tukano without a Tuyuka accent. A mild Siriano accent is acceptable to speakers of the Upper Papurí River dialect of Tukano, where the Siriano tribe is located. A Tukano child of this area with a Siriano mother who has a Siriano accent in her Tukano will himself speak Tukano without a Siriano accent.

191 648 The early non-Indians who started coming into the area brought with them another language as lingua franca: Nheengatú (Inekatú), also called Tupí, and also commonly referred to as *lingoa geral* (which means "lingua franca" in Portuguese) or just "Geral." This is a Tupí-Guaraní language, and it is still spoken, even monolingually, along many portions of the Rio Negro by the detribalized Indian and White-Indian population, collectively known as *caboclos*. Nheengatú spread as the lingua franca of the early rubber boom days, 1875–1920. When the rubber boom declined with the development of rubber plantations in Malaysia, the use of Nheengatú declined also. Now only some older people in

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7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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cannot be called a "broken Spanish." At the missions, the insistence on using only Spanish has at times had an effect the reverse of the one desired and has invigorated Tukano and the other Indian languages. Along with measures to civilize the Indian linguistically and get him out of the longhouse and into civilized villages, there have been attempts to detribalize the Indians by de-emphasizing exogamy. All these efforts, however, have only served to reinforce the persistence of the native languages.

Because this area is politically divided by the boundary between Colombia and Brazil, an Indian from Brazil who knows Portuguese finds that when he goes any distance into Colombia, Portuguese is not understood. Conversely, Colombian Indians find they cannot use their Spanish in the interior of the Brazilian section. They then resort to their principal lingua franca, Tukano, which is understood on both sides of the border. And this situation obviously helps also in continuing Tukano as the main lingua franca.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR SOME CURRENT ISSUES

### *The One Language/One Culture Image*

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As I have shown, the multilingualism in the homogeneous culture of the central Northwest Amazon area serves to demarcate distinct, exogamous social units. Homogeneity of culture in this area does not mean homogeneity of language. And to speak of one language is not to speak of one entire culture. Indeed, with minor regional variations, the larger Northwest Amazon cultural area extends far beyond the bounds of the central, multilingual area described in this paper. Moreover, the cultural area includes some societies acculturated to lesser or greater degree to civilization but whose populations still prefer to speak aboriginal languages and to coin new terms in their own languages rather than borrow alien words. Data from the central Northwest Amazon bear directly, therefore, on the prevalent one language/one culture assumption, which, as Hymes (1964) and Gumperz (1961) point out, needs critical review.

The homogeneous culture area of the central Northwest Amazon has been circumscribed, perhaps somewhat artificially, as the area characterized by multilingualism as a culture trait. Within it there is no one language that

[P. 681-A]

101 is father-language to all, nor is there any one language that is mother-language to everyone. 197 What is father-language to some is mother-language to others and an unknown language to still others, all people who bear the same culture. The distribution of Tukano, as the lingua franca, does largely coincide with the extent of this culture area. But this is partly because a lingua franca accompanies multilingualism, and it is this trait of multilingualism that sets off the cultural area. The widespread distribution of Tukano and its near coincidence with the central Northwest Amazon culture area does not lend any special monolithic quality to Tukano such as is revealed in the promulgation of Spanish and Portuguese. Despite much situational reinforcement, Tukano continues to exist as a lingua franca at all only because it has tenuously and flexibly become amalgamated into the cultural picture. Indeed, the linguistic area of Tukano merges into the area of Nheengatú and thence into the area of Portuguese; the cultural areas of tribal Indians and of detribalized caboclos have perimeters that differ from those of the linguistic areas.[6]

### *Implications for Transformational Linguistic Theory*

191 A number of details in the preceding description of the multilingual society in the central Northwest Amazon force some reconsideration of certain basic premises of transformational linguistic theory. Chomsky (1965:3–9) states that linguistic theory is concerned with the tacit knowledge of an ideally fluent speaker-hearer in a homogeneous speech community. An ideally fluent speaker-hearer in the central Northwest Amazon has to be someone who is *not* monolingual. This poses the question of whether the ideally fluent speaker is to carry one model of Language or several models, one for each of his languages, in his head. Even very closely related languages appear to be kept fastidiously apart by speakers, and the very differences among these closely related languages often are of the same kind of subtlety, especially of surface structure rules and near-surface structure rules, whose exposure has been a major contribution of transformational linguistics. This leads to the further question of how any one language, which forms only part of a normal polylinguistic individual's repertoire (which in turn varies from individual to individual), is to be accounted for. There is also the question of

[P. 681-B]

191 what is to be considered a homogeneous speech community. I have suggested that the best candidates in this community are the longhouse group and the mission village group, whose members share common poly- and multilingual patterns. This necessitates our recognizing hundreds of distinct homogeneous speech communities in the one culture area.

To treat the description of any *one* of these languages as representing the tacit knowledge of a speaker or the language of a speech community is clearly unrealistic. The one language represents only part of the individual's competence in Language, and only part of the speech community's configuration of languages. Description of only one language necessarily can account for only part of the grammatical sentences an individual within a speech community may utter—unless the description of a "single language" can incorporate several, or alternative languages. A linguistic theory limited to one language/one group situations is inadequate to explain the actual linguistic competence of the people of the central Northwest Amazon.

## APPENDIX: INVENTORY OF TRIBES AND LANGUAGES

101 The following tribes and languages have been noted and checked directly in the field.

• 197 (1) Tribes and languages directly involved in multilingualism:

191 (A) Eastern Tukanoan language family, arranged in subgroupings suggested by a preliminary attempt at reconstruction by the comparative method (there are probably a few more languages to be documented in this group in subsequent field trips): Tukano, Tuyuka and Yuruti, Paneroa and Eduria, Karapana and Tatuyo, Barasana; Piratapuyo, Wanano; Desano and Siriano; Kubeo.

(B) Arawakan language family: Tariano; Baré. Most Tarianos now use Tukano as their household or father-language, and they marry Tukanos; many younger Tarianos do not know Tariano, although they are polylingual in other languages. The Baré along the Middle and Lower Vaupés use either Tukano or Nheengatú as their household or father-language, and very few speakers of the original Baré are left; the Baré are largely detribalized and cabocloized.

(C) Several tribes-and-languages of various families of the Pirá-Paraná (Moser 1963) await direct checking in the field: Tabaino, Erulia (distinct from Eduria), Makuna,

[P. 682-A]

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Yekuana, Datuana, and others. The status of some of these as dialects or languages also remains to be determined. For example, Tatuyo informants have mentioned an Owa language spoken by some Tatuyos, but there has not been an opportunity to check this out. The few Miritítapuyo of the Middle Tikié appear to use either Tukano or Desano as their household or father-language.

(D) Tupí-Guaranían language family: Nheengatú.

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(2) Tribes and languages bordering the multilingual area (many members of these tribes may be bilingual or even polylingual, but multilingualism is not widespread in a given tribe; many Indians of the multilingual area may include one or more of these languages in their repertoires):

(A) Arawakan language family: Kuripaka and Baniva. These are reported by some informants to be almost mutually intelligible.

(B) Undetermined language families: Karihona, Guayavero. I also have names, in Tukano only, of some dozen other languages spoken around the periphery of the area and along the Rio Negro.

(3) Languages spoken in the multilingual area, but by speakers who do not possess multilingualism as a culture trait:

(A) Undetermined language family: Makú (Makú may be more than one language). A few Makú know Tukano or Desano or some other language, including Spanish or Portuguese, but most Makú do not; a few Tukanos, Desanos, Piratapuyos, and Tuyukas know some Makú.

(B) Indo-European language family: Spanish, Portuguese, Italian. Two Colombian dialects of Spanish are found: Antioqueño, spoken by most missionaries, and Llanero, spoken by most rubber-gatherers. "Vaupense" Spanish is basically Llanero Colombian Spanish with the addition of many Nheengatú and some Portuguese terms for things pertaining to the tropical rainforest.[7]

(C) A special case is provided by languages neither spoken in the area nor represented there by groups of speakers. Small lists of words in Dutch can be obtained from older Indians on the Papuri, even though the former Dutch Montfortiano Fathers did not attempt to use Dutch with the Indians. Some Indians, moreover, have learned a considerable amount of Latin.

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*Spellings.* Most names for languages and tribes in the literature are Nheengatú names, carried over into Spanish, Portuguese, Ger-

[P. 682-B]

000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [2] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921-22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177 563 61 582 [3] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Caboclos are detribalized (decalturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1965). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of caboclos. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupenese Spanish it is "*cabuso*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be caboclos.

000 [4] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

124 191 [5] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data about each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 101 197 [6] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by defensively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

[P. 683-B]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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574 the guests arrive they are asked to drink from the chicha prepared
[554] by each cosponsor. Those who do not choose to be cosponsors help in inconspicuous ways. There is honor in being a cosponsor but no competition for the privilege either. A household head feels free to decide when he desires cosponsorship. Those who have the most manioc to spare accept cosponsorship most freely. Major drinking parties are always sponsored by the headman, but smaller parties that bring together only close sibs may be offered in the name of a household head who wants the honor. The headman paternalistically defers to this. Some drinking parties are announced as being sponsored by a group of brothers. Of course if there is a special occasion
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202 [192] 198

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/255 cont./

202 /footnote 6 cont./ the Witoto of Pirá-paraná (Colombia) the language of the Trocanos, made in pairs, that is, man and wife, according to the picturesque native expression, was quite well developed.

*192 202 534 With some musical instruments they manage to emit sounds that are similar to words. For example, with the instrument called Ñamá dõxpoá (deer head, cf. VII, 3 c (3) /see VII, 3 c (10)/), we seemed to hear the syllables -- "Pẽru wáatya" (bring caxiri) ... pẽru... pẽru... pẽru" (quickly, quickly, quickly).

[832] The young men direct amorous invitations to the young women with the sounds of some fifes. We were given on the Uaupés (and for this reason we recorded it with the pronunciation of this river) the following invitation, which they express on the fife -- "Yõõ-mẽna váya" (go with me), -- "Yõõ-mẽna vágo-tá" (you just go with me), "afũnõ nĩgosa" (be good), "afũnõ nĩhosa" (it is going to be good). To send out such invitations with the sound of the flutes is what is called in Tukano puxtí-weresã (literally: to complain by playing the flute).

202 [123] They likewise know how to emit certain characteristic and various cries, sometimes similar to the voice of animals and chirping of the birds, and they orient themselves, call one another, give information, etc., with these signals (7).

7. On a trip to the great maloca of the Tuyuka, on the upper Tiquié, frontier with Colombia, the machete that one of our traveling companions had loaned to the Indians disappeared. At the time for the canoe to leave, he asked about the machete and no one could give any information as to where it might be. Impatient, he complained that it was a theft, and this was wicked. After the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ canoe

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/255 cont./

/footnote 7 cont./ had gone about four hundred meters, a characteristic cry, which seemed to us more like the chirping of some bird, was heard. The Tukano who came along with us as oarsmen interpreted at once: "It is the tuxaua who is calling in order to return the machete." Truly the tuxaua was waiting for us with the machete, which was returned to its legitimate owner.

On several occasions, as we navigated the headwaters of the rivers or the igarapés, Indians who were in the interior of the forest and heard the noise of the oars exchanged whistles with our oarsmen, who afterwards would give us detailed information: who they were, if they were hunting, picking fruits, looking for caraná, or cutting lumber. It is to be noted that we never heard the Indian humming his songs or whistling for mere diversion.

[533]

/256/ 2. Sciences.

a) Geography -- Topography.

823
[153]

Their geographic notions of the region are not very numerous, but they are accurate. It is difficult to distinguish what they know through individual experience, through tribal tradition, or through the influence of the civilized whom they consult, because, endowed with an excellent memory, they retain the information that they receive, like that which they learn visually.

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive 769
sib cult. 796

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river [534]
bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance
feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love
to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid
aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors
might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the
morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times
sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party re-
turned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the [533]
river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the on-
coming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent [202]
the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one
another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden
of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds.
The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, [533]
swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the
women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off
together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in
the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from
the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer,
came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and [291]
having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, as [829]
cended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed them-
selves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns,
the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional [534]
five were used, *Bwü*, *Onpwénda kûdjüwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors,
assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed
countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nerv-
ous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but
with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They [535]
marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure
and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick
steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instru-
ments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwü* horns in the lead,
followed by *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at [576]
the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was
taboo but as a courtesy.

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765 786 831 182 837

an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

765 831 182 152

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

765 614 574

The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

765 532 [184] [614]

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenddox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

765 535 [533]

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

[202]

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will announce the arrival of *Xudjiko* and her consort. Bearing their masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grandmother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grandmother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a framework to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the "grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occasionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the doorway with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will be used for making the *dúpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they represent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pendant, jaguar-tooth and aramadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy

/144 cont./

551 the civilized, who, they can be sure, already at the first pres-
*[192] entation, receive a nickname, which will be propagated with incredible speed (8).

8. They told us of some of these nicknames: one they called sõãgõ, vermilion, because of his color; another, subí, curled, because he had curly hair; a third one, uxpíka-ro, crooked teeth; a fourth one, o'mẽpero-ro, big ears; a fifth one, waú, the uáia-piçá monkey; a sixth one, õxsó-boekhõ, arrow of alligator (because of being tall and thin), etc. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, p. 206) tells that they nicknamed him Wãx'tĩ (see VII-4, d (5) ), because of the beard (?), and his companion Schmidt, nõ'myõ-axké, monkey-woman.

6) Curiosity.

153 Endowed with great curiosity, he wants to learn from any
• 203 civilized person to whom he is introduced who he is, what his name is, where he comes from, where he is headed, what he came to do, what his nationality is; and they ask their tribal brothers who are accompanying the unknown visitor a thousand
[797] other questions. An Indian is apt to make a long and uncomfortable journey in order to tell those of another povoado an episode that happened, the visit of a new missionary, etc. (9).

9. In July of 1956 His Excellency the Coadjutor Bishop of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, Dom José Domitrovitsch, decided to surprise the missionaries of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), and he was covering the 300 kilometers that separate Parí from Taracuá with a small motorboat. He stayed overnight in the povoado of S. João, about 30 kilometers from the Mission. An Indian, in the middle of the night, set out

/144 cont./

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/footnote 9 cont./ traveling in his canoe and at six o'clock in the morning informed the Missionaries of the visit of the Bishop, who is festively received at the Mission two hours later. Humorously one says that in these latitudes there is not yet wireless telegraph, but the communication system of radio-cipó is well developed.

153 If one opens a suitcase, a book, a notebook, the Indian's eye does not leave these objects. And many times he wants to have a more practical and complete knowledge, approaching them, touching them, and /145/ observing them in all their aspects. And not rarely subjecting them to observation by all the senses: he touches, smells, bites. The civilized man realizes that he is being furtively touched on his clothes, or even on the hand, by the children and even by the women. We were not able to verify whether in this gesture some magic concept might also enter.

When he hears Portuguese being spoken, if he does not understand it, he likes to repeat the sounds that he heard, pronouncing them several times, as if to engrave them in his memory.

7) Distrust.

829 Conversely, he does not like to be observed. If he perceives that he is, he withdraws. He answers the civilized laconically, going away as soon as possible, in order to avoid a new question; or he will leave without answering. He spends entire hours of travel in silence in a canoe when he travels alone with some civilized man, or even when he travels with others from the tribe, [123] but in the presence of a "white." It is the mistrust (10)

10. We were lucky in getting Indians of both sexes, from diverse tribes and in different localities, to unbosom themselves confidentially

/254 cont./

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/footnote 3 cont./ of a man, monkey, and decorative ones, still fresh, perhaps made weeks or days before. He then gives the opinion that an Indian makes the first stroke with some rock. Another, upon going by, makes the line deeper, and so on, until an indelible furrow results (Z. I. 144). The same Koch asked an Indian who served him as guide on the river Cuduiari who might have made the petroglyphs that were seen. And the Indian answered him immediately: -- "The old people did with a rock" (Z. I. 304).

• 203

Would they not, however, have a language for signs or signs corresponding to some ideas? Many travelers who have gone up the Rio Negro were surprised to verify that their coming was already known beforehand, how many made up the retinue, the purpose of the latter, etc. (4).

4. We read, for example, in the "Participação Quinta /Fifth Communication/" (of the "Viagem Philosophica" of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, dated from Barcelos on March 30, 1789, upon his arrival in Ipanuré): -- "I immediately ordered an examination of the five malocas of the savages, located on top of the hill, and for the second time it was confirmed to me that they had already been warned of my ascent; the houses were found deserted, there being left behind all the gear of igaçabas /clay pots/, tipitis, hampers, etc., sufficient tapioca buried in the ground, the pineapples of the clearing freshly cut, and the Indians of the canoes informed me that they had left two days ago" (o. c.).

/254 cont./

• 203 It is reported to us that many times such information was furnished by word of mouth by Indians who went up faster, by way of igarapés and shortcuts, and one maloca undertook to send the news to the next maloca (cf. V, Note 9, about the curiosity of the natives).

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765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point 765 614 532 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is [203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will [533] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a [535] mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted [776] by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

## MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE *ÓYNE*

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

/253 cont./

121 We shall indicate here the primitive manifestations of their culture (Persõnlichkeitkultur), meaning by this expression what these forest dwellers exhibit from their own culture and not received from the white, and which is easily discovered from living with them.

• 212 /254/ 1. Writing.

A question that immediately arises is whether these tribes know how to write. One can answer that at present they do not [797] know or use any kind of writing (2).

2. With the exception, naturally, of those who have passed through the Mission schools. One notices this peculiarity: they learn how to write the Portuguese language with some facility, but they write Tukano with difficulty. Actually the letters of the Latin alphabet, which we use and such as we pronounce in Portuguese, do not reproduce all the sounds of the Tukano language.

172 It is a question open to discussion as to whether those signs
532 that are found on many stones of the Rio Negro and tributaries, that is, the petroglyphs or itacoatiaras (õxtã ohoritirí-pa in Tukano), are a writing of spoken language, or at least ciphered language (of which idiom? of which tribe? in which era?); or are only designs, perhaps stylized (sportive signs /Port. sinais lúdicos/) (3).

3. About the itacoatiaras, their antiquity and their interpretation, cf. the notable work by Bernardo da Silva Ramos, Inscrições e tradições da América pré-histórica /Inscriptions and traditions of Prehistoric America/. Koch Grünberg, going up the river Curicuriari (tributary of the right bank of the Rio Negro), on February 14, 1904, found on a stone designs with the figures

/481 cont./

2) Annual cycle.

132 The climate of those regions does not seem to offer marked
• 221 changes in order for the rhythm of the daily life of the Indian to be altered. As /482/ a matter of fact, the thermometer, the barometer, and the hygrometer will show the same average throughout the year. Owing to the rains of the headwaters of the rivers, however, a season of high waters and another of low ones are distinguished. And the annual cycle is perhaps more varied for the Indian than it customarily is among the civilized.

476 Besides the labor that is incumbent upon every individual for
621 his home life, there are others that concern the entire community and that for this reason are performed collectively under the direction of the tuxaua. They might perhaps be the repairs of the maloca or the building of a new one, in the same place or perhaps quite far away from the old one. Or again it might be the cleaning of the areas adjacent to the maloca, of the common paths or of the landing place. It might be a matter of some clearing for some Indian, who will obtain the help of his tribal brothers, although for his private use. The individuals are advised in advance, in order to make their arrangements. If it is a matter of work for the collectivity, everyone is obliged to participate in it. If, instead, it is help for some brother, one can reasonably excuse oneself: one would not do it, however. And in either case there is only one conventional, sufficient, and agreeable payment: a caxiri, which has also been prepared beforehand. The collective work is done without even any need for a technical director, because it is always done according to the traditions, under the simple directions of the tuxaua or of the individual concerned. It is noisy and cheerful work, true competitions of strength and
*[192] activity, as well as of good humor and cheerfulness. It is what is called Dará-serẽsé, in Nheengatú ajurí or mutirão (2).

2. Ajurí would properly be the invitation, and putirum (from which the term made into Portuguese, mutirão), the collective work. Stradelli, in his

*192 /482 cont./

621 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese
476 vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

527 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of
• 221 fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish
226 of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 At different times of the year great quantities of insects
222 appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the
527 daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the
527 Indians of the different povoados, move to

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133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

● 221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turni[illegible] the river. But the seasons of high water (*ildkoro*) (May–A[illegible] January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ildkoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaino* (falling river) and as *eddwaiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[805] [1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aúnhokũ* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwũ*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Húbũkokũ* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turú* (poison), another *pudjú* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapíka* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

survives, the cultivated plants have been strangled by weeds and secondary growth. 249

The *cacique*, the *maloca*'s pet bird, accompanies the Indians, flying from bush to bush and cawing raucously as she glides low over their heads, her olive-green breast almost brushing their hair. She perches on a charred tree-stump, looks at them as they leave the old *chagra* and enter the forest, gives a loud 'caw' and flies back to the *maloca* to see what edible scraps can be found. [136]

In the early morning the tall forest is dank and cool, a place of silence broken only by the occasional chatter of the Indians as they move rapidly along, their sure footsteps delicately gliding over the mass of roots which forms a base to the pathway. Few birds and no animals are about; the sun's rays piercing through the thick leaf vault give life to what might be a dead world. Suddenly they come to a wide expanse of cleared land. There is a chaotic mass of fallen trees, black from recent fires, surrounded by the forest wall. It is as if a great explosion had occurred leaving behind only the charred remains.

Every year or two, when the dry season comes in late November or December, the men cut down an area of forest, and about two months later, just before the rains return, they burn the fallen timber to make a new *chagra*. With each new *chagra*, the men, who do all the clearing and burning, move further afield, so that eventually, after some five years or more, the *maloca* too will be moved to be near the plantation. 241 462

This system of shifting agriculture, the men as it were preparing the ground for the women to work on, is carried on incessantly. Partly owing to soil exhaustion, partly because of weed strangulation, the areas of cultivation must be constantly changed, and so the moving Indian population covers wide areas of otherwise untouched Amazonian forest. 241 221

It is now January; the smell of the fire still clings to this battlefield of black charcoal. Soon, with the arrival of the rains in March, the women will plant out the manioc cuttings and by late October the first crop will be harvested; so for two years they may expect to get reasonable manioc yields from their *chagra*, after which they must move again. 241 462

The men run over the fallen tree-trunks and from the new *chagra* they move into an area partly overgrown by weeds and secondary growth. Here, placed almost mathematically across the *chagra*, in contrast to the haphazard cultivation of other plants, are the avenues of coca shrubs. 249 462

Perhaps the ritual associated with the taking of cocaine during festivals and tribal ceremonies, apart from its daily use, explains the attention given not only to its later preparation but also to the planting and picking of the leaves. The common coca shrub, always tended by the men, stands about five feet high when fully grown and may last five or more years. It is the most important of the stimulants taken by the Tukano, some of whom are heroic addicts taking as much as two ounces a day. Their life is partly geared to their addiction, and their daily practice is to come to the *chagra* and

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*101 t) YEBÁ-MASÃ

1) People-Name-Language. -- Yebá-masã is their denomination in the mother tongue, although they do not know the meaning of this term (41).

[115]

41. Lucas, the old Tukano from S. Luzia, as has already been said (IV-2, a), explained to Padre Antonio Giacone that Yepá-maxsã (as they say in Tukano) means gente-da-terra /people of the land/, and that the natives who reached the Papurí afterwards called the Tukano this. It is to be noted that Yepá, according to the legends, is the son of Bũxpó (the Thunder), and the Indians, with some religious notions, say that it is God, the Son. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) met on the Tiquié an Indian woman by the name of Inácia, of the Yepália tribe, with beautiful physiognomic features. Would it be another spelling of Yepá?

[773]

Their idiom is classified in the Tukano family, as it is shown by the Vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical and Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia). In contrast to the Tukano, they are slender types, of medium stature like them or even shorter. Small face, tapering toward the chin. Physiognomy little or not at all Mongoloid. Coarser hair, black or dark, not lissotrichous, as generally befalls the natives of Brazil. At times they even exhibit slight waves. Dark eyes, nose low at the root, like the Tukano, but higher and finer tip. The men ordinarily have the ears pierced.

[142]

With an insignificant mandioca-agriculture, they are principally hunters, and they live on wild fruits. For this reason the consumption of ipadú /coca/ is great among them (cf. VI - 4, 1 (4). They all use the hammock of 30 threads. Their festivals are frequent.

[244] [222] [224] [284]

/220 cont./

263 According to the description by the Cônego /canon/ André Fernandes de Souza (end of the eighteenth century), the process was similar to that for the preparation of the lye for the manufacture of the "ash soap." That is: the plant was reduced to ashes, which were left in a water infusion in order for the salt to dissolve, and the latter, afterwards, through evaporation, would be deposited in the form of whitish crystals (p. 467 of the "Notícias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/," ap. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 10 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1870).

f) Insects.

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1) Termites and ants.

a) Mexkã (in Nheengatú maninuara, manivara) is the queen of a species of yellow termite, which comes out in abundance from the holes in the earth right after the rain. They eat them alive or roasted. It is the required food for the young men and women in the puberty rite.

b) In times of scarcity the women explore the ground with sticks in the places where they know that a type of manivara without wings, called exkõ, probably exists. They come out in large numbers and are eaten alive, or after being roasted in small bundles of sororoca leaves.

/221/ c) They likewise eat the tanajura /large, winged ant/, dyãrã (Uaupés dyãnã), and different species of ants, yamĩ-ka (night ant, because it comes out at night or early morning), dexpõtyãra (uarabã), duhũsã (which come out in the afternoon), etc., when they come out of the ant nest. When they observe the clean openings and a great movement of ants, they prepare a platform at a height of half a meter above the ant nest. One can see an entire family posted on this platform, and as the tanajuras emerge from the ground, they are eaten raw, often also with the accompaniment of beijú or flour. When the emergence is very abundant, the tanajuras are collected in special baskets, in which they are later roasted.

* 192 /221 cont./
• 222 d) They likewise eat, alive or roasted, the saúvas, byã-põrá
252 (or põná; it means offshoot or broad, põrá, of the pepper, byá,
262 because of their spicy flavor), and the termite, buxtwá.

2) Larvae.

a) At certain times of the year very many dark larvae about 3 to 4 centimeters in length appear on the plants of the jupará, ba'tí (erísma japurá, Spr.) and of the cunurí, waxpõ (cunúria spruceana, Baill.), totally devouring their leaves. As soon as they perceive it, the Indians bring down the surrounding plants so that the larvae will not move on to other trees, and they are thus forced to go down by way of the trunk in search of food. At the bottom part of the trunk they make a ring with the leaf of the pocova sororoca (ohó pũrí), which is very smooth. The caterpillars, upon reaching there, slip and fall to the ground, being collected with sticks or strings into strainers, and are later slowly
[251] roasted on a mat at a certain distance from the fire. The quantity is so great that they can fill baskets, which are stored in the smoke chamber, in order to be consumed little by little.

Even when they do not discover it until the chrysalis stage, they cut off the branches loaded with cocoons, like a large ear of maize, and they toast them, it thus being easier to open the
[226] cocoons, as if they were shells of roasted peanuts. The chrysalis constitutes a greatly appreciated delicacy and is also used as bait for the fishhook. These larvae are called in Tukano bá-tí-ỹa (louse? of the japurá) and waxpõ-ỹa (louse of the cunurí).

b) Mẽ'rẽ-pãma is the Tukano name of a greenish-yellow larva similar to the silkworm, which feeds on the leaves of the inga tree (ingá édulis, Mimosáceae) and which is greatly appreciated, alive or roasted.

/222/ c) Besides the ones indicated, there are various other larvae sought for food, such as the ones called mẽ'rẽ-ka-pextorõá, likewise from the inga tree; nixtỹá, also from the cunurí; nextoá, which lives in the tree of the same name; suxpi-sõ, which feeds on the leaves of the acuaricuara (tiny red seeds); pixkõrõá, from the pupunheira; sitá, from the tree called uxpísikarã.

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3) Caba (wasps). The Tukano word uxtyã, as well as the one of Nheengatú origin, caba, indicates various species of wasps or hornets (parachartécus apículis and others of the family of the Vespidae and Pompilidae). They eat the larvae with flour (53).

> 53. The process that they use is curious. Whenever they discover a case of caba, they rub the hand in the armpit and approach the case. At the smell the hornets flee, they then seize the case with the larvae, and the vespiary itself serves as their plate, where they put flour, which they eat with the larvae (information of the Missionary agronomist Teotônio Ferreira.)

4) Coleoptera and other animal foods.

a) They also eat certain species of grasshoppers and beetles, alive or roasted. There are years in which some beetles called ũkasya (Nheengatú moxíua) appear in such abundance that they manage to fill many baskets and even large canoes.

b) Going through the forest one often finds areas that look as if they had been turned up by swine. It is because the Makú have passed through there, with a piece of wood, or even the hand, looking for grubs to eat.

c) They value especially certain species of small arboreal frogs called omã. Without even cleaning them, they smoke them or cook them with pepper. They likewise greatly relish a large terrestrial frog called tõhõã.

d) A crab, sã'ã, from the igapós, or inundated areas, pleases them enormously. The Missionary Manoel Valério observed an interesting detail about this crab, that is: it makes its nest at the edge of the igapós, but at such a height that the fish do not eat its eggs. And so, by the height of the nests, one might foresee, year by year, the height of the water during the flood.

/222 cont./

147 Perhaps the Indian owes to the richness of Vitamin A, taken
262 in through the consumption of such a variety of insects and larvae, the admirable night vision that he enjoys.

/223/ g) Fruits.

*192 If the native diet is lacking in green vegetables and legumes,
245 many are the fruits that they eat.

252 1) Among the fruit trees cultivated, there come first five or
262 six varieties of banana, ohó; and they eat them raw, baked, or boiled and reduced to mingau. Even when they are still green, they eat them roasted in the ashes.

They are also fond of pineapple, sẽ'rá (Uaupés sẽ'ná), biriba, pixká, cashew nuts, sõ'rá (U. sõ'ná), and, more recently, the orange, darãõõ, avocado, ãõmõ, abio /Lucuma caimito/, kã'rẽ.

*192 2) The wild fruits that they know and eat are very numer-
• 222 ous. We shall recall some: õ'sé, cucura or mapatí (pourouma cecropiaefóliae, Mart.), one of the Moraceae very similar to the
252 imbauba, producing large bunches of fruits the size of a jabuticaba
262 /Mouriria pusa/, which, when ripe, are dark, sweet, and
[273] mucilaginous, and, fermented, give a wine-like drink; mẽ'rẽ (U. mẽ'nẽ), wirí-mẽ'rẽ, various species of ingá (ingá cinamómea, marginata, édulis, etc., Mimosaceae); burukãã, maracujá /species of Passiflora/; õxtã-ãĩmĩ, cumã (fruit of the service tree); pãgá, another species of cucura; kenõ, jatobá /locust tree/; simiõ, uacú /Monopterix uaucú/; teheõ and ehyú-pu, varieties of piquia; thoá, yúa-pixuna; wamã, umarí; wãhĩ, paricá /Leguminosae/; extoá, cubio /Solanum sessiliflorum/; wextí, umirí; wikasoró, small white fruit; tohoá-kaxperí, omã-karperí, and ãerẽ, similar to the cumã.

3) And many species of palm nuts, more or less oily: ixkí, inajá; puxpyá, ucuquí; mãx'pí, assai; ã'rẽ, pupunha, for which they are eager; bextá, tucumã, which they like very much, ããmã (U. ãumã), bacaba and patauá; etc.

/223 cont./

*192 Assai, patauá, and bacaba are small nuts, in bunches. Put
• 222 in hot water, the pulp that envelops them comes loose. This,
262 after being crushed and strained, is mixed into the chibé or into
252 the mingau, making it more nourishing and flavorful.

4) They also leave the umarí (paroquéiba /Poraqueiba/ paraénsis, Ducke) in water, after having sucked the sweetish yellow rind, in order for the stone to lose its bitter juice. They also customarily mix its yellow mass into the mingau.

245 5) The pupunha tree is an ornamental palm, straight, with
252 beautiful fronds, which they plant in all their povoados. Twice
262 a year it produces bunches of small red or orange nuts with a farinaceous and dry pulp. They eat them cooked in water. /224/ They like them so much that during this time they abstain from
245 other foods. Its pulp, diluted in water and left to ferment in
251 camotins for 24 hours, is transformed into a very tasty drink,
273 the pupunha caxirí, ɨ'rɛ̃-kõ.
*[192] When there is a great abundance of this nut, they prepare a large quantity of the mass, and, in order to keep it during the year without spoiling, they dig a hole in the vicinity of the house, line it well with banana leaves, and there they introduce the mass, pressing it well in order to expel all the air, and afterwards they cover it further with banana leaves and a layer of soil a span or more thick. This mass will be used for preparing the caxirí for months.

222 6) Among the most sought wild fruits is the japurá, a
252 dicotyledon, like an almond, inside of a soft involucre. They
262 subject it to boiling, in order to eliminate the thin and bitter skin that covers it, and then crush it, producing a dark mass,
*[192] with a sharpness that reminds one of Gorgonzola cheese (54).

54. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha already reported that in 1759 in his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/," p. 114: "The Indians will have put the name of Japurá on it (on a

/224 cont./

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/footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

[263]
[251]

They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

[784]

It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunuri, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

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The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxiri, in Tukano pêru. The term caxiri, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxiri is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55):

55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

241 /247 cont./

161 /footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of
167 Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the com-
[222] plaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The
[438] land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The
241 indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance,
731 and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory
797 by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It
[438] seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

776 /362 cont./
539 going away to my land, it is so beautiful... nothing is lacking
823 there"..., etc. He looked closely and saw that the cords of the hammock were sucuruju /anaconda/. At night the blonde girl appeared to him in a dream and told him: -- "Today I sang for you, and it did not please you."

776 d) Near Bela-Vista, on the river Uaupés, an alumna of
787 the Mission of Taracuá dreamed at night that she had amorous relations with a young man. Then in the morning, when she went to take a bath, she saw close to her a blowing bouto, throwing itself about in the water, agitating it, and wanting to have relations with her. The young woman also heard shots under the ground, smelled the perfume that the "bouto" youths use. She even felt a desire to go to live with the boutos forever.

776 5. /sic/; e)/ -- Patrícia Vasconcelos tells that her grand-
[115] mother was still a young woman when she went looking for turtle eggs on a beach near Pinú-pinu (river Uaupés) with other girl
[222] companions, among them one who had just finished the puberty initiation rite. They started to dig in the sand and found many eggs. At a certain point, however, the sand started to sink with a great noise, and the newly initiated girl disappeared. A little later the sand reappeared. The mother of the maiden who had disappeared went to look for her, shouted everywhere, but the
[192] maiden never returned. The poor mother then understood that the waí maxsã had stolen her daughter: "waí maxsã mĩsa-wapã yõõ maxkõ-ré, the fish people came to get my daughter."

2) Magic practices.

823 a) Places. -- There are places (the most remote parts of the forests, caves, headwaters of the igarapés) where they should never go. If by chance they pass in the vicinity of these places, they will turn their faces to the opposite side.

There is a lake below the Ira-igarapé (middle Uaupés); the old ones did not look at it, in order not to have a weak and whining child.

*192 /482 cont./

621 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese
476 vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

527 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of
221 fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish
226 of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 At different times of the year great quantities of insects
• 222 appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the
527 daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

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527 Indians of the different povoados, move to

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221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ilákoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ilákoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaíno* (falling river) and as *edáwaiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about
[805]

[1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals — the tapir in particular — is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aúnhokü* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwü*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Húbükokü* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turü* (poison), another *pudjü* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapíka* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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224
252

animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

[262] 264 574 737 [252]

264 Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped upon the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

[222] [252] [222]

261 Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahúkiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

574 261 574 123

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769 taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters
796 went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca
[614] counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him
[222] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits
[857] and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konhá*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door.
[273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konhá* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and
[276] had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konhá*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Bwõ* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Bwõ* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch (*hardmu*) that he had picked at the water's edge.[4] The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

[614] [4] Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *harathume* (*hara*: to strike; *humé*: bitter, unpleasant).

249 spend the greater part of the morning collecting the leaves which they pre-
462 pare during the afternoon and evening. It is a serious task and one which each man undertakes with a strange air of concentration. Each coca plant is selectively stripped leaf by leaf before the next one is tackled. The headman carries the basket with him and gradually it fills with handfuls of pale sage-green leaves. The younger men collect the leaves almost reverently in their right hands before emptying them into the basket, their faces serious, their crouched bodies shining in the strong morning sun, their short, clipped speech broken occasionally by a high-pitched laugh.

512 In the distance small ribbons of smoke rise in a misty cloud. The women
244 are just visible, their squat figures crouching among the manioc plants. They
462 can be heard laughing; occasionally a baby cries and the children romp and
85 play among the bright-green manioc plants whose tall spindly branches stretch skywards some six feet, terminating in clusters of long, thin, starlike leaves. With their babies straddled across their backs the women spend the morning cutting out the long potato-like roots from the sandy soil and putting the waste foliage into piles to be burnt. It is hot with the sun streaming down, the fires crackling and the smoke enshrouding the working bodies. There is little time for rest, though a woman will stop to swing her child around and let it suckle her breast; a mother may give a fat yellow beetle grub to her child to eat, having detached the head – a great delicacy, tasting like butter. Soon large baskets are filled with roughly peeled and half-cleaned roots.

512 The sun is high overhead and the men leave for the *maloca* with their basket
[482] full of coca leaves; on top they place large dried leaves from the *yarumo* (Cecropia) trees which grow like weeds in the *chagra*. The women too load their heavy baskets on to their backs, the headbands taking the greater part
[222] of the fifty-pound weight. The whole group hurries through the forest in silence, passing the old *chagra* where the headman's wife leaves the other women to collect pineapples, then down to the stream beneath the *maloca*. At this point comes one of the noisiest and most amusing incidents in their
[515] daily life. Not only the manioc roots are washed in the water but the babies
[85] too; the mothers vigorously shake their large baskets of roots, then stop to splash water over the backs of the children. For a short time there is cacophony, with screaming babies, splashing water, continuous chatter and laughter, and even barking dogs. But soon the stream is left to myriads of white and brimstone-yellow butterflies which circle everlastingly over the sandbanks, and the women, refreshed, their long black hair glistening in the sun, return up the path to the *maloca*.

Tobacco plants are nearly always grown in a little patch directly in front

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000 *A graceful Tukano canoe.*

[see p. 66-A]

/100 cont./

241 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth
462 from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man
[249] would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, flame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The
[437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function
[262] of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the
224 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow
• 223 and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a
[177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

/100 cont./

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•224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

/111/

*101 t) YEBÁ-MASÃ

1) People-Name-Language. -- Yebá-masã is their denomination in the mother tongue, although they do not know the meaning of this term (41).

[115]

41. Lucas, the old Tukano from S. Luzia, as has already been said (IV-2, a), explained to Padre Antonio Giacone that Yepá-maxsã (as they say in Tukano) means gente-da-terra /people of the land/, and that the natives who reached the Papurí afterwards called the Tukano this. It is to be noted that Yepá, according to the legends, is the son of Bũxpó (the Thunder), and the Indians, with some religious notions, say that it is God, the Son. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) met on the Tiquié an Indian woman by the name of Inácia, of the Yepália tribe, with beautiful physiognomic features. Would it be another spelling of Yepá?

[773]

Their idiom is classified in the Tukano family, as it is shown by the Vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical and Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia). In contrast to the Tukano, they are slender types, of medium stature like them or even shorter. Small face, tapering toward the chin. Physiognomy little or not at all Mongoloid. Coarser hair, black or dark, not lissotrichous, as generally befalls the natives of Brazil. At times they even exhibit slight waves. Dark eyes, nose low at the root, like the Tukano, but higher and finer tip. The men ordinarily have the ears pierced.

[142]

With an insignificant mandioca-agriculture, they are principally hunters, and they live on wild fruits. For this reason the consumption of ipadú /coca/ is great among them (cf. VI - 4, 1 (4). They all use the hammock of 30 threads. Their festivals are frequent.

[244] [222] [224] [284]

M /200 cont./
411 or Ceiba petandra, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the
M dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the
[224] vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees, without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T 4) Arrows. They are usually made out of paxiúba (Eriártea
411 settígera, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the
T point is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary accord-
[237] ing to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the
[824] teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of patauá (30).

T
[184]

30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

T
[177] From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which now come the metallic points.

T Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers.
[531] The feathering is found in a row /Port. cavalete/ or in a spiral.

T When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often
• [224] poisoned with curare (31).

31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

/201 cont./

411 *[192] Three types of arrows are distinguished: for hunting, for fishing, and the curabís or small darts for the sarabatana /blow-gun/.

• 224 411 a) For hunting. The arrows intended for large-scale hunting are heavy, made of brazilwood or pau-de-areo, with a point of wood, or more commonly of animal bone or of iron (32).

> 32. Before the relations with the civilized, they likewise used stone points, according to the account of Alexandre Ferreira, "Diário," 6th part.

The points /Port. pontas/ (of wood, bone, or iron) are embedded in a piece of wood called ponteira /an addition at the tip of something/, which is firmly tied to the body of the arrow with strings and pitch.

When the arrows are intended for birds and small game, they are of lighter wood and bear, on the end opposite the point, three arara wing feathers arranged in a spiral. In this manner the dart describes its trajectory by simultaneously making a rotating motion, which maintains its direction better.

*192 227 411 b) For fishing. For small fish common darts made entirely of paxiuba are used. For large fish (piraiba, pirarucú), alligators, and turtles, the point is of iron (or of bone) and laterally serrated, so that, once buried in the flesh, it cannot come out without dilacerating the tissue.

Those arrows that consist of two parts, staff and tip, are called sararaca (Nheengatú term which means: thing that comes apart). The tip, or suumba, is of strong wood (33),

> 33. They often use the paracúba, one of the Leguminosae, further hardening the suumba on the fire.

/218 cont./

• 224 d) Meats and edible animals. Hunting, as we find it in the present stage, is only a sport for the Indian. If we exclude the "wild pigs" (of the genera Dicotyles and Tayassu), which sometimes appear in herds in certain places (48),

> 48. Just as the piracema /shoal of fish/ appears, as a rule, in the same places, so do the wild pigs have their habitual path and customarily cross the rivers at certain points, where the hunter catches them.

when the river is low and the javarizeiro /palm tree, Astrocaryum/ ripens its fruit, game is rare. It is used, therefore, only to vary the "menu" from time to time. All the more since the Indian will always share the fruit of his hunting with those who live in the same maloca, and he will commonly do it for those who reside in houses neighboring his (if he does not sell it to the civilized).

252 They prepare the game by "moqueando-a" /smoking it/, like the fish. And it seems that they never eat raw meat; they even say that it is only Wax-tí who eats raw meat. And they also eat snake meat. The principal animals that serve them as food
262 are (49):

231

> 49. The dogs are generally skinny and often also sick; for this reason and because of the services that they render, they do not eat them. There are indications that in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) the natives ate a fat dog killed
> [171] by a shotgun. The caboclo of the Rio Negro is incapable of killing a dog, even a sick one. He fears that this "sin" (as they think and say) would bring upon them the punishment of S. Lazarus, who they regard as protector of the dogs and who would punish them, probably, with leprosy.

/242 cont./

• 224 b) Hunting.

*[192] 1) Hunting by pursuit (amã̃ siró-tú pexkayesé).

The fauna of the Amazonian northwest is poor, in quality and quantity, in animals for eating. But hunting, besides providing food, is an enjoyable sport for the Indian. Poor as it is, hunting in the dense virgin forest can only be practiced by groups [177] of two or three Indians. Rarely will he go out alone, until very recently, when he obtained a shotgun from the civilized. With the shotgun or with the bow, the Indians are worthy /243/ hunters. He will also rarely go in large groups; this only when they locate in some zone a herd of wild pigs. Then they try to surround them, and with arrows and stabbing sticks /Port. paus terçados/ they kill a large number (72).

72. Not infrequently it happens that the herd of pigs, starving or attacked, attacks the men, who save themselves by quickly climbing the trees.

A man's treasured helpers in hunting are the dogs, small, skinny, and often almost blind because of the stings of the ants, taxi, but, perhaps for this very reason, with a more acute sense of smell.

[171] The Makú are specialized hunters. When they go to track the animal chased by the dogs, they make a lot of noise, with characteristic cries, and nothing, neither the cipos, thorns, nor other obstacles, is able to stop them.

*[192] 2) Hunting by ambush (pexkáye du'tigõ or pexkáye pe'sá-kõ).

The animals have their drinking places (73)

73. On the upper Tiquié, near the Cachoeira Grande, one sees a stone that the antas come to lick. The ground or stone with natural salts, and for this reason sought by the antas, deer, and other animals, is called "anta sucker."

/243 cont./

*192 • 224 where they go to drink water on hot days, just as they also have more or less customary places in the forest where they go to eat fruits. The footprints mark these spots, and they are accustomed to go to them at more or less regular times. Knowing this habit, the Indian builds kaxsá-wa (Nheengatú mutás (74)

> 74. A small burned-over area near the mutá attracts some deer with a desire to lick the ashes.

or platforms in the tree branches; this is the pexkaye pe'sá-kõ) in the vicinity of these places, and there they patiently stay in ambush without making any noise, or imitating the chirping of the birds that they want to kill. Or he will even stay on the ground hidden behind some tree; this is the pexkáye du'tyasé. As the animal approaches, he shoots a well-aimed arrow which will fatally hit the animal or at least will wound him, and, in this case, they pursue it until they kill it.

If the animal retires into a cave, they light a small fire, almost always with the nest of some termite, at the mouth of the cavern, and the heat and the smoke force it to come out, then being caught by the hunters.

3) Hunting by mundéu (pexkáye-sã-kõ).

The animals, especially when they have a burrow, customarily follow the same paths or carreiros in search of their food or water. Upon discovering one of these carreiros, the Indian makes a /244/ narrow and deep hole, being careful to transport the excavated soil farther away. Afterwards he again covers the cavity well with sticks, leaves, and rubbish, in such a way that it does not differ from the remaining track, and the mundéu, koxpé, is made. During the first nights the animal does not pass by there; later, however, it comes to fall in, and the Indian kills it. It sometimes happens that he forgets to go to look at the mundéu again, and he will find the animal already dead of starvation.

/244 cont./

*192
• 224

4) Hunting by trap (pexkáye-kõ yuró).

The method that they use for small animals, such as the cutia /agouti/ is simple. A strong, but flexible pole is planted in the ground. Sometimes they use bushes that already exist in the chosen location. They bend the free end, to which they fit a snare, tying it to sticks in the place where they foresee that the animal might pass, and the trap, yuró (Nheengatú žuká), is ready. When the animal tries to eat the bait left there, or even simply to pass through the snare, the pole is released violently, and the animal remains hanging by the leg. And thus it will stay until it dies, or it will be killed with blows of sticks.

[177] Nowadays, instead of the snare, there is often a loaded shotgun that fires and kills the animal; it is the trap called pexkáye-wõ.

Trap for birds and small animals

5) Hunting by canoe.

Very frequently the deer and the anta throw themselves into the river, because they are being pursued by dogs or in order to look for food on the other bank. Then the hunters pursue them with their fast canoes, and they kill them with the oar, a stick, or machete. On some occasions they reach in this way large herds of queixadas /white-lipped peccary/ and kill them in large number.

/245/

• 224 373 During low water they also go hunting at night, drifting slowly and without making any noise, while one of the Indians brings a torch of turí. They thus surprise the pacas, which are blinded by the light, and the Indian kills them with arrows. [177] Nowadays they use a battery flashlight for night hunting.

6) Agriculture.

241 The mandioca is what provides the principal food of the Indians of the basin of the Uaupés. All these tribes are thus found in the phase of tillage, which is practiced, however, in a very primitive manner: it is the phase of the "cavouco" /digging, pit, hollow/ or of the "cova" /hole/.

They freely choose the land that pleases them the most, because of the proximity of their dwelling and because of the guarantee against theft (75),

> 75. For this reason he will not do it at the edge of the river, unless it is beside his dwelling. If it is in the vicinity of the river, he will always leave a wedge of forest between the clearing and the river, in order to hide it from the view of those who are traveling on the water. And the landing place where he disembarks and ties his canoe will be at a certain distance from the clearing, in order not to reveal its location.

and which is a little sandy, as the "terras-firmes" of the entire region generally are, and suitable for mandioca. The act of [423] clearing, wexsé pá:kĩrõ, is what gives them the ownership of * [192] the land while cultivating it.

Clearing is done in the periods of less rain, that is, from [462] June to August and from December to February. It is work exclusively for the men. They start by choosing an area con- * [192] venient as to distance and not subject to floods, with yellowish soil, semisandy, di'tá sõarã̃, or black and somewhat humous, nã̃xkã̃ di'tá ñyĩrõ.

/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have similar efficacy.
[224]
[226]

They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions which are called oxkõ ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some are prepared by the pajé or kõmũ; others, by any individual. There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacurí, and to guarantee them abundant fish.
*[192]

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui (puxpyá).

[514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement (75);

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

[832] The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant called tá:-dõxká (in Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca) to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know everything," that is, will be intelligent.
789
824
*[192]

There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with magic virtues:

[241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the mandioca will yield very well.

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

[192] [304] [224] [226] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

Uruká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one [192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

[752] /366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

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621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

## THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, [823] the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

361 823 The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahükiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aünhokü* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwü*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Húbükokü* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turü* (poison), another *pudjü* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapíka* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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773 From *Kúwaĩ*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine. It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fishing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in production falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
[462] is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc production is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large community under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*duno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each [251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [417] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [614] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated [237] with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upañeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 484 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 574 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for 602 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*wekil*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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He brings home the hide for a
224 trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle
[237] that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary
[554] and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahúkiwa* the headman's son – an aspirant for the position – killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

## GARDENING

462 I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions
262 of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

462 An important distinction between the labor of men and women
461 is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

462 On days when only subsistence manioc – that is, the manioc cake
461 – is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is
252 to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she
244 gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

462 Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time,
244 leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast.
[512] Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against
[751] sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is
[789]

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped upon the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahiikiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

the *bréo* flame taking coca with two other men. He is silent and has offered little real assistance; I wonder whether he resents our presence here.'

It did seem at times as though Kuarumey resented our presence, and he later had some cause for his suspicions – certainly in his own mind – when events took an unexpected turn. He was a striking man, tall and rather gaunt, with a proud almost arrogant manner. There was no doubt as to who was the head of the *maloca*, nor that we were visitors, fortunate to have his hospitality. We saw little of him during the daytime and it was some time before we learnt he was making a canoe some distance away in the forest.

Though the Tukano travel through the forest on hunting expeditions, canoes are used to go further afield, to fish or to trade with other groups. They are a river people as much as a forest people, and like many Amazonian tribes they have evolved their own methods of making canoes.

The Noanamá, we found, dug out and shaped their canoes from solid wood, and it was necessary for them to find very large trees to do this. Many tribes of the southern Amazon use the bark of a tree, like the North American Indian, while some groups of the Guahibo and the Maku living in areas remote from the larger rivers do not use canoes at all. The Tukano, however, shape their canoes by a process of heat-warping.

A tree – a hard type of cedar – had first been felled, then a twenty-foot section was cut and barked, and allowed to lie for several weeks, before Kuarumey started to cut the wood. Each day he went to the clearing, setting up a palm frond to shade himself when the midday sun broke into the clearing, through the gap in the trees overhead.

Using his *azador*, a curved hoe-like blade, and a long stick with a sharp metal end, he first shaped the outside of the log, scraping off the bark. Then he made holes along its length and began to cut out the centre. It was hard work and he would often break off to make himself a cheroot, using the rolled leaf of a palm, while his eldest son continued the work. Once he disappeared in the jungle to set a monkey trap, a ring-snare high in a tree with fruit as the bait.

He worked carefully, feeling the sides of the canoe so as not to make the shell too thin. After several days it was ready, braced with two small stumps to prevent the sides from closing. Then Kuarumey and several Indians from the *maloca* dragged the hull along the forest paths to the river bank nearly a mile away.

Now the canoe was ready to be warped by burning. This could be undertaken only at certain times of the year when there was no risk of rain, for water on the hot wood might split it. Before they obtained iron and steel the Indians used to cut the trees with their stone axes. They would only partly shape the hull and burn out the centre with fire. Now, with the canoe already shaped, the burning was quicker and it would be completed within a day.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.

to track wild animals in the forest and the sense of location and direction which enables him to do this. The deprivations of the jungle, its innate hostility, its snakes, wild animals, poisonous plants and insects, its daytime silence and oppressiveness are nothing to the fear of being lost. To be lost in the forest is slow, inevitable death. This is a fear which is common to the traveller, the explorer and the *cauchero*, but to the Indian does not exist. He may be forty miles from his *maloca*, yet he will know his way back without faltering, as the Cockney would know his way across London in the black-out, forty miles over half-tracks or no tracks at all, across deep ravines, balanced precariously on slippery logs. He will find his way, perhaps by a glimpse of the sun, the movement of birds overhead, or the track of a tapir. Between dawn and dusk, he has only his bag of cocaine to sustain his quick jogging walk. 224 • [484]

During the time we passed in their *malocas* the Indians would often disappear in groups for hunting expeditions. Sometimes they would go at night and ask to borrow our torches to dazzle their prey. They carry hard *macana*-wood bows and sheaths of arrows tipped with curare, a black strychnine poison, or a long ten-foot blowpipe. Also beautifully-woven palm cases filled with poisoned darts secured in kapok, as though stuffed into a pin-cushion. These are slung across the back and carried upside down with the beeswaxed end uppermost, so as to prevent the rain washing off the curare and to enable the hunter to extract the dart quickly. [278]

With the hunters go their dogs, thin wiry beasts like whippets, usually pale buff or fawn in colour and well cared for by their masters. Their lives are short, and more often than not they go totally blind within five years; for the tiny red *majiñal* fire-ants drop on their eyes as they run through the undergrowth and inject formic acid. There is seldom game near the *maloca*, but further afield, beyond the *chagras* in the forest proper there would usually be waterside rodents and *agouti*, small rabbit-like forest dwellers. There were peccary as well, the black jungle pig which the Indian fears because, if wounded, it sometimes cries for its companions who turn on the aggressor with their small sharp tusks and inflict terrible gashes. These small pigs are strangely affectionate and are sometimes adopted by Indians as pets. [231] [231]

Their bows, five feet long and strung with *cumare*, will launch an arrow two hundred feet, but to be certain of a target the Indian will approach to within twenty or thirty yards. The arrows, without feathers and unnotched, are made of cane, with a hard *macana*-wood point dipped in lethal curare. Some tribes carry a pot of this poison round their necks; when about to shoot, they dip an arrow in the black gum and cut the head just above the point with the razor-sharp tooth of a *piraña*. Thus the poisoned point will break off in the wound if the arrow falls out. [278]

At that time we assumed that the Indians made their own poison, but we 278

278 learnt many weeks later from a *cauchero* that there were specialists in this art. The Maku, he told us, are the expert curare makers in this area. They boil the scrapings of a liana together with two herbs, then strain the liquid through leaves and boil it again until it forms a black glutinous mass. This they place in small pots and trade it with other tribes, often for food and shelter; for the Maku are nomads. Though strychnine is always the base, various ingredients are occasionally added, from ants to putrefied animal remains. The most deadly poison, which was once reserved for human beings, is said to paralyse the victim in a matter of seconds.

224 252 [123] The monkey is the most common of all the animals hunted for the pot. These are hung over a fire and smoked for days. The first time we were offered monkey, we were given the head, which we thought we were supposed to admire. But the brain, we learnt, is the greatest delicacy, like the head and eyes of a fish. The monkey often grips a branch as it dies, and for this reason the Indians would shoot many more than they ever managed to retrieve.

224 123 We never ventured to go with the Indians when they went hunting, as we would have made more noise than them and frightened the game. Moreover, we felt we could never keep up. One morning the children came to a *maloca* we were staying in to say that a *capybara* had strayed along the river bank close to where they had been bathing. Immediately an Indian picked up his bow and arrow and quickly made for the river. It was unusual for an animal to stray so close to the house and we followed at a distance hoping that we might see the hunt.

Half-crouched, with his bow and curare-tipped arrows gripped in his hand, he began to stalk the large water rat. Getting as close as he dared, he put the small beeswax quiver head down on the ground, with the arrow shafts upright. He placed one arrow in the bow. Twisting one leg around the shafts, his toes braced against the base of the quiver, he drew back the bow waiting for the *capybara* to move into the open, ready to take a second arrow from the sheath should the first miss. He held the bow fully stretched, crouched lower, hesitated for an instant, then released the arrow. The rodent [252] rolled over without a sound. No second arrow was needed. That night we boiled the *capybara* which tasted like pork. The poison never taints the meat; it only affects the nervous system through the bloodstream.

224 The tapir is the largest of the forest mammals hunted by the Indian. It is the size of a cow, with a long snout, small eyes and slotted feet, and its only defence is camouflage. Speckled brown and black like the sun-dappled forest floor, when young, and turning to a dull slate-brown when fully grown, they gather at their watering places to drink. They were hunted relentlessly by the

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000 *A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his* kurubeti *pebble stave.*

[see p. 70-A]

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



early rubber gatherers, who on occasions would shoot dozens at a time, more for sport than to supply meat. They are now nearly extinct in many areas. 224

Having killed such a large animal the difficulty is to keep the meat. The *caucheros* build great platforms over the fires and smoke it for days. This is the only way it can be preserved. It is not possible to eat very much of the rich, sweet meat at a time, and the Indians believe that at certain times of the year it is bad to touch it, for it is almost inedible and causes skin blemishes. Though the Indian professes to despise tapirs, he nevertheless assigns human characteristics to them; he believes they dance, drink *chicha* and even build *malocas*. He also believes that by eating a particular animal he may acquire some of its characteristics. From a peccary he can gain faith and resolution, for the wild boar's habit of going to the rescue of a wounded companion has left an indelible impression on the Indians. Just as the puma is credited with human characteristics, the *agouti*, like the legendary African hare, is attributed wisdom and wit. 825

The blowpipe is of as much importance to the hunter as his bow and arrow. The Tukano make their pipes from a small palm. A length of from eight to ten feet is cut and allowed to dry. The pith is removed and an inner bore put into position and polished with tree roots. The outside is bound along its whole length with bark and covered with a resinous wax. A small pig-bone sight is fixed on one end and a hard wooden mouthpiece on the other. The Indian will travel through the forest all day long, looking for birds, small monkeys and squirrels, and carrying his match-thin ten-inch darts, perhaps thirty at a time, in wicker holders.

He constantly watches the trees overhead; he may suddenly see a parrot on a branch ahead of him. He moves forward slowly; if he can stand directly beneath the bird he has less difficulty in steadying his aim. He raises the pipe cautiously and places the cupped lower end over his mouth. He reaches behind with his free arm and draws a poison-tipped dart. Inserting it in the shaft with its cotton wad, he aligns the pig-bone sight on to the bird and inflates his cheeks. There is a barely discernible puff. Seventy feet over his head the parrot squawks, starts to fly, falters and crashes through the branches to the ground. Sometimes there are other birds near by and the Indian will kill three or four before he begins to look for them lying somewhere in the dense thickets, but he never loses one. Parrots are the most common target and the most easily approached, but unless cooked for many hours they are quite inedible. We would occasionally make a soup from them. Macaws, toucans and egrets are sought after, more for their feathers than as food. Pigeon, turkey, duck and geese are far more palatable; while frogs, snakes and various grubs, ants and beetles are considered delicacies. 262 [825]

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ABOVE: *Preparing for the festival.* BELOW: *Bréo unpacks the festival feather head-dresses from their boxes.* [see p. 70-B] 000

/201 cont./

*192 227 411 411 • 225 226

with a harpoon set in, and is tied to the staff or the body of the dart by means of a long string (34).

34. The turtle fishermen call the iron point of the arrows virote /short arrow/ or espoleta /fusee, bomb fuse, lunt/ (cf. José Verissimo: "As populações indígenas do Amazonas /The indigenous populations of the Amazon/," Rev. do Instituto Histórico e Geographico do Rio de Janeiro, Vol. 50, 1887, p. 377).

*[192]

When hit, the fish or turtle flees with the /202/ tip harpooned in its body; but the staff of canarana (Gramineae of the genera páspalum and pánicum), which is tied to it by the long string, continues to float, and thus reveals the place where the harpooned animal is hidden. The fisherman picks up the staff and slowly pulls the string, and with relative ease also brings the turtle into the canoe (35).

35. In order to reach the turtles, the fishermen hurl the arrow upward, in such a way that it falls perpendicularly and, with its own weight and the impulse of the fall, penetrates the chelonian's shell. Ordinarily the turtles are kept alive for sale and consumption. As for the fish of larger size, when they are close to them they kill them with a stroke of an oar on the head, and in this way they are able to bring them into the canoe without any danger.

*192 411

c) Curabí. Curabí is a term from the Língua Geral, in Tukano called bú'sá-khá. They are the darts for the sarabatana /blowgun/. Ordinarily they are of paxiúba and measure some 30 or 40 centimeters in length and one or two millimeters in diameter, and taper at the end. They are kept and transported in a quiver of arumã, bu'sá-sá, as we said above.

224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

• 226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
171
*192 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

[322] The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their characteristic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.
[531]

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats; also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.
[531]

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.
[439]

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.
[411]
[567]

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

• [226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirã-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/201 cont./

*192 227 411 411 225 226

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*192 /221 cont./
222 d) They likewise eat, alive or roasted, the saúvas, byã-põrá
252 (or põná; it means offshoot or broad, põrá, of the pepper, byá,
262 because of their spicy flavor), and the termite, buxtwá.

2) Larvae.

a) At certain times of the year very many dark larvae about 3 to 4 centimeters in length appear on the plants of the japará, ba'tí (erísma japurá, Spr.) and of the cunurí, waxpõ (cunúria spruceana, Baill.), totally devouring their leaves. As soon as they perceive it, the Indians bring down the surrounding plants so that the larvae will not move on to other trees, and they are thus forced to go down by way of the trunk in search of food. At the bottom part of the trunk they make a ring with the leaf of the pocova sororoca (ohó pũrí), which is very smooth. The caterpillars, upon reaching there, slip and fall to the ground, being collected with sticks or strings into strainers, and are later slowly
[251] roasted on a mat at a certain distance from the fire. The quantity is so great that they can fill baskets, which are stored in the smoke chamber, in order to be consumed little by little.

Even when they do not discover it until the chrysalis stage, they cut off the branches loaded with cocoons, like a large ear of maize, and they toast them, it thus being easier to open the
• [226] cocoons, as if they were shells of roasted peanuts. The chrysalis constitutes a greatly appreciated delicacy and is also used as bait for the fishhook. These larvae are called in Tukano bá-tĩ-ỹa (louse? of the japurá) and waxpõ-ỹa (louse of the cunurí).

b) Mẽ'rẽ-pãma is the Tukano name of a greenish-yellow larva similar to the silkworm, which feeds on the leaves of the inga tree (ingá édulis, Mimosáceae) and which is greatly appreciated, alive or roasted.

/222/ c) Besides the ones indicated, there are various other larvae sought for food, such as the ones called mẽ'rẽ-ka-pextorõá, likewise from the inga tree; nixtỹá, also from the cunurí; nextoá, which lives in the tree of the same name; suxpi-sõ, which feeds on the leaves of the acuaricuara (tiny red seeds); pixkõrõá, from the pupunheira; sitá, from the tree called uxpísikarã.

/233 cont./

372 Formerly fire was obtained by turning rapidly between the palms of the hands a small stick whose end was provided with a match of kapok, and rubbing it in the small orifice of another small stick that was very dry. The apparatus is called pexká-mẽ wihyasé in Tukano. *[192]

262 The diet of these natives, although at first sight it does not seem so, is quite varied, rich in vitamins of vegetable and animal origin. As for the salts necessary to the organism, they get them from roots and fruits; as a matter of fact, they have a strong bone structure, and nevertheless the waters show a deficiency of calcareous salts. As for sugar, they only have that of the fruits and of the fermentation of their drinks. The cultivation of sugar cane is insignificant and intended practically for the preparation of the caxirís, although once in a while some Indian will be seen sucking it. [273] [249]

The amount of food that the Indian consumes daily is large, when he has plenty of it; although on other days, due to a lack of food, he is forced into a very strict fast. Perhaps the caxirí itself, which he drinks in large portions on the occasion of feasts, plays the role of a periodic washing of the stomach, intestines, and kidneys. It is certain that thin persons are rarely found among them, if one excludes the older women, who generally are so, and the sick. They are, on the contrary, plump in figure or even fat, without obesity or deforming adipositiés, strong and healthy.

It is to be noted that the Indian emits a characteristic smell, which makes us think that it is due to a diet predominantly of fish and pepper.

/234/ 5) Hunting and fishing.

a) Fishing.

226 Fish is an important element in the diet of the Indians, as we have already seen. In the regimen of the family home, each family head provides the fish; it is his habitual, although not exclusive, occupation. In the regimen of the collective dwelling [462]

/234 cont./

• 226 of several families, the maloca, the small-scale fishing still
[462] falls to the men, and they go out in groups of two or three or
even alone, or accompanied by some child, perhaps very
*[192] young, who rows and handles the canoe. All of the Indian's
concern is to make his son a very good fisherman, a marupiára.
*[192] "Mõ'sigõ" is the Tukano term for indicating the individual who
is lucky in fishing and hunting.
*[192] There arrives, however, the piracema, the period when
the fish gather in schools, waí tũrĩrõ, especially in the cachoeiras,
trying to get past them in order to reach the headwaters. It is
the opportunity for the Indian to prepare his reserves of fish
for the fruitless days. It is the period of large-scale fishing.
*[192] Or also, low water comes, and the fish that went up the igarapés
and igapós (64)

> 64. Igarapés are the small tributaries of the rivers; igapós are the arms of water or pools that are formed during high water.

will try to reach the river; this is also the time of joint fishing expeditions. These represent a social event that brings together the inhabitants of the maloca or povoado. Even more, it is a collective entertainment or sport, a time of celebration. If the distance to the fishing place is great, as it often is, they will stay overnight there for several days, and in this case they
*[192] must take their hammocks. Not infrequently they improvise
tapirís or huts in the surroundings conveniently beforehand. The
[462] women will prepare the beijú and the flour. The men will
take care of the nets and see that the canoes are in good condition. The complete preparation includes, besides the fishing gear, the panniers in which to keep the fish, the fire, etc.

/234 cont./

*192
• 226
278

The principal methods of fishing are:

1) With poison (65).

65. The harmfulness of the method is under discussion, and some condemn it as destructive of the fish, many of which cannot be used. The fact is that for many generations they have fished in the same places, and there is always fish. If at present they are not as large and as plentiful, perhaps one should attribute it, not to the method, but to the frequency of the fishing. It also seems that many fish only become stupefied and manage to escape. The actual difficult circumstance is that at times the igarapés are quite low and the amount of timbo quite large, and both the fish and the very water that they drink cause intestinal disorders among the Indians.

[164]

/235/ a) Ehú (timbo). The large-scale fishing (Waí pu'asé) is that which is done with timbo (66).

66. Timbo is the name of various Leguminosae of the genera Tephrósia, Lonchocarpus (densiflorus, rufescens, etc.).

A suitable spot was chosen beforehand, for example, a widening of the river like a small bay, or the mouth of an igarapé or igapó, and baited, buxtú-kĩse, that is, food was thrown there frequently for the fish (termites, buxtẽã, hence the term buxtú-kĩse, or also pupunha, flour, fruits, mass of beijú, etc.). Afterwards, during the night, the site was surrounded with the parí, in Tukano sũtérika, or with a very tight fence of thin stakes of paxiúba, leaving only an opening through which the fish came in. Nowadays, in order to facilitate this work, they make the

/235 cont./

226 278 [192]

parí with a mat, not plaited, but with tightly connected vertical splints, which they set up with strong stakes at the chosen spot. On the night preceding the fishing, the opening is closed, so that the fish that have come in to eat cannot go back to the river. It is the siege of the fish, or waí-ʊʊ. The timbo is beaten well, hitting it against the rocks or crushing it with a stick. The juice, which has a strong odor, spreads through the water, killing the small fish and stupefying the large ones, which will soon float. In order for the poison to reach the bottom layers of water, they also throw mud with the plant juice. Very early in the morning, then, the canoes leave (or they will have already left even earlier, if the spot is far away) with the whole family, men, women carrying the children, youngsters, the gear (67).

[784]

67. Not, however, the pregnant women, because in this case the fishing would not have good results. If the dog goes in the water, they believe that the timbo will lose its strength.

On that day no one will eat mingau or anything sweet (68);

68. "I ate sweets and was lucky in fishing," objected Padre Afonso, a Montfortian Missionary from Teresita. -- "But the senhor is not one of us," the convinced Indian answered him.

they must go with an empty stomach; otherwise the fishing will be unfruitful. They will all try to enter the water simultaneously, advancing from upstream downward, yelling in unison (and anyone who does it late will be reprimanded), pwá-pwá-pwá, in order to frighten the fish. This act is called waí nãrã; it is the frightening of the fish to make them go into the poisoned water.

[192]

/235 cont./

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[192]

The small fish come to the surface dead and are gathered with the puçá or with a strainer, or even with the hand; it is the waí wa'sá. The large ones, only stupefied, are caught with arrow or spear. Some fish manage to jump the pari barrier, if this has been /236/ set quite deep, but they fall into horizontal nets hanging along the barrier; it is the waí bu'pú-pearó.

The fishing is done with cries, laughter, falls, and finally great joy. And all participate, children, women, men... In the immediate vicinity of the fishing place they prepare the fish for eating and they also smoke it to preserve it.

[192]

b) Waí nimá (cunambí). Waí nimá means poison-of-fish. It is (in Nheengatú called Cunambí) Phyllanthus cunami, a bush with large leaves, of the family of the Euphorbiaceae, which they customarily have planted in the vicinity of their dwelling or in the clearing. When they crush the leaves and seeds, adding flour, ashes of caña brava, pepper, and japurá, they obtain a firm mass from which they make small balls that are thrown at the water. Before throwing one of these balls, however, they hold it between the index finger and the thumb, and, with the hand, describe around the head two circles to the right and one to the left. If one of these gestures is omitted, they say, no fish will be caught. They explain that the ashes being of cane, which floats, the fish will also float (69).

69. The explanation may be this: the potash from the ashes acts on the bladder of the fish, making it dilate, and the fish comes to the surface.

The fish, swallowing some of these small balls, after a few instants will come to the surface of the water, stunned, and the Indians, swimming or in canoes, gather them in baskets. The effect, however, is temporary. The woman, while she prepares the japurá for such fishing, must not eat anything, nor can she go to the toilet, in order for the poison to retain all its

226 /236 cont./
278 efficacy. They also use the poison-of-fish like timbo, mixing its juice with the mud.

*[192] Some tiny leaves known as "doé nimá," poison-of-taraíras, can be used in the same way as the poison-of-fish.

c) Ehú-pu. Piquiá (caryócar villósum, Aubl.) is the name of an edible chestnut, the pulp of which, nevertheless, is poisonous. Because of this, after it is crushed, there is produced a mass that, thrown into the water, acts even stronger than the timbó, that is, it stupefies the fish, which soon come to the surface, then being caught by hand or arrows.

These last two methods are used in small-scale fishing.

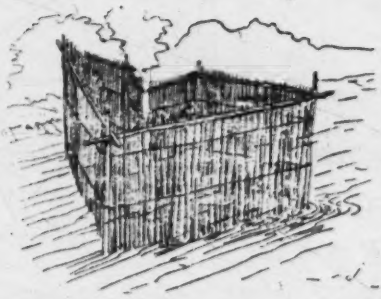
2) With traps.

226

There are several kinds of traps used for fishing; the principal ones are:

*[192] /237/ a) Bũxkõá-wõ (in Nheengatú matapí). It is a nassa /fishing basket/ or jequí like that of the fishermen in the south of Brazil. It consists of a cage of sticks of patauá, paxiuba, or even cipo, in the shape of a cone or elongated cylinder. The thin part is tied with cipo, and is untied at the moment of ex-
*[192] tracting, through there, the fish caught. In the wide part (base of the cone) there is a funnel-shaped opening called in Tukano ʒe'ẽ-nẽ-pá, with flexible sticks that spread in order to let the fish pass through. The matapí is submerged in the small canals, being embedded among the rocks of the cachoeira, with the mouth toward the downstream side and the closed end toward the side of the current. The fish, which has a tendency to go upstream, comes in by way of the mouth, but it finds the bottom closed. Sometimes in this way they collect numerous and large fish daily.

• 226 /237 cont./
*[192]



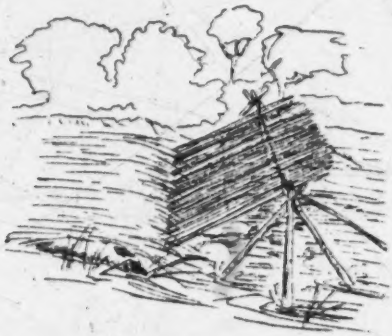
Cacurí (waí-ro)

b) Waí-ro (in Nheengatú cacurí). It consists of an enclosure of paxiúba or patauá sticks fastened to stakes that are very high and reinforced so that the river current will not destroy it, placed near the edge of the river or of islands, where they know that the fish are in the habit of passing during high water. The enclosure, almost always triangular in shape, is continued laterally by two cloths or pari barriers, which join at an obtuse angle, driving toward the enclosure the fish, which, following their instinct, always advance against the current. Upon reaching the angle of the barrier, this gives passage, because it is loose there, but it soon closes again through the action of the current. The fish advance, but find the bottom closed, and, not finding the way by which they came in, remain imprisoned, not infrequently in large numbers. This system is very practical, equivalent to a fishpond where the fish are kept alive and the /238/ fisherman dives in and catches the fish he wants with the puçá, waí wehẽ-kõ. The women, when pregnant, cannot eat fish from the cacurí. They think that the spirit of the child to be born goes to cry near the trap at night and scares away the fish. They attribute the failures to such a cause and remedy it by surrounding the barricade with a poisonous cipo. The child's spirit, upon noticing it, will run away, and the fish will come to enter the trap.

*[192]
[843]

/238 cont./

• 226 *[192] c) Imĩ-nõ. It is similar to the cacurí; it is, however, of small dimensions, generally a meter in length and the same in width. It is usually made of stakes and is embedded, like the nassa /Port. massa, "mass," evidently a misprint/, among the rocks of the stream.



Fish platform (ewá)

*[192] d) Ewã (in Nheengatú cajá or jirau /platform/. The Indian knows that the fish, at a certain time, tries to jump over the small falls of water. Knowing these places, he puts up there, during low water, a platform set on large pieces of wood, in such a way, however, that it will stay like an inclined plane, with the lower side corresponding to the point at which the fish try to pass. Sometimes one sees enormous and well-joined trunks that withstand the force of the current, representing perhaps the work of many days by all the men of the maloca or povoado. The fish jump, trying to reach the upper part of the cachoeira, and fall onto the platform, from where the fishermen collect them several times a day. Or also, such a rack is arranged so that it will receive the water from the current and retain the fish carried by it. The fish that they manage to catch this way are the sẽ'ã (in Nheengatú pirá-mirim), sometimes filling many panniers. *[192]

/239/

*192
• 226

3) With arrow and net.

a) With arrow. On the bank of the rivers there are often trees whose fruits or seeds are sought by the fish, as the japurá is by the aracú. The Indian then stations himself in the shade of these trees, in his canoe, and waits for the fish to come up to get these fruits, which are floating; at this moment he hits them with an accurate arrow-shot and collects them in the canoe. It is an exercise that is very diverting and is called waí bõẽ. Lacking fruits, they break open termite nests, full of larvae, which the fish are very fond of, and throw them into the water. When the fish jump to snap at these larvae, they are hit by the arrows.

b) With net. We saw the use of the funnel-shaped net puçá, wehẽ-kõ, and with the mouth always open, in order to collect the fish killed or stupefied by the poisons. They also use for the same purpose their sieves or baxti; it is the method that is called waí wa'sá.

[784] It is to be noted that when the man prepares his puçá, he does it in secret, without smoking or eating, only with ipadú in his mouth, and abstains from talking or from going to the toilet, in order for the puçá to be efficient.

They also use it for direct fishing; it is the waí ũũũ. Standing at the mouth of the igarapé, he waits for the fish, frightened by those who are making noise above, to seek the river, and with a swift movement he brings in the puçá, almost always carrying some fish.

Also in the dark of night, especially on the shores, they surprise the fish and catch them with their puçás; it is what is called waí ẽõ.

Or also, with that larger type of puçá (VI -- 2, e (3) ) called jereré in the Língua Geral, which is opened only at the moment of use, they dip it, and, when the fish is inside, they close the net, drawing it out very quickly. They are simple processes, but profitable, especially at the time of low water or during the piracemas.

/239 cont./

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They also use the following method: they surround with parí the mouth of an igarapé, leaving a small passage for the fish that come up to sleep. At a certain time of the night a man stations himself with his puçá beside this opening, while others, at the upper part of the stream, beat the water with sticks. The frightened fish, which try to return to the river, land in the puçá.

Piracema, waí turĩrõ, is the meeting of schools of fish in certain places at the time of spawning, during which, for this very reason, they are less timid. The piririca, that is, the rippling of the waters, and a characteristic noise, waí bõxsõrã, reveal these places. They then set out by canoe among the schools of fish, and, with the puçá or with the arrow, the Indians catch great quantities of fish.

/240/ 4) Fishing with hook, spear, and harpoon.

a) Skilled fishermen that they are, the Indians use still other fishing methods and implements, and also ways introduced by the civilized, giving them, however, characteristic applications.

Sometimes with a lighted torch, he stupefies the fish that is sleeping: it is what is called to dazzle or to blind the fish, and he captures it with his harpoon, yõxẽ-kõ. This method is called waí wã (tataítíca or muturisáua in Nheengatú). It is to be noted that the forest itself furnishes him this torch with the tree called mãxpãrí (turí) of the genus Licania, the wood of which is separated into fine strips (70)

70. These strips are also used as laths, because the resin makes it unattackable by termites.

and, once lighted, maintains its light until the whole strip is consumed.

At the time of the piracema two or more canoes with some speed and with turí torches go out at night. The fish, even the large ones, awakened by the noise and stunned by the light, jump, and many fall into the canoes. It is what is called in Nheengatú piráquira, and in Tukano wai nãrã, that is, frightening the fish.

/240 cont./

*192
• 226

b) Bait. There are various kinds of bait, ahũñesé, that they use, according to the nature of the fish they want and the habitat of which they seek and know. Sometimes they use the minhoca /an annelid worm/, ahwã, or larvae of insects, grasshoppers, etc.*

Many of these minhocas live inside bromelias (called for this reason, by those of the Nheengatú language, mother of the minhoca, šimwí mãña). The fisherman indeed takes with him some of these bromelias, true deposits of live minhocas (71),

> 71. This type of minhoca, darakubi, is found in the bromelias of the igapós. A skilled fisherman, Mr. Manoel Valério, informed us that when the darakubí wants to migrate, it breaks off a piece of itself, the final rings of its own body, and lets them fall. If there is a fish in the vicinity, it will immediately jump to catch the bait, and the minhoca has knowledge of the danger because of the noise and remains still. When it does not hear noise any longer, it means that the fish have already migrated to the river, and it can leave without danger.

called darakubí in the língua geral.

Other times, as bait, they use pieces of fish or even berries, fruits, or fruit pulp prepared as small balls. The tambaquí, for example, is very fond of the fruit of the jacitara of the igapós, known as wai-tũ-dá (in Nheengatú Kamú-kamú). The fisherman, without even a hook, ties the fruit at the end of the line and hits the water with it, as if the fruit were falling directly from the tree. /241/ The voracious fish advances and swallows the fruit. Then, with a rapid movement, the fisherman pulls it out of the water. Even with a simple ball of wood, doxké-ñõ-weheká (Nheengatú ya-põga), they manage to catch the tambaquí, acting as in the preceding.

/241 cont./

*192
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c) Hooks. Formerly they made their hook with two sturdy spines of tucum, bextá, joined at a wide angle by thread with pitch, with which kaxpõ, a root similar to the Japanese potato, is crushed. They explain that the fish will smell the root and will come to bite the hook.

This, like the common metallic hook, tied to a string and covered with bait, becomes caught in the gills of the fish that has swallowed it.

Many times the hook is left tied to a rod, weherí wã'sõ, fixed on the bank of the river. It is the method called wai wehé-'kũ.

Or the Indian holds it in his hand, fixed at the end of a rod; this is called wai wehẽ. Way-myõ-he is when the rod and the hook are dispensed with, because the mandí /Siluridae/ customarily swallows the line, even without any bait.

Sometimes the reed with the hook is ingeniously set, with the tip arched and constituting a trap, wai yuró. When the fish bites the bait, the reed comes up and the fish remains suspended in the air. This is the way they customarily catch the taraíra, which lives at the edge of lagoons and swamps.

The manner of catching the buú (tucunaré), a very tasty fish with scales, which during the day swims on the surface of the water hunting other fish, is very curious. The apparatus is called buú weherí wãsõ (Nheengatú pindá siriríka). It consists of a rod having at the end a string with a tuft of quite red feathers from the neck of the toucan, among which is hidden a hook. In the places in which the tucunaré is found, they describe rapid semicircular movements in the water with the tip of the rod. The fish follows the movement of the rod in order to catch the colored feathers and, when it is able to, makes a leap in order to bite them. At this moment the Indian, with a skillful pull of the rod, catches the fish, which might weigh up to three or four kilograms.

Sometimes they manage to catch them with the cord tied to the stem of the boat, during voyages, in such a way that the feathers skim over the surface of the water; it is the method called buú waharí-da (Nheengatú pindá wawaká).

/241 cont./

*192 226

d) Espinhel /line with many hooks/. Nowadays they acquire the metallic hooks from the civilized and, moreover, use them with very profitable and advantageous methods. One of these, for example, is the espinhel, a process called mõ-weherĩkanõ.

/242/ The espinhel consists of a very strong line 50 to 100 meters in length, tied at one end to the bank of the river and, at the other, to a stone that is thrown to the bottom of the river. A piece of molongó /Apocynaceae/, as a float, poogõ dõxká or pa'sa-ká (in Nheengatú mututí), tied to the middle of the cord, keeps it at a suitable depth and serves for locating the espinhel. On this long cord, at an interval of 3 or 5 meters, are joined small strings, each one with its hook provided with bait. They set the espinhel late in the afternoon, and early in the morning, with their canoe, they take it out, starting to pull from the part with the stone, in the middle of the river. As the fish taken is brought close to the canoe, they kill it with a blow on the head, because not infrequently large surubis and piraíbas of 50 kilograms or even more are found. Frequently the fish are found already tired by the efforts made to free themselves, or even bitten and half-eaten by the piranhas.

[784] The first fish of the espinhel will be given to some dog or released in the water, or they bury it; it is essential that it should not be eaten by any person.

The pregnant woman (VII - 4, f (2 d) ) cannot eat any of the fish caught on the espinhel, because otherwise no more fish will be caught.

During the time of high water, when the rivers flood their banks, invading the forests (these are the igapós), many fish migrate from the rivers, in order to eat the wild fruits. The native then takes advantage of this fact to tie lines with hooks to the bushes or to the branches of the trees in such a way that they stay a span more or less under the water. Upon inspecting them at dawn, he finds almost all the hooks with their fish. It is the fishing called wai poxtá-poó. In the first days of the high water they can perform this operation two or three times a night, with positive results, in order to keep the alligator from eating the fish.

4: Silva--375 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 256 in the original source./

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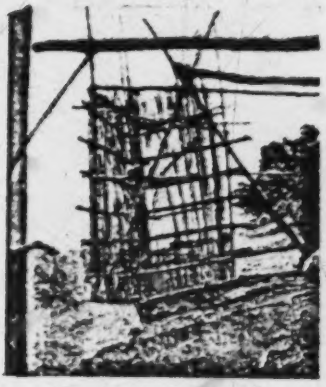
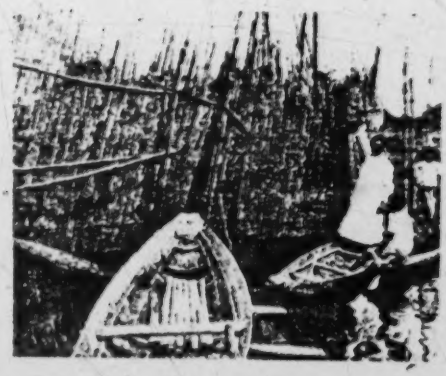


Cacuri (Waí-ro) set up during low water, but in the path used by the fish at high water

Small puça (Wehẽ-kõ)

Barrier in a stream for fishing



/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in
[224] order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have
[226] similar efficacy.

They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions
*[192] which are called oxkó ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some are prepared by the pajé or kõmũ; others, by any individual. There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacuri, and to guarantee them abundant fish.

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui (puxpyá).

[514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement (75);

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

[832] The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant
789 called tá:-dõxká (in Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca)
824 to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know everything," that is, will be intelligent.
*[192] There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with magic virtues:

[241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the mandioca will yield very well.

/364 cont./

789 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in
824 order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'téa) fish.

*[192] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the
[226] face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.
[832]

The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many
291 practices and prescriptions:

1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger;
821 if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away Wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small wood-
825 pecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clear-
*[192] ing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tĩrosa (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

[192] [304] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sígõ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

[224] [226] Uruká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one [192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã wẽ'rí wãx-tí.

/366/ [752] They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

/366 cont./

843 *[192] [226] d) Persons. Every pregnant woman, nihĩ-paxkó (after the fourth month, more or less), is a dangerous being. There are various prescriptions referring to the gestating woman. For example, she cannot eat the fish from the espinhel /line with many hooks/ (VI - 5, a (4 d) ), from the cacurí, nor participate in the large-scale fishing with timbo. If she does so, the fishing will be fruitless, and the espinhel or cacurí will no longer catch fish (77).

> 77. They ruined the espinhel of Dom José Domitrovitsch. The Missionary complained and asked the reason. The espinhel "is no good," the Indian said to him, because my wife ate some of the fish caught in that espinhel and she is pregnant.

She must not touch the bow or arrow, so that she does not "ruin them."

846 *[192] About the father of a newborn baby, it is also said that he is in a state of pregnancy, nihĩ-paxkõ or nihĩ-pkõ. He must, then, take care of himself, "sihyógõ" (cf. "Couvade," VIII -- 1, b (3) ), so that the child will grow strong.

844 It is permissible only for women to attend the delivery; the men must withdraw. If by any chance there are male guests in the maloca, then the woman giving birth will remain in some tightly closed apartment, if there is one. Or she will leave, in order to give birth in some isolated hut or even in the forest. Before taking her puerperium bath, the woman may not see a bow or any instrument of iron (machete, ax, assagai, etc.).

843 If the husband stops with open arms in the door of the house during the pregnancy of his wife, she will have a difficult delivery.

If during her own pregnancy the woman sits down to eat, or sits in a hammock with her legs dangling, her delivery will be difficult.

/404 cont./

481 One of the aquatic amusements of the children is the one
524 called Wãx-tĩ Máx-kõ, the son of Wãx-tĩ, an obvious reference
*[192] to the legend of Nhamacurú (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"). To wit: two children placed one in front of the other, with the arms toward the back, immerse themselves in the water simultaneously. Moments later, emerging at the same time, they embrace each other quickly. Then, again with the arms to the back, they immerse themselves, in order to emerge again, embrace each other, and sink into the water. This is done a certain number of times, until they become tired, and the entertainment ceases.

501 Another frequent exercise is that of rowing. From childhood
868 on, from about three or four years of age perhaps, they learn how to row and have their small oars. Not infrequently a child alone or two go rowing and travel kilometers from their own home.
[226] Many times it is the children who row, while the men attend to fishing from the canoe. This habit gives them surprising skill
[147] and endurance. They are capable of rowing ten or more hours a day and for six or eight consecutive days on long trips.

The striking of the oar handle on the side of the canoe marks
501 the rhythm, and, when there are several rowers, they take pride in the accuracy /405/ of the strokes, as if they were one single stroke. Three different rhythms are to be observed: 1st -- one faster, when they have need to reach some point, and in the currents; there are more or less three deep strokes in two seconds; 2nd -- when there is no current, they change to a slower rhythm: one measure yes and two no, so that one hears two sounds in the water (of two waves which form and strike against the canoe), having three strokes in five seconds; 3rd -- at times they take up another rhythm: two fast strokes and a slow and deeper one.

The following detail can be observed: the hand that holds the handle of the oar describes a perfect circle; and after they give a blow on the edge of the canoe, the oar remains for a moment lying over it, parallel to the water. In order to rest from the effort, they go to rowing from the other side of the canoe;

/415 cont./

585 [241] Many times, principally in the modern regime of family habitations, the young man, as preparation for marriage, has already made a clearing with the help of friends. He will then take the girl to see the spot and will say: "I made the clearing, it is for you to do the planting" (16).

[115] [226]

16. These were the expressions of the Taryana Teodora from Iauareté. Whereas the Tukano Antonio Barreto stated that the father, when he gives the wife to the young man, says to him: "I brought you a woman. Go fish for her." And he added: "He goes, hands her the fish, she takes, which means that she accepts the young man." Might not one perhaps see in these different formulations an allusion to the fact that originally the Taryana Civilization was essentially agricultural, and the Tukano one, a fishing civilization?

/416/ During these first days the young wife will have not only the assistance of the mother-in-law, but the husband will try to ingratiate himself, offering her good fish or good game. If, however, she does not want to adjust to this new order of things, she will then resort to flight (17).

17. It will happen, the Tukano Dorotéia Brito informed us, that they will go looking for her a second time. It is understood that this is so on account of the agreements that preceded the marriage and its conveniences for both of the families. If, however, she flees a second time, she will not be sought any more. But in this case her father will return to the young man the gifts received.

In the environment in which they live and with their way of life, this is not difficult for her.

*192 /482 cont./

621 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese
476 vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

527 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of
221 fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish
226 of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 At different times of the year great quantities of insects
222 appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the
527 daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the
527 Indians of the different povoados, move to

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aúnhokũ* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwũ*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Hũbũkokũ* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turú* (poison), another *pudjú* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapíka* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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773 From *Kúwaï*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine. It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fishing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in production falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
[462] is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc production is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large community under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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CUBEO



To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

## FISHING

Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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226 nor do all the men fish on the same day. A man who has had no luck one day temporarily loses interest in fishing. He turns to other activities, perhaps to hunting or to making household implements, or he may do nothing. As the season begins to taper off one fisherman after another gives up. The last to stop is the most successful. The Cubeo believe that a dispirited fisherman will catch nothing anyway. [261] When all have stopped fishing the community hungers. After about a week of poor meals the women nag, but the men do not move until 226 they have received a sign. The sign usually comes from the young 857 male play pack. When the men have retired to the maloca to sulk, the youngsters turn their play fully toward the river. They take out canoes, and they set lines along the shore. For this they win immediate praise from the women, who say, "Look, the boys can catch fish but the men cannot." The boys patrol the river. One sights a school of fish and rushes into the house shouting, "The fish are coming." The men run to the bank to see. Then with great hilarity and good-natured pummeling of the boys they take to their canoes and the fishing cycle resumes.

226 Periodically, the routine of individual fishing is interrupted by organized collective fishing parties. The organizer is often the headman, but any man who has a plan will enlist a party. Summer is the season for fishing parties, when fish can be trapped in a shallow pool and stupefied with fish poison. Fishing parties are festive and noisy. The young play pack attends them, and the catch, which may be large, is collective. Each fisherman secures his own catch. When the party returns they distribute the total catch to all households. The [183] distribution, according to an important Cubeo principle, is personal and never anonymous or generalized.

Fishing a shallow pond requires equipment and preparation. One man locates the place and asks his fellows to join him in fishing it. Several, or all, contribute sections of splint fencing that forms the weir. One party undertakes to put up the weir while another manages to gather and prepare fish poison. The men, as always, work efficiently together with a minimum of formal direction. Most have been members of a common play pack so that teamwork is automatic. Each household head has brought his own canoe into which he loads his "own" catch. Some shoot with bow and arrow, others use a dip net, and some thrash about seizing the dulled fish with their hands. Such fishing is never solemn. The men joke, they address each fish, and when they have tired of the sport they stop. A man may take secret pride in his individual catch, but he is expected to behave as though he were lampooning rivalry.

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each [251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [417] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [614] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. [237] They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaúcteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very 226 bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 484 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 574 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for 602 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult [462] male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and sharing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege [431] of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled 423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, 431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 423 614 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one territorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of 226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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use it, and, as the others do, he shares his catch with the community. 226
Weir sites are inherited by a son so that there is some tendency for 423
this specialty in fishing to descend in certain families and not in [428]
others.

In objects there are two main kinds of property rights, those of 421
the community and those of the individual. Community rights are in all objects made for public use by the headman or his wife, such as a large canoe, great chicha urns, the manioc oven, the sugar cane press, and guest benches. Of a somewhat less public nature are ceremonial objects and musical instruments also made by the headman or by an aspirant to his office. The first group of objects are fully in the public domain and subject to constant use. The second group are in the possession of their maker and are brought out by him alone on the proper occasion. Full individual ownership resides in all other personal possessions: household utensils, canoes, weapons, trinkets and ornaments, all trade goods from Europeans, and items of clothing. Disposition of these objects is subject entirely to the discretion of the owner.

Infants also own property and their rights are more or less respected. 858
Sometimes a planting is set in an infant's name by the parent or 421
grandparent. A mother commonly dedicates a brood of chicks to her nursing child. The feeling is that, as with ornaments, possessions confer human status. That is, a person should own things. If the child is 858
old enough to understand possession it assumes charge, more or less, 421
otherwise its possessions are administered by its mother. I have nego- 593
tiated, for example, the purchase of chickens owned by children. In 123
one instance a mother prevailed upon her little boy to sell me a 425
chicken. After the sale was made, however, the child wailed miserably 867
so that I felt obliged to make him a gift of it. His mother kept the purchase price and announced that she owed the child the value of the chicken. When the child does not understand the transaction, its mother announces publicly the facts of ownership and her intentions to make restitution.

The attitude of the Cubeo toward personal possessions is best 421.
described as casual. They are not indifferent to objects but they regard strongly proprietary feelings as improper. Their attitude toward ownership is governed by the important status principle that giving is honorific. Among sibmates objects circulate freely, the closer the tie between people the more active the exchanges. Sisters exchange orna- [602]
ments and trinkets and men borrow freely from one another with [593]
or without permission. They seem to be most free with objects of economic utility, such as a canoe, weapons, implements, and somewhat

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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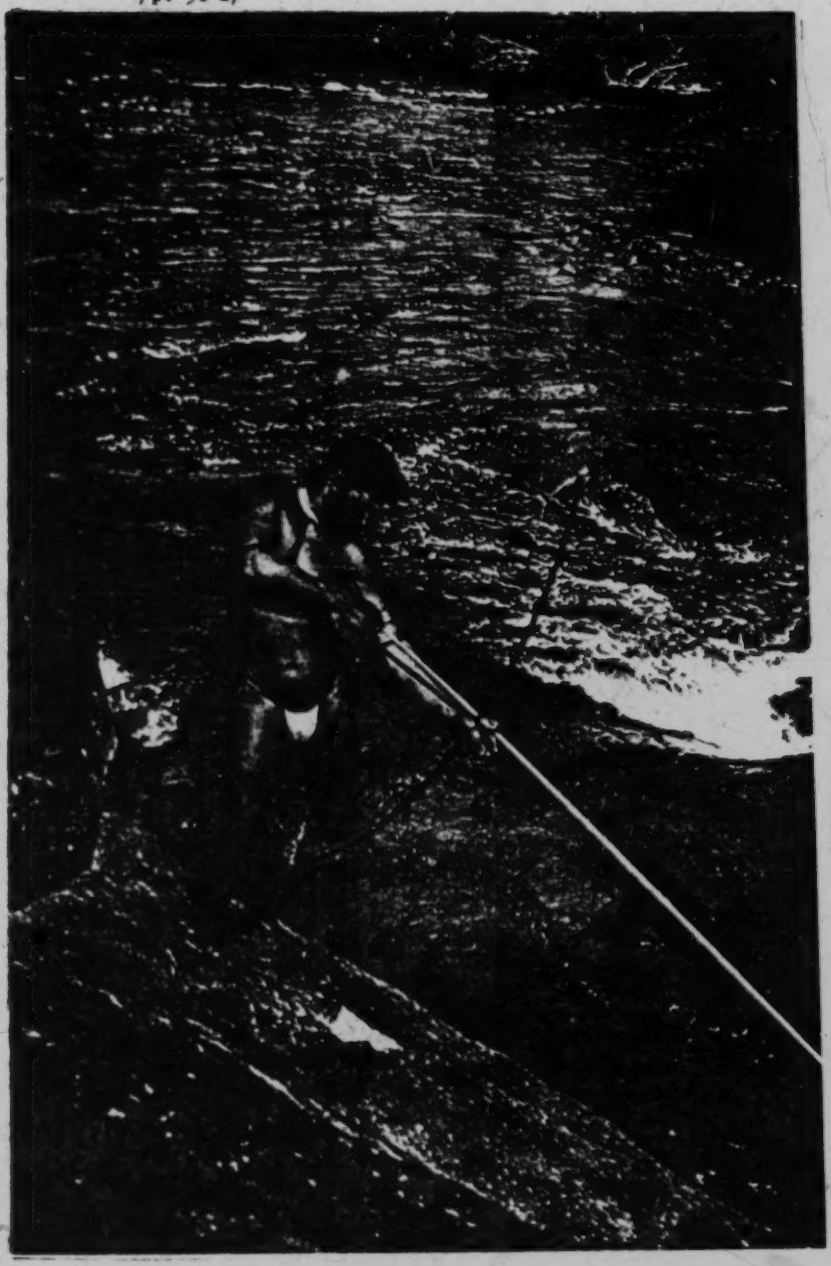

A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.

721 many more people lived there. We are told by Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his 727 neighbour. *Malocas* were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were knocked to the ground with wooden clubs which the Indians still have today, their bodies hacked to pieces, their forearms used to stir the *chicha* and the armbones later made into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the sexual organs were eaten by the headman's wife to ensure brave offspring. even the bones were boiled into broth and the orgy continued until the cannibals had completed their spoil and the *chicha* had run dry.

Such a description of warfare and cannibalism would not fit the Indian who lives in the Piraparaná today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the [178] daily life we saw in their *malocas*. We found the Indian's day measured by a peaceful regularity.

512 Slowly the great house comes to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *maloca* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-screen door and eases it up to its hook like a portcullis, then saunters leisurely out into the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the *maloca*, still only vague shapes in the gathering light as they prepare cassava, pick up the water pots and go down to the river to bathe.

[264] The men returning from the river squat on their haunches on the low [262] stools in the centre of the *maloca*, and without any ceremony consume their breakfast of cassava bread, manioc juice and probably some leftovers from the previous night – boiled fish or a piece of bush pig. The women, who have eaten separately with the children, collect their large manioc baskets and leave [482] for the *chagra*, the forest clearing where they grow their crops. The baskets are slung from a strip of sapling bark across the forehead; they hold their babies on their hips, walking rapidly, almost awkwardly – the Indian [855] woman's gait is not a graceful one. Children run along beside them, some [857] affectionately holding the hands of their mothers, others playing. A few of the elder children return to the river to fish, and some of the men go off in [226] pairs to hunt and fish, while others move off to collect coca leaves from their *chagras*.

249 The Piraparaná has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the river and its tributaries are one of the few remaining strongholds of the drug in north-west Amazonia. Carrying no more than their small coca pouches and the basket for the leaves, five or six men, led by the headman, go down to the stream, perhaps taking a drink and washing themselves before they climb up the far bank. They move along a path through the thick vegetation of an old *chagra* fallen into disuse. Although an occasional banana or *pupuña* palm

# 6

# *Panpipes and Don Giovanni*

In early February we started to make a small collection. For exchange we had brought rolls of coloured cloth, cigarettes, combs, thread and beads, fishing line and hooks. When we arrived at a *maloca* we would give presents to the headman and his wife, then to the rest of his family. There was never any hesitation in allowing us to sling our hammocks in their houses, but our giving gifts perhaps assured them of our friendly intentions. Moreover, in return they would often give us *farinha* which would help out with our own food. Of all the trade goods, small beads, and cloth especially in primary colours, red, blue and yellow, were the most popular. They preferred white beads and were prepared to exchange many of their own possessions for them. But even if we had lived with the Indians for some time, so that they knew us, they would have been loath to part with certain things. In order to obtain one of their magnificent head-dresses, which may have taken a man months to complete because of the scarcity of the feathers, we had to give them one of our shotguns, nothing less. A shotgun was as good as a bow and arrow. For the Indian it had the advantage that you could shoot more than one bird at a time and it had a greater range than an arrow. But for years their gun would probably be useless because of a lack of shot and powder. Also the gun made a great noise and this frightened the game away. The only three we saw were ancient hammer guns, probably taken from *caucheros* they had killed.

In one of the last *malocas* of the Piraparaná we obtained a canoe. This proved extremely useful as it could be loaded with some of the lighter equipment, such as the collection, and towed from the back of *El Diablo*. Unfortunately it was narrow and unstable and on one occasion as we passed through some turbulent water, it swung sideways in an eddy and overturned. Before we were able to do anything several pieces of our small collection had already disappeared. As a result of this we learnt to keep an Indian in the stern of the canoe to guide it.

The rivers of the Amazon are usually termed black or white, to differentiate between clear and muddy water. Because of the amount of suspended sediment, white rivers are said to have many more fish. There were however a variety of fish in the 'black' Piraparaná. When we travelled on the river we would often see large gate-traps at the mouths of the smaller creeks. The

226 fish hooks and line we carried for bartering were greatly sought after, though José for some reason sabotaged much of our exchange. He told the Indians that our nylon was not as good as their own *cumare* line and he broke the barbs of our steel hooks on the house posts to show that their own were better.

226 796 'That is barbasco, a poisonous liana.' José pointed to several bundles of saplings lying on the floor of a *maloca* we were visiting. 'Soon, in late February or March, before the first rains, all the Indians near here will gather for the fish poisoning. They will build small dams in the streams, and the *barbasco* will be pounded and thrown into the water above these dams. All the fish float to the surface and, with nets made from *cumare*, or long spear arrows with forked metal ends, they will be caught in great quantities and carried to a *maloca*. Usually a particular house is chosen each year and, when enough fish have been collected, the festival will start. This may go on for days with *chicha*, panpipes and painted *yarumo* dancing-staves, and many people – and more fish than we see at any other time in the year.' This was a festival we wished to see, but we did not expect to be in the Piraparaná in March. Besides they might have been reluctant to let us watch a ceremony on which the abundance of fish during the following year depended.

Four days below Ni we came to the great falls of Beiju, and there, as we dragged *El Diablo* over the portage, we met some Indians who told us they were going to a festival at a Makuna *maloca* belonging to a headman called Bréo. It was two days' journey up a tributary, but we decided to go.

The Tukano have many festivals throughout the year; among the most important are the Fish Festivals and the Harvest Festivals for the pineapple, 533 *miriti* palm and *guamo* fruits, and for the manioc. At all these they dance, sing and play their instruments. But to the Indian, music is also a form of re- 534 laxation and enjoyment. Often as the men laze in their hammocks they happily while away the time playing on their bamboo panpipes. Blowing across the eight- or nine-stemmed pipes two men may accompany each other for hours on end, ascending and descending the same scale, rhythmically counterbalancing one another in tuneful but repetitive melodies. They continue, apparently oblivious of repetition, and the panpipe tunes soon became imprinted on our minds. Each clan has its own variations; most of the [184] tunes are based on their dances, though some are in imitation of birds. At night the young boys play their pipes crouched around the central posts of the *maloca*, and the clear notes carry across the still forest like church bells ringing on a cold winter's night. Only occasionally do the Indians actually sing for enjoyment; one headman uttered a staccato war song as he pounded coca leaves and occasionally the women hummed as they rocked their babies to sleep. Their instruments are more important to them; of these the snail-shell and deer-bone flutes, the tortoise shells and the clay horns are the most unusual.

It is hard to believe that a river-snail shell no more than three inches long

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c) Puçá hammock. In Tukano one says pũ piõke; we call it puçá hammock because it is similar, in the knots, to the fishing nets called puçá in the Lingua Geral (27).

27. Pe. Ezequiel Lopes tells that around 1931, among the little Pirá-tapúya Indians from the river Papurí who came to enroll as boarding-school students at the Iauareté school (river Uaupés), some appeared equipped with the puçá type of sleeping hammock.

In order to make this type of hammock, one uses a loom somewhat different from what we have seen previously. It consists of two pairs of vertical staffs, with the small separation of one span more or less. A more variable space lies between one pair and another and marks the length of the hammock desired.

Two threads are stretched horizontally, at a distance of 3 to 4 centimeters apart. Between them the woman starts to make knots or stitches like those of a casting net. They stretch two more threads horizontally, and new stitches are interlaced with the first ones, and so on successively.

This type of hammock is perhaps more work than the "beaten" one. The Tukano call it pũ pỹõke, because the line is run through piõ: and the knot is made by hand.

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3) Fishing nets (puçá).

The Tukano call them wehẽ-kõ (28)

28. The Salesian Missionary Pe. Eduardo Lagório makes the following observation: "The verb to kill, wehẽ, is interesting: it is used almost exclusively to indicate the death of fish and animals. For human beings, having almost no violent murders, they use the expressions related to the various methods of poisoning."

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*192 because of their purpose, which is to kill the fish (wehẽ means
227 to kill), and in the Lingua Geral, puçá. It is a mesh of knots
284 made out of fibers of caroatá (Bromélia pinguis, Lin.), caroá (Neoglaziovia variegata Ar. Com.), or even tucum. The meshes are narrower or wider, according to the purpose.

[462] They are manufactured by the man. The pregnant woman
[784] cannot touch them, because the fishing would be fruitless. When they prepare their puçá, the men will remain silent, in order to have luck with the fishing.

They perform the work in two ways: either with successive knots, as the casting nets are prepared among the civilized; or using splinters of arumã /Ischnosiphon ovatus, Kcke./, tying them at intervals with caroatá knots, as if one were preparing /194/ a basket. Once this is ready, they take off the splinters and the caroatá knots present the desired net.

They manufacture them in two sizes: a larger one (jereré in Nheengatú), with the shape of a very wide funnel; it measures 1.5 meters or more in length and during the fishing is kept open by means of two poles tied at the ends, in such a way that, with the help of a third pole as a wedge, it almost forms a circle.

They also make smaller and funnel-shaped nets, ganapão /workman, porter/ type, fitted to a hoop equipped with a handle, such as are used to catch butterflies. It is with these that they catch the fish stupefied by the timbo.

It seems that all the men know how to weave their fishing nets, with the exception of the young men of the last generation.

4) Other woven products.

286 With the fibers of tucum or mirití they make those elegant
301 bands, yuxtá-seri, that they put on the legs (conf. VII -- 3, d
*[192] (1) ).

With these same fibers or with twisted embira they prepare some of the dance ornaments that must support the beautiful plumage.

They use monkey hide in order to make braids, which they wear as dance ornaments.

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286 531 In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192 d) Basketry and plaited work.

285 For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of [462] [342] some trees, especially that which they call pi'ĩ-karõ-gõ. They use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of [227] the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxiũba (waxtá), patauá (yumĩ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mĩ-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mĩ'sĩ) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phĩ), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824] The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantaceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after [386] [531] being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves.

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

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411 *[192] Three types of arrows are distinguished: for hunting, for fishing, and the curabís or small darts for the sarabatana -/blow-gun/.

224 411 a) For hunting. The arrows intended for large-scale hunting are heavy, made of brazilwood or pau-de-areo, with a point of wood, or more commonly of animal bone or of iron (32).

> 32. Before the relations with the civilized, they likewise used stone points, according to the account of Alexandre Ferreira, "Diário," 6th part.

The points /Port. pontas/ (of wood, bone, or iron) are embedded in a piece of wood called ponteira /an addition at the tip of something/, which is firmly tied to the body of the arrow with strings and pitch.

When the arrows are intended for birds and small game, they are of lighter wood and bear, on the end opposite the point, three arara wing feathers arranged in a spiral. In this manner the dart describes its trajectory by simultaneously making a rotating motion, which maintains its direction better.

*192 227 411 b) For fishing. For small fish common darts made entirely of paxiuba are used. For large fish (piraiba, pirarucú), alligators, and turtles, the point is of iron (or of bone) and laterally serrated, so that, once buried in the flesh, it cannot come out without dilacerating the tissue.

Those arrows that consist of two parts, staff and tip, are called sararaca (Nheengatú term which means: thing that comes apart). The tip, or suumba, is of strong wood (33).

> 33. They often use the paracóuba, one of the Leguminosae, further hardening the suumba on the fire.

/201 cont./

*192 with a harpoon set in, and is tied to the staff or the body of the
227 dart by means of a long string (34).
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411 34. The turtle fishermen call the iron point
225 of the arrows virote /short arrow/ or espoleta
226 /fusee, bomb fuse, lunt/ (cf. José Verissimo: "As populações indígenas do Amazonas /The indigenous populations of the Amazon/." Rev. do Instituto Histórico e Geographico do Rio de Janeiro, Vol. 50, 1887, p. 377).

*[192] When hit, the fish or turtle flees with the /202/ tip harpooned in its body; but the staff of canarana (Gramineae of the genera páspalum and pánicum), which is tied to it by the long string, continues to float, and thus reveals the place where the harpooned animal is hidden. The fisherman picks up the staff and slowly pulls the string, and with relative ease also brings the turtle into the canoe (35).

35. In order to reach the turtles, the fishermen hurl the arrow upward, in such a way that it falls perpendicularly and, with its own weight and the impulse of the fall, penetrates the chelonian's shell. Ordinarily the turtles are kept alive for sale and consumption. As for the fish of larger size, when they are close to them they kill them with a stroke of an oar on the head, and in this way they are able to bring them into the canoe without any danger.

*192 c) Curabí. Curabí is a term from the Língua Geral, in
411 Tukano called bú'sá-khá. They are the darts for the sarabatana /blowgun/. Ordinarily they are of paxiúba and measure some 30 or 40 centimeters in length and one or two millimeters in diameter, and taper at the end. They are kept and transported in a quiver of arumã, bu'sá-sá, as we said above.

/334 cont./

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[753]

/footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the population of Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés, as the consequence of having taken a stone from the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahũ-gã-pweá, actually located some hundreds of kilometers away, on the river Papurí.

asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

[227]
[501]

36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

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/335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," pixkõ-rõ-ỹa, headwaters of the Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a rock that a woman should not see; if she looks at this rock, she will never have children. And when they go by this place, the women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

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[192]

In Jabutí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock called nõ'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxké-sã-i'ãsé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will easily learn any trade.

224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

177 /178 cont./
342 vessels of baked clay, and a cylindrical bark container, quite
353 well made, similar to the straight barrels in which we keep
415 chestnuts and codfish.

Nowadays (and since the time of the discoveries, as the
231 first explorers attest) the dog, which, besides guarding, also serves for hunting, is found as a domestic animal in the various malocas and houses, and in all the tribes. Ordinarily small, hungry, extremely thin; some do not support the weight of the body. Many of these animals, due to the stings of the fire ant or taxi, have suffered degeneration of the cornea and for this reason have white eyes.

/179/ Here and there in the malocas and povoados are also seen araras, parrots, mutums /Crax/, jacamins, or domesticated jacus. The Missions have encouraged the raising of
[797] pigs and chickens. The chickens go back to the first colonizers
[177] of the Rio Negro, and to protect them, by way of a chicken coop where they are sheltered during the night, they make small conical enclosures with the vertex upwards, or they use some old canoe, turned upside down, with an opening that they close at night, in order that the micura (gambá /opossum/) or some other animal that chases chickens can not enter.

[192] In the Arwáke languages the chicken is called karáka, probably onomatopoeia for the chicken's voice. Onomatopes are otherwise very common among the tribes of the Uaupés to designate the birds. Perhaps from karáka is derived the word of the Tukano language which means chicken, i.e., ká'rẽkẽ or ka'rẽkẽ (Uaupés ká'nẽkẽ, ka'nẽkẽ). According to this hypothesis, it is from the Arwáke that the Tukano (and the tribes of the Uaupés in general) would have received the first chickens, or at least knowledge of them. Such a hypothesis is made probable, not only by the greater cultural development of the Arwáke, but also by their prior relationship with the civilized of the Rio Negro.

342 It seems that there is no rule with regard to the orientation of the maloca or with regard to the distance from the river or from the forest.

/218 cont./

224 d) Meats and edible animals. Hunting, as we find it in the present stage, is only a sport for the Indian. If we exclude the "wild pigs" (of the genera Dicotyles and Tayassu), which sometimes appear in herds in certain places (48),

> 48. Just as the piracema /shoal of fish/ appears, as a rule, in the same places, so do the wild pigs have their habitual path and customarily cross the rivers at certain points, where the hunter catches them.

when the river is low and the javarizeiro /palm tree, Astrocaryum/ ripens its fruit, game is rare. It is used, therefore, only to vary the "menu" from time to time. All the more since the Indian will always share the fruit of his hunting with those who live in the same maloca, and he will commonly do it for those who reside in houses neighboring his (if he does not sell it to the civilized).

252 They prepare the game by "moqueando-a" /smoking it/, like the fish. And it seems that they never eat raw meat; they even say that it is only Wax-tí who eats raw meat. And they also eat snake meat. The principal animals that serve them as food 262 are (49):

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> 49. The dogs are generally skinny and often also sick; for this reason and because of the services that they render, they do not eat them. There are indications that in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) the natives ate a fat dog killed by a shotgun. The caboclo of the Rio Negro is incapable of killing a dog, even a sick one. He fears that this "sin" (as they think and say) would bring upon them the punishment of S. Lazarus, who they regard as protector of the dogs and who would punish them, probably, with leprosy.

[171]

/290 cont./

356 Not infrequently, however, because of the dogs that also live
[136] there (and we have at times seen dogs sick and covered with sores),
[231] the ground is dusty, favoring the procreation of the bichos-de-pé /foot fleas/ (cullex pénetrans) and fleas.

Not infrequently the fruit rinds are thrown into a corner to rot,
[514] producing an unpleasant odor. This is unbearable, due to the vomitings and defecations in the maloca itself during the dabacuris. One can sometimes perceive a peculiar odor in the native povoados.

b) On the person.

515 The body hygiene is also deficient. They take a bath every morning, and more during the day. It is a bath to refresh, however, rather than to clean. Not having soap available to eliminate the grease from the body and hair, one not infrequently sees layers of dirt on some parts of the epidermis, especially in the folds of the skin and in the hairy parts. Even those who use /291/ soap, such as the school pupils, give off an unpleasant and characteristic odor.

296 Although they know how to wash clothes, and some of them do it well, in the majority of cases they keep the clothes on the body until they are very dirty, or even until they rot. Precisely the following custom is to be noted: they wash their own clothes with certain frequency when new. When they consider them old, they will not wash them any more. If they get wet, they let the clothes dry on the body.

356 Their primitive hammocks of tucum are never washed as a
515 rule, and in a little while they are darkened by the sweat, smoke, and grime. They climb into the hammock with the body dirty. The only care will be, perhaps, to rub the soles of the feet, one against the other, in order to clean them of soil.

574 With all freedom, an Indian, even a strange one passing by the maloca (we have seen this even in the case of Indians of different tribes), will lie down during the day in the first hammock that he finds vacant, while he rests and converses.

/427 cont./

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/footnote 40 cont./ out whether some pajé, who foresaw the sex of the child to be born, might have intervened in the case.

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3rd. -- That of twin children. One of the two will be eliminated; usually the second one, unless another reason counsels the contrary. For example, they will preferably eliminate the defective one, or the girl. It seems that the reason for this crime is the difficulty, for the mother, of raising two children simultaneously, with all the work that falls to her; and no other reason of magical or superstitious character (41).

[797]

41. The Missionaries have managed to save and raise some twins, and, when grown, that is, after four or five years, the parents receive them willingly, or rather they demand them.

Patrícia Vasconcelos said that the husband beats the wife when she gives birth to twin children.

[736]

Nevertheless this different way of acting causes surprise: when a child becomes orphaned by losing its mother, it will not be killed, but will pass into the care of another woman. When, on the other hand, it is a matter of twins, no woman will take on the burden of raising one of the newborn children, even when there is some newly lactating mother who has just lost her child (42).

[115]
[231]

42. Pe. Antonio Giacone confirms this, saying that he saw new mothers emptying their breasts, or nursing some little dog, rather than feed someone else's child (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 53).

Even in these cases there does not appear to be any superstitious motive, but only the selfishness of the women and no friendship at all between them. If they take care of the orphan, it is due to the inviolable imposition of the irrevocable customs of the tribe.

[736]

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, 231
and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as 235
pets.



The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and 123
animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had 245
been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of 439
my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiarí. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more [262]
than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. [302]
Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

## MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest 121
tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes 28
that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by 32
Koch-Grunberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men 28
ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women 32
specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment 462
has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a [415]
small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pedíba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men 462
work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a 461

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not yet joined the male play pack. By the time he is old enough for active play he has been well weaned from dependence upon the mother. In the case of a girl, this "dead" interval is one in which she waits to be useful to her mother. I saw no temper tantrums. Children of this age seem rather passive and steadfastly attached to the little sister.

For the boy, growth means a gain in autonomy, for the girl it means closer ties to the mother but with ever increased chores. The boy is the favorite of his mother; the girl, who is to become a drudge, receives more severe attention from a disciplinarian mother. [562]

What I have called the play pack, the grouping of boys from the age of six to past adolescence, is the major educational institution of the sib. It is in a sense an age grade whose members remain closely associated throughout their lives in most cases. The distinctive feature of the Cubeo play pack is that it is an autonomous body subject to virtually no regulation or supervision. A boy occasionally joins his father but his primary linkage is to the "pack." The pack forms its own leadership, forages for food, plays in the river, roams the bush, attaches itself from time to time to the collective activities of the men, practices songs and dances in anticipation of ceremonies, and spies and reports on lovers. The pack leader assumes responsibility for proper behavior, scolding boys for wayward sexual behavior, that is, breaching the incest rules, and lending assistance and encouragement with skills. The boys are never mischievous and are never scolded or disciplined by adults. A youngster does not actually understand anger directed against him. Only once did I see a father strike his young son in a fit of temper. The boy neither flinched nor cowered. He merely stared at his father as though waiting for an explanation. The man rapidly regained his poise, laughed, and pretended he had struck the boy playfully. On another occasion, a little girl tipped over a large tray of manioc mash so that it was totally spoiled. Although the accident cost hours of work it provoked only amused laughter. One might add here that even the depredations of a pet monkey, some of which were quite costly, were met only with amusement. 857 [614] [593] [231]

The pack is not sealed off from adult activities, but its relationship to adult work is voluntary. The Cubeo distinguish sharply between play that is appropriate to young boys and work and ceremonial life that is appropriate to adult males. Thus, whatever work the play pack chooses to help with is welcomed, but when the boys become bored with a task and leave it there is no ground for complaint against them. The young unmarried men who have left the

to track wild animals in the forest and the sense of location and direction which enables him to do this. The deprivations of the jungle, its innate hostility, its snakes, wild animals, poisonous plants and insects, its daytime silence and oppressiveness are nothing to the fear of being lost. To be lost in the forest is slow, inevitable death. This is a fear which is common to the traveller, the explorer and the *cauchero*, but to the Indian does not exist. He may be forty miles from his *maloca*, yet he will know his way back without faltering, as the Cockney would know his way across London in the black-out, forty miles over half-tracks or no tracks at all, across deep ravines, balanced precariously on slippery logs. He will find his way, perhaps by a glimpse of the sun, the movement of birds overhead, or the track of a tapir. Between dawn and dusk, he has only his bag of cocaine to sustain his quick jogging walk. 224 [484]

During the time we passed in their *malocas* the Indians would often disappear in groups for hunting expeditions. Sometimes they would go at night and ask to borrow our torches to dazzle their prey. They carry hard *macana*-wood bows and sheaths of arrows tipped with curare, a black strychnine poison, or a long ten-foot blowpipe. Also beautifully-woven palm cases filled with poisoned darts secured in kapok, as though stuffed into a pin-cushion. These are slung across the back and carried upside down with the beeswaxed end uppermost, so as to prevent the rain washing off the curare and to enable the hunter to extract the dart quickly. [278]

With the hunters go their dogs, thin wiry beasts like whippets, usually pale buff or fawn in colour and well cared for by their masters. Their lives are short, and more often than not they go totally blind within five years; for the tiny red *majiñal* fire-ants drop on their eyes as they run through the undergrowth and inject formic acid. There is seldom game near the *maloca*, but further afield, beyond the *chagras* in the forest proper there would usually be waterside rodents and *agouti*, small rabbit-like forest dwellers. There were peccary as well, the black jungle pig which the Indian fears because, if wounded, it sometimes cries for its companions who turn on the aggressor with their small sharp tusks and inflict terrible gashes. These small pigs are strangely affectionate and are sometimes adopted by Indians as pets. [231] [231]

Their bows, five feet long and strung with *cumare*, will launch an arrow two hundred feet, but to be certain of a target the Indian will approach to within twenty or thirty yards. The arrows, without feathers and unnotched, are made of cane, with a hard *macana*-wood point dipped in lethal curare. Some tribes carry a pot of this poison round their necks; when about to shoot, they dip an arrow in the black gum and cut the head just above the point with the razor-sharp tooth of a *piraña*. Thus the poisoned point will break off in the wound if the arrow falls out. [278]

At that time we assumed that the Indians made their own poison, but we 278

/218 cont./
*192 monkeys of various species (axkẽ, emõã, guariba, sẽi, aimoré,
262 waú, uáia-piçá)
boxsõ, cutivaia, cavy (cávia aperea, leupyga, fulgida, etc.)
bu, cutia /agouti/ (dasyprocta águtí)
byí poxtá, a rat with long hair
dyayõ, otter (lutra brasiliensis, paraensis)
dyá wexkõ, capybara (hydrochoérus capibara)
mixpí, coatí (two of Násua, procyonine mammal)
nãmá, deer (cervus campestris)
pamõ, tatú /armadillo/ (xenartros dasipódidas; of various species: pamõ soá, pamõ uhõ, etc.)
Semé, paca (caelógenis paca)
u, turtle (various species of chelonians)
úhuri, jabutí /land tortoise/ (testudo tabulata)
/219/ wexkõ, anta (tapírus americánus, Briss.) (50)

50. Whenever they kill any anta, they immediately cut off the tongue, so that it will not tell the others.

yaxsõ, lizards (various species of Lacertilia)
yexsé, wild pig (caitetú /collared peccary/, dicótylis torquátus, and queixada /white-lipped peccary/, dicótylis labiátus)

Among the birds, they most frequently eat:

ahã, inambú /tinamou/ (genera crypturéllus and tínamus, of various species: dyayró, puxtwa, etc.)
daxsé, toucan (various species of ramphástus)
dyá kaxtá, water duck (various species)
kaxtá kasõrõ, jacú (cracídeo penélope)
koxtóa, coró-coró /ibis/ (phimósus infuscátus, of the Ibididae)
tã-tã, jacamim /trumpeter/ (psóphia crépitans, Lin.)
wá'rõpí, mutum /curassow/ (various gallinaceans of the gen. Crax)
kaxtá, cujubim /piping guan/ (pípile cuyubí)

235 They do not eat chicken, eggs, or pork, although they raise
262 them and sell them to the civilized (and they eat any piece that
[439] the latter gives them). The skill of the Indian in raising some

235 /219 cont./
262 birds, such as the jacú, jacamim, mutum, parrot, araras, and others, which become unbelievably tame, is remarkable. They do it, however, simply for amusement, without using the meat (51).

51. Wallace tells (Viagens ao Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 1939 ed., p. 202) that some Indians raised araras because of their plumage. In the place of the removed feather they injected the milky secretion of the toad, and the new feather would grow with a yellow or orange color. Others raised harpy eagles, uira-uaçú (Thrasaétus harpya Lin.), feeding them two chickens a day, in order to use their feathers, and for this reason their ornaments were dear. We do not know whether they still subject the arara to this treatment today. Besides the domesticated araras are found almost solely in the more remote malocas. As for the harpy eagle and the mountain cock (rupícola élegans), nowadays they catch them only when there is hope of selling them to the civilized. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 50) also tells that the Káwa-tapúya obtained the orange color of the feathers by injecting pirara /sic/ fat or the secretion from a toad.

178

The native woman chews the food for the offspring of these birds, which sometimes are seen taking the food from the very lips of the woman.

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592 554 [433] providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nyámu*), sweet potato (*yapíka*), maize (*karáiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaiwáryo, waiwari, moá, pudjú, kanéka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kawámene*), pineapple, (*ihíbo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*une*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*bahámu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butcí*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [857] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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797 /191 cont./
177 /footnote 26 cont./ "rede-batida," but, by
174 the same process, to make rugs, tablecloths,
286 napkins, bags, and other artifacts to suit modern taste.

*192 /192/ pũ-pá:-tuse nextõ-rĩ, consisting of four rounded sticks
286 connected in a rectangle. Each of their vertical staffs (warp)
352 has two holes through which the horizontal ones pass. The holes are purposely very large, so that with a suitable wedge the distance with regard to the horizontal staffs can be varied and thus hammocks of different lengths obtained.

The warp is made in the vertical direction (around the horizontal crossbars, the separation of which marks the length of the hammock), some turns going around with quite a long thread. The vertical crossbars of the loom determine the width of the hammock.

In between the vertical threads the woman starts developing the woof, a small stick with the rolled thread serving as a shuttle, wa'mẽ-kõ dõxká, and beating with a straightedge, pá:-turi-phĩ, in order to join the meshes well. The result is a true fabric of quite tight meshes, and the more elegant and comfortable the hammocks, the finer the thread.

They complete the elegance with a "veranda," pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõrĩ or pá:-tuke-wári, or a side fringe of varied form, as macramé is made.

The veranda is prepared by stretching a thread of a size corresponding to that of the hammock. Along this thread are tied with knots the tucum fibers folded in half. With these variously colored fibers, the woman spins, without the help of bobbins, but only with the fingers, a somewhat wide lace "ponto" /stitch/, until she obtains a trimming /193/ of some 10 or 15 centimeters, and she afterwards tears the ends with the ouriço /prickly part/ of the piquiá. They not only use fibers
[237] of different colors, but they even attach to them nowadays
[531] beautiful and colorful feathers of birds, in conformity with the taste of the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

M /200 cont./
411 or Ceiba petándra, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the
M dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the
[224] vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees, without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T 4) Arrows. They are usually made out of paxiúba (Eriártea
411 settígera, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the
T point is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary accord-
[237] ing to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the
[824] teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of patauá (30).

T
[184]

30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

T
[177] From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which now come the metallic points.

T Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers.
[531] The feathering is found in a row /Port. cavalete/ or in a spiral.

T When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often
[224] poisoned with curare (31).

31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

/312 cont./

301 562 The quartz is not found on the banks of the Uaupés. Koch Grünberg states that these stones come from a place in the interior of the forest on the left bank of the Tiquié, near the headwaters. They are pierced by a regular orifice of some millimeters in diameter, in the transversal direction (and in some stones also in the longitudinal direction), through which it is hung at the neck. This orifice constitutes one of the best documentations of the native patience in his work, since it is done with the help of fine sand and water, using a thin stick, which is rolled between the palms of the hands while the feet hold the stone on the ground.

*192 237 301 562 /313/ b) Acangatara. In Tukano it is designated by various names: mahã̄ poá-ri baxsarí-be'tó, or mahã̄ poá-ri pe'saró, or simply mahã̄ poá-ri (arara feathers). It is a wide wreath of about 10 or 15 centimeters, which is fitted by being tied behind the head. It is woven out of tucum, to which the feathers are attached by using the milk of the sorva. They customarily arrange the feathers in such a way that on the lower edge (the one that covers the forehead) there is a band of 3 to 4 centimeters of delicate white garça /heron/ feathers, yehé poá-ri; then a band, more or less of the same width, of red feathers of the harpy eagle, a:--paxkõ wĩxtõ, and an upper band, wider, of yellow arara feathers, mahã̄ poá-ri.

The young men wear their wi'mãrã̄ pe'saró. It consists of a crown, or, rather, of a visor of straw, 2 or 3 centimeters in width, to which is applied a twist densely embellished with striking red and yellow arara plumes. Sometimes, instead of the arara feathers, there are the red ones from the toucan; it is then called daxsé be'tó.

c) Braids. 1st) Emõ poá boxka-rí consists of three double braids about 40 centimeters long, made of monkey fur, and tied at the nape of the neck to let them hang down the back. Emõ is the Tukano name of the guariba /howler/ monkey.

/313 cont./

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[535]

2nd) At the time of the dance they fit to the preceding braids, and in the horizontal direction, over the nape, another plaiting of onça /jaguar/ fur, which is called poa-ri dõ'terí-dá (dõ'terí-dá means: string for tying).

3rd) They add to the preceding a small onça /jaguar/ bone, yai o'ã dõxká, and a small disk of tatu /armadillo/ shell, pamõ pe'toró, with a feather in the central hole. This decoration is called tu-si'ti-óoro.

d) Feather crests. 1st. -- Over these braids are also fitted various crests. The first consists of a rectangular plaiting of arumã and tucum, uká-pãma, topped by long and tapered tail feathers from the garça /heron/, yehé si-á uhaú, and, on the base, red arara feathers and white ones from the harpy eagle (si-á uhaú, uropygium).
/The following paragraph is confused in the original source. The three lines from the original text, the first of which is repeated at the end of the following paragraph, are marked with slant lines in the translation./ This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck. / some of these crests that, instead of tucum, they introduced into the woven/ colored threads obtained from the civilized, and monkey fur.

The rest of the men wear a simpler crest, in which, over the uká-pãma, are found plumes of the harpy eagle, a:--paxkõ si-á uhaú. This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck.

2nd. -- The second crest is called a:--paxkõ wĩxtõ-põ. It consists of a stem around which is fixed with sorva a /314/ layer of very fine white down (wĩxtõ) from the harpy eagle (a:--paxkõ). It is adjusted perpendicularly over the nape, forming a right angle with the first one.

3rd. -- They further add one or two long red tail feathers from the arara, mahã pixkõ-rõ, likewise in a position perpendicular to the nape.

/314 cont./

*192 291 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá iĩ-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkĩ-phe patá-dá. Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá. [177]

2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirĩ-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrĩ-dá. [237]

3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps. [534]

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururĩ, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

/314 cont./

*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõá-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of earrings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that [177] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer [304] pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-á yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komũ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 535 237 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arará, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

/315 cont./

*192 2nd. -- Umũ-ka-iti. It is a crest of white garça /heron/
237 feathers (yehé) and yellow ones from the japú /Icteridae/ (umũ),
534 used like the preceding one.

535 3rd. -- Pexká pixkõrõá petorí, or, abbreviated, pyõrõá pe'torí. It is a beetle-carapace necklace of changeable colors (66),

> 66. A native furnished us the explanation that the pixkõrõá live inside the bacaba palm. He further added that do'tõ is "father" of the beetle pixkõrõ. It is probably a matter of insects with different phases, like the butterfly, which passes through the stages of larva and chrysalid.

which covers the bone flute during the dances.

*192 n) Masks. On the Uaupés only the Wanãna and the
184 Kubêwãna (67)
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[178]

> 67. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 205) learned that, besides the Buhágana, the õmõa /sic/ and Sãra also wear masks. It seems that until 50 years ago or a little more, that is, around the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, the use of the masks was quite widespread among the tribes of the Tiquié and tributaries.

nowadays wear the masks in the funeral dances, and for this reason they call them ya'ko-kó su'tí-ro, that is, clothing of tears.

/316/ They are prepared with the liber of the tururí and have the shape of a nightgown, which covers the person from the head to the knees.

/321 cont./

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/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to, and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

[796]
[237]
[301]

"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

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This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

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/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments

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Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua from Caruru-Cachoeira (river Uaupes), adorned for the dances (acangatara, necklaces, and stone of the husband /marido, "husband," should be mando, "command"/)

Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

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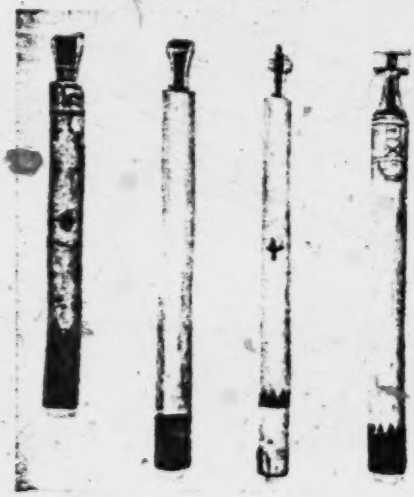

796 /344 cont./
535 are about to start (51).

51. We have also seen the tuxáua, before distributing the snappers to the dancers, shake them simultaneously, holding in each hand one of the ends of the snappers. These kixtió, in a bunch this way, are what is called kixtió boxká, which is also the name of one of the sacred instruments (see VII-3, c (3c) ).

*[192]

The rest of the men imitate him; then each one ties his kixtió to the right ankle and adjusts his own waxsó-ro (cf. VII - 3, d (2) ).

*[192] Among the men who participate in the dances, one can distinguish three groups, regularly in pairs (2, 4, 6), according to the number of dancers:

[411] *[192] 1st) some with a complete outfit, lance and shield, and on the left shoulder the si-a yaxpú /sic/ (see adze, VII-3, d (2 l) );

2nd) others with a splendid outfit, but without shield or lance or the sió-a yaxpú;

*[192] /345/ 3rd) in the third category are the young men with simpler ornaments.

[534] [237] Those who do not have the lance carry some rhythm instrumem, the ahũ-wõ or yuxkõ, or the flutes, these being covered with feathers from the tail of the arara, mahã i'ti, or from the japú, umũ-ka i'ti, or with a necklace of beetle carapaces, pexká pixkõrõá pe'tori (VII 3, d (2m) ).

The dance numbers follow, one after the other, according to the traditional program, corresponding to the various hours of the day and of the night. Some are longer, others, shorter. The intervals for rest are also just as variable.

/396 cont./

*192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mamã kapinã
539 Periků yaví-i-i davyá (Yaví = long, slim?)
Davyá yavi
Davi kawá-á nomã yavi-nõ
Daví kawá yaú; daví kawá yaú
Kapiná perikúli
Davyá yavi yú
Kawá-yavyá mã-ã-ã (he blows the flute at length)

[115] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
[574] (For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yẽ-ẽ dyá yakẽ mari
Kemẽ maryé-é
Kemẽ maryé-é kenaní
Wekã-ni kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kenã yá marỹé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpekã ané
Wekã-re kenani wekã-re
Kenã tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

535 a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple
[115] amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

535 Mandú (131)
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131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

/397 cont./

535 wore on his head a wide acangatara /head ornament/ with arara
• 237 feathers; a wig with braids of monkey skin and with two long, red
301 arara feathers and an onça /jaguar/ bone. From the wig, leaning
toward each ear, there was a long, white heron feather. Hanging
over the back the cangatá, a cord with tucano /toucan/ feathers.
Also on the wig, close to the nape, the crest, or rectangular woven
piece with long heron feathers. On the neck three long necklaces
of beads and a necklace of seeds with the stone of command. From
the ears, earrings made out of a burnished half of a gun cartridge.
[302] As painting on the forehead, a red semicircle turned upward and a
large cross from the neck to the waist (132),

[123] 132. At a dance that we attended in the maloca of the Tuyuka in the igarapé of the Onça /jaguar/, upper Tiquié, from the painting of the Kõmũ resulted a cross on the face with a broad stroke from the forehead along the nose and upper lip, and the arms of the cross curved upward almost in a semicircle.

also in the color red. On the left elbow, a bracer of monkey skin.
In the form of a belt, over the buttocks, a necklace of teeth, to
which he later attached two branches of that magic and intensely
*[192] aromatic shrub called bará. In the course of the dance he fitted to
the right ankle a necklace of seeds (Kixtyõ).

Marcelino wore a small, denticulated wreath of fine straw,
with yellow down from the arara; at the nape the crest with white
plumes and a long feather surrounded by a string of colorful plumes.
On the left elbow the armband of monkey skin. Hanging at the
back, braids of monkey skin decorated with arara down.

*192 b) Execution. A small rehearsal took place in order to verify
whether the japurutús /long flutes/ were in tune with each other, as
534 well as the cariços /Panpipes/. A little caxiri was drunk.

The tuxaua executed the yaí-gõ paasé; that is, he made the
534 rhythm stick, called "stick-of-the-onça /jaguar/," decorated with
535 feathers, vibrate several times on the right muscle of the arm. He
*[192] took some steps in rhythm with the pestle-tube of imbauba, and he

/474 cont./

614 If by Phratry we understand any subdivision of the tribe (even if it does not constitute a true community, because it does not have a chief), these Subtribes or Kurá could be called Phratries (or Sibs, as some modern ethnologists prefer). They correspond to the Phratries of ancient Greece, while, like those, they are also exogamous and of paternal descent. It is to be noted, however, that marriage between one phratry and another of the same tribe is not permitted.

/475/ The Phratry or Kurá, which at first is identified with the maloca, with the passing of time unfolds into several local groups. In these, however, there is no trace that this might be a matter of a totemic clan; they are only territorial family groups or agnatic kinship groups, which we could call, using the Latin term, Gens.

f) Totemism?

There are different indications that make one think of the operation of totemism with its totemic clans and customs.

1st. -- The groups (tribes and subtribes) bear names of animals (Tucano /toucan/, arapaço /Dendro colaptidae/ or pica-pau /woodpecker/, jurití /dove/, jibóia, etc.) or of plants (miriti, cunuri /Cunuria/, etc.), as is the custom of totemic clans.

[237] [301] [535] 2nd. -- There appear in the dance ornaments feathers of the garça /heron/, arara, tucano /toucan/, gavião /hawk/; fur of the macaco and onça /jaguar/, teeth of the onça or of other animals; snake vertebrae, etc. These ornaments recall to memory the place in which the animal was wounded, as if it were an exaltation of the animal sacrificed and an identification between the individual and the animal formerly sacrificed by God or (?) to God.

[535] [532] 3rd. -- In the dances there are personages and masks (where they wear them, that is, among the Kubewãna of the Uaupés and the Arwake of the Içana), which represent the borboleta /butterfly/, the cotia /agouti/, etc., and these personages try to imitate the movements of these animals and there are also corresponding chirps or songs.

[825] 4th. -- The tucano /toucan/, due to the disproportionate weight and volume of its beak, does not have great autonomy of

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each [251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [417] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [614] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. [237] They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaúcteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 484 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 574 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for 602 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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CUBEO



He brings home the hide for a
224 trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle
[237] that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary
[554] and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahúkiwa* the headman's son – an aspirant for the position – killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

## GARDENING

462 I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions
262 of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

462 An important distinction between the labor of men and women
461 is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

462 On days when only subsistence manioc – that is, the manioc cake
461 – is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is
252 to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she
244 gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

462 Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time,
244 leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast.
[512] Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against
[751] sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is
[789]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
301 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
554 major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[756] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[437] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region.
[614] The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox*
[184] with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *habókü* status or *kenámi upákü*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[135] [2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[324] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawá* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihí*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

131 /99 cont./
167 As is seen, the Tukano group is found distributed both in Colombian territory and Brazilian, and the migratory movements of natives between these two countries are quite frequent.

• 241 The Tukano work the land by means of the slash-and-burn
[462] method. The piece of ground intended for agriculture is always cleaned of underbrush and trees by the /100/ men, a job at which each man works individually or assisted by his male
[412] relatives. At one time, before the arrival of the Creole rubber
[177] workers in the region, the trees and underbrush were cut with stone axes, but since the arrival of the rubber worker the machete has been introduced, and today no Tukano Indian would consider using the lithic instrument again.

Trees of great size are generally left in the place in which they fell, but small trees and bushes are burned toward the end of summer, or the dry season. The ashes obtained from the burning are used as fertilizer to improve the soil, but owing to the thin vegetal layer, to erosion, and to the general poorness of the land, the Tukano Indian is obliged to select and clear a
[242] new garden every three or four years. The method of crop rotation is not practiced because the forest vegetation rapidly returns to invade the land that is not cultivated and tended. The field under cultivation rarely exceeds one or two hectares.

[412] The planting is done immediately after finishing the burning, among the stumps of the felled trees and the trunks of the toppled trees. Probably the only aboriginal implement used in the planting is the planter's stick (2),

2. Digging-stick /this term is given in English/.

which is used primarily to loosen the earth and to open holes in it for planting seeds or young plants. The ground is rarely cultivated and tended after the planting is done, but weeds are pulled out and care is taken that the forest does not invade the garden.

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241 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth
462 from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting
[249] are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, flame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The
[437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function
[262] of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the
224 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow
223 and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a
[177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

The vegetation, therefore, is
/12 cont./ the high and dense
137 forest of the "hydro-hygro-megathermic type," similar to that of the Rio Negro. The palm trees merit special attention. There are many varieties, sometimes following the course of the water and at other times dispersed through the woodland, which the forest dwellers use for various purposes.

We noted among the palms of "terra-firme" the tucum (astrocárium /Astrocaryum/ vulgare, Mart. or astr. tucumóides), the bacaba (oenocárpus bacaba, Mart.), the açaí /assai/ (eutérpe oleracea, Mart.), the inajá (Maximiliána régia, Mart.), the pupunha (Guilerma /Guilielma/ speciosa), the paxiúba (iriartea exorrhiza or settígera, Mart.). Among those of the inundated places, the javarí (astrocárium javarí), the miritĩ or buritĩ (maurítia vinifera and m. flexuosa), the caraná (maurítia caraná), the jará (leopoldinia maior), the piaçaba (leopoldinia piassába, Wal.), the tucumã (astrocarium tucuman, Mart.). The climbing palm, the jacitára or Kamwarri, of the genus Desmoncus, is of great use in the indigenous basketry.

134 In general there is only a small superficial humous layer,
137 from which emerges the imposing millenary forest, and after that the sandy or clayey strata. A primary consequence of such a small humous base is that the trees have very superficial roots, and therefore the storms frequently knock them down, producing true clearings in the forests. A second consequence is that the
[241] land becomes unproductive after three or four years of the primitive native agriculture.

136 /13/ The rivers and igarapés are populated by many species of fish, which constitute one of the principal foods of the native.

The Amazonian fauna is not rich in varieties, and less so quantitatively. Besides the dangerous felines, the onça /jaguar/ (felix /Felis/ onça) and the gato macarajá /ocelot/ (felix pardalis and felix mucura, Neuw.), there are few animals that the native ordinarily can find and that offer him meat for food: the veado /deer/ (gen. cervus), the paca (coelógenys paca), the cotia /agouti/ (dasyprocta aguti, Lin.), queixada and caetitu /species of peccary/ (dicotyles labiátus, tayassú albirostris, and tayassú tayassú, Lin.), the anta /tapir/ (tapírus americánus,

/13 cont./

136 Briss.), the capivara /capybara/ (hidrochoerus /Hydrochoerus/ capybara, Erxl.) and macacos of various species.

The birds present the same scarcity in quantity, but a greater richness in variety and plumage. Among those appreciated as foods by the forest dwellers, we remember the tucanos /toucans/ (ramphastus /Ramphastos/), jacamim /trumpeter/ (psophídeos /Psophidae/), mutum /curassow/ (crax nigra, alector, etc.), jacú (penélopes), several pombos /doves/ (columba). Procured for their plumage are the garças /herons/ (herodias egretta) and other varieties of ardeídae, tucanos, and the extraordinary variety of araras and other psittacídeos /Psittacidae/.

The entomological contribution is more varied and richer, some varieties of insects also serving as food for the inhabitants of the region.

• 241 In this habitat in which the area to be cultivated is acquired by arduously hewing down the secular forest and which is only used regularly for three or four years, one can make only a small planting. We must remember that originally the Uaupés man had at his disposal only the stone ax, and that on the Uaupés the verões, that is, the periods of dry weather that permit "the burning of the clearing," are neither frequent nor extended.

361 The agriculture, on one side, as well as the fishing and the hunting, do not permit large human assemblages. As a consequence, we are going to find the population always dispersed in small groups located on the banks of the rivers and streams (igarapés), which, besides furnishing, with the fish, a favorite food, also serve them as a means of communication.

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The demands of the natives being minimal, the conditions that determine their habitat are reduced to three: 1st, water, to drink, to bathe, and to give them fish; 2nd, the forest, which furnishes fruit and the wood for the fire; 3rd, land sufficiently fertile for the cultivation of mandioca, their principal vegetable food. Not always, but rather very rarely in the present situation can /14/ the first condition be reconciled with the third, according to native criteria. For this reason, they ordinarily plant the clearing, "wexsé," some kilometers from their house. Compensating for the inconvenience of the distance, there is presented to

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121 Among the tribes of the region being studied, we noted
171 the presence of small human groups of sylvicolists par
433 excellence, that is hunters, more or less nomadic; they are
241 the Maku. Whereas the other tribes are fluminicolists, that is, established on the banks of the important watercourses and given to fishing and agriculture. Although some Maku groups have assimilated many of the customs of the other tribes, we do not include them in these studies. We have already pointed out (I, Note 1) that the Maku are probably the most ancient inhabitants of the region.

The tribes that we studied are classified, then, in two large linguistic families:

101 1st. Tukano Family, covering the tribes: 1. Daxseá
121 or Tukano; 2. Bará or Barasana; 3. Báire-masã or Temyú-tapuya (food people); 4. Doxká-foará or Tuyuka (clay people); 5. Edúrya or Erúlya; 6. Emõá-masã or Waríwa-tapuya (guariba people); 7. Hanẽra or Panẽnoá; 8. Íde-masã, Aõ-nĩra, Makumá or Yí-tapuya /80/ (water people); 9. Ihwana or Yona; 10. Koneá or Arapásu (woodpecker people); 11. Kótirya or Wanana; 12. Mõxtã or Karapanã-tapuya (daddy-longlegs people); 13. Neenõá or Miriti-tapuya (buriti people); 14. Oá-mahã or Mikura-tapuya (gambá people); 15. Pamĩwa or Kubewana; 16. Páboa-maxsã or Tatu-tapuya (tatu people); 17. Roéra-masã or Taraíra-tapuya (taraíra people); 18. Surirá or Suryana; 19. Tsẽna; 20. Yebá-masã; 21. Wahyara, Waíana or Yuriti-tapuya (dove people); 22. Waí-khãna or Pirá-tapuya (fish people); 23. Winá or Desana.

2nd. Arwake Family, including the tribes: 1. Kumãdene or Ipeka-tapuya (water-duck people); 2. Talyáseri or Taryana. We speak only of these two, because the other tribes of this numerous family do not inhabit the Uaupés basin, and, indeed, that of the rivers Içana, Xié, and Negro.

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361 And, in order to avoid the annual floods, they locate themselves on more elevated points or "terra-firme" and are never seen in palafittes (6).

6. In some posts on the Colombian frontier, called "Comissaria," a residence for the customs officials and the guards is built on an elevated point, on posts about two meters from the ground, approximately. In 1952 an Indian from the Brazilian bank of the Papurí imitated this style in building his hut. In jest the others called it "comissaria."

351 In the povoados of two or more houses, or behind the single maloca, there will always be a beaten area that separates them, by about 50 or 100 meters, from the forest and guards against attacks by ferocious animals.

241 They regularly plant in the vicinity the pimenteira (different varieties of cápsicum), pupunha, assai, urucum, and, with less frequency, the cucura /Pourouma cecropiaefolia, Mart./, lemon tree (today also the orange tree), mamoeiro (papaya cárica), abio (lucúma caimíta, Roem. e Schulth.), /175/ sugar cane (sáccharum officinale, Lin.), tobacco (nicotiana tabácum), and coca (erythróxilon coca).

249 415 *[192] Often one sees a small press, ã'rã̃ arõãrõ (Uaupés a'nã̃ anyãnõ), for sugar cane (7).

7. In a maloca of the Tuyuka, on the head-waters of the Tiquié, the press was found inside the maloca, in the vicinity of the main door.

They are generally four vertical posts, well planted in the ground, supporting two wooden cylinders provided with longitudinal grooves and which turn in opposite directions, pressing the cane between

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224 373 During low water they also go hunting at night, drifting slowly and without making any noise, while one of the Indians brings a torch of turí. They thus surprise the pacas, which are blinded by the light, and the Indian kills them with arrows. [177] Nowadays they use a battery flashlight for night hunting.

6) Agriculture.

• 241 The mandioca is what provides the principal food of the Indians of the basin of the Uaupés. All these tribes are thus found in the phase of tillage, which is practiced, however, in a very primitive manner: it is the phase of the "cavouco" /digging, pit, hollow/ or of the "cova" /hole/.

They freely choose the land that pleases them the most, because of the proximity of their dwelling and because of the guarantee against theft (75),

> 75. For this reason he will not do it at the edge of the river, unless it is beside his dwelling. If it is in the vicinity of the river, he will always leave a wedge of forest between the clearing and the river, in order to hide it from the view of those who are traveling on the water. And the landing place where he disembarks and ties his canoe will be at a certain distance from the clearing, in order not to reveal its location.

and which is a little sandy, as the "terras-firmes" of the entire region generally are, and suitable for mandioca. The act of [423] clearing, wexsé pá:kũrõ, is what gives them the ownership of * [192] the land while cultivating it.

Clearing is done in the periods of less rain, that is, from [462] June to August and from December to February. It is work exclusively for the men. They start by choosing an area con- * [192] venient as to distance and not subject to floods, with yellowish soil, semisandy, di'tá sõarã, or black and somewhat humous, nãxkã di'tá ñyĩrõ.

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They "go around" the clearing (pũ-pé: it is the Tukano term that they use), that is, they mark off from the rest of the forest the area they want, with a small lane, cutting down the small plants and breaking branches. Formerly they did it only with the stone ax, õxtã komé; today clearing is done with the help of the machete, di-phĩ, and also at times with the iron ax, komé. The work consists essentially of breaking off the bushes and going around the large trunks with blows in such a way as to make the bark come off. With this the tree would dry and could then be burned. Once all the trees are dried in a more or less square area of about 50 or 100 meters on a side (according to the number of persons in the family), fire is set at various spots, and thus the gigantic trees either are incinerated or are reduced to a blackened trunk, which often falls to the ground. The clouds of smoke that rise here and there from the green /246/ forest reveal the places where a good burning, õhõã-dyakã-siri, is taking place.

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If the burning was not very successful, because the sticks were not dry or because of a lack of wind, the work is done again, taking down branches, assembling them around the trees -- this is called coivara, in Tukano doxté-peosé, and burning is done anew.

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Although the clearing is individual or, better, family property, for the work of clearing and burning the one interested will ask for the collaboration of his companions in the maloca or in the povoado; or, if he lives isolated, that of the closest inhabitants. And not only of his own tribe, but even of another nation. This collective work (cf. IX -- 2) is called neõsé (in Nheengatú ayurí). The immediate pay, that is, on the day or days of work, is a plentiful caxirí for all the workers; and more distantly his own help when solicited for identical work for the benefit of others. The ayurí is always practiced whenever the participation of many persons is needed for one job, for example, to cut and bring wood from the forest, to put in place the timberwork of a house roof, etc. The ayurí is a practice that is still in force even among the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

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*192 After the operation of burning or the coivara, one proceeds
• 241 with a rough cleaning, o'asé, removing to the sides one or another trunk and branch that might be on the ground.

[462] Now begins the planting, which is reserved for the women, that is, the wife assisted by her daughters or women who live with her. Since this work might take a long time, if the clearing is very far from the house the man builds there a small hut or papirí, in Tukano wi'ykã-pama. This is four stakes supporting a straw covering. His family will stay there during the cleaning and the planting. This is done, even today, in the simplest way, called wexsé bu'bé, with the help of the digging stick; that is, after a rainfall, when the ground is still soft, a hole is made in the ground with a pointed stick (more rarely, today, with a digging iron), sérí-phĩ, a maniva (branch of manioc) is introduced obliquely, and a small heap of earth is piled up around it.

Nowadays, they plant in their clearings besides mandioca, joints of cane (saccharum officinale), shoots of the banana tree (Musa), of carás /Dioscorea/, of sweet potato (hypomoea batata), of pineapple (ananas satíva), seeds of papaya (papáya cárica). Ordinarily they do not plant all the cleared area at only one time, but in two stages or two clearings a year, in the two proper times; it is what they call dexkõ bu'besé, half a planting. The planting is done in disorder, the /247/ shoots very close together and without a passage. For this reason, and also because of the impoverishment of the soil, the return is always scanty. Ordinarily they do not pull up mandioca for flour until after a year. The weeds that grow are pulled out by hand, taã kuresé, by the women. The woman will spend several hours a
[462] day in the clearing with her children and, upon returning, will
[857] carry on her back an aturá of mandioca, a bundle of wood for the fire, and a child or two hanging on at her waist.

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•241 *[192] The harvest, du'á, is done by pulling the plant by the stem and taking it out with the hands. They start the harvest at the periphery of the clearing, "in order to fool the cutia /agouti/." They say that upon finding the ground turned over at the edges, it will abandon the clearing, which it thinks is completely harvested. [251] The Indian is not provident, nor does he think of accumulating food. Thus he has no storage place or warehouse. The circumstance of the climate favors him and leads him to this. Besides, due to the hot and humid climate, the mandioca starts to deteriorate a few hours after it has been pulled, and the fresh flour and beijú are tastier.

The man will go to see the clearing only periodically, especially when his participation becomes necessary in order to fight the ants or the animals that attack the planting. When the quantity of ants causes apprehension, they exterminate them by lighting a fire in the hole of the anthill with a termite nest, or by guiding there the waters of the frequent rains.

According to the fertility of the ground, planting will be done *[192] there for three or four years. At the second and third planting, when the roots and trunks begin to rot, the cleaning, O'á, is more thorough and is done by dragging the loose soil with a stick. All this process of burnings and cleanings impoverishes the clearing; forest will never be formed there any more. A clear space or barren land will remain, perpetuating the spot. At most a scrubby brush will emerge there.

Frequently there is a small clearing near the house, when the other one is very far away, for the days of rain or sickness.

The contingency of making a new clearing at short intervals, the native improvidence, which is a racial characteristic, the inconstancy of the climatic elements that exists in the region (76).

76. On the one hand, the inconstancy of the climatic factors, which characterizes the whole basin of the Rio Negro, and, on the other, the almost general poverty of the soil and the

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/footnote 76 cont./ plagues (insects) of every kind incapacitate the region for sufficient and economical agricultural production. The problem of hunger, driving away the inhabitants of the Uaupés, has not yet set in (and will be still longer in coming, as we note elsewhere), because it is a matter of small human bands, with a minimum of demands and already partially /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ helped by the food supplies that the Salesian Missions send in monthly from Manáus and other points of the country.

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Pertinent here is a talk that we had on the morning of the eighth of March 1956 with the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, who since 1922 has toiled heroically in the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, and which is found summarized in 6 points in our "Diário," the last five of which have to do with the subject in focus. That is: "1st. -- This year a larger number of Brazilian Indians who worked in Colombia died, among them three from Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié); 2nd. -- The Caiarí (Uaupés) has fewer people today than before, and it is going to decrease even more; 3rd. -- The Indians tend to come down, and a good-sized group of them is already established in Tapurucuá (former S. Isabel, on the lower Rio Negro); 4th. -- Many of the Pirá-tapúya of Aracú-ponta (Uaupés) have already come down to the Rio Negro, and others want to come down to there (and actually in our company, and in the same launch, on November 14, 1956, about two dozen Pirá-tapúya came down to Tapurucuá; 5th. -- They are also coming down from S. Luzia (river Papurí); some have already /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ settled near Bela-Vista and Tauá (lower Uaupés), where there are good lands, and they devote themselves to gathering rubber, which they will sell to José Maria

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/footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the complaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

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bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance, and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177

We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

[438]

/251 cont./

487 The Amazon forest, interlaced as it is by lianas (a little less, it is true, than appears to anyone who only sees it from the bank of the rivers), is crossed with some difficulty, and [481] perhaps for this reason is not crisscrossed with trails. The custom of the Indians always to walk one behind the other, never side by side, is well known. It is what is called "Indian file," that is, one by one. The native does not go very far into the forest; he is afraid of Wãx-tĩ (VII -- 4, d (5) ). As for his • [241] clearing, it is even desirable that there is no path to reveal the site. In this way it will be better sheltered from thefts. For these reasons roads are not opened, except for those that lead from the maloca or povoado to the landing place, ordinarily a few dozen or, at most, one or two hundred meters in extent.

/252/ They discover, however, shorter routes than the interminable windings by way of the rivers or igarapés to go *[192] from one maloca to another. Such routes, as they are more frequented for the exchange of women, feasts, or trade, become better and constitute what is called varadouro (in Tukano ma'ã) (84).

84. It seems that originally the Tukano term ma'ã meant only the route that the canoe was to follow in the dangerous crossings of the cachoeiras. Today the term ma'ã is used as an equivalent to the Portuguese words: varadouro, caminho, estrada, etc.

482 All the transportation of cargo by land is done by means of the *[192] aturás /carrying baskets/, or pi'ĩ, which the woman carries on her back.

502 During the time of high water in the rivers canals navigable by canoes are formed within the forest, since the wilderness becomes a sea, and the native takes advantage of that in order to shorten the trips; his canoe takes a shortcut through the forest, instead of following all the sinuosity of the river. Their topographic memory of the rivers on which they live, going up and coming down, does not let them be led astray.

/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have similar efficacy.

[224] [226] They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions which are called oxkó ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some are prepared by the pajé or kõmũ; others, by any individual. There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacurí, and to guarantee them abundant fish.

*[192]

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui (puxpyá).

[514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement (75);

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

[832] The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

789 During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant called tá:-dõxká (in Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca) to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know everything," that is, will be intelligent.

824

*[192] There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with magic virtues:

[241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the mandioca will yield very well.

/388 cont./

831 Confirming this opinion is, first, the fact that the relations
833 during the caxiri must take place on the ground, outside the maloca (122),

> 122. When they are more intoxicated and excited, they also violate this custom, relations taking place even inside the maloca. So reported some of the natives.

and that in some tribes the woman must first kiss the ground; whereas the ordinary relations take place inside the maloca and in the hammock.

[241] Another confirmation of this sacred character, it seems to
[835] us, is the opinion that they regard as good and recommended the relations, even incestuous ones, when the women go to the clearing. The relations are even compulsory when it is a matter of a new clearing to which the woman is going for the first time.

[821] Finally, the religious character of the public incestuous
[835] relations is further documented by the circumstance of their indication on the occasion of the new moon and lunar eclipses.

One can conclude, then, that sexual liberties in these cir-
831 cumstances, incestuous or not, have the character of a rite in connection with /389/ the fertility of the soil and of nature in general. We have, thus, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the notion and practice of the intichiuma, which is also in force among other human groups, that is, sexual liberties are magic ceremonies in order to guarantee the reproduction of the animal or vegetable nature. They are, by the way, very common practices, proclaiming lunar beliefs and cults of matriarchalist origin.

And they constitute, in turn, proof of the religious character of their feasts.

/415 cont./

585 [241]

Many times, principally in the modern regime of family habitations, the young man, as preparation for marriage, has already made a clearing with the help of friends. He will then take the girl to see the spot and will say: "I made the clearing, it is for you to do the planting" (16).

[115] [226]

16. These were the expressions of the Taryana Teodora from Iauareté. Whereas the Tukano Antonio Barreto stated that the father, when he gives the wife to the young man, says to him: "I brought you a woman. Go fish for her." And he added: "He goes, hands her the fish, she takes, which means that she accepts the young man." Might not one perhaps see in these different formulations an allusion to the fact that originally the Taryana Civilization was essentially agricultural, and the Tukano one, a fishing civilization?

/416/ During these first days the young wife will have not only the assistance of the mother-in-law, but the husband will try to ingratiate himself, offering her good fish or good game. If, however, she does not want to adjust to this new order of things, she will then resort to flight (17).

17. It will happen, the Tukano Dorotéia Brito informed us, that they will go looking for her a second time. It is understood that this is so on account of the agreements that preceded the marriage and its conveniences for both of the families. If, however, she flees a second time, she will not be sought any more. But in this case her father will return to the young man the gifts received.

In the environment in which they live and with their way of life, this is not difficult for her.

/419 cont./

551 /footnote 24 cont./ identified with such a person (or object). To pronounce this name is to render present that person or sacred object, which is not licit (religious taboo, properly speaking). Or to pronounce the name of a person (for example, that of one's own husband, among tribes of southern India -- cf. Gordon, o. c. 132) will make him die (it is the magic taboo).

551 They will simply say to identify her: -- "The wife of such-and-
593 such a person" or "The mother of such-and-such a person." The
*[192] husband will use this expression: "Yõ põrã-kó," "the mother of my children," or "the one who gives me children," or "the mother of N" and says the name of the oldest child.

Her tasks are constant, heavy, and of great responsibility. Per-
462 haps in a precarious state of health, for example, during gestation and the delivery, even so, she does them perfectly, without complaining, because they are tribal regulations, therefore they come from a superior will (25).

[593] [123] 25. If, in front of the husband, we purposely show surprise at her great tasks, the woman smiles and says nothing.

• [241] The planting and the cleaning of the clearing fall to her. She will spend whole hours in the sun amid the fire and the smoke,
*[192] preparing the piles of branches to be burned, digging and burying the mandioca shoots, cleaning the clearing by the process of pulling out the weeds by hand, Taã kuresé. She is the one who pulls
[252] the mandioca, collects it in the aturãs /carrying baskets/, and brings it home, where, afterwards, she peels it, grates it, squeezes it, and strains it, in order to make flour. It is she who prepares the foods and the caxiris, takes care of the house and of the rearing of the children. All this while the husband perhaps is idle in

/480 cont./

512 with the beijú or in small cuias, like a spoon. At the end, the
*[192] woman presents a large cuia with Ñõxká (manicuera /drink made
[264] out of manioc juice/) or the Po'ká peosé (the chibé /manioc flour and water/ of generalized use on the Amazon). Like our coffee, they thus ordinarily end their meals with the indispensable chibé, of which as much as is wanted is taken, the cuia then being passed to the neighbor on the right. Finally the women and children simultaneously take their food.

The noisy exodus for work starts: it might perhaps be seven or eight o'clock. The men and women leave in groups. The former for the forest, for hunting, to procure textile fibers, wood for building, or to search for fruits, or for the river, with the proper equipment for fishing or in order to prepare the traps.

*[192] The women with the older daughters and the children (small
[241] ones) go to the clearing, taking the Pi'í (aturá), hanging from the forehead on the back, in order to carry mandioca and firewood. In order to reach the field they almost always have to take the canoe, and for this reason they leave with oars of different sizes, some quite small for the children. Some old or sick person (many times nobody) will stay as guard of the deserted and silent maloca.

[462] The work will last until after eleven o'clock. Around one
[854] o'clock the maloca starts to become animated again. The women arrive with their aturás filled with mandioca and, on top, bundles of firewood: the smaller children on their hips or held in front of the chest, and others holding on to their skirt. They are perspiring, with the face flushed, if they did not /481/ touch it with carajurú /carajura/, as a precaution, in order not to suffer so much from the heat of the sun. Little by little the men also begin to arrive with the results of their labor: fruits, fish, game, or fibers and timber.

Another bath will come, with its freshness, to renew their well-being. The woman will grill the fish or the game, will prepare fresh, tasty beijú, the quinhapira, the mingau, some insect,
*[192] and the chibé. Soon will come the "Baãra a'tyá" and the afternoon meal.

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121 everywhere narcotics and excitants, stimulants and vision-producing drugs are valued for their ritual effects.

No common psychological pattern, to be sure, encompasses the area. Yet the Cubeo ritual pattern, with its exaltation of intoxication and of frenzied emotional experience, is far from uncommon in the tropical forest. In religion the Amazon Basin is a region of the shaman and of minor cults rather than of priests and of the worship of important deities. Tropical forest religion is small in scale, a feature that is parallel to and assuredly related to the decentralization of social life.

Compared with the Andes, tropical forest communities by and large are small. In many regions community size is unduly small because of severe population decline since white contact. In the Northwest Amazon, the subarea of the Cubeo, the multifamily single house is the common residence. The sense of family and of kinship are very strong, making of religion and ritual largely domestic affairs, with cults of the dead and initiation rites of outstanding importance. Considering the importance of crops, horticultural ritual is strikingly undeveloped. Here we can point to a fruitful field for the study of the commonly accepted functionalist doctrine that magic and religious ritual tend to surround areas of uncertainty such as farming. [241] In the case of the Cubeo one can state with confidence that the lack [796] of rite in farming is related to the strongly secular position of the [462] women as horticulturists and not to the lack of hazard in farming. Manioc cultivation is no less uncertain than yam cultivation in the Trobriand Islands. Uncertainty, after all, is not necessarily an objective condition. Existence is uncertain for all peoples and each society has the choice of underscoring those areas of life where it believes the fears and uncertainties to lie. Since the tropical forest is one of the major world areas of the *couvade*, the rites by which the father plays a part in parturition, it might seem as though it were the fate of the newborn infant more than the fate of the crops that is at the heart of their concern.

There is the fundamental question of the relation of the tropical forest to the "high" cultures of South and of Central America. On this there is still not much to say. Yet the problem of relationship cannot be ignored. One cannot divide lowland and highland into totally distinct and unrelated worlds. The archeology of the lower Amazon calls attention to cultural developments either related to or parallel to the marginal areas of the Andes. Highland and lowland share many traits such as maize, chicha, coca, textiles, and complex basketry. The jaguar "cult" of the Northwest Amazon may well be

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361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
[844] Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[854] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
241 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[270] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[245] cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[177] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahukinna* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch-Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 82). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361 241 household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial 462 purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351 entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361 kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562 staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622] for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [178] plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755] medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521] of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351 a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361 vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562 an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574 realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361 a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562 the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823 of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614] Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534] edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, [515] to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833] women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842] But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621 high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512 of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361 tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241 462

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals — the tapir in particular — is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aũnhokũ* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwũ*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Hũbũkokũ* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turù* (poison), another *pudjù* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapíha* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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592 providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor
554 in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.
[433]

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling
241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy
262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*kardiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaindryo*, *waiwari*, *mod*, *pudjü*, *kanéka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kawdmene*), pineapple, (*ihibo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*une*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*bahámu*), coca (*patü*), tobacco (*butei*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha: Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [85] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock
235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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423 The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of
615 river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these
[578] arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies
[768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate relationship between land and its cultivator.

● 241 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual
614 or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the alloca-
361 tion of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing
241 is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective
614 effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a
361 clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and
622 stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of
476 a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman to organize a collective work party, including all household heads. If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually. Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots, establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later arrivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. Annually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the *chagra*, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field for a two-year harvest.

244 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman.
423 A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plantation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daughters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagm*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and shar- [431] ing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled 423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, 431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites 423 for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one ter- 614 ritorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of 226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

## INHERITANCE

Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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769 171 [114] by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[2] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involv-
769 534 171 ing the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kówni* (*Kúwni*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are [241] quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries during the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano In- [881] dians, where sacred horns are used in the initiation of young boys, [184] the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as [552] tamed animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral cult (Ypiringa Monteiro, 1960).

769 171 As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Cágaba (Park, 1946), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921–23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1948), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may
769 534 194 speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among
534 elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[2] Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekeboikelehapuiw*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.

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754 [775] [825] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yaví*. The insect spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatárako* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcíkũ* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dúwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by 278 the *lingua geral* term *marakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term 824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaíye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but 824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by 754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi- 682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapibũ kowaíye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti- 824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge. 682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has [241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

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these conditions is relevant to an understanding of Cubeo culture. 121
But even taken together they do not account for the principal pat- 174
terns of Cubeo culture, which have a natural history of their own. The question, however, is not whether cultural patterns have a natural history, but only whether the ecological and the technological theories are adequate accounts of the natural history of a culture.

## ADAPTATION

Thus, the problem of cultural adaptation to an environment can- 182
not be dealt with simply and one-sidedly by describing the hypothet- 121
ical shaping of a culture to the environment. Adaptation is a study of interaction. Generally speaking, highly specialized environments demand highly specialized and hence relatively predictable cultural responses. The tropical forest is not an example of a highly specialized economic environment judged empirically by the diversity of cultural patterns it has sustained. Bitter manioc is clearly a cumber- 182
some crop, its high yield and relative ease of cultivation being offset 241
by its very heavy demands on labor, specifically on that of women. 121
It can be argued, therefore, that this crop offers a poor economic base for social and political development. Yet the Northwest Amazon also is familiar with maize, yams, and sweet manioc, not to mention beans and squash and gourd. These crops have traditionally sustained high cultures. Can we explain in ecological terms why the Northwest Amazon tribes chose to specialize in bitter manioc rather than maize and beans, as did, for example, the lowland Maya? It would seem that here is a case of cultural choice in which prefer- 121
ences for quick yield, minimum care in cultivation, strong sexual divi- 181
sion of labor, and perennial harvest rather than the problems of 182
storage and seasonal periodicity may have been compelling factors. 433
Since the Cubeo social system placed no great demands upon an ex- [241]
panding economic productivity the "easy" adaptation to nature was always feasible. The main patterns of Cubeo life do not stress the [461]
disciplines of prolonged and closely managed effort. The habitual rhythms of masculine labor are discontinuous and varied. Leadership is based on the principle of mood regulation rather than on dedication to an ideal or submission to authority. High cultures are based on strongly disciplined and collective ways of life. By contrast, the Cubeo values greater emotional spontaneity and personal autonomy. An economy, needless to say, will in the end transform cultural values as well as the personal character of the members of a culture. Before

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A manioc plantation below a Tukano maloca.

survives, the cultivated plants have been strangled by weeds and secondary growth. 249

The *cacique*, the *maloca*'s pet bird, accompanies the Indians, flying from bush to bush and cawing raucously as she glides low over their heads, her olive-green breast almost brushing their hair. She perches on a charred tree-stump, looks at them as they leave the old *chagra* and enter the forest, gives a loud 'caw' and flies back to the *maloca* to see what edible scraps can be found. [136]

In the early morning the tall forest is dank and cool, a place of silence broken only by the occasional chatter of the Indians as they move rapidly along, their sure footsteps delicately gliding over the mass of roots which forms a base to the pathway. Few birds and no animals are about; the sun's rays piercing through the thick leaf vault give life to what might be a dead world. Suddenly they come to a wide expanse of cleared land. There is a chaotic mass of fallen trees, black from recent fires, surrounded by the forest wall. It is as if a great explosion had occurred leaving behind only the charred remains.

Every year or two, when the dry season comes in late November or December, the men cut down an area of forest, and about two months later, just before the rains return, they burn the fallen timber to make a new *chagra*. With each new *chagra*, the men, who do all the clearing and burning, move further afield, so that eventually, after some five years or more, the *maloca* too will be moved to be near the plantation. 241 462

This system of shifting agriculture, the men as it were preparing the ground for the women to work on, is carried on incessantly. Partly owing to soil exhaustion, partly because of weed strangulation, the areas of cultivation must be constantly changed, and so the moving Indian population covers wide areas of otherwise untouched Amazonian forest. 241 221

It is now January; the smell of the fire still clings to this battlefield of black charcoal. Soon, with the arrival of the rains in March, the women will plant out the manioc cuttings and by late October the first crop will be harvested; so for two years they may expect to get reasonable manioc yields from their *chagra*, after which they must move again. 241 462

The men run over the fallen tree-trunks and from the new *chagra* they move into an area partly overgrown by weeds and secondary growth. Here, placed almost mathematically across the *chagra*, in contrast to the haphazard cultivation of other plants, are the avenues of coca shrubs. 249 462

Perhaps the ritual associated with the taking of cocaine during festivals and tribal ceremonies, apart from its daily use, explains the attention given not only to its later preparation but also to the planting and picking of the leaves. The common coca shrub, always tended by the men, stands about five feet high when fully grown and may last five or more years. It is the most important of the stimulants taken by the Tukano, some of whom are heroic addicts taking as much as two ounces a day. Their life is partly geared to their addiction, and their daily practice is to come to the *chagra* and

131 /99 cont./
167 As is seen, the Tukano group is found distributed both in Colombian territory and Brazilian, and the migratory movements of natives between these two countries are quite frequent.

241 The Tukano work the land by means of the slash-and-burn
[462] method. The piece of ground intended for agriculture is always cleaned of underbrush and trees by the /100/ men, a job at which each man works individually or assisted by his male
[412] relatives. At one time, before the arrival of the Creole rubber
[177] workers in the region, the trees and underbrush were cut with stone axes, but since the arrival of the rubber worker the machete has been introduced, and today no Tukano Indian would consider using the lithic instrument again.

Trees of great size are generally left in the place in which they fell, but small trees and bushes are burned toward the end of summer, or the dry season. The ashes obtained from the burning are used as fertilizer to improve the soil, but owing to the thin vegetal layer, to erosion, and to the general poorness of the land, the Tukano Indian is obliged to select and clear a
• [242] new garden every three or four years. The method of crop rotation is not practiced because the forest vegetation rapidly returns to invade the land that is not cultivated and tended. The field under cultivation rarely exceeds one or two hectares.

[412] The planting is done immediately after finishing the burning, among the stumps of the felled trees and the trunks of the toppled trees. Probably the only aboriginal implement used in the planting is the planter's stick (2),

2. Digging-stick /this term is given in English/.

which is used primarily to loosen the earth and to open holes in it for planting seeds or young plants. The ground is rarely cultivated and tended after the planting is done, but weeds are pulled out and care is taken that the forest does not invade the garden.

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244 A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total
433 productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects
[462] favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They
244 are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their
• 242 characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When wom-
[571] en from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cul-
[439] tivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for
[252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake
244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's
462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

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Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

/215 cont./

252 *[192] 7) Chibé. The chibé, in Tukano po'ká põõke, is prepared with the water flour rich in tapioca. It is enough to take a certain amount of flour in a cuia and add water to it. For example, they take the water directly from the river while they are traveling on it, with a quick movement of the hand, without spilling the flour. They wait for a few seconds, in order for the mandioca fibers that are in the flour to come up (at times they facilitate this, moving the mass with the fingers) and empty out the water from the top, along with these fibers. After a few moments the flour "grows," because of being impregnated with water. The chibé has then been prepared. This starchy water, acid in flavor, is naturally refreshing. The chibé is used as a snack by the Indian. With a cuia of chibé, he rows for endless hours. It is the regular food, or even the sole food, on journeys, and also his dessert after meals.

• 243 *[192] b) Maize.

The maize, ohó-ka (we do not know whether the Indian sees any special relation between the maize stalk, ohó-ka, and the banana tree, ohó; or if the similarity of the terms is a matter of mere accident), is not only of late introduction, but, moreover, of very restricted use. Properly speaking, there is no maize clearing among the tribes of the Uaupés, but only a few isolated plants, when there are any. A group from the Karapanã tribe, residing between the rivers Papurí and Tiquié, on the headwaters of the stream Umarí, cultivates maize in greater abundance, but it is almost entirely sold to the Salesian Mission. It is a matter of a variety with a soft and white grain.

[184] [197]

273 In small quantity the chewed maize is used, in some cases, to facilitate the fermentation of the drinks.

252 It also enters into the preparation of cakes, through the following process: after the maize is pounded, the meal is sifted and moistened with lukewarm water. With this dough they prepare cakes that are /216/ put on to bake over coals, wrapped in banana leaves. If the woman "has a good hand," they say, a sweet and pleasing cake comes out. It is, however, a food of

2: Fulop SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/For information on the mythological origins of manioc, tobacco and coca as related in Tucano folk-tales, see category 539 or category 116, pp. 34-41./

/111/

*101 t) YEBÁ-MASÃ

1) People-Name-Language. -- Yebá-masã is their denomination in the mother tongue, although they do not know the meaning of this term (41).

[115]

41. Lucas, the old Tukano from S. Luzia, as has already been said (IV-2, a), explained to Padre Antonio Giacone that Yepá-maxsã (as they say in Tukano) means gente-da-terra /people of the land/, and that the natives who reached the Papurí afterwards called the Tukano this. It is to be noted that Yepá, according to the legends, is the son of Bũxpó (the Thunder), and the Indians, with some religious notions, say that it is God, the Son. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) met on the Tiquié an Indian woman by the name of Inácia, of the Yepãlia tribe, with beautiful physiognomic features. Would it be another spelling of Yepá?

[773]

Their idiom is classified in the Tukano family, as it is shown by the Vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical and Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia). In contrast to the Tukano, they are slender types, of medium stature like them or even shorter. Small face, tapering toward the chin. Physiognomy little or not at all Mongoloid. Coarser hair, black or dark, not lissotrichous, as generally befalls the natives of Brazil. At times they even exhibit slight waves. Dark eyes, nose low at the root, like the Tukano, but higher and finer tip. The men ordinarily have the ears pierced.

[142]

With an insignificant mandioca-agriculture, they are principally hunters, and they live on wild fruits. For this reason the consumption of ipadú /coca/ is great among them (cf. VI - 4, i (4). They all use the hammock of 30 threads. Their festivals are frequent.

[244] [222] [224] [284]

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361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
● 244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden
is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for
casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the
garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the
latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and
everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was defi-
nitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual
significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man
was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[844] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the virinity
[854] of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are
no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual
hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
241 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[270] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[249] cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*),
pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco,
*mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[177] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from
the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then
regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that be-
longs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahi-
kiwa* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch-Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1909, he observed that the up-river communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 84). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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361 Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-
554 tain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or en-
[157] couraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they
[123] did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the
342 new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one require-
361 ment of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with
622 him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines
768 of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new ma-
loca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change
at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the
victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a
361 fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations.
• 244 At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to
768 ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is
moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the
old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transi-
tional period when the community is actually working both clearings.
The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until
they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they
will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old
*chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

361 The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to
[311] circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some
15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again.
Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the
forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally
dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later
moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiari and the
361 Querari. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this
614 connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or
554 along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs
occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely
associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks
deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong oc-
cupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or
by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become
dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites
and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Gia-
361 cone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (refer-
554 ring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only
along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiari, for example, a trail leads to the Querari. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

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621 592 the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. The Cubeo believe that one roof unites a community while several roofs divide it.

621 311 Size of maloca is adapted in some measure to cultivable terrain. We have already noted that seasonal flooding and the requirement of good river frontage limit the availability of land for relatively permanent cultivation. But these are highly variable factors. Along the Vaupés, a deep river basin that can carry a great volume of water, there are vast stretches of dry land that have become the sites of civilized population centers. There is no doubt that from terrain alone the Vaupés could have supported far greater Indian populations than it did at the time of first contact. Along the Vaupés the limiting factor seems to have been social. On the Cuduiari, on the other hand, land contours are such as to divide frontages into much smaller segments. On this smaller stream, terrain has been a more significant factor in limiting community size. But even on the Cuduiari, land utilization is subject to strong social considerations. One consideration is that sibs [614] must retain their traditional boundaries. This means that with slash-burn horticulture the sib territory must provide, as a minimum, a three-step cycle in which a community returns to its original land after 10 to 15 years. The well-situated tract must then be at least three times the average land requirement at any given time.

361 244 There is still another consideration, and that is the distance of manioc gardens from the residence. When they prepare a clearing, the Cubeo bear in mind the distance a woman will have to trudge with her burdens of manioc, a baby, and firewood. That is why the gardens are laid out along a semicircle. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop. It needs reasonably dry soil and it makes heavy demands upon the time and energy of a woman for its cultivation, transportation, and preparation. Whatever can be saved from travel time is an advantage.

621 182 The thesis of ecological adaptation, however, can be argued most successfully in the abstract. If one notes the actual events in the life of a community, then the processes of community growth and community fission appear in quite a different light. The balance of forces of fusion and of fission that hold community size to its stable limits in harmony with the natural environment are not entirely economic. They often include personal factors. To state this more precisely: the economic factor affects fusion strongly but has less direct bearing upon fission. Satellites, for example, are urged to return to the fold, guests are urged to stay on, and daughters are invited to take up residence [578] in their own sib if there is ample land. Splitting, on the other hand, occurs because of personal quarrels and rarely because of a feeling of land shortage.

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773 From *Kówai*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own take.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
[462] is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*duno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
[462] production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

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A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

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## FISHING

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Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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He brings home the hide for a
224 trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle
[237] that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary
[554] and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahikina* the headman's son – an aspirant for the position – killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

## GARDENING

462 I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions
262 of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

462 An important distinction between the labor of men and women
461 is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

462 On days when only subsistence manioc – that is, the manioc cake
461 – is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is
252 to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she
• 244 gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

462 Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time,
244 leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast.
[512] Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against
[751] sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is
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usually accompanied by an unmarried daughter, who is both helper and chaperon, a dog, and her breast baby. Her equipment is a machete (in the past it was a digging stick), a portage basket, and a tray upon which she rests her baby. 244 [412] [178] [415]

With the machete she cuts the long root at the base of a mature manioc plant and then loosens the earth so as to pull out the cluster of tubers. Each root yields an average of six tubers, two of which are large, two medium, and two small. This phase of the work is difficult but the woman moves quickly and silently. She does not sing at her work. Her daughter, assistant and apprentice, tears each tuber from the root, scrapes it clear of earth, and drops it in the basket. When a basket has been filled the woman gathers up the stems of the manioc plant, trims them of their leaves, and stacks the cuttings neatly in small heaps. She burns the leaves to add ash to the soil. She does not replant the cuttings immediately, but allows them to lie for several days. After an accumulation a woman devotes a morning to replanting. She breaks up the soil of the segment she has harvested and forms it into small mounds, into each of which she puts a number of trimmed cuttings, setting them in at a sharp angle. She works segments of garden that are about 25 yards square. After replanting, the earliest harvest will be after half a year, but full maturity takes two years. Each 25-square-yard segment yields from 50 to 60 pounds of manioc, or one basket load. [461]

Among the *Bahûkiwa*, for whom I have productivity figures, the household of the headman harvested 400 baskets of manioc annually. Another household that had three adult women harvested 500. One old woman had a minimum yield of 150 and all other households averaged close to 200. Ten households produced 2,550 baskets, or some 75 tons of manioc a year. A basket of manioc converts into two large manioc cakes. In the headman's household of seven people three cakes were eaten every two days, leaving a "surplus" of close to 30 per cent for use as chicha and as farinha. On the other hand, households producing 200 baskets annually are close to the subsistence line. 244 433

The point of this digression into production figures has been to show how exigent are the demands upon the woman's labor. The women feel that they cannot afford to interrupt their labors or they will fall behind. Nevertheless, childbirth, illness, ceremonies – women do not garden on the day of a ceremony – and the press of other activities such as accompanying men on prolonged trips for hunting (in the nature of a respite for a woman) take their toll of labor time. Women do not complain of having too much to do. On the contrary, I have heard the grievance that the manioc garden is too small. 244 433 461 462

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244 433 [462] A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They 244 are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their 242 characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When wom- [571] en from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cul- [439] tivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for [252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake 244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's 462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

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Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

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place the blame upon the material conditions. The woman, then, is more than a mere toiler in the garden. She qualifies as agronomist as well.

Women return from their gardens in the very early afternoon. They pause at the rear door of the house only long enough to drop the machete, and without putting down their burdens of manioc and infant, go directly to the river to bathe themselves and to wash the tubers. This is a pleasurable hour. Refreshed from the heat of the morning, the women play with their infants and jest with one another. Washing the tubers is a simple task of dipping the entire basket into the water. A light midday meal follows the washing, and the routine of processing the tubers begins. The woman may start with fresh roots, but for a more tender manioc cake she will allow the roots to soften for several days either in the house or in the river.

The first step is peeling. The woman seats herself at her own household compartment, her back braced against a post, her legs stretched out stiff and straight before her into the dance corridor – the public alley of the house. The manioc basket is at one side and a tray at the other. She bites the butt end of the tuber to break the skin, and using teeth and fingers pulls off the readily peelable skin. This phase of the work is leisurely. Women who are not at the moment occupied come by to chat and help casually in the peeling. A woman's daughters sit with her and help. Enough is peeled for one manioc cake – that is, one half of a basket.

The next step is the most arduous and least liked – grating the peeled tubers on a wooden board (*pediba*) that has been set with abrasive stones. A woman can usually shift this work on to her daughter or her daughter-in-law.

The scraping process is as follows. The woman sits with her feet stretched out straight before her and slightly spread. She sets the grate on her legs with its far end braced against a house post, the forward end pressed against her abdomen. She takes up two large manioc tubers from a tray, one in each hand, and scrapes vigorously with alternate arm movements with the hardest pressure on the forward stroke. The action is vigorous, involving not only full arm movements but the bending of the back from the hips. Young women of marriageable age work rapidly and continuously until bathed in sweat. When worn down to a size where it cannot be conveniently scraped any more, the tuber is thrown aside and two others taken up. Finally, a collection of scraps is assembled into a single bunch clutched in both hands and scraped down virtually to the very bottom. This is a break in the work rhythm since both hands are used together and the move-

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423 The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of
615 river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these
[578] arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies
[768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate relationship between land and its cultivator.

241 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual
614 or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the alloca-
361 tion of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing
241 is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective
614 effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a
361 clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and
622 stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of
476 a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman to organize a collective work party, including all household heads. If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually. Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots, establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later arrivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. Annually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the *chagra*, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field for a two-year harvest.

● 244 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman.
423 A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plantation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daughters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

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relation of the men to the manioc cultivations is as follows. By working jointly in making a clearing the men are fulfilling, in part, a sib obligation. This is of minor importance, however, as compared with the specific obligations and the ensuing relationship between a man and a woman. No bond between a man and a woman is of greater importance and richer in sentiment than that set up by the making and cultivating of a manioc garden. Every garden plot defines a relationship between a specific man and a specific woman. A woman without a man can have no garden. A man without a woman has no clearing to make; he can have subordinate status only in another household. Each side gains status from the arrangement. The only firm bond is that between husband and wife. A widow has only a frail claim upon the labor of her brother, whose primary obligation is to his own household, where his wife keeps jealous watch over her own *chagra*; for a woman's pride is deeply involved in the size of her manioc clearing. The Cubeo regard the size of clearing as a sign of a husband's affection for his wife. A widow has a better claim upon an unmarried son. As we shall see, between unmarried brother and unmarried sister a semiconjugal relationship develops over the material holding of land.

We have spoken of a reciprocity in status involved in the manioc *chagra*. There is also a specific and related economic reciprocity. By making a clearing a man obligates his wife's production. The preparation of manioc cake is never spoken of as a wifely obligation, but chicha and farinha are. The point of economic reciprocity as it sometimes emerges in the course of conjugal quarrels is entirely one of status and not of so fundamental an issue as food. If we are to speak of male-female reciprocity on matters of food the issue is between the male flesh foods and the female cultivated foods. Although a man obligates his wife's labor for chicha and for farinha he evidently does not obligate all of it, for a woman will suddenly declare that she is cosponsoring a drinking party by a contribution of "her" manioc. Moreover, it is part of the status of a wife that she can freely contract part of her farinha production for personal objects, such as cloth and trinkets. If there is a formal principle governing this kind of connubial economic arrangement I did not learn what it is.

The point to emphasize with respect to manioc cultivations, then, is that the issue in possession of land is not simply that of subsistence. It would be unthinkable for a Cubeo to allow a sibmate, or phratry mate for that matter, to hunger if he had any food for him. When a solitary woman laments that her *chagra* is exhausted and no kinsman is moving to make another for her, the fear she voices is not that she

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and sharing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege [431] of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled 423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, 431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 423 614 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one territorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of 226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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## THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The Cubeo economy may be characterized as essentially inelastic, sustenance-oriented, and egalitarian. In these respects it contrasts with parallel root horticulture economies in other parts of the world, such as in Oceania and Africa. In those areas economies are generally in the service of social status and of political power and are, consequently, dynamic, fostering social and economic inequality. Among the Cubeo, on the other hand, and in the South American tropical forest as a whole, social status is a minor issue in production, while the headman, who in Oceania and in Africa plays a commanding role in economic distribution, has here only the most diffuse economic functions. 433 171

The relative inelasticity of an economy is, needless to say, a function of many factors. In the case of tropical forest horticulture, the nature of crops, soils, methods of cultivation, and tools are all relevant. Even more significant, however, are such factors as the social organization of production, including such fundamental matters as the division of labor, as well as the nature of political controls. The motives of production are of greatest importance. Motives of status and of political power provide, all other factors being equal, for an expanding economy. When the aim of production is mainly to provide sustenance and to maintain a limited network of lateral (as opposed to hierarchical) exchanges the economy tends to remain in equilibrium with its customary standards of community size. Such an economy is conservative and traditionalistic. 433

With respect to physical factors, Cubeo manioc horticulture has come close to reaching a productive limit in terms of yield per acre. The yield from *Manihot utilissima* normally ranges from six to ten tons per acre. Among the *Bahúkiwa* I estimated the acreage yield to be between five and six tons, a productivity that reflects considerable agronomical skill and effort. Any substantial increase in aggregate production would have to come more from expanded acreage, for which the land is available, than from more intensive cultivation of present plots. Acreage expansion, however, is limited by a combination of social and cultural conditions as well as by the peculiar nature of bitter manioc itself. As is well known, the ease of cultivation of bitter manioc and its relatively high yield is offset by the great effort required to rid the tubers of hydrocyanic acid. I have already described the processing of manioc from raw tuber to a cake and its heavy demands on the time of the women. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop and the load of 50–60 pounds that a woman carries home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. 244 433 [147].

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244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
433 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except
in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
244 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
433 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
462 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any
461 community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the manioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
244 Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[261] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There
[273] is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the
[614] drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be
[182] said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[2] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the re-
[614] sponsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the
[554] chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

43 It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[2] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

[244] [437] [273] [261] [592] [835] [836] [583]

593 583 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

583 58 [593] [593]

249 spend the greater part of the morning collecting the leaves which they pre-
462 pare during the afternoon and evening. It is a serious task and one which each man undertakes with a strange air of concentration. Each coca plant is selectively stripped leaf by leaf before the next one is tackled. The headman carries the basket with him and gradually it fills with handfuls of pale sage-green leaves. The younger men collect the leaves almost reverently in their right hands before emptying them into the basket, their faces serious, their crouched bodies shining in the strong morning sun, their short, clipped speech broken occasionally by a high-pitched laugh.

512 In the distance small ribbons of smoke rise in a misty cloud. The women
• 244 are just visible, their squat figures crouching among the manioc plants. They
462 can be heard laughing; occasionally a baby cries and the children romp and
85 play among the bright-green manioc plants whose tall spindly branches stretch skywards some six feet, terminating in clusters of long, thin, starlike leaves. With their babies straddled across their backs the women spend the morning cutting out the long potato-like roots from the sandy soil and putting the waste foliage into piles to be burnt. It is hot with the sun streaming down, the fires crackling and the smoke enshrouding the working bodies. There is little time for rest, though a woman will stop to swing her child around and let it suckle her breast; a mother may give a fat yellow beetle grub to her child to eat, having detached the head – a great delicacy, tasting like butter. Soon large baskets are filled with roughly peeled and half-cleaned roots.

512 The sun is high overhead and the men leave for the *maloca* with their basket
[482] full of coca leaves; on top they place large dried leaves from the *yarumo* (Cecropia) trees which grow like weeds in the *chagra*. The women too load their heavy baskets on to their backs, the headbands taking the greater part
[222] of the fifty-pound weight. The whole group hurries through the forest in silence, passing the old *chagra* where the headman's wife leaves the other women to collect pineapples, then down to the stream beneath the *maloca*. At this point comes one of the noisiest and most amusing incidents in their
[515] daily life. Not only the manioc roots are washed in the water but the babies
[85] too; the mothers vigorously shake their large baskets of roots, then stop to splash water over the backs of the children. For a short time there is cacophony, with screaming babies, splashing water, continuous chatter and laughter, and even barking dogs. But soon the stream is left to myriads of white and brimstone-yellow butterflies which circle everlastingly over the sandbanks, and the women, refreshed, their long black hair glistening in the sun, return up the path to the *maloca*.

Tobacco plants are nearly always grown in a little patch directly in front

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000 *A graceful Tukano canoe.*

[see p. 66-A]

/222 cont./

147 Perhaps the Indian owes to the richness of Vitamin A, taken
262 in through the consumption of such a variety of insects and larvae, the admirable night vision that he enjoys.

/223/ g) Fruits.

*192 If the native diet is lacking in green vegetables and legumes,
• 245 many are the fruits that they eat.

252 1) Among the fruit trees cultivated, there come first five or
262 six varieties of banana, ohó; and they eat them raw, baked, or boiled and reduced to mingau. Even when they are still green, they eat them roasted in the ashes.

They are also fond of pineapple, sẽ'rá (Uaupés sẽ'ná), biriba, pixká, cashew nuts, sõ'rá (U. sõ'ná), and, more recently, the orange, darãñõ, avocado, ñõmõ, abio /Lucuma caimito/, kã'rẽ.

*192 2) The wild fruits that they know and eat are very numer-
222 ous. We shall recall some: Õ'sé, cucura or mapatí (pourouma
252 cecropiaefóliae, Mart.), one of the Moraceae very similar to the imbauba, producing large bunches of fruits the size of a jabuticaba
262 /Mouriria pusa/, which, when ripe, are dark, sweet, and mucilaginous, and, fermented, give a wine-like drink; mẽ'rẽ
[273] (U. mẽ'nẽ), wirí-mẽ'rẽ, various species of ingá (ingá cinamómea, marginata, édulis, etc., Mimosaceae); burukũñã, maracujá /species of Passiflora/; õxtã-ñĩmĩ, cumã (fruit of the service tree); pãgá, another species of cucura; kenõ, jatobá /locust tree/; simiõ, uacú /Monopterix uaucú/; teheõ and ehyú-pu, varieties of piquia; thoá, yúa-pixuna; wamã, umarí; wĩhĩ, paricá /Leguminosae/; extoá, cubio /Solanum sessiliflorum/; wextí, umirí; wikasoró, small white fruit; tohoá-kaxperí, omã-karperí, and ñerẽ, similar to the cumã.

3) And many species of palm nuts, more or less oily: ixkí, inajá; puxpyá, ucuquí; mĩx'pĩ, assai; ã'rẽ, pupunha, for which they are eager; bextá, tucumã, which they like very much, ñãmã (U. ñumũ), bacaba and patauá; etc.

/223 cont./

*192 Assaí, patauá, and bacaba are small nuts, in bunches. Put
222 in hot water, the pulp that envelops them comes loose. This,
262 after being crushed and strained, is mixed into the chibé or into
252 the mingau, making it more nourishing and flavorful.

4) They also leave the umarí (paroquéiba /Poraqueiba/ paraénsis, Ducke) in water, after having sucked the sweetish yellow rind, in order for the stone to lose its bitter juice. They also customarily mix its yellow mass into the mingau.

• 245 5) The pupunha tree is an ornamental palm, straight, with
252 beautiful fronds, which they plant in all their povoados. Twice
262 a year it produces bunches of small red or orange nuts with a fari-
naceous and dry pulp. They eat them cooked in water. /224/
They like them so much that during this time they abstain from
245 other foods. Its pulp, diluted in water and left to ferment in
251 camotins for 24 hours, is transformed into a very tasty drink,
273 the pupunha caxirí, ɨ'rẽ-kó.
*[192] When there is a great abundance of this nut, they prepare a large quantity of the mass, and, in order to keep it during the year without spoiling, they dig a hole in the vicinity of the house, line it well with banana leaves, and there they introduce the mass, pressing it well in order to expel all the air, and afterwards they cover it further with banana leaves and a layer of soil a span or more thick. This mass will be used for preparing the caxirí for months.

222 6) Among the most sought wild fruits is the japurá, a
252 dicotyledon, like an almond, inside of a soft involucre. They
262 subject it to boiling, in order to eliminate the thin and bitter
*[192] skin that covers it, and then crush it, producing a dark mass, with a sharpness that reminds one of Gorgonzola cheese (54).

54. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha already reported that in 1759 in his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/," p. 114: "The Indians will have put the name of Japurá on it (on a

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
[844] Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[854] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
241 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[270] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
● [245] cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[177] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahikina* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch-Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 8a). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, 231 and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as 235 pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and 123 animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had 245 been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of 439 my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiari. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more [262] than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. [302] Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

## MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest 121 tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes 28 that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by 32 Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men 28 ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women 32 specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment 462 has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a [415] small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pedíba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men 462 work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a 461

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/For information on the mythological origins of manioc, tobacco and coca as related in Tucano folk-tales, see category 539 or category 116, pp. 34-41./

/100 cont./

241 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth
462 from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting
• [249] are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, flame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The
[437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function
[262] of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the
224 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow
223 and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a
[177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

/174 cont./

361 And, in order to avoid the annual floods, they locate themselves on more elevated points or "terra-firme" and are never seen in palafittes (6).

6. In some posts on the Colombian frontier, called "Comissaria," a residence for the customs officials and the guards is built on an elevated point, on posts about two meters from the ground, approximately. In 1952 an Indian from the Brazilian bank of the Papurí imitated this style in building his hut. In jest the others called it "comissaria."

351 In the povoados of two or more houses, or behind the single maloca, there will always be a beaten area that separates them, by about 50 or 100 meters, from the forest and guards against attacks by ferocious animals.

241 They regularly plant in the vicinity the pimenteira (different varieties of cápsicum), pupunha, assai, urucum, and, with less frequency, the cucura /Pourouma cecropiaefolia, Mart./, lemon tree (today also the orange tree), mamoeiro (papaya cárica), abio (lucúma caimíta, Roem. e Schulth.), /175/ sugar cane (sáccharum officinale, Lin.), tobacco (nicotiana tabácum), and coca (erythróxilon coca).

• 249 415 *[192] Often one sees a small press, ã'rã̃ arõãrõ (Uaupés a'nã̃ anyãnõ), for sugar cane (7).

7. In a maloca of the Tuyuka, on the head-waters of the Tiquié, the press was found inside the maloca, in the vicinity of the main door.

They are generally four vertical posts, well planted in the ground, supporting two wooden cylinders provided with longitudinal grooves and which turn in opposite directions, pressing the cane between

/175 cont./

249 415 them. Although this is not a plant native to Brazil (8),

8. This is commonly thought. The cane has an Asiatic origin from China, from where it passed to the Mediterranean, and from Spain to the New World. The year of 1627 is marked as being the one of its introduction in Pará. It is certain that at the time of the discoveries the Indians were already planting cane. Alonso de Rojas, in the report on the journey of Pedro de Teixeira in 1637, tells us this ("Descobrimento do Rio das Amazonas," p. 114).

Nordenskiöld thinks that the press is a native invention, according to his material and resources. Nordenskiöld's opinion does not seem acceptable to us for the presses and the tribes of the Uaupés. [177] They would be an imitation of the presses that the civilized have used on the lower Rio Negro since the eighteenth century.

351 A square, maxkã-pá, or rectangular area, cleaned of any vegetation, and usually proportional to the population, is located *[192] in front of the maloca. It is also called baxsarí-u'tú, "dance yard"; actually some numbers of the ceremonial dances are performed there.

There is always a road a few meters wide, and clean, that 351 leads to the landing place, or places, where they tie the canoes 504 and take their bath. A road that serves, moreover, for the procession of Wãx-tĩ at his festival (cf. VII - 4, e (2) ).

When the steep bank of the river is very high, they build a 504 stairway with steps of earth or of timbers. If the steps are of earth, they are made immovable with roundish timbers of about two meters, tied to small stakes driven into the ground or tied transversely, by means of cipos, to two long lateral parallel beams.

/233 cont./

372 Formerly fire was obtained by turning rapidly between the palms of the hands a small stick whose end was provided with a match of kapok, and rubbing it in the small orifice of another small stick that was very dry. The apparatus is called pexkã-mẽ wihyasẽ in Tukano. *[192]

262 The diet of these natives, although at first sight it does not seem so, is quite varied, rich in vitamins of vegetable and animal origin. As for the salts necessary to the organism, they get them from roots and fruits; as a matter of fact, they have a strong bone structure, and nevertheless the waters show a deficiency of calcareous salts. As for sugar, they only have that of the fruits and of the fermentation of their drinks. The cultivation of sugar cane is insignificant and intended practically for the preparation of the caxirís, although once in a while some Indian will be seen sucking it. [273] [249]

The amount of food that the Indian consumes daily is large, when he has plenty of it; although on other days, due to a lack of food, he is forced into a very strict fast. Perhaps the caxirí itself, which he drinks in large portions on the occasion of feasts, plays the role of a periodic washing of the stomach, intestines, and kidneys. It is certain that thin persons are rarely found among them, if one excludes the older women, who generally are so, and the sick. They are, on the contrary, plump in figure or even fat, without obesity or deforming adiposities, strong and healthy.

It is to be noted that the Indian emits a characteristic smell, which makes us think that it is due to a diet predominantly of fish and pepper.

/234/ 5) Hunting and fishing.

226 a) Fishing.

Fish is an important element in the diet of the Indians, as we have already seen. In the regimen of the family home, each family head provides the fish; it is his habitual, although not exclusive, occupation. In the regimen of the collective dwelling [462]

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and sharing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege [431] of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled 423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, 431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 423 614 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one territorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of 226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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saw them serve chicha in this manner. The Cubeo offer the calabash with a jest: "Drink quickly so that you may be drunk soon." The aim of the drinking party is to achieve an intense state of excitement and to maintain that until overcome by sheer fatigue and sleep. Tobacco, coca, and *mihí* supplement drinking to intensify and hasten the reaction. When *mihí* is taken, producing color visions and finally a blackout, the Indians say, "Now we shall get drunk quickly." *Mihí* is associated with *miwa* (birds), which are the patrons of ecstatic intoxication.[1] Drunkenness is not to be avoided. If a little boy gets drunk his father is proud of his precociousness. Women, however, are not expected to get drunk and they rarely do.

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*Mihí* is not taken at every drinking party but only at those that are considered very important. At the mourning festival (*óyne*) a great quantity is consumed. The narcotic plants (*Banisteriopsis caapi* and others) from which *mihí* is prepared are cultivated by the men only and they alone drink it. The Cubeo regard it as a sacred drug, and from all indications it is so regarded throughout the Western Amazon region where it is used. Along the Orinoco the Indians chew the skin, but all along the Vaupés an infusion is prepared by boiling the leaves, bark, and roots to form a greenish-brown "soup" that is strongly bitter. The Cubeo prepare several varieties that are graded according to potency. Upon truly solemn occasions they begin with a mild infusion from the leaf of a variety that is taken exactly at midday, and conclude with a very strong variety just before sunset. This sequence of *mihí* transports a man from vague and mild visions of whiteness to intense hallucinatory experiences, bursts of violence, and finally loss of consciousness. *Mihí* almost invariably causes vomiting, and for that reason alone each man must take many servings. For each type of *mihí* there are four servings taken from a small gourd dipper. The first service is of two dippers, the second of one, and the third and fourth of two each. At the beginning, the Indians say, the vision becomes blurred, things begin to look white, and one begins to lose the faculty of speech. The white vision turns to red. One Indian described it as a room spinning with red feathers. This passes and one begins to see people in the bright coloring of the jaguar. When the final strong forms of *mihí* are taken the hallucinations begin to assume a disturbing and fearful form. One becomes aware of violent people milling about, shouting, weeping, threatening to kill. One is seized with the fear that he no longer has a home. The house posts and trees come alive and take the form of people.

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[1] There is also a bird called *mihíkó*.

721 many more people lived there. We are told by Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his 727 neighbour. *Malocas* were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were knocked to the ground with wooden clubs which the Indians still have today, their bodies hacked to pieces, their forearms used to stir the *chicha* and the armbones later made into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the sexual organs were eaten by the headman's wife to ensure brave offspring. even the bones were boiled into broth and the orgy continued until the cannibals had completed their spoil and the *chicha* had run dry.

Such a description of warfare and cannibalism would not fit the Indian who lives in the Piraparaná today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the [178] daily life we saw in their *malocas*. We found the Indian's day measured by a peaceful regularity.

512 Slowly the great house comes to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *maloca* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-screen door and eases it up to its hook like a portcullis, then saunters leisurely out into the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the *maloca*, still only vague shapes in the gathering light as they prepare cassava, pick up the water pots and go down to the river to bathe.

[264] The men returning from the river squat on their haunches on the low [262] stools in the centre of the *maloca*, and without any ceremony consume their breakfast of cassava bread, manioc juice and probably some leftovers from the previous night – boiled fish or a piece of bush pig. The women, who have eaten separately with the children, collect their large manioc baskets and leave [482] for the *chagra*, the forest clearing where they grow their crops. The baskets are slung from a strip of sapling bark across the forehead; they hold their babies on their hips, walking rapidly, almost awkwardly – the Indian [855] woman's gait is not a graceful one. Children run along beside them, some [857] affectionately holding the hands of their mothers, others playing. A few of the elder children return to the river to fish, and some of the men go off in [226] pairs to hunt and fish, while others move off to collect coca leaves from their *chagras*.

249 The Piraparaná has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the river and its tributaries are one of the few remaining strongholds of the drug in north-west Amazonia. Carrying no more than their small coca pouches and the basket for the leaves, five or six men, led by the headman, go down to the stream, perhaps taking a drink and washing themselves before they climb up the far bank. They move along a path through the thick vegetation of an old *chagra* fallen into disuse. Although an occasional banana or *pupuña* palm

survives, the cultivated plants have been strangled by weeds and secondary growth. 249

The *cacique*, the *maloca*'s pet bird, accompanies the Indians, flying from bush to bush and cawing raucously as she glides low over their heads, her olive-green breast almost brushing their hair. She perches on a charred tree-stump, looks at them as they leave the old *chagra* and enter the forest, gives a loud 'caw' and flies back to the *maloca* to see what edible scraps can be found. [136]

In the early morning the tall forest is dank and cool, a place of silence broken only by the occasional chatter of the Indians as they move rapidly along, their sure footsteps delicately gliding over the mass of roots which forms a base to the pathway. Few birds and no animals are about; the sun's rays piercing through the thick leaf vault give life to what might be a dead world. Suddenly they come to a wide expanse of cleared land. There is a chaotic mass of fallen trees, black from recent fires, surrounded by the forest wall. It is as if a great explosion had occurred leaving behind only the charred remains.

Every year or two, when the dry season comes in late November or December, the men cut down an area of forest, and about two months later, just before the rains return, they burn the fallen timber to make a new *chagra*. With each new *chagra*, the men, who do all the clearing and burning, move further afield, so that eventually, after some five years or more, the *maloca* too will be moved to be near the plantation. 241 462

This system of shifting agriculture, the men as it were preparing the ground for the women to work on, is carried on incessantly. Partly owing to soil exhaustion, partly because of weed strangulation, the areas of cultivation must be constantly changed, and so the moving Indian population covers wide areas of otherwise untouched Amazonian forest. 241 221

It is now January; the smell of the fire still clings to this battlefield of black charcoal. Soon, with the arrival of the rains in March, the women will plant out the manioc cuttings and by late October the first crop will be harvested; so for two years they may expect to get reasonable manioc yields from their *chagra*, after which they must move again. 241 462

The men run over the fallen tree-trunks and from the new *chagra* they move into an area partly overgrown by weeds and secondary growth. Here, placed almost mathematically across the *chagra*, in contrast to the haphazard cultivation of other plants, are the avenues of coca shrubs. 249 462

Perhaps the ritual associated with the taking of cocaine during festivals and tribal ceremonies, apart from its daily use, explains the attention given not only to its later preparation but also to the planting and picking of the leaves. The common coca shrub, always tended by the men, stands about five feet high when fully grown and may last five or more years. It is the most important of the stimulants taken by the Tukano, some of whom are heroic addicts taking as much as two ounces a day. Their life is partly geared to their addiction, and their daily practice is to come to the *chagra* and

249 spend the greater part of the morning collecting the leaves which they pre-
462 pare during the afternoon and evening. It is a serious task and one which each man undertakes with a strange air of concentration. Each coca plant is selectively stripped leaf by leaf before the next one is tackled. The headman carries the basket with him and gradually it fills with handfuls of pale sage-green leaves. The younger men collect the leaves almost reverently in their right hands before emptying them into the basket, their faces serious, their crouched bodies shining in the strong morning sun, their short, clipped speech broken occasionally by a high-pitched laugh.

512 In the distance small ribbons of smoke rise in a misty cloud. The women
244 are just visible, their squat figures crouching among the manioc plants. They
462 can be heard laughing; occasionally a baby cries and the children romp and
85 play among the bright-green manioc plants whose tall spindly branches stretch skywards some six feet, terminating in clusters of long, thin, starlike leaves. With their babies straddled across their backs the women spend the morning cutting out the long potato-like roots from the sandy soil and putting the waste foliage into piles to be burnt. It is hot with the sun streaming down, the fires crackling and the smoke enshrouding the working bodies. There is little time for rest, though a woman will stop to swing her child around and let it suckle her breast; a mother may give a fat yellow beetle grub to her child to eat, having detached the head – a great delicacy, tasting like butter. Soon large baskets are filled with roughly peeled and half-cleaned roots.

512 The sun is high overhead and the men leave for the *maloca* with their basket
[482] full of coca leaves; on top they place large dried leaves from the *yarumo* (Cecropia) trees which grow like weeds in the *chagra*. The women too load their heavy baskets on to their backs, the headbands taking the greater part
[222] of the fifty-pound weight. The whole group hurries through the forest in silence, passing the old *chagra* where the headman's wife leaves the other women to collect pineapples, then down to the stream beneath the *maloca*. At this point comes one of the noisiest and most amusing incidents in their
[515] daily life. Not only the manioc roots are washed in the water but the babies
[85] too; the mothers vigorously shake their large baskets of roots, then stop to splash water over the backs of the children. For a short time there is cacophony, with screaming babies, splashing water, continuous chatter and laughter, and even barking dogs. But soon the stream is left to myriads of white and brimstone-yellow butterflies which circle everlastingly over the sandbanks, and the women, refreshed, their long black hair glistening in the sun, return up the path to the *maloca*.

Tobacco plants are nearly always grown in a little patch directly in front

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000 *A graceful Tukano canoe.*

[see p. 66-A]

of the men's entrance. Boys carefully pick the tobacco leaves one by one and lay them out on cane matting to dry. An Indian sits in the shade of the *maloca's* overhanging eaves and starts to make string from strands of tough *cumare*. His graceful movements as he rolls the fibre with the palm of the hand on his shining thigh, the string looped around his right big toe, are like those used in the making of Venetian glass. An older man sits near by, deeply engrossed in the construction of a large, shallow cassava basket, a maze of cane strips almost hiding his wizened face. 249 285

The women file through their entrance, their great loads of manioc white and clean after their river washing. They pause for a moment or two and eat some cassava or the pineapples and wild fruit which they have just brought back, but soon they are working again, pulverizing the manioc on the shield-shaped wooden grating boards which have minute flints or tough palm spines set into their baked-clay surface. They work as a team, some grating, others washing the manioc in vast basket-sieves slung between wooden tripods, while yet others extract the poisonous prussic acid by placing the grated manioc flour in a snake-like *matapí*, a long squeezer of plaited cane. With the upper end looped over a pole, a woman stretches its mesh by sitting on a second pole placed in the lower loop. The *matapí* contracts and the poisonous juice runs out. 512 252

When the flour from the *matapí* is ready it is placed on the large flat ovens to make rough cassava pancakes, the Amazonian daily bread, which they eat at every meal together with fish and meat brought back from the forest. The starch from the washed manioc is also baked to make wafer-thin toasted biscuits to add to the *chicha*. Some of the flour is spread thinly on another oven to make the nutty grounds of *farinha*, and the liquid from the washing and squeezing is boiled to neutralize the poison, then poured into the long canoe-trough to make *chicha*.

The noise of grating and the creaking of the tripods lasts all afternoon. A girl feeds her pet parrot some insects, then, taking a strand of *cumare* and winding it around her toe, she starts plaiting string for a hammock to replace her old one. Squatting on the ground, an old woman kneads clay and wood ash. She rolls the clay mixture into coils on a flat board and between the palms of her hands. Then she places them coil upon coil about a clay base, smooths the clay with a pebble and leaves the completed pot in the shade of the *maloca*. Later it will be put on a fire and surrounded with wood bark and ash to bake. Occasionally we saw an iron pot, which at some time in the past must have been traded up the rivers from the Caquetá or the Vaupés. These were sufficiently few to be highly treasured and hadn't affected their own 512 [283] [323] 415

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ABOVE: *The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.* BELOW: *Then it is warped open over a fire.* [see p. 66-B] 000

249
464 That evening the conversation turned to rubber, the exploitation of the
648 Indians and the atrocities. There had been two booms in the area. The first died out with the end of the First World War and the increased production in Malaya. Then with the Japanese occupation of South-East Asia during the Second World War, attention again switched to the Amazon and this continued into the fifties. Now only small interests remain and although the Indians are well paid and housed, the old fear of the *caucheros* is still there and many prefer to live their own lives.

Carlos told us that he had sixteen Indians working for him. Most of them only worked during the summer months – from November to March – when the forest was drier. If there was rain the latex from the wild rubber could not be collected. During the winter months the Indians returned to their homes to attend to their *chagras*. The men cut traces through the forest at fifty-yard intervals within easy shouting distance of one another, so that none of the trees are missed. Each morning they place small wooden cups beneath a fresh slash in the bark, returning later to empty the latex into rubber bags slung on their backs. A different section of the forest is covered each day until the cycle is completed and they start again. When the rubber is brought back to the house formic acid is added, though any organic acid can be used, even lemon juice. This coagulates the rubber which is then rolled into sheets, some of which Carlos showed us hanging from the roof-beams of his house.

At the end of a season's gathering the rubber is shipped in bales up the Caquetá to Araracuara. From there it is flown to the merchants in Bogotá – usually in May and June – and Carlos added, 'This is about the only time in the year when I see civilization. To save costs we arrange that the plane brings all our supplies and merchandise for the next year on its inward journey. These are mainly for the Indians, for there is nothing he can buy with money here, so I keep a small trade store.'

000 Later Carlos spoke of the Missing Link or Loys' Ape, which he maintained lived in the area. Three years before, one of his young workers was out in his rubber trace when he was suddenly attacked by a beast, which held him fastened to the ground all night. The boy who had fainted from fear, was found the next day and brought to Carlos's house where he took forty-eight hours to recover. He was thoroughly washed but the foul smell of the beast was impossible to remove. Several rubber gatherers claim to have seen the ape in the area of the Miritiparaná. Something very similar has also been reported from the Llanos, in the wooded river valleys near the Orinoco.

537 Stories of the half-human ape are as common as those of lost cities, the Amazonian women and the tribes of white Indians who hunt by night. All occur in the myth and legends of the tribes. But to hear a first-hand account of this ape-man from a reliable witness was unusual.

114 Before dawn we set off down river in Carlos's long, narrow, shallow-draught Caquetá boat, faster and more graceful than the stouter ones of the

224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
• [251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through
the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

/216 cont./

252 minor consumption and received from the civilized, just as from the latter they received the use of boiled and roasted maize, but very scantily.

c) Fish and fish dishes:

*192 • 251 252 1) Fish. Fish, in Tukano wai, also constitutes a customary food for the natives who inhabit the banks of the Uaupés and principal tributaries, sufficiently rich in fish for the small groups of present-day populations. They eat the fish almost always moqueado, wai sõkõ (Uaupés wai sõxsõkõ), that is, roasted and smoked on a slow fire, only the entrails having been taken out, or even with them if the fish are small. The fire is set about 80 or 100 centimeters below a wooden grill, the moquém (cf. VI, 2, f (1)).

The smoked fish is kept for a long time, because sufficiently good dehydration is done. And thus for weeks, when the fishing has been bountiful, they keep it at home or consume it on journeys.

*192 251 2) Fish flour. From the smoked and dried fish, they remove the skeleton, crush it in the mortar, take it to the oven, reduce it to flour with the hand until it is completely dry, and the fish flour, wai pokã (from wai, fish, and po'kã, flour; in Nheengatú, pirá-cuí, from pirá, fish, and cuí, flour), which they use when there is no fresh fish, is prepared (45).

45. Concerning this fish flour, Gen. Couto de Magalhães informs us: "sent to one of the expositions in London, it deserved the honors of being classified as the most perfect of the fish preserves" (Ensaio de Anthropologia -- Região e Raça Selvagens /Essay in Anthropology -- Savage Region and Race/, p. 398; Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 36 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1873).

252 *[192] 3) Quinhapira and maniçoba. They also prepare fresh fish, cooking it in water with much pepper and also with salt, if they have it.

*192 /221 cont./
222 d) They likewise eat, alive or roasted, the saúvas, byã-põrá
252 (or põná; it means offshoot or broad, põrá, of the pepper, byá,
262 because of their spicy flavor), and the termite, buxtwá.

2) Larvae.

a) At certain times of the year very many dark larvae about 3 to 4 centimeters in length appear on the plants of the jupará, ba'tí (erísma japurá, Spr.) and of the cunurí, waxpõ (cunúria spruceana, Baill.), totally devouring their leaves. As soon as they perceive it, the Indians bring down the surrounding plants so that the larvae will not move on to other trees, and they are thus forced to go down by way of the trunk in search of food. At the bottom part of the trunk they make a ring with the leaf of the pocova sororoca (ohõ pũrí), which is very smooth. The caterpillars, upon reaching there, slip and fall to the ground, being collected with sticks or strings into strainers, and are later slowly
[251] roasted on a mat at a certain distance from the fire. The quantity is so great that they can fill baskets, which are stored in the smoke chamber, in order to be consumed little by little.

Even when they do not discover it until the chrysalis stage, they cut off the branches loaded with cocoons, like a large ear of maize, and they toast them, it thus being easier to open the
[226] cocoons, as if they were shells of roasted peanuts. The chrysalis constitutes a greatly appreciated delicacy and is also used as bait for the fishhook. These larvae are called in Tukano bá-tí-ỹa (louse? of the japurá) and waxpõ-ỹa (louse of the cunurí).

b) Mẽ'rẽ-pãma is the Tukano name of a greenish-yellow larva similar to the silkworm, which feeds on the leaves of the inga tree (ingá édulis, Mimosáceae) and which is greatly appreciated, alive or roasted.

/222/ c) Besides the ones indicated, there are various other larvae sought for food, such as the ones called mẽ'rẽ-ka-pextorõá, likewise from the inga tree; nixtỹá, also from the cunurí; nextoá, which lives in the tree of the same name; suxpi-sõ, which feeds on the leaves of the acuaricuara (tiny red seeds); pixkõrõá, from the pupunheira; sitá, from the tree called uxpísikarã.

/223 cont./

*192 Assai, patauá, and bacaba are small nuts, in bunches. Put
222 in hot water, the pulp that envelops them comes loose. This,
262 after being crushed and strained, is mixed into the chibé or into
252 the mingau, making it more nourishing and flavorful.

4) They also leave the umarí (paroquéiba /Poraqueiba/ paraénsis, Ducke) in water, after having sucked the sweetish yellow rind, in order for the stone to lose its bitter juice. They also customarily mix its yellow mass into the mingau.

245 5) The pupunha tree is an ornamental palm, straight, with
252 beautiful fronds, which they plant in all their povoados. Twice
262 a year it produces bunches of small red or orange nuts with a fari-
naceous and dry pulp. They eat them cooked in water. /224/
They like them so much that during this time they abstain from
245 other foods. Its pulp, diluted in water and left to ferment in
• 251 camotins for 24 hours, is transformed into a very tasty drink,
273 the pupunha caxirí, ɨ'rẽ-kõ.

*[192] When there is a great abundance of this nut, they prepare a large quantity of the mass, and, in order to keep it during the year without spoiling, they dig a hole in the vicinity of the house, line it well with banana leaves, and there they introduce the mass, pressing it well in order to expel all the air, and afterwards they cover it further with banana leaves and a layer of soil a span or more thick. This mass will be used for preparing the caxirí for months.

222 6) Among the most sought wild fruits is the japurá, a
252 dicotyledon, like an almond, inside of a soft involucre. They
262 subject it to boiling, in order to eliminate the thin and bitter
*[192] skin that covers it, and then crush it, producing a dark mass, with a sharpness that reminds one of Gorgonzola cheese (54).

54. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha already reported that in 1759 in his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/," p. 114: "The Indians will have put the name of Japurá on it (on a

/224 cont./

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/footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

[263]
[251]

They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

[784]

It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunurí, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

*192
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[527]

The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxirí, in Tukano pêru. The term caxirí, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxirí is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55);

55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

/247 cont./

241 *[192] The harvest, du'á, is done by pulling the plant by the stem and taking it out with the hands. They start the harvest at the periphery of the clearing, "in order to fool the cutia /agouti/." They say that upon finding the ground turned over at the edges, it will abandon the clearing, which it thinks is completely harvested. The Indian is not provident, nor does he think of accumulating food. Thus he has no storage place or warehouse. The circumstance of the climate favors him and leads him to this. Besides, due to the hot and humid climate, the mandioca starts to deteriorate a few hours after it has been pulled, and the fresh flour and beijú are tastier. [251]

The man will go to see the clearing only periodically, especially when his participation becomes necessary in order to fight the ants or the animals that attack the planting. When the quantity of ants causes apprehension, they exterminate them by lighting a fire in the hole of the anthill with a termite nest, or by guiding there the waters of the frequent rains.

According to the fertility of the ground, planting will be done there for three or four years. At the second and third planting, when the roots and trunks begin to rot, the cleaning, O'á, is more thorough and is done by dragging the loose soil with a stick. All this process of burnings and cleanings impoverishes the clearing; forest will never be formed there any more. A clear space or barren land will remain, perpetuating the spot. At most a scrubby brush will emerge there. *[192]

Frequently there is a small clearing near the house, when the other one is very far away, for the days of rain or sickness.

The contingency of making a new clearing at short intervals, the native improvidence, which is a racial characteristic, the inconstancy of the climatic elements that exists in the region (76).

76. On the one hand, the inconstancy of the climatic factors, which characterizes the whole basin of the Rio Negro, and, on the other, the almost general poverty of the soil and the

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133 igneous rock dot the country. These hills seem to have little interest for the Cubeo, but the mesas with their sandstone caves are held to be the dwellings of dangerous demons.

136 Fish are generally abundant and are represented by hundreds of [251] species. The favorite of all tribes is the aracú, which the Indians commonly smoke to preserve. The piranha and the river anaconda are the constant river hazards. The piranha seem always to be present, as can be proved by throwing animal entrails into the river. The waste is hit by the fish almost instantly and devoured within minutes. The Indians, however, do not dread either the anaconda or the piranha, but when preparing to bathe they circumspectly drum the surface of the water with their cupped hands to drive these creatures off. The river anaconda reaches a length of over 20 feet and is regarded as dangerous only in the vicinity of submerged trees, which it uses for leverage in seizing a victim and pulling him under. However, children who play constantly in such waters are aware of the hazard but are not afraid, nor are their elders anxious for them. I heard of no specific cases of injury from either piranha or anaconda. The man-eating cayman of the sluggish llanos rivers is absent here and the smaller cayman is a minor hazard.

The Northwest Amazon has its share of tropical forest game, although, as Lord Wallace observed (1870, p. 446), the Amazon is a mammal-poor region. The jaguar is feared in its supernatural aspect only. The peccary, until recently hunted by a group of men armed with spears, is acknowledged to be dangerous and aggressive when challenged. The tapir will also charge when annoyed, but neither animal fills the Indian with dread. For the rest, the forest game is small and shy. It consists of the small red deer, the rodents such as paca, capybara, and agouti, the raccoon-like coati, monkeys, and armadillo. River otters are common but are not molested. When they surround a canoe with their excited barking the Indians greet them with a discreet silence and wait for them to submerge again. Bird life is rich but of small economic importance.

All visitors to the region have described vividly their unpleasant encounters with its insect life. The Indians are made equally miserable by the swarms of pium gnats and sand flies. Careless scratching [164] of an insect bite produces dangerous ulcerations. I have seen Indians who had lost several square feet of skin from such spreading ulcers. Chigger (*neguas*) hygiene is a preoccupation of all residents of the Northwest Amazon. The Indians are expert in expelling the spherical sacs with a deft pressure from a stick or knife blade. In the forest the sting of the red ant bothers the naked Indians more than the clothed

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773 From *Kúwai*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
• [251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [251] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [417] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated [614] with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. [237] They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaúeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 484 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 574 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for 602 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*vekû*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahûkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahûkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahûkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of
61 the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse
594 group, which is also the basic unit of economic redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with
[251] its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each mar-
[354] ried woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her
[264] hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by
[562] the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A
61 well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cul-
582 tural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

[P. 671 - B]

*539 /353 cont./
and went to the maloca of Uarirowí. He entered the maloca of Uarirowí, and he asked Uariró, "Né Mejké" (23), even

23. "Hello, brother of my mother."

though he was not really his Mejké. But since Uariró did not know either, he answered, "Eé Tiiké" (24), because, since

24. "How is everything, son-in-law."

Uariró had two daughters, Uariró thought that Miriápura Turíkaro came to marry his two daughters. Then Uariró received Miriápura Turíkaro very nicely and asked him: "In what condition do you come?" And Miriápura Turíkaro answered him: "I come in a very bad condition. My older son killed my younger son." Then Uariró offered Miriápura Turíkaro a seat. Uariró had almost no food, because when the older son of Miriápura Turíkaro hid the food stones (Bajséboperi), all the food in Uarirowí became exhausted. Then all that Uariró could offer Miriápura Turíkaro was a "kiñapira" (25) of only one chili,

•[252]

25. Chilies boiled in water.

an ugly piece of bread made out of wild seeds, /354/ and a "mingao" (26) also made of wild seeds. When Miriápura

26. Pottage made with the flour from the bitter manioc.

Turíkaro saw the food that Uariró offered him, he was not tempted to eat and he told Uariró that he should take the food and put it away. Then Uariró took the food and put it away. Then he returned to speak with Miriápura Turíkaro, and he asked him: "Are you really coming to stay here to live?" And Miriápura Turíkaro answered him: "I am really coming to stay here to live. If I had not really meant to stay here to live,

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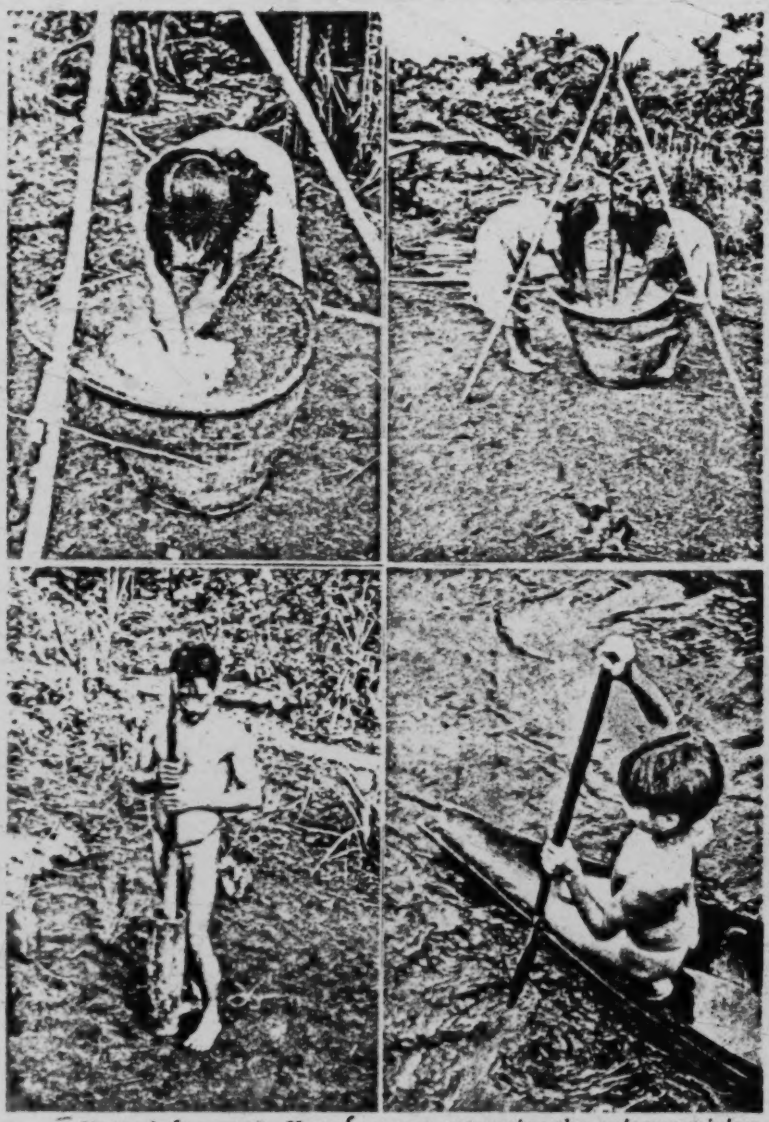

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Upper left corner: Yurutí woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yurutí women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

3: Fulop--52 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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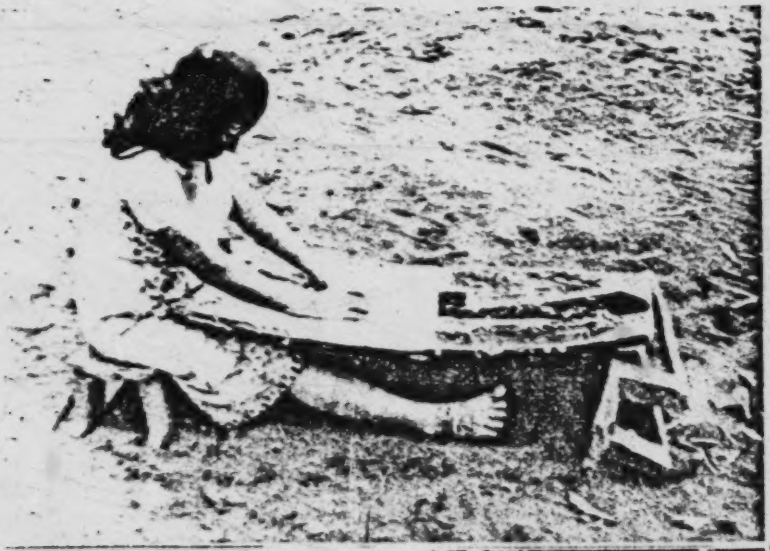

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Upper part: Yurutí woman grating bitter yuca.

Lower part: Siriano man weaving balaya (basket).

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

4: Silva--259 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Illustrations facing p. 177 in the original source./

Preparation of the Caapi (Wanana tribe, Cururú-cachoeira, river Uaupés)

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Oven (axtaro, Nh. yapuna)

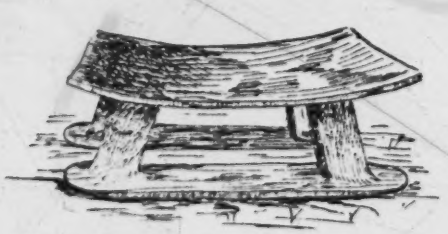
/186 cont./

415 The woman, as she grates, will do it with the two hands alternately, and not in a uniform rhythm, but with sudden pulls
• 252 that cause movement of her very breasts. She will be seated on the ground having between /187/ her legs the grater, the head
[462] of which they support against the stomach. It is exclusively women's work.

The grater is such an useful object that on the lower Rio Negro the civilized adopted it as well as the tipití (VI -- 2, d (1) ).

*192 4) Seat. The seat, in Tukano kũ-mũ-rõ (Uaupés kũmũ-no),
352 is in general use, although its specialized producers are the Tukano. It is generally made out of sorva or arara-seringa (Cóuma guianénsis, Muell.), a not very heavy wood which hardly cracks.

They formerly made it with the help of their primitive adze. Today, instead of the syó-a, they use a digging iron or even an adze obtained from the civilized.



Little monoxylic seat (ku-mũ-rõ)

The dimensions are the most varied, some of only 30 to 40 centimeters and others of 120 to 150 centimeters. The style, however, is constant, to wit, the seating place is concave, with a double curvature in the longitudinal and transverse directions. It is always low, only 10 to 15 centimeters in height, with four legs connected by two longitudinal crossbars. And the seat, with the supports, is monoxylic, that is, made from one piece of wood.

[531] They are accustomed to decorating the seat with the tradi-
[824] tional designs, and over it something like a varnish, obtained from the sap of the bark of a wild inga tree, mẽ'rẽ (Uaupés mẽ'nẽ).

/212 cont./

262 *[192] 1) The flour. The flour, po'ká, is an indispensable food, not only for the natives of all the tribes of the Uaupés, but also for the caboclos of the Rio Negro. Without the flour, not only would the most varied and nourishing repast seem deficient to them, but they would not endure any nutritional regimen uninterruptedly without flour.

*192 • 252 For the making of the so-called "farinha dágua" /water flour/, they use the "mandioca puba," ki-bó. That is, the roots are submerged in water (sometimes in a canoe or in some submerged hamper, or even camotim) for about six days, until they show the beginning of fermentation or putrefaction, with an unpleasant odor. Through simple pressure between the fingers, the mass comes loose, the bark remaining almost whole.

The mass, ki-ɔ̃'tá, after it is squeezed by hand in a strainer of fine mesh, tõ-pa, placed on top of a camotim that collects the liquid, yõxká, is introduced into the tipití. After this is full, it is suspended on a support by the upper handle. Into the lower handle the woman inserts a rounded stick about two meters long, serving as a lever, this remaining immobilized by one of its ends against the support, and upon the other the woman will exert pressure with her arms or even by sitting on top of it. With the weight of the body itself and with adequate movement, the tipití is stretched, which thus compresses the mass and forces out the liquid, which is then carefully collected in a vessel.

There are three ways of immobilizing the end of the lever: 1st) by means of a ring of cipo, ɔ̃'tá buhuri-be'tó, which embraces the support; or 2nd) the support is equipped with orifices, ɔ̃'tá buhurí-pé, and the end of the lever is successively fixed in the various orifices as the tipití stretches; or 3rd) the support is cut like the teeth of a saw, ɔ̃'tá buhú-yehero, on which leans the shorter end of the lever. Among the Arwake /Arawak/ of the rivers Içana and Aiarí, we observed the preference for this last process, and in a very practical way. That is, they would plant solidly in the ground a rounded stake, a meter or a little more in height and about 10 centimeters in

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/212 cont./
diameter, equipped with teeth like a saw, against which the lever of the tipití was immobilized.

As a result of the compression, the mass comes out quite dry and hard. It is further passed through a strainer of wider mesh, sõõ-a (Nh. urupema), in order to eliminate the fine fibers.

/213/

Squeezing the mass of mandioca in the tipití

The oven being already quite warm, the woman starts to reduce the mass to flour over it with the hand, spreading it well, in small amounts, and at the same time stirring it with a wooden scoop, po'ká axtẽrĩ-phĩ (Nh. tarubá), in order to toast it well. According to the quality of the mandioca, the flour will acquire a whitish color (it always contains tapioca, that is, starch) or a beautiful canary-yellow. From the oven they transfer the flour to deep strainers, baxtí, to cool, and later they keep it in panniers for consumption or to sell to the civilized.

/213 cont./

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2) Tapioca. The fresh mandioca is peeled with the teeth, or with a terçado (large knife), if they have it, and is grated using the two hands in an alternate and rapid movement.

Water is added to the merely grated mass, in order to separate out the powder or starch, and it is left to rest in vessels called bixperí-pá. The powder, after a few hours, settles on the bottom. Once the excess water is eliminated, the vessel is sometimes covered with a cloth and a layer of ashes, in order to clarify the powder better. Later it is taken to the oven, and one has the tapioca, wextá, in granular form, greatly /214/ appreciated also by the civilized, especially taken with milk or coffee. The forest dwellers usually keep the tapioca and use it daily to prepare their mingau or beijú.

3) Manicuera -- Tucupim.

a) Manicuera. The liquid that ran out of the mass of squeezed mandioca, although poisonous because of the hydrocyanic acid that it contains, if left for some time fermenting in the sun or subjected to fire, loses its toxicity and becomes pleasant, being greatly appreciated in the caxirí and outside of it. It is what is called manicuera or manipuera (in Tukano yõxká). They usually add to it cará /Dioscorea/, sweet potato, or fruits, like a thin soup.

b) Tucupim. Also the liquid extracted from the mandioca puba, evaporated by boiling until it becomes a dark substance of syrupy consistency, somewhat acid, but, thanks to the flavor, it is used as seasoning and is called tucupim (in Tukano ki-bo-kõ). Stradelli affirms concerning the tucupim: "For my taste, it is the king of the sauces, for game as well as for fish, it being necessary to add that it is recommended for curing beriberi, in the dose of a chalice after each meal, and that extraordinary cures are attributed to it" (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry "tucupim").

/214 cont./

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4) Beijú and similar foods.

a) The beijú, also called meiú or caçábe (in Tukano ahũ-ga or ahũ-a), is a cake made out of the mass of fresh mandioca after it is pressed in the tipití. The woman starts by spreading the mass, little by little, over the very hot oven, pressing with the hands and smoothing with a small spatula, until it has the thickness of about 3 centimeters. When the lower part is well cooked, she turns it over, using a fan (wẽ'rĩ-rõ).

b) There is also prepared, although less appreciated, the beijú of mandioca puba, called in Tukano karĩbé-hũã.

c) The curadá (in Tukano sirákaro or sidákaro) is similar to the beijú, but thicker and richer in starch. It is the required food in the rite for the initiation of the maidens.

d) Õ'tá-pekaro is the name of the fresh, brittle beijú, which is obtained from the mandioca gathered, grated, and prepared on the same day, in an interval of a few hours.

e) Súkaro is the name of a variety of mandioca beijú with tapioca.

/215/ 5) Mingau. It is generally obtained from tapioca cooked in water until it has a gummy consistency, like soft glue. When they can, they add sugar or salt or fruit juices to it. It is the food that, as a rule, they are accustomed to taking every morning, before leaving for work. In Tukano it is called yumũ-ku. It is to be noted that on the Tiquié the drink prepared with bacaba is called yumũ-ko; on the Uaupés the name of this drink is pronounced ĩã̂mã̂-ko, and the mingau, yumũ-ku.

6) Arumbé. The mass of mandioca can be prepared with pepper. It is called in the Língua Geral arumbé or arubé. It seems to us that such food, which is rarely talked about, might not be primitive, but inherited, as was also the name, from the tribes of the Nheengatú language, or perhaps even from the Rio Negro caboclo.

/215 cont./

252 [192] 7) Chibé. The chibé, in Tukano po'ká põõke, is prepared with the water flour rich in tapioca. It is enough to take a certain amount of flour in a cuia and add water to it. For example, they take the water directly from the river while they are traveling on it, with a quick movement of the hand, without spilling the flour. They wait for a few seconds, in order for the mandioca fibers that are in the flour to come up (at times they facilitate this, moving the mass with the fingers) and empty out the water from the top, along with these fibers. After a few moments the flour "grows," because of being impregnated with water. The chibé has then been prepared. This starchy water, acid in flavor, is naturally refreshing. The chibé is used as a snack by the Indian. With a cuia of chibé, he rows for endless hours. It is the regular food, or even the sole food, on journeys, and also his dessert after meals.

243 [192] b) Maize.

The maize, ohó-ka (we do not know whether the Indian sees any special relation between the maize stalk, ohó-ka, and the banana tree, ohó; or if the similarity of the terms is a matter of mere accident), is not only of late introduction, but, moreover, of very restricted use. Properly speaking, there is no maize clearing among the tribes of the Uaupés, but only a few isolated plants, when there are any. A group from the Karapanã tribe, residing between the rivers Papurí and Tiquié, on the headwaters of the stream Umarí, cultivates maize in greater abundance, but it is almost entirely sold to the Salesian Mission. It is a matter of a variety with a soft and white grain.

[184] [197]

273 In small quantity the chewed maize is used, in some cases, to facilitate the fermentation of the drinks.

252 It also enters into the preparation of cakes, through the following process: after the maize is pounded, the meal is sifted and moistened with lukewarm water. With this dough they prepare cakes that are /216/ put on to bake over coals, wrapped in banana leaves. If the woman "has a good hand," they say, a sweet and pleasing cake comes out. It is, however, a food of

/216 cont./

• 252 minor consumption and received from the civilized, just as from the latter they received the use of boiled and roasted maize, but very scantily.

c) Fish and fish dishes:

*192 251 252 1) Fish. Fish, in Tukano wai, also constitutes a customary food for the natives who inhabit the banks of the Uaupés and principal tributaries, sufficiently rich in fish for the small groups of present-day populations. They eat the fish almost always moqueado, wai sõkõ (Uaupés wai sõxsókõ), that is, roasted and smoked on a slow fire, only the entrails having been taken out, or even with them if the fish are small. The fire is set about 80 or 100 centimeters below a wooden grill, the moquém (cf. VI, 2, f (1) ).

The smoked fish is kept for a long time, because sufficiently good dehydration is done. And thus for weeks, when the fishing has been bountiful, they keep it at home or consume it on journeys.

*192 251 2) Fish flour. From the smoked and dried fish, they remove the skeleton, crush it in the mortar, take it to the oven, reduce it to flour with the hand until it is completely dry, and the fish flour, wai póká (from wai, fish, and po'ká, flour; in Nheengatú, pirá-cuí, from pirá, fish, and cuí, flour), which they use when there is no fresh fish, is prepared (45).

45. Concerning this fish flour, Gen. Couto de Magalhães informs us: "sent to one of the expositions in London, it deserved the honors of being classified as the most perfect of the fish preserves" (Ensaio de Anthropologia -- Região e Raça Selvagens /Essay in Anthropology -- Savage Region and Race/, p. 398; Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 36 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1873).

252 *[192] 3) Quinhapira and maniçoba. They also prepare fresh fish, cooking it in water with much pepper and also with salt, if they have it.

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More rarely they cook it with tender leaves of mandioca; such a dish is called maniçoba (from the Nheengatú manib, mandioca, and çob, leaf), and in Tukano dõxkõ pũ (Uaupés dõxkõ pũnĩ; from dõxkõ, maniva /manioc cutting for planting/, and pũnĩ, leaves).

The peppery water (with or without salt) in which the fish or the piracuí was boiled is what is called byá-tõ (literally pepper pot) and in the Língua Geral quinhapira (from quinha, pepper, and pirá, /217/ fish); and in which the pieces of beijú are moistened before being taken to the mouth.

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4) The fish. There are many species of fish (46)

46. It is estimated that there are about 3,700 species of Brazilian fish, approximately 1,700 of these species being fresh-water fish. (J. H. Leoni -- Peixes Brasileiros /Brazilian Fish/ -- Edit. Anchieta, 1946.)

existing in the rivers of this zone northwest of the Amazon, and the natives use almost all of them (47).

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47. A Tukano Indian, João by name, an old fisherman from S. Francisco (river Tiquié) assured us in 1955: "We eat all the fish, except the pirá-boto." Boto or pirá-boto /dolphin/, also called pirá-yauara (that is, dog fish, and in Tukano oxkó puxtistéro, blower of water?), is a cetacean mammal, four species of which are given for the Amazon region: the white one, known as uiára (Inia Geoffroyensis, Blaw.); the black one or pixúna (Inia Amazonica); the red one or piranga (Delphines fluviátilis, Gervais), and the gray one or tucuxí (Stena tucuxi). The Boto, moreover, is a fish that appears in the legends, as well as the pirarara (in Tukano mahã-wí, which means precisely

/218 cont./

224 d) Meats and edible animals. Hunting, as we find it in the present stage, is only a sport for the Indian. If we exclude the "wild pigs" (of the genera Dicotyles and Tayassu), which sometimes appear in herds in certain places (48),

> 48. Just as the piracema /shoal of fish/ appears, as a rule, in the same places, so do the wild pigs have their habitual path and customarily cross the rivers at certain points, where the hunter catches them.

when the river is low and the javarizeiro /palm tree, Astrocaryum/ ripens its fruit, game is rare. It is used, therefore, only to vary the "menu" from time to time. All the more since the Indian will always share the fruit of his hunting with those who live in the same maloca, and he will commonly do it for those who reside in houses neighboring his (if he does not sell it to the civilized).

252 They prepare the game by "moqueando-a" /smoking it/, like the fish. And it seems that they never eat raw meat; they even say that it is only Wax-tí who eats raw meat. And they also eat snake meat. The principal animals that serve them as food
262 are (49):

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> 49. The dogs are generally skinny and often also sick; for this reason and because of the services that they render, they do not eat them. There are indications that in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) the natives ate a fat dog killed
[171] by a shotgun. The caboclo of the Rio Negro is incapable of killing a dog, even a sick one. He fears that this "sin" (as they think and say) would bring upon them the punishment of S. Lazarus, who they regard as protector of the dogs and who would punish them, probably, with leprosy.

/219 cont./

*192 e) Tubers and green vegetables.

262 They eat, boiled or roasted, the tubers of the batata, yaxpĩ (hipomaéa /Ipomoea/ batátas, Lam.), of the cará, fõmõ (dioscórea alata, Lin.), which were introduced in the last century, and various tubers of the region, /220/ such as duxtú, kaxpó, and others. They do not know the English potato (solánum tuberósum, Lin.).

As for green vegetables, they refuse them when they are offered to them, saying that they are not cows (literally, anta, wexkõ).

*192 In the fish sauces, besides the pepper, at times they put tender
• 252 leaves of mandioca (see above, maniçóba). Sometimes, too,
263 they let the mandioca leaves age for three or four days, until they acquire the dark color; then they crush them, boil them, and drink the broth. It is what is called ki-pũ.

*192 They formerly used the ashes of the carurú-da-pedra (mourera
263 fluviátilis), which grows spontaneously on the rocks of some
178 cachoeiras, in place of salt, to season their food (52).

52. This plant provides an excellent salad, already salty by nature. The Indian, however, "is not a cow" to eat green vegetables. Wallace tells (Travels, 340) that from the fruits of the palm trees inajá and jará (leopoldinia maior and pulchra, Mart.), they prepared a flour of salty taste. It has not been reported to us, however, that they make it now, because of the ease of obtaining salt. The Indians who work in the Missions buy whole bags of salt, and later they sell them, even with exaggerated usury, to those of the more remote malocas, in Colombian territory too.

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/220 cont./

263 According to the description by the Cônego /canon/ André Fernandes de Souza (end of the eighteenth century), the process was similar to that for the preparation of the lye for the manufacture of the "ash soap." That is: the plant was reduced to ashes, which were left in a water infusion in order for the salt to dissolve, and the latter, afterwards, through evaporation, would be deposited in the form of whitish crystals (p. 467 of the "Notícias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/," ap. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 10 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1870).

f) Insects.

*192 222 • 252 262 [881]

1) Termites and ants.

a) Mexkã (in Nheengatú maninuara, manivara) is the queen of a species of yellow termite, which comes out in abundance from the holes in the earth right after the rain. They eat them alive or roasted. It is the required food for the young men and women in the puberty rite.

b) In times of scarcity the women explore the ground with sticks in the places where they know that a type of manivara without wings, called exkó, probably exists. They come out in large numbers and are eaten alive, or after being roasted in small bundles of sororoca leaves.

/221/ c) They likewise eat the tanajura /large, winged ant/, dyãrã (Uaupés dyãnã), and different species of ants, yamĩ-ka (night ant, because it comes out at night or early morning), dexpótyãra (uarabá), duhúsã (which come out in the afternoon), etc., when they come out of the ant nest. When they observe the clean openings and a great movement of ants, they prepare a platform at a height of half a meter above the ant nest. One can see an entire family posted on this platform, and as the tanajuras emerge from the ground, they are eaten raw, often also with the accompaniment of beijú or flour. When the emergence is very abundant, the tanajuras are collected in special baskets, in which they are later roasted.

*192 /221 cont./
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262

d) They likewise eat, alive or roasted, the saúvas, byã-põrã (or põnã; it means offshoot or broad, põrã, of the pepper, byã, because of their spicy flavor), and the termite, buxtwã.

2) Larvae.

a) At certain times of the year very many dark larvae about 3 to 4 centimeters in length appear on the plants of the jupará, ba'tí (erísma japurá, Spr.) and of the cunurí, waxpõ (cunúria spruceana, Baill.), totally devouring their leaves. As soon as they perceive it, the Indians bring down the surrounding plants so that the larvae will not move on to other trees, and they are thus forced to go down by way of the trunk in search of food. At the bottom part of the trunk they make a ring with the leaf of the pocova sororoca (ohõ pũrí), which is very smooth. The caterpillars, upon reaching there, slip and fall to the ground, being collected with sticks or strings into strainers, and are later slowly
[251] roasted on a mat at a certain distance from the fire. The quantity is so great that they can fill baskets, which are stored in the smoke chamber, in order to be consumed little by little.

Even when they do not discover it until the chrysalis stage, they cut off the branches loaded with cocoons, like a large ear of maize, and they toast them, it thus being easier to open the
[226] cocoons, as if they were shells of roasted peanuts. The chrysalis constitutes a greatly appreciated delicacy and is also used as bait for the fishhook. These larvae are called in Tukano bã-tí-ỹa (louse? of the japurá) and waxpõ-ỹa (louse of the cunurí).

b) Mẽ'rẽ-pãma is the Tukano name of a greenish-yellow larva similar to the silkworm, which feeds on the leaves of the inga tree (ingã édulis, Mimosáceae) and which is greatly appreciated, alive or roasted.

/222/ c) Besides the ones indicated, there are various other larvae sought for food, such as the ones called mẽ'rẽ-ka-pextorõã, likewise from the inga tree; nixtỹã, also from the cunurí; nextoã, which lives in the tree of the same name; suxpi-sõ, which feeds on the leaves of the acuaricuara (tiny red seeds); pixkõrõã, from the pupunheira; sitã, from the tree called uxpísikarã.

/222 cont./

147 Perhaps the Indian owes to the richness of Vitamin A, taken
262 in through the consumption of such a variety of insects and larvae, the admirable night vision that he enjoys.

/223/ g) Fruits.

*192 If the native diet is lacking in green vegetables and legumes,
245 many are the fruits that they eat.

• 252 1) Among the fruit trees cultivated, there come first five or
262 six varieties of banana, ohó; and they eat them raw, baked, or boiled and reduced to mingau. Even when they are still green, they eat them roasted in the ashes.

They are also fond of pineapple, sẽ'rã (Uaupés sẽ'nã), biriba, pixkã, cashew nuts, sõ'rã (U. sõ'nã), and, more recently, the orange, darãñõ, avocado, ñõmõ, abio /Lucuma caimito/, kã'rẽ.

*192 2) The wild fruits that they know and eat are very numer-
222 ous. We shall recall some: õ'sé, cucura or mapatí (pourouma
252 cecropiaefóliae, Mart.), one of the Moraceae very similar to the imbauba, producing large bunches of fruits the size of a jabuticaba
262 /Mouriria pusa/, which, when ripe, are dark, sweet, and mucilaginous, and, fermented, give a wine-like drink; mẽ'rẽ
[273] (U. mẽ'nẽ), wirí-mẽ'rẽ, various species of ingá (ingá cinamómea, marginata, édulis, etc., Mimosaceae); burukũña, maracujá /species of Passiflora/; õxtã-ñĩmĩ, cumã (fruit of the service tree); pãgã, another species of cucura; kenõ, jatobá /locust tree/; simiõ, uacú /Monopterix uaucú/; teheõ and ehyũ-pu, varieties of piquia; thoá, yúa-pixuna; wamã, umarí; wĩhĩ, paricá /Leguminosae/; extoá, cubio /Solanum sessiliflorum/; wextí, umirí; wikasoró, small white fruit; tohoá-kaxperí, omã-karperí, and ñerẽ, similar to the cumã.

3) And many species of palm nuts, more or less oily: ixkí, inajá; puxpyá, ucuquí; mĩx'pĩ, assai; ã'rẽ, pupunha, for which they are eager; bextá, tucumã, which they like very much, ñãmã (U. ñumũ), bacaba and patauá; etc.

/223 cont./

*192 Assai, pataua, and bacaba are small nuts, in bunches. Put
222 in hot water, the pulp that envelops them comes loose. This,
262 after being crushed and strained, is mixed into the chibé or into
• 252 the mingau, making it more nourishing and flavorful.

4) They also leave the umarí (paroquéiba /Poraqueiba/ paraénsis, Ducke) in water, after having sucked the sweetish yellow rind, in order for the stone to lose its bitter juice. They also customarily mix its yellow mass into the mingau.

245 5) The pupunha tree is an ornamental palm, straight, with
252 beautiful fronds, which they plant in all their povoados. Twice
262 a year it produces bunches of small red or orange nuts with a fari-
naceous and dry pulp. They eat them cooked in water. /224/
They like them so much that during this time they abstain from
245 other foods. Its pulp, diluted in water and left to ferment in
251 camotins for 24 hours, is transformed into a very tasty drink,
273 the pupunha caxirí, ɨ'rẽ-kó.
*[192] When there is a great abundance of this nut, they prepare a large quantity of the mass, and, in order to keep it during the year without spoiling, they dig a hole in the vicinity of the house, line it well with banana leaves, and there they introduce the mass, pressing it well in order to expel all the air, and afterwards they cover it further with banana leaves and a layer of soil a span or more thick. This mass will be used for preparing the caxirí for months.

222 6) Among the most sought wild fruits is the japurá, a
252 dicotyledon, like an almond, inside of a soft involucre. They
262 subject it to boiling, in order to eliminate the thin and bitter
*[192] skin that covers it, and then crush it, producing a dark mass, with a sharpness that reminds one of Gorgonzola cheese (54).

54. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha already reported that in 1759 in his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/," p. 114: "The Indians will have put the name of Japurá on it (on a

/224 cont./

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/footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

[263]
[251]

They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

[784]

It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunurí, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

*192
273
[527]

The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxirí, in Tukano pêru. The term caxirí, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxirí is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55);

55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

/232 cont./

184 Its consumption is almost unknown today on the lower Uaupés;
276 it is quite general, however, among the tribes of the Papuri and Tiquié, even when they have their regular food. Perhaps the abuse of the ipadú is responsible for the organic depauperation in the elderly and many stomach ulcers. Besides, the individual becomes addicted and his children are born weak, silly, defective (62).

> 62. The Salesian Missionary, Padre João Marchesi, on a certain occasion showed a tuxaua how the son of an ipadú eater was slow in intelligence, did not learn how to read or write, did not have any manual skills, whereas the other children did this quickly.

[797] The young generation, which has gone through the Mission schools,
[178] scarcely consumes ipadú any longer.

/233/ 8) /sic; j)/ Conclusion.

• 252 The natives of the Uaupés take only fruits and some insects raw. Never a piece of meat or fish (63);

> 63. It was not possible for us to investigate as to whether it is a question only of taste and custom, or if superstitious motives also enter in. It does not seem to us that they exist, although in one of their legends it is said that Wãx-tĩ is the one who eats raw meat.

these foods ordinarily are moqueados /smoked/. And the fish is frequently boiled or reduced to a sauce with pepper, to accompany the ingestion of the beijú.

372 Fire is obtained today with a match, "palito" /toothpick/, as
*[192] they call it, and they try not to let it go out. Day and night
[177] one finds the fire burning inside the maloca, and they also take pots with live coals to the clearing and on trips.

/419 cont./

551 /footnote 24 cont./ identified with such a person (or object). To pronounce this name is to render present that person or sacred object, which is not licit (religious taboo, properly speaking). Or to pronounce the name of a person (for example, that of one's own husband, among tribes of southern India -- cf. Gordon, o. c. 132) will make him die (it is the magic taboo).

551 They will simply say to identify her: -- "The wife of such-and-
593 such a person" or "The mother of such-and-such a person." The
*[192] husband will use this expression: "Yõ põrá-kó," "the mother of my children," or "the one who gives me children," or "the mother of N" and says the name of the oldest child.

462 Her tasks are constant, heavy, and of great responsibility. Perhaps in a precarious state of health, for example, during gestation and the delivery, even so, she does them perfectly, without complaining, because they are tribal regulations, therefore they come from a superior will (25).

[593] [123] 25. If, in front of the husband, we purposely show surprise at her great tasks, the woman smiles and says nothing.

[241] The planting and the cleaning of the clearing fall to her. She will spend whole hours in the sun amid the fire and the smoke,
*[192] preparing the piles of branches to be burned, digging and burying the mandioca shoots, cleaning the clearing by the process of pulling out the weeds by hand, Taá kuresé. She is the one who pulls
• [252] the mandioca, collects it in the aturás /carrying baskets/, and brings it home, where, afterwards, she peels it, grates it, squeezes it, and strains it, in order to make flour. It is she who prepares the foods and the caxiris, takes care of the house and of the rearing of the children. All this while the husband perhaps is idle in

/477 cont./

614 Just as there is no indication of clan totemism, there is none
532 of individual or personal totemism either. The objects that they make do not represent animals; they are of simple workmanship, according to the purpose. In some quite rare cases the paintings of the walls are anthropomorphic; they seem, however, to have only a sportive character. /Page 478 is blank./

/479/

## Chapter IX

## The Life of the Indian

1) Daily cycle.

512 The type and the standard of life of the Indian seem patterned. Even in distinct tribes we find the Indians doing the same things in the same way, and even with a very close timetable. It is indeed a very methodical life, not, however, monotonous. On the contrary, quite varied, in a perfect nature in which daily rest, work, meals, baths, physical exercises succeed one another.

[592] "The Tukano lives in the maloca, which serves him as bedroom, kitchen, dining room in the morning and in the afternoon. The maloca is, in succession, laboratory for the domestic chores, meeting place at times of rain, and ballroom during the great feasts. It is the place where the Tukano lives, dies, and is buried. For the Tukano the maloca is the world" (Report by the First Superior of the Salesian Missions of the Rio Negro, Mons. Lourenço Giordano -- Boletim Salesiano -- Feb. 1918, p. 31).

The ordinary family life can be summarized in this way: the Indian sleeps little, eats much, talks a great deal, works when it is necessary.

From three o'clock in the morning, the maloca still closed, one hears inside quite an animated conversation, noisy and frequent laughs. And many times the noise of the graters at work: [462] [252] it is the women who are preparing the mandioca for the beijú. Before five o'clock, with rain or without it, always dark in those [515] latitudes, the women leave through the back door, individually

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at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. (514)
The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a 342
vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its (796)
great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food (764)
is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- (252)
factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- (32)
side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza (517)
in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure
time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 342
way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 574
exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests 576
are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and
facing inward.

When I came among the *Bakükiwa* they were on the upswing, hav- 342
ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had 622
put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com- (114)
partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was
75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof
extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the
work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is
carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction.
The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the
maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The
headman is known as *kenámi upákü* (owner of the house). The house
is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority
of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo be-
lieve, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation- 342
ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578
Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592
is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook dis-
courtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that
such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are
acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one
sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will
move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community.
The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove
the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they
have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[64] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 501 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

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773 From *Kûwai*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkûndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

## FISHING

Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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He brings home the hide for a
224 trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle
[237] that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary
[554] and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahukiwa* the headman's son – an aspirant for the position – killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

## GARDENING

462 I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions
262 of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

462 An important distinction between the labor of men and women
461 is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

462 On days when only subsistence manioc – that is, the manioc cake
461 – is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is
● 252 to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she
244 gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

462 Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time,
244 leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast.
[512] Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against
[751] sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is
[789]

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244 433 [462] A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They 244 are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their 242 characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When wom- [571] en from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cul- [439] tivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for [252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake 244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's 462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

142 252 302 291 516

Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

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place the blame upon the material conditions. The woman, then, is more than a mere toiler in the garden. She qualifies as agronomist as well.

Women return from their gardens in the very early afternoon. They pause at the rear door of the house only long enough to drop the machete, and without putting down their burdens of manioc and infant, go directly to the river to bathe themselves and to wash the tubers. This is a pleasurable hour. Refreshed from the heat of the morning, the women play with their infants and jest with one another. Washing the tubers is a simple task of dipping the entire basket into the water. A light midday meal follows the washing, and the routine of processing the tubers begins. The woman may start with fresh roots, but for a more tender manioc cake she will allow the roots to soften for several days either in the house or in the river.

The first step is peeling. The woman seats herself at her own household compartment, her back braced against a post, her legs stretched out stiff and straight before her into the dance corridor – the public alley of the house. The manioc basket is at one side and a tray at the other. She bites the butt end of the tuber to break the skin, and using teeth and fingers pulls off the readily peelable skin. This phase of the work is leisurely. Women who are not at the moment occupied come by to chat and help casually in the peeling. A woman's daughters sit with her and help. Enough is peeled for one manioc cake – that is, one half of a basket.

The next step is the most arduous and least liked – grating the peeled tubers on a wooden board (*pediba*) that has been set with abrasive stones. A woman can usually shift this work on to her daughter or her daughter-in-law.

The scraping process is as follows. The woman sits with her feet stretched out straight before her and slightly spread. She sets the grate on her legs with its far end braced against a house post, the forward end pressed against her abdomen. She takes up two large manioc tubers from a tray, one in each hand, and scrapes vigorously with alternate arm movements with the hardest pressure on the forward stroke. The action is vigorous, involving not only full arm movements but the bending of the back from the hips. Young women of marriageable age work rapidly and continuously until bathed in sweat. When worn down to a size where it cannot be conveniently scraped any more, the tuber is thrown aside and two others taken up. Finally, a collection of scraps is assembled into a single bunch clutched in both hands and scraped down virtually to the very bottom. This is a break in the work rhythm since both hands are used together and the move-

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462 ment is slower and altogether less vigorous. Usually, except when she
461 is very strong and young, the woman interrupts her scraping for a
252 rest or change of occupation. For example, the work may be staggered. If the mother begins the scraping and the daughter continues with the peeling, the daughter, when she has finished peeling, will take over the scraping, while the mother prepares to begin the next process. The manioc mash that has accumulated at the far end of the board is removed by hand and thrown into a basket tray, and the liquid drained off into a pot to be poured out.

[415] A substantial part of the poisonous liquid of the manioc has been removed in the scraping on the grater; the mash is further dried by pounding it through a tightly woven basket sieve. A tripodal frame is set up and the sieve set on it at a woman's waist level. The pounding, also strenuous work, requires vigorous motion of the arms, back, and shoulders. With both fists clenched the woman attacks the mash,
[516] using her arms as pistons in a crisscross motion. The mash is frequently turned. As this work is done standing up, the woman has a chance to limber her legs. Because of the height at which the sieve is set little girls are not very efficient at the pounding, and only help out for a little while. When the mash is relatively dry after a thorough pounding it is put into a long tubular squeezer (the tipiti). The woman grips the lower end of the flexible tube between her knees, and bending the top toward her, fills it with the mash from the sieve. When full, the squeezer is hung from a projecting beam at one of the house posts. Through a loop at the lower end of the squeezer a long pole of heavy wood is inserted, the fulcrum end going through a few twists of heavy rope around the post. This phase of the work affords the woman a rest from the strenuous labor of scraping and pounding. She may sit on the pole, adjusting the pressure by the distance from the fulcrum. A woman is sometimes joined by another, who helps her sit on the pole. The liquid starch that runs down the sides of the squeezer is collected in a pot set for it. The pot is covered with a layer of ash that absorbs the volatile prussic acid, and the clear starch is used as the base for a porridge.

The mash, free of much of its prussic acid content, is finally formed into a cake upon the flat circular oven at the rear of the house. The baking is leisurely and as women wait their turn at the communal oven they enjoy some sociable moments.

462 A good housewife prepares a fresh manioc cake daily since the
252 cake tastes best when fresh, moist, and warm. On the second day a
[512] cake is dry and considerably less palatable. Thus, under ordinary conditions, the routine of manioc preparation is daily. However, a wom-

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an who has daughters to help her can prepare a surplus of mash that, covered with banana leaves or stored in a circular bark bin, holds over to the next day. Whatever time a woman spares from manioc cake preparation is immediately absorbed by other duties, among them the making of chicha and farinha, which is simply the manioc routine all over again. When a woman prepares manioc for chicha, however, she has the help of her husband, but only at those stages that are totally distinct from manioc cake preparation. The Cubeo tradition is for men to take no part in *dúno* production, once they have made the clearing. Still, men do help their wives in peeling the manioc tuber. Since the knife has begun to supplant the teeth as a peeling implement, men, who are the most expert in handling knives, feel somewhat more free than formerly to help – but not without embarrassment. I once walked into the house and saw the headman sitting amiably beside his wife and peeling manioc with a knife. Were I a proper Cubeo I would have managed to appear as though I had seen nothing. But the sight was so unexpected I stared. The man flushed and dropped the knife and tuber. Then he collected himself and explained that his wife was not well and so he felt he should help her. He assured me, as his wife smiled, that he never did this ordinarily.

Whereas all women share the same general manioc routine, individual circumstances differ. A young married woman with young children has no one to help her and must work very hard in contrast to an older woman with several daughters who can relieve her of much of the work. A woman with many sons and no daughters has a very heavy burden. The men provide her with a very large garden, they eat heavily, they are sociable and plan drinking parties. An old woman living alone prepares her own small manioc cake ration, and worries rather that she can call on no man to enlarge her manioc garden. Yet in all these individual circumstances one observes leveling factors as well. The household with very young children eats less, has less need to entertain, and has smaller trade needs. The household with grown daughters eats more, entertains more – suitors and their parties for example – and has great needs for trade goods, skirts, and ornaments for the girls. The household with many men has greater access to trade goods through their wage labor and saves on farinha. An old woman living alone may eat with her close kin and so devote her manioc production entirely to farinha, if she desires. There are no significant differences in manioc cake consumption. Families differ only in the rather small prestige of owning trade goods and in

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped upon the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahúkiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahûkiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urihana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

854
[157] Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the in-
[515] fant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early
[296] afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo
[252] child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and
854 if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I
155 once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow
[853] log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtu-
[853] ally impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully
[831] squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's
000 genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahúkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahúkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkúndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkúndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkúndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

of the men's entrance. Boys carefully pick the tobacco leaves one by one and 249
lay them out on cane matting to dry. An Indian sits in the shade of the *maloca's* overhanging eaves and starts to make string from strands of tough *cumare*. His graceful movements as he rolls the fibre with the palm of the 285
hand on his shining thigh, the string looped around his right big toe, are like those used in the making of Venetian glass. An older man sits near by, deeply engrossed in the construction of a large, shallow cassava basket, a maze of cane strips almost hiding his wizened face.

The women file through their entrance, their great loads of manioc white 512
and clean after their river washing. They pause for a moment or two and eat 252
some cassava or the pineapples and wild fruit which they have just brought back, but soon they are working again, pulverizing the manioc on the shield-shaped wooden grating boards which have minute flints or tough palm spines set into their baked-clay surface. They work as a team, some grating, others washing the manioc in vast basket-sieves slung between wooden tripods, while yet others extract the poisonous prussic acid by placing the grated manioc flour in a snake-like *matapí*, a long squeezer of plaited cane. With the upper end looped over a pole, a woman stretches its mesh by sitting on a second pole placed in the lower loop. The *matapí* contracts and the poisonous juice runs out.

When the flour from the *matapí* is ready it is placed on the large flat ovens to make rough cassava pancakes, the Amazonian daily bread, which they eat at every meal together with fish and meat brought back from the forest. The starch from the washed manioc is also baked to make wafer-thin toasted biscuits to add to the *chicha*. Some of the flour is spread thinly on another oven to make the nutty grounds of *farinha*, and the liquid from the washing and squeezing is boiled to neutralize the poison, then poured into the long canoe-trough to make *chicha*.

The noise of grating and the creaking of the tripods lasts all afternoon. A 512
girl feeds her pet parrot some insects, then, taking a strand of *cumare* and [283]
winding it around her toe, she starts plaiting string for a hammock to replace her old one. Squatting on the ground, an old woman kneads clay and [323]
wood ash. She rolls the clay mixture into coils on a flat board and between the palms of her hands. Then she places them coil upon coil about a clay base, smooths the clay with a pebble and leaves the completed pot in the shade of the *maloca*. Later it will be put on a fire and surrounded with wood bark and ash to bake. Occasionally we saw an iron pot, which at some time in the past 415
must have been traded up the rivers from the Caquetá or the Vaupés. These were sufficiently few to be highly treasured and hadn't affected their own

ABOVE: *The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.* BELOW: 000
*Then it is warped open over a fire.* [see p. 66-B]

278 learnt many weeks later from a *cauchero* that there were specialists in this art. The Maku, he told us, are the expert curare makers in this area. They boil the scrapings of a liana together with two herbs, then strain the liquid through leaves and boil it again until it forms a black glutinous mass. This they place in small pots and trade it with other tribes, often for food and shelter; for the Maku are nomads. Though strychnine is always the base, various ingredients are occasionally added, from ants to putrefied animal remains. The most deadly poison, which was once reserved for human beings, is said to paralyse the victim in a matter of seconds.

224 The monkey is the most common of all the animals hunted for the pot.
252 These are hung over a fire and smoked for days. The first time we were
[123] offered monkey, we were given the head, which we thought we were supposed to admire. But the brain, we learnt, is the greatest delicacy, like the head and eyes of a fish. The monkey often grips a branch as it dies, and for this reason the Indians would shoot many more than they ever managed to retrieve.

224 We never ventured to go with the Indians when they went hunting, as we
123 would have made more noise than them and frightened the game. Moreover, we felt we could never keep up. One morning the children came to a *maloca* we were staying in to say that a *capybara* had strayed along the river bank close to where they had been bathing. Immediately an Indian picked up his bow and arrow and quickly made for the river. It was unusual for an animal to stray so close to the house and we followed at a distance hoping that we might see the hunt.

Half-crouched, with his bow and curare-tipped arrows gripped in his hand, he began to stalk the large water rat. Getting as close as he dared, he put the small beeswax quiver head down on the ground, with the arrow shafts upright. He placed one arrow in the bow. Twisting one leg around the shafts, his toes braced against the base of the quiver, he drew back the bow waiting for the *capybara* to move into the open, ready to take a second arrow from the sheath should the first miss. He held the bow fully stretched, crouched lower, hesitated for an instant, then released the arrow. The rodent
[252] rolled over without a sound. No second arrow was needed. That night we boiled the *capybara* which tasted like pork. The poison never taints the meat; it only affects the nervous system through the bloodstream.

224 The tapir is the largest of the forest mammals hunted by the Indian. It is the size of a cow, with a long snout, small eyes and slotted feet, and its only defence is camouflage. Speckled brown and black like the sun-dappled forest floor, when young, and turning to a dull slate-brown when fully grown, they gather at their watering places to drink. They were hunted relentlessly by the

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000 *A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his* kurubeti *pebble stave.*

 [see p. 70-A]

/162 cont./

829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 262 [177] They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always willing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauareté did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during the chôco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

* [172] [784]

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they 273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí [164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

/163 cont./

273 the odor from afar. In order to avoid reprimands, they hide the bottles on the bottom of the river, from where they remove them when they want to drink their alcoholic contents.

261 They are particularly gluttonous over sweets (39);

> 39. The tuxauas, povoado chiefs, themselves appeared satisfied with a piece of candy; and not infrequently even a candy ball is divided up, or it passes through more than one mouth. With some caramels and cigarettes, they considered themselves well paid for the work of letting themselves be measured.

they also appreciate salt very much, and even the bitter salt (sodium sulphate) itself, provided as a medicine. Salt is an article that they are always seeking.

32) /sic/ Ingenuity and cheerfulness.

157 Moreover he possesses an assemblage of natural virtues and enviable qualities. We have already indicated some; let us also point out others. Among the fine qualities of the native one notices his charming ingenuity. Simple, frank, even when he is telling the most disagreeable episodes, and he always does it with terms of the crudest realism. A strangely natural ingenuity in conversation and especially in composure, even when, judging by the previous facts, one is certain that it covers malice.

He is a cheerful individual. He laughs with the greatest of ease, and for any reason whatsoever he bursts out in great, prolonged, and typical hearty laughs. The laugh is not only a response to the ridiculous or to the humorous, but to every pleasant surprise (40).

> 40. An Indian woman, questioned about the reason for so many and such prolonged laughs, explained that it was because they loosen the

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142 oped: heads of the brachycephalic type; though I have noticed cases of extreme dolichocephalic variations. Teeth are generally poor.

147 Dr. Rice also commented on the capacity of the Cubeo Indians for great exertion on a minimum of food and rest. I can corroborate this judgment. I accompanied Indians on canoe trips when we paddled for as long as 17 consecutive hours with little rest or nourishment other than a handful of manioc meal in water. There was usually no urgent necessity for such exertion or privation. The Indians customarily eat lightly when traveling, and if there is any chance of reaching home rather than camping out or imposing upon the hospitality of another sib they prefer to keep going. However, it was not unusual for strong young men to topple from their canoes in a dead faint upon reaching home. Revived by the river they scrambled ashore, secured the canoe, and entered the house with the appropriate vigorous air, effectively concealing their acute fatigue. It is in fact characteristic of the Cubeo to make light of their accomplishments and not to yield readily to physical weakness.

[484] [261] [157]

114 Ethnographically, the Northwest Amazon was first fully brought to light by Dr. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, ethnographer and museum collector. Koch-Grünberg's systematic survey of the region at the turn of the century covered all main tribes and their settlements along the principal rivers. He spent many weeks on the Cuduiari among the *Hehénewa* sibs of the Cubeo, and ascended the Cuduiari to the limits of its habitation (1909). His published reports are invaluable even though he never stayed long enough in one place to get a deep grasp of the culture. He was, however, an excellent observer and reported fully on language, custom, and material culture. I did not read Koch-Grünberg before going to the field so that my observations are totally independent. It is a source of satisfaction, therefore, that our observations agree closely on most details. Koch-Grünberg's information was deficient on social structure and ceremonial patterns. It is in these two respects that my study represents a carrying forward of the work he so ably began. I have drawn freely upon his published works to fill in gaps in my own information on the Cubeo and of course for the rich data on surrounding Tucanoan, Arawakan, and Cariban tribes. His was the pioneering survey of the entire region, whereas mine is a relatively limited study of a single community. Koch-Grünberg died among the Indians of the Northwest Amazon in 1924, his ethnographic work prematurely cut off.

114 114 127 114

The first scientific observer to report on the Indians of the Vaupés was Alfred Russell Wallace (1870), who was there in 1853. While his interests were mainly those of the naturalist, he found Indian life to

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133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.

[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ilákoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ilákoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaíno* (falling river) and as *edámiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[805] [1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aünhokü* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwü*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Hübükokü* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turü* (poison), another *pudjü* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapika* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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773 From *Kúwaĩ*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine. It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fishing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in production falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large community under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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226 nor do all the men fish on the same day. A man who has had no luck one day temporarily loses interest in fishing. He turns to other activities, perhaps to hunting or to making household implements, or he may do nothing. As the season begins to taper off one fisherman after another gives up. The last to stop is the most successful. The Cubeo believe that a dispirited fisherman will catch nothing anyway. [261] When all have stopped fishing the community hungers. After about a week of poor meals the women nag, but the men do not move until 226 they have received a sign. The sign usually comes from the young 857 male play pack. When the men have retired to the maloca to sulk, the youngsters turn their play fully toward the river. They take out canoes, and they set lines along the shore. For this they win immediate praise from the women, who say, "Look, the boys can catch fish but the men cannot." The boys patrol the river. One sights a school of fish and rushes into the house shouting, "The fish are coming." The men run to the bank to see. Then with great hilarity and good-natured pummeling of the boys they take to their canoes and the fishing cycle resumes.

226 Periodically, the routine of individual fishing is interrupted by organized collective fishing parties. The organizer is often the headman, but any man who has a plan will enlist a party. Summer is the season for fishing parties, when fish can be trapped in a shallow pool and stupefied with fish poison. Fishing parties are festive and noisy. The young play pack attends them, and the catch, which may be large, is collective. Each fisherman secures his own catch. When the [183] party returns they distribute the total catch to all households. The distribution, according to an important Cubeo principle, is personal and never anonymous or generalized.

Fishing a shallow pond requires equipment and preparation. One man locates the place and asks his fellows to join him in fishing it. Several, or all, contribute sections of splint fencing that forms the weir. One party undertakes to put up the weir while another manages to gather and prepare fish poison. The men, as always, work efficiently together with a minimum of formal direction. Most have been members of a common play pack so that teamwork is automatic. Each household head has brought his own canoe into which he loads his "own" catch. Some shoot with bow and arrow, others use a dip net, and some thrash about seizing the dulled fish with their hands. Such fishing is never solemn. The men joke, they address each fish, and when they have tired of the sport they stop. A man may take secret pride in his individual catch, but he is expected to behave as though he were lampooning rivalry.

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rel: tion of the men to the manioc cultivations is as follows. By working jointly in making a clearing the men are fulfilling, in part, a sib obligation. This is of minor importance, however, as compared with the specific obligations and the ensuing relationship between a man and a woman. No bond between a man and a woman is of greater importance and richer in sentiment than that set up by the making and cultivating of a manioc garden. Every garden plot defines a relationship between a specific man and a specific woman. A woman without a man can have no garden. A man without a woman has no clearing to make; he can have subordinate status only in another household. Each side gains status from the arrangement. The only firm bond is that between husband and wife. A widow has only a frail claim upon the labor of her brother, whose primary obligation is to his own household, where his wife keeps jealous watch over her own *chagra*; for a woman's pride is deeply involved in the size of her manioc clearing. The Cubeo regard the size of clearing as a sign of a husband's affection for his wife. A widow has a better claim upon an unmarried son. As we shall see, between unmarried brother and unmarried sister a semiconjugal relationship develops over the material holding of land.

244 423 593 571 [614]

We have spoken of a reciprocity in status involved in the manioc *chagra*. There is also a specific and related economic reciprocity. By making a clearing a man obligates his wife's production. The preparation of manioc cake is never spoken of as a wifely obligation, but chicha and farinha are. The point of economic reciprocity as it sometimes emerges in the course of conjugal quarrels is entirely one of status and not of so fundamental an issue as food. If we are to speak of male-female reciprocity on matters of food the issue is between the male flesh foods and the female cultivated foods. Although a man obligates his wife's labor for chicha and for farinha he evidently does not obligate all of it, for a woman will suddenly declare that she is cosponsoring a drinking party by a contribution of "her" manioc. Moreover, it is part of the status of a wife that she can freely contract part of her farinha production for personal objects, such as cloth and trinkets. If there is a formal principle governing this kind of connubial economic arrangement I did not learn what it is.

244 423 462 593 [261]

The point to emphasize with respect to manioc cultivations, then, is that the issue in possession of land is not simply that of subsistence. It would be unthinkable for a Cubeo to allow a sibmate, or phratry mate for that matter, to hunger if he had any food for him. When a solitary woman laments that her *chagra* is exhausted and no kinsman is moving to make another for her, the fear she voices is not that she

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagin*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and shar- [431] ing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled 423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, 431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 423 614 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one territorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of 226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped upon the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahúkiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another and mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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264 eat together, crouched about the small pot of prepared food or sitting in a hammock. Such meals are usually light and rarely consist of
264 fresh fish or freshly caught game. It may be a pepper pot into which
262 preserved fish or meat has been flaked or a dish of dried meat chopped fine, with dry peppers. If it is the morning meal, taken just upon arising an hour or so before dawn, it is a *mingau*, a tapioca porridge sometimes mixed with crushed pineapple. There is not much eating between meals. If men have been working hard they refresh themselves with sugar cane. Youngsters, however, eat as often as they like, and that is most of the time. Youngsters are free to draw upon the household larder, but much of what they eat they have foraged for themselves, fruits, sugar cane, small game, and fish. A youngster, however, will take only manioc cake prepared by his own mother.

264 The main meal, taken just before sunset so that it concludes shortly after sunset, is usually formal and separates men and women. A collective meal, it is eaten in the center of the dance corridor. The men crouch in a tight circle around the cluster of pots that each woman has set down. Their sons are before them in an inner circle. Women and girls sit in an outer circle behind their fathers and husbands. The men eat first and when they have finished they rise and return to their hammocks while the women and girls then move in to finish
261 what is left over. The Cubeo are not voracious eaters. They eat almost
264 daintily and are amused at the uncouthness of those who eat as though they were hungry. When I ate with them I always left the table hungry. I never saw any Indian eat to repletion even when great quantities of food were available. The method of eating, with the women waiting hungrily behind them, is perhaps a deterrent to gorging. It is my impression, however, that the Cubeo associate excess
[183] only with drink and associate food with moderation. That is to say, excess is pertinent to intersib gatherings, moderation is the keynote
[614] within the closer community of kin that is the sib.

264 People eating together are gay though not boisterous; even the
522 older men, ordinarily solemn, unbend. The younger men laugh, tease one another, remember with amusement an incident in the catching of the food they are now eating. The women join in the laughter most generously and the men gallantly pass back to them morsels of food on bits of manioc cake. The normal movement of food at this point is from a man to his wife, daughter, or sister. But in the spirit of jest he will pass food to another woman. This will provoke mirthful calls of "ha, your sweetheart." No man would be so foolish as to pass back food to a woman with whom he might be having an affair even though this is a permissible jesting occasion. If

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

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264 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahúkiwa* to pay a
574 courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to
123 eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahúkiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may
768 explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some mánioc cake.

261 The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack
571 fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest
866 for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This
[857] attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in
183 leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good
571 part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances
431 of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice; one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy
[123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

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others. I doubt that any nonsharing goes unobserved and I expect 261
that the nonsharer is not too concerned with being unobserved. Often 183
enough, boys will quarrel about the distribution of food, but never 571
with a nonsharer. They sense the significance of the gesture and are 431
embarrassed by it, waiting for the delinquent to finish. He rejoins them and their play resumes as though nothing had happened. Elders will not correct nonsharing among children because they regard what the boys do in the play pack as a matter of no adult concern. I was never aware that the children themselves ever rebuked or punished a nonsharer in their midst. The nonsharer always received his portion. The play pack leader, who does not hesitate to censure a member for indecent sexual behavior, is comfortable in his role as a giver and will not censure a nongiver. He understands, to be sure, that nonsharing is a form of deliberate estrangement from the intimacies of the group, but he also knows that no headman will censure a household head who chooses to become an Independent or a Satellite. Similarly, the nonsharer may estrange himself from the play pack but the play pack will not ostracize him. Among the *Bahukiwa* the flagrant nonsharer was also the boy who ran away during the ancestral whipping rites. Every example of a case of nonsharing that came to my attention (five or six only) was that of a boy who had no father. Orphan boys are deprived of one of the more pleasurable in- [736]
timacies of receiving a portion of fish or game that a father brings
home. A man's son is the first to greet him when he beaches his canoe. [593]
He is given a fish or a bit of meat, which he prepares by broiling or baking and shares with his play pack. He has the status of a giver. The orphan child, in these circumstances, has the lower status of a receiver and is denied a food intimacy. The nonsharer acknowledges at the same time a status of subordination as well as of estrangement.

Among adults, nonsharing is more disturbing and more consequential. A man who does not share food eventually refuses to do his
share of work. Such a person is called "one who does nothing." A [578]
household head who is angry or out of sorts will not join the sib meal but will gather his family around him at the household hearth for a private meal. A mood is respected and the incident passes with little notice. If it is repeated, it is assumed that the nonsharer will soon move out and become an Independent. Nonsharing does become a touchy issue when food is scarce. We were experiencing hungry days during the height of the rainy season, most meals consisting of manioc cake dipped in peppers, fortified occasionally with a minnow. One late afternoon a household head entered the maloca with a

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261 183 571 431 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about preparing it, never once turning her eyes out upon the maloca. The house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however, venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 183 571 431 522 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible household head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave. The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not like us.

261 183 571 431 578 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of anger. Just as the boys of the play pack will only stand aside as their nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the dissaffected household departs. I was told, but could not verify it, [754] that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people, it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

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244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
433 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except
244 in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
433 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
462 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
461 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the man-
244 ioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
[261] Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[273] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the
[614] drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be
[182] said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[2] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the re-
[614] sponsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the
[554] chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

43 It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[2] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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the production of farinha by women is a partial counterpart to the work of the men in the rubber forest. The man takes most of his earnings in "capital goods," muzzle-loading guns, machetes, fishhooks, matches, knives, thread, needles, ammunition. The remainder goes to a few vanity items for himself and in gifts for his wife, sister, and female ceremonial friend. It is these gifts that a woman is obligated to reciprocate through her farinha trade. Since these gift exchanges involve traditional relations of status equality they quickly achieve a relatively stable equilibrium. Only a small part, then, of commercial exchange leaves the traditional channels of lateral circulation of goods. As for "vanity" purchases, they form no part of any institutionalized expression of social prestige. The issue for the Cubeo is rather one of a limited degree of self-indulgence. For a woman, in particular, the privilege of indulging a fancy for some trinket and freely contracting her farinha for it is an essential part of her sense of domestic well-being. It is an expression, on the one hand, of her autonomy, and, on the other, of domestic felicity. A dissatisfied wife does not indulge her personal vanity more; on the contrary, she produces less.

Another important element in production is the attitude toward labor. For the Cubeo all effort must be inherently satisfying. Women accept more drudgery than do men, but they no more than the men would accept the bitter peasant philosophy that hard and unrewarding work is man's lot. Men and women alike are accustomed to a variety of effort. They do not care to drive themselves beyond the onset of boredom or of fatigue. All work patterns are based upon short and diversified rhythms. I have demonstrated this in the work cycle of women. It is even more marked in the work cycle of men. Food gathering and preparing does demand continuity and completion. The hunter must complete his chase, the fisherman must return home with a suitable catch, and the housewife must complete her daily ration of manioc cake. Even so, there are many opportunities for rest and diversion that the Indians take. They would rather eat less than work more. In the course of a year there are many holidays. Among the *Bahúkiwa* these averaged almost one a week. On the occasion of a drinking party women do not go into the fields either on the day of preparation or on the day after. In manufactures, which form part of the domestic economy, the pace of work is very slow. Men, who make the baskets that are important home utensils as well as major items in trade, work very sporadically. There is no compulsion to finish something quickly. Thus, on the whole, the Cubeo work habits also contribute to general economic inelasticity.

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433 184 361 There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby foodstuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate disproportionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own 361 614 432 state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiarí than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial 614 in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a 433 hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families 574 to travel about, visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the [421] right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a nontraditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. When hunters kill [431] a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

433 Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources 261 are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol- 574

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(261)

izes the amity of the highly knit sib community; the other, and a related condition, is that the total economic product is divorced from considerations of status and power. Thus, the Cubeo cannot think of economic advantage as a political advantage over others, and, conversely, they cannot regard the economic advantage of others as a threat to their own autonomy. Economic equalization through the various formal channels of distribution is taken for granted. There are no sanctions or techniques deliberately designed to promote equality, but simply provision of sustenance for all persons within the network of kinship and friendship.

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593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

[244] [437] [273] [261] [592] [835] [836] [583]

593 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

585 583 58 [593] [593]

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able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep. 765 574 152

## FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly. 765 152 154 [276] [2[illegible]]

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the [illegible]. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Hehénewa* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough. 765 273 [261] [276]

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly. 273 771 [574] [154]

/100 cont./

241 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth
462 from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting
[249] are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, flame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The
[437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function
•[262] of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the
224 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow
223 and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a
[177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products hrough the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
• 262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano [262] [753] [178] Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

773 177 [128] [114] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, 115 756 Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

/13 cont./

136 Briss.), the capivara /capybara/ (hidrochoerus /Hydrochoerus/ capybara, Erxl.) and macacos of various species.

The birds present the same scarcity in quantity, but a greater richness in variety and plumage. Among those appreciated as foods by the forest dwellers, we remember the tucanos /toucans/ (ramphastus /Ramphastos/), jacamim /trumpeter/ (psophídeos /Psophidae/), mutum /curassow/ (crax nigra, alector, etc.), jacú (penélopes), several pombos /doves/ (columba). Procured for their plumage are the garças /herons/ (heródias egretta) and other varieties of ardeídae, tucanos, and the extraordinary variety of araras and other psittacídeos /Psittacidae/.

The entomological contribution is more varied and richer, some varieties of insects also serving as food for the inhabitants of the region.

241 In this habitat in which the area to be cultivated is acquired by arduously hewing down the secular forest and which is only used regularly for three or four years, one can make only a small planting. We must remember that originally the Uaupés man had at his disposal only the stone ax, and that on the Uaupés the verões, that is, the periods of dry weather that permit "the burning of the clearing," are neither frequent nor extended.

361 The agriculture, on one side, as well as the fishing and the
[262] hunting, do not permit large human assemblages. As a consequence, we are going to find the population always dispersed in small groups located on the banks of the rivers and streams (igarapés), which, besides furnishing, with the fish, a favorite food, also serve them as a means of communication.

The demands of the natives being minimal, the conditions that determine their habitat are reduced to three: 1st, water, to drink, to bathe, and to give them fish; 2nd, the forest, which furnishes fruit and the wood for the fire; 3rd, land sufficiently fertile for the cultivation of mandioca, their principal vegetable food. Not always, but rather very rarely in the present situation can /14/ the first condition be reconciled with the third, according to native criteria. For this reason, they ordinarily plant the
[241] clearing, "wexsé," some kilometers from their house. Compensating for the inconvenience of the distance, there is presented to

/73 cont./

142 In some few cases, hair becoming thin due to loss; not, however,
144 complete baldness. Rare and late graying, thanks to the use of some dyeing lotions. No case of albinism or erythrism in the eight or ten thousand Indians whom we have visited.

The rest of the body is not very pilose; the hair is fine and brown, more or less the color of the skin, and thus it is barely distinguishable from it.

He is of short stature and short neck. They ridicule the whites for having so long a neck. Well-formed torso, slightly longer /74/ than the inferior members on those of the male sex, and with an even more noticeable difference on those of the female sex, without, however, coming to be inelegant. Broad-chested, with an ample thorax, and with hips considerably narrower than the shoulders. In the men, after 40
[145] years of age, the belly often large and sagging, which gives the
[262] torso a chubby appearance. The disproportionate development of the stomach, as a result of an excess of nourishment preponderantly of mandioca flour, is already noticeable in all the children from three or four years of age.

[832] The young woman is always plump in body, which is considered a feature of elegance; she sometimes comes to exhibit a chubby appearance. Ordinarily the women have the bust elegantly inclined backwards, perhaps due to the way they carry the loads, in large baskets the length of their backs, but tied to the forehead with embira. Perhaps this is also the cause of an exaggerated development of the sternum.

[832] The individuals of the female sex have the gluteal region well developed, although not exaggeratedly, a quality, by the way, appreciated also as a factor of female elegance.
* [192] For this reason, the ones with a slimmer body are objects of derision, as desnalgadas /thin ones/, duxkú. It seems, however,
[481] that there is no artificial process for the development of that region, and that the very way of walking, with the torso well arched toward the rear, the abdomen forward, and the chest and head quite erect, or even inclined backward, is what sets off the gluteal proportions.

/162 cont./

829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 262 [177] They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always willing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauareté did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during the choco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

* [172] [784]

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they 273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí [164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

/211 cont./

291 *[192] [178] [535] [531] *[192]

of the women, called in Nheengatú muruarí, it is similar to a small apron of about 20 centimeters in length by 10 centimeters in width. Nowadays it is only a dance ornament which the women exhibit together with the painting; or they are even without it and only painted. With the jewelry that they have obtained from the civilized, they prepare very beautiful yaxkẽ waxsó-ro. Even the original ones, woven out of tucum, were outstanding works of weaving. The one and the other, however, seem to be a "dress of attraction" rather than a "dress of decency," because they remain hanging at the waist and, due to the position and dimensions (the largest dimension is horizontally), do not cover enough (cf. VII -- 5, b).

b) Shoes.

They do not manufacture or use shoes of any kind, as is the custom of the Indians of the savannas. They are unnecessary for their long trips, which are made by canoe, and are inconvenient for the excursions in the forest, if they are not made out of a resistant material, such as leather, and well fitted. Besides, the warm climate and the continuous rains would render their use harmful to the health.

4) Alimentation.

a) Mandioca.

*192 178 • 262

The Indian obtains from the mandioca (Mánihot utilíssima) his principal food, preparing it in different ways, and he uses it every /212/ days of the year. There are recollections of a very remote period (centuries or millennia before the historical period, which is the sixteenth century) when they did not know mandioca, and they ate the chestnut /Port. castanha, any of several trees having edible nuts/ called boxpé (information of Dorotéia Brito).

/212 cont./

• 262
*[192]

1) The flour. The flour, po'ká, is an indispensable food, not only for the natives of all the tribes of the Uaupés, but also for the caboclos of the Rio Negro. Without the flour, not only would the most varied and nourishing repast seem deficient to them, but they would not endure any nutritional regimen uninterruptedly without flour.

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For the making of the so-called "farinha dágua" /water flour/, they use the "mandioca puba," ki-bó. That is, the roots are submerged in water (sometimes in a canoe or in some submerged hamper, or even camotim) for about six days, until they show the beginning of fermentation or putrefaction, with an unpleasant odor. Through simple pressure between the fingers, the mass comes loose, the bark remaining almost whole.

The mass, ki-ɔ̃'tá, after it is squeezed by hand in a strainer of fine mesh, tõ-pa, placed on top of a camotim that collects the liquid, yõxká, is introduced into the tipití. After this is full, it is suspended on a support by the upper handle. Into the lower handle the woman inserts a rounded stick about two meters long, serving as a lever, this remaining immobilized by one of its ends against the support, and upon the other the woman will exert pressure with her arms or even by sitting on top of it. With the weight of the body itself and with adequate movement, the tipití is stretched, which thus compresses the mass and forces out the liquid, which is then carefully collected in a vessel.

There are three ways of immobilizing the end of the lever: 1st) by means of a ring of cipo, ɔ̃'tá buhuri-be'tó, which embraces the support; or 2nd) the support is equipped with orifices, ɔ̃'tá buhurí-pé, and the end of the lever is successively fixed in the various orifices as the tipití stretches; or 3rd) the support is cut like the teeth of a saw, ɔ̃'tá buhú-yeheró, on which leans the shorter end of the lever. Among the Arwake /Arawak/ of the rivers Içana and Aiarí, we observed the preference for this last process, and in a very practical way. That is, they would plant solidly in the ground a rounded stake, a meter or a little more in height and about 10 centimeters in

/218 cont./

224 d) Meats and edible animals. Hunting, as we find it in the present stage, is only a sport for the Indian. If we exclude the "wild pigs" (of the genera Dicotyles and Tayassu), which sometimes appear in herds in certain places (48),

> 48. Just as the piracema /shoal of fish/ appears, as a rule, in the same places, so do the wild pigs have their habitual path and customarily cross the rivers at certain points, where the hunter catches them.

when the river is low and the javarizeiro /palm tree, Astrocaryum/ ripens its fruit, game is rare. It is used, therefore, only to vary the "menu" from time to time. All the more since the Indian will always share the fruit of his hunting with those who live in the same maloca, and he will commonly do it for those who reside in houses neighboring his (if he does not sell it to the civilized).

252 They prepare the game by "moqueando-a" /smoking it/, like the fish. And it seems that they never eat raw meat; they even say that it is only Wax-tí who eats raw meat. And they also eat snake meat. The principal animals that serve them as food
262 are (49):

231

> 49. The dogs are generally skinny and often also sick; for this reason and because of the services that they render, they do not eat them. There are indications that in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) the natives ate a fat dog killed by a shotgun. The caboclo of the Rio Negro is incapable of killing a dog, even a sick one. He fears that this "sin" (as they think and say) would bring upon them the punishment of S. Lazarus, who they regard as protector of the dogs and who would punish them, probably, with leprosy.

[171]

/218 cont./
*192 monkeys of various species (axké, emõá, guariba, sẽi, aimoré,
• 262 waú, uáia-piçá)
boxsó, cutivaia, cavy (cávia aperea, leupyga, fulgida, etc.)
bu, cutia /agouti/ (dasyprocta águti)
byí poxtá, a rat with long hair
dyayõ, otter (lutra brasiliensis, paraensis)
dyá wexkõ, capybara (hydrochoérus capibara)
mixpí, coatí (two of Násua, procyonine mammal)
nãmá, deer (cervus campestris)
pamõ, tatú /armadillo/ (xenartros dasipódidas; of various species:
pamõ soá, pamõ uhõ, etc.)
Semé, paca (caelógenis paca)
u, turtle (various species of chelonians)
úhuri, jabutí /land tortoise/ (testudo tabulata)
/219/ wexkõ, anta (tapírus americánus, Briss.) (50)

50. Whenever they kill any anta, they immediately cut off the tongue, so that it will not tell the others.

yaxsõ, lizards (various species of Lacertilia)
yexsé, wild pig (caitetú /collared peccary/, dicótylis torquátus, and queixada /white-lipped peccary/, dicótylis labiátus)
Among the birds, they most frequently eat:
ahã, inambú /tinamou/ (genera crypturéllus and tínamus, of various species: dyayró, puxtwa, etc.)
daxsé, toucan (various species of ramphástus)
dyá kaxtá, water duck (various species)
kaxtá kasõrõ, jacú (cracídeo penélope)
koxtóa, coró-coró /ibis/ (phimósus infuscátus, of the Ibididae)
tã-tã, jacamim /trumpeter/ (psóphia crépitans, Lin.)
wá'rõpí, mutum /curassow/ (various gallinaceans of the gen. Crax)
kaxtá, cujubim /piping guan/ (pípile cuyubí)
235 They do not eat chicken, eggs, or pork, although they raise
262 them and sell them to the civilized (and they eat any piece that
[439] the latter gives them). The skill of the Indian in raising some

235 /219 cont./
262 birds, such as the jacú, jacamim, mutum, parrot, araras, and others, which become unbelievably tame, is remarkable. They do it, however, simply for amusement, without using the meat (51).

51. Wallace tells (Viagens ao Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 1939 ed., p. 202) that some Indians raised araras because of their plumage. In the place of the removed feather they injected the milky secretion of the toad, and the new feather would grow with a yellow or orange color. Others raised harpy eagles, uira-uaçú (Thrasaétus harpya Lin.), feeding them two chickens a day, in order to use their feathers, and for this reason their ornaments were dear. We do not know whether they still subject the arara to this treatment today. Besides the domesticated araras are found almost solely in the more remote malocas. As for the harpy eagle and the mountain cock (rupícola élegans), nowadays they catch them only when there is hope of selling them to the civilized. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 50) also tells that the Káwa-tapúya obtained the orange color of the feathers by injecting pirara /sic/ fat or the secretion from a toad.

178

The native woman chews the food for the offspring of these birds, which sometimes are seen taking the food from the very lips of the woman.

/219 cont./

*192 e) Tubers and green vegetables.

• 262 They eat, boiled or roasted, the tubers of the batata, yaxpĩ (hipomaéa /Ipomoea/ batátas, Lam.), of the cará, ñõmõ (dioscórea alata, Lin.), which were introduced in the last century, and various tubers of the region, /220/ such as duxtú, kaxpó, and others. They do not know the English potato (solánum tuberósum, Lin.).

As for green vegetables, they refuse them when they are offered to them, saying that they are not cows (literally, anta, wexkõ).

*192 In the fish sauces, besides the pepper, at times they put tender
252 leaves of mandioca (see above, maniçóba). Sometimes, too,
263 they let the mandioca leaves age for three or four days, until they acquire the dark color; then they crush them, boil them, and drink the broth. It is what is called ki-pũ.

*192 They formerly used the ashes of the carurú-da-pedra (mourera
263 fluviátilis), which grows spontaneously on the rocks of some
178 cachoeiras, in place of salt, to season their food (52).

52. This plant provides an excellent salad, already salty by nature. The Indian, however, "is not a cow" to eat green vegetables. Wallace tells (Travels, 340) that from the fruits of the palm trees inajá and jará (leopoldinia maior and pulchra, Mart.), they prepared a flour of salty taste. It has not been reported to us, however, that they make it now, because of the ease of obtaining salt. The Indians who work in the Missions buy whole bags of salt, and later they sell them, even with exaggerated usury, to those of the more remote malocas, in Colombian territory too.

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/220 cont./

263 According to the description by the Cônego /canon/ André Fernandes de Souza (end of the eighteenth century), the process was similar to that for the preparation of the lye for the manufacture of the "ash soap." That is: the plant was reduced to ashes, which were left in a water infusion in order for the salt to dissolve, and the latter, afterwards, through evaporation, would be deposited in the form of whitish crystals (p. 467 of the "Notícias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/," ap. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 10 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1870).

f) Insects.

*192 222 252 • 262 [881]

1) Termites and ants.

a) Mexkã (in Nheengatú maninuara, manivara) is the queen of a species of yellow termite, which comes out in abundance from the holes in the earth right after the rain. They eat them alive or roasted. It is the required food for the young men and women in the puberty rite.

b) In times of scarcity the women explore the ground with sticks in the places where they know that a type of manivara without wings, called exkõ, probably exists. They come out in large numbers and are eaten alive, or after being roasted in small bundles of sororoca leaves.

/221/ c) They likewise eat the tanajura /large, winged ant/, dyãrã (Uaupés dyãnã), and different species of ants, yamĩ-ka (night ant, because it comes out at night or early morning), dexpótyã (uarabá), duhúsã (which come out in the afternoon), etc., when they come out of the ant nest. When they observe the clean openings and a great movement of ants, they prepare a platform at a height of half a meter above the ant nest. One can see an entire family posted on this platform, and as the tanajuras emerge from the ground, they are eaten raw, often also with the accompaniment of beijú or flour. When the emergence is very abundant, the tanajuras are collected in special baskets, in which they are later roasted.

*192 /221 cont./
222 d) They likewise eat, alive or roasted, the saúvas, byã-põrá
252 (or põná; it means offshoot or broad, põrá, of the pepper, byá,
• 262 because of their spicy flavor), and the termite, buxtwã.

2) Larvae.

a) At certain times of the year very many dark larvae about 3 to 4 centimeters in length appear on the plants of the jupará, ba'tí (erísma japurá, Spr.) and of the cunurí, waxpõ (cunúria spruceana, Baill.), totally devouring their leaves. As soon as they perceive it, the Indians bring down the surrounding plants so that the larvae will not move on to other trees, and they are thus forced to go down by way of the trunk in search of food. At the bottom part of the trunk they make a ring with the leaf of the pocova sororoca (ohó pũrĩ), which is very smooth. The caterpillars, upon reaching there, slip and fall to the ground, being collected with sticks or strings into strainers, and are later slowly
[251] roasted on a mat at a certain distance from the fire. The quantity is so great that they can fill baskets, which are stored in the smoke chamber, in order to be consumed little by little.

Even when they do not discover it until the chrysalis stage, they cut off the branches loaded with cocoons, like a large ear of maize, and they toast them, it thus being easier to open the
[226] cocoons, as if they were shells of roasted peanuts. The chrysalis constitutes a greatly appreciated delicacy and is also used as bait for the fishhook. These larvae are called in Tukano bá-tí-ỹa (louse? of the japurá) and waxpõ-ỹa (louse of the cunurí).

b) Mẽ'rẽ-pãma is the Tukano name of a greenish-yellow larva similar to the silkworm, which feeds on the leaves of the inga tree (ingá édulis, Mimosáceae) and which is greatly appreciated, alive or roasted.

/222/ c) Besides the ones indicated, there are various other larvae sought for food, such as the ones called mẽ'rẽ-ka-pextorõá, likewise from the inga tree; nixtỹ, also from the cunurí; nextoá, which lives in the tree of the same name; suxpi-sõ, which feeds on the leaves of the acuaricuara (tiny red seeds); pixkõrõá, from the pupunheira; sitá, from the tree called uxpísikarã.

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3) Caba (wasps). The Tukano word uxtyá, as well as the one of Nheengatú origin, caba, indicates various species of wasps or hornets (parachartécus apículis and others of the family of the Vespidae and Pompilidae). They eat the larvae with flour (53).

> 53. The process that they use is curious. Whenever they discover a case of caba, they rub the hand in the armpit and approach the case. At the smell the hornets flee, they then seize the case with the larvae, and the vespiary itself serves as their plate, where they put flour, which they eat with the larvae (information of the Missionary agronomist Teotônio Ferreira.)

4) Coleoptera and other animal foods.

a) They also eat certain species of grasshoppers and beetles, alive or roasted. There are years in which some beetles called úkasya (Nheengatú moxíua) appear in such abundance that they manage to fill many baskets and even large canoes.

b) Going through the forest one often finds areas that look as if they had been turned up by swine. It is because the Makú have passed through there, with a piece of wood, or even the hand, looking for grubs to eat.

c) They value especially certain species of small arboreal frogs called omã̄. Without even cleaning them, they smoke them or cook them with pepper. They likewise greatly relish a large terrestrial frog called tõhõá.

d) A crab, sã̄'ã̄, from the igapós, or inundated areas, pleases them enormously. The Missionary Manoel Valério observed an interesting detail about this crab, that is: it makes its nest at the edge of the igapós, but at such a height that the fish do not eat its eggs. And so, by the height of the nests, one might foresee, year by year, the height of the water during the flood.

/222 cont./

147 Perhaps the Indian owes to the richness of Vitamin A, taken
• 262 in through the consumption of such a variety of insects and larvae, the admirable night vision that he enjoys.

/223/ g) Fruits.

*192 If the native diet is lacking in green vegetables and legumes,
245 many are the fruits that they eat.

252 1) Among the fruit trees cultivated, there come first five or
262 six varieties of banana, ohó; and they eat them raw, baked, or boiled and reduced to mingau. Even when they are still green, they eat them roasted in the ashes.

They are also fond of pineapple, sẽ'rá (Uaupés sẽ'ná), biriba, pixká, cashew nuts, sõ'rá (U. sõ'ná), and, more recently, the orange, darãñõ, avocado, ñõmõ, abio /Lucuma caimito/, kã'rẽ.

*192 2) The wild fruits that they know and eat are very numer-
222 ous. We shall recall some: Õ'sé, cucura or mapatí (pouroúma
252 cecropiaefóliae, Mart.), one of the Moraceae very similar to the imbauba, producing large bunches of fruits the size of a jabuticaba
262 /Mouriria pusa/, which, when ripe, are dark, sweet, and
[273] mucilaginous, and, fermented, give a wine-like drink; mẽ'rẽ (U. mẽ'nẽ), wirí-mẽ'rẽ, various species of ingá (ingá cinamómea, marginata, édulis, etc., Mimosaceae); burukũña, maracujá /species of Passiflora/; õxtã-ñĩmĩ, cumã (fruit of the service tree); pãgá, another species of cucura; kenõ, jatobá /locust tree/; simiõ, uacú /Monopterix uaucú/; teheõ and ehyú-pu, varieties of piquia; thoá, yúa-pixuna; wamã, umarí; wĩhĩ, paricá /Leguminosae/; extoá, cubio /Solanum sessiliflorum/; wextí, umirí; wikasoró, small white fruit; tohoá-kaxperí, omã-karperí, and ñerẽ, similar to the cumã.

3) And many species of palm nuts, more or less oily: ixkí, inajá; puxpyá, ucuquí; mĩx'pĩ, assai; ã'rẽ, pupunha, for which they are eager; bextá, tucumã, which they like very much, ñãmã (U. ñumũ), bacaba and patauá; etc.

/223 cont./

*192 Assaí, patauá, and bacaba are small nuts, in bunches. Put
222 in hot water, the pulp that envelops them comes loose. This,
• 262 after being crushed and strained, is mixed into the chibé or into
252 the mingau, making it more nourishing and flavorful.

4) They also leave the umarí (paroquéiba /Poraqueiba/ paraénsis, Ducke) in water, after having sucked the sweetish yellow rind, in order for the stone to lose its bitter juice. They also customarily mix its yellow mass into the mingau.

245 5) The pupunha tree is an ornamental palm, straight, with
252 beautiful fronds, which they plant in all their povoados. Twice
262 a year it produces bunches of small red or orange nuts with a fari-
naceous and dry pulp. They eat them cooked in water. /224/
245 They like them so much that during this time they abstain from
other foods. Its pulp, diluted in water and left to ferment in
251 camotins for 24 hours, is transformed into a very tasty drink,
273 the pupunha caxirí, ɨ'rẽ-kó.
*[192] When there is a great abundance of this nut, they prepare a large quantity of the mass, and, in order to keep it during the year without spoiling, they dig a hole in the vicinity of the house, line it well with banana leaves, and there they introduce the mass, pressing it well in order to expel all the air, and afterwards they cover it further with banana leaves and a layer of soil a span or more thick. This mass will be used for preparing the caxirí for months.

222 6) Among the most sought wild fruits is the japurá, a
252 dicotyledon, like an almond, inside of a soft involucre. They
262 subject it to boiling, in order to eliminate the thin and bitter
*[192] skin that covers it, and then crush it, producing a dark mass, with a sharpness that reminds one of Gorgonzola cheese (54).

54. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha already reported that in 1759 in his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/," p. 114: "The Indians will have put the name of Japurá on it (on a

/233 cont./

372 Formerly fire was obtained by turning rapidly between the palms of the hands a small stick whose end was provided with a match of kapok, and rubbing it in the small orifice of another small stick that was very dry. The apparatus is called pexkã-mẽ wihyasẽ in Tukano. *[192]

262 The diet of these natives, although at first sight it does not seem so, is quite varied, rich in vitamins of vegetable and animal origin. As for the salts necessary to the organism, they get them from roots and fruits; as a matter of fact, they have a strong bone structure, and nevertheless the waters show a deficiency of calcareous salts. As for sugar, they only have that of the fruits and of the fermentation of their drinks. The cultivation of sugar cane is insignificant and intended practically for the preparation of the caxirís, although once in a while some Indian will be seen sucking it. [273] [249]

The amount of food that the Indian consumes daily is large, when he has plenty of it; although on other days, due to a lack of food, he is forced into a very strict fast. Perhaps the caxirí itself, which he drinks in large portions on the occasion of feasts, plays the role of a periodic washing of the stomach, intestines, and kidneys. It is certain that thin persons are rarely found among them, if one excludes the older women, who generally are so, and the sick. They are, on the contrary, plump in figure or even fat, without obesity or deforming adiposities, strong and healthy.

It is to be noted that the Indian emits a characteristic smell, which makes us think that it is due to a diet predominantly of fish and pepper.

/234/ 5) Hunting and fishing.

a) Fishing.

226 Fish is an important element in the diet of the Indians, as we have already seen. In the regimen of the family home, each family head provides the fish; it is his habitual, although not exclusive, occupation. In the regimen of the collective dwelling [462]

/264 cont./

*192 825 plumage, they are graceful and light in flight. They believe that it is a group of spirits or "people," who dance in the air. They call them ĩ'rã nõ'myá (girls of the sierra) and assert that they do not make nests, because nobody has ever found them sitting in the nest.

b) They admit the transformation of the animals. They believe, for example, that some worms that proliferate in the bacaba tree become transformed, on the occasion of eclipses, into the fish bũxkõã-wi (or matapí, of the Siluridae), because they find a certain likeness with such worms. Confirmation of this origin seems to them to be disclosed in the fact that such fish are found still alive in the forest after the lezírias (igapós) dry out. They say that, because of having been worms, they flee to the forest when timbo is put in the streams.

We point out (VII -- 4, j (1)/see 4, f (1)/) that they admit the possibility of human persons being transformed, temporarily or permanently, into animals; and vice versa.

They assert that the parrots are "children of the forest," nãxkã wimãrá. Actually they are children of Boraró (see VII -- 4, d (56) /see 4, d (5b)/) or Curupira. They live naked, playing; whenever they want to go about, they put on feathers and fly.

They tell interesting stories about the origin of certain animals; for example, Ahã, inambú /bird/, was previously a very pretty girl. The parrots veú arose through the transformation of two sisters, wives of a handsome Baré youth.

• 262 773 c) We have pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, e (1) ) their belief in immortality itself. They say that formerly they did not eat animal flesh. It was permitted to add worms and insects to the exclusively vegetable diet. During this time of a vegetarian regimen, there were no sicknesses, they say. Those appeared after their parents started to eat the flesh of fish and of animals. During certain illnesses the pajé will immediately prescribe that they abstain [755] from the meat of large animals (anta, deer, monkey, etc.).

They assert, moreover, that in the beginning the Tukano not only did not die, but did not even grow old. After they had lived *[192] many, many years, always strong, they ended their life when someone cast a malefice, dohasé, on them.

*192 /276 cont./

278 When an old pajé wants to prepare a son of his to practice as
756 pajé, he initiates the preparation during the first months, putting
778 on him, for three months, a Wĩhĩõ applied to the navel, Wĩhỹõ peomĩ kã max-kõ-ré. This Wĩhiõ is roundish in shape, of a hardened substance, the origin of which is lost in legend, according to
[262] what they asserted to us. During these three months the pajé must also have a light diet, as precaution, almost exclusively mingau and chibé.

Later, after removing the first Wĩhĩ /sic/, he fits to the navel, for some five months, the Axpá--khwĩ-re Wĩhĩõ, which consists of a small and roundish stone of quartz some two to three centimeters in diameter.

Later on he will apply to him the Wĩhĩõ of tucumã nut, well painted with carajurú /carajura/, called Õnõñá Wĩhĩõ (in Tarỹana Enúki).

There is a Wĩhĩõ in the form of rappee, which the pajé and the apprentice inhale; this is the Kaxséri Wĩhĩõ, obtained from the sap of some plants (uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/ and others), subjected to evaporation until it is reduced to a very fine powder.

The most marvelous one is the Wĩhĩõ-phĩ (in Taryana Kerá-yúki). It is a small stone of crystal, with a cavity and its cover. According to native belief, this apparatus goes back to the origin of the tribe and, mysteriously, contains a substance with a delicate and pleasant perfume. The pajé, once in a while during his lectures, uncovers the Kerá-yúki, in order for this to give off that perfume, which contributes to enlightening the intelligence of his disciples, placed in a semicircle in front of him.

They say that at a certain time of the year, around April, this substance dries up and almost disappears, and by the months of June-August it begins to give off scent by itself.

756 /277/ At 15 years of age the intensive course for the office of
[582] pajé begins, and it lasts for 15 years more or less. The candidate may not marry until after finishing the course.

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Maku on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water). Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.

T
501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.

When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.

T
262 The Maku must fast on the day on which they prepare the "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.

M
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé, of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
T
756 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
775 some civilized person was buried.
829

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call
621 one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/443 cont./

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[302]
[608]

/footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus, "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

"the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a great deal; the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, pirámirim), ant, mexkã (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beijú of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

[262]
[192]

She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cuia with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

[756]
[867]

Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /bouto/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aünhokü* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwü*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Hübükokü* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turü* (poison), another *pudjü* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapika* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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773 From *Kíwai*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

## FISHING

Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*vekû*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahûkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahûkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahûkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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He brings home the hide for a
224 trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle
[237] that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary
[554] and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahükiwa* the headman's son — an aspirant for the position — killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

## GARDENING

462 I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions
262 of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

462 An important distinction between the labor of men and women
461 is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, [illegible]ing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

462 On days when only subsistence manioc — that is, the manioc cake
461 — is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its
252 preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is
244 to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

462 Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time,
244 leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast.
[512] Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against
[751] sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is
[789]

592 554 providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor [433] in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nyámu*), sweet potato (*yapíka*), maize (*karáiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaiudryo*, *waiwari*, *mod*, *pudjú*, *kanéka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kawámene*), pineapple, (*ihíbo*), banana (*djuréye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*uné*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*kahámu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butel*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [857] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as pets.



The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiari. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

## MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pediba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a

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factured goods into the stream of trade – cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves. 439 [438]

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiari had spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods – chickens, fish, and fruit. 439 464 177 [191] 439 265 [262]

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business. 439 648

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animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped up on the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahukiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

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264 eat together, crouched about the small pot of prepared food or sitting in a hammock. Such meals are usually light and rarely consist of
264 fresh fish or freshly caught game. It may be a pepper pot into which
• 262 preserved fish or meat has been flaked or a dish of dried meat chopped fine, with dry peppers. If it is the morning meal, taken just upon arising an hour or so before dawn, it is a *mingau*, a tapioca porridge sometimes mixed with crushed pineapple. There is not much eating between meals. If men have been working hard they refresh themselves with sugar cane. Youngsters, however, eat as often as they like, and that is most of the time. Youngsters are free to draw upon the household larder, but much of what they eat they have foraged for themselves, fruits, sugar cane, small game, and fish. A youngster, however, will take only manioc cake prepared by his own mother.

264 The main meal, taken just before sunset so that it concludes shortly after sunset, is usually formal and separates men and women. A collective meal, it is eaten in the center of the dance corridor. The men crouch in a tight circle around the cluster of pots that each woman has set down. Their sons are before them in an inner circle. Women and girls sit in an outer circle behind their fathers and husbands. The men eat first and when they have finished they rise and return to their hammocks while the women and girls then move in to finish
261 what is left over. The Cubeo are not voracious eaters. They eat almost
264 daintily and are amused at the uncouthness of those who eat as though they were hungry. When I ate with them I always left the table hungry. I never saw any Indian eat to repletion even when great quantities of food were available. The method of eating, with the women waiting hungrily behind them, is perhaps a deterrent to gorging. It is my impression, however, that the Cubeo associate excess
[183] only with drink and associate food with moderation. That is to say, excess is pertinent to intersib gatherings, moderation is the keynote
[614] within the closer community of kin that is the sib.

364 People eating together are gay though not boisterous; even the
522 older men, ordinarily solemn, unbend. The younger men laugh, tease one another, remember with amusement an incident in the catching of the food they are now eating. The women join in the laughter most generously and the men gallantly pass back to them morsels of food on bits of manioc cake. The normal movement of food at this point is from a man to his wife, daughter, or sister. But in the spirit of jest he will pass food to another woman. This will provoke mirthful calls of "ha, your sweetheart." No man would be so foolish as to pass back food to a woman with whom he might be having an affair even though this is a permissible jesting occasion. If

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843 826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating. [302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to an- [763] other, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 854 302 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers) she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red [789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment, [856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on [603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these [606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the [262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others [372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their [828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahûkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians. 846

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kūrûdjū*) by painting its body with genipa. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow. [789] [856]

The arrival of an infant to the maloca is a period of grave crisis. It is the principal responsibility of the men of the maloca to dispel the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *couvade* – the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chanting away its dangers with appropriate spells. The grandmother paints the infant with genipa. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbilical cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant. 846 789 [604] [622] [756] [757] [837]

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly troublesome feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its distinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the 846 789 262

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846 789 • 262 fish that are mentioned. For example, a small fish that has many small bones, the *dóthe*, is addressed, "Son of the *dóthe* have no spines. Do not cause harm to our offspring. Allow [yourself] to be eaten."

[603] In the case of the aracú, the most common fish in the diet, the grandfather who is reciting the spells takes up a fish and cuts off its tail. If he did not do this, the tail when eaten would grow into a full-sized fish in the stomach and kill the child. After each spell has been recited the grandfather blows tobacco smoke, wafting his breath by an outward motion of the hand. The magical mechanism, as it was explained to me, is that the recitation invokes the fish and the blowing (*pupúdjũ*) has the effect of dispelling the danger.

Capsicum is spelled and blown so that its odor, which has the power to dispel ghosts and spirits, will not harm the child. Manioc has a disturbing odor when raw. This odor will be harmful and the manioc itself will not nourish if the spell is not recited. The child will remain thin. Eating unspelled manioc cake will also cause the child's skin to become as hard and coarse as the bark of a tree. Each variety of manioc, however, must be mentioned by name.

For birds, however, the small white eagle is invoked because this bird, the *towáve*, eats all birds that the Cubeo eat. The spell states that as the "odor of burned birds" does not harm the *towáve* so it will not harm the human young. Similarly, for animals the young of the jaguar are invoked in behalf of all the game they eat. However, whereas the *towáve* is addressed generally in behalf of all birds, the spell for the jaguar must mention each of the animals he eats by name. Again, the danger to be avoided is in each case that of the odor of cooking.

846 789 The spell that is chanted as the river is "blown" refers to the anacondas, asking them not to notice the people who are bathing. The cigarette smoke as it is wafted over the river is told to form a heavy coating as of miriti fibers so that nothing that is below water can come to the surface.

The reference of these spells seems ambiguous for the Cubeo. It is clear, of course, that what is sought is protection for the newborn [551] infant. Since the infant has as yet no name and must be referred to only by the general designation *pwénte hyédokũ* (offspring person), the spells, my informant explained, have beneficial effects for all offspring of the sib.

[302] The man who "blows" the river coats his hands and feet with genipa so that he seems to be wearing gloves and stockings. The genipa has magical power to dispel water spirits. He carries a handful of burning faggots from the hearth of the natal household while

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yaví* or *pariékokũ*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yaví*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yaví*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvaíyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhókũkũ* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenddox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhókũkũ* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridkũ* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvaíyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenddox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

721 many more people lived there. We are told by Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his
727 neighbour. *Malocas* were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were knocked to the ground with wooden clubs which the Indians still have today, their bodies hacked to pieces, their forearms used to stir the *chicha* and the armbones later made into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the sexual organs were eaten by the headman's wife to ensure brave offspring. even the bones were boiled into broth and the orgy continued until the cannibals had completed their spoil and the *chicha* had run dry.

Such a description of warfare and cannibalism would not fit the Indian who lives in the Piraparaná today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the
[178] daily life we saw in their *malocas*. We found the Indian's day measured by a peaceful regularity.

512 Slowly the great house comes to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *maloca* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-screen door and eases it up to its hook like a portcullis, then saunters leisurely out into the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the *maloca*, still only vague shapes in the gathering light as they prepare cassava, pick up the water pots and go down to the river to bathe.

[264] The men returning from the river squat on their haunches on the low stools in the centre of the *maloca*, and without any ceremony consume their
[262] breakfast of cassava bread, manioc juice and probably some leftovers from the previous night – boiled fish or a piece of bush pig. The women, who have eaten separately with the children, collect their large manioc baskets and leave
[482] for the *chagra*, the forest clearing where they grow their crops. The baskets are slung from a strip of sapling bark across the forehead; they hold their babies on their hips, walking rapidly, almost awkwardly – the Indian woman's gait is not a graceful one. Children run along beside them, some
[855] affectionately holding the hands of their mothers, others playing. A few of
[857] the elder children return to the river to fish, and some of the men go off in
[226] pairs to hunt and fish, while others move off to collect coca leaves from their *chagras*.

249 The Piraparaná has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the river and its tributaries are one of the few remaining strongholds of the drug in north-west Amazonia. Carrying no more than their small coca pouches and the basket for the leaves, five or six men, led by the headman, go down to the stream, perhaps taking a drink and washing themselves before they climb up the far bank. They move along a path through the thick vegetation of an old *chagra* fallen into disuse. Although an occasional banana or *pupuña* palm

early rubber gatherers, who on occasions would shoot dozens at a time, more for sport than to supply meat. They are now nearly extinct in many areas. 224

Having killed such a large animal the difficulty is to keep the meat. The *caucheros* build great platforms over the fires and smoke it for days. This is the only way it can be preserved. It is not possible to eat very much of the rich, sweet meat at a time, and the Indians believe that at certain times of the year it is bad to touch it, for it is almost inedible and causes skin blemishes. Though the Indian professes to despise tapirs, he nevertheless assigns human characteristics to them; he believes they dance, drink *chicha* and even build *malocas*. He also believes that by eating a particular animal he may acquire some of its characteristics. From a peccary he can gain faith and resolution, for the wild boar's habit of going to the rescue of a wounded companion has left an indelible impression on the Indians. Just as the puma is credited with human characteristics, the *agouti*, like the legendary African hare, is attributed wisdom and wit. 825

The blowpipe is of as much importance to the hunter as his bow and arrow. The Tukano make their pipes from a small palm. A length of from eight to ten feet is cut and allowed to dry. The pith is removed and an inner bore put into position and polished with tree roots. The outside is bound along its whole length with bark and covered with a resinous wax. A small pig-bone sight is fixed on one end and a hard wooden mouthpiece on the other. The Indian will travel through the forest all day long, looking for birds, small monkeys and squirrels, and carrying his match-thin ten-inch darts, perhaps thirty at a time, in wicker holders.

He constantly watches the trees overhead; he may suddenly see a parrot on a branch ahead of him. He moves forward slowly; if he can stand directly beneath the bird he has less difficulty in steadying his aim. He raises the pipe cautiously and places the cupped lower end over his mouth. He reaches behind with his free arm and draws a poison-tipped dart. Inserting it in the shaft with its cotton wad, he aligns the pig-bone sight on to the bird and inflates his cheeks. There is a barely discernible puff. Seventy feet over his head the parrot squawks, starts to fly, falters and crashes through the branches to the ground. Sometimes there are other birds near by and the Indian will kill three or four before he begins to look for them lying somewhere in the dense thickets, but he never loses one. Parrots are the most common target and the most easily approached, but unless cooked for many hours they are quite inedible. We would occasionally make a soup from them. Macaws, toucans and egrets are sought after, more for their feathers than as food. Pigeon, turkey, duck and geese are far more palatable; while frogs, snakes and various grubs, ants and beetles are considered delicacies. 262 • [825]

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ABOVE: *Preparing for the festival.* BELOW: *Bréo unpacks the festival feather head-dresses from their boxes.* [see p. 70-B] 000

* 539 /349 cont./

Then Miriápura Turíkaro returned to Bejsebowí /sic/. He left Bajsebowí again and went toward Moawí. Moawí is two days from Mitú, going down the Vaupés River. In Moawí they were on the eve of holding a Dabukurí (18) of Moá (19).

[527] [431]

18. A ceremonial fiesta during which presents are exchanged.

• [263] [824]

19. Salt obtained by boiling the carurú plant.

There was much joy in Moawí. Miriápura Turíkaro entered Moawí and remained there listening a while to what the Moá Majsá people were saying. In this maloca there were some single and married women sweeping the maloca of Moawí and they were speaking of the death of the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. And one woman said: "The younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro made love to the woman of the older son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The older son, in revenge, cut off his penis and killed him." Then another woman said: "How bad the Bajsébo Majsá must be if there is killing between brothers! What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then another woman said: "Do you know if the older brother buried his younger brother?" Then another woman answered: "He has not buried him. He only made a coffin of Imisa switches and above the port he made a little table, put the coffin on top of this table, and covered it with some leaves." And another woman said: "What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then Miriápura Turíkaro became frightened and returned immediately to Bajsebowí. He entered through one door of the maloca and left through the other and went directly to the port. From the port he took the trail to where the little table was and found the coffin on top of the little table. He lowered the coffin and opened it. Inside the coffin was the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The younger son was really dead, but for Miriápura Turíkaro his /350/ younger son was only unconscious. Then Miriápura Turíkaro thought that he could revive him. Then Miriápura Turíkaro blew tobacco smoke over his younger son, and the younger son returned to life. Then

/9 cont./

103 /footnote 1 cont./ the river (cf. below, Note 5, Ch. II
133 /see note 8, Ch. II, p. 40/).
101 This belief has also been adopted today on the Rio Negro. We do not know, however, if it is based on the opinion of Stradelli, or if he gave rise to it. At the end of the nineteenth century, with Stradelli, the name Uaupés is presented to us as a corruption of the original word Buapé. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Uaupé would be the original form from which, through corruption, the term Goaupé originated, and no mention is made of the Tuxáua by the name of Buapé, the memory of whom, if he existed, should have been more vivid at that time. Who is right? /The footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

Which language would the name Uaupés belong to? And what does it mean? The present-day natives do not know how to answer that, nor did those of half a century ago. As a matter of fact, Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 131) says only that the name is depreciative; this, however, because under the name of Uaupés are included tribes that are ignorant, wild (Wildstaemme), and scorned, such as the Tukano /Tucano/ and the Kubewãna, who fought against the more advanced Arwake /Arawak/.

In Stradelli's Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, we find the remark: "Iasaná" -- Breed of the Afflicted /Port. Casta das Rallidas/. Name that on the lower Amazon and on the Grão-Pará is given to Parra Iaçaná, which on the Solimões is called Piasóca -- and on the Rio Negro, Uaupé and Uapé.

The river in turn lent the name to a plant characteristic of the stones of its cachoeiras /rapids; see note 2, p. 9 /.
[824] As a matter of fact, it is called uaupé or uaupé-da-cachoeira
[263] (and also carurú-das-pedras /carurú of the stones/ and murera-das-cachoeiras), an aquatic plant that grows on the stones of the cachoeiras of this river and that furthermore serves the Indians for the extraction of salt (cf. Note 51

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[824]
[263]

/9 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./ /see note 52, p. 320/, VI). (Cf. Gastão Cruls, Hileia Amazônica -- C. E. N., 1944 -- p. 35.)

The name Ucaiari (as is usual for the ones that end in ri or li) is of Arwake origin. In the language of the Arara-tapuya and the Kadáu-puritãna, the Uaupés River is called Ukayalí; in the Huhúdeni /Huhuteni/ it is called Ukávari (all three are of the Arwake group). It might perhaps be derived from U(ni), water river, and Kawale (in Kadáu-puritãna) or Kawáeri (in Hihúdeni /sic/), wind. Nevertheless, none of the old people of the various Arwake tribes of the Içana and Aiarí rivers whom we could consult were able to indicate the meaning of the term Caiarí or Ucaiari. Just as the other tribes who inhabit the Uaupés did not know it either. All of them designate the Uaupés as "Dya Poxsá," river of the Makú (?). This designation might induce one to think that the Makú (Puxsá /sic/) were the first to inhabit its shores, and afterwards, under pressure from the Arwake and Tukano invaders, went to settle in the interior, in the adjacent forests, from the environs of S. Gabriel as far as the cachoeiras of Jandú and Carurú (on the Uaupés River). The truth is that, according to the spirit of the language, River of the Makú should be translated as "Poxsá Dyá" and not as "Dyá Poxsá."

as it was known up to a few years ago, a tributary that flows into the Rio Negro about 50 kilometers above the town of S. Gabriel-da-Cachoeira, now called Uaupés.

133 The Uaupés results, according to Dr. Hamilton Rice, from the union of the rivers Unilla, which is the more important, and Itilla, both with their origins in the plains that border the buttresses of the Colombian Andes. After a course of about 330 kilometers in Colombian territory, the Uaupés advances in the

/227 cont./

*192 i) Stimulants and narcotics.

276 [178] 1) Tobacco. The planting of tobacco, mõ'rõ (Uaupés mõ'nõ) (nicotiana tabácum), is little and rare nowadays, and it is almost only seen in the povoados and malocas with little or no connection with the civilized. They prepare it in the following way: the men pick the leaves with the stem, reduce all of it to small bits, and put them on the fire in a very hot pot, stirring the contents until they become a dark mass. Afterwards the mass is pressed into small roundish molds. Under the effect of the sun and smoke these loaves of tobacco, mõ'rõ be'tó (Nh. mboti), harden. When they want to prepare the traditional cigar of the feasts, they crumble the tobacco and roll it in thin sheets of tauarí (see VI -- 2, f (5) ) or of banana, producing the large cigar, utíkaro, 15 to 20 centimeters in length.

[177] The Indian greatly likes to smoke. The tobacco that is consumed nowadays (on the three rivers whose area we studied), however, is all obtained from the civilized. The latter customarily shows kindness to the adults, men and women, with some cigarettes, or a piece of tobacco in a roll or on a stick, in friendship. The tobacco in a roll is a product that is always sought on the part of the natives as payment for their work.

More infrequent is the inhaling of tobacco, in powder, through the nostrils. They then use two small tubes of taquara or bone, connected at a 45° angle with string and pitch. Introducing the powder into one of the tubes, the Indian places the end at one of the nostrils and the other end in the mouth and, with a puff, forces the powder to go up the nose.

*192 2) Pepper. The native consumes pepper, byá, in large
• 263 doses, almost always as seasoning for the quinhapira.

Ordinarily he has already prepared his seasoning, called byá-uhá-pyosé (that is, pepper in a water infusion), for application to the fish. /228/ It is common today for the Indian, on journeys or even at home, to have a bottle with whole or ground peppers.

/228 cont./

263 *[192] In some cases they crush and chew the pure pepper: the Indian pepper (cápsicum fructéscens, Willd, of the Solanaceae) and many others, such as those called koró-byá, awí-byá, oxbó-byá, etc.

It is amazing how even children two years old or perhaps less take the beijú moistened in the quinhapira without showing that they feel the burning of the pepper, which is excessive for our taste.

The pepper is used by them as a stimulant for the appetite, due to the lack of salt or other seasonings.

276 *[192] 3) Kaxpí (Nheengatú: Caápi) (57).

57. As we observe below regarding the Ipadú, the word Kaxpí might be derived from the Nheengatú Caapí, or vice versa. It is certain, on the one hand, that the use of kaxpí is a very ancient one and is lost in the legends, and, on the other hand, that it is general among all the tribes of the region.

276 773 *[192] The origin and use of Kaxpí is lost in legend (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/" by the Author). At a feast that took place among the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), with the participation of the Kubêwãna and Huhudẽne (from Uaupuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana) and elements from several other tribes, on the days of the 24th and 25th of April of 1955, a Tukano pajé, Henrique by name, from Japú-igarapé (trib. of the Uaupés), brought with much care a pair of instruments called eheõnõ (that is, catarrh, grippe), very old and religiously preserved by him as a fortunate heir of his ancestors. They were similar to a small wooden horn, reinforced with rolled tucum fiber and measuring about 25 centimeters. It was made to sound by blowing with force through the upper orifice, and simultaneously slowly opening the lower orifice, slightly wider than the upper one,

/219 cont./

*192 262

e) Tubers and green vegetables.

They eat, boiled or roasted, the tubers of the batata, yaxpĩ (hipomaéa /Ipomoea/ batátas, Lam.), of the cará, fõmõ (dioscórea alata, Lin.), which were introduced in the last century, and various tubers of the region, /220/ such as duxtú, kaxpó, and others. They do not know the English potato (solánum tuberósum, Lin.).

As for green vegetables, they refuse them when they are offered to them, saying that they are not cows (literally, anta, wexkõ).

*192 252 • 263

In the fish sauces, besides the pepper, at times they put tender leaves of mandioca (see above, maniçóba). Sometimes, too, they let the mandioca leaves age for three or four days, until they acquire the dark color; then they crush them, boil them, and drink the broth. It is what is called ki-pũ.

*192 263 178

They formerly used the ashes of the carurú-da-pedra (mourera fluviátilis), which grows spontaneously on the rocks of some cachoeiras, in place of salt, to season their food (52).

52. This plant provides an excellent salad, already salty by nature. The Indian, however, "is not a cow" to eat green vegetables. Wallace tells (Travels, 340) that from the fruits of the palm trees inajá and jará (leopoldinia maior and pulchra, Mart.), they prepared a flour of salty taste. It has not been reported to us, however, that they make it now, because of the ease of obtaining salt. The Indians who work in the Missions buy whole bags of salt, and later they sell them, even with exaggerated usury, to those of the more remote malocas, in Colombian territory too.

[797] [439]

/220 cont./

263 According to the description by the Cônego /canon/ André Fernandes de Souza (end of the eighteenth century), the process was similar to that for the preparation of the lye for the manufacture of the "ash soap." That is: the plant was reduced to ashes, which were left in a water infusion in order for the salt to dissolve, and the latter, afterwards, through evaporation, would be deposited in the form of whitish crystals (p. 467 of the "Notícias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/," ap. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 10 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1870).

f) Insects.

*192 222 252 262 [881]

1) Termites and ants.

a) Mexkã (in Nheengatú maninuara, manivara) is the queen of a species of yellow termite, which comes out in abundance from the holes in the earth right after the rain. They eat them alive or roasted. It is the required food for the young men and women in the puberty rite.

b) In times of scarcity the women explore the ground with sticks in the places where they know that a type of manivara without wings, called exkõ, probably exists. They come out in large numbers and are eaten alive, or after being roasted in small bundles of sororoca leaves.

/221/ c) They likewise eat the tanajura /large, winged ant/, dyãrã (Uaupés dyãnã), and different species of ants, yamĩ-ka (night ant, because it comes out at night or early morning), dexpótyãra (uarabá), duhúsã (which come out in the afternoon), etc., when they come out of the ant nest. When they observe the clean openings and a great movement of ants, they prepare a platform at a height of half a meter above the ant nest. One can see an entire family posted on this platform, and as the tanajuras emerge from the ground, they are eaten raw, often also with the accompaniment of beijú or flour. When the emergence is very abundant, the tanajuras are collected in special baskets, in which they are later roasted.

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/footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

[263]
[251]

They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

[784]

It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunurí, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

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The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxirí, in Tukano pêru. The term caxirí, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxirí is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55);

55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

/291 cont./

c) In the food.

264 The practice of preparing and eating food with clean hands is not in force among the natives. They break off the pieces of beijú with the hands, and, one after the other, each person dips it with the fingers into the quinhapira. If this, by chance, is too hot, he will use a stick, casually found on the ground, to take out the fragment of beijú that slipped from his fingers into the pot.

The beijú and other foods are not only held in dirty hands, but they are also deposited on the hammock or some other filthy object.

[271] [276] They drink from the same cuia, which goes from mouth to mouth. In the same way, the cigar or a ball of candy will pass from one mouth to another.

They have been seen taking and eating some food, perhaps even spoiled, placed in the garbage container or in the feed for the pigs. And even going so far as to compete with some animal for the ration that it is eating, even though it is on the ground or in a trough.

d) In the acts.

515 They likewise practice certain very repugnant acts. By way of an example, there is that of the mother who, with her own tongue, cleans the nose of her little child; or who eats the parasites as she finds them on the head of her children. This, by the way, is a general custom when one woman "searches" another. Perhaps, in lieu of payment, whoever has the /292/ job of searching also eats the lice. More rarely she will give the parasite to its legitimate owner (46).

46. Although it is a general custom, and they always observe it when a woman searches for parasites on the head of another person, they refuse to say whether there is any magic meaning in this practice. Whenever they perceive that they are being watched, or fear that they are, they interrupt the act and go so far as to try to disguise it.

/419 cont./

462 conversation with other men for long hours (26).

[517] 26. At other times she might be gaily conversing while the man is working.

611 She is a foreigner, without any right over her children. They belong to the husband, or rather to the tribe of the husband. If by
736 chance she becomes a widow, she may continue to live in the maloca, and she will ordinarily do so, especially if she is aged and cannot expect another marriage. Or she will return to her tribe, without, however, taking the children with her. With the hypothesis that her husband had a separate house or one in the vicinity of another tribe, the relatives from the husband's tribe will come to take the orphans to their own maloca. If any of the orphans are still /420/ babies at the breast, perhaps they will await until the child can dispense with maternal care, and then they will irrevocably take them away.

587 When it was a matter of her marrying, an exchange or indemnification was negotiated, without her being consulted. Upon establishing her new home, she had the customary test of a beating, and perhaps, due to the bad character of the husband, many others might follow, against which she could never react. Accord-
264 ing to the tribal customs, she will never eat with the husband; she
593 takes out her portion and it is only after he and his friends and guests are satisfied and leave the place that she will take her food.

All this causes surprise, especially if we observe the importance
462 of her "atelier"; that is, it is she who performs the tasks necessary for life: she plants the clearing, works with the mandioca, which constitutes the indispensable daily dish, weaves the hammocks for sleeping, makes the vessels for water, prepares the caxiris and the cooking.

593 We leave, Deo volente, for a monograph the study of the indications of a matriarchalist civilization among the Uaupesina tribes. For now we shall say, with the students who have

/479 cont./

512 [515] [854] *[192] or in small groups of two or three, ordinarily a child riding on her hip and with a vessel on her head, in the direction of the river. Or, more precisely, that point of the river called Pextá, landing place, with suitably prepared access, where the canoes are tied. There they take their quick morning bath, Wa-wa'kãse, of immersion, rubbing the hand quickly over the body, face, and hair. The same is done by the smaller children who accompany them; and they take the opportunity, moreover, to bathe the suckling infants, whom they have left on the bank. Afterwards they fill [312] the vessels with water and, putting them on their heads, go up with the water to the maloca. Then they prepare the morning meal.

[521] [515] /480/ The men and the boys continue to lie down for an hour more or less, conversing from hammock to hammock and, still before six o'clock, go for their bath. Then the mats that closed the two doors of the maloca are lifted.

*[192] • [264] The pots of Byá-tõ (it is the quinhapira or sauce of fish broth with pepper) or of Yumũ-ku (mingau) of tapioca, and the baskets in the shape of sieves, heaped high with Ahũ-a (beijú), are put on small mats on the floor. -- "Baãra a'tyá," come to eat, is the invitation by the woman. Those of the male sex place themselves in a circle, squatting, and, starting with the chief, eat heartily, amidst conversation and noisy laughter.

The rule of civility is to serve oneself slowly and to eat without voracity. This, besides, is greatly in agreement with the whole attitude of the Indian, normally calm and serene. The women are in charge of the serving, bringing whatever there is, as it becomes necessary. There are no eating implements: one breaks off a piece of beijú with the hand, dips it in the quinhapira, and carries it to the mouth. The mingau is drunk (1)

*[192] 1. To drink is the expression that they use, although this is not very appropriate, because it is more or less thick. -- "Yumũ-ku sĩrỹáti? Did you drink mingau?"

/480 cont./

512 with the beijú or in small cuias, like a spoon. At the end, the
*[192] woman presents a large cuia with Ñõxká (manicuera /drink made
[264] out of manioc juice/) or the Po'ká peosé (the chibé /manioc flour and water/ of generalized use on the Amazon). Like our coffee, they thus ordinarily end their meals with the indispensable chibé, of which as much as is wanted is taken, the cuia then being passed to the neighbor on the right. Finally the women and children simultaneously take their food.

The noisy exodus for work starts: it might perhaps be seven or eight o'clock. The men and women leave in groups. The former for the forest, for hunting, to procure textile fibers, wood for building, or to search for fruits, or for the river, with the proper equipment for fishing or in order to prepare the traps.

*[192] The women with the older daughters and the children (small
[241] ones) go to the clearing, taking the Pi'í (aturá), hanging from the forehead on the back, in order to carry mandioca and firewood. In order to reach the field they almost always have to take the canoe, and for this reason they leave with oars of different sizes, some quite small for the children. Some old or sick person (many times nobody) will stay as guard of the deserted and silent maloca.

[462] The work will last until after eleven o'clock. Around one
[854] o'clock the maloca starts to become animated again. The women arrive with their aturás filled with mandioca and, on top, bundles of firewood; the smaller children on their hips or held in front of the chest, and others holding on to their skirt. They are perspiring, with the face flushed, if they did not /481/ touch it with carajurú /carajura/, as a precaution, in order not to suffer so much from the heat of the sun. Little by little the men also begin to arrive with the results of their labor: fruits, fish, game, or fibers and timber.

Another bath will come, with its freshness, to renew their well-being. The woman will grill the fish or the game, will prepare fresh, tasty beijú, the quinhapira, the mingau, some insect,
*[192] and the chibé. Soon will come the "Baãra a'tyá" and the afternoon meal.

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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[604] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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place the blame upon the material conditions. The woman, then, is more than a mere toiler in the garden. She qualifies as agronomist as well. 244 462

Women return from their gardens in the very early afternoon. They pause at the rear door of the house only long enough to drop the machete, and without putting down their burdens of manioc and infant, go directly to the river to bathe themselves and to wash the tubers. This is a pleasurable hour. Refreshed from the heat of the morning, the women play with their infants and jest with one another. Washing the tubers is a simple task of dipping the entire basket into the water. A light midday meal follows the washing, and the routine of processing the tubers begins. The woman may start with fresh roots, but for a more tender manioc cake she will allow the roots to soften for several days either in the house or in the river. 512 462 252 [515] [264]

The first step is peeling. The woman seats herself at her own household compartment, her back braced against a post, her legs stretched out stiff and straight before her into the dance corridor – the public alley of the house. The manioc basket is at one side and a tray at the other. She bites the butt end of the tuber to break the skin, and using teeth and fingers pulls off the readily peelable skin. This phase of the work is leisurely. Women who are not at the moment occupied come by to chat and help casually in the peeling. A woman's daughters sit with her and help. Enough is peeled for one manioc cake – that is, one half of a basket. 462 252 461 [516]

The next step is the most arduous and least liked – grating the peeled tubers on a wooden board (*pediba*) that has been set with abrasive stones. A woman can usually shift this work on to her daughter or her daughter-in-law.

The scraping process is as follows. The woman sits with her feet stretched out straight before her and slightly spread. She sets the grate on her legs with its far end braced against a house post, the forward end pressed against her abdomen. She takes up two large manioc tubers from a tray, one in each hand, and scrapes vigorously with alternate arm movements with the hardest pressure on the forward stroke. The action is vigorous, involving not only full arm movements but the bending of the back from the hips. Young women of marriageable age work rapidly and continuously until bathed in sweat. When worn down to a size where it cannot be conveniently scraped any more, the tuber is thrown aside and two others taken up. Finally, a collection of scraps is assembled into a single bunch clutched in both hands and scraped down virtually to the very bottom. This is a break in the work rhythm since both hands are used together and the move- [516]

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped up on the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahikiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahikiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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264 eat together, crouched about the small pot of prepared food or sitting in a hammock. Such meals are usually light and rarely consist of
264 fresh fish or freshly caught game. It may be a pepper pot into which
262 preserved fish or meat has been flaked or a dish of dried meat chopped fine, with dry peppers. If it is the morning meal, taken just upon arising an hour or so before dawn, it is a *mingau*, a tapioca porridge sometimes mixed with crushed pineapple. There is not much eating between meals. If men have been working hard they refresh themselves with sugar cane. Youngsters, however, eat as often as they like, and that is most of the time. Youngsters are free to draw upon the household larder, but much of what they eat they have foraged for themselves, fruits, sugar cane, small game, and fish. A youngster, however, will take only manioc cake prepared by his own mother.

264 The main meal, taken just before sunset so that it concludes shortly after sunset, is usually formal and separates men and women. A collective meal, it is eaten in the center of the dance corridor. The men crouch in a tight circle around the cluster of pots that each woman has set down. Their sons are before them in an inner circle. Women and girls sit in an outer circle behind their fathers and husbands. The men eat first and when they have finished they rise and return to their hammocks while the women and girls then move in to finish
261 what is left over. The Cubeo are not voracious eaters. They eat almost
264 daintily and are amused at the uncouthness of those who eat as though they were hungry. When I ate with them I always left the table hungry. I never saw any Indian eat to repletion even when great quantities of food were available. The method of eating, with the women waiting hungrily behind them, is perhaps a deterrent to gorging. It is my impression, however, that the Cubeo associate excess
[183] only with drink and associate food with moderation. That is to say, excess is pertinent to intersib gatherings, moderation is the keynote
[614] within the closer community of kin that is the sib.

264 People eating together are gay though not boisterous; even the
522 older men, ordinarily solemn, unbend. The younger men laugh, tease one another, remember with amusement an incident in the catching of the food they are now eating. The women join in the laughter most generously and the men gallantly pass back to them morsels of food on bits of manioc cake. The normal movement of food at this point is from a man to his wife, daughter, or sister. But in the spirit of jest he will pass food to another woman. This will provoke mirthful calls of "ha, your sweetheart." No man would be so foolish as to pass back food to a woman with whom he might be having an affair even though this is a permissible jesting occasion. If

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw 264
upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their [522]
portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, [184]
though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will 264
ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, 765
which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and 261
tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare [574]
no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. More- [796]
over, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them [273]
in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The 261
Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circum- 264
stances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They ex- 577
pect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of speci- 264
fied social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. 574
The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. [614]
However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently [123]
caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

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264 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahükiwa* to pay a
574 courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to
123 eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahükiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may
768 explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack
571 fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest
866 for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This
[857] attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in
183 leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good
571 part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances
431 of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice; one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy
[123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

721 many more people lived there. We are told by Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his 727 neighbour. *Malocas* were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were knocked to the ground with wooden clubs which the Indians still have today, their bodies hacked to pieces, their forearms used to stir the *chicha* and the armbones later made into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the sexual organs were eaten by the headman's wife to ensure brave offspring. even the bones were boiled into broth and the orgy continued until the cannibals had completed their spoil and the *chicha* had run dry.

Such a description of warfare and cannibalism would not fit the Indian who lives in the Piraparaná today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the [178] daily life we saw in their *malocas*. We found the Indian's day measured by a peaceful regularity.

512 Slowly the great house comes to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *maloca* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-screen door and eases it up to its hook like a portcullis, then saunters leisurely out into the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the *maloca*, still only vague shapes in the gathering light as they prepare cassava, pick up the water pots and go down to the river to bathe.

[264] [262] The men returning from the river squat on their haunches on the low stools in the centre of the *maloca*, and without any ceremony consume their breakfast of cassava bread, manioc juice and probably some leftovers from the previous night – boiled fish or a piece of bush pig. The women, who have eaten separately with the children, collect their large manioc baskets and leave [482] for the *chagra*, the forest clearing where they grow their crops. The baskets are slung from a strip of sapling bark across the forehead; they hold their babies on their hips, walking rapidly, almost awkwardly – the Indian woman's gait is not a graceful one. Children run along beside them, some [855] affectionately holding the hands of their mothers, others playing. A few of [857] the elder children return to the river to fish, and some of the men go off in [226] pairs to hunt and fish, while others move off to collect coca leaves from their *chagras*.

The Piraparaná has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the 249 river and its tributaries are one of the few remaining strongholds of the drug in north-west Amazonia. Carrying no more than their small coca pouches and the basket for the leaves, five or six men, led by the headman, go down to the stream, perhaps taking a drink and washing themselves before they climb up the far bank. They move along a path through the thick vegetation of an old *chagra* fallen into disuse. Although an occasional banana or *pupuña* palm

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of
61 the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse group, which is also the basic unit of economic
594 redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with
[251] its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each mar-
[354] ried woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her
• [264] hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by
[562] the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A
61 well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cul-
582 tural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

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factured goods into the stream of trade — cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves. 439 [438]

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiari had spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods — chickens, fish, and fruit. 439 464 177 [191] 439 265 [262]

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business. 439 648

/102 cont./

* 101 The Oá-mahã are lighter in complexion and more slender
[142] than the Tukano. Dark brown or black hair, fine, sometimes wavy. Face more elongated than among the Tukano, also more delicate features and light eyes.

[582] They likewise observe tribal exogamy, and we know of marriages with the Tuyuka, Bará, and Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It seems that at present all of them live in Colombian territory between the headwaters of the rivers Tiquié and Papurí.

The Pamõá-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) mention the Oá-mahã as a division of their own tribe. We do not know whether it is a matter of the present tribe, as seems more probable by the location, or if it is actually only a division of the Tatú /armadillo/, with this name of Oá (gambá).

3) Divisions -- The informant did not know how to indicate them.

o) PÁBOA-MAXSÃ OR TATÚ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- In their own idiom, which belongs to the Tukano family of languages (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/"), they call themselves Páboa-maxsã, corresponding to the Tukano denomination Pamõá-maxsã or Tatú /armadillo/ people.

[142] /103/ Lighter in complexion than the Tukano, and also taller and more slender. Dark brown hair, ovoid face, light eyes, fine lips, high nose.

[582] We know of matrimonial ties with the Bará and the Karapanã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Presently they live in the
[721] region embraced between the headwaters of the Áua (one of
[648] the sources of the Papurí) and the river Pirá-paraná. About 20
[266] years ago there were encounters and reciprocal massacres between the Tatú-tapuyas and Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/, and even episodes of anthropophagy are remembered, which are explained, it seems, by special hate and reprisals.

/159 cont./

578 The legends refer to similar episodes, and perhaps they try to imitate their legendary heroes.

278 /160/ a) The most common method of revenge, nevertheless, is poisoning. When they talk to us with intimacy and frankness, the natives affirm and document numerous cases of poisonings for revenge. From which one understands the general fear that dominates everyone, almost an obsession about being poisoned. Some revealed to us that they had been victims, they themselves, of poisonings that caused them serious and prolonged illnesses. We also know of cases in circumstances such that, according to the account of the Rvdas. Irmãs Enfermeiras /Reverend Sisters in charge of the sick/, they admit the suspicion of poisoning. Among these, we recall here two cases that happened during our travels. It was a matter of a more odious form of revenge, that is, to cause harm to the younger children in order to get satisfaction for injuries caused by their parents. Two children about ten years old, students of the Salesian Mission: a girl from Iauareté in April of 1955, and a boy from Parí-cachoeira in October of 1956. Both died at the end of a few hours, after ingesting native drinks.

• 266 They do not, however, practice anthropophagy, and nothing reveals that they had had this custom in the Tukano group of tribes (cf. below what will be said about Cannibalism, VII - 6, h /sic; see VII, 4, h/).

19) Vanity.

326 Vanity is a strongly pronounced trait of the native psyche. The mothers tie bindings on the babies in arms, below the knee and above the ankle, "in order to thicken their legs." Actually, on the whole, they are anatomically well proportioned and elegant, with well-formed legs. They want to have thick legs. It is one of the insults, especially among the girls, to call one another skinny leg (33).

*[192] 33. Insults in Tukano: skinny leg, hõxkã-dyí-Marĩgõ; curly hair, poári-subi; big eye, kaxpéri-bũhũgõ.

/374 cont./

764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wãx-tĩ?) ).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubu-[535] cuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxirí (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

## CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

• 266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

/374 cont./

121 It is probable that such a practice, in origin, is due to the
• 266 lack of food. Nevertheless, later, because of the whole orientation of the mentality of primitive man, it came to take on a magical character. One must, then, distinguish economic cannibalism and ritual cannibalism.

/375/ 1. Economic cannibalism.

In economic cannibalism the flesh of enemies, fresh or preserved by various processes that they know, is usually consumed; this is exoanthropophagy. Hence expeditions of war to provide human flesh.

266 This is what Wallace tells us (o. c. 638) about the Kubewana:
721 --"On the Uaupés only the Cubeus /Cubeo/ are truly cannibals. They eat those of the other tribes whom they kill in battle. In order to obtain human flesh still fresh, they even make war for this single purpose. When the meat exceeds what they can eat at one time, they dry it and smoke it on the fire, and thus it can be stored for a long time. They burn the heads of the dead ones and drink their ashes with caxirí in the same way that has already been described above."

As for the Kubewana or other tribes of the Uaupés, this information obtained by Wallace seems false to us. Perhaps in turn
[727 567] based on Wallace is Bento de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, Director of the "Archivo do Amazonas" (1907, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 80), in his article entitled "As explorações e os exploradores do Uaupés /The explorations and the explorers of the Uaupés/," where he also affirms: -- "When they take a prisoner in war, if it is a man, they massacre, if it is a woman or a young man, they sell, when they find a buyer, otherwise they kill and eat, dividing the pieces among everyone in the tribe."

266 The encounters and reprisals that took place about twenty years ago between the Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/
648 and the natives of the banks of the Cananari, tributary of the
726 Pirá-paraná, are still remembered (information by the Colombian Napoleão Estrada, in November of 1953, and by others). Still

/375 cont./

266 in 1954 we heard mention of four Colombians murdered, "smoked,"
648 and eaten by the Pamõã-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) Indians of this
726 region; and of how they particularly coveted the legs and feet of the victims. Accepting the accuracy of the news, however, it seems that it is a matter of special irritation and vengeance, and not of anthropophagy as a traditional habit, much less of bellicose attempts for the purpose of obtaining human flesh.

266 Koch Grünberg in various passages of his work Zwei Iahre speaks of the cannibalism of the Hyanakoto. He is, however, only reporting information by natives, and the Hyanakoto are Karaíba and reside outside the area that we are studying here. We have
266 also heard natives of various tribes speak of anthropophagous
829 Indians (94).

94. The Kumãdene tuxaua of Urubucuara, Mandú, knowing that we had made a long excursion by way of the headwaters of the river Tiquié, presented two very interesting questions: whether we had met the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ anthropophagous Indians and whether we had seen the tailed Indians. We answered both questions negatively, and we took the opportunity to ask him whether by chance he too had already seen them, who they were, and where they lived. He also answered us that he did not know, he had only heard such things mentioned.

An old Tukano /376/ from Pari-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, informed us that there are three cannibal tribes, or Baári-maxsã-ré, that is: 1st -- the Yai-peri maxsã, 2nd -- the Píti-yároa, 3rd -- the Yõũrwá, and that they live "up there," that is, on the headwaters of the river Tiquié.

/376 cont./

829 Other natives designated for us the ferocious Indians of the
• 266 river Cauaburi, tributary from the left of the middle Rio Negro, as being the famous Yai-peri maxsã or Onça /jaguar/ Tooth People. These, however, seem to be only legendary beings (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

Concerning the Pinao Indians of Colombia, we read that they sold the human flesh of their war slaves in their markets. This refers to the Panches, also from Colombian territory, who sold their own children to be eaten. It is said of these anthropophagous tribes that they fattened up the victims intended to serve as food. They ate them boiled with maize in large pots, or, more commonly, roasted them alive on a spit that pierced them through the anus.

2) Ritual cannibalism.

Among the tribes who practice anthropophagy, magic or participative cannibalism is more frequently found.

It is derived from the belief that through the eating of the flesh of an individual comes the most intimate union possible with him, and, therefore, participation in his good qualities: courage, vigor, dexterity, etc., and even in his psychic qualities or his magic power. Hence the sacred repasts, at which were eaten (not infrequently with preceding feasts, homages, and solemn immolation) the personages taken as superior: the chief, the pajé, the brave warriors, the heroes. More commonly, they are personages of their own tribe; this is endoanthropophagy.

765 Among some primitives, the cult of the dead came to be impregnated with such a magic concept. In order to provide themselves with the desired qualities that their own ancestors possessed, there appeared the custom of ingesting their ashes with special drinks on the occasion of particular funeral commemorations.

Wallace affirms (o. c. 638) that "The Tarianos and Tucanos, as well as some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is already in a very advanced state of decomposition, and place it in a large pot or oven over the fire, until the soft parts are destroyed, which is done with the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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be interesting and he recorded tribal distributions and physical conditions of life as well as many customs. It is to Wallace that we owe the first report on mortuary endocannibalism among the Cubeo. Curiously, this information has never been properly authenticated. Wallace learned about it at second hand, as did Koch-Grünberg many years later. I observed what I thought to be this custom, but I could not verify that the bones being prepared for imbibing with chicha were human. The annoyance of the Indians when I accidentally came upon them while they were reducing bones to meal and pouring it into the chicha at the conclusion of a mourning ceremony led me to suspect that the bones were human. In response to my questions, however, no Cubeo would confirm my conjectures.

Wallace (1870, p. 354) traveled up the Vaupés to the mouth of the Cuduiari River at the rapids of Uaracapuri, where he observed a community of several malocas. He did not enter the Cuduiari, reporting only that to his knowledge no European had ever gone up that river. As for the Vaupés, this river, particularly in its Brazilian reaches, had in Wallace's time already become an important artery of European trade. Along the Isana River Wallace noted that the Indians were living in European-style dwellings. The Cuduiari then had the reputation of a totally wild region. The Cubeo Indians seen by Wallace were still wearing large circular wooden plugs in their ears. By 1903, in the time of Koch-Grünberg, this form of male ornamentation had already been given up.

Curt Nimuendajú surveyed the Isana, Aiari, and Vaupés rivers in 1927. In his notes, published posthumously in 1950, it is revealed that he correctly identified Tucano and Cubeo descent groups as patrilineal clans. He did not, however, enter the Cuduiari, and his information on that river, being secondhand, is not too reliable.

My own field work on the Cuduiari began in September 1939 and continued through June 1940. (Goldman, 1948, is a preliminary report.) The Cuduiari had the advantage of being relatively accessible and as yet almost completely unacculturated. I decided upon the Cuduiari after a survey of the Cubeo communities along the Vaupés.

## CULTURE CHANGE

Cubeo culture has been subjected to acculturative influences from two sources, one from other Indian tribes and the other from European, Colombian, and Brazilian missionaries, settlers, traders, and latex extractors. Cultural interchange among Indian tribes in the Northwest Amazon region is, of course, an old and intricate process,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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682 derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault. [614]

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when [593] his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. [578] This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a [763] monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. [825] In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, [625] however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer [697] and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is 682 no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The 593 only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, [266] crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as [762] he then cut his throat and died.

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old 683 *Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves 685 pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihí*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihí* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft [276] is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

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726
411 shields rested on the ground and the men fired their arrows from
714 behind them.

At a victory dance the men wore the smoked genitals of the killed
727 warriors over their own genitals as an ornamental trophy. After the
266 dance the women were offered the penises to eat for fertility. Except
[842] for the intestines, deemed not fit to eat, the enemies were consumed at a sib feast and drinking party. The head, limbs, liver, and heart were spit roasted, the rest of the meat was boiled.

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765 534 114 769 [773] for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjíko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkũ*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 786 [154] The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual [536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate 765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, 266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion [775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the substance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presum- [614] ably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 562 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritual- [786] ized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 765 [776] The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaiwũ*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, *kenadjü marié kenadjü pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

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765 775 266 114 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I observed the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 824 783 775 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. Thereafter, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for at least another generation.

532 765 776

## MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *ÓYNE*

**Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Makuko* | (K-G)[a] | A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun. |
| 2. *Kohako* | (K-G) | Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them. |
| 3. *Hailako* | (K-G) | A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand. |
| 4. *Palutxiko* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 5. *Anauako* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 6. *Abúhuwa* | (K-G;IG)[b] | Forest demons. |
| 7. *Hokoaboxoko* | (K-G) | Giant tree demons. |

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

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171 184 266 765 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wallace, 1870, p. 498).

Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéos. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabucuris, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enrivant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'énergie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 173).

/291 cont./

c) In the food.

264 The practice of preparing and eating food with clean hands is not in force among the natives. They break off the pieces of beijú with the hands, and, one after the other, each person dips it with the fingers into the quinhapira. If this, by chance, is too hot, he will use a stick, casually found on the ground, to take out the fragment of beijú that slipped from his fingers into the pot.

The beijú and other foods are not only held in dirty hands, but they are also deposited on the hammock or some other filthy object.

[271] [276] They drink from the same cuia, which goes from mouth to mouth. In the same way, the cigar or a ball of candy will pass from one mouth to another.

They have been seen taking and eating some food, perhaps even spoiled, placed in the garbage container or in the feed for the pigs. And even going so far as to compete with some animal for the ration that it is eating, even though it is on the ground or in a trough.

d) In the acts.

515 They likewise practice certain very repugnant acts. By way of an example, there is that of the mother who, with her own tongue, cleans the nose of her little child; or who eats the parasites as she finds them on the head of her children. This, by the way, is a general custom when one woman "searches" another. Perhaps, in lieu of payment, whoever has the /292/ job of searching also eats the lice. More rarely she will give the parasite to its legitimate owner (46).

46. Although it is a general custom, and they always observe it when a woman searches for parasites on the head of another person, they refuse to say whether there is any magic meaning in this practice. Whenever they perceive that they are being watched, or fear that they are, they interrupt the act and go so far as to try to disguise it.

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592 554 providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor [433] in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*karáiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaiwdryo*, *waiwari*, *mod*, *pudjú*, *kanéka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kawdmene*), pineapple, (*ihíbo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*uné*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*bahámu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butcí*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [162] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [85] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act be- 846
lieved to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, 789
scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press any- 846
thing, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of [789]
these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is 551
not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given 851
a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child [789]
comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. [856]
To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much 826
they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in [192]
itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahú* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahúmikũ* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is con- 553
ducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the 603
name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the 789
house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather re- 593
peatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's [272]
mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to [614]
emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth [856]
magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

* 539 /109 cont./

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Urémi Sakuró, and he was the chief of another army that was also under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Yáitoro, who was the chief of an army that also was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Suí /110/ Amoperí, and he, too, was the chief of an army that was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Arú Perí, and he, too, was the chief of an army that was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Bojsóka Perí, who also was the chief of an army that was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Ajkíto Bitóro, and that one was indeed like the chief of Umu Saaí, Kemáru Dasirí, Urémi Sakuró, Yáitoro, Suí Amoperí, Arú Perí, and Bojsóka Perí. And Ajkíto Bitóro was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro, and he was very brave.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Báya Purá, and he, too, was like Ajkíto Bitóro, because he, too, commanded Umu Saaí, Kemáru Dasirí, Urémi Sakuró, Yáitoro, Suí Amoperí, Arú Perí, and Bojsóka Perí; and also commanded Ajkíto Bitóro.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Mío Putí, and he was brave too and fought at night. He, too, was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro. Ajkíto Bitóro could command Mío Putí.

In Diaojpekowí remained a man named Yepá Huáke. And Yepá Huáke gave cashirí (Péru) (14)

• [273]

14. Chicha made by means of the fermentation of the boiled juice of bitter yuca, to which is also added cooked ñame /Dioscorea/ and pieces of casabe /cassava or cassava bread/.

/115/

101 20. Oxkótirya poné (foam of the water where the Pirá-tapuya appeared), in Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) (46)

46. Would the Wanana be considered brothers of the Pirá-tapuya, from which would come the matrimonial interdiction that is in effect between these tribes?

[273] 21. Dyaxtú panámina (grandchildren of Dyaxtú, that is, of the one who drinks pure caxirí /various locally made beverages drunk at feasts/), in S. Tomé (Tiquié), Bela Vista (Uaupés) (47)

47. An individual of this group informed us that he identifies himself with the 7th group above, Bũxpó poné.

w) WINÁ OR DESÃNA.

1) People-Name-Language. -- In their own idiom they say Winá, the name, it seems, of a fish. According to Padre João Marchesi, it means wind storm, thunder, people of the thunder. They are called Detsana or Papuriwára by the Taryana. The suffix wara is from the Nheengatú and expresses origin; the name would seem, then, to indicate that they penetrated into Brazil by way of the Papurí. It is certain that when the Tukano reached the Tiquié, the Desana were already there and on the principal tributaries. In contrast to the Tukano, it was afterwards that they moved to the Papurí, perhaps even before the arrival of the Tukano in Brazil.

In the Tukano language they call themselves Wená or Wĩrá; they also received the nicknames of "muhĩ-pũ põra," children of the sun, and "õ mã-kori maxsã," people of the day. Such nicknames might be derived from some legend that we do not know. Or perhaps from the relative location of these two tribes, the Desana being in the eastern region in relation to the Tukano?

/162 cont./

829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always will-
262 ing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever
[177] is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauareté did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous
* [172] ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during
[784] the chôco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they
• 273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí
[164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

/163 cont./

273 the odor from afar. In order to avoid reprimands, they hide the bottles on the bottom of the river, from where they remove them when they want to drink their alcoholic contents.

261 They are particularly gluttonous over sweets (39);

> 39. The tuxauas, povoado chiefs, themselves appeared satisfied with a piece of candy; and not infrequently even a candy ball is divided up, or it passes through more than one mouth. With some caramels and cigarettes, they considered themselves well paid for the work of letting themselves be measured.

they also appreciate salt very much, and even the bitter salt (sodium sulphate) itself, provided as a medicine. Salt is an article that they are always seeking.

32) /sic/ Ingenuity and cheerfulness.

157 Moreover he possesses an assemblage of natural virtues and enviable qualities. We have already indicated some; let us also point out others. Among the fine qualities of the native one notices his charming ingenuity. Simple, frank, even when he is telling the most disagreeable episodes, and he always does it with terms of the crudest realism. A strangely natural ingenuity in conversation and especially in composure, even when, judging by the previous facts, one is certain that it covers malice.

He is a cheerful individual. He laughs with the greatest of ease, and for any reason whatsoever he bursts out in great, prolonged, and typical hearty laughs. The laugh is not only a response to the ridiculous or to the humorous, but to every pleasant surprise (40).

> 40. An Indian woman, questioned about the reason for so many and such prolonged laughs, explained that it was because they loosen the

/187 cont./

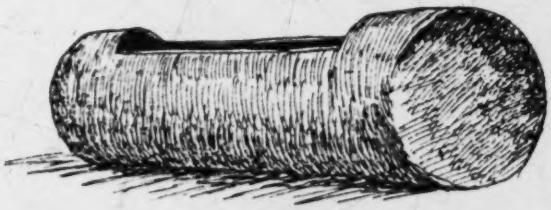
352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 276 [796] [178] /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utſkaro yaxpú or also utſkaro seré, or again mõrõ dõxkõ (?) (in Nheengatú emapú). In the dabacurís /religious celebrations/ the use of tobacco in the form of a large cigar, utſkaro, about 20 centimeters long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utſkaro is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 • 273 415 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pêru yuxkõ-sõ properly speaking means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú iwá, hence the term ubá, which means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxiri tub (pêru juxkõ-sõ)

/215 cont./

252 *[192] 7) Chibé. The chibé, in Tukano po'ká põõke, is prepared with the water flour rich in tapioca. It is enough to take a certain amount of flour in a cuia and add water to it. For example, they take the water directly from the river while they are traveling on it, with a quick movement of the hand, without spilling the flour. They wait for a few seconds, in order for the mandioca fibers that are in the flour to come up (at times they facilitate this, moving the mass with the fingers) and empty out the water from the top, along with these fibers. After a few moments the flour "grows," because of being impregnated with water. The chibé has then been prepared. This starchy water, acid in flavor, is naturally refreshing. The chibé is used as a snack by the Indian. With a cuia of chibé, he rows for endless hours. It is the regular food, or even the sole food, on journeys, and also his dessert after meals.

243 *[192] b) Maize.

The maize, ohó-ka (we do not know whether the Indian sees any special relation between the maize stalk, ohó-ka, and the banana tree, ohó; or if the similarity of the terms is a matter of mere accident), is not only of late introduction, but, moreover, of very restricted use. Properly speaking, there is no maize clearing among the tribes of the Uaupés, but only a few isolated plants, when there are any. A group from the Karapanã tribe, residing between the rivers Papurí and Tiquié, on the headwaters of the stream Umarí, cultivates maize in greater abundance, but it is almost entirely sold to the Salesian Mission. It is a matter of a variety with a soft and white grain.

[184] [197]

• 273 In small quantity the chewed maize is used, in some cases, to facilitate the fermentation of the drinks.

252 It also enters into the preparation of cakes, through the following process: after the maize is pounded, the meal is sifted and moistened with lukewarm water. With this dough they prepare cakes that are /216/ put on to bake over coals, wrapped in banana leaves. If the woman "has a good hand," they say, a sweet and pleasing cake comes out. It is, however, a food of

/222 cont./

147 Perhaps the Indian owes to the richness of Vitamin A, taken
262 in through the consumption of such a variety of insects and larvae, the admirable night vision that he enjoys.

/223/ g) Fruits.

*192 If the native diet is lacking in green vegetables and legumes,
245 many are the fruits that they eat.

252 1) Among the fruit trees cultivated, there come first five or
262 six varieties of banana, ohó; and they eat them raw, baked, or boiled and reduced to mingau. Even when they are still green, they eat them roasted in the ashes.

They are also fond of pineapple, sẽ'rá (Uaupés sẽ'ná), biriba, pixká, cashew nuts, sõ'rá (U. sõ'ná), and, more recently, the orange, darãñõ, avocado, ñõmõ, abio /Lucuma caimito/, kã'rẽ.

*192 2) The wild fruits that they know and eat are very numer-
222 ous. We shall recall some: õ'sé, cucura or mapatí (pourouma cecropiaefóliae, Mart.), one of the Moraceae very similar to the
252 imbauba, producing large bunches of fruits the size of a jabuticaba
262 /Mouriria pusa/, which, when ripe, are dark, sweet, and mucilaginous, and, fermented, give a wine-like drink; mẽ'rẽ
[273] (U. mẽ'nẽ), wirí-mẽ'rẽ, various species of ingá (ingá cinamómea, marginata, édulis, etc., Mimosaceae); burukũña, maracujá /species of Passiflora/; õxtã-ñĩmĩ, cumã (fruit of the service tree); pãgá, another species of cucura; kenõ, jatobá /locust tree/; simiõ, uacú /Monopterix uaucú/; teheõ and ehyú-pu, varieties of piquia; thoá, yúa-pixuna; wamã, umarí; wĩhĩ, paricá /Leguminosae/; extoá, cubio /Solanum sessiliflorum/; wextí, umirí; wikasoró, small white fruit; tohoá-kaxperí, omã-karperí, and ñerẽ, similar to the cumã.

3) And many species of palm nuts, more or less oily: ixkí, inajá; puxpyá, ucuquí; mĩx'pĩ, assai; ã'rẽ, pupunha, for which they are eager; bextá, tucumã, which they like very much, ñãmã (U. ñumũ), bacaba and patauá; etc.

/223 cont./

*192 Assaí, patauá, and bacaba are small nuts, in bunches. Put
222 in hot water, the pulp that envelops them comes loose. This,
262 after being crushed and strained, is mixed into the chibé or into
252 the mingau, making it more nourishing and flavorful.

4) They also leave the umarí (paroquéiba /Poraqueiba/ paraénsis, Ducke) in water, after having sucked the sweetish yellow rind, in order for the stone to lose its bitter juice. They also customarily mix its yellow mass into the mingau.

245 5) The pupunha tree is an ornamental palm, straight, with
252 beautiful fronds, which they plant in all their povoados. Twice
262 a year it produces bunches of small red or orange nuts with a fari-
naceous and dry pulp. They eat them cooked in water. /224/
They like them so much that during this time they abstain from
245 other foods. Its pulp, diluted in water and left to ferment in
251 camotins for 24 hours, is transformed into a very tasty drink,
• 273 the pupunha caxirí, ã'rẽ-kó.
*[192] When there is a great abundance of this nut, they prepare a large quantity of the mass, and, in order to keep it during the year without spoiling, they dig a hole in the vicinity of the house, line it well with banana leaves, and there they introduce the mass, pressing it well in order to expel all the air, and afterwards they cover it further with banana leaves and a layer of soil a span or more thick. This mass will be used for preparing the caxirí for months.

222 6) Among the most sought wild fruits is the japurá, a
252 dicotyledon, like an almond, inside of a soft involucre. They
262 subject it to boiling, in order to eliminate the thin and bitter
*[192] skin that covers it, and then crush it, producing a dark mass, with a sharpness that reminds one of Gorgonzola cheese (54).

54. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha already reported that in 1759 in his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/," p. 114: "The Indians will have put the name of Japurá on it (on a

/224 cont./

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/footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

[263]
[251]

They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

[784]

It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunurí, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

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[527]

The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxirí, in Tukano pêru. The term caxirí, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxirí is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55);

55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

/224 cont./

*192
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it is so thick, though, that it looks more like a mingau or /225/ thin, extended pap. They are fermented drinks, and in many cases, moreover, alcoholic fermentation takes place. The flavor is pleasant, especially when cane juice is added to it. It then becomes sweeter, but with greater alcoholic content and more inebriating.

They are prepared from manicuera, yõxhá, from beijú, ahũ-ga, from cará, ñõmõ, and from various kinds of fruits. The beijú for the caxirí must be well toasted, said precisely pêru-ahũã; afterwards being crumbled and mixed with the water, which is left to ferment for two days.

The principal types of drinks are:

1st. -- Ya'rákê. One waits until the beijú becomes half moldy, and then one adds the mandioca, grated without peeling, and plenty of warm cane juice. In order to activate the fermentation, the large vessel, called baxpá, that contains this mixture will stay on the hot ashes. At the end of a week, more or less, it will be ready for consumption.

2nd. -- Tu-sa'békê. It is also prepared with beijú broken into the manicuera, and later one adds cane juice. The fermentation is faster, in a cool place, covering the tub that contains it with banana leaf. At the end of three days it can be drunk. When it turns out stronger and more stupefying, they believe that it happens because Wãx-tĩ took a bath in the tub of drink when still covered with banana leaves (56).

56. Patrícia Vasconcelos told us that on a certain occasion in S. Luzia (river Papurí) a very weak old man was lying in his hammock near the tub of tu sabékê. From his hammock he could hear the noise of Wãx-tĩ, who tore open the banana leaf and bathed in the liquid and was drinking from it. He then called his grandson and told him: -- "My grandson, throw this drink away; I heard Wãx-tĩ taking a bath in it."

/225 cont./

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3rd. -- Doxké dõxpoasé. More greatly esteemed, and lending opportunities for their greatest feasts and dances, is the "caxirí of pupunha," doxké dõxpoasé, for which all work. It falls to the man to collect the fruits in the forest. The women cook it in large pots, adding pupunha leaves to the water in order to facilitate the cooking, so they explained. The single girls are the ones who grate the cooked fruit, or pound it, if it is only crushed. A convenient grater, although not very durable, is what is called waxtá-ñõ-sa-ró, that is, an adventitious and aerial root, equipped with small, but numerous and resistant projections, which the paxiúba palm puts out. The oldest Indian women bring the maize, chew it, and add /226/ it to the mass, which is diluted in water and left to ferment for three days with cane juice.

These three types of drinks are the strongest ones that they originally knew how to prepare. They assert that, if the makers have a "good hand," the caxirís turn out very strong. They think, moreover, that the "blowings" of the Komũ (VII -- 2, e (3) ) will lend even more inebriating strength to the drink.

4th. -- Pêru kaxtisé. It is the common caxirí, because it is prepared from day to day, with only fresh manicuera, without cane. It is consumed in a space of 24 hours, from midday to midday. If this caxirí were made in a small amount (a Taryãna native said, and we were able to verify it also among the Bará of the Tiquié), so that by midnight it was all gone, then perhaps they would remain seated, talking and playing the flutes /Port. flautas-de-pã, Panpipes/, but they would not dance. It is to be noted that outside the dances they play their music sitting down and stated that they always do so, without, however, indicating the reason for this custom.

5th. -- Duxtú-kó. It is the caxirí that is prepared with the potato duxtú (similar to the Japanese potato). The potato, already cooked, is pounded and mixed with mandioca and left to ferment with a sufficient amount of water.

/226 cont./

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6th. -- Ñomõ-kó. It is prepared by cooking the cará /Dioscorea/, ñõmõ, which is afterwards moistened with saliva and crushed in the mortar. Finally, it is mixed with the beijú or the manicuera and left to ferment.

7th. -- Sibeókẽ. It is true aguardiente. It is obtained by distilling cane juice (ã'rã̃-kó, Uaupés a'nã̃-kó) on the fire. Its use is more infrequent, the planting of the cane, ã'rã̃, being generally limited. It seems that at times the caxirís are also distilled.

Still (sibeóri-pá)

We know that sibeókẽ is also prepared on the Uaupés, although in a more limited way. In Ambaíba (river Içana) we saw one of these /227/ stills, sibeóri-pá (Nheengatú mutiquerepáua). It consisted of a large camotim, with a capacity of about one hundred liters, terminating in a narrower mouth, which was closed with a wooden plug to which was fitted a taquara /bamboo/ which carried the aguardiente to another smaller camotim. The orifices were plugged with clay. It has not been reported that there were stills or distillation of cachaça in this region northwest of the Amazon, and, noticing that the natives do not worry about the problem of cooling the distillation, some are led to believe that it is a matter of an indigenous invention. It might, however, be an imperfect imitation of the stills that existed on the lower Rio Negro as early as the eighteenth century.

[177]

/233 cont./

372 Formerly fire was obtained by turning rapidly between the palms of the hands a small stick whose end was provided with a match of kapok, and rubbing it in the small orifice of another small stick that was very dry. The apparatus is called pexká-mẽ wihyasé in Tukano. [192]

262 The diet of these natives, although at first sight it does not seem so, is quite varied, rich in vitamins of vegetable and animal origin. As for the salts necessary to the organism, they get them from roots and fruits; as a matter of fact, they have a strong bone structure, and nevertheless the waters show a deficiency of calcareous salts. As for sugar, they only have that of the fruits and of the fermentation of their drinks. The cultivation of sugar cane is insignificant and intended practically for the preparation of the caxirís, although once in a while some Indian will be seen sucking it. [273] [249]

The amount of food that the Indian consumes daily is large, when he has plenty of it; although on other days, due to a lack of food, he is forced into a very strict fast. Perhaps the caxirí itself, which he drinks in large portions on the occasion of feasts, plays the role of a periodic washing of the stomach, intestines, and kidneys. It is certain that thin persons are rarely found among them, if one excludes the older women, who generally are so, and the sick. They are, on the contrary, plump in figure or even fat, without obesity or deforming adiposities, strong and healthy.

It is to be noted that the Indian emits a characteristic smell, which makes us think that it is due to a diet predominantly of fish and pepper.

/234/ 5) Hunting and fishing.

a) Fishing.

226 Fish is an important element in the diet of the Indians, as we have already seen. In the regimen of the family home, each family head provides the fish; it is his habitual, although not exclusive, occupation. In the regimen of the collective dwelling [462]

/250 cont./

464 and of that of the Amazon (80),

648

80. See "Relatórios" /Reports/ on these Provinces. Unfortunately, instead of job contracts, there were deals between the latifundiários or traders of the Rio Negro and the tuxauas or those who, in a private or official manner, established relations with the Indians or lived among them in order to take advantage of the forest dwellers. The latter would come down, deluded by promises that did not correspond to reality and were victims of malaria or other illnesses. The means to return to their povoados were not made easy for them to get. Their weakness for alcohol was taken advantage of, and months of their services would be bought with some bottles of aguardiente. The documented exposure of these "descidas" /descents/ of the Indians will constitute quite dark chapters in the future History of the Indians of Brazil.

[466]

[164]

[273]

and on a smaller scale even today, more or less numerous Indians of different tribes irregularly come down to the lower Rio Negro for the most varied jobs, particularly the extraction of various products (rubber, piaçaba /piassava/, nuts, timber, etc.).

439 Objects of native industry for purchase are not only their artifacts for museum collections or decorations for private homes. Those who live or travel in these regions obtain from the Indians part of their food (81)

[797]

81. The Salesian Missions have brought great stimulus to the Indians for the production of the means of subsistence, because,

/300 cont./

533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

533 Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very [276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the tuxáua sings as follows:

*[192] "mãrĩ bũxkõrá, mãrĩ paxkõ-s'õmõã baxsesê duhí-wé:pãra, [539] yõõ ná põrá uhú duhí, uhú duhí we:yá, mãxsã yõõ põra"; that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively [562] for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule, [273] [535] the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning; they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

796 /341 cont./
[178] last three or four days are already rare, and commonly they are limited to two days.

If it were called wai poosé, offering of fish, every male guest would bring smoked fish. If it is of pupunha, ã'rẽ poosé, they must likewise bring this fruit, etc. The most common poosé
*[192] are those of fish, of beijú (ahũ-ga poosé), of pupunha, of inga (mẽrẽ poosé), of manivara /termite queen/ (mexkã poosé).

In the maloca where the dabacurí will be held, more or
• [273] less three days before, or even earlier (the time necessary for the fermentation), the women busy themselves preparing a large quantity of drink: caxiri of beijú, or cará, of pupunha or of any other fruit /342/ in tubs or vessels that are covered with banana leaves in order to facilitate the fermentation. The activity is great; there is an extraordinary gaiety, loud laughter, a true clamour.

[574] In the morning of the appointed day (the hour will vary according to the distances from which they come), the offerers start arriving, bringing the offerings. They arrive at the landing place (or at a short distance from the maloca, if they come by land) with only some painting or also with some feathers in their ears. Two men go up to the maloca in order to give a warning of their arrival and to fetch the drink. The chief of the maloca sends the drink to the landing place; while they wait for the strangers, they complete the painting.

When they are ready, which always happens around 9 or 10 o'clock (47),

47. Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, describing these feasts, says in the entry Tauucurí that the strangers arrive late in the afternoon. It did actually happen this way at two poosé that we attended among the Taryana of Iauareté, one of fish and the other
[115] of cunurí. The Tukano Antonio Barreto, however, in describing the dabacurí to us, asserted that on the Tiquié it regularly takes place in

/343 cont./

796 574 Such formalistic greetings last an hour and a half. Afterwards the ritual banquet starts, without any further pragmatica, each eating whatever pleases him: first the men, more or less grouped in the front part of the maloca; afterwards the women and children, in groups at the back of the maloca.

[785] Once this meal is finished, the ritual fast begins, that is, abstention from any food. It is only permissible to take some of [273] the drink prepared for the feast. They do this, helping themselves copiously, even excessively, to the drink, which, besides, is very nourishing, being as it is, in reality, a thin pap (49).

[123] 49. On a certain occasion, after eleven hours of laborious passage through the forest, we arrived at a maloca of the Bará, located near the headwaters of the stream called marĩya (tributary of the Tiquié), when a feast was being given there. One of our traveling companions, of the Bará tribe, who should have been very tired and undernourished, like all of us, since he was carrying the heaviest load, did not accept the food that was prepared for those of our retinue. He preferred to participate in the feast with his "brothers," and contented himself with only beijú caxirí.

2) Preparation for the dances.

*[192] The tuxáua, at a certain moment, tells the chief of the visitors that the banquet is finished and "he may open the box of the decorations" (mahã poári axká-ro).

*[192] /344/ The women of the maloca come to fit the bands [302] (uxtá-serí) to the guests' legs, below the knee, and to execute the body painting. The woman who painted him will be the guest's dance partner. It falls to the man, Pe. Humberto Limpens and the Tukano Antônio Barreto note, to paint the woman, and

/345 cont./

796 535 *[192] Some of these dances are performed partially inside and partially outside the maloca, for example, the one that is called "wa'wári baxsá," which could be translated as "the dance of the caps," since wá-wá is a cap plaited with arumã splints. The dancers moreover go to the yard of the maloca around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, again around midnight, before dawn, and, finally, around 9 o'clock in the morning. According to the legends, the ancestors of the tribes danced at those times outside the maloca. And the feast is not only a recollection, but is also meant to be a reviviscence of the principal episodes of the epopee of their origins.

[533] *[192] In one of these dance numbers the wife of the local tuxáua goes into the middle of the dancers' circle and utters a long and shrill cry, while the men continue to dance around her. This soloist is called yõhõgó (52).

> 52. Yõhõgó is the feminine present participle of yohõ, which seems to be an onomatope of the sound that she sings. An informant also called her nõ'mõ bayá, that is, woman bayá (see VII-6, a (2) ).

She must not take a breath during this dance, but cry out with only one breath. If she breathes in the middle of the song, it [115] means that she will not live long. In this dance, says a Piratapuya informant (Emiliana Castro), they imitate the hopping of the cotias /agouti/.

• [273] The dances are about to start. The caxirí is served in large cuias. Each individual will drink as much as he wants. If there is any left, the next companion will empty the cuia, with the right, however, to help himself first from the cuia that will then be filled immediately. Those who distribute the drink represent the butterfly: they have a feather over each ear, representing the wings and a small tendril of cipo in a spiral on the forehead by way of a proboscis. They advance in a rush,

/345 cont./

796 with short steps, in a zigzag, imitating simultaneously with the
535 mouth the humming of an insect. Bearing a cuia in each hand,
[273] they give them to anyone who wants to take them, first the men
[562] and afterwards the women. As the cuias are emptied, they return to fill them anew and to distribute them in the same place and in the same way.

/346/ 3) Performance of the dances.

*[192] The tuxaua takes his initial dance position near the second
[622] column to the left of the central nave (baxsá whyarí boxtá; see illustration above /see p. 511/; at his side, in order of importance (53),

> 53. Importance which corresponds, more or less, to age. We were not able to verify whether they are arranged in an order strictly corresponding to the importance of the Gens itself (according to the classification -- IV-2, a (2) /see IV-2, a (3)/), because generally all the dancers are of the same Gens.

are arranged the other men. Each one, with a lance or a rhythm instrument in the right hand, places the left one on the right shoulder of his neighbor, and they are more or less in a semicircle. Then, a song starts to the sound of the instruments, which they strike on the ground simultaneously with the right foot (perhaps also with the mappers on the ankle), in a slow rhythm. They take a step toward the center of the circle and draw back, then another one toward the side, and they start to move in a circle, now to the right, now to the left, slowly. Sometimes they gather in a circle, which now becomes tighter, now bigger, now they go around in a circle. At a certain moment the women, one after another, start coming in, in a required, or at least constant, position during all the dance numbers. They place themselves between one man and another, with the head somewhat bent forward, resting the nape of the neck under the arm of one of

796 /348/

535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

[514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3, [534] c (3c) ). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the [533] ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, i (4) /see
• 273 i (3)/). One of the old Kõmũ prepared it during the dabacurí.
*[192] At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over
[533] the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Cururu-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

/348 cont./

796 we have seen. It is, however, a sign of weakness, from which
• 273 the Indian ordinarily abstains. It is a show of strength and masculinity to drink it and not fall down drunk. Besides it is "the plant which makes one dream," and the forest dweller wants it, in spite of its bitter taste.

Two by two, according to their importance, the men approach in order to drink the kaxpí, and soon after also caxirí, in order to take away the unpleasant flavor of the first drink, so it seems. They come equipped with the cipo shield (VII - 2, e (1) /see VI - 2, e (1b)/) and the stick-of-the-onça /see yaí-gõ above/, if these are in the maloca. The kaxpí will yet again be served twice more, the same ritual being observed. It is no longer obligatory, however, to drink it, and many, in fact, abstain from it. The individuals begin to feel besotted. Some, perhaps, fall on the ground, others vomit. This one seems to see in front of his feet a stick, a snake, /349/ or a lizard; he wants to jump over it and falls down. The inebriating effect varies with the individuals; and it is a satisfaction for those of the maloca to verify that the kaxpí was strong and the guests are dizzy. Some, in this condition of inebriation, give cries, throw down objects, break vessels, bows, arrows, whatever they find at hand. The Kõmũ who "blew" the drink "will blow" now over the drunken and excited individuals, in order to neutralize the effect of the
[115] drunkenness. This is information from the Tukano Antônio Barreto. The last one to drink it will be the local tuxáua, who, with the lance at the ready, takes three turns, saying some unintelligible words. Meanwhile, an Indian beats on the entrance door with a stick, likewise shouting out some words.

In observing such a ritual, the kaxpí is served three times, the vessel that contains the drink being put outside the maloca in the sun after each time. The last time is already in the middle of the night.

[184] According to the Wanana custom, at the first time two cuias are served to each individual, at the second time just one cuia, and at the third one two cuias again. When there are several types of kaxpí, one begins with the weakest one.

574 /352/
796 1st. -- Some of the guests come buzzing, like the carapanã
524 (crepuscular mosquitos /Culex fatigans/), and, with a little stick in the hand, they start stinging the others, who try to shoo them away.

2nd. -- Afterwards others come, pretending to be ku'sĩro (an animal perhaps legendary, similar to the dog, some say, and which makes a clamor in the forest), making noise, dragging pot or stick, doing this up to the center of the house. Those of the maloca beat on the ground with a stick in order to chase them away.

We have watched a similar challenge for two hours, finally leaving the competitors, who went on with the same enthusiasm.
[178] Nowadays many of the younger generation, instead of listening to
[535] those monotonous narrations, prefer to dance enthusiastically with their female companions to the sound of the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/.

[273] 3rd. -- The caxirí is served; some no longer want it. The companions force them to take it, always in jest.

4th. -- The chief of the guests comes in with a torch of turí
796 (VI 5, a (4a) ), lighted, because it is already dark. His compan-
574 ions come in, throwing down objects, taking fruits, beijú, eating them. All feigning an attack on the maloca. A simulation so well done by the way that the civilized present become frightened, believing that it is a matter of an enemy attack and that a fight is about to start. In reality many feasts degenerate into fights and are intentionally taken advantage of for reciprocal vengeance.

524 5th. -- Some of the guests now come hopping, squatting,
796 imitating the toad, and making the characteristic sound with the
574 mouth: "uão... uão..." They enter the maloca, and those who are there ask the toads: -- "Where are you going?" "I am going to visit my relatives." -- "Your relatives have all died." And the toad, at this news, faints.

/391 cont./

527 Some of these dances are strictly familial amusements, in
535 which only those of the family (maloca or house) participate, and there are no invitations to strangers. For others, strangers to the family are also invited, without, however, the importance or the number of participants of the "Poosé."

[273] Corresponding to the importance of such entertainments will also be the preparation, the ornaments, the paintings, and the quantity of the drinks, Pêru (caxirí, see VI - 4, h). The latter will never be missing; the ornaments might be missing, or they might use the simpler ones. Once the feast starts, it goes on uninterruptedly until the drink is finished. Those who are overcome by sleep doze a little, but, barely awake, they continue to dance. It is a
[562] question of pride and conceit, for the persons of the two sexes, to show the greater endurance.

*[192] 2) "Bayá." -- At the dances, both in the Dabacurís and outside of them, appears a personage of distinction, called Bayá. Almost /392/ always he will have an official assistant, with the name of baya-re we-tamõgõ (helper of the Bayá).

The position of Bayá is a lifetime one, in which the son almost always succeeds him, because he learns with his own father, for whom, perhaps, he was already the official assistant. The function of Bayá might be put together with that of tuxáua or wyogõ. This is the case for Júlio from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié); for Vicente, Desana from the Umari-igarapé, for Henrique, Tuyuka from the stream of the onça /jaguar/ (trib. of the Tiquié), for Mandú, Makú from the vicinity of Iauareté, etc. There are no examples, however, of its having been exercised by the pajé.

It falls to the Bayá to direct the songs and dances at the feasts, both religious and profane. He must, then, know them very well and be zealous about the exactness of the dances, teaching them to the younger generation and correcting the mistakes. And we have seen him exercise with authority and grace his function as master of ceremonies in solemn dabacurís.

*[192] When he is not the tuxáua, he ordinarily will be one of the ko-mũ (see VII - 2, e (3) ), and to him falls the first place immediately beside the tuxáua. Like the latter, he will have the most

/400 cont./

533 yú-yú with the left hand, and with the right one they beat the rhythm tube.

535

*[192]

The yu-yú of the dances

Tobacco form

*[192] The dancers are divided into two groups, who execute the movement by advancing and retreating (baxsá poterí), one in front of the other. Afterwards they place themselves in line, each one with his lady, describing circles. They again divide themselves into two groups, who advance and retreat. Now they turn their backs to one another, always with advances and retreats. It seems that the new song consists of several verses, each one ending with cries and whistles. At given moments some say words in a loud voice, just as the caller of square dances does. Would they be ceremonial words or a simple command for the evolutions to be performed? The women, finally, leave the dance, and the men continue in Indian file, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the preceding one. This file goes to describing circles, stopping from time to time, always, however, singing and beating the rhythm with the strokes of the rhythm tube.

[562] 6th Part: Performed only by the men, as in the first part.

[273] After this part, one of the dancers advances in order to distribute

[276] the caxirí with a cuia in each hand, mumbling some words and stamping the right foot harder, in a winding progression, like that of the snake. He gives one cuia to the tuxaua and the other to the most important person. The second time he brings some to two more, and thus to everyone. Also the long cigar of leaves goes from mouth to mouth.

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present
• [273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native ceremonies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier, have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar. Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to leave in the center, between the front door and the back door, a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of 502
stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest.

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. 501
Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every com- 501
munity has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging 505
from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner [422]
but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually [622]
owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely [422]
borrowed. [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, 501
but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompa- 562
nied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is [422]
accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is sus- [481]
pected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. [422]
A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, [558]
and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry.

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is 396
cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have 501
been in canoes that require constant bailing; but as a rule an old [857]
canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. [415]
Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are [252]
brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a [273]
drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes orna- [531]
mented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with [178]
painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellish- ments had disappeared.

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but 501
are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. 504
A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. [685]
He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will

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592 providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor
554 in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.
[433]

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling
241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy
262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*kardiye*), and tabena (*miwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaiwdryo, waiwari, mod, pudjii, kandka*, and *habéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kawdmene*), pineapple, (*ihibo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*une*), gourd (*horibe*), calabash
[273] (*hahdmu*), coca (*patii*), tobacco (*butei*), and capsicum (*bya*). The
[415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of
[273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the
[272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com-
[462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza.
[431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful
[621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an-
[85] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock
235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought
[262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they
[439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw 264
upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their [522]
portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, [184]
though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will 264
ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, 765
which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and 261
tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare [574]
no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. More- [796]
over, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people [273]
wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The 261
Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circum- 264
stances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They ex- 577
pect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of speci- 264
fied social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. 574
The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. [614]
However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently [123]
caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

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244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
438 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except
244 in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
433 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
462 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
461 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the man-
244 ioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
[261] Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[273] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the
[614] drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be
[182] said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[2] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the re-
[614] sponsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the
[554] chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

43 It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[2] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

[244] [437] [273] [261] [592] [835] [836] [583]

593 583 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

583 58 [593] [593]

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622 692 No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

622 614 574 273 156 Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kenámi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

[554] [47]

622 614 571 578 156 The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

[157]

622 648 156 The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

[614]

600 There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

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769 taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters
796 went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca
[614] counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him
[222] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits
[857] and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konhá*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door.
[273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konhá* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and
[276] had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konhá*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Bwõ* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Bwõ* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch (*haráinu*) that he had picked at the water's edge.[4] The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

[614] [4] Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *haraíhume* (*haraí*: to strike; *humé*: bitter, unpleasant).

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of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates. 574 614 182

The *unkúndye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited to sibs of the phratry, the *unkúndye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkúndye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkúndye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity. [831] [837]

The hosts of an *unkúndye* have two very evident anxieties as they go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkúndye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As already mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy 574 614 273 574 614 554 [123]

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In preparing chicha, the manioc is allowed to soften for four days. It is left in the maloca covered with leaves until it has turned a dark green color and has lost much of its moisture. Then it is grated, pounded through a sieve, and put through the tipiti press. The dry lumps are toasted lightly on the manioc oven and stirred into a fine grain. Small manioc cakes are prepared from these grains. The cakes are thoroughly masticated and the saliva-drenched balls are mixed with water. After fermentation has begun, a quantity of sugar cane extract is added, and this mixture is left to ferment for several days. Masticated pupunha mash may be substituted for the manioc. A mixture of pupunha mash with sugar cane extract makes a potent and very laxative drink. Many communities add maize as well as a variety of root plants to a basic manioc mash. 574 273

This period of preparation is one in which the house is spruced up and personal possesions and ornaments are inspected, compared, and readied for wear and display. Nowadays women regard their long cloth skirts as gala wear. If it is to be an important drinking party a woman hopes to have a new skirt that she has never worn before. All the elaborate male ornamentation of feather headdresses, necklaces, girdles, and pendants are fetched out and tried on. Musical instruments – Panpipes, long flageolets, whistles – are tuned and repaired. Songs are practiced and dance steps tried out. A nightly respite from the labors of manioc preparation is the amusement of watching the children play at dancing the adult dances, singing the dance songs, tasting the freshly prepared batches of chicha, taking coca, smoking, and listening to the old men chant snatches of the origin traditions. The mood is such that the minor rancors of community life are smoothed out. The headman takes advantage of this mood to bring the Satellites back as permanent residents of the community. The Satellites are normally invited to be cosponsors of a sib affair, bringing a contribution not of manioc but of sugar cane, or pupunha when that fruit is in season. The headman believes that when the estranged sibmates see how happy all are they will want to come back. There is no doubt that a Satellite is strongly drawn to the festive spirit of the main maloca. But he always has the time during the hangover of the morning after to consider whether it is worth returning. 574 [292] [178] [534] 574 621 622

The headman makes the first proposal for a drinking party and discusses the date and its scale with the male household heads. Cosponsorship means that a household head undertakes to prepare a notable amount of chicha that can be shown to the guests. When the invitations go out, the names of the cosponsors are given, and when 574 [622]

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574 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with
576 each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkúndye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good
574 part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are
576 particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has
273 set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting
576 follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which
182 is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately man-
796 ner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by sub-
[765] sidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged
[831] and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the
[276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker,

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center. 574 [342]

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough. 574 571 614

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers. 574 273 [462]

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tse he he he*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihi* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner. [535] [171] [184] [276]

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saw them serve chicha in this manner. The Cubeo offer the calabash with a jest: "Drink quickly so that you may be drunk soon." The aim of the drinking party is to achieve an intense state of excitement and to maintain that until overcome by sheer fatigue and sleep. 574 Tobacco, coca, and *mihí* supplement drinking to intensify and 273 hasten the reaction. When *mihí* is taken, producing color visions and 276 finally a blackout, the Indians say, "Now we shall get drunk quickly." [825] *Mihí* is associated with *miwa* (birds), which are the patrons of ecstatic intoxication.[1] Drunkenness is not to be avoided. If a little boy gets drunk his father is proud of his precociousness. Women, however, are not expected to get drunk and they rarely do.

574 *Mihí* is not taken at every drinking party but only at those that 276 are considered very important. At the mourning festival (*óyne*) a great quantity is consumed. The narcotic plants (*Banisteriopsis* [249] *caapi* and others) from which *mihí* is prepared are cultivated by the men only and they alone drink it. The Cubeo regard it as a sacred [171] drug, and from all indications it is so regarded throughout the Western Amazon region where it is used. Along the Orinoco the Indians chew the skin, but all along the Vaupés an infusion is prepared by boiling the leaves, bark, and roots to form a greenish-brown "soup" that is strongly bitter. The Cubeo prepare several varieties that are graded according to potency. Upon truly solemn occasions they begin with a mild infusion from the leaf of a variety that is taken exactly at midday, and conclude with a very strong variety just before sunset. This sequence of *mihí* transports a man from vague and mild visions of whiteness to intense hallucinatory experiences, bursts of violence, and finally loss of consciousness. *Mihí* almost invariably causes vomiting, and for that reason alone each man must take many servings. For each type of *mihí* there are four servings taken from a small gourd dipper. The first service is of two dippers, the second of one, and the third and fourth of two each. At the beginning, the Indians say, the vision becomes blurred, things begin to look white, and one begins to lose the faculty of speech. The white vision turns to red. One Indian described it as a room spinning with red feathers. This passes and one begins to see people in the bright coloring of the jaguar. When the final strong forms of *mihí* are taken the hallucinations begin to assume a disturbing and fearful form. One becomes aware of violent people milling about, shouting, weeping, threatening to kill. One is seized with the fear that he no longer has a home. The house posts and trees come alive and take the form of people.

[1] There is also a bird called *mihíñé*.

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There is a strong sensation that an animal is biting one's buttocks, a feeling of the feet being tied. The earth spins and the ground rises to the head. There are moments of euphoria as well, when one hears music, the sound of people singing, and the sound of flowing water. The Cubeo do not take *mihi* for the pleasure of its hallucinations but for the intensity of the total experience, for the wide range of sensation. I spoke to no one who pretended to enjoy it.

A sacred drug, *mihi* is handled in a ritualistic manner and is served from a distinctive pottery jug that is never washed. When the hosts – always a pair, one man holding the jug and the other the serving dish – offer *mihi* the following stylized exchange takes place. The guests exclaim, "*ho ho ho ho ho o o o*, here it comes." The host asks, "How are you?" and the guest replies, "I am well. I have come well." The host stirs the *mihi*, saying to it, "Stir! Look, it is bitter. It tastes bitter. Our Ancients also drank it." The guest replies, "Let me take it. Let me see if I can drink it in the same way as our Ancients did. I am going to drink." He drinks it down and is offered a mandatory second drink. The host says, "Look. Here it is, drink again." The guest now replies, "I am going to drink so as to see [a vision]." A guest whose father is dead will say upon receiving the *mihi*, "My father, when he was alive, drank like this, so he told me. He sought me out that I might drink. My father never got drunk when he drank it."

When each guest has had his two portions of *mihi* the hosts drink off two portions and then serve one portion to each guest again. The guests murmur *ba ha a.a a*, meaning "well done." When the last portion is given, the host announces, "We have finished drinking," and each guest replies, "I am pleased." At this the host announces he is sitting down to have a vision, and he retires. Suddenly he leaps up at the guests in the characteristic *mihi* dance and with the sucking sound. He intends to frighten them and shouts *wetcówe* (vomit!), and the guests reply, "Bring it on. We wish to vomit."

Drinking, smoking, chewing coca powder, and taking the infusion of *mihi* are all acts with strong symbolism of sharing a group experience. Out of bravado a man may down an entire calabash of chicha. More often he will pass it to a neighbor, who will also take a few swallows and pass the calabash along. The drinker will also have taken chicha from the quantity prepared by each cosponsor. The cigarette is passed from mouth to mouth. The host provides tobacco, which he passes among his guests from a bark-cloth pouch, and a bark wrapper, which is tied to the house posts. Guests may smoke their own tobacco but will always use the wrapper that is

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled 276
once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is considered a great deal.

765
The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already 532
been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies [276]
to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be [273]
lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also [574]
complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives.

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The first guests to arrive are the Satellites – members of the sib – 574
who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of [614]
the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional [431]
Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each 765
Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side 574
wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the 576
house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head. Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly delivered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound *ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoulder. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted at the rear door by female hosts.

765
While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing 574
the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat 789
for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, 754
since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *óyne* in particular, as a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that characterizes the early stages of the *óyne*.

765
After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to 574

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able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep. 765 574 152

## FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly. 765 152 154 [276] [273]

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the *óyne*. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Hehénewa* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough. 765 273 [261] [276]

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly. 273 771 [574] [154]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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765 273 152 Drinking at the *óyne* is disciplined and follows the emotional gradient of the ceremony. On the first day, which is intramural, the mood is somber and little chicha is taken. On the second day, when guests arrive and the mood is anger-grief, the drinking is still slow.

[574] Guests receive the welcome offering of chicha after their third entrance into the maloca and thereafter they drink during all intervals between dances. Formal drinking begins two hours before sundown. The moment is signaled when the hosts brings in *mihi*, the symbol of intoxication. Only the older men take the potion. Thereafter all drinkers are free to grow excited. The elders remain restrained, however, since it is their role to license the excitement of others. They describe their own intoxication as an inner state. They feel a change in mood, they see color visions, but they do not overstep to overt excitement. That is the role assigned to the younger men.

765 273 276 152 The rate of drinking and the shift in mood gains momentum in the course of the interplay with the women. Women drink as much as men, but do not take *mihi* and do not get drunk. Their excitement is imparted to them by the men. Thus, the men drink to initiate excitement; the women drink so that they may react. When the men are not among them the women sit passively among their young, the dogs, and their household goods.

765 276 [778] *Mihi* has magical power which the bearers portray dramatically. They pretend to stagger under its weight because *mihi* has power to fell a man. The people I asked did not know, however, why the bearer of *mihi* pranced with his torso bent forward and his knees kicked up high. The bearers whisper *he he he* and then whistle. These are the sounds of spirits and they are the same as the sounds made by the guests when they circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased. A bundle of *mihi* vines is laid with the ceremonial remains during this dance. From a roof beam at the exact center of the house, where it overlooks equally the male half and the female half, hangs a vulture figure. The body is an ear of corn, the head is carved of wood, and the spreading wings and tail feathers are made of old basket fragments. The bird hangs like a mobile. It is said to be "drunk" on *mihi*, and it presides over the *óyne* to give the proper spirit of intoxication. The vulture of intoxication is the patron, so to speak, of the *óyne*.[8] Mobiles of other birds are also hung about the house, as are painted images of fish. I did not learn the significance of these.

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[8] The vulture is thought of here not so much in the sense of its being a carrion eater, but for its quality of soaring. Compare *kawi* (vulture) with *kawino* sky.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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776 mythical fish with a mouth that has the lower jaw of the puño and
825 an upper jaw shaped like the beak of a parrot. Should a menstruant enter a canoe he will break it to bits. The Cubeo do not say that their fish ceremenials are for the purpose of promoting success in fishing. Their view rather is that when they are happy with a catch of fish they enjoy dancing with them. Increase magic may underlie the Cubeo relationship with fish. But if it does they either no longer recognize the instrumental motive or else they refuse to acknowledge it.

825 As with the *Bekûpwänwa*, the Cubeo relationship with the animal
771 world is largely one of establishing proper social relationships. In such relationships compulsion is out of place. In the animist world view of the Cubeo the entire animal world is communicant with the world of man. Some relationships, as has been noted, are dangerous, and therefore stand out in a special category. Among the dangerous relationships is that of the jaguar. Since the jaguar is identified with the shaman, it is more suitably discussed under the heading of shamanism. There are birds, such as a parrot called *bauvéko* and marúku monkeys, who are feared because they are foretellers of misfortune. For the rest, and with the exceptions noted previously, the relationship between man and the animal world is casual and friendly. On the river, as we have already observed, the Indians address birds and fish by name. Their intense interest in domesticating animals of almost every variety as household pets must also be considered as part of the effort at communication of a concrete form.

825 The birds, *miwa*, are friendly spirits. They emerged, it is said,
776 from Uaracapurí with the Ancients and were originally in human form. The birds are the planters of fruits and berries and are their
[273] guardian spirits. They are appropriately at the same time the guard-
[532] ian spirits of intoxication, a bird with a corn-cob body and wings of
[765] a manioc tray fragment presiding in that capacity over the *óyne*.

The luminary *aiyá*, who is both sun and moon, is a more distant
776 anthropomorphic spirit.[1] The Cubeo interest is in the moon, the li-
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[1] The doctrine of *aiyá* as both sun and moon is mythological only. It does not mean that the Cubeo do not distinguish clearly between these two bodies. *Aiyá* refers to the anthropomorphic being whose activities are actually in moon form; it refers also to direction. East is called by the Cubeo *aiyádaino* (*aiyá* [the sun] is coming). West correspondingly is expressed as "*aiyá* is going." To express time, however, the sun is referred to by the particular name of *handwûkakû*, an anthropomorphic form that has, however, no anthropomorphic connotation to my knowledge. *Handwû* refers to time in the abstract, while *handwû korika* (sun in the center) means "midday." All specific times are given by describing the position of the sun in the sky. The word for "day" or "daylight" is *hánan* and is apparently based upon the verb root *ha* (to see). The Cubeo disclaim any anthro-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawá* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihí*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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571 562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 796 152 The second most important area in which polarity-complementarity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvious distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage 571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly 765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the 614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine 152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihí*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib [615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The significance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that, 152 as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context 571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel 574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib 614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moderate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a 273 similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who 574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and 273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no 562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual 152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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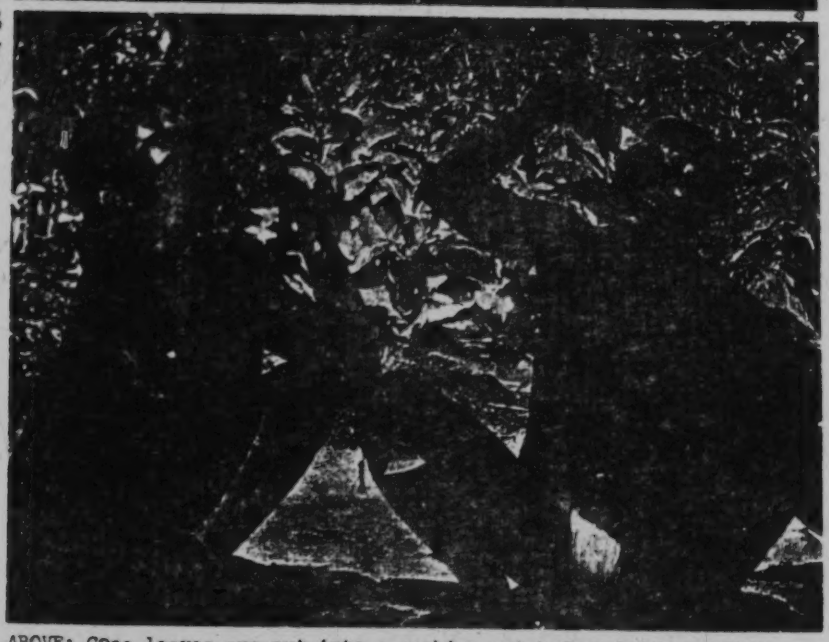

ABOVE: Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking. BELOW: Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.

796 the people that the festival would start that night. The low booms rang out
534 across the forest like blasts on a ship's foghorn. To the south, near the Caquetá, giant wooden drums were slung on a slant from two central poles of the *maloca* and beaten in a secret code as warning signals to other members of the tribe. The *mangwaré* drums were the jungle telegraph of Amazonia and their signals could be heard over twenty miles away.

796 More and more families arrived at the riverside port, where they left their
574 canoes moored to the bank or tied to each other with thin strands of liana. Some thirty canoes formed a series of star-like patterns with the water rushing down between them, haphazardly tied, yet buoyant and secure. Each family made its way up the steep sandy path to the *maloca*: the men with their paddles, some with fishing rods, and many with panpipes strung to their hammocks; the women bent low under heavy loads of manioc and their babies on their hips. Here the head of each family was greeted by Bréo and shown where they could sling their hammocks around the sides of the house. The women handed the manioc to Wanina, his young wife – he had two, but the elder could no longer bear him children.

796 The amount of time it takes for the festival to be prepared depends on the
273 amount of *chicha* to be consumed. With over a hundred people present, four days were barely enough for the manioc roots to be rubbed down, the poisonous juice extracted and then boiled to form the basis of *chicha*. The starch sediment was baked over the clay ovens into giant wafer-thin biscuits. The boiling liquid was poured into the long *chicha* canoe which lay on the floor between two of the central posts; the toasted cassavas were broken into the liquid and fermentation began. The *chicha* gained rapidly in potency and the canoe was covered with an exquisitely woven cane mat like Japanese lattice. One ceremonial canoe was not enough, and another was brought from the river to be filled with yet more fermenting *chicha*.

796 In the evening the men sat chewing cocaine. Led by the shaman they con-
[787] sulted the spirits and their subdued mumblings continued far into the night. Their crouched bodies, lit only by the flickering of the resinous *turi* torch-wood, reminded us of the semi-human rock carvings of their ancestors.

302 The *chicha* had fermented, the coca was prepared, the *maloca* was now a
796 seething mass of people. The afternoon before the festival began, Wanina and the shaman's wife began to paint the bodies of the men. First deep red *karayuru* was smeared down the front of the torso, the thighs and along each arm with firm strokes of the fingers. A black liquid, the boiled juice from the leaves of a tree growing in their *chagras*, was painted on to the body with a three-pronged piece of cane. The hands and feet were totally blackened to above the wrists and ankles, and the arms and legs patterned with a lattice of

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*A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.*

[see p. 78-A]

*539 /372 cont./

Yúpuri Baúro began to vomit, and where the vomit of Yúpuri Baúro fell, a tobacco bush came up. And that is how the Tukano /Tucano/ obtained the seed of tobacco again.

The next day Uaí Majsé arrived at Diawí. He entered the maloca and asked Yúpuri Baúro: "What is new, Yúpuri Baúro?" Then Yúpuri Baúro answered him: "Hello." Yúpuri Baúro offered his hand to greet Uaí Majsé and offered him a seat so that he could sit in front of him. Then Uaí Majsé said: "Yesterday I sent you coca and tobacco." Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "Yes, I received them." Then Uaí Majsé said: "Pareroangó stole the coca seed from me." Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "I did not accept that stolen coca seed. That seed will be for her." Uaí Majsé disappeared as soon as he heard this. That is why the Yepá Bajuári Majsá remained without the coca seed. But Pareroangó gave the coca seed to her brother, and that is why all of the other Yepá Majsá, except Yepá Bajuári Majsá, have eaten coca since then.

Then Yepá Huáke gave Yúpuri Baúri two gourds, one was full of manioc starch and the other was full of corn starch. And from then on the Yepá Bajuári Majsá did not eat coca, but instead ate the starch of manioc and corn. But /373/ when the Yepá Bajuári Majsá invited the rest of the Yepá Majsá, then the other Yepá Majsá were not accustomed to eating manioc starch and corn starch. Then a Bará chief once gave coca seed to Yepára Oakajpeá so that it might be planted. Yepára Oakajpeá planted that coca, but no Yepá Bajuári Majsá would eat that coca. That coca was eaten only by the other Yepá Majsá when they came to the fiestas of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá. And it is only a short time ago that the Yepá Bajuári Majsá really began
-[276] to eat coca. And before only the wise old people could really eat coca, but now any fool eats coca.

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the feet are of a lighter color than the other parts of the body.

All the people, whites and Tukano, who were grouped together, began their return to Diaojpekodijtára and became separated on the march. To the right marched the Tukano with Yúpuri Baúro as their chief, and to the left were all the whites, who were led by Alemán. Among the Tukano went Yepára Dujuío, and among the whites went the old lady, who is named Númio Paraméo in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke made them enter Diaojpekowí again. And Yepá Huáke performed a miracle, and in a gourd /Spanish totuma, Crescentia/ he produced coca already ground and mixed with ash (21),

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21. The ash of the burned dried leaf is an ingredient in the elaboration of coca by the Tukano Indian.

and he also produced tobacco, and also produced a small cigar /Spanish tabaquito/ which is smoked through the nose and which is called Uejisé in Tukano. And in with this /114/ coca there were gũíos and serpents and spiders and all the wild beasts and animals of the world. And Yepá Huáke ordered Yúpuri Baúro to eat some of this coca. And Yúpuri Baúro was very afraid of this coca full of animals. And then Yepá Huáke ordered the Alemanes to eat some of this coca, and they would not eat either, from pure fear of the animals that were in that coca. And then Yepá Huáke ordered all the animals that were in the gourd with coca to eat the coca, and the animals ate it; that is why the animals never die, but instead only change skins and hides. And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Because you did not eat any of this coca, you are going to die" (22).

22. Will not be immortal.

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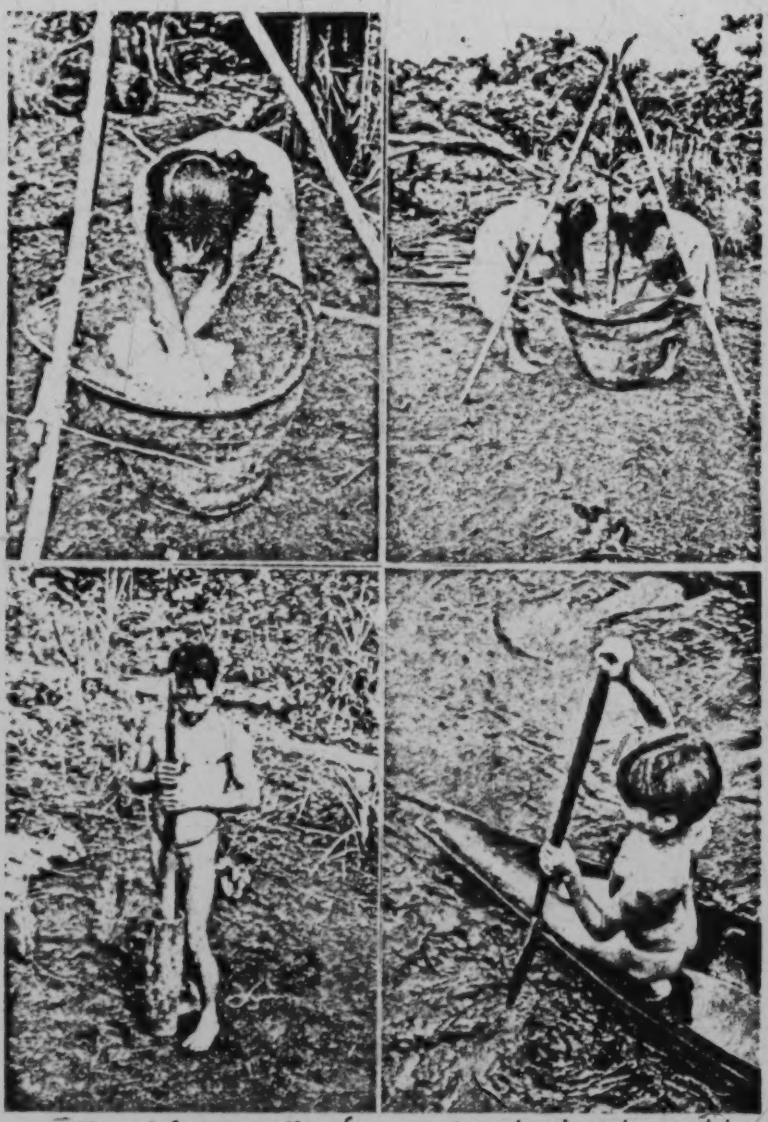

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Upper left corner: Yurutí woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yurutí women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Pulop.)

/187 cont./

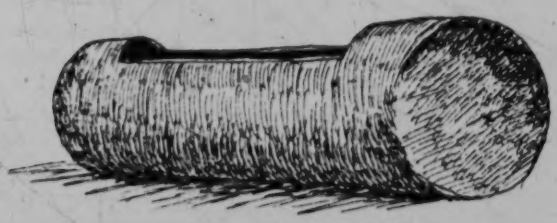
352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 • 276 [796] [178] /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utíkaro yaxpú or also utíkaro seré, or again mõrõ dõxkõ (?) (in Nheengatú emapú). In the dabacuris /religious celebrations/ the use of tobacco in the form of a large cigar, utíkaro, about 20 centimeters long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utíkaro is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 273 415 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pêru yuxkõ-sõ properly speaking means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú iwá, hence the term ubá, which means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxiri tub (pêru juxkõ-sõ)

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*192 178 411 • [276] war expeditions with their tangapemas, and in order to become invisible to the enemies and invulnerable to their blows, they painted themselves with the juice of the batata uxpí. Moreover, they smoked a big cigar called uxpí-mõrõ, decorated with symbolic paintings, in order to become more courageous.

Koch Grünberg still found some clubs or tangapemas in the Namakoliba maloca, upper Uaupés (Zwei Jahre, 301). They were of a dark red wood, measuring 112 centimeters in length, with the handle painted and the other end wider. The Kubêwana and related tribes used them then for the dances and occasionally also as a seat in the canoe. It may be concluded that the war club of the Omawa is proof of the eastern origin of this Karaíba tribe, because it is similar to that of the tribes of the Guianas. Actually, among these tribes the upper end of the club terminates in a sharp point, in order to run through the fallen enemy, with a coup de grâce, in the temple or in the ear.

178 714 535 *192 b) In battle, moreover, they formerly used a shield, called in Tukano baxtí-pá:karo; it was woven out of cipo and was very light, but efficient against arrows. Today it is rarely seen and, up to the beginning of this century (information from Pe. João Marchesi), was used as dance attire, which they wore on the left arm when they went to drink their cuia /gourd/ of kaxpí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2) ).

c) Likewise only a dance implement today (as far as we could observe) is the lance, yõxsẽrí-phí, which essentially is only a heavy rounded stick about two meters in length and ending in a sharp point. They use it in the dabacuri dances, and the "golpe-ao-branco" /blow to the white/ is performed with it (cf. VII -- 4, e (2 and 3) ).

177 178 411 *[192] 2) Bow. The only indigenous weapons of present-day use, and, even so, of very limited use on the Uaupés, are the bow and the sarabatana /blowgun/. The tribes farthest in the interior of the forests, with few or no relations with the civilized, use them more. On the other hand, contact with civilization supplied the natives with shotgun, machetes, and axes, which, unfortunately, are used in the fights and reciprocal vengeance.

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386 The wahá-kó is spread in the interior part of the cuia with a brush,
415 letting it dry afterwards. The operation is repeated a second time
*[192] and more, until it reaches the thickness of approximately one millimeter. Directly afterwards urine is spread on the ground and on this area they turn upside down, on small pieces of wood, the cuias that they wish to paint. The ammonia that comes from the urine transforms the layer of wahá-kó in the interior of the cuia into a black, shiny, and quite adherent varnish.

The same result is obtained by applying mandioca leaves saturated in urine over the layer of wahá-kó.

5) Other utilitarian objects.

824 The Indian has known how to obtain from the nature that surrounds him many other objects and resources for his life.

We shall recall some:

*[192] [515] /207/ a) Papóque. The papóque, in Tukano pápwa-khá-sõtí, is the embira of a tree that produces foam, and they wash their heads with it, for lack of soap.

*[192] [276] b) Tauarí. Táwari, as is also said in Tukano (couratari tauarí, of the family of the Lecythidaceae), is also an embira, which unrolls into very thin and flexible sheets that are used as cigar wrappers. They are obtained from the bark by striking it with a mallet until all the ligneous part has been detached.

*[192] [415] [532] c) Bags, cueio, and masks. The tururí, in Tukano waxsó-gõ, is a tree of several species of Manicariao, from whose liber or bast they prepare the bags for the ipadú, the masks (see VII -- 3, d (2) ), and the waxsó-ro (in Nheengatú cueio) for dances (cf. loincloth, VII -- 3, d (2) ). Once the branch or trunk that suits them is chosen, they cut it and start to beat the bark with a wooden mallet until /in the original source the line of type that follows these words is the duplicate of one that properly appears later in the paragraph, while the line that belongs here is missing/ as if it were a shirt sleeve or a cape. With a cutting object (formerly a taquara /a bamboo/) they detach the part that they want. The

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*192 i) Stimulants and narcotics.

276 1) Tobacco. The planting of tobacco, mõ'rõ (Uaupés
[178] mõ'nõ) (nicotiana tabácum), is little and rare nowadays, and it is almost only seen in the povoados and malocas with little or no connection with the civilized. They prepare it in the following way: the men pick the leaves with the stem, reduce all of it to small bits, and put them on the fire in a very hot pot, stirring the contents until they become a dark mass. Afterwards the mass is pressed into small roundish molds. Under the effect of the sun and smoke these loaves of tobacco, mõ'rõ be'tõ (Nh. mboti), harden. When they want to prepare the traditional cigar of the feasts, they crumble the tobacco and roll it in thin sheets of tauarí (see VI -- 2, f (5) ) or of banana, producing the large cigar, utíkaro, 15 to 20 centimeters in length.

[177] The Indian greatly likes to smoke. The tobacco that is consumed nowadays (on the three rivers whose area we studied), however, is all obtained from the civilized. The latter customarily shows kindness to the adults, men and women, with some cigarettes, or a piece of tobacco in a roll or on a stick, in friendship. The tobacco in a roll is a product that is always sought on the part of the natives as payment for their work.

More infrequent is the inhaling of tobacco, in powder, through the nostrils. They then use two small tubes of taquara or bone, connected at a 45° angle with string and pitch. Introducing the powder into one of the tubes, the Indian places the end at one of the nostrils and the other end in the mouth and, with a puff, forces the powder to go up the nose.

*192 2) Pepper. The native consumes pepper, byá, in large
263 doses, almost always as seasoning for the quinhapira.

Ordinarily he has already prepared his seasoning, called byá-uhá-pyosé (that is, pepper in a water infusion), for application to the fish. /228/ It is common today for the Indian, on journeys or even at home, to have a bottle with whole or ground peppers.

/228 cont./

263 *[192] In some cases they crush and chew the pure pepper: the Indian pepper (cápsicum fructéscens, Willd, of the Solanaceae) and many others, such as those called koró-byá, awí-byá, oxbó-byá, etc.

It is amazing how even children two years old or perhaps less take the beijú moistened in the quinhapira without showing that they feel the burning of the pepper, which is excessive for our taste.

The pepper is used by them as a stimulant for the appetite, due to the lack of salt or other seasonings.

276 *[192] 3) Kaxpí (Nheengatú: Caápi) (57).

57. As we observe below regarding the Ipadú, the word Kaxpí might be derived from the Nheengatú Caapí, or vice versa. It is certain, on the one hand, that the use of kaxpí is a very ancient one and is lost in the legends, and, on the other hand, that it is general among all the tribes of the region.

276 773 *[192] The origin and use of Kaxpí is lost in legend (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/" by the Author). At a feast that took place among the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), with the participation of the Kubẽwãna and Huhudẽne (from Uaupuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana) and elements from several other tribes, on the days of the 24th and 25th of April of 1955, a Tukano pajé, Henrique by name, from Japú-igarapé (trib. of the Uaupés), brought with much care a pair of instruments called eheõnõ (that is, catarrh, grippe), very old and religiously preserved by him as a fortunate heir of his ancestors. They were similar to a small wooden horn, reinforced with rolled tucum fiber and measuring about 25 centimeters. It was made to sound by blowing with force through the upper orifice, and simultaneously slowly opening the lower orifice, slightly wider than the upper one,

/228 cont./

276 and which was being obstructed by the palm of the hand. The
773 sound imitated a child's crying. The possessor of the instruments explained that the eheõnõ is the "mother of the kaxpí." The unrestrained native imagination, excited by the drinks, especially by the Kaxpí, upon hearing this sound, relives the legend and perhaps even reproduces the legendary scene of the first components of the group, who fell upon the newborn and ate his bones, "which were Kaxpí."

276 Kaxpí is a drink of bitter flavor, which is obtained from some vines, especially of the genus banistéria. I would not know whether it is more accurate to call it stimulant or narcotic, violent and almost /229/ instantaneous for the Indians (58),

58. Thus A. R. Wallace describes (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 381) the effect of the kaxpí: "An old Indian advanced toward the middle of the room, with a large (?) clay pot, which seemed recently painted, and which was put on the ground. Then, squatting, the old man stayed down, in front of the pot, and started to stir the contents. Then he filled with liquid two small cuias, and, rising, he extended his arms, holding, however, a cuia in each hand. After a short pause two Indians advanced in his direction, carrying their bows and arrows and their spears. Each one, holding the cuia offered, drank the amount that it contained. Because that drink was excessively bitter, each one made a very ugly face. For half a minute perhaps they remained motionless. Suddenly both gave a hard blow on the strings of their bows, making them vibrate; they shook their spears, stamped their feet on the ground, and then went to look for their seats.

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/Footnote 58 cont./ The small cuias were again filled and in the same way were presented to two other Indians, who approached and behaved in an identical manner. And so, two at a time, they followed one another. Some, however, acted more excited. Brandishing the spears, they then ran around the house furiously, as if they wished to kill an enemy, stamped their feet on the ground, uttered yells, and jumped savagely, in a warlike and at the same time frightening attitude. And, as the others had done, they afterwards peacefully returned to occupy their seats. The greater part receives loud and frantic applause from those present, which is also done sometimes during the dances." This strange final scene is called "blow-to-the-white," pexkã-sã-paasé, and we have also witnessed it (cf. VII, 4, e (2-8 /sic/), without any connection, however, with the taking of kaxpí. We think that it might be a mistake by Wallace, supposing it to be a mere effect of the kaxpí, when, in reality, it is a regular ritual of the Dabacurís, and one that can take place even before drinking the kaxpí.

on account of the alkaloid banisterina, however temporary in effect. The pajés Henrique from the Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), both from the Tukano tribe, said that they prepared the kaxpí with the bark of the following cipos: 1st) mẽrẽ-oẽ-kaxpí-dá (ingá cipo), 2nd) boxká-dá (joined cipo /Port. cipó encontrado/, of which there are two varieties); 3rd) kúri-kaxpí-dá (a noded cipo, which gives some of the strongest kaxpí), 4th) sẽi-pixkõrõ-dá (guariba-tail cipo), 5th) yehé-ñõxkã-dá (garça /heron/ leg cipo). Having extracted the bark from the cipos, they crush it well in a wooden tub and

/229 cont./

*192 • 276 dilute it in water. They also crumble the leaves of kaxpí-pũrĩ and of kãna-pũrĩ, reducing them to a mass like tobacco, which is precisely called kaxpí-mõ'rõ (tobacco of kaxpí) and which is mixed with the previous liquid. They also mix in the leaves of doxké-morẽrĩ-dá and duxtú-sarẽnõ-dá.

[115] A seringueiro /rubber worker/ from Urânia (on the Colombian Uaupés /spelled Vaupés in Colombia/), with a Tukano mother and raised and living among the natives of the region, heard from the Taryana that, besides the above cipos, they also use the one /230/ called ma-kaxpí-dá, of which there are three varieties, which produce a very strong drink, hence the fame of the kaxpí of the Taryana as being stronger.

[415] A few hours of infusion in water, in an amphora of 8 or 10 liters in capacity, with the customary designs, called kaxpí-tõ, are enough for it to be in a condition to be consumed. Its use is reserved exclusively for persons of the masculine sex and mature age. They believe that the "ritual blowing" by the pajé or by some Komũ increases its imagination-exciting quality. It is served in small cuias, followed immediately by libations of caxirí.

Under the action of the kaxpí, the Indian is said to have pleasant visions. "He sees luminous signals" was the expression of our useful Tukano helper, Antônio Barreto. And it was also what Koch Grünberg saw (Zwei Jahre, 201), to whom it seemed that he saw marvelous bright sparkles when he turned his eyes toward the dark, or red flames when he ran them across the paper.

An official of the Colombian customs in Iauareté (river Uaupés) took it and saw images of objects with great brightness, and with all clarity he perceived geometrical figures, and even theorems of trigonometry came to his mind. A trader from the river Querarí revealed to us that on a certain occasion the kaxpí had caused in him a beautiful and pleasant distortion of the sensations. Thus the women seemed to be slithering snakes with very beautiful decorations; the flutes /flautas-de-pã, Panpipes/ gave him the impression of a large orchestra.

/230 cont./

• 276 Thus its effect is also a superexcitation of the imagination. Nevertheless he sometimes falls to the ground, unconscious. "With the fourth cuia," says the old Indian Antônio to Koch G. (Zwei Iahre, 201), "people fall violently and then have the most beautiful visions" (59).

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59. From our personal experience we can say that we have drunk kaxpí prepared by Makú, Wanãna and Taryana natives. At the great feast of the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés), which was discussed above, kaxpí of the Makú, Wanãna, and Taryãna tribes was served. That of the Makú tribe was prepared by one of the Makú who served as slaves to the Wanãna of the locality. That of the Taryana was made by the old Taryana Calisto from Iauareté, who brought with him from that locality, for this occasion, a bunch of thick cipo (one inch in diameter and 1.5 meters in length approximately). The kaxpí was distributed personally by the local tuxaua, Mandú by name, who simultaneously took two small cuias, one for each person. The Komũ, who "had blown" the drink before the cuias were filled, stirred the liquid, using a piece of thick cipo, with four intumescences, and which is one of the ingredients of the drink. It is taken without difficulty, since it has a bearable bitter taste. Nevertheless, several Indians made faces and some of them spit out the rest. Following that, three men, each /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ with two large cuias of caxirí, came in a line, zigzagging and making a noise with the mouth like the buzzing of an insect, and distributed the caxirí to those who had drunk kaxpí, in order to take away the unpleasant taste. Some Indians declared to us that they had seen luminous globes or flames. We did not preceive

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/230 cont./

/footnote 59 cont./ anything: we experienced, then, only a slight excitation in the muscles of the legs and, at night, strong occipital pain in the head. We believe, however, that such sensations had nothing to do with the drink and were only the effects of tiredness, of the sun and the heat of the day. We later observed to the Taryana Indians who had accompanied us to the feast that the kaxpí was weak and we had felt nothing. They explained to us that one of the ingredients was missing, a cipo that was planted by an old man who had already died and they had not found such cipo upon undertaking the trip. They promised us to prepare later, with all the technique, a quite strong kaxpí. Actually they did it days later and offered it to us. With fear of a violent reaction caused by the drink, we did not want to take it in public, but in private, and not only a small cuia, but we drank quite a good cuia in three stages. Although, like Koch G., we had before our eyes a white paper on which we wrote down our notes, we did not get to perceive any luminous sensation or any other external feeling. Only the unpleasant taste made us indisposed, although without vomiting, forcing us to diet that day, and to use bitter drops and other stomach potions later. We are of the opinion that, for this reason, the effects indicated in the Indians must be explained by the easy excitability of their imaginations.

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4) Pátu (Nheengatú: Ipadú) (60).

60. The Tukano name pátu seems to be derived from the Nheengatú ipadú, making us suppose that the tribes of the Uaupés might have received from the tribes of the Rio Negro, of Nheengatú language, the use of the ipadú. It is true that nowadays the caboclos of the Rio Negro and the Indians of the Içana do not use ipadú.

It is the product of coca, a bush of the family of the Erythroxylaceae (erythróxylon coca, Lin.), which takes root easily from a branch. Although the adult women can also take ipadú, its planting falls to the men, and they do it in the clearing, and sometimes even close to the maloca, as a hedge. Daily the men pick the tender leaves, let them dry, and afterwards toast them in a special pot, called pátu-axtẽrĩ-tõ. As seasoning for the ipadú, pátu-mõã, they burn leaves of the embaúba /imbauba/ (Cecrópia) or of cucura in the interior (61)

61. We do not know whether the burning at the door of the maloca is a prescription of magical character or only for reasons of convenience. This second hypothesis is more probable, actually, they execute without any difficulty the various operations of the preparation of the ipadú outside the maloca as well, in order to be filmed.

of the maloca, although beside the door. Mixing the ashes with the toasted leaves of the ipadú, they pass slowly through a mortar of usual form the pátu-ahũ-gõ or pátu-doxké-khá, until everything is well crushed. Afterwards they place the powder in a tururí bag, which is called pátu-pa:rí-sutiro.

T /231 cont./

*192 Across this bag runs a stick, called /232/ pátu-pá:-ko. Introducing it in a tube of elongated pestle shape (of 1.80 meters
• 276 and about 15 centimeters in diameter, and called pátu-pá:põ), they knock the bag against the walls of the tube with their two hands, until the powder is so finely pulverized that it passes through the bag and is deposited in the tube. In order to facilitate the work, they customarily tie this tube to one of the columns of the maloca, in such a way that the opening stays a meter in height from the ground, a comfortable position for the one who must "beat" the ipadú, and the closed end rests on the ground.

T [415] Finally the powder is taken out and kept in proper bags, also of tururí, called pátu-ahuró or pátu-waxsóro, the mouth of which has thrust in it a fine tube, pátu-baarí-oã, of taquara

Ipadú bag (patu ahuró)

or of heron bone (yehé-oã), through which the powder is drawn in, just as a refreshment is sucked in our bars. This is done on trips, because in the house the ipadú is more commonly kept in a cuia, and they help themselves to it by taking a handful with a wooden spatula or even a leaf. They do it with care
M in order to keep the powder from falling into the windpipe.

276 The Maku prepare it in balls. The Indian uses ipadú especially when he goes hunting or fishing, because, narcotic that it is, it keeps him from feeling hunger or thirst, and in this way he dispenses with carrying food. They make it into a
T ball which they keep in a corner of the mouth, sucking on it
M little by little. The women, except for very rare exceptions,
[562] do not eat the ipadú; only the adult men.

/232 cont./

184 Its consumption is almost unknown today on the lower Uaupés;
• 276 it is quite general, however, among the tribes of the Papurí and Tiquié, even when they have their regular food. Perhaps the abuse of the ipadú is responsible for the organic depauperation in the elderly and many stomach ulcers. Besides, the individual becomes addicted and his children are born weak, silly, defective (62).

62. The Salesian Missionary, Padre João Marchesi, on a certain occasion showed a tuxaua how the son of an ipadú eater was slow in intelligence, did not learn how to read or write, did not have any manual skills, whereas the other children did this quickly.

[797] The young generation, which has gone through the Mission schools,
[178] scarcely consumes ipadú any longer.

/233/ 8) /sic; j)/ Conclusion.

252 The natives of the Uaupés take only fruits and some insects raw. Never a piece of meat or fish (63);

63. It was not possible for us to investigate as to whether it is a question only of taste and custom, or if superstitious motives also enter in. It does not seem to us that they exist, although in one of their legends it is said that Wãx-tí is the one who eats raw meat.

these foods ordinarily are moqueados /smoked/. And the fish is frequently boiled or reduced to a sauce with pepper, to accompany the ingestion of the beijú.

372 Fire is obtained today with a match, "palito" /toothpick/, as
*[192] they call it, and they try not to let it go out. Day and night
[177] one finds the fire burning inside the maloca, and they also take pots with live coals to the clearing and on trips.

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/284 cont./

It is not only the pajé, however, who uses the cigar for its magic power and applies "blowings." They believe, moreover, that the smoke spread by some persons, particularly certain old men, have the same virtue as the smoke of the pajé, or almost. The same is said of the "blowings." This is the reason why in some circumstances (giving the name, VIII - 1, b (6) /see 1, b (4)/, puberty initiation, VIII - 1 b (7), etc.) these persons intervene, "blowing" smoke.

[881]

We learned of episodes of individuals who bragged about the force of their own "blowing," capable of sending sicknesses and misfortunes, and they would terrify the others with this.

These "blowers" are called Komũá (plural Komũ), corresponding, it seems, to the ethnological concept of "initiate."

We have witnessed the long theoretical preparation, in the form of evening lectures, which the older Komũá gives to those who aspire to the same position. The old Komũ /sic/, squatting, or seated on a stool, having before him the aspirant, also squatting or seated, starts developing his program of instruction. When it seems /285/ proper to him, perhaps after one or two hours of explanation, he ends his lesson, saying farewell to his pupil with the salutation nĩka-nĩya (U. nĩka-niña), adios! (lit. you remain behind).

*[192]

Seated at a certain distance, in pleasant conversation among themselves, are other Komũ and the tuxáua. When the first one has finished his lesson on the histories, legends, beliefs, traditions, customs, origin of things and of sicknesses, etc., a second one will come to instruct the pupil, who patiently waits for the new lesson and shows his interest and improvement by carrying on a dialogue with the master, according to the native custom. And the lessons extend until late hours of the night, ended by a general farewell. Masters and students, during these hours of lectures, generously help themselves to ipadũ (cf. VI - 4, i (3) /see 4, i (4)/).

One of the more expert Taryana natives, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who had also taken the course to become a pajé, told us that the pajé has periodic meetings, once or twice a month, with the various Komũá. He forewarns them of sicknesses that

276 /285 cont./
756 are going to appear and gives them instructions on what they are to do in order to conjure away these and other evils.
*[192] There are, besides these, other more solemn meetings, approximately each semester, when he gives his wĩhĩõ to the Komũã to sniff ("wĩhĩõ wĩhõõti kã̃ axkawerẽra-ré peókamĩ"; he sniffs and gives all his relatives his "rappee" to sniff).

4) Sicknesses and cures.

164 There are various sicknesses that attack that forest dwellers and often prostrate them. The principal ones, according to the frequency and the greater number of victims, are:

*[192] a) Verminosis -- Pirõ pũrĩã (Uaupés Pinõ punĩã). The verminous diseases attack them even when they are old, but especially the children from two to ten years old, almost 50 per cent of whom fall victim to them (39).

[797] 39. This seriously alarming proportion was pointed out to us by the Missionary Pe. João Marchesi. Naturally this happened and perhaps still happens to those tribes and native localities unprovided with any sanitary assistance. Thanks to the hospitals of the Salesian Mission and the ambulatory-launches which monthly come up the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri, taking to the Indians the sanitary resources and provisions, and transporting the more gravely ill persons to the hospitals, this figure has decreased ten times or even more. Truly /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ impressive episodes of victims of verminosis are mentioned. From the cadaver of the son of the tuxaua of Taracuá in 1934, vermin came out through the mouth, through the nose, etc. In Urubucuara the vermin perforated the abdomen of a boy, who would take them out with the fingers.

/291 cont./

c) In the food.

264 The practice of preparing and eating food with clean hands is not in force among the natives. They break off the pieces of beijú with the hands, and, one after the other, each person dips it with the fingers into the quinhapira. If this, by chance, is too hot, he will use a stick, casually found on the ground, to take out the fragment of beijú that slipped from his fingers into the pot.

The beijú and other foods are not only held in dirty hands, but they are also deposited on the hammock or some other filthy object.

[271] [276] They drink from the same cuia, which goes from mouth to mouth. In the same way, the cigar or a ball of candy will pass from one mouth to another.

They have been seen taking and eating some food, perhaps even spoiled, placed in the garbage container or in the feed for the pigs. And even going so far as to compete with some animal for the ration that it is eating, even though it is on the ground or in a trough.

d) In the acts.

515 They likewise practice certain very repugnant acts. By way of an example, there is that of the mother who, with her own tongue, cleans the nose of her little child; or who eats the parasites as she finds them on the head of her children. This, by the way, is a general custom when one woman "searches" another. Perhaps, in lieu of payment, whoever has the /292/ job of searching also eats the lice. More rarely she will give the parasite to its legitimate owner (46).

46. Although it is a general custom, and they always observe it when a woman searches for parasites on the head of another person, they refuse to say whether there is any magic meaning in this practice. Whenever they perceive that they are being watched, or fear that they are, they interrupt the act and go so far as to try to disguise it.

/300 cont./

533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also
533 regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very
• [276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the
*[192] tuxáua sings as follows:

"mãrĩ bũxkõrá, mãrĩ paxkõ-s'õmõã baxsesé duhí-wé:pãra,
[539] yõõ ná põrá uhú duhí, uhú duhí wesyá, mãxsã yõõ põra";
that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively
[562] for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the
[273] men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule,
[535] the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning: they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

4: Silva--472 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

* 192 /Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

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Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

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Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

/326 cont./

775 825 however, to state more precisely as to whether the animal was already alive (so some opine) or was born at the moment when the human soul entered it; or whether it is a matter of a permanent or temporary condition.

756 774 According to some, it is only the souls of the bad ones that pass into the body of animals. That of the pajés can enter that of the onça /jaguar/ (15).

825 *[192]

15. The onça, if it is not starving, does not come to the povoados. When there is a lack of food, it growls in the vicinity of the malocas, attacks the dogs, and various episodes of its even entering the huts are cited. Pe. João Marchesi informed us that one time on the upper Papuri an onça killed two Indians and ate part of the cadavers. They set a trap beside the cadavers and managed to catch it. They did not have the courage to kill it, however (probably because they thought that the wãx-tĩ of the victims were in it). But around the trap and the cadavers they put wood and fire until everything was reduced to ashes. And they would cry and say: "You have killed our brother (the Tukano) and our slave (the Makú)," and "they thought that in the onça there was the spirit of a pajé" (so they explained to Pe. Marchesi).

It should be remembered that they call the pajé or sorcerer yai, a term that precisely means onça.

756 775 [782] [276] It is a more general belief that the souls of the pajés go to occupy the region of the thunder, from where they send storms and lightning bolts, thus avenging themselves on the men who killed them or did them harm. They think they propitiate them by sending them the smoke of the cigars or shaking the maracás, rites that the pajés performed while alive.

*192 /337 cont./

534 Mĩrĩ is probably from the same root as mĩrĩ, which means drowned, immersed, hidden under the water (44).

44. We were not able to learn of any sign of special veneration toward the water of the rivers. Nevertheless it is in the water that they hide the sacred instruments, an indication, so it seems to us, of their original matriarchalism. Just as the human being comes from the maternal liquid, so does Wãx-tĩ appear for the feast, coming from the water, represented by the instrument Mĩrĩ. According to legend, the first human beings came from the water of the cachoeira of Ipanuré. We have observed, besides, that while bathing the natives immerse themselves a few times. Likewise when our oarsmen jump out of the canoe in order to drag it across the rocks, they also immerse themselves, even when there would be no need for it. When they swim, we have noticed that they prefer to do it with the face immersed in the water.

[481]

778 Hence the concept of occult, sacred. We have heard talk of objects that were mĩriã, that is, occult, mysterious.

Tobacco is a magic substance. As a matter of fact, it

• 276 is one of the principal and most used curing methods of the

778 pajé. The smoke from the cigar can neutralize the malefices, drive away the storms, or attract them to a certain place, has an exorcising force in births and puberty initiation. For this

[855] reason it is even given to children three or four years old to smoke, at the feasts as well as outside of them.

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/footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

[115]

55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b) ), melodies affected almost always by deep nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1) ).

[582]

Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

[276]

/350 cont./

796 538 [123] At the various times that we had the opportunity to attend these feasts, we did not see any initial ceremony. Each one seated in front of his antagonist, at a distance of a meter perhaps, they start to narrate in a singing tone accompanied by broad gestures and alternately with the right and the left arm. They unravel the legends of the origin of the world and of the tribes, as well as the exploits of their ancestors. They speak alternately and sometimes also simultaneously, breaking off only take a breath and perhaps, at a given time, to recall some further episode. The event told by his competitor will sometimes serve to remind him of another episode. So it seems to us.

If, by any chance, they carry to him the cuia of caxirí, he receives it without looking; he will keep it in his hand until he finishes the episode that he is narrating, and then he will swallow it rapidly, returning it empty to the one who brought it, and who remained patiently waiting.

It seems to be a matter of a true challenge. A competition of oratory and also of time, of rapidity of locution, of physical or, better, pulmonary endurance. During all this time they do not concern themselves about the audience, though there may perhaps be an indiscreet white who has come closer to observe better. At a certain point, however, /351/ one of the old men of the maloca intervenes and interrupts one of the narrators (we do not know whether he does it only to one of another tribe or maloca who came for the poosé, as in the case that we had a chance to observe), directing some words to him in a rapid dialogue. They informed us that it is the practice, and it is a thanks for his activity. But soon afterwards the competition proceeds with the same rhythm and intonation.

276 796 538 The Rite of the Cigar. The principal act of the Legendary Commemorations is the Rite of the Cigar, which takes place around 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning, and which marks, moreover, the official ending of the poosé. Two enormous cigars, each tied to its fork (VI 2, b (5) ), starting with the tuxaua and one of the Kõmũã, will pass simultaneously from mouth to mouth,

796 /351 cont./
276 to the least important of the men who have participated in the
538 dances, and who arrange themselves in two lines, one in front of the other, all, however, sitting down. Each man takes some pu[illegible] and passes the cigar to his neighbor, and thus everybody
*[192] smokes several times, until the cigars are consumed. The tuxaua and the bayá alternate with the Komũã the episodes of the history of the origins, dõxporó-kase kextí, recalling the different places from where their ancestors came, and the exploits that marked this ascent. They do it, however, in a singing rhythm, prolonging the final syllables of each part that they narrate.

796 Once this rite is concluded, the sticks and snappers are
574 gathered up, the men take off their ornaments, which are care-
576 fully kept in the box for this purpose (VI - 2, d (7) ). The guest tuxaua gives thanks in a loud voice: -- "The poosé was very good. We enjoyed ourselves very much, etc."

796 As the conclusion of this rite and of the fast that they must observe at these feasts, the Kõmũã who prepared the kaxpí puts in the mouth of each man a roasted pepper. For the young ones there is prepared a broth with lemon juice and pepper (and sometimes also salt), and this is applied to their noses with a funnel of leaves. The young man must draw this broth into the mouth and swallow it. After this ceremony, they can take their mingau or any food whatsoever.

The entertainment might continue, principally among the younger persons. Ordinarily, however, they adjourn to the ham-
[513] mock (often two persons in the same hammock) and rest, in order to start the amusements again in the cool of the afternoon, around 4 o'clock.

5) /sic; 6)/ Games.

[524] We have spoken of the number of games that take place between the dances, but occur principally in the prolongation of the feast, that is, from the second day on.

/389 cont./

864 d) Sexual education.

With regard to this subject, the precocity of the children, especially of the female sex, is remarkable. It surprises us to see how individuals who on the outside still look like children are subjected to the rite of the puberty initiation (see photo).

How much they appear to know is an even greater surprise. Children still quite young know perfectly all the mystery of life, like any adult.

[797] The girls enter the mission schools at seven or eight years of age, and at this age they not infrequently reveal full knowledge [581] of this subject. Sometimes the thought that already absorbs and preoccupies them is that of marriage, a Missionary Sister Superior revealed to us. They talk of that often, and perhaps they might already even know whom they are going to marry, according to the customs of the tribe and the desires of the parents.

The school of this discipline -- is the maloca with its regime of life, where there are no partitions between the families, where all the licentiousness takes place before the eyes of all and thus the intimate life of each one is known by all. According to the information obtained, the mother herself will give explanations to the daughters and will teach them the sterilizing and abortive resources.

[276] For example, in the intimacy of the malocas or huts during [593] the warm hours of the day, destitute of any clothing at all, the husband will not infrequently amuse himself by blowing the smoke from his cigar over his wife's body. We say he amuses himself, because he does it amidst noisy laughter, as we were able to hear, without excluding the fact that they admit some magic virtue in this rite.

831 The nudity, especially along with the dirtiness, appears somewhat repugnant. Besides, the psychological axiom "ab assuétis non fit pássio" /passion does not arise from what one is accustomed to/ is quite true. And so the influence of the nudity seems somewhat attenuated.

/400 cont./

533 yú-yú with the left hand, and with the right one they beat the
535 rhythm tube.
*[192]

The yu-yú of the dances

Tobacco form

*[192] The dancers are divided into two groups, who execute the movement by advancing and retreating (baxsá poterí), one in front of the other. Afterwards they place themselves in line, each one with his lady, describing circles. They again divide themselves into two groups, who advance and retreat. Now they turn their backs to one another, always with advances and retreats. It seems that the new song consists of several verses, each one ending with cries and whistles. At given moments some say words in a loud voice, just as the caller of square dances does. Would they be ceremonial words or a simple command for the evolutions to be performed? The women, finally, leave the dance, and the men continue in Indian file, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the preceding one. This file goes to describing circles, stopping from time to time, always, however, singing and beating the rhythm with the strokes of the rhythm tube.

[562] 6th Part: Performed only by the men, as in the first part.
[273] After this part, one of the dancers advances in order to distribute
[276] the caxirí with a cuia in each hand, mumbling some words and stamping the right foot harder, in a winding progression, like that of the snake. He gives one cuia to the tuxaua and the other to the most important person. The second time he brings some to two more, and thus to everyone. Also the long cigar of leaves goes from mouth to mouth.

/428 cont./

844 Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have
[608] invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõá (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koá (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

[852] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the
[276] pajé or a Komĩ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

846 3) Nĩhĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).
*[192] The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to
[115] take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

844 As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the
[178] Pax-koá, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45).

[123] 45. The tuxaua of the Íde-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present
[273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native cere-
monies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of
the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has
already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between
two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors
all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in
the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and
the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier,
have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
• [276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has
in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the
ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar.
Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to
leave in the center, between the front door and the back door,
a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them
has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the
cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the
mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on
the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child
is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
[844] Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[834] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
241 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[270] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[245] cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[177] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahikina* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch-Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 80). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault.

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as he then cut his throat and died.

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old *Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihi*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihi* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

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769 taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters
796 went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca
[614] counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him
[222] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits
[857] and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konhá*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door.
[273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konhá* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and
[276] had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konhá*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Bwõ* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Bwõ* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch (*hardmu*) that he had picked at the water's edge.[4] The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

[614] [4] Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *haraíhume* (*haraí*: to strike; *humé*: bitter, unpleasant).

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574 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with
576 each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkúndye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good
574 part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are
576 particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has
273 set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting
576 follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which
182 is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately man-
796 ner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by sub-
[765] sidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged
[831] and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the
[276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker;

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center. 574 [342]

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough. 574 571 614

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers. 574 273 [462]

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihi* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner. [535] [171] [184]. [276]

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saw them serve chicha in this manner. The Cubeo offer the calabash with a jest: "Drink quickly so that you may be drunk soon." The aim of the drinking party is to achieve an intense state of excitement and to maintain that until overcome by sheer fatigue and sleep. Tobacco, coca, and *mihí* supplement drinking to intensify and hasten the reaction. When *mihí* is taken, producing color visions and finally a blackout, the Indians say, "Now we shall get drunk quickly." *Mihí* is associated with *míwa* (birds), which are the patrons of ecstatic intoxication.[1] Drunkenness is not to be avoided. If a little boy gets drunk his father is proud of his precociousness. Women, however, are not expected to get drunk and they rarely do.

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*Mihí* is not taken at every drinking party but only at those that are considered very important. At the mourning festival (*óyne*) a great quantity is consumed. The narcotic plants (*Banisteriopsis caapi* and others) from which *mihí* is prepared are cultivated by the men only and they alone drink it. The Cubeo regard it as a sacred drug, and from all indications it is so regarded throughout the Western Amazon region where it is used. Along the Orinoco the Indians chew the skin, but all along the Vaupés an infusion is prepared by boiling the leaves, bark, and roots to form a greenish-brown "soup" that is strongly bitter. The Cubeo prepare several varieties that are graded according to potency. Upon truly solemn occasions they begin with a mild infusion from the leaf of a variety that is taken exactly at midday, and conclude with a very strong variety just before sunset. This sequence of *mihí* transports a man from vague and mild visions of whiteness to intense hallucinatory experiences, bursts of violence, and finally loss of consciousness. *Mihí* almost invariably causes vomiting, and for that reason alone each man must take many servings. For each type of *mihí* there are four servings taken from a small gourd dipper. The first service is of two dippers, the second of one, and the third and fourth of two each. At the beginning, the Indians say, the vision becomes blurred, things begin to look white, and one begins to lose the faculty of speech. The white vision turns to red. One Indian described it as a room spinning with red feathers. This passes and one begins to see people in the bright coloring of the jaguar. When the final strong forms of *mihí* are taken the hallucinations begin to assume a disturbing and fearful form. One becomes aware of violent people milling about, shouting, weeping, threatening to kill. One is seized with the fear that he no longer has a home. The house posts and trees come alive and take the form of people.

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[1] There is also a bird called *mihíkó*.

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There is a strong sensation that an animal is biting one's buttocks, a feeling of the feet being tied. The earth spins and the ground rises to the head. There are moments of euphoria as well, when one hears music, the sound of people singing, and the sound of flowing water. The Cubeo do not take *mihi* for the pleasure of its hallucinations but for the intensity of the total experience, for the wide range of sensation. I spoke to no one who pretended to enjoy it. 574 276

A sacred drug, *mihi* is handled in a ritualistic manner and is served from a distinctive pottery jug that is never washed. When the hosts – always a pair, one man holding the jug and the other the serving dish – offer *mihi* the following stylized exchange takes place. The guests exclaim, "*ho ho ho ho ho o o o*, here it comes." The host asks, "How are you?" and the guest replies, "I am well. I have come well." The host stirs the *mihi*, saying to it, "Stir! Look, it is bitter. It tastes bitter. Our Ancients also drank it." The guest replies, "Let me take it. Let me see if I can drink it in the same way as our Ancients did. I am going to drink." He drinks it down and is offered a mandatory second drink. The host says, "Look. Here it is, drink again." The guest now replies, "I am going to drink so as to see [a vision]." A guest whose father is dead will say upon receiving the *mihi*, "My father, when he was alive, drank like this, so he told me. He sought me out that I might drink. My father never got drunk when he drank it." 574 276 576

When each guest has had his two portions of *mihi* the hosts drink off two portions and then serve one portion to each guest again. The guests murmur *ba ha a a a*, meaning "well done." When the last portion is given, the host announces, "We have finished drinking," and each guest replies, "I am pleased." At this the host announces he is sitting down to have a vision, and he retires. Suddenly he leaps up at the guests in the characteristic *mihi* dance and with the sucking sound. He intends to frighten them and shouts *wetcówe* (vomit!), and the guests reply, "Bring it on. We wish to vomit."

Drinking, smoking, chewing coca powder, and taking the infusion of *mihi* are all acts with strong symbolism of sharing a group experience. Out of bravado a man may down an entire calabash of chicha. More often he will pass it to a neighbor, who will also take a few swallows and pass the calabash along. The drinker will also have taken chicha from the quantity prepared by each cosponsor. The cigarette is passed from mouth to mouth. The host provides tobacco, which he passes among his guests from a bark-cloth pouch, and a bark wrapper, which is tied to the house posts. Guests may smoke their own tobacco but will always use the wrapper that is 574 276 273 574 276

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574 provided. Men pass cigarettes to one another after a puff or two. A
• 276 man will ordinarily pass a cigarette to his own wife only, for the giving of a cigarette to a woman has a potentially erotic significance. When a woman receives the cigarette she passes it among her children until finally the suckling baby has had a smoke. She then returns it to her husband. The custom of sharing the cigarette has been widely observed along the Vaupés and its tributaries. The Indians
[521] accept it as a mark of friendship and of trust. Ceremonious smoking
[887] of cigars held in forked holders accompanies the dignified conversa-
[614] tions of the sib elders and is mandatory when these old men get together to chant the sib origin traditions. Several cigars are lighted and are passed around. There is no way of sharing coca, but *mihi*, as we have noted, is "danced in" by the sons of the hosts, and the little ornamented beaker in which it is kept is passed around.

574 Dancing begins when the assembly is warmed up with drink. At
535 an *unkúndye*, dancing, being secular, is for the young, the adolescents and unmarried and the younger married men and women. In the most common dance three or four young men line up abreast,
[533] left arm across a companion's shoulder, with the long dance flageolet, that sounds the song of the butterfly, in the right hand. An orchestra of Panpipes, seated to one side, sets the rhythm to which the dancers move and sound the flageolets. Starting at the rear of the house they move down the long dance corridor to a beat that starts as one slow step, a pause, two shorter steps, a pause, and then three rapid, almost running, steps, the inevitable Cubeo procedure of placing all ritual in the metric structure of *adagio* to *presto*. They reach the front of the house, their bodies swaying forward and back as they come down the corridor and gracefully swinging from side to side as they prepare to pivot, swinging the flageolets up and
[614] around in unison. The first dancers are usually of the host sib and are brothers. During the early stages of the dance, as each of the visiting sibs puts its dancers on the floor, the formation is of brothers. It is not until much later during the night that drink and excitement have dissolved the fraternal bonds and allowed for the indiscriminate formation of dance teams. As the dancers move down the corridor the unmarried girls begin to stir; they giggle, nudge one another, sway forward with the desire to get up and join. But they are shy. They seek encouragement from one another. Often an older woman, a girl's mother, whispers sharply, "Go on, dance." Then two or three girls get up from the side lines and run behind the dancers, pacing themselves so as to slip under the yokes of the men's arms in the precise beat.

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765 staff as a weapon. They pose with head bowed, both hands resting
765 on the weapon. The chief mourner holds a rattle hung with a feather
53 and eagle down in his right hand. He begins the formal oration, an angry declaration denouncing the unknown sorcerers who have killed his father. As he speaks, in a hoarse, changing voice, he swings the rattle in a vertical arc, pivoting on his left foot, facing one mourner and then the next. His gestures are vigorous and his pivot is crisply executed. He swings the rattle upward almost into the face of the mourner whom he is addressing. He has hardly completed the circle when each of the mourners, swinging his right arm in an arc, turns to a companion and recites a similar angry declaration. The companion to whom he turns also pivots to face him, awaiting his return to reply. This part of the ritual is executed as a ballet. The declaimer is poised with his right foot forward, waiting for his partner to pivot and face him, and not until the partner has executed his pivot does he begin his declaration. The headman, having initiated these hoarse and angry harangues, turns his attention to the ceremonial remains of the deceased. His head bowed, he gently shakes the rattle over them and utters a sad lament that he has lost a father. After an interval of angry shouting the mourners re-form the close circle, bow their heads, and weep. They pause to blow their noses, wiping their hands on the fringes of the masks that have been hung nearby.

765 Other members of the sib are not part of this close mourning circle.
614 They put on their masks and dance, circling the mourners. The
535 *Xudjiki* trumpets are silent because they are sounded only by the
[533] men of the household of the deceased, who are now part of the circle of mourners. The mourning of the men signals the women to begin again their wailing, their piercing lamentations rising clearly above every other angry and mournful sound.

765 This interval of mourning lasts some 15 minutes. The ceremonial property of the deceased is then removed and the men rest, drinking
[535] chicha and smoking. Dancing resumes after half an hour. At dawn
[789] the Jaguars cut off the brown bark-cloth trimmings from their jug trumpets and pass them among the men to chew. This will guard them, they say, against sorcery from their phratry mates, who will arrive as mourners late in the afternoon.

765 Later in the morning the men put up crossbars to "guard" the
276 women's entrance. After this *mihi* is prepared. A sibman staggers in with a bundle of the narcotic vine. *Mihi*, as always, is carried in the ritual manner, one of its features being a representation of great weight. The bearer bends low, raising his knees high, and circles the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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765
men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled 276
once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihi*. He prepares a quart, which is considered a great deal.

765
The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already 532
been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies [276] to *mihi*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be [273] lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also [574] complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives. 765

The first guests to arrive are the Satellites—members of the sib— 574
who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of [614] the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional [431] Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each 765
Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side 574
wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the 576
house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head. Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly delivered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound *ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihi* is brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoulder. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted at the rear door by female hosts.

While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing 765
the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat 574
for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, 789
since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *óyne* in particular, as 754
a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that characterizes the early stages of the *óyne*.

After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to 765
574

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able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of 765
mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of 574
what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother 152
adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep.

## FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of 765
the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. 152
In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly 154
in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes [276]
of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimu- [273]
lation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly.

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor 765
go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to fer- 273
ment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little [261]
or nothing during the three days of the *óyne*. They are nourished on [276]
chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Hehéneua* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough.

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is 273
religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to 791
overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In [574]
the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the [154]
*óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly.

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765 273 152 Drinking at the *óyne* is disciplined and follows the emotional gradient of the ceremony. On the first day, which is intramural, the mood is somber and little chicha is taken. On the second day, when guests arrive and the mood is anger-grief, the drinking is still slow. [574] Guests receive the welcome offering of chicha after their third entrance into the maloca and thereafter they drink during all intervals between dances. Formal drinking begins two hours before sundown. 765 273 The moment is signaled when the hosts brings in *mihí*, the symbol of intoxication. Only the older men take the potion. Thereafter all • 276 drinkers are free to grow excited. The elders remain restrained, how- 152 ever, since it is their role to license the excitement of others. They describe their own intoxication as an inner state. They feel a change in mood, they see color visions, but they do not overstep to overt excitement. That is the role assigned to the younger men.

765 The rate of drinking and the shift in mood gains momentum in 273 the course of the interplay with the women. Women drink as much 276 as men, but do not take *mihí* and do not get drunk. Their excitement 152 is imparted to them by the men. Thus, the men drink to initiate 562 excitement; the women drink so that they may react. When the men are not among them the women sit passively among their young, the dogs, and their household goods.

765 *Mihí* has magical power which the bearers portray dramatically. 276 They pretend to stagger under its weight because *mihí* has power to [778] fell a man. The people I asked did not know, however, why the bearer of *mihí* pranced with his torso bent forward and his knees kicked up high. The bearers whisper *he he he* and then whistle. These are the sounds of spirits and they are the same as the sounds made by the guests when they circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased. A bundle of *mihí* vines is laid with the ceremonial remains 765 during this dance. From a roof beam at the exact center of the house, 532 where it overlooks equally the male half and the female half, hangs 276 a vulture figure. The body is an ear of corn, the head is carved of wood, and the spreading wings and tail feathers are made of old basket fragments. The bird hangs like a mobile. It is said to be "drunk" on *mihí*, and it presides over the *óyne* to give the proper spirit of intoxication. The vulture of intoxication is the patron, so to speak, of the *óyne*.[9] Mobiles of other birds are also hung about the house, as are painted images of fish. I did not learn the significance of these.

[9] The vulture is thought of here not so much in the sense of its being a carrion eater, but for its quality of soaring. Compare *kawí* (vulture) with *kawíno* (sky).

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yaví* or *pariékokũ*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yaví*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yaví*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvatyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhóũkũ* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenddox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhóũkũ* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridkũ* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvatyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenddox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kuriáhũ* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kúria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kúria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the insertions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kúria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*duwáiyo*) and crystals (*kenádox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *duwaitũwũ* (to extract spines). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the poisons that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *yaví*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *yaví*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted

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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawá* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihí*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

# 2

# *A Death*

114 Matias arrived at the *maloca* the following day with the rest of the equipment we had left behind at the portage. Without his help we would have had to abandon it. That same night he started back on the return journey with his brother Bernavez, back to their *maloca* on the Río Ti. With them seemed to go our last contact with the outside world. Now was the time to collect our thoughts, to reorganize the equipment and to decide how we were going to carry out our work. The surroundings, the atmosphere, the Indians, everything was new. Each day, when evening arrived and we had eaten, we would sit across our hammocks and read by the light of a candle, or write up the day's events in our diaries. On Friday 6 January Brian wrote:

123 'Did not sleep very well last night, probably because I had taken a large
276 mouthful of coca just before getting into my hammock. Nearly choked, the fine green powder making it virtually impossible to breathe; so had to run down to the river and wash my mouth free. The Tukano must have a special method for swallowing it.

512 The women got up very early, long before dawn, but I couldn't tell the time because my watch was lost on the way over the portage – too bad. They rubbed down manioc and the continuous noise made all further sleep
126 impossible. Horacio left for the river before first light to develop a film he had taken with his old Rollei, also one of mine to see whether I'm giving the correct exposure in these dark conditions. He prepared the hypo last night and has to develop before the water temperature rises.

114 At dawn Kuarumey opened the door and the cold air rushed into the *maloca*. I went out to the jungle to relieve myself, armed as usual with a bottle to collect a humus sample. We do this nearly every morning – all these tiny bottles. I wonder whether the American drug company will ever discover a new Amazonian anti-biotic? Lovely pale pinks and delicate blues, the mist rising in great banks off the forest, and dew dripping from the trees. It was so peaceful and cool.

We joined Horacio for a late breakfast; all of us rather at sixes and sevens with each other as to what to do. The last days have taken a lot out of us and

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000 *Our train of canoes on the Piraparaná – José in front.*

 [see p. 46-A]

/p. 62-B/

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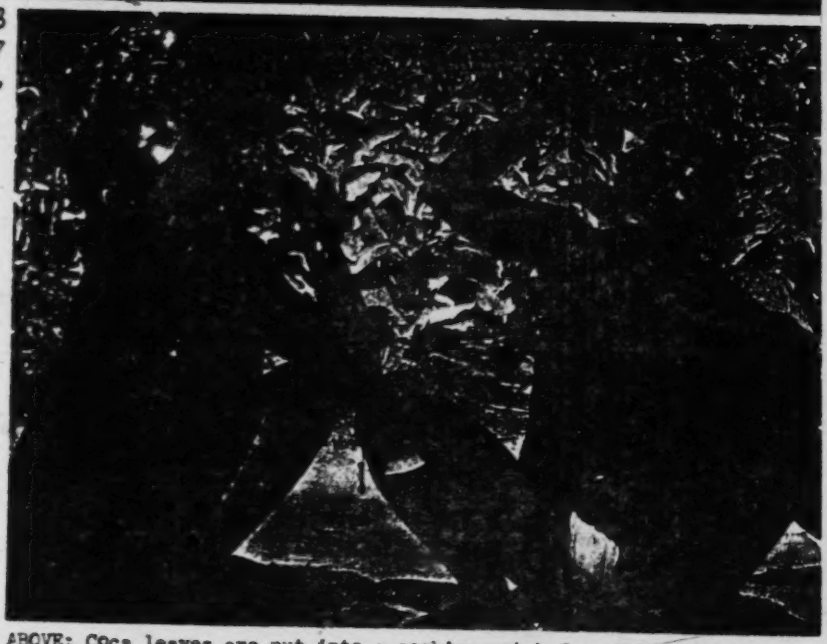

ABOVE: Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking. BELOW: Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.

415 pottery making, a craft which has been all but forgotten among many of the Indians of Colombia.

512 Throughout the afternoon the women continue with their tasks while the men prepare their tobacco and smoke it wrapped in long cylinders of
276 banana leaf, or take snuff, lying in their hammocks or crouching on small wooden stools. The snuff, kept in gourds or large snail shells, is made in most cases from ground tobacco; it is first placed in the palm of the hand, then a small quantity is poured into a hollow V-shaped deer bone, and is injected into the nostrils by inserting one end of the V in the nose and the other in the mouth and blowing.

During the afternoon an Indian burns the *yarumo* leaves from the coca basket in the centre of the *maloca*, the ash being carefully raked into a neat
276 pile on the earthen floor. Earlier the coca leaves from the basket had been baked in a large earthenware pot over a hot fire, all the while being stirred with a hooped stick. The toasted leaves were then powdered inside a short wooden cylinder. They are further refined by being put into a barkcloth bag wrapped round a heavy stick, and beaten inside a large cylinder. The *yarumo* ash is added to the finely ground powder – this ash takes away the bitterness, and perhaps also the worst effects of the drug – and once again the mixed coca and ash is beaten in the long cylinder to the consistency of dust. Often this involved procedure goes on far into the night, and we became quite accustomed to go to sleep with the monotonous thudding noise still reverberating around the *maloca*. With the final process completed the powder is emptied into a half-gourd or into small barkcloth pouches, ready for the next journey or hunting trip, during which an Indian may live solely on the drug, going without sleep, food and drink for days.

The inscrutable nature of the Tukano may in part be due to his addiction to cocaine which deadens his senses and affects the eyes so that the pupils often appear dilated. This may also account for a lack of individuality among many of the men who often appear listless and resigned.

354 At dusk the hunters return and sometimes a monkey or a wild turkey helps out with the evening meal of cassava. The only light in the *maloca* after dark comes from the fires, but on special occasions, such as a festival, the head of the house places a chunk of beeswax taken from a wild bees' nest in the forest on a large post in the centre of the *maloca*, lighting it with a firebrand. But the flickering light barely penetrates the gloom. At other times a strip of slow-burning resinous wood is put in a fork of the same post. It is this wood – a type of cedar – which the Indians use to travel with at night, allowing it to
512 smoulder and blowing it into flame when needed. As night comes the doors are secured and, except for the sporadic mumblings of a few old Indians squatting around the fires, all is silent.

224 The Tukano is a hunter. From his early childhood he develops the ability

diagonal lines. Then the women painted their own faces with *karayuru* and blackened their hands and feet. 796 [302]

As the sun's last rays filtered into the *maloca* and the mumblings of the council of elders died down, the shaman left the dark interior and stood in front of the men's doorway. In his hand he carried the *Kurubeti*, the sacred pebble stave. Intricate circles of blue and purple humming-bird feathers adorned one end, a swollen spearhead formed the other. This swelling was produced by soaking a bulge in the wood in water, then inserting this into a banana stem and heating the spearhead over a fire. The swollen wood is cut open and three pebbles are inserted. During cooling the wood shrinks and the pebbles are locked in the cavity. The shaman stood pointing the stave away from the *maloca*. He hit it with his right hand and the stave swayed from side to side in front of his body. The rattling of the pebbles prevented the evil spirits from entering the *maloca*. In the days of tribal war, we were told, among the people living further to the south, each warrior carried one of these staves and after victory would dance himself into a frenzy, beating the stave against his shoulder. 796 789

With darkness the festival began. Bréo carefully rolled back the cane mat from the *chicha* canoe and the women handed round gourd after gourd, full of the bitter drink. More and more *chicha* was handed round to groups of people sitting contentedly by their family fires. Some of the younger men began to play their panpipes, but as yet there was no cohesion; the groups seemed rather to be competing with one another and different tunes came from all sides, one drowning the other. Many of these men had put sprigs of sweet-smelling leaves under their loin-cloth strings and berry arm-bands. The scent from the leaves was curiously sensuous, like sweet lemon, and used as an elixir of love by the Tukano during their festivals. 796

The same confused cacophony of dancing and panpipes continued well into the night; it was the young men's duty to keep the shaman awake, for not once during the course of the festival was he allowed to sleep. Small groups moved up and down the *maloca*, joyfully playing their panpipes as they danced, then they retired to their family fires and drank more *chicha*. The shaman remained apart, sitting on his stool in the centre of the *maloca*, gazing as if in a trance. At his side lay a calabash of coca and the sacred pot of *yajé*, the most powerful narcotic used by Amazonian Indians. Prepared from the boiled juices of a jungle creeper, the red liquid gives the shaman hallucinations and he is able to predict the future progress of the festival. Suddenly he summoned Bréo to his side. All the men came to the centre of the *maloca* carrying their wooden stools and sat down near him. With heads bent low the men started a muffled chant, answering in unison the solo [756] [276] [787]

*Tukano profile and festival head-dress.* [see p. 78-B]

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 82-A/

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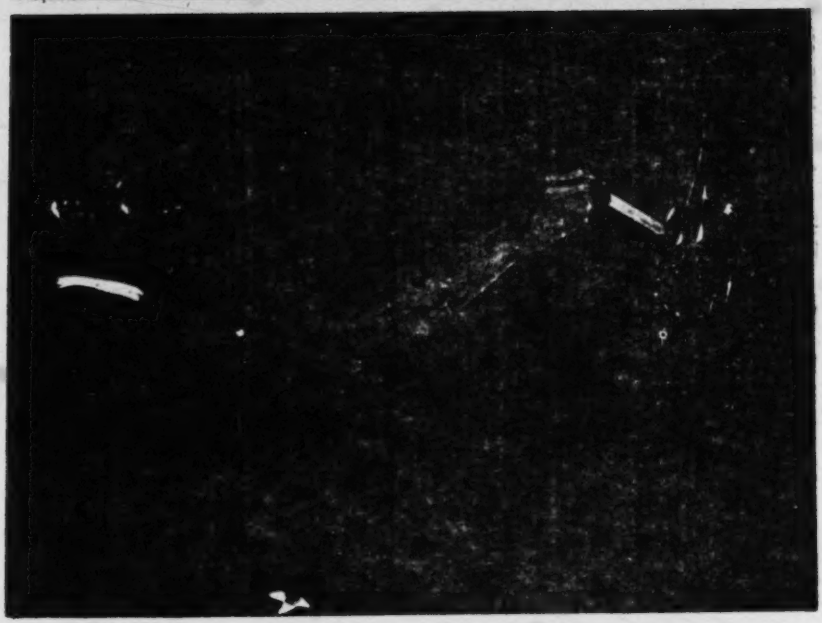

ABOVE LEFT: An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth. ABOVE RIGHT: Boy playing pan-pipes. BELOW: A headman lights a torch of beeswax.

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.

171 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).
*192

The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-
[531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[411] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[567] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

/78/ While the caurí, as a fishing process, is general to
[226] all the tribes, the Pirã-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/159 cont./

578 The legends refer to similar episodes, and perhaps they try to imitate their legendary heroes.

278 /160/ a) The most common method of revenge, nevertheless, is poisoning. When they talk to us with intimacy and frankness, the natives affirm and document numerous cases of poisonings for revenge. From which one understands the general fear that dominates everyone, almost an obsession about being poisoned. Some revealed to us that they had been victims, they themselves, of poisonings that caused them serious and prolonged illnesses. We also know of cases in circumstances such that, according to the account of the Rvdas. Irmãs Enfermeiras /Reverend Sisters in charge of the sick/, they admit the suspicion of poisoning. Among these, we recall here two cases that happened during our travels. It was a matter of a more odious form of revenge, that is, to cause harm to the younger children in order to get satisfaction for injuries caused by their parents. Two children about ten years old, students of the Salesian Mission: a girl from Iauareté in April of 1955, and a boy from Parí-cachoeira in October of 1956. Both died at the end of a few hours, after ingesting native drinks.

266 They do not, however, practice anthropophagy, and nothing reveals that they had had this custom in the Tukano group of tribes (cf. below what will be said about Cannibalism, VII - 6, h /sic; see VII, 4, h/).

19) Vanity.

326 Vanity is a strongly pronounced trait of the native psyche. The mothers tie bindings on the babies in arms, below the knee and above the ankle, "in order to thicken their legs." Actually, on the whole, they are anatomically well proportioned and elegant, with well-formed legs. They want to have thick legs. It is one of the insults, especially among the girls, to call one another skinny leg (33).

*[192] 33. Insults in Tukano: skinny leg, ñõxkã-dyí-Marĩgõ; curly hair, poári-subi; big eye, kaxpéri-bũhũgõ.

/196 cont./

*192 b) A small basket of the shape and material of the pi'í, and in which the women keep their ornaments and painting powder, is called pi'í-kamõ.

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[756] c) Also customarily of cipo is a small hamper, called wamõ axka-ro, in which the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ keeps his objects for treating sick people (cf. VII - 2, e).

d) In order to store or to transport the flour that they sell, they make the panniers, térẽ-pi (Uaupés ténẽ-pi), out of strips of arumã or taquara, and with quite wide meshes (two to three centimeters), and thus the manufacture is faster. They line them with great skill, with leaves of myõ-gõ pũrĩ, or likewise of arumã or other plants, in such /197/ a way that they do not allow the flour to go through, even with the little care that it usually has during the loading, unloading, and transport.

4) Fan. With miritĩ or tucum fronds, or arumã straws, they plait an object similar to a fan, and which can perfectly replace it; it is called wẽ'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés wẽ'nĩ-nõ). They manufacture it in various sizes and use it to fan the fire, as well as like a scoop to turn the beijú in the oven. It is heart-shaped, and the bound straws themselves constitute the leg or support, by which the fan is held.

Some quite large ones are seen, of the natural size of the biggest miritĩ fronds, from which they are made, and they are used as mats for the divisions of the compartments of the malocas, or even to serve as a wall.

5) Quiver. They also prepare with arumã strips a quiver, bu'sá-sa, of cylindrical shape and about 40 centimeters in height, with a diameter of 8 or 10 centimeters, widening toward the mouth. It is used to store the small poisoned arrows
• [278] of the sarabatana /blowgun/, or curabís. To keep water from dissolving the poison, they customarily make this quiver impermeable with pitch.

4: Silva--295 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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5) The curare. Curare comes from the Lingua Geral word uirari and indicates the poison prepared by various savage tribes with different plants, especially varieties of Strychnos. On the Uaupés only the Makú (36)

36. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 208) reports that the Buhágana (also called buxpú-maxsã, sarabatana people) make the curare so strong that they even use it to hunt large animals, such as the anta.

know how to prepare it and also make it for the tribes whom they serve. The Makú of Iauareté (37)

37. Prof. Ettore Biocca, in 1944, also witnessed the preparation of the curare by the Makú Indians of the Tiquié, and he took, for the observations of the Laboratório Paulista de Biologia de S. Paulo, samples of the various plants used and of the curare. The analysis of the Laboratório found alkaloids even in some plants that the natives consider less important. Four varieties of Strychnos (toxífera, etc.), two of Menispermáceae (abuta triana de Plancthon and Anomospérmum), and, without alkaloids, one Malpigheácea and one Rubiácea (policóurea or Psychótria) were identified. According to his conclusions, the preparation of the curare by the natives is not "a simple extraction of alkaloids, but a complex chemical operation, with transformation of the physico-chemical and biological properties of the alkaloids themselves" ("Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei" -- Vol. II, 1st sem., 1947). And that the plants not provided with alkaloids (like the Rubiáceae) can be supposed "to have probably the function of allowing or facilitating the native preparation of derivatives of the alkaloids

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The principal methods of fishing are:

1) With poison (65).

65. The harmfulness of the method is under discussion, and some condemn it as destructive of the fish, many of which cannot be used. The fact is that for many generations they have fished in the same places, and there is always fish. If at present they are not as large and as plentiful, perhaps one should attribute it, not to the method, but to the frequency of the fishing. It also seems that many fish only become stupefied and manage to escape. The actual difficult circumstance is that at times the igarapés are quite low and the amount of timbo quite large, and both the fish and the very water that they drink cause intestinal disorders among the Indians.

[164]

/235/ a) Ehú (timbo). The large-scale fishing (Waí pu'asé) is that which is done with timbo (66).

66. Timbo is the name of various Leguminosae of the genera Tephrósia, Lonchocarpus (densiflorus, rufescens, etc.).

A suitable spot was chosen beforehand, for example, a widening of the river like a small bay, or the mouth of an igarapé or igapó, and baited, buxtú-kflse, that is, food was thrown there frequently for the fish (termites, buxtẽã, hence the term buxtú-kflse, or also pupunha, flour, fruits, mass of beijú, etc.). Afterwards, during the night, the site was surrounded with the parí, in Tukano sítérika, or with a very tight fence of thin stakes of paxiúba, leaving only an opening through which the fish came in. Nowadays, in order to facilitate this work, they make the

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226 parí with a mat, not plaited, but with tightly connected vertical
278 splints, which they set up with strong stakes at the chosen spot.
[192] On the night preceding the fishing, the opening is closed, so that the fish that have come in to eat cannot go back to the river. It is the siege of the fish, or waí-ʊʊ. The timbo is beaten well, hitting it against the rocks or crushing it with a stick. The juice, which has a strong odor, spreads through the water, killing the small fish and stupefying the large ones, which will soon float. In order for the poison to reach the bottom layers of water, they also throw mud with the plant juice. Very early in the morning, then, the canoes leave (or they will have already left even earlier, if the spot is far away) with the whole family, men, women carrying the children, youngsters, the gear (67).

[784]

67. Not, however, the pregnant women, because in this case the fishing would not have good results. If the dog goes in the water, they believe that the timbo will lose its strength.

On that day no one will eat mingau or anything sweet (68);

68. "I ate sweets and was lucky in fishing," objected Padre Afonso, a Montfortian Missionary from Teresita. -- "But the senhor is not one of us," the convinced Indian answered him.

they must go with an empty stomach; otherwise the fishing will
[192] be unfruitful. They will all try to enter the water simultaneously, advancing from upstream downward, yelling in unison (and anyone who does it late will be reprimanded), pwá-pwá-pwá, in order to frighten the fish. This act is called waí nãrã; it is the frightening of the fish to make them go into the poisoned water.

/235 cont./

226 The small fish come to the surface dead and are gathered
• 278 with the puçá or with a strainer, or even with the hand; it is
*[192] the waí wa'sá. The large ones, only stupefied, are caught with arrow or spear. Some fish manage to jump the pari barrier, if this has been /236/ set quite deep, but they fall into horizontal nets hanging along the barrier; it is the waí bu'pú-pearó.

The fishing is done with cries, laughter, falls, and finally great joy. And all participate, children, women, men... In the immediate vicinity of the fishing place they prepare the fish for eating and they also smoke it to preserve it.

*[192] b) Waí nimá (cunambí). Waí nimá means poison-of-fish. It is (in Nheengatú called Cunambí) Phyllanthus cunami, a bush with large leaves, of the family of the Euphorbiaceae, which they customarily have planted in the vicinity of their dwelling or in the clearing. When they crush the leaves and seeds, adding flour, ashes of caña brava, pepper, and japurá, they obtain a firm mass from which they make small balls that are thrown at the water. Before throwing one of these balls, however, they hold it between the index finger and the thumb, and, with the hand, describe around the head two circles to the right and one to the left. If one of these gestures is omitted, they say, no fish will be caught. They explain that the ashes being of cane, which floats, the fish will also float (69).

> 69. The explanation may be this: the potash from the ashes acts on the bladder of the fish, making it dilate, and the fish comes to the surface.

The fish, swallowing some of these small balls, after a few instants will come to the surface of the water, stunned, and the Indians, swimming or in canoes, gather them in baskets. The effect, however, is temporary. The woman, while she prepares the japurá for such fishing, must not eat anything, nor can she go to the toilet, in order for the poison to retain all its

226 /236 cont./
• 278 efficacy. They also use the poison-of-fish like timbo, mixing its juice with the mud.
*[192] Some tiny leaves known as "doé nimá," poison-of-taraíras, can be used in the same way as the poison-of-fish.

c) Ehú-pu. Piquiá (caryócar villósum, Aubl.) is the name of an edible chestnut, the pulp of which, nevertheless, is poisonous. Because of this, after it is crushed, there is produced a mass that, thrown into the water, acts even stronger than the timbó, that is, it stupefies the fish, which soon come to the surface, then being caught by hand or arrows.

These last two methods are used in small-scale fishing.

226 2) With traps.

There are several kinds of traps used for fishing; the principal ones are:

*[192] /237/ a) Bũxkõã-wõ (in Nheengatú matapí). It is a nassa /fishing basket/ or jequí like that of the fishermen in the south of Brazil. It consists of a cage of sticks of patauá, paxiuba, or even cipo, in the shape of a cone or elongated cylinder. The thin part is tied with cipo, and is untied at the moment of ex-
*[192] tracting, through there, the fish caught. In the wide part (base of the cone) there is a funnel-shaped opening called in Tukano ỹe'ẽ-nẽ-pá, with flexible sticks that spread in order to let the fish pass through. The matapí is submerged in the small canals, being embedded among the rocks of the cachoeira, with the mouth toward the downstream side and the closed end toward the side of the current. The fish, which has a tendency to go upstream, comes in by way of the mouth, but it finds the bottom closed. Sometimes in this way they collect numerous and large fish daily.

4: Silva--376 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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/Illustrations facing p. 257 in the original source./

Quiver of arrows (busá-sa), arrows for the sarabatana, and pot containing curare

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Preparation of the curare (nimá) by a Maku Indian

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c) Some plants of the shamanistic therapeutics.

In a small herbarium arranged in the "Centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté, in 1955, there were the following plants of the native therapeutics, collected by some pajés who indicated to us for each of them the name, application, utility, method of preparation, and posology. Because of the native custom of naming the plants according to their application, different plants received the same name, as it was verified in the herbarium and will be indicated below, and sometimes with the process of preparation and posology identical or almost so.

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1. Dyápoa pũrĩsé-ko (for headaches). The bark is scraped and left for some time in water, a cuia of which will be taken later.

2. Me'rẽ-dá (Uaupés Me'nẽ-dá) (eye medicine). The sap is extracted and applied in drops to the eyes.

3. Kaxpé-ri soãsé-kó (eye medicine). Scrapings of the root and bark are left for some time in water, which is dripped into the eye five times a day and upon going to bed.

4. Kaxpéri soãsé-kó (eye medicine). Some of the water in which there were scrapings of the bark and the root in infusion is dripped into the eye several times a day, especially before going to bed.

/272/ 5. Pixkõ-kó (against toothache). The bark is left in infusion in water, which afterwards is dripped on the aching tooth and the nose.

6. Pá-purĩsé-kó (for stomach pains). The bark is left in infusion in water, half a cup of which is drunk. It also has an emetic effect.

7. Pápwa-kó-dá (against dysentery). The bark is grated, boiled in water, filtered, and half a cup is taken three times a day. The liber of this plant makes a foam and is used to wash the hair.

8. Waxkarí-kó (in the hepatic colics). One uses the scrapings from the root left in water, a cuia of which is taken.

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9. Waxkarí-kó (in the hepatic colics). One takes a cuia of the water in which the bark of this plant has been in infusion for some time.

10. Pirõ-pũrĩ-kó (Uaupés pinõ-pũnĩ-kó) (vermifuge). The scrapings from the bark are left in water, half a cuia of which is taken.

11. Pĩrõ pũrĩ-kó (variety used as vermifuge). One takes a cuia of the water in which the bark of this plant has been in infusion.

12. Pĩrõ pũrĩ-kó (another variety of vermifuge). Scrapings from the root, placed in infusion, produce a wine-colored liquid, one cuia of which is taken.

13. Wãx-tĩ poári-kó (for coughing and pulmonary affections). Scrapings from the bark are macerated in water, of which three cuias a day are taken.

14. Wãx-tĩ poári-kó (another variety for tuberculosis). The bark is left in infusion, and three cuias of this water is taken daily for a period of ten days.

15. Seré-kó-dá (in purú-purú (20)

> 20. The purú-purú consists of a discoloration of the epidermis, and more rarely of black spots, caused by a spirochete such as the Treponema pallidum. The Centro de Pesquisas of the Salesian Mission of the Rio Negro has promoted studies of this sickness, very widespread among the Arwake of the Içana, by Prof. Dr. Emilio Biocca and others.

or vitiligo). One grates the bark, which is boiled in water until it acquires the wine-red color. One takes three spoonfuls of this water a day until the spots disappear.

16. Dyápoa-flyĩé-kó (for the black spots on the face). The leaves are left in infusion in water, with which the face is washed.

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17. Añã-kõ (against snake bite). The bark and roots of this plant are eaten and also applied to the spot of the bite.

18. Mehẽka-nĩtisé-kó (regulator). The scrapings from the root are left in infusion in water, which the woman is to take until the menstrual period is regulated.

19. Põrã-ti-tõokó sĩrĩ-kó (Uaupés põnã-tí-tõokó sinĩ-kó) (in order to have children). Scrapings from the root are left in infusion in water, which the woman is to drink until she conceives.

20. Õmõã-di-tã (in order to have a male child). The woman must drink some of the water in which scrapings from the root of this plant have been in infusion.

21. Õmõã-nũ'myã-põrãtisé (in order to have alternately children of both sexes). The woman must periodically drink some of the water in which scrapings from the root of this plant have been in infusion.

22. Põrã-tyogó sẽrĩgõ-kó-sẽrĩtako (Uaupés põnã-tyogó sẽnĩgõ-kó-sẽnĩtako) (sterilizer). One drinks the water in which scrapings from the root were left in infusion. Its very prolonged use can bring to the woman absolute and definitive sterility.

23. Põrã-tisé sẽrĩtã-kó (Uaupés põnã-tisé sẽnĩtã-kó) (sterilizer). The woman must drink some of the water in which scrapings from the root of this plant have been macerated. It is preferable to mix it with the abortive kind.

24. Põrã mãrĩsé-kó (Uaupés põnã manĩsé-kó) (sterilizer). Scrapings from the root in infusion in water, which the woman drinks to avoid fecundation.

25. Sĩrĩtã-kó (abortive). Scrapings from the root in infusion in water, which the woman drinks until she achieves the result.

26. Sĩrĩ-vesé-kó (abortive). Scrapings from the root in infusion in water, of which the woman will take three or four cuias a day until she achieves the desired result.

*192 /276 cont./

• 278 When an old pajé wants to prepare a son of his to practice as
756 pajé, he initiates the preparation during the first months, putting
778 on him, for three months, a Wĩhĩõ applied to the navel, Wĩhỹõ peon.. kã̃ max-kõ̃-ré. This Wĩhĩõ is roundish in shape, of a hardened substance, the origin of which is lost in legend, according to
[262] what they asserted to us. During these three months the pajé must also have a light diet, as precaution, almost exclusively mingau and chibé.

Later, after removing the first Wĩhĩ /sic/, he fits to the navel, for some five months, the Axpá--khwĩ-re Wĩhĩõ, which consists of a small and roundish stone of quartz some two to three centimeters in diameter.

Later on he will apply to him the Wĩhĩõ of tucumã nut, well painted with carajurú /carajura/, called Õnõñá Wĩhĩõ (in Tarỹana Enúki).

There is a Wĩhĩõ in the form of rappee, which the pajé and the apprentice inhale; this is the Kaxséri Wĩhĩõ, obtained from the sap of some plants (uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/ and others), subjected to evaporation until it is reduced to a very fine powder.

The most marvelous one is the Wĩhĩõ-phĩ (in Taryana Kerá-yúki). It is a small stone of crystal, with a cavity and its cover. According to native belief, this apparatus goes back to the origin of the tribe and, mysteriously, contains a substance with a delicate and pleasant perfume. The pajé, once in a while during his lectures, uncovers the Kerá-yúki, in order for this to give off that perfume, which contributes to enlightening the intelligence of his disciples, placed in a semicircle in front of him.

They say that at a certain time of the year, around April, this substance dries up and almost disappears, and by the months of June-August it begins to give off scent by itself.

756 /277/ At 15 years of age the intensive course for the office of
[582] pajé begins, and it lasts for 15 years more or less. The candidate may not marry until after finishing the course.

/288 cont./

757 Scorning all precautions, they will not hesitate to pour out the remedy that displeases them; if, on the other hand, it has a pleasing flavor, they will take it all at once, or divide it between the sick and the healthy. A bottle of syrup will be consumed with flour in a few minutes.

5) Home remedies.

753 In some cases some means of cure for certain sicknesses, or means of preventing them, are indicated without recourse to the pajé. It is not so much a weakening of his prestige, as, it seems
*[192] to us, medicinal magic. They teach, for instance, that the fish surubi harms anyone who has a wound; and the fruit cubiú, anyone who has impaludism. If someone eats the fish piraiba, his vision will suffer, etc.

*192 The best-known home remedies are (44):
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[115]

44. We obtained this list from the Hungarian Ladislau Auer, who has lived for several years among the tribes of the Uaupés.

a) For wounds: Recent ones. They boil the bark of the cipo dyí-dá (cipo of blood) and apply the water to the wound. Or they also apply to wounds scrapings from the potato known as Kamĩ' bũxkõ-Ro-kó (remedy against sores).

Old ones. They wash them many times with the water in which has been boiled the water-edge cipo called Mõõ õx'sé-ka-poarí (paraiba whiskers).

/289/ b) Against snake bite. 1st. Of jararaca: they crush the leaves and the yellowish root of a shrub called precisely Añakó, jararaca remedy, and for this reason they cultivate it in the clearings. They apply them to the bites, and the sap or infusion of these leaves is also given as a drink. A variety of black root has an even more vigorous action. They also use the infusion of the sororoca root against the poison of the jararaca.

278 /289 cont./
757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant
*[192] called Taá-dõxká (45),

45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b) ): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

[178] [764] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night [164] [354] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

/353 cont./

796 Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some
534 men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the
*778 landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kāsé.
[192] /354/ The women and children who came to the feast,
[562] barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut them-
[858] selves in (63),

[343] 63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mīriá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wāx-tī.

796 The guests then go toward that local landing place to which
534 the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women,
778 submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The
562 sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female
688 sex may see it. If they saw it, Wāx-tī would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with
• [278] poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wāx-tī.
*[192] Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the maloca: "ayu! ayú! mīrī, mīrī mīrī!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

/384 cont./
836 inducing them, not infrequently, to provocation (109)

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109. While bathing, the girls agitate the water, with the hand cupped, from below upwards, with a characteristic noise. The boys respond to this signal by fanning their open hands in front of the chest, one higher than the other, so that they are crossed without meeting, and, since they are almost on the surface of the water, they produce a noise that is heard at a distance of two hundred meters or more. This provocative noise is called Pixtwasé.

*[192]

and invitation to the boys.

832 /385/ Although the old customs state that the bathing of the
836 women precedes that of the men and should be before the break
[515] of day, sometimes the Indians are surprised in mixed bathing during the warm hours of the day.

The young women prepare philters or potions, known by the
*[192] Nheengatú name of Puçanga (in Tukano Ox-kó), which they give
• [278] to the young men to drink in order to attract them to them; or, in front of their eyes, they wear or rub on themselves roots and plants to which is attributed an aphrodisiac virtue.

842 The cases of illegitimate pregnancy of maidens are not rare,
847 although they know (110)
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110. We had gathered for the "centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté some plants considered as sterilizing and abortive. While organizing the herbarium, some identifying labels fell off. We called on three maidens, and with the greatest facility, upon seeing the plants, they indicated the name and the purpose, exactly as was stated on the labels.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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754 [775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yavi*. The insect spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatáruko* (butterfly), *utáwe* [825] (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcíkü* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dówai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by • 278 the *lingon geral* term *marakimbárn*, and in Tucanoan by the term 824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaíye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but 824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by 754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi- 682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapíbü kowaíye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti- 824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge. 682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has [241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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When the rains come the abdomen swells. After days of steady rain the swollen abdomen bursts.

*Yokaíkye* (leaf poison) is reputed to be so poisonous a leaf that it is never touched with the bare hand. The leaf is boiled in water and allowed to dry. Its powder is wrapped in a leafy bag and dipped in any liquid to form an infusion. Some of this liquid spilled on the victim leaves a black spot that quickly disappears. Shortly thereafter the victim dies.

*Pothaíye* is a berry poison. Its extract is put in chicha or at the end of a stick if it is to be poked up the victim's nose when he is asleep. It causes a slow death by wasting.

*Dyóha* is a forest plant that kills only children but will sicken adults. A moist packet is allowed to drip over the forehead of the sleeping victim. There is said to be a remedy for this.

There are many other *ihé* products that were not identified to me by name. Some, from the end of a stick, are inserted into the nostrils of a sleeper. People who specialize in this are night wanderers called *parébohe abúhuwa* (very powerful *abúhuwa*). They can see in the dark and are difficult to observe. They lack specific motive for their deeds and may be regarded as male witches. It is these witches who are tortured by having their flesh torn with fishhooks – one tear for each victim – when they are caught.

Another *ihé* product is *pend*, an ash that comes from a secret site

Fig. 13. Petroglyph: *Kómi* playing the ancestral trumpet, Alligator (*Pedíkwa* sib).

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754 278 824 682 at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale accounts for the origin of *pená*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekûpwänwa*. Suddenly *Kómi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kómi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kómi* told them to take him to a creek called *Manánkanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kómi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the Cuduiarí from Arawakan Indians by way of the Querarí.

754 278 824 682 539

278 824 Curare (*himá*) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only in war and not as a secret potion.

751 As a far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutcûdü*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

75 776 789 771 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man. The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

to track wild animals in the forest and the sense of location and direction which enables him to do this. The deprivations of the jungle, its innate hostility, its snakes, wild animals, poisonous plants and insects, its daytime silence and oppressiveness are nothing to the fear of being lost. To be lost in the forest is slow, inevitable death. This is a fear which is common to the traveller, the explorer and the *cauchero*, but to the Indian does not exist. He may be forty miles from his *maloca*, yet he will know his way back without faltering, as the Cockney would know his way across London in the black-out, forty miles over half-tracks or no tracks at all, across deep ravines, balanced precariously on slippery logs. He will find his way, perhaps by a glimpse of the sun, the movement of birds overhead, or the track of a tapir. Between dawn and dusk, he has only his bag of cocaine to sustain his quick jogging walk. 224 [484]

During the time we passed in their *malocas* the Indians would often disappear in groups for hunting expeditions. Sometimes they would go at night and ask to borrow our torches to dazzle their prey. They carry hard *macana*-wood bows and sheaths of arrows tipped with curare, a black strychnine poison, or a long ten-foot blowpipe. Also beautifully-woven palm cases filled with poisoned darts secured in kapok, as though stuffed into a pin-cushion. These are slung across the back and carried upside down with the beeswaxed end uppermost, so as to prevent the rain washing off the curare and to enable the hunter to extract the dart quickly. [278]

With the hunters go their dogs, thin wiry beasts like whippets, usually pale buff or fawn in colour and well cared for by their masters. Their lives are short, and more often than not they go totally blind within five years; for the tiny red *majiñal* fire-ants drop on their eyes as they run through the undergrowth and inject formic acid. There is seldom game near the *maloca*, but further afield, beyond the *chagras* in the forest proper there would usually be waterside rodents and *agouti*, small rabbit-like forest dwellers. There were peccary as well, the black jungle pig which the Indian fears because, if wounded, it sometimes cries for its companions who turn on the aggressor with their small sharp tusks and inflict terrible gashes. These small pigs are strangely affectionate and are sometimes adopted by Indians as pets. [231] [231]

Their bows, five feet long and strung with *cumare*, will launch an arrow two hundred feet, but to be certain of a target the Indian will approach to within twenty or thirty yards. The arrows, without feathers and unnotched, are made of cane, with a hard *macana*-wood point dipped in lethal curare. Some tribes carry a pot of this poison round their necks; when about to shoot, they dip an arrow in the black gum and cut the head just above the point with the razor-sharp tooth of a *piraña*. Thus the poisoned point will break off in the wound if the arrow falls out. [278]

At that time we assumed that the Indians made their own poison, but we 278

278 learnt many weeks later from a *cauchero* that there were specialists in this art. The Maku, he told us, are the expert curare makers in this area. They boil the scrapings of a liana together with two herbs, then strain the liquid through leaves and boil it again until it forms a black glutinous mass. This they place in small pots and trade it with other tribes, often for food and shelter; for the Maku are nomads. Though strychnine is always the base, various ingredients are occasionally added, from ants to putrefied animal remains. The most deadly poison, which was once reserved for human beings, is said to paralyse the victim in a matter of seconds.

224 252 [123] The monkey is the most common of all the animals hunted for the pot. These are hung over a fire and smoked for days. The first time we were offered monkey, we were given the head, which we thought we were supposed to admire. But the brain, we learnt, is the greatest delicacy, like the head and eyes of a fish. The monkey often grips a branch as it dies, and for this reason the Indians would shoot many more than they ever managed to retrieve.

224 123 We never ventured to go with the Indians when they went hunting, as we would have made more noise than them and frightened the game. Moreover, we felt we could never keep up. One morning the children came to a *maloca* we were staying in to say that a *capybara* had strayed along the river bank close to where they had been bathing. Immediately an Indian picked up his bow and arrow and quickly made for the river. It was unusual for an animal to stray so close to the house and we followed at a distance hoping that we might see the hunt.

Half-crouched, with his bow and curare-tipped arrows gripped in his hand, he began to stalk the large water rat. Getting as close as he dared, he put the small beeswax quiver head down on the ground, with the arrow shafts upright. He placed one arrow in the bow. Twisting one leg around the shafts, his toes braced against the base of the quiver, he drew back the bow waiting for the *capybara* to move into the open, ready to take a second arrow from the sheath should the first miss. He held the bow fully stretched, crouched lower, hesitated for an instant, then released the arrow. The rodent rolled over without a sound. No second arrow was needed. That night we boiled the *capybara* which tasted like pork. The poison never taints the meat; it only affects the nervous system through the bloodstream. [252]

224 The tapir is the largest of the forest mammals hunted by the Indian. It is the size of a cow, with a long snout, small eyes and slotted feet, and its only defence is camouflage. Speckled brown and black like the sun-dappled forest floor, when young, and turning to a dull slate-brown when fully grown, they gather at their watering places to drink. They were hunted relentlessly by the

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000 *A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his* kurubeti *pebble stave.*

[see p. 70-A]

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, 231 and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as 235 pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and 123 animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had 245 been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of 439 my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Guduiari. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more [262] than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. [302] Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

## MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest 121 tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes 28 that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by 32 Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men 28 ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women 32 specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment 462 has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a [415] small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pedíba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men 462 work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a 461

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c) Spinning and woven products.

1) Preparation of the thread.

The tribes of the Uaupés do not know cotton (22)

22. It seems that the ancient tribes of the banks of the Amazon cultivated cotton. Actually, Pe. Alonso de Rojas (voyage of 1637 -- cf. "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 116) tells: "the building of ships is greatly facilitated in these mountains (?), not only because of the abundance of wood and pitch, but also, because of the large amount of cotton that is harvested, there is a great abundance of stalks from which the pita /fiber/ (?) is made, and palm trees with which one can make shrouds as strong as those of canvas." Unless by cotton he meant kapok.

and prepare their thread with palm fibers, especially of neé (mirití or burití, Maurítia flexuósa and vinífera) and of yõxká pũrĩ (tucum, astrocaryum tucumoides), the fibers of this being more resistant and durable.

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One gathers the still new leaves from the tucum, or better the sprout of greenish-yellow color, before it opens. Two bunches of fibers about 30 to 40 centimeters in length are separated from each leaflet. After being washed in natural water, they are exposed to the sun in order to dry and bleach.

/190/ The process of carding is done with the help of the "ouriço" /prickly part/ of the piquiá (caryócar villosum, Aubl.), ehyú-pu, in order "to comb," wõhõã-po, the fibers, making the thread quite fine. One thus has the raw tucum, yõxká pũrĩ põrá (Uaupés yõxká pũnĩ põná).

/190 cont./

• 283 [462]

The woman (23)

> 23. Among the Tuyuka, Bará, and in general the tribes of the headwaters of the Tiquié, Papurí, and Komé-ya, it is the man who prepares the miriti thread and the rede de "trinta fios" /net or hammock of "thirty threads"/.

prepares her thread by rubbing a bunch of fibers against her thigh. It is natural that this would make the thread dirty. In order to bleach it, they wash it well, using also the leaves of the papaya tree or lemon juice, resources that are obviously more recent.

First of all, she takes two bunches of fibers unequally, that is, the end of one of them projects farther on one side, and that of the other toward the opposite end. With the right hand she rolls toward the left, that is, against the thigh from the knee up. In order to add new fibers, she op[illegible] end of the thread thus rolled and inserts there two more bunches of fibers, also combined unequally, and she rolls toward the right, that is, rubbing in the opposite direction, from the upper part of the thigh toward the knee. Once the adding is done, she rolls the two bunches of added fibers toward the left, as she had done with the first two bunches, and so on, rubbing the fibers on the right thigh with the right hand. In order to roll, she rubs them up the thigh; in order to add, down the thigh. Two bunches of fibers give a finer thread, and by twisting together two or more threads one obtains the thickness desired for the work in mind. The finer the thread, the more delicate the weaving will be.

*192 283 386 When it is in the form of a skein, one should take the opportunity to wash and bleach the thread, and also to dye it. They ordinarily use vegetable dyes. The preferred colors are: reddish, obtained from õnõñá pũrĩ (carajurú, see VII -- 3, e /sic; see VII, 3, b, p. 433/), yellow, by means of a small batata resembling ginger and which is called in Nheengatú makaratañá, and a dark one, which is obtained by cooking the dyawé shrub (genipap). From the skein one later rolls the thread into large balls, which are kept in a sieve, in order not to become soiled.

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move in. The walls and the two great doors that can be swung up are built long after the house is fully occupied.

283 Much of a man's spare time is devoted to preparing string of one
824 sort or another – fishline, hammock strings, binding ropes. The most common material is from the miriti palm. The palm leaf is boiled in water and allowed to soak until long, strong fibers can be drawn from it. These fibers have extraordinary tensile strength and, therefore, have wide use among the Indians. The lower and thicker part of the leaf is slit with a knife or broken by hand to expose the fibers, which are then stripped off in one smooth, continuous motion. The man holds the leaf pinned to the ground with his great toe and pulls
[462] the fibers upward. Essentially it is men's work but women and children help in pulling out the fibers. After the fibers have been allowed to dry by exposure to the air, several are joined together and rolled on the thigh into a string. Occasionally a woman helps her husband roll fishline. The end of the string is gripped between the great toe and its adjacent member and allowed to pass under the frontal arch of the foot and so is held firm. Rolling twine is leisurely work. Men rarely make more than they need for a particular pur-
[314] pose. Fishline is coated with resin. This will not only strengthen it and make it easier to handle, but, the men told me, the resin darkens the line so that it will not be seen by the fish.

463 The Cubeo have no true category of specialist. That is to say, they expect all adults to possess the skills for making all ordinary household articles that are on the roster of sib manufactures. They must, of course, contend with differences in aptitude. They do so by giving the inept the fullest technical help, either by advice, or, if necessary, by virtually making the article. But even when total aid is given, the object is considered to have been made by its owner with help.
463 Items of public use, and these include ceremonial equipment and
622 musical instruments, require special proficiency and are made by the headman and by aspirants to the office. The headman then is a specialist, but his specialty is in esoteric objects for public use.

## TRADE

439 The entire Northwest Amazon area is a vastly complex trading network. Objects of every description, household implements, ornaments, musical instruments, ceremonial objects, plants, pets, and magical substances are in constant circulation from tribe to tribe, from sib to sib. Indians who are in contact with the trading centers of Colombians and Brazilians are often middlemen, pumping manu-

of the men's entrance. Boys carefully pick the tobacco leaves one by one and 249
lay them out on cane matting to dry. An Indian sits in the shade of the *maloca's* overhanging eaves and starts to make string from strands of tough *cumare*. His graceful movements as he rolls the fibre with the palm of the 285
hand on his shining thigh, the string looped around his right big toe, are like those used in the making of Venetian glass. An older man sits near by, deeply engrossed in the construction of a large, shallow cassava basket, a maze of cane strips almost hiding his wizened face.

The women file through their entrance, their great loads of manioc white 512
and clean after their river washing. They pause for a moment or two and eat 252
some cassava or the pineapples and wild fruit which they have just brought back, but soon they are working again, pulverizing the manioc on the shield-shaped wooden grating boards which have minute flints or tough palm spines set into their baked-clay surface. They work as a team, some grating, others washing the manioc in vast basket-sieves slung between wooden tripods, while yet others extract the poisonous prussic acid by placing the grated manioc flour in a snake-like *matapí*, a long squeezer of plaited cane. With the upper end looped over a pole, a woman stretches its mesh by sitting on a second pole placed in the lower loop. The *matapí* contracts and the poisonous juice runs out.

When the flour from the *matapí* is ready it is placed on the large flat ovens to make rough cassava pancakes, the Amazonian daily bread, which they eat at every meal together with fish and meat brought back from the forest. The starch from the washed manioc is also baked to make wafer-thin toasted biscuits to add to the *chicha*. Some of the flour is spread thinly on another oven to make the nutty grounds of *farinha*, and the liquid from the washing and squeezing is boiled to neutralize the poison, then poured into the long canoe-trough to make *chicha*.

The noise of grating and the creaking of the tripods lasts all afternoon. A 512
girl feeds her pet parrot some insects, then, taking a strand of *cumare* and winding it around her toe, she starts plaiting string for a hammock to re- [283]
place her old one. Squatting on the ground, an old woman kneads clay and [323]
wood ash. She rolls the clay mixture into coils on a flat board and between the palms of her hands. Then she places them coil upon coil about a clay base, smooths the clay with a pebble and leaves the completed pot in the shade of the *maloca*. Later it will be put on a fire and surrounded with wood bark and ash to bake. Occasionally we saw an iron pot, which at some time in the past 415
must have been traded up the rivers from the Caquetá or the Vaupés. These were sufficiently few to be highly treasured and hadn't affected their own

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ABOVE: *The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.* BELOW: 000
*Then it is warped open over a fire.* [see p. 66-B]

/111/

*101 t) YEBÁ-MASÃ

1) People-Name-Language. -- Yebá-masã is their denomination in the mother tongue, although they do not know the meaning of this term (41).

[115]

41. Lucas, the old Tukano from S. Luzia, as has already been said (IV-2, a), explained to Padre Antonio Giacone that Yepá-maxsã (as they say in Tukano) means gente-da-terra /people of the land/, and that the natives who reached the Papurí afterwards called the Tukano this. It is to be noted that Yepá, according to the legends, is the son of Bũxpõ (the Thunder), and the Indians, with some religious notions, say that it is God, the Son. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) met on the Tiquié an Indian woman by the name of Inácia, of the Yepália tribe, with beautiful physiognomic features. Would it be another spelling of Yepá?

[773]

Their idiom is classified in the Tukano family, as it is shown by the Vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical and Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia). In contrast to the Tukano, they are slender types, of medium stature like them or even shorter. Small face, tapering toward the chin. Physiognomy little or not at all Mongoloid. Coarser hair, black or dark, not lissotrichous, as generally befalls the natives of Brazil. At times they even exhibit slight waves. Dark eyes, nose low at the root, like the Tukano, but higher and finer tip. The men ordinarily have the ears pierced.

[142]

With an insignificant mandioca-agriculture, they are principally hunters, and they live on wild fruits. For this reason the consumption of ipadú /coca/ is great among them (cf. VI - 4, 1 (4). They all use the hammock of 30 threads. Their festivals are frequent.

[244] [222] [224] [284]

/115 cont./

*101 The vocabulary we managed to get (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical") reveals as great a distance from the Tukano idiom as they are different anthropologically from this tribe.
[142] Short, as they are, but more slender and fairer, and with a tapered face. Chestmir affirms that their idiom exhibits Karaîba intrusion.

They are specialists in making sieves and in the preparation
[284] of the tucum. The Tukano affirm that they learned with the
[184] Desana how to make the "hammock of thirty threads" (VI - 2, c (2) ).

[582] Marriage with the Taryana and Arapásu is forbidden for them (48).
[142]

48. We read in Koch Grünberg that they marry the Makús. We could not verify that. Perhaps it was a matter of a particular case reported to Koch. From the hundreds of individuals we observed, Koch's opinion that they differ from the other tribes in the following somatic features does not seem acceptable to us either: "not so well proportioned body, high head, coarse hair, oval face, prominent zygoma, large nose, somewhat slanted eyes."

[161] /116/ 2) Habitat and inhabitants. They come to several hundreds (601 in the census of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/"). Today we find them in large numbers on the Papurí and tributaries, but especially on the Tiquié and its tributaries -- the Castanho, Umarí, Ira, and Turí-igarapé. Some groups came down, as early as the beginning of the last century, to
[191] the mouth of the Uaupés and the Rio Negro. These last ones, as we read in Giacone, "from the contact with the Caboclos and whites, are the most advanced; besides their own dialect and the Tukano, they speak Nheengatú, and many, Portuguese.
[438] Every year some of them go up the Tiquié and the Papurí, visiting their brothers, taking them goods acquired with the whites,

/Illustrations facing p. 160 in the original source./

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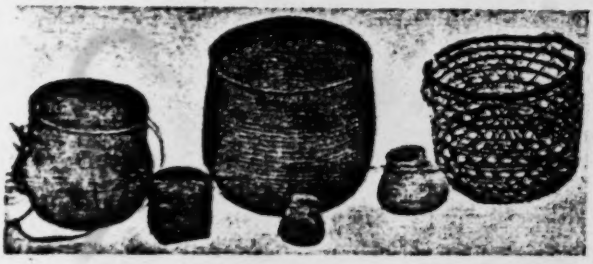
[531]

1. Sieves (baxti) with the characteristic designs.
2. Different types of large baskets (aturás, pyi, and sarreiro, térẽ-pi, the one with wide meshes) and small ones (pyi-kamõ).
3. Preparing the "rede-batida" /beaten hammock/.
4. Rough-hewing to prepare the oar.



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*192 286 352 *[115] [797]

c) Puçá hammock. In Tukano one says pũ piõke; we call it puçá hammock because it is similar, in the knots, to the fishing nets called puçá in the Lingua Geral (27).

27. Pe. Ezequiel Lopes tells that around 1931, among the little Pirá-tapúya Indians from the river Papurí who came to enroll as boarding-school students at the Iauareté school (river Uaupés), some appeared equipped with the puçá type of sleeping hammock.

In order to make this type of hammock, one uses a loom somewhat different from what we have seen previously. It consists of two pairs of vertical staffs, with the small separation of one span more or less. A more variable space lies between one pair and another and marks the length of the hammock desired.

Two threads are stretched horizontally, at a distance of 3 to 4 centimeters apart. Between them the woman starts to make knots or stitches like those of a casting net. They stretch two more threads horizontally, and new stitches are interlaced with the first ones, and so on successively.

This type of hammock is perhaps more work than the "beaten" one. The Tukano call it pũ pʏõke, because the line is run through, piõ: and the knot is made by hand.

227 • 284 *[192]

3) Fishing nets (puçá).

The Tukano call them wehẽ-kõ (28)

28. The Salesian Missionary Pe. Eduardo Lagório makes the following observation: "The verb to kill, wehẽ, is interesting; it is used almost exclusively to indicate the death of fish and animals. For human beings, having almost no violent murders, they use the expressions related to the various methods of poisoning."

/193 cont./

*192 because of their purpose, which is to kill the fish (wehẽ means
227 to kill), and in the Lingua Geral, puçá. It is a mesh of knots
• 284 made out of fibers of caroatá (Bromélia pinguis, Lin.), caroá (Neoglariôvia variegáta Ar. Com.), or even tucum. The meshes are narrower or wider, according to the purpose.

[462] They are manufactured by the man. The pregnant woman
[784] cannot touch them, because the fishing would be fruitless. When they prepare their puçá, the men will remain silent, in order to have luck with the fishing.

They perform the work in two ways: either with successive knots, as the casting nets are prepared among the civilized; or using splinters of arumã /Ischnosiphon ovatus, Kcke./, tying them at intervals with caroatá knots, as if one were preparing /194/ a basket. Once this is ready, they take off the splinters and the caroatá knots present the desired net.

They manufacture them in two sizes: a larger one (jereré in Nheengatú), with the shape of a very wide funnel; it measures 1.5 meters or more in length and during the fishing is kept open by means of two poles tied at the ends, in such a way that, with the help of a third pole as a wedge, it almost forms a circle.

They also make smaller and funnel-shaped nets, ganapão /workman, porter/ type, fitted to a hoop equipped with a handle, such as are used to catch butterflies. It is with these that they catch the fish stupefied by the timbo.

It seems that all the men know how to weave their fishing nets, with the exception of the young men of the last generation.

4) Other woven products.

286 With the fibers of tucum or mirití they make those elegant
301 bands, yuxtá-seri, that they put on the legs (conf. VII -- 3, d
*[192] (1) ).

With these same fibers or with twisted embira they prepare some of the dance ornaments that must support the beautiful plumage.

They use monkey hide in order to make braids, which they wear as dance ornaments.

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462 simple basket is often a matter of several weeks. Every man has at
461 his side, so to speak, a number of unfinished objects which he hopes to get at before too long.

462 The sexual division of labor in manufactures is rather firmly main-
323 tained. I learned of few objects in use that were not made by a member of the proper sex. Young men are drawn to pottery making, but they may handle clay in a playful manner only. They make pots and dishes in strange shapes, working rather expertly. Such dishes are given to children as toys and are soon destroyed. Children, boys and girls, play with clay, making small animal or human figures and quickly destroying them. No permanent clay figures are ever made. Serious pottery work is an annual affair, undertaken by the women when the falling river has exposed the clay banks. All at once the women working together renew the household ceramic ware.

342 Manufacture is most often a group activity, and like all group ac-
[461] tivities is regarded by the Indians as a pleasurable recreation. The
[476] exception to this rule is perhaps housebuilding, which is often strenuous. Even then, when the exertion of the task has broken the spell of good feeling, the men stop and turn to another task. A large maloca can be a very long time in building. Among the *Bahúkiwa* a house begun when I arrived was not yet complete when I left almost a year later. A house must be built by a group working together not only for technical reasons, but in obedience to the principle that all who are going to live in it must work on it.

Building the communal house is a major technical and social enterprise. It tests the capabilities of the headman and the morale of the community. The true maloca is a solid structure built with great care, skill, and concern for details. Temporary houses may be slipshod in construction, but when a house is slipshod it is either clearly designated as temporary or it will be a cause of shame. Every
342 part of the house is built with the greatest care, but nothing reveals
• 284 more clearly the Cubeo concern for combining structural integrity and aesthetic design than the lashings that hold all the materials together. The most conspicuous lashings are those that bind the main beams. The builders start with temporary house posts and with temporary lashings. Finally, when the entire structure is in place, an expert lasher goes over the entire inner structure, replacing the beams and rebinding them in a consistent pattern, using carefully chosen
342 lianas. The Cubeo are painstaking in all crafts, but the maloca is
[114] their supreme creation. I was able to observe almost every stage in
[461] the construction of a maloca among the *Bahúkiwa*. I do not recall that a single bundle of roofing thatch was laid under pressure or

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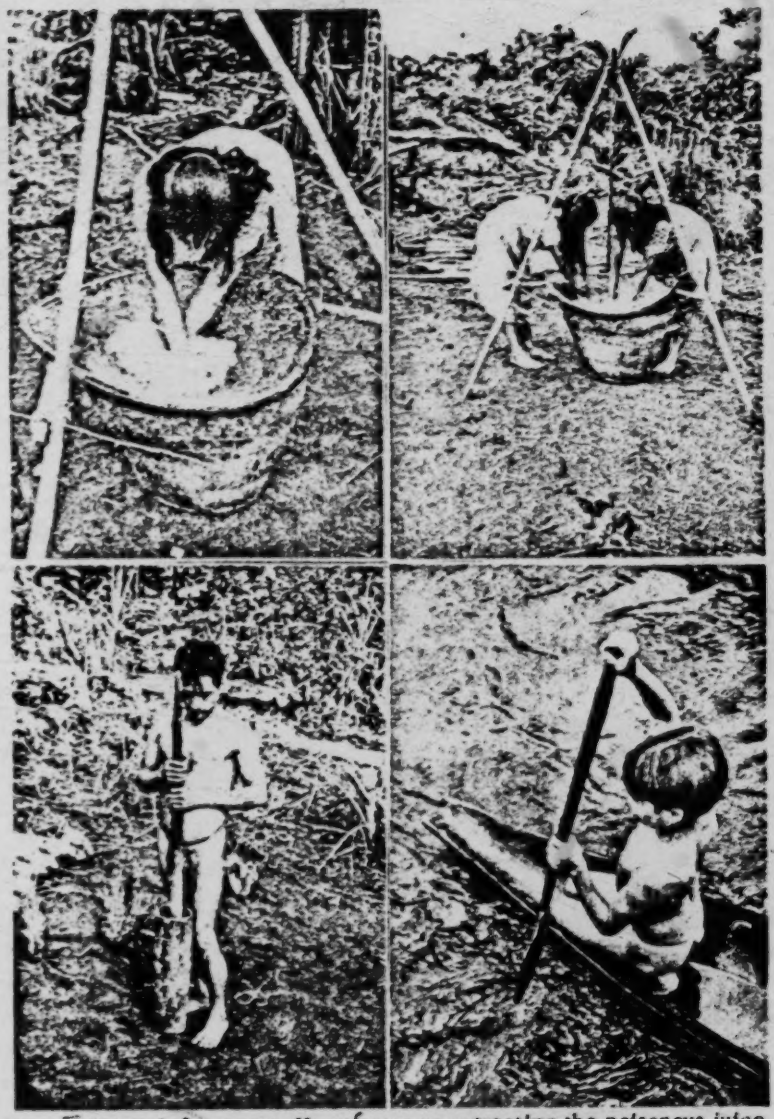

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yuruti women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Pulop.)

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

3: Fulop--52 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Upper part: Yuruti woman grating bitter yuca.

Lower part: Siriano man weaving balaya (basket).

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
171
*192 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-
[531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[501] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to
[439] imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[278] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[411] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana
[567] /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/143/

153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

[438] [291] [285]

His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

177 829 [342] [291]

/144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

153

The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

/Illustrations facing p. 160 in the original source./

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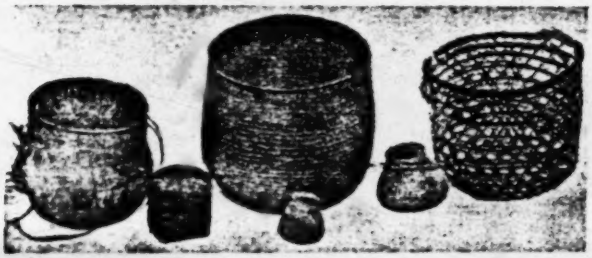
1. Sieves (baxti) with the characteristic designs.
2. Different types of large baskets (aturás, pyi, and sarreiro, térẽ-pi, the one with wide meshes) and small ones (pyi-kamõ).
3. Preparing the "rede-batida" /beaten hammock/.
4. Rough-hewing to prepare the oar.



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/Illustrations facing p. 161 in the original source./

Fan (wẽrĩ-rõ), urupema (sũõ), cumatá (tõ-pa) Stone axes (õxtã-komé)

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Tipiti (wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ) Sieves (baxti)

/194 cont./

286 531 In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192 d) Basketry and plaited work.

• 285 For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of [462] some trees, especially that which they call pi'ĩ-karõ-gõ. They [342] use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use [227] strips of paxiúba (waxtá), patauá (yumũ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mĩ-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mĩ'sĩ) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phĩ), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824] The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantáceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after [386] being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When [531] they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves.

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

/195 cont./

285 415 *[192] If it is a matter of a sieve or basket, they finish with three or four turns with the cipo, by way of a hoop (be'tõ), on which they tie the ends of the plaiting and later trim the tips of the straws or the strips.

285 531 The basketry of these tribes is one of the richest known. Using a more or less flexible material, they combine the plaited and the twined in several technical processes, with wide or closed spaces, and warps and woofs in various directions, in such a way that an amazing variety of patterns results. As a further demonstration of their ability, they interpose colored strips, from which appear the fanciful Greek frets /Port. gregas/ that characterize their designs. And, with such richness of imagination and technique, they make objects of varied size and shape, according to their purposes.

285 415 184 *[192] Baskets and sieves are made by all the tribes, but the specialists are the Desana.

1) Tipití. The tipití, in Tukano wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ, is the press of the Indian. It consists of a cylinder or tube, which the men weave most commonly with arumã straw, with a very tight mesh. It measures 1.50 and even 2 meters in length, and barely 10 centimeters in diameter. The upper end, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ dõxpo-á (head of the tipití), is open and terminates in a handle, by which the tipití is hung on one of the supports of the house. The other end is closed and also terminates in a handle, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ bé'tõ (ring of the tipití). With the proper movement of the hands, the tipití is reduced to a shorter length, which has the effect of increasing the diameter, and through the mouth thus enlarged is introduced the mass of the grated mandioca (cf. VI - 4, a).

2) Sieves. They are used to strain the mass of mandioca, to sift the flour, etc., and are woven out of arumã straw.

The width of the meshes, dimensions, and shape will vary according to the use for which the sieve is intended. One finds some shallow, like our common sieves, and others deeper.

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*192 One can distinguish three types of sieves: 1st, tõ-pa (in
• 285 Nheengatú cumatá), is large, of very tight mesh, used to strain
415 out the manicuera /the liquid from the mass of manioc/ and to extract the starch; 2nd, sĩõ, or better sõõ-a (Nh. urupema), with a more open mesh and sometimes square in shape, in a frame of four rounded sticks, used to sift the mass of the water flour /see p. 310 /; 3rd, Baxtí, deeper, as small baskets for storing the beijú and other foods and objects. It is these that customarily bear the beautiful traditional designs.

3) Baskets.

*192 a) Pi'í are large baskets which on the Amazon are custom-
285 arily called aturás. They are used to transport mandioca, fruits,
415 earth, firewood, luggage; they are woven exclusively by the Maku, who also work for the other tribes.

The traditional shape is the cylindrical one, with the base slightly wider than the mouth. The material is the uambé cipo, misĩ-da, quite strong, chosen without knots, and which is placed on the fire, in order to slip off the bark easily. The cipo is broken into two or three parts, and the plaiting is started from the bottom. The mouth is of rings of cipo, like a hoop, and is tied to the basket with woven caroatá fibers.

*192 The woman, upon whom the carrying of the pi'í falls (the
462 man must always walk unencumbered, in order to be able to
482 defend himself and his family), carries it in the following manner: the aturá goes on her back, but is suspended from the forehead by means of a wide embira, pi'í-karõ-pá (29),

29. Or pi'í-kãrõ-kaxserí. It seems that the tree derived its name from the pi'í, because its embira is commonly used to transport the pi'í. Other embiras, however, are also used, such as sõ'ú-kaxsero, deóti-kõ.

the ends of which, passing through the mouth of the basket, run along it and are interwoven on the bottom of it. They thus transport a load of 30 to 50 kilograms for a distance of kilometers.

/196 cont./

*192 b) A small basket of the shape and material of the pi'í,
• 285 and in which the women keep their ornaments and painting
415 powder, is called pi'í-kamõ.

[756] c) Also customarily of cipo is a small hamper, called wamõ axka-ro, in which the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ keeps his objects for treating sick people (cf. VII - 2, e).

d) In order to store or to transport the flour that they sell, they make the panniers, térẽ-pi (Uaupés ténẽ-pi), out of strips of arumã or taquara, and with quite wide meshes (two to three centimeters), and thus the manufacture is faster. They line them with great skill, with leaves of myõ-gõ pũrĩ, or likewise of arumã or other plants, in such /197/ a way that they do not allow the flour to go through, even with the little care that it usually has during the loading, unloading, and transport.

4) Fan. With miritĩ or tucum fronds, or arumã straws, they plait an object similar to a fan, and which can perfectly replace it; it is called wẽ'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés wẽ'nĩ-nõ). They manufacture it in various sizes and use it to fan the fire, as well as like a scoop to turn the beijú in the oven. It is heart-shaped, and the bound straws themselves constitute the leg or support, by which the fan is held.

Some quite large ones are seen, of the natural size of the biggest miritĩ fronds, from which they are made, and they are used as mats for the divisions of the compartments of the malocas, or even to serve as a wall.

5) Quiver. They also prepare with arumã strips a quiver, bu'sá-sa, of cylindrical shape and about 40 centimeters in height, with a diameter of 8 or 10 centimeters, widening toward the mouth. It is used to store the small poisoned arrows
[278] of the sarabatana /blowgun/, or curabĩs. To keep water from dissolving the poison, they customarily make this quiver impermeable with pitch.

/197 cont./

*192 354 6) Support for the cooking pot. With paxiúba splints about 40 or 50 centimeters in length, they prepare a support for the cooking pots, called sã'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés sã'nĩ-nõ).

It is essentially a bunch of splints, tied with cipo or embira in the central part, and the ends of which widen so as to form a spiral, in such a way that the sã'rĩ-rõ is similar to a double spiral-shaped cone, with a binding around the vertex. The ends are fixed by means of cipo or embira about two or three centimeters apart.

*192 415 7) Box for ornaments. It is a rectangular box, generally of miritĩ stalk reduced to laminae, which is used for storing the plumes and other dance ornaments. Since one box is smaller than another, the former is introduced inside the latter, as if it were its lid, in such a way that it remains tightly closed and in the shape of a trunk. In Tukano it is called mahã-poarĩ-karo, and in Nheengatú, pacará.

8) Other plaited work.

*192 • 285 a) Moreover, they weave the fronds from several palms to serve as roofing, peõkaro, and even more frequently as walls, tyãkaro.

/198/ b) They make mats for various purposes, called imĩ-sa (Nh. tupé), with leaves of different palm trees or with finer cipos.

c) With a rapid plaiting of the leaflets of some palm frond they improvise baskets, ba:, in order to transport fruits from the forest.

d) From the pacova sororoca /Ravenala guianensis, Benth./ and other leaves they make up small bindings, called sã: or sá:, in the shape of an ear of maize, which they fill with pirã-mirims /a kind of fish/, in order to roast them.

/198 cont./

*192 e) Through contact with the civilized, these plaited products
• 285 are starting to have new applications. We recall here that on the Amazon they are called panacarica (in Tukano yuxkõ-sõ-mõarõ) and decorrera (moãri kaxsero or simply moãrõ, Uaupés moãnõ). The former is a straight cover for the canoes and small launches and is attached to fixed supports. The latter, on the other hand, of curved shape, is a movable cover and, because of this, small and light, and rests directly on the edges of the canoes. Ordinarily it is the custom to make the decorrera out of palm leaves with quite a tight mesh; whereas the panacarica consists of two superimposed mats, plaited out of cipo and with wide mesh, and between them a layer of palm or arumã leaves.

285 f) They also customarily plait out of cipo a hat with a wide
291 brim, up to a meter in diameter, and, as in the panacarica, they combine two hats, and between them, in the manner of buckram, a layer of arumã leaves. Such hats are especially used for protection from the sun in the clearings and on canoe trips, and also from the rain, although they become uncomfortable because of the weight of the water.

*[192] Other plaited products worth mentioning are those that are used in fishing, such as nassas, cacurís, etc., which are mentioned later (cf. VI - 5, a (2) ).

e) Weapons.

1) Weapons used as festival ornaments.

*192 a) Tangapema. The sacrificial club, or tanga-pema (in
178 Nheengatú cuidarú or also acanga-pema, that is, head-flattener),
411 in Tukano uxpí-o-phĩ, was formerly a war weapon of the chiefs. Afterwards, as was already observed by Gonçalves Dias ("Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas," Vol. II, p. 671), it became only a symbol of authority at the festivals and disappeared almost completely. The natives of the present generation only know its name, uxpí-o-phĩ. One of them remembered having seen it with special paintings, "in order to inspire valor and bring luck to the warrior." Others supplied the information that they had heard from the old people, to wit, that before leaving /199/ for

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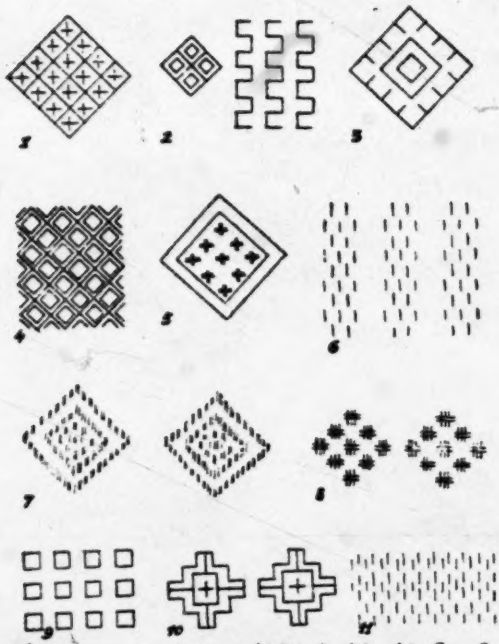

1. Yóãsõ paxkó sẽ'ẽma -- alligator's back (black); 2. Soxkõ-rõ ó:ri -- flower (design) of the grater (black and white); 3. Sẽ'rá -- pineapple (green and yellow); 4. Ahũ-dõxkarí -- pieces of beijú (black and white); 5. Buwahá-ro -- cuia of cutia /agouti/ (green); 6. Neé ó:ri -- flower of the miriti (yellow); 7. Sirí-pía ó:rí -- flower (design) of the swallow (green and purple); 8. Ũhuri sẽ'ẽma -- back of the land turtle (black and white); 9. Ó:ri mãrĩ -- design without flowers (black and white); 10. Sakú dõ'pó-ka -- leg of saracura /Rallidae/ (white and black); 11. Yóãsõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of calango /small lizard/ (green).

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3) Designs on objects.

The Baniva customarily execute designs on the camutins or pots, and the other tribes, on the cuias used, especially on the maracá. These are vegetable colors with a predominance of white, and the designs are always Greek frets. We have already mentioned the designs on the small stools that the Tukano make.

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There are eight more common principal ornamental motifs that appear on the woven and plaited work of the hammocks and strainers:

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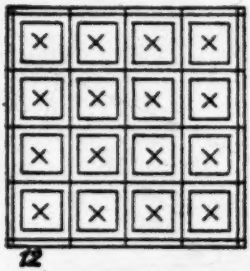
1. Soxkõrõ-ó:ri (flowers of the grater), that is, similar to the arrangement of the small stones in the graters.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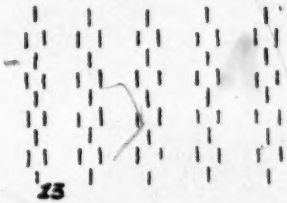
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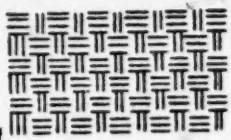
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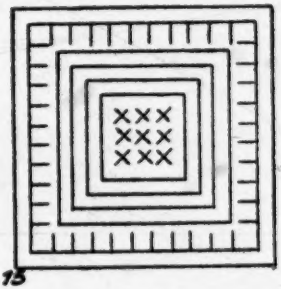
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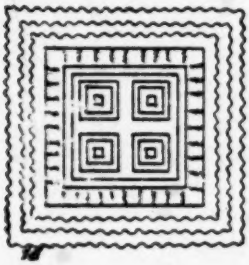
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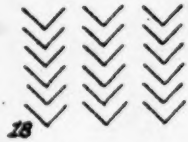
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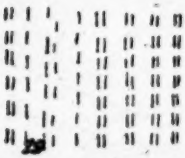
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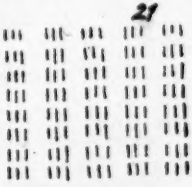
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12. Yuxkõ-dõxká -- fruit; 13. Mixpĩ ó:ri -- flower of the açaí /assai/ (red and white); 14. Poxtá-da -- thorny branch; 15. Piã ó:ri -- flower (design) of the piã (bird); 16. Piã ó:ri -- flower (design) of the piã (bird); 17. Soxkõ-sero -- surucucu (ophidian) (yellow); 18. Ã'rẽ-pũrĩ -- leaf of the pupunha tree (green); 19. Sẽ'ã ma'á -- path of the piramirim (fish) (red and white); 20. Nixtiã ó:ri -- flower (design of the spotted snake); 21. Dõxpõritẽrõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of the lambari /a fish/ (white).

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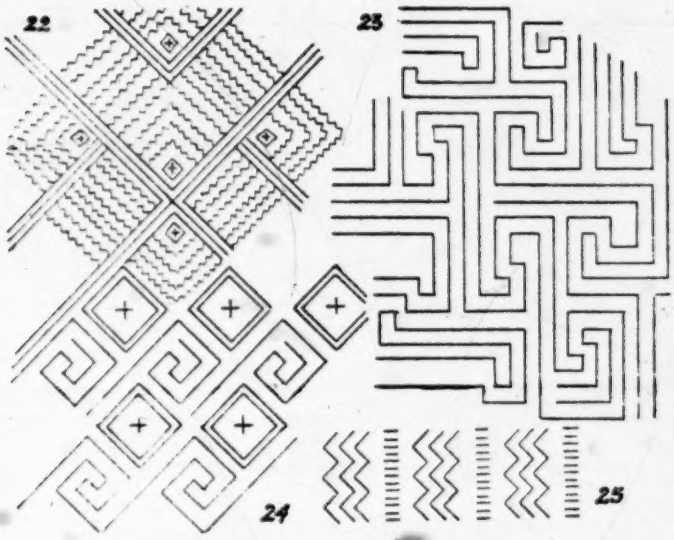
2. Mixpĩ pũrĩ (açai /assai/ leaves), designs like the leaves of the açai palm.
3. Byá-põrá ma'á (path of the saúva /leaf-cutting ant/)
4. Neé óori (flower of the miriti)
5. Yóãsõ sẽ'ẽma (back of calango /small lizard/)
6. Pamõ sẽ'ẽma (back of tatu /armadillo/)
7. Dõxpõrí-tẽrõ sẽ'ẽma (back of lambari /a fish/)
8. Wãx-tĩ õx'sé-pekuri (knees of Wãx-tĩ), similar to the gammadioncross or swastika.

The Uaupés Indians take pleasure in combining these motifs and obtain numerous designs. By chance, in 24 strainers acquired by us in 1947 in different places on the Uaupés, there were 23 different combinations.




22. Oxsõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of the two-headed snake; 23. Wãx-tĩ õxsé-pekuri -- knee of Wãx-tĩ; 24. Wãx-tĩ-ke-õ -- tipiti; 25. Bya-põrá -- path of the saúva /leaf-cutting ant/ (yellow).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Cubeo



342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small maloças hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
(592) self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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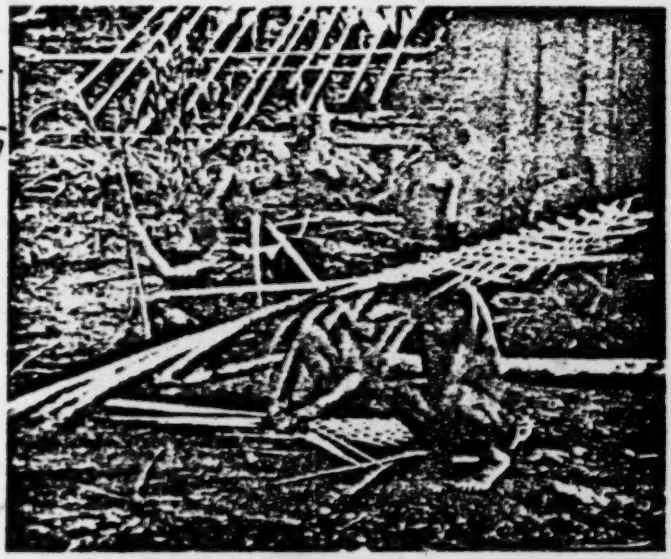

Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo



Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. 754
Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine [753]
men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering [761]
mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning"
is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent
death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In 683
all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

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Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

/p. 62-B/

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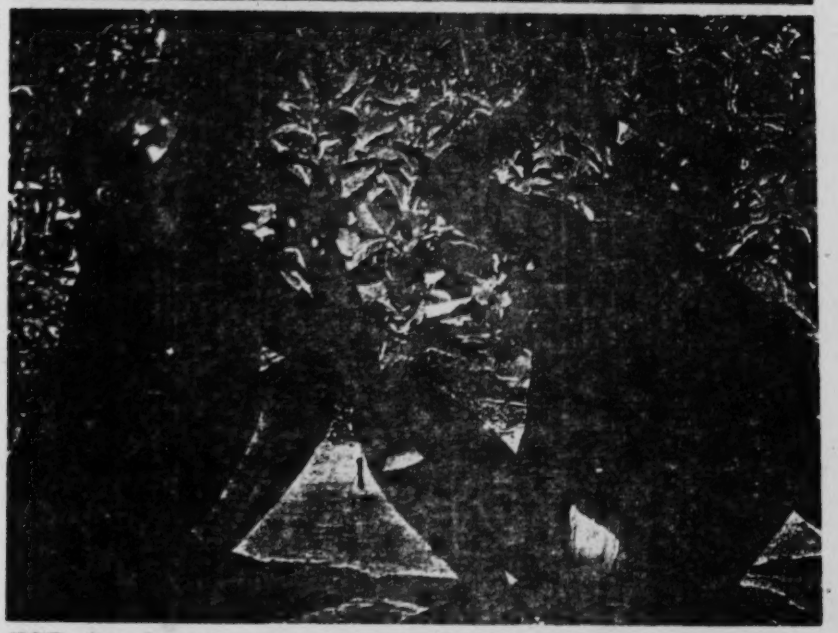

ABOVE: Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking. BELOW: Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



of the men's entrance. Boys carefully pick the tobacco leaves one by one and 249
lay them out on cane matting to dry. An Indian sits in the shade of the *maloca's* overhanging eaves and starts to make string from strands of tough *cumare*. His graceful movements as he rolls the fibre with the palm of the 285
hand on his shining thigh, the string looped around his right big toe, are like those used in the making of Venetian glass. An older man sits near by, deeply engrossed in the construction of a large, shallow cassava basket, a maze of cane strips almost hiding his wizened face.

The women file through their entrance, their great loads of manioc white 512
and clean after their river washing. They pause for a moment or two and eat 252
some cassava or the pineapples and wild fruit which they have just brought back, but soon they are working again, pulverizing the manioc on the shield-shaped wooden grating boards which have minute flints or tough palm spines set into their baked-clay surface. They work as a team, some grating, others washing the manioc in vast basket-sieves slung between wooden tripods, while yet others extract the poisonous prussic acid by placing the grated manioc flour in a snake-like *matapí*, a long squeezer of plaited cane. With the upper end looped over a pole, a woman stretches its mesh by sitting on a second pole placed in the lower loop. The *matapí* contracts and the poisonous juice runs out.

When the flour from the *matapí* is ready it is placed on the large flat ovens to make rough cassava pancakes, the Amazonian daily bread, which they eat at every meal together with fish and meat brought back from the forest. The starch from the washed manioc is also baked to make wafer-thin toasted biscuits to add to the *chicha*. Some of the flour is spread thinly on another oven to make the nutty grounds of *farinha*, and the liquid from the washing and squeezing is boiled to neutralize the poison, then poured into the long canoe-trough to make *chicha*.

The noise of grating and the creaking of the tripods lasts all afternoon. A 512
girl feeds her pet parrot some insects, then, taking a strand of *cumare* and [283]
winding it around her toe, she starts plaiting string for a hammock to re-
place her old one. Squatting on the ground, an old woman kneads clay and [323]
wood ash. She rolls the clay mixture into coils on a flat board and between the palms of her hands. Then she places them coil upon coil about a clay base, smooths the clay with a pebble and leaves the completed pot in the shade of the *maloca*. Later it will be put on a fire and surrounded with wood bark and ash to bake. Occasionally we saw an iron pot, which at some time in the past 415
must have been traded up the rivers from the Caquetá or the Vaupés. These were sufficiently few to be highly treasured and hadn't affected their own

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ABOVE: *The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.* BELOW: 000
*Then it is warped open over a fire.* [see p. 66-B]

/p. 70-A/

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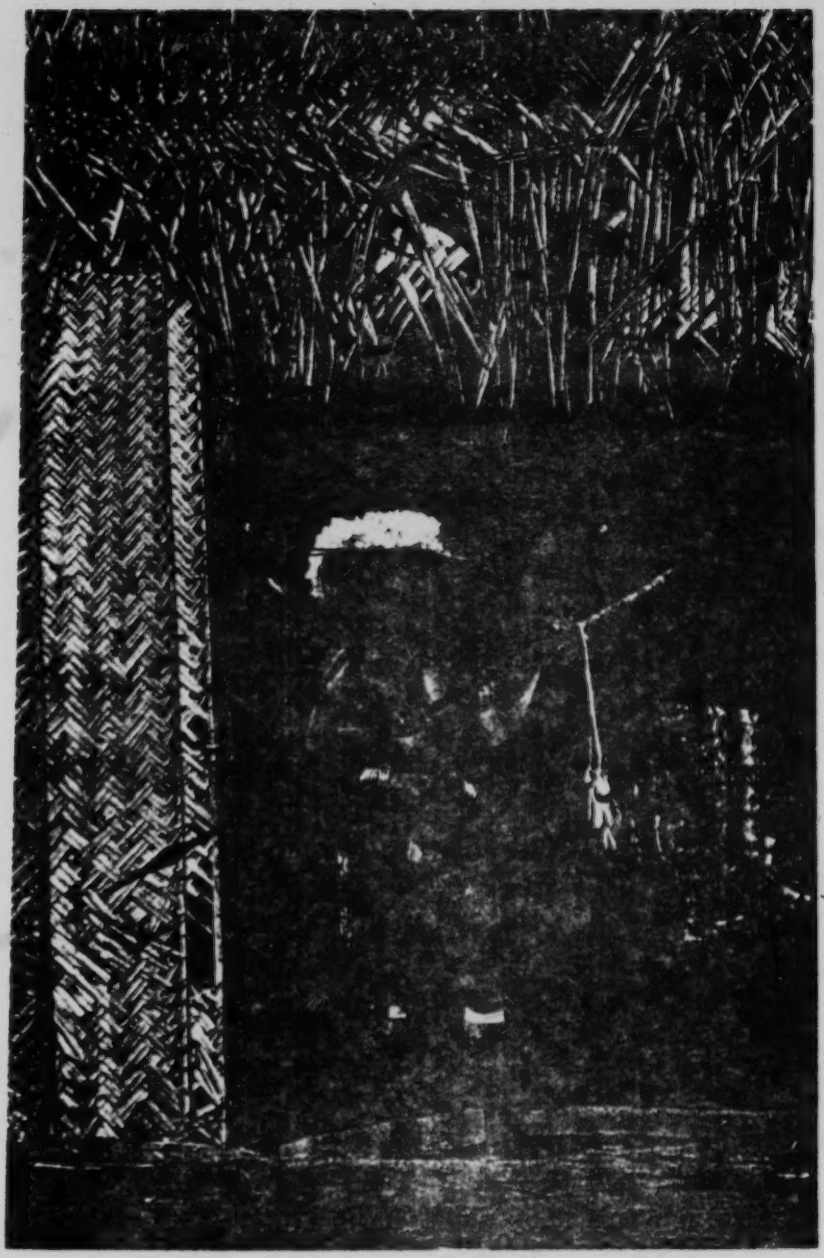

A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his kurubeti pebble stave.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 70-B/

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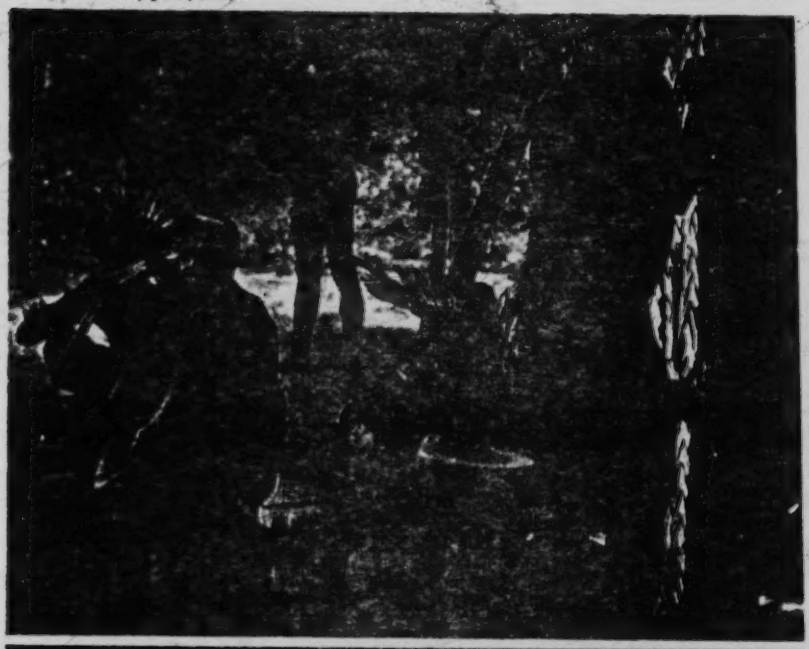

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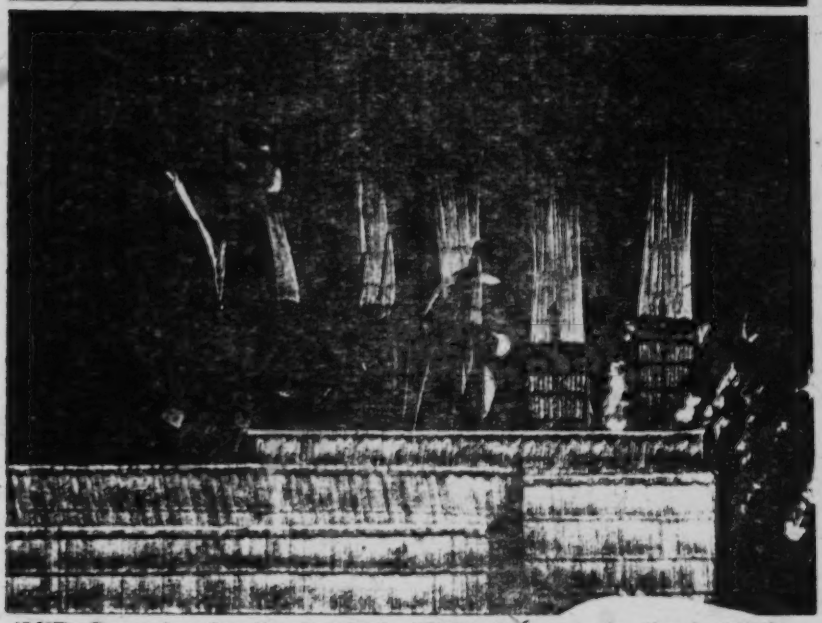

ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Bréo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.

/168/

25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú,
286 tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order
301 to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front
291 when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

The new generation, both of the female and male sex,
177 which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned
291 how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

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/191 cont./

Due to its simplicity, it is known and produced by all the tribes, although it is called "rede de Makú" /Makú hammock/. Because of this depreciatory name, and mainly because of the present ease of acquiring more durable and economical cotton hammocks from the civilized, it is beginning to lose its acceptance among the Indians of the other tribes and today is found almost solely among the Makú and the tribes without contact with the civilized. The Tukano tell of having learned from the Desãna how to make this type of hammock. They were not able to clarify whether they had previously used the rede-puçá /puçá hammock/, or if they knew the hammock and slept on platforms.

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b) Beaten hammock. In Tukano it is called pá-tuké, and in Nheengatú, makíra. It is manufactured with a very simple loom (26).

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26. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 340) is of the opinion that the loom is of European origin. This opinion seems acceptable to us, and we believe one could say that the form of the "rede batida" /beaten hammock/ as well is not of native origin, but learned from the civilized. This conclusion is confirmed by: 1st, the fact that not many Indian women know how to make the "rede batida"; 2nd, those who presently know how to do it (as is shown by our inquiries) learned it in the Mission schools or from the alumnae of the Mission; 3rd, we know that the Governador of the Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro, Lobo D'Almada, in his economic plan to encourage industry, favored the weaver's trade, aiming at "the making of the cloth needed for the uniforms of the garrison, the colonists, and the Indians who came down, using eighteen looms and ten spinning wheels, with twenty-four spindles each. In 1798 only 157 Indian women were working as spinners"

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/footnote 26 cont./ (A. Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada -- Manaos, 1940, p. 35); 4th, in the povoados more in contact with civilization, as well as in the more remote malocas, one never finds the "rede-batida"; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ but the natives either use only the hammock "de trinta fios" /of thirty threads/ or those bought from the civilized; 5th, it seems that we can discover still another argument, to wit: outside of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ of the Salesian Missions, on numerous excursions along rivers and igarapés, in only two povoados did we have an opportunity to see the loom and the work of the "rede-batida," and in the two cases it was a matter of young women who had learned it in the Mission and did it on order from the civilized. Furthermore: the terms of the Tukano language that we have presented in relation to the "rede-batida" result from innumerable inquiries at different times and places, with the more educated alumni of the Mission. It is not a matter of an ordinary nomenclature known and used by all, as one would expect if the "rede-batida" were a primitive industry. Many did not know the terms; others presented improper terms made up for the occasion. As generic terms for the occasion, they sometimes were and sometimes were not understood and accepted by other natives.

[438]

Before there came into being the trade in the present cotton hammocks (called in the region redes-do-Ceará /hammocks from Ceará/), the civilized women of the Rio Negro and some Indian women of the Içana continued to "bater" /to beat/ their hammocks on the primitive looms, as they had learned in the lower Rio Negro. The Salesian Missions in turn try to keep this skill from being lost, and they teach the Indian women of greater ability and skill, not only how to make the

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797 /191 cont./
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/footnote 26 cont./ "rede-batida," but, by the same process, to make rugs, tablecloths, napkins, bags, and other artifacts to suit modern taste.

*192 /192/ pũ-pá:-tuse nextõ-rĩ, consisting of four rounded sticks
286 connected in a rectangle. Each of their vertical staffs (warp)
352 has two holes through which the horizontal ones pass. The holes are purposely very large, so that with a suitable wedge the distance with regard to the horizontal staffs can be varied and thus hammocks of different lengths obtained.

The warp is made in the vertical direction (around the horizontal crossbars, the separation of which marks the length of the hammock), some turns going around with quite a long thread. The vertical crossbars of the loom determine the width of the hammock.

In between the vertical threads the woman starts developing the woof, a small stick with the rolled thread serving as a shuttle, wa'mẽ-kõ dõxká, and beating with a straightedge, pá:-turi-phĩ, in order to join the meshes well. The result is a true fabric of quite tight meshes, and the more elegant and comfortable the hammocks, the finer the thread.

They complete the elegance with a "veranda," pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõrĩ or pá:-tuke-wári, or a side fringe of varied form, as macramé is made.

The veranda is prepared by stretching a thread of a size corresponding to that of the hammock. Along this thread are tied with knots the tucum fibers folded in half. With these variously colored fibers, the woman spins, without the help of bobbins, but only with the fingers, a somewhat wide lace "ponto" /stitch/, until she obtains a trimming /193/ of some 10 or 15 centimeters, and she afterwards tears the ends with the ouriço /prickly part/ of the piquiá. They not only use fibers
[237] of different colors, but they even attach to them nowadays
[531] beautiful and colorful feathers of birds, in conformity with the taste of the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

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c) Puçá hammock. In Tukano one says pũ piõke; we call it puçá hammock because it is similar, in the knots, to the fishing nets called puçá in the Lingua Geral (27).

27. Pe. Ezequiel Lopes tells that around 1931, among the little Pirá-tapúya Indians from the river Papurí who came to enroll as boarding-school students at the Iauareté school (river Uaupés), some appeared equipped with the puçá type of sleeping hammock.

In order to make this type of hammock, one uses a loom somewhat different from what we have seen previously. It consists of two pairs of vertical staffs, with the small separation of one span more or less. A more variable space lies between one pair and another and marks the length of the hammock desired.

Two threads are stretched horizontally, at a distance of 3 to 4 centimeters apart. Between them the woman starts to make knots or stitches like those of a casting net. They stretch two more threads horizontally, and new stitches are interlaced with the first ones, and so on successively.

This type of hammock is perhaps more work than the "beaten" one. The Tukano call it pũ pỹõke, because the line is run through, piõ: and the knot is made by hand.

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3) Fishing nets (puçá).

The Tukano call them wehẽ-kõ (28)

28. The Salesian Missionary Pe. Eduardo Lagório makes the following observation: "The verb to kill, wehẽ, is interesting; it is used almost exclusively to indicate the death of fish and animals. For human beings, having almost no violent murders, they use the expressions related to the various methods of poisoning."

/193 cont./

*192 because of their purpose, which is to kill the fish (wehẽ means
227 to kill), and in the Lingua Geral, puçá. It is a mesh of knots
284 made out of fibers of caroatá (Bromélia pinguis, Lin.), caroá (Neoglariovia variegáta Ar. Com.), or even tucum. The meshes are narrower or wider, according to the purpose.

[462] They are manufactured by the man. The pregnant woman
[784] cannot touch them, because the fishing would be fruitless. When they prepare their puçá, the men will remain silent, in order to have luck with the fishing.

They perform the work in two ways: either with successive knots, as the casting nets are prepared among the civilized; or using splinters of arumá /Ischnosiphon ovatus, Kcke./, tying them at intervals with caroatá knots, as if one were preparing /194/ a basket. Once this is ready, they take off the splinters and the caroatá knots present the desired net.

They manufacture them in two sizes: a larger one (jereré in Nheengatú), with the shape of a very wide funnel; it measures 1.5 meters or more in length and during the fishing is kept open by means of two poles tied at the ends, in such a way that, with the help of a third pole as a wedge, it almost forms a circle.

They also make smaller and funnel-shaped nets, ganapão /workman, porter/ type, fitted to a hoop equipped with a handle, such as are used to catch butterflies. It is with these that they catch the fish stupefied by the timbo.

It seems that all the men know how to weave their fishing nets, with the exception of the young men of the last generation.

4) Other woven products.

• 286 With the fibers of tucum or mirití they make those elegant
301 bands, yuxtá-seri, that they put on the legs (conf. VII -- 3, d
*[192] (1) ).

With these same fibers or with twisted embira they prepare some of the dance ornaments that must support the beautiful plumage.

They use monkey hide in order to make braids, which they wear as dance ornaments.

/194 cont./

• 286 531 In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192 285 [462] [342] [227] d) Basketry and plaited work.

For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of some trees, especially that which they call pi'ĩ-karõ-gõ. They use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxiúba (waxtá), patauá (yumũ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mĩ-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mĩ'sĩ) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phí, that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824] The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantaceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after [386] [531] being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves.

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

/292 cont./

515 They are ignorant of the use of handkerchiefs, cleaning the nose with the fingers, which afterwards are rubbed against some part of the body.

[854] The mother, or another woman, with her own hands, attends to the cleaning of her baby, and afterwards, in order to clean herself, is satisfied with shaking her hand to one side and rubbing it on the ground or against some plant.

3. The arts.

157 In the complex of works that the forest dwellers execute, they not only reveal splendid aptitudes, rare ability, and other qualities already mentioned elsewhere, but also particular artistic tendencies which are begging our civilization for more opportunities to develop (47).

[857] 47. With a knife improvised out of a piece of the metallic binding that goes around the crates of merchandise, the child produces canoes, and now even small airplanes, in wood.

The house that he builds, with all its furnishings, -- stools, ceramics, woven goods, canoes, weapons, hunting and fishing gear, baskets, -- reveal, besides the stability and sturdiness required for the purpose for which they are intended, an over-all harmony, a proportion of the parts, a finish in the details, which give a pleasing impression. In all there is revealed a notable artistic sense which should be considered in detail in its threefold manifestation: woven products, designs, music.

a) Woven products.

286 Among the works of weaving, we have already called to mind the nets /Port. rede, net, hammock/ for sleeping and for fishing. But particularly in the rede batida /beaten hammock/ (which seems to be of European origin) and in the puericueio /a covering that hangs from the waist/, Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro (see below - d (1) ), the native woman shows her artistic taste and skill. In the Yaxkẽ

/292 cont./ In the Yaxkẽ

286 Waxsó-ro there is a beautiful combination of the woven and the strung, using colorful glass beads. One admires in it a pleasing
531 combination of colors, proportion and regularity in the design, and a perfect finishing of the piece. In the woven part the mesh is diagonal. It also presents a combination of colored fibers for the design effect. In the choice of colors, as well as in the finishing, there is revealed good /293/ taste, which makes this weaving a beautiful adornment for the women in the dances. With beads or with colored fibers, the designs are the Greek frets /Port. gregas/ characteristic of these tribes.

6) /sic; b)/ Designs.

532 4) /sic; 1)/ Mural designs. The designs painted on the bark that makes up the walls of the houses do not reveal artistic taste (48).

48. For example, the representation of human figures with the disproportional and shapeless trunk, the neck represented by a vertical stroke, etc.

It is probable that what seems to us scrawling or caricature is the stylization of legendary representations. Accepting this possibility, however, one does not perceive any skill in the strokes. The circumferences are made with perfection. Perhaps through the influence of the civilized, they use a string for this, fixing one of the ends and tying to the other a wooden point which will leave a regular mark, like the point of a compass.

[192 386] For the mural paintings, they use clay of different colors (principally white, yellow, reddish, bluish), diluted in the latex of Õxtã̃-fĩfmĩ (that is, the sorva, Couma utilis, Mell., and other species), which, after having dried, acquires great stability and resistance to the inclemencies and does not change colors.

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*192 1) Feminine adornment.

301 Besides the paintings on the face, breasts, and body as decora-
562 tion (and not as clothing), as they declare, the women own few objects of adornment:

a) Necklaces. They are of different size, shape, and material. They are made from various seeds, especially a tiny nut, threaded on a tucum fiber, the parakẽ-dá; or also little glass beads,
[178] the yax'kẽ-dá; or beads obtained from the civilized, the different shapes, sizes, and colors being combined in various ways. They wear them even outside the dances; they are not, however, of general use, and in Wallace's time they were not used at all (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro, p. 630).

b) Bracelets. They are of beads or seeds, like the necklaces, and are called in Tukano, yax'kẽ wã-yãsé.

c) Knee bands (63).

63. Among the Ide-masã of the stream Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, we also saw young men using knee bands. Among the rest of the tribes the men only wear them as ornaments for the dances.

[286] In Nheengatú they are called tapacúra, and in Tukano yuxtá-seri. It is a band of delicate and curious weave, made of caroá fiber, most of the time, colored yellow or red. One is applied on each leg, a little below the knee. In many cases it is woven without any pieces added, and, thus, when, due to the person's growth, it starts to be too tight, they cut it off.

They assert that its purpose is to thicken the legs.

[177] d) Earrings. Nowadays one only sees earrings (in Nheengatú nambí-purá, in Tukano yoxsasé) obtained from the civilized, or, in place of them, small necklaces of glass beads.

342 /102 cont./
There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed
[824] at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592 The size of the maloca varies according to the number of
342 its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to
[162] shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements
596 /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only
• [287] a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the
177 Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental
797 clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

/43 cont./

*101 A pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of the stream Japú (Japu igarapé, Uaupés River), Henrique by name, when asked by us whether he knew the tribe Gí-tapuya (1955), answered us that they are the "Pirá-tapuya of the tail" (that is, the last subdivision of the Pirá-tapuya), called in Tukano Komé-pá-põrá, formerly living above the stream Japú, and who today live in S. Francisco (river Uaupês). This location coincides with the one that can be seen on the map drawn up by Hamilton Rice (cf. Mapas do Rio Uaupés N. A. 19 e Rio Putamayo S. A. 19 -- Provisional Edition Published under the Patronage of Hamilton Rice -- Geographical Society of New York).

(5) -- IPECA -- They are the Kumãdene, one group of which resides today in Urubucuara, as we shall see later (cf. IV -- 2, x /p. 171/).

(6) -- JACAMIM -- Passed over in silence on the other lists. We read in Pelo Rio Mar: "Jacami-tapuia, trombeteiros /trumpeter/ Indians. Indicated on the river Uaupés. Perhaps the same Buchpu-machsa."

From the natives of Pari-cachoeira Koch Grünberg obtained information about the Buchpu-machsa (which means "People of the sarabatana /blowgun/," because they are specialists in the making of this weapon), or Buhágana, /44/ as they call themselves, inhabitants of the Dyi-Igarapé, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, which, in turn, empties into the Japurá. He found out that they lived in round huts, pierced the ear lobes and wore an apron of bark around the thighs, and had never seen a civilized person. Their language, of which Koch could later gather a vocabulary of 60 words, is almost identical to that of the Õmõá, and both, in some words, deviate from the Tukano (Z.I. 180). They made large (3.5 meters) and heavy sarabatanas, because they used them as supports /Port. apoiadas/ (Z.I. 207). It must be pointed out, however, that the Buhágana about whom Koch informs us are not located on the Uaupés. For this reason we think that they cannot be identified with the Jacamim. A comparison of the vocabularies that we collected from the Ide and from the Emõá and that of the Buhágana of

[342] [304] [291] [287]

/316 cont./

• 287 532 764 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadũ bags. Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 532 778 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 236), the Taryana wore masks also at the feast of Wãx-tĩ. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the Ide-masã of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called Waxtĩ (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a) Difficulties.

177 771 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



its inevitable crescendo of excitement and disorder, dances and songs are interchanged.

In the course of the ceremonies, the relationship between the nonhuman world of the masked representations and the people, represented by the women, becomes increasingly more intimate, culminating, as we have already noted, in the total intimacy of coitus. The spirit of Cubeo ceremonialism is generally Dionysian. In religious excitement the Cubeo achieve a desired and temporary dissolution of the segmentation and conceptual separatenesses in normal social and religious life.

Koch-Grünberg (1906a), who observed part of an *dyne* in 1903 among the *Hehénewa*, saw in the masked dances two themes, an appeasement of evil spirits and fertility rites. My own information does not agree entirely with this interpretation. It is a fact that several of the masked dancers represent malevolent beings; the jaguar, that is the embodiment of the dreaded sorcerer, the butterfly, that symbolizes the act of sorcery, and the *abúhuwa* or forest monsters, that devour human victims. In addition the masked dancers represent the dung beetle and the vulture, eaters of offal and carrion. These creatures represent to the Cubeo the facts of death. Except for the *abúhuwa*, who are not taken too seriously, the most common agency of death is to the Cubeo a particular human enemy. Evil sorcery can be warded off by particular magical means. The masked dances, however, are not magical means for warding off danger. They are, rather, dramatic rituals whose purpose is to generate a frame of mind in which the fact of death is confronted and made to appear natural and tolerable. By coming to the house as guests, to dance, to sing, to drink chicha, and to "copulate" with women, the masked creatures are made to appear, finally, as a friendly part of the Cubeo world. The malevolent creatures are not singled out, but appear in the context of the whole ensemble of masked dancers.

As for the fertility theme, this has been a cherished cliché of earlier anthropology that promptly labeled any ritualization of sex as "fertility rites." The situation is more complex. The dancers do indeed represent male potency, but the simulated coitus emphasizes rather the carnal aspect of sex, for it is the older women, possessing the privilege of obscenity, whom the masked dancers "attack sexually."

## THE MASKS

The dance masks of the Cubeo are made of a white bark cloth called *táwü* (tree bark), which is also the name by which the masks are generically known.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in 532
the region call him *Mahálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked 825
dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are gro- 776
tesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, [191]
tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kawá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each 535
illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being repre- 532
sented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, 765
but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown [287] ●
bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by [824]
how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with [828]
later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is 535
a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made ex- 765
pressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs [534]
that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus [533]
allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *hwananíwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

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The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* — the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

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The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

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The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

/p. 70-B/

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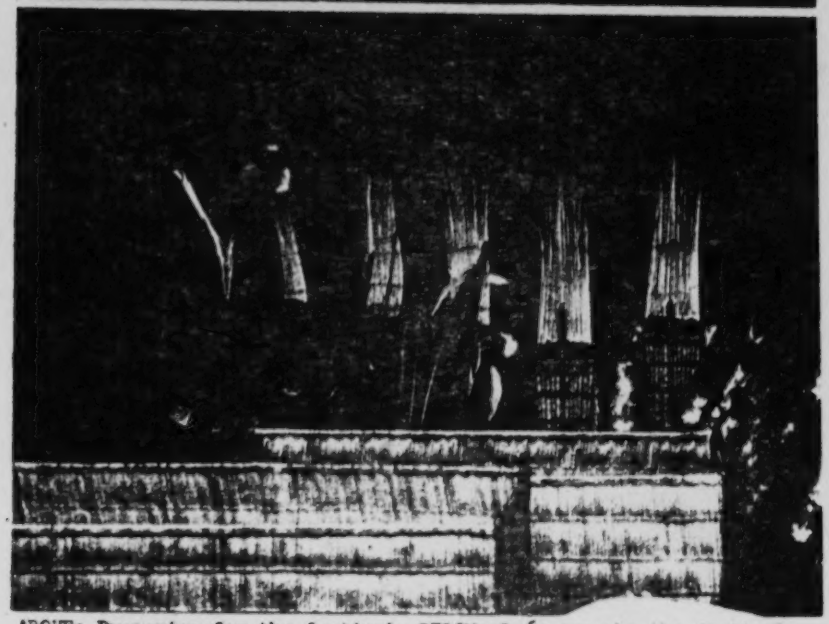

ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Bréo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.

/p. 82-B/

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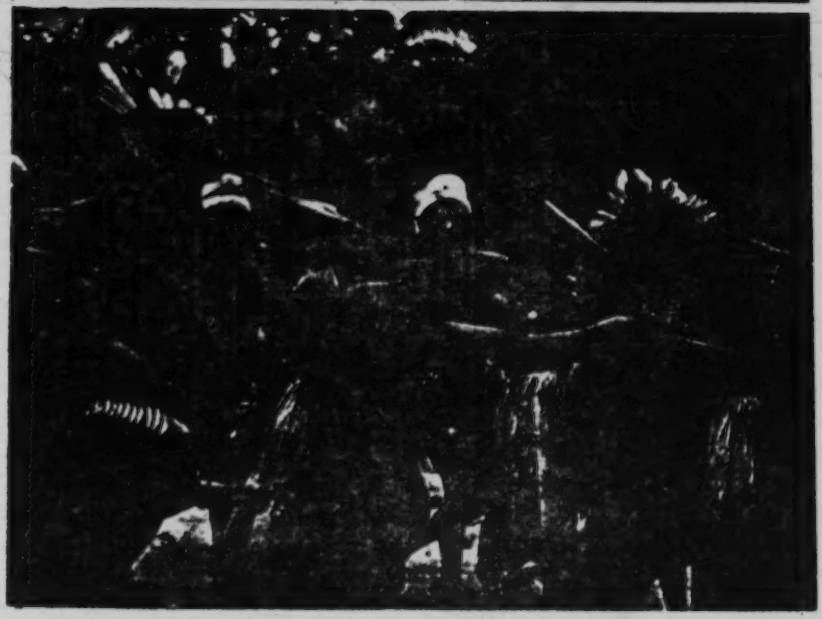

ABOVE AND BELOW: Dancing at the festival to celebrate the manioc harvest.

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There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by [824] slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592 The size of the maloca varies according to the number of 342 its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano [162] maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements 596 /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

• 291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only [287] a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the 177 Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental 797 clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

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•291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

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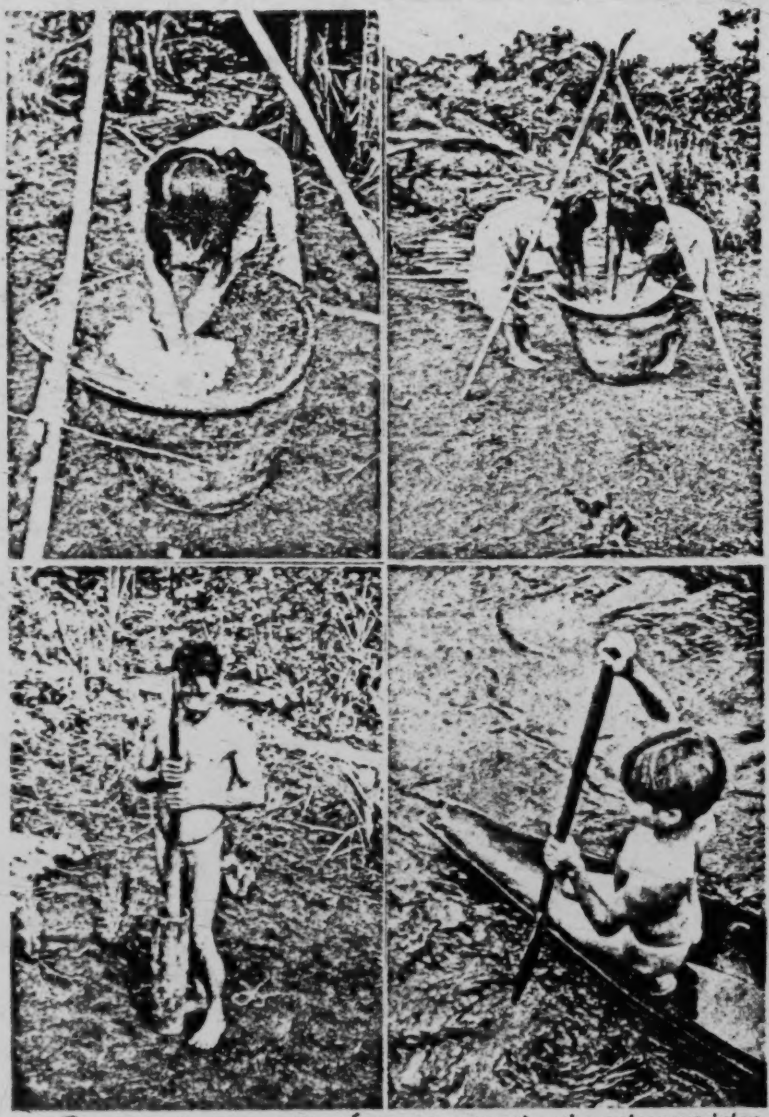

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Upper left corner: Yurutí woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yurutí women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

3: Fulop--52 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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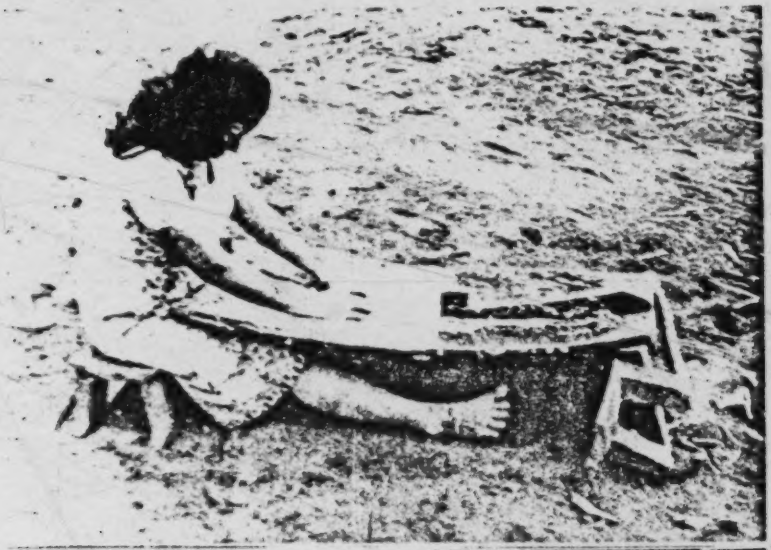

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Upper part: Yuruti woman grating bitter yuca.

Lower part: Siriano man weaving balaya (basket).

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

4: Silva--18 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 17 in the original source/

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Wanana girls (the younger one has a Taryana mother; the older one, a Kubêwana)

Pirá-tapuya types (from the settlement Patu, Papuri River)

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Newborn Pirá-tapuya child (with the prophylactic painting of carajura)

.4: Silva--45 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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/Illustrations facing p. 32 in the original source/

Tukano type (painted for the dances) (settlement of Iua-pixuna, Papuri River)

Woman of the Aõnira or Íde-masã tribe

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Girls of the Makú tribe (the younger one had her hair cut in the initiation rite)

/43 cont./

*101 A pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of the stream Japú (Japu igarapé, Uaupés River), Henrique by name, when asked by us whether he knew the tribe Gí-tapuya (1955), answered us that they are the "Pirá-tapuya of the tail" (that is, the last subdivision of the Pirá-tapuya), called in Tukano Komé-pá-põrá, formerly living above the stream Japú, and who today live in S. Francisco (river Uaupés). This location coincides with the one that can be seen on the map drawn up by Hamilton Rice (cf. Mapas do Rio Uaupés N. A. 19 e Rio Putamayo S. A. 19 -- Provisional Edition Published under the Patronage of Hamilton Rice -- Geographical Society of New York).

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[342] [304] [291] [287]

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153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

[438] [291] [285]

177 829 [342] [291]

His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results: for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

153 /144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

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25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 286 301 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú, tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 • 291 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

177 291 The new generation, both of the female and male sex, which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

/198 cont./

*192 285 e) Through contact with the civilized, these plaited products are starting to have new applications. We recall here that on the Amazon they are called panacarica (in Tukano yuxkõ-sõ-mõarõ) and decorrera (moãri kaxsero or simply moãrõ, Uaupés moãnõ). The former is a straight cover for the canoes and small launches, and is attached to fixed supports. The latter, on the other hand, of curved shape, is a movable cover and, because of this, small and light, and rests directly on the edges of the canoes. Ordinarily it is the custom to make the decorrera out of palm leaves with quite a tight mesh; whereas the panacarica consists of two superimposed mats, plaited out of cipo and with wide mesh, and between them a layer of palm or arumã leaves.

285 • 291 f) They also customarily plait out of cipo a hat with a wide brim, up to a meter in diameter, and, as in the panacarica, they combine two hats, and between them, in the manner of buckram, a layer of arumã leaves. Such hats are especially used for protection from the sun in the clearings and on canoe trips, and also from the rain, although they become uncomfortable because of the weight of the water.

*[192] Other plaited products worth mentioning are those that are used in fishing, such as nassas, cacurís, etc., which are mentioned later (cf. VI - 5, a (2) ).

e) Weapons.

1) Weapons used as festival ornaments.

*192 178 411 a) Tangapema. The sacrificial club, or tanga-pema (in Nheengatú cuidarú or also acanga-pema, that is, head-flattener), in Tukano uxpí-o-phĩ, was formerly a war weapon of the chiefs. Afterwards, as was already observed by Gonçalves Dias ("Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas," Vol. II, p. 671), it became only a symbol of authority at the festivals and disappeared almost completely. The natives of the present generation only know its name, uxpí-o-phĩ. One of them remembered having seen it with special paintings, "in order to inspire valor and bring luck to the warrior." Others supplied the information that they had heard from the old people, to wit, that before leaving /199/ for

/208 cont./

177 3. Clothing and shoes.

• 291 a) Clothing.

Under the influx of the civilized (the example of the white, whom the Indian likes to imitate, the instruction of the Missionaries, and the clothes that /209/ the latter give them), the natives are getting into the habit of wearing clothes. As a rule, those who have spent some years in the schools, upon returning to their aldeias, do not dispense with clothing any longer. At least a pair of pants or shorts (the men) and a skirt (the women), leaving the bust uncovered.

294 An interesting detail is that generally the women only make,
296 maintain, and wash feminine clothes. The men obtain ready-
462 made clothes, given or bought, and they must attend to washing and repairing them. Some men have been seen washing the clothing of their wives.

291 Originally, that is, before any influence from the civilized, dating from the discoveries of the New World, did they have any clothing? What would it have been?

For one thing, the warm climate does not impose the use of clothing. For another, the rains and frequent excursions into the forest, which offers shelter to the individual and would quickly wear out the clothes, discourage the wearing of clothing. This is what we could deduce, a priori, from their habitat.

The first Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro, Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, in 1759, says very originally: --"The Indians of these sertões /interior parts of the country/ commonly not having any more clothes than those that our first parents wore in the field of Damascus" (o. c. 145). He notices, as an exception, that the Cambeba wore long garments of cotton and without sleeves, open on the side.

A century later, in 1846, the costume is still the same, according to Wallace: -- "These Indians free themselves from the hindrance of clothing as much as is possible to conceive. The men wear only a small piece of tururí, which goes between their legs and is tied to a cord that goes around the waist. The

/209 cont./

291 women completely dispense with even this costume, not covering themselves with anything whatsoever. They live in complete nudity, and this is very general. Among the Indians of the Uaupés such customs are not given up" (o. c. 629).

Seventy years later (Boletim Salesiano, Feb., 1918, p. 30) the first Salesian Superior of these Missions, Mons. Lourenço Giordano, reports: -- "The men do not wear clothes and the women ordinarily do not have any more than they do." "The Tucano can say with more truth than the philosopher: omnia mea mecum porto /I carry my all with me/. As clothing he wears ... the poira (?), that is, a string at the neck, with seeds of various colors, or a piece of white marble, and, ordinarily, nothing else."

*192 /210/ Even today one finds many men with only the loincloth or waxsó-ro, as is said in Tukano (cuẽio in Nheengatú) (41).
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41. We think that cueio is only a corruption of the Portuguese word cueiro, the loincloth used for the newborn children. Waxsó-ro is probably derived, according to the nature of the Tukano language, from waxsó su'ti-ro. Waxsó means semen; su'ti-ro, garment. Some Missionaries who speak Tukano think that waxsó-ro comes from waxsógõ, the Tukano name for the tururí plant (of the family of the esterculiáceas /Sterculiaceae/ from whose bast is taken a fabric used for the bag for storing the ipadú, for the making of clothing or dance masks. It must be noted, however, that such masks are called ya'ko-kó su'ti-ro, dress of tears, because such masks are only worn in the funeral dances. Would it not be, on the contrary, that the name of the plant, waxsó-gõ, is derived from waxsó-ro, because of the use of its liber as cueio? One must

[532]
[764]

/210 cont./

291

/footnote 41 cont./ point out that this is precisely the custom of these Indians, to name the plants according to the use for which they are intended.

which at first sight is similar to a hernia truss. It consists of a strap of goods about six or eight centimeters in width, covering the private parts, passing in between the legs and tied at the ends to a cord as a waistband, at the height of the flanks. Naturally this string must be uncomfortable, and probably, in order to get used to it, the little boys, before wearing the waxsó-ro, start by wearing only the waist string. It also seems that there is no prescribed age for the wearing of the waxsó-ro. Certainly all the boys wear it after six or eight years of age.

As for the persons of female sex in the povoados along the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí, from a very early age, certainly from 3 or 4 years old, they now appear before the civilized with the body completely covered, or at least with a skirt from the waist to below the knee. The cases of a simple short skirt above the knee or a piece of cloth wrapped around like a tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ are very rare.

Evidently these coverings are prescribed by the civilized, notably by the Catholic Missions. Would they have anything original, how and of what material?

There is no doubt but that the masculine waxsó-ro, from the shape and the use, is neither imitation of the Civilized nor advice of the latter to the Indian, although it is made with imported goods and not with the fabric made by the Indians or embira of tururí. The waxsó-ro is of very ancient and general use among the Karaíba tribes of America. Wallace, a century ago, among the Indians of the Uaupés, describes it to us as being a piece of liber or bast of tururí (42).

[171]

42. In the middle of the eighteenth century (1759) Padre José M. de Noronha reports it for the Tecuna (o. c. No. 139).

/210 cont./

291 The first travelers of the Solimões mention Indians "with a tail." Wallace is certain that attributing a tail to the /211/ Indians of these regions is due to faulty observation of the dirty and twisted waxsó-ro.

It does not seem, however, a "dress of decency," because it is too tight and narrow, and at times it only covers partially. It could be a "dress of attraction." We consider it rather a "dress of protection" (43),

> 43. In May of 1954, expressing to a Karapanã Indian, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papurí), Vicente by name, our desire to visit the region of the Karapanã on the headwaters of the river Áua, he informed us spontaneously, as to warn us, that over there they do not wear any clothing. After this trip, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has lived with the Irmãs Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women did not need bodily protection like the men.

it being a matter of a more sensitive part than the rest of the Indian's skin, hardened by the inclemencies.

*[192] [177] As for the tanga (44)

> 44. Gaspar de Carvajal, in the account of the journey of Francisco de Orellana in 1540 (o. c.), tells us about the use of the waxsó-ro by the women. Wallace (o. c. 352), in 1849, says that, on the Uaupés, the women, previously naked, "upon the entrance of the whites cover themselves with a tanga." The same still happens a century later.

/211 cont./

291 *[192] [178] [535] [531] *[192]

of the women, called in Nheengatú muruarí, it is similar to a small apron of about 20 centimeters in length by 10 centimeters in width. Nowadays it is only a dance ornament which the women exhibit together with the painting; or they are even without it and only painted. With the jewelry that they have obtained from the civilized, they prepare very beautiful yaxkẽ waxsó-ro. Even the original ones, woven out of tucum, were outstanding works of weaving. The one and the other, however, seem to be a "dress of attraction" rather than a "dress of decency," because they remain hanging at the waist and, due to the position and dimensions (the largest dimension is horizontally), do not cover enough (cf. VII -- 5, b).

b) Shoes.

They do not manufacture or use shoes of any kind, as is the custom of the Indians of the savannas. They are unnecessary for their long trips, which are made by canoe, and are inconvenient for the excursions in the forest, if they are not made out of a resistant material, such as leather, and well fitted. Besides, the warm climate and the continuous rains would render their use harmful to the health.

4) Alimentation.

a) Mandioca.

*192 178 262

The Indian obtains from the mandioca (Mánihot utilíssima) his principal food, preparing it in different ways, and he uses it every /212/ day of the year. There are recollections of a very remote period (centuries or millennia before the historical period, which is the sixteenth century) when they did not know mandioca, and they ate the chestnut /Port. castanha, any of several trees having edible nuts/ called boxpé (information of Dorotéia Brito).

4: Silva--398 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

*115 /Illustrations facing p. 272 in the original source./
142
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756

Cesário (Tukano octogenarian shaman)

The shamans:
(right) Marcelino (Wanana from Jacaré, river Uaupés)
(left) Eduardo (Huhúdeni from Uapuim-cachoeira, river Siari, trib. of the Içana)

*(192)
[534]

Tukano shamans:
Marcelino from Juquira (right)
Henrique from the Japú igarapé (left), playing the chõ

4: Silva--399 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 273 in the original source./

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From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the py:)

One of the feminine occupations

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/312/

*192 562 178 • 291

e) Puericueio. It is the feminine tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ that we discussed before (VI -- 3, a), in Tukano yax'kẽ waxsó-ro. Nowadays they only use it in the dances and very rarely (65) /sic; 64/.

64. "In their festivals, when they dance, the women then put on a small tanga or apron, made of beads arranged in regular patterns, with much taste and much caprice. This tanga is about six square inches in size. It is never worn on other occasions, so that, once the feast is over, the women take it off immediately" (Wallace -- "Viagens," etc., p. 630).

*192 301 562

f) Wreath. At times during the dances the women fit to their heads a wreath of branches from that shrub of pleasant and intense aroma called bará. It is what is called bará pu'sasé in Tukano.

[177]

g) Many women and girls habitually wear curved combs of striking colors, i'í be'tó or i'í-ro be'tó, obtained from the civilized. A century ago, according to Wallace, they did not wear any comb.

2) Masculine adornment.

[302]

For the dances the men paint the face and the body, as was said above.

[178]

a) Stone of command. We call it this because it is actually a badge of the tuxauas, who wear it hanging at the neck on solemn occasions (dances, reception for some civilized, etc.). Nowadays it is a rare ornament, and few own it. The ouvidor /auditor/ Xavier Sampaio (cf. above, II -- 3), following Pe. José Noronha, mentions the existence of this ornament and gives it as an indicator and classifier, by its size, of the nobleness of the wearer. In Tukano it is called õxtã bohá, that is, clear stone. It is a piece of amorphous quartz, quite smooth, cylindrical in shape, and about 15 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 in diameter.

/314 cont./

*192 • 291 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá ií-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá. [177]

[237] 2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrí-dá.

[534] 3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps.

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

4: Silva--472 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

* 192 /Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

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Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

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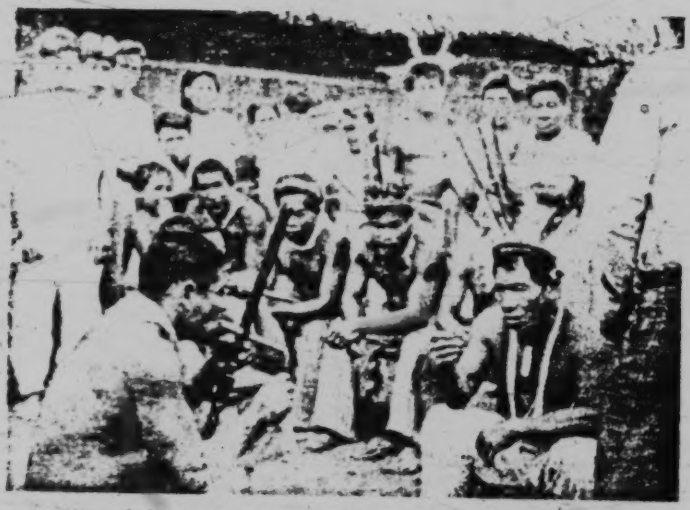

Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

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/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments

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Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua from Caruru-Cachoeira (river Uaupés), adorned for the dances (acangatara, necklaces, and stone of the husband /marido, "husband," should be mando, "command"/).

Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

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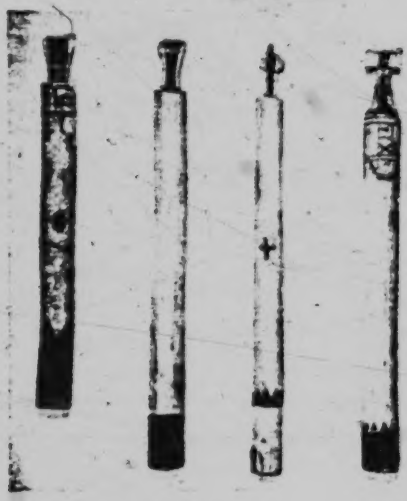

4: Silva--580 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/382 cont./
291 to receive him (104):
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834
829

> 104. In Montfort, river Papurí, an old woman, upon returning from the clearing dressed in a skirt and loaded with her aturá /carrying basket/ full of mandiocas, thinking that she was not observed, took off the skirt, jumped out of the canoe, washed the roots on the beach, and later, with the skirt in her hand, she proceeded toward her house, bending under the weight of the aturá.

Wallace already pointed that out a century ago. Many times, upon approaching unexpectedly, the civilized perceives a scurrying of women toward some dark corner of the maloca or to the neighboring forest, in order to get dressed. During the work in the clearing the women are ordinarily naked. Frequently they leave their skirts in the canoe, at the landing place on some stream where they disembarked in going to the clearing.

291 Many tribes went around completely naked, testify the first
562 explorers, such as Padre Acuña (1637). The Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Pe. José M. de Noronha (1759), speaking about the Tecuna nation, writes: -- "Their women do not have any modesty. The males, however, cover the parts intended for generation, with wide fringes made out of thread twisted from certain white tow which they extract from the bark of wood" ("Roteiro /Logbook/," n. 139).
*[192] The Poet Gonçalves Dias, who was a School Inspector in Amazonas, writes: -- "The men, who among them seem to be the most modest, wear on the Uaupés something like suspensories, to which they give the name of cueios, similar to or an imitation of the tocambobas /383/ of the primitive Tupis. In imitation of them, the women also wear today some cueios of beads (puericueios)." (Manaus, October 23, 1861 -- Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas, Vol. II, p. 760.) /In the original source, the end of the last sentence of footnote 104 is repeated here as the last sentence of the paragraph. This sentence is omitted here in the translation./

/364 cont./

789 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in
824 order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'téa) fish.

*[192] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the
[226] face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.
[832]

The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many
• 291 practices and prescriptions:

821 1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger; if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away Wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small woodpecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clear-
825 ing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tírosa
*[192] (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/381 cont./

581 Marriage, then, in the regime that is in force among these tribes, is a social institution intended to ensure the perpetuity of the tribe. Its aim is not to consider the particular interests of the individuals: tendencies to perpetuate themselves, affectionate inclinations, sedatio concupiscentiae, or others. For this reason, in the realization of the matrimonial act, it would be more accurate to say of the matrimonial contract, the will of the individuals, which in the rest of native life has such an ample field, is not consulted. /382/ On the subject of marriage, one again has a great deal of evidence of the "absorption of the individuals by the group," which characterizes the tribes of the Uaupés. Almost every act of native practice gives confirmation that among them there are no individuals, there are only members, there are no persons, there are only cells of the social body. The individual's own will does not seem to know how to want anything except what the group wants!

b) Concept of modesty.

• 291 834 829 562 It is difficult to answer these three questions: 1st -- whether the Indian really has an idea of modesty; 2nd -- how he shows it, whether through clothes or paintings; 3rd -- which might be the delicate part.

In front of the civilized, the attitude of respect and circumspection that they show, especially the women, is remarkable. An attitude all the more perfected the more frequent their contact with the civilized.

While the men appear, with the utmost ease and without any shame, with only their "Waxsó-ro" or sex-cover in front of the whites, be these men or women, the Indian women nowadays only appear clothed, or at least with a skirt, rarely a short petticoat /Port. saiote/ or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/. Among themselves, however, they do not observe such circumspection. The civilized has many proofs that the woman has dressed in order

/382 cont./
• 291 562 834 829 to receive him (104);

104. In Montfort, river Papurí, an old woman, upon returning from the clearing dressed in a skirt and loaded with her aturá /carrying basket/ full of mandiocas, thinking that she was not observed, took off the skirt, jumped out of the canoe, washed the roots on the beach, and later, with the skirt in her hand, she proceeded toward her house, bending under the weight of the aturá.

Wallace already pointed that out a century ago. Many times, upon approaching unexpectedly, the civilized perceives a scurrying of women toward some dark corner of the maloca or to the neighboring forest, in order to get dressed. During the work in the clearing the women are ordinarily naked. Frequently they leave their skirts in the canoe, at the landing place on some stream where they disembarked in going to the clearing.

291 562 Many tribes went around completely naked, testify the first explorers, such as Padre Acuña (1637). The Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Pe. José M. de Noronha (1759), speaking about the Tecuna nation, writes: -- "Their women do not have any modesty. The males, however, cover the parts intended for generation, with wide fringes made out of thread twisted from certain white tow which they extract from the bark of wood" ("Roteiro /Logbook/," n. 139). *[192] The Poet Gonçalves Dias, who was a School Inspector in Amazonas, writes: -- "The men, who among them seem to be the most modest, wear on the Uaupés something like suspensories, to which they give the name of cueios, similar to or an imitation of the tocambobas /383/ of the primitive Tupis. In imitation of them, the women also wear today some cueios of beads (puericueios)." (Manaus, October 23, 1861 -- Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas, Vol. II, p. 760.) /In the original source, the end of the last sentence of footnote 104 is repeated here as the last sentence of the paragraph. This sentence is omitted here in the translation./

/383 cont./

291 534 562 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

[115] 105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796] [302] As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are worn exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

178 562 292 106. We were informed by the natives themselves that, while the men at the feasts, besides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/383 cont./

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*[192]

/footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear Waxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament. Some persons declared to us that they had never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that the women always walked around destitute of clothing.

302 About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the
• 291 breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered
302 without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts
834 with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178] It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),

107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt.
[832] Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

/389 cont./

831 Perhaps, however, nudity alternating with periods in which
291 they are clothed, always renewing the degenerating action of the nudity, aggravates this state of things. Thus their own clothes become transformed into excitation, especially some poorly fitted to the body.

192 /390/ One will not be surprised, then, that on this ground
838 thrive, moreover, unnatural habits, such as masturbation (swesé,
839 pa-daresé, dará-ỹãsé, bestiality (dyayõ-mẽra wõrátise (123),

> 123. Dyayõ-mẽra wõrátise means, properly speaking, intercourse-with-dog, perhaps because of being the only form of bestiality that they practice.

sodomy (ná-sirotúse), homosexualism, male (õ'mã̄-se'saró) (124)

> 124. It is to be lamented that some of these episodes take place in the piassava groves, in which groups of young men spend months, often in the company of the civilized, engaged in the extraction of the piassava, or other products, in places far from their povoados and where only once a month, if that often, a launch comes to bring merchandise ("aviamento" /preparation, provision/ they say) for their food, etc.

and female (nũ'myó se'saró), and pederasty. And it seems that similar acts are verified even where the instinctive natural satisfaction is possible.

5) Conclusion.

000 In conclusion, grave degeneration of the customs is verified among these tribes, in contrast with the so-called "primitive" peoples.

/396 cont./

*192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mamã kapinã
539 Perikũ yaví-i-i davyá (Yaví = long, slim?)
Davyá yavi
Davi kawá-á nomã yavi-nõ
Davi kawá yaú; davi kawá yaú.
Kapiná perikúli
Davyá yavi yú
Kawá-yavyá mã-ã-ã (he blows the flute at length)

[115] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
[574] (For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yê-ê dyá yakẽ marí
Kemẽ maryé-é
Kemẽ maryé-é kenaní
Wekã-ni kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kenã yá maryé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpẽkã ané
Wekã-re kenaní wekã-re
Kená tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

535 a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple
[115] amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

535 Mandú (131)
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[291]

131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



177 sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom
182 and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's
[171] trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small mestizo-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand,
[342] when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments
[796] he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a
[346] residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are
177 stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness.
●291 As late as 1903 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper Vaupés and all over the Cuduiarí where the women were totally naked
182 and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiarí and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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men have learned to wear trousers and a cotton tunic at home. For ceremony, however, they wear only the perineal band, now made of trade cloth. For women the skirt has replaced the ornamental ceremonial apron, but for men ceremonial participation in trousers means an important change in outlook in which the ceremony has become secularized. I learned this from young Indian men, visitors to the Cuduiari, who, wearing the cotton trousers and tunic of the mestizo, insisted in explaining to me that they were taking part in dances "just for fun." In the truly solemn ceremonies on the Cuduiari I saw no man in European dress.

The use of Spanish or Portuguese is another sign of change in cultural identification. But here, too, the process is complex. Indian cosmopolitanism is traditionally multilingual. Wives often speak distinct dialects of Tucanoan or else speak Cariban or Arawakan. Children learn the language of the mother first and then learn to speak Cubeo. The Tupian lingua franca has been a traditional trade language between Indians as well as between Indian and white for a very long time. Thus, the Indian who has learned Spanish and Portuguese is simply extending his multilingualism. These European languages have also come to play an important role in native interrelationships. Spanish and/or Portuguese has become the customary language of violent drunken quarrels among men at a drinking party. Used in this context the insults and threats in a foreign language are less ominous, and easier, therefore, to disregard than the same words uttered in the native language. The Cubeo usage is as with us: the foreign phrase used scatologically modifies the impact. Thus, in this respect the Cubeo adoption of foreign European phrases is a matter of enriching the native culture and is far from being a mark of cultural breakdown. I met only a few Indians on the Vaupés and none on the Cuduiari who had given up their native speech in favor of Spanish or Portuguese.

The use of European personal names offers another example of adaptation to the native cultural pattern. Among the Cubeo, personal names come from the traditional genealogy of the sib. They have a sacred character and are not used freely. Knowing a person's sib name is a sign of intimacy and such intimacy is not readily yielded up. I did not learn native personal names for weeks, and even at the end, one of the more embarrassing questions I could ask was simply a person's sib name. In common discourse kinship designations were used. The native name is not so much an appellation as it is sib identification. The headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib was the first to tell me his name. He uttered it in a whisper close to my ear. Thus, for the Cubeo,

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244 433 [462] A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They 244 are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their 242 characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When wom- [571] en from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cul- [439] tivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for [252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake 244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's 462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

142 252 302 291 516

Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

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602 or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

593 The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In
[574] any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the
601 thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother."
602 Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means
[193] literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

593 Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

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Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Fig. 6. Old *Bahúkiwa* couple.

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Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. 754
Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine [753]
men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering [761]
mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning"
is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent
death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In 683
all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

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Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

5. Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Fig. 8 *Bahukiwa* mother and child.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavimiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwá*, and armpit hair is *pwá butéi* (literally, hair tobacco).

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive 769
sib cult.
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The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river [534]
bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance
feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love
to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid
aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors
might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the
morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times
sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party re-
turned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the [533]
river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the on-
coming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sen [202]
the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one
another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden
of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds.
The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, [533]
swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the
women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off
together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in
the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from
the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer,
came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and [291]
having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, as [824]
cended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed them-
selves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns,
the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional [534]
five were used, *Bwü*, *Onpwénda kûdjüwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors,
assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed
countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nerv-
ous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but
with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They [535]
marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure
and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick
steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instru-
ments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwü* horns in the lead,
followed by *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at [576]
the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was
taboo but as a courtesy.

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532 *Xudjiko* and her consort, the mourning by the primordial ancestors; and the sib units, the solidarity of the phratry in expressing both
765 grief and anger. The dramatizations and mimetic dances present a
786 variety of minor themes, such as menace and hilarity. If one looks
182 at the *óyne* as a whole, however, and follows the sequence of events from their slow and solemn beginning to their conclusion in a simulated sexual orgy and then in a real one, a single main theme emerges, and that is the sexual interplay between men and women.
[775] By contrast to the sexual emphasis, the ritual of dealing with the spirit of the deceased seems almost minor and anticlimactic. It is only at the very end, when most guests have departed, that the ghost is dispatched. The climax of the first part of the *óyne* is ritual coitus, just as the climax of the second part is sexual license. We can therefore describe the *óyne* in terms of ritualized sexual sequence.

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Fig. 11. Mourning ceremony, women's entrance.

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574 violent counterclockwise motion for which the symbol is the loud
[535] whistle.

On the women's side a parallel form of greeting, but with a minimum of ritual, is going on at the same time. The greetings among the women are, in many respects, a counterpoint to the greetings among the men. I have already mentioned how the women are made to tumble into the house so that their entrance is as ludicrous as the entrance of the men is somber. However, having picked herself up and having straightened out her belongings, each woman is greeted
[561] in a file by the host women. Like the men, the women are grouped by maloca and in order of their husbands' age seniority. Having been
765 greeted with the conventional handshake, the group of hostesses and
574 the group of guests face each other and shout angrily at one another;
152 these shouts are not accusations or recriminations, but expressions
[576] of anger at the enemy who has killed the deceased. Two women who have been facing one another in postures of anger suddenly fall to a squatting position, each with an arm around the other's shoulder, drop their heads, and weep. Women who are nursing babies seem

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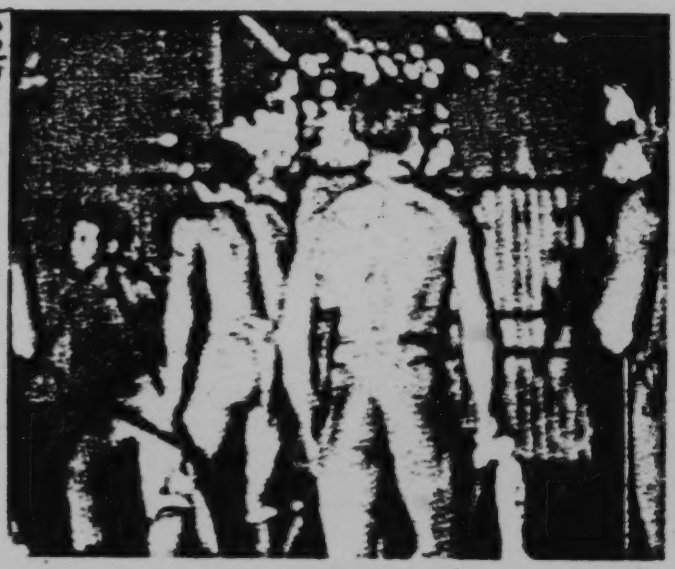

Fig. 12. Angry declamation at mourning ceremony.

under his battered trilby and the groundsheets, while Brian dived beneath the tarpaulin and spent the night stretched over tins and kitbags. 122

The New Year came in with more rain. For all the discomfort it brought we could only look upon such deluges as a sign of good fortune; they were early this year, the rivers would now be higher and our descent easier. So we started on our journey downstream. *El Diablo*, lumbering along like a loaded ark, was stopped by every snag and log. She took days to cover the same distance as the slim canoes of the Indians, when they later travelled back up the river in a matter of hours to pick up the fuel drums we had had to leave behind on the portage.

One day canoes appeared gliding towards us, both loaded down with large wicker baskets of *farinha* and paddled by two men in loincloths. Strings of minute white beads were around their necks and black berry bracelets around each arm. An old man, his wizened face eyeing us suspiciously, was sitting in the bows of the first canoe. [291] [301]

This was our first real contact with the Indians of the Piraparaná. Their immediate reaction was not one of fear, but rather, like our own, of enquiry and interest. They said nothing until José hailed them in their own dialect. There ensued a long, almost formal exchange of greetings which we were to hear many times when travelling through their territory. Before they left we asked them to carry a message for Nestor – in case they should meet him, for they were travelling to the Río Ti. [609] [576]

Much depended on our guide José. That he had been with Padre Elorza was not necessarily to our advantage, for in the first place we could not be sure what effect the first contact with Catholicism had had on the Indians of the Piraparaná, nor did we know what instructions José had been given by the padres. We had to depend on him entirely both for our own safety when travelling downstream and for the information we were to get. He was not a very pleasant or easy character. From the outset he had always wanted to have his own way and if this was not granted then he became moody and unco-operative. We could never be certain what he would do next and after his attempt at desertion we could not trust him. However he worked very hard and showed remarkable common sense, and without him we would never have got through the rapids ahead of us. 114

His experience with white men had not only come from the Mission. Some five years previously a *cauchero* had come to his river home close to the Brazilian frontier. He had taken six boys away with him to work the wild rubber trees and one of them was José. Later he had escaped from the *cauchero*, but during those four years he had learnt how to operate an outboard motor, to handle money and had even been in an aeroplane. He had come under the Mission's wing only recently, and it may have been this combination of experiences that had complicated his character. He no longer possessed the Indian's direct simplicity.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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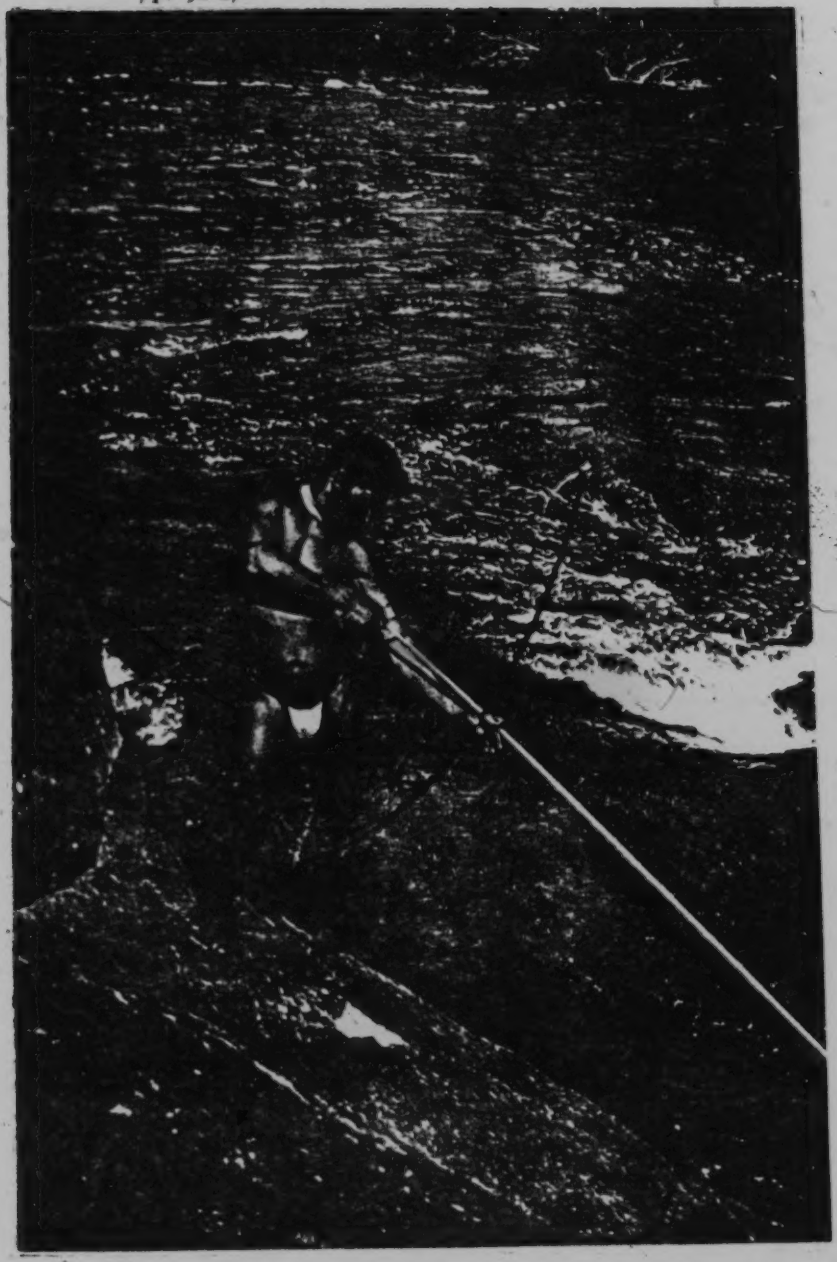

A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.

# 4

# *The Forest Addicts*

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the earplug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run;
147 whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his
302 home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
411 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
609 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undisturbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little.
152 When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

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Indian playing the mĩrĩ (jurupari)

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Always playing the mĩrĩã, the men surround the maloca where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door. Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play the mĩrĩã. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances. Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during the dances.

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291 534 562 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

[115] 105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796] [302] As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are worn exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

178 562 292 106. We were informed by the natives themselves that, while the men at the feasts, besides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

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/footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear Waxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament. Some persons declared to us that they had never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that the women always walked around destitute of clothing.

302 About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the
291 breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered
302 without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts
834 with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178] It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),

107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt.
[832] Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

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622 571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habókũ* and *kenámi upákũ*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókũ* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákũ*, [592] on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókũ* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókũ*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókũ* attributes. Thus 622 not all headmen qualify as *habókũ*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, 614 such as the *Órabawa*, *Aúnbwawũ*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and 554 those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókũ* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókũ* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókũ* as headman. Not every *habókũ* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the head- [701] man. In time of war the *habókũ* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

622 614 554 301 292 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókũ* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókũ* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókũ*. The *Bahúkiwa* define *habókũ* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókũ*.[1]

[114] [565] [1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
301 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
554 major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[756 which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[437 told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region.
[614 The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox*
[184 with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *habókü* status or *kenámi upákü*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[135 [2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[324 of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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In preparing chicha, the manioc is allowed to soften for four days. It is left in the maloca covered with leaves until it has turned a dark green color and has lost much of its moisture. Then it is grated, pounded through a sieve, and put through the tipiti press. The dry lumps are toasted lightly on the manioc oven and stirred into a fine grain. Small manioc cakes are prepared from these grains. The cakes are thoroughly masticated and the saliva-drenched balls are mixed with water. After fermentation has begun, a quantity of sugar cane extract is added, and this mixture is left to ferment for several days. Masticated pupunha mash may be substituted for the manioc. A mixture of pupunha mash with sugar cane extract makes a potent and very laxative drink. Many communities add maize as well as a variety of root plants to a basic manioc mash. 574 273

This period of preparation is one in which the house is spruced up and personal possessions and ornaments are inspected, compared, and readied for wear and display. Nowadays women regard their long cloth skirts as gala wear. If it is to be an important drinking party a woman hopes to have a new skirt that she has never worn before. All the elaborate male ornamentation of feather headdresses, necklaces, girdles, and pendants are fetched out and tried on. Musical instruments – Panpipes, long flageolets, whistles – are tuned and repaired. Songs are practiced and dance steps tried out. A nightly respite from the labors of manioc preparation is the amusement of watching the children play at dancing the adult dances, singing the dance songs, tasting the freshly prepared batches of chicha, taking coca, smoking, and listening to the old men chant snatches of the origin traditions. The mood is such that the minor rancors of community life are smoothed out. The headman takes advantage of this mood to bring the Satellites back as permanent residents of the community. The Satellites are normally invited to be cosponsors of a sib affair, bringing a contribution not of manioc but of sugar cane, or pupunha when that fruit is in season. The headman believes that when the estranged sibmates see how happy all are they will want to come back. There is no doubt that a Satellite is strongly drawn to the festive spirit of the main maloca. But he always has the time during the hangover of the morning after to consider whether it is worth returning. 574 [292] [178] [534] 574 621 622

The headman makes the first proposal for a drinking party and discusses the date and its scale with the male household heads. Cosponsorship means that a household head undertakes to prepare a notable amount of chicha that can be shown to the guests. When the invitations go out, the names of the cosponsors are given, and when 574 [622]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Cubeo



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Koch-Grünberg has observed this dance among neighboring Tucanoans as well as among Arawakan-speaking tribes. He observed it as a courting dance, boys and girls leaving the house after a dance and disappearing into the surrounding darkness (1909, I, 293, II 272). There is no mistaking the erotic undertones of this dance among the Cubeo. But it cannot ordinarily be a courting dance since the participants are normally sibmates and phratry mates if unmarried. The first girls to join the dancers are, in fact, their sisters. But as the evening wears on, the erotic character of the dance emerges in a dangerous form. An unmarried girl too often chooses to thrust herself beneath the arms of her sister's husband, a married woman "chooses" a husband's brother. What is ordinary courtship in tribes that bring together potential marriage mates at their drinking parties is largely adultery or the threat of adultery among the Cubeo, who entertain within the exogamous circle. I suspect that in the case of the Cubeo, simple courtship dances have become embroiled in a changing social order that has gradually built up a phratric system out of independent exogamous local groups. In the process the dance has lost its innocence.

The dancing has a deceptively decorous appearance. As the girls insert themselves between two male dancers, under the arm of one, the men never pause, turn their heads, or change expression. The girl puts her right arm lightly around her partner's waist. She holds her left hand before her, at her skirt. Crouched beneath the yoke

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Fig. 10. *Hehénewa* men in full dancing costume.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawi* — the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñikndwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf — a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihi*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication — it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

sixty feet wide, with the ridge of its roof thirty feet above the ground. This 342
ridge is supported by six great posts, three on either side; the central space extending down the length of the *maloca* is like the nave of a church. The roof is thatched with palm fronds overlapping to a depth of four inches and extending almost to ground level on either side. These fronds may have to be brought from a great distance and vary in quality – the best lasting for years, while others rot quickly and require frequent patching.

As the sun rises each morning over the surrounding forest it lights on the [532]
striking clay and charcoal designs which are painted along the whole width of the front wall. Slivers of light find their way through the palm screening and form patterns on the floor and the walls inside. The only other light comes from the men's and women's entrances at opposite ends of the house, entrances which are often kept shut to discourage the flying insects that are usually at their worst during the middle of the day. From these doorways 353
bars of sunlight cross the hard earth floor, lighting the main posts of the house. Beyond, just discernible, is the *chicha* canoe, the great vat which quenches the thirst of the dancing guests at festivals. Near by stands a forked pole where hang coca pouches, fruit-husk ankle-rattles and fretworked gourd *maracas*. On the floor are calabashes, some with coca inside, others with tobacco, and the wooden stools on which the men squat, passing half the night over their stories of past deeds in tribal wars and great hunting expeditions.

Overhead the smoke-blackened thatch is hidden in the gloom. Hanging [272]
from a beam is the most treasured possession: the barkcloth-covered palm box containing ceremonial feathers, monkey-fur belts and puma-tooth necklaces – all the precious adornments for the tribal dances, the greatest occasion of all in the lives of the Indians. The palm-woven screens, which [354]
divide the quarters of the women and the head of the house from those of guests, reach from floor to thatch. Near by are the great, flat, pottery cassava ovens. Hosts of baskets and *cumare* hammocks are strung from the house posts around the fires, and the hard earth floor is kept spotlessly clean by thousands of tiny scavenger ants.

Why the *malocas* should have been built on such a vast and gloomy scale 342
remains a mystery. It is possible that their very size gives the Indian a sense of 161
protection from the surrounding forest. It may also help to keep the interior cooler. But it is most likely a sign of depopulation, the breaking up of the clans through rubber exploitation and disease; where once a hundred or more people lived, now there are twenty.

José once told us that his father spoke of tribal wars on the river, when ooo

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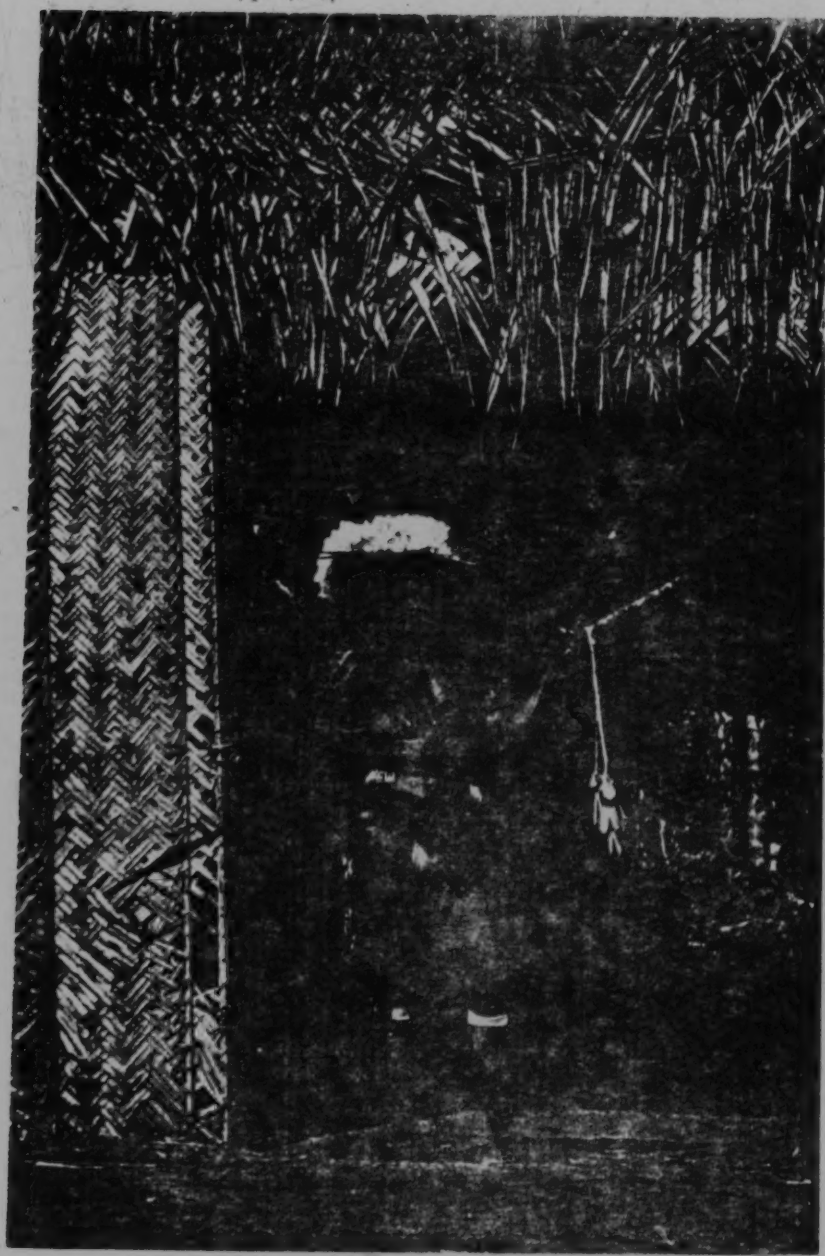
ABOVE: *Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking.* BELOW: *Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.* [see p. 62-B]

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 70-A/



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A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his kurubeti pebble stave.

o: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 78-A/

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A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.

796 monotone of the shaman. At intervals the coca calabash passed from hand to hand and each man threw a deer-bone spoon of the sage-green powder into his mouth. He stored it in his cheek and gradually the coca, mixed with saliva, filtered down his throat. Louder and louder, faster and faster became the chanting, echoing between the walls of the vast dark interior. The shaman worked himself into a frenzy, waving his arms out in front of him, his hands moving in wild gesticulations, his voice a rapid series of falsetto monotones; he was expelling all evil spirits from the tribal precincts to the heads of the *caños* and to other lands. The incantations continued for nearly two hours and then in the early hours of the morning there was silence.

796 301 The time had arrived for Bréo to unlock the precious box of plumages and he lowered it to the floor. He unwrapped the barkcloth cover and took off the lid of the beautifully woven palm box. Item by item he distributed the contents to the waiting figures, eagerly clambering to adorn themselves. First the smaller boys were given their simple crowns of red and yellow macaw and toucan tail-feathers, and they dashed away to adjust these on their heads. Underneath lay monkey-fur belts, ancient quartz pendants, puma-tooth necklaces and the most important items of all, magnificent feather head-dresses. These Bréo carefully selected and gave to the elders of the tribe. Crowns of toucan feathers woven on *cumare* frames adorned their heads, brilliant gold and red, ringed with white duck-down. Majestic royal crane plumage, stuck into a banana stem which projected down the back, jutted vertically up from the back of the head. The white feathers were woven together in a *cumare* mesh and stood out like quivering spindles of spun glass, gleaming in the darkness. Behind was a single red macaw tail-feather, a deer bone bound to the banana stem with monkey fur and last of all the wing plumage of an egret.

301 Many of the men wore giant quartz obelisks dangling from their necks. They make them no more, but their ancestors used to spend days rubbing down large chunks of quartz in pebbleworn channels in the river beds. Others had necklaces of wild boars' tusks, pointing concentrically outwards. There were many monkey-fur armlets with glistening beetle wings which [292] jingled as the men moved. Around the waist was another belt of monkey fur with puma teeth attached; below the knees finely-woven *cumare* garters, rubbed yellow with river clay, and above the right ankle dried *watcha* nut [302] rattles. This, with the fierce red facial paint and black body design, made up the splendid dancing regalia of the Tukano. The women had no adornments; [562] south of the Caquetá they stuck rings of white duck-down to their ankles with mud, but here they only painted their faces and bodies.

796 535 Now the dancing proper began. Since it was the manioc festival only the ceremonial *Nahubasa*, signifying the complete cycle of manioc from the time it was planted to the time it became cassava, was danced. Each man carried a long cane stave in his right hand and they joined in a line across the centre of

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-S (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 82-A/

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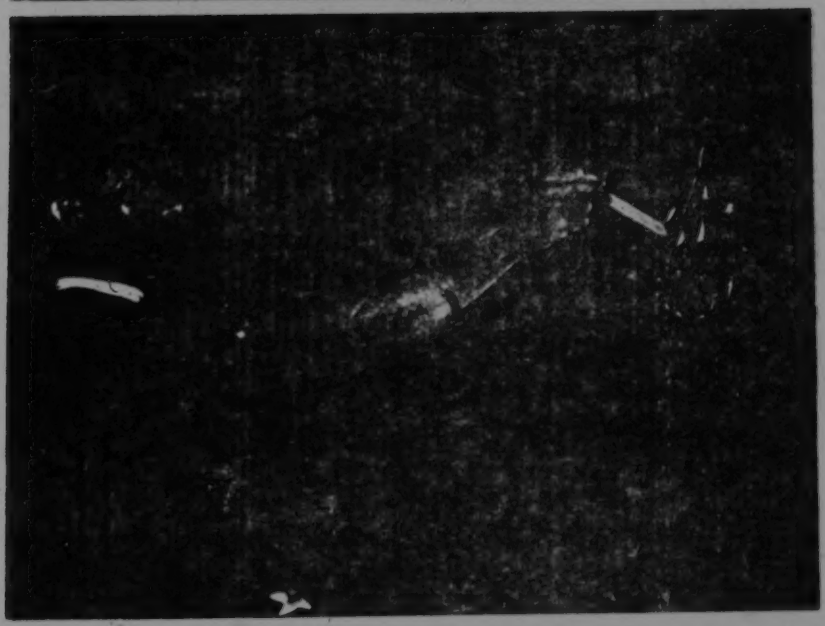

ABOVE LEFT: An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth. ABOVE RIGHT: Boy playing pan-pipes. BELOW: A headman lights a torch of beeswax.

123 the *bréo* flame taking coca with two other men. He is silent and has offered
622 little real assistance; I wonder whether he resents our presence here.'

It did seem at times as though Kuarumey resented our presence, and he later had some cause for his suspicions – certainly in his own mind – when events took an unexpected turn. He was a striking man, tall and rather gaunt, with a proud almost arrogant manner. There was no doubt as to who was the head of the *maloca*, nor that we were visitors, fortunate to have his hospitality. We saw little of him during the daytime and it was some time before we learnt he was making a canoe some distance away in the forest.

501 Though the Tukano travel through the forest on hunting expeditions, canoes are used to go further afield, to fish or to trade with other groups. They are a river people as much as a forest people, and like many Amazonian tribes they have evolved their own methods of making canoes.

[171] The Noanamá, we found, dug out and shaped their canoes from solid wood, and it was necessary for them to find very large trees to do this. Many tribes of the southern Amazon use the bark of a tree, like the North American Indian, while some groups of the Guahibo and the Maku living in areas remote from the larger rivers do not use canoes at all. The Tukano, however, shape their canoes by a process of heat-warping.

A tree – a hard type of cedar – had first been felled, then a twenty-foot section was cut and barked, and allowed to lie for several weeks, before [293] Kuarumey started to cut the wood. Each day he went to the clearing, setting up a palm frond to shade himself when the midday sun broke into the clearing, through the gap in the trees overhead.

[412] Using his *azador*, a curved hoe-like blade, and a long stick with a sharp metal end, he first shaped the outside of the log, scraping off the bark. Then he made holes along its length and began to cut out the centre. It was hard work and he would often break off to make himself a cheroot, using the rolled leaf of a palm, while his eldest son continued the work. Once he disappeared in the jungle to set a monkey trap, a ring-snare high in a tree with fruit as the bait.

[224] He worked carefully, feeling the sides of the canoe so as not to make the shell too thin. After several days it was ready, braced with two small stumps to prevent the sides from closing. Then Kuarumey and several Indians from the *maloca* dragged the hull along the forest paths to the river bank nearly a mile away.

Now the canoe was ready to be warped by burning. This could be undertaken only at certain times of the year when there was no risk of rain, for [412] water on the hot wood might split it. Before they obtained iron and steel the Indians used to cut the trees with their stone axes. They would only partly shape the hull and burn out the centre with fire. Now, with the canoe already shaped, the burning was quicker and it would be completed within a day.

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177 3. Clothing and shoes.

291 a) Clothing.

Under the influx of the civilized (the example of the white, whom the Indian likes to imitate, the instruction of the Missionaries, and the clothes that /209/ the latter give them), the natives are getting into the habit of wearing clothes. As a rule, those who have spent some years in the schools, upon returning to their aldeias, do not dispense with clothing any longer. At least a pair of pants or shorts (the men) and a skirt (the women), leaving the bust uncovered.

294 An interesting detail is that generally the women only make,
296 maintain, and wash feminine clothes. The men obtain ready-
462 made clothes, given or bought, and they must attend to washing and repairing them. Some men have been seen washing the clothing of their wives.

291 Originally, that is, before any influence from the civilized, dating from the discoveries of the New World, did they have any clothing? What would it have been?

For one thing, the warm climate does not impose the use of clothing. For another, the rains and frequent excursions into the forest, which offers shelter to the individual and would quickly wear out the clothes, discourage the wearing of clothing. This is what we could deduce, a priori, from their habitat.

The first Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro, Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, in 1759, says very originally: --"The Indians of these sertões /interior parts of the country/ commonly not having any more clothes than those that our first parents wore in the field of Damascus" (o. c. 145). He notices, as an exception, that the Cambeba wore long garments of cotton and without sleeves, open on the side.

A century later, in 1846, the costume is still the same, according to Wallace: -- "These Indians free themselves from the hindrance of clothing as much as is possible to conceive. The men wear only a small piece of tururí, which goes between their legs and is tied to a cord that goes around the waist. The

/208 cont./

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/290 cont./

356 Not infrequently, however, because of the dogs that also live
[136] there (and we have at times seen dogs sick and covered with sores),
[231] the ground is dusty, favoring the procreation of the bichos-de-pé /foot fleas/ (cullex pénetrans) and fleas.

Not infrequently the fruit rinds are thrown into a corner to rot,
[514] producing an unpleasant odor. This is unbearable, due to the vomitings and defecations in the maloca itself during the dabacuris. One can sometimes perceive a peculiar odor in the native povoados.

b) On the person.

515 The body hygiene is also deficient. They take a bath every morning, and more during the day. It is a bath to refresh, however, rather than to clean. Not having soap available to eliminate the grease from the body and hair, one not infrequently sees layers of dirt on some parts of the epidermis, especially in the folds of the skin and in the hairy parts. Even those who use /291/ soap, such as the school pupils, give off an unpleasant and characteristic odor.

• 296 Although they know how to wash clothes, and some of them do it well, in the majority of cases they keep the clothes on the body until they are very dirty, or even until they rot. Precisely the following custom is to be noted: they wash their own clothes with certain frequency when new. When they consider them old, they will not wash them any more. If they get wet, they let the clothes dry on the body.

356 Their primitive hammocks of tucum are never washed as a
515 rule, and in a little while they are darkened by the sweat, smoke, and grime. They climb into the hammock with the body dirty. The only care will be, perhaps, to rub the soles of the feet, one against the other, in order to clean them of soil.

574 With all freedom, an Indian, even a strange one passing by the maloca (we have seen this even in the case of Indians of different tribes), will lie down during the day in the first hammock that he finds vacant, while he rests and converses.

/481 cont./

412 There are still a few hours of daylight: the man goes to prepare his arrows, to separate the tucum for the fishing nets or to work on his little seat or on his sieve. The woman will weave a new hammock or will attend to the preparation of the mandioca for the following day. Each one at his task.

[177] [296] Among the individuals of the new generation, the man will perhaps mend or wash his own clothes, as the woman does hers. All tasks done with tranquillity, in the intimacy of family life, to the rhythm of an animated conversation, with noisy laughter.

*[192] When the sun goes down, the wood is already piled up inside the house and the vessels are filled with water. Men and children settle down in their hammocks, while the woman is busy boiling the Ñõxkã, with some wild fruit, and all help themselves with their cuias, like evening tea.

The conversation continues more briskly, the episodes of the day are picturesquely narrated, the visitors who appeared, the launches they passed, the news of other malocas. When the night is further advanced, it will perhaps be nine o'clock, the doors of the maloca are lowered. Sleep first conquers the children, later the older ones. Around 11 o'clock or later, however, one will hear a question that comes from a hammock, an ã and an answer from another hammock. Afterwards the silence is interrupted only by the crackling of so many small fires in each apartment of the large dwelling. The fire never goes out inside the maloca; at any time of the night one may see some figure jump out of a hammock in order to stir up the fire, indispensable for the cooler hours of the dawn, and to scare away snakes or other animals.

178 412 With the advance of civilization the phenomenon of acculturation takes place, new tasks occupying the time and the attention of the Indians. The rhythm of daily life, however, is always the same, in the maloca as well as in the povoado, for the Indians who have always lived there as well as for those who have spent long years in the boarding schools and have returned to their homes.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urahana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

854
[157] Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the infant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early [515] afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her [296] skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo [252] child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and 854 if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I 155 once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow [853] log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtu- [853] ally impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to [831] make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's 000 genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

/95 cont./

i) IHWANA OR YONA

*101 1) People-Name-Language. -- We were unable to find out for certain the meaning of the name Ihwana or Yona; it might be the name of a fish. The language is of the Tukano family, as is seen from the Vocabulary that we collected in the Wextá maloca on the Pirá-paraná near the mouth of the Komé-ya.

[142] The individuals of the maloca were slighter and had more delicate features than the Tukano. All the men had pierced [30] their ear lobes, keeping them open with a bunch of bird feathers. A cord binding the arms a little below the shoulders, and red paint across the face, indications perhaps of some feast a short [142] time before. Dark hair, cymotrichous, with slight waviness, and eyes lighter than those of the Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They reside in malocas along the Pirá-paraná and its small tributaries nearby, and below the cachoeira of the Beijú, where at low water one can see a beautiful design that resembles a Chinese dragon. Because of a lack of interpreters, we were unable to find out the number [161] of members of the tribe or /96/ its subdivisions. From the information obtained, we think it might be concluded that there are still several hundreds.

j) KÕ'NEÁ OR ARAPÁSU

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Kõ'neá (in Tukano Kõ-rẽá), the name of a variety of woodpecker called arapásu in Nheengatú.

[173] According to reminiscences of an ancient tradition, it was a very numerous and brave tribe. When individuals of other tribes passed the river Uaupés in the zone dominated by the Arapásu, the latter surrounded them, took away all their products, and afterwards sank their canoes, allowing them, however, [161] to escape. The victims would avenge themselves "blowing" (that is, casting an evil spell; cf. VII -- 2, e (1) ) on the Arapásu, who, little by little, became extinct.

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. 304 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between 171 the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of the same lip. On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well 301 polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed [554] at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/22 cont./

301 554 hole that is made artificially across the middle from one extremity to the other: the principals wear them about half a span long; the nobles, a little less, and the common people much shorter."

301 135 171 187. "Some Indians of the Tariarana nation, inhabitants of the Capuri River, were seen at another time with little plates of gold /Port. folhetas de ouro/ in the ears, which, in exchange for feathers, they bought from Indians of other nations, whom they did not know. Now it is known that the Indians of the Panenuá nation, who inhabited the upper part of the Ucayari, wear the same little plates and that from them they are passed on to the Tarianos. There is doubt, however, as to where the above-mentioned fragments of gold come from" (3).

3. Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of João Pereira Caldas, Governador of the Rio Negro, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador (Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, p. 82) as follows: "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn by certain Indians of the Uaupés River as earrings; this is one thing about which I could not discover the slightest bit of information, although I have questioned many and different Nations, inhabitants of the same River, with whom I have talked. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing but a chimeric illusion that originated from having seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, whose wings, after being dried, resemble some metallic kind because of their thickness and shine. /This footnote is continued on the next page of the original source./

135 "Finally I believe that this Notice of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is to that degree Fabulous, as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of

/23 cont./

133 the north there runs a channel of communication with the river Guabiari, which descends from the environs of Santa
171 Fé de Bogotá. The Daçanas, Tarianas and Uaupés Indians
301 who might communicate with the Indians of the same Guabiari have been seen with earrings of very fine gold, which is supposedly extracted from the mines of New Granada."

*101 381. "The Uaupés is inhabited by many nations, the
301 principal ones of which are Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena,
554 Uananá, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinaná, Timanará, Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; the most famous one, however, is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of
[304] the common people much smaller. The Uaupés wear the ears and lips pierced."

127 c. Numerous and interesting pieces of information are found in the nineteenth century, especially in the works of Wallace and Koch Grünberg. We shall cite them whenever an opportunity presents itself to us, as confirmation of what is found at present, or to verify a modification of indigenous customs, or, finally, to rectify those authors' observations that seem incorrect to us.

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
171
*192

b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

[322] The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their characteristic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.
[531]

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats; also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.
[531]

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.
[439]

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.
[411]
[567]

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/89/

c) BÁ:RE-MASÃ OR TẼMYÚ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- The idiom of the Bá:re-masã, or "food people," likewise belongs to the family of Tukano languages. As can be verified by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), it is quite close to the language of the Roéra. We met a representative of the Bá:re-masã Tribe living among the Íde-masã of the Comé--ía (maloca Bõhõ-
[144] rya-hidó, mouth of the stream of the spider). He was (in August of 1956) a type of about 38 to 40 years old, short in stature, fat, skin of a light bronze, nose small and high at the point, rounded face, not very prominent zygoma, and
[301] almost cymotrichous black hair. He had pierced ears, with
[304] a plug approximately one centimeter in diameter stuck
[171] through them, the largest orifice in the lobes that we have found among the various tribes of the Uaupés.

[582] The law of the exogamy is also in force within the tribe, and marriages seem to be concluded with the Hanẽra, Bará, and Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The tribe of the Bá:re-masã is very reduced in members. We know of the existence of a maloca on the stream Umũ-ía (stream of the japú /bird/), tributary of the left bank of the stream Timí-ia (stream of the otter), which, in turn, flows in on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná, a little above the mouth of the Comé-ia.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The above informant, called Titõyã (also known by the name of Domingos), indicated to us as being divisions of his tribe: 1st. -- Íde-masã, 2nd. -- Ogóro-sõroa. It is probable that the first subdivision, Íde-masã, is the principal tribe of the Comé-ia (cf. IV -- 2, h) considered related to the Bá:re-masã, and not a simple division of the latter. The Ogóro-sõroa are the Hógolo-tsõloa or Tsõroa mentioned by Koch-Grünberg (Z. I. 370) on the Yauacacá-Igarapé, almost identical to the Edúrya in idiom.

/92 cont./

*101

1. Saĩrõa-masã (water people? gossiping people?)
2. Yebá-masã
3. Roeá-masã (taraíra /a fish/ people)

/In the original text, the last two lines of p. 91 are repeated here, which is apparently a misprint and is omitted in the translation./

g) HANERA OR PANENÕÁ.

1) People-Name-Language. -- A type taller and slighter than the Tukano. A redder complexion, long face, delicate chin, high nose, wide forehead. [142]

Their idiom, which must be affiliated with the Tukano linguistic family (cf. Vocabulary, in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), presents this peculiarity: an initial aspirate (h, as we represent it in this work) appears in words in which the Tukano pronounces a p; for example: father, hakõ (Tukano pax-kõ), mother, hakó (Tukano, pax-kó), etc. This characteristic of their idiom explains to us the correspondence of their name in their own language, Hanẽra, and in the Tukano, Panenõá, or Parẽroá.

/93/ We know that they are connected by marriage with the Bará and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We have only seen a few individuals in passing by the maloca called Mosã-bhoá (mountain of the urucú) of the Bará, on the igarapé Uaracú-pirẽra, and in their maloca close to the mouth of the Timí-ya. They were unable to give us any information about the approximate number of individuals in their tribe. It seems that they do not exceed four hundred. At present they reside only in Colombian territory, on various igarapés on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná. [161]

The informants of the eighteenth century testify that it was from the Panenõá that the Taryana obtained by barter their ornaments of gold and silver (cf. II -- 3) and momõrõ Khwirí (VII -- 3, d). [301] [439]

/94 cont./

*101 The Ide-masĩ are in general less corpulent than the Tukano. Although of lighter complexion, somewhat pale, elongated face, high, slightly aquiline nose, not very prominent zygoma, almond-shaped eyes almost always light brown. The hair in general is dark or even black, fine, not lissotrichous; instead, many times even wavy.

[582] Tribal exogamy is in force among them. And we know that they are connected by marriage with the Tuyuka, Bará, Emõa, Yebá, Bá:re, Roéra. Not only the women, but also the [301] men wear pierced ears with a small plug two to three millimeters [304] in diameter, which keeps the orifice open.

A peculiarity of this tribe is the dances with masks. We had the opportunity to see the masks representing Waxtĩ and the [532] monkey. The one of Waxtĩ was a true white mask, made of bark, like a round face, with a long slit representing the mouth, a long and pointed nose, and, on the sides of the base of the nose, two slits, somewhat slanted, by way of eyes. The one that represented the monkey was a plain shirt of tururi, with a pointed part, like a hood, covering the head. In this hood there were two holes corresponding to the eyes and two points upwards representing ears.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They are found scattered over a very wide area: all the stream Comé-ia (stream of the iron or of the ax, in the Ide idiom Koméryaka, tributary of the left bank of the Pirá-paraná), the Miritĩ-paraná, Apapóris, and the Kamorĩ (which, according to indications by the same tuxáua, [161] must be a tributary of the river Solimões). They seem to be quite numerous, that is, several hundreds. The number of divisions that the tribe presents seems to confirm this information.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian Hinõ (that is, snake), also known as Fernando, about 50 years old (in August of 1956), tuxáua of the maloca Bunõ-rya-hido (mouth of the igarapé of the spider), on the left bank of the Komé-ya, about 10 hours by canoe from the mouth.

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*101 b) The agreement with the previous lists is not great (only in half a dozen names). Having in mind that the ending kõ indicates the masculine singular, and wa, the ending for the plural, we have discovered a larger number of agreements. For example:

The 5th subdivision of this list, Bahúkõwa, with Bahúkekõ mentioned by Heloisa;

The 6th division, Wararíwa, with the 3rd one of Heloisa, Wárarikõ (pepper);

The 9th, Horóbora, clay, with the 8th, Húrukõ (?);

The 16th, Órobawa, with the 1st, Órobakõ (sororoca)

q) ROÉRA-MASÃ OR TARAYRA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Roéra-masã, as they say in their own idiom, corresponds to the Tukano word Doeá-maxsã or Taraíra-tapuya of the Nheengatú, since roé (in Tukano doé) is the name of the taraíra fish (Erithrynus Taraira, Lin.).

[115] Their idiom also belongs to the Tukano linguistic group, as is seen in the Vocabulary (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") that was given to us in August of 1956 by a young man named Yamí, also known under the name of Pedro, about 22 years old and residing in the Ídemasã maloca of the Komé-ya. They are [142] in general of medium stature, plump of figure, roundish face, light bronze complexion, light eyes inclined toward blue, mustache hairs, nose high and a little aquiline, and lissotrichous hair. All of them, men and women, wear the ears pierced [301] [304] and a small plug of about two millimeters in diameter stuck through them.

Tribal exogamy is also in force among the Roéra, and we [582] know of marriages with the Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They have a maloca near the mouth of the stream Gó-ya, right tributary of the Komé-ya. It seems that they are not very numerous, except if we consider them in conjunction with the Emõá and Yebá, which were designated to us as one and the same tribe (cf. IV -- 2, t). It is to be noted that it is not rare that those of one tribe are presented

/168/

25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú,
286 tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order
• 301 to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front
291 when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

The new generation, both of the female and male sex,
177 which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned
291 how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

/193 cont./

*192 because of their purpose, which is to kill the fish (wehẽ means
227 to kill), and in the Lingua Geral, puçá. It is a mesh of knots
284 made out of fibers of caroatá (Bromélia pinguis, Lin.), caroá (Neoglaziovia variegata Ar. Com.), or even tucum. The meshes are narrower or wider, according to the purpose.

[462] They are manufactured by the man. The pregnant woman
[784] cannot touch them, because the fishing would be fruitless. When they prepare their puçá, the men will remain silent, in order to have luck with the fishing.

They perform the work in two ways: either with successive knots, as the casting nets are prepared among the civilized; or using splinters of arumã /Ischnosiphon ovatus, Kcke./, tying them at intervals with caroatá knots, as if one were preparing /194/ a basket. Once this is ready, they take off the splinters and the caroatá knots present the desired net.

They manufacture them in two sizes: a larger one (jereré in Nheengatú), with the shape of a very wide funnel; it measures 1.5 meters or more in length and during the fishing is kept open by means of two poles tied at the ends, in such a way that, with the help of a third pole as a wedge, it almost forms a circle.

They also make smaller and funnel-shaped nets, ganapão /workman, porter/ type, fitted to a hoop equipped with a handle, such as are used to catch butterflies. It is with these that they catch the fish stupefied by the timbo.

It seems that all the men know how to weave their fishing nets, with the exception of the young men of the last generation.

4) Other woven products.

286 With the fibers of tucum or mirití they make those elegant
• 301 bands, yuxtá-seri, that they put on the legs (conf. VII -- 3, d
*[192] (1) ).

With these same fibers or with twisted embira they prepare some of the dance ornaments that must support the beautiful plumage.

They use monkey hide in order to make braids, which they wear as dance ornaments.

/310/

d) Plumage and adornment.

301 302 535 562

The native ornaments are many; the most striking ones are for the men (59),

> 59. This assemblage of ornaments (earrings, bracelets, necklaces, combs), the long hair in a braid, carefully combed, the depilation of the beard and the mustache, gave the Indian, according to Wallace's testimony, an appearance so effeminate, especially in the dance, when they even protected the chest with the shield of cipo and the lower part of the body with the long waxsó-ro of hanging tururí, that the English scientist thought he was in front of a woman. Wallace's opinion is that the legend of the Amazons or women warriors arose from this mistake (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 630).

but their use on the latter is exclusively for the dances (60),

[184]

> 60. In the Roéra and Ihwãna tribes, even outside of the dances, we have seen the men, especially the young ones, with paintings on the face, bracelets on the arms, and earrings made up of a plug of colored or white feathers.

at least nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

175 301

The ancient travelers speak (61)

> 61. Pe. Cristovão de Acuña, referring to the journey of Pedro Teixeira in 1639, concerning the nation of the Curizaris, which started 28 leagues below the mouth of the river Juruá,

/310 cont./

• 301
175

/footnote 61 cont./ says: "The Portuguese called the first aldeia of this nation, coming down the river, "aldeia de ouro" /aldeia of gold/, because in it they found and bought some, which, in small sheets, the Indians wear hanging from their noses and ears and which was examined in Quito and found to be of 21 carats" ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," trans. of C. Melo Leitão, p. 236). According to these first explorers, such plates were obtained by beating "this gold, all in bits and grains of good size," which they extracted from a mountain range watered by the river Iquiarí.

[316]
[325]

of gold and silver ornaments. There are no such metals in these regions, and they do not know how to work them. From their relations with other tribes of Colombia (62)

62. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha, in his "Roteiro" /Logbook/, states that the Taryana obtained such sheets from the Colombian Panẽnõã Indians (see above, p. 47). -- Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of the Governador of the Rio Negro, João Pereira Caldas, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador as follows (cf. Artur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, 1st ed., Manaos, 1940, p. 82): "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn as earrings by certain Indians of the Uaupés River;

/310 cont./

• 301
175

/footnote 62 cont./ it is something about which I could not discover the least news, although I did question many and different Nations with whom I talked, inhabitants of the same River. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing more than a chimeric illusion originating from there being seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, the Wings of which, after having dried, appear to be a metallic kind because of their thickness and shine.

[135] "Finally I think that this News of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is as Fabulous as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, taken or /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ brought from the Tiquié River in 1749, when melted, appeared to be of silver; when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already planning to present them as such."

and Venezuela they might have been /311/ obtained in barter. At the present time one only finds some women with triangular sheets of beaten silver, of varied size, strung on a cord, and used as a necklace around the neck. They are called, due to their appearance, mo'mõ-rõ khwíri, that is, pieces of butterfly.

*[192]

/311 cont./

*192
• 301
562

1) Feminine adornment.

Besides the paintings on the face, breasts, and body as decoration (and not as clothing), as they declare, the women own few objects of adornment:

a) Necklaces. They are of different size, shape, and material. They are made from various seeds, especially a tiny nut, threaded on a tucum fiber, the parakẽ-dá; or also little glass beads, the yax'kẽ-dá; or beads obtained from the civilized, the different shapes, sizes, and colors being combined in various ways. They wear them even outside the dances; they are not, however, of general use, and in Wallace's time they were not used at all (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro, p. 630).

[178]

b) Bracelets. They are of beads or seeds, like the necklaces, and are called in Tukano, yax'kẽ wã-yãsé.

c) Knee bands (63).

63. Among the Ide-masã of the stream Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, we also saw young men using knee bands. Among the rest of the tribes the men only wear them as ornaments for the dances.

[286] In Nheengatú they are called tapacúra, and in Tukano yuxtá-seri. It is a band of delicate and curious weave, made of caroá fiber, most of the time, colored yellow or red. One is applied on each leg, a little below the knee. In many cases it is woven without any pieces added, and, thus, when, due to the person's growth, it starts to be too tight, they cut it off.

They assert that its purpose is to thicken the legs.

[177] d) Earrings. Nowadays one only sees earrings (in Nheengatú nambí-purá, in Tukano yoxsasé) obtained from the civilized, or, in place of them, small necklaces of glass beads.

/312/

*192 562 178 291

e) Puericueio. It is the feminine tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ that we discussed before (VI -- 3, a), in Tukano yax'kẽ waxsó-ro. Nowadays they only use it in the dances and very rarely (65) /sic; 64/.

> 64. "In their festivals, when they dance, the women then put on a small tanga or apron, made of beads arranged in regular patterns, with much taste and much caprice. This tanga is about six square inches in size. It is never worn on other occasions, so that, once the feast is over, the women take it off immediately" (Wallace -- "Viagens," etc., p. 630).

*192 • 301 562

f) Wreath. At times during the dances the women fit to their heads a wreath of branches from that shrub of pleasant and intense aroma called bará. It is what is called bará pu'sasé in Tukano.

[177]

g) Many women and girls habitually wear curved combs of striking colors, i'ſ be'tó or i'ſ-ro be'tó, obtained from the civilized. A century ago, according to Wallace, they did not wear any comb.

2) Masculine adornment.

[302]

For the dances the men paint the face and the body, as was said above.

[178]

a) Stone of command. We call it this because it is actually a badge of the tuxauas, who wear it hanging at the neck on solemn occasions (dances, reception for some civilized, etc.). Nowadays it is a rare ornament, and few own it. The ouvidor /auditor/ Xavier Sampaio (cf. above, II -- 3), following Pe. José Noronha, mentions the existence of this ornament and gives it as an indicator and classifier, by its size, of the nobleness of the wearer. In Tukano it is called õxtĩ bohá, that is, clear stone. It is a piece of amorphous quartz, quite smooth, cylindrical in shape, and about 15 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 in diameter.

/312 cont./

• 301 562 The quartz is not found on the banks of the Uaupés. Koch Grünberg states that these stones come from a place in the interior of the forest on the left bank of the Tiquié, near the headwaters. They are pierced by a regular orifice of some millimeters in diameter, in the transversal direction (and in some stones also in the longitudinal direction), through which it is hung at the neck. This orifice constitutes one of the best documentations of the native patience in his work, since it is done with the help of fine sand and water, using a thin stick, which is rolled between the palms of the hands while the feet hold the stone on the ground.

* 192 237 301 562 /313/ b) Acangatara. In Tukano it is designated by various names: mahã̄ poá-ri baxsarí-be'tó, or mahã̄ poá-ri pe'saró, or simply mahã̄ poá-ri (arara feathers). It is a wide wreath of about 10 or 15 centimeters, which is fitted by being tied behind the head. It is woven out of tucum, to which the feathers are attached by using the milk of the sorva. They customarily arrange the feathers in such a way that on the lower edge (the one that covers the forehead) there is a band of 3 to 4 centimeters of delicate white garça /heron/ feathers, yehé poá-ri; then a band, more or less of the same width, of red feathers of the harpy eagle, a:--paxkõ wĩxtõ, and an upper band, wider, of yellow arara feathers, mahã̄ poá-ri.

The young men wear their wi'mãrã̄ pe'saró. It consists of a crown, or, rather, of a visor of straw, 2 or 3 centimeters in width, to which is applied a twist densely embellished with striking red and yellow arara plumes. Sometimes, instead of the arara feathers, there are the red ones from the toucan; it is then called daxsé be'tó.

c) Braids. 1st) Emõ poá boxka-rí consists of three double braids about 40 centimeters long, made of monkey fur, and tied at the nape of the neck to let them hang down the back. Emõ is the Tukano name of the guariba /howler/ monkey.

/313 cont./

*192 237 • 301 562 [535]

2nd) At the time of the dance they fit to the preceding braids, and in the horizontal direction, over the nape, another plaiting of onça /jaguar/ fur, which is called poa-ri dõ'terí-dá (dõ'terí-dá means: string for tying).

3rd) They add to the preceding a small onça /jaguar/ bone, yai o'ã dõxká, and a small disk of tatu /armadillo/ shell, pamõ pe'toró, with a feather in the central hole. This decoration is called tu-si'ti-óoro.

d) Feather crests. 1st. -- Over these braids are also fitted various crests. The first consists of a rectangular plaiting of arumã and tucum, ukã-pãma, topped by long and tapered tail feathers from the garça /heron/, yehé si-á uhaú, and, on the base, red arara feathers and white ones from the harpy eagle (si-á uhaú, uropygium).
/The following paragraph is confused in the original source. The three lines from the original text, the first of which is repeated at the end of the following paragraph, are marked with slant lines in the translation./ This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck. / some of these crests that, instead of tucum, they introduced into the woven/ colored threads obtained from the civilized, and monkey fur.

The rest of the men wear a simpler crest, in which, over the ukã-pãma, are found plumes of the harpy eagle, a:--paxkõ si-á uhaú. This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck.

2nd. -- The second crest is called a:--paxkõ wĩxtõ-põ. It consists of a stem around which is fixed with sorva a /314/ layer of very fine white down (wĩxtõ) from the harpy eagle (a:--paxkõ). It is adjusted perpendicularly over the nape, forming a right angle with the first one.

3rd. -- They further add one or two long red tail feathers from the arara, mahã pixkõ-rõ, likewise in a position perpendicular to the nape.

/314 cont./

*192 291 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá ií-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá. [177]

2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrí-dá. [237]

3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps. [534]

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

/314 cont./

*192 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings,
•301 possibly of gilded metal, axpõã-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of ear-
[177] rings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that
[304] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work
554 in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komĩ, bayã) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they
534 carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical
535 Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or
237 another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

4: Silva--472 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

* 192 /Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

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Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

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Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

/321 cont./

175
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/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to, and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

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[301]

"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

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This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

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/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments

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Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua from Caruru-Cachoeira (river Uaupés), adorned for the dances (acangatara, necklaces, and stone of the husband /marido, "husband," should be mando, "command"/)

Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

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/339 cont./

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/footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1) ), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

[301]

6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

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7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compulsory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca. The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels,and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

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The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same tuxáua:

a) seat of the old ones, bũxkõrá duhurí-ko-mũ-rõ
b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ-rõ
c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ kõ-mũ-rõ
d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'í-khãra duhurí kõ-mũrõ
d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrí maxsã duhurí kõ-mũrõ.

The first columns are called sahãrí kãrĩ boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrí), when they sleep (kãrĩ) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrí kãrĩ-tẽrõ (tẽrõ, on the Uaupés tẽnõ, means beam).

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).

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> 50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom
*[192] they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõõ wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

• [301] The ornaments are distributed according to the social
[554] importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

[534] When everyone is ready (and this is always done with
*[192] great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes
796 later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to enter-
535 tain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a) ); it is a sign that the dances

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Indian playing the mĩrĩ (jurupari)

534 Always playing the mĩrĩã, the men surround the maloca
562 where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by
778 the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door.
796 Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play
858 the mĩrĩã. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances. Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during the dances.

/363 cont./

754 2nd. -- He can also, knowing that a person must pass by way of a trail, close the passage to him, putting across it a stick
*[192] over which he has "blown"; it is what is called kã pe-vyó-kõ.

3rd. -- Nẽ'kã-yusé is said when he has "blown" over a fruit or a plant; if any person (74)

> 74. These local malefices can harm, by mistake, even the one who prepared them. Patrícia Vasconcelos told us that her uncle Marcos had cast a malefice on a cacuri /fish trap/ (see VI-5, a (2b) ) against anyone who went there to steal fish. In the morning he forgot to neutralize the malefice, took some fish, and ate them. Soon he began to feel ill: dizziness, darkening vision, stomach-ache. He then called his own son and said to him: --"My son, I am going to die! I 'blew' on the cacurí, and by accident I ate some of the fish without removing the dohasé." Fortunately he escaped, having recourse to other magic practices.

eats some of this fruit, or even touches this object, he "will become crooked." They believe that all cases of stupor, with paralysis of the facial muscles and contortion of the mouth, are due to the malefices of some enemy.

The Tukano of Parí-cachoeira prepare their jequí /fish trap/ (see VI - 5, a (2a) ) on a certain rock of the cachoeira; if they did it at home, they would not be able to catch any fish.

789 /364/ b) Things. -- Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português (entry Uirá-purú), speaks of the belief in the protective quality of certain charms. It is probable that he is not referring to the tribes of the Uaupés. Among them we not only did not find them, but they could not tell us whether the ancients had used them. In very rare cases we found necklaces of triangular
• [301] sheets (see -- 3, d (1) ), with the character, it seems, solely of feminine adornment.

/396 cont./

192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mámã kapinã
539 Perikũ yavĩ-i-i davyá (Yaví = long, slim?)
Davyá yavi
Davi kawá-á nomã yavi-nõ
Davi kawá yaú; davi kawá yaú.
Kapiná perikúli
Davyá yavi yú
Kawá-yavyá mã-ã-ã (he blows the flute at length)

[115] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
[534] (For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yê-ê dyá yakẽ marí
Kemẽ maryé-é
Kemẽ maryé-é kenaní
Wekã-ni kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kenã yá marỹé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpekã ané
Wekã-re kenaní wekã-re
Kená tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

535 a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple
[115] amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

535 Mandú (131)
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131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

/397 cont./

535 wore on his head a wide acangatara /head ornament/ with arara
237 feathers; a wig with braids of monkey skin and with two long, red
301 arara feathers and an onça /jaguar/ bone. From the wig, leaning
toward each ear, there was a long, white heron feather. Hanging
over the back the cangatá, a cord with tucano /toucan/ feathers.
Also on the wig, close to the nape, the crest, or rectangular woven
piece with long heron feathers. On the neck three long necklaces
of beads and a necklace of seeds with the stone of command. From
the ears, earrings made out of a burnished half of a gun cartridge.
[302] As painting on the forehead, a red semicircle turned upward and a
large cross from the neck to the waist (132),

[123] 132. At a dance that we attended in the maloca of the Tuyuka in the igarapé of the Onça /jaguar/, upper Tiquié, from the painting of the Kõmũ resulted a cross on the face with a broad stroke from the forehead along the nose and upper lip, and the arms of the cross curved upward almost in a semicircle.

also in the color red. On the left elbow, a bracer of monkey skin. In the form of a belt, over the buttocks, a necklace of teeth, to which he later attached two branches of that magic and intensely
*[192] aromatic shrub called bará. In the course of the dance he fitted to the right ankle a necklace of seeds (Kixtyõ).

Marcelino wore a small, denticulated wreath of fine straw, with yellow down from the arara; at the nape the crest with white plumes and a long feather surrounded by a string of colorful plumes. On the left elbow the armband of monkey skin. Hanging at the back, braids of monkey skin decorated with arara down.

*192 b) Execution. A small rehearsal took place in order to verify
534 whether the japurutús /long flutes/ were in tune with each other, as well as the cariços /Panpipes/. A little caxiri was drunk.

The tuxaua executed the yaí-gõ paasé, that is, he made the
534 rhythm stick, called "stick-of-the-onça /jaguar/," decorated with
535 feathers, vibrate several times on the right muscle of the arm. He
*[192] took some steps in rhythm with the pestle-tube of imbauba, and he

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/footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced."

[304]

the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Ba'ti-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

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109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tõmpa-duri, but

/474 cont./

614 If by Phratry we understand any subdivision of the tribe (even if it does not constitute a true community, because it does not have a chief), these Subtribes or Kurá could be called Phratries (or Sibs, as some modern ethnologists prefer). They correspond to the Phratries of ancient Greece, while, like those, they are also exogamous and of paternal descent. It is to be noted, however, that marriage between one phratry and another of the same tribe is not permitted.

/475/ The Phratry or Kurá, which at first is identified with the maloca, with the passing of time unfolds into several local groups. In these, however, there is no trace that this might be a matter of a totemic clan; they are only territorial family groups or agnatic kinship groups, which we could call, using the Latin term, Gens.

f) Totemism?

There are different indications that make one think of the operation of totemism with its totemic clans and customs.

1st. -- The groups (tribes and subtribes) bear names of animals (Tucano /toucan/, arapaço /Dendro colaptidae/ or pica-pau /woodpecker/, juritĩ /dove/, jibóia, etc.) or of plants (miriti, cunuri /Cunuria/, etc.), as is the custom of totemic clans.

[237] [301] [535] 2nd. -- There appear in the dance ornaments feathers of the garça /heron/, arara, tucano /toucan/, gavião /hawk/; fur of the macaco and onça /jaguar/, teeth of the onça or of other animals; snake vertebrae, etc. These ornaments recall to memory the place in which the animal was wounded, as if it were an exaltation of the animal sacrificed and an identification between the individual and the animal formerly sacrificed by God or (?) to God.

[535] [532] 3rd. -- In the dances there are personages and masks (where they wear them, that is, among the Kubewãna of the Uaupés and the Arwake of the Içana), which represent the borboleta /butterfly/, the cotia /agouti/, etc., and these personages try to imitate the movements of these animals and there are also corresponding chirps or songs.

[825] 4th. -- The tucano /toucan/, due to the disproportionate weight and volume of its beak, does not have great autonomy of

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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be interesting and he recorded tribal distributions and physical conditions of life as well as many customs. It is to Wallace that we owe the first report on mortuary endocannibalism among the Cubeo. Curiously, this information has never been properly authenticated. Wallace learned about it at second hand, as did Koch-Grünberg many years later. I observed what I thought to be this custom, but I could not verify that the bones being prepared for imbibing with chicha were human. The annoyance of the Indians when I accidentally came upon them while they were reducing bones to meal and pouring it into the chicha at the conclusion of a mourning ceremony led me to suspect that the bones were human. In response to my questions, however, no Cubeo would confirm my conjectures.

Wallace (1870, p. 354) traveled up the Vaupés to the mouth of the Cuduiarí River at the rapids of Uaracapurí, where he observed a community of several malocas. He did not enter the Cuduiarí, reporting only that to his knowledge no European had ever gone up that river. As for the Vaupés, this river, particularly in its Brazilian reaches, had in Wallace's time already become an important artery of European trade. Along the Isana River Wallace noted that the Indians were living in European-style dwellings. The Cuduiarí then had the reputation of a totally wild region. The Cubeo Indians seen by Wallace were still wearing large circular wooden plugs in their ears. By 1903, in the time of Koch-Grünberg, this form of male ornamentation had already been given up.

Curt Nimuendajú surveyed the Isana, Aiarí, and Vaupés rivers in 1927. In his notes, published posthumously in 1950, it is revealed that he correctly identified Tucano and Cubeo descent groups as patrilineal clans. He did not, however, enter the Cuduiarí, and his information on that river, being secondhand, is not too reliable.

My own field work on the Cuduiarí began in September 1939 and continued through June 1940. (Goldman, 1948, is a preliminary report.) The Cuduiarí had the advantage of being relatively accessible and as yet almost completely unacculturated. I decided upon the Cuduiarí after a survey of the Cubeo communities along the Vaupés.

## CULTURE CHANGE

Cubeo culture has been subjected to acculturative influences from two sources, one from other Indian tribes and the other from European, Colombian, and Brazilian missionaries, settlers, traders, and latex extractors. Cultural interchange among Indian tribes in the Northwest Amazon region is, of course, an old and intricate process,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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615 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their
614 part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hier-
614 archical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social struc-
554 ture and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither, as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo. Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no
[301] actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within
[177] the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that
[721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political authority over the entire Cuduiarí.

614 The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point
[613] whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old
[867] man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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602 or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

593 The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In [574] any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the 601 thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother." 602 Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means [193] literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

593 Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

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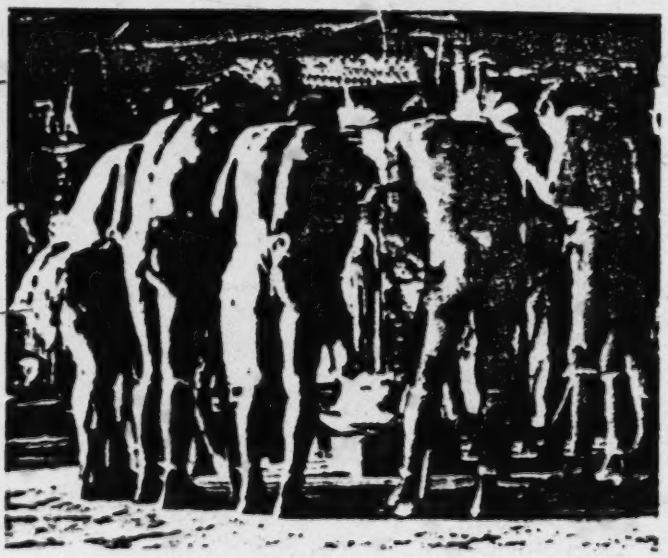

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

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593 to his father for personal attention. On the whole, a child is at a greater disadvantage if it has lost a parent of its own sex, that is, a girl with a stepmother, a boy with a stepfather. A girl with a stepmother has a hard life of chores and of open neglect. A boy with a stepfather does not have a hard life at all in the material sense. He is deprived more subtly of intimacy with a paternal figure, and this usually shows itself in his own reserve with respect to his fellows. If he has no father at all the effect upon his personality is even more marked.

593 736 [597] My direct acquaintance with the situation of a true orphan is limited to the observation of one case among the *Bahúkiwa*. This was a girl from another tribe who had lost both parents and was adopted by the *Bahúkiwa* headman as his "daughter." The little girl, about nine, was addressed as "daughter" but held the status in the household of a servant. She took on the heaviest chores and was almost never free to play. Her lowly status was truly stigmatized by [301] her lack of possessions. She was the only child among the Cubeo [123] whom I had ever seen unadorned, until I gave her a necklace which she was allowed to keep. The children of the household enjoyed beating her as a way of teasing her, rather than wickedly. She took their pinchings and cuffings good-naturedly, on the whole, and had learned to pretend not to notice. Once, in the presence of the headman, her "father," the children were overdoing their teasing. She looked imploringly at the headman. Finally, she caught his eye and he said to her, "It is all right for you to run away." He saw no need to reprimand his own children.

[114] In reading Giacone (1949) on the Tucano tribe I found my observations on orphans corroborated. He, too, reported that orphans do not lack food but that they appear to be melancholy.

## CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP

572 193 A parallel to the brother-sister relationship is the *hikü-hiko* relationship, a ceremonial friendship. These terms, formed by combining the possessive prefix with the gender suffix, connote a relationship of exceptional closeness. The linguistic significance of possessive prefix and gender suffix for kinship terms has already been brought out. The curious feature of *hikü* and *hiko* is that these terms are composed of the two intimate-indicating particles.[8] The ceremonial

[8] *Hi* is also the verb stem "to give," but if *hikü* were translated as "giver"—a feasible rendering—it should be possible to say *hihikü*. But this form does not exist.

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622 571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habókü* and *kenámi upákü*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókü* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment [592] is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákü*, on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókü* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókü*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókü* attributes. Thus 622 614 554 not all headmen qualify as *habókü*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, such as the *Órabawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókü* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókü* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókü* as headman. Not every *habókü* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the head- [701] man. In time of war the *habókü* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

622 614 554 301 292 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókü* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókü* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókü*. The *Bahúkiwa* define *habókü* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókü*.[1]

[114] [565] [1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since
301 stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
554 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
[756] major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[437] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[614] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region.
[184] The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *habóhũ* status or *kenámi upáhũ*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[135] [2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[324] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

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Koch-Grünberg has observed this dance among neighboring Tucanoans as well as among Arawakan-speaking tribes. He observed it as a courting dance, boys and girls leaving the house after a dance and disappearing into the surrounding darkness (1909, I, 293, II 272). There is no mistaking the erotic undertones of this dance among the Cubeo. But it cannot ordinarily be a courting dance since the participants are normally sibmates and phratry mates if unmarried. The first girls to join the dancers are, in fact, their sisters. But as the evening wears on, the erotic character of the dance emerges in a dangerous form. An unmarried girl too often chooses to thrust herself beneath the arms of her sister's husband, a married woman "chooses" a husband's brother. What is ordinary courtship in tribes that bring together potential marriage mates at their drinking parties is largely adultery or the threat of adultery among the Cubeo, who entertain within the exogamous circle. I suspect that in the case of the Cubeo, simple courtship dances have become embroiled in a changing social order that has gradually built up a phratric system out of independent exogamous local groups. In the process the dance has lost its innocence.

The dancing has a deceptively decorous appearance. As the girls insert themselves between two male dancers, under the arm of one, the men never pause, turn their heads, or change expression. The girl puts her right arm lightly around her partner's waist. She holds her left hand before her, at her skirt. Crouched beneath the yoke

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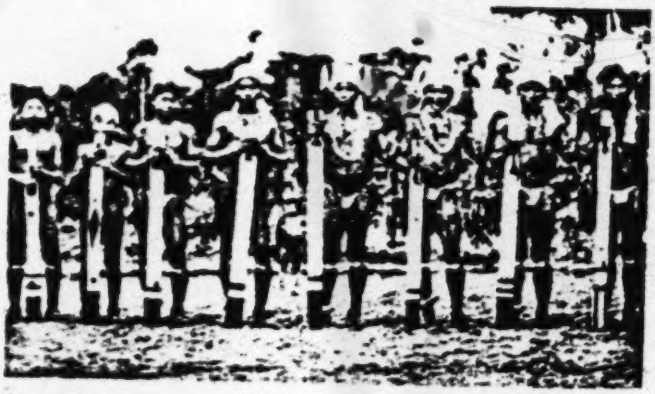

Fig. 10. *Hehénewa* men in full dancing costume.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárnko*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawi* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñikndwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[6] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihi*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[6] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

under his battered trilby and the groundsheets, while Brian dived beneath the tarpaulin and spent the night stretched over tins and kitbags. 122

The New Year came in with more rain. For all the discomfort it brought we could only look upon such deluges as a sign of good fortune; they were early this year, the rivers would now be higher and our descent easier. So we started on our journey downstream. *El Diablo*, lumbering along like a loaded ark, was stopped by every snag and log. She took days to cover the same distance as the slim canoes of the Indians, when they later travelled back up the river in a matter of hours to pick up the fuel drums we had had to leave behind on the portage.

One day canoes appeared gliding towards us, both loaded down with large wicker baskets of *farinha* and paddled by two men in loincloths. Strings of minute white beads were around their necks and black berry bracelets around each arm. An old man, his wizened face eyeing us suspiciously, was sitting in the bows of the first canoe. [291] [301]

This was our first real contact with the Indians of the Piraparaná. Their immediate reaction was not one of fear, but rather, like our own, of enquiry and interest. They said nothing until José hailed them in their own dialect. There ensued a long, almost formal exchange of greetings which we were to hear many times when travelling through their [illegible]. Before they left we asked them to carry a message for Nestor – in case they should meet him, for they were travelling to the Río Ti. [607] [576]

Much depended on our guide José. That he had been with Padre Elorza was not necessarily to our advantage, for in the first place we could not be sure what effect the first contact with Catholicism had had on the Indians of the Piraparaná, nor did we know what instructions José had been given by the padres. We had to depend on him entirely both for our own safety when travelling downstream and for the information we were to get. He was not a very pleasant or easy character. From the outset he had always wanted to have his own way and if this was not granted then he became moody and unco-operative. We could never be certain what he would do next and after his attempt at desertion we could not trust him. However he worked very hard and showed remarkable common sense, and without him we would never have got through the rapids ahead of us. 114

His experience with white men had not only come from the Mission. Some five years previously a *cauchero* had come to his river home close to the Brazilian frontier. He had taken six boys away with him to work the wild rubber trees and one of them was José. Later he had escaped from the *cauchero*, but during those four years he had learnt how to operate an outboard motor, to handle money and had even been in an aeroplane. He had come under the Mission's wing only recently, and it may have been this combination of experiences that had complicated his character. He no longer possessed the Indian's direct simplicity.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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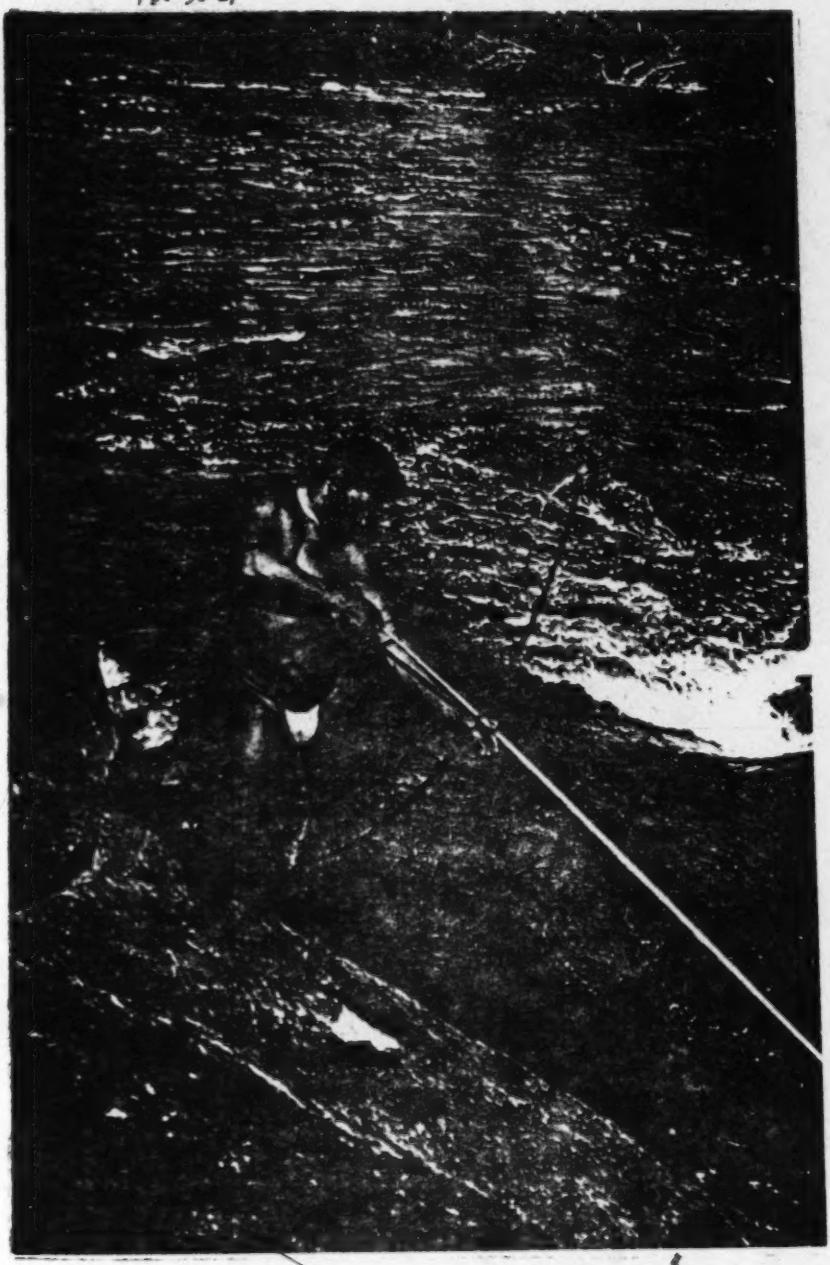

A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.

# 4

# *The Forest Addicts*

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the ear-plug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run;
147 whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
302 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
411 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undis-
609 turbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little. When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into
152 the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

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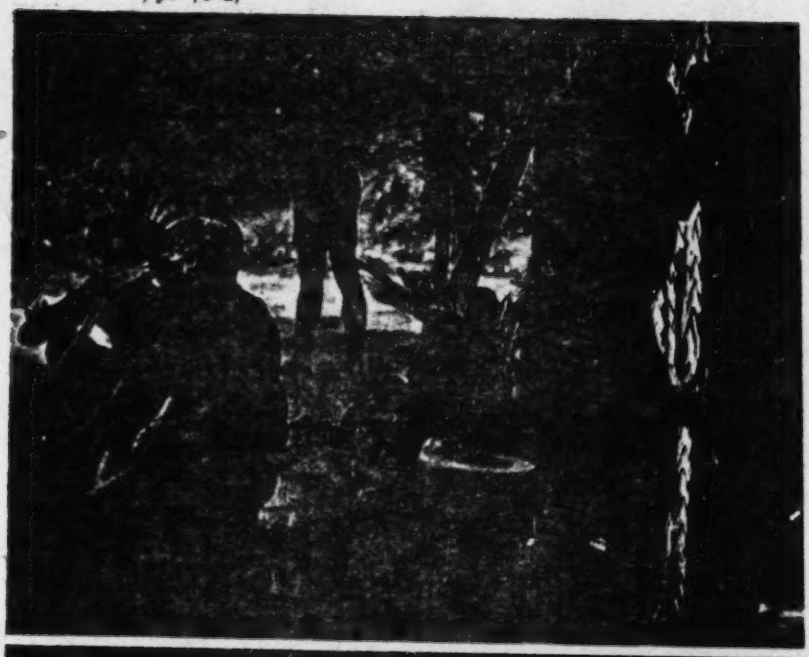

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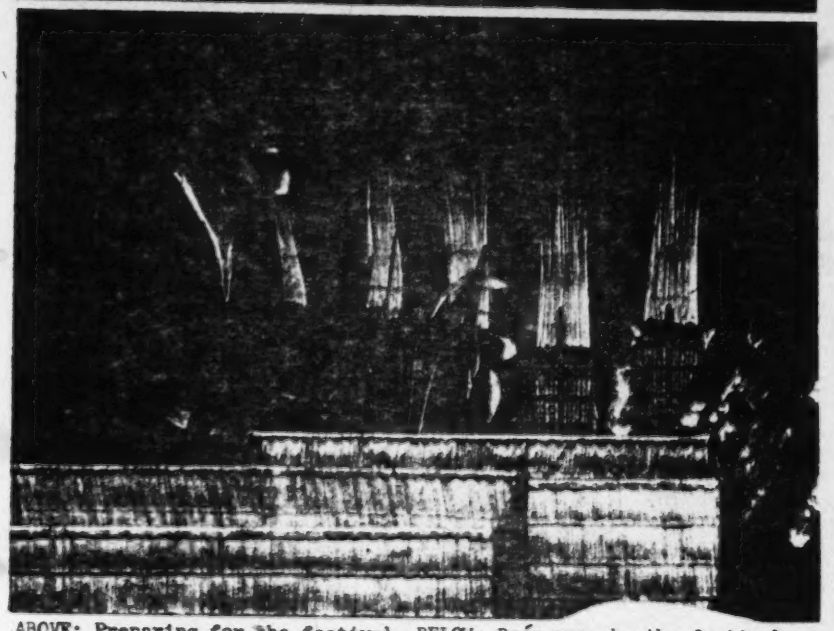

ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Bréo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Tukano profile and festival head-dress.

796 monotone of the shaman. At intervals the coca calabash passed from hand to hand and each man threw a deer-bone spoon of the sage-green powder into his mouth. He stored it in his cheek and gradually the coca, mixed with saliva, filtered down his throat. Louder and louder, faster and faster became the chanting, echoing between the walls of the vast dark interior. The shaman worked himself into a frenzy, waving his arms out in front of him, his hands moving in wild gesticulations, his voice a rapid series of falsetto monotones; he was expelling all evil spirits from the tribal precincts to the heads of the *caños* and to other lands. The incantations continued for nearly two hours and then in the early hours of the morning there was silence.

796 301 The time had arrived for Bréo to unlock the precious box of plumages and he lowered it to the floor. He unwrapped the barkcloth cover and took off the lid of the beautifully woven palm box. Item by item he distributed the contents to the waiting figures, eagerly clambering to adorn themselves. First the smaller boys were given their simple crowns of red and yellow macaw and toucan tail-feathers, and they dashed away to adjust these on their heads. Underneath lay monkey-fur belts, ancient quartz pendants, puma-tooth necklaces and the most important items of all, magnificent feather head-dresses. These Bréo carefully selected and gave to the elders of the tribe. Crowns of toucan feathers woven on *cumare* frames adorned their heads, brilliant gold and red, ringed with white duck-down. Majestic royal crane plumage, stuck into a banana stem which projected down the back, jutted vertically up from the back of the head. The white feathers were woven together in a *cumare* mesh and stood out like quivering spindles of spun glass, gleaming in the darkness. Behind was a single red macaw tail-feather, a deer bone bound to the banana stem with monkey fur and last of all the wing plumage of an egret.

301 Many of the men wore giant quartz obelisks dangling from their necks. They make them no more, but their ancestors used to spend days rubbing down large chunks of quartz in pébbleworn channels in the river beds. Others had necklaces of wild boars' tusks, pointing concentrically outwards. There were many monkey-fur armlets with glistening beetle wings which [292] jingled as the men moved. Around the waist was another belt of monkey fur with puma teeth attached; below the knees finely-woven *cumare* garters, rubbed yellow with river clay, and above the right ankle dried *watcha* nut [302] rattles. This, with the fierce red facial paint and black body design, made up the splendid dancing regalia of the Tukano. The women had no adornments; [562] south of the Caquetá they stuck rings of white duck-down to their ankles with mud, but here they only painted their faces and bodies.

796 535 Now the dancing proper began. Since it was the manioc festival only the ceremonial *Nahubasa*, signifying the complete cycle of manioc from the time it was planted to the time it became cassava, was danced. Each man carried a long cane stave in his right hand and they joined in a line across the centre of

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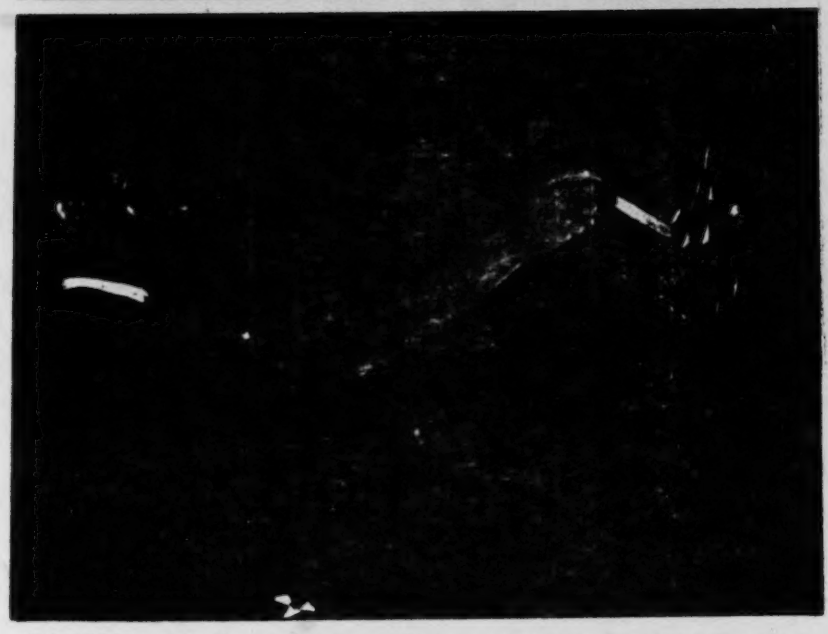

ABOVE LEFT: An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth. ABOVE RIGHT: Boy playing pan-pipes. BELOW: A headman lights a torch of beeswax.

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
• 302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yuruti women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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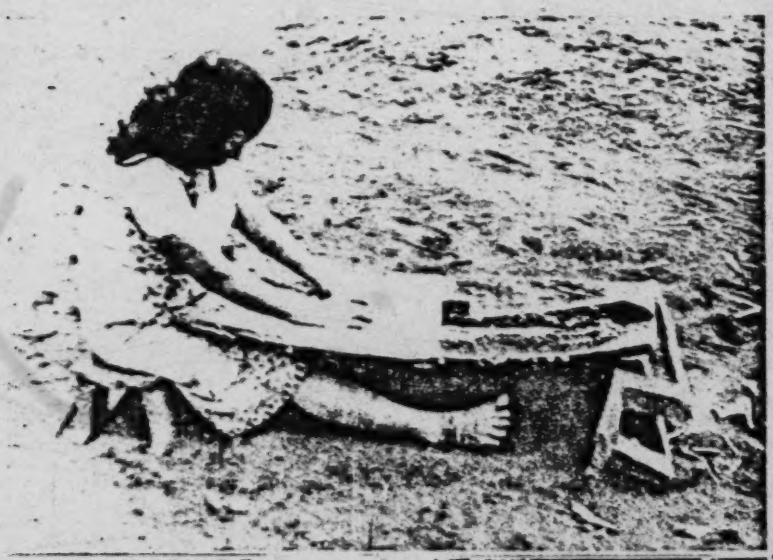

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Upper part: Yuruti woman grating bitter yuca.

Lower part: Siriano man weaving balaya (basket).

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

/Illustrations facing p. 17 in the original source/

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Wanana girls (the younger one has a Taryana mother; the older one, a Kubêwana)

Pirá-tapuya types (from the settlement Patu, Papuri River)

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Newborn Pirá-tapuya child (with the prophylactic painting of carajura)

.4: Silva--45 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Macu SQ10

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/Illustrations facing p. 32 in the original source/

Tukano type (painted for the dances) (settlement of Iua-pixuna, Papuri River)

Woman of the Aõnira or Íde-masã tribe

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Girls of the Makú tribe (the younger one had her hair cut in the initiation rite)

/73 cont./

142 Black hair, or more commonly dark brown, almost black,
144 straight, shiny, coarse and thick; many times, though, burned by the sun (6).

6. Among the Makú, Íde-masã, Roéra-masã, Yebá-masã, Hanẽrã, Edúrya, and Ba:re-masã, cymotrichous types are common. We could see and photograph some women who exhibited black hair that was fine and cacheados /curled in ringlets/.

178 The ones who have attended school wear it in a regular length,
302 combed, and parted on the left side; the others have it cut with scissors with a short fringe on the forehead, behind the ears, and on the neck. Up to a century ago they used to let it grow in long braids (7),

7. A. Russell Wallace wrote in 1850: "The men do not cut the hair, they let it hang in front in a long braid, tying it around with cords, or they let it fall in the middle of the back, often as far as the thighs. The hair of the women falls loosely over the shoulders and is cut with a moderate length" (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 616).

which might reach as far as the thigh. The women, instead, trimmed it a little, perhaps in order not to be inconvenienced in their work. Today the women have it a little below the shoulders, more or less fastened with a ribbon or pin. One sees some children with the hair quite shorn, but growing in breadth, as if it were a lion's mane (8).

8. Hair cut this way, "like a lion's mane," although with a wider zone, that is, about 5 or 6 centimeters, has been seen, likewise, in caboclo children of the Rio Negro. Perhaps the natives have imitated these examples.

/160 cont./

142 All of them have a full figure, up to about 30 years of age. After that age, corpulence becomes exaggerated in some men, and the women on the whole lose weight, growing old prematurely. They do not promote any deformation for aesthetic or warlike effect (34).

[171] [304]

34. The deformation of the skull is characteristic of the Caraíbas /Carib/, applying tight splints to the children's heads. Among the Amazon tribes the first explorers found this custom among the Cambeba ("Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, 145). In some tribes, for example, the Pinao of Colombia, this was done in order to have a fierce appearance.

826 The maidens exhibit round, well-developed breasts. They identify beauty with corpulence. When someone changes climate in order /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /161/ to gather strength, they say that "he went in search of meat." No preoccupation with the waistline; they do not use a girdle.

• 302 The hair in particular is an object of vanity. They arrange it, comb it often, the women and the new generation of men. The young men, during trips, gather flowers from the bank of the river and string them through their hair, over the ear. They apply lotions, which they prepare with genipap and other plants, in order to keep it black. This is the secret in why they never become gray... They love beads, soaps, perfumes. A maiden sold herself for half a jar of pomade.

They like the mirror very much and stare at it frequently; formerly they gave an oar in exchange for a small mirror.

The young women are sad about being dark, and in order to lighten the skin they rub it vigorously with soap and even with sand, looking at themselves again each time, in order to see whether they are becoming fairer.

4: Silva--398 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

*115 /Illustrations facing p. 272 in the original source./

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Cesário (Tukano octogenarian shaman)

The shamans:
(right) Marcelino (Wanana from Jacaré, river Uaupés)
(left) Eduardo (Huhúdeni from Uapuim-cachoeira, river Siari, trib. of the Içana)

*[192]
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Tukano shamans:
Marcelino from Juquira (right)
Henrique from the Japú igarapé (left), playing the chõ

/Illustrations facing p. 273 in the original source./

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From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the py:)

One of the feminine occupations

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2) Designs on the body. They also execute various designs on the body. They might have their magic meaning, but they undoubtedly reveal an artistic tendency and, in some cases, are done with care and mastery (49).

49. We do not believe that painting on the body is an indication of a period of nomadism: "not having any place to execute their drawings, they did them on their own body." We venture the opinion, instead, that they have a decorative character (they are, thus, an indication of artistic tendency), besides supposing them endowed with magic powers (prophylactic virtues, etc.).

Notice 1st. -- The paintings do not bear clear totemic representations, unless it is only a matter of a stylization, the meaning of which the present-day natives seem not to know (50).

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50. Koch Grünberg (Z.I. 349) found numerous anthropomorphic drawings and drawings of plants and animals, sometimes more or less stylized, among the Arwake of the Içana and the Wanana and Kubewana of the upper Uaupés. And he also states that figures the same as those on the bark walls and posts of the maloca appear, during the feasts, on the bodies of the Indians, as well as on their pots and dance objects. He moreover points out the sculpture of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic and of animals, not only in wood, but also executed in ears of maize and hung on the beams and posts of the maloca by means of a string.

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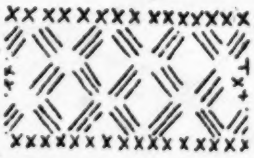
2nd. -- What is called Nõ'õsé or face painting is semicircles with the concave part upwards, on the forehead, and straight lines in a V on the side of the zygomata and on the face. Ordinarily, to execute these designs they use the Mumí-kha, that is, a small stick, like a lipstick, having on one of the tips a ball of wax to which adheres the colored powder, which is taken out of the small cuia in which it is kept and is applied to the face.

3rd. -- On the trunk and limb they execute various designs, We'ẽ ohasé, all, however, consisting of straight lines. In some cases, at the great dances of the dabacurí, the whole body is painted as if it were a robe, with lengthwise and transverse strokes. The process for these paintings is that called We-oharí-tyĩ, that is, they take a small cylinder of a very light wood, called molongó (in Tukano Poó-gõ; it is the ambelânia grandíflora, of the family of the Apocynaceae), with carvings corresponding to the lines that one wishes, and, while the color is fresh, they roll it against the skin where it leaves quite regular traces. They likewise use fine splints of



Design imprinted with the molongó cylinder

arumĩ, not infrequently two or three tied together as a paint brush, leaving a double or triple stroke. There are also coarse strokes executed with the index finger moistened in the color.

[184] There are not, at present, marks that characterize the tribes, as the first explorers suggest. The same designs are observed in the various tribes.

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4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé, known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Õnõfiá or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or parirí, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

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and from the Mõ'sã or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

/295 cont./

• 302 All these colors are quite resistant, since they last many days,
386 in spite of their frequent baths.

*[192] Very frequently one finds women with the face more or less powdered with red; it is the painting called Tu-dyó-kũsé. They explained that it is only in order not to feel the heat of the sun so much during the work in the clearing. These powders are prepared with the urucú and carajurú.

304 They do not use true tattooing, and the natives of the present generation do not even seem to know about it (53).

53. Wallace, however, stated a century ago (o. c.): -- "These Indians (of the Uaupés) make tattoos, but on a small scale: for this they practice along the arms a row of pricks of circular shape. The Tucanos are distinguished from the other tribes by three vertical blue lines that they draw on the upper lip in place of mustaches." Through the ancient explorers we know of the tattoos of other tribes of the Amazon, for example, the Yavarí, Urupá, Suarirana, Periquita, all located on the river Tapajoz (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of 1759, n. 54). As for the tribes of the Rio Negro (without specifying whether the natives of the Uaupés are included), Cônego /Canon/ Andre Fernandes de Souza writes (o. c. 455): "Some pierce the ears, lips, and nose, into which they introduce feathers and sticks, these operations costing them unbearable pain; others draw on the skin many permanent black lines, using these industrious deformities, not so much for distinction of their tribe, as in order to cause an imposturous terror in their enemies." Concerning the Desana, 50 years ago Koch G. (Z. I. 264) stated that they are the only ones of the Caiarí who use tattooing executed with the palm thorn. This is two parallel blue lines, from the lower lip to the chin.

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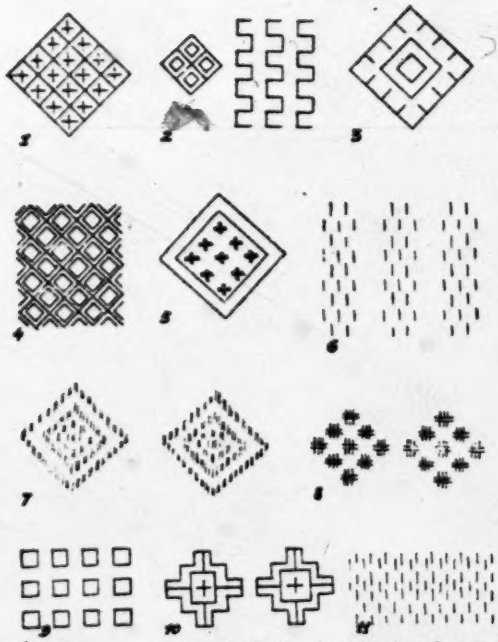

1. Yóãsõ paxkó sẽ'ẽma -- alligator's back (black); 2. Soxkõ-rõ ó:ri -- flower (design) of the grater (black and white); 3. Sẽ'rá -- pineapple (green and yellow); 4. Ahũ-dõxkarí -- pieces of beijú (black and white); 5. Buwahá-ro -- cuia of cutia /agouti/ (green); 6. Neé ó:ri -- flower of the miriti (yellow); 7. Sirí-pía ó:rí -- flower (design) of the swallow (green and purple); 8. Ũhuri sẽ'ẽma -- back of the land turtle (black and white); 9. Ó:ri mãrĩ -- design without flowers (black and white); 10. Sakú dõ'pó-ka -- leg of saracura /Rallidae/ (white and black); 11. Yóãsõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of calango /small lizard/ (green).

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3) Designs on objects.

The Baniva customarily execute designs on the camutins or pots, and the other tribes, on the cuias used, especially on the maracá. These are vegetable colors with a predominance of white, and the designs are always Greek frets. We have already mentioned the designs on the small stools that the Tukano make.

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There are eight more common principal ornamental motifs that appear on the woven and plaited work of the hammocks and strainers:

/310/

d) Plumage and adornment.

301 The native ornaments are many; the most striking ones are
• 302 for the men (59),
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> 59. This assemblage of ornaments (earrings, bracelets, necklaces, combs), the long hair in a braid, carefully combed, the depilation of the beard and the mustache, gave the Indian, according to Wallace's testimony, an appearance so effeminate, especially in the dance, when they even protected the chest with the shield of cipo and the lower part of the body with the long waxsó-ro of hanging tururí, that the English scientist thought he was in front of a woman. Wallace's opinion is that the legend of the Amazons or women warriors arose from this mistake (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 630).

but their use on the latter is exclusively for the dances (60),

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> 60. In the Roéra and Ihwãna tribes, even outside of the dances, we have seen the men, especially the young ones, with paintings on the face, bracelets on the arms, and earrings made up of a plug of colored or white feathers.

at least nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

The ancient travelers speak (61)

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> 61. Pe. Cristovão de Acuña, referring to the journey of Pedro Teixeira in 1639, concerning the nation of the Curizaris, which started 28 leagues below the mouth of the river Juruá,

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e) Puericueio. It is the feminine tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ that we discussed before (VI -- 3, a), in Tukano yax'kẽ waxsó-ro. Nowadays they only use it in the dances and very rarely (65) /sic; 64/.

> 64. "In their festivals, when they dance, the women then put on a small tanga or apron, made of beads arranged in regular patterns, with much taste and much caprice. This tanga is about six square inches in size. It is never worn on other occasions, so that, once the feast is over, the women take it off immediately" (Wallace -- "Viagens," etc., p. 630).

*192 301 562

f) Wreath. At times during the dances the women fit to their heads a wreath of branches from that shrub of pleasant and intense aroma called bará. It is what is called bará pu'sasé in Tukano.

[177]

g) Many women and girls habitually wear curved combs of striking colors, i'í be'tó or i'í-ro be'tó, obtained from the civilized. A century ago, according to Wallace, they did not wear any comb.

2) Masculine adornment.

• [302]

For the dances the men paint the face and the body, as was said above.

[178]

a) Stone of command. We call it this because it is actually a badge of the tuxauas, who wear it hanging at the neck on solemn occasions (dances, reception for some civilized, etc.). Nowadays it is a rare ornament, and few own it. The ouvidor /auditor/ Xavier Sampaio (cf. above, II -- 3), following Pe. José Noronha, mentions the existence of this ornament and gives it as an indicator and classifier, by its size, of the nobleness of the wearer. In Tukano it is called õxtã bohá, that is, clear stone. It is a piece of amorphous quartz, quite smooth, cylindrical in shape, and about 15 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 in diameter.

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*192 291 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 • 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá ií-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. [177] Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá.

[237] 2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrí-dá.

[534] 3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps.

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

4: Silva--472 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

* 192 /Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

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Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

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Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

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/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments

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Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua from Caruru-Cachoeira (river Uaupés), adorned for the dances (acangatara, necklaces, and stone of the husband /marido, "husband," should be mando, "command"/)

Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

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/343 cont./

796 574 Such formalistic greetings last an hour and a half. Afterwards the ritual banquet starts, without any further pragmatica, each eating whatever pleases him: first the men, more or less grouped in the front part of the maloca; afterwards the women and children, in groups at the back of the maloca.

[785] [273] Once this meal is finished, the ritual fast begins, that is, abstention from any food. It is only permissible to take some of the drink prepared for the feast. They do this, helping themselves copiously, even excessively, to the drink, which, besides, is very nourishing, being as it is, in reality, a thin pap (49).

[123] 49. On a certain occasion, after eleven hours of laborious passage through the forest, we arrived at a maloca of the Bará, located near the headwaters of the stream called marĩya (tributary of the Tiquié), when a feast was being given there. One of our traveling companions, of the Bará tribe, who should have been very tired and undernourished, like all of us, since he was carrying the heaviest load, did not accept the food that was prepared for those of our retinue. He preferred to participate in the feast with his "brothers," and contented himself with only beijú caxirí.

2) Preparation for the dances.

*[192] The tuxáua, at a certain moment, tells the chief of the visitors that the banquet is finished and "he may open the box of the decorations" (mahã̃ poári axká-ro).

*[192] [302] /344/ The women of the maloca come to fit the bands (uxtá-seri) to the guests' legs, below the knee, and to execute the body painting. The woman who painted him will be the guest's dance partner. It falls to the man, Pe. Humberto Limpens and the Tukano Antônio Barreto note, to paint the woman, and

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).

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50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumã by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumã tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõõ wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

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The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

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When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to entertain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a) ); it is a sign that the dances

/383 cont./

291 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not
534 seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of
562 fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

[115]

105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796] As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be
[302] a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are wom exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

178 106. We were informed by the natives them-
562 selves that, while the men at the feasts, be-
292 sides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/383 cont./

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*[192]

/footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear Waxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament. Some persons declared to us that they had never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that the women always walked around destitute of clothing.

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About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

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As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178]

It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),

107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

[832]

perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt. Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

/397 cont./

535 wore on his head a wide acangatara /head ornament/ with arara
237 feathers; a wig with braids of monkey skin and with two long, red
301 arara feathers and an onça /jaguar/ bone. From the wig, leaning toward each ear, there was a long, white heron feather. Hanging over the back the cangatá, a cord with tucano /toucan/ feathers. Also on the wig, close to the nape, the crest, or rectangular woven piece with long heron feathers. On the neck three long necklaces of beads and a necklace of seeds with the stone of command. From the ears, earrings made out of a burnished half of a gun cartridge.
[302] As painting on the forehead, a red semicircle turned upward and a large cross from the neck to the waist (132),

[123] 132. At a dance that we attended in the maloca of the Tuyuka in the igarapé of the Onça /jaguar/, upper Tiquié, from the painting of the Kõmũ resulted a cross on the face with a broad stroke from the forehead along the nose and upper lip, and the arms of the cross curved upward almost in a semicircle.

also in the color red. On the left elbow, a bracer of monkey skin. In the form of a belt, over the buttocks, a necklace of teeth, to which he later attached two branches of that magic and intensely
*[192] aromatic shrub called bará. In the course of the dance he fitted to the right ankle a necklace of seeds (Kixtyõ).

Marcelino wore a small, denticulated wreath of fine straw, with yellow down from the arara; at the nape the crest with white plumes and a long feather surrounded by a string of colorful plumes. On the left elbow the armband of monkey skin. Hanging at the back, braids of monkey skin decorated with arara down.

*192 b) Execution. A small rehearsal took place in order to verify whether the japurutús /long flutes/ were in tune with each other, as
534 well as the cariços /Panpipes/. A little caxiri was drunk.

The tuxaua executed the yaí-gõ paasé, that is, he made the
534 rhythm stick, called "stick-of-the-onça /jaguar/," decorated with
535 feathers, vibrate several times on the right muscle of the arm. He
*[192] took some steps in rhythm with the pestle-tube of imbauba, and he

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present
[273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed that everything takes place still today just as it was written by that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native ceremonies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier, have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar. Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to leave in the center, between the front door and the back door, a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

/442 cont./

881 During this time, which runs from three days to four weeks,
562 according to the tribe, the young girl will always be shut in, she cannot take a bath, she will go out only when necessary and quickly, trying not to meet anyone.

562 There, while the girl is kept seated on a stool, her hair will
881 be cut by a woman who is called mõ-paxkoá, that is, godmother
• 302 of initiation (77).
608

77. This godmother will call the girl Yõ-se:ko, my hair-cut; and the maiden will call her Yõõ-ré se:ko, the one who cut me (my hair).

"It is in order to exchange for new hair" was the only explanation. According to information obtained by Koch G. (Z. I. 357), the girl's hair was used for making the masks of Wãx-tĩ. Thus one more element of connection between the puberty rite and the cult of Wãx-tĩ appears.

*[192] The face and especially the body are liberally painted with black dyá-wé dye by another woman, who is likewise considered Paxkoá. Both of the godmothers will receive some gift from the girl and also have a right to her services. The body painting is done as usual, by means of the molongó cylinder (VII-3, b(2) ).

For the haircut they used the sharp teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmo of different species) and other animals. For this reason, wrote Stradelli, the tribes of the Rio Negro, who spoke Nheengatú, when the use of scissors was introduced, called them Piranha. The artifact for the cutting of the hair among the Tukano is called Dõxpóse:ró.

*[192] The Mõ-paxkoá or the mother herself in some tribes pours water with pepper through her nose, using a funnel of the leaf of
/443/ õhoá pũrĩ or yõxsõ-pũri, "in order to become illuminated" (78).

78. "To have the face or skin become illuminated" is an expression that we have heard frequently among the young female informants. It seems

562
881
• [302]
[608]

/443 cont./

/footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus, "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

"the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a great deal; the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, pirámirim), ant, mexkã (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beijú of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

[262]
*[192]

She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cuia with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

[756]
[867]

Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /bouto/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

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244 A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total
433 productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects
[462] favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They
244 are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their
242 characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When wom-
[571] en from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cul-
[439] tivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for
[252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake
244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's
462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

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Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, 231
and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as 235
pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and 123
animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had 245
been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of 439
my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiari. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more [262] than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. [302] Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

## MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest 121
tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes 28
that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by 32
Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men 28
ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women 32
specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment 462
has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a [415] small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pedíba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men 462
work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a 461

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anced relationship in which he lavishes gifts upon her. "When she grows up," the Indians say, "she will repay him." A young man enters a friendship pact with an elderly widow because she has no one to look after her. This relationship, though, is like mother-son, and the woman will provide the young man with chicha and farinha if he has provided her with a manioc garden. 572

The Cubeo believe that ceremonial friendships persist in the afterlife. As spirits, they walk about arm-in-arm, one informant said, rapturously. The spirit of the friend who dies first hovers about the house until the other dies. It then leads its spirit friend away. 572 775

The ceremony for inaugurating ceremonial friendship is a simple one. At a drinking party, friends paint one another with red pigment which they refer to as "blood." Applying body paint to another, picking lice, or removing insect-bite scabs from the body is a gesture of intimacy normally confined to the immediate family. It is this intimacy that makes it appropriate between ceremonial friends. 572 302 515

Ceremonial friends tend to form a network. When a man has taken a girl as his *hiko* he is likely to take her brother as his *hikū*; his own brother will then take her sister as his *hiko* and so on. There are many network possibilities. Men who are *hikū* encourage their children to become ceremonial friends. The friendship network encompasses the phratry, giving to people special privileges of hospitality along the river. The network of kinship already encompasses the phratry, to be sure. But ceremonial friendship interlaces these bonds with the quality of close kinship. This seems to be its special significance. One may also look at the relationship from an economic point of view, noting the circulation of goods through its requirement of gift exchange. The Cubeo, however, are not so much property-minded as they are person-minded. The Cubeo joke about the gift aspect of ceremonial friendship and laughingly say that some people enter into the relationship with many people in order to acquire gifts. They are amused at the thought that a girl with many ceremonial friends will be a burden upon her suitor, who must make a gift to each ceremonial friend. The parents of young people are also burdened because they will be asked for something to be used as a gift. However, it is not goods they seek but intense relationships. It is not that the sib and the phratry fail to provide people with warmth and mutual assistance. The ordinary organization does this to a high degree. It seems, rather, that being virtually surrounded by "brothers" and "sisters" the Cubeo have exalted expectations of warmth and assistance which ceremonial friendship helps satisfy. 572 571 572 431 571

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Fig. 6. Old *Bahúkiwa* couple.

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the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patrilocal sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning" is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

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843 826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating. [302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to an- [763] other, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 854 302 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers) she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red [7 89] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment, [856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on [603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these [606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the [262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others [372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their [828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahikiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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846 789 262 fish that are mentioned. For example, a small fish that has many small bones, the *dóthe*, is addressed, "Son of the *dóthe* have no spines. Do not cause harm to our offspring. Allow [yourself] to be eaten."

[603] In the case of the aracú, the most common fish in the diet, the grandfather who is reciting the spells takes up a fish and cuts off its tail. If he did not do this, the tail when eaten would grow into a full-sized fish in the stomach and kill the child. After each spell has been recited the grandfather blows tobacco smoke, wafting his breath by an outward motion of the hand. The magical mechanism, as it was explained to me, is that the recitation invokes the fish and the blowing (*pupúdjü*) has the effect of dispelling the danger.

Capsicum is spelled and blown so that its odor, which has the power to dispel ghosts and spirits, will not harm the child. Manioc has a disturbing odor when raw. This odor will be harmful and the manioc itself will not nourish if the spell is not recited. The child will remain thin. Eating unspelled manioc cake will also cause the child's skin to become as hard and coarse as the bark of a tree. Each variety of manioc, however, must be mentioned by name.

For birds, however, the small white eagle is invoked because this bird, the *towáve*, eats all birds that the Cubeo eat. The spell states that as the "odor of burned birds" does not harm the *towáve* so it will not harm the human young. Similarly, for animals the young of the jaguar are invoked in behalf of all the game they eat. However, whereas the *towáve* is addressed generally in behalf of all birds, the spell for the jaguar must mention each of the animals he eats by name. Again, the danger to be avoided is in each case that of the odor of cooking.

846 789 The spell that is chanted as the river is "blown" refers to the anacondas, asking them not to notice the people who are bathing. The cigarette smoke as it is wafted over the river is told to form a heavy coating as of miriti fibers so that nothing that is below water can come to the surface.

The reference of these spells seems ambiguous for the Cubeo. It is clear, of course, that what is sought is protection for the newborn [551] infant. Since the infant has as yet no name and must be referred to only by the general designation *pwénte hyédokü* (offspring person), the spells, my informant explained, have beneficial effects for all offspring of the sib.

[302] The man who "blows" the river coats his hands and feet with genipa so that he seems to be wearing gloves and stockings. The genipa has magical power to dispel water spirits. He carries a handful of burning faggots from the hearth of the natal household while

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Fig. 8. *Bahúkiwa* mother and child.

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852 831 [887] [614] task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen [881] [833] [844] intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, [821] [881] a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

881 The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, [514] through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she [826] will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To [515] develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and pain- [302] fully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me [515] see how much pain you can stand."

[302] At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is [574] held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

114 When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them 881 she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. 756 Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father 881 Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

881 After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[3] She is also known as *nominyaiwi* (becoming a woman).

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831
832 The Cubéo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavímiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwd*, and armpit hair is *pwd butri* (literally, hair tobacco).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



765 After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to
574 complete the decorations on the masks they have brought and to ap-
[532] ply personal body decorations.

[302] The sibs of the phratry arrive in late afternoon. These later arrivals are greeted by the hosts wearing dance masks. When they
765 sight their guests they sally out of the house dancing and singing in
574 a winding line around the front plaza. The guests respond by don-
585 ning their own masks and dance up the path, each pair of masked
614 dancers singing its own song. They mingle with the hosts. All complete a circle about the dance plaza, the hosts dance into the house, and the guests continue dancing outside.

765 Two Butterflies from among the guests approach the open door-
574 way. Each in turn strikes the side wall violently with his rattles. From
535 within Sloth and *Máwayo* thrust their long poles out at them and "beat them off." The Butterflies rejoin the others. Suddenly all the dancers rush the doorway and skirmish with the spirits within. Those with staffs thrust them at the attackers or use them to ward off a thrust. Those with rattles shake them violently. The "attack" is noisy and spirited. Beaten off again, the attackers re-form their dance line and dance to the rear of the house, seeking an entry through that quarter. But here the doorway is blocked with crossbars and guarded by Dung beetles, who thrust their long lances at the "attackers." Again the attacking dancers retire and resume their dance at the front of the house. After a while they take off their masks, hanging the garments on poles that have been set for this purpose along the front walls. Now, as humans, each strikes the side wall violently with his staff and enters the house. This entry is ritualized. The men flit in swiftly and silently on tiptoe, whispering *t t t i i i*, and circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased.

The male hosts have formed themselves into an outer semicircle facing the guest dancers. They lean on their staffs and look on grimly as the dancers complete the circle; then they whistle. At this the
[537] dancers come to an abrupt halt in a semicircle facing the hosts and launch into the orations already described. The speeches are short, and the men change partners often, each moving out of position when necessary, or leaning past a companion at his side. After a few minutes the guests resume the flitting dance. They circle clockwise, whispering *iii iii iii*, and having completed one circle, dance counterclock-
[622] wise and whistle. Alternating between clockwise and counterclockwise and whispering and whistling, they complete several circles led by their headman, who carries a rattle in his right hand. During this dance only the host headman remains standing and facing the dancers; the others retire to the benches set behind the dance

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parikū* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*vei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhá*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yaví*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedídya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórū* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 54-B/

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LEFT: The front, painted with a design in charcoal and clay, and great eaves of a maloca. RIGHT: Cutting palm fronds to thatch the roof.

# 4

# *The Forest Addicts*

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the ear-plug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run; whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves
147 in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
302 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
411 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undis-
609 turbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little. When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into
152 the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

796 534 the people that the festival would start that night. The low booms rang out across the forest like blasts on a ship's foghorn. To the south, near the Caquetá, giant wooden drums were slung on a slant from two central poles of the *maloca* and beaten in a secret code as warning signals to other members of the tribe. The *mangwaré* drums were the jungle telegraph of Amazonia and their signals could be heard over twenty miles away.

796 574 More and more families arrived at the riverside port, where they left their canoes moored to the bank or tied to each other with thin strands of liana. Some thirty canoes formed a series of star-like patterns with the water rushing down between them, haphazardly tied, yet buoyant and secure. Each family made its way up the steep sandy path to the *maloca*: the men with their paddles, some with fishing rods, and many with panpipes strung to their hammocks; the women bent low under heavy loads of manioc and their babies on their hips. Here the head of each family was greeted by Bréo and shown where they could sling their hammocks around the sides of the house. The women handed the manioc to Wanina, his young wife – he had two, but the elder could no longer bear him children.

796 273 The amount of time it takes for the festival to be prepared depends on the amount of *chicha* to be consumed. With over a hundred people present, four days were barely enough for the manioc roots to be rubbed down, the poisonous juice extracted and then boiled to form the basis of *chicha*. The starch sediment was baked over the clay ovens into giant wafer-thin biscuits. The boiling liquid was poured into the long *chicha* canoe which lay on the floor between two of the central posts; the toasted cassavas were broken into the liquid and fermentation began. The *chicha* gained rapidly in potency and the canoe was covered with an exquisitely woven cane mat like Japanese lattice. One ceremonial canoe was not enough, and another was brought from the river to be filled with yet more fermenting *chicha*.

796 [787] In the evening the men sat chewing cocaine. Led by the shaman they consulted the spirits and their subdued mumblings continued far into the night. Their crouched bodies, lit only by the flickering of the resinous *turi* torchwood, reminded us of the semi-human rock carvings of their ancestors.

302 796 The *chicha* had fermented, the coca was prepared, the *maloca* was now a seething mass of people. The afternoon before the festival began, Wanina and the shaman's wife began to paint the bodies of the men. First deep red *karayuru* was smeared down the front of the torso, the thighs and along each arm with firm strokes of the fingers. A black liquid, the boiled juice from the leaves of a tree growing in their *chagras*, was painted on to the body with a three-pronged piece of cane. The hands and feet were totally blackened to above the wrists and ankles, and the arms and legs patterned with a lattice of

*A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.*

[see p. 78-A]

diagonal lines. Then the women painted their own faces with *karayuru* and blackened their hands and feet. 796 [302]

As the sun's last rays filtered into the *maloca* and the mumblings of the council of elders died down, the shaman left the dark interior and stood in front of the men's doorway. In his hand he carried the *Kurubeti*, the sacred pebble stave. Intricate circles of blue and purple humming-bird feathers adorned one end, a swollen spearhead formed the other. This swelling was produced by soaking a bulge in the wood in water, then inserting this into a banana stem and heating the spearhead over a fire. The swollen wood is cut open and three pebbles are inserted. During cooling the wood shrinks and the pebbles are locked in the cavity. The shaman stood pointing the stave away from the *maloca*. He hit it with his right hand and the stave swayed from side to side in front of his body. The rattling of the pebbles prevented the evil spirits from entering the *maloca*. In the days of tribal war, we were told, among the people living further to the south, each warrior carried one of these staves and after victory would dance himself into a frenzy, beating the stave against his shoulder. 796 789

With darkness the festival began. Bréo carefully rolled back the cane mat from the *chicha* canoe and the women handed round gourd after gourd, full of the bitter drink. More and more *chicha* was handed round to groups of people sitting contentedly by their family fires. Some of the younger men began to play their panpipes, but as yet there was no cohesion; the groups seemed rather to be competing with one another and different tunes came from all sides, one drowning the other. Many of these men had put sprigs of sweet-smelling leaves under their loin-cloth strings and berry arm-bands. The scent from the leaves was curiously sensuous, like sweet lemon, and used as an elixir of love by the Tukano during their festivals. 796

The same confused cacophony of dancing and panpipes continued well into the night; it was the young men's duty to keep the shaman awake, for not once during the course of the festival was he allowed to sleep. Small groups moved up and down the *maloca*, joyfully playing their panpipes as they danced, then they retired to their family fires and drank more *chicha*. The shaman remained apart, sitting on his stool in the centre of the *maloca*, gazing as if in a trance. At his side lay a calabash of coca and the sacred pot of *yajé*, the most powerful narcotic used by Amazonian Indians. Prepared from the boiled juices of a jungle creeper, the red liquid gives the shaman hallucinations and he is able to predict the future progress of the festival. Suddenly he summoned Bréo to his side. All the men came to the centre of the *maloca* carrying their wooden stools and sat down near him. With heads bent low the men started a muffled chant, answering in unison the solo [756] [276] [787]

*Tukano profile and festival head-dress.* [see p. 78-B]

796 monotone of the shaman. At intervals the coca calabash passed from hand to hand and each man threw a deer-bone spoon of the sage-green powder into his mouth. He stored it in his cheek and gradually the coca, mixed with saliva, filtered down his throat. Louder and louder, faster and faster became the chanting, echoing between the walls of the vast dark interior. The shaman worked himself into a frenzy, waving his arms out in front of him, his hands moving in wild gesticulations, his voice a rapid series of falsetto monotones; he was expelling all evil spirits from the tribal precincts to the heads of the *caños* and to other lands. The incantations continued for nearly two hours and then in the early hours of the morning there was silence.

796 301 The time had arrived for Bréo to unlock the precious box of plumages and he lowered it to the floor. He unwrapped the barkcloth cover and took off the lid of the beautifully woven palm box. Item by item he distributed the contents to the waiting figures, eagerly clambering to adorn themselves. First the smaller boys were given their simple crowns of red and yellow macaw and toucan tail-feathers, and they dashed away to adjust these on their heads. Underneath lay monkey-fur belts, ancient quartz pendants, puma-tooth necklaces and the most important items of all, magnificent feather head-dresses. These Bréo carefully selected and gave to the elders of the tribe. Crowns of toucan feathers woven on *cumare* frames adorned their heads, brilliant gold and red, ringed with white duck-down. Majestic royal crane plumage, stuck into a banana stem which projected down the back, jutted vertically up from the back of the head. The white feathers were woven together in a *cumare* mesh and stood out like quivering spindles of spun glass, gleaming in the darkness. Behind was a single red macaw tail-feather, a deer bone bound to the banana stem with monkey fur and last of all the wing plumage of an egret.

301 Many of the men wore giant quartz obelisks dangling from their necks. They make them no more, but their ancestors used to spend days rubbing down large chunks of quartz in pebbleworn channels in the river beds. Others had necklaces of wild boars' tusks, pointing concentrically outwards. There were many monkey-fur armlets with glistening beetle wings which [292] jingled as the men moved. Around the waist was another belt of monkey fur with puma teeth attached; below the knees finely-woven *cumare* garters, rubbed yellow with river clay, and above the right ankle dried *watcha* nut [302] rattles. This, with the fierce red facial paint and black body design, made up the splendid dancing regalia of the Tukano. The women had no adornments; [562] south of the Caquetá they stuck rings of white duck-down to their ankles with mud, but here they only painted their faces and bodies.

796 535 Now the dancing proper began. Since it was the manioc festival only the ceremonial *Nahubasa*, signifying the complete cycle of manioc from the time it was planted to the time it became cassava, was danced. Each man carried a long cane stave in his right hand and they joined in a line across the centre of

/Illustrations facing p. 17 in the original source/

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Wanana girls (the younger one has a Taryana mother; the older one, a Kubêwana)

Pirá-tapuya types (from the settlement Patu, Papuri River)

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Newborn Pirá-tapuya child (with the prophylactic painting of carajura)

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. • 304 171 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of 301 the same lip. On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well [554] polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/22 cont./

135 /footnote 3 cont./ Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, extracted or brought from the Tiquié River in the year of 1749, if melted, appear to be of silver, when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already carrying them as such."

*101 189. "The Issana is inhabited by Indians of the nations Baniva, Tumayari, Tuniari, Deçana, Puetana, Uerequena
171 and others. Those of the nation commonly called Uerequena,
• [304] through corruption of the word /23/ Ariquena, have as a mark of distinction a very large hole between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears, in which they put bunches of straw. Among them are found many who, prior
[551] to communication and knowledge of Whites, had Hebrew names, some pure and others with slight corruption, such as: Joab, Jacob, Yacobí, Thomé, Thomequí, Davidú, Ivanan and Marianan."

b. Xavier Sampaio, in his "Diario," writes: -- No.
133 380. "Farther down the famous Ucayari, by another name
*[101] the Uaupés, derived from the nation called this, who principally inhabit it, creates a bar. It empties with two mouths and a triangular island of 20 leagues around and innumerable rocks and cachoeiras, very dangerous because of the frightening whirlpools they form... Toward the south the Tiquié and Capuri, which are the principal ones. Toward

/23 cont./

133 the north there runs a channel of communication with the river Guabiari, which descends from the environs of Santa
171 Fé de Bogotá. The Daçanas, Tarianas and Uaupés Indians
301 who might communicate with the Indians of the same Guabiari have been seen with earrings of very fine gold, which is supposedly extracted from the mines of New Granada."

*101 381. "The Uaupés is inhabited by many nations, the
301 principal ones of which are Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena,
554 Uananá, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinaná, Timanará, Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; the most famous one, however, is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of
[304] the common people much smaller. The Uaupés wear the ears and lips pierced."

127 c. Numerous and interesting pieces of information are found in the nineteenth century, especially in the works of Wallace and Koch Grünberg. We shall cite them whenever an opportunity presents itself to us, as confirmation of what is found at present, or to verify a modification of indigenous customs, or, finally, to rectify those authors' observations that seem incorrect to us.

/43 cont./

*101 A pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of the stream Japú (Japu igarapé, Uaupés River), Henrique by name, when asked by us whether he knew the tribe Gí-tapuya (1955), answered us that they are the "Pirá-tapuya of the tail" (that is, the last subdivision of the Pirá-tapuya), called in Tukano Komé-pá-põrá, formerly living above the stream Japú, and who today live in S. Francisco (river Uaupés). This location coincides with the one that can be seen on the map drawn up by Hamilton Rice (cf. Mapas do Rio Uaupés N. A. 19 e Rio Putamayo S. A. 19 -- Provisional Edition Published under the Patronage of Hamilton Rice -- Geographical Society of New York).

(5) -- IPECA -- They are the Kumãdene, one group of which resides today in Urubucuara, as we shall see later (cf. IV -- 2, x /p. 171/).

(6) -- JACAMIM -- Passed over in silence on the other lists. We read in Pelo Rio Mar: "Jacami-tapuia, trombeteiros /trumpeter/ Indians. Indicated on the river Uaupés. Perhaps the same Buchpu-machsa."

From the natives of Pari-cachoeira Koch Grünberg obtained information about the Buchpu-machsa (which means "People of the sarabatana /blowgun/," because they are specialists in the making of this weapon), or Buhágana, /44/ as they call themselves, inhabitants of the Dyi-Igarapé, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, which, in turn, empties into the Japurá. He found out that they lived in round huts, pierced the ear lobes and wore an apron of bark around the thighs, and had never seen a civilized person. Their language, of which Koch could later gather a vocabulary of 60 words, is almost identical to that of the Õmõá, and both, in some words, deviate from the Tukano (Z.I. 180). They made large (3.5 meters) and heavy sarabatanas, because they used them as supports /Port. apoiadas/ (Z.I. 207). It must be pointed out, however, that the Buhágana about whom Koch informs us are not located on the Uaupés. For this reason we think that they cannot be identified with the Jacamim. A comparison of the vocabularies that we collected from the Ide and from the Emõá and that of the Buhágana of

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[142] [144] Generally long ears, pyriform, protruding, and with the lobes almost always held tightly. In all the cases that we could verify (more than two hundred individuals of both sexes and from various tribes, whose anthropometric measurements we took), we could observe on the dorsal part of the auricular pavilion (on both pavilions or only one, and generally in the lower part) a scar of varying shape and size. In many cases it looked like teeth marks, with the mark of two or three teeth. No one knew or they all refused to give any explanation for this scar, answering, as they frequently do, "I do not know," or "that is the way it is," or again "it is from birth." A young woman affirmed that it was her uncle who executed it, and she did not want to say anything else. A youth gave the information that it had been done by his mother when he was still small, for the purpose of his later being able to attach the feather for the dances there. An explanation that obviously was not satisfactory, because he did not have pierced ears. [115] [192] Dorotéia Brito, much later, told that such a scar is called Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro (orifice of Wãx-tĩ), but did not say anything about the origin, affirming that it was from birth. It seemed to us that we could establish, as in fact we did: 1st, that it is artificial, from the appearance; 2nd, it is done before the puberty rites, because we found it on prepubescent children; 3rd, the name of Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro is an indication that they judge it to be of magic or transcendental value. Maybe even a rite of symbolic value, like the circumcision of the Jews. [115] [553] These provisional conclusions were confirmed in September of 1956, when the Tukano Antônio Barreto, who exhibited these scars on both ears, not only confirmed the term Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro, but added that it is done by the father, by the mother, or any other person, after the child has received a name (cf. Rite of the imposition of the name, VIII-1, b (4) ), that is, from 3 to 5 years of age. He maintained, however, that he did not know its significance.

/75 cont./

• 304

They do not practice any deformation of the body (11),

11. Nevertheless the Ouvidor /Auditor/ Francisco Xavier R. de Sampaio, in his "Diário" of the year 1774-5, notices, in No. 318, concerning the river Anauene, tributary of the Rio Negro: "This river is inhabited by the Aruaquí nation, very warlike and anthropophagous, but without any artificial deformity such as those customarily practiced by the nations of the Amazon." And about the Uaupés (No. 381) he says that they pierced the ears and the lower lip. This is confirmed at the end of the eighteenth century by Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, "Noticias Geographicas da Capitania do Rio Negro no grande Rio Amazonas /Geographical Notes on the Capitania of Rio Negro on the great Amazon River/," No. 208), and 50 years later Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, pp. 245 and 634) adds that the Kubeo /Cubeo/ enlarge it more, in such a way that a bottle cork could pass through the orifice of the ear. Perhaps this custom is already being lost. We did not find even one individual with such a large orifice in the ears, and we were able to observe several hundreds of Kubêwãna on the upper Uaupés and on the Querarí. The largest orifice we could observe would measure one centimeter in diameter, and we saw it on a man of the Roéra-[illegible]ã tribe, residing on the Igarapé Comé-ia, tributary of the river Pirá-paraná.

except for the piercing of the ear lobes, from where they hang the earrings at the dances. Outside of this occasion, in order to keep the orifice open, they introduce a small stick from the ribs of palm trees. Among the men of the new generation, in the povoados assisted by the Salesian Missions, many no longer pierce the lobes.

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c) BÁ:RE-MASÃ OR TẽMYÚ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- The idiom of the Bá:re-masã, or "food people," likewise belongs to the family of Tukano languages. As can be verified by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), it is quite close to the language of the Roéra. We met a representative of the Bá:re-masã Tribe living among the Íde-masã of the Comé--ía (maloca Bõhõ-
[144] rya-hidó, mouth of the stream of the spider). He was (in August of 1956) a type of about 38 to 40 years old, short in stature, fat, skin of a light bronze, nose small and high at the point, rounded face, not very prominent zygoma, and almost cymotrichous black hair. He had pierced ears, with
[301] [304] [171] a plug approximately one centimeter in diameter stuck through them, the largest orifice in the lobes that we have found among the various tribes of the Uaupés.

[582] The law of the exogamy is also in force within the tribe, and marriages seem to be concluded with the Hanẽra, Bará, and Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The tribe of the Bá:re-masã is very reduced in members. We know of the existence of a maloca on the stream Umũ-ía (stream of the japú /bird/), tributary of the left bank of the stream Timí-ia (stream of the otter), which, in turn, flows in on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná, a little above the mouth of the Comé-ia.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The above informant, called Titõyã (also known by the name of Domingos), indicated to us as being divisions of his tribe: 1st. -- Íde-masã, 2nd. -- Ogóro-sõroa. It is probable that the first subdivision, Íde-masã, is the principal tribe of the Comé-ia (cf. IV -- 2, h) considered related to the Bá:re-masã, and not a simple division of the latter. The Ogóro-sõroa are the Hógolo-tsõloa or Tsõroa mentioned by Koch-Grünberg (Z. I, 370) on the Yauacacá-Igarapé, almost identical to the Edúrya in idiom.

/94 cont./

*101 The Ide-masã are in general less corpulent than the Tukano. Although of lighter complexion, somewhat pale, elongated face, high, slightly aquiline nose, not very prominent zygoma, almond-shaped eyes almost always light brown. The hair in general is dark or even black, fine, not lissotrichous; instead, many times even wavy.

[582] Tribal exogamy is in force among them. And we know that they are connected by marriage with the Tuyuka, Bará, Emõa, Yebá, Bá:re, Roéra. Not only the women, but also the [301] men wear pierced ears with a small plug two to three millimeters [304] in diameter, which keeps the orifice open.

A peculiarity of this tribe is the dances with masks. We had the opportunity to see the masks representing Waxtĩ and the [532] monkey. The one of Waxtĩ was a true white mask, made of bark, like a round face, with a long slit representing the mouth, a long and pointed nose, and, on the sides of the base of the nose, two slits, somewhat slanted, by way of eyes. The one that represented the monkey was a plain shirt of tururi, with a pointed part, like a hood, covering the head. In this hood there were two holes corresponding to the eyes and two points upwards representing ears.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They are found scattered over a very wide area: all the stream Comé-ia (stream of the iron or of the ax, in the Ide idiom Koméryaka, tributary of the left bank of the Pirá-paraná), the Miritĩ-paraná, Apapóris, and the Kamorĩ (which, according to indications by the same tuxáua, [161] must be a tributary of the river Solimões). They seem to be quite numerous, that is, several hundreds. The number of divisions that the tribe presents seems to confirm this information.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian Hinõ (that is, snake), also known as Fernando, about 50 years old (in August of 1956), tuxáua of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hido (mouth of the igarapé of the spider), on the left bank of the Komé-ya, about 10 hours by canoe from the mouth.

/108/

*101 b) The agreement with the previous lists is not great (only in half a dozen names). Having in mind that the ending kõ indicates the masculine singular, and wa, the ending for the plural, we have discovered a larger number of agreements. For example:

The 5th subdivision of this list, Bahúkõwa, with Bahúkekõ mentioned by Heloisa;

The 6th division, Wararíwa, with the 3rd one of Heloisa, Wárarikõ (pepper);

The 9th, Horóbora, clay, with the 8th, Húrukõ (?);

The 16th, Órobawa, with the 1st, Órobakõ (sororoca)

q) ROÉRA-MASÃ OR TARAYRA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Roéra-masã, as they say in their own idiom, corresponds to the Tukano word Doeá-maxsã or Taraíra-tapuya of the Nheengatú, since roé (in Tukano doé) is the name of the taraíra fish (Erithrynus Taraira, Lin.).

[115] Their idiom also belongs to the Tukano linguistic group, as is seen in the Vocabulary (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") that was given to us in August of 1956 by a young man named Yamí, also known under the name of Pedro, about 22 years old and residing in the Ídemasã maloca of the Komé-ya. They are [142] in general of medium stature, plump of figure, roundish face, light bronze complexion, light eyes inclined toward blue, mustache hairs, nose high and a little aquiline, and lissotrichous hair. All of them, men and women, wear the ears pierced [301] and a small plug of about two millimeters in diameter stuck [304] through them.

Tribal exogamy is also in force among the Roéra, and we [582] know of marriages with the Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They have a maloca near the mouth of the stream Gõ-ya, right tributary of the Komé-ya. It seems that they are not very numerous, except if we consider them in conjunction with the Emõã and Yebá, which were designated to us as one and the same tribe (cf. IV -- 2, t). It is to be noted that it is not rare that those of one tribe are presented

/160 cont./

142 All of them have a full figure, up to about 30 years of age. After that age, corpulence becomes exaggerated in some men, and the women on the whole lose weight, growing old prematurely. They do not promote any deformation for aesthetic or warlike effect (34).

[171] [304]

34. The deformation of the skull is characteristic of the Caraíbas /Carib/, applying tight splints to the children's heads. Among the Amazon tribes the first explorers found this custom among the Cambeba ("Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, 145). In some tribes, for example, the Pinao of Colombia, this was done in order to have a fierce appearance.

826 The maidens exhibit round, well-developed breasts. They identify beauty with corpulence. When someone changes climate in order /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /161/ to gather strength, they say that "he went in search of meat." No preoccupation with the waistline; they do not use a girdle.

302 The hair in particular is an object of vanity. They arrange it, comb it often, the women and the new generation of men. The young men, during trips, gather flowers from the bank of the river and string them through their hair, over the ear. They apply lotions, which they prepare with genipap and other plants, in order to keep it black. This is the secret in why they never become gray... They love beads, soaps, perfumes. A maiden sold herself for half a jar of pomade.

They like the mirror very much and stare at it frequently; formerly they gave an oar in exchange for a small mirror.

The young women are sad about being dark, and in order to lighten the skin they rub it vigorously with soap and even with sand, looking at themselves again each time, in order to see whether they are becoming fairer.

/295 cont./

302 All these colors are quite resistant, since they last many days,
386 in spite of their frequent baths.

*[192] Very frequently one finds women with the face more or less powdered with red; it is the painting called Tu-dyó-kũsé. They explained that it is only in order not to feel the heat of the sun so much during the work in the clearing. These powders are prepared with the urucú and carajurú.

• 304 They do not use true tattooing, and the natives of the present generation do not even seem to know about it (53).

53. Wallace, however, stated a century ago (o. c.): -- "These Indians (of the Uaupés) make tattoos, but on a small scale: for this they practice along the arms a row of pricks of circular shape. The Tucanos are distinguished from the other tribes by three vertical blue lines that they draw on the upper lip in place of mustaches." Through the ancient explorers we know of the tattoos of other tribes of the Amazon, for example, the Yavarí, Urupá, Suarirana, Periquita, all located on the river Tapajoz (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of 1759, n. 54). As for the tribes of the Rio Negro (without specifying whether the natives of the Uaupés are included), Cônego /Canon/ Andre Fernandes de Souza writes (o. c. 455): "Some pierce the ears, lips, and nose, into which they introduce feathers and sticks, these operations costing them unbearable pain; others draw on the skin many permanent black lines, using these industrious deformities, not so much for distinction of their tribe, as in order to cause an imposturous terror in their enemies." Concerning the Desana, 50 years ago Koch G. (Z. I. 264) stated that they are the only ones of the Caiarí who use tattooing executed with the palm thorn. This is two parallel blue lines, from the lower lip to the chin.

/314 cont./

*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõá-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of ear-
[177] rings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that
[304] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komũ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 535 237 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsõ, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

* [192] [304] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ̃ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that [224] is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

[226] Urukã-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one * [192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexkã-sã wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

[752] /366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

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/footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced."

• [304]

the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Ba'ti-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

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109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tõmpa-duri, but

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361 554 [157] [123] Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they entertain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or encouraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they did not care to have visitors.

342 361 622 768 When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one requirement of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new maloca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations. At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transitional period when the community is actually working both clearings. The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until hey are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old *chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

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361 [311] The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some 15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again. Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiari and the Querari. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong occupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Giacone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (referring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiarí, for example, a trail leads to the Querarí. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahúkiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another — architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

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592 the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. The Cubeo believe that one roof unites a community while several roofs divide it.

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311 Size of maloca is adapted in some measure to cultivable terrain. We have already noted that seasonal flooding and the requirement of good river frontage limit the availability of land for relatively permanent cultivation. But these are highly variable factors. Along the Vaupés, a deep river basin that can carry a great volume of water, there are vast stretches of dry land that have become the sites of civilized population centers. There is no doubt that from terrain alone the Vaupés could have supported far greater Indian populations than it did at the time of first contact. Along the Vaupés the limiting factor seems to have been social. On the Cuduiarí, on the other hand, land contours are such as to divide frontages into much smaller segments. On this smaller stream, terrain has been a more significant factor in limiting community size. But even on the Cuduiarí, land utilization is subject to strong social considerations. One consideration is that sibs
[614] must retain their traditional boundaries. This means that with slash-burn horticulture the sib territory must provide, as a minimum, a three-step cycle in which a community returns to its original land after 10 to 15 years. The well-situated tract must then be at least three times the average land requirement at any given time.

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244 There is still another consideration, and that is the distance of manioc gardens from the residence. When they prepare a clearing, the Cubeo bear in mind the distance a woman will have to trudge with her burdens of manioc, a baby, and firewood. That is why the gardens are laid out along a semicircle. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop. It needs reasonably dry soil and it makes heavy demands upon the time and energy of a woman for its cultivation, transportation, and preparation. Whatever can be saved from travel time is an advantage.

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182 The thesis of ecological adaptation, however, can be argued most successfully in the abstract. If one notes the actual events in the life of a community, then the processes of community growth and community fission appear in quite a different light. The balance of forces of fusion and of fission that hold community size to its stable limits in harmony with the natural environment are not entirely economic. They often include personal factors. To state this more precisely: the economic factor affects fusion strongly but has less direct bearing upon fission. Satellites, for example, are urged to return to the fold, guests are urged to stay on, and daughters are invited to take up residence
[578] in their own sib if there is ample land. Splitting, on the other hand, occurs because of personal quarrels and rarely because of a feeling of land shortage.

/479 cont./

512 [515] [854] *[192] or in small groups of two or three, ordinarily a child riding on her hip and with a vessel on her head, in the direction of the river. Or, more precisely, that point of the river called Pextá, landing place, with suitably prepared access, where the canoes are tied. There they take their quick morning bath, Wa-wa'kãse, of immersion, rubbing the hand quickly over the body, face, and hair. The same is done by the smaller children who accompany them; and they take the opportunity, moreover, to bathe the suckling infants, whom they have left on the bank. Afterwards they fill [312] the vessels with water and, putting them on their heads, go up with the water to the maloca. Then they prepare the morning meal.

[521] [515] /480/ The men and the boys continue to lie down for an hour more or less, conversing from hammock to hammock and, still before six o'clock, go for their bath. Then the mats that closed the two doors of the maloca are lifted.

*[192] [264] The pots of Byá-tõ (it is the quinhapira or sauce of fish broth with pepper) or of Yumũ-ku (mingau) of tapioca, and the baskets in the shape of sieves, heaped high with Ahũ-a (beijú), are put on small mats on the floor. -- "Baãra a'tyá," come to eat, is the invitation by the woman. Those of the male sex place themselves in a circle, squatting, and, starting with the chief, eat heartily, amidst conversation and noisy laughter.

The rule of civility is to serve oneself slowly and to eat without voracity. This, besides, is greatly in agreement with the whole attitude of the Indian, normally calm and serene. The women are in charge of the serving, bringing whatever there is, as it becomes necessary. There are no eating implements: one breaks off a piece of beijú with the hand, dips it in the quinhapira, and carries it to the mouth. The mingau is drunk (1)

*[192] 1. To drink is the expression that they use, although this is not very appropriate, because it is more or less thick. -- "Yumũ-ku sĩrỹáti? Did you drink mingau?"

*192 /245 cont./
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They "go around" the clearing (pũ-pé: it is the Tukano term that they use), that is, they mark off from the rest of the forest the area they want, with a small lane, cutting down the small plants and breaking branches. Formerly they did it only with the stone ax, õxtã komé; today clearing is done with the help of the machete, di-phĩ, and also at times with the iron ax, komé. The work consists essentially of breaking off the bushes and going around the large trunks with blows in such a way as to make the bark come off. With this the tree would dry and could then be burned. Once all the trees are dried in a more or less square area of about 50 or 100 meters on a side (according to the number of persons in the family), fire is set at various spots, and thus the gigantic trees either are incinerated or are reduced to a blackened trunk, which often falls to the ground. The clouds of smoke that rise here and there from the green /246/ forest reveal the places where a good burning, õhõã-dyakã-siri, is taking place.

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If the burning was not very successful, because the sticks were not dry or because of a lack of wind, the work is done again, taking down branches, assembling them around the trees -- this is called coivara, in Tukano doxté-peosé, and burning is done anew.

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Although the clearing is individual or, better, family property, for the work of clearing and burning the one interested will ask for the collaboration of his companions in the maloca or in the povoado; or, if he lives isolated, that of the closest inhabitants. And not only of his own tribe, but even of another nation. This collective work (cf. IX -- 2) is called neõsé (in Nheengatú ayurí). The immediate pay, that is, on the day or days of work, is a plentiful caxirí for all the workers; and more distantly his own help when solicited for identical work for the benefit of others. The ayurí is always practiced whenever the participation of many persons is needed for one job, for example, to cut and bring wood from the forest, to put in place the timberwork of a house roof, etc. The ayurí is a practice that is still in force even among the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

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342 move in. The walls and the two great doors that can be swung up are built long after the house is fully occupied.

283 Much of a man's spare time is devoted to preparing string of one
824 sort or another – fishline, hammock strings, binding ropes. The most common material is from the miriti palm. The palm leaf is boiled in water and allowed to soak until long, strong fibers can be drawn from it. These fibers have extraordinary tensile strength and, therefore, have wide use among the Indians. The lower and thicker part of the leaf is slit with a knife or broken by hand to expose the fibers, which are then stripped off in one smooth, continuous motion. The man holds the leaf pinned to the ground with his great toe and pulls
[462] the fibers upward. Essentially it is men's work but women and children help in pulling out the fibers. After the fibers have been allowed to dry by exposure to the air, several are joined together and rolled on the thigh into a string. Occasionally a woman helps her husband roll fishline. The end of the string is gripped between the great toe and its adjacent member and allowed to pass under the frontal arch of the foot and so is held firm. Rolling twine is leisurely work. Men rarely make more than they need for a particular pur-
[314] pose. Fishline is coated with resin. This will not only strengthen it and make it easier to handle, but, the men told me, the resin darkens the line so that it will not be seen by the fish.

463 The Cubeo have no true category of specialist. That is to say, they expect all adults to possess the skills for making all ordinary household articles that are on the roster of sib manufactures. They must, of course, contend with differences in aptitude. They do so by giving the inept the fullest technical help, either by advice, or, if necessary, by virtually making the article. But even when total aid is given, the object is considered to have been made by its owner with help.
463 Items of public use, and these include ceremonial equipment and
622 musical instruments, require special proficiency and are made by the headman and by aspirants to the office. The headman then is a specialist, but his specialty is in esoteric objects for public use.

## TRADE

439 The entire Northwest Amazon area is a vastly complex trading network. Objects of every description, household implements, ornaments, musical instruments, ceremonial objects, plants, pets, and magical substances are in constant circulation from tribe to tribe, from sib to sib. Indians who are in contact with the trading centers of Colombians and Brazilians are often middlemen, pumping manu-

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/footnote 61 cont./ says: "The Portuguese called the first aldeia of this nation, coming down the river, "aldeia de ouro" /aldeia of gold/, because in it they found and bought some, which, in small sheets, the Indians wear hanging from their noses and ears and which was examined in Quito and found to be of 21 carats" ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," trans. of C. Melo Leitão, p. 236). According to these first explorers, such plates were obtained by beating "this gold, all in bits and grains of good size," which they extracted from a mountain range watered by the river Iquiarí.

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of gold and silver ornaments. There are no such metals in these regions, and they do not know how to work them. From their relations with other tribes of Colombia (62)

62. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha, in his "Roteiro" /Logbook/, states that the Taryana obtained such sheets from the Colombian Panẽnõã Indians (see above, p. 47). -- Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of the Governador of the Rio Negro, João Pereira Caldas, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador as follows (cf. Artur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, 1st ed., Manaos, 1940, p. 82): "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn as earrings by certain Indians of the Uaupés River;

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*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People-Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyi-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká
• [317] poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found
[323] there. Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent
[501] in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba,
[142] Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Iahre, 202).

[582] They do not marry the Desana.

[161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ildkoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ildkoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaíno* (falling river) and as *eddwiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[805] [1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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364
at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. [514]
The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

342
The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a [796]
vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its [764]
great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food [252]
is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- [32]
factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- [517]
side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza
in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure
time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 342
way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 574
exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests 576
are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and
facing inward.

342
When I came among the *Bahúkiua* they were on the upswing, hav- 622
ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had [114]
put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com-
partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was
75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof
extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the
work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is
carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction.
The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the
maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The
headman is known as *kenámi upákũ* (owner of the house). The house
is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority
of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo be-
lieve, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation- 342
ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578
Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592
is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook dis-
courtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that
such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are
acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one
sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will
move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community.
The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove
the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they
have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, 231 and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as 235 pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and 123 animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had 245 been living among the *Bahükiwa* a short time when they learned of 439 my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiari. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more [262] than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. [302] Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

## MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest 121 tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes 28 that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by 32 Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men 28 ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women 32 specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment 462 has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a [415] small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pedíba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men 462 work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a 461

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.

171 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).
*192

The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-
[531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

The Pũyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[501] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to
[439] imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[278] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[411] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana
[567] /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

/78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to
[226] all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/89 cont./

*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People-Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyi-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká
[317] poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found
• [323] there. Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent
[501] in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba, Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are
[142] the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Iahre, 202).

[582] They do not marry the Desana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a
[161] thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

/179 cont./

177 2) Household goods and utilitarian objects.

41 The house of the forest dweller who has been in the service of the "white" or has traded with them now displays many objects obtained from the civilized, such as kettles, mugs, ax, bottles, fishhooks, scissors, hammocks, and even trunks or suitcases in which to keep their clothes. Except for the cotton hammock, which among the tribes of the Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí is today almost as common or more so than the native one made of tucum, the other objects are rarities in the conjunction of the utensils of native manufacture.

We shall now recall these, and later on we shall describe the ornaments and musical instruments.

a) Ceramics.

• 323 462 All the ceramic work falls to the woman; looking for the clay, to the man.

*192 323 1) Earthen pots and cooking pots. Camotim or camocim is a regional term of the Amazon, and a generic one of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú, equivalent to pot, and is used to designate vessels of very different shape and dimensions, according to their use. Among the products of native ceramics, some are similar to a common pan of /180/ ours, are called ki-pu-tõ (Nheengatú, yapepú), and are used to prepare mingau /a manioc dish/ and quinhapira /a fish dish/. There also exist:

wai-doá-tõ, to cook the fish;

wai-baarí-pá, in which to serve the fish to the guests;

pêru-tõ, a kind of large vessel in which to keep caxirí. They distinguish the:

pêru-ahũa aparí-pa, large black cooking pot in which the beijú caxirí is fermented;

pêru-poorí-pá, in which the caxirí already prepared is kept;

sũxtõ-wõ is the water pot for carrying water;

kaxpí-tõ, the one in which the kaxpí is distributed (VI -- 4, 1 (3) ).

/180 cont./

*192
• 323

They call the vessels of flatter shape baxpá, such as porringers or plates of different sizes, some quite small, baxpáryakã, used as spoons, which they do not know.

All these vessels are manufactured with the clay called dyí (Nh. tuyuka), which is found in compact strata, blue or dark green in color, in certain places, especially on the banks or in the bed of the watercourses. The clay is extracted with the help of splinters of wood, in fine layers, and is kept in humid places and well covered with leaves.

For the manufacture of the vessels the woman kneads the clay very well, with the addition of ewõ (ocher), and for each five parts of mud, one of ashes of caripé bark (13),

[824]

13. Trees of several species of the family of the Rosaceae (Licánia útilis and licánia myristicóides, Benthe., licánia scraba, Hook). Their ashes will give a certain porosity to the vessel and not let the clay crack.

reduced to powder and sifted. The mass is left to rest for a few days.

There is no mold whatsoever to facilitate the manufacturing; nevertheless, the vessels come out quite regular and well proportioned. Once the mud is prepared in the shape of a rope, torõrĩ-da (Uaupés tonõnĩ-da and toninĩ-da), of half a meter, starting from the bottom, then, with these ropes of clay, the woman starts raising the edges, pressing one rope on another and smoothing it well. Afterwards, with a piece of cuia /gourd/, wahá-pe'toró (Nh. peruta), she starts polishing and smoothing it better, inside and out. Once the vessel is made, it is left to dry in the shade, and when it has acquired a certain consistency, it is smoothed well, until it becomes glossy, using a round pebble, which they call wa'té-khá.

/180 cont./

323 The last operation consists of the firing. Around the vessels are kindled some logs of firewood; little by little, other logs are added, so that the vessels are surrounded by the flames until they are well fired, that is, to the point of ringing. With half an hour /181/ of intense fire, they are ready; some will show a whitish color, others, a reddish one. These are the ones that are better baked.

*[192] In order to make the vessels dark, glossy, and impermeable, they start by rubbing them well, inside and out, with leaves of cubio /Solanum/, extóa pũrĩ, or of abio /Lucuma/, kãrẽ pũrĩ. They then kindle a small fire with wet leaves, so that there is a great deal of smoke, which is first received in the interior part of the pot or cooking pot, turned upside down, and then also on the exterior part. Finally, the vessel will be washed and will then display the dark color, almost black, fast, and, moreover, it has been made impermeable.

The vessels are relatively light, with the durability suitable for their use. They can be exposed to more intense fire, without cracking or letting the water or the liquid that is kept in them flow out. One sees some large vessels almost a meter in diameter and more than half a meter in height, therefore with a capacity of several hundred liters.

*[192] The vessel for the caapí, kaxpi-tõ, differs from the others not only in shape, since it is similar to an amphora with a narrow mouth and provided with two small side handles, but also in being decorated with designs.

The kaxpí-tõ, after use in the feasts, is regularly kept outside the maloca, hanging on one of the corner posts. We were unable to learn the reason for this custom.

354 2) Stove or trivet. The stove always consists of three vessels
*[192] of baked clay, called vitari-a (in Nheengatú, itacurúa), among which the firebrands are placed. They are cylindrical in shape, but with the bases somewhat widened, almost as if they were two superimposed truncated cones, and this gives them greater stability. They measure approximately 25 centimeters in height and 10 in diameter. They are quite light and with the advantage of

/372/

764 2) The interment. There is no fixed interval between the verification of the death and the burial. One even notices a certain anxiety to bury the corpse as soon as possible. And the cases
763 in which the preparations for this start when the individual is still
764 alive, and even has use of his senses, are not infrequent (88).

[797]

88. One of the Salesian Missionary Sisters, passing through Umarí (river Uaupés), saw in the maloca four holes in the floor. Surprised she asked the reason. It was that there were four children with whooping cough, and, foreseeing their death, they had already prepared the graves.

Another striking episode took place in Taracuá (river Uaupés) in 1934. The tuxáua Miguel, of the Tukano tribe, was near death, and his subjects prepared the coffin-canoe and placed the sick man there, almost suffocating him with his clothes, hammock, eating cuia, etc. The Missionaries arrived still in time, and, noticing that he was still alive, they moved him to the hospital, and actually he did not die until three days later.

• [323] Although they are familiar with ceramics and know how to make vessels of large dimensions, they are not in the habit of burying the cadavers in vessels, nor are there any indications of their having had such a custom.

764 The burial is permanent, and the traditional form is the canoe-
501 coffin, yuxkõ-sõ-koró, that is, in a canoe (89).
*[192]

89. Occasionally, lacking a canoe, we have heard of burial in the caxirí tub in Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí). Pe. André Linssen, Missionary of the Monfort Congregation, did a burial in a mat in Acuaricuara (Colombia,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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simple basket is often a matter of several weeks. Every man has at his side, so to speak, a number of unfinished objects which he hopes to get at before too long.

The sexual division of labor in manufactures is rather firmly maintained. I learned of few objects in use that were not made by a member of the proper sex. Young men are drawn to pottery making, but they may handle clay in a playful manner only. They make pots and dishes in strange shapes, working rather expertly. Such dishes are given to children as toys and are soon destroyed. Children, boys and girls, play with clay, making small animal or human figures and quickly destroying them. No permanent clay figures are ever made. Serious pottery work is an annual affair, undertaken by the women when the falling river has exposed the clay banks. All at once the women working together renew the household ceramic ware.

Manufacture is most often a group activity, and like all group activities is regarded by the Indians as a pleasurable recreation. The exception to this rule is perhaps housebuilding, which is often strenuous. Even then, when the exertion of the task has broken the spell of good feeling, the men stop and turn to another task. A large maloca can be a very long time in building. Among the *Bahúkiwa* a house begun when I arrived was not yet complete when I left almost a year later. A house must be built by a group working together not only for technical reasons, but in obedience to the principle that all who are going to live in it must work on it.

Building the communal house is a major technical and social enterprise. It tests the capabilities of the headman and the morale of the community. The true maloca is a solid structure built with great care, skill, and concern for details. Temporary houses may be slipshod in construction, but when a house is slipshod it is either clearly designated as temporary or it will be a cause of shame. Every part of the house is built with the greatest care, but nothing reveals more clearly the Cubeo concern for combining structural integrity and aesthetic design than the lashings that hold all the materials together. The most conspicuous lashings are those that bind the main beams. The builders start with temporary house posts and with temporary lashings. Finally, when the entire structure is in place, an expert lasher goes over the entire inner structure, replacing the beams and rebinding them in a consistent pattern, using carefully chosen lianas. The Cubeo are painstaking in all crafts, but the maloca is their supreme creation. I was able to observe almost every stage in the construction of a maloca among the *Bahúkiwa*. I do not recall that a single bundle of roofing thatch was laid under pressure or

of the men's entrance. Boys carefully pick the tobacco leaves one by one and 249
lay them out on cane matting to dry. An Indian sits in the shade of the *maloca's* overhanging eaves and starts to make string from strands of tough *cumare*. His graceful movements as he rolls the fibre with the palm of the 285
hand on his shining thigh, the string looped around his right big toe, are like those used in the making of Venetian glass. An older man sits near by, deeply engrossed in the construction of a large, shallow cassava basket, a maze of cane strips almost hiding his wizened face.

The women file through their entrance, their great loads of manioc white 512
and clean after their river washing. They pause for a moment or two and eat 252
some cassava or the pineapples and wild fruit which they have just brought back, but soon they are working again, pulverizing the manioc on the shield-shaped wooden grating boards which have minute flints or tough palm spines set into their baked-clay surface. They work as a team, some grating, others washing the manioc in vast basket-sieves slung between wooden tripods, while yet others extract the poisonous prussic acid by placing the grated manioc flour in a snake-like *matapí*, a long squeezer of plaited cane. With the upper end looped over a pole, a woman stretches its mesh by sitting on a second pole placed in the lower loop. The *matapí* contracts and the poisonous juice runs out.

When the flour from the *matapí* is ready it is placed on the large flat ovens to make rough cassava pancakes, the Amazonian daily bread, which they eat at every meal together with fish and meat brought back from the forest. The starch from the washed manioc is also baked to make wafer-thin toasted biscuits to add to the *chicha*. Some of the flour is spread thinly on another oven to make the nutty grounds of *farinha*, and the liquid from the washing and squeezing is boiled to neutralize the poison, then poured into the long canoe-trough to make *chicha*.

The noise of grating and the creaking of the tripods lasts all afternoon. A 512
girl feeds her pet parrot some insects, then, taking a strand of *cumare* and [283]
winding it around her toe, she starts plaiting string for a hammock to replace her old one. Squatting on the ground, an old woman kneads clay and [323]
wood ash. She rolls the clay mixture into coils on a flat board and between the palms of her hands. Then she places them coil upon coil about a clay base, smooths the clay with a pebble and leaves the completed pot in the shade of the *maloca*. Later it will be put on a fire and surrounded with wood bark and ash to bake. Occasionally we saw an iron pot, which at some time in the past 415
must have been traded up the rivers from the Caquetá or the Vaupés. These were sufficiently few to be highly treasured and hadn't affected their own

ABOVE: *The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.* BELOW: 000
*Then it is warped open over a fire.* [see p. 66-B]

4: Silva--234 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 161 in the original source./

Fan (wẽrĩ-rõ), urupema (sũõ), cumatá (tõ-pa) Stone axes (õxtã-komé)

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*192
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*192
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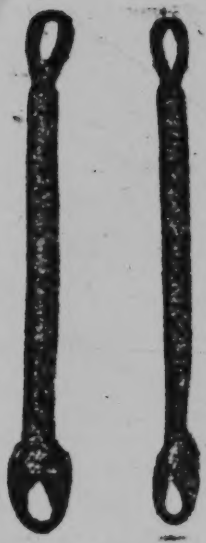

Tipiti (wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ) Sieves (baxti)

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292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
301 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
554 major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[756] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[437] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region.
[614] The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grün-
[184] berg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[3]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *habóhũ* status or *kenámi upáhũ*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[3] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[135] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers
[324] and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

4: Silva--454 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/310 cont./

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175

/footnote 61 cont./ says: "The Portuguese called the first aldeia of this nation, coming down the river, "aldeia de ouro" /aldeia of gold/, because in it they found and bought some, which, in small sheets, the Indians wear hanging from their noses and ears and which was examined in Quito and found to be of 21 carats" ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," trans. of C. Melo Leitão, p. 236). According to these first explorers, such plates were obtained by beating "this gold, all in bits and grains of good size," which they extracted from a mountain range watered by the river Iquiarí.

[316]
[325]

of gold and silver ornaments. There are no such metals in these regions, and they do not know how to work them. From their relations with other tribes of Colombia (62)

62. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha, in his "Roteiro" /Logbook/, states that the Taryana obtained such sheets from the Colombian Panẽnõá Indians (see above, p. 47). -- Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of the Governador of the Rio Negro, João Pereira Caldas, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador as follows (cf. Artur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, 1st ed., Manaos, 1940, p. 82): "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn as earrings by certain Indians of the Uaupés River;

/p. 54-B/

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LEFT: The front, painted with a design in charcoal and clay, and great eaves of a maloca. RIGHT: Cutting palm fronds to thatch the roof.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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under duress. Men worked on the house only when they felt cheerful and dedicated to the work. The man who felt out of sorts dropped away and returned only when his spirits had improved. Dependency upon mood was one of the most important factors delaying completion of a house.

Even so, the magnitude of the technical problems is not to be underestimated. The mere assemblage of material is a complex, arduous, and time-consuming task. Construction materials are not always close to hand. The *Bahúkiwa* fetched roofing thatch from the mouth of the Cuduiarí in what was technically the territory of the *Hehénewa* sibs. Their house of 12 compartments consumed 360 bundles of thatch, and, since each canoe could transport only five bundles, over a hundred canoe loads were needed, a task that would normally be spread out over many months. The *Bahúkiwa* headman was able to borrow from the *Comisaria* a large cargo barge and in this way a great deal of time was saved. Even so, a large party of several households camped for weeks on the lower river during a dry season, gathering and preparing the parana palm thatch (*trinó*). Altogether, thatch gathering consumed 50 days of the time of at least half the community. The practice is for the headman to institute a "crash program" to get each phase of the work well under way. His problem is to fit each phase of construction into the routine of daily and of seasonal life with minimum disruption. Strictly speaking, the decisions are not his. His is the technical voice, but he will do nothing without discussion with the household heads. Roofing can be cut during the two dry seasons and can never be finished in only one. Gathering, trimming, and binding the parana palm leaves into sheaves is the only housebuilding task in which women share.

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[462]

The headman, together with his firmest supporters, that is, his own sons and blood brothers, has the specific responsibility for erecting the central framework, the three pairs of heavy posts that will support the main weight of the roof. Others may help in this if they wish but they have no specific obligation to do so. The inner framework of three pairs of heavy posts forms the inner box around which the rest of the house is built. The timbers must be carefully chosen and then well dug in, while the parallelogram must be very carefully laid out. The floor plan is laid out with long sticks, and right angles are very accurately estimated. The rest of the framework including the ridgepole is a collective enterprise and is the second stage of construction. Roofing is the third stage. When enough roof has been laid down to provide even a bare shelter, the close kin of the headman move in.

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[622]
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Tucano SQ19

[Information on the maloca, the communal shelter, has been filed in category 592.]

224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

• 342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

•342 /102 cont./

There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

[824]

592 The size of the maloca varies according to the number of
342 its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to
[162] shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements
596 /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only
[287] a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the
177 Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental
797 clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

3: Fulop--53 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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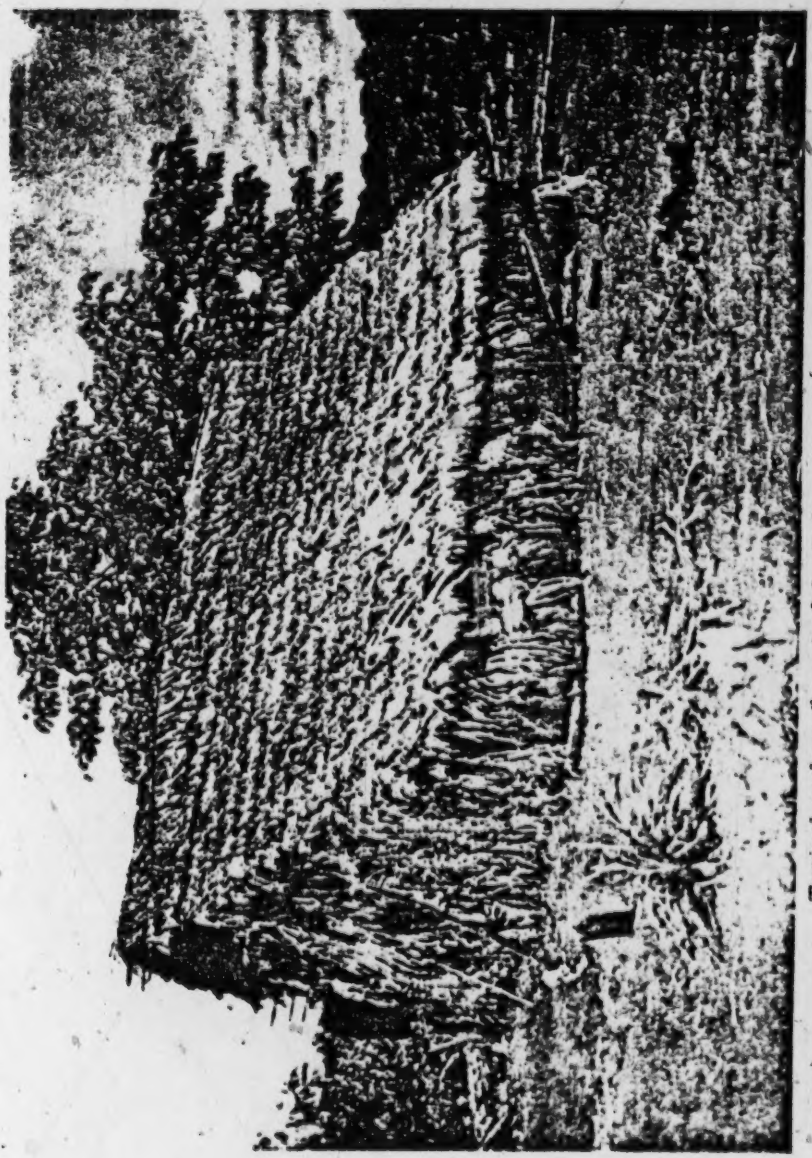

Typical maloca (house) of the Tukano linguistic group. (Photos by M. Fulop.)

4: Silva--46 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 33 in the original source/

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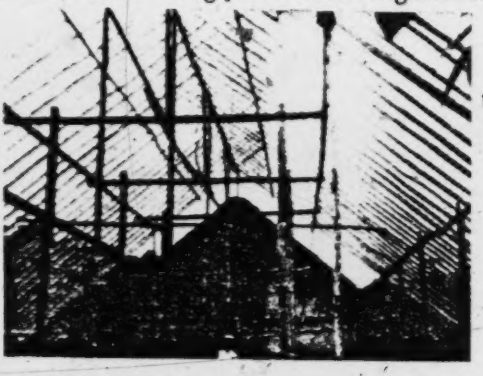

Maloca under construction (Kübewana tribe)

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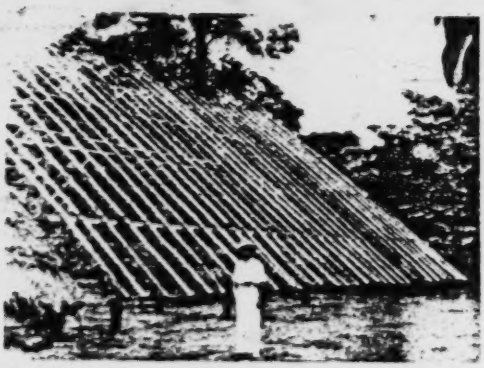
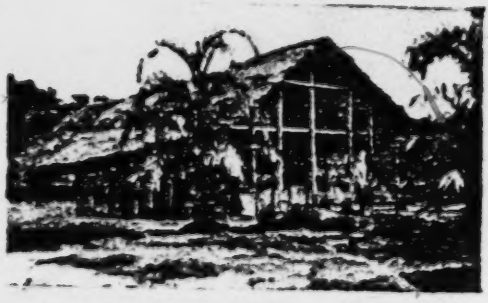


At Ambaína (Querari River, tributary of the Uaupés)



Maloca under construction (Iawareté-tapuya tribe, Siari River, tributary of the Içana)

/43 cont./

*101 A pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of the stream Japú (Japu igarapé, Uaupés River), Henrique by name, when asked by us whether he knew the tribe Gí-tapuya (1955), answered us that they are the "Pirá-tapuya of the tail" (that is, the last subdivision of the Pirá-tapuya), called in Tukano Komé-pá-põrá, formerly living above the stream Japú, and who today live in S. Francisco (river Uaupés). This location coincides with the one that can be seen on the map drawn up by Hamilton Rice (cf. Mapas do Rio Uaupés N. A. 19 e Rio Putamayo S. A. 19 -- Provisional Edition Published under the Patronage of Hamilton Rice -- Geographical Society of New York).

(5) -- IPECA -- They are the Kumãdene, one group of which resides today in Urubucuara, as we shall see later (cf. IV -- 2, x /p. 171/).

(6) -- JACAMIM -- Passed over in silence on the other lists. We read in Pelo Rio Mar: "Jacami-tapuia, trombeteiros /trumpeter/ Indians. Indicated on the river Uaupés. Perhaps the same Buchpu-machsa."

From the natives of Pari-cachoeira Koch Grünberg obtained information about the Buchpu-machsa (which means "People of the sarabatana /blowgun/," because they are specialists in the making of this weapon), or Buhágana, /44/ as they call themselves, inhabitants of the Dyi-Igarapé, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, which, in turn, empties into the Japurá. He found out that they lived in round huts, pierced the ear lobes and wore an apron of bark around the thighs, and had never seen a civilized person. Their language, of which Koch could later gather a vocabulary of 60 words, is almost identical to that of the Õmõá, and both, in some words, deviate from the Tukano (Z.I. 180). They made large (3.5 meters) and heavy sarabatanas, because they used them as supports /Port. apoiadas/ (Z.I. 207). It must be pointed out, however, that the Buhágana about whom Koch informs us are not located on the Uaupés. For this reason we think that they cannot be identified with the Jacamim. A comparison of the vocabularies that we collected from the Ide and from the Emõá and that of the Buhágana of

[342] [304] [291] [287]

/143/

153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

[438] [291] [285]

177 829 [342] [291]

His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

153 /144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

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25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 286 301 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú, tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 291 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

177 291 The new generation, both of the female and male sex, which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

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# Chapter VI

## Material Culture

121
*[192]

### 1. Dwelling, wi'ĩ.

Under the name of material culture (Sachkultur of the German authors), we mean the conjunction of objects that the forest dweller produces for the necessities of life. They are, properly speaking, the material objects in which they manifest their cultural level.

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The tribes that we have studied are not nomads. They have been established in the actual phase in which we found them for several generations or centuries (as far as the record completed by some pieces of information from the first travelers extends) in the same place, from where they move only because of epidemics or fights. The dissident group then goes to build a new house or to start another povoado, ordinarily not very far from the first one, perhaps barely a few kilometers away. Even today malocas that are quite old, half a century perhaps, are admired. Particular circumstances (fire, storm, etc.) might likewise force the construction of a new maloca. The Indian always prefers to make a new house instead of repairing the old one, if it is greatly damaged. Although for the new construction he will often make use of the beams and, more commonly, the straw of the covering, especially if it is still good and he would have to go very far to find new straw. Thus, in dealing with sedentary tribes, it is natural that we find good dwellings. Since it is a zone with frequent and torrential rains, the simple construction of clay is not suitable.

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*[192]

The system of covering, peókaro, is always that of two slopes and with great inclination, so that the drip of the roof will remain only a meter or a little more above the ground.

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The palm for the covering will vary according to the resources of the region: they generally use the caraná (maurítia flexuósa, Wall.), pĩ'sẽ, because, besides protecting well from the rains, it lasts for many years. They usually complete the covering starting from the drip.

/171 cont./

*192 • 342 They use the caraná palms without any more work, superimposing them in such a way that one again covers part of the other. For the other palms, /172/ like the buçú, muhĩ, they must first weave the leaflets (it is what is called muhĩ-pama, plaited buçú), and in different layers, so that they perfectly block the rains (it is the muhĩ-peókaro system).

At other times they prepare the buçú between laths on the ground; it is the muhĩ-deróke (sewed buçú). They sew a bunch of leaves, that is, they bind some palms between two laths in such a way that they constitute a rectangular piece two by three meters, more or less; it is what is called muhĩ-swá-ká-pãma (piece of sewed buçú).

Of the walls, tyákaro, the side ones (so'mĩta-tyákaro) are preferably of plaited palm. One more frequently finds walls of pehé, a palm that reaches two to three meters in length and 30 to 40 centimeters in width; or also of moá, the palms of which are wider, the leaflets reaching some 60 centimeters.

The main walls (front and back), in the classic style of the malocas (so we were informed by Júlio, tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié), are, instead, made of tree bark (yuxkõ-kaxserí tyákaro) up to a certain height (1),

> 1. In one place and another we saw huts that, instead of bark, had walls made of paxiúba trunks, open and beaten, in such a way as to exhibit the appearance of rustic planks or slabs.

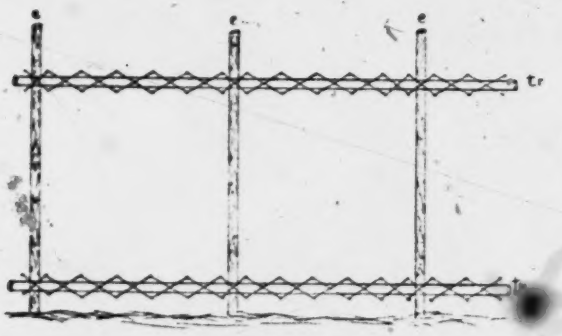
and completed up to the roof with the açaí /assai/ palm, mixpĩ yókaro.

342 They prepare the bark in such a way that it resembles wide planks. They cut a cipo as a measure of the length that the bark must have, ordinarily five to six meters. They go into the forest, choose the tree, and with a cutting object (formerly the simple stone ax or even any sharp point) make a cut around on the upper part and another on the lower part of the trunk, according to the size desired. Afterwards they make small cuts in the

/172 cont./

342 cortex, beat it quite hard with a stick along the bark, in order for the latter to come loose. Following that, they make a longitudinal cut in it, and with a small spatula go to separating the bark, which might be a meter or more in width, from the trunk. They transport the bark home, and in order that it not roll up, they pile one piece on top of another, well stretched, with a weight on top.

To make the walls, a crossbar /Port. travessa/ (tr) is placed horizontally a span from the ground, and another one higher up, above, parallelly, at an interval of a meter or more, quite firmly tied with cipo to posts /Port. estacas/ (e). To these crossbars or straight pieces are applied vertically the planks of bark, already quite dry, and on them are placed new straight pieces, parallel to the first ones, in order to hold the bark. Afterwards one Indian from the outside and another from the inside make four holes and, with cipo, they sew /173/ the pieces of bark to



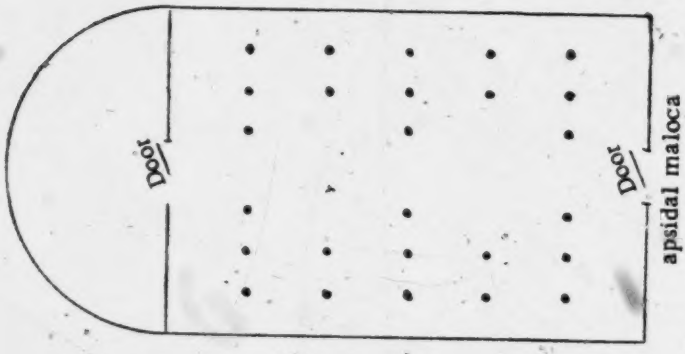

the straight pieces, there sometimes resulting from this stitching an X with quite a bit of regularity and symmetry around the crossbars.

[531] Upon these pieces of bark are frequently found paintings, the latex of the sorva serving as paint, with clay of different colors.

/173 cont./

342 *[192] [178] At present all the malocas that are still found in the region of the Uaupés and its tributaries are rectangular. Up to 40 years ago, one saw some with the posterior part of roundish shape, like an apse, called do'ákaro-tirí-wy'í (maloca with kitchen) (2).

2. The maloca of the Tuyuka in Pinó-koa-liró on the upper Tiquié, which Koch Grünberg affirmed measured 27x17.80x7.80 meters, was apsidal in this way (Zwei Iahre, 204).




353 *[192] [421] This /174/ apse was separated, in the interior of the maloca, by a partition of matting that was called i'mña-ta'tyá (separation of matting). The family of the tuxaua resided in this apsidal compartment, and the ornaments, musical instruments, and utensils of common use, which constituted the collective property of the group, were kept in it.

177 342 *[192] With the increase in comfort of the Indians and in the instinct of ownership (and up to a certain point it is imitation or even the prompting of the civilized), there appear small houses, wi'í,

/174 cont./

177 family type, of straw or bark or even of pau-a-pique (3),

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*[192]

> 3. By pau-a-pique or taipa (in Tukano di'tá pyákaro) is understood, in all Brazil, the house whose walls consist of a hurdle of pales and laths, which is then filled in and plastered with mud or mortar.

instead of the old and large malocas, baxsá-wi or baxsarí-wi (dance house) (4)

> 4. That of Parí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, disappeared about 20 years ago, measured approximately 60 by 30 meters, attests Pe. João Marchesi.

for a whole local group.

It is to be noted in the present povoados that all the houses have the same rectangular style. They are, on a small scale, a maloca. They are not alike, however, nor do they follow any alignment, except for the cases of intervention by the missionaries. In imitation of the houses of the Mission, today one sees some houses with a small porch or shed.

[797]

361 As for the location, it is always on the bank of a river or stream (5).

> 5. Paulo /Paul/ Rivet characterizes the civilization of these tribes as "mandioca civilization." Perhaps with more accuracy one should say "mandioca and fishing civilization." We have found, especially in the region inhabited by the Karapanã and Tatú, malocas in the interior of the forest 500 or 600 meters from the streams. This distance is dictated by the circumstances, in order for them to protect themselves against attacks and violence.

/175 cont./

178 The Tuyuka maloca of the place S. Pedro (upper Tiquié),
• 342 in the vicinity of the Colombian border, was (in 1947) one of the oldest ones. We have seen similar ones in other tribes (Tukano, Kubẽwãna, Wanãna, Bara, Karapanã, Ide-masã, Hanẽrã, Ihwãna, Roéra, and Baniva). During our visit in 1954 we verified that it had already been abandoned.

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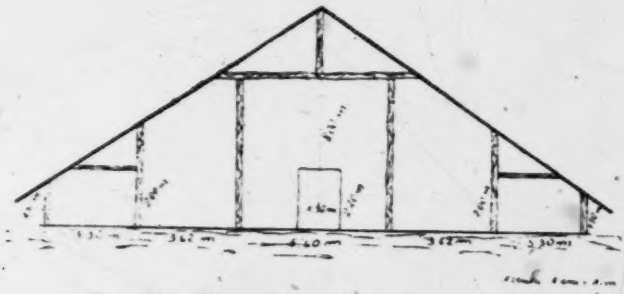

Tuyuka maloca (S. Pedro, river Tiquié)

It was built according to the ancient customs. We shall describe it, then, as a model of this type of construction. It was rectangular, measuring 27.60 meters in length by 18 meters in width. The covering was of two slopes, with a quite pronounced declivity for rapid flow. On the interior it measured 7.30 meters in height up to the ridge, ending at 90 centimeters from the ground, in such a way that the side walls measured only 1.52 meters in height. The caranã roof extended a little farther in the part corresponding to the doors, in order to protect them from the rains.

The main walls followed the classical style, that is, they were made of tree bark up to 2.5 meters of height, and afterwards
*[192] of assai plaiting. The side walls were of pehé.

*192 /176 cont./
342 It was solidly built upon five pairs of supports, boxtá-ri (9),

9. Greatly preferred for supports is the "pau-vermelho" /red wood/ (mirapiranga) of the Caesalpiniaceae.

which demarcate the central nave (see the nomenclature of the columns - VII - 4, e (2) ). They were roundish pieces of timber, straight, rustic (without removal of the bark), but quite regular and well-proportioned, as were also the beams, nẽxtõ-rĩ (Uaupés, nẽxtõ-nĩ), and rafters, wa' sõ-rĩ (U. wa' sõ-nĩ).

All the timberwork was solidly joined together with cipo (10).

[177] 10. In some of the modern houses nails are already appearing in beams, laths, etc.

353 In the interior the supports, all of them nicely aligned, divided the space into five naves. The three central ones for common use: passage, meetings, dances, visits, and work. Kept there, but toward the back, were the utensils [415] /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /177/ of common use, such were the large vessels of baked clay and the wooden tubs for the fermentation of the caxirís, and the oven for making the flour. It is here that the dances are performed on the occasion of the festivals (11).

11. Some malocas have only three naves, the central one being wider. We have also seen four naves. In those with five, the three intermediary naves are always used for work (preparation of the flour, of the caxirí, etc.) and for meetings.

/177 cont./

• 342 592 *[192]

The two outer naves, which correspond to the lower part of the roof, along the drip, were intended as the residence of the families: each nave had four divisions, in all, then, eight compartments, which are called wi'í-khãra tuxkũ-rĩ (Uaupés wi'í-khãna tuxkũ-nĩ).

In that of the tuxaua the separation might by chance be a little better; it was not enough, however, to obstruct the view from the inside. In some malocas there was absolutely no separation at all. One can then say that there are imaginary divisions, corresponding to the beams and the supports of the maloca.

*192 592 35

The posts that support the roof serve for tying the hammocks there and, in the two inhabited naves, permit the setting up of a platform, kaxsá-wõ, approximately 2.00 meters from the ground, serving as a shelf where each family keeps part of its household goods, and also beijú, flour, and smoked meat, the heavier objects staying on the ground.

Each division has its small stove or trivet, which, in all the native houses, consists of three vessels, vitári-a (see VI - 2, a (2) ), of baked clay, among which are placed the wood chips.

*192 342

There are two doors, soxpé: a main one as an entrance, turned toward the river, called mĩxpĩ-yókaro-soxpé, and another at the back of the maloca, for the use of its occupants exclusively, doákaro-ká-soxpé; the former measuring 2.5 by 1.5 meters in width, with a beam 20 centimeters in height as a sill.

Serving as a partition for the two doors, there is a mat, soxpé-pãma (in Nheengatú japá), of quite strong strips, with a frame of round pieces of wood. In some malocas the door resembles a strong and thick double hurdle, in whose spaces are inserted palm leaves, in order to block the rain and the wind better. The mats are suspended, like Venetian blinds, from the upper part of the portal. They are kept open during the day, the lower part being raised by means of a cipo, mĩ-yori-da, which hangs from the roof, or by means of a pole resting on the ground, soxpé-tú-kõ or soxpé-túñe-kõ. At times they reinforce the door at night with a bar, nẽxtõ-pĩ.

/178/

342 373 Having, then, only two openings, the interior is always somewhat dark, being, in part, illuminated by the stoves (12).

*[192] 12. Sometimes, on one or more posts, which seem planted only for this purpose, they light at night a piece of resin called cicantá, which burns with a quite intense and long-lasting light, and leaves as residue a tar which also serves for calking the canoes.

177 342 574 In the modem family-huts, there is customarily an interior partition, generally made of bark. Perhaps this division, which is being adopted, has been suggested by the convenience when they must house some guest, especially the civilized. The Indian ordinarily is very hospitable; he not only receives guests for the great caxirís, but he also shelters any Indian or white who might be traveling. The first division near the door is reserved exclusively for the guests (see VII - 4, e 2 a).

[797] In some povoados, at the request of the Missionary, they build a large hut that serves for overnight stays of the Padre and as a chapel, when there is no other place reserved for worship.

342 *[192] Some malocas (and also Makú huts), in which the roof ends very close to the ground, completely or partially lack side walls. Such walls are regularly dispensed with in the oxkóro-áro (Nheengatú tapirí or papirí), or emergency huts, which they make in the distant clearings or on the banks of the rivers where they are accustomed to staying overnight on the occasion of trips and fishing expeditions.

177 342 Ordinarily the maloca or house is alone and contains all the family household goods. Auxiliary houses, however, are beginning to appear. The maloca of the Tuyuca, described above, has one of these. One of the Indians, knowing a little Portuguese, explained that it was the "succursal" of the maloca. Much smaller and only partially protected by side walls, made of straw and bark. There were about 14 hammocks reserved for the Makú in service, the flour oven, sieves, hampers, suspended tipitis, [353] [415]

177 /178 cont./
342 vessels of baked clay, and a cylindrical bark container, quite
353 well made, similar to the straight barrels in which we keep
415 chestnuts and codfish.

Nowadays (and since the time of the discoveries, as the
231 first explorers attest) the dog, which, besides guarding, also serves for hunting, is found as a domestic animal in the various malocas and houses, and in all the tribes. Ordinarily small, hungry, extremely thin; some do not support the weight of the body. Many of these animals, due to the stings of the fire ant or taxi, have suffered degeneration of the cornea and for this reason have white eyes.

/179/ Here and there in the malocas and povoados are also seen araras, parrots, mutums /Crax/, jacamins, or domesticated jacus. [797] The Missions have encouraged the raising of pigs and chickens. [177] The chickens go back to the first colonizers of the Rio Negro, and to protect them, by way of a chicken coop where they are sheltered during the night, they make small conical enclosures with the vertex upwards, or they use some old canoe, turned upside down, with an opening that they close at night, in order that the micura (gambá /opossum/) or some other animal that chases chickens can not enter.

*[192] In the Arwáke languages the chicken is called karáka, probably onomatopoeia for the chicken's voice. Onomatopes are otherwise very common among the tribes of the Uaupés to designate the birds. Perhaps from karáka is derived the word of the Tukano language which means chicken, i.e., ká'rẽkẽ or ka'rẽkẽ (Uaupés ká'nẽkẽ, ka'nẽkẽ). According to this hypothesis, it is from the Arwáke that the Tukano (and the tribes of the Uaupés in general) would have received the first chickens, or at least knowledge of them. Such a hypothesis is made probable, not only by the greater cultural development of the Arwáke, but also by their prior relationship with the civilized of the Rio Negro.

342 It seems that there is no rule with regard to the orientation of the maloca or with regard to the distance from the river or from the forest.

/194 cont./

286 531 In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192 d) Basketry and plaited work.

285 [462] [342] [227] For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of some trees, especially that which they call pi'ĩ-karõ-gõ. They use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxiúba (waxtá), patauá (yumĩ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mĩ-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mĩ'sĩ) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phĩ), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824] The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantaceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves. [386] [531]

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

278 /289 cont./
757
*[192] g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant called Taá-dõxká (45).

45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b) ): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

• 342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

[178] [764] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night [164] [354] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

/341/

*192 The second columns are called baxsá wíhyári boxtá-ri;
535 because it is beside the second column that the tuxáua takes the
796 initial position (wíhyá: to come out) for the dances (baxsá). And the respective beam is called baxsá wíhyári-tẽrõ.

The columns at the back are called do'ákaro-ká-boxtá-ri, because the caxirí is prepared there (do'ákaro, place where one cooks, so explained Júlio). And do'karo-ká-tẽrõ is the beam that corresponds to them.

i) kaxpí-tõ, pot for the kaxpí

j) seat for the one who distributes the kaxpí, kaxpí tõamĩ duhirí kõmũ-rõ

l) hammock of the tuxáua; his compartment is called syõrĩ nĩgõya tuxkũĩ

The compartments of the residents of the maloca are called wi'i-ikhãraye tuxkũrĩ.

[342] With the hypothesis of its being a religious function, we
[622] must conclude that the temple is the maloca. Its name, baxsarí-wi, should be translated "house of the sacred dance," and not simply "dance house." The Priest is evidently the tuxáua, and not the pajé. The tuxáua, then, ties together the domestic, political, and sacerdotal powers, precisely like the ancient tribal chiefs among the Greeks and the Romans, and, in general, the chiefs of the primitive tribes.

a) "Poosé" without the mysterious instruments.

1) Ritual procession and banquet.

796 The tuxáua of the maloca that decides to hold one of these
[628] feasts determines the day and the offering, and tells this to the tuxáua of another maloca (of the same tribe or of a different tribe) where he is going to give his Poosé. The malocas take turns with
[178] this proposal. Formerly they were held with greater frequency, six or more times a year, as we said above, constituting the great preoccupation of these Indians. Not only are they being put off more, but their duration has also been reduced. Formerly they lasted as long as an entire week; today the cases in which they

/397 cont./
534 took up a position in front of the second post at the left, in the
535 /398/ central nave (133).

[342] 133. Their rectangular maloca, although not of large dimensions, corresponded to a division of five naves: the central high nave, under the ridge, two side spaces, and, along the side walls, the space reserved for the families. It is to be noted, however, that there is no interior partition between family and family.

The men imitated his steps and, on his left, formed an open semi-circle.

*[192] 1st Part: Each one places the left hand on the right shoulder of the companion (Pá-bwasé is the Tukano name for this gesture). They execute some rhythmic beats with the pestle-tube (it is what is called yuxkõ-mẽra doxkesé) and some steps with the right foot forward and back (du'tisé). Then the line moves (nikã-ká eheanõ-kátyãra baxsasé) to the right and to the left until the circumference is closed, making some turns from the left to the right (sũtõasé) (134).

134. They explained to us that they are imitating the bavarí fish, which, before depositing its eggs, makes a few turns.

533 At the same time the men slowly sing unintelligible words, with a
535 frequent burden in which are sounded many times the syllables "paia-paia." The rhythm is accelerated at the end, and a cry and a heavy stroke with the rhythm tubes end the first part. During this
[562] part the women remained seated in conversation near the door, to the left of anyone who enters (135).

[123] 135. We, the three civilized observers, were to be found on the opposite side, at the right.

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part of the Central American and Andean jaguar distribution; perhaps the Cubeo ranked clans and ancestral cult are also part of the Andean picture. However, where there is a cultural relationship it is probable that it moves in either direction. The lowlands took from the Andes; it is likely that they gave as well. Perhaps a close study of social conditions in the tropical forest could shed specific light on the spectacular historical developments in the Andes. The way in which the Cubeo maloca, the multifamily residence, tends to become a sib ceremonial center for those sib members who have broken away from it illustrates, for example, a possible process of ceremonial center formation.

Questions of culture history are inevitably to the fore when one compares the tropical forest with the Andes. But even as a separate entity the tropical forest area commands culture-historical interest. Cubeo social structure, for example, suggests some of the ways in which small social units such as extended and joint families and lineages grow into and combine to form more complex and more highly integrated social systems. Segments of one tribe attach themselves as entities to other tribes adopting a new language. Federations of segments are formed by various combinations of adoption, adhesion, and fusion; these bind themselves together by ceremonial ties and not by ordinary political means of suprachieftainship. Other processes are at work elsewhere in the region. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that detailed comparative studies of tropical forest social structures could provide a rich foundation for the reconstruction of modes of social evolution, within a fixed range of social integration. As native Africa is a natural laboratory for the study of nascent states, the South American tropical forest as a major culture area is a natural laboratory for the study of variations in a small community, and lineage and clan organization.

In the foregoing discussion my intent was to provide the reader with a broad problem setting in which the Cubeo are viewed generally as a tropical forest culture. Since tropical forest anthropology is not too widely known this seemed a useful thing to do. However, the Cubeo are more specifically a part of the Northwest Amazon subculture area. The Northwest Amazon is designated as a subarea of the tropical forest in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. Not a sharply delineated area, it includes several of the major languages of lowland South America: Arawakan, Cariban, Tucanoan, Witotoan, and Macú. Of these language groups, Tucanoan (the language of the Cubeo), Witotoan, and Macú are restricted to the Northwest Amazon and were until recently listed as unclassified languages

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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character
[342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor.
[596] The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu-
[553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social segments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into
[614] one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are
[796] founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kówai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yuvi*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul-
197 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurí River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiari River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querari River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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177 sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom
182 and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's
[171] trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small mestizo-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand,
[342] when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments
[796] he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a
[346] residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are
177 stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness.
291 As late as 1909 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper
182 Vaupés and all over the Cuduiarí where the women were totally naked and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiarí and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

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along the same river belong to a common phratry and share, therefore, rules of exogamy, origin traditions, and mutual obligations of hospitality. 361 [615]

Close up, a community is revealed as a clearing of a dozen acres or so hacked out in a crude semicircle from the banks of the river. Since the river may rise some ten feet or more in the rainy season the clearing is always on the high bank and will necessarily follow in its shape the contours of high land. The maloca stands toward the river. A house is not aligned according to absolute directions, but always with reference to the river, which the Cubeo, in contrast to other tribes in the region, insist upon keeping in view. No house will have its front door facing the forest, though its rear door may. In some cases the rear door abuts almost on the very edge of the manioc cultivations. 361 342

A residence site is commonly called *tawá*, a term that appears in the naming chants and that I have rendered in free translation as "soil." A related term that is also used is *taibá* (a made place), a clearing. These two terms refer then to that part of the territory that has been prepared both for cultivation and for housing. A more inclusive territorial term is *makáno*, that embraces the uncleared forest and can also mean "forest." Still another term for a residence site is *hobánu*, based on *hobá*, a cleared place for planting. More commonly, however, the manioc cultivations are called *hawabá* (food place). 361

Within the requirements of contour and with leeway granted to accommodate individual community preferences, clearings tend to conform to a common plan. The maloca is the hub from which the outer edges of the clearing are plotted with approximately equal radii – footpaths – leading to the bitter manioc cultivations. The manioc cultivations form a broad outer belt of the clearing that, in poorer communities, begins very close to the rear or rear side wall of the house and that in prosperous and more prideful communities is at some distance. In the latter communities, the *zone* of plantings begins far enough away so that the women at work in their manioc gardens are out of sight and out of sound, only the plumes of white smoke from each garden signaling silently that a woman is at work there. No matter how confined the total clearing, the house rests within an inner clearing of secondary cultivations and, ultimately, within a totally cleared space or plaza. The maloca is more or less at the center of these three concentric *zones*. The river (*hya*) itself is a fourth *zone*. [342] [351]

These four *zones* have their social counterparts in that they may be identified as male and female, although, it should be said, the Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. [562]

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361 Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-
554 tain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or en-
[157] couraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they
[123] did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the
• 342 new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one require-
361 ment of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with
622 him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines
768 of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new ma-
loca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change
at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the
victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a
361 fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations.
244 At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to
768 ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is
moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the
old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transi-
tional period when the community is actually working both clearings.
The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until
they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they
will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old
*chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

361 The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to
[311] circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some
15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again.
Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the
forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally
dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later
moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiarí and the
361 Querarí. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this
614 connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or
554 along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs
occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely
associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks
deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong oc-
cupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or
by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become
dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites
and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Gia-
361 cone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (refer-
554 ring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only
along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiari, for example, a trail leads to the Querari. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahiikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiari; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way. 621 182

Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain. 621 342 182 [592]

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, berome the center of a large community made up of many houses. [171]

In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y generál*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habóků*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kendmi upáků* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along 178 342 621 614 [177]

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the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. (514)
The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a 342
vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its (796)
great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food (764)
is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- (252)
factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- (32)
side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza (517)
in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure
time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 342
way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 574
exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests 576
are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and
facing inward.

When I came among the *Bahúkiwa* they were on the upswing, hav- 342
ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had 622
put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com- (114)
partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was
75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof
extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the
work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is
carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction.
The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the
maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The
headman is known as *kenámi upákũ* (owner of the house). The house
is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority
of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo be-
lieve, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation- 342
ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578
Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592
is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook dis-
courtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that
such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are
acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one
sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will
move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community.
The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove
the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they
have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
(592 self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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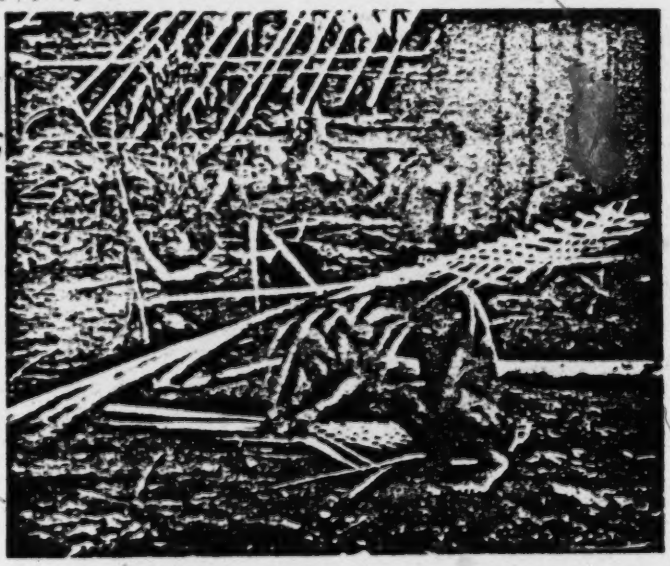

Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahikiwa*, whose ancestry
[604] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for ex-
[768] ample, return to the parental community with their children. There are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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462 simple basket is often a matter of several weeks. Every man has at
461 his side, so to speak, a number of unfinished objects which he hopes to get at before too long.

462 The sexual division of labor in manufactures is rather firmly main-
323 tained. I learned of few objects in use that were not made by a member of the proper sex. Young men are drawn to pottery making, but they may handle clay in a playful manner only. They make pots and dishes in strange shapes, working rather expertly. Such dishes are given to children as toys and are soon destroyed. Children, boys and girls, play with clay, making small animal or human figures and quickly destroying them. No permanent clay figures are ever made. Serious pottery work is an annual affair, undertaken by the women when the falling river has exposed the clay banks. All at once the women working together renew the household ceramic ware.

• 342 Manufacture is most often a group activity, and like all group ac-
[461] tivities is regarded by the Indians as a pleasurable recreation. The
[476] exception to this rule is perhaps housebuilding, which is often strenuous. Even then, when the exertion of the task has broken the spell of good feeling, the men stop and turn to another task. A large maloca can be a very long time in building. Among the *Bahúkiwa* a house begun when I arrived was not yet complete when I left almost a year later. A house must be built by a group working together not only for technical reasons, but in obedience to the principle that all who are going to live in it must work on it.

Building the communal house is a major technical and social enterprise. It tests the capabilities of the headman and the morale of the community. The true maloca is a solid structure built with great care, skill, and concern for details. Temporary houses may be slipshod in construction, but when a house is slipshod it is either clearly designated as temporary or it will be a cause of shame. Every
342 part of the house is built with the greatest care, but nothing reveals
284 more clearly the Cubeo concern for combining structural integrity and aesthetic design than the lashings that hold all the materials together. The most conspicuous lashings are those that bind the main beams. The builders start with temporary house posts and with temporary lashings. Finally, when the entire structure is in place, an expert lasher goes over the entire inner structure, replacing the beams and rebinding them in a consistent pattern, using carefully chosen
342 lianas. The Cubeo are painstaking in all crafts, but the maloca is
[114] their supreme creation. I was able to observe almost every stage in
[461] the construction of a maloca among the *Bahúkiwa*. I do not recall that a single bundle of roofing thatch was laid under pressure or

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342 461

under duress. Men worked on the house only when they felt cheerful and dedicated to the work. The man who felt out of sorts dropped away and returned only when his spirits had improved. Dependency upon mood was one of the most important factors delaying completion of a house.

Even so, the magnitude of the technical problems is not to be underestimated. The mere assemblage of material is a complex, arduous, and time-consuming task. Construction materials are not always close to hand. The *Bahúkiwa* fetched roofing thatch from the mouth of the Cuduiarí in what was technically the territory of the *Hehénewa* sibs. Their house of 12 compartments consumed 360 bundles of thatch, and, since each canoe could transport only five bundles, over a hundred canoe loads were needed, a task that would normally be spread out over many months. The *Bahúkiwa* headman was able to borrow from the *Comisaria* a large cargo barge and in this way a great deal of time was saved. Even so, a large party of several households camped for weeks on the lower river during a dry season, gathering and preparing the parana palm thatch (*trinâ*). Altogether, thatch gathering consumed 50 days of the time of at least half the community. The practice is for the headman to institute a "crash program" to get each phase of the work well under way. His problem is to fit each phase of construction into the routine of daily and of seasonal life with minimum disruption. Strictly speaking, the decisions are not his. His is the technical voice, but he will do nothing without discussion with the household heads. Roofing can be cut during the two dry seasons and can never be finished in only one. Gathering, trimming, and binding the parana palm leaves into sheaves is the only housebuilding task in which women share.

[427] [505] [462]

The headman, together with his firmest supporters, that is, his own sons and blood brothers, has the specific responsibility for erecting the central framework, the three pairs of heavy posts that will support the main weight of the roof. Others may help in this if they wish but they have no specific obligation to do so. The inner framework of three pairs of heavy posts forms the inner box around which the rest of the house is built. The timbers must be carefully chosen and then well dug in, while the parallelogram must be very carefully laid out. The floor plan is laid out with long sticks, and right angles are very accurately estimated. The rest of the framework including the ridgepole is a collective enterprise and is the second stage of construction. Roofing is the third stage. When enough roof has been laid down to provide even a bare shelter, the close kin of the headman move in.

342 335 [622] 342 [622] [602]

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move in. The walls and the two great doors that can be swung up are built long after the house is fully occupied.

283 Much of a man's spare time is devoted to preparing string of one
824 sort or another — fishline, hammock strings, binding ropes. The most common material is from the miriti palm. The palm leaf is boiled in water and allowed to soak until long, strong fibers can be drawn from it. These fibers have extraordinary tensile strength and, therefore, have wide use among the Indians. The lower and thicker part of the leaf is slit with a knife or broken by hand to expose the fibers, which are then stripped off in one smooth, continuous motion. The man holds the leaf pinned to the ground with his great toe and pulls
[462] the fibers upward. Essentially it is men's work but women and children help in pulling out the fibers. After the fibers have been allowed to dry by exposure to the air, several are joined together and rolled on the thigh into a string. Occasionally a woman helps her husband roll fishline. The end of the string is gripped between the great toe and its adjacent member and allowed to pass under the frontal arch of the foot and so is held firm. Rolling twine is leisurely work. Men rarely make more than they need for a particular pur-
[314] pose. Fishline is coated with resin. This will not only strengthen it and make it easier to handle, but, the men told me, the resin darkens the line so that it will not be seen by the fish.

463 The Cubeo have no true category of specialist. That is to say, they expect all adults to possess the skills for making all ordinary household articles that are on the roster of sib manufactures. They must, of course, contend with differences in aptitude. They do so by giving the inept the fullest technical help, either by advice, or, if necessary, by virtually making the article. But even when total aid is given, the object is considered to have been made by its owner with help.
463 Items of public use, and these include ceremonial equipment and
622 musical instruments, require special proficiency and are made by the headman and by aspirants to the office. The headman then is a specialist, but his specialty is in esoteric objects for public use.

## TRADE

439 The entire Northwest Amazon area is a vastly complex trading network. Objects of every description, household implements, ornaments, musical instruments, ceremonial objects, plants, pets, and magical substances are in constant circulation from tribe to tribe, from sib to sib. Indians who are in contact with the trading centers of Colombians and Brazilians are often middlemen, pumping manu-

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Aiarí it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election – one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihí*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

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796 house, sweeping every bit of ground to remove the traces of the ancestors. They bent low and uttered low cries of *hi hi hi iii iii*, the same sound used when *mihí* is brought in. This is a sound that spirits understand.

[342] When the last traces of the ancestors had been swept out, the men
[346] called to the women to return. The return of the women restores the
[574] house to its normal condition. Before that it is a man's house, a cult house and not a true domicile. This change was marked by having the guests, who had already taken part in the earlier ceremonies, leave, go down to the landing place, march up the path, and be received at the front door in the usual reception line. What seemed to be the beginning of an ordinary drinking party then followed. However, later that night the women were told to move to the rear and to sit facing the rear door. The torches were put out and some old men fetched the hidden horns to play them in the forward men's section. They danced out again and hid the instruments. When the playing stopped, the women rose, lighted the torches again, and took possession of the *konhá* berries. The headman's wife, in her traditional role, supervised and assisted in the preparation of a *konhá* porridge, and the remainder of the berries were distributed to all the adult women. The porridge was prepared quickly and calabashes of it were sent down to the forward end of the house for the men.

Now the mothers turned to their sons to inspect the welts raised by the whippings. But the boys turned away and the mothers knew enough not to persist. The ceremony was over.

This was a truncated ceremony. Normally, the elders who have danced into the house with the ancestor horns after the lights have been put out dance among the women, while other men thrash the women with switches. Then the adult men take turns in whipping one another. None of this was done, they said, because most of the guests they had invited had not come, and feeling dispirited they cut the ceremony short.

769 However, I had the opportunity of attending another whipping
796 ceremony at the maloca of a subsib. This one was well attended and
184 the atmosphere was properly charged with excitement, helped by a great quantity of chicha and *mihí*. Yet here too the whippings were confined to the young boys and the women were unmolested. At one point, however, the ancestors danced outside the house, and two boys guarded the door while youngsters pelted the front door with berries. This was done not to frighten the women within but to give them a more vivid sense of the "presence" of the ancestors. This was re-

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center. 574 [342]

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough. 574 571 614

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers. 574 273 [462]

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihi* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner. [535] [171] [184] [276]

/p. 54-A/

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A manioc plantation below a Tukano maloca.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-S (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 54-B/

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LEFT: The front, painted with a design in charcoal and clay, and great eaves of a maloca. RIGHT: Cutting palm fronds to thatch the roof.

796 instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by
[534] Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey
[526] hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

88 As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and
582 brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the
592 plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

462 The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks
592 up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

592 Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities,
361 the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

• 342 A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

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000 *Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.*

 [see p. 62-A]

sixty feet wide, with the ridge of its roof thirty feet above the ground. This 342 ●
ridge is supported by six great posts, three on either side; the central space extending down the length of the *maloca* is like the nave of a church. The roof is thatched with palm fronds overlapping to a depth of four inches and extending almost to ground level on either side. These fronds may have to be brought from a great distance and vary in quality – the best lasting for years, while others rot quickly and require frequent patching.

As the sun rises each morning over the surrounding forest it lights on the [532]
striking clay and charcoal designs which are painted along the whole width of the front wall. Slivers of light find their way through the palm screening and form patterns on the floor and the walls inside. The only other light comes from the men's and women's entrances at opposite ends of the house, entrances which are often kept shut to discourage the flying insects that are usually at their worst during the middle of the day. From these doorways 353
bars of sunlight cross the hard earth floor, lighting the main posts of the house. Beyond, just discernible, is the *chicha* canoe, the great vat which quenches the thirst of the dancing guests at festivals. Near by stands a forked pole where hang coca pouches, fruit-husk ankle-rattles and fretworked gourd *maracas*. On the floor are calabashes, some with coca inside, others with tobacco, and the wooden stools on which the men squat, passing half the night over their stories of past deeds in tribal wars and great hunting expeditions.

Overhead the smoke-blackened thatch is hidden in the gloom. Hanging [292]
from a beam is the most treasured possession: the barkcloth-covered palm box containing ceremonial feathers, monkey-fur belts and puma-tooth necklaces – all the precious adornments for the tribal dances, the greatest occasion of all in the lives of the Indians. The palm-woven screens, which [354]
divide the quarters of the women and the head of the house from those of guests, reach from floor to thatch. Near by are the great, flat, pottery cassava ovens. Hosts of baskets and *cumare* hammocks are strung from the house posts around the fires, and the hard earth floor is kept spotlessly clean by thousands of tiny scavenger ants.

Why the *malocas* should have been built on such a vast and gloomy scale 342
remains a mystery. It is possible that their very size gives the Indian a sense of 161
protection from the surrounding forest. It may also help to keep the interior cooler. But it is most likely a sign of depopulation, the breaking up of the clans through rubber exploitation and disease; where once a hundred or more people lived, now there are twenty.

José once told us that his father spoke of tribal wars on the river, when ●●●

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ABOVE: *Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking.* BELOW: *Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.* [see p. 62- B]

796 *chagra* and the visiting families began to leave. They moved quietly in single file down to their canoes, unleashed them and paddled away. Life returned to normal. The plumages stood in the sand, shimmering in the sun, before Bréo meticulously packed them away, and with them remained the memory of the dancing figures, resplendent as birds of paradise.

● 342

000 ABOVE LEFT: *An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth.* ABOVE RIGHT: *Boy playing panpipes.* BELOW: *A headman lights a torch of beeswax.* [ see p. 82-A ]

114 the nebula in his sword. Sirius stood out a pale electric blue and later we could see the Morning Star in the east.

The river was wide and very shallow, and we got into difficulties: 'José went to sleep on the engine and we hit a rock in midstream – a horrible grinding noise as it passed under the boat, then a crash as it hit the engine. She is letting a lot of water in, though it does not seem to have damaged her seriously. We are lucky; if this had been an aluminium boat she would have ripped from end to end.'

Two days below the falls we reached our dump again and reloading our equipment set off downstream, waving goodbye to Uriel who set off for his *maloca* on the Querarí; only José now remained. *El Diablo* was fully loaded again, she began leaking badly and Horacio made running repairs as we moved down the river. Soon a wind got up, the water became very choppy and we found ourselves baling continuously as the water slopped over her two or three inches of freeboard. She was not going to last very much longer.

All along the banks the forest presented a solid wall. There were seldom any
175 breaks where there might have been a habitation. A clan of the Tukano, the Letuama, had lived here before the advance of the rubber barons early in the
● 342 century. A few still remained and we visited one of their houses. The *maloca* was shaped like a pagoda, quite unlike anything we had seen before, round at the base with a steeply slanting thatched roof, terminating in a ridge about thirty feet above the hard earth-baked floor. Inside, every sheaf of each section of thatch seemed to have been measured and the whole had an appearance of amazing symmetry. The light came in through two roof apertures and inside, though cool, it was nearly as bright as outdoors. This was surprising as the darkness of the Amazonian house is a deterrent to flying
[415] insects. In strange contrast to the house were the old aluminium pots and tin trunks lying inside – a sharp reminder that we had left the Piraparaná. The headman and his family had deserted the house and it was now used by the occasional passing Indian as a resting-place.

114 We met two *caucheros* who had their houses on the river bank. One of them, Alirio, was half-Indian by birth. His father had been a European-educated official of the Colombian government, who in his later years had preferred the life of the forest. Alirio had known no other life; he had married an Indian girl and now spent his days collecting wild rubber, selling it to another *cauchero* further down the river. He was talkative and eager to help; he told us of a botanist – Dr Schultes – whom he had accompanied beyond the first rapids on the Piraparaná. When he knew we had come all the way from the Vaupés he seemed almost disbelieving. He told us on no account should we continue all the way to the Caquetá on this river, for there were many rapids; moreover, nearer the mouth of the river there were falls, one nearly as big as Jirijimo. Our only way was by a portage which led through the forest to another river, the Miritiparaná. From there it was possible, he

/353 cont./

796 Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some
534 men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the
778 landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kāsé.
[192] /354/ The women and children who came to the feast,
[562] barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut them-
[858] selves in (63),

• [343]

63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mīriá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wāx-tī.

796 The guests then go toward that local landing place to which
534 the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women,
778 submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The
562 sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female
688 sex may see it. If they saw it, Wāx-tī would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumādene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with
[278] poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wāx-tī.
Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the
*[192] maloca: "ayu! ayí! mīrī, mīrī mīrī!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

/321 cont./

121 /Footnote 5 cont./ If he conceives it as personal potency, or better "spiritual Being," whom he respects and propitiates by the cult, we then have a religious cult and a Religion. Now it seems to us that we have found indications, even though vague, of a cult and a Religion in the tribes of the Uaupés.

346 Taken in the first meaning, it is affirmed that the Indians of the Uaupés do not have religion, since neither temples in which to worship God (6)

175 346 778 6. This absence has been noted since the time of the discoveries. It is true that Frei Gaspar de Carvajal ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 51), describing the voyage of discovery of Francisco Orrelana /sic/ in 1540, speaks to us of the cult of the sun, with temple and altar: "On this day (Monday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 5, 1540) we moored at an aldeia of medium size, where the people were waiting for us. There was a very large plaza there, and in the middle of the plaza a large plank in a square of ten feet, painted and sculptured in relief, representing a walled city, with its enclosure and a door. On this door there were two very high towers with their windows, the towers with the doors facing each other, each door with two columns. This entire work was supported on top of two very ferocious lions, which were looking back, as though wary of each other, and supported it on the forelegs and on the claws. In the middle of this plaza [782] there was a hole where they put down, as offerings to the sun, the chicha, which is the

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 477 ]

/321 cont./

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/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to; and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

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"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

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This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

/321 cont./

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/footnote 6 cont./ idols of gold and silver in the form of women, and many objects of gold and silver for the service of the sun" (o.c. 67).

Carvajal, however, is relating what he heard and his narration is all impregnated with unbelievable things, fruit of credulity and of suggestion.

Pe. Alonso de Rojas, describing the descent of the year 1637, testifies: "They do not have rites or ceremonies to venerate them (their false gods), neither temples of their idols nor priests" (Descobrimentos, /Discoveries/, 110). Precisely as we found them three centuries later.

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nor persons in charge of the cult, neither priests nor religious ceremonies and prayers to honor the deity, are found among them.

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/322/ There are, indeed, many superstitions, and it could not be otherwise among men of so little culture. There is unanimity in asserting that, if there is a cult, it is that of the Jurupari or demon (7)

7. In his "Diálogos das grandezas do Brazil /Dialogues on the greatnesses of Brazil/," Teixeira Pinto, dealing with the rites of the heathen, asserts: "If they do have any and if they practice some manner of worship, although this is not known, it is the devil to whom they give the name of Jurupari" (ap. Barbosa Rodrigues, Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/, 94). Jurupari and dabacuri are terms from the Lingua Geral or Nheengatú, which is still spoken on all the

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177 sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom
182 and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's
[171] trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small mestizo-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand,
[342] when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments
[796] he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a
● [346] residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are
177 stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness.
291 As late as 1903 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper
182 Vaupés and all over the Cuduiarí where the women were totally naked and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiarí and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

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796 house, sweeping every bit of ground to remove the traces of the ancestors. They bent low and uttered low cries of *hi hi hi iii iii*, the same sound used when *mihí* is brought in. This is a sound that spirits understand.

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346 When the last traces of the ancestors had been swept out, the men called to the women to return. The return of the women restores the house to its normal condition. Before that it is a man's house, a cult house and not a true domicile. This change was marked by having the guests, who had already taken part in the earlier ceremonies, leave, go down to the landing place, march up the path, and be received at the front door in the usual reception line. What seemed to be the beginning of an ordinary drinking party then followed. However, later that night the women were told to move to the rear and to sit facing the rear door. The torches were put out and some old men fetched the hidden horns to play them in the forward men's section. They danced out again and hid the instruments. When the playing stopped, the women rose, lighted the torches again, and took possession of the *konhá* berries. The headman's wife, in her traditional role, supervised and assisted in the preparation of a *konhá* porridge, and the remainder of the berries were distributed to all the adult women. The porridge was prepared quickly and calabashes of it were sent down to the forward end of the house for the men.

Now the mothers turned to their sons to inspect the welts raised by the whippings. But the boys turned away and the mothers knew enough not to persist. The ceremony was over.

This was a truncated ceremony. Normally, the elders who have danced into the house with the ancestor horns after the lights have been put out dance among the women, while other men thrash the women with switches. Then the adult men take turns in whipping one another. None of this was done, they said, because most of the guests they had invited had not come, and feeling dispirited they cut the ceremony short.

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796 However, I had the opportunity of attending another whipping ceremony at the maloca of a subsib. This one was well attended and the atmosphere was properly charged with excitement, helped by a
184 great quantity of chicha and *mihí*. Yet here too the whippings were confined to the young boys and the women were unmolested. At one point, however, the ancestors danced outside the house, and two boys guarded the door while youngsters pelted the front door with berries. This was done not to frighten the women within but to give them a more vivid sense of the "presence" of the ancestors. This was re-

/177 cont./

342 592 *[192] The two outer naves, which correspond to the lower part of the roof, along the drip, were intended as the residence of the families: each nave had four divisions, in all, then, eight compartments, which are called wi'ĩ-khã̄ra tuxkũ̄-rĩ (Uaupés wi'ĩ-khã̄na tuxkũ̄-nĩ).

In that of the tuxaua the separation might by chance be a little better; it was not enough, however, to obstruct the view from the inside. In some malocas there was absolutely no separation at all. One can then say that there are imaginary divisions, corresponding to the beams and the supports of the maloca.

*192 592 • 35 The posts that support the roof serve for tying the hammocks there and, in the two inhabited naves, permit the setting up of a platform, kaxsá-wõ, approximately 2.00 meters from the ground, serving as a shelf where each family keeps part of its household goods, and also beijú, flour, and smoked meat, the heavier objects staying on the ground.

Each division has its small stove or trivet, which, in all the native houses, consists of three vessels, vitári-a (see VI - 2, a (2) ), of baked clay, among which are placed the wood chips.

*192 342 There are two doors, soxpé: a main one as an entrance, turned toward the river, called mĩxpĩ-yókaro-soxpé, and another at the back of the maloca, for the use of its occupants exclusively, doákaro-ká-soxpé; the former measuring 2.5 by 1.5 meters in width, with a beam 20 centimeters in height as a sill.

Serving as a partition for the two doors, there is a mat, soxpé-pã̄ma (in Nheengatú japá), of quite strong strips, with a frame of round pieces of wood. In some malocas the door resembles a strong and thick double hurdle, in whose spaces are inserted palm leaves, in order to block the rain and the wind better. The mats are suspended, like Venetian blinds, from the upper part of the portal. They are kept open during the day, the lower part being raised by means of a cipo, mĩ-yori-da, which hangs from the roof, or by means of a pole resting on the ground, soxpé-tú-kõ or soxpé-túñe-kõ. At times they reinforce the door at night with a bar, nẽxtõ-pĩ.

/174 cont./

361 And, in order to avoid the annual floods, they locate themselves on more elevated points or "terra-firme" and are never seen in palafittes (6).

> 6. In some posts on the Colombian frontier, called "Comissaria," a residence for the customs officials and the guards is built on an elevated point, on posts about two meters from the ground, approximately. In 1952 an Indian from the Brazilian bank of the Papurí imitated this style in building his hut. In jest the others called it "comissaria."

351 In the povoados of two or more houses, or behind the single maloca, there will always be a beaten area that separates them, by about 50 or 100 meters, from the forest and guards against attacks by ferocious animals.

241 They regularly plant in the vicinity the pimenteira (different varieties of cápsicum), pupunha, assai, urucum, and, with less frequency, the cucura /Pourouma cecropiaefolia, Mart./, lemon tree (today also the orange tree), mamoeiro (papaya cárica), abio (lucúma caimíta, Roem. e Schulth.), /175/ sugar cane (sáccharum officinale, Lin.), tobacco (nicotiana tabácum), and coca (erythróxilon coca).

249 Often one sees a small press, ã'rã̃ arõãrõ (Uaupés a'nã̃ anyãnõ), for sugar cane (7).

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*[192]

> 7. In a maloca of the Tuyuka, on the head-waters of the Tiquié, the press was found inside the maloca, in the vicinity of the main door.

They are generally four vertical posts, well planted in the ground, supporting two wooden cylinders provided with longitudinal grooves and which turn in opposite directions, pressing the cane between

/175 cont./

249 415 them. Although this is not a plant native to Brazil (8).

8. This is commonly thought. The cane has an Asiatic origin from China, from where it passed to the Mediterranean, and from Spain to the New World. The year of 1627 is marked as being the one of its introduction in Pará. It is certain that at the time of the discoveries the Indians were already planting cane. Alonso de Rojas, in the report on the journey of Pedro de Teixeira in 1637, tells us this ("Descobrimento do Rio das Amazonas," p. 114).

Nordenskiöld thinks that the press is a native invention, according to his material and resources. Nordenskiöld's opinion does not seem acceptable to us for the presses and the tribes of the Uaupés. [177] They would be an imitation of the presses that the civilized have used on the lower Rio Negro since the eighteenth century.

351 *[192] A square, maxkĩ-pá, or rectangular area, cleaned of any vegetation, and usually proportional to the population, is located in front of the maloca. It is also called baxsarí-u'tú, "dance yard"; actually some numbers of the ceremonial dances are performed there.

351 504 There is always a road a few meters wide, and clean, that leads to the landing place, or places, where they tie the canoes and take their bath. A road that serves, moreover, for the procession of Wãx-tĩ at his festival (cf. VII - 4, e (2) ).

/504 When the steep bank of the river is very high, they build a stairway with steps of earth or of timbers. If the steps are of earth, they are made immovable with roundish timbers of about two meters, tied to small stakes driven into the ground or tied transversely, by means of cipos, to two long lateral parallel beams.

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along the same river belong to a common phratry and share, therefore, rules of exogamy, origin traditions, and mutual obligations of hospitality. 361 [615]

Close up, a community is revealed as a clearing of a dozen acres or so hacked out in a crude semicircle from the banks of the river. Since the river may rise some ten feet or more in the rainy season the clearing is always on the high bank and will necessarily follow in its shape the contours of high land. The maloca stands toward the river. A house is not aligned according to absolute directions, but always with reference to the river, which the Cubeo, in contrast to other tribes in the region, insist upon keeping in view. No house will have its front door facing the forest, though its rear door may. In some cases the rear door abuts almost on the very edge of the manioc cultivations. 361 342

A residence site is commonly called *tawá*, a term that appears in the naming chants and that I have rendered in free translation as "soil." A related term that is also used is *taíbo* (a made place), a clearing. These two terms refer then to that part of the territory that has been prepared both for cultivation and for housing. A more inclusive territorial term is *makáno*, that embraces the uncleared forest and can also mean "forest." Still another term for a residence site is *hobónu*, based on *hobá*, a cleared place for planting. More commonly, however, the manioc cultivations are called *hawabó* (food place). 361

Within the requirements of contour and with leeway granted to accommodate individual community preferences, clearings tend to conform to a common plan. The maloca is the hub from which the outer edges of the clearing are plotted with approximately equal radii – footpaths – leading to the bitter manioc cultivations. The manioc cultivations form a broad outer belt of the clearing that, in poorer communities, begins very close to the rear or rear side wall of the house and that in prosperous and more prideful communities is at some distance. In the latter communities, the zone of plantings begins far enough away so that the women at work in their manioc gardens are out of sight and out of sound, only the plumes of white smoke from each garden signaling silently that a woman is at work there. No matter how confined the total clearing, the house rests within an inner clearing of secondary cultivations and, ultimately, within a totally cleared space or plaza. The maloca is more or less at the center of these three concentric zones. The river (*bya*) itself is a fourth zone. [342] [351]

These four zones have their social counterparts in that they may be identified as male and female, although, it should be said, the Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. [562]

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361
household dishes, while tobacco, *mihi*, and coca are for ceremonial 241
purposes. 462

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351
entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361
kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562
staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622]
for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and
for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist
that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [178]
plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755]
medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear
plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521]
of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards,
and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip.
During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests
are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351
a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361
vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562
an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574
realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made
this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was
received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as
he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361
a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562
the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823
of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614]
Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534]
edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, [515]
to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833]
women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842]
But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621
high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512
of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing
that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahukiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361
tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241
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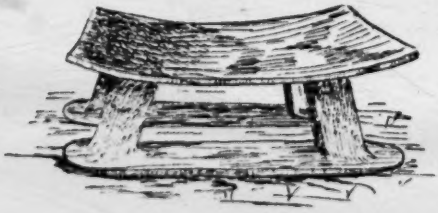
/186 cont./

415 252 The woman, as she grates, will do it with the two hands alternately, and not in a uniform rhythm, but with sudden pulls that cause movement of her very breasts. She will be seated on the ground, having between /187/ her legs the grater, the head [462] of which they support against the stomach. It is exclusively women's work.

The grater is such an useful object that on the lower Rio Negro the civilized adopted it as well as the tipití (VI -- 2, d (1) ).

*192 • 352 4) Seat. The seat, in Tukano kũ-mũ-rõ (Uaupés kũmũ-no), is in general use, although its specialized producers are the Tukano. It is generally made out of sorva or arara-seringa (Cõuma guianensis, Muell.), a not very heavy wood which hardly cracks.

They formerly made it with the help of their primitive adze. Today, instead of the syõ-a, they use a digging iron or even an adze obtained from the civilized.



Little monoxylic seat (ku-mũ-rõ)

The dimensions are the most varied, some of only 30 to 40 centimeters and others of 120 to 150 centimeters. The style, however, is constant, to wit, the seating place is concave, with a double curvature in the longitudinal and transverse directions. It is always low, only 10 to 15 centimeters in height, with four legs connected by two longitudinal crossbars. And the seat, with the supports, is monoxylic, that is, made from one piece of wood.

[531] [824] They are accustomed to decorating the seat with the traditional designs, and over it something like a varnish, obtained from the sap of the bark of a wild inga tree, mẽ'rẽ (Uaupés mẽ'nẽ).

/187 cont./

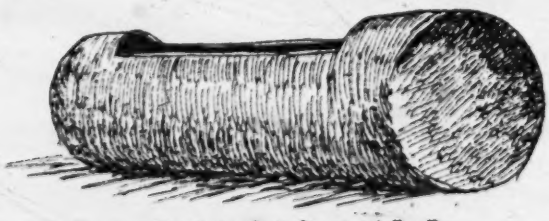
• 352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 276 [796] [178] /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utíkaro yaxpú or also utíkaro seré, or again mõrõ dõxkõ (?) (in Nheengatú emapú). In the dabacuris /religious celebrations/ the use of tobacco in the form of a large cigar, utíkaro, about 20 centimeters long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utíkaro is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 273 415 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pêru yuxkõ-sõ properly speaking means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú iwá, hence the term ubá, which means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxiri tub (pêru juxkõ-sõ)

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2) Sleeping hammocks.

The Indian never sleeps on the ground, always in hammocks (24),

> 24. Through contact with the civilized they have learned to sleep on the floor or quarter-deck of the launches, and later also on benches and chests.

pũghõ̃, and they carry them with them on their travels. The hammock /191/ meets perfectly the demands of the climate of the region, warm and humid, since it is cool, ventilated, light, small in volume, and, woven, as it usually is, out of tucum (25),

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> 25. The "hammock of thirty threads" of the Makú is usually made of thick threads of mirití.

it presents sufficient resistance and durability. They make it in different sizes, for children as well as for adults. There are three types of hammocks for sleeping:

a) Rede de trinta fios /hammock of thirty threads/. This is the common name in Portuguese; in Nheengatu it is called kisáw, and in Tukano neé pũ-ghõ̃, that is, hammock of mirití. It is made without the use of a loom. They make thirty or more turns around two stakes, as far apart as the length desired; always, however, longer than the body of the one who is to use it. These threads are joined in two clews /Port. punhos/, like a ring, pũ-ỹa-põ̃, by means of which the hammock will be suspended. Transversally, at a right angle, pass the threads that determine the width of the hammock, tied to the horizontal ones by knots in such a way that small rectangles of one span more or less result.

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/191 cont./

Due to its simplicity, it is known and produced by all the tribes, although it is called "rede de Makú" /Makú hammock/. Because of this depreciatory name, and mainly because of the present ease of acquiring more durable and economical cotton hammocks from the civilized, it is beginning to lose its acceptance among the Indians of the other tribes and today is found almost solely among the Makú and the tribes without contact with the civilized. The Tukano tell of having learned from the Desãna how to make this type of hammock. They were not able to clarify whether they had previously used the rede-puçá /puçá hammock/, or if they knew the hammock and slept on platforms.

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b) Beaten hammock. In Tukano it is called pá-tuke, and in Nheengatú, makíra. It is manufactured with a very simple loom (26).

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26. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 340) is of the opinion that the loom is of European origin. This opinion seems acceptable to us, and we believe one could say that the form of the "rede batida" /beaten hammock/ as well is not of native origin, but learned from the civilized. This conclusion is confirmed by: 1st, the fact that not many Indian women know how to make the "rede batida"; 2nd, those who presently know how to do it (as is shown by our inquiries) learned it in the Mission schools or from the alumnae of the Mission; 3rd, we know that the Governador of the Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro, Lobo D'Almada, in his economic plan to encourage industry, favored the weaver's trade, aiming at "the making of the cloth needed for the uniforms of the garrison, the colonists, and the Indians who came down, using eighteen looms and ten spinning wheels, with twenty-four spindles each. In 1798 only 157 Indian women were working as spinners"

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[797]

797 /191 cont./
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/footnote 26 cont./ "rede-batida," but, by the same process, to make rugs, tablecloths, napkins, bags, and other artifacts to suit modern taste.

*192 /192/ pũ-pá:-tuse nextõ-rĩ, consisting of four rounded sticks
286 connected in a rectangle. Each of their vertical staffs (warp)
• 352 has two holes through which the horizontal ones pass. The holes are purposely very large, so that with a suitable wedge the distance with regard to the horizontal staffs can be varied and thus hammocks of different lengths obtained.

The warp is made in the vertical direction (around the horizontal crossbars, the separation of which marks the length of the hammock), some turns going around with quite a long thread. The vertical crossbars of the loom determine the width of the hammock.

In between the vertical threads the woman starts developing the woof, a small stick with the rolled thread serving as a shuttle, wa'mẽ-kõ dõxká, and beating with a straightedge, pá:-turi-phĩ, in order to join the meshes well. The result is a true fabric of quite tight meshes, and the more elegant and comfortable the hammocks, the finer the thread.

They complete the elegance with a "veranda," pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõrĩ or pá:-tuke-wári, or a side fringe of varied form, as macramé is made.

The veranda is prepared by stretching a thread of a size corresponding to that of the hammock. Along this thread are tied with knots the tucum fibers folded in half. With these variously colored fibers, the woman spins, without the help of bobbins, but only with the fingers, a somewhat wide lace "ponto" /stitch/, until she obtains a trimming /193/ of some 10 or 15 centimeters, and she afterwards tears the ends with the ouriço /prickly part/ of the piquiá. They not only use fibers
[237] of different colors, but they even attach to them nowadays
[531] beautiful and colorful feathers of birds, in conformity with the taste of the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

/193 cont./

*192 286 352 *[115] [797]

c) Puçá hammock. In Tukano one says pũ piõke; we call it puçá hammock because it is similar, in the knots, to the fishing nets called puçá in the Lingua Geral (27).

27. Pe. Ezequiel Lopes tells that around 1931, among the little Pirá-tapúya Indians from the river Papurí who came to enroll as boarding-school students at the Iauareté school (river Uaupés), some appeared equipped with the puçá type of sleeping hammock.

In order to make this type of hammock, one uses a loom somewhat different from what we have seen previously. It consists of two pairs of vertical staffs, with the small separation of one span more or less. A more variable space lies between one pair and another and marks the length of the hammock desired.

Two threads are stretched horizontally, at a distance of 3 to 4 centimeters apart. Between them the woman starts to make knots or stitches like those of a casting net. They stretch two more threads horizontally, and new stitches are interlaced with the first ones, and so on successively.

This type of hammock is perhaps more work than the "beaten" one. The Tukano call it pũ pỹõke, because the line is run through, piõ: and the knot is made by hand.

227 284 *[192]

3) Fishing nets (puçá).

The Tukano call them wehẽ-kõ (28)

28. The Salesian Missionary Pe. Eduardo Lagório makes the following observation: "The verb to kill, wehẽ, is interesting; it is used almost exclusively to indicate the death of fish and animals. For human beings, having almost no violent murders, they use the expressions related to the various methods of poisoning."

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

/p. 62-B/

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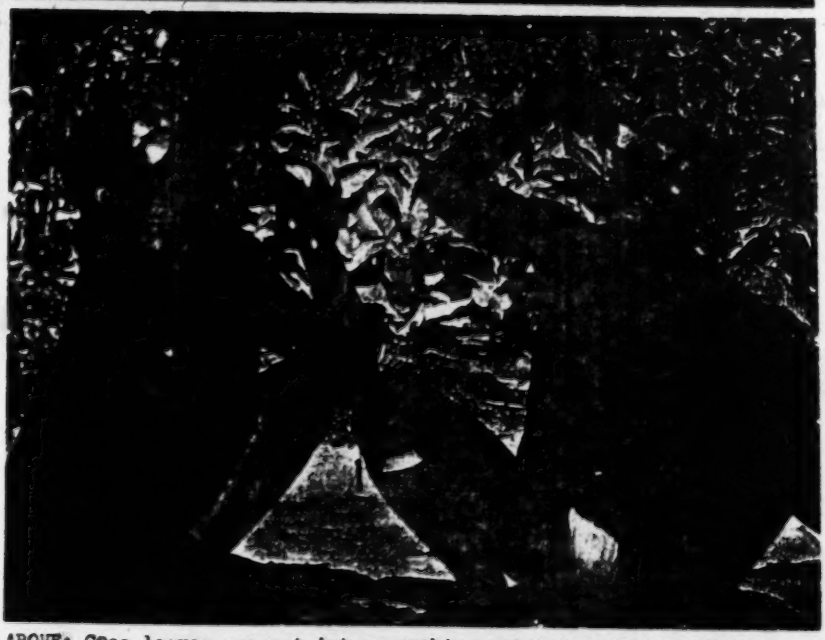

ABOVE: Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking. BELOW: Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 70-B/

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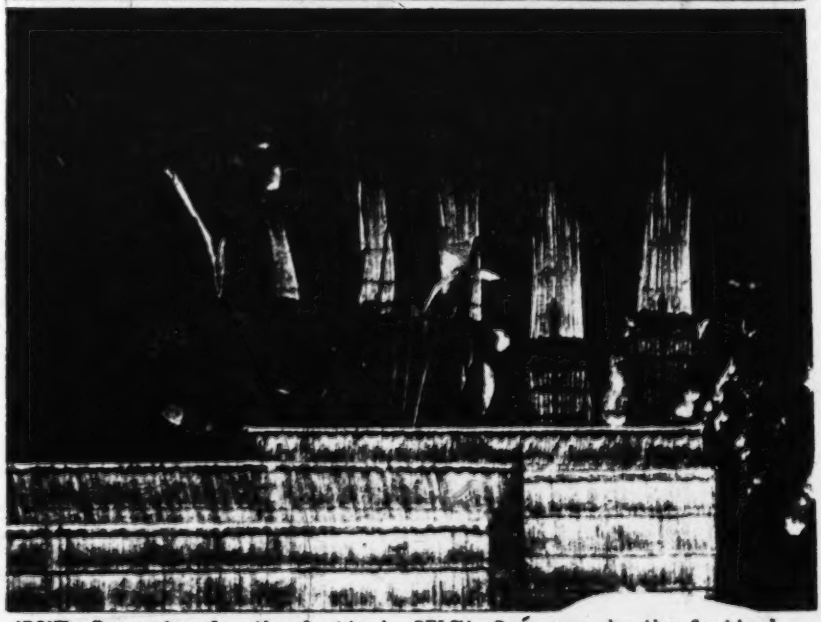
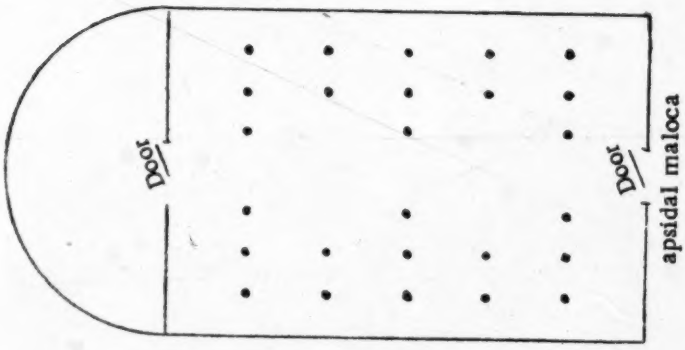


ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Bréo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.

/173 cont./

342 *[192] [178] At present all the malocas that are still found in the region of the Uaupés and its tributaries are rectangular. Up to 40 years ago, one saw some with the posterior part of roundish shape, like an apse, called do'ãkaro-tirí-wy'ĩ (maloca with kitchen) (2).

2. The maloca of the Tuyuka in Pinó-koa-liró on the upper Tiquié, which Koch Grünberg affirmed measured 27x17.80x7.80 meters, was apsidal in this way (Zwei Iahre, 204).




• 353 *[192] [421] This /174/ apse was separated, in the interior of the maloca, by a partition of matting that was called i'mĩa-ta'tyã (separation of matting). The family of the tuxaua resided in this apsidal compartment, and the ornaments, musical instruments, and utensils of common use, which constituted the collective property of the group, were kept in it.

177 342 *[192] With the increase in comfort of the Indians and in the instinct of ownership (and up to a certain point it is imitation or even the prompting of the civilized), there appear small houses, wi'ĩ,

*192 /176 cont./
342 It was solidly built upon five pairs of supports, boxtá-ri (9),

9. Greatly preferred for supports is the "pau-vermelho" /red wood/ (mira-piranga) of the Caesalpiniaceae.

which demarcate the central nave (see the nomenclature of the columns - VII - 4, e (2) ). They were roundish pieces of timber, straight, rustic (without removal of the bark), but quite regular and well-proportioned, as were also the beams, nẽxtõ-rĩ (Uaupés, nẽxtõ-nĩ), and rafters, wa' sõ-rĩ (U. wa' sõ-nĩ).

All the timberwork was solidly joined together with cipo (10).

[177]

10. In some of the modern houses nails are already appearing in beams, laths, etc.

• 353 In the interior the supports, all of them nicely aligned, divided the space into five naves. The three central ones for common use: passage, meetings, dances, visits, and work. Kept there, but toward the back, were the utensils [415] /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /177/ of common use, such were the large vessels of baked clay and the wooden tubs for the fermentation of the caxirís, and the oven for making the flour. It is here that the dances are performed on the occasion of the festivals (11).

11. Some malocas have only three naves, the central one being wider. We have also seen four naves. In those with five, the three intermediary naves are always used for work (preparation of the flour, of the caxirí, etc.) and for meetings.

/178/

342 373 Having, then, only two openings, the interior is always somewhat dark, being, in part, illuminated by the stoves (12).

*[192] 12. Sometimes, on one or more posts, which seem planted only for this purpose, they light at night a piece of resin called cicantá, which burns with a quite intense and long-lasting light, and leaves as residue a tar which also serves for calking the canoes.

177 342 574 In the modem family-huts, there is customarily an interior partition, generally made of bark. Perhaps this division, which is being adopted, has been suggested by the convenience when they must house some guest, especially the civilized. The Indian ordinarily is very hospitable; he not only receives guests for the great caxirís, but he also shelters any Indian or white who might be traveling. The first division near the door is reserved exclusively for the guests (see VII - 4, e 2 a).

[797] In some povoados, at the request of the Missionary, they build a large hut that serves for overnight stays of the Padre and as a chapel, when there is no other place reserved for worship.

342 *[192] Some malocas (and also Makú huts), in which the roof ends very close to the ground, completely or partially lack side walls. Such walls are regularly dispensed with in the oxkóro-áro (Nheengatú tapirí or papirí), or emergency huts, which they make in the distant clearings or on the banks of the rivers where they are accustomed to staying overnight on the occasion of trips and fishing expeditions.

177 342 Ordinarily the maloca or house is alone and contains all the family household goods. Auxiliary houses, however, are beginning to appear. The maloca of the Tuyuca, described above, has one of these. One of the Indians, knowing a little Portuguese, explained that it was the "succursal" of the maloca. Much smaller and only partially protected by side walls, made of straw and bark. There were about 14 hammocks reserved for the Makú in service, the flour oven, sieves, hampers, suspended tipitis, [353] [415]

177 /178 cont./
342 vessels of baked clay, and a cylindrical bark container, quite
• 353 well made, similar to the straight barrels in which we keep
415 chestnuts and codfish.

Nowadays (and since the time of the discoveries, as the
231 first explorers attest) the dog, which, besides guarding, also serves for hunting, is found as a domestic animal in the various malocas and houses, and in all the tribes. Ordinarily small, hungry, extremely thin; some do not support the weight of the body. Many of these animals, due to the stings of the fire ant or taxi, have suffered degeneration of the cornea and for this reason have white eyes.

/179/ Here and there in the malocas and povoados are also seen araras, parrots, mutums /Crax/, jacamins, or domes-
[797] ticated jacus. The Missions have encouraged the raising of
[177] pigs and chickens. The chickens go back to the first colonizers of the Rio Negro, and to protect them, by way of a chicken coop where they are sheltered during the night, they make small conical enclosures with the vertex upwards, or they use some old canoe, turned upside down, with an opening that they close at night, in order that the micura (gambá /opossum/) or some other animal that chases chickens can not enter.

*[192] In the Arwáke languages the chicken is called karáka, probably onomatopoeia for the chicken's voice. Onomatopes are otherwise very common among the tribes of the Uaupés to designate the birds. Perhaps from karáka is derived the word of the Tukano language which means chicken, i.e., ká'rẽkẽ or ka'rẽkẽ (Uaupés ká'nẽkẽ, ka'nẽkẽ). According to this hypothesis, it is from the Arwáke that the Tukano (and the tribes of the Uaupés in general) would have received the first chickens, or at least knowledge of them. Such a hypothesis is made probable, not only by the greater cultural development of the Arwáke, but also by their prior relationship with the civilized of the Rio Negro.

342 It seems that there is no rule with regard to the orientation of the maloca or with regard to the distance from the river or from the forest.

/321 cont./

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/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to, and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

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[237]
[301]

"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

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[532]

This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

/321 cont./

175
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[353]
[532]

/footnote 6 cont./ idols of gold and silver in the form of women, and many objects of gold and silver for the service of the sun" (o.c. 67).

Carvajal, however, is relating what he heard and his narration is all impregnated with unbelievable things, fruit of credulity and of suggestion.

Pe. Alonso de Rojas, describing the descent of the year 1637, testifies: "They do not have rites or ceremonies to venerate them (their false gods), neither temples of their idols nor priests" (Descobrimentos, /Discoveries/, 110). Precisely as we found them three centuries later.

346

nor persons in charge of the cult, neither priests nor religious ceremonies and prayers to honor the deity, are found among them.

/322/ There are, indeed, many superstitions, and it could not be otherwise among men of so little culture. There is unanimity in asserting that, if there is a cult, it is that of the Jurupari or demon (7)

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7. In his "Diálogos das grandezas do Brazil /Dialogues on the greatnesses of Brazil/," Teixeira Pinto, dealing with the rites of the heathen, asserts: "If they do have any and if they practice some manner of worship, although this is not known, it is the devil to whom they give the name of Jurupari" (ap. Barbosa Rodrigues, Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/, 94). Jurupari and dabacuri are terms from the Lingua Geral or Nheengatú, which is still spoken on all the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[604] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

sixty feet wide, with the ridge of its roof thirty feet above the ground. This 342
ridge is supported by six great posts, three on either side; the central space extending down the length of the *maloca* is like the nave of a church. The roof is thatched with palm fronds overlapping to a depth of four inches and extending almost to ground level on either side. These fronds may have to be brought from a great distance and vary in quality – the best lasting for years, while others rot quickly and require frequent patching.

As the sun rises each morning over the surrounding forest it lights on the [532]
striking clay and charcoal designs which are painted along the whole width of the front wall. Slivers of light find their way through the palm screening and form patterns on the floor and the walls inside. The only other light comes from the men's and women's entrances at opposite ends of the house, entrances which are often kept shut to discourage the flying insects that are usually at their worst during the middle of the day. From these doorways 353
bars of sunlight cross the hard earth floor, lighting the main posts of the house. Beyond, just discernible, is the *chicha* canoe, the great vat which quenches the thirst of the dancing guests at festivals. Near by stands a forked pole where hang coca pouches, fruit-husk ankle-rattles and fretworked gourd *maracas*. On the floor are calabashes, some with coca inside, others with tobacco, and the wooden stools on which the men squat, passing half the night over their stories of past deeds in tribal wars and great hunting expeditions.

Overhead the smoke-blackened thatch is hidden in the gloom. Hanging [292]
from a beam is the most treasured possession: the barkcloth-covered palm box containing ceremonial feathers, monkey-fur belts and puma-tooth necklaces – all the precious adornments for the tribal dances, the greatest occasion of all in the lives of the Indians. The palm-woven screens, which [354]
divide the quarters of the women and the head of the house from those of guests, reach from floor to thatch. Near by are the great, flat, pottery cassava ovens. Hosts of baskets and *cumare* hammocks are strung from the house posts around the fires, and the hard earth floor is kept spotlessly clean by thousands of tiny scavenger ants.

Why the *malocas* should have been built on such a vast and gloomy scale 342
remains a mystery. It is possible that their very size gives the Indian a sense of 161
protection from the surrounding forest. It may also help to keep the interior cooler. But it is most likely a sign of depopulation, the breaking up of the clans through rubber exploitation and disease; where once a hundred or more people lived, now there are twenty.

José once told us that his father spoke of tribal wars on the river, when ooo

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ABOVE: *Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking.* BELOW: *Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.* [see p. 62-B]

4: Silva--259 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Illustrations facing p. 177 in the original source./

Preparation of the Caapi (Wanana tribe, Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés)

*192
• 354

Oven (axtaro, Nh. yapuna)

/180 cont./

323 The last operation consists of the firing. Around the vessels are kindled some logs of firewood; little by little, other logs are added, so that the vessels are surrounded by the flames until they are well fired, that is, to the point of ringing. With half an hour /181/ of intense fire, they are ready; some will show a whitish color, others, a reddish one. These are the ones that are better baked.

*[192] In order to make the vessels dark, glossy, and impermeable, they start by rubbing them well, inside and out, with leaves of cubio /Solanum/, extóa pūrĩ, or of abio /Lucuma/, kārẽ pūrĩ. They then kindle a small fire with wet leaves, so that there is a great deal of smoke, which is first received in the interior part of the pot or cooking pot, turned upside down, and then also on the exterior part. Finally, the vessel will be washed and will then display the dark color, almost black, fast, and, moreover, it has been made impermeable.

The vessels are relatively light, with the durability suitable for their use. They can be exposed to more intense fire, without cracking or letting the water or the liquid that is kept in them flow out. One sees some large vessels almost a meter in diameter and more than half a meter in height, therefore with a capacity of several hundred liters.

*[192] The vessel for the caapí, kaxpi-tõ, differs from the others not only in shape, since it is similar to an amphora with a narrow mouth and provided with two small side handles, but also in being decorated with designs.

The kaxpí-tõ, after use in the feasts, is regularly kept outside the maloca, hanging on one of the corner posts. We were unable to learn the reason for this custom.

• 354 *[192] 2) Stove or trivet. The stove always consists of three vessels of baked clay, called vitari-a (in Nheengatú, itacurúa), among which the firebrands are placed. They are cylindrical in shape, but with the bases somewhat widened, almost as if they were two superimposed truncated cones, and this gives them greater stability. They measure approximately 25 centimeters in height and 10 in diameter. They are quite light and with the advantage of

/181 cont./

354 being heated only on the face turned toward the fire, and thus they can be handled by the other face when one wants to move them. They are arranged at a distance suitable for the dimensions of the cooking pots. Upon these vessels are placed the cooking pots for the preparation of mingau or quinhapira.

*[192] 3) Oven. The oven, axtá-ro (Nh. yapúna), consists of a vessel of baked clay, flat as a tray, two to four centimeters thick. It measures from 80 to 120 centimeters (14)

14. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 335) says that he found an oven up to 2 meters in diameter and with meander designs on the support.

in diameter, with rims /182/ of 10 to 15 centimeters. It is black, of the same composition as the camotins. Due to its size and weight, it is not customarily moved from its position, which is on a stove or furnace of clay, circular in shape, with a side opening through which the firewood is introduced. The diameter of the stove, 50 to 100 centimeters, varies according to the

*[192] Trivet (vitári-a) and pot support (sã'ri-ró)

dimensions of the oven, and the latter, according to the quantity of flour to be prepared. Sometimes the oven is simply set on three or four stones stuck in the ground.

/182 cont./

• 354

*[192] Oven (axta-ro) and large vessel for drinks (pẽru-tõ)

The ovens of large dimensions are manufactured at the place where they will be used. That is, on top of the furnace, previously prepared, the woman arranges a grate of quite compact poles, spreads on top a fine layer of earth, for the purpose of better leveling, and, with the mud ropes, starts making the oven, from the center of the flat part, until she reaches the dimensions that she desires. After it is dry, it is fired right there, as is done with the camotins.

Among the Sũryana we saw a large oven prepared on top of an excavation made in the floor of the house, serving as a mold. It was left to dry right there, and afterwards the oven was fired.

*[192] /183/ An oven with slightly higher rims, for the preparation of flour, is to be distinguished and is called poká-axteri axtá-ro, and one with lower rims for that of beijú is the ahũ-ga peóri-axtá-ro.

b) Wooden implements.

412 *[192] The tools for their work in wood were originally the stone ax, õxtã-komẽ, the adze, syó-a, also of stone, and fire, pexká-mẽ. With a piece of dark diabase (15),

15. They are found in some cachoeiras, for example, in the Pirá-paraná, and already semiworked by the waters.

polished against the stones, they made their primitive ax. For

/197 cont./

*192 • 354 6) Support for the cooking pot. With paxiúba splints about 40 or 50 centimeters in length, they prepare a support for the cooking pots, called sã'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés sã'nĩ-nõ).

It is essentially a bunch of splints, tied with cipo or embira in the central part, and the ends of which widen so as to form a spiral, in such a way that the sã'rĩ-rõ is similar to a double spiral-shaped cone, with a binding around the vertex. The ends are fixed by means of cipo or embira about two or three centimeters apart.

*192 415 7) Box for ornaments. It is a rectangular box, generally of miritĩ stalk reduced to laminae, which is used for storing the plumes and other dance ornaments. Since one box is smaller than another, the former is introduced inside the latter, as if it were its lid, in such a way that it remains tightly closed and in the shape of a trunk. In Tukano it is called mahã-poarí-karo, and in Nheengatú, pacará.

8) Other plaited work.

*192 285 a) Moreover, they weave the fronds from several palms to serve as roofing, peókaro, and even more frequently as walls, tyákaro.

/198/ b) They make mats for various purposes, called imĩ-sa (Nh. tupé), with leaves of different palm trees or with finer cipos.

c) With a rapid plaiting of the leaflets of some palm frond they improvise baskets, ba:, in order to transport fruits from the forest.

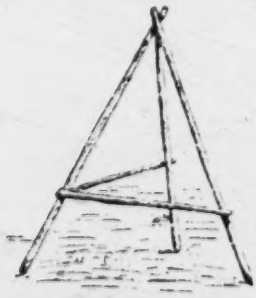
d) From the pacova sororoca /Ravenala guianensis, Benth./ and other leaves they make up small bindings, called sã: or sá:, in the shape of an ear of maize, which they fill with pirá-mirims /a kind of fish/, in order to roast them.

/203 cont./

• 354 *[192] f) Other objects of domestic use.

1) Tripod and grill. A very simple and very useful utensil is what in Tukano is called ñamá, deer. It is, properly speaking, a tripod, consisting of three poles of about two meters or more in length and whose thickness varies according to the size and use, generally a few centimeters in diameter. They are connected at the upper end by means of a cipo or embira and are kept separate in the lower part with the help of two sticks about 80 or 100 centimeters from the ground. There being only these two sticks, the base of the apparatus can be extended or narrow, as one wishes, or the tripod can even be closed and leaned against the wall to save space.

On top of these sticks is put the sieve in which the mass of mandioca is pressed by hand, while a pot collects the liquid, *[192] or manicuera. There can also be put on top of these sticks a kind of grill or moquém, in Tukano waí kaxsá, made of rounded pieces of wood. /204/ The fish or the meat that one wants to "moquear" /to smoke/, according to the Amazonian expression, is placed on the grill, and the fire underneath.



Tripod (ñamá)

One also finds the grill fixed to four stakes solidly planted in a corner of the maloca.

278 /289 cont./
757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant
*[192] called Taá-dõxká (45),

> 45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b) ): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

[178] [764] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night [164] [354] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

/349 cont./

796 [354] Between the last columns of the maloca a fire burns, which an old Indian stirs up frequently (58).

[554] 58. In the subdivisions of the tribes (cf. IV-2, a (2) ) it fell to those of the last category to keep the fire lighted.

"It is to illuminate the earrings of the dances," they explain to us.

So they spend the night, and one after the other falls from drunkenness, tired and sleepy, while the stronger ones continue dancing. At given moments there is a noise like a fight; the men will beat again on the entrance door. Under the effect of the alcohol there are heard at intervals disorderly shouting, noisy laughter, animated discussions, not infrequently fights and violence or even murders. That atmosphere of excitement and [833] darkness is most conducive to immoral practices (59).

59. Already at the end of the eighteenth century the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, vicar of S. Gabriel, was complaining: -- "During their banquets and feasts, there are always spirituous beverages, which they call caxiri, mucururú, pajaauarú and caeçuma, made out of mandioca, batatas, and fruits, with which they get drunk to the point of crapulence" (o. c. p. 486).

[833] At first they perform them more discreetly, going outside the maloca for these relations; later, when they are drunker, they do it even inside the maloca, in the hammocks or on the floor. Generally, however, there is no fecundation in these relations (60).

60. So they assured us, and they attribute

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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[64] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the malora follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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pared. Other men picked up the horns and danced. The whipping could not begin before dark and it was evident that the man preparing the switch was working slowly so as not to finish too soon. The deliberation of his movements added to the apprehension of the boys. As the last rays of light in the doorway faded, the boys suddenly leaped from the bench and bolted out of the house. The man who was preparing the whip ran to the doorway and shouted at them to come back. All but one returned. The boy who did not return was a fatherless orphan and a maverick who did not share foraged food with his age mates. 969 796 [736]

The boys took their seats again and the men resumed dancing with the ancestor horns. They danced until the house was pitch black. A taper was lighted and *Bwü*, represented by the senior member of the initiating group, stepped forward. He dragged the first boy to [354]

Fig. 9. *Bâhukiwa* boy.

sixty feet wide, with the ridge of its roof thirty feet above the ground. This 342
ridge is supported by six great posts, three on either side; the central space extending down the length of the *maloca* is like the nave of a church. The roof is thatched with palm fronds overlapping to a depth of four inches and extending almost to ground level on either side. These fronds may have to be brought from a great distance and vary in quality – the best lasting for years, while others rot quickly and require frequent patching.

As the sun rises each morning over the surrounding forest it lights on the [532]
striking clay and charcoal designs which are painted along the whole width of the front wall. Slivers of light find their way through the palm screening and form patterns on the floor and the walls inside. The only other light comes from the men's and women's entrances at opposite ends of the house, entrances which are often kept shut to discourage the flying insects that are usually at their worst during the middle of the day. From these doorways 353
bars of sunlight cross the hard earth floor, lighting the main posts of the house. Beyond, just discernible, is the *chicha* canoe, the great vat which quenches the thirst of the dancing guests at festivals. Near by stands a forked pole where hang coca pouches, fruit-husk ankle-rattles and fretworked gourd *maracas*. On the floor are calabashes, some with coca inside, others with tobacco, and the wooden stools on which the men squat, passing half the night over their stories of past deeds in tribal wars and great hunting expeditions.

Overhead the smoke-blackened thatch is hidden in the gloom. Hanging [292]
from a beam is the most treasured possession: the barkcloth-covered palm box containing ceremonial feathers, monkey-fur belts and puma-tooth necklaces – all the precious adornments for the tribal dances, the greatest occasion of all in the lives of the Indians. The palm-woven screens, which [354] •
divide the quarters of the women and the head of the house from those of guests, reach from floor to thatch. Near by are the great, flat, pottery cassava ovens. Hosts of baskets and *cumare* hammocks are strung from the house posts around the fires, and the hard earth floor is kept spotlessly clean by thousands of tiny scavenger ants.

Why the *malocas* should have been built on such a vast and gloomy scale 342
remains a mystery. It is possible that their very size gives the Indian a sense of 161
protection from the surrounding forest. It may also help to keep the interior cooler. But it is most likely a sign of depopulation, the breaking up of the clans through rubber exploitation and disease; where once a hundred or more people lived, now there are twenty.

José once told us that his father spoke of tribal wars on the river, when •••

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ABOVE: *Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking.* BELOW: *Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.* [see p. 62-B]

415 pottery making, a craft which has been all but forgotten among many of the Indians of Colombia.

512 Throughout the afternoon the women continue with their tasks while the men prepare their tobacco and smoke it wrapped in long cylinders of
276 banana leaf, or take snuff, lying in their hammocks or crouching on small wooden stools. The snuff, kept in gourds or large snail shells, is made in most cases from ground tobacco; it is first placed in the palm of the hand, then a small quantity is poured into a hollow V-shaped deer bone, and is injected into the nostrils by inserting one end of the V in the nose and the other in the mouth and blowing.

During the afternoon an Indian burns the *yarumo* leaves from the coca basket in the centre of the *maloca*, the ash being carefully raked into a neat
276 pile on the earthen floor. Earlier the coca leaves from the basket had been baked in a large earthenware pot over a hot fire, all the while being stirred with a hooped stick. The toasted leaves were then powdered inside a short wooden cylinder. They are further refined by being put into a barkcloth bag wrapped round a heavy stick, and beaten inside a large cylinder. The *yarumo* ash is added to the finely ground powder – this ash takes away the bitterness, and perhaps also the worst effects of the drug – and once again the mixed coca and ash is beaten in the long cylinder to the consistency of dust. Often this involved procedure goes on far into the night, and we became quite accustomed to go to sleep with the monotonous thudding noise still reverberating around the *maloca*. With the final process completed the powder is emptied into a half-gourd or into small barkcloth pouches, ready for the next journey or hunting trip, during which an Indian may live solely on the drug, going without sleep, food and drink for days.

The inscrutable nature of the Tukano may in part be due to his addiction to cocaine which deadens his senses and affects the eyes so that the pupils often appear dilated. This may also account for a lack of individuality among many of the men who often appear listless and resigned.

354 At dusk the hunters return and sometimes a monkey or a wild turkey helps out with the evening meal of cassava. The only light in the *maloca* after dark comes from the fires, but on special occasions, such as a festival, the head of the house places a chunk of beeswax taken from a wild bees' nest in the forest on a large post in the centre of the *maloca*, lighting it with a firebrand. But the flickering light barely penetrates the gloom. At other times a strip of slow-burning resinous wood is put in a fork of the same post. It is this wood – a type of cedar – which the Indians use to travel with at night, allowing it to
512 smoulder and blowing it into flame when needed. As night comes the doors are secured and, except for the sporadic mumblings of a few old Indians squatting around the fires, all is silent.

224 The Tukano is a hunter. From his early childhood he develops the ability

/p. 82-A/

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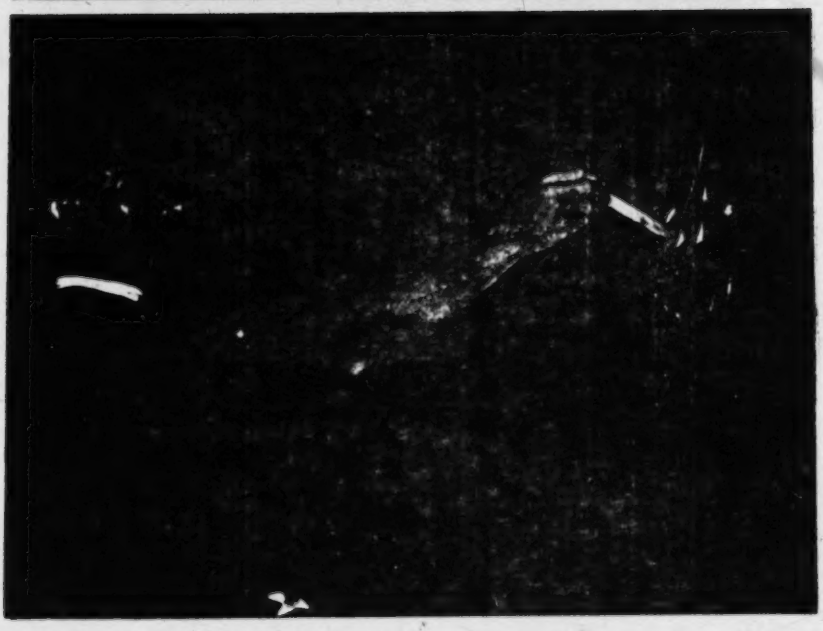

ABOVE LEFT: An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth. ABOVE RIGHT: Boy playing pan-pipes. BELOW: A headman lights a torch of beeswax.

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of
61 the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse group, which is also the basic unit of economic
594 redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with
[251] its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each mar-
• [354] ried woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her
[264] hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by
[562] the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A
61 well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cul-
582 tural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

[P. 671 - B]

278 /289 cont./
757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant
*[192] called Taá-dõxká (45).

45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b) ): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

[178] [764] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night [164] [354] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

• [356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

/290 cont./

356 Not infrequently, however, because of the dogs that also live
[136] there (and we have at times seen dogs sick and covered with sores),
[231] the ground is dusty, favoring the procreation of the bichos-de-pé /foot fleas/ (cullex pénetrans) and fleas.

Not infrequently the fruit rinds are thrown into a corner to rot,
[514] producing an unpleasant odor. This is unbearable, due to the vomitings and defecations in the maloca itself during the dabacuris. One can sometimes perceive a peculiar odor in the native povoados.

b) On the person.

515 The body hygiene is also deficient. They take a bath every morning, and more during the day. It is a bath to refresh, however, rather than to clean. Not having soap available to eliminate the grease from the body and hair, one not infrequently sees layers of dirt on some parts of the epidermis, especially in the folds of the skin and in the hairy parts. Even those who use /291/ soap, such as the school pupils, give off an unpleasant and characteristic odor.

296 Although they know how to wash clothes, and some of them do it well, in the majority of cases they keep the clothes on the body until they are very dirty, or even until they rot. Precisely the following custom is to be noted: they wash their own clothes with certain frequency when new. When they consider them old, they will not wash them any more. If they get wet, they let the clothes dry on the body.

356 Their primitive hammocks of tucum are never washed as a
515 rule, and in a little while they are darkened by the sweat, smoke, and grime. They climb into the hammock with the body dirty. The only care will be, perhaps, to rub the soles of the feet, one against the other, in order to clean them of soil.

574 With all freedom, an Indian, even a strange one passing by the maloca (we have seen this even in the case of Indians of different tribes), will lie down during the day in the first hammock that he finds vacant, while he rests and converses.

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the Cuduiarí I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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CUBEO
MACU SQ10



were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behórü* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapurí and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapurí that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querarí but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiarí had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Parý *cachoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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day the *Borówa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

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**BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS**

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*medkamdtewu yawiwü*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

*pwéntewü* – the people came out
*tcúntcawwa* – and shed (their anaconda skins)
*kahádami* – they went forward
*waré borikapindo* – the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
*opéko tamána* – crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
*emíntakori* – the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
*kanúrübo* – (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
*bwühürükürwü* – the rock where *Bwü* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwü*)
*bytátakwe* – the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
*kwábebo* – the place of *Kwákü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
*borikabo* – the place of *Borikakü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies – it means the aracú fish)
*opéko tavd* – the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakü* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
*nahó pwánwa* – the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
*bwütaunrü* – the tree beneath which *Bwü* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwü* passed beneath it)
*bwütaunrü* – the tree beneath which Bwü passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
*waokún* – the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

114 [101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría [124] Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant [614] and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, [615] two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

615 As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the 361 existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one 197 another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It 619 could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of 615 tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other 571 phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in * 574 Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who [601] did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the corre- [101] spondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the 615 Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged 197 to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and 124 on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great 114 distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four [124] phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

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## YEPA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs belonging to this phratry are located on the Paca, Papurí /Papury/ and Tiquié rivers, and on the Vaupés /Uaupés/ River from the stream of Umarí to the confluence of the Vaupés River with the Río Negro. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Tukano. The sibs that form this phratry can be divided into two artificial groups that correspond to patterns of kinship and are the following:

LIST "A"

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Yúpuri Baúro | (B) (1) | (2) Yepára Oakajpeá | (+) (2) |
| (3) Yepára Oyé | (B) | (4) Yepára Suí | (C) (3) |

1. The B in front /sic/ of the name of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Brazilian territory.

2. The + in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib has disappeared.

3. The C in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Colombian territory.

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5) Bejsémi Kuiseré | (C) | (6) Ajúsiro Sóbaro | (B) |
| (7) Suí Makúpi | (C) | (8) Ajkíto Ñetedejká | (C) |
| (9) Kemáru Isiadejpuá | (+) | (10) Yúpuri Pamó | (B) |
| (11) Yepára Merú | (C) | (12) Yúpuri Uajsóro Marí | (C) |
| (13) Sérvi Bojsé | (C) | (14) Doétiro Mimisipé | (C) |
| (15) Ajkíto Pat[illegible] | (C) | (16) Kemáru Kukú | (C) |
| (17) Urémiri Sioropo Bayá | (B) | (18) Urémiri Sáraro | (C) |
| (19) Parisí | (B) | (20) Yúpuri Búbera | (B) |
| (21) Ajúsiro Merí | (B) | (22) Ñajóri Dipé | (B) |
| (23) Yáitoro | (C) | (24) Urémiri Sakuró | (C) |
| (25) Buú Púra | (B) | (26) Suí Amoperí | (B) |
| (27) Ajúsiro Túro | (B) | (28) Arú Perí | (B) |

/149 cont./

*601 614 (7) The sons of Yúpuri Baúro call the sister of Suí Ajpuékeri: Uaméu. The sons of Suí Ajpuékeri call the sister of Yúpuri Baúro: Uaméu.
Etc.

Examples of kinship terms used among the components of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mé.
(2) Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Meké.
(3) The son of Umu Sasí calls the son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá, since Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the son of Umu Sasí: Mamí, since Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates Umu Sasí: Mamí.
(5) Umu Sasí calls the daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Majkó. Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the daughter of Umu Sasí: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mengué. The daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls Umu Sasí: Mengué.
(7) The sons of Umu Sasí call the sister of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Uaméu. The sons of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu call the sister of Umu Sasí: Uaméu.

Examples of kinship terms used between the Component Sibs of LIST "A" and the Component Sibs of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Yúpuri Baúro: Meké, since the father of Yúpuri Baúro and the son of Umu Sasí are siblings.
(2) Yúpuri Baúro denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Mé.
(3) The son of Yúpuri Baúro calls the son of Umu Sasí: Pajké-Ró.
(4) The son of Umu Sasí denominates the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Yeé Párame.

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## MIRIAPURA DIARA MAJSA

614 [615] •[361] [197] The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Pirá-paraná, Apaporis, Cananarí, and Tuy. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Carapaná. It consists of the following sibs:

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(7) The sons of Mumiá Pajkáre denominate the sister of Séra Majsé: Uaméu. The sons of Séra Majsé denominate the sister of Mumiá Pajkáre: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Yajuána denominates Mumiá Pajkáre: Meké, since the father of Mumiá Pajkáre and the son of Yajuána are siblings.

(9) Mumiá Pajkáre calls the son of Yajuána: Mé.

(10) The son of Mumiá Pajkáre denominates the son of Yajuána: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Yajuána calls the son of Mumiá Pajkáre: Yeé Párame.

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## ÑUJKUA DIARA MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located at the headwaters of the Tiquié River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Barasano. It consists of the following sibs:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé – Bará Majsé | | | | | (C) |
| (2) Buajá Ñajkoroá | (C) | (3) Ñujkuá | | | (C) |
| (4) Uamúta Ñárague | (C) | (5) Uamúta Dáyaroague | | | (C) |

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Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Ñujkuá Diára Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-4), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (4-1), the last one calls the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 4 denominate 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-4): Yeé Párame.

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MIRIAPURA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Isana, Querarí, Surubí, and Uainía. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Maniva. It consists of the following sibs:

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Bejkári | (C) | (2) Mijpiágue | (C) |
| (3) Mijpiá Diára | (C) | (4) Majkápiro Púra | (C) |
| (5) Borékearo | (C) | (6) Petároague | (C) |
| *601 614 (7) Majároague | (C) | | |

Kinship Terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-6), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (6-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 6 denominate 7 (Majároague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Majároague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-6): Yeé Páraime.

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mé.
(2) Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Meké.
(3) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Petároague: Nijiá, since Bejkári denominates Petároague: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Mamí, since Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mamí.
(5) Bejkári denominates the daughter of Petároague: Majkó. Petároague calls the daughter of Bejkári: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mengué. The daughter of Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mengué.

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(7) The sons of Bejkári denominate the sister of Petároague: Uaméu. The sons of Petároague denominate the sister of Bejkári: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Majároague denominates Bejkári: Meké, since the father of Bejkári and the son of Majároague are siblings.

(9) Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Mé.

(10) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Majároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Yeé Párame.

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## EMEKO BAJUARI MAJSA

The component sibs of this phratry are located on the Vaupés River between the hamlet of Urania and a little above the place where the Yí River empties into the Vaupés River, and on all of the Cuduiarí River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Cubeo. It consists of the following sibs:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Utíwiague | (C) | (2) Socóro Páramero | (C) |
| (3) Biá Déroague | (C) | (4) Purí Máriroague | (C) |
| (5) Aúwuewague | (C) | (6) Uejsári Téroague | (C) |

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Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-5), the first one denominates the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one denominates the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (5-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 5 denominate 6 (Uejsári Téroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Uejsári Téroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-5): Yeé Párame.

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There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed
[824] at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592 The size of the maloca varies according to the number of
342 its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano
[162] maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

• 361 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements
596 /Spanish caserfos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only
[287] a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the
177 Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental
797 clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

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[Information on the maloca, the communal shelter, has been filed in category 592.]

/13 cont./

136 Briss.), the capivara /capybara/ (hidrochoerus /Hydrochoerus/ capybara, Erxl.) and macacos of various species.

The birds present the same scarcity in quantity, but a greater richness in variety and plumage. Among those appreciated as foods by the forest dwellers, we remember the tucanos /toucans/ (ramphastus /Ramphastos/), jacamim /trumpeter/ (psophídeos /Psophidae/), mutum /curassow/ (crax nigra, alector, etc.), jacú (penélopes), several pombos /doves/ (columba). Procured for their plumage are the garças /herons/ (heródias egretta) and other varieties of ardeídae, tucanos, and the extraordinary variety of araras and other psittacídeos /Psittacidae/.

The entomological contribution is more varied and richer, some varieties of insects also serving as food for the inhabitants of the region.

241 In this habitat in which the area to be cultivated is acquired by arduously hewing down the secular forest and which is only used regularly for three or four years, one can make only a small planting. We must remember that originally the Uaupés man had at his disposal only the stone ax, and that on the Uaupés the verões, that is, the periods of dry weather that permit "the burning of the clearing," are neither frequent nor extended.

• 361 The agriculture, on one side, as well as the fishing and the
[262] hunting, do not permit large human assemblages. As a consequence, we are going to find the population always dispersed in small groups located on the banks of the rivers and streams (igarapés), which, besides furnishing, with the fish, a favorite food, also serve them as a means of communication.

The demands of the natives being minimal, the conditions that determine their habitat are reduced to three: 1st, water, to drink, to bathe, and to give them fish; 2nd, the forest, which furnishes fruit and the wood for the fire; 3rd, land sufficiently fertile for the cultivation of mandioca, their principal vegetable food. Not always, but rather very rarely in the present situation can /14/ the first condition be reconciled with the third, according to native criteria. For this reason, they ordinarily plant the
[241] clearing, "wexsé," some kilometers from their house. Compensating for the inconvenience of the distance, there is presented to

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361 the intelligence of the forest dweller the advantage of the safety of his property, which thus more easily escapes being seen and covetousness. The natural consequence is that the density of the population in each group is independent of the fertility of the adjacent lands.

/15/ Chapter II

## The Tribes of the Uaupés in the Historical Period

### 1 -- Data on the History of the Rio Negro and the Uaupés River

174 The important problem of the origin of the forest dwellers of Brazil, as of America, still awaits solution. Since anthropo-ethnological science does not recognize them as autochthons, where did they come from? From only one or from various origins? In what era? By which path? With what means? In one or several successive migrations? Under what direction? How did they spread?

[121] The present work does not aim at answering these or other connected questions. Nevertheless a rapid survey of this cultural group of the Uaupés within the historical period for it, that is, since the discovery of Brazil, is advisable.

175 The voyage of discovery of the "Rio das Amazonas," as it became known at the time, was made by Francisco Orellana in 1541, the friar of the Order of Saint Dominic, Gaspar de Carvajal, serving as chronicler. From his account there appears with respect to the Rio Negro only that on Saturday, the eve of the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 3, 1542, "We saw the mouth of another large river, on the left bank, which entered the one that we were navigating and of water black as ink and therefore we gave it the name of Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos do rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," 50).

4: Silva--31 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



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## 4. Places on the Rio Negro in the Eighteenth Century

## with indication of the tribes

(According to the data of Pe. Noronha, Xavier Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira and Braum) /In the table below, margem esquerda (M.E.) = left bank, margem direita (M.D.) = right bank, leguas da foz = leagues from the mouth, almas = souls, antigo = anciently./

### Tribes

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A — Aruaque | J — Juri (pixuna) | P — Passé |
| Ar — Arunié, Ayrini, Ariini | Jp — Japiuna | Pv — Paviana |
| B — Bare | Jr — Jaruna | Px — Pexuma |
| Ba — Baiana | M — Manáo | T — Tacú |
| Bv — Banivа | Ju — Juma | Pt — Puiteno |
| C — Cubeuana | Ma — Macu | Te — Termairari |
| Ca — Carajai | Mq — Maquiritare | Tu — Turimari |
| Cc — Cocuana | Mr — Marapitena | U — Uaupé |
| Ce — Coeuana | Md — Mendó | Ua — Uaranacuacena |
| D — Duanáis | Mp — Mepuri | Ue — Uerequena |
| | | Uy — Uauuana, Yayauana |
| | | X — Xamá |
| | | Xp — Xapuena |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Manaus* - margem esquerda (M.E.) | 2 | leguas da foz | B. Bv, P | | |
| *Ayrao* - margem direita (M.D.) | 30 | " " " | A. M. T | (860 almas) | |
| *Moura* - M.D. | 42 | " " " | M. Ca, Ce, Ju, B, Jp, Jr, | | |
| *Carvoeiro* - M.D. | 50 | " " " | M. Pr, Ua (ext.) | (1786 " ) | |
| *Poiares* - M.D. | 67 | " " " | M. B. P | | |
| *Barcelos* - M.D. | 74 | " " " | M. B. Ba, Ue, P | | |
| *Moreira* - M.D. | 90 | " " " | M. B | (164 almas) | |
| *Thomar* - M.D. | 107 | " " " | M. B. Uy, P | (524 " ) | |
| *Lomalonga* - M.D. | 111 | " " " | M. B. Bv | (196 " ) | |
| *S. Isabel* - M.E. | 127 | " " " | U. J. P, Ue, Bv, Ma, Mq | (99 almas) | |
| *S. Ant. do Castanheiro Novo* - M.E. | 140 | " " " | B. J. Px P. X. | (108 " ) | |
| *Maçarabi* - M.E. | 154 | " " | J. P | (175 " ) | |
| *S. Jose* - M.E. | 162 | " " " | B | (99 " ) | |
| *S. Pedro* (antigo Simapé) - M.D. | 168 | " " " | J. P | (95 " ) | |
| *S. João Nepom. do Camundé* - M.E. | 171 | " " " | P, Px, J | (94 " ) | |
| *S. Bernardo de Camanaus* - M.E. | 175 | " " " | J. P, X, | (109 " ) | |
| *N. S. de Nazaré de Curiana* - M.E. | 178 | " " " | P, Mp, Ar, Br Ma | (108 " ) | |
| *S. Gabriel da Cachoeira* - M.E. | 180 | " " " | B. Mp, J | (180 " ) | |
| *S. Joaquim do Coane* - M.D. | 185 | " " " | U, Cc | (257 " ) | |
| *Santa Ana* - M.E. | 198 | " " " | Bv | (198 " ) | |
| *S. Felipe* - M.D. | 202 | " " " | Bv | (23 " ) | |
| *S. Miguel* (foz do Içana) - M.E. | 205 | " " " | Bv | | |
| *N. Senhora da Guia* - M.D. | 206 | " " " | B, Bv. | (87 " ) | |
| *S. Marcelino* (foz do Xié) - M.D. | 222 | " " " | Bv, Ue, Md | (65 " ) | |
| *S. Jose dos Marabitanas* - M.D. | 231 | " " " | Mr, Ar, B, Bv | (165 " ) | |

/57/

## Chapter III

### Malocas (Baxsasé-wi'seri) and Povoados (Maxka)

133 The Uaupés pours its waters into the Rio Negro by two mouths, separated by the "Ilha das Flores" /Island of Flowers/ (former Ilha do Umirí, wextí-nãxkãro) and islets, dotted besides with innumerable stones and rocks: the southern mouth, with three bars formed by the reefs and the "Cachoeira do Tamanduá," its entrance being more difficult; the northern one, also with many rocks and the "Cachoeira do Carapanã."

• 361 Whoever goes up it will find at short intervals huts, or groups of huts, two or three here, eight or ten farther on, and even eighteen or twenty. They are the "Povoados" /populated [103] places/ (maxkã), as those of the region call them. They will have the name of a Saint as a Patron, or of some geographic accident, a native name, or any other one chosen, it seems, by chance, as happens in general with national toponymy. The names are ordinarily from the Nheengatú language or Língua geral and correspond to others in Tukano, almost always as mere translation. It is difficult to say whether the original name is the Tukano one, and the one from the língua geral, by which it is known, is only a translation, or vice versa.

178 Until 1924, from the Cachoeira de Ipanoré upwards, there
361 were only malocas (1),
592
[797]

1. Maloca is the name of the large collective dwelling (cf. VI, 1).

reports Padre João Marchesi, the veteran Salesian Missionary of the Uaupés. The replacement of the malocas by family houses and the appearance of small povoados, due to the influence of the Salesian Missions, date from that year. At present (1958) malocas only exist either in the interior of the forests or on the banks of the Uaupés River above Iutica and on the Tiquié above Carurú-Cachoeira.

The native tradition preserves the name and the location of malocas and human assemblages that have now disappeared. As documentation we present the lists below. For some places, in this middle of the twentieth century, there is only underbrush to mark the place where the human hand felled the virgin forest and built a maloca.

/91 cont./

*101 f) EMÕÁ-MASÃ OR GUARIBA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Emõá, in the native idiom, is the name of the guariba /howler/ monkey. Their language also belongs to the Tukano family /92/ (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia"). We found /some words, perhaps a line of the text, are missing here in the original source/ [144] Ide-masã of the maloca Bõhõ-rya-hidó of the Comé-ia. This was a type of average stature, slender body, delicate features, not very prominent zygoma, elongated face, high, thin nose, skin lighter than that of the Tukano, fine, black, somewhat [171] wavy hair.

[582] Tribal exogamy is observed. We know of marriages with Ide-Masã, Hanẽra, and Bará.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They inhabit the forests between the headwaters of the Tiquié and the river Pirá-paraná. They are few nowadays, according to the informant, who could give us barely 3 subdivisions. It is to be noted that, according to the informant, the Yebá and Roéra are part of her tribe. This agrees with some information obtained three years previously from a Yéba, who, among the divisions of his tribe, named [361] the Emõá and the Roéra (cf. IV-2, t). If the Yéba are to be [171] included among the Emõá, these would be, in all, several hundreds of individuals, because the Yéba live in several malocas in the region embraced between the Comé-ia and the Pirá-paraná.

Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 401) speaks of the greatly feared Guaríua or Guariba-Tapuya located below the Jurí and Passé, that is, in the basin of the river Japurá. The Emõá can not be identified with these Guariua-Tapuya, but rather with the Õmõá of the sources of the Tiquié.

[115] 3) Divisions. Informant, the Indian woman Misirã, about 50 years old (1957), also known as Joaquina, wife of the Ide-masã tuxáua of the Comé-ia:

/171/

# Chapter VI

## Material Culture

121
*[192]

### 1. Dwelling, wi'ĩ.

Under the name of material culture (Sachkultur of the German authors), we mean the conjunction of objects that the forest dweller produces for the necessities of life. They are, properly speaking, the material objects in which they manifest their cultural level.

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178

The tribes that we have studied are not nomads. They have been established in the actual phase in which we found them for several generations or centuries (as far as the record completed by some pieces of information from the first travelers extends) in the same place, from where they move only because of epidemics or fights. The dissident group then goes to build a new house or to start another povoado, ordinarily not very far from the first one, perhaps barely a few kilometers away. Even today malocas that are quite old, half a century perhaps, are admired. Particular circumstances (fire, storm, etc.) might likewise force the construction of a new maloca. The Indian always prefers to make a new house instead of repairing the old one, if it is greatly damaged. Although for the new construction he will often make use of the beams and, more commonly, the straw of the covering, especially if it is still good and he would have to go very far to find new straw. Thus, in dealing with sedentary tribes, it is natural that we find good dwellings. Since it is a zone with frequent and torrential rains, the simple construction of clay is not suitable.

342
[178]

*[192]

The system of covering, peókaro, is always that of two slopes and with great inclination, so that the drip of the roof will remain only a meter or a little more above the ground.

*[192]

The palm for the covering will vary according to the resources of the region; they generally use the caraná (maurítia flexuósa, Wall.), pũ'sẽ, because, besides protecting well from the rains, it lasts for many years. They usually complete the covering starting from the drip.

/174 cont./

177 family type, of straw or bark or even of pau-a-pique (3),

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*[192]

3. By pau-a-pique or taipa (in Tukano di'tá pyákaro) is understood, in all Brazil, the house whose walls consist of a hurdle of pales and laths, which is then filled in and plastered with mud or mortar.

instead of the old and large malocas, baxsá-wi or baxsarí-wi (dance house) (4)

4. That of Parí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, disappeared about 20 years ago, measured approximately 60 by 30 meters, attests Pe. João Marchesi.

for a whole local group.

It is to be noted in the present povoados that all the houses have the same rectangular style. They are, on a small scale, a maloca. They are not alike, however, nor do they follow any alignment, except for the cases of intervention by the missionaries. In imitation of the houses of the Mission, today one sees some houses with a small porch or shed.

[797]

As for the location, it is always on the bank of a river or stream (5).

• 361

5. Paulo /Paul/ Rivet characterizes the civilization of these tribes as "mandioca civilization." Perhaps with more accuracy one should say "mandioca and fishing civilization." We have found, especially in the region inhabited by the Karapanã and Tatú, malocas in the interior of the forest 500 or 600 meters from the streams. This distance is dictated by the circumstances, in order for them to protect themselves against attacks and violence.

/174 cont./

361 And, in order to avoid the annual floods, they locate themselves on more elevated points or "terra-firme" and are never seen in palafittes (6).

> 6. In some posts on the Colombian frontier, called "Comissaria," a residence for the customs officials and the guards is built on an elevated point, on posts about two meters from the ground, approximately. In 1952 an Indian from the Brazilian bank of the Papurí imitated this style in building his hut. In jest the others called it "comissaria."

351 In the povoados of two or more houses, or behind the single maloca, there will always be a beaten area that separates them, by about 50 or 100 meters, from the forest and guards against attacks by ferocious animals.

241 They regularly plant in the vicinity the pimenteira (different varieties of cápsicum), pupunha, assai, urucum, and, with less frequency, the cucura /Pourouma cecropiaefolia, Mart./, lemon tree (today also the orange tree), mamoeiro (papaya cárica), abio (lucúma caimíta, Roem. e Schulth.), /175/ sugar cane (sáccharum officinale, Lin.), tobacco (nicotiana tabácum), and coca (erythróxilon coca).

249 Often one sees a small press, ã'rã arõarõ (Uaupés a'nã
415 anyãnõ), for sugar cane (7).
*[192]

> 7. In a maloca of the Tuyuka, on the head-waters of the Tiquié, the press was found inside the maloca, in the vicinity of the main door.

They are generally four vertical posts, well planted in the ground, supporting two wooden cylinders provided with longitudinal grooves and which turn in opposite directions, pressing the cane between

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# 1

## *The Cubeo Community*

361 The Cubeo Indians occupy a string of settlements along a small stretch of the Vaupés River from Uarúa Lake upstream to Uaracapurí and downstream to near the Brazilian border, as well as along several of the Vaupés tributaries, namely the Cuduiarí and the [61] Querarí and Pirabatón. The tribe consists of some 50 or more patrilineal, exogamous sibs[1] that are grouped into three unnamed confederations or phratries of unequal size that are also exogamous. Although the bulk of the Cubeo now live on the smaller streams—the Cuduiarí, in particular, being heavily populated—the broad Vaupés, that joins with the Rio Negro to enter the Amazon, is re- [614] garded by the Indians as their main stream and as their source. Their 173 leading sibs still live there. Native traditions place the emergence of 614 all the Cubeo sibs at two Vaupés sites, at the turbulent cataracts of 361 Yurupari and of Uaracapurí. From there the people moved up the nearby tributary streams, the Cuduiarí, the Querarí, and the 173 Pirabatón, a tributary of the Querarí. The traditions record that 361 the first people displaced groups that were already living along [174] these streams and, in this respect, square with historical observations that pressures of enemy Indian tribes, and, lately, the more potent pressures of white colonizers, have been forcing the Indians to leave the main rivers and take shelter in the more 361 distant and constricted feeder streams, or else face physical or cultural 614 extinction. The more timid and the more humble of the sibs have

[1] Following the usage of Lowie (1920, p. 111), "sib" is synonymous with "clan."

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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiari, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiari there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamiwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

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614 formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

[613] A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib 614 are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group 592 of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of 614 cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important 594 unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

121 What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization 61 that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component 621 segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

## THE COMMUNITY

621 The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous 182 entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

● 361 From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the [615] Cuduiari the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

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along the same river belong to a common phratry and share, therefore, rules of exogamy, origin traditions, and mutual obligations of hospitality. 361 [615]

Close up, a community is revealed as a clearing of a dozen acres or so hacked out in a crude semicircle from the banks of the river. Since the river may rise some ten feet or more in the rainy season the clearing is always on the high bank and will necessarily follow in its shape the contours of high land. The maloca stands toward the river. A house is not aligned according to absolute directions, but always with reference to the river, which the Cubeo, in contrast to other tribes in the region, insist upon keeping in view. No house will have its front door facing the forest, though its rear door may. In some cases the rear door abuts almost on the very edge of the manioc cultivations. 361 342

A residence site is commonly called *tavá*, a term that appears in the naming chants and that I have rendered in free translation as "soil." A related term that is also used is *taíbo* (*ã* made place), a clearing. These two terms refer then to that part of the territory that has been prepared both for cultivation and for housing. A more inclusive territorial term is *makáno*, that embraces the uncleared forest and can also mean "forest." Still another term for a residence site is *hobónu*, based on *hobá*, a cleared place for planting. More commonly, however, the manioc cultivations are called *hawabó* (food place). 361

Within the requirements of contour and with leeway granted to accommodate individual community preferences, clearings tend to conform to a common plan. The maloca is the hub from which the outer edges of the clearing are plotted with approximately equal radii – footpaths – leading to the bitter manioc cultivations. The manioc cultivations form a broad outer belt of the clearing that, in poorer communities, begins very close to the rear or rear side wall of the house and that in prosperous and more prideful communities is at some distance. In the latter communities, the zone of plantings begins far enough away so that the women at work in their manioc gardens are out of sight and out of sound, only the plumes of white smoke from each garden signaling silently that a woman is at work there. No matter how confined the total clearing, the house rests within an inner clearing of secondary cultivations and, ultimately, within a totally cleared space or plaza. The maloca is more or less at the center of these three concentric zones. The river (*hya*) itself is a fourth zone. [342] [351]

These four zones have their social counterparts in that they may be identified as male and female, although, it should be said, the Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. [562]

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361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
[844] Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[834] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
241 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[270] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[245] cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[77] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahukiwa* and its neighboring subaibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch-Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 8). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihi*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahukiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.

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621 512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712 [361] In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise attack. 712 When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the 725 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were confident they left the women and children behind in the house with [123] a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361 504 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza. 504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state 574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests [417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be al- [576] lowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men 504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning 796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe [778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504 833 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiari these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiari proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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361 Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-
554 tain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or en-
[157] couraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they
[123] did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the
342 new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one require-
361 ment of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with
622 him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines
768 of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new ma-
loca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change
at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the
victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a
361 fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations.
244 At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to
768 ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is
moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the
old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transi-
tional period when the community is actually working both clearings.
The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until
they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they
will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old
*chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

361 The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to
[311] circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some
15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again.
Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the
forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally
dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later
moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiari and the
361 Querari. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this
614 connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or
554 along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs
occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely
associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks
deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong oc-
cupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or
by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become
dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites
and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Gia-
361 cone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (refer-
554 ring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only
along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiarí, for example, a trail leads to the Querarí. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

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592 the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. The Cubeo believe that one roof unites a community while several roofs divide it.

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311 Size of maloca is adapted in some measure to cultivable terrain. We have already noted that seasonal flooding and the requirement of good river frontage limit the availability of land for relatively permanent cultivation. But these are highly variable factors. Along the Vaupés, a deep river basin that can carry a great volume of water, there are vast stretches of dry land that have become the sites of civilized population centers. There is no doubt that from terrain alone the Vaupés could have supported far greater Indian populations than it did at the time of first contact. Along the Vaupés the limiting factor seems to have been social. On the Cuduiari, on the other hand, land contours are such as to divide frontages into much smaller segments. On this smaller stream, terrain has been a more significant factor in limiting community size. But even on the Cuduiari, land utilization is subject to strong social considerations. One consideration is that sibs [614] must retain their traditional boundaries. This means that with slash-burn horticulture the sib territory must provide, as a minimum, a three-step cycle in which a community returns to its original land after 10 to 15 years. The well-situated tract must then be at least three times the average land requirement at any given time.

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244 There is still another consideration, and that is the distance of manioc gardens from the residence. When they prepare a clearing, the Cubeo bear in mind the distance a woman will have to trudge with her burdens of manioc, a baby, and firewood. That is why the gardens are laid out along a semicircle. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop. It needs reasonably dry soil and it makes heavy demands upon the time and energy of a woman for its cultivation, transportation, and preparation. Whatever can be saved from travel time is an advantage.

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182 The thesis of ecological adaptation, however, can be argued most successfully in the abstract. If one notes the actual events in the life of a community, then the processes of community growth and community fission appear in quite a different light. The balance of forces of fusion and of fission that hold community size to its stable limits in harmony with the natural environment are not entirely economic. They often include personal factors. To state this more precisely: the economic factor affects fusion strongly but has less direct bearing upon fission. Satellites, for example, are urged to return to the fold, guests are urged to stay on, and daughters are invited to take up residence [578] in their own sib if there is ample land. Splitting, on the other hand, occurs because of personal quarrels and rarely because of a feeling of land shortage.

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621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

## THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, [823] the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

361 823 The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahikiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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of the pull of propinquity. The Cubeo welcome and respect neighborliness. 361 614 615

The river has its natural boundaries. These are the segments of river demarcated by rapids and by the tributaries or creeks. A boundary is from one such feature to the next, from a *cachoeira* (rapids) to a creek, from a creek to a creek, but rarely from *cachoeira* to *cachoeira*. A boundary defines only sib territory. There is no phratric territory as such. If there is phratric and tribal territoriality it is because each of the sibs undertakes to defend the principle in terms of its own interests. A sib may adopt a stranger and in this way incorporate it into the phratry. It needs no permission to do this. On the other hand, a sib may appeal to phratry mates for help in warding off by force unwanted intruders. Boundaries do not close a river to traffic. The river is always an open highway for travel, and travelers may fish and hunt along it freely. They may not put up fixed installations such as weirs or show other signs of residence such as fishing a particular spot with regularity without permission. Men regularly fish only within the sib limits. The discussion of boundaries, it should be explained, does not flow naturally from the Cubeo. It is drawn out by the ethnographer. The Cubeo are not jealous of boundaries and they rarely have issues over them, but they do know them. Occasionally someone violates the common law of courtesy of the use of fish weirs and keeps the barrier closed beyond the allowable period. The Cubeo cannot and do not attribute this unmannerly act to gluttony. Gluttony is an incomprehensible notion to them. They attribute it either kindly to forgetfulness, in which case there is no issue, or to unfriendliness, in which case there is a quarrel and an effort is made to tear down the barrier. On the forest side there are no boundaries at all except for the clearing itself. It is not land but river frontage that is valued. 131 614 423 615 131 614 423 131 423 578

## CANOEING

So much of a man's time is spent in a canoe that no description of native life would be complete that did not relate the Indian to the river as a canoeman or that failed to bring out the motor rhythms of canoeing. Motor rhythms are patterned, the rhythm of paddling and the characteristic rhythms of the dance showing particularly striking parallels. 501 516

Paddling follows a definite though irregular rhythm. The prowsman on a long trip is keeper of the stroke. Paddling is noisy. On the downstroke the stem of the paddle just above the blade is struck

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recover it. Away from home, a canoe is moored completely out of the water.

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**COMMUNITIES ON THE CUDUIARÍ (upstream from mouth)**

| PLACE NAME | SIB | PLACE NAME | SIB |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kakómba | *Hehénewa* | 16. Xiábewa | *Pedíkwa* |
| 2. Kuridí kenámi | *Hehénewa* | 17. Kuraría | *Kenánihauwã* |
| 3. Tcípakoríba * | *Hehénewa* | 18. Abúhakũ | *Kenánihauwã* |
| 4. Okóhambũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 19. Xwévebo | *Hũrũwá* |
| 5. Vekókũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 20. Bedébo | *Hũrũwá* |
| 6. Ewáhubo | *Bahúkũdjauwã* | 21. Kobéhowa | *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* |
| 7. Hurédo | *Bahúkũdjauwã* | 22. Avyákoríba | *Hũrũwá* |
| 8. Nyáparatainto | *Bahúkũdjauwã* | 23. Kwitóro | *Wadjá-Hũrũwá* |
| 9. Yavíbi | *Bahúkũdjauwã* | 24. Bedébũ | *Hũrũwá* |
| 10. Kiráda | *Bahúkiwa* | 25. Toróhambũ | *Hũrũwá* |
| 11. Ubo | *Pedíkwa* | 26. Hokóbũ | *Kenánihauwã* |
| 12. Mákavekũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 27. Horáhararía | *Hũrũwá* |
| 13. Makatóta | *Bahúkiwa* | 28. Hudjíbũ | *Bahúkiwa* |
| 14. Toídibũ | *Pedíkwa* | 29. Mátakwa | *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* |
| 15. Monékenpaunwa | *Pedíkwa* | | |

* A small *Kordwa* settlement is at *Urupera* between 3 and 4. It is, however, only a fraction of a Querari River sib and not a full community.

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# 2

## *Economic Life*

### ECOLOGICAL SETTING

The Northwest Amazon region abuts on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Oriental and has an average elevation of some 200–300 meters. Many of its rivers flow quickly and the terrain generally lacks the flat and swampy character of the lowland Amazonian rain forest. The headwaters of the Cuduiarí are within the territory of the Cubeo and apparently arise in a high savannah, an eroded plateau laced with caverns and supporting on its remarkably flat surface only a meager xerophytic vegetation. There are other highlands in Cubeo territory along the Vaupés. Of no economic value to the Indians, the highlands form for them a setting of mystery because of their strangeness and their desert quality, and are held to be the domain of mythological beings.

The Cuduiarí is a narrow river that runs swiftly past several cataracts into the Vaupés. At the peak of the dry season it is barely navigable along its full length. At that time a large canoe is pushed across several inches of water and the river course is beset with sandbanks. The smaller tributaries or *caños* dry up altogether, stranding their low-status occupants seriously. Perhaps this is one reason why the Cubeo associate social standing with frontage along a big river. The Cuduiarí is an intimate river – along much of its length the trees and creepers that line its banks reach overhead to midstream to form a bower. The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire

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133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

● 361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ilákoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ilákoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaíno* (falling river) and as *eddwaiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[805] [1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

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423 The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of
615 river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these
[578] arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies
[768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate relationship between land and its cultivator.

241 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual
614 or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the alloca-
361 tion of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing
241 is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective
614 effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a
361 clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and
622 stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of
476 a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman to organize a collective work party, including all household heads. If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually. Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots, establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later arrivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. Annually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the *chagra*, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field for a two-year harvest.

244 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman.
423 A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plantation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daughters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

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433 184 361 There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby foodstuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate disproportionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own 361 state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has 614 been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential 432 ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiari than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial 614 in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a 433 hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families 574 to travel about, visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the [421] right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a nontraditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. When hunters kill [431] a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

433 Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources 261 are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol- 571

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614 time and then have drawn to them new sibs from peoples speak-
619 ing the same as well as other languages. The Cubeo tribe, as we have
174 already observed, seems to be an aggregate of Tucanoan-speaking, Arawakan-speaking, and "Macuan"-speaking peoples. A particular sib that belongs to one tribe today may incorporate itself into another tomorrow.

614 It is possible that sib formation in the Northwest Amazon region
174 has been an outgrowth of this process of repeated assimilation of new groups. The reasoning behind this assumption is as follows: patrilocal extended families need only assert and maintain a tradition of common origin and then live up to the requirement of maintaining a firm group identity, within a confederation, to make the transition to sib or clan. The suggestion is, however, that sib formation cannot be accounted for merely by the growth of extended patrilocal families or by the enlargement of lineages – because of the ease of fission – but rather as a response to quite another process, that of confederation in which the identity of the joining segments is retained. A confederation of descent groups heightens the probability that all will defend their autonomy by asserting their identity of common descent.

## THE SIB AND PHRATRIC ORGANIZATION

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615 The sibs are listed in approximate order of rank. This rank order
554 should be considered as provisional, since it represents mainly the *Bahúkiwa* view of sib rank.
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### PHRATRY 1

*Órobawa* The leading sib: they still live at Uaracapuri on the Vaupés, the site of a rapids from which they first emerged. Their first male ancestor was called *Órobakü*. According to one version of the origin tale, he was the head of the anaconda from which all Cubeo are descended. He then named all the sibs of the phratry that followed after him. Koch-Grünberg identified them as *Ólaba-Hehénewa* and hence as a branch of the *Hehénewa*. Nimuendajú listed them as *Órobawa*. According to my information, they are most closely linked with the *Hwáni-Hehénewa* and with the *Aúnwewa*, the easternmost or most downstream community of the Cubeo.

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*Aúnbawü* The second sib, occupying the next site upstream on the Vaupés at Urania. Their first ancestor was *Aúnkü*. Some informants said that *Aúnkü* was the last to emerge but was granted second place by *Órobakü*. In any case, their position on the Vaupés gives them second rank. They are regarded as very closely linked with the *Hehénewa*. In 1940 they were reduced to four households. Some had taken up residence

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at Pindaíva on the Cuduiarí. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambomamára* on the Cuduiarí, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiarí group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists. 614 615 554 361 [114]

*Hehénewa* In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiarí and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurý is known as *Wahúdja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Órobawa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Órobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapuri. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiarí, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiarí and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbwawü*.

*Byá-Hehénewa* A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiarí.

*Wathariwa* The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbwawü*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uacurúwa*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umari* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapuri falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

*Byá-Wathariwa* A subsib of the *Wathariwa* on the Vaupés.

*Urérariwa* Perhaps a subsib of the *Wathariwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

*Bahúkiwa* They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapuri falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Burü* and his sister was *Onpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiarí. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Borúwa*) who wandered into the Cuduiarí and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borúwa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borúwa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borúwa*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet. [563] [648] [186]

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is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahûkiwa* regard the *Órobawa* as their "head."

*Bahûkûdjauwü* A subsib of the *Bahûkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahûkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahûkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiari and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucúra *igarapes*.

*Bahukuonówa* A subsib of the *Bahûkûdjauwü* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiari.

*Bahûkûbwauwü* A subsib of the *Bahûkiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Mánapuänwa* (Trail people) or *Mánawa*. [648] According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, [563] perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiari overland, and whose emergence site was the Querari *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiari. [551] The *Bahûkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy.

*Pedikwa* A subsib of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiari above the *Bahûkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toidibü*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Ancient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedi-Hehénewa* because they emerged at *Pediwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered them in the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiari. They are also known as *Piátokaüo*.

*Kenánikauwü* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* on the upper Cuduiari at *Piramiri* and at *Abûhakü*. They used to live at *Toidibü* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajú's lists.

*Kenámbuawa* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiari.

*Utciwaiwa* Their emergence site was the Yurupari *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from Uaracapuri. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahûkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miriti *igarapes* below the Yurupari falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the Dyi *igarapes*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucibowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajú. Their first ancestor was called *Utciwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

*Baryáwatiwaiwa* A sib that emerged from Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utciwaiwa*. They are also known as *Baryáwa* and still live on the Vaupés.

*Piaráwa* A sib that emerged at Uaracapuri rapids, from a particular site called *Mumikü*. They live at Miriti *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the [551] headwaters of the Muchú, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewa.

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associated with the *Kompainyewa*. Koch-Grünberg found them on the left bank of the Vaupés at a site called *Naibö*, where they were known in the *lingoa geral* as *Tokandira-Tapuyo*. He recorded their self-name as *Olá-Piarówa*. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiarí. 554 361

*Pyéndo-Hehénewa* A dissident sib of the *Hehénewa* group, maintaining no friendly relations with the other *Hehénewa*. Their close sib ties are with the *Pedikwa* and the *Kenánikauwü*. They occupy several sites above Patú at the headwaters of the Cuduiarí, the main maloca being at Querari *miri* (*Enpanáwe*). They are also at *Abúhudjo* on the Yurupari *miri* and are known also as *Pyéndokauwü*. [101] [114]

*Hwáni-Hehénewa* A *Hehénewa* subsib on the Vaupés at Paraná *picuna* and at Tukano *cachoeira*. Their origin site is *Impenáni* of the Uaracapuri *cachoeira* and they are, therefore, closely related to the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnwewa*, in contrast to the *Hehénewa* proper, whose emergence was actually on the Papurý.

*Aúnwewa* A subsib of the *Aúnbwawü* on the Vaupés at *Upyaria* just above Mitú. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiarí and referred to them as *Aweéa*. They are also listed as a sib of a Tucano phratry. [114]

*Kompainyewa* Closely linked with the *Piarówa*, they live at Pindaíva on the Vaupés just above Urania near the Yurupari falls. Their emergence site, however, is Uaracapuri.

*Abúxo-Hehénewa* A sib on the upper Querari mentioned by Koch-Grünberg, on which I have no information.

*Ambomamára* A sib on the Cuduiarí mentioned by Nimuendajú, on which I have no information. From the name it would appear to be a subsib of the *Aúnbwawü*.

*Byari-Hehénewa* An extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*, who had lived on the Cuduiarí as well as at Uarúa Lake on the upper Vaupés. They were also known as *Byaridowa*.

*Papuli-Hehénewa* A sib living on the Cuduiarí during the time of Koch-Grünberg's visit at Suriburoca but now extinct. They came from the Papurý and were closely linked with the Tucano tribe of the Tiquié River.

*Kenámbwawa* A sib on the upper Cuduiarí, presumably a subsib, along with the *Kenánikauwü*, of the *Pedikwa*.

Phratry I consists of two divisions that represent distinct origins. In the past these two divisions may have been intermarrying, because even now, although the entire phratry is exogamic, informants disagree as to the proprieties of intermarriage between the two divisions. The dominant division from the point of view of prestige and of numbers is known as *Yaúmanawa* (Children of the jaguar) and includes the *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, and their subsibs: *Byá-Hehénewa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, *Pedikwa*, *Kenánikauwü*, *Utciwaiwa*, *Pyéndo-Hehénewa*, *Hwáni-Hehénewa*, and *Aúnwewa*. The second division has no name and consists of the *Bahúkiwa* groups, the *Piarówa*, and the *Kompainyewa*. 615 554 614

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615 PHRATRY II
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554 *Bwoibowa* The leading sib of the phratry, living at Muchú on the Vaupés.
361 According to tradition, they came from the Isana River originally. They emerged at a rapids called *Aindoribo* at a site called *Hobónoburúno*. Originally they fought with the *Byówa*, now a sister sib of the phratry. Koch-Grünberg encountered an abandoned maloca of theirs at Uarúa Lake, where they had been living adjacent to the Tucanoan-speaking but non-Cubeo *Pamóa*. The indications are that they had moved in recent years considerably downstream on the Vaupés.

*Byówa* A group occupying all of the Pirabatón, an affluent of the Querarí. Koch-Grünberg placed them at the headwaters of the Querarí, but since he had not identified the Pirabatón that may be the river that he called the upper Querarí. They are strongly intermarried with *Bahúkiwa*.

*Hürüwá* Members of a foreign phratry living on the Cuduiarí, where they occupy a number of upriver sites, having replaced a *Hehénewa* subsib. They emerged from a site called *Kohédariwa* above Uaracapurí on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg met them in the same locations on the Cuduiarí. He claimed they were originally Arawakan-speaking Baniwa who had wandered in from the Vaupés.

*Wadjá-Hürüwá* A subsib of the *Hürüwá* at *Kwitóro* on the Cuduiarí.

*Korówa* Primarily a Querarí River sib that had spilled over onto the Cuduiarí at one time. Wallace reported them there in 1853. They are closely linked with, and according to Koch-Grünberg politically subordinate to, the *Byówa*. In more recent times they have settled on the Vaupés, where
(101) they have also been reported by Nimuendajú. They also had a house on the lower Cuduiarí. They are known as *Korókoro-Tapuyo* (Green Ibis Indians).

*Waláola* A group mentioned by Nimuendajú as living on the Vaupés. Presumably a subsib of the *Korówa*.

*Mianáwa* A group occupying several sites in the vicinity of the Tukunaré *igarapes* on the upper Vaupés – *Makakinyo, Jacaré, Seima* – as well as at Pirabatón *igarapes*. Koch-Grünberg found a small group of only four families living at the Yurupari falls on the lower Vaupés. Nimuendajú also found them on the Vaupés.

PHRATRY III

(101) *Djurémawa* Nimuendajú has identified them as the *Yiboya-Tapuyo* of the Aiarí River in Brazil. He says they came to the mouth of the Querarí on the Vaupés in 1904. According to Koch-Grünberg, they were once hostile Arawakan Baniwa who had assimilated to Cubeo and are close kin of the *Káua* of the Aiarí. The Uanana, Koch-Grünberg reports, call them *Maxka-Pinopona* (Boa).

*Tóriawü* A sib on the Querarí, originally Arawakan-speaking, that claims to have come from the Isana.

*Konéntaraboiwü* According to Koch-Grünberg, who referred to them as *Kolátalapoeuo*, they were Baniwa Arawakans who settled on the Querarí and assimilated to the Cubeo language. He noted that they were intermarried with the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahúkiwa* also married them. Nimuendajú mentions a *Kowitárabewi* on the Querarí, perhaps the

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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabawũ* on the Querari.

*Yániwa* A sib at the mouth of the Querari. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querari as *Dyaniwa*.

*Yokóhũbewũ* A sib on the lower Querari.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

*Batóua* Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapé*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querari. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

*Ilhéadowa* A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiari, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiari, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari.

*Kéua* A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiari. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoeira*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querari and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiari near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

## THE BORÓWA

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahũkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

796 instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by
[534] Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey
[526] hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

88 As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and
582 brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the
592 plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

462 The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks
592 up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

592 Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities,
361 the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

342 A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

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000 *Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.*

 [see p.62A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

# Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

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*In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Makú and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm*

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## THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

### *Setting and Culture Area*

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

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The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

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Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

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[361]
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the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. [514] The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a 342 vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its [796] great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food [764] is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- [252] factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- [32] side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza [517] in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 342 way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 574 exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests 576 are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and facing inward.

When I came among the *Bahúkiwa* they were on the upswing, hav- 342 ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had 622 put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com- [114] partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was 75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction. The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The headman is known as *kenámi upáhũ* (owner of the house). The house is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo believe, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation- 342 ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578 Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592 is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook discourtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community. The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

*539 /121 cont./
Bejkeó and Dujuikó. And the entire group of Yúpuri Baúro entered Diawí. And Diawí was full of people. And Yepá Huáke went out of Diawí up to a hill which is called Huapisí. And Yepá Huáke stood on only one foot, weaving Miriapurasutiro. And Yepá Huáke told Yúpuri Baúro to go out of Diawí as far as the port of Diawí with all the people. Yepá Huáke said: "Here there is going to be fire of the devils" (38).

38. Of the Yuruparises.

•[372] And as he said this, he stamped on the ground. And there was fire for the first time. Yepá Huáke said: "Fire for the cigars." And Yepá Huáke gave orders to Urémiri Sáraro to put on the Miriapurasutiro. /122/ The companion of Urémiri Sáraro, who was named Yúpuri Búbera, also put on the Miriapurasutiro. And Yúpuri Baúro and Duétiro Eetamajsé led all the Tukano to enter Diawí again.

Yúpuri Baúro picked up a small stick, like a bayonet, which is called Miriapurauajsó in Tukano. And Yúpuri Baúro picked up another stick that has a small bell and is called Yaig in Tukano. Duétiro Eetamajsé picked up the piece of furniture of life /Spanish el mueble de la vida/, which is called Uajatró in Tukano. Then Duétiro Eetamajsé picked up a cigar with a small fork. And Yepá Huáke with Bejpó entered Diawí to wait for all the people who were going to enter Diawí. And the boat of the gũío stayed in the port of Diawí. And Yepá Huáke and Bejpó stood inside Diawí, Yepá Huáke at the right side and Bejpó at the left side. Yepá Huáke said that all the people were to arm themselves with Yuruparises and armaments and were to enter Diawí. And Yepá Huáke gave orders for them to go marching around the maloca Diawí. They went marching around Diawí, and Yepá Huáke gave orders for them to enter Diawí again. They all went in. Yepá Huáke gave orders for them to go marching around four times inside the maloca Diawí. And after they had done this, Yepá Huáke gave orders for everyone to sit down. And Yepá Huáke

/232 cont./

184 Its consumption is almost unknown today on the lower Uaupés;
276 it is quite general, however, among the tribes of the Papurí and Tiquié, even when they have their regular food. Perhaps the abuse of the ipadú is responsible for the organic depauperation in the elderly and many stomach ulcers. Besides, the individual becomes addicted and his children are born weak, silly, defective (62):

> 62. The Salesian Missionary, Padre João Marchesi, on a certain occasion showed a tuxaua how the son of an ipadú eater was slow in intelligence, did not learn how to read or write, did not have any manual skills, whereas the other children did this quickly.

[797] The young generation, which has gone through the Mission schools,
[178] scarcely consumes ipadú any longer.

/233/ 8) /sic; j)/ Conclusion.

252 The natives of the Uaupés take only fruits and some insects raw. Never a piece of meat or fish (63);

> 63. It was not possible for us to investigate as to whether it is a question only of taste and custom, or if superstitious motives also enter in. It does not seem to us that they exist, although in one of their legends it is said that Wãx-tĩ is the one who eats raw meat.

these foods ordinarily are moqueados /smoked/. And the fish is frequently boiled or reduced to a sauce with pepper, to accompany the ingestion of the beijú.

• 372 Fire is obtained today with a match, "palito" /toothpick/, as
*[192] they call it, and they try not to let it go out. Day and night
[177] one finds the fire burning inside the maloca, and they also take pots with live coals to the clearing and on trips.

/233 cont./

372 Formerly fire was obtained by turning rapidly between the palms of the hands a small stick whose end was provided with a match of kapok, and rubbing it in the small orifice of another [192] small stick that was very dry. The apparatus is called pexká-mẽ wihyasé in Tukano.

262 The diet of these natives, although at first sight it does not seem so, is quite varied, rich in vitamins of vegetable and animal origin. As for the salts necessary to the organism, they get them from roots and fruits; as a matter of fact, they have a strong bone structure, and nevertheless the waters show a deficiency of [273] calcareous salts. As for sugar, they only have that of the fruits [249] and of the fermentation of their drinks. The cultivation of sugar cane is insignificant and intended practically for the preparation of the caxirís, although once in a while some Indian will be seen sucking it.

The amount of food that the Indian consumes daily is large, when he has plenty of it; although on other days, due to a lack of food, he is forced into a very strict fast. Perhaps the caxirí itself, which he drinks in large portions on the occasion of feasts, plays the role of a periodic washing of the stomach, intestines, and kidneys. It is certain that thin persons are rarely found among them, if one excludes the older women, who generally are so, and the sick. They are, on the contrary, plump in figure or even fat, without obesity or deforming adiposities, strong and healthy.

It is to be noted that the Indian emits a characteristic smell, which makes us think that it is due to a diet predominantly of fish and pepper.

/234/ 5) Hunting and fishing.

226 a) Fishing.

Fish is an important element in the diet of the Indians, as we have already seen. In the régimen of the family home, each family head provides the fish; it is his habitual, although not [462] exclusive, occupation. In the regimen of the collective dwelling

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843 826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating. [302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to another, [763] her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 854 302 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers) she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red [789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment, [856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on [603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these [606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

546 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the [262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others [372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their [828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkina* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

/178/

342 373 Having, then, only two openings, the interior is always somewhat dark, being, in part, illuminated by the stoves (12).

*[192]

12. Sometimes, on one or more posts, which seem planted only for this purpose, they light at night a piece of resin called cicantá, which burns with a quite intense and long-lasting light, and leaves as residue a tar which also serves for calking the canoes.

177 342 574 In the modern family-huts, there is customarily an interior partition, generally made of bark. Perhaps this division, which is being adopted, has been suggested by the convenience when they must house some guest, especially the civilized. The Indian ordinarily is very hospitable; he not only receives guests for the great caxirís, but he also shelters any Indian or white who might be traveling. The first division near the door is reserved exclusively for the guests (see VII - 4, e 2 a).

[797] In some povoados, at the request of the Missionary, they build a large hut that serves for overnight stays of the Padre and as a chapel, when there is no other place reserved for worship.

342 *[192] Some malocas (and also Makú huts), in which the roof ends very close to the ground, completely or partially lack side walls. Such walls are regularly dispensed with in the oxkóro-áro (Nheengatú tapirí or papirí), or emergency huts, which they make in the distant clearings or on the banks of the rivers where they are accustomed to staying overnight on the occasion of trips and fishing expeditions.

177 342 Ordinarily the maloca or house is alone and contains all the family household goods. Auxiliary houses, however, are beginning to appear. The maloca of the Tuyuca, described above, has one of these. One of the Indians, knowing a little Portuguese, explained that it was the "succursal" of the maloca. Much smaller and only partially protected by side walls, made of straw and bark. There were about 14 hammocks reserved for the Makú in service, the flour oven, sieves, hampers, suspended tipitis,

[353] [415]

/245/

224 During low water they also go hunting at night, drifting
• 373 slowly and without making any noise, while one of the Indians brings a torch of turí. They thus surprise the pacas, which are blinded by the light, and the Indian kills them with arrows.
[177] Nowadays they use a battery flashlight for night hunting.

6) Agriculture.

241 The mandioca is what provides the principal food of the Indians of the basin of the Uaupés. All these tribes are thus found in the phase of tillage, which is practiced, however, in a very primitive manner: it is the phase of the "cavouco" /digging, pit, hollow/ or of the "cova" /hole/.

They freely choose the land that pleases them the most, because of the proximity of their dwelling and because of the guarantee against theft (75),

> 75. For this reason he will not do it at the edge of the river, unless it is beside his dwelling. If it is in the vicinity of the river, he will always leave a wedge of forest between the clearing and the river, in order to hide it from the view of those who are traveling on the water. And the landing place where he disembarks and ties his canoe will be at a certain distance from the clearing, in order not to reveal its location.

and which is a little sandy, as the "terras-firmes" of the entire region generally are, and suitable for mandioca. The act of
*[423] clearing, wexsé pá:kũrõ, is what gives them the ownership of
[192] the land while cultivating it.

Clearing is done in the periods of less rain, that is, from
[462] June to August and from December to February. It is work exclusively for the men. They start by choosing an area con-
*[192] venient as to distance and not subject to floods, with yellowish soil, semisandy, di'tá sõarã, or black and somewhat humous, nãxkã di'tá ñyĩrõ.

/190 cont./

283
[462]

The woman (23)

> 23. Among the Tuyuka, Bará, and in general the tribes of the headwaters of the Tiquié, Papurí, and Komé-ya, it is the man who prepares the miriti thread and the rede de "trinta fios" /net or hammock of "thirty threads"/.

prepares her thread by rubbing a bunch of fibers against her thigh. It is natural that this would make the thread dirty. In order to bleach it, they wash it well, using also the leaves of the papaya tree or lemon juice, resources that are obviously more recent.

First of all, she takes two bunches of fibers unequally, that is, the end of one of them projects farther on one side, and that of the other toward the opposite end. With the right hand she rolls toward the left, that is, against the thigh from the knee up. In order to add new fibers, she opens the end of the thread thus rolled and inserts there two more bunches of fibers, also combined unequally, and she rolls toward the right, that is, rubbing in the opposite direction, from the upper part of the thigh toward the knee. Once the adding is done, she rolls the two bunches of added fibers toward the left, as she had done with the first two bunches, and so on, rubbing the fibers on the right thigh with the right hand. In order to roll, she rubs them up the thigh; in order to add, down the thigh. Two bunches of fibers give a finer thread, and by twisting together two or more threads one obtains the thickness desired for the work in mind. The finer the thread, the more delicate the weaving will be.

*192
283
386

When it is in the form of a skein, one should take the opportunity to wash and bleach the thread, and also to dye it. They ordinarily use vegetable dyes. The preferred colors are: reddish, obtained from ōnõñá pūrī (carajurú, see VII -- 3, e /sic; see VII, 3, b, p. 433/), yellow, by means of a small batata resembling ginger and which is called in Nheengatú makaratañá, and a dark one, which is obtained by cooking the dyawé shrub (genipap). From the skein one later rolls the thread into large balls, which are kept in a sieve, in order not to become soiled.

/194 cont./

286 531 In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192 d) Basketry and plaited work.

285 [462] [342] [227] For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of some trees, especially that which they call pi'ĩ-karõ-gõ. They use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxiúba (waxtá), patauá (yumũ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mĩ-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mĩ'sĩ) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phĩ), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824] The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantaceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When [386] [531] they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves.

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

/205 cont./

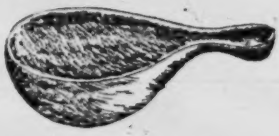
*192 415 824

4) Cuias and calabashes. Moreover they use cuias (wahá-ro) and calabashes (ỹaxsã), or ỹahã, ña'sã, of diverse sizes and shapes, /206/ as vessels for the most varied uses: to take water, to prepare chibé, to distribute the caarí, to store their colored powders, to manufacture the maracá (see VII -- 3, c (3) ), etc.

a) The calabashes, obtained from the creeping calabash, Cucúrbita lagenária, Lin., of the Cucurbitaceae (yaxsã-ga), are used, when dried, without further work. The most important use for the calabashes is the making of the maracás and as containers for the colored powders.

*192 • 386 415 [824]

b) The cuias, from the plant called cuieira or cuietezeira (Crescentia cuyete /cujete/, Lin., of the Bignoniaceae), are used to take water, chibé, mingau, etc. and exhibit an interior surface of lustrous black color. The woman manages this with the help of the wahá-ko (that is to say, cuia water; from wahá, cuia, and oxkó, water, liquid, juice).



Cuia (wahá-ro)

They slash the bark of the plant called wahá-ko-gõ (39),

39. Pe. João Marchesi called our attention to the natives' custom of naming a vegetable after the use that they make of it.

cumati (myrcia atramentífera, B. Rod.), which exudes a dark red liquid; or they take scrapings from it, which, left for some time in a water infusion, produce a thick dark liquid, the wahá-kó.

/206 cont./

386 415 *[192] The wahá-kó is spread in the interior part of the cuia with a brush, letting it dry afterwards. The operation is repeated a second time and more, until it reaches the thickness of approximately one millimeter. Directly afterwards urine is spread on the ground and on this area they turn upside down, on small pieces of wood, the cuias that they wish to paint. The ammonia that comes from the urine transforms the layer of wahá-kó in the interior of the cuia into a black, shiny, and quite adherent varnish.

The same result is obtained by applying mandioca leaves saturated in urine over the layer of wahá-kó.

5) Other utilitarian objects.

824 The Indian has known how to obtain from the nature that surrounds him many other objects and resources for his life.

We shall recall some:

*[192] [515] /207/ a) Papóque. The papóque, in Tukano pápwa-khá-sõtí, is the embira of a tree that produces foam, and they wash their heads with it, for lack of soap.

*[192] [276] b) Tauarí. Táwari, as is also said in Tukano (couratari tauarí, of the family of the Lecythidaceae), is also an embira, which unrolls into very thin and flexible sheets that are used as cigar wrappers. They are obtained from the bark by striking it with a mallet until all the ligneous part has been detached.

*[192] [415] [532] c) Bags, cueio, and masks. The tururí, in Tukano waxsó-gõ, is a tree of several species of Manicariao, from whose liber or bast they prepare the bags for the ipadú, the masks (see VII -- 3, d (2) ), and the waxsó-ro (in Nheengatú cueio) for dances (cf. loincloth, VII -- 3, d (2) ). Once the branch or trunk that suits them is chosen, they cut it and start to beat the bark with a wooden mallet until /in the original source the line of type that follows these words is the duplicate of one that properly appears later in the paragraph, while the line that belongs here is missing/ as if it were a shirt sleeve or a cape. With a cutting object (formerly a taquara /a bamboo/) they detach the part that they want. The

/292 cont./ In the Yaxkẽ

286 Waxsó-ro there is a beautiful combination of the woven and the
531 strung, using colorful glass beads. One admires in it a pleasing combination of colors, proportion and regularity in the design, and a perfect finishing of the piece. In the woven part the mesh is diagonal. It also presents a combination of colored fibers for the design effect. In the choice of colors, as well as in the finishing, there is revealed good /293/ taste, which makes this weaving a beautiful adornment for the women in the dances. With beads or with colored fibers, the designs are the Greek frets /Port. gregas/ characteristic of these tribes.

6) /sic; b)/ Designs.

532 4) /sic; 1)/ Mural designs. The designs painted on the bark that makes up the walls of the houses do not reveal artistic taste (48).

48. For example, the representation of human figures with the disproportional and shapeless trunk, the neck represented by a vertical stroke, etc.

It is probable that what seems to us scrawling or caricature is the stylization of legendary representations. Accepting this possibility, however, one does not perceive any skill in the strokes. The circumferences are made with perfection. Perhaps through the influence of the civilized, they use a string for this, fixing one of the ends and tying to the other a wooden point which will leave a regular mark, like the point of a compass.

[192] [386] For the mural paintings, they use clay of different colors (principally white, yellow, reddish, bluish), diluted in the latex of Õxtã-fĩĩmĩ (that is, the sorva, Couma utilis, Mell., and other species), which, after having dried, acquires great stability and resistance to the inclemencies and does not change colors.

/294 cont./

*192 302 • 386 824

4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé, known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Õnõñá or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or pariri, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

[881] [755] [756] [852]

and from the Mõ'sã or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

/295 cont./

302 All these colors are quite resistant, since they last many days,
• 386 in spite of their frequent baths.

Very frequently one finds women with the face more or less
*[192] powdered with red; it is the painting called Tu-dyó-kũsé. They explained that it is only in order not to feel the heat of the sun so much during the work in the clearing. These powders are prepared with the urucú and carajurú.

304 They do not use true tattooing, and the natives of the present generation do not even seem to know about it (53).

53. Wallace, however, stated a century ago (o. c.): -- "These Indians (of the Uaupés) make tattoos, but on a small scale: for this they practice along the arms a row of pricks of circular shape. The Tucanos are distinguished from the other tribes by three vertical blue lines that they draw on the upper lip in place of mustaches." Through the ancient explorers we know of the tattoos of other tribes of the Amazon, for example, the Yavarí, Urupá, Suarirana, Periquita, all located on the river Tapajoz (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of 1759, n. 54). As for the tribes of the Rio Negro (without specifying whether the natives of the Uaupés are included), Cônego /Canon/ Andre Fernandes de Souza writes (o. c. 455): "Some pierce the ears, lips, and nose, into which they introduce feathers and sticks, these operations costing them unbearable pain; others draw on the skin many permanent black lines, using these industrious deformities, not so much for distinction of their tribe, as in order to cause an imposturous terror in their enemies." Concerning the Desana, 50 years ago Koch G. (Z. I. 264) stated that they are the only ones of the Caiarí who use tattooing executed with the palm thorn. This is two parallel blue lines, from the lower lip to the chin.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendervous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 501 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

/p. 66-B/

396

[483]

ABOVE: The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.
BELOW: Then it is warped open over a fire.

/179 cont./

177 2) Household goods and utilitarian objects.

41 The house of the forest dweller who has been in the service of the "white" or has traded with them now displays many objects obtained from the civilized, such as kettles, mugs, ax, bottles, fishhooks, scissors, hammocks, and even trunks or suitcases in which to keep their clothes. Except for the cotton hammock, which among the tribes of the Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí is today almost as common or more so than the native one made of tucum, the other objects are rarities in the conjunction of the utensils of native manufacture.

We shall now recall these, and later on we shall describe the ornaments and musical instruments.

323 a) Ceramics.

462 All the ceramic work falls to the woman; looking for the clay, to the man.

*192 1) Earthen pots and cooking pots. Camotim or camocim
323 is a regional term of the Amazon, and a generic one of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú, equivalent to pot, and is used to designate vessels of very different shape and dimensions, according to their use. Among the products of native ceramics, some are similar to a common pan of /180/ ours, are called ki-pu-tõ (Nheengatú, yapepú), and are used to prepare mingau /a manioc dish/ and quinhapira /a fish dish/. There also exist:

wai-doá-tõ, to cook the fish;

wai-baarí-pá, in which to serve the fish to the guests;

pẽru-tõ, a kind of large vessel in which to keep caxirí. They distinguish the:

pẽru-ahũa aparí-pa, large black cooking pot in which the beijú caxirí is fermented;

pẽru-poorí-pá, in which the caxirí already prepared is kept;

sũxtõ-wõ is the water pot for carrying water;

kaxpí-tõ, the one in which the kaxpí is distributed (VI -- 4, 1 (3) ).

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.

171 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

*192 The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-
[531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[411] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana
[567] /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirã-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/198 cont./

*192 285 e) Through contact with the civilized, these plaited products are starting to have new applications. We recall here that on the Amazon they are called panacarica (in Tukano yuxkõ-sõ-mõarõ) and decorrera (moãri kaxsero or simply moãrõ, Uaupés moãnõ). The former is a straight cover for the canoes and small launches and is attached to fixed supports. The latter, on the other hand, of curved shape, is a movable cover and, because of this, small and light, and rests directly on the edges of the canoes. Ordinarily it is the custom to make the decorrera out of palm leaves with quite a tight mesh; whereas the panacarica consists of two superimposed mats, plaited out of cipo and with wide mesh, and between them a layer of palm or arumã leaves.

285 291 f) They also customarily plait out of cipo a hat with a wide brim, up to a meter in diameter, and, as in the panacarica, they combine two hats, and between them, in the manner of buckram, a layer of arumã leaves. Such hats are especially used for protection from the sun in the clearings and on canoe trips, and also from the rain, although they become uncomfortable because of the weight of the water.

*[192] Other plaited products worth mentioning are those that are used in fishing, such as nassas, cacurís, etc., which are mentioned later (cf. VI - 5, a (2) ).

e) Weapons.

1) Weapons used as festival ornaments.

*192 178 • 411 a) Tangapema. The sacrificial club, or tanga-pema (in Nheengatú cuidarú or also acanga-pema, that is, head-flattener), in Tukano uxpí-o-phĩ, was formerly a war weapon of the chiefs. Afterwards, as was already observed by Gonçalves Dias ("Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas," Vol. II, p. 671), it became only a symbol of authority at the festivals and disappeared almost completely. The natives of the present generation only know its name, uxpí-o-phĩ. One of them remembered having seen it with special paintings, "in order to inspire valor and bring luck to the warrior." Others supplied the information that they had heard from the old people, to wit, that before leaving /199/ for

/199 cont./

*192 178 411 [276] war expeditions with their tangapemas, and in order to become invisible to the enemies and invulnerable to their blows, they painted themselves with the juice of the batata uxpí. Moreover, they smoked a big cigar called uxpí-mõrõ, decorated with symbolic paintings, in order to become more courageous.

Koch Grünberg still found some clubs or tangapemas in the Namakoliba maloca, upper Uaupés (Zwei Jahre, 301). They were of a dark red wood, measuring 112 centimeters in length, with the handle painted and the other end wider. The Kubêwana and related tribes used them then for the dances and occasionally also as a seat in the canoe. It may be concluded that the war club of the Omawa is proof of the eastern origin of this Karaíba tribe, because it is similar to that of the tribes of the Guianas. Actually, among these tribes the upper end of the club terminates in a sharp point, in order to run through the fallen enemy, with a coup de grâce, in the temple or in the ear.

178 714 535 *192 b) In battle, moreover, they formerly used a shield, called in Tukano baxtí-pá:karo; it was woven out of cipo and was very light, but efficient against arrows. Today it is rarely seen and, up to the beginning of this century (information from Pe. João Marchesi), was used as dance attire, which they wore on the left arm when they went to drink their cuia /gourd/ of kaxpí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2) ).

c) Likewise only a dance implement today (as far as we could observe) is the lance, yõxsẽrĩ-phĩ, which essentially is only a heavy rounded stick about two meters in length and ending in a sharp point. They use it in the dabacurí dances, and the "golpe-ao-branco" /blow to the white/ is performed with it (cf. VII -- 4, e (2 and 3) ).

177 178 411 *[192] 2) Bow. The only indigenous weapons of present-day use, and, even so, of very limited use on the Uaupés, are the bow and the sarabatana /blowgun/. The tribes farthest in the interior of the forests, with few or no relations with the civilized, use them more. On the other hand, contact with civilization supplied the natives with shotgun, machetes, and axes, which, unfortunately, are used in the fights and reciprocal vengeance.

T
411
*[192]

/199 cont./

The bow, bõé-ka-tẽ or bõé-kha-thẽ, is generally made out of pau-de-arco, in Tukano toxtó-gõ (Bignoniaceae with a purple flower, species of Tecoma), heavy wood, resistant and flexible. The normal dimensions are from 1.5 to 2 meters in length and a diameter of about 3 centimeters in the central part, tapering toward the ends, with a small incision or notch for tying the string. The outside part is roundish or convex, and the inside part, slightly hollowed or concave.

T
[824]

As a string they use tucum fiber, and the bow is generally kept straight, that is, unstrung, with the string tied at only one end. /200/ It is bent only when it is going to be used. It is a weapon of precision in the hands of the Indian, being capable of projecting the arrows to about 50 or 60 meters away.

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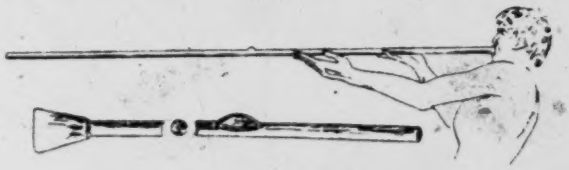
3) Sarabatana /blowgun/. It is exclusively a Makú weapon in origin and production, and one which the latter prepare for the Indians of other tribes of the Uaupés whom they serve. It is prepared with a variety of noded palm, the paxiubinha, called in Tukano buxpũ, hence the name of buxpũ-wõ for the sarabatana. It measures about 4 centimeters in diameter and up to 3 or 4 meters in length. They extract its pith easily with a very uniform stick, resulting in a well-calibrated orifice, like the bore of guns, but smooth. Externally, more or less around the middle of the tube, they fasten a curved tooth of a cotia /agouti/ or other animal, in order to serve as the "sight."

M
[237]



Sarabatana (buxpũ-wõ)

In the part that is fitted to the mouth, a small cavity is widened as a mouthpiece to facilitate fitting it to the lips. Through this mouthpiece is introduced a small dart, bu'sá-khá, with a wad of paixa /kapok/ of sumaúma (Eriodéndron Sumauma,

M /200 cont./
411 or Cêiba petándra, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the
M dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the
[224] vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees, without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T 4) Arrows. They are usually made out of paxiúba (Eriártea
• 411 settígera, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the
T point is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary accord-
[237] ing to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the
[824] teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of pataúá (30).

T
[184]

30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

T
[177] From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which now come the metallic points.

Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers.
T
[531] The feathering is found in a row /Port. cavalete/ or in a spiral.

When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often
T
[224] poisoned with curare (31).

31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

/201 cont./

411 Three types of arrows are distinguished: for hunting, for
[192] fishing, and the curabís or small darts for the sarabatana /blow-gun/.

224 a) For hunting. The arrows intended for large-scale hunt-
411 ing are heavy, made of brazilwood or pau-de-arco, with a point of wood, or more commonly of animal bone or of iron (32).

> 32. Before the relations with the civilized, they likewise used stone points, according to the account of Alexandre Ferreira, "Diário," 6th part.

The points /Port. pontas/ (of wood, bone, or iron) are embedded in a piece of wood called ponteira /an addition at the tip of something/, which is firmly tied to the body of the arrow with strings and pitch.

When the arrows are intended for birds and small game, they are of lighter wood and bear, on the end opposite the point, three arara wing feathers arranged in a spiral. In this manner the dart describes its trajectory by simultaneously making a rotating motion, which maintains its direction better.

192 b) For fishing. For small fish common darts made entirely
227 of paxiuba are used. For large fish (piraiba, pirarucú), alligators,
411 and turtles, the point is of iron (or of bone) and laterally serrated, so that, once buried in the flesh, it cannot come out without dilacerating the tissue.

Those arrows that consist of two parts, staff and tip, are called sararaca (Nheengatú term which means: thing that comes apart). The tip, or suumba, is of strong wood (33),

> 33. They often use the paracôuba, one of the Leguminosae, further hardening the suumba on the fire.

/201 cont./

*192 227 411 411 225 226

with a harpoon set in, and is tied to the staff or the body of the dart by means of a long string (34).

34. The turtle fishermen call the iron point of the arrows virote /short arrow/ or espoleta /fusee, bomb fuse, lunt/ (cf. José Verissimo: "As populações indígenas do Amazonas /The indigenous populations of the Amazon/," Rev. do Instituto Histórico e Geographico do Rio de Janeiro, Vol. 50, 1887, p. 377).

*[192]

When hit, the fish or turtle flees with the /202/ tip harpooned in its body; but the staff of canarana (Gramineae of the genera páspalum and pánicum), which is tied to it by the long string, continues to float, and thus reveals the place where the harpooned animal is hidden. The fisherman picks up the staff and slowly pulls the string, and with relative ease also brings the turtle into the canoe (35).

35. In order to reach the turtles, the fishermen hurl the arrow upward, in such a way that it falls perpendicularly and, with its own weight and the impulse of the fall, penetrates the chelonian's shell. Ordinarily the turtles are kept alive for sale and consumption. As for the fish of larger size, when they are close to them they kill them with a stroke of an oar on the head, and in this way they are able to bring them into the canoe without any danger.

*192 411

c) Curabí. Curabí is a term from the Língua Geral, in Tukano called bú'sá-khá. They are the darts for the sarabatana /blowgun/. Ordinarily they are of paxiúba and measure some 30 or 40 centimeters in length and one or two millimeters in diameter, and taper at the end. They are kept and transported in a quiver of arumã, bu'sá-sá, as we said above.

4: Silva--376 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Macu SQ10

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/Illustrations facing p. 257 in the original source./

Quiver of arrows (busá-sa), arrows for the sarabatana, and pot containing curare

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M
*[192]

Preparation of the curare (nimá) by a Maku Indian

796 /344 cont./
535 are about to start (51).

51. We have also seen the tuxáua, before distributing the snappers to the dancers, shake them simultaneously, holding in each hand one of the ends of the snappers. These kixtió, in a bunch this way, are what is called kixtió boxká, which is also the name of one of the sacred instruments (see VII-3, c (3c) ).

*[192]

The rest of the men imitate him; then each one ties his kixtió to the right ankle and adjusts his own waxsó-ro (cf. VII - 3, d (2) ).

*[192]

Among the men who participate in the dances, one can distinguish three groups, regularly in pairs (2, 4, 6), according to the number of dancers:

1st) some with a complete outfit, lance and shield, and on the left shoulder the si-a yaxpú /sic/ (see adze, VII-3, d (2 l) );

• [411]
*[192]

2nd) others with a splendid outfit, but without shield or lance or the sió-a yaxpú;

/345/ 3rd) in the third category are the young men with simpler ornaments.

*[192]

Those who do not have the lance carry some rhythm instrument, the ahũ-wõ or yuxkõ, or the flutes, these being covered with feathers from the tail of the arara, mahã i'ti, or from the japú, umũ-ka i'ti, or with a necklace of beetle carapaces, pexká pixkõrõá pe'tori (VII 3, d (2m) ).

[534]
[237]

The dance numbers follow, one after the other, according to the traditional program, corresponding to the various hours of the day and of the night. Some are longer, others, shorter. The intervals for rest are also just as variable.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



773 From *Kiwai*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*duno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



pared. The defense leader was the headman's son. An earlier alarm had already brought the Independents to the main house and a boy had been sent to call in the Satellites and to warn the neighboring sibs. The headman's son, after a hasty consultation with the other young adults, decided upon a psychological defense. He fetched a police officer's discarded white tunic with brass buttons and shoulder straps that he had been cherishing, put it on over his bare body, and strode out to frighten the enemey. The women and children were assembled in the maloca with one man as their guard. Other men fanned out through the manioc gardens and into the surrounding brush to search out the enemy. One stray shot was fired by a defender. The house was kept under guard for several nights thereafter and then the danger was declared past. 721 723

An attack by the Cariban Umaua (*Maúnwa*) that occurred three generations ago is still vividly recalled. The *Bahúkiwa*, warned that the enemy was ascending the Cuduiarí by canoe, prepared an ambush. They dammed the river with the bark sheeting of house walls and waited to assail the enemy with bow and arrow. But the enemy were armed with rifles and they killed a great many of the *Bahúkiwa*. 726 648 [173]

When the attackers first came, the Indians on the Cuduiarí did not know whether they were men or women, because they wore their hair long and were dressed in long shirts. The Umaua attacks were so fierce that for several years the Indians were forced to abandon the Cuduiarí altogether. Some gave up farming and lived on the savannah, foraging fruits and nuts and eating tree bark. When they finally returned to the Cuduiarí, the manioc plantations were all gone and they had to resume manioc cultivations from seeds they had preserved. The other Indians of the Cuduiarí gathered on the Vaupés under the direction of a *Hehénewa* war leader, who told them that the white man would save them from their enemies. He made a clay image called a *tupana* (the Tupían and lingua franca for a deity). They danced and sang for two months, until a Colombian came. The idea of the *tupana* came, they say, from a Brazilian caboclo. When the Colombian arrived, he told them that he had heard their singing in Bogotá and had come to rescue them. They then returned to their former homes on the Cuduiarí. 648 722 648 [789] [177]

In past years raids were more frequent and determined.[3] The Cubeo fought with bow and arrow and protected themselves with body-length shields of stiffened animal hide, deer, jaguar, or tapir. The 726 411 714

[3] Tribes with whom the Indians of the Cuduiarí claim to have fought include the Cariban Umaua, all the formerly Arawakan sibs of the Querarí River, tribes of the Inana River, and the *Hehénewa*, after they had arrived from the Papurí. [648]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO



726
411 shields rested on the ground and the men fired their arrows from
714 behind them.

At a victory dance the men wore the smoked genitals of the killed
727 warriors over their own genitals as an ornamental trophy. After the
266 dance the women were offered the penises to eat for fertility. Except
[842] for the intestines, deemed not fit to eat, the enemies were consumed at a sib feast and drinking party. The head, limbs, liver, and heart were spit roasted, the rest of the meat was boiled.

/p. 50-B/

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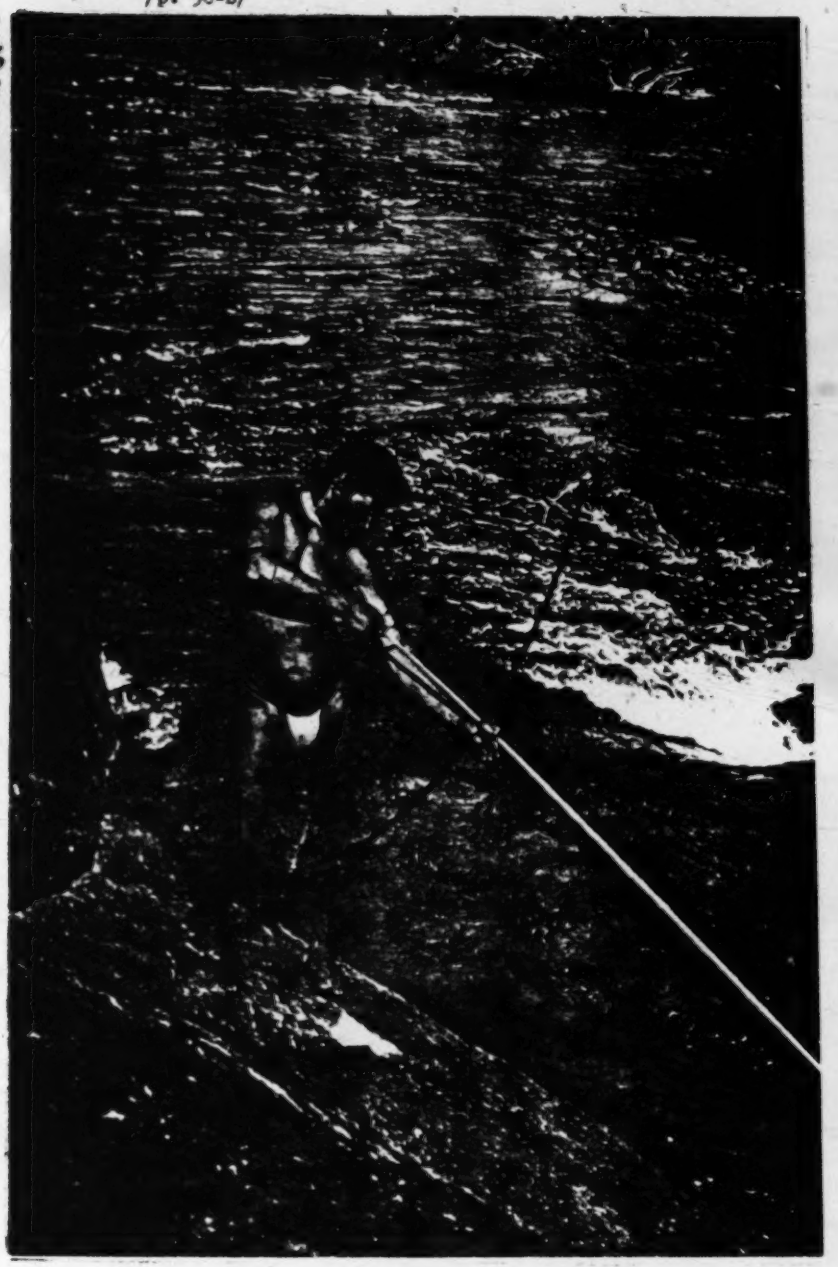

A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.

# 4

# *The Forest Addicts*

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the earplug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run;
whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves
147 in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his
302 home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
411 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
609 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undisturbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little.
152 When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 70-A/

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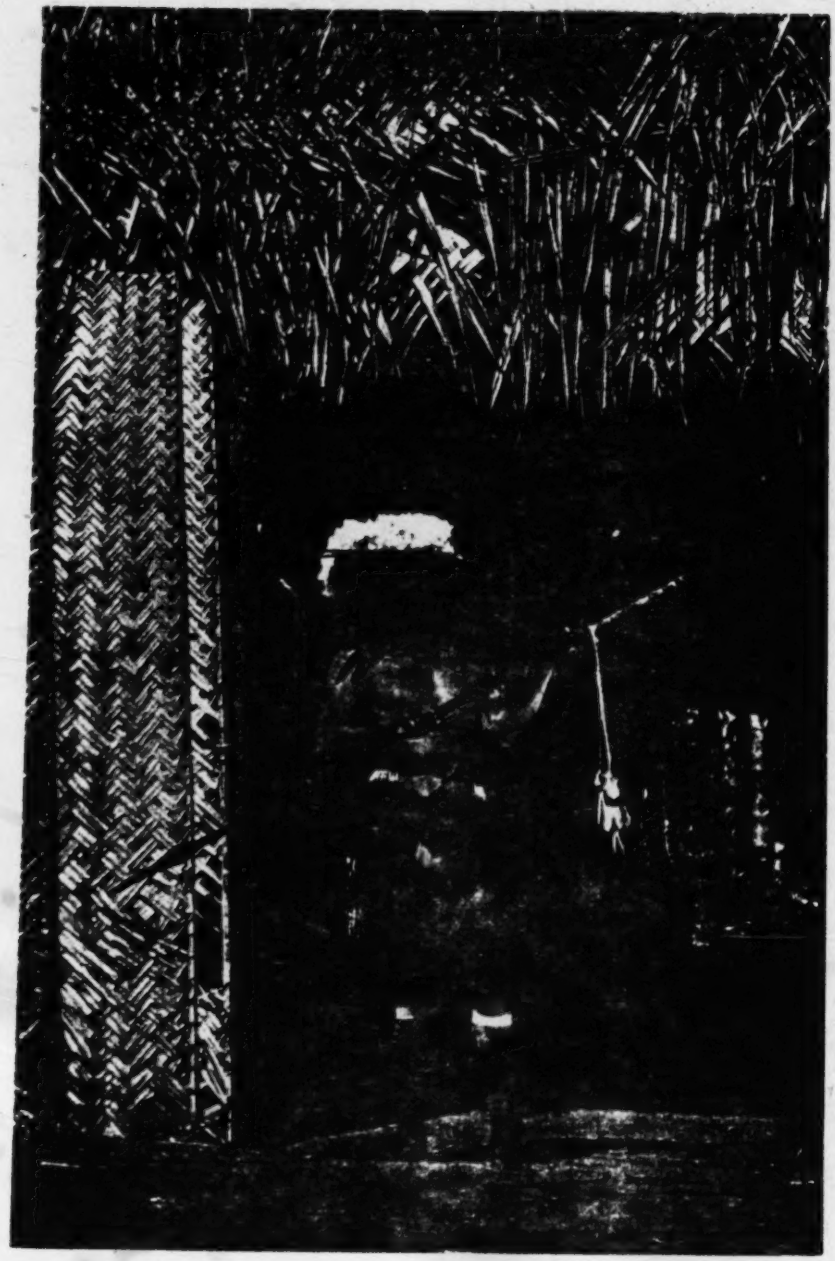

A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his kurubeti pebble stave.

# 6

# *Panpipes and Don Giovanni*

In early February we started to make a small collection. For exchange we had brought rolls of coloured cloth, cigarettes, combs, thread and beads, fishing line and hooks. When we arrived at a *maloca* we would give presents to the headman and his wife, then to the rest of his family. There was never any hesitation in allowing us to sling our hammocks in their houses, but our giving gifts perhaps assured them of our friendly intentions. Moreover, in return they would often give us *farinha* which would help out with our own food. Of all the trade goods, small beads, and cloth especially in primary colours, red, blue and yellow, were the most popular. They preferred white beads and were prepared to exchange many of their own possessions for them. But even if we had lived with the Indians for some time, so that they knew us, they would have been loath to part with certain things. In order to obtain one of their magnificent head-dresses, which may have taken a man months to complete because of the scarcity of the feathers, we had to give them one of our shotguns, nothing less. A shotgun was as good as a bow and arrow. For the Indian it had the advantage that you could shoot more than one bird at a time and it had a greater range than an arrow. But for years their gun would probably be useless because of a lack of shot and powder. Also the gun made a great noise and this frightened the game away. The only three we saw were ancient hammer guns, probably taken from *caucheros* they had killed.

In one of the last *malocas* of the Piraparaná we obtained a canoe. This proved extremely useful as it could be loaded with some of the lighter equipment, such as the collection, and towed from the back of *El Diablo*. Unfortunately it was narrow and unstable and on one occasion as we passed through some turbulent water, it swung sideways in an eddy and overturned. Before we were able to do anything several pieces of our small collection had already disappeared. As a result of this we learnt to keep an Indian in the stern of the canoe to guide it.

The rivers of the Amazon are usually termed black or white, to differentiate between clear and muddy water. Because of the amount of suspended sediment, white rivers are said to have many more fish. There were however a variety of fish in the 'black' Piraparaná. When we travelled on the river we would often see large gate-traps at the mouths of the smaller creeks. The

131 /99 cont./
167 As is seen, the Tukano group is found distributed both in Colombian territory and Brazilian, and the migratory movements of natives between these two countries are quite frequent.

241 The Tukano work the land by means of the slash-and-burn
[462] method. The piece of ground intended for agriculture is always cleaned of underbrush and trees by the /100/ men, a job at which each man works individually or assisted by his male
[412] relatives. At one time, before the arrival of the Creole rubber
[177] workers in the region, the trees and underbrush were cut with stone axes, but since the arrival of the rubber worker the machete has been introduced, and today no Tukano Indian would consider using the lithic instrument again.

Trees of great size are generally left in the place in which they fell, but small trees and bushes are burned toward the end of summer, or the dry season. The ashes obtained from the burning are used as fertilizer to improve the soil, but owing to the thin vegetal layer, to erosion, and to the general poorness of the land, the Tukano Indian is obliged to select and clear a
[242] new garden every three or four years. The method of crop rotation is not practiced because the forest vegetation rapidly returns to invade the land that is not cultivated and tended. The field under cultivation rarely exceeds one or two hectares.

[412] The planting is done immediately after finishing the burning, among the stumps of the felled trees and the trunks of the toppled trees. Probably the only aboriginal implement used in the planting is the planter's stick (2),

2. Digging-stick /this term is given in English/.

which is used primarily to loosen the earth and to open holes in it for planting seeds or young plants. The ground is rarely cultivated and tended after the planting is done, but weeds are pulled out and care is taken that the forest does not invade the garden.

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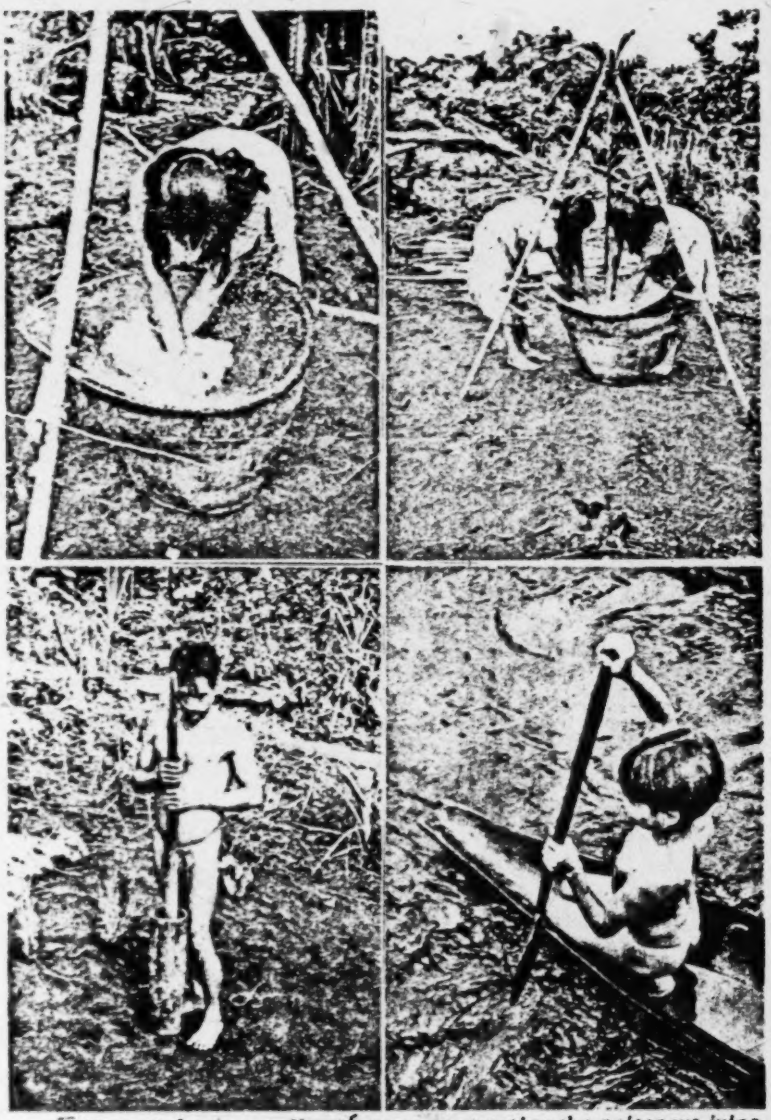

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yuruti women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper part: Yuruti woman grating bitter yuca.

Lower part: Siriano man weaving balaya (basket).

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

4: Silva--234 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 161 in the original source./

Fan (wẽrĩ-rõ), urupema (sũõ), cumatá (tõ-pa) Stone axes (õxtã-komé)

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*192
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*192
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Tipiti (wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ) Sieves (baxti)

/182 cont./

354

*[192] Oven (axta-ro) and large vessel for drinks (pẽru-tõ)

The ovens of large dimensions are manufactured at the place where they will be used. That is, on top of the furnace, previously prepared, the woman arranges a grate of quite compact poles, spreads on top a fine layer of earth, for the purpose of better leveling, and, with the mud ropes, starts making the oven, from the center of the flat part, until she reaches the dimensions that she desires. After it is dry, it is fired right there, as is done with the camotins.

Among the Suryana we saw a large oven prepared on top of an excavation made in the floor of the house, serving as a mold. It was left to dry right there, and afterwards the oven was fired.

*[192] /183/ An oven with slightly higher rims, for the preparation of flour, is to be distinguished and is called pokã-axteri axtã-ro, and one with lower rims for that of beijú is the ahũ-ga peóri-axtã-ro.

b) Wooden implements.

• 412 The tools for their work in wood were originally the stone ax,
*[192] õxtã-komé, the adze, syó-a, also of stone, and fire, pexkã-mẽ.

With a piece of dark diabase (15),

15. They are found in some cachoeiras, for example, in the Pirã-paraná, and already semiworked by the waters.

polished against the stones, they made their primitive ax. For

/183 cont./

• 412 that it was enough to set the diabase in a crack at the end of a straight stick, in the same position in which we mount our iron axes. With the help of tucum thread and breu /a substance like pitch/ the necessary stability would be assured. The adze resulted from a smaller piece of diabase tied to the end of a curved stick, like a hook, yaxpú. Today the syó-a is only an instrument used as an ornament at the dances, hung on the left shoulder.

*[192]

501 1) Canoe. The canoe, yuxkõ-sõ, is an implement of prime necessity, since these tribes live in a region where the water-courses constitute the only means of communication (16),

*[192]

16. The "varadouros" /see footnote 5, p. 10/ through the forest are few and of secondary importance.

and fish is one of the principal foods. Today several tribes know how to build their canoes; but the skilled canoe-makers are the Tuyuka, Bará, Mikura, and Baniva.

The rivers of the region being large or with many cachoeiras and stones, they cannot use canoes made of bark, like other tribes (17),

17. The explorer Lobo D'Almada also speaks of canoes, with pachiubas estribadas (?) /propped or supported paxiubas (a kind of palm)/. They were dangerous, however, and were used for two or three men to go down the Tiquié in the stretch without cachoeiras. (Cf. "Lobo D'Almada," by Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Manaos, 1940, p. 73.)

but of very resistant wood and of only one trunk. Some of three meters in length and about 40 centimeters in width; others, large logs of eight to ten meters in length and 100 to 120 centimeters in width. All, however, with high and pointed stern

*192 /245 cont./
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313

They "go around" the clearing (pũ-pé: it is the Tukano term that they use), that is, they mark off from the rest of the forest the area they want, with a small lane, cutting down the small plants and breaking branches. Formerly they did it only with the stone ax, õxtã komé; today clearing is done with the help of the machete, di-phĩ, and also at times with the iron ax, komé. The work consists essentially of breaking off the bushes and going around the large trunks with blows in such a way as to make the bark come off. With this the tree would dry and could then be burned. Once all the trees are dried in a more or less square area of about 50 or 100 meters on a side (according to the number of persons in the family), fire is set at various spots, and thus the gigantic trees either are incinerated or are reduced to a blackened trunk, which often falls to the ground. The clouds of smoke that rise here and there from the green /246/ forest reveal the places where a good burning, õhõã-dyakã-siri, is taking place.

[412]
[177]

If the burning was not very successful, because the sticks were not dry or because of a lack of wind, the work is done again, taking down branches, assembling them around the trees -- this is called coivara, in Tukano doxté-peosé, and burning is done anew.

[423]
[476]

Although the clearing is individual or, better, family property, for the work of clearing and burning the one interested will ask for the collaboration of his companions in the maloca or in the povoado; or, if he lives isolated, that of the closest inhabitants. And not only of his own tribe, but even of another nation. This collective work (cf. IX -- 2) is called neõsé (in Nheengatú ayurí). The immediate pay, that is, on the day or days of work, is a plentiful caxirí for all the workers; and more distantly his own help when solicited for identical work for the benefit of others. The ayurí is always practiced whenever the participation of many persons is needed for one job, for example, to cut and bring wood from the forest, to put in place the timberwork of a house roof, etc. The ayurí is a practice that is still in force even among the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

/373 cont./

764 although the apparent motive is the ambition and the interests of the Indian. And they have been seen to take long trips in order to acquire some object that belonged to the deceased.

[412] The grave, sufficiently long and not very deep, opened formerly with a simple pointed stick and the hands, is made in the central nave of the maloca (91),

> 91. In January of 1948 in Ambaíba (Colombia, river Querari) the Kubêwãna were preparing a new maloca, when the death of an Indian took place. They buried him, then, in the area of the new maloca. Since this was still without any covering, however, they improvised a little roof of straw over the grave, a meter above the ground, "so that the dead one will not get the rain."
>
> Near Matapí (river Uaupés) there is an island known precisely as the "island of the cemetery," because the Wanana buried their dead there. We do not know whether this was due to the influence of the civilized.

without any obligatory orientation. On that place, precisely, where he spent the happiest hours of his life, preparing his bow and arrow, adorning himself with the ornaments, in endless talks with his tribal brothers, and danced during the long nights of the poosé (dabacurí); as if the living wished to maintain union with the dead.

The canoe is then placed in the grave, there being renewed among those present, collectively, the "panegyric-weeping (92).

[797]

> 92. This is verified even for the burials that take place in the cemeteries of the Missions, with the assistance of the Missionary, who many times finds himself obliged, after a few minutes, to ask that they cease the weeping

/481 cont./

412 There are still a few hours of daylight: the man goes to prepare his arrows, to separate the tucum for the fishing nets or to work on his little seat or on his sieve. The woman will weave a new hammock or will attend to the preparation of the mandioca for the following day. Each one at his task.

[177] [296] Among the individuals of the new generation, the man will perhaps mend or wash his own clothes, as the woman does hers. All tasks done with tranquillity, in the intimacy of family life, to the rhythm of an animated conversation, with noisy laughter.

When the sun goes down, the wood is already piled up inside the house and the vessels are filled with water. Men and children *[192] settle down in their hammocks, while the woman is busy boiling the Ñõxkã, with some wild fruit, and all help themselves with their cuias, like evening tea.

The conversation continues more briskly, the episodes of the day are picturesquely narrated, the visitors who appeared, the launches they passed, the news of other malocas. When the night is further advanced, it will perhaps be nine o'clock, the doors of the maloca are lowered. Sleep first conquers the children, later the older ones. Around 11 o'clock or later, however, one will hear a question that comes from a hammock, an [illegible] and an answer from another hammock. Afterwards the silence is interrupted only by the crackling of so many small fires in each apartment of the large dwelling. The fire never goes out inside the maloca; at any time of the night one may see some figure jump out of a hammock in order to stir up the fire, indispensable for the cooler hours of the dawn, and to scare away snakes or other animals.

178 412 With the advance of civilization the phenomenon of acculturation takes place, new tasks occupying the time and the attention of the Indians. The rhythm of daily life, however, is always the same, in the maloca as well as in the povoado, for the Indians who have always lived there as well as for those who have spent long years in the boarding schools and have returned to their homes.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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773 From *Kíwai*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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usually accompanied by an unmarried daughter, who is both helper and chaperon, a dog, and her breast baby. Her equipment is a machete (in the past it was a digging stick), a portage basket, and a tray upon which she rests her baby.

With the machete she cuts the long root at the base of a mature manioc plant and then loosens the earth so as to pull out the cluster of tubers. Each root yields an average of six tubers, two of which are large, two medium, and two small. This phase of the work is difficult but the woman moves quickly and silently. She does not sing at her work. Her daughter, assistant and apprentice, tears each tuber from the root, scrapes it clear of earth, and drops it in the basket. When a basket has been filled the woman gathers up the stems of the manioc plant, trims them of their leaves, and stacks the cuttings neatly in small heaps. She burns the leaves to add ash to the soil. She does not replant the cuttings immediately, but allows them to lie for several days. After an accumulation a woman devotes a morning to replanting. She breaks up the soil of the segment she has harvested and forms it into small mounds, into each of which she puts a number of trimmed cuttings, setting them in at a sharp angle. She works segments of garden that are about 25 yards square. After replanting, the earliest harvest will be after half a year, but full maturity takes two years. Each 25-square-yard segment yields from 50 to 60 pounds of manioc, or one basket load.

Among the *Bahikiwa*, for whom I have productivity figures, the household of the headman harvested 400 baskets of manioc annually. Another household that had three adult women harvested 500. One old woman had a minimum yield of 150 and all other households averaged close to 200. Ten households produced 2,550 baskets, or some 75 tons of manioc a year. A basket of manioc converts into two large manioc cakes. In the headman's household of seven people three cakes were eaten every two days, leaving a "surplus" of close to 30 per cent for use as chicha and as farinha. On the other hand, households producing 200 baskets annually are close to the subsistence line.

The point of this digression into production figures has been to show how exigent are the demands upon the woman's labor. The women feel that they cannot afford to interrupt their labors or they will fall behind. Nevertheless, childbirth, illness, ceremonies – women do not garden on the day of a ceremony – and the press of other activities such as accompanying men on prolonged trips for hunting (in the nature of a respite for a woman) take their toll of labor time. Women do not complain of having too much to do. On the contrary, I have heard the grievance that the manioc garden is too small.

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an who has daughters to help her can prepare a surplus of mash that, covered with banana leaves or stored in a circular bark bin, holds over to the next day. Whatever time a woman spares from manioc cake preparation is immediately absorbed by other duties, among them the making of chicha and farinha, which is simply the manioc routine all over again. When a woman prepares manioc for chicha, however, she has the help of her husband, but only at those stages that are totally distinct from manioc cake preparation. The Cubeo tradition is for men to take no part in *áuno* production, once they have made the clearing. Still, men do help their wives in peeling the manioc tuber. Since the knife has begun to supplant the teeth as a peeling implement, men, who are the most expert in handling knives, feel somewhat more free than formerly to help – but not without embarrassment. I once walked into the house and saw the headman sitting amiably beside his wife and peeling manioc with a knife. Were I a proper Cubeo I would have managed to appear as though I had seen nothing. But the sight was so unexpected I stared. The man flushed and dropped the knife and tuber. Then he collected himself and explained that his wife was not well and so he felt he should help her. He assured me, as his wife smiled, that he never did this ordinarily.

Whereas all women share the same general manioc routine, individual circumstances differ. A young married woman with young children has no one to help her and must work very hard in contrast to an older woman with several daughters who can relieve her of much of the work. A woman with many sons and no daughters has a very heavy burden. The men provide her with a very large garden, they eat heavily, they are sociable and plan drinking parties. An old woman living alone prepares her own small manioc cake ration, and worries rather that she can call on no man to enlarge her manioc garden. Yet in all these individual circumstances one observes leveling factors as well. The household with very young children eats less, has less need to entertain, and has smaller trade needs. The household with grown daughters eats more, entertains more – suitors and their parties for example – and has great needs for trade goods, skirts, and ornaments for the girls. The household with many men has greater access to trade goods through their wage labor and saves on farinha. An old woman living alone may eat with her close kin and so devote her manioc production entirely to farinha, if she desires. There are no significant differences in manioc cake consumption. Families differ only in the rather small prestige of owning trade goods and in

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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764 it with a wad and turned to face the corpse. Each man now went with the same slow deliberateness to fetch his gun. The armed men formed a tight circle about the hammock, the widow in their midst pressed against it. Brandishing the weapon, the brother began the funeral declamation, a statement of grief and then anger and the threat of retaliation against the enemy. Each male mourner delivered his own address, always declaring his kinship relationship to the old man. The women accompanied the hoarse shouts of masculine anger with their own counterpoint of grief. After the last man had spoken they all fired their guns into the air together. The widow then withdrew to her hammock and lay silently while the men gathered about the hammock, caressed the corpse, and wept, accompanied in their grief by the women.

[537] When this first wave of mourning, which lasted some two hours, had subsided, the headman's wife arrived, took her place at the head of the hammock, and delivered a long funeral oration that began in anger and ended in tears. As she finished it seemed that the [761] grief had subsided; people stirred about more. Informally, and apparently spontaneously, the inquest began; names were mentioned and evidence cited. Women added their observations to those of the men, each citation being delivered in a loud and angry voice. [622] The headman broke in on this, an hour after his wife had finished [537] speaking. Armed with a gun he, too, approached the head of the hammock and delivered his funeral oration, concluding like the others with grief. During the angry part of his oration he summarized the suspicions and submitted his own. When the headman concluded, all the mourners drifted off and, since it was the middle of the night, all went to sleep. The respite was brief, and well before dawn mourning began again; mourners, men and women, approached the corpse (*yaiyú*) in the hammock, caressed it, and wept.

[823] Preparations for burial began promptly at sunrise. Four men of the sib dug the grave (*tobi'katcino*: hole underneath) four feet deep in an east-west direction to the left of the dance floor at the forward end of the house. They measured the corpse to get dimensions of the grave. When the grave had been dug halfway down one of the men lighted a cigarette and, bending over the sides but not entering the grave itself, blew cigarette smoke into each of its four corners, "so that the dead would always have tobacco."

[412] It took several hours to dig out the grave with machetes. While this was being done, others were preparing a canoe as the old man's coffin. A man is buried in his own canoe as a rule. However, the canoe of João was an excellent one, whereas one of the men had only re-

the *bréo* flame taking coca with two other men. He is silent and has offered little real assistance; I wonder whether he resents our presence here.'

It did seem at times as though Kuarumey resented our presence, and he later had some cause for his suspicions – certainly in his own mind – when events took an unexpected turn. He was a striking man, tall and rather gaunt, with a proud almost arrogant manner. There was no doubt as to who was the head of the *maloca*, nor that we were visitors, fortunate to have his hospitality. We saw little of him during the daytime and it was some time before we learnt he was making a canoe some distance away in the forest.

Though the Tukano travel through the forest on hunting expeditions, canoes are used to go further afield, to fish or to trade with other groups. They are a river people as much as a forest people, and like many Amazonian tribes they have evolved their own methods of making canoes.

The Noanamá, we found, dug out and shaped their canoes from solid wood, and it was necessary for them to find very large trees to do this. Many tribes of the southern Amazon use the bark of a tree, like the North American Indian, while some groups of the Guahibo and the Maku living in areas remote from the larger rivers do not use canoes at all. The Tukano, however, shape their canoes by a process of heat-warping.

A tree – a hard type of cedar – had first been felled, then a twenty-foot section was cut and barked, and allowed to lie for several weeks, before Kuarumey started to cut the wood. Each day he went to the clearing, setting up a palm frond to shade himself when the midday sun broke into the clearing, through the gap in the trees overhead.

Using his *azador*, a curved hoe-like blade, and a long stick with a sharp metal end, he first shaped the outside of the log, scraping off the bark. Then he made holes along its length and began to cut out the centre. It was hard work and he would often break off to make himself a cheroot, using the rolled leaf of a palm, while his eldest son continued the work. Once he disappeared in the jungle to set a monkey trap, a ring-snare high in a tree with fruit as the bait.

He worked carefully, feeling the sides of the canoe so as not to make the shell too thin. After several days it was ready, braced with two small stumps to prevent the sides from closing. Then Kuarumey and several Indians from the *maloca* dragged the hull along the forest paths to the river bank nearly a mile away.

Now the canoe was ready to be warped by burning. This could be undertaken only at certain times of the year when there was no risk of rain, for water on the hot wood might split it. Before they obtained iron and steel the Indians used to cut the trees with their stone axes. They would only partly shape the hull and burn out the centre with fire. Now, with the canoe already shaped, the burning was quicker and it would be completed within a day.

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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769 taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters
796 went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca
[614] counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him
[222] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits
[857] and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konhá*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door.
[273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konhá* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and
[276] had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konhá*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Bwõ* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Bwõ* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch (*hardmu*) that he had picked at the water's edge.[4] The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

[614] [4] Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *harathume* (*hare*: to strike; *humé*: bitter, unpleasant).

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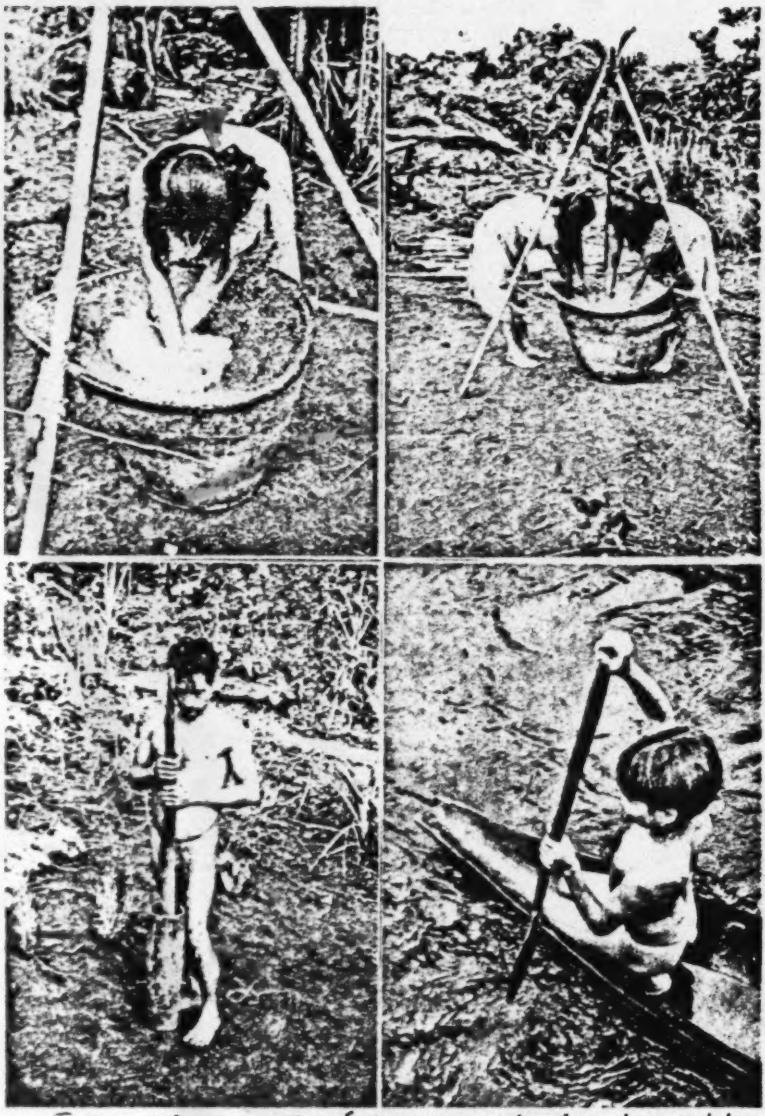

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yuruti women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper left corner: Yurutí woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

/174 cont./

361 And, in order to avoid the annual floods, they locate themselves on more elevated points or "terra-firme" and are never seen in palafittes (6).

> 6. In some posts on the Colombian frontier, called "Comissaria," a residence for the customs officials and the guards is built on an elevated point, on posts about two meters from the ground, approximately. In 1952 an Indian from the Brazilian bank of the Papurí imitated this style in building his hut. In jest the others called it "comissaria."

351 In the povoados of two or more houses, or behind the single maloca, there will always be a beaten area that separates them, by about 50 or 100 meters, from the forest and guards against attacks by ferocious animals.

241 They regularly plant in the vicinity the pimenteira (different varieties of cápsicum), pupunha, assai, urucum, and, with less frequency, the cucura /Pourouma cecropiaefolia, Mart./, lemon tree (today also the orange tree), mamoeiro (papaya cárica), abio (lucúma caimíta, Roem. e Schulth.), /175/ sugar cane (sáccharum officinale, Lin.), tobacco (nicotiana tabácum), and coca (erythróxilon coca).

249 Often one sees a small press, ã'rã̃ arõãrõ (Uaupés a'nã̃ anyãnõ), for sugar cane (7).

415 [192]

> 7. In a maloca of the Tuyuka, on the head-waters of the Tiquié, the press was found inside the maloca, in the vicinity of the main door.

They are generally four vertical posts, well planted in the ground, supporting two wooden cylinders provided with longitudinal grooves and which turn in opposite directions, pressing the cane between

/175 cont./

249 them. Although this is not a plant native to Brazil (8).

• 415

8. This is commonly thought. The cane has an Asiatic origin from China, from where it passed to the Mediterranean, and from Spain to the New World. The year of 1627 is marked as being the one of its introduction in Pará. It is certain that at the time of the discoveries the Indians were already planting cane. Alonso de Rojas, in the report on the journey of Pedro de Teixeira in 1637, tells us this ("Descobrimento do Rio das Amazonas," p. 114).

Nordenskiöld thinks that the press is a native invention, according to his material and resources. Nordenskiöld's opinion does not seem acceptable to us for the presses and the tribes of the Uaupés.
[177] They would be an imitation of the presses that the civilized have used on the lower Rio Negro since the eighteenth century.

351 A square, maxkã-pá, or rectangular area, cleaned of any vegetation, and usually proportional to the population, is located
*[192] in front of the maloca. It is also called baxsarí-u'tú, "dance yard"; actually some numbers of the ceremonial dances are performed there.

There is always a road a few meters wide, and clean, that
351 leads to the landing place, or places, where they tie the canoes
504 and take their bath. A road that serves, moreover, for the procession of Wãx-tĩ at his festival (cf. VII - 4, e (2) ).

When the steep bank of the river is very high, they build a
504 stairway with steps of earth or of timbers. If the steps are of earth, they are made immovable with roundish timbers of about two meters, tied to small stakes driven into the ground or tied transversely, by means of cipos, to two long lateral parallel beams.

*192 /176 cont./
342 It was solidly built upon five pairs of supports, boxtá-ri (9),

9. Greatly preferred for supports is the "pau-vermelho" /red wood/ (mira-piranga) of the Caesalpiniaceae.

which demarcate the central nave (see the nomenclature of the columns - VII - 4, e (2) ). They were roundish pieces of timber, straight, rustic (without removal of the bark), but quite regular and well-proportioned, as were also the beams, nẽxtõ-rĩ (Uaupés, nẽxtõ-nĩ), and rafters, wa' sõ-rĩ (U. wa' sõ-nĩ).

All the timberwork was solidly joined together with cipo (10).

[177]

10. In some of the modern houses nails are already appearing in beams, laths, etc.

353 In the interior the supports, all of them nicely aligned, divided the space into five naves. The three central ones for common use: passage, meetings, dances, visits, and work. Kept there, but toward the back, were the utensils [415] /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /177/ of common use, such were the large vessels of baked clay and the wooden tubs for the fermentation of the caxirís, and the oven for making the flour. It is here that the dances are performed on the occasion of the festivals (11).

11. Some malocas have only three naves, the central one being wider. We have also seen four naves. In those with five, the three intermediary naves are always used for work (preparation of the flour, of the caxirí, etc.) and for meetings.

4: Silva--258 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 176 in the original source./

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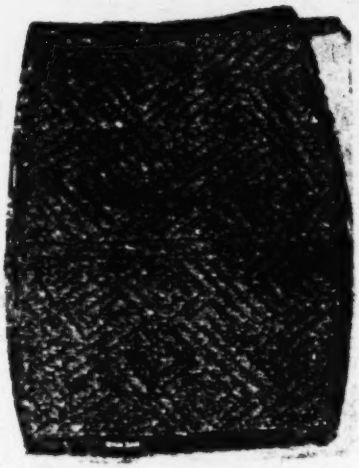

Grater
(One is seeing the small stones incrusted in a regular design.)

133
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View of the Uaupés during the period of low tide and a canoe filled with baskets for trading with other tribes

177 /178 cont./
342 vessels of baked clay, and a cylindrical bark container, quite
353 well made, similar to the straight barrels in which we keep
• 415 chestnuts and codfish.

Nowadays (and since the time of the discoveries, as the
231 first explorers attest) the dog, which, besides guarding, also serves for hunting, is found as a domestic animal in the various malocas and houses, and in all the tribes. Ordinarily small, hungry, extremely thin; some do not support the weight of the body. Many of these animals, due to the stings of the fire ant or taxi, have suffered degeneration of the cornea and for this reason have white eyes.

/179/ Here and there in the malocas and povoados are also seen araras, parrots, mutums /Crax/, jacamins, or domesticated jacus. The Missions have encouraged the raising of
[797] pigs and chickens. The chickens go back to the first colonizers
[177] of the Rio Negro, and to protect them, by way of a chicken coop where they are sheltered during the night, they make small conical enclosures with the vertex upwards, or they use some old canoe, turned upside down, with an opening that they close at night, in order that the micura (gambá /opossum/) or some other animal that chases chickens can not enter.

* [192] In the Arwáke languages the chicken is called karáka, probably onomatopoeia for the chicken's voice. Onomatopes are otherwise very common among the tribes of the Uaupés to designate the birds. Perhaps from karáka is derived the word of the Tukano language which means chicken, i.e., ká'rẽkẽ or ka'rẽkẽ (Uaupés ká'nẽkẽ, ka'nẽkẽ). According to this hypothesis, it is from the Arwáke that the Tukano (and the tribes of the Uaupés in general) would have received the first chickens, or at least knowledge of them. Such a hypothesis is made probable, not only by the greater cultural development of the Arwáke, but also by their prior relationship with the civilized of the Rio Negro.

342 It seems that there is no rule with regard to the orientation of the maloca or with regard to the distance from the river or from the forest.

/186 cont./

• 415 *[192] 3) Grater. In Tukano it is called soxkõ-rõ (Uaupés soxkõ-nõ) and in Nheengatú wiwisé. It is a specialty of the Baniva Indians of the Içana River (see IV -- 1, b), where the quartzite used in the grater exists in an igarapé near the cachoeira of Tunuí.

We have seen on the Içana that the preparation of the plank falls to the man, the incrustation of the small stones being executed ordinarily by the women.

As an object that is of prime necessity, it is found in all the malocas and huts, even in regions very remote from the Içana, acquired by barter from the Baniva.

*[192] It is generally made out of marupá (simaruba amara, Aubl.), white and light wood, whose fibers tend to return to the original position when they are made to deviate. *[192] In Tukano it is called precisely soxkõ-gõ̃, that is, grater wood. It consists of a plank of 60 to 100 and 120 centimeters in length, and 40 to 50 in width by 2 to 4 in thickness, and somewhat curved. They start by executing on the concave face the desired or, rather, traditional design, *[531 192] which facilitates the grating operation (21),

> 21. There is a design pattern called precisely soxkõ-rõ óori, flowers of the grater.

like a small groove. Afterwards, with a point (today they use a nail) and following the lines of the design, they open a small orifice. Before the fibers of the wood return to their natural position, they set in small stones of flint in the shape of a tooth, in such a way that a chip measuring half a centimeter emerges. The small stones are better stabilized with the latex from the sorva, spread with a brush of fibers from the banana tree, whose tannin *[192] gives more consistency to the latex. The stones are set at a distance of one centimeter apart and occupy the central part of the plank, leaving small side margins, a lower margin of 15 to 20 centimeters and another upper one, or head of the grater, soxkõ-rõ dõ̃xpoá, of about 30 centimeters, this last one having a projection in the manner of a handle. This handle is used, however, only to hang up the grater.

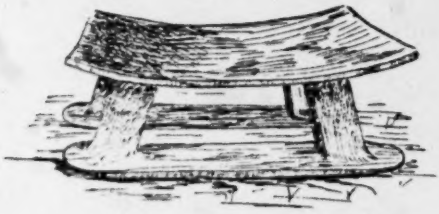
/186 cont./

• 415 252 The woman, as she grates, will do it with the two hands alternately, and not in a uniform rhythm, but with sudden pulls that cause movement of her very breasts. She will be seated on the ground, having between /187/ her legs the grater, the head [462] of which they support against the stomach. It is exclusively women's work.

The grater is such an useful object that on the lower Rio Negro the civilized adopted it as well as the tipití (VI -- 2, d (1) ).

*192 352 4) Seat. The seat, in Tukano kũ-mũ-rõ (Uaupés kũmũ-no), is in general use, although its specialized producers are the Tukano. It is generally made out of sorva or arara-seringa (Couma guianensis, Muell.), a not very heavy wood which hardly cracks.

They formerly made it with the help of their primitive adze. Today, instead of the syõ-a, they use a digging iron or even an adze obtained from the civilized.



Little monoxylic seat (ku-mũ-rõ)

The dimensions are the most varied, some of only 30 to 40 centimeters and others of 120 to 150 centimeters. The style, however, is constant, to wit, the seating place is concave, with a double curvature in the longitudinal and transverse directions. It is always low, only 10 to 15 centimeters in height, with four legs connected by two longitudinal crossbars. And the seat, with the supports, is monoxylic, that is, made from one piece of wood.

[531 824] They are accustomed to decorating the seat with the traditional designs, and over it something like a varnish, obtained from the sap of the bark of a wild inga tree, mẽ'rẽ (Uaupés mẽ'nẽ).

/187 cont./

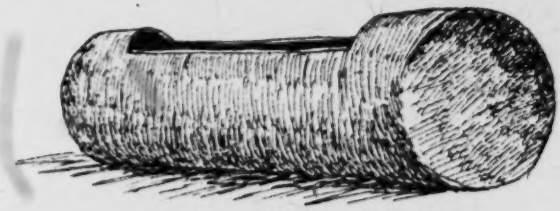
352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 276 [796] [178] /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utíkaro yaxpú or also utíkaro seré, or again mõrõ dõxkõ (?) (in Nheengatú emapú). In the dabacurís /religious celebrations/ the use of tobacco in the form of a large cigar, utíkaro, about 20 centimeters long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utíkaro is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 273 • 415 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pẽru yuxkõ-sõ properly speaking means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú iwá, hence the term ubá, which means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxiri tub (pẽru juxkõ-sõ)

/188 cont./

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7) Mortar. The mortar, pa-mõ-a, is one of the indispensable utensils and consists of a hollowed-out tree trunk. The shape and dimensions, however, will vary according to its purpose. Either it will have the common shape, as it is used among us, and is always small in size; this is used, for example, to crush the leaves of the ipadú.

Or it will resemble a caxirí tub, the trunk measuring about a meter or more in length, but small in diameter (about 20 centimeters). It is in this latter mortar that they crush the caapí (and for this reason it is called kaxpí pa-mõ-a) and the cará /yam/, cooked and chewed, for the preparation of the cará caxirí.

The pestle, doxké-kõ, looks like the one used among the civilized. It consists of a rounded stick, whose lower extremity widens into a cylindrical shape of larger radius.

/189/

Mortar (pa-mõ-a)

/195 cont./

285 If it is a matter of a sieve or basket, they finish with three
415 or four turns with the cipo, by way of a hoop (be'tó), on which
[192] they tie the ends of the plaiting and later trim the tips of the straws or the strips.

285 The basketry of these tribes is one of the richest known.
531 Using a more or less flexible material, they combine the plaited and the twined in several technical processes, with wide or closed spaces, and warps and woofs in various directions, in such a way that an amazing variety of patterns results. As a further demonstration of their ability, they interpose colored strips, from which appear the fanciful Greek frets /Port. gregas/ that characterize their designs. And, with such richness of imagination and technique, they make objects of varied size and shape, according to their purposes.

285 Baskets and sieves are made by all the tribes, but the spe-
415 cialists are the Desana.

184 1) Tipití. The tipití, in Tukano wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ, is the press
[192] of the Indian. It consists of a cylinder or tube, which the men weave most commonly with arumã straw, with a very tight mesh. It measures 1.50 and even 2 meters in length, and barely 10 centimeters in diameter. The upper end, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ dõxpo-á (head of the tipití), is open and terminates in a handle, by which the tipití is hung on one of the supports of the house. The other end is closed and also terminates in a handle, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ bé'tó (ring of the tipití). With the proper movement of the hands, the tipití is reduced to a shorter length, which has the effect of increasing the diameter, and through the mouth thus enlarged is introduced the mass of the grated mandioca (cf. VI - 4, a).

2) Sieves. They are used to strain the mass of mandioca, to sift the flour, etc., and are woven out of arumã straw.

The width of the meshes, dimensions, and shape will vary according to the use for which the sieve is intended. One finds some shallow, like our common sieves, and others deeper.

/196/

*192 285 415 One can distinguish three types of sieves: 1st, tõ-pa (in Nheengatú cumatá), is large, of very tight mesh, used to strain out the manicuera /the liquid from the mass of manioc/ and to extract the starch; 2nd, sũõ, or better sõõ-a (Nh. urupema), with a more open mesh and sometimes square in shape, in a frame of four rounded sticks, used to sift the mass of the water flour /see p. 310 /; 3rd, Baxtí, deeper, as small baskets for storing the beijú and other foods and objects. It is these that customarily bear the beautiful traditional designs.

3) Baskets.

*192 285 415 a) Pi'í are large baskets which on the Amazon are customarily called aturás. They are used to transport mandioca, fruits, earth, firewood, luggage; they are woven exclusively by the Makú, who also work for the other tribes.

The traditional shape is the cylindrical one, with the base slightly wider than the mouth. The material is the uambé cipo, misĩ-da, quite strong, chosen without knots, and which is placed on the fire, in order to slip off the bark easily. The cipo is broken into two or three parts, and the plaiting is started from the bottom. The mouth is of rings of cipo, like a hoop, and is tied to the basket with woven caroatá fibers.

*192 462 482 The woman, upon whom the carrying of the pi'í falls (the man must always walk unencumbered, in order to be able to defend himself and his family), carries it in the following manner: the aturá goes on her back, but is suspended from the forehead by means of a wide embira, pi'í-karõ-pá (29),

29. Or pi'í-kãrõ-kaxserí. It seems that the tree derived its name from the pi'í, because its embira is commonly used to transport the pi'í. Other embiras, however, are also used, such as sõ'ũ-kaxsero, deóti-kõ.

the ends of which, passing through the mouth of the basket, run along it and are interwoven on the bottom of it. They thus transport a load of 30 to 50 kilograms for a distance of kilometers.

/196 cont./

*192 b) A small basket of the shape and material of the pi'í, and in which the women keep their ornaments and painting powder, is called pi'í-kamõ.

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[756] c) Also customarily of cipo is a small hamper, called wamõ axka-ro, in which the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ keeps his objects for treating sick people (cf. VII - 2, e).

d) In order to store or to transport the flour that they sell, they make the panniers, térẽ-pi (Uaupés ténẽ-pi), out of strips of arumã or taquara, and with quite wide meshes (two to three centimeters), and thus the manufacture is faster. They line them with *great skill, with leaves of myõ-gõ pũrĩ*, or likewise of arumã or other plants, in such /197/ a way that they do not allow the flour to go through, even with the little care that it usually has during the loading, unloading, and transport.

4) Fan. With miritĩ or tucum fronds, or arumã straws, they plait an object similar to a fan, and which can perfectly replace it; it is called wẽ'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés wẽ'nĩ-nõ). They manufacture it in various sizes and use it to fan the fire, as well as like a scoop to turn the beijú in the oven. It is heart-shaped, and the bound straws themselves constitute the leg or support, by which the fan is held.

Some quite large ones are seen, of the natural size of the biggest miritĩ fronds, from which they are made, and they are used as mats for the divisions of the compartments of the malocas, or even to serve as a wall.

5) Quiver. They also prepare with arumã strips a quiver, bu'sá-sa, of cylindrical shape and about 40 centimeters in height, with a diameter of 8 or 10 centimeters, widening toward the mouth. It is used to store the small poisoned arrows of the sarabatana /blowgun/, or curabís. To keep water from dissolving the poison, they customarily make this quiver impermeable with pitch.

[278]

/197 cont./

*192 354 6) Support for the cooking pot. With paxiúba splints about 40 or 50 centimeters in length, they prepare a support for the cooking pots, called sã'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés sã'nĩ-nõ).

It is essentially a bunch of splints, tied with cipo or embira in the central part, and the ends of which widen so as to form a spiral, in such a way that the sã'rĩ-rõ is similar to a double spiral-shaped cone, with a binding around the vertex. The ends are fixed by means of cipo or embira about two or three centimeters apart.

*192 415 7) Box for ornaments. It is a rectangular box, generally of miritĩ stalk reduced to laminae, which is used for storing the plumes and other dance ornaments. Since one box is smaller than another, the former is introduced inside the latter, as if it were its lid, in such a way that it remains tightly closed and in the shape of a trunk. In Tukano it is called mahã-poarĩ-karo, and in Nheengatú, pacará.

*192 285 8) Other plaited work.

a) Moreover, they weave the fronds from several palms to serve as roofing, peõkaro, and even more frequently as walls, tyãkaro.

/198/ b) They make mats for various purposes, called imĩ-sa (Nh. tupé), with leaves of different palm trees or with finer cipos.

c) With a rapid plaiting of the leaflets of some palm frond they improvise baskets, ba:, in order to transport fruits from the forest.

d) From the pacova sororoca /Ravenala guianensis, Benth./ and other leaves they make up small bindings, called sã: or sá:, in the shape of an ear of maize, which they fill with pirá-mirims /a kind of fish/, in order to roast them.

/204 cont./

*192 2) Equipment for the ipadú and the caapí

• 415 a) To prepare the ipadú (cf. VI -- 4, i (3) /see 4, i (4)/), the Indian, besides a pot with a wide mouth, pátu axtẽrí-tõ, and a small mortar, pa-mõ-a, in the usual fashion, needs bags and a long tube, patu pa:põ. The bags are obtained from the tururí (cf. VI -- 3).

b) For the kaxpí there becomes necessary a wooden tub, kaxpí pa-mõ-a (see VI -- 2, b (7) ), in which the cipo is pounded, and a vessel, kaxpí-tõ (see 2, a (1) ), in which the juice is collected and diluted with water.

855 3) Macurú. When the child starts to steady itself on its legs, they use a very practical process to entertain it and at the same time to teach it the first steps. It consists of a hoop which is obtained from a thick cipó wound several turns and tied to a beam. The child will stand inside the hoop, which reaches the height of its chest. A very flexible and soft embira, tied to the hoop, passes between the legs of the child, who thus remains as though riding a horse and can sit on the embira when it feels tired. Nowadays it is very common to find a piece of cloth instead of the primitive embira. This apparatus, which in the Lingua Geral is called macurú, and in Tukano bahari be'tó, is secured to one of the roof beams by a cipo and reaches a distance from the ground that allows the child to touch it with the feet and to try its first steps.

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*[192]

/205 cont./

*192 • 415 824 4) Cuias and calabashes. Moreover they use cuias (wahá-ro) and calabashes (ỹaxsã̄), or ỹahã̄, ñã'sã̄, of diverse sizes and shapes, /206/ as vessels for the most varied uses: to take water, to prepare chibé, to distribute the caapí, to store their colored powders, to manufacture the maracá (see VII -- 3, c (3) ), etc.

a) The calabashes, obtained from the creeping calabash, Cucúrbita lagenária, Lin., of the Cucurbitaceae (yaxsã̄-ga), are used, when dried, without further work. The most important use for the calabashes is the making of the maracás and as containers for the colored powders.

*192 386 415 [824] b) The cuias, from the plant called cuieira or cuietezeira (Crescentia cuyete /cujete/, Lin., of the Bignoniaceae), are used to take water, chibé, mingau, etc. and exhibit an interior surface of lustrous black color. The woman manages this with the help of the wahá-ko (that is to say, cuia water; from wahá, cuia, and oxkó, water, liquid, juice).

Cuia (wahá-ro)

They slash the bark of the plant called wahá-ko-gȭ (39),

39. Pe. João Marchesi called our attention to the natives' custom of naming a vegetable after the use that they make of it.

cumati (myrcia atramentífera, B. Rod.), which exudes a dark red liquid; or they take scrapings from it, which, left for some time in a water infusion, produce a thick dark liquid, the wahá-kó.

/206 cont./

386 The wahá-kó is spread in the interior part of the cuia with a brush,
415 letting it dry afterwards. The operation is repeated a second time
*[192] and more, until it reaches the thickness of approximately one millimeter. Directly afterwards urine is spread on the ground and on this area they turn upside down, on small pieces of wood, the cuias that they wish to paint. The ammonia that comes from the urine transforms the layer of wahá-kó in the interior of the cuia into a black, shiny, and quite adherent varnish.

The same result is obtained by applying mandioca leaves saturated in urine over the layer of wahá-kó.

5) Other utilitarian objects.

824 The Indian has known how to obtain from the nature that surrounds him many other objects and resources for his life.

We shall recall some:

*[192] [515] /207/ a) Papóque. The papóque, in Tukano pápwa-khá-sõtí, is the embira of a tree that produces foam, and they wash their heads with it, for lack of soap.

*[192] [276] b) Tauarí. Táwari, as is also said in Tukano (couratari tauarí, of the family of the Lecythidaceae), is also an embira, which unrolls into very thin and flexible sheets that are used as cigar wrappers. They are obtained from the bark by striking it with a mallet until all the ligneous part has been detached.

*[192] [415] [532] c) Bags, cueio, and masks. The tururí, in Tukano waxsó-gõ, is a tree of several species of Manicariao, from whose liber or bast they prepare the bags for the ipadú, the masks (see VII -- 3, d (2) ), and the waxsó-ro (in Nheengatú cueio) for dances (cf. loincloth, VII -- 3, d (2) ). Once the branch or trunk that suits them is chosen, they cut it and start to beat the bark with a wooden mallet until /in the original source the line of type that follows these words is the duplicate of one that properly appears later in the paragraph, while the line that belongs here is missing/ as if it were a shirt sleeve or a cape. With a cutting object (formerly a taquara /a bamboo/) they detach the part that they want. The

/229 cont./

*192 276 dilute it in water. They also crumble the leaves of kaxpí-pũrĩ and of kãna-pũrĩ, reducing them to a mass like tobacco, which is precisely called kaxpí-mõ'rõ (tobacco of kaxpí) and which is mixed with the previous liquid. They also mix in the leaves of doxké-morẽrĩ-dá and duxtú-sarẽnõ-dá.

[115] A seringueiro /rubber worker/ from Urânia (on the Colombian Uaupés /spelled Vaupés in Colombia/), with a Tukano mother and raised and living among the natives of the region, heard from the Taryana that, besides the above cipos, they also use the one /230/ called ma-kaxpí-dá, of which there are three varieties, which produce a very strong drink, hence the fame of the kaxpí of the Taryana as being stronger.

• [415] A few hours of infusion in water, in an amphora of 8 or 10 liters in capacity, with the customary designs, called kaxpí-tõ, are enough for it to be in a condition to be consumed. Its use is reserved exclusively for persons of the masculine sex and mature age. They believe that the "ritual blowing" by the pajé or by some Komũ increases its imagination-exciting quality. It is served in small cuias, followed immediately by libations of caxirí.

Under the action of the kaxpí, the Indian is said to have pleasant visions. "He sees luminous signals" was the expression of our useful Tukano helper, Antônio Barreto. And it was also what Koch Grünberg saw (Zwei Iahre, 201), to whom it seemed that he saw marvelous bright sparkles when he turned his eyes toward the dark, or red flames when he ran them across the paper.

An official of the Colombian customs in Iauareté (river Uaupés) took it and saw images of objects with great brightness, and with all clarity he perceived geometrical figures, and even theorems of trigonometry came to his mind. A trader from the river Querarí revealed to us that on a certain occasion the kaxpí had caused in him a beautiful and pleasant distortion of the sensations. Thus the women seemed to be slithering snakes with very beautiful decorations; the flutes /flautas-de-pã, Panpipes/ gave him the impression of a large orchestra.

T /231 cont./
*192 Across this bag runs a stick, called /232/ pátu-pá:-ko. Intro-
276 ducing it in a tube of elongated pestle shape (of 1.80 meters and about 15 centimeters in diameter, and called pátu-pá:põ), they knock the bag against the walls of the tube with their two hands, until the powder is so finely pulverized that it passes through the bag and is deposited in the tube. In order to facilitate the work, they customarily tie this tube to one of the columns of the maloca, in such a way that the opening stays a meter in height from the ground, a comfortable position for the one who must "beat" the ipadú, and the closed end rests on the ground.

T
• [415] Finally the powder is taken out and kept in proper bags, also of tururí, called pátu-ahuró or pátu-waxsóro, the mouth of which has thrust in it a fine tube, pátu-baarí-oã, of taquara

Ipadú bag (patu ahuró)

or of heron bone (yehé-oã), through which the powder is drawn in, just as a refreshment is sucked in our bars. This is done on trips, because in the house the ipadú is more commonly kept in a cuia, and they help themselves to it by taking a handful with a wooden spatula or even a leaf. They do it with care
M in order to keep the powder from falling into the windpipe.
276 The Maku prepare it in balls. The Indian uses ipadú especially when he goes hunting or fishing, because, narcotic that it is, it keeps him from feeling hunger or thirst, and in this way he dispenses with carrying food. They make it into a
T ball which they keep in a corner of the mouth, sucking on it
M little by little. The women, except for very rare exceptions,
[562] do not eat the ipadú; only the adult men.

4: Silva--376 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Macu SQ10

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/Illustrations facing p. 257 in the original source./

Quiver of arrows (busá-sa), arrows for the sarabatana, and pot containing curare

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*[192]

Preparation of the curare (nimá) by a Maku Indian

/377/

765 most horrible stench, there remaining at the end only the carbonized bones, which are immediately ground up and reduced
[415] to powder. This powder is then placed in various enormous tubs (vats or vessels made out of wood) full of caxiri. The group present then drinks the caxiri until the last drop is finished. They believe that by so doing the virtues of the dead are transmitted to everyone who takes this drink."

171 It is a custom that is found among other tribes of America,
765 and even of the Amazon, according to the information from the ancient explorers, for example, among the Warekena of the rivers Içana and Xié, the Šomena of the river Japurá, etc. (cf. "Roteiro /Logbook/" of Pe. Noronha, 222). And, according to what was told us in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, this custom was in force until the end of the last century among the Taryana, until the beginning of this one among the Kubewãna, according to what Koch G. states and, moreover, what the Wanãna of Cururú-cachoeira told us in 1955, and it is the present practice of the tribes of the river Cauaburi, among whom Pes. Miguel Ghigo and Antônio Goes were present at such events.

[115] The same custom also existed among the Wanãna, we were assured by Tomás Paiva, son of the tuxawa /sic/ of Cururú-cachoeira, and other young Wanãna, but it fell into disuse as early as two generations ago.

765 Among the Kubewãna Koch G. (Z. I. 316) was present at one of these events in the maloca of Namacoliba (?). The Tuxaua disinters the remains of his predecessor, dead for 15 years, and burns it in front of the maloca. The carbonized bones are later cleaned and placed in a pot on the fire day and night for a month, until they are reduced to ashes. These, on the occasion of a solemn caxiri, which is held with a large crowd of people, are pounded, sifted, and mixed with a thick drink, prepared in great abundance with maize. The Tuxaua, with a stick, tries to spread the ashes well in the drink, and afterwards, with a large cuia, distributes it to the men standing around him. It is a drink reserved for the old ones and the fathers and mothers of families, who, although they might not be old, already have three children.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 501 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

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usually accompanied by an unmarried daughter, who is both helper and chaperon, a dog, and her breast baby. Her equipment is a machete (in the past it was a digging stick), a portage basket, and a tray upon which she rests her baby.

With the machete she cuts the long root at the base of a mature manioc plant and then loosens the earth so as to pull out the cluster of tubers. Each root yields an average of six tubers, two of which are large, two medium, and two small. This phase of the work is difficult but the woman moves quickly and silently. She does not sing at her work. Her daughter, assistant and apprentice, tears each tuber from the root, scrapes it clear of earth, and drops it in the basket. When a basket has been filled the woman gathers up the stems of the manioc plant, trims them of their leaves, and stacks the cuttings neatly in small heaps. She burns the leaves to add ash to the soil. She does not replant the cuttings immediately, but allows them to lie for several days. After an accumulation a woman devotes a morning to replanting. She breaks up the soil of the segment she has harvested and forms it into small mounds, into each of which she puts a number of trimmed cuttings, setting them in at a sharp angle. She works segments of garden that are about 25 yards square. After replanting, the earliest harvest will be after half a year, but full maturity takes two years. Each 25-square-yard segment yields from 50 to 60 pounds of manioc, or one basket load.

Among the *Bahukiwa*, for whom I have productivity figures, the household of the headman harvested 400 baskets of manioc annually. Another household that had three adult women harvested 500. One old woman had a minimum yield of 150 and all other households averaged close to 200. Ten households produced 2,550 baskets, or some 75 tons of manioc a year. A basket of manioc converts into two large manioc cakes. In the headman's household of seven people three cakes were eaten every two days, leaving a "surplus" of close to 30 per cent for use as chicha and as farinha. On the other hand, households producing 200 baskets annually are close to the subsistence line.

The point of this digression into production figures has been to show how exigent are the demands upon the woman's labor. The women feel that they cannot afford to interrupt their labors or they will fall behind. Nevertheless, childbirth, illness, ceremonies – women do not garden on the day of a ceremony – and the press of other activities such as accompanying men on prolonged trips for hunting (in the nature of a respite for a woman) take their toll of labor time. Women do not complain of having too much to do. On the contrary, I have heard the grievance that the manioc garden is too small.

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462 ment is slower and altogether less vigorous. Usually, except when she
461 is very strong and young, the woman interrupts her scraping for a
252 rest or change of occupation. For example, the work may be staggered. If the mother begins the scraping and the daughter continues with the peeling, the daughter, when she has finished peeling, will take over the scraping, while the mother prepares to begin the next process. The manioc mash that has accumulated at the far end of the board is removed by hand and thrown into a basket tray, and the liquid drained off into a pot to be poured out.

A substantial part of the poisonous liquid of the manioc has been
[415] removed in the scraping on the grater; the mash is further dried by pounding it through a tightly woven basket sieve. A tripodal frame is set up and the sieve set on it at a woman's waist level. The pounding, also strenuous work, requires vigorous motion of the arms, back, and shoulders. With both fists clenched the woman attacks the mash,
[516] using her arms as pistons in a crisscross motion. The mash is frequently turned. As this work is done standing up, the woman has a chance to limber her legs. Because of the height at which the sieve is set little girls are not very efficient at the pounding, and only help out for a little while. When the mash is relatively dry after a thorough pounding it is put into a long tubular squeezer (the tipiti). The woman grips the lower end of the flexible tube between her knees, and bending the top toward her, fills it with the mash from the sieve. When full, the squeezer is hung from a projecting beam at one of the house posts. Through a loop at the lower end of the squeezer a long pole of heavy wood is inserted, the fulcrum end going through a few twists of heavy rope around the post. This phase of the work affords the woman a rest from the strenuous labor of scraping and pounding. She may sit on the pole, adjusting the pressure by the distance from the fulcrum. A woman is sometimes joined by another, who helps her sit on the pole. The liquid starch that runs down the sides of the squeezer is collected in a pot set for it. The pot is covered with a layer of ash that absorbs the volatile prussic acid, and the clear starch is used as the base for a porridge.

The mash, free of much of its prussic acid content, is finally formed into a cake upon the flat circular oven at the rear of the house. The baking is leisurely and as women wait their turn at the communal oven they enjoy some sociable moments.

462 A good housewife prepares a fresh manioc cake daily since the
252 cake tastes best when fresh, moist, and warm. On the second day a
[512] cake is dry and considerably less palatable. Thus, under ordinary conditions, the routine of manioc preparation is daily. However, a wom-

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592 554 providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor [433] in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 291 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*hardiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaivdrya, wahwari, mod, pudjii, kanéka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kawimene*), pineapple, (*ihibo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*dne*), pupunha (*une*), gourd (*horébe*), calabash [273] (*hahdmu*), coca (*patii*), tobacco (*butei*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [857] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, 231

and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as 235
pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and 123
animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had 245
been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of 439
my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiarí. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more [262] than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. [302] Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

## MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest 121
tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes 28
that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by 32
Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men 28
ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women 32
specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment 462
has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a [415] small basket (*póbii*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pediba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men 462
work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a 461

*A Death*

The tinder-dry wood heaped underneath was soon alight and Kuarumey, 501
helped again by his son, began to turn the hull, holding the canoe on rollers, first the right way up, then upside down and lastly on its side. The flames from the fire leapt five feet into the air all along its length and the men began to sweat as they watched. Soon they were covered in charcoal from head to foot. Every so often Kuarumey reached for his coca bag and shook some of the powder into his mouth. Gradually the sides of the trunk were forced open and wedges were placed along its length.

'In the Llanos they hang the canoe over the fire and there is less danger of the wood actually bursting into flames,' said Horacio. At that moment [415] •
Kuarumey's wife approached us along the path carrying an earthen bowl full of *chicha*. 'And they don't let women approach during the burning for fear of the wood splitting.'

All day long they worked on the smouldering canoe. About midday they bound the ends with liana to prevent it splitting and occasionally put mud on the thinner parts to prevent further burning. The work was completed before dusk. The canoe would cool gradually during the night, and in the morning the braces would be removed and replaced by flat wooden supports. Then Kuarumey would try out his new canoe in the river. It was well built and the sides were even, barely half an inch thick throughout. It should last him for several seasons, providing he did not lose it during the winter floods.

The sun shone warmly on the russet water as Kuarumey paddled the slim canoe away from the port and down the river – so light, so strong, so manageable and in shape so beautiful, yet for ourselves unthinkable – we would have capsized in a moment; only Horacio could master an Indian craft. *El Diablo* was now on the bank drying in the sun, and Horacio and José were starting to recaulk the battered shell.

The rough passage over dried-out river channels, through log-strewn 114
stream beds, across the portage and over vicious rocks, had jarred the joints so much that, were we now to have slid her into the water, she would have sunk like a sieve. For days we had left her on the bank to absorb the heat of the morning sun, turned her and then covered her with a tarpaulin against the occasional afternoon storms, Now the old caulking was pulled away and melted down together with the pitch we had brought from Mitú. However, this was not sufficient and José exchanged some of our fish-hooks for wild beeswax and resin, and this too was melted down.

The fragrant smell of pitch and beeswax filled the air and as the lumps slowly dispersed in the bubbling black syrup, José began to tell of the rapids which lay ahead: 'Listen to the water,' he said, and in the distance we could hear the rumbling; the falls were three bends downstream. 'Only half a day's journey away is the fall we call Piña. In the dry season it is a long series of rapids and we need help to carry everything from the upper end, through

/p. 62-B/

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ABOVE: Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking. BELOW: Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.

/p. 70-B/

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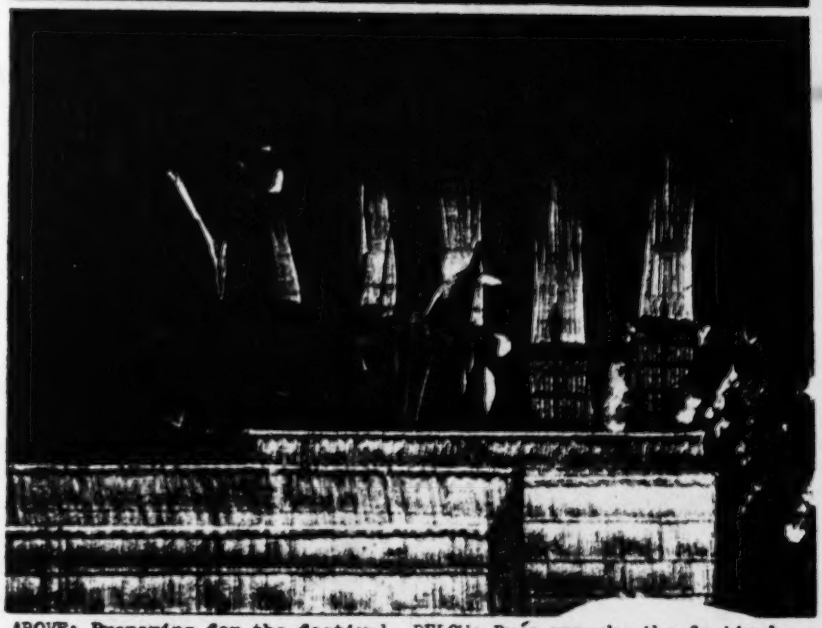

ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Bréo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.

of the men's entrance. Boys carefully pick the tobacco leaves one by one and lay them out on cane matting to dry. An Indian sits in the shade of the *maloca's* overhanging eaves and starts to make string from strands of tough *cumare*. His graceful movements as he rolls the fibre with the palm of the hand on his shining thigh, the string looped around his right big toe, are like those used in the making of Venetian glass. An older man sits near by, deeply engrossed in the construction of a large, shallow cassava basket, a maze of cane strips almost hiding his wizened face. 249 285

The women file through their entrance, their great loads of manioc white and clean after their river washing. They pause for a moment or two and eat some cassava or the pineapples and wild fruit which they have just brought back, but soon they are working again, pulverizing the manioc on the shield-shaped wooden grating boards which have minute flints or tough palm spines set into their baked-clay surface. They work as a team, some grating, others washing the manioc in vast basket-sieves slung between wooden tripods, while yet others extract the poisonous prussic acid by placing the grated manioc flour in a snake-like *matapí*, a long squeezer of plaited cane. With the upper end looped over a pole, a woman stretches its mesh by sitting on a second pole placed in the lower loop. The *matapí* contracts and the poisonous juice runs out. 512 252

When the flour from the *matapí* is ready it is placed on the large flat ovens to make rough cassava pancakes, the Amazonian daily bread, which they eat at every meal together with fish and meat brought back from the forest. The starch from the washed manioc is also baked to make wafer-thin toasted biscuits to add to the *chicha*. Some of the flour is spread thinly on another oven to make the nutty grounds of *farinha*, and the liquid from the washing and squeezing is boiled to neutralize the poison, then poured into the long canoe-trough to make *chicha*.

The noise of grating and the creaking of the tripods lasts all afternoon. A girl feeds her pet parrot some insects, then, taking a strand of *cumare* and winding it around her toe, she starts plaiting string for a hammock to replace her old one. Squatting on the ground, an old woman kneads clay and wood ash. She rolls the clay mixture into coils on a flat board and between the palms of her hands. Then she places them coil upon coil about a clay base, smooths the clay with a pebble and leaves the completed pot in the shade of the *maloca*. Later it will be put on a fire and surrounded with wood bark and ash to bake. Occasionally we saw an iron pot, which at some time in the past must have been traded up the rivers from the Caquetá or the Vaupés. These were sufficiently few to be highly treasured and hadn't affected their own 512 [283] [323] 415

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ABOVE: *The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.* BELOW: *Then it is warped open over a fire.* [see p. 66-B] 000

415 pottery making, a craft which has been all but forgotten among many of the Indians of Colombia.

512 Throughout the afternoon the women continue with their tasks while the men prepare their tobacco and smoke it wrapped in long cylinders of
276 banana leaf, or take snuff, lying in their hammocks or crouching on small wooden stools. The snuff, kept in gourds or large snail shells, is made in most cases from ground tobacco; it is first placed in the palm of the hand, then a small quantity is poured into a hollow V-shaped deer bone, and is injected into the nostrils by inserting one end of the V in the nose and the other in the mouth and blowing.

During the afternoon an Indian burns the *yarumo* leaves from the coca basket in the centre of the *maloca*, the ash being carefully raked into a neat
276 pile on the earthen floor. Earlier the coca leaves from the basket had been baked in a large earthenware pot over a hot fire, all the while being stirred with a hooped stick. The toasted leaves were then powdered inside a short wooden cylinder. They are further refined by being put into a barkcloth bag wrapped round a heavy stick, and beaten inside a large cylinder. The *yarumo* ash is added to the finely ground powder – this ash takes away the bitterness, and perhaps also the worst effects of the drug – and once again the mixed coca and ash is beaten in the long cylinder to the consistency of dust. Often this involved procedure goes on far into the night, and we became quite accustomed to go to sleep with the monotonous thudding noise still reverberating around the *maloca*. With the final process completed the powder is emptied into a half-gourd or into small barkcloth pouches, ready for the next journey or hunting trip, during which an Indian may live solely on the drug, going without sleep, food and drink for days.

The inscrutable nature of the Tukano may in part be due to his addiction to cocaine which deadens his senses and affects the eyes so that the pupils often appear dilated. This may also account for a lack of individuality among many of the men who often appear listless and resigned.

354 At dusk the hunters return and sometimes a monkey or a wild turkey helps out with the evening meal of cassava. The only light in the *maloca* after dark comes from the fires, but on special occasions, such as a festival, the head of the house places a chunk of beeswax taken from a wild bees' nest in the forest on a large post in the centre of the *maloca*, lighting it with a firebrand. But the flickering light barely penetrates the gloom. At other times a strip of slow-burning resinous wood is put in a fork of the same post. It is this wood – a type of cedar – which the Indians use to travel with at night, allowing it to
512 smoulder and blowing it into flame when needed. As night comes the doors are secured and, except for the sporadic mumblings of a few old Indians squatting around the fires, all is silent.

224 The Tukano is a hunter. From his early childhood he develops the ability

114 the nebula in his sword. Sirius stood out a pale electric blue and later we could see the Morning Star in the east.

The river was wide and very shallow, and we got into difficulties: 'José went to sleep on the engine and we hit a rock in midstream – a horrible grinding noise as it passed under the boat, then a crash as it hit the engine. She is letting a lot of water in, though it does not seem to have damaged her seriously. We are lucky; if this had been an aluminium boat she would have ripped from end to end.'

Two days below the falls we reached our dump again and reloading our equipment set off downstream, waving goodbye to Uriel who set off for his *maloca* on the Querarí; only José now remained. *El Diablo* was fully loaded again, she began leaking badly and Horacio made running repairs as we moved down the river. Soon a wind got up, the water became very choppy and we found ourselves baling continuously as the water slopped over her two or three inches of freeboard. She was not going to last very much longer.

All along the banks the forest presented a solid wall. There were seldom any
175 breaks where there might have been a habitation. A clan of the Tukano, the Letuama, had lived here before the advance of the rubber barons early in the
342 century. A few still remained and we visited one of their houses. The *maloca* was shaped like a pagoda, quite unlike anything we had seen before, round at the base with a steeply slanting thatched roof, terminating in a ridge about thirty feet above the hard earth-baked floor. Inside, every sheaf of each section of thatch seemed to have been measured and the whole had an appearance of amazing symmetry. The light came in through two roof apertures and inside, though cool, it was nearly as bright as outdoors. This was surprising as the darkness of the Amazonian house is a deterrent to flying
[415] insects. In strange contrast to the house were the old aluminium pots and tin trunks lying inside – a sharp reminder that we had left the Piraparaná. The headman and his family had deserted the house and it was now used by the occasional passing Indian as a resting-place.

114 We met two *caucheros* who had their houses on the river bank. One of them, Alirio, was half-Indian by birth. His father had been a European-educated official of the Colombian government, who in his later years had preferred the life of the forest. Alirio had known no other life; he had married an Indian girl and now spent his days collecting wild rubber, selling it to another *cauchero* further down the river. He was talkative and eager to help; he told us of a botanist – Dr Schultes – whom he had accompanied beyond the first rapids on the Piraparaná. When he knew we had come all the way from the Vaupés he seemed almost disbelieving. He told us on no account should we continue all the way to the Caquetá on this river, for there were many rapids; moreover, nearer the mouth of the river there were falls, one nearly as big as Jirijimo. Our only way was by a portage which led through the forest to another river, the Miritiparaná. From there it was possible, he

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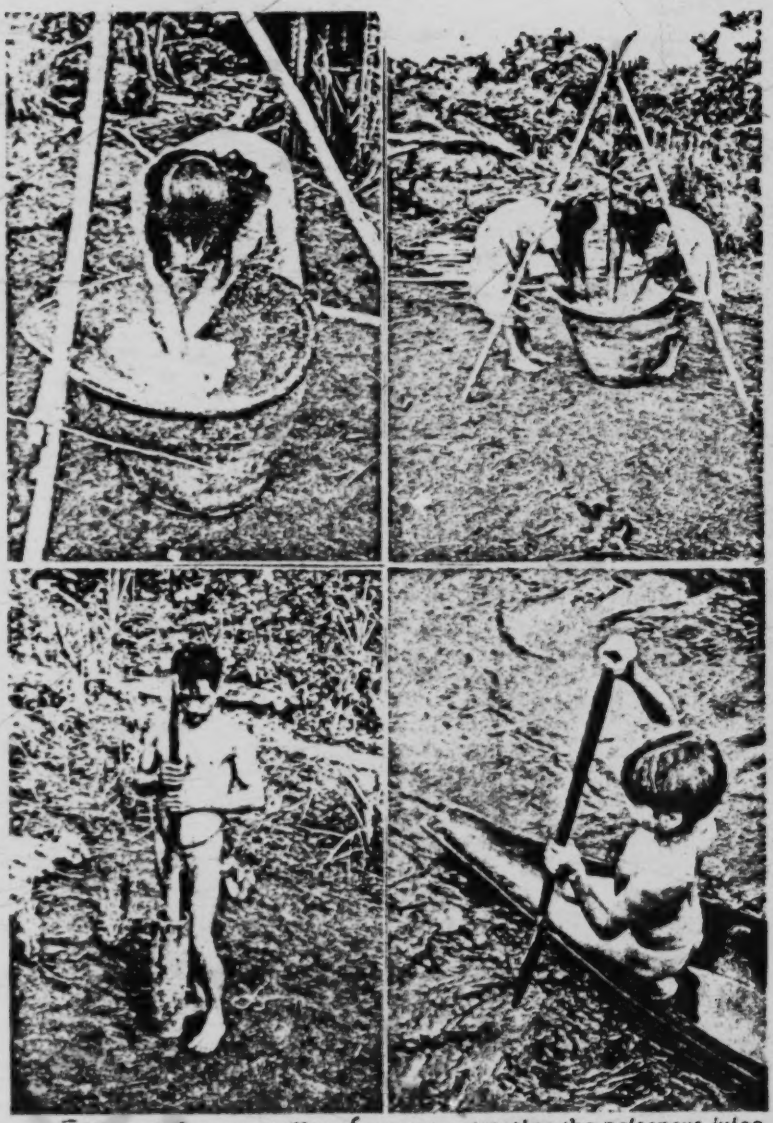

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yuruti women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712 In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner
[361] zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise at-
712 tack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the
725 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were
[123] confident they left the women and children behind in the house with a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach
504 where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza.
504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state
574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests
[417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be al-
[576] lowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men
504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning
796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe
[778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital
833

133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ildkoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ildkoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaíno* (falling river) and as *eddvaiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[805] [1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [251] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [417] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated [614] with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. [237] They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaúeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 484 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 574 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for 602 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

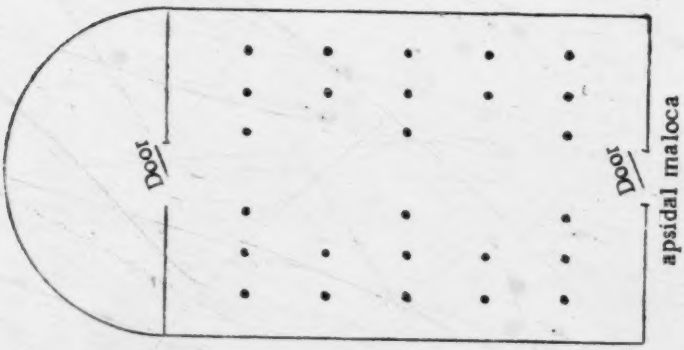
## HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

/173 cont./

342 *[192] [178] At present all the malocas that are still found in the region of the Uaupés and its tributaries are rectangular. Up to 40 years ago, one saw some with the posterior part of roundish shape, like an apse, called do'ãkaro-tirĩ-wy'ĩ (maloca with kitchen) (2).

2. The maloca of the Tuyuka in Pinõ-koa-liró on the upper Tiquié, which Koch Grünberg affirmed measured 27x17.80x7.80 meters, was apsidal in this way (Zwei Iahre, 204).




353 *[192] [421] This /174/ apse was separated, in the interior of the maloca, by a partition of matting that was called i'mẽã-ta'tyã (separation of matting). The family of the tuxaua resided in this apsidal compartment, and the ornaments, musical instruments, and utensils of common use, which constituted the collective property of the group, were kept in it.

177 342 *[192] With the increase in comfort of the Indians and in the instinct of ownership (and up to a certain point it is imitation or even the prompting of the civilized), there appear small houses, wi'ĩ,

/421 cont./

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
[601]

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[178] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
562
756
[124]

> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

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use it, and, as the others do, he shares his catch with the community. 226
Weir sites are inherited by a son so that there is some tendency for 423
this specialty in fishing to descend in certain families and not in [428]
others.

In objects there are two main kinds of property rights, those of 421 •
the community and those of the individual. Community rights are in all objects made for public use by the headman or his wife, such as a large canoe, great chicha urns, the manioc oven, the sugar cane press, and guest benches. Of a somewhat less public nature are ceremonial objects and musical instruments also made by the headman or by an aspirant to his office. The first group of objects are fully in the public domain and subject to constant use. The second group are in the possession of their maker and are brought out by him alone on the proper occasion. Full individual ownership resides in all other personal possessions: household utensils, canoes, weapons, trinkets and ornaments, all trade goods from Europeans, and items of clothing. Disposition of these objects is subject entirely to the discretion of the owner.

Infants also own property and their rights are more or less respected. 858
Sometimes a planting is set in an infant's name by the parent or 421
grandparent. A mother commonly dedicates a brood of chicks to her nursing child. The feeling is that, as with ornaments, possessions confer human status. That is, a person should own things. If the child is 858
old enough to understand possession it assumes charge, more or less, 421
otherwise its possessions are administered by its mother. I have nego- 593
tiated, for example, the purchase of chickens owned by children. In 123
one instance a mother prevailed upon her little boy to sell me a 425
chicken. After the sale was made, however, the child wailed miserably 867
so that I felt obliged to make him a gift of it. His mother kept the purchase price and announced that she owed the child the value of the chicken. When the child does not understand the transaction, its mother announces publicly the facts of ownership and her intentions to make restitution.

The attitude of the Cubeo toward personal possessions is best 421.
described as casual. They are not indifferent to objects but they regard strongly proprietary feelings as improper. Their attitude toward ownership is governed by the important status principle that giving is honorific. Among sibmates objects circulate freely, the closer the tie
between people the more active the exchanges. Sisters exchange orna- [602]
ments and trinkets and men borrow freely from one another with [593]
or without permission. They seem to be most free with objects of economic utility, such as a canoe, weapons, implements, and somewhat

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421 more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even
421 bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their
865 parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

421 On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and
[685] took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

## INHERITANCE

241
423 Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some per-
428 sonal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's
[422] pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however,
[764] is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I
[587] learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of cere-
[431] monial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to
[593] the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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433 184 361 There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby foodstuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate disproportionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own 361 state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has 614 been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential 432 ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiarí than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial 614 in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a 433 hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families 574 to travel about, visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the [421] right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a nontraditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. When hunters kill [431] a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

433 Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources 261 are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol- 571

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest.

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed.

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry.

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared.

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained. 587 431 593

## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

592 264 252 422 342 [431] 264 592 [578] [574]

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

224 224 252

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

/245/

224 During low water they also go hunting at night, drifting
373 slowly and without making any noise, while one of the Indians brings a torch of turí. They thus surprise the pacas, which are blinded by the light, and the Indian kills them with arrows.
[177] Nowadays they use a battery flashlight for night hunting.

6) Agriculture.

241 The mandioca is what provides the principal food of the Indians of the basin of the Uaupés. All these tribes are thus found in the phase of tillage, which is practiced, however, in a very primitive manner: it is the phase of the "cavouco" /digging, pit, hollow/ or of the "cova" /hole/.

They freely choose the land that pleases them the most, because of the proximity of their dwelling and because of the guarantee against theft (75),

> 75. For this reason he will not do it at the edge of the river, unless it is beside his dwelling. If it is in the vicinity of the river, he will always leave a wedge of forest between the clearing and the river, in order to hide it from the view of those who are traveling on the water. And the landing place where he disembarks and ties his canoe will be at a certain distance from the clearing, in order not to reveal its location.

and which is a little sandy, as the "terras-firmes" of the entire region generally are, and suitable for mandioca. The act of
• [423] clearing, wexsé pá:kĩrõ, is what gives them the ownership of
* [192] the land while cultivating it.

Clearing is done in the periods of less rain, that is, from
[462] June to August and from December to February. It is work exclusively for the men. They start by choosing an area con-
* [192] venient as to distance and not subject to floods, with yellowish soil, semisandy, di'tá sõarã, or black and somewhat humous, nãxkã di'tá ñyĩrõ.

*192 /245 cont./
241
313
[412]
[177]

They "go around" the clearing (pũ-pé: it is the Tukano term that they use), that is, they mark off from the rest of the forest the area they want, with a small lane, cutting down the small plants and breaking branches. Formerly they did it only with the stone ax, õxtã komé; today clearing is done with the help of the machete, di-phĩ, and also at times with the iron ax, komé. The work consists essentially of breaking off the bushes and going around the large trunks with blows in such a way as to make the bark come off. With this the tree would dry and could then be burned. Once all the trees are dried in a more or less square area of about 50 or 100 meters on a side (according to the number of persons in the family), fire is set at various spots, and thus the gigantic trees either are incinerated or are reduced to a blackened trunk, which often falls to the ground. The clouds of smoke that rise here and there from the green /246/ forest reveal the places where a good burning, õhõã-dyakã-siri, is taking place.

If the burning was not very successful, because the sticks were not dry or because of a lack of wind, the work is done again, taking down branches, assembling them around the trees -- this is called coivara, in Tukano doxté-peosé, and burning is done anew.

• [423]
[476]

Although the clearing is individual or, better, family property, for the work of clearing and burning the one interested will ask for the collaboration of his companions in the maloca or in the povoado; or, if he lives isolated, that of the closest inhabitants. And not only of his own tribe, but even of another nation. This collective work (cf. IX -- 2) is called neõsé (in Nheengatú ayurí). The immediate pay, that is, on the day or days of work, is a plentiful caxirí for all the workers; and more distantly his own help when solicited for identical work for the benefit of others. The ayurí is always practiced whenever the participation of many persons is needed for one job, for example, to cut and bring wood from the forest, to put in place the timberwork of a house roof, etc. The ayurí is a practice that is still in force even among the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

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of the pull of propinquity. The Cubeo welcome and respect neighborliness.

The river has its natural boundaries. These are the segments of river demarcated by rapids and by the tributaries or creeks. A boundary is from one such feature to the next, from a *cachoeira* (rapids) to a creek, from a creek to a creek, but rarely from *cachoeira* to *cachoeira*. A boundary defines only sib territory. There is no phratric territory as such. If there is phratric and tribal territoriality it is because each of the sibs undertakes to defend the principle in terms of its own interests. A sib may adopt a stranger and in this way incorporate it into the phratry. It needs no permission to do this. On the other hand, a sib may appeal to phratry mates for help in warding off by force unwanted intruders. Boundaries do not close a river to traffic. The river is always an open highway for travel, and travelers may fish and hunt along it freely. They may not put up fixed installations such as weirs or show other signs of residence such as fishing a particular spot with regularity without permission. Men regularly fish only within the sib limits. The discussion of boundaries, it should be explained, does not flow naturally from the Cubeo. It is drawn out by the ethnographer. The Cubeo are not jealous of boundaries and they rarely have issues over them, but they do know them. Occasionally someone violates the common law of courtesy of the use of fish weirs and keeps the barrier closed beyond the allowable period. The Cubeo cannot and do not attribute this unmannerly act to gluttony. Gluttony is an incomprehensible notion to them. They attribute it either kindly to forgetfulness, in which case there is no issue, or to unfriendliness, in which case there is a quarrel and an effort is made to tear down the barrier. On the forest side there are no boundaries at all except for the clearing itself. It is not land but river frontage that is valued.

## CANOEING

So much of a man's time is spent in a canoe that no description of native life would be complete that did not relate the Indian to the river as a canoeman or that failed to bring out the motor rhythms of canoeing. Motor rhythms are patterned, the rhythm of paddling and the characteristic rhythms of the dance showing particularly striking parallels.

Paddling follows a definite though irregular rhythm. The prowsman on a long trip is keeper of the stroke. Paddling is noisy. On the downstroke the stem of the paddle just above the blade is struck

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment — a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

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calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges.

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accordance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmên visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehênewa* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maize, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiari.

## PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered. Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations.

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sentiment rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo.

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423 615 [578] [768] The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate relationship between land and its cultivator.

241 614 361 241 614 361 622 476 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the allocation of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman to organize a collective work party, including all household heads. If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually. Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots, establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later arrivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. Annually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the *chagra*, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field for a two-year harvest.

244 423 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman. A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plantation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daughters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

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relation of the men to the manioc cultivations is as follows. By working jointly in making a clearing the men are fulfilling, in part, a sib obligation. This is of minor importance, however, as compared with the specific obligations and the ensuing relationship between a man and a woman. No bond between a man and a woman is of greater importance and richer in sentiment than that set up by the making and cultivating of a manioc garden. Every garden plot defines a relationship between a specific man and a specific woman. A woman without a man can have no garden. A man without a woman has no clearing to make; he can have subordinate status only in another household. Each side gains status from the arrangement. The only firm bond is that between husband and wife. A widow has only a frail claim upon the labor of her brother, whose primary obligation is to his own household, where his wife keeps jealous watch over her own *chagra*; for a woman's pride is deeply involved in the size of her manioc clearing. The Cubeo regard the size of clearing as a sign of a husband's affection for his wife. A widow has a better claim upon an unmarried son. As we shall see, between unmarried brother and unmarried sister a semiconjugal relationship develops over the material holding of land.

We have spoken of a reciprocity in status involved in the manioc *chagra*. There is also a specific and related economic reciprocity. By making a clearing a man obligates his wife's production. The preparation of manioc cake is never spoken of as a wifely obligation, but chicha and farinha are. The point of economic reciprocity as it sometimes emerges in the course of conjugal quarrels is entirely one of status and not of so fundamental an issue as food. If we are to speak of male-female reciprocity on matters of food the issue is between the male flesh foods and the female cultivated foods. Although a man obligates his wife's labor for chicha and for farinha he evidently does not obligate all of it, for a woman will suddenly declare that she is cosponsoring a drinking party by a contribution of "her" manioc. Moreover, it is part of the status of a wife that she can freely contract part of her farinha production for personal objects, such as cloth and trinkets. If there is a formal principle governing this kind of connubial economic arrangement I did not learn what it is.

The point to emphasize with respect to manioc cultivations, then, is that the issue in possession of land is not simply that of subsistence. It would be unthinkable for a Cubeo to allow a sibmate, or phratry mate for that matter, to hunger if he had any food for him. When a solitary woman laments that her *chagra* is exhausted and no kinsman is moving to make another for her, the fear she voices is not that she

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and sharing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege [431] of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled 423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, 431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites 423 for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one ter- 614 ritorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of 226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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use it, and, as the others do, he shares his catch with the community. 226
Weir sites are inherited by a son so that there is some tendency for 423
this specialty in fishing to descend in certain families and not in [428]
others.

In objects there are two main kinds of property rights, those of 421
the community and those of the individual. Community rights are in all objects made for public use by the headman or his wife, such as a large canoe, great chicha urns, the manioc oven, the sugar cane press, and guest benches. Of a somewhat less public nature are ceremonial objects and musical instruments also made by the headman or by an aspirant to his office. The first group of objects are fully in the public domain and subject to constant use. The second group are in the possession of their maker and are brought out by him alone on the proper occasion. Full individual ownership resides in all other personal possessions: household utensils, canoes, weapons, trinkets and ornaments, all trade goods from Europeans, and items of clothing. Disposition of these objects is subject entirely to the discretion of the owner.

Infants also own property and their rights are more or less respected. 858
Sometimes a planting is set in an infant's name by the parent or 421
grandparent. A mother commonly dedicates a brood of chicks to her nursing child. The feeling is that, as with ornaments, possessions confer human status. That is, a person should own things. If the child is 858
old enough to understand possession it assumes charge, more or less, 421
otherwise its possessions are administered by its mother. I have nego- 593
tiated, for example, the purchase of chickens owned by children. In 123
one instance a mother prevailed upon her little boy to sell me a 425
chicken. After the sale was made, however, the child wailed miserably 867
so that I felt obliged to make him a gift of it. His mother kept the purchase price and announced that she owed the child the value of the chicken. When the child does not understand the transaction, its mother announces publicly the facts of ownership and her intentions to make restitution.

The attitude of the Cubeo toward personal possessions is best 421.
described as casual. They are not indifferent to objects but they regard strongly proprietary feelings as improper. Their attitude toward ownership is governed by the important status principle that giving is honorific. Among sibmates objects circulate freely, the closer the tie between people the more active the exchanges. Sisters exchange orna- [602]
ments and trinkets and men borrow freely from one another with [593]
or without permission. They seem to be most free with objects of economic utility, such as a canoe, weapons, implements, and somewhat

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421 more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

421 On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

## INHERITANCE

241 423 Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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614 tiated by a suffix. From the *Hehénewa* traditions it seems likely that
193 they were originally an independent tribe, probably Tucano, that had joined in with the group of sibs that were headed by the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnbwawü*, bringing with them their associated sibs. The sibs that carry the *Hehénewa* stem with their descriptive prefixes are also known by names that are compounded of the prefixes as well. Thus, the *Byarí-Hehénewa* are also known as *Byarídowa*, and he *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* as *Pyéndowa*. According to Koch-Grünberg, the
614 *Órobawa* regard themselves as a branch of the *Hehénewa* and are also known as *Óluba-Hehénewa*. His information was that the *Hehénewa* were the "true" Cubeo and that the *Bahúkiwa* were intrusive Macú (1909, II, 87). The actual history of the sibs is clouded in uncertainty. We can be reasonably sure only of a composite of several distinctive peoples or "tribes." The few *Wathariwa* sibs in my list are also named in a fashion similar to that of the *Hehénewa*.

614 Each sib also possesses a list of personal names that constitutes its
551 traditional genealogy.[3] These are names that all sib members must bear. They are called *aínheme* (*aín*: anaconda; *heme*: tongue) to indicate their origin from the speech of the anaconda, the animal form in which all first ancestors emerged from the earth. In these names there is a note of prestige, in that some names are illustrious, being part of the earliest genealogies, while others, having been added later, are less important. Since only one name can be held at a time, names are allocated in order of seniority, but not, insofar as I know, within a senior line. Names with an honorific connotation circulate within
[613] the sib, and not by lineage. They are transmitted in alternate gener-
[424] ations, going from a deceased grandparent to a grandchild. It should be said at once that while the notions of sib rank and of the distinction between more honorific and less honorific names suggests a structured system of social status, the social significance of status hierarchy is not great. The Cubeo have the skeleton of an aristocratic system that is fleshed with an egalitarian ethos.

Personal names are often those of birds, insects, and beasts, less commonly of fish. In the recent past, it is said, sib members did not eat the flesh of any creature whose name was then being carried by a sib member. This taboo is no longer in force. The explanation given is that hunting is more important now and they do not wish to deprive themselves of animal meat.[4] Without a proper sib name,

[3] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* names at the end of this chaper.

[4] On the other hand, there is the tradition that in the past they lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering rather than by farming. If this taboo did indeed exist it may have lapsed for the same reason that other ceremonial observances have

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 601 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

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under duress. Men worked on the house only when they felt cheerful and dedicated to the work. The man who felt out of sorts dropped away and returned only when his spirits had improved. Dependency upon mood was one of the most important factors delaying completion of a house.

Even so, the magnitude of the technical problems is not to be underestimated. The mere assemblage of material is a complex, arduous, and time-consuming task. Construction materials are not always close to hand. The *Bahúkiwa* fetched roofing thatch from the mouth of the Cuduiarí in what was technically the territory of the *Hehénewa* sibs. Their house of 12 compartments consumed 560 bundles of thatch, and, since each canoe could transport only five bundles, over a hundred canoe loads were needed, a task that would normally be spread out over many months. The *Bahúkiwa* headman was able to borrow from the *Comisaria* a large cargo barge and in this way a great deal of time was saved. Even so, a large party of several households camped for weeks on the lower river during a dry season, gathering and preparing the parana palm thatch (*trinó*). Altogether, thatch gathering consumed 50 days of the time of at least half the community. The practice is for the headman to institute a "crash program" to get each phase of the work well under way. His problem is to fit each phase of construction into the routine of daily and of seasonal life with minimum disruption. Strictly speaking, the decisions are not his. His is the technical voice, but he will do nothing without discussion with the household heads. Roofing can be cut during the two dry seasons and can never be finished in only one. Gathering, trimming, and binding the parana palm leaves into sheaves is the only housebuilding task in which women share.

The headman, together with his firmest supporters, that is, his own sons and blood brothers, has the specific responsibility for erecting the central framework, the three pairs of heavy posts that will support the main weight of the roof. Others may help in this if they wish but they have no specific obligation to do so. The inner framework of three pairs of heavy posts forms the inner box around which the rest of the house is built. The timbers must be carefully chosen and then well dug in, while the parallelogram must be very carefully laid out. The floor plan is laid out with long sticks, and right angles are very accurately estimated. The rest of the framework including the ridgepole is a collective enterprise and is the second stage of construction. Roofing is the third stage. When enough roof has been laid down to provide even a bare shelter, the close kin of the headman move in.

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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648 He does nothing for the white without /151/ pay, and ordinarily
466 he wants it in advance. The truth is that, as a rule, he does not deny his debts to the civilized; many times, however, he maintains that he has done more work and reduces his debts, in spite of the fact that the contrary appears in the entries made with precision and conscientiousness. He frequently lets the time go by, and sometimes he moves away or dies; and that
428 is the end of that. The parents, brothers, children, or other relatives of someone who passed away, let us say in the mission hospital will present themselves at once as legitimate heirs to the shotgun, hammock, suitcase, or other objects belonging to the dead person. No one, however, becomes responsible for the debts of the deceased.

648 In order to have them at his service, at the time of the seringa or the Brazil nut, the civilized must pay them in advance.
466 It not infrequently happens that at the time of the work (fabrico, as is said in Amazonas) the Indian hides; or runs away after working for a time.

431 He does not give gifts to the civilized, even though he has
648 received many from him. He sells to him (17).

17. Episodes going so far as to be comic are told. A father, with the family, came to visit his son, who was a student at the Mission in Taracuá, and brought with him dried fish and beijú /manioc bread/. And, squatting in a corner, they ate, as on a family picnic. Before leaving, however, he came to charge the Missionary the price of the fish and the beijú.

123 At the time of our first excursion to the
431 Içana, in 1953, accompanied by Pe. José Schneider, the latter took with him, among his helpers, a tuxaua of the Mapatse-dákenei (Yurupari-tapúia) tribe. Like the others, he

/407 cont./

592 Frequently, the mother who has been widowed, or some single or orphaned relative, might live as added to a family, or, better, incorporated into it, and therefore the family group becomes larger than the family. As we shall see (VIII -- 2), the local group was originally constituted by the family, therefore being identical with the family group. The need for defense and help with the work (construction of the maloca, fishing, etc.) is what favored the local or family group over the isolated family.

On the other hand, among the Uaupesina nations there are some factors that strengthen the family organization or group:

593 1st. -- In first place there are the instinct and the right of
• 428 ownership. There are, indeed, some goods (canoes, hut, pottery, etc.) that constitute family property and pass to the children as an inheritance.

593 2nd. -- As among the primitive Romans, the Uaupesino fathers
583 have an exaggerated power over the children. This pátria potéstas reserves exclusively for the father the matrimonial negotiations, through the exchange of the maidens, as wives, from one tribe to another, and, moreover, strengthens the family regime.

3rd. -- Besides the exchange of the daughters, there is also in force an offering of nuptial gifts to the father of the future wife. These gifts, in turn, consolidate the paternal power and the family regime.

593 /408/ 4th. -- The nonexistence of a strong and organized political power is, in turn, an effect and cause of the increase of the paternal powers and a factor of consolidation of the family group.

a) Marriage.

581 We have already pointed out that among all these tribes marriage is a social institution that aims immediately (and it would perhaps not be exaggerated to say exclusively) at the perpetuation of the group. It is the group that is primarily interested in its
582 realization, not the individuals who marry, since their inclinations

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

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use it, and, as the others do, he shares his catch with the community. 226
Weir sites are inherited by a son so that there is some tendency for 423
this specialty in fishing to descend in certain families and not in [428]
others.

In objects there are two main kinds of property rights, those of 421
the community and those of the individual. Community rights are in all objects made for public use by the headman or his wife, such as a large canoe, great chicha urns, the manioc oven, the sugar cane press, and guest benches. Of a somewhat less public nature are ceremonial objects and musical instruments also made by the headman or by an aspirant to his office. The first group of objects are fully in the public domain and subject to constant use. The second group are in the possession of their maker and are brought out by him alone on the proper occasion. Full individual ownership resides in all other personal possessions: household utensils, canoes, weapons, trinkets and ornaments, all trade goods from Europeans, and items of clothing. Disposition of these objects is subject entirely to the discretion of the owner.

Infants also own property and their rights are more or less respected. 858
Sometimes a planting is set in an infant's name by the parent or 421
grandparent. A mother commonly dedicates a brood of chicks to her nursing child. The feeling is that, as with ornaments, possessions confer human status. That is, a person should own things. If the child is 858
old enough to understand possession it assumes charge, more or less, 421
otherwise its possessions are administered by its mother. I have nego- 593
tiated, for example, the purchase of chickens owned by children. In 123
one instance a mother prevailed upon her little boy to sell me a 425
chicken. After the sale was made, however, the child wailed miserably 867
so that I felt obliged to make him a gift of it. His mother kept the purchase price and announced that she owed the child the value of the chicken. When the child does not understand the transaction, its mother announces publicly the facts of ownership and her intentions to make restitution.

The attitude of the Cubeo toward personal possessions is best 421.
described as casual. They are not indifferent to objects but they regard strongly proprietary feelings as improper. Their attitude toward ownership is governed by the important status principle that giving is honorific. Among sibmates objects circulate freely, the closer the tie between people the more active the exchanges. Sisters exchange orna- [602]
ments and trinkets and men borrow freely from one another with [593]
or without permission. They seem to be most free with objects of economic utility, such as a canoe, weapons, implements, and somewhat

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421 more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even
421 bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their
855 parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

421 On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and
[685] took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

## INHERITANCE

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423 Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some per-
428 sonal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's
[422] pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however,
[764] is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I
[587] learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of cere-
[431] monial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to
[593] the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-
• [428] complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

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home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the manioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha. Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[2] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the responsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[2] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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the production of farinha by women is a partial counterpart to the work of the men in the rubber forest. The man takes most of his earnings in "capital goods," muzzle-loading guns, machetes, fishhooks, matches, knives, thread, needles, ammunition. The remainder goes to a few vanity items for himself and in gifts for his wife, sister, and female ceremonial friend. It is these gifts that a woman is obligated to reciprocate through her farinha trade. Since these gift exchanges involve traditional relations of status equality they quickly achieve a relatively stable equilibrium. Only a small part, then, of commercial exchange leaves the traditional channels of lateral circulation of goods. As for "vanity" purchases, they form no part of any institutionalized expression of social prestige. The issue for the Cubeo is rather one of a limited degree of self-indulgence. For a woman, in particular, the privilege of indulging a fancy for some trinket and freely contracting her farinha for it is an essential part of her sense of domestic well-being. It is an expression, on the one hand, of her autonomy, and, on the other, of domestic felicity. A dissatisfied wife does not indulge her personal vanity more; on the contrary, she produces less.

Another important element in production is the attitude toward labor. For the Cubeo all effort must be inherently satisfying. Women accept more drudgery than do men, but they no more than the men would accept the bitter peasant philosophy that hard and unrewarding work is man's lot. Men and women alike are accustomed to a variety of effort. They do not care to drive themselves beyond the onset of boredom or of fatigue. All work patterns are based upon short and diversified rhythms. I have demonstrated this in the work cycle of women. It is even more marked in the work cycle of men. Food gathering and preparing does demand continuity and completion. The hunter must complete his chase, the fisherman must return home with a suitable catch, and the housewife must complete her daily ration of manioc cake. Even so, there are many opportunities for rest and diversion that the Indians take. They would rather eat less than work more. In the course of a year there are many holidays. Among the *Bahúkiwa* these averaged almost one a week. On the occasion of a drinking party women do not go into the fields either on the day of preparation or on the day after. In manufactures, which form part of the domestic economy, the pace of work is very slow. Men, who make the baskets that are important home utensils as well as major items in trade, work very sporadically. There is no compulsion to finish something quickly. Thus, on the whole, the Cubeo work habits also contribute to general economic inelasticity.

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

* 539 /349 cont./

Then Miriápura Turíkaro returned to Bejsebowí /sic/. He left Bajsebowí again and went toward Moawí. Moawí is two days from Mitú, going down the Vaupés River. In Moawí they were on the eve of holding a Dabukurí (18) of Moá (19).

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• [431]

18. A ceremonial fiesta during which presents are exchanged.

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19. Salt obtained by boiling the carurú plant.

There was much joy in Moawí. Miriápura Turíkaro entered Moawí and remained there listening a while to what the Moá Majsá people were saying. In this maloca there were some single and married women sweeping the maloca of Moawí and they were speaking of the death of the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. And one woman said: "The younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro made love to the woman of the older son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The older son, in revenge, cut off his penis and killed him." Then another woman said: "How bad the Bajsébo Majsá must be if there is killing between brothers! What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then another woman said: "Do you know if the older brother buried his younger brother?" Then another woman answered: "He has not buried him. He only made a coffin of Imisa switches and above the port he made a little table, put the coffin on top of this table, and covered it with some leaves." And another woman said: "What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then Miriápura Turíkaro became frightened and returned immediately to Bajsebowí. He entered through one door of the maloca and left through the other and went directly to the port. From the port he took the trail to where the little table was and found the coffin on top of the little table. He lowered the coffin and opened it. Inside the coffin was the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The younger son was really dead, but for Miriápura Turíkaro his /350/ younger son was only unconscious. Then Miriápura Turíkaro thought that he could revive him. Then Miriápura Turíkaro blew tobacco smoke over his younger son, and the younger son returned to life. Then

/150 cont./

648 He does nothing for the white without /151/ pay, and ordinarily
466 he wants it in advance. The truth is that, as a rule, he does not deny his debts to the civilized; many times, however, he maintains that he has done more work and reduces his debts, in spite of the fact that the contrary appears in the entries made with precision and conscientiousness. He frequently lets the time go by, and sometimes he moves away or dies; and that
428 is the end of that. The parents, brothers, children, or other relatives of someone who passed away, let us say in the mission hospital will present themselves at once as legitimate heirs to the shotgun, hammock, suitcase, or other objects belonging to the dead person. No one, however, becomes responsible for the debts of the deceased.

648 In order to have them at his service, at the time of the seringa or the Brazil nut, the civilized must pay them in advance.
466 It not infrequently happens that at the time of the work (fàbrico, as is said in Amazonas) the Indian hides; or runs away after working for a time.

• 431 He does not give gifts to the civilized, even though he has
648 received many from him. He sells to him (17).

> 17. Episodes going so far as to be comic are told. A father, with the family, came to visit his son, who was a student at the Mission in Taracuá, and brought with him dried fish and beijú /manioc bread/. And, squatting in a corner, they ate, as on a family picnic. Before leaving, however, he came to charge the Missionary the price of the fish and the beijú.
>
> At the time of our first excursion to the
> 123 Içana, in 1953, accompanied by Pe. José
> 431 Schneider, the latter took with him, among his helpers, a tuxaua of the Mapatse-dákenei (Yuruparí-tapúia) tribe. Like the others, he

/151 cont./

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/footnote 17 cont./ received, besides food and donations, daily service pay. When we arrived in Tunuí, he showed a small basket and beijú, saying that it was a gift that the Baniva from there had given him, but he asked the Pe. for salt, tobacco, and kerosene, "in order to give as thanks."

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If he notices in the latter an interest in some native object, he demands a large payment (18).

[123]

18. For example, the Kubewana came to ask us for a shotgun for a sarabatana /blow-gun/ or a simple acangatara /feather head-ornament/.

When he offers something (beijú, fruits, dried fish), he immediately asks for an object of greater value.

They appear greedy in dealing with other Indians, and even with those of their own tribe. It is not rare that an individual, with his work or products, will acquire salt or tobacco in abundance in the Missionary center and later go to sell it to his fellow tribesmen with great usury. We have seen him acquire pots, mirrors, etc. in the Mission and with these small objects go to trade with those of the more distant malocas, receiving in exchange graters and canoes (19).

19. /This footnote is on p. 152 in the original source./ On our excursion to the Aiarí in May of 1957, one of our oarsmen, from the Siusi tribe, Ernesto by name, from the povoado of S. Ana (lower Içana), had acquired at the Mission in Assunção a shotgun valued at 1,200 cruzeiros. He took it with him, in order to exchange it for a sewing machine,

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/342 cont./

The visitors deposit the offering on banana leaves or mats or baskets, displayed in the center of the maloca. Perhaps there is still more of the offering at the landing place; they go to fetch it and make their delivery.

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The women and children who have arrived gather at the back, where those of the maloca are already.

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Once the offering is finished, and the shouts and music have stopped, those from outside, starting with their tuxáua, greet individually those of the maloca, /343/ starting with the first one in line, who will, naturally, be the local tuxáua. They are the common and formalistic greetings: -- "Did you come?" -- "I came!" "Did you come to the feast?" -- "I came." -- "Did you bring the offering (fish or the name of the fruit)?" -- "I brought." He goes on to greet in the same way the second man in the line and thus all the rest. All the visitors, in the order of their reception, imitate the first one. All, however, with much gravity. As they finish greeting those of the maloca, the guests are arranging themselves in a long line, according to their importance, on the right side, in front of those of the maloca, from the main door to the back.

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Two or more men of the maloca distribute a cuia /shell from the Crescentia cujete/ of caxirí to each guest. After all have drunk, they sit down, and the women of the maloca come to greet the men at some distance and without giving them their hands. If the women are from the tribe of the guests, these greetings are in the dialect of their own tribe and not in that of the husband.

The chief of the maloca speaks in a loud voice to his own wife (one of the indications of the matriarchalism): "They came to bring the offering (fish, fruit), you give thanks." She, with two women, goes to the center of the maloca and says -- "You brought with so much trouble fish (pupunha) for us. We have prepared a little caxirí in a hurry." Then the visiting chief answers them: -- "You may eat at will. The fishing (or the harvest) was small, but we have brought it with good will."

/416 cont./

585 If the flight does not take place, the marriage is considered realized.

[606] [431] A short time later they customarily take a nuptial trip, on which the young man, accompanied by his wife, goes to visit the father-in-law, taking him presents (smoked fish, fruit, etc.), and thus the friendly relations will be strengthened. These nuptial trips, moreover, appear in the legends.

*[192] The wife will take with her, for the new home, as dowry or property, her pi'ĩkamõ, that is, a small cipo basket, with her ornaments, utilitarian objects, and a cluster of leaves containing õnõñã powder (carajurú /carajura/).

Immediately in the first days of the marriage the husband will give the wife a beating. He will hit her, however, with the hands, so they assured us; and she cannot react. Although it is a matter of a custom that aims at finding out the good will of the girl and her capacity for suffering, it seems, nevertheless, that it is the circumstance of some misunderstanding between the spouses that will provide the opportunity for this beating.

a) /sic; 5)/ Relations between the spouses.

593 The relations between the spouses are normal enough. Perhaps they might be called friendly (18),

[123] 18. We had the opportunity to travel with a Karapanã family from the headwaters of the Papurí and to see the wife in a long and cordial conversation with the husband.

although without caresses and other displays of affection, since it is certain that some familiarity will arise from their living together. The husband will fear that bad treatment will drive [586] away the wife (19),

19. Several episodes have been reported to us. In the beginning of 1954, during our stay in

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*vekú*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

592 554 providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor
[433] in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling
291 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy
262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nyámu*), sweet potato (*yapíka*), maize (*kardíye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaiwáryo, waiwari, mod, pudjú, kanéka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kawámene*), pineapple, (*ihíbo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*uné*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash
[273] (*habámu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butri*), and capsicum (*bya*). The
[415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of
[273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the
[272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com-
[462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza.
[431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful
[621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an-
[85] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock
235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought
[262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they
[439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees — others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and shar- [431] ing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled 423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, 431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 423 614 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one territorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of 226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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421 more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even
421 bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their
865 parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

421 On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and
[685] took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

## INHERITANCE

241
423 Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some per-
428 sonal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's
[422] pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however,
[764] is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I
[587] learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of cere-
[431] monial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to
[593] the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahikiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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264 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahûkiwa* to pay a
574 courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to
123 eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahûkiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may
768 explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack
571 fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest
866 for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This
[857] attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in
183 leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good
571 part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came
431 to my notice; one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy
[123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

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others. I doubt that any nonsharing goes unobserved and I expect 261
that the nonsharer is not too concerned with being unobserved. Often 183
enough, boys will quarrel about the distribution of food, but never 571
with a nonsharer. They sense the significance of the gesture and are 431
embarrassed by it, waiting for the delinquent to finish. He rejoins them and their play resumes as though nothing had happened. Elders will not correct nonsharing among children because they regard what the boys do in the play pack as a matter of no adult concern. I was never aware that the children themselves ever rebuked or punished a nonsharer in their midst. The nonsharer always received his portion. The play pack leader, who does not hesitate to censure a member for indecent sexual behavior, is comfortable in his role as a giver and will not censure a nongiver. He understands, to be sure, that nonsharing is a form of deliberate estrangement from the intimacies of the group, but he also knows that no headman will censure a household head who chooses to become an Independent or a Satellite. Similarly, the nonsharer may estrange himself from the play pack but the play pack will not ostracize him. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the flagrant nonsharer was also the boy who ran away during the ancestral whipping rites. Every example of a case of nonsharing that came to my attention (five or six only) was that of a boy who had no father. Orphan boys are deprived of one of the more pleasurable in- [736]
timacies of receiving a portion of fish or game that a father brings
home. A man's son is the first to greet him when he beaches his canoe. [593]
He is given a fish or a bit of meat, which he prepares by broiling or baking and shares with his play pack. He has the status of a giver. The orphan child, in these circumstances, has the lower status of a receiver and is denied a food intimacy. The nonsharer acknowledges at the same time a status of subordination as well as of estrangement.

Among adults, nonsharing is more disturbing and more consequential. A man who does not share food eventually refuses to do his share of work. Such a person is called "one who does nothing." A [578]
household head who is angry or out of sorts will not join the sib meal but will gather his family around him at the household hearth for a private meal. A mood is respected and the incident passes with little notice. If it is repeated, it is assumed that the nonsharer will soon move out and become an Independent. Nonsharing does become a touchy issue when food is scarce. We were experiencing hungry days during the height of the rainy season, most meals consisting of manioc cake dipped in peppers, fortified occasionally with a minnow. One late afternoon a household head entered the maloca with a

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261 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily
183 toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that
571 he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own
431 hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about preparing it, never once turning her eyes out upon the maloca. The house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however, venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head
183 prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He
571 chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly
431 caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand
522 gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible household head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave. The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not like us.

261 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of
183 anger. Just as the boys of the play pack will only stand aside as their
571 nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do
431 nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in
578 extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the dissaffected household departs. I was told, but could not verify it,
[754] that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people, it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

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433 184 361 There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby foodstuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate disproportionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own 361 state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has 614 been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential 432 ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiarí than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial 614 in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a 433 hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families 574 to travel about, visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the [421] right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a nontraditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. When hunters kill [431] a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

433 Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources 261 are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol- 571

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The ceremonial friendship is an intimate relationship, indeed. The Cubeo expectation of it is that it have a quality of warmth and of privilege, if not beyond, then at least equal to a close, recognized kinship relationship. Since ceremonial friends are already sib or phratry mates, their relationship, if it is to have any meaning at all, must make them at least the equivalent of lineage kin; and that is what it is intended to do. Ceremonial friendship gives vividness and exclusiveness to sib and phratry relationships that are often too tepid and too generalized for Cubeo tastes.

When ceremonial friends are of opposite sex they forgo the erotic play that even brother and sister are supposedly allowed to indulge in, asserting, thereby, that theirs is the closest bond of friendship attainable. The relationship is often a substitute for a brother-sister pairing. Not every sibling line is so conveniently arranged as to provide for a brother-sister pairing. Hence, if no sister is allowed to a man he casts about for a girl of his age group and asks her to become his *hiko*. If she agrees he acquires the equivalent of an assigned sister, and she of a brother. They will form a team in an exchange marriage and they will exchange products. She will provide him with manioc for chicha, if he wishes to sponsor a drinking party, and she will prepare farinha for him, which he will use to trade for objects of white manufacture. He will reciprocate with appropriate gifts and with making household implements for her. When he is paid for his labor in the rubber forests he will surely bring cloth and trinkets for his *hiko*.

To cite one specific example of gift exchange between ceremonial friends: A man of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib took a sib sister as his *hiko*. He gave her, immediately, cloth for two petticoats, two boxes of matches, two decorative combs, two small hand mirrors, thread and needles, two tins of brilliantine hair dressing, and a bar of soap. In return she gave him four big chicha serving calabashes, two balls of miriti twine, and a valuable necklace of silver triangles known as "butterflies." In addition, her father gave her two fishing bows to give to her ceremonial friend.

The relationship between *hikũ* and *hiko* does fill the gap left by the normal imbalance between male and female siblings. But the Cubeo do not regard it as a mere substitute for a missing brother or a missing sister. Men who have sisters assigned to them still seek a *hiko*, if only to enjoy an individualized relationship of their own choice. If exchange marriage is not to be a central feature of the relationship, the *hikũ* is still entitled to a gift from the groom at his

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572 *hiko*'s marriage and he will expect to have been consulted so that he may consent to her marriage.

[775] Ceremonial friendship should be permanent, the Cubeo say. Whoever breaks it has become an enemy and his soul after death will be that of an insect and not of a human being. Marriage, of [574] course, separates *hikü* and *hiko*, but they visit one another, as do [431] brother and sister, bringing gifts, and they try to arrange the mar- [584] riage of their children to one another. The *hikü* has the first claim upon his *hiko*'s daughter as a bride for his son.

[431] Between members of the same sex, ceremonial friendship is also the equivalent of a blood sibling relationship except that they exchange gifts in a formal manner. Whereas a man has reason to suspect 572 that his own brother might commit adultery with his wife, he be- 684 lieves that his *hikü* will never cuckold him. Still, when it comes to adultery even ceremonial friends sometimes succumb. Adultery or even flirting with a ceremonial friend's spouse is a principal cause for a break in this otherwise very stable relationship. A ceremonial friend who has been wronged by his partner retaliates by entering the offender's house to break or carry off everything belonging to him except the hammock. This act of vandalism declares the friendship broken. Eternal animosity succeeds it. Women are less inclined 572 to seek a ceremonial friend among their own sex. When they do, they have acquired mainly a confidante. Since women are likely to be dispersed at marriage the pledge against adultery with one another's husband is of no great consequence.

Ceremonial friends advise and assist one another. They feel that they actually have more freedom in their relationship with each other than they do with their own siblings. This may be correct, but I suspect that the Indians exaggerate the closeness of the relationship when talking about it. Ceremonial friends give up the use of their normal kinship designations in favor of the more intimate term.

Most ceremonial friendships are based upon simple reciprocity and so are modeled very closely, or I should say precisely, upon the sibling relationship. They satisfy in the main the longings of youths just before marriage and apparently fade with age. I was told that not everyone has a ceremonial friend but I could get no figures on its extent. Some ceremonial friendships model themselves after unequal kinship relationships, such as uncle-aunt or nephew-niece and grandparent-grandchild. These, I gathered, were not common and were rather aberrant forms of the true relationship. An older man takes a little girl as his *hiko* and is content with an unbal-

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anced relationship in which he lavishes gifts upon her. "When she grows up," the Indians say, "she will repay him." A young man enters a friendship pact with an elderly widow because she has no one to look after her. This relationship, though, is like mother-son, and the woman will provide the young man with chicha and farinha if he has provided her with a manioc garden. 572

The Cubeo believe that ceremonial friendships persist in the afterlife. As spirits, they walk about arm-in-arm, one informant said, rapturously. The spirit of the friend who dies first hovers about the house until the other dies. It then leads its spirit friend away. 572 775

The ceremony for inaugurating ceremonial friendship is a simple one. At a drinking party, friends paint one another with red pigment which they refer to as "blood." Applying body paint to another, picking lice, or removing insect-bite scabs from the body is a gesture of intimacy normally confined to the immediate family. It is this intimacy that makes it appropriate between ceremonial friends. 572 302 515

Ceremonial friends tend to form a network. When a man has taken a girl as his *hiko* he is likely to take her brother as his *hikü*; his own brother will then take her sister as his *hiko* and so on. There are many network possibilities. Men who are *hikü* encourage their children to become ceremonial friends. The friendship network encompasses the phratry, giving to people special privileges of hospitality along the river. The network of kinship already encompasses the phratry, to be sure. But ceremonial friendship interlaces these bonds with the quality of close kinship. This seems to be its special significance. One may also look at the relationship from an economic point of view, noting the circulation of goods through its requirement of gift exchange. The Cubeo, however, are not so much property-minded as they are person-minded. The Cubeo joke about the gift aspect of ceremonial friendship and laughingly say that some people enter into the relationship with many people in order to acquire gifts. They are amused at the thought that a girl with many ceremonial friends will be a burden upon her suitor, who must make a gift to each ceremonial friend. The parents of young people are also burdened because they will be asked for something to be used as a gift. However, it is not goods they seek but intense relationships. It is not that the sib and the phratry fail to provide people with warmth and mutual assistance. The ordinary organization does this to a high degree. It seems, rather, that being virtually surrounded by "brothers" and "sisters" the Cubeo have exalted expectations of warmth and assistance which ceremonial friendship helps satisfy. 572 571 572 431 571

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled 276
once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihi*. He prepares a quart, which is
considered a great deal.

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The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already 532
been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A
completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the
last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies [276]
to *mihi*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be [273]
lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits
not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also [574]
complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at
the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete
their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives. 765

The first guests to arrive are the Satellites—members of the sib— 574
who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of
the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional [614]
Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return [431]
to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the
house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each 765
Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side 574
wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the
house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in 576
order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head.
Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his
side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly de-
livered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound
*ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihi* is
brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not
look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoul-
der. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes
with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the
first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha
by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted
at the rear door by female hosts.

While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing 765
the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat 574
for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, 789
since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *óyne* in particular, as
a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards 754
also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that character-
izes the early stages of the *óyne*.

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After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to 574

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day the *Borówa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

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**BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS**

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*mekámótewu yavaiwü*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

*pwéntewü* – the people came out
*tcüntcauwa* – and shed (their anaconda skins)
*hahádami* – they went forward
*waré borikapindo* – the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
*opéko tamána* – crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
*emintakori* – the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
*kanúrübo* – (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
*bwühürüküwü* – the rock where *Bwü* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwü*)
*bytákwe* – the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
*kwábebo* – the place of *Kwákü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
*borikabo* – the place of *Borikakü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies – it means the aracú fish)
*opéko tavé* – the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakü* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
*wahó pwánwa* – the place of the worm people (the *wahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
*bwütaunrü* – the tree beneath which *Bwü* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwü* passed beneath it)
*bwütaunrü* – the tree beneath which Bwü passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
*waokún* – the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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121 Among the tribes of the region being studied, we noted
171 the presence of small human groups of sylvicolists par
433 excellence, that is hunters, more or less nomadic; they are
241 the Maku. Whereas the other tribes are fluminicolists, that is, established on the banks of the important watercourses and given to fishing and agriculture. Although some Maku groups have assimilated many of the customs of the other tribes, we do not include them in these studies. We have already pointed out (I, Note 1) that the Maku are probably the most ancient inhabitants of the region.

The tribes that we studied are classified, then, in two large linguistic families:

101 1st. Tukano Family, covering the tribes: 1. Daxseá
121 or Tukano; 2. Bará or Barasana; 3. Bá:re-masã or Temyú-tapuya (food people); 4. Doxká-foará or Tuyuka (clay people); 5. Edúrya or Erúlya; 6. Emõá-masã or Waríwa-tapuya (guariba people); 7. Hanẽra or Panẽnoá; 8. Íde-masã, Aõ-nĩra, Makuná or Yí-tapuya /80/ (water people); 9. Ihwana or Yona; 10. Koneá or Arapásu (woodpecker people); 11. Kótirya or Wanana; 12. Mõxtã or Karapanã-tapuya (daddy-longlegs people); 13. Neenõá or Miriti-tapuya (buriti people); 14. Oá-mahã or Mikura-tapuya (gambá people); 15. Pamĩwa or Kubewana; 16. Páboa-maxsã or Tatu-tapuya (tatu people); 17. Roéra-masã or Taraíra-tapuya (taraíra people); 18. Surirá or Suryana; 19. Tsẽna; 20. Yebá-masã; 21. Wahyara, Waíana or Yuriti-tapuya (dove people); 22. Waí-khãna or Pirá-tapuya (fish people); 23. Winá or Desana.

2nd. Arwake Family, including the tribes: 1. Kumãdene or Ipeka-tapuya (water-duck people); 2. Talyáseri or Taryana. We speak only of these two, because the other tribes of this numerous family do not inhabit the Uaupés basin, and, indeed, that of the rivers Içana, Xié, and Negro.

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiarí, for example, a trail leads to the Querarí. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single malora. The largest malora in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

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773 From *Kúwai*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
[462] is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*tiuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

## FISHING

Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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usually accompanied by an unmarried daughter, who is both helper 244
and chaperon, a dog, and her breast baby. Her equipment is a machete [412]
(in the past it was a digging stick), a portage basket, and a tray upon [178]
which she rests her baby. [415]

With the machete she cuts the long root at the base of a mature manioc plant and then loosens the earth so as to pull out the cluster of tubers. Each root yields an average of six tubers, two of which are large, two medium, and two small. This phase of the work is difficult but the woman moves quickly and silently. She does not sing at her [461] work. Her daughter, assistant and apprentice, tears each tuber from the root, scrapes it clear of earth, and drops it in the basket. When a basket has been filled the woman gathers up the stems of the manioc plant, trims them of their leaves, and stacks the cuttings neatly in small heaps. She burns the leaves to add ash to the soil. She does not replant the cuttings immediately, but allows them to lie for several days. After an accumulation a woman devotes a morning to replanting. She breaks up the soil of the segment she has harvested and forms it into small mounds, into each of which she puts a number of trimmed cuttings, setting them in at a sharp angle. She works segments of garden that are about 25 yards square. After replanting, the earliest harvest will be after half a year, but full maturity takes two years. Each 25-square-yard segment yields from 50 to 60 pounds of manioc, or one basket load.

Among the *Bahuikiwa*, for whom I have productivity figures, the 244
household of the headman harvested 400 baskets of manioc annually. 433
Another household that had three adult women harvested 500. One old woman had a minimum yield of 150 and all other households averaged close to 200. Ten households produced 2,550 baskets, or some 75 tons of manioc a year. A basket of manioc converts into two large manioc cakes. In the headman's household of seven people three cakes were eaten every two days, leaving a "surplus" of close to 30 per cent for use as chicha and as farinha. On the other hand, households producing 200 baskets annually are close to the subsistence line.

The point of this digression into production figures has been to 244
show how exigent are the demands upon the woman's labor. The 433
women feel that they cannot afford to interrupt their labors or they 461
will fall behind. Nevertheless, childbirth, illness, ceremonies – wom- 462
en do not garden on the day of a ceremony – and the press of other activities such as accompanying men on prolonged trips for hunting (in the nature of a respite for a woman) take their toll of labor time. Women do not complain of having too much to do. On the contrary, I have heard the grievance that the manioc garden is too small.

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244 A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total
433 productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects
[462] favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They
244 are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their
242 characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When wom-
[571] en from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cul-
[439] tivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for
[252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake
244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's
462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

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Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

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512 554 providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor [433] in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 291 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*karáiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaiudryo*, *walwari*, *mod*, *pudjú*, *kanéka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kaudmene*), pineapple, (*ihíbo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*une*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*hahámu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butei*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [85] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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## THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The Cubeo economy may be characterized as essentially inelastic, sustenance-oriented, and egalitarian. In these respects it contrasts with parallel root horticulture economies in other parts of the world, such as in Oceania and Africa. In those areas economies are generally in the service of social status and of political power and are, consequently, dynamic, fostering social and economic inequality. Among the Cubeo, on the other hand, and in the South American tropical forest as a whole, social status is a minor issue in production, while the headman, who in Oceania and in Africa plays a commanding role in economic distribution, has here only the most diffuse economic functions. 433 171

The relative inelasticity of an economy is, needless to say, a function of many factors. In the case of tropical forest horticulture, the nature of crops, soils, methods of cultivation, and tools are all relevant. Even more significant, however, are such factors as the social organization of production, including such fundamental matters as the division of labor, as well as the nature of political controls. The motives of production are of greatest importance. Motives of status and of political power provide, all other factors being equal, for an expanding economy. When the aim of production is mainly to provide sustenance and to maintain a limited network of lateral (as opposed to hierarchical) exchanges the economy tends to remain in equilibrium with its customary standards of community size. Such an economy is conservative and traditionalistic. 433

With respect to physical factors, Cubeo manioc horticulture has come close to reaching a productive limit in terms of yield per acre. The yield from *Manihot utilissima* normally ranges from six to ten tons per acre. Among the *Bahúkiwa* I estimated the acreage yield to be between five and six tons, a productivity that reflects considerable agronomical skill and effort. Any substantial increase in aggregate production would have to come more from expanded acreage, for which the land is available, than from more intensive cultivation of present plots. Acreage expansion, however, is limited by a combination of social and cultural conditions as well as by the peculiar nature of bitter manioc itself. As is well known, the ease of cultivation of bitter manioc and its relatively high yield is offset by the great effort required to rid the tubers of hydrocyanic acid. I have already described the processing of manioc from raw tuber to a cake and its heavy demands on the time of the women. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop and the load of 50–60 pounds that a woman carries home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. 244 433 [147].

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244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
433 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except
244 in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
433 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
462 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
461 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the man-
244 ioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
[261] Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[273] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There
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[614] sponsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the
[554] chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

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[3] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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the production of farinha by women is a partial counterpart to the work of the men in the rubber forest. The man takes most of his earnings in "capital goods," muzzle-loading guns, machetes, fishhooks, matches, knives, thread, needles, ammunition. The remainder goes to a few vanity items for himself and in gifts for his wife, sister, and female ceremonial friend. It is these gifts that a woman is obligated to reciprocate through her farinha trade. Since these gift exchanges involve traditional relations of status equality they quickly achieve a relatively stable equilibrium. Only a small part, then, of commercial exchange leaves the traditional channels of lateral circulation of goods. As for "vanity" purchases, they form no part of any institutionalized expression of social prestige. The issue for the Cubeo is rather one of a limited degree of self-indulgence. For a woman, in particular, the privilege of indulging a fancy for some trinket and freely contracting her farinha for it is an essential part of her sense of domestic well-being. It is an expression, on the one hand, of her autonomy, and, on the other, of domestic felicity. A dissatisfied wife does not indulge her personal vanity more; on the contrary, she produces less.

Another important element in production is the attitude toward labor. For the Cubeo all effort must be inherently satisfying. Women accept more drudgery than do men, but they no more than the men would accept the bitter peasant philosophy that hard and unrewarding work is man's lot. Men and women alike are accustomed to a variety of effort. They do not care to drive themselves beyond the onset of boredom or of fatigue. All work patterns are based upon short and diversified rhythms. I have demonstrated this in the work cycle of women. It is even more marked in the work cycle of men. Food gathering and preparing does demand continuity and completion. The hunter must complete his chase, the fisherman must return home with a suitable catch, and the housewife must complete her daily ration of manioc cake. Even so, there are many opportunities for rest and diversion that the Indians take. They would rather eat less than work more. In the course of a year there are many holidays. Among the *Bahúkiwa* these averaged almost one a week. On the occasion of a drinking party women do not go into the fields either on the day of preparation or on the day after. In manufactures, which form part of the domestic economy, the pace of work is very slow. Men, who make the baskets that are important home utensils as well as major items in trade, work very sporadically. There is no compulsion to finish something quickly. Thus, on the whole, the Cubeo work habits also contribute to general economic inelasticity.

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433 184 361 There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby foodstuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate disproportionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own 361 state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has 614 been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential 432 ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiari than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial 614 in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a 433 hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families 574 to travel about, visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. [421] The right of trespass is the right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a nontraditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. [431] When hunters kill a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

433 Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources 261 are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol- 571

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izes the amity of the highly knit sib community; the other, and a related condition, is that the total economic product is diverted from considerations of status and power. Thus, the Cubeo cannot think of economic advantage as a political advantage over others, and, conversely, they cannot regard the economic advantage of others as a threat to their own autonomy. Economic equalization through the various formal channels of distribution is taken for granted. There are no sanctions or techniques deliberately designed to promote equality, but simply provision of sustenance for all persons within the network of kinship and friendship.

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# 6

## *Leadership and Authority*

Leadership among the Cubeo follows a principle that tends to understate authority. This principle asserts that leadership derives from giving more than one receives. Authoritarian relationships, by contrast, follow an opposing principle, that of receiving more than one gives. Authority, to be sure, can be established on a personal basis of personality and prowess. However, societies that have developed strong authority systems have usually done so by economic means, by inequality in the flow of goods. An authority system based on unequal flow of goods upward, from the community to a chief, is likely to respond quickly to economic development, and at the same time to foster economic growth. The Cubeo theory effectively minimizes the economic impact of leadership. The principle of greater flow to the top creates the condition for an expanding economic-political system, whereas the principle of greater flow from the top down creates the conditions for a static political-economic system. The economic role of the Cubeo headman is confined largely to stimulating the production of chicha. In short, the Cubeo headman gives all of his effort and ability to the community. The community, for its part, has no obligation to give anything to him. Since he has no authority to command economic productivity, for he is not an economic redistributor, he is devoid of significant economic function. At the same time the headman is a secular figure; he has no greater magical or religious powers than any other and so he is lacking in sacred authority. He may be a war leader, but he need not be; and even when he is a war leader, it is a very small party that he commands. Thus,

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622 571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habóků* and *kenámi upáků*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habóků* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi úpáků*, on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habóků* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habóků*, although as a leader he will possess some *habóků* attributes. Thus not all headmen qualify as *habóků*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, such as the *Órabawa*, *Aúnbwawů*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habóků* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habóků* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habóků* as headman. Not every *habóků* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the headman. In time of war the *habóků* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

[592] 622 614 554 [701]

622 614 554 301 292 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habóků* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habóků* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habóků*. The *Bakúkiwa* define *habóků* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habóků*.[1]

[114] [565]

[1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

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these conditions is relevant to an understanding of Cubeo culture. 121
But even taken together they do not account for the principal pat- 174
terns of Cubeo culture, which have a natural history of their own. The question, however, is not whether cultural patterns have a natural history, but only whether the ecological and the technological theories are adequate accounts of the natural history of a culture.

## ADAPTATION

Thus, the problem of cultural adaptation to an environment can- 182
not be dealt with simply and one-sidedly by describing the hypothet- 121
ical shaping of a culture to the environment. Adaptation is a study of interaction. Generally speaking, highly specialized environments demand highly specialized and hence relatively predictable cultural responses. The tropical forest is not an example of a highly specialized economic environment judged empirically by the diversity of cultural patterns it has sustained. Bitter manioc is clearly a cumber- 182
some crop, its high yield and relative ease of cultivation being offset 241
by its very heavy demands on labor, specifically on that of women. 121
It can be argued, therefore, that this crop offers a poor economic base for social and political development. Yet the Northwest Amazon also is familiar with maize, yams, and sweet manioc, not to mention beans and squash and gourd. These crops have traditionally sustained high cultures. Can we explain in ecological terms why the Northwest Amazon tribes chose to specialize in bitter manioc rather than maize and beans, as did, for example, the lowland Maya? It would seem that here is a case of cultural choice in which prefer- 121
ences for quick yield, minimum care in cultivation, strong sexual divi- 181
sion of labor, and perennial harvest rather than the problems of 182
storage and seasonal periodicity may have been compelling factors. 433
Since the Cubeo social system placed no great demands upon an ex- [241]
panding economic productivity the "easy" adaptation to nature was always feasible. The main patterns of Cubeo life do not stress the disciplines of prolonged and closely managed effort. The habitual [461]
rhythms of masculine labor are discontinuous and varied. Leadership is based on the principle of mood regulation rather than on dedication to an ideal or submission to authority. High cultures are based on strongly disciplined and collective ways of life. By contrast, the Cubeo values greater emotional spontaneity and personal autonomy. An economy, needless to say, will in the end transform cultural values as well as the personal character of the members of a culture. Before

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it can do so, however, it must be given a chance, so to speak, by the culture. There is nothing in physical nature that dictates the form of an economy beyond the requirement that it satisfy subsistence needs. In the case of the Cubeo the simplicity of the economy, and the corresponding simplicity of the culture as a whole, would seem to be far more a product of its fundamental patterns and principles of organization than of an external nature. If this conclusion is correct, it would suggest that the simple horticultural societies, as a type, are not mere victims of inhospitable environments but rather that they constitute a range of cultural systems with characteristic modes of equilibrium and adaptation that do not readily foster economic expansion and higher levels of social and political integration. This statement leads to one other conclusion, namely, that a culture is only partly a functional system adapted to the satisfaction of basic needs. With respect to these satisfactions, most societies have surplus capacity, a great deal of room for maneuver and for improvisation. Much of the form of a culture represents a style of life that need not, indeed cannot, be explained simply in terms of function, equilibrium, or adaptation. A style of life then must be studied in its own terms since it too is part of the diversity of nature.

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244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
433 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except
244 in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
433 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
462 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
461 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the manioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
244 Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[261] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There
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[3] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabawũ* on the Querari.

*Yániwa* A sib at the mouth of the Querari. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querari as *Dyaniwa*.

*Yohóhübewũ* A sib on the lower Querari.

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*Betóua* Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapes*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querari. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

*Ilhéadowa* A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiari, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiari, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari.

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*Kéua* A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiari. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoiera*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querari and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiari near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

## THE *BORÓWA*

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The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

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were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behórũ* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapuri and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapuri that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querari but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiari had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Pary *cachoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

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There never were coins (77)

> 77. We have seen the children playing with flat and roundish beans, like chips or coins, and these children say that they are their coins. A large number of them nowadays know what a coin is. Perhaps calling such beans coins comes from the shape that they exhibit. It is nevertheless possible that the old ones used these beans as units to facilitate their calculations (see counting with the fingers, VII-2, b).

for the carrying out of their trade. Formerly, as well as nowadays, trade has taken place "in kind," that is, the exchange of one object for another. There has come to be stressed in modern times among the Indians, because of the relations with the civilized, the concept of an intrinsic value of the objects, not only because of their rarity, but also because of the laboriousness of their manufacture and the difficulty of obtaining the raw material. Nevertheless, still today, and much more intensely than formerly, they consider only the appreciative value, that is, the value depending upon the desire or the necessity for an object. It is easy to understand that, with one tribe being the exclusive producer of some objects, and another tribe, of others, it was not difficult to reach an agreement.

438 There is no information concerning the existence of intra or extra-tribal markets, that is, places for the display of the products intended for trade. The Indian formerly, as he still does today, under the necessity for an object, would undertake a trip (and they were always very much rovers, even seeming reminiscent of an ancestral nomadism) to the povoados of another tribe,

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241 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth
462 from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting
[249] are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, flame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The
[437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function
[262] of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the
224 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow
223 and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a
[177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
•[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

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/footnote 17 cont./ received, besides food and donations, daily service pay. When we arrived in Tunuí, he showed a small basket and beijú, saying that it was a gift that the Baniva from there had given him, but he asked the Pe. for salt, tobacco, and kerosene, "in order to give as thanks."

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If he notices in the latter an interest in some native object, he demands a large payment (18).

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18. For example, the Kubewana came to ask us for a shotgun for a sarabatana /blow-gun/ or a simple acangatara /feather head-ornament/.

When he offers something (beijú, fruits, dried fish), he immediately asks for an object of greater value.

They appear greedy in dealing with other Indians, and even with those of their own tribe. It is not rare that an individual, with his work or products, will acquire salt or tobacco in abundance in the Missionary center and later go to sell it to his fellow tribesmen with great usury. We have seen him acquire pots, mirrors, etc. in the Mission and with these small objects go to trade with those of the more distant malocas, receiving in exchange graters and canoes (19).

19. /This footnote is on p. 152 in the original source./ On our excursion to the Aiarí in May of 1957, one of our oarsmen, from the Siusi tribe, Ernesto by name, from the povoado of S. Ana (lower Içana), had acquired at the Mission in Assunção a shotgun valued at 1,200 cruzeiros. He took it with him, in order to exchange it for a sewing machine,

/151 cont./

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/footnote 19 cont./ perfectly new, from a Hohodene of the stream Waraná (tributary of the Aiarí); and in fact he made the deal, in spite of the fact that the machine was worth about 4,000 cruzeiros.

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The very relations between parents and children are contaminated or are regulated by gain. The parents come periodically to visit the boarding-school children in the Mission schools and many times bring them beijú, dried fish, and fruit. The student sees them from far away and immediately sets out to join them and spends some time with them, but always in a cold way, without looking at them, perhaps scratching the ground with a toe of his foot. Another time the parents come without bringing anything. The missionary lets the boy know: -- "Go see, your father is there." "I already know," he answers indifferently. -- "Then go to talk with him." -- "He is not giving anything," he answers, and he does not stir to see his own father, although it has been months that he has not seen him.

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Periodically a /152/ small boat from the Mission in Iauareté in 1953 went up as far as S. Miguel and Melo Franco (river Papurí), buying flour for the schools. The Tukano from this last locality offered to keep for a few days the hampers of flour for their "irmãos" /brothers/ who lived a few hours away on the river Auá, until the Mission boat came to collect them. For this small favor, however, they demanded from their Tukano "irmãos" of the Auá 50 per cent of the flour, to wit: of four hampers kept, two were handed over to the Mission and the other two stayed as payment to the "warehouse."

/251/

439 The Indians who are in contact with the civilized obtain clothing and many objects from them in order later to resell these to other natives. It has been verified that in this trade they show economic judgment and know how to make large profits, not only among the Indians of a different tribe, but also among their own tribal "brothers" (82).

[437]

82. We know, for example, that the Tukano Indians residing in Melo Franco received flour from other Tukano from the mouth of the Áua in order to sell it to the Salesian Mission, and for this transaction alone they demanded from their "brothers" 50 per cent of the price of the flour.

8) Means of communication.

501 For their trade and social relations the means of communication are the rivers and igarapés; the canoe, then, is the primary means of transportation (83).

[171]

83. They never build rafts. The Makú, because they only live in the interior of the forests, do not know how to make canoes, nor do they possess them. They say that sometimes they improvise rafts in order to cross rivers or their branches. These are very rare events, however.

491 Since ordinarily these rivers are quite wide and subject to great differences in level and impetuousness of the waters during the time of high water, it is not possible to build bridges. As for passage across small brooks, they either do it by fording them or they take down trees without any concern except that they connect the two banks. This work, by the way, is very rare, because at every step one finds trees felled by storms, which serve as bridges.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

[244] [437] [273] [261] [592] [835] [836] [583]

593 583 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

583 58 [593] [593]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since
301 stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
554 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
[756] major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[437] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[614] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region. The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox*
[184] with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *hnbóků* status or *kenámi upákků*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[135] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers
[324] and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



hensive study of these designs all over South America. Certain trends might be found, early migrations might be illustrated by particular styles. The study might also tell us something of the character of these people. It could show the course of their migrations and possibly even date them, though, unlike the cave art of Europe, it is impossible to date individual drawings. But if the diversity of the trends of art in the small area we visited is any indication, a survey of the whole would seem an almost superhuman task.

Among the highlanders artistic expression had less of the foresters' spontaneity. Their art had a particular purpose. The coloured stripes and markings on their cotton mantles showed the lineage or family of the wearer. The Kogi, we were told, had gold ornaments, face-masks and even feather head-dresses in their temples. But they were kept hidden as objects of religious ceremonial. The Motilon found expression in the bindings of their arrow-heads, but these, again, were probably once tribal marks used for identification.

The foresters seemed to decorate everything: the patterned basket-weaves of the Noanamá, their bead caps and gourd designs; the musical instruments, the clay or charcoal designs on the front of a Tukano *maloca*, and their gay festival paraphernalia. Here there was a more natural outflow of creativeness, which had become inhibited among the highlanders. There were a few signs of outside influence, yet it was essentially traditional art. The head-dress we brought back to the British Museum was compared with one obtained on the Caquetá by the botanist Richard Spruce over a hundred years ago. It is impossible to tell the difference. Here as in all Indian art is evidence of the supernatural, the power of an unfathomed spirit world. There is none of the triumph of mind over matter, none of the intellectualism we find in European art with the evolution of classicism and the baroque. In this sense even the work of the Maya or the Aztec was still primitive.

The forest dweller's art has the spontaneity of a child, yet his approach is both sophisticated and intelligent. He will weave a pattern for a basket because the idea appeals to him and shape a paddle with the finish of a craftsman and the design of an artist.

The Indian is something of a connoisseur. This is the result of a natural critical sense. The Tukano would never accept cloth, fish-hooks or beads from us without a thorough previous inspection. The colour of the cloth is of prime importance, its strength would be tested, as would be that of the fish-hooks and nylon line, and the test for a good bead was to place it between the teeth – to see if it cracked! Pottery or baskets we had obtained by barter

LEFT: *A Motilon playing an axe-head flute.* RIGHT: *A child at his mother's breast; in front of them is ground maize.* [see p. 182-B]

123
437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to
171 see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just
778 as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments
562 reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nut-
171 shells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that
171 the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the
825 deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said
[777] to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

/115 cont./

*101 The vocabulary we managed to get (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical") reveals as great a distance from the Tukano idiom as they are different anthropologically from this tribe.
[142] Short, as they are, but more slender and fairer, and with a tapered face. Chestmir affirms that their idiom exhibits Karaíba intrusion.

They are specialists in making sieves and in the preparation
[284] of the tucum. The Tukano affirm that they learned with the
[184] Desana how to make the "hammock of thirty threads" (VI - 2, c (2) ).
[582] Marriage with the Taryana and Arapásu is forbidden for
[142] them (48).

48. We read in Koch Grünberg that they marry the Makús. We could not verify that. Perhaps it was a matter of a particular case reported to Koch. From the hundreds of individuals we observed, Koch's opinion that they differ from the other tribes in the following somatic features does not seem acceptable to us either: "not so well proportioned body, high head, coarse hair, oval face, prominent zygoma, large nose, somewhat slanted eyes."

[161] /116/ 2) Habitat and inhabitants. They come to several hundreds (601 in the census of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/"). Today we find them in large numbers on the Papurí and tributaries, but especially on the Tiquié and its tributaries -- the Castanho, Umarí, Ira, and Turí-igarapé. Some groups came down, as early as the beginning of the last century, to
[191] the mouth of the Uaupés and the Rio Negro. These last ones, as we read in Giacone, "from the contact with the Caboclos and whites, are the most advanced; besides their own dialect and the Tukano, they speak Nheengatú, and many, Portuguese.
[438] Every year some of them go up the Tiquié and the Papurí, visiting their brothers, taking them goods acquired with the whites,

/116 cont./

*101 and receiving in exchange manioc flour, sieves, aturás /large
[438] baskets carried on the back/ or baskets, balls of tucum, and canoes" (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, 7).

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informants: Amélia Veiga (30 years old in 1956, from the subdivision Yugõ-põná) and Ana Cabral (22 years old, Depótino), both from Floresta (river Tiquié); Justina Pires (from Embaúba, river Uaupés), and Judite Monteiro (from Matapí, Tiquié):

1st. -- Boré-ka-põná ánikma (aracú /a fish/) (49),

49. Bore-ka-põná means "son of the aracú." "Ánikma" is a demonstrative that they employ frequently and means these, they. We transcribed it in order to remain faithful to the designation and pronunciation of our informants.

on the river Papurí; they are the "Mamí"

2nd. -- Bũgyẽri põná (old), in Tucunaré (Papurí)

3rd. -- Sumyẽri põna (a sour fruit), on the Macú-igarapé (Papurí)

4th. -- Poyẽri põná (a fruit similar to the abio /Sapotaceae/), on the river Uaupés

5th. -- Depótino põná (an ant), in Ira-igarapé (Tiquié)

6th. -- Yugõ põná (hiccup), in Trovão (Uaupés) and Floresta (Tiquié) .

7th. -- Sipeáninã ánikma (a bird), in Umarí-igarapé (Tiquié)

8th. -- Anafieri põna or aganĩgãnĩ põná (foot of inambú /bird/), on the river Papurí

9th. -- Yexsé põná (wild pig), on the river Castanho (trib. of the Tiquié)

10th. -- Toá pianã (iúa pixuna, fruit), in Iraití (Tiquié)

11th. -- Waxsúpo põná (cunurí /tree/), in Turí-igarapé (Papurí)

12th. -- Yú põná (an insect ?), in Floresta (Tiquié)

13th. -- Yeborẽna ánikma (bone?), in S. João (Tiquié)

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153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

[438] [291] [285]

177 829 [342] [291] His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

153 /144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

/191 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 26 cont./ (A. Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada -- Manaos, 1940, p. 35); 4th, in the povoados more in contact with civilization, as well as in the more remote malocas, one never finds the "rede-batida"; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ but the natives either use only the hammock "de trinta fios" /of thirty threads/ or those bought from the civilized; 5th, it seems that we can discover still another argument, to wit: outside of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ of the Salesian Missions, on numerous excursions along rivers and igarapés, in only two povoados did we have an opportunity to see the loom and the work of the "rede-batida," and in the two cases it was a matter of young women who had learned it in the Mission and did it on order from the civilized. Furthermore: the terms of the Tukano language that we have presented in relation to the "rede-batida" result from innumerable inquiries at different times and places, with the more educated alumni of the Mission. It is not a matter of an ordinary nomenclature known and used by all, as one would expect if the "rede-batida" were a primitive industry. Many did not know the terms; others presented improper terms made up for the occasion. As generic terms for the occasion, they sometimes were and sometimes were not understood and accepted by other natives.

[438]

Before there came into being the trade in the present cotton hammocks (called in the region redes-do-Ceará /hammocks from Ceará/), the civilized women of the Rio Negro and some Indian women of the Içana continued to "bater" /to beat/ their hammocks on the primitive looms, as they had learned in the lower Rio Negro. The Salesian Missions in turn try to keep this skill from being lost, and they teach the Indian women of greater ability and skill, not only how to make the

[797]

241 /247 cont./

161 /footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of
167 Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the com-
[222] plaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The
[438] land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The
241 indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance,
731 and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory
797 by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It
[438] seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

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[524]

/249/

There never were coins (77)

> 77. We have seen the children playing with flat and roundish beans, like chips or coins, and these children say that they are their coins. A large number of them nowadays know what a coin is. Perhaps calling such beans coins comes from the shape that they exhibit. It is nevertheless possible that the old ones used these beans as units to facilitate their calculations (see counting with the fingers, VII-2, b).

for the carrying out of their trade. Formerly, as well as nowadays, trade has taken place "in kind," that is, the exchange of one object for another. There has come to be stressed in modern times among the Indians, because of the relations with the civilized, the concept of an intrinsic value of the objects, not only because of their rarity, but also because of the laboriousness of their manufacture and the difficulty of obtaining the raw material. Nevertheless, still today, and much more intensely than formerly, they consider only the appreciative value, that is, the value depending upon the desire or the necessity for an object. It is easy to understand that, with one tribe being the exclusive producer of some objects, and another tribe, of others, it was not difficult to reach an agreement.

438 There is no information concerning the existence of intra or extra-tribal markets, that is, places for the display of the products intended for trade. The Indian formerly, as he still does today, under the necessity for an object, would undertake a trip (and they were always very much rovers, even seeming reminiscent of an ancestral nomadism) to the povoados of another tribe,

/249 cont./

438 [177]

taking something for the exchange (78).

> 78. We have seen some Indians taking along on trips goods received from the civilized (salt, machete, mirror, etc.), with the intention of bringing back some native object in exchange (canoe, grater, puçá, etc.). In some cases it will happen that they will not find for exchange the object that they desire, or the objects offered do not interest those of the various povoados, and their owner returns from the trip with the goods that he took. We might think that the same would have happened in former times, perhaps more rarely than today.

This trade was more frequent with the tribes with which there were matrimonial relations.

Although the trade among the tribes is still being maintained today through the exchange of the products of their specialty or exclusivity, it has become much more intense due to the relations with the civilized, who, since the eighteenth century, have navigated those rivers with more or less frequency.

464 648

In the first place, the civilized needs the services of the native. They were always the oarsmen for the first travelers of the /250/ rivers (79),

> 79. We know, for example, that in the squadron of Pedro de Teixeira, in 1637, there were 1,200 Indians for the work of rowing and other services.

and today they are the "sailors," that is, pilots, mechanics, oarsmen, loaders of the launches. And not infrequently they are hired as guides and interpreters. All these services are paid for with goods. Since the time of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro

/476 cont./

614 in the dance ornaments. Besides, such groups, or Gentes, are far
619 from the classic type of clan. For example, marriage is not permitted between the Gentes, but only between one and another Nation.

The ornaments with feathers of the tucano /toucan/, arara, garça /heron/, or monkey fur are bound up with the legend of Wãxtí, which, due to the mutual relationship between the tribes, has figured in the history of each tribe. The ornaments, however, are
[438] not distinctive for family or clan. They are essentially the same for all the tribes, being an object of trade of one tribe with another. This circumstance alone already speaks against a clan interpretation.

[532] It is absolutely not noted that any tribe or group has any picto-
[825] rial representation by incision or sculpture of any animal whatsoever, and even less of its titular.

As for the dance masks and personages, it is to be observed first
[53] that there is the one of the borboleta /butterfly/, and nevertheless there is no human group with this denomination, and nothing reveals its having existed. In the second place there are mask, dance, and song of the cutia /agouti/, and a subdivision among the Tukano, the Bwá-põrá, children of the cutia, and an Arwake tribe of the Içana, Awadzuranai or cutia-tapuya, are known under this name; and nevertheless there is no such mask among the Tukano, but there is among the Arwake.

It seems that the same personage now does the borboleta /butterfly/, now the cutia, etc. Now one, now another will do such a role; within the same maloca there are the various personages, and it is not a matter of a function inherited from father to son either. All this testifies against the hypothesis of the existence of clan subdivisions.

/477/ As for the episode of the concern for the tucano
[825] /toucan/ that was crossing the river, it could be a manifestation of simple curiosity, which among the Indians comes so many times accompanied by exclamatory noises. The elders relate nothing that might prove to be a matter of a clan totem. At least by what we know up to now.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

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factured goods into the stream of trade – cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves.

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiari had spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods – chickens, fish, and fruit.

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business.

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calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges. 439 [582]

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accordance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehénewa* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maize, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiari. 438

## PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered. Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations. 423 [61] [103]

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sentiment rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo. 423 614 [615] [619]

/100 cont./

241 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth
462 from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man
[249] would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, ñame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The
[437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function
[262] of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the
224 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow
223 and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a
[177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
•[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
171

b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

*192 The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-
[531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[411] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[567] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/92 cont./

*101

1. Sarõa-masã (water people? gossiping people?)
2. Yebá-masã
3. Roeá-masã (taraíra /a fish/ people)

/In the original text, the last two lines of p. 91 are repeated here, which is apparently a misprint and is omitted in the translation./

g) HANERA OR PANENÕÁ.

1) People-Name-Language. -- A type taller and slighter than the Tukano. A redder complexion, long face, delicate chin, high nose, wide forehead. [142]

Their idiom, which must be affiliated with the Tukano linguistic family (cf. Vocabulary, in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), presents this peculiarity: an initial aspirate (h, as we represent it in this work) appears in words in which the Tukano pronounces a p; for example: father, hakõ (Tukano pax-kõ), mother, hakó (Tukano, pax-kó), etc. This characteristic of their idiom explains to us the correspondence of their name in their own language, Hanẽra, and in the Tukano, Panenõá, or Parẽroá.

/93/ We know that they are connected by marriage with the Bará and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We have only seen a few individuals in passing by the maloca called Mosã-bhoá (mountain of the urucú) of the Bará, on the igarapé Uaracú-pirẽra, and in their maloca close to the mouth of the Timí-ya. They were unable to give us any information about the approximate number of individuals in their tribe. It seems that they do not exceed four hundred. At present they reside only in Colombian territory, on various igarapés on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná. [161]

The informants of the eighteenth century testify that it was from the Panenõá that the Taryana obtained by barter their ornaments of gold and silver (cf. II -- 3) and momõrõ Khwirí (VII -- 3, d). [301] [439]

/218 cont./
*192 262 monkeys of various species (axké, emõá, guariba, sẽi, aimoré, waú, uáia-piçá)
boxsõ, cutivaia, cavy (cávia aperea, leupyga, fulgida, etc.)
bu, cutia /agouti/ (dasyprocta águtí)
byí poxtá, a rat with long hair
dyayõ, otter (lutra brasiliensis, paraensis)
dyá wexkõ, capybara (hydrochoérus capibara)
mixpí, coatí (two of Násua, procyonine mammal)
nãmá, deer (cervus campestris)
pamõ, tatú /armadillo/ (xenartros dasipódidas; of various species: pamõ soá, pamõ uhõ, etc.)
Semé, paca (caelógenis paca)
u, turtle (various species of chelonians)
úhuri, jabutí /land tortoise/ (testudo tabulata)
/219/ wexkõ, anta (tapírus americánus, Briss.) (50)

50. Whenever they kill any anta, they immediately cut off the tongue, so that it will not tell the others.

yaxsõ, lizards (various species of Lacertilia)
yexsé, wild pig (caitetú /collared peccary/, dicótylis torquátus, and queixada /white-lipped peccary/, dicótylis labiátus)

Among the birds, they most frequently eat:

ahã, inambú /tinamou/ (genera crypturéllus and tínamus, of various species: dyayró, puxtwa, etc.)
daxsé, toucan (various species of ramphástus)
dyá kaxtá, water duck (various species)
kaxtá kasõrõ, jacú (cracídeo penélope)
koxtóa, coró-coró /ibis/ (phimósus infuscátus, of the Ibididae)
tã-tã, jacamim /trumpeter/ (psóphia crépitans, Lin.)
wá'rõpí, mutum /curassow/ (various gallinaceans of the gen. Crax)
kaxtá, cujubim /piping guan/ (pípile cuyubí)

235 262 [439] They do not eat chicken, eggs, or pork, although they raise them and sell them to the civilized (and they eat any piece that the latter gives them). The skill of the Indian in raising some

/219 cont./

*192 262 e) Tubers and green vegetables.

They eat, boiled or roasted, the tubers of the batata, yaxpĩ (hipomaéa /Ipomoea/ batátas, Lam.), of the cará, fiõmõ (dioscórea alata, Lin.), which were introduced in the last century, and various tubers of the region, /220/ such as duxtú, kaxpó, and others. They do not know the English potato (solánum tuberósum, Lin.).

As for green vegetables, they refuse them when they are offered to them, saying that they are not cows (literally, anta, wexkõ).

*192 252 263 In the fish sauces, besides the pepper, at times they put tender leaves of mandioca (see above, maniçóba). Sometimes, too, they let the mandioca leaves age for three or four days, until they acquire the dark color; then they crush them, boil them, and drink the broth. It is what is called ki-pũ.

*192 263 178 They formerly used the ashes of the carurú-da-pedra (mourera fluviátilis), which grows spontaneously on the rocks of some cachoeiras, in place of salt, to season their food (52).

52. This plant provides an excellent salad, already salty by nature. The Indian, however, "is not a cow" to eat green vegetables. Wallace tells (Travels, 340) that from the fruits of the palm trees inajá and jará (leopoldínia maior and pulchra, Mart.), they prepared a flour of salty taste. It has not been reported to us, however, that they make it now, because of the ease of obtaining salt. The Indians who work in the Missions buy whole bags of salt, and later they sell them, even with exaggerated usury, to those of the more remote malocas, in Colombian territory too.

[797]
[439]

/250 cont./

464 and of that of the Amazon (80),

648

[466]

80. See "Relatórios" /Reports/ on these Provinces. Unfortunately, instead of job contracts, there were deals between the latifundiários or traders of the Rio Negro and the tuxauas or those who, in a private or official manner, established relations with the Indians or lived among them in order to take advantage of the forest dwellers. The latter would come down, deluded by promises that did not correspond to reality and were victims of malaria or other illnesses. The means to return to their povoados were not made easy for them to get. Their weakness for alcohol was taken advantage of, and months of their services would be bought with some bottles of aguardiente. The documented exposure of these "descidas" /descents/ of the Indians will constitute quite dark chapters in the future History of the Indians of Brazil.

[164]

[273]

and on a smaller scale even today, more or less numerous Indians of different tribes irregularly come down to the lower Rio Negro for the most varied jobs, particularly the extraction of various products (rubber, piaçaba /piassava/, nuts, timber, etc.).

• 439 Objects of native industry for purchase are not only their artifacts for museum collections or decorations for private homes. Those who live or travel in these regions obtain from the Indians part of their food (81)

[797]

81. The Salesian Missions have brought great stimulus to the Indians for the production of the means of subsistence, because,

/250 cont./

• 439
[797]

/footnote 81 cont./ in keeping more than a thousand native children in the regimen of the boarding school, they must buy from the Indian /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ flour, beijú, fish, fruits, game, etc., for their students. During the Second World War traders buying large quantities of flour for those who worked in the rubber plantations of Venezuela and Colombia came by regularly. American seaplanes would come periodically as far as the Papurí to collect and transport hundreds of panniers of flour.

in fruits (especially bananas, papayas, pineapples), flour, beijú, fish, game. It is also the forest dwellers who supply the civilized of those latitudes with canoes, material for the construction of residences (timber, cipo, palms for the roofing), benches, pottery, mats, baskets, strainers, etc. The Indians of the upper Rio Negro and the river Xié devote themselves nowadays to the production of piaçaba /piassava/ ropes, which are sold not only for towropes for the launches of those rivers, but also regularly for the ships of the Amazon River and even for the States.

Almost all the Indians today look to the civilized for hooks, matches, fabrics (and the accessories for the clothing), salt, tobacco, soap. There is less demand for gunpowder, lead, caps for guns, axes, machetes, shotguns. The mercantile practice has already more or less established the prices of the different articles. Nevertheless, the Indians, under the stimulus of self-interest and of certain prejudices against the whites, always want to sell dearly and to buy cheaply or to get something for nothing.

/251/

439 The Indians who are in contact with the civilized obtain clothing and many objects from them in order later to resell these to other natives. It has been verified that in this trade they show economic judgment and know how to make large profits, not only among the Indians of a different tribe, but also among their own tribal "brothers" (82).

[437]

82. We know, for example, that the Tukano Indians residing in Melo Franco received flour from other Tukano from the mouth of the Áua in order to sell it to the Salesian Mission, and for this transaction alone they demanded from their "brothers" 50 per cent of the price of the flour.

8) Means of communication.

501 For their trade and social relations the means of communication are the rivers and igarapés; the canoe, then, is the primary means of transportation (83).

[171]

83. They never build rafts. The Makú, because they only live in the interior of the forests, do not know how to make canoes, nor do they possess them. They say that sometimes they improvise rafts in order to cross rivers or their branches. These are very rare events, however.

491 Since ordinarily these rivers are quite wide and subject to great differences in level and impetuousness of the waters during the time of high water, it is not possible to build bridges. As for passage across small brooks, they either do it by fording them or they take down trees without any concern except that they connect the two banks. This work, by the way, is very rare, because at every step one finds trees felled by storms, which serve as bridges.

/421 cont./

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
[601]

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[178] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
562
756
[124]

> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

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244 A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total
433 productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects
[462] favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They
244 are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their
242 characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When wom-
[571] en from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cul-
[439] tivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for
[252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake
244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's
462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

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252
302
291
516

Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

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592 providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor
554 in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.
[433]

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling
241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy
262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*kardiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaindryo*, *watwari*, *mod*, *pudjú*, *kanéka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kwidmene*), pineapple, (*ihíbo*), banana (*djwelye*), plantain (*dne*), pupunha (*une*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*kahdmu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butri*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [857] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock
235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, 231 and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as 235 pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and 123 animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had 245 been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of 439 my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiari. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more [262] than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. [302] Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

## MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest 121 tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes 28 that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by 32 Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men 28 ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women 32 specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment 462 has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a [415] small basket (*póbii*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pedíba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men 462 work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a 461

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342 move in. The walls and the two great doors that can be swung up are built long after the house is fully occupied.

283 Much of a man's spare time is devoted to preparing string of one
824 sort or another – fishline, hammock strings, binding ropes. The most common material is from the miriti palm. The palm leaf is boiled in water and allowed to soak until long, strong fibers can be drawn from it. These fibers have extraordinary tensile strength and, therefore, have wide use among the Indians. The lower and thicker part of the leaf is slit with a knife or broken by hand to expose the fibers, which are then stripped off in one smooth, continuous motion. The man holds the leaf pinned to the ground with his great toe and pulls
[462] the fibers upward. Essentially it is men's work but women and children help in pulling out the fibers. After the fibers have been allowed to dry by exposure to the air, several are joined together and rolled on the thigh into a string. Occasionally a woman helps her husband roll fishline. The end of the string is gripped between the great toe and its adjacent member and allowed to pass under the frontal arch of the foot and so is held firm. Rolling twine is leisurely work. Men rarely make more than they need for a particular pur-
[314] pose. Fishline is coated with resin. This will not only strengthen it and make it easier to handle, but, the men told me, the resin darkens the line so that it will not be seen by the fish.

463 The Cubeo have no true category of specialist. That is to say, they expect all adults to possess the skills for making all ordinary household articles that are on the roster of sib manufactures. They must, of course, contend with differences in aptitude. They do so by giving the inept the fullest technical help, either by advice, or, if necessary, by virtually making the article. But even when total aid is given, the object is considered to have been made by its owner with help.
463 Items of public use, and these include ceremonial equipment and
622 musical instruments, require special proficiency and are made by the headman and by aspirants to the office. The headman then is a specialist, but his specialty is in esoteric objects for public use.

## TRADE

439 The entire Northwest Amazon area is a vastly complex trading network. Objects of every description, household implements, ornaments, musical instruments, ceremonial objects, plants, pets, and magical substances are in constant circulation from tribe to tribe, from sib to sib. Indians who are in contact with the trading centers of Colombians and Brazilians are often middlemen, pumping manu-

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factured goods into the stream of trade – cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves. 439 [438]

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiari had spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods – chickens, fish, and fruit. 439 464 177 [191] 439 265 [262]

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business. 439 648

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429 business. The Indians are now aware that in their dealings with the whites their labor and their products have a fixed value with some [462] leeway for bargaining. Direct commercial trade, object for object, is almost exclusively the province of the Indian women. This is not a new role for them because they also are active in intertribal and intersib trade. Because women do not have as much contact with whites as do their men they still inject into the commercial trading much that is traditional.

439 The traditional attitude is that any exchange is part of a patterned 571 social relationship. An exchange establishes a linkage between the principals and each is aware of his obligations and of the showing he must make. The obligation is of generosity, the temptation to give somewhat more than one has received. The impression to be made [831] is that one does not haggle over objects. An exchange between a man and a woman who are sexually eligible to one another introduces the additional element of flirtatiousness. All of these elements enter into and complicate and enliven the farinha trade. The more experienced men are able to adapt to commercial methods, but since it is improper for a man to conduct his wife's business for her he will stand aside when she is trading farinha.

439 I never witnessed the intertribal trade, but when I pointed to an object and asked who had made it or where it had come from, its provenience and the nature of the transaction were always known. Manioc grating boards, for example, generally come from the Isana River. The Cubeo often traded European articles for tribal manufactures, less because they needed the tribal object than to satisfy another Indian's need for the European article. A Macú once wanted matches and gave a small basket for a box. The Macú baskets are highly valued, but in this case the initiative was with the Macú. An [183] important principle of native trade in the area is that an object asked [576] for must be surrendered. One must be careful, therefore, not to ask for something the owner might be reluctant to part with. Thus the [123] *Buhükiwa* headman asked me as a condition of my staying in his community not to offer to buy ceremonial objects. "If you ask for them," he explained, "we shall have to give them to you. How shall we replace them?" Thus, there is an element of delicacy in intertribal trade. At the same time there is a compulsion to engage in trade so as to give significance to the meeting of people of different tribes. In sum, while intertribal trade eventually satisfies the requirements of the Indians for specialized objects they would not ordinarily have, each individual transaction responds to motives that are often only indirectly economic. Trade objects circulate readily. Thus, a set of

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calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges. 439 [582]

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accordance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehénewa* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maire, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiari. 438

## PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered. Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations. 423 [61] [103]

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sentiment rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo. 423 614 [615] [619]

114 177 191 originally worked wild rubber for one of the great rubber barons and they had earned their clothing in exchange for their labours. Their torn trousers were only a veneer of the civilized world, for here they seemed to come into their own element: they talked to each other in Tukano; they became alert to the forest they knew so well.

122 We were living in a closed world of limited horizons, on either side the [136] thick forest, ahead the river and above a ribbon of sky. Giant emerald king- [137] fishers with orange heads and long black beaks darted out in front of us. Myriads of white butterflies rose off the sandbanks, settling on our bodies to enjoy the salty sweat. On occasions we saw a delicate wader like a sandpiper bob up and down on the sand near the water's edge. The water had now changed colour, no longer black but a deep wine red, as it flowed over the [134] pale sandy bed. We supposed this colour was due to the high iron content in the rock.

Our first major halt was made at Pedro's house. He had established himself as a tradesman between the Indians on the upper Piraparaná and the [439] civilized rubber gatherers of Mitú. He bought *farinha* from the Tukano in exchange for fish-hooks, salt and cloth. His magnificent thatched house was a foretaste of what we were to see. But the occupants with their dishevelled clothes, the sheets of crude rubber hanging from the beams and the iron cooking pots, seemed a strange paradox.

We unloaded all our equipment, sending Candilo and his assistant back to Mitú with *Vencedor* and the larger outboard motor. With him went one of our valuable cameras whose shutter had jammed during the first day, and a note to Nestor in Bogotá, warning him of the difficulties he would encounter and advising him again to travel as light as possible. Of the now depleted party, José and Uriel were to be our guides throughout the journey; Matias would ensure that we reached the first Indian habitation on the Piraparaná; while Bernavez went on ahead in his dugout canoe carrying two drums of our fuel. We were joined by one more man, old Miguez, who brought his own small Indian canoe. From now on we would have to make double journeys with *El Diablo* until we reached Indians who would carry our loads in their own canoes.

Next morning, while Donald and Horacio repacked much of the kit, Brian and José went ahead with a small load in *El Diablo*. The Ti narrowed and then divided; here our route towards the Piraparaná portage lay up a tiny tributary, the Caño Berada or Fish Bow Creek, as it was known to the Indians. With our arrival in the Berada, a mere stream flowing out of the undergrowth, our whole mode of travel changed. We could no longer use the motor; instead we had to push the boat upstream. We spent the rest of the day waist-deep in water, clambering over submerged timbers and occasional rocks; an Indian out in front cut a way through the fallen trees.

Christmas Day saw us cross two rock ledges where the boat had to be com-

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9) Indolence.

• 461 To visitors used to the intense and constant rhythm of activity and work in our great cities, it will seem strange to encounter the natives, during the day, in bed in their hammocks, asleep or entertained for hours on end in pleasant conversation. The repetition of these encounters will plant in their minds the traditional conviction about the indolence of the Indians. Perhaps it would be more exact to state that the Indian is neither the hero of hardship nor the prototype of indolence, although by temperament he is slow in his movements, as he is of spirit.

The nature that surrounds him and his way of life establishes for him a rhythm of work. He performs all those jobs that the customs impose on him: he builds his house, cuts down the forest for a clearing, prepares his fishing nets, hollows out his canoe, occupies himself with fishing and hunting, manufactures his utensils. If we do not find him busy from morning to night every day, like the civilized, it is because he does not /148/ feel the necessity of it. He does not have ambitions; he is contented with little, and he works as much as necessary in order to live. It is also certain that the depth of preconceived opinion that he feels against the civilized is not stimulus for the Indian to make an effort when he works for the "white." He will show even less desire than in his own work. He will nevertheless do a reasonable job under two conditions: a timorous respect for the white and constant supervision.

571 Comparing the Indians among themselves, one cannot blame anyone as stingy. It is the most harmonious economic equilibrium that one can imagine, although it is at a very low level. *[192] Very rare are the cases, that are known, of singularly indolent types, tesé-bũhũgõ, and parasites, whom their fellow tribesmen themselves find fault with.

462 The woman, yes, finds herself busier, more absorbed as it were, in the housework (as will be seen later, VIII -- 1, a (9) ), busying herself with the younger children, cultivating her clearing, and preparing the food or making some artifacts.

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The school children show some inclination and skill for the manual arts: the girl prefers the work in the field and also appreciates embroidery and sewing.

He is also endowed with his talents as a worker. The skill, which we have already pointed out and will point out (see ch. V /see Ch. VI/), the perfection, and the relative speed in the kind of jobs that he traditionally performs are the best proofs.

The necessity to live forces him, for his part, also to face great difficulties in order to conquer nature. It is enough to imagine the sacrifices imposed by the cutting for a clearing, with the means formerly at his disposal. His endurance, for example, for rowing, is worthy of consideration. For other jobs, such as agriculture or digging the ground, he is weak. Although the work rhythm is not intense, but rather is always with the calm that is characteristic of him, and he has better nourishment than in his home, after two weeks the Indian begins to weaken and not infrequently to lose weight; and after two or three months he must be excused for holidays and rest (13).

13. Besides the danger of malaria in the lower Rio Negro, this weakening of the Indian, especially when he lacks his customary foods, condemn the process (that some are already exploring and others, ignoring the circumstances, recommend) of making use of the native hand in the extraction of the piassava, the Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," the name of several trees (and their fruit), including the Brazil nut/, or borracha. We think that such jobs can be, or rather must be, performed only by the caboclos, who already have physical endurance and a psychic disposition different from that of the natives.

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10) Patience.

He is a man of extreme patience. How useful it would be if this quality of his could be channeled into so many sectors of our civilization! It is documented by those jobs which require not only hours, but sometimes days, months, or years of work and attention, such as the preparation of the tucum and of a net, the making of a canoe with the stone ax and fire, or to pierce regularly a sarabatana /blowgun/ or a stone of amorphous quartz (see VII -- 3, d (2) ) with the help of a stick and very fine sand. In a canoe he endures a rain for hours on end, or a scorching sun the whole day, without a word of complaint.

We never saw him fight (except when already drunk) or show impatience and protest against another Indian, although the occasions for it were superabundant. For example, to complain about a companion, because his indolence forces him to work harder. If he walks bent under a heavy load, and another Indian is blocking his way, he does not yell for him to move, but will patiently go around, taking a longer route.

11) Shyness.

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Before the civilized, whose superiority he recognizes and feels, he always shows docility. Never an open revolt; although he not infrequently fails to do what he told him to do. Rare are the episodes of joining together for a reprisal (14).

> 14. Some few episodes are recalled, but all of them were when the civilized violated some tribal custom or practiced true injustices or cruelty...

It is to be noted that, if the civilized asks him for a favor, he will perhaps answer with "I do not want to." If he is ordered in a categorical way, however, the Indian obeys and even cheerfully. Positive orders are more in accord with his spirit.

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the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The malora is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large malora is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large malora in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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501 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke
516 are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been over-
[461] come the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oarsman's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the
501 canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a
461 long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spontaneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!"
501 On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about
517 two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying
[123] some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why didn't you shoot them?"

501 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of
462 steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys, each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are
[857] in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of balance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

502 All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the
[823] canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided because of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline. Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push. High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

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A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

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## FISHING

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Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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He brings home the hide for a
224 trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle
[237] that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary
[554] and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahükiwa* the headman's son – an aspirant for the position – killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

## GARDENING

462 I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions
262 of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

462 An important distinction between the labor of men and women
461 is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

462 On days when only subsistence manioc – that is, the manioc cake
461 – is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its
252 preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is
244 to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

462 Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time,
244 leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast.
[512] Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against
[751] sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is
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usually accompanied by an unmarried daughter, who is both helper and chaperon, a dog, and her breast baby. Her equipment is a machete (in the past it was a digging stick), a portage basket, and a tray upon which she rests her baby. 244 [412] [178] [415]

With the machete she cuts the long root at the base of a mature manioc plant and then loosens the earth so as to pull out the cluster of tubers. Each root yields an average of six tubers, two of which are large, two medium, and two small. This phase of the work is difficult but the woman moves quickly and silently. She does not sing at her work. Her daughter, assistant and apprentice, tears each tuber from the root, scrapes it clear of earth, and drops it in the basket. When a basket has been filled the woman gathers up the stems of the manioc plant, trims them of their leaves, and stacks the cuttings neatly in small heaps. She burns the leaves to add ash to the soil. She does not replant the cuttings immediately, but allows them to lie for several days. After an accumulation a woman devotes a morning to replanting. She breaks up the soil of the segment she has harvested and forms it into small mounds, into each of which she puts a number of trimmed cuttings, setting them in at a sharp angle. She works segments of garden that are about 25 yards square. After replanting, the earliest harvest will be after half a year, but full maturity takes two years. Each 25-square-yard segment yields from 50 to 60 pounds of manioc, or one basket load. [461]

Among the *Bahukiwa*, for whom I have productivity figures, the household of the headman harvested 400 baskets of manioc annually. Another household that had three adult women harvested 500. One old woman had a minimum yield of 150 and all other households averaged close to 200. Ten households produced 2,550 baskets, or some 75 tons of manioc a year. A basket of manioc converts into two large manioc cakes. In the headman's household of seven people three cakes were eaten every two days, leaving a "surplus" of close to 30 per cent for use as chicha and as farinha. On the other hand, households producing 200 baskets annually are close to the subsistence line. 244 433

The point of this digression into production figures has been to show how exigent are the demands upon the woman's labor. The women feel that they cannot afford to interrupt their labors or they will fall behind. Nevertheless, childbirth, illness, ceremonies – women do not garden on the day of a ceremony – and the press of other activities such as accompanying men on prolonged trips for hunting (in the nature of a respite for a woman) take their toll of labor time. Women do not complain of having too much to do. On the contrary, I have heard the grievance that the manioc garden is too small. 244 433 461 462

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place the blame upon the material conditions. The woman, then, is more than a mere toiler in the garden. She qualifies as agronomist as well.

Women return from their gardens in the very early afternoon. They pause at the rear door of the house only long enough to drop the machete, and without putting down their burdens of manioc and infant, go directly to the river to bathe themselves and to wash the tubers. This is a pleasurable hour. Refreshed from the heat of the morning, the women play with their infants and jest with one another. Washing the tubers is a simple task of dipping the entire basket into the water. A light midday meal follows the washing, and the routine of processing the tubers begins. The woman may start with fresh roots, but for a more tender manioc cake she will allow the roots to soften for several days either in the house or in the river.

The first step is peeling. The woman seats herself at her own household compartment, her back braced against a post, her legs stretched out stiff and straight before her into the dance corridor – the public alley of the house. The manioc basket is at one side and a tray at the other. She bites the butt end of the tuber to break the skin, and using teeth and fingers pulls off the readily peelable skin. This phase of the work is leisurely. Women who are not at the moment occupied come by to chat and help casually in the peeling. A woman's daughters sit with her and help. Enough is peeled for one manioc cake – that is, one half of a basket.

The next step is the most arduous and least liked – grating the peeled tubers on a wooden board (*pediba*) that has been set with abrasive stones. A woman can usually shift this work on to her daughter or her daughter-in-law.

The scraping process is as follows. The woman sits with her feet stretched out straight before her and slightly spread. She sets the grate on her legs with its far end braced against a house post, the forward end pressed against her abdomen. She takes up two large manioc tubers from a tray, one in each hand, and scrapes vigorously with alternate arm movements with the hardest pressure on the forward stroke. The action is vigorous, involving not only full arm movements but the bending of the back from the hips. Young women of marriageable age work rapidly and continuously until bathed in sweat. When worn down to a size where it cannot be conveniently scraped any more, the tuber is thrown aside and two others taken up. Finally, a collection of scraps is assembled into a single bunch clutched in both hands and scraped down virtually to the very bottom. This is a break in the work rhythm since both hands are used together and the move-

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462 ment is slower and altogether less vigorous. Usually, except when she
• 461 is very strong and young, the woman interrupts her scraping for a
252 rest or change of occupation. For example, the work may be staggered. If the mother begins the scraping and the daughter continues with the peeling, the daughter, when she has finished peeling, will take over the scraping, while the mother prepares to begin the next process. The manioc mash that has accumulated at the far end of the board is removed by hand and thrown into a basket tray, and the liquid drained off into a pot to be poured out.

A substantial part of the poisonous liquid of the manioc has been
[415] removed in the scraping on the grater; the mash is further dried by pounding it through a tightly woven basket sieve. A tripodal frame is set up and the sieve set on it at a woman's waist level. The pounding, also strenuous work, requires vigorous motion of the arms, back, and shoulders. With both fists clenched the woman attacks the mash,
[516] using her arms as pistons in a crisscross motion. The mash is frequently turned. As this work is done standing up, the woman has a chance to limber her legs. Because of the height at which the sieve is set little girls are not very efficient at the pounding, and only help out for a little while. When the mash is relatively dry after a thorough pounding it is put into a long tubular squeezer (the tipiti). The woman grips the lower end of the flexible tube between her knees, and bending the top toward her, fills it with the mash from the sieve. When full, the squeezer is hung from a projecting beam at one of the house posts. Through a loop at the lower end of the squeezer a long pole of heavy wood is inserted, the fulcrum end going through a few twists of heavy rope around the post. This phase of the work affords the woman a rest from the strenuous labor of scraping and pounding. She may sit on the pole, adjusting the pressure by the distance from the fulcrum. A woman is sometimes joined by another, who helps her sit on the pole. The liquid starch that runs down the sides of the squeezer is collected in a pot set for it. The pot is covered with a layer of ash that absorbs the volatile prussic acid, and the clear starch is used as the base for a porridge.

The mash, free of much of its prussic acid content, is finally formed into a cake upon the flat circular oven at the rear of the house. The baking is leisurely and as women wait their turn at the communal oven they enjoy some sociable moments.

462 A good housewife prepares a fresh manioc cake daily since the
252 cake tastes best when fresh, moist, and warm. On the second day a
[512] cake is dry and considerably less palatable. Thus, under ordinary conditions, the routine of manioc preparation is daily. However, a wom-

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an who has daughters to help her can prepare a surplus of mash that, covered with banana leaves or stored in a circular bark bin, holds over to the next day. Whatever time a woman spares from manioc cake preparation is immediately absorbed by other duties, among them the making of chicha and farinha, which is simply the manioc routine all over again. When a woman prepares manioc for chicha, however, she has the help of her husband, but only at those stages that are totally distinct from manioc cake preparation. The Cubeo tradition is for men to take no part in *duno* production, once they have made the clearing. Still, men do help their wives in peeling the manioc tuber. Since the knife has begun to supplant the teeth as a peeling implement, men, who are the most expert in handling knives, feel somewhat more free than formerly to help – but not without embarrassment. I once walked into the house and saw the headman sitting amiably beside his wife and peeling manioc with a knife. Were I a proper Cubeo I would have managed to appear as though I had seen nothing. But the sight was so unexpected I stared. The man flushed and dropped the knife and tuber. Then he collected himself and explained that his wife was not well and so he felt he should help her. He assured me, as his wife smiled, that he never did this ordinarily.

Whereas all women share the same general manioc routine, individual circumstances differ. A young married woman with young children has no one to help her and must work very hard in contrast to an older woman with several daughters who can relieve her of much of the work. A woman with many sons and no daughters has a very heavy burden. The men provide her with a very large garden, they eat heavily, they are sociable and plan drinking parties. An old woman living alone prepares her own small manioc cake ration, and worries rather that she can call on no man to enlarge her manioc garden. Yet in all these individual circumstances one observes leveling factors as well. The household with very young children eats less, has less need to entertain, and has smaller trade needs. The household with grown daughters eats more, entertains more – suitors and their parties for example – and has great needs for trade goods, skirts, and ornaments for the girls. The household with many men has greater access to trade goods through their wage labor and saves on farinha. An old woman living alone may eat with her close kin and so devote her manioc production entirely to farinha, if she desires. There are no significant differences in manioc cake consumption. Families differ only in the rather small prestige of owning trade goods and in

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, 231
and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as 235
pets.



The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and 123
animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had 245
been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of 439
my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiari. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more [262] than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. [302] Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

## MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest 121
tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes 28
that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by 32
Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men 28
ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women 32
specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment 462
has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a [415] small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pedíba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men 462
work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a 461

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462 simple basket is often a matter of several weeks. Every man has at
461 his side, so to speak, a number of unfinished objects which he hopes to get at before too long.

462 The sexual division of labor in manufactures is rather firmly main-
323 tained. I learned of few objects in use that were not made by a member of the proper sex. Young men are drawn to pottery making, but they may handle clay in a playful manner only. They make pots and dishes in strange shapes, working rather expertly. Such dishes are given to children as toys and are soon destroyed. Children, boys and girls, play with clay, making small animal or human figures and quickly destroying them. No permanent clay figures are ever made. Serious pottery work is an annual affair, undertaken by the women when the falling river has exposed the clay banks. All at once the women working together renew the household ceramic ware.

342 Manufacture is most often a group activity, and like all group ac-
[461] tivities is regarded by the Indians as a pleasurable recreation. The
[476] exception to this rule is perhaps housebuilding, which is often strenuous. Even then, when the exertion of the task has broken the spell of good feeling, the men stop and turn to another task. A large maloca can be a very long time in building. Among the *Bahúkiwa* a house begun when I arrived was not yet complete when I left almost a year later. A house must be built by a group working together not only for technical reasons, but in obedience to the principle that all who are going to live in it must work on it.

Building the communal house is a major technical and social enterprise. It tests the capabilities of the headman and the morale of the community. The true maloca is a solid structure built with great care, skill, and concern for details. Temporary houses may be slipshod in construction, but when a house is slipshod it is either clearly designated as temporary or it will be a cause of shame. Every
342 part of the house is built with the greatest care, but nothing reveals
284 more clearly the Cubeo concern for combining structural integrity and aesthetic design than the lashings that hold all the materials together. The most conspicuous lashings are those that bind the main beams. The builders start with temporary house posts and with temporary lashings. Finally, when the entire structure is in place, an expert lasher goes over the entire inner structure, replacing the beams and rebinding them in a consistent pattern, using carefully chosen
342 lianas. The Cubeo are painstaking in all crafts, but the maloca is
[114] their supreme creation. I was able to observe almost every stage in
[461] the construction of a maloca among the *Bahúkiwa*. I do not recall that a single bundle of roofing thatch was laid under pressure or

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under duress. Men worked on the house only when they felt cheerful and dedicated to the work. The man who felt out of sorts dropped away and returned only when his spirits had improved. Dependency upon mood was one of the most important factors delaying completion of a house.

Even so, the magnitude of the technical problems is not to be underestimated. The mere assemblage of material is a complex, arduous, and time-consuming task. Construction materials are not always close to hand. The *Bahúkiwa* fetched roofing thatch from the mouth of the Cuduiari in what was technically the territory of the *Hehénewa* sibs. Their house of 12 compartments consumed 360 bundles of thatch, and, since each canoe could transport only five bundles, over a hundred canoe loads were needed, a task that would normally be spread out over many months. The *Bahúkiwa* headman was able to borrow from the *Comisaría* a large cargo barge and in this way a great deal of time was saved. Even so, a large party of several households camped for weeks on the lower river during a dry season, gathering and preparing the parana palm thatch (*trinâ*). Altogether, thatch gathering consumed 50 days of the time of at least half the community. The practice is for the headman to institute a "crash program" to get each phase of the work well under way. His problem is to fit each phase of construction into the routine of daily and of seasonal life with minimum disruption. Strictly speaking, the decisions are not his. His is the technical voice, but he will do nothing without discussion with the household heads. Roofing can be cut during the two dry seasons and can never be finished in only one. Gathering, trimming, and binding the parana palm leaves into sheaves is the only housebuilding task in which women share.

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[462]

The headman, together with his firmest supporters, that is, his own sons and blood brothers, has the specific responsibility for erecting the central framework, the three pairs of heavy posts that will support the main weight of the roof. Others may help in this if they wish but they have no specific obligation to do so. The inner framework of three pairs of heavy posts forms the inner box around which the rest of the house is built. The timbers must be carefully chosen and then well dug in, while the parallelogram must be very carefully laid out. The floor plan is laid out with long sticks, and right angles are very accurately estimated. The rest of the framework including the ridgepole is a collective enterprise and is the second stage of construction. Roofing is the third stage. When enough roof has been laid down to provide even a bare shelter, the close kin of the headman move in.

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244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
438 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except
in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
244 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
433 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
462 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any
461 community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the man-
244 ioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
[261] Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[273] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There
[614] is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the
[182] drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[2] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the re-
[614] sponsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the
[554] chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

43 It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[2] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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the production of farinha by women is a partial counterpart to the work of the men in the rubber forest. The man takes most of his earnings in "capital goods," muzzle-loading guns, machetes, fishhooks, matches, knives, thread, needles, ammunition. The remainder goes to a few vanity items for himself and in gifts for his wife, sister, and female ceremonial friend. It is these gifts that a woman is obligated to reciprocate through her farinha trade. Since these gift exchanges involve traditional relations of status equality they quickly achieve a relatively stable equilibrium. Only a small part, then, of commercial exchange leaves the traditional channels of lateral circulation of goods. As for "vanity" purchases, they form no part of any institutionalized expression of social prestige. The issue for the Cubeo is rather one of a limited degree of self-indulgence. For a woman, in particular, the privilege of indulging a fancy for some trinket and freely contracting her farinha for it is an essential part of her sense of domestic well-being. It is an expression, on the one hand, of her autonomy, and, on the other, of domestic felicity. A dissatisfied wife does not indulge her personal vanity more; on the contrary, she produces less.

Another important element in production is the attitude toward labor. For the Cubeo all effort must be inherently satisfying. Women accept more drudgery than do men, but they no more than the men would accept the bitter peasant philosophy that hard and unrewarding work is man's lot. Men and women alike are accustomed to a variety of effort. They do not care to drive themselves beyond the onset of boredom or of fatigue. All work patterns are based upon short and diversified rhythms. I have demonstrated this in the work cycle of women. It is even more marked in the work cycle of men. Food gathering and preparing does demand continuity and completion. The hunter must complete his chase, the fisherman must return home with a suitable catch, and the housewife must complete her daily ration of manioc cake. Even so, there are many opportunities for rest and diversion that the Indians take. They would rather eat less than work more. In the course of a year there are many holidays. Among the *Bahikiwa* these averaged almost one a week. On the occasion of a drinking party women do not go into the fields either on the day of preparation or on the day after. In manufactures, which form part of the domestic economy, the pace of work is very slow. Men, who make the baskets that are important home utensils as well as major items in trade, work very sporadically. There is no compulsion to finish something quickly. Thus, on the whole, the Cubeo work habits also contribute to general economic inelasticity.

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these conditions is relevant to an understanding of Cubeo culture. 121
But even taken together they do not account for the principal pat- 174
terns of Cubeo culture, which have a natural history of their own. The question, however, is not whether cultural patterns have a natural history, but only whether the ecological and the technological theories are adequate accounts of the natural history of a culture.

## ADAPTATION

Thus, the problem of cultural adaptation to an environment can- 182
not be dealt with simply and one-sidedly by describing the hypothet- 121
ical shaping of a culture to the environment. Adaptation is a study of interaction. Generally speaking, highly specialized environments demand highly specialized and hence relatively predictable cultural responses. The tropical forest is not an example of a highly specialized economic environment judged empirically by the diversity of cultural patterns it has sustained. Bitter manioc is clearly a cumber- 182
some crop, its high yield and relative ease of cultivation being offset 241
by its very heavy demands on labor, specifically on that of women. 121
It can be argued, therefore, that this crop offers a poor economic base for social and political development. Yet the Northwest Amazon also is familiar with maize, yams, and sweet manioc, not to mention beans and squash and gourd. These crops have traditionally sustained high cultures. Can we explain in ecological terms why the Northwest Amazon tribes chose to specialize in bitter manioc rather than maize and beans, as did, for example, the lowland Maya? It would seem that here is a case of cultural choice in which prefer- 121
ences for quick yield, minimum care in cultivation, strong sexual divi- 181
sion of labor, and perennial harvest rather than the problems of 182
storage and seasonal periodicity may have been compelling factors. 433
Since the Cubeo social system placed no great demands upon an ex- (241)
panding economic productivity the "easy" adaptation to nature was always feasible. The main patterns of Cubeo life do not stress the disciplines of prolonged and closely managed effort. The habitual (461)
rhythms of masculine labor are discontinuous and varied. Leadership is based on the principle of mood regulation rather than on dedication to an ideal or submission to authority. High cultures are based on strongly disciplined and collective ways of life. By contrast, the Cubeo values greater emotional spontaneity and personal autonomy. An economy, needless to say, will in the end transform cultural values as well as the personal character of the members of a culture. Before

131 /99 cont./
167 As is seen, the Tukano group is found distributed both in Colombian territory and Brazilian, and the migratory movements of natives between these two countries are quite frequent.

241 The Tukano work the land by means of the slash-and-burn method. The piece of ground intended for agriculture is al-
•[462] ways cleaned of underbrush and trees by the /100/ men, a job at which each man works individually or assisted by his male
[412] relatives. At one time, before the arrival of the Creole rubber
[177] workers in the region, the trees and underbrush were cut with stone axes, but since the arrival of the rubber worker the machete has been introduced, and today no Tukano Indian would consider using the lithic instrument again.

Trees of great size are generally left in the place in which they fell, but small trees and bushes are burned toward the end of summer, or the dry season. The ashes obtained from the burning are used as fertilizer to improve the soil, but owing to the thin vegetal layer, to erosion, and to the general poorness of the land, the Tukano Indian is obliged to select and clear a
[242] new garden every three or four years. The method of crop rotation is not practiced because the forest vegetation rapidly returns to invade the land that is not cultivated and tended. The field under cultivation rarely exceeds one or two hectares.

(412] The planting is done immediately after finishing the burning, among the stumps of the felled trees and the trunks of the toppled trees. Probably the only aboriginal implement used in the planting is the planter's stick (2),

2. Digging-stick /this term is given in English/.

which is used primarily to loosen the earth and to open holes in it for planting seeds or young plants. The ground is rarely cultivated and tended after the planting is done, but weeds are pulled out and care is taken that the forest does not invade the garden.

/100 cont./

241 Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth
462 from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting
[249] are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

241 Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, flame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

[439] maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The
[437] pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

224 Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function
[262] of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the
224 Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow
223 and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a
[177] blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

224 Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

/147 cont./

9) Indolence.

461 To visitors used to the intense and constant rhythm of activity and work in our great cities, it will seem strange to encounter the natives, during the day, in bed in their hammocks, asleep or entertained for hours on end in pleasant conversation. The repetition of these encounters will plant in their minds the traditional conviction about the indolence of the Indians. Perhaps it would be more exact to state that the Indian is neither the hero of hardship nor the prototype of indolence, although by temperament he is slow in his movements, as he is of spirit.

The nature that surrounds him and his way of life establishes for him a rhythm of work. He performs all those jobs that the customs impose on him: he builds his house, cuts down the forest for a clearing, prepares his fishing nets, hollows out his canoe, occupies himself with fishing and hunting, manufactures his utensils. If we do not find him busy from morning to night every day, like the civilized, it is because he does not /148/ feel the necessity of it. He does not have ambitions; he is contented with little, and he works as much as necessary in order to live. It is also certain that the depth of preconceived opinion that he feels against the civilized is not stimulus for the Indian to make an effort when he works for the "white." He will show even less desire than in his own work. He will nevertheless do a reasonable job under two conditions: a timorous respect for the white and constant supervision.

571 Comparing the Indians among themselves, one cannot blame anyone as stingy. It is the most harmonious economic equilibrium that one can imagine, although it is at a very low level. *[192] Very rare are the cases, that are known, of singularly indolent types, tesé-bũhũgõ, and parasites, whom their fellow tribesmen themselves find fault with.

• 462 The woman, yes, finds herself busier, more absorbed as it were, in the housework (as will be seen later, VIII -- 1, a (9) ), busying herself with the younger children, cultivating her clearing, and preparing the food or making some artifacts.

/179 cont./

177 2) Household goods and utilitarian objects.

41 The house of the forest dweller who has been in the service of the "white" or has traded with them now displays many objects obtained from the civilized, such as kettles, mugs, ax, bottles, fishhooks, scissors, hammocks, and even trunks or suitcases in which to keep their clothes. Except for the cotton hammock, which among the tribes of the Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí is today almost as common or more so than the native one made of tucum, the other objects are rarities in the conjunction of the utensils of native manufacture.

We shall now recall these, and later on we shall describe the ornaments and musical instruments.

323 a) Ceramics.

462 All the ceramic work falls to the woman; looking for the clay, to the man.

*192 1) Earthen pots and cooking pots. Camotim or camocim
323 is a regional term of the Amazon, and a generic one of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú, equivalent to pot, and is used to designate vessels of very different shape and dimensions, according to their use. Among the products of native ceramics, some are similar to a common pan of /180/ ours, are called ki-pu-tõ (Nheengatú, yapepú), and are used to prepare mingau /a manioc dish/ and quinhapira /a fish dish/. There also exist:

wai-doã-tõ, to cook the fish;

wai-baarí-pá, in which to serve the fish to the guests;

pẽru-tõ, a kind of large vessel in which to keep caxirí. They distinguish the:

pẽru-ahũa aparí-pa, large black cooking pot in which the beijú caxirí is fermented;

pẽru-poorí-pá, in which the caxirí already prepared is kept;

sũxtõ-wõ is the water pot for carrying water;

kaxpí-tõ, the one in which the kaxpí is distributed (VI -- 4, i (3) ).

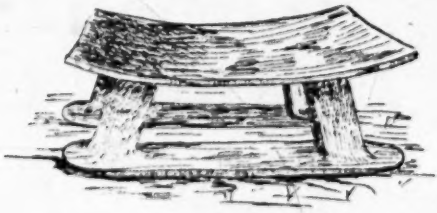
/186 cont./

415 The woman, as she grates, will do it with the two hands alternately, and not in a uniform rhythm, but with sudden pulls
252 that cause movement of her very breasts. She will be seated on the ground, having between /187/ her legs the grater, the head
• [462] of which they support against the stomach. It is exclusively women's work.

The grater is such an useful object that on the lower Rio Negro the civilized adopted it as well as the tipití (VI -- 2, d (1) ).

*192 4) Seat. The seat, in Tukano kũ-mũ-rõ (Uaupés kũmũ-no),
352 is in general use, although its specialized producers are the Tukano. It is generally made out of sorva or arara-seringa (Cóuma guianénsis, Muell.), a not very heavy wood which hardly cracks.

They formerly made it with the help of their primitive adze. Today, instead of the syó-a, they use a digging iron or even an adze obtained from the civilized.



Little monoxylic seat (ku-mũ-rõ)

The dimensions are the most varied, some of only 30 to 40 centimeters and others of 120 to 150 centimeters. The style, however, is constant, to wit, the seating place is concave, with a double curvature in the longitudinal and transverse directions. It is always low, only 10 to 15 centimeters in height, with four legs connected by two longitudinal crossbars. And the seat, with the supports, is monoxylic, that is, made from one piece of wood.

[531] They are accustomed to decorating the seat with the tradi-
[824] tional designs, and over it something like a varnish, obtained from the sap of the bark of a wild inga tree, mẽ'rẽ (Uaupés mẽ'nẽ).

/190 cont./

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• [462]

The woman (23)

23. Among the Tuyuka, Bará, and in general the tribes of the headwaters of the Tiquié, Papurí, and Komé-ya, it is the man who prepares the miriti thread and the rede de "trinta fios" /net or hammock of "thirty threads"/.

prepares her thread by rubbing a bunch of fibers against her thigh. It is natural that this would make the thread dirty. In order to bleach it, they wash it well, using also the leaves of the papaya tree or lemon juice, resources that are obviously more recent.

First of all, she takes two bunches of fibers unequally, that is, the end of one of them projects farther on one side, and that of the other toward the opposite end. With the right hand she rolls toward the left, that is, against the thigh from the knee up. In order to add new fibers, she opens the end of the thread thus rolled and inserts there two more bunches of fibers, also combined unequally, and she rolls toward the right, that is, rubbing in the opposite direction, from the upper part of the thigh toward the knee. Once the adding is done, she rolls the two bunches of added fibers toward the left, as she had done with the first two bunches, and so on, rubbing the fibers on the right thigh with the right hand. In order to roll, she rubs them up the thigh; in order to add, down the thigh. Two bunches of fibers give a finer thread, and by twisting together two or more threads one obtains the thickness desired for the work in mind. The finer the thread, the more delicate the weaving will be.

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When it is in the form of a skein, one should take the opportunity to wash and bleach the thread, and also to dye it. They ordinarily use vegetable dyes. The preferred colors are: reddish, obtained from õnõñá pũrĩ (carajurú, see VII -- 3, e /sic; see VII, 3, b, p. 433/), yellow, by means of a small batata resembling ginger and which is called in Nheengatú makaratañá, and a dark one, which is obtained by cooking the dyawé shrub (genipap). From the skein one later rolls the thread into large balls, which are kept in a sieve, in order not to become soiled.

/193 cont./

*192 because of their purpose, which is to kill the fish (wehẽ means
227 to kill), and in the Lingua Geral, puçá. It is a mesh of knots
284 made out of fibers of caroatá (Bromélia pinguis, Lin.), caroá (Neoglaziovia variegata Ar. Com.), or even tucum. The meshes are narrower or wider, according to the purpose.

• [462] They are manufactured by the man. The pregnant woman
[784] cannot touch them, because the fishing would be fruitless. When they prepare their puçá, the men will remain silent, in order to have luck with the fishing.

They perform the work in two ways: either with successive knots, as the casting nets are prepared among the civilized; or using splinters of arumã /Ischnosiphon ovatus, Kcke./, tying them at intervals with caroatá knots, as if one were preparing /194/ a basket. Once this is ready, they take off the splinters and the caroatá knots present the desired net.

They manufacture them in two sizes: a larger one (jereré in Nheengatú), with the shape of a very wide funnel; it measures 1.5 meters or more in length and during the fishing is kept open by means of two poles tied at the ends, in such a way that, with the help of a third pole as a wedge, it almost forms a circle.

They also make smaller and funnel-shaped nets, ganapão /workman, porter/ type, fitted to a hoop equipped with a handle, such as are used to catch butterflies. It is with these that they catch the fish stupefied by the timbo.

It seems that all the men know how to weave their fishing nets, with the exception of the young men of the last generation.

4) Other woven products.

286 With the fibers of tucum or mirití they make those elegant
301 bands, yuxtá-seri, that they put on the legs (conf. VII -- 3, d
*[192] (1) ).

With these same fibers or with twisted embira they prepare some of the dance ornaments that must support the beautiful plumage.

They use monkey hide in order to make braids, which they wear as dance ornaments.

/194 cont./

286 531 In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192 d) Basketry and plaited work.

285 [462] [342] [227] For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of some trees, especially that which they call pi'ĩ-karõ-gõ. They use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxiúba (waxtá), patauá (yumĩ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mĩ-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mĩ'sĩ) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phĩ), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824] The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantaceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after [386] [531] being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves.

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

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*192 One can distinguish three types of sieves: 1st, tõ-pa (in
285 Nheengatú cumatá), is large, of very tight mesh, used to strain
415 out the manicuera /the liquid from the mass of manioc/ and to extract the starch; 2nd, sũõ, or better sõõ-a (Nh. urupema), with a more open mesh and sometimes square in shape, in a frame of four rounded sticks, used to sift the mass of the water flour /see p. 310 /; 3rd, Baxtí, deeper, as small baskets for storing the beijú and other foods and objects. It is these that customarily bear the beautiful traditional designs.

3) Baskets.

*192 a) Pi'ſ are large baskets which on the Amazon are custom-
285 arily called aturás. They are used to transport mandioca, fruits,
415 earth, firewood, luggage; they are woven exclusively by the Makú, who also work for the other tribes.

The traditional shape is the cylindrical one, with the base slightly wider than the mouth. The material is the uambé cipo, misĩ-da, quite strong, chosen without knots, and which is placed on the fire, in order to slip off the bark easily. The cipo is broken into two or three parts, and the plaiting is started from the bottom. The mouth is of rings of cipo, like a hoop, and is tied to the basket with woven caroatá fibers.

*192 The woman, upon whom the carrying of the pi'ſ falls (the
462 man must always walk unencumbered, in order to be able to
482 defend himself and his family), carries it in the following manner: the aturá goes on her back, but is suspended from the forehead by means of a wide embira, pi'ſ-karõ-pá (29),

29. Or pi'ſ-kãrõ-kaxserí. It seems that the tree derived its name from the pi'ſ, because its embira is commonly used to transport the pi'ſ. Other embiras, however, are also used, such as sõ'ũ-kaxsero, deóti-kõ.

the ends of which, passing through the mouth of the basket, run along it and are interwoven on the bottom of it. They thus transport a load of 30 to 50 kilograms for a distance of kilometers.

/208 cont./

177 3. Clothing and shoes.

291 a) Clothing.

Under the influx of the civilized (the example of the white, whom the Indian likes to imitate, the instruction of the Missionaries, and the clothes that /209/ the latter give them), the natives are getting into the habit of wearing clothes. As a rule, those who have spent some years in the schools, upon returning to their aldeias, do not dispense with clothing any longer. At least a pair of pants or shorts (the men) and a skirt (the women), leaving the bust uncovered.

294 An interesting detail is that generally the women only make,
296 maintain, and wash feminine clothes. The men obtain ready-
462 made clothes, given or bought, and they must attend to washing and repairing them. Some men have been seen washing the clothing of their wives.

291 Originally, that is, before any influence from the civilized, dating from the discoveries of the New World, did they have any clothing? What would it have been?

For one thing, the warm climate does not impose the use of clothing. For another, the rains and frequent excursions into the forest, which offers shelter to the individual and would quickly wear out the clothes, discourage the wearing of clothing. This is what we could deduce, a priori, from their habitat.

The first Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro, Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, in 1759, says very originally: --"The Indians of these sertões /interior parts of the country/ commonly not having any more clothes than those that our first parents wore in the field of Damascus" (o. c. 145). He notices, as an exception, that the Cambeba wore long garments of cotton and without sleeves, open on the side.

A century later, in 1846, the costume is still the same, according to Wallace: -- "These Indians free themselves from the hindrance of clothing as much as is possible to conceive. The men wear only a small piece of tururí, which goes between their legs and is tied to a cord that goes around the waist. The

/233 cont./

372 Formerly fire was obtained by turning rapidly between the palms of the hands a small stick whose end was provided with a match of kapok, and rubbing it in the small orifice of another *[192] small stick that was very dry. The apparatus is called pexká-mẽ wihyasé in Tukano.

262 The diet of these natives, although at first sight it does not seem so, is quite varied, rich in vitamins of vegetable and animal origin. As for the salts necessary to the organism, they get them from roots and fruits; as a matter of fact, they have a strong bone structure, and nevertheless the waters show a deficiency of [273] calcareous salts. As for sugar, they only have that of the fruits [249] and of the fermentation of their drinks. The cultivation of sugar cane is insignificant and intended practically for the preparation of the caxirís, although once in a while some Indian will be seen sucking it.

The amount of food that the Indian consumes daily is large, when he has plenty of it; although on other days, due to a lack of food, he is forced into a very strict fast. Perhaps the caxirí itself, which he drinks in large portions on the occasion of feasts, plays the role of a periodic washing of the stomach, intestines, and kidneys. It is certain that thin persons are rarely found among them, if one excludes the older women, who generally are so, and the sick. They are, on the contrary, plump in figure or even fat, without obesity or deforming adiposities, strong and healthy.

It is to be noted that the Indian emits a characteristic smell, which makes us think that it is due to a diet predominantly of fish and pepper.

/234/ 5) Hunting and fishing.

226 a) Fishing.

Fish is an important element in the diet of the Indians, as we have already seen. In the regimen of the family home, each family head provides the fish; it is his habitual, although not • [462] exclusive, occupation. In the regimen of the collective dwelling

/234 cont./

226 of several families, the maloca, the small-scale fishing still
• [462] falls to the men, and they go out in groups of two or three or
even alone, or accompanied by some child, perhaps very
*[192] young, who rows and handles the canoe. All of the Indian's
concern is to make his son a very good fisherman, a marupiára.
*[192] "Mõ'sigõ" is the Tukano term for indicating the individual who
is lucky in fishing and hunting.

*[192] There arrives, however, the piracema, the period when
the fish gather in schools, waĩ tũrĩrõ, especially in the cachoeiras,
trying to get past them in order to reach the headwaters. It is
the opportunity for the Indian to prepare his reserves of fish
for the fruitless days. It is the period of large-scale fishing.
*[192] Or also, low water comes, and the fish that went up the igarapés
and igapós (64)

> 64. Igarapés are the small tributaries of the rivers; igapós are the arms of water or pools that are formed during high water.

will try to reach the river; this is also the time of joint fishing
expeditions. These represent a social event that brings together
the inhabitants of the maloca or povoado. Even more, it is a
collective entertainment or sport, a time of celebration. If
the distance to the fishing place is great, as it often is, they
will stay overnight there for several days, and in this case they
*[192] must take their hammocks. Not infrequently they improvise
tapirís or huts in the surroundings conveniently beforehand. The
[462] women will prepare the beijú and the flour. The men will
take care of the nets and see that the canoes are in good con-
dition. The complete preparation includes, besides the fish-
ing gear, the panniers in which to keep the fish, the fire, etc.

/245/

224 During low water they also go hunting at night, drifting
373 slowly and without making any noise, while one of the Indians brings a torch of turí. They thus surprise the pacas, which are blinded by the light, and the Indian kills them with arrows.
[177] Nowadays they use a battery flashlight for night hunting.

6) Agriculture.

241 The mandioca is what provides the principal food of the Indians of the basin of the Uaupés. All these tribes are thus found in the phase of tillage, which is practiced, however, in a very primitive manner: it is the phase of the "cavouco" /digging, pit, hollow/ or of the "cova" /hole/.

They freely choose the land that pleases them the most, because of the proximity of their dwelling and because of the guarantee against theft (75),

> 75. For this reason he will not do it at the edge of the river, unless it is beside his dwelling. If it is in the vicinity of the river, he will always leave a wedge of forest between the clearing and the river, in order to hide it from the view of those who are traveling on the water. And the landing place where he disembarks and ties his canoe will be at a certain distance from the clearing, in order not to reveal its location.

and which is a little sandy, as the "terras-firmes" of the entire region generally are, and suitable for mandioca. The act of
*[423] clearing, wexsé pá:kũrõ, is what gives them the ownership of
[192] the land while cultivating it.

Clearing is done in the periods of less rain, that is, from
• [462] June to August and from December to February. It is work exclusively for the men. They start by choosing an area con-
*[192] venient as to distance and not subject to floods, with yellowish soil, semisandy, di'tá sõarã, or black and somewhat humous, nãxkã̃ di'tá ñyũrõ.

/246 cont./

*192 241 After the operation of burning or the coivara, one proceeds with a rough cleaning, o'asé, removing to the sides one or another trunk and branch that might be on the ground.

• [462] Now begins the planting, which is reserved for the women, that is, the wife assisted by her daughters or women who live with her. Since this work might take a long time, if the clearing is very far from the house the man builds there a small hut or papirí, in Tukano wi'ykĩ-pama. This is four stakes supporting a straw covering. His family will stay there during the cleaning and the planting. This is done, even today, in the simplest way, called wexsé bu'bé, with the help of the digging stick; that is, after a rainfall, when the ground is still soft, a hole is made in the ground with a pointed stick (more rarely, today, with a digging iron), sérí-phĩ, a maniva (branch of manioc) is introduced obliquely, and a small heap of earth is piled up around it.

Nowadays, they plant in their clearings besides mandioca, joints of cane (saccharum officinale), shoots of the banana tree (Musa), of carás /Dioscorea/, of sweet potato (hypomoea batata), of pineapple (ananas satíva), seeds of papaya (papáya cárica). Ordinarily they do not plant all the cleared area at only one time, but in two stages or two clearings a year, in the two proper times; it is what they call dexkó bu'besé, half a planting. The planting is done in disorder, the /247/ shoots very close together and without a passage. For this reason, and also because of the impoverishment of the soil, the return is always scanty. Ordinarily they do not pull up mandioca for flour until after a year. The weeds that grow are pulled out by hand, taá kuresé, by the women. The woman will spend several hours a [462] day in the clearing with her children and, upon returning, will [857] carry on her back an aturá of mandioca, a bundle of wood for the fire, and a child or two hanging on at her waist.

4: Silva--399 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 273 in the original source./

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857

From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the py:)

One of the feminine occupations

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842 /385 cont./
847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach these methods.

The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkákõ (literally it means
848 "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
*[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother (111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkákõ brother.

581 It is considered shameful to have children at once in the
842 first year of marriage, Pe. Humberto Limpens of Acuaricuara,
183 river Paca, informed us. They want children only two or three years after the marriage, and this is also the interval between
[797] children. A demonstration that this is artificial is given by the good Christian mother, alumna of the Mission, with successive children and at once from the first year. One understands the
• [462] difficulty of the native mother who, besides the care and nursing of the child, is pressed with the work of the house and of the clearing, if she does not have the help of older daughters.

/419 cont./

551 /footnote 24 cont./ identified with such a person (or object). To pronounce this name is to render present that person or sacred object, which is not licit (religious taboo, properly speaking). Or to pronounce the name of a person (for example, that of one's own husband, among tribes of southern India -- cf. Gordon, o. c. 132) will make him die (it is the magic taboo).

551 They will simply say to identify her: -- "The wife of such-and-
593 such a person" or "The mother of such-and-such a person." The
*[192] husband will use this expression: "Yõ põrá-kó," "the mother of my children," or "the one who gives me children," or "the mother of N" and says the name of the oldest child.

Her tasks are constant, heavy, and of great responsibility. Per-
• 462 haps in a precarious state of health, for example, during gestation and the delivery, even so, she does them perfectly, without complaining, because they are tribal regulations, therefore they come from a superior will (25).

[593] [123] 25. If, in front of the husband, we purposely show surprise at her great tasks, the woman smiles and says nothing.

[241] The planting and the cleaning of the clearing fall to her. She will spend whole hours in the sun amid the fire and the smoke,
*[192] preparing the piles of branches to be burned, digging and burying the mandioca shoots, cleaning the clearing by the process of pull-
[252] ing out the weeds by hand, Taá kuresé. She is the one who pulls the mandioca, collects it in the aturás /carrying baskets/, and brings it home, where, afterwards, she peels it, grates it, squeezes it, and strains it, in order to make flour. It is she who prepares the foods and the caxiris, takes care of the house and of the rearing of the children. All this while the husband perhaps is idle in

/419 cont./

462 conversation with other men for long hours (26).

[517] 26. At other times she might be gaily conversing while the man is working.

611 She is a foreigner, without any right over her children. They
736 belong to the husband, or rather to the tribe of the husband. If by chance she becomes a widow, she may continue to live in the maloca, and she will ordinarily do so, especially if she is aged and cannot expect another marriage. Or she will return to her tribe, without, however, taking the children with her. With the hypothesis that her husband had a separate house or one in the vicinity of another tribe, the relatives from the husband's tribe will come to take the orphans to their own maloca. If any of the orphans are still /420/ babies at the breast, perhaps they will await until the child can dispense with maternal care, and then they will irrevocably take them away.

587 When it was a matter of her marrying, an exchange or indemnification was negotiated, without her being consulted. Upon establishing her new home, she had the customary test of a beating, and perhaps, due to the bad character of the husband, many others might follow, against which she could never react. Accord-
264 ing to the tribal customs, she will never eat with the husband; she
593 takes out her portion and it is only after he and his friends and guests are satisfied and leave the place that she will take her food.

462 All this causes surprise, especially if we observe the importance of her "atelier": that is, it is she who performs the tasks necessary for life: she plants the clearing, works with the mandioca, which constitutes the indispensable daily dish, weaves the hammocks for sleeping, makes the vessels for water, prepares the caxiris and the cooking.

593 We leave, Deo volente, for a monograph the study of the indications of a matriarchalist civilization among the Uaupesina tribes. For now we shall say, with the students who have

/420 cont./

593 passed through this region, that to the husband fall the honor and the responsibility of head of the family group. Concerning
• 462 the tasks, however, more attentive observation will attenuate the
593 impression of the woman's inferiority.

In reality there is a division of labor between the man and the woman, established by the customs. The concepts of importance and gravity, weight and responsibility of these tasks cannot be considered according to the criteria of our culture, but, indeed, of the native mentality.

As the ancient impositions that they are, perhaps they were easier to understand formerly than today, because of the change in the circumstances. At present they are still observed with great strictness, due to the spirit of attachment to the traditions, characteristic of the natives, although the present conditions might counsel a new revision of the customs and a different distribution of the tasks.

It is understandable that the husband, in more difficult times of fighting between the groups or against animals, should always have been in a physical condition to be able to do it and to have available the necessary time, without his family lacking anything because of it. Hence the convenience of having these urgent daily chores assigned to the woman. This also provides, besides the indispensable rest, the physical robustness of the male, who, at given times, would be subjected to difficult tests.

This observation makes us understand the division of labor better. Those tasks that require dexterity, courage, and, up to a certain /421/ point, physical strength belong to the husband. It is the men who select, cut, and transport trunks, beams, poles, and palms for the construction of the residence, as well as performing all the work of building the house of residence and other auxiliary huts. Moreover, the making of barriers in the rivers, with thick trunks, for the large-scale fishing falls to the man. To him, the hunting, exclusively, and in large part the fishing, to which the women are only admitted as helpers. Previously the

/421 cont./

•462 man manufactured weapons and implements for one thing and
593 another: canoe, baskets, nets, bows, arrows, traps, etc. In the clearing there fell to him the preliminary work of choosing the spot and felling the trees. The defense of the clearing against the harmful animals or other persons is also his duty. Of the domestic utensils he is the one who manufactures the tipití /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the treatment of the mandioca, as well as the little seats. As for the diet, he is the one who supplies the game, fish, and who brings the fruits from the forest for the caxirís. And he has prepared the ornaments and the musical instruments for the social and religious manifestations. Recognizing, then, the great weight of work that falls upon the woman for the maintenance of the family, we think that it alone does not demonstrate an inferior position for the woman.

593 The Põãperi, in itself, is not a depreciation of the woman,
[583] as we have already noted. The nuptial gifts, more than the dowry of the European customs, properly represent a valorization of the wife. She is really considered greatly useful, not only under the aspect of maternity, so desired and appreciated, since the Indian wishes to have children, but even in the economic one.

[551] As for not knowing the wife's name and the ways of referring to her, they do not seem to be indicators of inferiority. She came from another tribe and another language, perhaps a strange name. In any case they are not accustomed to calling anyone by name, as we shall see. In general, in referring to the wife, the husband uses the expression: -- "The mother of N" and says the name of the first-born child, and this seems to be an affectionate association. She will also say of the husband: "The father of N," which, on her lips, has a particular meaning, as affirmation that it is a legitimate child.

[611] As for the children, this affirmation is of value: the children belong to the tribe more than to the parents. Both the wife and the husband exert little authority over the children, since they are raised with great autonomy. Perhaps she has an ascendancy even greater than the husband, because, at least when they are small, they are exclusively in her care, and they go so far as to learn her idiom.

/424 cont./

562 This moral decadence is not likely to generate in the masculine mind respect (as in fact there is none) for the woman, be she his sister, his wife, or his mother. Any woman represents for them only a worker for the daily tasks and an instrument of very cheap and common pleasures.

The woman senses this real situation, and the more prodigal she is, out of intimate impulses, out of obedience to the customs, because of a desire to please, or out of fear of punishment, the more she is degraded in her own eyes.

The habit of considering situations, rare or none at all, the busy life of work and feasts that she leads, the knowledge that the situation of every woman is identical and that it is a matter of a fact not susceptible to change, because created by the inviolable laws of the tribe, somewhat mitigate her suffering, almost producing conformity and acceptance of this state of things.

When one of them comes into contact with the civilized, however, she gets an idea of a better situation for the woman, she perhaps hears appeals for virtue and her own improvement, she then starts to evaluate the state of decadence of the Indian woman, and she exclaims sorrowfully: "the woman is not worth anything."

9) Division of labor.

462 There is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés a strict division of labor, such that those of one sex will not do the tasks /425/ designated for those of the other one (32).

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32. This statement holds, without any doubt, for the traditional tasks and for the natives with little or no contact with civilization. In the acculturation that is in process, this concept of division of occupations is beginning to evolve. With all naturalness nowadays a young man serves as cook for the civilized. It is very common, likewise, to see a man wash his own clothes, as well as to fit a carrying basket on his back, as the women do, in order to transport a load for the whites.

/425 cont./

462 It is likewise to be noted that, although one task might complement the other, they do not perform them together, but one sex will do its part before or after the other one.

1. It falls to the man: to build his own house and to provide all the material involved in the construction;

the choice of the terrain for the clearing, felling the trees and the burning;

the hunting and fishing;

the preparation of the weapons (bow, arrows, sarabatana /blowgun/);

the making of the tipití /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the preparation of the foods made out of mandioca;

the preparation of the grater (33);

33. We saw on the Içana that the preparation of the plank for the grater fell to the man, and the incrustation of the small stones to the woman.

the making of the dance ornaments and musical instruments;

the manufacturing of the fishing nets and baskets and the traps;

the making of the trocano /signal drum/ and of the caxirí tubs;

the collecting of arumã and the gathering of the splints for the making of the basketry, of the leaves for the extraction of the tucum fibers; as well as of the clay for pottery;

the collecting of the poisonous plants and their preparation for fishing.

2. It falls to the woman: to plant and clean the clearing and the harvesting of the mandioca;

the cleaning of the ground adjacent to the maloca;

to carry the aturá /carrying basket/ with the load;

to make and to fire the pottery;

to manufacture the hammocks for sleeping;

to perform the domestic services (to light the fire, to prepare the food, to bring the water, the firewood, to carry the children, to look for lice, etc.).

/436 cont./

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/footnote 57 cont./ teach or perhaps the daughter does not want to learn. It is a fact that we verified many times: the daughters do not know everything that their mother knows and does.

By preparing their small bows and arrows for amusement or by watching the men work, and sometimes by helping them spontaneously, the boys also become skilled in the different masculine tasks (58).

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[797]

58. Never, however, in the feminine ones. They used to laugh in the beginning, Pe. João Marchesi told us, when they saw the Missionary light the fire and prepare his own food, because "it is woman's work." Nowadays one already sees a man of the younger generation, who went through the Mission schools, carrying one of his small children, while the wife is loaded with an aturá on her back or other great burdens.

It is all an intuitive process of apprenticeship, arousing the interest of the children, developing the capacity for imitation that they possess, deeply rooted, in an environment of freedom, happiness, and well-being. A conjunction, finally, of conditions in accord with the native psyche, and, for this reason, assurers of a happy result. Not infrequently the young men become more skilled than their own fathers.

476 There are many tasks that they perform collectively, or at least with the help of others, such as felling trees, cleaning the clearing, building houses, making the canoes. These are done with the display of a greater cheerfulness and emulation, which favor the growth of love of the work and of doing it nicely.

/477 cont./

614 Just as there is no indication of clan totemism, there is none
532 of individual or personal totemism either. The objects that they make do not represent animals; they are of simple workmanship, according to the purpose. In some quite rare cases the paintings of the walls are anthropomorphic; they seem, however, to have only a sportive character. /Page 478 is blank./

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## Chapter IX

## The Life of the Indian

1) Daily cycle.

512 The type and the standard of life of the Indian seem patterned. Even in distinct tribes we find the Indians doing the same things in the same way, and even with a very close timetable. It is indeed a very methodical life, not, however, monotonous. On the contrary, quite varied, in a perfect nature in which daily rest, work, meals, baths, physical exercises succeed one another.

[592] "The Tukano lives in the maloca, which serves him as bedroom, kitchen, dining room in the morning and in the afternoon. The maloca is, in succession, laboratory for the domestic chores, meeting place at times of rain, and ballroom during the great feasts. It is the place where the Tukano lives, dies, and is buried. For the Tukano the maloca is the world" (Report by the First Superior of the Salesian Missions of the Rio Negro, Mons. Lourenço Giordano -- Boletim Salesiano -- Feb. 1918, p. 31).

The ordinary family life can be summarized in this way: the Indian sleeps little, eats much, talks a great deal, works when it is necessary.

From three o'clock in the morning, the maloca still closed, one hears inside quite an animated conversation, noisy and fre-
[462] quent laughs. And many times the noise of the graters at work:
[252] it is the women who are preparing the mandioca for the beijú.
[515] Before five o'clock, with rain or without it, always dark in those latitudes, the women leave through the back door, individually

/480 cont./

512 with the beijú or in small cuias, like a spoon. At the end, the
*[192] woman presents a large cuia with Ñõxká (manicuera /drink made
[264] out of manioc juice/) or the Po'ká peosé (the chibé /manioc flour and water/ of generalized use on the Amazon). Like our coffee, they thus ordinarily end their meals with the indispensable chibé, of which as much as is wanted is taken, the cuia then being passed to the neighbor on the right. Finally the women and children simultaneously take their food.

The noisy exodus for work starts: it might perhaps be seven or eight o'clock. The men and women leave in groups. The former for the forest, for hunting, to procure textile fibers, wood for building, or to search for fruits, or for the river, with the proper equipment for fishing or in order to prepare the traps.

*[192] The women with the older daughters and the children (small
[241] ones) go to the clearing, taking the Pi'í (aturá), hanging from the forehead on the back, in order to carry mandioca and firewood. In order to reach the field they almost always have to take the canoe, and for this reason they leave with oars of different sizes, some quite small for the children. Some old or sick person (many times nobody) will stay as guard of the deserted and silent maloca.

• [462] The work will last until after eleven o'clock. Around one
[854] o'clock the maloca starts to become animated again. The women arrive with their aturás filled with mandioca and, on top, bundles of firewood; the smaller children on their hips or held in front of the chest, and others holding on to their skirt. They are perspiring, with the face flushed, if they did not /481/ touch it with carajurú /carajura/, as a precaution, in order not to suffer so much from the heat of the sun. Little by little the men also begin to arrive with the results of their labor: fruits, fish, game, or fibers and timber.

Another bath will come, with its freshness, to renew their well-being. The woman will grill the fish or the game, will prepare fresh, tasty beijú, the quinhapira, the mingau, some insect,
*[192] and the chibé. Soon will come the "Baãra a'tyá" and the afternoon meal.

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121 everywhere narcotics and excitants, stimulants and vision-producing drugs are valued for their ritual effects.

No common psychological pattern, to be sure, encompasses the area. Yet the Cubeo ritual pattern, with its exaltation of intoxication and of frenzied emotional experience, is far from uncommon in the tropical forest. In religion the Amazon Basin is a region of the shaman and of minor cults rather than of priests and of the worship of important deities. Tropical forest religion is small in scale, a feature that is parallel to and assuredly related to the decentralization of social life.

Compared with the Andes, tropical forest communities by and large are small. In many regions community size is unduly small because of severe population decline since white contact. In the Northwest Amazon, the subarea of the Cubeo, the multifamily single house is the common residence. The sense of family and of kinship are very strong, making of religion and ritual largely domestic affairs, with cults of the dead and initiation rites of outstanding importance. Considering the importance of crops, horticultural ritual is strikingly undeveloped. Here we can point to a fruitful field for the study of the commonly accepted functionalist doctrine that magic and religious ritual tend to surround areas of uncertainty such as farming. [244] In the case of the Cubeo one can state with confidence that the lack [796] of rite in farming is related to the strongly secular position of the [462] women as horticulturists and not to the lack of hazard in farming. Manioc cultivation is no less uncertain than yam cultivation in the Trobriand Islands. Uncertainty, after all, is not necessarily an objective condition. Existence is uncertain for all peoples and each society has the choice of underscoring those areas of life where it believes the fears and uncertainties to lie. Since the tropical forest is one of the major world areas of the *couvade*, the rites by which the father plays a part in parturition, it might seem as though it were the fate of the newborn infant more than the fate of the crops that is at the heart of their concern.

There is the fundamental question of the relation of the tropical forest to the "high" cultures of South and of Central America. On this there is still not much to say. Yet the problem of relationship cannot be ignored. One cannot divide lowland and highland into totally distinct and unrelated worlds. The archeology of the lower Amazon calls attention to cultural developments either related to or parallel to the marginal areas of the Andes. Highland and lowland share many traits such as maize, chicha, coca, textiles, and complex basketry. The jaguar "cult" of the Northwest Amazon may well be

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361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
[844] Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[834] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
241 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[270] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[245] cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[77] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahikiwa* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 8). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes. 361 241 462

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men. 351 361 562

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed. [622] [178] [755] [521] 351 361 562 574

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain. 361 562 823 [614] [534] [515] [833] [842]

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then 621 512

chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 361 241 462

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501 516 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been over- [461] come the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oarsman's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the 501 canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a 461 long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spontaneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!" 501 On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about 517 two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying [123] some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why didn't you shoot them?"

501 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of 462 steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys, each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are [857] in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of balance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

502 All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the [823] canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided because of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline. Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push. High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

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773 From *Kúwai*, the culture-hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

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A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

[578]

## FISHING

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Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each [251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [417] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [614] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. [237] They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaúcteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very 226 bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 484 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 574 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for 602 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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He brings home the hide for a
224 trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle
[237] that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary
and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the
[554] *Bahükiwa* the headman's son – an aspirant for the position – killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

## GARDENING

• 462 I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions
262 of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

462 An important distinction between the labor of men and women
461 is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

462 On days when only subsistence manioc – that is, the manioc cake
461 – is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its
252 preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she
244 gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

462 Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time,
244 leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast.
[512] Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against
[751] sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is
[789]

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usually accompanied by an unmarried daughter, who is both helper and chaperon, a dog, and her breast baby. Her equipment is a machete (in the past it was a digging stick), a portage basket, and a tray upon which she rests her baby. 244 [412] [178] [415]

With the machete she cuts the long root at the base of a mature manioc plant and then loosens the earth so as to pull out the cluster of tubers. Each root yields an average of six tubers, two of which are large, two medium, and two small. This phase of the work is difficult but the woman moves quickly and silently. She does not sing at her work. Her daughter, assistant and apprentice, tears each tuber from the root, scrapes it clear of earth, and drops it in the basket. When a basket has been filled the woman gathers up the stems of the manioc plant, trims them of their leaves, and stacks the cuttings neatly in small heaps. She burns the leaves to add ash to the soil. She does not replant the cuttings immediately, but allows them to lie for several days. After an accumulation a woman devotes a morning to replanting. She breaks up the soil of the segment she has harvested and forms it into small mounds, into each of which she puts a number of trimmed cuttings, setting them in at a sharp angle. She works segments of garden that are about 25 yards square. After replanting, the earliest harvest will be after half a year, but full maturity takes two years. Each 25-square-yard segment yields from 50 to 60 pounds of manioc, or one basket load. [461]

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for whom I have productivity figures, the household of the headman harvested 400 baskets of manioc annually. Another household that had three adult women harvested 500. One old woman had a minimum yield of 150 and all other households averaged close to 200. Ten households produced 2,550 baskets, or some 75 tons of manioc a year. A basket of manioc converts into two large manioc cakes. In the headman's household of seven people three cakes were eaten every two days, leaving a "surplus" of close to 30 per cent for use as chicha and as farinha. On the other hand, households producing 200 baskets annually are close to the subsistence line. 244 433

The point of this digression into production figures has been to show how exigent are the demands upon the woman's labor. The women feel that they cannot afford to interrupt their labors or they will fall behind. Nevertheless, childbirth, illness, ceremonies – women do not garden on the day of a ceremony – and the press of other activities such as accompanying men on prolonged trips for hunting (in the nature of a respite for a woman) take their toll of labor time. Women do not complain of having too much to do. On the contrary, I have heard the grievance that the manioc garden is too small. 244 433 461 462

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244 A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total
433 productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects
[462] favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They
244 are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their
242 characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When wom-
[571] en from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cul-
[439] tivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for
[252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake
244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's
462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

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Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

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place the blame upon the material conditions. The woman, then, is more than a mere toiler in the garden. She qualifies as agronomist as well. 244 462

Women return from their gardens in the very early afternoon. They pause at the rear door of the house only long enough to drop the machete, and without putting down their burdens of manioc and infant, go directly to the river to bathe themselves and to wash the tubers. This is a pleasurable hour. Refreshed from the heat of the morning, the women play with their infants and jest with one another. Washing the tubers is a simple task of dipping the entire basket into the water. A light midday meal follows the washing, and the routine of processing the tubers begins. The woman may start with fresh roots, but for a more tender manioc cake she will allow the roots to soften for several days either in the house or in the river. 512 462 252 [515] [264]

The first step is peeling. The woman seats herself at her own household compartment, her back braced against a post, her legs stretched out stiff and straight before her into the dance corridor – the public alley of the house. The manioc basket is at one side and a tray at the other. She bites the butt end of the tuber to break the skin, and using teeth and fingers pulls off the readily peelable skin. This phase of the work is leisurely. Women who are not at the moment occupied come by to chat and help casually in the peeling. A woman's daughters sit with her and help. Enough is peeled for one manioc cake – that is, one half of a basket. 462 252 461 [516]

The next step is the most arduous and least liked – grating the peeled tubers on a wooden board (*pediba*) that has been set with abrasive stones. A woman can usually shift this work on to her daughter or her daughter-in-law.

The scraping process is as follows. The woman sits with her feet stretched out straight before her and slightly spread. She sets the grate on her legs with its far end braced against a house post, the forward end pressed against her abdomen. She takes up two large manioc tubers from a tray, one in each hand, and scrapes vigorously with alternate arm movements with the hardest pressure on the forward stroke. The action is vigorous, involving not only full arm movements but the bending of the back from the hips. Young women of marriageable age work rapidly and continuously until bathed in sweat. When worn down to a size where it cannot be conveniently scraped any more, the tuber is thrown aside and two others taken up. Finally, a collection of scraps is assembled into a single bunch clutched in both hands and scraped down virtually to the very bottom. This is a break in the work rhythm since both hands are used together and the move- [516]

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462 ment is slower and altogether less vigorous. Usually, except when she
461 is very strong and young, the woman interrupts her scraping for a
252 rest or change of occupation. For example, the work may be staggered. If the mother begins the scraping and the daughter continues with the peeling, the daughter, when she has finished peeling, will take over the scraping, while the mother prepares to begin the next process. The manioc mash that has accumulated at the far end of the board is removed by hand and thrown into a basket tray, and the liquid drained off into a pot to be poured out.

A substantial part of the poisonous liquid of the manioc has been
[415] removed in the scraping on the grater; the mash is further dried by pounding it through a tightly woven basket sieve. A tripodal frame is set up and the sieve set on it at a woman's waist level. The pounding, also strenuous work, requires vigorous motion of the arms, back, and shoulders. With both fists clenched the woman attacks the mash,
[516] using her arms as pistons in a crisscross motion. The mash is frequently turned. As this work is done standing up, the woman has a chance to limber her legs. Because of the height at which the sieve is set little girls are not very efficient at the pounding, and only help out for a little while. When the mash is relatively dry after a thorough pounding it is put into a long tubular squeezer (the tipiti). The woman grips the lower end of the flexible tube between her knees, and bending the top toward her, fills it with the mash from the sieve. When full, the squeezer is hung from a projecting beam at one of the house posts. Through a loop at the lower end of the squeezer a long pole of heavy wood is inserted, the fulcrum end going through a few twists of heavy rope around the post. This phase of the work affords the woman a rest from the strenuous labor of scraping and pounding. She may sit on the pole, adjusting the pressure by the distance from the fulcrum. A woman is sometimes joined by another, who helps her sit on the pole. The liquid starch that runs down the sides of the squeezer is collected in a pot set for it. The pot is covered with a layer of ash that absorbs the volatile prussic acid, and the clear starch is used as the base for a porridge.

The mash, free of much of its prussic acid content, is finally formed into a cake upon the flat circular oven at the rear of the house. The baking is leisurely and as women wait their turn at the communal oven they enjoy some sociable moments.

462 A good housewife prepares a fresh manioc cake daily since the
252 cake tastes best when fresh, moist, and warm. On the second day a
[512] cake is dry and considerably less palatable. Thus, under ordinary conditions, the routine of manioc preparation is daily. However, a wom-

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an who has daughters to help her can prepare a surplus of mash that, covered with banana leaves or stored in a circular bark bin, holds over to the next day. Whatever time a woman spares from manioc cake preparation is immediately absorbed by other duties, among them the making of chicha and farinha, which is simply the manioc routine all over again. When a woman prepares manioc for chicha, however, she has the help of her husband, but only at those stages that are totally distinct from manioc cake preparation. The Cubeo tradition is for men to take no part in *duno* production, once they have made the clearing. Still, men do help their wives in peeling the manioc tuber. Since the knife has begun to supplant the teeth as a peeling implement, men, who are the most expert in handling knives, feel somewhat more free than formerly to help – but not without embarrassment. I once walked into the house and saw the headman sitting amiably beside his wife and peeling manioc with a knife. Were I a proper Cubeo I would have managed to appear as though I had seen nothing. But the sight was so unexpected I stared. The man flushed and dropped the knife and tuber. Then he collected himself and explained that his wife was not well and so he felt he should help her. He assured me, as his wife smiled, that he never did this ordinarily.

Whereas all women share the same general manioc routine, individual circumstances differ. A young married woman with young children has no one to help her and must work very hard in contrast to an older woman with several daughters who can relieve her of much of the work. A woman with many sons and no daughters has a very heavy burden. The men provide her with a very large garden, they eat heavily, they are sociable and plan drinking parties. An old woman living alone prepares her own small manioc cake ration, and worries rather that she can call on no man to enlarge her manioc garden. Yet in all these individual circumstances one observes leveling factors as well. The household with very young children eats less, has less need to entertain, and has smaller trade needs. The household with grown daughters eats more, entertains more – suitors and their parties for example – and has great needs for trade goods, skirts, and ornaments for the girls. The household with many men has greater access to trade goods through their wage labor and saves on farinha. An old woman living alone may eat with her close kin and so devote her manioc production entirely to farinha, if she desires. There are no significant differences in manioc cake consumption. Families differ only in the rather small prestige of owning trade goods and in

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592 554 providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor [433] in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*kardiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaindryo, waiwari, mod, pudjú, kanéka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kwdmene*), pineapple, (*ihlbo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*uné*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*hahámu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butei*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [85] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, 231 and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as 235 pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and 123 animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had 245 been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of 439 my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiari. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more [262] than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. [302] Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

## MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest 121 tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes 28 that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by 32 Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men 28 ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women 32 specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment 462 has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a [415] small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pediba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men 462 work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a 461

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462 simple basket is often a matter of several weeks. Every man has at
461 his side, so to speak, a number of unfinished objects which he hopes to get at before too long.

462 The sexual division of labor in manufactures is rather firmly main-
323 tained. I learned of few objects in use that were not made by a member of the proper sex. Young men are drawn to pottery making, but they may handle clay in a playful manner only. They make pots and dishes in strange shapes, working rather expertly. Such dishes are given to children as toys and are soon destroyed. Children, boys and girls, play with clay, making small animal or human figures and quickly destroying them. No permanent clay figures are ever made. Serious pottery work is an annual affair, undertaken by the women when the falling river has exposed the clay banks. All at once the women working together renew the household ceramic ware.

342 Manufacture is most often a group activity, and like all group ac-
[461] tivities is regarded by the Indians as a pleasurable recreation. The
{476} exception to this rule is perhaps housebuilding, which is often strenuous. Even then, when the exertion of the task has broken the spell of good feeling, the men stop and turn to another task. A large maloca can be a very long time in building. Among the *Bahúkiwa* a house begun when I arrived was not yet complete when I left almost a year later. A house must be built by a group working together not only for technical reasons, but in obedience to the principle that all who are going to live in it must work on it.

Building the communal house is a major technical and social enterprise. It tests the capabilities of the headman and the morale of the community. The true maloca is a solid structure built with great care, skill, and concern for details. Temporary houses may be slipshod in construction, but when a house is slipshod it is either clearly designated as temporary or it will be a cause of shame. Every
342 part of the house is built with the greatest care, but nothing reveals
284 more clearly the Cubeo concern for combining structural integrity and aesthetic design than the lashings that hold all the materials together. The most conspicuous lashings are those that bind the main beams. The builders start with temporary house posts and with temporary lashings. Finally, when the entire structure is in place, an expert lasher goes over the entire inner structure, replacing the beams and rebinding them in a consistent pattern, using carefully chosen
342 lianas. The Cubeo are painstaking in all crafts, but the maloca is
[114] their supreme creation. I was able to observe almost every stage in
{461} the construction of a maloca among the *Bahúkiwa*. I do not recall that a single bundle of roofing thatch was laid under pressure or

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under duress. Men worked on the house only when they felt cheerful and dedicated to the work. The man who felt out of sorts dropped away and returned only when his spirits had improved. Dependency upon mood was one of the most important factors delaying completion of a house. 342 461

Even so, the magnitude of the technical problems is not to be underestimated. The mere assemblage of material is a complex, arduous, and time-consuming task. Construction materials are not always close to hand. The *Bahúkiwa* fetched roofing thatch from the mouth of the Cuduiarí in what was technically the territory of the *Hehénewa* sibs. Their house of 12 compartments consumed 560 bundles of thatch, and, since each canoe could transport only five bundles, over a hundred canoe loads were needed, a task that would normally be spread out over many months. The *Bahúkiwa* headman was able to borrow from the *Comisaria* a large cargo barge and in this way a great deal of time was saved. Even so, a large party of several households camped for weeks on the lower river during a dry season, gathering and preparing the parana palm thatch (*tcinâ*). Altogether, thatch gathering consumed 50 days of the time of at least half the community. The practice is for the headman to institute a "crash program" to get each phase of the work well under way. His problem is to fit each phase of construction into the routine of daily and of seasonal life with minimum disruption. Strictly speaking, the decisions are not his. His is the technical voice, but he will do nothing without discussion with the household heads. Roofing can be cut during the two dry seasons and can never be finished in only one. Gathering, trimming, and binding the parana palm leaves into sheaves is the only housebuilding task in which women share. [427] [505] [462]

The headman, together with his firmest supporters, that is, his own sons and blood brothers, has the specific responsibility for erecting the central framework, the three pairs of heavy posts that will support the main weight of the roof. Others may help in this if they wish but they have no specific obligation to do so. The inner framework of three pairs of heavy posts forms the inner box around which the rest of the house is built. The timbers must be carefully chosen and then well dug in, while the parallelogram must be very carefully laid out. The floor plan is laid out with long sticks, and right angles are very accurately estimated. The rest of the framework including the ridgepole is a collective enterprise and is the second stage of construction. Roofing is the third stage. When enough roof has been laid down to provide even a bare shelter, the close kin of the headman move in. 342 335 [622] 342 [622] [602]

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342 move in. The walls and the two great doors that can be swung up are built long after the house is fully occupied.

283 Much of a man's spare time is devoted to preparing string of one
824 sort or another – fishline, hammock strings, binding ropes. The most common material is from the miriti palm. The palm leaf is boiled in water and allowed to soak until long, strong fibers can be drawn from it. These fibers have extraordinary tensile strength and, therefore, have wide use among the Indians. The lower and thicker part of the leaf is slit with a knife or broken by hand to expose the fibers, which are then stripped off in one smooth, continuous motion. The man holds the leaf pinned to the ground with his great toe and pulls
[462] the fibers upward. Essentially it is men's work but women and children help in pulling out the fibers. After the fibers have been allowed to dry by exposure to the air, several are joined together and rolled on the thigh into a string. Occasionally a woman helps her husband roll fishline. The end of the string is gripped between the great toe and its adjacent member and allowed to pass under the frontal arch of the foot and so is held firm. Rolling twine is leisurely work. Men rarely make more than they need for a particular pur-
[314] pose. Fishline is coated with resin. This will not only strengthen it and make it easier to handle, but, the men told me, the resin darkens the line so that it will not be seen by the fish.

463 The Cubeo have no true category of specialist. That is to say, they expect all adults to possess the skills for making all ordinary household articles that are on the roster of sib manufactures. They must, of course, contend with differences in aptitude. They do so by giving the inept the fullest technical help, either by advice, or, if necessary, by virtually making the article. But even when total aid is given, the object is considered to have been made by its owner with help.
463 Items of public use, and these include ceremonial equipment and
622 musical instruments, require special proficiency and are made by the headman and by aspirants to the office. The headman then is a specialist, but his specialty is in esoteric objects for public use.

## TRADE

439 The entire Northwest Amazon area is a vastly complex trading network. Objects of every description, household implements, ornaments, musical instruments, ceremonial objects, plants, pets, and magical substances are in constant circulation from tribe to tribe, from sib to sib. Indians who are in contact with the trading centers of Colombians and Brazilians are often middlemen, pumping manu-

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439 business. The Indians are now aware that in their dealings with the whites their labor and their products have a fixed value with some [462] leeway for bargaining. Direct commercial trade, object for object, is almost exclusively the province of the Indian women. This is not a new role for them because they also are active in intertribal and intersib trade. Because women do not have as much contact with whites as do their men they still inject into the commercial trading much that is traditional.

439 571 The traditional attitude is that any exchange is part of a patterned social relationship. An exchange establishes a linkage between the principals and each is aware of his obligations and of the showing he must make. The obligation is of generosity, the temptation to give somewhat more than one has received. The impression to be made [831] is that one does not haggle over objects. An exchange between a man and a woman who are sexually eligible to one another introduces the additional element of flirtatiousness. All of these elements enter into and complicate and enliven the farinha trade. The more experienced men are able to adapt to commercial methods, but since it is improper for a man to conduct his wife's business for her he will stand aside when she is trading her farinha.

439 I never witnessed the intertribal trade, but when I pointed to an object and asked who had made it or where it had come from, its provenience and the nature of the transaction were always known. Manioc grating boards, for example, generally come from the Isana River. The Cubeo often traded European articles for tribal manufactures, less because they needed the tribal object than to satisfy another Indian's need for the European article. A Macú once wanted matches and gave a small basket for a box. The Macú baskets are highly valued, but in this case the initiative was with the Macú. An [183] important principle of native trade in the area is that an object asked [576] for must be surrendered. One must be careful, therefore, not to ask for something the owner might be reluctant to part with. Thus the [123] *Bohükiwa* headman asked me as a condition of my staying in his community not to offer to buy ceremonial objects. "If you ask for them," he explained, "we shall have to give them to you. How shall we replace them?" Thus, there is an element of delicacy in intertribal trade. At the same time there is a compulsion to engage in trade so as to give significance to the meeting of people of different tribes. In sum, while intertribal trade eventually satisfies the requirements of the Indians for specialized objects they would not ordinarily have, each individual transaction responds to motives that are often only indirectly economic. Trade objects circulate readily. Thus, a set of

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relation of the men to the manioc cultivations is as follows. By working jointly in making a clearing the men are fulfilling, in part, a sib obligation. This is of minor importance, however, as compared with the specific obligations and the ensuing relationship between a man and a woman. No bond between a man and a woman is of greater importance and richer in sentiment than that set up by the making and cultivating of a manioc garden. Every garden plot defines a relationship between a specific man and a specific woman. A woman without a man can have no garden. A man without a woman has no clearing to make; he can have subordinate status only in another household. Each side gains status from the arrangement. The only firm bond is that between husband and wife. A widow has only a frail claim upon the labor of her brother, whose primary obligation is to his own household, where his wife keeps jealous watch over her own *chagra*; for a woman's pride is deeply involved in the size of her manioc clearing. The Cubeo regard the size of clearing as a sign of a husband's affection for his wife. A widow has a better claim upon an unmarried son. As we shall see, between unmarried brother and unmarried sister a semiconjugal relationship develops over the material holding of land. 244 423 593 571 [614]

We have spoken of a reciprocity in status involved in the manioc *chagra*. There is also a specific and related economic reciprocity. By making a clearing a man obligates his wife's production. The preparation of manioc cake is never spoken of as a wifely obligation, but chicha and farinha are. The point of economic reciprocity as it sometimes emerges in the course of conjugal quarrels is entirely one of status and not of so fundamental an issue as food. If we are to speak of male-female reciprocity on matters of food the issue is between the male flesh foods and the female cultivated foods. Although a man obligates his wife's labor for chicha and for farinha he evidently does not obligate all of it, for a woman will suddenly declare that she is cosponsoring a drinking party by a contribution of "her" manioc. Moreover, it is part of the status of a wife that she can freely contract part of her farinha production for personal objects, such as cloth and trinkets. If there is a formal principle governing this kind of connubial economic arrangement I did not learn what it is. 244 423 462 593 [261]

The point to emphasize with respect to manioc cultivations, then, is that the issue in possession of land is not simply that of subsistence. It would be unthinkable for a Cubeo to allow a sibmate, or phratry mate for that matter, to hunger if he had any food for him. When a solitary woman laments that her *chagra* is exhausted and no kinsman is moving to make another for her, the fear she voices is not that she 244 423 261 602

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahikiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
433 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except
244 in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
433 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
462 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
461 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the man-
244 ioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
[261] Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[273] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There
[614] is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the
[182] drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[3] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the re-
[614] sponsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the
[554] chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

43 It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[3] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahúkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahúkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkúndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkúndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkúndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center. 574 [342]

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough. 574 571 614

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers. 574 273 [462]

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihi* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner. [535] [171] [184] [276]

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765 535 532 ing, like a pennant, bark-fringe streamers. The *Borikakü* usually dances with *Máwayo*, its compatriot, the red-mouthed aracú. In a joint dance they carry a rope ladder (*towándo*) made of three parallel strands of rope into which wooden rungs are set. Attaching the ladder to a roof beam, they climb and descend.

## THE MINNOWS

Although the Minnows (*Emíwa*) wear no masks they are definitely part of the dance ensemble; they have a dance step, a song, and a dramatic role. The Minnows are the youngsters and form a school of fish that presumably stands for the youngsters' play pack.[4] They are a boisterous element, moving in and out among the masked dancers. Lacking masks and, accordingly, formal ceremonial status they play a counterpoint of sheer spontaneity to the more solemn dances of the masks. While the role clearly belongs to youngsters, boys are not limited to it. Prepubescent boys do, indeed, wear masks. Those I saw were Butterflies and I was told that a youngster may dance any role but *Yawí*, the Jaguar. The Minnows play on curious [534] shrill whistles. The whistles resemble a short three-tube Panpipe and are mounted at the end of a stick about a yard in length that is hung with three streamers of bark cloth. The dancers wear ankle rattles and dance in a spiral formation, taking two accented steps forward and then two oblique steps back. They hold their whistle sticks pointing up. They have no particular formation, dancing sometimes abreast, sometimes in line, and, alternately, in disorder. The Minnows do all their dancing among the women, who dote on them and ply them with chicha.

## *XUDJÍKO* AND *XUDJÍKÜ*

765 534 769 The "grandmother" and her consort are, for the Cubeo, the truly solemn and sacred element of the *óyne*. Represented by giant 15-foot-long trumpets of wound bark that are bound as twins to a single frame, they are taboo to all the women, as are all ancestral horns. The trumpets are capable only of deep, mournful notes and represent ancestral mourning. It is the grandmother, however, who has [462] come to mourn and not the grandparents. The reason for this is that it is a woman's role to be an official weeper. Men may and do

[4] It will be recalled that in the story of *Kúwai* and the anaconda, the penis of the anaconda is transformed into four minnows that are given to the adulterous wife to eat.

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjiko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjiko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikü* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

765 534 769 [462]

## THE SIB UNITS

The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

765 614 [615] [754] [535]

## ORGANIZATION OF THE ÓYNE

As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur-

765 [182] [614] [615]

796 instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by
[534] Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey
[526] hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

88 As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in
582 the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the
592 plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

462 The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks
592 up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

592 Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities,
361 the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

342 A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

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000 *Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.*

 [See p.62A]

survives, the cultivated plants have been strangled by weeds and secondary growth. 249

The *cacique*, the *maloca*'s pet bird, accompanies the Indians, flying from bush to bush and cawing raucously as she glides low over their heads, her olive-green breast almost brushing their hair. She perches on a charred tree-stump, looks at them as they leave the old *chagra* and enter the forest, gives a loud 'caw' and flies back to the *maloca* to see what edible scraps can be found. [136]

In the early morning the tall forest is dank and cool, a place of silence broken only by the occasional chatter of the Indians as they move rapidly along, their sure footsteps delicately gliding over the mass of roots which forms a base to the pathway. Few birds and no animals are about; the sun's rays piercing through the thick leaf vault give life to what might be a dead world. Suddenly they come to a wide expanse of cleared land. There is a chaotic mass of fallen trees, black from recent fires, surrounded by the forest wall. It is as if a great explosion had occurred leaving behind only the charred remains.

Every year or two, when the dry season comes in late November or December, the men cut down an area of forest, and about two months later, just before the rains return, they burn the fallen timber to make a new *chagra*. With each new *chagra*, the men, who do all the clearing and burning, move further afield, so that eventually, after some five years or more, the *maloca* too will be moved to be near the plantation. 241 462

This system of shifting agriculture, the men as it were preparing the ground for the women to work on, is carried on incessantly. Partly owing to soil exhaustion, partly because of weed strangulation, the areas of cultivation must be constantly changed, and so the moving Indian population covers wide areas of otherwise untouched Amazonian forest. 241 221

It is now January; the smell of the fire still clings to this battlefield of black charcoal. Soon, with the arrival of the rains in March, the women will plant out the manioc cuttings and by late October the first crop will be harvested; so for two years they may expect to get reasonable manioc yields from their *chagra*, after which they must move again. 241 462

The men run over the fallen tree-trunks and from the new *chagra* they move into an area partly overgrown by weeds and secondary growth. Here, placed almost mathematically across the *chagra*, in contrast to the haphazard cultivation of other plants, are the avenues of coca shrubs. 249 462

Perhaps the ritual associated with the taking of cocaine during festivals and tribal ceremonies, apart from its daily use, explains the attention given not only to its later preparation but also to the planting and picking of the leaves. The common coca shrub, always tended by the men, stands about five feet high when fully grown and may last five or more years. It is the most important of the stimulants taken by the Tukano, some of whom are heroic addicts taking as much as two ounces a day. Their life is partly geared to their addiction, and their daily practice is to come to the *chagra* and

249 spend the greater part of the morning collecting the leaves which they pre-
462 pare during the afternoon and evening. It is a serious task and one which each man undertakes with a strange air of concentration. Each coca plant is selectively stripped leaf by leaf before the next one is tackled. The headman carries the basket with him and gradually it fills with handfuls of pale sage-green leaves. The younger men collect the leaves almost reverently in their right hands before emptying them into the basket, their faces serious, their crouched bodies shining in the strong morning sun, their short, clipped speech broken occasionally by a high-pitched laugh.

512 In the distance small ribbons of smoke rise in a misty cloud. The women
244 are just visible, their squat figures crouching among the manioc plants. They
462 can be heard laughing; occasionally a baby cries and the children romp and
85 play among the bright-green manioc plants whose tall spindly branches stretch skywards some six feet, terminating in clusters of long, thin, starlike leaves. With their babies straddled across their backs the women spend the morning cutting out the long potato-like roots from the sandy soil and putting the waste foliage into piles to be burnt. It is hot with the sun streaming down, the fires crackling and the smoke enshrouding the working bodies. There is little time for rest, though a woman will stop to swing her child around and let it suckle her breast; a mother may give a fat yellow beetle grub to her child to eat, having detached the head – a great delicacy, tasting like butter. Soon large baskets are filled with roughly peeled and half-cleaned roots.

512 The sun is high overhead and the men leave for the *maloca* with their basket
[482] full of coca leaves; on top they place large dried leaves from the *yarumo* (Cecropia) trees which grow like weeds in the *chagra*. The women too load their heavy baskets on to their backs, the headbands taking the greater part
[222] of the fifty-pound weight. The whole group hurries through the forest in silence, passing the old *chagra* where the headman's wife leaves the other women to collect pineapples, then down to the stream beneath the *maloca*. At this point comes one of the noisiest and most amusing incidents in their
[515] daily life. Not only the manioc roots are washed in the water but the babies
[85] too; the mothers vigorously shake their large baskets of roots, then stop to splash water over the backs of the children. For a short time there is cacophony, with screaming babies, splashing water, continuous chatter and laughter, and even barking dogs. But soon the stream is left to myriads of white and brimstone-yellow butterflies which circle everlastingly over the sandbanks, and the women, refreshed, their long black hair glistening in the sun, return up the path to the *maloca*.

Tobacco plants are nearly always grown in a little patch directly in front

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000 *A graceful Tukano canoe.*

[see p. 66-A]

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342 move in. The walls and the two great doors that can be swung up are built long after the house is fully occupied.

283 Much of a man's spare time is devoted to preparing string of one
824 sort or another – fishline, hammock strings, binding ropes. The most common material is from the miriti palm. The palm leaf is boiled in water and allowed to soak until long, strong fibers can be drawn from it. These fibers have extraordinary tensile strength and, therefore, have wide use among the Indians. The lower and thicker part of the leaf is slit with a knife or broken by hand to expose the fibers, which are then stripped off in one smooth, continuous motion. The man holds the leaf pinned to the ground with his great toe and pulls
[462] the fibers upward. Essentially it is men's work but women and children help in pulling out the fibers. After the fibers have been allowed to dry by exposure to the air, several are joined together and rolled on the thigh into a string. Occasionally a woman helps her husband roll fishline. The end of the string is gripped between the great toe and its adjacent member and allowed to pass under the frontal arch of the foot and so is held firm. Rolling twine is leisurely work. Men rarely make more than they need for a particular pur-
[314] pose. Fishline is coated with resin. This will not only strengthen it and make it easier to handle, but, the men told me, the resin darkens the line so that it will not be seen by the fish.

463 The Cubeo have no true category of specialist. That is to say, they expect all adults to possess the skills for making all ordinary household articles that are on the roster of sib manufactures. They must, of course, contend with differences in aptitude. They do so by giving the inept the fullest technical help, either by advice, or, if necessary, by virtually making the article. But even when total aid is given, the object is considered to have been made by its owner with help.
463 Items of public use, and these include ceremonial equipment and
622 musical instruments, require special proficiency and are made by the headman and by aspirants to the office. The headman then is a specialist, but his specialty is in esoteric objects for public use.

## TRADE

439 The entire Northwest Amazon area is a vastly complex trading network. Objects of every description, household implements, ornaments, musical instruments, ceremonial objects, plants, pets, and magical substances are in constant circulation from tribe to tribe, from sib to sib. Indians who are in contact with the trading centers of Colombians and Brazilians are often middlemen, pumping manu-

/249 cont./

438 [177]

taking something for the exchange (78).

> 78. We have seen some Indians taking along on trips goods received from the civilized (salt, machete, mirror, etc.), with the intention of bringing back some native object in exchange (canoe, grater, puçá, etc.). In some cases it will happen that they will not find for exchange the object that they desire, or the objects offered do not interest those of the various povoados, and their owner returns from the trip with the goods that he took. We might think that the same would have happened in former times, perhaps more rarely than today.

This trade was more frequent with the tribes with which there were matrimonial relations.

Although the trade among the tribes is still being maintained today through the exchange of the products of their specialty or exclusivity, it has become much more intense due to the relations with the civilized, who, since the eighteenth century, have navigated those rivers with more or less frequency.

464 648

In the first place, the civilized needs the services of the native. They were always the oarsmen for the first travelers of the /250/ rivers (79).

> 79. We know, for example, that in the squadron of Pedro de Teixeira, in 1637, there were 1,200 Indians for the work of rowing and other services.

and today they are the "sailors," that is, pilots, mechanics, oarsmen, loaders of the launches. And not infrequently they are hired as guides and interpreters. All these services are paid for with goods. Since the time of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro

/250 cont./

• 464 and of that of the Amazon (80).

648

[466]

80. See "Relatórios" /Reports/ on these Provinces. Unfortunately, instead of job contracts, there were deals between the latifundiários or traders of the Rio Negro and the tuxauas or those who, in a private or official manner, established relations with the Indians or lived among them in order to take advantage of the forest dwellers. The latter would come down, deluded by promises that did not correspond to reality and were victims of malaria or other illnesses. The means to return to their povoados were not made easy for them to get. Their weakness for alcohol was taken advantage of, and months of their services would be bought with some bottles of aguardiente. The documented exposure of these "descidas" /descents/ of the Indians will constitute quite dark chapters in the future History of the Indians of Brazil.

[164]

[273]

and on a smaller scale even today, more or less numerous Indians of different tribes irregularly come down to the lower Rio Negro for the most varied jobs, particularly the extraction of various products (rubber, piaçaba /piassava/, nuts, timber, etc.).

439 Objects of native industry for purchase are not only their artifacts for museum collections or decorations for private homes. Those who live or travel in these regions obtain from the Indians part of their food (81)

[797]

81. The Salesian Missions have brought great stimulus to the Indians for the production of the means of subsistence, because,

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in part, I believe, to cosmopolitanism, to the capability of the Indians to adopt foreign objects and foreign customs without losing their sense of identity as Indian. As long as the point of view remains Indian, the culture may change but it will still retain for the Indian a distinctive and satisfying pattern. It is when the clear identification as Indian in the cultural sense is lost that change is likely to mean breakdown.

Cosmopolitanism is but one general factor in a process of culture change that is exceedingly intricate and subtle, in which there are no clear-cut stages but endless gradations in the transition from Indian to the new cultural and psychological entity that emerges. Another general factor is the white agent. On the Cuduiari the white man does not intrude directly upon the Indian's daily life. The missionary expects the Indian to come to him at the mission station. Even then the missionary effort is a patient one. Mainly it goes through the children who are educated at the mission school. Mission Indians and tribal Indians lead different lives but they are not mutually antagonistic. Between them there is a gradation but not a gap.

The commercial white man, the rubber collector (*balatero*), or the trader has only a limited interest in the Indians. The Indian, having completed his contract work in the rubber forest, returns to his own community and is instantly enmeshed in the tribal life. But even in the rubber forests his associates have been fellow Indians, of foreign tribes, to be sure, but to this experience the Indian has been well accustomed. As for the white employer, he is often less a carrier of European culture than he is a frontiersman, a distinct tropical forest product himself. He is partly Indianized and he is generally the husband of an Indian wife.

Among the Mundurucú of central Brazil, as vividly described by Robert Murphy (1960), an anthropologist, work in the rubber forests and the contractual production of farinha, a manioc flour, for the white man were potent factors in the disruption, indeed in the virtual obliteration, of the native culture. To compare Mundurucú with Cubeo is to set off a society that has become ugly and disordered with its meager hoard of cheap objects of white manufacture with a well-ordered and fundamentally satisfying way of life. Unlike the Mundurucú, the Cubeo have succeeded in withstanding both the rubber forest and manioc trade. Far from being overcome, the Cubeo have been able to use the income from labor in the rubber forests and from the sale of farinha to further their own cultural objectives. Murphy tells of the insatiable longing of the Mundurucú for the trinkets and gadgets of the white trader. For these objects of intrin-

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177 Thus, for the Cubeo,
551 being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most
182 exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It
[553] has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a
[123] European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiarí who had a European name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

177 On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tribu-
[797] taries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civilized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no cultivated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did
[464] the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor. At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in 1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

177 Many Indians of the Cuduiarí had visited Mitú, the capital of the
648 *Comisaría* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in 1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station. After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important administrative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio station, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business. Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiarí were not altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

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factured goods into the stream of trade – cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves.

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiari had spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods – chickens, fish, and fruit.

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabawü* on the Querari.

*Yéniwa* A sib at the mouth of the Querari. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querari as *Dyaniwa*.

*Yokóhübewü* A sib on the lower Querari.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

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*Batóua* Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapes*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querari. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

*Ilhéadowa* A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiari, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiari, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari.

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*Kéua* A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiari. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoiera*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querari and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiari near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

## THE BORÓWA

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The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahükiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behórũ* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapurí and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapurí that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querarí but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiarí had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Parý *cachoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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day the *Borówa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

**BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS**

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The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*mɛ́khamɔ́tɛwu yavaíwũ*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

*pwɛ́ntɛwũ* – the people came out
*tcúntɛawa* – and shed (their anaconda skins)
*hahádami* – they went forward
*waré borikapindo* – the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
*opéko tamána* – crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
*eminiakori* – the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
*kanúrũbo* – (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
*bwũhũrũkũwũ* – the rock where *Bwũ* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwũ*)
*byátakwe* – the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
*kwábebo* – the place of *Kwákũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
*borikabo* – the place of *Borikakũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies – it means the aracú fish)
*opéko tawá* – the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakũ* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
*nahó pwãnwa* – the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
*bwũtaunrũ* – the tree beneath which *Bwũ* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwũ* passed beneath it)
*bwũtaunrũ* – the tree beneath which Bwũ passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
*waokún* – the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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There is a strong preference for taking a wife from the same sib from which one's mother has come. This establishes a pattern of cross-cousin marriage and creates a very close bond between the maternal and paternal sibs. The *Bahúkiwa*, for example, are closely intermarried with the *Byóiwa*[1] and the relations between these two sibs accordingly are cordial, even warm, in contrast to the stiff relationships that generally prevail between sibs of opposite phratries. Preferential marriage into the mother's sib arises naturally from the strong bonds of affection and of formal relationship between brother and sister. The principal way in which brother and sister maintain their ties even after marriage has separated them is by arranging for the marriage of their children to one another. We have seen that the grandchild is called a "little affinal," a designation that I have taken to mean that a man, having arranged for his son to marry his sister's daughter, regards the offspring as a contribution by the affinal sib to his own. He has the satisfaction of regarding his sister as responsible for this. She has succeeded in getting something from the "other" sib over to his sib. In this way, exchange, which is the greatest of human binders, is kept active.

From the point of view of the boy, marriage with a father's sister's daughter also seems most natural and certainly convenient. Having had virtually no opportunities for courtship, he does not know where to go for a bride. His father suggests that he visit his aunt in his mother's sib and his mother is delighted that her son will visit her kin. There is no more desirable guest than a boy who is visiting both his father's sister and his mother's kin. The warmth with which he is received should put even the shyest boy at ease. There are, to be sure, other opportunities for finding a bride, but by and large even the most aggressive young men still prefer to go to a community where the way has been smoothed for them. Since Indians travel mainly to visit kinfolk they are more or less bound to marry a woman from a sib from which, if not the mother, then a brother's wife has been taken.

Work in the rubber forests has broadened opportunities for marriage because men from different tribes are brought together and form friendships that allow them to visit one another and to exchange sisters. But even with these opportunities the preference for marriage into the mother's sib is still strong. A boy's parents will have opened the negotiations for him. There is no formal betrothal, but there is a kind of understanding that a particular marriage will

[1] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* marriages at the end of this chapter.

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464 That evening the conversation turned to rubber, the exploitation of the Indians and the atrocities. There had been two booms in the area. The first
648 died out with the end of the First World War and the increased production in Malaya. Then with the Japanese occupation of South-East Asia during the Second World War, attention again switched to the Amazon and this continued into the fifties. Now only small interests remain and although the Indians are well paid and housed, the old fear of the *caucheros* is still there and many prefer to live their own lives.

Carlos told us that he had sixteen Indians working for him. Most of them only worked during the summer months – from November to March – when the forest was drier. If there was rain the latex from the wild rubber could not be collected. During the winter months the Indians returned to their homes to attend to their *chagras*. The men cut traces through the forest at fifty-yard intervals within easy shouting distance of one another, so that none of the trees are missed. Each morning they place small wooden cups beneath a fresh slash in the bark, returning later to empty the latex into rubber bags slung on their backs. A different section of the forest is covered each day until the cycle is completed and they start again. When the rubber is brought back to the house formic acid is added, though any organic acid can be used, even lemon juice. This coagulates the rubber which is then rolled into sheets, some of which Carlos showed us hanging from the roof-beams of his house.

At the end of a season's gathering the rubber is shipped in bales up the Caquetá to Araracuara. From there it is flown to the merchants in Bogotá – usually in May and June – and Carlos added, 'This is about the only time in the year when I see civilization. To save costs we arrange that the plane brings all our supplies and merchandise for the next year on its inward journey. These are mainly for the Indians, for there is nothing he can buy with money here, so I keep a small trade store.'

000 Later Carlos spoke of the Missing Link or Loys' Ape, which he maintained lived in the area. Three years before, one of his young workers was out in his rubber trace when he was suddenly attacked by a beast, which held him fastened to the ground all night. The boy who had fainted from fear, was found the next day and brought to Carlos's house where he took forty-eight hours to recover. He was thoroughly washed but the foul smell of the beast was impossible to remove. Several rubber gatherers claim to have seen the ape in the area of the Miritiparaná. Something very similar has also been reported from the Llanos, in the wooded river valleys near the Orinoco.

537 Stories of the half-human ape are as common as those of lost cities, the Amazonian women and the tribes of white Indians who hunt by night. All occur in the myth and legends of the tribes. But to hear a first-hand account of this ape-man from a reliable witness was unusual.

114 Before dawn we set off down river in Carlos's long, narrow, shallow-draught Caquetá boat, faster and more graceful than the stouter ones of the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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the production of farinha by women is a partial counterpart to the work of the men in the rubber forest. The man takes most of his earnings in "capital goods," muzzle-loading guns, machetes, fishhooks, matches, knives, thread, needles, ammunition. The remainder goes to a few vanity items for himself and in gifts for his wife, sister, and female ceremonial friend. It is these gifts that a woman is obligated to reciprocate through her farinha trade. Since these gift exchanges involve traditional relations of status equality they quickly achieve a relatively stable equilibrium. Only a small part, then, of commercial exchange leaves the traditional channels of lateral circulation of goods. As for "vanity" purchases, they form no part of any institutionalized expression of social prestige. The issue for the Cubeo is rather one of a limited degree of self-indulgence. For a woman, in particular, the privilege of indulging a fancy for some trinket and freely contracting her farinha for it is an essential part of her sense of domestic well-being. It is an expression, on the one hand, of her autonomy, and, on the other, of domestic felicity. A dissatisfied wife does not indulge her personal vanity more; on the contrary, she produces less.

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Another important element in production is the attitude toward labor. For the Cubeo all effort must be inherently satisfying. Women accept more drudgery than do men, but they no more than the men would accept the bitter peasant philosophy that hard and unrewarding work is man's lot. Men and women alike are accustomed to a variety of effort. They do not care to drive themselves beyond the onset of boredom or of fatigue. All work patterns are based upon short and diversified rhythms. I have demonstrated this in the work cycle of women. It is even more marked in the work cycle of men. Food gathering and preparing does demand continuity and completion. The hunter must complete his chase, the fisherman must return home with a suitable catch, and the housewife must complete her daily ration of manioc cake. Even so, there are many opportunities for rest and diversion that the Indians take. They would rather eat less than work more. In the course of a year there are many holidays. Among the *Bahúkiwa* these averaged almost one a week. On the occasion of a drinking party women do not go into the fields either on the day of preparation or on the day after. In manufactures, which form part of the domestic economy, the pace of work is very slow. Men, who make the baskets that are important home utensils as well as major items in trade, work very sporadically. There is no compulsion to finish something quickly. Thus, on the whole, the Cubeo work habits also contribute to general economic inelasticity.

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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648 He does nothing for the white without /151/ pay, and ordinarily
466 he wants it in advance. The truth is that, as a rule, he does not deny his debts to the civilized; many times, however, he maintains that he has done more work and reduces his debts, in spite of the fact that the contrary appears in the entries made with precision and conscientiousness. He frequently lets the time go by, and sometimes he moves away or dies; and that
428 is the end of that. The parents, brothers, children, or other relatives of someone who passed away, let us say in the mission hospital will present themselves at once as legitimate heirs to the shotgun, hammock, suitcase, or other objects belonging to the dead person. No one, however, becomes responsible for the debts of the deceased.

648 In order to have them at his service, at the time of the seringa or the Brazil nut, the civilized must pay them in advance.
466 It not infrequently happens that at the time of the work (fabrico, as is said in Amazonas) the Indian hides; or runs away after working for a time.

431 He does not give gifts to the civilized, even though he has
648 received many from him. He sells to him (17).

> 17. Episodes going so far as to be comic are told. A father, with the family, came to visit his son, who was a student at the Mission in Taracuá, and brought with him dried fish and beijú /manioc bread/. And, squatting in a corner, they ate, as on a family picnic. Before leaving, however, he came to charge the Missionary the price of the fish and the beijú.
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> At the time of our first excursion to the
> 123 Içana, in 1953, accompanied by Pe. José
> 431 Schneider, the latter took with him, among his helpers, a tuxaua of the Mapatse-dákenei (Yuruparí-tapúia) tribe. Like the others, he

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464 and of that of the Amazon (80).

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80. See "Relatórios" /Reports/ on these Provinces. Unfortunately, instead of job contracts, there were deals between the latifundiários or traders of the Rio Negro and the tuxauas or those who, in a private or official manner, established relations with the Indians or lived among them in order to take advantage of the forest dwellers. The latter would come down, deluded by promises that did not correspond to reality and were victims of malaria or other illnesses. The means to return to their povoados were not made easy for them to get. Their weakness for alcohol was taken advantage of, and months of their services would be bought with some bottles of aguardiente. The documented exposure of these "descidas" /descents/ of the Indians will constitute quite dark chapters in the future History of the Indians of Brazil.

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and on a smaller scale even today, more or less numerous Indians of different tribes irregularly come down to the lower Rio Negro for the most varied jobs, particularly the extraction of various products (rubber, piaçaba /piassava/, nuts, timber, etc.).

439 Objects of native industry for purchase are not only their artifacts for museum collections or decorations for private homes. Those who live or travel in these regions obtain from the Indians part of their food (81)

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81. The Salesian Missions have brought great stimulus to the Indians for the production of the means of subsistence, because,

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466 Nowadays more or less numerous and frequent groups of Indians, men and women, are taken, especially the single ones, for the extraction of the cuquirana, balata, chicle, rubber, Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," various species of trees yielding edible nuts/, piassava, in both Brazilian and Colombian territory, or as sailors for the launches. They see, hear, and practice vices and immoralities (125).

[837] [797]

125. The Missionary was scolding a Christian Indian from Urubucuara, river Uaupés, because, in spite of being married, he was living with another woman. And when he reminded him of the commandment of God, he heard from the Indian this expression, certainly learned from some civilized: -- "Commandment does not hurt."

166 One observes a tendency to go down to S. Gabriel (present city of Uaupés) and Tapurucuara. To Manaus, not so much. So far nostalgia periodically brings them to the natal places. How long will this state of things last? The known cases of venereal

164 diseases are very rare, although the legends already allude to them. This rarity is perhaps explained by the simple spontaneous malario-therapy (cf. VII - 2, e (4 i) ).

It is certain that for centuries they have been in more or less frequent and enduring contact with the civilized. It is difficult to determine whether some responsibility falls on them in such a state of things, and up to what point. The problem is serious.

797 One also understands from this that there cannot always be good harmony in the relations between the Missionaries who live among the Indians, trying to bring them to the bosom of civilization and to the practice of /391/ Christian truth and morals (126).

126. The difficulty that the Missionary faces in order to implant Christian morals is great.

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858 The girl, although destined to leave the nation and, as a wife, to establish a family in another tribe, is, however, an element of great economic value for her parents. In some cases [648] the parents hand her over to the civilized for domestic service, [466] in exchange for suitable recompense; upon her reaching puberty, however, they will go fetch her for the initiation rite and later for marriage, according to the customs of the tribe (54).

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54. Pe. Humberto Limpens mentioned to us a case that happened shortly before 1947. Until the time of the marriage the girl remained working with the whites. The father had permitted this as payment for a shotgun.

736 If, by chance, an individual dies, leaving children in another povoado or maloca, one of his "brothers" (it might be a close relative, the tuxaua, or someone else), undertaking a long trip, if necessary, will go to look for the orphans, whose support and education will be entrusted to him.

866 The spirit of freedom in which the children are raised is extraordinarily great. They go wherever they desire, without permission from the parents or even notice beforehand (55).

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55. Frei Laureano da Cruz narrates how an imprudence by the capitão João Palácios, in the so-called "Província dos Encabelados" /Province of the Hairy Ones/ (because the Indians wore very long hair), aroused the resentment of the natives, who killed the capitão and many civilized. And he explains: "They are such a noble people that they will not tolerate a snap of the fingers, even from their own parents" ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 99).

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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to more than one phratry are well known and are taken for granted as minor exceptions to the stated rule. This rule is expressed in a formula that one does not marry inside of one's own tribe-and-language group because one would then be marrying a brother or a sister. Although informants do not explicitly refer to it, they recognize exogamy at the phratry level, and all marriages conform to a rule of phratry exogamy as well as of tribal exogamy. Recognition of the multitribal composition of the phratry is expressed as: "A Tukano will not marry a Baré because the Baré are brothers and sisters with the Tukanos."

The exogamic phratry system is extended fictitiously to all tribes peripheral to and beyond the central Northwest Amazon area, even though members of these tribes may not themselves be aware that they fit into such a system. Despite this fiction, it is safe to assume that any marriage with a member of one of these tribes will be phratry-exogamous. The nonriverine, marginal Makú of the interior lands back from the Papuri River, with whom the riverine Indians described in this paper do not intermarry, are considered to belong to the phratries to which the Tukano belong (the "Tukano-Makú") and to which the Desano belong (the "Desano-Makú"), and are said to intermarry among themselves accordingly.[8]

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A larger mission village is a unit that has been created by missionaries from two or more longhouse groups representing two or more tribes (hence linguistic groups) that have been required to tear down their longhouses, move together, and build separate adobe huts for each nuclear family. A larger mission village also contains a contingent of non-Indian missionaries and a boarding house of school children from nearby settlements. A smaller mission village is a single longhouse group that has been persuaded to tear down its longhouse and substitute a series of adobe huts, one for each nuclear family.

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The rubber-working group, for the Indian, is a unit of eight to ten months' duration per year, to which he belongs over a period of several years, usually in his youth. There are a great many such groups in the Upper Vaupés-Apaporis rubber-gathering area, each operating out of a camp, to which the Indians of the Middle Vaupés region are recruited. Properly speaking, the group includes one or more non-

[P.672-A]

466 621 648 [797]

Indians, who are the patrón and his foremen, but they tend to keep themselves apart socially and linguistically from their Indian workers. The rubber-working group forms economically a patrón-peón system, or, more precisely for the Vaupés area, a patrón-padre-peón system. A benevolent role of missionaries in the Vaupés has been to minimize the depredations and excessive abuses of the rubber-working barons by requiring them to acquire their Indian workers through the missionaries as middle men.

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A clear distinction is made between tribal group and nationality; a word glossing as "landsmen" is the term used in Tukano for nationality group. There are two nationality groups among the multilingual Indians described in this paper—the Colombian Indians and the Brazilian Indians (the periphery of the multilingual area may include some Venezuelan Indians)—and even the members of the longhouses in the zone most unacculturated to "civilization" know whether they are Colombians or Brazilians. Also, Indians and non-Indians both agree that there are two clear-cut categories of people in the Vaupés: in Spanish these are called the *indígenas*, or Indians, and the *blancos*, or non-Indians (including Negros). However, the Indians feel uncertain and confused about ethnic and presumably "tribal" groups among the non-Indians. A favorite topic of conversation with me was inquiry about ethnic descent groups among such known nationality groups as Colombians, Brazilians, Venezuelans, and "Americans" (of the U.S.A.). Apparently the Indians are trying to set up a folk taxonomy for non-Indians within the Indian frame of reference. They have long been familiar with members of Dutch, German, English, Spanish, and Portuguese ethnic groups; they are confused about the nationality as against the ethnic status of some of these, especially of the latter two. Many Colombian and Brazilian nationals whom the Indians frankly regard as mestizos or creoles claim not only to be blancos but also "Spaniards" or "Portuguese"; yet they do not resemble the Dutch, German, or English blancos. (In Tukano the word for "blanco," best glossed from Spanish as "non-Indian," is derived from a form also used in the derivations of "fire, shotgun, fireplace"; the occasional blanco-sponsored request for a new form in Tukano that would gloss as "white" is consistently rejected.)

[P. 672 - B]

*192 /245 cont./
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[412]
[177]

They "go around" the clearing (pũ-pé: it is the Tukano term that they use), that is, they mark off from the rest of the forest the area they want, with a small lane, cutting down the small plants and breaking branches. Formerly they did it only with the stone ax, õxtã komé; today clearing is done with the help of the machete, di-phĩ, and also at times with the iron ax, komé. The work consists essentially of breaking off the bushes and going around the large trunks with blows in such a way as to make the bark come off. With this the tree would dry and could then be burned. Once all the trees are dried in a more or less square area of about 50 or 100 meters on a side (according to the number of persons in the family), fire is set at various spots, and thus the gigantic trees either are incinerated or are reduced to a blackened trunk, which often falls to the ground. The clouds of smoke that rise here and there from the green /246/ forest reveal the places where a good burning, õhõã-dyakã-siri, is taking place.

If the burning was not very successful, because the sticks were not dry or because of a lack of wind, the work is done again, taking down branches, assembling them around the trees -- this is called coivara, in Tukano doxté-peosé, and burning is done anew.

[423]
[476]

Although the clearing is individual or, better, family property, for the work of clearing and burning the one interested will ask for the collaboration of his companions in the maloca or in the povoado; or, if he lives isolated, that of the closest inhabitants. And not only of his own tribe, but even of another nation. This collective work (cf. IX -- 2) is called neõsé (in Nheengatú ayurí). The immediate pay, that is, on the day or days of work, is a plentiful caxirí for all the workers; and more distantly his own help when solicited for identical work for the benefit of others. The ayurí is always practiced whenever the participation of many persons is needed for one job, for example, to cut and bring wood from the forest, to put in place the timberwork of a house roof, etc. The ayurí is a practice that is still in force even among the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

/436 cont./

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868

/footnote 57 cont./ teach or perhaps the daughter does not want to learn. It is a fact that we verified many times: the daughters do not know everything that their mother knows and does.

By preparing their small bows and arrows for amusement or by watching the men work, and sometimes by helping them spontaneously, the boys also become skilled in the different masculine tasks (58).

[462]
[797]

58. Never, however, in the feminine ones. They used to laugh in the beginning, Pe. João Marchesi told us, when they saw the Missionary light the fire and prepare his own food, because "it is woman's work." Nowadays one already sees a man of the younger generation, who went through the Mission schools, carrying one of his small children, while the wife is loaded with an aturá on her back or other great burdens.

It is all an intuitive process of apprenticeship, arousing the interest of the children, developing the capacity for imitation that they possess, deeply rooted, in an environment of freedom, happiness, and well-being. A conjunction, finally, of conditions in accord with the native psyche, and, for this reason, assurers of a happy result. Not infrequently the young men become more skilled than their own fathers.

476

There are many tasks that they perform collectively, or at least with the help of others, such as felling trees, cleaning the clearing, building houses, making the canoes. These are done with the display of a greater cheerfulness and emulation, which favor the growth of love of the work and of doing it nicely.

/481 cont./

2) Annual cycle.

132 221 The climate of those regions does not seem to offer marked changes in order for the rhythm of the daily life of the Indian to be altered. As /482/ a matter of fact, the thermometer, the barometer, and the hygrometer will show the same average throughout the year. Owing to the rains of the headwaters of the rivers, however, a season of high waters and another of low ones are distinguished. And the annual cycle is perhaps more varied for the Indian than it customarily is among the civilized.

476 621 Besides the labor that is incumbent upon every individual for his home life, there are others that concern the entire community and that for this reason are performed collectively under the direction of the tuxaua. They might perhaps be the repairs of the maloca or the building of a new one, in the same place or perhaps quite far away from the old one. Or again it might be the cleaning of the areas adjacent to the maloca, of the common paths or of the landing place. It might be a matter of some clearing for some Indian, who will obtain the help of his tribal brothers, although for his private use. The individuals are advised in advance, in order to make their arrangements. If it is a matter of work for the collectivity, everyone is obliged to participate in it. If, instead, it is help for some brother, one can reasonably excuse oneself; one would not do it, however. And in either case there is only one conventional, sufficient, and agreeable payment: a caxiri, which has also been prepared beforehand. The collective work is done without even any need for a technical director, because it is always done according to the traditions, under the simple directions of the tuxaua or of the individual concerned. It is noisy and cheerful work, true competitions of strength and activity, as well as of good humor and cheerfulness. It is what is called Dará-serẽsé, in Nheengatú ajurí or mutirão (2). [192]

2. Ajurí would properly be the invitation, and putirum (from which the term made into Portuguese, mutirão), the collective work. Stradelli, in his

*192 /482 cont./

621 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese
476 vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

527 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of
221 fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish
226 of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 At different times of the year great quantities of insects
222 appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the
527 daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the
527 Indians of the different povoados, move to

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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178 621 342 614 the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

364 356 A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command [622] assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most [476] unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the wom- [461] en take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

356 The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house [183] that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large [574] maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since [576] there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

364 Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the [514] piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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462 simple basket is often a matter of several weeks. Every man has at
461 his side, so to speak, a number of unfinished objects which he hopes to get at before too long.

462 The sexual division of labor in manufactures is rather firmly main-
323 tained. I learned of few objects in use that were not made by a member of the proper sex. Young men are drawn to pottery making, but they may handle clay in a playful manner only. They make pots and dishes in strange shapes, working rather expertly. Such dishes are given to children as toys and are soon destroyed. Children, boys and girls, play with clay, making small animal or human figures and quickly destroying them. No permanent clay figures are ever made. Serious pottery work is an annual affair, undertaken by the women when the falling river has exposed the clay banks. All at once the women working together renew the household ceramic ware.

342 Manufacture is most often a group activity, and like all group ac-
[461] tivities is regarded by the Indians as a pleasurable recreation. The
[476] exception to this rule is perhaps housebuilding, which is often strenuous. Even then, when the exertion of the task has broken the spell of good feeling, the men stop and turn to another task. A large maloca can be a very long time in building. Among the *Bahúkiwa* a house begun when I arrived was not yet complete when I left almost a year later. A house must be built by a group working together not only for technical reasons, but in obedience to the principle that all who are going to live in it must work on it.

Building the communal house is a major technical and social enterprise. It tests the capabilities of the headman and the morale of the community. The true maloca is a solid structure built with great care, skill, and concern for details. Temporary houses may be slipshod in construction, but when a house is slipshod it is either clearly designated as temporary or it will be a cause of shame. Every
342 part of the house is built with the greatest care, but nothing reveals
284 more clearly the Cubeo concern for combining structural integrity and aesthetic design than the lashings that hold all the materials together. The most conspicuous lashings are those that bind the main beams. The builders start with temporary house posts and with temporary lashings. Finally, when the entire structure is in place, an expert lasher goes over the entire inner structure, replacing the beams and rebinding them in a consistent pattern, using carefully chosen
342 lianas. The Cubeo are painstaking in all crafts, but the maloca is
[114] their supreme creation. I was able to observe almost every stage in
[461] the construction of a maloca among the *Bahúkiwa*. I do not recall that a single bundle of roofing thatch was laid under pressure or

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423 The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of
615 river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these
[578] arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies
[768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate relationship between land and its cultivator.

241 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual
614 or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the alloca-
361 tion of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing
241 is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective
614 effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a
361 clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and
622 stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of
476 a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman to organize a collective work party, including all household heads. If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually. Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots, establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later arrivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. Annually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the *chagra*, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field for a two-year harvest.

244 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman.
423 A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plantation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daughters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

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622 692 No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

622 614 574 273 156 Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habóků* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kénámi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

[554] [47K]

622 614 571 578 156 The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

[157]

622 648 156 The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

[614]

600 There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

/73 cont./

142 In some few cases, hair becoming thin due to loss; not, however,
144 complete baldness. Rare and late graying, thanks to the use of some dyeing lotions. No case of albinism or erythrism in the eight or ten thousand Indians whom we have visited.

The rest of the body is not very pilose; the hair is fine and brown, more or less the color of the skin, and thus it is barely distinguishable from it.

He is of short stature and short neck. They ridicule the whites for having so long a neck. Well-formed torso, slightly longer /74/ than the inferior members on those of the male sex, and with an even more noticeable difference on those of the female sex, without, however, coming to be inelegant. Broad-chested, with an ample thorax, and with hips considerably narrower than the shoulders. In the men, after 40 [145] years of age, the belly often large and sagging, which gives the [262] torso a chubby appearance. The disproportionate development of the stomach, as a result of an excess of nourishment preponderantly of mandioca flour, is already noticeable in all the children from three or four years of age.

[832] The young woman is always plump in body, which is considered a feature of elegance; she sometimes comes to exhibit a chubby appearance. Ordinarily the women have the bust elegantly inclined backwards, perhaps due to the way they carry the loads, in large baskets the length of their backs, but tied to the forehead with embira. Perhaps this is also the cause of an exaggerated development of the sternum.

[832] The individuals of the female sex have the gluteal region well developed, although not exaggeratedly, a quality, by the way, appreciated also as a factor of female elegance.

* [192] For this reason, the ones with a slimmer body are objects of derision, as desnalgadas /thin ones/, duxkú. It seems, however,

• [481] that there is no artificial process for the development of that region, and that the very way of walking, with the torso well arched toward the rear, the abdomen forward, and the chest and head quite erect, or even inclined backward, is what sets off the gluteal proportions.

/74 cont./

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144

Arms and legs well formed (9).

9. "The Tucano type presents quite a good appearance. Of regular stature, light bronze color, round head and eyes (?), hair generally black and short; he has a conjunction of such handsome proportions that, in perfect immobility, he could be taken as an artistic statue of bronze." Mons. Lourenço Giordano (Boletim Salesiano, February of 1918, p. 31).

The former notably developed through the exercise of rowing, which gives them a span of arms always greater than the height, up to 10 or even 15 centimeters.

Muscular chest in the men. Hemispherical and voluminous breasts in the maidens, also constituting an element of elegance for the young women. Sagging like the udder of a nanny goat in the women beyond a certain age. This due to the fact that they are always bending and swinging when they work (10).

[145] [481]

*[192]

10. Slender and long breasts are likewise objects of derision. They nickname such women "mother of the Curupira, Boraró-paxkó." We have seen women with breasts so long that, passed under the arms, they are sucked by the children placed behind them on the back.

/75/ Small hands, regular fingers. Feet, on the contrary, large; the tip of the toes is wide, as in a fan, due to the way of walking. Digits with a narrow base and flattened top, with a wide space between them, especially between the great one /Port. polegar, thumb or great toe/ and the next one; a fact that allows them notable prehension (securing and raising objects with the feet, or even guiding the wheel of a launch and rowing).

/76 cont./

732 /footnote 14 cont./ due to weakness of the organs, were not able to walk until five years of age, after long treatment. Among the cases of pronounced hebetude, we recall two adults of the male sex, one from the Huhúde tribe in Uapuim-cachoeira (river Aiari), and the other a Taryana of Iauareté, known as Marcelino, "Contented," because he laughs at anything.

481 Completing this profile, it should be noted that they are slow of movement, at times clumsy in their way of walking. They walk with a short step (15),

15. In the military formations of the children, at one of the schools of the Salesian Missions, we could verify the tendency to accelerate the march.

like small jumps; many drag slightly and set the tip of the toes apart laterally, and the heel barely touches the ground.

516 They do not remain on their feet very long, almost always leaning more on one foot (the left one) and just on the tip of the other one. The woman withstands being on her feet less than the man. The most common and lasting position, when still, is the squat; it is the normal position for eating, even when they could do it sitting down. When they sit, they prefer low seats or the ground, and then they never cross the legs.

Let us now note some features that vary in this profile that we have sketched.

2) Pirá-tapuya type.

142 144 Skin lighter than in the Tukano, and face slightly or markedly elongated. Zygoma less prominent. Lissotrichous hair, lighter brown.

/137 cont./

000 If every human soul is invisible, that of the Indian constitutes a mystery. Those who have lived with them for decades and thought they knew the individuals in depth have surprises that are not infrequent.

To be human as he is, the native naturally presents good and bad qualities, like any other human being, some of them taking a color or relief that the environment of deprivation and isolation facilitates and that for this reason stand out more to the eyes of the civilized man who visits them. We shall point out in the following some quite general ones, which for this reason seem to characterize the native mentality and education, admitting that there could be some very rare exception.

1) Intellectual and physical slowness.

153 On the one hand, the material life to which they are forced and, on the other, the almost asphyxiating subjection to the tribal laws, which do not allow /138/ discussion, do not leave any room for speculation or, let us say, for the exercise of the [872] theoretical intelligence. This is proved by their difficulty in learning a religious truth and that of the school child in solving the simplest arithmetic problem. For the totality of the school children, the five or six years of studies in the boarding-school regime are not enough for them to be able to learn the four [481] operations. The Indian, just as he is slow in movement physically (2),

> 2. Perhaps, studied under the bio-physiological aspect, this slowness could be partially corrected by an adequate dietary regimen. They are certainly receiving some correction, more psychological in nature, during the years that they spend in the Mission, especially the students in the boarding schools.

is also slow in giving us the most obvious response. Slow in understanding an order we give him, he encounters difficulty in following our reasoning when we talk with him. Ordinarily

/251 cont./

487 The Amazon forest, interlaced as it is by lianas (a little less, it is true, than appears to anyone who only sees it from the bank of the rivers), is crossed with some difficulty, and [481] perhaps for this reason is not crisscrossed with trails. The custom of the Indians always to walk one behind the other, never side by side, is well known. It is what is called "Indian file," that is, one by one. The native does not go very far into the forest; he is afraid of Wãx-tĩ (VII -- 4, d (5)). As for his [241] clearing, it is even desirable that there is no path to reveal the site. In this way it will be better sheltered from thefts. For these reasons roads are not opened, except for those that lead from the maloca or povoado to the landing place, ordinarily a few dozen or, at most, one or two hundred meters in extent.

/252/ They discover, however, shorter routes than the interminable windings by way of the rivers or igarapés to go *[192] from one maloca to another. Such routes, as they are more frequented for the exchange of women, feasts, or trade, become better and constitute what is called varadouro (in Tukano ma'á) (84).

84. It seems that originally the Tukano term ma'á meant only the route that the canoe was to follow in the dangerous crossings of the cachoeiras. Today the term ma'á is used as an equivalent to the Portuguese words: varadouro, caminho, estrada, etc.

482 All the transportation of cargo by land is done by means of the *[192] aturás /carrying baskets/, or pi'ĩ, which the woman carries on her back.

502 During the time of high water in the rivers canals navigable by canoes are formed within the forest, since the wilderness becomes a sea, and the native takes advantage of that in order to shorten the trips; his canoe takes a shortcut through the forest, instead of following all the sinuosity of the river. Their topographic memory of the rivers on which they live, going up and coming down, does not let them be led astray.

*192 /337 cont./

534 Mīrī is probably from the same root as mīrī, which means drowned, immersed, hidden under the water (44).

> 44. We were not able to learn of any sign of special veneration toward the water of the rivers. Nevertheless it is in the water that they hide the sacred instruments, an indication, so it seems to us, of their original matriarchalism. Just as the human being comes from the maternal liquid, so does Wīx-tī appear for the feast, coming from the water, represented by the instrument Mīrī. According to legend, the first human beings came from the water of the cachoeira of Ipanuré. We have observed, besides, that while bathing the natives immerse themselves a few times. Likewise when our oarsmen jump out of the canoe in order to drag it across the rocks, they also immerse themselves, even when there would be no need for it. When they swim, we have noticed that they prefer to do it with the face immersed in the water.

• [481]

778 Hence the concept of occult, sacred. We have heard talk of objects that were mīriá, that is, occult, mysterious.

276 Tobacco is a magic substance. As a matter of fact, it is one of the principal and most used curing methods of the

778 pajé. The smoke from the cigar can neutralize the malefices, drive away the storms, or attract them to a certain place, has an exorcising force in births and puberty initiation. For this

[855] reason it is even given to children three or four years old to smoke, at the feasts as well as outside of them.

/403 cont./

481 He almost daily walks great distances through the forest, to his clearing, which not infrequently is located several kilometers away from the maloca, or to hunt or to search for fruits. The woman, besides the great movement inside the maloca, which is forced on her by the preparation of the food, will take a long walk through the forest almost every day /404/ to reach her clearing, where, in the sun, she will walk three or four hours without stopping. There is no mountain climbing, because the region, in general, is flat. Gymnastic exercises or corporal contests, such as in other human groups, are not known (139).

[526]

> 139. We have seen children who, playing, seize one another as though it were for open wrestling, without, however, throwing the companion to the ground.

492 And horseback riding is known just as little. There are as yet no horses around these altitudes, even for use by the civilized.

481 The sports practiced daily are the aquatic ones, that is, swimming and rowing. In the morning, before daybreak, everyone,
515 without exception, goes to the river, a short distance from the maloca or povoado, and takes his bath. Even the babes in arms are taken along by the mothers and bathed. This bath is quick, one immersing oneself in the water three or four times and passing the hand over the body. Sometimes they steady themselves by the arms on some canoe tied up, and kick the feet in the water. Later, at midday, that is, during the warm hours, when they come back perspiring from the forest or from the clearing, they take another bath. This frequency at the river makes everybody learn how to swim. They swim well, but without much endurance. They never cross great distances by swimming. Perhaps no one would even swim a hundred meters for mere exercise.

/404 cont./

481 524 [192] One of the aquatic amusements of the children is the one called Wãx-tĩ Max-kõ, the son of Wãx-tĩ, an obvious reference to the legend of Nhamacurú (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"). To wit: two children placed one in front of the other, with the arms toward the back, immerse themselves in the water simultaneously. Moments later, emerging at the same time, they embrace each other quickly. Then, again with the arms to the back, they immerse themselves, in order to emerge again, embrace each other, and sink into the water. This is done a certain number of times, until they become tired, and the entertainment ceases.

501 868 Another frequent exercise is that of rowing. From childhood on, from about three or four years of age perhaps, they learn how to row and have their small oars. Not infrequently a child alone or two go rowing and travel kilometers from their own home. [226] Many times it is the children who row, while the men attend to fishing from the canoe. This habit gives them surprising skill [147] and endurance. They are capable of rowing ten or more hours a day and for six or eight consecutive days on long trips.

501 The striking of the oar handle on the side of the canoe marks the rhythm, and, when there are several rowers, they take pride in the accuracy /405/ of the strokes, as if they were one single stroke. Three different rhythms are to be observed: 1st -- one faster, when they have need to reach some point, and in the currents; there are more or less three deep strokes in two seconds; 2nd -- when there is no current, they change to a slower rhythm: one measure yes and two no, so that one hears two sounds in the water (of two waves which form and strike against the canoe), having three strokes in five seconds; 3rd -- at times they take up another rhythm: two fast strokes and a slow and deeper one.

The following detail can be observed: the hand that holds the handle of the oar describes a perfect circle; and after they give a blow on the edge of the canoe, the oar remains for a moment lying over it, parallel to the water. In order to rest from the effort, they go to rowing from the other side of the canoe;

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiari, for example, a trail leads to the Querari. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are seen as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 501 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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cipals in the marriage were not attracted to each other. It is to avoid this embarrassment that the marriage party does not declare its intentions. They announce that they have come to visit relatives. They are made welcome, assigned to sleeping quarters, and are drawn into the general round of activities of the house. They may stay for many weeks. The groom-to-be joins in the activities of his age group, hunting and fishing with them. He spends part of his time in making gifts for his host's wife, who need not be the prospective mother-in-law, and for the mother-in-law-to-be as well, if he has been a guest in her household. He may make baskets, trays, or a hammock. Every woman treasures an object that a suitor has made. These objects, however, are not presented as marriage gifts but as offerings in return for hospitality.

The courtship itself is a slow process. For some time the prospective bride and groom virtually avoid one another. The young man is attentive to the other girls of the sib, and his own age mates, if single, act as though they are courting the prospective bride. They are all looking one another over. The young man's personality is evaluated, and his skills in hunting, fishing, and crafts are observed. The visiting party, for its part, makes close observations on the bride-to-be. The nature of this opening phase of the courtship in which bride and groom are being "looked over" is such that unexpected matches are sometimes made. It has happened that a boy who has been flirting with his bride-to-be's sister to divert attention from his real objective falls in love with her. Or the sister falls in love with the suitor and seeks her betrothed sister's permission to marry him. This happened among the *Bahúkiwa*. A man, having reached the final stages of courtship with a girl, had arranged the formal elopement tryst with her. At the end it was the sister who appeared, explaining that it was she who wanted to marry him, with her sister's consent. The suitor was not disappointed, and all went well.

If the young man is satisfied with the bride-to-be the party prolongs its stay. Otherwise it leaves quickly. Once it has decided to stay, the groom awaits a sign of acceptance from the girl. One of the first indications of sexual interest that she shows is to run rather than walk in his presence. When the older folk see a girl running when she should be walking they smile knowingly at one another. One day she throws a handful of manioc mash in his face in the presence of company and laughs at him. He pretends anger and moves upon her. She pretends fright and runs off to her manioc garden, where he overtakes her. They have coitus and they are then engaged. She may show her interest in other ways, pinching him or cuffing him as she

# 4

# *The Forest Addicts*

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the earplug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run; whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves
147 in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
302 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
411 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undis-
609 turbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little. When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into
152 the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

/196/

*192 One can distinguish three types of sieves: 1st, tõ-pa (in
285 Nheengatú cumatá), is large, of very tight mesh, used to strain
415 out the manicuera /the liquid from the mass of manioc/ and to extract the starch; 2nd, sũõ, or better sõõ-a (Nh. urupema), with a more open mesh and sometimes square in shape, in a frame of four rounded sticks, used to sift the mass of the water flour /see p. 310 /; 3rd, Baxtí, deeper, as small baskets for storing the beijú and other foods and objects. It is these that customarily bear the beautiful traditional designs.

3) Baskets.

*192 a) Pi'í are large baskets which on the Amazon are custom-
285 arily called aturás. They are used to transport mandioca, fruits,
415 earth, firewood, luggage; they are woven exclusively by the Makú, who also work for the other tribes.

The traditional shape is the cylindrical one, with the base slightly wider than the mouth. The material is the uambé cipo, misí-da, quite strong, chosen without knots, and which is placed on the fire, in order to slip off the bark easily. The cipo is broken into two or three parts, and the plaiting is started from the bottom. The mouth is of rings of cipo, like a hoop, and is tied to the basket with woven caroatá fibers.

*192 The woman, upon whom the carrying of the pi'í falls (the
462 man must always walk unencumbered, in order to be able to
482 defend himself and his family), carries it in the following manner: the aturá goes on her back, but is suspended from the forehead by means of a wide embira, pi'í-karõ-pá (29),

29. Or pi'í-kãrõ-kaxserí. It seems that the tree derived its name from the pi'í, because its embira is commonly used to transport the pi'í. Other embiras, however, are also used, such as sõ'ú-kaxsero, deóti-kõ.

the ends of which, passing through the mouth of the basket, run along it and are interwoven on the bottom of it. They thus transport a load of 30 to 50 kilograms for a distance of kilometers.

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487 The Amazon forest, interlaced as it is by lianas (a little less, it is true, than appears to anyone who only sees it from the bank of the rivers), is crossed with some difficulty, and [481] perhaps for this reason is not crisscrossed with trails. The custom of the Indians always to walk one behind the other, never side by side, is well known. It is what is called "Indian file," that is, one by one. The native does not go very far into the forest; he is afraid of Wãx-tĩ (VII -- 4, d (5) ). As for his [241] clearing, it is even desirable that there is no path to reveal the site. In this way it will be better sheltered from thefts. For these reasons roads are not opened, except for those that lead from the maloca or povoado to the landing place, ordinarily a few dozen or, at most, one or two hundred meters in extent.

/252/ They discover, however, shorter routes than the interminable windings by way of the rivers or igarapés to go *[192] from one maloca to another. Such routes, as they are more frequented for the exchange of women, feasts, or trade, become better and constitute what is called varadouro (in Tukano ma'á) (84).

84. It seems that originally the Tukano term ma'á meant only the route that the canoe was to follow in the dangerous crossings of the cachoeiras. Today the term ma'á is used as an equivalent to the Portuguese words: varadouro, caminho, estrada, etc.

• 482 All the transportation of cargo by land is done by means of the *[192] aturás /carrying baskets/, or pi'í, which the woman carries on her back.

502 During the time of high water in the rivers canals navigable by canoes are formed within the forest, since the wilderness becomes a sea, and the native takes advantage of that in order to shorten the trips; his canoe takes a shortcut through the forest, instead of following all the sinuosity of the river. Their topographic memory of the rivers on which they live, going up and coming down, does not let them be led astray.

4: Silva--399 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 273 in the original source./

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From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the py:)

One of the feminine occupations

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721 many more people lived there. We are told by Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his 727 neighbour. *Malocas* were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were knocked to the ground with wooden clubs which the Indians still have today, their bodies hacked to pieces, their forearms used to stir the *chicha* and the armbones later made into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the sexual organs were eaten by the headman's wife to ensure brave offspring. even the bones were boiled into broth and the orgy continued until the cannibals had completed their spoil and the *chicha* had run dry.

Such a description of warfare and cannibalism would not fit the Indian who lives in the Piraparaná today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the [178] daily life we saw in their *malocas*. We found the Indian's day measured by a peaceful regularity.

512 Slowly the great house comes to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *maloca* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-screen door and eases it up to its hook like a portcullis, then saunters leisurely out into the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the *maloca*, still only vague shapes in the gathering light as they prepare cassava, pick up the water pots and go down to the river to bathe.

[264] The men returning from the river squat on their haunches on the low [262] stools in the centre of the *maloca*, and without any ceremony consume their breakfast of cassava bread, manioc juice and probably some leftovers from the previous night – boiled fish or a piece of bush pig. The women, who have eaten separately with the children, collect their large manioc baskets and leave [482] for the *chagra*, the forest clearing where they grow their crops. The baskets are slung from a strip of sapling bark across the forehead; they hold their babies on their hips, walking rapidly, almost awkwardly – the Indian woman's gait is not a graceful one. Children run along beside them, some [855] affectionately holding the hands of their mothers, others playing. A few of [857] the elder children return to the river to fish, and some of the men go off in [226] pairs to hunt and fish, while others move off to collect coca leaves from their *chagras*.

249 The Piraparaná has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the river and its tributaries are one of the few remaining strongholds of the drug in north-west Amazonia. Carrying no more than their small coca pouches and the basket for the leaves, five or six men, led by the headman, go down to the stream, perhaps taking a drink and washing themselves before they climb up the far bank. They move along a path through the thick vegetation of an old *chagra* fallen into disuse. Although an occasional banana or *pupuña* palm

249 spend the greater part of the morning collecting the leaves which they pre-
462 pare during the afternoon and evening. It is a serious task and one which each man undertakes with a strange air of concentration. Each coca plant is selectively stripped leaf by leaf before the next one is tackled. The headman carries the basket with him and gradually it fills with handfuls of pale sage-green leaves. The younger men collect the leaves almost reverently in their right hands before emptying them into the basket, their faces serious, their crouched bodies shining in the strong morning sun, their short, clipped speech broken occasionally by a high-pitched laugh.

512 In the distance small ribbons of smoke rise in a misty cloud. The women
244 are just visible, their squat figures crouching among the manioc plants. They
462 can be heard laughing; occasionally a baby cries and the children romp and
85 play among the bright-green manioc plants whose tall spindly branches stretch skywards some six feet, terminating in clusters of long, thin, starlike leaves. With their babies straddled across their backs the women spend the morning cutting out the long potato-like roots from the sandy soil and putting the waste foliage into piles to be burnt. It is hot with the sun streaming down, the fires crackling and the smoke enshrouding the working bodies. There is little time for rest, though a woman will stop to swing her child around and let it suckle her breast; a mother may give a fat yellow beetle grub to her child to eat, having detached the head – a great delicacy, tasting like butter. Soon large baskets are filled with roughly peeled and half-cleaned roots.

512 The sun is high overhead and the men leave for the *maloca* with their basket
[482] full of coca leaves; on top they place large dried leaves from the *yarumo* (Cecropia) trees which grow like weeds in the *chagra*. The women too load their heavy baskets on to their backs, the headbands taking the greater part
[222] of the fifty-pound weight. The whole group hurries through the forest in silence, passing the old *chagra* where the headman's wife leaves the other women to collect pineapples, then down to the stream beneath the *maloca*. At this point comes one of the noisiest and most amusing incidents in their
[515] daily life. Not only the manioc roots are washed in the water but the babies
[85] too; the mothers vigorously shake their large baskets of roots, then stop to splash water over the backs of the children. For a short time there is cacophony, with screaming babies, splashing water, continuous chatter and laughter, and even barking dogs. But soon the stream is left to myriads of white and brimstone-yellow butterflies which circle everlastingly over the sandbanks, and the women, refreshed, their long black hair glistening in the sun, return up the path to the *maloca*.

Tobacco plants are nearly always grown in a little patch directly in front

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000 *A graceful Tukano canoe.*

[see p. 66-A]

/p. 66-B/

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[483]

ABOVE: The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.
BELOW: Then it is warped open over a fire.

/165 cont./

152 leveled out nations distinct and quite different in somatic traits, in bio-ethnic origin, and in speech, and it seems to have managed to mold all the components of the tribes according to a single model. For this reason we affirm that, even in the way of laughing and gesticulating, the different tribes of the Uaupés are similar, and for this same reason, the vast Uaupésina region must be considered as a single cultural area.

Here are some indications of the native formality of the Uaupés.

At the meetings of relatives, indeed, as we have already pointed out, even at the meetings of spouses or between parents and children after a long separation, there are no displays of jubilation.

484 Trips for visits are frequent among them; psychological necessity because they live in small groups? Or reminiscence of an ancestral nomadism?

576 The official receptions at the great feasts or possible ones at some meeting are always invested with a strange and indispensable formality.

574 576 521 *[192] When during his frequent pleasure trips he decides to stop at some maloca or povoado, he leaves his canoe at the landing place and goes up. If /166/ there are several, they will do it in Indian file, that is, one after the other, observing an order in which the most dignified goes in front. He will absolutely not enter, without saying at the door: "nẽ! maxsã nĩti? Hello, are there people there?" He will say this even when he sees that there are people. Then the head of the house, or the most important person there, will come to receive him, and they touch each other lightly with their right hands. Standing up, facing each other, without looking at each other, staring at the ground or at a corner, the one from the house will ask: -- "You have arrived? extatí mãã?" -- "I have arrived, extápõ." Or: -- "Has your canoe arrived?" The other will answer: -- "It arrived." They will spend a few seconds in silence, then he will continue: -- "Ah! You have arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." After a short pause he will perhaps insist: "Ah! Well! You have

*[192]

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484 823 As for the sharp sense of direction of the natives in the forest, or their topographic sense, which has been praised so much, it seems to be the fruit of poetic imagination, if it is generalized for the tribes of the Caiarí. They know very well the rivers and forests that they frequent; however, they do not risk going very far into the forest. They tell of various episodes in which they were lost in the forest. And, in order for this not to happen, they avail themselves of the expedient of breaking branches, all in the same direction, as they draw [171] away from the usual paths. The Makú live in the interior of the forests, are hunters, and therefore orient themselves better. It is to be pointed out, however, that they are seminomadic and always travel in groups.

b) Mathematics.

*192 802 The natives have different names for the first five numbers and distinguish the masculine, feminine, and neuter (thing), to wit:

| Number | Masculine | Feminine | Neuter |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | nikã, nikõ | nikõ | niká |
| 2 | põãra, pöana | põãra, pöana | pöá, pöáro |
| 3 | i'tyãra, i'tyãna | i'tyãra, i'tyãna | i'tyá, I'tyáro |
| 4 | ba'pári-tĩra | ba'pari-tĩra | ba'pári-tise |
| (Uaupes) | bapári-tĩna | ba'pári-tĩna | |
| 5 | niká-mũkõra | niká-mũkõra | niká-mũkõse |
| (Uaupés) | niká-mũkõna | niká-mũkõna | |

It should be noted that Niká-mũkõra, properly speaking, means one hand. And ordinarily they prefer to indicate the number of fingers (2, 3, etc.) rather than pronounce the numbers. From five on, all of them, practically, are content to show the corresponding number of fingers. The more intelligent ones know how to count up to twenty, using the fingers of the hands and the toes. They no longer know how to count numbers higher than twenty.

*192 804 Properly speaking they do not have measures of extension or length. They speak of sẽẽrõ (sẽẽnõ), nikáti sẽẽrõ, the breadth of the arm span or the two open arms, põáti sẽẽrõ, two arm-spans, etc.; a step, yeraró, nikáti yeraró, one step; a handspan, wamũ-ka keoró or wamũ-pama-keoró, niká pama, one handspan, põá wamũ-ka-keoró, two handspans, ba'páritise wamũ-ka-peosé, four handspans.

*192 /482 cont./

621 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese
476 vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

527 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of
221 fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish
226 of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 At different times of the year great quantities of insects
222 appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the
527 daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

• 484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the
527 Indians of the different povoados, move to

/483 cont./

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/footnote 3 cont./ the seats of the Salesian Missions, not infrequently several days by canoe, in order to attend there the great religious celebrations (Christmas, Easter, etc.). They spend happy days and weeks in contact with civilization, being instructed in the religious truths and amusing themselves, as if they were school children, with collective games. Processions, songs, luminous projections, theatrical representations, even the food, sweets, presents which they receive on these occasions, everything agrees with their psychology and makes these feasts acceptable and indispensable to them.

484 Anyone who navigates those rivers invariably meets canoes, up river and down river, of tourist Indians. Some spend months visiting acquaintances and relatives in the various povoados.

3) Life cycle.

145 We know the rites that accompany the birth of the children. Under the care and attention of their mother, in contact with nature, they start growing and becoming strong. Upon reaching the use of their muscles, they will try to walk and are put down on the ground to crawl. They will then suffer the attacks of verminosis. They become pale, swollen, big-bellied, and many die. Those who manage to conquer the sickness and reach adolescence are saved.

[164]

Lacking positive statistical data about the organic development of the native child, one has the impression that this proceeds by more characteristic jumps than among the civilized of the south of the country.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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142 oped: heads of the brachycephalic type: though I have noticed cases of extreme dolichocephalic variations. Teeth are generally poor.

147 Dr. Rice also commented on the capacity of the Cubeo Indians for great exertion on a minimum of food and rest. I can corroborate this judgment. I accompanied Indians on canoe trips when we paddled for as long as 17 consecutive hours with little rest or nourishment other than a handful of manioc meal in water. There was usually no urgent necessity for such exertion or privation. The Indians cus- [484] tomarily eat lightly when traveling, and if there is any chance of [261] reaching home rather than camping out or imposing upon the hospitality of another sib they prefer to keep going. However, it was not unusual for strong young men to topple from their canoes in a dead faint upon reaching home. Revived by the river they scrambled [157] ashore, secured the canoe, and entered the house with the appropriate vigorous air, effectively concealing their acute fatigue. It is in fact characteristic of the Cubeo to make light of their accomplishments and not to yield readily to physical weakness.

114 Ethnographically, the Northwest Amazon was first fully brought to light by Dr. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, ethnographer and museum collector. Koch-Grünberg's systematic survey of the region at the turn of the century covered all main tribes and their settlements along the principal rivers. He spent many weeks on the Cuduiarí among the *Hehénewa* sibs of the Cubeo, and ascended the Cuduiarí to the limits of its habitation (1909). His published reports are invaluable even though he never stayed long enough in one place to get a deep grasp of the culture. He was, however, an excellent observer and reported 114 fully on language, custom, and material culture. I did not read Koch- 127 Grünberg before going to the field so that my observations are totally independent. It is a source of satisfaction, therefore, that our observations agree closely on most details. Koch-Grünberg's information was deficient on social structure and ceremonial patterns. It is in these two respects that my study represents a carrying forward of the work he so ably began. I have drawn freely upon his published works to fill in gaps in my own information on the Cubeo and of course for the rich data on surrounding Tucanoan, Arawakan, and Cariban tribes. 114 His was the pioneering survey of the entire region, whereas mine is a relatively limited study of a single community. Koch-Grünberg died among the Indians of the Northwest Amazon in 1924, his ethnographic work prematurely cut off.

The first scientific observer to report on the Indians of the Vaupés was Alfred Russell Wallace (1870), who was there in 1853. While his interests were mainly those of the naturalist, he found Indian life to

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

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133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ildkoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ildkoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaíno* (falling river) and as *eddwaiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[805] [1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each [251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [417] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [614] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated [237] with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaiieteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 484 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 574 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for 602 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

to track wild animals in the forest and the sense of location and direction which enables him to do this. The deprivations of the jungle, its innate hostility, its snakes, wild animals, poisonous plants and insects, its daytime silence and oppressiveness are nothing to the fear of being lost. To be lost in the forest is slow, inevitable death. This is a fear which is common to the traveller, the explorer and the *cauchero*, but to the Indian does not exist. He may be forty miles from his *maloca*, yet he will know his way back without faltering, as the Cockney would know his way across London in the black-out, forty miles over half-tracks or no tracks at all, across deep ravines, balanced precariously on slippery logs. He will find his way, perhaps by a glimpse of the sun, the movement of birds overhead, or the track of a tapir. Between dawn and dusk, he has only his bag of cocaine to sustain his quick jogging walk. 224 [484]

During the time we passed in their *malocas* the Indians would often disappear in groups for hunting expeditions. Sometimes they would go at night and ask to borrow our torches to dazzle their prey. They carry hard *macana*-wood bows and sheaths of arrows tipped with curare, a black strychnine poison, or a long ten-foot blowpipe. Also beautifully-woven palm cases filled with poisoned darts secured in kapok, as though stuffed into a pin-cushion. These are slung across the back and carried upside down with the beeswaxed end uppermost, so as to prevent the rain washing off the curare and to enable the hunter to extract the dart quickly. [278]

With the hunters go their dogs, thin wiry beasts like whippets, usually pale buff or fawn in colour and well cared for by their masters. Their lives are short, and more often than not they go totally blind within five years; for the tiny red *majiñal* fire-ants drop on their eyes as they run through the undergrowth and inject formic acid. There is seldom game near the *maloca*, but further afield, beyond the *chagras* in the forest proper there would usually be waterside rodents and *agouti*, small rabbit-like forest dwellers. There were peccary as well, the black jungle pig which the Indian fears because, if wounded, it sometimes cries for its companions who turn on the aggressor with their small sharp tusks and inflict terrible gashes. These small pigs are strangely affectionate and are sometimes adopted by Indians as pets. [231] [231]

Their bows, five feet long and strung with *cumare*, will launch an arrow two hundred feet, but to be certain of a target the Indian will approach to within twenty or thirty yards. The arrows, without feathers and unnotched, are made of cane, with a hard *macana*-wood point dipped in lethal curare. Some tribes carry a pot of this poison round their necks; when about to shoot, they dip an arrow in the black gum and cut the head just above the point with the razor-sharp tooth of a *piraña*. Thus the poisoned point will break off in the wound if the arrow falls out. [278]

At that time we assumed that the Indians made their own poison, but we 278

191 area].) "Semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) based on a partial knowledge of a language that is closely related to one already known may also occur.

## MULTILINGUALISM

[611] Because descent is patrilineal in the Northwest Amazon and residence is normatively and
[582] predominantly patrilocal, an individual belongs to his (or her) father's tribe, and to his father's linguistic group, which is also his
[591] own. Because of exogamy, his mother always represents a different tribe—tribal membership does not change for her upon marriage—and a different linguistic group. A woman invariably uses the language of the longhouse—her husband's language—when talking directly with her children. But she is usually not the only woman from her tribe in a longhouse. In a longhouse of any size there are usually several women of her tribe, as well as groups of other women from other tribes; and during the course of a day, these several groups of women usually find occasion to converse with each other in their own original languages.

[484] In addition to these multilingual contacts
[583] in the longhouse, others occur as a result of considerable traveling. Youths travel to investigate and evaluate available brides. A prospective bridegroom, if he does not know it already, learns his prospective wife's language from his prospective mother-in-law. Families also travel to visit relatives and affines. And there is travel for the sheer sake of travel.

A man's *mother's* language may be quite important because of the preferential marriage system. There is a preference, though not
[582] an obligation, to marry his cross-cousin, particularly his mother's brother's daughter,
[593] real or classificatory. (The kinship system is of Iroquoian type [Fulop 1955].) She will, of course, be of his *mother's* tribe and speak his *mother's* language. Therefore there is an added cultural incentive for a man to know his mother's language. If he has little opportunity to learn it—if she, for instance, is the only one of her tribe in the longhouse, and her tribe lives at a distance—his mother, nevertheless, will teach him lists of words in her language and how to say various things in it. Children are usually bilingual in both their father's and their mother's languages, but commonly use the former.

A child is frequently exposed to the other

[P. 677-B]

/251 cont./

487 The Amazon forest, interlaced as it is by lianas (a little less, it is true, than appears to anyone who only sees it from the bank of the rivers), is crossed with some difficulty, and [481] perhaps for this reason is not crisscrossed with trails. The custom of the Indians always to walk one behind the other, never side by side, is well known. It is what is called "Indian file," that is, one by one. The native does not go very far into the forest; he is afraid of Wãx-tĩ (VII -- 4, d (5) ). As for his [241] clearing, it is even desirable that there is no path to reveal the site. In this way it will be better sheltered from thefts. For these reasons roads are not opened, except for those that lead from the maloca or povoado to the landing place, ordinarily a few dozen or, at most, one or two hundred meters in extent.

/252/ They discover, however, shorter routes than the interminable windings by way of the rivers or igarapés to go *[192] from one maloca to another. Such routes, as they are more frequented for the exchange of women, feasts, or trade, become better and constitute what is called varadouro (in Tukano ma'á) (84).

84. It seems that originally the Tukano term ma'á meant only the route that the canoe was to follow in the dangerous crossings of the cachoeiras. Today the term ma'á is used as an equivalent to the Portuguese words: varadouro, caminho, estrada, etc.

482 All the transportation of cargo by land is done by means of the *[192] aturás /carrying baskets/, or pi'ĩ, which the woman carries on her back.

502 During the time of high water in the rivers canals navigable by canoes are formed within the forest, since the wilderness becomes a sea, and the native takes advantage of that in order to shorten the trips; his canoe takes a shortcut through the forest, instead of following all the sinuosity of the river. Their topographic memory of the rivers on which they live, going up and coming down, does not let them be led astray.

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5). 361 554

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence. 361 554 648. 177

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiari, for example, a trail leads to the Querari. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker. 487 [721] [481]

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller. 621 311 453 244 [622]

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. 621 592 [162] [342] [578]

/251/

439 The Indians who are in contact with the civilized obtain clothing and many objects from them in order later to resell these to other natives. It has been verified that in this trade they show economic judgment and know how to make large profits, not only among the Indians of a different tribe, but also among their own tribal "brothers" (82).

[437]

82. We know, for example, that the Tukano Indians residing in Melo Franco received flour from other Tukano from the mouth of the Áua in order to sell it to the Salesian Mission, and for this transaction alone they demanded from their "brothers" 50 per cent of the price of the flour.

8) Means of communication.

501 For their trade and social relations the means of communication are the rivers and igarapés; the canoe, then, is the primary means of transportation (83).

[171]

83. They never build rafts. The Makú, because they only live in the interior of the forests, do not know how to make canoes, nor do they possess them. They say that sometimes they improvise rafts in order to cross rivers or their branches. These are very rare events, however.

• 491 Since ordinarily these rivers are quite wide and subject to great differences in level and impetuousness of the waters during the time of high water, it is not possible to build bridges. As for passage across small brooks, they either do it by fording them or they take down trees without any concern except that they connect the two banks. This work, by the way, is very rare, because at every step one finds trees felled by storms, which serve as bridges.

/403 cont./

481 He almost daily walks great distances through the forest, to his clearing, which not infrequently is located several kilometers away from the maloca, or to hunt or to search for fruits. The woman, besides the great movement inside the maloca, which is forced on her by the preparation of the food, will take a long walk through the forest almost every day /404/ to reach her clearing, where, in the sun, she will walk three or four hours without stopping. There is no mountain climbing, because the region, in general, is flat. Gymnastic exercises or corporal contests, such as in other human groups, are not known (139).

[526]

> 139. We have seen children who, playing, seize one another as though it were for open wrestling, without, however, throwing the companion to the ground.

492 And horseback riding is known just as little. There are as yet no horses around these altitudes, even for use by the civilized.

481 515 The sports practiced daily are the aquatic ones, that is, swimming and rowing. In the morning, before daybreak, everyone, without exception, goes to the river, a short distance from the maloca or povoado, and takes his bath. Even the babes in arms are taken along by the mothers and bathed. This bath is quick, one immersing oneself in the water three or four times and passing the hand over the body. Sometimes they steady themselves by the arms on some canoe tied up, and kick the feet in the water. Later, at midday, that is, during the warm hours, when they come back perspiring from the forest or from the clearing, they take another bath. This frequency at the river makes everybody learn how to swim. They swim well, but without much endurance. They never cross great distances by swimming. Perhaps no one would even swim a hundred meters for mere exercise.

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yuruti women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

/11 cont./

103 Although it presents an average declivity of 0.32 m. per
133 kilometer, it possesses a subsoil of granite, with innumerable levelings and cachoeiras (3)

[114] 3. The Comissão Brasileira de Fronteiras /Brazilian Commission of Frontiers/, under the direction of Marechal /Marshal/ Boanerges Lopes de Souza, who did the surveying of this river, recorded 39 cachoeiras. Moreover, it has some islets and islands, and therefore its width reaches 500 meters.

[505] which endanger navigation. Or, rather, it is only passable with small canoes and montarias (4),

• [501] 4. "Montarias" are the canoes that have been enlarged by one or more longitudinal planks fitted to their sides.

which sometimes advance through the rushing rapids by arm or pulled by tow ropes, or are even transported across the rocks or bordering forest by way of the "varadoiros" (5).

5. "Varadoiros" are the passages opened up in the forest, or along the rivers in the stretches that are not navigable; or as shortcuts between two points, in order to avoid the long windings of the rivers.

The Tiquié is the other tributary, and more important than the Papurí. It results from two igarapés, or streams: the Uaracú-pirera (in Nheengatú it means "skin of aracú /a fish/"), which takes the name of Tiquié, a name of unknown origin and meaning (also like Caiarí and Papurí), after it receives the Macucú. Those of Tukano language name the Tiquié "Kõsá," the meaning of which, however, they do not know. Extremely sinuous, it measures about 450 kilometers in course, almost all

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubẽwãna exhibit the handsomest types.

171 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

*192 The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-
[531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[411] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[567] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/89 cont./

*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People-Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyi-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká
[317] poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found
[323] there. Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent
[501] in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba,
[142] Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Iahre, 202).

[582] They do not marry the Desana.

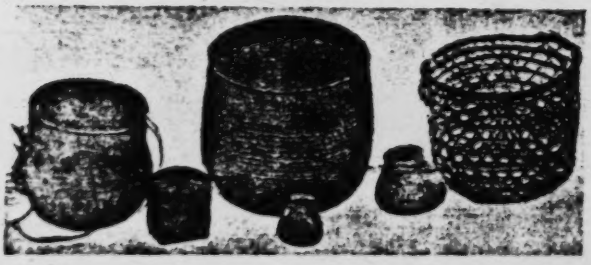
[161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

4: Silva--233 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 160 in the original source./

*192
285
[531]

1. Sieves (baxti) with the characteristic designs.
2. Different types of large baskets (aturás, pyi, and sarreiro, térẽ-pi, the one with wide meshes) and small ones (pyi-kamõ).
3. Preparing the "rede-batida" /beaten hammock/.
4. Rough-hewing to prepare the oar.



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/183 cont./

412 that it was enough to set the diabase in a crack at the end of a straight stick, in the same position in which we mount our iron axes. With the help of tucum thread and breu /a substance like pitch/ the necessary stability would be assured. The adze resulted from a smaller piece of diabase tied to the end of a curved stick, like a hook, yaxpũ. Today the syõ-a is only an instrument used as an ornament at the dances, hung on the left shoulder.

[192]

• 501 1) Canoe. The canoe, yuxkõ-sõ, is an implement of prime necessity, since these tribes live in a region where the water-courses constitute the only means of communication (16),

[192]

16. The "varadouros" /see footnote 5, p. 10/ through the forest are few and of secondary importance.

and fish is one of the principal foods. Today several tribes know how to build their canoes; but the skilled canoe-makers are the Tuyuka, Bará, Mikura, and Baniva.

The rivers of the region being large or with many cachoeiras and stones, they cannot use canoes made of bark, like other tribes (17),

17. The explorer Lobo D'Almada also speaks of canoes, with pachiubas estribadas (?) /propped or supported paxiubas (a kind of palm)/. They were dangerous, however, and were used for two or three men to go down the Tiquié in the stretch without cachoeiras. (Cf. "Lobo D'Almada," by Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Manaos, 1940, p. 73.)

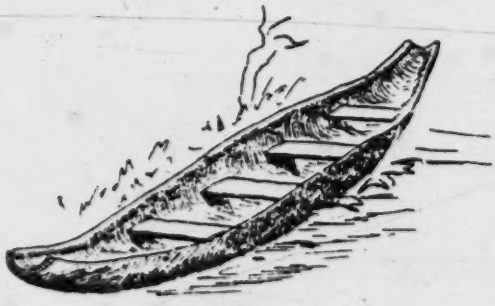
but of very resistant wood and of only one trunk. Some of three meters in length and about 40 centimeters in width; others, large logs of eight to ten meters in length and 100 to 120 centimeters in width. All, however, with high and pointed stern

/183 cont./

• 501 and bow. Swift as the rivers are (18),

> 18. We mean to speak especially of the Uaupés and the Papurí, where the most numerous native nuclei are.

they do not allow larger boats. A small canoe will determine, in turn, that the community will be small, because of which the family community is the rule. Often, however, /184/ it was not enough for the transport of the whole family and goods. On the other hand, two men are sufficient for its construction: father and son.



*[192] Canoe (juxkõ-sõ)

*[192] With a blow of the ax on the bark of the chosen tree (19),

> 19. They prefer to use for this the kumã-kõ (Nheengatú mirá-tauá, yellow wood, Euxylóphora paraénsis, Hub., of the Rutaceae), very resistant and light, so that the canoes never go to the bottom. And also the sɨvi-kõ (black laurel, Nectándra mollis, Nees., of the Lauraceae), the kã-rẽ (black and yellow itaúba, sílvia itaúba, Pax.), and other Lauraceae called pũ'ũ-gõ.

/184 cont./

501 this starts to dry. A bonfire around it will end up by bringing down its trunk, which, with a slow fire (20),

*[192]

20. For such an effect they kindled the house of the cupim /a kind of ant/, buxtwá-gá, which serves marvelously, because it provides a slow and long-lasting fire easily controlled by the native, in order not to remove more than is required. It is the process that they regularly use when they want to hollow out wood for the making of the tub, mortar, trocano /signal drum/, canoe, etc.

will be hollowed out. The adze was used to scrape the charred wood, leaving the interior part more smooth and regular. Afterwards the canoe, hollowed out as desired, is put on some crossbars, and a fire below, in such a way that the wood is heated and not burned. Under the action of the heat the fibers become more flexible and the canoe-maker starts, little by little, by means of small staffs used as a wedge, exerting pressure so that the hollow of the canoe starts to become larger, beginning at the center, then the stern and the bow. In order that it not contract upon cooling, they place poles transversely at the places where later planks for /185/ the seats will be installed. According to its length, they will have three, five, or more seats. They make it with such a mastery that, put in the water, the craft is perfectly balanced, with the stern and the bow quite high. The holes or cracks are calked with breu, oxpé.

[177] Under the influence of the civilized, they add to the height of these canoes, with planks set in with nails at the edges. Such canoes are called, in the regional term, montarias.

/185 cont./

501 *[192] 2) Oar. The oar, wahá-phĩ (Uaupés uhá-phĩ), is often made of saví-kõ, like the canoe. The end, wahá-phĩ dõxpo-á, is always a small cylindrical transverse projection, slightly curved, like a crutch. Among the Tukano it is perfectly in accordance with the style of their seat and their cigar holder. The dimensions depend, evidently, on the wish of the owner and its purpose: there are small oars for the children, medium-sized ones for the women, and large ones for the men.

Tukano oar
(note the crutch top and the beak-shaped tip)

[177] Due to the influence of the models of the civilized oars that navigate these rivers, one sees nowadays a great variety of shapes in the blade of the /186/ oars: roundish, lanceolate, etc. Not infrequently they produce on the blade colorful designs (circles, etc., evidently in imitation of the civilized). Originally it seems that they used an oar with a roundish blade, but with an almost imperceptible point; this generally in the more remote malocas.

/251/

439 The Indians who are in contact with the civilized obtain clothing and many objects from them in order later to resell these to other natives. It has been verified that in this trade they show economic judgment and know how to make large profits, not only among the Indians of a different tribe, but also among their own tribal "brothers" (82).

[437]

82. We know, for example, that the Tukano Indians residing in Melo Franco received flour from other Tukano from the mouth of the Áua in order to sell it to the Salesian Mission, and for this transaction alone they demanded from their "brothers" 50 per cent of the price of the flour.

8) Means of communication.

501 For their trade and social relations the means of communication are the rivers and igarapés; the canoe, then, is the primary means of transportation (83).

[171]

83. They never build rafts. The Makú, because they only live in the interior of the forests, do not know how to make canoes, nor do they possess them. They say that sometimes they improvise rafts in order to cross rivers or their branches. These are very rare events, however.

491 Since ordinarily these rivers are quite wide and subject to great differences in level and impetuousness of the waters during the time of high water, it is not possible to build bridges. As for passage across small brooks, they either do it by fording them or they take down trees without any concern except that they connect the two banks. This work, by the way, is very rare, because at every step one finds trees felled by storms, which serve as bridges.

4: Silva--473 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 321 in the original source/

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• 501
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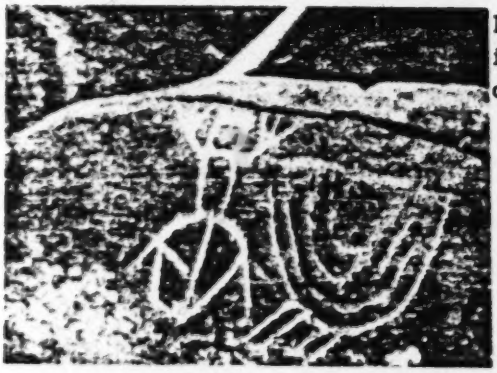
Burial in the canoe (juxkõ-sõ-koro)

532



Itacoatiara (rupestrian inscription) in Carurú-cachoeira (river Tiquié)

823

Mandú, the Ipeka tuxaua from Urubucuara (Uaupés R.) and his son beside the hole from which the tribes arose (cf. Lendas do Uaupés). The mound in the background (left) is supposed to have resulted from the spit of WÃx-tĩ.

/334 cont./

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[753]

/footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the population of Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés, as the consequence of having taken a stone from the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahũ-gã-pweá, actually located some hundreds of kilometers away, on the river Papurí.

asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

[227]
[501]

36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

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[103]

/335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," pixkõ-rõ-ỹa, headwaters of the Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a rock that a woman should not see; if she looks at this rock, she will never have children. And when they go by this place, the women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

823
[103]
*[192]

In Jabutí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock called nõ'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxké-sã-i'ãsé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will easily learn any trade.

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water). Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.

T
• 501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.

T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/372/

764 2) The interment. There is no fixed interval between the verification of the death and the burial. One even notices a certain anxiety to bury the corpse as soon as possible. And the cases 763 in which the preparations for this start when the individual is still 764 alive, and even has use of his senses, are not infrequent (88).

[797]

88. One of the Salesian Missionary Sisters, passing through Umarí (river Uaupés), saw in the maloca four holes in the floor. Surprised she asked the reason. It was that there were four children with whooping cough, and, foreseeing their death, they had already prepared the graves.

Another striking episode took place in Taracuá (river Uaupés) in 1934. The tuxáua Miguel, of the Tukano tribe, was near death, and his subjects prepared the coffin-canoe and placed the sick man there, almost suffocating him with his clothes, hammock, eating cuia, etc. The Missionaries arrived still in time, and, noticing that he was still alive, they moved him to the hospital, and actually he did not die until three days later.

[323] Although they are familiar with ceramics and know how to make vessels of large dimensions, they are not in the habit of burying the cadavers in vessels, nor are there any indications of their having had such a custom.

764 The burial is permanent, and the traditional form is the canoe-
501 coffin, yuxkõ-sõ-koró, that is, in a canoe (89).
[192]

89. Occasionally, lacking a canoe, we have heard of burial in the caxirí tub in Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí). Pe. André Linssen, Missionary of the Monfort Congregation, did a burial in a mat in Acuaricuara (Colombia,

/372 cont./

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*[192]
[797]
[177]

/footnote 89 cont./ river Paca). Today one often hears "yuxkõ-sõ mãrĩ," there is no canoe (since they do not want to render useless the good canoes that they have), and they bury the dead in some hollow piece of timber, or they ask the Missionaries for a casket.

It will be the old canoe, fruit of his work, companion of his travels and of his fishing trips, or one obtained for this purpose. They saw it into two parts. We were unable to find out what they would have done in the old days, before they had a saw or machete, in order to divide the canoe into two halves. Whether they then did it with the help of fire, or whether they used two small canoes as a coffin. On one half they place the corpse with his hammock, bow, arrow, his [illegible] with a little flour, a cigar, and some coals on a piece of [illegible]pot (nowadays a box with some matches). They cover this with the other half of the canoe, closing the orifices, at present with pieces of wood, rags, or anything, and tie the two parts with strong cords of tucum.

764 The burial with part of the utilitarian objects is usually a survival from nomadism. Today the Indians explain to us that it is "to be used in the other life." Other objects (canoes, machetes, axes, hammocks, etc.) are inherited by the family, or, more accurately, by the /373/ oldest son. It is the symbol of a bond that still endures among the members who are living and those already dead (84) /sic: 90/.

[184]

90. Koch Grünberg says of the Kubẽwãna that they burn and throw away the objects that belonged to the dead person, so that his spirit does not come to punish the survivors for their negligence and greediness (Zwei Jahre, p. 314).

/404 cont./

481 One of the aquatic amusements of the children is the one
524 called Wãx-tĩ Max-kõ, the son of Wãx-tĩ, an obvious reference
*[192] to the legend of Nhamacurú (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"). To wit: two children placed one in front of the other, with the arms toward the back, immerse themselves in the water simultaneously. Moments later, emerging at the same time, they embrace each other quickly. Then, again with the arms to the back, they immerse themselves, in order to emerge again, embrace each other, and sink into the water. This is done a certain number of times, until they become tired, and the entertainment ceases.

• 501 Another frequent exercise is that of rowing. From childhood
868 on, from about three or four years of age perhaps, they learn how to row and have their small oars. Not infrequently a child alone or two go rowing and travel kilometers from their own home.
[226] Many times it is the children who row, while the men attend to fishing from the canoe. This habit gives them surprising skill
[147] and endurance. They are capable of rowing ten or more hours a day and for six or eight consecutive days on long trips.

The striking of the oar handle on the side of the canoe marks
501 the rhythm, and, when there are several rowers, they take pride in the accuracy /405/ of the strokes, as if they were one single stroke. Three different rhythms are to be observed: 1st -- one faster, when they have need to reach some point, and in the currents; there are more or less three deep strokes in two seconds; 2nd -- when there is no current, they change to a slower rhythm: one measure yes and two no, so that one hears two sounds in the water (of two waves which form and strike against the canoe), having three strokes in five seconds; 3rd -- at times they take up another rhythm: two fast strokes and a slow and deeper one.

The following detail can be observed: the hand that holds the handle of the oar describes a perfect circle; and after they give a blow on the edge of the canoe, the oar remains for a moment lying over it, parallel to the water. In order to rest from the effort, they go to rowing from the other side of the canoe;

/405 cont./

501 it now falls to the hand that was holding the handle to pull the blade of the oar. When someone feels tired, he interrupts the exercise, letting his companions proceed with the work. On the calm stretches of the river, or when they go downstream with the current (it is what is called to go downstream floating), it might happen that all stop rowing and entertain themselves in animated conversation.

505 The continuous traveling by way of rivers with dangerous cachoeiras not only gives them extraordinary endurance, but makes them brave and turns them into highly skilled navigators. A superior and serene courage, of someone who relies on his knowledge of the dangerous places and of the process to use in each one of the currents or whirlpools, and, therefore, does not fear surprises. Of someone who relies on his own strength, tested so many times at the most difficult moments; of someone who knows that, in the worst of the possibilities, if the canoe capsizes with the shock of a wave, it will still continue to float, and he will [574] be able to catch it, swimming, a few meters farther on. If some cargo is lost in this accident, he will have beijú and smoked fish at the first maloca, until his wife can prepare beijú for him again and until he catches some fish or kills some game. It is the most excellent control of the nerves that can be imagined, in any danger that the navigation presents. With these qualities it is understandable that they are the indispensable navigators of these rivers, and infuse us with great tranquility when we have them as crewmen. Frequently in the vicinities of the cachoeiras there exist native dwellings or there are Indians engaged in fishing, always ready to give help if they are asked.

According to the level of the waters, they know whether the canoe must seek one channel in preference to another, whether a rock is sufficiently covered, whether one needs to use the pole. In some cases the Indian /406/ will jump quickly from the canoe to a rock (140)

140. Those who are already dressed sometimes

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



121 societies. In reconstructing tropical forest culture history, note must be taken of the extraordinary ease of cultural transfers over the entire area. For this reason alone knowledge of total cultural systems seems essential. As matters stand now, much reconstruction must be based upon the very unreliable foundation of trait comparisons. What has [177] been of special interest in my study of the Cubeo has been the way in which some widespread cultural traits, particularly masked dances, harvest rites, and sacred trumpets, have been taken up and fitted into distinctive cultural patterns with a focus in an ancestral cult.

133 The Northwest Amazon region is bounded on the south by the Amazon, from where it is joined by the Rio Negro eastward to where the Marañón issues from the Andes. The Guaviare River is its northern boundary, the Andean cordillera bounds it in the west, and the Rio Negro in the east. The principal rivers of the region are the Caquetá, Apaporis, Tiquié, Papurý, Isana, Vaupés (known in Brazil as the Caiarý), Cuduiarí, Querarí, Aiarí, Tie, and Guainía. All drain into the Amazon. Ecologically, the Northwest Amazon is sharply differentiated only from the neighboring Andean region to the west and to a lesser degree from the open prairie or llanos on its northern [137] side. Eastward it fades into the flatter and lower-lying forests of the Amazon. Its southern margin is fixed only by an arbitrary river boundary. It is a densely wooded region of tall trees closely packed and interlaced with vines and lianas. At the river edges the forest growth is lower and more brushlike. It is also an elevated region whose streams are punctuated by hazardous cataracts. On the Vaupés, between Yurupari and the Rio Negro, Dr. Hamilton Rice (1910) counted 30 major cataracts and 60 small ones. The cataracts (*cachoeiras*) are for the Indians focal points of residence. Traditional sites, they often mark tribal and sib boundaries. Every cataract has its petroglyphs that depict mythical figures still known to the Indians. In some areas, as I have observed, the residents of the *cachoeiras* freshen the petroglyphs from time to time with deepening incisions. The rapids are more of a navigational hazard to the European traveler than to the Indians, who are expert canoemen and whose light craft [502] is easily portaged. Dr. Rice, who knew a good deal about the Amazon, declared the Cubeo to be the most expert canoemen on the river. [501] I can also testify to their coolness and skill in navigating their small dugout canoes, that have only an inch or two of freeboard, through the twisting boulder-strewn channel of a thundering rapids.

The land slopes abruptly eastward. In its western part the area is often a tumble of ravine-cut hills, exposed rock, and swamp. The Vaupés flows past high, open, uninhabited mesas. Scattered hills of

[text continues on p. 10]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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of the pull of propinquity. The Cubeo welcome and respect neighborliness. 614 615

The river has its natural boundaries. These are the segments of river demarcated by rapids and by the tributaries or creeks. A boundary is from one such feature to the next, from a *cachoeira* (rapids) to a creek, from a creek to a creek, but rarely from *cachoeira* to *cachoeira*. A boundary defines only sib territory. There is no phratric territory as such. If there is phratric and tribal territoriality it is because each of the sibs undertakes to defend the principle in terms of its own interests. A sib may adopt a stranger and in this way incorporate it into the phratry. It needs no permission to do this. On the other hand, a sib may appeal to phratry mates for help in warding off by force unwanted intruders. Boundaries do not close a river to traffic. The river is always an open highway for travel, and travelers may fish and hunt along it freely. They may not put up fixed installations such as weirs or show other signs of residence such as fishing a particular spot with regularity without permission. Men regularly fish only within the sib limits. The discussion of boundaries, it should be explained, does not flow naturally from the Cubeo. It is drawn out by the ethnographer. The Cubeo are not jealous of boundaries and they rarely have issues over them, but they do know them. Occasionally someone violates the common law of courtesy of the use of fish weirs and keeps the barrier closed beyond the allowable period. The Cubeo cannot and do not attribute this unmannerly act to gluttony. Gluttony is an incomprehensible notion to them. They attribute it either kindly to forgetfulness, in which case there is no issue, or to unfriendliness, in which case there is a quarrel and an effort is made to tear down the barrier. On the forest side there are no boundaries at all except for the clearing itself. It is not land but river frontage that is valued.

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## CANOEING

So much of a man's time is spent in a canoe that no description of native life would be complete that did not relate the Indian to the river as a canoeman or that failed to bring out the motor rhythms of canoeing. Motor rhythms are patterned, the rhythm of paddling and the characteristic rhythms of the dance showing particularly striking parallels. 501 516

Paddling follows a definite though irregular rhythm. The prowsman on a long trip is keeper of the stroke. Paddling is noisy. On the downstroke the stem of the paddle just above the blade is struck

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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CUBEO



501 516 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been over- [461] come the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oarsman's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the 501 canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a 461 long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spontaneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!" 501 On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about 517 two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying [123] some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why didn't you shoot them?"

501 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of 462 steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys, each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are [857] in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of balance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

502 All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the [823] canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided because of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline. Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push. High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. 501
Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendervous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 601 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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recover it. Away from home, a canoe is moored completely out of the water.

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COMMUNITIES ON THE CUDUIARÍ (upstream from mouth)

| PLACE NAME | SIB | PLACE NAME | SIB |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kakómba | *Hehénewa* | 16. Xiábewa | *Pedíkwa* |
| 2. Kuridí kenámi | *Hehénewa* | 17. Kurarla | *Kenánikauwũ* |
| 3. Tcípakorîba * | *Hehénewa* | 18. Abúhakũ | *Kenánikauwũ* |
| 4. Okóhambũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 19. Xwévebo | *Hũrũwá* |
| 5. Vekókũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 20. Bedébo | *Hũrũwá* |
| 6. Ewáhubo | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 21. Kobéhowa | *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* |
| 7. Hurédo | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 22. Avyákorîba | *Hũrũwá* |
| 8. Nyáparatainto | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 23. Kwitóro | *Wadjá-Hũrũwá* |
| 9. Yavíbi | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 24. Bedébũ | *Hũrũwá* |
| 10. Kiráda | *Bahúkiwa* | 25. Toróhambũ | *Hũrũwá* |
| 11. Ũbo | *Pedíkwa* | 26. Hokóbũ | *Kenánikauwũ* |
| 12. Mákavekũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 27. Horáhararla | *Hũrũwá* |
| 13. Makatóta | *Bahúkiwa* | 28. Hudjíbũ | *Bahúkiwa* |
| 14. Toídibũ | *Pedíkwa* | 29. Mátakwe | *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* |
| 15. Monékenpaunwa | *Pedíkwa* | | |

* A small *Kordwa* settlement is at *Urupera* between 3 and 4. It is, however, only a fraction of a Querari River sib and not a full community.

123 the *bréo* flame taking coca with two other men. He is silent and has offered
622 little real assistance; I wonder whether he resents our presence here.'

It did seem at times as though Kuarumey resented our presence, and he later had some cause for his suspicions – certainly in his own mind – when events took an unexpected turn. He was a striking man, tall and rather gaunt, with a proud almost arrogant manner. There was no doubt as to who was the head of the *maloca*, nor that we were visitors, fortunate to have his hospitality. We saw little of him during the daytime and it was some time before we learnt he was making a canoe some distance away in the forest.

● 501 Though the Tukano travel through the forest on hunting expeditions, canoes are used to go further afield, to fish or to trade with other groups. They are a river people as much as a forest people, and like many Amazonian tribes they have evolved their own methods of making canoes.

[171] The Noanamá, we found, dug out and shaped their canoes from solid wood, and it was necessary for them to find very large trees to do this. Many tribes of the southern Amazon use the bark of a tree, like the North American Indian, while some groups of the Guahibo and the Maku living in areas remote from the larger rivers do not use canoes at all. The Tukano, however, shape their canoes by a process of heat-warping.

A tree – a hard type of cedar – had first been felled, then a twenty-foot section was cut and barked, and allowed to lie for several weeks, before [293] Kuarumey started to cut the wood. Each day he went to the clearing, setting up a palm frond to shade himself when the midday sun broke into the clearing, through the gap in the trees overhead.

[412] Using his *azador*, a curved hoe-like blade, and a long stick with a sharp metal end, he first shaped the outside of the log, scraping off the bark. Then he made holes along its length and began to cut out the centre. It was hard work and he would often break off to make himself a cheroot, using the rolled leaf of a palm, while his eldest son continued the work. Once he disappeared in the jungle to set a monkey trap, a ring-snare high in a tree with fruit as the bait.

[224] He worked carefully, feeling the sides of the canoe so as not to make the shell too thin. After several days it was ready, braced with two small stumps to prevent the sides from closing. Then Kuarumey and several Indians from the *maloca* dragged the hull along the forest paths to the river bank nearly a mile away.

Now the canoe was ready to be warped by burning. This could be undertaken only at certain times of the year when there was no risk of rain, for [412] water on the hot wood might split it. Before they obtained iron and steel the Indians used to cut the trees with their stone axes. They would only partly shape the hull and burn out the centre with fire. Now, with the canoe already shaped, the burning was quicker and it would be completed within a day.

*A Death*

The tinder-dry wood heaped underneath was soon alight and Kuarumey, helped again by his son, began to turn the hull, holding the canoe on rollers, first the right way up, then upside down and lastly on its side. The flames from the fire leapt five feet into the air all along its length and the men began to sweat as they watched. Soon they were covered in charcoal from head to foot. Every so often Kuarumey reached for his coca bag and shook some of the powder into his mouth. Gradually the sides of the trunk were forced open and wedges were placed along its length. 501

'In the Llanos they hang the canoe over the fire and there is less danger of the wood actually bursting into flames,' said Horacio. At that moment Kuarumey's wife approached us along the path carrying an earthen bowl full of *chicha*. 'And they don't let women approach during the burning for fear of the wood splitting.' [415]

All day long they worked on the smouldering canoe. About midday they bound the ends with liana to prevent it splitting and occasionally put mud on the thinner parts to prevent further burning. The work was completed before dusk. The canoe would cool gradually during the night, and in the morning the braces would be removed and replaced by flat wooden supports. Then Kuarumey would try out his new canoe in the river. It was well built and the sides were even, barely half an inch thick throughout. It should last him for several seasons, providing he did not lose it during the winter floods.

The sun shone warmly on the russet water as Kuarumey paddled the slim canoe away from the port and down the river – so light, so strong, so manageable and in shape so beautiful, yet for ourselves unthinkable – we would have capsized in a moment; only Horacio could master an Indian craft. *El Diablo* was now on the bank drying in the sun, and Horacio and José were starting to recaulk the battered shell.

The rough passage over dried-out river channels, through log-strewn stream beds, across the portage and over vicious rocks, had jarred the joints so much that, were we now to have slid her into the water, she would have sunk like a sieve. For days we had left her on the bank to absorb the heat of the morning sun, turned her and then covered her with a tarpaulin against the occasional afternoon storms, Now the old caulking was pulled away and melted down together with the pitch we had brought from Mitú. However, this was not sufficient and José exchanged some of our fish-hooks for wild beeswax and resin, and this too was melted down. 114

The fragrant smell of pitch and beeswax filled the air and as the lumps slowly dispersed in the bubbling black syrup, José began to tell of the rapids which lay ahead: 'Listen to the water,' he said, and in the distance we could hear the rumbling; the falls were three bends downstream. 'Only half a day's journey away is the fall we call Piña. In the dry season it is a long series of rapids and we need help to carry everything from the upper end, through

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A graceful Tukano canoe.

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

# Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

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*In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Makú and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.*

## THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

### *Setting and Culture Area*

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

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The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

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Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

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[361]

[P. 670-A]

/140 cont./

868 The skill and perfection with which he opens out the palms for the covering of the maloca, with the help of the oar, or how he makes his plaitings, the way of tying and transporting a bundle of palms, merit admiration. His ability with regard to these practical necessities of life is very remarkable. And it becomes more admirable if we consider that the training is very quick, without true schools, and he soon finds himself skilled, for example, in the varied and beautiful work of nets and baskets. 797 They also learn with relative speed the trades of the civilized, 868 such as mason, blacksmith, carpenter, tailor, in the Salesian 177 Schools, although, perhaps due to the force of the environment, circumstances, and their inconstancy, they do not often reach perfection in their trade. Some continue as artisans of these trades in the missionary establishments. Others, returning from the schools to their homes, have an opportunity to use what they learned, handling, for instance, the saw, the hammer, and even the chisel. They are also the machinists of the launches that go up their immense rivers; just as they are capable of executing more delicate work, such as the observations and handling of meteorological instruments (5).

5. Wallace already observed a century ago (perhaps with some exaggeration to emphasize the idea) that, while a European countryman would take six months to learn how to handle a sextant, one of our Indians learns it in minutes. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre) also made a similar observation.

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502 They are the irreplaceable "practitioners" of the navigation of those dangerous rivers, because they have an amazing topographic memory of the hidden rocks and sandbanks, bound up with an impressive calm during the dangers presented by the storms and the cachoeiras.

/140 cont./

152 Perhaps, at first glance, the small range of the Indian's
502 intelligence would impress us, even in the practical field and in the most obvious and simple things. We will verify, for instance, the mistakes they make in navigation, the fact of not knowing how to foresee and, later, how to avoid or to remedy an accident. Perhaps, to present concrete cases, in order to get the water out of a boat, they will not remove a plank that makes the operation difficult; if a riverside tree impedes navigation, they cut it so badly that the passage remains even more difficult, etc. This impression of intellectual obtuseness, nevertheless, will be lessened if we realize that he performs the work with disprejudice and disinterest.

/141/ 3) Fantasy or imagination.

154 A faculty highly developed in the native is the imagination. One easily understands why he is like that, since he lacks the control of a more highly developed and educated intelligence, having, on the contrary, a spirit animated by incoherent and even absurd childish legends and beliefs, and living in an environment of majestic and almost crushing
154 solitude. Many of their conversations in the long hours, idle during the day and dull at night, deal with legends, apparitions,
521 and spells. For this reason they always have their imaginations stimulated. Only in this way is it to be explained how they can see in some strange rocks similarities with plants, tools, etc., similarities that, even when warned, we could not perceive. It is enough to mention a rock of the cachoeira de Uaracapá, almost at the mouth of the river Papuri, presented as "a banana tree" and in which we only see one of those common rocks that rise out of the water.

Their incoherent conversations, their incomplete narrations, denounce someone who supplies his own fantasy and leaves room for the fantasy of the listeners. Sometimes when we want fast and practical information (for example, about a road, a cachoeira, a distance), we ask a native interpreter to ask another. They will talk 10 or 15 minutes between themselves, and at the end of that time our interpreter will say that

/251 cont./

487 The Amazon forest, interlaced as it is by lianas (a little less, it is true, than appears to anyone who only sees it from the bank of the rivers), is crossed with some difficulty, and [481] perhaps for this reason is not crisscrossed with trails. The custom of the Indians always to walk one behind the other, never side by side, is well known. It is what is called "Indian file," that is, one by one. The native does not go very far into the forest; he is afraid of Wãx-tĩ (VII -- 4, d (5) ). As for his [241] clearing, it is even desirable that there is no path to reveal the site. In this way it will be better sheltered from thefts. For these reasons roads are not opened, except for those that lead from the maloca or povoado to the landing place, ordinarily a few dozen or, at most, one or two hundred meters in extent.

/252/ They discover, however, shorter routes than the interminable windings by way of the rivers or igarapés to go *[192] from one maloca to another. Such routes, as they are more frequented for the exchange of women, feasts, or trade, become better and constitute what is called varadouro (in Tukano ma'ã) (84).

84. It seems that originally the Tukano term ma'ã meant only the route that the canoe was to follow in the dangerous crossings of the cachoeiras. Today the term ma'ã is used as an equivalent to the Portuguese words: varadouro, caminho, estrada, etc.

482 All the transportation of cargo by land is done by means of the *[192] aturás /carrying baskets/, or pi'í, which the woman carries on her back.

• 502 During the time of high water in the rivers canals navigable by canoes are formed within the forest, since the wilderness becomes a sea, and the native takes advantage of that in order to shorten the trips; his canoe takes a shortcut through the forest, instead of following all the sinuosity of the river. Their topographic memory of the rivers on which they live, going up and coming down, does not let them be led astray.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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121 societies. In reconstructing tropical forest culture history, note must be taken of the extraordinary case of cultural transfers over the entire area. For this reason alone knowledge of total cultural systems seems essential. As matters stand now, much reconstruction must be based upon the very unreliable foundation of trait comparisons. What has [177] been of special interest in my study of the Cubeo has been the way in which some widespread cultural traits, particularly masked dances, harvest rites, and sacred trumpets, have been taken up and fitted into distinctive cultural patterns with a focus in an ancestral cult.

133 The Northwest Amazon region is bounded on the south by the Amazon, from where it is joined by the Rio Negro eastward to where the Marañón issues from the Andes. The Guaviare River is its northern boundary, the Andean cordillera bounds it in the west, and the Rio Negro in the east. The principal rivers of the region are the Caquetá, Apaporis, Tiquié, Papurý, Isana, Vaupés (known in Brazil as the Caiarý), Cuduiarí, Querarí, Aiari, Tie, and Guainía. All drain into the Amazon. Ecologically, the Northwest Amazon is sharply differentiated only from the neighboring Andean region to the west and to a lesser degree from the open prairie or llanos on its northern [137] side. Eastward it fades into the flatter and lower-lying forests of the Amazon. Its southern margin is fixed only by an arbitrary river boundary. It is a densely wooded region of tall trees closely packed and interlaced with vines and lianas. At the river edges the forest growth is lower and more brushlike. It is also an elevated region whose streams are punctuated by hazardous cataracts. On the Vaupés, between Yuruparí and the Rio Negro, Dr. Hamilton Rice (1910) counted 30 major cataracts and 60 small ones. The cataracts (*cachoeiras*) are for the Indians focal points of residence. Traditional sites, they often mark tribal and sib boundaries. Every cataract has its petroglyphs that depict mythical figures still known to the Indians. In some areas, as I have observed, the residents of the *cachoeiras* freshen the petroglyphs from time to time with deepening incisions. The rapids are more of a navigational hazard to the European traveler than to the Indians, who are expert canoemen and whose light craft [502] is easily portaged. Dr. Rice, who knew a good deal about the Amazon, [501] declared the Cubeo to be the most expert canoemen on the river. I can also testify to their coolness and skill in navigating their small dugout canoes, that have only an inch or two of freeboard, through the twisting boulder-strewn channel of a thundering rapids.

The land slopes abruptly eastward. In its western part the area is often a tumble of ravine-cut hills, exposed rock, and swamp. The Vaupés flows past high, open, uninhabited mesas. Scattered hills of

[text continues on p. 10]

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501 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke
516 are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been over-
[461] come the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oarsman's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the
501 canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a
461 long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spontaneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!"
501 On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about
517 two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying
[123] some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why didn't you shoot them?"

501 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of
462 steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys, each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are
[857] in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of balance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

502 All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the
[823] canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided because of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline. Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push. High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 501 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

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133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.

[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ildkoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ildkoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaíno* (falling river) and as *eddwaiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[805] [1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

/175 cont./

249 them. Although this is not a plant native to Brazil (8),

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8. This is commónly thought. The cane has an Asiatic origin from China, from where it passed to the Mediterranean, and from Spain to the New World. The year of 1627 is marked as being the one of its introduction in Pará. It is certain that at the time of the discoveries the Indians were already planting cane. Alonso de Rojas, in the report on the journey of Pedro de Teixeira in 1637, tells us this ("Descobrimento do Rio das Amazonas," p. 114).

Nordenskiöld thinks that the press is a native invention, according to his material and resources. Nordenskiöld's opinion does not seem acceptable to us for the presses and the tribes of the Uaupés. [177] They would be an imitation of the presses that the civilized have used on the lower Rio Negro since the eighteenth century.

351 A square, maxkĩ-pá, or rectangular area, cleaned of any vegetation, and usually proportional to the population, is located *[192] in front of the maloca. It is also called baxsarí-u'tú, "dance yard"; actually some numbers of the ceremonial dances are performed there.

351 There is always a road a few meters wide, and clean, that leads to the landing place, or places, where they tie the canoes • 504 and take their bath. A road that serves, moreover, for the procession of Wãx-tĩ at his festival (cf. VII - 4, e (2) ).

504 When the steep bank of the river is very high, they build a stairway with steps of earth or of timbers. If the steps are of earth, they are made immovable with roundish timbers of about two meters, tied to small stakes driven into the ground or tied transversely, by means of cipos, to two long lateral parallel beams.

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621 512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712 [361] In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise attack. 712 725 When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were confident they left the women and children behind in the house with [123] a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361 504 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza. 504 574 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests [417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be allowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the [576] plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men 504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning 796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe [778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504 833 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiari these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiari proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 501 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

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recover it. Away from home, a canoe is moored completely out of the water.

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COMMUNITIES ON THE CUDUIARÍ (upstream from mouth)

| PLACE NAME | SIB | PLACE NAME | SIB |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kakómba | *Hehénewa* | 16. Xiábewa | *Pedíkwa* |
| 2. Kuridí kenámi | *Hehénewa* | 17. Kuraria | *Kenánikauwũ* |
| 3. Tcípakoríba * | *Hehénewa* | 18. Abúhakũ | *Kenánikauwũ* |
| 4. Okóhambũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 19. Xwévebo | *Hũrũwá* |
| 5. Vekókũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 20. Bedébo | *Hũrũwá* |
| 6. Ewáhubo | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 21. Kobéhowa | *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* |
| 7. Hurédo | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 22. Avyákoríba | *Hũrũwá* |
| 8. Nyáparatainto | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 23. Kwitóro | *Wadjá-Hũrũwá* |
| 9. Yavíbi | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 24. Bedébũ | *Hũrũwá* |
| 10. Kiráda | *Bahúkiwa* | 25. Toróhambũ | *Hũrũwá* |
| 11. Übo | *Pedíkwa* | 26. Hokóbũ | *Kenánikauwũ* |
| 12. Mákavekũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 27. Horáhararía | *Hũrũwá* |
| 13. Makatóta | *Bahúkiwa* | 28. Hudjíbũ | *Bahúkiwa* |
| 14. Toídibũ | *Pedíkwa* | 29. Mátakwe | *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* |
| 15. Monékenpaunwa | *Pedíkwa* | | |

* A small *Kordwa* settlement is at *Urupara* between 3 and 4. It is, however, only a fraction of a Querari River sib and not a full community.

/11 cont./

103 Although it presents an average declivity of 0.32 m. per
133 kilometer, it possesses a subsoil of granite, with innumerable levelings and cachoeiras (3)

[114] 3. The Comissão Brasileira de Fronteiras /Brazilian Commission of Frontiers/, under the direction of Marechal /Marshal/ Boanerges Lopes de Souza, who did the surveying of this river, recorded 39 cachoeiras. Moreover, it has some islets and islands, and therefore its width reaches 500 meters.

[505] which endanger navigation. Or, rather, it is only passable with small canoes and montarias (4),

[501] 4. "Montarias" are the canoes that have been enlarged by one or more longitudinal planks fitted to their sides.

which sometimes advance through the rushing rapids by arm or pulled by tow ropes, or are even transported across the rocks or bordering forest by way of the "varadoiros" (5).

5. "Varadoiros" are the passages opened up in the forest, or along the rivers in the stretches that are not navigable; or as shortcuts between two points, in order to avoid the long windings of the rivers.

The Tiquié is the other tributary, and more important than the Papurí. It results from two igarapés, or streams: the Uaracú-pirera (in Nheengatú it means "skin of aracú /a fish/"), which takes the name of Tiquié, a name of unknown origin and meaning (also like Caiarí and Papurí), after it receives the Macucú. Those of Tukano language name the Tiquié "Kõsá," the meaning of which, however, they do not know. Extremely sinuous, it measures about 450 kilometers in course, almost all

/Illustrations facing p. 176 in the original source./

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Grater
(One is seeing the small stones incrusted in a regular design.)

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View of the Uaupés during the period of low tide and a canoe filled with baskets for trading with other tribes

/405 cont./

501 it now falls to the hand that was holding the handle to pull the blade of the oar. When someone feels tired, he interrupts the exercise, letting his companions proceed with the work. On the calm stretches of the river, or when they go downstream with the current (it is what is called to go downstream floating), it might happen that all stop rowing and entertain themselves in animated conversation.

• 505 The continuous traveling by way of rivers with dangerous cachoeiras not only gives them extraordinary endurance, but makes them brave and turns them into highly skilled navigators. A superior and serene courage, of someone who relies on his knowledge of the dangerous places and of the process to use in each one of the currents or whirlpools, and, therefore, does not fear surprises. Of someone who relies on his own strength, tested so many times at the most difficult moments; of someone who knows that, in the worst of the possibilities, if the canoe capsizes with the shock of a wave, it will still continue to float, and he will [574] be able to catch it, swimming, a few meters farther on. If some cargo is lost in this accident, he will have beijú and smoked fish at the first maloca, until his wife can prepare beijú for him again and until he catches some fish or kills some game. It is the most excellent control of the nerves that can be imagined, in any danger that the navigation presents. With these qualities it is understandable that they are the indispensable navigators of these rivers, and infuse us with great tranquility when we have them as crewmen. Frequently in the vicinities of the cachoeiras there exist native dwellings or there are Indians engaged in fishing, always ready to give help if they are asked.

According to the level of the waters, they know whether the canoe must seek one channel in preference to another, whether a rock is sufficiently covered, whether one needs to use the pole. In some cases the Indian /406/ will jump quickly from the canoe to a rock (140)

140. Those who are already dressed sometimes

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/footnote 140 cont./ take off the shirt and quickly leap into the water with their pants or trunks. Those who are still in a more primitive condition do not have any fear of wetting their own clothes...

that appears nearby and, with a push on the edge, makes it overcome the current, and then, in an agile jump, comes back again inside the canoe and grasps his oar. In other circumstances all the passengers must coast among the indentations of the bank, while the crew pushes the canoe upstream; or, by means of tow-ropes, pulled strongly from the rocks, they force it to go up the small cachoeiras. Or further, they unload all the baggage, and both the load and the canoe will be transported across difficult shortcuts as far as the upper part of the cachoeiras, and from there they resume normal navigation.

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## Chapter VIII

## Social Organization

### 1. -- Family Group

594 The native family of the Uaupés, in the most strict and perfect sense, consists of husband, wife, and children. Indissoluble monogamy is in force among them, that is, each man will have his legitimate wife, and they are joined until death by an indissoluble bond, once the conditions prescribed by the law of the tribe are satisfied.

[592] Such will be the family, whether each one lives in its house, according to the modern tendency, or whether several families are united in the communitarian life of the maloca.

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

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under duress. Men worked on the house only when they felt cheerful and dedicated to the work. The man who felt out of sorts dropped away and returned only when his spirits had improved. Dependency upon mood was one of the most important factors delaying completion of a house.

Even so, the magnitude of the technical problems is not to be underestimated. The mere assemblage of material is a complex, arduous, and time-consuming task. Construction materials are not always close to hand. The *Bahúkiwa* fetched roofing thatch from the mouth of the Cuduiarí in what was technically the territory of the *Hehénewa* sibs. Their house of 12 compartments consumed 560 bundles of thatch, and, since each canoe could transport only five bundles, over a hundred canoe loads were needed, a task that would normally be spread out over many months. The *Bahúkiwa* headman was able to borrow from the *Comisaría* a large cargo barge and in this way a great deal of time was saved. Even so, a large party of several households camped for weeks on the lower river during a dry season, gathering and preparing the parana palm thatch (*trinó*). Altogether, thatch gathering consumed 50 days of the time of at least half the community. The practice is for the headman to institute a "crash program" to get each phase of the work well under way. His problem is to fit each phase of construction into the routine of daily and of seasonal life with minimum disruption. Strictly speaking, the decisions are not his. His is the technical voice, but he will do nothing without discussion with the household heads. Roofing can be cut during the two dry seasons and can never be finished in only one. Gathering, trimming, and binding the parana palm leaves into sheaves is the only housebuilding task in which women share.

[427]
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The headman, together with his firmest supporters, that is, his own sons and blood brothers, has the specific responsibility for erecting the central framework, the three pairs of heavy posts that will support the main weight of the roof. Others may help in this if they wish but they have no specific obligation to do so. The inner framework of three pairs of heavy posts forms the inner box around which the rest of the house is built. The timbers must be carefully chosen and then well dug in, while the parallelogram must be very carefully laid out. The floor plan is laid out with long sticks, and right angles are very accurately estimated. The rest of the framework including the ridgepole is a collective enterprise and is the second stage of construction. Roofing is the third stage. When enough roof has been laid down to provide even a bare shelter, the close kin of the headman move in.

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[622]
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[622]
[602]

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614 Just as there is no indication of clan totemism, there is none
532 of individual or personal totemism either. The objects that they make do not represent animals; they are of simple workmanship, according to the purpose. In some quite rare cases the paintings of the walls are anthropomorphic; they seem, however, to have only a sportive character. /Page 478 is blank./

/479/

## Chapter IX

## The Life of the Indian

### 1) Daily cycle.

• 512 The type and the standard of life of the Indian seem patterned. Even in distinct tribes we find the Indians doing the same things in the same way, and even with a very close timetable. It is indeed a very methodical life, not, however, monotonous. On the contrary, quite varied, in a perfect nature in which daily rest, work, meals, baths, physical exercises succeed one another.

[592] "The Tukano lives in the maloca, which serves him as bedroom, kitchen, dining room in the morning and in the afternoon. The maloca is, in succession, laboratory for the domestic chores, meeting place at times of rain, and ballroom during the great feasts. It is the place where the Tukano lives, dies, and is buried. For the Tukano the maloca is the world" (Report by the First Superior of the Salesian Missions of the Rio Negro, Mons. Lourenço Giordano -- Boletim Salesiano -- Feb. 1918, p. 31).

The ordinary family life can be summarized in this way: the Indian sleeps little, eats much, talks a great deal, works when it is necessary.

From three o'clock in the morning, the maloca still closed, one hears inside quite an animated conversation, noisy and fre-
[462] quent laughs. And many times the noise of the graters at work:
[252] it is the women who are preparing the mandioca for the beijú.
[515] Before five o'clock, with rain or without it, always dark in those latitudes, the women leave through the back door, individually

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512 [515] [854] *[192] or in small groups of two or three, ordinarily a child riding on her hip and with a vessel on her head, in the direction of the river. Or, more precisely, that point of the river called Pextá, landing place, with suitably prepared access, where the canoes are tied. There they take their quick morning bath, Wa-wa'kãse, of immersion, rubbing the hand quickly over the body, face, and hair. The same is done by the smaller children who accompany them; and they take the opportunity, moreover, to bathe the suckling infants, whom they have left on the bank. Afterwards they fill [312] the vessels with water and, putting them on their heads, go up with the water to the maloca. Then they prepare the morning meal.

[521] [515] /480/ The men and the boys continue to lie down for an hour more or less, conversing from hammock to hammock and, still before six o'clock, go for their bath. Then the mats that closed the two doors of the maloca are lifted.

*[192] [264] The pots of Byá-tõ (it is the quinhapira or sauce of fish broth with pepper) or of Yumũ-ku (mingau) of tapioca, and the baskets in the shape of sieves, heaped high with Ahũ-a (beijú), are put on small mats on the floor. -- "Baãra a'tyá," come to eat, is the invitation by the woman. Those of the male sex place themselves in a circle, squatting, and, starting with the chief, eat heartily, amidst conversation and noisy laughter.

The rule of civility is to serve oneself slowly and to eat without voracity. This, besides, is greatly in agreement with the whole attitude of the Indian, normally calm and serene. The women are in charge of the serving, bringing whatever there is, as it becomes necessary. There are no eating implements: one breaks off a piece of beijú with the hand, dips it in the quinhapira, and carries it to the mouth. The mingau is drunk (1)

*[192] 1. To drink is the expression that they use, although this is not very appropriate, because it is more or less thick. -- "Yumũ-ku sĩrỹãti? Did you drink mingau?"

/480 cont./

• 512 with the beijú or in small cuias, like a spoon. At the end, the
*[192] woman presents a large cuia with Ñõxká (manicuera /drink made
[264] out of manioc juice/) or the Po'ká peosé (the chibé /manioc flour and water/ of generalized use on the Amazon). Like our coffee, they thus ordinarily end their meals with the indispensable chibé, of which as much as is wanted is taken, the cuia then being passed to the neighbor on the right. Finally the women and children simultaneously take their food.

The noisy exodus for work starts: it might perhaps be seven or eight o'clock. The men and women leave in groups. The former for the forest, for hunting, to procure textile fibers, wood for building, or to search for fruits, or for the river, with the proper equipment for fishing or in order to prepare the traps.

*[192] The women with the older daughters and the children (small
[241] ones) go to the clearing, taking the Pi'í (aturá), hanging from the forehead on the back, in order to carry mandioca and firewood. In order to reach the field they almost always have to take the canoe, and for this reason they leave with oars of different sizes, some quite small for the children. Some old or sick person (many times nobody) will stay as guard of the deserted and silent maloca.

[462] The work will last until after eleven o'clock. Around one
[854] o'clock the maloca starts to become animated again. The women arrive with their aturás filled with mandioca and, on top, bundles of firewood; the smaller children on their hips or held in front of the chest, and others holding on to their skirt. They are perspiring, with the face flushed, if they did not /481/ touch it with carajurú /carajura/, as a precaution, in order not to suffer so much from the heat of the sun. Little by little the men also begin to arrive with the results of their labor: fruits, fish, game, or fibers and timber.

Another bath will come, with its freshness, to renew their well-being. The woman will grill the fish or the game, will prepare fresh, tasty beijú, the quinhapira, the mingau, some insect,
*[192] and the chibé. Soon will come the "Baãra a'tyá" and the afternoon meal.

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361 241
household dishes, while tobacco, *mihi*, and coca are for ceremonial 462
purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351
entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361
kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562
staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622]
for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and
for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist
that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [178]
plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755]
medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear
plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521]
of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards,
and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip.
During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests
are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351
a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361
vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562
an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574
realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made
this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was
received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as
he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361
a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562
the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823
of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614]
Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534]
edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, [515]
to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833]
women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842]
But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621
high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512
of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing
that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahuláiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361
tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241
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512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712 In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner
[361] zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise at-
712 tack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the
725 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were
[123] confident they left the women and children behind in the house with a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach
504 where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza.
504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state
574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests
[417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be al-
[576] lowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men
504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning
796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe
[778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital
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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiari these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiari proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[64] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several
[512] hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals — the tapir in particular — is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aünhokû* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwû*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Húbûkokû* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turû* (poison), another *pudjû* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapika* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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He brings home the hide for a
224 trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle
[237] that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary
[554] and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahükiwa* the headman's son – an aspirant for the position – killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

## GARDENING

462 I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions
262 of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

462 An important distinction between the labor of men and women
461 is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

462 On days when only subsistence manioc – that is, the manioc cake
461 – is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is
252 to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she
244 gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

462 Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time,
244 leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast.
[512] Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against
[751] sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is
[789]

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place the blame upon the material conditions. The woman, then, is more than a mere toiler in the garden. She qualifies as agronomist as well.

Women return from their gardens in the very early afternoon. They pause at the rear door of the house only long enough to drop the machete, and without putting down their burdens of manioc and infant, go directly to the river to bathe themselves and to wash the tubers. This is a pleasurable hour. Refreshed from the heat of the morning, the women play with their infants and jest with one another. Washing the tubers is a simple task of dipping the entire basket into the water. A light midday meal follows the washing, and the routine of processing the tubers begins. The woman may start with fresh roots, but for a more tender manioc cake she will allow the roots to soften for several days either in the house or in the river.

The first step is peeling. The woman seats herself at her own household compartment, her back braced against a post, her legs stretched out stiff and straight before her into the dance corridor – the public alley of the house. The manioc basket is at one side and a tray at the other. She bites the butt end of the tuber to break the skin, and using teeth and fingers pulls off the readily peelable skin. This phase of the work is leisurely. Women who are not at the moment occupied come by to chat and help casually in the peeling. A woman's daughters sit with her and help. Enough is peeled for one manioc cake – that is, one half of a basket.

The next step is the most arduous and least liked – grating the peeled tubers on a wooden board (*pediba*) that has been set with abrasive stones. A woman can usually shift this work on to her daughter or her daughter-in-law.

The scraping process is as follows. The woman sits with her feet stretched out straight before her and slightly spread. She sets the grate on her legs with its far end braced against a house post, the forward end pressed against her abdomen. She takes up two large manioc tubers from a tray, one in each hand, and scrapes vigorously with alternate arm movements with the hardest pressure on the forward stroke. The action is vigorous, involving not only full arm movements but the bending of the back from the hips. Young women of marriageable age work rapidly and continuously until bathed in sweat. When worn down to a size where it cannot be conveniently scraped any more, the tuber is thrown aside and two others taken up. Finally, a collection of scraps is assembled into a single bunch clutched in both hands and scraped down virtually to the very bottom. This is a break in the work rhythm since both hands are used together and the move-

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462 ment is slower and altogether less vigorous. Usually, except when she
461 is very strong and young, the woman interrupts her scraping for a
252 rest or change of occupation. For example, the work may be staggered. If the mother begins the scraping and the daughter continues with the peeling, the daughter, when she has finished peeling, will take over the scraping, while the mother prepares to begin the next process. The manioc mash that has accumulated at the far end of the board is removed by hand and thrown into a basket tray, and the liquid drained off into a pot to be poured out.

A substantial part of the poisonous liquid of the manioc has been
[415] removed in the scraping on the grater; the mash is further dried by pounding it through a tightly woven basket sieve. A tripodal frame is set up and the sieve set on it at a woman's waist level. The pounding, also strenuous work, requires vigorous motion of the arms, back, and shoulders. With both fists clenched the woman attacks the mash,
[516] using her arms as pistons in a crisscross motion. The mash is frequently turned. As this work is done standing up, the woman has a chance to limber her legs. Because of the height at which the sieve is set little girls are not very efficient at the pounding, and only help out for a little while. When the mash is relatively dry after a thorough pounding it is put into a long tubular squeezer (the tipiti). The woman grips the lower end of the flexible tube between her knees, and bending the top toward her, fills it with the mash from the sieve. When full, the squeezer is hung from a projecting beam at one of the house posts. Through a loop at the lower end of the squeezer a long pole of heavy wood is inserted, the fulcrum end going through a few twists of heavy rope around the post. This phase of the work affords the woman a rest from the strenuous labor of scraping and pounding. She may sit on the pole, adjusting the pressure by the distance from the fulcrum. A woman is sometimes joined by another, who helps her sit on the pole. The liquid starch that runs down the sides of the squeezer is collected in a pot set for it. The pot is covered with a layer of ash that absorbs the volatile prussic acid, and the clear starch is used as the base for a porridge.

The mash, free of much of its prussic acid content, is finally formed into a cake upon the flat circular oven at the rear of the house. The baking is leisurely and as women wait their turn at the communal oven they enjoy some sociable moments.

462 A good housewife prepares a fresh manioc cake daily since the
252 cake tastes best when fresh, moist, and warm. On the second day a cake is dry and considerably less palatable. Thus, under ordinary con-
[512] ditions, the routine of manioc preparation is daily. However, a wom-

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# *A Death*

114 Matias arrived at the *maloca* the following day with the rest of the equipment we had left behind at the portage. Without his help we would have had to abandon it. That same night he started back on the return journey with his brother Bernavez, back to their *maloca* on the Río Ti. With them seemed to go our last contact with the outside world. Now was the time to collect our thoughts, to reorganize the equipment and to decide how we were going to carry out our work. The surroundings, the atmosphere, the Indians, everything was new. Each day, when evening arrived and we had eaten, we would sit across our hammocks and read by the light of a candle, or write up the day's events in our diaries. On Friday 6 January Brian wrote:

123 'Did not sleep very well last night, probably because I had taken a large
276 mouthful of coca just before getting into my hammock. Nearly choked, the fine green powder making it virtually impossible to breathe; so had to run down to the river and wash my mouth free. The Tukano must have a special method for swallowing it.

• 512 The women got up very early, long before dawn, but I couldn't tell the time because my watch was lost on the way over the portage – too bad. They rubbed down manioc and the continuous noise made all further sleep
126 impossible. Horacio left for the river before first light to develop a film he had taken with his old Rollei, also one of mine to see whether I'm giving the correct exposure in these dark conditions. He prepared the hypo last night and has to develop before the water temperature rises.

114 At dawn Kuarumey opened the door and the cold air rushed into the *maloca*. I went out to the jungle to relieve myself, armed as usual with a bottle to collect a humus sample. We do this nearly every morning – all these tiny bottles. I wonder whether the American drug company will ever discover a new Amazonian anti-biotic? Lovely pale pinks and delicate blues, the mist rising in great banks off the forest, and dew dripping from the trees. It was so peaceful and cool.

We joined Horacio for a late breakfast; all of us rather at sixes and sevens with each other as to what to do. The last days have taken a lot out of us and

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000 *Our train of canoes on the Piraparand – José in front.*

 [see p. 46-A]

721 many more people lived there. We are told by Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his 727 neighbour. *Malocas* were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were knocked to the ground with wooden clubs which the Indians still have today, their bodies hacked to pieces, their forearms used to stir the *chicha* and the armbones later made into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the sexual organs were eaten by the headman's wife to ensure brave offspring. even the bones were boiled into broth and the orgy continued until the cannibals had completed their spoil and the *chicha* had run dry.

Such a description of warfare and cannibalism would not fit the Indian who lives in the Piraparaná today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the [178] daily life we saw in their *malocas*. We found the Indian's day measured by a peaceful regularity.

512 Slowly the great house comes to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *maloca* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-screen door and eases it up to its hook like a portcullis, then saunters leisurely out into the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the *maloca*, still only vague shapes in the gathering light as they prepare cassava, pick up the water pots and go down to the river to bathe.

[264] The men returning from the river squat on their haunches on the low [262] stools in the centre of the *maloca*, and without any ceremony consume their breakfast of cassava bread, manioc juice and probably some leftovers from the previous night – boiled fish or a piece of bush pig. The women, who have eaten separately with the children, collect their large manioc baskets and leave [482] for the *chagra*, the forest clearing where they grow their crops. The baskets are slung from a strip of sapling bark across the forehead; they hold their babies on their hips, walking rapidly, almost awkwardly – the Indian woman's gait is not a graceful one. Children run along beside them, some [855] affectionately holding the hands of their mothers, others playing. A few of [857] the elder children return to the river to fish, and some of the men go off in [226] pairs to hunt and fish, while others move off to collect coca leaves from their *chagras*.

249 The Piraparaná has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the river and its tributaries are one of the few remaining strongholds of the drug in north-west Amazonia. Carrying no more than their small coca pouches and the basket for the leaves, five or six men, led by the headman, go down to the stream, perhaps taking a drink and washing themselves before they climb up the far bank. They move along a path through the thick vegetation of an old *chagra* fallen into disuse. Although an occasional banana or *pupuña* palm

249 spend the greater part of the morning collecting the leaves which they pre-
462 pare during the afternoon and evening. It is a serious task and one which each man undertakes with a strange air of concentration. Each coca plant is selectively stripped leaf by leaf before the next one is tackled. The headman carries the basket with him and gradually it fills with handfuls of pale sage-green leaves. The younger men collect the leaves almost reverently in their right hands before emptying them into the basket, their faces serious, their crouched bodies shining in the strong morning sun, their short, clipped speech broken occasionally by a high-pitched laugh.

512 In the distance small ribbons of smoke rise in a misty cloud. The women
244 are just visible, their squat figures crouching among the manioc plants. They
462 can be heard laughing; occasionally a baby cries and the children romp and
85 play among the bright-green manioc plants whose tall spindly branches stretch skywards some six feet, terminating in clusters of long, thin, starlike leaves. With their babies straddled across their backs the women spend the morning cutting out the long potato-like roots from the sandy soil and putting the waste foliage into piles to be burnt. It is hot with the sun streaming down, the fires crackling and the smoke enshrouding the working bodies. There is little time for rest, though a woman will stop to swing her child around and let it suckle her breast; a mother may give a fat yellow beetle grub to her child to eat, having detached the head – a great delicacy, tasting like butter. Soon large baskets are filled with roughly peeled and half-cleaned roots.

512 The sun is high overhead and the men leave for the *maloca* with their basket
[482] full of coca leaves; on top they place large dried leaves from the *yarumo* (Cecropia) trees which grow like weeds in the *chagra*. The women too load their heavy baskets on to their backs, the headbands taking the greater part
[222] of the fifty-pound weight. The whole group hurries through the forest in silence, passing the old *chagra* where the headman's wife leaves the other women to collect pineapples, then down to the stream beneath the *maloca*. At this point comes one of the noisiest and most amusing incidents in their
[515] daily life. Not only the manioc roots are washed in the water but the babies
[85] too; the mothers vigorously shake their large baskets of roots, then stop to splash water over the backs of the children. For a short time there is cacophony, with screaming babies, splashing water, continuous chatter and laughter, and even barking dogs. But soon the stream is left to myriads of white and brimstone-yellow butterflies which circle everlastingly over the sandbanks, and the women, refreshed, their long black hair glistening in the sun, return up the path to the *maloca*.

Tobacco plants are nearly always grown in a little patch directly in front

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000 *A graceful Tukano canoe.*

 [see p. 66-A]

of the men's entrance. Boys carefully pick the tobacco leaves one by one and lay them out on cane matting to dry. An Indian sits in the shade of the *maloca's* overhanging eaves and starts to make string from strands of tough *cumare*. His graceful movements as he rolls the fibre with the palm of the hand on his shining thigh, the string looped around his right big toe, are like those used in the making of Venetian glass. An older man sits near by, deeply engrossed in the construction of a large, shallow cassava basket, a maze of cane strips almost hiding his wizened face. 249 285

The women file through their entrance, their great loads of manioc white and clean after their river washing. They pause for a moment or two and eat some cassava or the pineapples and wild fruit which they have just brought back, but soon they are working again, pulverizing the manioc on the shield-shaped wooden grating boards which have minute flints or tough palm spines set into their baked-clay surface. They work as a team, some grating, others washing the manioc in vast basket-sieves slung between wooden tripods, while yet others extract the poisonous prussic acid by placing the grated manioc flour in a snake-like *matapí*, a long squeezer of plaited cane. With the upper end looped over a pole, a woman stretches its mesh by sitting on a second pole placed in the lower loop. The *matapí* contracts and the poisonous juice runs out. 512 252

When the flour from the *matapí* is ready it is placed on the large flat ovens to make rough cassava pancakes, the Amazonian daily bread, which they eat at every meal together with fish and meat brought back from the forest. The starch from the washed manioc is also baked to make wafer-thin toasted biscuits to add to the *chicha*. Some of the flour is spread thinly on another oven to make the nutty grounds of *farinha*, and the liquid from the washing and squeezing is boiled to neutralize the poison, then poured into the long canoe-trough to make *chicha*.

The noise of grating and the creaking of the tripods lasts all afternoon. A girl feeds her pet parrot some insects, then, taking a strand of *cumare* and winding it around her toe, she starts plaiting string for a hammock to replace her old one. Squatting on the ground, an old woman kneads clay and wood ash. She rolls the clay mixture into coils on a flat board and between the palms of her hands. Then she places them coil upon coil about a clay base, smooths the clay with a pebble and leaves the completed pot in the shade of the *maloca*. Later it will be put on a fire and surrounded with wood bark and ash to bake. Occasionally we saw an iron pot, which at some time in the past must have been traded up the rivers from the Caquetá or the Vaupés. These were sufficiently few to be highly treasured and hadn't affected their own 512 [283] [323] 415

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ABOVE: *The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.* BELOW: *Then it is warped open over a fire.* 000 [see p. 66-B]

415 pottery making, a craft which has been all but forgotten among many of the Indians of Colombia.

512 Throughout the afternoon the women continue with their tasks while the men prepare their tobacco and smoke it wrapped in long cylinders of
276 banana leaf, or take snuff, lying in their hammocks or crouching on small wooden stools. The snuff, kept in gourds or large snail shells, is made in most cases from ground tobacco; it is first placed in the palm of the hand, then a small quantity is poured into a hollow V-shaped deer bone, and is injected into the nostrils by inserting one end of the V in the nose and the other in the mouth and blowing.

During the afternoon an Indian burns the *yarumo* leaves from the coca basket in the centre of the *maloca*, the ash being carefully raked into a neat
276 pile on the earthen floor. Earlier the coca leaves from the basket had been baked in a large earthenware pot over a hot fire, all the while being stirred with a hooped stick. The toasted leaves were then powdered inside a short wooden cylinder. They are further refined by being put into a barkcloth bag wrapped round a heavy stick, and beaten inside a large cylinder. The *yarumo* ash is added to the finely ground powder – this ash takes away the bitterness, and perhaps also the worst effects of the drug – and once again the mixed coca and ash is beaten in the long cylinder to the consistency of dust. Often this involved procedure goes on far into the night, and we became quite accustomed to go to sleep with the monotonous thudding noise still reverberating around the *maloca*. With the final process completed the powder is emptied into a half-gourd or into small barkcloth pouches, ready for the next journey or hunting trip, during which an Indian may live solely on the drug, going without sleep, food and drink for days.

The inscrutable nature of the Tukano may in part be due to his addiction to cocaine which deadens his senses and affects the eyes so that the pupils often appear dilated. This may also account for a lack of individuality among many of the men who often appear listless and resigned.

354 At dusk the hunters return and sometimes a monkey or a wild turkey helps out with the evening meal of cassava. The only light in the *maloca* after dark comes from the fires, but on special occasions, such as a festival, the head of the house places a chunk of beeswax taken from a wild bees' nest in the forest on a large post in the centre of the *maloca*, lighting it with a firebrand. But the flickering light barely penetrates the gloom. At other times a strip of slow-burning resinous wood is put in a fork of the same post. It is this wood – a type of cedar – which the Indians use to travel with at night, allowing it to
512 smoulder and blowing it into flame when needed. As night comes the doors are secured and, except for the sporadic mumblings of a few old Indians squatting around the fires, all is silent.

224 The Tukano is a hunter. From his early childhood he develops the ability

*539 /122 cont./
said: "Silence! Attention! I am going to give this order. Now I am going to give you the night, in order for you to sleep." And Yepá Huáke gave orders to two brothers of Yúpuri Baúro, who were named Serítia and Patáro, for them to go toward the cordillera in the direction of Bogotá and they told Sotá, who was the owner of the Central Cordillera, that Yepá Huáke had given orders for him to give them the "thing of night," because Sotá was the owner of the night and he was the one who made it dark.

*539 821 •513 Sotá said: "Good, I am going to give you a little box where sleep and night are. Take it. Do not open this little box until you give it to Yepá Huáke, and he will distribute sleep and night to each group of all the people. As soon as sleep and night are distributed among all the people, Yepá Huáke will explain to you that the little seeds of sleep and of night must be put on the heart in order to be able to sleep. Do not put these little seeds there on the eyes. And that is all. Take the box between the two of you." Then they said. "Good." And as the box weighed a lot, the two men became tired of carrying the box on the road back to Diawí. They were already getting close to Diawí, and then /123/ the two men said: "What is this box that weighs so much?" And the two men opened the little box. And as soon as they opened the little box, everything became dark and for two hours night rained down. Serítia called an insect that sings at night and that is called Ñamiribejké in Tukano. And Patáro called the same insect, and it was already midnight. Serítia called the same insect again, and Patáro called to the same insect. And for Patáro this second time the insect did answer him. Serítia called the insect again, and for Serítia four insects answered him at the same time. Patáro called the insect again, and for him ten insects answered him at the same time. Patáro said to Serítia: "No more, keep calling quickly." And they opened the little box where sleep and night were. Then all the little insects that are called Ñamiribejké entered the little box. Serítia divided the insects in half; one half for this world and the

*539 821 •513 /123 cont./
other half stayed in the little box. The day appeared, and since then there is day and there is night. As soon as day and night had appeared, Serítia and Patáro took the box to Diawí. They entered Diawí and delivered the little box to Yepá Huáke, and he received it. And then Yepá Huáke was waiting for them with all kinds of chicha. Then Yepá Huáke said for the night to come. And they opened the little box that contained sleep and night.
*539 And Yepá Huáke distributed sleep and night among all the tribes that were in Diawí. And Yepá Huáke said that two people should go and cross to the other side of the Vaupés River, which is called Diapajsá in Tukano. These two persons were named Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá. Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and on Cajtá a little hat of feathers, which is called Pejsaró in Tukano, and some gold earrings, which are called Ajpoápi in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá and on Cajtá Casóro a little bracelet of feathers, which is called Bajsákaroa in Tukano. Afterwards he put that special stone, which is called Ujtáboja in Tukano, around the necks of Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and on Cajtá a wide and special belt, which is called Yaipirítatia in Tukano, and this belt is made of the teeth of wild animals, such as jaguars and cerrillos /this word is not italicized in the Spanish text/. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a loincloth, which is called Uajsóro in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a fine herb on the side of the buttocks, and that fine herb is called Bará in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a woven ribbon, which is called Yujtásero in Tukano, around their knees. Then Yepá /124/ Huáke gave to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá some bands for their ankles, which are called Kejtló in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke gave to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá that little bell stick that is called Yaig in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke said to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá: "Go to sleep." And Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people: "Go to sleep." And Yepá Huáke said to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá: "You have to wake up at midnight. As soon as you wake up, have Yúpuri Baúro and all his people awakened." Then

*539 /130 cont./
825 And Emo also had a little whistle, and this little whistle was not for eating people. And Yepá Huáke said to Emo: "Take this whistle of Wejké and go up on top of the trees, and there you can play with that whistle. Give me the little whistle that you had." And Emo gave him the little whistle that he had. And Yepá Huáke handed to Wejké the little whistle that had belonged to Emo. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Blow it." Then Wejké said: "All right." And Wejké blew the whistle, and the whistle sounded like the whistle of the police of Bogotá. Then Wejké started to cry. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Go to the forest." And Yepá Huáke continued speaking, this time to the snake. And Yepá Huáke said to Añia: "What was that you said?" And Añia answered truthfully and said /131/ "I did say something. Then Yepá Huáke said: "With which fang are you going to bite?" And Añia said: "With this one," pointing to one in her mouth. And Yepá Huáke said: "All right, show it to me." And Añia showed it to him. And Yepá Huáke pulled out the fang, and that is why now Añia bites people, but her bite does not hurt. And then Yepá Huáke continued talking to Utanurú. And then Yepá Huáke said to him: "You are not going to eat people, but you are going to eat excrement." While Yepá Huáke was talking with Utanurú, the other Añia (49),

49. The poisonous snake.

whose fang had not been pulled by Yepá Huáke, went out, running with his own woman. And after Añia, the poisonous one, Boraró went out, running with his own woman. Then the jaguar went out with his own woman. This is why those animals that ran out without speaking to Yepá Huáke are the wild animals that we have now. Then Yepá Huáke said: "No more." Then Yepá Huáke opened
* the little box that held sleep and night and distributed all the little
539 seeds of sleep and night. Then Yepá Huáke said: "Put them here
• [513] on the heart." And all the people put the little seeds of sleep and night on the heart. After this, Yepá Huáke said: "There is going to

T /190 cont./
*192 2) Sleeping hammocks.
352
• 513 The Indian never sleeps on the ground, always in hammocks
[177] (24),

24. Through contact with the civilized they have learned to sleep on the floor or quarter-deck of the launches, and later also on benches and chests.

pũghõ, and they carry them with them on their travels. The hammock /191/ meets perfectly the demands of the climate of the region, warm and humid, since it is cool, ventilated, light, small in volume, and, woven, as it usually is, out of tucum (25),

M
[286]
[352]

25. The "hammock of thirty threads" of the Makú is usually made of thick threads of mirití.

it presents sufficient resistance and durability. They make it in different sizes, for children as well as for adults. There are three types of hammocks for sleeping:

a) Rede de trinta fios /hammock of thirty threads/. This is the common name in Portuguese; in Nheengatu it is called kisáw, and in Tukano neé pũ-ghõ, that is, hammock of mirití. It is made without the use of a loom. They make thirty or more turns around two stakes, as far apart as the length desired; always, however, longer than the body of the one who is to use it. These threads are joined in two clews /Port. punhos/, like a ring, pũ-ỹapõ, by means of which the hammock will be suspended. Transversally, at a right angle, pass the threads that determine the width of the hammock, tied to the horizontal ones by knots in such a way that small rectangles of one span more or less result.

T
M
177
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352

/191 cont./

Due to its simplicity, it is known and produced by all the tribes, although it is called "rede de Makú" /Makú hammock/. Because of this depreciatory name, and mainly because of the present ease of acquiring more durable and economical cotton hammocks from the civilized, it is beginning to lose its acceptance among the Indians of the other tribes and today is found almost solely among the Makú and the tribes without contact with the civilized. The Tukano tell of having learned from the Desana how to make this type of hammock. They were not able to clarify whether they had previously used the rede-puçá /puçá hammock/, or if they knew the hammock and slept on platforms.

T
177
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• 513

T
* 192
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b) Beaten hammock. In Tukano it is called pá-tuké, and in Nheengatú, makíra. It is manufactured with a very simple loom (26).

T
[797]

26. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 340) is of the opinion that the loom is of European origin. This opinion seems acceptable to us, and we believe one could say that the form of the "rede batida" /beaten hammock/ as well is not of native origin, but learned from the civilized. This conclusion is confirmed by: 1st, the fact that not many Indian women know how to make the "rede batida"; 2nd, those who presently know how to do it (as is shown by our inquiries) learned it in the Mission schools or from the alumnae of the Mission; 3rd, we know that the Governador of the Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro, Lobo D'Almada, in his economic plan to encourage industry, favored the weaver's trade, aiming at "the making of the cloth needed for the uniforms of the garrison, the colonists, and the Indians who came down, using eighteen looms and ten spinning wheels, with twenty-four spindles each. In 1798 only 157 Indian women were working as spinners"

796 /351 cont./
276 to the least important of the men who have participated in the
538 dances, and who arrange themselves in two lines, one in front of the other, all, however, sitting down. Each man takes some puffs and passes the cigar to his neighbor, and thus everybody
*[192] smokes several times, until the cigars are consumed. The tuxaua and the bayá alternate with the Komũã the episodes of the history of the origins, dõxporó-kase kextí, recalling the different places from where their ancestors came, and the exploits that marked this ascent. They do it, however, in a singing rhythm, prolonging the final syllables of each part that they narrate.

796 Once this rite is concluded, the sticks and snappers are
574 gathered up, the men take off their ornaments, which are carefully kept in the box for this purpose (VI - 2, d (7) ). The guest
576 tuxaua gives thanks in a loud voice: -- "The poosé was very good. We enjoyed ourselves very much, etc."

796 As the conclusion of this rite and of the fast that they must observe at these feasts, the Kõmũã who prepared the kaxpí puts in the mouth of each man a roasted pepper. For the young ones there is prepared a broth with lemon juice and pepper (and sometimes also salt), and this is applied to their noses with a funnel of leaves. The young man must draw this broth into the mouth and swallow it. After this ceremony, they can take their mingau or any food whatsoever.

The entertainment might continue, principally among the younger persons. Ordinarily, however, they adjourn to the ham-
• [513] mock (often two persons in the same hammock) and rest, in order to start the amusements again in the cool of the afternoon, around 4 o'clock.

5) /sic; 6)/ Games.

[524] We have spoken of the number of games that take place between the dances, but occur principally in the prolongation of the feast, that is, from the second day on.

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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

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Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
632 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[604] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

/290 cont./

356 Not infrequently, however, because of the dogs that also live
[136] there (and we have at times seen dogs sick and covered with sores),
[231] the ground is dusty, favoring the procreation of the bichos-de-pé
/foot fleas/ (cullex pénetrans) and fleas.

Not infrequently the fruit rinds are thrown into a corner to rot,
[514] producing an unpleasant odor. This is unbearable, due to the vomitings and defecations in the maloca itself during the dabacuris. One can sometimes perceive a peculiar odor in the native povoados.

b) On the person.

515 The body hygiene is also deficient. They take a bath every morning, and more during the day. It is a bath to refresh, however, rather than to clean. Not having soap available to eliminate the grease from the body and hair, one not infrequently sees layers of dirt on some parts of the epidermis, especially in the folds of the skin and in the hairy parts. Even those who use /291/ soap, such as the school pupils, give off an unpleasant and characteristic odor.

296 Although they know how to wash clothes, and some of them do it well, in the majority of cases they keep the clothes on the body until they are very dirty, or even until they rot. Precisely the following custom is to be noted: they wash their own clothes with certain frequency when new. When they consider them old, they will not wash them any more. If they get wet, they let the clothes dry on the body.

356 Their primitive hammocks of tucum are never washed as a
515 rule, and in a little while they are darkened by the sweat, smoke, and grime. They climb into the hammock with the body dirty. The only care will be, perhaps, to rub the soles of the feet, one against the other, in order to clean them of soil.

574 With all freedom, an Indian, even a strange one passing by the maloca (we have seen this even in the case of Indians of different tribes), will lie down during the day in the first hammock that he finds vacant, while he rests and converses.

796 /348/
535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

• [514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young
[534] men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3,
[533] c (3c) ). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, i (4) /see
273 i (3)/). One of the old Kõmũ prepared it during the dabacurí.
*[192] At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over
[533] the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Caruru-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in
[224] order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have
[226] similar efficacy.

They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions
*[192] which are called oxkó ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some are prepared by the pajé or kõmũ; others, by any individual. There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacurí, and to guarantee them abundant fish.

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui (puxpyá).

• [514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement (75):

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

[832] The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant
789 called tá:-dõxká (in Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca)
824 to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know everything," that is, will be intelligent.
*[192]

There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with magic virtues:

[241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the mandioca will yield very well.

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the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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364 [514]

at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

342 [796] [764] [252] [32] [517]

The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manufactured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play outside and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the doorway of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and facing inward.

342 574 576

342 622 [114]

When I came among the *Bahúkiwa* they were on the upswing, having come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-compartment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was 75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction. The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The headman is known as *kenámi wpákü* (owner of the house). The house is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo believe, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relationships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook discourtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community. The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

342 578 592

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task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[2] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[2] She is also known as *nomínyaivi* (becoming a woman).

/206 cont./

386 The wahá-kó is spread in the interior part of the cuia with a brush,
415 letting it dry afterwards. The operation is repeated a second time
*[192] and more, until it reaches the thickness of approximately one millimeter. Directly afterwards urine is spread on the ground and on this area they turn upside down, on small pieces of wood, the cuias that they wish to paint. The ammonia that comes from the urine transforms the layer of wahá-kó in the interior of the cuia into a black, shiny, and quite adherent varnish.

The same result is obtained by applying mandioca leaves saturated in urine over the layer of wahá-kó.

5) Other utilitarian objects.

824 The Indian has known how to obtain from the nature that surrounds him many other objects and resources for his life.

We shall recall some:

*[192] /207/ a) Papóque. The papóque, in Tukano pápwa-khá-
•[515] sõtí, is the embira of a tree that produces foam, and they wash their heads with it, for lack of soap.

*[192] b) Tauarí. Táwari, as is also said in Tukano (couratari tauarí,
[276] of the family of the Lecythidaceae), is also an embira, which unrolls into very thin and flexible sheets that are used as cigar wrappers. They are obtained from the bark by striking it with a mallet until all the ligneous part has been detached.

*[192] c) Bags, cueio, and masks. The tururí, in Tukano waxsó-gõ,
[415] is a tree of several species of Manicariao, from whose liber or bast
[532] they prepare the bags for the ipadú, the masks (see VII -- 3, d (2) ), and the waxsó-ro (in Nheengatú cueio) for dances (cf. loincloth, VII -- 3, d (2) ). Once the branch or trunk that suits them is chosen, they cut it and start to beat the bark with a wooden mallet until /in the original source the line of type that follows these words is the duplicate of one that properly appears later in the paragraph, while the line that belongs here is missing/ as if it were a shirt sleeve or a cape. With a cutting object (formerly a taquara /a bamboo/) they detach the part that they want. The

/290 cont./

356 Not infrequently, however, because of the dogs that also live
[136] there (and we have at times seen dogs sick and covered with sores),
[231] the ground is dusty, favoring the procreation of the bichos-de-pé /foot fleas/ (cullex pénetrans) and fleas.

Not infrequently the fruit rinds are thrown into a corner to rot,
[514] producing an unpleasant odor. This is unbearable, due to the vomitings and defecations in the maloca itself during the dabacuris. One can sometimes perceive a peculiar odor in the native povoados.

b) On the person.

• 515 The body hygiene is also deficient. They take a bath every morning, and more during the day. It is a bath to refresh, however, rather than to clean. Not having soap available to eliminate the grease from the body and hair, one not infrequently sees layers of dirt on some parts of the epidermis, especially in the folds of the skin and in the hairy parts. Even those who use /291/ soap, such as the school pupils, give off an unpleasant and characteristic odor.

296 Although they know how to wash clothes, and some of them do it well, in the majority of cases they keep the clothes on the body until they are very dirty, or even until they rot. Precisely the following custom is to be noted: they wash their own clothes with certain frequency when new. When they consider them old, they will not wash them any more. If they get wet, they let the clothes dry on the body.

356 Their primitive hammocks of tucum are never washed as a
515 rule, and in a little while they are darkened by the sweat, smoke, and grime. They climb into the hammock with the body dirty. The only care will be, perhaps, to rub the soles of the feet, one against the other, in order to clean them of soil.

574 With all freedom, an Indian, even a strange one passing by the maloca (we have seen this even in the case of Indians of different tribes), will lie down during the day in the first hammock that he finds vacant, while he rests and converses.

/291 cont./

c) In the food.

264 The practice of preparing and eating food with clean hands is not in force among the natives. They break off the pieces of beijú with the hands, and, one after the other, each person dips it with the fingers into the quinhapira. If this, by chance, is too hot, he will use a stick, casually found on the ground, to take out the fragment of beijú that slipped from his fingers into the pot.

The beijú and other foods are not only held in dirty hands, but they are also deposited on the hammock or some other filthy object.

[271] [276] They drink from the same cuia, which goes from mouth to mouth. In the same way, the cigar or a ball of candy will pass from one mouth to another.

They have been seen taking and eating some food, perhaps even spoiled, placed in the garbage container or in the feed for the pigs. And even going so far as to compete with some animal for the ration that it is eating, even though it is on the ground or in a trough.

d) In the acts.

515 They likewise practice certain very repugnant acts. By way of an example, there is that of the mother who, with her own tongue, cleans the nose of her little child; or who eats the parasites as she finds them on the head of her children. This, by the way, is a general custom when one woman "searches" another. Perhaps, in lieu of payment, whoever has the /292/ job of searching also eats the lice. More rarely she will give the parasite to its legitimate owner (46).

46. Although it is a general custom, and they always observe it when a woman searches for parasites on the head of another person, they refuse to say whether there is any magic meaning in this practice. Whenever they perceive that they are being watched, or fear that they are, they interrupt the act and go so far as to try to disguise it.

/292 cont./

515 They are ignorant of the use of handkerchiefs, cleaning the nose with the fingers, which afterwards are rubbed against some part of the body.

[854] The mother, or another woman, with her own hands, attends to the cleaning of her baby, and afterwards, in order to clean herself, is satisfied with shaking her hand to one side and rubbing it on the ground or against some plant.

3. The arts.

157 In the complex of works that the forest dwellers execute, they not only reveal splendid aptitudes, rare ability, and other qualities already mentioned elsewhere, but also particular artistic tendencies which are begging our civilization for more opportunities to develop (47).

[857] 47. With a knife improvised out of a piece of the metallic binding that goes around the crates of merchandise, the child produces canoes, and now even small airplanes, in wood.

The house that he builds, with all its furnishings, -- stools, ceramics, woven goods, canoes, weapons, hunting and fishing gear, baskets, -- reveal, besides the stability and sturdiness required for the purpose for which they are intended, an over-all harmony, a proportion of the parts, a finish in the details, which give a pleasing impression. In all there is revealed a notable artistic sense which should be considered in detail in its threefold manifestation: woven products, designs, music.

a) Woven products.

286 Among the works of weaving, we have already called to mind the nets /Port. rede, net, hammock/ for sleeping and for fishing. But particularly in the rede batida /beaten hammock/ (which seems to be of European origin) and in the puericueio /a covering that hangs from the waist/, Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro (see below - d (1) ), the native woman shows her artistic taste and skill. In the Yaxkẽ

/367 cont./

824 *[192] In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgõ̃, for their own child, soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the bará, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 843 *[192] •[515] There is a plant called kã'rá pũrĩ (Uaupés kã'ná pũnĩ), the leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

[797]

79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

[797]

80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

[178]

/384 cont./

836 inducing them, not infrequently, to provocation (109)

[832] [515]

109. While bathing, the girls agitate the water, with the hand cupped, from below upwards, with a characteristic noise. The boys respond to this signal by fanning their open hands in front of the chest, one higher than the other, so that they are crossed without meeting, and, since they are almost on the surface of the water, they produce a noise that is heard at a distance of two hundred meters or more. This provocative noise is called Pixtwasé.

[192]

and invitation to the boys.

832 /385/ Although the old customs state that the bathing of the
836 women precedes that of the men and should be before the break
[515] of day, sometimes the Indians are surprised in mixed bathing during the warm hours of the day.

The young women prepare philters or potions, known by the
[192] Nheengatú name of Puçanga (in Tukano Ox-kó), which they give
[278] to the young men to drink in order to attract them to them; or, in front of their eyes, they wear or rub on themselves roots and plants to which is attributed an aphrodisiac virtue.

842 The cases of illegitimate pregnancy of maidens are not rare,
847 although they know (110)
848

110. We had gathered for the "centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté some plants considered as sterilizing and abortive. While organizing the herbarium, some identifying labels fell off. We called on three maidens, and with the greatest facility, upon seeing the plants, they indicated the name and the purpose, exactly as was stated on the labels.

/403 cont./

481 He almost daily walks great distances through the forest, to his clearing, which not infrequently is located several kilometers away from the maloca, or to hunt or to search for fruits. The woman, besides the great movement inside the maloca, which is forced on her by the preparation of the food, will take a long walk through the forest almost every day /404/ to reach her clearing, where, in the sun, she will walk three or four hours without stopping. There is no mountain climbing, because the region, in general, is flat. Gymnastic exercises or corporal contests, such as in other human groups, are not known (139).

[526]

> 139. We have seen children who, playing, seize one another as though it were for open wrestling, without, however, throwing the companion to the ground.

492 And horseback riding is known just as little. There are as yet no horses around these altitudes, even for use by the civilized.

481 The sports practiced daily are the aquatic ones, that is, swimming and rowing. In the morning, before daybreak, everyone, without exception, goes to the river, a short distance from the maloca or povoado, and takes his bath. Even the babes in arms are taken along by the mothers and bathed. This bath is quick, one immersing oneself in the water three or four times and passing the hand over the body. Sometimes they steady themselves by the arms on some canoe tied up, and kick the feet in the water. Later, at midday, that is, during the warm hours, when they come back perspiring from the forest or from the clearing, they take another bath. This frequency at the river makes everybody learn how to swim. They swim well, but without much endurance. They never cross great distances by swimming. Perhaps no one would even swim a hundred meters for mere exercise.

● 515

4: Silva--726 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/477 cont./

614 Just as there is no indication of clan totemism, there is none
,532 of individual or personal totemism either. The objects that they make do not represent animals; they are of simple workmanship, according to the purpose. In some quite rare cases the paintings of the walls are anthropomorphic; they seem, however, to have only a sportive character. /Page 478 is blank./

/479/

## Chapter IX

## The Life of the Indian

### 1) Daily cycle.

512 The type and the standard of life of the Indian seem patterned. Even in distinct tribes we find the Indians doing the same things in the same way, and even with a very close timetable. It is indeed a very methodical life, not, however, monotonous. On the contrary, quite varied, in a perfect nature in which daily rest, work, meals, baths, physical exercises succeed one another.

[592] "The Tukano lives in the maloca, which serves him as bedroom, kitchen, dining room in the morning and in the afternoon. The maloca is, in succession, laboratory for the domestic chores, meeting place at times of rain, and ballroom during the great feasts. It is the place where the Tukano lives, dies, and is buried. For the Tukano the maloca is the world" (Report by the First Superior of the Salesian Missions of the Rio Negro, Mons. Lourenço Giordano -- Boletim Salesiano -- Feb. 1918, p. 31).

The ordinary family life can be summarized in this way: the Indian sleeps little, eats much, talks a great deal, works when it is necessary.

From three o'clock in the morning, the maloca still closed, one hears inside quite an animated conversation, noisy and frequent laughs. And many times the noise of the graters at work: [462] it is the women who are preparing the mandioca for the beijú. [252] Before five o'clock, with rain or without it, always dark in those [515] latitudes, the women leave through the back door, individually

/479 cont./

512 or in small groups of two or three, ordinarily a child riding on her
[515] hip and with a vessel on her head, in the direction of the river.
[854] Or, more precisely, that point of the river called Pextá, landing
*[192] place, with suitably prepared access, where the canoes are tied. There they take their quick morning bath, Wa-wa'kãse, of immersion, rubbing the hand quickly over the body, face, and hair. The same is done by the smaller children who accompany them; and they take the opportunity, moreover, to bathe the suckling infants, whom they have left on the bank. Afterwards they fill
[312] the vessels with water and, putting them on their heads, go up with the water to the maloca. Then they prepare the morning meal.

[521] /480/ The men and the boys continue to lie down for an hour
[515] more or less, conversing from hammock to hammock and, still before six o'clock, go for their bath. Then the mats that closed the two doors of the maloca are lifted.

*[192] The pots of Byá-tõ (it is the quinhapira or sauce of fish broth
[264] with pepper) or of Yumũ-ku (mingau) of tapioca, and the baskets in the shape of sieves, heaped high with Ahũ-a (beijú), are put on small mats on the floor. -- "Baãra a'tyá," come to eat, is the invitation by the woman. Those of the male sex place themselves in a circle, squatting, and, starting with the chief, eat heartily, amidst conversation and noisy laughter.

The rule of civility is to serve oneself slowly and to eat without voracity. This, besides, is greatly in agreement with the whole attitude of the Indian, normally calm and serene. The women are in charge of the serving, bringing whatever there is, as it becomes necessary. There are no eating implements: one breaks off a piece of beijú with the hand, dips it in the quinhapira, and carries it to the mouth. The mingau is drunk (1)

*[192] 1. To drink is the expression that they use, although this is not very appropriate, because it is more or less thick. -- "Yumũ-ku sĩrỹáti? Did you drink mingau?"

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahukiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiarí these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiarí proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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place the blame upon the material conditions. The woman, then, is more than a mere toiler in the garden. She qualifies as agronomist as well.

Women return from their gardens in the very early afternoon. They pause at the rear door of the house only long enough to drop the machete, and without putting down their burdens of manioc and infant, go directly to the river to bathe themselves and to wash the tubers. This is a pleasurable hour. Refreshed from the heat of the morning, the women play with their infants and jest with one another. Washing the tubers is a simple task of dipping the entire basket into the water. A light midday meal follows the washing, and the routine of processing the tubers begins. The woman may start with fresh roots, but for a more tender manioc cake she will allow the roots to soften for several days either in the house or in the river.

The first step is peeling. The woman seats herself at her own household compartment, her back braced against a post, her legs stretched out stiff and straight before her into the dance corridor – the public alley of the house. The manioc basket is at one side and a tray at the other. She bites the butt end of the tuber to break the skin, and using teeth and fingers pulls off the readily peelable skin. This phase of the work is leisurely. Women who are not at the moment occupied come by to chat and help casually in the peeling. A woman's daughters sit with her and help. Enough is peeled for one manioc cake – that is, one half of a basket.

The next step is the most arduous and least liked – grating the peeled tubers on a wooden board (*prdiba*) that has been set with abrasive stones. A woman can usually shift this work on to her daughter or her daughter-in-law.

The scraping process is as follows. The woman sits with her feet stretched out straight before her and slightly spread. She sets the grate on her legs with its far end braced against a house post, the forward end pressed against her abdomen. She takes up two large manioc tubers from a tray, one in each hand, and scrapes vigorously with alternate arm movements with the hardest pressure on the forward stroke. The action is vigorous, involving not only full arm movements but the bending of the back from the hips. Young women of marriageable age work rapidly and continuously until bathed in sweat. When worn down to a size where it cannot be conveniently scraped any more, the tuber is thrown aside and two others taken up. Finally, a collection of scraps is assembled into a single bunch clutched in both hands and scraped down virtually to the very bottom. This is a break in the work rhythm since both hands are used together and the move-

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anced relationship in which he lavishes gifts upon her. "When she 572
grows up," the Indians say, "she will repay him." A young man enters a friendship pact with an elderly widow because she has no one to look after her. This relationship, though, is like mother-son, and the woman will provide the young man with chicha and farinha if he has provided her with a manioc garden.

The Cubeo believe that ceremonial friendships persist in the 572
afterlife. As spirits, they walk about arm-in-arm, one informant said, 775
rapturously. The spirit of the friend who dies first hovers about the house until the other dies. It then leads its spirit friend away.

The ceremony for inaugurating ceremonial friendship is a simple 572
one. At a drinking party, friends paint one another with red pigment 302
which they refer to as "blood." Applying body paint to another, 515
picking lice, or removing insect-bite scabs from the body is a gesture of intimacy normally confined to the immediate family. It is this intimacy that makes it appropriate between ceremonial friends.

Ceremonial friends tend to form a network. When a man has 572
taken a girl as his *hiko* he is likely to take her brother as his *hikü*; 571
his own brother will then take her sister as his *hiko* and so on. There are many network possibilities. Men who are *hikü* encourage their children to become ceremonial friends. The friendship network encompasses the phratry, giving to people special privileges of hospitality along the river. The network of kinship already encompasses the phratry, to be sure. But ceremonial friendship interlaces these bonds with the quality of close kinship. This seems to be its special significance. One may also look at the relationship from an economic 572
point of view, noting the circulation of goods through its require- 431
ment of gift exchange. The Cubeo, however, are not so much property-minded as they are person-minded. The Cubeo joke about the gift 571
aspect of ceremonial friendship and laughingly say that some people enter into the relationship with many people in order to acquire gifts. They are amused at the thought that a girl with many ceremonial friends will be a burden upon her suitor, who must make a gift to each ceremonial friend. The parents of young people are also burdened because they will be asked for something to be used as a gift. However, it is not goods they seek but intense relationships. It is not that the sib and the phratry fail to provide people with warmth and mutual assistance. The ordinary organization does this to a high degree. It seems, rather, that being virtually surrounded by "brothers" and "sisters" the Cubeo have exalted expectations of warmth and assistance which ceremonial friendship helps satisfy.

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the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patrilocal sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband.

The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urúhana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

854
[157] Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the in-
[515] fant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early
[296] afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo
[252] child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

854 An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and
155 if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I
[853] once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtu-
[853] ally impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully
[831] squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's
000 genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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852 831 [887] task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert
[614] three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo
say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen
[881] intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have diffi-
[833] culties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; offi-
[844] cially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates
at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus,
[821] a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not
[881] yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[2] is said to be
881 secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking
nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete,
[514] through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she
[826] will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or
else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To
• [515] develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that
[302] creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and pain-
fully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until
her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is
a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by
the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her
daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me
[515] see how much pain you can stand."

[302] At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa
and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is
[574] held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take
part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women
and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

114 When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them
881 she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for
proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did
not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party.
756 Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father
881 Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tu-
cano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her
hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the
girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

881 After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the
change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and
takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to
her mother's household.

[2] She is also known as *nomínyaiwi* (becoming a woman).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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769
peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the 796
origin traditions. 184

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One 769
man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a
horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another 796
gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the 178
loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the 866
region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through 789
adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned 856
bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective dur- [515]
ing the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplemen- [534]
tary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is
to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also [824]
favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously [515]
shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

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when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends. 574 614

On the morning of the drinking party the *behórũ* dancing staff is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behórũ* they go to the river to bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river. 574 535 [515] [823]

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather headdresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated 574 614 [554] 574 576 [614] [562]

249 spend the greater part of the morning collecting the leaves which they pre-
462 pare during the afternoon and evening. It is a serious task and one which each man undertakes with a strange air of concentration. Each coca plant is selectively stripped leaf by leaf before the next one is tackled. The headman carries the basket with him and gradually it fills with handfuls of pale sage-green leaves. The younger men collect the leaves almost reverently in their right hands before emptying them into the basket, their faces serious, their crouched bodies shining in the strong morning sun, their short, clipped speech broken occasionally by a high-pitched laugh.

512 In the distance small ribbons of smoke rise in a misty cloud. The women
244 are just visible, their squat figures crouching among the manioc plants. They
462 can be heard laughing; occasionally a baby cries and the children romp and
85 play among the bright-green manioc plants whose tall spindly branches stretch skywards some six feet, terminating in clusters of long, thin, starlike leaves. With their babies straddled across their backs the women spend the morning cutting out the long potato-like roots from the sandy soil and putting the waste foliage into piles to be burnt. It is hot with the sun streaming down, the fires crackling and the smoke enshrouding the working bodies. There is little time for rest, though a woman will stop to swing her child around and let it suckle her breast; a mother may give a fat yellow beetle grub to her child to eat, having detached the head – a great delicacy, tasting like butter. Soon large baskets are filled with roughly peeled and half-cleaned roots.

512 The sun is high overhead and the men leave for the *maloca* with their basket
[482] full of coca leaves; on top they place large dried leaves from the *yarumo* (Cecropia) trees which grow like weeds in the *chagra*. The women too load their heavy baskets on to their backs, the headbands taking the greater part
[222] of the fifty-pound weight. The whole group hurries through the forest in silence, passing the old *chagra* where the headman's wife leaves the other women to collect pineapples, then down to the stream beneath the *maloca*. At this point comes one of the noisiest and most amusing incidents in their
[515] daily life. Not only the manioc roots are washed in the water but the babies
[85] too; the mothers vigorously shake their large baskets of roots, then stop to splash water over the backs of the children. For a short time there is cacophony, with screaming babies, splashing water, continuous chatter and laughter, and even barking dogs. But soon the stream is left to myriads of white and brimstone-yellow butterflies which circle everlastingly over the sandbanks, and the women, refreshed, their long black hair glistening in the sun, return up the path to the *maloca*.

Tobacco plants are nearly always grown in a little patch directly in front

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000 *A graceful Tukano canoe.*

[see p. 66-A]

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Upper left corner: Yurutí woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yurutí women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

3: Fulop--52 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Upper part: Yurutí woman grating bitter yuca.

Lower part: Siriano man weaving balaya (basket).

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

/76 cont./

732 /footnote 14 cont./ due to weakness of the organs, were not able to walk until five years of age, after long treatment. Among the cases of pronounced hebetude, we recall two adults of the male sex, one from the Huhúdẽne tribe in Uapuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí), and the other a Taryana of Iauareté, known as Marcelino, "Contented," because he laughs at anything.

481 Completing this profile, it should be noted that they are slow of movement, at times clumsy in their way of walking. They walk with a short step (15),

15. In the military formations of the children, at one of the schools of the Salesian Missions, we could verify the tendency to accelerate the march.

like small jumps; many drag slightly and set the tip of the toes apart laterally, and the heel barely touches the ground.

516 They do not remain on their feet very long, almost always leaning more on one foot (the left one) and just on the tip of the other one. The woman withstands being on her feet less than the man. The most common and lasting position, when still, is the squat; it is the normal position for eating, even when they could do it sitting down. When they sit, they prefer low seats or the ground, and then they never cross the legs.

Let us now note some features that vary in this profile that we have sketched.

2) Pirá-tapuya type.

142 144 Skin lighter than in the Tukano, and face slightly or markedly elongated. Zygoma less prominent. Lissotrichous hair, lighter brown.

4: Silva--472 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SO19 Tucano SO19

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/Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

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Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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of the pull of propinquity. The Cubeo welcome and respect neighborliness. 361 614 615

The river has its natural boundaries. These are the segments of river demarcated by rapids and by the tributaries or creeks. A boundary is from one such feature to the next, from a *cachoeira* (rapids) to a creek, from a creek to a creek, but rarely from *cachoeira* to *cachoeira*. A boundary defines only sib territory. There is no phratric territory as such. If there is phratric and tribal territoriality it is because each of the sibs undertakes to defend the principle in terms of its own interests. A sib may adopt a stranger and in this way incorporate it into the phratry. It needs no permission to do this. On the other hand, a sib may appeal to phratry mates for help in warding off by force unwanted intruders. Boundaries do not close a river to traffic. The river is always an open highway for travel, and travelers may fish and hunt along it freely. They may not put up fixed installations such as weirs or show other signs of residence such as fishing a particular spot with regularity without permission. Men regularly fish only within the sib limits. The discussion of boundaries, it should be explained, does not flow naturally from the Cubeo. It is drawn out by the ethnographer. The Cubeo are not jealous of boundaries and they rarely have issues over them, but they do know them. Occasionally someone violates the common law of courtesy of the use of fish weirs and keeps the barrier closed beyond the allowable period. The Cubeo cannot and do not attribute this unmannerly act to gluttony. Gluttony is an incomprehensible notion to them. They attribute it either kindly to forgetfulness, in which case there is no issue, or to unfriendliness, in which case there is a quarrel and an effort is made to tear down the barrier. On the forest side there are no boundaries at all except for the clearing itself. It is not land but river frontage that is valued.

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## CANOEING

So much of a man's time is spent in a canoe that no description of native life would be complete that did not relate the Indian to the river as a canoeman or that failed to bring out the motor rhythms of canoeing. Motor rhythms are patterned, the rhythm of paddling and the characteristic rhythms of the dance showing particularly striking parallels. 501 516

Paddling follows a definite though irregular rhythm. The prowsman on a long trip is keeper of the stroke. Paddling is noisy. On the downstroke the stem of the paddle just above the blade is struck

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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501 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke
516 are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been over-
[461] come the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oarsman's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the
501 canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a
461 long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spontaneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!"
501 On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about
517 two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying
[123] some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why didn't you shoot them?"

501 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of
462 steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys, each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are
[857] in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of balance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

502 All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the
[823] canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided because of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline. Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push. High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

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244 A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total
433 productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects
[462] favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They
244 are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their
242 characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When wom-
[571] en from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cul-
[439] tivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for
[252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake
244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's
462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

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Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

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place the blame upon the material conditions. The woman, then, is more than a mere toiler in the garden. She qualifies as agronomist as well. 244 462

Women return from their gardens in the very early afternoon. They pause at the rear door of the house only long enough to drop the machete, and without putting down their burdens of manioc and infant, go directly to the river to bathe themselves and to wash the tubers. This is a pleasurable hour. Refreshed from the heat of the morning, the women play with their infants and jest with one another. Washing the tubers is a simple task of dipping the entire basket into the water. A light midday meal follows the washing, and the routine of processing the tubers begins. The woman may start with fresh roots, but for a more tender manioc cake she will allow the roots to soften for several days either in the house or in the river. 542 462 252 [515] [264]

The first step is peeling. The woman seats herself at her own household compartment, her back braced against a post, her legs stretched out stiff and straight before her into the dance corridor – the public alley of the house. The manioc basket is at one side and a tray at the other. She bites the butt end of the tuber to break the skin, and using teeth and fingers pulls off the readily peelable skin. This phase of the work is leisurely. Women who are not at the moment occupied come by to chat and help casually in the peeling. A woman's daughters sit with her and help. Enough is peeled for one manioc cake – that is, one half of a basket. 462 252 461 [516]

The next step is the most arduous and least liked – grating the peeled tubers on a wooden board (*pediba*) that has been set with abrasive stones. A woman can usually shift this work on to her daughter or her daughter-in-law.

The scraping process is as follows. The woman sits with her feet stretched out straight before her and slightly spread. She sets the grate on her legs with its far end braced against a house post, the forward end pressed against her abdomen. She takes up two large manioc tubers from a tray, one in each hand, and scrapes vigorously with alternate arm movements with the hardest pressure on the forward stroke. The action is vigorous, involving not only full arm movements but the bending of the back from the hips. Young women of marriageable age work rapidly and continuously until bathed in sweat. When worn down to a size where it cannot be conveniently scraped any more, the tuber is thrown aside and two others taken up. Finally, a collection of scraps is assembled into a single bunch clutched in both hands and scraped down virtually to the very bottom. This is a break in the work rhythm since both hands are used together and the move- [516]

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462 ment is slower and altogether less vigorous. Usually, except when she
461 is very strong and young, the woman interrupts her scraping for a
252 rest or change of occupation. For example, the work may be staggered. If the mother begins the scraping and the daughter continues with the peeling, the daughter, when she has finished peeling, will take over the scraping, while the mother prepares to begin the next process. The manioc mash that has accumulated at the far end of the board is removed by hand and thrown into a basket tray, and the liquid drained off into a pot to be poured out.

A substantial part of the poisonous liquid of the manioc has been
[415] removed in the scraping on the grater; the mash is further dried by pounding it through a tightly woven basket sieve. A tripodal frame is set up and the sieve set on it at a woman's waist level. The pounding, also strenuous work, requires vigorous motion of the arms, back, and shoulders. With both fists clenched the woman attacks the mash,
[516] using her arms as pistons in a crisscross motion. The mash is frequently turned. As this work is done standing up, the woman has a chance to limber her legs. Because of the height at which the sieve is set little girls are not very efficient at the pounding, and only help out for a little while. When the mash is relatively dry after a thorough pounding it is put into a long tubular squeezer (the tipiti). The woman grips the lower end of the flexible tube between her knees, and bending the top toward her, fills it with the mash from the sieve. When full, the squeezer is hung from a projecting beam at one of the house posts. Through a loop at the lower end of the squeezer a long pole of heavy wood is inserted, the fulcrum end going through a few twists of heavy rope around the post. This phase of the work affords the woman a rest from the strenuous labor of scraping and pounding. She may sit on the pole, adjusting the pressure by the distance from the fulcrum. A woman is sometimes joined by another, who helps her sit on the pole. The liquid starch that runs down the sides of the squeezer is collected in a pot set for it. The pot is covered with a layer of ash that absorbs the volatile prussic acid, and the clear starch is used as the base for a porridge.

The mash, free of much of its prussic acid content, is finally formed into a cake upon the flat circular oven at the rear of the house. The baking is leisurely and as women wait their turn at the communal oven they enjoy some sociable moments.

462 A good housewife prepares a fresh manioc cake daily since the
252 cake tastes best when fresh, moist, and warm. On the second day a
[512] cake is dry and considerably less palatable. Thus, under ordinary conditions, the routine of manioc preparation is daily. However, a wom-

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Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. 754
Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine [753]
men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering [761]
mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning"
is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent
death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In 683
all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

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Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

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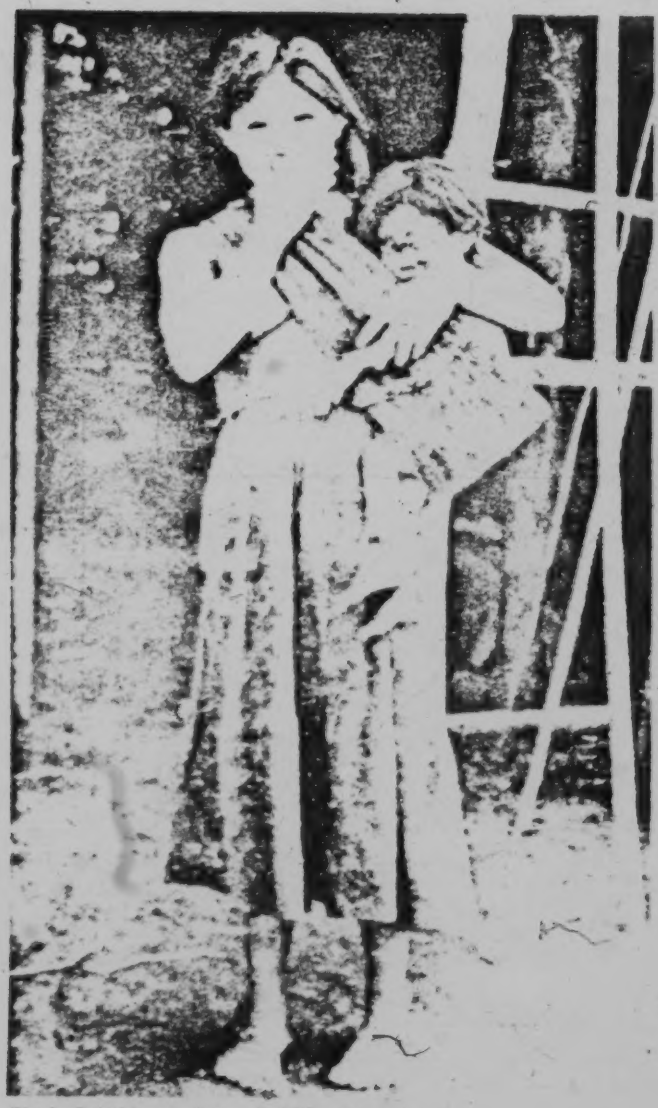

Fig. 8 *Bahúkiwa* mother and child.

/p. 62-B/

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ABOVE: Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking. BELOW: Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.

/419 cont./

462 conversation with other men for long hours (26).

[517] 26. At other times she might be gaily conversing while the man is working.

611 She is a foreigner, without any right over her children. They
736 belong to the husband, or rather to the tribe of the husband. If by chance she becomes a widow, she may continue to live in the maloca, and she will ordinarily do so, especially if she is aged and cannot expect another marriage. Or she will return to her tribe, without, however, taking the children with her. With the hypothesis that her husband had a separate house or one in the vicinity of another tribe, the relatives from the husband's tribe will come to take the orphans to their own maloca. If any of the orphans are still /420/ babies at the breast, perhaps they will await until the child can dispense with maternal care, and then they will irrevocably take them away.

587 When it was a matter of her marrying, an exchange or indemnification was negotiated, without her being consulted. Upon establishing her new home, she had the customary test of a beating, and perhaps, due to the bad character of the husband, many others might follow, against which she could never react. Accord-
264 ing to the tribal customs, she will never eat with the husband; she
593 takes out her portion and it is only after he and his friends and guests are satisfied and leave the place that she will take her food.

All this causes surprise, especially if we observe the importance
462 of her "atelier": that is, it is she who performs the tasks necessary for life: she plants the clearing, works with the mandioca, which constitutes the indispensable daily dish, weaves the hammocks for sleeping, makes the vessels for water, prepares the caxiris and the cooking.

593 We leave, Deo volente, for a monograph the study of the indications of a matriarchalist civilization among the Uaupesina tribes. For now we shall say, with the students who have

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at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. [514]
The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a 342
vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its [796]
great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food [764]
is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- [252]
factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- [32]
side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza [517]
in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure
time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 342
way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 574
exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests 576
are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and
facing inward.

When I came among the *Bahúkiwa* they were on the upswing, hav- 342
ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had 622
put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com- [114]
partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was
75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof
extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the
work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is
carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction.
The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the
maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The
headman is known as *kenámi upákü* (owner of the house). The house
is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority
of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo be-
lieve, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation- 342
ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578
Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592
is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook dis-
courtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that
such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are
acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one
sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will
move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community.
The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove
the source of disaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they
have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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501 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke
516 are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been over-
[461] come the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oarsman's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a
501 long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spon-
461 taneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!"
501 On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about
517 two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying
[123] some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why didn't you shoot them?"

501 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of
462 steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys, each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are
[857] in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of balance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

502 All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the
[823] canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided because of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline. Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push. High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

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152 Perhaps, at first glance, the small range of the Indian's
502 intelligence would impress us, even in the practical field and in the most obvious and simple things. We will verify, for instance, the mistakes they make in navigation, the fact of not knowing how to foresee and, later, how to avoid or to remedy an accident. Perhaps, to present concrete cases, in order to get the water out of a boat, they will not remove a plank that makes the operation difficult; if a riverside tree impedes navigation, they cut it so badly that the passage remains even more difficult, etc. This impression of intellectual obtuseness, nevertheless, will be lessened if we realize that he performs the work with disprejudice and disinterest.

/141/ 3) Fantasy or imagination.

154 A faculty highly developed in the native is the imagination. One easily understands why he is like that, since he lacks the control of a more highly developed and educated intelligence, having, on the contrary, a spirit animated by incoherent and even absurd childish legends and beliefs, and living in an environment of majestic and almost crushing
154 solitude. Many of their conversations in the long hours, idle during the day and dull at night, deal with legends, apparitions,
521 and spells. For this reason they always have their imaginations stimulated. Only in this way is it to be explained how they can see in some strange rocks similarities with plants, tools, etc., similarities that, even when warned, we could not perceive. It is enough to mention a rock of the cachoeira de Uaracapá, almost at the mouth of the river Papurí, presented as "a banana tree" and in which we only see one of those common rocks that rise out of the water.

Their incoherent conversations, their incomplete narrations, denounce someone who supplies his own fantasy and leaves room for the fantasy of the listeners. Sometimes when we want fast and practical information (for example, about a road, a cachoeira, a distance), we ask a native interpreter to ask another. They will talk 10 or 15 minutes between themselves, and at the end of that time our interpreter will say that

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154 he does not know, that he does not understand his tribal brother.
• 521 We understand, then, that from imperfect narrations, in which emphatic gestures and noises from the mouth supply words and ideas, will appear misunderstandings, alteration of the narrator's thought, variation in the reports and in the tales.

154 When we manage to get some native to talk to us spontaneously, with intimacy, we verify that this man who seems to us
825 well-balanced, of little impressionability, that alumnus or alumna of the missionary schools, with an appearance of one almost civilized, not only has a head burdened with so many exotic legends and strange beliefs, but he even hears and sees with impressive frequency apparitions, voices, words, mysterious sayings. It surprises us at times to hear from the lips of young men and women, with many years of contact with civilization, perhaps even of life in cities such as Manaus, the strangest tales of visions that they had, in full daylight, in their hut or in the clearing, on the road, on a trip; voices, sayings that they heard, unbelievable events, fabulous or legendary, that they are sure of having witnessed, giving us place, time, names of persons (for example, that they saw Wãx'ti, Boraró, etc.; persons who have changed, or who periodically change, into /142/ animal, anta, piraboto /dolphin/, who spend days, weeks, and even months in the depths of the water, etc.) (6).

6. We have been consulted by young men and women who have been through the Mission schools and who asked us with all conviction: -- "How is it possible for people to turn into a dolphin?" "to turn into an anta?" Patrícia Vasconcelos, for example, in October of 1955 told us the following as a fact about which she has absolute certainty. So-and-So of the Taryana tribe, from the povoado of Ararípirá (Uaupés) and former student of the Mission of Iauareté, married a Tukano youth who has already worked several times in Taracuá and

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152 leveled out nations distinct and quite different in somatic traits, in bio-ethnic origin, and in speech, and it seems to have managed to mold all the components of the tribes according to a single model. For this reason we affirm that, even in the way of laughing and gesticulating, the different tribes of the Uaupés are similar, and for this same reason, the vast Uaupésina region must be considered as a single cultural area.

Here are some indications of the native formality of the Uaupés.

At the meetings of relatives, indeed, as we have already pointed out, even at the meetings of spouses or between parents and children after a long separation, there are no displays of jubilation.

484 Trips for visits are frequent among them: psychological necessity because they live in small groups? Or reminiscence of an ancestral nomadism?

576 The official receptions at the great feasts or possible ones at some meeting are always invested with a strange and indispensable formality.

574 576 521 *[192] When during his frequent pleasure trips he decides to stop at some maloca or povoado, he leaves his canoe at the landing place and goes up. If /166/ there are several, they will do it in Indian file, that is, one after the other, observing an order in which the most dignified goes in front. He will absolutely not enter, without saying at the door: "nẽ! máxsã nĩti? Hello, are there people there?" He will say this even when he sees that there are people. Then the head of the house, or the most important person there, will come to receive him, and they touch *[192] each other lightly with their right hands. Standing up, facing each other, without looking at each other, staring at the ground or at a corner, the one from the house will ask: -- "You have arrived? extatí mãã?" -- "I have arrived, extápõ." Or: -- "Has your canoe arrived?" The other will answer: -- "It arrived." They will spend a few seconds in silence, then he will continue: -- "Ah! You have arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." After a short pause he will perhaps insist: "Ah! Well! You have

574 /166 cont./
576 arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." -- "Where did you come
521 from?" (a question many times useless, because he knows very well the visitor's place of origin). -- "From X" (and he says the name of the locality). -- "Ah! Do you come from X?" -- "Yes,
*[192] I come from X." These and similar expressions are interspersed with silence and with "II," each of them alternating, as a sign that the one understood the other's sentence.

The same will be done and said by each man from the maloca to the guest, or guests, if there were several. Moreover the women will pass one by one in front of each visitor and, touching his right hand, will ask the same questions: -- "Have you arrived?" -- "I have arrived," etc., without however, looking at the guests, with the eyes lowered. The women soon withdraw, and one of them goes to get a small mat, stretches it out in front of the visitors, and on the mat she puts a pan with quinhapira and a sieve with beijú, from which the visitors help themselves without shyness.

574 Later, sitting on the stools or each one in his hammock,
521 they carry on long conversations until the late hours of the night, with a certain rapidity, interrupted by the very monotonous "II" and with countless and noisy laughs. If we consider that the Tukano language is so concise, it says so many things with few words, we will have an idea of the loquacity of the natives among themselves. The child will tell everything that happened during the months that he was in school. The adult will tell about his trips, episodes of fishing or hunting, the events, the persons that he met, the conversations that he had, his own and other persons' episodes, and, finally, he will have innumerable pieces of news to report, which seem uninteresting to us, but for his childish mentality they are very important. To the curiosity to know corresponds, on the other side, a great desire to tell.

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521 593 [115] It is to be noted that the husband never converses with his wife at night, only during the day, and they carry on long talks when they are resting after work. At night only gossip among persons of the same /167/ sex is permitted (so we were informed by the old Taryana woman Teodora from Iauareté, and Dorotéia Brito, Tukano, confirmed it) (44).

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44. Among the Ide-maxsã of the stream Koméya, we have observed conversation between husband and wife during the night. Perhaps phrases imposed by necessity are not forbidden, and only conversation for diversion is prohibited.

171 521 574 [115] A singular meeting of pajés gave us the chance of an excursion to the middle Uaupés in May of 1956. We were traveling in the company of two Tukano pajés, Marcelino and Henrique, the pajé of Juquira and of Japú-igarapé, respectively. A breakdown in the stern motor forced us to stop longer in the povoado of Periquito, of the Taryana tribe. The two pajés in transit greeted in a common manner the Taryana colleague of the locality. Soon afterwards, however, the three pajés settled down on the bank of the river at a distance of 50 or 60 centimeters from one another, each one smoking his cigarette (which one of the visitors had given to the other two). And without looking at each other, turned toward the river, they started to recite, in quite a loud voice and characteristic tone, which could be distinguished some 20 meters away. That dialogue lasted more than half an hour, during which now one and then another of the three would take turns speaking, always with the intervention of the other two, who would repeat the last words of the speaker's sentence, or other words, by way of refrain. It was a recollection of the episodes that, according to the legends of the origins, took place in those surroundings, the story of their islands, canals, cachoeiras, and rocks, a recollection with the power of an exorcism and augury of successful navigation. It was not possible for us to determine whether there was also an invocation of the "mothers of the things,"

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as Stradelli affirms having witnessed on the occasion of the imposition of the name (45).

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45. A similar event took place in August of 1956 on the Ribeirão /stream/ Timí-ya (left tributary of the river Pirá-paraná). At the hour for breakfast we stopped in a clearing that rose on the left of anyone who went down the stream. One of our oarsmen, of the Bará tribe, found there a tribal "brother" of his. Our oarsman, then, stopped his repast, and the two Bará, standing on a large felled trunk, turned toward the west (probably in order not to have the sun hurting their face), likewise without looking at each other, engaged in a dialogue with each other in a very loud voice. It was again the augury of a happy trip, through the recollections of the legends of the origins, as we were told. This dialogue must have lasted a quarter of an hour; afterwards the two of them sat down on the trunk and continued in a cheerful conversation, in a lower and friendly tone, while they ate, since our oarsman put our food at the disposal of his "brother," and both served themselves freely.

This same Bará oarsman provided us with a similar spectacle the following night, although in more unpleasant circumstances. A storm and the dark of the night caught us navigating the Pirá-paraná, and precisely in the vicinity of the dangerous "cachoeira /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ of the beijú." A tent was improvised with two small canvases, which protected the luggage and some hammocks, on the left bank. About midnight the sound of oars was heard; a canoe approached the bank and its crew came up, among them an old man of the Ihwãna tribe. Either they already knew each other or this

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/footnote 45 cont./ would be their first meeting, we were not able to find out, due to the deficiency of the interpreter. We are inclined to think that they did not know each other before, because the Bará oarsman had asserted that he did not know the region, and the Ihwãna live in this zone of the Pirá-paraná and came precisely to help us to pass the cachoeira, in accordance with the request that we had made in the maloca visited hours before. The Bará oarsman got up to see who had arrived. Immediately there was initiated in the silence of the night a dialogue in loud voices, as if there were a quarrel, between the Bará and the old Ihwãna. They were the traditional exorcisms, with the recollection of the legendary episodes, in order to obtain success for the journey; this was revealed to us by a Tukano Indian who was in our company. At those shouts in the middle of the night, everybody woke up. After a few minutes, with the desire to get the sleep so necessary for anyone who undertakes such arduous travels, we tried to intervene in order to stop the disturbance. It was a futile attempt. The two dialogists, either because they did not understand our wish or, as is more probable, because they were not interested in knowing that they were inconveniencing the others (which is also a marked and general trait of the psychology of these Indians of the Uaupés), and due to the importance that they give to their practices, they continued undisturbed before our remarks and protests. After almost an hour of dialogue in loud voices and in the typical tone of the exorcisms, they shifted to speaking in low and discreet voices, asked for something to eat, and finally, lying on the sand, they slept until dawn.

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c) Extramarital incontinence.

831 The freedom with which the Indian deals with some subjects, with a realism at times crude, is well known. And this not only among themselves, but also with the civilized. Equally well [521] known is the immorality of the conversation among themselves on trips, as in the interior of their malocas, in the hours of rest, interlaced with frequent and lewd laughter. There are not only ambiguous words in their vocabulary, but a whole assemblage of words and sentences of immoral caliber.

*[192] Moreover there are more than enough proofs of premarital and extramarital incontinence, wõãkĩse, wõãkahĩse, yõãsé or ñõãsé (108).

108. Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, already revealed this in 1793: --"With respect to the two vices of incontinence and gluttony, vices so natural to the Indian people, that it seems that they have already stifled and destroyed all their freedom" (o. c., p. 499). The same was reported by Frei Gregório de Bene, Apostolic Missionary of the Uaupés from 1850 to 1852, explaining the reason why, especially in some places, he had to delay administering the sacraments.

1) Premarital liberties.

936 One notes some vigilance by the parents, especially the mothers (at least in front of the civilized), over the daughters who have reached a certain age. It is not enough, however, especially if the circumstances of their life, their works, and customs are considered. And a greater sexual impulse is manifested in the girls who have reached a certain physiological development,

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/footnote 19 cont./ Pari-cachoeira, a Desana woman married to a Tuyuka from Cabari (a little above Pari-cachoeira), in view of the bad treatment by the husband, abandoned him and a little child a few months old and returned to her povoado on the lower Tiquié. Up to July of this year the Missionary had not yet managed to have her return to her husband.

especially if they do not yet have any children, because the marriage is not yet stabilized. And, finally, it is she who works for him in the clearing and in the house.

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/417/ Although there is no law that obstructs divorce or that makes it impossible for the divorced person to go on to other nuptials, both always have before their eyes the difficulty of a second marriage.

That will not keep them from having misunderstandings, or the husband, especially if he is drunk, from beating the wife. Of the many whom we questioned on this subject, all affirmed to us the bad treatment and even cruelties on the part of their husbands.

The woman, however, will never react, because this is what the tribal laws command (20).

20. We have had news, moreover, of some episodes of reaction on the part of the woman, especially when she perceives that the husband is weakened by drunkenness. It is one more blow that their customs and beliefs have started suffering.

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There is an original and somewhat strange custom, as follows from the report by the Taryana Indian Teodora from Iauareté, confirmed by natives of other tribes. During the day and in the early hours of the night the spouses maintain long conversations with each other in the maloca, each one, for example, lying in

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593 his hammock; nevertheless, they will not talk to each other
• 521 through the night inside. At night only conversations of man with
man and woman with woman are permitted. If the husband has
[784] arrived from his fishing or hunting already late at night, he will
hang up the fish or the game in the space between two poles or
on the wall, or in some other place, without saying a word to his
wife, to whom he will not make delivery of the fruit of his labor
until morning.

6) Polygamy and Polyandry.

178 Whether we understand these terms as the possibility for an
595 individual to have several wives simultaneously or successively,
and, vice versa, a woman more than one husband, they are not
in force nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

[622] In conversation, several among them affirmed that in the
old days a man could have two or three wives, particularly the
tuxaua (21).

21. In 1849 Wallace attested (o. c. 636): -- "The men as a rule, have only one wife. There is not, however, for this reason a special limit, because many of them have two or three. Some chiefs even have still more." It is what still happens in some tribes, for example, the Karútana of the Içana, the Káwa of the Aiarí, affirms the author of Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar [Sea River]/, (p. 19). The statement of the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza is in agreement, when he says (o. c. 486): -- "They are given to polygamy or plurality of wives, and there are chiefs among them with two or three wives, and sometimes sisters of one another."

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512 [515] [854] *[192] or in small groups of two or three, ordinarily a child riding on her hip and with a vessel on her head, in the direction of the river. Or, more precisely, that point of the river called Pextá, landing place, with suitably prepared access, where the canoes are tied. There they take their quick morning bath, Wa-wa'kãse, of immersion, rubbing the hand quickly over the body, face, and hair. The same is done by the smaller children who accompany them: and they take the opportunity, moreover, to bathe the suckling infants, whom they have left on the bank. Afterwards they fill [312] the vessels with water and, putting them on their heads, go up with the water to the maloca. Then they prepare the morning meal.

/480/ The men and the boys continue to lie down for an hour [521] [515] more or less, conversing from hammock to hammock and, still before six o'clock, go for their bath. Then the mats that closed the two doors of the maloca are lifted.

*[192] [264] The pots of Byá-tõ (it is the quinhapira or sauce of fish broth with pepper) or of Yumũ-ku (mingau) of tapioca, and the baskets in the shape of sieves, heaped high with Ahũ-a (beijú), are put on small mats on the floor. -- "Baãra a'tyã," come to eat, is the invitation by the woman. Those of the male sex place themselves in a circle, squatting, and, starting with the chief, eat heartily, amidst conversation and noisy laughter.

The rule of civility is to serve oneself slowly and to eat without voracity. This, besides, is greatly in agreement with the whole attitude of the Indian, normally calm and serene. The women are in charge of the serving, bringing whatever there is, as it becomes necessary. There are no eating implements: one breaks off a piece of beijú with the hand, dips it in the quinhapira, and carries it to the mouth. The mingau is drunk (1)

*[192] 1. To drink is the expression that they use, although this is not very appropriate, because it is more or less thick. -- "Yumũ-ku sĩrỹãti? Did you drink mingau?"

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123 my status in the community was as before. I still could count upon
food and services.

[122] I participated to some degree in the male life of the community and
came to learn the language and the culture as much by slow enculturation as by questioning. I had no principal informants because no
123 124 one would serve in that capacity. All were willing to talk, to explain
matters to me, but only in the accustomed atmosphere of easy and genial chatter. The people I knew best and the household of Mandú, in particular, were paradoxically the poorest systematic informants. They were most impatient and most easily vexed with the informant role. They regarded the open notebook and the persistent line of questioning as counter to our relationship. For prolonged and probing investigations I called upon the head of a *Bahûkiwa* subsib. Even this man was a very patient informant only when he was my guest among the *Bahûkiwa*. On his home grounds we were back on small talk. In Mitú I could talk to Indian women more freely than I could on the Cuduiari, where my relations with them had to be more correct. My house alongside the maloca was an informal social center which children and unattached women felt free to visit without invitation. The children taught me things they thought I ought to know about native customs. This was a privilege they had which adults, with their acute tactfulness about criticizing, intruding, or imposing upon others, could not exercise.

The Indians placed no serious obstacles in the way of my studies. They would not explain or discuss openly a ritual act at the time it was going on because to do so would be to counteract its effects.
[831] They did not, however, mind answering questions later and in a more
[521] general context. Moreover, they expected me to preserve the proprieties of tact in asking questions about domestic matters. Sex was a difficult subject, as were invidious comparisons. The Cubeo are not eager purveyors of gossip. After trouble had erupted in the open one could ask for and receive a discreet and sober account of some domestic difficulty. At the same time that the Indians imposed upon me their own reserve they were also sensitive to any evident disappointment when my questions went unanswered. Thus, if I persisted I often
[831] could get an answer, but I had to follow protocol, since personal relations among adults are rich in decorum and social etiquette. I also had available to me the more informal channels of the play pack of children, which delighted in passing on some household gossip, as well as old women, whose verbal bawdiness was in marked contrast to the customary verbal restraint of the men on sexual matters.

114 I chose to stay in one community and to benefit from the intimacy

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361 241
household dishes, while tobacco, *mihi*, and coca are for ceremonial 462
purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351
entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361
kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562
staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622]
for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and
for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist
that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [178]
plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755]
medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear
plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521]
of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards,
and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip.
During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests
are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351
a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361
vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562
an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574
realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made
this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was
received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as
he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361
a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562
the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823
of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614]
Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534]
edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, [515]
to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833]
women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842]
But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621
high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512
of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing
that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

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chicken feed. The *Bahuáiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361
tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241
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574 provided. Men pass cigarettes to one another after a puff or two. A
276 man will ordinarily pass a cigarette to his own wife only, for the giving of a cigarette to a woman has a potentially erotic significance. When a woman receives the cigarette she passes it among her children until finally the suckling baby has had a smoke. She then returns it to her husband. The custom of sharing the cigarette has been widely observed along the Vaupés and its tributaries. The Indians
[521] accept it as a mark of friendship and of trust. Ceremonious smoking
[887] of cigars held in forked holders accompanies the dignified conversa-
[614] tions of the sib elders and is mandatory when these old men get together to chant the sib origin traditions. Several cigars are lighted and are passed around. There is no way of sharing coca, but *mihi*, as we have noted, is "danced in" by the sons of the hosts, and the little ornamented beaker in which it is kept is passed around.

574 Dancing begins when the assembly is warmed up with drink. At
535 an *unkúndye*, dancing, being secular, is for the young, the adolescents and unmarried and the younger married men and women. In the most common dance three or four young men line up abreast,
[533] left arm across a companion's shoulder, with the long dance flageolet, that sounds the song of the butterfly, in the right hand. An orchestra of Panpipes, seated to one side, sets the rhythm to which the dancers move and sound the flageolets. Starting at the rear of the house they move down the long dance corridor to a beat that starts as one slow step, a pause, two shorter steps, a pause, and then three rapid, almost running, steps, the inevitable Cubeo procedure of placing all ritual in the metric structure of *adagio* to *presto*. They reach the front of the house, their bodies swaying forward and back as they come down the corridor and gracefully swinging from side to side as they prepare to pivot, swinging the flageolets up and
[614] around in unison. The first dancers are usually of the host sib and are brothers. During the early stages of the dance, as each of the visiting sibs puts its dancers on the floor, the formation is of brothers. It is not until much later during the night that drink and excitement have dissolved the fraternal bonds and allowed for the indiscriminate formation of dance teams. As the dancers move down the corridor the unmarried girls begin to stir; they giggle, nudge one another, sway forward with the desire to get up and join. But they are shy. They seek encouragement from one another. Often an older woman, a girl's mother, whispers sharply, "Go on, dance." Then two or three girls get up from the side lines and run behind the dancers, pacing themselves so as to slip under the yokes of the men's arms in the precise beat.

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534 We saw that the man, upon sounding this instrument,
• 522 would go backwards until, as a joke, he bumped against the women, who went away amidst laughter.

*192 10th. -- Deer head. In Tukano it is called ñamá dõxpõ-á.
534 It consists precisely of the head of a deer, the various orifices having been obturated with breu, except one, on the upper part between the horns, through which one blows. They use this instrument to announce the caxirí, and the sound tries to imitate precisely the words: pêru wá:tya (bring caxirí), which is repeated several times, and ends with the repetition: kero, kero, kero (quickly, quickly, quickly).

11th. -- Ocarina. In Nheengatú toré; in Tukano uxpítu, pl. uxpítu-pá. It is an instrument of baked clay, which resembles the ocarina, and which they blow on the road, when they are going to the dabacurí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2) ).

12th. -- Jurupari. In Tukano it is called mĩrĩ (Uaupés mĩhĩ). It is the mysterious instrument. This is tubes of paxiúba covered by the liber of chibarú (epérua grandíflora), rolled up in a spiral, with two sticks that emerge like horns from the upper end and by which it is held to be blown. According to the length, which varies from 80 centimeters to 1.50 meters, and the diameter from 6 to 10 centimeters, the sound will be like that of a trombone or, deeper, like that of a bass.

mĩrĩ (jurupari)

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahikiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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264 eat together, crouched about the small pot of prepared food or sitting in a hammock. Such meals are usually light and rarely consist of
264 fresh fish or freshly caught game. It may be a pepper pot into which
262 preserved fish or meat has been flaked or a dish of dried meat chopped fine, with dry peppers. If it is the morning meal, taken just upon arising an hour or so before dawn, it is a *mingau*, a tapioca porridge sometimes mixed with crushed pineapple. There is not much eating between meals. If men have been working hard they refresh themselves with sugar cane. Youngsters, however, eat as often as they like, and that is most of the time. Youngsters are free to draw upon the household larder, but much of what they eat they have foraged for themselves, fruits, sugar cane, small game, and fish. A youngster, however, will take only manioc cake prepared by his own mother.

264 The main meal, taken just before sunset so that it concludes shortly after sunset, is usually formal and separates men and women. A collective meal, it is eaten in the center of the dance corridor. The men crouch in a tight circle around the cluster of pots that each woman has set down. Their sons are before them in an inner circle. Women and girls sit in an outer circle behind their fathers and husbands. The men eat first and when they have finished they rise and return to their hammocks while the women and girls then move in to finish what is left over. The Cubeo are not voracious eaters. They eat almost
261 daintily and are amused at the uncouthness of those who eat as
264 though they were hungry. When I ate with them I always left the table hungry. I never saw any Indian eat to repletion even when great quantities of food were available. The method of eating, with the women waiting hungrily behind them, is perhaps a deterrent to gorging. It is my impression, however, that the Cubeo associate excess only with drink and associate food with moderation. That is to say,
[183] excess is pertinent to intersib gatherings, moderation is the keynote
[614] within the closer community of kin that is the sib.

264 People eating together are gay though not boisterous; even the
● 522 older men, ordinarily solemn, unbend. The younger men laugh, tease one another, remember with amusement an incident in the catching of the food they are now eating. The women join in the laughter most generously and the men gallantly pass back to them morsels of food on bits of manioc cake. The normal movement of food at this point is from a man to his wife, daughter, or sister. But in the spirit of jest he will pass food to another woman. This will provoke mirthful calls of "ha, your sweetheart." No man would be so foolish as to pass back food to a woman with whom he might be having an affair even though this is a permissible jesting occasion. If

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

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261 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily
183 toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that
571 he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own
431 hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about preparing it, never once turning her eyes out upon the maloca. The house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however, venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head
183 prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He
571 chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly
431 caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand
522 gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible household head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave. The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not like us.

261 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of
183 anger. Just as the boys of the play pack will only stand aside as their
571 nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do
431 nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in
578 extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the dissaffected household departs. I was told, but could not verify it,
[754] that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people, it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

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574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahúkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahúkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkúndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkúndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkúndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *hwananiwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* – the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would be shown where we could sling our hammocks.

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punctuated by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst themselves. They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling on his body.

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre Elorza only the month before we arrived.

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these are evil spirits.

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead, usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma.

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over a man's life.

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and

/207 cont./

824 liber that is thus obtained, if from a thick trunk, is used to prepare the masks; if from a small branch, tied at one of the ends, it presents the shape of a bag for their various uses.

We observed another process among the Karapanã of the headwaters of the Papurí. With the help of a spatula they detach the bark, as though they were rolling up the sleeve of a coat, until it reaches the length that is desired.

6) Toys and games.

524 We did not find characteristic objects of play for the girls, such as the dolls of the civilized. In any case, from an early age the children of the female sex are put to work, and they do not have much time for toys.

The little boys, on the other hand, make their small bows and arrows with which they entertain themselves, learning to shoot or even to kill birds and fish.

*[192] Out of a light and soft wood, poo-gõ, molongó (it is the ambelância grandíflora, Hub., of the family of the Apocynaceae), they build tiny canoes which they let loose on the water, tied to a string, accompanying them from the bank while they float.

They have still other toys and diversions that follow one another during the year. Among them one that is known in the south of Brazil as "cama de gato" /cat's bed/. That is, with a string, with the two ends /208/ connected, they execute figures with the fingers of both hands, passing it to the neighbor, who, with a different position of the fingers, makes it take another shape. We have seen eight or ten different figures formed with the string, some quite interesting and similar to the object or *[192] animal whose name they bear. This game is called mĩ-pesé (that is, game of taking).

A word here about some amusements of the children. The children, always respecting the separation of the sexes, join together in bands and entertain themselves in play in which the bees buzzing in search of flowers figure; it is the game of the

*192 /208 cont./
• 524 bees, mumí-pesé (40).

40. A little Indian also talked about the "game of the lemon," but she did not describe it to us, and we did not have a chance to see it.

Another collective game is "hide and seek," called in Tukano wãx-tĩ mãã-ré baágõãamim (Wãx-tĩ is going to eat you), because the signal to hide is given by one of the children, calling "Wãx-tĩ is going to eat you."

One of the most common amusements, and which appears even in the Dabacurís (see VII -- 4, e (2) ), is what is called game "of the toad," tárokõ-pesé. Some children squat and, advancing by jumping, start singing: táro-kõakã... táro-kõakã (little toad! little toad!). Other children, standing up, block the jump of the toads, and among them the following dialogue is started: -- Where are you going? (no'õ-põ waati mãxsã?) -- We are going to see whether there is any ripe pineapple in the clearing (õxsã wexsé-põ yãra wá:, sẽ'rá to'ó-põ buxtise-pa yãra wá:) -- Your grandmother went there to eat pineapple, fell down, and hurt herself (toó-põ mãxsã ñẽxko sẽ'rá baágo myõ-doxké-pyõ-waápõ). Then the little toads exclaim: -- Poor grandmother! ... (adé:! õxsã ñẽxkõ!) and pretend to faint, falling on the ground.

524 With the palm leaflet rolled in a spiral, they improvise a
534 flute capable of emiting different sounds, according to the diameter of the spiral.

177 They make small flutes, puxtisé, out of taquara or paxiúba;
524 the spinning top, bextága, using the nut of the tucumã and others.
*[192] More recently, in possession of jacknife and nail; they also prepare their wooden tops in imitation of the one of the civilized.

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There never were coins (77)

> 77. We have seen the children playing with flat and roundish beans, like chips or coins, and these children say that they are their coins. A large number of them nowadays know what a coin is. Perhaps calling such beans coins comes from the shape that they exhibit. It is nevertheless possible that the old ones used these beans as units to facilitate their calculations (see counting with the fingers, VII-2, b).

for the carrying out of their trade. Formerly, as well as nowadays, trade has taken place "in kind," that is, the exchange of one object for another. There has come to be stressed in modern times among the Indians, because of the relations with the civilized, the concept of an intrinsic value of the objects, not only because of their rarity, but also because of the laboriousness of their manufacture and the difficulty of obtaining the raw material. Nevertheless, still today, and much more intensely than formerly, they consider only the appreciative value, that is, the value depending upon the desire or the necessity for an object. It is easy to understand that, with one tribe being the exclusive producer of some objects, and another tribe, of others, it was not difficult to reach an agreement.

438 There is no information concerning the existence of intra or extra-tribal markets, that is, places for the display of the products intended for trade. The Indian formerly, as he still does today, under the necessity for an object, would undertake a trip (and they were always very much rovers, even seeming reminiscent of an ancestral nomadism) to the povoados of another tribe,

796 /351 cont./
276 to the least important of the men who have participated in the
538 dances, and who arrange themselves in two lines, one in front of the other, all, however, sitting down. Each man takes some puffs and passes the cigar to his neighbor, and thus everybody
*[192] smokes several times, until the cigars are consumed. The tuxaua and the bayá alternate with the Komũã the episodes of the history of the origins, dõxporó-kase kextí, recalling the different places from where their ancestors came, and the exploits that marked this ascent. They do it, however, in a singing rhythm, prolonging the final syllables of each part that they narrate.

796 Once this rite is concluded, the sticks and snappers are
574 gathered up, the men take off their ornaments, which are carefully kept in the box for this purpose (VI - 2, d (7) ).
576 The guest tuxaua gives thanks in a loud voice: -- "The poosé was very good. We enjoyed ourselves very much, etc."

796 As the conclusion of this rite and of the fast that they must observe at these feasts, the Kõmũã who prepared the kaxpí puts in the mouth of each man a roasted pepper. For the young ones there is prepared a broth with lemon juice and pepper (and sometimes also salt), and this is applied to their noses with a funnel of leaves. The young man must draw this broth into the mouth and swallow it. After this ceremony, they can take their mingau or any food whatsoever.

The entertainment might continue, principally among the younger persons. Ordinarily, however, they adjourn to the ham-
[513] mock (often two persons in the same hammock) and rest, in order to start the amusements again in the cool of the afternoon, around 4 o'clock.

5) /sic; 6)/ Games.

[524] We have spoken of the number of games that take place between the dances, but occur principally in the prolongation of the feast, that is, from the second day on.

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1st. -- Some of the guests come buzzing, like the carapanã (crepuscular mosquitos /Culex fatigans/), and, with a little stick in the hand, they start stinging the others, who try to shoo them away.

2nd. -- Afterwards others come, pretending to be ku'síro (an animal perhaps legendary, similar to the dog, some say, and which makes a clamor in the forest), making noise, dragging pot or stick, doing this up to the center of the house. Those of the maloca beat on the ground with a stick in order to chase them away.

We have watched a similar challenge for two hours, finally leaving the competitors, who went on with the same enthusiasm. Nowadays many of the younger generation, instead of listening to those monotonous narrations, prefer to dance enthusiastically with their female companions to the sound of the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/.

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3rd. -- The caxirí is served; some no longer want it. The companions force them to take it, always in jest.

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4th. -- The chief of the guests comes in with a torch of turí (VI 5, a (4a) ), lighted, because it is already dark. His companions come in, throwing down objects, taking fruits, beijú, eating them. All feigning an attack on the maloca. A simulation so well done by the way that the civilized present become frightened, believing that it is a matter of an enemy attack and that a fight is about to start. In reality many feasts degenerate into fights and are intentionally taken advantage of for reciprocal vengeance.

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5th. -- Some of the guests now come hopping, squatting, imitating the toad, and making the characteristic sound with the mouth: "uão... uão... " They enter the maloca, and those who are there ask the toads: -- "Where are you going?" "I am going to visit my relatives." -- "Your relatives have all died." And the toad, at this news, faints.

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796 6th. -- Afterwards some approach equipped with tipitís
● 524 /mandioca presses/, in order to pretend they are snakes. Upon reaching those of the maloca, they maneuver the tipití, shortening it and lengthening it over them, as though to eat the toads
796 (61).
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61. Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, p. 379) describes the "dance of the snake" which he attended at a feast in Iauareté. Two enormous snakes of 30 to 40 feet long, made of cipo, hay, and straw, and painted bright colors. Each one held by 12 to 15 persons, they performed dance movements, as though trying to attack each other, which actually happened after some recoiling and weaving about, to the great liking of the spectators.

/353/ 7th. -- Young men and boys, eight or ten in number, arranged more or less in order of size, starting with the taller ones, position themselves in Indian file, each one holding with his hands the shoulders of the one who precedes him, and half bent over. That whole human column advances step by step, alternately swaying to the right and to the left. The tallest young man,
*[192] who leads the line, sounds the instrument called "deer head" (see
[534] VII - 3, c (3c) ): pêru wá:tya (bring caxirí) repeatedly. Unexpectedly this standard-bearer of the procession backs up, sounding kéro, kéro, kéro (quickly, quickly, quickly), forcing the whole column to back up. Sometimes the movement is so abrupt that some, generally the last ones, fall to the ground, the game provoking general hilarity. Thus the amusement proceeds.

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481 One of the aquatic amusements of the children is the one
• 524 called Wãx-tĩ Max-kõ, the son of Wãx-tĩ, an obvious reference
[192] to the legend of Nhamacurú (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"). To wit: two children placed one in front of the other, with the arms toward the back, immerse themselves in the water simultaneously. Moments later, emerging at the same time, they embrace each other quickly. Then, again with the arms to the back, they immerse themselves, in order to emerge again, embrace each other, and sink into the water. This is done a certain number of times, until they become tired, and the entertainment ceases.

501 Another frequent exercise is that of rowing. From childhood
868 on, from about three or four years of age perhaps, they learn how to row and have their small oars. Not infrequently a child alone or two go rowing and travel kilometers from their own home.
[226] Many times it is the children who row, while the men attend to fishing from the canoe. This habit gives them surprising skill
[147] and endurance. They are capable of rowing ten or more hours a day and for six or eight consecutive days on long trips.

501 The striking of the oar handle on the side of the canoe marks the rhythm, and, when there are several rowers, they take pride in the accuracy /405/ of the strokes, as if they were one single stroke. Three different rhythms are to be observed: 1st -- one faster, when they have need to reach some point, and in the currents; there are more or less three deep strokes in two seconds; 2nd -- when there is no current, they change to a slower rhythm: one measure yes and two no, so that one hears two sounds in the water (of two waves which form and strike against the canoe), having three strokes in five seconds; 3rd -- at times they take up another rhythm: two fast strokes and a slow and deeper one.

The following detail can be observed: the hand that holds the handle of the oar describes a perfect circle; and after they give a blow on the edge of the canoe, the oar remains for a moment lying over it, parallel to the water. In order to rest from the effort, they go to rowing from the other side of the canoe;

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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857 [883] The young unmarried men who have left the play pack are a link between the pack and the circle of adults. The older men take no notice of the pack as a group at all. After dark each boy returns to his own household.

The life of the boy is largely collective, that of the girl is individualized. She is bound, so to speak, to the household hearth, and her social or play life corresponds rather closely to that of her mother. Girls have no independent games of their own. They assemble with their infant charges for gossip, looking rather sedate as they admire one another's ornaments. They are not free to mix with the boys unless invited to take part in games. Such games as they join often have a mythological reference and may be interpreted, I think, as children's ceremonies.

524 The Northwest Amazon is rather rich in children's games and toys. Among the *Bahúkiwa* a popular children's game is that of the *abúhuwa*, the forest ogres or demons, and the tem tem bird, the *taíntürü*. Boys and girls, including the smallest toddlers, form a circle around a child, who is always a grown boy. The circle is of the *abúhuwa*, who have surrounded the *taíntürü*. When the game starts the "bird" is crouched in the center, his head resting on his knees, and the circle is dancing around him. From time to time a boy enters the circle to tap the "bird" on the head and to pinch his flesh to determine if he is grown enough to be eaten. Then the children stop circling and several raise the *taíntürü* to his feet, who announces that he is now awake by stopping his ears with his fingers and calling out *hru hru hru*. The *abúhuwa* link hands and again dance around him in a circle. The "bird" must now make an effort to break out. He can easily break out by charging at a weak link. But this he will not do because it would be disheartening to a very little child, who must be part of the game but not a spoiler of the game. As he hurls himself at the line the "bird" hears two kinds of encouragement. One group calls to the line *paré paré* (strength! strength!), encouraging it to hold, another calls at the boy *temúdjo temúdjo* (break through! break through! [as an arrow from a bow]). When the boy breaks through he is called back to the circle where he again frees himself, this time by verbal means. Standing in the center he turns suddenly upon a child in the line and points to part of the child's body. The child must immediately reply, "The [naming the part] of the *abúhukü*." What usually confuses the child is the necessity of saying "of the *abúhukü*." When a number of children have failed to answer properly the child who is the *taíntürü* breaks through the line once more and a new "bird" is chosen.

This game is played only on cool, pleasant evenings and seems to

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be a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident 524
that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the
game, or ceremony, to me as follows. Some children were left or- 524
phaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their 773
mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked
their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing
for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed
in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch
of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children
returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother
gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their
tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days
they had become *taíntürü* birds. They returned to the house and
lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each
day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa*
but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his
younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and
seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their
parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so
can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or 524
any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grünberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahúkiwa*.

## PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood 881
to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual
matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely
be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are [789]
subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until [856]
they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter.
The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere
in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. 852
An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this 831
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/403 cont./

481 He almost daily walks great distances through the forest, to his clearing, which not infrequently is located several kilometers away from the maloca, or to hunt or to search for fruits. The woman, besides the great movement inside the maloca, which is forced on her by the preparation of the food, will take a long walk through the forest almost every day /404/ to reach her clearing, where, in the sun, she will walk three or four hours without stopping. There is no mountain climbing, because the region, in gen-
[526] eral, is flat. Gymnastic exercises or corporal contests, such as in other human groups, are not known (139).

139. We have seen children who, playing, seize one another as though it were for open wrestling, without, however, throwing the companion to the ground.

492 And horseback riding is known just as little. There are as yet no horses around these altitudes, even for use by the civilized.

481 The sports practiced daily are the aquatic ones, that is, swim-
515 ming and rowing. In the morning, before daybreak, everyone, without exception, goes to the river, a short distance from the maloca or povoado, and takes his bath. Even the babes in arms are taken along by the mothers and bathed. This bath is quick, one immersing oneself in the water three or four times and passing the hand over the body. Sometimes they steady themselves by the arms on some canoe tied up, and kick the feet in the water. Later, at midday, that is, during the warm hours, when they come back perspiring from the forest or from the clearing, they take another bath. This frequency at the river makes everybody learn how to swim. They swim well, but without much endurance. They never cross great distances by swimming. Perhaps no one would even swim a hundred meters for mere exercise.

796 instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by
[534] Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey
[526] hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

88 As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and
582 brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the
592 plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

462 The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks
592 up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

592 Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities,
361 the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

342 A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

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000 *Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.*

 [See p. 62-A]

* 539 /349 cont./

Then Miriápura Turíkaro returned to Bejsebowí /sic/. He left Bajsebowí again and went toward Moawí. Moawí is two days from Mitú, going down the Vaupés River. In Moawí they were on the eve of holding a Dabukurí (18) of Moá (19).

• [527] [431]

18. A ceremonial fiesta during which presents are exchanged.

[263] [824]

19. Salt obtained by boiling the carurú plant.

There was much joy in Moawí. Miriápura Turíkaro entered Moawí and remained there listening a while to what the Moá Majsá people were saying. In this maloca there were some single and married women sweeping the maloca of Moawí and they were speaking of the death of the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. And one woman said: "The younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro made love to the woman of the older son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The older son, in revenge, cut off his penis and killed him." Then another woman said: "How bad the Bajsébo Majsá must be if there is killing between brothers! What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then another woman said: "Do you know if the older brother buried his younger brother?" Then another woman answered: "He has not buried him. He only made a coffin of Imisa switches and above the port he made a little table, put the coffin on top of this table, and covered it with some leaves." And another woman said: "What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then Miriápura Turíkaro became frightened and returned immediately to Bajsebowí. He entered through one door of the maloca and left through the other and went directly to the port. From the port he took the trail to where the little table was and found the coffin on top of the little table. He lowered the coffin and opened it. Inside the coffin was the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The younger son was really dead, but for Miriápura Turíkaro his /350/ younger son was only unconscious. Then Miriápura Turíkaro thought that he could revive him. Then Miriápura Turíkaro blew tobacco smoke over his younger son, and the younger son returned to life. Then

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

• 527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

/224 cont./

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/footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

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They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

[784]

It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunurí, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

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The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxirí, in Tukano pêru. The term caxirí, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxirí is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55);

55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

/230 cont./

276 Thus its effect is also a superexcitation of the imagination. Nevertheless he sometimes falls to the ground, unconscious. "With the fourth cuia," says the old Indian Antônio to Koch G. (Zwei Iahre, 201), "people fall violently and then have the most beautiful visions" (59).

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59. From our personal experience we can say that we have drunk kaxpí prepared by Makú, Wanãna and Taryana natives. At the great feast of the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés), which was discussed above, kaxpí of the Makú, Wanãna, and Taryãna tribes was served. That of the Makú tribe was prepared by one of the Makú who served as slaves to the Wanãna of the locality. That of the Taryana was made by the old Taryana Calisto from Iauareté, who brought with him from that locality, for this occasion, a bunch of thick cipo (o[illegible]ch in diameter and 1.5 meters in length approximately). The kaxpí was distributed personally by the local tuxaua, Mandú by name, who simultane[illegible]sly took two small cuias, one for each person. T[illegible] Komũ, who "had blown" the drink before the cu[illegible]ere filled, stirred the liquid, using a piece o[illegible]ck cipo, with four intumescences, and which is one of the ingredients of the drink. It is taken without difficulty, since it has a bearable bitter taste. Nevertheless, several Indians made faces and some of them spit out the rest. Following that, three men, each /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ with two large cuias of caxirí, came in a line, zigzagging and making a noise with the mouth like the buzzing of an insect, and distributed the caxirí to those who had drunk kaxpí, in order to take away the unpleasant taste. Some Indians declared to us that they had seen luminous globes or flames. We did not preceive

4: Silva--336 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/footnote 59 cont./ anything: we experienced, then, only a slight excitation in the muscles of the legs and, at night, strong occipital pain in the head. We believe, however, that such sensations had nothing to do with the drink and were only the effects of tiredness, of the sun and the heat of the day. We later observed to the Taryana Indians who had accompanied us to the feast that the kaxpí was weak and we had felt nothing. They explained to us that one of the ingredients was missing, a cipo that was planted by an old man who had already died and they had not found such cipo upon undertaking the trip. They promised us to prepare later, with all the technique, a quite strong kaxpí. Actually they did it days later and offered it to us. With fear of a violent reaction caused by the drink, we did not want to take it in public, but in private, and not only a small cuia, but we drank quite a good cuia in three stages. Although, like Koch G., we had before our eyes a white paper on which we wrote down our notes, we did not get to perceive any luminous sensation or any other external feeling. Only the unpleasant taste made us indisposed, although without vomiting, forcing us to diet that day, and to use bitter drops and other stomach potions later. We are of the opinion that, for this reason, the effects indicated in the Indians must be explained by the easy excitability of their imaginations.

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/Footnote 126 cont./ Pe. Antônio Giacone recalls: "This belief (immortality of the material life, VII-2, e (1) ) makes them almost insensitive and apathetic to the teachings of the eternal truths. They abandon with difficulty the corruption in which they live" ("Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," p. 31).

and some civilized person who, for other reasons (perhaps in contraposition to those of the Missionaries), appears or resides around those regions. Which is the truly humane and patriotic attitude? What will the responsible persons decide?

6. Feasts and Amusements.

a) Feasts or Caxirís.

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1) Caxiri. We have presented the "poosé" or Wãx-tĩye baxsá (in the Língua Geral, Dabacurí) as a religious rite. It does not seem, however, that all their feasts and dances are religious ceremonies. Rather, some evidently are simple entertainments and are called pẽru-sĩrĩrĩ-nãmã̃ (Uaupés, pẽru-sĩnĩ-nãmã̃) or caxiri (in the Língua Geral) (127).

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127. This is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg (cf. Zwei Jahre, p. 372; cf. Note 39 /see p. 502/, VII-4 e) 2 a 2nd).

Actually, in some cases they are almost improvised; any reason at all, or even a simple request by a civilized visitor, is enough for a feast. Participation in such dances is not required; but, while some pass the time entertaining themselves, the others remain seated on the small seats or lying in the hammocks, talking and laughing, and at times making fun of those who are dancing, because of some inaccuracy in the movements.

/391 cont./

• 527 Some of these dances are strictly familial amusements, in
535 which only those of the family (maloca or house) participate, and there are no invitations to strangers. For others, strangers to the family are also invited, without, however, the importance or the number of participants of the "Poosé."

[273] Corresponding to the importance of such entertainments will also be the preparation, the ornaments, the paintings, and the quantity of the drinks, Pêru (caxirí, see VI - 4, h). The latter will never be missing; the ornaments might be missing, or they might use the simpler ones. Once the feast starts, it goes on uninterruptedly until the drink is finished. Those who are overcome by sleep doze a little, but, barely awake, they continue to dance. It is a
[562] question of pride and conceit, for the persons of the two sexes, to show the greater endurance.

*[192] 2) "Bayá." -- At the dances, both in the Dabacurís and outside of them, appears a personage of distinction, called Bayá. Almost /392/ always he will have an official assistant, with the name of baya-re we-tamõgõ (helper of the Bayá).

The position of Bayá is a lifetime one, in which the son almost always succeeds him, because he learns with his own father, for whom, perhaps, he was already the official assistant. The function of Bayá might be put together with that of tuxáua or wyogõ. This is the case for Júlio from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié); for Vicente, Desana from the Umari-igarapé, for Henrique, Tuyuka from the stream of the onça /jaguar/ (trib. of the Tiquié), for Mandú, Maku from the vicinity of Iauareté, etc. There are no examples, however, of its having been exercised by the pajé.

It falls to the Bayá to direct the songs and dances at the feasts, both religious and profane. He must, then, know them very well and be zealous about the exactness of the dances, teaching them to the younger generation and correcting the mistakes. And we have seen him exercise with authority and grace his function as master of ceremonies in solemn dabacurís.

*[192] When he is not the tuxáua, he ordinarily will be one of the ko-mũ (see VII - 2, e (3) ), and to him falls the first place immediately beside the tuxáua. Like the latter, he will have the most

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527 beautiful ornaments, and in certain dance numbers, in the right
535 hand, the "yu-yú" (see below, dances, 5th part), the significance of
[192] which it was not possible for us to obtain. It consists of a small stick, having on the tip a cord from whose end hangs a loop of cipo about 15 centimeters in diameter. Cord and loop are decorated with delicate and striking tucano /toucan/ feathers. With this instrument he "beats time for the dances," that is, he shakes it rhythmically, more or less as the conductor who directs an orchestra does with his baton.

[192] 3) Variety of dances. -- One does not notice variety in the dance steps; they are precisely the same for the most solemn Poosé as for the simplest baxsarí-nãmã (literally it means dance day).

527 There are no distinct terms equivalent to song and dance. The
533 word baxsasé translates their ideas, because they always sing during
535 the dances; and the words correspond to the rhythm of the feet and to the choreography of the movements executed.

They distinguish varieties of baxsasé, according to the musical instrument that they use; each one will have its lyrics or song. In the religious dances they are words or sounds articulated without any meaning, and they are repeated many times for the duration of the movement of the steps. The tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira,
[115] Júlio Silgueira Machado, declared to us, and many others with him, that they do not understand what they are singing.

They also vary the melodies, which are ordinarily slow, sad, although some might be pleasant and quite melodious. For /393/ this reason different names for the dances, sometimes even poetic names, appear.

[184] In different tribes we have verified the similarity in the feasts, the same ornaments and instruments. One must point out this detail: the melodies of the instrumental music are almost identical, whereas those of the song-dances differ a little more. In the steps of the dances one does not perceive any difference from tribe to tribe. That is, even in the two extremes of the native Uaupésina hierarchy, to wit, the noble tribe of the Tukano, and the slave tribe of the Maku from the outskirts of Iauareté.

535 The tuxáua-bayá Júlio gave us the following names of dances that are performed in the most solemn Popsé:

562 /444 cont./
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/footnote 82 cont./ however, she recovers her spirits, the operation is further repeated some four or five times with an interval of six hours. It is considered a great offense to the parents if the blows are not given with much force. During this test, all kinds of meats and fish are prepared in huge pots. Following that, those present dip into these the cipos, which immediately afterwards are given to the girl to lick. From then on she will be able to eat everything she wishes. And from this moment on she is considered a woman. She is thus ready for marriage" (o. c. 634).

[184] There perhaps is confusion with what happens among the tribes of the Içana and among the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés on the occasion of the dabacuris. According to what the Kubewana

[584] of the Ambaíba maloca, mouth of the Querari, told us, when the father of a youth decides to look for a wife for his son, he takes advantage of the dabacuri and applies to the chosen girl three lashes with the adabi (VII-4, e (2b) ). If she stoutly endures the blows, it is an indication that she is already mature for dealing with the responsibilities of a home.

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In some Arwake tribes a caxiri is held later; it is the feast called Karyamã (83),

83. Karyamã is the name of the type of beijú prescribed for this circumstance.

which may last as long as four days (it seems that it is the same number of days as the seclusion of the girl). Then she will dance with everyone, including the pajé, and will smoke with them on the cigar made of banana leaves and tobacco. It seems that on

562 /444 cont./
881 this /445/ occasion there are games and entertainments among the
• 527 young individuals of the maloca (84).
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84. One of the informants spoke to us about the "game of the lemon" for this circumstance. We heard about a Maku girl, Teresa by name, who on this occasion ran away with the youth, with whom she spent a few days. It seems that this is a matter of a conventional flight, because in reality they withdrew to a hut about 20 or 30 meters from the maloca.

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881 Abstention from work for some days is verified; for example,
she will not light the fire, "in order not to be burned." Then the
784 young woman resumes her normal life; she will work in the clear-
ing and in the house with her mother. For another month, accord-
[115] ing to information by Dorotéia Brito, she may not taste salt or eat
either piraíba or the flesh of large animals, "in order not to ruin the teeth" (85).

85. Concerning a young Bará, sister-in-law of a Karapanã, in whose maloca, on the headwaters of the Áua, she submitted to the puberty rite, we were able to observe that she did in fact subject herself to a severe alimental diet, not accepting our salted foods, nourishing herself with beijú, tapioca, and fruits. We saw her, however, approach the fire, stir it up, and put some green bananas on to roast for herself.

881 During the following menstruation the rite of the seclusion of
562 the young woman is renewed. This second stage of the puberty
* [192] initiation is called Mahã-mĩ-nõsé. It is identical to the first one,

*192 /482 cont./

621 476 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

527 221 226 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 222 527 At different times of the year great quantities of insects appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 527 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the Indians of the different povoados, move to

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/footnote 3 cont./ the seats of the Salesian Missions, not infrequently several days by canoe, in order to attend there the great religious celebrations (Christmas, Easter, etc.). They spend happy days and weeks in contact with civilization, being instructed in the religious truths and amusing themselves, as if they were school children, with collective games. Processions, songs, luminous projections, theatrical representations, even the food, sweets, presents which they receive on these occasions, everything agrees with their psychology and makes these feasts acceptable and indispensable to them.

484 Anyone who navigates those rivers invariably meets canoes, up river and down river, of tourist Indians. Some spend months visiting acquaintances and relatives in the various povoados.

3) Life cycle.

145 We know the rites that accompany the birth of the children. Under the care and attention of their mother, in contact with nature, they start growing and becoming strong. Upon reaching the use of their muscles, they will try to walk and are put down on the ground to crawl. They will then suffer the attacks of verminosis. They become pale, swollen, big-bellied, and many die. Those who manage to conquer the sickness and reach adolescence are saved.

[164]

Lacking positive statistical data about the organic development of the native child, one has the impression that this proceeds by more characteristic jumps than among the civilized of the south of the country.

765 /377 cont./
• 53 Koch concludes that at this cannibalistic feast there were dances of masks on which he could verify the following details: the participants wore a band of yellow bark as a stole on the neck, and on the left arm a banner of bark, in the right hand a rhythm tube (VII -- 3, c (3 c) ) of imbauba, with paintings representing fish. They advance and back up and, marking time with the right foot, carry on a monotonous song with innumerable repetitions.

171 765 We could seek the origin of this peculiar custom, which is also found among other tropical tribes of South America, teaches Koch, in the belief that the bones that remain after death are the /378/ last place in which the spirits reside. And with the ingestion of the ashes the individuals incorporate in themselves the substance and the spirit of the ancestors.

5. Morality.

121 831 When we deal with this subject, the necessity of some warnings beforehand is imposed:

1st. -- We limit the breadth of the term morality to the common and vulgar meaning, as if it were a synonym of moderation of carnal concupiscence, or further as a synonym of customs in force in sexual relations.

2nd. -- We present, naturally, those points in discrepancy with the norms of Christian morals and which, for this very reason, impress one more.

797 831 3rd. -- Many of the customs that we were able to collect are not in force, obviously, in those groups or among those individuals who are under the influence of the Catholic Missions. But the Missionaries themselves are the first to confess that the modifications of the ancestral customs that they achieve in the field of morality are the fruit of many exhortations, vigilance, and the frequency of the sacraments and religious practices.

/476 cont./

614 in the dance ornaments. Besides, such groups, or Gentes, are far
619 from the classic type of clan. For example, marriage is not permitted between the Gentes, but only between one and another Nation.

The ornaments with feathers of the tucano /toucan/, arara, garça /heron/, or monkey fur are bound up with the legend of Wãxtĩ, which, due to the mutual relationship between the tribes, has figured in the history of each tribe. The ornaments, however, are
[438] not distinctive for family or clan. They are essentially the same for all the tribes, being an object of trade of one tribe with another. This circumstance alone already speaks against a clan interpretation.

[532] It is absolutely not noted that any tribe or group has any pictorial representation by incision or sculpture of any animal whatso-
[825] ever, and even less of its titular.

As for the dance masks and personages, it is to be observed first
[53] that there is the one of the borboleta /butterfly/, and nevertheless there is no human group with this denomination, and nothing reveals its having existed. In the second place there are mask, dance, and song of the cutia /agouti/, and a subdivision among the Tukano, the Bwã-põrã, children of the cutia, and an Arwake tribe of the Içana, Awadzuranai or cutia-tapuya, are known under this name; and nevertheless there is no such mask among the Tukano, but there is among the Arwake.

It seems that the same personage now does the borboleta /butterfly/, now the cutia, etc. Now one, now another will do such a role; within the same maloca there are the various personages, and it is not a matter of a function inherited from father to son either. All this testifies against the hypothesis of the existence of clan subdivisions.

/477/ As for the episode of the concern for the tucano
[825] /toucan/ that was crossing the river, it could be a manifestation of simple curiosity, which among the Indians comes so many times accompanied by exclamatory noises. The elders relate nothing that might prove to be a matter of a clan totem. At least by what we know up to now.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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765 534 114 769 [773] for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 786 [154] The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual [536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate 765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, 266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion [775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the sub- [614] stance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 562 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritual- [786] ized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 765 [776] The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaíwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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its inevitable crescendo of excitement and disorder, dances and songs are interchanged.

In the course of the ceremonies, the relationship between the nonhuman world of the masked representations and the people, represented by the women, becomes increasingly more intimate, culminating, as we have already noted, in the total intimacy of coitus. The spirit of Cubeo ceremonialism is generally Dionysian. In religious excitement the Cubeo achieve a desired and temporary dissolution of the segmentation and conceptual separatenesses in normal social and religious life.

Koch-Grünberg (1906a), who observed part of an *áyne* in 1903 among the *Hehénewa*, saw in the masked dances two themes, an appeasement of evil spirits and fertility rites. My own information does not agree entirely with this interpretation. It is a fact that several of the masked dancers represent malevolent beings; the jaguar, that is the embodiment of the dreaded sorcerer, the butterfly, that symbolizes the act of sorcery, and the *abúhuwa* or forest monsters, that devour human victims. In addition the masked dancers represent the dung beetle and the vulture, eaters of offal and carrion. These creatures represent to the Cubeo the facts of death. Except for the *abúhuwa*, who are not taken too seriously, the most common agency of death is to the Cubeo a particular human enemy. Evil sorcery can be warded off by particular magical means. The masked dances, however, are not magical means for warding off danger. They are, rather, dramatic rituals whose purpose is to generate a frame of mind in which the fact of death is confronted and made to appear natural and tolerable. By coming to the house as guests, to dance, to sing, to drink chicha, and to "copulate" with women, the masked creatures are made to appear, finally, as a friendly part of the Cubeo world. The malevolent creatures are not singled out, but appear in the context of the whole ensemble of masked dancers.

As for the fertility theme, this has been a cherished cliché of earlier anthropology that promptly labeled any ritualization of sex as "fertility rites." The situation is more complex. The dancers do indeed represent male potency, but the simulated coitus emphasizes rather the carnal aspect of sex, for it is the older women, possessing the privilege of obscenity, whom the masked dancers "attack sexually."

## THE MASKS

The dance masks of the Cubeo are made of a white bark cloth called *ídwū* (tree bark), which is also the name by which the masks are generically known.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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765 staff as a weapon. They pose with head bowed, both hands resting
765 on the weapon. The chief mourner holds a rattle hung with a feather
● 53 and eagle down in his right hand. He begins the formal oration, an angry declaration denouncing the unknown sorcerers who have killed his father. As he speaks, in a hoarse, changing voice, he swings the rattle in a vertical arc, pivoting on his left foot, facing one mourner and then the next. His gestures are vigorous and his pivot is crisply executed. He swings the rattle upward almost into the face of the mourner whom he is addressing. He has hardly completed the circle when each of the mourners, swinging his right arm in an arc, turns to a companion and recites a similar angry declaration. The companion to whom he turns also pivots to face him, awaiting his return to reply. This part of the ritual is executed as a ballet. The declaimer is poised with his right foot forward, waiting for his partner to pivot and face him, and not until the partner has executed his pivot does he begin his declaration. The headman, having initiated these hoarse and angry harangues, turns his attention to the ceremonial remains of the deceased. His head bowed, he gently shakes the rattle over them and utters a sad lament that he has lost a father. After an interval of angry shouting the mourners re-form the close circle, bow their heads, and weep. They pause to blow their noses, wiping their hands on the fringes of the masks that have been hung nearby.

765 Other members of the sib are not part of this close mourning circle.
614 They put on their masks and dance, circling the mourners. The
535 *Xudjiko* trumpets are silent because they are sounded only by the
[533] men of the household of the deceased, who are now part of the circle of mourners. The mourning of the men signals the women to begin again their wailing, their piercing lamentations rising clearly above every other angry and mournful sound.

765 This interval of mourning lasts some 15 minutes. The ceremonial property of the deceased is then removed and the men rest, drinking
[535] chicha and smoking. Dancing resumes after half an hour. At dawn
[789] the Jaguars cut off the brown bark-cloth trimmings from their jug trumpets and pass them among the men to chew. This will guard them, they say, against sorcery from their phratry mates, who will arrive as mourners late in the afternoon.

765 Later in the morning the men put up crossbars to "guard" the
276 women's entrance. After this *mihi* is prepared. A sibman staggers in with a bundle of the narcotic vine. *Mihi*, as always, is carried in the ritual manner, one of its features being a representation of great weight. The bearer bends low, raising his knees high, and circles the

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
171
*192

b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-
• [531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[501] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to
[439] imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[278] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[411] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana
[567] /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

/78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to
[226] all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/Illustrations facing p. 160 in the original source./

*192
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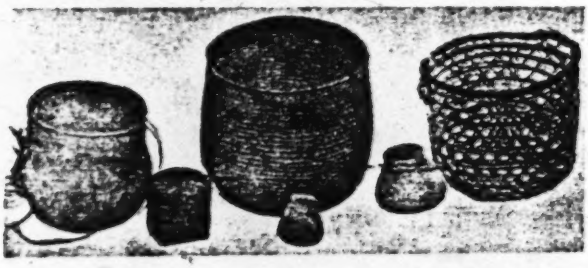
[531]

1. Sieves (baxti) with the characteristic designs.
2. Different types of large baskets (aturás, pyi, and sarreiro, térẽ-pi, the one with wide meshes) and small ones (pyi-kamõ).
3. Preparing the "rede-batida" /beaten hammock/.
4. Rough-hewing to prepare the oar.



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4: Silva--234 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 161 in the original source./

Fan (wẽrĩ-rõ), urupema (sũõ), cumatá (tõ-pa) Stone axes (õxtã-komé)

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*192
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*192
412
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Tipiti (wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ) Sieves (baxti)

/168/

25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 286 301 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú, tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

• 531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 291 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

177 291 The new generation, both of the female and male sex, which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

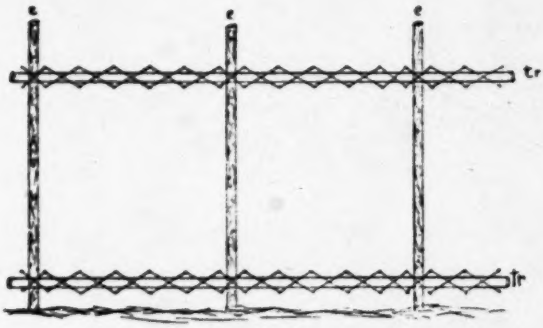
532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

/172 cont./

342 cortex, beat it quite hard with a stick along the bark, in order for the latter to come loose. Following that, they make a longitudinal cut in it, and with a small spatula go to separating the bark, which might be a meter or more in width, from the trunk. They transport the bark home, and in order that it not roll up, they pile one piece on top of another, well stretched, with a weight on top.

To make the walls, a crossbar /Port. travessa/ (tr) is placed horizontally a span from the ground, and another one higher up, above, parallelly, at an interval of a meter or more, quite firmly tied with cipo to posts /Port. estacas/ (e). To these crossbars or straight pieces are applied vertically the planks of bark, already quite dry, and on them are placed new straight pieces, parallel to the first ones, in order to hold the bark. Afterwards one Indian from the outside and another from the inside make four holes and, with cipo, they sew /173/ the pieces of bark to




the straight pieces, there sometimes resulting from this stitching an X with quite a bit of regularity and symmetry around the crossbars.

[531] Upon these pieces of bark are frequently found paintings, the latex of the sorva serving as paint, with clay of different colors.

/Illustrations facing p. 176 in the original source./

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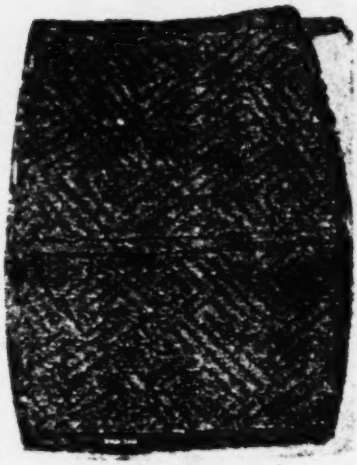
• 531



Grater
(One is seeing the small stones incrusted in a regular design.)

133
505

View of the Uaupés during the period of low tide and a canoe filled with baskets for trading with other tribes

/186 cont./

415 *[192] 3) Grater. In Tukano it is called soxkõ-rõ (Uaupés soxkõ-nõ) and in Nheengatú wiwisé. It is a specialty of the Baniva Indians of the Içana River (see IV -- 1, b), where the quartzite used in the grater exists in an igarapé near the cachoeira of Tunuí.

We have seen on the Içana that the preparation of the plank falls to the man, the incrustation of the small stones being executed ordinarily by the women.

As an object that is of prime necessity, it is found in all the malocas and huts, even in regions very remote from the Içana, acquired by barter from the Baniva.

*[192] It is generally made out of marupá (simaruba amara, Aubl.), white and light wood, whose fibers tend to return to the original position when they are made to deviate. In Tukano it is called *[192] precisely soxkõ-gõ̃, that is, grater wood. It consists of a plank of 60 to 100 and 120 centimeters in length, and 40 to 50 in width by 2 to 4 in thickness, and somewhat curved. They start by executing on the concave face the desired or, rather, traditional design, *[531] *[192] which facilitates the grating operation (21),

> 21. There is a design pattern called precisely soxkõ-rõ óori, flowers of the grater.

like a small groove. Afterwards, with a point (today they use a nail) and following the lines of the design, they open a small orifice. Before the fibers of the wood return to their natural position, they set in small stones of flint in the shape of a tooth, in such a way that a chip measuring half a centimeter emerges. The small stones are better stabilized with the latex from the sorva, spread with a brush of fibers from the banana tree, whose tannin *[192] gives more consistency to the latex. The stones are set at a distance of one centimeter apart and occupy the central part of the plank, leaving small side margins, a lower margin of 15 to 20 centimeters and another upper one, or head of the grater, soxkõ-rõ dõ̃xpoá, of about 30 centimeters, this last one having a projection in the manner of a handle. This handle is used, however, only to hang up the grater.

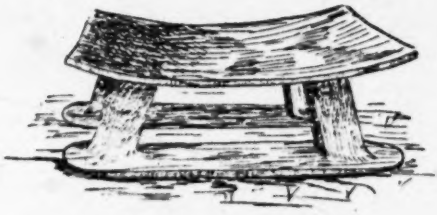
/186 cont./

415 The woman, as she grates, will do it with the two hands
252 alternately, and not in a uniform rhythm, but with sudden pulls that cause movement of her very breasts. She will be seated on the ground, having between /187/ her legs the grater, the head
[462] of which they support against the stomach. It is exclusively women's work.

The grater is such an useful object that on the lower Rio Negro the civilized adopted it as well as the tipití (VI -- 2, d (1) ).

*192 4) Seat. The seat, in Tukano kũ-mũ-rõ (Uaupés kũmũ-no),
352 is in general use, although its specialized producers are the Tukano. It is generally made out of sorva or arara-seringa (Couma guianensis, Muell.), a not very heavy wood which hardly cracks.

They formerly made it with the help of their primitive adze. Today, instead of the syõ-a, they use a digging iron or even an adze obtained from the civilized.



Little monoxylic seat (ku-mũ-rõ)

The dimensions are the most varied, some of only 30 to 40 centimeters and others of 120 to 150 centimeters. The style, however, is constant, to wit, the seating place is concave, with a double curvature in the longitudinal and transverse directions. It is always low, only 10 to 15 centimeters in height, with four legs connected by two longitudinal crossbars. And the seat, with the supports, is monoxylic, that is, made from one piece of wood.

[531] They are accustomed to decorating the seat with the tradi-
[824] tional designs, and over it something like a varnish, obtained from the sap of the bark of a wild inga tree, mẽ'rẽ (Uaupés mẽ'nẽ).

797 /191 cont./

177 /footnote 26 cont./ "rede-batida," but, by
174 the same process, to make rugs, tablecloths,
286 napkins, bags, and other artifacts to suit
modern taste.

*192 /192/ pũ-pá:-tuse nextõ-rĩ, consisting of four rounded sticks
286 connected in a rectangle. Each of their vertical staffs (warp)
has two holes through which the horizontal ones pass. The holes
352 are purposely very large, so that with a suitable wedge the
distance with regard to the horizontal staffs can be varied and
thus hammocks of different lengths obtained.

The warp is made in the vertical direction (around the horizontal crossbars, the separation of which marks the length of the hammock), some turns going around with quite a long thread. The vertical crossbars of the loom determine the width of the hammock.

In between the vertical threads the woman starts developing the woof, a small stick with the rolled thread serving as a shuttle, wa'mẽ-kõ dõxká, and beating with a straightedge, pá:-turi-phĩ, in order to join the meshes well. The result is a true fabric of quite tight meshes, and the more elegant and comfortable the hammocks, the finer the thread.

They complete the elegance with a "veranda," pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõrĩ or pá:-tuke-wári, or a side fringe of varied form, as macramé is made.

The veranda is prepared by stretching a thread of a size corresponding to that of the hammock. Along this thread are tied with knots the tucum fibers folded in half. With these variously colored fibers, the woman spins, without the help of bobbins, but only with the fingers, a somewhat wide lace "ponto" /stitch/, until she obtains a trimming /193/ of some 10 or 15 centimeters, and she afterwards tears the ends with the ouriço /prickly part/ of the piquiá. They not only use fibers
[237] of different colors, but they even attach to them nowadays
• [531] beautiful and colorful feathers of birds, in conformity with the
taste of the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

/194 cont./

286 In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine
• 531 elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192 d) Basketry and plaited work.

285 For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men --
[462] the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of
[342] some trees, especially that which they call pi'ĩ-karõ-gõ. They
[227] use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxiúba (waxtá), patauá (yumĩ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mĩ-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mĩ'aĩ) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phĩ), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824] The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantaceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after
[386] being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When
[531] they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves.

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

/195 cont./

285 If it is a matter of a sieve or basket, they finish with three
415 or four turns with the cipo, by way of a hoop (be'tõ), on which
*[192] they tie the ends of the plaiting and later trim the tips of the straws or the strips.

285 The basketry of these tribes is one of the richest known.
• 531 Using a more or less flexible material, they combine the plaited and the twined in several technical processes, with wide or closed spaces, and warps and woofs in various directions, in such a way that an amazing variety of patterns results. As a further demonstration of their ability, they interpose colored strips, from which appear the fanciful Greek frets /Port. gregas/ that characterize their designs. And, with such richness of imagination and technique, they make objects of varied size and shape, according to their purposes.

285 Baskets and sieves are made by all the tribes, but the spe-
415 cialists are the Desana.

184 1) Tipití. The tipití, in Tukano wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ, is the press
*[192] of the Indian. It consists of a cylinder or tube, which the men weave most commonly with arumã straw, with a very tight mesh. It measures 1.50 and even 2 meters in length, and barely 10 centimeters in diameter. The upper end, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ dõxpo-á (head of the tipití), is open and terminates in a handle, by which the tipití is hung on one of the supports of the house. The other end is closed and also terminates in a handle, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ bé'tõ (ring of the tipití). With the proper movement of the hands, the tipití is reduced to a shorter length, which has the effect of increasing the diameter, and through the mouth thus enlarged is introduced the mass of the grated mandioca (cf. VI - 4, a).

2) Sieves. They are used to strain the mass of mandioca, to sift the flour, etc., and are woven out of arumã straw.

The width of the meshes, dimensions, and shape will vary according to the use for which the sieve is intended. One finds some shallow, like our common sieves, and others deeper.

M /200 cont./
411 or Ceiba petandra, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the
M dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the
[224] vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees, without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T 4) Arrows. They are usually made out of paxiúba (Eriártea
411 settígera, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the
T point is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary accord-
[237] ing to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the
[824] teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of patauá (30).

T
[184]

30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

T
[177] From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which now come the metallic points.

T Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers.
• [531] The feathering is found in a row /Port. cavalete/ or in a spiral.

T When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often
[224] poisoned with curare (31).

31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

/211 cont./

291 of the women, called in Nheengatú muruarí, it is similar to
*[192] a small apron of about 20 centimeters in length by 10 centi-
[178] meters in width. Nowadays it is only a dance ornament which
[535] the women exhibit together with the painting; or they are
• [531] even without it and only painted. With the jewelry that they
*[192] have obtained from the civilized, they prepare very beautiful yaxkẽ waxsó-ro. Even the original ones, woven out of tucum, were outstanding works of weaving. The one and the other, however, seem to be a "dress of attraction" rather than a "dress of decency," because they remain hanging at the waist and, due to the position and dimensions (the largest dimension is horizontally), do not cover enough (cf. VII -- 5, b).

b) Shoes.

They do not manufacture or use shoes of any kind, as is the custom of the Indians of the savannas. They are unnecessary for their long trips, which are made by canoe, and are inconvenient for the excursions in the forest, if they are not made out of a resistant material, such as leather, and well fitted. Besides, the warm climate and the continuous rains would render their use harmful to the health.

4) Alimentation.

a) Mandioca.

*192 The Indian obtains from the mandioca (Mánihot utilíssima)
178 his principal food, preparing it in different ways, and he uses
262 it every /212/ day of the year. There are recollections of a very remote period (centuries or millennia before the historical period, which is the sixteenth century) when they did not know mandioca, and they ate the chestnut /Port. castanha, any of several trees having edible nuts/ called boxpé (information of Dorotéia Brito).

4: Silva--376 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Macu SQ10

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/Illustrations facing p. 257 in the original source./

Quiver of arrows (busá-sa), arrows for the sarabatana, and pot containing curare

M
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M
*[192]

Preparation of the curare (nimá) by a Maku Indian

/292 cont./ In the Yaxkẽ

286 Waxsó-ro there is a beautiful combination of the woven and the strung, using colorful glass beads. One admires in it a pleasing
• 531 combination of colors, proportion and regularity in the design, and a perfect finishing of the piece. In the woven part the mesh is diagonal. It also presents a combination of colored fibers for the design effect. In the choice of colors, as well as in the finishing, there is revealed good /293/ taste, which makes this weaving a beautiful adornment for the women in the dances. With beads or with colored fibers, the designs are the Greek frets /Port. gregas/ characteristic of these tribes.

6) /sic; b)/ Designs.

532 4) /sic; 1)/ Mural designs. The designs painted on the bark that makes up the walls of the houses do not reveal artistic taste (48).

48. For example, the representation of human figures with the disproportional and shapeless trunk, the neck represented by a vertical stroke, etc.

It is probable that what seems to us scrawling or caricature is the stylization of legendary representations. Accepting this possibility, however, one does not perceive any skill in the strokes. The circumferences are made with perfection. Perhaps through the influence of the civilized, they use a string for this, fixing one of the ends and tying to the other a wooden point which will leave a regular mark, like the point of a compass.

[192] [386] For the mural paintings, they use clay of different colors (principally white, yellow, reddish, bluish), diluted in the latex of Õxtã-fĩmĩ (that is, the sorva, Couma utilis, Mell., and other species), which, after having dried, acquires great stability and resistance to the inclemencies and does not change colors.

/293 cont./

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2) Designs on the body. They also execute various designs on the body. They might have their magic meaning, but they undoubtedly reveal an artistic tendency and, in some cases, are done with care and mastery (49).

49. We do not believe that painting on the body is an indication of a period of nomadism: "not having any place to execute their drawings, they did them on their own body." We venture the opinion, instead, that they have a decorative character (they are, thus, an indication of artistic tendency), besides supposing them endowed with magic powers (prophylactic virtues, etc.).

Notice 1st. -- The paintings do not bear clear totemic representations, unless it is only a matter of a stylization, the meaning of which the present-day natives seem not to know (50).

[532]

50. Koch Grünberg (Z.I. 349) found numerous anthropomorphic drawings and drawings of plants and animals, sometimes more or less stylized, among the Arwake of the Içana and the Wanana and Kubewana of the upper Uaupés. And he also states that figures the same as those on the bark walls and posts of the maloca appear, during the feasts, on the bodies of the Indians, as well as on their pots and dance objects. He moreover points out the sculpture of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic and of animals, not only in wood, but also executed in ears of maize and hung on the beams and posts of the maloca by means of a string.

/294/

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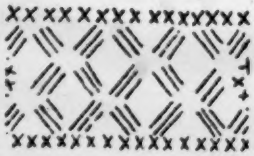
2nd. -- What is called Nõ'õsé or face painting is semicircles with the concave part upwards, on the forehead, and straight lines in a V on the side of the zygomata and on the face. Ordinarily, to execute these designs they use the Mumíkha, that is, a small stick, like a lipstick, having on one of the tips a ball of wax to which adheres the colored powder, which is taken out of the small cuia in which it is kept and is applied to the face.

3rd. -- On the trunk and limb they execute various designs, We'é ohasé, all, however, consisting of straight lines. In some cases, at the great dances of the dabacurí, the whole body is painted as if it were a robe, with lengthwise and transverse strokes. The process for these paintings is that called We-oharí-tyĩ, that is, they take a small cylinder of a very light wood, called molongõ (in Tukano Poõ-gõ; it is the ambelânia grandíflora, of the family of the Apocynaceae), with carvings corresponding to the lines that one wishes, and, while the color is fresh, they roll it against the skin where it leaves quite regular traces. They likewise use fine splints of



Design imprinted with the molongõ cylinder

arumĩ, not infrequently two or three tied together as a paint brush, leaving a double or triple stroke. There are also coarse strokes executed with the index finger moistened in the color.

[184] There are not, at present, marks that characterize the tribes, as the first explorers suggest. The same designs are observed in the various tribes.

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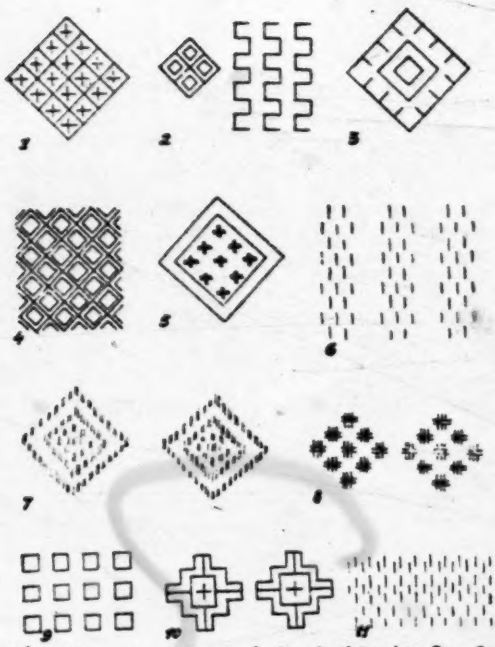

1. Yóãsõ paxkó sẽ'ẽma -- alligator's back (black); 2. Soxkõ-rõ ó:ri -- flower (design) of the grater (black and white); 3. Sẽ'rá -- pineapple (green and yellow); 4. Ahũ-dõxkarí -- pieces of beijú (black and white); 5. Buwahá-ro -- cuia of cutia /agouti/ (green); 6. Neé ó:ri -- flower of the miriti (yellow); 7. Sirí-pía ó:rí -- flower (design) of the swallow (green and purple); 8. Úhuri sẽ'ẽma -- back of the land turtle (black and white); 9. Ó:ri mãrĩ -- design without flowers (black and white); 10. Sakú dõ'pó-ka -- leg of saracura /Rallidae/ (white and black); 11. Yóãsõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of calango /small lizard/ (green).

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[184]

3) Designs on objects.

The Baniva customarily execute designs on the camutins or pots, and the other tribes, on the cuias used, especially on the maracá. These are vegetable colors with a predominance of white, and the designs are always Greek frets. We have already mentioned the designs on the small stools that the Tukano make.

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There are eight more common principal ornamental motifs that appear on the woven and plaited work of the hammocks and strainers:

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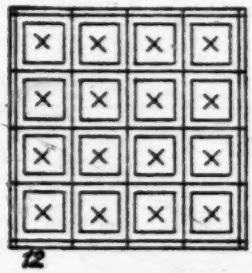
1. Soxkõrõ-ó:ri (flowers of the grater), that is, similar to the arrangement of the small stones in the graters.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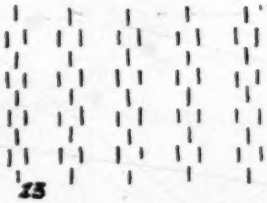
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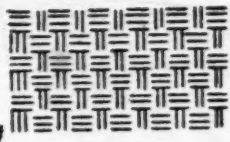
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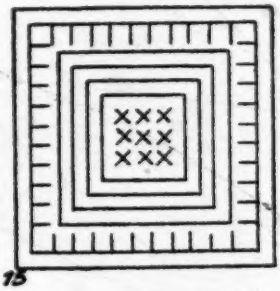
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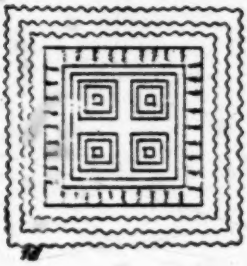
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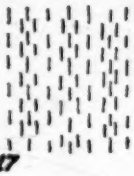
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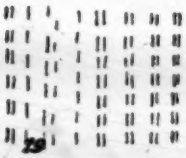
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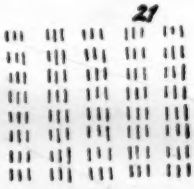
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12. Yuxkõ-dõxká -- fruit; 13. Mixpĩ ó:ri -- flower of the açaí /assai/ (red and white); 14. Poxtá-da -- thorny branch; 15. Piã ó:ri -- flower (design) of the piã (bird); 16. Piã ó:ri -- flower (design) of the piã (bird); 17. Soxkõ-sero -- surucucu (ophidian) (yellow); 18. Ã'rẽ-pũrĩ -- leaf of the pupunha tree (green); 19. Sẽ'ã ma'á -- path of the piramirim (fish) (red and white); 20. Nixtiã ó:ri -- flower (design of the spotted snake); 21. Dõxpõri-tẽrõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of the lambari /a fish/ (white).

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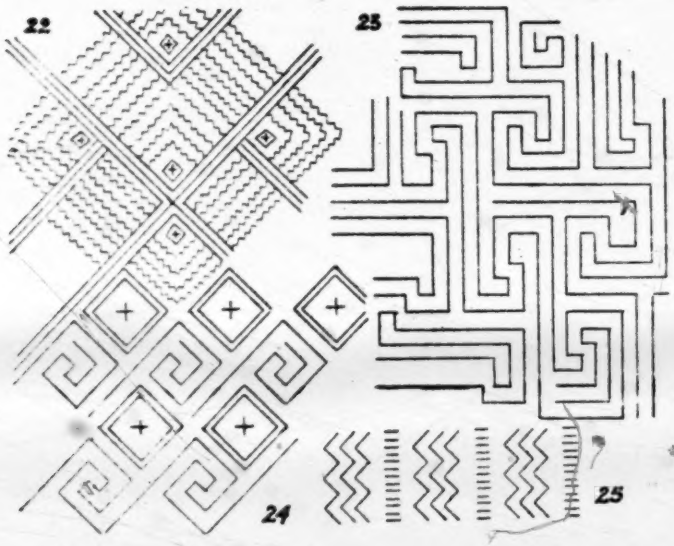
2. Mixpĩ pũrĩ (açai /assai/ leaves), designs like the leaves of the açai palm.
3. Byá-põrá ma'á (path of the saúva /leaf-cutting ant/)
4. Neẽ ôori (flower of the miriti)
5. Yõãsõ sẽ'ẽma (back of calango /small lizard/)
6. Pamõ sẽ'ẽma (back of tatu /armadillo/)
7. Dõxpõrí-tẽrõ sẽ'ẽma (back of lambari /a fish/)
8. Wãx-tĩ õx'sé-pekuri (knees of Wãx-tĩ), similar to the gammadioncross or swastika.

The Uaupés Indians take pleasure in combining these motifs and obtain numerous designs. By chance, in 24 strainers acquired by us in 1947 in different places on the Uaupés, there were 23 different combinations.




22. Oxsõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of the two-headed snake; 23. Wãx-tĩ õxsé-pekuri -- knee of Wãx-tĩ; 24. Wãx-tĩ-ke-õ -- tipiti; 25. Bya-põrá -- path of the saúva /leaf-cutting ant/ (yellow).

/301 cont./
534 Uaupés (55) /sic; (57)/.

[177] 55 /57/. During these past years some natives who came down to the Rio Negro for work became so enamored of the guitar that they heard there at the feasts of the caboclos that the possession of one of them constituted the dreamed-of fruit of their labor. And, upon returning to their povoados, they spend long hours of the day and the night strumming monotonously on the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ poor instrument. Perhaps for them the charm is not derived from the auditory pleasure which they experience as much as appearing, with this, more advanced or civilized than their other brothers. One also already sees some harmonica /Port. gaita/ or accordion or victrola among the alumni of the Mission.

Of the others, there are various instruments, all obviously of native origin.

/302/ a) Idiophones.

534 As rhythm instruments for the dances they have:
535 1st. -- Rhythm tube. In the Tukano idiom it is called ahũ-wõ̃, plural ahũ-pawõ. It is a cylinder of imbauba a meter long and 10 * [192] centimeters in diameter, hollow, with the lower end touching the ground, obstructed because it corresponds to the node. The upper one is open and ends with a rectangular extension by which it is held with the right hand. Each dancer takes his instrument, and they go all together, marking the rhythm of the step with a stroke against the ground. Frequently these instruments are painted with • [531] white, with the latex from the sorva, and with designs of Greek frets in red or black color.

/302 cont./

534 2nd. -- Rhythm stick. Sometimes the dancers carry in their right hand a simple stick, of any kind of wood, which in Tukano
535 is called yuxkõ, also for the purpose of marking the rhythm.

*[192] 3rd. -- Murucú. Murucú is the term from the Nheengatú
*[192] language; in Tukano it is called yaígõ, that is, "stick of the onça
[531] /jaguar/" (Gonçalves Dias calls them "murucús-maracás" (cf. "Relatório da Província do Amazonas," Vol. I, p. 760). It consists of a stick of brazilwood (mira-piranga) with beautiful paintings and adorned with colorful feathers, some 2 meters in length and about 3 centimeters in diameter, and the upper end in the shape of a fork. Almost in the center there is an intumescence with slits and, inside, some pebbles. Once the slits are made, the spot is exposed to the fire, and, after it is heated, they enlarge the intumescence and introduce the pebbles.

The tuxáua who presides at the dances holds it with the right hand and hits it against the biceps of the same arm, producing a noise like that of a rattle, while the whole stick starts to vibrate. It is used to mark the beginning of the dances.

*[192] 4th. -- Snappers. In Tukano they are called kixtyõ and sound like castanets. They are small tucumã nuts, strung on a cord, which are tied to the right ankle in some dance numbers, in order for them to mark the rhythm.

5th. -- Maracá. In Tukano it is called yaxsã or yaxsã-ga; plural, yaxsã-pá. It is a rattle prepared with a calabash, in which /303/ an orifice was made in the lower part, through which were introduced some seeds or pebbles, and it is fitted with a handle of about 10 or 15 centimeters by which it is held and shaken. Some are painted with the common designs already seen. In some dance numbers all the men shake the maracá.

[755] Besides this, it is a magic instrument, which the pajés use in their curing processes, and with which they also keep time during their therapeutic songs.

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/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments

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Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua from Caruru-Cachoeira (river Uaupés), adorned for the dances (acangatara, necklaces, and stone of the husband /marido, "husband," should be mando, "command"/)

Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO



342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
● 531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[604] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 501 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

/p. 54-B/

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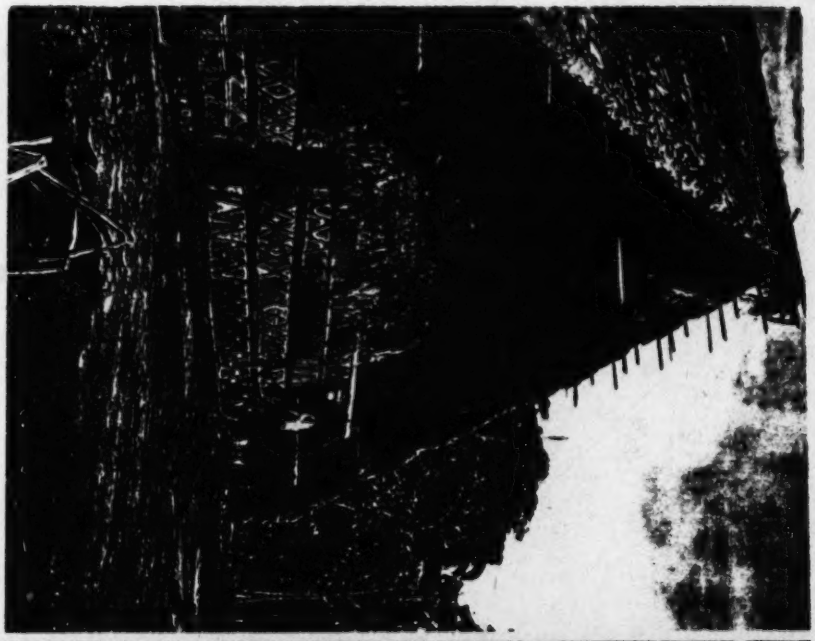

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LEFT: The front, painted with a design in charcoal and clay, and great eaves of a maloca. RIGHT: Cutting palm fronds to thatch the roof.

*Ni*

weeks to carve into the hard rock. It is possible that some in the past represented boundary marks. The Indians do not appear to recognize territorial areas within the forest, but they may have rights to fish over certain sections of the rivers. 172

It is unlikely that the engravings can be ascribed to any one period and there seemed little resemblance to contemporary Indian art. Certainly Tukano design is mostly limited to triangles and crosses, and relies more on colour than form. The most striking example we saw was the Tatuya *maloca* on the Piraparaná, the bark front wall of which was covered with a series of cross, square and triangle designs coloured with brown, yellow and white river clays and a black charcoal compound. But this is by far the most dramatic example of Tukano art, with the possible exception of the elaborate body painting and the magnificent head-dresses used during the festivals. Their pottery, though finely made, bears no design, except for a pot containing the narcotic *yajé*, used only by the elders during certain festivals and curing sessions. This is covered with different coloured clays, charcoal and red *karayuru* dye. Similar triangular coloured designs are also found on the *yarumo* dancing-staves. 531 532

The most common type of engraving is the fretted design on the gourd maracas used during tribal dances. One end of the pebble stave, a lance-like rattle used by the shaman, is also carved with lines and triangles together with a pattern of bird feathers, said to give it greater magical power. This stave and a drinking gourd with an elaborate circular design of triangles, loops and chevrons, we tried to obtain for our collection, but without success. Certain articles were so highly regarded by the Indians that they would not part with them, no matter what they were offered in exchange.

Of all the rock engravings we saw, that of Ni the river god (see drawing on p. 31) was by far the most striking. Travelling on from Kaperwa, we came to an unusually long set of rapids through which we guided the boat with our paddles. We were concentrating so hard on the rapids and the water swirling around the boat, that the unexpected sight of a pyramid of rock jutting massively out of the river in front came as rather a shock. Even more unexpected was the grotesque figure cut deeply into the granite face of the giant boulder. With arms and legs outstretched he seemed to dominate the river, to embrace it with a hypnotic spell. 532 776

Unlike the other carvings we saw, Ni was engraved in granite. The finely-drawn lines, carved half an inch deep, gave symmetry to the life-size figure which must have taken an Indian craftsman months of labour to create. Our own steel knives were easily blunted by the hard crystalline rock.

Ni faced upstream into the setting sun. Behind, on the east slope of the rock, were suns and a quarter-moon. The suns, some with emanating rays, were composed of a series of three or four concentric rings up to two feet in diameter.

/78 cont./

532 184 On the other hand, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the masks are manufactured and worn by the Kubêwana and Wanana, and, later, also by the Taryana. We likewise find masks among the Íde-masã of the stream Comé-ia (tributary of the left bank of the river Pirá-paraná).

## 2. Classification

121 The attempt to classify the tribes of Brazil in general, as well as those of the Amazon or of the Rio Negro in particular, is still open for discussion.

A classification, let us say, culturological, of the tribes of the Uaupés is impossible today. The relations among the various tribes, already dating back centuries, brought about a more or less perfect interculturation among them. We can, then, affirm that the nations of the Uaupés constitute at present a single cultural group, the origin of whose cultural elements is difficult to retrace at the present time. The peculiarities of each tribe are few and insignificant, as we have just seen, and do not, by themselves, permit a classification.

A classification fundamentally anthropological, be it serological, be it somatic, is likewise impossible. The blood 143 examination done a few years ago by Prof. Emílio Biocca of the University of Rome on 237 individuals of the Tukano, Taryana, and Maku tribes showed that all of them belonged to type O, and the relation between the genes m and n was constant. The regimen of absolute tribal exogamy, which has been practiced for centuries among them, necessarily brings about bio-anthropological assimilation.

197 Though it seems to us that at present the glottologic classification would be still easier and more persuasive, nevertheless in this plurisecular melting-pot some idioms were profoundly altered and some human groups have already adopted

/94 cont./

*101 The Ide-masã are in general less corpulent than the Tukano. Although of lighter complexion, somewhat pale, elongated face, high, slightly aquiline nose, not very prominent zygoma, almond-shaped eyes almost always light brown. The hair in general is dark or even black, fine, not lissotrichous; instead, many times even wavy.

[582] Tribal exogamy is in force among them. And we know that they are connected by marriage with the Tuyuka, Bará, Emõa, Yebá, Bá:re, Roéra. Not only the women, but also the [301] [304] men wear pierced ears with a small plug two to three millimeters in diameter, which keeps the orifice open.

A peculiarity of this tribe is the dances with masks. We had the opportunity to see the masks representing Waxtĩ and the [532] monkey. The one of Waxtĩ was a true white mask, made of bark, like a round face, with a long slit representing the mouth, a long and pointed nose, and, on the sides of the base of the nose, two slits, somewhat slanted, by way of eyes. The one that represented the monkey was a plain shirt of tururi, with a pointed part, like a hood, covering the head. In this hood there were two holes corresponding to the eyes and two points upwards representing ears.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They are found scattered over a very wide area: all the stream Comé-ia (stream of the iron or of the ax, in the Ide idiom Koméryaka, tributary of the left bank of the Pirá-paraná), the Miritĩ-paraná, Apapóris, and the Kamorĩ (which, according to indications by the same tuxáua, [161] must be a tributary of the river Solimões). They seem to be quite numerous, that is, several hundreds. The number of divisions that the tribe presents seems to confirm this information.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian Hinõ (that is, snake), also known as Fernando, about 50 years old (in August of 1956), tuxáua of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hido (mouth of the igarapé of the spider), on the left bank of the Komé-ya, about 10 hours by canoe from the mouth.

/168/

25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 286 301 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú, tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 291 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

177 291 The new generation, both of the female and male sex, which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

• 532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

/206 cont./

386 The wahá-kó is spread in the interior part of the cuia with a brush,
415 letting it dry afterwards. The operation is repeated a second time
*[192] and more, until it reaches the thickness of approximately one millimeter. Directly afterwards urine is spread on the ground and on this area they turn upside down, on small pieces of wood, the cuias that they wish to paint. The ammonia that comes from the urine transforms the layer of wahá-kó in the interior of the cuia into a black, shiny, and quite adherent varnish.

The same result is obtained by applying mandioca leaves saturated in urine over the layer of wahá-kó.

5) Other utilitarian objects.

824 The Indian has known how to obtain from the nature that surrounds him many other objects and resources for his life.

We shall recall some:

*[192] /207/ a) Papóque. The papóque, in Tukano pápwa-khá-
[515] sõtí, is the embira of a tree that produces foam, and they wash their heads with it, for lack of soap.

*[192] b) Tauarí. Táwari, as is also said in Tukano (couratari tauarí,
[276] of the family of the Lecythidaceae), is also an embira, which unrolls into very thin and flexible sheets that are used as cigar wrappers. They are obtained from the bark by striking it with a mallet until all the ligneous part has been detached.

*[192] c) Bags, cueio, and masks. The tururí, in Tukano waxsó-gõ,
[415] is a tree of several species of Manicariao, from whose liber or bast
[532] they prepare the bags for the ipadú, the masks (see VII -- 3, d (2) ), and the waxsó-ro (in Nheengatú cueio) for dances (cf. loincloth, VII -- 3, d (2) ). Once the branch or trunk that suits them is chosen, they cut it and start to beat the bark with a wooden mallet until /in the original source the line of type that follows these words is the duplicate of one that properly appears later in the paragraph, while the line that belongs here is missing/ as if it were a shirt sleeve or a cape. With a cutting object (formerly a taquara /a bamboo/) they detach the part that they want. The

/209 cont./

291 women completely dispense with even this costume, not covering themselves with anything whatsoever. They live in complete nudity, and this is very general. Among the Indians of the Uaupés such customs are not given up" (o. c. 629).

Seventy years later (Boletim Salesiano, Feb., 1918, p. 30) the first Salesian Superior of these Missions, Mons. Lourenço Giordano, reports: -- "The men do not wear clothes and the women ordinarily do not have any more than they do." "The Tucano can say with more truth than the philosopher: omnia mea mecum porto /I carry my all with me/. As clothing he wears ... the poira (?), that is, a string at the neck, with seeds of various colors, or a piece of white marble, and, ordinarily, nothing else."

*192 291 /210/ Even today one finds many men with only the loincloth or waxsó-ro, as is said in Tukano (cuêio in Nheengatú) (41).

41. We think that cueio is only a corruption of the Portuguese word cueiro, the loincloth used for the newborn children. Waxsó-ro is probably derived, according to the nature of the Tukano language, from waxsó su'ti-ro. Waxsó means semen; su'ti-ro, garment. Some Missionaries who speak Tukano think that waxsó-ro comes from waxsógõ, the Tukano name for the tururí plant (of the family of the esterculiáceas /Sterculiaceae/ from whose bast is taken a fabric used for the bag for storing the ipadú, for the making of clothing or dance masks. It must be noted, however, that such masks are called ya'ko-kó su'ti-ro, dress of tears, because such masks are only worn in the funeral dances. Would it not be, on the contrary, that the name of the plant, waxsó-gõ, is derived from waxsó-ro, because of the use of its liber as cueio? One must

• [532] [764]

/253 cont./

121 We shall indicate here the primitive manifestations of their culture (Persönlichkeitkultur), meaning by this expression what these forest dwellers exhibit from their own culture and not received from the white, and which is easily discovered from living with them.

212 /254/ 1. Writing.

A question that immediately arises is whether these tribes know how to write. One can answer that at present they do not [797] know or use any kind of writing (2).

2. With the exception, naturally, of those who have passed through the Mission schools. One notices this peculiarity: they learn how to write the Portuguese language with some facility, but they write Tukano with difficulty. Actually the letters of the Latin alphabet, which we use and such as we pronounce in Portuguese, do not reproduce all the sounds of the Tukano language.

172 It is a question open to discussion as to whether those signs
• 532 that are found on many stones of the Rio Negro and tributaries, that is, the petroglyphs or itacoatiaras (õxtã ohoritirí-pa in Tukano), are a writing of spoken language, or at least ciphered language (of which idiom? of which tribe? in which era?); or are only designs, perhaps stylized (sportive signs /Port. sinais lúdicos/) (3).

3. About the itacoatiaras, their antiquity and their interpretation, cf. the notable work by Bernardo da Silva Ramos, Inscrições e tradições da América pré-histórica /Inscriptions and traditions of Prehistoric America/. Koch Grünberg, going up the river Curicuriari (tributary of the right bank of the Rio Negro), on February 14, 1904, found on a stone designs with the figures

/254 cont./

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• 532

/footnote 3 cont./ of a man, monkey, and decorative ones, still fresh, perhaps made weeks or days before. He then gives the opinion that an Indian makes the first stroke with some rock. Another, upon going by, makes the line deeper, and so on, until an indelible furrow results (Z. I. 144). The same Koch asked an Indian who served him as guide on the river Cuduiari who might have made the petroglyphs that were seen. And the Indian answered him immediately: -- "The old people did with a rock" (Z. I. 304).

203 Would they not, however, have a language for signs or signs corresponding to some ideas? Many travelers who have gone up the Rio Negro were surprised to verify that their coming was already known beforehand, how many made up the retinue, the purpose of the latter, etc. (4).

4. We read, for example, in the "Participação Quinta /Fifth Communication/" (of the "Viagem Philosophica" of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, dated from Barcelos on March 30, 1789, upon his arrival in Ipanuré): -- "I immediately ordered an examination of the five malocas of the savages, located on top of the hill, and for the second time it was confirmed to me that they had already been warned of my ascent; the houses were found deserted, there being left behind all the gear of igaçabas /clay pots/, tipitis, hampers, etc., sufficient tapioca buried in the ground, the pineapples of the clearing freshly cut, and the Indians of the canoes informed me that they had left two days ago" (o. c.).

/292 cont./ In the Yaxkẽ

286 Waxsõ-ro there is a beautiful combination of the woven and the
531 strung, using colorful glass beads. One admires in it a pleasing combination of colors, proportion and regularity in the design, and a perfect finishing of the piece. In the woven part the mesh is diagonal. It also presents a combination of colored fibers for the design effect. In the choice of colors, as well as in the finishing, there is revealed good /293/ taste, which makes this weaving a beautiful adornment for the women in the dances. With beads or with colored fibers, the designs are the Greek frets /Port. gregas/ characteristic of these tribes.

6) /sic; b)/ Designs.

532 4) /sic; 1)/ Mural designs. The designs painted on the bark that makes up the walls of the houses do not reveal artistic taste (48).

48. For example, the representation of human figures with the disproportional and shapeless trunk, the neck represented by a vertical stroke, etc.

It is probable that what seems to us scrawling or caricature is the stylization of legendary representations. Accepting this possibility, however, one does not perceive any skill in the strokes. The circumferences are made with perfection. Perhaps through the influence of the civilized, they use a string for this, fixing one of the ends and tying to the other a wooden point which will leave a regular mark, like the point of a compass.

[192] [386] For the mural paintings, they use clay of different colors (principally white, yellow, reddish, bluish), diluted in the latex of Õxtã-ñĩmĩ (that is, the sorva, Couma utilis, Mell., and other species), which, after having dried, acquires great stability and resistance to the inclemencies and does not change colors.

/293 cont./

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2) Designs on the body. They also execute various designs on the body. They might have their magic meaning, but they undoubtedly reveal an artistic tendency and, in some cases, are done with care and mastery (49).

49. We do not believe that painting on the body is an indication of a period of nomadism: "not having any place to execute their drawings, they did them on their own body." We venture the opinion, instead, that they have a decorative character (they are, thus, an indication of artistic tendency), besides supposing them endowed with magic powers (prophylactic virtues, etc.).

Notice 1st. -- The paintings do not bear clear totemic representations, unless it is only a matter of a stylization, the meaning of which the present-day natives seem not to know (50).

[532]

50. Koch Grünberg (Z.I. 349) found numerous anthropomorphic drawings and drawings of plants and animals, sometimes more or less stylized, among the Arwake of the Içana and the Wanana and Kubewana of the upper Uaupés. And he also states that figures the same as those on the bark walls and posts of the maloca appear, during the feasts, on the bodies of the Indians, as well as on their pots and dance objects. He moreover points out the sculpture of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic and of animals, not only in wood, but also executed in ears of maize and hung on the beams and posts of the maloca by means of a string.

/315 cont./

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2nd. -- Umũ-ka-iti. It is a crest of white garça /heron/ feathers (yehé) and yellow ones from the japú /Icteridae/ (umũ), used like the preceding one.

3rd. -- Pexká pixkõrõá petorí, or, abbreviated, pyõrõá pe'torí. It is a beetle-carapace necklace of changeable colors (66),

> 66. A native furnished us the explanation that the pixkõrõá live inside the bacaba palm. He further added that do'tõ is "father" of the beetle pixkõrõ. It is probably a matter of insects with different phases, like the butterfly, which passes through the stages of larva and chrysalid.

which covers the bone flute during the dances.

*192 184 • 532 764 [178]

n) Masks. On the Uaupés only the Wanãna and the Kubêwãna (67)

> 67. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 205) learned that, besides the Buhágana, the õmõa /sic/ and Sãra also wear masks. It seems that until 50 years ago or a little more, that is, around the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, the use of the masks was quite widespread among the tribes of the Tiquié and tributaries.

nowadays wear the masks in the funeral dances, and for this reason they call them ya'ko-kó su'tí-ro, that is, clothing of tears.

/316/ They are prepared with the liber of the tururí and have the shape of a nightgown, which covers the person from the head to the knees.

/316 cont./

287 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadũ bags.
• 532 Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and
764 length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg
532 (Zwei Iahre, p. 236), the Taryana wore masks also at the feast
778 of Wãx-tĩ. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the Ide-masã of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called Waxtĩ (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a) Difficulties.

177 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters
771 of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

4: Silva--473 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 321 in the original source/

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Burial in the canoe (juxkõ-sõ-koro)

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Itacoatiara (rupestrian inscription) in Carurú-cachoeira (river Tiquié)

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Mandú, the Ipeka tuxaua from Urubucuara (Uaupés R.) and his son beside the hole from which the tribes arose (cf. Lendas do Uaupés). The mound in the background (left) is supposed to have resulted from the spit of Wãx-tĩ.

/321 cont./

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778

/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to, and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

[796]
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"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

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[353]
[532]

This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

/321 cont./

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[353]
[532]

/footnote 6 cont./ idols of gold and silver in the form of women, and many objects of gold and silver for the service of the sun" (o.c. 67).

Carvajal, however, is relating what he heard and his narration is all impregnated with unbelievable things, fruit of credulity and of suggestion.

Pe. Alonso de Rojas, describing the descent of the year 1637, testifies: "They do not have rites or ceremonies to venerate them (their false gods), neither temples of their idols nor priests" (Descobrimentos, /Discoveries/, 110). Precisely as we found them three centuries later.

346

nor persons in charge of the cult, neither priests nor religious ceremonies and prayers to honor the deity, are found among them.

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/322/ There are, indeed, many superstitions, and it could not be otherwise among men of so little culture. There is unanimity in asserting that, if there is a cult, it is that of the Jurupari or demon (7)

7. In his "Diálogos das grandezas do Brazil /Dialogues on the greatnesses of Brazil/," Teixeira Pinto, dealing with the rites of the heathen, asserts: "If they do have any and if they practice some manner of worship, although this is not known, it is the devil to whom they give the name of Jurupari" (ap. Barbosa Rodrigues, Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/, 94). Jurupari and dabacuri are terms from the Lingua Geral or Nheengatú, which is still spoken on all the

/335 cont./

823 [103] They likewise believe that the taking of a bath, be it men or women, in the pothole of Tõpa-duri, that is, of the cachoeira of Urubucuara, where the tribes came out (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"), would guarantee them an early marriage.

It does not seem, then, that these caves, rocks, igarapés, interiors of the forest should be regarded as sacred spots of the cult. Rather, on the contrary, they would be "tabooed" places and objects. Nor would the fruits and rocks that are thrown be a form of cult, that called litobolia. Rather they seem to us to be manifestations of magic and tabooism.

823 • 532 An old Missionary stated that some Indians, while going by those rocks that bear crude figures (37)

37. These are the petroglyphic signs or rupestrian inscriptions common on the rivers of Amazonas, especially the Rio Negro and its tributaries. A diligent study of these inscriptions was done by B. A. da Silva Ramos, under the title "Inscrições e Tradições da América Pré-histórica /Inscriptions and Traditions of Prehistoric America/," -- Imprensa Oficial, Rio de Janeiro, 1930. We do not find engraved anthropomorphic representations. Koch G. 50 years ago saw sculptures of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic ones, among the Kubewana and Wanana (cf. Note 49, VII-3, b (8) /see Note 50, VII-3, b (2)/). We discovered only one, as human heads on the supports of a trocano /signal drum/. They did not look like idols, however, but only decorations and were of recent fabrication (1947).

of animals or of strange beings, with long and skeletal arms and

/335 cont./
823 legs (38),
• 532

38. One of these drawings is seen on a rock of the Cururú-cachoeira, river Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

prodigious belly, enormous head, would look with dread and say in a low voice: Wãx-tĩ As if these representations were a perpetuation, in granite, of the memory of the terrible and feared monster. We have never witnessed any of these demonstrations of fear. Sometimes we have approached such petroglyphs and summoned near /336/ some Indians, and they have always appeared indifferent to such drawings. Moreover, we have found similar figures on the bark walls of huts and malocas, and, moreover, we have seen children draw them on the ground with a stick, and, therefore, without any semblance of religiousness.

764 It can, then, be affirmed that there is no indication of an
782 individual cult. There is, nevertheless, a social cult to be dis-
881 cussed, which is realized in the maloca and its immediate surroundings. There are principally three manifestations of this social cult: the offering of the first fruits or dabacurís, the puberty initiation, and the funeral. All three of which a spiritual communion, tightening the solidarity of the group.

782 2) Religious feasts with offering of the first fruits.

796 Their Poosé are religious feasts, in our opinion (39),
* [192]

39. An opinion that we have expressed since 1947 and that recently (1954) we verified to be also that of Koch Grünberg, who (Z. I. 372, and passim) distinguishes, moreover, religious dances and profane dances. Koch, nevertheless, accepts the translation demônio /demon/ for Wãx-tĩ, and even for other personages of the native legends.

and were called by the first explorers, with a term from the Língua

796 /354 cont./

534 They organize the procession of Wãx-tĩ, which will take
778 the offering, as was described above, from the landing place
to the maloca, a procession in which only those of the masculine
562 sex who have gone through the puberty initiation rite participate.
786 They walk naked, all painted, in front, hanging from the waist,
the waxsõ-ro (or tanga of tururi, see VII 3, d (2) ), sounding the
instruments, which at the same time are shaken up and down,
and with lateral movements and contortion of the body. The
*[192] shape of the instrument (65),

> 65. It is elongated, wrapped in the inner bark of tururi, which in Tukano is called waxsõ-kõ (perhaps from the same root as waxsõ, semen; see Note 41, VI-3, a).
> • [532] Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 69) tells that on the rocks of the cachoeira of Hipada (Uaupuim-cachoeira, on the river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana) he found a representation of Kũay, son of Yaperikuli, with a long penis. It is proof, it seems to us, of the connection between the cult of Kõay, or Wãx-tĩ of the Tukano, and that of the phallus. Perhaps one is even justified in seeing a phallus in the instrument, and for this reason it might be a symbol of Wãx-tĩ or Kõay.

the movements they give to it, the body contortions of the participants, all the circumstances of this procession and the sexual liberties that go on during the feast, bring it close to the phallic processions of classical antiquity in the cult of Bacchus, and these native feasts well deserve the name of "Phallustanzen" /Ger. "phallus dances"/. There is even a similarity to the paroxysmal flagellations of the cult of Cybele of Greece and Rome, and of the Mediterranean civilization in general.

/474 cont./

614 If by Phratry we understand any subdivision of the tribe (even if it does not constitute a true community, because it does not have a chief), these Subtribes or Kurá could be called Phratries (or Sibs, as some modern ethnologists prefer). They correspond to the Phratries of ancient Greece, while, like those, they are also exogamous and of paternal descent. It is to be noted, however, that marriage between one phratry and another of the same tribe is not permitted.

/475/ The Phratry or Kurá, which at first is identified with the maloca, with the passing of time unfolds into several local groups. In these, however, there is no trace that this might be a matter of a totemic clan; they are only territorial family groups or agnatic kinship groups, which we could call, using the Latin term, Gens.

f) Totemism?

There are different indications that make one think of the operation of totemism with its totemic clans and customs.

1st. -- The groups (tribes and subtribes) bear names of animals (Tucano /toucan/, arapaço /Dendro colaptidae/ or pica-pau /woodpecker/, jurití /dove/, jibóia, etc.) or of plants (miriti, cunuri /Cunuria/, etc.), as is the custom of totemic clans.

[237] [301] [535] 2nd. -- There appear in the dance ornaments feathers of the garça /heron/, arara, tucano /toucan/, gavião /hawk/; fur of the macaco and onça /jaguar/, teeth of the onça or of other animals; snake vertebrae, etc. These ornaments recall to memory the place in which the animal was wounded, as if it were an exaltation of the animal sacrificed and an identification between the individual and the animal formerly sacrificed by God or (?) to God.

[535] [532] 3rd. -- In the dances there are personages and masks (where they wear them, that is, among the Kubewãna of the Uaupés and the Arwake of the Içana), which represent the borboleta /butterfly/, the cotia /agouti/, etc., and these personages try to imitate the movements of these animals and there are also corresponding chirps or songs.

[825] 4th. -- The tucano /toucan/, due to the disproportionate weight and volume of its beak, does not have great autonomy of

/476 cont./

614 in the dance ornaments. Besides, such groups, or Gentes, are far
619 from the classic type of clan. For example, marriage is not permitted between the Gentes, but only between one and another Nation.

The ornaments with feathers of the tucano /toucan/, arara, garça /heron/, or monkey fur are bound up with the legend of Wãxtĩ, which, due to the mutual relationship between the tribes, has figured in the history of each tribe. The ornaments, however, are
[438] not distinctive for family or clan. They are essentially the same for all the tribes, being an object of trade of one tribe with another. This circumstance alone already speaks against a clan interpretation.

[532] It is absolutely not noted that any tribe or group has any picto-
[825] rial representation by incision or sculpture of any animal whatsoever, and even less of its titular.

As for the dance masks and personages, it is to be observed first
[53] that there is the one of the borboleta /butterfly/, and nevertheless there is no human group with this denomination, and nothing reveals its having existed. In the second place there are mask, dance, and song of the cutia /agouti/, and a subdivision among the Tukano, the Bwá-põrã, children of the cutia, and an Arwake tribe of the Içana, Awadzuranai or cutia-tapuya, are known under this name; and nevertheless there is no such mask among the Tukano, but there is among the Arwake.

It seems that the same personage now does the borboleta /butterfly/, now the cutia, etc. Now one, now another will do such a role; within the same maloca there are the various personages, and it is not a matter of a function inherited from father to son either. All this testifies against the hypothesis of the existence of clan subdivisions.

/477/ As for the episode of the concern for the tucano
[825] /toucan/ that was crossing the river, it could be a manifestation of simple curiosity, which among the Indians comes so many times accompanied by exclamatory noises. The elders relate nothing that might prove to be a matter of a clan totem. At least by what we know up to now.

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614 Just as there is no indication of clan totemism, there is none
• 532 of individual or personal totemism either. The objects that they make do not represent animals; they are of simple workmanship, according to the purpose. In some quite rare cases the paintings of the walls are anthropomorphic; they seem, however, to have only a sportive character. /Page 478 is blank./

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## Chapter IX

## The Life of the Indian

1) Daily cycle.

512 The type and the standard of life of the Indian seem patterned. Even in distinct tribes we find the Indians doing the same things in the same way, and even with a very close timetable. It is indeed a very methodical life, not, however, monotonous. On the contrary, quite varied, in a perfect nature in which daily rest, work, meals, baths, physical exercises succeed one another.

[592] "The Tukano lives in the maloca, which serves him as bedroom, kitchen, dining room in the morning and in the afternoon. The maloca is, in succession, laboratory for the domestic chores, meeting place at times of rain, and ballroom during the great feasts. It is the place where the Tukano lives, dies, and is buried. For the Tukano the maloca is the world" (Report by the First Superior of the Salesian Missions of the Rio Negro, Mons. Lourenço Giordano -- Boletim Salesiano -- Feb. 1918, p. 31).

The ordinary family life can be summarized in this way: the Indian sleeps little, eats much, talks a great deal, works when it is necessary.

From three o'clock in the morning, the maloca still closed, one hears inside quite an animated conversation, noisy and fre-
[462] quent laughs. And many times the noise of the graters at work:
[252] it is the women who are preparing the mandioca for the beijú.
[515] Before five o'clock, with rain or without it, always dark in those latitudes, the women leave through the back door, individually

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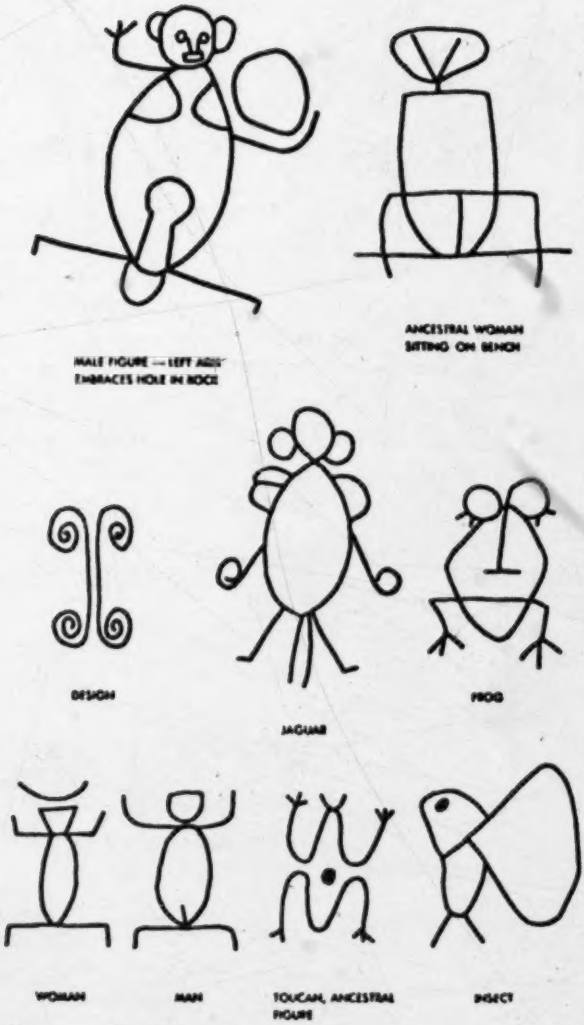


Fig. 1. Petroglyphs on the Cuduiari.

342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
632 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahuikiwa*, whose ancestry
[64] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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615 614 them. Either version accounts for sib hierarchy. In the first version the Cubeo visualize the phratry as the body of the anaconda spread along a river with its head anchored at the site of emergence and its tail lying upstream to form the lowest-ranking sib. In the second version the sib pairs moved upstream and located themselves according to the sequence of their emergence. The theme of common descent that sanctions exogamy and confraternity is conveyed not by a common anaconda ancestor, for the Cubeo would not doubt that all human beings were descended from anacondas, but rather by common emergence from the same site. All sibs of the same phratry should ideally have emerged from the same rapids. But even among those having emerged from the same rapids there are still distinctions of relative closeness depending upon whether they emerged from the same hole or from adjacent holes. It would seem that the origin myth must be in harmony with current social relationships and that a particular version is employed depending upon the present state of affairs. When a sib is newly admitted into the phratry it must adapt its own origin traditions to the common mythical theme of emergence in the form of an anaconda at a preferred emergence site.

From the *Bahúkiwa* I heard at least three versions of the story 614 that placed the *Hehénewa* within the phratry. One said that the *Hehénewa* were really strangers, having emerged somewhere along the Papurý River. They heard the *Órobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets, and attracted by the music – a sign of identity – they came

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Fig. 4. Petroglyph: *Kúwni* and *Aínkũ* (scale: 1" = 6').

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its inevitable crescendo of excitement and disorder, dances and songs are interchanged.

In the course of the ceremonies, the relationship between the nonhuman world of the masked representations and the people, represented by the women, becomes increasingly more intimate, culminating, as we have already noted, in the total intimacy of coitus. The spirit of Cubeo ceremonialism is generally Dionysian. In religious excitement the Cubeo achieve a desired and temporary dissolution of the segmentation and conceptual separatenesses in normal social and religious life.

Koch-Grünberg (1906a), who observed part of an *dyne* in 1903 among the *Hehénewa*, saw in the masked dances two themes, an appeasement of evil spirits and fertility rites. My own information does not agree entirely with this interpretation. It is a fact that several of the masked dancers represent malevolent beings; the jaguar, that is the embodiment of the dreaded sorcerer, the butterfly, that symbolizes the act of sorcery, and the *abúhuwa* or forest monsters, that devour human victims. In addition the masked dancers represent the dung beetle and the vulture, eaters of offal and carrion. These creatures represent to the Cubeo the facts of death. Except for the *abúhuwa*, who are not taken too seriously, the most common agency of death is to the Cubeo a particular human enemy. Evil sorcery can be warded off by particular magical means. The masked dances, however, are not magical means for warding off danger. They are, rather, dramatic rituals whose purpose is to generate a frame of mind in which the fact of death is confronted and made to appear natural and tolerable. By coming to the house as guests, to dance, to sing, to drink chicha, and to "copulate" with women, the masked creatures are made to appear, finally, as a friendly part of the Cubeo world. The malevolent creatures are not singled out, but appear in the context of the whole ensemble of masked dancers.

As for the fertility theme, this has been a cherished cliché of earlier anthropology that promptly labeled any ritualization of sex as "fertility rites." The situation is more complex. The dancers do indeed represent male potency, but the simulated coitus emphasizes rather the carnal aspect of sex, for it is the older women, possessing the privilege of obscenity, whom the masked dancers "attack sexually."

## THE MASKS

The dance masks of the Cubeo are made of a white bark cloth called *tdwũ* (tree bark), which is also the name by which the masks are generically known.

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532 114 778 masks are generically known. Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has argued that they are sacred, citing as evidence that after the ceremonies the masks are burned. Many masks, however, are spared at the insistence of children who wish to play with them, and some masks are spared and used as storage sacks. Sanctity, I would say, is attached to individual masks, and is the sanctity of the being represented and not of the mask itself. Women, it is true, do not handle the masks, not out of taboo but rather out of the feeling that the masks are in the masculine domain. The masks represent spirits who are called generically *takahédekoků* (bark-cloth spirits). These spirits are visible only to the shaman.[3] All masks have a common basic shape, a large triangular sack that fits over the head and covers the body to the knees. Armpits are always cut out, and sleeves that come below the elbow are sewn in. The bottom of the skirt is stiffened with a circular hoop, and sleeves and skirt are hung with bark fringes. The masks have a head section, a middle section, and a bottom part. The head section is ordinarily painted with a face design that has eyes and a nose but not necessarily a mouth. Two eye holes and a nose hole are sometimes torn through for the wearer's convenience and do not correspond to the painted design. In some masks the head section is soft and in others it is surmounted by a calabash, painted brown or black, depicting a skull top; or the calabash itself has a face design painted on it and depicts, therefore, the face. The middle section is divided into several panels, half of them at the front and half at the rear. Each panel is painted in a geometric pattern that depicts the characteristic body features of the being that is to be represented. Fish, for example, have scale designs, and birds and flying insects wing designs. These designs are painted with great care by men who are particularly proficient. They follow traditional forms rather casually, however, each artist giving his own interpretation. The Cubeo do not quibble about the details of design. The fact is that no one can identify a particular representation with certainty without knowing who has made it. Only some of the masks, such as Jaguar, Butterfly, and *Abúhuwa*, are distinctive enough to be immediately recognizable. These masks, incidentally, also seem to be the most important.

[776] [756] 532

532 171 The use of ceremonial masks is common enough in South America, as Professor Alfred Métraux (1948) has observed, but we have as yet little information as to their meaning, nor do we know their full distribution. What is certain, though, is that masked cults have

[3] Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has observed that while the animal represented may be harmless, the spirit itself is magically powerful.

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different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kúwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucanoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

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765 174 535 532 larly, they have adapted harvest and demon cult ceremonies to ancestral cult rites. Evidences of religious syncretism are important in interpreting a complex ceremony. Thus, the fact that the mourning rites commonly begin during the pupunha season and the fact that at one point in the ceremonies the men pelt the roof of the house with pupunha fruit to "frighten the women" must be evaluated in the light of the possibility that we are dealing with a portion of a foreign ceremony, incorporated in the structure of the *óyne*. Cubeo ancestral or initiative rites also include "harvest festival" elements. But in these, as in the *óyne*, the harvest theme is a minor one.

## MASK REPRESENTATIONS

532 776 825 765 Dr. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels through the Vaupés region, collected some 50 different mask representations. My own observations along the Cuduiarí covered 30. Altogether, there is now a combined list of 62.[4] Since the masks are intended to portray *all* the living creatures of the Cubeo world the number of masks is potentially vast. No one ceremony uses them all. There are, however, key characters that are most commonly represented. These are Jaguar, Dung beetle, Carrion vulture, Butterfly, Aracú fishes, Eagle, Sloth, Parrot, Dragonfly, Minnows (who are not masked but are an important element in the ceremonial dramatization), *Pyénkü* (a small black fish), Frogs, and a variety of cannibalistic ogres or forest demons, the *Abúhuwa*. Informants would not say which of the masked representations was most important, presumably because invidiousness is, to the Cubeo, in poor taste. Judging, however, by their prominence, I would say that Jaguar, Butterfly, *Abúhuwa*, Dung beetles, Carrion vulture, and Aracú fishes were most important, more or less in that order. Except for the aracú, the esteemed fish of the region, these creatures all have an association with death. The jaguar is, of course, the dreaded sorcerer. The sorcerer is called *yaví* (jaguar) and the Cubeo regard any jaguar as likely to be either a sorcerer or a sorcerer's dog. The morpho butterfly with its beautiful blue wings is a creature of sorcerers and of evil. The information Koch-Grünberg received was that the morpho butterfly (*Intárako*) lives at Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés, where he brews malaria in a calabash and strews it over the land (1909, II, 181). I did not hear this account, but I was told that when a sorcerer is cooking a brew that will kill a victim at a distance the morpho butterfly appears and encircles the pot. Finally, it falls in and is consumed and at that moment the victim dies.

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[4] See the end of this chapter.

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Makálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kavá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

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The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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535 765 danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and 765 fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from 533 that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, [114] when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they [534] were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The [171] song I recorded was:

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*yavirárü yavirákü* [repeated]
*yavirárü maníka*
*yavirárü ya*
*ho ho ho o ho.*

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákü* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg [171] collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiarí River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yavi*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

● 532 765 The mask of Butterfly (*Tatárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip 535 arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, 765 often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kavirè kavirè* and is not the 532 same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiarí.

776 765 Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *manáwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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a dwarf pair, several pairs of giants, a great owl demon, and two kinds of *abúhuwa*. I saw three *Abúhuwa*. The *Abúhuwa* are made to appear grotesque. Their masks are of coarse brown bark cloth and, unlike any other dancer, they sometimes wear bark-cloth trousers. One Indian said to me rather maliciously, "They are like the white man." One of the *Abúhuwa* not wearing trousers had large flapping breasts of bark cloth and was a "wife." The headpiece has a calabash to form a face painted with human features. The masks are intended to be as grotesque as possible. Since the *Abúhuwa* act clownishly, they induce in the spectators only mock alarm. The *Abúhuwa* have no song of their own and no fixed dance. They are free to improvise. There are two kinds of improvisation: wild when young men impersonate them, and listless and lolling when acted by old men. While the Jaguars act to build up a sense of violence, the *Abúhuwa* work to create disorder. Thus, no masked dancers will enter the women's quarter through the rear or women's door except the *Abúhuwa*. They burst in through the rear door, hopping in short strides as though they were on pogo sticks. They interfere with dances and perform a number of amusing skits.

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The Dung beetles (*Keratamówa*) are a pair. The masks have a white facepiece with a pair of eyes, or sometimes with no features at all. The body design includes the wide bars of the insect's body flanked by lozenge designs on each side. The headpiece is surmounted by a short hourglass-shaped tube of splints and bark cloth. They dance holding hands. Each holds a short stick. In a dance Koch-Grünberg saw, they pushed along another stick on the ground in imitation, he noted, of their work as cleaners. I saw them holding their short sticks before them like wands. Their dance is a slow movement, forward and back. The songs recorded by me and by Koch-Grünberg are not the same.

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The Carrion vulture (*Kavá*) wears a mask with human features, although Koch-Grünberg saw one that he described as "naturalistic." The main design consists of very large lozenges (to depict the large feathers of the bird) flanked by horizontal bars suggesting outspread wings. The Carrion vulture carries a short stick held against the back of his neck, its ends extending over his shoulders, where his upraised hands hold it in place. The dancers bow gracefully from the waist to suggest the bird's soaring flight.

The Aracú (*Borikakü*) are usually represented in their several varieties. The headpiece is built up to a high peak made of splints covered with bark cloth in an hourglass design. The Aracú dance slowly, in pairs, and hold hands. Each carries a ten-foot pole bear-

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ing, like a pennant, bark-fringe streamers. The *Borikakü* usually dances with *Máwayo*, its compatriot, the red-mouthed aracú. In a joint dance they carry a rope ladder (*towándo*) made of three parallel strands of rope into which wooden rungs are set. Attaching the ladder to a roof beam, they climb and descend.

## THE MINNOWS

Although the Minnows (*[illegible]*) wear no masks they are definitely part of the dance ensemble; they have a dance step, a song, and a dramatic role. The Minnows are the youngsters and form a school of fish that presumably stands for the youngsters' play pack.[6] They are a boisterous element, moving in and out among the masked dancers. Lacking masks and, accordingly, formal ceremonial status they play a counterpoint of sheer spontaneity to the more solemn dances of the masks. While the role clearly belongs to youngsters, boys are not limited to it. Prepubescent boys do, indeed, wear masks. Those I saw were Butterflies and I was told that a youngster may dance any role but *Yaví*, the Jaguar. The Minnows play on curious shrill whistles. The whistles resemble a short three-tube Panpipe and are mounted at the end of a stick about a yard in length that is hung with three streamers of bark cloth. The dancers wear ankle rattles and dance in a spiral formation, taking two accented steps forward and then two oblique steps back. They hold their whistle sticks pointing up. They have no particular formation, dancing sometimes abreast, sometimes in line, and, alternately, in disorder. The Minnows do all their dancing among the women, who dote on them and ply them with chicha.

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## *XUDJÍKO* AND *XUDJÍKÜ*

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The "grandmother" and her consort are, for the Cubeo, the truly solemn and sacred element of the *óyne*. Represented by giant 15-foot-long trumpets of wound bark that are bound as twins to a single frame, they are taboo to all the women, as are all ancestral horns. The trumpets are capable only of deep, mournful notes and represent ancestral mourning. It is the grandmother, however, who has come to mourn and not the grandparents. The reason for this is that it is a woman's role to be an official weeper. Men may and do

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[6] It will be recalled that in the story of *Kúwai* and the anaconda, the penis of the anaconda is transformed into four minnows that are given to the adulterous wife to eat.

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765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point 765 614 532 [203] of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will [533] [535] [776] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

## MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE *ÓYNE*

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

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"*Dékóků*[7] has punished you." Then other people came and wrapped the boy in his hammock, put him into a large jar, and buried him in the house. No one wept. After three days an old man began to think what people should do about death. They decided to have an *óyne*. They made dance masks. At first they did not know how to make bark cloth so they made masks of leaves. *Kúwai* came and told them this was not good. In one day *Kúwai* made all the bark-cloth masks for the people. They did not know how to paint the masks and *Kúwai* showed them how. They gathered red pigment and carbon soot, and by midday the masks were all finished. *Kúwai* climbed the duka tree. At the top he cut off the bark and brought it down to make the fringes for the skirt and sleeves. The people then divided the maloca into a men's and women's part. In the men's part an old woman sat down to sing. But soon the real *Xudjiko* came along singing and the people were frightened. But *Kúwai* said, "Don't be afraid. This old woman is *Xudjiko*, who has come to help you weep." The old lady ran away and *Xudjiko* took her place. Then *Kúwai* said, "When other people die do the same thing. Weep for a short time only." He told them to dance and sing. When they had finished *Xudjiko* went away. She no longer comes. Instead they make a horn.

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*Xudjiko* and her consort live at Uaracapuri, the source of the Cubeo. They were the first of the Ancients to die and they were the first to make the bark-cloth masks. The headpieces of the masks are set with feathers; the most prominent vertical feather is said to represent *Xudjikũ* and the most prominent horizontal feather is said to represent *Xudjiko*.[8]

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## RITUAL THEMES IN THE *ÓYNE*

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The five main sets of characters in the *óyne* each represent then one major ritual theme: the women represent weeping; the masks, the concern of the living world for the deceased as well as for the living; the minnows, the boisterous character of young men;

[7] The term means "ghost" or "spirit" but it has here the connotation of "Great Spirit." However, since I did not learn of a Cubeo belief in a Great Spirit the allusion is puzzling, and is to be considered as unexplained. [776] [114]

[8] The apparent inconsistency between this account and the previous one referring to *Kúwai* illustrates two strands in Cubeo mythical thought. One strand, nonancestral, focuses on *Kúwai*, a figure of the Arawakan tribes. The other strand is ancestral and is, perhaps, truly Tucanoan. The Cubeo do not reconcile both strands. The question of which version is produced depends on the context, which may be either general or ancestral. [114]

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532 *Xudjiko* and her consort, the mourning by the primordial ancestors; and the sib units, the solidarity of the phratry in expressing both 765 grief and anger. The dramatizations and mimetic dances present a 786 variety of minor themes, such as menace and hilarity. If one looks 182 at the *oyne* as a whole, however, and follows the sequence of events from their slow and solemn beginning to their conclusion in a simulated sexual orgy and then in a real one, a single main theme emerges, and that is the sexual interplay between men and women. [775] By contrast to the sexual emphasis, the ritual of dealing with the spirit of the deceased seems almost minor and anticlimactic. It is only at the very end, when most guests have departed, that the ghost is dispatched. The climax of the first part of the *oyne* is ritual coitus, just as the climax of the second part is sexual license. We can therefore describe the *oyne* in terms of ritualized sexual sequence.

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Fig. 11 Mourning ceremony, women's entrance.

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765 The host
831 women stand apart on their side of the house and serve chicha to
786 the Minnows.

The males leave and the excitement of the women subsides.
765 Through the night, however, the men come to dance among the
831 women. The fence that divides the house into a male and female
786 half is also an emotional dividing line. Dances form on the male
535 side, where they are solemn and subdued. When they pass to the women's side, the dancers are excited. When they go back they revert to calm. It is tempting to interpret the movement of the masked dancers – who look phallic – through the overlapping slit in the wall as symbolizing coitus, particularly since with almost each passage the level of excitement is heightened.

The excitement of the Minnows is allowed to subside in a calm interval. *Máwayo* (the red-mouthed aracú), and *U* (sloth) do a slow dance, holding long poles with a crook at one end which they suspend from a roof beam and upon which they swing. The Sloth always falls. He lies on the ground kicking a leg and making feeble gestures of arising, only to fall again. But *Máwayo* is slow and graceful and swings gently on his pole. The Sloth arises, and the dancers cross poles and gracefully dance out.

• [532] They are all followed by the Minnows. Each Minnow now carries a long pole that is joined to all the others by a string from which dangles a carved wooden bird. They do a circle dance with the bird in the center. As they circle, stamping strongly to accent the beat on the right foot, they jostle the women, moving in upon them to enclose them in the circle. The Jaguars now rush in, wilder than ever,
[857] leaping about among the women and falling upon them. They are followed by the boys with the *dúpu* on its string. The boys ensnare the young girls in the *dúpu* string. Now two masked dancers come in with long flaming broomsticks. They dash about among the women, swinging the flaming fibers among them. The women scatter in noisy panic, kicking over baskets and dishes. The attack by flame excites the Jaguars as well, and they whirl around among the women in sheer frenzy. As they flee this new menace, the women say, "The jaguars are angry. They will soon attack people." The Jaguars, how-
[534] ever, are no menace to the men. One climbs on top of the partition and blows noisily into his jug horn, and another climbs a roof beam overlooking the women, both in a simulated attack upon them.

The Jaguars withdraw, and the next entrance is again a quiet one. Two Spiders, slowly and gracefully holding a long string from the middle of which hangs a feather, dance toward one another, winding up the string until they are face to face at the feather and

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenáddox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled 276
once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is considered a great deal.

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The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already 532
been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies [276] to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be [273] lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also [574] complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives.

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The first guests to arrive are the Satellites – members of the sib – 574
who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of [614] the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional [431] Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each 765
Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side 574
wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the 576
house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head. Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly delivered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound *ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoulder. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted at the rear door by female hosts.

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While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing 574
the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat 789
for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, 754
since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *óyne* in particular, as a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that characterizes the early stages of the *óyne*.

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After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to 574

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765 After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to
574 complete the decorations on the masks they have brought and to ap-
[532] ply personal body decorations.
[302] The sibs of the phratry arrive in late afternoon. These later ar-
rivals are greeted by the hosts wearing dance masks. When they
765 sight their guests they sally out of the house dancing and singing in
574 a winding line around the front plaza. The guests respond by don-
535 ning their own masks and dance up the path, each pair of masked
614 dancers singing its own song. They mingle with the hosts. All com-
plete a circle about the dance plaza, the hosts dance into the house,
and the guests continue dancing outside.

765 Two Butterflies from among the guests approach the open door-
574 way. Each in turn strikes the side wall violently with his rattles. From
535 within Sloth and *Máwayo* thrust their long poles out at them and
"beat them off." The Butterflies rejoin the others. Suddenly all the
dancers rush the doorway and skirmish with the spirits within. Those
with staffs thrust them at the attackers or use them to ward off a
thrust. Those with rattles shake them violently. The "attack" is
noisy and spirited. Beaten off again, the attackers re-form their dance
line and dance to the rear of the house, seeking an entry through that
quarter. But here the doorway is blocked with crossbars and guarded
by Dung beetles, who thrust their long lances at the "attackers."
Again the attacking dancers retire and resume their dance at the
front of the house. After a while they take off their masks, hanging
the garments on poles that have been set for this purpose along the
front walls. Now, as humans, each strikes the side wall violently with
his staff and enters the house. This entry is ritualized. The men flit in
swiftly and silently on tiptoe, whispering *t t t i i i*, and circle the
ceremonial remains of the deceased.

The male hosts have formed themselves into an outer semicircle
facing the guest dancers. They lean on their staffs and look on grimly
as the dancers complete the circle; then they whistle. At this the
[537] dancers come to an abrupt halt in a semicircle facing the hosts and
launch into the orations already described. The speeches are short,
and the men change partners often, each moving out of position when
necessary, or leaning past a companion at his side. After a few minutes
the guests resume the flitting dance. They circle clockwise, whispering
*iii iii iii*, and having completed one circle, dance counterclock-
[622] wise and whistle. Alternating between clockwise and counter-
clockwise and whispering and whistling, they complete several circles
led by their headman, who carries a rattle in his right hand. Dur-
ing this dance only the host headman remains standing and facing
the dancers; the others retire to the benches set behind the dance

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765 273 152 Drinking at the *óyne* is disciplined and follows the emotional gradient of the ceremony. On the first day, which is intramural, the mood is somber and little chicha is taken. On the second day, when guests arrive and the mood is anger-grief, the drinking is still slow. [574] Guests receive the welcome offering of chicha after their third entrance into the maloca and thereafter they drink during all intervals between dances. Formal drinking begins two hours before sundown. 765 273 276 152 The moment is signaled when the hosts brings in *mihí*, the symbol of intoxication. Only the older men take the potion. Thereafter all drinkers are free to grow excited. The elders remain restrained, however, since it is their role to license the excitement of others. They describe their own intoxication as an inner state. They feel a change in mood, they see color visions, but they do not overstep to overt excitement. That is the role assigned to the younger men.

765 273 276 152 562 The rate of drinking and the shift in mood gains momentum in the course of the interplay with the women. Women drink as much as men, but do not take *mihí* and do not get drunk. Their excitement is imparted to them by the men. Thus, the men drink to initiate excitement; the women drink so that they may react. When the men are not among them the women sit passively among their young, the dogs, and their household goods.

765 276 [778] *Mihí* has magical power which the bearers portray dramatically. They pretend to stagger under its weight because *mihí* has power to fell a man. The people I asked did not know, however, why the bearer of *mihí* pranced with his torso bent forward and his knees kicked up high. The bearers whisper *he he he* and then whistle. These are the sounds of spirits and they are the same as the sounds made by the guests when they circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased. A bundle of *mihí* vines is laid with the ceremonial remains 765 during this dance. From a roof beam at the exact center of the house, • 532 where it overlooks equally the male half and the female half, hangs 276 a vulture figure. The body is an ear of corn, the head is carved of wood, and the spreading wings and tail feathers are made of old basket fragments. The bird hangs like a mobile. It is said to be "drunk" on *mihí*, and it presides over the *óyne* to give the proper spirit of intoxication. The vulture of intoxication is the patron, so to speak, of the *óyne*.* Mobiles of other birds are also hung about the house, as are painted images of fish. I did not learn the significance of these.

* The vulture is thought of here not so much in the sense of its being a carrion eater, but for its quality of soaring. Compare *kaed* (vulture) with *kaidno* (sky).

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765 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I ob-
775 served the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around
266 him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an
114 urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahûkiwa*.

765 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in
824 the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. There-
783 after, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for
775 at least another generation.

MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE ÓYNE

532 Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 765 776 | 1. *Makuko* | (K-G)[a] | A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun. |
| | 2. *Kohako* | (K-G) | Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them. |
| | 3. *Hailako* | (K-G) | A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand. |
| | 4. *Palutziko* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| | 5. *Anauako* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| | 6. *Abûhuwa* | (K-G;IG)[b] | Forest demons. |
| | 7. *Hokoaboxoko* | (K-G) | Giant tree demons. |

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

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171 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of
184 caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe
266 that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wallace, 1870, p. 498).

765 Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéos. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabucuris, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enrivant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'energie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 173).

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| 8. | *Valuliaboxoko* | (K-G) | A giant demon, killer of fish, who is actually the carara bird, a great devourer of fish. |

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**Birds**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | *Murukutuko (pupuli)* and | (K-G) | The owl. Has a mask covering only the head. |
| 10. | *Hauhabo* | (K-G) | Holds a torch in one hand and a stick in the other and jumps up and down in imitation of the owl jumping from branch to branch. Regarded as an evil devourer of people. |
| 11. | *Kavá* | (K-G;IG) | The carrion vulture. |
| 12. | *Miavi* | (K-G:IG) | The eagle. The mask has a white facepiece with an hourglass frame surmounting it. |
| 13. | *Kolupilabo* | (K-G) | A small prey bird. |
| 14. | *Kulika* | (K-G) | A bird of the parrot family. |
| 15. | *Yekó* | (K-G;IG) | A bird of the parrot family. |
| 16. | *Kobauako* | (K-G) | A bird of the parrot family. |
| 17. | *Olo mo okô* | (K-G) | The aracua. |
| 18. | *Umanami* | (K-G) | The ten tem (*Tachyphonus*). |
| 19. | *Yolouena* | (K-G) | Swallows. |
| 20. | *Pinikabokû* | (IG) | A small white bird. |

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**Fish**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21. | *Borikakû* | (K-G;IG) | The aracú. |
| 22. | *Máwayo* | (K-G;IG) | The red-mouthed aracú. |
| 23. | *Avali* | (K-G) | A small aracú. |
| 24. | *Pyénkû* | (IG) | A small black fish. |
| 25. | *Ihiabolû* | (K-G;IG) | A small fish. |
| 26. | *Haima* | (K-G) | The yaudia. |
| 27. | *Batakahaima* | (K-G) | The black yaudia. |
| 28. | *Auaholabo* | (K-G) | The colored aracú. |
| 29. | *Iyudyo* | (K-G) | A small aracú. |
| 30. | *Emiwa* | (IG) | Minnows. |

**Insects**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 31. | *Keratamówa* | (K-G;IG) | Dung beetles. |
| 32. | *Tatárako* | (K-G;IG) | The butterfly. |
| 33. | *Maka* | (K-G) | A bird-catching spider. |
| 34. | *Pekâ penkûnkû* | (IG) | Beetle larvae. |
| 35. | *Budyauobo* | (K-G) | The leaf bug. |
| 36. | *Bobobo* | (K-G) | The house spider. |
| 37. | *Uménahonkû* | (K-G;IG) | The dragonfly. |
| 38. | *Malakaibo* | (K-G) | A large night butterfly. |
| 39. | *Bobako* | (K-G) | A small night swarmer. |
| 40. | *Kumatidiauo* | (K-G) | A caterpillar. |
| 41. | *Tadyiwa pikoa* | (K-G) | A caterpillar. |
| 42. | *Kohidiveko* | (IG) | The cockroach. |
| 43. | *Himáuwa* | (IG) | Caterpillars. |
| 44. | *Utáwe* | (K-G) | The firefly. |
| 45. | *Henohenóri* | (IG) | The bee. |
| 46. | *Utcikû* | (K-G;IG) | The wasp. |
| 47. | *Kubuwa* | (K-G) | Sand flies. |

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**Mammals**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 48. | *Yuri* | (K-G:IG) | The jaguar. |
| 49. | *Nyamáko* | (K-G:IG) | The deer. |
| 50. | *U* | (K-G:IG) | The sloth. |
| 51. | *Pamúrũ* | (IG) | The armadillo. |
| 52. | *Kapáro* | (IG) | The monkey. |
| 53. | *Huani* | (IG) | The peccary. |

**Reptiles and Amphibians**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 54. | *Ila* | (K-G) | The yararaca snake. |
| 55. | *Ila ko ko ko* | (K-G) | A small frog. |
| 56. | *Umáua* | (IG) | Frogs. |
| 57. | *Pampámibo* | (IG) | Frogs (another variety). |
| 58. | *Pucúnua* | (IG) | Small frogs. |
| 59. | *Xiubũ* | (IG) | The alligator. |

**Unidentified**

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|---|---|---|---|
| 60. | *Pikuré* | (IG) | |
| 61. | *Tonkikũ* | (IG) | |
| 62. | *Imihikũ* | (IG) | |

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776 mythical fish with a mouth that has the lower jaw of the puño and
825 an upper jaw shaped like the beak of a parrot. Should a menstruant enter a canoe he will break it to bits. The Cubeo do not say that their fish ceremenials are for the purpose of promoting success in fishing. Their view rather is that when they are happy with a catch of fish they enjoy dancing with them. Increase magic may underlie the Cubeo relationship with fish. But if it does they either no longer recognize the instrumental motive or else they refuse to acknowledge it.

825 As with the *Bekûpwänwa*, the Cubeo relationship with the animal
771 world is largely one of establishing proper social relationships. In such relationships compulsion is out of place. In the animist world view of the Cubeo the entire animal world is communicant with the world of man. Some relationships, as has been noted, are dangerous, and therefore stand out in a special category. Among the dangerous relationships is that of the jaguar. Since the jaguar is identified with the shaman, it is more suitably discussed under the heading of shamanism. There are birds, such as a parrot called *bauvéko* and marúku monkeys, who are feared because they are foretellers of misfortune. For the rest, and with the exceptions noted previously, the relationship between man and the animal world is casual and friendly. On the river, as we have already observed, the Indians address birds and fish by name. Their intense interest in domesticating animals of almost every variety as household pets must also be considered as part of the effort at communication of a concrete form.

825 The birds, *míwa*, are friendly spirits. They emerged, it is said,
776 from Uaracapuri with the Ancients and were originally in human form. The birds are the planters of fruits and berries and are their
[273] guardian spirits. They are appropriately at the same time the guard-
[532] ian spirits of intoxication, a bird with a corn-cob body and wings of
[765] a manioc tray fragment presiding in that capacity over the *óyne*.

The luminary *aiyá*, who is both sun and moon, is a more distant
776 anthropomorphic spirit.[1] The Cubeo interest is in the moon, the li-
821

[1] The doctrine of *aiyá* as both sun and moon is mythological only. It does not mean that the Cubeo do not distinguish clearly between these two bodies. *Aiyá* refers to the anthropomorphic being whose activities are actually in moon form; it refers also to direction. East is called by the Cubeo *aiyádaino* (*aiyá* [the sun] is coming). West correspondingly is expressed as "*aiyá* is going." To express time, however, the sun is referred to by the particular name of *handwükakü*, an anthropomorphic form that has, however, no anthropomorphic connotation to my knowledge. *Handwü* refers to time in the abstract, while *handwü koríka* (sun in the center) means "midday." All specific times are given by describing the position of the sun in the sky. The word for "day" or "daylight" is *hánan* and is apparently based upon the verb root *ha* (to see). The Cubeo disclaim any anthro-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



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824
682

When the rains come the abdomen swells. After days of steady rain the swollen abdomen bursts.

*Yokaihye* (leaf poison) is reputed to be so poisonous a leaf that it is never touched with the bare hand. The leaf is boiled in water and allowed to dry. Its powder is wrapped in a leafy bag and dipped in any liquid to form an infusion. Some of this liquid spilled on the victim leaves a black spot that quickly disappears. Shortly thereafter the victim dies.

*Pothaiye* is a berry poison. Its extract is put in chicha or at the end of a stick if it is to be poked up the victim's nose when he is asleep. It causes a slow death by wasting.

*Dyóka* is a forest plant that kills only children but will sicken adults. A moist packet is allowed to drip over the forehead of the sleeping victim. There is said to be a remedy for this.

There are many other *ihé* products that were not identified to me by name. Some, from the end of a stick, are inserted into the nostrils of a sleeper. People who specialize in this are night wanderers called *parébohe abúhuwa* (very powerful *abúhuwa*). They can see in the dark and are difficult to observe. They lack specific motive for their deeds and may be regarded as male witches. It is these witches who are tortured by having their flesh torn with fishhooks – one tear for each victim – when they are caught. 754 [683]

Another *ihé* product is *pené*, an ash that comes from a secret site 754 278 824 682

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Fig. 13. Petroglyph: *Kómi* playing the ancestral trumpet, Alligator (*Predikwa* sib). [614]

sixty feet wide, with the ridge of its roof thirty feet above the ground. This 342
ridge is supported by six great posts, three on either side; the central space extending down the length of the *maloca* is like the nave of a church. The roof is thatched with palm fronds overlapping to a depth of four inches and extending almost to ground level on either side. These fronds may have to be brought from a great distance and vary in quality – the best lasting for years, while others rot quickly and require frequent patching.

As the sun rises each morning over the surrounding forest it lights on the [532]
striking clay and charcoal designs which are painted along the whole width of the front wall. Slivers of light find their way through the palm screening and form patterns on the floor and the walls inside. The only other light comes from the men's and women's entrances at opposite ends of the house, entrances which are often kept shut to discourage the flying insects that are usually at their worst during the middle of the day. From these doorways 353
bars of sunlight cross the hard earth floor, lighting the main posts of the house. Beyond, just discernible, is the *chicha* canoe, the great vat which quenches the thirst of the dancing guests at festivals. Near by stands a forked pole where hang coca pouches, fruit-husk ankle-rattles and fretworked gourd *maracas*. On the floor are calabashes, some with coca inside, others with tobacco, and the wooden stools on which the men squat, passing half the night over their stories of past deeds in tribal wars and great hunting expeditions.

Overhead the smoke-blackened thatch is hidden in the gloom. Hanging [292]
from a beam is the most treasured possession: the barkcloth-covered palm box containing ceremonial feathers, monkey-fur belts and puma-tooth necklaees – all the precious adornments for the tribal dances, the greatest occasion of all in the lives of the Indians. The palm-woven screens, which [354]
divide the quarters of the women and the head of the house from those of guests, reach from floor to thatch. Near by are the great, flat, pottery cassava ovens. Hosts of baskets and *cumare* hammocks are strung from the house posts around the fires, and the hard earth floor is kept spotlessly clean by thousands of tiny scavenger ants.

Why the *malocas* should have been built on such a vast and gloomy scale 342
remains a mystery. It is possible that their very size gives the Indian a sense of 161
protection from the surrounding forest. It may also help to keep the interior cooler. But it is most likely a sign of depopulation, the breaking up of the clans through rubber exploitation and disease; where once a hundred or more people lived, now there are twenty.

José once told us that his father spoke of tribal wars on the river, when ...

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ABOVE: *Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking.* BELOW: *Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.* [see p. 62-B]

weeks to carve into the hard rock. It is possible that some in the past represented boundary marks. The Indians do not appear to recognize territorial areas within the forest, but they may have rights to fish over certain sections of the rivers. 172

It is unlikely that the engravings can be ascribed to any one period and there seemed little resemblance to contemporary Indian art. Certainly Tukano design is mostly limited to triangles and crosses, and relies more on colour than form. The most striking example we saw was the Tatuya *maloca* on the Piraparaná, the bark front wall of which was covered with a series of cross, square and triangle designs coloured with brown, yellow and white river clays and a black charcoal compound. But this is by far the most dramatic example of Tukano art, with the possible exception of the elaborate body painting and the magnificent head-dresses used during the festivals. Their pottery, though finely made, bears no design, except for a pot containing the narcotic *yajé*, used only by the elders during certain festivals and curing sessions. This is covered with different coloured clays, charcoal and red *karayuru* dye. Similar triangular coloured designs are also found on the *yarumo* dancing-staves. 531 532

The most common type of engraving is the fretted design on the gourd maracas used during tribal dances. One end of the pebble stave, a lance-like rattle used by the shaman, is also carved with lines and triangles together with a pattern of bird feathers, said to give it greater magical power. This stave and a drinking gourd with an elaborate circular design of triangles, loops and chevrons, we tried to obtain for our collection, but without success. Certain articles were so highly regarded by the Indians that they would not part with them, no matter what they were offered in exchange.

Of all the rock engravings we saw, that of Ni the river god (see drawing on p. 31) was by far the most striking. Travelling on from Kaperwa, we came to an unusually long set of rapids through which we guided the boat with our paddles. We were concentrating so hard on the rapids and the water swirling around the boat, that the unexpected sight of a pyramid of rock jutting massively out of the river in front came as rather a shock. Even more unexpected was the grotesque figure cut deeply into the granite face of the giant boulder. With arms and legs outstretched he seemed to dominate the river, to embrace it with a hypnotic spell. 532 776

Unlike the other carvings we saw, Ni was engraved in granite. The finely-drawn lines, carved half an inch deep, gave symmetry to the life-size figure which must have taken an Indian craftsman months of labour to create. Our own steel knives were easily blunted by the hard crystalline rock.

Ni faced upstream into the setting sun. Behind, on the east slope of the rock, were suns and a quarter-moon. The suns, some with emanating rays, were composed of a series of three or four concentric rings up to two feet in diameter.

*Tukano*

115 Hitherto José had remained silent and appeared to know nothing of these engravings nor had he given us any indication of their whereabouts. This was surprising, for, being himself a Barasana, of a Tukano clan, he was presumably aware of their existence. Then one evening, perhaps encouraged by our curiosity, he told us the following anecdote:

101 773 776 'The Barasana have always lived here, they were born here. They and the Taiwano have always been friends and had common enemies in the Tatuya, Karapana and Ureti whom they used to fight with bow and arrows. They both have the same god who has power over all things. It is he who made Ni, in his own likeness, the drawings have been here for ever, and this is the only place where they occur. The other Indians do not have them.' He pointed to a great natural pillar of granite called the Bee, which stood in the river upstream of Ni: 'That rock was once a pile of manioc, which the people had placed there. Ni turned it into stone. Below the rapids is the underwater cave, his palace, where the god sings to the drawings and the spirits.'

• 532 132

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



hensive study of these designs all over South America. Certain trends might be found, early migrations might be illustrated by particular styles. The study might also tell us something of the character of these people. It could show the course of their migrations and possibly even date them, though, unlike the cave art of Europe, it is impossible to date individual drawings. But if the diversity of the trends of art in the small area we visited is any indication, a survey of the whole would seem an almost superhuman task.

Among the highlanders artistic expression had less of the foresters' spontaneity. Their art had a particular purpose. The coloured stripes and markings on their cotton mantles showed the lineage or family of the wearer. The Kogi, we were told, had gold ornaments, face-masks and even feather head-dresses in their temples. But they were kept hidden as objects of religious ceremonial. The Motilon found expression in the bindings of their arrow-heads, but these, again, were probably once tribal marks used for identification.

The foresters seemed to decorate everything: the patterned basket-weaves of the Noanamá, their bead caps and gourd designs; the musical instruments, the clay or charcoal designs on the front of a Tukano *maloca*, and their gay festival paraphernalia. Here there was a more natural outflow of creativeness, which had become inhibited among the highlanders. There were a few signs of outside influence, yet it was essentially traditional art. The head-dress we brought back to the British Museum was compared with one obtained on the Caquetá by the botanist Richard Spruce over a hundred years ago. It is impossible to tell the difference. Here as in all Indian art is evidence of the supernatural, the power of an unfathomed spirit world. There is none of the triumph of mind over matter, none of the intellectualism we find in European art with the evolution of classicism and the baroque. In this sense even the work of the Maya or the Aztec was still primitive.

The forest dweller's art has the spontaneity of a child, yet his approach is both sophisticated and intelligent. He will weave a pattern for a basket because the idea appeals to him and shape a paddle with the finish of a craftsman and the design of an artist.

The Indian is something of a connoisseur. This is the result of a natural critical sense. The Tukano would never accept cloth, fish-hooks or beads from us without a thorough previous inspection. The colour of the cloth is of prime importance, its strength would be tested, as would be that of the fish-hooks and nylon line, and the test for a good bead was to place it between the teeth – to see if it cracked! Pottery or baskets we had obtained by barter

LEFT: *A Motilon playing an axe-head flute.* RIGHT: *A child at his mother's breast; in front of them is ground maize.* [see p. 182-B]

/169 cont./

*192 822

It is to be noted that in the Tukano language (46)

> 46. And not only the Tukano, but also the other idioms of the Uaupés (Tukano linguistic family) and of the Caburí use the same term for the colors red and yellow, and another for green and blue.

there is only one term, sõãse, to indicate orange, red and yellow, and another, ya'sasé, for green and blue, although they distinguish not only the seven simple colors, but also the intermediate ones.

• 533 534

As for the music, although not favored with a voice, since he generally has a shrill one, the taste and the relative ease with which he learns the songs with one or more voices are to be noted. Their dance songs, although they are monotonous and sad, are very harmonious, and the motifs that they execute on their flutes are quite varied and pleasant. Endowed, so to speak, with the musical instinct, the child learns the rhythm and the steps of the traditional dances with the greatest facility, without schooling, watching and dancing. Even the children are capable of preparing their flutes, even those called de Pã or carí̃ço, as well as small organs of six to ten tubes, corresponding to the musical notes and harmonizing their various musical instruments perfectly.

*[192]

/Page 170 in the original text is blank./

123
202

/255 cont./

/footnote 7 cont./ had gone about four hundred meters, a characteristic cry, which seemed to us more like the chirping of some bird, was heard. The Tukano who came along with us as oarsmen interpreted at once: "It is the tuxaua who is calling in order to return the machete." Truly the tuxaua was waiting for us with the machete, which was returned to its legitimate owner.

On several occasions, as we navigated the headwaters of the rivers or the igarapés, Indians who were in the interior of the forest and heard the noise of the oars exchanged whistles with our oarsmen, who afterwards would give us detailed information: who they were, if they were hunting, picking fruits, looking for caraná, or cutting lumber. It is to be noted that we never heard the Indian humming his songs or whistling for mere diversion.

[533]

/256/ 2. Sciences.

a) Geography -- Topography.

823
[153]

Their geographic notions of the region are not very numerous, but they are accurate. It is difficult to distinguish what they know through individual experience, through tribal tradition, or through the influence of the civilized whom they consult, because, endowed with an excellent memory, they retain the information that they receive, like that which they learn visually.

/273 cont./

d) His curing processes.

755 The curing process, even in cases of the use of adequate remedies, of plants of recognized therapeutic virtue, is based on suggestion, or at least it is helped by it. As a matter of fact, from the massages or suction of the ailing part, or from making water fall there from a cuia, they later show the patient (having recourse to prestidigitation, as Koch Grünberg, Z. I. 99 was able to observe) the object (bone, /274/ stone, thorn, insects, scales, etc.) that has been extracted from the painful member and caused him the pains, Waxkarí.

With the help of narcotics or stimulants, he will induce in himself states of crisis or of nervous excitation, during which he sees the causes of the sickness, or those who have caused the malefice. He will be able to make the patient see it too. He will prefer to bring the patient to his hut; or he will go to that of the patient during the night. He will demand the absence of other persons, and, alone with the patient, he will start his practices in an atmosphere of darkness and mystery, muttering very rapidly (21)

[797] 21. For this reason they like the Missionary to say the prayers more quickly.

unintelligible words, sung in a peculiar tone and alternated with loud sighs and groans. They know and perform a series of songs, each one with its efficacy for a given type of infirmity (22).

[533] [534] [126] [113]

22. We have managed to record some of those songs of the pajés from the Tukano, Wanana, Taryana, and Huhúdeni tribes, which can be heard in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" of the Centro de Pesquisas of Iauareté. Address: P. Alcionilio Brüzzi, Largo C. de Jesus, 154, S. Paulo, Brazil.

/274 cont./

755 often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), re-
[533] garded as a magic instrument.
[534]

[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

[797] 23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic
[753] cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirá-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

756 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses,
731 epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or caríço, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale, as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto /countersong/ to the other.

533 They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs, even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly
[177] appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

[194] As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of
[147] the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice has little elasticity (54),

54. The voice has so little elasticity that perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and
[562] dances the men never sing; the women do it infrequently, for example, when they work in the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however, that the men's songs are religious hymns, whereas those of the women are bacchic compositions that they render when they distribute the drink. Among the alumni, and especially among the
[797] alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a greater elasticity, and one hears humming more frequently. This, however, is usually the religious or secular songs learned at school.

/299 cont./

533 [147] [194] is metallic and unpleasant when he speaks, and it is even more metallic in conjunction, when they speak or sing.

2) Songs.

The native likes to sing, although he appears bashful about doing it, outside the feasts, in front of the civilized. He has a repertoire of songs for the ritual dances (religious songs), and others for his amusement (secular songs). The former are always in choir, without solos and in only one voice. The latter are sung by one or more singers simultaneously or alternately, repeating the same theme or not.

a) Religious songs.

They are sung exclusively by the men. They are slow, monotonous, with many repetitions. As for the rhythm, inspiration, and /300/ movement, they can be classified or grouped among the Gregorian compositions. Since the only process of [178] apprenticeship is by hearing and the memory, it follows that the music is preserved more or less faithfully (55);

55. As is verified by watching their feasts in different circumstances and places or among different tribes.

[178] the lyrics, however, have been corrupted. Nowadays in many of these songs there are only sounds without meaning, and the forest dwellers themselves confess that they do not understand the meaning of the articulations that they utter (56).

56. As happens, incidentally, in the popular songs of the civilized. (Cf. also VII-6, a (2) /see a (3)/.)

/300 cont./

533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

533 Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very [276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the *[192] tuxáua sings as follows:

[539] "mãrĩ bũxkõrá, mãrĩ paxkõ-s'õmõã baxsesé duhí-wé:pãra, yõõ ná põrá uhú duhí, uhú duhí we:yá, mãxsã yõõ põra"; that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively [562] for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule, [273] the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in [535] the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning; they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

/301 cont./

533 As for the execution, one must point out that beautiful voices are sometimes found. Among the Baniva and the Kubêwãna one also observes piano or even pianissimo passages and forte ones, a consideration that we did not notice among other tribes. There is no preoccupation, however, with the breathing; especially when, already temulent, the woman will sing while she has any breath, then suddenly interrupts the verse or the melody in order to breathe noisily.

Some of these songs of the dances of the women, as well as of the pajés, end with laughing or a characteristic cry.

c) Songs of the xamã /shaman/.

533 756 [184] There is a repertoire belonging exclusively to the pajés. Since one pajé is trained in the school of another, perhaps of a different tribe (cf. VII -- 2, e (2 f) ), this explains the fact of hearing the same song rendered by pajés of different tribes. Nevertheless the melodies of the songs of the Tukano pajés of the Tiquie are quite different from those of the Wanana and Arwáke pajés that we were able to record (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/").

[534] [755] The pajés almost always sing to the sound of the maracá. Their songs constitute one of the curing processes and thus will vary according to the sickness. The musical theme is a Greek-Gregorian canon, melodious, slow, solemn. In some songs the words are already found adulterated; they are articulated sounds without meaning. At times laughs are also inserted.

3) Musical instruments.

534 R. G. Izikowitz (Musical and other sound instruments of the South American Indians -- A comparative ethnical study, 1935) presents four groups of musical instruments: 1st) idiophones, 2nd) membranophones, 3rd) chordophones, and 4th) aerophones. We do not find any example of the third group among the tribes of the

/307 cont./

*192 way, instead of poxsõ, makú; and they explained why,
534 that is, it serves as a servant, it is the makú of the jurupari);
3rd pair: doé (taraira), its wife is pextoá (kingfisher);
4th pair: dẽ'tõ (squirrel), its wife is also pusõ.

[184] It seems that each tribe has its peculiar way of preparing the mĩriã, so that, without previous practicing, those of one tribe do not know how to play properly the instruments of another tribe. At least the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) apologized for having only one man among them who knew how to play the mĩriã loaned for the occasion by the neighboring Huhudẽne of Uaupuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana).

13th. -- Eheõnõ. It is not properly speaking a musical instrument, but a legendary object and for commemoration of the legends. We have already described this small horn above (cf. VI -- 4, i (3) ).

4) Musical themes of the Panpipes.

• 533 The Salesian Missionary, Pe. Eduardo Lagório, admirer
[115] of the native music (58),

> 58. And who has already been inspired by the native musical themes for the composition of religious and secular songs.

provided the following notes about the Panpipes /flautas-de-pã/ and their musical themes.

/308/

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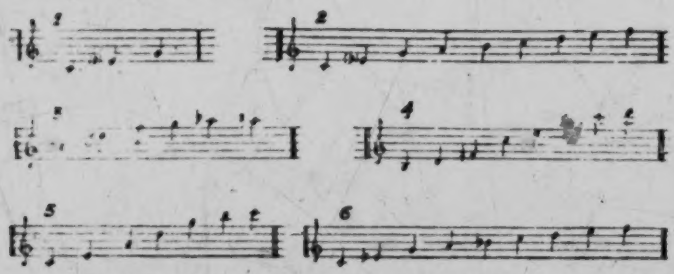
"The first three tubes (of the Panpipe) always give a chord most of the time major and once in a while minor, the first three tubes giving the result:



1. Notes of the first three tubes; 2. wãnyã-pa (of nine tubes); 3. yõrõrí-pa (of six tubes); 4. puxtirí-pa (of eight tubes); 5. wéõ-pa (of seven tubes); 6. yõtirí-pa (of nine tubes).

*192
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The other tubes will follow with more variety. There is a small flute, which they call wãnỹã-pa, with nine tubes, the notes of which are the following (2 supra):

The other one with which they answer the thicker tubes, or vice versa, takes the name of yõtiri-pa (yõti, they answer).

The tonalities will of course vary with the variation of the measurements. These will depend on the measurement adopted for the largest tube, and also on its manufacturer, because they are measured by the phalanges of their fingers. The difference in size between the first and second tube corresponds to the first two phalanges of the index finger; between the second and third tube, and between the latter and the fourth, to the first phalanx of the index finger; between the fourth and the fifth, only a half a phalanx; between the other tubes only the tip of the index finger.

It should be noted that, starting with the third tube, the diameter decreases. This rule holds for the small type wanyã-pa.

They prepare, moreover, a small flute of six tubes, which they call yõrõrí-pa and is played alone, that is, without contracanto.

One of them gave the following notes (3 supra):

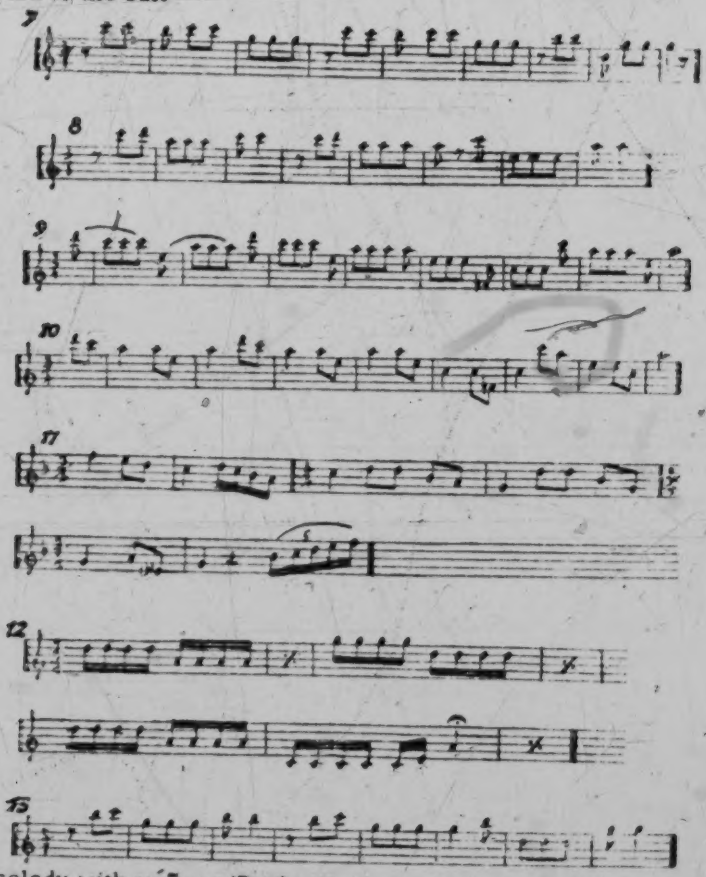
With longer tubes they manufacture various types of flutes, one called wéõ-pa, another, puxtirí-pa.

The same ones blown in the thicker tubes, or vice versa, serve as contracanto and in this case are also called yõtirí-pa.

/308 cont./

533 Two of them, compared with the harmonium, and which were
534 used for playing the melodies below, gave the following notes (4 and 5 supra): /The final quotation marks for the quotation that begins at the top of p. 451 are missing in the original source./

533 /309/ The same informant furnished the following melodies, chosen among the easiest ones of the native repertoire, to be adapted to the bar:




*[192] 7. melody with wéõ-pa (7 tubes); 8. melodic variation with the instrument of 8 tubes; 9. melody with puxtirí-pa (8 tubes); 10. another melody with that of 8 tubes; 11. melody with the yõtirí-pa (9 tubes); 12. melody with wéõ-pa (7 tubes); 13. another melody with wéõ-pa.

/338 cont./

796 [123] [126] *[192]

/footnote 45 cont./ he would not allow him to attend the dance. Confirmation of this religious character, it seems to us, is also found in the refusal to our request to repeat the ceremony of the offering of the fish (waí poosé) under better conditions, so that we could film it. Nevertheless these Indians repeated the simple dances for us for this same purpose.

[126]

The Tukano Antônio Barreto (December of 1953) assured us that they did not do poosé in front of the whites. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to attend it and to film it. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 202): he moreover was able to attend it on the Umarí-igarapé, but many Indians appeared displeased by this, and the tuxáua José did not allow him to take photographs.

As though they were undertaking a serious ceremony and not a diversion. Nothing will disturb these rites. Singing mysterious words (ancient dialect? or, with more probability, mere corruption) which they do not understand, dancing in a slow cadence and marking the time with stronger beats with the right foot.

• [533] [535]

/339/ 4th. -- They attribute to such feasts in addition an efficacious healing action. It can drive away all the sicknesses and even heal large wounds (46).

[755]

46. This is what Koch Grünberg was able to verify (Zwei Iahre, 202): "dem Yurupari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung sugeschrieben /sic/. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen" /a strong magical effect is attributed to the Yurupari dance. It is supposed to drive away all sicknesses, and even

/345 cont./

796 535 *[192] Some of these dances are performed partially inside and partially outside the maloca, for example, the one that is called "wa'wári baxsá," which could be translated as "the dance of the caps," since wá-wá is a cap plaited with arumã splints. The dancers moreover go to the yard of the maloca around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, again around midnight, before dawn, and, finally, around 9 o'clock in the morning. According to the legends, the ancestors of the tribes danced at those times outside the maloca. And the feast is not only a recollection, but is also meant to be a reviviscence of the principal episodes of the epopee of their origins.

• [533] *[192] In one of these dance numbers the wife of the local tuxáua goes into the middle of the dancers' circle and utters a long and shrill cry, while the men continue to dance around her. This soloist is called yõhõgó (52).

52. Yõhõgó is the feminine present participle of yohõ, which seems to be an onomatope of the sound that she sings. An informant also called her nõ'mõ bayá, that is, woman bayá (see VII-6, a (2) ).

She must not take a breath during this dance, but cry out with only one breath. If she breathes in the middle of the song, it means that she will not live long. In this dance, says a Piratapuya informant (Emiliana Castro), they imitate the hopping of the cotias /agouti/, [115]

[273] The dances are about to start. The caxirí is served in large cuias. Each individual will drink as much as he wants. If there is any left, the next companion will empty the cuia, with the right, however, to help himself first from the cuia that will then be filled immediately. Those who distribute the drink represent the butterfly: they have a feather over each ear, representing the wings and a small tendril of cipo in a spiral on the forehead by way of a proboscis. They advance in a rush,

796 /348/
535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

[514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3, [534] c (3c) ). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the • [533] ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, i (4) /see
273 i (3)/). One of the old Kõmũ prepared it during the dabacurí.
*[192] At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over
[533] the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Cururu-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

/357 cont./

776 It seems that we are faced with some confusion between
177 the primitive notions and the ideas that the travelers, colonizers, and Missionaries brought and even taught them in different epochs.

*192 Wãx-tĩ, we have concluded, is a general term to designate these various beings, like our word "Spirit." The term
776 also occurs in the plural, Wãx-tĩa baxsá, dance of the Wãx-tĩ. Probably it is derived from the root wax, and from the substantivizing determinative tĩ. As a matter of fact, there is in the Tukano language the root wax, which would indicate: to imagine, idea, to form ideas, model. Wax-kũ means to think, perhaps from the root wax and the verb kũ, to put.

776 Among the different Wãx-tĩ or spirits, there is one par excellence, the "Wãx-tĩ," as we say "The Supreme, Most Perfect Spirit," or simply the Spirit.

Wãx-tĩ, as follows from the Uaupés legends (which we
776 shall examine in more detail in another study, "Lendas do Uaupés
782 /Legends of the Uaupés/"), is not only a Hero of the tribe, he is the Legislator, therefore the Supreme Lord. He punishes or will punish transgressions. In order to conjure away his punishments, it is important to propitiate him with particular rituals.
*[192] It can be seen in the poosé or wãx-tĩye baxsasé, sacrifices of fish, beijú, or fruits. And there is also communion of the group in the drinking and the smoking. The lyrics of the songs, today
• [533] corrupted and without meaning, might perhaps have been the sacrificial hymns (68).

[115] 68. One of the students of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), José Barreto, told that his father, one of the most famous bayá, or singers at the feasts, and dance master, had taught him that the songs during the dabacurí or poosé recalled the creation of the human beings.

/357 cont./

776 [533] Those inserted words and shouts are perhaps ritual words and exclamations. We thus have a cult of the deity.

Later there was confusion between the Legislator Spirit and other spirits, that is, between the Wãx-tĩ and the wãx-tiá or wãx-tĩã maxsã, /358/ What could have been the cause? It is certain that religious instruction that was not very deep could give rise to great confusion, even among the civilized. It is likewise beyond doubt that they had successive contacts with the Christians, and there was not perenniality in the Missionaries' work of Christianization. Who knows but that the concept of one true God, who is Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites" (69),

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69. Dr. Pereira Nunes told us of an interview that he had with an old Indian on the Ilha-das-flôres (mouth of the river Uaupés) when he found out that they were celebrating the feast of Jurupari or Wãx-tĩ at a short distance, deeper in the interior of the forest. -- "Do you believe in the Jurupari?" he asked him. -- "Yes," he answered, "he is our God!" -- "And Jesus Christ?" -- "Jesus Christ is the 'God of the whites,'" was the answer.

as opposed to the false gods, idols, or demons, is what brought such entanglement and identification of Wãx-tĩ with the demon (70).

70. "They have generally called him Yurupari," wrote Paulo Ehrenreich (Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de S. Paulo, 1908, Vol. II, p. 303), "solar or cultural hero, a designation taken from the língua geral and falsely identified with the devil by the Missionaries." The identification

/392 cont./

527 beautiful ornaments, and in certain dance numbers, in the right
535 hand, the "yu-yú" (see below, dances, 5th part), the significance of
*[192] which it was not possible for us to obtain. It consists of a small stick, having on the tip a cord from whose end hangs a loop of cipo about 15 centimeters in diameter. Cord and loop are decorated with delicate and striking tucano /toucan/ feathers. With this instrument he "beats time for the dances," that is, he shakes it rhythmically, more or less as the conductor who directs an orchestra does with his baton.

*[192] 3) Variety of dances. -- One does not notice variety in the dance steps; they are precisely the same for the most solemn Poosé as for the simplest baxsarí-nãmã (literally it means dance day).

527 There are no distinct terms equivalent to song and dance. The
• 533 word baxsasé translates their ideas, because they always sing during
535 the dances; and the words correspond to the rhythm of the feet and to the choreography of the movements executed.

They distinguish varieties of baxsasé, according to the musical instrument that they use; each one will have its lyrics or song. In the religious dances they are words or sounds articulated without any meaning, and they are repeated many times for the duration of the movement of the steps. The tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira,
[115] Júlio Silgueira Machado, declared to us, and many others with him, that they do not understand what they are singing.

They also vary the melodies, which are ordinarily slow, sad, although some might be pleasant and quite melodious. For /393/ this reason different names for the dances, sometimes even poetic names, appear.

[184] In different tribes we have verified the similarity in the feasts, the same ornaments and instruments. One must point out this detail: the melodies of the instrumental music are almost identical, whereas those of the song-dances differ a little more. In the steps of the dances one does not perceive any difference from tribe to tribe. That is, even in the two extremes of the native Uaupésina hierarchy, to wit, the noble tribe of the Tukano, and the slave tribe of the Maku from the outskirts of Iauareté.

535 The tuxáua-bayá Júlio gave us the following names of dances that are performed in the most solemn Poosé:

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1st. With the rhythm tube or ahũwõ:
Ixki pũrĩ bõrõasé baxsá -- song-dance "the falling of the leaves of the inajá" or
Ixki pũrĩ baxsá -- "song-dance of the leaf of the inajá."

2nd. With the maracá or yaxsã (ya'sá or ñaxsã):
pexká baxsá -- "song-dance of the firewood"
ka'i baxsá -- "song-dance of the mass of the umarí"
kenõ baxsá -- "song-dance of the jatobá."

3rd. With a simple rhythm stick or yuxkõ:
Poori baxsá -- "song-dance of the offering" (of the dabacurí)
wai baxsá -- "song-dance of the fish"
Wãx-tiá baxsá -- "song-dance of the Wãx-tĩ."

4th. With the small flute called bwá (cotias /agoutis/):
bwá baxsá -- "song-dance of the cotias."

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Júlio, the tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), sang for us the various songs whose words or articulations we give in the following, revealing once more that all the "verses" were repeated many times (128).

[126]

128. We lament not having had a recording machine at the time when this tuxaua, with the best state of mind, furnished us this information. Later, in the possession of such apparatus, we went twice to Parí-cachoeira, where we waited for a long time for the opportunity of listening to him and recording his songs. It was not possible, however; the old Tuxáua was in the last months of his life, afflicted, it seems, with an internal ulcer, dying on July 5, 1954. We were able, however, to witness and film the solemn funeral of a highly esteemed Tuxáua. We nevertheless obtained other precious recordings, and, among these, the various songs of the Wanana, performed by the tuxáua Mandú from Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and of the pajés of various tribes (cf. the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/).

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[124]
[126]

1. Song-dance with the rhythm tube, ahũ-wõ: 1st part (129):

129. We have tried to be quite accurate in the reproduction of the sounds. According to what seemed to follow from the pronunciation of Júlio, we separated the words and differentiated the verses. It might be that some separation has been the fault of the singer. And they commit it many times, taking a breath or breathing unduly between articulations that should be connected, and vice versa. We have verified, with singers from other places, even though they repeat Júlio's melody, that there is not perfect agreement with the articulated sounds that we publish here. This fact should not be surprising, if we recall that they learn by hearing and that the articulated sounds are without meaning. When one pays close attention, it is noted that in the same dance there is not strict agreement among the dancers. A little difference in the beat and discrepancy in the articulated sounds are observed.

Yá, yá, kapikwá
Yaká peri kapikwá
Nuyaká peri
Dwiká peri deyú deyú ayá
I iroyé.
Mã i-i, i-i-i (final whistle) (he explained that the whistle is to indicate that he is about to finish)

2nd part

Mã-ri-á i-i-i (whistle)
Dê-yá ya-yõ mari
Ikawé yo
Yóa mari ikawê yó
Yó mari ikawê dyakó
Dyakú i-i
Yõ yõ yõ mari
Kawé mari i-i-i (whistle)

/394 cont./

3rd part

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Mã i-i, i-i-i (whistle)
Yêê marwê kaná
Kawá do mariwí akawó-ro
Mariwi mariwí akawó-ro
Yê mariwí a-a-a akawó inawé
A mariwí a-a-a akawó inawé
Yuú kawá inawé
Yuú kawá inawé uu uu
Marí marí
Marí akawá inawé marí i-i-i (whistle)

2. Song-dance with the yaxsã (large maracá)
Êê-yá êêyá má

/395/

Dyaká a pi kapi
Wamá kapí kapí yuamá
Ya marí wemã a-a kapí kapí
Ya kapí nemã yá wamã
Kapí kapí nemã ya wamã
Ye kapí kapí nemã wamã
Ey-á ey-á (whistle)

3. Song-dance with the yaxsã in the other dances (outside the poosé)
Dyá yá i-i-i dyá yá i-i-i
Yé a marikêna
Mariwé mariwé ya mariwé
Marikenõ ka-yá yá
Marikenõ mariwé marikenõ mariwé
Mariwé mariwé mariwé
Marikenõ ka-yá (he lowers his voice, very low sounds)
Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i
Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i (he observes to us that this song ends without whistles)

4. Song-dance with the rhythm stick, yuxkõ
Yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
Yé kapité
Marí kwá yá kuyá-yarí
Kapité marí kwá yakoró yalima

/395 cont./

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Koró dikúya ayá kwá-yarí
Kapité marí apinã
Kapité marí kapité marí kuyá-yá kuya-arí
Kapité marí kuyá-yá yá yá-yá (whistle)

5. Song-dance with the yuxkõ (130)

[171]

130. These sounds Perikuli (7th) and kwai (5th) are precisely the names of the principal personages of the Arwáke legends, corresponding, respectively, to Bũxpõ and O'ã-kõ of the Tukano legends. Would it be a mere coincidence of sounds in different languages? Would they be Arwáke songs learned by the tribes of the Tukano group? Might all the dances of these tribes be of Arwáke origin?

Yá yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
E yá yá perikú ée perikwê
Yaká yõ kayó yuaí
Yá piré-ku-li nomé-nõ
Perikwé pyaká wamé tyá
Pamí kwai peri-dikú ée yó
Perí-ku-li yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)

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6. Song-dance with the yuxkõ

Ma dyá pa-wõ (whistle)
Dyá diká apyá kapi akapyá
Kapi pawí diká yukú kapyá
Kapyá dewá yukú
Wapyá yukú deyé-wé
Kapyá kapí pawí dewá yukú
Kapyá kapí pawí dewá jukú
Wapi-a yukú nomã-a yaví
Wapi yá yú mã-di-yá
Wapí yá yú mã-di-yá
Sawé sawé (whistle)

/396 cont./

*192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
• 533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mãmã kapinã
539 Periků yaví-i-i davyá (Yaví = long, slim?)
Davyá yaví
Daví kawá-á nomã yaví-nõ
Daví kawá yaú; daví kawá yaú
Kapiná periků́li
Davyá yaví yú
Kawá-yavyá mã-ã-ã (he blows the flute at length)

[115] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
[574] (For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yẽ-ẽ dyá yakẽ mari
Kemẽ maryé-é
Kemẽ maryé-é kenaní
Wekã-ní kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kená yá marỹé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpekã ané
Wekã-re kenaní wekã-re
Kená tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

535 a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple
[115] amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

535 Mandú (131)
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131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

/397 cont./

534 took up a position in front of the second post at the left, in the
535 /398/ central nave (133).

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133. Their rectangular maloca, although not of large dimensions, corresponded to a division of five naves: the central high nave, under the ridge, two side spaces, and, along the side walls, the space reserved for the families. It is to be noted, however, that there is no interior partition between family and family.

The men imitated his steps and, on his left, formed an open semi-circle.

*[192] 1st Part: Each one places the left hand on the right shoulder of the companion (Pá-bwasé is the Tukano name for this gesture). They execute some rhythmic beats with the pestle-tube (it is what is called yuxkõ-mẽra doxkesé) and some steps with the right foot forward and back (du'tisé). Then the line moves (nikã-ká eheanõ-kátyãra baxsasé) to the right and to the left until the circumference is closed, making some turns from the left to the right (sũtõasé) (134).

134. They explained to us that they are imitating the bavarí fish, which, before depositing its eggs, makes a few turns.

• 533 At the same time the men slowly sing unintelligible words, with a
535 frequent burden in which are sounded many times the syllables "paia-paia." The rhythm is accelerated at the end, and a cry and a heavy stroke with the rhythm tubes end the first part. During this
[562] part the women remained seated in conversation near the door, to the left of anyone who enters (135).

[123]

135. We, the three civilized observers, were to be found on the opposite side, at the right.

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• 533 535 *[192] 2nd Part: Position taken, as in the first part. The left hand on the right shoulder. The dance starts with an accelerated rhythm, a sharp cry and loud whistle (Wyisé) (136).

136. I had found it strange that up to then I had not heard the Indians whistle, when I always expected to hear them whistling in the forest, on walks, on trips, when they were rowing, and there was only silence or conversation in a discreet tone.

*[192] Afterwards the singing takes a slow rhythm, the syllables "kapii-kapii" being heard frequently in the burden. A circle from the right broken up by another from the left. The women start entering, one by one: the first one places herself to the left of the tuxaua, with the nape she touches his left arm (yohoasé), extended to the right shoulder of the neighbor, and she embraces by the waist the two men between whom she is located. Thus successively. They give only two complete turns, and the women leave. The dance ends with an accelerated rhythm of the singing, of the steps, and with a final whistle. Then follow minutes of rest and of caxirí.

*[192]

[534] 3rd and 4th Parts: These are numbers in which only the younger ones participate, playing the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/ (3rd part) or the japurutú (4th part), /399/ with an interval during which they smoke and drink caxirí. These intermezzo numbers are very pleasant. Each young man brings his instrument, which harmonizes well with the others, one of them playing the contracanto, or response to the theme that the first one plays. These themes are very melodic short canons, in a florid scale, with ascending and descending notes. Sometimes the young men only dance, and then they go in pairs, the one on the right a little farther behind, holding his instrument with the right hand and, with the left one, the right shoulder of the other (pábwasé), who also plays his own instrument and has the left hand on the hip. Upon reaching the back, they make an evolution and exchange positions, the right one coming in front, with the left hand on the hip, and his companion farther back, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the first one.

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*192 535 [534] If there are also women, the couples are arranged in such a way that the young man holds the instrument with the right hand, and, with the left hand above his own shoulder (it is what is called iñatusé), he holds the right hand of the girl, who rests her left hand on her own waist (pá-su'sũsé). The dancers start with only the men advancing toward the interior of the maloca, and, as snappers, a necklace of small tucum nuts on the right ankle in order to mark the rhythm. They go around in a circle, one after the other, to the right, then in the opposite direction to the left; then, opening the circle wider, they advance four times with the right foot toward the center, and they come back to the initial position. When the young men decide to walk, their companions present themselves. The couples are arranged. Sometimes the couples, one after the other, make evolutions describing the number eight (baxsá-mãhãmi betoá) or a spiral (baxsá sõ'tõã) to the right or to the left. At other times they are arranged in circles that become elongated or tighter, they turn to the right or to the left. During this entire evolution, they mark the rhythm with a stronger stroke with the right foot (dõ'pó-tisé). The women withdraw before the ending. The performances always end with a fortissimo of all the instruments.

*192 • 533 535 They are very pleasant melodies, but not infrequently the evolutions are so prolonged that they seem to be a contest of endurance. The spectators watch complacently from their hammocks, laughing and making comments, probably about the inaccuracy of the steps of the clumsier ones.

5th Part: While these numbers were displayed, one of the dancers went to prepare the "Yu'yúri-tiró." The tuxaua with his rhythm tube takes his position, and this time the men are distributed symmetrically on his right and on his left, in a semicircle. They start with an accelerated rhythm, then whistle, a slow dance following, to the singing of a funeral song. One of the Indians brings two yu'yú and gives /400/ one of them to the tuxaua, who is also the Bayá, the other to the latter's brother, bayá-re wetamõgõ, who is immediately to the left of the tuxaua. They hold the

/400 cont./

533 yú-yú with the left hand, and with the right one they beat the rhythm tube.

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*[192]

The yu-yú of the dances

Tobacco form

*[192] The dancers are divided into two groups, who execute the movement by advancing and retreating (baxsá poterí), one in front of the other. Afterwards they place themselves in line, each one with his lady, describing circles. They again divide themselves into two groups, who advance and retreat. Now they turn their backs to one another, always with advances and retreats. It seems that the new song consists of several verses, each one ending with cries and whistles. At given moments some say words in a loud voice, just as the caller of square dances does. Would they be ceremonial words or a simple command for the evolutions to be performed? The women, finally, leave the dance, and the men continue in Indian file, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the preceding one. This file goes to describing circles, stopping from time to time, always, however, singing and beating the rhythm with the strokes of the rhythm tube.

[562] 6th Part. Performed only by the men, as in the first part.
[273] After this part, one of the dancers advances in order to distribute
[276] the caxirí with a cuia in each hand, mumbling some words and stamping the right foot harder, in a winding progression, like that of the snake. He gives one cuia to the tuxaua and the other to the most important person. The second time he brings some to two more, and thus to everyone. Also the long cigar of leaves goes from mouth to mouth.

/400 cont./

*192 7th Part: The tuxaua ties to his right ankle a necklace of dry
533 nuts (kixtyó). He then takes a position with his rhythm tube. The
534 men are arranged on his right and on his left, each one with his
535 rhythm tube in the right hand and the left one on his neighbor's right shoulder. The yu'yús are brought to the tuxaua and to his /401/ neighbor. It starts with a rhythm of strokes and steps in the same place, cry, whistle, and afterwards a funeral song in pianissimo, which goes crescendo slowly, while they move some steps to the right and to the left. They stop sometimes to take a step inside the circle and another backwards and to the side. This part was more prolonged, and the syllables "tyúko-malía" were heard many times in the burden. The group of dancers go outside the maloca, in the yard of which they perform the same steps as inside (yohá-wihyá). They come back again to the maloca, the
*[192] women abandon their position. At the finish there were only the men, who, after a small evolution, take the initial position, in a semicircle, and end the singing with small jumps (bu'pusé) and somewhat comical cries.

5) Wanãna song-dances.

115 The Wanãna Tomás Paiva, oldest son of Mandú, the present
533 (1957) tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and his probable successor, confirmed that the ritual songs were "ancient language," and, for this reason, they did not understand them. Through the desire to learn them well, and to maintain the old traditions, he tried to make inquiries from his father, esteemed local tuxáua-bayá, and from the "elders," and to write about them. There might perhaps be about 45 songs, he told us. We are of the opinion that this number would cover not only the songs, but indeed all the parts or verses; or perhaps even the repetitions of one and the same part or verse. It happened, however, that when he went to work as a carpenter in Venezuela those in his house used his writings for cigarette paper.

*192 With the collaboration of another Wanãna, Maximiano from
534 Sá, he indicated to us the following order for the dances:
535 1st Dance -- with the bwá flute, hence the name bwá baxsá
[115]

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6) Songs of the women.

We have already observed (cf. VII -- 3, c (2 b) ) that the songs of the women are profane, or, with more accuracy, bacchic songs; that is, they regularly sing them when they distribute the caxirí, or in the intervals when they take their drink. Besides being more lively, there are more varied themes than in the religious songs of the men. Another quite striking difference is that, while the latter nowadays are articulations without any meaning, those of the women present a clear meaning. They are recitatives of longer or shorter sentences, with opportune arguments and allusions to her own person or to the one with whom she is having the dialogue.

By the law of exogamy, in one and the same povoado there are women of the tribe of the local inhabitants, and of one or more different tribes, taken as wives. And, by chance, in transit or out walking, still others, their relatives or "sisters." For this reason [184] and also because of the frequency of the dabacurís with the participation of dancers from different tribes, one and the same song might be known and performed by women of various tribes. There follows from this the difficulty in determining from which tribe the melody of a song might originally have come. The question, properly speaking, is about the melody, and not the lyrics. Because, as we have said, the latter is a timely recitative which the singer can say in her own idiom or in that of her husband or of the tribe where the poosé is held. And since nowadays the Tukano language is becoming generalized, many times it will be in that idiom; just as the songs that we recorded are actually in Tukano, although performed by young women not only from the Tukano group of tribes, but even by a maiden of the Arwáke group, from the Kumãdene tribe.

b) Amusements.

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The Indian leads a life in contact with the majestic and silent nature of the Amazon forest, cut by innumerable streams. This explains to us why he appears so strong, agile, cheerful, although reserved.

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihí*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Uráhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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They are given milk
Milk of our soil
Milk that causes to grow
People who are being grown
People of our soil
People who are our younger sisters
Milk of the calabash
Milk that makes one grow quickly
Milk of our soil
People of our soil
People who are our younger brothers
The first one to grow fat
He [also] will grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
Milk that is nourishing that will make [him] fat
People of our soil
*Urúhana* who was the first to grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
He will grow fat
Milk that is liquid
Milk that is nourishing
The manioc gruel that is nourishing
Milk of our land
People of our land
*Urúhana* was the first one
The manioc gruel that he ate
The milk that was given to him.

Milk of our soil
That our offspring may grow
That we may all grow
Milk of the calabash
The offspring of *Urúhana*[8]
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of the calabash it drank
A child was being born to *Urúhana*
The offspring of *Urúhana*
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of our soil
She saw him grow
The son of *Hihédũ*
Her fat offspring
Milk of our soil
She saw them grow

[8] The first child was born to *Hehénewa* Ancients *Urúhana* and his wife *Hihédũ*. *Djurédo* was the sister of *Urúhana* and she gave the child milk drawn from her own breast into a calabash.

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urâhana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

854 [157] Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the infant. [515] Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early afternoon after work in the manioc garden. [296] A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. [252] River bathing is the Cubeo child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

854 155 [853] An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtually impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. [853] Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to make it angry. [831] Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive 769
sib cult. 796

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river [534]
bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the [533]
river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the oncoming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent [202]
the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, [533]
swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and [291]
having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, as- [824]
cended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional [534]
five were used, *Bwü*, *Onpwénda kûdjüwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They [535]
marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwü* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at [576]
the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was

taboo but as a courtesy.

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574 provided. Men pass cigarettes to one another after a puff or two. A
276 man will ordinarily pass a cigarette to his own wife only, for the giving of a cigarette to a woman has a potentially erotic significance. When a woman receives the cigarette she passes it among her children until finally the suckling baby has had a smoke. She then returns it to her husband. The custom of sharing the cigarette has been widely observed along the Vaupés and its tributaries. The Indians [521] accept it as a mark of friendship and of trust. Ceremonious smoking [887] of cigars held in forked holders accompanies the dignified conversa- [614] tions of the sib elders and is mandatory when these old men get together to chant the sib origin traditions. Several cigars are lighted and are passed around. There is no way of sharing coca, but *mihí*, as we have noted, is "danced in" by the sons of the hosts, and the little ornamented beaker in which it is kept is passed around.

574 Dancing begins when the assembly is warmed up with drink. At
535 an *unkúndye*, dancing, being secular, is for the young, the adolescents and unmarried and the younger married men and women. In the most common dance three or four young men line up abreast, [533] left arm across a companion's shoulder, with the long dance flageolet, that sounds the song of the butterfly, in the right hand. An orchestra of Panpipes, seated to one side, sets the rhythm to which the dancers move and sound the flageolets. Starting at the rear of the house they move down the long dance corridór to a beat that starts as one slow step, a pause; two shorter steps, a pause, and then three rapid, almost running, steps, the inevitable Cubeo procedure of placing all ritual in the metric structure of *adagio* to *presto*. They reach the front of the house, their bodies swaying forward and back as they come down the corridor and gracefully swinging from side to side as they prepare to pivot, swinging the flageolets up and [614] around in unison. The first dancers are usually of the host sib and are brothers. During the early stages of the dance, as each of the visiting sibs puts its dancers on the floor, the formation is of brothers. It is not until much later during the night that drink and excitement have dissolved the fraternal bonds and allowed for the indiscriminate formation of dance teams. As the dancers move down the corridor the unmarried girls begin to stir; they giggle, nudge one another, sway forward with the desire to get up and join. But they are shy. They seek encouragement from one another. Often an older woman, a girl's mother, whispers sharply, "Go on, dance." Then two or three girls get up from the side lines and run behind the dancers, pacing themselves so as to slip under the yokes of the men's arms in the precise beat.

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574 535 831 she looks uncomfortable and solemn. The girls accompany the men for a few turns and then as unobtrusively as they entered the dance formation they leave it, disengaging their heads, backing away, and running quickly back to their places among the women. They are replaced by another group. Much later in the evening an observer is startled to discover heated and even violent disputes erupting all over the house as a result of these innocent-appearing dances.

574 535 [533] There is another dance in which the sexes are actually paired. The man plays either a Panpipe or a long flageolet and drops his left arm over the woman's shoulder while she encircles his waist lightly with her arm. This dance formation starts as a circle which, after making several turns, breaks up into couples who dance down the corridor one behind the other. During the circle dance a woman emits a long piercing shriek. I was given no explanation for this other than the vague comment, "Women feel like doing this."

Perhaps it is not overinterpreting too much to suggest that the form of the dance parallels some basic principles of Cubeo social structure: the unity of the fraternal sibling group; women as ancillary, fitting themselves in between the brothers, coming and going; the segmentary nature of the sibs; the feeling for obliterating what is after all an indelible mark of sib apartness. As for the erotic connotations of the dance, one may perhaps speculate on the phallic character of the flageolet. This instrument, by the way, is so long that when the dancer holds it before him the bottom is only bare inches from the ground. If he is careless as he dances and allows it to strike the ground he may lose his teeth. The dance starts with the instrument held down close to the earth. When the dancer has reached the forward end of the house he arcs the instrument high over his head. The flageolet resembles, but is not to be confused with, one of the ancestor trumpets that is brought out during ancestral cult celebrations. Then the deep sound of the flageolet stands for the deep and sacred voices of the ancestors, that bring to the men physical force, sexual potency, and bodily growth. The Cubeo make the obvious association between the deep tones and the solemn, and the high tones and the frivolous. In ensemble playing they also recognize one of the instruments as a leader and the others of the same group as followers. In the drinking party dances, flutes and Panpipes complement each other; the flutes are butterflies and the large Panpipes are vultures. Solemnity is always associated with the acquisition of powers. The movement of the dance is, as we have already noted, from slow to rapid. The last step before the dancers leave the floor is very rapid, almost a run, and the dancers in their excitement

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different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The head-pieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kúwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucañoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Makálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*kèratamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kavá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design-motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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535 765 danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and 765 fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from 533 that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, [114] when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they [534] were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The [171] song I recorded was:

*yavirárũ yavirákũ* [repeated]
*yavirárũ manika*
*yavirárũ ya*
*ho ho ho o ho.*

[539]

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákũ* means "big jaguar," and *manika* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg [171] collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiarí River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yavi*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

532 765 The mask of Butterfly (*Tatárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip 535 arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, 765 often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kaviré kaviré* and is not the 532 same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiarí.

776 765 Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandwa*. The term *manika* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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a dwarf pair, several pairs of giants, a great owl demon, and two kinds of *abúhuwa*. I saw three *Abúhuwa*. The *Abúhuwa* are made to appear grotesque. Their masks are of coarse brown bark cloth and, unlike any other dancer, they sometimes wear bark-cloth trousers. One Indian said to me rather maliciously, "They are like the white man." One of the *Abúhuwa* not wearing trousers had large flapping breasts of bark cloth and was a "wife." The headpiece has a calabash to form a face painted with human features. The masks are intended to be as grotesque as possible. Since the *Abúhuwa* act clownishly, they induce in the spectators only mock alarm. The *Abúhuwa* have no song of their own and no fixed dance. They are free to improvise. There are two kinds of improvisation: wild when young men impersonate them, and listless and lolling when acted by old men. While the Jaguars act to build up a sense of violence, the *Abúhuwa* work to create disorder. Thus, no masked dancers will enter the women's quarter through the rear or women's door except the *Abúhuwa*. They burst in through the rear door, hopping in short strides as though they were on pogo sticks. They interfere with dances and perform a number of amusing skits.

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The Dung beetles (*Keratamówa*) are a pair. The masks have a white facepiece with a pair of eyes, or sometimes with no features at all. The body design includes the wide bars of the insect's body flanked by lozenge designs on each side. The headpiece is surmounted by a short hourglass-shaped tube of splints and bark cloth. They dance holding hands. Each holds a short stick. In a dance Koch-Grünberg saw, they pushed along another stick on the ground in imitation, he noted, of their work as cleaners. I saw them holding their short sticks before them like wands. Their dance is a slow movement, forward and back. The songs recorded by me and by Koch-Grünberg are not the same.

[533]
[114]

The Carrion vulture (*Kavá*) wears a mask with human features, although Koch-Grünberg saw one that he described as "naturalistic." The main design consists of very large lozenges (to depict the large feathers of the bird) flanked by horizontal bars suggesting outspread wings. The Carrion vulture carries a short stick held against the back of his neck, its ends extending over his shoulders, where his upraised hands hold it in place. The dancers bow gracefully from the waist to suggest the bird's soaring flight.

The Aracú (*Borikakũ*) are usually represented in their several varieties. The headpiece is built up to a high peak made of splints covered with bark cloth in an hourglass design. The Aracú dance slowly, in pairs, and hold hands. Each carries a ten-foot pole bear-

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765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point 765 614 532 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is [203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will [533] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a [535] mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted [776] by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

## MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE *OYNE*

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

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then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure. [831] [786] [535]

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudjika* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping. [533]

This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *óyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *óyne*. 765 831 786 535 [182]

From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out – one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Miavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs. [152]

The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abúhuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakúiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamiré, kamiré*. These dancers leave, and another *Abúhukũ* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudúki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among 765 536 [535]

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenádox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks [535]
and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the
house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will [574]
announce the arrival of *Xudjiko* and her consort. Bearing their
masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line
along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the 765
others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the 534
trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grand- 574
mother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on
their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets
sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their
masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A
trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor 765
of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, 533
the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. 534
Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own
higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grand-
mother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a frame-
work to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night 765
is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the 535
"grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occa-
sionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the
plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they [202]
enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women
to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the door- [789]
way with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn
they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will
be used for making the *dúpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other
paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates 765
who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited 614
palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is
brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the
ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they repre-
sent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the
father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full
Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápenn*), quartz cylinder pend-
ant, jaguar-tooth and aramadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations
of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy 765

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765 staff as a weapon. They pose with head bowed, both hands resting
765 on the weapon. The chief mourner holds a rattle hung with a feather
53 and eagle down in his right hand. He begins the formal oration, an angry declaration denouncing the unknown sorcerers who have killed his father. As he speaks, in a hoarse, changing voice, he swings the rattle in a vertical arc, pivoting on his left foot, facing one mourner and then the next. His gestures are vigorous and his pivot is crisply executed. He swings the rattle upward almost into the face of the mourner whom he is addressing. He has hardly completed the circle when each of the mourners, swinging his right arm in an arc, turns to a companion and recites a similar angry declaration. The companion to whom he turns also pivots to face him, awaiting his return to reply. This part of the ritual is executed as a ballet. The declaimer is poised with his right foot forward, waiting for his partner to pivot and face him, and not until the partner has executed his pivot does he begin his declaration. The headman, having initiated these hoarse and angry harangues, turns his attention to the ceremonial remains of the deceased. His head bowed, he gently shakes the rattle over them and utters a sad lament that he has lost a father. After an interval of angry shouting the mourners re-form the close circle, bow their heads, and weep. They pause to blow their noses, wiping their hands on the fringes of the masks that have been hung nearby.

765 Other members of the sib are not part of this close mourning circle.
614 They put on their masks and dance, circling the mourners. The
535 *Xudjiko* trumpets are silent because they are sounded only by the
[533] men of the household of the deceased, who are now part of the circle of mourners. The mourning of the men signals the women to begin again their wailing, their piercing lamentations rising clearly above every other angry and mournful sound.

765 This interval of mourning lasts some 15 minutes. The ceremonial property of the deceased is then removed and the men rest, drinking
[535] chicha and smoking. Dancing resumes after half an hour. At dawn
[789] the Jaguars cut off the brown bark-cloth trimmings from their jug trumpets and pass them among the men to chew. This will guard them, they say, against sorcery from their phratry mates, who will arrive as mourners late in the afternoon.

765 Later in the morning the men put up crossbars to "guard" the
276 women's entrance. After this *mihi* is prepared. A sibman staggers in with a bundle of the narcotic vine. *Mihi*, as always, is carried in the ritual manner, one of its features being a representation of great weight. The bearer bends low, raising his knees high, and circles the

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masks and drink chicha. The guests finally stand in a circle around the ceremonial remains of the deceased. With heads bowed and leaning on their guns or staffs before them they chant a lamentation, their leader shaking his rattle slowly. They weep, the *Xudjiko* trumpets pick up the lament, and the women join in. They repeat this performance with little variation three times. After the third, they break ranks and face their hosts again in the postures of the angry harangue. Finally each guest breaks away and rushes toward the open doorway brandishing his weapon outside and shouting defiance at the sorcerer or other enemies of the phratry.

Concluding this phase of mourning, the guests leave the house so as to make still another entrance, this time to be received as men with the formal salutations at the doorway.

Guests from others sibs arrive by maloca groupings, each group of eight or ten men acting out the same ritual. Each group appears in three roles: as spirit beings who are repulsed, as generalized mourners who act out grief and anger, and finally as kinsmen, each of whom is received individually and with a kinship greeting as he makes his final entrance to the house. When they are greeted as kinsmen, the ceremonial remains of the deceased have been removed; they are welcomed at this point with a calabash of chicha and with *mihi*.

There are some minor variations in this pattern of greeting. At the *Hehénewa óyne* one group "attacked" with a barrage of pupunha thrown against the roof and the front walls. This "attack" had, however, another side to it. In part it was an attack and some of the fruit was thrown violently through the door, where the defenders threw it back at the masked attackers. But punpunha is also regarded at this time as an offering for the women of the house – just as it is during the ancestral whipping ceremony, when the house is showered with fruit by the ancestral spirits. The sound of pupunha fruit striking the roof frightens the women.

This dualism of assault and of offering is carried out in somewhat different form in the course of the ritual receptions to the house. The first instance is when the guests arrive as masked dancers or as spirit beings. They are received first in a friendly way, joining in a dance with their hosts. Then the two groups separate and engage in ritual attack and defense. In the second entrance, as generalized human beings, there are a number of alternations between aggression and friendliness and between anger and grief. Even the circle dance around the ceremonial remains of the deceased has a gentle clockwise motion symbolized by the whispered *t t t t* followed by a more

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The first phase of the *ôyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth 574
day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing 576
the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep [152]
once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehéneua* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

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One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjiko* is sounded. [535]
At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial [534]
paraphernalia made specifically for the *ôyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

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That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening 535
include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindüwii* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, [533]
*kenadjü marié kenadjü pimáti*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. 765
As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and 535
leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the 786
dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has [531]
become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *ôyne*, and the 765
following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted 775
to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first 266
of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that 114

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disenter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

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226 fish hooks and line we carried for bartering were greatly sought after, though José for some reason sabotaged much of our exchange. He told the Indians that our nylon was not as good as their own *cumare* line and he broke the barbs of our steel hooks on the house posts to show that their own were better.

226 'That is barbasco, a poisonous liana.' José pointed to several bundles of
796 saplings lying on the floor of a *maloca* we were visiting. 'Soon, in late February or March, before the first rains, all the Indians near here will gather for the fish poisoning. They will build small dams in the streams, and the *barbasco* will be pounded and thrown into the water above these dams. All the fish float to the surface and, with nets made from *cumare*, or long spear arrows with forked metal ends, they will be caught in great quantities and carried to a *maloca*. Usually a particular house is chosen each year and, when enough fish have been collected, the festival will start. This may go on for days with *chicha*, panpipes and painted *yarumo* dancing-staves, and many people – and more fish than we see at any other time in the year.' This was a festival we wished to see, but we did not expect to be in the Piraparaná in March. Besides they might have been reluctant to let us watch a ceremony on which the abundance of fish during the following year depended.

Four days below Ni we came to the great falls of Beiju, and there, as we dragged *El Diablo* over the portage, we met some Indians who told us they were going to a festival at a Makuna *maloca* belonging to a headman called Bréo. It was two days' journey up a tributary, but we decided to go.

The Tukano have many festivals throughout the year; among the most important are the Fish Festivals and the Harvest Festivals for the pineapple,
533 *miriti* palm and *guamo* fruits, and for the manioc. At all these they dance,
534 sing and play their instruments. But to the Indian, music is also a form of relaxation and enjoyment. Often as the men laze in their hammocks they happily while away the time playing on their bamboo panpipes. Blowing across the eight- or nine-stemmed pipes two men may accompany each other for hours on end, ascending and descending the same scale, rhythmically counterbalancing one another in tuneful but repetitive melodies. They continue, apparently oblivious of repetition, and the panpipe tunes soon be-
[184] came imprinted on our minds. Each clan has its own variations; most of the tunes are based on their dances, though some are in imitation of birds. At night the young boys play their pipes crouched around the central posts of the *maloca*, and the clear notes carry across the still forest like church bells ringing on a cold winter's night. Only occasionally do the Indians actually sing for enjoyment; one headman uttered a staccato war song as he pounded coca leaves and occasionally the women hummed as they rocked their babies to sleep. Their instruments are more important to them; of these the snail-shell and deer-bone flutes, the tortoise shells and the clay horns are the most unusual.

It is hard to believe that a river-snail shell no more than three inches long

can produce a most haunting tune. This tiny flute, the three-holed *sihoo*, is more often played outdoors than inside the house. Its clear rippling notes mingle with the forest calls, perhaps imitating a bird drawn closer and closer to the Indian hunter. The deer-bone flute, in contrast, has a harsh, piercing, eerie sound. It is made from a deer's tibia and three holes are drilled into the bone with a *capybara's* tooth. A little slit is cut into the head of the deer-bone, down which the man blows. Small lumps of beeswax are melted into the apexes and shrill notes come flowing out – bizarre perhaps, but melodious. This instrument is generally heard during the *chicha* ceremonies between the dances. The tortoise shell, too, is an instrument which has a weird, almost hypnotic tone. It is played by a man who squats on the ground with the shell gripped under the knee between thigh and calf muscles. Rapidly he rubs, almost jerks, the palm of his hand over the beeswax-coated head of the shell. Sometimes two men will play two tortoise shells and a pair of panpipes at the same time, and the continuous reverberation of the *goos*, as the tortoise shells are known, together with the syncopation of the panpipes produces an amazing effect. The high muffled tones of the *goos* echo round the *maloca*, driving the Indian's coca-bemused senses into a semi-hypnotic trance. To us this was not an unpleasant sensation and on listening closer we could pick out what was in fact a highly sophisticated rhythm. Each panpipe entered just off beat in an exciting, almost modernistic manner, more reminiscent of a modern jazz quartet than four primeval instruments of the Amazon. 533 534

Our recording equipment intrigued the Indians – those small boxes with wheels which turned, lengths of 'string' with weird metal objects on the end, held close to their faces or hung from the ridge poles of their *malocas*. It was all beyond their comprehension. At first they were frightened but once they had listened to their own voices and music, they were astounded and could not wait to hear more. We all too soon found ourselves using as much of our precious battery power to play back as we did to record. Sometimes they were intrigued by Western music – Beethoven piano concertos, Brahms and Gershwin had little effect, but the Bach double violin concerto drew many eager faces, a Haydn trumpet concerto brought smiles of approval and on hearing the Commendatore's deep voice in the last act of *Don Giovanni* the whole *maloca* drew near in wonder. Perhaps this really was the white man's shaman. 123 533

We waited four days at Bréo's while the women brought in baskets and baskets of manioc to prepare for *chicha*, and the men pounded coca leaves incessantly. During this time the *maloca* filled with families who had travelled by canoe from their distant forest homes along the winding river courses. Some had already been warned by messengers of the coming festival to celebrate the manioc harvest, but on the afternoon before it started Bréo left for a high knoll of ground, and stood blowing a clay horn – perhaps to warn 796 [534]

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437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to
171 see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just
778 as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments
562 reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nut-
171 shells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that
171 the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them
825 luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said
[777] to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

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occur constantly in the myth and legend of the tribes, as does the Motilon legend of the twins. It is a legend known from Mexico to the tribes living in Tierra del Fuego, which suggests a considerable antiquity.

Just as the puma is usually the symbol of fear, so the deer is credited by the Indian with fairy-like, almost feminine, qualities, perhaps because of its shyness and speed. It has been suggested that the deer is the symbol of new life, having been regarded as such by early migrations of hunting folk moving south along the chain of the Andes from North America. It was thus associated with first menstruation and all the accompanying rites when a girl reaches puberty and is able to create new life, and its hooves were used by women as ornaments or rattles. The deer-bone flute may have been the first musical instrument used by the Indians.

Several tribes have no musical instruments at all. Possibly these were the first people to reach South America. Later migrations may have brought instruments with them, possibly others evolved on the spot. The similarity of some Kogi and Motilon instruments to those used in Central America suggests a more recent influence.

At first we found it difficult to distinguish the sounds of the different instruments if we could not see them. But after a while we learnt to recognize not only the instrument but also the many different tunes of each tribe. A Noanamá girl would sing to herself for hours on end. The Motilon had a vast repertoire of walking, war and harvest songs. Instrumental tunes were fewer and some, as in the case of the haunting call of the snail shell, tended to be very repetitive. The Tukano, however, had innumerable panpipe tunes.

Indian music we at first found strange because we were accustomed to the European tone system. They have no conception of note vibrations to obtain an octave. Yet they can tell whether one instrument is in tune or not with another. A panpipe can be cut to a certain length to produce a particular sound, but it is difficult to produce the exact note, so they may raise the pitch by adding sand, or putting water or even *chicha* inside.

The panpipe tunes in the Tukano festival were the nearest thing we heard to orchestral music; each group played antiphonally, with sometimes two or three groups playing different tunes. We could not however make out whether combination or competition was the motive behind this weird performance.

The Tukano had no conception of counterpoint, though their playing was often harmonious. We did find it in the singing of the Noanamá – perhaps the result of mission teaching. One Tukano chant is almost identical to a western Irish folk lament.

In contrast to African negro music in which stringed instruments and drums predominate, Indian music is mainly that of the rattle and the flute. Every type of construction is found, from humming top and conch shell to

533 534 171 panpipes and the whistling jars of the Andes. Since the time of the Conquest European music and more particularly African music has had an increasing influence on the conservative Indian. The Noanamá and the highlanders showed signs of this influence, though the Tukano were still free of it. In some cases the instrument had been adopted and was played in the Indian idiom. The Noanamá had a type of drum probably copied from their negro neighbours, but they still played their own halting rhythms. The Motilon had a musical bow, but its use was entirely Indian in conception.

In the Sierra Nevada we found a direct clash of musical idioms, in the *chicote* and *gaita* played by the Indian-creole inhabitants. Perhaps in this are the seeds of a new music combining the atonal, remote and sad Indian music with the gay, sophisticated, ebullient harmonies of the negro-creole. Perhaps the folk music of Colombia as a whole, from the Spanish mountain songs to the negro rhythms of the coast, is a manifestation of a Euro-Afro-Indian music evolving like the arts and the people themselves into a new wholly South American dimension.

171 609 Such are the idle thoughts of travellers written in retrospect. But of all our memories – Kogi temples, Noanamá children paddling to their stilted houses in a Pacific sunset, a Tukano *maloca* at dawn with the steam rising off the night-wetted thatch – the one that will remain longest will be that of the Indian himself, whether a Kogi regarding us with the scorn of a man who knows himself to be a superior being, or a Tukano who never looks *at* you, rather into you with a strange trustful-untrusting eye, as if to try and penetrate your innermost thoughts.

000 Walk with him long enough in the forest and you too will learn to see the track of a tapir; to tell if it was running by the depth of the spoor; to tell if it was wounded by the clot of blood beside the path; even to tell the time when it passed, by the dryness of an upturned leaf, the only one on a shower-soaked forest floor. Perhaps if you could speak his language he would teach you how to walk through the forest for days and never lose your way, to use a bow and arrow, to kill a parrot with one dart from your blowpipe. You might even come to accept the forest for what it is. You would become part of it and it would be the only world you knew....

If you ever reached that stage, then you would be like an Indian. Then you would understand the shock of civilization. It would be like going for a very long holiday in a remote countryside, perhaps the Outer Hebrides, never seeing another soul, and then returning to the heart of a city. Only it would be a hundred times worse.

You would take cocaine because to you it would be perfectly natural. Your father took it and his father before him. You were told as a child that you could not live without it when in the late summer, at the end of the dry season, you had to travel great distances to find deer at the water holes.

* 539 /341 cont./

V. Miriápura Majsá.

Yepá Huáke left six persons, three women and three men, in Diawí. And they are called Mariápura Majsá. They are in charge of the spirits of Miriá (5).

[534] [784]

5. Of the Yuruparises. Ceremonial flutes used in the initiation ceremonies for the pubescent boys. It is forbidden for women to see these flutes.

VI. Ñebariuajtí.

In Ñamiriwí, Yepá Huáke left a male and a female who are named Ñebariauajtí. And these two beings have the same human form as Boraró and Boraró Numió. And they kill and steal people's souls in the same way as Boraró and Boraró Numió do.

VII. Sexual Relations (6).

6. Name that the interpreter insisted on giving to the myth.

Yepá Huáke left in Diawí two brothers with their papa and mama. And the four were called Bajsébo Majsá. And they left Diawí and went to Bajsebowí. Before Yúpuri Baúro (7)

[773] [614]

7. Yúpuri Baúro is the most important mythological culture hero in Tukano /Tucano/ culture. He is also the founder of the sib /Sp. sib/ of the highest category among the Tukano.

discovered these lands, the Tukano /Tucano/ did not have children. In Bajsebowí, when the father of the Bajsébo Majsá, who

/169 cont./

*192 822 It is to be noted that in the Tukano language (46)

> 46. And not only the Tukano, but also the other idioms of the Uaupés (Tukano linguistic family) and of the Caburí use the same term for the colors red and yellow, and another for green and blue.

there is only one term, soãse, to indicate orange, red and yellow, and another, ya'sasé, for green and blue, although they distinguish not only the seven simple colors, but also the intermediate ones.

533 534 As for the music, although not favored with a voice, since he generally has a shrill one, the taste and the relative ease with which he learns the songs with one or more voices are to be noted. Their dance songs, although they are monotonous and sad, are very harmonious, and the motifs that they execute on their flutes are quite varied and pleasant. Endowed, so to speak, with the musical instinct, the child learns the rhythm and the steps of the traditional dances with the greatest facility, without schooling, watching and dancing. *[192] Even the children are capable of preparing their flutes, even those called de Pã or caríço, as well as small organs of six to ten tubes, corresponding to the musical notes and harmonizing their various musical instruments perfectly. /Page 170 in the original text is blank./

*192 /208 cont./
524 bees, mumí-pesé (40).

40. A little Indian also talked about the "game of the lemon," but she did not describe it to us, and we did not have a chance to see it.

Another collective game is "hide and seek," called in Tukano wãx-tĩ mãã-ré baágõsamim (Wãx-tĩ is going to eat you), because the signal to hide is given by one of the children, calling "Wãx-tĩ is going to eat you."

One of the most common amusements, and which appears even in the Dabacurís (see VII -- 4, e (2) ), is what is called game "of the toad," tárokõ-pesé. Some children squat and, advancing by jumping, start singing: táro-kõakã... táro-kõakã (little toad! little toad!). Other children, standing up, block the jump of the toads, and among them the following dialogue is started: -- Where are you going? (no'õ-põ waati mãxsã?) -- We are going to see whether there is any ripe pineapple in the clearing (õxsã wexsé-põ yãra wá:, sẽ'rá to'ó-põ buxtise-pa yãra wá:) -- Your grandmother went there to eat pineapple, fell down, and hurt herself (toó-põ mãxsã ñẽxko sẽ'rá baágo myõ-doxké-pyõ-waápõ). Then the little toads exclaim: -- Poor grandmother! ... (adé:! õxsã ñẽxkõ!) and pretend to faint, falling on the ground.

524 With the palm leaflet rolled in a spiral, they improvise a
• 534 flute capable of emiting different sounds, according to the diameter of the spiral.

177 They make small flutes, puxtisé, out of taquara or paxiúba;
524 the spinning top, bextãga, using the nut of the tucumã and others.
*[192] More recently, in possession of jacknife and nail; they also prepare their wooden tops in imitation of the one of the civilized.

/255 cont./

202

/footnote 6 cont./ the Witoto of Pirá-paraná (Colombia) the language of the Trocanos, made in pairs, that is, man and wife, according to the picturesque native expression, was quite well developed.

*192 202 • 534 [832]

With some musical instruments they manage to emit sounds that are similar to words. For example, with the instrument called Ñamá dõxpoá (deer head, cf. VII, 3 c (3) /see VII, 3 c (10)/), we seemed to hear the syllables -- "Pêru wáatya" (bring caxiri) ... pêru... pêru... pêru" (quickly, quickly, quickly).

The young men direct amorous invitations to the young women with the sounds of some fifes. We were given on the Uaupés (and for this reason we recorded it with the pronunciation of this river) the following invitation, which they express on the fife -- "Yõõ-mẽna váya" (go with me), -- "Yõõ-mẽna vágo-tá" (you just go with me), "afũnõ nĩgosa" (be good), "afũnõ nĩhosa" (it is going to be good). To send out such invitations with the sound of the flutes is what is called in Tukano puxtí-weresã (literally: to complain by playing the flute).

202 [123]

They likewise know how to emit certain characteristic and various cries, sometimes similar to the voice of animals and chirping of the birds, and they orient themselves, call one another, give information, etc., with these signals (7).

7. On a trip to the great maloca of the Tuyuka, on the upper Tiquié, frontier with Colombia, the machete that one of our traveling companions had loaned to the Indians disappeared. At the time for the canoe to leave, he asked about the machete and no one could give any information as to where it might be. Impatient, he complained that it was a theft, and this was wicked. After the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ canoe

4: Silva--398 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

*115 /Illustrations facing p. 272 in the original source./
142
291
302
756

Cesário (Tukano octogenarian shaman)

The shamans:
(right) Marcelino (Wanana from Jacaré, river Uaupés)
(left) Eduardo (Huhúdeni from Uapuim-cachoeira, river Siari, trib. of the Içana)

*[192]
[534]

Tukano shamans:
Marcelino from Juquira (right)
Henrique from the Japú igarapé (left), playing the chõ

/273 cont./

d) His curing processes.

755 The curing process, even in cases of the use of adequate remedies, of plants of recognized therapeutic virtue, is based on suggestion, or at least it is helped by it. As a matter of fact, from the massages or suction of the ailing part, or from making water fall there from a cuia, they later show the patient (having recourse to prestidigitation, as Koch Grünberg, Z. I. 99 was able to observe) the object (bone, /274/ stone, thorn, insects, scales, etc.) that has been extracted from the painful member and caused him the pains, Waxkarí.

With the help of narcotics or stimulants, he will induce in himself states of crisis or of nervous excitation, during which he sees the causes of the sickness, or those who have caused the malefice. He will be able to make the patient see it too. He will prefer to bring the patient to his hut; or he will go to that of the patient during the night. He will demand the absence of other persons, and, alone with the patient, he will start his practices in an atmosphere of darkness and mystery, muttering very rapidly (21)

[797] 21. For this reason they like the Missionary to say the prayers more quickly.

unintelligible words, sung in a peculiar tone and alternated with loud sighs and groans. They know and perform a series of songs, each one with its efficacy for a given type of infirmity (22),

[533] [534] [126] [113]

22. We have managed to record some of those songs of the pajés from the Tukano, Wanana, Taryana, and Huhúdeni tribes, which can be heard in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" of the Centro de Pesquisas of Iauareté. Address: P. Alcionilio Brüzzi, Largo C. de Jesus, 154, S. Paulo, Brazil.

/274 cont./

755 often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), re-
[533] garded as a magic instrument.
[534]

*[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

[797] 23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the
[753] foundation of the church was buried a malefic cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirá-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

756 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses,
731 epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
• 534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or carĩço, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale, as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto /countersong/ to the other.

533 They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs, even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly
[177] appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very
[194] many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of
[147] the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice has little elasticity (54),

54. The voice has so little elasticity that perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and
[562] dances the men never sing; the women do it infrequently, for example, when they work in the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however, that the men's songs are religious hymns, whereas those of the women are bacchic compositions that they render when they distribute the drink. Among the alumni, and especially among the
[797] alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a greater elasticity, and one hears humming more frequently. This, however, is usually the religious or secular songs learned at school.

/301 cont./

533 As for the execution, one must point out that beautiful voices are sometimes found. Among the Baniva and the Kubêwãna one also observes piano or even pianissimo passages and forte ones, a consideration that we did not notice among other tribes. There is no preoccupation, however, with the breathing; especially when, already temulent, the woman will sing while she has any breath, then suddenly interrupts the verse or the melody in order to breathe noisily.

Some of these songs of the dances of the women, as well as of the pajés, end with laughing or a characteristic cry.

c) Songs of the xamã /shaman/.

533 756 [184] There is a repertoire belonging exclusively to the pajés. Since one pajé is trained in the school of another, perhaps of a different tribe (cf. VII -- 2, e (2 f) ), this explains the fact of hearing the same song rendered by pajés of different tribes. Nevertheless the melodies of the songs of the Tukano pajés of the Tiquie are quite different from those of the Wanana and Arwáke pajés that we were able to record (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/").

[534] [755] The pajés almost always sing to the sound of the maracá. Their songs constitute one of the curing processes and thus will vary according to the sickness. The musical theme is a Greek-Gregorian canon, melodious, slow, solemn. In some songs the words are already found adulterated; they are articulated sounds without meaning. At times laughs are also inserted.

3) Musical instruments.

534 R. G. Izikowitz (Musical and other sound instruments of the South American Indians -- A comparative ethnical study, 1935) presents four groups of musical instruments: 1st) idiophones, 2nd) membranophones, 3rd) chordophones, and 4th) aerophones. We do not find any example of the third group among the tribes of the

/301 cont./
534 Uaupés (55) /sic; (57)/.

[177]

55 /57/. During these past years some natives who came down to the Rio Negro for work became so enamored of the guitar that they heard there at the feasts of the caboclos that the possession of one of them constituted the dreamed-of fruit of their labor. And, upon returning to their povoados, they spend long hours of the day and the night strumming monotonously on the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ poor instrument. Perhaps for them the charm is not derived from the auditory pleasure which they experience as much as appearing, with this, more advanced or civilized than their other brothers. One also already sees some harmonica /Port. gaita/ or accordion or victrola among the alumni of the Mission.

Of the others, there are various instruments, all obviously of native origin.

/302/ a) Idiophones.

534 As rhythm instruments for the dances they have:

535 1st. -- Rhythm tube. In the Tukano idiom it is called ahũ-wõ, plural ahũ-pawõ. It is a cylinder of imbauba a meter long and 10 centimeters in diameter, hollow, with the lower end touching the ground, obstructed because it corresponds to the node. The upper one is open and ends with a rectangular extension by which it is held with the right hand. Each dancer takes his instrument, and they go all together, marking the rhythm of the step with a stroke against the ground. Frequently these instruments are painted with white, with the latex from the sorva, and with designs of Greek frets in red or black color.

* [192]

[531]

/302 cont./

• 534 2nd. -- Rhythm stick. Sometimes the dancers carry in their right hand a simple stick, of any kind of wood, which in Tukano is called yuxkõ, also for the purpose of marking the rhythm.

535 *[192]

3rd. -- Murucú. Murucú is the term from the Nheengatú language; in Tukano it is called yaígõ, that is, "stick of the onça /jaguar/" (Gonçalves Dias calls them "murucús-maracás" (cf. "Relatório da Província do Amazonas," Vol. I, p. 760). It consists of a stick of brazilwood (mira-piranga) with beautiful paintings and adorned with colorful feathers, some 2 meters in length and about 3 centimeters in diameter, and the upper end in the shape of a fork. Almost in the center there is an intumescence with slits and, inside, some pebbles. Once the slits are made, the spot is exposed to the fire, and, after it is heated, they enlarge the intumescence and introduce the pebbles.

*[192] [531]

The tuxáua who presides at the dances holds it with the right hand and hits it against the biceps of the same arm, producing a noise like that of a rattle, while the whole stick starts to vibrate. It is used to mark the beginning of the dances.

*[192]

4th. -- Snappers. In Tukano they are called kixtyó and sound like castanets. They are small tucumã nuts, strung on a cord, which are tied to the right ankle in some dance numbers, in order for them to mark the rhythm.

5th. -- Maracá. In Tukano it is called yaxsã or yaxsã-ga; plural, yaxsã-pá. It is a rattle prepared with a calabash, in which /303/ an orifice was made in the lower part, through which were introduced some seeds or pebbles, and it is fitted with a handle of about 10 or 15 centimeters by which it is held and shaken. Some are painted with the common designs already seen. In some dance numbers all the men shake the maracá.

[755]

Besides this, it is a magic instrument, which the pajés use in their curing processes, and with which they also keep time during their therapeutic songs.

/303 cont./

• 534 We have already talked about the trocano /signal drum/ (VII -- 1).

b) Membranophones.

*[192] They only know one, which they use to announce the time of the caxirí, the drum, in Tukano twá-tõ, plural twáthe-pawõ. It is a small drum about 20 centimeters in diameter and 20 in height. The cylindrical part is made out of louro /laurel/ bark, and it is closed at both ends with monkey skin, without the fur and well stretched. It is played with a small wooden drumstick, twá-tõ pa:-kõ.

c) Aerophones.

In this group is included the largest number of the native instruments, their various types of flutes and whistles. Some of these instruments emit different sounds, permitting the playing of varied and pleasing musical themes. Others, instead, only one sound, which is always made to yield sound rhythmically. It is to be observed that, in general, the playing starts with a small exercise of tuning the instruments and ends with a fortissimo of the entire instrumental assemblage.

*[192] 1st. -- Panpipe /flauta-de-pã/. It is the syrinx of the Greeks, known regionally by the name of cariço, and in Tukano wéõ, pl. wéõ-pari. It consists of 6 to 10 tubes of taboca /a wild cane/ of different length and thickness, tied together, with the orifices in the same plane, as in a mouth organ. They always make them in pairs so that the two players are in tune and, with a third or fifth of difference, one can play the canto, and the other, the accom-
*[192] paniment, or contracanto. They are classified in several types, according to the number of tubes and their tonality: yõrõrí-pa, wéõ-pa, puxtirí-pa, wanỹã-pa, yõtirí-pa.

[883] The Panpipe is, par excellence, the instrument of the young men; we have never seen it played by mature men. To the sound
[535] of the cariços are developed pleasant dance numbers (see VII -- 6, a (4) ) with varied melodies and with a recreational character in

/303 cont./

534 the interval between the ritual dances. The young women also
535 participate as partners to each young musician. The musicians at times dance in a row, holding /304/ the flute with the right hand, and with the left one the shoulder of the companion beside him; in this case the ladies position themselves in between, holding by the waist the two men whom one is between, one in each arm. At other times the players, in a column, go around in a circle or on a winding path, now to the right, now to the left, and then, with the left hand above their own shoulder, hold the hand of their lady.

534 2nd. -- Long flute. In Tukano at times it is called buxpú-
*[192] wõ, pl. buxpú-pawõ, which, properly speaking, indicates the sarabatana /blowpipe/. Announcing its foreign origin, however, the more common name is yapúrutu (yapurutú in the Língua Geral). It is a flute of paxiúba, without registers, measuring approximately 1.50 meters in length, with a diameter of 3 to 5 centimeters. It is blown by the upper end, having, at about 10 centimeters below, an orifice that is regulated with a thin sheet of palm leaflet, as if it were the reed of a clarinet. They are also combined in pairs, canto and contracanto.

[184] They are of various sizes and each with its name of a bird or animal, thus among the Wanãna and Kubẽwana. The Tuxáua Julio of Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié) asserted that these names are given by other tribes, not by the Tukano.

Beautiful and varied musical themes are played with this
[535] flute. It is certainly the most pleasing of the native instruments. After a short rehearsal, in order to verify the tuning of the instruments (canto and contracanto), two or four men start the dance: they hold the instrument with the right hand, while the left hand rests on the shoulder of the companion beside them. They thus move to the end of the maloca, being careful that the instrument of one does not hit that of the other as they change position to march in the opposite direction. The women who enter for the dance place themselves between two men, holding them by the waist.

/304 cont./

*192 • 534 3rd. -- Bone flute. In Nheengatú it is known as membí, and in Tukano as way-kõ o'ã, or also puxtirí o'ã. It is a flute 15 to 20 centimeters long, made out of the bone of an animal's tibia, with three orifices longitudinally, similar to our flutes, and one upper one, vertically, through which it is blown, this orifice being partially plugged with breu /a substance like pitch/, so that the air enters in suitable intensity and direction. It takes different names, according to the name of the animal whose tibia was used: nãmá o'ã (deer bone), yaí o'ã (onça /jaguar/ bone), etc.

[535] During the dances this flute will always be decorated with a string of Coleoptera carapaces of different colors. The men hold the instrument with the right hand in some /305/ dance numbers and make it sound intermittently, like a whistle, in the intervals of the songs.

4th. -- Cutia /agouti/ flute. This would be the translation of the Tukano name bwá-wõ, pl. bwá-pawõ, because bwá means cutia (small rodent, dasyprócta agutí). It is a small fife of taboca, 20 to 30 centimeters long, decorated with colorful feathers.

[535] There is a dance that is called bwá-baxsá, in which all the men carry this fife in their right hands. At given moments the singing stops, and each one makes his own instrument sound, like a simple whistle, but rhythmically. At a certain point some fling their fife to the ground, but recover it afterwards, making it sound anew. The dance is concluded with a stronger and more prolonged whistle.

5th. -- Caramujo. In Tukano it is called sã'ã. It is a whistle that is obtained from the caramujo /a snail/. An old native stated that this same name formerly also designated a fife of taquara or taboca, with an orifice in the center that is applied to the nose in order to emit the sound, and the extremities are obturated with the fingers. This is an instrument that many of the new generation do not know.

/305 cont./

*192 • 534 6th. -- Varejeira. In Tukano it is called mõxtẽ-poro, which means precisely mosca-varejeira /blowfly/. It is a small flute of imbauba about 30 centimeters long, with a vertical orifice, as in general among the flutes. They play it in the intervals between the dances. The sounds imitate articulations of words, [832] and thus the young men address sexual invitations to the young women. It is what is called puxtí-weresã, to complain playing the flute (cf. VII -- 1).

7th. -- Mawáko. Under this name come two different types of flutes: 1st) an imbauba fife, may reach up to a meter in length; 2nd) a small flute 12 to 15 centimeters long, with a side orifice, in the center, also of imbauba.

[835] 8th. -- There are various types of pipes or whistles that they use in the dances, whistling rhythmically in the intervals between the songs. One of them is of taboca, has the shape of a common pipe about 10 centimeters long, with the hole for blowing at the upper end, and it is used in the dance called wá'wa-ri baxsá (dance of the arumã head-piece).

Another, also of taboca, and of the size of the preceding one, but with the orifice in the center.

[835] In other dances, instead of a whistle, each man carries a piece of cipo 20 or 30 centimeters in length, the bark of which comes off very easily, remaining as a sheath. Holding this sheath tightly with the left hand, and with the right one pulling the pith of /306/ the cipo, there results from the attrition a very shrill whistling. This whistle is called simiõ-mi.

9th. -- Jabutí. It is prepared from the carapace of the jabutí /land turtle/, from which comes the name, ũhuri in Tukano, dug out in such a way that the shell remains intact. Afterwards the holes are in part obturated with breu. The instrument is held tightly under the left arm, while the open right hand goes to rubbing with force the lip of the upper orifice; it will then emit a hoarse sound similar to that of the cuica /an amphibious rat/.

/306 cont./

• 534 522 We saw that the man, upon sounding this instrument, would go backwards until, as a joke, he bumped against the women, who went away amidst laughter.

*192 534 10th. -- Deer head. In Tukano it is called ñamá dõxpõ-á. It consists precisely of the head of a deer, the various orifices having been obturated with breu, except one, on the upper part between the horns, through which one blows. They use this instrument to announce the caxirí, and the sound tries to imitate precisely the words: pẽru wá:tya (bring caxirí), which is repeated several times, and ends with the repetition: kero, kero, kero (quickly, quickly, quickly).

11th. -- Ocarina. In Nheengatú toré; in Tukano uxpítu, pl. uxpítu-pá. It is an instrument of baked clay, which resembles the ocarina, and which they blow on the road, when they are going to the dabacurí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2) ).

12th. -- Jurupari. In Tukano it is called mĩrĩ (Uaupés mĩhĩ). It is the mysterious instrument. This is tubes of paxiúba covered by the liber of chibarú (epérua grandíflora), rolled up in a spiral, with two sticks that emerge like horns from the upper end and by which it is held to be blown. According to the length, which varies from 80 centimeters to 1.50 meters, and the diameter from 6 to 10 centimeters, the sound will be like that of a trombone or, deeper, like that of a bass.

mĩrĩ (jurupari)

/306 cont./

• 534 There are four different ones; since, however, they always make them in pairs, canto and contracanto, they constitute a musical band of eight instruments that sound simultaneously in a hoarse, loud, but well-harmonized ensemble which is very pleasing to the Indian. In the picturesque /307/ native nomenclature, instead of canto and contracanto, the instruments are called husband and wife. We have already pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, c (2) ) the belief that the mĩrĩa are "people," and perhaps the denomination of husband and wife is derived from this belief.

Each instrument has its name, according to size; they could not explain to us the reason for the names, however.

Starting with the largest ones, the order that the tuxáua-bayá Júlio of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) gave us in 1953 was the following:

*192 534 1st. -- baaró (a bird of prey); 2nd. -- mahã (arara); 3rd. -- dẽ'tõ (squirrel); 4th. -- kixtyó boxká (bunch of snappers); 5th. -- arũtõ (assarí, a small toucan); 6th. -- mẽrẽ-i'sĩ (a small monkey, perhaps the marmoset); 7th. -- doé (taraira, fish); 8th. -- pextoá (kingfisher, aquatic bird, Caradriídea).

[115] [126] In April of 1955 two pajés of the Tukano tribe, Marcelino of Iuquira and Henrique of Japú-igarapé (Uaupés) also indicated the names of the instruments, with an alteration in the order, however, to wit (we have recorded their defective pronunciation), starting with the largest: 1st pair: kixtyó-boxká (ensemble of rattles), its wife is anõnõ (assarí); 2nd pair: i'tãĩ or mẽ'nẽ-i'sĩ (small white monkey with a yellow back), its wife is pusõ (they pronounce it this

/307 cont./

*192 way, instead of poxsõ, makú; and they explained why,
that is, it serves as a servant, it is the makú of the jurupari);
• 534 3rd pair: doé (taraira), its wife is pextoá (kingfisher);
4th pair: dê'tõ (squirrel), its wife is also pusõ.

[184] It seems that each tribe has its peculiar way of preparing the mĩrĩã, so that, without previous practicing, those of one tribe do not know how to play properly the instruments of another tribe. At least the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) apologized for having only one man among them who knew how to play the mĩriã loaned for the occasion by the neighboring Huhudẽne of Uaupuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana).

13th. -- Eheõnõ. It is not properly speaking a musical instrument, but a legendary object and for commemoration of the legends. We have already described this small horn above (cf. VI -- 4, i (3) ).

4) Musical themes of the Panpipes.

533 The Salesian Missionary, Pe. Eduardo Lagório, admirer
[115] of the native music (58),

> 58. And who has already been inspired by the native musical themes for the composition of religious and secular songs.

provided the following notes about the Panpipes /flautas-de-pã/ and their musical themes.

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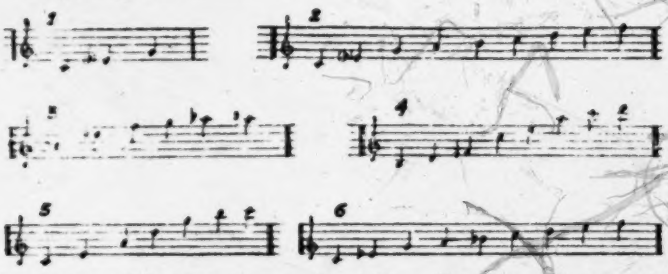
"The first three tubes (of the Panpipe) always give a chord most of the time major and once in a while minor, the first three tubes giving the result:



1. Notes of the first three tubes; 2. wãnyã-pa (of nine tubes);
3. yõrõrí-pa (of six tubes); 4. puxtirí-pa (of eight tubes);
5. wéõ-pa (of seven tubes); 6. yõtirí-pa (of nine tubes).

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● 534

The other tubes will follow with more variety. There is a small flute, which they call wãnỹã-pa, with nine tubes, the notes of which are the following (2 supra):

The other one with which they answer the thicker tubes, or vice versa, takes the name of yõtiri-pa (yõti, they answer).

The tonalities will of course vary with the variation of the measurements. These will depend on the measurement adopted for the largest tube, and also on its manufacturer, because they are measured by the phalanges of their fingers. The difference in size between the first and second tube corresponds to the first two phalanges of the index finger; between the second and third tube, and between the latter and the fourth, to the first phalanx of the index finger; between the fourth and the fifth, only a half a phalanx; between the other tubes only the tip of the index finger.

It should be noted that, starting with the third tube, the diameter decreases. This rule holds for the small type wanyã-pa.

They prepare, moreover, a small flute of six tubes, which they call yõrõrí-pa and is played alone, that is, without contracanto.

One of them gave the following notes (3 supra):

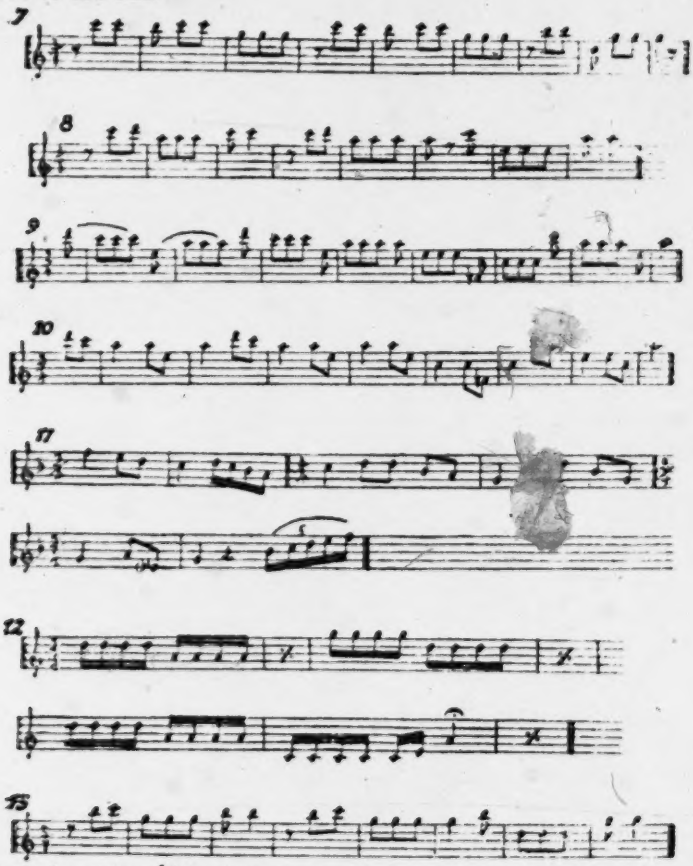
With longer tubes they manufacture various types of flutes, one called wéõ-pa, another, puxtirí-pa.

The same ones blown in the thicker tubes, or vice versa, serve as contracanto and in this case are also called yõtirí-pa.

/308 cont./

533 Two of them, compared with the harmonium, and which were
534 used for playing the melodies below, gave the following notes (4 and 5 supra): /The final quotation marks for the quotation that begins at the top of p. 451 are missing in the original source./

533 /309/ The same informant furnished the following melodies, chosen among the easiest ones of the native repertoire, to be adapted to the bar:



[192] 7. melody with wéõ-pa (7 tubes); 8. melodic variation with the instrument of 8 tubes; 9. melody with puxtirí-pa (8 tubes); 10. another melody with that of 8 tubes; 11. melody with the yõtirí-pa (9 tubes); 12. melody with wéõ-pa (7 tubes); 13. another melody with wéõ-pa.

/314 cont./

*192 291 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá ií-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. [177] Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá.

[237] 2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrí-dá.

• [534] 3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps.

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

/314 cont./

*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõã-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of ear-
[177] rings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that
[304] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syõ-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komũ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 535 237 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

/315 cont./

*192 237 • 534 535

2nd. -- Umũ-ka-iti. It is a crest of white garça /heron/ feathers (yehé) and yellow ones from the japú /Icteridae/ (umũ), used like the preceding one.

3rd. -- Pexká pixkõrõá petorí, or, abbreviated, pyõrõá pe'torí. It is a beetle-carapace necklace of changeable colors (66).

> 66. A native furnished us the explanation that the pixkõrõá live inside the bacaba palm. He further added that do'tõ is "father" of the beetle pixkõrõ. It is probably a matter of insects with different phases, like the butterfly, which passes through the stages of larva and chrysalid.

which covers the bone flute during the dances.

*192 184 532 764 [178]

n) Masks. On the Uaupés only the Wanãna and the Kubêwãna (67)

> 67. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 205) learned that, besides the Buhágana, the õmõa /sic/ and Sãra also wear masks. It seems that until 50 years ago or a little more, that is, around the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, the use of the masks was quite widespread among the tribes of the Tiquié and tributaries.

nowadays wear the masks in the funeral dances, and for this reason they call them ya'ko-kó su'tí-ro, that is, clothing of tears.

/316/ They are prepared with the liber of the tururí and have the shape of a nightgown, which covers the person from the head to the knees.

782 /336 cont./
796 Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsá, dances of
*[192] Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts con-
• [534] sist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩrĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

[123] Ordinarily the native does not know (41)
[124]
[177]
[869]

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

[115] The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506]

*192
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/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments

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237

Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua from Caruru-Cachoeira (river Uaupés), adorned for the dances (acangatara, necklaces, and stone of the husband /marido, "husband," should be mando, "command"/)

Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

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• 534

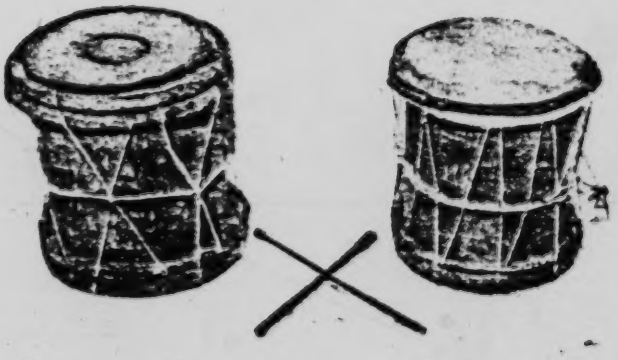
4: Silva--505 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 337 in the original source/

*192
• 534

Panpipes; bone flutes (onça /jaguar/ and deer); jabuti /turtle/ (ũhuri) in the center

Ocarinas (uxpitu-pa)



Drums (twáthe-pawõ) and drumsticks (twá-tõ pat-kõ)

*192 /337 cont./

• 534 Mĩrĩ is probably from the same root as mĩrĩ, which means drowned, immersed, hidden under the water (44).

44. We were not able to learn of any sign of special veneration toward the water of the rivers. Nevertheless it is in the water that they hide the sacred instruments, an indication, so it seems to us, of their original matriarchalism. Just as the human being comes from the maternal liquid, so does Wãx-tĩ appear for the feast, coming from the water, represented by the instrument Mĩrĩ. According to legend, the first human beings came from the water of the cachoeira of Ipanuré. We have observed, besides, that while bathing the natives immerse themselves a few times. Likewise when our oarsmen jump out of the canoe in order to drag it across the rocks, they also immerse themselves, even when there would be no need for it. When they swim, we have noticed that they prefer to do it with the face immersed in the water.

[481]

778 Hence the concept of occult, sacred. We have heard talk of objects that were mĩriá, that is, occult, mysterious.

276 Tobacco is a magic substance. As a matter of fact, it is one of the principal and most used curing methods of the
778 pajé. The smoke from the cigar can neutralize the malefices, drive away the storms, or attract them to a certain place, has an exorcising force in births and puberty initiation. For this
[855] reason it is even given to children three or four years old to smoke, at the feasts as well as outside of them.

/342 cont./

796
[123]

/footnote 47 cont./ the morning. And the one that we attended in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955 was also in the morning.

• [534]

the visitors send another warning -- "it is time!" They take their musical instruments (japurutús or whistles) and the offering and, amid yells, the procession is organized by way of the road from the landing place to the maloca (or by way of the road by which they came).

The tuxáua goes in front, followed by two musicians with their japurutús (see VII - 3 c (3a) /see 3 c (3c)/) (48)

[115]

48. In July of 1955 the seringalista /owner of a seringal/ Armando Sarmento observed at a feast of the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés that the two who opened the procession held with the right hand the Japurutú, which they were playing, and with the left one the respective lady. The other men came behind them, with only the rhythm stick, ahũ-wõ, in the right hand, beating the rhythm of the steps, and without a lady. He also noticed that inside the maloca, where the procession turned around, there were pieces of beijú and peelings of pupunha scattered on the floor (the poosé was one of pupunha).

*[192]

and the men who bring the offering; the rest of the men behind. They make a turn around the maloca, then go in and make two turns inside, yelling, those who are entering and those who are already inside, a prolonged ẽẽẽ... (it is what is called oá:, to cry out). The men and youths of the maloca are arranged in Indian file, according to their rules of precedence, from the left side of the door to the back.

[562]

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).
[574]
[123]
[126]
[302]
[562]

50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom they are to paint. "Yõo wa'renõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõõ wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.
*[192]

The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.
[301]
[554]

When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to entertain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a) ); it is a sign that the dances
[534]
*[192]
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796 /344 cont./
535 are about to start (51).

51. We have also seen the tuxáua, before distributing the snappers to the dancers, shake them simultaneously, holding in each hand one of the ends of the snappers. These kixtió, in a bunch this way, are what is called kixtió boxká, which is also the name of one of the sacred instruments (see VII-3, c (3c) ).

*[192]

The rest of the men imitate him; then each one ties his kixtió to the right ankle and adjusts his own waxsó-ro (cf. VII - 3, d (2) ).

*[192] Among the men who participate in the dances, one can distinguish three groups, regularly in pairs (2, 4, 6), according to the number of dancers:

[411] *[192] 1st) some with a complete outfit, lance and shield, and on the left shoulder the si-a yaxpú /sic/ (see adze, VII-3, d (2 l) );

2nd) others with a splendid outfit, but without shield or lance or the sió-a yaxpú;

*[192] /345/ 3rd) in the third category are the young men with simpler ornaments.

[534] [237] Those who do not have the lance carry some rhythm instrument, the ahũ-wõ or yuxkõ, or the flutes, these being covered with feathers from the tail of the arara, mahã i'ti, or from the japú, umũ-ka i'ti, or with a necklace of beetle carapaces, pexká pixkõrõá pe'tori (VII 3, d (2m) ).

The dance numbers follow, one after the other, according to the traditional program, corresponding to the various hours of the day and of the night. Some are longer, others, shorter. The intervals for rest are also just as variable.

796 /348/
535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

[514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3, c (3c) ). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, [534] especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the [533] ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, i (4) /see
273 i (3)/). One of the old Kõmã prepared it during the dabacurí.
*[192] At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over
[533] the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Cururu-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

/352 cont./

796 524 6th. -- Afterwards some approach equipped with tipitís /mandioca presses/, in order to pretend they are snakes. Upon reaching those of the maloca, they maneuver the tipití, shortening it and lengthening it over them, as though to eat the toads (61).

796 524 535

61. Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, p. 379) describes the "dance of the snake" which he attended at a feast in Iauareté. Two enormous snakes of 30 to 40 feet long, made of cipo, hay, and straw, and painted bright colors. Each one held by 12 to 15 persons, they performed dance movements, as though trying to attack each other, which actually happened after some recoiling and weaving about, to the great liking of the spectators.

/353/ 7th. -- Young men and boys, eight or ten in number, arranged more or less in order of size, starting with the taller ones, position themselves in Indian file, each one holding with his hands the shoulders of the one who precedes him, and half bent over. That whole human column advances step by step, alternately swaying to the right and to the left. The tallest young man, who leads the line, sounds the instrument called "deer head" (see VII - 3, c (3c) ): pêru wã:tya (bring caxirí) repeatedly. Unexpectedly this standard-bearer of the procession backs up, sounding kéro, kéro, kéro (quickly, quickly, quickly), forcing the whole column to back up. Sometimes the movement is so abrupt that some, generally the last ones, fall to the ground, the game provoking general hilarity. Thus the amusement proceeds.

*[192] [534]

796 /353 cont./
574 Those who feel tired go to sleep. In the morning they take their bath, drink their mingau, and leave freely, that is, not all at once, but without a formal farewell, in small groups. Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Tauúcurí) tells that he saw them all leave solemnly in another procession as far as the landing place, as at their arrival.

b) Poosé with the mysterious instruments -- flagellation.

*192 According to the statements by the Tukano pajés Henrique
796 from Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), the
• 534 sacred instruments, or mĩrĩá (jurupari's) (62),
778
[115]

> 62. A young man gave us the following explanation: "This instrument is very old; the one who found it was a man who had a son and two daughters. The daughters stole the instrument, and a bird played it very well. Now fearful that they might steal it again, they do not let it be seen, nor do they tell this story in the presence of the women." This deficient information reminds one of the legend of Uaracapá (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

are used only during the poosé (dabacuri's) of fruit (cucura, patatuá, cunuri ucuquí, etc.), therefore not during those of fish (waí poosé). Even during those poosé, instead of the mĩrĩá, one might sound the flute mawáko (cf. 3, c (3c) ), as the Christian povoados closer to the Missionary Centers generally do. As we have indicated above, there are two types of mawako, both of imbauba, the larger one of about 30 to 40 centimeters, like a common fife, and blown by the upper orifice; the smaller one of 10 to 15 centimeters, with an orifice in the middle, laterally, by which one makes it sound. Two of the dabacuri's that we attended in Iauareté were held with the latter.

/353 cont./

796 Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some
• 534 men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the
*778 landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kāsé.
[192] /354/ The women and children who came to the feast,
[562] barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut them-
[858] selves in (63).

[343]

63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩriá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

796 The guests then go toward that local landing place to which
534 the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women,
778 submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The
562 sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female
688 sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with
[278] poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ.
Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the
*[192] maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

796 /354 cont./

• 534 They organize the procession of Wãx-tĩ, which will take
778 the offering, as was described above, from the landing place
562 to the maloca, a procession in which only those of the masculine
786 sex who have gone through the puberty initiation rite participate.
They walk naked, all painted, in front, hanging from the waist,
the waxsõ-ro (or tanga of tururi, see VII 3, d (2) ), sounding the
instruments, which at the same time are shaken up and down,
*[192] and with lateral movements and contortion of the body. The
shape of the instrument (65),

> 65. It is elongated, wrapped in the inner bark of tururi, which in Tukano is called waxsõ-kõ (perhaps from the same root as waxsõ, semen; see Note 41, VI-3, a).
> [532] Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 69) tells that on the rocks of the cachoeira of Hipada (Uaupuím-cachoeira, on the river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana) he found a representation of Kúay, son of Yaperikuli, with a long penis. It is proof, it seems to us, of the connection between the cult of Kóay, or Wãx-tĩ of the Tukano, and that of the phallus. Perhaps one is even justified in seeing a phallus in the instrument, and for this reason it might be a symbol of Wãx-tĩ or Kóay.

the movements they give to it, the body contortions of the participants, all the circumstances of this procession and the sexual liberties that go on during the feast, bring it close to the phallic processions of classical antiquity in the cult of Bacchus, and these native feasts well deserve the name of "Phallustanzen" /Ger. "phallus dances"/. There is even a similarity to the paroxysmal flagellations of the cult of Cybele of Greece and Rome, and of the Mediterranean civilization in general.

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Indian playing the mĩrĩ (jurupari)

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Always playing the mĩrĩã, the men surround the maloca where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door. Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play the mĩrĩã. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances. Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during the dances.

/383 cont./

291 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not
• 534 seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of
562 fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

[115]

105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796] As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be
[302] a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are wom exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

178 106. We were informed by the natives them-
562 selves that, while the men at the feasts, be-
292 sides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/397 cont./

535 wore on his head a wide acangatara /head ornament/ with arara
237 feathers; a wig with braids of monkey skin and with two long, red
301 arara feathers and an onça /jaguar/ bone. From the wig, leaning toward each ear, there was a long, white heron feather. Hanging over the back the cangatá, a cord with tucano /toucan/ feathers. Also on the wig, close to the nape, the crest, or rectangular woven piece with long heron feathers. On the neck three long necklaces of beads and a necklace of seeds with the stone of command. From the ears, earrings made out of a burnished half of a gun cartridge.
[302] As painting on the forehead, a red semicircle turned upward and a large cross from the neck to the waist (132),

[123] 132. At a dance that we attended in the maloca of the Tuyuka in the igarapé of the Onça /jaguar/, upper Tiquié, from the painting of the Kõmũ resulted a cross on the face with a broad stroke from the forehead along the nose and upper lip, and the arms of the cross curved upward almost in a semicircle.

also in the color red. On the [illegible]ow, a bracer of monkey skin. In the form of a belt, over the buttocks, a necklace of teeth, to which he later attached two branches of that magic and intensely
*[192] aromatic shrub called bará. In the course of the dance he fitted to the right ankle a necklace of seeds (Kixtyõ).

Marcelino wore a small, denticulated wreath of fine straw, with yellow down from the arara; at the nape the crest with white plumes and a long feather surrounded by a string of colorful plumes. On the left elbow the armband of monkey skin. Hanging at the back, braids of monkey skin decorated with arara down.

*192 b) Execution. A small rehearsal took place in order to verify
• 534 whether the japurutús /long flutes/ were in tune with each other, as well as the cariços /Panpipes/. A little caxiri was drunk.

The tuxaua executed the yaí-gõ paasé, that is, he made the
534 rhythm stick, called "stick-of-the-onça /jaguar/," decorated with
535 feathers, vibrate several times on the right muscle of the arm. He
*[192] took some steps in rhythm with the pestle-tube of imbauba, and he

/397 cont./
534 took up a position in front of the second post at the left, in the
535 /398/ central nave (133).

[342]

133. Their rectangular maloca, although not of large dimensions, corresponded to a division of five naves: the central high nave, under the ridge, two side spaces, and, along the side walls, the space reserved for the families. It is to be noted, however, that there is no interior partition between family and family.

The men imitated his steps and, on his left, formed an open semi-circle.

*[192] 1st Part: Each one places the left hand on the right shoulder of the companion (Pá-bwasé is the Tukano name for this gesture). They execute some rhythmic beats with the pestle-tube (it is what is called yuxkõ-mẽra doxkesé) and some steps with the right foot forward and back (du'tisé). Then the line moves (nikã-ká eheanõ-kátyãra baxsasé) to the right and to the left until the circumference is closed, making some turns from the left to the right (sũtõasé) (134).

134. They explained to us that they are imitating the bavarí fish, which, before depositing its eggs, makes a few turns.

533 At the same time the men slowly sing unintelligible words, with a
535 frequent burden in which are sounded many times the syllables "paia-paia." The rhythm is accelerated at the end, and a cry and a heavy stroke with the rhythm tubes end the first part. During this
[562] part the women remained seated in conversation near the door, to the left of anyone who enters (135).

[123]

135. We, the three civilized observers, were to be found on the opposite side, at the right.

/398 cont./

533 2nd Part: Position taken, as in the first part. The left hand on the right shoulder. The dance starts with an accelerated rhythm, a
535 sharp cry and loud whistle (Wyisé) (136).
*[192]

136. I had found it strange that up to then I had not heard the Indians whistle, when I always expected to hear them whistling in the forest, on walks, on trips, when they were rowing, and there was only silence or conversation in a discreet tone.

*[192] Afterwards the singing takes a slow rhythm, the syllables "kapii-kapii" being heard frequently in the burden. A circle from the right
*[192] broken up by another from the left. The women start entering, one by one: the first one places herself to the left of the tuxaua, with the nape she touches his left arm (yohoasé), extended to the right shoulder of the neighbor, and she embraces by the waist the two men between whom she is located. Thus successively. They give only two complete turns, and the women leave. The dance ends with an accelerated rhythm of the singing, of the steps, and with a final whistle. Then follow minutes of rest and of caxirí.

• [534] 3rd and 4th Parts: These are numbers in which only the younger ones participate, playing the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/ (3rd part) or the japurutú (4th part), /399/ with an interval during which they smoke and drink caxirí. These intermezzo numbers are very pleasant. Each young man brings his instrument, which harmonizes well with the others, one of them playing the contracanto, or response to the theme that the first one plays. These themes are very melodic short canons, in a florid scale, with ascending and de-
*[192] scending notes. Sometimes the young men only dance, and then they go in pairs, the one on the right a little farther behind, holding his instrument with the right hand and, with the left one, the right shoulder of the other (pãbwasé), who also plays his own instrument and has the left hand on the hip. Upon reaching the back, they make an evolution and exchange positions, the right one coming in front, with the left hand on the hip, and his companion farther back, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the first one.

/399 cont./

*192 535 [534] If there are also women, the couples are arranged in such a way that the young man holds the instrument with the right hand, and, with the left hand above his own shoulder (it is what is called iñatusé), he holds the right hand of the girl, who rests her left hand on her own waist (pá-su'sũsé). The dancers start with only the men advancing toward the interior of the maloca, and, as snappers, a necklace of small tucum nuts on the right ankle in order to mark the rhythm. They go around in a circle, one after the other, to the right, then in the opposite direction to the left; then, opening the circle wider, they advance four times with the right foot toward the center, and they come back to the initial position. When the young men decide to walk, their companions present themselves. The couples are arranged. Sometimes the couples, one after the other, make evolutions describing the number eight (baxsá-mãhãmi betoá) or a spiral (baxsá sõ'tõã) to the right or to the left. At other times they are arranged in circles that become elongated or tighter, they turn to the right or to the left. During this entire evolution, they mark the rhythm with a stronger stroke with the right foot (dõ'pó-tisé). The women withdraw before the ending. The performances always end with a fortissimo of all the instruments.

*192 533 535 They are very pleasant melodies, but not infrequently the evolutions are so prolonged that they seem to be a contest of endurance. The spectators watch complacently from their hammocks, laughing and making comments, probably about the inaccuracy of the steps of the clumsier ones.

5th Part: While these numbers were displayed, one of the dancers went to prepare the "Yu'yúri-tiró." The tuxaua with his rhythm tube takes his position, and this time the men are distributed symmetrically on his right and on his left, in a semicircle. They start with an accelerated rhythm, then whistle, a slow dance following, to the singing of a funeral song. One of the Indians brings two yu'yú and gives /400/ one of them to the tuxaua, who is also the Bayá, the other to the latter's brother, bayá-re wetamõgõ, who is immediately to the left of the tuxaua. They hold the

/400 cont./

*192 533 534 535

7th Part: The tuxaua ties to his right ankle a necklace of dry nuts (kixtyó). He then takes a position with his rhythm tube. The men are arranged on his right and on his left, each one with his rhythm tube in the right hand and the left one on his neighbor's right shoulder. The yu'yús are brought to the tuxaua and to his /401/ neighbor. It starts with a rhythm of strokes and steps in the same place, cry, whistle, and afterwards a funeral song in pianissimo, which goes crescendo slowly, while they move some steps to the right and to the left. They stop sometimes to take a step inside the circle and another backwards and to the side. This part was more prolonged, and the syllables "tyúko-malía" were heard many times in the burden. The group of dancers go outside the maloca, in the yard of which they perform the same steps as inside (yohá-wihyá). They come back again to the maloca, the women abandon their position. At the finish there were only the men, who, after a small evolution, take the initial position, in a semicircle, and end the singing with small jumps (bu'pusé) and somewhat comical cries.

*[192]

5) Wanãna song-dances.

115 533

The Wanãna Tomás Paiva, oldest son of Mandú, the present (1957) tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and his probable successor, confirmed that the ritual songs were "ancient language," and, for this reason, they did not understand them. Through the desire to learn them well, and to maintain the old traditions, he tried to make inquiries from his father, esteemed local tuxáua-bayá, and from the "elders," and to write about them. There might perhaps be about 45 songs, he told us. We are of the opinion that this number would cover not only the songs, but indeed all the parts or verses; or perhaps even the repetitions of one and the same part or verse. It happened, however, that when he went to work as a carpenter in Venezuela those in his house used his writings for cigarette paper.

*192 534 535

With the collaboration of another Wanãna, Maximiano from Sá, he indicated to us the following order for the dances:

[115]

1st Dance -- with the bwá flute, hence the name bwá baxsá

/401 cont./
*192 (dance of the cotias /agouti/) (137).
• 534
535

137. A big feast was held in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on the 24th and 25th days of April of 1955, with the participation of about 250 persons of both sexes and of all ages and representatives of various tribes, especially Wanãna, Kubẽwana, and Huhúdene (the latter from the Arwáke group, from Uaupuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana). During this feast the first dance numbers were to the sound of the bwá. They were small taquara flutes of about 30 centimeters in length by about two in diameter, only one side opening, at about 10 centimeters from the mouthpiece, which was vertical. The lower part of these fifes ended with two small sticks of taquara, with two points or horns (perhaps symbolizing the teeth of the cutia /agouti/). As a decoration on this flute there were two strings of white plumes, tied to the flute by the upper extremity and free at the other extremity. In certain dance numbers some individuals would throw their flute to the ground, picking it up immediately afterwards.

In the interval between the verses or parts, the dancers /402/ sound their flutes. It consists of four parts, that is: 1st) õnõfla baxsá (song-dance of the carajurú /carajura/); 2nd) pĩnó baxsá (song-dance of the snake); 3rd) kaxpí baxsá (song-dance of the Caapí); 4th) no-phĩ baxsá (song-dance of the hook for collecting fruits).

2nd Dance -- with the rhythm tube, ahũ-wõ (in Wanãna wanẽ (138).

138. During this same feast of the Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, the rhythm tubes, measuring approximately a meter in length and 10 centimeters in diameter, were painted white (with sorva), having a black lower bar of about 10 centimeters and the handle, by which it is held, decorated with a crest of hawk feathers in the shape of a Greek epsilon.

/423 cont./

534 At the great feast of Wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

> 31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

/438 cont./

881 562 are flogged on the back with reeds four times by the Komũã, keeping their arms crossed on the chest, and they can not cry (64).

[183]

64. We were told of a young man who could not stand the blows and, feeling humiliated and scorned by those of the tribe, had to leave and place himself at the service of the whites in S. Gabriel.

Some child may hide in order to dry his tears, said an informant.

Handfuls of pepper are put in their mouths, and they are ordered to chew them. When there are several, they are arranged in a line, and with a stick they dig a hole, into which they are later going to spit. Not hitting the hole will be a reason for punishment. At dawn they take a bath in the river; upon returning, they drink a little Kaxpí.

*[192]

They are obligated for the great fast, be'tisé, and their obligatory food is the larvae of the wasps.

562 869 881 They spend whole hours sitting on the ground, listening to the pajés narrating the traditions, telling the legends, teaching the obligations as members of the tribe, husbands, and fathers, giving advice, fixing the relations with the neighboring tribes. These instructions are intermingled with caxiri and with the apprenticeship in the fabrication of the baskets, fishing nets, and other tasks of the men.

• [534] [778] While narrating the stories of the Mĩrĩã, they place one of the mysterious instruments beside each boy, so that he can observe it well (65).

*[192]

65. The instrument is an essential element for the male initiation. Besides the positive information obtained, it says the very name of the rite: "Na porá-ré mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mo-yẽrá," as the natives express themselves, that is, initiation of the sons with the mĩrĩã. This is also the opinion of Koch G. (Z. I. 220).

562
869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instrument "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[534]
[778]
They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66).
[756]

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).
881

> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coianã Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirã-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

*[192]
[171]
[126]
[115]

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361
household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial 241
purposes. 462

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351
entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361
kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562
staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622]
for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and
for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist
that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [178]
plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755]
medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear
plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521]
of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards,
and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip.
During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests
are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351
a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361
vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562
an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574
realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made
this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was
received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as
he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361
a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562
the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823
of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614]
Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534]
edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, [515]
to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833]
women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842]
But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621
high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512
of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing
that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361
tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241
462

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiarí these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiarí proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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769 171 [114] by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[2] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involv-
769 534 171 ing the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kówai* (*Kówai*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are [241] quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries during the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano In- [881] dians, where sacred horns are used in the initiation of young boys, [184] the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and [552] agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as tamed animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral cult (Ypiringa Monteiro, 1960).

769 171 As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Cágaba (Park, 1946), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921–23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1948), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may
769 534 174 speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among
534 elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[2] Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekeboikelehapuiw*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.

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that are specifically identified as the *Bekûpwānwa*, and that are used in the whipping and initiation ceremonies as well as in ritual bathing. 534

1. *Emihehika* (also known as *haraibipobū*: whipping staff) is a wide-mouth trumpet of bark wound within a framework of splints. It has a short palm-tube mouthpiece set into a ceramic plate that is mounted firmly to the upper end of the bark. This trumpet is some 30 inches long.

2. *Kwûhūnku* (also known as *Umēnahonkū*) is also a wide-mouth bark trumpet that is over five feet long and is played with one end resting on the ground.

3. *Bwū* (Agouti) is a long flute of a black palm, also with a mouthpiece set in a clay mount and with two external reeds bound around an opening toward the top. It is about four feet long.

4. *Onpwénda* is a flute similar to *Bwū* except that it has no separate mouthpiece and is only some 30 inches long.

5. *Onpwénda kûdjūwe* is identical with *Onpwénda* and is the length of a man's forearm. It is the shortest of the flutes.

*Bwū* and *Onpwénda kûdjūwe* are said to be the strongest and fiercest of the ancestors and are esteemed for the vigor with which they whip. They are referred to as *parihihekū* (very powerful beings). *Bwū* is, of course, the founding ancestor of the *Bahûkiwa*. 769 [614]

Among the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari the largest bark-wound trumpet is also called *Umēnahonkū*. Koch-Grünberg translated this name correctly as "Dragonfly." The name, however, is that of a first ancestor of the *Hehénewa*. [534] [614]

The whipping rites, the Cubeo say, go back to the "first people," who were taught what to do by *Kúwai*. At the beginning, however, it was women who played the flutes and trumpets. They spent so much time on play that they did nothing else. *Kúwai* corrected this. He took the instruments from the women and gave them to the men, warning them never to allow the women to get them back.[3] This is the story that is cited to explain why the instruments are taboo to 769 534 773 [784]

[3] A variant account states that the *Bekûpwānwa* had belonged to the women and that the men were afraid of them. The women came out of the forest bearing the instruments and the men ran away in fear. Then *Dekûkū* (Ghost person) learned about this and said, "Women have no right to this." He came down to witness the ceremony of the women. He saw only women and he said to them, "You are women, you have no right to this. Now I am going to take this away from you." He brought the instruments to the men and laid them on their forearms. When the women had the *Bekûpwānwa* they danced all the time and never worked. After the men had received the instruments they allowed one old woman to see them. She turned insane and they had to kill her. Since then women have not been allowed to see the *Bekûpwānwa*.

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769 534 [784] [793] [828] 754 women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekûpwänwa* to the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will be kept from the other women.

769 796 The *Bekûpwänwa* come annually in the summer when a species of palm berry (*konhá*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not grow. The *Bahúkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, however, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would seem to be an obvious one.

[561] As an age grade, youths are known as *hwainyó*, but as boys who need whipping for growth they are known as *bahúdjo*, which may be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping voluntarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahúkiwa* and one among its subsib, the *Bahûküdjauwü*.

The *Bahúkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capable in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys subdued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the headman's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive 769
sib cult. 796

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river
bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance [534]
feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love
to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid
aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors
might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the
morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times
sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party re-
turned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the [533]
river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the on-
coming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent [202]
the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one
another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden
of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds.
The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, [533]
swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the
women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off
together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in
the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from
the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer,
came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and [291]
having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, as [824]
cended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed them-
selves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns,
the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional [534]
five were used, *Bwü*, *Onpwénda kûdjüwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors,
assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed
countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but
with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They [535]
marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure
and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick
steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwü* horns in the lead,
followed by *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at [576]
the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was
taboo but as a courtesy.

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796 be whipped violently to the center of the dance floor. He chose an eight-year-old boy, his own son. Normally the most amiable of men, he glowered at the boy, and in a harsh voice commanded him to stand straight, his legs together and his arms above his head. The little boy solemnly obeyed. The father faced his son, poised his whip for the first blow, and waited while the dancers circled them once, sounding the ancestor horns. When the dancers had completed one turn, the man inserted the switch in the far end of the horn and stirred it about to "draw from it the power of *Bwü*." He then struck the boy across the loins with such force that the child ran screaming down the corridor toward the door. His father ran after him and without a word dragged him back. The first blow across the loins left a bloody scar on the boy's abdomen and was to impart sexual vigor, which resides inside the horn. The boy's paternal uncle stepped forward and rolled the second *Bwü* horn along the child's back, starting at the calves and rolling it up to the head. This was to impart growth of stature, that resides on the outside of the horn. The boy had now regained his composure, and his father brought him a calabash of chicha. His father whipped him a second time, in the same way, and this time the boy controlled his fright, emitting only a gasp of pain as the whip lashed across his abdomen, raising a second welt. Again the uncle rolled the horn up the back. His father gave him a second calabash of chicha and the boy returned to his place on the bench, where he displayed his scars to his companions, composed and grinning from ear to ear.

[534] Next to be initiated was the son of the headman's sister, the boy who was not of the sib. The same man did the whipping, using not *Bwü* but *Onpwénda*, the least powerful of the three ancestors they were invoking. I concluded that a father would naturally initiate his own son with the most powerful and the very first of the ancestors, while saving the least potent for his cross nephew. When I mentioned [182] this to the man he assured me I was wrong, explaining that it made [614] no difference who was whipped with which ancestor since their blessings went not to any one person, but to all being initiated as well as to the sib as a whole. The important thing, he said, was not to neglect an ancestor who had been brought to the house. I am inclined to accept this explanation with some skepticism, because the Indians always deny inequality as a matter of courtesy, but they recognize it nonetheless. When informants discussed *Bahükiwa* ancestors in general terms they all agreed that it was best to be whipped by *Bwü* because "he is the strongest."

This boy was exceedingly apprehensive. Before the first blow

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peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the 796
origin traditions. 184

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One 769
man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a 796
horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another 178
gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the 866
region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through 789
adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned 856
bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective dur- [515]
ing the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplemen- [534]
tary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is
to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also [824]
favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously [515]
shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

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In preparing chicha, the manioc is allowed to soften for four days. 574
It is left in the maloca covered with leaves until it has turned a dark 273
green color and has lost much of its moisture. Then it is grated, pounded through a sieve, and put through the tipiti presa. The dry lumps are toasted lightly on the manioc oven and stirred into a fine grain. Small manioc cakes are prepared from these grains. The cakes are thoroughly masticated and the saliva-drenched balls are mixed with water. After fermentation has begun, a quantity of sugar cane extract is added, and this mixture is left to ferment for several days. Masticated pupunha mash may be substituted for the manioc. A mixture of pupunha mash with sugar cane extract makes a potent and very laxative drink. Many communities add maize as well as a variety of root plants to a basic manioc mash.

This period of preparation is one in which the house is spruced up 574
and personal possessions and ornaments are inspected, compared, [292]
and readied for wear and display. Nowadays women regard their [178]
long cloth skirts as gala wear. If it is to be an important drinking party a woman hopes to have a new skirt that she has never worn before. All the elaborate male ornamentation of feather headdresses, necklaces, girdles, and pendants are fetched out and tried on. Musical instruments – Panpipes, long flageolets, whistles – are tuned and [534] repaired. Songs are practiced and dance steps tried out. A nightly respite from the labors of manioc preparation is the amusement of watching the children play at dancing the adult dances, singing the dance songs, tasting the freshly prepared batches of chicha, taking coca, smoking, and listening to the old men chant snatches of the origin traditions. The mood is such that the minor rancors of community life are smoothed out. The headman takes advantage of this 574
mood to bring the Satellites back as permanent residents of the com- 621
munity. The Satellites are normally invited to be cosponsors of a 622
sib affair, bringing a contribution not of manioc but of sugar cane, or pupunha when that fruit is in season. The headman believes that when the estranged sibmates see how happy all are they will want to come back. There is no doubt that a Satellite is strongly drawn to the festive spirit of the main maloca. But he always has the time during the hangover of the morning after to consider whether it is worth returning.

The headman makes the first proposal for a drinking party and 574
discusses the date and its scale with the male household heads. Co- [622]
sponsorship means that a household head undertakes to prepare a notable amount of chicha that can be shown to the guests. When the invitations go out, the names of the cosponsors are given, and when

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535 she looks uncomfortable and solemn. The girls accompany the men
831 for a few turns and then as unobtrusively as they entered the dance formation they leave it, disengaging their heads, backing away, and running quickly back to their places among the women. They are replaced by another group. Much later in the evening an observer is startled to discover heated and even violent disputes erupting all over the house as a result of these innocent-appearing dances.

574 There is another dance in which the sexes are actually paired. The
535 man plays either a Panpipe or a long flageolet and drops his left
[533] arm over the woman's shoulder while she encircles his waist lightly with her arm. This dance formation starts as a circle which, after making several turns, breaks up into couples who dance down the corridor one behind the other. During the circle dance a woman emits a long piercing shriek. I was given no explanation for this other than the vague comment, "Women feel like doing this."

Perhaps it is not overinterpreting too much to suggest that the form of the dance parallels some basic principles of Cubeo social structure: the unity of the fraternal sibling group; women as ancillary, fitting themselves in between the brothers, coming and going; the segmentary nature of the sibs; the feeling for obliterating what is after all an indelible mark of sib apartness. As for the erotic connota-
535 tions of the dance, one may perhaps speculate on the phallic char-
574 acter of the flageolet. This instrument, by the way, is so long that
831 when the dancer holds it before him the bottom is only bare inches from the ground. If he is careless as he dances and allows it to strike
● 534 the ground he may lose his teeth. The dance starts with the instrument held down close to the earth. When the dancer has reached the forward end of the house he arcs the instrument high over his head. The flageolet resembles, but is not to be confused with, one of the ancestor trumpets that is brought out during ancestral cult celebrations. Then the deep sound of the flageolet stands for the deep and sacred voices of the ancestors, that bring to the men physical
[533] force, sexual potency, and bodily growth. The Cubeo make the obvious association between the deep tones and the solemn, and the high tones and the frivolous. In ensemble playing they also recognize one of the instruments as a leader and the others of the same group as followers. In the drinking party dances, flutes and Panpipes complement each other; the flutes are butterflies and the large Panpipes are vultures. Solemnity is always associated with the acquisi-
574 tion of powers. The movement of the dance is, as we have already
535 noted, from slow to rapid. The last step before the dancers leave the floor is very rapid, almost a run, and the dancers in their excitement

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# 10

## *The Mourning Ceremony*

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bahúkiwa* subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Uménahonkü* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *olwinu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day ceremonies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. The three-day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

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765 534 114 769 [773] for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 786 [154] The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual orgy. [536] This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the substance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 562 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritualized weeping, their only active ritual role. [786] Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 765 [776] The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the benefirent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaíwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Mahálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*kerutamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kavá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

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The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

*yavirdrü yavirdkü* [repeated]
*yavirdrü maníka*
*yavirdrü ya*
*ho ho ho o ho.*

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirdkü* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiari River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yaui*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

The mask of Butterfly (*Tatáruko*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kavirè kavirè* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiari.

Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandua*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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765 535 532 ing, like a pennant, bark-fringe streamers. The *Borikakü* usually dances with *Máwayo*, its compatriot, the red-mouthed aracú. In a joint dance they carry a rope ladder (*towándo*) made of three parallel strands of rope into which wooden rungs are set. Attaching the ladder to a roof beam, they climb and descend.

## THE MINNOWS

Although the Minnows (*Emíwa*) wear no masks they are definitely part of the dance ensemble; they have a dance step, a song, and a dramatic role. The Minnows are the youngsters and form a school of fish that presumably stands for the youngsters' play pack.[6] They are a boisterous element, moving in and out among the masked dancers. Lacking masks and, accordingly, formal ceremonial status they play a counterpoint of sheer spontaneity to the more solemn dances of the masks. While the role clearly belongs to youngsters, boys are not limited to it. Prepubescent boys do, indeed, wear masks. Those I saw were Butterflies and I was told that a youngster may dance any role but *Yawí*, the Jaguar. The Minnows play on curious [534] shrill whistles. The whistles resemble a short three-tube Panpipe and are mounted at the end of a stick about a yard in length that is hung with three streamers of bark cloth. The dancers wear ankle rattles and dance in a spiral formation, taking two accented steps forward and then two oblique steps back. They hold their whistle sticks pointing up. They have no particular formation, dancing sometimes abreast, sometimes in line, and, alternately, in disorder. The Minnows do all their dancing among the women, who dote on them and ply them with chicha.

## *XUDJÍKO* AND *XUDJÍKÜ*

765 534 769 The "grandmother" and her consort are, for the Cubeo, the truly solemn and sacred element of the *óyne*. Represented by giant 15-foot-long trumpets of wound bark that are bound as twins to a single frame, they are taboo to all the women, as are all ancestral horns. The trumpets are capable only of deep, mournful notes and represent ancestral mourning. It is the grandmother, however, who has [462] come to mourn and not the grandparents. The reason for this is that it is a woman's role to be an official weeper. Men may and do

[6] It will be recalled that in the story of *Kúwai* and the anaconda, the penis of the anaconda is transformed into four minnows that are given to the adulterous wife to eat.

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjiko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjiko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikũ* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

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## THE SIB UNITS

The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

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## ORGANIZATION OF THE *ÓYNE*

As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur-

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765 The host
831 women stand apart on their side of the house and serve chicha to
786 the Minnows.

The males leave and the excitement of the women subsides.
765 Through the night, however, the men come to dance among the
831 women. The fence that divides the house into a male and female
786 half is also an emotional dividing line. Dances form on the male
535 side, where they are solemn and subdued. When they pass to the women's side, the dancers are excited. When they go back they revert to calm. It is tempting to interpret the movement of the masked dancers – who look phallic – through the overlapping slit in the wall as symbolizing coitus, particularly since with almost each passage the level of excitement is heightened.

The excitement of the Minnows is allowed to subside in a calm interval. *Máwayo* (the red-mouthed aracú), and *U* (sloth) do a slow dance, holding long poles with a crook at one end which they suspend from a roof beam and upon which they swing. The Sloth always falls. He lies on the ground kicking a leg and making feeble gestures of arising, only to fall again. But *Máwayo* is slow and graceful and swings gently on his pole. The Sloth arises, and the dancers cross poles and gracefully dance out.

[532] They are all followed by the Minnows. Each Minnow now carries a long pole that is joined to all the others by a string from which dangles a carved wooden bird. They do a circle dance with the bird in the center. As they circle, stamping strongly to accent the beat on the right foot, they jostle the women, moving in upon them to enclose them in the circle. The Jaguars now rush in, wilder than ever,
(857) leaping about among the women and falling upon them. They are followed by the boys with the *dúpu* on its string. The boys ensnare the young girls in the *dúpu* string. Now two masked dancers come in with long flaming broomsticks. They dash about among the women, swinging the flaming fibers among them. The women scatter in noisy panic, kicking over baskets and dishes. The attack by flame excites the Jaguars as well, and they whirl around among the women in sheer frenzy. As they flee this new menace, the women say, "The jaguars are angry. They will soon attack people." The Jaguars, how-
• [534] ever, are no menace to the men. One climbs on top of the partition and blows noisily into his jug horn, and another climbs a roof beam overlooking the women, both in a simulated attack upon them.

The Jaguars withdraw, and the next entrance is again a quiet one. Two Spiders, slowly and gracefully holding a long string from the middle of which hangs a feather, dance toward one another, winding up the string until they are face to face at the feather and

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way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will announce the arrival of *Xudjiko* and her consort. Bearing their masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grandmother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grandmother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a framework to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the "grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occasionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the doorway with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will be used for making the *dùpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they represent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pendant, jaguar-tooth and aramadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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765
The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth 574
day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing 576
the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep [152]
once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

765
One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On [535]
the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. [534]
At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

765
That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been re- 535
stored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaíndüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, [533]
*kenadjü marié kenadjü pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. 765
As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and 535
leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the 786
dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has [831]
become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the 765
following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted 775
to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first 266
of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have 114
been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a 171 765 184 266

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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754 [775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yavi*. The insect spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatáruko* (butterfly), *utáwe* [825] (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcikũ* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dúwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by 278 the *lingua geral* term *marakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term 824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné noneduwáiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but 824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by 754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi- 682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Ynpibũ kowaíye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti- 824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge. 682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has [241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatdrako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawá* — the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[5] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf — a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihí*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication — it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[5] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities, the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

*Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.*

 [see p.62A]

/p. 70-B/

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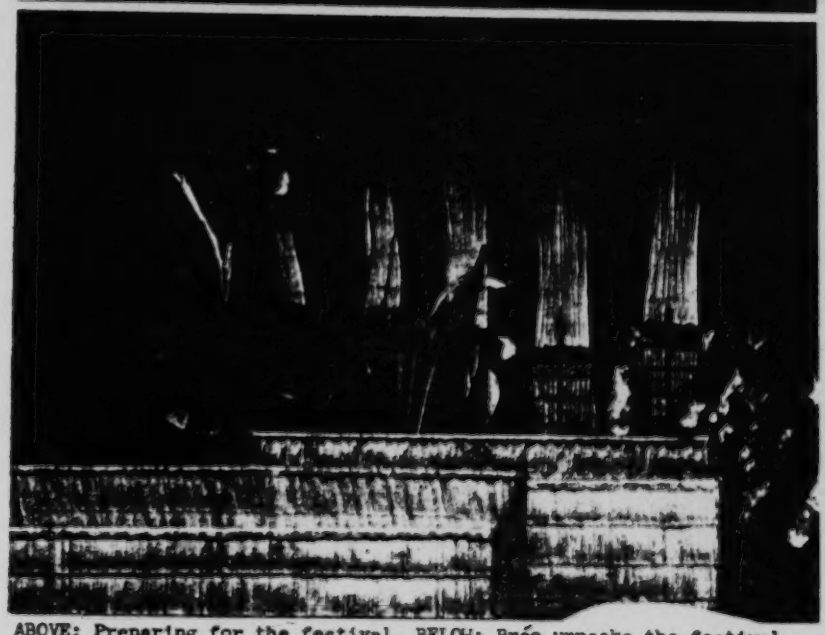

ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Bréo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.

226 fish hooks and line we carried for bartering were greatly sought after, though José for some reason sabotaged much of our exchange. He told the Indians that our nylon was not as good as their own *cumare* line and he broke the barbs of our steel hooks on the house posts to show that their own were better.

226 'That is barbasco, a poisonous liana.' José pointed to several bundles of
796 saplings lying on the floor of a *maloca* we were visiting. 'Soon, in late February or March, before the first rains, all the Indians near here will gather for the fish poisoning. They will build small dams in the streams, and the *barbasco* will be pounded and thrown into the water above these dams. All the fish float to the surface and, with nets made from *cumare*, or long spear arrows with forked metal ends, they will be caught in great quantities and carried to a *maloca*. Usually a particular house is chosen each year and, when enough fish have been collected, the festival will start. This may go on for days with *chicha*, panpipes and painted *yarumo* dancing-staves, and many people – and more fish than we see at any other time in the year.' This was a festival we wished to see, but we did not expect to be in the Piraparaná in March. Besides they might have been reluctant to let us watch a ceremony on which the abundance of fish during the following year depended.

Four days below Ni we came to the great falls of Beiju, and there, as we dragged *El Diablo* over the portage, we met some Indians who told us they were going to a festival at a Makuna *maloca* belonging to a headman called Bréo. It was two days' journey up a tributary, but we decided to go.

The Tukano have many festivals throughout the year; among the most important are the Fish Festivals and the Harvest Festivals for the pineapple,
533 *miriti* palm and *guamo* fruits, and for the manioc. At all these they dance, sing and play their instruments. But to the Indian, music is also a form of re-
534 laxation and enjoyment. Often as the men laze in their hammocks they happily while away the time playing on their bamboo panpipes. Blowing across the eight- or nine-stemmed pipes two men may accompany each other for hours on end, ascending and descending the same scale, rhythmically counterbalancing one another in tuneful but repetitive melodies. They continue, apparently oblivious of repetition, and the panpipe tunes soon be-
[184] came imprinted on our minds. Each clan has its own variations; most of the tunes are based on their dances, though some are in imitation of birds. At night the young boys play their pipes crouched around the central posts of the *maloca*, and the clear notes carry across the still forest like church bells ringing on a cold winter's night. Only occasionally do the Indians actually sing for enjoyment; one headman uttered a staccato war song as he pounded coca leaves and occasionally the women hummed as they rocked their babies to sleep. Their instruments are more important to them; of these the snail-shell and deer-bone flutes, the tortoise shells and the clay horns are the most unusual.

It is hard to believe that a river-snail shell no more than three inches long

can produce a most haunting tune. This tiny flute, the three-holed *sihoo*, is more often played outdoors than inside the house. Its clear rippling notes mingle with the forest calls, perhaps imitating a bird drawn closer and closer to the Indian hunter. The deer-bone flute, in contrast, has a harsh, piercing, eerie sound. It is made from a deer's tibia and three holes are drilled into the bone with a *capybara's* tooth. A little slit is cut into the head of the deer-bone, down which the man blows. Small lumps of beeswax are melted into the apexes and shrill notes come flowing out – bizarre perhaps, but melodious. This instrument is generally heard during the *chicha* ceremonies between the dances. The tortoise shell, too, is an instrument which has a weird, almost hypnotic tone. It is played by a man who squats on the ground with the shell gripped under the knee between thigh and calf muscles. Rapidly he rubs, almost jerks, the palm of his hand over the beeswax-coated head of the shell. Sometimes two men will play two tortoise shells and a pair of panpipes at the same time, and the continuous reverberation of the *goos*, as the tortoise shells are known, together with the syncopation of the panpipes produces an amazing effect. The high muffled tones of the *goos* echo round the *maloca*, driving the Indian's coca-bemused senses into a semi-hypnotic trance. To us this was not an unpleasant sensation and on listening closer we could pick out what was in fact a highly sophisticated rhythm. Each panpipe entered just off beat in an exciting, almost modernistic manner, more reminiscent of a modern jazz quartet than four primeval instruments of the Amazon. 533 534

Our recording equipment intrigued the Indians – those small boxes with wheels which turned, lengths of 'string' with weird metal objects on the end, held close to their faces or hung from the ridge poles of their *malocas*. It was all beyond their comprehension. At first they were frightened but once they had listened to their own voices and music, they were astounded and could not wait to hear more. We all too soon found ourselves using as much of our precious battery power to play back as we did to record. Sometimes they were intrigued by Western music – Beethoven piano concertos, Brahms and Gershwin had little effect, but the Bach double violin concerto drew many eager faces, a Haydn trumpet concerto brought smiles of approval and on hearing the Commendatore's deep voice in the last act of *Don Giovanni* the whole *maloca* drew near in wonder. Perhaps this really was the white man's shaman. 123 533

We waited four days at Bréo's while the women brought in baskets and baskets of manioc to prepare for *chicha*, and the men pounded coca leaves incessantly. During this time the *maloca* filled with families who had travelled by canoe from their distant forest homes along the winding river courses. Some had already been warned by messengers of the coming festival to celebrate the manioc harvest, but on the afternoon before it started Bréo left for a high knoll of ground, and stood blowing a clay horn – perhaps to warn 796 [534]

796 the people that the festival would start that night. The low booms rang out
534 across the forest like blasts on a ship's foghorn. To the south, near the Caquetá, giant wooden drums were slung on a slant from two central poles of the *maloca* and beaten in a secret code as warning signals to other members of the tribe. The *mangwaré* drums were the jungle telegraph of Amazonia and their signals could be heard over twenty miles away.

796 More and more families arrived at the riverside port, where they left their canoes moored to the bank or tied to each other with thin strands of liana.
574 Some thirty canoes formed a series of star-like patterns with the water rushing down between them, haphazardly tied, yet buoyant and secure. Each family made its way up the steep sandy path to the *maloca*: the men with their paddles, some with fishing rods, and many with panpipes strung to their hammocks; the women bent low under heavy loads of manioc and their babies on their hips. Here the head of each family was greeted by Bréo and shown where they could sling their hammocks around the sides of the house. The women handed the manioc to Wanina, his young wife – he had two, but the elder could no longer bear him children.

796 The amount of time it takes for the festival to be prepared depends on the
273 amount of *chicha* to be consumed. With over a hundred people present, four days were barely enough for the manioc roots to be rubbed down, the poisonous juice extracted and then boiled to form the basis of *chicha*. The starch sediment was baked over the clay ovens into giant wafer-thin biscuits. The boiling liquid was poured into the long *chicha* canoe which lay on the floor between two of the central posts; the toasted cassavas were broken into the liquid and fermentation began. The *chicha* gained rapidly in potency and the canoe was covered with an exquisitely woven cane mat like Japanese lattice. One ceremonial canoe was not enough, and another was brought from the river to be filled with yet more fermenting *chicha*.

796 In the evening the men sat chewing cocaine. Led by the shaman they con-
[787] sulted the spirits and their subdued mumblings continued far into the night. Their crouched bodies, lit only by the flickering of the resinous *turi* torch-wood, reminded us of the semi-human rock carvings of their ancestors.

302 The *chicha* had fermented, the coca was prepared, the *maloca* was now a
796 seething mass of people. The afternoon before the festival began, Wanina and the shaman's wife began to paint the bodies of the men. First deep red *karayuru* was smeared down the front of the torso, the thighs and along each arm with firm strokes of the fingers. A black liquid, the boiled juice from the leaves of a tree growing in their *chagras*, was painted on to the body with a three-pronged piece of cane. The hands and feet were totally blackened to above the wrists and ankles, and the arms and legs patterned with a lattice of

*A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.*
[see p. 78-A]

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 82-A/

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ABOVE LEFT: An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth. ABOVE RIGHT: Boy playing pan-pipes. BELOW: A headman lights a torch of beeswax.

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437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to
171 see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just
778 as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments
562 reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nut-
171 shells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that
171 the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them
825 luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said
[777] to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



occur constantly in the myth and legend of the tribes, as does the Motilon legend of the twins. It is a legend known from Mexico to the tribes living in Tierra del Fuego, which suggests a considerable antiquity.

Just as the puma is usually the symbol of fear, so the deer is credited by the Indian with fairy-like, almost feminine, qualities, perhaps because of its shyness and speed. It has been suggested that the deer is the symbol of new life, having been regarded as such by early migrations of hunting folk moving south along the chain of the Andes from North America. It was thus associated with first menstruation and all the accompanying rites when a girl reaches puberty and is able to create new life, and its hooves were used by women as ornaments or rattles. The deer-bone flute may have been the first musical instrument used by the Indians.

Several tribes have no musical instruments at all. Possibly these were the first people to reach South America. Later migrations may have brought instruments with them, possibly others evolved on the spot. The similarity of some Kogi and Motilon instruments to those used in Central America suggests a more recent influence.

At first we found it difficult to distinguish the sounds of the different instruments if we could not see them. But after a while we learnt to recognize not only the instrument but also the many different tunes of each tribe. A Noanamá girl would sing to herself for hours on end. The Motilon had a vast repertoire of walking, war and harvest songs. Instrumental tunes were fewer and some, as in the case of the haunting call of the snail shell, tended to be very repetitive. The Tukano, however, had innumerable panpipe tunes.

Indian music we at first found strange because we were accustomed to the European tone system. They have no conception of note vibrations to obtain an octave. Yet they can tell whether one instrument is in tune or not with another. A panpipe can be cut to a certain length to produce a particular sound, but it is difficult to produce the exact note, so they may raise the pitch by adding sand, or putting water or even *chicha* inside.

The panpipe tunes in the Tukano festival were the nearest thing we heard to orchestral music; each group played antiphonally, with sometimes two or three groups playing different tunes. We could not however make out whether combination or competition was the motive behind this weird performance.

The Tukano had no conception of counterpoint, though their playing was often harmonious. We did find it in the singing of the Noanamá – perhaps the result of mission teaching. One Tukano chant is almost identical to a western Irish folk lament.

In contrast to African negro music in which stringed instruments and drums predominate, Indian music is mainly that of the rattle and the flute. Every type of construction is found, from humming top and conch shell to

533 panpipes and the whistling jars of the Andes. Since the time of the Conquest
534 European music and more particularly African music has had an increasing
171 influence on the conservative Indian. The Noanamá and the highlanders showed signs of this influence, though the Tukano were still free of it. In some cases the instrument had been adopted and was played in the Indian idiom. The Noanamá had a type of drum probably copied from their negro neighbours, but they still played their own halting rhythms. The Motilon had a musical bow, but its use was entirely Indian in conception.

In the Sierra Nevada we found a direct clash of musical idioms, in the *chicote* and *gaita* played by the Indian-creole inhabitants. Perhaps in this are the seeds of a new music combining the atonal, remote and sad Indian music with the gay, sophisticated, ebullient harmonies of the negro-creole. Perhaps the folk music of Colombia as a whole, from the Spanish mountain songs to the negro rhythms of the coast, is a manifestation of a Euro-Afro-Indian music evolving like the arts and the people themselves into a new wholly South American dimension.

171 Such are the idle thoughts of travellers written in retrospect. But of all our
609 memories – Kogi temples, Noanamá children paddling to their stilted houses in a Pacific sunset, a Tukano *maloca* at dawn with the steam rising off the night-wetted thatch – the one that will remain longest will be that of the Indian himself, whether a Kogi regarding us with the scorn of a man who knows himself to be a superior being, or a Tukano who never looks *at* you, rather into you with a strange trustful-untrusting eye, as if to try and penetrate your innermost thoughts.

000 Walk with him long enough in the forest and you too will learn to see the track of a tapir; to tell if it was running by the depth of the spoor; to tell if it was wounded by the clot of blood beside the path; even to tell the time when it passed, by the dryness of an upturned leaf, the only one on a shower-soaked forest floor. Perhaps if you could speak his language he would teach you how to walk through the forest for days and never lose your way, to use a bow and arrow, to kill a parrot with one dart from your blowpipe. You might even come to accept the forest for what it is. You would become part of it and it would be the only world you knew....

If you ever reached that stage, then you would be like an Indian. Then you would understand the shock of civilization. It would be like going for a very long holiday in a remote countryside, perhaps the Outer Hebrides, never seeing another soul, and then returning to the heart of a city. Only it would be a hundred times worse.

You would take cocaine because to you it would be perfectly natural. Your father took it and his father before him. You were told as a child that you could not live without it when in the late summer, at the end of the dry season, you had to travel great distances to find deer at the water holes.

Without that small bag you would never reach your destination. The sun would travel many times across the sky before you could return. 000

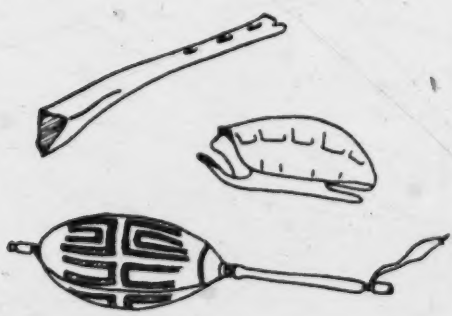
It is fairly obvious now that in those few weeks in the Piraparaná when we became unduly agitated at the break-down of an engine or the disappearance of our guides, at the delays and frustrations, we had not begun to acquire the philosophical detachment of the Indian.

'When I feel like that,' Horacio would say, 'I just sling my hammock and let the world pass by,' and so saying would proceed to do precisely that. An Indian might have given us the same advice could he have understood the cause of our agitation or the complex mentality of the *civilizado*.

Perhaps if we could recall our childhood impressions before familiarity blunted our senses, before our minds or the pictures or images they formed were channelled along a specific course by what we were taught, before in fact we became specialists, we might understand the way an Indian looks at life – and perhaps even learn something from it.

/pp. 188-198 not processed/

534



/199 cont./

*192 178 411 [276] war expeditions with their tangapemas, and in order to become invisible to the enemies and invulnerable to their blows, they painted themselves with the juice of the batata uxpí. Moreover, they smoked a big cigar called uxpí-mõrõ, decorated with symbolic paintings, in order to become more courageous.

Koch Grünberg still found some clubs or tangapemas in the Namakoliba maloca, upper Uaupés (Zwei Jahre, 301). They were of a dark red wood, measuring 112 centimeters in length, with the handle painted and the other end wider. The Kubêwana and related tribes used them then for the dances and occasionally also as a seat in the canoe. It may be concluded that the war club of the Omawa is proof of the eastern origin of this Karaíba tribe, because it is similar to that of the tribes of the Guianas. Actually, among these tribes the upper end of the club terminates in a sharp point, in order to run through the fallen enemy, with a coup de grâce, in the temple or in the ear.

178 714 • 535 *192 b) In battle, moreover, they formerly used a shield, called in Tukano baxtí-pá:karo; it was woven out of cipo and was very light, but efficient against arrows. Today it is rarely seen and, up to the beginning of this century (information from Pe. João Marchesi), was used as dance attire, which they wore on the left arm when they went to drink their cuia /gourd/ of kaxpí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2) ).

c) Likewise only a dance implement today (as far as we could observe) is the lance, yõxsẽrĩ-phĩ, which essentially is only a heavy rounded stick about two meters in length and ending in a sharp point. They use it in the dabacurí dances, and the "golpe-ao-branco" /blow to the white/ is performed with it (cf. VII -- 4, e (2 and 3) ).

177 178 411 *[192] 2) Bow. The only indigenous weapons of present-day use, and, even so, of very limited use on the Uaupés, are the bow and the sarabatana /blowgun/. The tribes farthest in the interior of the forests, with few or no relations with the civilized, use them more. On the other hand, contact with civilization supplied the natives with shotgun, machetes, and axes, which, unfortunately, are used in the fights and reciprocal vengeance.

/211 cont./

291 *[192] [178] • [535] [531] *[192]

of the women, called in Nheengatú muruarí, it is similar to a small apron of about 20 centimeters in length by 10 centimeters in width. Nowadays it is only a dance ornament which the women exhibit together with the painting; or they are even without it and only painted. With the jewelry that they have obtained from the civilized, they prepare very beautiful yaxkẽ waxsó-ro. Even the original ones, woven out of tucum, were outstanding works of weaving. The one and the other, however, seem to be a "dress of attraction" rather than a "dress of decency," because they remain hanging at the waist and, due to the position and dimensions (the largest dimension is horizontally), do not cover enough (cf. VII -- 5, b).

b) Shoes.

They do not manufacture or use shoes of any kind, as is the custom of the Indians of the savannas. They are unnecessary for their long trips, which are made by canoe, and are inconvenient for the excursions in the forest, if they are not made out of a resistant material, such as leather, and well fitted. Besides, the warm climate and the continuous rains would render their use harmful to the health.

4) Alimentation.

*192 178 262

a) Mandioca.

The Indian obtains from the mandioca (Mánihot utilíssima) his principal food, preparing it in different ways, and he uses it every /212/ day of the year. There are recollections of a very remote period (centuries or millennia before the historical period, which is the sixteenth century) when they did not know mandioca, and they ate the chestnut /Port. castanha, any of several trees having edible nuts/ called boxpé (information of Dorotéia Brito).

/300 cont./

533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also
533 regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very
[276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the
*[192] tuxáua sings as follows:

[539] "mãrĩ bũxkõrá, mãrĩ paxkõ-s'õmõã baxsesé duhí-wé:pãra, yõõ ná põrá uhú duhí, uhú duhí we:yá, mãxsã yõõ põra"; that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively
[562] for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the
[273] men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule, the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in
[535] the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning; they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

/301 cont./

534 Uaupés (55) /sic: (57)/.

[177] 55 /57/. During these past years some natives who came down to the Rio Negro for work became so enamored of the guitar that they heard there at the feasts of the caboclos that the possession of one of them constituted the dreamed-of fruit of their labor. And, upon returning to their povoados, they spend long hours of the day and the night strumming monotonously on the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ poor instrument. Perhaps for them the charm is not derived from the auditory pleasure which they experience as much as appearing, with this, more advanced or civilized than their other brothers. One also already sees some harmonica /Port. gaita/ or accordion or victrola among the alumni of the Mission.

Of the others, there are various instruments, all obviously of native origin.

/302/ a) Idiophones.

534 As rhythm instruments for the dances they have:

• 535 1st. -- Rhythm tube. In the Tukano idiom it is called ahũ-wõ̃,

* [192] plural ahũ-pawõ̃. It is a cylinder of imbauba a meter long and 10 centimeters in diameter, hollow, with the lower end touching the ground, obstructed because it corresponds to the node. The upper one is open and ends with a rectangular extension by which it is held with the right hand. Each dancer takes his instrument, and they go all together, marking the rhythm of the step with a stroke against the ground. Frequently these instruments are painted with

[531] white, with the latex from the sorva, and with designs of Greek frets in red or black color.

/302 cont./

534 2nd. -- Rhythm stick. Sometimes the dancers carry in their right hand a simple stick, of any kind of wood, which in Tukano is called yuxkõ, also for the purpose of marking the rhythm.

535 *[192]

3rd. -- Murucú. Murucú is the term from the Nheengatú language; in Tukano it is called yaígõ, that is, "stick of the onça /jaguar/" (Gonçalves Dias calls them "murucús-maracás" (cf. "Relatório da Província do Amazonas," Vol. I, p. 760). It consists of a stick of brazilwood (mira-piranga) with beautiful paintings and adorned with colorful feathers, some 2 meters in length and about 3 centimeters in diameter, and the upper end in the shape of a fork. Almost in the center there is an intumescence with slits and, inside, some pebbles. Once the slits are made, the spot is exposed to the fire, and, after it is heated, they enlarge the intumescence and introduce the pebbles.

*[192] [531]

The tuxáua who presides at the dances holds it with the right hand and hits it against the biceps of the same arm, producing a noise like that of a rattle, while the whole stick starts to vibrate. It is used to mark the beginning of the dances.

*[192]

4th. -- Snappers. In Tukano they are called kixtyõ and sound like castanets. They are small tucumã nuts, strung on a cord, which are tied to the right ankle in some dance numbers, in order for them to mark the rhythm.

5th. -- Maracá. In Tukano it is called yaxsã or yaxsã-ga; plural, yaxsã-pá. It is a rattle prepared with a calabash, in which /303/ an orifice was made in the lower part, through which were introduced some seeds or pebbles, and it is fitted with a handle of about 10 or 15 centimeters by which it is held and shaken. Some are painted with the common designs already seen. In some dance numbers all the men shake the maracá.

[755]

Besides this, it is a magic instrument, which the pajés use in their curing processes, and with which they also keep time during their therapeutic songs.

/303 cont./

534 We have already talked about the trocano /signal drum/ (VII -- 1).

b) Membranophones.

*[192] They only know one, which they use to announce the time of the caxirí, the drum, in Tukano twá-tõ, plural twáthe-pawõ. It is a small drum about 20 centimeters in diameter and 20 in height. The cylindrical part is made out of louro /laurel/ bark, and it is closed at both ends with monkey skin, without the fur and well stretched. It is played with a small wooden drumstick, twá-tõ pa:-kõ.

c) Aerophones.

In this group is included the largest number of the native instruments, their various types of flutes and whistles. Some of these instruments emit different sounds, permitting the playing of varied and pleasing musical themes. Others, instead, only one sound, which is always made to yield sound rhythmically. It is to be observed that, in general, the playing starts with a small exercise of tuning the instruments and ends with a fortissimo of the entire instrumental assemblage.

*[192] 1st. -- Panpipe /flauta-de-pã/. It is the syrinx of the Greeks, known regionally by the name of cariço, and in Tukano wéõ, pl. wéõ-pari. It consists of 6 to 10 tubes of taboca /a wild cane/ of different length and thickness, tied together, with the orifices in the same plane, as in a mouth organ. They always make them in pairs so that the two players are in tune and, with a third or fifth of difference, one can play the canto, and the other, the accom-
*[192] paniment, or contracanto. They are classified in several types, according to the number of tubes and their tonality: yõrõrí-pa, wéõ-pa, puxtirí-pa, wanỹã-pa, yõtirí-pa.

[883] The Panpipe is, par excellence, the instrument of the young men; we have never seen it played by mature men. To the sound
• [535] of the cariços are developed pleasant dance numbers (see VII -- 6, a (4) ) with varied melodies and with a recreational character in

/303 cont./

534 the interval between the ritual dances. The young women also
• 535 participate as partners to each young musician. The musicians at times dance in a row, holding /304/ the flute with the right hand, and with the left one the shoulder of the companion beside him; in this case the ladies position themselves in between, holding by the waist the two men whom one is between, one in each arm. At other times the players, in a column, go around in a circle or on a winding path, now to the right, now to the left, and then, with the left hand above their own shoulder, hold the hand of their lady.

534 2nd. -- Long flute. In Tukano at times it is called buxpú-
*[192] wõ, pl. buxpú-pawõ, which, properly speaking, indicates the sarabatana /blowpipe/. Announcing its foreign origin, however, the more common name is yapúrutu (yapurutú in the Língua Geral). It is a flute of paxiúba, without registers, measuring approximately 1.50 meters in length, with a diameter of 3 to 5 centimeters. It is blown by the upper end, having, at about 10 centimeters below, an orifice that is regulated with a thin sheet of palm leaflet, as if it were the reed of a clarinet. They are also combined in pairs, canto and contracanto.

[184] They are of various sizes and each with its name of a bird or animal, thus among the Wanãna and Kubẽwana. The Tuxáua Julio of Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié) asserted that these names are given by other tribes, not by the Tukano.

Beautiful and varied musical themes are played with this
[535] flute. It is certainly the most pleasing of the native instruments. After a short rehearsal, in order to verify the tuning of the instruments (canto and contracanto), two or four men start the dance: they hold the instrument with the right hand, while the left hand rests on the shoulder of the companion beside them. They thus move to the end of the maloca, being careful that the instrument of one does not hit that of the other as they change position to march in the opposite direction. The women who enter for the dance place themselves between two men, holding them by the waist.

/304 cont./

*192 534 3rd. -- Bone flute. In Nheengatú it is known as membí, and in Tukano as way-kõ o'ã, or also puxtirí o'ã. It is a flute 15 to 20 centimeters long, made out of the bone of an animal's tibia, with three orifices longitudinally, similar to our flutes, and one upper one, vertically, through which it is blown, this orifice being partially plugged with breu /a substance like pitch/, so that the air enters in suitable intensity and direction. It takes different names, according to the name of the animal whose tibia was used: nãmá o'ã (deer bone), yaí o'ã (onça /jaguar/ bone), etc.

• [535] During the dances this flute will always be decorated with a string of Coleoptera carapaces of different colors. The men hold the instrument with the right hand in some /305/ dance numbers and make it sound intermittently, like a whistle, in the intervals of the songs.

4th. -- Cutia /agouti/ flute. This would be the translation of the Tukano name bwá-wõ, pl. bwá-pawõ, because bwá means cutia (small rodent, dasyprócta aguti). It is a small fife of taboca, 20 to 30 centimeters long, decorated with colorful feathers.

[535] There is a dance that is called bwá-baxsá, in which all the men carry this fife in their right hands. At given moments the singing stops, and each one makes his own instrument sound, like a simple whistle, but rhythmically. At a certain point some fling their fife to the ground, but recover it afterwards, making it sound anew. The dance is concluded with a stronger and more prolonged whistle.

5th. -- Caramujo. In Tukano it is called sã'ã. It is a whistle that is obtained from the caramujo /a snail/. An old native stated that this same name formerly also designated a fife of taquara or taboca, with an orifice in the center that is applied to the nose in order to emit the sound, and the extremities are obturated with the fingers. This is an instrument that many of the new generation do not know.

/310/

d) Plumage and adornment.

301 302 • 535 562

The native ornaments are many; the most striking ones are for the men (59),

> 59. This assemblage of ornaments (earrings, bracelets, necklaces, combs), the long hair in a braid, carefully combed, the depilation of the beard and the mustache, gave the Indian, according to Wallace's testimony, an appearance so effeminate, especially in the dance, when they even protected the chest with the shield of cipo and the lower part of the body with the long waxsó-ro of hanging tururí, that the English scientist thought he was in front of a woman. Wallace's opinion is that the legend of the Amazons or women warriors arose from this mistake (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 630).

but their use on the latter is exclusively for the dances (60),

[184]

> 60. In the Roéra and Ihwãna tribes, even outside of the dances, we have seen the men, especially the young ones, with paintings on the face, bracelets on the arms, and earrings made up of a plug of colored or white feathers.

at least nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

175 301

The ancient travelers speak (61)

> 61. Pe. Cristovão de Acuña, referring to the journey of Pedro Teixeira in 1639, concerning the nation of the Curizaris, which started 28 leagues below the mouth of the river Juruá,

/313 cont./

*192 237 301 562 [535]

2nd) At the time of the dance they fit to the preceding braids, and in the horizontal direction, over the nape, another plaiting of onça /jaguar/ fur, which is called poa-ri dõ'terí-dá (dõ'terí-dá means: string for tying).

3rd) They add to the preceding a small onça /jaguar/ bone, yai o'ã dõxká, and a small disk of tatu /armadillo/ shell, pamõ pe'toró, with a feather in the central hole. This decoration is called tu-si'ti-óoro.

d) Feather crests. 1st. -- Over these braids are also fitted various crests. The first consists of a rectangular plaiting of arumã and tucum, uká-pãma, topped by long and tapered tail feathers from the garça /heron/, yehé si-á uhaú, and, on the base, red arara feathers and white ones from the harpy eagle (si-á uhaú, uropygium).
/The following paragraph is confused in the original source. The three lines from the original text, the first of which is repeated at the end of the following paragraph, are marked with slant lines in the translation./ This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck. / some of these crests that, instead of tucum, they introduced into the woven/ colored threads obtained from the civilized, and monkey fur.

The rest of the men wear a simpler crest, in which, over the uká-pãma, are found plumes of the harpy eagle, a:--paxkõ si-á uhaú. This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck.

2nd. -- The second crest is called a:--paxkõ wĩxtõ-põ. It consists of a stem around which is fixed with sorva a /314/ layer of very fine white down (wĩxtõ) from the harpy eagle (a:--paxkõ). It is adjusted perpendicularly over the nape, forming a right angle with the first one.

3rd. -- They further add one or two long red tail feathers from the arara, mahã pixkõ-rõ, likewise in a position perpendicular to the nape.

/314 cont./

*192 291 • 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá iĩ-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá. [177]

[237] 2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrĩ-dá.

[534] 3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps.

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

/314 cont./

*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõã-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of ear-
[177] rings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that
[304] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komĩ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they
535 carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical
237 Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

/315 cont./

*192 237 534 • 535

2nd. -- Umũ-ka-iti. It is a crest of white garça /heron/ feathers (yehé) and yellow ones from the japú /Icteridae/ (umũ), used like the preceding one.

3rd. -- Pexká pixkõrõá petorí, or, abbreviated, pyõrõá pe'torí. It is a beetle-carapace necklace of changeable colors (66),

> 66. A native furnished us the explanation that the pixkõrõá live inside the bacaba palm. He further added that do'tõ is "father" of the beetle pixkõrõ. It is probably a matter of insects with different phases, like the butterfly, which passes through the stages of larva and chrysalid.

which covers the bone flute during the dances.

*192 184 532 764 [178]

n) Masks. On the Uaupés only the Wanãna and the Kubêwãna (67)

> 67. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 205) learned that, besides the Buhágana, the õmõa /sic/ and Sãra also wear masks. It seems that until 50 years ago or a little more, that is, around the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, the use of the masks was quite widespread among the tribes of the Tiquié and tributaries.

nowadays wear the masks in the funeral dances, and for this reason they call them ya'ko-kó su'tí-ro, that is, clothing of tears.

/316/ They are prepared with the liber of the tururí and have the shape of a nightgown, which covers the person from the head to the knees.

/338 cont./

796 [123] [126] *[192]

/footnote 45 cont./ he would not allow him to attend the dance. Confirmation of this religious character, it seems to us, is also found in the refusal to our request to repeat the ceremony of the offering of the fish (waí poosé) under better conditions, so that we could film it. Nevertheless these Indians repeated the simple dances for us for this same purpose.

[126]

The Tukano Antônio Barreto (December of 1953) assured us that they did not do poosé in front of the whites. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to attend it and to film it. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 202): he moreover was able to attend it on the Umarí-igarapé, but many Indians appeared displeased by this, and the tuxáua José did not allow him to take photographs.

[533] [535]

As though they were undertaking a serious ceremony and not a diversion. Nothing will disturb these rites. Singing mysterious words (ancient dialect? or, with more probability, mere corruption) which they do not understand, dancing in a slow cadence and marking the time with stronger beats with the right foot.

[755]

/339/ 4th. -- They attribute to such feasts in addition an efficacious healing action. It can drive away all the sicknesses and even heal large wounds (46).

46. This is what Koch Grünberg was able to verify (Zwei Iahre, 202): "dem Yurupari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung sugeschrieben /sic/. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen" /a strong magical effect is attributed to the Yurupari dance. It is supposed to drive away all sicknesses, and even

/339 cont./

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/footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1) ), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

[301] 6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

796 7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compulsory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca.
• 535 The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the
[115] Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a
[126] miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels, and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

*192 The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same
796 tuxáua:
535 a) seat of the old ones, bũxkõrá duhurí-ko-mũ-rõ
b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ-rõ
c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ kõ-mũ-rõ
d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'í-khãra duhurí kõ-mũrõ
d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrĩ maxsã duhurí kõ-mũrõ.

The first columns are called sahãrĩ kãrĩ: boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrĩ), when they sleep (kãrĩ:) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrĩ kãrĩ:-tẽrõ (tẽrõ, on the Uaupés tẽnõ, means beam).

/340/

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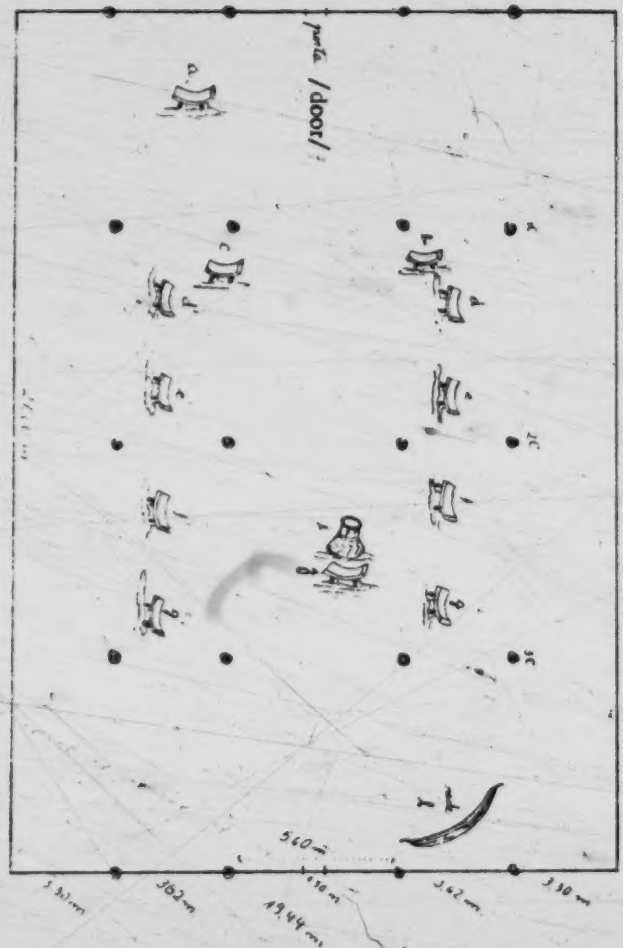


1c -- Sahãri kãrĩ: boxtá-ri (sleeping column of the guests); 2c -- Baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri (column for starting the dancing); 3c -- Do'ákaro-ká boxtá-ri (column of the cooking); a -- Bõxkörá duhurĩ ko-mũ-rõ (seat of the old ones); b -- Bayá ko-mũ-rõ (little seat of the bayá or dance master); c -- Bayári wetamõgõ ko-mũ-rõ (little seat of the bayá's helper); d, e, f, g -- Wĩ khãra duhusé ko-mũ (seats of the occupants of the maloca); d', e', f', g' -- Samãrĩ maxsã duhusé ko-mũ (seats of the guests); i -- Kaxpí-tõ (pot of caapí); j -- Kaxpí tõamĩ duhiri ko-mũ-rõ (seat of the one who distributes the caapí); l -- rede /hammock/ of the tuxáua.

/341/

*192 The second columns are called baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri;
• 535 because it is beside the second column that the tuxáua takes the
initial position (wihyá: to come out) for the dances (baxsá). And
796 the respective beam is called baxsá wihyári-tẽrõ.

The columns at the back are called do'ákaro-ká-boxtá-ri, because the caxirí is prepared there (do'ákaro, place where one cooks, so explained Júlio). And do'karo-ká-tẽrõ is the beam that corresponds to them.

i) kaxpí-tõ, pot for the kaxpí

j) seat for the one who distributes the kaxpí, kaxpí tõamĩ duhirí kõmũ-rõ

l) hammock of the tuxáua; his compartment is called syõrĩ nĩgõya tuxkũ

The compartments of the residents of the maloca are called wi'i-ikhãraye tuxkũrĩ.

[342] With the hypothesis of its being a religious function, we
[622] must conclude that the temple is the maloca. Its name, baxsarí-wi, should be translated "house of the sacred dance," and not simply "dance house." The Priest is evidently the tuxáua, and not the pajé. The tuxáua, then, ties together the domestic, political, and sacerdotal powers, precisely like the ancient tribal chiefs among the Greeks and the Romans, and, in general, the chiefs of the primitive tribes.

a) "Poosé" without the mysterious instruments.

1) Ritual procession and banquet.

796 The tuxáua of the maloca that decides to hold one of these
[628] feasts determines the day and the offering, and tells this to the tuxáua of another maloca (of the same tribe or of a different tribe) where he is going to give his Poosé. The malocas take turns with
[178] this proposal. Formerly they were held with greater frequency, six or more times a year, as we said above, constituting the great preoccupation of these Indians. Not only are they being put off more, but their duration has also been reduced. Formerly they lasted as long as an entire week; today the cases in which they

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).
[574]
[123]
[126]
[302]
[562]

50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumã by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumã tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom
*[192] they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõõ wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

[301] The ornaments are distributed according to the social
[554] importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

[534] When everyone is ready (and this is always done with
*[192] great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to enter-
796 tain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance
535 as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a) ); it is a sign that the dances

796 /344 cont./
• 535 are about to start (51).

51. We have also seen the tuxáua, before distributing the snappers to the dancers, shake them simultaneously, holding in each hand one of the ends of the snappers. These kixtió, in a bunch this way, are what is called kixtió boxká, which is also the name of one of the sacred instruments (see VII-3, c (3c) ).

*[192]

The rest of the men imitate him; then each one ties his kixtió to the right ankle and adjusts his own waxsó-ro (cf. VII - 3, d (2) ).

*[192] Among the men who participate in the dances, one can distinguish three groups, regularly in pairs (2, 4, 6), according to the number of dancers:

[411] *[192] 1st) some with a complete outfit, lance and shield, and on the left shoulder the si-a yaxpú /sic/ (see adze, VII-3, d (2 1) );

2nd) others with a splendid outfit, but without shield or lance or the sió-a yaxpú;

*[192] /345/ 3rd) in the third category are the young men with simpler ornaments.

[534] [237] Those who do not have the lance carry some rhythm instrument, the ahũ-wõ or yuxkõ, or the flutes, these being covered with feathers from the tail of the arara, mahã i'ti, or from the japú, umũ-ka i'ti, or with a necklace of beetle carapaces, pexká pixkõrõá pe'tori (VII 3, d (2m) ).

The dance numbers follow, one after the other, according to the traditional program, corresponding to the various hours of the day and of the night. Some are longer, others, shorter. The intervals for rest are also just as variable.

/345 cont./

796 Some of these dances are performed partially inside and
535 partially outside the maloca, for example, the one that is
*[192] called "wa'wári baxsá," which could be translated as "the dance of the caps," since wá-wá is a cap plaited with aruma splints. The dancers moreover go to the yard of the maloca around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, again around midnight, before dawn, and, finally, around 9 o'clock in the morning. According to the legends, the ancestors of the tribes danced at those times outside the maloca. And the feast is not only a recollection, but is also meant to be a reviviscence of the principal episodes of the epopee of their origins.

[533] In one of these dance numbers the wife of the local tuxáua
*[192] goes into the middle of the dancers' circle and utters a long and shrill cry, while the men continue to dance around her. This soloist is called yõhõgó (52).

52. Yõhõgó is the feminine present participle of yohõ, which seems to be an onomatope of the sound that she sings. An informant also called her nõ'mõ bayá, that is, woman bayá (see VII-6, a (2) ).

She must not take a breath during this dance, but cry out with only one breath. If she breathes in the middle of the song, it
[115] means that she will not live long. In this dance, says a Piratapuya informant (Emiliana Castro), they imitate the hopping of the cotias /agouti/.

[273] The dances are about to start. The caxirí is served in large cuias. Each individual will drink as much as he wants. If there is any left, the next companion will empty the cuia, with the right, however, to help himself first from the cuia that will then be filled immediately. Those who distribute the drink represent the butterfly: they have a feather over each ear, representing the wings and a small tendril of cipo in a spiral on the forehead by way of a proboscis. They advance in a rush,

/345 cont./

796 with short steps, in a zigzag, imitating simultaneously with the
535 mouth the humming of an insect. Bearing a cuia in each hand,
[273] they give them to anyone who wants to take them, first the men
[562] and afterwards the women. As the cuias are emptied, they return to fill them anew and to distribute them in the same place and in the same way.

/346/ 3) Performance of the dances.

*[192] The tuxaua takes his initial dance position near the second
[622] column to the left of the central nave (baxsá whyarí boxtá; see illustration above /see p. 511/; at his side, in order of importance (53),

53. Importance which corresponds, more or less, to age. We were not able to verify whether they are arranged in an order strictly corresponding to the importance of the Gens itself (according to the classification -- IV-2, a (2) /see IV-2, a (3)/), because generally all the dancers are of the same Gens.

are arranged the other men. Each one, with a lance or a rhythm instrument in the right hand, places the left one on the right shoulder of his neighbor, and they are more or less in a semicircle. Then, a song starts to the sound of the instruments, which they strike on the ground simultaneously with the right foot (perhaps also with the mappers on the ankle), in a slow rhythm. They take a step toward the center of the circle and draw back, then another one toward the side, and they start to move in a circle, now to the right, now to the left, slowly. Sometimes they gather in a circle, which now becomes tighter, now bigger, now they go around in a circle. At a certain moment the women, one after another, start coming in, in a required, or at least constant, position during all the dance numbers. They place themselves between one man and another, with the head somewhat bent forward, resting the nape of the neck under the arm of one of

/346 cont./

796 the men and with her own arms holding by the waist the two men
• 535 whom she is between. The eyes are turned toward the center of
*[192] the circle, and the points of the lances, yõxse-phĩrĩ, converge toward this point when they carry them.

At a certain point the local tuxáua gives an order indicating that it is the middle of the dance. Two men, among the leaders, go into the middle of the circle, make some turns, and finally come back to the line with the rest.

At a special order the women abandon their places, each one shouting her word. The dance ends with expressive whooping by the men; all those armed with a lance leave, bending as if they were looking for something, and, advancing toward a corner of the maloca, make a thrust with the lance toward an imaginary point about a meter above the ground. They call this "blow-to-the-white, pexká-sã paasé" (54).

*[192]

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54. The Indians have always appeared very reserved in explaining to us the meaning and purpose of this "blow-to-the-white," although they had revealed its name to us without any embarrassment, perhaps thinking that we would not know how to translate it. On two occasions a native of the Tukano tribe of the lower Uaupés confirmed to us that "They do not like the whites and consider all of them enemies." Another native, also belonging to the Tukano tribe, although from the Papuri, in response to our question as to whether he liked the "white" or the "caboclo" better, asked us the meaning of the word /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ "caboclo." To our answer that caboclos were the children of a civilized man and Indian woman, such as are on the Rio Negro, he answered immediately: --"We

[115]

[829]

/346 cont./

796
• 535
[829]
[115]

/footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

[115]

55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b) ), melodies affected almost always by deep nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1) ).

[582]

Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

[276]

796 /348/

• 535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

[514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3, [534] c (3c) ). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the [533] ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, 1 (4) /see 273 1 (3)/). One of the old Kõmũ prepared it during the dabacurí. At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over *[192] the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, [533] also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Cururu-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

574 /352/
796 1st. -- Some of the guests come buzzing, like the carapanã
524 (crepuscular mosquitos /Culex fatigans/), and, with a little stick in the hand, they start stinging the others, who try to shoo them away.

2nd. -- Afterwards others come, pretending to be ku'síro (an animal perhaps legendary, similar to the dog, some say, and which makes a clamor in the forest), making noise, dragging pot or stick, doing this up to the center of the house. Those of the maloca beat on the ground with a stick in order to chase them away.

We have watched a similar challenge for two hours, finally leaving the competitors, who went on with the same enthusiasm.
[178] Nowadays many of the younger generation, instead of listening to
• [535] those monotonous narrations, prefer to dance enthusiastically with their female companions to the sound of the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/.

[273] 3rd. -- The caxirí is served; some no longer want it. The companions force them to take it, always in jest.

4th. -- The chief of the guests comes in with a torch of turí
796 (VI 5, a (4a) ), lighted, because it is already dark. His compan-
574 ions come in, throwing down objects, taking fruits, beijú, eating them. All feigning an attack on the maloca. A simulation so well done by the way that the civilized present become frightened, believing that it is a matter of an enemy attack and that a fight is about to start. In reality many feasts degenerate into fights and are intentionally taken advantage of for reciprocal vengeance.

5th. -- Some of the guests now come hopping, squatting,
524 imitating the toad, and making the characteristic sound with the
796 mouth: "uão... uão... " They enter the maloca, and those who
574 are there ask the toads: -- "Where are you going?" "I am going to visit my relatives." -- "Your relatives have all died." And the toad, at this news, faints.

/352 cont./

796 6th. -- Afterwards some approach equipped with tipitís
524 /mandioca presses/, in order to pretend they are snakes. Upon reaching those of the maloca, they maneuver the tipití, shortening it and lengthening it over them, as though to eat the toads
796 (61).
524
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61. Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, p. 379) describes the "dance of the snake" which he attended at a feast in Iauareté. Two enormous snakes of 30 to 40 feet long, made of cipo, hay, and straw, and painted bright colors. Each one held by 12 to 15 persons, they performed dance movements, as though trying to attack each other, which actually happened after some recoiling and weaving about, to the great liking of the spectators.

/353/ 7th. -- Young men and boys, eight or ten in number, arranged more or less in order of size, starting with the taller ones, position themselves in Indian file, each one holding with his hands the shoulders of the one who precedes him, and half bent over. That whole human column advances step by step, alternately swaying to the right and to the left. The tallest young man,
*[192] who leads the line, sounds the instrument called "deer head" (see
[534] VII - 3, c (3c) ): pẽru wá:tya (bring caxirí) repeatedly. Unexpectedly this standard-bearer of the procession backs up, sounding kéro, kéro, kéro (quickly, quickly, quickly), forcing the whole column to back up. Sometimes the movement is so abrupt that some, generally the last ones, fall to the ground, the game provoking general hilarity. Thus the amusement proceeds.

/369 cont./

763 /footnote 84 cont./ her out of there in order to subject her again to the rites of the pajés. As soon as the catastrophe happened, in the very room of death, in the hospital, the weeping by men and women, accompanied simultaneously by dancing, began at the sides of the hammock that contained the body. Among the participants in the wailing and dances was a young Tukano woman who had taken the course in midwifery in Manaus. The dancers were distributed in pairs of the same sex, and the dances were intermixed with small hops, beating at this moment, first the arms, then the legs. The husband, also present, did not participate in the dances, but he did participate in the weeping. Later, once the body had been moved to the entrance room of the hospital, the old mother lay down on the floor, under the hammock where the daughter had died, with her legs and arms open, singing the elegy-weeping.

[874] [177] • [535] [593]

[761] The men utter cries and imprecations against those who caused the death; because every death, so they think, is a true murder perpetrated by some enemy by means of a malefice. The women too, appropriately called uxtĩra (Uaupés uxtĩha), mourners, between exclamations and with /370/ very sentimental thoughts, do the eulogy of the dead and imprecate against the pajés or persons who cast the spell, the alleged

*[192]

/374 cont./

764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wãx-tĩ?) ).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubu-
[535] cuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxirí (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

## CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

/391 cont./

527 Some of these dances are strictly familial amusements, in which only those of the family (maloca or house) participate, and
• 535 there are no invitations to strangers. For others, strangers to the family are also invited, without, however, the importance or the number of participants of the "Poosé."

[273] Corresponding to the importance of such entertainments will also be the preparation, the ornaments, the paintings, and the quantity of the drinks, Pêru (caxirí, see VI - 4, h). The latter will never be missing; the ornaments might be missing, or they might use the simpler ones. Once the feast starts, it goes on uninterruptedly until the drink is finished. Those who are overcome by sleep doze a little, but, barely awake, they continue to dance. It is a
[562] question of pride and conceit, for the persons of the two sexes, to show the greater endurance.

*[192] 2) "Bayá." -- At the dances, both in the Dabacurís and outside of them, appears a personage of distinction, called Bayá. Almost /392/ always he will have an official assistant, with the name of baya-re we-tamõgõ (helper of the Bayá).

The position of Bayá is a lifetime one, in which the son almost always succeeds him, because he learns with his own father, for whom, perhaps, he was already the official assistant. The function of Bayá might be put together with that of tuxáua or wyogõ. This is the case for Júlio from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié); for Vicente, Desana from the Umari-igarapé, for Henrique, Tuyuka from the stream of the onça /jaguar/ (trib. of the Tiquié), for Mandú, Makú from the vicinity of Iauareté, etc. There are no examples, however, of its having been exercised by the pajé.

It falls to the Bayá to direct the songs and dances at the feasts, both religious and profane. He must, then, know them very well and be zealous about the exactness of the dances, teaching them to the younger generation and correcting the mistakes. And we have seen him exercise with authority and grace his function as master of ceremonies in solemn dabacurís.

*[192] When he is not the tuxáua, he ordinarily will be one of the ko-mũ (see VII - 2, e (3) ), and to him falls the first place immediately beside the tuxáua. Like the latter, he will have the most

/392 cont./

527 beautiful ornaments, and in certain dance numbers, in the right
535 hand, the "yu-yú" (see below, dances, 5th part), the significance of
[192] which it was not possible for us to obtain. It consists of a small stick, having on the tip a cord from whose end hangs a loop of cipo about 15 centimeters in diameter. Cord and loop are decorated with delicate and striking tucano /toucan/ feathers. With this instrument he "beats time for the dances," that is, he shakes it rhythmically, more or less as the conductor who directs an orchestra does with his baton.

[192] 3) Variety of dances. -- One does not notice variety in the dance steps; they are precisely the same for the most solemn Poosé as for the simplest baxsarí-nãmã (literally it means dance day).

527 There are no distinct terms equivalent to song and dance. The
533 word baxsasé translates their ideas, because they always sing during
535 the dances; and the words correspond to the rhythm of the feet and to the choreography of the movements executed.

They distinguish varieties of baxsasé, according to the musical instrument that they use; each one will have its lyrics or song. In the religious dances they are words or sounds articulated without any meaning, and they are repeated many times for the duration of the movement of the steps. The tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira,
[115] Júlio Silgueira Machado, declared to us, and many others with him, that they do not understand what they are singing.

They also vary the melodies, which are ordinarily slow, sad, although some might be pleasant and quite melodious. For /393/ this reason different names for the dances, sometimes even poetic names, appear.

[184] In different tribes we have verified the similarity in the feasts, the same ornaments and instruments. One must point out this detail: the melodies of the instrumental music are almost identical, whereas those of the song-dances differ a little more. In the steps of the dances one does not perceive any difference from tribe to tribe. That is, even in the two extremes of the native Uaupésina hierarchy, to wit, the noble tribe of the Tukano, and the slave tribe of the Maku from the outskirts of Iauaretê.

535 The tuxáua-bayá Júlio gave us the following names of dances that are performed in the most solemn Poosé:

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1st. With the rhythm tube or ahũwõ:
Ixki pũrĩ bõrõasé baxsá -- song-dance "the falling of the leaves of the inajá" or
Ixki pũrĩ baxsá -- "song-dance of the leaf of the inajá."

2nd. With the maracá or yaxsã (ya'sá or ñaxsã):
pexká baxsá -- "song-dance of the firewood"
ka'i baxsá -- "song-dance of the mass of the umarí"
kenõ baxsá -- "song-dance of the jatobá."

3rd. With a simple rhythm stick or yuxkõ:
Poori baxsá -- "song-dance of the offering" (of the dabacurí)
wai baxsá -- "song-dance of the fish"
Wãx-tiá baxsá -- "song-dance of the Wãx-tĩ."

4th. With the small flute called bwá (cotias /agoutis/):
bwá baxsá -- "song-dance of the cotias."

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Júlio, the tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), sang for us the various songs whose words or articulations we give in the following, revealing once more that all the "verses" were repeated many times (128).

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128. We lament not having had a recording machine at the time when this tuxáua, with the best state of mind, furnished us this information. Later, in the possession of such apparatus, we went twice to Parí-cachoeira, where we waited for a long time for the opportunity of listening to him and recording his songs. It was not possible, however; the old Tuxáua was in the last months of his life, afflicted, it seems, with an internal ulcer, dying on July 5, 1954. We were able, however, to witness and film the solemn funeral of a highly esteemed Tuxáua. We nevertheless obtained other precious recordings, and, among these, the various songs of the Wanana, performed by the tuxáua Mandú from Cururú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and of the pajés of various tribes (cf. the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/).

/396 cont./

*192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mamã kapinã
539 Periků yaví-i-i davyá (Yaví = long, slim?)
Davyá yavi
Davi kawá-á nomã yavi-nõ
Davi kawá yaú; davi kawá yaú.
Kapiná periků̃i
Davyá yavi yú
Kawá-yavyá mã-ã-ã (he blows the flute at length)

[115] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
[574] (For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yẽ-ẽ dyá yakẽ mari
Kemẽ maryé-é
Kemẽ maryé-é kenaní
Wekã-ni kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kenã yá marỹé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpekã ané
Wekã-re kenaní wekã-re
Kená tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

• 535 a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple
[115] amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

535 Mandú (131)
237
301
[291]

131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

/397 cont./

535 wore on his head a wide acangatara /head ornament/ with arara
237 feathers; a wig with braids of monkey skin and with two long, red
301 arara feathers and an onça /jaguar/ bone. From the wig, leaning toward each ear, there was a long, white heron feather. Hanging over the back the cangatá, a cord with tucano /toucan/ feathers. Also on the wig, close to the nape, the crest, or rectangular woven piece with long heron feathers. On the neck three long necklaces of beads and a necklace of seeds with the stone of command. From the ears, earrings made out of a burnished half of a gun cartridge.
[302] As painting on the forehead, a red semicircle turned upward and a large cross from the neck to the waist (132),

[123] 132. At a dance that we attended in the maloca of the Tuyuka in the igarapé of the Onça /jaguar/, upper Tiquié, from the painting of the Kõmũ resulted a cross on the face with a broad stroke from the forehead along the nose and upper lip, and the arms of the cross curved upward almost in a semicircle.

also in the color red. On the left elbow, a bracer of monkey skin. In the form of a belt, over the buttocks, a necklace of teeth, to which he later attached two branches of that magic and intensely
*[192] aromatic shrub called bará. In the course of the dance he fitted to the right ankle a necklace of seeds (Kixtyõ).

Marcelino wore a small, denticulated wreath of fine straw, with yellow down from the arara; at the nape the crest with white plumes and a long feather surrounded by a string of colorful plumes. On the left elbow the armband of monkey skin. Hanging at the back, braids of monkey skin decorated with arara down.

*192 b) Execution. A small rehearsal took place in order to verify whether the japurutús /long flutes/ were in tune with each other, as
534 well as the cariços /Panpipes/. A little caxiri was drunk.

The tuxaua executed the yaí-gõ paasé, that is, he made the
534 rhythm stick, called "stick-of-the-onça /jaguar/," decorated with
535 feathers, vibrate several times on the right muscle of the arm. He
*[192] took some steps in rhythm with the pestle-tube of imbauba, and he

/397 cont./
534 took up a position in front of the second post at the left, in the
• 535 /398/ central nave (133).

[342]

133. Their rectangular maloca, although not of large dimensions, corresponded to a division of five naves: the central high nave, under the ridge, two side spaces, and, along the side walls, the space reserved for the families. It is to be noted, however, that there is no interior partition between family and family.

The men imitated his steps and, on his left, formed an open semi-circle.

*[192] 1st Part: Each one places the left hand on the right shoulder of the companion (Pá-bwasé is the Tukano name for this gesture). They execute some rhythmic beats with the pestle-tube (it is what is called yuxkõ-mẽra doxkesé) and some steps with the right foot forward and back (du'tisé). Then the line moves (nikã̄-ká eheanõ-kátyãra baxsasé) to the right and to the left until the circumference is closed, making some turns from the left to the right (sũtõasé) (134).

134. They explained to us that they are imitating the bavarí fish, which, before depositing its eggs, makes a few turns.

533 At the same time the men slowly sing unintelligible words, with a
535 frequent burden in which are sounded many times the syllables "paia-paia." The rhythm is accelerated at the end, and a cry and a heavy stroke with the rhythm tubes end the first part. During this
[562] part the women remained seated in conversation near the door, to the left of anyone who enters (135).

[123]

135. We, the three civilized observers, were to be found on the opposite side, at the right.

/398 cont./

533 2nd Part: Position taken, as in the first part. The left hand on the right shoulder. The dance starts with an accelerated rhythm, a
• 535 sharp cry and loud whistle (Wyisé) (136).
*[192]

136. I had found it strange that up to then I had not heard the Indians whistle, when I always expected to hear them whistling in the forest, on walks, on trips, when they were rowing, and there was only silence or conversation in a discreet tone.

*[192] Afterwards the singing takes a slow rhythm, the syllables "kapii-kapii" being heard frequently in the burden. A circle from the right broken up by another from the left. The women start entering, one
*[192] by one: the first one places herself to the left of the tuxaua, with the nape she touches his left arm (yohoasé), extended to the right shoulder of the neighbor, and she embraces by the waist the two men between whom she is located. Thus successively. They give only two complete turns, and the women leave. The dance ends with an accelerated rhythm of the singing, of the steps, and with a final whistle. Then follow minutes of rest and of caxirí.

[534] 3rd and 4th Parts: These are numbers in which only the younger ones participate, playing the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/ (3rd part) or the japurutú (4th part), /399/ with an interval during which they smoke and drink caxirí. These intermezzo numbers are very pleasant. Each young man brings his instrument, which harmonizes well with the others, one of them playing the contracanto, or response to the theme that the first one plays. These themes are very melodic short canons, in a florid scale, with ascending and de-
*[192] scending notes. Sometimes the young men only dance, and then they go in pairs, the one on the right a little farther behind, holding his instrument with the right hand and, with the left one, the right shoulder of the other (pãbwasé), who also plays his own instrument and has the left hand on the hip. Upon reaching the back, they make an evolution and exchange positions, the right one coming in front, with the left hand on the hip, and his companion farther back, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the first one.

/399 cont./

*192 • 535 [534] If there are also women, the couples are arranged in such a way that the young man holds the instrument with the right hand, and, with the left hand above his own shoulder (it is what is called iñatusé), he holds the right hand of the girl, who rests her left hand on her own waist (pá-su'sũsé). The dancers start with only the men advancing toward the interior of the maloca, and, as snappers, a necklace of small tucum nuts on the right ankle in order to mark the rhythm. They go around in a circle, one after the other, to the right, then in the opposite direction to the left; then, opening the circle wider, they advance four times with the right foot toward the center, and they come back to the initial position. When the young men decide to walk, their companions present themselves. The couples are arranged. Sometimes the couples, one after the other, make evolutions describing the number eight (baxsá-mãhãmi betoá) or a spiral (baxsá sõ'tõã) to the right or to the left. At other times they are arranged in circles that become elongated or tighter, they turn to the right or to the left. During this entire evolution, they mark the rhythm with a stronger stroke with the right foot *192 (dõ'pó-tisé). The women withdraw before the ending. The performances always end with a fortissimo of all the instruments.

533 535 They are very pleasant melodies, but not infrequently the evolutions are so prolonged that they seem to be a contest of endurance. The spectators watch complacently from their hammocks, laughing and making comments, probably about the inaccuracy of the steps of the clumsier ones.

5th Part: While these numbers were displayed, one of the dancers went to prepare the "Yu'yúri-tiró." The tuxaua with his rhythm tube takes his position, and this time the men are distributed symmetrically on his right and on his left, in a semicircle. They start with an accelerated rhythm, then whistle, a slow dance following, to the singing of a funeral song. One of the Indians brings two yu'yú and gives /400/ one of them to the tuxaua, who is also the Bayá, the other to the latter's brother, bayá-re wetamõgõ, who is immediately to the left of the tuxaua. They hold the

/400 cont./

533 yú-yú with the left hand, and with the right one they beat the rhythm tube.

• 535

[192]

The yu-yú of the dances

Tobacco form

[192] The dancers are divided into two groups, who execute the movement by advancing and retreating (baxsá poterí), one in front of the other. Afterwards they place themselves in line, each one with his lady, describing circles. They again divide themselves into two groups, who advance and retreat. Now they turn their backs to one another, always with advances and retreats. It seems that the new song consists of several verses, each one ending with cries and whistles. At given moments some say words in a loud voice, just as the caller of square dances does. Would they be ceremonial words or a simple command for the evolutions to be performed? The women, finally, leave the dance, and the men continue in Indian file, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the preceding one. This file goes to describing circles, stopping from time to time, always, however, singing and beating the rhythm with the strokes of the rhythm tube.

[562] 6th Part: Performed only by the men, as in the first part.
[273] After this part, one of the dancers advances in order to distribute
[276] the caxirí with a cuia in each hand, mumbling some words and stamping the right foot harder, in a winding progression, like that of the snake. He gives one cuia to the tuxaua and the other to the most important person. The second time he brings some to two more, and thus to everyone. Also the long cigar of leaves goes from mouth to mouth.

/400 cont./

*192 533 534 535 7th Part: The tuxaua ties to his right ankle a necklace of dry nuts (kixtyó). He then takes a position with his rhythm tube. The men are arranged on his right and on his left, each one with his rhythm tube in the right hand and the left one on his neighbor's right shoulder. The yu'yús are brought to the tuxaua and to his /401/ neighbor. It starts with a rhythm of strokes and steps in the same place, cry, whistle, and afterwards a funeral song in pianissimo, which goes crescendo slowly, while they move some steps to the right and to the left. They stop sometimes to take a step inside the circle and another backwards and to the side. This part was more prolonged, and the syllables "tyúko-malía" were heard many times in the burden. The group of dancers go outside the maloca, in the yard of which they perform the same steps as inside (yohá-wíhyá). They come back again to the maloca, the women abandon their position. At the finish there were only the *[192] men, who, after a small evolution, take the initial position, in a semicircle, and end the singing with small jumps (bu'pusé) and somewhat comical cries.

5) Wanãna song-dances.

115 533 The Wanãna Tomás Paiva, oldest son of Mandú, the present (1957) tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and his probable successor, confirmed that the ritual songs were "ancient language," and, for this reason, they did not understand them. Through the desire to learn them well, and to maintain the old traditions, he tried to make inquiries from his father, esteemed local tuxáua-bayá, and from the "elders," and to write about them. There might perhaps be about 45 songs, he told us. We are of the opinion that this number would cover not only the songs, but indeed all the parts or verses: or perhaps even the repetitions of one and the same part or verse. It happened, however, that when he went to work as a carpenter in Venezuela those in his house used his writings for cigarette paper.

*192 534 535 [115] With the collaboration of another Wanãna, Maximiano from Sá, he indicated to us the following order for the dances:

1st Dance -- with the bwá flute, hence the name bwá baxsá

/401 cont./
*192 (dance of the cotias /agouti/) (137).
534
• 535

137. A big feast was held in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on the 24th and 25th days of April of 1955, with the participation of about 250 persons of both sexes and of all ages and representatives of various tribes, especially Wanãna, Kubêwana, and Huhúdene (the latter from the Arwáke group, from Uaupuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana). During this feast the first dance numbers were to the sound of the bwá. They were small taquara flutes of about 30 centimeters in length by about two in diameter, only one side opening, at about 10 centimeters from the mouthpiece, which was vertical. The lower part of these fifes ended with two small sticks of taquara, with two points or horns (perhaps symbolizing the teeth of the cutia /agouti/). As a decoration on this flute there were two strings of white plumes, tied to the flute by the upper extremity and free at the other extremity. In certain dance numbers some individuals would throw their flute to the ground, picking it up immediately afterwards.

In the interval between the verses or parts, the dancers /402/ sound their flutes. It consists of four parts, that is: 1st) õnõfia baxsá (song-dance of the carajurú /carajura/); 2nd) pĩnó baxsá (song-dance of the snake); 3rd) kaxpí baxsá (song-dance of the Caapí); 4th) no-phĩ baxsá (song-dance of the hook for collecting fruits).

2nd Dance -- with the rhythm tube, ahũ-wõ (in Wanãna wanã (138).

138. During this same feast of the Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, the rhythm tubes, measuring approximately a meter in length and 10 centimeters in diameter, were painted white (with sorva), having a black lower bar of about 10 centimeters and the handle, by which it is held, decorated with a crest of hawk feathers in the shape of a Greek epsilon.

*192
• 535

/402 cont./
It also consists of several parts, the principal ones are: sawároa baxsá (song-dance of the water lizard); ahũ-a baxsá (song-dance of the beijú); ki baxsá (song-dance of the mandioca).

3rd Dance -- with the maracá, yaxsã. It is called pwá baxsá (pwá is the name of a fish that the Wanãna call ñũxkwãna in their idiom). All the men, from the beginning to the end of this long dance, shake the maracá continually and rhythmically with the right hand (the left one holds his own lady by the shoulder, and the latter embraces him by the waist). They also rhythmically sound a whistle of two tubes, which they will let hang from the neck when they must sing. It is the most interesting number of the native dances that we have attended. They first do a movement outside in the yard, then they enter the house, and, after a few minutes of choreography inside, they again go to the dance yard. There is an evolution in a row, which little by little closes into a circle, which now becomes tighter, now larger. At a given moment the pairs of dancers, each man with his lady, are arranged in a column turned toward the east, later in the opposite direction, toward the west. Thus arranged in a column, the last pair goes zigzagging between the other pairs, from the penultimate one to the first one, as if they were sewing. They explained that it is the "dance of the harvest of the caroá" (fiber that is used as fishing line). When their evolution is finished, the last pair returns to their initial position, and then the pair from the other end, that is, the first one, does the same stitching and returns to their position. It falls, now, to the penultimate pair to do the movement, and then to the second one, and thus all the pairs pass by, in turn, performing the stitching or the harvest of the caroá. During this they vibrate only the whistles and the maracá. At other times during this dance there is also singing.

[821] 4th Dance -- called "Bwá of the night," because night has already fallen. They again go out, as homage to the night and to the moon, /403/ muhĩ-pũ (said Tomás Paiva). The tunes vary for these songs, all of which are composed of several parts, with many repetitions.

592 /462 cont./
622 and directs the collective work of the women, especially the
574 preparations for the caxiris and dabacuris. It is incumbent on her to greet and to thank, in the name of the women, the guests
• [535] /463/ who came to the feast in the maloca. In certain dances
*[192] she has the distinctive role of soloist, Yõhõgõ or Nõ'mõ-Bayá (VII - 4, e (2 a 2) ). /Footnote 98 apparently belongs here, although the index number is missing./

[123]

98. At a great feast which we had the opportunity to attend among the Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, we saw the wife of the Tuxaua in one of the intervals of the dances approach the group of women who were seated and rebuke them. We suppose that it might have been due to the women's indecision in appearing for the preceding dance number.

797 On the occasion of the death of the Tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira,
622 the Tukano Júlio, on July 5, 1954, we had the opportunity to see some documents carefully kept by the deceased and his family, that is, a manuscript with the appointment successively of his great-grandfather, João Silgueira, and grandfather, Manoel Silgueira, for the position of Capitão of Parí-cachoeira, appointment made by the Capuchin Missionary Frei Venâncio Zilocchi, on December 5, 1882, with the visa, dated August 7, 1923, of Padre João Bálzola, Salesian. Another letter of appointment with printed heading, signed by the Capuchin Frei Gesualdo Marchetti, on May 30, 1885, also with the visa of Padre João Bálzola, of August 7, 1923. The following are the contents of these documents:

I, below signed, Frei Venancio Zilocchi, Apostolic Franciscan Missionary of the Rio Tiquih., tributary of the Rio Uaupés, and Director of the Missions established on it, appoint Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara the Senhor principal of the said Mission, João Silgueira, and in his absence the Older

/474 cont./

614 If by Phratry we understand any subdivision of the tribe (even if it does not constitute a true community, because it does not have a chief), these Subtribes or Kurá could be called Phratries (or Sibs, as some modern ethnologists prefer). They correspond to the Phratries of ancient Greece, while, like those, they are also exogamous and of paternal descent. It is to be noted, however, that marriage between one phratry and another of the same tribe is not permitted.

/475/ The Phratry or Kurá, which at first is identified with the maloca, with the passing of time unfolds into several local groups. In these, however, there is no trace that this might be a matter of a totemic clan; they are only territorial family groups or agnatic kinship groups, which we could call, using the Latin term, Gens.

f) Totemism?

There are different indications that make one think of the operation of totemism with its totemic clans and customs.

1st. -- The groups (tribes and subtribes) bear names of animals (Tucano /toucan/, arapaço /Dendro colaptidae/ or pica-pau /woodpecker/, jurití /dove/, jiboia, etc.) or of plants (miriti, cunuri /Cunuria/, etc.), as is the custom of totemic clans.

[237] [301] [535] 2nd. -- There appear in the dance ornaments feathers of the garça /heron/, arara, tucano /toucan/, gavião /hawk/; fur of the macaco and onça /jaguar/, teeth of the onça or of other animals; snake vertebrae, etc. These ornaments recall to memory the place in which the animal was wounded, as if it were an exaltation of the animal sacrificed and an identification between the individual and the animal formerly sacrificed by God or (?) to God.

[535] [532] 3rd. -- In the dances there are personages and masks (where they wear them, that is, among the Kubewãna of the Uaupés and the Arwake of the Içana), which represent the borboleta /butterfly/, the cotia /agouti/, etc., and these personages try to imitate the movements of these animals and there are also corresponding chirps or songs.

[825] 4th. -- The tucano /toucan/, due to the disproportionate weight and volume of its beak, does not have great autonomy of

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive 769
sib cult. 796

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance [534] feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the [533] river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the oncoming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sen [202] the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, [533] swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and [291] having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, as [824] cended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional [534] five were used, *Bwü*, *Onpwénda kûdjûwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They [535] marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwü* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kûdjûwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at [576] the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was

taboo but as a courtesy.

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when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends. 574 614

On the morning of the drinking party the *behórü* dancing staff is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behórü* they go to the river to bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river. 574 535 [515] [823]

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather headdresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated 574 614 [554] 574 576 [614] [562]

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center. 574 [342]

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough. 574 571 614

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers. 574 273 [462]

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihi* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner. [535] [191] [184] [276]

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574 276 provided. Men pass cigarettes to one another after a puff or two. A man will ordinarily pass a cigarette to his own wife only, for the giving of a cigarette to a woman has a potentially erotic significance. When a woman receives the cigarette she passes it among her children until finally the suckling baby has had a smoke. She then returns it to her husband. The custom of sharing the cigarette has been widely observed along the Vaupés and its tributaries. The Indians [521] accept it as a mark of friendship and of trust. Ceremonious smoking [887] of cigars held in forked holders accompanies the dignified conversa- [614] tions of the sib elders and is mandatory when these old men get together to chant the sib origin traditions. Several cigars are lighted and are passed around. There is no way of sharing coca, but *mihi*, as we have noted, is "danced in" by the sons of the hosts, and the little ornamented beaker in which it is kept is passed around.

574 535 Dancing begins when the assembly is warmed up with drink. At an *unkúndye*, dancing, being secular, is for the young, the adolescents and unmarried and the younger married men and women. In the most common dance three or four young men line up abreast, [533] left arm across a companion's shoulder, with the long dance flageolet, that sounds the song of the butterfly, in the right hand. An orchestra of Panpipes, seated to one side, sets the rhythm to which the dancers move and sound the flageolets. Starting at the rear of the house they move down the long dance corridor to a beat that starts as one slow step, a pause, two shorter steps, a pause, and then three rapid, almost running, steps, the inevitable Cubeo procedure of placing all ritual in the metric structure of *adagio* to *presto*. They reach the front of the house, their bodies swaying forward and back as they come down the corridor and gracefully swinging from side to side as they prepare to pivot, swinging the flageolets up and [614] around in unison. The first dancers are usually of the host sib and are brothers. During the early stages of the dance, as each of the visiting sibs puts its dancers on the floor, the formation is of brothers. It is not until much later during the night that drink and excitement have dissolved the fraternal bonds and allowed for the indiscriminate formation of dance teams. As the dancers move down the corridor the unmarried girls begin to stir; they giggle, nudge one another, sway forward with the desire to get up and join. But they are shy. They seek encouragement from one another. Often an older woman, a girl's mother, whispers sharply, "Go on, dance." Then two or three girls get up from the side lines and run behind the dancers, pacing themselves so as to slip under the yokes of the men's arms in the precise beat.

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Koch-Grünberg has observed this dance among neighboring Tucanoans as well as among Arawakan-speaking tribes. He observed it as a courting dance, boys and girls leaving the house after a dance and disappearing into the surrounding darkness (1909, I, 293; II 272). There is no mistaking the erotic undertones of this dance among the Cubeo. But it cannot ordinarily be a courting dance since the participants are normally sibmates and phratry mates if unmarried. The first girls to join the dancers are, in fact, their sisters. But as the evening wears on, the erotic character of the dance emerges in a dangerous form. An unmarried girl too often chooses to thrust herself beneath the arms of her sister's husband, a married woman "chooses" a husband's brother. What is ordinary courtship in tribes that bring together potential marriage mates at their drinking parties is largely adultery or the threat of adultery among the Cubeo, who entertain within the exogamous circle. I suspect that in the case of the Cubeo, simple courtship dances have become embroiled in a changing social order that has gradually built up a phratric system out of independent exogamous local groups. In the process the dance has lost its innocence.

The dancing has a deceptively decorous appearance. As the girls insert themselves between two male dancers, under the arm of one, the men never pause, turn their heads, or change expression. The girl puts her right arm lightly around her partner's waist. She holds her left hand before her, at her skirt. Crouched beneath the yoke

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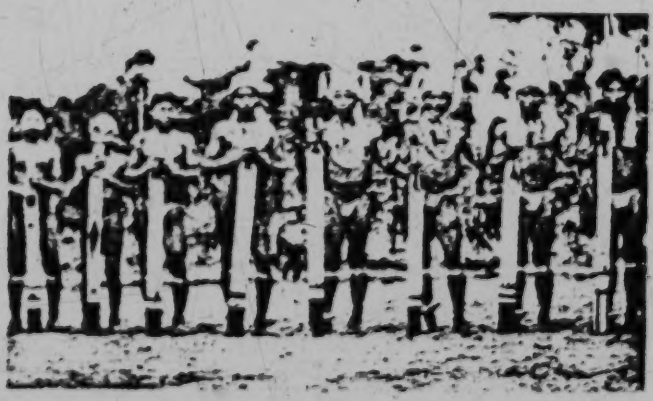

Fig. 10. *Hehenewa* men in full dancing costume.

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535 she looks uncomfortable and solemn. The girls accompany the men
831 for a few turns and then as unobtrusively as they entered the dance formation they leave it, disengaging their heads, backing away, and running quickly back to their places among the women. They are replaced by another group. Much later in the evening an observer is startled to discover heated and even violent disputes erupting all over the house as a result of these innocent-appearing dances.

574 There is another dance in which the sexes are actually paired. The
535 man plays either a Panpipe or a long flageolet and drops his left
[533] arm over the woman's shoulder while she encircles his waist lightly with her arm. This dance formation starts as a circle which, after making several turns, breaks up into couples who dance down the corridor one behind the other. During the circle dance a woman emits a long piercing shriek. I was given no explanation for this other than the vague comment, "Women feel like doing this."

Perhaps it is not overinterpreting too much to suggest that the form of the dance parallels some basic principles of Cubeo social structure: the unity of the fraternal sibling group; women as ancillary, fitting themselves in between the brothers, coming and going; the segmentary nature of the sibs; the feeling for obliterating what is after all an indelible mark of sib apartness. As for the erotic connota-
535 tions of the dance, one may perhaps speculate on the phallic char-
574 acter of the flageolet. This instrument, by the way, is so long that
831 when the dancer holds it before him the bottom is only bare inches from the ground. If he is careless as he dances and allows it to strike
534 the ground he may lose his teeth. The dance starts with the instrument held down close to the earth. When the dancer has reached the forward end of the house he arcs the instrument high over his head. The flageolet resembles, but is not to be confused with, one of the ancestor trumpets that is brought out during ancestral cult celebrations. Then the deep sound of the flageolet stands for the deep and sacred voices of the ancestors, that bring to the men physical
[533] force, sexual potency, and bodily growth. The Cubeo make the obvious association between the deep tones and the solemn, and the high tones and the frivolous. In ensemble playing they also recognize one of the instruments as a leader and the others of the same group as followers. In the drinking party dances, flutes and Panpipes complement each other; the flutes are butterflies and the large Panpipes are vultures. Solemnity is always associated with the acquisi-
574 tion of powers. The movement of the dance is, as we have already
535 noted, from slow to rapid. The last step before the dancers leave the floor is very rapid, almost a run, and the dancers in their excitement

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shout *hi i i i* and are answered by the audience. The men start dancing alone and finish dancing alone. Dancers of the host sib begin their dance in the house and may sally out onto the plaza, an extension of the house, and then dance back in. Guests, on the other hand, begin their dance formation on the plaza, move into the house, and conclude on the plaza. 574 535 [614]

The Cubeo regard women as disruptive elements at a drinking party. They have cause to do so, since it is the women who are encouraged by the character of the dancing to make the overtures of flirtatiousness. Women choose their partners and men maintain an air of innocence. A woman's sexual forwardness goes beyond that. Young girls and many married women wear love charms in their hair at a drinking party. This is nothing more than a colorful blossom that declares that a woman would like to attract the interest of a man. The Indians themselves are not quite sure whether the blossom, which they call *chondú* (*pedidya* in Cubeo) has inherent qualities as a love charm – a serious woman has truly powerful love charms that she uses secretly – or is merely provocative symbolically. In any case a man cannot be blamed if *chondú* provokes him. The use of *chondú* adds intensity to the atmosphere of a drinking party as effectively as do chicha, coca, tobacco, *mihí*, and dancing. Whether or not *chondú* is an official ingredient it is hard to say. The men speak of it as a feminine provocation. Yet if one looks at the drinking party in its inevitable progression from calm to frenzy it seems that, whether it is an official ingredient or not, it fits. Just as the counterpoint of male and female is part of everyday community life, so the more intensely experienced counterpoint of male and female is exploited for its frenzy-producing quality. 574 562 832 [535]

A married woman should not wear *chondú*, but a man cannot stop his wife from displaying her interest in other men. He then excuses her by saying she does it only to look pretty and keeps a wary eye on his brother sib and phratry mates. For the unmarried girls *chondú* is formal wear, even though the only man whose eye it might catch is likely to be a sister's husband or a forbidden phratry mate. Curiously, unmarried girls are often even more provocative by not wearing *chondú*. This is arrogance that says, "I am not interested in the men here." A married woman may wear *chondú* only to tease her husband in a lighthearted way. Understanding this he is even delighted. She may do so, on the other hand, to irritate him. The rule of sober everyday life is to avoid quarrels and issues. The drinking party roils up feelings to the point where what has been latent erupts forcefully into the open. If emotional catharsis is a "function" 574 832 [593] [154]

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# 10

## *The Mourning Ceremony*

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bahúkiwa* subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Uménahonkü* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *oíwinu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day ceremonies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. The three-day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

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its inevitable crescendo of excitement and disorder, dances and songs are interchanged.

In the course of the ceremonies, the relationship between the nonhuman world of the masked representations and the people, represented by the women, becomes increasingly more intimate, culminating, as we have already noted, in the total intimacy of coitus. The spirit of Cubeo ceremonialism is generally Dionysian. In religious excitement the Cubeo achieve a desired and temporary dissolution of the segmentation and conceptual separatenesses in normal social and religious life.

Koch-Grünberg (1906a), who observed part of an *óyne* in 1903 among the *Hehénewa*, saw in the masked dances two themes, an appeasement of evil spirits and fertility rites. My own information does not agree entirely with this interpretation. It is a fact that several of the masked dancers represent malevolent beings; the jaguar, that is the embodiment of the dreaded sorcerer, the butterfly, that symbolizes the act of sorcery, and the *abúhuwa* or forest monsters, that devour human victims. In addition the masked dancers represent the dung beetle and the vulture, eaters of offal and carrion. These creatures represent to the Cubeo the facts of death. Except for the *abúhuwa*, who are not taken too seriously, the most common agency of death is to the Cubeo a particular human enemy. Evil sorcery can be warded off by particular magical means. The masked dances, however, are not magical means for warding off danger. They are, rather, dramatic rituals whose purpose is to generate a frame of mind in which the fact of death is confronted and made to appear natural and tolerable. By coming to the house as guests, to dance, to sing, to drink chicha, and to "copulate" with women, the masked creatures are made to appear, finally, as a friendly part of the Cubeo world. The malevolent creatures are not singled out, but appear in the context of the whole ensemble of masked dancers.

As for the fertility theme, this has been a cherished cliché of earlier anthropology that promptly labeled any ritualization of sex as "fertility rites." The situation is more complex. The dancers do indeed represent male potency, but the simulated coitus emphasizes rather the carnal aspect of sex, for it is the older women, possessing the privilege of obscenity, whom the masked dancers "attack sexually."

## THE MASKS

The dance masks of the Cubeo are made of a white bark cloth called *téwũ* (tree bark), which is also the name by which the masks are generically known.

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different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kúwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucanoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

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765 174 larly, they have adapted harvest and demon cult ceremonies to an-
535 cestral cult rites. Evidences of religious syncretism are important in
532 interpreting a complex ceremony. Thus, the fact that the mourning rites commonly begin during the pupunha season and the fact that at one point in the ceremonies the men pelt the roof of the house with pupunha fruit to "frighten the women" must be evaluated in the light of the possibility that we are dealing with a portion of a foreign ceremony, incorporated in the structure of the *óyne*. Cubeo ancestral or initiative rites also include "harvest festival" elements. But in these, as in the *óyne*, the harvest theme is a minor one.

## MASK REPRESENTATIONS

532 776 825 765 Dr. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels through the Vaupés region, collected some 50 different mask representations. My own observations along the Cuduiarí covered 30. Altogether, there is now a combined list of 62.[4] Since the masks are intended to portray *all* the living creatures of the Cubeo world the number of masks is potentially vast. No one ceremony uses them all. There are, however, key characters that are most commonly represented. These are Jaguar, Dung beetle, Carrion vulture, Butterfly, Aracú fishes, Eagle, Sloth, Parrot, Dragonfly, Minnows (who are not masked but are an important element in the ceremonial dramatization), *Pyénkü* (a small black fish), Frogs, and a variety of cannibalistic ogres or forest demons, the *Abúhuwa*. Informants would not say which of the masked representations was most important, presumably because invidiousness is, to the Cubeo, in poor taste. Judging, however, by their prominence, I would say that Jaguar, Butterfly, *Abúhuwa*, Dung beetles, Carrion vulture, and Aracú fishes were most important, more or less in that order. Except for the aracú, the esteemed fish of the region, these creatures all have
532 an association with death. The jaguar is, of course, the dreaded sor-
825 cerer. The sorcerer is called *yaví* (jaguar) and the Cubeo regard any
754 jaguar as likely to be either a sorcerer or a sorcerer's dog. The morpho
765 butterfly with its beautiful blue wings is a creature of sorcerers and of
[753] evil. The information Koch-Grünberg received was that the morpho butterfly (*tatárako*) lives at Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés, where he brews malaria in a calabash and strews it over the land (1909, II, 181). I did not hear this account, but I was told that when a sorcerer is cooking a brew that will kill a victim at a distance the morpho butterfly appears and encircles the pot. Finally, it falls in and is consumed and at that moment the victim dies.

[4] See the end of this chapter.

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Makálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kawá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

*yavirárũ yavirákũ* [repeated]
*yavirárũ maníka*
*yavirárũ ya*
*ho ho ho o ho.*

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákũ* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiari River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yaví*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

The mask of Butterfly (*Tatárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kaviré kaviré* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiarí.

Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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a dwarf pair, several pairs of giants, a great owl demon, and two kinds of *abúhuwa*. I saw three *Abúhuwa*. The *Abúhuwa* are made to appear grotesque. Their masks are of coarse brown bark cloth and, unlike any other dancer, they sometimes wear bark-cloth trousers. One Indian said to me rather maliciously, "They are like the white man." One of the *Abúhuwa* not wearing trousers had large flapping breasts of bark cloth and was a "wife." The headpiece has a calabash to form a face painted with human features. The masks are intended to be as grotesque as possible. Since the *Abúhuwa* act clownishly, they induce in the spectators only mock alarm. The *Abúhuwa* have no song of their own and no fixed dance. They are free to improvise. There are two kinds of improvisation: wild when young men impersonate them, and listless and lolling when acted by old men. While the Jaguars act to build up a sense of violence, the *Abúhuwa* work to create disorder. Thus, no masked dancers will enter the women's quarter through the rear or women's door except the *Abúhuwa*. They burst in through the rear door, hopping in short strides as though they were on pogo sticks. They interfere with dances and perform a number of amusing skits.

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The Dung beetles (*Keratamówa*) are a pair. The masks have a white facepiece with a pair of eyes, or sometimes with no features at all. The body design includes the wide bars of the insect's body flanked by lozenge designs on each side. The headpiece is surmounted by a short hourglass-shaped tube of splints and bark cloth. They dance holding hands. Each holds a short stick. In a dance Koch-Grünberg saw, they pushed along another stick on the ground in imitation, he noted, of their work as cleaners. I saw them holding their short sticks before them like wands. Their dance is a slow movement, forward and back. The songs recorded by me and by Koch-Grünberg are not the same.

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The Carrion vulture (*Kavá*) wears a mask with human features, although Koch-Grünberg saw one that he described as "naturalistic." The main design consists of very large lozenges (to depict the large feathers of the bird) flanked by horizontal bars suggesting outspread wings. The Carrion vulture carries a short stick held against the back of his neck, its ends extending over his shoulders, where his upraised hands hold it in place. The dancers bow gracefully from the waist to suggest the bird's soaring flight.

The Aracú (*Borikakü*) are usually represented in their several varieties. The headpiece is built up to a high peak made of splints covered with bark cloth in an hourglass design. The Aracú dance slowly, in pairs, and hold hands. Each carries a ten-foot pole bear-

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ing, like a pennant, bark-fringe streamers. The *Borikakü* usually dances with *Mávayo*, its compatriot, the red-mouthed aracú. In a joint dance they carry a rope ladder (*towándo*) made of three parallel strands of rope into which wooden rungs are set. Attaching the ladder to a roof beam, they climb and descend.

## THE MINNOWS

Although the Minnows (*Emíwa*) wear no masks they are definitely part of the dance ensemble; they have a dance step, a song, and a dramatic role. The Minnows are the youngsters and form a school of fish that presumably stands for the youngsters' play pack.[6] They are a boisterous element, moving in and out among the masked dancers. Lacking masks and, accordingly, formal ceremonial status they play a counterpoint of sheer spontaneity to the more solemn dances of the masks. While the role clearly belongs to youngsters, boys are not limited to it. Prepubescent boys do, indeed, wear masks. Those I saw were Butterflies and I was told that a youngster may dance any role but *Yaví*, the Jaguar. The Minnows play on curious [534] shrill whistles. The whistles resemble a short three-tube Panpipe and are mounted at the end of a stick about a yard in length that is hung with three streamers of bark cloth. The dancers wear ankle rattles and dance in a spiral formation, taking two accented steps forward and then two oblique steps back. They hold their whistle sticks pointing up. They have no particular formation, dancing sometimes abreast, sometimes in line, and, alternately, in disorder. The Minnows do all their dancing among the women, who dote on them and ply them with chicha.

## *XUDJÍKO* AND *XUDJÍKÜ*

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The "grandmother" and her consort are, for the Cubeo, the truly solemn and sacred element of the *óyne*. Represented by giant 15-foot-long trumpets of wound bark that are bound as twins to a single frame, they are taboo to all the women, as are all ancestral horns. The trumpets are capable only of deep, mournful notes and represent ancestral mourning. It is the grandmother, however, who has [462] come to mourn and not the grandparents. The reason for this is that it is a woman's role to be an official weeper. Men may and do

[6] It will be recalled that in the story of *Kúwai* and the anaconda, the penis of the anaconda is transformed into four minnows that are given to the adulterous wife to eat.

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjiko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjiko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikũ* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

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## THE SIB UNITS

The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

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## ORGANIZATION OF THE *ÓYNE*

As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur-

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765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point 765 614 532 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is [203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will [533] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a [535] mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted [776] by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

## MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ÓYNE

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

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The sexual play between men and women begins when the first visiting women arrive and try to pass through the rear entrance of the maloca. The rear door has been removed and the opening barred by poles set in an × over which the women must climb. The Dung beetles, armed with wooden staffs, "guard" the entrance by thrusting at the women as they climb in. The women are burdened with great baskets containing household utensils. Many carry a nursing baby in a sling across the hip, with a walking child clutching the skirt. A woman can make no dignified entrance. Prodded by the Dung beetles she tumbles into the house, clutching her infant, her skirts flying, her utensils scattered. She laughs with excitement, recognizing her fall as a burlesque of the rough play that initiates sexual courtship. At this moment the men are being solemnly and decorously received at the front door. However, after having been tumbled into the house the women reassemble outside, the bars are removed, and they, too, are received in the conventional manner by the host women. They then settle themselves along the left wall of the women's section.

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The second molestation of the women comes at nightfall, when little boys rush in among them with a bark *dúpu* (a lizard which supposedly makes the women squeamish) suspended along a sturdy rope. They invite the little girls to join them in a tug of war. The little girls act shy so the boys first play of tug of war among themselves, arranging to fall among the girls. Emboldened, the girls seize the *dúpu* and join the tug of war. Another group of boys also bearing a *dúpu* enters and engages more girls in a tug of war. The purpose of the *dúpu* is to generate excitement among the women. The boys fall upon the little girls, who shriek with laughter and mock alarm while their mothers dodge the thrashing bodies artfully.

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The youngsters are followed by an older group of Minnows, not masked, who swarm in noisily, stomping and whistling, dancing close among the women and jostling them. Finally, all the masked dancers, the adult males, enter. The air clouds with dust, and the women's section resounds to the shrieks of laughter, to song, and to the thump of dancing feet and the dry clatter of rattles. Young boys who are sent to sprinkle the floor with moist chicha mash, to settle the dust, pelt one another, and "accidentally" the women, with balls of mash. Throwing chicha mash is, for the Cubeo, a common form of flirtation. Ordinarily the woman throws at a lover. Children do not ordinarily play this game. Thus, the incongruity of being hit with mash thrown by little boys amuses the women enormously. It is the guest women who are flirtatiously singled out at this time. The host

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765 The host
831 women stand apart on their side of the house and serve chicha to
786 the Minnows.

The males leave and the excitement of the women subsides.
765 Through the night, however, the men come to dance among the
831 women. The fence that divides the house into a male and female
786 half is also an emotional dividing line. Dances form on the male
• 535 side, where they are solemn and subdued. When they pass to the women's side, the dancers are excited. When they go back they revert to calm. It is tempting to interpret the movement of the masked dancers – who look phallic – through the overlapping slit in the wall as symbolizing coitus, particularly since with almost each passage the level of excitement is heightened.

The excitement of the Minnows is allowed to subside in a calm interval. *Máwayo* (the red-mouthed aracú), and *U* (sloth) do a slow dance, holding long poles with a crook at one end which they suspend from a roof beam and upon which they swing. The Sloth always falls. He lies on the ground kicking a leg and making feeble gestures of arising, only to fall again. But *Máwayo* is slow and graceful and swings gently on his pole. The Sloth arises, and the dancers cross poles and gracefully dance out.

[532] They are all followed by the Minnows. Each Minnow now carries a long pole that is joined to all the others by a string from which dangles a carved wooden bird. They do a circle dance with the bird in the center. As they circle, stamping strongly to accent the beat on the right foot, they jostle the women, moving in upon them to enclose them in the circle. The Jaguars now rush in, wilder than ever,
[857] leaping about among the women and falling upon them. They are followed by the boys with the *dúpu* on its string. The boys ensnare the young girls in the *dúpu* string. Now two masked dancers come in with long flaming broomsticks. They dash about among the women, swinging the flaming fibers among them. The women scatter in noisy panic, kicking over baskets and dishes. The attack by flame excites the Jaguars as well, and they whirl around among the women in sheer frenzy. As they flee this new menace, the women say, "The jaguars are angry. They will soon attack people." The Jaguars, how-
[534] ever, are no menace to the men. One climbs on top of the partition and blows noisily into his jug horn, and another climbs a roof beam overlooking the women, both in a simulated attack upon them.

The Jaguars withdraw, and the next entrance is again a quiet one. Two Spiders, slowly and gracefully holding a long string from the middle of which hangs a feather, dance toward one another, winding up the string until they are face to face at the feather and

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then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure.

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudjíko* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping.

This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *óyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *óyne*.

From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out – one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Míavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs.

The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abúhuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakúiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamiré, kamiré*. These dancers leave, and another *Abúhukũ* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudúki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among

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765 536 the women and dives clumsily after it, rolling among the women and over them. He recovers it and tries to crack it in his mouth, but of course he is wearing a mask, and finally he examines it with a marvelously executed air of puzzlement and dejection. The women have been so dazed by now that the comic virtuosity of this "clown" does [152] not draw the expected laughs. The *Abühukü* leaves and there is a respite. The women stir about and look after their children, and it seems as though the emotional gradient, having been broken in its upward ascent, has dropped to the most ordinary level.

765 831 786 535 But this quiet interlude is short. At midmorning all the masked dancers storm noisily among the women in a dance called the *hwananiwa* (wild peccary). They throw themselves upon the women, forcing them to the ground and to the copulatory position. Three or four men cover a woman. The dancers rise again to dance in sheer frenzy, careening about the room, shrieking and falling again upon another woman. But even though their excitement seems more feverish than ever, the men still do not lay a hand upon a woman. They choose for their attentions only the older women. The [887] older women among the Cubeo are licentious, and they behave at this time as though they have become sexually aroused. They laugh and shriek and reach for a man's thighs. The daughters observe this spectacle of their mother's sexual excitement with evident dismay and great interest. The mothers shrilly command their daughters to run away and so escape sexual molestation. At the command to run they begin to leave, but they come back to watch. Again, the very young [152] boys who share this masculine license are carried away by sexual excitation and lustfully attack the women, the wives of their phratry mates. The women "fight them off" with the standard courting resistance and succeed in inflaming them all the more. Not all the masked dancers join this revelry in the same spirit. Some men, the older ones in particular, are restrained, treating the dance symbolically, and some are simply shy and only brush lightly against the 765 182 152 831 786 535 women. The point of view is that of symbolic frenzy rather than of sheer unrestraint. The mastery of this mood is surely a difficult one, because the women, who are a laity, are under no compulsion to discipline their feelings. This is presumably the Cubeo ceremonial conception – pitting masculine symbolically controlled behavior against the spontaneous emotionality of the women. This interplay between emotional form and substance, so to speak, adds spontaneity and emotional spice to the ceremony but always within the framework of form. That the youngsters should succumb to simple lust in this licentious dance is, to be sure, a spontaneous consequence of the

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *hwananiwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

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The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* – the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

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The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

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The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

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535 recognizing the symbolic distinction between an alligator and a
536 jaguar, do not throw it back at the men. Then the Jaguars kill a deer, who is represented by a masked dancer. The Jaguars dance wildly about their "victim," blowing loudly into their jugs. The victim writhes and falls agonizingly to the ground, kicking up a leg, moving an arm, and then lying inert. Other dancers, his "comrades," come to look at him. They lift his arm and it falls back. They lift his leg and it falls back. They sniff his body and murmur *ttt tttt*. Now the Carrion vultures come, with their short staffs held against the back of the neck. They dance about the victim singing the jaguar song. They buzz about the victim and bend down and kiss him. The Jaguars also kill *Pampámibo* (a frog), and the procedure is repeated.

This dramatization of the modes of violent death – the killing of the alligator, the lustful adulterer, the killing of the jaguar, the dread killer himself, and the killing of the weaker and defenseless game animals – restores the mood to one of sobriety. The dance of the Carrion vultures has a note of pathos that is not lost on the women.

765 When these sequences are done there is an intermission. The boys
831 busy themselves with the fabrication of great bark-cloth penises.
[535] The phallic dance that is to follow is known as the "dance of the
[857] potent penises" and is under the jurisdiction of the young men. As they complete the penises, the boys begin a sexual play with them, thrusting at one another in a hilarious burlesque of coitus. It is all play, in a spirit of gaiety and with much noise.

765 During this interval of male sexual play, that takes place in the men's part of the house, the women on their side are mourning in the conventional fashion, arms about one another's neck, faces together, crouching in a mournful circle.

765 On this, the third day, the women's section is not entered again by
535 the men until late in the afternoon. Then the entire corps of masked
831 dancers dances in, each man carrying a sprig of leaves with which
786 he beats the women, centering attention on the elderly. Some strike with such force as to make the women scream with pain. Others brush a woman's shoulder lightly. They then dance into the men's section and whip the hosts, but perfunctorily, since the real interest is in the women, from whom they should draw blood. The Jaguars enter briefly among the women. They leave and all the masked dancers – the *nowánparatowü* (potent penises) – come in. Each holds a bark-cloth phallus before him with both hands. The dancers thrust at the older women, some doing so very mildly, and others, the younger men, forcing the phalluses between a woman's legs. The women again shriek at their daughters to escape. As before, the girls

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark-fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner. 765 535 831 786

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark-cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one-month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks. [838] [857]

The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion. 765 786 831 182 837

The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women – the sexually most desirable – are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of [838]

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kendáox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will announce the arrival of *Xudjikò* and her consort. Bearing their masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grandmother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grandmother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a framework to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the "grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occasionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the doorway with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will be used for making the *dúpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they represent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pendant, jaguar-tooth and armadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy

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765 staff as a weapon. They pose with head bowed, both hands resting
53 on the weapon. The chief mourner holds a rattle hung with a feather and eagle down in his right hand. He begins the formal oration, an angry declaration denouncing the unknown sorcerers who have killed his father. As he speaks, in a hoarse, changing voice, he swings the rattle in a vertical arc, pivoting on his left foot, facing one mourner and then the next. His gestures are vigorous and his pivot is crisply executed. He swings the rattle upward almost into the face of the mourner whom he is addressing. He has hardly completed the circle when each of the mourners, swinging his right arm in an arc, turns to a companion and recites a similar angry declaration. The companion to whom he turns also pivots to face him, awaiting his return to reply. This part of the ritual is executed as a ballet. The declaimer is poised with his right foot forward, waiting for his partner to pivot and face him, and not until the partner has executed his pivot does he begin his declaration. The headman, having initiated these hoarse and angry harangues, turns his attention to the ceremonial remains of the deceased. His head bowed, he gently shakes the rattle over them and utters a sad lament that he has lost a father. After an interval of angry shouting the mourners re-form the close circle, bow their heads, and weep. They pause to blow their noses, wiping their hands on the fringes of the masks that have been hung nearby.

765 Other members of the sib are not part of this close mourning circle.
614 They put on their masks and dance, circling the mourners. The
535 *Xudjiko* trumpets are silent because they are sounded only by the
[533] men of the household of the deceased, who are now part of the circle of mourners. The mourning of the men signals the women to begin again their wailing, their piercing lamentations rising clearly above every other angry and mournful sound.

765 This interval of mourning lasts some 15 minutes. The ceremonial property of the deceased is then removed and the men rest, drinking
[535] chicha and smoking. Dancing resumes after half an hour. At dawn
[789] the Jaguars cut off the brown bark-cloth trimmings from their jug trumpets and pass them among the men to chew. This will guard them, they say, against sorcery from their phratry mates, who will arrive as mourners late in the afternoon.

765 Later in the morning the men put up crossbars to "guard" the
276 women's entrance. After this *mihi* is prepared. A sibman staggers in with a bundle of the narcotic vine. *Mihi*, as always, is carried in the ritual manner, one of its features being a representation of great weight. The bearer bends low, raising his knees high, and circles the

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765 After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to
574 complete the decorations on the masks they have brought and to ap-
[532] ply personal body decorations.
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The sibs of the phratry arrive in late afternoon. These later arrivals are greeted by the hosts wearing dance masks. When they
765 sight their guests they sally out of the house dancing and singing in
574 a winding line around the front plaza. The guests respond by don-
535 ning their own masks and dance up the path, each pair of masked
614 dancers singing its own song. They mingle with the hosts. All complete a circle about the dance plaza, the hosts dance into the house, and the guests continue dancing outside.

765 Two Butterflies from among the guests approach the open door-
574 way. Each in turn strikes the side wall violently with his rattles. From
535 within Sloth and *Máwayo* thrust their long poles out at them and "beat them off." The Butterflies rejoin the others. Suddenly all the dancers rush the doorway and skirmish with the spirits within. Those with staffs thrust them at the attackers or use them to ward off a thrust. Those with rattles shake them violently. The "attack" is noisy and spirited. Beaten off again, the attackers re-form their dance line and dance to the rear of the house, seeking an entry through that quarter. But here the doorway is blocked with crossbars and guarded by Dung beetles, who thrust their long lances at the "attackers." Again the attacking dancers retire and resume their dance at the front of the house. After a while they take off their masks, hanging the garments on poles that have been set for this purpose along the front walls. Now, as humans, each strikes the side wall violently with his staff and enters the house. This entry is ritualized. The men flit in swiftly and silently on tiptoe, whispering *t t t i i i*, and circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased.

The male hosts have formed themselves into an outer semicircle facing the guest dancers. They lean on their staffs and look on grimly as the dancers complete the circle; then they whistle. At this the
[537] dancers come to an abrupt halt in a semicircle facing the hosts and launch into the orations already described. The speeches are short, and the men change partners often, each moving out of position when necessary, or leaning past a companion at his side. After a few minutes the guests resume the flitting dance. They circle clockwise, whispering *iii iii iii*, and having completed one circle, dance counterclock-
[622] wise and whistle. Alternating between clockwise and counterclockwise and whispering and whistling, they complete several circles led by their headman, who carries a rattle in his right hand. During this dance only the host headman remains standing and facing the dancers; the others retire to the benches set behind the dance

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masks and drink chicha. The guests finally stand in a circle around the ceremonial remains of the deceased. With heads bowed and leaning on their guns or staffs before them they chant a lamentation, their leader shaking his rattle slowly. They weep, the *Xudjiko* trumpets pick up the lament, and the women join in. They repeat this performance with little variation three times. After the third, they break ranks and face their hosts again in the postures of the angry harangue. Finally each guest breaks away and rushes toward the open doorway brandishing his weapon outside and shouting defiance at the sorcerer or other enemies of the phratry.

765 574 [535] [533]

Concluding this phase of mourning, the guests leave the house so as to make still another entrance, this time to be received as men with the formal salutations at the doorway.

Guests from others sibs arrive by maloca groupings, each group of eight or ten men acting out the same ritual. Each group appears in three roles: as spirit beings who are repulsed, as generalized mourners who act out grief and anger, and finally as kinsmen, each of whom is received individually and with a kinship greeting as he makes his final entrance to the house. When they are greeted as kinsmen, the ceremonial remains of the deceased have been removed; they are welcomed at this point with a calabash of chicha and with *mihi*.

There are some minor variations in this pattern of greeting. At the *Hehénewa óyne* one group "attacked" with a barrage of pupunha thrown against the roof and the front walls. This "attack" had, however, another side to it. In part it was an attack and some of the fruit was thrown violently through the door, where the defenders threw it back at the masked attackers. But punpunha is also regarded at this time as an offering for the women of the house – just as it is during the ancestral whipping ceremony, when the house is showered with fruit by the ancestral spirits. The sound of pupunha fruit striking the roof frightens the women.

765 574 184

This dualism of assault and of offering is carried out in somewhat different form in the course of the ritual receptions to the house. The first instance is when the guests arrive as masked dancers or as spirit beings. They are received first in a friendly way, joining in a dance with their hosts. Then the two groups separate and engage in ritual attack and defense. In the second entrance, as generalized human beings, there are a number of alternations between aggression and friendliness and between anger and grief. Even the circle dance around the ceremonial remains of the deceased has a gentle clockwise motion symbolized by the whispered *t t t t* followed by a more

765 574 [535] [535]

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574 violent counterclockwise motion for which the symbol is the loud
[535] whistle.

On the women's side a parallel form of greeting, but with a minimum of ritual, is going on at the same time. The greetings among the women are, in many respects, a counterpoint to the greetings among the men. I have already mentioned how the women are made to tumble into the house so that their entrance is as ludicrous as the entrance of the men is somber. However, having picked herself up and having straightened out her belongings, each woman is greeted
[561] in a file by the host women. Like the men, the women are grouped by maloca and in order of their husbands' age seniority. Having been
765 greeted with the conventional handshake, the group of hostesses and
574 the group of guests face each other and shout angrily at one another;
152 these shouts are not accusations or recriminations, but expressions
[576] of anger at the enemy who has killed the deceased. Two women who have been facing one another in postures of anger suddenly fall to a squatting position, each with an arm around the other's shoulder, drop their heads, and weep. Women who are nursing babies seem

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Fig. 12. Angry declamation at mourning ceremony.

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The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth 574
day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing 576
the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep [152]
once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

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One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. [535] •
At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial [534]
paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

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That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening 535
include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, [533]
*kenadjü marié kenadjü pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. 765
As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and 535
leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the 786
dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has [831]
become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the 765
following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted 775
to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first 266
of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have 114
been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the 171
funeral, disinter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a 765
great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most 184
horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a 266

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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawá* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihí*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

796 monotone of the shaman. At intervals the coca calabash passed from hand to hand and each man threw a deer-bone spoon of the sage-green powder into his mouth. He stored it in his cheek and gradually the coca, mixed with saliva, filtered down his throat. Louder and louder, faster and faster became the chanting, echoing between the walls of the vast dark interior. The shaman worked himself into a frenzy, waving his arms out in front of him, his hands moving in wild gesticulations, his voice a rapid series of falsetto monotones; he was expelling all evil spirits from the tribal precincts to the heads of the *caños* and to other lands. The incantations continued for nearly two hours and then in the early hours of the morning there was silence.

796 301 The time had arrived for Bréo to unlock the precious box of plumages and he lowered it to the floor. He unwrapped the barkcloth cover and took off the lid of the beautifully woven palm box. Item by item he distributed the contents to the waiting figures, eagerly clambering to adorn themselves. First the smaller boys were given their simple crowns of red and yellow macaw and toucan tail-feathers, and they dashed away to adjust these on their heads. Underneath lay monkey-fur belts, ancient quartz pendants, puma-tooth necklaces and the most important items of all, magnificent feather head-dresses. These Bréo carefully selected and gave to the elders of the tribe. Crowns of toucan feathers woven on *cumare* frames adorned their heads, brilliant gold and red, ringed with white duck-down. Majestic royal crane plumage, stuck into a banana stem which projected down the back, jutted vertically up from the back of the head. The white feathers were woven together in a *cumare* mesh and stood out like quivering spindles of spun glass, gleaming in the darkness. Behind was a single red macaw tail-feather, a deer bone bound to the banana stem with monkey fur and last of all the wing plumage of an egret.

301 Many of the men wore giant quartz obelisks dangling from their necks. They make them no more, but their ancestors used to spend days rubbing down large chunks of quartz in pebbleworn channels in the river beds. Others had necklaces of wild boars' tusks, pointing concentrically outwards. There were many monkey-fur armlets with glistening beetle wings which [292] jingled as the men moved. Around the waist was another belt of monkey fur with puma teeth attached; below the knees finely-woven *cumare* garters, rubbed yellow with river clay, and above the right ankle dried *watcha* nut [302] rattles. This, with the fierce red facial paint and black body design, made up the splendid dancing regalia of the Tukano. The women had no adornments; [562] south of the Caquetá they stuck rings of white duck-down to their ankles with mud, but here they only painted their faces and bodies.

796 535 Now the dancing proper began. Since it was the manioc festival only the ceremonial *Nahubasa*, signifying the complete cycle of manioc from the time it was planted to the time it became cassava, was danced. Each man carried a long cane stave in his right hand and they joined in a line across the centre of

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



the *maloca*, facing the women's quarters. Dazed from the *chicha* and coca they gazed in front of them and sang a slow dirge, beating their staves on the ground. Slowly they moved off in a clockwise circle inside the four central posts. The tempo increased, but the chant remained the same, the voices grew louder and combined with the hollow thuds from the staves and castanet-like rattles. The whole atmosphere changed, no longer were there rival groups competing with their neighbours, instead everyone took part in the dance. The women joined in, slipping their small bodies under the linked arms of the moving men. The circle increased, the women with their right hand to the small of the back of one man, and their left to the hip of another. Only Wanina, the headman's wife, accompanied by her small children and carrying Bréo's youngest son under her arm, did not join the circle. She moved slowly round the centre, her eyes fixed constantly to the ground, uttering a high-pitched wail as the dancers moved solemnly about her. 796 535

The manioc dance continued through the night, but with the approach of dawn the younger members became impatient for a change of rhythm. To them such festivals were an opportunity for amusement, heavy drinking bouts and the possibility of finding a wife. One or two started to play on their panpipes, they were joined by others and soon the whole *maloca* became alive with young couples and trios weaving happily across the floor, in between the posts and along the sides of the house. Their young bodies gliding through the darkness, their feet delicately stamping the time on the ground, they seemed completely lost in the lovely panpipe tunes of the *chiruru*, the Tukano courtship dance. All too soon the thuds of the bamboo staves were heard and the elders again took control.

Throughout the entire festival the dominating figure was the shaman. Existing as he does in complete detachment from the rest, he sat alone, occasionally taking snuff from his snail-shell box. It was he who influenced the festival which, without him, would not take place. Every few hours he summoned the elders about him and as coca was passed round the mysterious chanting began. No one would tell us what was being recited, we could only gather that the tribal ancestors were being consulted and evil spirits exorcized. They did not like us to record this part of the ceremony, for quite understandably they believed we might take away their magic power. 796 756 789

Day and night the people danced, their plumed bodies glistening with sweat, caught in the beams of the sun or the dull glow of the torch-wood. There was continual sound – of panpipes, of cane staves, nutshell rattles and people's voices. Gradually the *chicha* canoes were drained. Gallons of the liquid had been consumed and the men had to rid themselves of their hang-overs. Nonchalantly they poured boiled green-pepper juice down their nostrils from funnels made of leaves. With grunts and snorts they cleared their heads and staggered down to the river to bathe. Inside the *maloca* those that remained were asleep; many of the women had already left for the 796 [757]

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ABOVE AND BELOW: Dancing at the festival to celebrate the manioc harvest.

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765 534 114 769 [773] for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 786 [154] The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual orgy. [536] This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the substance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 562 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritualized weeping, their only active ritual role. [786] Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 765 [776] The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaiwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure. [831] [786]

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudjíko* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping. [535] [533]

This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *óyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *óyne*. 765 831 786 535 [182]

From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out – one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Mîavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs. [152]

The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abûhuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakûiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamiré, kamiré*. These dancers leave, and another *Abûhukû* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudûki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among 765 536 [535]

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536 the women and dives clumsily after it, rolling among the women and over them. He recovers it and tries to crack it in his mouth, but of course he is wearing a mask, and finally he examines it with a marvelously executed air of puzzlement and dejection. The women have been so dazed by now that the comic virtuosity of this "clown" does
[152] not draw the expected laughs. The *Abühukü* leaves and there is a respite. The women stir about and look after their children, and it seems as though the emotional gradient, having been broken in its upward ascent, has dropped to the most ordinary level.

765 But this quiet interlude is short. At midmorning all the masked
831 dancers storm noisily among the women in a dance called the
786 *hwinaniwa* (wild peccary). They throw themselves upon the
525 women, forcing them to the ground and to the copulatory position. Three or four men cover a woman. The dancers rise again to dance in sheer frenzy, careening about the room, shrieking and falling again upon another woman. But even though their excitement seems more feverish than ever, the men still do not lay a hand upon a woman. They choose for their attentions only the older women. The
[887] older women among the Cubeo are licentious, and they behave at this time as though they have become sexually aroused. They laugh and shriek and reach for a man's thighs. The daughters observe this spectacle of their mother's sexual excitement with evident dismay and great interest. The mothers shrilly command their daughters to run away and so escape sexual molestation. At the command to run they begin to leave, but they come back to watch. Again, the very young
[152] boys who share this masculine license are carried away by sexual excitation and lustfully attack the women, the wives of their phratry mates. The women "fight them off" with the standard courting resistance and succeed in inflaming them all the more. Not all the masked dancers join this revelry in the same spirit. Some men, the older ones in particular, are restrained, treating the dance symbolically, and some are simply shy and only brush lightly against the
765 women. The point of view is that of symbolic frenzy rather than of
182 sheer unrestraint. The mastery of this mood is surely a difficult one,
152 because the women, who are a laity, are under no compulsion to dis-
831 cipline their feelings. This is presumably the Cubeo ceremonial con-
786 ception – pitting masculine symbolically controlled behavior against
535 the spontaneous emotionality of the women. This interplay between emotional form and substance, so to speak, adds spontaneity and emotional spice to the ceremony but always within the framework of form. That the youngsters should succumb to simple lust in this licentious dance is, to be sure, a spontaneous consequence of the

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *hwananíwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

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The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* – the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

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The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

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The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

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535 recognizing the symbolic distinction between an alligator and a
536 jaguar, do not throw it back at the men. Then the Jaguars kill a deer, who is represented by a masked dancer. The Jaguars dance wildly about their "victim," blowing loudly into their jugs. The victim writhes and falls agonizingly to the ground, kicking up a leg, moving an arm, and then lying inert. Other dancers, his "comrades," come to look at him. They lift his arm and it falls back. They lift his leg and it falls back. They sniff his body and murmur *ttt ttt*. Now the Carrion vultures come, with their short staffs held against the back of the neck. They dance about the victim singing the jaguar song. They buzz about the victim and bend down and kiss him. The Jaguars also kill *Pampámibo* (a frog), and the procedure is repeated.

This dramatization of the modes of violent death – the killing of the alligator, the lustful adulterer, the killing of the jaguar, the dread killer himself, and the killing of the weaker and defenseless game animals – restores the mood to one of sobriety. The dance of the Carrion vultures has a note of pathos that is not lost on the women.

765 When these sequences are done there is an intermission. The boys
831 busy themselves with the fabrication of great bark-cloth penises.
[535] The phallic dance that is to follow is known as the "dance of the
[857] potent penises" and is under the jurisdiction of the young men. As they complete the penises, the boys begin a sexual play with them, thrusting at one another in a hilarious burlesque of coitus. It is all play, in a spirit of gaiety and with much noise.

765 During this interval of male sexual play, that takes place in the men's part of the house, the women on their side are mourning in the conventional fashion, arms about one another's neck, faces together, crouching in a mournful circle.

765 On this, the third day, the women's section is not entered again by
535 the men until late in the afternoon. Then the entire corps of masked
831 dancers dances in, each man carrying a sprig of leaves with which
786 he beats the women, centering attention on the elderly. Some strike with such force as to make the women scream with pain. Others brush a woman's shoulder lightly. They then dance into the men's section and whip the hosts, but perfunctorily, since the real interest is in the women, from whom they should draw blood. The Jaguars enter briefly among the women. They leave and all the masked dancers – the *nowánparatowũ* (potent penises) – come in. Each holds a bark-cloth phallus before him with both hands. The dancers thrust at the older women, some doing so very mildly, and others, the younger men, forcing the phalluses between a woman's legs. The women again shriek at their daughters to escape. As before, the girls

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764 it with a wad and turned to face the corpse. Each man now went with the same slow deliberateness to fetch his gun. The armed men formed a tight circle about the hammock, the widow in their midst pressed against it. Brandishing the weapon, the brother began the funeral declamation, a statement of grief and then anger and the threat of retaliation against the enemy. Each male mourner delivered his own address, always declaring his kinship relationship to the old man. The women accompanied the hoarse shouts of masculine anger with their own counterpoint of grief. After the last man had spoken they all fired their guns into the air together. The widow then withdrew to her hammock and lay silently while the men gathered about the hammock, caressed the corpse, and wept, accompanied in their grief by the women.

[537] When this first wave of mourning, which lasted some two hours, had subsided, the headman's wife arrived, took her place at the head of the hammock, and delivered a long funeral oration that began in anger and ended in tears. As she finished it seemed that the [761] grief had subsided; people stirred about more. Informally, and apparently spontaneously, the inquest began; names were mentioned and evidence cited. Women added their observations to those of the men, each citation being delivered in a loud and angry voice. [622] The headman broke in on this, an hour after his wife had finished [537] speaking. Armed with a gun he, too, approached the head of the hammock and delivered his funeral oration, concluding like the others with grief. During the angry part of his oration he summarized the suspicions and submitted his own. When the headman concluded, all the mourners drifted off and, since it was the middle of the night, all went to sleep. The respite was brief, and well before dawn mourning began again; mourners, men and women, approached the corpse (*yaiyd*) in the hammock, caressed it, and wept.

Preparations for burial began promptly at sunrise. Four men of [823] the sib dug the grave (*tobékalcino*: hole underneath) four feet deep in an east-west direction to the left of the dance floor at the forward end of the house. They measured the corpse to get dimensions of the grave. When the grave had been dug halfway down one of the men lighted a cigarette and, bending over the sides but not entering the grave itself, blew cigarette smoke into each of its four corners, "so that the dead would always have tobacco."

[412] It took several hours to dig out the grave with machetes. While this was being done, others were preparing a canoe as the old man's coffin. A man is buried in his own canoe as a rule. However, the canoe of João was an excellent one, whereas one of the men had only re-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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CUBEO



764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to [615] grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 **FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON**

537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUELO



[he shall be abandoned]. His flesh will not be firm, he will rot away. He shall not shorten the days of my life. This one here [the deceased], he has departed. We shall endure. That thoughtless person, he did it. That poison had no power to make us sick, but he died. We do not have such poison. Such is not with us. He is the one who died. He did not live long enough to go and walk with us. Now we do not have a companion. As he died, so we, too, are going to die in this evil land. Let us bury him in our house, under the earth. Let us cover him. He has poisoned us and so we have lost one of us. And so my father has died. Where shall I see my father? He is buried. He has gone. He is ended on this day. He made me a man, he left me as a male descendant. I am still here. My father, my father. It is as if I, too, had died. I, too, can go. I know how. I am a man. When I shall see him [the murderer] I shall confront him. He and I shall meet. He who poisoned my father. It is I who live here. He did not care to behold my father and so he did it. My father raised me here. In my own land, in my father's house I will continue to live. He died, but I am not dead. I am still here. My father reared me as a man. I am going to kill him who poisoned my father. He who did this. I will do the same thing to him. [He fires his gun.]

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### FUNERAL ORATION BY A WIDOW

My husband has died. That evil person who did this to me, he, too, will die. We here shall not survive. He whom I wed at this place, my husband. Where shall I see him? They have buried him who was mine. He is gone now. It is finished. It is only today that he began to live here. They schemed, those who are of another place. They schemed about this, and so my own, my husband, has died. He died while with me. Now I remain a widow. Your father has died. Come and bury him. Your father said he had raised men as descendants of ours. My children, you are our men. They who did it did not care to behold your father and so now we are no more.

### FUNERAL REMARKS OF A PHRATRY VISITOR

Over there where I live, I heard about it so I came to your house. Is it true you have lost your father? Where did you bury him? I heard about it over there where I live, so I came to your house. It is my privilege to shed tears for your father. Do not scheme revenge. He who killed him will also die. You and I, we have lost one of our own. We shall all die.

### REPLY BY A SON

All right! Come in. I allowed my father – we allowed my father to die. In the same way that he died, we shall die. You have come from over there to shed tears. We are already finished, because we have lost one of ours. I allowed my father to die. As you have just spoken to me and asked, it is here that my father is buried. He did not last through the day. That evil one, he did not wish to behold us. He poisoned my father and that is why he died. Look over here [drawing the guest over to the grave]. Here is where he is. Here is where he is residing. Behold my father's house. My father has died. He is no longer alive. Badly he went.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



765 After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to
574 complete the decorations on the masks they have brought and to ap-
[532] ply personal body decorations.
[302] The sibs of the phratry arrive in late afternoon. These later arrivals are greeted by the hosts wearing dance masks. When they
765 sight their guests they sally out of the house dancing and singing in
574 a winding line around the front plaza. The guests respond by don-
535 ning their own masks and dance up the path, each pair of masked
614 dancers singing its own song. They mingle with the hosts. All complete a circle about the dance plaza, the hosts dance into the house, and the guests continue dancing outside.

765 Two Butterflies from among the guests approach the open door-
574 way. Each in turn strikes the side wall violently with his rattles. From
535 within Sloth and *Máwayo* thrust their long poles out at them and "beat them off." The Butterflies rejoin the others. Suddenly all the dancers rush the doorway and skirmish with the spirits within. Those with staffs thrust them at the attackers or use them to ward off a thrust. Those with rattles shake them violently. The "attack" is noisy and spirited. Beaten off again, the attackers re-form their dance line and dance to the rear of the house, seeking an entry through that quarter. But here the doorway is blocked with crossbars and guarded by Dung beetles, who thrust their long lances at the "attackers." Again the attacking dancers retire and resume their dance at the front of the house. After a while they take off their masks, hanging the garments on poles that have been set for this purpose along the front walls. Now, as humans, each strikes the side wall violently with his staff and enters the house. This entry is ritualized. The men flit in swiftly and silently on tiptoe, whispering *t t t i i i*, and circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased.

The male hosts have formed themselves into an outer semicircle facing the guest dancers. They lean on their staffs and look on grimly
[537] as the dancers complete the circle; then they whistle. At this the dancers come to an abrupt halt in a semicircle facing the hosts and launch into the orations already described. The speeches are short, and the men change partners often, each moving out of position when necessary, or leaning past a companion at his side. After a few minutes the guests resume the flitting dance. They circle clockwise, whispering *iii iii iii*, and having completed one circle, dance counterclock-
[622] wise and whistle. Alternating between clockwise and counterclockwise and whispering and whistling, they complete several circles led by their headman, who carries a rattle in his right hand. During this dance only the host headman remains standing and facing the dancers; the others retire to the benches set behind the dance

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/349 cont./

/footnote 60 cont./ it to the quality of certain plants that they use in these caxirís. It is possible that their state of intoxication makes fecundity difficult; just as it is likely, moreover, that the affirmation of infecundity results only from the lack of means of verification or of attention to the problem.

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/350/ We thought that these immoral practices were a consequence of the intoxication. The Missionaries also thought this, although one of them pointed out to us that the inebriation was intentionally promoted for libidinous satisfactions. We nevertheless had many and categoric affirmations that these sexual practices, even the incestuous ones, are not only licit, but even established by the customs, and for this reason recommended by the "Old Ones," in order to ensure the happiness of the people and the fecundity of nature (cf. VII - 5, c).

5) Legendary commemorations -- Rite of the cigar.

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Legendary commemorations. We have the impression that to the original elements of these feasts, let us call them the ritual elements, with the passing of time, were introduced other profane ones, such as the musical intermezzi performed by the individuals of the younger generation to the sound of the flautas-de-pã /Panpipes/ and the japurutús. Among the ritual elements must appear the Legendary Commemorations. After the first dance numbers, representatives of the tribes who are participating in the Wãx-tĩye baxsá detach themselves from the natives and sit down on little seats, one in front of the other, in the nave occupied by the men. These individuals are chosen from among the Komũã, and they must, naturally, show the qualities necessary for their function, that is, knowledge of the legends, a good memory, a lively imagination, facility with words.

/350 cont./

796 538 [123]

At the various times that we had the opportunity to attend these feasts, we did not see any initial ceremony. Each one seated in front of his antagonist, at a distance of a meter perhaps, they start to narrate in a singing tone accompanied by broad gestures and alternately with the right and the left arm. They unravel the legends of the origin of the world and of the tribes, as well as the exploits of their ancestors. They speak alternately and sometimes also simultaneously, breaking off only take a breath and perhaps, at a given time, to recall some further episode. The event told by his competitor will sometimes serve to remind him of another episode. So it seems to us.

If, by any chance, they carry to him the cuia of caxirí, he receives it without looking; he will keep it in his hand until he finishes the episode that he is narrating, and then he will swallow it rapidly, returning it empty to the one who brought it, and who remained patiently waiting.

It seems to be a matter of a true challenge. A competition of oratory and also of time, of rapidity of locution, of physical or, better, pulmonary endurance. During all this time they do not concern themselves about the audience, though there may perhaps be an indiscreet white who has come closer to observe better. At a certain point, however, /351/ one of the old men of the maloca intervenes and interrupts one of the narrators (we do not know whether he does it only to one of another tribe or maloca who came for the poosé, as in the case that we had a chance to observe), directing some words to him in a rapid dialogue. They informed us that it is the practice, and it is a thanks for his activity. But soon afterwards the competition proceeds with the same rhythm and intonation.

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The Rite of the Cigar. The principal act of the Legendary Commemorations is the Rite of the Cigar, which takes place around 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning, and which marks, moreover, the official ending of the poosé. Two enormous cigars, each tied to its fork (VI 2, b (5) ), starting with the tuxaua and one of the Kõmũã, will pass simultaneously from mouth to mouth,

796 /351 cont./
276 to the least important of the men who have participated in the
• 538 dances, and who arrange themselves in two lines, one in front of the other, all, however, sitting down. Each man takes some puffs and passes the cigar to his neighbor, and thus everybody
*[192] smokes several times, until the cigars are consumed. The tuxaua and the bayá alternate with the Komũã the episodes of the history of the origins, dõxporó-kase kextí, recalling the different places from where their ancestors came, and the exploits that marked this ascent. They do it, however, in a singing rhythm, prolonging the final syllables of each part that they narrate.

796 Once this rite is concluded, the sticks and snappers are
574 gathered up, the men take off their ornaments, which are carefully kept in the box for this purpose (VI - 2, d (7) ). The guest
576 tuxaua gives thanks in a loud voice: -- "The poosé was very good. We enjoyed ourselves very much, etc."

796 As the conclusion of this rite and of the fast that they must observe at these feasts, the Kõmũã who prepared the kaxpí puts in the mouth of each man a roasted pepper. For the young ones there is prepared a broth with lemon juice and pepper (and sometimes also salt), and this is applied to their noses with a funnel of leaves. The young man must draw this broth into the mouth and swallow it. After this ceremony, they can take their mingau or any food whatsoever.

The entertainment might continue, principally among the younger persons. Ordinarily, however, they adjourn to the ham-
[513] mock (often two persons in the same hammock) and rest, in order to start the amusements again in the cool of the afternoon, around 4 o'clock.

5) /sic; 6)/ Games.

[524] We have spoken of the number of games that take place between the dances, but occur principally in the prolongation of the feast, that is, from the second day on.

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/For the text of various Tucano myths and folk-tales, see category 116, pp. 1-41./

● 539

/For the text of the Tucano myth entitled "The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean", see category 116, pp. 8-49, 54./

/300 cont./

533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

533 Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very [276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the tuxáua sings as follows:

*[192] "mãrĩ bũxkõrá, mãrĩ paxkõ-s'õmõã baxsesé duhí-wé:pãra,
• [539] yõõ ná põrá uhú duhí, uhú duhí we:yá, mãxsã yõõ põra";
that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively [562] for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the [273] men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule, [535] the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning: they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

/361 cont./

776 823 b) Tamanduaí is a locality situated on the bank of the Rio Negro, in an elevated position, with the bank forming a barrier or slope. They affirm that in the vicinity of this point, but deep in the water, is located the city of the wai maxsã.

776 • 539 823 They tell that, a few years ago, a woman lived on the bank opposite Tamanduaí. Soon after delivery, against the traditional prescriptions, she cooked and ate cará /yams, Dioscorea/. Later, upon going to the landing place, she saw there a young man, who asked her: -- Why are you there ? -- I want to go away, the woman said to him, because my husband is very rough and often hits me. -- Come with me, the man invited her. And he took her into the water. There, in the depths, she saw that there was a large city with pretty houses, factories of thirst (1) /Port. fábricas de sêde/, and also gardens and forest. She stayed there, living with this young man. On a certain day, she told him: -- I am longing for my son, I am going to get him. The young man took her out of the water. She was covered with algae. She washed herself well, went to her own house, prepared milk (1) for the son. Then the husband asked her: -- Where have you been all this time? It has been a week since you went away. She, however, did not answer him. On the following day she took her child and went to the landing place, went into the river, and did not return again. She remained as wife of the young wai maxsã man.

c) We further heard another episode told about Tamanduaí. A young man from the Uaupés, settled in Tamanduaí (and there are many who, /362/ searching for better lands, leave the Uaupés and go to settle in this region of the Rio Negro), left one day to go fishing. He was going down along a large beach. At a certain moment he saw, at the edge of the nearby forest, a very pretty hammock, and, sitting in the hammock, a blonde girl, very beautiful, with a child in her arms and singing in order to put the child to sleep. The youth paid attention to the harmonious song and could hear that is said: -- "I am

776 /362 cont./
• 539 going away to my land, it is so beautiful... nothing is lacking
823 there"..., etc. He looked closely and saw that the cords of the hammock were sucuruju /anaconda/. At night the blonde girl appeared to him in a dream and told him: -- "Today I sang for you, and it did not please you."

776 d) Near Bela-Vista, on the river Uaupés, an alumna of
787 the Mission of Taracuá dreamed at night that she had amorous relations with a young man. Then in the morning, when she went to take a bath, she saw close to her a blowing bouto, throwing itself about in the water, agitating it, and wanting to have relations with her. The young woman also heard shots under the ground, smelled the perfume that the "bouto" youths use. She even felt a desire to go to live with the boutos forever.

776 5. /sic/: e)/ -- Patrícia Vasconcelos tells that her grand-
[115] mother was still a young woman when she went looking for turtle
[222] eggs on a beach near Pinú-pinu (river Uaupés) with other girl companions, among them one who had just finished the puberty initiation rite. They started to dig in the sand and found many eggs. At a certain point, however, the sand started to sink with a great noise, and the newly initiated girl disappeared. A little later the sand reappeared. The mother of the maiden who had disappeared went to look for her, shouted everywhere, but the
*[192] maiden never returned. The poor mother then understood that the waĩ maxsã had stolen her daughter: "waĩ maxsã mĩã-wapã yõõ maxkõ-ré, the fish people came to get my daughter."

2) Magic practices.

823 a) Places. -- There are places (the most remote parts of the forests, caves, headwaters of the igarapés) where they should never go. If by chance they pass in the vicinity of these places, they will turn their faces to the opposite side.

There is a lake below the Ira-igarapé (middle Uaupés); the old ones did not look at it, in order not to have a weak and whining child.

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Here is one of these elegies (87).

87. It has been furnished to us by the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi.

Paxkó uxtígo
the mother who mourns

Yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ!
o my son! my son! my son!

Derowégo yöö döxporó wẽ'rítohati mãã!
why I before not die you?

Mãã añũ-buxtyágö, tuxtwágö nítohapö.
you very good (handsome), strong were.

Mãã yöö yukése. yöö ekatisé, yöö maisé-mẽra.
you my hope, my joy, my love-also (you were).

Mãã dyápo-a-ré, yöö ĩ'ãsomé, mãã buhisé-ré,
your face, I shall not see, your smile,

Mãã böxsösé-ré töosomé!
your voice I shall not hear!

De'ró mãã marísé-mẽra a'té nãxkã-pö, a'té dyá-pö?
how you without (also shall I live) in these forests, on these rivers?

A'té wi'i-pö ỹa'ã-buxtyasé-mẽra kaxtí-maxsísari?
in this house so sad to live will I be able?

Mãã maigö oxkó-ré, pexká-mẽ-ré yöö-ré axpo-yúgö.
you lovingly water, fire for me prepared.

Mãã pax-kö wẽ'rise-re nãxkãtise-re darétohapa.
of your father the death not heavy you made for me.

Mãã yöö-ré wai-re dyá-pö-ré oógö.
you for me fish from the river brought.

Mãã nãxkã-pö yuxkö-döxká-ré oógö
you from the forest the fruits brought.

Mãã marísé-mẽra ỹeé-ré we: bósari?
you without what thing shall I do (now)?

ö'mã-kori nãxkã uxtígo, mãã-mẽra maxsã-pé-pö sooseré.
the days all to weep, with you in the grave to rest.

Yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ!
o my son! my son! my son!

*192 /394/
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[124]
[126]

1. Song-dance with the rhythm tube, ahũ-wõ: 1st part (129):

129. We have tried to be quite accurate in the reproduction of the sounds. According to what seemed to follow from the pronunciation of Júlio, we separated the words and differentiated the verses. It might be that some separation has been the fault of the singer. And they commit it many times, taking a breath or breathing unduly between articulations that should be connected, and vice versa. We have verified, with singers from other places, even though they repeat Júlio's melody, that there is not perfect agreement with the articulated sounds that we publish here. This fact should not be surprising, if we recall that they learn by hearing and that the articulated sounds are without meaning. When one pays close attention, it is noted that in the same dance there is not strict agreement among the dancers. A little difference in the beat and discrepancy in the articulated sounds are observed.

Yá, yá, kapikwá
Yaká perí kapikwá
Nuyaká perí
Dwiká perí deyú deyú ayá
I iroyê.
Mã i-i, i-i-i (final whistle) (he explained that the whistle is to indicate that he is about to finish)

2nd part

Mã-ri-á i-i-i (whistle)
Dê-yá ya-yõ marí
Ikawê yo
Yóa marí ikawê yó
Yó marí ikawê dyakó
Dyakú i-i
Yô yô yô marí
Kawê marí i-i-i (whistle)

/394 cont./

*192
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3rd part

Mã i-i, i-i-i (whistle)
Yêê marwê kaná
Kawá do mariwí akawó-ro
Mariwi mariwí akawó-ro
Yê mariwí a-a-a akawó inawé
A mariwí a-a-a akawó inawé
Yuú kawá inawé
Yuú kawá inawé uu uu
Marí marí
Marí akawá inawé marí i-i-i (whistle)

2. Song-dance with the yaxsã (large maracá)
Êê-yá êêyá má

/395/

Dyaká a pi kapi
Wamá kapí kapí yuamá
Ya marí wemã a-a kapí kapí
Ya kapí nemã yá wamã
Kapí kapí nemã ya wamã
Ye kapí kapí nemã wamã
Ey-á ey-á (whistle)

3. Song-dance with the yaxsã in the other dances (outside the poosé)
Dyá yá i-i-i dyá yá i-i-i
Yé a marikêna
Mariwé mariwé ya mariwé
Marikenõ ka-yá yá
Marikenõ mariwé marikenõ mariwé
Mariwé mariwé mariwé
Marikenõ ka-yá (he lowers his voice, very low sounds)
Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i
Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i (he observes to us that this song ends without whistles)

4. Song-dance with the rhythm stick, yuxkõ
Yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
Yê kapité
Marí kwá yá kuyá-yari
Kapité marí kwá yakoró yalíma

/395 cont./

*192
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Koró dikúya ayá kwá-yarí
Kapité marí apinã
Kapité marí kapité marí kuyá-yá kuya-arí
Kapité marí kuyá-yá yá yá-yá (whistle)

5. Song-dance with the yuxkõ (130)

[171]

130. These sounds Perikuli (7th) and kwai (5th) are precisely the names of the principal personages of the Arwáke legends, corresponding, respectively, to Bũxpó and O'ã-kõ of the Tukano legends. Would it be a mere coincidence of sounds in different languages? Would they be Arwáke songs learned by the tribes of the Tukano group? Might all the dances of these tribes be of Arwáke origin?

Yá yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
E yá yá perikú ée perikwé
Yaká yõ kayó yuaí
Yá piré-ku-li nomé-nõ
Perikwé pyaká wamé tyá
Pamí kwai peri-dikú ée yó
Perí-ku-li yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)

/396/

6. Song-dance with the yuxkõ

Ma dyá pa-wõ (whistle)
Dyá diká apyá kapí akapyá
Kapí pawí diká yukú kapyá
Kapyá dewá yukú
Wapyá yukú deyé-wé
Kapyá kapí pawí dewá yukú
Kapyá kapí pawí dewá jukú
Wapí-a yukú nomã-a yaví
Wapí yá yú mã-di-yá
Wapí yá yú mã-di-yá
Sawé sawé (whistle)

/396 cont./

*192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mamã kapinã
• 539 Periků yaví-i-i davyá (Yaví = long, slim?)
Davyá yaví
Davi kawá-á nomã yavi-nõ
Davi kawá yaú; daví kawá yaú.
Kapiná perikúli
Davyá yaví yú
Kawá-yavyá mã-ã-ã (he blows the flute at length)

[115] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
[574] (For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yẽ-ẽ dyá yakẽ mari
Kemẽ maryé-é
Kemẽ maryé-é kenani
Wekã-ni kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kenã yá marỹé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpekã ané
Wekã-re kenani wekã-re
Kená tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

535 a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple
[115] amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

535 Mandú (131)
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[291] 131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

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day the *Borówa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

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**BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS**

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*mɨ́ɨkamɨ́ɨtewu yawáwũ*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

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*pwɨ́ntewũ* — the people came out
*tcũntcawa* — and shed (their anaconda skins)
*kahádami* — they went forward
*waré borikapindo* — the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
*opéko tamána* — crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
*emintakori* — the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
*kanúrũbo* — (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
*bwũhũrũkũwũ* — the rock where *Bwũ* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwũ*)
*bydtakwe* — the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
*kwábebo* — the place of *Kwákũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
*borikabo* — the place of *Borikakũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies — it means the aracú fish)
*opéko tawá* — the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakũ* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
*nahó pwũnwa* — the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
*bwũtaunrũ* — the tree beneath which *Bwũ* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwũ* passed beneath it)
*bwũtaunrũ* — the tree beneath which Bwũ passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
*waokún* — the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

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•539 *tarayávikun* – the river bank of the jaguar (a jaguar tried to climb the high bank and failed; an Ancient came along and the jaguar, frightened, dashed into a tree, where it became transfixed)
*nyukáhemekun* – the beach of the kumari plant (there was a kumari [*nyuká*] bush here; an Ancient cut it down and it turned to sand)
*popébünawü* – the place of the war club (an Ancient arrived here to drink and met one of his own kinsmen; they quarreled and the Ancient killed his kinsman with his war club [*popébü*])
*opéko tavá* – the milk of the tree (a reference to a place when an Ancient passed among the others a small calabash of palm milk)
*opéko hyáwü* – (the name of a rock where they paused again to drink milk)
*opéko tankúru* – the whirlpool of milk (a reference to a rapids, the place of white waters)
*hurébu* – the place of the dove (a rapids where a dove flying by fell and turned into a rock)
*turúbokun* – (the name of a beach where there were many small fish)
*mamúwa* – the rock of the amári tree
*mamúkapindo* – (a reference to the part of the rock that projects into the river [*kapindo*])
*nehékuwa waibóhateni kriwü* – there the Ancients crossed to the other side to live
*horóbotabü* – they made pottery vessels
*ipakarekü waibuhateni kritámeda* – they crossed a hill and there they lived
*ipakaréda hanhánkenaku* – the hill of the hán han bird (a fish-catching bird)
*opéko kenákuna* – milk of the mountain of rock (a rocky outcrop where they paused to drink milk)
*hanhánatakuwe* – the place where the hán han played (the name of a rock)
*marúkubo* – the rock of the marúku monkey (they killed this monkey and it turned into a rock)
*nakóterarerakun* – the high bank with the great round eyes (when one of the Ancients saw this place he looked at it with huge round eyes of astonishment)
*emuni dani* – they came upriver
*wainitenimeda* – they passed
*wanindona* – the narrow passage of the *wanindo* spume
*pidári hwaibo* – the burrow of *pidári* (a reference to a place at the headwaters of the *wanindo* creek where the water is as black as *pidári* [a dark liquid formed when manioc is left in the water to decay]; here an Ancient made a burrow such as an animal makes and in it left the calabash of milk as a cache)
*makánoka pidári kóbo* – in the forest of *pidári* he made the cache
*opéko mand emenádani* – at the milk trail he went out of the river
*kriwü máakaraka* – to live on a high hill
*pindó kavárebo* – the bend of *kavárebo* (a rock at the mouth of the Cuduiari where it enters the Vaupés)
*kwitótedo* – (a lake near Urania on the Vaupés)
*kwitóteku* – (the sandy beach of that name)

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*nyemi hwainéndi* – (the place name for what is now Mitú, the capital of the *Comisaría del Vaupés*)
*opéko tokóve* – the small stream of milk (a creek that was then pure milk but is now only water)
*dyaridü* – the slippery rock
*tuwárü hivéda* – the stream of blood (*hivé*, a reference to waters that run red)
*toténekribü bekédowa* – there the Ancients arrived to stay
*putowanimeda* – there they explored upriver
*nénbudja* – and then back
*nona hivédera* – to *hivéda*
*kempaimeda* – they returned
*opéko haváteni* – they drank milk
*húwü opéko* – the cold milk
*tankü wena pinnítani* – the rapids where they emerged
*danáni kriwü* – they came to live
*opéko teribobü* – where the waters were like milk
*kenánhamedo* – the lake of *kenáhume* (yellow clay used in dyeing the ceremonial ligatures; the lake is just above Santa Marta)
*namúkoribana* – the place of the *namúkoriba* fish (near the mouth of the Cuduiari)
*towándaimeda* – they reached
*wainítanidaimeda* – and then they passed
*opéko horóbena* – an urn of milk (a reference to water that looked like milk, i.e., a rapids)
*xuikopwimada* – they came upon
*nehdwukemana* – their in-laws
*pwü nehóitaro* – and already at the creek of grease (a reference to its waters, which were then pure grease)
*kevarü kemódakiporu* – the place of the closed-off creek (a site above Garaño Lake)
*nohiva paipibü* – above them the whirlpool of Guassi
*pwü heniharina* – and the fast black waters
*apyá bepora* – the whirlpool of the tree trunk
*hiwikapundwü* – (a place name)
*makavékü* – the place of parrots' wings
*hubókiporü* – they portaged overland
*pwü mavákobe* – and quickly arrived at
*biarido bupékü* – the place of the *bupékü* butterflies
*peómbü* – the lake shaped like a *peómbo* (a container for curare)
*djúturna moró* – the place of the many grubs (a reference to a thick mass of grubs they found and cooked into a stew)
*miaulkü tonwéndo* – the high bank where the water rushes with a sucking sound
*mumúkü* – the place of the tangle of roots
*yavikénamü* –the house of the jaguars (a reference to their having encountered many jaguars here)
*mahópanwa warindo* – (a place name)
*wanikétawü* – the place of the *tdwü* fish (a reference to fish that resembled *tdwü*, bark-cloth masks worn in mourning ceremonies)

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●539 *mimikütcundu* – the creek of the *mimikü* bird
*unenykübo* – the place of the pupunha trees
[Then they began to return and they came to]
*wakúdjari* – (a creek named after the *wakúdjari* fruit)
*tcipédikoriba* – (a place name)
*tcipéü taváno* – (a place name)
*püwüdjaribü* – the slippery place
*kenóha mutútu* – the bank of the yellow clay
*tuibu* – (a place name)
*yuparido* – (a creek named after a red fish)
*veabokutcendu* – the hill of the háku fish
*hororákipúru* – (a place name)
*pwánaku* – the high bank of mud out of which water seeps
*vekúkü* – the place of the parrots (the present site of the *Bahúkiwa*)
*vekúro* – the creek of the parrots
*nomi tavibo* – the circle of women (a reference to a circular trench around a house, built by women to ward off enemies)
*kurúwatha hutchindu* – he untied himself and escaped (a reference to an Ancient who was tied up by enemies during a fight but who untied himself [*kurúa húku*: to untie oneself] and escaped)
*kanyapíka* – the place of the sweet potato (*yapíka*)
*hwanidya* – the creek of the pigs (*hwani*)
*ewahubo* – the lake of the birds
*miwave* – the bird place
*emiheria* – the creek of the sweet waters
*hurédo* – the place of the doves
*takaikoriba* – the place where the maize grew
*yavibü kurábü* – the buttocks of the jaguar rock (a reference to a sharp rock upon which an Ancient sat down to rest; the rock penetrated his rectum and killed him)
*teviaria* – the place of the milk palm
*yavihoba* – the garden of the jaguar
*kamine* – the place where the *kamindü* turned to stone
*kwunkwünto* – the place where *Kwünkwü* settled (a reference to an Ancient who decided not to be human and so turned himself back into an anaconda)
*viabo munháru* – (a place within a creek where there are háku and puño fish)
*wari pani* – the place of *Wari* (a forest monster, addressed by an Ancient as "in-law" [*pani*])
*konéndobo* – the hill of the woodpeckers
*komóri kenátakwe* – the rocky rapids where *Komóri* lived (a reference to a *Bahúkiwa* Ancient)
*makapimbo* – the parrot beak rock
*úbo* – the place of *U* (the sloth)
*táwü* – the place of the bark-cloth trees
*udyébo pediwa* – the rocks carved with manioc graters (*pediwa*)
*namáwa* – the place of the deer
*kudjúpanwa* – the place of the small parakeets
*Opómbibekü* – (a dwarf whose penis was the length of an arm)

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*kenánokakü* – the place of the stone people (a reference to figures of people in stone in the highlands of the Cuduiari)

**FREE TRANSLATION**

The people came out and shed their anaconda skins. They went on to the place of the star ray rock, where they crossed over the milky waters. They came to the rock where the minnows pass, to the hill called *kanúrübo*, and then to the rapids of the four channels. They came to *bwühürükiwü*, the rock where *Bwü* [Agouti] jumped across the rapids of *byátakwe*, at the place of the pepper plants. They came to the place of *Kwákü* the Ancient, and then to the place of *Borikakü* the Ancient, at the place where he spilled the milk of the tree as he was drinking it. They came to the place of the worm people, and to the tree across a stream under which *Bwü* passed. They came to the rock of the jaguar, where an Ancient killed a jaguar and it turned into a rock. They came to the beach of the monkey, where an Ancient killed a monkey and it turned to sand. They came to the river bank of the jaguar, where a jaguar, failing to scale the high bank, took fright at the sight of an Ancient and dashed into a tree, where it became transfixed. They came to the beach of the kumari plant, where an Ancient cut down a kumari bush and it turned to sand. They came to the place of the war club, where an Ancient, coming for a drink of water, met a kinsman. They quarreled and the Ancient clubbed his kinsman to death. They came to the place called "milk of the tree," where an Ancient passed out a calabash of palm tree milk. There, at the rock called "drinking milk," they drank it.

They came to the place of rushing waters, a whirlpool of milk, to the rapids of the dove, where a dove dropped into the water and turned into a rock. They came to the beach of the many small fish, and to the rock where the amári tree grew. They came to the point of the rock, and there the Ancients crossed over to reside. They stopped here and made pottery vessels. Then they crossed a hill and there they resided, at the hill of the hán han bird. They paused at the rocky hill of milk, the place where the hán han birds played. They came to the rock of the marúku monkey, where they killed a marúku and it turned into a rock. They came to the high bank which the Ancients looked upon with the rounded eyes of wonderment. They went upriver and they passed through the passage of spume, out into the black waters of *pidári*, at the head of the *wanindo* creek. Here an Ancient made a burrow and left in it a calabash of milk. At this place, called "the trail of milk," they left the river to reside on a high hill at the bend of *karárebo* [where the Cuduiari enters the Vaupés]. They went on and came to *kwitótedo*, to *kwitótcku*, and to *nyemi hwaindndi* [where Mitú now stands]. There, at the milky creek, at the slippery rock, at the stream of blood where the waters are reddened by the rays of the sun, there the Ancients arrived and there they lived. From there they explored upriver and then came back to *hiwéda*.

They returned and drank milk, the cold milk at the rapids from which they had emerged. There they came to live, at the place where the waters were like milk, at the lake of the yellow clay. Then they went on until they came to the place of the *nàmúkoriba* fish [near the mouth of the Cuduiari]. And then they passed a rapids that was like an urn of milk. There they came upon their in-laws. They were already at the greasy creek, at the

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place of the closed-off creek [a site above Garaffo Lake on the Cuduiarí]. Above them was the whirlpool of Guassí and the fast black waters. There, at the whirlpool of the tree trunk, at *hiwakapunáwü*, at the place of parrots' wings, they portaged overland and they quickly arrived at the place of the *bupékü* butterflies, at the lake shaped like a container for curare.

They came to the place of many grubs which they cooked into a stew. They came to the high bank where the water rushes in with a sucking sound, to the place of the tangle of roots. They came to the place of the jaguars, to *mahópanwa warindo*, to the place of the bark-cloth fishes, to the creek of the *mimikü* bird, and then to the place of the pupunha trees. From there they returned and they came to the creek of the *wakúdjari* fruit, to *tcipédikoriba* and *tcipéü tavano*, and then to the slippery place, and then to the bank of the yellow clay, and then to *tuibü*, where the creek of the red fish is, and then to the hill of the háku fish. Then, at a place called *horordkipúru*, they came to the high bank of mud, and then to the place of the parrots [the present site of the *Bahúkiwa* sib]. At the creek of the parrots they came upon the circular trench called "the circle of women" [because it is the women who dug this trench]. There an Ancient who had been tied up by his enemies managed to free himself and escape. Now they continued up the creek to the place of the sweet potato, and they came to the creek of the wild peccary and then on to the lake of the birds and the bird place.

From there they went up the creek of the sweet waters to the place of the doves. And then they went to the place where maize grew and then to the sharp jaguar rock. Here an Ancient, sitting down on the rock, pierced his rectum and died. They went on to the place of the milk palm, to the garden of the jaguar, to the place where the *kamindü* turned to stone. They came to *kwünkwüntoto*, where *Kwünkwü* the Ancient decided to settle down. [This is the *Bahúkiwa* Ancient who later decided that he did not care to be human and turned himself back into an anaconda.]

The Ancients moved on to the place of the háku and puño fish, to the place of *Wari* the in-law, the hill of the woodpeckers, to the rocky rapids where *Komóri* the Ancient settled down, then to the parrot beak rock, then to the place of the sloth, then to the place of the bark-cloth trees, then to the rocks of the manioc graters, then to the place of the deer, and then to the place of the small parakeets, where *Opómbibekü* lived [a dwarf with an enormous penis]. Finally, they went to the place of the stone people [at the head of the Cuduiarí].

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**TRADITIONAL NAMES IN THE *BAHÚKIWA* GENEALOGIES**

| MALE | MALE | FEMALE |
|---|---|---|
| *Aribahükü* | *Kwünkwü* or *Kwühünkwü* | *Bahúko* |
| *Arienakü* | *Miabekudjo* | *Hehénabo* |
| *Bahúkü* | *Onpóhena* | *Hendáko* |
| *Bahükübeküdjo* | *Onpwéanba* | *Hendákuwa* |
| *Bahükidjitea* | *Onpwénda* | *Iho* |
| *Bekübo* | *Onpwéndabu* | *Ihoruko* |
| *Bwü* | *Onpwéndakü* | *Kokóhenako* |
| *Hardkü* | | *Kokóiko* |

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# 4

## *Kinship*

539 The focus of Cubeo kinship is the sibling group, of which the
601 brothers form a permanent body, the hard core, so to speak, and the sisters an emotionally close but separable group, since they are the ones who marry out. The sibling group is the model for the extension of terms of consanguinity throughout the phratry.[1] More people are
601 addressed and referred to as "sibling" than by any other term. When
602 the Cubeo speak in Spanish or in Portuguese they identify all their age mates within the range of patrilineal consanguinity as "my brother" or "my sister." Their own language differentiates degrees of sibling closeness, distinguishing lineage brothers, sib brothers, and
[193] phratry brothers. But the linguistic device for drawing these distinctions, by manipulating prefixes and suffixes without altering the stem itself, seems to be a finely contrived compromise between the desire to embrace all patrilineal consanguineal kin within the bonds of brotherhood and the need to deal with the actualities of relationships. The Cubeo are very sensitive to terms of address and so they use terms not merely to designate a precise degree of relationship, but diplomatically, to create a mood of closeness or of distance. I believe this diplomatic use of kinship draws mainly, perhaps exclusively, upon the sibling terms, since all other terms of consanguinity are by comparison of far lesser significance. A phratry brother may be called by the term appropriate for sib or even lineage brother and vice versa. When this is done, the speaker indicates by his manner

[1] There is a list of relationship terms at the end of this chapter.

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The *Bahúkiwa* headman also had had two wives. In his case the second and younger wife succeeded in displacing the older woman. The younger woman insisted that her husband give up sexual relations with his first wife. She bothered him so much that he yielded and told his first wife to leave him. She refused, insisting that she would stay on with her children. An old woman now, she has a grandmother role. A son not yet married has provided her with a small manioc garden. Her relations with the headman and her successor are cool but not unpleasant. That women regard polygyny as contrary to their interests is further indicated by the fact that they are reputed to possess an herb (*pedídya*) which, mixed into a husband's porridge, causes him to lose interest in acquiring a second wife.

Polyandry is rare. I knew of only one case, a man who took his brother into his ménage because the man had been unable to get a wife on his own. This occurred in a small Satellite community and seems to have been an accommodation to what might otherwise have been a troublesome situation of adultery. The woman fed both men and was a sexual partner of the junior husband only when her first husband was away.

Common marital difficulties have their counterpart in Cubeo folklore, as these tales reveal. *Kúwai* the culture hero and his two brothers shared the same woman. When one brother was away fishing or hunting, the other two took turns copulating with her. *Kúwai* plotted to get rid of his brothers so that he would have exclusive possession of her. They were then living at Urania on the Vaupés by a lake called *Marúkuwari* [Lake of the marúku monkey]. In this lake grew a great miriti palm. *Kúwai* asked his brothers to climb the tree to fetch a ball of miriti to make a hammock. Both brothers climbed the tree, after warning *Kúwai* not to start anything. As they climbed, *Kúwai* caused the tree to grow higher and higher and the lake to grow wider. When they reached the top, *Kúwai* cut down the tree. Then a great wind blew up and swept the men and the tree away. One brother was blown to the Cuduiarí, where he formed the river. The other was blown to the Querarí, where he formed the other river. As each man fell, his legs formed the mouth of the river, his outstretched arms two creeks, and his head a whirlpool. *Kúwai* then returned to his wife, who was now living alone. Later *Kúwai*, walking in the forest, passed a *wahókakũ* tree. Each time he passed it, it made a sucking sound at him. This happened day after day. Then it seemed to *Kúwai* that the tree was human, so he cut it down and carved a woman out of its trunk. *Konéko*, a bird, came and opened up the woman's vagina. The

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539 woman was very pretty and *Kúwai* was happy. He named her "Carved Woman." He took her home as his wife and drove out the other woman. *Mamûwü* came along and asked *Kúwai*, "Are you living alone?" *Kúwai* told him what had happened. This made *Mamûwü* angry and he took "Carved Woman" away from *Kúwai*. Now *Kúwai* lived alone and went about looking for another wife. He sat upon the branch of a tree and wept. Then along came Otter. He asked *Kúwai* why he was weeping. *Kúwai* told him that *Mamûwü* had taken away his wife. Otter then told *Kúwai* where his wife was living. He led *Kúwai* to a beautifully painted house that was under the river. There *Kúwai* saw his wife. He seized her and fetched her home to Urania. One day *Kúwai* saw an angry *Mamûwu* come after him. In fright *Kúwai* leaped up and fled. He never returned. He is now living at Carurú on the Vaupés without a wife.

In another version *Kúwai* cut down a tree and carved it into the form of a woman. He brought it to his grandmother and asked her to make all the body parts that belong to a woman. He returned to find that his grandmother had completed a beautiful woman. This woman did not know where she had come from. She went to the river to fetch water. An anaconda came by and copulated with her. Each day when she went for water the anaconda came and they copulated. *Kúwai* noticed this. One day he watched, and when his wife and the anaconda were copulating, *Kúwai* blew a dart from his blowgun very high into the air. It came down with great force, struck the anaconda in the back, and killed him. *Kúwai* seized the anaconda and cut off his penis. He transformed it into four minnows which he gave to his wife to eat. As she ate the minnows, *Kúwai* told her she was eating the penis of her lover. The woman spit out the food and went to the river to look for her lover, but he did not appear. *Kúwai* then threw his wife away and she became a tree again.

In a third version the saddened wife, awaiting the return of her anaconda lover at the river, was disappointed when only a little anaconda "as thin as a string" appeared to tell her that her lover was dead.

[571] It is perhaps indicative of Cubeo attitudes on marital stability that *Kúwai* is depicted as ultimately unsuccessful in marriage, and, disillusioned with the faithlessness of woman, retires to live in solitude on a nearby hilltop.

593 601 The terms for spouse, *himanípako* (wife) and *himanípakü* (husband), denote the important emphasis in marriage. These terms mean literally "my children's mother" and "my children's father." Before children are born husband and wife address one another simply with the common expression hápyako (listen!).

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihi*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urúhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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They are given milk
Milk of our soil
Milk that causes to grow
People who are being grown
People of our soil
People who are our younger sisters
Milk of the calabash
Milk that makes one grow quickly
Milk of our soil
People of our soil
People who are our younger brothers
The first one to grow fat
He [also] will grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
Milk that is nourishing that will make [him] fat
People of our soil
*Urúhana* who was the first to grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
He will grow fat
Milk that is liquid
Milk that is nourishing
The manioc gruel that is nourishing
Milk of our land
People of our land
*Urúhana* was the first one
The manioc gruel that he ate
The milk that was given to him.

Milk of our soil
That our offspring may grow
That we may all grow
Milk of the calabash
The offspring of *Urúhana*[*]
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of the calabash it drank
A child was being born to *Urúhana*
The offspring of *Urúhana*
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of our soil
She saw him grow
The son of *Hihédã*
Her fat offspring
Milk of our soil
She saw them grow

[*] The first child was born to *Hehdorwa* Ancients *Urúhana* and his wife *Hihédã*. *Djurédo* was the sister of *Urúhana* and she gave the child milk drawn from her own breast into a calabash.

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihddü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urdhana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

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[157]

Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the in-
[515] fant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early
[296] afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo
[252] child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and
854 if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I
155 once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow
[853] log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtu-
[853] ally impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to
[831] make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's
000 genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to [615] grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 **FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON**

537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

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[he shall be abandoned]. His flesh will not be firm, he will rot away. He shall not shorten the days of my life. This one here [the deceased], he has departed. We shall endure. That thoughtless person, he did it. That poison had no power to make us sick, but he died. We do not have such poison. Such is not with us. He is the one who died. He did not live long enough to go and walk with us. Now we do not have a companion. As he died, so we, too, are going to die in this evil land. Let us bury him in our house, under the earth. Let us cover him. He has poisoned us and so we have lost one of us. And so my father has died. Where shall I see my father? He is buried. He has gone. He is ended on this day. He made me a man, he left me as a male descendant. I am still here. My father, my father. It is as if I, too, had died. I, too, can go. I know how. I am a man. When I shall see him [the murderer] I shall confront him. He and I shall meet. He who poisoned my father. It is I who live here. He did not care to behold my father and so he did it. My father raised me here. In my own land, in my father's house I will continue to live. He died, but I am not dead. I am still here. My father reared me as a man. I am going to kill him who poisoned my father. He who did this. I will do the same thing to him. [He fires his gun.]

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### FUNERAL ORATION BY A WIDOW

My husband has died. That evil person who did this to me, he, too, will die. We here shall not survive. He whom I wed at this place, my husband. Where shall I see him? They have buried him who was mine. He is gone now. It is finished. It is only today that he began to live here. They schemed, those who are of another place. They schemed about this, and so my own, my husband, has died. He died while with me. Now I remain a widow. Your father has died. Come and bury him. Your father said he had raised men as descendants of ours. My children, you are our men. They who did it did not care to behold your father and so now we are no more.

### FUNERAL REMARKS OF A PHRATRY VISITOR

Over there where I live, I heard about it so I came to your house. Is it true you have lost your father? Where did you bury him? I heard about it over there where I live, so I came to your house. It is my privilege to shed tears for your father. Do not scheme revenge. He who killed him will also die. You and I, we have lost one of our own. We shall all die.

### REPLY BY A SON

All right! Come in. I allowed my father—we allowed my father to die. In the same way that he died, we shall die. You have come from over there to shed tears. We are already finished, because we have lost one of ours. I allowed my father to die. As you have just spoken to me and asked, it is here that my father is buried. He did not last through the day. That evil one, he did not wish to behold us. He poisoned my father and that is why he died. Look over here [drawing the guest over to the grave]. Here is where he is. Here is where he is residing. Behold my father's house. My father has died. He is no longer alive. Badly he went.

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danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

*yavirárũ yavirákũ* [repeated]
*yavirárũ maníka*
*yavirárũ ya*
*ho ho ho o ho.*

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákũ* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiarí River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yaví*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

The mask of Butterfly (*Tatárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kavirẽ kavirẽ* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiarí.

Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *manáwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point 765 614 532 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is [203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will [533] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a [535] mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted [776] by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

## MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ÓYNE

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

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"*Dekóků*[7] has punished you." Then other people came and wrapped the boy in his hammock, put him into a large jar, and buried him in the house. No one wept. After three days an old man began to think what people should do about death. They decided to have an *óyne*. They made dance masks. At first they did not know how to make bark cloth so they made masks of leaves. *Kúwai* came and told them this was not good. In one day *Kúwai* made all the bark-cloth masks for the people. They did not know how to paint the masks and *Kúwai* showed them how. They gathered red pigment and carbon soot, and by midday the masks were all finished. *Kúwai* climbed the duka tree. At the top he cut off the bark and brought it down to make the fringes for the skirt and sleeves. The people then divided the malora into a men's and women's part. In the men's part an old woman sat down to sing. But soon the real *Xudjiko* came along singing and the people were frightened. But *Kúwai* said, "Don't be afraid. This old woman is *Xudjiko*, who has come to help you weep." The old lady ran away and *Xudjiko* took her place. Then *Kúwai* said, "When other people die do the same thing. Weep for a short time only." He told them to dance and sing. When they had finished *Xudjiko* went away. She no longer comes. Instead they make a horn.

*Xudjiko* and her consort live at Uaracapuri, the source of the Cubeo. They were the first of the Ancients to die and they were the first to make the bark-cloth masks. The headpieces of the masks are set with feathers; the most prominent vertical feather is said to represent *Xudjikū* and the most prominent horizontal feather is said to represent *Xudjiko*.[8]

## RITUAL THEMES IN THE *ÓYNE*

The five main sets of characters in the *óyne* each represent then one major ritual theme: the women represent weeping; the masks, the concern of the living world for the deceased as well as for the living; the minnows, the boisterous character of young men;

[7] The term means "ghost" or "spirit" but it has here the connotation of "Great Spirit." However, since I did not learn of a Cubeo belief in a Great Spirit the allusion is puzzling, and is to be considered as unexplained.

[8] The apparent inconsistency between this account and the previous one referring to *Kúwai* illustrates two strands in Cubeo mythical thought. One strand, nonancestral, focuses on *Kúwai*, a figure of the Arawakan tribes. The other strand is ancestral and is, perhaps, truly Tucanoan. The Cubeo do not reconcile both strands. The question of which version is produced depends on the context, which may be either general or ancestral.

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754 278 824 682 at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale ac-
754 278 824 682 539 counts for the origin of *pená*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekûpwänwa*. Suddenly *Kómi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kómi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kómi* told them to take him to a creek called *Manánkanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kómi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the Cuduiarí from Arawakan Indians by way of the Querarí.

278 824 Curare (*himá*) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only in war and not as a secret potion.

751 As a far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutcûdü*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

75 776 789 771 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man. The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

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464 That evening the conversation turned to rubber, the exploitation of the
648 Indians and the atrocities. There had been two booms in the area. The first died out with the end of the First World War and the increased production in Malaya. Then with the Japanese occupation of South-East Asia during the Second World War, attention again switched to the Amazon and this continued into the fifties. Now only small interests remain and although the Indians are well paid and housed, the old fear of the *caucheros* is still there and many prefer to live their own lives.

Carlos told us that he had sixteen Indians working for him. Most of them only worked during the summer months – from November to March – when the forest was drier. If there was rain the latex from the wild rubber could not be collected. During the winter months the Indians returned to their homes to attend to their *chagras*. The men cut traces through the forest at fifty-yard intervals within easy shouting distance of one another, so that none of the trees are missed. Each morning they place small wooden cups beneath a fresh slash in the bark, returning later to empty the latex into rubber bags slung on their backs. A different section of the forest is covered each day until the cycle is completed and they start again. When the rubber is brought back to the house formic acid is added, though any organic acid can be used, even lemon juice. This coagulates the rubber which is then rolled into sheets, some of which Carlos showed us hanging from the roof-beams of his house.

At the end of a season's gathering the rubber is shipped in bales up the Caquetá to Araracuara. From there it is flown to the merchants in Bogotá – usually in May and June – and Carlos added, 'This is about the only time in the year when I see civilization. To save costs we arrange that the plane brings all our supplies and merchandise for the next year on its inward journey. These are mainly for the Indians, for there is nothing he can buy with money here, so I keep a small trade store.'

000 Later Carlos spoke of the Missing Link or Loys' Ape, which he maintained lived in the area. Three years before, one of his young workers was out in his rubber trace when he was suddenly attacked by a beast, which held him fastened to the ground all night. The boy who had fainted from fear, was found the next day and brought to Carlos's house where he took forty-eight hours to recover. He was thoroughly washed but the foul smell of the beast was impossible to remove. Several rubber gatherers claim to have seen the ape in the area of the Miritiparaná. Something very similar has also been reported from the Llanos, in the wooded river valleys near the Orinoco.

539 Stories of the half-human ape are as common as those of lost cities, the Amazonian women and the tribes of white Indians who hunt by night. All occur in the myth and legends of the tribes. But to hear a first-hand account of this ape-man from a reliable witness was unusual.

114 Before dawn we set off down river in Carlos's long, narrow, shallow-draught Caquetá boat, faster and more graceful than the stouter ones of the

/22 cont./

135 /footnote 3 cont./ Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, extracted or brought from the Tiquié River in the year of 1749, if melted, appear to be of silver, when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already carrying them as such."

*101 189. "The Issana is inhabited by Indians of the nations Baniva, Tumayari, Tuniari, Deçana, Puetana, Uerequena
171 and others. Those of the nation commonly called Uerequena,
[304] through corruption of the word /23/ Ariquena, have as a mark of distinction a very large hole between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears, in which they put bunches of straw. Among them are found many who, prior
• [551] to communication and knowledge of Whites, had Hebrew names, some pure and others with slight corruption, such as: Joab, Jacob, Yacobí, Thomé, Thomequí, Davidú, Ivanan and Marianan."

b. Xavier Sampaio, in his "Diario," writes: -- No.
133 380. "Farther down the famous Ucayari, by another name
*[101] the Uaupés, derived from the nation called this, who principally inhabit it, creates a bar. It empties with two mouths and a triangular island of 20 leagues around and innumerable rocks and cachoeiras, very dangerous because of the frightening whirlpools they form... Toward the south the Tiquié and Capuri, which are the principal ones. Toward

/85/

*101 Among the Tukanos we obtained the following:

1. -- Waú-ro pōrá (25)

25. Pōrá (or poná, as it is pronounced on the rivers Uaupés and Papurí) means begotten, children, and it is only used in the plural. For simplification, in the lists that follow we shall omit the word children in the translation.

[115] The more advanced Indians (who speak Portuguese and have studied for some years in the schools of the Salesian Missions), when asked about these divisions, spontaneously add by way of explanation, "they are nicknames that the others impose on them." This is undoubtedly sometimes true, because they like to give nicknames. But, on the other hand, it is not in disagreement with the "baxséke wamẽ," "blown name" (cf. VIII, 1, b (4) ). According to the legends, from the beginning the first chiefs had the nicknames, which passed to the whole group; for example, one of the "heads" was nicknamed "mimí," hummingbird, and his descendants are known today as "Children of the hummingbird, Mimí-pōrá."

*[192] [773] • [551]

[115] The Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos of the subdivision Kõma-ro-pōrá, from the povoado of S. Luzia on the river Papurí, told us in one of her interesting pieces of information: "The Waú-ro-pōrá are the Tukano from the head. Waú is his baxséke wamẽ (blown name). Formerly, he hid /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ himself in the plant called Waú-mutõ, in order to watch the girls taking a bath. The monkey Waú (in Nheengatú wáya-pisá) is very fond of the fruits of that tree. The girls, while they were bathing, heard a noise in the tree, immediately looked in that direction, and saw the man hidden among the branches. They all cried out: waú nĩbẽ! it is the wáya pisá!

*[192]

/143/

153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

[438] [291] [285]

His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

177 829 [342] [291]

/144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

153 The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

• 551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

/144 cont./

551 the civilized, who, they can be sure, already at the first presentation, receive a nickname, which will be propagated with incredible speed (8).

*[192]

8. They told us of some of these nicknames: one they called sõãgõ, vermilion, because of his color; another, subí, curled, because he had curly hair; a third one, uxpíka-ro, crooked teeth; a fourth one, o'mẽpero-ro, big ears; a fifth one, waú, the uáia-piçá monkey; a sixth one, õxsó-boekhõ, arrow of alligator (because of being tall and thin), etc. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 206) tells that they nicknamed him Wãx'tĩ (see VII-4, d (5) ), because of the beard (?), and his companion Schmidt, nõ'myõ-axké, monkey-woman.

6) Curiosity.

153 Endowed with great curiosity, he wants to learn from any
203 civilized person to whom he is introduced who he is, what his name is, where he comes from, where he is headed, what he came to do, what his nationality is; and they ask their tribal brothers who are accompanying the unknown visitor a thousand other questions. An Indian is apt to make a long and uncomfortable journey in order to tell those of another povoado an episode that happened, the visit of a new missionary, etc. (9).

[797]

9. In July of 1956 His Excellency the Coadjutor Bishop of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, Dom José Domitrovitsch, decided to surprise the missionaries of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), and he was covering the 300 kilometers that separate Parí from Taracuá with a small motorboat. He stayed overnight in the povoado of S. João, about 30 kilometers from the Mission. An Indian, in the middle of the night, set out

/318 cont./

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/footnote 4 cont./ concluded that there had been migrations of postdiluvian groups, without excluding the possibility of pre-diluvian migrations.

177 2nd -- Indians with Biblical names (see above II - 3);
• 551 and 3rd -- some episodes of religious fanaticism that took place in the last century on the rivers Içana, Uaupés, and Papurí, with such repercussion that, in spite of the distances,
177 /319/ they managed to worry the ones governing Manaus.
792 Now it is not improbable that such episodes imply a more remote Christian influence.

In 1857 the Governador João Baptista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha heard talk of a great movement of the natives of the river Içana, attracted by a preacher who called himself the "Verdadeiro Cristo" /True Christ/. He then appointed as Missionary of the Içana and Uaupés Padre Romualdo Gonçalves d'Azevedo, "in order to thwart the preachings of the pretended Christ, to calm the agitation promoted and to obstruct the migration of the Indians to another people's territory." It indeed became clear to the Government that the "Christ" was trying to induce the Indians to move to the territory of Venezuela. It was feared that he was a foreign political emissary, perhaps even from England, France, or the United States. It was a matter of a Venezuelan Indian, Venâncio by name, who had settled in the povoação /village, town/ Cuiari, on the confluence of the homonymous river with the Içana, and, in the presence of a cross, he would preach his false doctrine, and the concept of him as Saint would grow. "He took advantage," says the Relatorio of Pe. Romualdo, "of the condition to which he was reduced by attacks of catalepsy, from which he suffered, to make believe that he would die, go to heaven, speak with God; and that he had the power to forgive sins" (Relatório dated February 10, 1858 -- Archivo do Amazonas of July 23, 1907,

/418 cont./

797 These licenses already existed in the historical period, as
595 follows from the first explorers. The great revolt of the year 1757, during which the povoados of Moreira and Thomar were destroyed by the Indians, and that of Barcelos threatened, had its origin in the anger of the Indian Domingos Lamalonga, from whom the Missionary had made a concubine separate (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario /Diary/," n. 553). On the map of his activities, dated from Carurú-cachoeira the first of April of 1853, Frei Gregório de Bene states: -- "It will be very difficult for some time to unite in Holy Matrimony and even to convert these Indians because they live in polygamy and others in concubinage" (Archivo
595 do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 2, p. 32). Even at the beginning of this century Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 178) testifies that polygamy
622 is a prerogative of the tuxaua and cites the example of José, Tukano tuxaua of Pari-cachoeira, with two wives, one Tuyuka and the other Taryana.

7) Domestic-social position of the woman.

562 During an early contact with the natives of the Uaupés, we were surprised at the position of the woman, seeming to us to be of evident inferiority.

551 /419/ Her name might not even be known (24).

[852] [797]

24. It frequently happens that the Indian man may bring a child to be baptized. When, in order to make the registration, the Padre starts to ask the names and asks what the child's mother is called, the husband will answer: -- "I do not know, ask her."

There is observed in some human groups, for example, those of the river Canaburi (not, however, those of the Uaupés, see below, VIII-1, b (4) ) a prohibition against pronouncing the name of some persons. Some explain this taboo of the name by the "ontological mentality" of the primitives, that is, the name is not something secondary, external, but essential, and is

/419 cont./

• 551 /footnote 24 cont./ identified with such a person (or object). To pronounce this name is to render present that person or sacred object, which is not licit (religious taboo, properly speaking). Or to pronounce the name of a person (for example, that of one's own husband, among tribes of southern India -- cf. Gordon, o. c. 132) will make him die (it is the magic taboo).

551 They will simply say to identify her: -- "The wife of such-and-
593 such a person" or "The mother of such-and-such a person." The
*[192] husband will use this expression: "Yõ põrá-kó," "the mother of my children," or "the one who gives me children," or "the mother of N" and says the name of the oldest child.

Her tasks are constant, heavy, and of great responsibility. Per-
462 haps in a precarious state of health, for example, during gestation and the delivery, even so, she does them perfectly, without complaining, because they are tribal regulations, therefore they come from a superior will (25).

[593] [123] 25. If, in front of the husband, we purposely show surprise at her great tasks, the woman smiles and says nothing.

[241] The planting and the cleaning of the clearing fall to her. She will spend whole hours in the sun amid the fire and the smoke,
*[192] preparing the piles of branches to be burned, digging and burying the mandioca shoots, cleaning the clearing by the process of pull-
[252] ing out the weeds by hand, Taá kuresé. She is the one who pulls the mandioca, collects it in the aturás /carrying baskets/, and brings it home, where, afterwards, she peels it, grates it, squeezes it, and strains it, in order to make flour. It is she who prepares the foods and the caxiris, takes care of the house and of the rearing of the children. All this while the husband perhaps is idle in

/421 cont./

462 man manufactured weapons and implements for one thing and
593 another: canoe, baskets, nets, bows, arrows, traps, etc. In the clearing there fell to him the preliminary work of choosing the spot and felling the trees. The defense of the clearing against the harmful animals or other persons is also his duty. Of the domestic utensils he is the one who manufactures the tipití /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the treatment of the mandioca, as well as the little seats. As for the diet, he is the one who supplies the game, fish, and who brings the fruits from the forest for the caxirís. And he has prepared the ornaments and the musical instruments for the social and religious manifestations. Recognizing, then, the great weight of work that falls upon the woman for the maintenance of the family, we think that it alone does not demonstrate an inferior position for the woman.

593 The Pɑ́aperi, in itself, is not a depreciation of the woman,
[583] as we have already noted. The nuptial gifts, more than the dowry of the European customs, properly represent a valorization of the wife. She is really considered greatly useful, not only under the aspect of maternity, so desired and appreciated, since the Indian wishes to have children, but even in the economic one.

[551] As for not knowing the wife's name and the ways of referring to her, they do not seem to be indicators of inferiority. She came from another tribe and another language, perhaps a strange name. In any case they are not accustomed to calling anyone by name, as we shall see. In general, in referring to the wife, the husband uses the expression: -- "The mother of N" and says the name of the first-born child, and this seems to be an affectionate association. She will also say of the husband: "The father of N," which, on her lips, has a particular meaning, as affirmation that it is a legitimate child.

[611] As for the children, this affirmation is of value: the children belong to the tribe more than to the parents. Both the wife and the husband exert little authority over the children, since they are raised with great autonomy. Perhaps she has an ascendancy even greater than the husband, because, at least when they are small, they are exclusively in her care, and they go so far as to learn her idiom.

/431 cont./

553 through life, as they have protected and accompanied his parents
782 and grandparents, who never failed to provide what is due the
[562] mothers of things. The litany is not short, and they spend hours in the invocation, made in a loud voice, but without accompaniment on the part of those attending, who, seated on the seats, in the hammocks, on the ground, wherever they can, fill the house, and drink cachiry, which is served abundantly by the women, who are in the kitchen and come only for this service. When the sun reaches the highest point, that is, at midday, the officiants, who remained smoking and drinking silently since the first invocation ended, start again. The third invocation begins about two hours before sunset; but then there are already found in the house not only the men, but also all the women and all the children, and everyone repeats in loud voices the name of each mother of things
[821] that the three elders invoke. The child who is to receive the name is left to play as it wishes in the middle of the room with the other children, if there are any, and when the last ray of the sun is about to disappear, the pagé, who with the child's father and the oldest relative has come out of the little room where he spent the day, holds it in his arms and, presenting it to the sun in such a way as to make it receive the last rays, says the name, and this is then repeated by everyone in loud voices. The name that the child
551 receives is often the name which one of the grandparents already
553 bore or some other name which might be pleasing at the moment, and this especially if it is a matter of the chief's child. Many times, however, the child's name is chosen and given to it in consideration of the object that it was holding at the moment when the pagé held it to present it to the sun, to the gesture that it made, to the word that it said, because then it is as if the sun itself /432/ had given it the name. This, then, explains how in many cases, when one looks for the meaning of the native names, one has the surprise of finding the most foolish meanings."

[177] It is observed at present that, even before the baptism, besides the Baxséke Wamẽ given by the pagé, it receives another Christian name, or, better, a name which the civilized customarily use. In general they are not called by name, except by this Christian name.

/432 cont./

177 Many times they refuse to reveal to the civilized the "blown name." It is not probable that a superstitious fear (the taboo of the name) enters into this refusal (51),

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51. Pierre Gordon (L'initiation sexuelle et l'évolution réligieuse /The sexual initiation and religious evolution/, p. 132) explains "teknonymy," that is, the custom (incidentally quite widespread: Asia, Africa, America, Oceania) of not uttering the father's name and designating him by the expression: "the father of So-and-So" (saying the child's name), by means of the taboo of the name. The omission of the name would be a sign of respect, just as among many tribes the name of the sacred objects and, among the Jews, that of Javé /Yahweh/ are omitted. And thus he points out that among the Gold there is an interdiction against mentioning the father's name, while being able to say that of one's own mother or wife, because they are in an inferior position. Likewise among the tribes of the Caburí the woman never pronounces the husband's name, she will always say "the father of N."

as if the name represented part of the personality and, for this reason, to reveal it would be harmful to the individual. As a matter of fact, they call each other by the Christian name, and they indicate their own "blown name" and those of their companions with relative ease. The children at school call their companions by the Baxséke Wamẽ in fun and mockery. They hide it in shame, be it indecent or not, in order to seem civilized.

One notices a tendency to abbreviate the names: Candí (for Cândido), Beré (Bernardo), Mandú (Manoel). And many of them, due to the difficulty of pronunciation, corrupt the names:

/432 cont./

177 Sabá (Sebastião), Putucho (Protásio), Burigúrio (Gregório), Duí
• 551 (Luiz), Inhú (João), Baria (Maria), etc.

They moreover like to give grotesque nicknames to their companions, especially in the schools.

551 Here are some of the names most commonly used among the tribes of the Uaupés:

| Men's Names | Women's Names |
|---|---|
| Dyákoro | Anosáro |
| Dopino (a black bird) | Bu'ú (the Tucunaré fish) |
| Dö'pó-sũ (foot flea) | Dixsíro |
| Hakíto | Duhígo (seated) |
| Henã (a fish) | Dumáha |
| Köomãno | Koõ |
| Ñáhuri | Ñamá paxkó (mother of the deer) |
| Ñamá saaró (deer horn) | Ñyĩgõ (black, Negress) |
| Ñyĩgõ (black, Negro) | |
| Omõsi | |

/433/

| | |
|---|---|
| Õre-buru (athlete's foot) | Óri pax-kó (mother of the flowers) |
| Pahíro (large, stout) | Pĩrõ döhõo (seated snake) |
| Pĩrõ döhögö (seated snake) | |
| Poá mãri (bald, without hair) | |
| Sapó-ro (foam) | Semé (paca) |
| Séribi | Somé |
| Sibyá põrá (children of the sibyá) | Supyá |
| Sonã toãmi | |
| Umũpo | |
| Ũ'ré (nightingale) | |
| Ũ'ré-tõ (bunch of pupunha) | |
| Wĩrõ (wind) | Wexkoryó (a bird) |
| Yepá-sõnyá (legendary person) | |
| Yuxkó-ro (a wood) | |
| Yupúri | Yu'sío |
| Among the Tuyuka also: | Among the Bará: |
| Tunú (flute?) | Bwénomyo |
| Iñafihi | Kamoõ |
| Dépo (foot) | Neñõ |
| | Nomi |
| | Yawíra |
| | Yexpádwa |

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men have learned to wear trousers and a cotton tunic at home. For ceremony, however, they wear only the perineal band, now made of trade cloth. For women the skirt has replaced the ornamental ceremonial apron, but for men ceremonial participation in trousers means an important change in outlook in which the ceremony has become secularized. I learned this from young Indian men, visitors to the Cuduiari, who, wearing the cotton trousers and tunic of the mestizo, insisted in explaining to me that they were taking part in dances "just for fun." In the truly solemn ceremonies on the Cuduiari I saw no man in European dress. 177 291 182

The use of Spanish or Portuguese is another sign of change in cultural identification. But here, too, the process is complex. Indian cosmopolitanism is traditionally multilingual. Wives often speak distinct dialects of Tucanoan or else speak Cariban or Arawakan. Children learn the language of the mother first and then learn to speak Cubeo. The Tupian lingua franca has been a traditional trade language between Indians as well as between Indian and white for a very long time. Thus, the Indian who has learned Spanish and Portuguese is simply extending his multilingualism. These European languages have also come to play an important role in native interrelationships. Spanish and/or Portuguese has become the customary language of violent drunken quarrels among men at a drinking party. Used in this context the insults and threats in a foreign language are less ominous, and easier, therefore, to disregard than the same words uttered in the native language. The Cubeo usage is as with us: the foreign phrase used scatologically modifies the impact. Thus, in this respect the Cubeo adoption of foreign European phrases is a matter of enriching the native culture and is far from being a mark of cultural breakdown. I met only a few Indians on the Vaupés and none on the Cuduiari who had given up their native speech in favor of Spanish or Portuguese. 177 182 191

The use of European personal names offers another example of adaptation to the native cultural pattern. Among the Cubeo, personal names come from the traditional genealogy of the sib. They have a sacred character and are not used freely. Knowing a person's sib name is a sign of intimacy and such intimacy is not readily yielded up. I did not learn native personal names for weeks, and even at the end, one of the more embarrassing questions I could ask was simply a person's sib name. In common discourse kinship designations were used. The native name is not so much an appellation as it is sib identification. The headman of the *Bahikiwa* sib was the first to tell me his name. He uttered it in a whisper close to my ear. Thus, for the Cubeo, 177 551 182 614 [123]

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177 Thus, for the Cubeo,
551 being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most
182 exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It
[553] has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a
[123] European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiarí who had a European name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

177 On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tribu-
[797] taries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civilized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no cultivated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for
[464] which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor. At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in 1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

177 Many Indians of the Cuduiarí had visited Mitú, the capital of the
648 *Comisaría* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in 1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station. After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important administrative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio station, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business. Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiarí were not altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

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614 tiated by a suffix. From the *Hehénewa* traditions it seems likely that
193 they were originally an independent tribe, probably Tucano, that had joined in with the group of sibs that were headed by the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnbwawü*, bringing with them their associated sibs. The sibs that carry the *Hehénewa* stem with their descriptive prefixes are also known by names that are compounded of the prefixes as well. Thus, the *Byari-Hehénewa* are also known as *Byaridowa*, and the *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* as *Pyéndowa*. According to Koch-Grünberg, the
614 *Órobawa* regard themselves as a branch of the *Hehénewa* and are also known as *Óluba-Hehénewa*. His information was that the *Hehénewa* were the "true" Cubeo and that the *Bahúkiwa* were intrusive Macú (1909, II, 87). The actual history of the sibs is clouded in uncertainty. We can be reasonably sure only of a composite of several distinctive peoples or "tribes." The few *Wathariwa* sibs in my list are also named in a fashion similar to that of the *Hehénewa*.

614 Each sib also possesses a list of personal names that constitutes its
551 traditional genealogy.[3] These are names that all sib members must bear. They are called *aínheme* (*aín*: anaconda; *heme*: tongue) to indicate their origin from the speech of the anaconda, the animal form in which all first ancestors emerged from the earth. In these names there is a note of prestige, in that some names are illustrious, being part of the earliest genealogies, while others, having been added later, are less important. Since only one name can be held at a time, names are allocated in order of seniority, but not, insofar as I know, within a senior line. Names with an honorific connotation circulate within
[613] the sib, and not by lineage. They are transmitted in alternate gener-
[424] ations, going from a deceased grandparent to a grandchild. It should be said at once that while the notions of sib rank and of the distinction between more honorific and less honorific names suggests a structured system of social status, the social significance of status hierarchy is not great. The Cubeo have the skeleton of an aristocratic system that is fleshed with an egalitarian ethos.

Personal names are often those of birds, insects, and beasts, less commonly of fish. In the recent past, it is said, sib members did not eat the flesh of any creature whose name was then being carried by a sib member. This taboo is no longer in force. The explanation given is that hunting is more important now and they do not wish to deprive themselves of animal meat.[4] Without a proper sib name,

[3] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* names at the end of this chaper.

[4] On the other hand, there is the tradition that in the past they lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering rather than by farming. If this taboo did indeed exist it may have lapsed for the same reason that other ceremonial observances have

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Without a proper sib name,
a child will not grow, the Cubeo say. Growth is an attribute of the Ancients. The giving of a name is one of the ways in which the growth magic of the Ancients is utilized. These names from the sib genealogies are not used freely, the Indians preferring to use Christian names and to address one another by a kinship term.

The sib has permanence and it has continuity with the past. The "history" of each sib is known and is recited at all major ceremonial occasions.[6] In narrating sib "history," distinctions are drawn between original sibs, later comers, and the newest-formed sibs. Since ancientness is honorific and the Cubeo have a sentiment of egalitarianism, these distinctions are underplayed. But when people have been drinking and quarreling the matter of ancestry will be brought up.

The tradition of phratric organization is that all its member sibs are kin. Tradition holds, too, that once all sibs of the same phratry were united under a single headman. But this tradition may refer to the scheme of sib rank and the acknowledgment of the leading sib as the "head" rather than to an actual political organization. On the other hand, since there is little doubt but that tribal organization in this region of the Amazon is highly fluid, with smaller segments forming new enlarged formations and enlarged formations breaking up again into smaller and relatively more stable sib segments, the tradition of the phratry as a political unit cannot be dismissed.

The Cubeo distinguish between *kwinówü* (one kin) and *ahówetema* (they are not ours) in referring to their own phratry and to an opposite phratry. In the past, there may have been at least four phratries, since the traditions speak of one group of sibs as having amalgamated with another. Previously these two groups had intermarried, it is averred. According to one version of the origin myth the sibs of a phratry are all descended from a single water anaconda called *Pwénte aínkü* (Anaconda person), who divided himself into segments, the head becoming the leading sib of the phratry, and each subsequent segment forming the remainder of the sib hierarchy. A variant version states that pairs of anacondas emerged from a crevice among the rocks of a rapids, shed their skins, and formed a brother-sister pair. Subsequently, the sisters married out and the brothers took wives from people they met in their wanderings. The first pair to emerge were the head sib, and they gave names to all that followed

lapsed, out of simple neglect. Also to be considered in this connection is the common Cubeo view that the life of past generations was more severe than it is today.

[6] The text of the *Bahúkiwa* "history" follows the sib list in this chapter.

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is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahûkiwa* regard the *Órobawa* as their "head."

*Bahûküdjawü* A subsib of the *Bahûkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahûkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahûkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiari and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucúra *igarapes*.

*Bahukuondwa* A subsib of the *Bahûküdjawü* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiari.

*Bahûkübawawü* A subsib of the *Bahûkiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Mánapuänwa* (Trail people) or *Mánawa*. [648] According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, [563] perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiari overland, and whose emergence site was the Querari *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiari. [551] The *Bahûkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy.

*Pedikwa* A subsib of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiari above the *Bahûkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papuri River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toidibü*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Ancient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedi-Hehénewa* because they emerged at *Pediwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered them in the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiari. They are also known as *Piátohaño*.

*Kenánikawü* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* on the upper Cuduiari at *Piramiri* and at *Abúhakü*. They used to live at *Toidibü* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajú's lists.

*Kenámbawa* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiari.

*Utciwaiwa* Their emergence site was the Yurupari *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from Uaracapuri. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahûkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miriti *igarapes* below the Yurupari falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the Dyi *igarapes*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucibowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajú. Their first ancestor was called *Utciwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

*Baryáwatiwaiwa* A sib that emerged from Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utciwaiwa*. They are also known as *Baryáwa* and still live on the Vaupés.

*Piarówa* A sib that emerged at Uaracapuri rapids, from a particular site called *Mumikü*. They live at Miriti *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the [551] headwaters of the Muchú, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewa.

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place of the closed-off creek [a site above Garaño Lake on the Cuduiarí]. Above them was the whirlpool of Guassi and the fast black waters. There, at the whirlpool of the tree trunk, at *hiwakapunáwũ*, at the place of parrots' wings, they portaged overland and they quickly arrived at the place of the *bupékũ* butterflies, at the lake shaped like a container for curare.

They came to the place of many grubs which they cooked into a stew. They came to the high bank where the water rushes in with a sucking sound, to the place of the tangle of roots. They came to the place of the jaguars, to *mahópanwa warindo*, to the place of the bark-cloth fishes, to the creek of the *mimíkũ* bird, and then to the place of the pupunha trees. From there they returned and they came to the creek of the *wakúdjari* fruit, to *tcipédikoriba* and *tcipéũ tavúno*, and then to the slippery place, and then to the bank of the yellow clay, and then to *tuibũ*, where the creek of the red fish is, and then to the hill of the háku fish. Then, at a place called *hororúkipúru*, they came to the high bank of mud, and then to the place of the parrots [the present site of the *Bahúkiwa* sib]. At the creek of the parrots they came upon the circular trench called "the circle of women" [because it is the women who dug this trench]. There an Ancient who had been tied up by his enemies managed to free himself and escape. Now they continued up the creek to the place of the sweet potato, and they came to the creek of the wild peccary and then on to the lake of the birds and the bird place.

From there they went up the creek of the sweet waters to the place of the doves. And then they went to the place where maize grew and then to the sharp jaguar rock. Here an Ancient, sitting down on the rock, pierced his rectum and died. They went on to the place of the milk palm, to the garden of the jaguar, to the place where the *kamindũ* turned to stone. They came to *kwũnkwũntoto*, where *Kwũnkwũ* the Ancient decided to settle down. [This is the *Bahúkiwa* Ancient who later decided that he did not care to be human and turned himself back into an anaconda.]

The Ancients moved on to the place of the háku and puño fish, to the place of *Wari* the in-law, the hill of the woodpeckers, to the rocky rapids where *Komóri* the Ancient settled down, then to the parrot beak rock, then to the place of the sloth, then to the place of the bark-cloth trees, then to the rocks of the manioc graters, then to the place of the deer, and then to the place of the small parakeets, where *Opómbibekũ* lived [a dwarf with an enormous penis]. Finally, they went to the place of the stone people [at the head of the Cuduiarí].

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**TRADITIONAL NAMES IN THE BAHÚKIWA GENEALOGIES**

| MALE | MALE | FEMALE |
|---|---|---|
| *Aribahúkũ* | *Kwũnkwũ* or *Kwdhũnkwũ* | *Bahúko* |
| *Arienakũ* | *Miabekudjo* | *Hehénabo* |
| *Bahúkũ* | *Onpéhena* | *Henéako* |
| *Bahúkũbekũdjo* | *Onpwánba* | *Henékuwa* |
| *Bahúkũdjitca* | *Onpwénda* | *Iho* |
| *Bekũbo* | *Onpwéndabu* | *Ihoruko* |
| *Bwũ* | *Onpwéndakũ* | *Kokéhenako* |
| *Hardkũ* | | *Kokéiko* |

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| MALE | MALE | FEMALE |
|---|---|---|
| *Hehéna* | *Onpwéuda kudhãnkuũ* | *Midoko* |
| *Itũtũ* | *Onpwéudeua* | *Opwéudoko* |
| *Kokdhena* | *Wdhena* | |
| *Kokai* | *Wai* | |
| *Kokaidi* | *Waikomu* | |
| *Kokaikũ* | *Waikomãhũtũ* | |
| *Komdri* | *Waimoya* | |
| *Kumdru* | | |

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846 789 262 fish that are mentioned. For example, a small fish that has many small bones, the *dóthe*, is addressed, "Son of the *dóthe* have no spines. Do not cause harm to our offspring. Allow [yourself] to be eaten."

[603] In the case of the aracú, the most common fish in the diet, the grandfather who is reciting the spells takes up a fish and cuts off its tail. If he did not do this, the tail when eaten would grow into a full-sized fish in the stomach and kill the child. After each spell has been recited the grandfather blows tobacco smoke, wafting his breath by an outward motion of the hand. The magical mechanism, as it was explained to me, is that the recitation invokes the fish and the blowing (*pupúdjü*) has the effect of dispelling the danger.

Capsicum is spelled and blown so that its odor, which has the power to dispel ghosts and spirits, will not harm the child. Manioc has a disturbing odor when raw. This odor will be harmful and the manioc itself will not nourish if the spell is not recited. The child will remain thin. Eating unspelled manioc cake will also cause the child's skin to become as hard and coarse as the bark of a tree. Each variety of manioc, however, must be mentioned by name.

For birds, however, the small white eagle is invoked because this bird, the *towáve*, eats all birds that the Cubeo eat. The spell states that as the "odor of burned birds" does not harm the *towáve* so it will not harm the human young. Similarly, for animals the young of the jaguar are invoked in behalf of all the game they eat. However, whereas the *towáve* is addressed generally in behalf of all birds, the spell for the jaguar must mention each of the animals he eats by name. Again, the danger to be avoided is in each case that of the odor of cooking.

846 789 The spell that is chanted as the river is "blown" refers to the anacondas, asking them not to notice the people who are bathing. The cigarette smoke as it is wafted over the river is told to form a heavy coating as of miriti fibers so that nothing that is below water can come to the surface.

The reference of these spells seems ambiguous for the Cubeo. It is clear, of course, that what is sought is protection for the newborn • [551] infant. Since the infant has as yet no name and must be referred to only by the general designation *pwénte hyédokü* (offspring person), the spells, my informant explained, have beneficial effects for all offspring of the sib.

[302] The man who "blows" the river coats his hands and feet with genipa so that he seems to be wearing gloves and stockings. The genipa has magical power to dispel water spirits. He carries a handful of burning faggots from the hearth of the natal household while

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act be- 846
lieved to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, 789
scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press any- 846
thing, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of [789] these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is 551
not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given 851
a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child [789]
comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. [856]
To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to 826
understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much [192]
they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahú* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahúmikũ* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is con- 553
ducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the 603
name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the 789
house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather re- 593
peatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's [272]
mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to [614]
emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth [856]
magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

551 nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 752 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the [123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly un-753 concerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of [123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con-756 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on 123 whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*. [775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be

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769 171 by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and [114] Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[2] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involv- 769 ing the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, 534 have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We 171 cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kówni* (*Kiówni*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are [241] quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries dur- [881] ing the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano In- [184] dians, where sacred horns are used in the initiation of young boys, the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and [552] agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as tamed animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral cult (Ypiringa Monteiro, 1960).

769 171 As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Cágaba (Park, 1936), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921–23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1948), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may 769 speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and 534 a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits 174 taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among 534 elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[2] Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekeboikelehapuive*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.

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[142] [144] Generally long ears, pyriform, protruding, and with the lobes almost always held tightly. In all the cases that we could verify (more than two hundred individuals of both sexes and from various tribes, whose anthropometric measurements we took), we could observe on the dorsal part of the auricular pavilion (on both pavilions or only one, and generally in the lower part) a scar of varying shape and size. In many cases it looked like teeth marks, with the mark of two or three teeth. No one knew or they all refused to give any explanation for this scar, answering, as they frequently do, "I do not know," or "that is the way it is," or again "it is from birth." A young woman affirmed that it was her uncle who executed it, and she did not want to say anything else. A youth gave the information that it had been done by his mother when he was still small, for the purpose of his later being able to attach the feather for the dances there. An explanation that obviously was not satisfactory, because he did not have pierced ears. [115] [192] Dorotéia Brito, much later, told that such a scar is called Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro (orifice of Wãx-tĩ), but did not say anything about the origin, affirming that it was from birth. It seemed to us that we could establish, as in fact we did: 1st, that it is artificial, from the appearance; 2nd, it is done before the puberty rites, because we found it on prepubescent children; 3rd, the name of Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro is an indication that they judge it to be of magic or transcendental value. Maybe even a rite of symbolic value, like the circumcision of the Jews. [115] [553] These provisional conclusions were confirmed in September of 1956, when the Tukano Antônio Barreto, who exhibited these scars on both ears, not only confirmed the term Wãx-tĩ-bu'békaro, but added that it is done by the father, by the mother, or any other person, after the child has received a name (cf. Rite of the imposition of the name, VIII-1, b (4) ), that is, from 3 to 5 years of age. He maintained, however, that he did not know its significance.

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i) His social role.

756 626 The pajé represents the highest intellectual level of the native povoado, and, not only that, but he is also the stickler for the observance of the tribal laws. He knows them, teaches them, and demands their fulfillment, being able to punish (34),

> 34. He is, then, the major opponent of the assimilation of our culture on the part of the forest dweller.

with sicknesses, lightning, and, finally, malefices, disrespect toward traditional practices.

756 [852] [844] He presides over all social life, that of the family as well as of the group. When a child is born, the one who will blow on it, exorcise it, and paint it with carajurú /carajura/, in order that it will grow up strong and free from sicknesses, is the pajé; and he will also give the medicines to the woman in labor.

[553] In some tribes the giving of the name is done in the presence of the pajé. Covering the child with smoke with his indispensable cigar, under the inspiration of the moment, he will give or will suggest the name to the father, who is about to choose a name indicated by any circumstance whatsoever, perhaps even an indecent name.

[881] When the girl reaches puberty, the pajé will spend some time with her, giving her timely theoretical and practical instructions about maternity and obligations inherent in it.

At the time of the masculine initiation, it falls to him to teach the young men the traditional legends, their rights and duties as members of the group, the ritual practices, and to verify their ability by means of interrogations, punishments, flagellations, fasts, etc.

He is also the principal instructor of the Komũ (see VII - 2, e (3) ), on whose capacity he will pass judgment, and of whom he will always be the supervisor, gathering them together periodically in assembly and giving them opportune directions for every circumstance.

/429 cont./

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/footnote 47 cont./ himself in the hammock and on a diet, in order that his son's condition would not be aggravated; the latter was saved, thanks to the antiophidian injection that was immediately applied to him by the Missionary.

846 The wife, then, is the one who will carefully serve the husband. For four days both the father and the mother will nourish themselves only with mingau, being forbidden the use of fish. This is the diet taboo.

[842] The newborn child is a reproduction of the father. The mother plays only the role of the ground in which the seed germinated; the one who produced the seed was the tree, whose nature the seed will reproduce. From this concept (48)

48. It is a concept evidently patriarchalist. It is to be noted that Pe. João Marchesi affirms that he has heard from the Tukano Tuxaua Julio, from Pari-cachoeira, expressions similar to those of the Jews (who were patriarchalists): "The children of my womb."

logically come two consequences: the first is the chôco or protection of the father, the second is that the child belongs to the paternal tribe and not to the one of its mother.

• 553 4) Giving the name.

Around three years of age, when the child already walks freely and begins to talk and to give the first indications of understanding, /430/ they proceed with the rite of giving the name, a rite which ends with a caxiri.

*[192] Until that moment the child is Oẽ, that is, "without name." This is how they translate it for us, not knowing how to give any other explanation for this term.

/430 cont./

• 553 It falls to the father, according to the report by the Taryana Teodora, to choose a name. Any circumstance of the moment or a certain peculiarity noticed in the child will inspire the name. It is seen that thus the names may be repeated, and, as a matter of fact, they are repeated with great frequency, although there is no obligation to give the name of the ancestors (49).

> 49. The obligation to give the newborn children the names of the ancestors is a custom of those who admit reincarnation, and those of these tribes are not such.

With the realistic mentality of the native, there can appear not only beautiful and poetic names, but also ridiculous and even indecorous ones.

At the invitation of the father, two older men, possibly the pajé and Komũ, or two Komũá, equipped with a cigar, and one of them also with a pot (as Dorotéia Brito said) with live coals and resin, at the place of the birth itself, blow the smoke and perfume the environment round about, as well as the child's mother, "in
*[192] order for her not to get sick," they explain. For this reason it is called "Blown Name, Baxséke Wamẽ." It is a rite which gives value to the name given and has the magical power to conjure away from the child any malefice.

This function lasts an entire day from sun to sun (50).

> 50. In July of 1955 the seringalista Armando Sarmento was able to witness a similar ceremony
> [562] among the Kubẽwana of the upper Uaupés. He then observed that between the cuias of caxirí and the smokings of the ritual cigar, the Komũá would narrate the story of the origins of the group, with the peculiarity that, if it is a matter of a child of the female sex, the narrators omit the passages referring to Wãx-tĩ.

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/. [608] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the [302] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a [824] black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present [273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving [178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed that everything takes place still today just as it was written by that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native ceremonies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier, have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment [276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar. Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to leave in the center, between the front door and the back door, a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen. [782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

/431 cont./

553 through life, as they have protected and accompanied his parents
782 and grandparents, who never failed to provide what is due the
[562] mothers of things. The litany is not short, and they spend hours in the invocation, made in a loud voice, but without accompaniment on the part of those attending, who, seated on the seats, in the hammocks, on the ground, wherever they can, fill the house, and drink cachiry, which is served abundantly by the women, who are in the kitchen and come only for this service. When the sun reaches the highest point, that is, at midday, the officiants, who remained smoking and drinking silently since the first invocation ended, start again. The third invocation begins about two hours before sunset; but then there are already found in the house not only the men, but also all the women and all the children, and everyone repeats in loud voices the name of each mother of things
[821] that the three elders invoke. The child who is to receive the name is left to play as it wishes in the middle of the room with the other children, if there are any, and when the last ray of the sun is about to disappear, the pagé, who with the child's father and the oldest relative has come out of the little room where he spent the day, holds it in his arms and, presenting it to the sun in such a way as to make it receive the last rays, says the name, and this is then repeated by everyone in loud voices. The name that the child
551 receives is often the name which one of the grandparents already
553 bore or some other name which might be pleasing at the moment, and this especially if it is a matter of the chief's child. Many times, however, the child's name is chosen and given to it in consideration of the object that it was holding at the moment when the pagé held it to present it to the sun, to the gesture that it made, to the word that it said, because then it is as if the sun itself /432/ had given it the name. This, then, explains how in many cases, when one looks for the meaning of the native names, one has the surprise of finding the most foolish meanings."

[177] It is observed at present that, even before the baptism, besides the Baxséke Wamẽ given by the pagé, it receives another Christian name, or, better, a name which the civilized customarily use. In general they are not called by name, except by this Christian name.

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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character
[342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor.
[596] The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu-
[553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social seg-
[614] ments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into
[796] one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kũwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yaui*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul-
197 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papuŕ River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiari River the *Hũrũwi* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querari River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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177 Thus, for the Cubeo,
551 being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most
182 exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It
[553] has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a
[123] European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiari who had a European name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

177 On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tribu-
[797] taries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civilized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no cultivated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for
[464] which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor. At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in 1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

177 Many Indians of the Cuduiari had visited Mitú, the capital of the
648 *Comisaria* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in 1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station. After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important administrative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio station, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business. Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiari were not altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

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614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedikwa*
[554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiari that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kendnikauwü* are a subsib of the *Pedikwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piardwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Olá-Piardwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bakükiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior.
571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship
[622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac-
[857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of
[614] a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come
[796] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line
[622] also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a ceremony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance,
562 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of cere-
796 mony women take precedence according to the order of precedence
[622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substi-
[593] tute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to
[614] the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial
[553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother.
561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring
584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act believed to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers." 846 789

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press anything, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted. 846 [789]

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahú* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahúmikũ* (or *ko*). 551 851 [789] [856] 826 [192]

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is conducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather repeatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand- 553 603 789 593 [272] [614] [856]

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihi*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahûkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahûkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahûkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urâhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahûkiwa*. The *Bahûkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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They are given milk
Milk of our soil
Milk that causes to grow
People who are being grown
People of our soil
People who are our younger sisters
Milk of the calabash
Milk that makes one grow quickly
Milk of our soil
People of our soil
People who are our younger brothers
The first one to grow fat
He [also] will grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
Milk that is nourishing that will make [him] fat
People of our soil
*Urúhana* who was the first to grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
He will grow fat
Milk that is liquid
Milk that is nourishing
The manioc gruel that is nourishing
Milk of our land
People of our land
*Urúhana* was the first one
The manioc gruel that he ate
The milk that was given to him.

Milk of our soil
That our offspring may grow
That we may all grow
Milk of the calabash
The offspring of *Urúhana**
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of the calabash it drank
A child was being born to *Urúhana*
The offspring of *Urúhana*
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of our soil
She saw him grow
The son of *Hihddü*
Her fat offspring
Milk of our soil
She saw them grow

*The first child was born to *Hehdnawa* Ancients *Urúhana* and his wife *Hihddü*. *Djurédo* was the sister of *Urúhana* and she gave the child milk drawn from her own breast into a calabash.

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédū*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urihana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

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[157] Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the in-
[515] fant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early
[296] afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo
[252] child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and
854 if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I
155 once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow
[853] log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtu-
[853] ally impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to
[831] make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's
000 genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband. 592 571 [593] [606]

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack. 571 561

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart. 571 572

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their 571 614 615 621 571 621 [622] [256] [769] [553]

*
601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
to
615 Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

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SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that
614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of
554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-
[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two
595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of
614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with
615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing
177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.
587 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.
611 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-
591 tended patrilineal families.
596

000
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797 /105 cont./
177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny: he has two wives.

756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help: he is approximately 40 years of age.

*
539 Cosmogony

The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115]
[177]

4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5),

[177]

5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. 304 171 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of the same lip. 301 On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed [554] at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/22 cont./

301 hole that is made artificially across the middle from one
• 554 extremity to the other: the principals wear them about half a span long; the nobles, a little less, and the common people much shorter."

301 187. "Some Indians of the Tariarana nation, inhabitants
135 of the Capuri River, were seen at another time with little
171 plates of gold /Port. folhetas de ouro/ in the ears, which, in exchange for feathers, they bought from Indians of other nations, whom they did not know. Now it is known that the Indians of the Panenuá nation, who inhabited the upper part of the Ucayari, wear the same little plates and that from them they are passed on to the Tarianos. There is doubt, however, as to where the above-mentioned fragments of gold come from" (3).

3. Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of João Pereira Caldas, Governador of the Rio Negro, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador (Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, p. 82) as follows: "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn by certain Indians of the Uaupés River as earrings; this is one thing about which I could not discover the slightest bit of information, although I have questioned many and different Nations, inhabitants of the same River, with whom I have talked. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing but a chimeric illusion that originated from having seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, whose wings, after being dried, resemble some metallic kind because of their thickness and shine. /This footnote is continued on the next page of the original source./

135 "Finally I believe that this Notice of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is to that degree Fabulous, as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of

/23 cont./

133 the north there runs a channel of communication with the river Guabiari, which descends from the environs of Santa
171 Fé de Bogotá. The Daçanas, Tarianas and Uaupés Indians
301 who might communicate with the Indians of the same Guabiari have been seen with earrings of very fine gold, which is supposedly extracted from the mines of New Granada."

*101 381. "The Uaupés is inhabited by many nations, the
301 principal ones of which are Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena,
554 Uananá, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinaná, Timanará, Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; the most famous one, however, is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them: what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of
[304] the common people much smaller. The Uaupés wear the ears and lips pierced."

127 c. Numerous and interesting pieces of information are found in the nineteenth century, especially in the works of Wallace and Koch Grünberg. We shall cite them whenever an opportunity presents itself to us, as confirmation of what is found at present, or to verify a modification of indigenous customs, or, finally, to rectify those authors' observations that seem incorrect to us.

/66 cont./

000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

177 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth
648 century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The
[567] group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Makú are considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that,
[648] according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis), and they themselves considered themselves such, serving without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana
[554] groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some light on this curious practice.

161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same: or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

/116 cont./

*101 14th. -- Simyõ pẽru põná (caxirí of uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/), in Teresita (Papurí) and Itapinima (Uaupés)

/117/

15th. -- Yaxpé putiná (?) or yai buxtiná (white onça /jaguar/), in S. Antônio (Tiquié)

16th. -- Búyaka põná (sumaúma /tree/), on the river Papurí

17th. -- Teáburu põná (a fruit), in Floresta (Tiquié)

18th. -- Mahãñana põná (an edible caterpillar), on the river Papurí

19th. -- Mõneá põna (carapanã /large, long-legged gnat/), in Umarí-igarapé (50)

50. Would it perhaps be the Karapanã tribe, which they consider more intimately connected with the Desana? Actually a Karapanã group exists on the headwaters of the stream Uamarí or Umarí-igarapé.

20th. -- Minumú põná (swallow), on the headwaters of the Papurí

21st. -- Mixpínya põná (açaí /assai palm/), in Turí-igarapé and Montfort (Papurí)

[823] 22nd. -- Way-goberi põná (canal with fish) (51),

51. The natives affirm that there is a subterranean canal between the Papurí and the Tiquié, through which, says the legend, the first fish moved to the Tiquié.

in Piracuára and Montfort (Papurí)

23rd. -- Kúperi põná (?), in Tucunaré (Papurí); only one woman survives, mother of Sabino Paíva from Iuquira (Uaupés)

24th. -- Poetẽna or Po'yaxtẽna (a plant), in Po-yá igarapé

• [554] 25th. -- Óiwa ánikma (bat), on the river Papurí; they are the pariahs.

/117 cont./

*101 Obs. The Desana José Prado, about 30 years old (1956),
[115] confirmed the above subdivisions, with the following modifi-
[554] cations: 1st. he does not know the 11th subdivision Waxsúpo põná; 2nd. he corrected the names of the 8th, 15th, and he divided up the 24th, respectively, aganĩgãnĩ põna, yai buxtiná, and Poyaxtẽna, "because it planted the igarapé" (so he explained); 3rd. -- The first three are the most noble, he said, and the óiwa are the pariahs.

x) KUMÃDENE OR IPEKA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Ipéka is a Nheengatú term that means water duck. In their own idiom they call themselves Kumãdene, and in the Tukano language, Dya-kaxtá-põrá (children of the water duck). The Taryãna call them Kumãda Yaperíkuli, ducks of Yaperíkuli.

On the Uaupés there is a small group of this tribe of Arwake extraction, whose idiom is affiliated with the Baniva group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary which we collected (cf. "Discoteca Etno-Linguístico-Musical").

[582] They consider themselves brothers of the Taryãna, and, because of this marriage is forbidden between these tribes. In the list of the subdivisions of the Taryana /118/ the Kumãda Yaperíkuli appear. The somatic and the glottologic differences, however, demonstrate that it is a tribe distinct from the Taryãna.
[142] They are less corpulent, more delicate in constitution, fairer, and have hair less lissotrichous than theirs.

The ones from the Uaupés have already lost their native
[115] idiom, all speaking Tukano exclusively. In Urubuara in 1954 we met only two old men who still knew some words of their native language that we could transcribe and record: the sexagenarian tuxáua Mandú Henriques, and the almost nonagenarian Komú (xamã /shaman/) Martinho, who passed away in March of 1956. The ones from the Cuiarí, tributary of the Içana, still preserve their own idiom.

/314 cont./

*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõá-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of ear-
[177] rings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that
[304] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 • 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syõ-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komũ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 535 237 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).

[574]
[123]
[126]
[302]
[562]

50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõõ wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

*[192]

[301]
[554]

The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

[534]
*[192]

When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to entertain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a) ); it is a sign that the dances

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/349 cont./

796 [354] Between the last columns of the maloca a fire burns, which an old Indian stirs up frequently (58).

[554] 58. In the subdivisions of the tribes (cf. IV-2, a (2) ) it fell to those of the last category to keep the fire lighted.

"It is to illuminate the earrings of the dances," they explain to us.

So they spend the night, and one after the other falls from drunkenness, tired and sleepy, while the stronger ones continue dancing. At given moments there is a noise like a fight; the men will beat again on the entrance door. Under the effect of the alcohol there are heard at intervals disorderly shouting, noisy laughter, animated discussions, not infrequently fights and violence or even murders. That atmosphere of excitement and [833] darkness is most conducive to immoral practices (59).

59. Already at the end of the eighteenth century the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, vicar of S. Gabriel, was complaining: -- "During their banquets and feasts, there are always spirituous beverages, which they call caxiri, mucururú, pajaauarú and caeçuma, made out of mandioca, batatas, and fruits, with which they get drunk to the point of crapulence" (o. c. p. 486).

[833] At first they perform them more discreetly, going outside the maloca for these relations; later, when they are drunker, they do it even inside the maloca, in the hammocks or on the floor. Generally, however, there is no fecundation in these relations (60).

60. So they assured us, and they attribute

/471 cont./

614 the division of the original group (107).

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107. It is possible that other reasons might have intervened, such as the misunderstandings that are still verified today.

While the first-born son, with his family, would remain beside the old couple, the other sons of the founder would become, in turn, founders of new malocas, which would grow with the natural fecundity of the native woman. This hypothesis, more in agreement with the nature of things, is confirmed, it seems, by the customs.

614 1st. -- A first one is the denomination of "brother" for all the
601 individuals of the same nation (that is, who are recognized as from such-and-such a tribe and speak the same language), a denomination corresponding, besides, to their feelings (they can not marry each other, mutual aid and understanding, lamentation for a death, and vengeance for the brother who has been a victim of another tribe).

All of them are brothers, but there is a distinction between Mamí (bigger brother) and Axkabí (smaller brother). Among the brothers-german, that is, /472/ children of the same father, the terms mamí and axkabí correspond to the ages. Outside of this case, they no longer correspond. For example, one hears an adult characterize a child as mami. It is, therefore, a matter of
614 a hierarchic classification.

• 554 An I'ra-pé Tukano said that he regarded the Waú-ro and Oyê
[115] as Mamí; in relation to the Waú-ro we heard the expression
* [192] "Tukano of the head," Dexseá ná dõxpoá," as equivalent to the
[601] principal branch, as was soon explained to us by Patrícia Vasconcelos. We have here, then, indications of an aristocracy (108).

[175] 108. The existence of this aristocracy was already known in 1755 by Pe. Noronha. Xavier de Sampaio

/472 cont./

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/footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced."

[304]

the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Ba'tí-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

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109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tõmpa-duri, but

/472 cont./

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/footnote 109 cont./ out of another hole at the mouth of a nearby igarapé. The rivers with dark waters, like the Uaupés, form characteristic and abundant foam when they beat against the stones of the cachoeiras. Upon asking a certain individual why there were these inferior divisions, he answered that it is because they did not come out of the water, but from the foam, as if it were from the dregs of depuration.

2nd. -- A second one is that they attribute to themselves a juridical superiority, deriving from the priority in time, something corresponding to the proverb: "qui prior est tempore potior est jure" /one who is first with regard to time is better with regard to rights/. Whoever has settled more recently in a povoado is in a certain inferior position; he is a "transient, Sihyári-maxsã," as they say. [192]

/473/ The two customs indicated harmonize perfectly; we might think that the second one is a derivation from the first. Upon asking a Tukano Indian from a povoado on the lower Tiquié as to the inhabitants of which povoado he considered Mamí, he answered those of S. José. Further inquiries made among other Indians came to clarify this answer. One of them said he had heard his own grandfather narrating that the Tukano formerly did not live there, but resided on the Papurí. They were expelled from this river by the Taryana, still being a child, therefore, about 100 or 120 years ago, and came to settle in S. José. This information makes S. José the first Tukano nucleus on the river Tiquié.

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[103] One more argument in favor of the probability is given to us by the Tukano name of the locality, which is Maxkã, the town, as if it were the urbs par excellence of these Tukano. All the more probable, since such a designation, besides not being attributed to any other locality, escapes the custom of the names according to the geographical accidents (point, igarapé, stone, cachoeira, hole, etc.), or other circumstances. In the vicinity of S. José,

/473 cont./

173 there is a place that in Tukano is called Bũxkõrá bathá, literally
• 554 "swimming of the elders," that is, where the elders crossed the
614 river by swimming, fleeing from their enemies. In the vicinity of this spot, about 30 years ago, the elders showed Pe. João Marchesi a section of less dense forest as being the place through which passed the first Tukano coming from the Tiquié on their expeditions of war.

In conclusion, we give the opinion:

174 1st. -- The natural multiplication of the Indians imposed a
554 division into groups which have established themselves in closer
614 or more distant places, according to the circumstances; for this reason we today find groups of one and the same nation dispersed along the three rivers (Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí).

2nd. -- The denominations (110)

[829]

> 110. The distance between these groups has more and more accentuated the separation. If it is true that each individual, even the children, knows the name of his own and of the neighboring subdivisions (and even of other tribes), few of them know how to make a more complete list of the Gentes that make up their tribe.

that characterize each group (Waú-ro, Oyẽ, etc., cf. IV-2-a (2) ) are names or nicknames by which the respective stipites, or some late more famous descendant who provoked the separation or built the new maloca or performed any other deed, were known.

[628] 3rd. -- The relations between the malocas, and the social situation of those who /474/ inhabit them today, are the same as those that existed among the founders, hence the present hierarchy that is in force among the Indians.

/474 cont./

554 614 [601] 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some are earlier and others later, having originated perhaps from some schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 614 829 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear, however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say who would have precedence.

797 177 614 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

> 111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiarí these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiarí proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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361 Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-
554 tain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or en-
[157] couraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they
[123] did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the
342 new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one require-
361 ment of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with
622 him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines
768 of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new ma-
loca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change
at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the
victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a
361 fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations.
244 At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to
768 ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is
moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the
old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transi-
tional period when the community is actually working both clearings.
The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until
they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they
will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old
*chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

361 The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to
[311] circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some
15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again.
Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the
forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally
dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later
moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiari and the
Querari. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this
361 connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or
614 along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs
554 occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely
associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks
deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong oc-
cupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or
by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become
dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites
and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Gia-
361 cone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (refer-
554 ring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only
along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5). 361 554

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence. 361 554 648. 177

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiarí, for example, a trail leads to the Querarí. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker. 487 [721] [481]

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahúkiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller. 621 311 453 244 [622]

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. 621 592 [162] [342] [578]

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342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
(592) self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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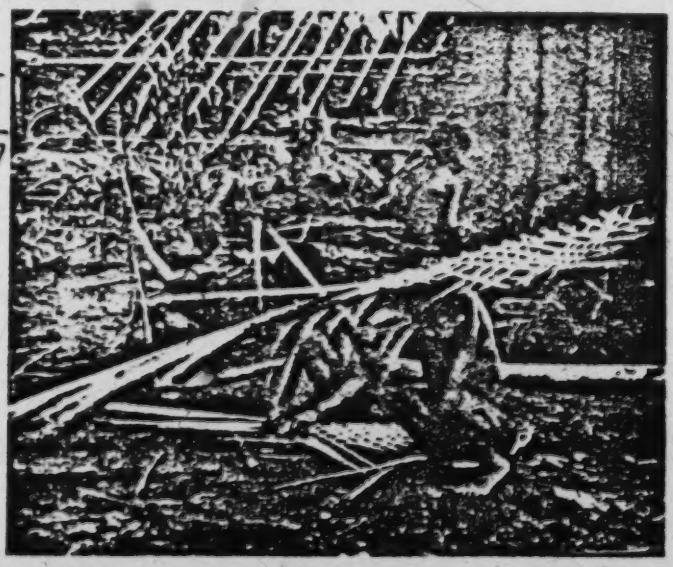

Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding.

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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[64] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

## THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, [823] the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward 361 the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers 823 are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahukiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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# 2

# *Economic Life*

## ECOLOGICAL SETTING

The Northwest Amazon region abuts on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Oriental and has an average elevation of some 200–300 meters. Many of its rivers flow quickly and the terrain generally lacks the flat and swampy character of the lowland Amazonian rain forest. The headwaters of the Cuduiarí are within the territory of the Cubeo and apparently arise in a high savannah, an eroded plateau laced with caverns and supporting on its remarkably flat surface only a meager xerophytic vegetation. There are other highlands in Cubeo territory along the Vaupés. Of no economic value to the Indians, the highlands form for them a setting of mystery because of their strangeness and their desert quality, and are held to be the domain of mythological beings. [823]

The Cuduiarí is a narrow river that runs swiftly past several cataracts into the Vaupés. At the peak of the dry season it is barely navigable along its full length. At that time a large canoe is pushed across several inches of water and the river course is beset with sandbanks. The smaller tributaries or *caños* dry up altogether, stranding their low-status occupants seriously. Perhaps this is one reason why the Cubeo associate social standing with frontage along a big river. [361] The Cuduiarí is an intimate river – along much of its length the trees and creepers that line its banks reach overhead to midstream to form a bower. The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire [554]

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773 From *K'uwaī*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine. It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fishing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in production falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
[462] is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc production is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large community under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upañeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

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## HUNTING

224 Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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He brings home the hide for a
224 trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle
[237] that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary
[554] and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahúkiwa* the headman's son – an aspirant for the position – killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

## GARDENING

462 I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions
262 of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

462 An important distinction between the labor of men and women
461 is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

462 On days when only subsistence manioc – that is, the manioc cake
461 – is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is
252 to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she
244 gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

462 Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time,
244 leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast.
[512] Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against
[751] sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is
[789]

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an who has daughters to help her can prepare a surplus of mash that, covered with banana leaves or stored in a circular bark bin, holds over to the next day. Whatever time a woman spares from manioc cake preparation is immediately absorbed by other duties, among them the making of chicha and farinha, which is simply the manioc routine all over again. When a woman prepares manioc for chicha, however, she has the help of her husband, but only at those stages that are totally distinct from manioc cake preparation. The Cubeo tradition is for men to take no part in *dunu* production, once they have made the clearing. Still, men do help their wives in peeling the manioc tuber. Since the knife has begun to supplant the teeth as a peeling implement, men, who are the most expert in handling knives, feel somewhat more free than formerly to help – but not without embarrassment. I once walked into the house and saw the headman sitting amiably beside his wife and peeling manioc with a knife. Were I a proper Cubeo I would have managed to appear as though I had seen nothing. But the sight was so unexpected I stared. The man flushed and dropped the knife and tuber. Then he collected himself and explained that his wife was not well and so he felt he should help her. He assured me, as his wife smiled, that he never did this ordinarily.

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Whereas all women share the same general manioc routine, individual circumstances differ. A young married woman with young children has no one to help her and must work very hard in contrast to an older woman with several daughters who can relieve her of much of the work. A woman with many sons and no daughters has a very heavy burden. The men provide her with a very large garden, they eat heavily, they are sociable and plan drinking parties. An old woman living alone prepares her own small manioc cake ration, and worries rather that she can call on no man to enlarge her manioc garden. Yet in all these individual circumstances one observes leveling factors as well. The household with very young children eats less, has less need to entertain, and has smaller trade needs. The household with grown daughters eats more, entertains more – suitors and their parties for example – and has great needs for trade goods, skirts, and ornaments for the girls. The household with many men has greater access to trade goods through their wage labor and saves on farinha. An old woman living alone may eat with her close kin and so devote her manioc production entirely to farinha, if she desires. There are no significant differences in manioc cake consumption. Families differ only in the rather small prestige of owning trade goods and in

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592 554 providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor [433] in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*kardiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaindryo*, *wahwari*, *mod*, *pudjii*, *kandka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kawdmene*), pineapple, (*ihibo*), banana (*djwdye*), plantain (*dne*), pupunha (*une*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*hahdmu*), coca (*patii*), tobacco (*butei*), and capsicum (*hya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [857] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
433 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except
in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
244 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
433 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
462 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any
461 community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the man-
244 ioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
[261] Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[273] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the
[614] drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be
[182] said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[3] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the re-
[614] sponsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the
[554] chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

43 It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[3] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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614 came to be known as *Bwübekúdjo* (*Bwü* the Ancient). The *Byari-Hehénewa* took him captive. Sometime later, the *Hehénewa*, coming to visit their kin, determined to rescue the boy. They did so, killing off the *Byari-Hehénewa* who were holding him. They released
614 *Bwübekúdjo*, giving him two *Borówa* (Macú) women as wives. The
648 *Borówa* were then servants of the *Hehénewa*. The Macú women bore *Bwübekúdjo* ten children. It was from the males of this sibling group that the *Bahúkiwa* sib was reconstituted.

614 This concession of kinship alliance with the Macú stigmatizes the
648 *Bahúkiwa* as an inferior sib even though the descent is still in the
554 male line. Normally, Cubeo used *Borówa* women sexually but did not marry them. The *Bahúkiwa* do not concede that they are *Borówa*.
[611] And I learned early in my stay among them that nothing was more offensive than to even hint that someone was *Borówa*. The *Hehénewa* had told Koch-Grünberg that the *Bahúkiwa* were *Borówa* who had assimilated themselves to the Cubeo and were still to be regarded with contempt (1909, II, 136). No *Hehénewa* made this observation to me, but possibly out of courtesy since I was living with the *Bahúkiwa*.

614 The origin of the *Bahúkübwauwü*, a subsib of the *Bahúkiwa*, is also attributed to an act of kindness by a fellow sib, in this case at the hands of the second-ranking *Aúnbwawü*. In the course of an attack on them, all but one *Bahúkiwa* girl were killed. She was sur-
614 cored by the *Aúnbwawü*, among whom she lived until she married.
611 The narrator claimed that no one knew whom she had married, a lapse of information of utmost importance, since the point of the story is that despite patriliny a woman can also re-establish a sib. She bore eight children and they and their descendants took the name of *Bahúkübwauwü*. Descent then reverted to patriliny.

615 The Cubeo view of the phratry, as revealed by the traditions, is
614 of a grouping of essentially autonomous sibs into a loose fraternity that takes its sanction not from descent from a common ancestor but emergence from a common place. The genealogical relationship determines sib identity, but it is geography that determines phratric identity. The principal idea that is expressed is that the closer the sibs were spatially at the time of emergence the closer should be their present fraternal bonds. Thus, the traditions draw fine distinctions between emergence from the very same crevice on the rocks, from the same rapids, and from the same river. Unfortunately for our in-
615 terest in reconstructing tribal history, the traditions lack consistency.
614 This inconsistency reflects perhaps the ethnic heterogeneity of the
174 region, which, together with the lack of a central source for tradition,

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places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. To be sure, the custom of reciting a sib origin tradition at the regular drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multi-sib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin traditions are the most important sanctions for regulating current relationships among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).[6] This group, consisting of *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, and *Byá-Hehénewa*, is supposed to have emerged together at *Yavibebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapuri cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yavimanawa*, according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one another as *pakomá* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehénewa*, for example, discounting *Bahúkiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

[6] This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has, of course, an honorific reference. There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is applied to the Macú. Ciacone (1949, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onça*.

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615 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their
614 part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hier-
614 archical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social structure and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither,
• 554 as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo. Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no
[301] actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of
[177] seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that
[721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political au-
614 thority over the entire Cuduiarí.

The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point
[613] whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old
[867] man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

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614 time and then have drawn to them new sibs from peoples speak-
619 ing the same as well as other languages. The Cubeo tribe, as we have
174 already observed, seems to be an aggregate of Tucanoan-speaking, Arawakan-speaking, and "Macuan"-speaking peoples. A particular sib that belongs to one tribe today may incorporate itself into another tomorrow.

614 It is possible that sib formation in the Northwest Amazon region
174 has been an outgrowth of this process of repeated assimilation of new groups. The reasoning behind this assumption is as follows: patrilocal extended families need only assert and maintain a tradition of common origin and then live up to the requirement of maintaining a firm group identity, within a confederation, to make the transition to sib or clan. The suggestion is, however, that sib formation cannot be accounted for merely by the growth of extended patrilocal families or by the enlargement of lineages – because of the ease of fission – but rather as a response to quite another process, that of confederation in which the identity of the joining segments is retained. A confederation of descent groups heightens the probability that all will defend their autonomy by asserting their identity of common descent.

## THE SIB AND PHRATRIC ORGANIZATION

614 The sibs are listed in approximate order of rank. This rank order
615 should be considered as provisional, since it represents mainly the
554 *Bahükiwa* view of sib rank.
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### PHRATRY 1

*Órobawa* The leading sib: they still live at Uaracapuri on the Vaupés, the site of a rapids from which they first emerged. Their first male ancestor was called *Órobakü*. According to one version of the origin tale, he was the head of the anaconda from which all Cubeo are descended. He then named all the sibs of the phratry that followed after him. Koch-Grünberg identified them as *Ólaba-Hehénewa* and hence as a branch of the *Hehénewa*. Nimuendajú listed them as *Órobawa*. According to my in-
[114] formation, they are most closely linked with the *Hwáni-Hehénewa* and with the *Aúnwewa*, the easternmost or most downstream community of the Cubeo.

*Aúnbawaü* The second sib, occupying the next site upstream on the Vaupés at Urania. Their first ancestor was *Aúnkü*. Some informants said that *Aúnkü* was the last to emerge but was granted second place by *Órobakü*. In any case, their position on the Vaupés gives them second rank. They are regarded as very closely linked with the *Hehénewa*. In 1940 they were reduced to four households. Some had taken up residence

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at Pindaíva on the Cuduiari. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambomamára* on the Cuduiari, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiari group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists. 614 615 554 361 [114]

*Hehénewa* In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiari and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurý is known as *Wahúdja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Orobawa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Orobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapuri. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiari, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiari and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbwawü*.

*Byá-Hehénewa* A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiari.

*Wathariwa* The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbwawü*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uacurúwa*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umari* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapuri falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

*Byá-Wathariwa* A subsib of the *Wathariwa* on the Vaupés.

*Urúrariwa* Perhaps a subsib of the *Wathariwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

*Bahúkiwa* They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapuri falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Bwü* and his sister was *Oúpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiari. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Boróca*) who wandered into the Cuduiari and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borówa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borówa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borówa*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet. [563] [648] [186]

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is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahúkiwa* regard the *Órobawa* as their "head."

*Bahúküdjauwü* A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahúkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahúkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiari and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucúra *igarapes*.

*Bahukuondwa* A subsib of the *Bahúküdjauwü* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiari.

*Bahúkübwauwü* A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Mánapwänwa* (Trail people) or *Mánawa*. [648] According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, [563] perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiari overland, and whose emergence site was the Querari *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiari. [551] The *Bahúkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy.

*Pedikwa* A subsib of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiari above the *Bahúkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papuri River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toidibü*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Ancient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedi-Hehénewa* because they emerged at *Pediwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered them in the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiari. They are also known as *Piátokaüo*.

*Kenánikauwü* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* on the upper Cuduiari at *Piramiri* and at *Abúhakü*. They used to live at *Toidibü* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajú's lists.

*Kenámbwawa* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiari.

*Utciwaiwa* Their emergence site was the Yurupari *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from Uaracapuri. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahúkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miriti *igarapes* below the Yurupari falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the Dyi *igarapes*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucibowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajú. Their first ancestor was called *Utciwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

*Baryáwatiwaiwa* A sib that emerged from Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utciwaiwa*. They are also known as *Baryáwa* and still live on the Vaupés.

*Piarówa* A sib that emerged at Uaracapuri rapids, from a particular site [551] called *Mumikü*. They live at Miriti *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the headwaters of the Muchú, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewa.

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associated with the *Kompainyewa*. Koch-Grünberg found them on the left bank of the Vaupés at a site called *Naibö*, where they were known in the *lingoa geral* as *Tokandira-Tapuyo*. He recorded their self-name as *Olá-Piaráwa*. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari. 554 361

*Pyéndo-Hehénewa* A dissident sib of the *Hehénewa* group, maintaining no friendly relations with the other *Hehénewa*. Their close sib ties are with the *Pedíkwa* and the *Kenánikauwü*. They occupy several sites above Patú at the headwaters of the Cuduiari; the main maloca being at Querari *miri* (*Enpanáwe*). They are also at *Abúhudjo* on the Yurupari *miri* and are known also as *Pyéndokauwü*. [101] [114]

*Hwáni-Hehénewa* A *Hehénewa* subsib on the Vaupés at Paraná *picuna* and at Tukano *cachoeira*. Their origin site is *Impenáni* of the Uaracapuri *cachoeira* and they are, therefore, closely related to the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnwewa*, in contrast to the *Hehénewa* proper, whose emergence was actually on the Papurý.

*Aúnwewa* A subsib of the *Aúnbwawü* on the Vaupés at *Upyaria* just above Mitú. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari and referred to them as *Aweéa*. They are also listed as a sib of a Tucano phratry. [114]

*Kompainyewa* Closely linked with the *Piaráwa*, they live at Pindaiva on the Vaupés just above Urania near the Yurupari falls. Their emergence site, however, is Uaracapuri.

*Abóxo-Hehénewa* A sib on the upper Querari mentioned by Koch-Grünberg, on which I have no information.

*Ambomamára* A sib on the Cuduiari mentioned by Nimuendajú, on which I have no information. From the name it would appear to be a subsib of the *Aúnbwawü*.

*Byari-Hehénewa* An extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*, who had lived on the Cuduiari as well as at Uarúa Lake on the upper Vaupés. They were also known as *Byaridowa*.

*Papuli-Hehénewa* A sib living on the Cuduiari during the time of Koch-Grünberg's visit at Suriburoca but now extinct. They came from the Papurý and were closely linked with the Tucano tribe of the Tiquié River.

*Kenámbwawa* A sib on the upper Cuduiari, presumably a subsib, along with the *Kenánikauwü*, of the *Pedíkwa*.

Phratry I consists of two divisions that represent distinct origins. In the past these two divisions may have been intermarrying, because even now, although the entire phratry is exogamic, informants disagree as to the proprieties of intermarriage between the two divisions. The dominant division from the point of view of prestige and of numbers is known as *Yavímanawa* (Children of the jaguar) and includes the *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, and their subsibs: *Byá-Hehénewa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, *Pedíkwa*, *Kenánikauwü*, *Utciwaiwa*, *Pyéndo-Hehénewa*, *Hwáni-Hehénewa*, and *Aúnwewa*. The second division has no name and consists of the *Bahúkiwa* groups, the *Piaráwa*, and the *Kompainyewa*. 615 554 614

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PHRATRY II

*Bwoibowa* The leading sib of the phratry, living at Muchú on the Vaupés. According to tradition, they came from the Isana River originally. They emerged at a rapids called *Aindoribo* at a site called *Hobónoburúno*. Originally they fought with the *Byówa*, now a sister sib of the phratry. Koch-Grünberg encountered an abandoned maloca of theirs at Uarúa Lake, where they had been living adjacent to the Tucanoan-speaking but non-Cubeo *Pamóa*. The indications are that they had moved in recent years considerably downstream on the Vaupés.

*Byówa* A group occupying all of the Pirabatón, an affluent of the Querarí. Koch-Grünberg placed them at the headwaters of the Querarí, but since he had not identified the Pirabatón that may be the river that he called the upper Querarí. They are strongly intermarried with *Bahúkiwa*.

*Hürüwá* Members of a foreign phratry living on the Cuduiarí, where they occupy a number of upriver sites, having replaced a *Hehénewa* subsib. They emerged from a site called *Kohédariwa* above Uaracapurí on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg met them in the same locations on the Cuduiarí. He claimed they were originally Arawakan-speaking Baniwa who had wandered in from the Vaupés.

*Wadjá-Hürüwá* A subsib of the *Hürüwá* at *Kwitóro* on the Cuduiarí.

*Korówa* Primarily a Querarí River sib that had spilled over onto the Cuduiarí at one time. Wallace reported them there in 1853. They are closely linked with, and according to Koch-Grünberg politically subordinate to, the *Byówa*. In more recent times they have settled on the Vaupés, where they have also been reported by Nimuendajú. They also had a house on the lower Cuduiarí. They are known as *Korókoro-Tapuyo* (Green Ibis Indians).

[101]

*Walóola* A group mentioned by Nimuendajú as living on the Vaupés. Presumably a subsib of the *Korówa*.

*Mianáwa* A group occupying several sites in the vicinity of the Tukunaré *igarapes* on the upper Vaupés – *Makakinyo, Jacaré, Seima* – as well as at Pirabatón *igarapes*. Koch-Grünberg found a small group of only four families living at the Yuruparí falls on the lower Vaupés. Nimuendajú also found them on the Vaupés.

PHRATRY III

*Djurémawa* Nimuendajú has identified them as the *Yiboya-Tapuyo* of the Aiarí River in Brazil. He says they came to the mouth of the Querarí on the Vaupés in 1904. According to Koch-Grünberg, they were once hostile Arawakan Baniwa who had assimilated to Cubeo and are close kin of the *Káua* of the Aiarí. The Uanana, Koch-Grünberg reports, call them *Maxka-Pinopona* (Boa).

[101]

*Tóriawü* A sib on the Querarí, originally Arawakan-speaking, that claims to have come from the Isana.

*Konéntaraboiwü* According to Koch-Grünberg, who referred to them as *Koldtalapoauo*, they were Baniwa Arawakans who settled on the Querarí and assimilated to the Cubeo language. He noted that they were intermarried with the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahúkiwa* also married them. Nimuendajú mentions a *Kowitárabewi* on the Querarí, perhaps the

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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabawũ* on the Querari.

*Yániwa* A sib at the mouth of the Querari. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querari as *Dyaniwa*. 361

*Yohóhübewũ* A sib on the lower Querari.

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*Batówa* Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapes*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querari. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

*Ilhéadowa* A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiari, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiari, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari.

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*Káua* A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiari. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoiera*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querari and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiari near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

## THE *BORÓWA*

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The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

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601 614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedíkwa* [554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiarí that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kenánikawü* are a subsib of the *Pedíkwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piardwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Olá-Piardwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahúkiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 571 [622] [857] [614] [796] [622] Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior. Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is accorded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a ceremony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihí* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 562 796 [622] [593] [614] [553] As between men and women, seniority has a different significance, because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of ceremony women take precedence according to the order of precedence of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substitute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 561 584 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother. She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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term has apparently taken on a masculine meaning and *amikó* is used to specify the female. A term *amikû* does not exist to my knowledge. With the loss of the possessive prefix *hi* some of the intimacy has gone out of the term. Nevertheless, being diplomatic in their use of kinship terms, the Cubeo sometimes employ the form *himámiyo* and so give the term a warmer tone.

Finally, the most distant usage is to employ only the stem *mamû* ("older one") equally to male and female to connote the barest sibling relationship. I never heard this term used because, I suppose, the Cubeo find it too formal. Rather than call a person *mamû* they prefer the more cordial *pakomá* (kinsman). The special respect use of this term for men of the head sib has already been described.

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The junior sibling term is rather unusual. I am inclined to regard it as a quasi-kinship term because it has equally a kinship and an age-grade connotation. *Hwainyó* means literally "one who is in the class of youths." Like *amiyó* it can refer to females, but *hwainkó* is the special term for a younger sib and phratry sister. Because it is an age-grade term, the kinship meaning of *hwainyó* is so wide that it has come to mean any person of sib or phratry who is younger, either by relative age within one's generation or is of a younger generation. When it is used as the reciprocal for *amiyó*, as a respect term, it refers to one to whom one condescends somewhat as a donor or good Samaritan. It would seem that the Cubeo have developed only the senior term as a true kinship term and have given seniors the prerogative of addressing all their juniors, whether by age or status, simply as "youth." Nor is the term bound by phratry, since it is applied to all grandchildren (male or female) who are not of the lineage. *Hwainyó* also means son-in-law and any nephew or niece. *Hwainkó* is the daughter-in-law. *Hwankû* is a serviceable male form giving it somewhat greater intimacy and thus is limited generally to younger men of one's own sib or of closely related sibs. The abbreviated form *hwa*, a more jocular term, is also used.

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## BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

Lineage brothers and sib brothers are joined by all the strong bonds of a localized patrilineal sib organization. The obligations of lineage brothers toward one another are very little less binding than those of blood brothers, and the obligations of sib brothers, while somewhat less binding, are still considered to be strong. But these brotherly ties are general and taken for granted, whereas the relationship between brother and sister, as indeed that between husband

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622 571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habókü* and *kenámi upákü*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókü* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment [592] is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákü*, on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókü* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókü*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókü* attributes. Thus 622 614 554 not all headmen qualify as *habókü*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, such as the *Órabawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókü* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókü* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókü* as headman. Not every *habókü* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the head- [701] man. In time of war the *habókü* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

622 614 554 301 292 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókü* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókü* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókü*. The *Bakúkiwa* define *habókü* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókü*.[1]

[114] [565] [1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since
301 stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
554 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
[756] major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[437] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[614] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region.
[184] The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *habóküü* status or *kenámi upúküü*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[135] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers
[324] and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

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No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kenámi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

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There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grünberg was told the same thing (1909, I, 364). One is also told that other people have powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this, but Koch-Grünberg, who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desanas had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grünberg that great chiefs ruled along the Papurý and Tiquié rivers. When he got there he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now. 643 622 114

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grünberg notes that the headmanship is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it that the house is kept in order; and if he leaves for any length of time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took him seriously. Koch-Grünberg had the impression, however, that the oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a headman. 622 171 {888 554}

## LAW AND JUSTICE

With respect to the administration of justice and of order the headman is no magistrate. He is a mediator, a counselor, and often a persuasive advocate of his own views. It is the entire adult community that must reach a decison. The headman provides for orderly discussion until a decision is reached. Within the sib a primary objective of the headman's efforts is to smooth over difficulties, calm tempers, and restore the atmosphere of congeniality. There are, however, serious breaches of the peace, such as sorcery, persistent adultery, chronic and malicious theft of food, and murder when punishment is called for. In such cases the aim of the headman is not to calm 622 627 (614)

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# 9

## *The Drinking Party*

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614 The drinking party (*unkúndye*: chicha, or *unkwínemu*: drinking
[615] affair) is the mode of exchange that, generally speaking, governs the relationships among the sibs of the same phratry. Sibs, as I have already noted, do not feast one another, an observation that Koch-Grünberg also made. A sib has its internal drinking parties during which one household head serves chicha to the rest; but the serious and regular drinking parties are those that are held for the purpose of entertaining the sibs of the phratry. I could not determine defi-
[554] nitely the pattern of intersib drinking parties, but I believe that an important principle is one of social rank. Higher-ranking downstream settlements prepare chicha more often than do lower-ranking sibs. This accords with the aforementioned Cubeo doctrine that leadership comes from giving and subordination comes from receiving. Drinking party invitations, however, must also be reciprocated, so that over a long enough period of time each sib will have entertained all the others. Since sibs are under no formal obligation to honor a drinking party invitation, the result is that most drinking parties bring together only near sibs who are obligated to attend for personal reasons. Nevertheless, each full-fledged sib plans at least one event during the year when it will have entertained most if not all of its fellow sibs. Attendance at an intersib drinking party is normally by an entire sib although there is flexibility in this.

[182] The drinking parties are of prime importance in unifying the sibs of a phratry. Their frequency and their attendance attest to the state

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of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates.

The *unkúndye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited to sibs of the phratry, the *unkúndye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkúndye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkúndye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity.

The hosts of an *unkúndye* have two very evident anxieties as they go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkúndye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As already mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy

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574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahúkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahúkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkúndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkúndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkúndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

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574 the guests arrive they are asked to drink from the chicha prepared
[554] by each cosponsor. Those who do not choose to be cosponsors help in inconspicuous ways. There is honor in being a cosponsor but no competition for the privilege either. A household head feels free to decide when he desires cosponsorship. Those who have the most manioc to spare accept cosponsorship most freely. Major drinking parties are always sponsored by the headman, but smaller parties that bring together only close sibs may be offered in the name of a household head who wants the honor. The headman paternalistically defers to this. Some drinking parties are announced as being sponsored by a group of brothers. Of course if there is a special occasion
[562] the household head most closely concerned is expected to be a main sponsor. Women do not sponsor or cosponsor drinking parties except for the father's sister, who as widow or divorcée living in her
[182] own sib has the status of a household head. The Cubeo use drinking party sponsorship as a means of dealing with the minor frictions of community life, for cosponsors, by the symbolic act of doing something together, have reaffirmed their closeness. On a larger scale, attendance at drinking parties serves the same function.

574 The guest list provokes much discussion and entails in a sense
614 a review of the sib's relations with its fellow sibs. An invitation may
203 help achieve a reconciliation or it might yield only a humiliating rebuff. Invitations will be delivered in person, by the headman and by all cosponsors, the headman undertaking the downstream higher-status sibs, the others the upstream lower-ranking sibs. The proper time to deliver an invitation is six days before the event. The host delivers the invitation in a chanting tone during which he does not look at the guest but over his shoulder, and the guest replies in the
[201] same manner. The host holds up his hands, palms out and thumbs together. When the thumb of the right hand meets the thumb of the left hand it means there will be drinking. Holding two thumbs together is also a jesting sign, meaning, "Now we are going to drink." The four fingers of the right hand mean days of work, and the right-hand thumb means a day of very heavy preparation. The invitation means, then, "We are going to be very active for five days. On the sixth we shall drink."

574 One principle of Cubeo social structure is that whatever is accom-
614 plished on a multisib scale must have its counterpart on the smaller community scale in which household stands for sib. Thus, the five preparatory days are all small drinking parties within the sib so calibrated by degree of festivity—drinking, taking coca, singing, smoking—that each day the festive atmosphere is heightened, so that

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when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends. 574 614

On the morning of the drinking party the *behórü* dancing staff is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behórü* they go to the river to bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river. 574 535 [515] [823]

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather headdresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated 574 614 [554] 574 576 [614] [562]

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# 10

## *The Mourning Ceremony*

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bahúkiwa* subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Uménahonkü* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *ówinu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day ceremonies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. The three-day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

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778 of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply [192] means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." [193] Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

778 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known 756 as *pariékokü* (man of power) or as *yaví* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékokü* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yaví* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every • [554] *yaví* is a *pariékokü* but not every *pariékokü* is a *yaví*. The *yaví* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékokü* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékokü*, but *yavis* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yaví* and the *pariékokü*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékokü*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parúkü*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an 778 exceptional act it is his *parúkü*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. 756 The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleas- 821 antly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the 823 depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural 789 causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Sha- 778 manistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Gener- 756 ally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, 787 in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman 825 on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

756 Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the 778 shamans wage against one another. A *yaví*, I was told, has a different 554

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A yavi, I was told, has a different kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong *yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *pariékokü* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a *yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókü*) becomes a jaguar. According to this view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pwãnyaviwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahúkiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kūriákū* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kúria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kúria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the insertions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kúria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*duwáiyo*) and crystals (*kenádox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *duwaitūwū* (to extract spines). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the poisons that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *yaví*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *yaví*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted

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571 [621] main emphasis upon the person and not upon the community. Such an emphasis, needless to say, tends to favor autonomy over linkage.

It is evident that the foregoing discussion of linkage-autonomy is in many respects simply a restatement of the familiar concept of segmentation. There are, however, significant differences that justify the use of other terminology. Segmentation as defined by Nadel (1953, p. 177) refers to a more limited set of relationships than have been included here. As an example of segment he describes a "hierarchical structure being arranged in an order of progressive inclusiveness, as lineages, for example, build up clans, and clans build up a tribe, or as several village communities form a district, and several districts the state. . . ." From the standpoint of this definition, Cubeo society is, of course, segmentary. The concept of segmentation, however, is purely objective, and as such is pertinent to the purposes of social anthropology. However, the term "segmentation" carries no cultural connotations, since it does not define the point of view of the members of the culture. Therefore it is inadequate for the aims of cultural anthropology. The concept of linkage-autonomy, on the other hand, expresses a cultural, a Cubeo, point of view and indicates how this point of view is embodied in social structure. This Cubeo point of view, which places a value both upon extending relationships and maintaining autonomy, goes beyond the structural patterns that are commonly included under the concepts of segmentation. It is a more inclusive concept.

## LATERAL AND HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS

All social structures are regulated by bonds of relatively equivalent status relationships, as well as by bonds of nonequivalent or unequal status relationships. The former, existing on roughly the same social plane, are called lateral, and the latter, existing on different social planes, are called hierarchical. Hierarchy is always a culturally defined term and represents a clear-cut distinction of relative worth. Lateral is also a culturally defined term, but laterality is not a clearly set relationship of status equivalence. Hence it must be modified by the adjective "relative." The ranking of sibs is a clear example of hierarchy among the Cubeo, whereas kinship relations, including ceremonial friendships, are lateral. However, since kinship relations also embody formal principles of hierarchy, such as generation, seniority, consanguinity, and affinity they are lateral only by contrast with the strongly hierarchical distinctions of authority, power, pres-

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tige, and rank. Societies differ with respect to the relative role these two principles have in the social structure. That of the Cubeo is very strongly lateral and only weakly hierarchical. Even the ranking of sibs has ritualistic rather than political significance. Rank confers prestige but no power. On the other hand, it does confer economic privilege of a sort by granting to the high ranks superior river rights. But the Cubeo themselves do not make an issue of this economic distinction. Political authority, as we have shown, is relatively slight. In kinship, age, generational, and descent seniority elicit some respect and provide for ritual precedence. Such precedence is a prestige point. But the prestige accrues less in everyday affairs than upon formal occasions. Thus, from the Cubeo point of view virtually all relationships between persons and between groups are lacking in dominance-subordination, whereas only in rituals, that is, only upon the plane of the sacred, are there distinctions of worth and of respect. Even these are rather minor, involving only ritual precedence. The ritual pattern itself is not hierarchical. Now segmentation, as Nadel has observed, is a hierarchical form of organization, yet in the case of the Cubeo, segmental hierarchy has little cultural significance. Since the phratry has no organization of leadership it is not, in actuality, a "higher" segment. For all secular purposes the sibs deal with one another as equals.

The principal characteristic of a strong lateral structure, such as that of the Cubeo, is its considerable flexibility in forming new linkages and in rearranging old ones. Hierarchical structures, on the other hand, are dependent upon, or subject to, the authority of a higher-ranking segment. The new linkages that any Cubeo household is free to establish are limited far more by personal preferences than by inviolable principles. Sib exogamy is such an inviolable principle, but phratric exogamy is somewhat different. It involves not the "dread" of incest but rather the sentiment of confraternity. Cubeo flexibility responds to the absence of political constraint. Sibs can move about, and can, if they wish, change phratric affiliation.

## FISSILITY

From the two preceding principles of sociocultural structure there follows a third, ease of fission. Every segment of the entire social structure has the capability of detaching itself from the larger body. The factions that have actually broken off include sib clusters, sibs,

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571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
[578] Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a com-
[182] plex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen together. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo
[857] culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken -- and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the preva-
578 lence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordi-
831 narily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship?
837 Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
[562] discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

578 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
571 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
837 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
593 acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
[562] status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional
[554] cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 501 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagm*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and shar- [431] ing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled 423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, 431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites 423 for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one ter- 614 ritorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of 226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahûkiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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601 614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedikwa* [554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiari that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kendnikauwü* are a subsib of the *Pedikwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piardwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Old-Piardwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahikiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 571 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior. Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship [622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac- [857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come [614] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves [796] at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere- [622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 562 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance, 796 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of ceremony women take precedence according to the order of precedence [622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substi- [593] tute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to [614] the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial [553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother. 561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring 584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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so an older brother is *amyóbakü* (older brother-father) to his younger sister. He is her guardian. He may arrange her marriage, or offer her sexually to a friend, if she is willing. It is a special relationship in many respects.

Seniority is of consequence only in the sibling generation. There is no concept of senior line and no recognition in terminology of descendants of older or younger siblings.

Apart from sex and seniority, Cubeo sibling terms also demarcate social distance. They differentiate, as already noted, three degrees of sibling closeness: lineage sibling, near phratry sibling, and distant phratry sibling. They do so, ingeniously, by the linguistic device of using a common root for sibling – this usage is only in the senior term, because only the senior term is important – indicating distance or closeness by the use of appropriate prefixes and suffixes. The root for senior sibling of either sex is *ami*. With the possessive prefix *hi* and the gender suffix *ko* or *kü* (*himámiko*, *-kü*) it connotes utmost closeness and is applied to older brother and sister of one's own family, including the extended joint family or lineage. Since sib and lineage may often be coextensive these terms are also sib-wide. The term *himámiko* (my older sister) does not apply to a mother's sister's daughter unless she happens to be – via brother-sister exchange marriage – a father's brother's daughter as well. The intimate usage, that is, must also correspond with coresidence. One's own sister, to be sure, does marry out, but in the meantime there has been a long period of coresidence. In any case, there is not the slightest tendency to slur over a nuclear kinship relationship. In the case of father's brother's daughter the intimate term applies only when she is still a coresident. After she has married she falls into the next more distant category.

The second range of kinship intimacy is the most widespread of all, including sib, subsib, and all close sibs within the phratry. It may even be applied to all members of the phratry of one's generation, in which case the third and most distant form of sibling terminology is reserved for those people whom one does not know well. The terms used in this second range are *amiyó* and *amikó*. The suffix *yo* conveys the meaning of "such as" or "one who is of the class of." It is also used in the term *bakúdyó* (father's brother) and means literally "one who is in the class of a father." In *amiyó* it means, therefore, "one who is in the class of an older brother." Strictly speaking, the suffix *yo* has no sex gender and if it were applied to a woman would constitute no major linguistic blunder. But since one's contacts are almost invariably with male siblings, the sisters normally at a distance, the

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term has apparently taken on a masculine meaning and *amikó* is used to specify the female. A term *amikû* does not exist to my knowledge. With the loss of the possessive prefix *hi* some of the intimacy has gone out of the term. Nevertheless, being diplomatic in their use of kinship terms, the Cubeo sometimes employ the form *himámiyo* and so give the term a warmer tone.

Finally, the most distant usage is to employ only the stem *mamû* ("older one") equally to male and female to connote the barest sibling relationship. I never heard this term used because, I suppose, the Cubeo find it too formal. Rather than call a person *mamû* they prefer the more cordial *pakomá* (kinsman). The special respect use of this term for men of the head sib has already been described.

601 [554] [614]

The junior sibling term is rather unusual. I am inclined to regard it as a quasi-kinship term because it has equally a kinship and an age-grade connotation. *Hwainyó* means literally "one who is in the class of youths." Like *amiyó* it can refer to females, but *hwainkó* is the special term for a younger sib and phratry sister. Because it is an age-grade term, the kinship meaning of *hwainyó* is so wide that it has come to mean any person of sib or phratry who is younger either by relative age within one's generation or is of a younger generation. When it is used as the reciprocal for *amiyó*, as a respect term, it refers to one to whom one condescends somewhat as a donor or good Samaritan. It would seem that the Cubeo have developed only the senior term as a true kinship term and have given seniors the prerogative of addressing all their juniors, whether by age or status, simply as "youth." Nor is the term bound by phratry, since it is applied to all grandchildren (male or female) who are not of the lineage. *Hwainyó* also means son-in-law and any nephew or niece. *Hwainkó* is the daughter-in-law. *Hwankû* is a serviceable male form giving it somewhat greater intimacy and thus is limited generally to younger men of one's own sib or of closely related sibs. The abbreviated form *hwn*, a more jocular term, is also used.

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## BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

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Lineage brothers and sib brothers are joined by all the strong bonds of a localized patrilineal sib organization. The obligations of lineage brothers toward one another are very little less binding than those of blood brothers, and the obligations of sib brothers, while somewhat less binding, are still considered to be strong. But these brotherly ties are general and taken for granted, whereas the relationship between brother and sister, as indeed that between husband

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This usage of grandparent terms is different from the seniority respect usages previously discussed, because "older sibling" among the Cubeo has a formal connotation of respect, whereas the grandparent term is a genial one as in English. 601 561

## CROSS-COUSINS

Cross-cousins of the same sex often have a relationship that is formed by the fact that they have been principals in a brother-sister exchange marriage. Since their parents, who were siblings of the opposite sex, were also principals in arranging such a marriage, they have shared in some of the intimacy of relationship between these two. Cross-cousins of the same sex have, of course, little contact with one another, but having so much in common, their relationship tends to be a warm one. It is a curious relationship, in that it also has in it a latent threat of trouble, trouble that arises from marital discord. As already noted, one of the expectations of a brother-sister exchange marriage from the male viewpoint is that if his wife leaves him he can get his sister to leave her husband in retaliation. He believes that he can apply pressure upon his cross-cousin brother-in-law to send back the runaway wife or face the breakup of his own marriage. Thus, what begins as a family squabble in one community may embroil a happy marriage in the affinal community. The expectation that a woman will leave her husband only because her brother wants her to is in practice a vain hope, unless he has the cooperation of his male cross-cousin brother-in-law, who urges the woman, his sister, to return to her husband. 605 605 586 593

Cross-cousins of opposite sex refer to one another as *hitcimako* or *hitcimakü*, the possessive prefix connoting closeness. By contrast, *tcimá* has the connotation of distance. The relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex is governed by the customs of courtship and is, therefore, an individual matter. 605 [601] [193]

## THE AFFINAL GROUP

Among affinals there are two principal relationships. The most important is that between parents and children-in-law, the *pani* relationship. This relationship is both consanguineal and affinal since it includes the children of siblings of opposite sex and reciprocally the cross aunt and uncle. The Cubeo draw no distinction, incidentally, between parents and their children-in-law who are of the consanguineal kin and those who may be complete strangers. The emphasis in 606

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# *Development of the Individual*

The development of individual character is always relevant to an 121
understanding of social organization. In the case of Cubeo social 621
organization, founded, as it is, upon the lifelong continuity of the sibling group of males, the psychological factors are of particular importance. The following discussion will attempt to show the relationship between some of the experiences of a Cubeo from infancy to adulthood and some of the formal principles of Cubeo social organization. By and large, Cubeo social organization must conform to the direct psychological dispositions of its members for the commanding reason that the people have a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. The sib, as we have noted, is readily split; this means, in [614]
psychological terms, that those who find any cause for dissatisfaction [578]
with life within the community are quick to leave. The community, therefore, is constantly being drained of its malcontents. Those who remain are, in a manner of speaking, in harmony with one another. This harmony, it should be said at once, is not that of homogeneity. It is based rather upon individual complementarities, of extraversion-introversion, active-passive, and leader-follower, as in any community. The harmony is between the requirements of adult life and the experiences of childhood.

The Cubeo use the following age-grade terms. The nursing infant 561
from birth until it learns to crawl is called *abohoidjó* (male) or 192
*abohokó* (female); a crawling infant is *tcumí* (male or female, although *tcúmiko* is possible for the female); the walking child who

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561 192 still needs help is *tcumihinkü* (male) or *tcumihinko* (female); the youngster until puberty is *hwainyó* (male) or *hwainkó* (female); the adult male is *ümü* (male) or *nomyó* (female), and finally, the old people are *bekü* (male) or *bekó* (female).

## BIRTH AND INFANCY

842 The Cubeo believe it is the spermatic fluid (*hürü*) that causes conception. They regard the womb as a ground in which the fetus grows, or is cultivated as seeds are planted in the earth. Since men and women do not discuss together the biology of conception and of [843] pregnancy, their views differ. Men I spoke to dated conception from the time when the abdomen begins to swell, while women dated it 843 from the cessation of menstruation. Both sexes believe that con- 833 tinued coitus after conception will add to the number of children 842 that will grow in the womb. Stories are told of people who did not heed this so that the woman burst from an accumulation of fetuses. Coitus is stopped, however, by the male reckoning.

842 It is a common view of men that women are not eager to bear 847 children. Women, they say, know how to bring about abortion and frequently resort to infanticide. They explain that women are sexu- ally too ardent and rather than forgo coitus during the long nursing [833] period they would rather not have a child at all. Moreover, a woman who has not been enjoying sexual intercourse with her husband will abort or kill her offspring. If she chooses infanticide, however, she spares the boy. Women do concede knowledge and use of abortifacients and they acknowledge that others of their sex practice infanticide. They agree that a woman who does not love her husband 842 punishes him by denying him a child. Thus, the Cubeo are disin- clined to believe in barrenness or in sterility, attributing infertility to [586] female design. A man, therefore, has cause to abandon a wife who bears him no children. One man told that he had abandoned his wife for not bearing children. Later they became reconciled; his wife had a change of heart and began to bear children.

847 Male infanticide, I was assured, was rare, for even the most dis- [562] affected or self-indulgent woman would not have the heart to kill a male child. Both men and women agreed that a girl was less impor- tant. The unwanted child is buried alive, it is said, at the very spot where it was born.

842 The likelihood is very strong, then, that a child is born to a family that desires it, and in which husband and wife are happy with each other. Parturition takes place in the woman's manioc garden. A

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769 534 [789] [793] [820] [754] women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekûpwãnwa* to the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will be kept from the other women.

769 796 The *Bekûpwãnwa* come annually in the summer when a species of palm berry (*konhá*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not grow. The *Bahúkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, however, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would seem to be an obvious one.

[561] As an age grade, youths are known as *hwainyõ*, but as boys who need whipping for growth they are known as *bahúdjo*, which may be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping voluntarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahúkiwa* and one among its subsib, the *Bahúküdjauwü*.

The *Bahúkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capable in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys subdued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the headman's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

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574 violent counterclockwise motion for which the symbol is the loud
[535] whistle.

On the women's side a parallel form of greeting, but with a minimum of ritual, is going on at the same time. The greetings among the women are, in many respects, a counterpoint to the greetings among the men. I have already mentioned how the women are made to tumble into the house so that their entrance is as ludicrous as the entrance of the men is somber. However, having picked herself up and having straightened out her belongings, each woman is greeted
[561] in a file by the host women. Like the men, the women are grouped by
765 maloca and in order of their husbands' age seniority. Having been
574 greeted with the conventional handshake, the group of hostesses and
152 the group of guests face each other and shout angrily at one another;
[576] these shouts are not accusations or recriminations, but expressions of anger at the enemy who has killed the deceased. Two women who have been facing one another in postures of anger suddenly fall to a squatting position, each with an arm around the other's shoulder, drop their heads, and weep. Women who are nursing babies seem

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Fig. 12. Angry declamation at mourning ceremony.

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband. 592 571 [593] [606]

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack. 571 561

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart. 571 572

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their 614 615 621 571 621 [622] [856] [769] [553]

T /231 cont./
*192 Across this bag runs a stick, called /232/ pátu-pá:-ko. Intro-
276 ducing it in a tube of elongated pestle shape (of 1.80 meters and about 15 centimeters in diameter, and called pátu-pá:põ), they knock the bag against the walls of the tube with their two hands, until the powder is so finely pulverized that it passes through the bag and is deposited in the tube. In order to facilitate the work, they customarily tie this tube to one of the columns of the maloca, in such a way that the opening stays a meter in height from the ground, a comfortable position for the one who must "beat" the ipadú, and the closed end rests on the ground.

T
[415] Finally the powder is taken out and kept in proper bags, also of tururí, called pátu-ahuró or pátu-waxsóro, the mouth of which has thrust in it a fine tube, pátu-baarí-oã, of taquara

Ipadú bag (patu ahuró)

or of heron bone (yehé-oã), through which the powder is drawn in, just as a refreshment is sucked in our bars. This is done on trips, because in the house the ipadú is more commonly kept in a cuia, and they help themselves to it by taking a handful with a wooden spatula or even a leaf. They do it with care
M in order to keep the powder from falling into the windpipe.
276 The Maku prepare it in balls. The Indian uses ipadú especially when he goes hunting or fishing, because, narcotic that it is, it keeps him from feeling hunger or thirst, and in this way he dispenses with carrying food. They make it into a
T ball which they keep in a corner of the mouth, sucking on it
M little by little. The women, except for very rare exceptions,
[562] do not eat the ipadú; only the adult men.

/269 cont./
761 person who longs for death (17).

17. "I want to die," said one of these old men to Pe. Antônio Giacone, "because my teeth are tired of chewing." Pe. João Marchesi related to us the details of the only case of suicide that he had heard of. A Taryana Indian from the povoado called Cigarro, river Uaupés, violently inebriated by the caxiri, threw his own wife down on the ground and ill-treated her until he killed her. Afterwards he lay in the hammock and fell asleep. While he slept, the relatives and other persons buried the body. The murderer, upon awakening in the morning, called for his wife to prepare the mingau for him. They then told him how he himself had killed her the night before. The murderer, without saying anything to anyone, took his canoe and went to a nearby igarapé. Some hours later the canoe was found bubuiando (floating at the mercy of the stream) and, inside, some pieces of timbo and a cuia still dirty with timbo juice. The poor man squeezed and drank the poisonous juice of that plant and, perhaps in the convulsions of the agony, fell in the water and drowned.

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756 2) The Xamã /shaman/ or Yaí.

*[192] The pajé or Yaí is, therefore, the doctor and at the same time Xamã /shaman/ (that is, a magician or sorcerer). Only men can be pajé. [562]

/270/ a) His powers.

His powers are many. In the first place, to neutralize the malefice cast upon a sick person and thus cure him. He can even make individuals invulnerable to sicknesses.

/299/

) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or carico, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale, as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto /countersong/ to the other.

533 They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs, even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly
[177] enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

[194] As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of
[147] the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice has little elasticity (54),

54. The voice has so little elasticity that perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give
• [562] a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and dances the men never sing; the women do it infrequently, for example, when they work in the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however, that the men's songs are religious hymns, whereas those of the women are bacchic compositions that they render when they distribute the drink.
[797] Among the alumni, and especially among the alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a greater elasticity, and one hears humming more frequently. This, however, is usually the religious or secular songs learned at school.

/300 cont./

533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí-/a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

533 Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very [276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the tuxáua sings as follows:

*[192] "mãrĩ bũxkõrá, mãrĩ paxkõ-s'õmõã baxsesé duhí-wé:pãra,
[539] yõõ ná põrá uhú duhí, uhũ duhí we:yá, mãxsã yõõ põra";
that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively
• [562] for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule,
[273] the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in
[535] the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning; they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

/310/

d) Plumage and adornment.

301 The native ornaments are many; the most striking ones are
302 for the men (59),

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59. This assemblage of ornaments (earrings, bracelets, necklaces, combs), the long hair in a braid, carefully combed, the depilation of the beard and the mustache, gave the Indian, according to Wallace's testimony, an appearance so effeminate, especially in the dance, when they even protected the chest with the shield of cipo and the lower part of the body with the long waxsó-ro of hanging tururí, that the English scientist thought he was in front of a woman. Wallace's opinion is that the legend of the Amazons or women warriors arose from this mistake (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 630).

but their use on the latter is exclusively for the dances (60),

[184]

60. In the Roéra and Ihwãna tribes, even outside of the dances, we have seen the men, especially the young ones, with paintings on the face, bracelets on the arms, and earrings made up of a plug of colored or white feathers.

at least nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

The ancient travelers speak (61)

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61. Pe. Cristovão de Acuña, referring to the journey of Pedro Teixeira in 1639, concerning the nation of the Curizaris, which started 28 leagues below the mouth of the river Juruá,

/311 cont./

*192 301 • 562

1) Feminine adornment.

Besides the paintings on the face, breasts, and body as decoration (and not as clothing), as they declare, the women own few objects of adornment:

a) Necklaces. They are of different size, shape, and material. They are made from various seeds, especially a tiny nut, threaded on a tucum fiber, the parakẽ-dá; or also little glass beads, the yax'kẽ-dá; or beads obtained from the civilized, the different shapes, sizes, and colors being combined in various ways. They wear them even outside the dances; they are not, however, of general use, and in Wallace's time they were not used at all (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro, p. 630).

[178]

b) Bracelets. They are of beads or seeds, like the necklaces, and are called in Tukano, yax'kẽ wã-yãsé.

c) Knee bands (63).

63. Among the Ide-masã of the stream Komẽ-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, we also saw young men using knee bands. Among the rest of the tribes the men only wear them as ornaments for the dances.

[286] In Nheengatú they are called tapacúra, and in Tukano yuxtá-seri. It is a band of delicate and curious weave, made of caroá fiber, most of the time, colored yellow or red. One is applied on each leg, a little below the knee. In many cases it is woven without any pieces added, and, thus, when, due to the person's growth, it starts to be too tight, they cut it off.

They assert that its purpose is to thicken the legs.

[177] d) Earrings. Nowadays one only sees earrings (in Nheengatú nambí-purá, in Tukano yoxsasé) obtained from the civilized, or, in place of them, small necklaces of glass beads.

/312/

*192 e) Puericueio. It is the feminine tanga /a covering hanging
• 562 from the waist/ that we discussed before (VI -- 3, a), in Tukano
178 yax'kẽ waxsó-ro. Nowadays they only use it in the dances and
291 very rarely (65) /sic; 64/.

> 64. "In their festivals, when they dance, the women then put on a small tanga or apron, made of beads arranged in regular patterns, with much taste and much caprice. This tanga is about six square inches in size. It is never worn on other occasions, so that, once the feast is over, the women take it off immediately" (Wallace -- "Viagens," etc., p. 630).

*192 f) Wreath. At times during the dances the women fit to their
301 heads a wreath of branches from that shrub of pleasant and intense
562 aroma called bará. It is what is called bará pu'sasé in Tukano.

[177] g) Many women and girls habitually wear curved combs of striking colors, i'ĩ be'tó or i'ĩ-ro be'tó, obtained from the civilized. A century ago, according to Wallace, they did not wear any comb.

2) Masculine adornment.

[302] For the dances the men paint the face and the body, as was said above.

a) Stone of command. We call it this because it is actually a badge of the tuxauas, who wear it hanging at the neck on solemn
[178] occasions (dances, reception for some civilized, etc.). Nowadays it is a rare ornament, and few own it. The ouvidor /auditor/ Xavier Sampaio (cf. above, II -- 3), following Pe. José Noronha, mentions the existence of this ornament and gives it as an indicator and classifier, by its size, of the nobleness of the wearer. In Tukano it is called õxtã bohá, that is, clear stone. It is a piece of amorphous quartz, quite smooth, cylindrical in shape, and about 15 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 in diameter.

/312 cont./

301 The quartz is not found on the banks of the Uaupés. Koch
• 562 Grünberg states that these stones come from a place in the interior of the forest on the left bank of the Tiquié, near the headwaters. They are pierced by a regular orifice of some millimeters in diameter, in the transversal direction (and in some stones also in the longitudinal direction), through which it is hung at the neck. This orifice constitutes one of the best documentations of the native patience in his work, since it is done with the help of fine sand and water, using a thin stick, which is rolled between the palms of the hands while the feet hold the stone on the ground.

*192 /313/ b) Acangatara. In Tukano it is designated by various
237 names: mahã poá-ri baxsarí-be'tó, or mahã poá-ri pe'saró, or
301 simply mahã poá-ri (arara feathers). It is a wide wreath of about
562 10 or 15 centimeters, which is fitted by being tied behind the head. It is woven out of tucum, to which the feathers are attached by using the milk of the sorva. They customarily arrange the feathers in such a way that on the lower edge (the one that covers the forehead) there is a band of 3 to 4 centimeters of delicate white garça /heron/ feathers, yehé poá-ri; then a band, more or less of the same width, of red feathers of the harpy eagle, a:--paxkõ wĩxtõ, and an upper band, wider, of yellow arara feathers, mahã poá-ri.

The young men wear their wi'mãrã pe'saró. It consists of a crown, or, rather, of a visor of straw, 2 or 3 centimeters in width, to which is applied a twist densely embellished with striking red and yellow arara plumes. Sometimes, instead of the arara feathers, there are the red ones from the toucan; it is then called daxsé be'tó.

c) Braids. 1st) Emõ poá boxka-rí consists of three double braids about 40 centimeters long, made of monkey fur, and tied at the nape of the neck to let them hang down the back. Emõ is the Tukano name of the guariba /howler/ monkey.

/313 cont./

*192 237 301 • 562 [535]

2nd) At the time of the dance they fit to the preceding braids, and in the horizontal direction, over the nape, another plaiting of onça /jaguar/ fur, which is called poa-ri dõ'terí-dá (dõ'terí-dá means: string for tying).

3rd) They add to the preceding a small onça /jaguar/ bone, yai o'ã dõxká, and a small disk of tatu /armadillo/ shell, pamõ pe'toró, with a feather in the central hole. This decoration is called tu-si'ti-óoro.

d) Feather crests. 1st. -- Over these braids are also fitted various crests. The first consists of a rectangular plaiting of arumã and tucum, uká-pãma, topped by long and tapered tail feathers from the garça /heron/, yehé si-á uhaú, and, on the base, red arara feathers and white ones from the harpy eagle (si-á uhaú, uropygium).
/The following paragraph is confused in the original source. The three lines from the original text, the first of which is repeated at the end of the following paragraph, are marked with slant lines in the translation./ This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck. / some of these crests that, instead of tucum, they introduced into the woven/ colored threads obtained from the civilized, and monkey fur.

The rest of the men wear a simpler crest, in which, over the uká-pãma, are found plumes of the harpy eagle, a:--paxkõ si-á uhaú. This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck.

2nd. -- The second crest is called a:--paxkõ wĩxtõ-põ. It consists of a stem around which is fixed with sorva a /314/ layer of very fine white down (wĩxtõ) from the harpy eagle (a:--paxkõ). It is adjusted perpendicularly over the nape, forming a right angle with the first one.

3rd. -- They further add one or two long red tail feathers from the arara, mahã pixkõ-rõ, likewise in a position perpendicular to the nape.

*192 /Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/
291 Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)
531 Wàxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments
• 562

*192 Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua
142 from Caruru-Cachoeira
301 (river Uaupés), adorned for
302 the dances (acangatara, neck-
237 laces, and stone of the hus-
band /marido, "husband,"
should be mando, "command"/) Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

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/footnote 47 cont./ the morning. And the one that we attended in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955 was also in the morning.

[534]

the visitors send another warning -- "it is time!" They take their musical instruments (japurutús or whistles) and the offering and, amid yells, the procession is organized by way of the road from the landing place to the maloca (or by way of the road by which they came).

The tuxáua goes in front, followed by two musicians with their japurutús (see VII - 3 c (3a) /see 3 c (3c)/) (48)

[115]

48. In July of 1955 the seringalista /owner of a seringal/ Armando Sarmento observed at a feast of the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés that the two who opened the procession held with the right hand the Japurutú, which they were playing, and with the left one the respective lady. The other men came behind them, with only the rhythm stick, ahũ-wõ, in the right hand, beating the rhythm of the steps, and without a lady. He also noticed that inside the maloca, where the procession turned around, there were pieces of beijú and peelings of pupunha scattered on the floor (the poosé was one of pupunha).

*[192]

and the men who bring the offering; the rest of the men behind. They make a turn around the maloca, then go in and make two turns inside, yelling, those who are entering and those who are already inside, a prolonged ẽẽẽ... (it is what is called oá:, to cry out). The men and youths of the maloca are arranged in Indian file, according to their rules of precedence, from the left side of the door to the back.

• [562]

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/342 cont./

The visitors deposit the offering on banana leaves or mats or baskets, displayed in the center of the maloca. Perhaps there is still more of the offering at the landing place; they go to fetch it and make their delivery.

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[858]

The women and children who have arrived gather at the back, where those of the maloca are already.

Once the offering is finished, and the shouts and music have stopped, those from outside, starting with their tuxáua, greet individually those of the maloca, /343/ starting with the first one in line, who will, naturally, be the local tuxáua. They are the common and formalistic greetings: -- "Did you come?" -- "I came!" "Did you come to the feast?" -- "I came." -- "Did you bring the offering (fish or the name of the fruit)?" -- "I brought." He goes on to greet in the same way the second man in the line and thus all the rest. All the visitors, in the order of their reception, imitate the first one. All, however, with much gravity. As they finish greeting those of the maloca, the guests are arranging themselves in a long line, according to their importance, on the right side, in front of those of the maloca, from the main door to the back.

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[562]
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Two or more men of the maloca distribute a cuia /shell from the Crescentia cujete/ of caxirí to each guest. After all have drunk, they sit down, and the women of the maloca come to greet the men at some distance and without giving them their hands. If the women are from the tribe of the guests, these greetings are in the dialect of their own tribe and not in that of the husband.

The chief of the maloca speaks in a loud voice to his own wife (one of the indications of the matriarchalism): "They came to bring the offering (fish, fruit), you give thanks." She, with two women, goes to the center of the maloca and says -- "You brought with so much trouble fish (pupunha) for us. We have prepared a little caxirí in a hurry." Then the visiting chief answers them: -- "You may eat at will. The fishing (or the harvest) was small, but we have brought it with good will."

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).
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50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõõ wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.
*[192]

The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.
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[554]

When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to entertain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a) ); it is a sign that the dances
[534]
*[192]
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/345 cont./

796 535 [273] [562] with short steps, in a zigzag, imitating simultaneously with the mouth the humming of an insect. Bearing a cuia in each hand, they give them to anyone who wants to take them, first the men and afterwards the women. As the cuias are emptied, they return to fill them anew and to distribute them in the same place and in the same way.

/346/ 3) Performance of the dances.

* [192] [622] The tuxaua takes his initial dance position near the second column to the left of the central nave (baxsá whyarí boxtá; see illustration above /see p. 511/; at his side, in order of importance (53),

> 53. Importance which corresponds, more or less, to age. We were not able to verify whether they are arranged in an order strictly corresponding to the importance of the Gens itself (according to the classification -- IV-2, a (2) /see IV-2, a (3)/), because generally all the dancers are of the same Gens.

are arranged the other men. Each one, with a lance or a rhythm instrument in the right hand, places the left one on the right shoulder of his neighbor, and they are more or less in a semicircle. Then, a song starts to the sound of the instruments, which they strike on the ground simultaneously with the right foot (perhaps also with the snappers on the ankle), in a slow rhythm. They take a step toward the center of the circle and draw back, then another one toward the side, and they start to move in a circle, now to the right, now to the left, slowly. Sometimes they gather in a circle, which now becomes tighter, now bigger, now they go around in a circle. At a certain moment the women, one after another, start coming in, in a required, or at least constant, position during all the dance numbers. They place themselves between one man and another, with the head somewhat bent forward, resting the nape of the neck under the arm of one of

/353 cont./

796 Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some
534 men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the
*778 landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kãsé.
[192] /354/ The women and children who came to the feast,
• [562] barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut them-
[858] selves in (63),

[343]

63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarĩ-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩriá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

796 The guests then go toward that local landing place to which
534 the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women,
778 submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The
562 sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female
688 sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with
[278] poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ.
*[192] Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

796 /354 cont./
534 They organize the procession of Wãx-tĩ, which will take
778 the offering, as was described above, from the landing place
562 to the maloca, a procession in which only those of the masculine
786 sex who have gone through the puberty initiation rite participate. They walk naked, all painted, in front, hanging from the waist, the waxsó-ro (or tanga of tururi, see VII 3, d (2) ), sounding the instruments, which at the same time are shaken up and down, and with lateral movements and contortion of the body. The
*[192] shape of the instrument (65),

> 65. It is elongated, wrapped in the inner bark of tururi, which in Tukano is called waxsó-kõ (perhaps from the same root as waxsó, semen; see Note 41, VI-3, a).
> [532] Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 69) tells that on the rocks of the cachoeira of Hipada (Uaupuim-cachoeira, on the river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana) he found a representation of Kúay, son of Yaperikuli, with a long penis. It is proof, it seems to us, of the connection between the cult of Kóay, or Wãx-tĩ of the Tukano, and that of the phallus. Perhaps one is even justified in seeing a phallus in the instrument, and for this reason it might be a symbol of Wãx-tĩ or Kóay.

the movements they give to it, the body contortions of the participants, all the circumstances of this procession and the sexual liberties that go on during the feast, bring it close to the phallic processions of classical antiquity in the cult of Bacchus, and these native feasts well deserve the name of "Phallustanzen" /Ger. "phallus dances"/. There is even a similarity to the paroxysmal flagellations of the cult of Cybele of Greece and Rome, and of the Mediterranean civilization in general.

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Indian playing the mĩrĩ (jurupari)

534 Always playing the mĩrĩã, the men surround the maloca
562 where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by
778 the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door.
796 Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play
858 the mĩrĩã. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances. Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during the dances.

796 /355 cont./

562 Then the doors of the maloca are opened, and the women
858 and children come back to it, and the feast and the ritual banquet take place as was seen above.

785 /356/ Before the dances, the flagellation of the boys who
562 have not participated in the procession proceeds. They beat with
796 a reed or with ingá bark. One of the men takes the child by the legs, another by the arms, and the leader of the dances applies some strokes on his back and belly. They explain that it is to make them grow fast, and for this reason they also stretch the child during the flagellation.

The flagellation of the men will be done without interrupting the dances. Each one, standing up, receives three blows on
*[192] the back and then, as retribution, gives them to his neighbor. The instrument for this flagellation is the adabí, in Tukano wã'sõ-rĩ; it is a stick almost two meters long, but the ligneous part was extracted from its upper end, and it thus became very flexible (66).

[184] 66. Among the Wanãna and Kubewana the
[178] adabis are well made, and because of this they are kept for similar circumstances. In the other tribes nowadays any stick is used for the flagellation. They assured us that sometimes they even omit the flagellation. It seems to us that they might really do so, at least when some civilized is present. The Kubẽwana of Ambaíba (river Querarí) showed us how they customarily applied the flagellation. In order for the blows to be more violent, the flagellator swings two or three times before delivering the blow. Some of the ones flagellated, as if they were boasting of their advantage, showed us deep scars from the flagellation that they had endured.

/381 cont./

581 Marriage, then, in the regime that is in force among these tribes, is a social institution intended to ensure the perpetuity of the tribe. Its aim is not to consider the particular interests of the individuals: tendencies to perpetuate themselves, affectionate inclinations, sedatio concupiscentiae, or others. For this reason, in the realization of the matrimonial act, it would be more accurate to say of the matrimonial contract, the will of the individuals, which in the rest of native life has such an ample field, is not consulted. /382/ On the subject of marriage, one again has a great deal of evidence of the "absorption of the individuals by the group," which characterizes the tribes of the Uaupés. Almost every act of native practice gives confirmation that among them there are no individuals, there are only members, there are no persons, there are only cells of the social body. The individual's own will does not seem to know how to want anything except what the group wants!

b) Concept of modesty.

291 834 829 562 It is difficult to answer these three questions: 1st -- whether the Indian really has an idea of modesty; 2nd -- how he shows it, whether through clothes or paintings; 3rd -- which might be the delicate part.

In front of the civilized, the attitude of respect and circumspection that they show, especially the women, is remarkable. An attitude all the more perfected the more frequent their contact with the civilized.

While the men appear, with the utmost ease and without any shame, with only their "Waxsó-ro" or sex-cover in front of the whites, be these men or women, the Indian women nowadays only appear clothed, or at least with a skirt, rarely a short petticoat /Port. saiote/ or tanga /covering-hanging from the waist/. Among themselves, however, they do not observe such circumspection. The civilized has many proofs that the woman has dressed in order

4: Silva--580 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/382 cont./

291 562 834 829

to receive him (104);

> 104. In Montfort, river Papurí, an old woman, upon returning from the clearing dressed in a skirt and loaded with her aturá /carrying basket/ full of mandiocas, thinking that she was not observed, took off the skirt, jumped out of the canoe, washed the roots on the beach, and later, with the skirt in her hand, she proceeded toward her house, bending under the weight of the aturá.

Wallace already pointed that out a century ago. Many times, upon approaching unexpectedly, the civilized perceives a scurrying of women toward some dark corner of the maloca or to the neighboring forest, in order to get dressed. During the work in the clearing the women are ordinarily naked. Frequently they leave their skirts in the canoe, at the landing place on some stream where they disembarked in going to the clearing.

291 562

Many tribes went around completely naked, testify the first explorers, such as Padre Acuña (1637). The Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Pe. José M. de Noronha (1759), speaking about the Tecuna nation, writes: -- "Their women do not have any modesty. The males, however, cover the parts intended for generation, with wide fringes made out of thread twisted from certain white tow which they extract from the bark of wood" ("Roteiro /Logbook/," n. 139). *[192] The Poet Gonçalves Dias, who was a School Inspector in Amazonas, writes: -- "The men, who among them seem to be the most modest, wear on the Uaupés something like suspensories, to which they give the name of cueios, similar to or an imitation of the tocambobas /383/ of the primitive Tupis. In imitation of them, the women also wear today some cueios of beads (puericueios)." (Manaus, October 23, 1861 -- Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas, Vol. II, p. 760.) /In the original source, the end of the last sentence of footnote 104 is repeated here as the last sentence of the paragraph. This sentence is omitted here in the translation./

/383 cont./

291 534 562 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

[115] 105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796] [302] As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are worn exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

178 562 292 106. We were informed by the natives themselves that, while the men at the feasts, besides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/383 cont./

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562
*[192]

/footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear Waxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament. Some persons declared to us that they had never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that the women always walked around destitute of clothing.

302 About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the
291 breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered
302 without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts
834 with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178] It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),

107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt.
[832] Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

/391 cont./

527 Some of these dances are strictly familial amusements, in
535 which only those of the family (maloca or house) participate, and there are no invitations to strangers. For others, strangers to the family are also invited, without, however, the importance or the number of participants of the "Poosé."

[273] Corresponding to the importance of such entertainments will also be the preparation, the ornaments, the paintings, and the quantity of the drinks, Pêru (caxirí, see VI - 4, h). The latter will never be missing; the ornaments might be missing, or they might use the simpler ones. Once the feast starts, it goes on uninterruptedly until the drink is finished. Those who are overcome by sleep doze a little, but, barely awake, they continue to dance. It is a
• [562] question of pride and conceit, for the persons of the two sexes, to show the greater endurance.

*[192] 2) "Bayá." -- At the dances, both in the Dabacurís and outside of them, appears a personage of distinction, called Bayá. Almost /392/ always he will have an official assistant, with the name of baya-re we-tamõgõ (helper of the Bayá).

The position of Bayá is a lifetime one, in which the son almost always succeeds him, because he learns with his own father, for whom, perhaps, he was already the official assistant. The function of Bayá might be put together with that of tuxáua or wyogõ. This is the case for Júlio from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié); for Vicente, Desana from the Umari-igarapé, for Henrique, Tuyuka from the stream of the onça /jaguar/ (trib. of the Tiquié), for Mandú, Maku from the vicinity of Iauareté, etc. There are no examples, however, of its having been exercised by the pajé.

It falls to the Bayá to direct the songs and dances at the feasts, both religious and profane. He must, then, know them very well and be zealous about the exactness of the dances, teaching them to the younger generation and correcting the mistakes. And we have seen him exercise with authority and grace his function as master of ceremonies in solemn dabacurís.

*[192] When he is not the tuxáua, he ordinarily will be one of the ko-mũ (see VII - 2, e (3) ), and to him falls the first place immediately beside the tuxáua. Like the latter, he will have the most

/397 cont./
534 took up a position in front of the second post at the left, in the
535 /398/ central nave (133).

[342]

133. Their rectangular maloca, although not of large dimensions, corresponded to a division of five naves: the central high nave, under the ridge, two side spaces, and, along the side walls, the space reserved for the families. It is to be noted, however, that there is no interior partition between family and family.

The men imitated his steps and, on his left, formed an open semi-circle.

*[192] 1st Part: Each one places the left hand on the right shoulder of the companion (Pá-bwasé is the Tukano name for this gesture). They execute some rhythmic beats with the pestle-tube (it is what is called yuxkõ-mẽra doxkesé) and some steps with the right foot forward and back (du'tisé). Then the line moves (nikã̄-ká eheanõ-kátyã̄ra baxsasé) to the right and to the left until the circumference is closed, making some turns from the left to the right (sũtõasé) (134).

134. They explained to us that they are imitating the bavarí fish, which, before depositing its eggs, makes a few turns.

533 At the same time the men slowly sing unintelligible words, with a
535 frequent burden in which are sounded many times the syllables "paia-paia." The rhythm is accelerated at the end, and a cry and a heavy stroke with the rhythm tubes end the first part. During this
• [562] part the women remained seated in conversation near the door, to the left of anyone who enters (135).

[123]

135. We, the three civilized observers, were to be found on the opposite side, at the right.

/400 cont./

533 yú-yú with the left hand, and with the right one they beat the
535 rhythm tube.
*[192]

The yu-yú of the dances

Tobacco form

*[192] The dancers are divided into two groups, who execute the movement by advancing and retreating (baxsá poterI), one in front of the other. Afterwards they place themselves in line, each one with his lady, describing circles. They again divide themselves into two groups, who advance and retreat. Now they turn their backs to one another, always with advances and retreats. It seems that the new song consists of several verses, each one ending with cries and whistles. At given moments some say words in a loud voice, just as the caller of square dances does. Would they be ceremonial words or a simple command for the evolutions to be performed? The women, finally, leave the dance, and the men continue in Indian file, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the preceding one. This file goes to describing circles, stopping from time to time, always, however, singing and beating the rhythm with the strokes of the rhythm tube.

• [562] 6th Part: Performed only by the men, as in the first part.
[273] After this part, one of the dancers advances in order to distribute
[276] the caxirí with a cuia in each hand, mumbling some words and stamping the right foot harder, in a winding progression, like that of the snake. He gives one cuia to the tuxaua and the other to the most important person. The second time he brings some to two more, and thus to everyone. Also the long cigar of leaves goes from mouth to mouth.

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6) Songs of the women.

• 562

We have already observed (cf. VII -- 3, c (2 b) ) that the songs of the women are profane, or, with more accuracy, bacchic songs: that is, they regularly sing them when they distribute the caxirí, or in the intervals when they take their drink. Besides being more lively, there are more varied themes than in the religious songs of the men. Another quite striking difference is that, while the latter nowadays are articulations without any meaning, those of the women present a clear meaning. They are recitatives of longer or shorter sentences, with opportune arguments and allusions to her own person or to the one with whom she is having the dialogue.

By the law of exogamy, in one and the same povoado there are women of the tribe of the local inhabitants, and of one or more different tribes, taken as wives. And, by chance, in transit or out walking, still others, their relatives or "sisters." For this reason and also because of the frequency of the dabacurís with the participation of dancers from different tribes, one and the same song might be known and performed by women of various tribes. There follows from this the difficulty in determining from which tribe the melody of a song might originally have come. The question, properly speaking, is about the melody, and not the lyrics. Because, as we have said, the latter is a timely recitative which the singer can say in her own idiom or in that of her husband or of the tribe where the poosé is held. And since nowadays the Tukano language is becoming generalized, many times it will be in that idiom; just as the songs that we recorded are actually in Tukano, although performed by young women not only from the Tukano group of tribes, but even by a maiden of the Arwáke group, from the Kumãdene tribe.

[184]

b) Amusements.

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The Indian leads a life in contact with the majestic and silent nature of the Amazon forest, cut by innumerable streams. This explains to us why he appears so strong, agile, cheerful, although reserved.

/418 cont./

797 These licenses already existed in the historical period, as
595 follows from the first explorers. The great revolt of the year 1757, during which the povoados of Moreira and Thomar were destroyed by the Indians, and that of Barcelos threatened, had its origin in the anger of the Indian Domingos Lamalonga, from whom the Missionary had made a concubine separate (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario /Diary/," n. 553). On the map of his activities, dated from Carurú-cachoeira the first of April of 1853, Frei Gregório de Bene states: -- "It will be very difficult for some time to unite in Holy Matrimony and even to convert these Indians because they live in polygamy and others in concubinage" (Archivo
595 do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 2, p. 32). Even at the beginning of this century Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 178) testifies that polygamy
622 is a prerogative of the tuxaua and cites the example of José, Tukano tuxaua of Pari-cachoeira, with two wives, one Tuyuka and the other Taryana.

7) Domestic-social position of the woman.

562 During an early contact with the natives of the Uaupés, we were surprised at the position of the woman, seeming to us to be of evident inferiority.

551 /419/ Her name might not even be known (24).

[852] [797]

24. It frequently happens that the Indian man may bring a child to be baptized. When, in order to make the registration, the Padre starts to ask the names and asks what the child's mother is called, the husband will answer: -- "I do not know, ask her."

There is observed in some human groups, for example, those of the river Canaburi (not, however, those of the Uaupés, see below, VIII-1, b (4) ) a prohibition against pronouncing the name of some persons. Some explain this taboo of the name by the "ontological mentality" of the primitives, that is, the name is not something secondary, external, but essential, and is

/421 cont./

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
[601]

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[178] trousseau and what she makes: and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
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> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

/422 cont./

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/footnote 29 cont./ many of them have never in fact heard of any woman Tuxaua. Someone answered us precisely that she can be Tuxaua, but they had never heard of a woman Tuxaua. It is to be noted that in the Tukano language there is the feminine Wyógo, a term that is ordinarily applied to the wife of the Tuxaua (Wyogõ) and, in the Missionary centers, also to the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of the girls' school. The example of Caridade (p. 709) seems to authorize our affirmation above.

not, however, those of pajé. This exclusion perhaps expresses, not so much contempt, but the concept that she is not endowed with the magical power necessary for the exercise of the office of pajé.

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[586]

In marriage she seems to enjoy even greater freedom than the young man, being able to leave her husband. It must be concluded then that, although recognizing the primary of the husband (as also happens in our civilization), considered from the domestic-social point of view the wife is on a plane of equality with the husband (30).

30. We recently verified that this is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg, who, after prolonged contact with the Kubewana, was able to conclude that the woman is not the beast of burden, but the intelligent lady of the house (2. I. 354).

8) Moral condition of the woman.

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[115]

We once heard from a maiden the expression: "the woman is not worth anything." We questioned many other women, single and married, and all confirmed the accuracy of this concept, without knowing how to give further /423/ explanations. Only one added: "the woman must leave her own tribe."

/423 cont./

562 It is not a matter of inferiority, it seems to us, resulting from her tasks, more constant than those of the men, or, under the political aspect, from not exercising a politico-social authority more in name than in fact, such as, at present, the tuxauaship.

We verified, it is true, a strong feeling of their own inferiority in the minds of the women. I would not know whether it is correct to apply to them an expression so much to the liking of Freudian psychoanalysis, saying that they are dominated by an "inferiority complex."

The obligation to work beside her own mother every day, as soon as she reached the age of reason, while her brothers spent the whole day in idleness and amusements, might have generated in her the envy of this privileged masculine situation.

562 591 Among peoples of an exaggeratedly racist mentality, as all of them are, she must leave her tribe. Who would be able to evaluate this sacrifice? She must live among strangers, whose language she perhaps does not know in the beginning, and maybe never will succeed in mastering. Hearing, because of this defect of hers, gibes and sneers against her tribe, who knows how many times. Frequently episodes of hostility take place between her relatives and those of her husband, and she suffers with the news of these episodes and with the exprobrations.

The feeling of the weakness of the feminine psyche itself is heightened by the knowledge that she is separated from her people, perhaps in an environment of frank hostility to her tribe (since there are no marriages for love, by the choice and arrangement of the ones getting married). Perhaps the bad treatment will be manifestations of the rude character of her husband and of these racial hostilities.

562 All this, well known and experienced by the married women, exaggerates in the feminine soul the concept of her own weakness. The girl who has not yet experienced it witnesses it, hears it, and anxiously awaits a like fate, and her spirit starts weakening and becoming more and more abject.

/423 cont./

534 At the great feast of Wɨx-tɨ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

> 31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mɨrɨ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mɨrɨ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wɨx-tɨ.

• 562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

/424 cont./

562 This moral decadence is not likely to generate in the masculine mind respect (as in fact there is none) for the woman, be she his sister, his wife, or his mother. Any woman represents for them only a worker for the daily tasks and an instrument of very cheap and common pleasures.

The woman senses this real situation, and the more prodigal she is, out of intimate impulses, out of obedience to the customs, because of a desire to please, or out of fear of punishment, the more she is degraded in her own eyes.

The habit of considering situations, rare or none at all, the busy life of work and feasts that she leads, the knowledge that the situation of every woman is identical and that it is a matter of a fact not susceptible to change, because created by the inviolable laws of the tribe, somewhat mitigate her suffering, almost producing conformity and acceptance of this state of things.

When one of them comes into contact with the civilized, however, she gets an idea of a better situation for the woman, she perhaps hears appeals for virtue and her own improvement, she then starts to evaluate the state of decadence of the Indian woman, and she exclaims sorrowfully: "the woman is not worth anything."

9) Division of labor.

462 There is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés a strict division of labor, such that those of one sex will not do the tasks /425/ designated for those of the other one (32).

[177]

32. This statement holds, without any doubt, for the traditional tasks and for the natives with little or no contact with civilization. In the acculturation that is in process, this concept of division of occupations is beginning to evolve. With all naturalness nowadays a young man serves as cook for the civilized. It is very common, likewise, to see a man wash his own clothes, as well as to fit a carrying basket on his back, as the women do, in order to transport a load for the whites.

/426 cont./

847 There are four regular cases of infanticide: 1st. -- That
848 of the illegitimate child. Such are all those who are born outside of the legitimate conjugal union. The reason is the shame which it gives rise to (38).

38. /This footnote is on p. 427 in the original source./ It does not constitute, however, a matrimonial obstacle for the unwed mother. It is a sign that she does not have "malefice of sterility."

The children can only come from a legitimate marriage. It is a grave insult to tell someone /427/ that he does not have a
[829] father. There is one exception: the children of the civilized are in general spared (39).

39. Cases are known in which the child's grandparents were proud because their grandchildren were "children of white."

Objects of the greatest shame are the incestuous children. With the utmost secrecy abortion will be induced or infanticide performed.

562 2nd. -- That of the fourth or fifth consecutive child of the
847 same sex. Especially if they are females (40).

40. In March of 1957 a woman, still young, was taken to the hospital of Pari-cachoeira, river Tiquié, in serious condition as a consequence of an abortion. Further investigation showed that it was a matter of criminal abortion, with the expulsion of the fetus in two pieces, with an interval of two days. And the cause was the fear of having a child of female sex, like the two previous ones. We could not find

/427 cont./

562 847

/footnote 40 cont./ out whether some pajé, who foresaw the sex of the child to be born, might have intervened in the case.

845 847

3rd. -- That of twin children. One of the two will be eliminated; usually the second one, unless another reason counsels the contrary. For example, they will preferably eliminate the defective one, or the girl. It seems that the reason for this crime is the difficulty, for the mother, of raising two children simultaneously, with all the work that falls to her; and no other reason of magical or superstitious character (41).

[797]

41. The Missionaries have managed to save and raise some twins, and, when grown, that is, after four or five years, the parents receive them willingly, or rather they demand them.

Patrícia Vasconcelos said that the husband beats the wife when she gives birth to twin children.

[736]

Nevertheless this different way of acting causes surprise. When a child becomes orphaned by losing its mother, it will not be killed, but will pass into the care of another woman. When, on the other hand, it is a matter of twins, no woman will take on the burden of raising one of the newborn children, even when there is some newly lactating mother who has just lost her child (42).

[115] [231]

42. Pe. Antonio Giacone confirms this, saying that he saw new mothers emptying their breasts, or nursing some little dog, rather than feed someone else's child (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 53).

Even in these cases there does not appear to be any superstitious motive, but only the selfishness of the women and no friendship at all between them. If they take care of the orphan, it is due to the inviolable imposition of the irrevocable customs of the tribe.

[736]

/430 cont./

553 It falls to the father, according to the report by the Taryana Teodora, to choose a name. Any circumstance of the moment or a certain peculiarity noticed in the child will inspire the name. It is seen that thus the names may be repeated, and, as a matter of fact, they are repeated with great frequency, although there is no obligation to give the name of the ancestors (49).

> 49. The obligation to give the newborn children the names of the ancestors is a custom of those who admit reincarnation, and those of these tribes are not such.

With the realistic mentality of the native, there can appear not only beautiful and poetic names, but also ridiculous and even indecorous ones.

At the invitation of the father, two older men, possibly the pajé and Komũ, or two Komũá, equipped with a cigar, and one of them also with a pot (as Dorotéia Brito said) with live coals and resin, at the place of the birth itself, blow the smoke and perfume the environment round about, as well as the child's mother, "in
*[192] order for her not to get sick," they explain. For this reason it is called "Blown Name, Baxséke Wamẽ." It is a rite which gives value to the name given and has the magical power to conjure away from the child any malefice.

This function lasts an entire day from sun to sun (50).

> 50. In July of 1955 the seringalista Armando Sarmento was able to witness a similar ceremony
• [562] among the Kubẽwana of the upper Uaupés. He then observed that between the cuias of caxirí and the smokings of the ritual cigar, the Komũá would narrate the story of the origins of the group, with the peculiarity that, if it is a matter of a child of the female sex, the narrators omit the passages referring to Wãx-tí.

/431 cont./

553 through life, as they have protected and accompanied his parents
782 and grandparents, who never failed to provide what is due the
mothers of things. The litany is not short, and they spend hours
• [562] in the invocation, made in a loud voice, but without accompaniment on the part of those attending, who, seated on the seats, in the hammocks, on the ground, wherever they can, fill the house, and drink cachiry, which is served abundantly by the women, who are in the kitchen and come only for this service. When the sun reaches the highest point, that is, at midday, the officiants, who remained smoking and drinking silently since the first invocation ended, start again. The third invocation begins about two hours before sunset; but then there are already found in the house not only the men, but also all the women and all the children, and everyone repeats in loud voices the name of each mother of things
[821] that the three elders invoke. The child who is to receive the name is left to play as it wishes in the middle of the room with the other children, if there are any, and when the last ray of the sun is about to disappear, the pagé, who with the child's father and the oldest relative has come out of the little room where he spent the day, holds it in his arms and, presenting it to the sun in such a way as to make it receive the last rays, says the name, and this is then
551 repeated by everyone in loud voices. The name that the child
553 receives is often the name which one of the grandparents already bore or some other name which might be pleasing at the moment, and this especially if it is a matter of the chief's child. Many times, however, the child's name is chosen and given to it in consideration of the object that it was holding at the moment when the pagé held it to present it to the sun, to the gesture that it made, to the word that it said, because then it is as if the sun itself /432/ had given it the name. This, then, explains how in many cases, when one looks for the meaning of the native names, one has the surprise of finding the most foolish meanings."

[177] It is observed at present that, even before the baptism, besides the Baxséke Wamẽ given by the pagé, it receives another Christian name, or, better, a name which the civilized customarily use. In general they are not called by name, except by this Christian name.

/435 cont./

866 They act as they please. They do not listen to the requests that the parents direct to them. They do not perform the tasks requested. The slightest whims of the child (56)

> 56. The child is the one who decides whether he is going to board in the school, whether he will not return the following year, whether he wants to leave during the course of the year, etc. The parents do or say nothing concerning these decisions.

are considered. From an early age they officially smoke and drink the fermented drinks at the caxiris. With such independence one might foresee the development of rebellious and quarrelsome types, which, in fact, does not happen. This is because, counterbalancing the spirit of autonomy, there is that of absolute adherence to the disciplinary laws of the tribe, a spirit that is developed with /436/ the beliefs and becomes firmly established through the example of the elders and the ceremonial practices.

Actually there is no school or official instruction, except for the "course of puberty initiation." The maloca, however, with its habitual life or the extraordinary one of the feasts, is a practical and social school in everything.

• 562 868 The daughter takes a "course in the domestic profession" at the side of her mother, watching her work, helping her, receiving her corrections. Upon reaching nubile age, she will be perfectly prepared to organize and supervise the new home, whereas a contemporary of hers among the civilized would manage this with difficulty. At present, in the educational establishments [797] of the Missions, they not only attend a real "course in home economics," but some even become skilled at tasks that are specialties of another tribe (57).

> 57. These tasks, however, which are outside the primitive pattern of the tribe, constitute knowledge that the mother either will not

/436 cont./

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/footnote 57 cont./ teach or perhaps the daughter does not want to learn. It is a fact that we verified many times: the daughters do not know everything that their mother knows and does.

By preparing their small bows and arrows for amusement or by watching the men work, and sometimes by helping them spontaneously, the boys also become skilled in the different masculine tasks (58).

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58. Never, however, in the feminine ones. They used to laugh in the beginning, Pe. João Marchesi told us, when they saw the Missionary light the fire and prepare his own food, because "it is woman's work." Nowadays one already sees a man of the younger generation, who went through the Mission schools, carrying one of his small children, while the wife is loaded with an aturá on her back or other great burdens.

It is all an intuitive process of apprenticeship, arousing the interest of the children, developing the capacity for imitation that they possess, deeply rooted, in an environment of freedom, happiness, and well-being. A conjunction, finally, of conditions in accord with the native psyche, and, for this reason, assurers of a happy result. Not infrequently the young men become more skilled than their own fathers.

476 There are many tasks that they perform collectively, or at least with the help of others, such as felling trees, cleaning the clearing, building houses, making the canoes. These are done with the display of a greater cheerfulness and emulation, which favor the growth of love of the work and of doing it nicely.

/436 cont./

868 It can be affirmed without fear that the parents are interested in the material education of the children. It is the father's ambition that his son will be a competent fisherman, boatman, or hunter (59).

[797] [829]

59. Today many parents are already interested in something more, and they bring their children to the Mission in order for them to be made "whites." A parent, bringing a girl of about eight years old to the school, recommended to the Directress that she "educate her, teach her Portuguese, in order that later she might be able to marry /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a white." After he has spent some years in school, the child considers himself superior, and is regarded as such by the others. He has become "white."

For this reason he will not deny him his advice and his experience.

/437/ 7) Puberty initiation.

881 By puberty initiation or "rite of passage" is understood the official entrance of the individual, who has reached puberty, into the social life of the tribe, coming to take responsibility for his actions. For this he will also receive the necessary instruction on the "customary law" of the group to which he belongs, the obligations and rights of the individuals. And also, only for the boys, the explanation of certain customs and the legends which constitute the historical and cultural patrimony of the group.

[562] [869]

Both those of the male sex and those of the female sex must be subjected to the "puberty initiation rite" (60).

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60. The Missionaries, with patient and prudent action, have managed to alter the native customs, although slowly, with the adoption of Christian

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/footnote 60 cont./ customs and the extirpation of those which are contrary to the morality of the Gospel, retaining only those that do not harm this morality. For example, many of the young men are boarding in the Mission schools at the time of the puberty initiation. There are few cases in which the young men at such a time of life fail to return to the school, in order to go through the "rite of initiation." And some affirm that the youth can marry even without having been subjected to such a rite.

after a theoretico-practical course. It is a matter of a religious
562 function, as if it were the consecration or sanctification of the
881 individual, who is integrated into the group of the worshipers of Wãx-tĩ.

*[192] a) Course of male initiation -- Mĩrĩ-mẽra, a'mõ-yesé (61).

[115] 61. These data are based on descriptions made by natives of the Tukano, Wanana, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Tuyuka, Desana, Bará, Kumãdene, and Baré tribes. This last informant did it accord-
[171] ing to recollections of his initiation, more than thirty years before, in Tamanduá. It is, however, a general custom of all the tribes of the region, of the Tukano group as well as of the Arwáke and of the Makú, as the natives themselves affirmed.

According to the number of inhabitants of a maloca, the young men, upon reaching puberty (62)

[115] 62. The Baré Plácido from Melo informed us that at his initiation there were 20 young men in all, and about ten persons, between pajés and Komĩã, instructed them. It was, however,

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/footnote 62 cont./ tremendously boring. When one pajé had finished talking, another one would come, repeating the same things, some already drunk. They would listen in fear, believing everything. He recalled /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ an old pajé who knew many stories and told them, much to the delight of the children. In the smaller povoados there might be perhaps a single candidate for the initiation, as was the case for Felisberto from Urubucuara, and for the youth Graciliano Carvalho, Pirá-tapuyá from Tatá-punha. The latter remained isolated for two months in a house, and the old men came there to give him the lessons and to tell him stories, which he would have to repeat on the following day.

(in practice whenever their voices start to change), are gathered together in groups, in a distant spot, for the initiation course, which is called Mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mõ-yesé, that is, "initiation rite with the sacred instruments or Mĩrĩã." In many cases huts are improvised in the interior of the forest for this.

/438/ The course, which lasts several weeks or even two and three months, according to the progress of the students, is directed by one or more pajés and Komũã simultaneously. There is an assemblage of painful tests (63)

63. It seems that there is opportunity for the inventive faculty in the application of the tests. In a Tiquié povoado we came across two young men who bore on each arm a wound around the wrist, as if it had been produced by handcuffs.

in order to verify the spirit of sacrifice and endurance of the youths. Deprived of clothes, they remain exposed to bad weather, they

/438 cont./

881 are flogged on the back with reeds four times by the Komũã,
• 562 keeping their arms crossed on the chest, and they can not cry (64).

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64. We were told of a young man who could not stand the blows and, feeling humiliated and scorned by those of the tribe, had to leave and place himself at the service of the whites in S. Gabriel.

Some child may hide in order to dry his tears, said an informant.

Handfuls of pepper are put in their mouths, and they are ordered to chew them. When there are several, they are arranged in a line, and with a stick they dig a hole, into which they are later going to spit. Not hitting the hole will be a reason for
*[192] punishment. At dawn they take a bath in the river; upon returning, they drink a little Kaxpí.

They are obligated for the great fast, be'tisé, and their obligatory food is the larvae of the wasps.

562 They spend whole hours sitting on the ground, listening to
869 the pajés narrating the traditions, telling the legends, teach-
881 ing the obligations as members of the tribe, husbands, and fathers, giving advice, fixing the relations with the neighboring tribes. These instructions are intermingled with caxiri and with the apprenticeship in the fabrication of the baskets, fishing nets, and other tasks of the men.

[534] While narrating the stories of the Mũrũã, they place one of
[778] the mysterious instruments beside each boy, so that he can observe it well (65).

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65. The instrument is an essential element for the male initiation. Besides the positive information obtained, it says the very name of the rite: "Na porá-ré mũrũã-mẽra a'mo-yẽrá," as the natives express themselves, that is, initiation of the sons with the mũrũã. This is also the opinion of Koch G. (Z. I. 220).

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).
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> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced,
> *[192] and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo
> [171] descendants of the Coianã Indians in the interior
> [126] of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtain-
> [115] ing the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirã-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

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/footnote 67 cont./ Bará, and Makú) we were able to verify that the process is the same. Whatever was peculiar in one narration became harmonized in the whole, and perhaps had happened with all, although some might have forgotten to narrate that detail. Moreover, they assured us that in all the tribes the mõ-yõãse was performed in a similar way.

In a similar way the girl, "when she becomes a young woman," according to the native expression, that is, when she reaches the age of the menses (68)

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68. They call it "sickness of the moon, Mũhĩ-pũ dux"ti." It is one more proof, among the many that we have had, of how the intimate life of each one is known perfectly by the entire community. The first menstruation takes place around 12 years of age, although the child, from her physical development, looks only about ten. For children of both sexes, it is not until some years after the age of puberty that their bodies fill out, that is, it is only after 14 or 15 years of age that the development of the body takes place, and in an almost perceptible way "they become young men and women." With the onset of menstruation, as in the critical age of the woman and puberty for the man, one does not notice abnormal physiological disturbances. Menstruation, like conception, comes regularly throughout the year. Ordinarily the monthly courses are not very abundant and do not last more than one day.

and the first menstruation, a mõsé, comes, must go through the puberty initiation rite.

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• 562 881 Naturally one can not mark the date for this beforehand. It is likewise understandable that it is practically impossible to perform this rite with an entire group, as in the male initiation, if we consider that they are small povoades or only a maloca.

*[192] /440/ The first menstruation is a dangerous event for the young woman; she may be a victim of Bisíu (VII -- 4, d (5 c) ). Bisíu a'mõsé-re baásamĩ, they say, that is, Bisíu eats the menstruation. As they explain, to eat means that he will come to fecundate her (69).

[177] [797]

69. A singular phenomenon of acculturation or adaptation has been taking place. A girl, for example, is in school at the time of the first menstruation. She will perform the rite perhaps many months later, when she returns to her povoado. She does not wait, according to information from the young women themselves, until the next menstruation comes to perform the rite. As for the rest, she follows exactly what the customs dictate.

[756] (See Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/.) The maiden then will be the first to announce the fact and to request the intervention of the pajé or Komũ (70).

70. One of the young informants asserted that the maiden will be happier if she does this rite with a stronger pajé. Another added that she will be still more so if it has been with a white.

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Besides, the rite is desired by the girl, not only because it gives her freedom for the public sexual relations, but also because, according to her convictions, this rite is going to assure her happy deliveries, as various young women testified. For this reason no maiden would dare to marry without the puberty rite and the mõ-yoãsé (coitus of initiation). Some nubile maiden, especially

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those educated in the schools, might perhaps say, out of shyness (71).

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71. The young Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos, an orphan raised in the Mission of Iauareté, and who, until she was 25 years of age (1956), spent the greater part of her life in the schools of the Salesian Missions, has always denied having submitted to the puberty rite. Although in a conversation on March 9, 1956, apart from any subject, she came out with the statement: "Now the rite of initiation is not done any longer," on many occasions she has affirmed that the natives "all, even people of confession and communion, continue to do all these ancient practices, even the alumni and alumnae of the Mission." In September of 1955 in Taracuá, apropos of the puberty initiation rite, she said literally: -- "Even the Christians do this." Around the fourth or fifth of March of 1956, she related an episode that had happened to her the last time she had been with her relatives in S. Luzia, from September of 1955 to February of 1956, an episode which documents how even from the Christian natives one only slowly manages to eradicate the primitive beliefs. One day she felt somewhat ill (the common discomforts of women). Her uncle Marco, who, although Christian, continues, as pajé, to practice the "blowing" and the other Xamã /shaman/ rites, asked her whether she had already performed the puberty rite. Answering that she had not as yet, her uncle went on: "That is it, my daughter (sic), that is because you have not undergone the rite. Shall we do it now?" She did not accept (she told us). Then the uncle gave her the explanation about the discomfort and about the usefulness of the puberty rite, which we transcribe.

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562 881 that she has not performed the rite. Nevertheless, she herself will affirm, in agreement with the others, that a woman can not marry without having submitted to these practices.

[115] Patrícia Vasconcelos gave the following explanation of the necessity for the rite, according to the instruction obtained from her uncle Marco from S. Luzia, river Papuri. /441/ "The maiden [192] has the nihĩ-koró (vagina?) inverted, and for this reason the child cannot come out. /The final quotation marks are missing./ The pajé or Ko-mũ is going to put it "in the proper position" by means [192] of the rite and the coitus. The rite, besides this, makes "the nihĩ-su'ti-ro, uterus, not grow very much, because in this case she would have two children at a time and this is a disgrace for the woman."

This rite is essentially equivalent to the "religious deflora-tion" that other human groups practice. However, due to the previous liberties, although without an official character (rather they must be hidden), which take place even between children and adults, the girl, upon reaching menstruation, already has the hymen ruptured. This, then, is of no importance in the rite. An official coitus, mõ-yoãsé, however, takes place on the first day (and in some povoados also on the following days) with a young man chosen by the girl or by her father (72).

72. The choice of the young man is made by the girl herself in some places, and in others, povoados and malocas, by her father. A young Tukano from Pari-cachoeira declared that she did not like the young man whom her father had chosen. It seems that where there are more Komũã the choice of the executor of the rite is [835] always by the father of the maiden. If the father is Komũã, he himself will execute the rite with his daughter. We do not know whether this is also an obligation of his. From a Komũã of Juquira, river Uaupés, we found out that he personally did it with his three daughters, as one of them informed

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/footnote 72 cont./ us. The services of the pajé or Komĩã are always remunerated, as well as those of the mõ-paxkoá; not, however, those of the young man. He is not the future husband, who must belong to another tribe, and the young man of the a"mõsé regularly is of the same tribe as the maiden. A young Makú added that the young man was her obligatory partner at dances, as we were later able to verify.

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and, on the last day of the rite, with the Komĩã or pajé (73).

73. It is to be noted that, according to the descriptions that we obtained, the first coitus is not with the pajé or Komĩã, as one might expect, but with the young man.

The concept that the one chosen should be the hero of the group, recognized after a fight with others, as is done among some tribes, has declined. Among the Uaupesinos there is no test to determine the choice; there is only one quality in favor of the chosen one, his youth. Some maidens affirmed that he was a "strong young man." On the rivers visited by the civilized, the latter may be chosen for such a function, and they have done it. For such a choice, we think that not only does the native's instinct of self-interest enter in, but also the white is supposed to have a special nature (74).

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74. Many times and under different circumstances the native has manifested the opinion that the civilized person is endowed with a nature different from that of the Indian. This was the answer that the tuxaua from Paricachoeira, Julio, gave to Pe. João Marchesi, who assured him that he should not fear the

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/footnote 74 cont./ Dohasé (malefice), just as the Missionary did not fear it. "The white is of a different nature," he answered, "for this reason he does not catch our dohasé."

a connection with which might bring benefits for the girl. This opinion was expressed by several young women.

/442/ The girl must then be separated from the inhabitants of the maloca. The maidens do not know (and this seems to be the most probable hypothesis) or did not want to give the reason for this segregation. It is that in these circumstances she is considered dangerous (75),

75. It is to be pointed out that she is dangerous not only during the days of the menstruation, but until the rite has been completed. As a matter of fact, the seclusion might take place outside the menstrual period and might last for an entire moon. It seems that only the first three monthly courses are considered dangerous and thus subject to a special rite. If one is to believe the information, during the subsequent menstruations the woman is not obliged to abstain from sexual relations, as the Jews observed.

for the others, once she has been sought by Bisíu.

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In the regime of the maloca, an enclosure for the young woman, called a'mõ tuxkũ, is made inside of it. In the regime of the povoado, she might perhaps be isolated inside a hut (76).

76. In October of 1947 a young Maloã from Iauareté retreated to the hut of the pajé himself for the initiation.

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881 During this time, which runs from three days to four weeks,
562 according to the tribe, the young girl will always be shut in, she cannot take a bath, she will go out only when necessary and quickly, trying not to meet anyone.

562 There, while the girl is kept seated on a stool, her hair will
881 be cut by a woman who is called mõ-paxkoá, that is, godmother
302 of initiation (77).
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77. This godmother will call the girl Yõ-se:ko, my hair-cut; and the maiden will call her Yõõ-ré se:ko, the one who cut me (my hair).

"It is in order to exchange for new hair" was the only explanation. According to information obtained by Koch G. (Z. I. 357), the girl's hair was used for making the masks of Wãx-tĩ. Thus one more element of connection between the puberty rite and the cult of Wãx-tĩ appears.

*[192] The face and especially the body are liberally painted with black dyá-wé dye by another woman, who is likewise considered Paxkoá. Both of the godmothers will receive some gift from the girl and also have a right to her services. The body painting is done as usual, by means of the molongó cylinder (VII-3, b(2) ).

For the haircut they used the sharp teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmo of different species) and other animals. For this reason, wrote Stradelli, the tribes of the Rio Negro, who spoke Nheengatú, when the use of scissors was introduced, called them Piranha. The artifact for the cutting of the hair among the Tukano is called Dõxpóse:ró.

*[192] The Mõ-paxkoá or the mother herself in some tribes pours water with pepper through her nose, using a funnel of the leaf of /443/ õhoá pũrĩ or yõxõ-pũri, "in order to become illuminated" (78).

78. "To have the face or skin become illuminated" is an expression that we have heard frequently among the young female informants. It seems

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/footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus, "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

"the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a great deal: the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, pirámirim), ant, mexkã (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beijú of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

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She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cuia with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /bouto/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

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881 work rapidly -- to return home at once" (79).
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79. These recommendations against the piraboto, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tincuam and those of the Jurupari of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uaupés" of the author).

[756] Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin
[869] of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his
[833] cigar, pronouncing at the same time [illegible] and unintelligible exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the pajé Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the nihĩ-koró, which is inverted. But ordinarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the pajé, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoá, as the several informants of the Uaupés stated.

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The rite ends with a bath of the dawn, Wáwa-'kãsé, which makes us think of the bath of the dawn of the men at the feast of Wãx-tĩ (VII-4, e (2 b); cf. Legend of the seizure of the mĩrĩã instruments). A procession of these women who have been associated with the rite, perhaps also other close relatives of the maiden, is organized. In front goes the pajé, smoking the path with a piece of cooking pot, Ki-pu-tõ koró, with hot coals, pitch /Port. breu, a kind of resin/, and pepper, and he will exorcise the river, throwing in it the contents of the pot, in order to "chase away the beast that is in the river" (81).

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81. They explained that this beast was the piraboto /bouto/. Now such a mammal does not exist in the upper Uaupés, much less in the small igarapés. We are thus confronted with a transplanting of beliefs and legends.

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The mother pushes the daughter into the water, and everyone will take a bath (82).

82. Wallace (o. c.) further brings in here a detail which was not confirmed to us. It is the following: "When this time has passed (one month), the relatives and friends of the parents, who are invited for this, gather there on the designated day, each one of them bringing a piece of cipo (flexible climber). The girl is then taken outside the house, completely naked, to the center of the group, which is in the yard in front of the dwelling. Each one of those present on this occasion is obliged to give her five or six strong lashes with the cipo on the chest and on the back, crosswise, until she falls prostrate, unconscious, this sometimes resulting in her death; if,

562 /444 cont./
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/footnote 82 cont./ however, she recovers her spirits, the operation is further repeated some four or five times with an interval of six hours. It is considered a great offense to the parents if the blows are not given with much force. During this test, all kinds of meats and fish are prepared in huge pots. Following that, those present dip into these the cipos, which immediately afterwards are given to the girl to lick. From then on she will be able to eat everything she wishes. And from this moment on she is considered a woman. She is thus ready for marriage" (o. c. 634).

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There perhaps is confusion with what happens among the tribes of the Içana and among the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés on the occasion of the dabacuris. According to what the Kubewana of the Ambaíba maloca, mouth of the Querari, told us, when the father of a youth decides to look for a wife for his son, he takes advantage of the dabacuri and applies to the chosen girl three lashes with the adabi (VII-4, e (2b) ). If she stoutly endures the blows, it is an indication that she is already mature for dealing with the responsibilities of a home.

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In some Arwake tribes a caxiri is held later; it is the feast called Karyamã (83),

83. Karyamã is the name of the type of beijú prescribed for this circumstance.

which may last as long as four days (it seems that it is the same number of days as the seclusion of the girl). Then she will dance with everyone, including the pajé, and will smoke with them on the cigar made of banana leaves and tobacco. It seems that on

562 /444 cont./
881 this /445/ occasion there are games and entertainments among the
527 young individuals of the maloca (84).
171

84. One of the informants spoke to us about the "game of the lemon" for this circumstance. We heard about a Makú girl, Teresa by name, who on this occasion ran away with the youth, with whom she spent a few days. It seems that this is a matter of a conventional flight, because in reality they withdrew to a hut about 20 or 30 meters from the maloca.

562
881 Abstention from work for some days is verified; for example,
she will not light the fire, "in order not to be burned." Then the
784 young woman resumes her normal life; she will work in the clear-
ing and in the house with her mother. For another month, accord-
[115] ing to information by Dorotéia Brito, she may not taste salt or eat
either piraíba or the flesh of large animals, "in order not to ruin the teeth" (85).

85. Concerning a young Bará, sister-in-law of a Karapanã, in whose maloca, on the headwaters of the Áua, she submitted to the puberty rite, we were able to observe that she did in fact subject herself to a severe alimental diet, not accepting our salted foods, nourishing herself with beijú, tapioca, and fruits. We saw her, however, approach the fire, stir it up, and put some green bananas on to roast for herself.

881 During the following menstruation the rite of the seclusion of
562 the young woman is renewed. This second stage of the puberty
*[192] initiation is called Mahã-mĩ-nõsé. It is identical to the first one,

• 562 /445 cont./
881 without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following men-
*[192] struation, Məhẽka-nĩsé, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

611 Among the tribes of the Uaupés it is generation /Port. geração,
[601] generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (ñõx-kãkõra, grandparents) and descendants (marĩ-bero-maxsã), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

602 The components of the same tribe, although born and living
619 in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerẽra (86),
[601]
[178]

> 86. The term axkawerẽra is beginning to be extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

a term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" /relatives/ and sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason we are of the opinion (VIII-2, a) that initially the local group coincided with the family.

*192 Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree
609 of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpẽra (87),

> 87. Axpẽra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpĩ (masculine) and axpego, feminine, other.

that is strangers, foreigners.

/465 cont./

562 622 The social power of the tuxaua being thus attenuated and with this native democratic mentality, it is to be inferred that there would be no repugnance toward a female Tuxaua. There 159 is mentioned the example of Caridade (or Carí, according to 562 the common designation) from the Tukano tribe, who exercised the tuxauaship in Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), recognized 622 by all and in very singular circumstances, because she succeeded her brother Estevão, who, upon his death, left two sons (100).

100. Carí previously had been a prostitute in S. Gabriel on the Rio Negro and never married. It was not possible to verify whether her ascendancy had an origin of such an order. It would be a problem similar to that of the Hetaerae. Or whether, on the contrary, as seems more probable, it was due to her intelligence, by being a very shrewd woman with the advantage of knowing Portuguese well.

/466/ The situation of Cari can perhaps be explained by her having lived for a long time with the civilized in such a way that she was considered such, being, on the other hand, the daughter of the old and esteemed tuxaua (101).

[648]

101. In Piracuara there were some misunderstandings between Colombians and natives. The Colombian authorities ordered the maloca destroyed, and Cari was manacled, as well as the local pajé. Some time later Pe. João Marchesi, who furnished us this information, was called in order religiously to assist Cari, who appeared in good spirits, in her hour of death.

/467 cont./

797 by this companion, whose rebuke (104)

857

> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father," and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief."

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

575 We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

562 1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in
796 the feasts of wãx-tĩ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

623 2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkõrãkurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs
756 /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult

/468 cont./

756 cases. It is not known, however, whether there are more frequent meetings, at certain times, whether there are rites, or which acts [622] they practice then. It is known, indeed, that the pajé often convenes the Komũá, in order to resolve the sanitary problems of the maloca or povoado (see VII - 2, e (3) ).

• 562 578 [115] 4) A Tukano informant, Dorotéia Brito, spoke of womens' meetings inside the maloca, during which they reveal among themselves the bad treatment that they receive from the men. We were not able, however, to verify whether it is a matter of true meetings of a secret society, as defense of class. Or instead, as seems more likely, casual, although frequent meetings of women, during which they open their hearts, revealing their own complaints. It is certain that at times, by the law of exogamy, all the women are from a certain tribe, to which they go to relate anything bad their husbands say against it, from which arise disputes and vengeance. This happens in a very regular way, and with a previous understanding of the women among themselves. These tales by the women [192] are called ukhá.

h) Social classes.

565 Among these Indians there is no true social stratification or social Classes, in the sense that there are privileged positions, perhaps lifelong and hereditary, with differentiation of tasks, diversity of rights and even of peculiar customs (in the dwelling, clothing, badges, emblems, etc.), as happens in more complex cultural forms. Within the maloca there are no lords and nobles, just 565 as there are no slaves (105);
567

105. In practice the Makú serve as slaves. It is a matter, however, of another tribe, racially, linguistically, and culturally different. Perhaps one can not even truly say slaves, since in exchange for work they receive protection and food. Once the tasks are finished (clearing, aturás /carrying baskets/, etc.) the Makú may leave, just as they may also constitute their maloca with their tuxaua.

/483 cont./

• 562 868 The girl must get used to work and, with the mother's training, will learn the several skills that someday will make her a good mother of a family. The boys will run loose in the forest, looking for fruits, will wander along the rivers, entertained by swimming or fishing, practicing at shooting arrows at fish or birds, and thus they will become able to provide the subsistence of the /484/ family. In the ajurís, in the traditional tasks, they will acquire beside the father that skill which will make them great oarsmen or expert basketmakers.

881 Children of both sexes start being conscious of themselves as members of the tribe, of which they will learn to be proud. They will eagerly desire to become a member integrated into its life and traditions, that is, they dream of the "initiation."

581 Once the instincts are developed, they understand that it falls to them to perpetuate the existence of the group, and they aspire to marriage. The national customs indicate to them the means of realizing it; for that step they will not lack the intervention and help of the father.

593 He has naturally experienced up to now the love and the attention of his parents and the camaraderie of his contemporaries. Now he is joined to a companion for his entire life. Unknown perhaps and a foreigner, but their cares, their spirit of work, their long life together, vicissitudes, shared joys and sadness, everything ends by making uniform the spirits of the spouses, connected especially by the bond of love for their children in common. Under more difficult conditions, because she is forced to leave the paternal home and go to another nation as a wife, the woman will still feel very actively connected to her tribe of origin, as well as to the new maloca in which she is a wife and mother.

621 With the years the ties that join the Indian to the group in which he was born, which educated him, which gave him assistance and support, for which he has also worked cheerfully on the collective enterprises, are strengthened. The group that provided him with frequent joys with its traditional feasts and, with its mysterious legends, gave satisfaction to his intimate aspirations toward something that he does not understand, but feels will exist beyond the grave.

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along the same river belong to a common phratry and share, therefore, rules of exogamy, origin traditions, and mutual obligations of hospitality. 361 [615]

Close up, a community is revealed as a clearing of a dozen acres or so hacked out in a crude semicircle from the banks of the river. Since the river may rise some ten feet or more in the rainy season the clearing is always on the high bank and will necessarily follow in its shape the contours of high land. The maloca stands toward the river. A house is not aligned according to absolute directions, but always with reference to the river, which the Cubeo, in contrast to other tribes in the region, insist upon keeping in view. No house will have its front door facing the forest, though its rear door may. In some cases the rear door abuts almost on the very edge of the manioc cultivations. 361 342

A residence site is commonly called *tawí*, a term that appears in the naming chants and that I have rendered in free translation as "soil." A related term that is also used is *taíbo* (a made place), a clearing. These two terms refer then to that part of the territory that has been prepared both for cultivation and for housing. A more inclusive territorial term is *makáno*, that embraces the uncleared forest and can also mean "forest." Still another term for a residence site is *hobónu*, based on *hobá*, a cleared place for planting. More commonly, however, the manioc cultivations are called *hawabó* (food place). 361

Within the requirements of contour and with leeway granted to accommodate individual community preferences, clearings tend to conform to a common plan. The maloca is the hub from which the outer edges of the clearing are plotted with approximately equal radii – footpaths – leading to the bitter manioc cultivations. The manioc cultivations form a broad outer belt of the clearing that, in poorer communities, begins very close to the rear or rear side wall of the house and that in prosperous and more prideful communities is at some distance. In the latter communities, the zone of plantings begins far enough away so that the women at work in their manioc gardens are out of sight and out of sound, only the plumes of white smoke from each garden signaling silently that a woman is at work there. No matter how confined the total clearing, the house rests within an inner clearing of secondary cultivations and, ultimately, within a totally cleared space or plaza. The maloca is more or less at the center of these three concentric zones. The river (*hya*) itself is a fourth zone. [342] [351]

These four zones have their social counterparts in that they may be identified as male and female, although, it should be said, the Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. [562]

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. 501 Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging 501 from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for 505 the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner [422] but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually [622] owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely [422] borrowed. [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, 501 but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is 562 accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk [422] great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. [481] A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, [422] and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned [558] by the girls and find it difficult to marry.

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is 396 cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have 501 been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. [857] Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it [415] serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are [252] brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a [273] drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with [531] painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellish- [178] ments had disappeared.

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but 501 are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. 504 A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. [685] He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will

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center in all respects, among the blood brothers, who are the sons of the headman, the very symbol and guardian of the unity of the sib. The Cubeo attribute the source of this "fault" in the sib to the unruly and passionate nature of women, that does not adapt itself readily to the requirements of the sib. The women are said to be at fault in having drawn their sons too closely to them and in having divided the sons of one wife from those of another. Men deplore this, yet they concede that it is in the nature of a woman to do so. Much of the formal and ceremonial relationship between men and women seems to be designed to overcome this feminine and maternal influence.

All sibling terms indicate relative seniority. If the terms refer to near siblings, that is, to siblings of the same sib, their seniority refers strictly to relative age. When sibling terms are used among members of different sibs in the phratry, then the forms of senior-junior indicate respect. An older person may then use the senior term in addressing a younger person. Men may use the senior term in referring to a member of a higher-ranking clan, or, apart from formal rank, to pay respect to a phratry mate who has been generous. Among the Cubeo, rank and seniority are marked by giving more than receiving. Thus, a generous and hospitable person can come to be an "older brother." Women pay respect to men by using the senior term – outside the sib – rather freely. It is a pleasing relationship for a woman to have an older brother and for a man to have a younger sister. When a woman addresses a man as "younger brother" she cannot help but endow the term with an almost maternal tenderness. She finds it more comfortable, one might say, to address a more distant sibmate as "older brother."

There is a more formal usage of terms of relative seniority that acknowledges the ranking of sibs. My information of these seniority usages, coming only from the *Bahúkiwa*, is therefore incomplete. According to the *Bahúkiwa*, all men of the head *Órabawa* sib who are of one's own generation are addressed as *mamû*, the stem term for "older brother," while the reciprocal term that is applied to them by the *Órabawa* is *hwa*, the stem term for "youngster." In the case of the *Bahúkiwa* relations with three sibs of the phratry, the *Pedikwa*, the *Kenánikauwû*, and the *Piardwa*, the women of the *Bahúkiwa* address the women of these three as *amikó*, the somewhat more distant form for "older sister," and are called in turn *hwainyó*, or "youngster." Though in the case of the *Órabawa* the seniority usage applies only to the men, in the latter case the usage applies only to the women. My informants could not account for the latter usages

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601 614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedíkwa* [554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiari that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kenánikauwü* are a subsib of the *Pedíkwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piardwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Olá-Piardwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahíkiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior. 571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship [622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac- [857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come [614] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves [796] at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere- [622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihí* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance, 562 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of cere- 796 mony women take precedence according to the order of precedence [622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substi- [593] tute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to [614] the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial [553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother. 561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring 584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patrilocal sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

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684 Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatüyo*. In the case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

[754] Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless com-
[562] pounded by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery, never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel. An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the husband or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman, concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahükiwa*, when intoxication was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Whereupon the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned. The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the proprieties of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to request coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

684 622 614 579 684 622 834

883 The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is reviled as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kúwai*'s difficulties with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kúwai* crushes his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her manioc garden.

684 [562] [773]

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561 still needs help is *tcumihinkü* (male) or *tcumihinko* (female); the
192 youngster until puberty is *hwainyó* (male) or *hwainkó* (female); the adult male is *ümü* (male) or *nomyó* (female), and finally, the old people are *bekü* (male) or *bekó* (female).

## BIRTH AND INFANCY

842 The Cubeo believe it is the spermatic fluid (*hürü*) that causes conception. They regard the womb as a ground in which the fetus grows, or is cultivated as seeds are planted in the earth. Since men and women do not discuss together the biology of conception and of
[843] pregnancy, their views differ. Men I spoke to dated conception from the time when the abdomen begins to swell, while women dated it
843 from the cessation of menstruation. Both sexes believe that con-
833 tinued coitus after conception will add to the number of children
842 that will grow in the womb. Stories are told of people who did not heed this so that the woman burst from an accumulation of fetuses. Coitus is stopped, however, by the male reckoning.

842 It is a common view of men that women are not eager to bear
847 children. Women, they say, know how to bring about abortion and frequently resort to infanticide. They explain that women are sexu-
[833] ally too ardent and rather than forgo coitus during the long nursing period they would rather not have a child at all. Moreover, a woman who has not been enjoying sexual intercourse with her husband will abort or kill her offspring. If she chooses infanticide, however, she spares the boy. Women do concede knowledge and use of abortifacients and they acknowledge that others of their sex practice infanticide. They agree that a woman who does not love her husband
842 punishes him by denying him a child. Thus, the Cubeo are disin-
[586] clined to believe in barrenness or in sterility, attributing infertility to female design. A man, therefore, has cause to abandon a wife who bears him no children. One man told that he had abandoned his wife for not bearing children. Later they became reconciled; his wife had a change of heart and began to bear children.

847 Male infanticide, I was assured, was rare, for even the most dis-
[562] affected or self-indulgent woman would not have the heart to kill a male child. Both men and women agreed that a girl was less important. The unwanted child is buried alive, it is said, at the very spot where it was born.

842 The likelihood is very strong, then, that a child is born to a family that desires it, and in which husband and wife are happy with each other. Parturition takes place in the woman's manioc garden. A

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not yet joined the male play pack. By the time he is old enough for 855
active play he has been well weaned from dependence upon the mother. In the case of a girl, this "dead" interval is one in which she waits to be useful to her mother. I saw no temper tantrums. Children of this age seem rather passive and steadfastly attached to the little sister.

For the boy, growth means a gain in autonomy, for the girl it [562]
means closer ties to the mother but with ever increased chores. The boy is the favorite of his mother; the girl, who is to become a drudge, receives more severe attention from a disciplinarian mother.

What I have called the play pack, the grouping of boys from the 857
age of six to past adolescence, is the major educational institution of [614]
the sib. It is in a sense an age grade whose members remain closely associated throughout their lives in most cases. The distinctive feature of the Cubeo play pack is that it is an autonomous body subject to virtually no regulation or supervision. A boy occasionally joins his father, but his primary linkage is to the "pack." The pack forms its own leadership, forages for food, plays in the river, roams the bush, attaches itself from time to time to the collective activities of the men, practices songs and dances in anticipation of ceremonies, and spies and reports on lovers. The pack leader assumes responsibility for proper behavior, scolding boys for wayward sexual behavior, that is, breaching the incest rules, and lending assistance and encouragement with skills. The boys are never mischievous and are never scolded or disciplined by adults. A youngster does not actually understand anger directed against him. Only once did I see a father [593]
strike his young son in a fit of temper. The boy neither flinched nor cowered. He merely stared at his father as though waiting for an explanation. The man rapidly regained his poise, laughed, and pretended he had struck the boy playfully. On another occasion, a little girl tipped over a large tray of manioc mash so that it was totally spoiled. Although the accident cost hours of work it provoked only
amused laughter. One might add here that even the depredations of [231]
a pet monkey, some of which were quite costly, were met only with amusement.

The pack is not sealed off from adult activities, but its relationship to adult work is voluntary. The Cubeo distinguish sharply between play that is appropriate to young boys and work and ceremonial life that is appropriate to adult males. Thus, whatever work the play pack chooses to help with is welcomed, but when the boys become bored with a task and leave it there is no ground for complaint against them. The young unmarried men who have left the

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831 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
832 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
562 age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to
[671] have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavímiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwd*, and armpit hair is *pwd butel* (literally, hair tobacco).

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574 the guests arrive they are asked to drink from the chicha prepared
[554] by each cosponsor. Those who do not choose to be cosponsors help in inconspicuous ways. There is honor in being a cosponsor but no competition for the privilege either. A household head feels free to decide when he desires cosponsorship. Those who have the most manioc to spare accept cosponsorship most freely. Major drinking parties are always sponsored by the headman, but smaller parties that bring together only close sibs may be offered in the name of a household head who wants the honor. The headman paternalistically defers to this. Some drinking parties are announced as being sponsored by a group of brothers. Of course if there is a special occasion
[562] the household head most closely concerned is expected to be a main sponsor. Women do not sponsor or cosponsor drinking parties except for the father's sister, who as widow or divorcée living in her
[182] own sib has the status of a household head. The Cubeo use drinking party sponsorship as a means of dealing with the minor frictions of community life, for cosponsors, by the symbolic act of doing something together, have reaffirmed their closeness. On a larger scale, attendance at drinking parties serves the same function.

574 The guest list provokes much discussion and entails in a sense
614 a review of the sib's relations with its fellow sibs. An invitation may
203 help achieve a reconciliation or it might yield only a humiliating rebuff. Invitations will be delivered in person, by the headman and by all cosponsors, the headman undertaking the downstream higher-status sibs, the others the upstream lower-ranking sibs. The proper time to deliver an invitation is six days before the event. The host delivers the invitation in a chanting tone during which he does not look at the guest but over his shoulder, and the guest replies in the
[201] same manner. The host holds up his hands, palms out and thumbs together. When the thumb of the right hand meets the thumb of the left hand it means there will be drinking. Holding two thumbs together is also a jesting sign, meaning, "Now we are going to drink." The four fingers of the right hand mean days of work, and the right-hand thumb means a day of very heavy preparation. The invitation means, then, "We are going to be very active for five days. On the sixth we shall drink."

574 One principle of Cubeo social structure is that whatever is accom-
614 plished on a multisib scale must have its counterpart on the smaller community scale in which household stands for sib. Thus, the five preparatory days are all small drinking parties within the sib so calibrated by degree of festivity—drinking, taking coca, singing, smoking—that each day the festive atmosphere is heightened, so that

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when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends. 574 614

On the morning of the drinking party the *behórũ* dancing staff is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behórũ* they go to the river to bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river. 574 535 [515] [823]

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather headdresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated 574 614 [554] 574 576 [614] [562]

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shout *hi i i i* and are answered by the audience. The men start dancing alone and finish dancing alone. Dancers of the host sib begin their dance in the house and may sally out onto the plaza, an extension of the house, and then dance back in. Guests, on the other hand, begin their dance formation on the plaza, move into the house, and conclude on the plaza. 574 535 [614]

The Cubeo regard women as disruptive elements at a drinking party. They have cause to do so, since it is the women who are encouraged by the character of the dancing to make the overtures of flirtatiousness. Women choose their partners and men maintain an air of innocence. A woman's sexual forwardness goes beyond that. Young girls and many married women wear love charms in their hair at a drinking party. This is nothing more than a colorful blossom that declares that a woman would like to attract the interest of a man. The Indians themselves are not quite sure whether the blossom, which they call *chondú* (*pedidya* in Cubeo) has inherent qualities as a love charm – a serious woman has truly powerful love charms that she uses secretly – or is merely provocative symbolically. In any case a man cannot be blamed if *chondú* provokes him. The use of *chondú* adds intensity to the atmosphere of a drinking party as effectively as do chicha, coca, tobacco, *mihi*, and dancing. Whether or not *chondú* is an official ingredient it is hard to say. The men speak of it as a feminine provocation. Yet if one looks at the drinking party in its inevitable progression from calm to frenzy it seems that, whether it is an official ingredient or not, it fits. Just as the counterpoint of male and female is part of everyday community life, so the more intensely experienced counterpoint of male and female is exploited for its frenzy-producing quality. 574 562 832 [535]

A married woman should not wear *chondú*, but a man cannot stop his wife from displaying her interest in other men. He then excuses her by saying she does it only to look pretty and keeps a wary eye on his brother sib and phratry mates. For the unmarried girls *chondú* is formal wear, even though the only man whose eye it might catch is likely to be a sister's husband or a forbidden phratry mate. Curiously, unmarried girls are often even more provocative by not wearing *chondú*. This is arrogance that says, "I am not interested in the men here." A married woman may wear *chondú* only to tease her husband in a lighthearted way. Understanding this he is even delighted. She may do so, on the other hand, to irritate him. The rule of sober everyday life is to avoid quarrels and issues. The drinking party rolls up feelings to the point where what has been latent erupts forcefully into the open. Emotional catharsis is a "function" 574 832 [593] [154]

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of the *unkúndye* than it should be said that it is the women who supply the charge that explodes the emotions and issues into the open.

Because they are so much in the background during everyday life, compartmentalized in the manioc garden as in the house itself, women are strongly stimulated by the social heterogeneity of the *unkúndye* as by the inherent excitement of drinking, dancing, noise, and close body contact. The women's responsiveness seems to be spontaneous from the very beginning of the drinking party, whereas the men groom their emotions by stages, until at the end they are responding with a spontaneity of their own. The spontaneous emotional excitement of the women feeds into the emotional pool, so to speak, of the whole *unkúndye*. During the great mourning festival with its ritual eroticism this counterplay of men and their formal ceremoniousness and women and their emotional spontaneity leads finally to a unified response that is ceremony deeply charged with feeling. At the mourning ceremony this juxtaposition of male and female roles is very evident. And it is because of my observation of the mourning ceremonies that I have been led to see each drinking party in a similar fashion. In short, for the men the drinking party is collective and ritualistic; for the women it is individual and personal. In the end, these two roles are fused so that the aim of strong feeling within a formal setting is achieved. Perhaps it would be better to say overachieved, since the jealous quarrels that women provoke are sometimes serious, splitting sibs from one another and antagonizing close sibmates.

Every drinking party that I ever attended ended in a quarrel. All quarrels were sexual, either provoked directly by jealousy or by disparaging remarks about a man's virility. The quarrels may lead to minor violence and may have no consequences. Sometimes, however, they stir up unexpectedly deep layers of feeling. A fresh affront recalls earlier offenses. These are aired. Before long the disputants have brought out a tangle of charges and countercharges revealing long smoldering issues. Men start a quarrel over an accusation of adultery. One man then comments that the father of the other had once said that he would not mind if his, the complainant's, sib were to die out. It is a remark of this nature that suddenly and chillingly transforms a simple quarrel into a later suspicion and then open accusation of sorcery, should someone sicken on either side.

The quarreling of men sounds more violent than it really is. If they are content to merely pummel one another with their fists there is little interference except that the women fret anxiously. Should they reach for dangerous weapons they are restrained and content

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765 for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented
534 at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never
114 mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted,
769 refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since
[773] Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first
786 three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common
[154] purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual
[536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate
765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however,
266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion
[775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the sub-
[614] stance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual
• 562 role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritual-
[786] ized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the
765 beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as
[776] well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*hwimalwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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765 273 152 Drinking at the *óyne* is disciplined and follows the emotional gradient of the ceremony. On the first day, which is intramural, the mood is somber and little chicha is taken. On the second day, when guests arrive and the mood is anger-grief, the drinking is still slow. [574] Guests receive the welcome offering of chicha after their third entrance into the malora and thereafter they drink during all intervals between dances. Formal drinking begins two hours before sundown. 765 273 276 152 The moment is signaled when the hosts brings in *mihí*, the symbol of intoxication. Only the older men take the potion. Thereafter all drinkers are free to grow excited. The elders remain restrained, however, since it is their role to license the excitement of others. They describe their own intoxication as an inner state. They feel a change in mood, they see color visions, but they do not overstep to overt excitement. That is the role assigned to the younger men.

765 273 276 152 532 The role of drinking and the shift in mood gains momentum in the course of the interplay with the women. Women drink as much as men, but do not take *mihí* and do not get drunk. Their excitement is imparted to them by the men. Thus, the men drink to initiate excitement, the women drink so that they may react. When the men are not among them the women sit passively among their young, the dogs, and their household goods.

765 276 [778] *Mihí* has magical power which the bearers portray dramatically. They pretend to stagger under its weight because *mihí* has power to fell a man. The people I asked did not know, however, why the bearer of *mihí* pranced with his torso bent forward and his knees kicked up high. The bearers whisper *he he he* and then whistle. These are the sounds of spirits and they are the same as the sounds made by the guests when they circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased. A bundle of *mihí* vines is laid with the ceremonial remains 765 532 276 during this dance. From a roof beam at the exact center of the house, where it overlooks equally the male half and the female half, hangs a vulture figure. The body is an ear of corn, the head is carved of wood, and the spreading wings and tail feathers are made of old basket fragments. The bird hangs like a mobile. It is said to be "drunk" on *mihí*, and it presides over the *óyne* to give the proper spirit of intoxication. The vulture of intoxication is the patron, so to speak, of the *óyne*.[9] Mobiles of other birds are also hung about the house, as are painted images of fish. I did not learn the significance of these.

[9] The vulture is thought of here not so much in the sense of its being a carrion eater, but for its quality of soaring. Compare *kawi* (vulture) with *kawino* (sky).

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yaví* or *pariékokü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yaví*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yaví*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvaíyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhükükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenddox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhükükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridkü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvaíyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenddox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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## POLARITY - COMPLEMENTARITY

The complementary role of conceptual opposites is, of course, a universal type of cultural patterning. Cultural distinctions occur in variations of the pattern. Under any circumstances, the general pattern of polarity-complementarity produces a mode of order and hence of social cohesiveness. In Cubeo life, polarity-complementarity is very strongly expressed. Its most prominent area is the male-female polarity. From a purely sociological point of view, the male-female opposition would seem to be a reflection of the patriliny-patrilocality of the sib, in which the women are outsiders as wives and outsiders-to-be as sisters and daughters, while the men are the permanent group. To this basic social condition the Cubeo add a variety of symbolic modes of opposition. Those that have been described include opposing but complementary roles in all ritual. In the ancestral cult and in mourning ceremonies these distinguishing roles of men and women are very sharply delineated. In ritual, men supply order, while women give spontaneity. Since female spontaneity in ritual is evidently complementary to masculine formalism, it is to be understood that we are dealing here with a somewhat dramatized rather than with a "pure" spontaneity. Generally speaking, and using the Durkheimian categories broadly, the men represent the sacred side of life and the women the profane. However, in the case of the Cubeo the female as profane is a complement of the sacred and not altogether outside of it.

From a more secular point of view, the male-female distinction can be expressed in terms of a collectivist-sectionalist dichotomy: the men represent the collectivism of the sib, the women the sectionalism of the individual household. The contrast between the gregariousness of the male play pack and the solitariness of the little girls is perhaps the most pointed demonstration of this distinction. Another illustration of this pattern is in the form of the dance in which the girls slip under the linking yokes of the men's arms, occupying, so to speak, interstices of the dance pattern. The collectivist-sectionalist distinction is also clear in economic activities. Hunting and fishing are commonly collective, whereas female-prepared food, that is, manioc cake and tapioca porridges, are largely sectional (household). If we were to attempt a hypothetical linking together of the various patterns of Cubeo culture we could argue that the principle of linkage-autonomy is related to the broad principle of male-female polarity-complementarity, on the grounds that the male side in relation to the female

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562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 The second most important area in which polarity-complementar-
796 ity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvi-
152 ous distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage
571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly
765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the
614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine
152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihi*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib
[615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The signifi-
cance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that,
152 as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context
571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel
574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib
614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moder-
273 ate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who
574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and
273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no
562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual
152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

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generally, this relationship of appropriateness between mood and activity is not novel. It seems, in fact, altogether natural. Cultures, however, as we well know, do not necessarily pattern themselves quite so naturally. Civilizations, in particular, place the emphasis upon the social action and expect the mood to be disciplined or to be subordinated to the social occasion. The Cubeo, on the other hand, expect a rather high degree of emotional spontaneity. In this respect they correspond oddly to the eighteenth-century notions of "natural man." In secular affairs the spontaneity of correspondence between emotion and action is much greater than in ritual. In ritual the effort is made to establish the correspondence between feeling and the concept of the sacred. Ritual in primitive society generally expresses in a symbolic or highly compressed form the fundamental cultural themes of a society. We have repeatedly shown the integration of ritual with social structure. Cubeo ritual, similarly, reveals not only the role of emotionality in Cubeo life but exhibits that spectrum of emotionality that has greatest significance for the Cubeo.[1] It is indeed in ritual, as Ruth Benedict has demonstrated in *Patterns of Culture*, that the ethos of a culture is most vividly displayed. Cubeo ritual, as has been seen, dramatizes the interplay between formal pattern and spontaneity. The most vivid example of this interplay is the interaction between men as sacred and women as a laity during the mourning ceremony. The effect of this interplay is to add significance to the spontaneity of emotion, and at the same time to give emotional zest to the formal ritual pattern. In short, what seems an inescapable conclusion about Cubeo culture is that neither form nor action can be comfortably tolerated unless charged with a proper feeling or emotion.

The relationship between form and emotion and social action and emotion is but one part of the pattern. The pattern also includes the emotional preferences. It is not simply that the Cubeo prefer to run a gamut, since an emotional gamut is a range within a particular plane. In ritual the emotional gamut moves from sobriety and order, as we have already explained, to intoxication and disorder. On a smaller scale, the ritual pattern moves from slow to fast. In the mourning ceremony these related planes of emotional modulation seemed to find their focus in a sexual rhythm, culminating in what is almost literally an orgasmic excitement. From this there may be reason to conclude that it is coitus, a very elementary biological

[1] It is to be understood, of course, that the roles of emotionality in secular life are not the same as they are in the sacred realm. In secular life moderation is more appropriate than excitement or intensity.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
[578] Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a com-
[182] plex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen together. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo
[857] culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken -- and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the preva-
578 lence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordi-
831 narily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship?
837 Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
[562] discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

578 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
571 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
837 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
573 acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
[562] status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional
[554] cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would be shown where we could sling our hammocks. 576 [123]

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punctuated by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst themselves. They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling on his body. 562 • 522 888

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre Elorza only the month before we arrived. 797

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these are evil spirits. 776

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead, usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma. 775 774 756

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over a man's life. 776 775

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and 000

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua'general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

796 monotone of the shaman. At intervals the coca calabash passed from hand to hand and each man threw a deer-bone spoon of the sage-green powder into his mouth. He stored it in his cheek and gradually the coca, mixed with saliva, filtered down his throat. Louder and louder, faster and faster became the chanting, echoing between the walls of the vast dark interior. The shaman worked himself into a frenzy, waving his arms out in front of him, his hands moving in wild gesticulations, his voice a rapid series of falsetto monotones; he was expelling all evil spirits from the tribal precincts to the heads of the *caños* and to other lands. The incantations continued for nearly two hours and then in the early hours of the morning there was silence.

796 301 The time had arrived for Bréo to unlock the precious box of plumages and he lowered it to the floor. He unwrapped the barkcloth cover and took off the lid of the beautifully woven palm box. Item by item he distributed the contents to the waiting figures, eagerly clambering to adorn themselves. First the smaller boys were given their simple crowns of red and yellow macaw and toucan tail-feathers, and they dashed away to adjust these on their heads. Underneath lay monkey-fur belts, ancient quartz pendants, puma-tooth necklaces and the most important items of all, magnificent feather head-dresses. These Bréo carefully selected and gave to the elders of the tribe. Crowns of toucan feathers woven on *cumare* frames adorned their heads, brilliant gold and red, ringed with white duck-down. Majestic royal crane plumage, stuck into a banana stem which projected down the back, jutted vertically up from the back of the head. The white feathers were woven together in a *cumare* mesh and stood out like quivering spindles of spun glass, gleaming in the darkness. Behind was a single red macaw tail-feather, a deer bone bound to the banana stem with monkey fur and last of all the wing plumage of an egret.

301 Many of the men wore giant quartz obelisks dangling from their necks. They make them no more, but their ancestors used to spend days rubbing down large chunks of quartz in pebbleworn channels in the river beds. Others had necklaces of wild boars' tusks, pointing concentrically outwards. There were many monkey-fur armlets with glistening beetle wings which [292] jingled as the men moved. Around the waist was another belt of monkey fur with puma teeth attached; below the knees finely-woven *cumare* garters, rubbed yellow with river clay, and above the right ankle dried *watcha* nut [302] rattles. This, with the fierce red facial paint and black body design, made up the splendid dancing regalia of the Tukano. The women had no adornments; [562] south of the Caquetá they stuck rings of white duck-down to their ankles with mud, but here they only painted their faces and bodies.

796 535 Now the dancing proper began. Since it was the manioc festival only the ceremonial *Nahubasa*, signifying the complete cycle of manioc from the time it was planted to the time it became cassava, was danced. Each man carried a long cane stave in his right hand and they joined in a line across the centre of

123 437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 171 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 778 562 171 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nutshells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 171 825 [777] When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of
61 the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse
594 group, which is also the basic unit of economic redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with
[251] its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each mar-
[354] ried woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her
[264] hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by
[562] the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A
61 well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cul-
582 tural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

[P. 671 - B]

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*101 [115] • [563] The informants of the Kubewana tribe, Heloisa and Josefa (cf. IV -- 2, p /p. 151/), both married to Wanana and living in Cururú-cachoeira (river Uaupés, 1955), indicated, as the fifth division of their tribe, the "Bahúkakõ." In April of 1957, two other Kubewana or Korẽterabõa women (cf. IV -- 2, p), Nazaria and Byatrina, married to Yawareté-tapuya, and living in Arapaço-poço, locality on the river Içana close to the mouth of the river Aiarí, also gave us the Bahukõwa as the fifth division of their tribe.

Koch Grünberg, who visited them (Z.I. 278), confirms that the Bahuna are called Bahókõoa by the Kubewãna and live on the central portion of the river Cuduiarí.

(4) BEIJÚ -- Not mentioned in the other tribes. Pelo Rio Mar says only that it was missionized by Frei Gregório in 1852-3. The report by Jesuino Cordeiro gives the number of 187 persons of the Beijú tribe, who in 1853 lived in the povoado of Cubio-paraná.

[115] An old Wanana septuagenarian from Tipiaca (in 1954), José by name, informed us that a Beijú tribe that speaks only Kubewãna and calls itself Baxtoã lives in Cubio-igarape.

Other informants of the upper Uaupés assure us that only one subdivision of the Kubewãna (therefore of the Tukano family of languages), which is called "Awekõ" in its own idiom, is known under the name of Beijú.

(5) CAINATARI -- According to the author of Pelo Rio Mar they are the Acanyatara-tapuia, who are found on the river Castanho, tributary of the Tiquié.

/51/ The report by Jesuino Cordeiro, of 1853, locates 168 individuals of the Cainatarí nation in Pacú-cachoeira, recently settled there. By this location (region of the Wanana) one could be dealing with a Wanana subdivision, which, in its own idiom, is called "Witõ monõ," which means acangatara branca /white crest/.

• 563 /65/ 4. Observations -- 1st. As we have just seen, small groups of a nation are found close to or even in the midst of other nations. Natural sociability or the requirements of circumstances relate these human groups to one another. The consequences of these relations are several:

191 The first, one language becoming general, that of the
197 Tukano nation, as an idiom common to several tribes, in such
[177] a way that on the lower Uaupés up to Iauareté almost all the
[178] adult persons (19)

19. This observation dates from 1947, soon after our first excursion to the Uaupés. We verified then, upon entering the area inhabited by the Wanana, that very rarely individuals of this tribe could understand one or another common Tukano phrase. In 1957 a certain number of persons who not only understood the Tukano idiom well, but also used it in conversations among themselves were already encountered in all the povoados from Cururú downward, among the former students of the Mission of Iauareté, or among the adults who had been employed there for some time. In our work on the Tukano language, we noticed the complacency of the young people, who had attended Mission schools, in speaking the Tukano idiom among themselves. We seemed to discover in this complacency only a touch of proudness, as if there were a superiority over their own parents and other elderly persons, and not because it could afford them a means of conversation among companions, exempt from the control of the "old ones."

speak, besides the language of their tribe (20),

20. It is to be noted that it did not lead to the formation of a language, with elements not connected with the others, as has happened in similar conditions, for example, the Sabir (miscellany of Italian, French, Spanish, Greek,

/65 cont./

191 /footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in
197 the Mediterranean ports.

It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. [178] The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing. [115] In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya [126] knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

177 Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely
178 also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. [563] Explaining [582] and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

000 2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

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• 563 a) There does not appear to be any increase of a group by its joining another tribe. Nor is it possible, if we consider the exaggeratedly racist mentality of the human groups of the Uaupés (22).

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22. It does seem, though, that there were some cases of a more nearly perfect cultural assimilation, with even the loss of the local idiom, for example, what Koch Grünberg states about the Kawa-tapuya. But, although the Ethnologists may want to lump together different groups as Sibs of one and the same tribe, socially they are considered by the Indians as distinct tribes. Anyway, in the Uaupés there are no Tribes in the strict sense of the term, as we shall point out later (VIII-3, b), but several nations fragmented into more or less numerous groupings. One should remember what we say (IV-2, a) with reference to the Ihurwá, who, although taken as Tukano, present peculiar somatic features that differentiate them from the other Tukanos.

563 /67/ Nor do we consider, because they are rare nowadays, the cases of marriage or "ménage" of Indian women with civilized men (all prolific besides), because the child is not, nor is it considered, a native any longer (23).

23. We point out (note 105 /see note 113/, VII 5, c) that, when a child is born from a sporadic relation between a civilized man and an Indian woman, to whom naturally would fall the raising of the child, it is considered as belonging to the mother's tribe, if she is single, or to the husband's tribe (as if it were his child), if it is a matter of a married woman. In Iauareté (1956) we knew two brothers, students of the Mission, regarded as Taryana, although children of different fathers, two Colombian soldiers of fortune.

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a. Distinction by the somatic element.

582 As was said, the law of exogamy is in effect among all
563 these tribes (except the Maku). The Taryana of Iauareté, for example, obtain for wives the women of the Tukano tribe residing in the neighboring povoado called Umarí, both
563 povoados on the Uaupés River. Vice versa, the Tukano of
144 Umarí take as wives the Taryana women of Iauareté. According to present knowledge about heredity, the paternal genídios /genes/ (1)

1. The new science, Genetics, verified and admits a granular conception of heredity. The germ cell of the human being contains in its nucleus 24 pairs of chromatic points, they are the chromosomes, each of them being made up of smaller parts called gene or genídio (from the Greek root gen, which indicates to generate).

are blended and balanced. One can expect, then, that the physical aspect of the Taryana (of Tukano mother) will not present notably characteristic physical features that would
144 distinguish them from the Tukano (of Taryana mother). This compulsory crossing, which dates from many generations, explains to us the similarity of physiognomic features, which we find today among individuals of different tribes (2).

2. We observed a typical case, among the many, in August of 1956, during an excursion to the stream Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié (near Parí-cachoeira). We found in Piracema, povoado of the Desana tribe on the Umarí, a boy with physiognomic features extraordinarily similar to those of a Desana youth who served us as an oarsman, and from this very povoado. We verified, however, that the boy belonged to the Tukano tribe, of the povoado called

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/footnote 22 cont./ we already found many Wanãna of the younger generation, who had passed through the boarding schools of the Missions, not only understanding the Tukano, but even preferring it to the mother tongue when they are amusing themselves with their classmates.

the Tukano idiom. At the same time the Taryana language is on the way to being lost, because they are surrounded by the Tukano.

563 The matrimonial interdiction of the Tukano with the Wanãna and the Bará is in force.

/84/ 3) Divisions (23) --

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23. In 1947 we had obtained a list of 28 subdivisions. And in 1953-4, we procured confirmation with the old Komũ, Gabriel Costa (about 80 years old), from Parí-cachoeira. He confirmed to us the order of derivation that we present here, starting with the Mamí (older brother) Waũ-ro-põrá, and proceeding with the term Axkabí (younger brother) Oã kaxpéa põrá, etc. He also informed us that the first 14 subdivisions are the "principal ones," "the following 14 are inferior." And he added four more subdivisions as being "the lowest." Of the ones that we had obtained previously, he not only failed to mention, but even denied the existence of the U'khwãra and Vidari. Nevertheless we had confirmation of their existence on the part of individuals belonging to these subdivisions in S. Miguel and Melo Franco (last Brazilian localities on the river Papurí), respectively.

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• 563 Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

[115] 113. In Urubucuara and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters
[611] of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Antônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Taryana, later married a Wanana.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114).

114. Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has
881 theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the pajé or Kõmã and with another young man
833 of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).
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There are, as we have seen (IV -- 2), three groups of tribes, which we call Tukano /Tucano/, Arwake /Arawak/, and Maku /Macu/. The serious obligation is that of exogamy. Once the interdictions that we listed in the Classification of the tribes are observed, however, the woman may be from another tribe of the same group or from another group of tribes. Out of a question of pride, no tribe will marry a Maku, who is considered slave and inferior; /409/ he is not "people," they say (3).

3. We know of a few cases of marriage by men of other tribes (Tukano, Tuyuka, Desana, Ipeka) with a Maku woman. None of a Maku man with a woman from another tribe. Among these few cases, that of a young woman, although already orphaned in 1947, a resident of the Tuyuka maloca of the locality of S. Pedro, river Tiquié, whose father was Tukano and the mother, Maku. We were not able to verify whether her mother was a legitimate wife or simply a concubine; or, further, whether she had been born from a casual relationship. We do not know either, under the first hypothesis, for what reasons such a marriage had taken place. Perhaps a lack of women? Or due to a physical defect of the man (it is to be noted that the girl was cross-eyed)? Or because of living among the Maku of the Gí-paraná or Komé-ya (trib. of the Pirá-paraná)?

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If they nevertheless manage to catch some young Maku girl, they might have her as a concubine, along with the legitimate wife. They will avoid, however, having children with the Maku; and if, in spite of this, they do have them (for example, the grandmother of Maria Gama from Urubucuara), they are considered

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M /409 cont./
851 legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).
• 563

4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Maku, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

T
101 Marriages between Taryana and Desãna do not take place. We
582 do not know the reasons, however; it does not seem to be because
563 of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most noble group, marry Desãna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desãna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

T
582 Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano
563 explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kõ-Ro. Nor the
614 Pirá-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Miritĩ,
[601] Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor, finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Miritĩ-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana, Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

T
582 b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of
614 one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy, a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son.
T
*[192] It is what is called Põãperi or põãpeseri. And the young woman
[601] will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mã-rapõ nyãkhõ (future husband) or even Põrã-kõ nyãkhõ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nõ'mõ nyãkho (future wife) or Põrã-ko nyãkho (future genitress).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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at Pindaíva on the Cuduiarí. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambomamára* on the Cuduiarí, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiarí group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists. 614 615 554 361

*Hehénewa* In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiarí and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurý is known as *Wahúdja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Órobawa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Órobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapuri. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiarí, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiarí and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbwawü*. [114]

*Byá-Hehénewa* A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiarí.

*Wathariwa* The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbwawü*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uacuríwa*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umari* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapuri falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

*Byá-Wathariwa* A subsib of the *Wathariwa* on the Vaupés.

*Urírariwa* Perhaps a subsib of the *Wathariwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

*Bahúkiwa* They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapuri falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Bwü* and his sister was *Onpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiarí. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Borówa*) who wandered into the Cuduiarí and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borówa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borówa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borówa*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet. [563] [648] [186]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahúkiwa* regard the *Órobawa* as their "head."

*Bahúküdjauwü* A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahúkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahúkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiari and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucúra *igarapes*.

*Bahukuonówa* A subsib of the *Bahúküdjauwü* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiari.

*Bahüküburauwü* A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Mánapurãnwa* (Trail people) or *Mánawa*. [648] According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiari overland, and whose [563] emergence site was the Querari *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiari. [551] The *Bahúkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy.

*Pedikwa* A subsib of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiari above the *Bahúkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toidibü*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Ancient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedi-Hehénewa* because they emerged at *Pediwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered them in the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiari. They are also known as *Piátokaüo*.

*Kenánikauwü* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* on the upper Cuduiari at *Piramiri* and at *Abúhakü*. They used to live at *Toidibü* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajú's lists.

*Kenámbiawa* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiari.

*Utciwaiwa* Their emergence site was the Yurupari *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from Uaracapuri. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahúkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miriti *igarapes* below the Yurupari falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the Dyi *igarapes*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucibowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajú. Their first ancestor was called *Utciwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

*Baryáwatiwaiwa* A sib that emerged from Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utciwaiwa*. They are also known as *Baryáwa* and still live on the Vaupés.

*Piardwa* A sib that emerged at Uaracapuri rapids, from a particular site [551] called *Mumikü*. They live at Miriti *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the headwaters of the Muchú, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewá.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabawũ* on the Querari.

*Yániwa* A sib at the mouth of the Querari. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querari as *Dyaniwa*.

*Yokóhũbewũ* A sib on the lower Querari.

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*Batóua* Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapes*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querari. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

*Ilhéadowa* A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiari, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiari, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari.

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*Káua* A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiari. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoiera*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querari and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiari near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

## THE BORÓWA

M T 648 464 T 563 M [101] [754] T [592] T [582] [614] [592] T [435]

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behórũ* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapurí and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapurí that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querarí but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiarí had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Parý *cachoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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day the *Borówa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

***BAHÚKIWA* NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS**

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*mekamóteuu yavaiwũ*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

***pwéntewũ*** – the people came out
***tcúntcauwa*** – and shed (their anaconda skins)
***hahádami*** – they went forward
***waré borikapindo*** – the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
***opéko tamána*** – crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
***emintakori*** – the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
***kanúrũbo*** – (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
***bwũhũrũhũwũ*** – the rock where *Bwũ* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwũ*)
***byátakwe*** – the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
***kwábebo*** – the place of *Kwákũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
***borikabo*** – the place of *Borikakũ* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies – it means the aracú fish)
***opéko tawá*** – the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakũ* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
***nahó pwãnwa*** – the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
***bwũtaunrũ*** – the tree beneath which *Bwũ* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwũ* passed beneath it)
***bwũtaunrũ*** – the tree beneath which Bwũ passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
***waokún*** – the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [2] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921–22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177 [3] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely
• 563 that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and
61 adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some
582 sort of exogamy. Caboclos are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1963). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of caboclos. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupenese Spanish it is "*cabano*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be caboclos.

000 [4] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Narroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

124 [5] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded inter-
191 views taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data *about* each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 [6] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of
101 demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated
197 from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

[P. 683-B]

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756 cases. It is not known, however, whether there are more frequent meetings, at certain times, whether there are rites, or which acts [622] they practice then. It is known, indeed, that the pajé often convenes the Komũã, in order to resolve the sanitary problems of the maloca or povoado (see VII - 2, e (3) ).

562 578 [115] 4) A Tukano informant, Dorotéia Brito, spoke of womens' meetings inside the maloca, during which they reveal among themselves the bad treatment that they receive from the men. We were not able, however, to verify whether it is a matter of true meetings of a secret society, as defense of class. Or instead, as seems more likely, casual, although frequent meetings of women, during which they open their hearts, revealing their own complaints. It is certain that at times, by the law of exogamy, all the women are from a certain tribe, to which they go to relate anything bad their husbands say against it, from which arise disputes and vengeance. This happens in a very regular way, and with a previous understanding of the women among themselves. These tales by the women [192] are called ukhã.

h) Social classes.

565 Among these Indians there is no true social stratification or social Classes, in the sense that there are privileged positions, perhaps lifelong and hereditary, with differentiation of tasks, diversity of rights and even of peculiar customs (in the dwelling, clothing, badges, emblems, etc.), as happens in more complex cultural forms. Within the maloca there are no lords and nobles, just 565 as there are no slaves (105);
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105. In practice the Makú serve as slaves. It is a matter, however, of another tribe, racially, linguistically, and culturally different. Perhaps one can not even truly say slaves, since in exchange for work they receive protection and food. Once the tasks are finished (clearing, aturás /carrying baskets/, etc.) the Makú may leave, just as they may also constitute their maloca with their tuxaua.

/468 cont./

565 but an admirable equality of rights and duties, as well as of property and of work.
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Various circumstances justify such inexistence of classes: 1st, it is a matter of numerically small groups; 2nd, the warm and humid climate, if it facilitates a supply of the necessary food at all /469/ times of the year, it does not allow an abundant provisioning and the development of riches. Now, where there are no rich people, there are no classes, neither masters nor slaves; 3rd, the life in common, which the conditions introduced and tradition established; 4th, the fear of the envy that the well-being of one might cause in the others, and that so many times is manifested even in connection with the small inequalities (see V - 14); 5th, the lack of a tribunal to restore rights and indemnify damages.

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3) Linguistic group.

a) Linguistic group.

619 Above the local Group, among the populations of the Amazonian Northwest, there is only the linguistic group. It is made up of several local groups, forming at times a total of thousands of individuals, with the following elements in common: 1st, they claim to be from one and the same tribe or nation and, therefore, consider themselves "brothers"; 2nd, they speak the same language; 3rd, marriage between them is definitely forbidden.

It is, then, a matter of an ethnic unit only. The groups that constitute it never gather together, they do not own property that might be said to be in common: house, land, fishing waters of such a tribe, etc. Because of the distances the relations between groups from different tribes are more frequent than between groups of the same tribe.

There is, then, no social or political organization of an entire tribe; and the elders do not recall of ever having heard of such an organization. There has indeed been some tuxaua with greater ascendancy and whom other tuxauas consulted and whose advice

[622]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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622 571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habókü* and *kenámi upákü*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókü* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment [592] is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákü*, on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókü* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókü*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókü* attributes. Thus 622 614 554 not all headmen qualify as *habókü*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, such as the *Órabawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókü* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókü* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókü* as headman. Not every *habókü* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the head- [709] man. In time of war the *habókü* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

622 614 554 301 292 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókü* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókü* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókü*. The *Bahúkiwa* define *habókü* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókü*.[1]

[114] [565] [1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

/66 cont./

000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

177 648 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Makú are [567] considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that, [648] according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis), and they themselves considered themselves such, serving without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the [554] subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some light on this curious practice.

161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same; or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
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16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
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b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[322] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their character-
[531] istic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[411] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana
[567] /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

/78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to
[226] all the tribes, the Pará-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3) ) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3) ), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/81 cont./

*101 a) DAXSEÁ OR TUKANO

1) People-Name-Language -- In the native idiom, they are called Daxseá (sing., masc. daxségõ; fem. daxségo), name of the bird that we call tucano /toucan/ in Portuguese. In the historical period they are already found under the name of Uaupés (cf. II -- 6, a (1) ), in the basin of this river, so that the various tribes of this region are known and understood under the denomination of "Nações Uaupés" /Uaupés Nations/. Perhaps the broadening of the term is due, not to the fact of the Tukano customs having been imposed, those of the other nations being eliminated, but to the greater number and dispersion of groups of this tribe, as well as to the generalization of its idiom. Even today many adult persons (and lately, because of living together in the boarding schools of the Missions, children as well) of the various tribes of the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí understand and speak the Tukano language, and perhaps have forgotten their own native idiom.

[191]

According to Lucas, an old Tukano from S. Luzia, on the Papurí (in an account to Pe. Antônio Giacone, in July of 1947), the Tukano descended from the northwest (thus disagreeing with old Justino from Iuquira, as was seen in a previous Note) to the Uaupés basin, already finding there small groups of Makú who were either enslaved or went into the forest in the interior. They call the Makú Poxsá, that is, one who serves without pay. "They are servants in peace and soldiers in war," as the old people expressed themselves about them (19).

[115] [648] [567]

19. It is not likely that the Tukanos had the Makú as allies, or that they would rely on them, if we note that they are shy and also subject themselves to other tribes. Nor do the legends that we collected speak of favors by the Makú to the Tukanos in war.

The tribes who arrived later called the Tukano Yepá-maxsã,

/319 cont./

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Vol. II, n. 5, p. 14). Foreseeing the attacks, he would proclaim beforehand his relations with God, by whose order he would demand payment from the Indians in exchange for the forgiveness of sins. At such news, the forest dwellers would go to see him from wherever they were found. The Missionary Frei Manuel de Santana Salgado, who, at the request of Pe. Romualdo, handicapped by illness, had replaced him, threatening police intervention, forced Venâncio to withdraw to Venezuela. Again during the journey of Frei Salgado another similar religious movement appeared near the "Povoação da Guia" /Town of the Leader/, on the igarapé Pirá-iauára. This time the protagonist was a Brazilian Indian, also named Venâncio, "who called himself Padre Santo enviado de Christo" /Holy Father sent by Christ/, and "the repetition of such acts took place, and it was there that the public confessions, divorces, and new marriages were made, all this being followed by profane entertainments with dances, eating and drinking, which also was practiced on the Cuiary in /320/ consequence of the teaching of the doctrine and the supposed miracles of the so-called Christ."

In his report dated from Cunury (river Uaupés) on April 12 of 1859, Pe. Romualdo told that Indians of several tribes were gathered in Juquira-rapecuma, on the Uaupés, "worshiping another Christ who had appeared there, practicing the same that had happened on Igarapé Piraiauára, on the Içana, that is, baptizing, marrying, etc., that this gathering numbered over a thousand persons armed with firearms and curabís (arrows with poisoned tips), prepared to resist the officials, in case they went there, as had happened on the Içana, that they would wait right there for the whites."

Indeed, Frei Salgado was received hostilely and had to withdraw in danger of his life on March 3, 1858. "According to what has been reported," proceeds the Relatório, "and is taken as certain, the Christ is an Indian, a native of the Uaupés, who resided in the district of Marabitanas, well known there by everyone, called Alexandre. In the retinue of the Christ," concludes the Relatório (Archivo do

[567]

/320 cont./

177 Amazonas, October 3 of 1907, Vol. II, n. 7, pp. 85-90)
792 "are more than 10 captured Macus, who are used by them
• [567] as slaves, to the point of selling them in exchange for a weapon, swords, axes, and whatever pleases them."

After Venâncio and Alexandre, a deserter by the name of Basílio Melgueiro renewed the same mistakes, states Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 20).

Around the end of 1880 another individual appeared, this one from the Arapásu tribe, who called himself Vicente Cristo and claimed to maintain dialogues with the spirits of the dead and with God himself, of whom he proclaimed himself to be a representative. He announced himself as "Pai dos Missionários" /Father of the Missionaries/, who, at his request, God had sent to the Caiarí. He fanaticized many, whom he made dance around a cross. Having harmed many seringueiros /rubber workers/ with his fanaticism, he was finally arrested in Barcelos.

A similar episode happened in the last decades of the past century on the Papuri. An Indian from the Tukano tribe (Subdivision of the Sakúro-põrá, see IV - 2, a), Lino Sêwa by name, appeared in the locality of Buxtwá-pweá (today Montfort). Natives of the Papurí and even of the Uaupés and Tiquié ran to him. He ordered each one to make a cross for himself, taught sacred songs, preached that everyone would go to
[115] heaven, and produced many cures with his remedies. The informant for these episodes was an old Indian woman from Pari-cachoeira, called Isabel, who completed her report by offering that, because she had not practiced fornication, "Saint" Lino took her as a helper in the preparation of the remedies. Among the extraordinary events Isabel tells of a marvelous blossoming of beautiful flowers in the entire region included

/374 cont./

121 It is probable that such a practice, in origin, is due to the
266 lack of food. Nevertheless, later, because of the whole orientation of the mentality of primitive man, it came to take on a magical character. One must, then, distinguish economic cannibalism and ritual cannibalism.

/375/ 1. Economic cannibalism.

In economic cannibalism the flesh of enemies, fresh or preserved by various processes that they know, is usually consumed; this is exoanthropophagy. Hence expeditions of war to provide human flesh.

266 This is what Wallace tells us (o. c. 638) about the Kubewana:
--"On the Uaupés only the Cubeus /Cubeo/ are truly cannibals.
721 They eat those of the other tribes whom they kill in battle. In order to obtain human flesh still fresh, they even make war for this single purpose. When the meat exceeds what they can eat at one time, they dry it and smoke it on the fire, and thus it can be stored for a long time. They burn the heads of the dead ones and drink their ashes with caxirí in the same way that has already been described above."

As for the Kubewana or other tribes of the Uaupés, this information obtained by Wallace seems false to us. Perhaps in turn
[727] based on Wallace is Bento de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha,
[567] Director of the "Archívo do Amazonas" (1907, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 80), in his article entitled "As explorações e os exploradores do Uaupés /The explorations and the explorers of the Uaupés/," where he also affirms: -- "When they take a prisoner in war, if it is a man, they massacre, if it is a woman or a young man, they sell, when they find a buyer, otherwise they kill and eat, dividing the pieces among everyone in the tribe."

266 The encounters and reprisals that took place about twenty
years ago between the Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/
648 and the natives of the banks of the Cananari, tributary of the
726 Pirá-paraná, are still remembered (information by the Colombian Napoleão Estrada, in November of 1953, and by others). Still

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881 All these premarital relations (115)

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115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b) ), and her fiancé, Mã-ra-põ nỹãkhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

[628]

The Makú maidens and women, while they are working for the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

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When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian individuals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

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The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

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son, Manoel Silgueira, imposing on him the following conditions:

1st. -- To care for the Chapel and the Missionary's house.

2nd. -- To oblige the residents of the said Mission to finish making the houses started, even to make those which they have not had made.

3rd. -- To divide the Mission into streets, during the building of the houses.

4th. -- Every three months, to send (if the Missionary P. is not present) a resident from here to where the Padre is, in order to report the deaths, births, and the usual news during the said three months.

5th. -- To oblige everyone to make their clearings for their own maintenance, and in order to provide for their necessities.

[567] 6th. -- To forbid absolutely the sale of the Macú natives, as well as to impede, in any way possible, the so-called pega-pega /Port. pega, fetters for fugitive slaves/.

/464/ 7th. -- Finally, in case of necessity, to provide people for public service, that is to say, when the Missionary arrives, he must give the people whom he wants for his passage.

In the firm conviction that the said Sr. Principal will fulfill the conditions indicated above, I pass to him this document, in the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara on the fifth day of the month of December of 1882.

Sgd. Frei Venancio Zilocchi
Miss. Ap. Pno.

To Capitão João Silgueira, Sr. Principal of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara (a lapis).

Visa P. João Bálzola Salesian
August 7, 1923

/468 cont./

756 cases. It is not known, however, whether there are more frequent meetings, at certain times, whether there are rites, or which acts [622] they practice then. It is known, indeed, that the pajé often convenes the Komũã, in order to resolve the sanitary problems of the maloca or povoado (see VII - 2, e (3) ).

562 4) A Tukano informant, Dorotéia Brito, spoke of womens' meeting inside the maloca, during which they reveal among themselves 578 the bad treatment that they receive from the men. We were not [115] able, however, to verify whether it is a matter of true meetings of a secret society, as defense of class. Or instead, as seems more likely, casual, although frequent meetings of women, during which they open their hearts, revealing their own complaints. It is certain that at times, by the law of exogamy, all the women are from a certain tribe, to which they go to relate anything bad their husbands say against it, from which arise disputes and vengeance. This happens in a very regular way, and with a previous understand- [192] ing of the women among themselves. These tales by the women are called ukhá.

h) Social classes.

565 Among these Indians there is no true social stratification or social Classes, in the sense that there are privileged positions, perhaps lifelong and hereditary, with differentiation of tasks, diversity of rights and even of peculiar customs (in the dwelling, clothing, badges, emblems, etc.), as happens in more complex cultural forms. Within the maloca there are no lords and nobles, just 565 as there are no slaves (105);

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105. In practice the Makú serve as slaves. It is a matter, however, of another tribe, racially, linguistically, and culturally different. Perhaps one can not even truly say slaves, since in exchange for work they receive protection and food. Once the tasks are finished (clearing, aturás /carrying baskets/, etc.) the Makú may leave, just as they may also constitute their maloca with their tuxaua.

/468 cont./

565 but an admirable equality of rights and duties, as well as of prop-
• 567 erty and of work.

Various circumstances justify such inexistence of classes: 1st, it is a matter of numerically small groups; 2nd, the warm and humid climate, if it facilitates a supply of the necessary food at all /469/ times of the year, it does not allow an abundant pro-
[578] visioning and the development of riches. Now, where there are no rich people, there are no classes, neither masters nor slaves;
[692] 3rd, the life in common, which the conditions introduced and tradition established; 4th, the fear of the envy that the well-being of one might cause in the others, and that so many times is manifested even in connection with the small inequalities (see V - 14); 5th, the lack of a tribunal to restore rights and indemnify damages.

3) Linguistic group.

a) Linguistic group.

619 Above the local Group, among the populations of the Amazonian Northwest, there is only the linguistic group. It is made up of several local groups, forming at times a total of thousands of individuals, with the following elements in common: 1st, they claim to be from one and the same tribe or nation and, therefore, consider themselves "brothers"; 2nd, they speak the same language; 3rd, marriage between them is definitely forbidden.

It is, then, a matter of an ethnic unit only. The groups that constitute it never gather together, they do not own property that might be said to be in common: house, land, fishing waters of such a tribe, etc. Because of the distances the relations between groups from different tribes are more frequent than between groups of the same tribe.

There is, then, no social or political organization of an entire tribe; and the elders do not recall of ever having heard of such an
[622] organization. There has indeed been some tuxaua with greater ascendancy and whom other tuxauas consulted and whose advice

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character
[342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor.
[596] The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu-
[553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social seg-
[614] ments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into
[796] one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kúwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yawi*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul-
197 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO
MACU SQ10



were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behórü* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapurí and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapurí that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querarí but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiarí had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Parý *cachoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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day the *Borówa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

### *BAHÚKIWA* NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*mékamótewu yawiwü*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

***pwéntewü*** – the people came out
***tcúntcawa*** – and shed (their anaconda skins)
***hahádami*** – they went forward
***waré borikapindo*** – the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
***opéko tamána*** – crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
***emintakori*** – the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
***kanúrübo*** – (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
***bwühürükúwü*** – the rock where *Bwü* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwü*)
***byátakwe*** – the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
***kwábebo*** – the place of *Kwákü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
***borikabo*** – the place of *Borikakü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies – it means the aracú fish)
***opéko tavá*** – the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakü* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
***nahó pwánwa*** – the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
***bwütaunrü*** – the tree beneath which *Bwü* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwü* passed beneath it)
***bwütaunrü*** – the tree beneath which Bwü passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
***wsokún*** – the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

114 [101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

[124] [614] [615]

615 361 197 619 615 571 574 [601] [101] 615 197 124 114 [124]

As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the correspondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
•571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

/147 cont./

9) Indolence.

461 To visitors used to the intense and constant rhythm of activity and work in our great cities, it will seem strange to encounter the natives, during the day, in bed in their hammocks, asleep or entertained for hours on end in pleasant conversation. The repetition of these encounters will plant in their minds the traditional conviction about the indolence of the Indians. Perhaps it would be more exact to state that the Indian is neither the hero of hardship nor the prototype of indolence, although by temperament he is slow in his movements, as he is of spirit.

The nature that surrounds him and his way of life establishes for him a rhythm of work. He performs all those jobs that the customs impose on him: he builds his house, cuts down the forest for a clearing, prepares his fishing nets, hollows out his canoe, occupies himself with fishing and hunting, manufactures his utensils. If we do not find him busy from morning to night every day, like the civilized, it is because he does not /148/ feel the necessity of it. He does not have ambitions; he is contented with little, and he works as much as necessary in order to live. It is also certain that the depth of preconceived opinion that he feels against the civilized is not stimulus for the Indian to make an effort when he works for the "white." He will show even less desire than in his own work. He will nevertheless do a reasonable job under two conditions: a timorous respect for the white and constant supervision.

571 Comparing the Indians among themselves, one cannot blame anyone as stingy. It is the most harmonious economic equilibrium that one can imagine, although it is at a very low level. *[192] Very rare are the cases, that are known, of singularly indolent types, tesé-bũhũgõ, and parasites, whom their fellow tribesmen themselves find fault with.

462 The woman, yes, finds herself busier, more absorbed as it were, in the housework (as will be seen later, VIII -- 1, a (9) ), busying herself with the younger children, cultivating her clearing, and preparing the food or making some artifacts.

/157 cont./

593 888 Cases in which they buried their old parents alive are cited (28).

28. There was shown to us in Uaracapá (river Papurí), upon leaving the povoado, the place where the hammock of a sick old man had been tied between two branches. And they had not only turned him out of the house in this condition, but also left him there in the open, without assistance or resources. As soon as he had died, they dug a grave under the hammock, cut the ropes of the old hammock, which fell, with the cadaver, into the hole, and covered /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ it irregularly with earth, as we could see in November of 1953. In June of 1954 an old Taryana about 70 or 80 years of age, shivering with cold, was found in the port of Iauareté. We do not know how he got there. Taken to the hospital in serious condition, he was laid on a hammock, given medicine, and had a hot water bottle applied (to replace the fire that they always use under the hammock). Days later, feeling well, he was questioned about where he came from. He interrupted immediately, saying that he did not want to go back to his house, because he was mistreated there by the children.

[764]

We were informed about a Taryana from Pinú-pinú (river Uaupés) who mistreated and several times even spanked his own father, who was from Iauareté.

156 571 At least while they are living in their own environment, they cling together among themselves, even among individuals of a different tribe, more than /158/ with a civilized person. There is not, however, any sign of particular friendship among

156 /158 cont./
571 them: one notices the same treatment for all. It is still the group spirit that atrophies the individual impulses. The reciprocal envy and the fear of poisoning that torment them do not allow the feelings of friendship to flourish among them. They are always afraid of one another. Some of them would like to open up more with the civilized, and in some cases they do when they are alone. He will become reserved, however, as soon as another Indian appears. One has the impression that they are afraid of appearing as a friend of the white.

648 Nor is there any evidence of the existence of gratitude in
156 his heart, especially toward the civilized. Although he appears friendly, speaking to them with expansiveness and intimacy, he never gives thanks for the favors received; he does not even show acknowledgement of them, even in cases of extraordinary benefits, and even of the true and heroic devotion of the Missionary or of the Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/. He does not approach him to offer any gift as a sign of gratitude, or even say a tender word of thanks. It is not reported either that among his fellow tribesmen he is concerned about showing gratitude for the benefits received from the white. One can affirm that the cordiality that they show toward the civilized is always inspired by self-interest, and the supposition of lack of attention on the part of the white is enough to make the manifestations of that cordiality disappear.

18) Revenge-vengeance.

627 On the other hand, his instinct for revenge is strong. With
628 perfect control of himself, without the slightest outward sign or facial expression revealing his displeasure, the Indian accepts the greatest contrarieties. He does not, however, forget the
*[192] insults and the injustices, real or supposed, nor does he forgive
*[797] them (29).

29. It seems that the verb to forgive does not exist in the Tukano language. Out of the necessity for catechising, the Missionary sometimes uses the verb oxkó-boho, to forget. The

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coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the governor of exogamy (Kirchoff, 1931). In a sense this seems to be true of the Cubeo as well.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* generation mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sibling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Because of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be embarrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awkward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only community exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib exogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers" and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient, or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

## THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, [823] the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

361 823 The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahúkiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

## FISHING

Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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244 A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total
433 productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects
[462] favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They
244 are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their
242 characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When wom-
[571] en from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cul-
[459] tivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for
[252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake
244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's
462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

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Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

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439 business. The Indians are now aware that in their dealings with the whites their labor and their products have a fixed value with some
[462] leeway for bargaining. Direct commercial trade, object for object, is almost exclusively the province of the Indian women. This is not a new role for them because they also are active in intertribal and intersib trade. Because women do not have as much contact with whites as do their men they still inject into the commercial trading much that is traditional.

439 The traditional attitude is that any exchange is part of a patterned
571 social relationship. An exchange establishes a linkage between the principals and each is aware of his obligations and of the showing he must make. The obligation is of generosity, the temptation to give somewhat more than one has received. The impression to be made
[831] is that one does not haggle over objects. An exchange between a man and a woman who are sexually eligible to one another introduces the additional element of flirtatiousness. All of these elements enter into and complicate and enliven the farinha trade. The more experienced men are able to adapt to commercial methods, but since it is improper for a man to conduct his wife's business for her he will stand aside when she is trading her farinha.

439 I never witnessed the intertribal trade, but when I pointed to an object and asked who had made it or where it had come from, its provenience and the nature of the transaction were always known. Manioc grating boards, for example, generally come from the Isana River. The Cubeo often traded European articles for tribal manufactures, less because they needed the tribal object than to satisfy another Indian's need for the European article. A Macú once wanted matches and gave a small basket for a box. The Macú baskets are
[183] highly valued, but in this case the initiative was with the Macú. An important principle of native trade in the area is that an object asked
[576] for must be surrendered. One must be careful, therefore, not to ask for something the owner might be reluctant to part with. Thus the
[123] *Bahúkiwa* headman asked me as a condition of my staying in his community not to offer to buy ceremonial objects. "If you ask for them," he explained, "we shall have to give them to you. How shall we replace them?" Thus, there is an element of delicacy in intertribal trade. At the same time there is a compulsion to engage in trade so as to give significance to the meeting of people of different tribes. In sum, while intertribal trade eventually satisfies the requirements of the Indians for specialized objects they would not ordinarily have, each individual transaction responds to motives that are often only indirectly economic. Trade objects circulate readily. Thus, a set of

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relation of the men to the manioc cultivations is as follows. By working jointly in making a clearing the men are fulfilling, in part, a sib obligation. This is of minor importance, however, as compared with the specific obligations and the ensuing relationship between a man and a woman. No bond between a man and a woman is of greater importance and richer in sentiment than that set up by the making and cultivating of a manioc garden. Every garden plot defines a relationship between a specific man and a specific woman. A woman without a man can have no garden. A man without a woman has no clearing to make; he can have subordinate status only in another household. Each side gains status from the arrangement. The only firm bond is that between husband and wife. A widow has only a frail claim upon the labor of her brother, whose primary obligation is to his own household, where his wife keeps jealous watch over her own *chagra*; for a woman's pride is deeply involved in the size of her manioc clearing. The Cubeo regard the size of clearing as a sign of a husband's affection for his wife. A widow has a better claim upon an unmarried son. As we shall see, between unmarried brother and unmarried sister a semiconjugal relationship develops over the material holding of land.

244 423 593 571 [614]

We have spoken of a reciprocity in status involved in the manioc *chagra*. There is also a specific and related economic reciprocity. By making a clearing a man obligates his wife's production. The preparation of manioc cake is never spoken of as a wifely obligation, but chicha and farinha are. The point of economic reciprocity as it sometimes emerges in the course of conjugal quarrels is entirely one of status and not of so fundamental an issue as food. If we are to speak of male-female reciprocity on matters of food the issue is between the male flesh foods and the female cultivated foods. Although a man obligates his wife's labor for chicha and for farinha he evidently does not obligate all of it, for a woman will suddenly declare that she is cosponsoring a drinking party by a contribution of "her" manioc. Moreover, it is part of the status of a wife that she can freely contract part of her farinha production for personal objects, such as cloth and trinkets. If there is a formal principle governing this kind of connubial economic arrangement I did not learn what it is.

244 423 462 593 [261]

The point to emphasize with respect to manioc cultivations, then, is that the issue in possession of land is not simply that of subsistence. It would be unthinkable for a Cubeo to allow a sibmate, or phratry mate for that matter, to hunger if he had any food for him. When a solitary woman laments that her *chagra* is exhausted and no kinsman is moving to make another for her, the fear she voices is not that she

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264 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahúkiwa* to pay a
574 courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to
123 eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahúkiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may
758 explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack
571 fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest
866 for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This
[857] attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in
183 leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good
571 part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances
431 of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice; one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy
[123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

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others. I doubt that any nonsharing goes unobserved and I expect that the nonsharer is not too concerned with being unobserved. Often enough, boys will quarrel about the distribution of food, but never with a nonsharer. They sense the significance of the gesture and are embarrassed by it, waiting for the delinquent to finish. He rejoins them and their play resumes as though nothing had happened. Elders will not correct nonsharing among children because they regard what the boys do in the play pack as a matter of no adult concern. I was never aware that the children themselves ever rebuked or punished a nonsharer in their midst. The nonsharer always received his portion. The play pack leader, who does not hesitate to censure a member for indecent sexual behavior, is comfortable in his role as a giver and will not censure a nongiver. He understands, to be sure, that nonsharing is a form of deliberate estrangement from the intimacies of the group, but he also knows that no headman will censure a household head who chooses to become an Independent or a Satellite. Similarly, the nonsharer may estrange himself from the play pack but the play pack will not ostracize him. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the flagrant nonsharer was also the boy who ran away during the ancestral whipping rites. Every example of a case of nonsharing that came to my attention (five or six only) was that of a boy who had no father. Orphan boys are deprived of one of the more pleasurable intimacies of receiving a portion of fish or game that a father brings home. A man's son is the first to greet him when he beaches his canoe. He is given a fish or a bit of meat, which he prepares by broiling or baking and shares with his play pack. He has the status of a giver. The orphan child, in these circumstances, has the lower status of a receiver and is denied a food intimacy. The nonsharer acknowledges at the same time a status of subordination as well as of estrangement.

Among adults, nonsharing is more disturbing and more consequential. A man who does not share food eventually refuses to do his share of work. Such a person is called "one who does nothing." A household head who is angry or out of sorts will not join the sib meal but will gather his family around him at the household hearth for a private meal. A mood is respected and the incident passes with little notice. If it is repeated, it is assumed that the nonsharer will soon move out and become an Independent. Nonsharing does become a touchy issue when food is scarce. We were experiencing hungry days during the height of the rainy season, most meals consisting of manioc cake dipped in peppers, fortified occasionally with a minnow. One late afternoon a household head entered the maloca with a

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261 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily
183 toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that
571 he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own
431 hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about preparing it, never once turning her eyes out upon the maloca. The house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however, venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head
183 prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He
571 chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly
431 caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand
522 gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible household head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave. The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not like us.

261 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of
183 anger. Just as the boys of the play pack will only stand aside as their
571 nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do
431 nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in
578 extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the dissaffected household departs. I was told, but could not verify it,
[754] that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people, it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

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433 There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby foodstuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate disproportionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiari than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families to travel about, visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a nontraditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. When hunters kill a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

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433 Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol-

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izes the amity of the highly knit sib community; the other, and a related condition, is that the total economic product is divorced from considerations of status and power. Thus, the Cubeo cannot think of economic advantage as a political advantage over others, and, conversely, they cannot regard the economic advantage of others as a threat to their own autonomy. Economic equalization through the various formal channels of distribution is taken for granted. There are no sanctions or techniques deliberately designed to promote equality, but simply provision of sustenance for all persons within the network of kinship and friendship.

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614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedikwa*
[554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiarí that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kenánikauwü* are a subsib of the *Pedikwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piarówa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Olá-Piarówa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahúkiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior.
571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship
[622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac-
[857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come
[614] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves
[796] at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere-
[622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihí* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance,
562 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of cere-
796 mony women take precedence according to the order of precedence
[622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her hus-
[593] band has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substitute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to
[614] the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial
[553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother.
561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring
584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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anced relationship in which he lavishes gifts upon her. "When she grows up," the Indians say, "she will repay him." A young man enters a friendship pact with an elderly widow because she has no one to look after her. This relationship, though, is like mother-son, and the woman will provide the young man with chicha and farinha if he has provided her with a manioc garden. 572

The Cubeo believe that ceremonial friendships persist in the afterlife. As spirits, they walk about arm-in-arm, one informant said, rapturously. The spirit of the friend who dies first hovers about the house until the other dies. It then leads its spirit friend away. 572 775

The ceremony for inaugurating ceremonial friendship is a simple one. At a drinking party, friends paint one another with red pigment which they refer to as "blood." Applying body paint to another, picking lice, or removing insect-bite scabs from the body is a gesture of intimacy normally confined to the immediate family. It is this intimacy that makes it appropriate between ceremonial friends. 572 302 515

Ceremonial friends tend to form a network. When a man has taken a girl as his *hiko* he is likely to take her brother as his *hikü*; his own brother will then take her sister as his *hiko* and so on. There are many network possibilities. Men who are *hikü* encourage their children to become ceremonial friends. The friendship network encompasses the phratry, giving to people special privileges of hospitality along the river. The network of kinship already encompasses the phratry, to be sure. But ceremonial friendship interlaces these bonds with the quality of close kinship. This seems to be its special significance. One may also look at the relationship from an economic point of view, noting the circulation of goods through its requirement of gift exchange. The Cubeo, however, are not so much property-minded as they are person-minded. The Cubeo joke about the gift aspect of ceremonial friendship and laughingly say that some people enter into the relationship with many people in order to acquire gifts. They are amused at the thought that a girl with many ceremonial friends will be a burden upon her suitor, who must make a gift to each ceremonial friend. The parents of young people are also burdened because they will be asked for something to be used as a gift. However, it is not goods they seek but intense relationships. It is not that the sib and the phratry fail to provide people with warmth and mutual assistance. The ordinary organization does this to a high degree. It seems, rather, that being virtually surrounded by "brothers" and "sisters" the Cubeo have exalted expectations of warmth and assistance which ceremonial friendship helps satisfy. 572 571 572 431 571

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There is a strong preference for taking a wife from the same sib 614
from which one's mother has come. This establishes a pattern of cross-cousin marriage and creates a very close bond between the maternal and paternal sibs. The *Bahúkiwa*, for example, are closely intermarried with the *Byóiwa*[1] and the relations between these two sibs accordingly are cordial, even warm, in contrast to the stiff relationships that generally prevail between sibs of opposite phratries. Preferential marriage into the mother's sib arises naturally from the strong bonds of affection and of formal relationship between brother and sister. The principal way in which brother and sister maintain their ties even after marriage has separated them [593]
is by arranging for the marriage of their children to one another. We have seen that the grandchild is called a "little affinal," a designation that I have taken to mean that a man, having arranged for his son to marry his sister's daughter, regards the offspring as a contribution by the affinal sib to his own. He has the satisfaction of regarding his sister as responsible for this. She has succeeded in getting something from the "other" sib over to his sib. In this way, exchange, which is the greatest of human binders, is kept active.

From the point of view of the boy, marriage with a father's sister's 614
daughter also seems most natural and certainly convenient. Having 584
had virtually no opportunities for courtship, he does not know where to go for a bride. His father suggests that he visit his aunt in his mother's sib and his mother is delighted that her son will visit her kin. There is no more desirable guest than a boy who is visiting both his father's sister and his mother's kin. The warmth with which he is received should put even the shyest boy at ease. There are, to be sure, other opportunities for finding a bride, but by and large even the most aggressive young men still prefer to go to a community where the way has been smoothed for them. Since Indians travel mainly to visit kinfolk they are more or less bound to marry a woman from a sib from which, if not the mother, then a brother's wife has been taken.

Work in the rubber forests has broadened opportunities for mar- [464]
riage because men from different tribes are brought together and [571]
form friendships that allow them to visit one another and to exchange sisters. But even with these opportunities the preference for marriage into the mother's sib is still strong. A boy's parents will have opened the negotiations for him. There is no formal betrothal, but there is a kind of understanding that a particular marriage will

[1] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* marriages at the end of this chapter.

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# 6

## *Leadership and Authority*

Leadership among the Cubeo follows a principle that tends to understate authority. This principle asserts that leadership derives from giving more than one receives. Authoritarian relationships, by contrast, follow an opposing principle, that of receiving more than one gives. Authority, to be sure, can be established on a personal basis of personality and prowess. However, societies that have developed strong authority systems have usually done so by economic means, by inequality in the flow of goods. An authority system based on unequal flow of goods upward, from the community to a chief, is likely to respond quickly to economic development, and at the same time to foster economic growth. The Cubeo theory effectively minimizes the economic impact of leadership. The principle of greater flow to the top creates the condition for an expanding economic-political system, whereas the principle of greater flow from the top down creates the conditions for a static political-economic system. The economic role of the Cubeo headman is confined largely to stimulating the production of chicha. In short, the Cubeo headman gives all of his effort and ability to the community. The community, for its part, has no obligation to give anything to him. Since he has no authority to command economic productivity, for he is not an economic redistributor, he is devoid of significant economic function. At the same time the headman is a secular figure; he has no greater magical or religious powers than any other and so he is lacking in sacred authority. He may be a war leader, but he need not be; and even when he is a war leader, it is a very small party that he commands. Thus,

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622 571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habóků* and *kenámi upáků*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habóků* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upáků*, [592] on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habóků* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habóků*, although as a leader he will possess some *habóků* attributes. Thus 622 not all headmen qualify as *habóků*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, 614 such as the *Órabawa*, *Aúnbwawů*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and 554 those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habóků* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habóků* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habóků* as headman. Not every *habóků* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the head- [701] man. In time of war the *habóků* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

622 614 554 301 292 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habóků* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habóků* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habóků*. The *Bahúkiwa* define *habóků* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habóků*.[1]

[114] [565] [1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

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622 692 No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

622 614 574 273 156 Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kenámi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

[554] [47]

622 614 571 578 156 The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

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622 648 156 The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

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660 There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

888 [593] [570] as well. The fixed relationships of mutual obligation are, as has been seen, between husband and wife, between parents and dependent children, between unmarried brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends. These relationships either do not apply to the aged, or, if they do, they may not be of great value to them. Generally speaking, the aged can depend upon those who are younger and vigorous only for the generalized sib benefits of sustenance and companionship. The deprivation of the aged is in what one might mistakenly call "the nonessentials." There is no one to buy an old lady a new petticoat or to get for an old man commercial tobacco. The aged do not protest such neglect because they acknowledge their lack of claim. Nonetheless, they feel their neglect and loss of status keenly enough. When I was among the *Bahúkiwa*, an aged lady employed all her senile charms to wheedle from me a new petticoat. Her husband, a very proud old man, deigned to accept only an occasional cigarette. From time to time he brought me fish and the old lady fetched me some of her small garden produce to reciprocate my favors.

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888 The old must look after themselves. The very old *Bahúkiwa* couple maintained a semblance of an independent household. The old woman, unable to carry a load of manioc, no longer gardened, but she fetched firewood and looked after children. She cooked for her husband. Her daughter-in-law provided her with manioc cake. The old man was still a good fisherman, contributing to the maloca. Besides, he was a consultant on many matters, particularly on trees to be used in manufactures.

[18] [769] The focus of Cubeo culture is upon the vigorous household heads. The aged simply fall out of things. They are entitled to no particular respect, nor have they cause to be feared as spirits-to-be, for the Cubeo are interested only in their first ancestors and not in the spirits of the more recent dead.

## DEATH

761 [754] 763 Death may be attributed by the Cubeo to natural causes such as accidents, violence, old age, but if it is the result of illness, it must be laid to some agency that has willed it. The most common agency is human. Whether the agency is human or supernatural the reaction to death is patterned on grief, anger, and fear. The Cubeo reaction to death is to give full rein to grief and anger and to short-circuit as quickly as possible the forebodings that what has happened to one may happen to all. The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were

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574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahúkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahúkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkúndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkúndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkúndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center. 574 [342]

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough. 574 571 614

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers. 574 273 [462]

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihi* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner. [535] [171] [184] [276]

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# 11

## *Religion*

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. 771
Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, 776
fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekûpwānwa* and 787
*Kúwai* the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which specific results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious attitude must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of relations among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one neither commands nor submits. People enter willingly into a relationship that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood. In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seek to establish a relationship with a supernatural being.

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The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in 771
another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and 769
chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them [856]
grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudjíko* and *Xudjikū* they [765]
come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are [614]
invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how-

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121 count the concern is with the structure of relationships, that is, with the more fundamental principles and patterns of social behavior. In deriving such principles and patterns we are now ready to go beyond those elementary and very general theoretical doctrines according to which culture is an apparatus for satisfying basic human needs. By now this doctrine impresses us as both obvious and tautological. Cultural anthropology seeks a characterization of distinctive cultural types rather than a generalized characterization of Culture or Society. In its recognition of the distinctiveness of cultures, cultural anthropology is close to history in method and aim. In its search for general principles it is close to sociology. The proper route of cultural anthropology, therefore, lies somewhere between the poles of generality and of uniqueness. Thus, in the summation of principles and of patterns that I am about to present, my aim is to find a level of analytic abstraction that is specific enough to characterize and to identify the Cubeo and yet has enough generality to provide a basis for identifying the broader sociocultural type to which the Cubeo may belong. The justification for a level that is between the generalizing and the particularizing is that it offers promise of greater analytic refinement than a level at either pole. The problem is to move as closely as possible to the ultimate uniqueness of a cultural configuration without losing the capability for comparative study. After all, one can profitably move up the scale from the particular to the general, but there is no good way of moving down. The aim of the present analysis, therefore, is to depict what is specifically Cubeo and yet allow bases for two successively broader typological characterizations, namely, tropical forest economies of South America and "simple" horticultural economies in general.

## LINKAGE AND AUTONOMY

571 614 615 With respect to social structure, the most fundamental Cubeo principle involves a relationship between the apparent opposites of linkage and of autonomy. That is to say, the Cubeo will find a way to assert their independence of each group of which they are a part. The clearest example of this principle is the relationship between phratry and sib. What this relationship brings out is not an antagonism between opposing principles of collectivism and of individualism but rather a complementarity. The phratry does not impede the autonomy of the sib. On the contrary, it fosters this autonomy. It does so by fostering a strong sense of sib identity; for the consciousness of sib identity is actually heightened by the enforced relationship of

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sibs with one another, particularly in ceremony. Since the phratry represents a fraternal federation, promoting peace and security, the political and economic autonomy of a small and therefore potentially weak segment encounters no additional external threat. Thus, as we have seen, the phratry, by providing a zone of peace and security, facilitates sib fission, which may be regarded as a still further development of autonomy. 571 614 615

For the Cubeo, autonomy and linkage are equally strong attractions, and I think it is fair to say that they cannot visualize one without the other, or one as stronger than the other. The compulsions to form and to proliferate linkages are balanced, so to speak, by provisions for maintaining the identity and the potential autonomy of each component segment. No linkage is established that will interfere with autonomy, and, in fact, many linkages are established for the purpose of providing greater autonomy. Ceremonial friendship is a case in point, illustrating the way in which a self-initiating and hence autonomous paired relationship grows out of and complements, as well as extends, patterned relationships that have traditionally been established by kinship and by sib membership. In viewing Cubeo social structure, one is inclined to suspect that when relationships have become too solidly established, a way is found to assert the autonomous complement of that relationship. The striking oscillation between phratric solidarity and sib isolationism observed in the drinking parties may perhaps also be attributed to this very strong Cubeo tendency to assert autonomy wherever collectivism looms large. We shall return to oscillation as another principle of Cubeo social structure. At this point, we may review the principal linkage-autonomy relationships that have been described for the Cubeo. The following relationships are included, going from the largest to the smallest segments and fragments of segments. 571 [572] [615] [614]

1. *Tribe-phratry.* This is not an actual but only a potential relationship, since the Cubeo tribe has virtually no structural significance. If the principle that we have described as to the nature of linkage-autonomy is correct, it would follow that if the tribe were ever activated as a sociopolitical entity, the phratries would emerge as even stronger entities. This, however, is only an academic speculation. More pertinent is the hypothesis that the Cubeo phratry is weak because it lacks a higher, a more collective, counterpart against which to assert itself. 571 615

2. *Sib-phratry.* In this relationship we see the classic statement of linkage-autonomy. The phratry as the collective entity heightens the significance of the sib as the autonomous counterpart. The implica- 571 614 [615]

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571 614 tion of this statement would be that the development of the sib organization out of perhaps some more amorphous form of patrilineal, patrilocal organization is to be attributed to the process of federation itself. That is to say, by confronting a series of equivalent segments, each segment undertakes to assert its own clear identity. A sib, after all, is a unilinear descent group that has undertaken to differentiate itself categorically from like groups by means of such obvious symbolic devices as a name, a common tradition, and a theory of common descent. In the absence of federation this process of categorical self-identification would probably not occur. The process of sib formation, as a consequence of federation, is alleged in this instance for the Cubeo only. It may, however, prove to be a more general process. Elsewhere in the tropical forest the clan organization (parallel to the Cubeo sib) is associated with moieties. The apparent exception of the Witotoans is in all probability simply a matter of incomplete information.

571 614 621 3. *Independents and Satellites.* It is at this social level that the issues of linkage-autonomy can be most readily analyzed. From the standpoint of those who have removed themselves some distance from the sib, the issue is simply that of autonomy with its counterpart, a circumspectly defined linkage to the main body of the sib. The issue of autonomy arises specifically in relation to the authority of the headman, limited though such authority may be. The Satellites and Independents do not disengage themselves from the sib; they are content simply to assert their autonomously considered degree of independence from the headman. The differentiated form of the Satellite and Independent house may be a practical expedient for building a small house. Nevertheless, it does illustrate graphically the point of linkage-autonomy, since the square house, as has been demonstrated, does not meet the requirements for total autonomy with respect to sib functions.

571 592 614 4. *Sib-household.* The household, as has been demonstrated, has its clearly defined zone of autonomy. It has its own compartment in the maloca; it prepares its own food; it has its own manioc plantation; and it contributes its identified share of the chicha to both intrasib and intersib drinking parties. No one who has lived any time at all among the Cubeo can fail to be acutely aware of the assertion of autonomy, within the context of linkage, of each household. A sib-lineage and a lineage-household relationship along the linkage-autonomy gradient did not emerge clearly enough in my study to be included in this discussion.

592 571 5. *Patrilocal household–wife.* The demand of a newly wed wife for

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband.

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack.

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart.

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their

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571 [621] main emphasis upon the person and not upon the community. Such an emphasis, needless to say, tends to favor autonomy over linkage.

It is evident that the foregoing discussion of linkage-autonomy is in many respects simply a restatement of the familiar concept of segmentation. There are, however, significant differences that justify the use of other terminology. Segmentation as defined by Nadel (1953, p. 177) refers to a more limited set of relationships than have been included here. As an example of segment he describes a "hierarchical structure being arranged in an order of progressive inclusiveness, as lineages, for example, build up clans, and clans build up a tribe, or as several village communities form a district, and several districts the state. . . ." From the standpoint of this definition, Cubeo society is, of course, segmentary. The concept of segmentation, however, is purely objective, and as such is pertinent to the purposes of social anthropology. However, the term "segmentation" carries no cultural connotations, since it does not define the point of view of the members of the culture. Therefore it is inadequate for the aims of cultural anthropology. The concept of linkage-autonomy, on the other hand, expresses a cultural, a Cubeo, point of view and indicates how this point of view is embodied in social structure. This Cubeo point of view, which places a value both upon extending relationships and maintaining autonomy, goes beyond the structural patterns that are commonly included under the concepts of segmentation. It is a more inclusive concept.

## LATERAL AND HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS

All social structures are regulated by bonds of relatively equivalent status relationships, as well as by bonds of nonequivalent or unequal status relationships. The former, existing on roughly the same social plane, are called lateral, and the latter, existing on different social planes, are called hierarchical. Hierarchy is always a culturally defined term and represents a clear-cut distinction of relative worth. Lateral is also a culturally defined term, but laterality is not a clearly set relationship of status equivalence. Hence it must be modified by the adjective "relative." The ranking of sibs is a clear example of hierarchy among the Cubeo, whereas kinship relations, including ceremonial friendships, are lateral. However, since kinship relations also embody formal principles of hierarchy, such as generation, seniority, consanguinity, and affinity they are lateral only by contrast with the strongly hierarchical distinctions of authority, power, pres-

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tige, and rank. Societies differ with respect to the relative role these two principles have in the social structure. That of the Cubeo is very strongly lateral and only weakly hierarchical. Even the ranking of sibs has ritualistic rather than political significance. Rank confers prestige but no power. On the other hand, it does confer economic privilege of a sort by granting to the high ranks superior river rights. But the Cubeo themselves do not make an issue of this economic distinction. Political authority, as we have shown, is relatively slight. In kinship, age, generational, and descent seniority elicit some respect and provide for ritual precedence. Such precedence is a prestige point. But the prestige accrues less in everyday affairs than upon formal occasions. Thus, from the Cubeo point of view virtually all relationships between persons and between groups are lacking in dominance-subordination, whereas only in rituals, that is, only upon the plane of the sacred, are there distinctions of worth and of respect. Even these are rather minor, involving only ritual precedence. The ritual pattern itself is not hierarchical. Now segmentation, as Nadel has observed, is a hierarchical form of organization, yet in the case of the Cubeo, segmental hierarchy has little cultural significance. Since the phratry has no organization of leadership it is not, in actuality, a "higher" segment. For all secular purposes the sibs deal with one another as equals.

The principal characteristic of a strong lateral structure, such as that of the Cubeo, is its considerable flexibility in forming new linkages and in rearranging old ones. Hierarchical structures, on the other hand, are dependent upon, or subject to, the authority of a higher-ranking segment. The new linkages that any Cubeo household is free to establish are limited far more by personal preferences than by inviolable principles. Sib exogamy is such an inviolable principle, but phratric exogamy is somewhat different. It involves not the "dread" of incest but rather the sentiment of confraternity. Cubeo flexibility responds to the absence of political constraint. Sibs can move about, and can, if they wish, change phratric affiliation.

## FISSILITY

From the two preceding principles of sociocultural structure there follows a third, ease of fission. Every segment of the entire social structure has the capability of detaching itself from the larger body. The factions that have actually broken off include sib clusters, sibs,

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621 households, and individuals. Fission is an objective social process, a by-product of Cubeo cultural principles of autonomy and social equality. It is promoted, as well, by another cultural principle that we have not yet discussed. That principle I would describe as a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. That is to say, in the absence of political constraint and of economic necessity the Cubeo find it easier to leave an uncomfortable situation than to endure it.

## PERIODICITY

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614 Since the sibs join together on the basis of linkage-autonomy and upon lateral rather than hierarchical lines, some loosening of bonds
(574) would seem to be inevitable. The periodicity in drinking parties is the only measure we have of changes in the strength of attachment of sib bonds. These parties, we have noted, follow a cycle starting from full attendance and a very high state of mutual confidence and ending in a series of parties that are poorly attended and are conducted in an atmosphere that is dismal and heavy with distrust. Eventually confidence is restored and a new cycle begins. The period from high to low runs about one year. Periodicity is not a cultural principle; it is a consequence of several other cultural principles. As already suggested, linkage-autonomy and lateralization play a part in this periodicity because they allow relationships to find a "natural" level. That is to say, there is no formal authority that can step in to restore good relations when the social climate has been poisoned by
(621) drunken quarrels and by accusations of sorcery. Periodicity is perhaps
(615) to be regarded as an incomplete form of fission at the level of the phratry. Since the phratry is a stronger exponent of autonomy than is the sib, it develops only a few of the pressures that might lead to actual fission. As for other principles of Cubeo culture involved in the periodicity of sib bonds, we have already mentioned the low tol-
571 erance for psychic discomfort, and have described its relevance to
152 fission of the sib. In the context of the drinking party, and indeed in the context of all collective activities, this principle can be stated in still another way: that collectivity demands its appropriate atmosphere of good feeling. We have seen this principle strongly at work in the mourning ceremony, where the atmosphere of grief, grimness, hostility, suspicion, and fear is systematically and ritually trans-
(578) formed to one of excitement and gaiety. We have also observed that the Cubeo do not harbor grudges for long. When a feeling begins to subside they allow it to subside. When a more neutral atmosphere forms, a new cycle of good feeling can begin.

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## POLARITY - COMPLEMENTARITY

The complementary role of conceptual opposites is, of course, a universal type of cultural patterning. Cultural distinctions occur in variations of the pattern. Under any circumstances, the general pattern of polarity-complementarity produces a mode of order and hence of social cohesiveness. In Cubeo life, polarity-complementarity is very strongly expressed. Its most prominent area is the male-female polarity. From a purely sociological point of view, the male-female opposition would seem to be a reflection of the patriliny-patrilocality of the sib, in which the women are outsiders as wives and outsiders-to-be as sisters and daughters, while the men are the permanent group. To this basic social condition the Cubeo add a variety of symbolic modes of opposition. Those that have been described include opposing but complementary roles in all ritual. In the ancestral cult and in mourning ceremonies these distinguishing roles of men and women are very sharply delineated. In ritual, men supply order, while women give spontaneity. Since female spontaneity in ritual is evidently complementary to masculine formalism, it is to be understood that we are dealing here with a somewhat dramatized rather than with a "pure" spontaneity. Generally speaking, and using the Durkheimian categories broadly, the men represent the sacred side of life and the women the profane. However, in the case of the Cubeo the female as profane is a complement of the sacred and not altogether outside of it.

From a more secular point of view, the male-female distinction can be expressed in terms of a collectivist-sectionalist dichotomy: the men represent the collectivism of the sib, the women the sectionalism of the individual household. The contrast between the gregariousness of the male play pack and the solitariness of the little girls is perhaps the most pointed demonstration of this distinction. Another illustration of this pattern is in the form of the dance in which the girls slip under the linking yokes of the men's arms, occupying, so to speak, interstices of the dance pattern. The collectivist-sectionalist distinction is also clear in economic activities. Hunting and fishing are commonly collective, whereas female-prepared food, that is, manioc cake and tapioca porridges, are largely sectional (household). If we were to attempt a hypothetical linking together of the various patterns of Cubeo culture we could argue that the principle of linkage-autonomy is related to the broad principle of male-female polarity-complementarity, on the grounds that the male side in relation to the female

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571 562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 796 152 The second most important area in which polarity-complementarity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvious distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihi*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The significance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that, as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moderate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

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571 574 273 562 152 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

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The relationship between the patterns of calm-frenzy and linkage-autonomy appears also in the juridical area. Here, as we observed, justice is carried out not in an atmosphere of calm deliberation but in an atmosphere of high excitement, as befits a situation in which the collectivity of the sib has been broken both by commission of the crime and by the act of expelling the offender. The juridical is not a ritual area. The example, however, demonstrates the continuity of ritual polarity-complementarity with a more general patterning of mood.

## PATTERNING OF MOOD

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The point has been made repeatedly that the Cubeo will undertake no significant action unless the mood is appropriate. The previous example of the juridical process is illustrative. Punishment or vengeance must correspond with appropriate anger. Ritual acts and dances are omitted when the mood is wrong. All collective enterprises of the sib, such as hunting, fishing, foraging, and house-building, require a mood of geniality. When such a mood begins to break, a fairly rapid chain reaction ensues. The sense of collectivity weakens and this, in turn, darkens the mood. This cycle of mood periodicity has been discussed in the context of the drinking party. In a different context it applies to other major collective efforts such as house-building, which also follows a cyclical rhythm of spurts of work alternating with lulls. The fishing cycle is still another example of Cubeo dependence on mood.

## OVER-ALL PATTERN

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Some examples of linkage of smaller patterns have been presented to suggest at least the possibility of describing Cubeo society in some broader and more inclusive terms. The problem, however, is that the concept of pattern is a hypothetical construction based upon calling of attention to analogies or parallelisms. The method of pattern construction is largely intuitive and the demonstration of its validity is largely a matter of presenting a credible argument. Despite these self-evident scientific shortcomings there can be little doubt that the presentation or analysis of a culture without the concept of pattern must involve a serious distortion of reality. The aim of a theoretical construction that would present a culture in terms of over-all pattern is to provide appropriate bases for a more sophisticated culture typology than anthropology presently possesses. Pattern need

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121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
• 571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-
[428] complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

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generally, this relationship of appropriateness between mood and activity is not novel. It seems, in fact, altogether natural. Cultures, however, as we well know, do not necessarily pattern themselves quite so naturally. Civilizations, in particular, place the emphasis upon the social action and expect the mood to be disciplined or to be subordinated to the social occasion. The Cubeo, on the other hand, expect a rather high degree of emotional spontaneity. In this respect they correspond oddly to the eighteenth-century notions of "natural man." In secular affairs the spontaneity of correspondence between emotion and action is much greater than in ritual. In ritual the effort is made to establish the correspondence between feeling and the concept of the sacred. Ritual in primitive society generally expresses in a symbolic or highly compressed form the fundamental cultural themes of a society. We have repeatedly shown the integration of ritual with social structure. Cubeo ritual, similarly, reveals not only the role of emotionality in Cubeo life but exhibits that spectrum of emotionality that has greatest significance for the Cubeo.[1] It is indeed in ritual, as Ruth Benedict has demonstrated in *Patterns of Culture*, that the ethos of a culture is most vividly displayed. Cubeo ritual, as has been seen, dramatizes the interplay between formal pattern and spontaneity. The most vivid example of this interplay is the interaction between men as sacred and women as a laity during the mourning ceremony. The effect of this interplay is to add significance to the spontaneity of emotion, and at the same time to give emotional zest to the formal ritual pattern. In short, what seems an inescapable conclusion about Cubeo culture is that neither form nor action can be comfortably tolerated unless charged with a proper feeling or emotion.

571 152 181 571 152 796 181 [765] [562]

The relationship between form and emotion and social action and emotion is but one part of the pattern. The pattern also includes the emotional preferences. It is not simply that the Cubeo prefer to run a gamut, since an emotional gamut is a range within a particular plane. In ritual the emotional gamut moves from sobriety and order, as we have already explained, to intoxication and disorder. On a smaller scale, the ritual pattern moves from slow to fast. In the mourning ceremony these related planes of emotional modulation seemed to find their focus in a sexual rhythm, culminating in what is almost literally an orgasmic excitement. From this there may be reason to conclude that it is coitus, a very elementary biological

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[1] It is to be understood, of course, that the roles of emotionality in secular life are not the same as they are in the sacred realm. In secular life moderation is more appropriate than excitement or intensity. [786] [765]

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571 152 model, that underlies an important aspect of the Cubeo ethos. 796 What is surprising about finding coitus as a model for ritual ethos is 181 not that this obvious pattern has been drawn upon, but that it is not 831 drawn upon more often. Among the Carajá of central Brazil, I am [171] informed, the coital ritual pattern is explicitly recognized, each phase of the dance being named from a phase of sexual intercourse.[2] It is quite possible that I simply failed to discover the same explicit rela- 571 tionship among the Cubeo. The explicitness that I did discover, 796 though, is in their assertion that ritual excitement, whether produced 181 by drugs, alcohol, or the ritualization of sex, is a necessary comple- 152 ment to the ritual magic of the below-the-knee ligature of long life. This identification of emotional intensity with life itself is also an obvious and therefore a simple relationship. In sum, we can say that the main features of Cubeo ethos draw upon very obvious and simple biopsychological models and – this is the significant point – adhere rather closely, almost literally, to them. Since the social pattern also draws upon a very elementary model we must conclude that the socio-cultural pattern as a whole is built upon the simplest of social and biopsychological models. Needless to say, even the bare and incomplete account of Cubeo life that has been presented suggests that the elements of over-all pattern described here do not encompass the "totality" of the culture. In all probability, however, no concept of pattern can ever encompass a total social and cultural system. From the point of view of culture theory the question is a different one. The proper question is: Does the theory of pattern provide an adequate approach to an understanding of the culture?

121 We can attempt to answer this question by applying the concept 571 of pattern that has been presented to an analysis of two fundamental cultural problems: the problem of social homeostasis and the problem of ecological adaptation. Strictly speaking, equilibrium and adaptation are one problem. It is simply that this problem can be approached from two sides.

## SOCIAL HOMEOSTASIS

The assumption of social homeostasis is that a cultural system consists of relationships and interactions that are so patterned that their net effect is to perpetuate the system, generation after generation. It is understood, of course, that homeostasis, or equilibrium, is a relative condition only, since no society today is a precise duplicate of

[2] Personal communication from Dr. William Lipkind.

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what it was yesterday. Moreover, the concept of homeostasis, like that 121
of pattern, is a theory of society. As a theory it rests upon further 571
theoretical assumptions as to what are the significant relationships, what are the normal patterns, and what are the disharmonious and stressful interactions. In the final analysis, a theory of homeostasis deals primarily with the ways in which a society handles conflicts and stresses. From a broad perspective, one can say that Cubeo society depends rather heavily upon what might be called "mood management" for equilibrium. Its homeostasis rests a good deal less upon networks of reciprocal obligations and upon formal exchanges of goods than, let us say, in Melanesian societies. The clearest illustra- 121
tion of this Cubeo equilibrium principle is in the role of the head- 571
man. In Cubeo culture he is not an economic redistributor (the 622
drinking parties cannot be regarded as an economic exchange) but a regulator of community sentiment and of good feeling. However, the nature of Cubeo equilibrium is best considered at each particular level of social integration.

Cubeo society may be presented diagrammatically as encompassing 571
five orbits of relationship, arranged in order of progressively weaker 61
bonds of unity. The innermost orbit is represented by the male sib- 602
lings, the nucleus of the sib; the second orbit is the sib itself; the third orbit is the phratry; the fourth, the affinal kin; and the fifth and outermost, the tribe. The brother-sister relationships and the hus- [593]
band-wife relationships may be regarded as within the confines of the first and second orbits.

Each orbit has its own characteristics of equilibrium. To take them 571
in reverse order: Tribal unity is so tenuous that fragmentation into 619
subtribal units is of little consequence. New combinations are readily formed and whatever disturbance this may cause is very temporary. Tribal continuity rests upon tradition and common language and customs, on the one hand, and upon the phratric organization, of which it is a summation, on the other. With respect to tribe, the question of equilibrium is more pertinently not what holds the tribe together, but rather what there is to disperse it. Tradition and common customs and language are little more than bonds of inertia. Once set, they hold unless some stronger force intervenes. Against what counterforces are the relatively weak bonds of tradition to contend? The answer is that there are no such counterforces arising from within the society, since tribal unity has no tasks to accomplish that could involve stresses and strains. Paradoxically, the very absence of a tribal leadership is a source of unity. By virtue of the linkage-

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autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geographic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest. Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

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safeguards sib solidarity. On the other hand, when the disputants are of different sibs it is relatively easy for the issue to embroil the sibs as entities and correspondingly difficult to confine the issue to the actual principals. The fiction of phratric consanguinity notwithstanding, the sib is still, in Cubeo thought, a natural unit that holds within itself the constant potentiality of antagonism toward the fellow sib. The fact that each sib arrives at a drinking party or other ceremony armed and as a unit is the symbolic expression of latent antagonism. The ritual theme of dissolving the semblance of sib unity through intoxication is presumably counteractive to sib solidarity and antagonism. Yet this counteraction via intoxication contains the paradox of bringing the undercurrents of antagonism to the surface. To be sure, when a quarrel occurs in the late stages of a drinking party it often is isolated because the other sibmen may not be fully aware of what is going on. The safety device does work, to a degree and for a time. Moreover, some men are known to be quarrelsome by temperament and are consequently ignored. Granted all these mitigating circumstances, it is easy for a man to involve his own sib in a dispute with another. When illness and death occur, one conclusion is inevitable. That is found in the expression "*they* want *us* to die." This theme recurs in the funeral orations. Perhaps it is because the Cubeo sibs have a history of separate though related origins and a tradition of past antagonisms that present-day intersib hostility can flare, and is expected to flare, even though the issues that disturb them are, at bottom, trifling. However, in conformity with the minor nature of the disputes is the absence, in recent times, of intersib warfare. The disputes result in coolness and social distance and not in organized fighting. In summary, phratric unity is readily disturbed but never very seriously. It is restored by the process described under "Periodicity." It is because the issues are not irreconcilable that the social "governor" that restores peace by separation can work so well

The orbit of the sib has the same general form as the orbit of the phratry, with the formal difference that the sib has a leader whereas the phratry has no leadership at all. In the sib, moreover, all the ties are substantially firmer than in the phratry. Since the cultural view holds that sib unity is a natural expectation and since there are no important issues dividing sibmates, we are faced with a truly difficult theoretical problem in accounting for sib fission. The common explanation, that fission of local groups in simple societies is due simply to insufficiency of food in the immediate locality, does not apply to the Cubeo, who, at least in modern times – a period of population decline – are not confronted by land shortage. There is, in

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571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
[578] Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a com-
[182] plex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen together. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo
[857] culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken – and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the preva-
578 lence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordi-
831 narily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship?
837 Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
[562] discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

578 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
571 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
837 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
593 acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
[562] status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional
[554] cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

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Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry
the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. 571
The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict 578
that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pa- 614
thology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized 154
and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly resentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these standards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a 571
more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its 614
natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in 578
Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indicated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the [622]
prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punish- [627]
ments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the difficulty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The [626]
function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, composed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by draining away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse senti- [622]
ment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood 571
brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. 614
The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. Yet 593
this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is 621
spotted with social "ions," free-floating men who, with their wives

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571 614 593 621 and children, circulate from community to community attaching themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual autonomy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low tolerance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

121 571 Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalancing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest suggestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance. On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

[619] [615]

121 174 The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural. It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cubeo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honorific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further social and political development. Though the phratric organization is largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through political and economic means. Some of the potential political means are already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolution, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of patterns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of

[614] [615] [648]

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahikiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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593 to his father for personal attention. On the whole, a child is at a greater disadvantage if it has lost a parent of its own sex, that is, a girl with a stepmother, a boy with a stepfather. A girl with a stepmother has a hard life of chores and of open neglect. A boy with a stepfather does not have a hard life at all in the material sense. He is deprived more subtly of intimacy with a paternal figure, and this usually shows itself in his own reserve with respect to his fellows. If he has no father at all the effect upon his personality is even more marked.

593 My direct acquaintance with the situation of a true orphan is 736 limited to the observation of one case among the *Bahúkiwa*. This [597] was a girl from another tribe who had lost both parents and was adopted by the *Bahúkiwa* headman as his "daughter." The little girl, about nine, was addressed as "daughter" but held the status in the household of a servant. She took on the heaviest chores and was almost never free to play. Her lowly status was truly stigmatized by [301] her lack of possessions. She was the only child among the Cubeo [123] whom I had ever seen unadorned, until I gave her a necklace which she was allowed to keep. The children of the household enjoyed beating her as a way of teasing her, rather than wickedly. She took their pinchings and cuffings good-naturedly, on the whole, and had learned to pretend not to notice. Once, in the presence of the headman, her "father," the children were overdoing their teasing. She looked imploringly at the headman. Finally, she caught his eye and he said to her, "It is all right for you to run away." He saw no need to reprimand his own children.

[114] In reading Giacone (1949) on the Tucano tribe I found my observations on orphans corroborated. He, too, reported that orphans do not lack food but that they appear to be melancholy.

## CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP

572 193 A parallel to the brother-sister relationship is the *hikū-hiko* relationship, a ceremonial friendship. These terms, formed by combining the possessive prefix with the gender suffix, connote a relationship of exceptional closeness. The linguistic significance of possessive prefix and gender suffix for kinship terms has already been brought out. The curious feature of *hikū* and *hiko* is that these terms are composed of the two intimate-indicating particles.[8] The ceremonial

[8] *Hi* is also the verb stem "to give," but if *hikū* were translated as "giver"—a feasible rendering—it should be possible to say *hihikū*. But this form does not exist.

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The ceremonial friendship is an intimate relationship, indeed. The Cubeo expectation of it is that it have a quality of warmth and of privilege, if not beyond, then at least equal to a close, recognized kinship relationship. Since ceremonial friends are already sib or phratry mates, their relationship, if it is to have any meaning at all, must make them at least the equivalent of lineage kin; and that is what it is intended to do. Ceremonial friendship gives vividness and exclusiveness to sib and phratry relationships that are often too tepid and too generalized for Cubeo tastes.

When ceremonial friends are of opposite sex they forgo the erotic play that even brother and sister are supposedly allowed to indulge in, asserting, thereby, that theirs is the closest bond of friendship attainable. The relationship is often a substitute for a brother-sister pairing. Not every sibling line is so conveniently arranged as to provide for a brother-sister pairing. Hence, if no sister is allowed to a man he casts about for a girl of his age group and asks her to become his *hiko*. If she agrees he acquires the equivalent of an assigned sister, and she of a brother. They will form a team in an exchange marriage and they will exchange products. She will provide him with manioc for chicha, if he wishes to sponsor a drinking party, and she will prepare farinha for him, which he will use to trade for objects of white manufacture. He will reciprocate with appropriate gifts and with making household implements for her. When he is paid for his labor in the rubber forests he will surely bring cloth and trinkets for his *hiko*.

To cite one specific example of gift exchange between ceremonial friends: A man of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib took a sib sister as his *hiko*. He gave her, immediately, cloth for two petticoats, two boxes of matches, two decorative combs, two small hand mirrors, thread and needles, two tins of brilliantine hair dressing, and a bar of soap. In return she gave him four big chicha serving calabashes, two balls of miriti twine, and a valuable necklace of silver triangles known as "butterflies." In addition, her father gave her two fishing bows to give to her ceremonial friend.

The relationship between *hikū* and *hiko* does fill the gap left by the normal imbalance between male and female siblings. But the Cubeo do not regard it as a mere substitute for a missing brother or a missing sister. Men who have sisters assigned to them still seek a *hiko*, if only to enjoy an individualized relationship of their own choice. If exchange marriage is not to be a central feature of the relationship, the *hikū* is still entitled to a gift from the groom at his

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572 *hiko*'s marriage and he will expect to have been consulted so that he may consent to her marriage.

[775] Ceremonial friendship should be permanent, the Cubeo say. Whoever breaks it has become an enemy and his soul after death will be that of an insect and not of a human being. Marriage, of course, separates *hikū* and *hiko*, but they visit one another, as do brother and sister, bringing gifts, and they try to arrange the marriage of their children to one another. The *hikū* has the first claim upon his *hiko*'s daughter as a bride for his son.

[574] [431] [584]

[431] Between members of the same sex, ceremonial friendship is also the equivalent of a blood sibling relationship except that they exchange gifts in a formal manner. Whereas a man has reason to suspect that his own brother might commit adultery with his wife, he believes that his *hikū* will never cuckold him. Still, when it comes to adultery even ceremonial friends sometimes succumb. Adultery or even flirting with a ceremonial friend's spouse is a principal cause for a break in this otherwise very stable relationship. A ceremonial friend who has been wronged by his partner retaliates by entering the offender's house to break or carry off everything belonging to him except the hammock. This act of vandalism declares the friendship broken. Eternal animosity succeeds it. Women are less inclined to seek a ceremonial friend among their own sex. When they do, they have acquired mainly a confidante. Since women are likely to be dispersed at marriage the pledge against adultery with one another's husband is of no great consequence.

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Ceremonial friends advise and assist one another. They feel that they actually have more freedom in their relationship with each other than they do with their own siblings. This may be correct, but I suspect that the Indians exaggerate the closeness of the relationship when talking about it. Ceremonial friends give up the use of their normal kinship designations in favor of the more intimate term.

Most ceremonial friendships are based upon simple reciprocity and so are modeled very closely, or I should say precisely, upon the sibling relationship. They satisfy in the main the longings of youths just before marriage and apparently fade with age. I was told that not everyone has a ceremonial friend but I could get no figures on its extent. Some ceremonial friendships model themselves after unequal kinship relationships, such as uncle-aunt or nephew-niece and grandparent-grandchild. These, I gathered, were not common and were rather aberrant forms of the true relationship. An older man takes a little girl as his *hiko* and is content with an unbal-

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anced relationship in which he lavishes gifts upon her. "When she grows up," the Indians say, "she will repay him." A young man enters a friendship pact with an elderly widow because she has no one to look after her. This relationship, though, is like mother-son, and the woman will provide the young man with chicha and farinha if he has provided her with a manioc garden. 572

The Cubeo believe that ceremonial friendships persist in the afterlife. As spirits, they walk about arm-in-arm, one informant said, rapturously. The spirit of the friend who dies first hovers about the house until the other dies. It then leads its spirit friend away. 572 775

The ceremony for inaugurating ceremonial friendship is a simple one. At a drinking party, friends paint one another with red pigment which they refer to as "blood." Applying body paint to another, picking lice, or removing insect-bite scabs from the body is a gesture of intimacy normally confined to the immediate family. It is this intimacy that makes it appropriate between ceremonial friends. 572 302 515

Ceremonial friends tend to form a network. When a man has taken a girl as his *hiko* he is likely to take her brother as his *hikū*; his own brother will then take her sister as his *hiko* and so on. There are many network possibilities. Men who are *hikū* encourage their children to become ceremonial friends. The friendship network encompasses the phratry, giving to people special privileges of hospitality along the river. The network of kinship already encompasses the phratry, to be sure. But ceremonial friendship interlaces these bonds with the quality of close kinship. This seems to be its special significance. One may also look at the relationship from an economic point of view, noting the circulation of goods through its requirement of gift exchange. The Cubeo, however, are not so much property-minded as they are person-minded. The Cubeo joke about the gift aspect of ceremonial friendship and laughingly say that some people enter into the relationship with many people in order to acquire gifts. They are amused at the thought that a girl with many ceremonial friends will be a burden upon her suitor, who must make a gift to each ceremonial friend. The parents of young people are also burdened because they will be asked for something to be used as a gift. However, it is not goods they seek but intense relationships. It is not that the sib and the phratry fail to provide people with warmth and mutual assistance. The ordinary organization does this to a high degree. It seems, rather, that being virtually surrounded by "brothers" and "sisters" the Cubeo have exalted expectations of warmth and assistance which ceremonial friendship helps satisfy. 572 571 572 431 571

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*pakómá* Kinsman (male or female) of my own phratry.
*tcimá* Cross-cousin of my own sex.
*hitcimako* Female cross-cousin (m.s.),[a] wife's sister.
*hitcimakü* Male cross-cousin (w.s.),[b] husband's brother.
*hipánimo* Mother-in-law, father's sister (m.s., w.s.).
*hipániyo* Father-in-law, mother's brother (m.s., w.s.).
*pani* Generalized term for parent-in-law or child-in-law.
*himanípako* Wife (literally "my children's mother").
*himanípakü* Husband (literally "my children's father").
*tcumípako* or *tcumípakü* These are alternative terms for husband and wife with colloquial connotations.
*kodjú* Generalized term for members of a phratry into which one marries.
*hikápenamu* Husband's brother, sister's husband (w.s.).
*hikápenamo* Wife's sister, brother's wife (m.s.).
*hikódjumana* My sibling's spouse, a generalized term.
*hikódjumu* My sister's husband (m.s.).
*hikáwükimana* My spouse's sibling.
*hikópwimana* Wife's brother in an exchange marriage.
*hiwemu* Husband's sister.
*dyiko* Reciprocal of *hiwemu*.
*dya* Any in-law of one's own generation.
*kibü* Brother's son's wife.
*hiwá* Any relative (literally "my people").

**CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP TERMS**

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*hikünahu* A very close friend.
*hihwimu* My male friend (w.s.).
*djuré hwiyo*[c] My female friend (m.s.).
*hikü* Generalized term for male friend.
*hiko* Generalized term for female friend.
*adjuré hwinomwa* Ceremonial friendship between two women.

[a] Man speaking.
[b] Woman speaking.
[c] *Djuré* has the connotation of "sweetheart."

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627 tempers but to inflame and to focus angry passions upon the culprit. He does so because the Cubeo do not tolerate a judicious and cold-blooded administration of punishment. Their view is that malicious
[673] acts are committed in anger. Such acts provoke anger in return, in the course of which the culprit is suitably punished. Thus, a wrongdoer always runs away. Even if he should regard himself as innocent of the charge, when he learns that charges are being discussed he deems it prudent to leave. He need not be gone very long – perhaps just a few months. When he returns the anger against him has died
622 down and there will be no basis for action. In cases where a sibman
627 is being provocatively uncooperative and the senior households, together with the headman, agree that he should be made to leave.
574 they wait for a drinking party when someone, or the headman him-
614 self, picks a quarrel with the culprit. In the heat of the quarrel the unwelcome sibman is asked to leave. The traditional drinking party
[182] seems to serve as the most appropriate setting for the airing and settling of grievances and of disputes.

578 Fighting is the most common social disturbance and is inevitable
574 during a drinking party. A quarrel between two men draws in others, usually close kin; each man entering the fray loudly proclaims his reason for joining, justifying by anger his right to take part. Members of the same household always have justifiable cause for anger in assisting one another. More distant kin must cite a personal motive. They can claim a past insult. A host or headman is privileged
578 to intervene to stop a fight but will do so reluctantly. In a Cubeo
574 quarrel the detached bystander is not welcome. Women are usually
622 strongly disturbed by fighting. They dread that someone will get hurt and when a fracas becomes bloody they loudly demand that the headman put a stop to it. If he ignores them, pretending to be drowsy with drink, they abuse him and say he is not fit to be a headman. A headman is drawn to anger and to participation in a fray if a cere-
578 monial friend has joined a fight without asking his permission.
574 Ceremonial friends are as one and should share the same quarrels. Fighting at a drinking party, although actually disliked by the Cubeo,
[572] is not a punishable offense, since the angry parties have had full opportunity to retaliate. When the fight is over the issue is usually closed, unless new threats and insults are uttered. Those will be remembered at the next drinking party and serve to start a new fight.

682 Retaliation for murder is the responsibility only of the members of the victim's own household and lineage. Sibmates are under no
[614] obligation to avenge a murder unless, they reason publicly, the mur-

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sibs with one another, particularly in ceremony. Since the phratry represents a fraternal federation, promoting peace and security, the political and economic autonomy of a small and therefore potentially weak segment encounters no additional external threat. Thus, as we have seen, the phratry, by providing a zone of peace and security, facilitates sib fission, which may be regarded as a still further development of autonomy. 571 614 615

For the Cubeo, autonomy and linkage are equally strong attractions, and I think it is fair to say that they cannot visualize one without the other, or one as stronger than the other. The compulsions to form and to proliferate linkages are balanced, so to speak, by provisions for maintaining the identity and the potential autonomy of each component segment. No linkage is established that will interfere with autonomy, and, in fact, many linkages are established for the purpose of providing greater autonomy. Ceremonial friendship is a case in point, illustrating the way in which a self-initiating and hence autonomous paired relationship grows out of and complements, as well as extends, patterned relationships that have traditionally been established by kinship and by sib membership. In viewing Cubeo social structure, one is inclined to suspect that when relationships have become too solidly established, a way is found to assert the autonomous complement of that relationship. The striking oscillation between phratric solidarity and sib isolationism observed in the drinking parties may perhaps also be attributed to this very strong Cubeo tendency to assert autonomy wherever collectivism looms large. We shall return to oscillation as another principle of Cubeo social structure. At this point we may review the principal linkage-autonomy relationships that have been described for the Cubeo. The following relationships are included, going from the largest to the smallest segments and fragments of segments. 571 [572] [615] [614]

1. *Tribe-phratry.* This is not an actual but only a potential relationship, since the Cubeo tribe has virtually no structural significance. If the principle that we have described as to the nature of linkage-autonomy is correct, it would follow that if the tribe were ever activated as a sociopolitical entity, the phratries would emerge as even stronger entities. This, however, is only an academic speculation. More pertinent is the hypothesis that the Cubeo phratry is weak because it lacks a higher, a more collective, counterpart against which to assert itself. 571 615

2. *Sib-phratry.* In this relationship we see the classic statement of linkage-autonomy. The phratry as the collective entity heightens the significance of the sib as the autonomous counterpart. The implica- 571 614 [615]

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband.

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack.

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart.

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their

000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

114 [101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

[124] [614] [615]

615 361 197 619 615 571 574 [601] [101] As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the correspondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

615 197 124 114 [124]

*539 /367 cont./
or tobacco or manioc. All that I had I gave to Miriápura Turíkaro, but, since you did wrong, all that is now lost. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, is going to give you the seeds of manioc, coca, and tobacco. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, will give two little sticks to your woman (woman of Yúpuri Baúro). These little sticks will be as though stained with blood. I tell you this so that you will know. When your woman feels a blow on her body (32), it is because Yepá Uejkeó is coming with the seed.

[756]
[574]

32. According to the informant, the shaman also feels a blow on his body every time travelers arrive at a maloca.

Your woman must go immediately to the port of Diawí, and you must order all your Pamúri Majsá to turn around and look toward the back door of Diawí, all lying in their own hammocks. If you do not pay attention to me this time, you will lose the manioc seed again, just as you lost the Bajséboperi the last time. All the natives the Vaupés are like animals. Someday I will send you chickens, dogs, and pigs so that you can compare yourselves with them. I am cursing you. Look at the group of the Ereya (33) and at the group of Siópuri Uejké (34). They really

33. Brazilians.

34. Colombians.

are good people. /368/ They have their own chiefs and they pay attention to their chiefs. They truly obey me. Go into the maloca of Diawí." And Yepá Huáke disappeared. Yúpuri Baúro entered Diawí, and there he ordered that all the Pamúri Majsá turn to look toward the back door. And all of the Pamúri Majsá obeyed. And they obeyed Yúpuri Baúro because formerly the Tukano /Tucano/ were very respectful. And formerly Yúpuri Baúro could strike Yepára Oakajpeá (35), and Yepára

[615]
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35. In the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry,

/152 cont./

574 *[192] He is, however, hospitable. When some tribal irmão /brother/, or even an Indian from another tribe, arrives at the maloca, he at once presents to him beijú and quinhapira /a fish dish/, and, if there is any, also manicuera, bacaba, or some other drink. The "white" can likewise help himself liberally to everything.

156 14) Envy.

Envy is one of the vices that mar their character; they do not even take care to disguise it. Anyone who begins to distinguish himself because of his talents, becomes an object of the envy of the others, and he soon is afflicted by fear of some malefice from the others. A Tukano man, having acquired some planks with his work in the Mission of Pari-Cachoeira, started to make a hut with more luxury and comfort. The others at once threatened to poison him, and he found himself forced to abandon everything and run away. The same worm of envy is already great in the children. The ones who learn Portuguese more easily, win good marks, and are praised inexplicably become slack and decline. It was out of fear of the envy of the others. At the time of the /153/ school awards, it can not be specified that this is the first prize and is for So-and-So; or to reward only a few. It is imperative to give awards to all, being satisfied with calling first those with greater merit and letting them choose. The Directress gave a pair of shoes to one of the young women who worked in the Mission. She hardly used them once. "Why don't you wear the shoes any more?" -- "The others insult me" was the answer.

829 577 15) Theft.

Suffering so strongly the sting of envy, it is not surprising that he presents another weak point: the tendency to steal. Resistance perhaps against the "white," whom he always considers superior and rich, he readily seizes (even outside of the

/165 cont./

152 leveled out nations distinct and quite different in somatic traits, in bio-ethnic origin, and in speech, and it seems to have managed to mold all the components of the tribes according to a single model. For this reason we affirm that, even in the way of laughing and gesticulating, the different tribes of the Uaupés are similar, and for this same reason, the vast Uaupésina region must be considered as a single cultural area.

Here are some indications of the native formality of the Uaupés.

At the meetings of relatives, indeed, as we have already pointed out, even at the meetings of spouses or between parents and children after a long separation, there are no displays of jubilation.

484 Trips for visits are frequent among them: psychological necessity because they live in small groups? Or reminiscence of an ancestral nomadism?

576 The official receptions at the great feasts or possible ones at some meeting are always invested with a strange and indispensable formality.

• 574 576 521 *[192] When during his frequent pleasure trips he decides to stop at some maloca or povoado, he leaves his canoe at the landing place and goes up. If /166/ there are several, they will do it in Indian file, that is, one after the other, observing an order in which the most dignified goes in front. He will absolutely not enter, without saying at the door: "nẽ! maxsã nĩti? Hello, are there people there?" He will say this even when he sees that there are people. Then the head of the house, or the most important person there, will come to receive him, and they touch each other lightly with their right hands. Standing up, facing each other, without looking at each other, staring at the ground or at a corner, the one from the house will ask: -- "You have arrived? extatí mãã?" -- "I have arrived, extápõ." Or: -- "Has your canoe arrived?" The other will answer: -- "It arrived." They will spend a few seconds in silence, then he will continue: -- "Ah! You have arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." After a short pause he will perhaps insist: "Ah! Well! You have

*[192]

574 /166 cont./
576 arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." -- "Where did you come
521 from?" (a question many times useless, because he knows very well the visitor's place of origin). -- "From X" (and he says the name of the locality). -- "Ah! Do you come from X?" -- "Yes, I come from X." These and similar expressions are interspersed with silence and with "ÃÃ," each of them alternating, as a sign that the one understood the other's sentence.

*[192]

The same will be done and said by each man from the maloca to the guest, or guests, if there were several. Moreover the women will pass one by one in front of each visitor and, touching his right hand, will ask the same questions: -- "Have you arrived?" -- "I have arrived," etc., without however, looking at the guests, with the eyes lowered. The women soon withdraw, and one of them goes to get a small mat, stretches it out in front of the visitors, and on the mat she puts a pan with quinhapira and a sieve with beijú, from which the visitors help themselves without shyness.

574 Later, sitting on the stools or each one in his hammock,
521 they carry on long conversations until the late hours of the night, with a certain rapidity, interrupted by the very monotonous "ÃÃ" and with countless and noisy laughs. If we consider that the Tukano language is so concise, it says so many things with few words, we will have an idea of the loquacity of the natives among themselves. The child will tell everything that happened during the months that he was in school. The adult will tell about his trips, episodes of fishing or hunting, the events, the persons that he met, the conversations that he had, his own and other persons' episodes, and, finally, he will have innumerable pieces of news to report, which seem uninteresting to us, but for his childish mentality they are very important. To the curiosity to know corresponds, on the other side, a great desire to tell.

/166 cont./

521 It is to be noted that the husband never converses with his
593 wife at night, only during the day, and they carry on long talks
[115] when they are resting after work. At night only gossip among persons of the same /167/ sex is permitted (so we were informed by the old Taryana woman Teodora from Iauareté, and Dorotéia Brito, Tukano, confirmed it) (44).

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44. Among the Ide-maxsã of the stream Komé-ya, we have observed conversation between husband and wife during the night. Perhaps phrases imposed by necessity are not forbidden, and only conversation for diversion is prohibited.

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521 A singular meeting of pajés gave us the chance of an excursion
574 to the middle Uaupés in May of 1956. We were traveling in the
[115] company of two Tukano pajés, Marcelino and Henrique, the pajé of Juquira and of Japú-igarapé, respectively. A breakdown in the stern motor forced us to stop longer in the povoado of Periquito, of the Taryana tribe. The two pajés in transit greeted in a common manner the Taryana colleague of the locality. Soon afterwards, however, the three pajés settled down on the bank of the river at a distance of 50 or 60 centimeters from one another, each one smoking his cigarette (which one of the visitors had given to the other two). And without looking at each other, turned toward the river, they started to recite, in quite a loud voice and characteristic tone, which could be distinguished some 20 meters away. That dialogue lasted more than half an hour, during which now one and then another of the three would take turns speaking, always with the intervention of the other two, who would repeat the last words of the speaker's sentence, or other words, by way of refrain. It was a recollection of the episodes that, according to the legends of the origins, took place in those surroundings, the story of their islands, canals, cachoeiras, and rocks, a recollection with the power of an exorcism and augury of successful navigation. It was not possible for us to determine whether there was also an invocation of the "mothers of the things,"

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as Stradelli affirms having witnessed on the occasion of the imposition of the name (45).

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45. A similar event took place in August of 1956 on the Ribeirão /stream/ Timí-ya (left tributary of the river Pirá-paraná). At the hour for breakfast we stopped in a clearing that rose on the left of anyone who went down the stream. One of our oarsmen, of the Bará tribe, found there a tribal "brother" of his. Our oarsman, then, stopped his repast, and the two Bará, standing on a large felled trunk, turned toward the west (probably in order not to have the sun hurting their face), likewise without looking at each other, engaged in a dialogue with each other in a very loud voice. It was again the augury of a happy trip, through the recollections of the legends of the origins, as we were told. This dialogue must have lasted a quarter of an hour; afterwards the two of them sat down on the trunk and continued in a cheerful conversation, in a lower and friendly tone, while they ate, since our oarsman put our food at the disposal of his "brother," and both served themselves freely.

This same Bará oarsman provided us with a similar spectacle the following night, although in more unpleasant circumstances. A storm and the dark of the night caught us navigating the Pirá-paraná, and precisely in the vicinity of the dangerous "cachoeira /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ of the beijú." A tent was improvised with two small canvases, which protected the luggage and some hammocks, on the left bank. About midnight the sound of oars was heard; a canoe approached the bank and its crew came up, among them an old man of the Ihwãna tribe. Either they already knew each other or this

/167 cont./

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/footnote 45 cont./ would be their first meeting, we were not able to find out, due to the deficiency of the interpreter. We are inclined to think that they did not know each other before, because the Bará oarsman had asserted that he did not know the region, and the Ihwãna live in this zone of the Pirá-paraná and came precisely to help us to pass the cachoeira, in accordance with the request that we had made in the maloca visited hours before. The Bará oarsman got up to see who had arrived. Immediately there was initiated in the silence of the night a dialogue in loud voices, as if there were a quarrel, between the Bará and the old Ihwãna. They were the traditional exorcisms, with the recollection of the legendary episodes, in order to obtain success for the journey; this was revealed to us by a Tukano Indian who was in our company. At those shouts in the middle of the night, everybody woke up. After a few minutes, with the desire to get the sleep so necessary for anyone who undertakes such arduous travels, we tried to intervene in order to stop the disturbance. It was a futile attempt. The two dialogists, either because they did not understand our wish or, as is more probable, because they were not interested in knowing that they were inconveniencing the others (which is also a marked and general trait of the psychology of these Indians of the Uaupés), and due to the importance that they give to their practices, they continued undisturbed before our remarks and protests. After almost an hour of dialogue in loud voices and in the typical tone of the exorcisms, they shifted to speaking in low and discreet voices, asked for something to eat, and finally, lying on the sand, they slept until dawn.

/178/

342 373 Having, then, only two openings, the interior is always somewhat dark, being, in part, illuminated by the stoves (12).

*[192] 12. Sometimes, on one or more posts, which seem planted only for this purpose, they light at night a piece of resin called cicantá, which burns with a quite intense and long-lasting light, and leaves as residue a tar which also serves for calking the canoes.

177 342 • 574 In the modern family-huts, there is customarily an interior partition, generally made of bark. Perhaps this division, which is being adopted, has been suggested by the convenience when they must house some guest, especially the civilized. The Indian ordinarily is very hospitable; he not only receives guests for the great caxirís, but he also shelters any Indian or white who might be traveling. The first division near the door is reserved exclusively for the guests (see VII - 4, e 2 a).

[797] In some povoados, at the request of the Missionary, they build a large hut that serves for overnight stays of the Padre and as a chapel, when there is no other place reserved for worship.

342 *[192] Some malocas (and also Makú huts), in which the roof ends very close to the ground, completely or partially lack side walls. Such walls are regularly dispensed with in the oxkóro-áro (Nheengatú tapirí or papirí), or emergency huts, which they make in the distant clearings or on the banks of the rivers where they are accustomed to staying overnight on the occasion of trips and fishing expeditions.

177 342 Ordinarily the maloca or house is alone and contains all the family household goods. Auxiliary houses, however, are beginning to appear. The maloca of the Tuyuca, described above, has one of these. One of the Indians, knowing a little Portuguese, explained that it was the "succursal" of the maloca. Much smaller and only partially protected by side walls, made of straw and bark. There were about 14 hammocks reserved for the Makú in service, the flour oven, sieves, hampers, suspended tipitis, [353] [415]

/290 cont./

356 Not infrequently, however, because of the dogs that also live
[136] there (and we have at times seen dogs sick and covered with sores),
[231] the ground is dusty, favoring the procreation of the bichos-de-pé /foot fleas/ (cullex pénetrans) and fleas.

Not infrequently the fruit rinds are thrown into a corner to rot,
[514] producing an unpleasant odor. This is unbearable, due to the vomitings and defecations in the maloca itself during the dabacuris. One can sometimes perceive a peculiar odor in the native povoados.

b) On the person.

515 The body hygiene is also deficient. They take a bath every morning, and more during the day. It is a bath to refresh, however, rather than to clean. Not having soap available to eliminate the grease from the body and hair, one not infrequently sees layers of dirt on some parts of the epidermis, especially in the folds of the skin and in the hairy parts. Even those who use /291/ soap, such as the school pupils, give off an unpleasant and characteristic odor.

296 Although they know how to wash clothes, and some of them do it well, in the majority of cases they keep the clothes on the body until they are very dirty, or even until they rot. Precisely the following custom is to be noted: they wash their own clothes with certain frequency when new. When they consider them old, they will not wash them any more. If they get wet, they let the clothes dry on the body.

356 Their primitive hammocks of tucum are never washed as a
515 rule, and in a little while they are darkened by the sweat, smoke, and grime. They climb into the hammock with the body dirty. The only care will be, perhaps, to rub the soles of the feet, one against the other, in order to clean them of soil.

574 With all freedom, an Indian, even a strange one passing by the maloca (we have seen this even in the case of Indians of different tribes), will lie down during the day in the first hammock that he finds vacant, while he rests and converses.

796 /341 cont./
[178] last three or four days are already rare, and commonly they are limited to two days.

If it were called wai poosé, offering of fish, every male guest would bring smoked fish. If it is of pupunha, ã'rẽ poosé, they must likewise bring this fruit, etc. The most common poosé
*[192] are those of fish, of beijú (ahũ-ga poosé), of pupunha, of inga (mẽrẽ poosé), of manivara /termite queen/ (mexkã poosé).

[273] In the maloca where the dabacurí will be held, more or less three days before, or even earlier (the time necessary for the fermentation), the women busy themselves preparing a large quantity of drink: caxiri of beijú, or cará, of pupunha or of any other fruit /342/ in tubs or vessels that are covered with banana leaves in order to facilitate the fermentation. The activity is great; there is an extraordinary gaiety, loud laughter, a true clamour.

• [574] In the morning of the appointed day (the hour will vary according to the distances from which they come), the offerers start arriving, bringing the offerings. They arrive at the landing place (or at a short distance from the maloca, if they come by land) with only some painting or also with some feathers in their ears. Two men go up to the maloca in order to give a warning of their arrival and to fetch the drink. The chief of the maloca sends the drink to the landing place; while they wait for the strangers, they complete the painting.

When they are ready, which always happens around 9 or 10 o'clock (47),

47. Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, describing these feasts, says in the entry Tauucurí that the strangers arrive late in the afternoon. It did actually happen this way at two poosé that we attended among the Taryana of Iauareté, one of fish and the other
[115] of cunurí. The Tukano Antonio Barreto, however, in describing the dabacurí to us, asserted that on the Tiquié it regularly takes place in

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• 574 /342 cont./

The visitors deposit the offering on banana leaves or mats or baskets, displayed in the center of the maloca. Perhaps there is still more of the offering at the landing place; they go to fetch it and make their delivery.

[562]
[858] The women and children who have arrived gather at the back, where those of the maloca are already.

Once the offering is finished, and the shouts and music have
[622] stopped, those from outside, starting with their tuxáua, greet individually those of the maloca, /343/ starting with the first one
[576] in line, who will, naturally, be the local tuxáua. They are the common and formalistic greetings: -- "Did you come?" -- "I came!" "Did you come to the feast?" -- "I came." -- "Did you bring the offering (fish or the name of the fruit)?" -- "I brought." He goes on to greet in the same way the second man in the line and thus all the rest. All the visitors, in the order of their reception, imitate the first one. All, however, with much gravity. As they finish greeting those of the maloca, the guests are arranging themselves in a long line, according to their importance, on the right side, in front of those of the maloca, from the main door to the back.

[431] Two or more men of the maloca distribute a cuia /shell
[576] from the Crescentia cujete/ of caxirí to each guest. After all have drunk, they sit down, and the women of the maloca come to greet
[562] the men at some distance and without giving them their hands.
[191] If the women are from the tribe of the guests, these greetings are in the dialect of their own tribe and not in that of the husband.

The chief of the maloca speaks in a loud voice to his own wife (one of the indications of the matriarchalism): "They came to bring the offering (fish, fruit), you give thanks." She, with two women, goes to the center of the maloca and says -- "You brought with so much trouble fish (pupunha) for us. We have prepared a little caxirí in a hurry." Then the visiting chief answers them: -- "You may eat at will. The fishing (or the harvest) was small, but we have brought it with good will."

/343 cont./

796 Such formalistic greetings last an hour and a half. After-
• 574 wards the ritual banquet starts, without any further pragmatica, each eating whatever pleases him: first the men, more or less grouped in the front part of the maloca; afterwards the women and children, in groups at the back of the maloca.

[785] Once this meal is finished, the ritual fast begins, that is,
[273] abstention from any food. It is only permissible to take some of the drink prepared for the feast. They do this, helping themselves copiously, even excessively, to the drink, which, besides, is very nourishing, being as it is, in reality, a thin pap (49).

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49. On a certain occasion, after eleven hours of laborious passage through the forest, we arrived at a maloca of the Bará, located near the headwaters of the stream called marĩya (tributary of the Tiquié), when a feast was being given there. One of our traveling companions, of the Bará tribe, who should have been very tired and undernourished, like all of us, since he was carrying the heaviest load, did not accept the food that was prepared for those of our retinue. He preferred to participate in the feast with his "brothers," and contented himself with only beiju caxirí.

2) Preparation for the dances.

*[192] The tuxáua, at a certain moment, tells the chief of the visitors that the banquet is finished and "he may open the box of the decorations" (mahã poári axká-ro).

*[192] /344/ The women of the maloca come to fit the bands
[302] (uxtá-seri) to the guests' legs, below the knee, and to execute the body painting. The woman who painted him will be the guest's dance partner. It falls to the man, Pe. Humberto Limpens and the Tukano Antônio Barreto note, to paint the woman, and

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).

• [574] [123] [126] [302] [562]

50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumã by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumã tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõõ wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her. *[192]

[301] [554] The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

[534] *[192] When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to entertain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a) ); it is a sign that the dances
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796 /351 cont./
276 to the least important of the men who have participated in the
538 dances, and who arrange themselves in two lines, one in front of the other, all, however, sitting down. Each man takes some puffs and passes the cigar to his neighbor, and thus everybody
*[192] smokes several times, until the cigars are consumed. The tuxaua and the bayá alternate with the Komũã the episodes of the history of the origins, dõxporó-kase kextí, recalling the different places from where their ancestors came, and the exploits that marked this ascent. They do it, however, in a singing rhythm, prolonging the final syllables of each part that they narrate.

796 Once this rite is concluded, the sticks and snappers are
• 574 gathered up, the men take off their ornaments, which are carefully kept in the box for this purpose (VI - 2, d (7) ). The guest
576 tuxaua gives thanks in a loud voice: -- "The poosé was very good. We enjoyed ourselves very much, etc."

796 As the conclusion of this rite and of the fast that they must observe at these feasts, the Kõmũá who prepared the kaxpí puts in the mouth of each man a roasted pepper. For the young ones there is prepared a broth with lemon juice and pepper (and sometimes also salt), and this is applied to their noses with a funnel of leaves. The young man must draw this broth into the mouth and swallow it. After this ceremony, they can take their mingau or any food whatsoever.

The entertainment might continue, principally among the younger persons. Ordinarily, however, they adjourn to the ham-
[513] mock (often two persons in the same hammock) and rest, in order to start the amusements again in the cool of the afternoon, around 4 o'clock.

5) /sic; 6)/ Games.

[524] We have spoken of the number of games that take place between the dances, but occur principally in the prolongation of the feast, that is, from the second day on.

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1st. -- Some of the guests come buzzing, like the carapanã (crepuscular mosquitos /Culex fatigans/), and, with a little stick in the hand, they start stinging the others, who try to shoo them away.

2nd. -- Afterwards others come, pretending to be ku'síro (an animal perhaps legendary, similar to the dog, some say, and which makes a clamor in the forest), making noise, dragging pot or stick, doing this up to the center of the house. Those of the maloca beat on the ground with a stick in order to chase them away.

We have watched a similar challenge for two hours, finally leaving the competitors, who went on with the same enthusiasm.
[178] Nowadays many of the younger generation, instead of listening to
[535] those monotonous narrations, prefer to dance enthusiastically with their female companions to the sound of the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/.

[273] 3rd. -- The caxirí is served; some no longer want it. The companions force them to take it, always in jest.

4th. -- The chief of the guests comes in with a torch of turí
796 (VI 5, a (4a) ), lighted, because it is already dark. His compan-
574 ions come in, throwing down objects, taking fruits, beijú, eating them. All feigning an attack on the maloca. A simulation so well done by the way that the civilized present become frightened, believing that it is a matter of an enemy attack and that a fight is about to start. In reality many feasts degenerate into fights and are intentionally taken advantage of for reciprocal vengeance.

524 5th. -- Some of the guests now come hopping, squatting,
796 imitating the toad, and making the characteristic sound with the
574 mouth: "uão... uão... " They enter the maloca, and those who are there ask the toads: -- "Where are you going?" "I am going to visit my relatives." -- "Your relatives have all died." And the toad, at this news, faints.

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/353 cont./

Those who feel tired go to sleep. In the morning they take their bath, drink their mingau, and leave freely, that is, not all at once, but without a formal farewell, in small groups. Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Tauúcurí) tells that he saw them all leave solemnly in another procession as far as the landing place, as at their arrival.

b) Poosé with the mysterious instruments -- flagellation.

*192
796
534
778
[115]

According to the statements by the Tukano pajés Henrique from Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), the sacred instruments, or mĩrĩá (juruparís) (62),

> 62. A young man gave us the following explanation: "This instrument is very old; the one who found it was a man who had a son and two daughters. The daughters stole the instrument, and a bird played it very well. Now fearful that they might steal it again, they do not let it be seen, nor do they tell this story in the presence of the women." This deficient information reminds one of the legend of Uaracapá (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

are used only during the poosé (dabacurís) of fruit (cucura, patatuá, cunurí ucuquí, etc.), therefore not during those of fish (waí poosé). Even during those poosé, instead of the mĩrĩá, one might sound the flute mawáko (cf. 3, c (3c) ), as the Christian povoados closer to the Missionary Centers generally do. As we have indicated above, there are two types of mawako, both of imbauba, the larger one of about 30 to 40 centimeters, like a common fife, and blown by the upper orifice; the smaller one of 10 to 15 centimeters, with an orifice in the middle, laterally, by which one makes it sound. Two of the dabacurís that we attended in Iauareté were held with the latter.

/387 cont./

628 At times there are individuals of different tribes participat-
831 ing in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual
648 liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors.

• [574]

592 In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem
582 obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an
836 open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage
797 are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

/396 cont./

*192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mamã kapinã
539 Perikũ yaví-i-i davyá (Yaví = long, slim?)
Davyá yaví
Daví kawá-á nomã yavi-nõ
Daví kawá yaú; daví kawá yaú.
Kapiná perikúli
Davyá yaví yú
Kawá-yavyá mã-ã-ã (he blows the flute at length)

[115] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
[574] (For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yê-ê dyá yakẽ marí
Kemẽ maryé-é
Kemẽ maryé-é kenaní
Wekã-ni kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kenã yá marỹé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpekã ané
Wekã-re kenaní wekã-re
Kená tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

535 a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple
[115] amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

535 Mandú (131)
237
301
[291]

131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

/405 cont./

501 it now falls to the hand that was holding the handle to pull the blade of the oar. When someone feels tired, he interrupts the exercise, letting his companions proceed with the work. On the calm stretches of the river, or when they go downstream with the current (it is what is called to go downstream floating), it might happen that all stop rowing and entertain themselves in animated conversation.

505 The continuous traveling by way of rivers with dangerous cachoeiras not only gives them extraordinary endurance, but makes them brave and turns them into highly skilled navigators. A superior and serene courage, of someone who relies on his knowledge of the dangerous places and of the process to use in each one of the currents or whirlpools, and, therefore, does not fear surprises. Of someone who relies on his own strength, tested so many times at the most difficult moments; of someone who knows that, in the worst of the possibilities, if the canoe capsizes with the shock of a wave, it will still continue to float, and he will be able to catch it, swimming, a few meters farther on. If some [574] cargo is lost in this accident, he will have beijú and smoked fish at the first maloca, until his wife can prepare beijú for him again and until he catches some fish or kills some game. It is the most excellent control of the nerves that can be imagined, in any danger that the navigation presents. With these qualities it is understandable that they are the indispensable navigators of these rivers, and infuse us with great tranquility when we have them as crewmen. Frequently in the vicinities of the cachoeiras there exist native dwellings or there are Indians engaged in fishing, always ready to give help if they are asked.

According to the level of the waters, they know whether the canoe must seek one channel in preference to another, whether a rock is sufficiently covered, whether one needs to use the pole. In some cases the Indian /406/ will jump quickly from the canoe to a rock (140)

140. Those who are already dressed sometimes

/461 cont./

622
175
648

/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

[198]
[177]

[829]

622
592
*[192]

The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

• [574]

97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

592 /462 cont./
622 and directs the collective work of the women, especially the
• 574 preparations for the caxiris and dabacuris. It is incumbent on her to greet and to thank, in the name of the women, the guests /463/ who came to the feast in the maloca. In certain dances
[535] she has the distinctive role of soloist, Yõhõgó or Nõ'mõ-Bayá
*[192] (VII - 4, e (2 a 2) ). /Footnote 98 apparently belongs here, although the index number is missing./

[123]

98. At a great feast which we had the opportunity to attend among the Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, we saw the wife of the Tuxaua in one of the intervals of the dances approach the group of women who were seated and rebuke them. We suppose that it might have been due to the women's indecision in appearing for the preceding dance number.

797 On the occasion of the death of the Tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira,
622 the Tukano Júlio, on July 5, 1954, we had the opportunity to see some documents carefully kept by the deceased and his family, that is, a manuscript with the appointment successively of his great-grandfather, João Silgueira, and grandfather, Manoel Silgueira, for the position of Capitão of Parí-cachoeira, appointment made by the Capuchin Missionary Frei Venâncio Zilocchi, on December 5, 1882, with the visa, dated August 7, 1923, of Padre João Bálzola, Salesian. Another letter of appointment with printed heading, signed by the Capuchin Frei Gesualdo Marchetti, on May 30, 1885, also with the visa of Padre João Bálzola, of August 7, 1923. The following are the contents of these documents:

I, below signed, Frei Venancio Zilocchi, Apostolic Franciscan Missionary of the Rio Tiquih., tributary of the Rio Uaupés, and Director of the Missions established on it, appoint Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara the Senhor principal of the said Mission, João Silgueira, and in his absence the Older

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361
household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial 241
purposes. 462

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351
entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361
kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562
staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622]
for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and
for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist
that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [178]
plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755]
medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear
plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521]
of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards,
and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip.
During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests
are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351
a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361
vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562
an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574
realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made
this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was
received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as
he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361
a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562
the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823
of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614]
Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534]
edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, [515]
to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833]
women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842]
But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621
high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512
of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing
that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361
tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241
462

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621
512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712 In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner
[361] zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise at-
712 tack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the
725 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were confident they left the women and children behind in the house with
[123] a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach
504 where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza.
504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state
574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests
[417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be al-
[576] lowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men
504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning
796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe
[778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital
833

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiari these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiari proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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178 621 342 614 the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

364 356 A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command [622] assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most [476] unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the wom- [461] en take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

356 The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house [183] that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large [574] maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since [576] there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

364 Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste [514] meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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364
at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. (514)
The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a 342
vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its (796)
great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food (764)
is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- (252)
factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- (32)
side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza (517)
in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure
time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 342
way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 574
exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests 576
are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and
facing inward.

When I came among the *Bahúkiwa* they were on the upswing, hav- 342
ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had 622
put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com- (114)
partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was
75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof
extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the
work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is
carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction.
The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the
maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The
headman is known as *kenámi upákü* (owner of the house). The house
is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority
of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo be-
lieve, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation- 342
ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578
Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592
is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook dis-
courtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that
such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are
acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one
sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will
move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community.
The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove
the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they
have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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614
proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small 621
malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a 342
square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The
distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well [177]
known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following 342
spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a [354]
hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared 342
with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own 513
hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the 352
hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging
hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no [353]
partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we [833]
have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. [514]
The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one 342
another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house [572]
sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage [574]
facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and [352]
the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article
that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark- [353]

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773 From *Kúwai*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine. It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fishing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in production falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large community under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [251] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [417] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated [614] with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. [237] They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upañeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 484 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 574 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for 602 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult [462] male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped upon the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahúkiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahikiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw 264
upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their [522]
portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, [184]
though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will 264
ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, 765
which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and 261
tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare [574]
no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. More- [796]
over, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them
in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people [273]
wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The 261
Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circum- 264
stances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They ex- 577
pect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of speci- 264
fied social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. 574
The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. [614]
However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before
I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently [123]
caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

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264 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahúkiwa* to pay a
• 574 courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to
123 eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahúkiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may
768 explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack
571 fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest
866 for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This
[857] attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the malora a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in
183 leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good
571 part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances
431 of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice; one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy
[123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

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433 There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby food-
184 stuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate dispropor-
361 tionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own
361 state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has
614 been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential
432 ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiari than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial
614 in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a
433 hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families
574 to travel about, visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the
[421] right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a nontraditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. When hunters kill
[431] a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

433 Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources
261 are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol-
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602 or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

593 The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother." Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

[574]
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593 Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

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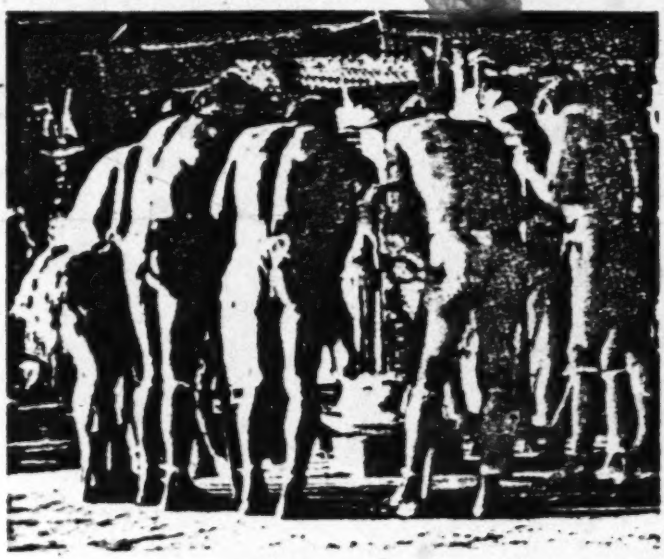

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

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already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in behavior.

The father's sister is *panimó*, a term built on the root *pani*, which means "in-law." Although a woman of the sib, she rates as an in-law because her daughter is normally eligible as a cross-cousin marriage partner. *Panimó* also means "mother-in-law." There are no formal avoidances with a mother-in-law. Ordinarily, because of the rules of residence, a man sees little of his mother-in-law.

Mother's brother (*paniyó*) is a parallel relative to father's sister. He is father-in-law. There are no formal avoidances in this relationship. The important relationship is between a woman and her father-in-law. There is a good deal of restraint between these two. The father-in-law is her mentor on moral issues, and if she commits adultery he will often act in the matter before his son does. Reserve between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is eased after a time but never lapses. The Cubeo defend the unity of the sib by regarding the in-marrying women as permanent strangers. It is the father-in-law as a sib elder who is expected to enforce the separateness. Coupled with this reserve and, in a sense, counteracting it, is the fact that he calls her *hwainkó*. Reserve prevents sexual joking, licentious bodily contact, and other undue levity. It does not bar the father-in-law from beating his daughter-in-law. Father-in-law and son-in-law may refer to one another by the common term, *pani*. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there is only the reserve of unfamiliarity. But when a man does come with his wife to visit her parents he is warmly welcomed as a son and is drawn into all common activities. The visit of a daughter is so exciting an occasion for the Cubeo that the son-in-law is readily tempted in the aura of warmth and good cheer to prolong his stay.

The terms that siblings apply to one another's children are only partially based on considerations of the marriage possibilities between their young. Primarily, the children of siblings are regarded as "youngsters." As juniors they merit generalized terms. Thus, the common terms for nephew and niece within the sib are respectively *hwainyó* and *hwainkó*. The son of a sibling of opposite sex is *pani* — an in-law — but the daughter is not. She enters the household as *hwainkó*. Again we notice the neutral character of the term. *Hwainkó* is not a term of the sib necessarily. The point is, rather, that it is not

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572 *hiko*'s marriage and he will expect to have been consulted so that he may consent to her marriage.

[775] Ceremonial friendship should be permanent, the Cubeo say. Whoever breaks it has become an enemy and his soul after death will be that of an insect and not of a human being. Marriage, of [574] course, separates *hikū* and *hiko*, but they visit one another, as do [431] brother and sister, bringing gifts, and they try to arrange the mar- [584] riage of their children to one another. The *hikū* has the first claim upon his *hiko*'s daughter as a bride for his son.

[431] Between members of the same sex, ceremonial friendship is also the equivalent of a blood sibling relationship except that they exchange gifts in a formal manner. Whereas a man has reason to suspect 572 that his own brother might commit adultery with his wife, he be- 684 lieves that his *hikū* will never cuckold him. Still, when it comes to adultery even ceremonial friends sometimes succumb. Adultery or even flirting with a ceremonial friend's spouse is a principal cause for a break in this otherwise very stable relationship. A ceremonial friend who has been wronged by his partner retaliates by entering the offender's house to break or carry off everything belonging to him except the hammock. This act of vandalism declares the friendship broken. Eternal animosity succeeds it. Women are less inclined 572 to seek a ceremonial friend among their own sex. When they do, they have acquired mainly a confidante. Since women are likely to be dispersed at marriage the pledge against adultery with one another's husband is of no great consequence.

Ceremonial friends advise and assist one another. They feel that they actually have more freedom in their relationship with each other than they do with their own siblings. This may be correct, but I suspect that the Indians exaggerate the closeness of the relationship when talking about it. Ceremonial friends give up the use of their normal kinship designations in favor of the more intimate term.

Most ceremonial friendships are based upon simple reciprocity and so are modeled very closely, or I should say precisely, upon the sibling relationship. They satisfy in the main the longings of youths just before marriage and apparently fade with age. I was told that not everyone has a ceremonial friend but I could get no figures on its extent. Some ceremonial friendships model themselves after unequal kinship relationships, such as uncle-aunt or nephew-niece and grandparent-grandchild. These, I gathered, were not common and were rather aberrant forms of the true relationship. An older man takes a little girl as his *hiko* and is content with an unbal-

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584 take place, although, it must be emphasized, these are never binding. Marriage is always thought of in terms of a boy getting a wife. A [589] girl thinks a great deal about getting a husband, but her parents prefer not to think about that. The Cubeo know bachelors but not spinsters. Parents of a boy have in mind a little girl somewhere, [583] usually in the maternal sib, as a wife for their son. Unable to bespeak her – a girl is bespoken only as a result of a brother-sister exchange marriage in which her brother has already taken possession of his wife – they keep an eye on her, waiting for her to grow up. She may marry someone else, in which case their disappointment will be keen although they will have no grounds for complaint.

614 There comes a day when a boy's parents say to him that there is a 583 girl ready for marriage and that he ought to go and see if he can 584 bring her home. If it is not the second stage of a brother-sister exchange marriage they will not say to him that they have already pursued the matter with the parents on the other side, through earlier exchanges of visits or through an emissary. Out of deference for his feelings should he fail to get the bride, they may instruct him as though he were going to broach marriage for the first time. If the girl is "vowed" to the sib his instructions are simply to bring her back, or, failing that, to take back his sister.

614 The young man sets out with a party of sibmen, some of his age 583 group and some of his father's age group. The parents may come 584 along, because a woman welcomes this chance for a home visit. A 574 party does not necessarily announce itself as a wedding party. They prefer to announce upon arriving that they have come only to visit. If the parents are not to accompany the party, the father assembles the marriage party in the plaza and, in the presence of the entire community, instructs his son in the exchange procedures. If it is the completion of an exchange marriage he recapitulates the history of the earlier marriage, the promises of exchange that have been made, and declares what is due the sib. In an exchange marriage a particular girl has been promised and a substitute has usually been indicated if the girl who has been promised is unwilling. There is also the question of supplementary gifts to the bride's parents, such as a small canoe, a gun, ornaments, and the like, that the father authorizes his son to offer. If this is to be the initial marriage, from which an exchange will follow, the boy is instructed to say which sister or other girl of the sib will be offered. Under any circumstances both bride and groom have the option of deciding that they do not care for one another. This option is no mere formality and many a marriage party has had to settle for a social visit alone because the prin-

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cipals in the marriage were not attracted to each other. It is to avoid this embarrassment that the marriage party does not declare its intentions. They announce that they have come to visit relatives. They are made welcome, assigned to sleeping quarters, and are drawn into the general round of activities of the house. They may stay for many weeks. The groom-to-be joins in the activities of his age group, hunting and fishing with them. He spends part of his time in making gifts for his host's wife, who need not be the prospective mother-in-law, and for the mother-in-law-to-be as well, if he has been a guest in her household. He may make baskets, trays, or a hammock. Every woman treasures an object that a suitor has made. These objects, however, are not presented as marriage gifts but as offerings in return for hospitality.

The courtship itself is a slow process. For some time the prospective bride and groom virtually avoid one another. The young man is attentive to the other girls of the sib, and his own age mates, if single, act as though they are courting the prospective bride. They are all looking one another over. The young man's personality is evaluated, and his skills in hunting, fishing, and crafts are observed. The visiting party, for its part, makes close observations on the bride-to-be. The nature of this opening phase of the courtship in which bride and groom are being "looked over" is such that unexpected matches are sometimes made. It has happened that a boy who has been flirting with his bride-to-be's sister to divert attention from his real objective falls in love with her. Or the sister falls in love with the suitor and seeks her betrothed sister's permission to marry him. This happened among the *Bahûkiwa*. A man, having reached the final stages of courtship with a girl, had arranged the formal elopement tryst with her. At the end it was the sister who appeared, explaining that it was she who wanted to marry him, with her sister's consent. The suitor was not disappointed, and all went well.

If the young man is satisfied with the bride-to-be the party prolongs its stay. Otherwise it leaves quickly. Once it has decided to stay, the groom awaits a sign of acceptance from the girl. One of the first indications of sexual interest that she shows is to run rather than walk in his presence. When the older folk see a girl running when she should be walking they smile knowingly at one another. One day she throws a handful of manioc mash in his face in the presence of company and laughs at him. He pretends anger and moves upon her. She pretends fright and runs off to her manioc garden, where he overtakes her. They have coitus and they are then engaged. She may show her interest in other ways, pinching him or cuffing him as she

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614 584 walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest
836 is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting
832 coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of
these is an extract of *tiwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult,
789 a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

614 583 584 601 Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *tcimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *tcimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *tcimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *tcimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

614 574 583 584 It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the maloca and of the community – the groom joining the age group of his *tcimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

614 619 574 583 584 This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

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 619 583 584 574 [614] [114]

marriage. These suspicions are not overcome even though they may already have affinal kin in the other tribe.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, I was witness to some of the events of the full cycle of an exchange marriage involving the neighboring Tucanoan-speaking *Tatúyo*. The opening wedge for this marriage was made by a *Bahúkiwa* woman who had married a *Tatúyo*. One day she reappeared among the *Bahúkiwa* with her husband and young children and settled down for a long wait. She was given a manioc garden and her husband devoted himself to making household implements for the wife of the headman. The headman had two marriageable daughters and two marriageable sons, to each of whom had been assigned, in the traditional manner, a sister whom he would exchange for a bride. One of the daughters, the elder, was very attractive, vivacious, flirtatious, and ardently desired by many young men. She had been married and divorced several times and was accused of having aborted, or killed at birth, several of her offspring. Because she was headstrong and not very industrious, sober-minded folk regarded her as a poor choice for a bride. Nevertheless, she was assigned to the older son, a very capable young man who showed every promise of becoming a headman. By seniority his was to be the prior marriage. Among the Cubeo the problem is to have the sons marry in proper age sequence and not the daughters. The *Bahúkiwa* visitor stated her opinion that such a girl needed a *Tatúyo* as a husband. "A *Tatúyo* could tame her," she said. The *Tatúyo* indeed had a reputation for ferocity because at the time they were still at war with the whites. By contrast with the Cubeo, those I saw were sullen and certainly appeared to be far more aggressive. She added that the *Tatúyo* also had many fine young girls, girls who had not been spoiled by contact with whites. The headman had no sooner grasped the possibilities of such a marriage for his undisciplined older daughter than a party of *Tatúyo* appeared to visit their fellow *Tatúyo*, who, they remarked jokingly, had lived away for so long that they now thought of him as a *Bahúkiwa*. It was a "large" party of eight men of warrior age. They came in two canoes. They were quartered among the various households and they stayed for several weeks, showing great skill in hunting, fishing, and in making implements. No one spoke marriage; but the signs were soon evident in the flirtatiousness of the daughters of the headman and two of the *Tatúyo* youths. When the *Tatúyo* announced that they were now ready to go home, a drinking party was quickly arranged as a farewell. When the *Tatúyo* party had left, it was discovered that the younger daughter was missing and that the older sister, whose "elopement" was taken [582]

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619 583 584 574 for granted, had remained home. When this was discovered the headman and all the able-bodied men he could muster rushed for their canoes and paddled furiously downriver to intercept the "abductors." The girl's mother sputtered with indignation at the *Tatüyo* who had "tricked them" and at her daughter who had betrayed them. This, it emerged, was a genuine elopement. The older sister, willful as ever, had no intention of being "tamed" by anyone, least of all by backwater Indians. Her younger sister was eager, however, and it was no trouble to get the *Tatüyo* to accept her. In due time the *Tatüyo* were intercepted. Assuredly they allowed themselves to be intercepted. Since the girl would under no circumstances agree to come home, the parties had only to settle the conditions of an exchange marriage. The *Tatüyo* designated a girl, ripe to be taken as a wife at any time, and by way of apologizing for eloping with the wrong daughter agreed to add a large canoe. Back home, the headman berated his sister for thinking more of the interests of her *Tatüyo* husband than of her *Bahükiwa* people.

The elopement postponed the marriage of the older son, who was eager for a wife and precipitated the younger one into a marriage to which he had not yet been giving thought, so strong is the Cubeo convention of pairing a brother and sister for an exchange marriage. In a few months the younger son was sent to "demand" the bride promised. I did not accompany the marriage party to the *Tatüyo*. But when the party returned with a very attractive young bride they reported to the satisfaction of the headman that the groom, having first offered his sister a chance to return home, asked for the bride. The girl was brought out. He took her by the hand and led her to the canoe. "We [614] did not even stay overnight," he boasted. Such brusqueness and calculated discourtesy would not occur if the exchange were with the maternal sib.

581 Sheer sexual attractiveness is regarded as the wrong reason for choosing a bride. The point is not only that physical sturdiness and industriousness are better traits, but that a sexually provocative woman will be a source of trouble to the sib. A responsibility of an elder accompanying a marriage party is to remind the groom-to-be to pay attention to the sterling qualities of a bride, that do include, however, such erotically desirable features as large, full breasts, a strong back, and a clear skin. They would prefer to have her sullen rather than vivacious.

583 585 614 Formal marriage is signalized by what must be regarded as the "rite of abduction." The groom seizes his bride and runs with her to the canoe. She cries out for help and her male kin rush out and

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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Aiarí it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election—one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihi*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

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No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kenámi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

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627 tempers but to inflame and to focus angry passions upon the culprit. He does so because the Cubeo do not tolerate a judicious and cold-blooded administration of punishment. Their view is that malicious
[673] acts are committed in anger. Such acts provoke anger in return, in the course of which the culprit is suitably punished. Thus, a wrong-doer always runs away. Even if he should regard himself as innocent of the charge, when he learns that charges are being discussed he deems it prudent to leave. He need not be gone very long – perhaps just a few months. When he returns the anger against him has died
622 down and there will be no basis for action. In cases where a sibman
627 is being provocatively uncooperative and the senior households, together with the headman, agree that he should be made to leave,
● 574 they wait for a drinking party when someone, or the headman him-
614 self, picks a quarrel with the culprit. In the heat of the quarrel the unwelcome sibman is asked to leave. The traditional drinking party
[182] seems to serve as the most appropriate setting for the airing and settling of grievances and of disputes.

578 Fighting is the most common social disturbance and is inevitable
574 during a drinking party. A quarrel between two men draws in others, usually close kin; each man entering the fray loudly proclaims his reason for joining, justifying by anger his right to take part. Members of the same household always have justifiable cause for anger in assisting one another. More distant kin must cite a personal mo-
578 tive. They can claim a past insult. A host or headman is privileged
574 to intervene to stop a fight but will do so reluctantly. In a Cubeo
622 quarrel the detached bystander is not welcome. Women are usually strongly disturbed by fighting. They dread that someone will get hurt and when a fracas becomes bloody they loudly demand that the headman put a stop to it. If he ignores them, pretending to be drowsy with drink, they abuse him and say he is not fit to be a headman. A headman is drawn to anger and to participation in a fray if a cere-
578 monial friend has joined a fight without asking his permission.
574 Ceremonial friends are as one and should share the same quarrels. Fighting at a drinking party, although actually disliked by the Cubeo,
[572] is not a punishable offense, since the angry parties have had full opportunity to retaliate. When the fight is over the issue is usually closed, unless new threats and insults are uttered. Those will be remembered at the next drinking party and serve to start a new fight.

682 Retaliation for murder is the responsibility only of the members of the victim's own household and lineage. Sibmates are under no
[614] obligation to avenge a murder unless, they reason publicly, the mur-

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684 Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatúyo*. In the case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

[754] Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless com-
[562] pounded by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery, never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel. An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the husband or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman,
684 concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by
622 emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example
614 illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahúkiwa*, when in-
574 toxication was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Whereupon the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned. The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the pro-
684 prieties of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to re-
622 quest coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger
834 unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the
883 errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to
684 accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is reviled as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger
[562] at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kúwai*'s diffi-
[773] culties with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kúwai* crushes his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her manioc garden.

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihí*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urdhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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852 831 [887] [614] task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen [881] [833] [844] intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, [821] [881] a prepubescent girl is referred to as *painwe bebiko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupini*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be 881 secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, [514] through a secret doorway in the side wall of the malora so that she [826] will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To [515] develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that [302] creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me [515] see how much pain you can stand."

[302] At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is [574] held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

114 When a *Bahiikiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them 881 she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. 756 Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father 881 Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

881 After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[3] She is also known as *nominyaivi* (becoming a woman).

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796 house, sweeping every bit of ground to remove the traces of the ancestors. They bent low and uttered low cries of *hi hi hi iii iii*, the same sound used when *mihí* is brought in. This is a sound that spirits understand.

342 When the last traces of the ancestors had been swept out, the men
346 called to the women to return. The return of the women restores the
574 house to its normal condition. Before that it is a man's house, a cult house and not a true domicile. This change was marked by having the guests, who had already taken part in the earlier ceremonies, leave, go down to the landing place, march up the path, and be received at the front door in the usual reception line. What seemed to be the beginning of an ordinary drinking party then followed. However, later that night the women were told to move to the rear and to sit facing the rear door. The torches were put out and some old men fetched the hidden horns to play them in the forward men's section. They danced out again and hid the instruments. When the playing stopped, the women rose, lighted the torches again, and took possession of the *konhá* berries. The headman's wife, in her traditional role, supervised and assisted in the preparation of a *konhá* porridge, and the remainder of the berries were distributed to all the adult women. The porridge was prepared quickly and calabashes of it were sent down to the forward end of the house for the men.

Now the mothers turned to their sons to inspect the welts raised by the whippings. But the boys turned away and the mothers knew enough not to persist. The ceremony was over.

This was a truncated ceremony. Normally, the elders who have danced into the house with the ancestor horns after the lights have been put out dance among the women, while other men thrash the women with switches. Then the adult men take turns in whipping one another. None of this was done, they said, because most of the guests they had invited had not come, and feeling dispirited they cut the ceremony short.

769 However, I had the opportunity of attending another whipping
796 ceremony at the maloca of a subsib. This one was well attended and the atmosphere was properly charged with excitement, helped by a
184 great quantity of chicha and *mihí*. Yet here too the whippings were confined to the young boys and the women were unmolested. At one point, however, the ancestors danced outside the house, and two boys guarded the door while youngsters pelted the front door with berries. This was done not to frighten the women within but to give them a more vivid sense of the "presence" of the ancestors. This was re-

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# 9

## *The Drinking Party*

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614 The drinking party (*unkindye*: chicha, or *unkwinemu*: drinking
[615] affair) is the mode of exchange that, generally speaking, governs the relationships among the sibs of the same phratry. Sibs, as I have already noted, do not feast one another, an observation that Koch-Grünberg also made. A sib has its internal drinking parties during which one household head serves chicha to the rest; but the serious and regular drinking parties are those that are held for the purpose of entertaining the sibs of the phratry. I could not determine defi-
[554] nitely the pattern of intersib drinking parties, but I believe that an important principle is one of social rank. Higher-ranking downstream settlements prepare chicha more often than do lower-ranking sibs. This accords with the aforementioned Cubeo doctrine that leadership comes from giving and subordination comes from receiving. Drinking party invitations, however, must also be reciprocated, so that over a long enough period of time each sib will have entertained all the others. Since sibs are under no formal obligation to honor a drinking party invitation, the result is that most drinking parties bring together only near sibs who are obligated to attend for personal reasons. Nevertheless, each full-fledged sib plans at least one event during the year when it will have entertained most if not all of its fellow sibs. Attendance at an intersib drinking party is normally by an entire sib although there is flexibility in this.

[182] The drinking parties are of prime importance in unifying the sibs of a phratry. Their frequency and their attendance attest to the state

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of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates. 574 614 182

The *unkúndye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited to sibs of the phratry, the *unkúndye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkúndye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkúndye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity. [831] [837]

The hosts of an *unkúndye* have two very evident anxieties as they go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkúndye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As already mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy 574 614 273 574 614 554 [123]

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574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahûkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahûkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkûndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkûndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkûndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

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In preparing chicha, the manioc is allowed to soften for four days. It is left in the maloca covered with leaves until it has turned a dark green color and has lost much of its moisture. Then it is grated, pounded through a sieve, and put through the tipiti press. The dry lumps are toasted lightly on the manioc oven and stirred into a fine grain. Small manioc cakes are prepared from these grains. The cakes are thoroughly masticated and the saliva-drenched balls are mixed with water. After fermentation has begun, a quantity of sugar cane extract is added, and this mixture is left to ferment for several days. Masticated pupunha mash may be substituted for the manioc. A mixture of pupunha mash with sugar cane extract makes a potent and very laxative drink. Many communities add maize as well as a variety of root plants to a basic manioc mash. 574 273

This period of preparation is one in which the house is spruced up and personal possessions and ornaments are inspected, compared, and readied for wear and display. Nowadays women regard their long cloth skirts as gala wear. If it is to be an important drinking party a woman hopes to have a new skirt that she has never worn before. All the elaborate male ornamentation of feather headdresses, necklaces, girdles, and pendants are fetched out and tried on. Musical instruments – Panpipes, long flageolets, whistles – are tuned and repaired. Songs are practiced and dance steps tried out. A nightly respite from the labors of manioc preparation is the amusement of watching the children play at dancing the adult dances, singing the dance songs, tasting the freshly prepared batches of chicha, taking coca, smoking, and listening to the old men chant snatches of the origin traditions. The mood is such that the minor rancors of community life are smoothed out. The headman takes advantage of this mood to bring the Satellites back as permanent residents of the community. The Satellites are normally invited to be cosponsors of a sib affair, bringing a contribution not of manioc but of sugar cane, or pupunha when that fruit is in season. The headman believes that when the estranged sibmates see how happy all are they will want to come back. There is no doubt that a Satellite is strongly drawn to the festive spirit of the main maloca. But he always has the time during the hangover of the morning after to consider whether it is worth returning. 574 [292] [178] [534] 574 621 622

The headman makes the first proposal for a drinking party and discusses the date and its scale with the male household heads. Cosponsorship means that a household head undertakes to prepare a notable amount of chicha that can be shown to the guests. When the invitations go out, the names of the cosponsors are given, and when 574 [622]

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574 the guests arrive they are asked to drink from the chicha prepared
[554] by each cosponsor. Those who do not choose to be cosponsors help in inconspicuous ways. There is honor in being a cosponsor but no competition for the privilege either. A household head feels free to decide when he desires cosponsorship. Those who have the most manioc to spare accept cosponsorship most freely. Major drinking parties are always sponsored by the headman, but smaller parties that bring together only close sibs may be offered in the name of a household head who wants the honor. The headman paternalistically defers to this. Some drinking parties are announced as being sponsored by a group of brothers. Of course if there is a special occasion
[562] the household head most closely concerned is expected to be a main sponsor. Women do not sponsor or cosponsor drinking parties except for the father's sister, who as widow or divorcée living in her
[182] own sib has the status of a household head. The Cubeo use drinking party sponsorship as a means of dealing with the minor frictions of community life, for cosponsors, by the symbolic act of doing something together, have reaffirmed their closeness. On a larger scale, attendance at drinking parties serves the same function.

574 The guest list provokes much discussion and entails in a sense
614 a review of the sib's relations with its fellow sibs. An invitation may
203 help achieve a reconciliation or it might yield only a humiliating rebuff. Invitations will be delivered in person, by the headman and by all cosponsors, the headman undertaking the downstream higher-status sibs, the others the upstream lower-ranking sibs. The proper time to deliver an invitation is six days before the event. The host delivers the invitation in a chanting tone during which he does not look at the guest but over his shoulder, and the guest replies in the
[201] same manner. The host holds up his hands, palms out and thumbs together. When the thumb of the right hand meets the thumb of the left hand it means there will be drinking. Holding two thumbs together is also a jesting sign, meaning, "Now we are going to drink." The four fingers of the right hand mean days of work, and the right-hand thumb means a day of very heavy preparation. The invitation means, then, "We are going to be very active for five days. On the sixth we shall drink."

574 One principle of Cubeo social structure is that whatever is accom-
614 plished on a multisib scale must have its counterpart on the smaller community scale in which household stands for sib. Thus, the five preparatory days are all small drinking parties within the sib so calibrated by degree of festivity—drinking, taking coca, singing, smoking—that each day the festive atmosphere is heightened, so that

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when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends. 574 614

On the morning of the drinking party the *behórü* dancing staff is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behórü* they go to the river to bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river. 574 535 [515] [823]

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather headdresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated 574 614 [554] 574 576 [614] [562]

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574 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with
576 each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkúndye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good
574 part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are
576 particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has
273 set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting
576 follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which
182 is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately manner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo
796 until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by sub-
[765] sidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged
[831] and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the
[276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker,

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center. 574 [342]

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough. 574 571 614

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers. 574 273 [462]

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihi* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner. [535] [191] [184]. [276]

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saw them serve chicha in this manner. The Cubeo offer the calabash with a jest: "Drink quickly so that you may be drunk soon." The aim of the drinking party is to achieve an intense state of excitement and to maintain that until overcome by sheer fatigue and sleep. Tobacco, coca, and *mihí* supplement drinking to intensify and hasten the reaction. When *mihí* is taken, producing color visions and finally a blackout, the Indians say, "Now we shall get drunk quickly." *Mihí* is associated with *miwa* (birds), which are the patrons of ecstatic intoxication.[1] Drunkenness is not to be avoided. If a little boy gets drunk his father is proud of his precociousness. Women, however, are not expected to get drunk and they rarely do.

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*Mihí* is not taken at every drinking party but only at those that are considered very important. At the mourning festival (*dyne*) a great quantity is consumed. The narcotic plants (*Banisteriopsis caapi* and others) from which *mihí* is prepared are cultivated by the men only and they alone drink it. The Cubeo regard it as a sacred drug, and from all indications it is so regarded throughout the Western Amazon region where it is used. Along the Orinoco the Indians chew the skin, but all along the Vaupés an infusion is prepared by boiling the leaves, bark, and roots to form a greenish-brown "soup" that is strongly bitter. The Cubeo prepare several varieties that are graded according to potency. Upon truly solemn occasions they begin with a mild infusion from the leaf of a variety that is taken exactly at midday, and conclude with a very strong variety just before sunset. This sequence of *mihí* transports a man from vague and mild visions of whiteness to intense hallucinatory experiences, bursts of violence, and finally loss of consciousness. *Mihí* almost invariably causes vomiting, and for that reason alone each man must take many servings. For each type of *mihí* there are four servings taken from a small gourd dipper. The first service is of two dippers, the second of one, and the third and fourth of two each. At the beginning, the Indians say, the vision becomes blurred, things begin to look white, and one begins to lose the faculty of speech. The white vision turns to red. One Indian described it as a room spinning with red feathers. This passes and one begins to see people in the bright coloring of the jaguar. When the final strong forms of *mihí* are taken the hallucinations begin to assume a disturbing and fearful form. One becomes aware of violent people milling about, shouting, weeping, threatening to kill. One is seized with the fear that he no longer has a home. The house posts and trees come alive and take the form of people.

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[1] There is also a bird called *mihíkã*.

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There is a strong sensation that an animal is biting one's buttocks, a feeling of the feet being tied. The earth spins and the ground rises to the head. There are moments of euphoria as well, when one hears music, the sound of people singing, and the sound of flowing water. The Cubeo do not take *mihi* for the pleasure of its hallucinations but for the intensity of the total experience, for the wide range of sensation. I spoke to no one who pretended to enjoy it.

A sacred drug, *mihi* is handled in a ritualistic manner and is served from a distinctive pottery jug that is never washed. When the hosts – always a pair, one man holding the jug and the other the serving dish – offer *mihi* the following stylized exchange takes place. The guests exclaim, "*ho ho ho ho ho o o o*, here it comes." The host asks, "How are you?" and the guest replies, "I am well. I have come well." The host stirs the *mihi*, saying to it, "Stir! Look, it is bitter. It tastes bitter. Our Ancients also drank it." The guest replies, "Let me take it. Let me see if I can drink it in the same way as our Ancients did. I am going to drink." He drinks it down and is offered a mandatory second drink. The host says, "Look. Here it is, drink again." The guest now replies, "I am going to drink so as to see [a vision]." A guest whose father is dead will say upon receiving the *mihi*, "My father, when he was alive, drank like this, so he told me. He sought me out that I might drink. My father never got drunk when he drank it."

When each guest has had his two portions of *mihi* the hosts drink off two portions and then serve one portion to each guest again. The guests murmur *ba ha a a a*, meaning "well done." When the last portion is given, the host announces, "We have finished drinking," and each guest replies, "I am pleased." At this the host announces he is sitting down to have a vision, and he retires. Suddenly he leaps up at the guests in the characteristic *mihi* dance and with the sucking sound. He intends to frighten them and shouts *wetcówe* (vomit!), and the guests reply, "Bring it on. We wish to vomit."

Drinking, smoking, chewing coca powder, and taking the infusion of *mihi* are all acts with strong symbolism of sharing a group experience. Out of bravado a man may down an entire calabash of chicha. More often he will pass it to a neighbor, who will also take a few swallows and pass the calabash along. The drinker will also have taken chicha from the quantity prepared by each cosponsor. The cigarette is passed from mouth to mouth. The host provides tobacco, which he passes among his guests from a bark-cloth pouch, and a bark wrapper, which is tied to the house posts. Guests may smoke their own tobacco but will always use the wrapper that is

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574 276 provided. Men pass cigarettes to one another after a puff or two. A man will ordinarily pass a cigarette to his own wife only, for the giving of a cigarette to a woman has a potentially erotic significance. When a woman receives the cigarette she passes it among her children until finally the suckling baby has had a smoke. She then returns it to her husband. The custom of sharing the cigarette has been widely observed along the Vaupés and its tributaries. The Indians [521] accept it as a mark of friendship and of trust. Ceremonious smoking [887] of cigars held in forked holders accompanies the dignified conversa- [614] tions of the sib elders and is mandatory when these old men get together to chant the sib origin traditions. Several cigars are lighted and are passed around. There is no way of sharing coca, but *mihi*, as we have noted, is "danced in" by the sons of the hosts, and the little ornamented beaker in which it is kept is passed around.

574 535 Dancing begins when the assembly is warmed up with drink. At an *unkúndye*, dancing, being secular, is for the young, the adolescents and unmarried and the younger married men and women. In the most common dance three or four young men line up abreast, [533] left arm across a companion's shoulder, with the long dance flageolet, that sounds the song of the butterfly, in the right hand. An orchestra of Panpipes, seated to one side, sets the rhythm to which the dancers move and sound the flageolets. Starting at the rear of the house they move down the long dance corridor to a beat that starts as one slow step, a pause, two shorter steps, a pause, and then three rapid, almost running, steps, the inevitable Cubeo procedure of placing all ritual in the metric structure of *adagio* to *presto*. They reach the front of the house, their bodies swaying forward and back as they come down the corridor and gracefully swinging from side to side as they prepare to pivot, swinging the flageolets up and [614] around in unison. The first dancers are usually of the host sib and are brothers. During the early stages of the dance, as each of the visiting sibs puts its dancers on the floor, the formation is of brothers. It is not until much later during the night that drink and excitement have dissolved the fraternal bonds and allowed for the indiscriminate formation of dance teams. As the dancers move down the corridor the unmarried girls begin to stir; they giggle, nudge one another, sway forward with the desire to get up and join. But they are shy. They seek encouragement from one another. Often an older woman, a girl's mother, whispers sharply, "Go on, dance." Then two or three girls get up from the side lines and run behind the dancers, pacing themselves so as to slip under the yokes of the men's arms in the precise beat.

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Koch-Grünberg has observed this dance among neighboring Tucanoans as well as among Arawakan-speaking tribes. He observed it as a courting dance, boys and girls leaving the house after a dance and disappearing into the surrounding darkness (1909, I, 293, II 272). There is no mistaking the erotic undertones of this dance among the Cubeo. But it cannot ordinarily be a courting dance since the participants are normally sibmates and phratry mates if unmarried. The first girls to join the dancers are, in fact, their sisters. But as the evening wears on, the erotic character of the dance emerges in a dangerous form. An unmarried girl too often chooses to thrust herself beneath the arms of her sister's husband, a married woman "chooses" a husband's brother. What is ordinary courtship in tribes that bring together potential marriage mates at their drinking parties is largely adultery or the threat of adultery among the Cubeo, who entertain within the exogamous circle. I suspect that in the case of the Cubeo, simple courtship dances have become embroiled in a changing social order that has gradually built up a phratric system out of independent exogamous local groups. In the process the dance has lost its innocence.

The dancing has a deceptively decorous appearance. As the girls insert themselves between two male dancers, under the arm of one, the men never pause, turn their heads, or change expression. The girl puts her right arm lightly around her partner's waist. She holds her left hand before her, at her skirt. Crouched beneath the yoke

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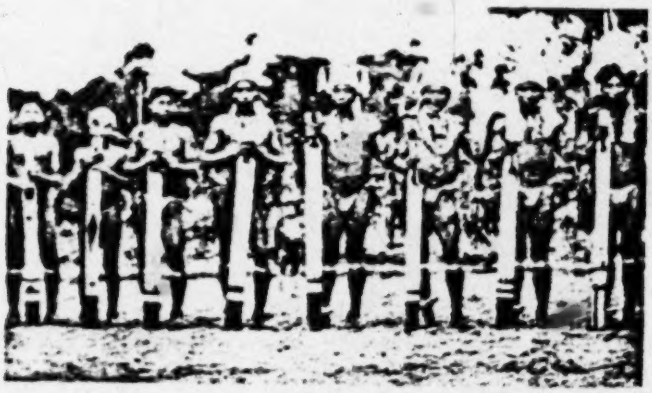

Fig. 10. *Hehénewa* men in full dancing costume.

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574 535 831 she looks uncomfortable and solemn. The girls accompany the men for a few turns and then as unobtrusively as they entered the dance formation they leave it, disengaging their heads, backing away, and running quickly back to their places among the women. They are replaced by another group. Much later in the evening an observer is startled to discover heated and even violent disputes erupting all over the house as a result of these innocent-appearing dances.

574 535 [533] There is another dance in which the sexes are actually paired. The man plays either a Panpipe or a long flageolet and drops his left arm over the woman's shoulder while she encircles his waist lightly with her arm. This dance formation starts as a circle which, after making several turns, breaks up into couples who dance down the corridor one behind the other. During the circle dance a woman emits a long piercing shriek. I was given no explanation for this other than the vague comment, "Women feel like doing this."

Perhaps it is not overinterpreting too much to suggest that the form of the dance parallels some basic principles of Cubeo social structure: the unity of the fraternal sibling group; women as ancillary, fitting themselves in between the brothers, coming and going; the segmentary nature of the sibs; the feeling for obliterating what is after all an indelible mark of sib apartness. As for the erotic connotations of the dance, one may perhaps speculate on the phallic character of the flageolet. This instrument, by the way, is so long that when the dancer holds it before him the bottom is only bare inches from the ground. If he is careless as he dances and allows it to strike the ground he may lose his teeth. The dance starts with the instrument held down close to the earth. When the dancer has reached the forward end of the house he arcs the instrument high over his head. The flageolet resembles, but is not to be confused with, one of the ancestor trumpets that is brought out during ancestral cult celebrations. Then the deep sound of the flageolet stands for the deep and sacred voices of the ancestors, that bring to the men physical force, sexual potency, and bodily growth. The Cubeo make the obvious association between the deep tones and the solemn, and the high tones and the frivolous. In ensemble playing they also recognize one of the instruments as a leader and the others of the same group as followers. In the drinking party dances, flutes and Panpipes complement each other; the flutes are butterflies and the large Panpipes are vultures. Solemnity is always associated with the acquisition of powers. The movement of the dance is, as we have already noted, from slow to rapid. The last step before the dancers leave the floor is very rapid, almost a run, and the dancers in their excitement

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shout *hi i i i* and are answered by the audience. The men start dancing alone and finish dancing alone. Dancers of the host sib begin their dance in the house and may sally out onto the plaza, an extension of the house, and then dance back in. Guests, on the other hand, begin their dance formation on the plaza, move into the house, and conclude on the plaza. 574 535 [614]

The Cubeo regard women as disruptive elements at a drinking party. They have cause to do so, since it is the women who are encouraged by the character of the dancing to make the overtures of flirtatiousness. Women choose their partners and men maintain an air of innocence. A woman's sexual forwardness goes beyond that. Young girls and many married women wear love charms in their hair at a drinking party. This is nothing more than a colorful blossom that declares that a woman would like to attract the interest of a man. The Indians themselves are not quite sure whether the blossom, which they call *chondú* (*pedidya* in Cubeo) has inherent qualities as a love charm – a serious woman has truly powerful love charms that she uses secretly – or is merely provocative symbolically. In any case a man cannot be blamed if *chondú* provokes him. The use of *chondú* adds intensity to the atmosphere of a drinking party as effectively as do chicha, coca, tobacco, *mihí*, and dancing. Whether or not *chondú* is an official ingredient it is hard to say. The men speak of it as a feminine provocation. Yet if one looks at the drinking party in its inevitable progression from calm to frenzy it seems that, whether it is an official ingredient or not, it fits. Just as the counterpoint of male and female is part of everyday community life, so the more intensely experienced counterpoint of male and female is exploited for its frenzy-producing quality. 574 562 832 [535]

A married woman should not wear *chondú*, but a man cannot stop his wife from displaying her interest in other men. He then excuses her by saying she does it only to look pretty and keeps a wary eye on his brother sib and phratry mates. For the unmarried girls *chondú* is formal wear, even though the only man whose eye it might catch is likely to be a sister's husband or a forbidden phratry mate. Curiously, unmarried girls are often even more provocative by not wearing *chondú*. This is arrogance that says, "I am not interested in the men here." A married woman may wear *chondú* only to tease her husband in a lighthearted way. Understanding this he is even delighted. She may do so, on the other hand, to irritate him. The rule of sober everyday life is to avoid quarrels and issues. The drinking party roils up feelings to the point where what has been latent erupts forcefully into the open. If emotional catharsis is a "function" 574 832 [593] [154]

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574 832 154 of the *unkúndye* then it should be said that it is the women who supply the charge that explodes the emotions and issues into the open.

574 562 154 Because they are so much in the background during everyday life, compartmentalized in the manioc garden as in the house itself, women are strongly stimulated by the social heterogeneity of the *unkúndye* as by the inherent excitement of drinking, dancing, noise, and close body contact. The women's responsiveness seems to be spontaneous from the very beginning of the drinking party, whereas the men groom their emotions by stages, until at the end they are responding with a spontaneity of their own. The spontaneous emotional excitement of the women feeds into the emotional pool, so to speak, of the whole *unkúndye*. During the great mourning festival with its ritual eroticism this counterplay of men and their formal ceremoniousness and women and their emotional spontaneity leads finally to a unified response that is ceremony deeply charged with feeling. At the mourning ceremony this juxtaposition of male and female roles is very evident. And it is because of my observation of the mourning ceremonies that I have been led to see each drinking party in a similar fashion. In short, for the men the drinking party is collective and ritualistic; for the women it is individual and personal. In the end, these two roles are fused so that the aim of strong feeling within a formal setting is achieved. Perhaps it would be better to say overachieved, since the jealous quarrels that women provoke are sometimes serious, splitting sibs from one another and antagonizing close sibmates.

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574 578 Every drinking party that I ever attended ended in a quarrel. All quarrels were sexual, either provoked directly by jealousy or by disparaging remarks about a man's virility. The quarrels may lead to minor violence and may have no consequences. Sometimes, however, they stir up unexpectedly deep layers of feeling. A fresh affront recalls earlier offenses. These are aired. Before long the disputants have brought out a tangle of charges and countercharges revealing long smoldering issues. Men start a quarrel over an accusation of adultery. One man then comments that the father of the other had once said that he would not mind if his, the complainant's, sib were to die out. It is a remark of this nature that suddenly and chillingly transforms a simple quarrel into a later suspicion and then open accusation of sorcery, should someone sicken on either side.

The quarreling of men sounds more violent than it really is. If they are content to merely pummel one another with their fists there is little interference except that the women fret anxiously. Should they reach for dangerous weapons they are restrained and content

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themselves with an exchange of vituperation. Brothers will defend one another, as well as sibmates, so that a quarrel is difficult to isolate. The men listen to the vituperation and, far from regarding what is said as meaningless drunken chatter, draw implications that may involve them. What began as a quarrel between only two men over one man's wife can become a malora-wide brawl. Then the sibs taunt one another, each reviling the other's weaknesses and calling attention to its own strength. It may all come to nothing. A diplomatic elder calms tempers; the headmen remember their obligations to preserve the peace at drinking parties. Some disputants have enough sense of humor to laugh. It can all blow over quickly and will then have served as another way in which feelings are lightened, provided the sinister specter of sorcery has not been drawn in.

The following is an example of a quarrel at a drinking party. A man began to beat his wife because she was dancing too often with the same man. The latter remonstrated and soon he and the angry husband came to blows. The bystanders remarked that the husband's jealousy was unwarranted. Encouraged by these remarks, the woman's father got angry and attacked his son-in-law with his fists. The son-in-law did not defend himself, whereupon the old man calmed down and proceeded to explain to those present that his daughter's conduct was altogether proper. At this point the wife became enraged, and flinging herself upon her now pacified husband, pummeled him soundly on the back with her fists. Since he did not strike back her fury subsided and this incident blew over.

However, another young man who had been witnessing this violent flurry began in a tearful voice to inform his audience that his wife was having an affair with a phratry mate of his. He named the woman's lover, who was present, but for the moment said nothing. The accused's father, however, jumped quickly to his son's defense, shouting that the charges against his son were false. The jealous husband turned upon the old man and shouted at him angrily, "You are already an old man. It is time you were dead!" At this, the accused man rushed forward, livid with fury. In a hoarse voice he shouted to the assembly, "Did you hear? He is planning to kill my father." But the jealous husband was already beyond calming down. Instead he shouted back that the sib of the accused adulterer was weak and few in numbers, whereas his own sib was strong. With these ominous remarks this incident closed, for the time being. All felt that the outraged husband had gone too far. No further remarks

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were exchanged, but the two sibs did not invite one another to their drinking parties for the remainder of the season.

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Sorcery is the great fear. All illness is attributed to sorcery and so are deaths that cannot be readily accounted for. When the drinking party is over and someone has become ill, the quarrels will be recalled and a phratry brother will be charged with sorcery. If the shaman bears out the allegation, the sib of the accused will not be invited to the drinking party of the afflicted sib. In the course of a ten-month stay on the Cuduiarí I have seen drinking parties go through a cycle from full participation by most of the sibs to dismal solitary affairs where subdued members of the sib drank with one another and a few friendly phratry mates from closely adjacent sibs. When the fear of sorcery begins to grow, accusations may strike within the sib and split it down the middle. Gradually confidence is restored, headmen begin to think again of large *unkúndye*, and step by step the scale of attendance mounts.

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *dyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjiko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenddox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will announce the arrival of *Xudjiko* and her consort. Bearing their masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grandmother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grandmother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a framework to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the "grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occasionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the doorway with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will be used for making the *dúpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they represent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pendant, jaguar-tooth and armadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is considered a great deal.

The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives.

The first guests to arrive are the Satellites—members of the sib—who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head. Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly delivered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound *ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoulder. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted at the rear door by female hosts.

While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *óyne* in particular, as a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that characterizes the early stages of the *óyne*.

After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to

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765 After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to
• 574 complete the decorations on the masks they have brought and to ap-
[532] ply personal body decorations.
[302] The sibs of the phratry arrive in late afternoon. These later arrivals are greeted by the hosts wearing dance masks. When they
765 sight their guests they sally out of the house dancing and singing in
574 a winding line around the front plaza. The guests respond by don-
585 ning their own masks and dance up the path, each pair of masked
614 dancers singing its own song. They mingle with the hosts. All complete a circle about the dance plaza, the hosts dance into the house, and the guests continue dancing outside.

765 Two Butterflies from among the guests approach the open door-
574 way. Each in turn strikes the side wall violently with his rattles. From
535 within Sloth and *Máwayo* thrust their long poles out at them and "beat them off." The Butterflies rejoin the others. Suddenly all the dancers rush the doorway and skirmish with the spirits within. Those with staffs thrust them at the attackers or use them to ward off a thrust. Those with rattles shake them violently. The "attack" is noisy and spirited. Beaten off again, the attackers re-form their dance line and dance to the rear of the house, seeking an entry through that quarter. But here the doorway is blocked with crossbars and guarded by Dung beetles, who thrust their long lances at the "attackers." Again the attacking dancers retire and resume their dance at the front of the house. After a while they take off their masks, hanging the garments on poles that have been set for this purpose along the front walls. Now, as humans, each strikes the side wall violently with his staff and enters the house. This entry is ritualized. The men flit in swiftly and silently on tiptoe, whispering *t t t i i i*, and circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased.

The male hosts have formed themselves into an outer semicircle facing the guest dancers. They lean on their staffs and look on grimly
[537] as the dancers complete the circle; then they whistle. At this the dancers come to an abrupt halt in a semicircle facing the hosts and launch into the orations already described. The speeches are short, and the men change partners often, each moving out of position when necessary, or leaning past a companion at his side. After a few minutes the guests resume the flitting dance. They circle clockwise, whispering *iii iii iii*, and having completed one circle, dance counterclock-
[622] wise and whistle. Alternating between clockwise and counterclockwise and whispering and whistling, they complete several circles led by their headman, who carries a rattle in his right hand. During this dance only the host headman remains standing and facing the dancers; the others retire to the benches set behind the dance

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masks and drink chicha. The guests finally stand in a circle around the ceremonial remains of the deceased. With heads bowed and leaning on their guns or staffs before them they chant a lamentation, their leader shaking his rattle slowly. They weep, the *Xudjiko* trumpets pick up the lament, and the women join in. They repeat this performance with little variation three times. After the third, they break ranks and face their hosts again in the postures of the angry harangue. Finally each guest breaks away and rushes toward the open doorway brandishing his weapon outside and shouting defiance at the sorcerer or other enemies of the phratry.

Concluding this phase of mourning, the guests leave the house so as to make still another entrance, this time to be received as men with the formal salutations at the doorway.

Guests from others sibs arrive by maloca groupings, each group of eight or ten men acting out the same ritual. Each group appears in three roles: as spirit beings who are repulsed, as generalized mourners who act out grief and anger, and finally as kinsmen, each of whom is received individually and with a kinship greeting as he makes his final entrance to the house. When they are greeted as kinsmen, the ceremonial remains of the deceased have been removed; they are welcomed at this point with a calabash of chicha and with *mihi*.

There are some minor variations in this pattern of greeting. At the *Hehénewa óyne* one group "attacked" with a barrage of pupunha thrown against the roof and the front walls. This "attack" had, however, another side to it. In part it was an attack and some of the fruit was thrown violently through the door, where the defenders threw it back at the masked attackers. But punpunha is also regarded at this time as an offering for the women of the house – just as it is during the ancestral whipping ceremony, when the house is showered with fruit by the ancestral spirits. The sound of pupunha fruit striking the roof frightens the women.

This dualism of assault and of offering is carried out in somewhat different form in the course of the ritual receptions to the house. The first instance is when the guests arrive as masked dancers or as spirit beings. They are received first in a friendly way, joining in a dance with their hosts. Then the two groups separate and engage in ritual attack and defense. In the second entrance, as generalized human beings, there are a number of alternations between aggression and friendliness and between anger and grief. Even the circle dance around the ceremonial remains of the deceased has a gentle clockwise motion symbolized by the whispered *t t t t* followed by a more

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574 violent counterclockwise motion for which the symbol is the loud
[535] whistle.

On the women's side a parallel form of greeting, but with a minimum of ritual, is going on at the same time. The greetings among the women are, in many respects, a counterpoint to the greetings among the men. I have already mentioned how the women are made to tumble into the house so that their entrance is as ludicrous as the entrance of the men is somber. However, having picked herself up and having straightened out her belongings, each woman is greeted
[561] in a file by the host women. Like the men, the women are grouped by maloca and in order of their husbands' age seniority. Having been
765 greeted with the conventional handshake, the group of hostesses and
574 the group of guests face each other and shout angrily at one another;
152 these shouts are not accusations or recriminations, but expressions
[576] of anger at the enemy who has killed the deceased. Two women who have been facing one another in postures of anger suddenly fall to a squatting position, each with an arm around the other's shoulder, drop their heads, and weep. Women who are nursing babies seem

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Fig. 12. Angry declamation at mourning ceremony.

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able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep. 765 574 152

## FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly. 765 152 154 [276] [273]

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the *óyne*. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Hehéneua* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough. 765 273 [261] [276]

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly. 273 771 [574] [154]

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765 273 152 Drinking at the *óyne* is disciplined and follows the emotional gradient of the ceremony. On the first day, which is intramural, the mood is somber and little chicha is taken. On the second day, when guests arrive and the mood is anger-grief, the drinking is still slow.

• [574] Guests receive the welcome offering of chicha after their third entrance into the maloca and thereafter they drink during all intervals between dances. Formal drinking begins two hours before sundown. 765 273 276 152 The moment is signaled when the hosts brings in *mihi*, the symbol of intoxication. Only the older men take the potion. Thereafter all drinkers are free to grow excited. The elders remain restrained, however, since it is their role to license the excitement of others. They describe their own intoxication as an inner state. They feel a change in mood, they see color visions, but they do not overstep to overt excitement. That is the role assigned to the younger men.

765 273 276 152 562 The rate of drinking and the shift in mood gains momentum in the course of the interplay with the women. Women drink as much as men, but do not take *mihi* and do not get drunk. Their excitement is imparted to them by the men. Thus, the men drink to initiate excitement; the women drink so that they may react. When the men are not among them the women sit passively among their young, the dogs, and their household goods.

765 276 [778] *Mihi* has magical power which the bearers portray dramatically. They pretend to stagger under its weight because *mihi* has power to fell a man. The people I asked did not know, however, why the bearer of *mihi* pranced with his torso bent forward and his knees kicked up high. The bearers whisper *he he he* and then whistle. These are the sounds of spirits and they are the same as the sounds made by the guests when they circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased. A bundle of *mihi* vines is laid with the ceremonial remains 765 during this dance. From a roof beam at the exact center of the house, 532 where it overlooks equally the male half and the female half, hangs 276 a vulture figure. The body is an ear of corn, the head is carved of wood, and the spreading wings and tail feathers are made of old basket fragments. The bird hangs like a mobile. It is said to be "drunk" on *mihi*, and it presides over the *óyne* to give the proper spirit of intoxication. The vulture of intoxication is the patron, so to speak, of the *óyne*.[9] Mobiles of other birds are also hung about the house, as are painted images of fish. I did not learn the significance of these.

[9] The vulture is thought of here not so much in the sense of its being a carrion eater, but for its quality of soaring. Compare *hard* (vulture) with *hardno* (sky).

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The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehéneuu* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjiko* is sounded. At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindũwũ* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, *kenadjũ marié kenadjũ pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disenter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

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621 households, and individuals. Fission is an objective social process, a by-product of Cubeo cultural principles of autonomy and social equality. It is promoted, as well, by another cultural principle that we have not yet discussed. That principle I would describe as a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. That is to say, in the absence of political constraint and of economic necessity the Cubeo find it easier to leave an uncomfortable situation than to endure it.

## PERIODICITY

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614 Since the sibs join together on the basis of linkage-autonomy and upon lateral rather than hierarchical lines, some loosening of bonds
(574) would seem to be inevitable. The periodicity in drinking parties is the only measure we have of changes in the strength of attachment of sib bonds. These parties, we have noted, follow a cycle starting from full attendance and a very high state of mutual confidence and ending in a series of parties that are poorly attended and are conducted in an atmosphere that is dismal and heavy with distrust. Eventually confidence is restored and a new cycle begins. The period from high to low runs about one year. Periodicity is not a cultural principle; it is a consequence of several other cultural principles. As already suggested, linkage-autonomy and lateralization play a part in this periodicity because they allow relationships to find a "natural" level. That is to say, there is no formal authority that can step in to restore good relations when the social climate has been poisoned by
(621) drunken quarrels and by accusations of sorcery. Periodicity is perhaps
(615) to be regarded as an incomplete form of fission at the level of the phratry. Since the phratry is a stronger exponent of autonomy than is the sib, it develops only a few of the pressures that might lead to actual fission. As for other principles of Cubeo culture involved in the periodicity of sib bonds, we have already mentioned the low tol-
571 erance for psychic discomfort, and have described its relevance to
152 fission of the sib. In the context of the drinking party, and indeed in the context of all collective activities, this principle can be stated in still another way: that collectivity demands its appropriate atmosphere of good feeling. We have seen this principle strongly at work in the mourning ceremony, where the atmosphere of grief, grimness, hostility, suspicion, and fear is systematically and ritually trans-
(578) formed to one of excitement and gaiety. We have also observed that the Cubeo do not harbor grudges for long. When a feeling begins to subside they allow it to subside. When a more neutral atmosphere forms, a new cycle of good feeling can begin.

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562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 The second most important area in which polarity-complementar-
796 ity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvi-
152 ous distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage
571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly
765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the
614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine
152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihi*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib
[615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The significance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that,
152 as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context
571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel
● 574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib
614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moder-
273 ate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who
574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and
273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no
562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual
152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



796 the people that the festival would start that night. The low booms rang out
534 across the forest like blasts on a ship's foghorn. To the south, near the Caquetá, giant wooden drums were slung on a slant from two central poles of the *maloca* and beaten in a secret code as warning signals to other members of the tribe. The *mangwaré* drums were the jungle telegraph of Amazonia and their signals could be heard over twenty miles away.

796 More and more families arrived at the riverside port, where they left their canoes moored to the bank or tied to each other with thin strands of liana.
• 574 Some thirty canoes formed a series of star-like patterns with the water rushing down between them, haphazardly tied, yet buoyant and secure. Each family made its way up the steep sandy path to the *maloca*: the men with their paddles, some with fishing rods, and many with panpipes strung to their hammocks; the women bent low under heavy loads of manioc and their babies on their hips. Here the head of each family was greeted by Bréo and shown where they could sling their hammocks around the sides of the house. The women handed the manioc to Wanina, his young wife – he had two, but the elder could no longer bear him children.

796 The amount of time it takes for the festival to be prepared depends on the
273 amount of *chicha* to be consumed. With over a hundred people present, four days were barely enough for the manioc roots to be rubbed down, the poisonous juice extracted and then boiled to form the basis of *chicha*. The starch sediment was baked over the clay ovens into giant wafer-thin biscuits. The boiling liquid was poured into the long *chicha* canoe which lay on the floor between two of the central posts; the toasted cassavas were broken into the liquid and fermentation began. The *chicha* gained rapidly in potency and the canoe was covered with an exquisitely woven cane mat like Japanese lattice. One ceremonial canoe was not enough, and another was brought from the river to be filled with yet more fermenting *chicha*.

796 In the evening the men sat chewing cocaine. Led by the shaman they con-
[787] sulted the spirits and their subdued mumblings continued far into the night. Their crouched bodies, lit only by the flickering of the resinous *turi* torch-wood, reminded us of the semi-human rock carvings of their ancestors.

302 The *chicha* had fermented, the coca was prepared, the *maloca* was now a
796 seething mass of people. The afternoon before the festival began, Wanina and the shaman's wife began to paint the bodies of the men. First deep red *karayuru* was smeared down the front of the torso, the thighs and along each arm with firm strokes of the fingers. A black liquid, the boiled juice from the leaves of a tree growing in their *chagras*, was painted on to the body with a three-pronged piece of cane. The hands and feet were totally blackened to above the wrists and ankles, and the arms and legs patterned with a lattice of

*A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.*

[see p. 78-A]

/467 cont./

797 by this companion, whose rebuke (104)

857

> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father," and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief."

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

• 575 We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

562 1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in
796 the feasts of Wãx-tĩ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

623 2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkõrãkurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

756 3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult

/158 cont./

627
628
*[192]
[797]

/footnote 29 cont./ natives instead use the Portuguese verb with the Tukano ending: perdoáya (you forgive), perdoápõ (I forgave).

He thinks about revenge, and there are numerous episodes /159/ demonstrating that he waits patiently for years for the opportunity, and they take long trips for the purpose of executing revenge.

*[192]

It is an imprescriptible obligation, that of vengeance, a'mẽ-wehẽ, incumbent on the group, for one of its members killed or wounded by some civilized man or Indian of another tribe. Vengeance will also be taken within the tribe against a native of another subdivision, and even against one's own blood brother. If he does not execute the vengeance in some case, it is because he is afraid of counter-vengeance (malefice).

• 576

In appearance the Indian is very peaceful. One does not hear the natives quarreling among themselves in loud voices, even when it seems to us that there are reasons for it. They even seem very polite among themselves. When, in a group of natives, one among them gave, let us suppose, incorrect information (it should be noted that they do not like to state: I do not know, I am not sure of that), the others do not at the time correct the inaccuracy or mistake. Perhaps one of those present, when he is alone with the civilized, will on request rectify the erroneous information.

726

There is no recollection, except for the legends, of war among the various tribes (30).

*[192]

30. In October of 1947, a few days before our visit to the maloca of the Makú, about six kilometers from Iauareté, on the occasion of a caxirí (celebration with drinking), a machete fight took place among them, during which one Indian died and several were seriously hurt. In January of 1948 in this same maloca there was dissension of

/165 cont./

152 leveled out nations distinct and quite different in somatic traits, in bio-ethnic origin, and in speech, and it seems to have managed to mold all the components of the tribes according to a single model. For this reason we affirm that, even in the way of laughing and gesticulating, the different tribes of the Uaupés are similar, and for this same reason, the vast Uaupésina region must be considered as a single cultural area.

Here are some indications of the native formality of the Uaupés.

At the meetings of relatives, indeed, as we have already pointed out, even at the meetings of spouses or between parents and children after a long separation, there are no displays of jubilation.

484 Trips for visits are frequent among them; psychological necessity because they live in small groups? Or reminiscence of an ancestral nomadism?

• 576 The official receptions at the great feasts or possible ones at some meeting are always invested with a strange and indispensable formality.

When during his frequent pleasure trips he decides to stop at
574 some maloca or povoado, he leaves his canoe at the landing
576 place and goes up. If /166/ there are several, they will do it
521 in Indian file, that is, one after the other, observing an order in
*[192] which the most dignified goes in front. He will absolutely not enter, without saying at the door: "nẽ! maxsã nĩti? Hello, are there people there?" He will say this even when he sees that there are people. Then the head of the house, or the most important person there, will come to receive him, and they touch
*[192] each other lightly with their right hands. Standing up, facing each other, without looking at each other, staring at the ground or at a corner, the one from the house will ask: -- "You have arrived? extatí mãã?" -- "I have arrived, extápõ." Or: -- "Has your canoe arrived?" The other will answer: -- "It arrived." They will spend a few seconds in silence, then he will continue: -- "Ah! You have arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." After a short pause he will perhaps insist: "Ah! Well! You have

574 /166 cont./
576 arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." -- "Where did you come
521 from?" (a question many times useless, because he knows very well the visitor's place of origin). -- "From X" (and he says the name of the locality). -- "Ah! Do you come from X?" -- "Yes, I come from X." These and similar expressions are interspersed with silence and with "ÃÃ," each of them alternating, as a sign that the one understood the other's sentence.

*[192]

The same will be done and said by each man from the maloca to the guest, or guests, if there were several. Moreover the women will pass one by one in front of each visitor and, touching his right hand, will ask the same questions: -- "Have you arrived?" -- "I have arrived," etc., without however, looking at the guests, with the eyes lowered. The women soon withdraw, and one of them goes to get a small mat, stretches it out in front of the visitors, and on the mat she puts a pan with quinhapira and a sieve with beijú, from which the visitors help themselves without shyness.

574 Later, sitting on the stools or each one in his hammock,
521 they carry on long conversations until the late hours of the night, with a certain rapidity, interrupted by the very monotonous "ÃÃ" and with countless and noisy laughs. If we consider that the Tukano language is so concise, it says so many things with few words, we will have an idea of the loquacity of the natives among themselves. The child will tell everything that happened during the months that he was in school. The adult will tell about his trips, episodes of fishing or hunting, the events, the persons that he met, the conversations that he had, his own and other persons' episodes, and, finally, he will have innumerable pieces of news to report, which seem uninteresting to us, but for his childish mentality they are very important. To the curiosity to know corresponds, on the other side, a great desire to tell.

796 /342 cont./
574 The visitors deposit the offering on banana leaves or mats or baskets, displayed in the center of the maloca. Perhaps there is still more of the offering at the landing place; they go to fetch it and make their delivery.

[562] The women and children who have arrived gather at the
[858] back, where those of the maloca are already.

Once the offering is finished, and the shouts and music have
[622] stopped, those from outside, starting with their tuxáua, greet individually those of the maloca, /343/ starting with the first one
[576] in line, who will, naturally, be the local tuxáua. They are the common and formalistic greetings: -- "Did you come?" -- "I came!" "Did you come to the feast?" -- "I came." -- "Did you bring the offering (fish or the name of the fruit)?" -- "I brought." He goes on to greet in the same way the second man in the line and thus all the rest. All the visitors, in the order of their reception, imitate the first one. All, however, with much gravity. As they finish greeting those of the maloca, the guests are arranging themselves in a long line, according to their importance, on the right side, in front of those of the maloca, from the main door to the back.

[431] Two or more men of the maloca distribute a cuia /shell
[576] from the Crescentia cujete/ of caxirí to each guest. After all have
[562] drunk, they sit down, and the women of the maloca come to greet
[191] the men at some distance and without giving them their hands. If the women are from the tribe of the guests, these greetings are in the dialect of their own tribe and not in that of the husband.

The chief of the maloca speaks in a loud voice to his own wife (one of the indications of the matriarchalism): "They came to bring the offering (fish, fruit), you give thanks." She, with two women, goes to the center of the maloca and says -- "You brought with so much trouble fish (pupunha) for us. We have prepared a little caxirí in a hurry." Then the visiting chief answers them: -- "You may eat at will. The fishing (or the harvest) was small, but we have brought it with good will."

796 /351 cont./
276 to the least important of the men who have participated in the
538 dances, and who arrange themselves in two lines, one in front of the other, all, however, sitting down. Each man takes some puffs and passes the cigar to his neighbor, and thus everybody
*[192] smokes several times, until the cigars are consumed. The tuxaua and the bayá alternate with the Komũã the episodes of the history of the origins, dõxporó-kase kextí, recalling the different places from where their ancestors came, and the exploits that marked this ascent. They do it, however, in a singing rhythm, prolonging the final syllables of each part that they narrate.

796 Once this rite is concluded, the sticks and snappers are
574 gathered up, the men take off their ornaments, which are carefully kept in the box for this purpose (VI - 2, d (7) ). The guest
• 576 tuxaua gives thanks in a loud voice: -- "The poosé was very good. We enjoyed ourselves very much, etc."

796 As the conclusion of this rite and of the fast that they must observe at these feasts, the Kõmũã who prepared the kaxpí puts in the mouth of each man a roasted pepper. For the young ones there is prepared a broth with lemon juice and pepper (and sometimes also salt), and this is applied to their noses with a funnel of leaves. The young man must draw this broth into the mouth and swallow it. After this ceremony, they can take their mingau or any food whatsoever.

The entertainment might continue, principally among the younger persons. Ordinarily, however, they adjourn to the ham-
[513] mock (often two persons in the same hammock) and rest, in order to start the amusements again in the cool of the afternoon, around 4 o'clock.

5) /sic: 6)/ Games.

[524] We have spoken of the number of games that take place between the dances, but occur principally in the prolongation of the feast, that is, from the second day on.

/367 cont./

824 *[192] In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgõ̃, for their own child, soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the bará, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 843 *[192] [515] There is a plant called kĩ'rá pũrĩ (Uaupés kĩ'ná pũnĩ), the leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

• 576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

[797]

79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

[797]

80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

[178]

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621
512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712 In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner
[361] zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise at-
712 tack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the
725 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were
[123] confident they left the women and children behind in the house with a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach
504 where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza.
504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state
574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests
[417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be al-
[576] lowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men
504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning
796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe
[778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital
833

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178 621 342 614 the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

364 356 A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command [622] assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most [476] unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the wom- [461] en take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

356 The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house [183] that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large [574] maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since [576] there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

364 Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste [514] meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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364
at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. [514]
The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

342
The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a [796]
vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its [764]
great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food [252]
is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- [32]
factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- [517]
side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza
in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure
time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 342
way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 574
exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests 576
are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and
facing inward.

342
When I came among the *Bahúkiwa* they were on the upswing, hav- 622
ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had [114]
put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com-
partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was
75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof
extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the
work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is
carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction.
The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the
maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The
headman is known as *kenámi upákü* (owner of the house). The house
is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority
of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo be-
lieve, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation- 342
ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578
Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592
is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook dis-
courtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that
such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are
acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one
sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will
move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community.
The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove
the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they
have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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439 business. The Indians are now aware that in their dealings with the whites their labor and their products have a fixed value with some [462] leeway for bargaining. Direct commercial trade, object for object, is almost exclusively the province of the Indian women. This is not a new role for them because they also are active in intertribal and intersib trade. Because women do not have as much contact with whites as do their men they still inject into the commercial trading much that is traditional.

439 The traditional attitude is that any exchange is part of a patterned 571 social relationship. An exchange establishes a linkage between the principals and each is aware of his obligations and of the showing he must make. The obligation is of generosity, the temptation to give somewhat more than one has received. The impression to be made [831] is that one does not haggle over objects. An exchange between a man and a woman who are sexually eligible to one another introduces the additional element of flirtatiousness. All of these elements enter into and complicate and enliven the farinha trade. The more experienced men are able to adapt to commercial methods, but since it is improper for a man to conduct his wife's business for her he will stand aside when she is trading her farinha.

439 I never witnessed the intertribal trade, but when I pointed to an object and asked who had made it or where it had come from, its provenience and the nature of the transaction were always known. Manioc grating boards, for example, generally come from the Isana River. The Cubeo often traded European articles for tribal manufactures, less because they needed the tribal object than to satisfy another Indian's need for the European article. A Macú once wanted matches and gave a small basket for a box. The Macú baskets are highly valued, but in this case the initiative was with the Macú. An [183] important principle of native trade in the area is that an object asked [576] for must be surrendered. One must be careful, therefore, not to ask for something the owner might be reluctant to part with. Thus the *Buhúkiwa* headman asked me as a condition of my staying in his [123] community not to offer to buy ceremonial objects. "If you ask for them," he explained, "we shall have to give them to you. How shall we replace them?" Thus, there is an element of delicacy in intertribal trade. At the same time there is a compulsion to engage in trade so as to give significance to the meeting of people of different tribes. In sum, while intertribal trade eventually satisfies the requirements of the Indians for specialized objects they would not ordinarily have, each individual transaction responds to motives that are often only indirectly economic. Trade objects circulate readily. Thus, a set of

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahûkiwa*. It is not an exclusive 769
sib cult.

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river 796
bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance [534]
feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the [533]
river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the on-
coming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent [202]
the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, [533]
swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and [291]
having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, as- [824]
cended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional [534]
five were used, *Bwü*, *Onpwénda kûdjüwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They [535]
marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwü* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at [576]
the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was
taboo but as a courtesy.

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when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends. 574 614

On the morning of the drinking party the *behórü* dancing staff is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behórü* they go to the river to bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river. 574 535 [515] [823]

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather headdresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated 574 614 [554] 574 576 [614] [562]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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574 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with
576 each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkúndye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good
574 part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the
576 formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are
273 particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting
576 follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which
182 is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately man-
796 ner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by sub-
[765] sidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged
[831] and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the
[276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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There is a strong sensation that an animal is biting one's buttocks, a feeling of the feet being tied. The earth spins and the ground rises to the head. There are moments of euphoria as well, when one hears music, the sound of people singing, and the sound of flowing water. The Cubeo do not take *mihi* for the pleasure of its hallucinations but for the intensity of the total experience, for the wide range of sensation. I spoke to no one who pretended to enjoy it. 574 276

A sacred drug, *mihi* is handled in a ritualistic manner and is served from a distinctive pottery jug that is never washed. When the hosts—always a pair, one man holding the jug and the other the serving dish—offer *mihi* the following stylized exchange takes place. The guests exclaim, "*ho ho ho ho ho o o o*, here it comes." The host asks, "How are you?" and the guest replies, "I am well. I have come well." The host stirs the *mihi*, saying to it, "Stir! Look, it is bitter. It tastes bitter. Our Ancients also drank it." The guest replies, "Let me take it. Let me see if I can drink it in the same way as our Ancients did. I am going to drink." He drinks it down and is offered a mandatory second drink. The host says, "Look. Here it is, drink again." The guest now replies, "I am going to drink so as to see [a vision]." A guest whose father is dead will say upon receiving the *mihi*, "My father, when he was alive, drank like this, so he told me. He sought me out that I might drink. My father never got drunk when he drank it." 574 276 576

When each guest has had his two portions of *mihi* the hosts drink off two portions and then serve one portion to each guest again. The guests murmur *ba ha a a a*, meaning "well done." When the last portion is given, the host announces, "We have finished drinking," and each guest replies, "I am pleased." At this the host announces he is sitting down to have a vision, and he retires. Suddenly he leaps up at the guests in the characteristic *mihi* dance and with the sucking sound. He intends to frighten them and shouts *wetcówe* (vomit!), and the guests reply, "Bring it on. We wish to vomit."

Drinking, smoking, chewing coca powder, and taking the infusion of *mihi* are all acts with strong symbolism of sharing a group experience. Out of bravado a man may down an entire calabash of chicha. More often he will pass it to a neighbor, who will also take a few swallows and pass the calabash along. The drinker will also have taken chicha from the quantity prepared by each cosponsor. The cigarette is passed from mouth to mouth. The host provides tobacco, which he passes among his guests from a bark-cloth pouch, and a bark wrapper, which is tied to the house posts. Guests may smoke their own tobacco but will always use the wrapper that is 574 276 273 574 276

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is considered a great deal.

The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives.

The first guests to arrive are the Satellites – members of the sib – who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head. Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly delivered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound *ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoulder. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted at the rear door by female hosts.

While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *óyne* in particular, as a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that characterizes the early stages of the *óyne*.

After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to

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765
574 violent counterclockwise motion for which the symbol is the loud
[535] whistle.

On the women's side a parallel form of greeting, but with a minimum of ritual, is going on at the same time. The greetings among the women are, in many respects, a counterpoint to the greetings among the men. I have already mentioned how the women are made to tumble into the house so that their entrance is as ludicrous as the entrance of the men is somber. However, having picked herself up and having straightened out her belongings, each woman is greeted in a file by the host women. Like the men, the women are grouped by
[561] maloca and in order of their husbands' age seniority. Having been
765 greeted with the conventional handshake, the group of hostesses and
574 the group of guests face each other and shout angrily at one another;
152 these shouts are not accusations or recriminations, but expressions
[576] of anger at the enemy who has killed the deceased. Two women who have been facing one another in postures of anger suddenly fall to a squatting position, each with an arm around the other's shoulder, drop their heads, and weep. Women who are nursing babies seem

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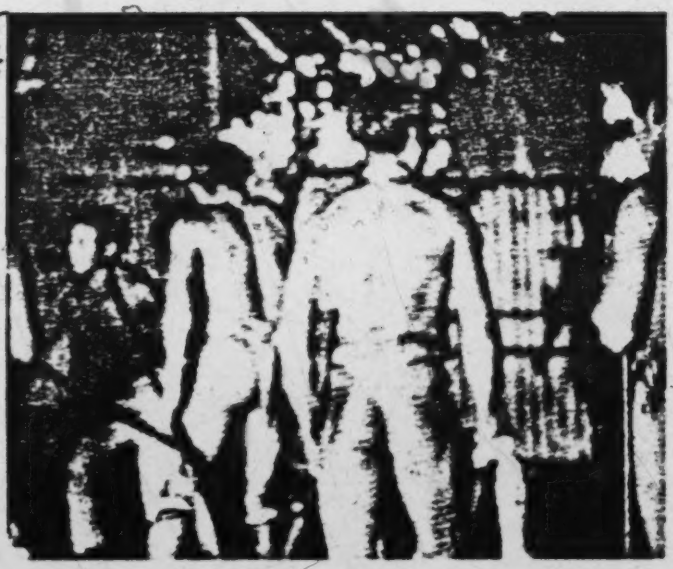

Fig. 12. Angry declamation at mourning ceremony.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, *kenadjü marié kenadjü pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tariánas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

under his battered trilby and the groundsheets, while Brian dived beneath the tarpaulin and spent the night stretched over tins and kitbags. 122

The New Year came in with more rain. For all the discomfort it brought we could only look upon such deluges as a sign of good fortune; they were early this year, the rivers would now be higher and our descent easier. So we started on our journey downstream. *El Diablo*, lumbering along like a loaded ark, was stopped by every snag and log. She took days to cover the same distance as the slim canoes of the Indians, when they later travelled back up the river in a matter of hours to pick up the fuel drums we had had to leave behind on the portage.

One day canoes appeared gliding towards us, both loaded down with large wicker baskets of *farinha* and paddled by two men in loincloths. Strings of minute white beads were around their necks and black berry bracelets around each arm. An old man, his wizened face eyeing us suspiciously, was sitting in the bows of the first canoe. [291] [301]

This was our first real contact with the Indians of the Piraparaná. Their immediate reaction was not one of fear, but rather, like our own, of enquiry and interest. They said nothing until José hailed them in their own dialect. There ensued a long, almost formal exchange of greetings which ~~we were~~ to hear many times when travelling through their territory. Before they left we asked them to carry a message for Nestor – in case they should meet him, for they were travelling to the Río Ti. [609] [576]

Much depended on our guide José. That he had been with Padre Elorza was not necessarily to our advantage, for in the first place we could not be sure what effect the first contact with Catholicism had had on the Indians of the Piraparaná, nor did we know what instructions José had been given by the padres. We had to depend on him entirely both for our own safety when travelling downstream and for the information we were to get. He was not a very pleasant or easy character. From the outset he had always wanted to have his own way and if this was not granted then he became moody and unco-operative. We could never be certain what he would do next and after his attempt at desertion we could not trust him. However he worked very hard and showed remarkable common sense, and without him we would never have got through the rapids ahead of us. 114

His experience with white men had not only come from the Mission. Some five years previously a *cauchero* had come to his river home close to the Brazilian frontier. He had taken six boys away with him to work the wild rubber trees and one of them was José. Later he had escaped from the *cauchero*, but during those four years he had learnt how to operate an outboard motor, to handle money and had even been in an aeroplane. He had come under the Mission's wing only recently, and it may have been this combination of experiences that had complicated his character. He no longer possessed the Indian's direct simplicity.

# 4

# *The Forest Addicts*

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the earplug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run;
whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves
in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel
147 drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
302 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
411 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undis-
609 turbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little. When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into
152 the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

• 576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and
often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal –
just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would be shown where we could sling our hammocks. 576 [123]

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punctuated by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst themselves. They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling on his body. 562 522 888

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre Elorza only the month before we arrived. 797

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these are evil spirits. 776

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead, usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma. 775 774 756

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over a man's life. 776 775

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and 000

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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191 manner in which an Indian normally translates from Spanish to Tukano is so regular that it can be stated almost as a rule: the Indian remains silent until the full statement has been made in Spanish, he waits then for a few seconds until apparently the way he would say it in Tukano comes to him, and then he restates it in a normal Tukano sentence that generally has a syntactic structure very different from that of the Spanish sentence. This suggests that most Indians may be "coordinate" in their knowledge of Spanish and Tukano rather than "merged" (Weinreich 1953). Or, the cultural pattern may favor coordinate rather than merged control. This procedure can be enervating, culturally, to the monolingual Spanish-speaker, who expects to be replied to almost without audible pause between the end of his statement and the beginning of his responder's statement in rapid-fire repartee.

191 Anything said in Spanish is customarily
• 576 repeated aloud in translation, even when all the Indians present already know Spanish. For the Indian, repeating a part of what a speaker says is a formal conversational device indicating understanding, assent (dissent if repeated with a negative suffix), and respect. In a formal gathering, as in the men's circle in the evening when the day's tasks are over, the amount of respect accorded to the older men who begin the session is indicated by how much the listeners repeat them. In the same setting, the remarks of a visitor speaking in another language are repeated in their entirety if someone present does not understand the language; as the conversation acquires more informal character and smaller conversation groups form, the repeating is dropped except for the respectful, assenting repeating of the last verbs of clauses and sentences; the visitor, indeed, may change to the language of the longhouse, if he knows it.

191 Repeating in translation something said in Spanish or Portuguese takes place in an interesting culture-contact situation. The encounter is rarely in a formal context for the Indian. It may be on a river bank, or on a trail, or on boats with the paddlers holding on to each others' boats and holding on to vines, or it may be on the street in a mission town. It almost never takes place in a formal gathering of Indians, as many situations calling for formal gatherings are discouraged by non-Indians. Nevertheless, many, or all, Indians of the settlement may be present.

[P. 676 - B]

191 The repeating is first of all a respectful recognition of the Spanish-speaking non-Indians,
576 but there also seems at times to be an additional quality of defensiveness connected with the practice. The repeating seems to serve as a stalling device so that the Indians can evaluate something of the intentions of the non-Indians, as indicated by their demands, their mood, and their degree of tolerance of Indian habits (for example, whether they permit beer, or admonish women—and men—for going without upper garments). Most non-Indians issue orders and interrogate loudly, according to the Latin American stereotype of the way to speak to Indians, rather than "converse" with them. The Indians, for various reasons, want to be sure that they have heard every question and order correctly. Consequently, repeating serves as a double-checking device, for corrections in translation are supplied unhesitatingly and immediately by other listeners following the translator. In sum, then, repeating is a formal conversational device indicating respect that also has an adaptive defensive function.

171 Inasmuch as the Eastern Tukanoan lan-
193 guages share the same general syntax, the Indians' ability to recognize and cope with the different syntactic system of Spanish suggests that other Indian languages and language families in the Northwest Amazon may have different syntactic structures, too.

191 Certain formulaic communication styles—regardless of Indian language family—are probably the same throughout the area, particularly greetings on entering a new longhouse in traveling. I have witnessed and participated in many such situations where the longhouse language was unknown either to me or to some of my Indian traveling companions, and always the content of the initial sequence of bilingual statements was clear to all (namely, the assertion that one has arrived; from which direction—upriver or downriver—one has come, and from what named spot; how many days one has been traveling; and who one's father and mother and brothers and sisters are, and how they are faring). There are other occasional formulaic conventions, especially those involving repeating, that can help a novice gain familiarity with a language. Many languages also seem to share interjections. (In these respects the central Northwest Amazon area may constitute what J. Neustupny has termed a *Sprechbunde* [speech

[P. 677-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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191 he speaks well, what ones he only understands but does not speak, etc.[5]

I observed no tendency for people to claim knowledge of a language not actually known. I also observed that the Indians' terms for rating fluency, when translated into English, are *under*estimates. Thus when an Indian says he speaks such-and-such a language "some," we would be more prone in English-speaking culture to say he speaks it "quite well." The unequally weighted rating scale used by informants in Tukano is perhaps best rendered by these English glosses and paraphrases: (1) "none"; (2) "hardly any" or "just a few words"; (3) "some, but not *well*" ("well" referring to pronunciation), or "half-way"; (4) "*almost* all" or "just a little lacks"; (5) "all." To an unqualified question, an informant usually gives his *speaking* fluency rating. He must be questioned separately for ratings on languages he understands but does not speak or "hardly speaks." All these observations make it appear that the Indians are indifferent or, perhaps, blasé about their multilingualism.

Their orientation to multilingualism is instrumental and practical, but not devious. The languages used in a given situation are not chosen with motives of concealment from others. Politeness leads visitors to use their hosts' language, if they know it. Reliance on one language as against another is not considered impolite, however, and only on rare occasions, when such a reliance is exaggerated insistently and provocatively, can it signal the expression of anything resembling a militant tribal rivalry. This may, but need not, occur during beer-drinking bouts, as at a formally arranged product-exchanging and friendship-renewing ceremony between two longhouses representing two tribes; but here it should be viewed as a means for expressing and releasing accumulated, and usually minor, tensions rather than as a product of the drunken brawl pictured by most non-Indians. The stereotypes of unsympathetic non-Indians may have prejudiced accounts of some of the unsuccessful ceremonies that have received notoriety. Overt rivalry in most of these ceremonies seldom needs to go beyond the all-night competitive dancing of the separate rival troupes; and by the second day, the older men's chanting may end up entirely in the host-longhouse's language, while the younger men form one cooperative, consoli-

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578

[P. 679-A]

/152 cont./

574 He is, however, hospitable. When some tribal irmão
*[192] /brother/, or even an Indian from another tribe, arrives at the maloca, he at once presents to him beijú and quinhapira /a fish dish/, and, if there is any, also manicuera, bacaba, or some other drink. The "white" can likewise help himself liberally to everything.

156 14) Envy.

Envy is one of the vices that mar their character: they do not even take care to disguise it. Anyone who begins to distinguish himself because of his talents, becomes an object of the envy of the others, and he soon is afflicted by fear of some malefice from the others. A Tukano man, having acquired some planks with his work in the Mission of Pari-Cachoeira, started to make a hut with more luxury and comfort. The others at once threatened to poison him, and he found himself forced to abandon everything and run away. The same worm of envy is already great in the children. The ones who learn Portuguese more easily, win good marks, and are praised inexplicably become slack and decline. It was out of fear of the envy of the others. At the time of the /153/ school awards, it can not be specified that this is the first prize and is for So-and-So; or to reward only a few. It is imperative to give awards to all, being satisfied with calling first those with greater merit and letting them choose. The Directress gave a pair of shoes to one of the young women who worked in the Mission. She hardly used them once. "Why don't you wear the shoes any more?" -- "The others insult me" was the answer.

829 15) Theft.

• 577 Suffering so strongly the sting of envy, it is not surprising that he presents another weak point: the tendency to steal. Resistance perhaps against the "white," whom he always considers superior and rich, he readily seizes (even outside of the

/153 cont./
829 pathological cases of kleptomania) (20)
• 577

> 20. In some cases, because of the precociousness of the thief, the frequency and the circumstances of the theft, it is legitimate to think that it is a matter of kleptomania.

something of his, especially what might be useful to him in life, or, if he cannot do that, he damages something in order to cause him injury.

And perhaps there is yet another stimulus for the theft: the fact that he considers himself more ingenious and cunning than the white, the latter, in order to avoid friction with the Indians, having to close one eye, as though he had not preceived the cunning of the Indian. It is a vicious circle, inevitable in those places and circumstances. The traveler pretends he does not see, and this attitude plants even more deeply in the Indian the conviction that he is slier than the civilized, and he feels spurred on to make sport of him. The civilized person, for this reason, must always keep a close watch on his own luggage, which, even so, will not infrequently be stolen (21).

> 21. The tendency to steal and the skill with which they do it, never followed by repentance, are so great that we were assailed by the doubt that might they not by chance judge it to be lawful and good, at the least, to steal from the whites. We asked two natives who merited more of our confidence, and both affirmed that they consider stealing from anyone, whoever it might be, a bad thing. Nevertheless, another of our best helpers stated to us that to steal from their brothers is a bad thing, but to rob the civilized is a good thing!

/153 cont./

577 They take objects from their own companions. Thefts will be rarer, because life more or less in common restrains or eliminates the impulses toward certain thefts. The attacks on the clearing or the cacurí /fish trap/ of others are frequent. They show shame when they are surprised. If he is not, he denies the theft. Or, confronted with the evidence, he will say: "I took, I did not steal." While the injured one says: -- "He robbed me." One notes a preponderant tendency, almost enslaving, to steal edibles. He ordinarily reveals in the thefts amazing /154/ cunning. Especially in the thefts from the other Indians he abstains from taking anything that might easily identify him. He always takes timely precautions, in the act of stealing as well as afterwards, to hide the corpus delicti; for example, the little girls steal needles and hide them in the hard layer of the soles of their feet.

He rebels when he is forced to make restitution; especially if he must do so to the civilized. He will do it more readily for the tuxaua, who orders him to make restitution whenever he wants to stay friendly with the white. In a different way, especially if he likes the thief, he will say haughtily: -- "There is no thief in the maloca" (22).

22. If they perform these very rare acts of restoration, it can be affirmed that, as a rule, they do not restore the thing stolen, nor do they give proper indemnification. From the moral point of view, it seems legitimate to conclude that they do not have any intention of making restitution or of abstaining from stealing.

123 16) Lying -- Not keeping one's word -- Simulation.

577 The love of the truth that has been noted among some primitives is not the strong point of these Indians of ours. He often answers, falsely, the inquires asked of him: "I do not know," "I did not see." Vice versa, they give information about what they do not know. And the other Indians present do not correct

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the inaccurate information. For example, they do not like to sell their dance ornaments and regularly affirm that they do not have them. If one asks whether there is anybody sick in the povoado, he will invariably answer no, although in reality there is. One cannot even think, in these and other cases, that there was a mental reservation. Would there be, in the case of the sick ones, some reason of a magic nature? We were not able to find out, in spite of many inquiries in different circumstances and places. They pass to a second and third party the thing stolen, in order to hide it. They never denounce the others, except to defend themselves. Not infrequently we caught them in contradictions (23).

23. In April of 1954 a young woman from Pari-cachoeira described to us her puberty initiation rite with all clarity and indication of details. In June of that same year, speaking casually about the subject, she started to deny that there was Komũ (cf. VIII-1, b (7) ) or "blower" in her povoado and that she had gone through the initiation. -- Have you forgotten that you already told everything? Don't be bashful ... we told her. Then she smiled, confirmed and completed the description made in April.

If we make this evident to them, they are silent. Silence is a defense and weapon that they frequently use against the civilized and his arguments. They are "born liars" was the expression used by two persons who for several /155/ years lived with these Indians. Not infrequently he maintains his lie even before the most evident proofs.

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Just as little can one have absolute confidence in his word or promise and count on the Indian for a set date, for the performance of a job, a trip, etc. He will fail to appear on such-and-such a day or place where he is expected, or do the promised work. Later, perhaps, he will show up, without, however, talking about the subject or excusing himself. If, by chance, we are the first to talk and we complain (which is not always advisable), he will present some excuse, true or false. It does not even enter his mind to think whether there are strong reasons for keeping the promise given to the white. He absolutely will not sacrifice any of his interests in order to satisfy an assumed obligation.

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The unanimous affirmation of all those who have lived with them for some time is that they are endowed with a great capacity for simulation (24).

24. The Arwake natives of the Içana exhibit the same skill at simulation. Among the verificative episodes we recall the following one. It was at the beginning of the female boarding school, directed by the Irmãs Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora or Irmãs Salesianas /Sisters Daughters of Mary Auxiliary or Salesian Sisters/ (1957). Several girls, in spite of the liberality of the discipline and the tolerance of the Reverendas Irmãs, ran away. Two girl students, taking advantage of the right moment, escaped and, with a canoe, reached the opposite bank, where their mother was found in a small hut. The latter immediately crossed the river and came to the school to see her daughters. Not being found, of course, the mother showed great distress, starting to cry with signs of great affliction, causing serious concern to the

/155 cont./

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/footnote 24 cont./ Educadoras /Educators/. Nevertheless, it was the mother herself who had hidden the daughters in the forest, as was found out later through witnesses of the act.

In a perfect manner they will feign illness or indigence, they will feign ignorance of an order or a prohibition, loss of memory or an oversight. Planning a deed which they consider bad (for example, three or four Indians organizing an attack with the purpose of stealing, or in Indian file to spy on the white through a crack, etc.), they do not let any anxiety show. Even when they are surprised, they are not disconcerted. They simply separate, as though nothing had happened. Almost always a hearty laugh will come to terminate the disrupted attempt.

764 Furthermore they are capable of showing emotions that they do not feel. A typical example is the funeral weeping (with tears, screams, exclamations), performed with moving perfection, returning immediately afterwards to the same gay conversation of minutes before, intermixed with immodest laughs; while others, in turn, recite /156/ their part, surrendering to crying, only to turn back minutes later to their habitual gaiety. Perhaps they could be used as theatrical actors.

17) Sentimental life: love, friendship, gratitude.

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[593]

Their sentimental life does not seem very intense. One never observes displays very ardent with feeling (25).

25. The meeting between parents and children or between spouses, after months or perhaps years of separation, is always invested with the coolness of any meeting, without looking at each other, with those conventional expressions that we have indicated (cf. formalism below). The Missionary Pe. Antônio Giacone was able to observe this very curious episode: the husband had been absent for almost two years in order

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts. 264 [522] [184]

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit. 264 765 261 [574] [796] [273] 261 264 577

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband, 264 574 [614] [123]

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/footnote 30 cont./ greater importance, and a true fight with sticks, machetes, and arrows took place between the Maku and the Taryana, again on the occasion of a caxiri.

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There are, however, frequent fights for economic reasons (attacks on a clearing, cacuri, etc.). Not rarely there are quarrels due to intrigues, and the greater percentage of these happen among the women.

For revenge among themselves, the opportunity is drunkenness (31),

31. In order to have greater courage "he will get intoxicated," said one from Colombia. For this reason there are never duels among them. It is not reported either that they might engage in wrestling for exercise. During the fights they use any object that they have handy, machete, mortar, bow, etc., or even a shotgun!

and beforehand they invite for the celebrations those from whom they might want to get satisfaction. After this, even when the consequence is the victim's death, nothing in the Indian reveals repentance or remorse (32).

32. Years ago, in 1933, an episode of revenge with circumstances of special cruelty took place. In Ananaz, on the lower Uaupés, the Tukano killed two Desana men, cut a boy in half from the shoulder to the legs. The ones accused were taken to S. Gabriel (today the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ town of Uaupés) and questioned by the Inspector of the S.P.I. (Serviço de Proteção ao Índio). Without difficulty they confessed to the crime. -- But why did you kill them? -- "That is the way it is" was the only answer.

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578 The legends refer to similar episodes, and perhaps they try to imitate their legendary heroes.

278 /160/ a) The most common method of revenge, nevertheless, is poisoning. When they talk to us with intimacy and frankness, the natives affirm and document numerous cases of poisonings for revenge. From which one understands the general fear that dominates everyone, almost an obsession about being poisoned. Some revealed to us that they had been victims, they themselves, of poisonings that caused them serious and prolonged illnesses. We also know of cases in circumstances such that, according to the account of the Rvdas. Irmãs Enfermeiras /Reverend Sisters in charge of the sick/, they admit the suspicion of poisoning. Among these, we recall here two cases that happened during our travels. It was a matter of a more odious form of revenge, that is, to cause harm to the younger children in order to get satisfaction for injuries caused by their parents. Two children about ten years old, students of the Salesian Mission: a girl from Iauareté in April of 1955, and a boy from Parí-cachoeira in October of 1956. Both died at the end of a few hours, after ingesting native drinks.

266 They do not, however, practice anthropophagy, and nothing reveals that they had had this custom in the Tukano group of tribes (cf. below what will be said about Cannibalism, VII - 6, h /sic; see VII, 4, h/).

19) Vanity.

326 Vanity is a strongly pronounced trait of the native psyche. The mothers tie bindings on the babies in arms, below the knee and above the ankle, "in order to thicken their legs." Actually, on the whole, they are anatomically well proportioned and elegant, with well-formed legs. They want to have thick legs. It is one of the insults, especially among the girls, to call one another skinny leg (33).

*[192] 33. Insults in Tukano: skinny leg, ñõxkã-dyí-Marĩgõ; curly hair, poári-subi; big eye, kaxpéri-bũhũgõ.

/468 cont./

756 cases. It is not known, however, whether there are more frequent meetings, at certain times, whether there are rites, or which acts
[622] they practice then. It is known, indeed, that the pajé often convenes the Komũã, in order to resolve the sanitary problems of the maloca or povoado (see VII - 2, e (3) ).

562 4) A Tukano informant, Dorotéia Brito, spoke of womens' meet-
• 578 ings inside the maloca, during which they reveal among themselves the bad treatment that they receive from the men. We were not
[115] able, however, to verify whether it is a matter of true meetings of a secret society, as defense of class. Or instead, as seems more likely, casual, although frequent meetings of women, during which they open their hearts, revealing their own complaints. It is certain that at times, by the law of exogamy, all the women are from a certain tribe, to which they go to relate anything bad their husbands say against it, from which arise disputes and vengeance. This happens in a very regular way, and with a previous understand-
*[192] ing of the women among themselves. These tales by the women are called ukhã.

h) Social classes.

565 Among these Indians there is no true social stratification or social Classes, in the sense that there are privileged positions, perhaps lifelong and hereditary, with differentiation of tasks, diversity of rights and even of peculiar customs (in the dwelling, clothing, badges, emblems, etc.), as happens in more complex cultural forms. Within the maloca there are no lords and nobles, just
565 as there are no slaves (105);
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105. In practice the Makú serve as slaves. It is a matter, however, of another tribe, racially, linguistically, and culturally different. Perhaps one can not even truly say slaves, since in exchange for work they receive protection and food. Once the tasks are finished (clearing, aturás /carrying baskets/, etc.) the Makú may leave, just as they may also constitute their maloca with their tuxaua.

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565 but an admirable equality of rights and duties, as well as of prop-
567 erty and of work.

Various circumstances justify such inexistence of classes: 1st, it is a matter of numerically small groups; 2nd, the warm and humid climate, if it facilitates a supply of the necessary food at all /469/ times of the year, it does not allow an abundant pro-
• [578] visioning and the development of riches. Now, where there are
[692] no rich people, there are no classes, neither masters nor slaves; 3rd, the life in common, which the conditions introduced and tradition established; 4th, the fear of the envy that the well-being of one might cause in the others, and that so many times is manifested even in connection with the small inequalities (see V - 14); 5th, the lack of a tribunal to restore rights and indemnify damages.

3) Linguistic group.

a) Linguistic group.

619 Above the local Group, among the populations of the Amazonian Northwest, there is only the linguistic group. It is made up of several local groups, forming at times a total of thousands of individuals, with the following elements in common: 1st, they claim to be from one and the same tribe or nation and, therefore, consider themselves "brothers"; 2nd, they speak the same language; 3rd, marriage between them is definitely forbidden.

It is, then, a matter of an ethnic unit only. The groups that constitute it never gather together, they do not own property that might be said to be in common: house, land, fishing waters of such a tribe, etc. Because of the distances the relations between groups from different tribes are more frequent than between groups of the same tribe.

There is, then, no social or political organization of an entire tribe; and the elders do not recall of ever having heard of such an
[622] organization. There has indeed been some tuxaua with greater ascendancy and whom other tuxauas consulted and whose advice

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiarí, for example, a trail leads to the Querarí. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahúkiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another — architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

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592 the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. The Cubeo believe that one roof unites a community while several roofs divide it.

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311 Size of maloca is adapted in some measure to cultivable terrain. We have already noted that seasonal flooding and the requirement of good river frontage limit the availability of land for relatively permanent cultivation. But these are highly variable factors. Along the Vaupés, a deep river basin that can carry a great volume of water, there are vast stretches of dry land that have become the sites of civilized population centers. There is no doubt that from terrain alone the Vaupés could have supported far greater Indian populations than it did at the time of first contact. Along the Vaupés the limiting factor seems to have been social. On the Cuduiarí, on the other hand, land contours are such as to divide frontages into much smaller segments. On this smaller stream, terrain has been a more significant factor in limiting community size. But even on the Cuduiarí, land utilization is subject to strong social considerations. One consideration is that sibs [614] must retain their traditional boundaries. This means that with slash-burn horticulture the sib territory must provide, as a minimum, a three-step cycle in which a community returns to its original land after 10 to 15 years. The well-situated tract must then be at least three times the average land requirement at any given time.

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244 There is still another consideration, and that is the distance of manioc gardens from the residence. When they prepare a clearing, the Cubeo bear in mind the distance a woman will have to trudge with her burdens of manioc, a baby, and firewood. That is why the gardens are laid out along a semicircle. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop. It needs reasonably dry soil and it makes heavy demands upon the time and energy of a woman for its cultivation, transportation, and preparation. Whatever can be saved from travel time is an advantage.

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182 The thesis of ecological adaptation, however, can be argued most successfully in the abstract. If one notes the actual events in the life of a community, then the processes of community growth and community fission appear in quite a different light. The balance of forces of fusion and of fission that hold community size to its stable limits in harmony with the natural environment are not entirely economic. They often include personal factors. To state this more precisely: the economic factor affects fusion strongly but has less direct bearing upon fission. Satellites, for example, are urged to return to the fold, guests are urged to stay on, and daughters are invited to take up residence [578] in their own sib if there is ample land. Splitting, on the other hand, occurs because of personal quarrels and rarely because of a feeling of land shortage.

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364 at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. (514) The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a 342 vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its [796] great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food [764] is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- [252] factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- [32] side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza [517] in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 342 way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 574 exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests 576 are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and facing inward.

When I came among the *Bahúkiwa* they were on the upswing, hav- 342 ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had 622 put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com- [114] partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was 75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction. The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The headman is known as *kenámi upákü* (owner of the house). The house is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo believe, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation- 342 ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578 Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592 is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook discourtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community. The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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of the pull of propinquity. The Cubeo welcome and respect neighborliness. 361 614 615

The river has its natural boundaries. These are the segments of river demarcated by rapids and by the tributaries or creeks. A boundary is from one such feature to the next, from a *cachoeira* (rapids) to a creek, from a creek to a creek, but rarely from *cachoeira* to *cachoeira*. A boundary defines only sib territory. There is no phratric territory as such. If there is phratric and tribal territoriality it is because each of the sibs undertakes to defend the principle in terms of its own interests. A sib may adopt a stranger and in this way incorporate it into the phratry. It needs no permission to do this. On the other hand, a sib may appeal to phratry mates for help in warding off by force unwanted intruders. Boundaries do not close a river to traffic. The river is always an open highway for travel, and travelers may fish and hunt along it freely. They may not put up fixed installations such as weirs or show other signs of residence such as fishing a particular spot with regularity without permission. Men regularly fish only within the sib limits. The discussion of boundaries, it should be explained, does not flow naturally from the Cubeo. It is drawn out by the ethnographer. The Cubeo are not jealous of boundaries and they rarely have issues over them, but they do know them. Occasionally someone violates the common law of courtesy of the use of fish weirs and keeps the barrier closed beyond the allowable period. The Cubeo cannot and do not attribute this unmannerly act to gluttony. Gluttony is an incomprehensible notion to them. They attribute it either kindly to forgetfulness, in which case there is no issue, or to unfriendliness, in which case there is a quarrel and an effort is made to tear down the barrier. On the forest side there are no boundaries at all except for the clearing itself. It is not land but river frontage that is valued. 131 614 423 615 131 614 423 131 423 578

## CANOEING

So much of a man's time is spent in a canoe that no description of native life would be complete that did not relate the Indian to the river as a canoeman or that failed to bring out the motor rhythms of canoeing. Motor rhythms are patterned, the rhythm of paddling and the characteristic rhythms of the dance showing particularly striking parallels. 501 516

Paddling follows a definite though irregular rhythm. The prowsman on a long trip is keeper of the stroke. Paddling is noisy. On the downstroke the stem of the paddle just above the blade is struck

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

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A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

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## FISHING

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Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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423 The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of
615 river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these
[578] arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies
[768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate relationship between land and its cultivator.

241 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual
614 or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the alloca-
361 tion of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing
241 is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective
614 effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a
361 clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and
622 stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of
476 a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman to organize a collective work party, including all household heads. If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually. Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots, establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later arrivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. Annually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the *chagra*, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field for a two-year harvest.

244 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman.
423 A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plantation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daughters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and shar- [431] ing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled 423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, 431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites 423 for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one ter- 614 ritorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of 226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

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The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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others. I doubt that any nonsharing goes unobserved and I expect 261
that the nonsharer is not too concerned with being unobserved. Often 183
enough, boys will quarrel about the distribution of food, but never 571
with a nonsharer. They sense the significance of the gesture and are 431
embarrassed by it, waiting for the delinquent to finish. He rejoins them and their play resumes as though nothing had happened. Elders will not correct nonsharing among children because they regard what the boys do in the play pack as a matter of no adult concern. I was never aware that the children themselves ever rebuked or punished a nonsharer in their midst. The nonsharer always received his portion. The play pack leader, who does not hesitate to censure a member for indecent sexual behavior, is comfortable in his role as a giver and will not censure a nongiver. He understands, to be sure, that nonsharing is a form of deliberate estrangement from the intimacies of the group, but he also knows that no headman will censure a household head who chooses to become an Independent or a Satellite. Similarly, the nonsharer may estrange himself from the play pack but the play pack will not ostracize him. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the flagrant nonsharer was also the boy who ran away during the ancestral whipping rites. Every example of a case of nonsharing that came to my attention (five or six only) was that of a boy who had no father. Orphan boys are deprived of one of the more pleasurable in- [736]
timacies of receiving a portion of fish or game that a father brings home. A man's son is the first to greet him when he beaches his canoe. [593]
He is given a fish or a bit of meat, which he prepares by broiling or baking and shares with his play pack. He has the status of a giver. The orphan child, in these circumstances, has the lower status of a receiver and is denied a food intimacy. The nonsharer acknowledges at the same time a status of subordination as well as of estrangement.

Among adults, nonsharing is more disturbing and more consequential. A man who does not share food eventually refuses to do his share of work. Such a person is called "one who does nothing." A [578]
household head who is angry or out of sorts will not join the sib meal but will gather his family around him at the household hearth for a private meal. A mood is respected and the incident passes with little notice. If it is repeated, it is assumed that the nonsharer will soon move out and become an Independent. Nonsharing does become a touchy issue when food is scarce. We were experiencing hungry days during the height of the rainy season, most meals consisting of manioc cake dipped in peppers, fortified occasionally with a minnow. One late afternoon a household head entered the maloca with a

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261 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily
183 toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that
571 he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own
431 hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about preparing it, never once turning her eyes out upon the maloca. The house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however, venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head
183 prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He
571 chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly
431 caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand
522 gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible household head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave. The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not like us.

261 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of
183 anger. Just as the boys of the play pack will only stand aside as their
571 nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do
431 nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in
578 extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the dissaffected household departs. I was told, but could not verify it,
[754] that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people, it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

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Without a proper sib name,
a child will not grow, the Cubeo say. Growth is an attribute of the Ancients. The giving of a name is one of the ways in which the growth magic of the Ancients is utilized. These names from the sib genealogies are not used freely, the Indians preferring to use Christian names and to address one another by a kinship term. 614 551 [856] [601]

The sib has permanence and it has continuity with the past. The "history" of each sib is known and is recited at all major ceremonial occasions.[5] In narrating sib "history," distinctions are drawn between original sibs, later comers, and the newest-formed sibs. Since ancientness is honorific and the Cubeo have a sentiment of egalitarianism, these distinctions are underplayed. But when people have been drinking and quarreling the matter of ancestry will be brought up. 614 [578]

The tradition of phratric organization is that all its member sibs are kin. Tradition holds, too, that once all sibs of the same phratry were united under a single headman. But this tradition may refer to the scheme of sib rank and the acknowledgment of the leading sib as the "head" rather than to an actual political organization. On the other hand, since there is little doubt but that tribal organization in this region of the Amazon is highly fluid, with smaller segments forming new enlarged formations and enlarged formations breaking up again into smaller and relatively more stable sib segments, the tradition of the phratry as a political unit cannot be dismissed. 614 615

The Cubeo distinguish between *kwindwü* (one kin) and *abéwetema* (they are not ours) in referring to their own phratry and to an opposite phratry. In the past, there may have been at least four phratries, since the traditions speak of one group of sibs as having amalgamated with another. Previously these two groups had intermarried, it is averred. According to one version of the origin myth the sibs of a phratry are all descended from a single water anaconda called *Pwénte aínkü* (Anaconda person), who divided himself into segments, the head becoming the leading sib of the phratry, and each subsequent segment forming the remainder of the sib hierarchy. A variant version states that pairs of anacondas emerged from a crevice among the rocks of a rapids, shed their skins, and formed a brother-sister pair. Subsequently, the sisters married out and the brothers took wives from people they met in their wanderings. The first pair to emerge were the head sib, and they gave names to all that followed

lapsed, out of simple neglect. Also to be considered in this connection is the common Cubeo view that the life of past generations was more severe than it is today.

[5] The text of the *Bahúkiwa* "history" follows the sib list in this chapter.

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622 692 No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

622 614 574 273 156 Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kenámi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party. [554] [476]

622 614 571 578 156 The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman. [157]

622 648 156 The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well. [614]

000 There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

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627 tempers but to inflame and to focus angry passions upon the culprit. He does so because the Cubeo do not tolerate a judicious and cold-
[673] blooded administration of punishment. Their view is that malicious acts are committed in anger. Such acts provoke anger in return, in the course of which the culprit is suitably punished. Thus, a wrong-doer always runs away. Even if he should regard himself as innocent of the charge, when he learns that charges are being discussed he deems it prudent to leave. He need not be gone very long – perhaps just a few months. When he returns the anger against him has died
622 down and there will be no basis for action. In cases where a sibman
627 is being provocatively uncooperative and the senior households, to-
574 gether with the headman, agree that he should be made to leave,
614 they wait for a drinking party when someone, or the headman himself, picks a quarrel with the culprit. In the heat of the quarrel the
[182] unwelcome sibman is asked to leave. The traditional drinking party seems to serve as the most appropriate setting for the airing and settling of grievances and of disputes.

578 Fighting is the most common social disturbance and is inevitable
574 during a drinking party. A quarrel between two men draws in others, usually close kin; each man entering the fray loudly proclaims his reason for joining, justifying by anger his right to take part. Members of the same household always have justifiable cause for anger in assisting one another. More distant kin must cite a personal mo-
578 tive. They can claim a past insult. A host or headman is privileged
574 to intervene to stop a fight but will do so reluctantly. In a Cubeo
622 quarrel the detached bystander is not welcome. Women are usually strongly disturbed by fighting. They dread that someone will get hurt and when a fracas becomes bloody they loudly demand that the headman put a stop to it. If he ignores them, pretending to be drowsy with drink, they abuse him and say he is not fit to be a headman. A headman is drawn to anger and to participation in a fray if a cere-
578 monial friend has joined a fight without asking his permission.
574 Ceremonial friends are as one and should share the same quarrels.
[572] Fighting at a drinking party, although actually disliked by the Cubeo, is not a punishable offense, since the angry parties have had full opportunity to retaliate. When the fight is over the issue is usually closed, unless new threats and insults are uttered. Those will be remembered at the next drinking party and serve to start a new fight.

682 Retaliation for murder is the responsibility only of the members of the victim's own household and lineage. Sibmates are under no
[614] obligation to avenge a murder unless, they reason publicly, the mur-

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682 derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault. [614]

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when [593] his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. [578] This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. [763] In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to [825] shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, [625] however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some [697] months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is 682 no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The 593 only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, [766] crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as [762] he then cut his throat and died.

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old 683 *Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves 685 pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihí*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihí* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft [276] is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

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# *Development of the Individual*

The development of individual character is always relevant to an 121
understanding of social organization. In the case of Cubeo social 621
organization, founded, as it is, upon the lifelong continuity of the sibling group of males, the psychological factors are of particular importance. The following discussion will attempt to show the relationship between some of the experiences of a Cubeo from infancy to adulthood and some of the formal principles of Cubeo social organization. By and large, Cubeo social organization must conform to the direct psychological dispositions of its members for the commanding reason that the people have a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. The sib, as we have noted, is readily split; this means, in [614] psychological terms, that those who find any cause for dissatisfaction [578] with life within the community are quick to leave. The community, therefore, is constantly being drained of its malcontents. Those who remain are, in a manner of speaking, in harmony with one another. This harmony, it should be said at once, is not that of homogeneity. It is based rather upon individual complementarities, of extraversion-introversion, active-passive, and leader-follower, as in any community. The harmony is between the requirements of adult life and the experiences of childhood.

The Cubeo use the following age-grade terms. The nursing infant 561
from birth until it learns to crawl is called *abohoidjó* (male) or 192
*abohokö* (female); a crawling infant is *tcumí* (male or female, although *tcúmiko* is possible for the female); the walking child who

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574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahúkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahúkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkúndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing to the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkúndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkúndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

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574 832 154 of the *unkúndye* then it should be said that it is the women who supply the charge that explodes the emotions and issues into the open.

574 562 154 Because they are so much in the background during everyday life, compartmentalized in the manioc garden as in the house itself, women are strongly stimulated by the social heterogeneity of the *unkúndye* as by the inherent excitement of drinking, dancing, noise, and close body contact. The women's responsiveness seems to be spontaneous from the very beginning of the drinking party, whereas the men groom their emotions by stages, until at the end they are responding with a spontaneity of their own. The spontaneous emotional excitement of the women feeds into the emotional pool, so to speak, of the whole *unkúndye*. During the great mourning festival [231] with its ritual eroticism this counterplay of men and their formal ceremoniousness and women and their emotional spontaneity leads finally to a unified response that is ceremony deeply charged with feeling. At the mourning ceremony this juxtaposition of male and female roles is very evident. And it is because of my observation of the mourning ceremonies that I have been led to see each drinking party in a similar fashion. In short, for the men the drinking party is collective and ritualistic; for the women it is individual and personal. In the end, these two roles are fused so that the aim of strong feeling within a formal setting is achieved. Perhaps it would be better to say overachieved, since the jealous quarrels that women provoke are sometimes serious, splitting sibs from one another and antagonizing close sibmates.

574 578 Every drinking party that I ever attended ended in a quarrel. All quarrels were sexual, either provoked directly by jealousy or by disparaging remarks about a man's virility. The quarrels may lead to minor violence and may have no consequences. Sometimes, however, they stir up unexpectedly deep layers of feeling. A fresh affront recalls earlier offenses. These are aired. Before long the disputants have brought out a tangle of charges and countercharges revealing long smoldering issues. Men start a quarrel over an accusation of adultery. One man then comments that the father of the other had once said that he would not mind if his, the complainant's, sib were to die out. It is a remark of this nature that suddenly and chillingly transforms a simple quarrel into a later suspicion and then open accusation of sorcery, should someone sicken on either side.

The quarreling of men sounds more violent than it really is. If they are content to merely pummel one another with their fists there is little interference except that the women fret anxiously. Should they reach for dangerous weapons they are restrained and content

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themselves with an exchange of vituperation. Brothers will defend one another, as well as sibmates, so that a quarrel is difficult to isolate. The men listen to the vituperation and, far from regarding what is said as meaningless drunken chatter, draw implications that may involve them. What began as a quarrel between only two men over one man's wife can become a maloca-wide brawl. Then the sibs taunt one another, each reviling the other's weaknesses and calling attention to its own strength. It may all come to nothing. A diplomatic elder calms tempers; the headmen remember their obligations to preserve the peace at drinking parties. Some disputants have enough sense of humor to laugh. It can all blow over quickly and will then have served as another way in which feelings are lightened, provided the sinister specter of sorcery has not been drawn in.

The following is an example of a quarrel at a drinking party. A man began to beat his wife because she was dancing too often with the same man. The latter remonstrated and soon he and the angry husband came to blows. The bystanders remarked that the husband's jealousy was unwarranted. Encouraged by these remarks, the woman's father got angry and attacked his son-in-law with his fists. The son-in-law did not defend himself, whereupon the old man calmed down and proceeded to explain to those present that his daughter's conduct was altogether proper. At this point the wife became enraged, and flinging herself upon her now pacified husband, pummeled him soundly on the back with her fists. Since he did not strike back her fury subsided and this incident blew over.

However, another young man who had been witnessing this violent flurry began in a tearful voice to inform his audience that his wife was having an affair with a phratry mate of his. He named the woman's lover, who was present, but for the moment said nothing. The accused's father, however, jumped quickly to his son's defense, shouting that the charges against his son were false. The jealous husband turned upon the old man and shouted at him angrily, "You are already an old man. It is time you were dead!" At this, the accused man rushed forward, livid with fury. In a hoarse voice he shouted to the assembly, "Did you hear? He is planning to kill my father." But the jealous husband was already beyond calming down. Instead he shouted back that the sib of the accused adulterer was weak and few in numbers, whereas his own sib was strong. With these ominous remarks this incident closed, for the time being. All felt that the outraged husband had gone too far. No further remarks

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were exchanged, but the two sibs did not invite one another to their drinking parties for the remainder of the season.

Sorcery is the great fear. All illness is attributed to sorcery and so are deaths that cannot be readily accounted for. When the drinking party is over and someone has become ill, the quarrels will be recalled and a phratry brother will be charged with sorcery. If the shaman bears out the allegation, the sib of the accused will not be invited to the drinking party of the afflicted sib. In the course of a ten-month stay on the Cuduiarí I have seen drinking parties go through a cycle from full participation by most of the sibs to dismal solitary affairs where subdued members of the sib drank with one another and a few friendly phratry mates from closely adjacent sibs. When the fear of sorcery begins to grow, accusations may strike within the sib and split it down the middle. Gradually confidence is restored, headmen begin to think again of large *unkúndye*, and step by step the scale of attendance mounts.

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621 households, and individuals. Fission is an objective social process, a by-product of Cubeo cultural principles of autonomy and social equality. It is promoted, as well, by another cultural principle that we have not yet discussed. That principle I would describe as a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. That is to say, in the absence of political constraint and of economic necessity the Cubeo find it easier to leave an uncomfortable situation than to endure it.

## PERIODICITY

571
614 Since the sibs join together on the basis of linkage-autonomy and upon lateral rather than hierarchical lines, some loosening of bonds
(574) would seem to be inevitable. The periodicity in drinking parties is the only measure we have of changes in the strength of attachment of sib bonds. These parties, we have noted, follow a cycle starting from full attendance and a very high state of mutual confidence and ending in a series of parties that are poorly attended and are conducted in an atmosphere that is dismal and heavy with distrust. Eventually confidence is restored and a new cycle begins. The period from high to low runs about one year. Periodicity is not a cultural principle; it is a consequence of several other cultural principles. As already suggested, linkage-autonomy and lateralization play a part in this periodicity because they allow relationships to find a "natural" level. That is to say, there is no formal authority that can step in to restore good relations when the social climate has been poisoned by
(621) drunken quarrels and by accusations of sorcery. Periodicity is perhaps
(615) to be regarded as an incomplete form of fission at the level of the phratry. Since the phratry is a stronger exponent of autonomy than is the sib, it develops only a few of the pressures that might lead to actual fission. As for other principles of Cubeo culture involved in the periodicity of sib bonds, we have already mentioned the low tol-
571 erance for psychic discomfort, and have described its relevance to
152 fission of the sib. In the context of the drinking party, and indeed in the context of all collective activities, this principle can be stated in still another way: that collectivity demands its appropriate atmosphere of good feeling. We have seen this principle strongly at work in the mourning ceremony, where the atmosphere of grief, grimness, hostility, suspicion, and fear is systematically and ritually trans-
• (578) formed to one of excitement and gaiety. We have also observed that the Cubeo do not harbor grudges for long. When a feeling begins to subside they allow it to subside. When a more neutral atmosphere forms, a new cycle of good feeling can begin.

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571 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission
619 and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are
606 stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of ex-
607 change marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it
593 draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister
[583] and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the
[616] mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the
[582] Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geographic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as
[614] well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively sub-
615 stantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest.
571 Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony
614 and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of
578 wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force
[615] of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of
[754] sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

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safeguards sib solidarity. On the other hand, when the disputants are of different sibs it is relatively easy for the issue to embroil the sibs as entities and correspondingly difficult to confine the issue to the actual principals. The fiction of phratric consanguinity notwithstanding, the sib is still, in Cubeo thought, a natural unit that holds within itself the constant potentiality of antagonism toward the fellow sib. The fact that each sib arrives at a drinking party or other ceremony armed and as a unit is the symbolic expression of latent antagonism. The ritual theme of dissolving the semblance of sib unity through intoxication is presumably counteractive to sib solidarity and antagonism. Yet this counteraction via intoxication contains the paradox of bringing the undercurrents of antagonism to the surface. To be sure, when a quarrel occurs in the late stages of a drinking party it often is isolated because the other sibmen may not be fully aware of what is going on. The safety device does work, to a degree and for a time. Moreover, some men are known to be quarrelsome by temperament and are consequently ignored. Granted all these mitigating circumstances, it is easy for a man to involve his own sib in a dispute with another. When illness and death occur, one conclusion is inevitable. That is found in the expression "*they* want *us* to die." This theme recurs in the funeral orations. Perhaps it is because the Cubeo sibs have a history of separate though related origins and a tradition of past antagonisms that present-day intersib hostility can flare, and is expected to flare, even though the issues that disturb them are, at bottom, trifling. However, in conformity with the minor nature of the disputes is the absence, in recent times, of intersib warfare. The disputes result in coolness and social distance and not in organized fighting. In summary, phratric unity is readily disturbed but never very seriously. It is restored by the process described under "Periodicity." It is because the issues are not irreconcilable that the social "governor" that restores peace by separation can work so well

The orbit of the sib has the same general form as the orbit of the phratry, with the formal difference that the sib has a leader whereas the phratry has no leadership at all. In the sib, moreover, all the ties are substantially firmer than in the phratry. Since the cultural view holds that sib unity is a natural expectation and since there are no important issues dividing sibmates, we are faced with a truly difficult theoretical problem in accounting for sib fission. The common explanation, that fission of local groups in simple societies is due simply to insufficiency of food in the immediate locality, does not apply to the Cubeo, who, at least in modern times – a period of population decline – are not confronted by land shortage. There is, in

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571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
• [578] Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a com-
[182] plex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen together. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo
[857] culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken -- and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the preva-
578 lence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordi-
831 narily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship?
837 Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
[562] discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

578 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
571 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
837 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
593 acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
[562] status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional
[554] cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

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Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry
the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. 571
The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict 578
that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pa- 614
thology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized 154
and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly resentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these standards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a 571
more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its
natural psychological limits. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in 614
Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. 578
That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indicated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the [622]
prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punish- [627]
ments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the difficulty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The [626]
function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, composed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by draining away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse senti- [622]
ment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood 571
brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. 614
The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. Yet 593
this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is 621
spotted with social "ions," free-floating men who, with their wives

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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191 he speaks well, what ones he only understands but does not speak, etc.[8]

I observed no tendency for people to claim knowledge of a language not actually known. I also observed that the Indians' terms for rating fluency, when translated into English, are *under*estimates. Thus when an Indian says he speaks such-and-such a language "some," we would be more prone in English-speaking culture to say he speaks it "quite well." The unequally weighted rating scale used by informants in Tukano is perhaps best rendered by these English glosses and paraphrases: (1) "none"; (2) "hardly any" or "just a few words"; (3) "some, but not *well*" ("well" referring to pronunciation), or "half-way"; (4) "*almost* all" or "just a little lacks"; (5) "all." To an unqualified question, an informant usually gives his *speaking* fluency rating. He must be questioned separately for ratings on languages he understands but does not speak or "hardly speaks." All these observations make it appear that the Indians are indifferent or, perhaps, blasé about their multilingualism.

Their orientation to multilingualism is instrumental and practical, but not devious. The languages used in a given situation are not chosen with motives of concealment from others. Politeness leads visitors to use their hosts' language, if they know it. Reliance on one language as against another is not considered impolite, however, and only on rare occasions, when such a reliance is exaggerated insistently and provocatively, can it signal the expression of anything resembling a militant tribal rivalry. This may, but need not, occur during beer-drinking bouts, as at a formally arranged product-exchanging and friendship-renewing ceremony between two longhouses representing two tribes; but here it should be viewed as a means for expressing and releasing accumulated, and usually minor, tensions rather than as a product of the drunken brawl pictured by most non-Indians. The stereotypes of unsympathetic non-Indians may have prejudiced accounts of some of the unsuccessful ceremonies that have received notoriety. Overt rivalry in most of these ceremonies seldom needs to go beyond the all-night competitive dancing of the separate rival troupes; and by the second day, the older men's chanting may end up entirely in the host-longhouse's language, while the younger men form one cooperative, consoli-

[576] 191 578

[P. 679-A]

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593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

[244] [437] [273] [261] [592] [835] [836] [583]

593 583 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

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hand, the assigned sister can be counted on to act in her brother's behalf and to accept the exchange marriage. On the other, if his bride should leave him he believes that he can ask his sister to leave her husband so that accounts will be squared. This arrangement does not work perfectly, but it works well.

Not every young man has a sister assigned to him. The son of a headman who is in line for the succession has preference, as has a favored son, since it is the parents who play an important part in establishing this relationship. In the case of an apparent heir to the headmanship the assigned sister enhances his status in two ways. It makes him part of an adult status economic relationship in that he has a woman "working" for him and it smoothes the way for his marriage.

I could get no term for this rather specialized brother-sister relationship. Ordinary relationships between brother and sister lack the specific economic exchange features. Lacking the intensity of the paired relationship, the ordinary relationship is still charged with considerable emotion.

From the point of view of the sib, the brother-sister relationship may be considered as a source of holding women to the sib even after they have taken up residence in another sib. There is the curious expectation that a woman will some day come back to her own sib. She will do this as a widow or after a break in her marriage. When a young man is on his way to his "affinal" sib to bring back a wife his parents say to him, half in jest, "Try to make your sister come home." The symbolic act of marriage for the Cubeo is the drama of a "marriage by capture." The groom seizes the bride, who protests, and carries her forcibly to the beach and into his canoe. Her outcries bring her kinsmen on the run, who then try to prevent her "abduction" by cudgeling the groom. This dramatic enactment makes the point that the bride is unwilling to leave her sib and that her kin are determined not to let her go. It is a strong demonstration of attachment that soothes the feelings of the sib and particularly of the brother. It satisfies the sentiment that no one wishes to leave the sib.

The relationship between brother and sister may also be considered in the context of the sib origin myth which states that the founders of a sib were always a brother-sister pair who only later entered into exchange marriages. The tradition of the *Bahikiwa* sib that a woman re-established the sib after all her brothers had been killed by enemies illustrates still again the Cubeo sentiment that a woman really belongs to her sib. Thus a sib has a female ancestress as well as a male ancestor.

/157 cont./

593 888 /footnote 27 cont./ offering of help and means: it is a cold and sterile egoism." "The old parents are left abandoned when they do not move from the house of one child to that of another, in order not 593 847 to be a burden." "Nor can the natural love of the procreators be said to have a firm foundation, because of the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn babies, suffocating them as one would do with any little animal" (in the book Os Tucanos /The Tucano/ by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13).

593 581 Apropos of matrimony, Pe. Antônio Giacone writes: -- The Indian, not having love and tenderness for the woman, will be satisfied with the one that they give him, no matter whether she is pretty or ugly; it is enough if she is hard-working and gives him many children; if she is sterile, he will repudiate her as a useless thing, because every Indian marries for the sake of having many children" (Os Tucanos, p. 22). He censures the treatment of the 593 888 old parents on the part of the children as "indifferent and inhuman" (ibidem, p. 26).

593 758 In November of 1953, on the occasion of our stay in Iauareté, the following episode took place. A young man from Uaracú-ponta (river Uaupés), married a few months earlier, gravely ill with tuberculosis, asked the Director to take him to the Mission hospital. There he had a visit by his wife, who remained in his company for some days. On a second visit, she burst into tears so noisily that the Director advised her that she should restrain herself or move farther away, in order not to add to the suffering of her sick husband. Nevertheless, two days before her husband's death, she wanted to leave for her povoado, taking with her the husband's hammock. And she did so, in spite of his insistent begging that she stay longer and leave his hammock.

/379 cont./

581 In marriage, they conceive the relations between husband and wife as natural, and, as the purpose of these relations, or, better, as the purpose of marriage, the procreation of children for the tribe.

836 They do not recognize, however, the exclusive right of one
837 spouse over the other with regard to these relations. There is then nothing to say about conjugal fidelity (97),

[115] 97. One of the Missionaries, with 30 years of residence among the Indians, in conversation with the author of this work, appeared impressed by episodes involving an individual who went so far as to abuse the wife of another, without this causing repulsion on the part of the husband or surprise on the part of the others.

just as there is nothing to be said about virginity (98)

[115] 98. In putting together a vocabulary, we noticed several significant facts. Many natives consulted by us, among them the most educated alumni of the Missions, could not find an equivalent for the Portuguese term fornicação /fornication/, that is, one which would express illegitimate sexual relations. They indicated the same terms as for the legitimate relations between the spouses, affirming positively that different terms for these diverse relations did not exist. Likewise they did not know of a word corresponding to the Portuguese adultério /adultery/, affirming, moreover, that
*[192] it does not exist in the Tukano language. The Veteran Missionary Pe. Pedro Kok, out of need for his ministry, created two terms descriptive of the act, that is, Wõakĩsé manapõ-tígo-ne and Wõakĩsé nõ'mõ-tígõ-ne, in order to express,

/381 cont./

835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

[115]
[797]

103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco; an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement.
851 Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrep-
847 ancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

•581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

/381 cont./

• 581 Marriage, then, in the regime that is in force among these tribes, is a social institution intended to ensure the perpetuity of the tribe. Its aim is not to consider the particular interests of the individuals: tendencies to perpetuate themselves, affectionate inclinations, sedatio concupiscentiae, or others. For this reason, in the realization of the matrimonial act, it would be more accurate to say of the matrimonial contract, the will of the individuals, which in the rest of native life has such an ample field, is not consulted. /382/ On the subject of marriage, one again has a great deal of evidence of the "absorption of the individuals by the group," which characterizes the tribes of the Uaupés. Almost every act of native practice gives confirmation that among them there are no individuals, there are only members, there are no persons, there are only cells of the social body. The individual's own will does not seem to know how to want anything except what the group wants!

b) Concept of modesty.

291 834 829 562 It is difficult to answer these three questions: 1st -- whether the Indian really has an idea of modesty; 2nd -- how he shows it, whether through clothes or paintings; 3rd -- which might be the delicate part.

In front of the civilized, the attitude of respect and circumspection that they show, especially the women, is remarkable. An attitude all the more perfected the more frequent their contact with the civilized.

While the men appear, with the utmost ease and without any shame, with only their "Waxsó-ro" or sex-cover in front of the whites, be these men or women, the Indian women nowadays only appear clothed, or at least with a skirt, rarely a short petticoat /Port. saiote/ or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/. Among themselves, however, they do not observe such circumspection. The civilized has many proofs that the woman has dressed in order

842 /385 cont./
847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach these methods.

The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkáko̧ (literally it means
848 "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
*[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother (111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkáko̧ brother.

• 581 It is considered shameful to have children at once in the
842 first year of marriage, Pe. Humberto Limpens of Acuaricuara,
183 river Paca, informed us. They want children only two or three
[797] years after the marriage, and this is also the interval between children. A demonstration that this is artificial is given by the good Christian mother, alumna of the Mission, with successive children and at once from the first year. One understands the
[462] difficulty of the native mother who, besides the care and nursing of the child, is pressed with the work of the house and of the clearing, if she does not have the help of older daughters.

/389 cont./

864 d) Sexual education.

With regard to this subject, the precocity of the children, especially of the female sex, is remarkable. It surprises us to see how individuals who on the outside still look like children are subjected to the rite of the puberty initiation (see photo).

How much they appear to know is an even greater surprise. Children still quite young know perfectly all the mystery of life, like any adult.

[797] The girls enter the mission schools at seven or eight years of age, and at this age they not infrequently reveal full knowledge [581] of this subject. Sometimes the thought that already absorbs and preoccupies them is that of marriage, a Missionary Sister Superior revealed to us. They talk of that often, and perhaps they might already even know whom they are going to marry, according to the customs of the tribe and the desires of the parents.

The school of this discipline -- is the maloca with its regime of life, where there are no partitions between the families, where all the licentiousness takes place before the eyes of all and thus the intimate life of each one is known by all. According to the information obtained, the mother herself will give explanations to the daughters and will teach them the sterilizing and abortive resources.

[276] For example, in the intimacy of the malocas or huts during [593] the warm hours of the day, destitute of any clothing at all, the husband will not infrequently amuse himself by blowing the smoke from his cigar over his wife's body. We say he amuses himself, because he does it amidst noisy laughter, as we were able to hear, without excluding the fact that they admit some magic virtue in this rite.

831 The nudity, especially along with the dirtiness, appears somewhat repugnant. Besides, the psychological axiom "ab assuétis non fit pássio" /passion does not arise from what one is accustomed to/ is quite true. And so the influence of the nudity seems somewhat attenuated.

/407 cont./

592 Frequently, the mother who has been widowed, or some single or orphaned relative, might live as added to a family, or, better, incorporated into it, and therefore the family group becomes larger than the family. As we shall see (VIII -- 2), the local group was originally constituted by the family, therefore being identical with the family group. The need for defense and help with the work (construction of the maloca, fishing, etc.) is what favored the local or family group over the isolated family.

On the other hand, among the Uaupesina nations there are some factors that strengthen the family organization or group:

593 428 1st. -- In first place there are the instinct and the right of ownership. There are, indeed, some goods (canoes, hut, pottery, etc.) that constitute family property and pass to the children as an inheritance.

593 583 2nd. -- As among the primitive Romans, the Uaupesino fathers have an exaggerated power over the children. This pátria potéstas reserves exclusively for the father the matrimonial negotiations, through the exchange of the maidens, as wives, from one tribe to another, and, moreover, strengthens the family regime.

3rd. -- Besides the exchange of the daughters, there is also in force an offering of nuptial gifts to the father of the future wife. These gifts, in turn, consolidate the paternal power and the family regime.

593 /408/ 4th. -- The nonexistence of a strong and organized political power is, in turn, an effect and cause of the increase of the paternal powers and a factor of consolidation of the family group.

a) Marriage.

581 We have already pointed out that among all these tribes marriage is a social institution that aims immediately (and it would perhaps not be exaggerated to say exclusively) at the perpetuation of the group. 582 It is the group that is primarily interested in its realization, not the individuals who marry, since their inclinations

/411 cont./

582 601 As an exception, the individual, instead of marrying a girl from the generation of the Baxsúkãra, perhaps will marry someone from the class of the "uncles" /Port. tios, uncles, uncles and aunts/, Mẽx-kã̃-sa or Mã̃-gõ. It is the components of this class who are now his brothers-in-law, Pẽ-ñã̃. In Tukano he may continue to call them "uncle," Mẽx-kã̃, or (if it is a matter of the niece) Mẽx-kã̃-sa, and in direct discourse he will use the name Pirĩ for the brothers-in-law in the strict sense.

584 2nd. -- A second one is that the negotiations and agreements are realized between the parents, without the ones to be married interfering or being consulted (8).

[797]

8. It has happened that the father has brought a wife for his son who is a student in the Mission school, forcing him to leave the school bench in order to marry.

It is highly reprehensible that, while the children enjoy enough freedom in the native family (it can be affirmed that those of the male sex enjoy absolute independence from the parents), on this subject, so serious because the marriage is indissoluble, they do not have any freedom at all (9)

9. "Slave marriage" was the expression of one Missionary, citing examples of the absolutism of the parental will against the manifest wishes of the young people.

and show the greatest docility toward the wishes of their parents.

• 581 [584] Neither marriage for love nor the practice of courtship is known among them. It even seems that they are indifferent to physical beauty; it is certain that in all human groups there are individuals who are more or less sympathetic. No doubt these personal reasons might have an influence in premarital and

/411 cont./

581 extramarital relations, but never in the marriage (10).

[797]
[177]
[584]

10. Through the influence of the Missionary they have been freeing themselves from these ancestral prejudices, and already cases of marriage through the initiative of the ones getting married, alumni of the Missions, are known. Nevertheless it happens (narrator Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Papuri) that the young man asking for the intervention of the Padre in order to help him find a wife will prove to be indifferent concerning the person. He will say, for example: "Padre, please do me the favor of asking Joaquina, Amélia, or Maria whether one of them wants to marry me."

Marriage does not represent the satisfaction of the sexual instinct, as we had thought and wrote in the beginning, because we found out that this satisfaction has the fullest opportunity imaginable. Marriage, for the individual, is the solution of his economic problem: to have someone who will provide him with food. But it is especially the solution of the social problem: the continuation and propagation of the tribe.

/412/ It is surprising that, in spite of this, family life goes on normally enough. The only plausible explanation is the great respect for the traditional laws establishing the relations between the spouses, and their duties; laws which are faithfully observed.

584 3rd. A third one is that, in order to obtain a wife for an older son nowadays, perhaps a newborn child (11)

11. It does not seem that there are any agreements between the parents about children to be born, because it is contrary to the psychology of the Indian, who is a man of reality.

/413 cont./

581 It is natural that self-interest (innate and exaggerated in the Indian) takes advantage of these customs. For example, a father who might have more than one daughter perhaps will try to give one of them to some Tuyuka youth (in order to have a /414/ good canoe, because they are specialized canoe-makers), a second one to a Pirá-tapuya (skillful makers of nets and fishing baskets), demanding from them the products of their specialties.

[606] Moreover, these relations of affinity give him a chance to spend part of the year traveling: a sojourn in the house of each son-in-law. Because marriage creates close relations of affinity, all the more singular, since it is known that they are persons from different tribes and all of them with such a deeply racist mentality.

2) The Abduction -- Nũ'myó ye'ẽsé or Nũ'myó myãsé.

583 In spite of these precedents of negotiations, there is still
*[192] preserved today a symbolic abduction of the girl, a survival, one might think, of ancient customs in which the young man had to give proof of courage, kidnapping his wife, after having fought against those who tried to protect her.

Or, who knows (it is most probable when one talks about other human groups; not, however, those of the Uaupés), they were clans of one and the same tribe, transformed into enemies because of the dissidences, and who, in this period, had to have recourse to abduction in order to maintain the ancient law of clan exogamy.

Among our Indians of the Uaupés, there is no fighting at all, although cases of disputes and possible excitation of animus are remembered. The young man's father, with a few more oarsmen, appears in the povoado of the girl. Perhaps the latter, already informed, will be in the vicinity of the landing place
[115] and will then be carried to the canoe. Or the men ask permission from the father, who says nothing (so relates Dorotéia Brito), and seize the girl. The mother, on the other hand, will protest with loud screams and imprecations, recalling the tasks of the

/483 cont./

562 The girl must get used to work and, with the mother's train-
868 ing, will learn the several skills that someday will make her a good mother of a family. The boys will run loose in the forest, looking for fruits, will wander along the rivers, entertained by swimming or fishing, practicing at shooting arrows at fish or birds, and thus they will become able to provide the subsistence of the /484/ family. In the ajurís, in the traditional tasks, they will acquire beside the father that skill which will make them great oarsmen or expert basketmakers.

881 Children of both sexes start being conscious of themselves as members of the tribe, of which they will learn to be proud. They will eagerly desire to become a member integrated into its life and traditions, that is, they dream of the "initiation."

581 Once the instincts are developed, they understand that it falls to them to perpetuate the existence of the group, and they aspire to marriage. The national customs indicate to them the means of realizing it; for that step they will not lack the intervention and help of the father.

593 He has naturally experienced up to now the love and the attention of his parents and the camaraderie of his contemporaries. Now he is joined to a companion for his entire life. Unknown perhaps and a foreigner, but their cares, their spirit of work, their long life together, vicissitudes, shared joys and sadness, everything ends by making uniform the spirits of the spouses, connected especially by the bond of love for their children in common. Under more difficult conditions, because she is forced to leave the paternal home and go to another nation as a wife, the woman will still feel very actively connected to her tribe of origin, as well as to the new maloca in which she is a wife and mother.

621 With the years the ties that join the Indian to the group in which he was born, which educated him, which gave him assistance and support, for which he has also worked cheerfully on the collective enterprises, are strengthened. The group that provided him with frequent joys with its traditional feasts and, with its mysterious legends, gave satisfaction to his intimate aspirations toward something that he does not understand, but feels will exist beyond the grave.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding. 614 613 602 593

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister. 593 462 462 178 43 593 [465]

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity. 462 252 796 562

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships. 885 [571] [857] [244] [581] 593 182 885

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



619 583 584 574 for granted, had remained home. When this was discovered the headman and all the able-bodied men he could muster rushed for their canoes and paddled furiously downriver to intercept the "abductors." The girl's mother sputtered with indignation at the *Tatúyo* who had "tricked them" and at her daughter who had betrayed them. This, it emerged, was a genuine elopement. The older sister, willful as ever, had no intention of being "tamed" by anyone, least of all by backwater Indians. Her younger sister was eager, however, and it was no trouble to get the *Tatúyo* to accept her. In due time the *Tatúyo* were intercepted. Assuredly they allowed themselves to be intercepted. Since the girl would under no circumstances agree to come home, the parties had only to settle the conditions of an exchange marriage. The *Tatúyo* designated a girl, ripe to be taken as a wife at any time, and by way of apologizing for eloping with the wrong daughter agreed to add a large canoe. Back home, the headman berated his sister for thinking more of the interests of her *Tatúyo* husband than of her *Bahúkiwa* people.

The elopement postponed the marriage of the older son, who was eager for a wife and precipitated the younger one into a marriage to which he had not yet been giving thought, so strong is the Cubeo convention of pairing a brother and sister for an exchange marriage. In a few months the younger son was sent to "demand" the bride promised. I did not accompany the marriage party to the *Tatúyo*. But when the party returned with a very attractive young bride they reported to the satisfaction of the headman that the groom, having first offered his sister a chance to return home, asked for the bride. The girl was brought out. He took her by the hand and led her to the canoe. "We [614] did not even stay overnight," he boasted. Such brusqueness and calculated discourtesy would not occur if the exchange were with the maternal sib.

• 581 Sheer sexual attractiveness is regarded as the wrong reason for choosing a bride. The point is not only that physical sturdiness and industriousness are better traits, but that a sexually provocative woman will be a source of trouble to the sib. A responsibility of an elder accompanying a marriage party is to remind the groom-to-be to pay attention to the sterling qualities of a bride, that do include, however, such erotically desirable features as large, full breasts, a strong back, and a clear skin. They would prefer to have her sullen rather than vivacious.

583 585 614 Formal marriage is signalized by what must be regarded as the "rite of abduction." The groom seizes his bride and runs with her to the canoe. She cries out for help and her male kin rush out and

5; Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



539 woman was very pretty and *Kúwai* was happy. He named her "Carved Woman." He took her home as his wife and drove out the other woman. *Mamûwü* came along and asked *Kúwai*, "Are you living alone?" *Kúwai* told him what had happened. This made *Mamûwü* angry and he took "Carved Woman" away from *Kúwai*. Now *Kúwai* lived alone and went about looking for another wife. He sat upon the branch of a tree and wept. Then along came Otter. He asked *Kúwai* why he was weeping. *Kúwai* told him that *Mamûwü* had taken away his wife. Otter then told *Kúwai* where his wife was living. He led *Kúwai* to a beautifully painted house that was under the river. There *Kúwai* saw his wife. He seized her and fetched her home to Urania. One day *Kúwai* saw an angry *Mamûwu* come after him. In fright *Kúwai* leaped up and fled. He never returned. He is now living at Carurú on the Vaupés without a wife.

In another version *Kúwai* cut down a tree and carved it into the form of a woman. He brought it to his grandmother and asked her to make all the body parts that belong to a woman. He returned to find that his grandmother had completed a beautiful woman. This woman did not know where she had come from. She went to the river to fetch water. An anaconda came by and copulated with her. Each day when she went for water the anaconda came and they copulated. *Kúwai* noticed this. One day he watched, and when his wife and the anaconda were copulating, *Kúwai* blew a dart from his blowgun very high into the air. It came down with great force, struck the anaconda in the back, and killed him. *Kúwai* seized the anaconda and cut off his penis. He transformed it into four minnows which he gave to his wife to eat. As she ate the minnows, *Kúwai* told her she was eating the penis of her lover. The woman spit out the food and went to the river to look for her lover, but he did not appear. *Kúwai* then threw his wife away and she became a tree again.

In a third version the saddened wife, awaiting the return of her anaconda lover at the river, was disappointed when only a little anaconda "as thin as a string" appeared to tell her that her lover was dead.

[587] It is perhaps indicative of Cubeo attitudes on marital stability that *Kúwai* is depicted as ultimately unsuccessful in marriage, and, disillusioned with the faithlessness of woman, retires to live in solitude on a nearby hilltop.

593 601 The terms for spouse, *himanípako* (wife) and *himanípakü* (husband), denote the important emphasis in marriage. These terms mean literally "my children's mother" and "my children's father." Before children are born husband and wife address one another simply with the common expression hápyako (listen!).

*601 /126 cont./

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-sis-o-f | Meokó * | (M) | (V) |

* The term Meokó is also used in reference when Ego refers to the da-o-sis-o-f while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-sis-o-f.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-sis-o-f | Yeé Basúko * | (M) | (R) |

* Used in reference in general form.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-sis-o-f | Uaméu Majkó | (F) | (V-R) |
| so-o-br-o-m | Meoké * | (M) | (V) |

* The term Meoké is also used in reference when Ego refers to the so-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-so-o-br-o-m.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-br-o-m | Yeé Basúke * | (M) | (R) |

* Used in reference in general form.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-br-o-m | Uaméu Majké | (F) | (V-R) |
| da-o-br-o-m | Meokó * | (M) | (V) |

* The term Meokó is also used in reference when Ego refers to da-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-br-o-m.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-br-o-m | Yeé Basúko * | (M) | (R) |

* Used in reference in general form.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-br-o-m | Uaméu Majkó | (F) | (V-R) |

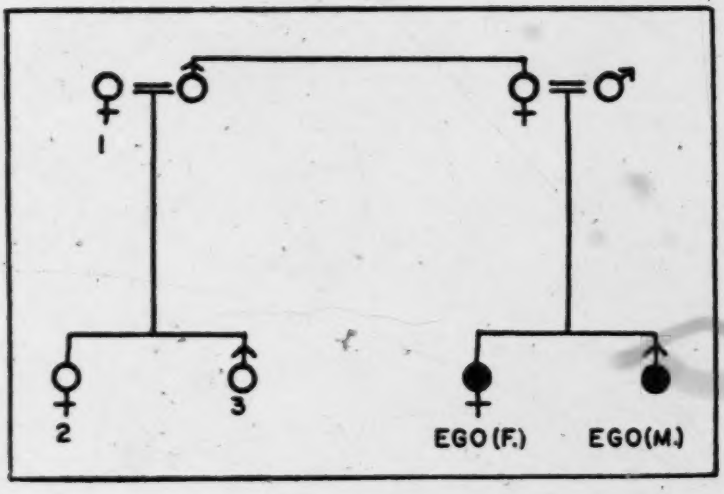
•[582] [583] Note the identity between the terms for so-o-sis-o-f and so-o-br-o-m. Note the identity between the terms for da-o-sis-o-f and da-o-br-o-m. This is due to the interchange of brother with sister in cross-cousin marriages.

* 601 /126 cont./

[582] [583] SPECIAL CASES OF so-o-br-o-m AND OF da-o-br-o-m.

In case the interchange of brother with sister is unilateral in cross-cousin marriages, the following happens:

/127/ Note—No. 1 is not sis-o-f of Ego.




| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-br-o-m | Paég | (M) | (V) |
| so-o-br-o-m | Yeé Utamúri Majsé | (M) | (R) |
| so-o-br-o-m | Mejkésa Majké | (F) | (V-R) |
| da-o-br-o-m | Paó * | (M) | (V-R) |

* This term is used in reference solely when Ego refers to the da-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-br-o-m.

*
601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
615 to
Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

614

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that
614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of
554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

•582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-
[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two
595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of
614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with
615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing
177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.
587 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.
611 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-
591 tended patrilineal families.
596

*539
[797]
[595]
[161]
*539
•582
583

/132 cont./

polygyny. Explanation for the constant diminution of the Tukano population.

And Siópuri Uejké and Ereya will command you. And they will have you as slaves and humiliated ones. I forbid the Tukano to take their woman from their own tribe, but they can get their woman from outside their tribe (53).

53. Obligatory exogamy exists in Tukano culture.

for example, a Yurutí or Tariana or Desana woman." And there were only three tribes from which the Tukano could get women. Yurutí, Tariano /Tariana/, and Desano /Desana/. And they did not fight with these tribes in order to get women, because a brother and sister of one tribe exchanged with a brother and sister of another tribe. And Yepá Huâke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "If you want to get a woman from another tribe that is not Yurutí, Tariano, or Desano, you will have to do it by fighting (54).

54. With any other tribe that is not the Yurutí, the Tairiano /sic/, and the Desano, the form of marriage is by abduction. During the abduction fights take place between the male relatives of the girl who is abducted and the committee of men who have come to get the wife for the bridegroom. This committee is formed by the male relatives of the bridegroom and the bridegroom does not take part in the abduction.

*539 And the first woman that you will get by fighting will be Tuyuca. Do not kill, just fight and take the woman. The second woman will be Uanana, and do not kill them either, just take the woman.

/65 cont./

191 /footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in
197 the Mediterranean ports.

It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. [178] The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing. [115] In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya [126] knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

177 Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even
178 elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity [563] of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that [582] all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

000 2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

/70 cont./

a. Distinction by the somatic element.

582 As was said, the law of exogamy is in effect among all
563 these tribes (except the Makú). The Taryana of Iauareté, for example, obtain for wives the women of the Tukano tribe residing in the neighboring povoado called Umarí, both
563 povoados on the Uaupés River. Vice versa, the Tukano of
144 Umarí take as wives the Taryana women of Iauareté. According to present knowledge about heredity, the paternal genídios /genes/ (1)

1. The new science, Genetics, verified and admits a granular conception of heredity. The germ cell of the human being contains in its nucleus 24 pairs of chromatic points, they are the chromosomes, each of them being made up of smaller parts called gene or genídio (from the Greek root gen, which indicates to generate).

are blended and balanced. One can expect, then, that the physical aspect of the Taryana (of Tukano mother) will not present notably characteristic physical features that would
144 distinguish them from the Tukano (of Taryana mother). This compulsory crossing, which dates from many generations, explains to us the similarity of physiognomic features, which we find today among individuals of different tribes (2).

2. We observed a typical case, among the many, in August of 1956, during an excursion to the stream Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié (near Parí-cachoeira). We found in Piracema, povoado of the Desana tribe on the Umarí, a boy with physiognomic features extraordinarily similar to those of a Desana youth who served us as an oarsman, and from this very povoado. We verified, however, that the boy belonged to the Tukano tribe, of the povoado called

/89/

c) BÁ:RE-MASÃ OR TẽMYÚ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- The idiom of the Bá:re-masã, or "food people," likewise belongs to the family of Tukano languages. As can be verified by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), it is quite close to the language of the Roéra. We met a representative of the Bá:re-masã Tribe living among the Íde-masã of the Comé--ía (maloca Bõhõ-[144] rya-hidó, mouth of the stream of the spider). He was (in August of 1956) a type of about 38 to 40 years old, short in stature, fat, skin of a light bronze, nose small and high at the point, rounded face, not very prominent zygoma, and [301] [304] [171] almost cymotrichous black hair. He had pierced ears, with a plug approximately one centimeter in diameter stuck through them, the largest orifice in the lobes that we have found among the various tribes of the Uaupés.

• [582] The law of the exogamy is also in force within the tribe, and marriages seem to be concluded with the Hanẽra, Bará, and Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The tribe of the Bá:re-masã is very reduced in members. We know of the existence of a maloca on the stream Umũ-ía (stream of the japú /bird/), tributary of the left bank of the stream Timí-ia (stream of the otter), which, in turn, flows in on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná, a little above the mouth of the Comé-ia.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The above informant, called Titõyã (also known by the name of Domingos), indicated to us as being divisions of his tribe: 1st. -- Íde-masã, 2nd. -- Ogóro-sõroa. It is probable that the first subdivision, Íde-masã, is the principal tribe of the Comé-ia (cf. IV -- 2, h) considered related to the Bá:re-masã, and not a simple division of the latter. The Ogóro-sõroa are the Hógolo-tsõloa or Tsõroa mentioned by Koch-Grünberg (Z. I. 370) on the Yauacacá-Igarapé, almost identical to the Edúrya in idiom.

/89 cont./

*101 d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) People-Name-Language -- In the Tukano language they are called Dyí-khãra (Dyi-khãna), and in their own idiom Doxká
[317] poára or Doxká fhwará or foará; or, as a contraction, Doxká-rá (sing., masc. Doxká-poarõ; fem. doxká-poaro). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means clay, mud; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found
[323] there. Because of this very fact, would not the Tuyuka have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent
[501] in the various tribes. The Tuyuka at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the Tukano family (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of Karaiba,
[142] Chestmir points out. The idioms of the Tuyuka and the Bará are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms Koch G. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the slender /Port. fino, fine, slender, delicate/ and the stout /Port. grosso, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (Zwei Iahre, 202).

[582] They do not marry the Desana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They fluctuate around half a
[161] thousand members (378 in Brazil, in Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present habitat is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

/91 cont./

*101 f) EMÕÁ-MASÃ OR GUARIBA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Emõá, in the native idiom, is the name of the guariba /howler/ monkey. Their language also belongs to the Tukano family /92/ (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia"). We found /some words, perhaps a line of the text, are missing here in the original source/ [144] Ide-masã of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hidó of the Comé-ia. This was a type of average stature, slender body, delicate features, not very prominent zygoma, elongated face, high, thin nose, skin lighter than that of the Tukano, fine, black, somewhat [171] wavy hair.

[582] Tribal exogamy is observed. We know of marriages with Ide-Masã, Hanẽra, and Bará.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They inhabit the forests between the headwaters of the Tiquié and the river Pirá-paraná. They are few nowadays, according to the informant, who could give us barely 3 subdivisions. It is to be noted that, according to the informant, the Yebá and Roéra are part of her tribe. This agrees with some information obtained three years previously from a Yéba, who, among the divisions of his tribe, named [361] the Emõá and the Roéra (cf. IV-2, t). If the Yéba are to be [171] included among the Emõá, these would be, in all, several hundreds of individuals, because the Yéba live in several malocas in the region embraced between the Comé-ia and the Pirá-paraná.

Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 401) speaks of the greatly feared Guarĩua or Guariba-Tapuya located below the Jurí and Passé, that is, in the basin of the river Japurá. The Emõá can not be identified with these Guariua-Tapuya, but rather with the Õmõá of the sources of the Tiquié.

[115] 3) Divisions. Informant, the Indian woman Misirã, about 50 years old (1957), also known as Joaquina, wife of the Ide-masã tuxáua of the Comé-ia:

/94 cont./

*101 The Ide-masã are in general less corpulent than the Tukano. Although of lighter complexion, somewhat pale, elongated face, high, slightly aquiline nose, not very prominent zygoma, almond-shaped eyes almost always light brown. The hair in general is dark or even black, fine, not lissotrichous; instead, many times even wavy.

[582] Tribal exogamy is in force among them. And we know that they are connected by marriage with the Tuyuka, Bará, [301] [304] Emõa, Yebá, Bá:re, Roéra. Not only the women, but also the men wear pierced ears with a small plug two to three millimeters in diameter, which keeps the orifice open.

A peculiarity of this tribe is the dances with masks. We had the opportunity to see the masks representing Waxtĩ and the [532] monkey. The one of Waxtĩ was a true white mask, made of bark, like a round face, with a long slit representing the mouth, a long and pointed nose, and, on the sides of the base of the nose, two slits, somewhat slanted, by way of eyes. The one that represented the monkey was a plain shirt of tururi, with a pointed part, like a hood, covering the head. In this hood there were two holes corresponding to the eyes and two points upwards representing ears.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They are found scattered over a very wide area: all the stream Comé-ia (stream of the iron or of the ax, in the Ide idiom Koméryaka, tributary of the left bank of the Pirá-paraná), the Miritĩ-paraná, Apapóris, and the Kamorĩ (which, according to indications by the same tuxáua, [161] must be a tributary of the river Solimões). They seem to be quite numerous, that is, several hundreds. The number of divisions that the tribe presents seems to confirm this information.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian Hinõ (that is, snake), also known as Fernando, about 50 years old (in August of 1956), tuxáua of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hido (mouth of the igarapé of the spider), on the left bank of the Komé-ya, about 10 hours by canoe from the mouth.

/96 cont./

*101 They also lost their own idiom, everyone today speaking the Tukano language.

[582] Koch G. includes the Arapásu as a Tukano division. It
[142] seems to us incorrect, because even marriage is allowed between members of these two tribes. Physically the Arapásu are easily distinguished from the Tukano, because they are lighter, taller, and more slender. High nose, sometimes a bit aquiline, less prominent zygoma, and elongated face.

They consider themselves, instead, brothers of the Pirá-tapúya, because of which a matrimonial interdiction is in force between Arapásu and Pirá-tapúya, and also with the Bará, the Desãna, Miritĩ, and Kumãdẽne.

*[192] Their idiom does seem to be affiliated with the Tukano family of languages (32).

32. Their affiliation with the Tukano Family of languages can be verified only by the small number of words that some Arapásu natives were able to tell us:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| tapioca, kávetari | father, mãi | paternal uncle, mõamõ |
| fan, misõna | mother, Yõ or ihyõ | paternal aunt, mõamã |
| chest, kutiró | son, maxkã | maternal uncle, kabõ |
| people, maxsã | daughter, maxkõ | maternal aunt, kabô, kabú |
| snake, pinó | younger brother, peñã | maternal fem. cousin, kabô maxkã |
| fishhook, sináke | younger sister, peñõ | maternal male cousin, kabõ maxkõ |
| fire, pe'kãme | | nephew, peñanã |
| | | niece, peñanõ |

go to blow the fire, pe'kãme apusumaré

/102 cont./

* 101 The Oá-mahã are lighter in complexion and more slender
[142] than the Tukano. Dark brown or black hair, fine, sometimes wavy. Face more elongated than among the Tukano, also more delicate features and light eyes.

• [582] They likewise observe tribal exogamy, and we know of marriages with the Tuyuka, Bará, and Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It seems that at present all of them live in Colombian territory between the headwaters of the rivers Tiquié and Papurí.

The Pamõá-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) mention the Oá-mahã as a division of their own tribe. We do not know whether it is a matter of the present tribe, as seems more probable by the location, or if it is actually only a division of the Tatú /armadillo/, with this name of Oá (gambá).

3) Divisions -- The informant did not know how to indicate them.

o) PÁBOA-MAXSÃ OR TATÚ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- In their own idiom, which belongs to the Tukano family of languages (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/"), they call themselves Páboa-maxsã, corresponding to the Tukano denomination Pamõá-maxsã or Tatú /armadillo/ people.

[142] /103/ Lighter in complexion than the Tukano, and also taller and more slender. Dark brown hair, ovoid face, light eyes, fine lips, high nose.

[582] We know of matrimonial ties with the Bará and the Karapanã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Presently they live in the
[721] region embraced between the headwaters of the Áua (one of
[648] the sources of the Papurí) and the river Pirá-paraná. About 20
[266] years ago there were encounters and reciprocal massacres between the Tatú-tapuyas and Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/, and even episodes of anthropophagy are remembered, which are explained, it seems, by special hate and reprisals.

/108/

*101 b) The agreement with the previous lists is not great (only in half a dozen names). Having in mind that the ending kõ indicates the masculine singular, and wa, the ending for the plural, we have discovered a larger number of agreements. For example:

The 5th subdivision of this list, Bahúkõwa, with Bahúkekõ mentioned by Heloisa;

The 6th division, Wararíwa, with the 3rd one of Heloisa, Wárarikõ (pepper);

The 9th, Horóbora, clay, with the 8th, Húrukõ (?);

The 16th, Órobawa, with the 1st, Órobakõ (sororoca)

q) ROÉRA-MASÃ OR TARAYRA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Roéra-masã, as they say in their own idiom, corresponds to the Tukano word Doeá-maxsã or Taraíra-tapuya of the Nheengatú, since roé (in Tukano doé) is the name of the taraíra fish (Erithr/nus Taraira, Lin.).

[115] Their idiom also belongs to the Tukano linguistic group, as is seen in the Vocabulary (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") that was given to us in August of 1956 by a young man named Yamí, also known under the name of Pedro, about 22 years old and residing in the Ídemasã maloca of the Komé-ya. They are [142] in general of medium stature, plump of figure, roundish face, light bronze complexion, light eyes inclined toward blue, mustache hairs, nose high and a little aquiline, and lissotrichous hair. All of them, men and women, wear the ears pierced [301] and a small plug of about two millimeters in diameter stuck [304] through them.

Tribal exogamy is also in force among the Roéra, and we [582] know of marriages with the Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They have a maloca near the mouth of the stream Gó-ya, right tributary of the Komé-ya. It seems that they are not very numerous, except if we consider them in conjunction with the Emõã and Yebá, which were designated to us as one and the same tribe (cf. IV -- 2, t). It is to be noted that it is not rare that those of one tribe are presented

/115 cont./

*101 The vocabulary we managed to get (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical") reveals as great a distance from the Tukano idiom as they are different anthropologically from this tribe.
[142] Short, as they are, but more slender and fairer, and with a tapered face. Chestmir affirms that their idiom exhibits Karaíba intrusion.

They are specialists in making sieves and in the preparation of the tucum. The Tukano affirm that they learned with the [284] Desana how to make the "hammock of thirty threads" (VI - 2, [184] c (2) ).

• [582] Marriage with the Taryana and Arapásu is forbidden for them (48).
[142]

48. We read in Koch Grünberg that they marry the Makús. We could not verify that. Perhaps it was a matter of a particular case reported to Koch. From the hundreds of individuals we observed, Koch's opinion that they differ from the other tribes in the following somatic features does not seem acceptable to us either: "not so well proportioned body, high head, coarse hair, oval face, prominent zygoma, large nose, somewhat slanted eyes."

[161] /116/ 2) Habitat and inhabitants. They come to several hundreds (601 in the census of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/"). Today we find them in large numbers on the Papurí and tributaries, but especially on the Tiquié and its tributaries -- the Castanho, Umarí, Ira, and Turí-igarapé. Some groups came down, as early as the beginning of the last century, to [191] the mouth of the Uaupés and the Rio Negro. These last ones, as we read in Giacone, "from the contact with the Caboclos and whites, are the most advanced; besides their own dialect and the Tukano, they speak Nheengatú, and many, Portuguese. [438] Every year some of them go up the Tiquié and the Papurí, visiting their brothers, taking them goods acquired with the whites,

/112 cont./

*101

4. Bótea Wahyára (aracú /fish/), on the headwaters of the river Paca (extinct today)

/113/

5. Wãkebu poná (ingá), in Tuim-igarapé (tributary of the Uaupés)
6. Yãseá Wahyára (jurití /palm/ monkey), on the igarapé Komé-ya (tributary of the Paca) (43)

43. Komé-ya is the name in the Tukano language corresponding to Gi-paraná in the Nheengatú, that is, "Stream of the iron or of the ax." It is not to be confused with Komé-ya, tributary of the river Pirá-paraná, which waters the forests inhabited by the Ide-masã, Roera, Yebá, and other tribes.

7. Usẽniña (cucura /Moraceae/), on the igarapé Komé-ya
8. Dyípo yutáda (pata'pé), on the igarapé Komé-ya
9. Watkó basoka (seringa), on the headwaters of the Paca
10. Dyató panamena (iúa pixuna /fruit/), on the river Paca (above Tapira-cachoeira)
11. Ahuã betóri panamena (earthworm), on the headwaters of the Paca.

v) WAY-KHANA OR PIRÁ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Pirá-tapuya is the língua-geral term corresponding to Way-khana, or "fish people," in the mother tongue (sing., masc. Waí-khõ, fem. Waí-khõ). Their name is explained by the legend of the origins. Their particular physiognomic features were described (IV - 1, a (2) ). Their language belongs to the Tukano group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical"), and is very close to that of the Wanana.

• [582]

We have already observed that matrimonial interdiction is in force between the Pirá-tapuya and the Arapasu, Wanana, and Jurití.

/117 cont./

*101 Obs. The Desana José Prado, about 30 years old (1956),
[115] confirmed the above subdivisions, with the following modifi-
[554] cations: 1st. he does not know the 11th subdivision Waxsúpo põná; 2nd. he corrected the names of the 8th, 15th, and he divided up the 24th, respectively, aganĩgãnĩ põna, yai buxtiná, and Poyaxtẽna, "because it planted the igarapé" (so he explained); 3rd. -- The first three are the most noble, he said, and the óiwa are the pariahs.

x) KUMÃDENE OR IPEKA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Ipéka is a Nheengatú term that means water duck. In their own idiom they call themselves Kumãdene, and in the Tukano language, Dya-kaxtá-põrá (children of the water duck). The Taryãna call them Kumãda Yaperíkuli, ducks of Yaperíkuli.

On the Uaupés there is a small group of this tribe of Arwake extraction, whose idiom is affiliated with the Baniva group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary which we collected (cf. "Discoteca Etno-Linguístico-Musical").

[582] They consider themselves brothers of the Taryãna, and, because of this, marriage is forbidden between these tribes. In the list of the subdivisions of the Taryana /118/ the Kumãda Yaperíkuli appear. The somatic and the glottologic differences, however, demonstrate that it is a tribe distinct from the Taryãna.
[142] They are less corpulent, more delicate in constitution, fairer, and have hair less lissotrichous than theirs.

The ones from the Uaupés have already lost their native
[115] idiom, all speaking Tukano exclusively. In Urubuara in 1954 we met only two old men who still knew some words of their native language that we could transcribe and record: the sexagenarian tuxáua Mandú Henriques, and the almost nonagenarian Komú (xamã /shaman/) Martinho, who passed away in March of 1956. The ones from the Cuiarí, tributary of the Içana, still preserve their own idiom.

*192 /276 cont./

278 When an old pajé wants to prepare a son of his to practice as
756 pajé, he initiates the preparation during the first months, putting
778 on him, for three months, a Wĩhĩõ applied to the navel, Wĩhỹõ peomĩ kã max-kõ-ré. This Wĩhiõ is roundish in shape, of a hardened substance, the origin of which is lost in legend, according to
[262] what they asserted to us. During these three months the pajé must also have a light diet, as precaution, almost exclusively mingau and chibé.

Later, after removing the first Wĩhĩ /sic/, he fits to the navel, for some five months, the Axpá--khwí-re Wĩhõ, which consists of a small and roundish stone of quartz some two to three centimeters in diameter.

Later on he will apply to him the Wĩhõ of tucumã nut, well painted with carajurú /carajura/, called Õnõñá Wĩhõ (in Tarỹana Enúki).

There is a Wĩhõ in the form of rappee, which the pajé and the apprentice inhale; this is the Kaxséri Wĩhõ, obtained from the sap of some plants (uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/ and others), subjected to evaporation until it is reduced to a very fine powder.

The most marvelous one is the Wĩhõ-phĩ (in Taryana Kerá-yúki). It is a small stone of crystal, with a cavity and its cover. According to native belief, this apparatus goes back to the origin of the tribe and, mysteriously, contains a substance with a delicate and pleasant perfume. The pajé, once in a while during his lectures, uncovers the Kerá-yúki, in order for this to give off that perfume, which contributes to enlightening the intelligence of his disciples, placed in a semicircle in front of him.

They say that at a certain time of the year, around April, this substance dries up and almost disappears, and by the months of June-August it begins to give off scent by itself.

756 /277/ At 15 years of age the intensive course for the office of
[582] pajé begins, and it lasts for 15 years more or less. The candidate may not marry until after finishing the course.

796
535
[829]
[115]

/346 cont./

/footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

[115]

55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b) ), melodies affected almost always by deep nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1) ).

[582]

Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

[276]

/367 cont./

824 In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgõ̃, for their own child,
*[192] soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the bará, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 There is a plant called kã'rá pũrĩ (Uaupés kã'ná pũnĩ), the
843 leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of
*[192] gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black
[515] fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

[797]

79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

• 582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

[797]

80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

[178]

/378 cont./

831 a) Concept of procreation and marriage.

842 The concept of procreation through the participation of the two sexes, and both among human beings and among animals, is known by everyone, even the children.

843 It seems, on the other hand, that the space of nine months as the gestation period is not likewise so well known (95).

[115] 95. A Tukano girl about 20 years old from S. Tomé, river Tiquié, answered us that the period of gestation was five months.

842 And they do not know how fecundation takes place or how the
843 fetus becomes animated and develops.

The most rigorous law of tribal exogamy is in force (VIII
582 1, a (1) ). Marriage Between tribal "brothers and sisters" is considered bad and impossible (96),

[797] 96. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Paurí /Papurí or Papury/, Colombia, performed two marriages among Pirá-tapuyas who, through religious instruction, had liberated themselves from these prejudices and wanted each other as spouses. Nevertheless, there was great reaction from the Indians, who tried to burn the house of the Missionary. But, under the protection of the latter, the two couples continued to live in Teresita (1947) and with healthy children.

and a fortiori between blood brothers and sisters. If one asks them the reason for this prohibition they simply answer: -- "Because it is bad." /379/ Some add: -- "Because he will not have children," or: -- "Because the children will die."

/387 cont./

628 831 648 At times there are individuals of different tribes participating in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors.

[574]

592 582 836 797 In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

592
582 /387 cont./
797
836

/footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpens /sic/.)

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papuri) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacuris, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxirí, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

/407 cont./

592 Frequently, the mother who has been widowed, or some single or orphaned relative, might live as added to a family, or, better, incorporated into it, and therefore the family group becomes larger than the family. As we shall see (VIII -- 2), the local group was originally constituted by the family, therefore being identical with the family group. The need for defense and help with the work (construction of the maloca, fishing, etc.) is what favored the local or family group over the isolated family.

On the other hand, among the Uaupesina nations there are some factors that strengthen the family organization or group:

593 428 1st. -- In first place there are the instinct and the right of ownership. There are, indeed, some goods (canoes, hut, pottery, etc.) that constitute family property and pass to the children as an inheritance.

593 583 2nd. -- As among the primitive Romans, the Uaupesino fathers have an exaggerated power over the children. This pátria potéstas reserves exclusively for the father the matrimonial negotiations, through the exchange of the maidens, as wives, from one tribe to another, and, moreover, strengthens the family regime.

3rd. -- Besides the exchange of the daughters, there is also in force an offering of nuptial gifts to the father of the future wife. These gifts, in turn, consolidate the paternal power and the family regime.

593 /408/ 4th. -- The nonexistence of a strong and organized political power is, in turn, an effect and cause of the increase of the paternal powers and a factor of consolidation of the family group.

a) Marriage.

581 We have already pointed out that among all these tribes marriage is a social institution that aims immediately (and it would perhaps not be exaggerated to say exclusively) at the perpetuation of the group. It is the group that is primarily interested in its
• 582 realization, not the individuals who marry, since their inclinations

/408 cont./

• 582 are not observed, their wishes are not consulted, and their age is not a matter of concern (1).

[797]

1. Not infrequently the Missionaries have to intervene, even among Christians, in order that the marriage of children who have not yet reached nubile age, according to Brazilian and canonical legislation, will not be performed.

Virginity is not required, since, as we shall say, it can not legally exist; and there are no other conditions, except the agreement of the parents of the ones marrying, once the laws of the tribe, which we shall present in the following, have been observed.

1) The laws of marriage.

*[192] a) The first and inviolable law that is observed in native marriage on the Uaupés is that of tribal exogamy, Axpé maxsã nõ'mõtise.

We noted (IV -- 2, a (2) ) that there are subdivisions in the tribes. However, at least in the present regime, there are no subdivisions for matrimonial purposes (2).

2. As far as the tradition goes, it can be affirmed that tribal exogamy has always been in force. And, according to the legends, it seems that it can be advanced that the obligation of exogamy goes back to the origin of the tribes, or at least to the establishment of these nations in their present habitat.

Those of one tribe must obligatorily look for wives in another tribe. We are not facing, for now, the question as to whether this law has been imposed as a political measure, in order to avoid wars and murders between the tribes. We know, indeed, that, in spite of the exchange of women between two tribes, the contentions between them are frequent.

T
M /408 cont./
• 582 There are, as we have seen (IV -- 2), three groups of tribes,
[101] which we call Tukano /Tucano/, Arwake /Arawak/, and Makú /Macu/. The serious obligation is that of exogamy. Once the interdictions that we listed in the Classification of the tribes are observed, however, the woman may be from another tribe of the same group or from another group of tribes. Out of a question of pride, no tribe will marry a Makú, who is considered slave and inferior; /409/ he is not "people," they say (3).

> 3. We know of a few cases of marriage by men of other tribes (Tukano, Tuyuka, Desana, Ipeka) with a Makú woman. None of a Makú man with a woman from another tribe. Among these few cases, that of a young woman, although already orphaned in 1947, a resident of the Tuyuka maloca of the locality of S. Pedro, river Tiquié, whose father was Tukano and the mother, Makú. We were not able to verify whether her mother was a legitimate wife or simply a concubine; or, further, whether she had been born from a casual relationship. We do not know either, under the first hypothesis, for what reasons such a marriage had taken place. Perhaps a lack of women? Or due to a physical defect of the man (it is to be noted that the girl was cross-eyed)? Or because of living among the Makú of the Gí-paraná or Komé-ya (trib. of the Pirá-paraná)?

T
M If they nevertheless manage to catch some young Makú girl, they might have her as a concubine, along with the legitimate wife.
851 They will avoid, however, having children with the Makú; and
563 if, in spite of this, they do have them (for example, the grandmother of Maria Gama from Urubucuara), they are considered

T
M /409 cont./
851 legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).
563

4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Maku, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

T
101 Marriages between Taryana and Desãna do not take place. We do not know the reasons, however; it does not seem to be because
• 582 of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most
563 noble group, marry Desãna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desãna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

T Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano
582 explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kõ-Ro. Nor the
563 Pirá-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Miritĩ,
614 Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor,
[601] finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Miritĩ-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana, Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

T b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of
582 one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy,
614 a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another
T family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son.
*[192] It is what is called Põáperi or põápeseri. And the young woman
[601] will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mã-rapõ nỹákhõ (future husband) or even Põrã-kõ nỹákhõ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nõ'mõ nyãkho (future wife) or Põrá-ko nỹákho (future genitress).

/409 cont./

000 Such a custom is imposed by the desire of the tribe to perpetuate itself.

591 614 /410/ The ambilian marriage is not known, that is, it is not the young man who comes to live in the house of the in-laws; but it is the young woman who, through marriage, leaves hers and comes to constitute a family in another tribe.

They desire, then, that a woman from another tribe come to their povoado in order to constitute a new family. The exchange, it seems to us, is not equivalent to a depreciation of the woman or reducing her to the condition of an article of trade. It is a measure of precaution, so that the group will not become extinct, but, on the contrary, the men always remain united, and the tribal traditions and the cordial relations among its components are kept alive.

From this concept and practice some consequences follow:

582 614 1st. -- The first one is that in fact the so-called preferential marriage is in force among them. The exchanges not only establish social relations between two malocas, but, as we shall see later, they conceive kinship as bilateral. But not only the maternal cousins in the strict sense (that is, the nephews and nieces of the mother herself), but all those of their generation of the maternal Gens (IV -- 2, a (2) ) are called brides and bridegrooms /Port. noivos/, Baxsú-kãra (those who are destined for marriage with us).

[611] [601]

Let us concretize an example: the Tukano from Parí-cachoeira customarily seek their wives among the Tuyuka of the headwaters of the Tiquié. Then, for the young people of Parí-cachoeira, brides and bridegrooms, or Baxsúkãra, are all the Tuyuka of the younger generation of the maternal povoado. Or, more exactly, all the young persons of the maternal Gens are their brides and bridegrooms, -- because to each povoado ordinarily corresponds a different Gens, -- and among themselves they call each other "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ (Mamí or Axkabí, see VIII -- 1, c).

[601]

As a rule, it is a boy or a girl among the Baxsúkãra who will be the Mĩ-ra-põ nỹákhõ or the Nõ'mõ nỹakho.

/410 cont./

582
601

Those who belong to the generation of the parents of the Baxsúkãra (that is, all those who are considered "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ of the mother herself) are called "uncles," Mẽx-kã (if a man) (5),

5. Notice that the niece must be called Mẽx-kã-sa.

or Mã-gõ (if a woman).

All the Baxsúkãra, in direct discourse, that is, talking among themselves (see Kinship Nomenclature below), are called "cousin," Méõ-kõ (child of the aunt, contraction of Waméõ max-kõ), and the female cousin, Méõ-kõ. It is to be pointed out that the girl may not take the liberty of saying abbreviately Méõ-kõ, Méõ-kõ; she will always say Waméõ max-kõ, Waméõ max-kõ, in full.

After an individual has been married, all the cousins or Baxsúkãra (6)

6. It is to be remembered that within the tribe the individuals who belong to the same generation are called "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/.

naturally become his cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/, and he actually /411/ calls them this when he expresses himself in Portuguese. When he expresses himself in Tukano, he prefers to continue to call them Méõ-kõ or Méõ-kõ; and the brothers-in-law in the strictest sense, that is, the blood brothers of his own wife, he will call Pẽ-ñã (7).

7. The woman will use the term Nihĩ-so pax-kõ to the brothers-in-law older than her husband, and Buhí-bakõ to those younger than he.

/411 cont./

• 582 601 As an exception, the individual, instead of marrying a girl from the generation of the Baxsúkãra, perhaps will marry someone from the class of the "uncles" /Port. tios, uncles, uncles and aunts/, Mẽx-kã-sa or Mã-gõ. It is the components of this class who are now his brothers-in-law, Pẽ-ñã. In Tukano he may continue to call them "uncle," Mẽx-kã, or (if it is a matter of the niece) Mẽx-kã-sa, and in direct discourse he will use the name Pirĩ for the brothers-in-law in the strict sense.

584 2nd. -- A second one is that the negotiations and agreements are realized between the parents, without the ones to be married interfering or being consulted (8).

[797]

> 8. It has happened that the father has brought a wife for his son who is a student in the Mission school, forcing him to leave the school bench in order to marry.

It is highly reprehensible that, while the children enjoy enough freedom in the native family (it can be affirmed that those of the male sex enjoy absolute independence from the parents), on this subject, so serious because the marriage is indissoluble, they do not have any freedom at all (9)

> 9. "Slave marriage" was the expression of one Missionary, citing examples of the absolutism of the parental will against the manifest wishes of the young people.

and show the greatest docility toward the wishes of their parents.

581 [584] Neither marriage for love nor the practice of courtship is known among them. It even seems that they are indifferent to physical beauty; it is certain that in all human groups there are individuals who are more or less sympathetic. No doubt these personal reasons might have an influence in premarital and

584 /412 cont./
will be promised in marriage to another family. In practice, they
584 will be bride and bridegroom, with the right to relations between
836 them (with precautions, however, in order not to have children), perhaps for many years and with a great difference in age between the ones being married. And the child, once it has barely reached the age of reason, knows that it must marry such a person.

584 4th. A fourth one is that a widowed father will give up a
587 daughter in order to arrange for a second wife for himself, although with a great disproportion between their ages, before he procures one for his son.

587 5th. A fifth one is that a woman, becoming a widow, can pass to her brother-in-law as a wife, if he is a widower or a bachelor and without a bride, from which his father has an obligation to give a woman to such a family, in exchange for the other one whom he obtained from there. Although the law of the levirate (12)

> 12. That is, the duty of an individual to marry the sister-in-law who was widowed without children, in order to resuscitate the lineage of his late brother, a custom that was in force among the Jews.

does not exist among our Indians, we thus have its practice.

• 582 6th. A sixth one is that, from this exchange of women of a
611 tribe A with those of tribe B, since the children are regarded as belonging to the father's tribe, cousins can marry each other. For example, of two pairs of brothers and sisters, M and N from tribe A and P and Q from tribe B, the woman M married P, whose sister Q was joined in matrimony to N. The children of these two couples are, obviously, "cousins-german" or "cousins in the first degree." Nevertheless the children of P belong to the tribe B, and those of N, to the tribe A. They consider themselves reciprocally Baxsúkãra, and they may marry each other.

/412 cont./

582 In conclusion, the preferential marriage of these tribes is between cousins in the first degree.

583 *[192] c) The lack of women might render the exchange, or Põãperi, impossible. As might also an excess of women over the number of male children. The acquisition of a wife will then be done with the donation of some material goods; this is what is called Nõ'mõ duusé (purchase of the wife).

/413/ It seems to us, however, that this is not a matter of a true purchase of the spouse, in spite of the term Duusé, which was given to us by a Tukano interpreter. One tribe was enriched by one family, while the other one lost an element: compensation is just. With the absence of the maiden daughter, the father, and above all the mother, has lost an element of value through her work for the domestic economy; there will be economic indemnification on the part of the future son-in-law.

There are two reasons for such a deduction. The first one is that even when there is Põãperi, or exchange of women, the young man will give some gift to the future father-in-law. The second reason is that there does not exist, as in other human groups, a fixed price of indemnification; or a table of prices according to the category of women. The young man will give according to his means and the wishes of the father-in-law. Always utilitarian objects: ornaments, canoe, machete, trousers, ax, tobacco, salt, etc. (13).

582 13. Wallace presents a detail for which we do not find any confirmation or reminiscence on the Uaupés. "In some tribes," he says, "such as that of the Uacarás, the young man must submit to a test, which consists of a demonstration of his ability to shoot the bow and arrow. If the young man does not hit the target, the girl refuses him, because he thus proves to be incapable of shooting fish or of hunting for the sustenance of the family." We have

/413 cont./

582 /footnote 13 cont./ already said (II-6, b) that we were unable to locate any tribe under the name of Wakará, in order to investigate their customs. However, the affirmation by Wallace (who did not visit the Wakará either) is in absolute opposition to the Uaupesino customs. Actually marriage is a business between the two fathers, not between the ones getting married. In any case the diet does not depend on handling the bow well. Among the tribes of the Uaupés, on the contrary, hunting is light, and fish are more rarely caught with arrows. The basis of the diet is mandioca, and the one who supplies it is the woman, and not the husband. It can be affirmed that among these tribes it is the woman, and not the husband, who supports the family.

584 It is in these cases that one notes the greater freedom of the boy who is looking for a wife, and frequently the initiative in choosing the young woman and in the dealings with her father is his. At times the parents and brothers help him in obtaining the gifts that the father-in-law demands, but with the right to be indemnified later (one more proof of the instinct of ownership).

In general the girl's father will enter into an agreement. He always fears that the young man will take revenge with some malefice. And the youth will certainly do so; or at least he will spread it abroad that the girl has the dohasé (malefice) of sterility, and nobody will seek her as a wife. It is a dreadful revenge, because this cuts short the young woman's future and also sacrifices the economic interests of the father.

602 /446/
619 True kinship, therefore, exists only between the individuals of the same tribe, and with all of them.

2) Affinity.

582 Although strict tribal exogamy is in force, marriage establishes between the children and the relatives of both their father and their mother relations of affinity, similar to those of kinship (not, however, the obligations of vengeance and of matrimonial interdiction) and with a special nomenclature, although not as rich in terms as that of kinship.

582 Since "preferential marriage" is in force (usually with the first cousins of another tribe), that is, with the first cousins on
601 the mother's side, or baxsú-kãra (Masc. sing. baxsukõ, Fem. sing.
602 baxsuko), they admit the relation of affinity of the baxsukãra among themselves, as well as between the parents and the class of the "possible spouses" of the children. There are appropriate terms for these "possible spouses," "possible parents-in-law," and "possible children-in-law."

601 There might perhaps not even exist a term to express the relation of affinity; then they use a term for the relation of kin-
602 ship. For example, the native idioms of the Uaupés do not have terms corresponding to stepfather, stepmother, stepson, stepdaughter. In indirect discourse they describe the relation that exists, that is, one is called: "husband of my mother" (stepfather), "wife of my father" (stepmother), "son or daughter of my husband, or of my wife" (stepson, stepdaughter). And in direct discourse one is called by the name of the relation (uncle, grandfather, etc.), and they will call the stepchildren "children."

601 There are indeed terms, although also classificatory, that is, applicable to a whole class of individuals, corresponding to son-in-law and brother-in-law, but used almost solely for indirect discourse. For direct discourse they prefer the terms of social kinship; of these terms we shall indicate only the most common

/447 cont./

601 their own father) and are called by them "mẽ-kõ," nephew. And those of their grandparents' generation they call grandfather, "pax-kõ-ro," and are called by them "paramĩ," grandchildren, or max-kõ-kõ, "child-of-my-child."

/448/ As for the "brothers," if they are such in the strict sense (that is, children of the same father and the same mother), the older one is called mamĩ (they translate it "bigger brother") and the younger, axkabĩ ("smaller brother").

When it is a matter of "tribal brother," that is, of the individuals of the tribe who make up one and the same generation or layer, the terms mamĩ and axkabĩ are independent of age; they are, instead, a function of the group. That is, all those of the more important "Gens" (see VIII-3, c /see VIII-3, d/) (we use the Latin term "gens" in order to designate the subdivisions of the tribe or sib of the American Ethnologists), whatever their ages might be, are mamĩ; all those of the inferior "Gens" are axkabĩ. That is, an entire "Gens" (without taking into account the ages of its members) is called mamĩ or axkabĩ of another.

Let us imagine the case of the individual X, who has five children, successively A, B, C, D, E; of which B, C, D are of the male sex, and A, E of the female sex. It is to be observed: 1st, that five is actually the average number of children, according to our "anthropometric file cards"; 2nd, that they wish to have children of both sexes, and that an older daughter is a valuable helper of the mother in raising the younger children. The older daughter A will be mamyó of all the brothers and sisters; the younger daughter E will likewise be axkabyó of all. If we consider the son C, he will be mamĩ of D and E and axkabĩ of A and B.

[126] [162]

Let us further suppose that the brothers B, C, D marry (90)

[582] [611]

90. A and E will obligatorily marry husbands, baxsukõ, from another tribe; their children, however, do not belong to tribe X (grandfather), but to that of the father himself. The children of A and E

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coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the governor of exogamy (Kirchoff, 1931). In a sense this seems to be true of the Cubeo as well. 621 614 591

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* generation mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sibling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Because of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be embarrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awkward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only community exogamy. 621 614 589 592 [591] 621 614 589 592 582 621 736 588 614 [591]

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib exogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers" and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient, or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is 621 614 582 571

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621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

## THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most [823] important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

361 823 The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahúkiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges. 439 [582]

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accordance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehénewa* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maize, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiari. 438

## PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered. Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations. 423 [61] [103]

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sentiment rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo. 423 614 [615] [619]

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T 615 614 554

same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabawũ* on the Querari.

*Yániwa* A sib at the mouth of the Querari. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querari as *Dyaniwa*. 361

*Yokóhũbewũ* A sib on the lower Querari.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

T 614 361 114

*Batówa* Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapes*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querari. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

*Ilhéadowa* A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiari, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiari, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari.

T 614 361

*Káwa* A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg en[illegible] on the upper Aiari. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoeira*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querari and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiari near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

## THE *BORÓWA*

M T 648 464 T 563 M [101] [754] T [592] T [582] [614] [592] T [435]

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahũkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

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hand, the assigned sister can be counted on to act in her brother's behalf and to accept the exchange marriage. On the other, if his bride should leave him he believes that he can ask his sister to leave her husband so that accounts will be squared. This arrangement does not work perfectly, but it works well. 58 593

Not every young man has a sister assigned to him. The son of a headman who is in line for the succession has preference, as has a favored son, since it is the parents who play an important part in establishing this relationship. In the case of an apparent heir to the headmanship the assigned sister enhances his status in two ways. It makes him part of an adult status economic relationship in that he has a woman "working" for him and it smoothes the way for his marriage. 593 622 [182] [885]

I could get no term for this rather specialized brother-sister relationship. Ordinary relationships between brother and sister lack the specific economic exchange features. Lacking the intensity of the paired relationship, the ordinary relationship is still charged with considerable emotion. 593

From the point of view of the sib, the brother-sister relationship may be considered as a source of holding women to the sib even after they have taken up residence in another sib. There is the curious expectation that a woman will some day come back to her own sib. She will do this as a widow or after a break in her marriage. When a young man is on his way to his "affinal" sib to bring back a wife his parents say to him, half in jest, "Try to make your sister come home." The symbolic act of marriage for the Cubeo is the drama of a "marriage by capture." The groom seizes the bride, who protests, and carries her forcibly to the beach and into his canoe. Her outcries bring her kinsmen on the run, who then try to prevent her "abduction" by cudgeling the groom. This dramatic enactment makes the point that the bride is unwilling to leave her sib and that her kin are determined not to let her go. It is a strong demonstration of attachment that soothes the feelings of the sib and particularly of the brother. It satisfies the sentiment that no one wishes to leave the sib. 593 614 182 582

The relationship between brother and sister may also be considered in the context of the sib origin myth which states that the founders of a sib were always a brother-sister pair who only later entered into exchange marriages. The tradition of the *Bahûkiwa* sib that a woman re-established the sib after all her brothers had been killed by enemies illustrates still again the Cubeo sentiment that a woman really belongs to her sib. Thus a sib has a female ancestress as well as a male ancestor. 593 614

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already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in behavior.

The father's sister is *panimó*, a term built on the root *pani*, which means "in-law." Although a woman of the sib, she rates as an in-law because her daughter is normally eligible as a cross-cousin marriage partner. *Panimó* also means "mother-in-law." There are no formal avoidances with a mother-in-law. Ordinarily, because of the rules of residence, a man sees little of his mother-in-law.

Mother's brother (*paniyó*) is a parallel relative to father's sister. He is father-in-law. There are no formal avoidances in this relationship. The important relationship is between a woman and her father-in-law. There is a good deal of restraint between these two. The father-in-law is her mentor on moral issues, and if she commits adultery he will often act in the matter before his son does. Reserve between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is eased after a time but never lapses. The Cubeo defend the unity of the sib by regarding the in-marrying women as permanent strangers. It is the father-in-law as a sib elder who is expected to enforce the separateness. Coupled with this reserve and, in a sense, counteracting it, is the fact that he calls her *hwainkó*. Reserve prevents sexual joking, licentious bodily contact, and other undue levity. It does not bar the father-in-law from beating his daughter-in-law. Father-in-law and son-in-law may refer to one another by the common term, *pani*. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there is only the reserve of unfamiliarity. But when a man does come with his wife to visit her parents he is warmly welcomed as a son and is drawn into all common activities. The visit of a daughter is so exciting an occasion for the Cubeo that the son-in-law is readily tempted in the aura of warmth and good cheer to prolong his stay.

The terms that siblings apply to one another's children are only partially based on considerations of the marriage possibilities between their young. Primarily, the children of siblings are regarded as "youngsters." As juniors they merit generalized terms. Thus, the common terms for nephew and niece within the sib are respectively *hwainyó* and *hwainkó*. The son of a sibling of opposite sex is *pani* — an in-law — but the daughter is not. She enters the household as *hwainkó*. Again we notice the neutral character of the term. *Hwainkó* is not a term of the sib necessarily. The point is, rather, that it is not

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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604 614 a term that connotes out-of-the-sib, as does *pani*. Thus, Cubeo usage
[601] with respect to daughter-in-law points up again the strength of their feelings about membership in the common residence group.

The problematical relatives are the mother's sister's children. There is no problem if they are also father's brother's children, or if
[615] they have been born within one phratry. But since mother's sisters marry into other phratries or into other tribes, their children are in
[582] effect strangers who belong to their paternal sib or tribe. They are not included in the kinship system, they are lost sight of, and such parallel cousins one may marry since they do not belong to the phratry.

## GRANDPARENT - GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP

603 The two grandparent terms, *nyéko* (*kü*) and *nyekundjó*, refer to
601 all kin of the generation of grandparents and beyond, irrespective
614 of sib or phratry affiliation. Correspondingly, their reciprocals
615 (*panaihinkü*, *-ko* and *hipanimekü*, *-ko*) do not differentiate between a child of the sib or phratry and a child outside the sib or phratry. The grandchild terms are all formed of the *pani* stem from which affinal terms are constructed. *Panaihinkü* means "my very little in-law," and *hipanimekü* means "of my in-law line." The ignoring of sib lines for grandparents seems to follow from the simple fact that at this generation level exogamy is not an issue.

603 I could get no explanation from the Cubeo as to why the grand-
601 child should be classed with the affinal line. It may result from the
[593] Cubeo interpretation of cross-cousin marriage. Brother and sister negotiate for the marriage to one another of their children and so
[584] would be inclined to regard the offspring of that marriage as a con-
[614] tribution from the affinal line to the sib. Often enough, however, I have encountered the use of the descriptive terms such as *himákü-makü* (my son's son) to distinguish between a lineal descendant of the sib and other grandchildren.

601 Elders of a distant sib of the phratry may be addressed and referred
[614] to as "grandparent" even if of one's own generation. Their children consequently are called "father" or "mother." In these usages the
[615] reciprocal is always *hwainyó* or *hwainkó* and never a specific "child" or "grandchild" term. Among the Tucano, Fulop (1955) has noted that one of the sibs of a phratry is the "grandparent" to all the others so that all persons of one's own generation in that sib are "grandparents." If this is also the case among the Cubeo of the Cuduiari then the fact must have escaped my notice. This usage of grandparent

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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## *Marriage*

614 615 The rule in marriage is that a wife cannot be taken from within the sib or phratry. She may be taken from another tribe and, of course, from any of the other two phratries. There is no actual prohibition against marrying a woman from one's own community if she belongs to a group that is outside the phratry. As I have already noted, such marriages are not common because of a preference for marrying someone from a distance. Since true friendship is apt to mean brotherhood [626] for the Cubeo, and so is identified with exogamy, the parties to a coresidence marriage, the man in particular, are made to feel as though 614 they were behaving indecently. The only case of a coresidence marriage that I learned about was complicated somewhat by an issue 597 of adoption, but it illustrates the ambiguity of feeling the Cubeo have about such marriages, nevertheless. A boy, born a *Bahúkiwa*, was orphaned and adopted by the *Hürüwá*, a sib of the opposite phratry. He then married a *Hürüwá* girl. Opinion was divided. The boy and his supporters claimed that he was *Bahúkiwa* and so the marriage was proper. The other side argued that since he was raised by the *Hürüwá* he had no business marrying a *Hürüwá* girl. Since the girl's family allowed the marriage to stand we must assume • 582 that the boy's position was legally sound. Marriage is preferred between age equals, and since a groom must be forceful enough to make a good impression he will not marry until his very late teens and so 192 neither will the girl. The term for marriage is *nomíkükü*, meaning simply "woman getting."

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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 619 583 584 574 [614] [114]

marriage. These suspicions are not overcome even though they may already have affinal kin in the other tribe.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, I was witness to some of the events of the full cycle of an exchange marriage involving the neighboring Tucanoan-speaking *Tatúyo*. The opening wedge for this marriage was made by a *Bahúkiwa* woman who had married a *Tatúyo*. One day she reappeared among the *Bahúkiwa* with her husband and young children and settled down for a long wait. She was given a manioc garden and her husband devoted himself to making household implements for the wife of the headman. The headman had two marriageable daughters and two marriageable sons, to each of whom had been assigned, in the traditional manner, a sister whom he would exchange for a bride. One of the daughters, the elder, was very attractive, vivacious, flirtatious, and ardently desired by many young men. She had been married and divorced several times and was accused of having aborted, or killed at birth, several of her offspring. Because she was headstrong and not very industrious, sober-minded folk regarded her as a poor choice for a bride. Nevertheless, she was assigned to the older son, a very capable young man who showed every promise of becoming a headman. By seniority his was to be the prior marriage. Among the Cubeo the problem is to have the sons marry in proper age sequence and not the daughters. The *Bahúkiwa* visitor stated her opinion that such a girl needed a *Tatúyo* as a husband. "A *Tatúyo* could tame her," she said. The *Tatúyo* indeed had a reputation for ferocity because at the time they were still at war with the whites. By contrast with the Cubeo, those I saw were sullen and certainly appeared to be far more aggressive. She added that the *Tatúyo* also had many fine young girls, girls who had not been spoiled by contact with whites. The headman had no sooner grasped the possibilities of such a marriage for his undisciplined older daughter than a party of *Tatúyo* appeared to visit their fellow *Tatúyo*, who, they remarked jokingly, had lived away for so long that they now thought of him as a *Bahúkiwa*. It was a "large" party of eight men of warrior age. They came in two canoes. They were quartered among the various households and they stayed for several weeks, showing great skill in hunting, fishing, and in making implements. No one spoke marriage; but the signs were soon evident in the flirtatiousness of the daughters of the headman and two of the *Tatúyo* youths. When the *Tatúyo* announced that they were now ready to go home, a drinking party was quickly arranged as a farewell. When the *Tatúyo* party had left, it was discovered that the younger daughter was missing and that the older sister, whose "elopement" was taken [582]

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571 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission
619 and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are
606 stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of ex-
607 change marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it
593 draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister
[583] and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the
[616] mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geo-
● [582] graphic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as
[614] well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively sub-
615 stantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest.
571 Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony
614 and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of
578 wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force
[615] of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of
[754] sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

796 instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by
[534] Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey
[526] hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

88 As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and
582 brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the
592 plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

462 The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks
592 up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

592 Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities,
361 the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

342 A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

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000 *Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.*

 [see p.62-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

# Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon[1]

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*In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Makú and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguae francae, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.*

## THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

### *Setting and Culture Area*

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

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The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

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Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

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[P. 670-A]

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse
61 group, which is also the basic unit of economic
594 redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with
[251] its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each mar-
[354] ried woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her
[264] hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by
[562] the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A
61 well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cultural emphasis is more on nonendogamy with-
582 in the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

[P. 671 - B]

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to more than one phratry are well known and are taken for granted as minor exceptions to the stated rule. This rule is expressed in a formula that one does not marry inside of one's own tribe-and-language group because one would then be marrying a brother or a sister. Although informants do not explicitly refer to it, they recognize exogamy at the phratry level, and all marriages conform to a rule of phratry exogamy as well as of tribal exogamy. Recognition of the multitribal composition of the phratry is expressed as: "A Tukano will not marry a Baré because the Baré are brothers and sisters with the Tukanos."

The exogamic phratry system is extended fictitiously to all tribes peripheral to and beyond the central Northwest Amazon area, even though members of these tribes may not themselves be aware that they fit into such a system. Despite this fiction, it is safe to assume that any marriage with a member of one of these tribes will be phratry-exogamous. The nonriverine, marginal Makú of the interior lands back from the Papuri River, with whom the riverine Indians described in this paper do not intermarry, are considered to belong to the phratries to which the Tukano belong (the "Tukano-Makú") and to which the Desano belong (the "Desano-Makú"), and are said to intermarry among themselves accordingly.[1]

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A larger mission village is a unit that has been created by missionaries from two or more longhouse groups representing two or more tribes (hence linguistic groups) that have been required to tear down their longhouses, move together, and build separate adobe huts for each nuclear family. A larger mission village also contains a contingent of non-Indian missionaries and a boarding house of school children from nearby settlements. A smaller mission village is a single longhouse group that has been persuaded to tear down its longhouse and substitute a series of adobe huts, one for each nuclear family.

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The rubber-working group, for the Indian, is a unit of eight to ten months' duration per year, to which he belongs over a period of several years, usually in his youth. There are a great many such groups in the Upper Vaupés-Apaporis rubber-gathering area, each operating out of a camp, to which the Indians of the Middle Vaupés region are recruited. Properly speaking, the group includes one or more non-

[P.672-A]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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829 Although the Indians reckon, for reference, in terms of ethnic groups, their attitude toward non-Indians is roughly the same as that of Americans in the United States toward European immigrants, who are looked upon as potentially becoming more and more American. I observed that Indians behold the visitor as potentially becoming more and more Indian-like unless he actively rejects Indian food, customs, and so forth. Most non-Indians are unaware of this attitude, and many would be contemptuous of it if they did know of it.

With respect to the Dutch, Germans, etc., an identifying criterion important to the Indian is that each of these ethnic groups is a separate language-bearing group. I was surprised that Indians do not naïvely assume that the English-speaking "American" necessarily belongs to the English ethnic group; the occasional North American traveler who insists (in Spanish) that he is "American" by *tribe* as well as by nationality is simply not believed. The North American who can be more explicit about his ethnic background is appreciated, especially if the background includes languages other than English and more than one ethnic group (thus simulating in form the exogamic language-bearing groups among the Colombian or Brazilian Indians). The Indians have also noted the widespread and, to them, notorious endogamy of the non-Indians and figure that there must be some sort of sib exogamy. The Indians ask a great deal about non-Indian marriage customs--partly because missionaries at times have suggested that the Indians' exogamy system is cumbersome and uncivilized, and that it promotes close cousin marriage, whereas the Indians feel that it is the non-Indian, with his lack of a clearly definable exogamy system, who is indiscriminate.

[582] [797]

As for nationality-and-language, the Indians know that Spanish is the language of non-Indians on the Colombian side of the border and that Portuguese is the corresponding language on the Brazilian side of the border. They also know that Spanish is the language of Venezuela and that English is the language of "America." Nationality has no bearing on exogamy.

*The Tribal Unit*

619 In the central Northwest Amazon the term "tribe" has been used both for individual language-bearing units and for composites of these units sharing the same culture. In general

[P. 673-A]

area].) "Semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) based on a partial knowledge of a language that is closely related to one already known may also occur.

## MULTILINGUALISM

[611] Because descent is patrilineal in the Northwest Amazon and residence is normatively and [582] predominantly patrilocal, an individual belongs to his (or her) father's tribe, and to his father's linguistic group, which is also his [591] own. Because of exogamy, his mother always represents a different tribe—tribal membership does not change for her upon marriage—and a different linguistic group. A woman invariably uses the language of the longhouse—her husband's language—when talking directly with her children. But she is usually not the only woman from her tribe in a longhouse. In a longhouse of any size there are usually several women of her tribe, as well as groups of other women from other tribes; and during the course of a day, these several groups of women usually find occasion to converse with each other in their own original languages.

[484] In addition to these multilingual contacts in the longhouse, others occur as a result of [583] considerable traveling. Youths travel to investigate and evaluate available brides. A prospective bridegroom, if he does not know it already, learns his prospective wife's language from his prospective mother-in-law. Families also travel to visit relatives and affines. And there is travel for the sheer sake of travel.

A man's *mother's* language may be quite important because of the preferential marriage system. There is a preference, though not [582] an obligation, to marry his cross-cousin, particularly his mother's brother's daughter, [593] real or classificatory. (The kinship system is of Iroquoian type [Fulop 1955].) She will, of course, be of his *mother's* tribe and speak his *mother's* language. Therefore there is an added cultural incentive for a man to know his mother's language. If he has little opportunity to learn it—if she, for instance, is the only one of her tribe in the longhouse, and her tribe lives at a distance—his mother, nevertheless, will teach him lists of words in her language and how to say various things in it. Children are usually bilingual in both their father's and their mother's languages, but commonly use the former.

A child is frequently exposed to the other

[P. 677-B]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [3] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiane Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921-22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177 563 61 582 [4] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Cabocles are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1965). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of cabocles. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupenne Spanish it is "*cabeso*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be cabocles.

000 [5] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

124 191 [6] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper-to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data *about* each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 101 197 [7] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

[P. 683-B]

*601 /126 cont./

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-sis-o-f | Meokó * | (M) | (V) |

* The term Meokó is also used in reference when Ego refers to the da-o-sis-o-f while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-sis-o-f.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-sis-o-f | Yeé Basúko * | (M) | (R) |

* Used in reference in general form.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-sis-o-f | Uaméu Majkó | (F) | (V-R) |
| so-o-br-ó-m | Meoké * | (M) | (V) |

* The term Meoké is also used in reference when Ego refers to the so-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-so-o-br-o-m.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-br-o-m | Yeé Basúke * | (M) | (R) |

* Used in reference in general form.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-br-o-m | Uaméu Majké | (F) | (V-R) |
| da-o-br-o-m | Meokó * | (M) | (V) |

* The term Meokó is also used in reference when Ego refers to da-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-br-o-m.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-br-o-m | Yeé Basúko * | (M) | (R) |

* Used in reference in general form.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da-o-br-o-m | Uaméu Majkó | (F) | (V-R) |

[582] [583] Note the identity between the terms for so-o-sis-o-f and so-o-br-o-m. Note the identity between the terms for da-o-sis-o-f and da-o-br-o-m. This is due to the interchange of brother with sister in cross-cousin marriages.

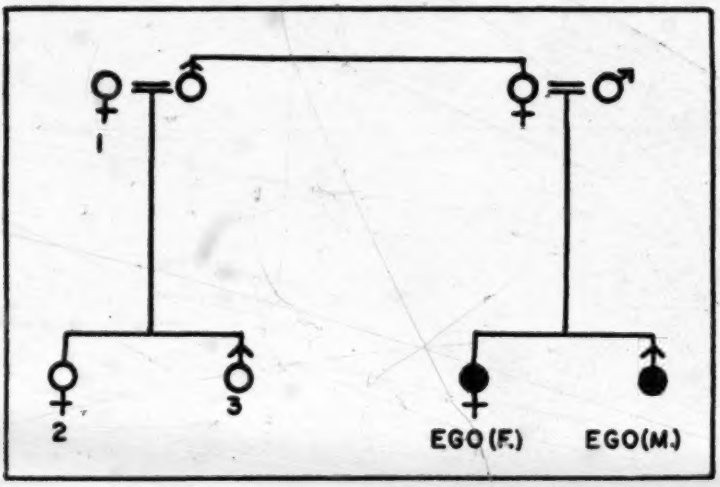
* 601 /126 cont./

[582] [583]

SPECIAL CASES OF so-o-br-o-m AND OF da-o-br-o-m.

In case the interchange of brother with sister is unilateral in cross-cousin marriages, the following happens:

/127/ Note—No. 1 is not sis-o-f of Ego.




| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| so-o-br-o-m | Paég | (M) | (V) |
| so-o-br-o-m | Yeé Utamúri Majsé | (M) | (R) |
| so-o-br-o-m | Mejkésa Majké | (F) | (V-R) |
| da-o-br-o-m | Paó * | (M) | (V-R) |

* This term is used in reference solely when Ego refers to the da-o-br-o-m while speaking directly with the sp-o-da-o-br-o-m.

*
601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
615 to
Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

614 Uejsári Téroague

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that
614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of
554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-
•[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two
595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of
614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with
615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing
177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.
587 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.
611 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-
591 tended patrilineal families.
596

*539 [797] [595] [161]

/132 cont./

polygyny. Explanation for the constant diminution of the Tukano population.

*539 582 583

And Siópuri Uejké and Ereya will command you. And they will have you as slaves and humiliated ones. I forbid the Tukano to take their woman from their own tribe, but they can get their woman from outside their tribe (53).

53. Obligatory exogamy exists in Tukano culture.

for example, a Yurutí or Tariana or Desana woman." And there were only three tribes from which the Tukano could get women. Yurutí, Tariano /Tariana/, and Desano /Desana/. And they did not fight with these tribes in order to get women, because a brother and sister of one tribe exchanged with a brother and sister of another tribe. And Yepá Huâke said to Yúpuri Baúrot "If you want to get a woman from another tribe that is not Yurutí, Tariano, or Desano, you will have to do it by fighting (54).

54. With any other tribe that is not the Yurutí, the Tairiano /sic/, and the Desano, the form of marriage is by abduction. During the abduction fights take place between the male relatives of the girl who is abducted and the committee of men who have come to get the wife for the bridegroom. This committee is formed by the male relatives of the bridegroom and the bridegroom does not take part in the abduction.

*539 And the first woman that you will get by fighting will be Tuyuca. Do not kill, just fight and take the woman. The second woman will be Uanana, and do not kill them either, just take the woman.

/407 cont./

592 Frequently, the mother who has been widowed, or some single or orphaned relative, might live as added to a family, or, better, incorporated into it, and therefore the family group becomes larger than the family. As we shall see (VIII -- 2), the local group was originally constituted by the family, therefore being identical with the family group. The need for defense and help with the work (construction of the maloca, fishing, etc.) is what favored the local or family group over the isolated family.

On the other hand, among the Uaupesina nations there are some factors that strengthen the family organization or group:

593 428 1st. -- In first place there are the instinct and the right of ownership. There are, indeed, some goods (canoes, hut, pottery, etc.) that constitute family property and pass to the children as an inheritance.

593 583 2nd. -- As among the primitive Romans, the Uaupesino fathers have an exaggerated power over the children. This pátria potéstas reserves exclusively for the father the matrimonial negotiations, through the exchange of the maidens, as wives, from one tribe to another, and, moreover, strengthens the family regime.

3rd. -- Besides the exchange of the daughters, there is also in force an offering of nuptial gifts to the father of the future wife. These gifts, in turn, consolidate the paternal power and the family regime.

593 /408/ 4th. -- The nonexistence of a strong and organized political power is, in turn, an effect and cause of the increase of the paternal powers and a factor of consolidation of the family group.

a) Marriage.

581 We have already pointed out that among all these tribes marriage is a social institution that aims immediately (and it would perhaps not be exaggerated to say exclusively) at the perpetuation of the group. It is the group that is primarily interested in its
582 realization, not the individuals who marry, since their inclinations

/412 cont./

582 In conclusion, the preferential marriage of these tribes is between cousins in the first degree.

• 583 *[192] c) The lack of women might render the exchange, or Põãperi, impossible. As might also an excess of women over the number of male children. The acquisition of a wife will then be done with the donation of some material goods; this is what is called Nõ'mõ duusé (purchase of the wife).

/413/ It seems to us, however, that this is not a matter of a true purchase of the spouse, in spite of the term Duusé, which was given to us by a Tukano interpreter. One tribe was enriched by one family, while the other one lost an element: compensation is just. With the absence of the maiden daughter, the father, and above all the mother, has lost an element of value through her work for the domestic economy; there will be economic indemnification on the part of the future son-in-law.

There are two reasons for such a deduction. The first one is that even when there is Põãperi, or exchange of women, the young man will give some gift to the future father-in-law. The second reason is that there does not exist, as in other human groups, a fixed price of indemnification; or a table of prices according to the category of women. The young man will give according to his means and the wishes of the father-in-law. Always utilitarian objects: ornaments, canoe, machete, trousers, ax, tobacco, salt, etc. (13).

582 13. Wallace presents a detail for which we do not find any confirmation or reminiscence on the Uaupés. "In some tribes," he says, "such as that of the Uacarás, the young man must submit to a test, which consists of a demonstration of his ability to shoot the bow and arrow. If the young man does not hit the target, the girl refuses him, because he thus proves to be incapable of shooting fish or of hunting for the sustenance of the family." We have

/413 cont./

581 It is natural that self-interest (innate and exaggerated in the Indian) takes advantage of these customs. For example, a father who might have more than one daughter perhaps will try to give one of them to some Tuyuka youth (in order to have a /414/ good canoe, because they are specialized canoe-makers), a second one to a Pirã-tapuya (skillful makers of nets and fishing baskets), demanding from them the products of their specialties.

[606] Moreover, these relations of affinity give him a chance to spend part of the year traveling: a sojourn in the house of each son-in-law. Because marriage creates close relations of affinity, all the more singular, since it is known that they are persons from different tribes and all of them with such a deeply racist mentality.

2) The Abduction -- Nũ'myó ỹe'ẽsé or Nũ'myó myẽsé.

• 583 *[192] In spite of these precedents of negotiations, there is still preserved today a symbolic abduction of the girl, a survival, one might think, of ancient customs in which the young man had to give proof of courage, kidnapping his wife, after having fought against those who tried to protect her.

Or, who knows (it is most probable when one talks about other human groups; not, however, those of the Uaupés), they were clans of one and the same tribe, transformed into enemies because of the dissidences, and who, in this period, had to have recourse to abduction in order to maintain the ancient law of clan exogamy.

Among our Indians of the Uaupés, there is no fighting at all, although cases of disputes and possible excitation of animus are remembered. The young man's father, with a few more oarsmen, appears in the povoado of the girl. Perhaps the latter, already informed, will be in the vicinity of the landing place [115] and will then be carried to the canoe. Or the men ask permission from the father, who says nothing (so relates Dorotéia Brito), and seize the girl. The mother, on the other hand, will protest with loud screams and imprecations, recalling the tasks of the

/414 cont./

• 583 daughter (always the aspect of self-interest), that she is the one who takes care of the children, works in the clearing, makes beijú, etc. No one, however, will stop the abduction.

3) The Act of marriage.

583
585
[115]

The abductors (14),

> 14. Some natives informed us of sexual relations which take place between the abductors and the maiden, and some of them added that such relations are always licit in the future. It might be that originally it was a matter of a privilege of the abductors. A privilege, however, that today has lost its justification, being leveled in practice in the great general freedom.

perhaps after several days of traveling by canoe, bring the young woman to the young man's maloca and hand her over with this formula and request (which was given to us by Dorotéia Brito): -- "We went looking for a girl for you; now take care of her; that she may be a good mother, that she does not run away." They do not perform any other rite on this occasion; this was the positive statement made by all of them.

/415/ Frequently for this circumstance a feast takes place in the maloca. It does not seem that such a feast is a religious rite of marriage. Not only does it not have a well-determined date, but perhaps the marriage is not realized either. And in the unfolding of the feast there are no allusions to the marriage. They greatly enjoy feasts, and the one on this occasion has the psychological aim of settling the girl's mind so that she will not greatly feel the distance from her family. All the more since she finds herself in a tribe different from her own, with whose language she is perhaps entirely unfamiliar.

/415 cont./

• 583 584 If the girl cannot take any initiative directly, by showing her preferences, she at least enjoys the "right of veto." That is, speaking in thesis: she will not marry someone she does not like. It is true that she will think carefully beforehand, because, rejecting this proposal, perhaps another will not come. And, besides, she will suffer bad treatment from her people, who, according to the compromises of the Põãperi, must give a wife to the other family.

Who knows even whether she will be a victim of malefice, dohasé? Nevertheless, if she absolutely does not want to marry such a youth, two courses are left to her: first, she does not let herself be abducted, and sometimes she flees to another maloca nearby, when she knows that they are coming to fetch her. Or to flee from the young man's house (15).

[115] 15. A Taryana woman, Teodora from Iauareté, informed us that the woman can not say anything. But, if she likes the young man, she lets herself be abducted; in the opposite case she will flee from the maloca of the young man.

4) Stability.

585 The existence of the marriage and its stability are not yet assured. The young woman will give proof of her good will and ability to be the lady of the house.

[591] [606] If they do not live in the regime of a maloca, perhaps later the young man might build his independent dwelling; for now he will remain in his parents' house, and the mother-in-law orders the girl to prepare the manicuera /fermented manioc-juice/ and the drinks for the nuptial feast.

/421 cont./

462 man manufactured weapons and implements for one thing and
593 another: canoe, baskets, nets, bows, arrows, traps, etc. In the clearing there fell to him the preliminary work of choosing the spot and felling the trees. The defense of the clearing against the harmful animals or other persons is also his duty. Of the domestic utensils he is the one who manufactures the tipití /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the treatment of the mandioca, as well as the little seats. As for the diet, he is the one who supplies the game, fish, and who brings the fruits from the forest for the caxirís. And he has prepared the ornaments and the musical instruments for the social and religious manifestations. Recognizing, then, the great weight of work that falls upon the woman for the maintenance of the family, we think that it alone does not demonstrate an inferior position for the woman.

593 The Põáperi, in itself, is not a depreciation of the woman,
[583] as we have already noted. The nuptial gifts, more than the dowry of the European customs, properly represent a valorization of the wife. She is really considered greatly useful, not only under the aspect of maternity, so desired and appreciated, since the Indian wishes to have children, but even in the economic one.

[551] As for not knowing the wife's name and the ways of referring to her, they do not seem to be indicators of inferiority. She came from another tribe and another language, perhaps a strange name. In any case they are not accustomed to calling anyone by name, as we shall see. In general, in referring to the wife, the husband uses the expression: -- "The mother of N" and says the name of the first-born child, and this seems to be an affectionate association. She will also say of the husband: "The father of N," which, on her lips, has a particular meaning, as affirmation that it is a legitimate child.

[611] As for the children, this affirmation is of value: the children belong to the tribe more than to the parents. Both the wife and the husband exert little authority over the children, since they are raised with great autonomy. Perhaps she has an ascendancy even greater than the husband, because, at least when they are small, they are exclusively in her care, and they go so far as to learn her idiom.

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593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

[244] [437] [273] [261] [592] [835] [836] [583]

593 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

583 583 58 [593] [593]

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614 584 take place, although, it must be emphasized, these are never binding. Marriage is always thought of in terms of a boy getting a wife. A [589] girl thinks a great deal about getting a husband, but her parents prefer not to think about that. The Cubeo know bachelors but not spinsters. Parents of a boy have in mind a little girl somewhere, [583] usually in the maternal sib, as a wife for their son. Unable to bespeak her – a girl is bespoken only as a result of a brother-sister exchange marriage in which her brother has already taken possession of his wife – they keep an eye on her, waiting for her to grow up. She may marry someone else, in which case their disappointment will be keen although they will have no grounds for complaint.

614 583 584 There comes a day when a boy's parents say to him that there is a girl ready for marriage and that he ought to go and see if he can bring her home. If it is not the second stage of a brother-sister exchange marriage they will not say to him that they have already pursued the matter with the parents on the other side, through earlier exchanges of visits or through an emissary. Out of deference for his feelings should he fail to get the bride, they may instruct him as though he were going to broach marriage for the first time. If the girl is "vowed" to the sib his instructions are simply to bring her back, or, failing that, to take back his sister.

614 583 584 574 The young man sets out with a party of sibmen, some of his age group and some of his father's age group. The parents may come along, because a woman welcomes this chance for a home visit. A party does not necessarily announce itself as a wedding party. They prefer to announce upon arriving that they have come only to visit. If the parents are not to accompany the party, the father assembles the marriage party in the plaza and, in the presence of the entire community, instructs his son in the exchange procedures. If it is the completion of an exchange marriage he recapitulates the history of the earlier marriage, the promises of exchange that have been made, and declares what is due the sib. In an exchange marriage a particular girl has been promised and a substitute has usually been indicated if the girl who has been promised is unwilling. There is also the question of supplementary gifts to the bride's parents, such as a small canoe, a gun, ornaments, and the like, that the father authorizes his son to offer. If this is to be the initial marriage, from which an exchange will follow, the boy is instructed to say which sister or other girl of the sib will be offered. Under any circumstances both bride and groom have the option of deciding that they do not care for one another. This option is no mere formality and many a marriage party has had to settle for a social visit alone because the prin-

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cipals in the marriage were not attracted to each other. It is to avoid this embarrassment that the marriage party does not declare its intentions. They announce that they have come to visit relatives. They are made welcome, assigned to sleeping quarters, and are drawn into the general round of activities of the house. They may stay for many weeks. The groom-to-be joins in the activities of his age group, hunting and fishing with them. He spends part of his time in making gifts for his host's wife, who need not be the prospective mother-in-law, and for the mother-in-law-to-be as well, if he has been a guest in her household. He may make baskets, trays, or a hammock. Every woman treasures an object that a suitor has made. These objects, however, are not presented as marriage gifts but as offerings in return for hospitality.

The courtship itself is a slow process. For some time the prospective bride and groom virtually avoid one another. The young man is attentive to the other girls of the sib, and his own age mates, if single, act as though they are courting the prospective bride. They are all looking one another over. The young man's personality is evaluated, and his skills in hunting, fishing, and crafts are observed. The visiting party, for its part, makes close observations on the bride-to-be. The nature of this opening phase of the courtship in which bride and groom are being "looked over" is such that unexpected matches are sometimes made. It has happened that a boy who has been flirting with his bride-to-be's sister to divert attention from his real objective falls in love with her. Or the sister falls in love with the suitor and seeks her betrothed sister's permission to marry him. This happened among the *Bahúkiwa*. A man, having reached the final stages of courtship with a girl, had arranged the formal elopement tryst with her. At the end it was the sister who appeared, explaining that it was she who wanted to marry him, with her sister's consent. The suitor was not disappointed, and all went well.

If the young man is satisfied with the bride-to-be the party prolongs its stay. Otherwise it leaves quickly. Once it has decided to stay, the groom awaits a sign of acceptance from the girl. One of the first indications of sexual interest that she shows is to run rather than walk in his presence. When the older folk see a girl running when she should be walking they smile knowingly at one another. One day she throws a handful of manioc mash in his face in the presence of company and laughs at him. He pretends anger and moves upon her. She pretends fright and runs off to her manioc garden, where he overtakes her. They have coitus and they are then engaged. She may show her interest in other ways, pinching him or cuffing him as she

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614 584 walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest [836] is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting [832] coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of these is an extract of *ñwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult, [789] a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

614 Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation 583 simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the 584 courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents [601] and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *tcimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *tcimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *tcimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *tcimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

614 It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three 574 levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of 583 hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the 584 maloca and of the community – the groom joining the age group of his *tcimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

614 This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all 619 circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is 574 conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to 583 overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have 584 been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

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 619 583 584 574 [614] [114]

marriage. These suspicions are not overcome even though they may already have affinal kin in the other tribe.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, I was witness to some of the events of the full cycle of an exchange marriage involving the neighboring Tucanoan-speaking *Tatúyo*. The opening wedge for this marriage was made by a *Bahúkiwa* woman who had married a *Tatúyo*. One day she reappeared among the *Bahúkiwa* with her husband and young children and settled down for a long wait. She was given a manioc garden and her husband devoted himself to making household implements for the wife of the headman. The headman had two marriageable daughters and two marriageable sons, to each of whom had been assigned, in the traditional manner, a sister whom he would exchange for a bride. One of the daughters, the elder, was very attractive, vivacious, flirtatious, and ardently desired by many young men. She had been married and divorced several times and was accused of having aborted, or killed at birth, several of her offspring. Because she was headstrong and not very industrious, sober-minded folk regarded her as a poor choice for a bride. Nevertheless, she was assigned to the older son, a very capable young man who showed every promise of becoming a headman. By seniority his was to be the prior marriage. Among the Cubeo the problem is to have the sons marry in proper age sequence and not the daughters. The *Bahúkiwa* visitor stated her opinion that such a girl needed a *Tatúyo* as a husband. "A *Tatúyo* could tame her," she said. The *Tatúyo* indeed had a reputation for ferocity because at the time they were still at war with the whites. By contrast with the Cubeo, those I saw were sullen and certainly appeared to be far more aggressive. She added that the *Tatúyo* also had many fine young girls, girls who had not been spoiled by contact with whites. The headman had no sooner grasped the possibilities of such a marriage for his undisciplined older daughter than a party of *Tatúyo* appeared to visit their fellow *Tatúyo*, who, they remarked jokingly, had lived away for so long that they now thought of him as a *Bahúkiwa*. It was a "large" party of eight men of warrior age. They came in two canoes. They were quartered among the various households and they stayed for several weeks, showing great skill in hunting, fishing, and in making implements. No one spoke marriage; but the signs were soon evident in the flirtatiousness of the daughters of the headman and two of the *Tatúyo* youths. When the *Tatúyo* announced that they were now ready to go home, a drinking party was quickly arranged as a farewell. When the *Tatúyo* party had left, it was discovered that the younger daughter was missing and that the older sister, whose "elopement" was taken [582]

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619 583 584 574 for granted, had remained home. When this was discovered the headman and all the able-bodied men he could muster rushed for their canoes and paddled furiously downriver to intercept the "abductors." The girl's mother sputtered with indignation at the *Tatüyo* who had "tricked them" and at her daughter who had betrayed them. This, it emerged, was a genuine elopement. The older sister, willful as ever, had no intention of being "tamed" by anyone, least of all by backwater Indians. Her younger sister was eager, however, and it was no trouble to get the *Tatüyo* to accept her. In due time the *Tatüyo* were intercepted. Assuredly they allowed themselves to be intercepted. Since the girl would under no circumstances agree to come home, the parties had only to settle the conditions of an exchange marriage. The *Tatüyo* designated a girl, ripe to be taken as a wife at any time, and by way of apologizing for eloping with the wrong daughter agreed to add a large canoe. Back home, the headman berated his sister for thinking more of the interests of her *Tatüyo* husband than of her *Bahükiwa* people.

The elopement postponed the marriage of the older son, who was eager for a wife and precipitated the younger one into a marriage to which he had not yet been giving thought, so strong is the Cubeo convention of pairing a brother and sister for an exchange marriage. In a few months the younger son was sent to "demand" the bride promised. I did not accompany the marriage party to the *Tatüyo*. But when the party returned with a very attractive young bride they reported to the satisfaction of the headman that the groom, having first offered his sister a chance to return home, asked for the bride. The girl was brought out. He took her by the hand and led her to the canoe. "We [614] did not even stay overnight," he boasted. Such brusqueness and calculated discourtesy would not occur if the exchange were with the maternal sib.

581 Sheer sexual attractiveness is regarded as the wrong reason for choosing a bride. The point is not only that physical sturdiness and industriousness are better traits, but that a sexually provocative woman will be a source of trouble to the sib. A responsibility of an elder accompanying a marriage party is to remind the groom-to-be to pay attention to the sterling qualities of a bride, that do include, however, such erotically desirable features as large, full breasts, a strong back, and a clear skin. They would prefer to have her sullen rather than vivacious.

583 585 614 Formal marriage is signalized by what must be regarded as the "rite of abduction." The groom seizes his bride and runs with her to the canoe. She cries out for help and her male kin rush out and

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beat her "abductor" with sticks or with their bare hands. His own companions aid him, and if the girl is willing, they get to the canoe landing with no serious damage. This display of ceremonial violence satisfies two Cubeo doctrines, one that affinal sibs are "hostile" and the other that a woman will not leave her sib by her own volition but must be torn from it by brute force. There is also a third notion, namely, that a man be strong enough to capture a bride. I heard many accounts, perhaps apocryphal, of fainthearted striplings who could not bring home a bride. Such stories are often told to tease young bride seekers.

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Father Giacone (1949, p. 21), who studied the Tucano tribe, reported no courtship and no marriage ceremony but did note forcible seizure of the bride. Father Giacone's information does suggest some variation in practice among the Tucano. There, the bride is not seized by the groom but by the groom's father, who has been accompanied by some men. They pretend they have come to purchase a canoe. In the midst of their visit for this purpose they carry off the girl and bring her home, unmolested, to the waiting groom. Often, he notes, this is the first time they have met. The girl is timid and retiring, he reports, and the women undertake to cheer her up by inviting her to accompany them on their labors. When the bride begins to work with satisfaction at all her tasks the marriage is considered settled. Some weeks later her parents come to reclaim her and the groom hides her. Her parents are given presents if she is unwilling to return home. At a later visit they repay with gifts of their own.

In general, Tucano and Cubeo marriage practices are alike; the most striking difference is in the fetching home of the bride. Cubeo notions of manhood would be offended at the notion that the father should bring a bride home for his son.

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Among the Cubeo, the early stages of marriage are almost invariably difficult for the young couple. They are barely acquainted and the husband is expected to show his wife only the barest semblance of affection so as not to interfere with his mother, whose role it is to assimilate the young bride into her household as a replacement for the "lost daughter." The bride enters her mother-in-law's service, working with her in the manioc garden and in the preparation of manioc. Doing all the chores that she has done as an unmarried girl in her own community but under a strange woman, she is understandably disappointed, even though she is received very warmly. She is immediately locked in a conflict with her mother-in-law for her freedom. The issue is the manioc garden. A woman wants her daughter-in-law to help her in her garden and the daughter-in-law,

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Plural marriages are uncommon only because they are not convenient. 595
Polygyny is usually limited to the headman. Two wives (I never heard 622
of any man having more than two wives at the same time) are regarded as suitable for a headman, first because he has the personal qualities to sustain a complex household and second because the maloca will be more orderly if two women are responsible for looking after it. A headman's prospects for getting two wives are enhanced somewhat, since he will almost certainly have had a sister assigned to him as an exchange for his first wife, and his prestige and perhaps affluence will help him get a wife through bride price alone. Brother-sister exchange is preferred, to be sure, but circumstances are such that an enterprising man will find many other ways of getting an additional wife from among widows, divorcées, and orphan children. He will not, however, marry a woman, either widow or divorcée, who has been brought to his community as a wife by a sibmate. A man may well have a surplus sister. These opportunities are available to all men, but it is the headman who is most likely to seize upon them. Koch-Grünberg, noting the common occurrence of polygyny along [114] the Vaupés, commented that plural marriages were harmonious. From what I observed and from what I heard I have a very different impression. Polygynous households are rather turbulent.

If a man has two wives, he must prepare two clearings and set each 595
up in her own household. Even so, my informants told me, the wives quarrel and bear tales against one another to the husband, accusing one another of laziness. The first wife taunts her colleague as being a mere second wife. The second retorts that she would not have been chosen if the husband had really cared for the first wife. Since men take it for granted that women are an unruly element they expect wives to quarrel. A headman, however, should be able to manage [622] them, it is believed.

One man told me that after he had married his present wife he 593
was offered a girl for bride price alone – a shotgun and cloth – and 595
so for three years he maintained a polygynous household. He then [583] decided that it would not work. At first the new wife refused to garden and urged him to come and live at her sib. They did this for a time and he left his first wife at home with their children. After a year he returned with the second wife. He made a large clearing and divided it into two parts, assigning each to one wife. His first wife, he said, cultivated her part but the second did nothing and just sat about the house. One day she departed and he did not chase her. He claimed that he did not understand why she had left since he had not forced her to do anything she did not wish to do.

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571 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 606 607 593 Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister [583] [616] and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geo- [582] graphic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as [614] well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 615 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest. 571 614 578 Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force [615] of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the [754] Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

191 area].) "Semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) based on a partial knowledge of a language that is closely related to one already known may also occur.

## MULTILINGUALISM

[611] Because descent is patrilineal in the Northwest Amazon and residence is normatively and [582] predominantly patrilocal, an individual belongs to his (or her) father's tribe, and to his father's linguistic group, which is also his [591] own. Because of exogamy, his mother always represents a different tribe—tribal membership does not change for her upon marriage—and a different linguistic group. A woman invariably uses the language of the longhouse—her husband's language—when talking directly with her children. But she is usually not the only woman from her tribe in a longhouse. In a longhouse of any size there are usually several women of her tribe, as well as groups of other women from other tribes; and during the course of a day, these several groups of women usually find occasion to converse with each other in their own original languages.

[484] In addition to these multilingual contacts in the longhouse, others occur as a result of [583] considerable traveling. Youths travel to investigate and evaluate available brides. A prospective bridegroom, if he does not know it already, learns his prospective wife's language from his prospective mother-in-law. Families also travel to visit relatives and affines. And there is travel for the sheer sake of travel.

A man's *mother's* language may be quite important because of the preferential marriage system. There is a preference, though not [582] an obligation, to marry his cross-cousin, particularly his mother's brother's daughter, [593] real or classificatory. (The kinship system is of Iroquoian type [Fulop 1955].) She will, of course, be of his *mother's* tribe and speak his *mother's* language. Therefore there is an added cultural incentive for a man to know his mother's language. If he has little opportunity to learn it—if she, for instance, is the only one of her tribe in the longhouse, and her tribe lives at a distance—his mother, nevertheless, will teach him lists of words in her language and how to say various things in it. Children are usually bilingual in both their father's and their mother's languages, but commonly use the former.

A child is frequently exposed to the other

[P. 677-B]

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano [262] [753] [178] Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

773 177 [128] [114] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, 115 756 Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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582 601 As an exception, the individual, instead of marrying a girl from the generation of the Baxsúkãra, perhaps will marry someone from the class of the "uncles" /Port. tios, uncles, uncles and aunts/, Mẽx-kã-sa or Mã-gõ. It is the components of this class who are now his brothers-in-law, Pẽ-ñã. In Tukano he may continue to call them "uncle," Mẽx-kã, or (if it is a matter of the niece) Mẽx-kã-sa, and in direct discourse he will use the name Pirĩ for the brothers-in-law in the strict sense.

• 584 2nd. -- A second one is that the negotiations and agreements are realized between the parents, without the ones to be married interfering or being consulted (8).

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8. It has happened that the father has brought a wife for his son who is a student in the Mission school, forcing him to leave the school bench in order to marry.

It is highly reprehensible that, while the children enjoy enough freedom in the native family (it can be affirmed that those of the male sex enjoy absolute independence from the parents), on this subject, so serious because the marriage is indissoluble, they do not have any freedom at all (9)

9. "Slave marriage" was the expression of one Missionary, citing examples of the absolutism of the parental will against the manifest wishes of the young people.

and show the greatest docility toward the wishes of their parents.

581 [584] Neither marriage for love nor the practice of courtship is known among them. It even seems that they are indifferent to physical beauty; it is certain that in all human groups there are individuals who are more or less sympathetic. No doubt these personal reasons might have an influence in premarital and

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581 extramarital relations, but never in the marriage (10).

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10. Through the influence of the Missionary they have been freeing themselves from these ancestral prejudices, and already cases of marriage through the initiative of the ones getting married, alumni of the Missions, are known. Nevertheless it happens (narrator Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Papuri) that the young man asking for the intervention of the Padre in order to help him find a wife will prove to be indifferent concerning the person. He will say, for example: "Padre, please do me the favor of asking Joaquina, Amélia, or Maria whether one of them wants to marry me."

Marriage does not represent the satisfaction of the sexual instinct, as we had thought and wrote in the beginning, because we found out that this satisfaction has the fullest opportunity imaginable. Marriage, for the individual, is the solution of his economic problem: to have someone who will provide him with food. But it is especially the solution of the social problem: the continuation and propagation of the tribe.

/412/ It is surprising that, in spite of this, family life goes on normally enough. The only plausible explanation is the great respect for the traditional laws establishing the relations between the spouses, and their duties; laws which are faithfully observed.

584 3rd. A third one is that, in order to obtain a wife for an older son nowadays, perhaps a newborn child (11)

11. It does not seem that there are any agreements between the parents about children to be born, because it is contrary to the psychology of the Indian, who is a man of reality.

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584 will be promised in marriage to another family. In practice, they
836 will be bride and bridegroom, with the right to relations between them (with precautions, however, in order not to have children), perhaps for many years and with a great difference in age between the ones being married. And the child, once it has barely reached the age of reason, knows that it must marry such a person.

584 4th. A fourth one is that a widowed father will give up a
587 daughter in order to arrange for a second wife for himself, although with a great disproportion between their ages, before he procures one for his son.

587 5th. A fifth one is that a woman, becoming a widow, can pass to her brother-in-law as a wife, if he is a widower or a bachelor and without a bride, from which his father has an obligation to give a woman to such a family, in exchange for the other one whom he obtained from there. Although the law of the levirate (12)

> 12. That is, the duty of an individual to marry the sister-in-law who was widowed without children, in order to resuscitate the lineage of his late brother, a custom that was in force among the Jews.

does not exist among our Indians, we thus have its practice.

582 6th. A sixth one is that, from this exchange of women of a
611 tribe A with those of tribe B, since the children are regarded as belonging to the father's tribe, cousins can marry each other. For example, of two pairs of brothers and sisters, M and N from tribe A and P and Q from tribe B, the woman M married P, whose sister Q was joined in matrimony to N. The children of these two couples are, obviously, "cousins-german" or "cousins in the first degree." Nevertheless the children of P belong to the tribe B, and those of N, to the tribe A. They consider themselves reciprocally Baxsúkãra, and they may marry each other.

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582 /footnote 13 cont./ already said (II-6, b) that we were unable to locate any tribe under the name of Wakará, in order to investigate their customs. However, the affirmation by Wallace (who did not visit the Wakará either) is in absolute opposition to the Uaupesino customs. Actually marriage is a business between the two fathers, not between the ones getting married. In any case the diet does not depend on handling the bow well. Among the tribes of the Uaupés, on the contrary, hunting is light, and fish are more rarely caught with arrows. The basis of the diet is mandioca, and the one who supplies it is the woman, and not the husband. It can be affirmed that among these tribes it is the woman, and not the husband, who supports the family.

584 It is in these cases that one notes the greater freedom of the boy who is looking for a wife, and frequently the initiative in choosing the young woman and in the dealings with her father is his. At times the parents and brothers help him in obtaining the gifts that the father-in-law demands, but with the right to be indemnified later (one more proof of the instinct of ownership).

In general the girl's father will enter into an agreement. He always fears that the young man will take revenge with some malefice. And the youth will certainly do so; or at least he will spread it abroad that the girl has the dohasé (malefice) of sterility, and nobody will seek her as a wife. It is a dreadful revenge, because this cuts short the young woman's future and also sacrifices the economic interests of the father.

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583 If the girl cannot take any initiative directly, by showing
•584 her preferences, she at least enjoys the "right of veto." That is, speaking in thesis: she will not marry someone she does not like. It is true that she will think carefully beforehand, because, rejecting this proposal, perhaps another will not come. And, besides, she will suffer bad treatment from her people, who, according to the compromises of the Põáperi, must give a wife to the other family.

Who knows even whether she will be a victim of malefice, dohasé? Nevertheless, if she absolutely does not want to marry such a youth, two courses are left to her: first, she does not let herself be abducted, and sometimes she flees to another maloca nearby, when she knows that they are coming to fetch her. Or to flee from the young man's house (15).

[115] 15. A Taryana woman, Teodora from Iauareté, informed us that the woman can not say anything. But, if she likes the young man, she lets herself be abducted; in the opposite case she will flee from the maloca of the young man.

4) Stability.

585 The existence of the marriage and its stability are not yet assured. The young woman will give proof of her good will and ability to be the lady of the house.

[591] If they do not live in the regime of a maloca, perhaps later
[606] the young man might build his independent dwelling; for now he will remain in his parents' house, and the mother-in-law orders the girl to prepare the manicuera /fermented manioc-juice/ and the drinks for the nuptial feast.

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/footnote 82 cont./ however, she recovers her spirits, the operation is further repeated some four or five times with an interval of six hours. It is considered a great offense to the parents if the blows are not given with much force. During this test, all kinds of meats and fish are prepared in huge pots. Following that, those present dip into these the cipos, which immediately afterwards are given to the girl to lick. From then on she will be able to eat everything she wishes. And from this moment on she is considered a woman. She is thus ready for marriage" (o. c. 634).

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There perhaps is confusion with what happens among the tribes of the Içana and among the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés on the occasion of the dabacuris. According to what the Kubewana of the Ambaíba maloca, mouth of the Querari, told us, when the father of a youth decides to look for a wife for his son, he takes advantage of the dabacuri and applies to the chosen girl three lashes with the adabi (VII-4, e (2b) ). If she stoutly endures the blows, it is an indication that she is already mature for dealing with the responsibilities of a home.

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In some Arwake tribes a caxiri is held later; it is the feast called Karyamã (83),

83. Karyamã is the name of the type of beijú prescribed for this circumstance.

which may last as long as four days (it seems that it is the same number of days as the seclusion of the girl). Then she will dance with everyone, including the pajé, and will smoke with them on the cigar made of banana leaves and tobacco. It seems that on

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serve, perhaps of suspicion, as though the meal had established a relationship between me and the "enemy." Because, at their insistence, I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* as an "Independent" in a small hut of my own I shared only in the festive meals. But when I traveled with them and took part in what they were doing I shared in the food of whatever household I happened to be most closely associated with in the current activities.

Men give game and fish to their wives and to their mothers. If there is to be a further distribution to other women the wives and mothers usually make it. When a man gives fish or game to a girl whom he may marry he will have declared his intentions. In ceremonial friendship, food exchange between men and women is a most important token of closeness of relationship. In food preparation the Cubeo follow the common tropical forest pattern: women boil, men bake and broil.

The visitor to a maloca is given a pepper pot (*bya*) in which to dip a bit of manioc cake. This offering of the pepper pot is a token of feeding; it may even be refreshing to a weary traveler but it is not food; it is in lieu of food. The casual visitor is received into the coolness of the house and is offered the visitor's bench near the door. When he is seated, the headman's wife appears with a small pot of boiled capsicum peppers which she sets on the ground before him. She withdraws after inviting him to eat. She then comes back with a tray on which is a manioc cake or a portion of one, sets this before the pepper pot, and withdraws. Then each woman of a household brings forward her own pot of peppers and adds manioc cake to the tray of the headman's wife. When the guest is alone with the pepper pots he leaves the bench, and, crouching, dips small bits of manioc into the pepper pot, taking care to taste of each. He does not eat as though hungry, but solemnly, just tasting. He returns quickly to the bench and the women come forward and remove the pots. That is the extent to which a guest is fed. The offering of *bya* and manioc cake has a precise meaning. It is enough food to betoken hospitality. On the other hand, the peppers are of a class of excitant substances that are suitable for the atmosphere of excitation when guests are entertained. Food formality is most marked among the elders and most relaxed among younger men either not yet married or newly wed. I have seen such young men visiting another sib mock the formalities of the pepper pot with their age mates and even join in a family meal. When they do so they make it clear that they are jesting.

Within the maloca there are two eating arrangements. One, within the household, is informal, and the other, collective or maloca-wide, is formal. In informal eating, husband, wife, and children of both sexes

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601 614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedikwa* [554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiarí that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kenánikauwü* are a subsib of the *Pedikwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piardwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Old-Piardwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahikiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior. 571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship [622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac- [857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come [614] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves [796] at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere- [622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance, 562 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of cere- 796 mony women take precedence according to the order of precedence [622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her hus- [593] band has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substitute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to [614] the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial [553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother. 561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring 584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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to an older brother is *amyóbakü* (older brother-father) to his younger sister. He is her guardian. He may arrange her marriage, or offer her sexually to a friend, if she is willing. It is a special relationship in many respects. 593 561 [584] [836]

Seniority is of consequence only in the sibling generation. There is no concept of senior line and no recognition in terminology of descendants of older or younger siblings.

Apart from sex and seniority, Cubeo sibling terms also demarcate social distance. They differentiate, as already noted, three degrees of sibling closeness: lineage sibling, near phratry sibling, and distant phratry sibling. They do so, ingeniously, by the linguistic device of using a common root for sibling – this usage is only in the senior term, because only the senior term is important – indicating distance or closeness by the use of appropriate prefixes and suffixes. The root for senior sibling of either sex is *ami*. With the possessive prefix *hi* and the gender suffix *ko* or *kü* (*himámiko*, *-kü*) it connotes utmost closeness and is applied to older brother and sister of one's own family, including the extended joint family or lineage. Since sib and lineage may often be coextensive these terms are also sib-wide. The term *himámiko* (my older sister) does not apply to a mother's sister's daughter unless she happens to be – via brother-sister exchange marriage – a father's brother's daughter as well. The intimate usage, that is, must also correspond with coresidence. One's own sister, to be sure, does marry out, but in the meantime there has been a long period of coresidence. In any case, there is not the slightest tendency to slur over a nuclear kinship relationship. In the case of father's brother's daughter the intimate term applies only when she is still a coresident. After she has married she falls into the next more distant category. 601 193 601 [614]

The second range of kinship intimacy is the most widespread of all, including sib, subsib, and all close sibs within the phratry. It may even be applied to all members of the phratry of one's generation, in which case the third and most distant form of sibling terminology is reserved for those people whom one does not know well. The terms used in this second range are *amiyó* and *amikó*. The suffix *yo* conveys the meaning of "such as" or "one who is of the class of." It is also used in the term *baküdyó* (father's brother) and means literally "one who is in the class of a father." In *amiyó* it means, therefore, "one who is in the class of an older brother." Strictly speaking, the suffix *yo* has no sex gender and if it were applied to a woman would constitute no major linguistic blunder. But since one's contacts are almost invariably with male siblings, the sisters normally at a distance, the [614] [615] 601 193

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604 614 [601] a term that connotes out-of-the-sib, as does *pani*. Thus, Cubeo usage with respect to daughter-in-law points up again the strength of their feelings about membership in the common residence group.

The problematical relatives are the mother's sister's children. There is no problem if they are also father's brother's children, or if they have been born within one phratry. But since mother's sisters [615] marry into other phratries or into other tribes, their children are in effect strangers who belong to their paternal sib or tribe. They are [582] not included in the kinship system, they are lost sight of, and such parallel cousins one may marry since they do not belong to the phratry.

## GRANDPARENT - GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP

603 The two grandparent terms, *nyéko* (*kü*) and *nyekundjó*, refer to 601 all kin of the generation of grandparents and beyond, irrespective 614 of sib or phratry affiliation. Correspondingly, their reciprocals 615 (*panaihinkü*, *-ko* and *hipanimekü*, *-ko*) do not differentiate between a child of the sib or phratry and a child outside the sib or phratry. The grandchild terms are all formed of the *pani* stem from which affinal terms are constructed. *Panaihinkü* means "my very little in-law," and *hipanimekü* means "of my in-law line." The ignoring of sib lines for grandparents seems to follow from the simple fact that at this generation level exogamy is not an issue.

603 I could get no explanation from the Cubeo as to why the grand-601 child should be classed with the affinal line. It may result from the Cubeo interpretation of cross-cousin marriage. Brother and sister [593] negotiate for the marriage to one another of their children and so [584] would be inclined to regard the offspring of that marriage as a contribution from the affinal line to the sib. Often enough, however, I [614] have encountered the use of the descriptive terms such as *himákü-makü* (my son's son) to distinguish between a lineal descendant of the sib and other grandchildren.

601 Elders of a distant sib of the phratry may be addressed and referred [614] to as "grandparent" even if of one's own generation. Their children [615] consequently are called "father" or "mother." In these usages the reciprocal is always *hwninyó* or *hwninkó* and never a specific "child" or "grandchild" term. Among the Tucano, Fulop (1955) has noted that one of the sibs of a phratry is the "grandparent" to all the others so that all persons of one's own generation in that sib are "grandparents." If this is also the case among the Cubeo of the Cuduiari then the fact must have escaped my notice. This usage of grandparent

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572 *hiko*'s marriage and he will expect to have been consulted so that he may consent to her marriage.

[775] Ceremonial friendship should be permanent, the Cubeo say. Whoever breaks it has become an enemy and his soul after death will be that of an insect and not of a human being. Marriage, of [574] course, separates *hikü* and *hiko*, but they visit one another, as do [431] brother and sister, bringing gifts, and they try to arrange the mar- [584] riage of their children to one another. The *hikü* has the first claim upon his *hiko*'s daughter as a bride for his son.

[431] Between members of the same sex, ceremonial friendship is also the equivalent of a blood sibling relationship except that they exchange gifts in a formal manner. Whereas a man has reason to suspect 572 that his own brother might commit adultery with his wife, he be- 684 lieves that his *hikü* will never cuckold him. Still, when it comes to adultery even ceremonial friends sometimes succumb. Adultery or even flirting with a ceremonial friend's spouse is a principal cause for a break in this otherwise very stable relationship. A ceremonial friend who has been wronged by his partner retaliates by entering the offender's house to break or carry off everything belonging to him except the hammock. This act of vandalism declares the friendship broken. Eternal animosity succeeds it. Women are less inclined 572 to seek a ceremonial friend among their own sex. When they do, they have acquired mainly a confidante. Since women are likely to be dispersed at marriage the pledge against adultery with one another's husband is of no great consequence.

Ceremonial friends advise and assist one another. They feel that they actually have more freedom in their relationship with each other than they do with their own siblings. This may be correct, but I suspect that the Indians exaggerate the closeness of the relationship when talking about it. Ceremonial friends give up the use of their normal kinship designations in favor of the more intimate term.

Most ceremonial friendships are based upon simple reciprocity and so are modeled very closely, or I should say precisely, upon the sibling relationship. They satisfy in the main the longings of youths just before marriage and apparently fade with age. I was told that not everyone has a ceremonial friend but I could get no figures on its extent. Some ceremonial friendships model themselves after unequal kinship relationships, such as uncle-aunt or nephew-niece and grandparent-grandchild. These, I gathered, were not common and were rather aberrant forms of the true relationship. An older man takes a little girl as his *hiko* and is content with an unbal-

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There is a strong preference for taking a wife from the same sib 614
from which one's mother has come. This establishes a pattern of cross-cousin marriage and creates a very close bond between the maternal and paternal sibs. The *Bahúkiwa*, for example, are closely intermarried with the *Byóiwa*[1] and the relations between these two sibs accordingly are cordial, even warm, in contrast to the stiff relationships that generally prevail between sibs of opposite phratries. Preferential marriage into the mother's sib arises naturally from the strong bonds of affection and of formal relationship between brother and sister. The principal way in which brother
and sister maintain their ties even after marriage has separated them [593]
is by arranging for the marriage of their children to one another. We have seen that the grandchild is called a "little affinal," a designation that I have taken to mean that a man, having arranged for his son to marry his sister's daughter, regards the offspring as a contribution by the affinal sib to his own. He has the satisfaction of regarding his sister as responsible for this. She has succeeded in getting something from the "other" sib over to his sib. In this way, exchange, which is the greatest of human binders, is kept active.

From the point of view of the boy, marriage with a father's sister's 614
daughter also seems most natural and certainly convenient. Having 584
had virtually no opportunities for courtship, he does not know where to go for a bride. His father suggests that he visit his aunt in his mother's sib and his mother is delighted that her son will visit her kin. There is no more desirable guest than a boy who is visiting both his father's sister and his mother's kin. The warmth with which he is received should put even the shyest boy at ease. There are, to be sure, other opportunities for finding a bride, but by and large even the most aggressive young men still prefer to go to a community where the way has been smoothed for them. Since Indians travel mainly to visit kinfolk they are more or less bound to marry a woman from a sib from which, if not the mother, then a brother's wife has been taken.

Work in the rubber forests has broadened opportunities for mar- [464]
riage because men from different tribes are brought together and [571]
form friendships that allow them to visit one another and to exchange sisters. But even with these opportunities the preference for marriage into the mother's sib is still strong. A boy's parents will have opened the negotiations for him. There is no formal betrothal, but there is a kind of understanding that a particular marriage will

[1] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* marriages at the end of this chapter.

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take place, although, it must be emphasized, these are never binding. Marriage is always thought of in terms of a boy getting a wife. A girl thinks a great deal about getting a husband, but her parents prefer not to think about that. The Cubeo know bachelors but not spinsters. Parents of a boy have in mind a little girl somewhere, usually in the maternal sib, as a wife for their son. Unable to bespeak her – a girl is bespoken only as a result of a brother-sister exchange marriage in which her brother has already taken possession of his wife – they keep an eye on her, waiting for her to grow up. She may marry someone else, in which case their disappointment will be keen although they will have no grounds for complaint.

There comes a day when a boy's parents say to him that there is a girl ready for marriage and that he ought to go and see if he can bring her home. If it is not the second stage of a brother-sister exchange marriage they will not say to him that they have already pursued the matter with the parents on the other side, through earlier exchanges of visits or through an emissary. Out of deference for his feelings should he fail to get the bride, they may instruct him as though he were going to broach marriage for the first time. If the girl is "vowed" to the sib his instructions are simply to bring her back, or, failing that, to take back his sister.

The young man sets out with a party of sibmen, some of his age group and some of his father's age group. The parents may come along, because a woman welcomes this chance for a home visit. A party does not necessarily announce itself as a wedding party. They prefer to announce upon arriving that they have come only to visit. If the parents are not to accompany the party, the father assembles the marriage party in the plaza and, in the presence of the entire community, instructs his son in the exchange procedures. If it is the completion of an exchange marriage he recapitulates the history of the earlier marriage, the promises of exchange that have been made, and declares what is due the sib. In an exchange marriage a particular girl has been promised and a substitute has usually been indicated if the girl who has been promised is unwilling. There is also the question of supplementary gifts to the bride's parents, such as a small canoe, a gun, ornaments, and the like, that the father authorizes his son to offer. If this is to be the initial marriage, from which an exchange will follow, the boy is instructed to say which sister or other girl of the sib will be offered. Under any circumstances both bride and groom have the option of deciding that they do not care for one another. This option is no mere formality and many a marriage party has had to settle for a social visit alone because the prin-

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cipals in the marriage were not attracted to each other. It is to avoid this embarrassment that the marriage party does not declare its intentions. They announce that they have come to visit relatives. They are made welcome, assigned to sleeping quarters, and are drawn into the general round of activities of the house. They may stay for many weeks. The groom-to-be joins in the activities of his age group, hunting and fishing with them. He spends part of his time in making gifts for his host's wife, who need not be the prospective mother-in-law, and for the mother-in-law-to-be as well, if he has been a guest in her household. He may make baskets, trays, or a hammock. Every woman treasures an object that a suitor has made. These objects, however, are not presented as marriage gifts but as offerings in return for hospitality.

The courtship itself is a slow process. For some time the prospective bride and groom virtually avoid one another. The young man is attentive to the other girls of the sib, and his own age mates, if single, act as though they are courting the prospective bride. They are all looking one another over. The young man's personality is evaluated, and his skills in hunting, fishing, and crafts are observed. The visiting party, for its part, makes close observations on the bride-to-be. The nature of this opening phase of the courtship in which bride and groom are being "looked over" is such that unexpected matches are sometimes made. It has happened that a boy who has been flirting with his bride-to-be's sister to divert attention from his real objective falls in love with her. Or the sister falls in love with the suitor and seeks her betrothed sister's permission to marry him. This happened among the *Bahúkiwa*. A man, having reached the final stages of courtship with a girl, had arranged the formal elopement tryst with her. At the end it was the sister who appeared, explaining that it was she who wanted to marry him, with her sister's consent. The suitor was not disappointed, and all went well.

If the young man is satisfied with the bride-to-be the party prolongs its stay. Otherwise it leaves quickly. Once it has decided to stay, the groom awaits a sign of acceptance from the girl. One of the first indications of sexual interest that she shows is to run rather than walk in his presence. When the older folk see a girl running when she should be walking they smile knowingly at one another. One day she throws a handful of manioc mash in his face in the presence of company and laughs at him. He pretends anger and moves upon her. She pretends fright and runs off to her manioc garden, where he overtakes her. They have coitus and they are then engaged. She may show her interest in other ways, pinching him or cuffing him as she

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614 584 walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest
836 is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting
832 coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of
789 these is an extract of *tiwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult, a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

614 583 584 601 Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *tcimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *tcimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *tcimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *tcimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

614 574 583 584 It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the maloca and of the community – the groom joining the age group of his *tcimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

614 619 574 583 584 This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

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marriage. These suspicions are not overcome even though they may already have affinal kin in the other tribe.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, I was witness to some of the events of the full cycle of an exchange marriage involving the neighboring Tucanoan-speaking *Tatúyo*. The opening wedge for this marriage was made by a *Bahúkiwa* woman who had married a *Tatúyo*. One day she reappeared among the *Bahúkiwa* with her husband and young children and settled down for a long wait. She was given a manioc garden and her husband devoted himself to making household implements for the wife of the headman. The headman had two marriageable daughters and two marriageable sons, to each of whom had been assigned, in the traditional manner, a sister whom he would exchange for a bride. One of the daughters, the elder, was very attractive, vivacious, flirtatious, and ardently desired by many young men. She had been married and divorced several times and was accused of having aborted, or killed at birth, several of her offspring. Because she was headstrong and not very industrious, sober-minded folk regarded her as a poor choice for a bride. Nevertheless, she was assigned to the older son, a very capable young man who showed every promise of becoming a headman. By seniority his was to be the prior marriage. Among the Cubeo the problem is to have the sons marry in proper age sequence and not the daughters. The *Bahúkiwa* visitor stated her opinion that such a girl needed a *Tatúyo* as a husband. "A *Tatúyo* could tame her," she said. The *Tatúyo* indeed had a reputation for ferocity because at the time they were still at war with the whites. By contrast with the Cubeo, those I saw were sullen and certainly appeared to be far more aggressive. She added that the *Tatúyo* also had many fine young girls, girls who had not been spoiled by contact with whites. The headman had no sooner grasped the possibilities of such a marriage for his undisciplined older daughter than a party of *Tatúyo* appeared to visit their fellow *Tatúyo*, who, they remarked jokingly, had lived away for so long that they now thought of him as a *Bahúkiwa*. It was a "large" party of eight men of warrior age. They came in two canoes. They were quartered among the various households and they stayed for several weeks, showing great skill in hunting, fishing, and in making implements. No one spoke marriage; but the signs were soon evident in the flirtatiousness of the daughters of the headman and two of the *Tatúyo* youths. When the *Tatúyo* announced that they were now ready to go home, a drinking party was quickly arranged as a farewell. When the *Tatúyo* party had left, it was discovered that the younger daughter was missing and that the older sister, whose "elopement" was taken [582]

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for granted, had remained home. When this was discovered the headman and all the able-bodied men he could muster rushed for their canoes and paddled furiously downriver to intercept the "abductors." The girl's mother sputtered with indignation at the *Tatúyo* who had "tricked them" and at her daughter who had betrayed them. This, it emerged, was a genuine elopement. The older sister, willful as ever, had no intention of being "tamed" by anyone, least of all by backwater Indians. Her younger sister was eager, however, and it was no trouble to get the *Tatúyo* to accept her. In due time the *Tatúyo* were intercepted. Assuredly they allowed themselves to be intercepted. Since the girl would under no circumstances agree to come home, the parties had only to settle the conditions of an exchange marriage. The *Tatúyo* designated a girl, ripe to be taken as a wife at any time, and by way of apologizing for eloping with the wrong daughter agreed to add a large canoe. Back home, the headman berated his sister for thinking more of the interests of her *Tatúyo* husband than of her *Bahúkiwa* people.

The elopement postponed the marriage of the older son, who was eager for a wife and precipitated the younger one into a marriage to which he had not yet been giving thought, so strong is the Cubeo convention of pairing a brother and sister for an exchange marriage. In a few months the younger son was sent to "demand" the bride promised. I did not accompany the marriage party to the *Tatúyo*. But when the party returned with a very attractive young bride they reported to the satisfaction of the headman that the groom, having first offered his sister a chance to return home, asked for the bride. The girl was brought out. He took her by the hand and led her to the canoe. "We [614] did not even stay overnight," he boasted. Such brusqueness and calculated discourtesy would not occur if the exchange were with the maternal sib.

581 Sheer sexual attractiveness is regarded as the wrong reason for choosing a bride. The point is not only that physical sturdiness and industriousness are better traits, but that a sexually provocative woman will be a source of trouble to the sib. A responsibility of an elder accompanying a marriage party is to remind the groom-to-be to pay attention to the sterling qualities of a bride, that do include, however, such erotically desirable features as large, full breasts, a strong back, and a clear skin. They would prefer to have her sullen rather than vivacious.

583 585 614 Formal marriage is signalized by what must be regarded as the "rite of abduction." The groom seizes his bride and runs with her to the canoe. She cries out for help and her male kin rush out and

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796 782 585 881 Such feasts are held five to six times a year; not at fixed times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.

/338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tĩye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tĩ. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tĩ of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

[123] [124] [115] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled) of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in general the old people, who know more, are the most reserved. Asking the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

/414 cont./

583 daughter (always the aspect of self-interest), that she is the one who takes care of the children, works in the clearing, makes beijú, etc. No one, however, will stop the abduction.

583 3) The Act of marriage.

• 585 The abductors (14),

[115]

> 14. Some natives informed us of sexual relations which take place between the abductors and the maiden, and some of them added that such relations are always licit in the future. It might be that originally it was a matter of a privilege of the abductors. A privilege, however, that today has lost its justification, being leveled in practice in the great general freedom.

perhaps after several days of traveling by canoe, bring the young woman to the young man's maloca and hand her over with this formula and request (which was given to us by Dorotéia Brito): -- "We went looking for a girl for you; now take care of her; that she may be a good mother, that she does not run away." They do not perform any other rite on this occasion; this was the positive statement made by all of them.

/415/ Frequently for this circumstance a feast takes place in the maloca. It does not seem that such a feast is a religious rite of marriage. Not only does it not have a well-determined date, but perhaps the marriage is not realized either. And in the unfolding of the feast there are no allusions to the marriage. They greatly enjoy feasts, and the one on this occasion has the psychological aim of settling the girl's mind so that she will not greatly feel the distance from her family. All the more since she finds herself in a tribe different from her own, with whose language she is perhaps entirely unfamiliar.

/415 cont./

583 If the girl cannot take any initiative directly, by showing
584 her preferences, she at least enjoys the "right of veto." That is, speaking in thesis: she will not marry someone she does not like. It is true that she will think carefully beforehand, because, rejecting this proposal, perhaps another will not come. And, besides, she will suffer bad treatment from her people, who, according to the compromises of the Pōáperi, must give a wife to the other family.

Who knows even whether she will be a victim of malefice, dohasé? Nevertheless, if she absolutely does not want to marry such a youth, two courses are left to her: first, she does not let herself be abducted, and sometimes she flees to another maloca nearby, when she knows that they are coming to fetch her. Or to flee from the young man's house (15).

[115]

15. A Taryana woman, Teodora from Iauareté, informed us that the woman can not say anything. But, if she likes the young man, she lets herself be abducted; in the opposite case she will flee from the maloca of the young man.

4) Stability.

• 585 The existence of the marriage and its stability are not yet assured. The young woman will give proof of her good will and ability to be the lady of the house.

[591] If they do not live in the regime of a maloca, perhaps later
[606] the young man might build his independent dwelling; for now he will remain in his parents' house, and the mother-in-law orders the girl to prepare the manicuera /fermented manioc-juice/ and the drinks for the nuptial feast.

/415 cont./

585 [241]

Many times, principally in the modern regime of family habitations, the young man, as preparation for marriage, has already made a clearing with the help of friends. He will then take the girl to see the spot and will say: "I made the clearing, it is for you to do the planting" (16).

[115] [226]

16. These were the expressions of the Taryana Teodora from Iauareté. Whereas the Tukano Antonio Barreto stated that the father, when he gives the wife to the young man, says to him: "I brought you a woman. Go fish for her." And he added: "He goes, hands her the fish, she takes, which means that she accepts the young man." Might not one perhaps see in these different formulations an allusion to the fact that originally the Taryana Civilization was essentially agricultural, and the Tukano one, a fishing civilization?

/416/ During these first days the young wife will have not only the assistance of the mother-in-law, but the husband will try to ingratiate himself, offering her good fish or good game. If, however, she does not want to adjust to this new order of things, she will then resort to flight (17).

17. It will happen, the Tukano Dorotéia Brito informed us, that they will go looking for her a second time. It is understood that this is so on account of the agreements that preceded the marriage and its conveniences for both of the families. If, however, she flees a second time, she will not be sought any more. But in this case her father will return to the young man the gifts received.

In the environment in which they live and with their way of life, this is not difficult for her.

/416 cont./

585 If the flight does not take place, the marriage is considered realized.

[606] [431] A short time later they customarily take a nuptial trip, on which the young man, accompanied by his wife, goes to visit the father-in-law, taking him presents (smoked fish, fruit, etc.), and thus the friendly relations will be strengthened. These nuptial trips, moreover, appear in the legends.

*[192] The wife will take with her, for the new home, as dowry or property, her pi'ĩkamõ, that is, a small cipo basket, with her ornaments, utilitarian objects, and a cluster of leaves containing õnõñã powder (carajurú /carajura/).

Immediately in the first days of the marriage the husband will give the wife a beating. He will hit her, however, with the hands, so they assured us; and she cannot react. Although it is a matter of a custom that aims at finding out the good will of the girl and her capacity for suffering, it seems, nevertheless, that it is the circumstance of some misunderstanding between the spouses that will provide the opportunity for this beating.

a) /sic; 5)/ Relations between the spouses.

593 The relations between the spouses are normal enough. Perhaps they might be called friendly (18),

[123] 18. We had the opportunity to travel with a Karapanã family from the headwaters of the Papurí and to see the wife in a long and cordial conversation with the husband.

although without caresses and other displays of affection, since it is certain that some familiarity will arise from their living together. The husband will fear that bad treatment will drive [586] away the wife (19),

19. Several episodes have been reported to us. In the beginning of 1954, during our stay in

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619 583 584 574 for granted, had remained home. When this was discovered the headman and all the able-bodied men he could muster rushed for their canoes and paddled furiously downriver to intercept the "abductors." The girl's mother sputtered with indignation at the *Tatúyo* who had "tricked them" and at her daughter who had betrayed them. This, it emerged, was a genuine elopement. The older sister, willful as ever, had no intention of being "tamed" by anyone, least of all by backwater Indians. Her younger sister was eager, however, and it was no trouble to get the *Tatúyo* to accept her. In due time the *Tatúyo* were intercepted. Assuredly they allowed themselves to be intercepted. Since the girl would under no circumstances agree to come home, the parties had only to settle the conditions of an exchange marriage. The *Tatúyo* designated a girl, ripe to be taken as a wife at any time, and by way of apologizing for eloping with the wrong daughter agreed to add a large canoe. Back home, the headman berated his sister for thinking more of the interests of her *Tatúyo* husband than of her *Bahúkiwa* people.

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beat her "abductor" with sticks or with their bare hands. His own companions aid him, and if the girl is willing, they get to the canoe landing with no serious damage. This display of ceremonial violence satisfies two Cubeo doctrines, one that affinal sibs are "hostile" and the other that a woman will not leave her sib by her own volition but must be torn from it by brute force. There is also a third notion, namely, that a man be strong enough to capture a bride. I heard many accounts, perhaps apocryphal, of fainthearted striplings who could not bring home a bride. Such stories are often told to tease young bride seekers.

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Father Giacone (1949, p. 21), who studied the Tucano tribe, reported no courtship and no marriage ceremony but did note forcible seizure of the bride. Father Giacone's information does suggest some variation in practice among the Tucano. There, the bride is not seized by the groom but by the groom's father, who has been accompanied by some men. They pretend they have come to purchase a canoe. In the midst of their visit for this purpose they carry off the girl and bring her home, unmolested, to the waiting groom. Often, he notes, this is the first time they have met. The girl is timid and retiring, he reports, and the women undertake to cheer her up by inviting her to accompany them on their labors. When the bride begins to work with satisfaction at all her tasks the marriage is considered settled. Some weeks later her parents come to reclaim her and the groom hides her. Her parents are given presents if she is unwilling to return home. At a later visit they repay with gifts of their own.

In general, Tucano and Cubeo marriage practices are alike; the most striking difference is in the fetching home of the bride. Cubeo notions of manhood would be offended at the notion that the father should bring a bride home for his son.

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Among the Cubeo, the early stages of marriage are almost invariably difficult for the young couple. They are barely acquainted and the husband is expected to show his wife only the barest semblance of affection so as not to interfere with his mother, whose role it is to assimilate the young bride into her household as a replacement for the "lost daughter." The bride enters her mother-in-law's service, working with her in the manioc garden and in the preparation of manioc. Doing all the chores that she has done as an unmarried girl in her own community but under a strange woman, she is understandably disappointed, even though she is received very warmly. She is immediately locked in a conflict with her mother-in-law for her freedom. The issue is the manioc garden. A woman wants her daughter-in-law to help her in her garden and the daughter-in-law,

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585 586 593 614 If the stalemate continues too long the young wife has the means to break it. She runs away. It is a married woman's privilege to run away at any time during her marriage. Her husband will pursue her, but she has many sanctuaries. She can get back to her own community, where she is safe and has the certainty that she will not be yielded up to a pursuing husband and that he has no claim against her parents. The common view is that if a man is not strong enough to hold a wife that is his misfortune. A runaway wife may find sanctuary in any sib, even in one that is closely related to that of her husband. A neighboring sib is only a temporary stopover for a runaway wife. It provides a more neutral atmosphere, however, in which she and her pursuing husband can discuss the reasons why she has run away. It is young brides who most frequently run off. Occasionally a girl is seriously determined to leave her husband and she will then most certainly find her way home, even if she has to go afoot all the way. Ordinarily she expects her husband to intercept her. When he brings her back the headman will say to him, "Take charge of your wife," [837] and the husband will proceed to prepare a manioc garden for his wife. Some young wives provoke a crisis by seducing the husband's brother and allowing the community to find out. Again the headman will say, "Take charge of your wife."

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the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patriloral sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

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585 If the flight does not take place, the marriage is considered realized.

[606] [431] A short time later they customarily take a nuptial trip, on which the young man, accompanied by his wife, goes to visit the father-in-law, taking him presents (smoked fish, fruit, etc.), and thus the friendly relations will be strengthened. These nuptial trips, moreover, appear in the legends.

*[192] The wife will take with her, for the new home, as dowry or property, her pi'ĩkamõ, that is, a small cipo basket, with her ornaments, utilitarian objects, and a cluster of leaves containing õnõñá powder (carajurú /carajura/).

Immediately in the first days of the marriage the husband will give the wife a beating. He will hit her, however, with the hands, so they assured us; and she cannot react. Although it is a matter of a custom that aims at finding out the good will of the girl and her capacity for suffering, it seems, nevertheless, that it is the circumstance of some misunderstanding between the spouses that will provide the opportunity for this beating.

a) /sic; 5)/ Relations between the spouses.

593 The relations between the spouses are normal enough. Perhaps they might be called friendly (18),

[123] 18. We had the opportunity to travel with a Karapanã family from the headwaters of the Papurí and to see the wife in a long and cordial conversation with the husband.

although without caresses and other displays of affection, since it is certain that some familiarity will arise from their living together. The husband will fear that bad treatment will drive [586] away the wife (19),

19. Several episodes have been reported to us. In the beginning of 1954, during our stay in

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/footnote 19 cont./ Pari-cachoeira, a Desana woman married to a Tuyuka from Cabari (a little above Pari-cachoeira), in view of the bad treatment by the husband, abandoned him and a little child a few months old and returned to her povoado on the lower Tiquié. Up to July of this year the Missionary had not yet managed to have her return to her husband.

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/417/ Although there is no law that obstructs divorce or that makes it impossible for the divorced person to go on to other nuptials, both always have before their eyes the difficulty of a second marriage.

That will not keep them from having misunderstandings, or the husband, especially if he is drunk, from beating the wife. Of the many whom we questioned on this subject, all affirmed to us the bad treatment and even cruelties on the part of their husbands.

The woman, however, will never react, because this is what the tribal laws command (20).

20. We have had news, moreover, of some episodes of reaction on the part of the woman, especially when she perceives that the husband is weakened by drunkenness. It is one more blow that their customs and beliefs have started suffering.

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There is an original and somewhat strange custom, as follows from the report by the Taryana Indian Teodora from Iauareté, confirmed by natives of other tribes. During the day and in the early hours of the night the spouses maintain long conversations with each other in the maloca, each one, for example, lying in

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/footnote 29 cont./ many of them have never in fact heard of any woman Tuxaua. Someone answered us precisely that she can be Tuxaua, but they had never heard of a woman Tuxaua. It is to be noted that in the Tukano language there is the feminine Wyógo, a term that is ordinarily applied to the wife of the Tuxaua (Wyogõ) and, in the Missionary centers, also to the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of the girls' school. The example of Caridade (p. 709) seems to authorize our affirmation above.

not, however, those of pajé. This exclusion perhaps expresses, not so much contempt, but the concept that she is not endowed with the magical power necessary for the exercise of the office of pajé.

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In marriage she seems to enjoy even greater freedom than the young man, being able to leave her husband. It must be concluded then that, although recognizing the primary of the husband (as also happens in our civilization), considered from the domestic-social point of view the wife is on a plane of equality with the husband (30).

30. We recently verified that this is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg, who, after prolonged contact with the Kubewana, was able to conclude that the woman is not the beast of burden, but the intelligent lady of the house (Z. I. 354).

8) Moral condition of the woman.

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We once heard from a maiden the expression: "the woman is not worth anything." We questioned many other women, single and married, and all confirmed the accuracy of this concept, without knowing how to give further /423/ explanations. Only one added: "the woman must leave her own tribe."

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This usage of grandparent terms is different from the seniority respect usages previously discussed, because "older sibling" among the Cubeo has a formal connotation of respect, whereas the grandparent term is a genial one as in English. 601 561

## CROSS-COUSINS

Cross-cousins of the same sex often have a relationship that is formed by the fact that they have been principals in a brother-sister exchange marriage. Since their parents, who were siblings of the opposite sex, were also principals in arranging such a marriage, they have shared in some of the intimacy of relationship between these two. Cross-cousins of the same sex have, of course, little contact with one another, but having so much in common, their relationship tends to be a warm one. It is a curious relationship, in that it also has in it a latent threat of trouble, trouble that arises from marital discord. As already noted, one of the expectations of a brother-sister exchange marriage from the male viewpoint is that if his wife leaves him he can get his sister to leave her husband in retaliation. He believes that he can apply pressure upon his cross-cousin brother-in-law to send back the runaway wife or face the breakup of his own marriage. Thus, what begins as a family squabble in one community may embroil a happy marriage in the affinal community. The expectation that a woman will leave her husband only because her brother wants her to is in practice a vain hope, unless he has the cooperation of his male cross-cousin brother-in-law, who urges the woman, his sister, to return to her husband. 605 605 586 593

Cross-cousins of opposite sex refer to one another as *hitcimako* or *hitcimakü*, the possessive prefix connoting closeness. By contrast, *trimá* has the connotation of distance. The relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex is governed by the customs of courtship and is, therefore, an individual matter. 605 [601] [193]

## THE AFFINAL GROUP

Among affinals there are two principal relationships. The most important is that between parents and children-in-law, the *pani* relationship. This relationship is both consanguineal and affinal since it includes the children of siblings of opposite sex and reciprocally the cross aunt and uncle. The Cubeo draw no distinction, incidentally, between parents and their children-in-law who are of the consanguineal kin and those who may be complete strangers. The emphasis in 606

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586 Divorce is easy and rather frequent during the early years of marriage. Most often it is the woman who leaves her husband, for the general reason that she does not like him and, more rarely, because he beats her. If a woman has no intention of going back to her husband she returns home, re-enters her parents' household, and her husband has no further claim upon her. If she is undecided, she claims the hospitality of a neighboring sib and awaits a reconciliation. A marriage is not officially severed, on the woman's part, unless she returns home. She cannot run away with another man and expect to avoid trouble. Men send wives away mainly because they are barren. [242] The Cubeo have no other official view of infertility than that the woman is using an abortifacient. They therefore tend to view barrenness as a hostile act. A wife who is asked to leave has no choice but to do so. Her grown children are expected to remain behind in their own sib, while the nursing baby accompanies the mother.

586 684 The most common source of marital discord that may also lead to divorce is adultery. From quarrels that erupt during drinking parties the impression is created that adultery is very common. Almost invariably it is the woman who is blamed, partly because women commonly are sexually aggressive, and partly because that is the least disruptive view to take of the matter; it does least damage to the important male solidarity of the sib.

614 **BANÚKIWA MARRIAGES**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Byówa* | 14 | *Tatüyo* | 3 |
| Uanana | 7 | *Síriana* | 2 |
| *Miandúwa* | 5 | *Bwébowa* | 1 |
| *Hürüwá* | 4 | *Hurédariwa* | 1 |
| *Korówa* | 4 | Karapana | 1 |
| *Yurití* | 4 | *Piratapúyo* | 1 |
| *Djurémawa* | 3 | *Tóriawü* | 1 |
| *Konéntaraboiwü* | 3 | | |

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561 still needs help is *tcumihinkũ* (male) or *tcumihinko* (female); the
192 youngster until puberty is *hwainyó* (male) or *hwainkó* (female); the adult male is *ũmũ* (male) or *nomyó* (female), and finally, the old people are *bekũ* (male) or *bekó* (female).

## BIRTH AND INFANCY

842 The Cubeo believe it is the spermatic fluid (*hũrũ*) that causes conception. They regard the womb as a ground in which the fetus grows, or is cultivated as seeds are planted in the earth. Since men and women do not discuss together the biology of conception and of
[843] pregnancy, their views differ. Men I spoke to dated conception from the time when the abdomen begins to swell, while women dated it
843 from the cessation of menstruation. Both sexes believe that con-
833 tinued coitus after conception will add to the number of children
842 that will grow in the womb. Stories are told of people who did not heed this so that the woman burst from an accumulation of fetuses. Coitus is stopped, however, by the male reckoning.

842 It is a common view of men that women are not eager to bear
847 children. Women, they say, know how to bring about abortion and frequently resort to infanticide. They explain that women are sexually too ardent and rather than forgo coitus during the long nursing
[833] period they would rather not have a child at all. Moreover, a woman who has not been enjoying sexual intercourse with her husband will abort or kill her offspring. If she chooses infanticide, however, she spares the boy. Women do concede knowledge and use of abortifacients and they acknowledge that others of their sex practice infanticide. They agree that a woman who does not love her husband
842 punishes him by denying him a child. Thus, the Cubeo are disinclined to believe in barrenness or in sterility, attributing infertility to
[586] female design. A man, therefore, has cause to abandon a wife who bears him no children. One man told that he had abandoned his wife for not bearing children. Later they became reconciled; his wife had a change of heart and began to bear children.

847 Male infanticide, I was assured, was rare, for even the most dis-
[562] affected or self-indulgent woman would not have the heart to kill a male child. Both men and women agreed that a girl was less important. The unwanted child is buried alive, it is said, at the very spot where it was born.

842 The likelihood is very strong, then, that a child is born to a family that desires it, and in which husband and wife are happy with each other. Parturition takes place in the woman's manioc garden. A

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601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
to
615 Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

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SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that
614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of
554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-
[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two
595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of
614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with
615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing
177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which
• 587 is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.
611 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.
591 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-
596 tended patrilineal families.

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842 b) An unquestionable fact is the fertility of the Indian woman. From the investigations made, there was reported to us only one instance of an individual's sending his wife back as sterile, the judgment, evidently, of the husband. In spite of the advantages or convenience of the Indian woman who does not want to have many children (and we have heard from their lips several times this declaration: "it is ugly to have many children"), and the practices that they use to space each delivery 2, 3, and even 4 or more years apart, the presence of numerous children in each povoado pleasantly surprises us. In our investigations we found a vigorous Indian man about 45 years of age, who had 11 children (24).

[171] 24. It is a matter of the Indian Agostinho Barbosa of the Taryana tribe, in Iauareté. It is true that in December of 1948 four of his 11 children had already died.

163 On one of our lists of individuals of various tribes, in the casual order in which the anthropometric measurements were made, 20 married people among men and women, of about 35 years of age or older, presented a total of 101 children. Therefore an average of 5 children per couple is shown. It is to be noted that only 18 dead children, without discrimi-
161 nation as to age, appear on this same list. If we imagine that all adults marry (ordinarily after 20 years of age) (25),

[587] 25. There was reported to us only the case of one man who did not find a wife; it is to be noted, however, that it was a matter of a widower.

and that the two sexes more or less correspond in number, it should be concluded that the population has

584 /412 cont./
will be promised in marriage to another family. In practice, they
584 will be bride and bridegroom, with the right to relations between
836 them (with precautions, however, in order not to have children), perhaps for many years and with a great difference in age between the ones being married. And the child, once it has barely reached the age of reason, knows that it must marry such a person.

584 4th. A fourth one is that a widowed father will give up a daughter in order to arrange for a second wife for himself, although
587 with a great disproportion between their ages, before he procures one for his son.

5th. A fifth one is that a woman, becoming a widow, can
587 pass to her brother-in-law as a wife, if he is a widower or a bachelor and without a bride, from which his father has an obligation to give a woman to such a family, in exchange for the other one whom he obtained from there. Although the law of the levirate (12)

12. That is, the duty of an individual to marry the sister-in-law who was widowed without children, in order to resuscitate the lineage of his late brother, a custom that was in force among the Jews.

does not exist among our Indians, we thus have its practice.

582 6th. A sixth one is that, from this exchange of women of a tribe A with those of tribe B, since the children are regarded as
611 belonging to the father's tribe, cousins can marry each other. For example, of two pairs of brothers and sisters, M and N from tribe A and P and Q from tribe B, the woman M married P, whose sister Q was joined in matrimony to N. The children of these two couples are, obviously, "cousins-german" or "cousins in the first degree." Nevertheless the children of P belong to the tribe B, and those of N, to the tribe A. They consider themselves reciprocally Baxsúkãra, and they may marry each other.

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The woman, however, will never react, because this is what the tribal laws command (20).

20. We have had news, moreover, of some episodes of reaction on the part of the woman, especially when she perceives that the husband is weakened by drunkenness. It is one more blow that their customs and beliefs have started suffering.

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There is an original and somewhat strange custom, as follows from the report by the Taryana Indian Teodora from Iauareté, confirmed by natives of other tribes. During the day and in the early hours of the night the spouses maintain long conversations with each other in the maloca, each one, for example, lying in

178 /418/
595 but a woman could never have several husbands. In the legends there are examples not only of polygamy, but also of polyandry.

It is true that, having procreation as its purpose, the marriage is not considered perfect until after the conception of the first child. From the time of the first signs of pregnancy the marriage was established.

595 If after two or three years of living together the woman has
842 not given birth to a child, the husband will consider her the victim of the malefice of sterility (22)

587 [115]

> 22. It seems that there is no possibility of rehabilitation for the woman, that is, marriage to another man, although a Tukano man, Mário Chaves by name, in answer to our question, affirmed the possibility of new nuptials for the woman regarded as sterile.

and will look for another wife.

Ordinarily, however, the woman considered sterile prefers to remain with her husband. All the interests of the latter lead him to keep her, even though he has already contracted a second marriage. We are thus confronted with a polygamy, not by right, but de facto. Nor does such an event seem to cause surprise (23).

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> 23. These events are known nowadays (1947) in Taracuá and Urubucuara.

611 The fact that they regard the children as belonging to the father's tribe seems to reveal, as in other nations, the concept that all the generative capacity belongs exclusively to the father. Nevertheless, the inability to procreate will always be attributed to the mother, never to the men.

/419 cont./

462 conversation with other men for long hours (26).

[517] 26. At other times she might be gaily conversing while the man is working.

611 She is a foreigner, without any right over her children. They
736 belong to the husband, or rather to the tribe of the husband. If by chance she becomes a widow, she may continue to live in the maloca, and she will ordinarily do so, especially if she is aged and cannot expect another marriage. Or she will return to her tribe, without, however, taking the children with her. With the hypothesis that her husband had a separate house or one in the vicinity of another tribe, the relatives from the husband's tribe will come to take the orphans to their own maloca. If any of the orphans are still /420/ babies at the breast, perhaps they will await until the child can dispense with maternal care, and then they will irrevocably take them away.

587 When it was a matter of her marrying, an exchange or indemnification was negotiated, without her being consulted. Upon establishing her new home, she had the customary test of a beating, and perhaps, due to the bad character of the husband, many others might follow, against which she could never react. Accord-
264 ing to the tribal customs, she will never eat with the husband; she
593 takes out her portion and it is only after he and his friends and guests are satisfied and leave the place that she will take her food.

All this causes surprise, especially if we observe the importance
462 of her "atelier"; that is, it is she who performs the tasks necessary for life: she plants the clearing, works with the mandioca, which constitutes the indispensable daily dish, weaves the hammocks for sleeping, makes the vessels for water, prepares the caxiris and the cooking.

593 We leave, Deo volente, for a monograph the study of the indications of a matriarchalist civilization among the Uaupesina tribes. For now we shall say, with the students who have

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more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

## INHERITANCE

Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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## PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

593 604 [601] The Cubeo distinguish between father and father's brothers, but do not distinguish between mother and mother's sisters. The term *bakiidyó* means "like a father."[2] This distinction conveys rather precisely the actualities of the relationship. Relations between fathers and sons (the daughters are linked in household duties with the mother) are intimate, and one important sign of intimacy is the privilege that a youngster has of taking food from his father before it is brought into the maloca or into the individual household. Boys value this privilege enormously when they are preadolescent. Without a father a boy will be fed by his father's brother but will lack this privilege with food that he had with his own father. The relationship between paternal uncle and nephew is a strongly supportive one, but with restraint in it. A boy does not take or handle objects belonging to his father's brother without permission. With his father's possessions he has the same freedom as with the possessions of his sibmates of his own generation.

593 601 604 [587] [595] 593 [601] Parents and children share an exclusive set of kinship terms and thereby set themselves apart from the fraternal joint family. Even though mother and mother's sister are equated, a woman distinguishes, as does her husband, between her own and her sister's children. The equation of mother and mother's sister is normal clan usage in a classificatory system. Among the Cubeo, this equation is not related either to the sororate or to sororal polygyny. It would seem to correspond rather to the principle of generalizing relationships that are less important and differentiating very sharply relationships that are most important. With respect to the term for "mother," this is not to say that the actual relationship between children and mother lacks real importance, but only that from the point of view of patriliny of the sib the incoming females, such as mothers, are less important. Actually, the feeling for one's own mother is very strong, not only on the part of the daughters but on [595] the part of the sons too. In a polygynous household the sons of the same mother share a close link with one another; and as we have

[114] [2] Koch-Grünberg, who stayed with a *Hendnewa* group at the mouth of the Cuduiari, reported that father and father's brother were equated, as were mother and father's sister (1909, II, 82). Since he did not use the genealogical method it is likely that he was in error with respect to both reported usages. The equation of mother with father's sister controvenes, of course, the patriliny of the sib. On the other hand, the grouping of father and father's brother is conceivable since the distinction between *bakii* and *bakiidyó* is not great for the Cubeo. In calling attention to this difference of information I should add that the nature of the Cubeo tribe is such that variations in minor usages are perhaps to be expected.

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764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first [615] mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 **FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON**

537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

/386 cont./

881 All these premarital relations (115)

833

*[192]

115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b) ), and her fiancé, Mã-ra-põ nỹãkhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

[628]

The Makú maidens and women, while they are working for the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

567 831 648

When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian individuals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

588 628 648 833 881

The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

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Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* generation mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sibling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Because of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be embarrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awkward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only community exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib exogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers" and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient, or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

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take place, although, it must be emphasized, these are never binding. Marriage is always thought of in terms of a boy getting a wife. A girl thinks a great deal about getting a husband, but her parents prefer not to think about that. The Cubeo know bachelors but not spinsters. Parents of a boy have in mind a little girl somewhere, usually in the maternal sib, as a wife for their son. Unable to bespeak her – a girl is bespoken only as a result of a brother-sister exchange marriage in which her brother has already taken possession of his wife – they keep an eye on her, waiting for her to grow up. She may marry someone else, in which case their disappointment will be keen although they will have no grounds for complaint.

There comes a day when a boy's parents say to him that there is a girl ready for marriage and that he ought to go and see if he can bring her home. If it is not the second stage of a brother-sister exchange marriage they will not say to him that they have already pursued the matter with the parents on the other side, through earlier exchanges of visits or through an emissary. Out of deference for his feelings should he fail to get the bride, they may instruct him as though he were going to broach marriage for the first time. If the girl is "vowed" to the sib his instructions are simply to bring her back, or, failing that, to take back his sister.

The young man sets out with a party of sibmen, some of his age group and some of his father's age group. The parents may come along, because a woman welcomes this chance for a home visit. A party does not necessarily announce itself as a wedding party. They prefer to announce upon arriving that they have come only to visit. If the parents are not to accompany the party, the father assembles the marriage party in the plaza and, in the presence of the entire community, instructs his son in the exchange procedures. If it is the completion of an exchange marriage he recapitulates the history of the earlier marriage, the promises of exchange that have been made, and declares what is due the sib. In an exchange marriage a particular girl has been promised and a substitute has usually been indicated if the girl who has been promised is unwilling. There is also the question of supplementary gifts to the bride's parents, such as a small canoe, a gun, ornaments, and the like, that the father authorizes his son to offer. If this is to be the initial marriage, from which an exchange will follow, the boy is instructed to say which sister or other girl of the sib will be offered. Under any circumstances both bride and groom have the option of deciding that they do not care for one another. This option is no mere formality and many a marriage party has had to settle for a social visit alone because the prin-

*
601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
615 to
Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

614

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that
614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of
554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-
[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two
595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of
614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with
615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing
177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.
587 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.
611 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-
●591 tended patrilineal families.
596

/409 cont./

000 Such a custom is imposed by the desire of the tribe to perpetuate itself.

• 591 614 /410/ The ambilian marriage is not known, that is, it is not the young man who comes to live in the house of the in-laws; but it is the young woman who, through marriage, leaves hers and comes to constitute a family in another tribe.

They desire, then, that a woman from another tribe come to their povoado in order to constitute a new family. The exchange, it seems to us, is not equivalent to a depreciation of the woman or reducing her to the condition of an article of trade. It is a measure of precaution, so that the group will not become extinct, but, on the contrary, the men always remain united, and the tribal traditions and the cordial relations among its components are kept alive.

From this concept and practice some consequences follow:

582 614 1st. -- The first one is that in fact the so-called preferential marriage is in force among them. The exchanges not only establish social relations between two malocas, but, as we shall see later, [611] they conceive kinship as bilateral. But not only the maternal [601] cousins in the strict sense (that is, the nephews and nieces of the mother herself), but all those of their generation of the maternal Gens (IV -- 2, a (2) ) are called brides and bridegrooms /Port. noivos/, Baxsú-kãra (those who are destined for marriage with us).

Let us concretize an example: the Tukano from Parí-cachoeira customarily seek their wives among the Tuyuka of the headwaters of the Tiquié. Then, for the young people of Parí-cachoeira, brides and bridegrooms, or Baxsúkãra, are all the Tuyuka of the [601] younger generation of the maternal povoado. Or, more exactly, all the young persons of the maternal Gens are their brides and bridegrooms, -- because to each povoado ordinarily corresponds a different Gens, -- and among themselves they call each other "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ (Mamí or Axkabí, see VIII -- 1, c).

As a rule, it is a boy or a girl among the Baxsúkãra who will be the Mã-ra-põ nỹákhõ or the Nõ'mõ nỹakho.

/415 cont./

583 584 If the girl cannot take any initiative directly, by showing her preferences, she at least enjoys the "right of veto." That is, speaking in thesis: she will not marry someone she does not like. It is true that she will think carefully beforehand, because, rejecting this proposal, perhaps another will not come. And, besides, she will suffer bad treatment from her people, who, according to the compromises of the Põãperi, must give a wife to the other family.

Who knows even whether she will be a victim of malefice, dohasé? Nevertheless, if she absolutely does not want to marry such a youth, two courses are left to her: first, she does not let herself be abducted, and sometimes she flees to another maloca nearby, when she knows that they are coming to fetch her. Or to flee from the young man's house (15).

[115]

15. A Taryana woman, Teodora from Iauareté, informed us that the woman can not say anything. But, if she likes the young man, she lets herself be abducted; in the opposite case she will flee from the maloca of the young man.

4) Stability.

585 The existence of the marriage and its stability are not yet assured. The young woman will give proof of her good will and ability to be the lady of the house.

[591] [606] If they do not live in the regime of a maloca, perhaps later the young man might build his independent dwelling; for now he will remain in his parents' house, and the mother-in-law orders the girl to prepare the manicuera /fermented manioc-juice/ and the drinks for the nuptial feast.

/423 cont./

562 It is not a matter of inferiority, it seems to us, resulting from her tasks, more constant than those of the men, or, under the political aspect, from not exercising a politico-social authority more in name than in fact, such as, at present, the tuxauaship.

We verified, it is true, a strong feeling of their own inferiority in the minds of the women. I would not know whether it is correct to apply to them an expression so much to the liking of Freudian psychoanalysis, saying that they are dominated by an "inferiority complex."

The obligation to work beside her own mother every day, as soon as she reached the age of reason, while her brothers spent the whole day in idleness and amusements, might have generated in her the envy of this privileged masculine situation.

562 Among peoples of an exaggeratedly racist mentality, as all of them are, she must leave her tribe. Who would be able to
• 591 evaluate this sacrifice? She must live among strangers, whose language she perhaps does not know in the beginning, and maybe never will succeed in mastering. Hearing, because of this defect of hers, gibes and sneers against her tribe, who knows how many times. Frequently episodes of hostility take place between her relatives and those of her husband, and she suffers with the news of these episodes and with the exprobrations.

The feeling of the weakness of the feminine psyche itself is heightened by the knowledge that she is separated from her people, perhaps in an environment of frank hostility to her tribe (since there are no marriages for love, by the choice and arrangement of the ones getting married). Perhaps the bad treatment will be manifestations of the rude character of her husband and of these racial hostilities.

562 All this, well known and experienced by the married women, exaggerates in the feminine soul the concept of her own weakness. The girl who has not yet experienced it witnesses it, hears it, and anxiously awaits a like fate, and her spirit starts weakening and becoming more and more abject.

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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[64] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the governor of exogamy (Kirchoff, 1931). In a sense this seems to be true of the Cubeo as well.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* generation mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sibling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Because of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be embarrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awkward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only community exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib exogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers" and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient, or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in behavior.

The father's sister is *panimó*, a term built on the root *paní*, which means "in-law." Although a woman of the sib, she rates as an in-law because her daughter is normally eligible as a cross-cousin marriage partner. *Panimó* also means "mother-in-law." There are no formal avoidances with a mother-in-law. Ordinarily, because of the rules of residence, a man sees little of his mother-in-law.

Mother's brother (*paniyó*) is a parallel relative to father's sister. He is father-in-law. There are no formal avoidances in this relationship. The important relationship is between a woman and her father-in-law. There is a good deal of restraint between these two. The father-in-law is her mentor on moral issues, and if she commits adultery he will often act in the matter before his son does. Reserve between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is eased after a time but never lapses. The Cubeo defend the unity of the sib by regarding the in-marrying women as permanent strangers. It is the father-in-law as a sib elder who is expected to enforce the separateness. Coupled with this reserve and, in a sense, counteracting it, is the fact that he calls her *hwainkó*. Reserve prevents sexual joking, licentious bodily contact, and other undue levity. It does not bar the father-in-law from beating his daughter-in-law. Father-in-law and son-in-law may refer to one another by the common term, *paní*. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there is only the reserve of unfamiliarity. But when a man does come with his wife to visit her parents he is warmly welcomed as a son and is drawn into all common activities. The visit of a daughter is so exciting an occasion for the Cubeo that the son-in-law is readily tempted in the aura of warmth and good cheer to prolong his stay.

The terms that siblings apply to one another's children are only partially based on considerations of the marriage possibilities between their young. Primarily, the children of siblings are regarded as "youngsters." As juniors they merit generalized terms. Thus, the common terms for nephew and niece within the sib are respectively *hwainyó* and *hwainkó*. The son of a sibling of opposite sex is *paní* — an in-law — but the daughter is not. She enters the household as *hwainkó*. Again we notice the neutral character of the term. *Hwainkó* is not a term of the sib necessarily. The point is, rather, that it is not

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606 [591] [601] this group is on the affinal relationship. Because of patrilocal residence it is the daughter-in-law who occupies a special position. She is *hwainkó* (younger female), a term that receives her with familiarity and some condescension as an in-group member. A daughter-in-law is considered to be at first a replacement for a daughter who has married out, and she lives for a time under the jurisdiction of her mother-in-law, helping her in gardening and in all food preparation. A woman tries to keep her daughter-in-law within her household as long as possible, speaking of her not as her son's wife but as a replacement for her daughter who has been lost to her by marriage. One aspect of the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is stereotyped, and that is the tug of war between a woman's desire to keep her daughter-in-law within her jurisdiction and the desire of the young wife to win autonomy by cultivating her own garden. For the rest, the relationship depends upon the interplay of personalities and upon the circumstance of whether the bride is a foreigner or a brother's daughter or a member of the brother's sib or phratry. When a child has been born and a woman has her own garden, she and her mother-in-law achieve a relationship of greater equality. Terminol- [601] ogy does not change, even though the reference to an elderly woman as *hwainkó* may seem incongruous. The term defines the relationship at its inception.

[867] [868] It is the role of a woman to introduce her daughter-in-law to the economic routines and to the local customs of the community, a task that would be inappropriate for her husband. Since the Cubeo often marry women who do not even speak their language or dialect the initial period of tutelage is most important, even though the Cubeo do not stress this feature of what is really an apprenticeship.

The relationship with a son-in-law is governed by the circumstance that he normally does not become a member of the community. At best he will be a visitor who joins in the male activities. His relationship with his mother-in-law is one of restraint rather than of formal avoidance. It is perhaps for this reason that she addresses him as [601] *hwainyó*. His relationship with his father-in-law, on the other hand, borders on intimacy and is predicated upon the equality of men engaged in their common tasks of hunting, fishing, and the conduct of ceremonies. Perhaps it is this equality that governs the use of *paní* or *paniyó* as a reciprocally used term between father-in-law and son-in-law.

607 601 The other set of affinal relationships recognized by the Cubeo are those involving spouse's siblings, for whom a variety of terms are applied. The general affinal term is *kodjú* or its plural form *hikódju-*

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

844 [606] [789] [591]

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

845 776 [756] [754] [761]

Childbirth (*pwānadjū*: making a person) is a dangerous period. First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety of the newborn infant rests with the parents — with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the precautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

844 789 84 [833] 846 826

area].) "Semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) based on a partial knowledge of a language that is closely related to one already known may also occur.

## MULTILINGUALISM

[611] Because descent is patrilineal in the Northwest Amazon and residence is normatively and [582] predominantly patrilocal, an individual belongs to his (or her) father's tribe, and to his father's linguistic group, which is also his [591] own. Because of exogamy, his mother always represents a different tribe—tribal membership does not change for her upon marriage—and a different linguistic group. A woman invariably uses the language of the longhouse—her husband's language—when talking directly with her children. But she is usually not the only woman from her tribe in a longhouse. In a longhouse of any size there are usually several women of her tribe, as well as groups of other women from other tribes; and during the course of a day, these several groups of women usually find occasion to converse with each other in their own original languages.

[484] In addition to these multilingual contacts in the longhouse, others occur as a result of [583] considerable traveling. Youths travel to investigate and evaluate available brides. A prospective bridegroom, if he does not know it already, learns his prospective wife's language from his prospective mother-in-law. Families also travel to visit relatives and affines. And there is travel for the sheer sake of travel.

A man's *mother's* language may be quite important because of the preferential marriage system. There is a preference, though not [582] an obligation, to marry his cross-cousin, particularly his mother's brother's daughter, [593] real or classificatory. (The kinship system is of Iroquoian type [Fulop 1955].) She will, of course, be of his *mother's* tribe and speak his *mother's* language. Therefore there is an added cultural incentive for a man to know his mother's language. If he has little opportunity to learn it—if she, for instance, is the only one of her tribe in the longhouse, and her tribe lives at a distance—his mother, nevertheless, will teach him lists of words in her language and how to say various things in it. Children are usually bilingual in both their father's and their mother's languages, but commonly use the former.

A child is frequently exposed to the other

[P. 677-B]

342 /102 cont./

There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

[824]

• 592 342 [162]

The size of the maloca varies according to the number of its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 596

The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 [287]

Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 177 797

The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

/57/

## Chapter III

### Malocas (Baxsasé-wi'seri) and Povoados (Maxka)

133 The Uaupés pours its waters into the Rio Negro by two mouths, separated by the "Ilha das Flores" /Island of Flowers/ (former Ilha do Umirí, wextí-nãxkãro) and islets, dotted besides with innumerable stones and rocks: the southern mouth, with three bars formed by the reefs and the "Cachoeira do Tamanduá," its entrance being more difficult; the northern one, also with many rocks and the "Cachoeira do Carapanã."

361 Whoever goes up it will find at short intervals huts, or groups of huts, two or three here, eight or ten farther on, and even eighteen or twenty. They are the "Povoados" /populated [103] places/ (maxkã), as those of the region call them. They will have the name of a Saint as a Patron, or of some geographic accident, a native name, or any other one chosen, it seems, by chance, as happens in general with national toponymy. The names are ordinarily from the Nheengatú language or Língua geral and correspond to others in Tukano, almost always as mere translation. It is difficult to say whether the original name is the Tukano one, and the one from the língua geral, by which it is known, is only a translation, or vice versa.

178 Until 1924, from the Cachoeira de Ipanoré upwards, there
361 were only malocas (1),
• 592
[797]

1. Maloca is the name of the large collective dwelling (cf. VI, 1).

reports Padre João Marchesi, the veteran Salesian Missionary of the Uaupés. The replacement of the malocas by family houses and the appearance of small povoados, due to the influence of the Salesian Missions, date from that year. At present (1958) malocas only exist either in the interior of the forests or on the banks of the Uaupés River above Iutica and on the Tiquié above Carurú-Cachoeira.

The native tradition preserves the name and the location of malocas and human assemblages that have now disappeared. As documentation we present the lists below. For some places, in this middle of the twentieth century, there is only underbrush to mark the place where the human hand felled the virgin forest and built a maloca.

/177 cont./

342 The two outer naves, which correspond to the lower part of
• 592 the roof, along the drip, were intended as the residence of the
*[192] families: each nave had four divisions, in all, then, eight compartments, which are called wi'ĩ-khã̄ra tuxkũ-rĩ (Uaupés wi'ĩ-khã̄na tuxkũ-nĩ).

In that of the tuxaua the separation might by chance be a little better; it was not enough, however, to obstruct the view from the inside. In some malocas there was absolutely no separation at all. One can then say that there are imaginary divisions, corresponding to the beams and the supports of the maloca.

*192 The posts that support the roof serve for tying the hammocks
592 there and, in the two inhabited naves, permit the setting up of a
35 platform, kaxsá-wõ, approximately 2.00 meters from the ground, serving as a shelf where each family keeps part of its household goods, and also beijú, flour, and smoked meat, the heavier objects staying on the ground.

Each division has its small stove or trivet, which, in all the native houses, consists of three vessels, vitári-a (see VI - 2, a (2) ), of baked clay, among which are placed the wood chips.

*192 There are two doors, soxpé: a main one as an entrance,
342 turned toward the river, called mĩxpĩ-yókaro-soxpé, and another at the back of the maloca, for the use of its occupants exclusively, doákaro-ká-soxpé; the former measuring 2.5 by 1.5 meters in width, with a beam 20 centimeters in height as a sill.

Serving as a partition for the two doors, there is a mat, soxpé-pã̄ma (in Nheengatú japá), of quite strong strips, with a frame of round pieces of wood. In some malocas the door resembles a strong and thick double hurdle, in whose spaces are inserted palm leaves, in order to block the rain and the wind better. The mats are suspended, like Venetian blinds, from the upper part of the portal. They are kept open during the day, the lower part being raised by means of a cipo, mĩ-yori-da, which hangs from the roof, or by means of a pole resting on the ground, soxpé-tú-kõ or soxpé-túñe-kõ. At times they reinforce the door at night with a bar, nẽxtõ-pĩ.

/387 cont./

628 831 678 At times there are individuals of different tribes participating in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors.

[574]

592 582 836 797 In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

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/387 cont./

/footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpens /sic/)

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papuri) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacuris, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxiri, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

/406 cont./

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/footnote 140 cont./ take off the shirt and quickly leap into the water with their pants or trunks. Those who are still in a more primitive condition do not have any fear of wetting their own clothes...

that appears nearby and, with a push on the edge, makes it overcome the current, and then, in an agile jump, comes back again inside the canoe and grasps his oar. In other circumstances all the passengers must coast among the indentations of the bank, while the crew pushes the canoe upstream; or, by means of tow-ropes, pulled strongly from the rocks, they force it to go up the small cachoeiras. Or further, they unload all the baggage, and both the load and the canoe will be transported across difficult shortcuts as far as the upper part of the cachoeiras, and from there they resume normal navigation.

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## Chapter VIII

## Social Organization

### 1. -- Family Group

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The native family of the Uaupés, in the most strict and perfect sense, consists of husband, wife, and children. Indissoluble monogamy is in force among them, that is, each man will have his legitimate wife, and they are joined until death by an indissoluble bond, once the conditions prescribed by the law of the tribe are satisfied.

[592]

Such will be the family, whether each one lives in its house, according to the modern tendency, or whether several families are united in the communitarian life of the maloca.

/407 cont./

592 Frequently, the mother who has been widowed, or some single or orphaned relative, might live as added to a family, or, better, incorporated into it, and therefore the family group becomes larger than the family. As we shall see (VIII -- 2), the local group was originally constituted by the family, therefore being identical with the family group. The need for defense and help with the work (construction of the maloca, fishing, etc.) is what favored the local or family group over the isolated family.

On the other hand, among the Uaupesina nations there are some factors that strengthen the family organization or group:

593 428 1st. -- In first place there are the instinct and the right of ownership. There are, indeed, some goods (canoes, hut, pottery, etc.) that constitute family property and pass to the children as an inheritance.

593 583 2nd. -- As among the primitive Romans, the Uaupesino fathers have an exaggerated power over the children. This pátria potéstas reserves exclusively for the father the matrimonial negotiations, through the exchange of the maidens, as wives, from one tribe to another, and, moreover, strengthens the family regime.

3rd. -- Besides the exchange of the daughters, there is also in force an offering of nuptial gifts to the father of the future wife. These gifts, in turn, consolidate the paternal power and the family regime.

593 /408/ 4th. -- The nonexistence of a strong and organized political power is, in turn, an effect and cause of the increase of the paternal powers and a factor of consolidation of the family group.

a). Marriage.

581 We have already pointed out that among all these tribes marriage is a social institution that aims immediately (and it would perhaps not be exaggerated to say exclusively) at the perpetuation of the group. It is the group that is primarily interested in its
582 realization, not the individuals who marry, since their inclinations

/458/

619 2) Local or Territorial Group.

628 a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93)

> 93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that not only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

614 Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large
• 592 dwelling called maloca, Wi'ĩ pahirĩwi, which means great house,
621 collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

[177] With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort. For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the povoados or groupings of family residences.

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Not rarely the dissension within a group provokes schisms, bringing as a result the departure of the dissidents, who go to build a new maloca or povoado farther away.

It is probable that originally each maloca was, in a strict sense, a family, in which the sons remained beside the father, and under his direction, even after they were married. We thus conceive the local group as being originally an agnatic community. There is, as a matter of fact, an expression current among the natives: "I am a person of N," and he says the name of the tuxaua himself.

[178] At present the two forms of local grouping are found: either everyone lives under one and the same roof, the maloca; or each family has its own residence, the povoados resulting. It is to be noted, however, that there are povoados only on the banks of the large rivers and through the influence and under the protection of the catechesis.

[594] /459/ In one form or another, however, the families constitute distinct groups and, what is even more remarkable in the regime of the maloca, autonomous ones. One understands the reason for this autonomy: there is in the tribes of the Uaupés a fusion of the two "ateliers," the masculine one (of fishing) and the feminine one (tiller), which complement each other and are sufficient for the maintenance of the family.

b) The social organization.

The gregarious life that the forest dwellers live demands the observance of certain norms establishing the relations among the individuals, or a certain social organization is necessary.

These relationships are, besides, quite natural, due to the very simplicity of the life they lead; and, on the other hand, are religiously observed. They are all customary, that is, practiced by custom, and it can not be learned whether they were given by a legislator, Wãx-tĩ, as the legends teach; or whether, on the contrary, they were customs introduced naturally and which experience approved, established, and made inviolable. Or whether

/459 cont./

621 perhaps one should distinguish between the different relations,
592 some of which, for example, that of exogamous marriage, might
614 have had a positive origin, and the others might be of consuetudinary origin.

Even in small groups, although perfectly and smoothly harmonized, the distinction of social assemblages, with their duties, their characteristic attributes, their peculiar directives, is easily perceptible. In each local group we can distinguish four categories of individuals: 1st, the tuxáua; 2nd, the Komũã (elders); 3rd, the men (more or less scaled by their ages and experience); 4th, the women and children.

These different categories, however, are closely connected to one another by unifying and stabilizing principles: 1st, a common house, the regime of the maloca, which, at least in the beginning, was in force as a general norm and without exception; 2nd, the provisions in common: a custom that is maintained in the maloca regime and, in a more attenuated way, also in the povoado system; 3rd, the common inheritance of the maloca, of zones for fishing and hunting, and of everything that is the property of the group; 4th, the fear of the spirits, with great unitive power, corresponding to the native mentality; 5th, vengeance, which the group will exercise against the one suspected of having caused the death of one of its members.

A further word about the first two categories of individuals is advisable.

c) "Bũxkõrá-kurá" -- (Council of elders).

622 Watching over the observance of the customs and the feasts is
623 a Council of elders, the Bũxkõrá-kurá (called Moacaretá in Nheengatú). It is made up of the Tuxaua, who is its hereditary president and also speaker and executor of its decisions, the Pajé, and two or three more /460/ men of greater ascendancy. These men are the Komũã (pl. of Komũ), as the natives express themselves, whom we saw appear (VII - 2, e (3) ) as "initiates" and, up to a certain point, helping the pajé.

4: Silva--704 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/461 cont./

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648

/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

[198]
[177]

[829]

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[192]

The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

[594]

97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

592 /462 cont./
622 and directs the collective work of the women, especially the
574 preparations for the caxiris and dabacuris. It is incumbent on her to greet and to thank, in the name of the women, the guests
[535] /463/ who came to the feast in the maloca. In certain dances
*[192] she has the distinctive rôle of soloist, Yõhõgó or Nõ'mõ-Bayá (VII - 4, e (2 a 2) ). /Footnote 98 apparently belongs here, although the index number is missing./

[123] 98. At a great feast which we had the opportunity to attend among the Wanana of Cururú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, we saw the wife of the Tuxaua in one of the intervals of the dances approach the group of women who were seated and rebuke them. We suppose that it might have been due to the women's indecision in appearing for the preceding dance number.

797 On the occasion of the death of the Tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira,
622 the Tukano Júlio, on July 5, 1954, we had the opportunity to see some documents carefully kept by the deceased and his family, that is, a manuscript with the appointment successively of his great-grandfather, João Silgueira, and grandfather, Manoel Silgueira, for the position of Capitão of Parí-cachoeira, appointment made by the Capuchin Missionary Frei Venâncio Zilocchi, on December 5, 1882, with the visa, dated August 7, 1923, of Padre João Bálzola, Salesian. Another letter of appointment with printed heading, signed by the Capuchin Frei Gesualdo Marchetti, on May 30, 1885, also with the visa of Padre João Bálzola, of August 7, 1923. The following are the contents of these documents:

I, below signed, Frei Venancio Zilocchi, Apostolic Franciscan Missionary of the Rio Tiquih., tributary of the Rio Uaupés, and Director of the Missions established on it, appoint Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara the Senhor principal of the said Mission, João Silgueira, and in his absence the Older

/477 cont./

614 532 Just as there is no indication of clan totemism, there is none of individual or personal totemism either. The objects that they make do not represent animals; they are of simple workmanship, according to the purpose. In some quite rare cases the paintings of the walls are anthropomorphic; they seem, however, to have only a sportive character. /Page 478 is blank./

/479/

## Chapter IX

## The Life of the Indian

1) Daily cycle.

512 The type and the standard of life of the Indian seem patterned. Even in distinct tribes we find the Indians doing the same things in the same way, and even with a very close timetable. It is indeed a very methodical life, not, however, monotonous. On the contrary, quite varied, in a perfect nature in which daily rest, work, meals, baths, physical exercises succeed one another.

[592] "The Tukano lives in the maloca, which serves him as bedroom, kitchen, dining room in the morning and in the afternoon. The maloca is, in succession, laboratory for the domestic chores, meeting place at times of rain, and ballroom during the great feasts. It is the place where the Tukano lives, dies, and is buried. For the Tukano the maloca is the world" (Report by the First Superior of the Salesian Missions of the Rio Negro, Mons. Lourenço Giordano -- Boletim Salesiano -- Feb. 1918, p. 31).

The ordinary family life can be summarized in this way: the Indian sleeps little, eats much, talks a great deal, works when it is necessary.

From three o'clock in the morning, the maloca still closed, one hears inside quite an animated conversation, noisy and frequent laughs. And many times the noise of the graters at work: it is the women who are preparing the mandioca for the beijú. Before five o'clock, with rain or without it, always dark in those latitudes, the women leave through the back door, individually

[462] [252] [515]

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quity coincide and so the informal clusterings are strengthened. Thus, 615
when one speaks of sibs within the phratry it is necessary to dis- 614
tinguish between "close" sibs and "distant" sibs. As the discussion
of kinship will show, these distinctions between "close" and "distant" 614
sibs are actually expressed in kinship usages. Among the Cubeo, rela- 615
tive ranking of sibs is not as formally expressed as it is among the 601
Tucano tribe. Among the latter, all the lower-ranking sibs of a
phratry are junior siblings and are addressed by the term "junior
sibling." The highest-ranking sib is "older brother" to all the other
sibs (Fulop, 1955).

The basic segment is the sib. A sib is an exogamic, patrilineal, and 614
patrilocal descent group that claims to share a line of descent through
males (with some exceptions) back to a founding ancestor at the be-
ginnings. The sense of sib is that of a local group capable of sharing
a common residence and of regarding itself as a fraternal kingroup.
Sib members may be, and often are, dispersed. This, however, is, in
the Cubeo view of things, an abnormal situation. Sib identity, in any
case, is never lost. Even women who must marry "out" are forever
members of the paternal sib. The sib, as we have already said, has a
name. It has a headman, a common residence or sib center, and is on
any crucial issue autonomous politically and economically. It may
break out of the exogamic grouping of the phratry by moving away
and joining another phratric organization. This, however, it will be
very reluctant to do. Sibs are not static entities and that is why one
cannot obtain an exact count of their number. Fission is an ever ac-
tive process and reveals itself in what may be called "phases of sepa-
ration." Within a common residence site most families live in a long 592
house, called in the region a maloca. Others live alongside the maloca 614
in smaller houses. I have called the occupants of the smaller houses
"Independents" because of their expressed intention to remain some-
what outside of the jurisdiction of the sib headman.

Some sib members live at a nearby but distinct site with very con- 614
siderable autonomy, but recognize the main maloca as their sib
center. These people are still more estranged from the sib and I have
called them "Satellites." The Satellites may estrange themselves to
the point of complete separation. They then assume a sib name that
is a compound of the original sib name with a new designation and
so take on the status of a subsib. A subsib has a strong sentimental
attachment to its parent sib, but in all other respects it is autonomous.
A Satellite may also give up its satellite standing by rejoining the
parent sib. Subsibs are held together by sharing a common sib name
and a common genealogy. This is true whether subsibs have been

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formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

## THE COMMUNITY

The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the Cuduiari the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5). 361 554

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence. 361 554 648. 177

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiari, for example, a trail leads to the Querari. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker. 487 [721] [481]

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller. 621 311 453 244 [622]

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. 621 592 [162] [342] [578]

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621
.592 the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. The Cubeo believe that one roof unites a community while several roofs divide it.

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311 Size of maloca is adapted in some measure to cultivable terrain. We have already noted that seasonal flooding and the requirement of good river frontage limit the availability of land for relatively permanent cultivation. But these are highly variable factors. Along the Vaupés, a deep river basin that can carry a great volume of water, there are vast stretches of dry land that have become the sites of civilized population centers. There is no doubt that from terrain alone the Vaupés could have supported far greater Indian populations than it did at the time of first contact. Along the Vaupés the limiting factor seems to have been social. On the Cuduiarí, on the other hand, land contours are such as to divide frontages into much smaller segments. On this smaller stream, terrain has been a more significant factor in limiting community size. But even on the Cuduiarí, land utilization is subject to strong social considerations. One consideration is that sibs
[614] must retain their traditional boundaries. This means that with slash-burn horticulture the sib territory must provide, as a minimum, a three-step cycle in which a community returns to its original land after 10 to 15 years. The well-situated tract must then be at least three times the average land requirement at any given time.

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244 There is still another consideration, and that is the distance of manioc gardens from the residence. When they prepare a clearing, the Cubeo bear in mind the distance a woman will have to trudge with her burdens of manioc, a baby, and firewood. That is why the gardens are laid out along a semicircle. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop. It needs reasonably dry soil and it makes heavy demands upon the time and energy of a woman for its cultivation, transportation, and preparation. Whatever can be saved from travel time is an advantage.

621
182 The thesis of ecological adaptation, however, can be argued most successfully in the abstract. If one notes the actual events in the life of a community, then the processes of community growth and community fission appear in quite a different light. The balance of forces of fusion and of fission that hold community size to its stable limits in harmony with the natural environment are not entirely economic. They often include personal factors. To state this more precisely: the economic factor affects fusion strongly but has less direct bearing upon fission. Satellites, for example, are urged to return to the fold, guests are urged to stay on, and daughters are invited to take up residence
[578] in their own sib if there is ample land. Splitting, on the other hand, occurs because of personal quarrels and rarely because of a feeling of land shortage.

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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiari; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way. 621 182

Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain. 621 342 182 [592]

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses. [171]

In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahükiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y generál*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habókü*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kenámi upákü* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along 178 342 621 614 [177]

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364
at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. (514)
The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a 342
vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its [796]
great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food [764]
is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- [252]
factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- [32]
side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza [517]
in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure
time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 342
way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 574
exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests 576
are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and facing inward.

When I came among the *Bahúkiwa* they were on the upswing, hav- 342
ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had 622
put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com- [114]
partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was 75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction. The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The headman is known as *kenámi upákũ* (owner of the house). The house is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo believe, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation- 342
ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578
Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592
is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook discourtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community. The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove the source of disaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
(592) self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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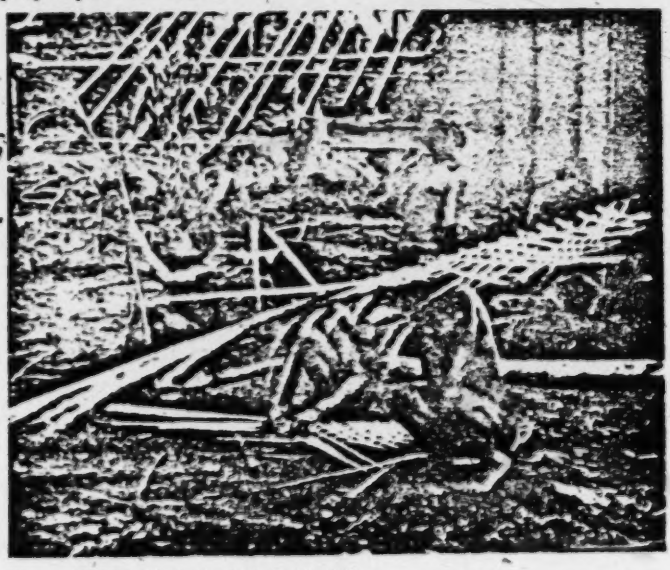

Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding.

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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

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coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the governor of exogamy (Kirchoff, 1931). In a sense this seems to be true of the Cubeo as well.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* generation mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sibling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Because of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be embarrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awkward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only community exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib exogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers" and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient, or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

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an who has daughters to help her can prepare a surplus of mash that, covered with banana leaves or stored in a circular bark bin, holds over to the next day. Whatever time a woman spares from manioc cake preparation is immediately absorbed by other duties, among them the making of chicha and farinha, which is simply the manioc routine all over again. When a woman prepares manioc for chicha, however, she has the help of her husband, but only at those stages that are totally distinct from manioc cake preparation. The Cubeo tradition is for men to take no part in *ãuno* production, once they have made the clearing. Still, men do help their wives in peeling the manioc tuber. Since the knife has begun to supplant the teeth as a peeling implement, men, who are the most expert in handling knives, feel somewhat more free than formerly to help – but not without embarrassment. I once walked into the house and saw the headman sitting amiably beside his wife and peeling manioc with a knife. Were I a proper Cubeo I would have managed to appear as though I had seen nothing. But the sight was so unexpected I stared. The man flushed and dropped the knife and tuber. Then he collected himself and explained that his wife was not well and so he felt he should help her. He assured me, as his wife smiled, that he never did this ordinarily.

Whereas all women share the same general manioc routine, individual circumstances differ. A young married woman with young children has no one to help her and must work very hard in contrast to an older woman with several daughters who can relieve her of much of the work. A woman with many sons and no daughters has a very heavy burden. The men provide her with a very large garden, they eat heavily, they are sociable and plan drinking parties. An old woman living alone prepares her own small manioc cake ration, and worries rather that she can call on no man to enlarge her manioc garden. Yet in all these individual circumstances one observes leveling factors as well. The household with very young children eats less, has less need to entertain, and has smaller trade needs. The household with grown daughters eats more, entertains more – suitors and their parties for example – and has great needs for trade goods, skirts, and ornaments for the girls. The household with many men has greater access to trade goods through their wage labor and saves on farinha. An old woman living alone may eat with her close kin and so devote her manioc production entirely to farinha, if she desires. There are no significant differences in manioc cake consumption. Families differ only in the rather small prestige of owning trade goods and in

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592 554 [433] providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nyámu*), sweet potato (*yapíka*), maize (*karáiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaiwáryo*, *waiwari*, *moá*, *pudjú*, *kanéka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kawámene*), pineapple, (*ihíbo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*uné*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*bahámu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butcí*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [85] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

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The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabewũ* on the Querari.

***Yániwa*** A sib at the mouth of the Querari. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querari as *Dyaniwa*.

***Yokóhübewũ*** A sib on the lower Querari.

**UNIDENTIFIED SIBS**

***Baíówa*** Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapes*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querari. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

***Ilhéadowa*** A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiari, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiari, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari.

***Káua*** A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiari. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoiera*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querari and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiari near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

## THE *BORÓWA*

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

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593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

[244] [437] [273] [261] [592] [835] [836] [583]

593 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

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622 571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habókü* and *kenámi upákü*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókü* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákü*, [592] on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókü* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókü*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókü* attributes. Thus 622 not all headmen qualify as *habókü*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, 614 such as the *Ómbawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and 554 those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókü* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókü* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókü* as headman. Not every *habókü* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the head- [701] man. In time of war the *habókü* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

622 614 554 301 292 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókü* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókü* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókü*. The *Bahúkiwa* define *habókü* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókü*.[1]

[114] [565] [1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Aiari it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election – one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihi*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

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tion of this statement would be that the development of the sib organization out of perhaps some more amorphous form of patrilineal, patrilocal organization is to be attributed to the process of federation itself. That is to say, by confronting a series of equivalent segments, each segment undertakes to assert its own clear identity. A sib, after all, is a unilinear descent group that has undertaken to differentiate itself categorically from like groups by means of such obvious symbolic devices as a name, a common tradition, and a theory of common descent. In the absence of federation this process of categorical self-identification would probably not occur. The process of sib formation, as a consequence of federation, is alleged in this instance for the Cubeo only. It may, however, prove to be a more general process. Elsewhere in the tropical forest the clan organization (parallel to the Cubeo sib) is associated with moieties. The apparent exception of the Witotoans is in all probability simply a matter of incomplete information.

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3. *Independents and Satellites.* It is at this social level that the issues of linkage-autonomy can be most readily analyzed. From the standpoint of those who have removed themselves some distance from the sib, the issue is simply that of autonomy with its counterpart, a circumspectly defined linkage to the main body of the sib. The issue of autonomy arises specifically in relation to the authority of the headman, limited though such authority may be. The Satellites and Independents do not disengage themselves from the sib; they are content simply to assert their autonomously considered degree of independence from the headman. The differentiated form of the Satellite and Independent house may be a practical expedient for building a small house. Nevertheless, it does illustrate graphically the point of linkage-autonomy, since the square house, as has been demonstrated, does not meet the requirements for total autonomy with respect to sib functions.

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4. *Sib-household.* The household, as has been demonstrated, has its clearly defined zone of autonomy. It has its own compartment in the maloca; it prepares its own food; it has its own manioc plantation; and it contributes its identified share of the chicha to both intrasib and intersib drinking parties. No one who has lived any time at all among the Cubeo can fail to be acutely aware of the assertion of autonomy, within the context of linkage, of each household. A sib-lineage and a lineage-household relationship along the linkage-autonomy gradient did not emerge clearly enough in my study to be included in this discussion.

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5. *Patriloral household–wife.* The demand of a newly wed wife for

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband. 592 571 [593] [606]

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack. 571 561

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart. 571 572

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their 571 614 615 621 571 621 [622] [856] [769] [553]

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *cauchèros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

796 instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by
[534] Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey
[526] hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

88 As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and
582 brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the
592 plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

462 The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks
592 up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

592 Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities,
361 the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

342 A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

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000 *Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.*

 [see p.62-A]

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of
61 the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse group, which is also the basic unit of economic
594 redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with
[251] its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse; and each mar-
[354] ried woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her
[264] hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by
[562] the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A
61 well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cul-
582 tural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

[P. 671 - B]

191 languages spoken in the longhouse by the married women, who are ordinarily from more than one outside tribe, and by visitors. Visitors, especially, expose him to the lingua franca (which may also be the father's language or the mother's language for some individuals). Most children remain bilingual or trilingual in speech (with the lingua franca Tukano as the third language) until adolescence.

In the course of time, an individual is exposed to at least two or three languages that are neither his father's nor his mother's language. He comes to understand them and, perhaps, to speak them. I observed that as an individual goes through adolescence, he actively and almost suddenly learns to speak these additional languages to which he has been exposed, and his linguistic repertoire is elaborated. In adulthood he may acquire more languages; as he approaches old age, field observation indicates, he will go on to perfect his knowledge of all the languages at his disposal.

191 • 592 Each individual, then, has a personal repertoire of languages. Each longhouse, too, has its own characteristic language repertoire. Thus, the second longhouse up the Inambú River is a Tuyuka tribe longhouse that speaks Tuyuka; one third of the married women there are from the Barasana tribe, another third from the Desano tribe, and another third from the Tukano tribe. Careful field checking definitely corroborates that all individuals of this longhouse actually control at least these particular four languages within their individual repertoires. Most individuals know other languages besides these, but all share the basic longhouse inventory. The longhouse language, Tuyuka, is used to men and among men; women use the longhouse language with each other, but women who are classificatory sisters and hence from the same tribe have the option of using their own language when women from another tribe are not actually in the active conversation group, although other women (and men) within hearing understand it. All children use the longhouse language (i.e., their father's) to both their father and mother. As one continues up the river to the next longhouse, the proportion of Barasana women increases as the proportion of Desano women decreases, although the same four languages remain in a common longhouse repertoire shared by the individuals of that longhouse.

P.678-A]

/151 cont./

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/footnote 19 cont./ perfectly new, from a Hohodene of the stream Waraná (tributary of the Aiarí); and in fact he made the deal, in spite of the fact that the machine was worth about 4,000 cruzeiros.

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The very relations between parents and children are contaminated or are regulated by gain. The parents come periodically to visit the boarding-school children in the Mission schools and many times bring them beijú, dried fish, and fruit. The student sees them from far away and immediately sets out to join them and spends some time with them, but always in a cold way, without looking at them, perhaps scratching the ground with a toe of his foot. Another time the parents come without bringing anything. The missionary lets the boy know: -- "Go see, your father is there." "I already know," he answers indifferently. -- "Then go to talk with him." -- "He is not giving anything," he answers, and he does not stir to see his own father, although it has been months that he has not seen him.

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Periodically a /152/ small boat from the Mission in Iauareté in 1953 went up as far as S. Miguel and Melo Franco (river Papurí), buying flour for the schools. The Tukano from this last locality offered to keep for a few days the hampers of flour for their "irmãos" /brothers/ who lived a few hours away on the river Auá, until the Mission boat came to collect them. For this small favor, however, they demanded from their Tukano "irmãos" of the Auá 50 per cent of the flour, to wit: of four hampers kept, two were handed over to the Mission and the other two stayed as payment to the "warehouse."

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/footnote 24 cont./ Educadoras /Educators/. Nevertheless, it was the mother herself who had hidden the daughters in the forest, as was found out later through witnesses of the act.

In a perfect manner they will feign illness or indigence, they will feign ignorance of an order or a prohibition, loss of memory or an oversight. Planning a deed which they consider bad (for example, three or four Indians organizing an attack with the purpose of stealing, or in Indian file to spy on the white through a crack, etc.), they do not let any anxiety show. Even when they are surprised, they are not disconcerted. They simply separate, as though nothing had happened. Almost always a hearty laugh will come to terminate the disrupted attempt.

764 Furthermore they are capable of showing emotions that they do not feel. A typical example is the funeral weeping (with tears, screams, exclamations), performed with moving perfection, returning immediately afterwards to the same gay conversation of minutes before, intermixed with immodest laughs; while others, in turn, recite /156/ their part, surrendering to crying, only to turn back minutes later to their habitual gaiety. Perhaps they could be used as theatrical actors.

17) Sentimental life: love, friendship, gratitude.

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Their sentimental life does not seem very intense. One never observes displays very ardent with feeling (25).

25. The meeting between parents and children or between spouses, after months or perhaps years of separation, is always invested with the coolness of any meeting, without looking at each other, with those conventional expressions that we have indicated (cf. formalism below). The Missionary Pe. Antônio Giacone was able to observe this very curious episode: the husband had been absent for almost two years in order

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/footnote 25 cont./ to work with the whites of the lower Rio Negro, without having sent any news. Upon returning, the meeting with his wife took place with the customary indifference on the bank of the river as he disembarked from the canoe. Inside the hut, however, after having presented him with the quinhapira /a fish dish/ and the beijú /manioc bread/, the wife, squatting beside the husband, opened up with these complaints: -- "O father of my children (yõ-põra-kõ), you have finally arrived. You were gone with the white very far away, very far away, and the mother of your children remained here alone, without having fish for the children, without being able to make a new clearing, abandoned, without clothes... Oh! How sad it is to live like this! How sad it is! (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, pp. 72-3).

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Although he laughs easily, he always receives the great joys or tragedies with a certain indifference. They do not know the kiss (26)

26. It also seems that words for kiss and embrace do not exist in the Tukano language. The term mí'mĩ, which Pe. Antônio Giacone records in his vocabulary as corresponding to kiss, actually means to suck. As a matter of fact, in the early days when they were taught to kiss some object, they sucked it, even when it was a matter of the priest's hand at a liturgical function.

or the embrace as a display of affection between parents and children or other relatives.

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152 The Indian lacks some of the more delicate feelings, such as that of compassion. He will not only mistreat an animal, laughing at its painful contortions, but even watch with indifference another person's suffering, even if it is his brother, father, or mother (cf. VII - 4, g (1) ).

593 There is no doubt about the existence in the parents, particularly in the mother, of love for their offspring, especially when still in the first childhood. Even then it is a love more effective than affective, diligently learning about the children's health, for whom they procure remedies during illnesses and food. When it is a matter of children already grown, the esteem is contaminated by interest in the services they receive from them. And the grief that they express when the children are absent or die is because they no longer have anyone to bring them fish or cultivate the clearing.

847 Attenuating this presumption in favor of mother love is the use of infanticide, and many times it is the mother herself who wants /157/ and executes it. Moreover, cases in which the mother abandons the children, even though newborn, are known.

593 In the children the correlative feeling is counterbalanced, or perhaps exceeded, by their selfishness. When the parents
888 become old, they easily abandon them, without providing clothing for them any longer, or even giving them medicine, food, or water (27).

[115] 27. Pe. João Marchesi bears witness, with the authority of one who knows the totality of the natives, among whom he has lived for 35 years, and who, because of his heroic charity, cover for all the sacrifices, merited it when General Alexandrino Ferreira da Cunha called him "the Anchieta of the Amazon": -- "Among the elements of the same tribe, who consider themselves brothers, there is a certain outward cordiality and consideration toward someone else's suffering, but neither generosity nor a spontaneous

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593 888 /footnote 27 cont./ offering of help and means; it is a cold and sterile egoism." "The old parents are left abandoned when they do not move from the house of one child to that of another, in order not to be a burden." "Nor can the natural love of the procreators be said to have a firm foundation, because of the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn babies, suffocating them as one would do with any little animal" (in the book Os Tucanos /The Tucano/ by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13).

593 581 Apropos of matrimony, Pe. Antônio Giacone writes: -- The Indian, not having love and tenderness for the woman, will be satisfied with the one that they give him, no matter whether she is pretty or ugly; it is enough if she is hard-working and gives him many children; if she is sterile, he will repudiate her as a useless thing, because every Indian marries for the sake of having many children" (Os Tucanos, p. 22). He censures the treatment of the old parents on the part of the children as "indifferent and inhuman" (ibidem, p. 26).

593 758 In November of 1953, on the occasion of our stay in Iauareté, the following episode took place. A young man from Uaracú-ponta (river Uaupés), married a few months earlier, gravely ill with tuberculosis, asked the Director to take him to the Mission hospital. There he had a visit by his wife, who remained in his company for some days. On a second visit, she burst into tears so noisily that the Director advised her that she should restrain herself or move farther away, in order not to add to the suffering of her sick husband. Nevertheless, two days before her husband's death, she wanted to leave for her povoado, taking with her the husband's hammock. And she did so, in spite of his insistent begging that she stay longer and leave his hammock.

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593 888 Cases in which they buried their old parents alive are cited (28).

28. There was shown to us in Uaracapá (river Papuri), upon leaving the povoado, the place where the hammock of a sick old man had been tied between two branches. And they had not only turned him out of the house in this condition, but also left him there in the open, without assistance or resources. As soon as he had died, they dug a grave under the hammock, cut the ropes of the old hammock, which fell, with the cadaver, into the hole, and covered /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ it irregularly with earth, as we could see in November of 1953. In June of 1954 an old Taryana about 70 or 80 years of age, shivering with cold, was found in the port of Iauareté. We do not know how he got there. Taken to the hospital in serious condition, he was laid on a hammock, given medicine, and had a hot water bottle applied (to replace the fire that they always use under the hammock). Days later, feeling well, he was questioned about where he came from. He interrupted immediately, saying that he did not want to go back to his house, because he was mistreated there by the children.

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We were informed about a Taryana from Pinú-pinú (river Uaupés) who mistreated and several times even spanked his own father, who was from Iauareté.

156 571 At least while they are living in their own environment, they cling together among themselves, even among individuals of a different tribe, more than /158/ with a civilized person. There is not, however, any sign of particular friendship among

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It is to be noted that the husband never converses with his wife at night, only during the day, and they carry on long talks when they are resting after work. At night only gossip among persons of the same /167/ sex is permitted (so we were informed by the old Taryana woman Teodora from Iauareté, and Dorotéia Brito, Tukano, confirmed it) (44).

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44. Among the Ide-maxsã of the stream Komé-ya, we have observed conversation between husband and wife during the night. Perhaps phrases imposed by necessity are not forbidden, and only conversation for diversion is prohibited.

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A singular meeting of pajés gave us the chance of an excursion to the middle Uaupés in May of 1956. We were traveling in the company of two Tukano pajés, Marcelino and Henrique, the pajé of Juquira and of Japú-igarapé, respectively. A breakdown in the stern motor forced us to stop longer in the povoado of Periquito, of the Taryana tribe. The two pajés in transit greeted in a common manner the Taryana colleague of the locality. Soon afterwards, however, the three pajés settled down on the bank of the river at a distance of 50 or 60 centimeters from one another, each one smoking his cigarette (which one of the visitors had given to the other two). And without looking at each other, turned toward the river, they started to recite, in quite a loud voice and characteristic tone, which could be distinguished some 20 meters away. That dialogue lasted more than half an hour, during which now one and then another of the three would take turns speaking, always with the intervention of the other two, who would repeat the last words of the speaker's sentence, or other words, by way of refrain. It was a recollection of the episodes that, according to the legends of the origins, took place in those surroundings, the story of their islands, canals, cachoeiras, and rocks, a recollection with the power of an exorcism and augury of successful navigation. It was not possible for us to determine whether there was also an invocation of the "mothers of the things,"

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Macurú (bahari-be'tó)

Outside of this apparatus they do not know another for the children, who either remain abandoned on the ground or will ride on the hips of their own mother or older sister (38).

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38. It is always the women who carry the children. Due to the influence of the civilized, one can see today a father carrying his own child in his arms, but for a short time, while the mother is carrying some other load. In the house one never sees an Indian man holding a child, and even less lulling one to sleep.

when they are not in the arms or in the hammock.

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796 534 *778 [192] [562] [858]

Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wã-wa'kãsé.

/354/ The women and children who came to the feast, barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut themselves in (63),

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63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩriá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

796 534 778 562 688

The guests then go toward that local landing place to which the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women, submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

• [593] [278] *[192]

The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ. Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

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/footnote 84 cont./ her out of there in order to subject her again to the rites of the pajés. As soon as the catastrophe happened, in the very room of death, in the hospital, the weeping by men and women, accompanied simultaneously by dancing, began at the sides of the hammock that contained the body. Among the participants in the wailing and dances was a young Tukano woman who had taken the course in midwifery in Manaus. The dancers were distributed in pairs of the same sex, and the dances were intermixed with small hops, beating at this moment, first the arms, then the legs. The husband, also present, did not participate in the dances, but he did participate in the weeping. Later, once the body had been moved to the entrance room of the hospital, the old mother lay down on the floor, under the hammock where the daughter had died, with her legs and arms open, singing the elegy-weeping.

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[761] The men utter cries and imprecations against those who caused the death; because every death, so they think, is a true murder perpetrated by some enemy by means of a malefice. *[192] The women too, appropriately called uxtĩra (Uaupés uxtĩha), mourners, between exclamations and with /370/ very sentimental thoughts, do the eulogy of the dead and imprecate against the pajés or persons who cast the spell, the alleged

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763 causa mortis. They lower their heads, draw the hair over the face, the tears come in abundance, and they constantly collect them with the index finger of the right hand and shake them to the ground. And they proceed in this way for a long time, in a characteristic intonation, in which they go from the lowest notes to the shrillest ones. And the mourners succeed one another in turn in this panegyric-imprecatory weeping. The last notes of their wailing have hardly been lost in the air and their last tears filtered into the floor of the maloca before the shadows of emotion clear away from their faces, and the mourner will go on to talk gaily with her companions, with her habitual good humor and noisy laughter.

[593] The mother or wife, during the wailing, will be squatting or seated on the little seats beside the deceased, and with the right hand drawing lines on the ground. At other times they rub the hands on the cadaver and then stretch the arms in the direction of space, as if they were casting there the curses or the malefice that took the life of the deceased.

*[192] At times three or more women gather in a closed circle, in which their heads touch, and the principal mourner extends her arms, as if to embrace them all by the nape of the neck; it is what is called ʒe'ẽ-kea-uxtisé, weeping embraced. The first mourner then starts to do the eulogy of the dead one, as if directing a dialogue with the others, who repeat her final words; or they address interlocutions, all of it intermixed with sobs and cries.

Once the panegyric-weeping is performed, which may last minutes or whole hours (85),

85. The weeping for the death of Júlio, tuxáua of Parí-cachoeira, on

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864 d) Sexual education.

With regard to this subject, the precocity of the children, especially of the female sex, is remarkable. It surprises us to see how individuals who on the outside still look like children are subjected to the rite of the puberty initiation (see photo).

How much they appear to know is an even greater surprise. Children still quite young know perfectly all the mystery of life, like any adult.

[797] [581] The girls enter the mission schools at seven or eight years of age, and at this age they not infrequently reveal full knowledge of this subject. Sometimes the thought that already absorbs and preoccupies them is that of marriage, a Missionary Sister Superior revealed to us. They talk of that often, and perhaps they might already even know whom they are going to marry, according to the customs of the tribe and the desires of the parents.

The school of this discipline -- is the maloca with its regime of life, where there are no partitions between the families, where all the licentiousness takes place before the eyes of all and thus the intimate life of each one is known by all. According to the information obtained, the mother herself will give explanations to the daughters and will teach them the sterilizing and abortive resources.

[276] [593] For example, in the intimacy of the malocas or huts during the warm hours of the day, destitute of any clothing at all, the husband will not infrequently amuse himself by blowing the smoke from his cigar over his wife's body. We say he amuses himself, because he does it amidst noisy laughter, as we were able to hear, without excluding the fact that they admit some magic virtue in this rite.

831 The nudity, especially along with the dirtiness, appears somewhat repugnant. Besides, the psychological axiom "ab assuétis non fit pássio" /passion does not arise from what one is accustomed to/ is quite true. And so the influence of the nudity seems somewhat attenuated.

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592 Frequently, the mother who has been widowed, or some single or orphaned relative, might live as added to a family, or, better, incorporated into it, and therefore the family group becomes larger than the family. As we shall see (VIII -- 2), the local group was originally constituted by the family, therefore being identical with the family group. The need for defense and help with the work (construction of the maloca, fishing, etc.) is what favored the local or family group over the isolated family.

On the other hand, among the Uaupesina nations there are some factors that strengthen the family organization or group:

593 428 1st. -- In first place there are the instinct and the right of ownership. There are, indeed, some goods (canoes, hut, pottery, etc.) that constitute family property and pass to the children as an inheritance.

593 583 2nd. -- As among the primitive Romans, the Uaupesino fathers have an exaggerated power over the children. This pátria potéstas reserves exclusively for the father the matrimonial negotiations, through the exchange of the maidens, as wives, from one tribe to another, and, moreover, strengthens the family regime.

3rd. -- Besides the exchange of the daughters, there is also in force an offering of nuptial gifts to the father of the future wife. These gifts, in turn, consolidate the paternal power and the family regime.

593 /408/ 4th. -- The nonexistence of a strong and organized political power is, in turn, an effect and cause of the increase of the paternal powers and a factor of consolidation of the family group.

a) Marriage.

581 We have already pointed out that among all these tribes marriage is a social institution that aims immediately (and it would perhaps not be exaggerated to say exclusively) at the perpetuation of the group. It is the group that is primarily interested in its
582 realization, not the individuals who marry, since their inclinations

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585 If the flight does not take place, the marriage is considered realized.

[606] [431] A short time later they customarily take a nuptial trip, on which the young man, accompanied by his wife, goes to visit the father-in-law, taking him presents (smoked fish, fruit, etc.), and thus the friendly relations will be strengthened. These nuptial trips, moreover, appear in the legends.

*[192] The wife will take with her, for the new home, as dowry or property, her pi'ĩkamõ, that is, a small cipo basket, with her ornaments, utilitarian objects, and a cluster of leaves containing õnõñã powder (carajurú /carajura/).

Immediately in the first days of the marriage the husband will give the wife a beating. He will hit her, however, with the hands, so they assured us; and she cannot react. Although it is a matter of a custom that aims at finding out the good will of the girl and her capacity for suffering, it seems, nevertheless, that it is the circumstance of some misunderstanding between the spouses that will provide the opportunity for this beating.

a) /sic; 5)/ Relations between the spouses.

• 593 The relations between the spouses are normal enough. Perhaps they might be called friendly (18),

[123] 18. We had the opportunity to travel with a Karapanã family from the headwaters of the Papurí and to see the wife in a long and cordial conversation with the husband.

although without caresses and other displays of affection, since it is certain that some familiarity will arise from their living together. The husband will fear that bad treatment will drive [586] away the wife (19),

19. Several episodes have been reported to us. In the beginning of 1954, during our stay in

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/footnote 19 cont./ Pari-cachoeira, a Desana woman married to a Tuyuka from Cabari (a little above Pari-cachoeira), in view of the bad treatment by the husband, abandoned him and a little child a few months old and returned to her povoado on the lower Tiquié. Up to July of this year the Missionary had not yet managed to have her return to her husband.

especially if they do not yet have any children, because the marriage is not yet stabilized. And, finally, it is she who works for him in the clearing and in the house.

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/417/ Although there is no law that obstructs divorce or that makes it impossible for the divorced person to go on to other nuptials, both always have before their eyes the difficulty of a second marriage.

That will not keep them from having misunderstandings, or the husband, especially if he is drunk, from beating the wife. Of the many whom we questioned on this subject, all affirmed to us the bad treatment and even cruelties on the part of their husbands.

The woman, however, will never react, because this is what the tribal laws command (20).

20. We have had news, moreover, of some episodes of reaction on the part of the woman, especially when she perceives that the husband is weakened by drunkenness. It is one more blow that their customs and beliefs have started suffering.

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There is an original and somewhat strange custom, as follows from the report by the Taryana Indian Teodora from Iauareté, confirmed by natives of other tribes. During the day and in the early hours of the night the spouses maintain long conversations with each other in the maloca, each one, for example, lying in

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593 521 [784] his hammock; nevertheless, they will not talk to each other through the night inside. At night only conversations of man with man and woman with woman are permitted. If the husband has arrived from his fishing or hunting already late at night, he will hang up the fish or the game in the space between two poles or on the wall, or in some other place, without saying a word to his wife, to whom he will not make delivery of the fruit of his labor until morning.

6) Polygamy and Polyandry.

178 595 Whether we understand these terms as the possibility for an individual to have several wives simultaneously or successively, and, vice versa, a woman more than one husband, they are not in force nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

[622] In conversation, several among them affirmed that in the old days a man could have two or three wives, particularly the tuxaua (21).

21. In 1849 Wallace attested (o. c. 636): -- "The men as a rule, have only one wife. There is not, however, for this reason a special limit, because many of them have two or three. Some chiefs even have still more." It is what still happens in some tribes, for example, the Karútana of the Içana, the Káwa of the Aiarí, affirms the author of Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar [Sea River]/, (p. 19). The statement of the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza is in agreement, when he says (o. c. 486): -- "They are given to polygamy or plurality of wives, and there are chiefs among them with two or three wives, and sometimes sisters of one another."

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551 /footnote 24 cont./ identified with such a person (or object). To pronounce this name is to render present that person or sacred object, which is not licit (religious taboo, properly speaking). Or to pronounce the name of a person (for example, that of one's own husband, among tribes of southern India -- cf. Gordon, o. c. 132) will make him die (it is the magic taboo).

551 They will simply say to identify her: -- "The wife of such-and-such a person" or "The mother of such-and-such a person." The
• 593 husband will use this expression: "Yõ põrá-kó," "the mother of
*[192] my children," or "the one who gives me children," or "the mother of N" and says the name of the oldest child.

Her tasks are constant, heavy, and of great responsibility. Per-
462 haps in a precarious state of health, for example, during gestation and the delivery, even so, she does them perfectly, without complaining, because they are tribal regulations, therefore they come from a superior will (25).

[593] [123] 25. If, in front of the husband, we purposely show surprise at her great tasks, the woman smiles and says nothing.

[241] The planting and the cleaning of the clearing fall to her. She will spend whole hours in the sun amid the fire and the smoke,
*[192] preparing the piles of branches to be burned, digging and burying the mandioca shoots, cleaning the clearing by the process of pulling out the weeds by hand, Taá kuresé. She is the one who pulls
[252] the mandioca, collects it in the aturás /carrying baskets/, and brings it home, where, afterwards, she peels it, grates it, squeezes it, and strains it, in order to make flour. It is she who prepares the foods and the caxiris, takes care of the house and of the rearing of the children. All this while the husband perhaps is idle in

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462 conversation with other men for long hours (26).

[517] 26. At other times she might be gaily conversing while the man is working.

611 She is a foreigner, without any right over her children. They
736 belong to the husband, or rather to the tribe of the husband. If by chance she becomes a widow, she may continue to live in the maloca, and she will ordinarily do so, especially if she is aged and cannot expect another marriage. Or she will return to her tribe, without, however, taking the children with her. With the hypothesis that her husband had a separate house or one in the vicinity of another tribe, the relatives from the husband's tribe will come to take the orphans to their own maloca. If any of the orphans are still /420/ babies at the breast, perhaps they will await until the child can dispense with maternal care, and then they will irrevocably take them away.

587 When it was a matter of her marrying, an exchange or indemnification was negotiated, without her being consulted. Upon establishing her new home, she had the customary test of a beating, and perhaps, due to the bad character of the husband, many others might follow, against which she could never react. Accord-
264 ing to the tribal customs, she will never eat with the husband; she
• 593 takes out her portion and it is only after he and his friends and guests are satisfied and leave the place that she will take her food.

All this causes surprise, especially if we observe the importance
462 of her "atelier"; that is, it is she who performs the tasks necessary for life: she plants the clearing, works with the mandioca, which constitutes the indispensable daily dish, weaves the hammocks for sleeping, makes the vessels for water, prepares the caxiris and the cooking.

593 We leave, Deo volente, for a monograph the study of the indications of a matriarchalist civilization among the Uaupesina tribes. For now we shall say, with the students who have

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593 passed through this region, that to the husband fall the honor and the responsibility of head of the family group. Concerning
462 the tasks, however, more attentive observation will attenuate the
593 impression of the woman's inferiority.

In reality there is a division of labor between the man and the woman, established by the customs. The concepts of importance and gravity, weight and responsibility of these tasks cannot be considered according to the criteria of our culture, but, indeed, of the native mentality.

As the ancient impositions that they are, perhaps they were easier to understand formerly than today, because of the change in the circumstances. At present they are still observed with great strictness, due to the spirit of attachment to the traditions, characteristic of the natives, although the present conditions might counsel a new revision of the customs and a different distribution of the tasks.

It is understandable that the husband, in more difficult times of fighting between the groups or against animals, should always have been in a physical condition to be able to do it and to have available the necessary time, without his family lacking anything because of it. Hence the convenience of having these urgent daily chores assigned to the woman. This also provides, besides the indispensable rest, the physical robustness of the male, who, at given times, would be subjected to difficult tests.

This observation makes us understand the division of labor better. Those tasks that require dexterity, courage, and, up to a certain /421/ point, physical strength belong to the husband. It is the men who select, cut, and transport trunks, beams, poles, and palms for the construction of the residence, as well as performing all the work of building the house of residence and other auxiliary huts. Moreover, the making of barriers in the rivers, with thick trunks, for the large-scale fishing falls to the man. To him, the hunting, exclusively, and in large part the fishing, to which the women are only admitted as helpers. Previously the

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462 man manufactured weapons and implements for one thing and
593 another: canoe, baskets, nets, bows, arrows, traps, etc. In the clearing there fell to him the preliminary work of choosing the spot and felling the trees. The defense of the clearing against the harmful animals or other persons is also his duty. Of the domestic utensils he is the one who manufactures the tipití /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the treatment of the mandioca, as well as the little seats. As for the diet, he is the one who supplies the game, fish, and who brings the fruits from the forest for the caxirís. And he has prepared the ornaments and the musical instruments for the social and religious manifestations. Recognizing, then, the great weight of work that falls upon the woman for the maintenance of the family, we think that it alone does not demonstrate an inferior position for the woman.

593 The Pŏáperi, in itself, is not a depreciation of the woman,
[583] as we have already noted. The nuptial gifts, more than the dowry of the European customs, properly represent a valorization of the wife. She is really considered greatly useful, not only under the aspect of maternity, so desired and appreciated, since the Indian wishes to have children, but even in the economic one.

[551] As for not knowing the wife's name and the ways of referring to her, they do not seem to be indicators of inferiority. She came from another tribe and another language, perhaps a strange name. In any case they are not accustomed to calling anyone by name, as we shall see. In general, in referring to the wife, the husband uses the expression: -- "The mother of N" and says the name of the first-born child, and this seems to be an affectionate association. She will also say of the husband: "The father of Ñ," which, on her lips, has a particular meaning, as affirmation that it is a legitimate child.

[611] As for the children, this affirmation is of value: the children belong to the tribe more than to the parents. Both the wife and the husband exert little authority over the children, since they are raised with great autonomy. Perhaps she has an ascendancy even greater than the husband, because, at least when they are small, they are exclusively in her care, and they go so far as to learn her idiom.

/421 cont./

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
[601]

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[178] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
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> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

/422 cont./

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/footnote 29 cont./ many of them have never in fact heard of any woman Tuxaua. Someone answered us precisely that she can be Tuxaua, but they had never heard of a woman Tuxaua. It is to be noted that in the Tukano language there is the feminine Wyógo, a term that is ordinarily applied to the wife of the Tuxaua (Wyogõ) and, in the Missionary centers, also to the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of the girls' school. The example of Caridade (p. 709) seems to authorize our affirmation above.

not, however, those of pajé. This exclusion perhaps expresses, not so much contempt, but the concept that she is not endowed with the magical power necessary for the exercise of the office of pajé.

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In marriage she seems to enjoy even greater freedom than the young man, being able to leave her husband. It must be concluded then that, although recognizing the primary of the husband (as also happens in our civilization), considered from the domestic-social point of view the wife is on a plane of equality with the husband (30).

30. We recently verified that this is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg, who, after prolonged contact with the Kubewana, was able to conclude that the woman is not the beast of burden, but the intelligent lady of the house (Z. I. 354).

8) Moral condition of the woman.

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We once heard from a maiden the expression: "the woman is not worth anything." We questioned many other women, single and married, and all confirmed the accuracy of this concept, without knowing how to give further /423/ explanations. Only one added: "the woman must leave her own tribe."

/429 cont./

844 and takes the child to the river for the bath.

Except in rare cases of a difficult delivery (or very rarely
846 those of death), the mother soon takes up her household cares and
tasks again. The husband, however, considers himself in a state
*[192] of pregnancy, Nihĩ-pkõ from Nihĩ, child, and pax-kõ, father.
For this reason he must rest or be sheltered, Sĩhyogõ, for six days
(46):

[797]

> 46. We have seen some of the Indians who have attended the Mission schools subject themselves to such a custom. And they answer the words of the missionary who tries to show the uselessness of the custom: "The old ones want it this way."

he will not work, he will avoid leaving the house, taking the sun, he will spend the greater part of his time in the hammock and subject himself to a strict diet. "If the father works, the child will get sick, will cry day and night," so they explained to us.

• 593 It is the concept of the bond between the father and his child, as though the father himself were being reproduced. Everything, then, that happens to the father can not fail to affect the child. Since effort or a heavier diet would harm the child, the father must abstain from these things (47).

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> 47. This belief in the intimate connection between the health and well-being of the father and of the son holds not only during the first days of the newborn child, but also during its whole life. D. José Domitrovitsch, when superior of the Mission of Pari-cachoeira, was able to witness the following episode: Julio, the local Tukano tuxaua, upon learning that his son Mandú (the present tuxaua, 1956) had been bitten by a jararaca, left work, went to his house, put

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/footnote 47 cont./ himself in the hammock and on a diet, in order that his son's condition would not be aggravated; the latter was saved, thanks to the antiophidian injection that was immediately applied to him by the Missionary.

846 The wife, then, is the one who will carefully serve the husband.

For four days both the father and the mother will nourish themselves only with mingau, being forbidden the use of fish. This is the diet taboo.

[842] The newborn child is a reproduction of the father. The mother plays only the role of the ground in which the seed germinated; the one who produced the seed was the tree, whose nature the seed will reproduce. From this concept (48)

48. It is a concept evidently patriarchalist. It is to be noted that Pe. João Marchesi affirms that he has heard from the Tukano Tuxaua Julio, from Pari-cachoeira, expressions similar to those of the Jews (who were patriarchalists): "The children of my womb."

logically come two consequences: the first is the chõco or protection of the father, the second is that the child belongs to the paternal tribe and not to the one of its mother.

553 4) Giving the name.

Around three years of age, when the child already walks freely and begins to talk and to give the first indications of understanding, /430/ they proceed with the rite of giving the name, a rite which ends with a caxiri.

*[192] Until that moment the child is Oẽ, that is, "without name." This is how they translate it for us, not knowing how to give any other explanation for this term.

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5) The terms of kinship and affinity

(according to the Tukano customs)

Prior observations:

1st. -- According to the native pronunciation, the terms seem to us to be compound (cf. Observações Gramaticais, da língua Daxseyé ou Tukano /Gramatical Observations of the Daxseyé or Tucano language/); for this reason we separate with a hyphen (-) the various elements that make up the words.

2nd. -- Besides the descriptive (or explicative) term, we shall give the nominative (indirect or designative), that is, when in conversation with a third person one wants to indicate the relative (ex. "N. is my cousin"), and the vocative term (direct or appelative), that is, when one calls the relative (ex. "O cousin, come here").

3rd. -- The Tukano tribe (like all those of the Uaupés in general) is divided into groups (cf. IV -- 2, a (2 b) ); it is these that we denoncinate with the Latin term "Gens."

4th. -- They did not know how to explain to us why they call the "cousin" of the same tribe mamí max-kõ or axkabí max-kõ, that is, "son of the brother." They only answered that it is the custom. There are confused, then, the /451/ descriptive terms of "cousin" and "nephew." It is true that in practice they never use the term described for the "cousins."

5th. -- The nomenclature below is in force in the Tukano tribe and does not always correspond to the similar term (with regard to the radical) in another tribe of sister language.

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6th. -- The spouses call each other mãã-ba (you) when they do not have any children. After the birth of the first son (or daughter) and until the death of this one, they call each other, respectively: "N (name of the child) pax-kõ or N. pax-ko, that is, "Father (or mother) of N." When the first child dies, they say the name of the next one. If they no longer have any children, they go back to calling each other mãã-ba.

/483 cont./

562 868 The girl must get used to work and, with the mother's training, will learn the several skills that someday will make her a good mother of a family. The boys will run loose in the forest, looking for fruits, will wander along the rivers, entertained by swimming or fishing, practicing at shooting arrows at fish or birds, and thus they will become able to provide the subsistence of the /484/ family. In the ajurís, in the traditional tasks, they will acquire beside the father that skill which will make them great oarsmen or expert basketmakers.

881 Children of both sexes start being conscious of themselves as members of the tribe, of which they will learn to be proud. They will eagerly desire to become a member integrated into its life and traditions, that is, they dream of the "initiation."

581 Once the instincts are developed, they understand that it falls to them to perpetuate the existence of the group, and they aspire to marriage. The national customs indicate to them the means of realizing it; for that step they will not lack the intervention and help of the father.

593 He has naturally experienced up to now the love and the attention of his parents and the camaraderie of his contemporaries. Now he is joined to a companion for his entire life. Unknown perhaps and a foreigner, but their cares, their spirit of work, their long life together, vicissitudes, shared joys and sadness, everything ends by making uniform the spirits of the spouses, connected especially by the bond of love for their children in common. Under more difficult conditions, because she is forced to leave the paternal home and go to another nation as a wife, the woman will still feel very actively connected to her tribe of origin, as well as to the new maloca in which she is a wife and mother.

621 With the years the ties that join the Indian to the group in which he was born, which educated him, which gave him assistance and support, for which he has also worked cheerfully on the collective enterprises, are strengthened. The group that provided him with frequent joys with its traditional feasts and, with its mysterious legends, gave satisfaction to his intimate aspirations toward something that he does not understand, but feels will exist beyond the grave.

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

## FISHING

Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father [illegible] her. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*wekú*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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The relation of the men to the manioc cultivations is as follows. By working jointly in making a clearing the men are fulfilling, in part, a sib obligation. This is of minor importance, however, as compared with the specific obligations and the ensuing relationship between a man and a woman. No bond between a man and a woman is of greater importance and richer in sentiment than that set up by the making and cultivating of a manioc garden. Every garden plot defines a relationship between a specific man and a specific woman. A woman without a man can have no garden. A man without a woman has no clearing to make; he can have subordinate status only in another household. Each side gains status from the arrangement. The only firm bond is that between husband and wife. A widow has only a frail claim upon the labor of her brother, whose primary obligation is to his own household, where his wife keeps jealous watch over her own *chagra*; for a woman's pride is deeply involved in the size of her manioc clearing. The Cubeo regard the size of clearing as a sign of a husband's affection for his wife. A widow has a better claim upon an unmarried son. As we shall see, between unmarried brother and unmarried sister a semiconjugal relationship develops over the material holding of land.

We have spoken of a reciprocity in status involved in the manioc *chagra*. There is also a specific and related economic reciprocity. By making a clearing a man obligates his wife's production. The preparation of manioc cake is never spoken of as a wifely obligation, but chicha and farinha are. The point of economic reciprocity as it sometimes emerges in the course of conjugal quarrels is entirely one of status and not of so fundamental an issue as food. If we are to speak of male-female reciprocity on matters of food the issue is between the male flesh foods and the female cultivated foods. Although a man obligates his wife's labor for chicha and for farinha he evidently does not obligate all of it, for a woman will suddenly declare that she is cosponsoring a drinking party by a contribution of "her" manioc. Moreover, it is part of the status of a wife that she can freely contract part of her farinha production for personal objects, such as cloth and trinkets. If there is a formal principle governing this kind of connubial economic arrangement I did not learn what it is.

The point to emphasize with respect to manioc cultivations, then, is that the issue in possession of land is not simply that of subsistence. It would be unthinkable for a Cubeo to allow a sibmate, or phratry mate for that matter, to hunger if he had any food for him. When a solitary woman laments that her *chagra* is exhausted and no kinsman is moving to make another for her, the fear she voices is not that she

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use it, and, as the others do, he shares his catch with the community. 226
Weir sites are inherited by a son so that there is some tendency for 423
this specialty in fishing to descend in certain families and not in [428]
others.

In objects there are two main kinds of property rights, those of 421
the community and those of the individual. Community rights are in all objects made for public use by the headman or his wife, such as a large canoe, great chicha urns, the manior oven, the sugar cane press, and guest benches. Of a somewhat less public nature are ceremonial objects and musical instruments also made by the headman or by an aspirant to his office. The first group of objects are fully in the public domain and subject to constant use. The second group are in the possession of their maker and are brought out by him alone on the proper occasion. Full individual ownership resides in all other personal possessions: household utensils, canoes, weapons, trinkets and ornaments, all trade goods from Europeans, and items of clothing. Disposition of these objects is subject entirely to the discretion of the owner.

Infants also own property and their rights are more or less respected. 858
Sometimes a planting is set in an infant's name by the parent or 421
grandparent. A mother commonly dedicates a brood of chicks to her nursing child. The feeling is that, as with ornaments, possessions confer human status. That is, a person should own things. If the child is 858
old enough to understand possession it assumes charge, more or less, 421
otherwise its possessions are administered by its mother. I have nego- 593
tiated, for example, the purchase of chickens owned by children. In 123
one instance a mother prevailed upon her little boy to sell me a 425
chicken. After the sale was made, however, the child wailed miserably 867
so that I felt obliged to make him a gift of it. His mother kept the purchase price and announced that she owed the child the value of the chicken. When the child does not understand the transaction, its mother announces publicly the facts of ownership and her intentions to make restitution.

The attitude of the Cubeo toward personal possessions is best 421.
described as casual. They are not indifferent to objects but they regard strongly proprietary feelings as improper. Their attitude toward ownership is governed by the important status principle that giving is honorific. Among sibmates objects circulate freely, the closer the tie
between people the more active the exchanges. Sisters exchange orna- [602]
ments and trinkets and men borrow freely from one another with [593]
or without permission. They seem to be most free with objects of economic utility, such as a canoe, weapons, implements, and somewhat

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421 more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

421 On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

## INHERITANCE

241 423 Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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present them to her new husband on the principle that the economic balance of the household should be maintained.

## FOOD

Food passes among close kin and rarely goes outside the sib. The household is, of course, the primary food-sharing unit. Its members eat all informal meals together and up to a point where it becomes arrant discourtesy the members of a household are privileged to take all their meals separately. The maloca group, nevertheless, is the common body that shares the formal evening meal. The setup of the maloca is such that only small quantities of cooked food can be prepared over a household's hearthstones. Manioc cakes and large quantities of food call for the use of equipment that is the property of the maloca, having been presented to the maloca by the headman or by some aspirant to headmanship. No household, however, has to share food merely because it has been prepared on common equipment. The common equipment stands as a reminder that the maloca is indeed a single house occupied by a single family. People eat together because they are conceptually a single family. When members of a household are cross with others in the maloca they prefer to eat alone, for it seems absurd to the Cubeo to eat with someone with whom you are angry. Ordinarily, however, households breakfast alone; they may or may not have a midday bite with other households, and they will ordinarily take the evening meal, the major meal of the day, together. Unmarried girls eat with their parents; young men, however, enjoy the hospitality of each married brother's household. Independents, those members of the sib who are of the community but not of the same maloca, eat their ordinary meals separately and join the maloca for a gala feast, when there has been a great catch of fish, or when tapir or wild pig has been brought in. On such occasions a portion of the food may be sent to the Satellite communities, or the Satellites may be invited to come and take part.

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The following observed event illustrates some of the principles of distribution of game. Four hunters had shot and brought back four peccary, one animal each, as is customary. Three of the hunters were blood brothers, but of two different mothers, and the fourth was their father's brother. Among the brothers, two were unmarried. The youngest of the unmarried men presented his peccary to his mother, who singed it for him before he took it down to the river for butchering. The others made no formal presentation of their game but did their own singeing and proceeded to the river's edge to prepare their

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others. I doubt that any nonsharing goes unobserved and I expect 261
that the nonsharer is not too concerned with being unobserved. Often 183
enough, boys will quarrel about the distribution of food, but never 571
with a nonsharer. They sense the significance of the gesture and are 431
embarrassed by it, waiting for the delinquent to finish. He rejoins them and their play resumes as though nothing had happened. Elders will not correct nonsharing among children because they regard what the boys do in the play pack as a matter of no adult concern. I was never aware that the children themselves ever rebuked or punished a nonsharer in their midst. The nonsharer always received his portion. The play pack leader, who does not hesitate to censure a member for indecent sexual behavior, is comfortable in his role as a giver and will not censure a nongiver. He understands, to be sure, that nonsharing is a form of deliberate estrangement from the intimacies of the group, but he also knows that no headman will censure a household head who chooses to become an Independent or a Satellite. Similarly, the nonsharer may estrange himself from the play pack but the play pack will not ostracize him. Among the *Bahükiwa* the flagrant nonsharer was also the boy who ran away during the ancestral whipping rites. Every example of a case of nonsharing that came to my attention (five or six only) was that of a boy who had no father. Orphan boys are deprived of one of the more pleasurable in- [736]
timacies of receiving a portion of fish or game that a father brings
home. A man's son is the first to greet him when he beaches his canoe. [593]
He is given a fish or a bit of meat, which he prepares by broiling or baking and shares with his play pack. He has the status of a giver. The orphan child, in these circumstances, has the lower status of a receiver and is denied a food intimacy. The nonsharer acknowledges at the same time a status of subordination as well as of estrangement.

Among adults, nonsharing is more disturbing and more consequential. A man who does not share food eventually refuses to do his share of work. Such a person is called "one who does nothing." A [578]
household head who is angry or out of sorts will not join the sib meal but will gather his family around him at the household hearth for a private meal. A mood is respected and the incident passes with little notice. If it is repeated, it is assumed that the nonsharer will soon move out and become an Independent. Nonsharing does become a touchy issue when food is scarce. We were experiencing hungry days during the height of the rainy season, most meals consisting of manioc cake dipped in peppers, fortified occasionally with a minnow. One late afternoon a household head entered the maloca with a

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601
602 or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

593 The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother." Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

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593 Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

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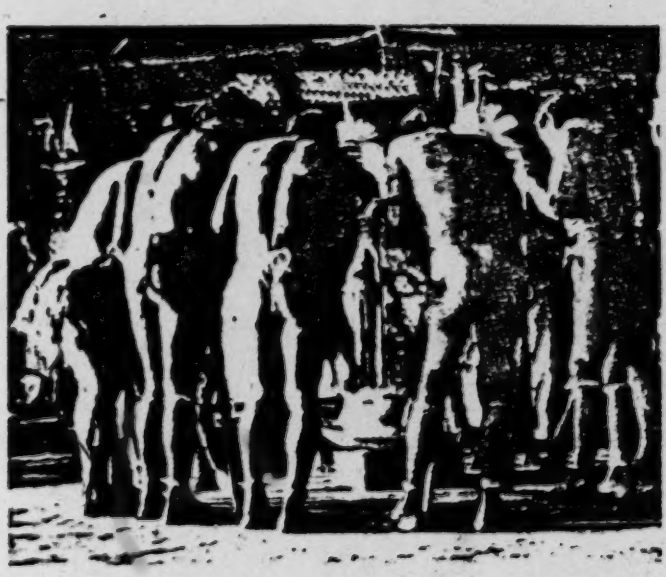

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

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593 riliny, the closest of all. On occasions uterine brothers form a common front from which brothers of the same father but of different mothers are excluded. A father expects his sons to stand by him and not by their mother, who is a sib outsider. Yet the simple fact that a woman keeps her own children close to her side, lavishing upon them all her attentions and affection, and ignoring, as much as she can afford, the other of her husband's children by other wives, creates a basis in sentiment for a maternal attachment that no amount of official sib doctrine can override. The attachment to the mother is recognizable in modes of behavior, such as intimacy or susceptibility to cleavage. Uterine brothers also quarrel and part, but they are unlikely to drift apart as readily as can mere agnatic brothers. However, kinship terms draw no distinction between uterine and agnatic brothers. A woman addresses all her husband's sons by the same term, just as her husband does.

593 601 The term for brother of the closest degree embraces lineage as well as blood brothers. Still, a distinction of sorts does enter into kinship usage, through a sister. A girl, as a mother's helper, has a very important role in looking after younger children of the household. Her first responsibility is to her uterine siblings. Like her mother she favors the boy child over the girl. In later years she still calls her younger uterine brother by the affectionate term *trumi*, while reserving the conventional term, *hiyokü*, for an agnatic younger brother. Women, however, take more liberties, generally, in the use of kin terms than do men. They are particularly free with terms that define nearness and intimacy. Thus, a sister's discrimination between uterine and agnatic brother may be regarded not as official usage but as a special female prerogative.

As to formal principles of kinship, the distinction between uterine [595] and agnatic brothers is of no great importance. Most marriages are monogamous and in most families there are no stepchildren. Headmen, however, are generally polygynous, and it is in their households 622 that the distinction assumes some importance. Since a headman's 593 household is a focal point of sib activity, whatever occurs within it 595 will affect the state of being within the sib and ultimately its unity. 614 Should a cleavage develop among brothers of different wives of the headman it could split the sib. Cleavages develop around rivalry for position. A headman's sons are inclined to model themselves after the father and to seek leadership of the community. Since the mantle of leadership will in any case fall upon one of them they are, in any case, virtually obligated to seek leadership. Thus it appears, paradoxically, that the line of cleavage in a sib tends to form at its very

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center in all respects, among the blood brothers, who are the sons of the headman, the very symbol and guardian of the unity of the sib. The Cubeo attribute the source of this "fault" in the sib to the unruly and passionate nature of women, that does not adapt itself readily to the requirements of the sib. The women are said to be at fault in having drawn their sons too closely to them and in having divided the sons of one wife from those of another. Men deplore this, yet they concede that it is in the nature of a woman to do so. Much of the formal and ceremonial relationship between men and women seems to be designed to overcome this feminine and maternal influence.

All sibling terms indicate relative seniority. If the terms refer to near siblings, that is, to siblings of the same sib, their seniority refers strictly to relative age. When sibling terms are used among members of different sibs in the phratry, then the forms of senior-junior indicate respect. An older person may then use the senior term in addressing a younger person. Men may use the senior term in referring to a member of a higher-ranking clan, or, apart from formal rank, to pay respect to a phratry mate who has been generous. Among the Cubeo, rank and seniority are marked by giving more than receiving. Thus, a generous and hospitable person can come to be an "older brother." Women pay respect to men by using the senior term – outside the sib – rather freely. It is a pleasing relationship for a woman to have an older brother and for a man to have a younger sister. When a woman addresses a man as "younger brother" she cannot help but endow the term with an almost maternal tenderness. She finds it more comfortable, one might say, to address a more distant sibmate as "older brother."

There is a more formal usage of terms of relative seniority that acknowledges the ranking of sibs. My information of these seniority usages, coming only from the *Bahúkiwa*, is therefore incomplete. According to the *Bahúkiwa*, all men of the head *Órabawa* sib who are of one's own generation are addressed as *mamũ*, the stem term for "older brother," while the reciprocal term that is applied to them by the *Órabawa* is *hwa*, the stem term for "youngster." In the case of the *Bahúkiwa* relations with three sibs of the phratry, the *Pedikwa*, the *Kenánikauwũ*, and the *Piardwa*, the women of the *Bahúkiwa* address the women of these three as *amikó*, the somewhat more distant form for "older sister," and are called in turn *hwainyó*, or "youngster." Though in the case of the *Órabawa* the seniority usage applies only to the men, in the latter case the usage applies only to the women. My informants could not account for the latter usages

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614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedikwa*
[554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiarí that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kendnikauwú* are a subsib of the *Pedikwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piardwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Olá-Piardwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahikiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior.
571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship
[622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac-
[857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come
[614] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves
[796] at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere-
[622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihí* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance,
562 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of cere-
796 mony women take precedence according to the order of precedence
[622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substi-
[593] tute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to
[614] the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial
[553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother.
561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring
584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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so an older brother is *amyóbakũ* (older brother-father) to his younger sister. He is her guardian. He may arrange her marriage, or offer her sexually to a friend, if she is willing. It is a special relationship in many respects. 593 561 [584] [836]

Seniority is of consequence only in the sibling generation. There is no concept of senior line and no recognition in terminology of descendants of older or younger siblings.

Apart from sex and seniority, Cubeo sibling terms also demarcate social distance. They differentiate, as already noted, three degrees of sibling closeness: lineage sibling, near phratry sibling, and distant phratry sibling. They do so, ingeniously, by the linguistic device of using a common root for sibling – this usage is only in the senior term, because only the senior term is important – indicating distance or closeness by the use of appropriate prefixes and suffixes. The root for senior sibling of either sex is *ami*. With the possessive prefix *hi* and the gender suffix *ko* or *kũ* (*himámiko*, *-kũ*) it connotes utmost closeness and is applied to older brother and sister of one's own family, including the extended joint family or lineage. Since sib and lineage may often be coextensive these terms are also sib-wide. The term *himámiko* (my older sister) does not apply to a mother's sister's daughter unless she happens to be – via brother-sister exchange marriage – a father's brother's daughter as well. The intimate usage, that is, must also correspond with coresidence. One's own sister, to be sure, does marry out, but in the meantime there has been a long period of coresidence. In any case, there is not the slightest tendency to slur over a nuclear kinship relationship. In the case of father's brother's daughter the intimate term applies only when she is still a coresident. After she has married she falls into the next more distant category. 601 193 601 [614]

The second range of kinship intimacy is the most widespread of all, including sib, subsib, and all close sibs within the phratry. It may even be applied to all members of the phratry of one's generation, in which case the third and most distant form of sibling terminology is reserved for those people whom one does not know well. The terms used in this second range are *amiyó* and *amikó*. The suffix *yo* conveys the meaning of "such as" or "one who is of the class of." It is also used in the term *bakũdyó* (father's brother) and means literally "one who is in the class of a father." In *amiyó* it means, therefore, "one who is in the class of an older brother." Strictly speaking, the suffix *yo* has no sex gender and if it were applied to a woman would constitute no major linguistic blunder. But since one's contacts are almost invariably with male siblings, the sisters normally at a distance, the [614] [615] 601 193

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term has apparently taken on a masculine meaning and *amikó* is used to specify the female. A term *amikû* does not exist to my knowledge. With the loss of the possessive prefix *hi* some of the intimacy has gone out of the term. Nevertheless, being diplomatic in their use of kinship terms, the Cubeo sometimes employ the form *himámiyo* and so give the term a warmer tone.

Finally, the most distant usage is to employ only the stem *mamû* ("older one") equally to male and female to connote the barest sibling relationship. I never heard this term used because, I suppose, the Cubeo find it too formal. Rather than call a person *mamû* they prefer the more cordial *pakomá* (kinsman). The special respect use of this term for men of the head sib has already been described.

The junior sibling term is rather unusual. I am inclined to regard it as a quasi-kinship term because it has equally a kinship and an age-grade connotation. *Hwainyó* means literally "one who is in the class of youths." Like *amiyó* it can refer to females, but *hwainkó* is the special term for a younger sib and phratry sister. Because it is an age-grade term, the kinship meaning of *hwainyó* is so wide that it has come to mean any person of sib or phratry who is younger either by relative age within one's generation or is of a younger generation. When it is used as the reciprocal for *amiyó*, as a respect term, it refers to one to whom one condescends somewhat as a donor or good Samaritan. It would seem that the Cubeo have developed only the senior term as a true kinship term and have given seniors the prerogative of addressing all their juniors, whether by age or status, simply as "youth." Nor is the term bound by phratry, since it is applied to all grandchildren (male or female) who are not of the lineage. *Hwainyó* also means son-in-law and any nephew or niece. *Hwainkó* is the daughter-in-law. *Hwankû* is a serviceable male form giving it somewhat greater intimacy and thus is limited generally to younger men of one's own sib or of closely related sibs. The abbreviated form *hwa*, a more jocular term, is also used.

## BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

Lineage brothers and sib brothers are joined by all the strong bonds of a localized patrilineal sib organization. The obligations of lineage brothers toward one another are very little less binding than those of blood brothers, and the obligations of sib brothers, while somewhat less binding, are still considered to be strong. But these brotherly ties are general and taken for granted, whereas the relationship between brother and sister, as indeed that between husband

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihí*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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• 593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

[244] [437] [273] [261] [592] [835] [836] [583]

593 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

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hand, the assigned sister can be counted on to act in her brother's behalf and to accept the exchange marriage. On the other, if his bride should leave him he believes that he can ask his sister to leave her husband so that accounts will be squared. This arrangement does not work perfectly, but it works well.

Not every young man has a sister assigned to him. The son of a headman who is in line for the succession has preference, as has a favored son, since it is the parents who play an important part in establishing this relationship. In the case of an apparent heir to the headmanship the assigned sister enhances his status in two ways. It makes him part of an adult status economic relationship in that he has a woman "working" for him and it smoothes the way for his marriage.

I could get no term for this rather specialized brother-sister relationship. Ordinary relationships between brother and sister lack the specific economic exchange features. Lacking the intensity of the paired relationship, the ordinary relationship is still charged with considerable emotion.

From the point of view of the sib, the brother-sister relationship may be considered as a source of holding women to the sib even after they have taken up residence in another sib. There is the curious expectation that a woman will some day come back to her own sib. She will do this as a widow or after a break in her marriage. When a young man is on his way to his "affinal" sib to bring back a wife his parents say to him, half in jest, "Try to make your sister come home." The symbolic act of marriage for the Cubeo is the drama of a "marriage by capture." The groom seizes the bride, who protests, and carries her forcibly to the beach and into his canoe. Her outcries bring her kinsmen on the run, who then try to prevent her "abduction" by cudgeling the groom. This dramatic enactment makes the point that the bride is unwilling to leave her sib and that her kin are determined not to let her go. It is a strong demonstration of attachment that soothes the feelings of the sib and particularly of the brother. It satisfies the sentiment that no one wishes to leave the sib.

The relationship between brother and sister may also be considered in the context of the sib origin myth which states that the founders of a sib were always a brother-sister pair who only later entered into exchange marriages. The tradition of the *Bahikiwa* sib that a woman re-established the sib after all her brothers had been killed by enemies illustrates still again the Cubeo sentiment that a woman really belongs to her sib. Thus a sib has a female ancestress as well as a male ancestor.

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## PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

593 604 [601] The Cubeo distinguish between father and father's brothers, but do not distinguish between mother and mother's sisters. The term *bakũdyó* means "like a father."[2] This distinction conveys rather precisely the actualities of the relationship. Relations between fathers and sons (the daughters are linked in household duties with the mother) are intimate, and one important sign of intimacy is the privilege that a youngster has of taking food from his father before it is brought into the maloca or into the individual household. Boys value this privilege enormously when they are preadolescent. Without a father a boy will be fed by his father's brother but will lack this privilege with food that he had with his own father. The relationship between paternal uncle and nephew is a strongly supportive one, but with restraint in it. A boy does not take or handle objects belonging to his father's brother without permission. With his father's possessions he has the same freedom as with the possessions of his sibmates of his own generation.

593 601 604 Parents and children share an exclusive set of kinship terms and thereby set themselves apart from the fraternal joint family. Even though mother and mother's sister are equated, a woman distinguishes, as does her husband, between her own and her sister's children. The equation of mother and mother's sister is normal clan usage in a classificatory system. Among the Cubeo, this equation is not related either to the sororate or to sororal polygyny. It would seem to correspond rather to the principle of generalizing relationships that are less important and differentiating very sharply relationships that are most important. With respect to the term for "mother," this is not to say that the actual relationship between children and mother lacks real importance, but only that from the point of view of patriliny of the sib the incoming females, such as mothers, are less important. Actually, the feeling for one's own mother is very strong, not only on the part of the daughters but on the part of the sons too. In a polygynous household the sons of the same mother share a close link with one another; and as we have

[587] [595] 593 [601] [595]

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[2] Koch-Grünberg, who stayed with a *Henénrwa* group at the mouth of the Cuduiari, reported that father and father's brother were equated, as were mother and father's sister (1909, II, 82). Since he did not use the genealogical method it is likely that he was in error with respect to both reported usages. The equation of mother with father's sister controvenes, of course, the patriliny of the sib. On the other hand, the grouping of father and father's brother is conceivable since the distinction between *bakũ* and *bakũdyó* is not great for the Cubeo. In calling attention to this difference of information I should add that the nature of the Cubeo tribe is such that variations in minor usages are perhaps to be expected.

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already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in behavior.

The father's sister is *panimó*, a term built on the root *pani*, which means "in-law." Although a woman of the sib, she rates as an in-law because her daughter is normally eligible as a cross-cousin marriage partner. *Panimó* also means "mother-in-law." There are no formal avoidances with a mother-in-law. Ordinarily, because of the rules of residence, a man sees little of his mother-in-law.

Mother's brother (*paniyó*) is a parallel relative to father's sister. He is father-in-law. There are no formal avoidances in this relationship. The important relationship is between a woman and her father-in-law. There is a good deal of restraint between these two. The father-in-law is her mentor on moral issues, and if she commits adultery he will often act in the matter before his son does. Reserve between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is eased after a time but never lapses. The Cubeo defend the unity of the sib by regarding the in-marrying women as permanent strangers. It is the father-in-law as a sib elder who is expected to enforce the separateness. Coupled with this reserve and, in a sense, counteracting it, is the fact that he calls her *hwainkó*. Reserve prevents sexual joking, licentious bodily contact, and other undue levity. It does not bar the father-in-law from beating his daughter-in-law. Father-in-law and son-in-law may refer to one another by the common term, *pani*. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there is only the reserve of unfamiliarity. But when a man does come with his wife to visit her parents he is warmly welcomed as a son and is drawn into all common activities. The visit of a daughter is so exciting an occasion for the Cubeo that the son-in-law is readily tempted in the aura of warmth and good cheer to prolong his stay.

The terms that siblings apply to one another's children are only partially based on considerations of the marriage possibilities between their young. Primarily, the children of siblings are regarded as "youngsters." As juniors they merit generalized terms. Thus, the common terms for nephew and niece within the sib are respectively *hwainyó* and *hwainkó*. The son of a sibling of opposite sex is *pani* — an in-law — but the daughter is not. She enters the household as *hwainkó*. Again we notice the neutral character of the term. *Hwainkó* is not a term of the sib necessarily. The point is, rather, that it is not

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614 a term that connotes out-of-the-sib, as does *pani*. Thus, Cubeo usage
[601] with respect to daughter-in-law points up again the strength of their feelings about membership in the common residence group.

The problematical relatives are the mother's sister's children. There is no problem if they are also father's brother's children, or if they have been born within one phratry. But since mother's sisters
[615] marry into other phratries or into other tribes, their children are in effect strangers who belong to their paternal sib or tribe. They are
[582] not included in the kinship system, they are lost sight of, and such parallel cousins one may marry since they do not belong to the phratry.

## GRANDPARENT - GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP

603 The two grandparent terms, *nyéko* (*kũ*) and *nyekundjó*, refer to
601 all kin of the generation of grandparents and beyond, irrespective
614 of sib or phratry affiliation. Correspondingly, their reciprocals
615 (*panaihinkũ*, *-ko* and *hipanimekũ*, *-ko*) do not differentiate between a child of the sib or phratry and a child outside the sib or phratry. The grandchild terms are all formed of the *pani* stem from which affinal terms are constructed. *Panaihinkũ* means "my very little in-law," and *hipanimekũ* means "of my in-law line." The ignoring of sib lines for grandparents seems to follow from the simple fact that at this generation level exogamy is not an issue.

603 I could get no explanation from the Cubeo as to why the grand-
601 child should be classed with the affinal line. It may result from the Cubeo interpretation of cross-cousin marriage. Brother and sister
[593] negotiate for the marriage to one another of their children and so
[584] would be inclined to regard the offspring of that marriage as a con-
[614] tribution from the affinal line to the sib. Often enough, however, I have encountered the use of the descriptive terms such as *himdkũ-makũ* (my son's son) to distinguish between a lineal descendant of the sib and other grandchildren.

601 Elders of a distant sib of the phratry may be addressed and referred
[614] to as "grandparent" even if of one's own generation. Their children consequently are called "father" or "mother." In these usages the
[615] reciprocal is always *hwainyó* or *hwainkó* and never a specific "child" or "grandchild" term. Among the Tucano, Fulop (1955) has noted that one of the sibs of a phratry is the "grandparent" to all the others so that all persons of one's own generation in that sib are "grandparents." If this is also the case among the Cubeo of the Cuduiari then the fact must have escaped my notice. This usage of grandparent

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This usage of grandparent terms is different from the seniority respect usages previously discussed, because "older sibling" among the Cubeo has a formal connotation of respect, whereas the grandparent term is a genial one as in English. 601 561

## CROSS-COUSINS

Cross-cousins of the same sex often have a relationship that is formed by the fact that they have been principals in a brother-sister exchange marriage. Since their parents, who were siblings of the opposite sex, were also principals in arranging such a marriage, they have shared in some of the intimacy of relationship between these two. Cross-cousins of the same sex have, of course, little contact with one another, but having so much in common, their relationship tends to be a warm one. It is a curious relationship, in that it also has in it a latent threat of trouble, trouble that arises from marital discord. As already noted, one of the expectations of a brother-sister exchange marriage from the male viewpoint is that if his wife leaves him he can get his sister to leave her husband in retaliation. He believes that he can apply pressure upon his cross-cousin brother-in-law to send back the runaway wife or face the breakup of his own marriage. Thus, what begins as a family squabble in one community may embroil a happy marriage in the affinal community. The expectation that a woman will leave her husband only because her brother wants her to is in practice a vain hope, unless he has the cooperation of his male cross-cousin brother-in-law, who urges the woman, his sister, to return to her husband. 605 605 586 593

Cross-cousins of opposite sex refer to one another as *hitcimako* or *hitcimakü*, the possessive prefix connoting closeness. By contrast, *tcimá* has the connotation of distance. The relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex is governed by the customs of courtship and is, therefore, an individual matter. 605 [601] [193]

## THE AFFINAL GROUP

Among affinals there are two principal relationships. The most important is that between parents and children-in-law, the *pani* relationship. This relationship is both consanguineal and affinal since it includes the children of siblings of opposite sex and reciprocally the cross aunt and uncle. The Cubeo draw no distinction, incidentally, between parents and their children-in-law who are of the consanguineal kin and those who may be complete strangers. The emphasis in 606

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*mana* (my in-law group). These generalized terms are most appropriate in referring to members of a phratry into which one has married. They have a connotation of a claim to hospitality and of expectation of further intermarriage. Of this group of terms there is also *hikódjumu*, that is used reciprocally between men – sister's husband and wife's brother as well as sister's husband's brothers and brother's wife's brothers. Across the sexes women call their sister's husband's brothers as well as their husband's brothers *hikápenámu* and are called by these men *hikápenamo*. Women call their husband's sisters *hiwemu* and are called by them *dyáko*. *Dya* is a very general term that may be applied reciprocally between any actual in-laws of the same generation. Finally, I have an alternate term for spouse's siblings, *hihówükimana*, and the term *kibü* for brother's son's wife. What may be observed about the affinal terms in own generation is that affinals are generally not confused with cross-cousins. As we have noted, the *trimá* usage, which has the connotation of "sweetheart" for the Cubeo, is entirely inappropriate when one of them has married. Should a man be courting his brother's wife's sister, who is his cross-cousin, she is his *trimá*, or rather *hitcimako*. If not, courtesy calls for the use of the affinal terms.

## ORPHANS AND STEPCHILDREN

The treatment of orphans and stepchildren underscores the importance of the actual blood tie for the Cubeo. Parents lavish affection only on their own children. While a woman is obligated to look after all her husband's children, this need mean nothing more than that she feed them. That she will favor her own children and neglect or treat the others harshly is more or less expected. A man does not expect his second wife to accept as her own his children by another wife. A girl with a stepmother has a more difficult time than a boy, since women generally favor their sons and are harsh with daughters. The mother is her daughter's disciplinarian in household work. Her son is the little lord of the household, his sister its slavey. Stepdaughters are set the most burdensome tasks while own daughters are then freer to play. Own daughters then make common cause with their mother at the stepdaughter's expense. Since the father does not mix in the female side of the household he can do little to improve his daughter's lot with her stepmother.

A boy with a stepmother is less underprivileged. His is the male prerogative of being looked after by a woman, his mother or his sisters. He has his male play pack for companionship and can look

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to his father for personal attention. On the whole, a child is at a greater disadvantage if it has lost a parent of its own sex, that is, a girl with a stepmother, a boy with a stepfather. A girl with a stepmother has a hard life of chores and of open neglect. A boy with a stepfather does not have a hard life at all in the material sense. He is deprived more subtly of intimacy with a paternal figure, and this usually shows itself in his own reserve with respect to his fellows. If he has no father at all the effect upon his personality is even more marked.

593 736 [597] My direct acquaintance with the situation of a true orphan is limited to the observation of one case among the *Bahùkiwa*. This was a girl from another tribe who had lost both parents and was adopted by the *Bahùkiwa* headman as his "daughter." The little girl, about nine, was addressed as "daughter" but held the status in the household of a servant. She took on the heaviest chores and was almost never free to play. Her lowly status was truly stigmatized by [301] her lack of possessions. She was the only child among the Cubeo whom I had ever seen unadorned, until I gave her a necklace which [123] she was allowed to keep. The children of the household enjoyed beating her as a way of teasing her, rather than wickedly. She took their pinchings and cuffings good-naturedly, on the whole, and had learned to pretend not to notice. Once, in the presence of the headman, her "father," the children were overdoing their teasing. She looked imploringly at the headman. Finally, she caught his eye and he said to her, "It is all right for you to run away." He saw no need to reprimand his own children.

[114] In reading Giacone (1949) on the Tucano tribe I found my observations on orphans corroborated. He, too, reported that orphans do not lack food but that they appear to be melancholy.

## CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP

572 193 A parallel to the brother-sister relationship is the *hikū-hiko* relationship, a ceremonial friendship. These terms, formed by combining the possessive prefix with the gender suffix, connote a relationship of exceptional closeness. The linguistic significance of possessive prefix and gender suffix for kinship terms has already been brought out. The curious feature of *hikū* and *hiko* is that these terms are composed of the two intimate-indicating particles.[8] The ceremonial

[8] *Hi* is also the verb stem "to give," but if *hikū* were translated as "giver"—a feasible rendering—it should be possible to say *hihikū*. But this form does not exist.

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There is a strong preference for taking a wife from the same sib from which one's mother has come. This establishes a pattern of cross-cousin marriage and creates a very close bond between the maternal and paternal sibs. The *Bahúkiwa*, for example, are closely intermarried with the *Byóiwa*[1] and the relations between these two sibs accordingly are cordial, even warm, in contrast to the stiff relationships that generally prevail between sibs of opposite phratries. Preferential marriage into the mother's sib arises naturally from the strong bonds of affection and of formal relationship between brother and sister. The principal way in which brother and sister maintain their ties even after marriage has separated them is by arranging for the marriage of their children to one another. We have seen that the grandchild is called a "little affinal," a designation that I have taken to mean that a man, having arranged for his son to marry his sister's daughter, regards the offspring as a contribution by the affinal sib to his own. He has the satisfaction of regarding his sister as responsible for this. She has succeeded in getting something from the "other" sib over to his sib. In this way, exchange, which is the greatest of human binders, is kept active.

From the point of view of the boy, marriage with a father's sister's daughter also seems most natural and certainly convenient. Having had virtually no opportunities for courtship, he does not know where to go for a bride. His father suggests that he visit his aunt in his mother's sib and his mother is delighted that her son will visit her kin. There is no more desirable guest than a boy who is visiting both his father's sister and his mother's kin. The warmth with which he is received should put even the shyest boy at ease. There are, to be sure, other opportunities for finding a bride, but by and large even the most aggressive young men still prefer to go to a community where the way has been smoothed for them. Since Indians travel mainly to visit kinfolk they are more or less bound to marry a woman from a sib from which, if not the mother, then a brother's wife has been taken.

Work in the rubber forests has broadened opportunities for marriage because men from different tribes are brought together and form friendships that allow them to visit one another and to exchange sisters. But even with these opportunities the preference for marriage into the mother's sib is still strong. A boy's parents will have opened the negotiations for him. There is no formal betrothal, but there is a kind of understanding that a particular marriage will

[1] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* marriages at the end of this chapter.

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beat her "abductor" with sticks or with their bare hands. His own companions aid him, and if the girl is willing, they get to the canoe landing with no serious damage. This display of ceremonial violence satisfies two Cubeo doctrines, one that affinal sibs are "hostile" and the other that a woman will not leave her sib by her own volition but must be torn from it by brute force. There is also a third notion, namely, that a man be strong enough to capture a bride. I heard many accounts, perhaps apocryphal, of fainthearted striplings who could not bring home a bride. Such stories are often told to tease young bride seekers.

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Father Giacone (1949, p. 21), who studied the Tucano tribe, reported no courtship and no marriage ceremony but did note forcible seizure of the bride. Father Giacone's information does suggest some variation in practice among the Tucano. There, the bride is not seized by the groom but by the groom's father, who has been accompanied by some men. They pretend they have come to purchase a canoe. In the midst of their visit for this purpose they carry off the girl and bring her home, unmolested, to the waiting groom. Often, he notes, this is the first time they have met. The girl is timid and retiring, he reports, and the women undertake to cheer her up by inviting her to accompany them on their labors. When the bride begins to work with satisfaction at all her tasks the marriage is considered settled. Some weeks later her parents come to reclaim her and the groom hides her. Her parents are given presents if she is unwilling to return home. At a later visit they repay with gifts of their own.

In general, Tucano and Cubeo marriage practices are alike; the most striking difference is in the fetching home of the bride. Cubeo notions of manhood would be offended at the notion that the father should bring a bride home for his son.

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Among the Cubeo, the early stages of marriage are almost invariably difficult for the young couple. They are barely acquainted and the husband is expected to show his wife only the barest semblance of affection so as not to interfere with his mother, whose role it is to assimilate the young bride into her household as a replacement for the "lost daughter." The bride enters her mother-in-law's service, working with her in the manioc garden and in the preparation of manioc. Doing all the chores that she has done as an unmarried girl in her own community but under a strange woman, she is understandably disappointed, even though she is received very warmly. She is immediately locked in a conflict with her mother-in-law for her freedom. The issue is the manioc garden. A woman wants her daughter-in-law to help her in her garden and the daughter-in-law,

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585 593 606 knowing that her full status as a married woman begins with her having her own garden, must get her husband to get her out of her mother-in-law's household. He, however, knows his mother's will and is also aware that the men of the sib are watching him to see if he will be strong enough to stand up against his wife, the "alien" to the sib.

585 586 593 614 If the stalemate continues too long the young wife has the means to break it. She runs away. It is a married woman's privilege to run away at any time during her marriage. Her husband will pursue her, but she has many sanctuaries. She can get back to her own community, where she is safe and has the certainty that she will not be yielded up to a pursuing husband and that he has no claim against her parents. The common view is that if a man is not strong enough to hold a wife that is his misfortune. A runaway wife may find sanctuary in any sib, even in one that is closely related to that of her husband. A neighboring sib is only a temporary stopover for a runaway wife. It provides a more neutral atmosphere, however, in which she and her pursuing husband can discuss the reasons why she has run away. It is young brides who most frequently run off. Occasionally a girl is seriously determined to leave her husband and she will then most certainly find her way home, even if she has to go afoot all the way. Ordinarily she expects her husband to intercept her. When he brings her back the headman will say to him, "Take charge of your wife," [837] and the husband will proceed to prepare a manioc garden for his wife. Some young wives provoke a crisis by seducing the husband's brother and allowing the community to find out. Again the headman will say, "Take charge of your wife."

585 586 593 614 182 These crises are so common in the early stages of marriage that I am inclined to regard them as quasi-ritual, and as part of a prolonged marriage ceremony at the end of which the wife achieves her proper status as controller of an autonomous zone, her manioc garden, and as female head of household. The act of running away suggests a counterpart to the initial act of "abduction." Both acts acknowledge the unruly role of the alien woman and emphasize the power of the man in restoring order. The man who brings his runaway wife back has scored a victory in the eyes of his sib. This victory absolves him from the onus of seeming to "give in" to the demands of his wife. But if the act of bringing back a runaway wife is a bit of ritual, it must also be stated that it is not devoid of spontaneous and rich human emotion.

595 Monogamy is the rule and is consistent with the preference for exchange marriage. Polygyny and polyandry, however, are not barred.

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Plural marriages are uncommon only because they are not convenient. 595
Polygyny is usually limited to the headman. Two wives (I never heard 622
of any man having more than two wives at the same time) are regarded as suitable for a headman, first because he has the personal qualities to sustain a complex household and second because the maloca will be more orderly if two women are responsible for looking after it. A headman's prospects for getting two wives are enhanced somewhat, since he will almost certainly have had a sister assigned to him as an exchange for his first wife, and his prestige and perhaps affluence will help him get a wife through bride price alone. Brother-sister exchange is preferred, to be sure, but circumstances are such that an enterprising man will find many other ways of getting an additional wife from among widows, divorcées, and orphan children. He will not, however, marry a woman, either widow or divorcée, who has been brought to his community as a wife by a sibmate. A man may well have a surplus sister. These opportunities are available to all men, but it is the headman who is most likely to seize upon them. Koch-Grünberg, noting the common occurrence of polygyny along [114] the Vaupés, commented that plural marriages were harmonious. From what I observed and from what I heard I have a very different impression. Polygynous households are rather turbulent.

If a man has two wives, he must prepare two clearings and set each 595
up in her own household. Even so, my informants told me, the wives quarrel and bear tales against one another to the husband, accusing one another of laziness. The first wife taunts her colleague as being a mere second wife. The second retorts that she would not have been chosen if the husband had really cared for the first wife. Since men take it for granted that women are an unruly element they expect wives to quarrel. A headman, however, should be able to manage [622] them, it is believed.

One man told me that after he had married his present wife he 593
was offered a girl for bride price alone – a shotgun and cloth – and 595
so for three years he maintained a polygynous household. He then [583] decided that it would not work. At first the new wife refused to garden and urged him to come and live at her sib. They did this for a time and he left his first wife at home with their children. After a year he returned with the second wife. He made a large clearing and divided it into two parts, assigning each to one wife. His first wife, he said, cultivated her part but the second did nothing and just sat about the house. One day she departed and he did not chase her. He claimed that he did not understand why she had left since he had not forced her to do anything she did not wish to do.

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The *Bahúkiwa* headman also had had two wives. In his case the second and younger wife succeeded in displacing the older woman. The younger woman insisted that her husband give up sexual relations with his first wife. She bothered him so much that he yielded and told his first wife to leave him. She refused, insisting that she would stay on with her children. An old woman now, she has a grandmother role. A son not yet married has provided her with a small manioc garden. Her relations with the headman and her successor are cool but not unpleasant. That women regard polygyny as contrary to their interests is further indicated by the fact that they are reputed to possess an herb (*pedidya*) which, mixed into a husband's porridge, causes him to lose interest in acquiring a second wife.

Polyandry is rare. I knew of only one case, a man who took his brother into his ménage because the man had been unable to get a wife on his own. This occurred in a small Satellite community and seems to have been an accommodation to what might otherwise have been a troublesome situation of adultery. The woman fed both men and was a sexual partner of the junior husband only when her first husband was away.

Common marital difficulties have their counterpart in Cubeo folklore, as these tales reveal. *Kúwai* the culture hero and his two brothers shared the same woman. When one brother was away fishing or hunting, the other two took turns copulating with her. *Kúwai* plotted to get rid of his brothers so that he would have exclusive possession of her. They were then living at Urania on the Vaupés by a lake called *Marúkuwari* [Lake of the marúku monkey]. In this lake grew a great miriti palm. *Kúwai* asked his brothers to climb the tree to fetch a ball of miriti to make a hammock. Both brothers climbed the tree, after warning *Kúwai* not to start anything. As they climbed, *Kúwai* caused the tree to grow higher and higher and the lake to grow wider. When they reached the top, *Kúwai* cut down the tree. Then a great wind blew up and swept the men and the tree away. One brother was blown to the Cuduiari, where he formed the river. The other was blown to the Querari, where he formed the other river. As each man fell, his legs formed the mouth of the river, his outstretched arms two creeks, and his head a whirlpool. *Kúwai* then returned to his wife, who was now living alone. Later *Kúwai*, walking in the forest, passed a *wahókakũ* tree. Each time he passed it, it made a sucking sound at him. This happened day after day. Then it seemed to *Kúwai* that the tree was human, so he cut it down and carved a woman out of its trunk. *Konéko*, a bird, came and opened up the woman's vagina. The

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539 woman was very pretty and *Kúwai* was happy. He named her "Carved Woman." He took her home as his wife and drove out the other woman. *Mamûwũ* came along and asked *Kúwai*, "Are you living alone?" *Kúwai* told him what had happened. This made *Mamûwũ* angry and he took "Carved Woman" away from *Kúwai*. Now *Kúwai* lived alone and went about looking for another wife. He sat upon the branch of a tree and wept. Then along came Otter. He asked *Kúwai* why he was weeping. *Kúwai* told him that *Mamûwũ* had taken away his wife. Otter then told *Kúwai* where his wife was living. He led *Kúwai* to a beautifully painted house that was under the river. There *Kúwai* saw his wife. He seized her and fetched her home to Urania. One day *Kúwai* saw an angry *Mamûwu* come after him. In fright *Kúwai* leaped up and fled. He never returned. He is now living at Carurũ on the Vaupés without a wife.

In another version *Kúwai* cut down a tree and carved it into the form of a woman. He brought it to his grandmother and asked her to make all the body parts that belong to a woman. He returned to find that his grandmother had completed a beautiful woman. This woman did not know where she had come from. She went to the river to fetch water. An anaconda came by and copulated with her. Each day when she went for water the anaconda came and they copulated. *Kúwai* noticed this. One day he watched, and when his wife and the anaconda were copulating, *Kúwai* blew a dart from his blowgun very high into the air. It came down with great force, struck the anaconda in the back, and killed him. *Kúwai* seized the anaconda and cut off his penis. He transformed it into four minnows which he gave to his wife to eat. As she ate the minnows, *Kúwai* told her she was eating the penis of her lover. The woman spit out the food and went to the river to look for her lover, but he did not appear. *Kúwai* then threw his wife away and she became a tree again.

In a third version the saddened wife, awaiting the return of her anaconda lover at the river, was disappointed when only a little anaconda "as thin as a string" appeared to tell her that her lover was dead.

[581] It is perhaps indicative of Cubeo attitudes on marital stability that *Kúwai* is depicted as ultimately unsuccessful in marriage, and, disillusioned with the faithlessness of woman, retires to live in solitude on a nearby hilltop.

593 601 The terms for spouse, *himanípako* (wife) and *himanípakũ* (husband), denote the important emphasis in marriage. These terms mean literally "my children's mother" and "my children's father." Before children are born husband and wife address one another simply with the common expression hápyako (listen!).

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the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patriloral sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

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derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. [684]
However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault.

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when [593]
his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. [578]
This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a [763]
monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. [825]
In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, [625]
however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer [697]
and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is 682
no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The 593
only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, [266]
crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as [762]
he then cut his throat and died.

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old 683
*Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves 685
pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihi*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihi* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft [276]
is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act believed to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press anything, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahú* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahúmikũ* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amíndone híno*: giving a name) is conducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather repeatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihí*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urúhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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not yet joined the male play pack. By the time he is old enough for active play he has been well weaned from dependence upon the mother. In the case of a girl, this "dead" interval is one in which she waits to be useful to her mother. I saw no temper tantrums. Children of this age seem rather passive and steadfastly attached to the little sister.

For the boy, growth means a gain in autonomy, for the girl it means closer ties to the mother but with ever increased chores. The boy is the favorite of his mother; the girl, who is to become a drudge, receives more severe attention from a disciplinarian mother. [562]

What I have called the play pack, the grouping of boys from the age of six to past adolescence, is the major educational institution of the sib. It is in a sense an age grade whose members remain closely associated throughout their lives in most cases. The distinctive feature of the Cubeo play pack is that it is an autonomous body subject to virtually no regulation or supervision. A boy occasionally joins his father, but his primary linkage is to the "pack." The pack forms its own leadership, forages for food, plays in the river, roams the bush, attaches itself from time to time to the collective activities of the men, practices songs and dances in anticipation of ceremonies, and spies and reports on lovers. The pack leader assumes responsibility for proper behavior, scolding boys for wayward sexual behavior, that is, breaching the incest rules, and lending assistance and encouragement with skills. The boys are never mischievous and are never scolded or disciplined by adults. A youngster does not actually understand anger directed against him. Only once did I see a father strike his young son in a fit of temper. The boy neither flinched nor cowered. He merely stared at his father as though waiting for an explanation. The man rapidly regained his poise, laughed, and pretended he had struck the boy playfully. On another occasion, a little girl tipped over a large tray of manioc mash so that it was totally spoiled. Although the accident cost hours of work it provoked only amused laughter. One might add here that even the depredations of a pet monkey, some of which were quite costly, were met only with amusement. 857 [614] [593] [231]

The pack is not sealed off from adult activities, but its relationship to adult work is voluntary. The Cubeo distinguish sharply between play that is appropriate to young boys and work and ceremonial life that is appropriate to adult males. Thus, whatever work the play pack chooses to help with is welcomed, but when the boys become bored with a task and leave it there is no ground for complaint against them. The young unmarried men who have left the

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888 as well. The fixed relationships of mutual obligation are, as has been
[593] seen, between husband and wife, between parents and dependent
[571] children, between unmarried brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends. These relationships either do not apply to the aged, or, if they do, they may not be of great value to them. Generally speaking, the aged can depend upon those who are younger and vigorous only for the generalized sib benefits of sustenance and companionship. The deprivation of the aged is in what one might mistakenly call "the nonessentials." There is no one to buy an old lady a new petticoat or to get for an old man commercial tobacco. The aged do not protest such neglect because they acknowledge their lack
888 of claim. Nonetheless, they feel their neglect and loss of status keenly
123 enough. When I was among the *Bahúkiwa*, an aged lady employed all her senile charms to wheedle from me a new petticoat. Her husband, a very proud old man, deigned to accept only an occasional cigarette. From time to time he brought me fish and the old lady fetched me some of her small garden produce to reciprocate my favors.

888 The old must look after themselves. The very old *Bahúkiwa* couple maintained a semblance of an independent household. The old woman, unable to carry a load of manioc, no longer gardened, but she fetched firewood and looked after children. She cooked for her husband. Her daughter-in-law provided her with manioc cake. The old man was still a good fisherman, contributing to the maloca. Besides, he was a consultant on many matters, particularly on trees to be used in manufactures.

[181] The focus of Cubeo culture is upon the vigorous household heads.
[769] The aged simply fall out of things. They are entitled to no particular respect, nor have they cause to be feared as spirits-to-be, for the Cubeo are interested only in their first ancestors and not in the spirits of the more recent dead.

## DEATH

761 Death may be attributed by the Cubeo to natural causes such as
[754] accidents, violence, old age, but if it is the result of illness, it must be laid to some agency that has willed it. The most common agency
763 is human. Whether the agency is human or supernatural the reaction to death is patterned on grief, anger, and fear. The Cubeo reaction to death is to give full rein to grief and anger and to short-circuit as quickly as possible the forebodings that what has happened to one may happen to all. The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were

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shout *hi i i i* and are answered by the audience. The men start dancing alone and finish dancing alone. Dancers of the host sib begin their dance in the house and may sally out onto the plaza, an extension of the house, and then dance back in. Guests, on the other hand, begin their dance formation on the plaza, move into the house, and conclude on the plaza.

The Cubeo regard women as disruptive elements at a drinking party. They have cause to do so, since it is the women who are encouraged by the character of the dancing to make the overtures of flirtatiousness. Women choose their partners and men maintain an air of innocence. A woman's sexual forwardness goes beyond that. Young girls and many married women wear love charms in their hair at a drinking party. This is nothing more than a colorful blossom that declares that a woman would like to attract the interest of a man. The Indians themselves are not quite sure whether the blossom, which they call *chondú* (*pedidya* in Cubeo) has inherent qualities as a love charm – a serious woman has truly powerful love charms that she uses secretly – or is merely provocative symbolically. In any case a man cannot be blamed if *chondú* provokes him. The use of *chondú* adds intensity to the atmosphere of a drinking party as effectively as do chicha, coca, tobacco, *mihí*, and dancing. Whether or not *chondú* is an official ingredient it is hard to say. The men speak of it as a feminine provocation. Yet if one looks at the drinking party in its inevitable progression from calm to frenzy it seems that, whether it is an official ingredient or not, it fits. Just as the counterpoint of male and female is part of everyday community life, so the more intensely experienced counterpoint of male and female is exploited for its frenzy-producing quality.

A married woman should not wear *chondú*, but a man cannot stop his wife from displaying her interest in other men. He then excuses her by saying she does it only to look pretty and keeps a wary eye on his brother sib and phratry mates. For the unmarried girls *chondú* is formal wear, even though the only man whose eye it might catch is likely to be a sister's husband or a forbidden phratry mate. Curiously, unmarried girls are often even more provocative by not wearing *chondú*. This is arrogance that says, "I am not interested in the men here." A married woman may wear *chondú* only to tease her husband in a lighthearted way. Understanding this he is even delighted. She may do so, on the other hand, to irritate him. The rule of sober everyday life is to avoid quarrels and issues. The drinking party roils up feelings to the point where what has been latent erupts forcefully into the open. If emotional catharsis is a "function"

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themselves with an exchange of vituperation. Brothers will defend one another, as well as sibmates, so that a quarrel is difficult to isolate. The men listen to the vituperation and, far from regarding what is said as meaningless drunken chatter, draw implications that may involve them. What began as a quarrel between only two men over one man's wife can become a maloca-wide brawl. Then the sibs taunt one another, each reviling the other's weaknesses and calling attention to its own strength. It may all come to nothing. A diplomatic elder calms tempers; the headmen remember their obligations to preserve the peace at drinking parties. Some disputants have enough sense of humor to laugh. It can all blow over quickly and will then have served as another way in which feelings are lightened, provided the sinister specter of sorcery has not been drawn in.

The following is an example of a quarrel at a drinking party. A man began to beat his wife because she was dancing too often with the same man. The latter remonstrated and soon he and the angry husband came to blows. The bystanders remarked that the husband's jealousy was unwarranted. Encouraged by these remarks, the woman's father got angry and attacked his son-in-law with his fists. The son-in-law did not defend himself, whereupon the old man calmed down and proceeded to explain to those present that his daughter's conduct was altogether proper. At this point the wife became enraged, and flinging herself upon her now pacified husband, pummeled him soundly on the back with her fists. Since he did not strike back her fury subsided and this incident blew over.

However, another young man who had been witnessing this violent flurry began in a tearful voice to inform his audience that his wife was having an affair with a phratry mate of his. He named the woman's lover, who was present, but for the moment said nothing. The accused's father, however, jumped quickly to his son's defense, shouting that the charges against his son were false. The jealous husband turned upon the old man and shouted at him angrily, "You are already an old man. It is time you were dead!" At this, the accused man rushed forward, livid with fury. In a hoarse voice he shouted to the assembly, "Did you hear? He is planning to kill my father." But the jealous husband was already beyond calming down. Instead he shouted back that the sib of the accused adulterer was weak and few in numbers, whereas his own sib was strong. With these ominous remarks this incident closed, for the time being. All felt that the outraged husband had gone too far. No further remarks

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a *zone* of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband.

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack.

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart.

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their

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121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-
[428] complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

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what it was yesterday. Moreover, the concept of homeostasis, like that 121
of pattern, is a theory of society. As a theory it rests upon further 571
theoretical assumptions as to what are the significant relationships, what are the normal patterns, and what are the disharmonious and stressful interactions. In the final analysis, a theory of homeostasis deals primarily with the ways in which a society handles conflicts and stresses. From a broad perspective, one can say that Cubeo society depends rather heavily upon what might be called "mood management" for equilibrium. Its homeostasis rests a good deal less upon networks of reciprocal obligations and upon formal exchanges of goods than, let us say, in Melanesian societies. The clearest illustra- 121
tion of this Cubeo equilibrium principle is in the role of the head- 571
man. In Cubeo culture he is not an economic redistributor (the 622
drinking parties cannot be regarded as an economic exchange) but a regulator of community sentiment and of good feeling. However, the nature of Cubeo equilibrium is best considered at each particular level of social integration.

Cubeo society may be presented diagrammatically as encompassing 571
five orbits of relationship, arranged in order of progressively weaker 61
bonds of unity. The innermost orbit is represented by the male sib- 602
lings, the nucleus of the sib; the second orbit is the sib itself; the third orbit is the phratry; the fourth, the affinal kin; and the fifth and outermost, the tribe. The brother-sister relationships and the hus- [593]
band-wife relationships may be regarded as within the confines of the first and second orbits.

Each orbit has its own characteristics of equilibrium. To take them 571
in reverse order: Tribal unity is so tenuous that fragmentation into 619
subtribal units is of little consequence. New combinations are readily formed and whatever disturbance this may cause is very temporary. Tribal continuity rests upon tradition and common language and customs, on the one hand, and upon the phratric organization, of which it is a summation, on the other. With respect to tribe, the question of equilibrium is more pertinently not what holds the tribe together, but rather what there is to disperse it. Tradition and common customs and language are little more than bonds of inertia. Once set, they hold unless some stronger force intervenes. Against what counterforces are the relatively weak bonds of tradition to contend? The answer is that there are no such counterforces arising from within the society, since tribal unity has no tasks to accomplish that could involve stresses and strains. Paradoxically, the very absence of a tribal leadership is a source of unity. By virtue of the linkage-

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571 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 606 607 593 [583] [616] [582] [614] Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geographic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 615 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest. 571 614 578 [615] [754] Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

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571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
[578] Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a com-
[182] plex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen to-
[857] gether. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken – and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the preva-
578 lence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordi-
831 narily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship?
837 Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
[562] discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensi-
578 fied and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

571 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
837 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
● 593 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
[562] acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
[554] status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

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Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry
the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. 571
The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict 578
that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pa- 614
thology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized 154
and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly resentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these standards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a 571
more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its 614
natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in 578
Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indicated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the (622)
prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punish- (627)
ments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the difficulty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The (626)
function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, composed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by draining away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse senti- (622)
ment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood 571
brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. 614
The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. Yet 593
this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is 621
spotted with social "ions," free-floating men who, with their wives

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571 614 593 621 and children, circulate from community to community attaching themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual autonomy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low tolerance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

121 571 Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalancing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest suggestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance. On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

121 174 The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural. It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cubeo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honorific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further social and political development. Though the phratric organization is largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through political and economic means. Some of the potential political means are already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolution, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of patterns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of

[619] [615] [614] [615] [648]

# 4

# *The Forest Addicts*

The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the earplug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run; whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undisturbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little. When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love, and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people, once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

191 area].) "Semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) based on a partial knowledge of a language that is closely related to one already known may also occur.

## MULTILINGUALISM

[611] Because descent is patrilineal in the Northwest Amazon and residence is normatively and [582] predominantly patrilocal, an individual belongs to his (or her) father's tribe, and to his father's linguistic group, which is also his [591] own. Because of exogamy, his mother always represents a different tribe—tribal membership does not change for her upon marriage—and a different linguistic group. A woman invariably uses the language of the longhouse—her husband's language—when talking directly with her children. But she is usually not the only woman from her tribe in a longhouse. In a longhouse of any size there are usually several women of her tribe, as well as groups of other women from other tribes; and during the course of a day, these several groups of women usually find occasion to converse with each other in their own original languages.

[484] In addition to these multilingual contacts in the longhouse, others occur as a result of [583] considerable traveling. Youths travel to investigate and evaluate available brides. A prospective bridegroom, if he does not know it already, learns his prospective wife's language from his prospective mother-in-law. Families also travel to visit relatives and affines. And there is travel for the sheer sake of travel.

A man's *mother's* language may be quite important because of the preferential marriage system. There is a preference, though not [582] an obligation, to marry his cross-cousin, particularly his mother's brother's daughter, [593] real or classificatory. (The kinship system is of Iroquoian type [Fulop 1955].) She will, of course, be of his *mother's* tribe and speak his *mother's* language. Therefore there is an added cultural incentive for a man to know his mother's language. If he has little opportunity to learn it—if she, for instance, is the only one of her tribe in the longhouse, and her tribe lives at a distance—his mother, nevertheless, will teach him lists of words in her language and how to say various things in it. Children are usually bilingual in both their father's and their mother's languages, but commonly use the form[illegible]

A ch[illegible] frequently exposed to the other

[P. 677-B]

/406 cont./

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/footnote 140 cont./ take off the shirt and quickly leap into the water with their pants or trunks. Those who are still in a more primitive condition do not have any fear of wetting their own clothes...

that appears nearby and, with a push on the edge, makes it overcome the current, and then, in an agile jump, comes back again inside the canoe and grasps his oar. In other circumstances all the passengers must coast among the indentations of the bank, while the crew pushes the canoe upstream; or, by means of tow-ropes, pulled strongly from the rocks, they force it to go up the small cachoeiras. Or further, they unload all the baggage, and both the load and the canoe will be transported across difficult shortcuts as far as the upper part of the cachoeiras, and from there they resume normal navigation.

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## Chapter VIII

## Social Organization

### 1. -- Family Group

594

The native family of the Uaupés, in the most strict and perfect sense, consists of husband, wife, and children. Indissoluble monogamy is in force among them, that is, each man will have his legitimate wife, and they are joined until death by an indissoluble bond, once the conditions prescribed by the law of the tribe are satisfied.

[592]

Such will be the family, whether each one lives in its house, according to the modern tendency, or whether several families are united in the communitarian life of the maloca.

/458 cont./

621 592 614 Not rarely the dissension within a group provokes schisms, bringing as a result the departure of the dissidents, who go to build a new maloca or povoado farther away.

It is probable that originally each maloca was, in a strict sense, a family, in which the sons remained beside the father, and under his direction, even after they were married. We thus conceive the local group as being originally an agnatic community. There is, as a matter of fact, an expression current among the natives: "I am a person of N," and he says the name of the tuxaua himself.

[178] At present the two forms of local grouping are found: either everyone lives under one and the same roof, the maloca; or each family has its own residence, the povoados resulting. It is to be noted, however, that there are povoados only on the banks of the large rivers and through the influence and under the protection of the catechesis.

[594] /459/ In one form or another, however, the families constitute distinct groups and, what is even more remarkable in the regime of the maloca, autonomous ones. One understands the reason for this autonomy: there is in the tribes of the Uaupés a fusion of the two "ateliers," the masculine one (of fishing) and the feminine one (tiller), which complement each other and are sufficient for the maintenance of the family.

b) The social organization.

The gregarious life that the forest dwellers live demands the observance of certain norms establishing the relations among the individuals, or a certain social organization is necessary.

These relationships are, besides, quite natural, due to the very simplicity of the life they lead; and, on the other hand, are religiously observed. They are all customary, that is, practiced by custom, and it can not be learned whether they were given by a legislator, Wãx-tĩ, as the legends teach; or whether, on the contrary, they were customs introduced naturally and which experience approved, established, and made inviolable. Or whether

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

## THE COMMUNITY

The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the Cuduiarí the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse
61 group, which is also the basic unit of economic
• 594 redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with
[251] its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each mar-
[354] ried woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her
[264] hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by
[562] the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A
61 well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cul-
582 tural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

[P. 671 - B]

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601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
615 to
Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

614

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that
614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of
554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-
[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two
• 595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of
614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with
615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing
177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.
587 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.
611 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-
591 tended patrilineal families.
596

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano [262] [753] [178] Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

773 177 [128] [114] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, 115 756 Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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797 /105 cont./
177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny; he has two wives.

756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

## Cosmogony

* 539 The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115] [177] 4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5),

[177] 5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

* /131 cont./
539 be the first war, and Siópuri Uejké will make the first war, and Siópuri Uejké will have his country taken away from him. The Brazilians will take from him the country of Siópuri Uejké, and Siópuri Uejké will find another country toward the cordillera. After finding his country, Siópuri Uejké and his people will bury their bones in their country when they die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "And you and all your people will bury your bones in your country when you die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You too are going to make war. And that is going to be all right." And Yepá Huáke sustained the country of Yúpuri Baúro. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "When that war is over, Siópuri Uejké will come to your country and do not kill him." Then the Ereya (50)

50. The Brazilians.

will come, and you may kill the Ereya. And in this way you are going to learn to read and to write, and then you will put an end to your malocas" (51).

51. Put an end to the Tukano culture, that is, they will learn to live differently.

Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "I made this world for you. All the people will fight for three years, and in that way the world will end. It will rain and the world will burn and it will become dark." And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: /132/ "While they are fighting, you will not fight, because your tribe will come to an end before the war and the end of the world. After Siópuri Uejké and Ereya arrive in your land, you are only going to have one woman, and that woman will have only one child or two children, and the woman of your brother will not have children, and that is how the Tukano will end (52).

[797]
•[595]
[161]

52. The Christian Missionary has prohibited

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[797]
•[595]
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/132 cont./

polygyny. Explanation for the constant diminution of the Tukano population.

And Siópuri Uejké and Ereya will command you. And they will have you as slaves and humiliated ones. I forbid the Tukano to take their woman from their own tribe, but they can get their woman from outside their tribe (53),

53. Obligatory exogamy exists in Tukano culture.

for example, a Yurutí or Tariana or Desana woman." And there were only three tribes from which the Tukano could get women. Yurutí, Tariano /Tariana/, and Desano /Desana/. And they did not fight with these tribes in order to get women, because a brother and sister of one tribe exchanged with a brother and sister of another tribe. And Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúros "If you want to get a woman from another tribe that is not Yurutí, Tariano, or Desano, you will have to do it by fighting (54).

54. With any other tribe that is not the Yurutí, the Tairiano /sic/, and the Desano, the form of marriage is by abduction. During the abduction fights take place between the male relatives of the girl who is abducted and the committee of men who have come to get the wife for the bridegroom. This committee is formed by the male relatives of the bridegroom and the bridegroom does not take part in the abduction.

*539 And the first woman that you will get by fighting will be Tuyuca. Do not kill, just fight and take the woman. The second woman will be Uanana, and do not kill them either, just take the woman.

/417 cont./

593 his hammock; nevertheless, they will not talk to each other
521 through the night inside. At night only conversations of man with
[784] man and woman with woman are permitted. If the husband has arrived from his fishing or hunting already late at night, he will hang up the fish or the game in the space between two poles or on the wall, or in some other place, without saying a word to his wife, to whom he will not make delivery of the fruit of his labor until morning.

6) Polygamy and Polyandry.

178 Whether we understand these terms as the possibility for an
595 individual to have several wives simultaneously or successively, and, vice versa, a woman more than one husband, they are not in force nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

[622] In conversation, several among them affirmed that in the old days a man could have two or three wives, particularly the tuxaua (21).

21. In 1849 Wallace attested (o. c. 636): -- "The men as a rule, have only one wife. There is not, however, for this reason a special limit, because many of them have two or three. Some chiefs even have still more." It is what still happens in some tribes, for example, the Karútana of the Içana, the Káwa of the Aiarí, affirms the author of Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar [Sea River]/, (p. 19). The statement of the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza is in agreement, when he says (o. c. 486): -- "They are given to polygamy or plurality of wives, and there are chiefs among them with two or three wives, and sometimes sisters of one another."

178 /418/
595 but a woman could never have several husbands. In the legends there are examples not only of polygamy, but also of polyandry.

It is true that, having procreation as its purpose, the marriage is not considered perfect until after the conception of the first child. From the time of the first signs of pregnancy the marriage was established.

595 If after two or three years of living together the woman has
842 not given birth to a child, the husband will consider her the victim of the malefice of sterility (22)

587 [115]

22. It seems that there is no possibility of rehabilitation for the woman, that is, marriage to another man, although a Tukano man, Mário Chaves by name, in answer to our question, affirmed the possibility of new nuptials for the woman regarded as sterile.

and will look for another wife.

Ordinarily, however, the woman considered sterile prefers to remain with her husband. All the interests of the latter lead him to keep her, even though he has already contracted a second marriage. We are thus confronted with a polygamy, not by right, but de facto. Nor does such an event seem to cause surprise (23).

[178]

23. These events are known nowadays (1947) in Taracuá and Urubucuara.

611 The fact that they regard the children as belonging to the father's tribe seems to reveal, as in other nations, the concept that all the generative capacity belongs exclusively to the father. Nevertheless, the inability to procreate will always be attributed to the mother, never to the men.

/418 cont./

797 These licenses already existed in the historical period, as
• 595 follows from the first explorers. The great revolt of the year 1757, during which the povoados of Moreira and Thomar were destroyed by the Indians, and that of Barcelos threatened, had its origin in the anger of the Indian Domingos Lamalonga, from whom the Missionary had made a concubine separate (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario /Diary/," n. 553). On the map of his activities, dated from Carurú-cachoeira the first of April of 1853, Frei Gregório de Bene states: -- "It will be very difficult for some time to unite in Holy Matrimony and even to convert these Indians because they live in polygamy and others in concubinage" (Archivo
595 do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 2, p. 32). Even at the beginning of this century Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 178) testifies that polygamy
622 is a prerogative of the tuxaua and cites the example of José, Tukano tuxaua of Pari-cachoeira, with two wives, one Tuyuka and the other Taryana.

7) Domestic-social position of the woman.

562 During an early contact with the natives of the Uaupés, we were surprised at the position of the woman, seeming to us to be of evident inferiority.

551 /419/ Her name might not even be known (24).

[852] [797] 24. It frequently happens that the Indian man may bring a child to be baptized. When, in order to make the registration, the Padre starts to ask the names and asks what the child's mother is called, the husband will answer: -- "I do not know, ask her."

There is observed in some human groups, for example, those of the river Canaburi (not, however, those of the Uaupés, see below, VIII-1, b (4) ) a prohibition against pronouncing the name of some persons. Some explain this taboo of the name by the "ontological mentality" of the primitives, that is, the name is not something secondary, external, but essential, and is

/461 cont./

622 [595] Nevertheless he does not acquire from his position exemption from work or the right to demand tribute or payment in kind or in work from the other components (cf. Note 102 below /see p. 710 /) or to have more wives (95).

95. We have already noted the polygamy of other times (VIII-1, a (6) ). Still more recently there have been cited cases (information by Pe. João Marchesi) in which, besides their wife, they kept as a concubine some woman who had become widowed. As well as taking a second wife, because "his wife was sick, and he wanted to have children." There is also recalled the case of one, with a healthy wife and two daughters, who took another wife, impelled by the desire to have a male child, "so that his family will not decay with him." As a matter of fact, after the birth of a male child, he sent back its mother. We could not find out whether this attitude was spontaneous or not.

The power of the Wyógõ depends not so much on custom as on his personal influence, and this can come to him from several qualities: oratorical resources, prudence, technical skill, intelligence, knowledge of several languages (Portuguese, Nheengatú, etc.).

[178] Formerly they were invested with greater power (96).

[175] [648]

96. It seems that the same can be said of a more distant past. The reports of the eighteenth century (Pe. Noronha, Ribeiro Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira) show them as principals moving large groups, founding new places at the invitation of the civilized, organizing among themselves defensive and offensive alliances. Hence the interest of the Governadores in having them as allies, granting them the title

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593 riliny, the closest of all. On occasions uterine brothers form a common front from which brothers of the same father but of different mothers are excluded. A father expects his sons to stand by him and not by their mother, who is a sib outsider. Yet the simple fact that a woman keeps her own children close to her side, lavishing upon them all her attentions and affection, and ignoring, as much as she can afford, the other of her husband's children by other wives, creates a basis in sentiment for a maternal attachment that no amount of official sib doctrine can override. The attachment to the mother is recognizable in modes of behavior, such as intimacy or susceptibility to cleavage. Uterine brothers also quarrel and part, but they are unlikely to drift apart as readily as can mere agnatic brothers. However, kinship terms draw no distinction between uterine and agnatic brothers. A woman addresses all her husband's sons by the same term, just as her husband does.

593 601 The term for brother of the closest degree embraces lineage as well as blood brothers. Still, a distinction of sorts does enter into kinship usage, through a sister. A girl, as a mother's helper, has a very important role in looking after younger children of the household. Her first responsibility is to her uterine siblings. Like her mother she favors the boy child over the girl. In later years she still calls her younger uterine brother by the affectionate term *trumi*, while reserving the conventional term, *hiyokii*, for an agnatic younger brother. Women, however, take more liberties, generally, in the use of kin terms than do men. They are particularly free with terms that define nearness and intimacy. Thus, a sister's discrimination between uterine and agnatic brother may be regarded not as official usage but as a special female prerogative.

As to formal principles of kinship, the distinction between uterine
• [595] and agnatic brothers is of no great importance. Most marriages are monogamous and in most families there are no stepchildren. Headmen, however, are generally polygynous, and it is in their households
622 that the distinction assumes some importance. Since a headman's
593 household is a focal point of sib activity, whatever occurs within it
595 will affect the state of being within the sib and ultimately its unity.
614 Should a cleavage develop among brothers of different wives of the headman it could split the sib. Cleavages develop around rivalry for position. A headman's sons are inclined to model themselves after the father and to seek leadership of the community. Since the mantle of leadership will in any case fall upon one of them they are, in any case, virtually obligated to seek leadership. Thus it appears, paradoxically, that the line of cleavage in a sib tends to form at its very

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center in all respects, among the blood brothers, who are the sons of the headman, the very symbol and guardian of the unity of the sib. The Cubeo attribute the source of this "fault" in the sib to the unruly and passionate nature of women, that does not adapt itself readily to the requirements of the sib. The women are said to be at fault in having drawn their sons too closely to them and in having divided the sons of one wife from those of another. Men deplore this, yet they concede that it is in the nature of a woman to do so. Much of the formal and ceremonial relationship between men and women seems to be designed to overcome this feminine and maternal influence.

All sibling terms indicate relative seniority. If the terms refer to near siblings, that is, to siblings of the same sib, their seniority refers strictly to relative age. When sibling terms are used among members of different sibs in the phratry, then the forms of senior-junior indicate respect. An older person may then use the senior term in addressing a younger person. Men may use the senior term in referring to a member of a higher-ranking clan, or, apart from formal rank, to pay respect to a phratry mate who has been generous. Among the Cubeo, rank and seniority are marked by giving more than receiving. Thus, a generous and hospitable person can come to be an "older brother." Women pay respect to men by using the senior term – outside the sib – rather freely. It is a pleasing relationship for a woman to have an older brother and for a man to have a younger sister. When a woman addresses a man as "younger brother" she cannot help but endow the term with an almost maternal tenderness. She finds it more comfortable, one might say, to address a more distant sibmate as "older brother."

There is a more formal usage of terms of relative seniority that acknowledges the ranking of sibs. My information of these seniority usages, coming only from the *Bahúkiwa*, is therefore incomplete. According to the *Bahúkiwa*, all men of the head *Órabawa* sib who are of one's own generation are addressed as *mamû*, the stem term for "older brother," while the reciprocal term that is applied to them by the *Órabawa* is *hwa*, the stem term for "youngster." In the case of the *Bahúkiwa* relations with three sibs of the phratry, the *Pedikwa*, the *Kenánikauwû*, and the *Piardwa*, the women of the *Bahúkiwa* address the women of these three as *amikó*, the somewhat more distant form for "older sister," and are called in turn *hwainyó*, or "youngster." Though in the case of the *Órabawa* the seniority usage applies only to the men, in the latter case the usage applies only to the women. My informants could not account for the latter usages

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## PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

593 604 [601] The Cubeo distinguish between father and father's brothers, but do not distinguish between mother and mother's sisters. The term *bakũdyó* means "like a father."[2] This distinction conveys rather precisely the actualities of the relationship. Relations between fathers and sons (the daughters are linked in household duties with the mother) are intimate, and one important sign of intimacy is the privilege that a youngster has of taking food from his father before it is brought into the maloca or into the individual household. Boys value this privilege enormously when they are preadolescent. Without a father a boy will be fed by his father's brother but will lack this privilege with food that he had with his own father. The relationship between paternal uncle and nephew is a strongly supportive one, but with restraint in it. A boy does not take or handle objects belonging to his father's brother without permission. With his father's possessions he has the same freedom as with the possessions of his sibmates of his own generation.

593 601 604 Parents and children share an exclusive set of kinship terms and thereby set themselves apart from the fraternal joint family. Even though mother and mother's sister are equated, a woman distinguishes, as does her husband, between her own and her sister's children. The equation of mother and mother's sister is normal clan usage in a classificatory system. Among the Cubeo, this equation is [587] not related either to the sororate or to sororal polygyny. It would [595] seem to correspond rather to the principle of generalizing relationships that are less important and differentiating very sharply relationships that are most important. With respect to the term for 593 [601] "mother," this is not to say that the actual relationship between children and mother lacks real importance, but only that from the point of view of patriliny of the sib the incoming females, such as mothers, are less important. Actually, the feeling for one's own mother is very strong, not only on the part of the daughters but on [595] the part of the sons too. In a polygynous household the sons of the same mother share a close link with one another; and as we have

[114] [2] Koch-Grünberg, who stayed with a *Hanéneua* group at the mouth of the Cuduiari, reported that father and father's brother were equated, as were mother and father's sister (1909, II, 82). Since he did not use the genealogical method it is likely that he was in error with respect to both reported usages. The equation of mother with father's sister controvenes, of course, the patriliny of the sib. On the other hand, the grouping of father and father's brother is conceivable since the distinction between *bakũ* and *bakũdyó* is not great for the Cubeo. In calling attention to this difference of information I should add that the nature of the Cubeo tribe is such that variations in minor usages are perhaps to be expected.

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already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in behavior.

The father's sister is *panimó*, a term built on the root *pani*, which means "in-law." Although a woman of the sib, she rates as an in-law because her daughter is normally eligible as a cross-cousin marriage partner. *Panimó* also means "mother-in-law." There are no formal avoidances with a mother-in-law. Ordinarily, because of the rules of residence, a man sees little of his mother-in-law.

Mother's brother (*paniyó*) is a parallel relative to father's sister. He is father-in-law. There are no formal avoidances in this relationship. The important relationship is between a woman and her father-in-law. There is a good deal of restraint between these two. The father-in-law is her mentor on moral issues, and if she commits adultery he will often act in the matter before his son does. Reserve between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is eased after a time but never lapses. The Cubeo defend the unity of the sib by regarding the in-marrying women as permanent strangers. It is the father-in-law as a sib elder who is expected to enforce the separateness. Coupled with this reserve and, in a sense, counteracting it, is the fact that he calls her *hwainkó*. Reserve prevents sexual joking, licentious bodily contact, and other undue levity. It does not bar the father-in-law from beating his daughter-in-law. Father-in-law and son-in-law may refer to one another by the common term, *pani*. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there is only the reserve of unfamiliarity. But when a man does come with his wife to visit her parents he is warmly welcomed as a son and is drawn into all common activities. The visit of a daughter is so exciting an occasion for the Cubeo that the son-in-law is readily tempted in the aura of warmth and good cheer to prolong his stay.

The terms that siblings apply to one another's children are only partially based on considerations of the marriage possibilities between their young. Primarily, the children of siblings are regarded as "youngsters." As juniors they merit generalized terms. Thus, the common terms for nephew and niece within the sib are respectively *hwainyó* and *hwainkó*. The son of a sibling of opposite sex is *pani* — an in-law — but the daughter is not. She enters the household as *hwainkó*. Again we notice the neutral character of the term. *Hwainkó* is not a term of the sib necessarily. The point is, rather, that it is not

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585 593 606 knowing that her full status as a married woman begins with her having her own garden, must get her husband to get her out of her mother-in-law's household. He, however, knows his mother's will and is also aware that the men of the sib are watching him to see if he will be strong enough to stand up against his wife, the "alien" to the sib.

585 586 593 614 If the stalemate continues too long the young wife has the means to break it. She runs away. It is a married woman's privilege to run away at any time during her marriage. Her husband will pursue her, but she has many sanctuaries. She can get back to her own community, where she is safe and has the certainty that she will not be yielded up to a pursuing husband and that he has no claim against her parents. The common view is that if a man is not strong enough to hold a wife that is his misfortune. A runaway wife may find sanctuary in any sib, even in one that is closely related to that of her husband. A neighboring sib is only a temporary stopover for a runaway wife. It provides a more neutral atmosphere, however, in which she and her pursuing husband can discuss the reasons why she has run away. It is young brides who most frequently run off. Occasionally a girl is seriously determined to leave her husband and she will then most certainly find her way home, even if she has to go afoot all the way. Ordinarily she expects her husband to intercept her. When he brings her back the headman will say to him, "Take charge of your wife," [837] and the husband will proceed to prepare a manioc garden for his wife. Some young wives provoke a crisis by seducing the husband's brother and allowing the community to find out. Again the headman will say, "Take charge of your wife."

585 586 593 614 182 These crises are so common in the early stages of marriage that I am inclined to regard them as quasi-ritual, and as part of a prolonged marriage ceremony at the end of which the wife achieves her proper status as controller of an autonomous zone, her manioc garden, and as female head of household. The act of running away suggests a counterpart to the initial act of "abduction." Both acts acknowledge the unruly role of the alien woman and emphasize the power of the man in restoring order. The man who brings his runaway wife back has scored a victory in the eyes of his sib. This victory absolves him from the onus of seeming to "give in" to the demands of his wife. But if the act of bringing back a runaway wife is a bit of ritual, it must also be stated that it is not devoid of spontaneous and rich human emotion.

595 Monogamy is the rule and is consistent with the preference for exchange marriage. Polygyny and polyandry, however, are not barred.

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Plural marriages are uncommon only because they are not convenient. 595 622
Polygyny is usually limited to the headman. Two wives (I never heard of any man having more than two wives at the same time) are regarded as suitable for a headman, first because he has the personal qualities to sustain a complex household and second because the maloca will be more orderly if two women are responsible for looking after it. A headman's prospects for getting two wives are enhanced somewhat, since he will almost certainly have had a sister assigned to him as an exchange for his first wife, and his prestige and perhaps affluence will help him get a wife through bride price alone. Brother-sister exchange is preferred, to be sure, but circumstances are such that an enterprising man will find many other ways of getting an additional wife from among widows, divorcées, and orphan children. He will not, however, marry a woman, either widow or divorcée, who has been brought to his community as a wife by a sibmate. A man may well have a surplus sister. These opportunities are available to all men, but it is the headman who is most likely to seize upon them. Koch-Grünberg, noting the common occurrence of polygyny along [114] the Vaupés, commented that plural marriages were harmonious. From what I observed and from what I heard I have a very different impression. Polygynous households are rather turbulent.

If a man has two wives, he must prepare two clearings and set each 595 up in her own household. Even so, my informants told me, the wives quarrel and bear tales against one another to the husband, accusing one another of laziness. The first wife taunts her colleague as being a mere second wife. The second retorts that she would not have been chosen if the husband had really cared for the first wife. Since men take it for granted that women are an unruly element they expect wives to quarrel. A headman, however, should be able to manage [622] them, it is believed.

One man told me that after he had married his present wife he 593 was offered a girl for bride price alone – a shotgun and cloth – and 595 so for three years he maintained a polygynous household. He then [583] decided that it would not work. At first the new wife refused to garden and urged him to come and live at her sib. They did this for a time and he left his first wife at home with their children. After a year he returned with the second wife. He made a large clearing and divided it into two parts, assigning each to one wife. His first wife, he said, cultivated her part but the second did nothing and just sat about the house. One day she departed and he did not chase her. He claimed that he did not understand why she had left since he had not forced her to do anything she did not wish to do.

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The *Bahúkiwa* headman also had had two wives. In his case the second and younger wife succeeded in displacing the older woman. The younger woman insisted that her husband give up sexual relations with his first wife. She bothered him so much that he yielded and told his first wife to leave him. She refused, insisting that she would stay on with her children. An old woman now, she has a grandmother role. A son not yet married has provided her with a small manior garden. Her relations with the headman and her successor are cool but not unpleasant. That women regard polygyny as contrary to their interests is further indicated by the fact that they are reputed to possess an herb (*pedídya*) which, mixed into a husband's porridge, causes him to lose interest in acquiring a second wife. 595 622 593 [789] [824]

Polyandry is rare. I knew of only one case, a man who took his brother into his ménage because the man had been unable to get a wife on his own. This occurred in a small Satellite community and seems to have been an accommodation to what might otherwise have been a troublesome situation of adultery. The woman fed both men and was a sexual partner of the junior husband only when her first husband was away. 595

Common marital difficulties have their counterpart in Cubeo folklore, as these tales reveal. *Kúwai* the culture hero and his two brothers shared the same woman. When one brother was away fishing or hunting, the other two took turns copulating with her. *Kúwai* plotted to get rid of his brothers so that he would have exclusive possession of her. They were then living at Urania on the Vaupés by a lake called *Marúkuwari* [Lake of the marúku monkey]. In this lake grew a great miriti palm. *Kúwai* asked his brothers to climb the tree to fetch a ball of miriti to make a hammock. Both brothers climbed the tree, after warning *Kúwai* not to start anything. As they climbed, *Kúwai* caused the tree to grow higher and higher and the lake to grow wider. When they reached the top, *Kúwai* cut down the tree. Then a great wind blew up and swept the men and the tree away. One brother was blown to the Cuduiarí, where he formed the river. The other was blown to the Querarí, where he formed the other river. As each man fell, his legs formed the mouth of the river, his outstretched arms two creeks, and his head a whirlpool. *Kúwai* then returned to his wife, who was now living alone. Later *Kúwai*, walking in the forest, passed a *wahóhakũ* tree. Each time he passed it, it made a sucking sound at him. This happened day after day. Then it seemed to *Kúwai* that the tree was human, so he cut it down and carved a woman out of its trunk. *Konéko*, a bird, came and opened up the woman's vagina. The 539

*
601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
615 to
Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

614

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that
614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of
554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-
[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two
595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of
614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with
615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing
177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.
587 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.
611 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-
591 tended patrilineal families.
596

342 /102 cont./
There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed
[824] at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592 The size of the maloca varies according to the number of
342 its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to
[162] shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements
•596 /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only
[287] a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the
177 Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental
797 clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character
[342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor.
[596] The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu-
[553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social segments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into
[614] one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are
[796] founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kówai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yawi*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul-
197 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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with its white residents, they had no reason not to regard it as a 177
friendly place. The *Comisaría* protected their labor rights, supervis- 648
ing terms of contract and entertaining their complaints of unfair treatment. When an Indian completed his term of labor he was "paid off" in the presence of an official in charge of Indian affairs. The Indians regarded the government as fair. The *Comisaría* provided medical aid to those Indians who came to seek it. At the same time it respected native life and interfered with the Indians as little as possible. Although the Cuduiarí is readily accessible from Mitú it was [114] entered only rarely by administrative personnel. When I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* some 15 hours by canoe from Mitú, I had the sense of total isolation from this administrative center. The normal everyday life on the Cuduiarí was completely Indian. In the time of Wallace there had been bad blood between Indians and Colombians, but by the time Koch-Grünberg arrived relations between the Cubeo and the government had already become peaceable.

In Mitú I met Mandú, headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib of the middle 122
Cuduiarí. He had come to seek medical treatment for his young son, 123
who had injured his knee in a fall. The headman and I became friends [614]
and he invited me to visit. When I promptly accepted his invitation I was surprised to find that he had already begun to build a house for me and that the Indians had expected me to settle among them. He had discussed the matter with his people, he told me later, and they had agreed that it would be good to have me live among them. The reasons for wanting me never became too clear, but I came to believe that they thought I would offer them some protection from the pressure of the labor recruiters.

I was informally "adopted" as the younger brother of Mandú. For 123
a while people were amused to address me by an appropriate kinship [597]
term. In time this jest lost its freshness and I came to be regarded simply as *pakomá* (kinsman). Nevertheless, I was considered to be a member of Mandú's household even though I had a house of my own alongside the maloca. Mandú sent his older wife, with whom he was no longer living, to serve as my cook. With Mandú's household I had all the privileges of informality. My relations with other households were friendly but more restrained. Since I did not contribute an appropriate share of fish and game to the household, or to the maloca as a whole, I felt obliged to reciprocate food and services with periodic gifts of cloth, tobacco, fishhooks, and ammunition. At one time during a drinking party at which I was not present, a son of Mandú distributed all my trade goods to the guests "in my behalf." However, during the period of many weeks when I no longer had trade goods

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593 to his father for personal attention. On the whole, a child is at a greater disadvantage if it has lost a parent of its own sex, that is, a girl with a stepmother, a boy with a stepfather. A girl with a stepmother has a hard life of chores and of open neglect. A boy with a stepfather does not have a hard life at all in the material sense. He is deprived more subtly of intimacy with a paternal figure, and this usually shows itself in his own reserve with respect to his fellows. If he has no father at all the effect upon his personality is even more marked.

593 736 My direct acquaintance with the situation of a true orphan is limited to the observation of one case among the *Bahúkiwa*. This [597] was a girl from another tribe who had lost both parents and was adopted by the *Bahúkiwa* headman as his "daughter." The little girl, about nine, was addressed as "daughter" but held the status in the household of a servant. She took on the heaviest chores and was almost never free to play. Her lowly status was truly stigmatized by [301] her lack of possessions. She was the only child among the Cubeo [123] whom I had ever seen unadorned, until I gave her a necklace which she was allowed to keep. The children of the household enjoyed beating her as a way of teasing her, rather than wickedly. She took their pinchings and cuffings good-naturedly, on the whole, and had learned to pretend not to notice. Once, in the presence of the headman, her "father," the children were overdoing their teasing. She looked imploringly at the headman. Finally, she caught his eye and he said to her, "It is all right for you to run away." He saw no need to reprimand his own children.

[114] In reading Giacone (1949) on the Tucano tribe I found my observations on orphans corroborated. He, too, reported that orphans do not lack food but that they appear to be melancholy.

## CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP

572 193 A parallel to the brother-sister relationship is the *hikũ-hiko* relationship, a ceremonial friendship. These terms, formed by combining the possessive prefix with the gender suffix, connote a relationship of exceptional closeness. The linguistic significance of possessive prefix and gender suffix for kinship terms has already been brought out. The curious feature of *hikũ* and *hiko* is that these terms are composed of the two intimate-indicating particles.[8] The ceremonial

[8] *Hi* is also the verb stem "to give," but if *hikũ* were translated as "giver"—a feasible rendering—it should be possible to say *hikũtã*. But this form does not exist.

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# 5

## *Marriage*

614 615 The rule in marriage is that a wife cannot be taken from within the sib or phratry. She may be taken from another tribe and, of course, from any of the other two phratries. There is no actual prohibition against marrying a woman from one's own community if she belongs to a group that is outside the phratry. As I have already noted, such marriages are not common because of a preference for marrying someone from a distance. Since true friendship is apt to mean brotherhood [626] for the Cubeo, and so is identified with exogamy, the parties to a coresidence marriage, the man in particular, are made to feel as though they were behaving indecently. The only case of a coresidence 614 marriage that I learned about was complicated somewhat by an issue • 597 of adoption, but it illustrates the ambiguity of feeling the Cubeo have about such marriages, nevertheless. A boy, born a *Bahúkiwa*, was orphaned and adopted by the *Hürüwá*, a sib of the opposite phratry. He then married a *Hürüwá* girl. Opinion was divided. The boy and his supporters claimed that he was *Bahúkiwa* and so the marriage was proper. The other side argued that since he was raised by the *Hürüwá* he had no business marrying a *Hürüwá* girl. Since the girl's family allowed the marriage to stand we must assume 582 that the boy's position was legally sound. Marriage is preferred between age equals, and since a groom must be forceful enough to make a good impression he will not marry until his very late teens and so 192 neither will the girl. The term for marriage is *nomikükü*, meaning simply "woman getting."

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/For information on Tucano kinship terminology and the extension and application of these kin terms to the various component sibs of the five major phratries, see category 116, pp. 1-56./

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

[262] [753] [178]

773 177 [128] [114] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

115 756

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M /409 cont./
851 legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).
563

4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Maku, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

T
101 Marriages between Taryana and Desãna do not take place. We do not know the reasons, however; it does not seem to be because
582 of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most
563 noble group, marry Desãna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desãna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

T Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano
582 explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kõ-Ro. Nor the
563 Pirá-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Miritĩ,
614 Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor,
[601] finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Miritĩ-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana, Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

T
582 b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of
614 one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy, a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another
T family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son.
*[192] It is what is called Põãperi or põãpeseri. And the young woman
[601] will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mã-rapõ nỹãkhõ (future husband) or even Põrã-kõ nỹãkhõ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nõ'mõ nyãkho (future wife) or Põrã-ko nỹãkho (future genitress).

/409 cont./

000 Such a custom is imposed by the desire of the tribe to perpetuate itself.

591 614 /410/ The ambilian marriage is not known, that is, it is not the young man who comes to live in the house of the in-laws; but it is the young woman who, through marriage, leaves hers and comes to constitute a family in another tribe.

They desire, then, that a woman from another tribe come to their povoado in order to constitute a new family. The exchange, it seems to us, is not equivalent to a depreciation of the woman or reducing her to the condition of an article of trade. It is a measure of precaution, so that the group will not become extinct, but, on the contrary, the men always remain united, and the tribal traditions and the cordial relations among its components are kept alive.

From this concept and practice some consequences follow:

582 614 1st. -- The first one is that in fact the so-called preferential marriage is in force among them. The exchanges not only establish social relations between two malocas, but, as we shall see later, they conceive kinship as bilateral. But not only the maternal cousins in the strict sense (that is, the nephews and nieces of the mother herself), but all those of their generation of the maternal Gens (IV -- 2, a (2) ) are called brides and bridegrooms /Port. noivos/, Baxsú-kãra (those who are destined for marriage with us).

[611] [601]

Let us concretize an example: the Tukano from Parí-cachoeira customarily seek their wives among the Tuyuka of the headwaters of the Tiquié. Then, for the young people of Parí-cachoeira, brides and bridegrooms, or Baxsúkãra, are all the Tuyuka of the younger generation of the maternal povoado. Or, more exactly, all the young persons of the maternal Gens are their brides and bridegrooms, -- because to each povoado ordinarily corresponds a different Gens, -- and among themselves they call each other "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ (Mamí or Axkabí, see VIII -- 1, c).

[601]

As a rule, it is a boy or a girl among the Baxsúkãra who will be the Mã-ra-põ nỹákhõ or the Nõ'mõ nỹakho.

/410 cont./

582
601

Those who belong to the generation of the parents of the Baxsúkãra (that is, all those who are considered "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ of the mother herself) are called "uncles," Mẽx-kã (if a man) (5),

> 5. Notice that the niece must be called Mẽx-kã-sa.

or Mã-gõ (if a woman).

All the Baxsúkãra, in direct discourse, that is, talking among themselves (see Kinship Nomenclature below), are called "cousin," Méõ-kõ (child of the aunt, contraction of Waméõ max-kõ), and the female cousin, Méõ-kõ. It is to be pointed out that the girl may not take the liberty of saying abbreviately Méõ-kõ, Méõ-kõ; she will always say Waméõ max-kõ, Waméõ max-kõ, in full.

After an individual has been married, all the cousins or Baxsúkãra (6)

> 6. It is to be remembered that within the tribe the individuals who belong to the same generation are called "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/.

naturally become his cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/, and he actually /411/ calls them this when he expresses himself in Portuguese. When he expresses himself in Tukano, he prefers to continue to call them Méõ-kõ or Méõ-kõ; and the brothers-in-law in the strictest sense, that is, the blood brothers of his own wife, he will call Pẽ-ñã (7).

> 7. The woman will use the term Nihĩ-so pax-kõ to the brothers-in-law older than her husband, and Buhĩ-bakõ to those younger than he.

/411 cont./

582 As an exception, the individual, instead of marrying a girl
• 601 from the generation of the Baxsúkãra, perhaps will marry someone from the class of the "uncles" /Port. tios, uncles, uncles and aunts/, Mẽx-kã-sa or Mã-gõ. It is the components of this class who are now his brothers-in-law, Pẽ-ñã. In Tukano he may continue to call them "uncle," Mẽx-kã, or (if it is a matter of the niece) Mẽx-kã-sa, and in direct discourse he will use the name Pirĩ for the brothers-in-law in the strict sense.

584 2nd. -- A second one is that the negotiations and agreements are realized between the parents, without the ones to be married interfering or being consulted (8).

[797]

> 8. It has happened that the father has brought a wife for his son who is a student in the Mission school, forcing him to leave the school bench in order to marry.

It is highly reprehensible that, while the children enjoy enough freedom in the native family (it can be affirmed that those of the male sex enjoy absolute independence from the parents), on this subject, so serious because the marriage is indissoluble, they do not have any freedom at all (9)

> 9. "Slave marriage" was the expression of one Missionary, citing examples of the absolutism of the parental will against the manifest wishes of the young people.

and show the greatest docility toward the wishes of their parents.

581 Neither marriage for love nor the practice of courtship is
[584] known among them. It even seems that they are indifferent to physical beauty; it is certain that in all human groups there are individuals who are more or less sympathetic. No doubt these personal reasons might have an influence in premarital and

/421 cont./

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
[601]

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[178] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
562
756
[124]

> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

562 /445 cont./
881 without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following men-
*[192] struation, Məhẽka-nhẽ, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

611 Among the tribes of the Uaupés it is generation /Port. geração,
• [601] generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (hõx-kãkõra, grandparents) and descendants (marĩ-bero-maxsã), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

602 The components of the same tribe, although born and living
619 in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerẽra (86),
[601]
[178]

86. The term axkawerẽra is beginning to be extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

a term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" /relatives/ and sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason we are of the opinion (VIII-2, a) that initially the local group coincided with the family.

*192 Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree
609 of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpẽra (87),

87. Axpẽra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpĩ (masculine) and axpego, feminine, other.

that is strangers, foreigners.

602 /446/
619 True kinship, therefore, exists only between the individuals of the same tribe, and with all of them.

2) Affinity.

582 Although strict tribal exogamy is in force, marriage establishes between the children and the relatives of both their father and their mother relations of affinity, similar to those of kinship (not, however, the obligations of vengeance and of matrimonial interdiction) and with a special nomenclature, although not as rich in terms as that of kinship.

582 Since "preferential marriage" is in force (usually with the first cousins of another tribe), that is, with the first cousins on
601 the mother's side, or baxsú-kãra (Masc. sing. baxsukõ, Fem. sing.
602 baxsuko), they admit the relation of affinity of the baxsukãra among themselves, as well as between the parents and the class of the "possible spouses" of the children. There are appropriate terms for these "possible spouses," "possible parents-in-law," and "possible children-in-law."

601 There might perhaps not even exist a term to express the relation of affinity; then they use a term for the relation of kin-
602 ship. For example, the native idioms of the Uaupés do not have terms corresponding to stepfather, stepmother, stepson, stepdaughter. In indirect discourse they describe the relation that exists, that is, one is called: "husband of my mother" (stepfather), "wife of my father" (stepmother), "son or daughter of my husband, or of my wife" (stepson, stepdaughter). And in direct discourse one is called by the name of the relation (uncle, grandfather, etc.), and they will call the stepchildren "children."

601 There are indeed terms, although also classificatory, that is, applicable to a whole class of individuals, corresponding to son-in-law and brother-in-law, but used almost solely for indirect discourse. For direct discourse they prefer the terms of social kinship; of these terms we shall indicate only the most common

/446 cont./

601 one, that is, the one that occurs in the generality of the cases. For example, ordinarily the father-in-law, "ma-ñĩx-kã," belongs to the class of the "maternal uncles" and will be called mẽx-kã. As an exception he might be in the class of the "cousins" (meõ-kõ or tẽ-nõ) or of the grandparents (ñõx-kã) and would then be called by these terms, and not by mẽx-kã.

Likewise the "son-in-law," buhí, in direct discourse is called paxkhõ by the father-in-law, and para-maxkõ by the mother-in-law, because ordinarily he is one of the nephews (whose mother is "sister" of the father-in-law, and the father, brother of the mother-in-law).

In the same way the "brother-in-law," pẽ-ñã, as a rule is one of the baxsukãra or cousins, and thus in direct discourse will be called a cousin, meõ-kõ (or tẽ-ñõ, bridegroom). As an exception he might belong to the class of the "uncles," mẽx-kã, or of the "grandparents," ñõx-kã. We shall not /447/ indicate, for reasons of brevity, those other terms which are already listed among those of kinship.

N.B. The wife in indirect discourse uses a special term, nihĩ-so-paxkõ, to designate the brothers-in-law who are mamí of the "Gens" of her husband. Whereas the term nihĩ-so-paxko (pl. nihĩ-so-paxko-nũ'mya) is the equivalent of "concunhada" /co-sister-in-law," wife of husband's brother/.

3) Classificatory nomenclature.

The kinship nomenclature used not only by the Tukano, but also by the other tribes of the Uaupés, is essentially a classificatory nomenclature. With more accuracy, it is a matter of kinship which could be qualified as social or tribal, rather than as personal relations (88).

88. We began by verifying several times that a youth would call some individual of his tribe his "uncle," "mẽẽ," when, through later questioning, the latter proved not to be a brother of his father.

/447 cont./

601 The only terms actually individualizing seem to be those which correspond to father, "pax-kõ," and mother, "paxkõ" (89),

> 89. That means, then, that "pai" /father/ and "mãe" /mother/ are the only kinship terms in the Portuguese language that have perfect equivalents in Tukano and in the other native languages of the Uaupés. All the rest, whether of consanguinity (such as grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, uncle, cousin, nephew, etc.) or of affinity (father-in-law, son-in-law, brother-in-law, etc.), do not have a precise translation in these native idioms. To the wife, for example, "ma-ĩĩ-kõ," which we have translated as "sogro" /father-in-law/, is not only the father of her husband; it is all the men of the tribe of the husband who make up the category of those whom the latter calls "mẽẽ" (uncle). The very terms corresponding to "son," "max-kõ," "daughter," "max-kõ," are also applied to a whole class of persons.

which are applied to one's own genitors in the strict sense. All the other kinship terms, such as brother, uncle, brother-in-law, etc., are applied to a class of individuals, whether they might be connected to one another by a bond of consanguinity or affinity, or not. It is enough that they are of the same tribe and of the same generation (even though with a great difference in age) as one who is really a brother, uncle, brother-in-law, etc.

For example, within the tribe, all the individuals of the male sex in one's own generation are called mamí or axkabí (they translated them into Portuguese as "irmão" /brother/). They call "mẽẽ," uncle, those of their father's generation, that is, the brothers of their own father (that is, all the mamí or axkabí of

/447 cont./

601 their own father) and are called by them "mẽ-kõ," nephew. And those of their grandparents' generation they call grandfather, "pax-kõ-ro," and are called by them "paramĩ," grandchildren, or max-kõ-kõ, "child-of-my-child."

/448/ As for the "brothers," if they are such in the strict sense (that is, children of the same father and the same mother), the older one is called mamĩ (they translate it "bigger brother") and the younger, axkabĩ ("smaller brother").

When it is a matter of "tribal brother," that is, of the individuals of the tribe who make up one and the same generation or layer, the terms mamĩ and axkabĩ are independent of age; they are, instead, a function of the group. That is, all those of the more important "Gens" (see VIII-3, c /see VIII-3, d/) (we use the Latin term "gens" in order to designate the subdivisions of the tribe or sib of the American Ethnologists), whatever their ages might be, are mamĩ; all those of the inferior "Gens" are axkabĩ. That is, an entire "Gens" (without taking into account the ages of its members) is called mamĩ or axkabĩ of another.

Let us imagine the case of the individual X, who has five children, successively A, B, C, D, E; of which B, C, D are of the male sex, and A, E of the female sex. It is to be observed: 1st, that five is actually the average number of children, according to our "anthropometric file cards"; 2nd, that they wish to have children of both sexes, and that an older daughter is a valuable helper of the mother in raising the younger children. The older daughter A will be mamyõ of all the brothers and sisters; the younger daughter E will likewise be axkabyõ of all. If we consider the son C, he will be mamĩ of D and E and axkabĩ of A and B.

[126] [162]

Let us further suppose that the brothers B, C, D marry (90)

[582] [611]

90. A and E will obligatorily marry husbands, baxsukõ, from another tribe; their children, however, do not belong to tribe X (grandfather), but to that of the father himself. The children of A and E

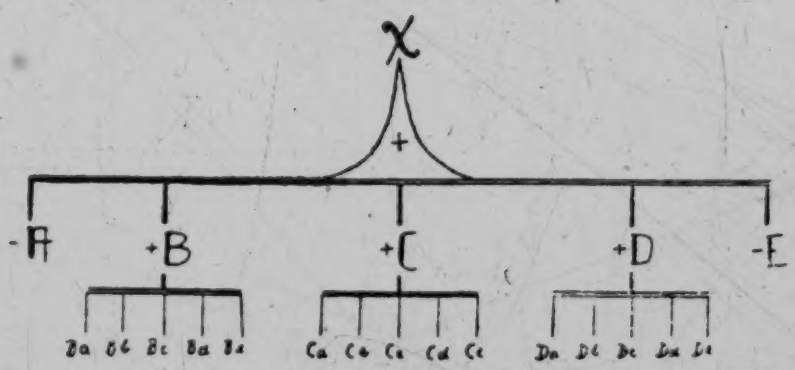
/448 cont./

• 601

/footnote 90 cont./ (and all the young people of their tribe and layer) make up in turn the class of the baxsukãra or "possible brides and bridegrooms" (that is, of those who can be taken as spouses) of the children of B, C, and D.

and likewise come to have five children each; the children of B: Ba, Bb, Bc, Bd, Be, those of C: Ca, Cb, Cc, Cd, Ce, those of D: Da, Db, Dc, Dd, De.

We would have the following tree:




Genealogical Tree

/449/ a) X in this tree, in relation to the first generation, is pax-kõ, father; in relation to those of the second generation he is pax-kõ-Ro (literally old-father, that is, grandfather).

b) The first generation A, B, C, D, E among themselves are mamí, mamyó, axkabí, axkabyó, as we saw above.

In relation to X, they will be: "max-kõ," son, or "max-kõ," daughter (in the plural "põra," sons, daughters).

Relative to the second generation, they are "pax-kõ," father, or "mẽẽ," uncle; that is, B, for example, is "pax-kõ" for those of the series B, and "mẽẽ" for those of the series C and D; these

/449 cont./

• 601 will call B "mẽẽ," and B will call them "mekõ," nephew (N.B. He will call the niece "max-kõ," daughter, and the niece will call him "mã-gã," because "mẽẽ" is a term used by the men, and "mã-gã" only by the women).

c) In the second generation (Ba, Bb, Bc, Bd, Be, Ca, Cb, Cc, Cd, Ce, Da, Db, Dc, Dd, De), they distinguish one another among themselves with mamí, mamyó, axkabí, axkabyó, according to their ages, within the same series. Independently of the ages, however, those of series B are all mamí (or mamyó if a woman) for those of the series C and D, because B is mamí of C and D. Those of the series D are all axkabí (or axkabyó, being a woman) for those of the series B and C, without taking into account the ages of the individuals, because D is axkabí of B and C. Those of the series C, also independently of their ages, are mamí for those of the series D, and axkabí for those of the series B.

In relation to X, all are called "paramẽra," grandchildren (paramẽra is plural; Masc. sing. paramaĩ; F. sing. paramỹõ). It is to be noted that all the men of the generation of X (his mamí or axkabí) are considered pax-kõ-Ro, grandparents, of the second generation.

4) Variations in the nomenclature.

d) /sic/ The nomenclature of kinship and affinity, as will be seen later, varies according to:

1st. -- The relationships of consanguinity or affinity between the persons named and naming;

2nd. -- The hierarchical position of the "Gens" to which the persons named and naming belong;

/449 cont./

• 601

3rd. -- The sex of the persons naming and named (the letter m indicates that the term is used exclusively by persons of the male sex; f, only by persons of the female sex; m, f, when by both sexes).

4th. -- The social age, or, better, the generation of the one who names.

/450/ 5th. -- There are, in some cases, different terms for direct discourse (appelative or vocative), that is, between the two relatives; or for indirect discourse (designative or nominative), that is, between the relative who speaks, referring to his relative, and a third person. For example, "axkabí" is the term that means "smaller brother" (younger); nevertheless, in direct discourse, that is, in calling the younger brother, the older one will say: "a'tyá nĩhʒã" (come here, nĩhʒa, dear brother /Port. mano/). Likewise axkabyó means "smaller sister" (younger); nevertheless, the older one calls her: "a'tyá nũmyõ" (come here, nũmyõ, dear sister /Port. mana/).

6th: -- In many cases, speaking with someone about some relative (indirect discourse), the relation of consanguinity or of affinity is described; for this reason we also record the descriptive nomenclature.

When there is no proper term to indicate the relation of kinship and especially of affinity, one has recourse to the descriptive term. Many individuals, either out of ignorance or for facilitation, have recourse to the descriptive terms even when there are proper or adequate terms.

From these concepts arose a nomenclature that is quite complex and richer in terms than that of the Portuguese language (or of the European customs), although it does not attain perfect logical rigor.

/450 cont./

601

5) The terms of kinship and affinity

(according to the Tukano customs)

Prior observations:

1st. -- According to the native pronunciation, the terms seem to us to be compound (cf. Observações Gramaticais, da língua Daxseyé ou Tukano /Gramatical Observations of the Daxseyé or Tucano language/); for this reason we separate with a hyphen (-) the various elements that make up the words.

2nd. -- Besides the descriptive (or explicative) term, we shall give the nominative (indirect or designative), that is, when in conversation with a third person one wants to indicate the relative (ex. "N. is my cousin"), and the vocative term (direct or appelative), that is, when one calls the relative (ex. "O cousin, come here").

3rd. -- The Tukano tribe (like all those of the Uaupés in general) is divided into groups (cf. IV -- 2, a (2 b) ); it is these that we denoncinate with the Latin term "Gens."

4th. -- They did not know how to explain to us why they call the "cousin" of the same tribe mamí max-kõ or axkabí max-kõ, that is, "son of the brother." They only answered that it is the custom. There are confused, then, the /451/ descriptive terms of "cousin" and "nephew." It is true that in practice they never use the term described for the "cousins."

5th. -- The nomenclature below is in force in the Tukano tribe and does not always correspond to the similar term (with regard to the radical) in another tribe of sister language.

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6th. -- The spouses call each other mãã-ba (you) when they do not have any children. After the birth of the first son (or daughter) and until the death of this one, they call each other, respectively: "N (name of the child) pax-kõ or N. pax-ko, that is, "Father (or mother) of N." When the first child dies, they say the name of the next one. If they no longer have any children, they go back to calling each other mãã-ba.

| Kinship | Descriptive Term | Descriptive Term | Descriptive Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Father | | Pax-kõ (pl. pax-kõ-s'ömõa) | yõõ pax-kõ (my father) | m,f |
| Mother | | pax-ko (pl. pax-ko-sa-nũmya) | yõõ pax-ko | m,f |
| Paternal grandfather | yõõ pax-kõ paxkõ (father of my father) | pax-kõ-Ro (pl. pax-kõ-Rokõra) (old-father) | yõõ pax-kõ-Ro | m,f |
| Old men of the tribe | | pax-kõ-Ro | yõõ pax-kõ-Ro | m,f |
| Maternal grandfather | yõõ pax-ko pax-kõ (father of my mother) | ñõx-kã (pl. ñõx-kãkõra) or ñõx-kã-Ro (ñõ-kã-Rokõra) | yõõ ñõxkã<br>yõõ ñõx-kã-Ro | m,f<br>m,f |
| Paternal grandmother | yõõ pax-kõ pax-ko (mother of my father) | ma:-ko (maa-ko) (pl. ma:kokõra) | yõõ ma:-ko | m,f |
| Old women of the tribe | | wa-meõ-ko (pl. wa-meõ-kokõra) (old-aunt) | yõõ wa-meõ-ko | m,f |
| Maternal grandmother | yõõ pax-kó pax-kó (mother of my mother) | wa-meõ-ko (if from the tribe)<br>ma:-ko (if from another tribe) | yõõ wa-meõ-ko<br>yõõ ma:-ko | m,f<br>m,f |
| Son | | max-kõ (pl. põra) | yõõ max-kõ | m,f |
| Daughter | | max-kõ (pl. põra nũ'mya) | yõõ max-kõ | m,f |
| Bigger brother | (of the more important Gens) | Mami (pl. mami-s'ömõa) or (mami-kõra) | yõõ mami | m,f |
| Bigger sister | (of the more important Gens) | Mamyo (pl. mamyokõra) | yõõ mamyo | m,f |
| Smaller brother | (of the less important Gens) | nihỹã (pl. nihỹãkõra) or axkabi (pl. axkabĩra) | yõõ nihỹã<br>yõõ kabi | m,f<br>m,f |
| Smaller sister | (of the less important Gens) | axkabyo (pl. axkabĩra nũ"mya) | yõõ pana-mõ | f |
| Bigger or smaller brother | | nũmyo (pl. nũmyokõra).<br>pana-mõ (pl. pana-mõa) | yõõ nũmyo<br>yõõ kabyo | m<br>f |
| Paternal male cousin | yõõ mami max-kõ (son of my mami) | mami | yõõ mami | m,f |
| | yõõ kabi max-kõ (son of my axkabi) | nihỹã | yõõ nihỹã | m,f |
| Paternal female cousin | yõõ mami max-kõ (daughter of my mami) | axkabi<br>mamyo | yõõ kabi<br>yõõ mamyo | m,f<br>m,f |
| | yõõ kabi max-kõ (daughter of my axkabi) | nũmyo<br>axkabyo | yõõ nũmyo<br>yõõ kabyo | m<br>m,f |

| Kinship | Descriptive Term | Descriptive Term | Nominative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maternal male cousin | yõõ wa-meõ max-kõ (son of my aunt) | meõ-kõ (pl. meõ-kõkõra) | yõõ meõ-kõ | m |
| | | wa-meõ max-kõ (pl. wameõ max-kõkõra). | yõõ wa-meõ maxkõ | f |
| Maternal female cousin | yõõ wa-meõ max-kõ (daughter of my aunt) | meõ-kõ (pl. meõ-kõkõra) | yõõ mẽ-kõ | m |
| | | wa-meõ max-kõ (pl. wameõ maxkõ-kõra) | yõõ wa-meõ maxkõ | f |
| Paternal uncle | yõõ pax-kõ mami (or axkabi) (mami or axkabi of my father) | mẽẽ (pl. mẽẽkõra) | yõõ mẽẽ | m |
| | | mã-gã (pl. mã-gãkõra) | yõõ mã-gã | f |
| Paternal aunt | yõõ pax-kõ mamyo (axkabyo) (mamyó or axkabyó of my father) | wa-meõ (pl. wa-meõkõra) | yõõ wa-meõ | m,f |
| | | mẽx-kã (pl. mẽx-kãkõra) | yõõ mẽx-kã | m |
| Maternal uncle | yõõ pax-ko mami (or axkabi) (mami or axkabi of my mother) | mẽx-kã-sa (pl. mẽxkã-sakõra) | yõõ mẽx-kã-sa | f |
| | | mã-gõ (pl. mã-gõkõra) | yõõ mã-gõ | m,f |
| Maternal aunt | yõõ pax-ko mamyo (axkabyo) (mamyó or axkabyó of my mother) | | | |
| Nephew (brother's son) | yõõ mami (or kabi) max-kõ (son of my mami or axkabi) | mẽ-kõ (pl. mẽ-kõkõra) | yõõ mẽ-kõ | m |
| | | para-maxkõ (pl. para-maxkõkõra) | yõõ para-maxkõ | f |
| Niece (brother's daughter) | yõõ mami (or kabi) max-kõ (daughter of my mami or axkabi) | max-kõ (daughter) | yõõ max-kõ | m |
| | | para-maxkõ (pl. para-maxkõkõra) | yõõ para-maxkõ | f |
| Nephew (sister's son) | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ (son of my mamyó or axkabyó) | paa-khõ (pl. paa-khõkõra) | yõõ paa-khõ | m |
| | | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | f |
| Niece (sister's daughter) | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ (daughter of my mamyó or axkabyó) | paa-khõ pl. paa-khõkõra) | yõõ paa-khõ | m |
| | | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | f |
| Grandson | yõõ max-kõ max-kõ (son of my son) | para-mĩ (pl. para-mẽra) | yõõ para-mĩ | m,f |
| | | | or yõõ max-kõ-kõ (pl. maxkõ-kõkõra) | m |
| Granddaughter | yõõ max-kõ max-kõ (daughter of my son) | para-myõ (pl. para-mẽra nũmya) | yõõ parã-myõ | m |
| | | | or yõõ max-kõ-kõ | m |
| Grandson | yõõ max-kõ max-kõ (son of my daughter) | para-mĩ | yõõ para-mĩ | m,f |
| | | | or yõõ max-kõ-kõ | m |
| Granddaughter | yõõ max-kõ max-kõ (daughter of my daughter) | para-mỹõ | yõõ para-mỹõ | m,f |
| | | | or yõõ max-kõ-kõ | m |
| Spouse | yõõ põra pax-kõ (father of my children) | mã-ra-põ (pl. mã-ra-pö-s'ömõa) | mãã-ba or N. pax-kõ (you, or Father of N.) | f |

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| Kinship | Nominative Term | Nominative Term | Nominative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wife | yõõ põra pax-ko (mother of my children) | nõ'mõ (pl. nõ'mõ-sa-nu'mya) | mãã-ba or N. pax-kõ (you, or Mother of N.) | m |
| Stepfather | yõõ pax-ko mã-ra-põ (husband of my mother) | | | |
| | a) from the 1st husband's tribe | mẽẽ (paternal uncle) | yõõ mẽẽ | m |
| | | mã-gã (paternal uncle) | yõõ mã-gã | f |
| | b) from another tribe | mẽx-kã (maternal uncle) | yõõ mẽ-kã | m |
| | | mẽx-kã-sa (maternal uncle) | yõõ mẽ-kã-sa | f |
| Stepmother | yõõ pax-kõ nõ'mõ (wife of my father) | | | |
| | a) from the 1st wife's tribe | mã-gõ (maternal aunt) | yõõ mã-gõ | m,f |
| | b) from another tribe | mã-gõ | yõõ mã-gõ | m,f |
| Stepson | yõõ nõ'mõ max-kõ (son of my wife) | yõõ nõ'mõ max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ max-kõ (son of my husband) | yõõ mã-ra-põ max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | f |
| Stepdaughter | yõõ nõ'mõ max-kõ (daughter of my wife) | yõõ nõ'mõ max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ max-kõ (daughter of my husband) | yõõ mã-ra-põ max-kõ | yõõ max-kõ | f |
| Father-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ pax-kõ (father of my wife) | ma-fĩx-kã (pl. ma-fĩx-kã-s'ömõa) | yõõ mẽx-kã (uncle) | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ pax-kõ (father of my husband) | ma-fĩx-kã | yõõ mẽx-kã-sa | f |
| Mother-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ pax-ko (mother of my wife) | | | |
| | a) from son-in-law's tribe | ma-fĩx-kõ (pl. ma-fĩx-kõ-sa-nũ'mya) | yõõ wamẽõ (pat. aunt) | m |
| | b) from another tribe | ma-fĩx-kõ | yõõ mã-gõ (mat. aunt) | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ pax-ko (mother of my husband) | | | |
| | a) from daughter-in-law's tribe | ma-fĩx-kõ | yõõ wa-mẽõ | f |
| | b) from another tribe | ma-fĩx-kõ | yõõ mã-gõ | f |

| Kinship | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | Nominative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Son-in-law | yõõ max-kõ mã-ra-põ (husband of my daughter) | | | |
| | a) whose mother is from the father-in-law's tribe | buhi (pl. buhi-s'õmõa or buhikõra) | yõõ pa:-kõ (nephew) | m |
| | | | yõõ para-maxkõ | f |
| | b) whose mother is not from the father-in-law's tribe | buhi | yõõ ti-khã (pl. ti-khãkõra) | m |
| | | | yõõ mamyo (kabyo) maxkõ | f |
| Daughter-in-law | yõõ max-kõ nõ'mõ (wife of my son) | ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra) | yõõ ti-khõ | m |
| | | para-maxkõ | yõõ para-maxkõ | f |
| Possible bridegroom | a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking | baxsukõ (pl. baxsukãra) | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) | m |
| | | | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | baxsukõ | yõõ tẽ-ñõ (pl. tẽ-ñõkõra) | m |
| | | | yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ (pl. maõ-pa-maxkõkõra) | f |
| Possible bride | a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking | baxsuko (pl. baxsukãra nũ'mya) | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) | m |
| | | | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | baxsuko | yõõ tẽ-ñõ (pl. tẽ-ñõkõra) | m |
| | | | yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ (pl. maõ-pa-makõkõra) (= nephew of my mother) | f |
| Possible father-in-law | yõõ baxsukãra pax-kõ (father of my brides or grooms) | yõõ baxsukãra pax-kõ | yõõ mẽx-kã (uncle) | m |
| | | | yõõ mẽx-kã-sa | f |
| Possible mother-in-law | yõõ baxsukãra pax-ko (mother of my brides or grooms) | | | |
| | a) from tribe of the one speaking | yõõ baxsukãra pax-ko | yõõ wa-meõ (pat. aunt) | m,f |
| | b) from another tribe | yõõ baxsukãra pax-kõ | yõõ mã-gõ (mat. aunt) | m,f |
| Possible son-in-law | yõõ põra baxsukõ (bride or groom of my children) | | | |
| | a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ pa:-kõ (nephew) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ mami (kabi) max--kõ | f |

| Kinship | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | Nominative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsukõ | yõõ mami (kabi) maxʉ-kõ | f |
| Possible daughter-in-law | yõõ põra baxsuko (bride of my sons) | | | |
| | a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ pá:-khõ (niece) (pl. pá:khõ kõra) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ mami (kabi) maxʉ-kõ | f |
| | b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra) | m |
| | whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking | yõõ põra baxsuko | yõõ mami (kabi) maxʉ-kõ | f |
| Brother-in-law | yõõ nõ'mã mami (axkabi) (brother of my wife) | | | |
| | a) married to meõ-kõ | pẽ-ñã (pl. pẽ-ñã-s'õmõa) or pẽ-ñãkõra) | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) | m |
| | b) married to tẽ-ñõ | pẽ-ñã | yõõ tẽ-ñõ (bridegroom) | m |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the brides and bridegrooms | pẽ-ñã | yõõ piri (91) (pl. pirikõra) | m |

91. According to the information obtained, the term piri is recent and used in all the native languages of the Brazilian Uaupés. It seems to us that it is a corruption of the Portuguese term "primo" /cousin/, which, due to faulty pronunciation, they customarily distort into "pirimo." The following are the arguments that authorize this opinion: 1st, some of the informants do not know the term piri; still more numerous are those who do not know piri-mo or piri-mõ and piri-ma; 2nd, of those who have indicated these terms, no one was able to indicate the plural of piri-mo and of piri-ma, and rare were those who presented that of piri; 3rd, according to the spirit of the Tukano language, piri-mo should be the feminine form.

This acceptance of terms from another language is easy. For example, Antônio Barreto (Tukano) informed us that one of his maternal aunts (mĩ-gõ), who in her first marriage had a Tukano (mẽẽ of the informant) for a husband, married a man from the Yebá-maxsã tribe in her second marriage. Not being able to call him "mẽẽ," of course, he called his new uncle "yõ-ti," a term unknown to the other informants and which in all probability is a corruption of the Portuguese "tio" /uncle/ (yõ-ti would be an abbreviation of yõõ tio, my uncle).

| Kinship | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | Vocative Term | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | or yõõ sẽi-mõ (92) | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ mami (brother of my husband) | | | |
| | a) married to wameõ-maxkõ | nihĩ-so-paxkõ (pl. + s'õmõa) (only the mami of the "Gens") | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | | buhi-bakõ (pl. buhi-bakõra) | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) married to maõ-pa-maxkõ | buhi-bakõ | yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ | f |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms" | buhi-bakõ | yõõ piri-mõ | f |
| Sister-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ mamyo (kabyo) (sister of my wife) | | | |
| | a) married to meõ-kõ | buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra) | yõõ meõ-kõ (cousin) | m |
| | b) married to tẽ-ñõ | buhi-bako | yõõ tẽ-ñõ (bridegroom) | m |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms" | buhi-bako | yõõ p'ri-ma | m |
| | yõõ mã-rapõ mamyo (kabyo) (sister of my husband) | | | |
| | a) married to wameõ-maxkõ | syõ (pl. syõkõra or better, syõrĩ-nũ'mya) | yõõ wameõ-maxkõ | f |
| | b) married to maõ-pa-maxkõ | syõ or buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra) | yõõ maõ-pa-maxkõ | f |
| | c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms" | syõ or buhi-bako | yõõ piri-ma | f |
| Co-brother-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ pẽ-ñã (my wife's brother-in-law) | pesu (pe'su) (pl. pesu-s'õmõa) | | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ buhi-bakõ (my husband's brother-in-law) | | | f |
| Co-sister-in-law | yõõ nõ'mõ buhi-bako (my wife's sister-in-law) | | | m |
| | yõõ mã-ra-põ syõ (my husband's sister-in-law) | nihĩ-so-paxko (pl. + sa-nũ'mya) | | f |

92. Some mentioned the term "sẽi-mõ (F. sea-mõ) as equivalent to brother-in-law from a tribe different from that of the baxsukãra. They do not know, however, what the plural form would be. According to another informant, "sẽi-mõ" would be a term taken from the Nheengatu language and equivalent to "compatriot," i.e., member of the same tribe or nation.

/471 cont./

614 the division of the original group (107).
121

107. It is possible that other reasons might have intervened, such as the misunderstandings that are still verified today.

While the first-born son, with his family, would remain beside the old couple, the other sons of the founder would become, in turn, founders of new malocas, which would grow with the natural fecundity of the native woman. This hypothesis, more in agreement with the nature of things, is confirmed, it seems, by the customs.

614 1st. -- A first one is the denomination of "brother" for all the
601 individuals of the same nation (that is, who are recognized as from such-and-such a tribe and speak the same language), a denomination corresponding, besides, to their feelings (they can not marry each other, mutual aid and understanding, lamentation for a death, and vengeance for the brother who has been a victim of another tribe).

All of them are brothers, but there is a distinction between Mamí (bigger brother) and Axkabí (smaller brother). Among the brothers-german, that is, /472/ children of the same father, the terms mamí and axkabí correspond to the ages. Outside of this case, they no longer correspond. For example, one hears an adult characterize a child as mamí. It is, therefore, a matter of
614 a hierarchic classification.

554 An I'ra-pé Tukano said that he regarded the Waú-ro and Oyê
[115] as Mamí; in relation to the Waú-ro we heard the expression
[192] "Tukano of the head," Dexseá ná dõxpoá," as equivalent to the
[601] principal branch, as was soon explained to us by Patrícia Vasconcelos. We have here, then, indications of an aristocracy (108).

[175] 108. The existence of this aristocracy was already known in 1755 by Pe. Noronha. Xavier de Sampaio

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554 614 [601] 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some are earlier [illegible] others later, having originated perhaps from some schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 614 829 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear, however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say who would have precedence.

797 177 614 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

> 111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

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quity coincide and so the informal clusterings are strengthened. Thus, 615
when one speaks of sibs within the phratry it is necessary to dis- 614
tinguish between "close" sibs and "distant" sibs. As the discussion
of kinship will show, these distinctions between "close" and "distant" 614
sibs are actually expressed in kinship usages. Among the Cubeo, rela- 615
tive ranking of sibs is not as formally expressed as it is among the 601
Tucano tribe. Among the latter, all the lower-ranking sibs of a phratry are junior siblings and are addressed by the term "junior sibling." The highest-ranking sib is "older brother" to all the other sibs (Fulop, 1955).

The basic segment is the sib. A sib is an exogamic, patrilineal, and 614
patrilocal descent group that claims to share a line of descent through males (with some exceptions) back to a founding ancestor at the beginnings. The sense of sib is that of a local group capable of sharing a common residence and of regarding itself as a fraternal kingroup. Sib members may be, and often are, dispersed. This, however, is, in the Cubeo view of things, an abnormal situation. Sib identity, in any case, is never lost. Even women who must marry "out" are forever members of the paternal sib. The sib, as we have already said, has a name. It has a headman, a common residence or sib center, and is on any crucial issue autonomous politically and economically. It may break out of the exogamic grouping of the phratry by moving away and joining another phratric organization. This, however, it will be very reluctant to do. Sibs are not static entities and that is why one cannot obtain an exact count of their number. Fission is an ever active process and reveals itself in what may be called "phases of separation." Within a common residence site most families live in a long 592
house, called in the region a maloca. Others live alongside the maloca 614
in smaller houses. I have called the occupants of the smaller houses "Independents" because of their expressed intention to remain somewhat outside of the jurisdiction of the sib headman.

Some sib members live at a nearby but distinct site with very con- 614
siderable autonomy, but recognize the main maloca as their sib center. These people are still more estranged from the sib and I have called them "Satellites." The Satellites may estrange themselves to the point of complete separation. They then assume a sib name that is a compound of the original sib name with a new designation and so take on the status of a subsib. A subsib has a strong sentimental attachment to its parent sib, but in all other respects it is autonomous. A Satellite may also give up its satellite standing by rejoining the parent sib. Subsibs are held together by sharing a common sib name and a common genealogy. This is true whether subsibs have been

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Without a proper sib name,
a child will not grow, the Cubeo say. Growth is an attribute of the 614
Ancients. The giving of a name is one of the ways in which the growth 551
magic of the Ancients is utilized. These names from the sib genealo- [856]
gies are not used freely, the Indians preferring to use Christian names [601]
and to address one another by a kinship term.

The sib has permanence and it has continuity with the past. The 614
"history" of each sib is known and is recited at all major ceremonial occasions.[5] In narrating sib "history," distinctions are drawn between original sibs, later comers, and the newest-formed sibs. Since ancientness is honorific and the Cubeo have a sentiment of egalitarianism, these distinctions are underplayed. But when people have been drinking and quarreling the matter of ancestry will be brought up. [578]

The tradition of phratric organization is that all its member 614
sibs are kin. Tradition holds, too, that once all sibs of the same 615
phratry were united under a single headman. But this tradition may refer to the scheme of sib rank and the acknowledgment of the leading sib as the "head" rather than to an actual political organization. On the other hand, since there is little doubt but that tribal organization in this region of the Amazon is highly fluid, with smaller segments forming new enlarged formations and enlarged formations breaking up again into smaller and relatively more stable sib segments, the tradition of the phratry as a political unit cannot be dismissed.

The Cubeo distinguish between *kwinâwü* (one kin) and *abéwetema* (they are not ours) in referring to their own phratry and to an opposite phratry. In the past, there may have been at least four phratries, since the traditions speak of one group of sibs as having amalgamated with another. Previously these two groups had intermarried, it is averred. According to one version of the origin myth the sibs of a phratry are all descended from a single water anaconda called *Puénte ainkü* (Anaconda person), who divided himself into segments, the head becoming the leading sib of the phratry, and each subsequent segment forming the remainder of the sib hierarchy. A variant version states that pairs of anacondas emerged from a crevice among the rocks of a rapids, shed their skins, and formed a brother-sister pair. Subsequently, the sisters married out and the brothers took wives from people they met in their wanderings. The first pair to emerge were the head sib, and they gave names to all that followed

lapsed, out of simple neglect. Also to be considered in this connection is the common Cubeo view that the life of past generations was more severe than it is today.

[5] The text of the *Bakikiwa* "history" follows the sib list in this chapter.

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places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. To be sure, the custom of reciting a sib origin tradition at the regular drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multi-sib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin traditions are the most important sanctions for regulating current relationships among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).* This group, consisting of *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, and *Byá-Hehénewa*, is supposed to have emerged together at *Yavibebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapurí cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yavimanawa*, according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one another as *pakomá* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehénewa*, for example, discounting *Bahúkiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

* This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has, of course, an honorific reference. There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is applied to the *Máscú*. Giacone (1949, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onca*.

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# 4

## *Kinship*

539 The focus of Cubeo kinship is the sibling group, of which the
601 brothers form a permanent body, the hard core, so to speak, and the sisters an emotionally close but separable group, since they are the ones who marry out. The sibling group is the model for the extension of terms of consanguinity throughout the phratry.[1] More people are
601 addressed and referred to as "sibling" than by any other term. When
602 the Cubeo speak in Spanish or in Portuguese they identify all their age mates within the range of patrilineal consanguinity as "my brother" or "my sister." Their own language differentiates degrees of sibling closeness, distinguishing lineage brothers, sib brothers, and
[193] phratry brothers. But the linguistic device for drawing these distinctions, by manipulating prefixes and suffixes without altering the stem itself, seems to be a finely contrived compromise between the desire to embrace all patrilineal consanguineal kin within the bonds of brotherhood and the need to deal with the actualities of relationships. The Cubeo are very sensitive to terms of address and so they use terms not merely to designate a precise degree of relationship, but diplomatically, to create a mood of closeness or of distance. I believe this diplomatic use of kinship draws mainly, perhaps exclusively, upon the sibling terms, since all other terms of consanguinity are by comparison of far lesser significance. A phratry brother may be called by the term appropriate for sib or even lineage brother and vice versa. When this is done, the speaker indicates by his manner

[1] There is a list of relationship terms at the end of this chapter.

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602 or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

593 The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother." Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

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593 Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

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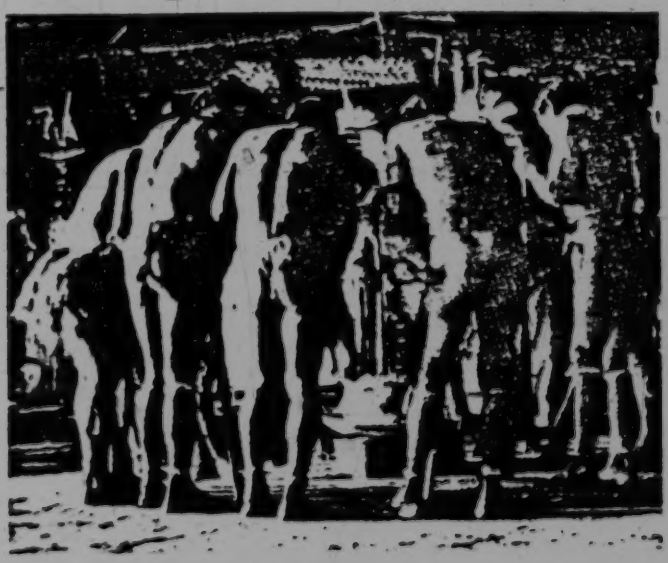

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

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593 riliny, the closest of all. On occasions uterine brothers form a common front from which brothers of the same father but of different mothers are excluded. A father expects his sons to stand by him and not by their mother, who is a sib outsider. Yet the simple fact that a woman keeps her own children close to her side, lavishing upon them all her attentions and affection, and ignoring, as much as she can afford, the other of her husband's children by other wives, creates a basis in sentiment for a maternal attachment that no amount of official sib doctrine can override. The attachment to the mother is recognizable in modes of behavior, such as intimacy or susceptibility to cleavage. Uterine brothers also quarrel and part, but they are unlikely to drift apart as readily as can mere agnatic brothers. However, kinship terms draw no distinction between uterine and agnatic brothers. A woman addresses all her husband's sons by the same term, just as her husband does.

593 601 The term for brother of the closest degree embraces lineage as well as blood brothers. Still, a distinction of sorts does enter into kinship usage, through a sister. A girl, as a mother's helper, has a very important role in looking after younger children of the household. Her first responsibility is to her uterine siblings. Like her mother she favors the boy child over the girl. In later years she still calls her younger uterine brother by the affectionate term *tcumi*, while reserving the conventional term, *hiyokü*, for an agnatic younger brother. Women, however, take more liberties, generally, in the use of kin terms than do men. They are particularly free with terms that define nearness and intimacy. Thus, a sister's discrimination between uterine and agnatic brother may be regarded not as official usage but as a special female prerogative.

[595] As to formal principles of kinship, the distinction between uterine and agnatic brothers is of no great importance. Most marriages are monogamous and in most families there are no stepchildren. Headmen, however, are generally polygynous, and it is in their households 622 that the distinction assumes some importance. Since a headman's 593 household is a focal point of sib activity, whatever occurs within it 595 will affect the state of being within the sib and ultimately its unity. 614 Should a cleavage develop among brothers of different wives of the headman it could split the sib. Cleavages develop around rivalry for position. A headman's sons are inclined to model themselves after the father and to seek leadership of the community. Since the mantle of leadership will in any case fall upon one of them they are, in any case, virtually obligated to seek leadership. Thus it appears, paradoxically, that the line of cleavage in a sib tends to form at its very

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center in all respects, among the blood brothers, who are the sons of the headman, the very symbol and guardian of the unity of the sib. The Cubeo attribute the source of this "fault" in the sib to the unruly and passionate nature of women, that does not adapt itself readily to the requirements of the sib. The women are said to be at fault in having drawn their sons too closely to them and in having divided the sons of one wife from those of another. Men deplore this, yet they concede that it is in the nature of a woman to do so. Much of the formal and ceremonial relationship between men and women seems to be designed to overcome this feminine and maternal influence.

All sibling terms indicate relative seniority. If the terms refer to near siblings, that is, to siblings of the same sib, their seniority refers strictly to relative age. When sibling terms are used among members of different sibs in the phratry, then the forms of senior-junior indicate respect. An older person may then use the senior term in addressing a younger person. Men may use the senior term in referring to a member of a higher-ranking clan, or, apart from formal rank, to pay respect to a phratry mate who has been generous. Among the Cubeo, rank and seniority are marked by giving more than receiving. Thus, a generous and hospitable person can come to be an "older brother." Women pay respect to men by using the senior term – outside the sib – rather freely. It is a pleasing relationship for a woman to have an older brother and for a man to have a younger sister. When a woman addresses a man as "younger brother" she cannot help but endow the term with an almost maternal tenderness. She finds it more comfortable, one might say, to address a more distant sibmate as "older brother."

There is a more formal usage of terms of relative seniority that acknowledges the ranking of sibs. My information of these seniority usages, coming only from the *Bahúkiwa*, is therefore incomplete. According to the *Bahúkiwa*, all men of the head *Órabawa* sib who are of one's own generation are addressed as *mamũ*, the stem term for "older brother," while the reciprocal term that is applied to them by the *Órabawa* is *hwa*, the stem term for "youngster." In the case of the *Bahúkiwa* relations with three sibs of the phratry, the *Pedikwa*, the *Kenánikauwũ*, and the *Piarówa*, the women of the *Bahúkiwa* address the women of these three as *amikó*, the somewhat more distant form for "older sister," and are called in turn *hwainyó*, or "youngster." Though in the case of the *Órabawa* the seniority usage applies only to the men, in the latter case the usage applies only to the women. My informants could not account for the latter usages

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614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedíkwa*
[554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiari that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kenánikauwü* are a subsib of the *Pedíkwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piarúwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Old-Piarúwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahúkiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior.
571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship
[622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac-
[857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of
[614] a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves
[796] at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere-
[622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance,
562 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of cere-
796 mony women take precedence according to the order of precedence
[622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substi-
[593] tute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to
[614] the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial
[553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother.
561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring
584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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so an older brother is *amyóbakü* (older brother-father) to his younger sister. He is her guardian. He may arrange her marriage, or offer her sexually to a friend, if she is willing. It is a special relationship in many respects. 593 561 [584] [836]

Seniority is of consequence only in the sibling generation. There is no concept of senior line and no recognition in terminology of descendants of older or younger siblings.

Apart from sex and seniority, Cubeo sibling terms also demarcate social distance. They differentiate, as already noted, three degrees of sibling closeness: lineage sibling, near phratry sibling, and distant phratry sibling. They do so, ingeniously, by the linguistic device of using a common root for sibling – this usage is only in the senior term, because only the senior term is important – indicating distance or closeness by the use of appropriate prefixes and suffixes. The root for senior sibling of either sex is *ami*. With the possessive prefix *hi* and the gender suffix *ko* or *kü* (*himámiko*, *-kü*) it connotes utmost closeness and is applied to older brother and sister of one's own family, including the extended joint family or lineage. Since sib and lineage may often be coextensive these terms are also sib-wide. The term *himámiko* (my older sister) does not apply to a mother's sister's daughter unless she happens to be – via brother-sister exchange marriage – a father's brother's daughter as well. The intimate usage, that is, must also correspond with coresidence. One's own sister, to be sure, does marry out, but in the meantime there has been a long period of coresidence. In any case, there is not the slightest tendency to slur over a nuclear kinship relationship. In the case of father's brother's daughter the intimate term applies only when she is still a coresident. After she has married she falls into the next more distant category. 601 193 601 [614]

The second range of kinship intimacy is the most widespread of all, including sib, subsib, and all close sibs within the phratry. It may even be applied to all members of the phratry of one's generation, in which case the third and most distant form of sibling terminology is reserved for those people whom one does not know well. The terms used in this second range are *amiyó* and *amikó*. The suffix *yo* conveys the meaning of "such as" or "one who is of the class of." It is also used in the term *baküdyó* (father's brother) and means literally "one who is in the class of a father." In *amiyó* it means, therefore, "one who is in the class of an older brother." Strictly speaking, the suffix *yo* has no sex gender and if it were applied to a woman would constitute no major linguistic blunder. But since one's contacts are almost invariably with male siblings, the sisters normally at a distance, the [614] [615] 601 193

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term has apparently taken on a masculine meaning and *amikó* is used to specify the female. A term *amikû* does not exist to my knowledge. With the loss of the possessive prefix *hi* some of the intimacy has gone out of the term. Nevertheless, being diplomatic in their use of kinship terms, the Cubeo sometimes employ the form *himámiyo* and so give the term a warmer tone.

Finally, the most distant usage is to employ only the stem *mamû* ("older one") equally to male and female to connote the barest sibling relationship. I never heard this term used because, I suppose, the Cubeo find it too formal. Rather than call a person *mamû* they prefer the more cordial *pakomá* (kinsman). The special respect use of this term for men of the head sib has already been described.

601 [554] [614]

The junior sibling term is rather unusual. I am inclined to regard it as a quasi-kinship term because it has equally a kinship and an age-grade connotation. *Hwainyó* means literally "one who is in the class of youths." Like *amiyó* it can refer to females, but *hwainkó* is the special term for a younger sib and phratry sister. Because it is an age-grade term, the kinship meaning of *hwainyó* is so wide that it has come to mean any person of sib or phratry who is younger either by relative age within one's generation or is of a younger generation. When it is used as the reciprocal for *amiyó*, as a respect term, it refers to one to whom one condescends somewhat as a donor or good Samaritan. It would seem that the Cubeo have developed only the senior term as a true kinship term and have given seniors the prerogative of addressing all their juniors, whether by age or status, simply as "youth." Nor is the term bound by phratry, since it is applied to all grandchildren (male or female) who are not of the lineage. *Hwainyó* also means son-in-law and any nephew or niece. *Hwainkó* is the daughter-in-law. *Hwankû* is a serviceable male form giving it somewhat greater intimacy and thus is limited generally to younger men of one's own sib or of closely related sibs. The abbreviated form *hwa*, a more jocular term, is also used.

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## BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

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Lineage brothers and sib brothers are joined by all the strong bonds of a localized patrilineal sib organization. The obligations of lineage brothers toward one another are very little less binding than those of blood brothers, and the obligations of sib brothers, while somewhat less binding, are still considered to be strong. But these brotherly ties are general and taken for granted, whereas the relationship between brother and sister, as indeed that between husband

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## PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

593 604 [601] The Cubeo distinguish between father and father's brothers, but do not distinguish between mother and mother's sisters. The term *bakiidyó* means "like a father."[2] This distinction conveys rather precisely the actualities of the relationship. Relations between fathers and sons (the daughters are linked in household duties with the mother) are intimate, and one important sign of intimacy is the privilege that a youngster has of taking food from his father before it is brought into the maloca or into the individual household. Boys value this privilege enormously when they are preadolescent. Without a father a boy will be fed by his father's brother but will lack this privilege with food that he had with his own father. The relationship between paternal uncle and nephew is a strongly supportive one, but with restraint in it. A boy does not take or handle objects belonging to his father's brother without permission. With his father's possessions he has the same freedom as with the possessions of his sibmates of his own generation.

593 601 604 [587] [595] 593 [601] [595] Parents and children share an exclusive set of kinship terms and thereby set themselves apart from the fraternal joint family. Even though mother and mother's sister are equated, a woman distinguishes, as does her husband, between her own and her sister's children. The equation of mother and mother's sister is normal clan usage in a classificatory system. Among the Cubeo, this equation is not related either to the sororate or to sororal polygyny. It would seem to correspond rather to the principle of generalizing relationships that are less important and differentiating very sharply relationships that are most important. With respect to the term for "mother," this is not to say that the actual relationship between children and mother lacks real importance, but only that from the point of view of patriliny of the sib the incoming females, such as mothers, are less important. Actually, the feeling for one's own mother is very strong, not only on the part of the daughters but on the part of the sons too. In a polygynous household the sons of the same mother share a close link with one another; and as we have

[114] [2]Koch-Grünberg, who stayed with a *Hendéwa* group at the mouth of the Cuduiari, reported that father and father's brother were equated, as were mother and father's sister (1909, II, 82). Since he did not use the genealogical method it is likely that he was in error with respect to both reported usages. The equation of mother with father's sister controvenes, of course, the patriliny of the sib. On the other hand, the grouping of father and father's brother is conceivable since the distinction between *bakú* and *bakiidyó* is not great for the Cubeo. In calling attention to this difference of information I should add that the nature of the Cubeo tribe is such that variations in minor usages are perhaps to be expected.

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already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in behavior.

The father's sister is *panimó*, a term built on the root *pani*, which means "in-law." Although a woman of the sib, she rates as an in-law because her daughter is normally eligible as a cross-cousin marriage partner. *Panimó* also means "mother-in-law." There are no formal avoidances with a mother-in-law. Ordinarily, because of the rules of residence, a man sees little of his mother-in-law.

Mother's brother (*paniyó*) is a parallel relative to father's sister. He is father-in-law. There are no formal avoidances in this relationship. The important relationship is between a woman and her father-in-law. There is a good deal of restraint between these two. The father-in-law is her mentor on moral issues, and if she commits adultery he will often act in the matter before his son does. Reserve between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is eased after a time but never lapses. The Cubeo defend the unity of the sib by regarding the in-marrying women as permanent strangers. It is the father-in-law as a sib elder who is expected to enforce the separateness. Coupled with this reserve and, in a sense, counteracting it, is the fact that he calls her *hwainkó*. Reserve prevents sexual joking, licentious bodily contact, and other undue levity. It does not bar the father-in-law from beating his daughter-in-law. Father-in-law and son-in-law may refer to one another by the common term, *pani*. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there is only the reserve of unfamiliarity. But when a man does come with his wife to visit her parents he is warmly welcomed as a son and is drawn into all common activities. The visit of a daughter is so exciting an occasion for the Cubeo that the son-in-law is readily tempted in the aura of warmth and good cheer to prolong his stay.

The terms that siblings apply to one another's children are only partially based on considerations of the marriage possibilities between their young. Primarily, the children of siblings are regarded as "youngsters." As juniors they merit generalized terms. Thus, the common terms for nephew and niece within the sib are respectively *hwainyó* and *hwainkó*. The son of a sibling of opposite sex is *pani* – an in-law – but the daughter is not. She enters the household as *hwainkó*. Again we notice the neutral character of the term. *Hwainkó* is not a term of the sib necessarily. The point is, rather, that it is not

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604 614 a term that connotes out-of-the-sib, as does *pani*. Thus, Cubeo usage
[601] with respect to daughter-in-law points up again the strength of their feelings about membership in the common residence group.

The problematical relatives are the mother's sister's children. There is no problem if they are also father's brother's children, or if they have been born within one phratry. But since mother's sisters [615] marry into other phratries or into other tribes, their children are in effect strangers who belong to their paternal sib or tribe. They are [582] not included in the kinship system, they are lost sight of, and such parallel cousins one may marry since they do not belong to the phratry.

## GRANDPARENT - GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP

603 The two grandparent terms, *nyéko* (*kü*) and *nyekundjó*, refer to
601 all kin of the generation of grandparents and beyond, irrespective
614 of sib or phratry affiliation. Correspondingly, their reciprocals
615 (*panaihinkü*, *-ko* and *hipanimekü*, *-ko*) do not differentiate between a child of the sib or phratry and a child outside the sib or phratry. The grandchild terms are all formed of the *pani* stem from which affinal terms are constructed. *Panaihinkü* means "my very little in-law," and *hipanimekü* means "of my in-law line." The ignoring of sib lines for grandparents seems to follow from the simple fact that at this generation level exogamy is not an issue.

603 I could get no explanation from the Cubeo as to why the grand-
601 child should be classed with the affinal line. It may result from the Cubeo interpretation of cross-cousin marriage. Brother and sister [593] negotiate for the marriage to one another of their children and so [584] would be inclined to regard the offspring of that marriage as a contribution from the affinal line to the sib. Often enough, however, I [614] have encountered the use of the descriptive terms such as *himákü-makü* (my son's son) to distinguish between a lineal descendant of the sib and other grandchildren.

601 Elders of a distant sib of the phratry may be addressed and referred
[614] to as "grandparent" even if of one's own generation. Their children consequently are called "father" or "mother." In these usages the [615] reciprocal is always *hwainyó* or *hwainkó* and never a specific "child" or "grandchild" term. Among the Tucano, Fulop (1955) has noted that one of the sibs of a phratry is the "grandparent" to all the others so that all persons of one's own generation in that sib are "grandparents." If this is also the case among the Cubeo of the Cuduiari then the fact must have escaped my notice. This usage of grandparent

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This usage of grandparent terms is different from the seniority respect usages previously discussed, because "older sibling" among the Cubeo has a formal connotation of respect, whereas the grandparent term is a genial one as in English. 601 561

## CROSS-COUSINS

Cross-cousins of the same sex often have a relationship that is formed by the fact that they have been principals in a brother-sister exchange marriage. Since their parents, who were siblings of the opposite sex, were also principals in arranging such a marriage, they have shared in some of the intimacy of relationship between these two. Cross-cousins of the same sex have, of course, little contact with one another, but having so much in common, their relationship tends to be a warm one. It is a curious relationship, in that it also has in it a latent threat of trouble, trouble that arises from marital discord. As already noted, one of the expectations of a brother-sister exchange marriage from the male viewpoint is that if his wife leaves him he can get his sister to leave her husband in retaliation. He believes that he can apply pressure upon his cross-cousin brother-in-law to send back the runaway wife or face the breakup of his own marriage. Thus, what begins as a family squabble in one community may embroil a happy marriage in the affinal community. The expectation that a woman will leave her husband only because her brother wants her to is in practice a vain hope, unless he has the cooperation of his male cross-cousin brother-in-law, who urges the woman, his sister, to return to her husband. 605 605 586 593

Cross-cousins of opposite sex refer to one another as *hitcimako* or *hitcimakü*, the possessive prefix connoting closeness. By contrast, *tcimá* has the connotation of distance. The relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex is governed by the customs of courtship and is, therefore, an individual matter. 605 [601] [193]

## THE AFFINAL GROUP

Among affinals there are two principal relationships. The most important is that between parents and children-in-law, the *pani* relationship. This relationship is both consanguineal and affinal since it includes the children of siblings of opposite sex and reciprocally the cross aunt and uncle. The Cubeo draw no distinction, incidentally, between parents and their children-in-law who are of the consanguineal kin and those who may be complete strangers. The emphasis in 606

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606 [591] this group is on the affinal relationship. Because of patrilocal residence it is the daughter-in-law who occupies a special position. She is [601] *hwainkó* (younger female), a term that receives her with familiarity and some condescension as an in-group member. A daughter-in-law is considered to be at first a replacement for a daughter who has married out, and she lives for a time under the jurisdiction of her mother-in-law, helping her in gardening and in all food preparation. A woman tries to keep her daughter-in-law within her household as long as possible, speaking of her not as her son's wife but as a replacement for her daughter who has been lost to her by marriage. One aspect of the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is stereotyped, and that is the tug of war between a woman's desire to keep her daughter-in-law within her jurisdiction and the desire of the young wife to win autonomy by cultivating her own garden. For the rest, the relationship depends upon the interplay of personalities anl upon the circumstance of whether the bride is a foreigner or a brother's daughter or a member of the brother's sib or phratry. When a child has been born and a woman has her own garden, she and her mother-in-law achieve a relationship of greater equality. Terminol- [601] ogy does not change, even though the reference to an elderly woman as *hwainkó* may seem incongruous. The term defines the relationship at its inception.

[867] It is the role of a woman to introduce her daughter-in-law to the [868] economic routines and to the local customs of the community, a task that would be inappropriate for her husband. Since the Cubeo often marry women who do not even speak their language or dialect the initial period of tutelage is most important, even though the Cubeo do not stress this feature of what is really an apprenticeship.

The relationship with a son-in-law is governed by the circumstance that he normally does not become a member of the community. At best he will be a visitor who joins in the male activities. His relationship with his mother-in-law is one of restraint rather than of formal avoidance. It is perhaps for this reason that she addresses him as [601] *hwainyó*. His relationship with his father-in-law, on the other hand, borders on intimacy and is predicated upon the equality of men engaged in their common tasks of hunting, fishing, and the conduct of ceremonies. Perhaps it is this equality that governs the use of *pani* or *paniyó* as a reciprocally used term between father-in-law and son-in-law.

607 The other set of affinal relationships recognized by the Cubeo are 601 those involving spouse's siblings, for whom a variety of terms are applied. The general affinal term is *kodjú* or its plural form *hikódju-*

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*mana* (my in-law group). These generalized terms are most appropriate in referring to members of a phratry into which one has married. They have a connotation of a claim to hospitality and of expectation of further intermarriage. Of this group of terms there is also *hikódjumu*, that is used reciprocally between men – sister's husband and wife's brother as well as sister's husband's brothers and brother's wife's brothers. Across the sexes women call their sister's husband's brothers as well as their husband's brothers *hikápenámu* and are called by these men *hikápenamo*. Women call their husband's sisters *hiwemu* and are called by them *dyáko*. *Dya* is a very general term that may be applied reciprocally between any actual in-laws of the same generation. Finally, I have an alternate term for spouse's siblings, *hiháwükimana*, and the term *kibü* for brother's son's wife. What may be observed about the affinal terms in own generation is that affinals are generally not confused with cross-cousins. As we have noted, the *tcimá* usage, which has the connotation of "sweetheart" for the Cubeo, is entirely inappropriate when one of them has married. Should a man be courting his brother's wife's sister, who is his cross-cousin, she is his *tcimá*, or rather *hitcimako*. If not, courtesy calls for the use of the affinal terms.

## ORPHANS AND STEPCHILDREN

The treatment of orphans and stepchildren underscores the importance of the actual blood tie for the Cubeo. Parents lavish affection only on their own children. While a woman is obligated to look after all her husband's children, this need mean nothing more than that she feed them. That she will favor her own children and neglect or treat the others harshly is more or less expected. A man does not expect his second wife to accept as her own his children by another wife. A girl with a stepmother has a more difficult time than a boy, since women generally favor their sons and are harsh with daughters. The mother is her daughter's disciplinarian in household work. Her son is the little lord of the household, his sister its slavey. Stepdaughters are set the most burdensome tasks while own daughters are then freer to play. Own daughters then make common cause with their mother at the stepdaughter's expense. Since the father does not mix in the female side of the household he can do little to improve his daughter's lot with her stepmother.

A boy with a stepmother is less underprivileged. His is the male prerogative of being looked after by a woman, his mother or his sisters. He has his male play pack for companionship and can look

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KINSHIP TERMS

*nyéko* Grandmother and all old women of grandparent generation of maternal and paternal lines, as well as older women of an opposite phratry, regardless of generation.

*nyékundjó* Grandfather and all old men of grandparent generation of the lineage and of the sib, including maternal or paternal lineages.

*nyékü* "Grandfather": all old men of own phratry or of opposite phratry regardless of lineage.

*bakó* or *hipako* Mother, mother's sisters, all women married to father's brothers, and all mothers of sib brothers.

*bakü* or *badjü* or *hipakü* Own father, as well as sons of men of the phratry who are called *nyékü*. (*Badjü* is the affectionate term.)

*baküdyó* Father's brother and all father's sib brothers.

*himámjko* My own and lineage older sister.

*himámikü* My own and lineage older brother.

*hiyoko* My own and lineage younger sister.

*hiyokü* My own and lineage younger brother.

*amiyó* My older sib or phratry brother; includes all male parallel cousins, but only those mother's sisters' sons who are of the phratry.

*amikó* My older sib or phratry sister; includes all female parallel cousins, but only those mother's sisters' daughters who are of the phratry.

*hwainyó* "Youngster." It is applied to all children of siblings, to all younger male parallel cousins of the sib and phratry, to all children of sib brothers, and to all of grandchild generation of the phratry who are outside of the lineage.

*hwainkó* The female counterpart of *hwainyó*. It is also the term for daughter-in-law.

*hwankü* An alternative form of *hwainyó* generally restricted to younger men of a close sib in the phratry.

*hwa* A short and colloquial form of *hwainyó* used between younger men of same generation of the phratry without necessary regard for relative age.

*mamü* A variant form of amiyó that is used only between members of different sibs of the same phratry.

*mamüko* The female counterpart of *mamü*.

*amyóbakü* Literally "older brother-father." A special respect term a woman applies to an older brother.

*himako* My own daughter.

*himakü* My own son.

*hipanimeko* Granddaughter of the maternal or paternal lineage.

*hipanimekü* Grandson of the maternal or paternal lineage.

*panaihinko* Granddaughter (literally "my little in-law") and alternative and more affectionate reference.

*panaihinkü* Grandson, counterpart of *panaihinko*.

*tcumi* Generalized affectionate term for male grandchild (literally "little one"). Can be extended as an affectionate term toward any younger male, but only by a woman.

*tcúmiko* Female counterpart of *tcumi*. Only a woman would use it for a younger sister.

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*pakomá* Kinsman (male or female) of my own phratry.
*tcimá* Cross-cousin of my own sex.
*hitcimako* Female cross-cousin (m.s.),[a] wife's sister.
*hitcimakü* Male cross-cousin (w.s.),[b] husband's brother.
*hipánimo* Mother-in-law, father's sister (m.s., w.s.).
*hipániyo* Father-in-law, mother's brother (m.s., w.s.).
*pani* Generalized term for parent-in-law or child-in-law.
*himanipako* Wife (literally "my children's mother").
*himanipakü* Husband (literally "my children's father").
*tcumipako* or *tcumipakü* These are alternative terms for husband and wife with colloquial connotations.
*kodjü* Generalized term for members of a phratry into which one marries.
*hikápenamu* Husband's brother, sister's husband (w.s.).
*hikápenamo* Wife's sister, brother's wife (m.s.).
*hikódjumana* My sibling's spouse, a generalized term.
*hikódjumu* My sister's husband (m.s.).
*hikáwükimana* My spouse's sibling.
*hikópwimana* Wife's brother in an exchange marriage.
*hiwemu* Husband's sister.
*dyako* Reciprocal of *hiwemu*.
*dya* Any in-law of one's own generation.
*kibü* Brother's son's wife.
*hiwá* Any relative (literally "my people").

**CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP TERMS**

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*hikünahu* A very close friend.
*hihwimu* My male friend (w.s.).
*djuré hwiyo*[c] My female friend (m.s.).
*hikü* Generalized term for male friend.
*hiko* Generalized term for female friend.
*adjuré hwinomwa* Ceremonial friendship between two women.

[a] Man speaking.
[b] Woman speaking.
[c] *Djuré* has the connotation of "sweetheart."

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614 584 walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest
[836] is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting
[832] coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of
these is an extract of *ilwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult,
[789] a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she
is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

614 583 584 Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents
[601] and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *tcimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *tcimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *tcimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *tcimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

614 574 583 584 It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the maloca and of the community – the groom joining the age group of his *tcimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

614 619 574 583 584 This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

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539 woman was very pretty and *Kúwai* was happy. He named her "Carved Woman." He took her home as his wife and drove out the other woman. *Mamũwũ* came along and asked *Kúwai*, "Are you living alone?" *Kúwai* told him what had happened. This made *Mamũwũ* angry and he took "Carved Woman" away from *Kúwai*. Now *Kúwai* lived alone and went about looking for another wife. He sat upon the branch of a tree and wept. Then along came Otter. He asked *Kúwai* why he was weeping. *Kúwai* told him that *Mamũwũ* had taken away his wife. Otter then told *Kúwai* where his wife was living. He led *Kúwai* to a beautifully painted house that was under the river. There *Kúwai* saw his wife. He seized her and fetched her home to Urania. One day *Kúwai* saw an angry *Mamũwu* come after him. In fright *Kúwai* leaped up and fled. He never returned. He is now living at Carurú on the Vaupés without a wife.

In another version *Kúwai* cut down a tree and carved it into the form of a woman. He brought it to his grandmother and asked her to make all the body parts that belong to a woman. He returned to find that his grandmother had completed a beautiful woman. This woman did not know where she had come from. She went to the river to fetch water. An anaconda came by and copulated with her. Each day when she went for water the anaconda came and they copulated. *Kúwai* noticed this. One day he watched, and when his wife and the anaconda were copulating, *Kúwai* blew a dart from his blowgun very high into the air. It came down with great force, struck the anaconda in the back, and killed him. *Kúwai* seized the anaconda and cut off his penis. He transformed it into four minnows which he gave to his wife to eat. As she ate the minnows, *Kúwai* told her she was eating the penis of her lover. The woman spit out the food and went to the river to look for her lover, but he did not appear. *Kúwai* then threw his wife away and she became a tree again.

In a third version the saddened wife, awaiting the return of her anaconda lover at the river, was disappointed when only a little anaconda "as thin as a string" appeared to tell her that her lover was dead.

[581] It is perhaps indicative of Cubeo attitudes on marital stability that *Kúwai* is depicted as ultimately unsuccessful in marriage, and, disillusioned with the faithlessness of woman, retires to live in solitude on a nearby hilltop.

593 The terms for spouse, *himanípako* (wife) and *himanípakũ* (husband), denote the important emphasis in marriage. These terms mean literally "my children's mother" and "my children's father." Before children are born husband and wife address one another simply with the common expression hápyako (listen!).
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the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patriloral sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

197 as Tukanoan by contrast with Indian languages of other families. After a person becomes familiar with one of them, the other Eastern Tukanoan languages begin to sound different to him; but the "Tukano ear," while helpful in recording Eastern Tukanoan languages, turns out not to be helpful in recording phonetic detail from languages outside of the Eastern Tukanoan family. The speaker-hearer of an Eastern Tukanoan language is culturally very sensitive to the fine phonetic detail, which he perceives in the form of an "accent." Such detail varies considerably from language to language and, even within some languages, from region to region.

194 Phonologically, differences in accent reflect a number of things: allophonic fronting of vowels, or lowering of vowels; more opening or less opening of the mouth during production of the vowels; incomplete (versus complete) closure of obstruents in syllables that are not marked by strong stress; more or less contouring of canonically level tones in given environments. These differences are mostly very subtle in quality, and usually speaker-hearers are unable to describe the specific phonological details involved in what they hear as an "accent."

193 The morphologies of these languages are generally similar, but they vary considerably on specific points. There can even be said to be an Eastern Tukanoan type, but each language still has its own distinctive differences. For instance, most Eastern Tukanoan languages have only two general forms for person in the verbal paradigm, but not all: Piratapuyo has three. The participial system seems to be more developed in some languages than in others. In lexicon, there is again general similarity, but not coincidence, between languages. In the [601] exceptional area of kinship terminology, for example, more relatives may be distinguished in one language than in another, and what appear to be cognate terms in two languages may not refer to the same relative.

191 I have observed that when an Indian knows how to speak two closely related languages (of the sort connected by "and" in the appendix), he carefully and even consciously keeps them apart. It has occurred to me that the exogamic and other cultural institutions to be discussed below may be exerting a force that makes a speaker want to render closely related languages farther apart, even to an artificial extent, but so far I have detected no

562 /445 cont./
881 without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following men-
*[192] struation, Məhẽka-nĩsé, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

611 Among the tribes of the Uaupés it is generation /Port. geração,
[601] generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (fiõx-kãkõra, grandparents) and descendants (marĩ-bero-maxsã), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

• 602 The components of the same tribe, although born and living
619 in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerẽra (86),
[601]
[178]

86. The term axkawerẽra is beginning to be extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

a term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" /relatives/ and sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason we are of the opinion (VIII-2, a) that initially the local group coincided with the family.

*192 Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree
609 of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpẽra (87),

87. Axpẽra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpĩ (masculine) and axpego, feminine, other.

that is strangers, foreigners.

602 /446/
619 True kinship, therefore, exists only between the individuals of the same tribe, and with all of them.

2) Affinity.

582 Although strict tribal exogamy is in force, marriage establishes between the children and the relatives of both their father and their mother relations of affinity, similar to those of kinship (not, however, the obligations of vengeance and of matrimonial interdiction) and with a special nomenclature, although not as rich in terms as that of kinship.

582 Since "preferential marriage" is in force (usually with the first cousins of another tribe), that is, with the first cousins on
601 the mother's side, or baxsú-kãra (Masc. sing. baxsukõ, Fem. sing.
602 baxsuko), they admit the relation of affinity of the baxsukãra among themselves, as well as between the parents and the class of the "possible spouses" of the children. There are appropriate terms for these "possible spouses," "possible parents-in-law," and "possible children-in-law."

601 There might perhaps not even exist a term to express the relation of affinity; then they use a term for the relation of kin-
602 ship. For example, the native idioms of the Uaupés do not have terms corresponding to stepfather, stepmother, stepson, stepdaughter. In indirect discourse they describe the relation that exists, that is, one is called: "husband of my mother" (stepfather), "wife of my father" (stepmother), "son or daughter of my husband, or of my wife" (stepson, stepdaughter). And in direct discourse one is called by the name of the relation (uncle, grandfather, etc.), and they will call the stepchildren "children."

601 There are indeed terms, although also classificatory, that is, applicable to a whole class of individuals, corresponding to son-in-law and brother-in-law, but used almost solely for indirect discourse. For direct discourse they prefer the terms of social kinship; of these terms we shall indicate only the most common

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each [251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [417] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [614] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. [237] They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaúeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 484 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 574 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for 602 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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under duress. Men worked on the house only when they felt cheerful and dedicated to the work. The man who felt out of sorts dropped away and returned only when his spirits had improved. Dependency upon mood was one of the most important factors delaying completion of a house. 342 461

Even so, the magnitude of the technical problems is not to be underestimated. The mere assemblage of material is a complex, arduous, and time-consuming task. Construction materials are not always close to hand. The *Bahúkiwa* fetched roofing thatch from the mouth of the Cuduiarí in what was technically the territory of the *Hehénewa* sibs. Their house of 12 compartments consumed 560 bundles of thatch, and, since each canoe could transport only five bundles, over a hundred canoe loads were needed, a task that would normally be spread out over many months. The *Bahúkiwa* headman was able to borrow from the *Comisaria* a large cargo barge and in this way a great deal of time was saved. Even so, a large party of several households camped for weeks on the lower river during a dry season, gathering and preparing the parana palm thatch (*trinú*). Altogether, thatch gathering consumed 50 days of the time of at least half the community. The practice is for the headman to institute a "crash program" to get each phase of the work well under way. His problem is to fit each phase of construction into the routine of daily and of seasonal life with minimum disruption. Strictly speaking, the decisions are not his. His is the technical voice, but he will do nothing without discussion with the household heads. Roofing can be cut during the two dry seasons and can never be finished in only one. Gathering, trimming, and binding the parana palm leaves into sheaves is the only housebuilding task in which women share. [427] [505] [462]

The headman, together with his firmest supporters, that is, his own sons and blood brothers, has the specific responsibility for erecting the central framework, the three pairs of heavy posts that will support the main weight of the roof. Others may help in this if they wish but they have no specific obligation to do so. The inner framework of three pairs of heavy posts forms the inner box around which the rest of the house is built. The timbers must be carefully chosen and then well dug in, while the parallelogram must be very carefully laid out. The floor plan is laid out with long sticks, and right angles are very accurately estimated. The rest of the framework including the ridgepole is a collective enterprise and is the second stage of construction. Roofing is the third stage. When enough roof has been laid down to provide even a bare shelter, the close kin of the headman move in. 342 335 [622] 342 [622] [602]

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relation of the men to the manioc cultivations is as follows. By working jointly in making a clearing the men are fulfilling, in part, a sib obligation. This is of minor importance, however, as compared with the specific obligations and the ensuing relationship between a man and a woman. No bond between a man and a woman is of greater importance and richer in sentiment than that set up by the making and cultivating of a manioc garden. Every garden plot defines a relationship between a specific man and a specific woman. A woman without a man can have no garden. A man without a woman has no clearing to make; he can have subordinate status only in another household. Each side gains status from the arrangement. The only firm bond is that between husband and wife. A widow has only a frail claim upon the labor of her brother, whose primary obligation is to his own household, where his wife keeps jealous watch over her own *chagra*; for a woman's pride is deeply involved in the size of her manioc clearing. The Cubeo regard the size of clearing as a sign of a husband's affection for his wife. A widow has a better claim upon an unmarried son. As we shall see, between unmarried brother and unmarried sister a semiconjugal relationship develops over the material holding of land. 244 423 593 571 [614]

We have spoken of a reciprocity in status involved in the manioc *chagra*. There is also a specific and related economic reciprocity. By making a clearing a man obligates his wife's production. The preparation of manioc cake is never spoken of as a wifely obligation, but chicha and farinha are. The point of economic reciprocity as it sometimes emerges in the course of conjugal quarrels is entirely one of status and not of so fundamental an issue as food. If we are to speak of male-female reciprocity on matters of food the issue is between the male flesh foods and the female cultivated foods. Although a man obligates his wife's labor for chicha and for farinha he evidently does not obligate all of it, for a woman will suddenly declare that she is cosponsoring a drinking party by a contribution of "her" manioc. Moreover, it is part of the status of a wife that she can freely contract part of her farinha production for personal objects, such as cloth and trinkets. If there is a formal principle governing this kind of connubial economic arrangement I did not learn what it is. 244 423 462 593 [261]

The point to emphasize with respect to manioc cultivations, then, is that the issue in possession of land is not simply that of subsistence. It would be unthinkable for a Cubeo to allow a sibmate, or phratry mate for that matter, to hunger if he had any food for him. When a solitary woman laments that her *chagra* is exhausted and no kinsman is moving to make another for her, the fear she voices is not that she 244 423 261 602

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and sharing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege [431] of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled 423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, 431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 423 614 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one territorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of 226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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use it, and, as the others do, he shares his catch with the community. 226
Weir sites are inherited by a son so that there is some tendency for 423
this specialty in fishing to descend in certain families and not in (428)
others.

In objects there are two main kinds of property rights, those of 421
the community and those of the individual. Community rights are in all objects made for public use by the headman or his wife, such as a large canoe, great chicha urns, the manioc oven, the sugar cane press, and guest benches. Of a somewhat less public nature are ceremonial objects and musical instruments also made by the headman or by an aspirant to his office. The first group of objects are fully in the public domain and subject to constant use. The second group are in the possession of their maker and are brought out by him alone on the proper occasion. Full individual ownership resides in all other personal possessions: household utensils, canoes, weapons, trinkets and ornaments, all trade goods from Europeans, and items of clothing. Disposition of these objects is subject entirely to the discretion of the owner.

Infants also own property and their rights are more or less respected. 858
Sometimes a planting is set in an infant's name by the parent or 421
grandparent. A mother commonly dedicates a brood of chicks to her nursing child. The feeling is that, as with ornaments, possessions confer human status. That is, a person should own things. If the child is 858
old enough to understand possession it assumes charge, more or less, 421
otherwise its possessions are administered by its mother. I have nego- 593
tiated, for example, the purchase of chickens owned by children. In 123
one instance a mother prevailed upon her little boy to sell me a 425
chicken. After the sale was made, however, the child wailed miserably 867
so that I felt obliged to make him a gift of it. His mother kept the purchase price and announced that she owed the child the value of the chicken. When the child does not understand the transaction, its mother announces publicly the facts of ownership and her intentions to make restitution.

The attitude of the Cubeo toward personal possessions is best 421.
described as casual. They are not indifferent to objects but they regard strongly proprietary feelings as improper. Their attitude toward ownership is governed by the important status principle that giving is honorific. Among sibmates objects circulate freely, the closer the tie between people the more active the exchanges. Sisters exchange orna- (602)
ments and trinkets and men borrow freely from one another with (593)
or without permission. They seem to be most free with objects of economic utility, such as a canoe, weapons, implements, and somewhat

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# 4

## *Kinship*

539 The focus of Cubeo kinship is the sibling group, of which the
601 brothers form a permanent body, the hard core, so to speak, and the sisters an emotionally close but separable group, since they are the ones who marry out. The sibling group is the model for the extension of terms of consanguinity throughout the phratry.[1] More people are
601 addressed and referred to as "sibling" than by any other term. When
• 602 the Cubeo speak in Spanish or in Portuguese they identify all their age mates within the range of patrilineal consanguinity as "my brother" or "my sister." Their own language differentiates degrees of sibling closeness, distinguishing lineage brothers, sib brothers, and
[193] phratry brothers. But the linguistic device for drawing these distinctions, by manipulating prefixes and suffixes without altering the stem itself, seems to be a finely contrived compromise between the desire to embrace all patrilineal consanguineal kin within the bonds of brotherhood and the need to deal with the actualities of relationships. The Cubeo are very sensitive to terms of address and so they use terms not merely to designate a precise degree of relationship, but diplomatically, to create a mood of closeness or of distance. I believe this diplomatic use of kinship draws mainly, perhaps exclusively, upon the sibling terms, since all other terms of consanguinity are by comparison of far lesser significance. A phratry brother may be called by the term appropriate for sib or even lineage brother and vice versa. When this is done, the speaker indicates by his manner

[1] There is a list of relationship terms at the end of this chapter.

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601
602 or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

593 The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In any case they share common traditions and the highly significant [574] bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the 601 thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother." 602 Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means [193] literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

593 Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

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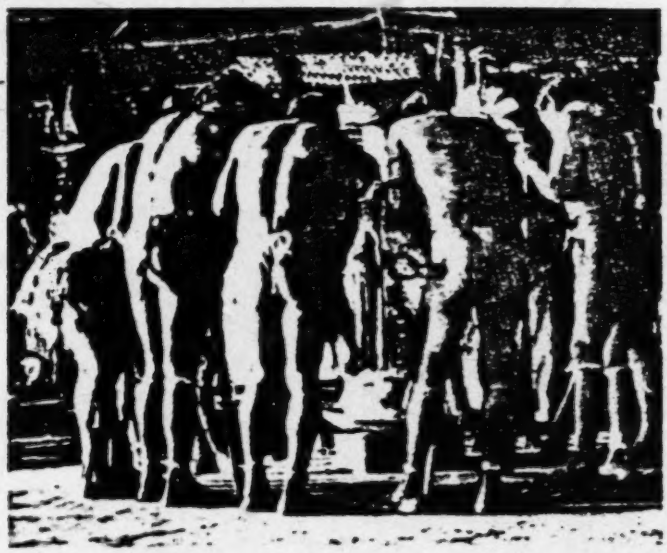

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

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term has apparently taken on a masculine meaning and *amikó* is used to specify the female. A term *amikû* does not exist to my knowledge. With the loss of the possessive prefix *hi* some of the intimacy has gone out of the term. Nevertheless, being diplomatic in their use of kinship terms, the Cubeo sometimes employ the form *himámiyo* and so give the term a warmer tone.

Finally, the most distant usage is to employ only the stem *mamû* ("older one") equally to male and female to connote the barest sibling relationship. I never heard this term used because, I suppose, the Cubeo find it too formal. Rather than call a person *mamû* they prefer the more cordial *pakomá* (kinsman). The special respect use of this term for men of the head sib has already been described.

The junior sibling term is rather unusual. I am inclined to regard it as a quasi-kinship term because it has equally a kinship and an age-grade connotation. *Hwainyó* means literally "one who is in the class of youths." Like *amiyó* it can refer to females, but *hwainkó* is the special term for a younger sib and phratry sister. Because it is an age-grade term, the kinship meaning of *hwainyó* is so wide that it has come to mean any person of sib or phratry who is younger either by relative age within one's generation or is of a younger generation. When it is used as the reciprocal for *amiyó*, as a respect term, it refers to one to whom one condescends somewhat as a donor or good Samaritan. It would seem that the Cubeo have developed only the senior term as a true kinship term and have given seniors the prerogative of addressing all their juniors, whether by age or status, simply as "youth." Nor is the term bound by phratry, since it is applied to all grandchildren (male or female) who are not of the lineage. *Hwainyó* also means son-in-law and any nephew or niece. *Hwainkó* is the daughter-in-law. *Hwankû* is a serviceable male form giving it somewhat greater intimacy and thus is limited generally to younger men of one's own sib or of closely related sibs. The abbreviated form *hwa*, a more jocular term, is also used.

## BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

Lineage brothers and sib brothers are joined by all the strong bonds of a localized patrilineal sib organization. The obligations of lineage brothers toward one another are very little less binding than those of blood brothers, and the obligations of sib brothers, while somewhat less binding, are still considered to be strong. But these brotherly ties are general and taken for granted, whereas the relationship between brother and sister, as indeed that between husband

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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571 (621) main emphasis upon the person and not upon the community. Such an emphasis, needless to say, tends to favor autonomy over linkage.

It is evident that the foregoing discussion of linkage-autonomy is in many respects simply a restatement of the familiar concept of segmentation. There are, however, significant differences that justify the use of other terminology. Segmentation as defined by Nadel (1953, p. 177) refers to a more limited set of relationships than have been included here. As an example of segment he describes a "hierarchical structure being arranged in an order of progressive inclusiveness, as lineages, for example, build up clans, and clans build up a tribe, or as several village communities form a district, and several districts the state. . . ." From the standpoint of this definition, Cubeo society is, of course, segmentary. The concept of segmentation, however, is purely objective, and as such is pertinent to the purposes of social anthropology. However, the term "segmentation" carries no cultural connotations, since it does not define the point of view of the members of the culture. Therefore it is inadequate for the aims of cultural anthropology. The concept of linkage-autonomy, on the other hand, expresses a cultural, a Cubeo, point of view and indicates how this point of view is embodied in social structure. This Cubeo point of view, which places a value both upon extending relationships and maintaining autonomy, goes beyond the structural patterns that are commonly included under the concepts of segmentation. It is a more inclusive concept.

## LATERAL AND HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS

All social structures are regulated by bonds of relatively equivalent status relationships, as well as by bonds of nonequivalent or unequal status relationships. The former, existing on roughly the same social plane, are called lateral, and the latter, existing on different social planes, are called hierarchical. Hierarchy is always a culturally defined term and represents a clear-cut distinction of relative worth. Lateral is also a culturally defined term, but laterality is not a clearly set relationship of status equivalence. Hence it must be modified by the adjective "relative." The ranking of sibs is a clear example of hierarchy among the Cubeo, whereas kinship relations, including ceremonial friendships, are lateral. However, since kinship relations also embody formal principles of hierarchy, such as generation, seniority, consanguinity, and affinity they are lateral only by contrast with the strongly hierarchical distinctions of authority, power, pres-

571 602 554 (614)

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tige, and rank. Societies differ with respect to the relative role these 571
two principles have in the social structure. That of the Cubeo is very 602
strongly lateral and only weakly hierarchical. Even the ranking of 554
sibs has ritualistic rather than political significance. Rank confers prestige but no power. On the other hand, it does confer economic privilege of a sort by granting to the high ranks superior river rights. But the Cubeo themselves do not make an issue of this economic distinction. Political authority, as we have shown, is relatively slight. In kinship, age, generational, and descent seniority elicit some respect and provide for ritual precedence. Such precedence is a prestige point. But the prestige accrues less in everyday affairs than upon formal occasions. Thus, from the Cubeo point of view virtually all 571
relationships between persons and between groups are lacking in dominance-subordination, whereas only in rituals, that is, only upon the plane of the sacred, are there distinctions of worth and of respect. Even these are rather minor, involving only ritual precedence. The ritual pattern itself is not hierarchical. Now segmentation, as Nadel has observed, is a hierarchical form of organization, yet in the case of the Cubeo, segmental hierarchy has little cultural significance. Since [615]
the phratry has no organization of leadership it is not, in actuality, a "higher" segment. For all secular purposes the sibs deal with one another as equals.

The principal characteristic of a strong lateral structure, such as that of the Cubeo, is its considerable flexibility in forming new linkages and in rearranging old ones. Hierarchical structures, on the other hand, are dependent upon, or subject to, the authority of a higher-ranking segment. The new linkages that any Cubeo household is free to establish are limited far more by personal preferences than by inviolable principles. Sib exogamy is such an inviolable principle, but phratric exogamy is somewhat different. It [614]
involves not the "dread" of incest but rather the sentiment of confraternity. Cubeo flexibility responds to the absence of political [615]
constraint. Sibs can move about, and can, if they wish, change phratric affiliation.

## FISSILITY

From the two preceding principles of sociocultural structure there 571
follows a third, ease of fission. Every segment of the entire social 621
structure has the capability of detaching itself from the larger body. The factions that have actually broken off include sib clusters, sibs,

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what it was yesterday. Moreover, the concept of homeostasis, like that of pattern, is a theory of society. As a theory it rests upon further theoretical assumptions as to what are the significant relationships, what are the normal patterns, and what are the disharmonious and stressful interactions. In the final analysis, a theory of homeostasis deals primarily with the ways in which a society handles conflicts and stresses. From a broad perspective, one can say that Cubeo society depends rather heavily upon what might be called "mood management" for equilibrium. Its homeostasis rests a good deal less upon networks of reciprocal obligations and upon formal exchanges of goods than, let us say, in Melanesian societies. The clearest illustration of this Cubeo equilibrium principle is in the role of the headman. In Cubeo culture he is not an economic redistributor (the drinking parties cannot be regarded as an economic exchange) but a regulator of community sentiment and of good feeling. However, the nature of Cubeo equilibrium is best considered at each particular level of social integration. 121 571 121 571 622

Cubeo society may be presented diagrammatically as encompassing five orbits of relationship, arranged in order of progressively weaker bonds of unity. The innermost orbit is represented by the male siblings, the nucleus of the sib; the second orbit is the sib itself; the third orbit is the phratry; the fourth, the affinal kin; and the fifth and outermost, the tribe. The brother-sister relationships and the husband-wife relationships may be regarded as within the confines of the first and second orbits. 571 61 602 [593]

Each orbit has its own characteristics of equilibrium. To take them in reverse order: Tribal unity is so tenuous that fragmentation into subtribal units is of little consequence. New combinations are readily formed and whatever disturbance this may cause is very temporary. Tribal continuity rests upon tradition and common language and customs, on the one hand, and upon the phratric organization, of which it is a summation, on the other. With respect to tribe, the question of equilibrium is more pertinently not what holds the tribe together, but rather what there is to disperse it. Tradition and common customs and language are little more than bonds of inertia. Once set, they hold unless some stronger force intervenes. Against what counterforces are the relatively weak bonds of tradition to contend? The answer is that there are no such counterforces arising from within the society, since tribal unity has no tasks to accomplish that could involve stresses and strains. Paradoxically, the very absence of a tribal leadership is a source of unity. By virtue of the linkage- 571 619

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614 a term that connotes out-of-the-sib, as does *pani*. Thus, Cubeo usage
[601] with respect to daughter-in-law points up again the strength of their feelings about membership in the common residence group.

The problematical relatives are the mother's sister's children. There is no problem if they are also father's brother's children, or if they have been born within one phratry. But since mother's sisters
[615] marry into other phratries or into other tribes, their children are in effect strangers who belong to their paternal sib or tribe. They are
[582] not included in the kinship system, they are lost sight of, and such parallel cousins one may marry since they do not belong to the phratry.

## GRANDPARENT - GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP

603 The two grandparent terms, *nyéko* (*kũ*) and *nyekundjó*, refer to
601 all kin of the generation of grandparents and beyond, irrespective
614 of sib or phratry affiliation. Correspondingly, their reciprocals
615 (*panaihinkũ*, *-ko* and *hipanimekũ*, *-ko*) do not differentiate between a child of the sib or phratry and a child outside the sib or phratry. The grandchild terms are all formed of the *pani* stem from which affinal terms are constructed. *Panaihinkũ* means "my very little in-law," and *hipanimekũ* means "of my in-law line." The ignoring of sib lines for grandparents seems to follow from the simple fact that at this generation level exogamy is not an issue.

603 I could get no explanation from the Cubeo as to why the grand-
601 child should be classed with the affinal line. It may result from the Cubeo interpretation of cross-cousin marriage. Brother and sister
[593] negotiate for the marriage to one another of their children and so
[584] would be inclined to regard the offspring of that marriage as a contribution from the affinal line to the sib. Often enough, however, I
[614] have encountered the use of the descriptive terms such as *himákũmakũ* (my son's son) to distinguish between a lineal descendant of the sib and other grandchildren.

601 Elders of a distant sib of the phratry may be addressed and referred
[614] to as "grandparent" even if of one's own generation. Their children consequently are called "father" or "mother." In these usages the
[615] reciprocal is always *hwainyó* or *hwainkó* and never a specific "child" or "grandchild" term. Among the Tucano, Fulop (1955) has noted that one of the sibs of a phratry is the "grandparent" to all the others so that all persons of one's own generation in that sib are "grandparents." If this is also the case among the Cubeo of the Cuduiari then the fact must have escaped my notice. This usage of grandparent

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843 826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating. [302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to an- [763] other, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 854 302 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers) she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red [789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornme[illegible] [856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands [illegible] [603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these [606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of t[illegible] time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as [illegible] sible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going nea[illegible] [262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread an[illegible] they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others [372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their [828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahukiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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846 fish that are mentioned. For example, a small fish that has many small
789 bones, the *dóthe*, is addressed, "Son of the *dóthe* have no spines. Do
262 not cause harm to our offspring. Allow [yourself] to be eaten."

[603] In the case of the aracú, the most common fish in the diet, the grandfather who is reciting the spells takes up a fish and cuts off its tail. If he did not do this, the tail when eaten would grow into a full-sized fish in the stomach and kill the child. After each spell has been recited the grandfather blows tobacco smoke, wafting his breath by an outward motion of the hand. The magical mechanism, as it was explained to me, is that the recitation invokes the fish and the blowing (*pupúdjũ*) has the effect of dispelling the danger.

Capsicum is spelled and blown so that its odor, which has the power to dispel ghosts and spirits, will not harm the child. Manioc has a disturbing odor when raw. This odor will be harmful and the manioc itself will not nourish if the spell is not recited. The child will remain thin. Eating unspelled manioc cake will also cause the child's skin to become as hard and coarse as the bark of a tree. Each variety of manioc, however, must be mentioned by name.

For birds, however, the small white eagle is invoked because this bird, the *towáve*, eats all birds that the Cubeo eat. The spell states that as the "odor of burned birds" does not harm the *towáve* so it will not harm the human young. Similarly, for animals the young of the jaguar are invoked in behalf of all the game they eat. However, whereas the *towáve* is addressed generally in behalf of all birds, the spell for the jaguar must mention each of the animals he eats by name. Again, the danger to be avoided is in each case that of the odor of cooking.

846 The spell that is chanted as the river is "blown" refers to the ana-
789 condas, asking them not to notice the people who are bathing. The cigarette smoke as it is wafted over the river is told to form a heavy coating as of miriti fibers so that nothing that is below water can come to the surface.

The reference of these spells seems ambiguous for the Cubeo. It is clear, of course, that what is sought is protection for the newborn
[551] infant. Since the infant has as yet no name and must be referred to only by the general designation *pwénte hyédokũ* (offspring person), the spells, my informant explained, have beneficial effects for all offspring of the sib.

[302] The man who "blows" the river coats his hands and feet with genipa so that he seems to be wearing gloves and stockings. The genipa has magical power to dispel water spirits. He carries a handful of burning faggots from the hearth of the natal household while

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act be- 846
lieved to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, 789
scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press any- 846
thing, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of [789] these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is 551
not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given 851
a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child [789]
comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. [856]
To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to
understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body *size*, how much 826
they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in [192]
itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahü* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahümikü* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is con- 553
ducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the 603
name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the 789
house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather re- 593
peatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father
accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's [272]
mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to [614]
emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it
grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth [856]
magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihí*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urúhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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The Cubeo are also fond of the
young of animals and treat them with intelligent solicitude. One man 825
built a long platform in his house so that his dogs would not have to sleep on the ground. Men, having shot some monkeys, found an infant clinging to its mother's dead body. They massaged the monkey's breast, saying, "The baby should have the last drop of its mother's milk."

Toilet training is casual. No one who carries a child about shows 863
annoyance or disgust at being soiled. The Cubeo are reticent about excretory functions but they do not teach by chiding. They have no fixed ideas as to when a child should be toilet trained. The only injunctions a crawling baby is likely to hear are warnings against injury, if it is too near the fire or the liquid starch with its poisonous content of prussic acid. Still, it is rare for a walking child to urinate or defecate in the house.

Walking and talking are actively encouraged. To help the child 856
walk the father provides a harness (*taro*) through which the child's legs pass, allowing it to sit, stand, or walk. The harness is often suspended from a beam and serves as a tether for the child. Mother and father stimulate the child to talk by fluttering its lips. Lip fluttering is a game that persists into late childhood. Cubeo parents dread passivity in a child. They want to see it stirring about and restless. It is for this reason that the mother teases her infant, stirring it to anger or gaiety. The story is told that *K'iwai* once observed a passive child. He said, "The child must be made to move about," and so [773]
created the bothersome pium flies.

The crawling baby is still in its mother's charge. When it has be- 85
gun to walk and to take solid nourishment, and its parents have resumed sexual relations, it is transferred to the care of an older sister. Every little girl from the age of six on is burdened with a walking baby that rides her left hip as it did its mother's. At this age, when it is learning to walk, many people look after the child. Its paternal [603]
grandmother becomes a principal guardian and looks after the child's feeding. After a new baby is born the separation of the young walking child from its mother becomes almost complete. A woman [862]
discourages nursing by coating her nipples with a bitter substance even though a boy has casual and playful access to his mother's breast until about the age of six.

## CHILDHOOD

In the life of a boy there is an interval of some four years when he 855
no longer receives the same close attention from his mother and has

[text continues on p. 177]

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## PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

593 604 [601] The Cubeo distinguish between father and father's brothers, but do not distinguish between mother and mother's sisters. The term *bakũdyó* means "like a father."[3] This distinction conveys rather precisely the actualities of the relationship. Relations between fathers and sons (the daughters are linked in household duties with the mother) are intimate, and one important sign of intimacy is the privilege that a youngster has of taking food from his father before it is brought into the maloca or into the individual household. Boys value this privilege enormously when they are preadolescent. Without a father a boy will be fed by his father's brother but will lack this privilege with food that he had with his own father. The relationship between paternal uncle and nephew is a strongly supportive one, but with restraint in it. A boy does not take or handle objects belonging to his father's brother without permission. With his father's possessions he has the same freedom as with the possessions of his sibmates of his own generation.

593 601 604 Parents and children share an exclusive set of kinship terms and thereby set themselves apart from the fraternal joint family. Even though mother and mother's sister are equated, a woman distinguishes, as does her husband, between her own and her sister's children. The equation of mother and mother's sister is normal clan usage in a classificatory system. Among the Cubeo, this equation is [587] not related either to the sororate or to sororal polygyny. It would [595] seem to correspond rather to the principle of generalizing relationships that are less important and differentiating very sharply relationships that are most important. With respect to the term for 593 [601] "mother," this is not to say that the actual relationship between children and mother lacks real importance, but only that from the point of view of patriliny of the sib the incoming females, such as mothers, are less important. Actually, the feeling for one's own mother is very strong, not only on the part of the daughters but on [595] the part of the sons too. In a polygynous household the sons of the same mother share a close link with one another; and as we have

[114] [3] Koch-Grünberg, who stayed with a *Hanéneru* group at the mouth of the Cuduiari, reported that father and father's brother were equated, as were mother and father's sister (1909, II, 82). Since he did not use the genealogical method it is likely that he was in error with respect to both reported usages. The equation of mother with father's sister controvenes, of course, the patriliny of the sib. On the other hand, the grouping of father and father's brother is conceivable since the distinction between *bakũ* and *bakũdyó* is not great for the Cubeo. In calling attention to this difference of information I should add that the nature of the Cubeo tribe is such that variations in minor usages are perhaps to be expected.

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already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in behavior.

The father's sister is *panimó*, a term built on the root *pani*, which means "in-law." Although a woman of the sib, she rates as an in-law because her daughter is normally eligible as a cross-cousin marriage partner. *Panimó* also means "mother-in-law." There are no formal avoidances with a mother-in-law. Ordinarily, because of the rules of residence, a man sees little of his mother-in-law.

Mother's brother (*paniyó*) is a parallel relative to father's sister. He is father-in-law. There are no formal avoidances in this relationship. The important relationship is between a woman and her father-in-law. There is a good deal of restraint between these two. The father-in-law is her mentor on moral issues, and if she commits adultery he will often act in the matter before his son does. Reserve between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is eased after a time but never lapses. The Cubeo defend the unity of the sib by regarding the in-marrying women as permanent strangers. It is the father-in-law as a sib elder who is expected to enforce the separateness. Coupled with this reserve and, in a sense, counteracting it, is the fact that he calls her *hwainkó*. Reserve prevents sexual joking, licentious bodily contact, and other undue levity. It does not bar the father-in-law from beating his daughter-in-law. Father-in-law and son-in-law may refer to one another by the common term, *pani*. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there is only the reserve of unfamiliarity. But when a man does come with his wife to visit her parents he is warmly welcomed as a son and is drawn into all common activities. The visit of a daughter is so exciting an occasion for the Cubeo that the son-in-law is readily tempted in the aura of warmth and good cheer to prolong his stay.

The terms that siblings apply to one another's children are only partially based on considerations of the marriage possibilities between their young. Primarily, the children of siblings are regarded as "youngsters." As juniors they merit generalized terms. Thus, the common terms for nephew and niece within the sib are respectively *hwainyó* and *hwainkó*. The son of a sibling of opposite sex is *pani* — an in-law — but the daughter is not. She enters the household as *hwainkó*. Again we notice the neutral character of the term. *Hwainkó* is not a term of the sib necessarily. The point is, rather, that it is not

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604 614 [601] a term that connotes out-of-the-sib, as does *pani*. Thus, Cubeo usage with respect to daughter-in-law points up again the strength of their feelings about membership in the common residence group.

The problematical relatives are the mother's sister's children. There is no problem if they are also father's brother's children, or if [615] they have been born within one phratry. But since mother's sisters marry into other phratries or into other tribes, their children are in [582] effect strangers who belong to their paternal sib or tribe. They are not included in the kinship system, they are lost sight of, and such parallel cousins one may marry since they do not belong to the phratry.

## GRANDPARENT - GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP

603 The two grandparent terms, *nyéko* (*kü*) and *nyekundjó*, refer to 601 all kin of the generation of grandparents and beyond, irrespective 614 of sib or phratry affiliation. Correspondingly, their reciprocals 615 (*panaihinkü*, *-ko* and *hipanimekü*, *-ko*) do not differentiate between a child of the sib or phratry and a child outside the sib or phratry. The grandchild terms are all formed of the *pani* stem from which affinal terms are constructed. *Panaihinkü* means "my very little in-law," and *hipanimekü* means "of my in-law line." The ignoring of sib lines for grandparents seems to follow from the simple fact that at this generation level exogamy is not an issue.

603 I could get no explanation from the Cubeo as to why the grand-601 child should be classed with the affinal line. It may result from the Cubeo interpretation of cross-cousin marriage. Brother and sister [593] negotiate for the marriage to one another of their children and so [584] would be inclined to regard the offspring of that marriage as a contribution from the affinal line to the sib. Often enough, however, I [614] have encountered the use of the descriptive terms such as *himákü-makü* (my son's son) to distinguish between a lineal descendant of the sib and other grandchildren.

601 Elders of a distant sib of the phratry may be addressed and referred [614] to as "grandparent" even if of one's own generation. Their children consequently are called "father" or "mother." In these usages the [615] reciprocal is always *hwainyó* or *hwainkó* and never a specific "child" or "grandchild" term. Among the Tucano, Fulop (1955) has noted that one of the sibs of a phratry is the "grandparent" to all the others so that all persons of one's own generation in that sib are "grandparents." If this is also the case among the Cubeo of the Cuduiari then the fact must have escaped my notice. This usage of grandparent

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has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians. 846

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kürûdjü*) by painting its body with genipa. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow. [789] [856]

The arrival of an infant to the maloca is a period of grave crisis. It is the principal responsibility of the men of the maloca to dispel the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *couvade* – the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chanting away its dangers with appropriate spells. The grandmother paints the infant with genipa. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbilical cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant. 846 789 [604] [622] [756] [757] [837]

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly troublesome feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its distinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the 846 789 262

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihi*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urâhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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This usage of grandparent terms is different from the seniority respect usages previously discussed, because "older sibling" among the Cubeo has a formal connotation of respect, whereas the grandparent term is a genial one as in English. 601 561

## CROSS-COUSINS

Cross-cousins of the same sex often have a relationship that is formed by the fact that they have been principals in a brother-sister exchange marriage. Since their parents, who were siblings of the opposite sex, were also principals in arranging such a marriage, they have shared in some of the intimacy of relationship between these two. Cross-cousins of the same sex have, of course, little contact with one another, but having so much in common, their relationship tends to be a warm one. It is a curious relationship, in that it also has in it a latent threat of trouble, trouble that arises from marital discord. As already noted, one of the expectations of a brother-sister exchange marriage from the male viewpoint is that if his wife leaves him he can get his sister to leave her husband in retaliation. He believes that he can apply pressure upon his cross-cousin brother-in-law to send back the runaway wife or face the breakup of his own marriage. Thus, what begins as a family squabble in one community may embroil a happy marriage in the affinal community. The expectation that a woman will leave her husband only because her brother wants her to is in practice a vain hope, unless he has the cooperation of his male cross-cousin brother-in-law, who urges the woman, his sister, to return to her husband. 605 605 586 593

Cross-cousins of opposite sex refer to one another as *hitcimako* or *hitcimakü*, the possessive prefix connoting closeness. By contrast, *tcimá* has the connotation of distance. The relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex is governed by the customs of courtship and is, therefore, an individual matter. 605 [601] [193]

## THE AFFINAL GROUP

Among affinals there are two principal relationships. The most important is that between parents and children-in-law, the *pani* relationship. This relationship is both consanguineal and affinal since it includes the children of siblings of opposite sex and reciprocally the cross aunt and uncle. The Cubeo draw no distinction, incidentally, between parents and their children-in-law who are of the consanguineal kin and those who may be complete strangers. The emphasis in 606

/413 cont./

581 It is natural that self-interest (innate and exaggerated in the Indian) takes advantage of these customs. For example, a father who might have more than one daughter perhaps will try to give one of them to some Tuyuka youth (in order to have a /414/ good canoe, because they are specialized canoe-makers), a second one to a Pirá-tapuya (skillful makers of nets and fishing baskets), demanding from them the products of their specialties.

[606] Moreover, these relations of affinity give him a chance to spend part of the year traveling: a sojourn in the house of each son-in-law. Because marriage creates close relations of affinity, all the more singular, since it is known that they are persons from different tribes and all of them with such a deeply racist mentality.

2) The Abduction -- Nũ'myó ỹe'ẽsé or Nũ'myó myẽsé.

583 In spite of these precedents of negotiations, there is still
*[192] preserved today a symbolic abduction of the girl, a survival, one might think, of ancient customs in which the young man had to give proof of courage, kidnapping his wife, after having fought against those who tried to protect her.

Or, who knows (it is most probable when one talks about other human groups; not, however, those of the Uaupés), they were clans of one and the same tribe, transformed into enemies because of the dissidences, and who, in this period, had to have recourse to abduction in order to maintain the ancient law of clan exogamy.

Among our Indians of the Uaupés, there is no fighting at all, although cases of disputes and possible excitation of animus are remembered. The young man's father, with a few more oarsmen, appears in the povoado of the girl. Perhaps the latter, already informed, will be in the vicinity of the landing place
[115] and will then be carried to the canoe. Or the men ask permission from the father, who says nothing (so relates Dorotéia Brito), and seize the girl. The mother, on the other hand, will protest with loud screams and imprecations, recalling the tasks of the

/415 cont./

583 584 If the girl cannot take any initiative directly, by showing her preferences, she at least enjoys the "right of veto." That is, speaking in thesis: she will not marry someone she does not like. It is true that she will think carefully beforehand, because, rejecting this proposal, perhaps another will not come. And, besides, she will suffer bad treatment from her people, who, according to the compromises of the Põãperi, must give a wife to the other family.

Who knows even whether she will be a victim of malefice, dohasé? Nevertheless, if she absolutely does not want to marry such a youth, two courses are left to her: first, she does not let herself be abducted, and sometimes she flees to another maloca nearby, when she knows that they are coming to fetch her. Or to flee from the young man's house (15).

[115]

15. A Taryana woman, Teodora from Iauareté, informed us that the woman can not say anything. But, if she likes the young man, she lets herself be abducted; in the opposite case she will flee from the maloca of the young man.

4) Stability.

585 The existence of the marriage and its stability are not yet assured. The young woman will give proof of her good will and ability to be the lady of the house.

[591] [606] If they do not live in the regime of a maloca, perhaps later the young man might build his independent dwelling; for now he will remain in his parents' house, and the mother-in-law orders the girl to prepare the manicuera /fermented manioc-juice/ and the drinks for the nuptial feast.

/416 cont./

585 If the flight does not take place, the marriage is considered realized.

[606] [431] A short time later they customarily take a nuptial trip, on which the young man, accompanied by his wife, goes to visit the father-in-law, taking him presents (smoked fish, fruit, etc.), and thus the friendly relations will be strengthened. These nuptial trips, moreover, appear in the legends.

*[192] The wife will take with her, for the new home, as dowry or property, her pi'ĩkamõ, that is, a small cipo basket, with her ornaments, utilitarian objects, and a cluster of leaves containing õnõñã powder (carajurú /carajura/).

Immediately in the first days of the marriage the husband will give the wife a beating. He will hit her, however, with the hands, so they assured us; and she cannot react. Although it is a matter of a custom that aims at finding out the good will of the girl and her capacity for suffering, it seems, nevertheless, that it is the circumstance of some misunderstanding between the spouses that will provide the opportunity for this beating.

a) /sic; 5)/ Relations between the spouses.

593 The relations between the spouses are normal enough. Perhaps they might be called friendly (18),

[123] 18. We had the opportunity to travel with a Karapanã family from the headwaters of the Papurí and to see the wife in a long and cordial conversation with the husband.

although without caresses and other displays of affection, since it is certain that some familiarity will arise from their living together. The husband will fear that bad treatment will drive [586] away the wife (19),

19. Several episodes have been reported to us. In the beginning of 1954, during our stay in

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already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in behavior.

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606 [591] this group is on the affinal relationship. Because of patrilocal residence it is the daughter-in-law who occupies a special position. She is [601] *hwainkó* (younger female), a term that receives her with familiarity and some condescension as an in-group member. A daughter-in-law is considered to be at first a replacement for a daughter who has married out, and she lives for a time under the jurisdiction of her mother-in-law, helping her in gardening and in all food preparation. A woman tries to keep her daughter-in-law within her household as long as possible, speaking of her not as her son's wife but as a replacement for her daughter who has been lost to her by marriage. One aspect of the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is stereotyped, and that is the tug of war between a woman's desire to keep her daughter-in-law within her jurisdiction and the desire of the young wife to win autonomy by cultivating her own garden. For the rest, the relationship depends upon the interplay of personalities anl upon the circumstance of whether the bride is a foreigner or a brother's daughter or a member of the brother's sib or phratry. When a child has been born and a woman has her own garden, she and her mother-in-law achieve a relationship of greater equality. Terminol- [601] ogy does not change, even though the reference to an elderly woman as *hwainkó* may seem incongruous. The term defines the relationship at its inception.

[867] It is the role of a woman to introdure her daughter-in-law to the [868] economic routines and to the local customs of the community, a task that would be inappropriate for her husband. Since the Cubeo often marry women who do not even speak their language or dialect the initial period of tutelage is most important, even though the Cubeo do not stress this feature of what is really an apprenticeship.

The relationship with a son-in-law is governed by the circumstance that he normally does not become a member of the community. At best he will be a visitor who joins in the male activities. His relationship with his mother-in-law is one of restraint rather than of formal avoidance. It is perhaps for this reason that she addresses him as [601] *hwainyó*. His relationship with his father-in-law, on the other hand, borders on intimacy and is predicated upon the equality of men engaged in their common tasks of hunting, fishing, and the conduct of ceremonies. Perhaps it is this equality that governs the use of *pani* or *paniyó* as a reciprocally used term between father-in-law and son-in-law.

607 The other set of affinal relationships recognized by the Cubeo are 601 those involving spouse's siblings, for whom a variety of terms are applied. The general affinal term is *kodjú* or its plural form *hikódju-*

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beat her "abductor" with sticks or with their bare hands. His own companions aid him, and if the girl is willing, they get to the canoe landing with no serious damage. This display of ceremonial violence satisfies two Cubeo doctrines, one that affinal sibs are "hostile" and the other that a woman will not leave her sib by her own volition but must be torn from it by brute force. There is also a third notion, namely, that a man be strong enough to capture a bride. I heard many accounts, perhaps apocryphal, of fainthearted striplings who could not bring home a bride. Such stories are often told to tease young bride seekers. 583 585 614

Father Giacone (1949, p. 21), who studied the Tucano tribe, reported no courtship and no marriage ceremony but did note forcible seizure of the bride. Father Giacone's information does suggest some variation in practice among the Tucano. There, the bride is not seized by the groom but by the groom's father, who has been accompanied by some men. They pretend they have come to purchase a canoe. In the midst of their visit for this purpose they carry off the girl and bring her home, unmolested, to the waiting groom. Often, he notes, this is the first time they have met. The girl is timid and retiring, he reports, and the women undertake to cheer her up by inviting her to accompany them on their labors. When the bride begins to work with satisfaction at all her tasks the marriage is considered settled. Some weeks later her parents come to reclaim her and the groom hides her. Her parents are given presents if she is unwilling to return home. At a later visit they repay with gifts of their own. 184 583 585 [114]

In general, Tucano and Cubeo marriage practices are alike; the most striking difference is in the fetching home of the bride. Cubeo notions of manhood would be offended at the notion that the father should bring a bride home for his son.

Among the Cubeo, the early stages of marriage are almost invariably difficult for the young couple. They are barely acquainted and the husband is expected to show his wife only the barest semblance of affection so as not to interfere with his mother, whose role it is to assimilate the young bride into her household as a replacement for the "lost daughter." The bride enters her mother-in-law's service, working with her in the manioc garden and in the preparation of manioc. Doing all the chores that she has done as an unmarried girl in her own community but under a strange woman, she is understandably disappointed, even though she is received very warmly. She is immediately locked in a conflict with her mother-in-law for her freedom. The issue is the manioc garden. A woman wants her daughter-in-law to help her in her garden and the daughter-in-law, 585 593 606

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585 593 606 knowing that her full status as a married woman begins with her having her own garden, must get her husband to get her out of her mother-in-law's household. He, however, knows his mother's will and is also aware that the men of the sib are watching him to see if he will be strong enough to stand up against his wife, the "alien" to the sib.

585 586 593 614 If the stalemate continues too long the young wife has the means to break it. She runs away. It is a married woman's privilege to run away at any time during her marriage. Her husband will pursue her, but she has many sanctuaries. She can get back to her own community, where she is safe and has the certainty that she will not be yielded up to a pursuing husband and that he has no claim against her parents. The common view is that if a man is not strong enough to hold a wife that is his misfortune. A runaway wife may find sanctuary in any sib, even in one that is closely related to that of her husband. A neighboring sib is only a temporary stopover for a runaway wife. It provides a more neutral atmosphere, however, in which she and her pursuing husband can discuss the reasons why she has run away. It is young brides who most frequently run off. Occasionally a girl is seriously determined to leave her husband and she will then most certainly find her way home, even if she has to go afoot all the way. Ordinarily she expects her husband to intercept her. When he brings her back the headman will say to him, "Take charge of your wife," [837] and the husband will proceed to prepare a manioc garden for his wife. Some young wives provoke a crisis by seducing the husband's brother and allowing the community to find out. Again the headman will say, "Take charge of your wife."

585 586 593 614 182 These crises are so common in the early stages of marriage that I am inclined to regard them as quasi-ritual, and as part of a prolonged marriage ceremony at the end of which the wife achieves her proper status as controller of an autonomous zone, her manioc garden, and as female head of household. The act of running away suggests a counterpart to the initial act of "abduction." Both acts acknowledge the unruly role of the alien woman and emphasize the power of the man in restoring order. The man who brings his runaway wife back has scored a victory in the eyes of his sib. This victory absolves him from the onus of seeming to "give in" to the demands of his wife. But if the act of bringing back a runaway wife is a bit of ritual, it must also be stated that it is not devoid of spontaneous and rich human emotion.

595 Monogamy is the rule and is consistent with the preference for exchange marriage. Polygyny and polyandry, however, are not barred.

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A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwãntadjü*: making a person) is a dangerous period. First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety of the newborn infant rests with the parents — with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the precautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

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843 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed.
826 Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating.
[302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to an-
[763] other, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca
854 on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers)
302 she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red
[789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment,
[856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on
[603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these
[606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their
846 time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the
[262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others
[372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their
[828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband. 592 571 [593] [606]

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack. 571 561

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart. 571 572

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their 571 614 615 621 571 621 [622] [256] [769] [553]

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571 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission
619 and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are
• 606 stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of ex-
607 change marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it
593 draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister
[583] and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the
[616] mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the
[582] Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geo-
[614] graphic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively sub-
615 stantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest.
571 Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony
614 and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of
578 wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force
[615] of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the
[754] Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

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606 [591] [601] this group is on the affinal relationship. Because of patrilocal residence it is the daughter-in-law who occupies a special position. She is *hwainkó* (younger female), a term that receives her with familiarity and some condescension as an in-group member. A daughter-in-law is considered to be at first a replacement for a daughter who has married out, and she lives for a time under the jurisdiction of her mother-in-law, helping her in gardening and in all food preparation. A woman tries to keep her daughter-in-law within her household as long as possible, speaking of her not as her son's wife but as a replacement for her daughter who has been lost to her by marriage. One aspect of the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is stereotyped, and that is the tug of war between a woman's desire to keep her daughter-in-law within her jurisdiction and the desire of the young wife to win autonomy by cultivating her own garden. For the rest, the relationship depends upon the interplay of personalities and upon the circumstance of whether the bride is a foreigner or a brother's daughter or a member of the brother's sib or phratry. When a child has been born and a woman has her own garden, she and her mother-in-law achieve a relationship of greater equality. Terminology does not change, even though the reference to an elderly woman as *hwainkó* may seem incongruous. The term defines the relationship at its inception. [601]

[867] [868] It is the role of a woman to introduce her daughter-in-law to the economic routines and to the local customs of the community, a task that would be inappropriate for her husband. Since the Cubeo often marry women who do not even speak their language or dialect the initial period of tutelage is most important, even though the Cubeo do not stress this feature of what is really an apprenticeship.

The relationship with a son-in-law is governed by the circumstance that he normally does not become a member of the community. At best he will be a visitor who joins in the male activities. His relationship with his mother-in-law is one of restraint rather than of formal avoidance. It is perhaps for this reason that she addresses him as *hwainyó*. [601] His relationship with his father-in-law, on the other hand, borders on intimacy and is predicated upon the equality of men engaged in their common tasks of hunting, fishing, and the conduct of ceremonies. Perhaps it is this equality that governs the use of *pani* or *paniyó* as a reciprocally used term between father-in-law and son-in-law.

607 601 The other set of affinal relationships recognized by the Cubeo are those involving spouse's siblings, for whom a variety of terms are applied. The general affinal term is *kodjú* or its plural form *hikódju-*

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*mana* (my in-law group). These generalized terms are most appropriate in referring to members of a phratry into which one has married. They have a connotation of a claim to hospitality and of expectation of further intermarriage. Of this group of terms there is also *hikódjumu*, that is used reciprocally between men – sister's husband and wife's brother as well as sister's husband's brothers and brother's wife's brothers. Across the sexes women call their sister's husband's brothers as well as their husband's brothers *hikápenàmu* and are called by these men *hikápenamo*. Women call their husband's sisters *hiwemu* and are called by them *dyáko*. *Dya* is a very general term that may be applied reciprocally between any actual in-laws of the same generation. Finally, I have an alternate term for spouse's siblings, *hiháwükimana*, and the term *kibü* for brother's son's wife. What may be observed about the affinal terms in own generation is that affinals are generally not confused with cross-cousins. As we have noted, the *tcimá* usage, which has the connotation of "sweetheart" for the Cubeo, is entirely inappropriate when one of them has married. Should a man be courting his brother's wife's sister, who is his cross-cousin, she is his *tcimá*, or rather *hitcimako*. If not, courtesy calls for the use of the affinal terms.

## ORPHANS AND STEPCHILDREN

The treatment of orphans and stepchildren underscores the importance of the actual blood tie for the Cubeo. Parents lavish affection only on their own children. While a woman is obligated to look after all her husband's children, this need mean nothing more than that she feed them. That she will favor her own children and neglect or treat the others harshly is more or less expected. A man does not expect his second wife to accept as her own his children by another wife. A girl with a stepmother has a more difficult time than a boy, since women generally favor their sons and are harsh with daughters. The mother is her daughter's disciplinarian in household work. Her son is the little lord of the household, his sister its slavey. Stepdaughters are set the most burdensome tasks while own daughters are then freer to play. Own daughters then make common cause with their mother at the stepdaughter's expense. Since the father does not mix in the female side of the household he can do little to improve his daughter's lot with her stepmother.

A boy with a stepmother is less underprivileged. His is the male prerogative of being looked after by a woman, his mother or his sisters. He has his male play pack for companionship and can look

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571 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

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/428 cont./

844 Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have
• [608] invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõá (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koá (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

[852] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the
[276] pajé or a Komũ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

846 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).

*[192] The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

[115]

844 As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the
[178] Pax-koá, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45).

[123] 45. The tuxaua of the Íde-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
the head and body of the baby. The Komũá and all those present
[273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native cere-
monies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of
the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has
already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between
two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors
all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in
the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and
the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier,
have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has
in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the
ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar.
Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to
leave in the center, between the front door and the back door,
a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them
has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the
cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the
mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on
the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child
is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

/442 cont./

881 During this time, which runs from three days to four weeks,
562 according to the tribe, the young girl will always be shut in, she cannot take a bath, she will go out only when necessary and quickly, trying not to meet anyone.

562 There, while the girl is kept seated on a stool, her hair will
881 be cut by a woman who is called mõ-paxkoá, that is, godmother
302 of initiation (77).
608

77. This godmother will call the girl Yõ-se:ko, my hair-cut; and the maiden will call her Yõõ-ré se:ko, the one who cut me (my hair).

"It is in order to exchange for new hair" was the only explanation. According to information obtained by Koch G. (Z. I. 357), the girl's hair was used for making the masks of Wãx-tĩ. Thus one more element of connection between the puberty rite and the cult of Wãx-tĩ appears.

*[192] The face and especially the body are liberally painted with black dyá-wé dye by another woman, who is likewise considered Paxkoá. Both of the godmothers will receive some gift from the girl and also have a right to her services. The body painting is done as usual, by means of the molongó cylinder (VII-3, b(2) ).

For the haircut they used the sharp teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmo of different species) and other animals. For this reason, wrote Stradelli, the tribes of the Rio Negro, who spoke Nheengatú, when the use of scissors was introduced, called them Piranha. The artifact for the cutting of the hair among the Tukano is called Dõxpóse:ró.

*[192] The Mõ-paxkoá or the mother herself in some tribes pours water with pepper through her nose, using a funnel of the leaf of /443/ õhoá pũrĩ or yõxsõ-pũri, "in order to become illuminated" (78).

78. "To have the face or skin become illuminated" is an expression that we have heard frequently among the young female informants. It seems

/443 cont./

562
881
[302]
[608]

/footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus, "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

"the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a great deal; the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, pirámirim), ant, mexkã (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beijú of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

[262]
*[192]

She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cuia with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

[756]
[867]

Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /bouto/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

562 /445 cont./
881 without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following men-
*[192] struation, Məhẽka-nĩbé, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

611 Among the tribes of the Uaupés it is generation /Port. geração,
[601] generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (ñõx-kãkõra, grandparents) and descendants (marĩ-bero-maxsã), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

602 The components of the same tribe, although born and living
619 in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerẽra (86),
[601]
[178]

86. The term axkawerẽra is beginning to be extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

a term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" /relatives/ and sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason we are of the opinion (VIII-2, a) that initially the local group coincided with the family.

*192 Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree
• 609 of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpẽra (87),

87. Axpẽra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpĩ (masculine) and axpego, feminine, other.

that is strangers, foreigners.

under his battered trilby and the groundsheets, while Brian dived beneath the tarpaulin and spent the night stretched over tins and kitbags. 122

The New Year came in with more rain. For all the discomfort it brought we could only look upon such deluges as a sign of good fortune; they were early this year, the rivers would now be higher and our descent easier. So we started on our journey downstream. *El Diablo*, lumbering along like a loaded ark, was stopped by every snag and log. She took days to cover the same distance as the slim canoes of the Indians, when they later travelled back up the river in a matter of hours to pick up the fuel drums we had had to leave behind on the portage.

One day canoes appeared gliding towards us, both loaded down with large wicker baskets of *farinha* and paddled by two men in loincloths. Strings of minute white beads were around their necks and black berry bracelets around each arm. An old man, his wizened face eyeing us suspiciously, was sitting in the bows of the first canoe. [291] [301]

This was our first real contact with the Indians of the Piraparaná. Their immediate reaction was not one of fear, but rather, like our own, of enquiry and interest. They said nothing until José hailed them in their own dialect. There ensued a long, almost formal exchange of greetings which we were to hear many times when travelling through their territory. Before they left we asked them to carry a message for Nestor – in case they should meet him, for they were travelling to the Río Ti. [607] [576]

Much depended on our guide José. That he had been with Padre Elorza was not necessarily to our advantage, for in the first place we could not be sure what effect the first contact with Catholicism had had on the Indians of the Piraparaná, nor did we know what instructions José had been given by the padres. We had to depend on him entirely both for our own safety when travelling downstream and for the information we were to get. He was not a very pleasant or easy character. From the outset he had always wanted to have his own way and if this was not granted then he became moody and unco-operative. We could never be certain what he would do next and after his attempt at desertion we could not trust him. However he worked very hard and showed remarkable common sense, and without him we would never have got through the rapids ahead of us. 114

His experience with white men had not only come from the Mission. Some five years previously a *cauchero* had come to his river home close to the Brazilian frontier. He had taken six boys away with him to work the wild rubber trees and one of them was José. Later he had escaped from the *cauchero*, but during those four years he had learnt how to operate an outboard motor, to handle money and had even been in an aeroplane. He had come under the Mission's wing only recently, and it may have been this combination of experiences that had complicated his character. He no longer possessed the Indian's direct simplicity.

# 4

# *The Forest Addicts*

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the earplug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run;
whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves
147 in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
302 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
411 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undis-
609 turbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little. When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into
152 the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

533 panpipes and the whistling jars of the Andes. Since the time of the Conquest
534 European music and more particularly African music has had an increasing
171 influence on the conservative Indian. The Noanamá and the highlanders showed signs of this influence, though the Tukano were still free of it. In some cases the instrument had been adopted and was played in the Indian idiom. The Noanamá had a type of drum probably copied from their negro neighbours, but they still played their own halting rhythms. The Motilon had a musical bow, but its use was entirely Indian in conception.

In the Sierra-Nevada we found a direct clash of musical idioms, in the *chicote* and *gaita* played by the Indian-creole inhabitants. Perhaps in this are the seeds of a new music combining the atonal, remote and sad Indian music with the gay, sophisticated, ebullient harmonies of the negro-creole. Perhaps the folk music of Colombia as a whole, from the Spanish mountain songs to the negro rhythms of the coast, is a manifestation of a Euro-Afro-Indian music evolving like the arts and the people themselves into a new wholly South American dimension.

171 Such are the idle thoughts of travellers written in retrospect. But of all our
• 609 memories – Kogi temples, Noanamá children paddling to their stilted houses in a Pacific sunset, a Tukano *maloca* at dawn with the steam rising off the night-wetted thatch – the one that will remain longest will be that of the Indian himself, whether a Kogi regarding us with the scorn of a man who knows himself to be a superior being, or a Tukano who never looks *at* you, rather into you with a strange trustful-untrusting eye, as if to try and penetrate your innermost thoughts.

000 Walk with him long enough in the forest and you too will learn to see the track of a tapir; to tell if it was running by the depth of the spoor; to tell if it was wounded by the clot of blood beside the path; even to tell the time when it passed, by the dryness of an upturned leaf, the only one on a shower-soaked forest floor. Perhaps if you could speak his language he would teach you how to walk through the forest for days and never lose your way, to use a bow and arrow, to kill a parrot with one dart from your blowpipe. You might even come to accept the forest for what it is. You would become part of it and it would be the only world you knew...

If you ever reached that stage, then you would be like an Indian. Then you would understand the shock of civilization. It would be like going for a very long holiday in a remote countryside, perhaps the Outer Hebrides, never seeing another soul, and then returning to the heart of a city. Only it would be a hundred times worse.

You would take cocaine because to you it would be perfectly natural. Your father took it and his father before him. You were told as a child that you could not live without it when in the late summer, at the end of the dry season, you had to travel great distances to find deer at the water holes.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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# 1

## *The Cubeo Community*

361 The Cubeo Indians occupy a string of settlements along a small stretch of the Vaupés River from Uarùa Lake upstream to Uaracapurí and downstream to near the Brazilian border, as well as along several of the Vaupés tributaries, namely the Cuduiarí and the
[61] Querarí and Pirabatón. The tribe consists of some 30 or more patrilineal, exogamous sibs[1] that are grouped into three unnamed confederations or phratries of unequal size that are also exogamous. Although the bulk of the Cubeo now live on the smaller streams—the Cuduiarí, in particular, being heavily populated—the broad
[614] Vaupés, that joins with the Rio Negro to enter the Amazon, is regarded by the Indians as their main stream and as their source. Their
173 leading sibs still live there. Native traditions place the emergence of
614 all the Cubeo sibs at two Vaupés sites, at the turbulent cataracts of
361 Yurupari and of Uaracapurí. From there the people moved up the nearby tributary streams, the Cuduiarí, the Querarí, and the
173 Pirabatón, a tributary of the Querarí. The traditions record that
361 the first people displaced groups that were already living along
[174] these streams and, in this respect, square with historical observations that pressures of enemy Indian tribes, and, lately, the more potent pressures of white colonizers, have been forcing the Indians to leave the main rivers and take shelter in the more
361 distant and constricted feeder streams, or else face physical or cultural
614 extinction. The more timid and the more humble of the sibs have

[1] Following the usage of Lowie (1920, p. 111), "sib" is synonymous with "clan."

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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamiwa* (first people). They also offered *pwânwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwânwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

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*pumiwa* or a *pudnwa*. The group of exogamous sibs that form a phratry are spoken of as *kwindwũ*, *inhiwũ*, or *kwindnokauwũ*, all terms with the general meaning of "one kinfolk" or "the same kinfolk." However, I have also heard the expression *nuhénokauwũ* (my own kinfolk) used to refer to both tribe and phratry.

If tribal designation is vague, the native concept of tribe is only a little more definite. Tribe refers more or less to a common identity of language, descent, and custom. One of the Cubeo phratries was, in fact, once Arawakan. To become tribesmen they adopted the language, customs, and traditions of the Cubeo. Other sibs appear to have been at one time Macú as well as sections of the Tucano "tribe." There are no formal bonds of tribe and there is no acknowledgment of tribal overlordship. Cubeo social structure is segmentary, the patrilineal sib being the basic segment. Every sib has established relationships with other sibs to regulate marriage, ceremonial participation, friendships, and hospitality along traditional lines, but also to some degree along lines that suit its own particular interests.

The phratry is a more sharply defined and a far more important social aggregate than tribe. A phratry is a confederation of sibs that are closely bound by rules of exogamy, by common residence along the same river, by a tradition of common origin and descent, by a graded order of rank that assigns to each sib its place in a social hierarchy, and, finally, by a series of ceremonies, solemn as well as secular, such as drinking parties at which each sib entertains its fellow sibs. Withal, there is no phratric overlordship, no phratric council or other agency to consider policy for the phratry as a whole.

What gives a phratry cohesiveness is the pattern of relations that the individual sibs, each acting individually, have formed with one another. The most important of these relationships is the rule of exogamy. By adhering to a rule of exogamy the sibs regard themselves as "brothers," for fraternity is based on the kinship principle that brothers cooperate and share the same rules of exogamy. Most sibs in a phratry have been joined together from the traditional beginnings or the time of first emergence, others are newcomers who have been adopted into the cofraternity of sibs. Adoption is the prerogative of an individual sib. A sib adopts an alien group as a subsib and automatically gives it a place and rank in the phratry. The phratry is no homogeneous federation of fraternal sibs. It is differentiated by rank, by historic background, and by geography. Sibs of the same historic background and of similar rank who are neighbors on the river feel closer to one another and form, therefore, an unofficial but still evident inner circle. Normally, rank, historic background, and propin-

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614 formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

[613] A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

## THE COMMUNITY

The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the Cuduiari the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

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calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana 439
Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to
prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should [582]
be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges.

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accord- 438
ance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehénewa* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maire, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiari.

## PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we 423
deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over
a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of [61]
river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered.
Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They [103]
identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations.

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, 423
concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sen- 614
timent rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned
with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear [615]
encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib [619]
taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo.

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121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-
[428] complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
061 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

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what it was yesterday. Moreover, the concept of homeostasis, like that of pattern, is a theory of society. As a theory it rests upon further theoretical assumptions as to what are the significant relationships, what are the normal patterns, and what are the disharmonious and stressful interactions. In the final analysis, a theory of homeostasis deals primarily with the ways in which a society handles conflicts and stresses. From a broad perspective, one can say that Cubeo society depends rather heavily upon what might be called "mood management" for equilibrium. Its homeostasis rests a good deal less upon networks of reciprocal obligations and upon formal exchanges of goods than, let us say, in Melanesian societies. The clearest illustration of this Cubeo equilibrium principle is in the role of the headman. In Cubeo culture he is not an economic redistributor (the drinking parties cannot be regarded as an economic exchange) but a regulator of community sentiment and of good feeling. However, the nature of Cubeo equilibrium is best considered at each particular level of social integration. 121 571 121 571 622

Cubeo society may be presented diagrammatically as encompassing five orbits of relationship, arranged in order of progressively weaker bonds of unity. The innermost orbit is represented by the male siblings, the nucleus of the sib; the second orbit is the sib itself; the third orbit is the phratry; the fourth, the affinal kin; and the fifth and outermost, the tribe. The brother-sister relationships and the husband-wife relationships may be regarded as within the confines of the first and second orbits. 571 610 602 [593]

Each orbit has its own characteristics of equilibrium. To take them in reverse order: Tribal unity is so tenuous that fragmentation into subtribal units is of little consequence. New combinations are readily formed and whatever disturbance this may cause is very temporary. Tribal continuity rests upon tradition and common language and customs, on the one hand, and upon the phratric organization, of which it is a summation, on the other. With respect to tribe, the question of equilibrium is more pertinently not what holds the tribe together, but rather what there is to disperse it. Tradition and common customs and language are little more than bonds of inertia. Once set, they hold unless some stronger force intervenes. Against what counterforces are the relatively weak bonds of tradition to contend? The answer is that there are no such counterforces arising from within the society, since tribal unity has no tasks to accomplish that could involve stresses and strains. Paradoxically, the very absence of a tribal leadership is a source of unity. By virtue of the linkage- 571 619

101 a dominant influence in the area. The Tukano tribal language serves as the lingua franca of
[191] the entire area. (Its use as a lingua franca antedates the appearance of other linguae francae in the region.)

The various tribes making up this large, homogeneous cultural group contain about 90 percent of the people in the area. The remainder consists of two ethnic groups. One is the Makú Indians, who live away from the rivers and are more or less nomadic. They do not intermarry with the riverine Indians. The other consists of the non-Indians, who call themselves *blancos* (in Spanish) or *brancos* (in Portuguese), and who number perhaps 1,500. Most of them live in the two or three air-strip towns. Their economy is centered around rubber gathering, and they include about 150 missionaries, who maintain some dozen missionary posts. The non-Indians have a strong monolingual tradition, speaking only either Spanish or Portuguese. They have shown little inclination to learn the Indian languages or to participate in Indian culture.[2] There is little intermarriage between Indians and *blancos* (who mostly consist of *mestizo-criollos*).

184 Here, then, is a large, culturally homoge-
191 neous area where multilingualism—and polylingualism in the individual—is the cultural norm. Anthropologically, this is a culture trait, and it is an outstanding culture trait of the area.

*Social Units*

61 Social units of primary importance to the analysis of multilingualism in the central Northwest Amazon culture area are the nuclear family, lineage, sib, tribe, phratry; the longhouse group; the linguistic group; and the
[797] exogamy group. Secondarily important, as they represent aggregations from among the above, are the mission village, the rubber-working group (an incipient *patrón-peón* group), and the nationality group. In the structural interrelations of all these groups, the sib occupies a focal position.

Several nuclear families may be found in a lineage, and several lineages in a sib (or patrilineal clan), which is the named and localized unit of social organization. A tribe is a named political and ceremonial unit, consisting of several sibs; it has a separate history and is identifiable by a distinct language. Barring the few exceptions where some of its sibs belong to a different phratry from that of the major-

[P. 671-A]

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of
-61 the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse
594 group, which is also the basic unit of economic redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with
[251] its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each mar-
[354] ried woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her
[264] hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by
[562] the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A
61 well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cul-
582 tural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

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7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [5] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921-22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brasil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177 563 61 582 [6] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Caboclos are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1965). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of caboclos. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "*cabuco*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be caboclos.

000 [7] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

124 191 [8] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data *about* each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally renewed politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 101 197 [9] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

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7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [3] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921-22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177 563 61 582 [4] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Caboclos are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1965). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of caboclos. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "*cabaco*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be caboclos.

000 [5] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

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*
601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
615 to
Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

614

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that
614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of
554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-
[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two
595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of
614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with
615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing
177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.
587 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.
• 611 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-
591 tended patrilineal families.
596

/385 cont./

563 Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

[115]

[611]

113: In Urubucuara and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Antônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Taryana, later married a Wanana.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114)

114. Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

881 In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has
833 theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the pajé or Kõmũ and with another young man
[756] of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).

/409 cont./

000 Such a custom is imposed by the desire of the tribe to perpetuate itself.

591 614 /410/ The ambilian marriage is not known, that is, it is not the young man who comes to live in the house of the in-laws; but it is the young woman who, through marriage, leaves hers and comes to constitute a family in another tribe.

They desire, then, that a woman from another tribe come to their povoado in order to constitute a new family. The exchange, it seems to us, is not equivalent to a depreciation of the woman or reducing her to the condition of an article of trade. It is a measure of precaution, so that the group will not become extinct, but, on the contrary, the men always remain united, and the tribal traditions and the cordial relations among its components are kept alive.

From this concept and practice some consequences follow:

582 614 1st. -- The first one is that in fact the so-called preferential marriage is in force among them. The exchanges not only establish social relations between two malocas, but, as we shall see [611] later, they conceive kinship as bilateral. But not only the maternal [601] cousins in the strict sense (that is, the nephews and nieces of the mother herself), but all those of their generation of the maternal Gens (IV -- 2, a (2) ) are called brides and bridegrooms /Port. noivos/, Baxsú-kã̄ra (those who are destined for marriage with us).

Let us concretize an example: the Tukano from Parí-cachoeira customarily seek their wives among the Tuyuka of the headwaters of the Tiquié. Then, for the young people of Parí-cachoeira, brides and bridegrooms, or Baxsúkã̄ra, are all the Tuyuka of the [601] younger generation of the maternal povoado. Or, more exactly, all the young persons of the maternal Gens are their brides and bridegrooms, -- because to each povoado ordinarily corresponds a different Gens, -- and among themselves they call each other "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ (Mamí or Axkabí, see VIII -- 1, c).

As a rule, it is a boy or a girl among the Baxsúkã̄ra who will be the Mã̄-ra-pȭ nỹãkhȭ or the Nȭ'mȭ nỹakho.

584 /412 cont./
will be promised in marriage to another family. In practice, they
584 will be bride and bridegroom, with the right to relations between
836 them (with precautions, however, in order not to have children), perhaps for many years and with a great difference in age between the ones being married. And the child, once it has barely reached the age of reason, knows that it must marry such a person.

584 4th. A fourth one is that a widowed father will give up a
587 daughter in order to arrange for a second wife for himself, although with a great disproportion between their ages, before he procures one for his son.

587 5th. A fifth one is that a woman, becoming a widow, can pass to her brother-in-law as a wife, if he is a widower or a bachelor and without a bride, from which his father has an obligation to give a woman to such a family, in exchange for the other one whom he obtained from there. Although the law of the levirate (12)

12. That is, the duty of an individual to marry the sister-in-law who was widowed without children, in order to resuscitate the lineage of his late brother, a custom that was in force among the Jews.

does not exist among our Indians, we thus have its practice.

582 6th. A sixth one is that, from this exchange of women of a
611 tribe A with those of tribe B, since the children are regarded as belonging to the father's tribe, cousins can marry each other. For example, of two pairs of brothers and sisters, M and N from tribe A and P and Q from tribe B, the woman M married P, whose sister Q was joined in matrimony to N. The children of these two couples are, obviously, "cousins-german" or "cousins in the first degree." Nevertheless the children of P belong to the tribe B, and those of N, to the tribe A. They consider themselves reciprocally Baxsúkīra, and they may marry each other.

178 /418/
595 but a woman could never have several husbands. In the legends there are examples not only of polygamy, but also of polyandry.

It is true that, having procreation as its purpose, the marriage is not considered perfect until after the conception of the first child. From the time of the first signs of pregnancy the marriage was established.

595 If after two or three years of living together the woman has
842 not given birth to a child, the husband will consider her the victim of the malefice of sterility (22)

587 [115]

22. It seems that there is no possibility of rehabilitation for the woman, that is, marriage to another man, although a Tukano man, Mário Chaves by name, in answer to our question, affirmed the possibility of new nuptials for the woman regarded as sterile.

and will look for another wife.

Ordinarily, however, the woman considered sterile prefers to remain with her husband. All the interests of the latter lead him to keep her, even though he has already contracted a second marriage. We are thus confronted with a polygamy, not by right, but de facto. Nor does such an event seem to cause surprise (23).

[178]

23. These events are known nowadays (1947) in Taracuá and Urubucuara.

• 611 The fact that they regard the children as belonging to the father's tribe seems to reveal, as in other nations, the concept that all the generative capacity belongs exclusively to the father. Nevertheless, the inability to procreate will always be attributed to the mother, never to the men.

/419 cont./

462 conversation with other men for long hours (26).

[517] 26. At other times she might be gaily conversing while the man is working.

611 She is a foreigner, without any right over her children. They
736 belong to the husband, or rather to the tribe of the husband. If by chance she becomes a widow, she may continue to live in the maloca, and she will ordinarily do so, especially if she is aged and cannot expect another marriage. Or she will return to her tribe, without, however, taking the children with her. With the hypothesis that her husband had a separate house or one in the vicinity of another tribe, the relatives from the husband's tribe will come to take the orphans to their own maloca. If any of the orphans are still /420/ babies at the breast, perhaps they will await until the child can dispense with maternal care, and then they will irrevocably take them away.

587 When it was a matter of her marrying, an exchange or indemnification was negotiated, without her being consulted. Upon establishing her new home, she had the customary test of a beating, and perhaps, due to the bad character of the husband, many others might follow, against which she could never react. Accord-
264 ing to the tribal customs, she will never eat with the husband; she
593 takes out her portion and it is only after he and his friends and guests are satisfied and leave the place that she will take her food.

All this causes surprise, especially if we observe the importance
462 of her "atelier"; that is, it is she who performs the tasks necessary for life: she plants the clearing, works with the mandioca, which constitutes the indispensable daily dish, weaves the hammocks for sleeping, makes the vessels for water, prepares the caxiris and the cooking.

593 We leave, Deo volente, for a monograph the study of the indications of a matriarchalist civilization among the Uaupesina tribes. For now we shall say, with the students who have

/421 cont./

462 man manufactured weapons and implements for one thing and
593 another: canoe, baskets, nets, bows, arrows, traps, etc. In the clearing there fell to him the preliminary work of choosing the spot and felling the trees. The defense of the clearing against the harmful animals or other persons is also his duty. Of the domestic utensils he is the one who manufactures the tipití /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the treatment of the mandioca, as well as the little seats. As for the diet, he is the one who supplies the game, fish, and who brings the fruits from the forest for the caxirís. And he has prepared the ornaments and the musical instruments for the social and religious manifestations. Recognizing, then, the great weight of work that falls upon the woman for the maintenance of the family, we think that it alone does not demonstrate an inferior position for the woman.

593 The Põáperi, in itself, is not a depreciation of the woman,
[583] as we have already noted. The nuptial gifts, more than the dowry of the European customs, properly represent a valorization of the wife. She is really considered greatly useful, not only under the aspect of maternity, so desired and appreciated, since the Indian wishes to have children, but even in the economic one.

[551] As for not knowing the wife's name and the ways of referring to her, they do not seem to be indicators of inferiority. She came from another tribe and another language, perhaps a strange name. In any case they are not accustomed to calling anyone by name, as we shall see. In general, in referring to the wife, the husband uses the expression: -- "The mother of N" and says the name of the first-born child, and this seems to be an affectionate association. She will also say of the husband: "The father of N," which, on her lips, has a particular meaning, as affirmation that it is a legitimate child.

[611] As for the children, this affirmation is of value: the children belong to the tribe more than to the parents. Both the wife and the husband exert little authority over the children, since they are raised with great autonomy. Perhaps she has an ascendancy even greater than the husband, because, at least when they are small, they are exclusively in her care, and they go so far as to learn her idiom.

/421 cont./

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
[601]

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[178] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
562
756
[124]

> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

562 /445 cont./
881 without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following men-
*[192] struation, Mahẽka-nĩsé, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

• 611 Among the tribes of the Uaupés it is generation /Port. geração,
[601] generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (fõx-kãkõra, grandparents) and descendants (marĩ-bero-maxsã), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

602 The components of the same tribe, although born and living
619 in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerẽra (86),
[601]
[178]

> 86. The term axkawerẽra is beginning to be extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

a term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" /relatives/ and sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason we are of the opinion (VIII-2, a) that initially the local group coincided with the family.

*192 Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree
609 of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpẽra (87),

> 87. Axpẽra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpĩ (masculine) and axpego, feminine, other.

that is strangers, foreigners.

/447 cont./

601 their own father) and are called by them "mẽ-kõ," nephew. And those of their grandparents' generation they call grandfather, "pax-kõ-ro," and are called by them "paramĩ," grandchildren, or max-kõ-kõ, "child-of-my-child."

/448/ As for the "brothers," if they are such in the strict sense (that is, children of the same father and the same mother), the older one is called mamĩ (they translate it "bigger brother") and the younger, axkabĩ ("smaller brother").

When it is a matter of "tribal brother," that is, of the individuals of the tribe who make up one and the same generation or layer, the terms mamĩ and axkabĩ are independent of age; they are, instead, a function of the group. That is, all those of the more important "Gens" (see VIII-3, c /see VIII-3, d/) (we use the Latin term "gens" in order to designate the subdivisions of the tribe or sib of the American Ethnologists), whatever their ages might be, are mamĩ; all those of the inferior "Gens" are axkabĩ. That is, an entire "Gens" (without taking into account the ages of its members) is called mamĩ or axkabĩ of another.

Let us imagine the case of the individual X, who has five children, successively A, B, C, D, E; of which B, C, D are of the male sex, and A, E of the female sex. It is to be observed: [126] [162] 1st, that five is actually the average number of children, according to our "anthropometric file cards"; 2nd, that they wish to have children of both sexes, and that an older daughter is a valuable helper of the mother in raising the younger children. The older daughter A will be mamyó of all the brothers and sisters; the younger daughter E will likewise be axkabyó of all. If we consider the son C, he will be mamĩ of D and E and axkabĩ of A and B.

Let us further suppose that the brothers B, C, D marry (90)

[582] [611] 90. A and E will obligatorily marry husbands, baxsukõ, from another tribe; their children, however, do not belong to tribe X (grandfather), but to that of the father himself. The children of A and E

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614 came to be known as *Bwübekúdjo* (*Bwü* the Ancient). The *Byarí-Hehénewa* took him captive. Sometime later, the *Hehénewa*, coming to visit their kin, determined to rescue the boy. They did so, killing off the *Byarí-Hehénewa* who were holding him. They released
614 *Bwübekúdjo*, giving him two *Borówa* (Macú) women as wives. The
648 *Borówa* were then servants of the *Hehénewa*. The Macú women bore *Bwübekúdjo* ten children. It was from the males of this sibling group that the *Bahúkiwa* sib was reconstituted.

614 This concession of kinship alliance with the Macú stigmatizes the
648 *Bahúkiwa* as an inferior sib even though the descent is still in the
554 male line. Normally, Cubeo used *Borówa* women sexually but did not marry them. The *Bahúkiwa* do not concede that they are *Borówa*.
• [611] And I learned early in my stay among them that nothing was more offensive than to even hint that someone was *Borówa*. The *Hehénewa* had told Koch-Grünberg that the *Bahúkiwa* were *Borówa* who had assimilated themselves to the Cubeo and were still to be regarded with contempt (1909, II, 136). No *Hehénewa* made this observation to me, but possibly out of courtesy since I was living with the *Bahúkiwa*.

614 The origin of the *Bahúkübwauwü*, a subsib of the *Bahúkiwa*, is also attributed to an act of kindness by a fellow sib, in this case at the hands of the second-ranking *Aúnbwawü*. In the course of an attack on them, all but one *Bahúkiwa* girl were killed. She was sur-
614 cored by the *Aúnbwawü*, among whom she lived until she married.
611 The narrator claimed that no one knew whom she had married, a lapse of information of utmost importance, since the point of the story is that despite patriliny a woman can also re-establish a sib. She bore eight children and they and their descendants took the name of *Bahúkübwauwü*. Descent then reverted to patriliny.

615 The Cubeo view of the phratry, as revealed by the traditions, is
614 of a grouping of essentially autonomous sibs into a loose fraternity that takes its sanction not from descent from a common ancestor but emergence from a common place. The genealogical relationship determines sib identity, but it is geography that determines phratric identity. The principal idea that is expressed is that the closer the sibs were spatially at the time of emergence the closer should be their present fraternal bonds. Thus, the traditions draw fine distinctions between emergence from the very same crevice on the rocks, from the same rapids, and from the same river. Unfortunately for our in-
615 terest in reconstructing tribal history, the traditions lack consistency.
614 This inconsistency reflects perhaps the ethnic heterogeneity of the
174 region, which, together with the lack of a central source for tradition,

area].) "Semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) based on a partial knowledge of a language that is closely related to one already known may also occur.

## MULTILINGUALISM

[611] Because descent is patrilineal in the Northwest Amazon and residence is normatively and [582] predominantly patrilocal, an individual belongs to his (or her) father's tribe, and to his father's linguistic group, which is also his [591] own. Because of exogamy, his mother always represents a different tribe—tribal membership does not change for her upon marriage—and a different linguistic group. A woman invariably uses the language of the longhouse—her husband's language—when talking directly with her children. But she is usually not the only woman from her tribe in a longhouse. In a longhouse of any size there are usually several women of her tribe, as well as groups of other women from other tribes; and during the course of a day, these several groups of women usually find occasion to converse with each other in their own original languages.

[484] In addition to these multilingual contacts in the longhouse, others occur as a result of [583] considerable traveling. Youths travel to investigate and evaluate available brides. A prospective bridegroom, if he does not know it already, learns his prospective wife's language from his prospective mother-in-law. Families also travel to visit relatives and affines. And there is travel for the sheer sake of travel.

A man's *mother's* language may be quite important because of the preferential marriage system. There is a preference, though not [582] an obligation, to marry his cross-cousin, particularly his mother's brother's daughter, [593] real or classificatory. (The kinship system is of Iroquoian type [Fulop 1955].) She will, of course, be of his *mother's* tribe and speak his *mother's* language. Therefore there is an added cultural incentive for a man to know his mother's language. If he has little opportunity to learn it—if she, for instance, is the only one of her tribe in the longhouse, and her tribe lives at a distance—his mother, nevertheless, will teach him lists of words in her language and how to say various things in it. Children are usually bilingual in both their father's and their mother's languages, but commonly use the former.

A child is frequently exposed to the other

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614 formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

[613] A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

## THE COMMUNITY

The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the Cuduiari the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

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614 tiated by a suffix. From the *Hehénewa* traditions it seems likely that
193 they were originally an independent tribe, probably Tucano, that had joined in with the group of sibs that were headed by the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnbwawü*, bringing with them their associated sibs. The sibs that carry the *Hehénewa* stem with their descriptive prefixes are also known by names that are compounded of the prefixes as well. Thus, the *Byari-Hehénewa* are also known as *Byaridowa*, and the *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* as *Pyéndowa*. According to Koch-Grünberg, the
614 *Órobawa* regard themselves as a branch of the *Hehénewa* and are also known as *Óluba-Hehénewa*. His information was that the *Hehénewa* were the "true" Cubeo and that the *Bahükiwa* were intrusive Macú (1909, II, 87). The actual history of the sibs is clouded in uncertainty. We can be reasonably sure only of a composite of several distinctive peoples or "tribes." The few *Wathariwa* sibs in my list are also named in a fashion similar to that of the *Hehénewa*.

614 Each sib also possesses a list of personal names that constitutes its
551 traditional genealogy.[3] These are names that all sib members must bear. They are called *aínheme* (*aín*: anaconda; *heme*: tongue) to indicate their origin from the speech of the anaconda, the animal form in which all first ancestors emerged from the earth. In these names there is a note of prestige, in that some names are illustrious, being part of the earliest genealogies, while others, having been added later, are less important. Since only one name can be held at a time, names are allocated in order of seniority, but not, insofar as I know, within a senior line. Names with an honorific connotation circulate within
[613] the sib, and not by lineage. They are transmitted in alternate gener-
[424] ations, going from a deceased grandparent to a grandchild. It should be said at once that while the notions of sib rank and of the distinction between more honorific and less honorific names suggests a structured system of social status, the social significance of status hierarchy is not great. The Cubeo have the skeleton of an aristocratic system that is fleshed with an egalitarian ethos.

Personal names are often those of birds, insects, and beasts, less commonly of fish. In the recent past, it is said, sib members did not eat the flesh of any creature whose name was then being carried by a sib member. This taboo is no longer in force. The explanation given is that hunting is more important now and they do not wish to deprive themselves of animal meat.[4] Without a proper sib name,

[3] There is a list of *Bahükiwa* names at the end of this chaper.

[4] On the other hand, there is the tradition that in the past they lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering rather than by farming. If this taboo did indeed exist it may have lapsed for the same reason that other ceremonial observances have

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615 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their
614 part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hier-
614 archical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social structure and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither,
554 as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo.
[301] Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within
[177] the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that
[721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political au-
614 thority over the entire Cuduiari.

The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point
[613] whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old
[867] man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

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genealogies is not strong, so that they have only a general, albeit a strong, feeling that the family lines presently in a sib are related. What keeps the sib from being a lineage is then the technical fact that the Cubeo cannot link up their present descent lines with their ancient descent lines.

One is tempted, therefore, to think of the Cubeo descent group as a transitional form, hovering between sib and lineage. At first glance the distinction between sib and lineage seems to hang by the technicality of how sophisticated a people are about genealogies. Yet this sophistication is a matter of major importance. Sib continuity and growth is a relatively simple matter of transmitting a sib name and a line of descent with an origin myth to give historical sanction. Lineage continuity and growth, on the other hand, demand motivation as well as the capability for maintaining accurate or presumably accurate genealogical records. Societies organized upon aristocratic lines can do this readily. Egalitarian societies, on the other hand, can have small lineages or large clans and kindreds but they cannot readily support large or historically deep lineages. The Cubeo have a shadow aristocracy only, not enough to sustain the necessary degree of genealogical sophistication. On the other hand, if the Cubeo could not sustain the growth of lineages neither could they sustain the growth of sibs. Two social conditions seemed to stand in the way of the enlargement of sibs. One was the inherent fissility of the sib, the other was the organization of the phratry. The phratry allowed the sibs to split without endangering their survival by virtue of being too small.

The basic social organization that provides for autonomous confederation of small units conforms readily to the requirements of easy absorption of new groups. The modes of group-binding, such as exogamy, the cycle of drinking parties, and the segmented forms of ceremonial participation that allow each sib to function as a ceremonial unit, are also admirably adapted to rapid assimilation of foreign tribes without benefit of a central administration. In cases of assimilation, all the necessary joint activities to which the sibs of a phratry are bound will inevitably encourage a common language. Just as the phratric organization allows for easy binding of autonomous sibs into a convenient fraternity that provides for peace, cooperation, and sociability, it allows as readily for fission without serious disruption. From these observations it may be inferred that the history of the Northwest Amazon region has been one of constant formation and disruption of sociopolitical entities. What a tribe is at any time is a core of sib segments that may have persevered through

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term has apparently taken on a masculine meaning and *amikó* is used to specify the female. A term *amikû* does not exist to my knowledge. With the loss of the possessive prefix *hi* some of the intimacy has gone out of the term. Nevertheless, being diplomatic in their use of kinship terms, the Cubeo sometimes employ the form *himámiyo* and so give the term a warmer tone.

Finally, the most distant usage is to employ only the stem *mamû* ("older one") equally to male and female to connote the barest sibling relationship. I never heard this term used because, I suppose, the Cubeo find it too formal. Rather than call a person *mamû* they prefer the more cordial *pakomá* (kinsman). The special respect use of this term for men of the head sib has already been described.

The junior sibling term is rather unusual. I am inclined to regard it as a quasi-kinship term because it has equally a kinship and an age-grade connotation. *Hwainyó* means literally "one who is in the class of youths." Like *amiyó* it can refer to females, but *hwainkó* is the special term for a younger sib and phratry sister. Because it is an age-grade term, the kinship meaning of *hwainyó* is so wide that it has come to mean any person of sib or phratry who is younger either by relative age within one's generation or is of a younger generation. When it is used as the reciprocal for *amiyó*, as a respect term, it refers to one to whom one condescends somewhat as a donor or good Samaritan. It would seem that the Cubeo have developed only the senior term as a true kinship term and have given seniors the prerogative of addressing all their juniors, whether by age or status, simply as "youth." Nor is the term bound by phratry, since it is applied to all grandchildren (male or female) who are not of the lineage. *Hwainyó* also means son-in-law and any nephew or niece. *Hwainkó* is the daughter-in-law. *Hwankû* is a serviceable male form giving it somewhat greater intimacy and thus is limited generally to younger men of one's own sib or of closely related sibs. The abbreviated form *hwa*, a more jocular term, is also used.

## BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

Lineage brothers and sib brothers are joined by all the strong bonds of a localized patrilineal sib organization. The obligations of lineage brothers toward one another are very little less binding than those of blood brothers, and the obligations of sib brothers, while somewhat less binding, are still considered to be strong. But these brotherly ties are general and taken for granted, whereas the relationship between brother and sister, as indeed that between husband

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since
301 stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
554 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
[75 major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[437] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[614] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region. The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox*
[184] with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *habókü* status or *kenámi upákü*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[135] [2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[324] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Aiari it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election – one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihi*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

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[101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

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615 As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the correspondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

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According to Kinship -- Cross cousins and parallel cousins are distinguished. No distinction is made between real brothers and parallel cousins. In the second ascending generation, the relationship is not differentiated between grandfathers and grandmothers, with the exception of the sister of the father of the father or Ego, who is designated with an isolating term. In the second descending generation, the relationship that Ego might have with his grandsons and granddaughters is not differentiated, be they real or classificatory. There are new kinship terms to designate relatives who do not follow the canon of marriage between cross cousins with the interchange of brother with sister.

/146/ According to the state of life -- There is no distinct term to designate a relative according to the state of life of the person who connects or relates by marriage this relative with Ego. Nor are different terms used to designate deceased relatives. To express the state of death of a relative, the terms Mijí (dead - masculine gender) and Mejeó (dead - feminine gender) are added to the kinship terms with which the relatives were denominated in reference (R) while they lived. Thus, for example, Yeé Mamí Mijí (my dead older brother), Páre Majkó Mejeó (the dead daughter of my brother), etc.

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PHRATRIES AND SIBS

Five phratries are found among the Tukano:

1) Yepá Bajuári Majsá.
2) Miriápura Diára Majsá.
3) Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.
4) Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.
5) Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

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Each one of these phratries is divided into an extensive number of sibs.

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## YEPA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs belonging to this phratry are located on the Paca, Papurí /Papury/ and Tiquié rivers, and on the Vaupés /Uaupés/ River from the stream of Umarí to the confluence of the Vaupés River with the Río Negro. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Tukano. The sibs that form this phratry can be divided into two artificial groups that correspond to patterns of kinship and are the following:

LIST "A"

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Yúpuri Baúro | (B) | (1) | (2) Yepára Oakajpeá | (+) | (2) |
| (3) Yepára Oyé | (B) | | (4) Yepára Suí | (C) | (3) |

1. The B in front /sic/ of the name of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Brazilian territory.

2. The + in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib has disappeared.

3. The C in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Colombian territory.

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5) Bejsémi Kuiseré | (C) | (6) Ajúsiro Sóbaro | (B) |
| (7) Suí Makúpi | (C) | (8) Ajkíto Ñetedejká | (C) |
| (9) Kemáru Isiadejpuá | (+) | (10) Yúpuri Pamó | (B) |
| (11) Yepára Merú | (C) | (12) Yúpuri Uajsóro Marí | (C) |
| (13) Sérvi Bojsé | (C) | (14) Doétiro Mimisipé | (C) |
| (15) Ajkíto Patíro | (C) | (16) Kemáru Kukú | (C) |
| (17) Urémiri Sióropo Bayá | (B) | (18) Urémiri Sáraro | (C) |
| (19) Parisí | (B) | (20) Yúpuri Búbera | (B) |
| (21) Ajúsiro Merí | (B) | (22) Ñajóri Dipé | (B) |
| (23) Yáitoro | (C) | (24) Urémiri Sakuró | (C) |
| (25) Buú Púra | (B) | (26) Suí Amoperí | (B) |
| (27) Ajúsiro Túro | (B) | (28) Arú Perí | (B) |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (29) Bojsóka Perí | (B) | (30) Ajkíto Kuá | (B) |
| (31) Buú Papéra Púra | (B) | (32) Ajkíto Báya Púra | (B) |
| (33) Kemáru Baá Púra | (B) | (34) Ajkíto Yujuró | (B) |
| (35) Suí Ajpuékeri | (B) | (36) Bujpuá Púra | (B) |

LIST "B"

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (37) Umu Sasí | (C) | (38) Ñajkéro | (+) |
| (39) Ñajpóbi | (+) | (40) Mío Putí | (C) |
| (41) Bojsoágue | (B) | (42) Dutá Púra | (B) |
| (43) Dóe Ñijkáro | (B) | (44) Niká Dejkayái | (+) |
| (45) Wuá Kúmu | (B) | (46) Kemáru Dasíri | (B) |
| (47) Dóe Diáti Kúmu | (C) | (48) Urémiri Kareri | (C) |
| (49) Ajkíto Bitóro | (C) | (50) Pijkóse Báse Kúmu | (B) |

614 Kinship terms Used among the Component Sibs of LIST "A"

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In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-36), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, the third one calls the fourth one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá. In numerical order and ascending chronologically (36-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

Kinship Terms Used among the Component Sibs of LIST "B"

In numerical order and descending chronologically (37-50), /148/ the first calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (50-37), the last one calls the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one calls the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

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## Kinship Terms Used between the Component Sibs of LIST "A" and the Component Sibs of LIST "B"

In a given generation, all the individual members of the component sibs of LIST "A" denominate all the individual members, of the same generation, of the component sibs of LIST "B": Pajké-Ró.

In a given generation, all the individual members of the component sibs of LIST "B" denominate all the individual members, of the same generation, of the component sibs of LIST "A": Yeé Párame.

In descending and ascending generations the kinship system and the kinship terms continue as if all the components of LIST "A" were blood brothers and all the components of LIST "B" were blood brothers, in a given generation. As for the kinship terms used between the components of LIST "A" and the components of LIST "B," in ascending and descending generations, the kinship system and the kinship terms continue as if the components of LIST "B" were the grandparents of the components of LIST "A." In all these cases age and sex are distinguished.

Examples of kinship terms used among the components of LIST "A."

(1) The son of Yúpuri Baúro calls Suí Ajpuékeri: Mé.

(2) Suí Ajpuékeri calls the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Meké.

(3) The son of Yúpuri Baúro denominates the son of Suí Ajpuékeri: Nijiá, since Yúpuri Baúro calls Suí Ajpuékeri: Nijiá.

(4) The son of Suí Ajpuékeri calls the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Mamí, since Suí Ajpuékeri denominates Yúpuri Baúro: Mamí.

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(5) Yúpuri Baúro calls the daughter of Suí Ajpuékeri: Majkó. Suí Ajpuékeri denominates the daughter of Yúpuri Baúro: Majkó.

(6) The daughter of Yúpuri Baúro calls Suí Ajpuékeri: Mengué. The daughter of Suí Ajpuékeri calls Yúpuri Baúro: Mengué.

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*601 (7) The sons of Yúpuri Baúro call the sister of Suí Ajpuékeri: Uaméu. The sons of Suí Ajpuékeri call the sister of Yúpuri Baúro: Uaméu.
614 Etc.

Examples of kinship terms used among the components of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mé.
(2) Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Meké.
(3) The son of Umu Sasí calls the son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá, since Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the son of Umu Sasí: Mamí, since Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates Umu Sasí: Mamí.
(5) Umu Sasí calls the daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Majkó. Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the daughter of Umu Sasí: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mengué. The daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls Umu Sasí: Mengué.
(7) The sons of Umu Sasí call the sister of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Uaméu. The sons of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu call the sister of Umu Sasí: Uaméu.

Examples of kinship terms used between the Component Sibs of LIST "A" and the Component Sibs of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Yúpuri Baúro: Meké, since the father of Yúpuri Baúro and the son of Umu Sasí are siblings.
(2) Yúpuri Baúro denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Mé.
(3) The son of Yúpuri Baúro calls the son of Umu Sasí: Pajké-Ró.
(4) The son of Umu Sasí denominates the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Yeé Párame.

/150/

## MIRIAPURA DIARA MAJSA

614 The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers
[615] Pirá-paraná, Apaporis, Cananarí, and Tuy. They speak the idiom
[36] traditionally known by the name of Carapaná. It consists of the
[19] following sibs:

●614 /150 cont./

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Mumiá Pajkáre | (+) | (2) Mumiá Dayágue | (+) |
| (3) Mujteá Pajkáre | (C) | (4) Mujteá Dayágue | (C) |
| (5) Duriá Pajkáre | (C) | (6) Duriá Dayágue | (C) |
| (7) Poitáñare | (C) | (8) Paréroa | (C) |
| (9) Eruria | (C) | (10) Dajseá Kawíria | (C) |
| (11) Buá Majsé | (C) | (12) Bujpuá Majsé | (C) |
| (13) Séra Majsé | (C) | (14) Yajuána | (C) |

*601 614 Kinship Terms Used among the Component Sibs of the Miriápura Diára Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-13), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (13-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 13 denominate 14 (Yajuána): Pajké-Ró.

Number 14 (Yajuána) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-13): Yeé Párame.

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Diára Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Mumiá Pajkáre denominates Séra Majsé: Mé.
(2) Séra Majsé denominates the son of Mumiá Pajkáre: Meké.
(3) The son of Mumiá Pajkáre denominates the son of Séra Majsé: Nijiá, since Mumiá Pajkáre denominates Séra Majsé: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Séra Majsé calls the son of Mumiá Pajkáre: Mamí, since Mumiá Pajkáre /sic/ calls Séra Majsé: Mamí.
(5) Mumiá Pajkáre calls the daughter of Séra Majsé: Majkó. Séra Majsé calls the daughter of Mumiá Pajkáre: Majkó.
/151/
(6) The daughter of Mumiá Pajkáre calls Séra Majsé: Mengué. The daughter of Séra Majsé calls Mumiá Pajkáre: Mengué.

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601 /151 cont./
614

(7) The sons of Mumiá Pajkáre denominate the sister of Séra Majsé: Uaméu. The sons of Séra Majsé denominate the sister of Mumiá Pajkáre: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Yajuána denominates Mumiá Pajkáre: Meké, since the father of Mumiá Pajkáre and the son of Yajuána are siblings.

(9) Mumiá Pajkáre calls the son of Yajuána: Mé.

(10) The son of Mumiá Pajkáre denominates the son of Yajuána: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Yajuána calls the son of Mumiá Pajkáre: Yeé Párame.

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[615]
[361]
[197]

## ÑUJKUA DIARA MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located at the headwaters of the Tiquié River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Barasano. It consists of the following sibs:

(1) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé – Bará Majsé (C)
(2) Buajá Ñajkoroá (C) (3) Ñujkuá (C)
(4) Uamúta Ñárague (C) (5) Uamúta Dáyaroague (C)

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Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Ñujkuá Diára Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-4), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (4-1), the last one calls the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 4 denominate 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-4): Yeé Párame.

* 601 ● 614 /151 cont./

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Ñujkuá Diára Majsá phratry.

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(1) The son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates Uamúta Ñárague: Mé.

(2) Uamúta Ñárague denominates the son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Meké.

(3) The son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates the son of Uamúta Ñárague: Nijiá, since Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé calls Uamúta Ñárague: Nijiá.

(4) The son of Uamúta Ñárague denominates the son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Mamí, since Uamúta Ñárague denominates Miriápura Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Mamí.

(5) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates the daughter of Uamúta Ñárague: Majkó. Uamúta Ñárague denominates the daughter of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Majkó.

(6) The daughter of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates Uamúta Ñárague: Mengué. The daughter of Uamúta Ñárague denominates Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Mengué.

(7) The sons of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominate the sister of Uamúta Ñárague: Uaméu. The sons of Uamúta Ñárague denominate the sister of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Uamúta Dáyaroague denominates Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Meké, since the father of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé and the son of Uamúta Dáyaroague are siblings.

(9) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates the son of Uamúta Dáyaroague: Mé.

(10) The son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé denominates the son of Uamúta Dáyaroague: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Uamúta Dáyaroague denominates the son of Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé - Bará Majsé: Yeé Párame.

• 614 /152 cont./
[615]
[361]
[197]

MIRIAPURA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Isana, Querarí, Surubí, and Uainía. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Maniva. It consists of the following sibs:

/153/

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Bejkári | (C) | (2) Mijpiágue | (C) |
| (3) Mijpiá Diára | (C) | (4) Majkápiro Púra | (C) |
| (5) Borékearo | (C) | (6) Petároague | (C). |
| (7) Majároague | (C) | | |

*601
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Kinship Terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-6), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (6-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 6 denominate 7 (Majároague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Majároague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-6): Yeé Párame.

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mé.
(2) Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Meké.
(3) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Petároague: Nijiá, since Bejkári denominates Petároague: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Mamí, since Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mamí.
(5) Bejkári denominates the daughter of Petároague: Majkó. Petároague calls the daughter of Bejkári: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mengué. The daughter of Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mengué.

*601 /153 cont./
614

(7) The sons of Bejkári denominate the sister of Petároague: Uaméu. The sons of Petároague denominate the sister of Bejkári: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Majároague denominates Bejkári: Meké, since the father of Bejkári and the son of Majároague are siblings.

(9) Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Mé.

(10) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Majároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Yeé Párame.

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[615]
[361]
[197]

## EMEKO BAJUARI MAJSA

The component sibs of this phratry are located on the Vaupés River between the hamlet of Urania and a little above the place where the Yí River empties into the Vaupés River, and on all of the Cuduiarí River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Cubeo. It consists of the following sibs:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Utíwiague | (C) | (2) Socóro Páramero | (C) |
| (3) Biá Déroague | (C) | (4) Purí Máriroague | (C) |
| (5) Aúwuewague | (C) | (6) Uejsári Téroague | (C) |

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Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-5), the first one denominates the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one denominates the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (5-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 5 denominate 6 (Uejsári Téroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Uejsári Téroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-5): Yeé Párame.

*601
614

/154 cont./

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuári Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Utíwiague denominates Aúwuewague: Mé.
(2) Aúwuewague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Meké.
(3) The son of Utíwiague denominates the son of Aúwuewague: Nijiá, since Utíwiague calls Aúwuewague: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Aúwuewague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Mamí, since Aúwuewague calls Utíwiague: Mamí.
(5) Utíwiague denominates the daughter of Aúwuewague: Majkó. Aúwuewague calls the daughter of Utíwiague: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Utíwiague denominates Aúwuewague: Mengué. The daughter of Aúwuewague calls Utíwiague: Mengué.
(7) The sons of Utíwiague call the sister of Aúwuewague: Uaméu. The sons of Aúwuewague denominate the sister of Utíwiague: Uaméu.
/155/(8) The son of Uejsári Téroague denominates Utíwiague: Meké, since the father of Utíwiague and the son of Uejsári Téroague are siblings.
(9) Utíwiague denominates the son of Uejsári Téroague: Mé.
(10) The son of Utíwiague calls the son of Uejsári Téroague: Pajké-Ró.
(11) The son of Uejsári Téroague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Yeé Párame.

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KINSHIP TERMS USED AMONG THE COMPONENT SIBS OF THE FIVE PHRATRIES THAT FORM THE YEPÁ MAJSA TRIBE

Kinship terms used between the phratries: Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Miriápura Diára Majsá.

| Yepá Bajuári Majsá | Miriápura Diára Majsá |
|---|---|
| LIST "A" | |
| Yúpuri Baúro | |
| Yepára Oakajpeá | |
| Yepára Oyé | |
| denominate with the term Nijiá from | Mumiá Pajkáre to Séra Majsé |

*
601 /155 cont./
614 Yepára Suí
615 to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Mamí from
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Duriá Pajkáre

Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Duriá Dayágue
to
Séra Majsé

/156/
Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Yajuána

Yepá Bajuári Majsá Miriápura Diára Majsá

LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Yajuána

*601 /156 cont./
•614 Kinship Terms Used between the Phratries:
615 Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

LIST "A"
Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Uamúta Dáyaroague

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

/157/
LIST "B"
Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Uamúta Dáyaroague

* 601 /157 cont./
● 614 Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
615 Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

LIST "A"

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Yepára Oyé
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Mamí

Bejkári
and
Mijpiágue

Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Mijpiá Diára
to
Petároague

/158/
Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Majároague

*601 /158 cont./
Yepá Bajuári Majsá Miriápura Bajuári Majsá
614
615 LIST "B"
Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Bejkári
to
Petároague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá Emeko Bajuári Majsá

LIST "A"
Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá
Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Uejsári Téroague

*601
614
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/158 cont./

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

/159/

LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.

Miriápura Diára Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Uamúta Dáyaroague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

* 601 /159 cont./
• 614 Yajuána
615 denominates with the term Nijiá

Uamúta Dáyaroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.
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Miriápura Diára Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Duriá Pajkáre
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Duriá Dayágue
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Mamí

Bejkári

Duriá Dayágue
to
Paréroa
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Mijpiágue
to
Petároague

Eruria
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Mamí

Mijpiágue
and
Mijpiá Diára

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601 /160 cont./
614 Eruria
615 to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Majkápiro Púra
to
Petároague

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra'Majsé
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Majároague

/161/
Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from
Bejkári
to
Petároague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Nijiá
Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.
Miriápura Diára Majsá Emeko Bajuári Majsá
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Uejsári Téroague

*601
614
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/161 cont./

Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Ñujkuá Diára Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.

Ñujkuá Diára Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Mamí from

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Bejkári
to
Mijpiá Diára

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Majkápiro Púra
to
Petároague

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Majároague

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

*601 /162 cont./
•614 Uamúta Dáyaroague
615 denominates with the term Nijiá

Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Ñujkuá Diára Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Ñujkuá Diára Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

/163/
Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Bajuári Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Miriápura Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá
Bejkári
to
Petároague
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

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601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
615 to
Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

614 Uejsári Téroague

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that
614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of
554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-
[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two
595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of
614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with
615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing
177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.
587 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.
611 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-
591 tended patrilineal families.
596

615 /164 cont./
614
178
177

Among the components of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry all these models of social structure are disappearing. Today it is very rare to find among the members of this phratry marriages between cross cousins, and there have appeared, with this social dislocation, new kinship terms that correspond to the new patterns of marriage and kinship. It would be interesting to see to what point the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry varies from the other Tukana phratries, but so far it has been impossible to undertake this work.

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* 539 /341 cont./

V. Miriápura Majsá.

Yepá Huáke left six persons, three women and three men, in Diawí. And they are called Mariápura Majsá. They are in charge of the spirits of Miriá (5).

[534] [784]

5. Of the Yuruparises. Ceremonial flutes used in the initiation ceremonies for the pubescent boys. It is forbidden for women to see these flutes.

VI. Ñebariuajtí.

In Ñamiriwí, Yepá Huáke left a male and a female who are named Ñebariauajtí. And these two beings have the same human form as Boraró and Boraró Numió. And they kill and steal people's souls in the same way as Boraró and Boraró Numió do.

VII. Sexual Relations (6).

6. Name that the interpreter insisted on giving to the myth.

Yepá Huáke left in Diawí two brothers with their papa and mama. And the four were called Bajsébo Majsá. And they left Diawí and went to Bajsebowí. Before Yúpuri Baúro (7)

[773] [614]

7. Yúpuri Baúro is the most important mythological culture hero in Tukano /Tucano/ culture. He is also the founder of the sib /Sp. sib/ of the highest category among the Tukano.

discovered these lands, the Tukano /Tucano/ did not have children. In Bajsebowí, when the father of the Bajsébo Majsá, who

*539 /367 cont./
or tobacco or manioc. All that I had I gave to Miriápura Tuskaro, but, since you did wrong, all that is now lost. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, is going to give you the seeds of manioc, coca, and tobacco. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, will give two little sticks to your woman (woman of Yúpuri Baúro). These little sticks will be as though stained with blood. I tell you this so that you will know. When your woman feels a blow on her body (32), it is because Yepá Uejkeó is coming with the seed.

[756]
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32. According to the informant, the shaman also feels a blow on his body every time travelers arrive at a maloca.

Your woman must go immediately to the port of Diawí, and you must order all your Pamúri Majsá to turn around and look toward the back door of Diawí, all lying in their own hammocks. If you do not pay attention to me this time, you will lose the manioc seed again, just as you lost the Bajséboperi the last time. All the natives the Vaupés are like animals. Someday I will send you chickens, dogs, and pigs so that you can compare yourselves with them. I am cursing you. Look at the group of the Ereya (33) and at the group of Siópuri Uejké (34). They really

33. Brazilians.

34. Colombians.

are good people. /368/ They have their own chiefs and they pay attention to their chiefs. They truly obey me. Go into the maloca of Diawí." And Yepá Huáke disappeared. Yúpuri Baúro entered Diawí, and there he ordered that all the Pamúri Majsá turn to look toward the back door. And all of the Pamúri Majsá obeyed. And they obeyed Yúpuri Baúro because formerly the Tukano /Tucano/ were very respectful. And formerly Yúpuri Baúro could strike Yepára Oakajpeá (35), and Yepára

[615]
[614]

35. In the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry,

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Yepára Oakajpeá forms the sib immediately inferior to that of Yúpuri Baúro.

Oakajpeá had to bear it. All the Mamí could strike their Nijiá (36) this way, and the Nijiá had to bear it. But since the

36. The older brothers could strike their younger brothers.

whites arrived at the Vaupés, the Tukano have become disrespectful.

As soon as she felt the blow on her body, the woman of Yúpuri Baúro went to the port of Diawí to receive Yepá Uejkeó. And as soon as the woman of Yúpuri Baúro arrived at the port of Diawí, Yepá Uejkeó, accompanied by three more women called Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá, came upstream.

When Yepá Huáke had gone down to Diawí to speak with Yúpuri Baúro, Yepá Huáke had burned, as if by a miracle, a garden behind Diawí.

Yepá Uejkeó and Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá arrived at the port of Diawí. The woman of Yúpuri Baúro received them very politely. Each of the four women brought a stalk of manioc, only they did not give the stalks of manioc to the woman of Yúpuri Baúro, but rather they went to the garden that Yepá Huáke had burned. They went around the maloca of Diawí so that the Pamúri Majsá would not see them. When they arrived at the garden, Yepá Uejkeó stood amidst the Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá and told the woman of Yúpuri Baúro to stand back a bit and to give great care and attention to what they were going to do. The stalk of the manioc seed that Yepá Uejkeó held was called Mejká Diáran Dejké. Then Yepá Uejkeó said, throwing her stalk of manioc: "You go here, in the middle, Mejká Diáran Dejké." Then one of the Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk, saying: "Batiá Dejké, you go on the right side." Then another of the Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk, saying:

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M /409 cont./
851 legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).
563

4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Maku, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

T
101 Marriages between Taryana and Desãna do not take place. We
582 do not know the reasons, however; it does not seem to be because
563 of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most noble group, marry Desãna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desãna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

T Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano
582 explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kõ-Ro. Nor the
563 Pirá-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Miritĩ,
• 614 Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor,
[601] finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Miritĩ-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana, Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

T
582 b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of
614 one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy, a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another
T family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son.
*[192] It is what is called Põáperi or põápeseri. And the young woman
[601] will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mã-rapõ nỹákhõ (future husband) or even Põrã-kõ nỹãkhõ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nõ'mõ nyãkho (future wife) or Põrá-ko nỹákho (future genitress).

/409 cont./

000 Such a custom is imposed by the desire of the tribe to perpetuate itself.

591 /410/ The ambilian marriage is not known, that is, it is not the young man who comes to live in the house of the in-laws;
614 but it is the young woman who, through marriage, leaves hers and comes to constitute a family in another tribe.

They desire, then, that a woman from another tribe come to their povoado in order to constitute a new family. The exchange, it seems to us, is not equivalent to a depreciation of the woman or reducing her to the condition of an article of trade. It is a measure of precaution, so that the group will not become extinct, but, on the contrary, the men always remain united, and the tribal traditions and the cordial relations among its components are kept alive.

From this concept and practice some consequences follow:

582 1st. -- The first one is that in fact the so-called preferential
614 marriage is in force among them. The exchanges not only establish social relations between two malocas, but, as we shall see
[611] later, they conceive kinship as bilateral. But not only the maternal
[601] cousins in the strict sense (that is, the nephews and nieces of the mother herself), but all those of their generation of the maternal Gens (IV -- 2, a (2) ) are called brides and bridegrooms /Port. noivos/, Baxsú-kãra (those who are destined for marriage with us).

Let us concretize an example: the Tukano from Parí-cachoeira customarily seek their wives among the Tuyuka of the headwaters of the Tiquié. Then, for the young people of Parí-cachoeira, brides and bridegrooms, or Baxsúkãra, are all the Tuyuka of the
[601] younger generation of the maternal povoado. Or, more exactly, all the young persons of the maternal Gens are their brides and bridegrooms, -- because to each povoado ordinarily corresponds a different Gens, -- and among themselves they call each other "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ (Mamí or Axkabí, see VIII -- 1, c).

As a rule, it is a boy or a girl among the Baxsúkãra who will be the Mã-ra-põ nỹákhõ or the Nõ'mõ nỹakho.

/458/

619 2) Local or Territorial Group.

628 a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93)

> 93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that nōt only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

614 592 621 Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large dwelling called maloca, Wi'ĩ pahirĩwi, which means great house, collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

[177] With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort. For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the povoados or groupings of family residences.

[178]

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621 592 614 Not rarely the dissension within a group provokes schisms, bringing as a result the departure of the dissidents, who go to build a new maloca or povoado farther away.

It is probable that originally each maloca was, in a strict sense, a family, in which the sons remained beside the father, and under his direction, even after they were married. We thus conceive the local group as being originally an agnatic community. There is, as a matter of fact, an expression current among the natives: "I am a person of N," and he says the name of the tuxaua himself.

[178] At present the two forms of local grouping are found: either everyone lives under one and the same roof, the maloca; or each family has its own residence, the povoados resulting. It is to be noted, however, that there are povoados only on the banks of the large rivers and through the influence and under the protection of the catechesis.

[594] /459/ In one form or another, however, the families constitute distinct groups and, what is even more remarkable in the regime of the maloca, autonomous ones. One understands the reason for this autonomy: there is in the tribes of the Uaupés a fusion of the two "ateliers," the masculine one (of fishing) and the feminine one (tiller), which complement each other and are sufficient for the maintenance of the family.

b) The social organization.

The gregarious life that the forest dwellers live demands the observance of certain norms establishing the relations among the individuals, or a certain social organization is necessary.

These relationships are, besides, quite natural, due to the very simplicity of the life they lead; and, on the other hand, are religiously observed. They are all customary, that is, practiced by custom, and it can not be learned whether they were given by a legislator, Wãx-tĩ, as the legends teach; or whether, on the contrary, they were customs introduced naturally and which experience approved, established, and made inviolable. Or whether

/459 cont./

621 perhaps one should distinguish between the different relations,
592 some of which, for example, that of exogamous marriage, might
• 614 have had a positive origin, and the others might be of consuetudinary origin.

Even in small groups, although perfectly and smoothly harmonized, the distinction of social assemblages, with their duties, their characteristic attributes, their peculiar directives, is easily perceptible. In each local group we can distinguish four categories of individuals: 1st, the tuxáua; 2nd, the Komũã (elders); 3rd, the men (more or less scaled by their ages and experience); 4th, the women and children.

These different categories, however, are closely connected to one another by unifying and stabilizing principles: 1st, a common house, the regime of the maloca, which, at least in the beginning, was in force as a general norm and without exception; 2nd, the provisions in common: a custom that is maintained in the maloca regime and, in a more attenuated way, also in the povoado system; 3rd, the common inheritance of the maloca, of zones for fishing and hunting, and of everything that is the property of the group; 4th, the fear of the spirits, with great unitive power, corresponding to the native mentality; 5th, vengeance, which the group will exercise against the one suspected of having caused the death of one of its members.

A further word about the first two categories of individuals is advisable.

c) "Bũxkõrá-kurá" -- (Council of elders).

622 Watching over the observance of the customs and the feasts is
623 a Council of elders, the Bũxkõrá-kurá (called Moacaretá in Nheengatú). It is made up of the Tuxaua, who is its hereditary president and also speaker and executor of its decisions, the Pajé, and two or three more /460/ men of greater ascendancy. These men are the Komũã (pl. of Komũ), as the natives express themselves, whom we saw appear (VII - 2, e (3) ) as "initiates" and, up to a certain point, helping the pajé.

4: Silva--717 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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197 Concerning the components of these linguistic families and their location, as well as their comparative vocabularies, see our work Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia.

/471/ d) Kurá or Gens.

614 We have indicated in a previous chapter (IV - 2-a(2)) the divisions of the tribes, divisions that are called Kurá in the Tukano language. According to native ideas, these divisions date back to the time of the origin of the tribe, by the will of Wãx-tĩ himself. We shall give in another place (cf. the work by the author, "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") the legend of the origins according to the account of the old Komũ Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira.

[115]

614 121 So many questions awaiting solution arise: When did these subdivisions take place? For what reason? What was their basis or foundation? We have verified for today a phenomenon of dispersion of a nation in small groups; would there have been a fusion in the past, or can we foresee a future one? The two first questions are of historic nature, and we lack the data to answer them. We might be able to add elucidative elements to the last two.

1) From the time that a human group settles in a locale that will provide it with the necessary or even abundant means of subsistence, it will naturally become prolific. It is nomadism, at the same time cause and effect of a deficient diet, that lowers the birth rate: 1st, by the organic depauperation of the parents; 2nd, by forcing a prolonged nursing of the children (up to four or more years); 3rd, favoring certain criminal practices (abortion, infanticide, cannibalism of the children).

The human groups, growing in number, cannot remain in the same maloca. Besides the difficulties of nourishment, which we have already mentioned, the real technical difficulty of enlarging the existing maloca or the building of new and larger ones demands

/471 cont./

• 614 121 the division of the original group (107).

107. It is possible that other reasons might have intervened, such as the misunderstandings that are still verified today.

While the first-born son, with his family, would remain beside the old couple, the other sons of the founder would become, in turn, founders of new malocas, which would grow with the natural fecundity of the native woman. This hypothesis, more in agreement with the nature of things, is confirmed, it seems, by the customs.

614 601 1st. -- A first one is the denomination of "brother" for all the individuals of the same nation (that is, who are recognized as from such-and-such a tribe and speak the same language), a denomination corresponding, besides, to their feelings (they can not marry each other, mutual aid and understanding, lamentation for a death, and vengeance for the brother who has been a victim of another tribe).

All of them are brothers, but there is a distinction between Mamí (bigger brother) and Axkabí (smaller brother). Among the brothers-german, that is, /472/ children of the same father, the terms mamí and axkabí correspond to the ages. Outside of this case, they no longer correspond. For example, one hears an adult characterize a child as mamí. It is, therefore, a matter of a hierarchic classification.

614 554 An I'rá-pé Tukano said that he regarded the Waú-ro and Oyê as Mamí; in relation to the Waú-ro we heard the expression "Tukano of the head," Dexseá ná dõxpoá," as equivalent to the principal branch, as was soon explained to us by Patrícia Vasconcelos. We have here, then, indications of an aristocracy (108).

[115] * [192] [601]

[175] 108. The existence of this aristocracy was already known in 1755 by Pe. Noronha. Xavier de Sampaio

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/footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced."

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the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Ba'ti-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

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109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tõmpa-duri, but

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/footnote 109 cont./ out of another hole at the mouth of a nearby igarapé. The rivers with dark waters, like the Uaupés, form characteristic and abundant foam when they beat against the stones of the cachoeiras. Upon asking a certain individual why there were these inferior divisions, he answered that it is because they did not come out of the water, but from the foam, as if it were from the dregs of depuration.

2nd. -- A second one is that they attribute to themselves a juridical superiority, deriving from the priority in time, something corresponding to the proverb: "qui prior est témpore pótior est jure" /one who is first with regard to time is better with regard to rights/. Whoever has settled more recently in a povoado is in a [192] certain inferior position; he is a "transient, Sihyári-maxsã," as they say.

/473/ The two customs indicated harmonize perfectly; we 173 might think that the second one is a derivation from the first. Upon 554 asking a Tukano Indian from a povoado on the lower Tiquié as to the inhabitants of which povoado he considered Mamí, he answered 614 those of S. José. Further inquiries made among other Indians came to clarify this answer. One of them said he had heard his own grandfather narrating that the Tukano formerly did not live there, but resided on the Papurí. They were expelled from this river by the Taryana, still being a child, therefore, about 100 or 120 years ago, and came to settle in S. José. This information makes S. José the first Tukano nucleus on the river Tiquié.

[103] One more argument in favor of the probability is given to us by the Tukano name of the locality, which is Maxkã, the town, as if it were the urbs par excellence of these Tukano. All the more probable, since such a designation, besides not being attributed to any other locality, escapes the custom of the names according to the geographical accidents (point, igarapé, stone, cachoeira, hole, etc.), or other circumstances. In the vicinity of S. José,

/473 cont./

173 there is a place that in Tukano is called Bũxkõrã bathã, literally
554 "swimming of the elders," that is, where the elders crossed the
614 river by swimming, fleeing from their enemies. In the vicinity of this spot, about 30 years ago, the elders showed Pe. João Marchesi a section of less dense forest as being the place through which passed the first Tukano coming from the Tiquié on their expeditions of war.

In conclusion, we give the opinion:

174 1st. -- The natural multiplication of the Indians imposed a
554 division into groups which have established themselves in closer
614 or more distant places, according to the circumstances; for this reason we today find groups of one and the same nation dispersed along the three rivers (Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri).

2nd. -- The denominations (110)

[829] 110. The distance between these groups has more and more accentuated the separation. If it is true that each individual, even the children, knows the name of his own and of the neighboring subdivisions (and even of other tribes), few of them know how to make a more complete list of the Gentes that make up their tribe.

that characterize each group (Waú-ro, Oyẽ, etc., cf. IV-2-a (2) ) are names or nicknames by which the respective stipites, or some late more famous descendant who provoked the separation or built the new maloca or performed any other deed, were known.

[628] 3rd. -- The relations between the malocas, and the social situation of those who /474/ inhabit them today, are the same as those that existed among the founders, hence the present hierarchy that is in force among the Indians.

/474 cont./

554 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some
• 614 are earlier and others later, having originated perhaps from some
[601] schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear,
614 however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical
829 doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say who would have precedence.

797 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the
177 division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for
614 such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

> 111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

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• 614 If by Phratry we understand any subdivision of the tribe (even if it does not constitute a true community, because it does not have a chief), these Subtribes or Kurá could be called Phratries (or Sibs, as some modern ethnologists prefer). They correspond to the Phratries of ancient Greece, while, like those, they are also exogamous and of paternal descent. It is to be noted, however, that marriage between one phratry and another of the same tribe is not permitted.

/475/ The Phratry or Kurá, which at first is identified with the maloca, with the passing of time unfolds into several local groups. In these, however, there is no trace that this might be a matter of a totemic clan; they are only territorial family groups or agnatic kinship groups, which we could call, using the Latin term, Gens.

f) Totemism?

There are different indications that make one think of the operation of totemism with its totemic clans and customs.

1st. -- The groups (tribes and subtribes) bear names of animals (Tucano /toucan/, arapaço /Dendro colaptidae/ or pica-pau /woodpecker/, juritĩ /dove/, jibóia, etc.) or of plants (miriti, cunuri /Cunuria/, etc.), as is the custom of totemic clans.

[237] [301] [535] 2nd. -- There appear in the dance ornaments feathers of the garça /heron/, arara, tucano /toucan/, gavião /hawk/; fur of the macaco and onça /jaguar/, teeth of the onça or of other animals; snake vertebrae, etc. These ornaments recall to memory the place in which the animal was wounded, as if it were an exaltation of the animal sacrificed and an identification between the individual and the animal formerly sacrificed by God or (?) to God.

[535] [532] 3rd. -- In the dances there are personages and masks (where they wear them, that is, among the Kubewãna of the Uaupés and the Arwake of the Içana), which represent the borboleta /butterfly/, the cotia /agouti/, etc., and these personages try to imitate the movements of these animals and there are also corresponding chirps or songs.

[825] 4th. -- The tucano /toucan/, due to the disproportionate weight and volume of its beak, does not have great autonomy of

/475 cont./

614 flight, which tends to become lower and lower. When it wants to
825 cross a river, it goes up one of the highest trees on the bank, so they assure us, and from there starts its flight, which little by little loses height, and sometimes, on the rivers that are too wide, they do not manage to reach the other bank. It was observed that the Tukano Indians, seeing a tucano /toucan/ fly over the river Uaupés at one of the widest points, uttered cries, as though of apprehension, in fear that the bird might not succeed in reaching the opposite bank.

They are only traces that at most might lead one to infer an earlier social form of totemic clan, if they are not elements acquired by borrowing (the instinct of imitation of the Indians is so re-
[824] markable) from other groups. One does not note, however, any attention (respect, fear, pleasure) toward the animal or plant whose name they bear; names, besides, without economic importance (except the Baniva or another one), contrary to what happens as a rule in connection with the totemic names.

It has not been noted that they avoid killing it or, on the contrary, try to eat it in some special circumstances. If they find it dead, /476/ no sign of surprise. It is certain that at times they kill it in order to use its feathers in the dance ornaments. But, at least in the present form (112),

[178] 112. We so often insist on the idea that these are present customs. This is because it becomes difficult or impossible to verify how they proceeded in other times. And the Indians respond to our questions: -- "It has always been this way."

the ornaments are the same for the various tribes, be they called Tukano, Arara, Tuyuka, Pirá-tapuya, etc. It can even be asserted that their attitude is one of perfect indifference before the animal with their own name, more or less just as before any other animal.

There are no tucano /toucan/, pica-pau /woodpecker/, jurití
614 /dove/, etc. clans, either. They are and they are considered
619 nations or different tribes, each one with its own language and peculiar somatic features. It is true that one and the same tribe is subdivided into groups with names that might seem clanlike (cf. IV-2-a(2) /see a(3)/ ). But they indeed are not the animals that appear

/476 cont./

614 in the dance ornaments. Besides, such groups, or Gentes, are far
619 from the classic type of clan. For example, marriage is not permitted between the Gentes, but only between one and another Nation.

The ornaments with feathers of the tucano /toucan/, arara, garça /heron/, or monkey fur are bound up with the legend of Wãxtĩ, which, due to the mutual relationship between the tribes, has figured in the history of each tribe. The ornaments, however, are
[438] not distinctive for family or clan. They are essentially the same for all the tribes, being an object of trade of one tribe with another. This circumstance alone already speaks against a clan interpretation.

[532] It is absolutely not noted that any tribe or group has any picto-
[825] rial representation by incision or sculpture of any animal whatsoever, and even less of its titular.

As for the dance masks and personages, it is to be observed first
[53] that there is the one of the borboleta /butterfly/, and nevertheless there is no human group with this denomination, and nothing reveals its having existed. In the second place there are mask, dance, and song of the cutia /agouti/, and a subdivision among the Tukano, the Bwá-põrã, children of the cutia, and an Arwake tribe of the Içana, Awadzuranai or cutia-tapuya, are known under this name; and nevertheless there is no such mask among the Tukano, but there is among the Arwake.

It seems that the same personage now does the borboleta /butterfly/, now the cutia, etc. Now one, now another will do such a role; within the same maloca there are the various personages, and it is not a matter of a function inherited from father to son either. All this testifies against the hypothesis of the existence of clan subdivisions.

/477/ As for the episode of the concern for the tucano
[825] /toucan/ that was crossing the river, it could be a manifestation of simple curiosity, which among the Indians comes so many times accompanied by exclamatory noises. The elders relate nothing that might prove to be a matter of a clan totem. At least by what we know up to now.

/477 cont./

614 532 Just as there is no indication of clan totemism, there is none of individual or personal totemism either. The objects that they make do not represent animals; they are of simple workmanship, according to the purpose. In some quite rare cases the paintings of the walls are anthropomorphic; they seem, however, to have only a sportive character. /Page 478 is blank./

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## Chapter IX

## The Life of the Indian

1) Daily cycle.

512 The type and the standard of life of the Indian seem patterned. Even in distinct tribes we find the Indians doing the same things in the same way, and even with a very close timetable. It is indeed a very methodical life, not, however, monotonous. On the contrary, quite varied, in a perfect nature in which daily rest, work, meals, baths, physical exercises succeed one another.

[592] "The Tukano lives in the maloca, which serves him as bedroom, kitchen, dining room in the morning and in the afternoon. The maloca is, in succession, laboratory for the domestic chores, meeting place at times of rain, and ballroom during the great feasts. It is the place where the Tukano lives, dies, and is buried. For the Tukano the maloca is the world" (Report by the First Superior of the Salesian Missions of the Rio Negro, Mons. Lourenço Giordano -- Boletim Salesiano -- Feb. 1918, p. 31).

The ordinary family life can be summarized in this way: the Indian sleeps little, eats much, talks a great deal, works when it is necessary.

From three o'clock in the morning, the maloca still closed, one hears inside quite an animated conversation, noisy and frequent laughs. And many times the noise of the graters at work: it is the women who are preparing the mandioca for the beijú. Before five o'clock, with rain or without it, always dark in those latitudes, the women leave through the back door, individually

[462] [252] [515]

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part of the Central American and Andean jaguar distribution; perhaps the Cubeo ranked clans and ancestral cult are also part of the Andean picture. However, where there is a cultural relationship it is probable that it moves in either direction. The lowlands took from the Andes; it is likely that they gave as well. Perhaps a close study of social conditions in the tropical forest could shed specific light on the spectacular historical developments in the Andes. The way in which the Cubeo malora, the multifamily residence, tends to become a sib ceremonial center for those sib members who have broken away from it illustrates, for example, a possible process of ceremonial center formation.

Questions of culture history are inevitably to the fore when one compares the tropical forest with the Andes. But even as a separate entity the tropical forest area commands culture-historical interest. Cubeo social structure, for example, suggests some of the ways in which small social units such as extended and joint families and lineages grow into and combine to form more complex and more highly integrated social systems. Segments of one tribe attach themselves as entities to other tribes adopting a new language. Federations of segments are formed by various combinations of adoption, adhesion, and fission; these bind themselves together by ceremonial ties and not by ordinary political means of suprachieftainship. Other processes are at work elsewhere in the region. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that detailed comparative studies of tropical forest social structures could provide a rich foundation for the reconstruction of modes of social evolution, within a fixed range of social integration. As native Africa is a natural laboratory for the study of nascent states, the South American tropical forest as a major culture area is a natural laboratory for the study of variations in a small community, and lineage and clan organization.

In the foregoing discussion my intent was to provide the reader with a broad problem setting in which the Cubeo are viewed generally as a tropical forest culture. Since tropical forest anthropology is not too widely known this seemed a useful thing to do. However, the Cubeo are more specifically a part of the Northwest Amazon subculture area. The Northwest Amazon is designated as a subarea of the tropical forest in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. Not a sharply delineated area, it includes several of the major languages of lowland South America: Arawakan, Cariban, Tucanoan, Witotoan, and Macú. Of these language groups, Tucanoan (the language of the Cubeo), Witotoan, and Macú are restricted to the Northwest Amazon and were until recently listed as unclassified languages

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121 (Beuchat and Rivet, 1911; Mason, 1950). A new classification now
197 places Macú with Tucanoan in a Macro-Tucanoan subfamily, and both, together with Arawakan, in a larger Andean-Equatorial family. In this new classification Witotoan is, together with Cariban, part of a Macro-Cariban subfamily under a larger Ge-Pano-Cariban family (Greenberg, 1960). Culturally, the Tucanoans fall into two groups, an eastern one to which the Cubeo belong and a western one about which we know relatively little. Information on the Arawakan and Cariban tribes in the area is somewhat fuller, but still lacking in necessary detail on social structure and cultural patterns. The Witotoans are somewhat better known through the work of Whiffen and of Preuss, while the Tucuna, who speak an isolated tongue, have been professionally described by Nimuendajú. The present volume on the
121 Cubeo attempts a more comprehensive account of the social life and social structure of a Northwest Amazon tribe. Thus the characterization of the area based upon criteria other than those of material culture rests mainly upon our knowledge of the Witotoans, the Tucuna, and the writer's field work among the Cubeo. The presence of well-developed patrilineal sibs among the Cubeo, Witotoans, and Tucuna, elaborate initiation rites, secret rites involving sacred trumpets, the use of bark-cloth masks in mourning ceremonies, and the single large house constituting the community are some of the traits that set this area apart. All of these traits, it should be said, occur outside the area as well but not in quite the same combination.

By cultural criteria the Achagua also belong in the Northwest Amazon area. This large group of Arawakan-speaking peoples, occupying an extensive area on the Colombian-Venezuelan border along the Meta, Vichada, Guaviare, and Orinoco rivers, bears some striking resemblances to the Cubeo (Steward and Faron, 1959, p. 356 ff.). These Arawakans share such traits as the exogamic patrilineal sibs, the communal dwellings, and the secret male cult of the Tucanoans. Economy and material culture are also similar, although in the tropical forest such similarities are of no great significance since they seem almost to blanket the region. Even so, on the score of subsistence the Achagua have the distinctive maize and bean complex of the highlands while the Tucanoans and their Arawakan neighbors have maize but not beans. Since patrilineal sibs are not common in the tropical forest, the Northwest area stands out strikingly in this respect. Prior to 1940 patrilineal sibs had been identified among the
[614] Witotoans only (Whiffen, 1915). The writer reported them for the Cubeo of the Cuduiari on the basis of his field work (Goldman, 1948). Nimuendajú, in a report published in 1950, independently

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Nimuendajú, in a report published in 1950, independently identified the social organizations of the Vaupés River as patrilineal sibs, and more recently a young Colombian anthropologist, Marcos Fulop (1954), described a patrilineal sib organization with a phratric grouping among the Tucano Indians. Work on the patrilineal Yagua and the Tucuna was also done after 1940. Before 1940 Kirchoff (1931), using the then best available information, had incorrectly characterized the Northwest Amazon region as based upon bilateral kin-groups that favored patrilocal residence. 121 [614] [615]

If we are to conceive of the Northwest Amazon as a geographic region then the Macú must also be included. Macú is a catchall name for very simple nonhorticultural peoples whose center seems to be the Rio Negro but who have been moving westward into the Vaupés-Caquetá area (Métraux, 1948). There they have either been assimilated in the Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking tribes or have lived among these more powerful tribes as servants or "slaves" or in some other symbiotic relationship. The *Bahúkiwa* sibs of the Cubeo acknowledged Macú ancestry and may well have been, as Koch-Grünberg has claimed, one of the assimilated Macú groups. The Macú are shorter in stature than the other Indians in the region. They lack fixed residences, the hammock, and the canoe. If the Macú languages are truly, as Greenberg (1960) has suggested, Macro-Tucanoan, they are not an altogether alien group among their more culturally advanced neighbors. The Macú, however, have not been studied at all so that we do not know whether they are to be considered a remnant of very early nonhorticulturists or as uprooted people who had given up farming. The tropical forest has a number of examples of the latter case. *Bahúkiwa* traditions, on the other hand, refer to a prehorticultural period. [614] [174]

Since our knowledge of the tribes of the entire Northwest Amazon drainage, including the basin of the Rio Negro, is so slight, too much importance cannot be attached to "Northwest Amazon" as a subculture type. However, the entire Northwest Amazon region, which includes an area somewhat greater than the cultural area designated in the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward, 1948), has unusual potential interest, potential in the sense that the ethnological problems it poses can become real only after further field work has clarified the state of cultural patterns and cultural institutions there. This northwest quadrant of the Amazon Basin is open to the entire lower Amazon and has, at the same time, contact with the eastern margins of Andean cultures as well as with the southern margins of the Circum-Caribbean cultures. That is to say, on its northern and western flanks it is subject to influences from more highly developed

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visitor. On the other hand, the leaf-cutter ant is a specialist on clothing. I was once covered by a swarm of these ants while asleep. When I had carefully removed the last of them I was left with but a leather belt and a few tatters of trousers and shirt.

The anopheles mosquito is generally absent in the Cuduiari region where I did my field work. On the whole, the health of the Cuduiari Indians is good. Carate (*puru*), a skin pigment disorder apparently of spirochete origin, common everywhere else in the Northwest Amazon, was far less in evidence on the Cuduiari. Children suffered from worms and other intestinal parasites but infant mortality was not particularly high. There were no epidemics during my stay. The recollections of the Indians about serious illness go back to the 1918 influenza epidemic that apparently ravaged the native populations in the region. Women, in particular, suffered from the painful purulent conjunctivitis, which they attributed to insect molestation in their manioc gardens. The bloated abdomens of children whose diet is too generous with carbohydrate and deficient in protein is a common sight along the Vaupés, but is less evident on the Cuduiari, where native life and diet is still almost intact. As for the Cuduiari itself, the people at the mouth of the river, the higher ranking *Hehénewa* sibs, seemed generally more sturdy, vigorous, and aggressive than the Indians who lived upstream.

Dr. Hamilton Rice, who explored the Vaupés in 1907–08, observed that the most physically powerful Indians came from the Cuduiari. He noted men who were six feet tall and over, strongly built with thick arms and powerful torsos. Actually somatological variability is considerable on the Cuduiari, ranging from marked mesomorphy to moderate ectomorphy. But this observation of mine is not based on measurements. Dr. Rice (1910) has published a physical description of the Cubeo based upon anthropometric observations. I quote from it:

> Their color is an olive brown corresponding to No. 4 of Broca's scale and seems invariable, a conclusion based on a comparison of the scale with many hundreds of subjects on parts of the cuticle least exposed to sun and pigmented decoration. The eye is dark, palpebral fissure narrow, not oblique, pointed at its external aspect, and the upper lid so heavy at times as to suggest the puffiness of oedema; but the eye by no means conforms invariably to so Mongolian a criterion, closely resembling the European eye in many other cases. The hair is black, lanky, coarse in the male, fine and glossy in the female. The faces are escutcheon-shaped and hairless, the chins rounded and receding, noses from straight and busque to hooked and Chinese flat types, region of cheek bones flat, lower lips large and inclined to turn slightly downward. The ears are not large, lobes absent or slightly devel-

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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character
[342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor.
[596] The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu-
[553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social seg-
[614] ments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into
[796] one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kúwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yuvi*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul-
197 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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men have learned to wear trousers and a cotton tunic at home. For ceremony, however, they wear only the perineal band, now made of trade cloth. For women the skirt has replaced the ornamental ceremonial apron, but for men ceremonial participation in trousers means an important change in outlook in which the ceremony has become secularized. I learned this from young Indian men, visitors to the Cuduiari, who, wearing the cotton trousers and tunic of the mestizo, insisted in explaining to me that they were taking part in dances "just for fun." In the truly solemn ceremonies on the Cuduiari I saw no man in European dress. 177 291 182

The use of Spanish or Portuguese is another sign of change in cultural identification. But here, too, the process is complex. Indian cosmopolitanism is traditionally multilingual. Wives often speak distinct dialects of Tucanoan or else speak Cariban or Arawakan. Children learn the language of the mother first and then learn to speak Cubeo. The Tupian lingua franca has been a traditional trade language between Indians as well as between Indian and white for a very long time. Thus, the Indian who has learned Spanish and Portuguese is simply extending his multilingualism. These European languages have also come to play an important role in native interrelationships. Spanish and/or Portuguese has become the customary language of violent drunken quarrels among men at a drinking party. Used in this context the insults and threats in a foreign language are less ominous, and easier, therefore, to disregard than the same words uttered in the native language. The Cubeo usage is as with us: the foreign phrase used scatologically modifies the impact. Thus, in this respect the Cubeo adoption of foreign European phrases is a matter of enriching the native culture and is far from being a mark of cultural breakdown. I met only a few Indians on the Vaupés and none on the Cuduiari who had given up their native speech in favor of Spanish or Portuguese. 177 182 191

The use of European personal names offers another example of adaptation to the native cultural pattern. Among the Cubeo, personal names come from the traditional genealogy of the sib. They have a sacred character and are not used freely. Knowing a person's sib name is a sign of intimacy and such intimacy is not readily yielded up. I did not learn native personal names for weeks, and even at the end, one of the more embarrassing questions I could ask was simply a person's sib name. In common discourse kinship designations were used. The native name is not so much an appellation as it is sib identification. The headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib was the first to tell me his name. He uttered it in a whisper close to my ear. Thus, for the Cubeo, 177 551 182 614 [123]

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with its white residents, they had no reason not to regard it as a 177
friendly place. The *Comisaría* protected their labor rights, supervis- 648
ing terms of contract and entertaining their complaints of unfair treatment. When an Indian completed his term of labor he was "paid off" in the presence of an official in charge of Indian affairs. The Indians regarded the government as fair. The *Comisaría* provided medical aid to those Indians who came to seek it. At the same time it respected native life and interfered with the Indians as little as possible. Although the Cuduiarí is readily accessible from Mitú it was [114] entered only rarely by administrative personnel. When I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* some 15 hours by canoe from Mitú, I had the sense of total isolation from this administrative center. The normal everyday life on the Cuduiarí was completely Indian. In the time of Wallace there had been bad blood between Indians and Colombians, but by the time Koch-Grünberg arrived relations between the Cubeo and the government had already become peaceable.

In Mitú I met Mandú, headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib of the middle 122
Cuduiarí. He had come to seek medical treatment for his young son, 123
who had injured his knee in a fall. The headman and I became friends [614]
and he invited me to visit. When I promptly accepted his invitation I was surprised to find that he had already begun to build a house for me and that the Indians had expected me to settle among them. He had discussed the matter with his people, he told me later, and they had agreed that it would be good to have me live among them. The reasons for wanting me never became too clear, but I came to believe that they thought I would offer them some protection from the pressure of the labor recruiters.

I was informally "adopted" as the younger brother of Mandú. For 123
a while people were amused to address me by an appropriate kinship [597]
term. In time this jest lost its freshness and I came to be regarded simply as *pakomá* (kinsman). Nevertheless, I was considered to be a member of Mandú's household even though I had a house of my own alongside the maloca. Mandú sent his older wife, with whom he was no longer living, to serve as my cook. With Mandú's household I had all the privileges of informality. My relations with other households were friendly but more restrained. Since I did not contribute an appropriate share of fish and game to the household, or to the maloca as a whole, I felt obliged to reciprocate food and services with periodic gifts of cloth, tobacco, fishhooks, and ammunition. At one time during a drinking party at which I was not present, a son of Mandú distributed all my trade goods to the guests "in my behalf." However, during the period of many weeks when I no longer had trade goods

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that such an identification gives one. Had I chosen to move from one sib to another I would have had a better account of the formal principles of social structure but at the expense of a knowledge of the patterns of cultural life. My choice of the *Bahúkiwa* among all the Cubeo sibs was partly, as I have explained, fortuitous, but the site, halfway up the Cuduiari, had its advantages in giving me some command of events along the entire river. 114

The reader, however, will understand that this study has a special perspective. Although I have made some effort to present "Cubeo," the point of view is unavoidably that of the *Bahúkiwa*, a low-ranking sib and perhaps even an alien sib of probable Macú ancestry. Strictly speaking, a Cubeo perspective can be only an artificial composite pieced together and generalized from the distinctive perspectives of each of its principal sibs. I would imagine that the Cubeo presented from the point of view of the *Hehénewa*, a high-ranking sib, would bring out somewhat more emphasis upon social status and upon the authority of the headman. One wonders how the Cubeo would appear if studied from the point of view of those of its sibs now along the Querari that were once Arawakan-speaking; or if studied from the point of view of those Cubeo-speaking sibs that now form one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe. 121 614

The theoretical position of a study is best understood from what the writer does with the material. What he claims to be doing with it is far less important. My own theoretical viewpoint will emerge from the text and more explicitly from the final summation or conclusion. At this point it should be sufficient to say that my purpose is to present the Cubeo in terms of fundamental principles of social structure and in terms of basic cultural patterns. I have chosen a level of description and of analysis that lies between the idiosyncratic and the universal. The detailed account of person and of personal reaction is an example of the idiosyncratic, and the analysis of a culture as an apparatus for the satisfaction of "basic human needs" is an example of the universal. The idiosyncratic and the universal approaches are pancultural. One deals with individual responses that can occur in any society, the other deals with cultural functions that are true of all societies. The level of description chosen here is intended to set the Cubeo apart as a particular social and cultural type and yet to allow bases for cross-cultural comparison with other societies on its cultural level. 121

Finally, it is necessary to say that this study is incomplete. It had been my hope to do a restudy. When this hope did not seem realizable it was obviously better to submit an incomplete report on the Cubeo than not to submit one at all.

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# 1

## *The Cubeo Community*

361 The Cubeo Indians occupy a string of settlements along a small stretch of the Vaupés River from Uarúa Lake upstream to Uaracapurí and downstream to near the Brazilian border, as well as along several of the Vaupés tributaries, namely the Cuduiarí and the [61] Querarí and Pirabatón. The tribe consists of some 30 or more patrilineal, exogamous sibs[1] that are grouped into three unnamed confederations or phratries of unequal size that are also exogamous. Although the bulk of the Cubeo now live on the smaller streams—the Cuduiarí, in particular, being heavily populated—the broad [614] Vaupés, that joins with the Rio Negro to enter the Amazon, is regarded by the Indians as their main stream and as their source. Their 173 leading sibs still live there. Native traditions place the emergence of 614 all the Cubeo sibs at two Vaupés sites, at the turbulent cataracts of 361 Yuruparí and of Uaracapurí. From there the people moved up the nearby tributary streams, the Cuduiarí, the Querarí, and the 173 Pirabatón, a tributary of the Querarí. The traditions record that 361 the first people displaced groups that were already living along [174] these streams and, in this respect, square with historical observations that pressures of enemy Indian tribes, and, lately, the more potent pressures of white colonizers, have been forcing 361 the Indians to leave the main rivers and take shelter in the more 614 distant and constricted feeder streams, or else face physical or cultural extinction. The more timid and the more humble of the sibs have

[1] Following the usage of Lowie (1920, p. 111), "sib" is synonymous with "clan."

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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamiwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

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*pamíwa* or a *pwãnwa*. The group of exogamous sibs that form a phratry are spoken of as *kwindwũ*, *ũnhiwũ*, or *kwindnokauwũ*, all terms with the general meaning of "one kinfolk" or "the same kinfolk." However, I have also heard the expression *nuhénokauwũ* (my own kinfolk) used to refer to both tribe and phratry.

If tribal designation is vague, the native concept of tribe is only a little more definite. Tribe refers more or less to a common identity of language, descent, and custom. One of the Cubeo phratries was, in fact, once Arawakan. To become tribesmen they adopted the language, customs, and traditions of the Cubeo. Other sibs appear to have been at one time Macú as well as sections of the Tucano "tribe." There are no formal bonds of tribe and there is no acknowledgment of tribal overlordship. Cubeo social structure is segmentary, the patrilineal sib being the basic segment. Every sib has established relationships with other sibs to regulate marriage, ceremonial participation, friendships, and hospitality along traditional lines, but also to some degree along lines that suit its own particular interests.

The phratry is a more sharply defined and a far more important social aggregate than tribe. A phratry is a confederation of sibs that are closely bound by rules of exogamy, by common residence along the same river, by a tradition of common origin and descent, by a graded order of rank that assigns to each sib its place in a social hierarchy, and, finally, by a series of ceremonies, solemn as well as secular, such as drinking parties at which each sib entertains its fellow sibs. Withal, there is no phratric overlordship, no phratric council or other agency to consider policy for the phratry as a whole.

What gives a phratry cohesiveness is the pattern of relations that the individual sibs, each acting individually, have formed with one another. The most important of these relationships is the rule of exogamy. By adhering to a rule of exogamy the sibs regard themselves as "brothers," for fraternity is based on the kinship principle that brothers cooperate and share the same rules of exogamy. Most sibs in a phratry have been joined together from the traditional beginnings or the time of first emergence, others are newcomers who have been adopted into the cofraternity of sibs. Adoption is the prerogative of an individual sib. A sib adopts an alien group as a subsib and automatically gives it a place and rank in the phratry. The phratry is no homogeneous federation of fraternal sibs. It is differentiated by rank, by historic background, and by geography. Sibs of the same historic background and of similar rank who are neighbors on the river feel closer to one another and form, therefore, an unofficial but still evident inner circle. Normally, rank, historic background, and propin-

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quity coincide and so the informal clusterings are strengthened. Thus, when one speaks of sibs within the phratry it is necessary to distinguish between "close" sibs and "distant" sibs. As the discussion of kinship will show, these distinctions between "close" and "distant" sibs are actually expressed in kinship usages. Among the Cubeo, relative ranking of sibs is not as formally expressed as it is among the Tucano tribe. Among the latter, all the lower-ranking sibs of a phratry are junior siblings and are addressed by the term "junior sibling." The highest-ranking sib is "older brother" to all the other sibs (Fulop, 1955).

The basic segment is the sib. A sib is an exogamic, patrilineal, and patrilocal descent group that claims to share a line of descent through males (with some exceptions) back to a founding ancestor at the beginnings. The sense of sib is that of a local group capable of sharing a common residence and of regarding itself as a fraternal kingroup. Sib members may be, and often are, dispersed. This, however, is, in the Cubeo view of things, an abnormal situation. Sib identity, in any case, is never lost. Even women who must marry "out" are forever members of the paternal sib. The sib, as we have already said, has a name. It has a headman, a common residence or sib center, and is on any crucial issue autonomous politically and economically. It may break out of the exogamic grouping of the phratry by moving away and joining another phratric organization. This, however, it will be very reluctant to do. Sibs are not static entities and that is why one cannot obtain an exact count of their number. Fission is an ever active process and reveals itself in what may be called "phases of separation." Within a common residence site most families live in a long house, called in the region a maloca. Others live alongside the maloca in smaller houses. I have called the occupants of the smaller houses "Independents" because of their expressed intention to remain somewhat outside of the jurisdiction of the sib headman.

Some sib members live at a nearby but distinct site with very considerable autonomy, but recognize the main maloca as their sib center. These people are still more estranged from the sib and I have called them "Satellites." The Satellites may estrange themselves to the point of complete separation. They then assume a sib name that is a compound of the original sib name with a new designation and so take on the status of a subsib. A subsib has a strong sentimental attachment to its parent sib, but in all other respects it is autonomous. A Satellite may also give up its satellite standing by rejoining the parent sib. Subsibs are held together by sharing a common sib name and a common genealogy. This is true whether subsibs have been

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614 formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

[613] A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

## THE COMMUNITY

The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the Cuduiari the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361
household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial 241
purposes. 462

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351
entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361
kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562
staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622]
for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and
for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist
that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [178]
plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755]
medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear
plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521]
of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards,
and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip.
During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests
are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351
a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361
vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562
an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574
realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made
this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was
received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as
he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361
a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562
the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823
of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614]
Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534]
edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again [515]
to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833]
women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842]
But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621
high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512
of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing
that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahukiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361
tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241
462

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361 Caño dwellers are self-[illegible]scious; they enter-
554 tain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or en-
[157] couraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they
[123] did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the
342 new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one require-
361 ment of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with
622 him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines
768 of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new ma-
loca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change
at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the
victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a
361 fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations.
244 At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to
768 ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is
moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the
old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transi-
tional period when the community is actually working both clearings.
The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until
they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they
will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old
*chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

361 The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to
[311] circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some
15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again.
Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the
forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally
dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later
moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiarí and the
361 Querarí. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this
● 614 connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or
554 along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs
occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely
associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks
deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong oc-
cupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or
by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become
dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites
and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Gia-
361 cone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (refer-
554 ring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only
along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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621 592 the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. The Cubeo believe that one roof unites a community while several roofs divide it.

621 311 Size of maloca is adapted in some measure to cultivable terrain. We have already noted that seasonal flooding and the requirement of good river frontage limit the availability of land for relatively permanent cultivation. But these are highly variable factors. Along the Vaupés, a deep river basin that can carry a great volume of water, there are vast stretches of dry land that have become the sites of civilized population centers. There is no doubt that from terrain alone the Vaupés could have supported far greater Indian populations than it did at the time of first contact. Along the Vaupés the limiting factor seems to have been social. On the Cuduiarí, on the other hand, land contours are such as to divide frontages into much smaller segments. On this smaller stream, terrain has been a more significant factor in limiting community size. But even on the Cuduiarí, land utilization is subject to strong social considerations. One consideration is that sibs [614] must retain their traditional boundaries. This means that with slash-burn horticulture the sib territory must provide, as a minimum, a three-step cycle in which a community returns to its original land after 10 to 15 years. The well-situated tract must then be at least three times the average land requirement at any given time.

361 244 There is still another consideration, and that is the distance of manioc gardens from the residence. When they prepare a clearing, the Cubeo bear in mind the distance a woman will have to trudge with her burdens of manioc, a baby, and firewood. That is why the gardens are laid out along a semicircle. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop. It needs reasonably dry soil and it makes heavy demands upon the time and energy of a woman for its cultivation, transportation, and preparation. Whatever can be saved from travel time is an advantage.

621 182 The thesis of ecological adaptation, however, can be argued most successfully in the abstract. If one notes the actual events in the life of a community, then the processes of community growth and community fission appear in quite a different light. The balance of forces of fusion and of fission that hold community size to its stable limits in harmony with the natural environment are not entirely economic. They often include personal factors. To state this more precisely: the economic factor affects fusion strongly but has less direct bearing upon fission. Satellites, for example, are urged to return to the fold, guests are urged to stay on, and daughters are invited to take up residence [578] in their own sib if there is ample land. Splitting, on the other hand, occurs because of personal quarrels and rarely because of a feeling of land shortage.

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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiari; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way. 621 182

Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain. 621 342 182 [592]

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses. [171]

In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y generál*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habókü*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kenámi upákü* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along 178 342 621 614 [177]

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the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
(592) self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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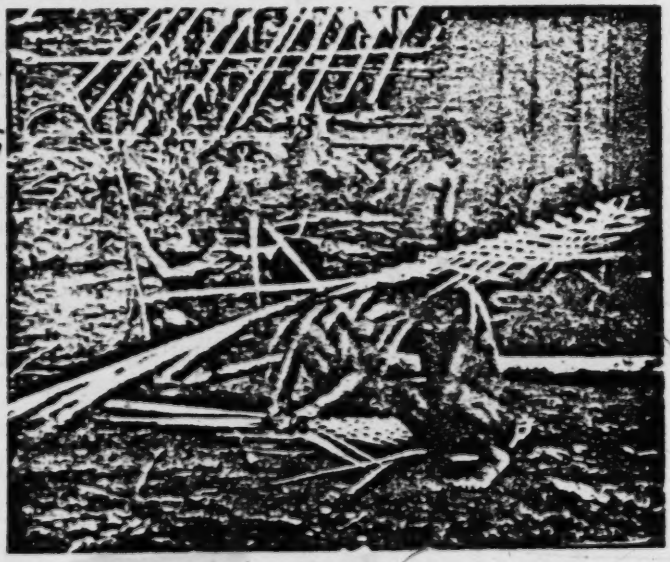

Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding.

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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small 621
malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a 342
square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The
distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well [177]
known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following 342
spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a [354]
hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared 342
with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own 513
hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the 352
hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging [353]
hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no [833]
partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. [514]
The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one 342
another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house [572]
sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage [574]
facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and [352]
the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article
that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark- [353]

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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[64] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several
[512] hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for ex-
[768] ample, return to the parental community with their children. There are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the 614
governor of exogamy (Kirchoff, 1931). In a sense this seems to be true 591
of the Cubeo as well.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of 621
the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters 614
and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She 589
prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed 592
chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the [591]
entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in
sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* genera-
tion mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage 621
partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The 614
boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sib- 589
ling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Be- 592
cause of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age 582
mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not
marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they
wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy
reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How
can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman
thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be em-
barrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The
widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her
children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and
so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably
not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had 621
come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of 736
his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people 588
called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awk- 614
ward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only com- [591]
munity exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has 621
grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib ex- 614
ogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The 582
Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They 571
have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them
into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly
friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers"
and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a
community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those
of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient,
or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

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621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

## THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, [823] the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

361 823 The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahúkiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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of the pull of propinquity. The Cubeo welcome and respect neighborliness. 614 615

The river has its natural boundaries. These are the segments of river demarcated by rapids and by the tributaries or creeks. A boundary is from one such feature to the next, from a *cachoeira* (rapids) to a creek, from a creek to a creek, but rarely from *cachoeira* to *cachoeira*. A boundary defines only sib territory. There is no phratric territory as such. If there is phratric and tribal territoriality it is because each of the sibs undertakes to defend the principle in terms of its own interests. A sib may adopt a stranger and in this way incorporate it into the phratry. It needs no permission to do this. On the other hand, a sib may appeal to phratry mates for help in warding off by force unwanted intruders. Boundaries do not close a river to traffic. The river is always an open highway for travel, and travelers may fish and hunt along it freely. They may not put up fixed installations such as weirs or show other signs of residence such as fishing a particular spot with regularity without permission. Men regularly fish only within the sib limits. The discussion of boundaries, it should be explained, does not flow naturally from the Cubeo. It is drawn out by the ethnographer. The Cubeo are not jealous of boundaries and they rarely have issues over them, but they do know them. Occasionally someone violates the common law of courtesy of the use of fish weirs and keeps the barrier closed beyond the allowable period. The Cubeo cannot and do not attribute this unmannerly act to gluttony. Gluttony is an incomprehensible notion to them. They attribute it either kindly to forgetfulness, in which case there is no issue, or to unfriendliness, in which case there is a quarrel and an effort is made to tear down the barrier. On the forest side there are no boundaries at all except for the clearing itself. It is not land but river frontage that is valued.

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## CANOEING

So much of a man's time is spent in a canoe that no description of native life would be complete that did not relate the Indian to the river as a canoeman or that failed to bring out the motor rhythms of canoeing. Motor rhythms are patterned, the rhythm of paddling and the characteristic rhythms of the dance showing particularly striking parallels. 501 516

Paddling follows a definite though irregular rhythm. The prowsman on a long trip is keeper of the stroke. Paddling is noisy. On the downstroke the stem of the paddle just above the blade is struck

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recover it. Away from home, a canoe is moored completely out of the water.

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COMMUNITIES ON THE CUDUIARÍ (upstream from mouth)

| PLACE NAME | SIB | PLACE NAME | SIB |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kakómba | *Hehénewa* | 16. Xiábewa | *Pedíkwa* |
| 2. Kuridí kenámi | *Hehénewa* | 17. Kuraría | *Kenánikauwũ* |
| 3. Tcipakoríba * | *Hehénewa* | 18. Abúhakũ | *Kenánikauwũ* |
| 4. Okóhambũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 19. Xwévebo | *Hũrũwá* |
| 5. Vekókũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 20. Bedébo | *Hũrũwá* |
| 6. Ewáhubo | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 21. Kobéhowa | *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* |
| 7. Hurédo | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 22. Avyákoríba | *Hũrũwá* |
| 8. Nyáparatainto | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 23. Kwiióro | *Wadjá-Hũrũwá* |
| 9. Yavíbi | *Bahúkũdjauwũ* | 24. Bedébũ | *Hũrũwá* |
| 10. Kiráda | *Bahúkiwa* | 25. Toróhambũ | *Hũrũwá* |
| 11. Úbo | *Pedíkwa* | 26. Hokóbũ | *Kenánikauwũ* |
| 12. Mákavekũ | *Bahúkiwa* | 27. Horáhararía | *Hũrũwá* |
| 13. Makatóta | *Bahúkiwa* | 28. Hudjíbũ | *Bahúkiwa* |
| 14. Toídibũ | *Pedíkwa* | 29. Mátakwe | *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* |
| 15. Monékenpaunwa | *Pedíkwa* | | |

* A small *Kordwa* settlement is at *Urupera* between 3 and 4. It is, however, only a fraction of a Querari River sib and not a full community.

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773 From *Kiwai*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*duno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkundye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each [251] man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The [417] dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish [614] basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated [237] with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upañeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 484 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 574 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for 602 shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*vekú*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges. 439 [582]

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accordance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehénewa* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maize, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiari. 438

## PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered. Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations. 423 [61] [103]

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sentiment rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo. 423 614 [615] [619]

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423 615 [578] The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies [768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate relationship between land and its cultivator.

241 614 361 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the allocation of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman to organize a collective work party, including all household heads. If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually. Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots, establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later arrivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. Annually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the *chagra*, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field for a two-year harvest.

244 423 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman. A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plantation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daughters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

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relation of the men to the manioc cultivations is as follows. By working jointly in making a clearing the men are fulfilling, in part, a sib obligation. This is of minor importance, however, as compared with the specific obligations and the ensuing relationship between a man and a woman. No bond between a man and a woman is of greater importance and richer in sentiment than that set up by the making and cultivating of a manioc garden. Every garden plot defines a relationship between a specific man and a specific woman. A woman without a man can have no garden. A man without a woman has no clearing to make; he can have subordinate status only in another household. Each side gains status from the arrangement. The only firm bond is that between husband and wife. A widow has only a frail claim upon the labor of her brother, whose primary obligation is to his own household, where his wife keeps jealous watch over her own *chagra*; for a woman's pride is deeply involved in the size of her manioc clearing. The Cubeo regard the size of clearing as a sign of a husband's affection for his wife. A widow has a better claim upon an unmarried son. As we shall see, between unmarried brother and unmarried sister a semiconjugal relationship develops over the material holding of land.

We have spoken of a reciprocity in status involved in the manioc *chagra*. There is also a specific and related economic reciprocity. By making a clearing a man obligates his wife's production. The preparation of manioc cake is never spoken of as a wifely obligation, but chicha and farinha are. The point of economic reciprocity as it sometimes emerges in the course of conjugal quarrels is entirely one of status and not of so fundamental an issue as food. If we are to speak of male-female reciprocity on matters of food the issue is between the male flesh foods and the female cultivated foods. Although a man obligates his wife's labor for chicha and for farinha he evidently does not obligate all of it, for a woman will suddenly declare that she is cosponsoring a drinking party by a contribution of "her" manioc. Moreover, it is part of the status of a wife that she can freely contract part of her farinha production for personal objects, such as cloth and trinkets. If there is a formal principle governing this kind of connubial economic arrangement I did not learn what it is.

The point to emphasize with respect to manioc cultivations, then, is that the issue in possession of land is not simply that of subsistence. It would be unthinkable for a Cubeo to allow a sibmate, or phratry mate for that matter, to hunger if he had any food for him. When a solitary woman laments that her *chagra* is exhausted and no kinsman is moving to make another for her, the fear she voices is not that she

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244 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and
423 be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is
[602] the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the
[558] sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recog-
423 nition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings
[622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihí* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless,
[431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the
[183] community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and shar-
[431] ing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal
249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled
423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so,
431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites
423 for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one ter-
614 ritorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they
[578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes
423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of
226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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264 eat together, crouched about the small pot of prepared food or sitting in a hammock. Such meals are usually light and rarely consist of 264 fresh fish or freshly caught game. It may be a pepper pot into which 262 preserved fish or meat has been flaked or a dish of dried meat chopped fine, with dry peppers. If it is the morning meal, taken just upon arising an hour or so before dawn, it is a *mingau*, a tapioca porridge sometimes mixed with crushed pineapple. There is not much eating between meals. If men have been working hard they refresh themselves with sugar cane. Youngsters, however, eat as often as they like, and that is most of the time. Youngsters are free to draw upon the household larder, but much of what they eat they have foraged for themselves, fruits, sugar cane, small game, and fish. A youngster, however, will take only manioc cake prepared by his own mother.

264 The main meal, taken just before sunset so that it concludes shortly after sunset, is usually formal and separates men and women. A collective meal, it is eaten in the center of the dance corridor. The men crouch in a tight circle around the cluster of pots that each woman has set down. Their sons are before them in an inner circle. Women and girls sit in an outer circle behind their fathers and husbands. The men eat first and when they have finished they rise and return to their hammocks while the women and girls then move in to finish 261 what is left over. The Cubeo are not voracious eaters. They eat almost daintily and are amused at the uncouthness of those who eat as 264 though they were hungry. When I ate with them I always left the table hungry. I never saw any Indian eat to repletion even when great quantities of food were available. The method of eating, with the women waiting hungrily behind them, is perhaps a deterrent to gorging. It is my impression, however, that the Cubeo associate excess only with drink and associate food with moderation. That is to say, [183] excess is pertinent to intersib gatherings, moderation is the keynote [614] within the closer community of kin that is the sib.

364 People eating together are gay though not boisterous; even the older men, ordinarily solemn, unbend. The younger men laugh, 522 tease one another, remember with amusement an incident in the catching of the food they are now eating. The women join in the laughter most generously and the men gallantly pass back to them morsels of food on bits of manioc cake. The normal movement of food at this point is from a man to his wife, daughter, or sister. But in the spirit of jest he will pass food to another woman. This will provoke mirthful calls of "ha, your sweetheart." No man would be so foolish as to pass back food to a woman with whom he might be having an affair even though this is a permissible jesting occasion. If

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

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244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
433 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
244 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
433 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
462 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any
461 community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the manioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
244 Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[261] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There
[273] is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the
[614] drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be
[182] said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be said to operate.[2] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the re-
[614] sponsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the
[554] chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

43 It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[2] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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433 184 361 There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby foodstuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate disproportionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own 361 state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has ●614 been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential 433 ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiari than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial 614 in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a 433 hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families 574 to travel about, visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the [421] right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a nontraditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. When hunters kill [431] a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

433 Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources 261 are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol- 571

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# 3

## *The Sib*

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The Cubeo sib is a unilineal descent group whose members regard themselves as being descended from common ancestors but cannot establish an actual genealogical relationship. Sibs are named, normally localized, exogamic, patrilineal, and patrilocal. They are bound into unnamed exogamic phratries within which they occupy an order of rank that expresses the sequence in which they emerged during their mythical first emergence. Sib members claim descent from the male of an ancestral brother-sister pair. Each sib bears a name that in some cases is the name of the sib founder, but in any case is the name of an Ancient, that is, an early ancestor. The first ancestors are called *Bekõpuãnwa* (the Ancients). The sib is the center of the social structure, the focus and regulator of all main social, religious, and economic activities. It is the only true political unit since only a sib has a headman. A person's identification is only by sib. The strongest feeling that the Cubeo have for the sib is that it is a family in which the males show the strongest solidarity because they are the ones who live permanently together. The women never lose their sib identity, and when a married woman returns home, as a widow, divorced, or with a husband in tow, she may take up a position in the sib that is sociologically equivalent to that of a male head of household. She takes her place in the informal council of household heads and takes her turn in giving drinking parties to her sibmates.

[615] [622] [114]

Since my study of the Cubeo sib system is incomplete, being based on information from a few sibs only, the principles of sib nomen-

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clature can only be hinted at and not definitely established. One principle, that of eponymy, seems to hold for sibs of high social standing. But my information on this point is limited to only one of the phratries. In this phratry, composed of sibs along the Cuduiarí and the Vaupés, the two top-ranking sibs bear the names of Ancients who were the very first men to emerge from the traditional emergence site. The founders of the *Órobawa* and of the *Aúnbuawũ* were, respectively, *Órobakũ* and *Aúnkũ*.[1] These men, it is said, named all the other sibs of the phratry that emerged after they did. I could not discover the source of these names. They may have been from the genealogical list of the two top-ranking sibs, in accordance with the current principle that when a new sib is adopted into the phratry the adopting or sponsoring sib endows its members with names from its own genealogical list. However, Cubeo traditions suggest diverse origins for the sibs so that it is unlikely that a single principle will explain the sib names.

The first ancestors of the sibs, other than the top-ranking two, had names that were not the same as the sib names. The founder of the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, was *Bwũ* (Agouti) and the founder of the *Hehénewa* was *Djurédo*, but later Ancients took as personal names the sib name itself, thus establishing in subsequent generations the principle of eponymy. In later generations, *Bahúkũ* becomes a leading *Bahúkiwa* Ancient and *Hehénakũ* a leading *Hehénewa* Ancient. Any Ancient may also be referred to generically by the sib name, so that one may speak of a specific *Bahúkũ* or *Bahúko*[2] or of a generalized *Bahúkũ* or *Bahúko*, meaning in the latter instance an Ancient man or woman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib.

A proper sib name must have some eponymous quality. Some sib names are descriptive, such as *Mánapuãnwa*, meaning "Trail People," a derogatory reference to people who arrived on the Cuduiarí overland like the Macú instead of decently along the river by canoe. These people reject this name in favor of a subsib name which has the orthodox merit of having been bestowed by the founders of the phratry. Cubeo sib names are normally descriptive only insofar as personal names are descriptive. The legendary method by which the first sibs got their names from a higher-ranking source stands for the Cubeo as the model by which newcomers are brought into the phratry. An adopted sib is given a name that has in its stem the name of the adopting sib. All the sibs of the *Hehénewa* are differentiated by a descriptive prefix, while the sibs of the *Bahúkiwa* are differen-

[1] There is a full list of sibs following the present discussion.
[2] The suffix *kũ* is masculine, *ko* is feminine.

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614 tiated by a suffix. From the *Hehénewa* traditions it seems likely that
193 they were originally an independent tribe, probably Tucano, that had joined in with the group of sibs that were headed by the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnbwawü*, bringing with them their associated sibs. The sibs that carry the *Hehénewa* stem with their descriptive prefixes are also known by names that are compounded of the prefixes as well. Thus, the *Byarí-Hehénewa* are also known as *Byaridowa*, and the *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* as *Pyéndowa*. According to Koch-Grünberg, the
614 *Órobawa* regard themselves as a branch of the *Hehénewa* and are also known as *Ólaba-Hehénewa*. His information was that the *Hehénewa* were the "true" Cubeo and that the *Bahúkiwa* were intrusive Macú (1909, II, 87). The actual history of the sibs is clouded in uncertainty. We can be reasonably sure only of a composite of several distinctive peoples or "tribes." The few *Wathariwa* sibs in my list are also named in a fashion similar to that of the *Hehénewa*.

614 Each sib also possesses a list of personal names that constitutes its
551 traditional genealogy.[3] These are names that all sib members must bear. They are called *aínheme* (*aín*: anaconda; *heme*: tongue) to indicate their origin from the speech of the anaconda, the animal form in which all first ancestors emerged from the earth. In these names there is a note of prestige, in that some names are illustrious, being part of the earliest genealogies, while others, having been added later, are less important. Since only one name can be held at a time, names are allocated in order of seniority, but not, insofar as I know, within a senior line. Names with an honorific connotation circulate within
[613] the sib, and not by lineage. They are transmitted in alternate gener-
[424] ations, going from a deceased grandparent to a grandchild. It should be said at once that while the notions of sib rank and of the distinction between more honorific and less honorific names suggests a structured system of social status, the social significance of status hierarchy is not great. The Cubeo have the skeleton of an aristocratic system that is fleshed with an egalitarian ethos.

Personal names are often those of birds, insects, and beasts, less commonly of fish. In the recent past, it is said, sib members did not eat the flesh of any creature whose name was then being carried by a sib member. This taboo is no longer in force. The explanation given is that hunting is more important now and they do not wish to deprive themselves of animal meat.[4] Without a proper sib name,

[3] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* names at the end of this chaper.

[4] On the other hand, there is the tradition that in the past they lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering rather than by farming. If this taboo did indeed exist it may have lapsed for the same reason that other ceremonial observances have

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Without a proper sib name,
a child will not grow, the Cubeo say. Growth is an attribute of the 614
Ancients. The giving of a name is one of the ways in which the growth 551
magic of the Ancients is utilized. These names from the sib genealo- [856]
gies are not used freely, the Indians preferring to use Christian names [601]
and to address one another by a kinship term.

The sib has permanence and it has continuity with the past. The 614
"history" of each sib is known and is recited at all major ceremonial occasions.[5] In narrating sib "history," distinctions are drawn between original sibs, later comers, and the newest-formed sibs. Since ancientness is honorific and the Cubeo have a sentiment of egalitarianism, these distinctions are underplayed. But when people have been drinking and quarreling the matter of ancestry will be brought up. [578]

The tradition of phratric organization is that all its member 614
sibs are kin. Tradition holds, too, that once all sibs of the same 615
phratry were united under a single headman. But this tradition may refer to the scheme of sib rank and the acknowledgment of the leading sib as the "head" rather than to an actual political organization. On the other hand, since there is little doubt but that tribal organization in this region of the Amazon is highly fluid, with smaller segments forming new enlarged formations and enlarged formations breaking up again into smaller and relatively more stable sib segments, the tradition of the phratry as a political unit cannot be dismissed.

The Cubeo distinguish between *kwindwü* (one kin) and *abéwetema* (they are not ours) in referring to their own phratry and to an opposite phratry. In the past, there may have been at least four phratries, since the traditions speak of one group of sibs as having amalgamated with another. Previously these two groups had intermarried, it is averred. According to one version of the origin myth the sibs of a phratry are all descended from a single water anaconda called *Pwénte aínkü* (Anaconda person), who divided himself into segments, the head becoming the leading sib of the phratry, and each subsequent segment forming the remainder of the sib hierarchy. A variant version states that pairs of anacondas emerged from a crevice among the rocks of a rapids, shed their skins, and formed a brother-sister pair. Subsequently, the sisters married out and the brothers took wives from people they met in their wanderings. The first pair to emerge were the head sib, and they gave names to all that followed

lapsed, out of simple neglect. Also to be considered in this connection is the common Cubeo view that the life of past generations was more severe than it is today.

[5] The text of the *Bakáhiwa* "history" follows the sib list in this chapter.

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615 them. Either version accounts for sib hierarchy. In the first version
614 the Cubeo visualize the phratry as the body of the anaconda spread along a river with its head anchored at the site of emergence and its tail lying upstream to form the lowest-ranking sib. In the second version the sib pairs moved upstream and located themselves according to the sequence of their emergence. The theme of common descent that sanctions exogamy and confraternity is conveyed not by a common anaconda ancestor, for the Cubeo would not doubt that all human beings were descended from anacondas, but rather by common emergence from the same site. All sibs of the same phratry should ideally have emerged from the same rapids. But even among those having emerged from the same rapids there are still distinctions of relative closeness depending upon whether they emerged from the same hole or from adjacent holes. It would seem that the origin myth must be in harmony with current social relationships and that a particular version is employed depending upon the present state of affairs. When a sib is newly admitted into the phratry it must adapt its own origin traditions to the common mythical theme of emergence in the form of an anaconda at a preferred emergence site.

From the *Bahúkiwa* I heard at least three versions of the story
614 that placed the *Hehénewa* within the phratry. One said that the *Hehénewa* were really strangers, having emerged somewhere along the Papurý River. They heard the *Órobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets, and attracted by the music – a sign of identity – they came

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Fig. 4. Petroglyph: *Kúwai* and *Aínkũ* (scale: 1" = 6').

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614 [114]

to the true emergence site of Uaracapuri, where they were received by the *Órobawa*, who bestowed upon them the name *Hehénewa*. This version would account for Koch-Grünberg's information that the *Hehénewa* are also known as *Ólaba-Hehénewa*. Another version suggests a closer relationship by making the point that the *Hehénewa* had wanted to emerge in the same place with all the others of the phratry, but because other sibs were hostile to them they came out instead at the Papurý and then journeyed to join their kin. A third version is simply that the *Hehénewa* and *Bahúkiwa* were once alien groups that joined into a confederation after the *Hehénewa* had befriended the *Bahúkiwa*.

The theme of hostility in the *Hehénewa* emergence was explained by informants in the following way. The first people were very fierce and those that came out of the emergence hole wanted to prevent others from emerging. The *Órobawa*, having come out first, made a hole for the others to come out of. Those they willingly allowed to come out formed with them one group. Those that came out despite opposition formed another. Subsequently both divisions were rejoined.

The *Pedikwa*, a branch of the *Hehénewa*, also tell that they had been prevented by the hostility of the other sibs from emerging at Uaracapuri and so they emerged at the Papurý. They came out in the form of a single anaconda who cut himself into many parts, each of which became a parakeet (*kúdjuru*). The parakeets flew about looking for food and settled at a lagoon at *Yaibabü* near the Mitú *igarapes*, an affluent of the upper Cuduiari. After a time, they cut a path through the forest and arrived at *Pediwa*, a rock on the Cuduiari where they built a house and became the *Pedikwa*. A more honorific version of this tale that the *Pedikwa* also tell is that, having come to *Pediwa*, the site of a major rapids on the Cuduiari, they re-emerged. Since, they insist, they had never taken human form until they had re-emerged at *Pediwa*, they feel justified in claiming that rapids as a true emergence site and they have the distinction, therefore, of now residing, as does the *Órobawa* head sib, at an original emergence site. An unknown people, the tradition relates, had been living at *Pediwa*, now known as *Toidibü* (Painted rocks – petroglyphs) but moved away when the *Pedikwa* re-emerged.

The *Bahúkiwa* explain their relationship to the *Hehénewa* as follows: *Bwü* (Agouti), the Ancient of the *Bahúkiwa*, was leading his people from the Vaupés up into the Cuduiari when they encountered the *Byari-Hehénewa*, a now extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*. They fought and all the *Bahúkiwa* were killed except for one boy, who

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614 came to be known as *Bwübekúdjo* (*Bwü* the Ancient). The *Byari-Hehénewa* took him captive. Sometime later, the *Hehénewa*, coming to visit their kin, determined to rescue the boy. They did so, killing off the *Byari-Hehénewa* who were holding him. They released
614 *Bwübekúdjo*, giving him two *Borówa* (Macú) women as wives. The
648 *Borówa* were then servants of the *Hehénewa*. The Macú women bore *Bwübekúdjo* ten children. It was from the males of this sibling group that the *Bahúkiwa* sib was reconstituted.

614 This concession of kinship alliance with the Macú stigmatizes the
648 *Bahúkiwa* as an inferior sib even though the descent is still in the
554 male line. Normally, Cubeo used *Borówa* women sexually but did not marry them. The *Bahúkiwa* do not concede that they are *Borówa*.
[611] And I learned early in my stay among them that nothing was more offensive than to even hint that someone was *Borówa*. The *Hehénewa* had told Koch-Grünberg that the *Bahúkiwa* were *Borówa* who had assimilated themselves to the Cubeo and were still to be regarded with contempt (1909, II, 136). No *Hehénewa* made this observation to me, but possibly out of courtesy since I was living with the *Bahúkiwa*.

614 The origin of the *Bahúkübwauwü*, a subsib of the *Bahúkiwa*, is also attributed to an act of kindness by a fellow sib, in this case at the hands of the second-ranking *Aúnbwawü*. In the course of an attack on them, all but one *Bahúkiwa* girl were killed. She was sur-
614 cored by the *Aúnbwawü*, among whom she lived until she married.
611 The narrator claimed that no one knew whom she had married, a lapse of information of utmost importance, since the point of the story is that despite patriliny a woman can also re-establish a sib. She bore eight children and they and their descendants took the name of *Bahúkübwauwü*. Descent then reverted to patriliny.

615 The Cubeo view of the phratry, as revealed by the traditions, is
614 of a grouping of essentially autonomous sibs into a loose fraternity that takes its sanction not from descent from a common ancestor but emergence from a common place. The genealogical relationship determines sib identity, but it is geography that determines phratric identity. The principal idea that is expressed is that the closer the sibs were spatially at the time of emergence the closer should be their present fraternal bonds. Thus, the traditions draw fine distinctions between emergence from the very same crevice on the rocks, from the same rapids, and from the same river. Unfortunately for our in-
615 terest in reconstructing tribal history, the traditions lack consistency.
614 This inconsistency reflects perhaps the ethnic heterogeneity of the
174 region, which, together with the lack of a central source for tradition,

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places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. To be sure, the custom of reciting a sib origin tradition at the regular drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multi-sib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin traditions are the most important sanctions for regulating current relationships among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).* This group, consisting of *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, and *Byá-Hehénewa*, is supposed to have emerged together at *Yavíbebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapuri cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yavimanawa*, according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one another as *pakomá* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehénewa*, for example, discounting *Bahúkiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

* This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has, of course, an honorific reference. There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is applied to the Macú. Giacone (1949, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onca*.

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615 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their
614 part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hier-
614 archical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social structure and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither,
554 as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo. Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no
[301] actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within
[177] the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that
[721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political au-
614 thority over the entire Cuduiari.

The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point
[613] whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to
[867] establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

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genealogies is not strong, so that they have only a general, albeit a strong, feeling that the family lines presently in a sib are related. What keeps the sib from being a lineage is then the technical fact that the Cubeo cannot link up their present descent lines with their ancient descent lines.

One is tempted, therefore, to think of the Cubeo descent group as a transitional form, hovering between sib and lineage. At first glance the distinction between sib and lineage seems to hang by the technicality of how sophisticated a people are about genealogies. Yet this sophistication is a matter of major importance. Sib continuity and growth is a relatively simple matter of transmitting a sib name and a line of descent with an origin myth to give historical sanction. Lineage continuity and growth, on the other hand, demand motivation as well as the capability for maintaining accurate or presumably accurate genealogical records. Societies organized upon aristocratic lines can do this readily. Egalitarian societies, on the other hand, can have small lineages or large clans and kindreds but they cannot readily support large or historically deep lineages. The Cubeo have a shadow aristocracy only, not enough to sustain the necessary degree of genealogical sophistication. On the other hand, if the Cubeo could not sustain the growth of lineages neither could they sustain the growth of sibs. Two social conditions seemed to stand in the way of the enlargement of sibs. One was the inherent fissility of the sib, the other was the organization of the phratry. The phratry allowed the sibs to split without endangering their survival by virtue of being too small.

The basic social organization that provides for autonomous confederation of small units conforms readily to the requirements of easy absorption of new groups. The modes of group-binding, such as exogamy, the cycle of drinking parties, and the segmented forms of ceremonial participation that allow each sib to function as a ceremonial unit, are also admirably adapted to rapid assimilation of foreign tribes without benefit of a central administration. In cases of assimilation, all the necessary joint activities to which the sibs of a phratry are bound will inevitably encourage a common language. Just as the phratric organization allows for easy binding of autonomous sibs into a convenient fraternity that provides for peace, cooperation, and sociability, it allows as readily for fission without serious disruption. From these observations it may be inferred that the history of the Northwest Amazon region has been one of constant formation and disruption of sociopolitical entities. What a tribe is at any time is a core of sib segments that may have persevered through

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614 time and then have drawn to them new sibs from peoples speak-
619 ing the same as well as other languages. The Cubeo tribe, as we have
174 already observed, seems to be an aggregate of Tucanoan-speaking, Arawakan-speaking, and "Macuan"-speaking peoples. A particular sib that belongs to one tribe today may incorporate itself into another tomorrow.

614 It is possible that sib formation in the Northwest Amazon region
174 has been an outgrowth of this process of repeated assimilation of new groups. The reasoning behind this assumption is as follows: patrilocal extended families need only assert and maintain a tradition of common origin and then live up to the requirement of maintaining a firm group identity, within a confederation, to make the transition to sib or clan. The suggestion is, however, that sib formation cannot be accounted for merely by the growth of extended patrilocal families or by the enlargement of lineages – because of the ease of fission – but rather as a response to quite another process, that of confederation in which the identity of the joining segments is retained. A confederation of descent groups heightens the probability that all will defend their autonomy by asserting their identity of common descent.

## THE SIB AND PHRATRIC ORGANIZATION

614
615 The sibs are listed in approximate order of rank. This rank order
554 should be considered as provisional, since it represents mainly the
361 *Bahúkiwa* view of sib rank.

**PHRATRY 1**

*Órobawa* The leading sib: they still live at Uaracapuri on the Vaupés, the site of a rapids from which they first emerged. Their first male ancestor was called *Órobakũ*. According to one version of the origin tale, he was the head of the anaconda from which all Cubeo are descended. He then named all the sibs of the phratry that followed after him. Koch-Grünberg identified them as *Ólaba-Hehénewa* and hence as a branch of the *Hehénewa*. Nimuendajú listed them as *Órobawa*. According to my in-
[114] formation, they are most closely linked with the *Hwáni-Hehénewa* and with the *Aúnwewa*, the easternmost or most downstream community of the Cubeo.

*Aúnbwawũ* The second sib, occupying the next site upstream on the Vaupés at Urania. Their first ancestor was *Aúnkũ*. Some informants said that *Aúnkũ* was the last to emerge but was granted second place by *Órobakũ*. In any case, their position on the Vaupés gives them second rank. They are regarded as very closely linked with the *Hehénewa*. In 1940 they were reduced to four households. Some had taken up residence

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at Pindaiva on the Cuduiari. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambomamára* on the Cuduiari, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiari group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists. 614 615 554 361 [114]

***Hehénewa*** In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiari and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurý is known as *Wahúdja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Órobawa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Órobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapuri. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiari, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiari and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbawwü*.

***Byá-Hehénewa*** A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiari.

***Wathariwa*** The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbawwü*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uacuréwa*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umari* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapuri falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

***Byá-Wathariwa*** A subsib of the *Wathariwa* on the Vaupés.

***Urérariwa*** Perhaps a subsib of the *Wathariwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

***Bahúkiwa*** They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapuri falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Bwü* and his sister was *Onpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiari. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Borówa*) who wandered into the Cuduiari and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borówa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borówa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borówa*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet. [563] [648] [186]

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is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahúkiwa* regard the *Órobawa* as their "head."

*Bahúküdjauwü* A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahúkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahúkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiarí and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucúra *igarapes*.

*Bahukuonówa* A subsib of the *Bahúküdjauwü* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiarí.

*Bahúkübwauwü* A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Mánapwänwa* (Trail people) or *Mánewa*. [648] According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, [563] perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiarí overland, and whose emergence site was the Querari *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiarí. [551] The *Bahúkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy.

*Pedikwa* A subsib of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiarí above the *Bahúkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papurí River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toidibü*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Ancient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedi-Hehénewa* because they emerged at *Prdiwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered them at the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiarí. They are also known as *Piátokaüo*.

*Kenánikauwü* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* on the upper Cuduiarí at *Piramirí* and at *Abúhakü*. They used to live at *Toidibü* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajú's lists.

*Kenámbwawa* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiarí.

*Utciwaiwa* Their emergence site was the Yuruparí *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from Uaracapurí. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahúkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miritî *igarapes* below the Yuruparí falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the Dyi *igarapes*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucíbowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajú. Their first ancestor was called *Utciwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

*Baryáwatiwaiwa* A sib that emerged from Yuruparí *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utciwaiwa*. They are also known as *Baryáwa* and still live on the Vaupés.

*Piarówa* A sib that emerged at Uaracapurí rapids, from a particular site [551] called *Mumikü*. They live at Miritî *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the headwaters of the Muchú, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewa.

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associated with the *Kompainyewa*. Koch-Grünberg found them on the left bank of the Vaupés at a site called *Naibö*, where they were known in the *lingoa geral* as *Tohandira-Tapuyo*. He recorded their self-name as *Olá-Piaráwa*. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari. [101]

*Pyéndo-Hehénewa* A dissident sib of the *Hehénewa* group, maintaining no friendly relations with the other *Hehénewa*. Their close sib ties are with the *Pedíkwa* and the *Kenánikauwü*. They occupy several sites above Patú at the headwaters of the Cuduiari, the main maloca being at Querari *miri* (*Enpanáwe*). They are also at *Abúhudjo* on the Yurupari *miri* and are known also as *Pyéndokauwü*. [114]

*Hwáni-Hehénewa* A *Hehénewa* subsib on the Vaupés at Paraná *picuna* and at Tukano *cachoeira*. Their origin site is *Impenáni* of the Uaracapuri *cachoeira* and they are, therefore, closely related to the *Órobáwa* and the *Aúnwewa*, in contrast to the *Hehénewa* proper, whose emergence was actually on the Papurý.

*Aúnwewa* A subsib of the *Aúnbuawü* on the Vaupés at *Upyaria* just above Mitú. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari and referred to them as *Aweéa*. They are also listed as a sib of a Tucano phratry. [114]

*Kompainyewa* Closely linked with the *Piaráwa*, they live at Pindaíva on the Vaupés just above Urania near the Yurupari falls. Their emergence site, however, is Uaracapuri.

*Abóxo-Hehénewa* A sib on the upper Querari mentioned by Koch-Grünberg, on which I have no information.

*Ambomamára* A sib on the Cuduiari mentioned by Nimuendajú, on which I have no information. From the name it would appear to be a subsib of the *Aúnbuawü*.

*Byari-Hehénewa* An extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*, who had lived on the Cuduiari as well as at Uarúa Lake on the upper Vaupés. They were also known as *Byaridowa*.

*Papuli-Hehénewa* A sib living on the Cuduiari during the time of Koch-Grünberg's visit at Suriburoca but now extinct. They came from the Papurý and were closely linked with the Tucano tribe of the Tiquié River.

*Kenámbuawa* A sib on the upper Cuduiari, presumably a subsib, along with the *Kenánikauwü*, of the *Pedíkwa*.

Phratry I consists of two divisions that represent distinct origins. In the past these two divisions may have been intermarrying, because even now, although the entire phratry is exogamic, informants disagree as to the proprieties of intermarriage between the two divisions. The dominant division from the point of view of prestige and of numbers is known as *Yaúmanawa* (Children of the jaguar) and includes the *Órobawa*, *Aúnbuawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, and their subsibs: *Byá-Hehénewa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, *Pedíkwa*, *Kenánikauwü*, *Utciwaiwa*, *Pyéndo-Hehénewa*, *Hwáni-Hehénewa*, and *Aúnwewa*. The second division has no name and consists of the *Bahúkiwa* groups, the *Piaráwa*, and the *Kompainyewa*. 615 554 614

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PHRATRY II

*Bwoibowa* The leading sib of the phratry, living at Muchú on the Vaupés. According to tradition, they came from the Isana River originally. They emerged at a rapids called *Aindoribo* at a site called *Hobónoburúno*. Originally they fought with the *Byówa*, now a sister sib of the phratry. Koch-Grünberg encountered an abandoned maloca of theirs at Uarúa Lake, where they had been living adjacent to the Tucanoan-speaking but non-Cubeo *Pamóa*. The indications are that they had moved in recent years considerably downstream on the Vaupés.

*Byówa* A group occupying all of the Pirabatón, an affluent of the Querarí. Koch-Grünberg placed them at the headwaters of the Querarí, but since he had not identified the Pirabatón that may be the river that he called the upper Querarí. They are strongly intermarried with *Bahúkiwa*.

*Hürüwá* Members of a foreign phratry living on the Cuduiarí, where they occupy a number of upriver sites, having replaced a *Hehénewa* subsib. They emerged from a site called *Kohédariwa* above Uaracapuri on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg met them in the same locations on the Cuduiarí. He claimed they were originally Arawakan-speaking Baniwa who had wandered in from the Vaupés.

*Wadjá-Hürüwá* A subsib of the *Hürüwá* at *Kwitóro* on the Cuduiarí.

*Korówa* Primarily a Querarí River sib that had spilled over onto the Cuduiarí at one time. Wallace reported them there in 1853. They are closely linked with, and according to Koch-Grünberg politically subordinate to, the *Byówa*. In more recent times they have settled on the Vaupés, where they have also been reported by Nimuendajú. They also had a house on the lower Cuduiarí. They are known as *Korókoro-Tapuyo* (Green Ibis Indians).

[101]

*Waláola* A group mentioned by Nimuendajú as living on the Vaupés. Presumably a subsib of the *Korówa*.

*Miandwa* A group occupying several sites in the vicinity of the Tukunaré *igarapes* on the upper Vaupés — *Mahakinyo, Jacaré, Seima* — as well as at Pirabatón *igarapes*. Koch-Grünberg found a small group of only four families living at the Yurupari falls on the lower Vaupés. Nimuendajú also found them on the Vaupés.

PHRATRY III

*Djurémawa* Nimuendajú has identified them as the *Yiboya-Tapuyo* of the Aiarí River in Brazil. He says they came to the mouth of the Querarí on the Vaupés in 1904. According to Koch-Grünberg, they were once hostile Arawakan Baniwa who had assimilated to Cubeo and are close kin of the *Kdua* of the Aiarí. The Uanana, Koch-Grünberg reports, call them *Maxka-Pinopona* (Boa).

[101]

*Tóriawü* A sib on the Querarí, originally Arawakan-speaking, that claims to have come from the Isana.

*Konéntaraboiwü* According to Koch-Grünberg, who referred to them as *Kolátalaposuo*, they were Baniwa Arawakans who settled on the Querarí and assimilated to the Cubeo language. He noted that they were intermarried with the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahúkiwa* also married them. Nimuendajú mentions a *Kowitárabewi* on the Querarí, perhaps the

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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowdtarabewũ* on the Querari.

*Yániwa* A sib at the mouth of the Querari. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querari as *Dyaniwa*.

*Yokóhübewũ* A sib on the lower Querari.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

*Batóua* Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapes*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querari. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

*Ilhéodowa* A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiari, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiari, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari.

*Kóua* A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiari. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoiera*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querari and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiari near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

## THE *BORÓWA*

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

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were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behórũ* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapurí and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapurí that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querarí but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiarí had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Pary *cachoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

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day the *Bordwa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

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**BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS**

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*medkamôtewu yavaiwü*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

*pwéntewü* – the people came out
*tcúntcuwa* – and shed (their anaconda skins)
*hahádami* – they went forward
*waré borikapindo* – the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
*opéko tamána* – crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
*emintakori* – the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
*kanúrübo* – (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
*bwühürükühwü* – the rock where *Bwü* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwü*)
*byátakwe* – the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
*kwíbebo* – the place of *Kwáhü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
*borikabo* – the place of *Borikahü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies – it means the aracú fish)
*opéko tawá* – the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikahü* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
*nahó pwánwa* – the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
*bwütaunrü* – the tree beneath which *Bwü* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwü* passed beneath it)
*bwütaunrü* – the tree beneath which Bwü passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
*waokún* – the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

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*taiayávikun* – the river bank of the jaguar (a jaguar tried to climb the high bank and failed; an Ancient came along and the jaguar, frightened, dashed into a tree, where it became transfixed)
*nyukáhemekun* – the beach of the kumari plant (there was a kumari [*nyuká*] bush here; an Ancient cut it down and it turned to sand)
*popébünawü* – the place of the war club (an Ancient arrived here to drink and met one of his own kinsmen; they quarreled and the Ancient killed his kinsman with his war club [*pòpébü*])
*opéko tuwi* – the milk of the tree (a reference to a place when an Ancient passed among the others a small calabash of palm milk)
*opéko hyáwü* – (the name of a rock where they paused again to drink milk)
*opéko tankúru* – the whirlpool of milk (a reference to a rapids, the place of white waters)
*hurébu* – the place of the dove (a rapids where a dove flying by fell and turned into a rock)
*turúhokun* – (the name of a beach where there were many small fish)
*mamúwa* – the rock of the amári tree
*mamúkapindo* – (a reference to the part of the rock that projects into the river [*kapindo*])
*nebébuwa waibóhateni kriwü* – there the Ancients crossed to the other side to live
*hurébotabü* – they made pottery vessels
*ipakarekü waibuhateni kritámeda* – they crossed a hill and there they lived
*ipakaréda hanhánkenaku* – the hill of the hán han bird (a fish-catching bird)
*opéko kenákuna* – milk of the mountain of rock (a rocky outcrop where they paused to drink milk)
*hanhánatakuwe* – the place where the hán han played (the name of a rock)
*marúkubo* – the rock of the marúku monkey (they killed this monkey and it turned into a rock)
*nakóterarerakun* – the high bank with the great round eyes (when one of the Ancients saw this place he looked at it with huge round eyes of astonishment)
*emuni dani* – they came upriver
*wainitenimeda* – they passed
*waníndona* – the narrow passage of the *waníndo* spume
*pidári hwaibo* – the burrow of *pidári* (a reference to a place at the head-waters of the *waníndo* creek where the water is as black as *pidári* [a dark liquid formed when manioc is left in the water to decay]; here an Ancient made a burrow such as an animal makes and in it left the calabash of milk as a cache)
*makánoka pidári kóbo* – in the forest of *pidári* he made the cache
*opéko maná emenádani* – at the milk trail he went out of the river
*kriwü mánkarnka* – to live on a high hill
*pindó kavárebo* – the bend of *kavárebo* (a rock at the mouth of the Cuduiari where it enters the Vaupés)
*kwitótedo* – (a lake near Urania on the Vaupés)
*kwitóteku* – (the sandy beach of that name)

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*nyemi hwaindndi* – (the place name for what is now Mitú, the capital of the *Comisaria del Vaupés*)
*opéko tokóve* – the small stream of milk (a creek that was then pure milk but is now only water)
*dyaridü* – the slippery rock
*tuwárü hivéda* – the stream of blood (*hivé*, a reference to waters that run red)
*totéuekribü bekédowa* – there the Ancients arrived to stay
*putowanimeda* – there they explored upriver
*nénbudja* – and then back
*nona hivédera* – to *hivéda*
*kempaimeda* – they returned
*opéko haváteni* – they drank milk
*húwü opéko* – the cold milk
*tankü wena pianitani* – the rapids where they emerged
*danáni kriwü* – they came to live
*opéko teribobü* – where the waters were like milk
*kenánhamedo* – the lake of *kenáhume* (yellow clay used in dyeing the ceremonial ligatures; the lake is just above Santa Marta)
*namúkoribana* – the place of the *namúkoriba* fish (near the mouth of the Cuduiari)
*towándaimeda* – they reached
*wainitanidaimeda* – and then they paused
*opéko horóbena* – an urn of milk (a reference to water that looked like milk, i.e., a rapids)
*xuikopwimada* – they came upon
*nehówükemana* – their in-laws
*pwü nehóitaro* – and already at the creek of grease (a reference to its waters, which were then pure grease)
*kerarü kemódakiporu* – the place of the closed-off creek (a site above Garaño Lake)
*nohíra paipibü* – above them the whirlpool of Guassí
*pwü heniharina* – and the fast black waters
*apyá bepora* – the whirlpool of the tree trunk
*hiwikapunáwü* – (a place name)
*makawékü* – the place of parrots' wings
*hubókiporü* – they portaged overland
*pwü mavékobe* – and quickly arrived at
*biarido bupékü* – the place of the *bupékü* butterflies
*peómbü* – the lake shaped like a *peómbo* (a container for curare)
*djúturna moró* – the place of the many grubs (a reference to a thick mass of grubs they found and cooked into a stew)
*miaulkü tonwéndo* – the high bank where the water rushes with a sucking sound
*mumúkü* – the place of the tangle of roots
*yavikénamü* – the house of the jaguars (a reference to their having encountered many jaguars here)
*mahópanwa warindo* – (a place name)
*waniketawü* – the place of the *táwü* fish (a reference to fish that resembled *táwü*, bark-cloth masks worn in mourning ceremonies)

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*mimíkütcundu* – the creek of the *mimíkü* bird
*unenýkübo* – the place of the pupunha trees

[Then they began to return and they came to]

*wakúdjari* – (a creek named after the *wakúdjari* fruit)
*tcipédikoríba* – (a place name)
*tcipéü tavúno* – (a place name)
*püwüdjaribü* – the slippery place
*kenóha mutútu* – the bank of the yellow clay
*tuibü* – (a place name)
*yuparído* – (a creek named after a red fish)
*veábokutcendu* – the hill of the háku fish
*hororáhipúru* – (a place name)
*pwánaku* – the high bank of mud out of which water seeps
*vekókü* – the place of the parrots (the present site of the *Bahúkiwa*)
*vekúro* – the creek of the parrots
*nomí tavíbo* – the circle of women (a reference to a circular trench around a house, built by women to ward off enemies)
*kurúwatha hutchíndu* – he untied himself and escaped (a reference to an Ancient who was tied up by enemies during a fight but who untied himself [*kurúa háku*: to untie oneself] and escaped)
*kanyapíka* – the place of the sweet potato (*yapíka*)
*hwanídya* – the creek of the pigs (*hwaní*)
*ewahubo* – the lake of the birds
*miwave* – the bird place
*emiheria* – the creek of the sweet waters
*huréda* – the place of the doves
*takaikoríba* – the place where the maize grew
*yavibü kurábü* – the buttocks of the jaguar rock (a reference to a sharp rock upon which an Ancient sat down to rest; the rock penetrated his rectum and killed him)
*teviaría* – the place of the milk palm
*yavíhoba* – the garden of the jaguar
*kamíne* – the place where the *kamíndü* turned to stone
*kwunkwünoto* – the place where *Kwünkwü* settled (a reference to an Ancient who decided not to be human and so turned himself back into an anaconda)
*veabo münhdru* – (a place within a creek where there are háku and puño fish)
*wari paní* – the place of *Wari* (a forest monster, addressed by an Ancient as "in-law" [*paní*])
*konéndobo* – the hill of the woodpeckers
*komórü kenátakwe* – the rocky rapids where *Komóri* lived (a reference to a *Bahúkiwa* Ancient)
*makapímbo* – the parrot beak rock
*úbo* – the place of *U* (the sloth)
*tówü* – the place of the bark-cloth trees
*udyébo pediwa* – the rocks carved with manioc graters (*pediwa*)
*namáwa* – the place of the deer
*kudjüpanwa* – the place of the small parakeets
*Opómbibekü* – (a dwarf whose penis was the length of an arm)

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*kenánokakü* – the place of the stone people (a reference to figures of people in stone in the highlands of the Cuduiari)

**FREE TRANSLATION**

The people came out and shed their anaconda skins. They went on to the place of the star ray rock, where they crossed over the milky waters. They came to the rock where the minnows pass, to the hill called *kanürübo*, and then to the rapids of the four channels. They came to *bwühürükiwü*, the rock where *Bwü* [Agouti] jumped across the rapids of *byátakwe*, at the place of the pepper plants. They came to the place of *Kwáhü* the Ancient, and then to the place of *Borikakü* the Ancient, at the place where he spilled the milk of the tree as he was drinking it. They came to the place of the worm people, and to the tree across a stream under which *Bwü* passed. They came to the rock of the jaguar, where an Ancient killed a jaguar and it turned into a rock. They came to the beach of the monkey, where an Ancient killed a monkey and it turned to sand. They came to the river bank of the jaguar, where a jaguar, failing to scale the high bank, took fright at the sight of an Ancient and dashed into a tree, where it became transfixed. They came to the beach of the kumari plant, where an Ancient cut down a kumari bush and it turned to sand. They came to the place of the war club, where an Ancient, coming for a drink of water, met a kinsman. They quarreled and the Ancient clubbed his kinsman to death. They came to the place called "milk of the tree," where an Ancient passed out a calabash of palm tree milk. There, at the rock called "drinking milk," they drank it.

They came to the place of rushing waters, a whirlpool of milk, to the rapids of the dove, where a dove dropped into the water and turned into a rock. They came to the beach of the many small fish, and to the rock where the amári tree grew. They came to the point of the rock, and there the Ancients crossed over to reside. They stopped here and made pottery vessels. Then they crossed a hill and there they resided, at the hill of the hán han bird. They paused at the rocky hill of milk, the place where the hán han birds played. They came to the rock of the marúku monkey, where they killed a marúku and it turned into a rock. They came to the high bank which the Ancients looked upon with the rounded eyes of wonderment. They went upriver and they passed through the passage of spume, out into the black waters of *pidüri*, at the head of the *wanindo* creek. Here an Ancient made a burrow and left in it a calabash of milk. At this place, called "the trail of milk," they left the river to reside on a high hill at the bend of *kawirebo* [where the Cuduiari enters the Vaupés]. They went on and came to *kwitótedo*, to *kwitótekü*, and to *nyemí hwainéndi* [where Mitú now stands]. There, at the milky creek, at the slippery rock, at the stream of blood where the waters are reddened by the rays of the sun, there the Ancients arrived and there they lived. From there they explored upriver and then came back to *hiwéda*.

They returned and drank milk, the cold milk at the rapids from which they had emerged. There they came to live, at the place where the waters were like milk, at the lake of the yellow clay. Then they went on until they came to the place of the *námúkoriba* fish [near the mouth of the Cuduiari]. And then they passed a rapids that was like an urn of milk. There they came upon their in-laws. They were already at the greasy creek, at the

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place of the closed-off creek [a site above Garaño Lake on the Cuduiarí]. Above them was the whirlpool of Guassí and the fast black waters. There, at the whirlpool of the tree trunk, at *hiwakapunáwü*, at the place of parrots' wings, they portaged overland and they quickly arrived at the place of the *bupékü* butterflies, at the lake shaped like a container for curare.

They came to the place of many grubs which they cooked into a stew. They came to the high bank where the water rushes in with a sucking sound, to the place of the tangle of roots. They came to the place of the jaguars, to *mahópanwa warindo*, to the place of the bark-cloth fishes, to the creek of the *mimíkü* bird, and then to the place of the pupunha trees. From there they returned and they came to the creek of the *wakúdjari* fruit, to *tcipédikoriba* and *tcipéü tawáno*, and then to the slippery place, and then to the bank of the yellow clay, and then to *tuibü*, where the creek of the red fish is, and then to the hill of the háku fish. Then, at a place called *hororíkipúru*, they came to the high bank of mud, and then to the place of the parrots [the present site of the *Bahúkiwa* sib]. At the creek of the parrots they came upon the circular trench called "the circle of women" [because it is the women who dug this trench]. There an Ancient who had been tied up by his enemies managed to free himself and escape. Now they continued up the creek to the place of the sweet potato, and they came to the creek of the wild peccary and then on to the lake of the birds and the bird place.

From there they went up the creek of the sweet waters to the place of the doves. And then they went to the place where maize grew and then to the sharp jaguar rock. Here an Ancient, sitting down on the rock, pierced his rectum and died. They went on to the place of the milk palm, to the garden of the jaguar, to the place where the *kamindü* turned to stone. They came to *kwünkwüntoto*, where *Kwünkwü* the Ancient decided to settle down. [This is the *Bahúkiwa* Ancient who later decided that he did not care to be human and turned himself back into an anaconda.]

The Ancients moved on to the place of the háku and puño fish, to the place of *Wari* the in-law, the hill of the woodpeckers, to the rocky rapids where *Komóri* the Ancient settled down, then to the parrot beak rock, then to the place of the sloth, then to the place of the bark-cloth trees, then to the rocks of the manioc graters, then to the place of the deer, and then to the place of the small parakeets, where *Opómbibekü* lived [a dwarf with an enormous penis]. Finally, they went to the place of the stone people [at the head of the Cuduiarí].

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**TRADITIONAL NAMES IN THE *BAHÚKIWA* GENEALOGIES**

| MALE | MALE | FEMALE |
|---|---|---|
| *Aribahúkü* | *Kwünkwü* or *Kwdhünkwü* | *Bahúko* |
| *Arienakü* | *Miabekudjo* | *Hehénabo* |
| *Bahúkü* | *Onpóhena* | *Hendako* |
| *Bahúkübeküdjo* | *Onpwénba* | *Hendkuwa* |
| *Bahúküdjitca* | *Onpwénda* | *Iho* |
| *Bekübo* | *Onpwéndabu* | *Ihoruko* |
| *Bwü* | *Onpwéndakü* | *Kokdhenako* |
| *Hardkü* | | *Kokdiko* |

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602 or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

593 The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In
[574] any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the
601 thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother."
602 Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means
[193] literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

593 Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

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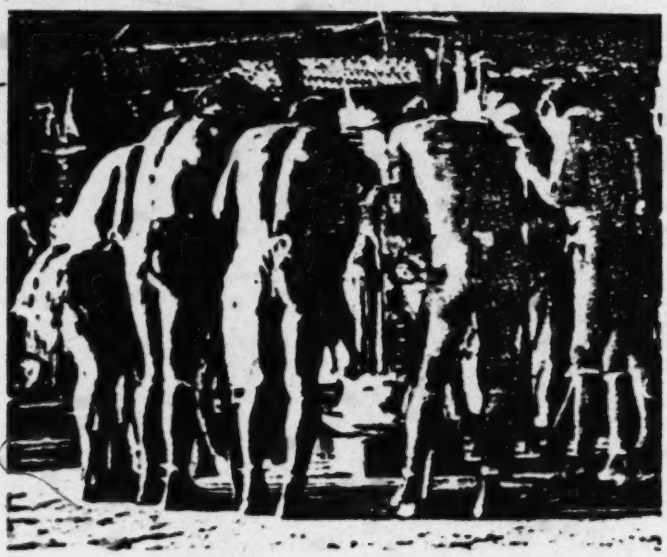

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

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593 riliny, the closest of all. On occasions uterine brothers form a common front from which brothers of the same father but of different mothers are excluded. A father expects his sons to stand by him and not by their mother, who is a sib outsider. Yet the simple fact that a woman keeps her own children close to her side, lavishing upon them all her attentions and affection, and ignoring, as much as she can afford, the other of her husband's children by other wives, creates a basis in sentiment for a maternal attachment that no amount of official sib doctrine can override. The attachment to the mother is recognizable in modes of behavior, such as intimacy or susceptibility to cleavage. Uterine brothers also quarrel and part, but they are unlikely to drift apart as readily as can mere agnatic brothers. However, kinship terms draw no distinction between uterine and agnatic brothers. A woman addresses all her husband's sons by the same term, just as her husband does.

593 601 The term for brother of the closest degree embraces lineage as well as blood brothers. Still, a distinction of sorts does enter into kinship usage, through a sister. A girl, as a mother's helper, has a very important role in looking after younger children of the household. Her first responsibility is to her uterine siblings. Like her mother she favors the boy child over the girl. In later years she still calls her younger uterine brother by the affectionate term *teumí*, while reserving the conventional term, *hiyokü*, for an agnatic younger brother. Women, however, take more liberties, generally, in the use of kin terms than do men. They are particularly free with terms that define nearness and intimacy. Thus, a sister's discrimination between uterine and agnatic brother may be regarded not as official usage but as a special female prerogative.

As to formal principles of kinship, the distinction between uterine [595] and agnatic brothers is of no great importance. Most marriages are monogamous and in most families there are no stepchildren. Headmen, however, are generally polygynous, and it is in their households 622 that the distinction assumes some importance. Since a headman's 593 household is a focal point of sib activity, whatever occurs within it 595 will affect the state of being within the sib and ultimately its unity. • 614 Should a cleavage develop among brothers of different wives of the headman it could split the sib. Cleavages develop around rivalry for position. A headman's sons are inclined to model themselves after the father and to seek leadership of the community. Since the mantle of leadership will in any case fall upon one of them they are, in any case, virtually obligated to seek leadership. Thus it appears, paradoxically, that the line of cleavage in a sib tends to form at its very

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center in all respects, among the blood brothers, who are the sons of the headman, the very symbol and guardian of the unity of the sib. The Cubeo attribute the source of this "fault" in the sib to the unruly and passionate nature of women, that does not adapt itself readily to the requirements of the sib. The women are said to be at fault in having drawn their sons too closely to them and in having divided the sons of one wife from those of another. Men deplore this, yet they concede that it is in the nature of a woman to do so. Much of the formal and ceremonial relationship between men and women seems to be designed to overcome this feminine and maternal influence.

All sibling terms indicate relative seniority. If the terms refer to near siblings, that is, to siblings of the same sib, their seniority refers strictly to relative age. When sibling terms are used among members of different sibs in the phratry, then the forms of senior-junior indicate respect. An older person may then use the senior term in addressing a younger person. Men may use the senior term in referring to a member of a higher-ranking clan, or, apart from formal rank, to pay respect to a phratry mate who has been generous. Among the Cubeo, rank and seniority are marked by giving more than receiving. Thus, a generous and hospitable person can come to be an "older brother." Women pay respect to men by using the senior term – outside the sib – rather freely. It is a pleasing relationship for a woman to have an older brother and for a man to have a younger sister. When a woman addresses a man as "younger brother" she cannot help but endow the term with an almost maternal tenderness. She finds it more comfortable, one might say, to address a more distant sibmate as "older brother."

There is a more formal usage of terms of relative seniority that acknowledges the ranking of sibs. My information of these seniority usages, coming only from the *Bahúkiwa*, is therefore incomplete. According to the *Bahúkiwa*, all men of the head *Órabawa* sib who are of one's own generation are addressed as *mamú*, the stem term for "older brother," while the reciprocal term that is applied to them by the *Órabawa* is *hwa*, the stem term for "youngster." In the case of the *Bahúkiwa* relations with three sibs of the phratry, the *Pedikwa*, the *Kenénikauwú*, and the *Piarówa*, the women of the *Bahúkiwa* address the women of these three as *amikó*, the somewhat more distant form for "older sister," and are called in turn *hwainyó*, or "youngster." Though in the case of the *Órabawa* the seniority usage applies only to the men, in the latter case the usage applies only to the women. My informants could not account for the latter usages

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601 614 [554] although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedíkwa* are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiarí that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kendnikauwü* are a subsib of the *Pedíkwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piardwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Olá-Piardwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahúkiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 571 [622] [857] [614] [796] [622] Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior. Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is accorded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a ceremony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihí* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 562 796 [622] [593] [614] [553] As between men and women, seniority has a different significance, because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of ceremony women take precedence according to the order of precedence of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substitute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 561 584 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother. She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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so an older brother is *amyóbakũ* (older brother-father) to his younger sister. He is her guardian. He may arrange her marriage, or offer her sexually to a friend, if she is willing. It is a special relationship in many respects. 593 561 [584] [836]

Seniority is of consequence only in the sibling generation. There is no concept of senior line and no recognition in terminology of descendants of older or younger siblings.

Apart from sex and seniority, Cubeo sibling terms also demarcate social distance. They differentiate, as already noted, three degrees of sibling closeness: lineage sibling, near phratry sibling, and distant phratry sibling. They do so, ingeniously, by the linguistic device of using a common root for sibling – this usage is only in the senior term, because only the senior term is important – indicating distance or closeness by the use of appropriate prefixes and suffixes. The root for senior sibling of either sex is *ami*. With the possessive prefix *hi* and the gender suffix *ko* or *kũ* (*himámiko*, *-kũ*) it connotes utmost closeness and is applied to older brother and sister of one's own family, including the extended joint family or lineage. Since sib and lineage may often be coextensive these terms are also sib-wide. The term *himámiko* (my older sister) does not apply to a mother's sister's daughter unless she happens to be – via brother-sister exchange marriage – a father's brother's daughter as well. The intimate usage, that is, must also correspond with coresidence. One's own sister, to be sure, does marry out, but in the meantime there has been a long period of coresidence. In any case, there is not the slightest tendency to slur over a nuclear kinship relationship. In the case of father's brother's daughter the intimate term applies only when she is still a coresident. After she has married she falls into the next more distant category. 601 193 601 [614]

The second range of kinship intimacy is the most widespread of all, including sib, subsib, and all close sibs within the phratry. It may even be applied to all members of the phratry of one's generation, in which case the third and most distant form of sibling terminology is reserved for those people whom one does not know well. The terms used in this second range are *amiyó* and *amikó*. The suffix *yo* conveys the meaning of "such as" or "one who is of the class of." It is also used in the term *bakũdyó* (father's brother) and means literally "one who is in the class of a father." In *amiyó* it means, therefore, "one who is in the class of an older brother." Strictly speaking, the suffix *yo* has no sex gender and if it were applied to a woman would constitute no major linguistic blunder. But since one's contacts are almost invariably with male siblings, the sisters normally at a distance, the [614] [615] 601 193

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term has apparently taken on a masculine meaning and *amikó* is used to specify the female. A term *amikû* does not exist to my knowledge. With the loss of the possessive prefix *hi* some of the intimacy has gone out of the term. Nevertheless, being diplomatic in their use of kinship terms, the Cubeo sometimes employ the form *himámiyo* and so give the term a warmer tone.

Finally, the most distant usage is to employ only the stem *mamû* ("older one") equally to male and female to connote the barest sibling relationship. I never heard this term used because, I suppose, the Cubeo find it too formal. Rather than call a person *mamû* they prefer the more cordial *pakomá* (kinsman). The special respect use of this term for men of the head sib has already been described.

601 [554] [614]

The junior sibling term is rather unusual. I am inclined to regard it as a quasi-kinship term because it has equally a kinship and an age-grade connotation. *Hwainyó* means literally "one who is in the class of youths." Like *amiyó* it can refer to females, but *hwainkó* is the special term for a younger sib and phratry sister. Because it is an age-grade term, the kinship meaning of *hwainyó* is so wide that it has come to mean any person of sib or phratry who is younger either by relative age within one's generation or is of a younger generation. When it is used as the reciprocal for *amiyó*, as a respect term, it refers to one to whom one condescends somewhat as a donor or good Samaritan. It would seem that the Cubeo have developed only the senior term as a true kinship term and have given seniors the prerogative of addressing all their juniors, whether by age or status, simply as "youth." Nor is the term bound by phratry, since it is applied to all grandchildren (male or female) who are not of the lineage. *Hwainyó* also means son-in-law and any nephew or niece. *Hwainkó* is the daughter-in-law. *Hwankû* is a serviceable male form giving it somewhat greater intimacy and thus is limited generally to younger men of one's own sib or of closely related sibs. The abbreviated form *hwa*, a more jocular term, is also used.

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## BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

614 613 602

Lineage brothers and sib brothers are joined by all the strong bonds of a localized patrilineal sib organization. The obligations of lineage brothers toward one another are very little less binding than those of blood brothers, and the obligations of sib brothers, while somewhat less binding, are still considered to be strong. But these brotherly ties are general and taken for granted, whereas the relationship between brother and sister, as indeed that between husband

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male park that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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hand, the assigned sister can be counted on to act in her brother's behalf and to accept the exchange marriage. On the other, if his bride should leave him he believes that he can ask his sister to leave her husband so that accounts will be squared. This arrangement does not work perfectly, but it works well. 58 593

Not every young man has a sister assigned to him. The son of a headman who is in line for the succession has preference, as has a favored son, since it is the parents who play an important part in establishing this relationship. In the case of an apparent heir to the headmanship the assigned sister enhances his status in two ways. It makes him part of an adult status economic relationship in that he has a woman "working" for him and it smoothes the way for his marriage. 593 622 [182] [885]

I could get no term for this rather specialized brother-sister relationship. Ordinary relationships between [illegible] and sister lack the specific economic exchange features. L[illegible]e intensity of the paired relationship, the ordinary relationship is still charged with considerable emotion. 593

From the point of view of the sib, the brother-sister relationship may be considered as a source of holding women to the sib even after they have taken up residence in another sib. There is the curious expectation that a woman will some day come back to her own sib. She will do this as a widow or after a break in her marriage. When a young man is on his way to his "affinal" sib to bring back a wife his parents say to him, half in jest, "Try to make your sister come home." The symbolic act of marriage for the Cubeo is the drama of a "marriage by capture." The groom seizes the bride, who protests, and carries her forcibly to the beach and into his canoe. Her outcries bring her kinsmen on the run, who then try to prevent her "abduction" by cudgeling the groom. This dramatic enactment makes the point that the bride is unwilling to leave her sib and that her kin are determined not to let her go. It is a strong demonstration of attachment that soothes the feelings of the sib and particularly of the brother. It satisfies the sentiment that no one wishes to leave the sib. 593 614 182 582

The relationship between brother and sister may also be considered in the context of the sib origin myth which states that the founders of a sib were always a brother-sister pair who only later entered into exchange marriages. The tradition of the *Bahikiwa* sib that a woman re-established the sib after all her brothers had been killed by enemies illustrates still again the Cubeo sentiment that a woman really belongs to her sib. Thus a sib has a female ancestress as well as a male ancestor. 593 614

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already noted, cleavages between siblings commonly occur at this point, the sons of one mother breaking with the sons of another. Thus, the distinction between terms for father and father's brother is associated with subtle differences in behavior, yet the grouping of mother with mother's sister ignores even greater distinctions in behavior.

The father's sister is *panimó*, a term built on the root *pani*, which means "in-law." Although a woman of the sib, she rates as an in-law because her daughter is normally eligible as a cross-cousin marriage partner. *Panimó* also means "mother-in-law." There are no formal avoidances with a mother-in-law. Ordinarily, because of the rules of residence, a man sees little of his mother-in-law.

Mother's brother (*paniyó*) is a parallel relative to father's sister. He is father-in-law. There are no formal avoidances in this relationship. The important relationship is between a woman and her father-in-law. There is a good deal of restraint between these two. The father-in-law is her mentor on moral issues, and if she commits adultery he will often act in the matter before his son does. Reserve between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is eased after a time but never lapses. The Cubeo defend the unity of the sib by regarding the in-marrying women as permanent strangers. It is the father-in-law as a sib elder who is expected to enforce the separateness. Coupled with this reserve and, in a sense, counteracting it, is the fact that he calls her *hwainkó*. Reserve prevents sexual joking, licentious bodily contact, and other undue levity. It does not bar the father-in-law from beating his daughter-in-law. Father-in-law and son-in-law may refer to one another by the common term, *pani*. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there is only the reserve of unfamiliarity. But when a man does come with his wife to visit her parents he is warmly welcomed as a son and is drawn into all common activities. The visit of a daughter is so exciting an occasion for the Cubeo that the son-in-law is readily tempted in the aura of warmth and good cheer to prolong his stay.

The terms that siblings apply to one another's children are only partially based on considerations of the marriage possibilities between their young. Primarily, the children of siblings are regarded as "youngsters." As juniors they merit generalized terms. Thus, the common terms for nephew and niece within the sib are respectively *hwainyó* and *hwainkó*. The son of a sibling of opposite sex is *pani* — an in-law — but the daughter is not. She enters the household as *hwainkó*. Again we notice the neutral character of the term. *Hwainkó* is not a term of the sib necessarily. The point is, rather, that it is not

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614 a term that connotes out-of-the-sib, as does *pani*. Thus, Cubeo usage
[601] with respect to daughter-in-law points up again the strength of their feelings about membership in the common residence group.

The problematical relatives are the mother's sister's children. There is no problem if they are also father's brother's children, or if
[615] they have been born within one phratry. But since mother's sisters marry into other phratries or into other tribes, their children are in
[582] effect strangers who belong to their paternal sib or tribe. They are not included in the kinship system, they are lost sight of, and such parallel cousins one may marry since they do not belong to the phratry.

## GRANDPARENT - GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP

603 The two grandparent terms, *nyéko* (*kü*) and *nyekundjó*, refer to
601 all kin of the generation of grandparents and beyond, irrespective
614 of sib or phratry affiliation. Correspondingly, their reciprocals
615 (*panaihinkü*, *-ko* and *hipanimekü*, *-ko*) do not differentiate between a child of the sib or phratry and a child outside the sib or phratry. The grandchild terms are all formed of the *pani* stem from which affinal terms are constructed. *Panaihinkü* means "my very little in-law," and *hipanimekü* means "of my in-law line." The ignoring of sib lines for grandparents seems to follow from the simple fact that at this generation level exogamy is not an issue.

603 I could get no explanation from the Cubeo as to why the grand-
601 child should be classed with the affinal line. It may result from the Cubeo interpretation of cross-cousin marriage. Brother and sister
[593] negotiate for the marriage to one another of their children and so
[584] would be inclined to regard the offspring of that marriage as a con-
[614] tribution from the affinal line to the sib. Often enough, however, I have encountered the use of the descriptive terms such as *himákü-makü* (my son's son) to distinguish between a lineal descendant of the sib and other grandchildren.

601 Elders of a distant sib of the phratry may be addressed and referred
[614] to as "grandparent" even if of one's own generation. Their children consequently are called "father" or "mother." In these usages the
[615] reciprocal is always *hwainyó* or *hwainkó* and never a specific "child" or "grandchild" term. Among the Tucano, Fulop (1955) has noted that one of the sibs of a phratry is the "grandparent" to all the others so that all persons of one's own generation in that sib are "grandparents." If this is also the case among the Cubeo of the Cuduiari then the fact must have escaped my notice. This usage of grandparent

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The ceremonial friendship is an intimate relationship, indeed. The Cubeo expectation of it is that it have a quality of warmth and of privilege, if not beyond, then at least equal to a close, recognized kinship relationship. Since ceremonial friends are already sib or phratry mates, their relationship, if it is to have any meaning at all, must make them at least the equivalent of lineage kin; and that is what it is intended to do. Ceremonial friendship gives vividness and exclusiveness to sib and phratry relationships that are often too tepid and too generalized for Cubeo tastes. 572 614 615 572

When ceremonial friends are of opposite sex they forgo the erotic play that even brother and sister are supposedly allowed to indulge in, asserting, thereby, that theirs is the closest bond of friendship attainable. The relationship is often a substitute for a brother-sister pairing. Not every sibling line is so conveniently arranged as to provide for a brother-sister pairing. Hence, if no sister is allowed to a man he casts about for a girl of his age group and asks her to become his *hiko*. If she agrees he acquires the equivalent of an assigned sister, and she of a brother. They will form a team in an exchange marriage and they will exchange products. She will provide him with manioc for chicha, if he wishes to sponsor a drinking party, and she will prepare farinha for him, which he will use to trade for objects of white manufacture. He will reciprocate with appropriate gifts and with making household implements for her. When he is paid for his labor in the rubber forests he will surely bring cloth and trinkets for his *hiko*. 572 [832]

To cite one specific example of gift exchange between ceremonial friends: A man of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib took a sib sister as his *hiko*. He gave her, immediately, cloth for two petticoats, two boxes of matches, two decorative combs, two small hand mirrors, thread and needles, two tins of brilliantine hair dressing, and a bar of soap. In return she gave him four big chicha serving calabashes, two balls of miriti twine, and a valuable necklace of silver triangles known as "butterflies." In addition, her father gave her two fishing bows to give to her ceremonial friend. 572 431

The relationship between *hikũ* and *hiko* does fill the gap left by the normal imbalance between male and female siblings. But the Cubeo do not regard it as a mere substitute for a missing brother or a missing sister. Men who have sisters assigned to them still seek a *hiko*, if only to enjoy an individualized relationship of their own choice. If exchange marriage is not to be a central feature of the relationship, the *hikũ* is still entitled to a gift from the groom at his 572

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## *Marriage*

• 614 615 The rule in marriage is that a wife cannot be taken from within the sib or phratry. She may be taken from another tribe and, of course, from any of the other two phratries. There is no actual prohibition against marrying a woman from one's own community if she belongs to a group that is outside the phratry. As I have already noted, such marriages are not common because of a preference for marrying someone from a distance. Since true friendship is apt to mean brotherhood [626] for the Cubeo, and so is identified with exogamy, the parties to a coresidence marriage, the man in particular, are made to feel as though they were behaving indecently. The only case of a coresidence 614 marriage that I learned about was complicated somewhat by an issue 597 of adoption, but it illustrates the ambiguity of feeling the Cubeo have about such marriages, nevertheless. A boy, born a *Bahúkiwa*, was orphaned and adopted by the *Hürüwá*, a sib of the opposite phratry. He then married a *Hürüwá* girl. Opinion was divided. The boy and his supporters claimed that he was *Bahúkiwa* and so the marriage was proper. The other side argued that since he was raised by the *Hürüwá* he had no business marrying a *Hürüwá* girl. Since the girl's family allowed the marriage to stand we must assume 582 that the boy's position was legally sound. Marriage is preferred between age equals, and since a groom must be forceful enough to make a good impression he will not marry until his very late teens and so 192 neither will the girl. The term for marriage is *nomíkükü*, meaning simply "woman getting."

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There is a strong preference for taking a wife from the same sib 614
from which one's mother has come. This establishes a pattern of cross-cousin marriage and creates a very close bond between the maternal and paternal sibs. The *Bahúkiwa*, for example, are closely intermarried with the *Byówa*[1] and the relations between these two sibs accordingly are cordial, even warm, in contrast to the stiff relationships that generally prevail between sibs of opposite phratries. Preferential marriage into the mother's sib arises naturally from the strong bonds of affection and of formal relationship between brother and sister. The principal way in which brother and sister maintain their ties even after marriage has separated them [593]
is by arranging for the marriage of their children to one another. We have seen that the grandchild is called a "little affinal," a designation that I have taken to mean that a man, having arranged for his son to marry his sister's daughter, regards the offspring as a contribution by the affinal sib to his own. He has the satisfaction of regarding his sister as responsible for this. She has succeeded in getting something from the "other" sib over to his sib. In this way, exchange, which is the greatest of human binders, is kept active.

From the point of view of the boy, marriage with a father's sister's 614
daughter also seems most natural and certainly convenient. Having 584
had virtually no opportunities for courtship, he does not know where to go for a bride. His father suggests that he visit his aunt in his mother's sib and his mother is delighted that her son will visit her kin. There is no more desirable guest than a boy who is visiting both his father's sister and his mother's kin. The warmth with which he is received should put even the shyest boy at ease. There are, to be sure, other opportunities for finding a bride, but by and large even the most aggressive young men still prefer to go to a community where the way has been smoothed for them. Since Indians travel mainly to visit kinfolk they are more or less bound to marry a woman from a sib from which, if not the mother, then a brother's wife has been taken.

Work in the rubber forests has broadened opportunities for mar- [464]
riage because men from different tribes are brought together and [571]
form friendships that allow them to visit one another and to exchange sisters. But even with these opportunities the preference for marriage into the mother's sib is still strong. A boy's parents will have opened the negotiations for him. There is no formal betrothal, but there is a kind of understanding that a particular marriage will

[1] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* marriages at the end of this chapter.

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614 584 take place, although, it must be emphasized, these are never binding. Marriage is always thought of in terms of a boy getting a wife. A [589] girl thinks a great deal about getting a husband, but her parents prefer not to think about that. The Cubeo know bachelors but not spinsters. Parents of a boy have in mind a little girl somewhere, [583] usually in the maternal sib, as a wife for their son. Unable to bespeak her – a girl is bespoken only as a result of a brother-sister exchange marriage in which her brother has already taken possession of his wife – they keep an eye on her, waiting for her to grow up. She may marry someone else, in which case their disappointment will be keen although they will have no grounds for complaint.

614 583 584 There comes a day when a boy's parents say to him that there is a girl ready for marriage and that he ought to go and see if he can bring her home. If it is not the second stage of a brother-sister exchange marriage they will not say to him that they have already pursued the matter with the parents on the other side, through earlier exchanges of visits or through an emissary. Out of deference for his feelings should he fail to get the bride, they may instruct him as though he were going to broach marriage for the first time. If the girl is "vowed" to the sib his instructions are simply to bring her back, or, failing that, to take back his sister.

614 583 584 574 The young man sets out with a party of sibmen, some of his age group and some of his father's age group. The parents may come along, because a woman welcomes this chance for a home visit. A party does not necessarily announce itself as a wedding party. They prefer to announce upon arriving that they have come only to visit. If the parents are not to accompany the party, the father assembles the marriage party in the plaza and, in the presence of the entire community, instructs his son in the exchange procedures. If it is the completion of an exchange marriage he recapitulates the history of the earlier marriage, the promises of exchange that have been made, and declares what is due the sib. In an exchange marriage a particular girl has been promised and a substitute has usually been indicated if the girl who has been promised is unwilling. There is also the question of supplementary gifts to the bride's parents, such as a small canoe, a gun, ornaments, and the like, that the father authorizes his son to offer. If this is to be the initial marriage, from which an exchange will follow, the boy is instructed to say which sister or other girl of the sib will be offered. Under any circumstances both bride and groom have the option of deciding that they do not care for one another. This option is no mere formality and many a marriage party has had to settle for a social visit alone because the prin-

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cipals in the marriage were not attracted to each other. It is to avoid this embarrassment that the marriage party does not declare its intentions. They announce that they have come to visit relatives. They are made welcome, assigned to sleeping quarters, and are drawn into the general round of activities of the house. They may stay for many weeks. The groom-to-be joins in the activities of his age group, hunting and fishing with them. He spends part of his time in making gifts for his host's wife, who need not be the prospective mother-in-law, and for the mother-in-law-to-be as well, if he has been a guest in her household. He may make baskets, trays, or a hammock. Every woman treasures an object that a suitor has made. These objects, however, are not presented as marriage gifts but as offerings in return for hospitality.

The courtship itself is a slow process. For some time the prospective bride and groom virtually avoid one another. The young man is attentive to the other girls of the sib, and his own age mates, if single, act as though they are courting the prospective bride. They are all looking one another over. The young man's personality is evaluated, and his skills in hunting, fishing, and crafts are observed. The visiting party, for its part, makes close observations on the bride-to-be. The nature of this opening phase of the courtship in which bride and groom are being "looked over" is such that unexpected matches are sometimes made. It has happened that a boy who has been flirting with his bride-to-be's sister to divert attention from his real objective falls in love with her. Or the sister falls in love with the suitor and seeks her betrothed sister's permission to marry him. This happened among the *Bahúkiwa*. A man, having reached the final stages of courtship with a girl, had arranged the formal elopement tryst with her. At the end it was the sister who appeared, explaining that it was she who wanted to marry him, with her sister's consent. The suitor was not disappointed, and all went well.

If the young man is satisfied with the bride-to-be the party prolongs its stay. Otherwise it leaves quickly. Once it has decided to stay, the groom awaits a sign of acceptance from the girl. One of the first indications of sexual interest that she shows is to run rather than walk in his presence. When the older folk see a girl running when she should be walking they smile knowingly at one another. One day she throws a handful of manioc mash in his face in the presence of company and laughs at him. He pretends anger and moves upon her. She pretends fright and runs off to her manioc garden, where he overtakes her. They have coitus and they are then engaged. She may show her interest in other ways, pinching him or cuffing him as she

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walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of these is an extract of *tiwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult, a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *tcimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *tcimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *tcimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *tcimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the maloca and of the community — the groom joining the age group of his *tcimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

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marriage. These suspicions are not overcome even though they may already have affinal kin in the other tribe.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, I was witness to some of the events of the full cycle of an exchange marriage involving the neighboring Tucanoan-speaking *Tatúyo*. The opening wedge for this marriage was made by a *Bahúkiwa* woman who had married a *Tatúyo*. One day she reappeared among the *Bahúkiwa* with her husband and young children and settled down for a long wait. She was given a manioc garden and her husband devoted himself to making household implements for the wife of the headman. The headman had two marriageable daughters and two marriageable sons, to each of whom had been assigned, in the traditional manner, a sister whom he would exchange for a bride. One of the daughters, the elder, was very attractive, vivacious, flirtatious, and ardently desired by many young men. She had been married and divorced several times and was accused of having aborted, or killed at birth, several of her offspring. Because she was headstrong and not very industrious, sober-minded folk regarded her as a poor choice for a bride. Nevertheless, she was assigned to the older son, a very capable young man who showed every promise of becoming a headman. By seniority his was to be the prior marriage. Among the Cubeo the problem is to have the sons marry in proper age sequence and not the daughters. The *Bahúkiwa* visitor stated her opinion that such a girl needed a *Tatúyo* as a husband. "A *Tatúyo* could tame her," she said. The *Tatúyo* indeed had a reputation for ferocity because at the time they were still at war with the whites. By contrast with the Cubeo, those I saw were sullen and certainly appeared to be far more aggressive. She added that the *Tatúyo* also had many fine young girls, girls who had not been spoiled by contact with whites. The headman had no sooner grasped the possibilities of such a marriage for his undisciplined older daughter than a party of *Tatúyo* appeared to visit their fellow *Tatúyo*, who, they remarked jokingly, had lived away for so long that they now thought of him as a *Bahúkiwa*. It was a "large" party of eight men of warrior age. They came in two canoes. They were quartered among the various households and they stayed for several weeks, showing great skill in hunting, fishing, and in making implements. No one spoke marriage; but the signs were soon evident in the flirtatiousness of the daughters of the headman and two of the *Tatúyo* youths. When the *Tatúyo* announced that they were now ready to go home, a drinking party was quickly arranged as a farewell. When the *Tatúyo* party had left, it was discovered that the younger daughter was missing and that the older sister, whose "elopement" was taken [582]

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619 583 584 574 for granted, had remained home. When this was discovered the headman and all the able-bodied men he could muster rushed for their canoes and paddled furiously downriver to intercept the "abductors." The girl's mother sputtered with indignation at the *Tatúyo* who had "tricked them" and at her daughter who had betrayed them. This, it emerged, was a genuine elopement. The older sister, willful as ever, had no intention of being "tamed" by anyone, least of all by backwater Indians. Her younger sister was eager, however, and it was no trouble to get the *Tatúyo* to accept her. In due time the *Tatúyo* were intercepted. Assuredly they allowed themselves to be intercepted. Since the girl would under no circumstances agree to come home, the parties had only to settle the conditions of an exchange marriage. The *Tatúyo* designated a girl, ripe to be taken as a wife at any time, and by way of apologizing for eloping with the wrong daughter agreed to add a large canoe. Back home, the headman berated his sister for thinking more of the interests of her *Tatúyo* husband than of her *Bahúkiwa* people.

The elopement postponed the marriage of the older son, who was eager for a wife and precipitated the younger one into a marriage to which he had not yet been giving thought, so strong is the Cubeo convention of pairing a brother and sister for an exchange marriage. In a few months the younger son was sent to "demand" the bride promised. I did not accompany the marriage party to the *Tatúyo*. But when the party returned with a very attractive young bride they reported to the satisfaction of the headman that the groom, having first offered his sister a chance to return home, asked for the bride. The girl was brought out. He took her by the hand and led her to the canoe. "We [614] did not even stay overnight," he boasted. Such brusqueness and calculated discourtesy would not occur if the exchange were with the maternal sib.

581 Sheer sexual attractiveness is regarded as the wrong reason for choosing a bride. The point is not only that physical sturdiness and industriousness are better traits, but that a sexually provocative woman will be a source of trouble to the sib. A responsibility of an elder accompanying a marriage party is to remind the groom-to-be to pay attention to the sterling qualities of a bride, that do include, however, such erotically desirable features as large, full breasts, a strong back, and a clear skin. They would prefer to have her sullen rather than vivacious.

583 585 614 Formal marriage is signalized by what must be regarded as the "rite of abduction." The groom seizes his bride and runs with her to the canoe. She cries out for help and her male kin rush out and

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beat her "abductor" with sticks or with their bare hands. His own companions aid him, and if the girl is willing, they get to the canoe landing with no serious damage. This display of ceremonial violence satisfies two Cubeo doctrines, one that affinal sibs are "hostile" and the other that a woman will not leave her sib by her own volition but must be torn from it by brute force. There is also a third notion, namely, that a man be strong enough to capture a bride. I heard many accounts, perhaps apocryphal, of fainthearted striplings who could not bring home a bride. Such stories are often told to tease young bride seekers.

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Father Giacone (1949, p. 21), who studied the Tucano tribe, reported no courtship and no marriage ceremony but did note forcible seizure of the bride. Father Giacone's information does suggest some variation in practice among the Tucano. There, the bride is not seized by the groom but by the groom's father, who has been accompanied by some men. They pretend they have come to purchase a canoe. In the midst of their visit for this purpose they carry off the girl and bring her home, unmolested, to the waiting groom. Often, he notes, this is the first time they have met. The girl is timid and retiring, he reports, and the women undertake to cheer her up by inviting her to accompany them on their labors. When the bride begins to work with satisfaction at all her tasks the marriage is considered settled. Some weeks later her parents come to reclaim her and the groom hides her. Her parents are given presents if she is unwilling to return home. At a later visit they repay with gifts of their own.

In general, Tucano and Cubeo marriage practices are alike; the most striking difference is in the fetching home of the bride. Cubeo notions of manhood would be offended at the notion that the father should bring a bride home for his son.

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Among the Cubeo, the early stages of marriage are almost invariably difficult for the young couple. They are barely acquainted and the husband is expected to show his wife only the barest semblance of affection so as not to interfere with his mother, whose role it is to assimilate the young bride into her household as a replacement for the "lost daughter." The bride enters her mother-in-law's service, working with her in the manioc garden and in the preparation of manioc. Doing all the chores that she has done as an unmarried girl in her own community but under a strange woman, she is understandably disappointed, even though she is received very warmly. She is immediately locked in a conflict with her mother-in-law for her freedom. The issue is the manioc garden. A woman wants her daughter-in-law to help her in her garden and the daughter-in-law,

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585 593 606 knowing that her full status as a married woman begins with her having her own garden, must get her husband to get her out of her mother-in-law's household. He, however, knows his mother's will and is also aware that the men of the sib are watching him to see if he will be strong enough to stand up against his wife, the "alien" to the sib.

585 586 593 614 If the stalemate continues too long the young wife has the means to break it. She runs away. It is a married woman's privilege to run away at any time during her marriage. Her husband will pursue her, but she has many sanctuaries. She can get back to her own community, where she is safe and has the certainty that she will not be yielded up to a pursuing husband and that he has no claim against her parents. The common view is that if a man is not strong enough to hold a wife that is his misfortune. A runaway wife may find sanctuary in any sib, even in one that is closely related to that of her husband. A neighboring sib is only a temporary stopover for a runaway wife. It provides a more neutral atmosphere, however, in which she and her pursuing husband can discuss the reasons why she has run away. It is young brides who most frequently run off. Occasionally a girl is seriously determined to leave her husband and she will then most certainly find her way home, even if she has to go afoot all the way. Ordinarily she expects her husband to intercept her. When he brings her back the headman will say to him, "Take charge of your wife," [837] and the husband will proceed to prepare a manioc garden for his wife. Some young wives provoke a crisis by seducing the husband's brother and allowing the community to find out. Again the headman will say, "Take charge of your wife."

585 586 593 614 182 These crises are so common in the early stages of marriage that I am inclined to regard them as quasi-ritual, and as part of a prolonged marriage ceremony at the end of which the wife achieves her proper status as controller of an autonomous zone, her manioc garden, and as female head of household. The act of running away suggests a counterpart to the initial act of "abduction." Both acts acknowledge the unruly role of the alien woman and emphasize the power of the man in restoring order. The man who brings his runaway wife back has scored a victory in the eyes of his sib. This victory absolves him from the onus of seeming to "give in" to the demands of his wife. But if the act of bringing back a runaway wife is a bit of ritual, it must also be stated that it is not devoid of spontaneous and rich human emotion.

595 Monogamy is the rule and is consistent with the preference for exchange marriage. Polygyny and polyandry, however, are not barred.

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586 Divorce is easy and rather frequent during the early years of marriage. Most often it is the woman who leaves her husband, for the general reason that she does not like him and, more rarely, because he beats her. If a woman has no intention of going back to her husband she returns home, re-enters her parents' household, and her husband has no further claim upon her. If she is undecided, she claims the hospitality of a neighboring sib and awaits a reconciliation. A marriage is not officially severed, on the woman's part, unless she returns home. She cannot run away with another man and expect to avoid trouble. Men send wives away mainly because they are barren. [842] The Cubeo have no other official view of infertility than that the woman is using an abortifacient. They therefore tend to view barrenness as a hostile act. A wife who is asked to leave has no choice but to do so. Her grown children are expected to remain behind in their own sib, while the nursing baby accompanies the mother.

586 684 The most common source of marital discord that may also lead to divorce is adultery. From quarrels that erupt during drinking parties the impression is created that adultery is very common. Almost invariably it is the woman who is blamed, partly because women commonly are sexually aggressive, and partly because that is the least disruptive view to take of the matter; it does least damage to the important male solidarity of the sib.

**BAHÚKIWA MARRIAGES**

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Byówa* | 14 | *Tatúyo* | 5 |
| Uanana | 7 | *Siriana* | 2 |
| *Miandwa* | 5 | *Burébowa* | 1 |
| *Hürüwá* | 4 | *Hurédariwa* | 1 |
| *Korówa* | 4 | Karapana | 1 |
| *Yuriti* | 4 | *Piratapúyo* | 1 |
| *Djurémawa* | 3 | *Tóriawü* | 1 |
| *Konéntaraboiwü* | 3 | | |

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622 571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habókũ* and *kenámi upákũ*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókũ* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákũ*, on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókũ* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókũ*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókũ* attributes. Thus not all headmen qualify as *habókũ*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, such as the *Órabawa*, *Aúnbwawũ*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókũ* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókũ* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókũ* as headman. Not every *habókũ* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the headman. In time of war the *habókũ* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

[592] 622 614 554 [701]

622 614 554 301 292 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókũ* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókũ* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókũ*. The *Bahúkiwa* define *habókũ* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókũ*.[1]

[114] [565]

[1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

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The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

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The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
301 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
554 major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[756] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[437] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region.
[614] The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grün-
[184] berg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *habókü* status or *kenámi upákü*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[135] [2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[324] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

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No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kenámi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

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There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grünberg was told the same thing (1909, I, 264). One is also told that other people have powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this, but Koch-Grünberg, who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desanas had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grünberg that great chiefs ruled along the Papurý and Tiquié rivers. When he got there he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now. 643 622 114

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grünberg notes that the headmanship is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it that the house is kept in order; and if he leaves for any length of time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took him seriously. Koch-Grünberg had the impression, however, that the oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a headman. 622 171 [888] [554]

## LAW AND JUSTICE

With respect to the administration of justice and of order the headman is no magistrate. He is a mediator, a counselor, and often a persuasive advocate of his own views. It is the entire adult community that must reach a decison. The headman provides for orderly discussion until a decision is reached. Within the sib a primary objective of the headman's efforts is to smooth over difficulties, calm tempers, and restore the atmosphere of congeniality. There are, however, serious breaches of the peace, such as sorcery, persistent adultery, chronic and malicious theft of food, and murder when punishment is called for. In such cases the aim of the headman is not to calm 622 627 [614]

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622 627 tempers but to inflame and to focus angry passions upon the culprit. He does so because the Cubeo do not tolerate a judicious and cold-blooded administration of punishment. Their view is that malicious [673] acts are committed in anger. Such acts provoke anger in return, in the course of which the culprit is suitably punished. Thus, a wrong-doer always runs away. Even if he should regard himself as innocent of the charge, when he learns that charges are being discussed he deems it prudent to leave. He need not be gone very long—perhaps just a few months. When he returns the anger against him has died 622 down and there will be no basis for action. In cases where a sibman 627 is being provocatively uncooperative and the senior households, together with the headman, agree that he should be made to leave, 574 they wait for a drinking party when someone, or the headman him- 614 self, picks a quarrel with the culprit. In the heat of the quarrel the unwelcome sibman is asked to leave. The traditional drinking party [182] seems to serve as the most appropriate setting for the airing and settling of grievances and of disputes.

578 Fighting is the most common social disturbance and is inevitable 574 during a drinking party. A quarrel between two men draws in others, usually close kin; each man entering the fray loudly proclaims his reason for joining, justifying by anger his right to take part. Members of the same household always have justifiable cause for anger in assisting one another. More distant kin must cite a personal motive. They can claim a past insult. A host or headman is privileged 578 to intervene to stop a fight but will do so reluctantly. In a Cubeo 574 quarrel the detached bystander is not welcome. Women are usually 622 strongly disturbed by fighting. They dread that someone will get hurt and when a fracas becomes bloody they loudly demand that the headman put a stop to it. If he ignores them, pretending to be drowsy with drink, they abuse him and say he is not fit to be a headman. A headman is drawn to anger and to participation in a fray if a cere- 578 monial friend has joined a fight without asking his permission. 574 Ceremonial friends are as one and should share the same quarrels. Fighting at a drinking party, although actually disliked by the Cubeo, [572] is not a punishable offense, since the angry parties have had full opportunity to retaliate. When the fight is over the issue is usually closed, unless new threats and insults are uttered. Those will be remembered at the next drinking party and serve to start a new fight.

682 Retaliation for murder is the responsibility only of the members of the victim's own household and lineage. Sibmates are under no [614] obligation to avenge a murder unless, they reason publicly, the mur-

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682 derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault. [614]

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when [593] his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a [578] monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. [763] In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to [825] shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, [625] however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer [697] and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is 682 no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The 593 only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, [266] crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as he then cut his throat and died. [762]

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old 683 *Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves 685 pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihí*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihí* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft [276] is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

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684 Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatúyo*. In the case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

[754] Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless com-
[562] pounded by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery, never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel. An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the hus-
684 band or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman,
622 concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by
614 emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example
574 illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahúkiwa*, when intoxication was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Whereupon the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned. The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the pro-
684 prieties of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to re-
622 quest coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger
834 unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

883 The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is re-
684 viled as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger
[562] at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kúwai*'s diffi-
[773] culties with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kúwai* crushes his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her manioc garden.

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Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning" is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

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Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

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754 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the
694 hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle
[756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man
[622] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The headman is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused if he can refute the charges.

## WARFARE (*bwaíno*)

721 People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one
[615] another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently exchanged wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from
[614] Querarí killed Hühû, an old *Bahûkiwa* who was then living at Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the Querarí, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants, and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a plundering raid. When they killed Hühû and others in his house they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for
[614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a
[648] *Hehénewa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cuduiarí; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban, Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas raided the Cuduiarí annually during the dry season, when they could move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war
[114] alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert.
[723] I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

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# 7

## *Development of the Individual*

The development of individual character is always relevant to an 121
understanding of social organization. In the case of Cubeo social 621
organization, founded, as it is, upon the lifelong continuity of the sibling group of males, the psychological factors are of particular importance. The following discussion will attempt to show the relationship between some of the experiences of a Cubeo from infancy to adulthood and some of the formal principles of Cubeo social organization. By and large, Cubeo social organization must conform to the direct psychological dispositions of its members for the commanding reason that the people have a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. The sib, as we have noted, is readily split; this means, in [614]
psychological terms, that those who find any cause for dissatisfaction [578]
with life within the community are quick to leave. The community, therefore, is constantly being drained of its malcontents. Those who remain are, in a manner of speaking, in harmony with one another. This harmony, it should be said at once, is not that of homogeneity. It is based rather upon individual complementarities, of extraversion-introversion, active-passive, and leader-follower, as in any community. The harmony is between the requirements of adult life and the experiences of childhood.

The Cubeo use the following age-grade terms. The nursing infant 561
from birth until it learns to crawl is called *abohoidjó* (male) or 192
*abohokó* (female); a crawling infant is *tcumi* (male or female, although *tcimiko* is possible for the female); the walking child who

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act believed to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers." 846 789

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press anything, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted. 846 [789]

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahú* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahúmikü* (or *ko*). 551 851 [789] [856] 826 [192]

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is conducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather repeatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand- 553 603 789 593 [272] [614] [856]

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihí*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urúhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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They are given milk
Milk of our soil
Milk that causes to grow
People who are being grown
People of our soil
People who are our younger sisters
Milk of the calabash
Milk that makes one grow quickly
Milk of our soil
People of our soil
People who are our younger brothers
The first one to grow fat
He [also] will grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
Milk that is nourishing that will make [him] fat
People of our soil
*Urâhana* who was the first to grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
He will grow fat
Milk that is liquid
Milk that is nourishing
The manioc gruel that is nourishing
Milk of our land
People of our land
*Urâhana* was the first one
The manioc gruel that he ate
The milk that was given to him.

Milk of our soil
That our offspring may grow
That we may all grow
Milk of the calabash
The offspring of *Urâhana*[*]
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of the calabash it drank
A child was being born to *Urâhana*
The offspring of *Urâhana*
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of our soil
She saw him grow
The son of *Hihédã*
Her fat offspring
Milk of our soil
She saw them grow

[*] The first child was born to *Hehéneua* Ancients *Urâhana* and his wife *Hihédã*. *Djurédo* was the sister of *Urâhana* and she gave the child milk drawn from her own breast into a calabash.

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihéddü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urdhana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

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Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the infant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

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An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtually impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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not yet joined the male play pack. By the time he is old enough for active play he has been well weaned from dependence upon the mother. In the case of a girl, this "dead" interval is one in which she waits to be useful to her mother. I saw no temper tantrums. Children of this age seem rather passive and steadfastly attached to the little sister. 855

For the boy, growth means a gain in autonomy, for the girl it means closer ties to the mother but with ever increased chores. The boy is the favorite of his mother; the girl, who is to become a drudge, receives more severe attention from a disciplinarian mother. [562]

What I have called the play pack, the grouping of boys from the age of six to past adolescence, is the major educational institution of the sib. It is in a sense an age grade whose members remain closely associated throughout their lives in most cases. The distinctive feature of the Cubeo play pack is that it is an autonomous body subject to virtually no regulation or supervision. A boy occasionally joins his father, but his primary linkage is to the "pack." The pack forms its own leadership, forages for food, plays in the river, roams the bush, attaches itself from time to time to the collective activities of the men, practices songs and dances in anticipation of ceremonies, and spies and reports on lovers. The pack leader assumes responsibility for proper behavior, scolding boys for wayward sexual behavior, that is, breaching the incest rules, and lending assistance and encouragement with skills. The boys are never mischievous and are never scolded or disciplined by adults. A youngster does not actually understand anger directed against him. Only once did I see a father strike his young son in a fit of temper. The boy neither flinched nor cowered. He merely stared at his father as though waiting for an explanation. The man rapidly regained his poise, laughed, and pretended he had struck the boy playfully. On another occasion, a little girl tipped over a large tray of manioc mash so that it was totally spoiled. Although the accident cost hours of work it provoked only amused laughter. One might add here that even the depredations of a pet monkey, some of which were quite costly, were met only with amusement. 857 [614] [593] [231]

The pack is not sealed off from adult activities, but its relationship to adult work is voluntary. The Cubeo distinguish sharply between play that is appropriate to young boys and work and ceremonial life that is appropriate to adult males. Thus, whatever work the play pack chooses to help with is welcomed but when the boys become bored with a task and leave it there is no ground for complaint against them. The young unmarried men who have left the

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be a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident 524
that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the
game, or ceremony, to me as follows. Some children were left or- 524
phaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their 773
mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked
their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing
for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed
in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch
of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children
returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother
gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their
tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days
they had become *taintūrū* birds. They returned to the house and
lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each
day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa*
but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his
younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and
seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their
parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so
can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or 524
any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grünberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahúkiwa*.

## PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood 881
to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual
matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely
be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are [789]
subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until [856]
they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter.
The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere
in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. 852
An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this 831
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task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paínwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[3] She is also known as *nomínyaiwi* (becoming a woman).

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Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *aryá*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

## POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1949, p. 25), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

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cently split a new canoe while spreading it. It was decided to substitute the split canoe. The canoe was cut in half, one end serving as the bottom and the other as the top of the coffin.[8] When the canoe was ready, the headman and three sib elders untied the hammock in which the dead man was lying and brought the corpse, bound in the hammock, to the canoe half that lay alongside the grave. The Cubeo prefer not to handle a corpse, except to caress it as a gesture of grief and affection. The corpse is wrapped in its hammock in the same way in which household effects are wrapped in it for transportation. The corpse lying in the hammock had naturally assumed a moderately flexed position, the knees drawn up and the hands folded across the abdomen. They laid it carefully in the canoe, face down. A woman of the sib brought a gourd dish that had a hole drilled in it and placed it over the old man's head. The dish is for use in the afterlife and the hole is for breathing. A young man brought up the sib's *behórũ*, dance staff and pennant of all social ceremonial. He broke it in two and laid the pieces alongside the corpse. From what I had been told about burial practices I had expected that all the personal effects of the old man would be buried with him. When I asked they shrugged and said, "He won't need them." Koch-Grünberg, among the *Hehénewa*, reported, on the other hand, that a man is buried with his dance feathers, which are laid upon his breast. His bow and arrows, fishing gear, and other possessions are burned upon the grave. A woman's trays and dishes are burned and her pots broken up and thrown into the woods. These things must be disposed of, he observed, to prevent the dead from coming back. Presumably burial practices have changed to some degree. When I was among the *Hehénewa* they were not burying a man's ceremonial feathers with him, but used them in the mourning ceremony as a representation of the deceased.

The entire community had gathered to watch the preparations for burial. Men and women wept, except those men who were handling the burial. The widow punctuated the weeping with her own loud wails. The top of the canoe was lashed into place and the canoe was lowered by ropes into the grave by four men. All the men of the sib crowded over the grave and reached into it to touch the canoe, weeping unrestrainedly.

Through all of the first stage of mourning the children had taken

[8] An alternative method of burial is in a large pottery jar. Urn burial is preferred for women and children, who may not have a canoe. In their tales the Cubeo do not mention canoe burial at all. They speak of the body as put in a large urn in a sitting position.

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764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to [615] grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON

537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

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that are specifically identified as the *Bekûpwānwa*, and that are used in the whipping and initiation ceremonies as well as in ritual bathing. 534

1. *Emíhehika* (also known as *haraibipobū*: whipping staff) is a wide-mouth trumpet of bark wound within a framework of splints. It has a short palm-tube mouthpiece set into a ceramic plate that is mounted firmly to the upper end of the bark. This trumpet is some 30 inches long.

2. *Kwûhünku* (also known as *Uménahonkū*) is also a wide-mouth bark trumpet that is over five feet long and is played with one end resting on the ground.

3. *Bwü* (Agouti) is a long flute of a black palm, also with a mouthpiece set in a clay mount and with two external reeds bound around an opening toward the top. It is about four feet long.

4. *Onpwénda* is a flute similar to *Bwü* except that it has no separate mouthpiece and is only some 30 inches long.

5. *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* is identical with *Onpwénda* and is the length of a man's forearm. It is the shortest of the flutes.

*Bwü* and *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* are said to be the strongest and fiercest of the ancestors and are esteemed for the vigor with which they whip. They are referred to as *parihihekū* (very powerful beings). *Bwü* is, of course, the founding ancestor of the *Bahúkiwa*. 769 [614]

Among the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí the largest bark-wound trumpet is also called *Uménahonkū*. Koch-Grünberg translated this name correctly as "Dragonfly." The name, however, is that of a first ancestor of the *Hehénewa*. [534] [614]

The whipping rites, the Cubeo say, go back to the "first people," who were taught what to do by *Kúwai*. At the beginning, however, it was women who played the flutes and trumpets. They spent so much time on play that they did nothing else. *Kúwai* corrected this. He took the instruments from the women and gave them to the men, warning them never to allow the women to get them back.[3] This is the story that is cited to explain why the instruments are taboo to 769 534 773 [784]

[3] A variant account states that the *Bekûpwānwa* had belonged to the women and that the men were afraid of them. The women came out of the forest bearing the instruments and the men ran away in fear. Then *Dekóků* (Ghost person) learned about this and said, "Women have no right to this." He came down to witness the ceremony of the women. He saw only women and he said to them, "You are women, you have no right to this. Now I am going to take this away from you." He brought the instruments to the men and laid them on their forearms. When the women had the *Bekûpwānwa* they danced all the time and never worked. After the men had received the instruments they allowed one old woman to see them. She turned insane and they had to kill her. Since then women have not been allowed to see the *Bekûpwānwa*.

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769 taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters
796 went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca
[614] counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him
[222] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits
[857] and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konhá*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door.
[273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konhá* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and
[276] had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konhá*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Bwõ* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Bwõ* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch (*hardmu*) that he had picked at the water's edge.[4] The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

[614] [4] Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *haraihume* (*haraí*: to strike; *humé*: bitter, unpleasant).

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796 be whipped violently to the center of the dance floor. He chose an eight-year-old boy, his own son. Normally the most amiable of men, he glowered at the boy, and in a harsh voice commanded him to stand straight, his legs together and his arms above his head. The little boy solemnly obeyed. The father faced his son, poised his whip for the first blow, and waited while the dancers circled them once, sounding the ancestor horns. When the dancers had completed one turn, the man inserted the switch in the far end of the horn and stirred it about to "draw from it the power of *Bwũ*." He then struck the boy across the loins with such force that the child ran screaming down the corridor toward the door. His father ran after him and without a word dragged him back. The first blow across the loins left a bloody scar on the boy's abdomen and was to impart sexual vigor, which resides inside the horn. The boy's paternal uncle stepped forward and rolled the second *Bwũ* horn along the child's back, starting at the calves and rolling it up to the head. This was to impart growth of stature, that resides on the outside of the horn. The boy had now regained his composure, and his father brought him a calabash of chicha. His father whipped him a second time, in the same way, and this time the boy controlled his fright, emitting only a gasp of pain as the whip lashed across his abdomen, raising a second welt. Again the uncle rolled the horn up the back. His father gave him a second calabash of chicha and the boy returned to his place on the bench, where he displayed his scars to his companions, composed and grinning from ear to ear.

Next to be initiated was the son of the headman's sister, the boy
[534] who was not of the sib. The same man did the whipping, using not *Bwũ* but *Onpweinda*, the least powerful of the three ancestors they were invoking. I concluded that a father would naturally initiate his own son with the most powerful and the very first of the ancestors, while saving the least potent for his cross nephew. When I mentioned
[182] this to the man he assured me I was wrong, explaining that it made
• [614] no difference who was whipped with which ancestor since their blessings went not to any one person, but to all being initiated as well as to the sib as a whole. The important thing, he said, was not to neglect an ancestor who had been brought to the house. I am inclined to accept this explanation with some skepticism, because the Indians always deny inequality as a matter of courtesy, but they recognize it nonetheless. When informants discussed *Bahũkiwa* ancestors in general terms they all agreed that it was best to be whipped by *Bwũ* because "he is the strongest."

This boy was exceedingly apprehensive. Before the first blow

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# 9

## *The Drinking Party*

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614 The drinking party (*unkúndye*: chicha, or *unkwínemu*: drinking
[615] affair) is the mode of exchange that, generally speaking, governs the relationships among the sibs of the same phratry. Sibs, as I have already noted, do not feast one another, an observation that Koch-Grünberg also made. A sib has its internal drinking parties during which one household head serves chicha to the rest; but the serious and regular drinking parties are those that are held for the purpose of entertaining the sibs of the phratry. I could not determine defi-
[554] nitely the pattern of intersib drinking parties, but I believe that an important principle is one of social rank. Higher-ranking downstream settlements prepare chicha more often than do lower-ranking sibs. This accords with the aforementioned Cubeo doctrine that leadership comes from giving and subordination comes from receiving. Drinking party invitations, however, must also be reciprocated, so that over a long enough period of time each sib will have entertained all the others. Since sibs are under no formal obligation to honor a drinking party invitation, the result is that most drinking parties bring together only near sibs who are obligated to attend for personal reasons. Nevertheless, each full-fledged sib plans at least one event during the year when it will have entertained most if not all of its fellow sibs. Attendance at an intersib drinking party is normally by an entire sib although there is flexibility in this.

[182] The drinking parties are of prime importance in unifying the sibs of a phratry. Their frequency and their attendance attest to the state

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of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates. 574 614 182

The *unkúndye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited to sibs of the phratry, the *unkúndye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkúndye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkúndye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity. [831] [837]

The hosts of an *unkúndye* have two very evident anxieties as they go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkúndye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As already mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy 574 614 273 574 614 554 [123]

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574 of drinking parties that drew guests from every sib. For the
614 *Bahûkiwa* this was a considerable social triumph since, being rela-
554 tively low-ranking, they would ordinarily have had more modest social ambitions. Eventually this activity tapered off, and by the time I left the drinking parties had become very small and subdued.

574 Social rivalry is only an undercurrent of the drinking party, for
571 nothing is more reprehensible than open boasting. A sib must also
614 be careful not to overdo, for then people will regard it as too pre-
[578] sumptuous and will not attend. At the conclusion of the most successful of the parties given by the *Bahûkiwa*, when the headman was beaming at the sight of the immense and disorderly throng drinking and dancing in his still-uncompleted house, the guests were already saying that he was overdoing matters. Some told me that they suspected the headman of wanting to become leader over the river. The
[152] anxiety of the host as to whether his guests will come is matched by that of the sib that fears it may be ignored when the invitations go
[578] out. The normal expectation is that all will be invited and that all will come. At the same time, the drinking party is thought of as a display of friendship and trust, so that if there is any cause for rancor between sibs they will not attend one another's parties. Thus, when sibs that have been invited do not attend and sibs that should be are not invited, speculation is provoked as to why. Some speculation can take an angry and morbid turn.

574 In its predominantly positive aspects the *unkûndye* has a tonic
614 effect upon the life of almost the entire river. It is particularly bracing fo the host sib. An intersib drinking party is given both in the name of the sib and in the names of individual sponsors. The instigator and chief sponsor of a party is, of course, the headman. He will invite cosponsors, usually but not exclusively the male heads of the individual households, so that he can count on the full cooperation of all. The week or so of active preparations demanded by a good-sized *unkûndye* is, in spite of heavy and often round-the-clock labor, a very happy time. The Cubeo regard collective effort that is carried out in good spirits as a great happiness. The preparations for
574 the *unkûndye* mark one of the very few occasions when men, women,
462 and children are all working together. Males normally avoid contact
252 with manioc that is being prepared as food. But they do handle many
522 stages of manioc being prepared as chicha. Even so, to handle manioc in any form a male must adopt an appropriate attitude of levity; it should appear that what he is doing is a game. The women thus are surrounded by rollicking men and are readily infected by their gay mood.

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574 the guests arrive they are asked to drink from the chicha prepared
[554] by each cosponsor. Those who do not choose to be cosponsors help in inconspicuous ways. There is honor in being a cosponsor but no competition for the privilege either. A household head feels free to decide when he desires cosponsorship. Those who have the most manioc to spare accept cosponsorship most freely. Major drinking parties are always sponsored by the headman, but smaller parties that bring together only close sibs may be offered in the name of a household head who wants the honor. The headman paternalistically defers to this. Some drinking parties are announced as being sponsored by a group of brothers. Of course if there is a special occasion
[562] the household head most closely concerned is expected to be a main sponsor. Women do not sponsor or cosponsor drinking parties except for the father's sister, who as widow or divorcée living in her
[182] own sib has the status of a household head. The Cubeo use drinking party sponsorship as a means of dealing with the minor frictions of community life, for cosponsors, by the symbolic act of doing something together, have reaffirmed their closeness. On a larger scale, attendance at drinking parties serves the same function.

574 The guest list provokes much discussion and entails in a sense
614 a review of the sib's relations with its fellow sibs. An invitation may
203 help achieve a reconciliation or it might yield only a humiliating rebuff. Invitations will be delivered in person, by the headman and by all cosponsors, the headman undertaking the downstream higher-status sibs, the others the upstream lower-ranking sibs. The proper time to deliver an invitation is six days before the event. The host delivers the invitation in a chanting tone during which he does not look at the guest but over his shoulder, and the guest replies in the
[201] same manner. The host holds up his hands, palms out and thumbs together. When the thumb of the right hand meets the thumb of the left hand it means there will be drinking. Holding two thumbs together is also a jesting sign, meaning, "Now we are going to drink." The four fingers of the right hand mean days of work, and the right-hand thumb means a day of very heavy preparation. The invitation means, then, "We are going to be very active for five days. On the sixth we shall drink."

574 One principle of Cubeo social structure is that whatever is accom-
614 plished on a multisib scale must have its counterpart on the smaller community scale in which household stands for sib. Thus, the five preparatory days are all small drinking parties within the sib so calibrated by degree of festivity—drinking, taking coca, singing, smoking—that each day the festive atmosphere is heightened, so that

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when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends. 574 614

On the morning of the drinking party the *behórũ* dancing staff is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behórũ* they go to the river to bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river. 574 535 [515] [823]

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather headdresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated 574 614 [554] 574 576 [614] [562]

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the malora yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center. 574 [342]

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough. 574 571 614

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers. 574 273 [462]

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tia ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihi* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner. [535] [171] [184] [276]

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574 276 provided. Men pass cigarettes to one another after a puff or two. A man will ordinarily pass a cigarette to his own wife only, for the giving of a cigarette to a woman has a potentially erotic significance. When a woman receives the cigarette she passes it among her children until finally the suckling baby has had a smoke. She then returns it to her husband. The custom of sharing the cigarette has been widely observed along the Vaupés and its tributaries. The Indians [521] accept it as a mark of friendship and of trust. Ceremonious smoking [887] of cigars held in forked holders accompanies the dignified conversations of the sib elders and is mandatory when these old men get to- [614] gether to chant the sib origin traditions. Several cigars are lighted and are passed around. There is no way of sharing coca, but *mihi*, as we have noted, is "danced in" by the sons of the hosts, and the little ornamented beaker in which it is kept is passed around.

574 535 Dancing begins when the assembly is warmed up with drink. At an *unkúndye*, dancing, being secular, is for the young, the adolescents and unmarried and the younger married men and women. In the most common dance three or four young men line up abreast, [533] left arm across a companion's shoulder, with the long dance flageolet, that sounds the song of the butterfly, in the right hand. An orchestra of Panpipes, seated to one side, sets the rhythm to which the dancers move and sound the flageolets. Starting at the rear of the house they move down the long dance corridor to a beat that starts as one slow step, a pause, two shorter steps, a pause, and then three rapid, almost running, steps, the inevitable Cubeo procedure of placing all ritual in the metric structure of *adagio* to *presto*. They reach the front of the house, their bodies swaying forward and back as they come down the corridor and gracefully swinging from side to side as they prepare to pivot, swinging the flageolets up and [614] around in unison. The first dancers are usually of the host sib and are brothers. During the early stages of the dance, as each of the visiting sibs puts its dancers on the floor, the formation is of brothers. It is not until much later during the night that drink and excitement have dissolved the fraternal bonds and allowed for the indiscriminate formation of dance teams. As the dancers move down the corridor the unmarried girls begin to stir; they giggle, nudge one another, sway forward with the desire to get up and join. But they are shy. They seek encouragement from one another. Often an older woman, a girl's mother, whispers sharply, "Go on, dance." Then two or three girls get up from the side lines and run behind the dancers, pacing themselves [illegible] to slip under the yokes of the men's arms in the precise be[illegible]

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shout *hi i i i* and are answered by the audience. The men start dancing alone and finish dancing alone. Dancers of the host sib begin their dance in the house and may sally out onto the plaza, an extension of the house, and then dance back in. Guests, on the other hand, begin their dance formation on the plaza, move into the house, and conclude on the plaza. 574 535 [614]

The Cubeo regard women as disruptive elements at a drinking party. They have cause to do so, since it is the women who are encouraged by the character of the dancing to make the overtures of flirtatiousness. Women choose their partners and men maintain an air of innocence. A woman's sexual forwardness goes beyond that. Young girls and many married women wear love charms in their hair at a drinking party. This is nothing more than a colorful blossom that declares that a woman would like to attract the interest of a man. The Indians themselves are not quite sure whether the blossom, which they call *chondú* (*pedidya* in Cubeo) has inherent qualities as a love charm—a serious woman has truly powerful love charms that she uses secretly—or is merely provocative symbolically. In any case a man cannot be blamed if *chondú* provokes him. The use of *chondú* adds intensity to the atmosphere of a drinking party as effectively as do chicha, coca, tobacco, *mihí*, and dancing. Whether or not *chondú* is an official ingredient it is hard to say. The men speak of it as a feminine provocation. Yet if one looks at the drinking party in its inevitable progression from calm to frenzy it seems that, whether it is an official ingredient or not, it fits. Just as the counterpoint of male and female is part of everyday community life, so the more intensely experienced counterpoint of male and female is exploited for its frenzy-producing quality. 574 562 832 [535]

A married woman should not wear *chondú*, but a man cannot stop his wife from displaying her interest in other men. He then excuses her by saying she does it only to look pretty and keeps a wary eye on his brother sib and phratry mates. For the unmarried girls *chondú* is formal wear, even though the only man whose eye it might catch is likely to be a sister's husband or a forbidden phratry mate. Curiously, unmarried girls are often even more provocative by not wearing *chondú*. This is arrogance that says, "I am not interested in the men here." A married woman may wear *chondú* only to tease her husband in a lighthearted way. Understanding this he is even delighted. She may do so, on the other hand, to irritate him. The rule of sober everyday life is to avoid quarrels and issues. The drinking party roils up feelings to the point where what has been latent erupts forcefully into the open. If emotional catharsis is a "function" 574 832 [593] [154]

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themselves with an exchange of vituperation. Brothers will defend one another, as well as sibmates, so that a quarrel is difficult to isolate. The men listen to the vituperation and, far from regarding what is said as meaningless drunken chatter, draw implications that may involve them. What began as a quarrel between only two men over one man's wife can become a maloca-wide brawl. Then the sibs taunt one another, each reviling the other's weaknesses and calling attention to its own strength. It may all come to nothing. A diplomatic elder calms tempers; the headmen remember their obligations to preserve the peace at drinking parties. Some disputants have enough sense of humor to laugh. It can all blow over quickly and will then have served as another way in which feelings are lightened, provided the sinister specter of sorcery has not been drawn in.

The following is an example of a quarrel at a drinking party. A man began to beat his wife because she was dancing too often with the same man. The latter remonstrated and soon he and the angry husband came to blows. The bystanders remarked that the husband's jealousy was unwarranted. Encouraged by these remarks, the woman's father got angry and attacked his son-in-law with his fists. The son-in-law did not defend himself, whereupon the old man calmed down and proceeded to explain to those present that his daughter's conduct was altogether proper. At this point the wife became enraged, and flinging herself upon her now pacified husband, pummeled him soundly on the back with her fists. Since he did not strike back her fury subsided and this incident blew over.

However, another young man who had been witnessing this violent flurry began in a tearful voice to inform his audience that his wife was having an affair with a phratry mate of his. He named the woman's lover, who was present, but for the moment said nothing. The accused's father, however, jumped quickly to his son's defense, shouting that the charges against his son were false. The jealous husband turned upon the old man and shouted at him angrily, "You are already an old man. It is time you were dead!" At this, the accused man rushed forward, livid with fury. In a hoarse voice he shouted to the assembly, "Did you hear? He is planning to kill my father." But the jealous husband was already beyond calming down. Instead he shouted back that the sib of the accused adulterer was weak and few in numbers, whereas his own sib was strong. With these ominous remarks this incident closed, for the time being. All felt that the outraged husband had gone too far. No further remarks

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were exchanged, but the two sibs did not invite one another to their drinking parties for the remainder of the season.

Sorcery is the great fear. All illness is attributed to sorcery and so are deaths that cannot be readily accounted for. When the drinking party is over and someone has become ill, the quarrels will be recalled and a phratry brother will be charged with sorcery. If the shaman bears out the allegation, the sib of the accused will not be invited to the drinking party of the afflicted sib. In the course of a ten-month stay on the Cuduiarí I have seen drinking parties go through a cycle from full participation by most of the sibs to dismal solitary affairs where subdued members of the sib drank with one another and a few friendly phratry mates from closely adjacent sibs. When the fear of sorcery begins to grow, accusations may strike within the sib and split it down the middle. Gradually confidence is restored, headmen begin to think again of large *unkúndye*, and step by step the scale of attendance mounts.

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765 534 114 769 [773] for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkũ*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 786 [154] The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual [536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate 765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, 266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion [775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the substance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presum- [614] ably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 562 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritual- [786] ized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 765 [776] The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaiwũ*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjiko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjiko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikū* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

765 534 769 [462]

## THE SIB UNITS

The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

765 614 [615] [754] [535]

## ORGANIZATION OF THE *ÓYNE*

As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur-

765 [182] [614] [615]

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765 182 ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, •614 and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disinte- [615] grate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point 765 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for pre- 614 paring a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and 532 for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is [203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will [533] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a [535] mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted [776] by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor 535 a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general 152 order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

## MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ÓYNE

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenádox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will announce the arrival of *Xudjiko* and her consort. Bearing their masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grandmother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grandmother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a framework to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the "grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occasionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the doorway with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will be used for making the *dúpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they represent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pendant, jaguar-tooth and aramadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy

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staff as a weapon. They pose with head bowed, both hands resting on the weapon. The chief mourner holds a rattle hung with a feather and eagle down in his right hand. He begins the formal oration, an angry declaration denouncing the unknown sorcerers who have killed his father. As he speaks, in a hoarse, changing voice, he swings the rattle in a vertical arc, pivoting on his left foot, facing one mourner and then the next. His gestures are vigorous and his pivot is crisply executed. He swings the rattle upward almost into the face of the mourner whom he is addressing. He has hardly completed the circle when each of the mourners, swinging his right arm in an arc, turns to a companion and recites a similar angry declaration. The companion to whom he turns also pivots to face him, awaiting his return to reply. This part of the ritual is executed as a ballet. The declaimer is poised with his right foot forward, waiting for his partner to pivot and face him, and not until the partner has executed his pivot does he begin his declaration. The headman, having initiated these hoarse and angry harangues, turns his attention to the ceremonial remains of the deceased. His head bowed, he gently shakes the rattle over them and utters a sad lament that he has lost a father. After an interval of angry shouting the mourners re-form the close circle, bow their heads, and weep. They pause to blow their noses, wiping their hands on the fringes of the masks that have been hung nearby.

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Other members of the sib are not part of this close mourning circle. They put on their masks and dance, circling the mourners. The *Xudjíko* trumpets are silent because they are sounded only by the men of the household of the deceased, who are now part of the circle of mourners. The mourning of the men signals the women to begin again their wailing, their piercing lamentations rising clearly above every other angry and mournful sound.

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This interval of mourning lasts some 15 minutes. The ceremonial property of the deceased is then removed and the men rest, drinking chicha and smoking. Dancing resumes after half an hour. At dawn the Jaguars cut off the brown bark-cloth trimmings from their jug trumpets and pass them among the men to chew. This will guard them, they say, against sorcery from their phratry mates, who will arrive as mourners late in the afternoon.

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Later in the morning the men put up crossbars to "guard" the women's entrance. After this *mihí* is prepared. A sibman staggers in with a bundle of the narcotic vine. *Mihí*, as always, is carried in the ritual manner, one of its features being a representation of great weight. The bearer bends low, raising his knees high, and circles the

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled 276
once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is
considered a great deal.

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The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already 532
been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A
completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the
last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies [276]
to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be [273]
lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits
not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also [574]
complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at
the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete
their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives.

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The first guests to arrive are the Satellites – members of the sib – 574
who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of [614]
the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional [431]
Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return
to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the
house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each 765
Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side 574
wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the
house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in 576
order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head.
Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his
side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly de-
livered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound
*ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is
brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not
look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoul-
der. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes
with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the
first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha
by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted
at the rear door by female hosts.

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While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing 574
the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat
for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, 789
since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *óyne* in particular, as
a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards 754
also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that character-
izes the early stages of the *óyne*.

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After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to 574

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765 After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to
574 complete the decorations on the masks they have brought and to ap-
[532] ply personal body decorations.
[302] The sibs of the phratry arrive in late afternoon. These later ar-
rivals are greeted by the hosts wearing dance masks. When they
765 sight their guests they sally out of the house dancing and singing in
574 a winding line around the front plaza. The guests respond by don-
535 ning their own masks and dance up the path, each pair of masked
614 dancers singing its own song. They mingle with the hosts. All com-
plete a circle about the dance plaza, the hosts dance into the house,
and the guests continue dancing outside.

765 Two Butterflies from among the guests approach the open door-
574 way. Each in turn strikes the side wall violently with his rattles. From
535 within Sloth and *Máuayo* thrust their long poles out at them and
"beat them off." The Butterflies rejoin the others. Suddenly all the
dancers rush the doorway and skirmish with the spirits within. Those
with staffs thrust them at the attackers or use them to ward off a
thrust. Those with rattles shake them violently. The "attack" is
noisy and spirited. Beaten off again, the attackers re-form their dance
line and dance to the rear of the house, seeking an entry through that
quarter. But here the doorway is blocked with crossbars and guarded
by Dung beetles, who thrust their long lances at the "attackers."
Again the attacking dancers retire and resume their dance at the
front of the house. After a while they take off their masks, hanging
the garments on poles that have been set for this purpose along the
front walls. Now, as humans, each strikes the side wall violently with
his staff and enters the house. This entry is ritualized. The men flit in
swiftly and silently on tiptoe, whispering *t t t i i i*, and circle the
ceremonial remains of the deceased.

The male hosts have formed themselves into an outer semicircle
facing the guest dancers. They lean on their staffs and look on grimly
[537] as the dancers complete the circle; then they whistle. At this the
dancers come to an abrupt halt in a semicircle facing the hosts and
launch into the orations already described. The speeches are short,
and the men change partners often, each moving out of position when
necessary, or leaning past a companion at his side. After a few minutes
the guests resume the flitting dance. They circle clockwise, whispering
*iii iii iii*, and having completed one circle, dance counterclock-
[622] wise and whistle. Alternating between clockwise and counter-
clockwise and whispering and whistling, they complete several circles
led by their headman, who carries a rattle in his right hand. Dur-
ing this dance only the host headman remains standing and facing
the dancers; the others retire to the benches set behind the dance

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## *Religion*

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. 771
Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, 776
fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekûpwänwa* and 787
*Kûwai* the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which specific results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious attitude must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of relations among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one neither commands, nor submits. People enter willingly into a relationship that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood. In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seek to establish a relationship with a supernatural being. 771 571 [787]

The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikû* they come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how- 771 769 [866] [765] [614]

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The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All the dead of the sibs of a river are joined together. While the individual spirit has his sib identity, the sibs do not exist in the afterlife as social entities. The *habóikü* of the dead is *Mavitcikori*, grandson of *Djurédo*, an Ancient of the *Órobawa* and of other high-ranking sibs such as the *Hehénewa*, who was the first headman at Uaracapuri. However, the Cubeo have no great interest in speculating about the life of the spirits of the dead, since, except for the Ancients, they have no formal relationship with them. With the dead, the point is to break the bonds, and for this reason alone Cubeo speculation about the spirits of the dead is at best a moderate one. I have already related the story of the woman who, having died and been buried, returned to her husband and pleaded with him to take her back. It is said that if the husband had accepted her she would really have come to life, but that because he drove her away people who die remain dead.

In Freudian theory, fear of the dead is a projection of ambivalent feelings toward the living. From this point of view one would have to assume, most incorrectly, that the Cubeo are markedly lacking in the ambivalences of love and hate. The Cubeo attitude of neutrality toward the spirits of the dead is due rather to the fact that they attribute almost all misfortune to active human agency. If one is to look for evidences of ambivalence in Cubeo feelings toward kin the proper source is in the imputation of sorcery and not in the attitudes toward ghosts.

## THE CONCEPT OF POWER

An important concern of all instrumental, as distinct from ethical, religions is power, the grasp of power and its control and manipulation. Power, to be sure, is valued for its direct application to common human interests in food, safety, and the overcoming of enemies, to name but a few, but it would be rash to underestimate the sheer attractiveness of power acquired and power used for its own sake. In Cubeo religious thought, too, power is both instrumental and compelling in its own right. In keeping with the moderate role of power in social and political life, however, the power theme in religion is a muted one. The Cubeo do not attribute to anyone, man or supernatural being, grandiose powers. If anything, the Cubeo are rather conscious of the limitations of power. We have seen this in how little power they attribute to the Ancients. *Kúwai* is a more telling illustration of the point, for this being ordinarily fails when he is truly manipulating power, while his successes are in the ordinary relations

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When the rains come the abdomen swells. After days of steady rain the swollen abdomen bursts.

*Yokaihye* (leaf poison) is reputed to be so poisonous a leaf that it is never touched with the bare hand. The leaf is boiled in water and allowed to dry. Its powder is wrapped in a leafy bag and dipped in any liquid to form an infusion. Some of this liquid spilled on the victim leaves a black spot that quickly disappears. Shortly thereafter the victim dies.

*Pothaiye* is a berry poison. Its extract is put in chicha or at the end of a stick if it is to be poked up the victim's nose when he is asleep. It causes a slow death by wasting.

*Dyóka* is a forest plant that kills only children but will sicken adults. A moist packet is allowed to drip over the forehead of the sleeping victim. There is said to be a remedy for this.

There are many other *ihé* products that were not identified to me by name. Some, from the end of a stick, are inserted into the nostrils of a sleeper. People who specialize in this are night wanderers called *parébohe abúhuwa* (very powerful *abúhuwa*). They can see in the dark and are difficult to observe. They lack specific motive for their deeds and may be regarded as male witches. It is these witches who are tortured by having their flesh torn with fishhooks – one tear for each victim – when they are caught.

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Another *ihé* product is *pená*, an ash that comes from a secret site

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Fig. 13. Petroglyph: *Kómi* playing the ancestral trumpet, Alligator (*Pedikwa* sib).

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121 count the concern is with the structure of relationships, that is, with the more fundamental principles and patterns of social behavior. In deriving such principles and patterns we are now ready to go beyond those elementary and very general theoretical doctrines according to which culture is an apparatus for satisfying basic human needs. By now this doctrine impresses us as both obvious and tautological. Cultural anthropology seeks a characterization of distinctive cultural types rather than a generalized characterization of Culture or Society. In its recognition of the distinctiveness of cultures, cultural anthropology is close to history in method and aim. In its search for general principles it is close to sociology. The proper route of cultural anthropology, therefore, lies somewhere between the poles of generality and of uniqueness. Thus, in the summation of principles and of patterns that I am about to present, my aim is to find a level of analytic abstraction that is specific enough to characterize and to identify the Cubeo and yet has enough generality to provide a basis for identifying the broader sociocultural type to which the Cubeo may belong. The justification for a level that is between the generalizing and the particularizing is that it offers promise of greater analytic refinement than a level at either pole. The problem is to move as closely as possible to the ultimate uniqueness of a cultural configuration without losing the capability for comparative study. After all, one can profitably move up the scale from the particular to the general, but there is no good way of moving down. The aim of the present analysis, therefore, is to depict what is specifically Cubeo and yet allow bases for two successively broader typological characterizations, namely, tropical forest economies of South America and "simple" horticultural economies in general.

## LINKAGE AND AUTONOMY

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With respect to social structure, the most fundamental Cubeo principle involves a relationship between the apparent opposites of linkage and of autonomy. That is to say, the Cubeo will find a way to assert their independence of each group of which they are a part. The clearest example of this principle is the relationship between phratry and sib. What this relationship brings out is not an antagonism between opposing principles of collectivism and of individualism but rather a complementarity. The phratry does not impede the autonomy of the sib. On the contrary, it fosters this autonomy. It does so by fostering a strong sense of sib identity; for the consciousness of sib identity is actually heightened by the enforced relationship of

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sibs with one another, particularly in ceremony. Since the phratry represents a fraternal federation, promoting peace and security, the political and economic autonomy of a small and therefore potentially weak segment encounters no additional external threat. Thus, as we have seen, the phratry, by providing a zone of peace and security, facilitates sib fission, which may be regarded as a still further development of autonomy. 571 614 615

For the Cubeo, autonomy and linkage are equally strong attractions, and I think it is fair to say that they cannot visualize one without the other, or one as stronger than the other. The compulsions to form and to proliferate linkages are balanced, so to speak, by provisions for maintaining the identity and the potential autonomy of each component segment. No linkage is established that will interfere with autonomy, and, in fact, many linkages are established for the purpose of providing greater autonomy. Ceremonial friendship is a case in point, illustrating the way in which a self-initiating and hence autonomous paired relationship grows out of and complements, as well as extends, patterned relationships that have traditionally been established by kinship and by sib membership. In viewing Cubeo social structure, one is inclined to suspect that when relationships have become too solidly established, a way is found to assert the autonomous complement of that relationship. The striking oscillation between phratric solidarity and sib isolationism observed in the drinking parties may perhaps also be attributed to this very strong Cubeo tendency to assert autonomy wherever collectivism looms large. We shall return to oscillation as another principle of Cubeo social structure. At this point, we may review the principal linkage-autonomy relationships that have been described for the Cubeo. The following relationships are included, going from the largest to the smallest segments and fragments of segments. 571 [572] [615] [614]

1. *Tribe-phratry.* This is not an actual but only a potential relationship, since the Cubeo tribe has virtually no structural significance. If the principle that we have described as to the nature of linkage-autonomy is correct, it would follow that if the tribe were ever activated as a sociopolitical entity, the phratries would emerge as even stronger entities. This, however, is only an academic speculation. More pertinent is the hypothesis that the Cubeo phratry is weak because it lacks a higher, a more collective, counterpart against which to assert itself. 571 615

2. *Sib-phratry.* In this relationship we see the classic statement of linkage-autonomy. The phratry as the collective entity heightens the significance of the sib as the autonomous counterpart. The implica- 571 614 [615]

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tion of this statement would be that the development of the sib organization out of perhaps some more amorphous form of patrilineal, patrilocal organization is to be attributed to the process of federation itself. That is to say, by confronting a series of equivalent segments, each segment undertakes to assert its own clear identity. A sib, after all, is a unilinear descent group that has undertaken to differentiate itself categorically from like groups by means of such obvious symbolic devices as a name, a common tradition, and a theory of common descent. In the absence of federation this process of categorical self-identification would probably not occur. The process of sib formation, as a consequence of federation, is alleged in this instance for the Cubeo only. It may, however, prove to be a more general process. Elsewhere in the tropical forest the clan organization (parallel to the Cubeo sib) is associated with moieties. The apparent exception of the Witotoans is in all probability simply a matter of incomplete information.

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3. *Independents and Satellites.* It is at this social level that the issues of linkage-autonomy can be most readily analyzed. From the standpoint of those who have removed themselves some distance from the sib, the issue is simply that of autonomy with its counterpart, a circumspectly defined linkage to the main body of the sib. The issue of autonomy arises specifically in relation to the authority of the headman, limited though such authority may be. The Satellites and Independents do not disengage themselves from the sib; they are content simply to assert their autonomously considered degree of independence from the headman. The differentiated form of the Satellite and Independent house may be a practical expedient for building a small house. Nevertheless, it does illustrate graphically the point of linkage-autonomy, since the square house, as has been demonstrated, does not meet the requirements for total autonomy with respect to sib functions.

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4. *Sib-household.* The household, as has been demonstrated, has its clearly defined zone of autonomy. It has its own compartment in the maloca; it prepares its own food; it has its own manioc plantation; and it contributes its identified share of the chicha to both intrasib and intersib drinking parties. No one who has lived any time at all among the Cubeo can fail to be acutely aware of the assertion of autonomy, within the context of linkage, of each household. A sib-lineage and a lineage-household relationship along the linkage-autonomy gradient did not emerge clearly enough in my study to be included in this discussion.

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5. *Patrilocal household–wife.* The demand of a newly wed wife for

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband. 592 571 [593] [606]

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack. 571 561

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart. 571 592

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their 571 614 615 621 571 621 [622] [856] [769] [553]

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571 (621) main emphasis upon the person and not upon the community. Such an emphasis, needless to say, tends to favor autonomy over linkage.

It is evident that the foregoing discussion of linkage-autonomy is in many respects simply a restatement of the familiar concept of segmentation. There are, however, significant differences that justify the use of other terminology. Segmentation as defined by Nadel (1953, p. 177) refers to a more limited set of relationships than have been included here. As an example of segment he describes a "hierarchical structure being arranged in an order of progressive inclusiveness, as lineages, for example, build up clans, and clans build up a tribe, or as several village communities form a district, and several districts the state. . . ." From the standpoint of this definition, Cubeo society is, of course, segmentary. The concept of segmentation, however, is purely objective, and as such is pertinent to the purposes of social anthropology. However, the term "segmentation" carries no cultural connotations, since it does not define the point of view of the members of the culture. Therefore it is inadequate for the aims of cultural anthropology. The concept of linkage-autonomy, on the other hand, expresses a cultural, a Cubeo, point of view and indicates how this point of view is embodied in social structure. This Cubeo point of view, which places a value both upon extending relationships and maintaining autonomy, goes beyond the structural patterns that are commonly included under the concepts of segmentation. It is a more inclusive concept.

## LATERAL AND HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS

All social structures are regulated by bonds of relatively equivalent status relationships, as well as by bonds of nonequivalent or unequal status relationships. The former, existing on roughly the same social plane, are called lateral, and the latter, existing on different social planes, are called hierarchical. Hierarchy is always a culturally defined term and represents a clear-cut distinction of relative worth. Lateral is also a culturally defined term, but laterality is not a clearly set relationship of status equivalence. Hence it must be modified by the adjective "relative." The ranking of sibs is a clear example of hierarchy among the Cubeo, whereas kinship relations, including ceremonial friendships, are lateral. However, since kinship relations also embody formal principles of hierarchy, such as generation, seniority, consanguinity, and affinity they are lateral only by contrast with the strongly hierarchical distinctions of authority, power, pres-

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tige, and rank. Societies differ with respect to the relative role these two principles have in the social structure. That of the Cubeo is very strongly lateral and only weakly hierarchical. Even the ranking of sibs has ritualistic rather than political significance. Rank confers prestige but no power. On the other hand, it does confer economic privilege of a sort by granting to the high ranks superior river rights. But the Cubeo themselves do not make an issue of this economic distinction. Political authority, as we have shown, is relatively slight. In kinship, age, generational, and descent seniority elicit some respect and provide for ritual precedence. Such precedence is a prestige point. But the prestige accrues less in everyday affairs than upon formal occasions. Thus, from the Cubeo point of view virtually all relationships between persons and between groups are lacking in dominance-subordination, whereas only in rituals, that is, only upon the plane of the sacred, are there distinctions of worth and of respect. Even these are rather minor, involving only ritual precedence. The ritual pattern itself is not hierarchical. Now segmentation, as Nadel has observed, is a hierarchical form of organization, yet in the case of the Cubeo, segmental hierarchy has little cultural significance. Since the phratry has no organization of leadership it is not, in actuality, a "higher" segment. For all secular purposes the sibs deal with one another as equals.

The principal characteristic of a strong lateral structure, such as that of the Cubeo, is its considerable flexibility in forming new linkages and in rearranging old ones. Hierarchical structures, on the other hand, are dependent upon, or subject to, the authority of a higher-ranking segment. The new linkages that any Cubeo household is free to establish are limited far more by personal preferences than by inviolable principles. Sib exogamy is such an inviolable principle, but phratric exogamy is somewhat different. It involves not the "dread" of incest but rather the sentiment of confraternity. Cubeo flexibility responds to the absence of political constraint. Sibs can move about, and can, if they wish, change phratric affiliation.

## FISSILITY

From the two preceding principles of sociocultural structure there follows a third, ease of fission. Every segment of the entire social structure has the capability of detaching itself from the larger body. The factions that have actually broken off include sib clusters, sibs,

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621 households, and individuals. Fission is an objective social process, a by-product of Cubeo cultural principles of autonomy and social equality. It is promoted, as well, by another cultural principle that we have not yet discussed. That principle I would describe as a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. That is to say, in the absence of political constraint and of economic necessity the Cubeo find it easier to leave an uncomfortable situation than to endure it.

## PERIODICITY

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614 Since the sibs join together on the basis of linkage-autonomy and upon lateral rather than hierarchical lines, some loosening of bonds
(574) would seem to be inevitable. The periodicity in drinking parties is the only measure we have of changes in the strength of attachment of sib bonds. These parties, we have noted, follow a cycle starting from full attendance and a very high state of mutual confidence and ending in a series of parties that are poorly attended and are conducted in an atmosphere that is dismal and heavy with distrust. Eventually confidence is restored and a new cycle begins. The period from high to low runs about one year. Periodicity is not a cultural principle; it is a consequence of several other cultural principles. As already suggested, linkage-autonomy and lateralization play a part in this periodicity because they allow relationships to find a "natural" level. That is to say, there is no formal authority that can step in to restore good relations when the social climate has been poisoned by
[621] drunken quarrels and by accusations of sorcery. Periodicity is perhaps
[615] to be regarded as an incomplete form of fission at the level of the phratry. Since the phratry is a stronger exponent of autonomy than is the sib, it develops only a few of the pressures that might lead to actual fission. As for other principles of Cubeo culture involved in the periodicity of sib bonds, we have already mentioned the low tol-
571 erance for psychic discomfort, and have described its relevance to
152 fission of the sib. In the context of the drinking party, and indeed in the context of all collective activities, this principle can be stated in still another way: that collectivity demands its appropriate atmosphere of good feeling. We have seen this principle strongly at work in the mourning ceremony, where the atmosphere of grief, grimness, hostility, suspicion, and fear is systematically and ritually trans-
[578] formed to one of excitement and gaiety. We have also observed that the Cubeo do not harbor grudges for long. When a feeling begins to subside they allow it to subside. When a more neutral atmosphere forms, a new cycle of good feeling can begin.

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562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 The second most important area in which polarity-complementar-
796 ity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvi-
152 ous distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage
571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly
765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the
614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine
152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihi*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib
[615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The significance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that,
152 as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context
571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel
574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib
614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moder-
273 ate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who
574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and
273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no
562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual
152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

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The relationship between the patterns of calm-frenzy and linkage-autonomy appears also in the juridical area. Here, as we observed, justice is carried out not in an atmosphere of calm deliberation but in an atmosphere of high excitement, as befits a situation in which the collectivity of the sib has been broken both by commission of the crime and by the act of expelling the offender. The juridical is not a ritual area. The example, however, demonstrates the continuity of ritual polarity-complementarity with a more general patterning of mood.

## PATTERNING OF MOOD

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The point has been made repeatedly that the Cubeo will undertake no significant action unless the mood is appropriate. The previous example of the juridical process is illustrative. Punishment or vengeance must correspond with appropriate anger. Ritual acts and dances are omitted when the mood is wrong. All collective enterprises of the sib, such as hunting, fishing, foraging, and housebuilding, require a mood of geniality. When such a mood begins to break, a fairly rapid chain reaction ensues. The sense of collectivity weakens and this, in turn, darkens the mood. This cycle of mood periodicity has been discussed in the context of the drinking party. In a different context it applies to other major collective efforts such as housebuilding, which also follows a cyclical rhythm of spurts of work alternating with lulls. The fishing cycle is still another example of Cubeo dependence on mood.

## OVER-ALL PATTERN

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Some examples of linkage of smaller patterns have been presented to suggest at least the possibility of describing Cubeo society in some broader and more inclusive terms. The problem, however, is that the concept of pattern is a hypothetical construction based upon calling of attention to analogies or parallelisms. The method of pattern construction is largely intuitive and the demonstration of its validity is largely a matter of presenting a credible argument. Despite these self-evident scientific shortcomings there can be little doubt that the presentation or analysis of a culture without the concept of pattern must involve a serious distortion of reality. The aim of a theoretical construction that would present a culture in terms of over-all pattern is to provide appropriate bases for a more sophisticated culture typology than anthropology presently possesses. Pattern need

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121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-
[428] complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
• 614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

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571 619 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 606 607 593 [583] [616] [582] [614] Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geographic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 615 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest. 571 614 578 [615] [754] Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

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safeguards sib solidarity. On the other hand, when the disputants are of different sibs it is relatively easy for the issue to embroil the sibs as entities and correspondingly difficult to confine the issue to the actual principals. The fiction of phratric consanguinity notwithstanding, the sib is still, in Cubeo thought, a natural unit that holds within itself the constant potentiality of antagonism toward the fellow sib. The fact that each sib arrives at a drinking party or other ceremony armed and as a unit is the symbolic expression of latent antagonism. The ritual theme of dissolving the semblance of sib unity through intoxication is presumably counteractive to sib solidarity and antagonism. Yet this counteraction via intoxication contains the paradox of bringing the undercurrents of antagonism to the surface. To be sure, when a quarrel occurs in the late stages of a drinking party it often is isolated because the other sibmen may not be fully aware of what is going on. The safety device does work, to a degree and for a time. Moreover, some men are known to be quarrelsome by temperament and are consequently ignored. Granted all these mitigating circumstances, it is easy for a man to involve his own sib in a dispute with another. When illness and death occur, one conclusion is inevitable. That is found in the expression "*they* want *us* to die." This theme recurs in the funeral orations. Perhaps it is because the Cubeo sibs have a history of separate though related origins and a tradition of past antagonisms that present-day intersib hostility can flare, and is expected to flare, even though the issues that disturb them are, at bottom, trifling. However, in conformity with the minor nature of the disputes is the absence, in recent times, of intersib warfare. The disputes result in coolness and social distance and not in organized fighting. In summary, phratric unity is readily disturbed but never very seriously. It is restored by the process described under "Periodicity." It is because the issues are not irreconcilable that the social "governor" that restores peace by separation can work so well

The orbit of the sib has the same general form as the orbit of the phratry, with the formal difference that the sib has a leader whereas the phratry has no leadership at all. In the sib, moreover, all the ties are substantially firmer than in the phratry. Since the cultural view holds that sib unity is a natural expectation and since there are no important issues dividing sibmates, we are faced with a truly difficult theoretical problem in accounting for sib fission. The common explanation, that fission of local groups in simple societies is due simply to insufficiency of food in the immediate locality, does not apply to the Cubeo, who, at least in modern times – a period of population decline – are not confronted by land shortage. There is, in

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571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
[578] Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a com-
[182] plex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen together. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo
[257] culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken — and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the preva-
578 lence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordi-
831 narily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship?
837 Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
[562] discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

578 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
571 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
837 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
593 acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
[562] status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional
[554] cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

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Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry
the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. 571
The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict 578
that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pa- 614
thology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized 154
and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly re-
sentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to
exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these stand-
ards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are
unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a
brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a
more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its 571
natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in 614
Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. 578
That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indi-
cated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between
brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal
with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the [622]
prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punish-
ments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only [627]
with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either
soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the diffi-
culty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The [626]
function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to
ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to
overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the
issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be
restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not
an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib
fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, com-
posed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or
with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by drain-
ing away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the
disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves
in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse senti-
ment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well [622]
equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood 571
brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. 614
The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. 593
this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is 621
spotted with social "ions," free-floating men who, with their wives

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571 614 593 621 and children, circulate from community to community attaching themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual autonomy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low tolerance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

121 571 Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalancing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest suggestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance. On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical grounds for any perspective other than the sociological. [619] [615]

121 174 The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural. It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cubeo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honorific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further social and political development. Though the phratric organization is largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through political and economic means. Some of the potential political means are already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolution, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of patterns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of [614] [615] [648]

551 nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 752 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the [123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly un- 753 concerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of [123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con- 756 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on 123 whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*. [775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

114 [101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

[124] [614] [615]

615 361 197 619 615 571 574 [601] [101] As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the correspondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

615 197 124 114 [124]

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[197]
(615)

/124/ All the native terms that appear in this study are in the Tukana language, an idiom that the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry speaks.

I wish to express my thanks to Professor Segundo Bernal Villa for his valuable observations on the organization of the present work.

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## Abbreviations Used for the Kinship Terms

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| f | = | father | ol | = | older |
| m | = | mother | yg | = | younger |
| so | = | son | si | = | sibling |
| da | = | daughter | -o- | = | of, of the /masc./, of the /fem./ |
| br | = | brother | (M) | = | male Ego |
| sis | = | sister | (F) | = | female Ego |
| sp | = | spouse | (V) | = | vocative |
| | | | (R) | = | reference |

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## Kinship Terms

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| f | Pajké | (M-F) | (V) |
| f | Yeé Pajké | (M-F) | (R) |
| m | Maú | (M-F) | (V) |
| m | Yeé Pajkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| so | Majké | (M-F) | (V) |
| so | Yeé Majké | (M-F) | (R) |
| da | Majkó | (M-F) | (V) |
| da | Yeé Majkó | (M-F) | (R) |
| ol-br | Mamí | (M-F) | (V) |
| ol-br | Yeé Mamí | (M-F) | (R) |
| yg-br | Nijiá | (M-F) | (V) |
| yg-br | Yeé Kabí | (M-F) | (R) |
| ol-sis | Mamió | (M-F) | (V) |
| ol-sis | Yeé Mamió | (M-F) | (R) |
| yg-sis | Numió | (M-F) | (V) |
| yg-sis | Yeé Kabió | (M-F) | (R) |
| f-br | Mé | (M) | (V) |

*601 /145 cont./

According to Kinship -- Cross cousins and parallel cousins are distinguished. No distinction is made between real brothers and parallel cousins. In the second ascending generation, the relationship is not differentiated between grandfathers and grandmothers, with the exception of the sister of the father of the father or Ego, who is designated with an isolating term. In the second descending generation, the relationship that Ego might have with his grandsons and granddaughters is not differentiated, be they real or classificatory. There are new kinship terms to designate relatives who do not follow the canon of marriage between cross cousins with the interchange of brother with sister.

/146/ According to the state of life -- There is no distinct term to designate a relative according to the state of life of the person who connects or relates by marriage this relative with Ego. Nor are different terms used to designate deceased relatives. To express the state of death of a relative, the terms Mijí (dead - masculine gender) and Mejeó (dead - feminine gender) are added to the kinship terms with which the relatives were denominated in reference (R) while they lived. Thus, for example, Yeé Mamí Mijí (my dead older brother), Páre Majkó Mejeó (the dead daughter of my brother), etc.

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## PHRATRIES AND SIBS

Five phratries are found among the Tukanos:

1) Yepá Bajuári Majsá.
2) Miriápura Diára Majsá.
3) Ñujkuá Diára Majsá. [614]
4) Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.
5) Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Each one of these phratries is divided into an extensive number of sibs.

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[361]
[197]

## YEPA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs belonging to this phratry are located on the Paca, Papurí /Papury/ and Tiquié rivers, and on the Vaupés /Uaupés/ River from the stream of Umarí to the confluence of the Vaupés River with the Río Negro. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Tukano. The sibs that form this phratry can be divided into two artificial groups that correspond to patterns of kinship and are the following:

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LIST "A"

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Yúpuri Baúro | (B) | (1) | (2) Yepára Oakajpeá | (+) | (2) |
| (3) Yepára Oyé | (B) | | (4) Yepára Suí | (C) | (3) |

1. The B in front /sic/ of the name of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Brazilian territory.

2. The + in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib has disappeared.

3. The C in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Colombian territory.

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (5) Bejsémi Kuiseré | (C) | (6) Ajúsiro Sóbaro | (B) |
| (7) Suí Makúpi | (C) | (8) Ajkíto Ñetedejká | (C) |
| (9) Kemáru Isiadejpuá | (+) | (10) Yúpuri Pamó | (B) |
| (11) Yepára Merú | (C) | (12) Yúpuri Uajsóro Marí | (C) |
| (13) Sérvi Bojsé | (C) | (14) Doétiro Mimisipé | (C) |
| (15) Ajkíto Patíro | (C) | (16) Kemáru Kukú | (C) |
| (17) Urémiri Sióropo Bayá | (B) | (18) Urémiri Sáraro | (C) |
| (19) Parisí | (B) | (20) Yúpuri Búbera | (B) |
| (21) Ajúsiro Merí | (B) | (22) Ñajóri Dipé | (B) |
| (23) Yáitoro | (C) | (24) Urémiri Sakuró | (C) |
| (25) Buú Púra | (B) | (26) Suí Amoperí | (B) |
| (27) Ajúsiro Túro | (B) | (28) Arú Perí | (B) |

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*601 614 (7) The sons of Yúpuri Baúro call the sister of Suí Ajpuékeri: Uaméu. The sons of Suí Ajpuékeri call the sister of Yúpuri Baúro: Uaméu.
Etc.

Examples of kinship terms used among the components of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mé.
(2) Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Meké.
(3) The son of Umu Sasí calls the son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá, since Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the son of Umu Sasí: Mamí, since Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates Umu Sasí: Mamí.
(5) Umu Sasí calls the daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Majkó. Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the daughter of Umu Sasí: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mengué. The daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls Umu Sasí: Mengué.
(7) The sons of Umu Sasí call the sister of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Uaméu. The sons of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu call the sister of Umu Sasí: Uaméu.

Examples of kinship terms used between the Component Sibs of LIST "A" and the Component Sibs of LIST "B."

(1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Yúpuri Baúro: Meké, since the father of Yúpuri Baúro and the son of Umu Sasí are siblings.
(2) Yúpuri Baúro denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Mé.
(3) The son of Yúpuri Baúro calls the son of Umu Sasí: Pajké-Ró.
(4) The son of Umu Sasí denominates the son of Yúpuri Baúro: Yeé Párame.

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## MIRIAPURA DIARA MAJSA

614 [615] [361] [197] The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Pirá-paraná, Apaporis, Cananarí, and Tuy. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Carapaná. It consists of the following sibs:

*539 /367 cont./
or tobacco or manioc. All that I had I gave to Miriápura Turíkaro, but, since you did wrong, all that is now lost. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, is going to give you the seeds of manioc, coca, and tobacco. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, will give two little sticks to your woman (woman of Yúpuri Baúro). These little sticks will be as though stained with blood. I tell you this so that you will know. When your woman feels a blow on her body (32), it is because Yepá Uejkeó is coming with the seed.

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32. According to the informant, the shaman also feels a blow on his body every time travelers arrive at a maloca.

Your woman must go immediately to the port of Diawí, and you must order all your Pamúri Majsá to turn around and look toward the back door of Diawí, all lying in their own hammocks. If you do not pay attention to me this time, you will lose the manioc seed again, just as you lost the Bajséboperi the last time. All the natives the Vaupés are like animals. Someday I will send you chickens, dogs, and pigs so that you can compare yourselves with them. I am cursing you. Look at the group of the Ereya (33) and at the group of Siópuri Uejké (34). They really

33. Brazilians.

34. Colombians.

are good people. /368/ They have their own chiefs and they pay attention to their chiefs. They truly obey me. Go into the maloca of Diawí." And Yepá Huáke disappeared. Yúpuri Baúro entered Diawí, and there he ordered that all the Pamúri Majsá turn to look toward the back door. And all of the Pamúri Majsá obeyed. And they obeyed Yúpuri Baúro because formerly the Tukano /Tucano/ were very respectful. And formerly Yúpuri Baúro could strike Yepára Oakajpeá (35), and Yepára

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[614]

35. In the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry.

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/368 cont./

Yepára Oakajpeá forms the sib immediately inferior to that of Yúpuri Baúro.

Oakajpeá had to bear it. All the Mamí could strike their Nijiá (36) this way, and the Nijiá had to bear it. But since the

36. The older brothers could strike their younger brothers.

whites arrived at the Vaupés, the Tukano have become disrespectful.

As soon as she felt the blow on her body, the woman of Yúpuri Baúro went to the port of Diawí to receive Yepá Uejkeó. And as soon as the woman of Yúpuri Baúro arrived at the port of Diawí, Yepá Uejkeó, accompanied by three more women called Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá, came upstream.

When Yepá Huáke had gone down to Diawí to speak with Yúpuri Baúro, Yepá Huáke had burned, as if by a miracle, a garden behind Diawí.

Yepá Uejkeó and Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá arrived at the port of Diawí. The woman of Yúpuri Baúro received them very politely. Each of the four women brought a stalk of manioc, only they did not give the stalks of manioc to the woman of Yúpuri Baúro, but rather they went to the garden that Yepá Huáke had burned. They went around the maloca of Diawí so that the Pamúri Majsá would not see them. When they arrived at the garden, Yepá Uejkeó stood amidst the Dejkepaég Majsá Numiá and told the woman of Yúpuri Baúro to stand back a bit and to give great care and attention to what they were going to do. The stalk of the manioc seed that Yepá Uejkeó held was called Mejká Diáran Dejké. Then Yepá Uejkeó said, throwing her stalk of manioc: "You go here, in the middle, Mejká Diáran Dejké." Then one of the Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk, saying: "Batiá Dejké, you go on the right side." Then another of the Dejkepaég Majsá Numió threw her stalk, saying:

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601 /151 cont./
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(7) The sons of Mumiá Pajkáre denominate the sister of Séra Majsé: Uaméu. The sons of Séra Majsé denominate the sister of Mumiá Pajkáre: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Yajuána denominates Mumiá Pajkáre: Mekê, since the father of Mumiá Pajkáre and the son of Yajuána are siblings.

(9) Mumiá Pajkáre calls the son of Yajuána: Mé.

(10) The son of Mumiá Pajkáre denominates the son of Yajuána: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Yajuána calls the son of Mumiá Pajkáre: Yeé Párame.

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•[615]
[361]
[197]

## ÑUJKUA DIARA MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located at the headwaters of the Tiquié River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Barasano. It consists of the following sibs:

(1) Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé – Bará Majsé (C)
(2) Buajá Ñajkoroá (C) (3) Ñujkuá (C)
(4) Uamúta Ñárague (C) (5) Uamúta Dáyaroague (C)

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Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Ñujkuá Diára Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-4), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (4-1), the last one calls the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 4 denominate 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 5 (Uamúta Dáyaroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-4): Yeé Párame.

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[361]

[197]

MIRIAPURA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Isana, Querarí, Surubí, and Uainía. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Maniva. It consists of the following sibs:

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Bejkári | (C) | (2) Mijpiágue | (C) |
| (3) Mijpiá Diára | (C) | (4) Majkápiro Púra | (C) |
| (5) Borékearo | (C) | (6) Petároague | (C) |
| (7) Majároague | (C) | | |

*601 614

Kinship Terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-6), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (6-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 6 denominate 7 (Majároague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Majároague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-6): Yeé Párame.

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mé.
(2) Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Meké.
(3) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Petároague: Nijiá, since Bejkári denominates Petároague: Nijiá.
(4) The son of Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Mamí, since Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mamí.
(5) Bejkári denominates the daughter of Petároague: Majkó. Petároague calls the daughter of Bejkári: Majkó.
(6) The daughter of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mengué. The daughter of Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mengué.

*601 614 /153 cont./

(7) The sons of Bejkári denominate the sister of Petároague: Uaméu. The sons of Petároague denominate the sister of Bejkári: Uaméu.

(8) The son of Majároague denominates Bejkári: Meké, since the father of Bejkári and the son of Majároague are siblings.

(9) Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Mé.

(10) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Majároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Yeé Párame.

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614 [615] [361] [197]

## EMEKO BAJUARI MAJSA

The component sibs of this phratry are located on the Vaupés River between the hamlet of Urania and a little above the place where the Yí River empties into the Vaupés River, and on all of the Cuduiarí River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Cubeo. It consists of the following sibs:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Utíwiague | (C) | (2) Socóro Páramero | (C) |
| (3) Biá Déroague | (C) | (4) Purí Máriroague | (C) |
| (5) Aúwuewague | (C) | (6) Uejsári Téroague | (C) |

*601 614 Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-5), the first one denominates the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one denominates the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijiá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (5-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 5 denominate 6 (Uejsári Téroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Uejsári Téroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-5): Yeé Párame.

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Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuári Majsá phratry.

(1) The son of Utíwiague denominates Aúwuewague: Mé.

(2) Aúwuewague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Meké.

(3) The son of Utíwiague denominates the son of Aúwuewague: Nijiá, since Utíwiague calls Aúwuewague: Nijiá.

(4) The son of Aúwuewague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Mamí, since Aúwuewague calls Utíwiague: Mamí.

(5) Utíwiague denominates the daughter of Aúwuewague: Majkó. Aúwuewague calls the daughter of Utíwiague: Majkó.

(6) The daughter of Utíwiague denominates Aúwuewague: Mengué. The daughter of Aúwuewague calls Utíwiague: Mengué.

(7) The sons of Utíwiague call the sister of Aúwuewague: Uaméu. The sons of Aúwuewague denominate the sister of Utíwiague: Uaméu.

/155/(8) The son of Uejsári Téroague denominates Utíwiague: Meké, since the father of Utíwiague and the son of Uejsári Téroague are siblings.

(9) Utíwiague denominates the son of Uejsári Téroague: Mé.

(10) The son of Utíwiague calls the son of Uejsári Téroague: Pajké-Ró.

(11) The son of Uejsári Téroague denominates the son of Utíwiague: Yeé Párame.

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KINSHIP TERMS USED AMONG THE COMPONENT SIBS OF THE FIVE PHRATRIES THAT FORM THE YEPA MAJSA TRIBE

Kinship terms used between the phratries: Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Miriápura Diára Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Miriápura Diára Majsá

LIST "A"
Yúpuri Baúro
Yepára Oakajpeá
Yepára Oyé
denominate with the term Nijiá from Mumiá Pajkáre to Séra Majsé

*
601 /155 cont./
614 Yepára Suí
615 to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Mamí from
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Duriá Pajkáre

Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Duriá Dayágue
to
Séra Majsé

/156/
Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Yajuána

Yepá Bajuári Majsá Miriápura Diára Majsá

LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Yajuána

*601 /156 cont./
614 Kinship Terms Used between the Phratries:
• 615 Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

LIST "A"
Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Uamúta Dáyaroague

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá
/157/
LIST "B"
Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Uamúta Dáyaroague

* 601 /157 cont./
614 Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
• 615 Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

LIST "A"

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Yepára Oyé
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Mamí

Bejkári
and
Mijpiágue

Yepára Suí
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Mijpiá Diára
to
Petároague

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Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Majároague

*601 /158 cont./
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Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá

Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Yepá Bajuári Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

LIST "A"

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Nijiá

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Yúpuri Baúro
to
Bujpuá Púra
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

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Yepá Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

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LIST "B"

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Yeé Párame from
Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Umu Sasí
to
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu
denominate with the term Nijiá
Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Ñujkuá Diára Majsá.

Miriápura Diára Majsá — Ñujkuá Diára Majsá

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Nijiá from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró
Uamúta Dáyaroague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague

*601 /159 cont./
614 Yajuána
●615 denominates with the term Nijiá

Uamúta Dáyaroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.
/160/

Miriápura Diára Majsá — Miriápura Bajuári Majsá

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Duriá Pajkáre
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Duriá Dayágue
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Mamí

Bejkári

Duriá Dayágue
to
Paréroa
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Mijpiágue
to
Petároague

Eruria
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Mamí

Mijpiágue
and
Mijpiá Diára

*
601 /160 cont./
614 Eruria
to
●615 Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Majkápiro Púra
to
Petároague

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Majároague

/161/
Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Nijiá

Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Diára Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.
Miriápura Diára Majsá Emeko Bajuári Majsá
Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Mumiá Pajkáre
to
Séra Majsé
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

*601
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/161 cont./
Yajuána
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Yajuána
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Ñujkuá Diára Majsá and Miriápura Bajuári Majsá.
Ñujkuá Diára Majsá Miriápura Bajuári Majsá
Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Mamí from
/162/

Bejkári
to
Mijpiá Diára

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Majkápiro Púra
to
Petároague

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Majároague

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Bejkári
to
Petároague

*601
614
615

/162 cont./

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Majároague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Ñujkuá Diára Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Ñujkuá Diára Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Miriápuri Bajuári Majsé-Bará Majsé
to
Uamúta Ñárague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

/163/

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Uamúta Dáyaroague
denominates with the term Nijiá

Uejsári Téroague

Kinship Terms used between the Phratries:
Miriápura Bajuári Majsá and Emeko Bajuári Majsá.

Miriápura Bajuári Majsá — Emeko Bajuári Majsá

Bejkári
to
Petároague
denominate with the term Nijiá from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

*
601 /163 cont./
614 Bejkári
to
●615 Petároague
denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejsári Téroague

Majároague
denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utíwiague
to
Aúwuewague

Majároague
denominates with the term Nijiá

614 Uejsári Téroague

SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that
614 have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of
554 the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijiá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijiá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

582 One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana cul-
[583] ture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two
595 Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of
614 marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with
615 sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing
177 among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture.
587 The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary.
611 Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming ex-
591 tended patrilineal families.
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Among the components of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry all these models of social structure are disappearing. Today it is very rare to find among the members of this phratry marriages between cross cousins, and there have appeared, with this social dislocation, new kinship terms that correspond to the new patterns of marriage and kinship. It would be interesting to see to what point the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry varies from the other Tukana phratries, but so far it has been impossible to undertake this work.

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Nimuendajú, in a report published in 1950, independently identified the social organizations of the Vaupés River as patrilineal sibs, and more recently a young Colombian anthropologist, Marcos Fulop (1954), described a patrilineal sib organization with a phratric grouping among the Tucano Indians. Work on the patrilineal Yagua and the Tucuna was also done after 1940. Before 1940 Kirchoff (1931), using the then best available information, had incorrectly characterized the Northwest Amazon region as based upon bilateral kin-groups that favored patrilocal residence. 121 [614] [615]

If we are to conceive of the Northwest Amazon as a geographic region then the Macú must also be included. Macú is a catchall name for very simple nonhorticultural peoples whose center seems to be the Rio Negro but who have been moving westward into the Vaupés-Caquetá area (Métraux, 1948). There they have either been assimilated in the Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking tribes or have lived among these more powerful tribes as servants or "slaves" or in some other symbiotic relationship. The *Bahúkuna* sibs of the Cubeo acknowledgest Macú ancestry and may well have been, as Koch-Grünberg has claimed, one of the assimilated Macú groups. The Macú are shorter in stature than the other Indians in the region. They lack fixed residences, the hammock, and the canoe. If the Macú languages are truly, as Greenberg (1960) has suggested, Macro-Tucanoan, they are not an altogether alien group among their more culturally advanced neighbors. The Macú, however, have not been studied at all so that we do not know whether they are to be considered a remnant of very early nonhorticulturists or as uprooted people who had given up farming. The tropical forest has a number of examples of the latter case. *Bahúkuna* traditions, on the other hand, refer to a prehorticultural period. [614] [174]

Since our knowledge of the tribes of the entire Northwest Amazon drainage, including the basin of the Rio Negro, is so slight, too much importance cannot be attached to "Northwest Amazon" as a subculture type. However, the entire Northwest Amazon region, which includes an area somewhat greater than the cultural area designated in the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward, 1948), has unusual potential interest, potential in the sense that the ethnological problems it poses can become real only after further field work has clarified the state of cultural patterns and cultural institutions there. This northwest quadrant of the Amazon Basin is open to the entire lower Amazon and has, at the same time, contact with the eastern margins of Andean cultures as well as with the southern margins of the Circum-Caribbean cultures. That is to say, on its northern and western flanks it is subject to influences from more highly developed

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61 *pamiwa* or a *pudnwa*. The group of exogamous sibs that form a phratry are spoken of as *kwindwũ*, *ünhiwũ*, or *kwindnoknuwũ*, all terms with the general meaning of "one kinfolk" or "the same kinfolk." However, I have also heard the expression *nuhénokauwũ* (my own kinfolk) used to refer to both tribe and phratry.

61 If tribal designation is vague, the native concept of tribe is only a little more definite. Tribe refers more or less to a common identity of language, descent, and custom. One of the Cubeo phratries was, in fact, once Arawakan. To become tribesmen they adopted the language, customs, and traditions of the Cubeo. Other sibs appear to have been at one time Macú as well as sections of the Tucano "tribe."

614 There are no formal bonds of tribe and there is no acknowledgment of tribal overlordship. Cubeo social structure is segmentary, the patrilineal sib being the basic segment. Every sib has established relationships with other sibs to regulate marriage, ceremonial participation, friendships, and hospitality along traditional lines, but also to some degree along lines that suit its own particular interests.

615 The phratry is a more sharply defined and a far more important
614 social aggregate than tribe. A phratry is a confederation of sibs that are closely bound by rules of exogamy, by common residence along the same river, by a tradition of common origin and descent, by a graded order of rank that assigns to each sib its place in a social hierarchy, and, finally, by a series of ceremonies, solemn as well as secular, such as drinking parties at which each sib entertains its fellow sibs. Withal, there is no phratric overlordship; no phratric council or other agency to consider policy for the phratry as a whole.

What gives a phratry cohesiveness is the pattern of relations that the individual sibs, each acting individually, have formed with one another. The most important of these relationships is the rule of exogamy. By adhering to a rule of exogamy the sibs regard themselves as "brothers," for fraternity is based on the kinship principle that brothers cooperate and share the same rules of exogamy. Most sibs in a phratry have been joined together from the traditional beginnings or the time of first emergence, others are newcomers who have been adopted into the cofraternity of sibs. Adoption is the prerogative of an individual sib. A sib adopts an alien group as a subsib and automatically gives it a place and rank in the phratry. The phratry is no homogeneous federation of fraternal sibs. It is differentiated by rank, by historic background, and by geography. Sibs of the same historic background and of similar rank who are neighbors on the river feel closer to one another and form, therefore, an unofficial but still evident inner circle. Normally, rank, historic background, and propin-

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quity coincide and so the informal clusterings are strengthened. Thus, when one speaks of sibs within the phratry it is necessary to distinguish between "close" sibs and "distant" sibs. As the discussion of kinship will show, these distinctions between "close" and "distant" sibs are actually expressed in kinship usages. Among the Cubeo, relative ranking of sibs is not as formally expressed as it is among the Tucano tribe. Among the latter, all the lower-ranking sibs of a phratry are junior siblings and are addressed by the term "junior sibling." The highest-ranking sib is "older brother" to all the other sibs (Fulop, 1955).

The basic segment is the sib. A sib is an exogamic, patrilineal, and patrilocal descent group that claims to share a line of descent through males (with some exceptions) back to a founding ancestor at the beginnings. The sense of sib is that of a local group capable of sharing a common residence and of regarding itself as a fraternal kingroup. Sib members may be, and often are, dispersed. This, however, is, in the Cubeo view of things, an abnormal situation. Sib identity, in any case, is never lost. Even women who must marry "out" are forever members of the paternal sib. The sib, as we have already said, has a name. It has a headman, a common residence or sib center, and is on any crucial issue autonomous politically and economically. It may break out of the exogamic grouping of the phratry by moving away and joining another phratric organization. This, however, it will be very reluctant to do. Sibs are not static entities and that is why one cannot obtain an exact count of their number. Fission is an ever active process and reveals itself in what may be called "phases of separation." Within a common residence site most families live in a long house, called in the region a maloca. Others live alongside the maloca in smaller houses. I have called the occupants of the smaller houses "Independents" because of their expressed intention to remain somewhat outside of the jurisdiction of the sib headman.

Some sib members live at a nearby but distinct site with very considerable autonomy, but recognize the main maloca as their sib center. These people are still more estranged from the sib and I have called them "Satellites." The Satellites may estrange themselves to the point of complete separation. They then assume a sib name that is a compound of the original sib name with a new designation and so take on the status of a subsib. A subsib has a strong sentimental attachment to its parent sib, but in all other respects it is autonomous. A Satellite may also give up its satellite standing by rejoining the parent sib. Subsibs are held together by sharing a common sib name and a common genealogy. This is true whether subsibs have been

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614 formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

[613] A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib 614 are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group 592 of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of 614 cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important 594 unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

121 What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization 61 that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component 621 segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

## THE COMMUNITY

621 The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous 182 entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

361 From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the [615] Cuduiari the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

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along the same river belong to a common phratry and share, therefore, rules of exogamy, origin traditions, and mutual obligations of hospitality. 361 [615]

Close up, a community is revealed as a clearing of a dozen acres or so hacked out in a crude semicircle from the banks of the river. Since the river may rise some ten feet or more in the rainy season the clearing is always on the high bank and will necessarily follow in its shape the contours of high land. The maloca stands toward the river. A house is not aligned according to absolute directions, but always with reference to the river, which the Cubeo, in contrast to other tribes in the region, insist upon keeping in view. No house will have its front door facing the forest, though its rear door may. In some cases the rear door abuts almost on the very edge of the manioc cultivations. 361 342

A residence site is commonly called *tuá*, a term that appears in the naming chants and that I have rendered in free translation as "soil." A related term that is also used is *taíbo* (a made place), a clearing. These two terms refer then to that part of the territory that has been prepared both for cultivation and for housing. A more inclusive territorial term is *makáno*, that embraces the uncleared forest and can also mean "forest." Still another term for a residence site is *hobónu*, based on *hobá*, a cleared place for planting. More commonly, however, the manioc cultivations are called *hawabú* (food place). 361

Within the requirements of contour and with leeway granted to accommodate individual community preferences, clearings tend to conform to a common plan. The maloca is the hub from which the outer edges of the clearing are plotted with approximately equal radii – footpaths – leading to the bitter manioc cultivations. The manioc cultivations form a broad outer belt of the clearing that, in poorer communities, begins very close to the rear or rear side wall of the house and that in prosperous and more prideful communities is at some distance. In the latter communities, the zone of plantings begins far enough away so that the women at work in their manioc gardens are out of sight and out of sound, only the plumes of white smoke from each garden signaling silently that a woman is at work there. No matter how confined the total clearing, the house rests within an inner clearing of secondary cultivations and, ultimately, within a totally cleared space or plaza. The maloca is more or less at the center of these three concentric zones. The river (*hya*) itself is a fourth zone. [342] [351]

These four zones have their social counterparts in that they may be identified as male and female, although, it should be said, the Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. [562]

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342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
(592) self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding.

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621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

## THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, [823] the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward 361 the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers 823 are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwá* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahúkiwa*. But the *Hürüwá* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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of the pull of propinquity. The Cubeo welcome and respect neighborliness. 361 614 615

The river has its natural boundaries. These are the segments of river demarcated by rapids and by the tributaries or creeks. A boundary is from one such feature to the next, from a *cachoeira* (rapids) to a creek, from a creek to a creek, but rarely from *cachoeira* to *cachoeira*. A boundary defines only sib territory. There is no phratric territory as such. If there is phratric and tribal territoriality it is because each of the sibs undertakes to defend the principle in terms of its own interests. A sib may adopt a stranger and in this way incorporate it into the phratry. It needs no permission to do this. On the other hand, a sib may appeal to phratry mates for help in warding off by force unwanted intruders. Boundaries do not close a river to traffic. The river is always an open highway for travel, and travelers may fish and hunt along it freely. They may not put up fixed installations such as weirs or show other signs of residence such as fishing a particular spot with regularity without permission. Men regularly fish only within the sib limits. The discussion of boundaries, it should be explained, does not flow naturally from the Cubeo. It is drawn out by the ethnographer. The Cubeo are not jealous of boundaries and they rarely have issues over them, but they do know them. Occasionally someone violates the common law of courtesy of the use of fish weirs and keeps the barrier closed beyond the allowable period. The Cubeo cannot and do not attribute this unmannerly act to gluttony. Gluttony is an incomprehensible notion to them. They attribute it either kindly to forgetfulness, in which case there is no issue, or to unfriendliness, in which case there is a quarrel and an effort is made to tear down the barrier. On the forest side there are no boundaries at all except for the clearing itself. It is not land but river frontage that is valued.

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## CANOEING

So much of a man's time is spent in a canoe that no description of native life would be complete that did not relate the Indian to the river as a canoeman or that failed to bring out the motor rhythms of canoeing. Motor rhythms are patterned, the rhythm of paddling and the characteristic rhythms of the dance showing particularly striking parallels. 501 516

Paddling follows a definite though irregular rhythm. The prowman on a long trip is keeper of the stroke. Paddling is noisy. On the downstroke the stem of the paddle just above the blade is struck

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calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana 439
Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to
prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should [582]
be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges.

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accord- 438
ance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehénewa* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maize, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiari.

## PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we 423
deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over
a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of [61]
river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered.
Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They [103]
identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations.

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, 423
concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sen- 614
timent rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned [615]
with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear
encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib [619]
taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo.

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423 The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of
615 river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these
[578] arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies
[768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate relationship between land and its cultivator.

241 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual
614 or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the alloca-
361 tion of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing
241 is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective
614 effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a
361 clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and
622 stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of
476 a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman to organize a collective work party, including all household heads. If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually. Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots, establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later arrivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. Annually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the *chagra*, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field for a two-year harvest.

244 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman.
423 A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plantation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daughters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

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# 3

## *The Sib*

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The Cubeo sib is a unilineal descent group whose members regard themselves as being descended from common ancestors but cannot establish an actual genealogical relationship. Sibs are named, normally localized, exogamic, patrilineal, and patrilocal. They are bound into unnamed exogamic phratries within which they occupy an order of rank that expresses the sequence in which they emerged during their mythical first emergence. Sib members claim descent from the male of an ancestral brother-sister pair. Each sib bears a name that in some cases is the name of the sib founder, but in any case is the name of an Ancient, that is, an early ancestor. The first ancestors are called *Bekõpwãnwa* (the Ancients). The sib is the center of the social structure, the focus and regulator of all main social, religious, and economic activities. It is the only true political unit since only a sib has a headman. A person's identification is only by sib. The strongest feeling that the Cubeo have for the sib is that it is a family in which the males show the strongest solidarity because they are the ones who live permanently together. The women never lose their sib identity, and when a married woman returns home, as a widow, divorced, or with a husband in tow, she may take up a position in the sib that is sociologically equivalent to that of a male head of household. She takes her place in the informal council of household heads and takes her turn in giving drinking parties to her sibmates.

[615] [622] [114]

Since my study of the Cubeo sib system is incomplete, being based on information from a few sibs only, the principles of sib nomen-

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clature can only be hinted at and not definitely established. One principle, that of eponymy, seems to hold for sibs of high social standing. But my information on this point is limited to only one of the phratries. In this phratry, composed of sibs along the Cuduiarí and the Vaupés, the two top-ranking sibs bear the names of Ancients who were the very first men to emerge from the traditional emergence site. The founders of the *Órobawa* and of the *Aúnbwawü* were, respectively, *Órobakü* and *Aúnkü*.[1] These men, it is said, named all the other sibs of the phratry that emerged after they did. I could not discover the source of these names. They may have been from the genealogical list of the two top-ranking sibs, in accordance with the current principle that when a new sib is adopted into the phratry the adopting or sponsoring sib endows its members with names from its own genealogical list. However, Cubeo traditions suggest diverse origins for the sibs so that it is unlikely that a single principle will explain the sib names.

The first ancestors of the sibs, other than the top-ranking two, had names that were not the same as the sib names. The founder of the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, was *Bwü* (Agouti) and the founder of the *Hehénewa* was *Dpurédo*, but later Ancients took as personal names the sib name itself, thus establishing in subsequent generations the principle of eponymy. In later generations, *Bahúkü* becomes a leading *Bahúkiwa* Ancient and *Hehénakü* a leading *Hehénewa* Ancient. Any Ancient may also be referred to generically by the sib name, so that one may speak of a specific *Bahúkü* or *Bahúko*[2] or of a generalized *Bahúkü* or *Bahúko*, meaning in the latter instance an Ancient man or woman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib.

A proper sib name must have some eponymous quality. Some sib names are descriptive, such as *Mánapwänwa*, meaning "Trail People," a derogatory reference to people who arrived on the Cuduiarí overland like the Macú instead of decently along the river by canoe. These people reject this name in favor of a subsib name which has the orthodox merit of having been bestowed by the founders of the phratry. Cubeo sib names are normally descriptive only insofar as personal names are descriptive. The legendary method by which the first sibs got their names from a higher-ranking source stands for the Cubeo as the model by which newcomers are brought into the phratry. An adopted sib is given a name that has in its stem the name of the adopting sib. All the sibs of the *Hehénewa* are differentiated by a descriptive prefix, while the sibs of the *Bahúkiwa* are differen-

[1] There is a full list of sibs following the present discussion.
[2] The suffix *kü* is masculine, *ko* is feminine.

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Without a proper sib name, a child will not grow, the Cubeo say. Growth is an attribute of the Ancients. The giving of a name is one of the ways in which the growth magic of the Ancients is utilized. These names from the sib genealogies are not used freely, the Indians preferring to use Christian names and to address one another by a kinship term.

The sib has permanence and it has continuity with the past. The "history" of each sib is known and is recited at all major ceremonial occasions.[5] In narrating sib "history," distinctions are drawn between original sibs, later comers, and the newest-formed sibs. Since ancientness is honorific and the Cubeo have a sentiment of egalitarianism, these distinctions are underplayed. But when people have been drinking and quarreling the matter of ancestry will be brought up.

The tradition of phratric organization is that all its member sibs are kin. Tradition holds, too, that once all sibs of the same phratry were united under a single headman. But this tradition may refer to the scheme of sib rank and the acknowledgment of the leading sib as the "head" rather than to an actual political organization. On the other hand, since there is little doubt but that tribal organization in this region of the Amazon is highly fluid, with smaller segments forming new enlarged formations and enlarged formations breaking up again into smaller and relatively more stable sib segments, the tradition of the phratry as a political unit cannot be dismissed.

The Cubeo distinguish between *kwinâwũ* (one kin) and *abéwetema* (they are not ours) in referring to their own phratry and to an opposite phratry. In the past, there may have been at least four phratries, since the traditions speak of one group of sibs as having amalgamated with another. Previously these two groups had intermarried, it is averred. According to one version of the origin myth the sibs of a phratry are all descended from a single water anaconda called *Pwénte aínkũ* (Anaconda person), who divided himself into segments, the head becoming the leading sib of the phratry, and each subsequent segment forming the remainder of the sib hierarchy. A variant version states that pairs of anacondas emerged from a crevice among the rocks of a rapids, shed their skins, and formed a brother-sister pair. Subsequently, the sisters married out and the brothers took wives from people they met in their wanderings. The first pair to emerge were the head sib, and they gave names to all that followed

lapsed, out of simple neglect. Also to be considered in this connection is the common Cubeo view that the life of past generations was more severe than it is today.

[5] The text of the *Bahúkiwa* "history" follows the sib list in this chapter.

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615 614 them. Either version accounts for sib hierarchy. In the first version the Cubeo visualize the phratry as the body of the anaconda spread along a river with its head anchored at the site of emergence and its tail lying upstream to form the lowest-ranking sib. In the second version the sib pairs moved upstream and located themselves according to the sequence of their emergence. The theme of common descent that sanctions exogamy and confraternity is conveyed not by a common anaconda ancestor, for the Cubeo would not doubt that all human beings were descended from anacondas, but rather by common emergence from the same site. All sibs of the same phratry should ideally have emerged from the same rapids. But even among those having emerged from the same rapids there are still distinctions of relative closeness depending upon whether they emerged from the same hole or from adjacent holes. It would seem that the origin myth must be in harmony with current social relationships and that a particular version is employed depending upon the present state of affairs. When a sib is newly admitted into the phratry it must adapt its own origin traditions to the common mythical theme of emergence in the form of an anaconda at a preferred emergence site.

From the *Bahûkiwa* I heard at least three versions of the story 614 that placed the *Hehénewa* within the phratry. One said that the *Hehénewa* were really strangers, having emerged somewhere along the Papurý River. They heard the *Órobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets, and attracted by the music – a sign of identity – they came

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Fig. 4. Petroglyph: *Kúwai* and *Aínkû* (scale: 1" = 6').

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614 came to be known as *Bwübekúdjo* (*Bwü* the Ancient). The *Byari-Hehénewa* took him captive. Sometime later, the *Hehénewa*, coming to visit their kin, determined to rescue the boy. They did so, killing off the *Byari-Hehénewa* who were holding him. They released
614 *Bwübekúdjo*, giving him two *Borówa* (Macú) women as wives. The
648 *Borówa* were then servants of the *Hehénewa*. The Macú women bore *Bwübekúdjo* ten children. It was from the males of this sibling group that the *Bahúkiwa* sib was reconstituted.

614 This concession of kinship alliance with the Macú stigmatizes the
648 *Bahúkiwa* as an inferior sib even though the descent is still in the
554 male line. Normally, Cubeo used *Borówa* women sexually but did not marry them. The *Bahúkiwa* do not concede that they are *Borówa*.
[611] And I learned early in my stay among them that nothing was more offensive than to even hint that someone was *Borówa*. The *Hehénewa* had told Koch-Grünberg that the *Bahúkiwa* were *Borówa* who had assimilated themselves to the Cubeo and were still to be regarded with contempt (1909, II, 136). No *Hehénewa* made this observation to me, but possibly out of courtesy since I was living with the *Bahúkiwa*.

614 The origin of the *Bahúkübwanwü*, a subsib of the *Bahúkiwa*, is also attributed to an act of kindness by a fellow sib, in this case at the hands of the second-ranking *Aúnbwawü*. In the course of an attack on them, all but one *Bahúkiwa* girl were killed. She was suc-
614 cored by the *Aúnbwawü*, among whom she lived until she married.
611 The narrator claimed that no one knew whom she had married, a lapse of information of utmost importance, since the point of the story is that despite patriliny a woman can also re-establish a sib. She bore eight children and they and their descendants took the name of *Bahúkübwanwü*. Descent then reverted to patriliny.

615 The Cubeo view of the phratry, as revealed by the traditions, is
614 of a grouping of essentially autonomous sibs into a loose fraternity that takes its sanction not from descent from a common ancestor but emergence from a common place. The genealogical relationship determines sib identity, but it is geography that determines phratric identity. The principal idea that is expressed is that the closer the sibs were spatially at the time of emergence the closer should be their present fraternal bonds. Thus, the traditions draw fine distinctions between emergence from the very same crevice on the rocks, from the same rapids, and from the same river. Unfortunately for our in-
615 terest in reconstructing tribal history, the traditions lack consistency.
614 This inconsistency reflects perhaps the ethnic heterogeneity of the
174 region, which, together with the lack of a central source for tradition,

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places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. To be sure, the custom of reciting a sib origin tradition at the regular drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multi-sib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin traditions are the most important sanctions for regulating current relationships among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).[4] This group, consisting of *Órobawa*, *Aúnbuawũ*, *Hehénewa*, *W'atharíwa*, *Byá-W'atharíwa*, and *Byá-Hehénewa*, is supposed to have emerged together at *Yavibebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapuri cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yavimanawa*, according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one another as *pakomá* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehénewa*, for example, discounting *Bahúkiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

[4] This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has, of course, an honorific reference. There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is applied to the Macú. Giacone (1949, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onca*.

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615 614 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 614 554 [301] The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hierarchical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social structure and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither, as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo. Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of [177] seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that [721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political authority over the entire Cuduiari. 614

[613] The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old [867] man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

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genealogies is not strong, so that they have only a general, albeit a strong, feeling that the family lines presently in a sib are related. What keeps the sib from being a lineage is then the technical fact that the Cubeo cannot link up their present descent lines with their ancient descent lines. 614 [829] [613]

One is tempted, therefore, to think of the Cubeo descent group as a transitional form, hovering between sib and lineage. At first glance the distinction between sib and lineage seems to hang by the technicality of how sophisticated a people are about genealogies. Yet this sophistication is a matter of major importance. Sib continuity and growth is a relatively simple matter of transmitting a sib name and a line of descent with an origin myth to give historical sanction. Lineage continuity and growth, on the other hand, demand motivation as well as the capability for maintaining accurate or presumably accurate genealogical records. Societies organized upon aristocratic lines can do this readily. Egalitarian societies, on the other hand, can have small lineages or large clans and kindreds but they cannot readily support large or historically deep lineages. The Cubeo have a shadow aristocracy only, not enough to sustain the necessary degree of genealogical sophistication. On the other hand, if the Cubeo could not sustain the growth of lineages neither could they sustain the growth of sibs. Two social conditions seemed to stand in the way of the enlargement of sibs. One was the inherent fissility of the sib, the other was the organization of the phratry. The phratry allowed the sibs to split without endangering their survival by virtue of being too small. 614 613 614 615 182

The basic social organization that provides for autonomous confederation of small units conforms readily to the requirements of easy absorption of new groups. The modes of group-binding, such as exogamy, the cycle of drinking parties, and the segmented forms of ceremonial participation that allow each sib to function as a ceremonial unit, are also admirably adapted to rapid assimilation of foreign tribes without benefit of a central administration. In cases of assimilation, all the necessary joint activities to which the sibs of a phratry are bound will inevitably encourage a common language. Just as the phratric organization allows for easy binding of autonomous sibs into a convenient fraternity that provides for peace, cooperation, and sociability, it allows as readily for fission without serious disruption. From these observations it may be inferred that the history of the Northwest Amazon region has been one of constant formation and disruption of sociopolitical entities. What a tribe is at any time is a core of sib segments that may have persevered through [174] 614 619 174

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614 time and then have drawn to them new sibs from peoples speak-
619 ing the same as well as other languages. The Cubeo tribe, as we have
174 already observed, seems to be an aggregate of Tucanoan-speaking, Arawakan-speaking, and "Macuan"-speaking peoples. A particular sib that belongs to one tribe today may incorporate itself into another tomorrow.

614 It is possible that sib formation in the Northwest Amazon region
174 has been an outgrowth of this process of repeated assimilation of new groups. The reasoning behind this assumption is as follows: patrilocal extended families need only assert and maintain a tradition of common origin and then live up to the requirement of maintaining a firm group identity, within a confederation, to make the transition to sib or clan. The suggestion is, however, that sib formation cannot be accounted for merely by the growth of extended patrilocal families or by the enlargement of lineages – because of the ease of fission – but rather as a response to quite another process, that of confederation in which the identity of the joining segments is retained. A confederation of descent groups heightens the probability that all will defend their autonomy by asserting their identity of common descent.

## THE SIB AND PHRATRIC ORGANIZATION

614
615 The sibs are listed in approximate order of rank. This rank order
554 should be considered as provisional, since it represents mainly the
361 *Bahükiwa* view of sib rank.

### PHRATRY I

*Órobawa* The leading sib: they still live at Uaracapuri on the Vaupés, the site of a rapids from which they first emerged. Their first male ancestor was called *Órobakü*. According to one version of the origin tale, he was the head of the anaconda from which all Cubeo are descended. He then named all the sibs of the phratry that followed after him. Koch-Grünberg identified them as *Ólaba-Hehénewa* and hence as a branch of the *Hehénewa*. Nimuendajú listed them as *Órobawa*. According to my in-
[114] formation, they are most closely linked with the *Hwáni-Hehénewa* and with the *Aúnwewa*, the easternmost or most downstream community of the Cubeo.

*Aúnhawwü* The second sib, occupying the next site upstream on the Vaupés at Urania. Their first ancestor was *Aúnkü*. Some informants said that *Aúnkü* was the last to emerge but was granted second place by *Órobakü*. In any case, their position on the Vaupés gives them second rank. They are regarded as very closely linked with the *Hehénewa*. In 1950 they were reduced to four households. Some had taken up residence

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at Pindaíva on the Cuduiarí. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambomamára* on the Cuduiarí, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiarí group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists. 614 615 554 361 [114]

*Hehénewa* In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiarí and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurý is known as *Wahúdja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Órobawa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Órobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapuri. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiarí, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiarí and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbawü*.

*Byá-Hehénewa* A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiarí.

*Wathariwa* The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbawü*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uacuréwa*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umari* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapuri falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

*Byá-Wathariwa* A subsib of the *Wathariwa* on the Vaupés.

*Urérariwa* Perhaps a subsib of the *Wathariwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

*Bahúkiwa* They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapuri falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Burü* and his sister was *Onpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiarí. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Borórwa*) who wandered into the Cuduiarí and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borórwa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borórwa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borórwa*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet. [563] [648] [186]

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is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahûkiwa* regard the *Órobawa* as their "head."

*Bahûküdjauwü* A subsib of the *Bahûkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahûkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahûkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiari and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucúra *igarapes*.

*Bahuknonówa* A subsib of the *Bahûküdjauwü* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiari.

*Bahûkübauwü* A subsib of the *Bahûkiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Mánapwänwa* (Trail people) or *Mánawa*. [648] According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, [563] perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiari overland, and whose emergence site was the Querari *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiari. [551] The *Bahûkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy.

*Pedikwa* A subsib of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiari above the *Bahûkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toidibü*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Ancient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedi-Hehénewa* because they emerged at *Pediwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered them in the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiari. They are also known as *Piátohaño*.

*Kenánikauwü* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* on the upper Cuduiari at *Piramiri* and at *Abûhakü*. They used to live at *Toidibü* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajú's lists.

*Kenámbwawa* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiari.

*Utciwaiwa* Their emergence site was the Yurupari *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from Uaracapuri. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahûkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miriti *igarapes* below the Yurupari falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the Dyi *igarapes*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucibowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajú. Their first ancestor was called *Utciwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

*Baryáwatiwaiwa* A sib that emerged from Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utciwaiwa*. They are also known as *Baryáwa* and still live on the Vaupés.

*Piarówa* A sib that emerged at Uaracapuri rapids, from a particular site [551] called *Mumikü*. They live at Miriti *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the headwaters of the Muchú, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewa.

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associated with the *Kompainyewa*. Koch-Grünberg found them on the left bank of the Vaupés at a site called *Naibö*, where they were known in the *lingoa geral* as *Tokandira-Tapuyo*. He recorded their self-name as *Olá-Piaráwa*. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari.

*Pyéndo-Hehénewa* A dissident sib of the *Hehénewa* group, maintaining no friendly relations with the other *Hehénewa*. Their close sib ties are with the *Pedikwa* and the *Kenánikauwü*. They occupy several sites above Patú at the headwaters of the Cuduiari, the main maloca being at Querari *miri* (*Enpanáwe*). They are also at *Abúhudjo* on the Yurupari *miri* and are known also as *Pyéndokauwü*. [101] [114]

*Hwáni-Hehénewa* A *Hehénewa* subsib on the Vaupés at Paraná *picuna* and at Tukano *cachoeira*. Their origin site is *Impenáni* of the Uaracapuri *cachoeira* and they are, therefore, closely related to the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnwewa*, in contrast to the *Hehénewa* proper, whose emergence was actually on the Papury.

*Aúnwewa* A subsib of the *Aúnbwawü* on the Vaupés at *Upyaria* just above Mitú. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari and referred to them as *Aweéa*. They are also listed as a sib of a Tucano phratry. [114]

*Kompainyewa* Closely linked with the *Piaráwa*, they live at Pindaiva on the Vaupés just above Urania near the Yurupari falls. Their emergence site, however, is Uaracapuri.

*Abúxo-Hehénewa* A sib on the upper Querari mentioned by Koch-Grünberg, on which I have no information.

*Ambomamára* A sib on the Cuduiari mentioned by Nimuendajú, on which I have no information. From the name it would appear to be a subsib of the *Aúnbwawü*.

*Byari-Hehénewa* An extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*, who had lived on the Cuduiari as well as at Uarúa Lake on the upper Vaupés. They were also known as *Byaridowa*.

*Papuli-Hehénewa* A sib living on the Cuduiari during the time of Koch-Grünberg's visit at Suriburoca but now extinct. They came from the Papury and were closely linked with the Tucano tribe of the Tiquié River.

*Kenámbwawa* A sib on the upper Cuduiari, presumably a subsib, along with the *Kenánikauwü*, of the *Pedikwa*.

Phratry I consists of two divisions that represent distinct origins. 615 In the past these two divisions may have been intermarrying, because 554 even now, although the entire phratry is exogamic, informants dis- 614 agree as to the proprieties of intermarriage between the two divisions. The dominant division from the point of view of prestige and of numbers is known as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar) and includes the *Órobawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, and their subsibs: *Byá-Hehénewa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, *Pedikwa*, *Kenánikauwü*, *Utciwaiwa*, *Pyéndo-Hehénewa*, *Hwáni-Hehénewa*, and *Aúnwewa*. The second division has no name and consists of the *Bahúkiwa* groups, the *Piaráwa*, and the *Kompainyewa*.

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PHRATRY II

*Buroibowa* The leading sib of the phratry, living at Muchú on the Vaupés. According to tradition, they came from the Isana River originally. They emerged at a rapids called *Aindoribo* at a site called *Hobónoburúno*. Originally they fought with the *Byówa*, now a sister sib of the phratry. Koch-Grünberg encountered an abandoned maloca of theirs at Uarúa Lake, where they had been living adjacent to the Tucanoan-speaking but non-Cubeo *Pamóa*. The indications are that they had moved in recent years considerably downstream on the Vaupés.

*Byówa* A group occupying all of the Pirabatón, an affluent of the Querarí. Koch-Grünberg placed them at the headwaters of the Querarí, but since he had not identified the Pirabatón that may be the river that he called the upper Querarí. They are strongly intermarried with *Bahúkiwa*.

*Hürüwá* Members of a foreign phratry living on the Cuduiarí, where they occupy a number of upriver sites, having replaced a *Hehénewa* subsib. They emerged from a site called *Kohédariwa* above Uaracapurí on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg met them in the same locations on the Cuduiarí. He claimed they were originally Arawakan-speaking Baniwa who had wandered in from the Vaupés.

*Wadjá-Hürüwá* A subsib of the *Hürüwá* at *Kwitóro* on the Cuduiarí.

*Korówa* Primarily a Querarí River sib that had spilled over onto the Cuduiarí at one time. Wallace reported them there in 1853. They are closely linked with, and according to Koch-Grünberg politically subordinate to, the *Byówa*. In more recent times they have settled on the Vaupés, where they have also been reported by Nimuendajú. They also had a house on the lower Cuduiarí. They are known as *Korókoro-Tapuyo* (Green Ibis Indians).

(101)

*Waldola* A group mentioned by Nimuendajú as living on the Vaupés. Presumably a subsib of the *Korówa*.

*Mianáwa* A group occupying several sites in the vicinity of the Tukunaré *igarapes* on the upper Vaupés – *Makakinyo, Jacaré, Seima* – as well as at Pirabatón *igarapes*. Koch-Grünberg found a small group of only four families living at the Yurupari falls on the lower Vaupés. Nimuendajú also found them on the Vaupés.

PHRATRY III

*Djurémawa* Nimuendajú has identified them as the *Yiboya-Tapuyo* of the Aiarí River in Brazil. He says they came to the mouth of the Querarí on the Vaupés in 1904. According to Koch-Grünberg, they were once hostile Arawakan Baniwa who had assimilated to Cubeo and are close kin of the *Káua* of the Aiarí. The Uanana, Koch-Grünberg reports, call them *Maxka-Pinopona* (Boa).

(101)

*Tóriawü* A sib on the Querarí, originally Arawakan-speaking, that claims to have come from the Isana.

*Konéntaraboiwü* According to Koch-Grünberg, who referred to them as *Kolátalapoauo*, they were Baniwa Arawakans who settled on the Querarí and assimilated to the Cubeo language. He noted that they were intermarried with the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahúkiwa* also married them. Nimuendajú mentions a *Kowitárabewi* on the Querarí, perhaps the

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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabawü* on the Querari.

*Yániwa* A sib at the mouth of the Querari. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querari as *Dyaniwa*.

*Yokóhüberwü* A sib on the lower Querari.

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*Batóua* Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapes*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querari. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

*Ilhéudowa* A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiari, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiari, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénrwa* of the Cuduiari.

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*Káua* A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiari. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoiera*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querari and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiari near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

## THE BORÓWA

M T 648 464 T 563 M [101] [754] T [592] T [582] [614] [592] T [435]

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahükiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

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so an older brother is *amyóbakü* (older brother-father) to his younger sister. He is her guardian. He may arrange her marriage, or offer her sexually to a friend, if she is willing. It is a special relationship in many respects. 593 561 [584] [836]

Seniority is of consequence only in the sibling generation. There is no concept of senior line and no recognition in terminology of descendants of older or younger siblings.

Apart from sex and seniority, Cubeo sibling terms also demarcate social distance. They differentiate, as already noted, three degrees of sibling closeness: lineage sibling, near phratry sibling, and distant phratry sibling. They do so, ingeniously, by the linguistic device of using a common root for sibling – this usage is only in the senior term, because only the senior term is important – indicating distance or closeness by the use of appropriate prefixes and suffixes. The root for senior sibling of either sex is *ami*. With the possessive prefix *hi* and the gender suffix *ko* or *kü* (*himámiko*, *-kü*) it connotes utmost closeness and is applied to older brother and sister of one's own family, including the extended joint family or lineage. Since sib and lineage may often be coextensive these terms are also sib-wide. The term *himámiko* (my older sister) does not apply to a mother's sister's daughter unless she happens to be – via brother-sister exchange marriage – a father's brother's daughter as well. The intimate usage, that is, must also correspond with coresidence. One's own sister, to be sure, does marry out, but in the meantime there has been a long period of coresidence. In any case, there is not the slightest tendency to slur over a nuclear kinship relationship. In the case of father's brother's daughter the intimate term applies only when she is still a coresident. After she has married she falls into the next more distant category. 601 193 601 [614]

The second range of kinship intimacy is the most widespread of all, including sib, subsib, and all close sibs within the phratry. It may even be applied to all members of the phratry of one's generation, in which case the third and most distant form of sibling terminology is reserved for those people whom one does not know well. The terms used in this second range are *amiyó* and *amikó*. The suffix *yo* conveys the meaning of "such as" or "one who is of the class of." It is also used in the term *baküdyó* (father's brother) and means literally "one who is in the class of a father." In *amiyó* it means, therefore, "one who is in the class of an older brother." Strictly speaking, the suffix *yo* has no sex gender and if it were applied to a woman would constitute no major linguistic blunder. But since one's contacts are almost invariably with male siblings, the sisters normally at a distance, the [614] [615] 601 193

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604 614 [601] a term that connotes out-of-the-sib, as does *pani*. Thus, Cubeo usage with respect to daughter-in-law points up again the strength of their feelings about membership in the common residence group.

The problematical relatives are the mother's sister's children. There is no problem if they are also father's brother's children, or if they have been born within one phratry. But since mother's sisters [615] marry into other phratries or into other tribes, their children are in effect strangers who belong to their paternal sib or tribe. They are [582] not included in the kinship system, they are lost sight of, and such parallel cousins one may marry since they do not belong to the phratry.

## GRANDPARENT - GRANDCHILD RELATIONSHIP

603 The two grandparent terms, *nyéko* (*kü*) and *nyekundjó*, refer to 601 all kin of the generation of grandparents and beyond, irrespective 614 of sib or phratry affiliation. Correspondingly, their reciprocals 615 (*panaihinkü*, *-ko* and *hipanimekü*, *-ko*) do not differentiate between a child of the sib or phratry and a child outside the sib or phratry. The grandchild terms are all formed of the *pani* stem from which affinal terms are constructed. *Panaihinkü* means "my very little in-law," and *hipanimekü* means "of my in-law line." The ignoring of sib lines for grandparents seems to follow from the simple fact that at this generation level exogamy is not an issue.

603 I could get no explanation from the Cubeo as to why the grand-601 child should be classed with the affinal line. It may result from the Cubeo interpretation of cross-cousin marriage. Brother and sister [593] negotiate for the marriage to one another of their children and so [584] would be inclined to regard the offspring of that marriage as a con-[614] tribution from the affinal line to the sib. Often enough, however, I have encountered the use of the descriptive terms such as *himákü-makü* (my son's son) to distinguish between a lineal descendant of the sib and other grandchildren.

601 Elders of a distant sib of the phratry may be addressed and referred [614] to as "grandparent" even if of one's own generation. Their children consequently are called "father" or "mother." In these usages the [615] reciprocal is always *hwainyó* or *hwainkó* and never a specific "child" or "grandchild" term. Among the Tucano, Fulop (1955) has noted that one of the sibs of a phratry is the "grandparent" to all the others so that all persons of one's own generation in that sib are "grandparents." If this is also the case among the Cubeo of the Cuduiari then the fact must have escaped my notice. This usage of grandparent

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The ceremonial friendship is an intimate relationship, indeed. The Cubeo expectation of it is that it have a quality of warmth and of privilege, if not beyond, then at least equal to a close, recognized kinship relationship. Since ceremonial friends are already sib or phratry mates, their relationship, if it is to have any meaning at all, must make them at least the equivalent of lineage kin; and that is what it is intended to do. Ceremonial friendship gives vividness and exclusiveness to sib and phratry relationships that are often too tepid and too generalized for Cubeo tastes. 572 614 615 572

When ceremonial friends are of opposite sex they forgo the erotic play that even brother and sister are supposedly allowed to indulge in, asserting, thereby, that theirs is the closest bond of friendship attainable. The relationship is often a substitute for a brother-sister pairing. Not every sibling line is so conveniently arranged as to provide for a brother-sister pairing. Hence, if no sister is allowed to a man he casts about for a girl of his age group and asks her to become his *hiko*. If she agrees he acquires the equivalent of an assigned sister, and she of a brother. They will form a team in an exchange marriage and they will exchange products. She will provide him with manioc for chicha, if he wishes to sponsor a drinking party, and she will prepare farinha for him, which he will use to trade for objects of white manufacture. He will reciprocate with appropriate gifts and with making household implements for her. When he is paid for his labor in the rubber forests he will surely bring cloth and trinkets for his *hiko*. 572 [832]

To cite one specific example of gift exchange between ceremonial friends: A man of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib took a sib sister as his *hiko*. He gave her, immediately, cloth for two petticoats, two boxes of matches, two decorative combs, two small hand mirrors, thread and needles, two tins of brilliantine hair dressing, and a bar of soap. In return she gave him four big chicha serving calabashes, two balls of miriti twine, and a valuable necklace of silver triangles known as "butterflies." In addition, her father gave her two fishing bows to give to her ceremonial friend. 572 431

The relationship between *hikü* and *hiko* does fill the gap left by the normal imbalance between male and female siblings. But the Cubeo do not regard it as a mere substitute for a missing brother or a missing sister. Men who have sisters assigned to them still seek a *hiko*, if only to enjoy an individualized relationship of their own choice. If exchange marriage is not to be a central feature of the relationship, the *hikü* is still entitled to a gift from the groom at his 572

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# 5

## *Marriage*

614 615 The rule in marriage is that a wife cannot be taken from within the sib or phratry. She may be taken from another tribe and, of course, from any of the other two phratries. There is no actual prohibition against marrying a woman from one's own community if she belongs to a group that is outside the phratry. As I have already noted, such marriages are not common because of a preference for marrying someone from a distance. Since true friendship is apt to mean brotherhood [626] for the Cubeo, and so is identified with exogamy, the parties to a coresidence marriage, the man in particular, are made to feel as though they were behaving indecently. The only case of a coresidence 614 marriage that I learned about was complicated somewhat by an issue 597 of adoption, but it illustrates the ambiguity of feeling the Cubeo have about such marriages, nevertheless. A boy, born a *Bahúkiwa*, was orphaned and adopted by the *Hürüwá*, a sib of the opposite phratry. He then married a *Hürüwá* girl. Opinion was divided. The boy and his supporters claimed that he was *Bahúkiwa* and so the marriage was proper. The other side argued that since he was raised by the *Hürüwá* he had no business marrying a *Hürüwá* girl. Since the girl's family allowed the marriage to stand we must assume 582 that the boy's position was legally sound. Marriage is preferred between age equals, and since a groom must be forceful enough to make a good impression he will not marry until his very late teens and so 192 neither will the girl. The term for marriage is *nomíkükü*, meaning simply "woman getting."

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754 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the
694 hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle
[756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man
[622] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The headman is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused if he can refute the charges.

## WARFARE (*bwaíno*)

721 People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one
[615] another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently ex-
[614] changed wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from Querarí killed Hühû, an old *Bahúkiwa* who was then living at Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the Querarí, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants, and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a plundering raid. When they killed Hühû and others in his house they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for
[614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a
[648] *Hehénewa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cuduiarí; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban, Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas raided the Cuduiarí annually during the dry season, when they could move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert.
[114] I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward
[723] evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

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764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first [615] mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 **FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON**

537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

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# 9

## *The Drinking Party*

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614 The drinking party (*unkúndye*: chicha, or *unkwínemu*: drinking
[615] affair) is the mode of exchange that, generally speaking, governs the relationships among the sibs of the same phratry. Sibs, as I have already noted, do not feast one another, an observation that Koch-Grünberg also made. A sib has its internal drinking parties during which one household head serves chicha to the rest; but the serious and regular drinking parties are those that are held for the purpose of entertaining the sibs of the phratry. I could not determine defi-
[554] nitely the pattern of intersib drinking parties, but I believe that an important principle is one of social rank. Higher-ranking downstream settlements prepare chicha more often than do lower-ranking sibs. This accords with the aforementioned Cubeo doctrine that leadership comes from giving and subordination comes from receiving. Drinking party invitations, however, must also be reciprocated, so that over a long enough period of time each sib will have entertained all the others. Since sibs are under no formal obligation to honor a drinking party invitation, the result is that most drinking parties bring together only near sibs who are obligated to attend for personal reasons. Nevertheless, each full-fledged sib plans at least one event during the year when it will have entertained most if not all of its fellow sibs. Attendance at an intersib drinking party is normally by an entire sib although there is flexibility in this.

[182] The drinking parties are of prime importance in unifying the sibs of a phratry. Their frequency and their attendance attest to the state

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjiko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjiko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikü* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

765 534 769 [462]

## THE SIB UNITS

The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

765 614 [615] [754] [535]

## ORGANIZATION OF THE ÓYNE

As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur-

765 [182] [614] [615]

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765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 614 532 [203] [533] [535] [776]

765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

## MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ÓYNE

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

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The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All the dead of the sibs of a river are joined together. While the individual spirit has his sib identity, the sibs do not exist in the afterlife as social entities. The *habóků* of the dead is *Mavitrikori*, grandson of *Djurédo*, an Ancient of the *Órobawa* and of other high-ranking sibs such as the *Hehénewa*, who was the first headman at Uaracapuri. However, the Cubeo have no great interest in speculating about the life of the spirits of the dead, since, except for the Ancients, they have no formal relationship with them. With the dead, the point is to break the bonds, and for this reason alone Cubeo speculation about the spirits of the dead is at best a moderate one. I have already related the story of the woman who, having died and been buried, returned to her husband and pleaded with him to take her back. It is said that if the husband had accepted her she would really have come to life, but that because he drove her away people who die remain dead.

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In Freudian theory, fear of the dead is a projection of ambivalent feelings toward the living. From this point of view one would have to assume, most incorrectly, that the Cubeo are markedly lacking in the ambivalences of love and hate. The Cubeo attitude of neutrality toward the spirits of the dead is due rather to the fact that they attribute almost all misfortune to active human agency. If one is to look for evidences of ambivalence in Cubeo feelings toward kin the proper source is in the imputation of sorcery and not in the attitudes toward ghosts.

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## THE CONCEPT OF POWER

An important concern of all instrumental, as distinct from ethical, religions is power, the grasp of power and its control and manipulation. Power, to be sure, is valued for its direct application to common human interests in food, safety, and the overcoming of enemies, to name but a few, but it would be rash to underestimate the sheer attractiveness of power acquired and power used for its own sake. In Cubeo religious thought, too, power is both instrumental and compelling in its own right. In keeping with the moderate role of power in social and political life, however, the power theme in religion is a muted one. The Cubeo do not attribute to anyone, man or supernatural being, grandiose powers. If anything, the Cubeo are rather conscious of the limitations of power. We have seen this in how little power they attribute to the Ancients. *Kúwai* is a more telling illustration of the point, for this being ordinarily fails when he is truly manipulating power, while his successes are in the ordinary relations

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121 count the concern is with the structure of relationships, that is, with the more fundamental principles and patterns of social behavior. In deriving such principles and patterns we are now ready to go beyond those elementary and very general theoretical doctrines according to which culture is an apparatus for satisfying basic human needs. By now this doctrine impresses us as both obvious and tautological. Cultural anthropology seeks a characterization of distinctive cultural types rather than a generalized characterization of Culture or Society. In its recognition of the distinctiveness of cultures, cultural anthropology is close to history in method and aim. In its search for general principles it is close to sociology. The proper route of cultural anthropology, therefore, lies somewhere between the poles of generality and of uniqueness. Thus, in the summation of principles and of patterns that I am about to present, my aim is to find a level of analytic abstraction that is specific enough to characterize and to identify the Cubeo and yet has enough generality to provide a basis for identifying the broader sociocultural type to which the Cubeo may belong. The justification for a level that is between the generalizing and the particularizing is that it offers promise of greater analytic refinement than a level at either pole. The problem is to move as closely as possible to the ultimate uniqueness of a cultural configuration without losing the capability for comparative study. After all, one can profitably move up the scale from the particular to the general, but there is no good way of moving down. The aim of the present analysis, therefore, is to depict what is specifically Cubeo and yet allow bases for two successively broader typological characterizations, namely, tropical forest economies of South America and "simple" horticultural economies in general.

## LINKAGE AND AUTONOMY

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With respect to social structure, the most fundamental Cubeo principle involves a relationship between the apparent opposites of linkage and of autonomy. That is to say, the Cubeo will find a way to assert their independence of each group of which they are a part. The clearest example of this principle is the relationship between phratry and sib. What this relationship brings out is not an antagonism between opposing principles of collectivism and of individualism but rather a complementarity. The phratry does not impede the autonomy of the sib. On the contrary, it fosters this autonomy. It does so by fostering a strong sense of sib identity; for the consciousness of sib identity is actually heightened by the enforced relationship of

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sibs with one another, particularly in ceremony. Since the phratry represents a fraternal federation, promoting peace and security, the political and economic autonomy of a small and therefore potentially weak segment encounters no additional external threat. Thus, as we have seen, the phratry, by providing a zone of peace and security, facilitates sib fission, which may be regarded as a still further development of autonomy. 571 614 615

For the Cubeo, autonomy and linkage are equally strong attractions, and I think it is fair to say that they cannot visualize one without the other, or one as stronger than the other. The compulsions to form and to proliferate linkages are balanced, so to speak, by provisions for maintaining the identity and the potential autonomy of each component segment. No linkage is established that will interfere with autonomy, and, in fact, many linkages are established for the purpose of providing greater autonomy. Ceremonial friendship is a case in point, illustrating the way in which a self-initiating and hence autonomous paired relationship grows out of and complements, as well as extends, patterned relationships that have traditionally been established by kinship and by sib membership. In viewing Cubeo social structure, one is inclined to suspect that when relationships have become too solidly established, a way is found to assert the autonomous complement of that relationship. The striking oscillation between phratric solidarity and sib isolationism observed in the drinking parties may perhaps also be attributed to this very strong Cubeo tendency to assert autonomy wherever collectivism looms large. We shall return to oscillation as another principle of Cubeo social structure. At this point, we may review the principal linkage-autonomy relationships that have been described for the Cubeo. The following relationships are included, going from the largest to the smallest segments and fragments of segments. 571 [572] [615] [614]

1. *Tribe-phratry.* This is not an actual but only a potential relationship, since the Cubeo tribe has virtually no structural significance. If the principle that we have described as to the nature of linkage-autonomy is correct, it would follow that if the tribe were ever activated as a sociopolitical entity, the phratries would emerge as even stronger entities. This, however, is only an academic speculation. More pertinent is the hypothesis that the Cubeo phratry is weak because it lacks a higher, a more collective, counterpart against which to assert itself. 571 615

2. *Sib-phratry.* In this relationship we see the classic statement of linkage-autonomy. The phratry as the collective entity heightens the significance of the sib as the autonomous counterpart. The implica- 571 614 [615]

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband. 592 571 [593] [606]

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack. 571 561

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart. 571 572

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their 571 614 615 621 571 621 [622] [256] [769] [553]

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tige, and rank. Societies differ with respect to the relative role these two principles have in the social structure. That of the Cubeo is very strongly lateral and only weakly hierarchical. Even the ranking of sibs has ritualistic rather than political significance. Rank confers prestige but no power. On the other hand, it does confer economic privilege of a sort by granting to the high ranks superior river rights. But the Cubeo themselves do not make an issue of this economic distinction. Political authority, as we have shown, is relatively slight. In kinship, age, generational, and descent seniority elicit some respect and provide for ritual precedence. Such precedence is a prestige point. But the prestige accrues less in everyday affairs than upon formal occasions. Thus, from the Cubeo point of view virtually all relationships between persons and between groups are lacking in dominance-subordination, whereas only in rituals, that is, only upon the plane of the sacred, are there distinctions of worth and of respect. Even these are rather minor, involving only ritual precedence. The ritual pattern itself is not hierarchical. Now segmentation, as Nadel has observed, is a hierarchical form of organization, yet in the case of the Cubeo, segmental hierarchy has little cultural significance. Since the phratry has no organization of leadership it is not, in actuality, a "higher" segment. For all secular purposes the sibs deal with one another as equals.

The principal characteristic of a strong lateral structure, such as that of the Cubeo, is its considerable flexibility in forming new linkages and in rearranging old ones. Hierarchical structures, on the other hand, are dependent upon, or subject to, the authority of a higher-ranking segment. The new linkages that any Cubeo household is free to establish are limited far more by personal preferences than by inviolable principles. Sib exogamy is such an inviolable principle, but phratric exogamy is somewhat different. It involves not the "dread" of incest but rather the sentiment of confraternity. Cubeo flexibility responds to the absence of political constraint. Sibs can move about, and can, if they wish, change phratric affiliation.

## FISSILITY

From the two preceding principles of sociocultural structure there follows a third, ease of fission. Every segment of the entire social structure has the capability of detaching itself from the larger body. The factions that have actually broken off include sib clusters, sibs,

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621 households, and individuals. Fission is an objective social process, a by-product of Cubeo cultural principles of autonomy and social equality. It is promoted, as well, by another cultural principle that we have not yet discussed. That principle I would describe as a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. That is to say, in the absence of political constraint and of economic necessity the Cubeo find it easier to leave an uncomfortable situation than to endure it.

## PERIODICITY

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614 Since the sibs join together on the basis of linkage-autonomy and upon lateral rather than hierarchical lines, some loosening of bonds
(574) would seem to be inevitable. The periodicity in drinking parties is the only measure we have of changes in the strength of attachment of sib bonds. These parties, we have noted, follow a cycle starting from full attendance and a very high state of mutual confidence and ending in a series of parties that are poorly attended and are conducted in an atmosphere that is dismal and heavy with distrust. Eventually confidence is restored and a new cycle begins. The period from high to low runs about one year. Periodicity is not a cultural principle; it is a consequence of several other cultural principles. As already suggested, linkage-autonomy and lateralization play a part in this periodicity because they allow relationships to find a "natural" level. That is to say, there is no formal authority that can step in to restore good relations when the social climate has been poisoned by
(621) drunken quarrels and by accusations of sorcery. Periodicity is perhaps
(615) to be regarded as an incomplete form of fission at the level of the phratry. Since the phratry is a stronger exponent of autonomy than is the sib, it develops only a few of the pressures that might lead to actual fission. As for other principles of Cubeo culture involved in the periodicity of sib bonds, we have already mentioned the low tol-
571 erance for psychic discomfort, and have described its relevance to
152 fission of the sib. In the context of the drinking party, and indeed in the context of all collective activities, this principle can be stated in still another way: that collectivity demands its appropriate atmosphere of good feeling. We have seen this principle strongly at work in the mourning ceremony, where the atmosphere of grief, grimness, hostility, suspicion, and fear is systematically and ritually trans-
(578) formed to one of excitement and gaiety. We have also observed that the Cubeo do not harbor grudges for long. When a feeling begins to subside they allow it to subside. When a more neutral atmosphere forms, a new cycle of good feeling can begin.

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562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 The second most important area in which polarity-complementar-
796 ity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvi-
152 ous distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage
571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly
765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the
614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine
152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihi*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib
[615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The signifi-
152 cance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that, as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context
571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel
574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib
614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moder-
273 ate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who
574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and
273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no
562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual
152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

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121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-
[428] complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
● 615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

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571 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are 606 stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of ex- 607 change marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it 593 draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister [583] and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the [616] mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geo- [582] graphic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as [614] well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively sub- 615 stantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest. 571 Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony 614 and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of 578 wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force [615] of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of [754] sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

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safeguards sib solidarity. On the other hand, when the disputants are of different sibs it is relatively easy for the issue to embroil the sibs as entities and correspondingly difficult to confine the issue to the actual principals. The fiction of phratric consanguinity notwithstanding, the sib is still, in Cubeo thought, a natural unit that holds within itself the constant potentiality of antagonism toward the fellow sib. The fact that each sib arrives at a drinking party or other ceremony armed and as a unit is the symbolic expression of latent antagonism. The ritual theme of dissolving the semblance of sib unity through intoxication is presumably counteractive to sib solidarity and antagonism. Yet this counteraction via intoxication contains the paradox of bringing the undercurrents of antagonism to the surface. To be sure, when a quarrel occurs in the late stages of a drinking party it often is isolated because the other sibmen may not be fully aware of what is going on. The safety device does work, to a degree and for a time. Moreover, some men are known to be quarrelsome by temperament and are consequently ignored. Granted all these mitigating circumstances, it is easy for a man to involve his own sib in a dispute with another. When illness and death occur, one conclusion is inevitable. That is found in the expression "*they* want *us* to die." This theme recurs in the funeral orations. Perhaps it is because the Cubeo sibs have a history of separate though related origins and a tradition of past antagonisms that present-day intersib hostility can flare, and is expected to flare, even though the issues that disturb them are, at bottom, trifling. However, in conformity with the minor nature of the disputes is the absence, in recent times, of intersib warfare. The disputes result in coolness and social distance and not in organized fighting. In summary, phratric unity is readily disturbed but never very seriously. It is restored by the process described under "Periodicity." It is because the issues are not irreconcilable that the social "governor" that restores peace by separation can work so well

The orbit of the sib has the same general form as the orbit of the phratry, with the formal difference that the sib has a leader whereas the phratry has no leadership at all. In the sib, moreover, all the ties are substantially firmer than in the phratry. Since the cultural view holds that sib unity is a natural expectation and since there are no important issues dividing sibmates, we are faced with a truly difficult theoretical problem in accounting for sib fission. The common explanation, that fission of local groups in simple societies is due simply to insufficiency of food in the immediate locality, does not apply to the Cubeo, who, at least in modern times – a period of population decline – are not confronted by land shortage. There is, in

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571 614 593 621 and children, circulate from community to community attaching themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual autonomy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low tolerance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

121 571 Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalancing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest suggestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance. On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

121 174 The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural. It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cubeo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honorific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further social and political development. Though the phratric organization is largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through political and economic means. Some of the potential political means are already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolution, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of patterns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of

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571 619 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 606 607 593 Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister [583] [616] and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geo- [582] graphic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent [614] antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 615 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest. 571 Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony 614 and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of 578 wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force [615] of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of [754] sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

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101 large, homogeneous cultural group in the center of what is identified in the literature as the Northwest Amazon culture area. (For culture area descriptions, see Steward 1946–1959, Goldman 1948, Murdock 1958, Steward and Faron 1959, and Galvão 1960.) There is historical as well as traditional evidence that some of these tribes may have originated outside of the Vaupés area, subsequently acculturating to the general central Northwest Amazon culture. Other tribes seem to have originated locally, from proliferation by fission. Koch-Grünberg (1909–1910), for instance, considers the Wanano newcomers (among others). Although it has not been especially noted in the literature, some tribes present social organizations that are atypical for the area. The Piratapuyo, for instance, retain moieties, which until recently functioned as exogamous intermarrying units in an otherwise tribally exogamous and moiety-lacking culture area. Goldman (1963), who noted multilingualism, also reports on the diverse origin of various sibs among the Kubeo. On the other hand, field notes on the Tuyuka-Yuruti (or Dochkapũra-Uaiana [the *Uaikona* are the Piratapuyo]) set of tribes and languages suggest their derivation from a common source.

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A couple of the larger tribes do not live in one continuous area, but in several areas. The numerous Tukano tribe occupies several continuous stretches of the Vaupés River and its principal tributaries, the Tikié and the Papuri, and also sites at the mouths of tributaries to these rivers. Historically, they have exerted

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000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

114 [101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría [124] Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant [614] and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, [615] two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

615 As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the 361 existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one 197 another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It 619 could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of 615 tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other 571 phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in * 574 Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who [601] did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the corre- [101] spondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the 615 Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged 197 to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and 124 on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great 114 distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four [124] phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

562 /445 cont./
881 without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following men-
*[192] struation, Məhẽka-nĩsé, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

611 Among the tribes of the Uaupés it is generation /Port. geração,
[601] generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (fõx-kãkõra, grandparents) and descendants (marĩ-bero-maxsã), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

602 The components of the same tribe, although born and living
• 619 in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerẽra (86),
[601]
[178]

86. The term axkawerẽra is beginning to be extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

a term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" /relatives/ and sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason we are of the opinion (VIII-2, a) that initially the local group coincided with the family.

*192 Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree
609 of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpẽra (87),

87. Axpẽra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpĩ (masculine) and axpego, feminine, other.

that is strangers, foreigners.

602 /446/
619 True kinship, therefore, exists only between the individuals of the same tribe, and with all of them.

2) Affinity.

582 Although strict tribal exogamy is in force, marriage establishes between the children and the relatives of both their father and their mother relations of affinity, similar to those of kinship (not, however, the obligations of vengeance and of matrimonial interdiction) and with a special nomenclature, although not as rich in terms as that of kinship.

582 Since "preferential marriage" is in force (usually with the first cousins of another tribe), that is, with the first cousins on
601 the mother's side, or baxsú-kãra (Masc. sing. baxsukõ, Fem. sing.
602 baxsuko), they admit the relation of affinity of the baxsukãra among themselves, as well as between the parents and the class of the "possible spouses" of the children. There are appropriate terms for these "possible spouses," "possible parents-in-law," and "possible children-in-law."

601 There might perhaps not even exist a term to express the relation of affinity; then they use a term for the relation of kin-
602 ship. For example, the native idioms of the Uaupés do not have terms corresponding to stepfather, stepmother, stepson, stepdaughter. In indirect discourse they describe the relation that exists, that is, one is called: "husband of my mother" (stepfather), "wife of my father" (stepmother), "son or daughter of my husband, or of my wife" (stepson, stepdaughter). And in direct discourse one is called by the name of the relation (uncle, grandfather, etc.), and they will call the stepchildren "children."

601 There are indeed terms, although also classificatory, that is, applicable to a whole class of individuals, corresponding to son-in-law and brother-in-law, but used almost solely for indirect discourse. For direct discourse they prefer the terms of social kinship; of these terms we shall indicate only the most common

/458/

619 2) Local or Territorial Group.

628 a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93)

> 93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that not only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

614 592 621 Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large dwelling called maloca, Wi'ĩ pahirĩwi, which means great house, collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

[177] With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort. [178] For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the povoados or groupings of family residences.

/468 cont./

565 but an admirable equality of rights and duties, as well as of property and of work.
567

Various circumstances justify such inexistence of classes: 1st, it is a matter of numerically small groups; 2nd, the warm and humid climate, if it facilitates a supply of the necessary food at all /469/ times of the year, it does not allow an abundant provisioning and the development of riches. Now, where there are no rich people, there are no classes, neither masters nor slaves; 3rd, the life in common, which the conditions introduced and tradition established; 4th, the fear of the envy that the well-being of one might cause in the others, and that so many times is manifested even in connection with the small inequalities (see V - 14); 5th, the lack of a tribunal to restore rights and indemnify damages.

[578]
[692]

3) Linguistic group.

a) Linguistic group.

• 619 Above the local Group, among the populations of the Amazonian Northwest, there is only the linguistic group. It is made up of several local groups, forming at times a total of thousands of individuals, with the following elements in common: 1st, they claim to be from one and the same tribe or nation and, therefore, consider themselves "brothers"; 2nd, they speak the same language; 3rd, marriage between them is definitely forbidden.

It is, then, a matter of an ethnic unit only. The groups that constitute it never gather together, they do not own property that might be said to be in common: house, land, fishing waters of such a tribe, etc. Because of the distances the relations between groups from different tribes are more frequent than between groups of the same tribe.

There is, then, no social or political organization of an entire tribe; and the elders do not recall of ever having heard of such an organization. There has indeed been some tuxaua with greater ascendancy and whom other tuxauas consulted and whose advice

[622]

/469 cont./

619 they followed in the more serious questions that involved relations
622 with other tribes or with the whites. Each one, however, judging himself perfectly independent and even with very little power over the other men of his own maloca.

701 It consists, indeed, of the temporary union of several groups
622 for an aggressive or defensive military expedition under the orders of a single chief (106).

175 106. Thus the renowned Ajuricaba of the Manao
721 nation, with his two thousand bows, navigating
648 true fleets under the flag of Holland, hunted Indians
701 of other tribes in order to sell them as slaves to the Hollanders of Guiana (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario," n. 336). In 1858 Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 7, p. 86), narrating the episode of the "Cristo de Juquira" (cf. VII-4, b), estimates that a thousand persons from various localities and tribes gathered in Juquira in declared hostility to the civilized. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" of 1785), apropos of the legendary city of Manoa, vast captial of the Manao, explains to us that on the river Uaupaxi where the Manao formerly were: "the reported aldeia /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ (irananauoca) did not have the qualities and greatnesses that the city of Manoa paraded, because, notwithstanding that all these were confederated, their aldeias were nevertheless independent of one another and many of them as populous as Irananauoca."

622 /470/ There has never been a true authority, but only the
797 ascendancy of one tuxaua over the others. This is more or less the present situation of a Missionary, and, with certain reservations, we can speak of a hypertuxauaship.

/470 cont./

b) Tribe or Nation?

619 Three elements, that is, a certain degree of political cohesion, a concentration of powers in the hands of the chiefs, and an identity of culture, are included and associated under the concept of Tribe, as commonly understood. Now the first two elements are not found among the human groups in the Amazonian Northwest. One can not, then, speak in terms of Tribe. Perhaps it would have been better to call them Nation. We have, in reality, various national groups, each one with its language, presenting characteristic somatic features, in spite of the regime or exogamy in force among them.

All of them, however, constitute a single cultural group. As a matter of fact, they possess common traditions and practices, that is, a similar pattern of life and assemblage of observances that, strange to us, are common to all, such as the rules of marriage, of exogamy, of puberty initiation, etc.

c) Linguistic Families.

197 We await the decision of the specialists on various linguistic questions: 1st, do those that are generally listed as languages deserve to be called this? or might some of them perhaps be merely dialectical variations? 2nd, what is the relationship between them, perhaps one derived from another? which ones would be the derived ones? 3rd, would the present idioms be sister languages, originating from ancient idioms that have already disappeared? which ones would these be? 4th, and, with this last hypothesis, which of the present idioms of the Uaupés comes closest to the original mother tongue?

Attributing a "Language" to each of the "Tribes," as a temporary and hypothetical assumption, we can say (as we have done passim in the present study) that the tribes of the Brazilian Uaupesina area are divided into three distinct and irreducible Families of Languages: the Tukano family, the Arwake family, and the Makú family.

/474 cont./

554 614 [601] 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some are earlier and others later, having originated perhaps from some schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 614 829 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear, however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say who would have precedence.

797 177 614 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

> 111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

/475 cont./

614 flight, which tends to become lower and lower. When it wants to
825 cross a river, it goes up one of the highest trees on the bank, so they assure us, and from there starts its flight, which little by little loses height, and sometimes, on the rivers that are too wide, they do not manage to reach the other bank. It was observed that the Tukano Indians, seeing a tucano /toucan/ fly over the river Uaupés at one of the widest points, uttered cries, as though of apprehension, in fear that the bird might not succeed in reaching the opposite bank.

They are only traces that at most might lead one to infer an earlier social form of totemic clan, if they are not elements acquired by borrowing (the instinct of imitation of the Indians is so re-
[824] markable) from other groups. One does not note, however, any attention (respect, fear, pleasure) toward the animal or plant whose name they bear; names, besides, without economic importance (except the Baniva or another one), contrary to what happens as a rule in connection with the totemic names.

It has not been noted that they avoid killing it or, on the contrary, try to eat it in some special circumstances. If they find it dead, /476/ no sign of surprise. It is certain that at times they kill it in order to use its feathers in the dance ornaments. But, at least in the present form (112),

[178]

> 112. We so often insist on the idea that these are present customs. This is because it becomes difficult or impossible to verify how they proceeded in other times. And the Indians respond to our questions: -- "It has always been this way."

the ornaments are the same for the various tribes, be they called Tukano, Arara, Tuyuka, Pirã-tapuya, etc. It can even be asserted that their attitude is one of perfect indifference before the animal with their own name, more or less just as before any other animal.

614 There are no tucano /toucan/, pica-pau /woodpecker/, juritĩ
• 619 /dove/, etc. clans, either. They are and they are considered nations or different tribes, each one with its own language and peculiar somatic features. It is true that one and the same tribe is subdivided into groups with names that might seem clanlike (cf. IV-2-a(2) /see a(3)/ ). But they indeed are not the animals that appear

/476 cont./

614 in the dance ornaments. Besides, such groups, or Gentes, are far
• 619 from the classic type of clan. For example, marriage is not permitted between the Gentes, but only between one and another Nation.

The ornaments with feathers of the tucano /toucan/, arara, garça /heron/, or monkey fur are bound up with the legend of Wãxtĩ, which, due to the mutual relationship between the tribes, has figured in the history of each tribe. The ornaments, however, are
[438] not distinctive for family or clan. They are essentially the same for all the tribes, being an object of trade of one tribe with another. This circumstance alone already speaks against a clan interpretation.

[532] It is absolutely not noted that any tribe or group has any picto-
[825] rial representation by incision or sculpture of any animal whatsoever, and even less of its titular.

As for the dance masks and personages, it is to be observed first
[53] that there is the one of the borboleta /butterfly/, and nevertheless there is no human group with this denomination, and nothing reveals its having existed. In the second place there are mask, dance, and song of the cutia /agouti/, and a subdivision among the Tukano, the Bwá-põrã, children of the cutia, and an Arwake tribe of the Içana, Awadzuranai or cutia-tapuya, are known under this name; and nevertheless there is no such mask among the Tukano, but there is among the Arwake.

It seems that the same personage now does the borboleta /butterfly/, now the cutia, etc. Now one, now another will do such a role; within the same maloca there are the various personages, and it is not a matter of a function inherited from father to son either. All this testifies against the hypothesis of the existence of clan subdivisions.

[825] /477/ As for the episode of the concern for the tucano /toucan/ that was crossing the river, it could be a manifestation of simple curiosity, which among the Indians comes so many times accompanied by exclamatory noises. The elders relate nothing that might prove to be a matter of a clan totem. At least by what we know up to now.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19



part of the Central American and Andean jaguar distribution; perhaps the Cubeo ranked clans and ancestral cult are also part of the Andean picture. However, where there is a cultural relationship it is probable that it moves in either direction. The lowlands took from the Andes; it is likely that they gave as well. Perhaps a close study of social conditions in the tropical forest could shed specific light on the spectacular historical developments in the Andes. The way in which the Cubeo malora, the multifamily residence, tends to become a sib ceremonial center for those sib members who have broken away from it illustrates, for example, a possible process of ceremonial center formation.

Questions of culture history are inevitably to the fore when one compares the tropical forest with the Andes. But even as a separate entity the tropical forest area commands culture-historical interest. Cubeo social structure, for example, suggests some of the ways in which small social units such as extended and joint families and lineages grow into and combine to form more complex and more highly integrated social systems. Segments of one tribe attach themselves as entities to other tribes adopting a new language. Federations of segments are formed by various combinations of adoption, adhesion, and fission; these bind themselves together by ceremonial ties and not by ordinary political means of suprachieftainship. Other processes are at work elsewhere in the region. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that detailed comparative studies of tropical forest social structures could provide a rich foundation for the reconstruction of modes of social evolution, within a fixed range of social integration. As native Africa is a natural laboratory for the study of nascent states, the South American tropical forest as a major culture area is a natural laboratory for the study of variations in a small community, and lineage and clan organization.

In the foregoing discussion my intent was to provide the reader with a broad problem setting in which the Cubeo are viewed generally as a tropical forest culture. Since tropical forest anthropology is not too widely known this seemed a useful thing to do. However, the Cubeo are more specifically a part of the Northwest Amazon subculture area. The Northwest Amazon is designated as a subarea of the tropical forest in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. Not a sharply delineated area, it includes several of the major languages of lowland South America: Arawakan, Cariban, Tucanoan, Witotoan, and Macú. Of these language groups, Tucanoan (the language of the Cubeo), Witotoan, and Macú are restricted to the Northwest Amazon and were until recently listed as unclassified languages

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calabash dishes that had only just been acquired from the Karapana Indians was traded to the Desanas for a tray. The Cubeo seem to prefer the trade article to the domestic product. Finally, it should be said of intertribal trade that much of it follows the lines of intermarriages, in which objects are transferred in the course of normal affinal exchanges. 439 [582]

Within the tribe, objects tend to be exchanged largely in accordance with principles of kinship and blood brotherhood. However, as sibmen visit along the river they learn which objects and whose skills one may properly admire. The object is asked for, or in a sense contracted for, and a genial nonhaggling discussion settles the terms of the exchange. Apart from farinha, a special case, food rarely enters the channels of native trade. Koch-Grünberg's information that upriver people acquired manioc from the downriver *Hehéneua* does suggest trade in food. He gives no details, however (1909, II, 82). I never observed or heard of native trade in food, other than casual and small-scale exchange of secondary crops. Maize, for example, is a trade item, but then it is hardly a foodstuff on the Cuduiari. 438

## PROPERTY

With respect to land it is dominion rather than ownership that we deal with. A tribe has dominion over a territory, a phratry over a river or over sections of a river, and a sib over a smaller segment of river frontage. Dominion is sanctioned by traditions of origin which narrate precisely where the first ancestors came from, and their subsequent travels and settlements. On the strength of these traditions people can say, "This is our land." A group that has been displaced from a traditional territory may adapt its traditions to new conditions, giving itself a new origin myth. But as long as the traditions hold, the claim to dominion over the territory is not surrendered. Place names are part of the traditional claim to a territory. They identify ancestral sites, and, more particularly, fishing sites, old orchards, and manioc plantations. 423 [61] [103]

Since there is no tribal or phratric administrative organization, concepts of tribal or of phratric dominion are matters of general sentiment rather than of concrete claims. Only a sib is truly concerned with its territorial integrity. There is little cause for a sib to fear encroachment on its territory. There have been instances of one sib taking over the territory of another, but these instances, as the Cubeo interpret them, were of hostility against the people, not of desire for their land. I found no evidence of land hunger among the Cubeo. 423 614 [615] [619]

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genealogies is not strong, so that they have only a general, albeit a strong, feeling that the family lines presently in a sib are related. What keeps the sib from being a lineage is then the technical fact that the Cubeo cannot link up their present descent lines with their ancient descent lines. 614 [829] [613]

One is tempted, therefore, to think of the Cubeo descent group as a transitional form, hovering between sib and lineage. At first glance the distinction between sib and lineage seems to hang by the technicality of how sophisticated a people are about genealogies. Yet this sophistication is a matter of major importance. Sib continuity and growth is a relatively simple matter of transmitting a sib name and a line of descent with an origin myth to give historical sanction. Lineage continuity and growth, on the other hand, demand motivation as well as the capability for maintaining accurate or presumably accurate genealogical records. Societies organized upon aristocratic lines can do this readily. Egalitarian societies, on the other hand, can have small lineages or large clans and kindreds but they cannot readily support large or historically deep lineages. The Cubeo have a shadow aristocracy only, not enough to sustain the necessary degree of genealogical sophistication. On the other hand, if the Cubeo could not sustain the growth of lineages neither could they sustain the growth of sibs. Two social conditions seemed to stand in the way of the enlargement of sibs. One was the inherent fissility of the sib, the other was the organization of the phratry. The phratry allowed the sibs to split without endangering their survival by virtue of being too small. 614 613 614 615 182

The basic social organization that provides for autonomous confederation of small units conforms readily to the requirements of easy absorption of new groups. The modes of group-binding, such as exogamy, the cycle of drinking parties, and the segmented forms of ceremonial participation that allow each sib to function as a ceremonial unit, are also admirably adapted to rapid assimilation of foreign tribes without benefit of a central administration. In cases of assimilation, all the necessary joint activities to which the sibs of a phratry are bound will inevitably encourage a common language. Just as the phratric organization allows for easy binding of autonomous sibs into a convenient fraternity that provides for peace, cooperation, and sociability, it allows as readily for fission without serious disruption. From these observations it may be inferred that the history of the Northwest Amazon region has been one of constant formation and disruption of sociopolitical entities. What a tribe is at any time is a core of sib segments that may have persevered through [174] 614 619 174

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614 time and then have drawn to them new sibs from peoples speak-
619 ing the same as well as other languages. The Cubeo tribe, as we have
174 already observed, seems to be an aggregate of Tucanoan-speaking, Arawakan-speaking, and "Macuan"-speaking peoples. A particular sib that belongs to one tribe today may incorporate itself into another tomorrow.

614 It is possible that sib formation in the Northwest Amazon region
174 has been an outgrowth of this process of repeated assimilation of new groups. The reasoning behind this assumption is as follows: patrilocal extended families need only assert and maintain a tradition of common origin and then live up to the requirement of maintaining a firm group identity, within a confederation, to make the transition to sib or clan. The suggestion is, however, that sib formation cannot be accounted for merely by the growth of extended patrilocal families or by the enlargement of lineages – because of the ease of fission – but rather as a response to quite another process, that of confederation in which the identity of the joining segments is retained. A confederation of descent groups heightens the probability that all will defend their autonomy by asserting their identity of common descent.

## THE SIB AND PHRATRIC ORGANIZATION

614
615 The sibs are listed in approximate order of rank. This rank order
554 should be considered as provisional, since it represents mainly the
361 *Bahúkiwa* view of sib rank.

### PHRATRY I

*Órobawa* The leading sib: they still live at Uaracapuri on the Vaupés, the site of a rapids from which they first emerged. Their first male ancestor was called *Órobahũ*. According to one version of the origin tale, he was the head of the anaconda from which all Cubeo are descended. He then named all the sibs of the phratry that followed after him. Koch-Grünberg identified them as *Ólaba-Hehénewa* and hence as a branch of the *Hehénewa*. Nimuendajú listed them as *Órobawa*. According to my in-
[114] formation, they are most closely linked with the *Hwáni-Hehénewa* and with the *Aúnuwwa*, the easternmost or most downstream community of the Cubeo.

*Aúnbawwũ* The second sib, occupying the next site upstream on the Vaupés at Urania. Their first ancestor was *Aúnkũ*. Some informants said that *Aúnkũ* was the last to emerge but was granted second place by *Órobahũ*. In any case, their position on the Vaupés gives them second rank. They are regarded as very closely linked with the *Hehénewa*. In 1940 they were reduced to four households. Some had taken up residence

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614 584 walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest [836] is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting [832] coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of these is an extract of *tiwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult, [789] a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

614 583 584 [601] Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *tcimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *tcimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *tcimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *tcimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

614 574 583 584 It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the maloca and of the community – the groom joining the age group of his *tcimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

614 619 574 583 584 This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

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 619 583 584 574 [614] [114]

marriage. These suspicions are not overcome even though they may already have affinal kin in the other tribe.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, I was witness to some of the events of the full cycle of an exchange marriage involving the neighboring Tucanoan-speaking *Tatúyo*. The opening wedge for this marriage was made by a *Bahúkiwa* woman who had married a *Tatúyo*. One day she reappeared among the *Bahúkiwa* with her husband and young children and settled down for a long wait. She was given a manioc garden and her husband devoted himself to making household implements for the wife of the headman. The headman had two marriageable daughters and two marriageable sons, to each of whom had been assigned, in the traditional manner, a sister whom he would exchange for a bride. One of the daughters, the elder, was very attractive, vivacious, flirtatious, and ardently desired by many young men. She had been married and divorced several times and was accused of having aborted, or killed at birth, several of her offspring. Because she was headstrong and not very industrious, sober-minded folk regarded her as a poor choice for a bride. Nevertheless, she was assigned to the older son, a very capable young man who showed every promise of becoming a headman. By seniority his was to be the prior marriage. Among the Cubeo the problem is to have the sons marry in proper age sequence and not the daughters. The *Bahúkiwa* visitor stated her opinion that such a girl needed a *Tatúyo* as a husband. "A *Tatúyo* could tame her," she said. The *Tatúyo* indeed had a reputation for ferocity because at the time they were still at war with the whites. By contrast with the Cubeo, those I saw were sullen and certainly appeared to be far more aggressive. She added that the *Tatúyo* also had many fine young girls, girls who had not been spoiled by contact with whites. The headman had no sooner grasped the possibilities of such a marriage for his undisciplined older daughter than a party of *Tatúyo* appeared to visit their fellow *Tatúyo*, who, they remarked jokingly, had lived away for so long that they now thought of him as a *Bahúkiwa*. It was a "large" party of eight men of warrior age. They came in two canoes. They were quartered among the various households and they stayed for several weeks, showing great skill in hunting, fishing, and in making implements. No one spoke marriage; but the signs were soon evident in the flirtatiousness of the daughters of the headman and two of the *Tatúyo* youths. When the *Tatúyo* announced that they were now ready to go home, a drinking party was quickly arranged as a farewell. When the *Tatúyo* party had left, it was discovered that the younger daughter was missing and that the older sister, whose "elopement" was taken [582]

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619 583 584 574 for granted, had remained home. When this was discovered the headman and all the able-bodied men he could muster rushed for their canoes and paddled furiously downriver to intercept the "abductors." The girl's mother sputtered with indignation at the *Tatúyo* who had "tricked them" and at her daughter who had betrayed them. This, it emerged, was a genuine elopement. The older sister, willful as ever, had no intention of being "tamed" by anyone, least of all by backwater Indians. Her younger sister was eager, however, and it was no trouble to get the *Tatúyo* to accept her. In due time the *Tatúyo* were intercepted. Assuredly they allowed themselves to be intercepted. Since the girl would under no circumstances agree to come home, the parties had only to settle the conditions of an exchange marriage. The *Tatúyo* designated a girl, ripe to be taken as a wife at any time, and by way of apologizing for eloping with the wrong daughter agreed to add a large canoe. Back home, the headman berated his sister for thinking more of the interests of her *Tatúyo* husband than of her *Bahúkiwa* people.

The elopement postponed the marriage of the older son, who was eager for a wife and precipitated the younger one into a marriage to which he had not yet been giving thought, so strong is the Cubeo convention of pairing a brother and sister for an exchange marriage. In a few months the younger son was sent to "demand" the bride promised. I did not accompany the marriage party to the *Tatúyo*. But when the party returned with a very attractive young bride they reported to the satisfaction of the headman that the groom, having first offered his sister a chance to return home, asked for the bride. The girl was brought out. He took her by the hand and led her to the canoe. "We [614] did not even stay overnight," he boasted. Such brusqueness and calculated discourtesy would not occur if the exchange were with the maternal sib.

581 Sheer sexual attractiveness is regarded as the wrong reason for choosing a bride. The point is not only that physical sturdiness and industriousness are better traits, but that a sexually provocative woman will be a source of trouble to the sib. A responsibility of an elder accompanying a marriage party is to remind the groom-to-be to pay attention to the sterling qualities of a bride, that do include, however, such erotically desirable features as large, full breasts, a strong back, and a clear skin. They would prefer to have her sullen rather than vivacious.

583 585 614 Formal marriage is signalized by what must be regarded as the "rite of abduction." The groom seizes his bride and runs with her to the canoe. She cries out for help and her male kin rush out and

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what it was yesterday. Moreover, the concept of homeostasis, like that of pattern, is a theory of society. As a theory it rests upon further theoretical assumptions as to what are the significant relationships, what are the normal patterns, and what are the disharmonious and stressful interactions. In the final analysis, a theory of homeostasis deals primarily with the ways in which a society handles conflicts and stresses. From a broad perspective, one can say that Cubeo society depends rather heavily upon what might be called "mood management" for equilibrium. Its homeostasis rests a good deal less upon networks of reciprocal obligations and upon formal exchanges of goods than, let us say, in Melanesian societies. The clearest illustration of this Cubeo equilibrium principle is in the role of the headman. In Cubeo culture he is not an economic redistributor (the drinking parties cannot be regarded as an econo[illegible]change) but a regulator of community sentiment and of go[illegible]g. However, the nature of Cubeo equilibrium is best considered at each particular level of social integration.

Cubeo society may be presented diagrammatically as encompassing five orbits of relationship, arranged in order of progressively weaker bonds of unity. The innermost orbit is represented by the male siblings, the nucleus of the sib; the second orbit is the sib itself; the third orbit is the phratry; the fourth, the affinal kin; and the fifth and outermost, the tribe. The brother-sister relationships and the husband-wife relationships may be regarded as within the confines of the first and second orbits.

Each orbit has its own characteristics of equilibrium. To take them in reverse order: Tribal unity is so tenuous that fragmentation into subtribal units is of little consequence. New combinations are readily formed and whatever disturbance this may cause is very temporary. Tribal continuity rests upon tradition and common language and customs, on the one hand, and upon the phratric organization, of which it is a summation, on the other. With respect to tribe, the question of equilibrium is more pertinently not what holds the tribe together, but rather what there is to disperse it. Tradition and common customs and language are little more than bonds of inertia. Once set, they hold unless some stronger force intervenes. Against what counterforces are the relatively weak bonds of tradition to contend? The answer is that there are no such counterforces arising from within the society, since tribal unity has no tasks to accomplish that could involve stresses and strains. Paradoxically, the very absence of a tribal leadership is a source of unity. By virtue of the linkage-

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571 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 606 607 593 Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geographic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 615 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest. 571 614 578 Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

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571 614 593 621 and children, circulate from community to community attaching themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual autonomy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low tolerance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

121 571 Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalancing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest suggestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance. On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

[619] [615]

121 174 The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural. It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cubeo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honorific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further social and political development. Though the phratric organization is largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through political and economic means. Some of the potential political means are already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolution, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of patterns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of

[614] [615] [648]

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 The basic political and ceremonial unit of
61 the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse group, which is also the basic unit of economic
594 redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with
[251] its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each mar-
[354] ried woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her
[264] hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by
[562] the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A
61 well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

• 619 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic
197 group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cul-
582 tural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

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Indians, who are the patrón and his foremen, but they tend to keep themselves apart socially and linguistically from their Indian workers. The rubber-working group forms economically a patrón-peón system, or, more precisely for the Vaupés area, a patrón-padre-peón system. A benevolent role of missionaries in the Vaupés has been to minimize the depredations and excessive abuses of the rubber-working barons by requiring them to acquire their Indian workers through the missionaries as middle men.

619
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A clear distinction is made between tribal group and nationality; a word glossing as "landsmen" is the term used in Tukano for nationality group. There are two nationality groups among the multilingual Indians described in this paper—the Colombian Indians and the Brazilian Indians (the periphery of the multilingual area may include some Venezuelan Indians)—and even the members of the longhouses in the zone most unacculturated to "civilization" know whether they are Colombians or Brazilians. Also, Indians and non-Indians both agree that there are two clear-cut categories of people in the Vaupés: in Spanish these are called the *indígenas*, or Indians, and the *blancos*, or non-Indians (including Negros). However, the Indians feel uncertain and confused about ethnic and presumably "tribal" groups among the non-Indians. A favorite topic of conversation with me was inquiry about ethnic descent groups among such known nationality groups as Colombians, Brazilians, Venezuelans, and "Americans" (of the U.S.A.). Apparently the Indians are trying to set up a folk taxonomy for non-Indians within the Indian frame of reference. They have long been familiar with members of Dutch, German, English, Spanish, and Portuguese ethnic groups; they are confused about the nationality as against the ethnic status of some of these, especially of the latter two. Many Colombian and Brazilian nationals whom the Indians frankly regard as mestizos or creoles claim not only to be blancos but also "Spaniards" or "Portuguese"; yet they do not resemble the Dutch, German, or English blancos. (In Tukano the word for "blanco," best glossed from Spanish as "non-Indian," is derived from a form also used in the derivations of "fire, shotgun, fireplace"; the occasional blanco-sponsored request for a new form in Tukano that would gloss as "white" is consistently rejected.)

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829 Although the Indians reckon, for reference, in terms of ethnic groups, their attitude toward non-Indians is roughly the same as that of Americans in the United States toward European immigrants, who are looked upon as potentially becoming more and more American. I observed that Indians behold the visitor as potentially becoming more and more Indian-like unless he actively rejects Indian food, customs, and so forth. Most non-Indians are unaware of this attitude, and many would be contemptuous of it if they did know of it.

With respect to the Dutch, Germans, etc., an identifying criterion important to the Indian is that each of these ethnic groups is a separate language-bearing group. I was surprised that Indians do not naïvely assume that the English-speaking "American" necessarily belongs to the English ethnic group; the occasional North American traveler who insists (in Spanish) that he is "American" by *tribe* as well as by nationality is simply not believed. The North American who can be more explicit about his ethnic background is appreciated, especially if the background includes languages other than English and more than one ethnic group (thus simulating in form the exogamic language-bearing groups among the Colombian or Brazilian Indians). The Indians have also noted the widespread and, to them, notorious endogamy of the non-Indians and figure that there must be some sort of sib exogamy. The Indians ask a great deal about non-Indian marriage customs--partly because missionaries at times have suggested that the Indians' exogamy system is cumbersome and uncivilized, and that it promotes close cousin marriage, whereas the Indians feel that it is the non-Indian, with his lack of a clearly definable exogamy system, who is indiscriminate.

[582] [797]

As for nationality-and-language, the Indians know that Spanish is the language of non-Indians on the Colombian side of the border and that Portuguese is the corresponding language on the Brazilian side of the border. They also know that Spanish is the language of Venezuela and that English is the language of "America." Nationality has no bearing on exogamy.

*The Tribal Unit*

619 In the central Northwest Amazon the term "tribe" has been used both for individual language-bearing units and for composites of these units sharing the same culture. In general

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7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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• 619 practice, the designation of "tribe" implies a distinct culture-bearing entity. But the use of "tribe" for social units in the central Northwest Amazon has been ambiguous because of the use sometimes of linguistic and sometimes of cultural criteria. The problem of identifying tribal units has been recognized on a more general level in South American ethnology by Steward and Faron (1959:17, 21), and the concept of "tribe" in the world-wide anthropological literature has most recently been challenged by Fried (1966), who indicates that assumptions regarding the diachronic and politico-evolutionary status of so-called tribes need re-examination.

619 192 The Tukano, Tuyuka, Barasana, and other Eastern Tukanoan-speaking Indians of the central Northwest Amazon have no simple term for "tribe" in their languages, nor for "lineage," "sib," "phratry." In discussion these units are designated by proper names (e.g., "the Tukanos") or, if the context is clear, by demonstratives suffixed with one of the various classifiers glossing as "group," "class," "persons," any one of which may pertain to any of these social units. When Spanish is used, however, *tribu* is applied by Indians to the language-bearing unit only, whereas *familia* and *grupo* are applied to various units, including the tribe. When an informant is asked to explain the meaning of "tribu" in Tukano (or in another Eastern Tukanoan language), he invariably gives the proper name of the language-bearing unit, and follows up further questioning about other social units by giving the proper names of those that he knows, especially of those in his own lineage-sib-tribe hierarchy, and he concludes with a statement such as, "They're all my relatives." If recourse is made to Spanish to explain a hierarchical arrangement, an informant will say something like "*Este grupo tiene tres grupos.*" In Tukano he would say, "This-group is three-groups: the 'Anteater' people are three-groups: the A are at X rapids, the B are at Y stretch of the Papurí River, and the C are at Z mission village." Linguistically, the name for the language is the name for the tribe in the plural possessive form, nominalized; the plural infinitive of the word for "to speak" is the form glossing as "language," and if this form also appears along with the tribal name, then the plural possessive form of the tribal name also appears but it is not nominalized.

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191 dated dancing body. During the course of the
578 ceremony, the women group according to their own tribal affiliations and sing as choruses in their own father-tongues. Married women alternate between singing in their original father-language, in their husband's language, and in the longhouse language of the hosts.

191 If neither one's father nor mother is Tukano,
197 one nevertheless will speak Tukano as a lingua franca. Indirect evidence suggests that Tukano
• 619 existed aboriginally, or at least early in the historic period, as a lingua franca, although its epicenter may have formerly been in the Lower Vaupés. The Tukano tribe may even have been the dominant group in a confederation or nation of sorts (Markham 1910). At any rate, the Tukano are widely and strategically located and appear to have exerted a dominant influence in the whole area. The Tukano claim a mild prestige as the senior sibs of the area and regard all the other tribes as younger-brother sibs in a particular rank order (see Fulop 1955); this ranking is accepted by the other tribes. Because the Tukano tribe is so widespread, almost every longhouse has at least one Tukano woman in it. Therefore, persons who do not have a Tukano for father or mother still have someone in their longhouse from whom they can absorb the correct pronunciation of Tukano.

197 Now, the Tukano language contains at least six dialects. As a lingua franca it is not pidginized but is learned in one or another of its tribal dialect forms, whatever one the learner is exposed to. Speakers for whom Tukano is not their father- or mother-language can still be identified as to regional dialect. Tukano, incidentally, is not an easy language to learn. It has a great many phonemes and an intricate tonal system; and apart from the tonal system, it has an intricate system of stress. This suggests the hypothesis that sheer intricacy may foster an all-or-none attitude toward learning to speak a phonologically elaborate language. Maintenance of Tukano as a lingua franca has probably been reinforced by there being some 25 or more language groups that it serves.

191 The Indians do not practice speaking a language that they do not know well yet. Instead, they passively learn lists of words, forms, and phrases in it and familiarize themselves with the sound of its pronunciation. The diverse and discrete phonologies of these languages and their dialects loom very prominently in

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[Information on the maloca, the communal shelter, has been filed in category 592.]

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).
T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.
501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.
T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/368 cont./

621 of the soul, a social cult of the dead would be foreseen. Manifestations of this cult are the elegy-weeping, the interment, the banquet and funeral feast.

758 1) The elegy-weeping. The coldness and insensitivity (82)

> 82. Sometimes, it seems to us, even cruelty, denying them even food and drink (cf. V-17).

with which these natives of the Uaupés see any member of the family waste away, even if it is their own father, mother, or child, is striking. The sick one is found in a hammock hung in a darker corner, and a few meters away the occupants of the maloca or house /369/ laugh, talk, eat, amuse themselves, as if no sick person was there (83).

[797]

> 83. We have already noted that, to the question by the Missionary as to whether anyone is sick (see V-16) in the maloca or povoado, they systematically answer no. Perhaps the silence or the denial has its cause in a belief or some magic concept unknown to us. And from this same concept might be derived the insensitivity, perhaps only apparent, which gives rise to our opinion. To the Padre who scolded a native who left his old father without food, he responded: -- "Why should I give him food? He is going to die!"
>
> Pe. João Marchesi writes (ap. "Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13): "In the same house, sometimes a relative is in agony, but nevertheless they will not take the least care to spare him

/458/

619 2) Local or Territorial Group.

628 a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93)

> 93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that not only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

614 592 621 Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large dwelling called maloca, Wi'ĩ pahirĩwi, which means great house, collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

[177] With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort. For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the povoados or groupings of family residences.

[178]

/458 cont./

621 592 614

Not rarely the dissension within a group provokes schisms, bringing as a result the departure of the dissidents, who go to build a new maloca or povoado farther away.

It is probable that originally each maloca was, in a strict sense, a family, in which the sons remained beside the father, and under his direction, even after they were married. We thus conceive the local group as being originally an agnatic community. There is, as a matter of fact, an expression current among the natives: "I am a person of N," and he says the name of the tuxaua himself.

[178] At present the two forms of local grouping are found: either everyone lives under one and the same roof, the maloca; or each family has its own residence, the povoados resulting. It is to be noted, however, that there are povoados only on the banks of the large rivers and through the influence and under the protection of the catechesis.

[594] /459/ In one form or another, however, the families constitute distinct groups and, what is even more remarkable in the regime of the maloca, autonomous ones. One understands the reason for this autonomy: there is in the tribes of the Uaupés a fusion of the two "ateliers," the masculine one (of fishing) and the feminine one (tiller), which complement each other and are sufficient for the maintenance of the family.

b) The social organization.

The gregarious life that the forest dwellers live demands the observance of certain norms establishing the relations among the individuals, or a certain social organization is necessary.

These relationships are, besides, quite natural, due to the very simplicity of the life they lead; and, on the other hand, are religiously observed. They are all customary, that is, practiced by custom, and it can not be learned whether they were given by a legislator, Wãx-tĩ, as the legends teach; or whether, on the contrary, they were customs introduced naturally and which experience approved, established, and made inviolable. Or whether

/459 cont./

621 592 614 perhaps one should distinguish between the different relations, some of which, for example, that of exogamous marriage, might have had a positive origin, and the others might be of consuetudinary origin.

Even in small groups, although perfectly and smoothly harmonized, the distinction of social assemblages, with their duties, their characteristic attributes, their peculiar directives, is easily perceptible. In each local group we can distinguish four categories of individuals: 1st, the tuxáua; 2nd, the Komũã (elders); 3rd, the men (more or less scaled by their ages and experience); 4th, the women and children.

These different categories, however, are closely connected to one another by unifying and stabilizing principles: 1st, a common house, the regime of the maloca, which, at least in the beginning, was in force as a general norm and without exception; 2nd, the provisions in common: a custom that is maintained in the maloca regime and, in a more attenuated way, also in the povoado system; 3rd, the common inheritance of the maloca, of zones for fishing and hunting, and of everything that is the property of the group; 4th, the fear of the spirits, with great unitive power, corresponding to the native mentality; 5th, vengeance, which the group will exercise against the one suspected of having caused the death of one of its members.

A further word about the first two categories of individuals is advisable.

c) "Bũxkõrã-kurã" -- (Council of elders).

622 623 Watching over the observance of the customs and the feasts is a Council of elders, the Bũxkõrã-kurã (called Moacaretã in Nheengatú). It is made up of the Tuxaua, who is its hereditary president and also speaker and executor of its decisions, the Pajé, and two or three more /460/ men of greater ascendancy. These men are the Komũã (pl. of Komũ), as the natives express themselves, whom we saw appear (VII - 2, e (3) ) as "initiates" and, up to a certain point, helping the pajé.

/481 cont./

2) Annual cycle.

132 The climate of those regions does not seem to offer marked
221 changes in order for the rhythm of the daily life of the Indian to be altered. As /482/ a matter of fact, the thermometer, the barometer, and the hygrometer will show the same average throughout the year. Owing to the rains of the headwaters of the rivers, however, a season of high waters and another of low ones are distinguished. And the annual cycle is perhaps more varied for the Indian than it customarily is among the civilized.

476 Besides the labor that is incumbent upon every individual for
621 his home life, there are others that concern the entire community and that for this reason are performed collectively under the direction of the tuxaua. They might perhaps be the repairs of the maloca or the building of a new one, in the same place or perhaps quite far away from the old one. Or again it might be the cleaning of the areas adjacent to the maloca, of the common paths or of the landing place. It might be a matter of some clearing for some Indian, who will obtain the help of his tribal brothers, although for his private use. The individuals are advised in advance, in order to make their arrangements. If it is a matter of work for the collectivity, everyone is obliged to participate in it. If, instead, it is help for some brother, one can reasonably excuse oneself; one would not do it, however. And in either case there is only one conventional, sufficient, and agreeable payment: a caxiri, which has also been prepared beforehand. The collective work is done without even any need for a technical director, because it is always done according to the traditions, under the simple directions of the tuxaua or of the individual concerned. It is noisy and cheerful work, true competitions of strength and
*[192] activity, as well as of good humor and cheerfulness. It is what is called Dará-serẽsé, in Nheengatú ajurí or mutirão (2).

2. Ajurí would properly be the invitation, and putirum (from which the term made into Portuguese, mutirão), the collective work. Stradelli, in his

*192 /482 cont./

• 621 476 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

527 221 226 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 222 527 At different times of the year great quantities of insects appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 527 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the Indians of the different povoados, move to

/483 cont./

562 The girl must get used to work and, with the mother's train-
868 ing, will learn the several skills that someday will make her a good mother of a family. The boys will run loose in the forest, looking for fruits, will wander along the rivers, entertained by swimming or fishing, practicing at shooting arrows at fish or birds, and thus they will become able to provide the subsistence of the /484/ family. In the ajurís, in the traditional tasks, they will acquire beside the father that skill which will make them great oarsmen or expert basketmakers.

881 Children of both sexes start being conscious of themselves as members of the tribe, of which they will learn to be proud. They will eagerly desire to become a member integrated into its life and traditions, that is, they dream of the "initiation."

581 Once the instincts are developed, they understand that it falls to them to perpetuate the existence of the group, and they aspire to marriage. The national customs indicate to them the means of realizing it; for that step they will not lack the intervention and help of the father.

593 He has naturally experienced up to now the love and the attention of his parents and the camaraderie of his contemporaries. Now he is joined to a companion for his entire life. Unknown perhaps and a foreigner, but their cares, their spirit of work, their long life together, vicissitudes, shared joys and sadness, everything ends by making uniform the spirits of the spouses, connected especially by the bond of love for their children in common. Under more difficult conditions, because she is forced to leave the paternal home and go to another nation as a wife, the woman will still feel very actively connected to her tribe of origin, as well as to the new maloca in which she is a wife and mother.

621 With the years the ties that join the Indian to the group in which he was born, which educated him, which gave him assistance and support, for which he has also worked cheerfully on the collective enterprises, are strengthened. The group that provided him with frequent joys with its traditional feasts and, with its mysterious legends, gave satisfaction to his intimate aspirations toward something that he does not understand, but feels will exist beyond the grave.

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formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

## THE COMMUNITY

The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the Cuduiari the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes. 361 241 462

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men. 351 361 562

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed. [622] [178] [755] [521] 351 361 562 574

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain. 361 562 823 [614] [534] [515] [833] [842]

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then 621 512

chicken feed. The *Bahukiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 361 241 462

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621 512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712 [361] In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise attack. 712 When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the 725 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were confident they left the women and children behind in the house with [123] a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361 504 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza. 504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state 574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests [417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be al- [576] lowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men 504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning 796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe [778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504 833 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5). 361 554

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence. 361 554 648. 177

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiari, for example, a trail leads to the Querari. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker. 487 [721] [487]

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller. 621 311 453 244 [622]

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. 621 592 [162] [342] [578]

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621 592 the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. The Cubeo believe that one roof unites a community while several roofs divide it.

621 311 Size of maloca is adapted in some measure to cultivable terrain. We have already noted that seasonal flooding and the requirement of good river frontage limit the availability of land for relatively permanent cultivation. But these are highly variable factors. Along the Vaupés, a deep river basin that can carry a great volume of water, there are vast stretches of dry land that have become the sites of civilized population centers. There is no doubt that from terrain alone the Vaupés could have supported far greater Indian populations than it did at the time of first contact. Along the Vaupés the limiting factor seems to have been social. On the Cuduiari, on the other hand, land contours are such as to divide frontages into much smaller segments. On this smaller stream, terrain has been a more significant factor in limiting community size. But even on the Cuduiari, land utilization is subject to strong social considerations. One consideration is that sibs [614] must retain their traditional boundaries. This means that with slash-burn horticulture the sib territory must provide, as a minimum, a three-step cycle in which a community returns to its original land after 10 to 15 years. The well-situated tract must then be at least three times the average land requirement at any given time.

361 244 There is still another consideration, and that is the distance of manioc gardens from the residence. When they prepare a clearing, the Cubeo bear in mind the distance a woman will have to trudge with her burdens of manioc, a baby, and firewood. That is why the gardens are laid out along a semicircle. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop. It needs reasonably dry soil and it makes heavy demands upon the time and energy of a woman for its cultivation, transportation, and preparation. Whatever can be saved from travel time is an advantage.

621 182 The thesis of ecological adaptation, however, can be argued most successfully in the abstract. If one notes the actual events in the life of a community, then the processes of community growth and community fission appear in quite a different light. The balance of forces of fusion and of fission that hold community size to its stable limits in harmony with the natural environment are not entirely economic. They often include personal factors. To state this more precisely: the economic factor affects fusion strongly but has less direct bearing upon fission. Satellites, for example, are urged to return to the fold, guests are urged to stay on, and daughters are invited to take up residence [578] in their own sib if there is ample land. Splitting, on the other hand, occurs because of personal quarrels and rarely because of a feeling of land shortage.

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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiari; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way. 621 182

Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain. 621 342 182 [592]

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses. [171]

In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y general*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habóhũ*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kenámi upáhũ* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along 178 342 621 614 [177]

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the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails — but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
(592) self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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342
857

Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding.

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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

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342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[64] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the governor of exogamy (Kirchoff, 1931). In a sense this seems to be true of the Cubeo as well.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* generation mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sibling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Because of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be embarrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awkward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only community exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib exogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers" and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient, or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

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621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

## THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most [823] important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

361 823 The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river – hunting as well as fishing – the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiarí River and belongs more properly on the Querarí. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarí phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahukiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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592 554 providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor [433] in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 241 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nyámu*), sweet potato (*yapíka*), maize (*karáiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaiváryo*, *waiwari*, *mod*, *pudjú*, *kanéka*, and *kabéka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*kwámene*), pineapple, (*ihíbo*), banana (*djwéye*), plantain (*óne*), pupunha (*une*), gourd (*horóbe*), calabash [273] (*bahámu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butéi*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. *Sugar cane has become a most important* ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [857] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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# *Development of the Individual*

The development of individual character is always relevant to an 121
understanding of social organization. In the case of Cubeo social 621
organization, founded, as it is, upon the lifelong continuity of the sibling group of males, the psychological factors are of particular importance. The following discussion will attempt to show the relationship between some of the experiences of a Cubeo from infancy to adulthood and some of the formal principles of Cubeo social organization. By and large, Cubeo social organization must conform to the direct psychological dispositions of its members for the commanding reason that the people have a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. The sib, as we have noted, is readily split; this means, in [614]
psychological terms, that those who find any cause for dissatisfaction [578]
with life within the community are quick to leave. The community, therefore, is constantly being drained of its malcontents. Those who remain are, in a manner of speaking, in harmony with one another. This harmony, it should be said at once, is not that of homogeneity. It is based rather upon individual complementarities, of extraversion-introversion, active-passive, and leader-follower, as in any community. The harmony is between the requirements of adult life and the experiences of childhood.

The Cubeo use the following age-grade terms. The nursing infant 561
from birth until it learns to crawl is called *abohoidjó* (male) or 192
*abohokó* (female); a crawling infant is *tcumí* (male or female, although *tcúmiko* is possible for the female); the walking child who

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In preparing chicha, the manioc is allowed to soften for four days. It is left in the maloca covered with leaves until it has turned a dark green color and has lost much of its moisture. Then it is grated, pounded through a sieve, and put through the tipiti press. The dry lumps are toasted lightly on the manioc oven and stirred into a fine grain. Small manioc cakes are prepared from these grains. The cakes are thoroughly masticated and the saliva-drenched balls are mixed with water. After fermentation has begun, a quantity of sugar cane extract is added, and this mixture is left to ferment for several days. Masticated pupunha mash may be substituted for the manioc. A mixture of pupunha mash with sugar cane extract makes a potent and very laxative drink. Many communities add maize as well as a variety of root plants to a basic manioc mash. 574 273

This period of preparation is one in which the house is spruced up and personal possessions and ornaments are inspected, compared, and readied for wear and display. Nowadays women regard their long cloth skirts as gala wear. If it is to be an important drinking party a woman hopes to have a new skirt that she has never worn before. All the elaborate male ornamentation of feather headdresses, necklaces, girdles, and pendants are fetched out and tried on. Musical instruments – Panpipes, long flageolets, whistles – are tuned and repaired. Songs are practiced and dance steps tried out. A nightly respite from the labors of manioc preparation is the amusement of watching the children play at dancing the adult dances, singing the dance songs, tasting the freshly prepared batches of chicha, taking coca, smoking, and listening to the old men chant snatches of the origin traditions. The mood is such that the minor rancors of community life are smoothed out. The headman takes advantage of this mood to bring the Satellites back as permanent residents of the community. The Satellites are normally invited to be cosponsors of a sib affair, bringing a contribution not of manioc but of sugar cane, or pupunha when that fruit is in season. The headman believes that when the estranged sibmates see how happy all are they will want to come back. There is no doubt that a Satellite is strongly drawn to the festive spirit of the main maloca. But he always has the time during the hangover of the morning after to consider whether it is worth returning. 574 [292] [178] [534] 574 621 622

The headman makes the first proposal for a drinking party and discusses the date and its scale with the male household heads. Cosponsorship means that a household head undertakes to prepare a notable amount of chicha that can be shown to the guests. When the invitations go out, the names of the cosponsors are given, and when 574 [622]

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614 tion of this statement would be that the development of the sib organization out of perhaps some more amorphous form of patrilineal, patrilocal organization is to be attributed to the process of federation itself. That is to say, by confronting a series of equivalent segments, each segment undertakes to assert its own clear identity. A sib, after all, is a unilinear descent group that has undertaken to differentiate itself categorically from like groups by means of such obvious symbolic devices as a name, a common tradition, and a theory of common descent. In the absence of federation this process of categorical self-identification would probably not occur. The process of sib formation, as a consequence of federation, is alleged in this instance for the Cubeo only. It may, however, prove to be a more general process. Elsewhere in the tropical forest the clan organization (parallel to the Cubeo sib) is associated with moieties. The apparent exception of the Witotoans is in all probability simply a matter of incomplete information.

571 3. *Independents and Satellites.* It is at this social level that the
614 issues of linkage-autonomy can be most readily analyzed. From the
621 standpoint of those who have removed themselves some distance from the sib, the issue is simply that of autonomy with its counterpart, a circumspectly defined linkage to the main body of the sib. The issue of autonomy arises specifically in relation to the authority of the headman, limited though such authority may be. The Satellites and Independents do not disengage themselves from the sib; they are content simply to assert their autonomously considered degree of independence from the headman. The differentiated form of the Satellite and Independent house may be a practical expedient for building a small house. Nevertheless, it does illustrate graphically the point of linkage-autonomy, since the square house, as has been demonstrated, does not meet the requirements for total autonomy with respect to sib functions.

571 4. *Sib-household.* The household, as has been demonstrated, has
592 its clearly defined zone of autonomy. It has its own compartment in
614 the maloca; it prepares its own food; it has its own manioc plantation; and it contributes its identified share of the chicha to both intrasib and intersib drinking parties. No one who has lived any time at all among the Cubeo can fail to be acutely aware of the assertion of autonomy, within the context of linkage, of each household. A sib-lineage and a lineage-household relationship along the linkage-autonomy gradient did not emerge clearly enough in my study to be
592 included in this discussion.
571 5. *Patrilocal household–wife.* The demand of a newly wed wife for

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband. 592 571 [593] [606]

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack. 571 561

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart. 571 572

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their 571 614 615 621 571 621 [622] [256] [769] [553]

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571 [621] main emphasis upon the person and not upon the community. Such an emphasis, needless to say, tends to favor autonomy over linkage.

It is evident that the foregoing discussion of linkage-autonomy is in many respects simply a restatement of the familiar concept of segmentation. There are, however, significant differences that justify the use of other terminology. Segmentation as defined by Nadel (1953, p. 177) refers to a more limited set of relationships than have been included here. As an example of segment he describes a "hierarchical structure being arranged in an order of progressive inclusiveness, as lineages, for example, build up clans, and clans build up a tribe, or as several village communities form a district, and several districts the state. . . ." From the standpoint of this definition, Cubeo society is, of course, segmentary. The concept of segmentation, however, is purely objective, and as such is pertinent to the purposes of social anthropology. However, the term "segmentation" carries no cultural connotations, since it does not define the point of view of the members of the culture. Therefore it is inadequate for the aims of cultural anthropology. The concept of linkage-autonomy, on the other hand, expresses a cultural, a Cubeo, point of view and indicates how this point of view is embodied in social structure. This Cubeo point of view, which places a value both upon extending relationships and maintaining autonomy, goes beyond the structural patterns that are commonly included under the concepts of segmentation. It is a more inclusive concept.

## LATERAL AND HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS

All social structures are regulated by bonds of relatively equivalent status relationships, as well as by bonds of nonequivalent or unequal status relationships. The former, existing on roughly the same social plane, are called lateral, and the latter, existing on different social planes, are called hierarchical. Hierarchy is always a culturally defined term and represents a clear-cut distinction of relative worth. Lateral is also a culturally defined term, but laterality is not a clearly set relationship of status equivalence. Hence it must be modified by the adjective "relative." The ranking of sibs is a clear example of hierarchy among the Cubeo, whereas kinship relations, including ceremonial friendships, are lateral. However, since kinship relations also embody formal principles of hierarchy, such as generation, seniority, consanguinity, and affinity they are lateral only by contrast with the strongly hierarchical distinctions of authority, power, pres-

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tige, and rank. Societies differ with respect to the relative role these two principles have in the social structure. That of the Cubeo is very strongly lateral and only weakly hierarchical. Even the ranking of sibs has ritualistic rather than political significance. Rank confers prestige but no power. On the other hand, it does confer economic privilege of a sort by granting to the high ranks superior river rights. But the Cubeo themselves do not make an issue of this economic distinction. Political authority, as we have shown, is relatively slight. In kinship, age, generational, and descent seniority elicit some respect and provide for ritual precedence. Such precedence is a prestige point. But the prestige accrues less in everyday affairs than upon formal occasions. Thus, from the Cubeo point of view virtually all relationships between persons and between groups are lacking in dominance-subordination, whereas only in rituals, that is, only upon the plane of the sacred, are there distinctions of worth and of respect. Even these are rather minor, involving only ritual precedence. The ritual pattern itself is not hierarchical. Now segmentation, as Nadel has observed, is a hierarchical form of organization, yet in the case of the Cubeo, segmental hierarchy has little cultural significance. Since the phratry has no organization of leadership it is not, in actuality, a "higher" segment. For all secular purposes the sibs deal with one another as equals.

The principal characteristic of a strong lateral structure, such as that of the Cubeo, is its considerable flexibility in forming new linkages and in rearranging old ones. Hierarchical structures, on the other hand, are dependent upon, or subject to, the authority of a higher-ranking segment. The new linkages that any Cubeo household is free to establish are limited far more by personal preferences than by inviolable principles. Sib exogamy is such an inviolable principle, but phratric exogamy is somewhat different. It involves not the "dread" of incest but rather the sentiment of confraternity. Cubeo flexibility responds to the absence of political constraint. Sibs can move about, and can, if they wish, change phratric affiliation.

## FISSILITY

From the two preceding principles of sociocultural structure there follows a third, ease of fission. Every segment of the entire social structure has the capability of detaching itself from the larger body. The factions that have actually broken off include sib clusters, sibs,

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621 households, and individuals. Fission is an objective social process, a by-product of Cubeo cultural principles of autonomy and social equality. It is promoted, as well, by another cultural principle that we have not yet discussed. That principle I would describe as a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. That is to say, in the absence of political constraint and of economic necessity the Cubeo find it easier to leave an uncomfortable situation than to endure it.

## PERIODICITY

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614 Since the sibs join together on the basis of linkage-autonomy and upon lateral rather than hierarchical lines, some loosening of bonds
(574) would seem to be inevitable. The periodicity in drinking parties is the only measure we have of changes in the strength of attachment of sib bonds. These parties, we have noted, follow a cycle starting from full attendance and a very high state of mutual confidence and ending in a series of parties that are poorly attended and are conducted in an atmosphere that is dismal and heavy with distrust. Eventually confidence is restored and a new cycle begins. The period from high to low runs about one year. Periodicity is not a cultural principle; it is a consequence of several other cultural principles. As already suggested, linkage-autonomy and lateralization play a part in this periodicity because they allow relationships to find a "natural" level. That is to say, there is no formal authority that can step in to restore good relations when the social climate has been poisoned by
(621) drunken quarrels and by accusations of sorcery. Periodicity is perhaps
(615) to be regarded as an incomplete form of fission at the level of the phratry. Since the phratry is a stronger exponent of autonomy than is the sib, it develops only a few of the pressures that might lead to actual fission. As for other principles of Cubeo culture involved in the periodicity of sib bonds, we have already mentioned the low tol-
571 erance for psychic discomfort, and have described its relevance to
152 fission of the sib. In the context of the drinking party, and indeed in the context of all collective activities, this principle can be stated in still another way: that collectivity demands its appropriate atmosphere of good feeling. We have seen this principle strongly at work in the mourning ceremony, where the atmosphere of grief, grimness, hostility, suspicion, and fear is systematically and ritually trans-
(578) formed to one of excitement and gaiety. We have also observed that the Cubeo do not harbor grudges for long. When a feeling begins to subside they allow it to subside. When a more neutral atmosphere forms, a new cycle of good feeling can begin.

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Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry
the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. 571
The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict 578
that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pa- 614
thology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized 154
and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly resentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these standards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its 571
natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in 614
Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. 578
That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indicated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the (622)
prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punish- (627)
ments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the difficulty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The (626)
function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, composed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by draining away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse senti- (622)
ment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood 571
brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. 614
The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. Yet 593
this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is 621
spotted with social "ions," free-floating men who, with their wives

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571 614 593 621 and children, circulate from community to community attaching themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual autonomy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low tolerance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

121 571 Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalancing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest suggestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance. On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

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121 174 The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural. It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cubeo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honorific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further social and political development. Though the phratric organization is largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through political and economic means. Some of the potential political means are already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolution, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of patterns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of

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to more than one phratry are well known and are taken for granted as minor exceptions to the stated rule. This rule is expressed in a formula that one does not marry inside of one's own tribe-and-language group because one would then be marrying a brother or a sister. Although informants do not explicitly refer to it, they recognize exogamy at the phratry level, and all marriages conform to a rule of phratry exogamy as well as of tribal exogamy. Recognition of the multitribal composition of the phratry is expressed as: "A Tukano will not marry a Baré because the Baré are brothers and sisters with the Tukanos."

The exogamic phratry system is extended fictitiously to all tribes peripheral to and beyond the central Northwest Amazon area, even though members of these tribes may not themselves be aware that they fit into such a system. Despite this fiction, it is safe to assume that any marriage with a member of one of these tribes will be phratry-exogamous. The nonriverine, marginal Makú of the interior lands back from the Papurí River, with whom the riverine Indians described in this paper do not intermarry, are considered to belong to the phratries to which the Tukano belong (the "Tukano-Makú") and to which the Desano belong (the "Desano-Makú"), and are said to intermarry among themselves accordingly.[8]

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A larger mission village is a unit that has been created by missionaries from two or more longhouse groups representing two or more tribes (hence linguistic groups) that have been required to tear down their longhouses, move together, and build separate adobe huts for each nuclear family. A larger mission village also contains a contingent of non-Indian missionaries and a boarding house of school children from nearby settlements. A smaller mission village is a single longhouse group that has been persuaded to tear down its longhouse and substitute a series of adobe huts, one for each nuclear family.

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The rubber-working group, for the Indian, is a unit of eight to ten months' duration per year, to which he belongs over a period of several years, usually in his youth. There are a great many such groups in the Upper Vaupés-Apaporis rubber-gathering area, each operating out of a camp, to which the Indians of the Middle Vaupés region are recruited. Properly speaking, the group includes one or more non-

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Indians, who are the patrón and his foremen, but they tend to keep themselves apart socially and linguistically from their Indian workers. The rubber-working group forms economically a patrón-peón system, or, more precisely for the Vaupés area, a patrón-padre-peón system. A benevolent role of missionaries in the Vaupés has been to minimize the depredations and excessive abuses of the rubber-working barons by requiring them to acquire their Indian workers through the missionaries as middle men.

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A clear distinction is made between tribal group and nationality; a word glossing as "landsmen" is the term used in Tukano for nationality group. There are two nationality groups among the multilingual Indians described in this paper—the Colombian Indians and the Brazilian Indians (the periphery of the multilingual area may include some Venezuelan Indians)—and even the members of the longhouses in the zone most unacculturated to "civilization" know whether they are Colombians or Brazilians. Also, Indians and non-Indians both agree that there are two clear-cut categories of people in the Vaupés: in Spanish these are called the *indígenas*, or Indians, and the *blancos*, or non-Indians (including Negros). However, the Indians feel uncertain and confused about ethnic and presumably "tribal" groups among the non-Indians. A favorite topic of conversation with me was inquiry about ethnic descent groups among such known nationality groups as Colombians, Brazilians, Venezuelans, and "Americans" (of the U.S.A.). Apparently the Indians are trying to set up a folk taxonomy for non-Indians within the Indian frame of reference. They have long been familiar with members of Dutch, German, English, Spanish, and Portuguese ethnic groups; they are confused about the nationality as against the ethnic status of some of these, especially of the latter two. Many Colombian and Brazilian nationals whom the Indians frankly regard as mestizos or creoles claim not only to be blancos but also "Spaniards" or "Portuguese"; yet they do not resemble the Dutch, German, or English blancos. (In Tukano the word for "blanco," best glossed from Spanish as "non-Indian," is derived from a form also used in the derivations of "fire, shotgun, fireplace"; the occasional blanco-sponsored request for a new form in Tukano that would gloss as "white" is consistently rejected.)

[P. 672 - B]

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797 /105 cont./
177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
•622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny; he has two wives.

756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

## Cosmogony

*539 The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115] [177]

4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5),

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5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another m[illegible], and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still cons[illegible]te the military corps /106/ of the

/341/

*192 The second columns are called baxsá wíhyári boxtá-ri;
535 because it is beside the second column that the tuxáua takes the
initial position (wíhyá: to come out) for the dances (baxsá). And
796 the respective beam is called baxsá wíhyári-tẽrõ.

The columns at the back are called do'ákaro-ká-boxtá-ri, because the caxirí is prepared there (do'ákaro, place where one cooks, so explained Júlio). And do'karo-ká-tẽrõ is the beam that corresponds to them.

i) kaxpí-tõ, pot for the kaxpí

j) seat for the one who distributes the kaxpí, kaxpí tõamĩ duhirí kõmũ-rõ

l) hammock of the tuxáua; his compartment is called syõrĩ nĩgõya tuxkũ

The compartments of the residents of the maloca are called wi'i-ikhãraye tuxkũrĩ.

[342] With the hypothesis of its being a religious function, we
[622] must conclude that the temple is the maloca. Its name, baxsarí-wi, should be translated "house of the sacred dance," and not simply "dance house." The Priest is evidently the tuxáua, and not the pajé. The tuxáua, then, ties together the domestic, political, and sacerdotal powers, precisely like the ancient tribal chiefs among the Greeks and the Romans, and, in general, the chiefs of the primitive tribes.

a) "Poosé" without the mysterious instruments.

1) Ritual procession and banquet.

796 The tuxáua of the maloca that decides to hold one of these
(628) feasts determines the day and the offering, and tells this to the tuxáua of another maloca (of the same tribe or of a different tribe) where he is going to give his Poosé. The malocas take turns with
[178] this proposal. Formerly they were held with greater frequency, six or more times a year, as we said above, constituting the great preoccupation of these Indians. Not only are they being put off more, but their duration has also been reduced. Formerly they lasted as long as an entire week; today the cases in which they

796 /342 cont./
574 The visitors deposit the offering on banana leaves or mats or baskets, displayed in the center of the maloca. Perhaps there is still more of the offering at the landing place; they go to fetch it and make their delivery.

[562] The women and children who have arrived gather at the
[858] back, where those of the maloca are already.

Once the offering is finished, and the shouts and music have
[622] stopped, those from outside, starting with their tuxáua, greet individually those of the maloca, /343/ starting with the first one
[576] in line, who will, naturally, be the local tuxáua. They are the common and formalistic greetings: -- "Did you come?" -- "I came!" "Did you come to the feast?" -- "I came." -- "Did you bring the offering (fish or the name of the fruit)?" -- "I brought." He goes on to greet in the same way the second man in the line and thus all the rest. All the visitors, in the order of their reception, imitate the first one. All, however, with much gravity. As they finish greeting those of the maloca, the guests are arranging themselves in a long line, according to their importance, on the right side, in front of those of the maloca, from the main door to the back.

[431] Two or more men of the maloca distribute a cuia /shell
[576] from the Crescentia cujete/ of caxirí to each guest. After all have
[562] drunk, they sit down, and the women of the maloca come to greet
[191] the men at some distance and without giving them their hands. If the women are from the tribe of the guests, these greetings are in the dialect of their own tribe and not in that of the husband.

The chief of the maloca speaks in a loud voice to his own wife (one of the indications of the matriarchalism): "They came to bring the offering (fish, fruit), you give thanks." She, with two women, goes to the center of the maloca and says -- "You brought with so much trouble fish (pupunha) for us. We have prepared a little caxirí in a hurry." Then the visiting chief answers them: -- "You may eat at will. The fishing (or the harvest) was small, but we have brought it with good will."

/345 cont./

796 with short steps, in a zigzag, imitating simultaneously with the
535 mouth the humming of an insect. Bearing a cuia in each hand,
[273] they give them to anyone who wants to take them, first the men
[562] and afterwards the women. As the cuias are emptied, they return to fill them anew and to distribute them in the same place and in the same way.

/346/ 3) Performance of the dances.

*[192] The tuxaua takes his initial dance position near the second
[622] column to the left of the central nave (baxsá whyarí boxtá; see illustration above /see p. 511/; at his side, in order of importance (53),

> 53. Importance which corresponds, more or less, to age. We were not able to verify whether they are arranged in an order strictly corresponding to the importance of the Gens itself (according to the classification -- IV-2, a (2) /see IV-2, a (3)/), because generally all the dancers are of the same Gens.

are arranged the other men. Each one, with a lance or a rhythm instrument in the right hand, places the left one on the right shoulder of his neighbor, and they are more or less in a semicircle. Then, a song starts to the sound of the instruments, which they strike on the ground simultaneously with the right foot (perhaps also with the snappers on the ankle), in a slow rhythm. They take a step toward the center of the circle and draw back, then another one toward the side, and they start to move in a circle, now to the right, now to the left, slowly. Sometimes they gather in a circle, which now becomes tighter, now bigger, now they go around in a circle. At a certain moment the women, one after another, start coming in, in a required, or at least constant, position during all the dance numbers. They place themselves between one man and another, with the head somewhat bent forward, resting the nape of the neck under the arm of one of

/417 cont./

593 his hammock; nevertheless, they will not talk to each other
521 through the night inside. At night only conversations of man with
[784] man and woman with woman are permitted. If the husband has arrived from his fishing or hunting already late at night, he will hang up the fish or the game in the space between two poles or on the wall, or in some other place, without saying a word to his wife, to whom he will not make delivery of the fruit of his labor until morning.

6) Polygamy and Polyandry.

178 Whether we understand these terms as the possibility for an
595 individual to have several wives simultaneously or successively, and, vice versa, a woman more than one husband, they are not in force nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

[622] In conversation, several among them affirmed that in the old days a man could have two or three wives, particularly the tuxaua (21),

21. In 1849 Wallace attested (o. c. 636): -- "The men as a rule, have only one wife. There is not, however, for this reason a special limit, because many of them have two or three. Some chiefs even have still more." It is what still happens in some tribes, for example, the Karútana of the Içana, the Káwa of the Aiarí, affirms the author of Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar [Sea River]/, (p. 19). The statement of the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza is in agreement, when he says (o. c. 486): -- "They are given to polygamy or plurality of wives, and there are chiefs among them with two or three wives, and sometimes sisters of one another."

/418 cont./

797 These licenses already existed in the historical period, as
595 follows from the first explorers. The great revolt of the year 1757, during which the povoados of Moreira and Thomar were destroyed by the Indians, and that of Barcelos threatened, had its origin in the anger of the Indian Domingos Lamalonga, from whom the Missionary had made a concubine separate (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario /Diary/," n. 553). On the map of his activities, dated from Carurú-cachoeira the first of April of 1853, Frei Gregório de Bene states: -- "It will be very difficult for some time to unite in Holy Matrimony and even to convert these Indians because they live in polygamy and others in concubinage" (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 2, p. 32). Even at the beginning of
595 this century Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 178) testifies that polygamy
• 622 is a prerogative of the tuxaua and cites the example of José, Tukano tuxaua of Pari-cachoeira, with two wives, one Tuyuka and the other Taryana.

7) Domestic-social position of the woman.

562 During an early contact with the natives of the Uaupés, we were surprised at the position of the woman, seeming to us to be of evident inferiority.

551 /419/ Her name might not even be known (24).

[852] [797] 24. It frequently happens that the Indian man may bring a child to be baptized. When, in order to make the registration, the Padre starts to ask the names and asks what the child's mother is called, the husband will answer: -- "I do not know, ask her."

There is observed in some human groups, for example, those of the river Canaburi (not, however, those of the Uaupés, see below, VIII-1, b (4) ) a prohibition against pronouncing the name of some persons. Some explain this taboo of the name by the "ontological mentality" of the primitives, that is, the name is not something secondary, external, but essential, and is

/421 cont./

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
[601]

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[178] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

• 622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
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> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

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/footnote 29 cont./ many of them have never in fact heard of any woman Tuxaua. Someone answered us precisely that she can be Tuxaua, but they had never heard of a woman Tuxaua. It is to be noted that in the Tukano language there is the feminine Wyógo, a term that is ordinarily applied to the wife of the Tuxaua (Wyogõ) and, in the Missionary centers, also to the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of the girls' school. The example of Caridade (p. 709) seems to authorize our affirmation above.

not, however, those of pajé. This exclusion perhaps expresses, not so much contempt, but the concept that she is not endowed with the magical power necessary for the exercise of the office of pajé.

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In marriage she seems to enjoy even greater freedom than the young man, being able to leave her husband. It must be concluded then that, although recognizing the primary of the husband (as also happens in our civilization), considered from the domestic-social point of view the wife is on a plane of equality with the husband (30).

30. We recently verified that this is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg, who, after prolonged contact with the Kubewana, was able to conclude that the woman is not the beast of burden, but the intelligent lady of the house (Z. I. 354).

8) Moral condition of the woman.

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We once heard from a maiden the expression: "the woman is not worth anything." We questioned many other women, single and married, and all confirmed the accuracy of this concept, without knowing how to give further /423/ explanations. Only one added: "the woman must leave her own tribe."

/459 cont./

621 perhaps one should distinguish between the different relations,
592 some of which, for example, that of exogamous marriage, might
614 have had a positive origin, and the others might be of consuetudinary origin.

Even in small groups, although perfectly and smoothly harmonized, the distinction of social assemblages, with their duties, their characteristic attributes, their peculiar directives, is easily perceptible. In each local group we can distinguish four categories of individuals: 1st, the tuxáua; 2nd, the Komũã (elders); 3rd, the men (more or less scaled by their ages and experience); 4th, the women and children.

These different categories, however, are closely connected to one another by unifying and stabilizing principles: 1st, a common house, the regime of the maloca, which, at least in the beginning, was in force as a general norm and without exception; 2nd, the provisions in common: a custom that is maintained in the maloca regime and, in a more attenuated way, also in the povoado system; 3rd, the common inheritance of the maloca, of zones for fishing and hunting, and of everything that is the property of the group; 4th, the fear of the spirits, with great unitive power, corresponding to the native mentality; 5th, vengeance, which the group will exercise against the one suspected of having caused the death of one of its members.

A further word about the first two categories of individuals is advisable.

c) "Bũxkõrã-kurã" -- (Council of elders).

• 622 Watching over the observance of the customs and the feasts is
623 a Council of elders, the Bũxkõrã-kurã (called Moacaretã in Nheengatú). It is made up of the Tuxaua, who is its hereditary president and also speaker and executor of its decisions, the Pajé, and two or three more /460/ men of greater ascendancy. These men are the Komũã (pl. of Komũ), as the natives express themselves, whom we saw appear (VII - 2, e (3) ) as "initiates" and, up to a certain point, helping the pajé.

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• 622 d) "Wyógõ" or Tuxáua (local chief).

*[192] In each maloca or povoado there is a chief or Tuxaua, in Tukano Wyógõ (or Vyógõ), a term that is probably derived from Wi'ĩ, house (94).

[648] 94. The title of Capitão was granted, at the time of the Capitanias, by the provincial Government to the Tuxauas, as a stimulus for attracting them toward contact with the civilized and to take advantage of their influence in order to obtain Indians for the services of public utility. At certain times it went so far as to give them a military uniform, sword, and a monthly salary.

/461/ Originally he would be the head of the family, continuing his paternal power or domestic authority. His is an authority directive and as guardian over the local group of families.

Besides his power and his obligations, as husband and father of his family (and he will do all the tasks, like any other head of a family), it is incumbent upon him to watch over the execution of the traditional laws, to preside and direct the social functions. It falls to him, then, to supervise the construction of the maloca, the cleaning of the adjacent grounds, of the landing place, and of the roads giving access to it (tasks sometimes performed by the women of the maloca under the supervision of the chief's wife), the general and collective fishing, as well as the religious and profane feasts and the periodic dances.

He is the representative of the local group in its relations with other groups, with other tribes, or with the civilized. He stipulates the conditions and, afterwards, chooses and sends the men requested for the services of the whites. He is always obeyed, and, perhaps for this reason, he never uses an imperious, threatening tone.

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• 622 [595] Nevertheless he does not acquire from his position exemption from work or the right to demand tribute or payment in kind or in work from the other components (cf. Note 102 below /see p. 710 /) or to have more wives (95).

95. We have already noted the polygamy of other times (VIII-1, a (6) ). Still more recently there have been cited cases (information by Pe. João Marchesi) in which, besides their wife, they kept as a concubine some woman who had become widowed. As well as taking a second wife, because "his wife was sick, and he wanted to have children." There is also recalled the case of one, with a healthy wife and two daughters, who took another wife, impelled by the desire to have a male child, "so that his family will not decay with him." As a matter of fact, after the birth of a male child, he sent back its mother. We could not find out whether this attitude was spontaneous or not.

The power of the Wyógõ depends not so much on custom as on his personal influence, and this can come to him from several qualities: oratorical resources, prudence, technical skill, intelligence, knowledge of several languages (Portuguese, Nheengatu, etc.).

[178] Formerly they were invested with greater power (96).

[175] [648]

96. It seems that the same can be said of a more distant past. The reports of the eighteenth century (Pe. Noronha, Ribeiro Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira) show them as principals moving large groups, founding new places at the invitation of the civilized, organizing among themselves defensive and offensive alliances. Hence the interest of the Governadores in having them as allies, granting them the title

4: Silva--703 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/footnote 96 cont./ of Capitão. Caboquena, Ajuricaba, Camanaus, Comandre, Carunamá, Cabacabari, etc. became famous. During the first years, as well as in the middle of the last century, the Governador, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ as well as the Diretores Gerais dos Indios /General Directors of the Indians/, proceeded with the official appointment of several Principals on the river Uaupés itself, and they took advantage of their authority over the Indians. We found, for example, in the "Archivo do Amazonas," Vol. 1, n. 2, p. 29, the Diretores Gerais dos Indios do Gram-Pará, Brigadeiro Honorário /Honorary Brigadier/ João Henrique de Mattos and the Tenente Coronel Graduado /Graduate Lieutenant-Colonel/ Albino dos Santos Pereira, as well as the Encarregado dos Indios do Rio Uaupés /Agent for the Indians of the Uaupés River/ Capitão Francisco Gonçalves Pinheiro, appointing Tuxauas on the Uaupés River:

1848 -- 1. Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira, from the Wanana tribe.
2. Domingos Dias dos Santos, Tukano, Principal of Carurú-rapecuma.
3. João de Mattos (son of the late Excellent Tuxaua Raymundo José), Tukano, Principal of S. Joaquim.
4. Calisto Antonio, Taryana, Principal of Iauareté.

1850 -- 5. Manuel Calisto, Wanana, son of the late Tuxaua Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira.

District of Marabitanas:

6. The Indian Mathias Antonio, Principal of S. Francisco.
7. The Indian João Bernardo, Principal of Tucurimachi.
8. The Indian Angelo José, principal of Cuyiari.

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/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

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The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

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97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

592 /462 cont./
• 622 and directs the collective work of the women, especially the
574 preparations for the caxiris and dabacuris. It is incumbent on her to greet and to thank, in the name of the women, the guests
[535] /463/ who came to the feast in the maloca. In certain dances
*[192] she has the distinctive role of soloist, Yõhõgó or Nõ'mõ-Bayá (VII - 4, e (2 a 2) ). /Footnote 98 apparently belongs here, although the index number is missing./

[123]

98. At a great feast which we had the opportunity to attend among the Wanana of Carurũ-cachoeira, river Uaupés, we saw the wife of the Tuxaua in one of the intervals of the dances approach the group of women who were seated and rebuke them. We suppose that it might have been due to the women's indecision in appearing for the preceding dance number.

797 On the occasion of the death of the Tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira,
622 the Tukano Júlio, on July 5, 1954, we had the opportunity to see some documents carefully kept by the deceased and his family, that is, a manuscript with the appointment successively of his great-grandfather, João Silgueira, and grandfather, Manoel Silgueira, for the position of Capitão of Parí-cachoeira, appointment made by the Capuchin Missionary Frei Venâncio Zilocchi, on December 5, 1882, with the visa, dated August 7, 1923, of Padre João Bálzola, Salesian. Another letter of appointment with printed heading, signed by the Capuchin Frei Gesualdo Marchetti, on May 30, 1885, also with the visa of Padre João Bálzola, of August 7, 1923. The following are the contents of these documents:

I, below signed, Frei Venancio Zilocchi, Apostolic Franciscan Missionary of the Rio Tiquih., tributary of the Rio Uaupés, and Director of the Missions established on it, appoint Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara the Senhor principal of the said Mission, João Silgueira, and in his absence the Older

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• 622

son, Manoel Silgueira, imposing on him the following conditions:

1st. -- To care for the Chapel and the Missionary's house.

2nd. -- To oblige the residents of the said Mission to finish making the houses started, even to make those which they have not had made.

3rd. -- To divide the Mission into streets, during the building of the houses.

4th. -- Every three months, to send (if the Missionary P. is not present) a resident from here to where the Padre is, in order to report the deaths, births, and the usual news during the said three months.

5th. -- To oblige everyone to make their clearings for their own maintenance, and in order to provide for their necessities.

[567]

6th. -- To forbid absolutely the sale of the Macú natives, as well as to impede, in any way possible, the so-called pega-pega /Port. pega, fetters for fugitive slaves/.

/464/ 7th. -- Finally, in case of necessity, to provide people for public service, that is to say, when the Missionary arrives, he must give the people whom he wants for his passage.

In the firm conviction that the said Sr. Principal will fulfill the conditions indicated above, I pass to him this document, in the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara on the fifth day of the month of December of 1922.

Sgd. Frei Venancio Zilocchi
Miss. Ap. Fno.

To Capitão João Silgueira, Sr. Principal of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara (a lapis).

Visa P. João Bálzola Salesian
August 7, 1923

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797 (printed)

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FRIAR GESUALDO MARCHETTI

of the order of the Minor Observantists of St. Francis, Prefect of the Missions, etc. Considering the good qualities and good behavior of the neophyte João Silgueira -- we appoint him Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara, having to fulfill the orders of the respective Rendo Missionário or of the nearest one.

This appointment will last one year, when the year is finished the above-mentioned Missionary will again confirm it, not having any reasons to the contrary.

Hospice of the Propaganda Fide in Manaus May 30, 1885
(Prefecture of the Missions. Provincia do Amazonas, Fr. Gesualdo Marchetti)

(Manuscript) The below signed, in view of the death of Capitão João Paicana Silgueira of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara, passes the above-mentioned patent to the Indian Manoel Iépassonia, legitimate son of the above-mentioned Capitão.

With faith in what I sign

Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara of Pary Cachoeira January 29, 1886

Frei Matheus Canioni
Miss. Apost. Franc.

(a lapis) Visa Pe. João Bálzola August 7, 1923

622 e) The succession.

The tuxauaship has always been a lifelong position and title, and the deposition of one and election of another has never been reported. The latter happened only after the death (perhaps caused) of the former xáua. In case of recognized /465/ disability, he still continues to retain the title, and his oldest son will exercise the functions in the meantime.

/465 cont./

622 [115] Rules establishing the succession of the tuxaua or his choice are not known. The only strict norm would perhaps be the observance of the hierarchy of the subdivisions in the povoados in which there are families belonging to various subtribes (IV 2, a (2) ), according to the information by Patrícia Vasconcelos and Antônio Barreto. The democratic-aristocratic spirit of these small groups demands this. A very natural process, with such a spirit, is the succession of the father by the son, especially the first-born, a process which is verified in the greater frequency of the cases. This event was determined by the ascendancy, perhaps great, of the father, as well as the circumstance that the son, while the father was alive, often helped him or replaced him on many occasions.

The recognized ascendancy, the personal qualities, and among them regard for the traditions and respect for the authorities, are what point to the son as a candidate. Or, in the absence or the lack of aptitude of the latter, anyone else, preferably from the family of the deceased Tuxaua.

Violation of the old customs and disobedience toward the father have not infrequently been the cause of passing over some young man, otherwise well qualified, to succeed his own father in the office of tuxaua.

[623] Such a choice is one of the principal functions of the council of Elders, the Bũxkõrá-Kurá (99),

[115]

99. On the occasion of the death of the Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, Julio Silgueira, on July 5, 1954, the Council of elders remained for three days deliberating on the qualities and merits of Mandu, the eldest son of the deceased chief, before recognizing him as the successor.

according to the information obtained from some tuxauas (Júlio, Tukano of Pari-cachoeira; Henrique Resende, Tuyuka of the Iaísa igarapé; Fernando, Yurupari of S. Ana on the river Içana; Mandú, Kumãdene of Urubucuara; José, Huhúdeni of Uapuim-cachoeira on the river Aiarí).

/465 cont./

562 The social power of the tuxaua being thus attenuated and
622 with this native democratic mentality, it is to be inferred that there would be no repugnance toward a female Tuxaua. There
159 is mentioned the example of Caridade (or Carí, according to
562 the common designation) from the Tukano tribe, who exercised the tuxauaship in Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), recognized
622 by all and in very singular circumstances, because she succeeded her brother Estevão, who, upon his death, left two sons (100).

100. Carí previously had been a prostitute in S. Gabriel on the Rio Negro and never married. It was not possible to verify whether her ascendancy had an origin of such an order. It would be a problem similar to that of the Hetaerae. Or whether, on the contrary, as seems more probable, it was due to her intelligence, by being a very shrewd woman with the advantage of knowing Portuguese well.

/466/ The situation of Cari can perhaps be explained by her having lived for a long time with the civilized in such a way that she was considered such, being, on the other hand, the daughter of the old and esteemed tuxaua (101).

[648]

101. In Piracuara there were some misunderstandings between Colombians and natives. The Colombian authorities ordered the maloca destroyed, and Cari was manacled, as well as the local pajé. Some time later Pe. João Marchesi, who furnished us this information, was called in order religiously to assist Cari, who appeared in good spirits, in her hour of death.

/466 cont./

622 f) Government and justice.

Even in olden times the tuxaua's power was tempered by the power of the heads of each family, which, as we said, is autonomous regarding its normal life, its trading, its clearing, etc.

622 It was, likewise, moderated by the ascendancy of the Komlã, the "Elders," who still today preside over the dances, take part in
623 the giving of the name to the child, in the initiation of the young men, practice the "blowing," etc. The "Elders" constituted a true Council or Senate of the Tuxaua, the Bũxkõrã-kurã; and even today continue with such function and choose the new tuxaua.

622 The absolute chiefs have always been an exception, which sometimes provoked reaction by his subordinates (102).

[159] [648]

102. José, Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, died poisoned by those of his maloca; properly speaking, by his second wife, a Tuyuka, with the connivance of the other inhabitants of the maloca. During the time of the encarregado dos índios /Indian Agent/ Higino Albuquerque, of the SPI, José exercised in truth a despotic power: he forced the Indians to work for some of the civilized, thrashed the women so that they would make the flour more quickly, etc.

797 Among all the tribes of the Uaupés a democratic regime has always been in force. It is remembered, however, that some tuxauas, in
622 contracting for service with the whites, -- one of the functions of
648 the tuxauaship, -- demanded payment without work, or even keeping almost everything for themselves and distributing little to the others, so that the natives came to ask the Missionary to make the distribution of the payment to them himself.

627 The administration of justice, in the strict sense, does not fall to the tuxaua. There is not even a judiciary or customary penal Law. The questions that arise among the components of the group are resolved among them under the dictates of reciprocal vengeance

/468 cont./

756 cases. It is not known, however, whether there are more frequent meetings, at certain times, whether there are rites, or which acts [622] they practice then. It is known, indeed, that the pajé often convenes the Komũã, in order to resolve the sanitary problems of the maloca or povoado (see VII - 2, e (3) ).

562 4) A Tukano informant, Dorotéia Brito, spoke of womens' meet-
578 ings inside the maloca, during which they reveal among themselves the bad treatment that they receive from the men. We were not [115] able, however, to verify whether it is a matter of true meetings of a secret society, as defense of class. Or instead, as seems more likely, casual, although frequent meetings of women, during which they open their hearts, revealing their own complaints. It is certain that at times, by the law of exogamy, all the women are from a certain tribe, to which they go to relate anything bad their husbands say against it, from which arise disputes and vengeance. This happens in a very regular way, and with a previous understand- [192] ing of the women among themselves. These tales by the women are called ukhã.

h) Social classes.

565 Among these Indians there is no true social stratification or social Classes, in the sense that there are privileged positions, perhaps lifelong and hereditary, with differentiation of tasks, diversity of rights and even of peculiar customs (in the dwelling, clothing, badges, emblems, etc.), as happens in more complex cultural forms. Within the maloca there are no lords and nobles, just
565 as there are no slaves (105);
567

105. In practice the Makú serve as slaves. It is a matter, however, of another tribe, racially, linguistically, and culturally different. Perhaps one can not even truly say slaves, since in exchange for work they receive protection and food. Once the tasks are finished (clearing, aturás /carrying baskets/, etc.) the Makú may leave, just as they may also constitute their maloca with their tuxaua.

/468 cont./

565 but an admirable equality of rights and duties, as well as of prop-
567 erty and of work.

Various circumstances justify such inexistence of classes: 1st, it is a matter of numerically small groups; 2nd, the warm and humid climate, if it facilitates a supply of the necessary food at all /469/ times of the year, it does not allow an abundant pro-
[578] visioning and the development of riches. Now, where there are
[692] no rich people, there are no classes, neither masters nor slaves; 3rd, the life in common, which the conditions introduced and tradition established; 4th, the fear of the envy that the well-being of one might cause in the others, and that so many times is manifested even in connection with the small inequalities (see V - 14); 5th, the lack of a tribunal to restore rights and indemnify damages.

3) Linguistic group.

a) Linguistic group.

619 Above the local Group, among the populations of the Amazonian Northwest, there is only the linguistic group. It is made up of several local groups, forming at times a total of thousands of individuals, with the following elements in common: 1st, they claim to be from one and the same tribe or nation and, therefore, consider themselves "brothers"; 2nd, they speak the same language; 3rd, marriage between them is definitely forbidden.

It is, then, a matter of an ethnic unit only. The groups that constitute it never gather together, they do not own property that might be said to be in common: house, land, fishing waters of such a tribe, etc. Because of the distances the relations between groups from different tribes are more frequent than between groups of the same tribe.

There is, then, no social or political organization of an entire tribe; and the elders do not recall of ever having heard of such an
• [622] organization. There has indeed been some tuxaua with greater ascendancy and whom other tuxauas consulted and whose advice

/469 cont./

619 they followed in the more serious questions that involved relations
• 622 with other tribes or with the whites. Each one, however, judging himself perfectly independent and even with very little power over the other men of his own maloca.

701 It consists, indeed, of the temporary union of several groups
622 for an aggressive or defensive military expedition under the orders of a single chief (106).

175 106. Thus the renowned Ajuricaba of the Manao
721 nation, with his two thousand bows, navigating
648 true fleets under the flag of Holland, hunted Indians
701 of other tribes in order to sell them as slaves to the Hollanders of Guiana (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario," n. 336). In 1858 Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 7, p. 86), narrating the episode of the "Cristo de Juquira" (cf. VII-4, b), estimates that a thousand persons from various localities and tribes gathered in Juquira in declared hostility to the civilized. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" of 1785), apropos of the legendary city of Manoa, vast captial of the Manao, explains to us that on the river Urubaxi where the Manao formerly were: "the reported aldeia /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ (irananauoca) did not have the qualities and greatnesses that the city of Manoa paraded, because, notwithstanding that all these were confederated, their aldeias were nevertheless independent of one another and many of them as populous as Irananauoca."

622 /470/ There has never been a true authority, but only the
797 ascendancy of one tuxaua over the others. This is more or less the present situation of a Missionary, and, with certain reservations, we can speak of a hypertuxauaship.

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361
household dishes, while tobacco, *mihi*, and coca are for ceremonial 241
purposes. 462

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351
entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361
kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562
staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622]
for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [578]
plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755]
medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521]
of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351
a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361
vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562
an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574
realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361
a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562
the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823
of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614]
Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534]
edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, [515]
to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833]
women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842]
But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621
high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512
of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahukira*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361
tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241
462

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361 Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-
554 tain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or en-
[157] couraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they
[123] did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the
342 new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one require-
361 ment of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with
622 him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines
768 of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new ma-
loca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a
361 fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations.
244 At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to
768 ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transitional period when the community is actually working both clearings. The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old *chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

361 The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to
[311] circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some 15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again. Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiarí and the
361 Querarí. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this
614 connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or
554 along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong occupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Gia-
361 cone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (refer-
554 ring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5). 361 554

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence. 361 554 648. 177

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiari, for example, a trail leads to the Querari. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker. 487 [721] [481]

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller. 621 311 453 244 [622]

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. 621 592 [162] [342] [578]

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the Cuduiari I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahikiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

## SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails – but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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364 (514)

at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

342 [796] [764] [252] [32] [517] 342 574 576

The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manufactured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play outside and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the doorway of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and facing inward.

342 622 [114]

When I came among the *Bahúkiaa* they were on the upswing, having come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-compartment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was 75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction. The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The headman is known as *kenámi upákũ* (owner of the house). The house is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo believe, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relationships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook discourtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community. The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

342 578 592

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342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
(592) self-sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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342
857

Fig. 2. Children helping in housebuilding.

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 501 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

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under duress. Men worked on the house only when they felt cheerful and dedicated to the work. The man who felt out of sorts dropped away and returned only when his spirits had improved. Dependency upon mood was one of the most important factors delaying completion of a house.

Even so, the magnitude of the technical problems is not to be underestimated. The mere assemblage of material is a complex, arduous, and time-consuming task. Construction materials are not always close to hand. The *Bahúkiwa* fetched roofing thatch from the mouth of the Cuduiarí in what was technically the territory of the *Hehénewa* sibs. Their house of 12 compartments consumed 360 bundles of thatch, and, since each canoe could transport only five bundles, over a hundred canoe loads were needed, a task that would normally be spread out over many months. The *Bahúkiwa* headman was able to borrow from the *Comisaria* a large cargo barge and in this way a great deal of time was saved. Even so, a large party of several households camped for weeks on the lower river during a dry season, gathering and preparing the parana palm thatch (*trina*). Altogether, thatch gathering consumed 50 days of the time of at least half the community. The practice is for the headman to institute a "crash program" to get each phase of the work well under way. His problem is to fit each phase of construction into the routine of daily and of seasonal life with minimum disruption. Strictly speaking, the decisions are not his. His is the technical voice, but he will do nothing without discussion with the household heads. Roofing can be cut during the two dry seasons and can never be finished in only one. Gathering, trimming, and binding the parana palm leaves into sheaves is the only housebuilding task in which women share.

The headman, together with his firmest supporters, that is, his own sons and blood brothers, has the specific responsibility for erecting the central framework, the three pairs of heavy posts that will support the main weight of the roof. Others may help in this if they wish but they have no specific obligation to do so. The inner framework of three pairs of heavy posts forms the inner box around which the rest of the house is built. The timbers must be carefully chosen and then well dug in, while the parallelogram must be very carefully laid out. The floor plan is laid out with long sticks, and right angles are very accurately estimated. The rest of the framework including the ridgepole is a collective enterprise and is the second stage of construction. Roofing is the third stage. When enough roof has been laid down to provide even a bare shelter, the close kin of the headman move in.

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move in. The walls and the two great doors that can be swung up are built long after the house is fully occupied.

283 Much of a man's spare time is devoted to preparing string of one
824 sort or another – fishline, hammock strings, binding ropes. The most common material is from the miriti palm. The palm leaf is boiled in water and allowed to soak until long, strong fibers can be drawn from it. These fibers have extraordinary tensile strength and, therefore, have wide use among the Indians. The lower and thicker part of the leaf is slit with a knife or broken by hand to expose the fibers, which are then stripped off in one smooth, continuous motion. The man holds the leaf pinned to the ground with his great toe and pulls
[462] the fibers upward. Essentially it is men's work but women and children help in pulling out the fibers. After the fibers have been allowed to dry by exposure to the air, several are joined together and rolled on the thigh into a string. Occasionally a woman helps her husband roll fishline. The end of the string is gripped between the great toe and its adjacent member and allowed to pass under the frontal arch of the foot and so is held firm. Rolling twine is leisurely work. Men rarely make more than they need for a particular pur-
[314] pose. Fishline is coated with resin. This will not only strengthen it and make it easier to handle, but, the men told me, the resin darkens the line so that it will not be seen by the fish.

463 The Cubeo have no true category of specialist. That is to say, they expect all adults to possess the skills for making all ordinary household articles that are on the roster of sib manufactures. They must, of course, contend with differences in aptitude. They do so by giving the inept the fullest technical help, either by advice, or, if necessary, by virtually making the article. But even when total aid is given, the object is considered to have been made by its owner with help.
463 Items of public use, and these include ceremonial equipment and
622 musical instruments, require special proficiency and are made by the headman and by aspirants to the office. The headman then is a specialist, but his specialty is in esoteric objects for public use.

## TRADE

439 The entire Northwest Amazon area is a vastly complex trading network. Objects of every description, household implements, ornaments, musical instruments, ceremonial objects, plants, pets, and magical substances are in constant circulation from tribe to tribe, from sib to sib. Indians who are in contact with the trading centers of Colombians and Brazilians are often middlemen, pumping manu-

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423 The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of
615 river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these
[578] arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies
[768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate relationship between land and its cultivator.

241 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual
614 or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the alloca-
361 tion of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing
241 is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective
614 effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a
361 clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and
622 stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of
476 a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman to organize a collective work party, including all household heads. If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually. Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots, establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later arrivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. Annually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the *chagra*, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field for a two-year harvest.

244 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman.
423 A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plantation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daughters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

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244 423 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] [602] [558] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 423 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recognition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings [622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihí* are generally grown for the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, [431] as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point, [183] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and shar- [430] ing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal 249 423 431 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so, adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 423 614 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one territorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they [578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes 423 226 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

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244 home from the garden represents her carrying capacity. These are
433 the technical problems. They are not inherently formidable, except
244 in terms of the traditional sexual division of labor of the Cubeo. The
433 men who make the original clearing can call upon group labor and
462 they have the spare time. If increase in manioc cultivation were only
461 a matter of preparing a clearing it would be relatively easy for any community to double its present zone of planting. The Cubeo, however, must calculate the size of a clearing in accordance with how much land the women of a household, working independently, can cultivate. On her part, the woman does not cultivate more than she can handle in the course of her accustomed routine. In manioc cultivation each household is autonomous; and while a woman can call upon the help of another woman when she is not well there is simply
[622] no collective or cooperative organization to help harvest, bring in, and process the crop. The headman who has the authority to direct the masculine work party that prepares the clearing has no jurisdiction over the work of the women. And neither does anyone else.

433 Nor does the nature of demand place much pressure upon manioc
434 production. Under ideal conditions at least two-thirds of the man-
244 ioc crop is for food. The rest is divided between chicha and farinha.
[261] Since the Cubeo are moderate eaters and do not have the custom of
[273] feasting outsiders, the demand for manioc as food is inelastic. There is only a little more elasticity in the demand for chicha. Although the
[614] drinking party is a principal means for binding the sibs it cannot be
[182] said that increasing the quantity of chicha consumed at a party or adding to the traditional number of parties would promote additional sib cohesiveness. In this instance a law of diminishing returns may be
[614] said to operate.[2] In any case, since each sib assumes some of the responsibility for entertaining the others, the burden of supplying the
[554] chicha is phratry-wide. The poorer sibs entertain less often than do the richer ones.

43 It is in the production of farinha that some elasticity in demand may be expected. Farinha, as the Cubeo equivalent of a "cash crop," pays largely for vanity articles, ornaments that have no traditional sanction, but also for cloth petticoats, that have now become customary apparel. However, this aspect of production for the market is also socialized. The goods a woman acquires from the sale of her farinha are largely committed to the intricate network of gift exchanges that apply between husband and wife, brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends of opposite sex. In a general way

[2] See the chapter on the drinking party.

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# 3

## *The Sib*

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The Cubeo sib is a unilineal descent group whose members regard themselves as being descended from common ancestors but cannot establish an actual genealogical relationship. Sibs are named, normally localized, exogamic, patrilineal, and patriloca[615]l. They are bound into unnamed exogamic phratries within which they occupy an order of rank that expresses the sequence in which they emerged during their mythical first emergence. Sib members claim descent from the male of an ancestral brother-sister pair. Each sib bears a name that in some cases is the name of the sib founder, but in any case is the name of an Ancient, that is, an early ancestor. The first ancestors are called *Bekõpwãnwa* (the Ancients). The sib is the center of the social structure, the focus and regulator of all main social, religious, and eco[622]nomic activities. It is the only true political unit since only a sib has a headman. A person's identification is only by sib. The strongest feeling that the Cubeo have for the sib is that it is a family in which the males show the strongest solidarity because they are the ones who live permanently together. The women never lose their sib identity, and when a married woman returns home, as a widow, divorced, or with a husband in tow, she may take up a position in the sib that is sociologically equivalent to that of a male head of household. She takes her place in the informal council of household heads and takes her turn in giving drinking parties to her sibmates.

[114] Since my study of the Cubeo sib system is incomplete, being based on information from a few sibs only, the principles of sib nomen-

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593 riliny, the closest of all. On occasions uterine brothers form a common front from which brothers of the same father but of different mothers are excluded. A father expects his sons to stand by him and not by their mother, who is a sib outsider. Yet the simple fact that a woman keeps her own children close to her side, lavishing upon them all her attentions and affection, and ignoring, as much as she can afford, the other of her husband's children by other wives, creates a basis in sentiment for a maternal attachment that no amount of official sib doctrine can override. The attachment to the mother is recognizable in modes of behavior, such as intimacy or susceptibility to cleavage. Uterine brothers also quarrel and part, but they are unlikely to drift apart as readily as can mere agnatic brothers. However, kinship terms draw no distinction between uterine and agnatic brothers. A woman addresses all her husband's sons by the same term, just as her husband does.

593 601 The term for brother of the closest degree embraces lineage as well as blood brothers. Still, a distinction of sorts does enter into kinship usage, through a sister. A girl, as a mother's helper, has a very important role in looking after younger children of the household. Her first responsibility is to her uterine siblings. Like her mother she favors the boy child over the girl. In later years she still calls her younger uterine brother by the affectionate term *tcumi*, while reserving the conventional term, *hiyokü*, for an agnatic younger brother. Women, however, take more liberties, generally, in the use of kin terms than do men. They are particularly free with terms that define nearness and intimacy. Thus, a sister's discrimination between uterine and agnatic brother may be regarded not as official usage but as a special female prerogative.

As to formal principles of kinship, the distinction between uterine [595] and agnatic brothers is of no great importance. Most marriages are monogamous and in most families there are no stepchildren. Headmen, however, are generally polygynous, and it is in their households 622 that the distinction assumes some importance. Since a headman's 593 household is a focal point of sib activity, whatever occurs within it 595 will affect the state of being within the sib and ultimately its unity. 614 Should a cleavage develop among brothers of different wives of the headman it could split the sib. Cleavages develop around rivalry for position. A headman's sons are inclined to model themselves after the father and to seek leadership of the community. Since the mantle of leadership will in any case fall upon one of them they are, in any case, virtually obligated to seek leadership. Thus it appears, paradoxically, that the line of cleavage in a sib tends to form at its very

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center in all respects, among the blood brothers, who are the sons of the headman, the very symbol and guardian of the unity of the sib. The Cubeo attribute the source of this "fault" in the sib to the unruly and passionate nature of women, that does not adapt itself readily to the requirements of the sib. The women are said to be at fault in having drawn their sons too closely to them and in having divided the sons of one wife from those of another. Men deplore this, yet they concede that it is in the nature of a woman to do so. Much of the formal and ceremonial relationship between men and women seems to be designed to overcome this feminine and maternal influence.

All sibling terms indicate relative seniority. If the terms refer to near siblings, that is, to siblings of the same sib, their seniority refers strictly to relative age. When sibling terms are used among members of different sibs in the phratry, then the forms of senior-junior indicate respect. An older person may then use the senior term in addressing a younger person. Men may use the senior term in referring to a member of a higher-ranking clan, or, apart from formal rank, to pay respect to a phratry mate who has been generous. Among the Cubeo, rank and seniority are marked by giving more than receiving. Thus, a generous and hospitable person can come to be an "older brother." Women pay respect to men by using the senior term – outside the sib – rather freely. It is a pleasing relationship for a woman to have an older brother and for a man to have a younger sister. When a woman addresses a man as "younger brother" she cannot help but endow the term with an almost maternal tenderness. She finds it more comfortable, one might say, to address a more distant sibmate as "older brother."

There is a more formal usage of terms of relative seniority that acknowledges the ranking of sibs. My information of these seniority usages, coming only from the *Bahúkiwa*, is therefore incomplete. According to the *Bahúkiwa*, all men of the head *Órabawa* sib who are of one's own generation are addressed as *mamû*, the stem term for "older brother," while the reciprocal term that is applied to them by the *Órabawa* is *hwa*, the stem term for "youngster." In the case of the *Bahúkiwa* relations with three sibs of the phratry, the *Pedikwa*, the *Kenánikauwû*, and the *Piarówa*, the women of the *Bahúkiwa* address the women of these three as *amikó*, the somewhat more distant form for "older sister," and are called in turn *hwainyó*, or "youngster." Though in the case of the *Órabawa* the seniority usage applies only to the men, in the latter case the usage applies only to the women. My informants could not account for the latter usages

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614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedikwa*
[554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiari that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kenánikauwũ* are a subsib of the *Pedikwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Pinrdwn* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Old-Pinrdwn* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahikiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior.
571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship
[622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac-
[857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come
[614] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves
[796] at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere-
[622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance,
562 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of cere-
796 mony women take precedence according to the order of precedence
[622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her hus-
[593] band has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substitute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a
[614] mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial
[553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother.
561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring
584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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hand, the assigned sister can be counted on to act in her brother's behalf and to accept the exchange marriage. On the other, if his bride should leave him he believes that he can ask his sister to leave her husband so that accounts will be squared. This arrangement does not work perfectly, but it works well. 58 593

Not every young man has a sister assigned to him. The son of a headman who is in line for the succession has preference, as has a favored son, since it is the parents who play an important part in establishing this relationship. In the case of an apparent heir to the headmanship the assigned sister enhances his status in two ways. It makes him part of an adult status economic relationship in that he has a woman "working" for him and it smoothes the way for his marriage. 593 622 [182] [885]

I could get no term for this rather specialized brother-sister relationship. Ordinary relationships between brother and sister lack the specific economic exchange features. Lacking the intensity of the paired relationship, the ordinary relationship is still charged with considerable emotion. 593

From the point of view of the sib, the brother-sister relationship may be considered as a source of holding women to the sib even after they have taken up residence in another sib. There is the curious expectation that a woman will some day come back to her own sib. She will do this as a widow or after a break in her marriage. When a young man is on his way to his "affinal" sib to bring back a wife his parents say to him, half in jest, "Try to make your sister come home." The symbolic act of marriage for the Cubeo is the drama of a "marriage by capture." The groom seizes the bride, who protests, and carries her forcibly to the beach and into his canoe. Her outcries bring her kinsmen on the run, who then try to prevent her "abduction" by cudgeling the groom. This dramatic enactment makes the point that the bride is unwilling to leave her sib and that her kin are determined not to let her go. It is a strong demonstration of attachment that soothes the feelings of the sib and particularly of the brother. It satisfies the sentiment that no one wishes to leave the sib. 593 614 182 582

The relationship between brother and sister may also be considered in the context of the sib origin myth which states that the founders of a sib were always a brother-sister pair who only later entered into exchange marriages. The tradition of the *Bahúkiwa* sib that a woman re-established the sib after all her brothers had been killed by enemies illustrates still again the Cubeo sentiment that a woman really belongs to her sib. Thus a sib has a female ancestress as well as a male ancestor. 593 614

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Plural marriages are uncommon only because they are not convenient. 595
Polygyny is usually limited to the headman. Two wives (I never heard 622
of any man having more than two wives at the same time) are regarded as suitable for a headman, first because he has the personal qualities to sustain a complex household and second because the maloca will be more orderly if two women are responsible for looking after it. A headman's prospects for getting two wives are enhanced somewhat, since he will almost certainly have had a sister assigned to him as an exchange for his first wife, and his prestige and perhaps affluence will help him get a wife through bride price alone. Brother-sister exchange is preferred, to be sure, but circumstances are such that an enterprising man will find many other ways of getting an additional wife from among widows, divorcées, and orphan children. He will not, however, marry a woman, either widow or divorcée, who has been brought to his community as a wife by a sibmate. A man may well have a surplus sister. These opportunities are available to all men, but it is the headman who is most likely to seize upon them. Koch-Grünberg, noting the common occurrence of polygyny along (114) the Vaupés, commented that plural marriages were harmonious. From what I observed and from what I heard I have a very different impression. Polygynous households are rather turbulent.

If a man has two wives, he must prepare two clearings and set each 595
up in her own household. Even so, my informants told me, the wives quarrel and bear tales against one another to the husband, accusing one another of laziness. The first wife taunts her colleague as being a mere second wife. The second retorts that she would not have been chosen if the husband had really cared for the first wife. Since men take it for granted that women are an unruly element they expect wives to quarrel. A headman, however, should be able to manage (622) them, it is believed.

One man told me that after he had married his present wife he 593
was offered a girl for bride price alone – a shotgun and cloth – and 595
so for three years he maintained a polygynous household. He then (583) decided that it would not work. At first the new wife refused to garden and urged him to come and live at her sib. They did this for a time and he left his first wife at home with their children. After a year he returned with the second wife. He made a large clearing and divided it into two parts, assigning each to one wife. His first wife, he said, cultivated her part but the second did nothing and just sat about the house. One day she departed and he did not chase her. He claimed that he did not understand why she had left since he had not forced her to do anything she did not wish to do.

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The *Bahúkiwa* headman also had had two wives. In his case the second and younger wife succeeded in displacing the older woman. The younger woman insisted that her husband give up sexual relations with his first wife. She bothered him so much that he yielded and told his first wife to leave him. She refused, insisting that she would stay on with her children. An old woman now, she has a grandmother role. A son not yet married has provided her with a small manioc garden. Her relations with the headman and her successor are cool but not unpleasant. That women regard polygyny as contrary to their interests is further indicated by the fact that they are reputed to possess an herb (*pedidya*) which, mixed into a husband's porridge, causes him to lose interest in acquiring a second wife.

Polyandry is rare. I knew of only one case, a man who took his brother into his ménage because the man had been unable to get a wife on his own. This occurred in a small Satellite community and seems to have been an accommodation to what might otherwise have been a troublesome situation of adultery. The woman fed both men and was a sexual partner of the junior husband only when her first husband was away.

Common marital difficulties have their counterpart in Cubeo folklore, as these tales reveal. *Kúwai* the culture hero and his two brothers shared the same woman. When one brother was away fishing or hunting, the other two took turns copulating with her. *Kúwai* plotted to get rid of his brothers so that he would have exclusive possession of her. They were then living at Urania on the Vaupés by a lake called *Marúkuwari* [Lake of the marúku monkey]. In this lake grew a great miriti palm. *Kúwai* asked his brothers to climb the tree to fetch a ball of miriti to make a hammock. Both brothers climbed the tree, after warning *Kúwai* not to start anything. As they climbed, *Kúwai* caused the tree to grow higher and higher and the lake to grow wider. When they reached the top, *Kúwai* cut down the tree. Then a great wind blew up and swept the men and the tree away. One brother was blown to the Cuduiarí, where he formed the river. The other was blown to the Querarí, where he formed the other river. As each man fell, his legs formed the mouth of the river, his outstretched arms two creeks, and his head a whirlpool. *Kúwai* then returned to his wife, who was now living alone. Later *Kúwai*, walking in the forest, passed a *wahókakú* tree. Each time he passed it, it made a sucking sound at him. This happened day after day. Then it seemed to *Kúwai* that the tree was human, so he cut it down and carved a woman out of its trunk. *Konéko*, a bird, came and opened up the woman's vagina. The

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# 6

## *Leadership and Authority*

Leadership among the Cubeo follows a principle that tends to understate authority. This principle asserts that leadership derives from giving more than one receives. Authoritarian relationships, by contrast, follow an opposing principle, that of receiving more than one gives. Authority, to be sure, can be established on a personal basis of personality and prowess. However, societies that have developed strong authority systems have usually done so by economic means, by inequality in the flow of goods. An authority system based on unequal flow of goods upward, from the community to a chief, is likely to respond quickly to economic development, and at the same time to foster economic growth. The Cubeo theory effectively minimizes the economic impact of leadership. The principle of greater flow to the top creates the condition for an expanding economic-political system, whereas the principle of greater flow from the top down creates the conditions for a static political-economic system. The economic role of the Cubeo headman is confined largely to stimulating the production of chicha. In short, the Cubeo headman gives all of his effort and ability to the community. The community, for its part, has no obligation to give anything to him. Since he has no authority to command economic productivity, for he is not an economic redistributor, he is devoid of significant economic function. At the same time the headman is a secular figure; he has no greater magical or religious powers than any other and so he is lacking in sacred authority. He may be a war leader, but he need not be; and even when he is a war leader, it is a very small party that he commands. Thus,

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622 571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habókü* and *kenámi upákü*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókü* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment [592] is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákü*, on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókü* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókü*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókü* attributes. Thus 622 614 554 not all headmen qualify as *habókü*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, such as the *Órabawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókü* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókü* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókü* as headman. Not every *habókü* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the head- [701] man. In time of war the *habókü* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

622 614 554 301 292 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókü* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókü* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókü*. The *Bakúkiwa* define *habókü* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókü*.[1]

[114] [565] [1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment-applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
301 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
554 major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[756] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[437] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region.
[614] The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grün-
[184] berg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *habókũ* status or *kenámi upákũ*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[135] [2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[324] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Aiarí it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election – one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihi*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

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692 No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

622 Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever
614 watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another
574 side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he
273 is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib
156 and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib
[554] is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kenámi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that
[476] their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

622 The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib.
614 While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this considera-
571 tion of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must pre-
578 vent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is
156 blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed
[157] about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

622 The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor
648 recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community
156 against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their
[614] forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

600 There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

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There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grünberg was told the same thing (1909, I, 264). One is also told that other people have powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this, but Koch-Grünberg, who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desanas had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grünberg that great chiefs ruled along the Papurý and Tiquié rivers. When he got there he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now. 643 622 114

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grünberg notes that the headmanship is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it that the house is kept in order; and if he leaves for any length of time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took him seriously. Koch-Grünberg had the impression, however, that the oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a headman. 622 171 [888] [554]

## LAW AND JUSTICE

With respect to the administration of justice and of order the headman is no magistrate. He is a mediator, a counselor, and often a persuasive advocate of his own views. It is the entire adult community that must reach a decison. The headman provides for orderly discussion until a decision is reached. Within the sib a primary objective of the headman's efforts is to smooth over difficulties, calm tempers, and restore the atmosphere of congeniality. There are, however, serious breaches of the peace, such as sorcery, persistent adultery, chronic and malicious theft of food, and murder when punishment is called for. In such cases the aim of the headman is not to calm 622 627 [614]

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622 627 tempers but to inflame and to focus angry passions upon the culprit. He does so because the Cubeo do not tolerate a judicious and cold-blooded administration of punishment. Their view is that malicious [673] acts are committed in anger. Such acts provoke anger in return, in the course of which the culprit is suitably punished. Thus, a wrong-doer always runs away. Even if he should regard himself as innocent of the charge, when he learns that charges are being discussed he deems it prudent to leave. He need not be gone very long – perhaps just a few months. When he returns the anger against him has died down and there will be no basis for action. In cases where a sibman 622 is being provocatively uncooperative and the senior households, to- 627 gether with the headman, agree that he should be made to leave, 574 they wait for a drinking party when someone, or the headman him- 614 self, picks a quarrel with the culprit. In the heat of the quarrel the unwelcome sibman is asked to leave. The traditional drinking party [182] seems to serve as the most appropriate setting for the airing and settling of grievances and of disputes.

578 Fighting is the most common social disturbance and is inevitable 574 during a drinking party. A quarrel between two men draws in others, usually close kin; each man entering the fray loudly proclaims his reason for joining, justifying by anger his right to take part. Members of the same household always have justifiable cause for anger in assisting one another. More distant kin must cite a personal motive. They can claim a past insult. A host or headman is privileged 578 to intervene to stop a fight but will do so reluctantly. In a Cubeo 574 quarrel the detached bystander is not welcome. Women are usually 622 strongly disturbed by fighting. They dread that someone will get hurt and when a fracas becomes bloody they loudly demand that the headman put a stop to it. If he ignores them, pretending to be drowsy with drink, they abuse him and say he is not fit to be a headman. A headman is drawn to anger and to participation in a fray if a ceremonial friend has joined a fight without asking his permission. 578 Ceremonial friends are as one and should share the same quarrels. 574 Fighting at a drinking party, although actually disliked by the Cubeo, [572] is not a punishable offense, since the angry parties have had full opportunity to retaliate. When the fight is over the issue is usually closed, unless new threats and insults are uttered. Those will be remembered at the next drinking party and serve to start a new fight.

682 Retaliation for murder is the responsibility only of the members of the victim's own household and lineage. Sibmates are under no [614] obligation to avenge a murder unless, they reason publicly, the mur-

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684 Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatúyo*. In the case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

[754] Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless com-
[562] pounded by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery, never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel. An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the hus-
684 band or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman,
622 concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by
614 emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example
574 illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahúkiwa*, when intoxication was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Whereúpon the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned. The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the pro-
684 prieties of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to re-
622 quest coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger
834 unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the
883 errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is re-
684 viled as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger
[562] at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kúwai*'s diffi-
[773] culties with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kúwai* crushes his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her manioc garden.

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Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. 754
Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine [753]
men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering [761]
mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning" is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent
death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In 683
all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

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Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

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754 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the
694 hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle
[756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man
[622] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The headman is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused if he can refute the charges.

## WARFARE (*bwaíno*)

721 People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one
[615] another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently ex-
[614] changed wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from Querari killed Hühû, an old *Bahükiwa* who was then living at Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the Querari, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants, and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a plundering raid. When they killed Hühû and others in his house they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for
[614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a
[648] *Hehénewa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cuduiari; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban, Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas raided the Cuduiari annually during the dry season, when they could move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert.
[114] I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward
[723] evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

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has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians. 846

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. [789] The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The [856] third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kūrūdjū*) by painting its body with genipa. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow.

The arrival of an infant to the maloca is a period of grave crisis. 846 It is the principal responsibility of the men of the maloca to dispel 789 the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *couvade* – the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward [604] the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is [622] responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chant- [756] ing away its dangers with appropriate spells. The grandmother paints the infant with genipa. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbili- cal cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood [757] charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this [837] period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant.

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so 846 that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All 789 fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for 262 fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly trouble- some feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its dis- tinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the

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The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were all attributed to human sorcery so that I have no information on the 763
Cubeo response to natural death or to death attributed to spirits. 754
Mourning is extensive but does not impose unusually onerous duties 76
or restrictions upon the survivors. Mourning goes through three 114
phases. In the first, from the moment of death to burial, which follows quickly, the immediate kin and all sibmates yield to their spontaneous emotions, but up to a point, for the ritualization of emotion sets in quickly. In the second, which is the period from burial to the great mourning ceremony, the nearest female kin of the household – wife, mother, sister – accept the burden of mourning. Finally, in the third phase, the entire living cosmos of the Cubeo – people, Ancients, birds, beasts, fish, insects, and demons – join in the mourning. This third phase, an intricate ceremony, is described in a separate chapter. The dead, as already indicated, are buried beneath the dance floor of the house, emphasizing, it seems to me, the importance the Cubeo place on the house itself rather than upon mere locality. [182]

I was present at the last hours of old João, a *Bahúkiwa* and *bakúdyó* 763
of the headman. He had been ill for several weeks, the medicine men [114]
had given up on him, and his death was, therefore, not unexpected. The Cubeo are not solicitous of the dying. Once its inevitability has been accepted death is awaited almost with indifference. Father Giacone (1949, p. 29), speaking for the neighboring Tucano, also observed that once the illness appears to be fatal the patient is given up for lost. Such patients, he adds, will be buried alive. When death seemed near – the old man was breathing with difficulty with a dry rasp – his wife took up the death watch at his hammock. At the moment of death her loud wailing awakened the house and all rushed to surround the hammock except the headman and his wife. Since it [622] is the duty of the headman to preside over the inquest that follows upon the first outburst of grief he must plan upon a properly timed arrival. A shaman of another sib who was in the house also did not intrude upon the mourners, both in his role as shaman and as a sib outsider.

The old woman, truly grief-stricken, had embraced her dead husband's body in the hammock and rocked over it, moaning and wailing. She withdrew, however, when the younger brother of João arrived. He felt for the heartbeat and then covered the old man's face with some rags that had been the sick man's blanket. The women had all gathered to one side of the hammock and they wept continuously, chorusing the loud and emphatic wailing of the widow. The 764
brother fetched his shotgun, moving slowly and grimly. He loaded

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764 it with a wad and turned to face the corpse. Each man now went with the same slow deliberateness to fetch his gun. The armed men formed a tight circle about the hammock, the widow in their midst pressed against it. Brandishing the weapon, the brother began the funeral declamation, a statement of grief and then anger and the threat of retaliation against the enemy. Each male mourner delivered his own address, always declaring his kinship relationship to the old man. The women accompanied the hoarse shouts of masculine anger with their own counterpoint of grief. After the last man had spoken they all fired their guns into the air together. The widow then withdrew to her hammock and lay silently while the men gathered about the hammock, caressed the corpse, and wept, accompanied in their grief by the women.

[537] When this first wave of mourning, which lasted some two hours, had subsided, the headman's wife arrived, took her place at the head of the hammock, and delivered a long funeral oration that began in anger and ended in tears. As she finished it seemed that the [761] grief had subsided; people stirred about more. Informally, and apparently spontaneously, the inquest began; names were mentioned and evidence cited. Women added their observations to those of the men, each citation being delivered in a loud and angry voice. [622] The headman broke in on this, an hour after his wife had finished [537] speaking. Armed with a gun he, too, approached the head of the hammock and delivered his funeral oration, concluding like the others with grief. During the angry part of his oration he summarized the suspicions and submitted his own. When the headman concluded, all the mourners drifted off and, since it was the middle of the night, all went to sleep. The respite was brief, and well before dawn mourning began again; mourners, men and women, approached the corpse (*yaiyũ*) in the hammock, caressed it, and wept.

Preparations for burial began promptly at sunrise. Four men of [823] the sib dug the grave (*tobékatcino*: hole underneath) four feet deep in an east-west direction to the left of the dance floor at the forward end of the house. They measured the corpse to get dimensions of the grave. When the grave had been dug halfway down one of the men lighted a cigarette and, bending over the sides but not entering the grave itself, blew cigarette smoke into each of its four corners, "so that the dead would always have tobacco."

[412] It took several hours to dig out the grave with machetes. While this was being done, others were preparing a canoe as the old man's coffin. A man is buried in his own canoe as a rule. However, the canoe of João was an excellent one, whereas one of the men had only re-

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In preparing chicha, the manioc is allowed to soften for four days. 574
It is left in the maloca covered with leaves until it has turned a dark 273
green color and has lost much of its moisture. Then it is grated, pounded through a sieve, and put through the tipiti press. The dry lumps are toasted lightly on the manioc oven and stirred into a fine grain. Small manioc cakes are prepared from these grains. The cakes are thoroughly masticated and the saliva-drenched balls are mixed with water. After fermentation has begun, a quantity of sugar cane extract is added, and this mixture is left to ferment for several days. Masticated pupunha mash may be substituted for the manioc. A mixture of pupunha mash with sugar cane extract makes a potent and very laxative drink. Many communities add maize as well as a variety of root plants to a basic manioc mash.

This period of preparation is one in which the house is spruced up 574
and personal possessions and ornaments are inspected, compared, [292]
and readied for wear and display. Nowadays women regard their [178]
long cloth skirts as gala wear. If it is to be an important drinking party a woman hopes to have a new skirt that she has never worn before. All the elaborate male ornamentation of feather headdresses, necklaces, girdles, and pendants are fetched out and tried on. Musi- [534]
cal instruments – Panpipes, long flageolets, whistles – are tuned and repaired. Songs are practiced and dance steps tried out. A nightly respite from the labors of manioc preparation is the amusement of watching the children play at dancing the adult dances, singing the dance songs, tasting the freshly prepared batches of chicha, taking coca, smoking, and listening to the old men chant snatches of the origin traditions. The mood is such that the minor rancors of community life are smoothed out. The headman takes advantage of this 574
mood to bring the Satellites back as permanent residents of the com- 621
munity. The Satellites are normally invited to be cosponsors of a 622
sib affair, bringing a contribution not of manioc but of sugar cane, or pupunha when that fruit is in season. The headman believes that when the estranged sibmates see how happy all are they will want to come back. There is no doubt that a Satellite is strongly drawn to the festive spirit of the main maloca. But he always has the time during the hangover of the morning after to consider whether it is worth returning.

The headman makes the first proposal for a drinking party and 574
discusses the date and its scale with the male household heads. Co- [622]
sponsorship means that a household head undertakes to prepare a notable amount of chicha that can be shown to the guests. When the invitations go out, the names of the cosponsors are given, and when

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themselves with an exchange of vituperation. Brothers will defend one another, as well as sibmates, so that a quarrel is difficult to isolate. The men listen to the vituperation and, far from regarding what is said as meaningless drunken chatter, draw implications that may involve them. What began as a quarrel between only two men over one man's wife can become a maloca-wide brawl. Then the sibs taunt one another, each reviling the other's weaknesses and calling attention to its own strength. It may all come to nothing. A diplomatic elder calms tempers; the headmen remember their obligations to preserve the peace at drinking parties. Some disputants have enough sense of humor to laugh. It can all blow over quickly and will then have served as another way in which feelings are lightened, provided the sinister specter of sorcery has not been drawn in.

The following is an example of a quarrel at a drinking party. A man began to beat his wife because she was dancing too often with the same man. The latter remonstrated and soon he and the angry husband came to blows. The bystanders remarked that the husband's jealousy was unwarranted. Encouraged by these remarks, the woman's father got angry and attacked his son-in-law with his fists. The son-in-law did not defend himself, whereupon the old man calmed down and proceeded to explain to those present that his daughter's conduct was altogether proper. At this point the wife became enraged, and flinging herself upon her now pacified husband, pummeled him soundly on the back with her fists. Since he did not strike back her fury subsided and this incident blew over.

However, another young man who had been witnessing this violent flurry began in a tearful voice to inform his audience that his wife was having an affair with a phratry mate of his. He named the woman's lover, who was present, but for the moment said nothing. The accused's father, however, jumped quickly to his son's defense, shouting that the charges against his son were false. The jealous husband turned upon the old man and shouted at him angrily, "You are already an old man. It is time you were dead!" At this, the accused man rushed forward, livid with fury. In a hoarse voice he shouted to the assembly, "Did you hear? He is planning to kill my father." But the jealous husband was already beyond calming down. Instead he shouted back that the sib of the accused adulterer was weak and few in numbers, whereas his own sib was strong. With these ominous remarks this incident closed, for the time being. All felt that the outraged husband had gone too far. No further remarks

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765 After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to
574 complete the decorations on the masks they have brought and to ap-
[532] ply personal body decorations.
[302] The sibs of the phratry arrive in late afternoon. These later arrivals are greeted by the hosts wearing dance masks. When they
765 sight their guests they sally out of the house dancing and singing in
574 a winding line around the front plaza. The guests respond by don-
585 ning their own masks and dance up the path, each pair of masked
614 dancers singing its own song. They mingle with the hosts. All complete a circle about the dance plaza, the hosts dance into the house, and the guests continue dancing outside.

765 Two Butterflies from among the guests approach the open door-
574 way. Each in turn strikes the side wall violently with his rattles. From
535 within Sloth and *Máuayo* thrust their long poles out at them and "beat them off." The Butterflies rejoin the others. Suddenly all the dancers rush the doorway and skirmish with the spirits within. Those with staffs thrust them at the attackers or use them to ward off a thrust. Those with rattles shake them violently. The "attack" is noisy and spirited. Beaten off again, the attackers re-form their dance line and dance to the rear of the house, seeking an entry through that quarter. But here the doorway is blocked with crossbars and guarded by Dung beetles, who thrust their long lances at the "attackers." Again the attacking dancers retire and resume their dance at the front of the house. After a while they take off their masks, hanging the garments on poles that have been set for this purpose along the front walls. Now, as humans, each strikes the side wall violently with his staff and enters the house. This entry is ritualized. The men flit in swiftly and silently on tiptoe, whispering *t t t i i i*, and circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased.

The male hosts have formed themselves into an outer semicircle facing the guest dancers. They lean on their staffs and look on grimly
[537] as the dancers complete the circle; then they whistle. At this the dancers come to an abrupt halt in a semicircle facing the hosts and launch into the orations already described. The speeches are short, and the men change partners often, each moving out of position when necessary, or leaning past a companion at his side. After a few minutes the guests resume the flitting dance. They circle clockwise, whispering *iii iii iii*, and having completed one circle, dance counterclock-
[622] wise and whistle. Alternating between clockwise and counterclockwise and whispering and whistling, they complete several circles led by their headman, who carries a rattle in his right hand. During this dance only the host headman remains standing and facing the dancers; the others retire to the benches set behind the dance

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband.

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack.

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart.

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their

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what it was yesterday. Moreover, the concept of homeostasis, like that 121
of pattern, is a theory of society. As a theory it rests upon further 571
theoretical assumptions as to what are the significant relationships, what are the normal patterns, and what are the disharmonious and stressful interactions. In the final analysis, a theory of homeostasis deals primarily with the ways in which a society handles conflicts and stresses. From a broad perspective, one can say that Cubeo society depends rather heavily upon what might be called "mood management" for equilibrium. Its homeostasis rests a good deal less upon networks of reciprocal obligations and upon formal exchanges of goods than, let us say, in Melanesian societies. The clearest illustration of this Cubeo equilibrium principle is in the role of the headman. In Cubeo culture he is not an economic redistributor (the drinking parties cannot be regarded as an economic exchange) but a regulator of community sentiment and of good feeling. However, the nature of Cubeo equilibrium is best considered at each particular level of social integration.

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Cubeo society may be presented diagrammatically as encompassing 571
five orbits of relationship, arranged in order of progressively weaker 61
bonds of unity. The innermost orbit is represented by the male sib- 602
lings, the nucleus of the sib; the second orbit is the sib itself; the third orbit is the phratry; the fourth, the affinal kin; and the fifth and outermost, the tribe. The brother-sister relationships and the husband-wife relationships may be regarded as within the confines of the first and second orbits. [593]

Each orbit has its own characteristics of equilibrium. To take them 571
in reverse order: Tribal unity is so tenuous that fragmentation into 619
subtribal units is of little consequence. New combinations are readily formed and whatever disturbance this may cause is very temporary. Tribal continuity rests upon tradition and common language and customs, on the one hand, and upon the phratric organization, of which it is a summation, on the other. With respect to tribe, the question of equilibrium is more pertinently not what holds the tribe together, but rather what there is to disperse it. Tradition and common customs and language are little more than bonds of inertia. Once set, they hold unless some stronger force intervenes. Against what counterforces are the relatively weak bonds of tradition to contend? The answer is that there are no such counterforces arising from within the society, since tribal unity has no tasks to accomplish that could involve stresses and strains. Paradoxically, the very absence of a tribal leadership is a source of unity. By virtue of the linkage-

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Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry
the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. 571
The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict 578
that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pa- 614
thology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized 154
and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly resentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these standards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its 571
natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in 614
Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. 578
That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indicated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the [622]
prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punish- [627]
ments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the difficulty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The [626]
function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, composed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by draining away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse senti- [622]
ment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood 571
brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. 614
The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. Yet 593
this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is 621
spotted with social "ions," free-floating men who, with their wives

at times we are very irritable. Donald, the most silent, is by far the most 114
understanding, while Horacio and I with our opposite points of view tend to get across one another.

Spread out the two tarpaulins on the sand in front of the *maloca*, then all the equipment on top of them, once more throwing everything to the air and the sun. Donald and I doctored our sores. Both he and Horacio have the beginnings of boils on their arms; this could be dangerous. If our sores go septic we really shall be in a mess – we had better take some penicillin. Donald dealt with the medical kit, Horacio checked over all the food supplies. With his blue and red pinstripe shirt, a Roman nose and scruffy growth, he looked just like an Arab street vendor squatting over his wares in the *souk*. We seem short of meat and Nescafé but otherwise all right. I took out all the cameras. Some of the lenses are in poor shape and neither the electronic flash nor my Japanese one is working. Spent ages trying to repair them and reached the conclusion that the filament on the electronic had broken – probably knocked as we came over the portage. Donald discovered a dud contact on the Jap flash and after much wastage of bulbs and various electric shocks got it to work.

The heat at midday is tremendous but a swim in the river refreshed me.
José and Kuarumey had gone out with our two twelve-bores and returned 123
at noon with three *pava*. Being stationary is a blessing; we can send the Indians off hunting – they love using our guns – and so supplement our rations. Have to be careful because Nestor should soon be arriving.

*p.m.* I slung my hammock between two trees – the sandflies never seemed 114
to leave me alone – and wrote up my geological notes till the sun went down. Am putting all the specimens in sample bags, and it's lucky we have them, for some of the sandstones are crumbling to pieces. Horacio measured the rice into our bright-red tins – funny to think they were once green and with me in the snow and ice of Cocuy. Donald spent the whole afternoon drawing the *maloca* – beautiful, he should have been an architect. The children love [123]
watching him, and one little boy – I think he's Kuarumey's son – kept tugging his long beard, then racing over to feel mine, completely intrigued by our hairy faces.

Spent the evening editing birdsong tapes with Uriel who gave me long [126]
descriptions of each bird; we had seen very few of them. Surrounded by many overwhelmed listeners, and one boy started to imitate some of the songs amazingly. Ate rice and stewed bird and after silica-jelling the cameras (the plastic bags seem to puncture easily) climbed into my hammock. It's 123
now late, a woman is still rubbing manioc somewhere in the darkness: they 622
always seem so willing to help us, but Kuarumey, no ... he's sitting beneath

LEFT: *Horacio López*. CENTRE: *Donald Tayler*. RIGHT: *Brian Moser*.

 [See p. 46-B]

123 the *bréo* flame taking coca with two other men. He is silent and has offered
622 little real assistance; I wonder whether he resents our presence here.'

It did seem at times as though Kuarumey resented our presence, and he later had some cause for his suspicions – certainly in his own mind – when events took an unexpected turn. He was a striking man, tall and rather gaunt, with a proud almost arrogant manner. There was no doubt as to who was the head of the *maloca*, nor that we were visitors, fortunate to have his hospitality. We saw little of him during the daytime and it was some time before we learnt he was making a canoe some distance away in the forest.

501 Though the Tukano travel through the forest on hunting expeditions, canoes are used to go further afield, to fish or to trade with other groups. They are a river people as much as a forest people, and like many Amazonian tribes they have evolved their own methods of making canoes.

[171] The Noanamá, we found, dug out and shaped their canoes from solid wood, and it was necessary for them to find very large trees to do this. Many tribes of the southern Amazon use the bark of a tree, like the North American Indian, while some groups of the Guahibo and the Maku living in areas remote from the larger rivers do not use canoes at all. The Tukano, however, shape their canoes by a process of heat-warping.

A tree – a hard type of cedar – had first been felled, then a twenty-foot section was cut and barked, and allowed to lie for several weeks, before
[293] Kuarumey started to cut the wood. Each day he went to the clearing, setting up a palm frond to shade himself when the midday sun broke into the clearing, through the gap in the trees overhead.

[412] Using his *azador*, a curved hoe-like blade, and a long stick with a sharp metal end, he first shaped the outside of the log, scraping off the bark. Then he made holes along its length and began to cut out the centre. It was hard work and he would often break off to make himself a cheroot, using the rolled leaf of a palm, while his eldest son continued the work. Once he disappeared in the jungle to set a monkey trap, a ring-snare high in a tree with fruit as the bait.

[224] He worked carefully, feeling the sides of the canoe so as not to make the shell too thin. After several days it was ready, braced with two small stumps to prevent the sides from closing. Then Kuarumey and several Indians from the *maloca* dragged the hull along the forest paths to the river bank nearly a mile away.

Now the canoe was ready to be warped by burning. This could be undertaken only at certain times of the year when there was no risk of rain, for
[412] water on the hot wood might split it. Before they obtained iron and steel the Indians used to cut the trees with their stone axes. They would only partly shape the hull and burn out the centre with fire. Now, with the canoe already shaped, the burning was quicker and it would be completed within a day.

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

/459 cont./

621 perhaps one should distinguish between the different relations,
592 some of which, for example, that of exogamous marriage, might
614 have had a positive origin, and the others might be of consuetudinary origin.

Even in small groups, although perfectly and smoothly harmonized, the distinction of social assemblages, with their duties, their characteristic attributes, their peculiar directives, is easily perceptible. In each local group we can distinguish four categories of individuals: 1st, the tuxáua; 2nd, the Komũã (elders); 3rd, the men (more or less scaled by their ages and experience); 4th, the women and children.

These different categories, however, are closely connected to one another by unifying and stabilizing principles: 1st, a common house, the regime of the maloca, which, at least in the beginning, was in force as a general norm and without exception; 2nd, the provisions in common: a custom that is maintained in the maloca regime and, in a more attenuated way, also in the povoado system: 3rd, the common inheritance of the maloca, of zones for fishing and hunting, and of everything that is the property of the group; 4th, the fear of the spirits, with great unitive power, corresponding to the native mentality; 5th, vengeance, which the group will exercise against the one suspected of having caused the death of one of its members.

A further word about the first two categories of individuals is advisable.

c) "Bũxkõrã-kurã" -- (Council of elders).

622 Watching over the observance of the customs and the feasts is
623 a Council of elders, the Bũxkõrã-kurã (called Moacaretã in Nheengatú). It is made up of the Tuxaua, who is its hereditary president and also speaker and executor of its decisions, the Pajé, and two or three more /460/ men of greater ascendancy. These men are the Komũã (pl. of Komũ), as the natives express themselves, whom we saw appear (VII - 2, e (3) ) as "initiates" and, up to a certain point, helping the pajé.

/460 cont./

623 "The elders desire it this way" is an expression that is frequently heard when one asks the native the reason for some practice that causes us surprise. This expression is the manifestation of an impersonal will (the name of some of the components, as responsible for the decision, is never revealed), which is always
*[192] respected. This term "elder," "Bũxkõ," applied to the Komũã, is indicative of authority rather than of age, because one sees individuals of perhaps 30 years of age or a little more making up part of the Council.

*[192] The Council acts as electoral college of the Tuxaua, Wyõra bexsesé, and as a tribunal which passes judgment on the omissions and transgressions of the customs.

[115] Vice versa, as follows from the Tukano narrator Antônio Barreto, the choice of the members of the Council falls to the Tuxaua. The zeal of someone from the maloca with regard to the interests of the group, his love for the traditions, his facility in remembering them, are, it seems, the qualities required to be admitted among the Komũã. It is nevertheless necessary for him to be presented by some member of the council, perhaps the candidate's father himself. His admission, however, depends on the favorable opinion of the Council, after the candidate has given proofs of his aptitude, for example, repeating the legends of the tribe, or the songs of the dances, or showing the efficacy of his "blowings." For this a prolonged course at the school of the old Komũã has been necessary, as we saw above (VII - 2, e (3) ).

The title of Komũã is a lifelong one and procures for them the
[756] respect of their contributors. The Komũã, moreover, practice their
[755] activities as "blowers," especially at the delivery and at the giving of the names, as instructors at the puberty rites, and as helpers of the Pajé in treating the sick. The meetings are frequent. The
[115] Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos assured us that sometimes they meet almost every night.

/465 cont./

622 [115] Rules establishing the succession of the tuxaua or his choice are not known. The only strict norm would perhaps be the observance of the hierarchy of the subdivisions in the povoados in which there are families belonging to various subtribes (IV 2, a (2) ), according to the information by Patrícia Vasconcelos and Antônio Barreto. The democratic-aristocratic spirit of these small groups demands this. A very natural process, with such a spirit, is the succession of the father by the son, especially the first-born, a process which is verified in the greater frequency of the cases. This event was determined by the ascendancy, perhaps great, of the father, as well as the circumstance that the son, while the father was alive, often helped him or replaced him on many occasions.

The recognized ascendancy, the personal qualities, and among them regard for the traditions and respect for the authorities, are what point to the son as a candidate. Or, in the absence or the lack of aptitude of the latter, anyone else, preferably from the family of the deceased Tuxaua.

Violation of the old customs and disobedience toward the father have not infrequently been the cause of passing over some young man, otherwise well qualified, to succeed his own father in the office of tuxaua.

[623] Such a choice is one of the principal functions of the council of Elders, the Būxkõrá-Kurá (99),

[115]

99. On the occasion of the death of the Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, Julio Silgueira, on July 5, 1954, the Council of elders remained for three days deliberating on the qualities and merits of Mandu, the eldest son of the deceased chief, before recognizing him as the successor.

according to the information obtained from some tuxauas (Júlio, Tukano of Pari-cachoeira; Henrique Resende, Tuyuka of the Iaísa igarapé; Fernando, Yurupari of S. Ana on the river Içana; Mandú, Kumãdene of Urubucuara; José, Huhúdeni of Uapuim-cachoeira on the river Aiarí).

/466 cont./

622 f) Government and justice.

Even in olden times the tuxaua's power was tempered by the power of the heads of each family, which, as we said, is autonomous regarding its normal life, its trading, its clearing, etc.

622 It was, likewise, moderated by the ascendancy of the Komtã,
623 the "Elders," who still today preside over the dances, take part in the giving of the name to the child, in the initiation of the young men, practice the "blowing," etc. The "Elders" constituted a true Council or Senate of the Tuxaua, the Bũxkerã-kurã; and even today continue with such function and choose the new tuxaua.

622 The absolute chiefs have always been an exception, which sometimes provoked reaction by his subordinates (102).

[159] [648]

102. José, Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, died poisoned by those of his maloca; properly speaking, by his second wife, a Tuyuka, with the connivance of the other inhabitants of the maloca. During the time of the encarregado dos Índios /Indian Agent/ Higino Albuquerque, of the SPI, José exercised in truth a despotic power: he forced the Indians to work for some of the civilized, thrashed the women so that they would make the flour more quickly, etc.

797 Among all the tribes of the Uaupés a democratic regime has always
622 been in force. It is remembered, however, that some tuxauas, in contracting for service with the whites, -- one of the functions of
648 the tuxauaship, -- demanded payment without work, or even keeping almost everything for themselves and distributing little to the others, so that the natives came to ask the Missionary to make the distribution of the payment to them himself.

627 The administration of justice, in the strict sense, does not fall to the tuxaua. There is not even a judiciary or customary penal Law. The questions that arise among the components of the group are resolved among them under the dictates of reciprocal vengeance

627 /466 cont./
[623] or fear. The tuxaua, nevertheless, frequently acted as an arbiter, reprimanding the guilty ones, threatening them, imposing on them restitution of the object stolen or an indemnity, and, as maximum punishment, expelling the undesirables from the maloca; always, however, in accordance with the Komũã components of the
[681] Bũxkõrã-kurã. They have never known the penalty of prison /467/ or corporal punishment. It should be kept in mind that with their type of life, and with the native mentality, innumerable cases that fill our penal codes do not arise.

g) Associations.

797 In the Mission schools it is observed that, although the various
857 tribes with representatives among the school children live together in friendly fashion, the groups of each tribe readily separate in order to play among themselves. A Religious Superior of the Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora (Salesian Sisters), with more than 25 years (103)

103. A similar statement was given by the Superior of the newly founded Salesian Mission of Assunção among the Arwake of the Içana, located in the place known as Carará-poço, in August of 1957, therefore after only five months of the functioning of the local girls' boarding school.

of residence among those tribes, informed us that there was always a girl with ascendancy over the rest, a true "tuxaua," whose orders the others obeyed promptly, although transgressing school regulations and the orders of the Irmãs Superioras /Superior Sisters/; and they brought to this classmate the gifts received. Such deference, however, did not seem to be the fruit of friendship, but of fear. The Indian girl, who hardly cries, did it when admonished

/467 cont./

797 by this companion, whose rebuke (104)

857

> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father," and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief."

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

575 We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

562 1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in
796 the feasts of Wãx-tĩ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

• 623 2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkõrákurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs
756 /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult

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682 derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault. [614]

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when [593] his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a [578] monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. [763] In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to [825] shoot the monkey. There the wife beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, [625] however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer [697] and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is 682 no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The 593 only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, [266] crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as [762] he then cut his throat and died.

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old 683 *Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves 685 pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihí*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihí* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft [276] is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

/281 cont./

i) His social role.

756 626 The pajé represents the highest intellectual level of the native povoado, and, not only that, but he is also the stickler for the observance of the tribal laws. He knows them, teaches them, and demands their fulfillment, being able to punish (34),

> 34. He is, then, the major opponent of the assimilation of our culture on the part of the forest dweller.

with sicknesses, lightning, and, finally, malefices, disrespect toward traditional practices.

756 [852] [844] He presides over all social life, that of the family as well as of the group. When a child is born, the one who will blow on it, exorcise it, and paint it with carajurú /carajura/, in order that it will grow up strong and free from sicknesses, is the pajé; and he will also give the medicines to the woman in labor.

[553] In some tribes the giving of the name is done in the presence of the pajé. Covering the child with smoke with his indispensable cigar, under the inspiration of the moment, he will give or will suggest the name to the father, who is about to choose a name indicated by any circumstance whatsoever, perhaps even an indecent name.

[881] When the girl reaches puberty, the pajé will spend some time with her, giving her timely theoretical and practical instructions about maternity and obligations inherent in it.

At the time of the masculine initiation, it falls to him to teach the young men the traditional legends, their rights and duties as members of the group, the ritual practices, and to verify their ability by means of interrogations, punishments, flagellations, fasts, etc.

He is also the principal instructor of the Komũ (see VII - 2, e (3) ), on whose capacity he will pass judgment, and of whom he will always be the supervisor, gathering them together periodically in assembly and giving them opportune directions for every circumstance.

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

## FISHING

Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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# 5

## *Marriage*

614 615 The rule in marriage is that a wife cannot be taken from within the sib or phratry. She may be taken from another tribe and, of course, from any of the other two phratries. There is no actual prohibition against marrying a woman from one's own community if she belongs to a group that is outside the phratry. As I have already noted, such marriages are not common because of a preference for marrying someone from a distance. Since true friendship is apt to mean brotherhood [626] for the Cubeo, and so is identified with exogamy, the parties to a coresidence marriage, the man in particular, are made to feel as though they were behaving indecently. The only case of a coresidence 614 597 marriage that I learned about was complicated somewhat by an issue of adoption, but it illustrates the ambiguity of feeling the Cubeo have about such marriages, nevertheless. A boy, born a *Bahúkiwa*, was orphaned and adopted by the *Hürüwá*, a sib of the opposite phratry. He then married a *Hürüwá* girl. Opinion was divided. The boy and his supporters claimed that he was *Bahúkiwa* and so the marriage was proper. The other side argued that since he was raised by the *Hürüwá* he had no business marrying a *Hürüwá* girl. Since the girl's family allowed the marriage to stand we must assume 582 that the boy's position was legally sound. Marriage is preferred between age equals, and since a groom must be forceful enough to make a good impression he will not marry until his very late teens and so 192 neither will the girl. The term for marriage is *nomíkükü*, meaning simply "woman getting."

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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe. 841 [833] [828] [758]

Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her. 826 841 821 [828]

## SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy. 836 835 [838] [775] [867] [626]

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis. 838

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Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry
the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. 571
The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict 578
that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pa- 614
thology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized 154
and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly resentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these standards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its 571
natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in 614
Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. 578
That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indicated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the [622]
prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punish- [627]
ments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the difficulty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The [626]
function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, composed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by draining away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse senti- ment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well [622]
equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood 571
brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. 614
The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. Yet 593
this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is 621
spotted with social "ions," free-floating men who, with their wives

156 /158 cont./
571 them: one notices the same treatment for all. It is still the group spirit that atrophies the individual impulses. The reciprocal envy and the fear of poisoning that torment them do not allow the feelings of friendship to flourish among them. They are always afraid of one another. Some of them would like to open up more with the civilized, and in some cases they do when they are alone. He will become reserved, however, as soon as another Indian appears. One has the impression that they are afraid of appearing as a friend of the white.

648 Nor is there any evidence of the existence of gratitude in
156 his heart, especially toward the civilized. Although he appears friendly, speaking to them with expansiveness and intimacy, he never gives thanks for the favors received; he does not even show acknowledgement of them, even in cases of extraordinary benefits, and even of the true and heroic devotion of the Missionary or of the Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/. He does not approach him to offer any gift as a sign of gratitude, or even say a tender word of thanks. It is not reported either that among his fellow tribesmen he is concerned about showing gratitude for the benefits received from the white. One can affirm that the cordiality that they show toward the civilized is always inspired by self-interest, and the supposition of lack of attention on the part of the white is enough to make the manifestations of that cordiality disappear.

18) Revenge-vengeance.

627 On the other hand, his instinct for revenge is strong. With
628 perfect control of himself, without the slightest outward sign or facial expression revealing his displeasure, the Indian accepts the greatest contrarieties. He does not, however, forget the
*[192] insults and the injustices, real or supposed, nor does he forgive
*[797] them (29).

29. It seems that the verb to forgive does not exist in the Tukano language. Out of the necessity for catechising, the Missionary sometimes uses the verb oxkó-boho, to forget. The

/158 cont./

627
628
*[192]
[797]

/footnote 29 cont./ natives instead use the Portuguese verb with the Tukano ending: perdoáya (you forgive), perdoápõ (I forgave).

He thinks about revenge, and there are numerous episodes /159/ demonstrating that he waits patiently for years for the opportunity, and they take long trips for the purpose of executing revenge.

*[192]

It is an imprescriptible obligation, that of vengeance, a'mẽ-wehẽ, incumbent on the group, for one of its members killed or wounded by some civilized man or Indian of another tribe. Vengeance will also be taken within the tribe against a native of another subdivision, and even against one's own blood brother. If he does not execute the vengeance in some case, it is because he is afraid of counter-vengeance (malefice).

576

In appearance the Indian is very peaceful. One does not hear the natives quarreling among themselves in loud voices, even when it seems to us that there are reasons for it. They even seem very polite among themselves. When, in a group of natives, one among them gave, let us suppose, incorrect information (it should be noted that they do not like to state: I do not know, I am not sure of that), the others do not at the time correct the inaccuracy or mistake. Perhaps one of those present, when he is alone with the civilized, will on request rectify the erroneous information.

726

There is no recollection, except for the legends, of war among the various tribes (30).

*[192]

30. In October of 1947, a few days before our visit to the maloca of the Makũ, about six kilometers from Iauareté, on the occasion of a caxirí (celebration with drinking), a machete fight took place among them, during which one Indian died and several were seriously hurt. In January of 1948 in this same maloca there was dissension of

/280 cont./

756 the vengeance is likewise wreaked against them (32).

32. Some assert that poison cannot be administered to the pajé. "He sees even from far away." This belief is advantageous to the pajés. It seems, nevertheless, that, at least nowadays, not everyone endorses it. In October of 1946, a native from Ipanuré died of pneumonia. They attributed the sickness and death to the pajé from the neighboring povoado of Cigarro. When this pajé, with some persons from his povoado, were given the job of transporting some of our luggage through the varadouro /open passage through the forest/ of the cachoeira of Ipanuré, the Indians of this locality abandoned the work, hid in the forest, and, when the pajé passed by on the road, one of the men from Ipanuré gave him a blow with a stick, which he avoided, turning his head and covering it with his arm, which was broken at the elbow and forearm.

[753]

His presence in the vicinity of a povoado at night, when he goes to do his fishing, is always suspicious. If after one of his visits to /281/ some maloca (especially of another tribe) some death or misfortune happens there, the pajé will be blamed (33).

33. In a maloca of Jandú, on the igarapé Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié, shortly before our passing through there (December of 1947), lightning had struck. The pajé, who had threatened to hurl a bolt of lightning there, was blamed for the misfortune.

[821]

[627] Some pajés have found themselves obliged to abandon the povoados and stay away for a long time, until the anger against them had lessened.

/281 cont./

j) Consequences.

755 A first one is that in many cases the sickness is aggravated by the lack of adequate treatment; or the very processes of the pajé /282/ aggravate the ailment and hasten death. In several cases of pneumonia and laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis the catastrophe was precipitated by the effect of the ablutions of the pajé (35).

[797]

35. In Acuricuara, Colombian bank of the Papurí, an individual became sick and let himself be treated by the pajé. He was Christian, however, and, seeing that the treatments were useless, he asked that the Missionary, Pe. Clemente, be called and even went so far as to ask him not to let the pajé come to his house. It was, however, already a hopeless case, and the cure would have been possible if he had put himself under the care of the Missionary earlier.

756 Another very grave consequence of this belief in magic power is the endless vengeance and numerous crimes. Every sickness, death, or misfortune had as its cause some malefice. The pajé will not only try to neutralize this malefice, but, moreover, he will designate someone as its cause, and he will prepare poisons (36)

*[192]

36. As for the poisoning by the caxirí or mingau, they say Nimá tõãsé (nimá, poison; tõãsé, act of giving a drink).

756 and counterpoisons for revenge. Or he will urge the victim to take
627 revenge after the cure; and if he died, his relatives. Hence the
628 animus of tribe against tribe, and, within the same tribe, of one povoado against another, or of family of the same povoado or maloca, is always stirred up. From which there is even more submission of all to the pajé, on whom everyone depends, and this

/282 cont./

756 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the
• 627 other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individ-
628 ual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a preventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain from doing him harm.

k) The xamã /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For exam-
[115] ple, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé,
[797] and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife (37).

37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

/327 cont./

775 /Footnote 19 cont./ They say that at night cries are heard and no native dares pass by there. When we were there, about 15 days after the burial, the inhabitants still continued to be frightened.

3) Moral principles.

673 They characterize some acts as "ya'ãsé"; for example, the marriage of persons of the same tribe, to have children from incest between parents and children or between members of the same tribe, the malefice (dohasé), and stealing.

627 The punishment, however, is the obligation of the one who
756 judges himself hurt, if he can do it. The pajé, by his extraordinary powers, is used as an instrument of justice, or rather of vengeance. They do not think, however, that it is legal for him to do so. They fear him, and, when they can, they also take revenge on him.

/328/ 4) Reward and punishment.

177 The concept of a reward or punishment in the other life is less
775 precise. They know, at present, that the good are rewarded and the bad, punished. Perhaps because of Christian influence, they say that the former will "go up," where they will have "good life"; the bad ones "will go down," where "the life is bad."

The concept of good and bad, however, extends so far as to include all those of the povoado as good, and those of the enemy villages as bad. It is, then, a concept in terms of the group, and not of the life of the individuals.

The fact that they bury the cadaver with its hunting imple-
764 ments (bow and arrow) might perhaps be a vestige of an ancient
775 belief in a "hunting paradise," as exists in hunting tribes. This belief has been obliterated with the change of the system of life from hunting to fishing and agriculture.

/466 cont./

622 f) Government and justice.

Even in olden times the tuxaua's power was tempered by the power of the heads of each family, which, as we said, is autonomous regarding its normal life, its trading, its clearing, etc.

622 It was, likewise, moderated by the ascendancy of the Komũã,
623 the "Elders," who still today preside over the dances, take part in the giving of the name to the child, in the initiation of the young men, practice the "blowing," etc. The "Elders" constituted a true Council or Senate of the Tuxaua, the Bũxkõrã-kurã; and even today continue with such function and choose the new tuxaua.

622 The absolute chiefs have always been an exception, which sometimes provoked reaction by his subordinates (102).

[159] [648]

102. José, Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, died poisoned by those of his maloca; properly speaking, by his second wife, a Tuyuka, with the connivance of the other inhabitants of the maloca. During the time of the encarregado dos índios /Indian Agent/ Higino Albuquerque, of the SPI, José exercised in truth a despotic power: he forced the Indians to work for some of the civilized, thrashed the women so that they would make the flour more quickly, etc.

797 Among all the tribes of the Uaupés a democratic regime has always
622 been in force. It is remembered, however, that some tuxauas, in contracting for service with the whites, -- one of the functions of
648 the tuxauaship, -- demanded payment without work, or even keeping almost everything for themselves and distributing little to the others, so that the natives came to ask the Missionary to make the distribution of the payment to them himself.

• 627 The administration of justice, in the strict sense, does not fall to the tuxaua. There is not even a judiciary or customary penal Law. The questions that arise among the components of the group are resolved among them under the dictates of reciprocal vengeance

627 /466 cont./
[623] or fear. The tuxaua, nevertheless, frequently acted as an arbiter, reprimanding the guilty ones, threatening them, imposing on them restitution of the object stolen or an indemnity, and, as maximum punishment, expelling the undesirables from the maloca; always, however, in accordance with the Komũã components of the
[681] Bũxkõrã-kurã. They have never known the penalty of prison /467/ or corporal punishment. It should be kept in mind that with their type of life, and with the native mentality, innumerable cases that fill our penal codes do not arise.

g) Associations.

797 857 In the Mission schools it is observed that, although the various tribes with representatives among the school children live together in friendly fashion, the groups of each tribe readily separate in order to play among themselves. A Religious Superior of the Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora (Salesian Sisters), with more than 25 years (103)

103. A similar statement was given by the Superior of the newly founded Salesian Mission of Assunção among the Arwake of the Içana, located in the place known as Carará-poço, in August of 1957, therefore after only five months of the functioning of the local girls' boarding school.

of residence among those tribes, informed us that there was always a girl with ascendancy over the rest, a true "tuxaua," whose orders the others obeyed promptly, although transgressing school regulations and the orders of the Irmãs Superioras /Superior Sisters/; and they brought to this classmate the gifts received. Such deference, however, did not seem to be the fruit of friendship, but of fear. The Indian girl, who hardly cries, did it when admonished

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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Aiarí it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election – one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihi*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

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There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grünberg was told the same thing (1909, I, 264). One is also told that other people have powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this, but Koch-Grünberg, who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desanas had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grünberg that great chiefs ruled along the Papurý and Tiquié rivers. When he got there he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now. 643 622 114

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grünberg notes that the headmanship is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it that the house is kept in order; and if he leaves for any length of time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took him seriously. Koch-Grünberg had the impression, however, that the oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a headman. 622 171 [888] [554]

## LAW AND JUSTICE

With respect to the administration of justice and of order the headman is no magistrate. He is a mediator, a counselor, and often a persuasive advocate of his own views. It is the entire adult community that must reach a decison. The headman provides for orderly discussion until a decision is reached. Within the sib a primary objective of the headman's efforts is to smooth over difficulties, calm tempers, and restore the atmosphere of congeniality. There are, however, serious breaches of the peace, such as sorcery, persistent adultery, chronic and malicious theft of food, and murder when punishment is called for. In such cases the aim of the headman is not to calm 622 627 [614]

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622
627 tempers but to inflame and to focus angry passions upon the culprit. He does so because the Cubeo do not tolerate a judicious and cold-blooded administration of punishment. Their view is that malicious
[673] acts are committed in anger. Such acts provoke anger in return, in the course of which the culprit is suitably punished. Thus, a wrongdoer always runs away. Even if he should regard himself as innocent of the charge, when he learns that charges are being discussed he deems it prudent to leave. He need not be gone very long – perhaps just a few months. When he returns the anger against him has died
622 down and there will be no basis for action. In cases where a sibman
627 is being provocatively uncooperative and the senior households, to-
574 gether with the headman, agree that he should be made to leave, they wait for a drinking party when someone, or the headman him-
614 self, picks a quarrel with the culprit. In the heat of the quarrel the
[182] unwelcome sibman is asked to leave. The traditional drinking party seems to serve as the most appropriate setting for the airing and settling of grievances and of disputes.

578 Fighting is the most common social disturbance and is inevitable
574 during a drinking party. A quarrel between two men draws in others, usually close kin; each man entering the fray loudly proclaims his reason for joining, justifying by anger his right to take part. Members of the same household always have justifiable cause for anger in assisting one another. More distant kin must cite a personal mo-
578 tive. They can claim a past insult. A host or headman is privileged
574 to intervene to stop a fight but will do so reluctantly. In a Cubeo quarrel the detached bystander is not welcome. Women are usually
622 strongly disturbed by fighting. They dread that someone will get hurt and when a fracas becomes bloody they loudly demand that the headman put a stop to it. If he ignores them, pretending to be drowsy with drink, they abuse him and say he is not fit to be a headman. A headman is drawn to anger and to participation in a fray if a cere-
578 monial friend has joined a fight without asking his permission. Ceremonial friends are as one and should share the same quarrels.
574 Fighting at a drinking party, although actually disliked by the Cubeo,
[572] is not a punishable offense, since the angry parties have had full opportunity to retaliate. When the fight is over the issue is usually closed, unless new threats and insults are uttered. Those will be remembered at the next drinking party and serve to start a new fight.

682 Retaliation for murder is the responsibility only of the members of the victim's own household and lineage. Sibmates are under no
[614] obligation to avenge a murder unless, they reason publicly, the mur-

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The relationship between the patterns of calm-frenzy and linkage-autonomy appears also in the juridical area. Here, as we observed, justice is carried out not in an atmosphere of calm deliberation but in an atmosphere of high excitement, as befits a situation in which the collectivity of the sib has been broken both by commission of the crime and by the act of expelling the offender. The juridical is not a ritual area. The example, however, demonstrates the continuity of ritual polarity-complementarity with a more general patterning of mood.

## PATTERNING OF MOOD

The point has been made repeatedly that the Cubeo will undertake no significant action unless the mood is appropriate. The previous example of the juridical process is illustrative. Punishment or vengeance must correspond with appropriate anger. Ritual acts and dances are omitted when the mood is wrong. All collective enterprises of the sib, such as hunting, fishing, foraging, and housebuilding, require a mood of geniality. When such a mood begins to break, a fairly rapid chain reaction ensues. The sense of collectivity weakens and this, in turn, darkens the mood. This cycle of mood periodicity has been discussed in the context of the drinking party. In a different context it applies to other major collective efforts such as housebuilding, which also follows a cyclical rhythm of spurts of work alternating with lulls. The fishing cycle is still another example of Cubeo dependence on mood.

## OVER-ALL PATTERN

Some examples of linkage of smaller patterns have been presented to suggest at least the possibility of describing Cubeo society in some broader and more inclusive terms. The problem, however, is that the concept of pattern is a hypothetical construction based upon calling of attention to analogies or parallelisms. The method of pattern construction is largely intuitive and the demonstration of its validity is largely a matter of presenting a credible argument. Despite these self-evident scientific shortcomings there can be little doubt that the presentation or analysis of a culture without the concept of pattern must involve a serious distortion of reality. The aim of a theoretical construction that would present a culture in terms of over-all pattern is to provide appropriate bases for a more sophisticated culture typology than anthropology presently possesses. Pattern need

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Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry
the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. 571
The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict 578
that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pa- 614
thology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized 154
and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly resentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these standards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its 571
natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in 614
Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. 578
That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indicated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the [622]
prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punish- [627]
ments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the difficulty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The [626]
function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, composed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by draining away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse senti- [622]
ment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood 571
brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. 614
The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. Yet 593
this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is 621
spotted with social "iona," free-floating men who, with their wives

156 /158 cont./
571 them: one notices the same treatment for all. It is still the group spirit that atrophies the individual impulses. The reciprocal envy and the fear of poisoning that torment them do not allow the feelings of friendship to flourish among them. They are always afraid of one another. Some of them would like to open up more with the civilized, and in some cases they do when they are alone. He will become reserved, however, as soon as another Indian appears. One has the impression that they are afraid of appearing as a friend of the white.

648 Nor is there any evidence of the existence of gratitude in
156 his heart, especially toward the civilized. Although he appears friendly, speaking to them with expansiveness and intimacy, he never gives thanks for the favors received; he does not even show acknowledgement of them, even in cases of extraordinary benefits, and even of the true and heroic devotion of the Missionary or of the Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/. He does not approach him to offer any gift as a sign of gratitude, or even say a tender word of thanks. It is not reported either that among his fellow tribesmen he is concerned about showing gratitude for the benefits received from the white. One can affirm that the cordiality that they show toward the civilized is always inspired by self-interest, and the supposition of lack of attention on the part of the white is enough to make the manifestations of that cordiality disappear.

18) Revenge-vengeance.

627 On the other hand, his instinct for revenge is strong. With
• 628 perfect control of himself, without the slightest outward sign or facial expression revealing his displeasure, the Indian accepts
*[192] the greatest contrarieties. He does not, however, forget the
*[797] insults and the injustices, real or supposed, nor does he forgive them (29).

29. It seems that the verb to forgive does not exist in the Tukano language. Out of the necessity for catechising, the Missionary sometimes uses the verb oxkó-boho, to forget. The

/158 cont./

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/footnote 29 cont./ natives instead use the Portuguese verb with the Tukano ending: perdoáya (you forgive), perdoápõ (I forgave).

He thinks about revenge, and there are numerous episodes /159/ demonstrating that he waits patiently for years for the opportunity, and they take long trips for the purpose of executing revenge.

*[192]

It is an imprescriptible obligation, that of vengeance, a'mẽ-wehẽ, incumbent on the group, for one of its members killed or wounded by some civilized man or Indian of another tribe. Vengeance will also be taken within the tribe against a native of another subdivision, and even against one's own blood brother. If he does not execute the vengeance in some case, it is because he is afraid of counter-vengeance (malefice).

576

In appearance the Indian is very peaceful. One does not hear the natives quarreling among themselves in loud voices, even when it seems to us that there are reasons for it. They even seem very polite among themselves. When, in a group of natives, one among them gave, let us suppose, incorrect information (it should be noted that they do not like to state: I do not know, I am not sure of that), the others do not at the time correct the inaccuracy or mistake. Perhaps one of those present, when he is alone with the civilized, will on request rectify the erroneous information.

726

There is no recollection, except for the legends, of war among the various tribes (30).

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30. In October of 1947, a few days before our visit to the maloca of the Makú, about six kilometers from Iauareté, on the occasion of a caxirí (celebration with drinking), a machete fight took place among them, during which one Indian died and several were seriously hurt. In January of 1948 in this same maloca there was dissension of

/281 cont./

j) Consequences.

755 A first one is that in many cases the sickness is aggravated by the lack of adequate treatment; or the very processes of the pajé /282/ aggravate the ailment and hasten death. In several cases of pneumonia and laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis the catastrophe was precipitated by the effect of the ablutions of the pajé (35).

[797]

35. In Acuricuara, Colombian bank of the Papurí, an individual became sick and let himself be treated by the pajé. He was Christian, however, and, seeing that the treatments were useless, he asked that the Missionary, Pe. Clemente, be called and even went so far as to ask him not to let the pajé come to his house. It was, however, already a hopeless case, and the cure would have been possible if he had put himself under the care of the Missionary earlier.

756 Another very grave consequence of this belief in magic power is the endless vengeance and numerous crimes. Every sickness, death, or misfortune had as its cause some malefice. The pajé will not only try to neutralize this malefice, but, moreover, he will designate someone as its cause, and he will prepare poisons (36)

*[192]

36. As for the poisoning by the caxirí or mingau, they say Nimá tõãsé (nimá, poison; tõãsé, act of giving a drink).

756 and counterpoisons for revenge. Or he will urge the victim to take
627 revenge after the cure; and if he died, his relatives. Hence the
628 animus of tribe against tribe, and, within the same tribe, of one povoado against another, or of family of the same povoado or maloca, is always stirred up. From which there is even more submission of all to the pajé, on whom everyone depends, and this

/282 cont./

756 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the
627 other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individ-
628 ual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a preventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain from doing him harm.

k) The xamã /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very
[115] advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For exam-
[797] ple, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé, and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife (37).

37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

/341/

*192 The second columns are called baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri;
535 because it is beside the second column that the tuxáua takes the
initial position (wihyá: to come out) for the dances (baxsá). And
796 the respective beam is called baxsá wihyári-tẽrõ.

The columns at the back are called do'ákaro-ká-boxtá-ri, because the caxirí is prepared there (do'ákaro, place where one cooks, so explained Júlio). And do'karo-ká-tẽrõ is the beam that corresponds to them.

i) kaxpí-tõ, pot for the kaxpí

j) seat for the one who distributes the kaxpí, kaxpí tõamĩ duhirí kõmũ-rõ

l) hammock of the tuxáua; his compartment is called syõrĩ nĩgõya tuxkũ

The compartments of the residents of the maloca are called wi'i-ikhãraye tuxkũrĩ.

[342] With the hypothesis of its being a religious function, we
[622] must conclude that the temple is the maloca. Its name, baxsarí-wi, should be translated "house of the sacred dance," and not simply "dance house." The Priest is evidently the tuxáua, and not the pajé. The tuxáua, then, ties together the domestic, political, and sacerdotal powers, precisely like the ancient tribal chiefs among the Greeks and the Romans, and, in general, the chiefs of the primitive tribes.

a) "Poosé" without the mysterious instruments.

1) Ritual procession and banquet.

796 The tuxáua of the maloca that decides to hold one of these
• [628] feasts determines the day and the offering, and tells this to the tuxáua of another maloca (of the same tribe or of a different tribe) where he is going to give his Poosé. The malocas take turns with
[178] this proposal. Formerly they were held with greater frequency, six or more times a year, as we said above, constituting the great preoccupation of these Indians. Not only are they being put off more, but their duration has also been reduced. Formerly they lasted as long as an entire week; today the cases in which they

/374 cont./

764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wãx-tĩ?) ).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubu-[535] cuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxi (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

## CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

/386 cont./

881 All these premarital relations (115)

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*[192]

115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b) ), and her fiancé, Mã-ra-põ nỹákhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

• [628]

The Makú maidens and women, while they are working for the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

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When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian individuals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

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The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

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628 831 648 At times there are individuals of different tribes participating in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors.

[574]

592 582 836 797 In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

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619 2) Local or Territorial Group.

• 628 a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93)

> 93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that not only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

614 592 621 Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large dwelling called maloca, Wi'ſ pahirſwi, which means great house, collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

[177] With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort. For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the povoados or groupings of family residences.

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173 there is a place that in Tukano is called Bũxkõrã bathã, literally
554 "swimming of the elders," that is, where the elders crossed the
614 river by swimming, fleeing from their enemies. In the vicinity of this spot, about 30 years ago, the elders showed Pe. João Marchesi a section of less dense forest as being the place through which passed the first Tukano coming from the Tiquié on their expeditions of war.

In conclusion, we give the opinion:

174 1st. -- The natural multiplication of the Indians imposed a
554 division into groups which have established themselves in closer
614 or more distant places, according to the circumstances; for this reason we today find groups of one and the same nation dispersed along the three rivers (Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí).

2nd. -- The denominations (110)

[829]

> 110. The distance between these groups has more and more accentuated the separation. If it is true that each individual, even the children, knows the name of his own and of the neighboring subdivisions (and even of other tribes), few of them know how to make a more complete list of the Gentes that make up their tribe.

that characterize each group (Waũ-ro, Oyẽ, etc., cf. IV-2-a (2) ) are names or nicknames by which the respective stipites, or some late more famous descendant who provoked the separation or built the new maloca or performed any other deed, were known.

[628] 3rd. -- The relations between the malocas, and the social situation of those who /474/ inhabit them today, are the same as those that existed among the founders, hence the present hierarchy that is in force among the Indians.

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There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grünberg was told the same thing (1909, I, 264). One is also told that other people have powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this, but Koch-Grünberg, who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desanas had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grünberg that great chiefs ruled along the Papurý and Tiquié rivers. When he got there he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now. 643 622 114

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grünberg notes that the headmanship is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it that the house is kept in order; and if he leaves for any length of time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took him seriously. Koch-Grünberg had the impression, however, that the oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a headman. 622 171 [888] [554]

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*539 /112 cont./
hats, straps, and belts of the whites. Then Yepá Huáke performed another miracle, and from this miracle came the arrows, bows, blowguns, guayucos /loincloths/, and all the clothes of the Tukano.

/113/ The Tukano had already arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And afterwards the whites arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke gave orders for all, whites and Tukano, to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And there in Diaojpekodijtára appeared a few gúíos, all kinds of serpents, and all kinds of fierce animals. And this was because Yepá Huáke ordered it. From then on no one else could bathe in Diaojpekodijtára out of fear of these animals. And Yepá Huáke said that the group that was strongest should bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke said that the Tukano should bathe first, and the Tukano did not want to bathe out of fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke commanded the whites to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára, and all the whites bathed without fear. And from then on the Tukano remained under the orders of the whites, since, because of the accursed fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára, the Tukano did not bathe and the whites won (19).

• [648] [829]

19. Rationalization for the dominion that the police, the judge, the Comisario /commissary, commissioner/, the religious Missionary, and the rubber worker have over the Indian in the Vaupés region.

And before bathing themselves in Diaojpekodijtára, the whites were the color of the Tukano, but after bathing in Diaojpekodijtára they turned white. The Tukano saw that the whites were already bathing, and then the Tukano wet the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of the feet, and that is why all these parts of the body of the Tukano are white (20).

[826]

20. Reference to the fact that in general the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of

/15 cont./

175 In the brief "Relação do descobrimento do Rio Amazonas, hoje S. Francisco de Quito /Account of the discovery of the Amazon River, today S. Francisco de Quito/," by Padre Alonso de Rojas, one only reads, in § 6: "At the north side there is a very large river with a league and a half at the mouth and waters so black that they are distinguished from the others, an effect that gave the name to the river, it being called 'Negro.' "

"The first steersman, of whom we shall speak later, having navigated two or three days along this Rio Negro, said that, according to the information that he could obtain from some Indians, this river rises in some mountain ranges neighboring the Novo Reino de Granada and in its origin it is divided into two branches: one of them, with the name of Rio Negro, empties, after a long course, into the Amazon; the other comes to empty into the sea of the North, in view of the island Trindade, and they think that this river might be the famous Orinoco" ("Descobrimentos," 95).

[103] /16/ Padre Cristobal de Acuña, who accompanied Pedro de Teixeira on his return from Quito to Belém, gives in his "Novo descobrimento do grande Rio das Amazonas /New discovery of the great Amazon River/" more abundant information concerning the Rio Negro, or Curiguacurú, as "the natives who inhabit it" called it, or Uruna, "which means black water," by the "Tupinambás" in their language. "Caniçuaris, Aguayras, Yacuncarais, Cahuayapitis, Manacarús, Yanmas, Guanamás, Carapanaris, Guarianacaguas, Acerabarís, Carupatabas and Guaranaquazama /the quotation marks that perhaps belong here are missing in the original source/ are the nations "who live along the waters of the Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos," 251).

175 After the travels of Pedro de Teixeira, the scouting for the capture of the Indian started. These enslaving bands were called 648 "tropas de resgate" /ransom troops/. One of the first ones was that headed by Pedro da Costa Favela, of ominous memory (1).

1. "The history of the province abounds in facts of the harshest cruelty. On the river Urubú, to cite one of them, in 1665, an expedition commanded by

4: Silva--16 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/16 cont./

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/footnote 1 cont./ Pedro da Costa Favella completely annihilated a tribe, killing 700 persons, imprisoning 400, and burning 300 villages." Baena -- Compêndio das eras da Província do Pará, 1838 /Compendium of the eras of the Province of Pará, 1838/ -- ap. José Veríssimo, o. c., 304.

The Jesuit Padre Manuel Pires (according to Padre Serafim Leite, in his História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil /History of the Company of Jesus in Brazil/) traveled on the Rio Negro four times, accompanying "tropas de resgate." They were swift penetrations, however, without the goal of colonization.

In 1668 Pedro da Costa Favella returned, accompanied by the Mercedarian Frei /Brother/ Teodósio da Veiga, and, in the place called Aruim, founded a povoado /populated place/ of Tarumã Indians, which was later transferred to the mouth of the river Jaú, with "Manao, Aruaqui and Tacú" Indians, under the name of Santo Elias do Jaú, and now called Airão.

In 1669 Francisco da Mota Falcão laid the foundations of a fort two leagues above the mouth of the Rio Negro, where there would be formed, little by little, the "Lugar /place, village, town/ da Barra," or the "Povoado de S. José da Barra," today the modern and picturesque city of Manaus.

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By royal letter of 1694 the catechizing of the Rio Negro was entrusted to the Carmelite Religious. Through their work eight aldeaments emerged: S. Elias do Jaú, S. Alberto de Aracary, S. Angelo do Cumarú, N. Senhora da Conceição de Maruiá, S. Rita de Cassia de Itarendaua, N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo de Cabuquena, N. Senhora do Rosário de Bararoá (later called Thomar), and N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo do rio Dari, and later the missions of the Uaupés, in S. Joaquim da Foz and S. Jerônimo da Cachoeira or Ipanoré.

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Then the government of the metropolis, struck by fear of the Dutch and Spanish incursions, and eager to obtain the "drogas" /literally "drugs," here natural products/, proposed the systematic founding of settlements along the whole Rio Negro.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19]

/17/

175 648 The scouting, official or not, in search of the "drogas" (the natural products) and the "peças" /pieces/ (the Indians for public service or even as slaves) was going on. Soon the Rio Negro and its principal tributaries were quite well known by the Portuguese, even the connections with the Orinoco by way of the Cassiquiare and with the Guianas by way of the Rio Branco.

175 648 797 By royal letter of March 3, 1755, the "Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro" was created. In that very year, by decision of the Marquês /Marquis/ de Pombal, by decree of June 7, the Religious Missionaries were excluded from the secular direction of the native povoados (the direction being transferred to the judges and aldermen) and, in the spiritual one, were subject to the Bishops (no longer to their Religious Superiors). In April of that year Padre Joseph Monteiro de Noronha was chosen as Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Pará, who at that time was D. Frei Miguel de Bulhões, of the order of S. Bento.

On July 16, 1757, the first Governador, Joaquim de Melo Póvoas, was appointed, and in 1758 several aldeias were elevated to Vila /town/ or Lugares: that of Maruiá to Vila de Barcelos, as Capital; Itarendaua to Vila de Moura; Bararoá to Vila de Thomar; Jaú to Lugar de Ayrão; Cumarú to Lugar de Poiares; Aracarí to Lugar de Carvoeiro.

175 648 The territorial preoccupations of the metropolis dictated orders for the garrisoning of the upper Rio Negro against the Spanish expansionist tendencies. Capitão José da Silva Delgado was appointed for this in 1761, and he founded the localities of S. Pedro de Simapé, S. José dos Marabitanas, N. Senhora da Guia, S. Bárbara, S. João Batista do Mabé, S. Isabel, Senhor da Pedra, N. Senhora de Nazaré da Curiana, S. Gabriel da Cachoeira, S. Sebastião, and S. Antonio do Castanheiro Velho. This last one was later abandoned due to the impossibility of agriculture, always damaged by the leaf-cutting ant, and the population was transferred above the mouth of the Abunã, founding the povoado of S. Antonio do Castanheiro Novo. The Franciscan Frei José de S. Úrsula was appointed as the first vicar of S. Gabriel.

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In 1772 the povoado of N. Senhora de Loreto de Maçaraby was founded, and in 1781 that of N. Senhora das Caldas on the bank of the Cauaburí River.

By order of General João Pereira Caldas, commissioned by Portugal for the demarcation of the boundaries (with D. Francisco de Requena representing the interests of Spain), Coronel Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada went up the Rio Negro in 1784, founded the town of S. Marcelino at the mouth of the Xié, and traveled on the waters of the Uaupés.

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Nevertheless, with the Missionaries reduced in number and powers, the unfitness of the "Diretores dos Índios" /Directors of the Indians/ was prejudicial to their /18/ Christianization and settlement in povoados. The "Diários" /Diaries/ of Sampaio and Ferreira document that and protest against it (2).

2. Alexandre R. Ferreira in the Participação segunda /second Communication/, dated January 30, 1786, affirmed: -- "I say what I have always said, that the Indians, after being freed, will remain in this respect in a worse condition than the one they had when slaves. The master in the life of the slave carefully looked after his money; the Director in the life of the Indian does not look after any interest." And he notes that the Indians died from much work and little food. "They give them only beijú or ticoara and caribé /dishes made with manioc/" (o.c., 87).

On p. 43 he talks about the bad treatment that the Directors inflicted on the Indians, while they enriched themselves and became so many petty noblemen: -- "From one pair of absolute hands to another, and so absolute that in the vilas and lugares, or rather, free dukedoms, marquisates, and earldoms of the Directors, the Indians suffer, tied to the tenacious pillar of their suffering."

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/Footnote 2 cont./ On p. 70 he reports of Coronel Teodósio Constantino Chermont, upon inviting the Mucunas Indians to settle in Tabocas, Apapóris River, that he heard from their principal /chief/, Maimanaca, that they would do it, "Provided, however, that he would have sent to them a vicar to baptize and indoctrinate them, as they greatly wished, and had requested in vain not a few times; but by no means the Director, because they were very well informed about the conduct of all of them with regard to the Indians in our towns, managing only to destroy them and not to edify them."

The Presidente of the Província, Conselheiro /Counselor/ Herculano Ferreira Pena, in the "Falla dirigida à Assembleia Legislativa Provincial do Amazonas /Speech directed to the Provincial Legislative Assembly of Amazonas/," on October 1, 1853, after recognizing that the noble plans of catechizing and educating the Indians had failed, affirmed: -- "For a /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ very simple and generally well-known reason, that is, because of the lack of faithful executors when the old Missionaries have disappeared, the ones who put their hearts into this enterprise, worthy certainly of Vieira, Nobregas, and Anchieta.

"By eliminating the Jesuits, the Portuguese government did not foresee that it was thus also ordering the destruction of the Indians, who, during the period of two centuries, had lived happily and contentedly under the paternal tutelage of those Religious; on the contrary, the famous Ministro del Rei D. José understood that this tutelage could advantageously be replaced by the command of the Directors then created; but the new system unfortunately did not have any effects other than the decline of the aldeias already formed, and

/18 cont./

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/footnote 2 cont./ the impossibility of founding others that would resemble them, as is observed throughout Brazil.

"What the facts attest to is that if any good result was achieved, it was due to the zeal and the charity of the Missionaries.

"Therefore, to hand over the direction of the aldeias to religious who will be able to renounce completely the goods and the pleasures of the world, who will have the patience needed to forgive the Indians the mistakes and the faults stemming from the incontestable inferiority of their intelligence, who will inspire in them a love of work, who will instruct them in the principles of the Catholic religion and of the Christian doctrine, who, in sum, will educate them to the point of finding themselves able to fulfill the duties and to enjoy the advantages of civil society, is, in my view, the only system that we can follow with every probability of happy success." ("Relatorios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas," Vol. 1, pp. 218-9.)

[797] In spite of the lack of Missionaries, the process of Christianization was being accomplished, although more slowly, since Indians from the Uaupés went down to S. Gabriel or its environs when they heard of the presence of some priest there.

With the independence of Brazil proclaimed in 1822, complete autonomy was not granted to the province of S. José do Rio Negro, as it was to the others, and, as "Comarca do Alto Amazonas," it came to be integrated, up to 1850, with the Province of Pará.

/18 cont./

175 648 797

With the apostolic works of the Carmelite Frei José dos Santos Inocentes on the upper Rio Negro and tributaries for more than 20 years, counting from 1832, the evangelization of the natives acquired new vigor.

The Province of Amazonas having been created on September 5, 1850, its first Governador, João Batista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, in the same year that he came into office, 1852, appointed the Capuchin Frei Gregorio José Maria de Bene "Vigário encomendado das freguezias e povoações do alto Rio Negro e Missionário dos rios Uaupés e Içana" /Removable vicar of the parishes and towns of the upper Rio Negro and Missionary of the rivers Uaupés and Içana/, since Frei José dos Santos Inocentes was forced by illness to go down to Manaus. The activity of Frei Gregorio was great, and in little more than two years he managed to establish relations with 25 tribes (who appear in his list), trying to put them in aldeias, /19/ re-establishing many povoados, and bringing many individuals among them to Christianity. [103] The following towns are mentioned as those for which, in 1854, he asked for a change of name, to wit: on the Uaupés: Querari, Macaquinha, Micura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Coração de Jesus), Carurú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Fidelis martir), Mutum (aldeia of S. Cruz), Aracapuri (aldeia of S. João Batista), Jutica, Pacú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Sebastião), aldeia of Cubeo (aldeia of N. Senhora das Dores), Umarí, Iauareté (aldeia of S. Ana), Jabutí-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Paulo Apóstolo), Juquira (aldeia of S. Domingos), Nanã-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Antônio de Lisboa), S. Jerônimo (aldeia of Conceição de N. Senhora), S. Joaquim, Trovão, Pitúna-rapecuma, Inuitera, Cunurí, Coró-Coró, Iura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Francisco das Chagas), Taracuá (S. Francisco das Chagas), Ambaíua, Ivitera-rapecuma. On the Tiquié: Tucano (or S. Isabel), Uíra-poço (or Nazaré), Maracajá (or S. José), Turí-igarapé (or S. Pedro). On the Papurí: S. Luzia dos Tucanos, S. Gregório Magno dos Pirá-tapuya. (Archivo do Amazonas, Year I, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 34, and Year II, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 7.)

/66 cont./

000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

177 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth
648 century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The
[567] group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Makú are considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that,
[648] according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis), and they themselves considered themselves such, serving without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana
[554] groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some light on this curious practice.

161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same; or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

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*101 a) DAXSEÁ OR TUKANO

1) People-Name-Language -- In the native idiom, they are called Daxseá (sing., masc. daxségõ; fem. daxségo), name of the bird that we call tucano /toucan/ in Portuguese. In the historical period they are already found under the name of Uaupés (cf. II -- 6, a (1) ), in the basin of this river, so that the various tribes of this region are known and understood under the denomination of "Nações Uaupés" /Uaupés Nations/. Perhaps the broadening of the term is due, not to the fact of the Tukano customs having been imposed, those of the other nations being eliminated, but to the greater number and dispersion of groups of this tribe, as well as to the generalization of its idiom. Even today many adult persons (and lately, because of living together in the boarding schools of the Missions, children as well) of the various tribes of the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí understand and speak the Tukano language, and perhaps have forgotten their own native idiom.

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[115] According to Lucas, an old Tukano from S. Luzia, on the Papurí (in an account to Pe. Antônio Giacone, in July of 1947), [648] the Tukano descended from the northwest (thus disagreeing with [567] old Justino from Iuquira, as was seen in a previous Note) to the Uaupés basin, already finding there small groups of Makú who were either enslaved or went into the forest in the interior. They call the Makú Poxsá, that is, one who serves without pay. "They are servants in peace and soldiers in war," as the old people expressed themselves about them (19).

19. It is not likely that the Tukanos had the Makú as allies, or that they would rely on them, if we note that they are shy and also subject themselves to other tribes. Nor do the legends that we collected speak of favors by the Makú to the Tukanos in war.

The tribes who arrived later called the Tukano Yepá-maxsã,

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648 We are inclined to think that, independently of war episodes or cultural elements, this superiority of the Tukano has various causes: 1st, the tribe's being more numerous; by the data of the old statistics we can imagine that they approach two thousand. If that is the case, it is two or three times larger in population than any other tribe; 2nd, it is also probable that they had occupied some of their present centers (from where they expelled the Makú) before other tribes arrived in this area, and, according to the native mentality, the value of priority in time is great; 3rd, they located themselves more or less regularly scattered along these three rivers, and due to the unity among them (that all call themselves and consider themselves brothers), they must constitute a feared force for the other tribes, who are smaller and have their nuclei located farther apart; 4th, the number and the arrangement along the rivers would have, little by little, generalized their language among the individuals of the other tribes, who traveled for the sake of trade with the Tukano or with other tribes (21).

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21. Living together as students or employees, and later the frequent meetings among the various tribes, in the Missionary Centers has contributed powerfully toward the ever more rapid propagation of the Tukano idiom. One can foresee, at this pace, that it will become the língua geral of the Uaupés, as the Nheengatú is on the Rio Negro.

It seems to us that this hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that those indigenous groups of the middle Uaupés (especially above Carurú-cachoeira) whose trade is regularly carried on among themselves or with the tribes of the Aiarí indeed do not know (22)

22. We wrote this in 1947. Ten years later, 1956,

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*101 In the vicinity of the cachoeira of Iauareté there is a place called Manao. Might this name for the Bará tribe have come from their former domicile in this locality; or vice versa (29)?

[103] [648]

29. We heard it told that, when the Comissão Militar Demarcadora da Fronteira /Military Commission to Demarcate the Frontier/ was in Iauareté (in 1932), a group of natives presented themselves, asking for passage to the capital of the State, Manaus. The Comissão, however, did not grant this to them, and, after staying a few days in the vicinity of Iauareté, they returned to their povoados. And that, because of such an episode, the place where the natives pitched camp became known as Manao. Nevertheless, Pe. Limpens assured us that this locality has always been called Manao. And, it must be noted, Pe. Limpens has resided in the region since 1916.

[144] We know little about the ancient Manao. It appears that they had more regular and pleasant physiognomic features. The present Bará are less corpulent than the Tukano, and physiognomically more pleasant as well, /88/ fairer, with not very prominent malar and less marked Mongoloid features (30).

30. In part this agrees with the information of Koch Grünberg, who describes them to us: "slender in body, well-proportioned, smaller than the Tuyuka, finer countenance, black eyes, less receding forehead, nose high and slightly convex, large mouth, thick lips." According to what the Indians say, Koch would have been the first white man seen by them, and the one who went up to the headwaters of the Tiquié.

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* 101 The Oá-mahã are lighter in complexion and more slender
[142] than the Tukano. Dark brown or black hair, fine, sometimes wavy. Face more elongated than among the Tukano, also more delicate features and light eyes.

[582] They likewise observe tribal exogamy, and we know of marriages with the Tuyuka, Bará, and Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It seems that at present all of them live in Colombian territory between the headwaters of the rivers Tiquié and Papurí.

The Pamõá-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) mention the Oá-mahã as a division of their own tribe. We do not know whether it is a matter of the present tribe, as seems more probable by the location, or if it is actually only a division of the Tatú /armadillo/, with this name of Oá (gambá).

3) Divisions -- The informant did not know how to indicate them.

o) PÁBOA-MAXSÃ OR TATÚ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- In their own idiom, which belongs to the Tukano family of languages (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/"), they call themselves Páboa-maxsã, corresponding to the Tukano denomination Pamõá-maxsã or Tatú /armadillo/ people.

[142] /103/ Lighter in complexion than the Tukano, and also taller and more slender. Dark brown hair, ovoid face, light eyes, fine lips, high nose.

[582] We know of matrimonial ties with the Bará and the Karapanã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Presently they live in the
[721] region embraced between the headwaters of the Áua (one of
• [648] the sources of the Papurí) and the river Pirá-paraná. About 20
[266] years ago there were encounters and reciprocal massacres between the Tatú-tapuyas and Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/, and even episodes of anthropophagy are remembered, which are explained, it seems, by special hate and reprisals.

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648 He does nothing for the white without /151/ pay, and ordinarily
466 he wants it in advance. The truth is that, as a rule, he does not deny his debts to the civilized; many times, however, he maintains that he has done more work and reduces his debts, in spite of the fact that the contrary appears in the entries made with precision and conscientiousness. He frequently lets the time go by, and sometimes he moves away or dies; and that
428 is the end of that. The parents, brothers, children, or other relatives of someone who passed away, let us say in the mission hospital will present themselves at once as legitimate heirs to the shotgun, hammock, suitcase, or other objects belonging to the dead person. No one, however, becomes responsible for the debts of the deceased.

648 In order to have them at his service, at the time of the seringa or the Brazil nut, the civilized must pay them in advance.
466 It not infrequently happens that at the time of the work (fàbrico, as is said in Amazonas) the Indi[illegible]es; or runs away after working for a time.

431 He does not give gifts to the civilized, even though he has
648 received many from him. He sells to him (17).

> 17. Episodes going so far as to be comic are told. A father, with the family, came to visit his son, who was a student at the Mission in Taracuá, and brought with him dried fish and beijú /manioc bread/. And, squatting in a corner, they ate, as on a family picnic. Before leaving, however, he came to charge the Missionary the price of the fish and the beijú.

123 At the time of our first excursion to the Içana, in 1953, accompanied by Pe. José
431 Schneider, the latter took with him, among his helpers, a tuxaua of the Mapatse-dákenei (Yuruparí-tapúia) tribe. Like the others, he

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Just as little can one have absolute confidence in his word or promise and count on the Indian for a set date, for the performance of a job, a trip, etc. He will fail to appear on such-and-such a day or place where he is expected, or do the promised work. Later, perhaps, he will show up, without, however, talking about the subject or excusing himself. If, by chance, we are the first to talk and we complain (which is not always advisable), he will present some excuse, true or false. It does not even enter his mind to think whether there are strong reasons for keeping the promise given to the white. He absolutely will not sacrifice any of his interests in order to satisfy an assumed obligation.

[797] The unanimous affirmation of all those who have lived with them for some time is that they are endowed with a great capacity for simulation (24).

24. The Arwake natives of the Içana exhibit the same skill at simulation. Among the verificative episodes we recall the following one. It was at the beginning of the female boarding school, directed by the Irmãs Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora or Irmãs Salesianas /Sisters Daughters of Mary Auxiliary or Salesian Sisters/ (1957). Several girls, in spite of the liberality of the discipline and the tolerance of the Reverendas Irmãs, ran away. Two girl students, taking advantage of the right moment, escaped and, with a canoe, reached the opposite bank, where their mother was found in a small hut. The latter immediately crossed the river and came to the school to see her daughters. Not being found, of course, the mother showed great distress, starting to cry with signs of great affliction, causing serious concern to the

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/footnote 24 cont./ Educadoras /Educators/. Nevertheless, it was the mother herself who had hidden the daughters in the forest, as was found out later through witnesses of the act.

In a perfect manner they will feign illness or indigence, they will feign ignorance of an order or a prohibition, loss of memory or an oversight. Planning a deed which they consider bad (for example, three or four Indians organizing an attack with the purpose of stealing, or in Indian file to spy on the white through a crack, etc.), they do not let any anxiety show. Even when they are surprised, they are not disconcerted. They simply separate, as though nothing had happened. Almost always a hearty laugh will come to terminate the disrupted attempt.

764 Furthermore they are capable of showing emotions that they do not feel. A typical example is the funeral weeping (with tears, screams, exclamations), performed with moving perfection, returning immediately afterwards to the same gay conversation of minutes before, intermixed with immodest laughs; while others, in turn, recite /156/ their part, surrendering to crying, only to turn back minutes later to their habitual gaiety. Perhaps they could be used as theatrical actors.

17) Sentimental life: love, friendship, gratitude.

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Their sentimental life does not seem very intense. One never observes displays very ardent with feeling (25).

25. The meeting between parents and children or between spouses, after months or perhaps years of separation, is always invested with the coolness of any meeting, without looking at each other, with those conventional expressions that we have indicated (cf. formalism below). The Missionary Pe. Antônio Giacone was able to observe this very curious episode: the husband had been absent for almost two years in order

156 /158 cont./
571 them: one notices the same treatment for all. It is still the group spirit that atrophies the individual impulses. The reciprocal envy and the fear of poisoning that torment them do not allow the feelings of friendship to flourish among them. They are always afraid of one another. Some of them would like to open up more with the civilized, and in some cases they do when they are alone. He will become reserved, however, as soon as another Indian appears. One has the impression that they are afraid of appearing as a friend of the white.

• 648 Nor is there any evidence of the existence of gratitude in
156 his heart, especially toward the civilized. Although he appears friendly, speaking to them with expansiveness and intimacy, he never gives thanks for the favors received; he does not even show acknowledgement of them, even in cases of extraordinary benefits, and even of the true and heroic devotion of the Missionary or of the Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/. He does not approach him to offer any gift as a sign of gratitude, or even say a tender word of thanks. It is not reported either that among his fellow tribesmen he is concerned about showing gratitude for the benefits received from the white. One can affirm that the cordiality that they show toward the civilized is always inspired by self-interest, and the supposition of lack of attention on the part of the white is enough to make the manifestations of that cordiality disappear.

18) Revenge-vengeance.

627 On the other hand, his instinct for revenge is strong. With
628 perfect control of himself, without the slightest outward sign or facial expression revealing his displeasure, the Indian accepts the greatest contrarieties. He does not, however, forget the
*[192] insults and the injustices, real or supposed, nor does he forgive
*[797] them (29).

29. It seems that the verb to forgive does not exist in the Tukano language. Out of the necessity for catechising, the Missionary sometimes uses the verb oxkó-boho, to forget. The

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taking something for the exchange (78).

> 78. We have seen some Indians taking along on trips goods received from the civilized (salt, machete, mirror, etc.), with the intention of bringing back some native object in exchange (canoe, grater, puçá, etc.). In some cases it will happen that they will not find for exchange the object that they desire, or the objects offered do not interest those of the various povoados, and their owner returns from the trip with the goods that he took. We might think that the same would have happened in former times, perhaps more rarely than today.

This trade was more frequent with the tribes with which there were matrimonial relations.

Although the trade among the tribes is still being maintained today through the exchange of the products of their specialty or exclusivity, it has become much more intense due to the relations with the civilized, who, since the eighteenth century, have navigated those rivers with more or less frequency.

464 648

In the first place, the civilized needs the services of the native. They were always the oarsmen for the first travelers of the /250/ rivers (79),

> 79. We know, for example, that in the squadron of Pedro de Teixeira, in 1637, there were 1,200 Indians for the work of rowing and other services.

and today they are the "sailors," that is, pilots, mechanics, oarsmen, loaders of the launches. And not infrequently they are hired as guides and interpreters. All these services are paid for with goods. Since the time of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro

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464 and of that of the Amazon (80).

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80. See "Relatórios" /Reports/ on these Provinces. Unfortunately, instead of job contracts, there were deals between the latifundiários or traders of the Rio Negro and the tuxauas or those who, in a private or official manner, established relations with the Indians or lived among them in order to take advantage of the forest dwellers. The latter would come down, deluded by promises that did not correspond to reality and were victims of malaria or other illnesses. The means to return to their povoados were not made easy for them to get. Their weakness for alcohol was taken advantage of, and months of their services would be bought with some bottles of aguardiente. The documented exposure of these "descidas" /descents/ of the Indians will constitute quite dark chapters in the future History of the Indians of Brazil.

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and on a smaller scale even today, more or less numerous Indians of different tribes irregularly come down to the lower Rio Negro for the most varied jobs, particularly the extraction of various products (rubber, piaçaba /piassava/, nuts, timber, etc.).

439 Objects of native industry for purchase are not only their artifacts for museum collections or decorations for private homes. Those who live or travel in these regions obtain from the Indians part of their food (81)

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81. The Salesian Missions have brought great stimulus to the Indians for the production of the means of subsistence, because,

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753 The cause of a local pain, inflammation or fever can also
755 be one of those malefic objects which has been introduced into the organism. The cure, naturally, is only to be obtained with the elimination of the object located in the sick part or the elimination of the malefice. Since it reached the organism mysteriously, by a magic process, only another magic process will be
[192] able to bring about the cure. And here the "sorcerer" or "xamã" /shaman/, called in Tukano Yaí (pajé), comes into action (15).

15. Yaí also means onça /jaguar/. Might there perhaps be some connection between the two concepts? The Indians could not tell us. The Ethnologists grant it.

753 They also think that the civilized, in order to do them harm,
829 send them malefice (grippe, etc.) inside the boxes of merchandise, which, upon being opened, will infect many people or the whole povoado (16).

[648] 16. In the Tukano povoado of S. Luzia (river Papuri) the daughter of the tuxaua had died of whooping cough (1947). Envying the Makú, who were well paid for the curare acquired in order to be studied in the south of Brazil, there was immediately a rumor that the sicknesses were prepared by the civilized with the curare of the Makú and sent to S. Luzia with the merchandise.

761 From this persuasion concerning the malevolent and magic origin of the sicknesses is born the conviction that every death has as its author an inimical person. It is, therefore, violent; man by nature is immortal. It is a vain effort to try to convince a feeble old man that he is going to die and it is advisable to prepare himself. Such a mental attitude, obviously, is not favorable to suicide, although one might perhaps find some old

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121 It is probable that such a practice, in origin, is due to the
266 lack of food. Nevertheless, later, because of the whole orientation of the mentality of primitive man, it came to take on a magical character. One must, then, distinguish economic cannibalism and ritual cannibalism.

/375/ 1. Economic cannibalism.

In economic cannibalism the flesh of enemies, fresh or preserved by various processes that they know, is usually consumed; this is exoanthropophagy. Hence expeditions of war to provide human flesh.

266 This is what Wallace tells us (o. c. 638) about the Kubewana:
721 --"On the Uaupés only the Cubeus /Cubeo/ are truly cannibals. They eat those of the other tribes whom they kill in battle. In order to obtain human flesh still fresh, they even make war for this single purpose. When the meat exceeds what they can eat at one time, they dry it and smoke it on the fire, and thus it can be stored for a long time. They burn the heads of the dead ones and drink their ashes with caxirí in the same way that has already been described above."

As for the Kubewana or other tribes of the Uaupés, this information obtained by Wallace seems false to us. Perhaps in turn
[727] based on Wallace is Bento de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha,
[567] Director of the "Archivo do Amazonas" (1907, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 80), in his article entitled "As explorações e os exploradores do Uaupés /The explorations and the explorers of the Uaupés/," where he also affirms: -- "When they take a prisoner in war, if it is a man, they massacre, if it is a woman or a young man, they sell, when they find a buyer, otherwise they kill and eat, dividing the pieces among everyone in the tribe."

266 The encounters and reprisals that took place about twenty years ago between the Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/
• 648 and the natives of the banks of the Cananari, tributary of the
726 Pirá-paraná, are still remembered (information by the Colombian Napoleão Estrada, in November of 1953, and by others). Still

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266 in 1954 we heard mention of four Colombians murdered, "smoked,"
648 and eaten by the Pamõã-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) Indians of this
726 region; and of how they particularly coveted the legs and feet of the victims. Accepting the accuracy of the news, however, it seems that it is a matter of special irritation and vengeance, and not of anthropophagy as a traditional habit, much less of bellicose attempts for the purpose of obtaining human flesh.

266 Koch Grünberg in various passages of his work Zwei Jahre speaks of the cannibalism of the Hyanakoto. He is, however, only reporting information by natives, and the Hyanakoto are Karaíba and reside outside the area that we are studying here. We have
266 also heard natives of various tribes speak of anthropophagous
829 Indians (94).

94. The Kumãdene tuxaua of Urubucuara, Mandú, knowing that we had made a long excursion by way of the headwaters of the river Tiquié, presented two very interesting questions: whether we had met the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ anthropophagous Indians and whether we had seen the tailed Indians. We answered both questions negatively, and we took the opportunity to ask him whether by chance he too had already seen them, who they were, and where they lived. He also answered us that he did not know, he had only heard such things mentioned.

An old Tukano /376/ from Pari-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, informed us that there are three cannibal tribes, or Baári-maxsã-ré, that is: 1st -- the Yai-peri maxsã, 2nd -- the Píti-yároa, 3rd -- the Yõũrwá, and that they live "up there," that is, on the headwaters of the river Tiquié.

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881 All these premarital relations (115)

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115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the paje, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b) ), and her fiancé, Mã-ra-põ nỹãkhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

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The Maku maidens and women, while they are working for the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

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When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian individuals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

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The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

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/387 cont./

628 At times there are individuals of different tribes participat-
831 ing in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual
• 648 liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors.

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592 In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem
582 obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an
836 open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage
797 are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

648 /390 cont./

466 Nowadays more or less numerous and frequent groups of Indians, men and women, are taken, especially the single ones, for the extraction of the cuquirana, balata, chicle, rubber, Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," various species of trees yielding edible nuts/, piassava, in both Brazilian and Colombian territory, or as sailors for the launches. They see, hear, and practice vices and immoralities (125).

[837] [797]

125. The Missionary was scolding a Christian Indian from Urubucuara, river Uaupés, because, in spite of being married, he was living with another woman. And when he reminded him of the commandment of God, he heard from the Indian this expression, certainly learned from some civilized: -- "Commandment does not hurt."

166 One observes a tendency to go down to S. Gabriel (present city of Uaupés) and Tapurucuara. To Manaus, not so much. So far nostalgia periodically brings them to the natal places. How long will this state of things last? The known cases of venereal

164 diseases are very rare, although the legends already allude to them. This rarity is perhaps explained by the simple spontaneous malario-therapy (cf. VII - 2, e (4 i) ).

It is certain that for centuries they have been in more or less frequent and enduring contact with the civilized. It is difficult to determine whether some responsibility falls on them in such a state of things, and up to what point. The problem is serious.

797 One also understands from this that there cannot always be good harmony in the relations between the Missionaries who live among the Indians, trying to bring them to the bosom of civilization and to the practice of /391/ Christian truth and morals (126).

126. The difficulty that the Missionary faces in order to implant Christian morals is great.

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858 The girl, although destined to leave the nation and, as a wife, to establish a family in another tribe, is, however, an element of great economic value for her parents. In some cases [648] the parents hand her over to the civilized for domestic service, [466] in exchange for suitable recompense; upon her reaching puberty, however, they will go fetch her for the initiation rite and later for marriage, according to the customs of the tribe (54).

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54. Pe. Humberto Limpens mentioned to us a case that happened shortly before 1947. Until the time of the marriage the girl remained working with the whites. The father had permitted this as payment for a shotgun.

736 If, by chance, an individual dies, leaving children in another povoado or maloca, one of his "brothers" (it might be a close relative, the tuxaua, or someone else), undertaking a long trip, if necessary, will go to look for the orphans, whose support and education will be entrusted to him.

866 The spirit of freedom in which the children are raised is extraordinarily great. They go wherever they desire, without permission from the parents or even notice beforehand (55).

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55. Frei Laureano da Cruz narrates how an imprudence by the capitão João Palácios, in the so-called "Província dos Encabelados" /Province of the Hairy Ones/ (because the Indians wore very long hair), aroused the resentment of the natives, who killed the capitão and many civilized. And he explains: "They are such a noble people that they will not tolerate a snap of the fingers, even from their own parents" ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 99).

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/footnote 72 cont./ us. The services of the pajé or Komũ are always remunerated, as well as those of the mõ-paxkoá; not, however, those of the young man. He is not the future husband, who must belong to another tribe, and the young man of the a"mõsé regularly is of the same tribe as the maiden. A young Makú added that the young man was her obligatory partner at dances, as we were later able to verify.

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and, on the last day of the rite, with the Komũ or pajé (73).

73. It is to be noted that, according to the descriptions that we obtained, the first coitus is not with the pajé or Komũ, as one might expect, but with the young man.

The concept that the one chosen should be the hero of the group, recognized after a fight with others, as is done among some tribes, has declined. Among the Uaupesinos there is no test to determine the choice; there is only one quality in favor of the chosen one, his youth. Some maidens affirmed that he was a "strong young man." On the rivers visited by the civilized, the latter may be chosen for such a function, and they have done it. For such a choice, we think that not only does the native's instinct of self-interest enter in, but also the white is supposed to have a special nature (74).

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74. Many times and under different circumstances the native has manifested the opinion that the civilized person is endowed with a nature different from that of the Indian. This was the answer that the tuxaua from Paricachoeira, Julio, gave to Pe. João Marchesi, who assured him that he should not fear the

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d) "Wyógõ" or Tuxáua (local chief).

In each maloca or povoado there is a chief or Tuxaua, in Tukano Wyógõ (or Vyógõ), a term that is probably derived from Wi'ĩ, house (94).

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94. The title of Capitão was granted, at the time of the Capitanias, by the provincial Government to the Tuxauas, as a stimulus for attracting them toward contact with the civilized and to take advantage of their influence in order to obtain Indians for the services of public utility. At certain times it went so far as to give them a military uniform, sword, and a monthly salary.

/461/ Originally he would be the head of the family, continuing his paternal power or domestic authority. His is an authority directive and as guardian over the local group of families.

Besides his power and his obligations, as husband and father of his family (and he will do all the tasks, like any other head of a family), it is incumbent upon him to watch over the execution of the traditional laws, to preside and direct the social functions. It falls to him, then, to supervise the construction of the maloca, the cleaning of the adjacent grounds, of the landing place, and of the roads giving access to it (tasks sometimes performed by the women of the maloca under the supervision of the chief's wife), the general and collective fishing, as well as the religious and profane feasts and the periodic dances.

He is the representative of the local group in its relations with other groups, with other tribes, or with the civilized. He stipulates the conditions and, afterwards, chooses and sends the men requested for the services of the whites. He is always obeyed, and, perhaps for this reason, he never uses an imperious, threatening tone.

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622 [595] Nevertheless he does not acquire from his position exemption from work or the right to demand tribute or payment in kind or in work from the other components (cf. Note 102 below /see p. 710 /) or to have more wives (95).

95. We have already noted the polygamy of other times (VIII-1, a (6) ). Still more recently there have been cited cases (information by Pe. João Marchesi) in which, besides their wife, they kept as a concubine some woman who had become widowed. As well as taking a second wife, because "his wife was sick, and he wanted to have children." There is also recalled the case of one, with a healthy wife and two daughters, who took another wife, impelled by the desire to have a male child, "so that his family will not decay with him." As a matter of fact, after the birth of a male child, he sent back its mother. We could not find out whether this attitude was spontaneous or not.

The power of the Wyógõ depends not so much on custom as on his personal influence, and this can come to him from several qualities: oratorical resources, prudence, technical skill, intelligence, knowledge of several languages (Portuguese, Nheengatú, etc.).

[178] Formerly they were invested with greater power (96).

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96. It seems that the same can be said of a more distant past. The reports of the eighteenth century (Pe. Noronha, Ribeiro Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira) show them as principals moving large groups, founding new places at the invitation of the civilized, organizing among themselves defensive and offensive alliances. Hence the interest of the Governadores in having them as allies, granting them the title

4: Silva--703 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/footnote 96 cont./ of Capitão. Caboquena, Ajuricaba, Camanaus, Comandre, Carunamá, Cabacabari, etc. became famous. During the first years, as well as in the middle of the last century, the Governador, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ as well as the Diretores Gerais dos Indios /General Directors of the Indians/, proceeded with the official appointment of several Principais on the river Uaupés itself, and they took advantage of their authority over the Indians. We found, for example, in the "Archivo do Amazonas," Vol. 1, n. 2, p. 29, the Diretores Gerais dos Indios do Gram-Pará, Brigadeiro Honorário /Honorary Brigadier/ João Henrique de Mattos and the Tenente Coronel Graduado /Graduate Lieutenant-Colonel/ Albino dos Santos Pereira, as well as the Encarregado dos Indios do Rio Uaupés /Agent for the Indians of the Uaupés River/ Capitão Francisco Gonçalves Pinheiro, appointing Tuxauas on the Uaupés River:

1848 -- 1. Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira, from the Wanana tribe.
2. Domingos Dias dos Santos, Tukano, Principal of Carurú-rapecuma.
3. João de Mattos (son of the late Excellent Tuxaua Raymundo José), Tukano, Principal of S. Joaquim.
4. Calisto Antonio, Taryana, Principal of Iauareté.

1850 -- 5. Manuel Calisto, Wanana, son of the late Tuxaua Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira.

District of Marabitanas:

6. The Indian Mathias Antonio, Principal of S. Francisco.
7. The Indian João Bernardo, Principal of Tucurimachi.
8. The Indian Angelo José, principal of Cuyiari.

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/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

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The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

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97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

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562 The social power of the tuxaua being thus attenuated and
622 with this native democratic mentality, it is to be inferred that
there would be no repugnance toward a female Tuxaua. There
159 is mentioned the example of Caridade (or Carí, according to
562 the common designation) from the Tukano tribe, who exercised
the tuxauaship in Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), recognized
622 by all and in very singular circumstances, because she succeeded
her brother Estevão, who, upon his death, left two sons (100).

100. Carí previously had been a prostitute in S. Gabriel on the Rio Negro and never married. It was not possible to verify whether her ascendancy had an origin of such an order. It would be a problem similar to that of the Hetaerae. Or whether, on the contrary, as seems more probable, it was due to her intelligence, by being a very shrewd woman with the advantage of knowing Portuguese well.

/466/ The situation of Cari can perhaps be explained by her having lived for a long time with the civilized in such a way that she was considered such, being, on the other hand, the daughter of the old and esteemed tuxaua (101).

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101. In Piracuara there were some misunderstandings between Colombians and natives. The Colombian authorities ordered the maloca destroyed, and Cari was manacled, as well as the local pajé. Some time later Pe. João Marchesi, who furnished us this information, was called in order religiously to assist Cari, who appeared in good spirits, in her hour of death.

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622 f) Government and justice.

Even in olden times the tuxaua's power was tempered by the power of the heads of each family, which, as we said, is autonomous regarding its normal life, its trading, its clearing, etc.

622 It was, likewise, moderated by the ascendancy of the Komlá,
623 the "Elders," who still today preside over the dances, take part in the giving of the name to the child, in the initiation of the young men, practice the "blowing," etc. The "Elders" constituted a true Council or Senate of the Tuxaua, the Bũxkõrã-kurá; and even today continue with such function and choose the new tuxaua.

622 The absolute chiefs have always been an exception, which sometimes provoked reaction by his subordinates (102).

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102. José, Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, died poisoned by those of his maloca; properly speaking, by his second wife, a Tuyuka, with the connivance of the other inhabitants of the maloca. During the time of the encarregado dos índios /Indian Agent/ Higino Albuquerque, of the SPI, José exercised in truth a despotic power: he forced the Indians to work for some of the civilized, thrashed the women so that they would make the flour more quickly, etc.

797 Among all the tribes of the Uaupés a democratic regime has always
622 been in force. It is remembered, however, that some tuxauas, in contracting for service with the whites, -- one of the functions of
648 the tuxauaship, -- demanded payment without work, or even keeping almost everything for themselves and distributing little to the others, so that the natives came to ask the Missionary to make the distribution of the payment to them himself.

627 The administration of justice, in the strict sense, does not fall to the tuxaua. There is not even a judiciary or customary penal Law. The questions that arise among the components of the group are resolved among them under the dictates of reciprocal vengeance

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619 they followed in the more serious questions that involved relations
622 with other tribes or with the whites. Each one, however, judging himself perfectly independent and even with very little power over the other men of his own maloca.

701 It consists, indeed, of the temporary union of several groups
622 for an aggressive or defensive military expedition under the orders of a single chief (106).

175 106. Thus the renowned Ajuricaba of the Manao
721 nation, with his two thousand bows, navigating
• 648 true fleets under the flag of Holland, hunted Indians
701 of other tribes in order to sell them as slaves to the Hollanders of Guiana (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario," n. 336). In 1858 Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 7, p. 86), narrating the episode of the "Cristo de Juquira" (cf. VII-4, b), estimates that a thousand persons from various localities and tribes gathered in Juquira in declared hostility to the civilized. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" of 1785), apropos of the legendary city of Manoa, vast captial of the Manao, explains to us that on the river Urubaxi where the Manao formerly were: "the reported aldeia /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ (irananauoca) did not have the qualities and greatnesses that the city of Manoa paraded, because, notwithstanding that all these were confederated, their aldeias were nevertheless independent of one another and many of them as populous as Irananauoca."

622 /470/ There has never been a true authority, but only the
797 ascendancy of one tuxaua over the others. This is more or less the present situation of a Missionary, and, with certain reservations, we can speak of a hypertuxauaship.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



He succeeded in bringing together a village of some 300 Indians. By 1881 the mission was disbanded and the Indians returned to their original communities. At about the same time the mission of Santa Cruz dos Cobeus was established at Mitú *cachoeira* near the Cuduiarí. Missionary activity in the region has been generally discontinuous but nonetheless energetic; and while Christian doctrine has left only a vague imprint in native religious practices it has succeeded in acquainting the Indians with new ideas of dress and in disturbing their convictions about some practices such as cannibalism. For a period between 1875 and the early 1900's there was a flurry of nativist agitation in the Vaupés. Between 1875 and 1878 an Indian from the Isana River, called Anizetto, reportedly a hermaphrodite, led a messianic movement against the whites until he was arrested by the Brazilian authorities. In 1880 a shaman who called himself Vicente Cristo led another messianic movement along the middle Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg observed that the native messianic leaders were always Arawakan-speaking (1809, I, 39). There is nothing to suggest that any of these movements ever took strong hold on the Indians. On the Cuduiarí tangible evidences either of Christian influence or of native messianism were slight in 1940.

European commercial penetration started slowly but reached a sudden expansion with the rubber boom that subsided shortly before World War I. The Putumayo, where thousands of Indians perished in the rubber camps, was a notorious and baleful focus of white influence (Hardenburg, 1912). From then on the Indians and the whites along the Vaupés were in constant contact and in frequent conflict. On the lower Vaupés in Brazilian territory many Indian tribes had taken on the outward appearance of the mestizo, or caboclo as he is called in Brazil, as early as 1852, when Wallace was there. The upper Vaupés in Colombian territory retained its true Indian character for very much longer. The Cuduiarí was still very strongly native at the time of my field work in 1939–40.

Only close study will reveal how far acculturation has gone even among those Indians most closely associated with the whites on the main streams. There the Indians wear the dress of the mestizo, live in European-style shacks, and celebrate the Christian holidays. They also carry out native ceremonials, not, to be sure, with the traditional elegance, but strongly enough to suggest that a good deal of native life goes on beneath the shabby surface of ragged clothing, poor housing, and the litter of cheap manufactured utensils and ornaments.

The resistance of the Indians of the Cuduiarí to cultural loss and breakdown may be attributed in the main to relative isolation, but

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



177 Thus, for the Cubeo,
551 being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most
182 exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It
[553] has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a
[123] European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiarí who had a European name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

177 On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tribu-
[797] taries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civilized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no cultivated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for
[464] which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor. At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in 1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

177 Many Indians of the Cuduiarí had visited Mitú, the capital of the
● 648 *Comisaría* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in 1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station. After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important administrative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio station, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business. Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiarí were not altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

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with its white residents, they had no reason not to regard it as a 177
friendly place. The *Comisaría* protected their labor rights, supervis- 648
ing terms of contract and entertaining their complaints of unfair treatment. When an Indian completed his term of labor he was "paid off" in the presence of an official in charge of Indian affairs. The Indians regarded the government as fair. The *Comisaría* provided medical aid to those Indians who came to seek it. At the same time it respected native life and interfered with the Indians as little as possible. Although the Cuduiarí is readily accessible from Mitú it was [114]
entered only rarely by administrative personnel. When I lived among the *Bahúkiwa* some 15 hours by canoe from Mitú, I had the sense of total isolation from this administrative center. The normal everyday life on the Cuduiarí was completely Indian. In the time of Wallace there had been bad blood between Indians and Colombians, but by the time Koch-Grünberg arrived relations between the Cubeo and the government had already become peaceable.

In Mitú I met Mandú, headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib of the middle 122
Cuduiarí. He had come to seek medical treatment for his young son, 123
who had injured his knee in a fall. The headman and I became friends [614]
and he invited me to visit. When I promptly accepted his invitation I was surprised to find that he had already begun to build a house for me and that the Indians had expected me to settle among them. He had discussed the matter with his people, he told me later, and they had agreed that it would be good to have me live among them. The reasons for wanting me never became too clear, but I came to believe that they thought I would offer them some protection from the pressure of the labor recruiters.

I was informally "adopted" as the younger brother of Mandú. For 123
a while people were amused to address me by an appropriate kinship [597]
term. In time this jest lost its freshness and I came to be regarded simply as *pakomá* (kinsman). Nevertheless, I was considered to be a member of Mandú's household even though I had a house of my own alongside the maloca. Mandú sent his older wife, with whom he was no longer living, to serve as my cook. With Mandú's household I had all the privileges of informality. My relations with other households were friendly but more restrained. Since I did not contribute an appropriate share of fish and game to the household, or to the maloca as a whole, I felt obliged to reciprocate food and services with periodic gifts of cloth, tobacco, fishhooks, and ammunition. At one time during a drinking party at which I was not present, a son of Mandú distributed all my trade goods to the guests "in my behalf." However, during the period of many weeks when I no longer had trade goods

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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiari, for example, a trail leads to the Querari. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahikiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

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factured goods into the stream of trade – cloth, salt, fishhooks, guns, machetes, as well as cheap ornaments. There are at least three kinds of trade. One, with the whites, is commercial and is of increasing importance. A second is intertribal, in which specialties are exchanged. Each tribe has its recognized expertness and its products are sought after. The third, intratribal, is less economic and more in the nature of a social exchange in which people acquire objects they can readily make for themselves.

Trade with the whites is centuries old in the Amazon Basin. Since World War I it has been largely stimulated by European interest in Amazon rubber. In the Northwest Amazon, rubber tapping is a small enterprise, between wars. Even so, it has exerted a great influence upon native life. Almost every Cubeo adult male on the Cuduiari had spent some time in the service of a *balatero*, where he learned to speak some Spanish or Portuguese, depending upon which side of the border he worked on, and where he acquired the taste for European manufactures and the wherewithal to acquire them. By now almost every Indian regards the machete, the muzzle-loading shotgun, steel fishhooks, cloth, and even trinkets as necessities. He acquires these objects by selling his labor. Farinha, which represents the labor of the women, provides another source for trade goods. Farinha does not leave the area. It is the main food supply of the Indian rubber tappers. A coarse meal of manioc, farinha is dipped in cold water to make a moderately nourishing if unpalatable gruel. The Indians use it among themselves only as an emergency ration on a long journey. They dislike it as a food. The *balateros*, admiring it as a remarkably cheap provender, contract with the Indian women for all they can produce. Every grown Indian woman I met was under verbal contract for a number of *paneros* of farinha. Three *paneros* of farinha, representing 12 baskets of manioc or the equivalent of about three weeks of manioc cake supply and about 12 days of labor, are traded by women for objects that have cost the trader about 50 cents. One woman showed me a pair of cheap metal earrings for which she had paid two *paneros* of farinha. The more experienced and the more extroverted women do better. They have learned to bargain and they enjoy this form of trade. Farinha has become an integral part of the Cubeo economy and of its social life, as later chapters will show. There is also some minor Indian-white trade in other foods – chickens, fish, and fruit.

This commercial trade has come to develop standard values, partly because of administrative measures to protect the Indian against undue exploitation but mainly because of the nature of European business.

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614 came to be known as *Bwübekúdjo* (*Bwü* the Ancient). The *Byari-Hehénewa* took him captive. Sometime later, the *Hehénewa*, coming to visit their kin, determined to rescue the boy. They did so, killing off the *Byari-Hehénewa* who were holding him. They released
614 *Bwübekúdjo*, giving him two *Borówa* (Macú) women as wives. The
● 648 *Borówa* were then servants of the *Hehénewa*. The Macú women bore *Bwübekúdjo* ten children. It was from the males of this sibling group that the *Bahúkiwa* sib was reconstituted.

614 This concession of kinship alliance with the Macú stigmatizes the
648 *Bahúkiwa* as an inferior sib even though the descent is still in the
554 male line. Normally, Cubeo used *Borówa* women sexually but did
[611] not marry them. The *Bahúkiwa* do not concede that they are *Borówa*. And I learned early in my stay among them that nothing was more offensive than to even hint that someone was *Borówa*. The *Hehénewa* had told Koch-Grünberg that the *Bahúkiwa* were *Borówa* who had assimilated themselves to the Cubeo and were still to be regarded with contempt (1909, II, 136). No *Hehénewa* made this observation to me, but possibly out of courtesy since I was living with the *Bahúkiwa*.

614 The origin of the *Bahúkübwauwü*, a subsib of the *Bahúkiwa*, is also attributed to an act of kindness by a fellow sib, in this case at the hands of the second-ranking *Aúnbwawü*. In the course of an attack on them, all but one *Bahúkiwa* girl were killed. She was suc-
614 cored by the *Aúnbwawü*, among whom she lived until she married.
611 The narrator claimed that no one knew whom she had married, a lapse of information of utmost importance, since the point of the story is that despite patriliny a woman can also re-establish a sib. She bore eight children and they and their descendants took the name of *Bahúkübwauwü*. Descent then reverted to patriliny.

615 The Cubeo view of the phratry, as revealed by the traditions, is
614 of a grouping of essentially autonomous sibs into a loose fraternity that takes its sanction not from descent from a common ancestor but emergence from a common place. The genealogical relationship determines sib identity, but it is geography that determines phratric identity. The principal idea that is expressed is that the closer the sibs were spatially at the time of emergence the closer should be their present fraternal bonds. Thus, the traditions draw fine distinctions between emergence from the very same crevice on the rocks, from the same rapids, and from the same river. Unfortunately for our in-
615 terest in reconstructing tribal history, the traditions lack consistency.
614 This inconsistency reflects perhaps the ethnic heterogeneity of the
174 region, which, together with the lack of a central source for tradition,

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at Pindaíva on the Cuduiarí. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambomamára* on the Cuduiarí, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiarí group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists. 614 615 554 361 [114]

***Hehénewa*** In the present social structure, the *Hehénewa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénewa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiarí and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurý River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénewa* or *Toucan-Hehénewa*. Their origin site on the Papurý is known as *Wahúdja impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Órobawa*. The story goes that the *Hehénewa* heard the *Órobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music – a sign of kinship – and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénewa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapuri. This notes that the *Hehénewa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénewa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiarí, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiarí and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urania close by the *Aúnbawü*.

***Byá-Hehénewa*** A subsib of the *Hehénewa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiarí.

***Wathariwa*** The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénewa* and the *Aúnbawü*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwábebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uacúréwa*, near Tatú *cachoeira*, and at *Umari* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapuri falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

***Byá-Wathariwa*** A subsib of the *Wathariwa* on the Vaupés.

***Urérariwa*** Perhaps a subsib of the *Wathariwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

***Bahúkiwa*** They list their emergence site as *Impenáni* on the Uaracapuri falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Bwü* and his sister was *Onpwéndoko*. They now consist of several subsibs occupying sites along the middle Cuduiarí. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúna* and identified them as a Macú group (*Borówa*) who wandered into the Cuduiarí and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borówa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borówa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borówa*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet. [563] [648] [186]

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is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahûkiwa* regard the *Órobawa* as their "head."

*Bahûküdjauwü* A subsib of the *Bahûkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahûkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahûkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiari and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucúra *igarapes*.

*Bahukuonówa* A subsib of the *Bahûküdjauwü* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiari.

*Bahûkübuauwü* A subsib of the *Bahûkiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Mánapuänwa* (Trail people) or *Mánawa*. According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiari overland, and whose emergence site was the Querari *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiari. The *Bahûkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy.

[648] [563] [551]

*Pedikwa* A subsib of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiari above the *Bahûkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papurí River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toidibü*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Ancient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedi-Hehénewa* because they emerged at *Pediwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered them in the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiari. They are also known as *Piátokaño*.

*Kenánikauwü* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* on the upper Cuduiari at *Piramiri* and at *Abúhakü*. They used to live at *Toidibü* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajú's lists.

*Kenámbwawa* A subsib of the *Pedikwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiari.

*Utciwaiwa* Their emergence site was the Yurupari *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from Uaracapuri. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahûkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miriti *igarapes* below the Yurupari falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the Dyi *igarapes*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucibowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajú. Their first ancestor was called *Utciwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

*Baryówatiwaiwa* A sib that emerged from Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utciwaiwa*. They are also known as *Baryówa* and still live on the Vaupés.

*Piarówa* A sib that emerged at Uaracapuri rapids, from a particular site called *Mumikü*. They live at Miriti *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the headwaters of the Muchú, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewa.

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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabawũ* on the Querari.

*Yániwa* A sib at the mouth of the Querari. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querari as *Dyaniwa*.

*Yokókübewũ* A sib on the lower Querari.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

*Batóua* Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapés*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querari. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

*Ilhéadowa* A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiari, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiari, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari.

*Káua* A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiari. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoiera*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querari and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiari near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

## THE *BORÓWA*

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chicha. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

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were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behórũ* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapurí and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapurí that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querarí but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiarí had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Parý *cachoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

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day the *Borówa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

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**BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS**

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*mekhamétewu yawiwü*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

*pwéntewü* — the people came out
*tcúntcawa* — and shed (their anaconda skins)
*hahádami* — they went forward
*waré borikapindo* — the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
*opéko tamána* — crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
*emintakori* — the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
*kanúrübo* — (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
*bwühürükówü* — the rock where *Bwü* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwü*)
*byátakwe* — the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
*kwábebo* — the place of *Kwákü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
*borikabo* — the place of *Borikakü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies — it means the aracú fish)
*opéko tavá* — the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakü* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
*nahó pwünwa* — the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
*bwütaunrü* — the tree beneath which *Bwü* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwü* passed beneath it)
*bwütaunrü* — the tree beneath which Bwü passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
*waokún* — the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)

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No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókũ* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kendmi upákũ*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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754 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the
694 hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle
[756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man
[622] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The headman is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused if he can refute the charges.

## WARFARE (*bwaíno*)

721 People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one
[615] another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently ex-
[614] changed wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from Querarí killed Hühû, an old *Bahúkiwa* who was then living at Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the Querarí, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants, and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a plundering raid. When they killed Hühû and others in his house they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for
[614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a
[648] *Hehénewa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cuduiarí; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban, Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas raided the Cuduiarí annually during the dry season, when they could move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war
[114] alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert.
[723] I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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pared. The defense leader was the headman's son. An earlier alarm had already brought the Independents to the main house and a boy had been sent to call in the Satellites and to warn the neighboring sibs. The headman's son, after a hasty consultation with the other young adults, decided upon a psychological defense. He fetched a police officer's discarded white tunic with brass buttons and shoulder straps that he had been cherishing, put it on over his bare body, and strode out to frighten the enemey. The women and children were assembled in the maloca with one man as their guard. Other men fanned out through the manioc gardens and into the surrounding brush to search out the enemy. One stray shot was fired by a defender. The house was kept under guard for several nights thereafter and then the danger was declared past. 721 723

An attack by the Cariban Umaua (*Maúnwa*) that occurred three generations ago is still vividly recalled. The *Bahúkiwa*, warned that the enemy was ascending the Cuduiarí by canoe, prepared an ambush. They dammed the river with the bark sheeting of house walls and waited to assail the enemy with bow and arrow. But the enemy were armed with rifles and they killed a great many of the *Bahúkiwa*. 726 648 [173]

When the attackers first came, the Indians on the Cuduiarí did not know whether they were men or women, because they wore their hair long and were dressed in long shirts. The Umaua attacks were so fierce that for several years the Indians were forced to abandon the Cuduiarí altogether. Some gave up farming and lived on the savannah, foraging fruits and nuts and eating tree bark. When they finally returned to the Cuduiarí, the manioc plantations were all gone and they had to resume manioc cultivations from seeds they had preserved. The other Indians of the Cuduiarí gathered on the Vaupés under the direction of a *Hehénewa* war leader, who told them that the white man would save them from their enemies. He made a clay image called a *tupana* (the Tupían and lingua franca for a deity). They danced and sang for two months, until a Colombian came. The idea of the *tupana* came, they say, from a Brazilian caboclo. When the Colombian arrived, he told them that he had heard their singing in Bogotá and had come to rescue them. They then returned to their former homes on the Cuduiarí. 648 722 648 [789] [177]

In past years raids were more frequent and determined.[3] The Cubeo fought with bow and arrow and protected themselves with body-length shields of stiffened animal hide, deer, jaguar, or tapir. The 726 411 714

[3] Tribes with whom the Indians of the Cuduiarí claim to have fought include the Cariban Umaua, all the formerly Arawakan sibs of the Querarí River, tribes of the Isana River, and the *Hehénewa*, after they had arrived from the Papurí. [648]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *anyá*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

## POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1949, p. 25), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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755 phrases I could not hear but which I was told much later were spells to send the illness away. When the blowing was finished the *yavi* poured water from the earthenware pot into the blackened calabash, scooping into it with his left hand the palm spines. He poured the water over the head of the old man, taking pains to get it into the ears, the patient helping by rolling his head. The black spines now lay scattered on the ground near the old man. The *yavi* went about carefully picking them all up. The entire community had gathered to watch the cure and the *yavi* asked them to help gather the spines. The people did not dare touch the spines. Cautiously, without coming too near, they pointed them out. Having gathered all the spines after a very careful search, the *yavi* went off to the brush at the edge of the plaza. He returned rubbing his hands together and making blowing sounds with his mouth in all directions. He poured once more, this time from the second pot, shaking his rattle but uttering no sound. When he had disposed of the second collection of spines the cure was finished. For reasons of magical secrecy no one interpreted to me what was being done. Later, after the old man had died, I was told that the diagnosis had been unfavorable. The quantity of *duwáyo* spines found was great, indicating a serious ailment, and the shaman thought that the ailment (*ihé*) was probably not curable.

For minor ailments such as headache, hangover, indigestion, mild bronchial disturbances, and the like, blowing with tobacco smoke is all that is required, and many an old man has the knowledge and preparation to do that. For hangover, smoke is blown onto the top of the head; for stomachache onto the abdomen, and for bronchial disturbances onto the chest. Minor ailments of this sort are treated
[756] by kinsmen, who receive no payment other than a small gift. Imported *yavís*, however, may demand as much as a machete or a musket for their services.

754 If curing seems unspectacular, the arts of killing or of causing serious illness are to the Cubeo mind extraordinarily well developed. As the Indians see it, most deaths, illnesses, and misfortunes are products of human malevolence. I doubt that any Cubeo seriously believes in dangerous encounters with *abúhuwa*. All, however, live in dread of sorcery. Fear of the *yavi* as jaguar seems genuine enough.
754 Yet despite tales of packs of human "jaguars" going from house to
756 house devouring people, actual incidents of assault by jaguars against
(648) people are rare. The Indians, in fact, say that since the establishment of a police garrison at Mitú on the Vaupés the *yavís* have become cautious and no longer attack people.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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571 614 593 621 and children, circulate from community to community attaching themselves temporarily to different families, since the true nuclear family is not a self-sufficient unit. The strength of individual autonomy and its psychological counterpart in the form of low tolerance for psychic discomfort is capable, apparently, of breaking the firmest social connections Cubeo culture has devised.

121 571 Whether Cubeo social equilibrium is to be evaluated as static or as dynamic will depend upon the time perspective by which it is viewed. In sociological perspective one sees autonomy counterbalancing linkage, fission offsetting fusion. Tribe has only the vaguest suggestion of a higher level of integration, while phratry is a headless configuration, largely a ritual federation subject to dissolution and to re-formation. By freezing time, the sociological perspective has the inherent bias, however, of presenting social forces as in balance. On the other hand, the sociological perspective has the merit of being empirically true to the research design. That is to say, the study of a single society at a fixed point in time and for which only vague glimmerings of history are available provides few empirical grounds for any perspective other than the sociological.

[619] [615]

121 174 The historical perspective on the Cubeo is then largely conjectural. It is, however, a necessary perspective both for the sake of offsetting the bias of artificial timelessness and for raising questions about Cubeo culture that would have relevance for a comparative study. In historical perspective, the Cubeo phratry, with its ranked sibs, the allocation of preferred river sites to the high-ranking, and the honorific prerogatives of high sib rank, suggests possibilities for further social and political development. Though the phratric organization is largely of a ritual nature, it is conceivable that a ritual organization provides a pattern for an eventually tighter integration through political and economic means. Some of the potential political means are already visible. Relations with the Macú point to an understanding of the dominance-subordination relationship on a political and economic plane. Recurrent alarms on the river that a headman is seeking political headship over all the sibs illustrate, to be sure, an acute Cubeo sensitivity to the danger of political control, but they also demonstrate that the possibility of overlordship is not altogether unreal. If then Cubeo culture has this potential for political evolution, what has impeded it? In the light of the foregoing analysis the answer is surely not simple. Since culture is an organization of patterns, its growth cannot be understood in terms of the action of single variables such as the influence of slash-burn cultivation, dependence on bitter manioc, or the tropical rain forest environment. Each of

[614] [615] [648]

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



122 bought. Pins, needles, reels of thread, mirrors, brightly-coloured combs and extra fish-hooks to supplement those Donald had already brought from England were all found in the market area. After hours of haggling we would wend our way homewards, laden with tins, paraffin lamps, rope, candles and many other items. Up to the very last moment we were packing endless supplies into plastic bags and rubber bags, inside kitbags and into tins which we had painted bright red to cheer us up in the green forest.

Early on the morning of the 15th a truck arrived; we loaded and left for the airbase, only to find the boat would not fit into the Catalina. They had been trying since six in the morning. There was nothing we could do, we had to take the flight or not go at all. So we left, without Nestor and without our boat. We had luckily sent the fuel ahead to Mitú in a cargo plane.

We slowly climbed above Bogotá and thence across the Eastern Cordillera towards the Llanos. As we landed at Villavicencio the oppressive heat seeped into the aircraft. Situated directly underneath the foothills of the Cordillera, it is the port of entrance to the Llanos and the tropical forests bordering the plains to the south. Here ranchers ride the streets, tether their horses and carouse in the beer saloons till dawn; then they return to their *fincas* deep in the plains. From here the rivers run east, to the Orinoco and then to the Atlantic.

We continued on our way southwards over undulating grasslands, then over unbroken forest. Suddenly we entered a storm and, as we bumped up and down, became lost in swirling rain. An hour later we emerged and a ridge appeared on the horizon. Beyond, the wide brown Vaupés with a straggling line of painted wooden houses broke the unending carpet of green. We landed on the white sandy strip of Mitú; once a rubber boom town, now a lonely outpost settlement and mission station, an oasis in the forest.

• 648 Earlier we had heard we might find it difficult to make friendly contact with the Indians of the Piraparaná. Very few white men had been able to enter the river, either from its source or its mouth, since the beginning of the century, when the most brutal atrocities had been committed by the Casa Arana[1]. This rubber company, financed by British and Peruvian interests, had extracted rubber from north-west Amazonia to export it down the Amazon through Manaos. The camp chiefs established themselves as potentates and were greatly feared. Their labour was entirely drawn from the Indians whom they treated not as human beings but as slaves. Women were raped, men who displeased their masters brutally murdered, those who failed to carry sufficient loads had their hands slashed off with machetes and were left to die. Many spent their lives in chains. So serious were the atrocities that in 1912 Sir Roger Casement brought the matter before the House of Commons. Many Indians retreated into the Amazon's remoter tributaries.

[1] The atrocities were in the Putumayo region – not the Piraparaná – but their influence was felt throughout north-west Amazonia.

*El Diablo*

Today the *caucheros* still avoid the Piraparaná. Only a few years previously one had entered and tried to take an Indian's wife. He was shot with poisoned arrows and savagely cut to pieces. Two botanists had travelled some distance up the river from its mouth, but no one had descended its entire course. At Mitú only Padre Elorza was able to give us first-hand information. Young and zealous, he had been the first missionary to enter the Piraparaná, one month before we arrived. He had travelled half-way down the river and then turned up a tributary to Brazil. A wooden canoe could withstand the rough journey, he said; an aluminium one would not only be too wide for the creeks of the headwaters but would get ripped on the boulders. A suitable canoe, with a hollowed tree-trunk base and sides built up with planks, was lying half-filled with water in the mud at the side of the Vaupés; it belonged to the Mission but he thought the Monseñor might lend it to us. He also told us that his Spanish-speaking guide, an Indian from the Brazilian tributary he had ascended, was still in Mitú and he advised us to take him. He knew the river and he spoke the Tukano dialects. So we employed José, a small and somewhat shifty-looking man, together with his more genial brother, Uriel. We would pay them in pesos and feed them; they would take us to the Piraparaná and from there return to their home. From Padre Elorza we also learnt that two Persian anthropologists had reached the first house on the river only the year before. They had arrived earlier in the season than ourselves, stayed two weeks with the Indians and then returned to Mitú. The headwater streams still had had water in them. We were not to be so lucky.

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That evening as we drank cold sweet lemon juice with the padres, their lives for a moment seemed blissfully peaceful and remote. They showed us their museum of countless ceremonial death masks, once worn by the Indians of the Vaupés. It seemed a curious paradox that we were entering territory with the help of a mission which was doing everything to displace the culture we had come so far to see. We walked back to the wooden house of the Commissioner where our host Don Alonso, wizened and immaculate, sat listening to the radiogram beneath an old tarnished chandelier – Mitú had known better days. Don Alonso insisted we drank beer and *aguadiente* and met everyone in his town; the negro who could repair the canoe and whose wife cooked delicious mealy *tamales*; the doctor and nurses from the hospital; the mechanic to test the outboard motors; many *caucheros* and finally a young Argentinian dentist who aimed to make his fortune capping people's teeth with gold. His price was high, but he would accept crude rubber, pelts and crocodile skins as payment before he moved on to the next outpost. The evening ended in hilarity as we danced to scratched seventy-eights revolving on a gramophone whose coiled trumpet betrayed its age.

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Next morning before dawn, our thick heads were stirred by resounding hymns. It was Sunday and the Mission had their loudspeakers at work to call the town to Mass. We too went inside the crowded church. Later that day

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464 That evening the conversation turned to rubber, the exploitation of the Indians and the atrocities. There had been two booms in the area. The first
648 died out with the end of the First World War and the increased production in Malaya. Then with the Japanese occupation of South-East Asia during the Second World War, attention again switched to the Amazon and this continued into the fifties. Now only small interests remain and although the Indians are well paid and housed, the old fear of the *caucheros* is still there and many prefer to live their own lives.

Carlos told us that he had sixteen Indians working for him. Most of them only worked during the summer months – from November to March – when the forest was drier. If there was rain the latex from the wild rubber could not be collected. During the winter months the Indians returned to their homes to attend to their *chagras*. The men cut traces through the forest at fifty-yard intervals within easy shouting distance of one another, so that none of the trees are missed. Each morning they place small wooden cups beneath a fresh slash in the bark, returning later to empty the latex into rubber bags slung on their backs. A different section of the forest is covered each day until the cycle is completed and they start again. When the rubber is brought back to the house formic acid is added, though any organic acid can be used, even lemon juice. This coagulates the rubber which is then rolled into sheets, some of which Carlos showed us hanging from the roof-beams of his house.

At the end of a season's gathering the rubber is shipped in bales up the Caquetá to Araracuara. From there it is flown to the merchants in Bogotá – usually in May and June – and Carlos added, 'This is about the only time in the year when I see civilization. To save costs we arrange that the plane brings all our supplies and merchandise for the next year on its inward journey. These are mainly for the Indians, for there is nothing he can buy with money here, so I keep a small trade store.'

000 Later Carlos spoke of the Missing Link or Loys' Ape, which he maintained lived in the area. Three years before, one of his young workers was out in his rubber trace when he was suddenly attacked by a beast, which held him fastened to the ground all night. The boy who had fainted from fear, was found the next day and brought to Carlos's house where he took forty-eight hours to recover. He was thoroughly washed but the foul smell of the beast was impossible to remove. Several rubber gatherers claim to have seen the ape in the area of the Miritiparaná. Something very similar has also been reported from the Llanos, in the wooded river valleys near the Orinoco.

537 Stories of the half-human ape are as common as those of lost cities, the Amazonian women and the tribes of white Indians who hunt by night. All occur in the myth and legends of the tribes. But to hear a first-hand account of this ape-man from a reliable witness was unusual.

114 Before dawn we set off down river in Carlos's long, narrow, shallow-draught Caquetá boat, faster and more graceful than the stouter ones of the

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to more than one phratry are well known and are taken for granted as minor exceptions to the stated rule. This rule is expressed in a formula that one does not marry inside of one's own tribe-and-language group because one would then be marrying a brother or a sister. Although informants do not explicitly refer to it, they recognize exogamy at the phratry level, and all marriages conform to a rule of phratry exogamy as well as of tribal exogamy. Recognition of the multitribal composition of the phratry is expressed as: "A Tukano will not marry a Baré because the Baré are brothers and sisters with the Tukanos."

The exogamic phratry system is extended fictitiously to all tribes peripheral to and beyond the central Northwest Amazon area, even though members of these tribes may not themselves be aware that they fit into such a system. Despite this fiction, it is safe to assume that any marriage with a member of one of these tribes will be phratry-exogamous. The nonriverine, marginal Makú of the interior lands back from the Papuri River, with whom the riverine Indians described in this paper do not intermarry, are considered to belong to the phratries to which the Tukano belong (the "Tukano-Makú") and to which the Desano belong (the "Desano-Makú"), and are said to intermarry among themselves accordingly.[8]

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A larger mission village is a unit that has been created by missionaries from two or more longhouse groups representing two or more tribes (hence linguistic groups) that have been required to tear down their longhouses, move together, and build separate adobe huts for each nuclear family. A larger mission village also contains a contingent of non-Indian missionaries and a boarding house of school children from nearby settlements. A smaller mission village is a single longhouse group that has been persuaded to tear down its longhouse and substitute a series of adobe huts, one for each nuclear family.

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The rubber-working group, for the Indian, is a unit of eight to ten months' duration per year, to which he belongs over a period of several years, usually in his youth. There are a great many such groups in the Upper Vaupés-Apaporis rubber-gathering area, each operating out of a camp, to which the Indians of the Middle Vaupés region are recruited. Properly speaking, the group includes one or more non-

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7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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Indians, who are the patrón and his foremen, but they tend to keep themselves apart socially and linguistically from their Indian workers. The rubber-working group forms economically a patrón-peón system, or, more precisely for the Vaupés area, a patrón-padre-peón system. A benevolent role of missionaries in the Vaupés has been to minimize the depredations and excessive abuses of the rubber-working barons by requiring them to acquire their Indian workers through the missionaries as middle men.

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A clear distinction is made between tribal group and nationality; a word glossing as "landsmen" is the term used in Tukano for nationality group. There are two nationality groups among the multilingual Indians described in this paper—the Colombian Indians and the Brazilian Indians (the periphery of the multilingual area may include some Venezuelan Indians)—and even the members of the longhouses in the zone most unacculturated to "civilization" know whether they are Colombians or Brazilians. Also, Indians and non-Indians both agree that there are two clear-cut categories of people in the Vaupés: in Spanish these are called the *indígenas*, or Indians, and the *blancos*, or non-Indians (including Negros). However, the Indians feel uncertain and confused about ethnic and presumably "tribal" groups among the non-Indians. A favorite topic of conversation with me was inquiry about ethnic descent groups among such known nationality groups as Colombians, Brazilians, Venezuelans, and "Americans" (of the U.S.A.). Apparently the Indians are trying to set up a folk taxonomy for non-Indians within the Indian frame of reference. They have long been familiar with members of Dutch, German, English, Spanish, and Portuguese ethnic groups; they are confused about the nationality as against the ethnic status of some of these, especially of the latter two. Many Colombian and Brazilian nationals whom the Indians frankly regard as mestizos or creoles claim not only to be blancos but also "Spaniards" or "Portuguese"; yet they do not resemble the Dutch, German, or English blancos. (In Tukano the word for "blanco," best glossed from Spanish as "non-Indian," is derived from a form also used in the derivations of "fire, shotgun, fireplace"; the occasional blanco-sponsored request for a new form in Tukano that would gloss as "white" is consistently rejected.)

[P. 672 - B]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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191 the Indians' regard. They may make an occasional preliminary attempt to speak a new language in an appropriate situation, but if it does not come easily, they will not try to force it. One of the preconditions of language-learning in the area is a passive familiarity with lists of words (including inflected and derived forms) in languages likely to be learned. Much language-learning (especially of linguae francae) takes place within the peer group. Among closely related languages, a stage of "semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) may be important in learning. Informants estimate that it takes them from at least one to two years to learn a new language fluently, regardless of language family. Most of them also estimate that it takes longer to learn Spanish than to learn Tukano or another Eastern Tukanoan language.

191 197 An Indian, then, does not want to try to speak a language until he knows it quite well. He is conscious of his pronunciation in it and deliberately tries to sound like an authentic speaker. Each language has its own phonetic niceties, nuances of voice placement, and other details of accent not unlike the sort that distinguish some regional dialects of American English. Some languages (e.g., Tukano, Desano, Kubeo) exhibit more than one accent because they have regional dialects. There is such a phenomenon, then, as speaking Tukano with a Tuyuka accent, and vice versa, although many Tuyukas speak Tukano without a Tuyuka accent. A mild Siriano accent is acceptable to speakers of the Upper Papurí River dialect of Tukano, where the Siriano tribe is located. A Tukano child of this area with a Siriano mother who has a Siriano accent in her Tukano will himself speak Tukano without a Siriano accent.

191 648 The early non-Indians who started coming into the area brought with them another language as lingua franca: Nheengatú (Inekatú), also called Tupí, and also commonly referred to as *lingoa geral* (which means "lingua franca" in Portuguese) or just "Geral." This is a Tupí-Guaraní language, and it is still spoken, even monolingually, along many portions of the Rio Negro by the detribalized Indian and White-Indian population, collectively known as *caboclos*. Nheengatú spread as the lingua franca of the early rubber boom days, 1875–1920. When the rubber boom declined with the development of rubber plantations in Malaysia, the use of Nheengatú declined also. Now only some older people in

[P. 680-A]

191 the multilingual area described in this report
know Nheengatú. Some younger people can
• 648 repeat lists of words and forms in it, but they
do not speak it. According to informants, it
can be heard conversationally in the lower
portions of the Vaupés, but I have not heard
it used conversationally in the Middle Vaupés
[797] region. It was originally brought up the Ama-
zon and to the Rio Negro by the Jesuits as the
language of instruction; and it was well es-
tablished there by the 18th century, when a
contest with Portuguese began (Martius
1867). Its grammar, originally adapted from
a Latin model, was artificially built on a
Tupí-Guaraní base similar to that of present-
day Guaraní.

191 After Nheengatú, Portuguese came in as
another lingua franca. It is now the language
of the non-Indians on the Brazilian side of the
border and the language taught in the mission
schools there.

On the Colombian side, Spanish is the of-
ficial lingua franca. There was much learning
of Spanish in the rubber-gathering area dur-
ing the rubber boom, and Spanish superseded
Nheengatú as the dominant lingua franca
there. The increasing importance of Spanish
at the expense of Portuguese and the already
fading Nheengatú coincided with a change in
the rubber industry: to extract the *siringa*
type of rubber, found in abundance in the
Upper Vaupés River and Upper Apaporis
River region of interior Colombia, instead of
the less valuable but more widespread *balata*
type found in both Colombia and Brazil.
The stability of Tukano during this period of
change probably enhanced its position as a
lingua franca. The Upper Vaupés–Upper
Apaporis region is just outside of the culture
area being described in this paper, and it in-
cludes Indian workers who have come in from
still other culture areas. While the knowledge
of Spanish is spreading, via this rubber-
gathering area, into the adjacent culture
areas, the knowledge of Tukano is also spread-
ing.

191 For about 20 years there has been a con-
certed attempt to teach Colombian Indians
648 Spanish in the schools. Perhaps one-third to
one-half of the Indians already know Spanish
as a second lingua franca. Many learned it
when, as youths, they worked a few years in
the rubber-gathering area. Theirs is good,
understandable, and effective Spanish, al-
though it may lack the subjunctive and cer-
tain other details of normative grammar. It

[P. 680-B]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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191 cannot be called a "broken Spanish." At the missions, the insistence on using only Spanish
• 648 has at times had an effect the reverse of the one desired and has invigorated Tukano and the other Indian languages. Along with measures to civilize the Indian linguistically and get him out of the longhouse and into civilized villages, there have been attempts to detribalize the Indians by de-emphasizing exogamy. All these efforts, however, have only served to reinforce the persistence of the native languages.

Because this area is politically divided by the boundary between Colombia and Brazil, an Indian from Brazil who knows Portuguese finds that when he goes any distance into Colombia, Portuguese is not understood. Conversely, Colombian Indians find they cannot use their Spanish in the interior of the Brazilian section. They then resort to their principal lingua franca, Tukano, which is understood on both sides of the border. And this situation obviously helps also in continuing Tukano as the main lingua franca.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR SOME CURRENT ISSUES

### *The One Language/One Culture Image*

101 As I have shown, the multilingualism in the homogeneous culture of the central North-
197 west Amazon area serves to demarcate distinct, exogamous social units. Homogeneity of culture in this area does not mean homogeneity of language. And to speak of one language is not to speak of one entire culture. Indeed, with minor regional variations, the larger Northwest Amazon cultural area extends far beyond the bounds of the central, multilingual area described in this paper. Moreover, the cultural area includes some societies acculturated to lesser or greater degree to civilization but whose populations still prefer to speak aboriginal languages and to coin new terms in their own languages rather than borrow alien words. Data from the central Northwest Amazon bear directly, therefore, on the prevalent one language/one culture assumption, which, as Hymes (1964) and Gumperz (1961) point out, needs critical review.

The homogeneous culture area of the central Northwest Amazon has been circumscribed, perhaps somewhat artificially, as the area characterized by multilingualism as a culture trait. Within it there is no one language that

[P. 681-A]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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He succeeded in bringing together a village of some 300 Indians. By 1881 the mission was disbanded and the Indians returned to their original communities. At about the same time the mission of Santa Cruz dos Cobeus was established at Mitú *cachoeira* near the Cuduiarí. Missionary activity in the region has been generally discontinuous but nonetheless energetic; and while Christian doctrine has left only a vague imprint in native religious practices it has succeeded in acquainting the Indians with new ideas of dress and in disturbing their convictions about some practices such as cannibalism. For a period between 1875 and the early 1900's there was a flurry of nativist agitation in the Vaupés. Between 1875 and 1878 an Indian from the Isana River, called Anizetto, reportedly a hermaphrodite, led a messianic movement against the whites until he was arrested by the Brazilian authorities. In 1880 a shaman who called himself Vicente Cristo led another messianic movement along the middle Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg observed that the native messianic leaders were always Arawakan-speaking (1809, I, 39). There is nothing to suggest that any of these movements ever took strong hold on the Indians. On the Cuduiarí tangible evidences either of Christian influence or of native messianism were slight in 1940.

European commercial penetration started slowly but reached a sudden expansion with the rubber boom that subsided shortly before World War I. The Putumayo, where thousands of Indians perished in the rubber camps, was a notorious and baleful focus of white influence (Hardenburg, 1912). From then on the Indians and the whites along the Vaupés were in constant contact and in frequent conflict. On the lower Vaupés in Brazilian territory many Indian tribes had taken on the outward appearance of the mestizo, or caboclo as he is called in Brazil, as early as 1852, when Wallace was there. The upper Vaupés in Colombian territory retained its true Indian character for very much longer. The Cuduiarí was still very strongly native at the time of my field work in 1939–40.

Only close study will reveal how far acculturation has gone even among those Indians most closely associated with the whites on the main streams. There the Indians wear the dress of the mestizo, live in European-style shacks, and celebrate the Christian holidays. They also carry out native ceremonials, not, to be sure, with the traditional elegance, but strongly enough to suggest that a good deal of native life goes on beneath the shabby surface of ragged clothing, poor housing, and the litter of cheap manufactured utensils and ornaments.

The resistance of the Indians of the Cuduiarí to cultural loss and breakdown may be attributed in the main to relative isolation, but

/327 cont./

775 /Footnote 19 cont./ They say that at night cries are heard, and no native dares pass by there. When we were there, about 15 days after the burial, the inhabitants still continued to be frightened.

3) Moral principles.

673 They characterize some acts as "ya'ïsé"; for example, the marriage of persons of the same tribe, to have children from incest between parents and children or between members of the same tribe, the malefice (dohasé), and stealing.

627 The punishment, however, is the obligation of the one who
756 judges himself hurt, if he can do it. The pajé, by his extraordinary powers, is used as an instrument of justice, or rather of vengeance. They do not think, however, that it is legal for him to do so. They fear him, and, when they can, they also take revenge on him.

/328/ 4) Reward and punishment.

177 The concept of a reward or punishment in the other life is less
775 precise. They know, at present, that the good are rewarded and the bad, punished. Perhaps because of Christian influence, they say that the former will "go up," where they will have "good life"; the bad ones "will go down," where "the life is bad."

The concept of good and bad, however, extends so far as to include all those of the povoado as good, and those of the enemy villages as bad. It is, then, a concept in terms of the group, and not of the life of the individuals.

The fact that they bury the cadaver with its hunting imple-
764 ments (bow and arrow) might perhaps be a vestige of an ancient
775 belief in a "hunting paradise," as exists in hunting tribes. This belief has been obliterated with the change of the system of life from hunting to fishing and agriculture.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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627 tempers but to inflame and to focus angry passions upon the culprit. He does so because the Cubeo do not tolerate a judicious and cold-blooded administration of punishment. Their view is that malicious
[673] acts are committed in anger. Such acts provoke anger in return, in the course of which the culprit is suitably punished. Thus, a wrong-doer always runs away. Even if he should regard himself as innocent of the charge, when he learns that charges are being discussed he deems it prudent to leave. He need not be gone very long – perhaps just a few months. When he returns the anger against him has died
622 down and there will be no basis for action. In cases where a sibman
627 is being provocatively uncooperative and the senior households, to-
574 gether with the headman, agree that he should be made to leave, they wait for a drinking party when someone, or the headman him-
614 self, picks a quarrel with the culprit. In the heat of the quarrel the unwelcome sibman is asked to leave. The traditional drinking party
[182] seems to serve as the most appropriate setting for the airing and settling of grievances and of disputes.

578 Fighting is the most common social disturbance and is inevitable
574 during a drinking party. A quarrel between two men draws in others, usually close kin; each man entering the fray loudly proclaims his reason for joining, justifying by anger his right to take part. Members of the same household always have justifiable cause for anger in assisting one another. More distant kin must cite a personal mo-
578 tive. They can claim a past insult. A host or headman is privileged
574 to intervene to stop a fight but will do so reluctantly. In a Cubeo
622 quarrel the detached bystander is not welcome. Women are usually strongly disturbed by fighting. They dread that someone will get hurt and when a fracas becomes bloody they loudly demand that the headman put a stop to it. If he ignores them, pretending to be drowsy with drink, they abuse him and say he is not fit to be a headman. A headman is drawn to anger and to participation in a fray if a cere-
578 monial friend has joined a fight without asking his permission.
574 Ceremonial friends are as one and should share the same quarrels. Fighting at a drinking party, although actually disliked by the Cubeo,
[572] is not a punishable offense, since the angry parties have had full opportunity to retaliate. When the fight is over the issue is usually closed, unless new threats and insults are uttered. Those will be remembered at the next drinking party and serve to start a new fight.

682 Retaliation for murder is the responsibility only of the members of the victim's own household and lineage. Sibmates are under no
[614] obligation to avenge a murder unless, they reason publicly, the mur-

627 /466 cont./
[623] or fear. The tuxaua, nevertheless, frequently acted as an arbiter, reprimanding the guilty ones, threatening them, imposing on them restitution of the object stolen or an indemnity, and, as maximum punishment, expelling the undesirables from the maloca; always, however, in accordance with the Komũã components of the
• [681] Bũxkõrã-kurã. They have never known the penalty of prison /467/ or corporal punishment. It should be kept in mind that with their type of life, and with the native mentality, innumerable cases that fill our penal codes do not arise.

g) Associations.

797 In the Mission schools it is observed that, although the various
857 tribes with representatives among the school children live together in friendly fashion, the groups of each tribe readily separate in order to play among themselves. A Religious Superior of the Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora (Salesian Sisters), with more than 25 years (103)

103. A similar statement was given by the Superior of the newly founded Salesian Mission of Assunção among the Arwake of the Içana, located in the place known as Carará-poço, in August of 1957, therefore after only five months of the functioning of the local girls' boarding school.

of residence among those tribes, informed us that there was always a girl with ascendancy over the rest, a true "tuxaua," whose orders the others obeyed promptly, although transgressing school regulations and the orders of the Irmãs Superioras /Superior Sisters/; and they brought to this classmate the gifts received. Such deference, however, did not seem to be the fruit of friendship, but of fear. The Indian girl, who hardly cries, did it when admonished

/269 cont./
761 person who longs for death (17).

17. "I want to die," said one of these old men to Pe. Antônio Giacone, "because my teeth are tired of chewing." Pe. João Marchesi related to us the details of the only case of suicide that he had heard of. A Taryana Indian from the povoado called Cigarro, river Uaupés, violently inebriated by the caxirí, threw his own wife down on the ground and ill-treated her until he killed her. Afterwards he lay in the hammock and fell asleep. While he slept, the relatives and other persons buried the body. The murderer, upon awakening in the morning, called for his wife to prepare the mingau for him. They then told him how he himself had killed her the night before. The murderer, without saying anything to anyone, took his canoe and went to a nearby igarapé. Some hours later the canoe was found bubuiando (floating at the mercy of the stream) and, inside, some pieces of timbo and a cuia still dirty with timbo juice. The poor man squeezed and drank the poisonous juice of that plant and, perhaps in the convulsions of the agony, fell in the water and drowned.

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756 2) The Xamã /shaman/ or Yaí.

*[192] The paje or Yaí is, therefore, the doctor and at the same time Xamã /shaman/ (that is, a magician or sorcerer). Only men can be paje. [562]

/270/ a) His powers.

His powers are many. In the first place, to neutralize the malefice cast upon a sick person and thus cure him. He can even make individuals invulnerable to sicknesses.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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682 derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault. [614]

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when [593] his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a [578] monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. [763] In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to [825] shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, [625] however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer [697] and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is 682 no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The 593 only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, [266] crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as [762] he then cut his throat and died.

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old 683 *Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves 685 pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihí*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihí* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft [276] is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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754 [775] [825] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yaví*. The insect spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatárako* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcíkũ* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dáwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

• 682 278 824 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by the *lingua geral* term *marukimbáru*, and in Tucanoan by the term for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 824 754 682 *Koné nonedwaíye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poisoner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 824 682 [241] *Yapíbũ kowaíye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another cultivated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge. Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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When the rains come the abdomen swells. After days of steady rain the swollen abdomen bursts.

*Yokaihye* (leaf poison) is reputed to be so poisonous a leaf that it is never touched with the bare hand. The leaf is boiled in water and allowed to dry. Its powder is wrapped in a leafy bag and dipped in any liquid to form an infusion. Some of this liquid spilled on the victim leaves a black spot that quickly disappears. Shortly thereafter the victim dies.

*Pothaiye* is a berry poison. Its extract is put in chicha or at the end of a stick if it is to be poked up the victim's nose when he is asleep. It causes a slow death by wasting.

*Dyóka* is a forest plant that kills only children but will sicken adults. A moist packet is allowed to drip over the forehead of the sleeping victim. There is said to be a remedy for this.

There are many other *ihé* products that were not identified to me by name. Some, from the end of a stick, are inserted into the nostrils of a sleeper. People who specialize in this are night wanderers called *parébohe abúhuwa* (very powerful *abúhuwa*). They can see in the dark and are difficult to observe. They lack specific motive for their deeds and may be regarded as male witches. It is these witches who are tortured by having their flesh torn with fishhooks – one tear for each victim – when they are caught. 754 (683)

Another *ihé* product is *pené*, an ash that comes from a secret site 754 278 824 682

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Fig. 13. Petroglyph: *Kómi* playing the ancestral trumpet, Alligator (*Pedikwa* sib). (614)

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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754 278 824 682 at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale accounts for the origin of *pená*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekûpwönwa*. Suddenly *Kómi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kómi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kómi* told them to take him to a creek called *Manáukanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kómi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the Cuduiarí from Arawakan Indians by way of the Querari.

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278 824 Curare (*himá*) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only in war and not as a secret potion.

751 As a far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutcûdü*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

75 776 789 771 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man. The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

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Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. 754
Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine [753]
men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering [761]
mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning"
is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent
death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In 683
all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

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Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

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572 *hiko*'s marriage and he will expect to have been consulted so that he may consent to her marriage.

[775] Ceremonial friendship should be permanent, the Cubeo say. Whoever breaks it has become an enemy and his soul after death will be that of an insect and not of a human being. Marriage, of [574] course, separates *hikü* and *hiko*, but they visit one another, as do [431] brother and sister, bringing gifts, and they try to arrange the mar- [584] riage of their children to one another. The *hikü* has the first claim upon his *hiko*'s daughter as a bride for his son.

[431] Between members of the same sex, ceremonial friendship is also the equivalent of a blood sibling relationship except that they exchange gifts in a formal manner. Whereas a man has reason to suspect 572 that his own brother might commit adultery with his wife, he be- ● 684 lieves that his *hikü* will never cuckold him. Still, when it comes to adultery even ceremonial friends sometimes succumb. Adultery or even flirting with a ceremonial friend's spouse is a principal cause for a break in this otherwise very stable relationship. A ceremonial friend who has been wronged by his partner retaliates by entering the offender's house to break or carry off everything belonging to him except the hammock. This act of vandalism declares the friendship broken. Eternal animosity succeeds it. Women are less inclined 572 to seek a ceremonial friend among their own sex. When they do, they have acquired mainly a confidante. Since women are likely to be dispersed at marriage the pledge against adultery with one another's husband is of no great consequence.

Ceremonial friends advise and assist one another. They feel that they actually have more freedom in their relationship with each other than they do with their own siblings. This may be correct, but I suspect that the Indians exaggerate the closeness of the relationship when talking about it. Ceremonial friends give up the use of their normal kinship designations in favor of the more intimate term.

Most ceremonial friendships are based upon simple reciprocity and so are modeled very closely, or I should say precisely, upon the sibling relationship. They satisfy in the main the longings of youths just before marriage and apparently fade with age. I was told that not everyone has a ceremonial friend but I could get no figures on its extent. Some ceremonial friendships model themselves after unequal kinship relationships, such as uncle-aunt or nephew-niece and grandparent-grandchild. These, I gathered, were not common and were rather aberrant forms of the true relationship. An older man takes a little girl as his *hiko* and is content with an unbal-

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586 Divorce is easy and rather frequent during the early years of marriage. Most often it is the woman who leaves her husband, for the general reason that she does not like him and, more rarely, because he beats her. If a woman has no intention of going back to her husband she returns home, re-enters her parents' household, and her husband has no further claim upon her. If she is undecided, she claims the hospitality of a neighboring sib and awaits a reconciliation. A marriage is not officially severed, on the woman's part, unless she returns home. She cannot run away with another man and expect to avoid trouble. Men send wives away mainly because they are barren. [842] The Cubeo have no other official view of infertility than that the woman is using an abortifacient. They therefore tend to view barrenness as a hostile act. A wife who is asked to leave has no choice but to do so. Her grown children are expected to remain behind in their own sib, while the nursing baby accompanies the mother.

586 The most common source of marital discord that may also lead
• 684 to divorce is adultery. From quarrels that erupt during drinking parties the impression is created that adultery is very common. Almost invariably it is the woman who is blamed, partly because women commonly are sexually aggressive, and partly because that is the least disruptive view to take of the matter; it does least damage to the important male solidarity of the sib.

**BAHÚKIWA MARRIAGES**

614

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Byówa* | 14 | *Tatúyo* | 3 |
| Uanana | 7 | *Sriana* | 2 |
| *Miandwa* | 5 | *Bwébowa* | 1 |
| *Hürüwá* | 4 | *Hurédariwa* | 1 |
| *Korówa* | 4 | Karapana | 1 |
| *Yuriti* | 4 | *Piratapúyo* | 1 |
| *Djurémawa* | 3 | *Tóriawû* | 1 |
| *Konénteraboiwû* | 3 | | |

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684 Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatúyo*. In the case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

[754] Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless com-
[562] pounded by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery, never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel. An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the hus-
684 band or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman,
622 concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by
614 emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example
574 illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahúkiwa*, when intoxication was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Whereupon the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned. The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the proprieties of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to re-
684 quest coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger
622 unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the
834 errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

883 The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is re-
684 viled as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger
[562] at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kúwai*'s diffi-
[773] culties with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kúwai* crushes his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her manioc garden.

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Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *aiyá*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

## POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1949, p. 25), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

+ 539 /371 cont./
handed him only the leaf of tobacco and the coca already prepared, but not the seed of either of these two plants. When Yúpuri Baúro received the leaf of tobacco, it seemed to Yúpuri Baúro that the leaf of tobacco was a smoked fish. And as soon as Yúpuri Baúro received the leaf of tobacco that seemed to him to be a smoked fish, Pareroangó handed him the seed of coca. Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Pareroangó: "Did you ask Uaí Majsé for this coca seed?" Then Pareroangó answered him: "No, I stole this coca seed." Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Pareroangó: "What did Uaí Majsé say to you?" Then Pareroangó said: "Uaí Majsé asked me who had sent me to steal that coca?" Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Pareroangó: "And what did you say in answer to him?" Then Pareroangó answered: "I told Uaí Majsé
[685] that Yúpuri Baúro had sent me to steal that coca." Then Yúpuri Baúro said: "I do not want this stolen coca. Keep this coca." This is why the Tukano /Tucano/ now do not receive stolen articles and why thieves are pointed out among /372/ the Tukano. Then Yúpuri Baúro ordered Pareroangó to go to plant that seed. Then Pareroangó was very happy and went and planted the seed. And that same day the seed blossomed into a coca bush and produced a great deal of coca. Then Pareroangó returned to Diawí. Yúpuri Baúro continued to look at the smoked fish, convinced that it was a smoked fish, when in reality it was a leaf of tobacco. Pareroangó remained standing inside the maloca of Diawí and remained looking at Yúpuri Baúro to see what he would do with the leaf of tobacco that he held in his hands. Then Yúpuri Baúro thought: "This is not tobacco. Those are lies of Uaí Majsé." Then Yúpuri Baúro went to his room and took a piece of manioc bread and went out again to the center of the maloca of Diawí. Then Yúpuri Baúro began to eat the smoked fish. And just as soon as Yúpuri Baúro began to eat a little of this fish, the rest of the fish disappeared. And immediately Yúpuri Baúro went crazy and went out of the maloca of Diawí, running on all fours. And Yúpuri Baúro circled around the maloca of Diawí, running on all fours. And

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 501 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

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more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

## INHERITANCE

Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault. 682 [614]

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled. [593] [578] [763] [825] [625] [697]

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as he then cut his throat and died. 682 593 [266] [762]

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old *Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery. 683

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihí*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihí* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged. 685 [276]

/353 cont./

796 534 *778 [192] [562] [858]

Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kāsé.

/354/ The women and children who came to the feast, barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut themselves in (63),

[343]

63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarĩ-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩriá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

796 534 778 562 • 688

The guests then go toward that local landing place to which the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women, submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuára, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] [278] *[192]

The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ. Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

/468 cont./

565 but an admirable equality of rights and duties, as well as of prop-
567 erty and of work.

Various circumstances justify such inexistence of classes: 1st, it is a matter of numerically small groups; 2nd, the warm and humid climate, if it facilitates a supply of the necessary food at all /469/ times of the year, it does not allow an abundant pro-
[578] visioning and the development of riches. Now, where there are no rich people, there are no classes, neither masters nor slaves;
• [692] 3rd, the life in common, which the conditions introduced and tradition established; 4th, the fear of the envy that the well-being of one might cause in the others, and that so many times is manifested even in connection with the small inequalities (see V - 14); 5th, the lack of a tribunal to restore rights and indemnify damages.

3) Linguistic group.

a) Linguistic group.

619 Above the local Group, among the populations of the Amazonian Northwest, there is only the linguistic group. It is made up of several local groups, forming at times a total of thousands of individuals, with the following elements in common: 1st, they claim to be from one and the same tribe or nation and, therefore, consider themselves "brothers"; 2nd, they speak the same language; 3rd, marriage between them is definitely forbidden.

It is, then, a matter of an ethnic unit only. The groups that constitute it never gather together, they do not own property that might be said to be in common: house, land, fishing waters of such a tribe, etc. Because of the distances the relations between groups from different tribes are more frequent than between groups of the same tribe.

There is, then, no social or political organization of an entire tribe; and the elders do not recall of ever having heard of such an
[622] organization. There has indeed been some tuxaua with greater ascendancy and whom other tuxauas consulted and whose advice

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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Aiarí it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election – one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihi*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

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No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habóků* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kenámi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

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754 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the
694 hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle
[756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man
[622] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The headman is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused if he can refute the charges.

## WARFARE (*bwaino*)

721 People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one
[615] another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently ex-
[614] changed wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from Querarí killed Hũhũ, an old *Bahũkiwa* who was then living at Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the Querarí, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants, and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a plundering raid. When they killed Hũhũ and others in his house they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for
[614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a
[648] *Hehénewa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cuduiarí; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban, Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas raided the Cuduiarí annually during the dry season, when they could move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war
[114] alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert.
[723] I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

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682
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monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. [825]
In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, [625]
however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer [697]
and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is 682
no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The 593
only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, [266]
crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as [762]
he then cut his throat and died.

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old 683
*Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves 685
pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihí*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihí* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft [276]
is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

/469 cont./

619 they followed in the more serious questions that involved relations
622 with other tribes or with the whites. Each one, however, judging himself perfectly independent and even with very little power over the other men of his own maloca.

701 It consists, indeed, of the temporary union of several groups
622 for an aggressive or defensive military expedition under the orders of a single chief (106).

175 106. Thus the renowned Ajuricaba of the Manao
721 nation, with his two thousand bows, navigating
648 true fleets under the flag of Holland, hunted Indians
701 of other tribes in order to sell them as slaves to the Hollanders of Guiana (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario," n. 336). In 1858 Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 7, p. 86), narrating the episode of the "Cristo de Juquira" (cf. VII-4, b), estimates that a thousand persons from various localities and tribes gathered in Juquira in declared hostility to the civilized. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" of 1785), apropos of the legendary city of Manoa, vast captial of the Manao, explains to us that on the river Urubaxi where the Manao formerly were: "the reported aldeia /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ (irananauoca) did not have the qualities and greatnesses that the city of Manoa paraded, because, notwithstanding that all these were confederated, their aldeias were nevertheless independent of one another and many of them as populous as Irananauoca."

622 /470/ There has never been a true authority, but only the
797 ascendancy of one tuxaua over the others. This is more or less the present situation of a Missionary, and, with certain reservations, we can speak of a hypertuxauaship.

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# 6

## *Leadership and Authority*

Leadership among the Cubeo follows a principle that tends to understate authority. This principle asserts that leadership derives from giving more than one receives. Authoritarian relationships, by contrast, follow an opposing principle, that of receiving more than one gives. Authority, to be sure, can be established on a personal basis of personality and prowess. However, societies that have developed strong authority systems have usually done so by economic means, by inequality in the flow of goods. An authority system based on unequal flow of goods upward, from the community to a chief, is likely to respond quickly to economic development, and at the same time to foster economic growth. The Cubeo theory effectively minimizes the economic impact of leadership. The principle of greater flow to the top creates the condition for an expanding economic-political system, whereas the principle of greater flow from the top down creates the conditions for a static political-economic system. The economic role of the Cubeo headman is confined largely to stimulating the production of chicha. In short, the Cubeo headman gives all of his effort and ability to the community. The community, for its part, has no obligation to give anything to him. Since he has no authority to command economic productivity, for he is not an economic redistributor, he is devoid of significant economic function. At the same time the headman is a secular figure; he has no greater magical or religious powers than any other and so he is lacking in sacred authority. He may be a war leader, but he need not be; and even when he is a war leader, it is a very small party that he commands. Thus,

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622 571 433 the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

622 554 The two terms, *habókü* and *kenámi upákü*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókü* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment [592] is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákü*, on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókü* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókü*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókü* attributes. Thus 622 614 554 not all headmen qualify as *habókü*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, such as the *Órabawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókü* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókü* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókü* as headman. Not every *habókü* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the head- [701] man. In time of war the *habókü* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

622 614 554 301 292 In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókü* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókü* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókü*. The *Bahúkiwa* define *habókü* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókü*.[1]

[114] [565] [1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 396) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.

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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character
[342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupian influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor.
[596] The Tupian intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu-
[553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social segments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into
[614] one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are
[796] founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kúwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yaví*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul-
197 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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621 512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712 [361] In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise attack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were confident they left the women and children behind in the house with a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

712 725 [123]

361 504 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza. Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be allowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504 574 [417] [576] 504 796 [778]

504 833 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital

/199 cont./

*192 178 411 [276] war expeditions with their tangapemas, and in order to become invisible to the enemies and invulnerable to their blows, they painted themselves with the juice of the batata uxpí. Moreover, they smoked a big cigar called uxpí-mõrõ, decorated with symbolic paintings, in order to become more courageous.

Koch Grünberg still found some clubs or tangapemas in the Namakoliba maloca, upper Uaupés (Zwei Jahre, 301). They were of a dark red wood, measuring 112 centimeters in length, with the handle painted and the other end wider. The Kubêwana and related tribes used them then for the dances and occasionally also as a seat in the canoe. It may be concluded that the war club of the Omawa is proof of the eastern origin of this Karaíba tribe, because it is similar to that of the tribes of the Guianas. Actually, among these tribes the upper end of the club terminates in a sharp point, in order to run through the fallen enemy, with a coup de grâce, in the temple or in the ear.

178 714 535 *192 b) In battle, moreover, they formerly used a shield, called in Tukano baxtí-pá:karo; it was woven out of cipo and was very light, but efficient against arrows. Today it is rarely seen and, up to the beginning of this century (information from Pe. João Marchesi), was used as dance attire, which they wore on the left arm when they went to drink their cuia /gourd/ of kaxpí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2) ).

c) Likewise only a dance implement today (as far as we could observe) is the lance, yõxsẽrĩ-phĩ, which essentially is only a heavy rounded stick about two meters in length and ending in a sharp point. They use it in the dabacurí dances, and the "golpe-ao-branco" /blow to the white/ is performed with it (cf. VII -- 4, e (2 and 3) ).

177 178 411 *[192] 2) Bow. The only indigenous weapons of present-day use, and, even so, of very limited use on the Uaupés, are the bow and the sarabatana /blowgun/. The tribes farthest in the interior of the forests, with few or no relations with the civilized, use them more. On the other hand, contact with civilization supplied the natives with shotgun, machetes, and axes, which, unfortunately, are used in the fights and reciprocal vengeance.

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pared. The defense leader was the headman's son. An earlier alarm had already brought the Independents to the main house and a boy had been sent to call in the Satellites and to warn the neighboring sibs. The headman's son, after a hasty consultation with the other young adults, decided upon a psychological defense. He fetched a police officer's discarded white tunic with brass buttons and shoulder straps that he had been cherishing, put it on over his bare body, and strode out to frighten the enemey. The women and children were assembled in the maloca with one man as their guard. Other men fanned out through the manioc gardens and into the surrounding brush to search out the enemy. One stray shot was fired by a defender. The house was kept under guard for several nights thereafter and then the danger was declared past. 721 723

An attack by the Cariban Umaua (*Maúnwa*) that occurred three generations ago is still vividly recalled. The *Bahúkiwa*, warned that the enemy was ascending the Cuduiarí by canoe, prepared an ambush. They dammed the river with the bark sheeting of house walls and waited to assail the enemy with bow and arrow. But the enemy were armed with rifles and they killed a great many of the *Bahúkiwa*. 726 648 [173]

When the attackers first came, the Indians on the Cuduiarí did not know whether they were men or women, because they wore their hair long and were dressed in long shirts. The Umaua attacks were so fierce that for several years the Indians were forced to abandon the Cuduiarí altogether. Some gave up farming and lived on the savannah, foraging fruits and nuts and eating tree bark. When they finally returned to the Cuduiarí, the manioc plantations were all gone and they had to resume manioc cultivations from seeds they had preserved. The other Indians of the Cuduiarí gathered on the Vaupés under the direction of a *Hehénewa* war leader, who told them that the white man would save them from their enemies. He made a clay image called a *tupana* (the Tupían and lingua franca for a deity). They danced and sang for two months, until a Colombian came. The idea of the *tupana* came, they say, from a Brazilian caboclo. When the Colombian arrived, he told them that he had heard their singing in Bogotá and had come to rescue them. They then returned to their former homes on the Cuduiarí. 648 722 648 [789] [177]

In past years raids were more frequent and determined.[8] The Cubeo fought with bow and arrow and protected themselves with body-length shields of stiffened animal hide, deer, jaguar, or tapir. The 726 411 714 [648]

[8] Tribes with whom the Indians of the Cuduiarí claim to have fought include the Cariban Umaua, all the formerly Arawakan sibs of the Querarí River, tribes of the Isana River, and the *Hehénewa*, after they had arrived from the Papurí.

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411 shields rested on the ground and the men fired their arrows from
714 behind them.

At a victory dance the men wore the smoked genitals of the killed
727 warriors over their own genitals as an ornamental trophy. After the
266 dance the women were offered the penises to eat for fertility. Except
[842] for the intestines, deemed not fit to eat, the enemies were consumed at a sib feast and drinking party. The head, limbs, liver, and heart were spit roasted, the rest of the meat was boiled.

/102 cont./

* 101 The Oá-mahã are lighter in complexion and more slender
[142] than the Tukano. Dark brown or black hair, fine, sometimes wavy. Face more elongated than among the Tukano, also more delicate features and light eyes.

[582] They likewise observe tribal exogamy, and we know of marriages with the Tuyuka, Bará, and Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It seems that at present all of them live in Colombian territory between the headwaters of the rivers Tiquié and Papurí.

The Pamõá-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) mention the Oá-mahã as a division of their own tribe. We do not know whether it is a matter of the present tribe, as seems more probable by the location, or if it is actually only a division of the Tatú /armadillo/, with this name of Oá (gambá).

3) Divisions -- The informant did not know how to indicate them.

o) PÁBOA-MAXSÃ OR TATÚ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- In their own idiom, which belongs to the Tukano family of languages (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/"), they call themselves Páboa-maxsã, corresponding to the Tukano denomination Pamõá-maxsã or Tatú /armadillo/ people.

[142] /103/ Lighter in complexion than the Tukano, and also taller and more slender. Dark brown hair, ovoid face, light eyes, fine lips, high nose.

[582] We know of matrimonial ties with the Bará and the Karapanã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Presently they live in the
[721] region embraced between the headwaters of the Áua (one of
[648] the sources of the Papurí) and the river Pirá-paraná. About 20
[266] years ago there were encounters and reciprocal massacres between the Tatú-tapuyas and Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/, and even episodes of anthropophagy are remembered, which are explained, it seems, by special hate and reprisals.

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121 It is probable that such a practice, in origin, is due to the
266 lack of food. Nevertheless, later, because of the whole orientation of the mentality of primitive man, it came to take on a magical character. One must, then, distinguish economic cannibalism and ritual cannibalism.

/375/ 1. Economic cannibalism.

In economic cannibalism the flesh of enemies, fresh or preserved by various processes that they know, is usually consumed; this is exoanthropophagy. Hence expeditions of war to provide human flesh.

266 This is what Wallace tells us (o. c. 638) about the Kubewana:
--"On the Uaupés only the Cubeus /Cubeo/ are truly cannibals.
721 They eat those of the other tribes whom they kill in battle. In order to obtain human flesh still fresh, they even make war for this single purpose. When the meat exceeds what they can eat at one time, they dry it and smoke it on the fire, and thus it can be stored for a long time. They burn the heads of the dead ones and drink their ashes with caxirí in the same way that has already been described above."

As for the Kubewana or other tribes of the Uaupés, this information obtained by Wallace seems false to us. Perhaps in turn
[727] based on Wallace is Bento de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha,
[567] Director of the "Archivo do Amazonas" (1907, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 80), in his article entitled "As explorações e os exploradores do Uaupés /The explorations and the explorers of the Uaupés/," where he also affirms: -- "When they take a prisoner in war, if it is a man, they massacre, if it is a woman or a young man, they sell, when they find a buyer, otherwise they kill and eat, dividing the pieces among everyone in the tribe."

266 The encounters and reprisals that took place about twenty
648 years ago between the Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/
726 and the natives of the banks of the Cananari, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, are still remembered (information by the Colombian Napoleão Estrada, in November of 1953, and by others). Still

/469 cont./

619 they followed in the more serious questions that involved relations
622 with other tribes or with the whites. Each one, however, judging himself perfectly independent and even with very little power over the other men of his own maloca.

701 It consists, indeed, of the temporary union of several groups
622 for an aggressive or defensive military expedition under the orders of a single chief (106).

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106. Thus the renowned Ajuricaba of the Manao nation, with his two thousand bows, navigating true fleets under the flag of Holland, hunted Indians of other tribes in order to sell them as slaves to the Hollanders of Guiana (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario," n. 336). In 1858 Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 7, p. 86), narrating the episode of the "Cristo de Juquira" (cf. VII-4, b), estimates that a thousand persons from various localities and tribes gathered in Juquira in declared hostility to the civilized. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" of 1785), apropos of the legendary city of Manoa, vast captial of the Manao, explains to us that on the river Urubaxi where the Manao formerly were: "the reported aldeia /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ (irananauoca) did not have the qualities and greatnesses that the city of Manoa paraded, because, notwithstanding that all these were confederated, their aldeias were nevertheless independent of one another and many of them as populous as Irananauoca."

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797 ascendancy of one tuxaua over the others. This is more or less the present situation of a Missionary, and, with certain reservations, we can speak of a hypertuxauaship.

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regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5). 361 554

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence. 361 554 648. 177

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiari, for example, a trail leads to the Querari. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker. 487 [721] [481]

## SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 400 baskets (50–60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahiliawa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller. 621 311 453 244 [622]

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another—architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. 621 592 [162] [342] [578]

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615 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their
614 part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hier-
614 archical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social struc-
554 ture and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither, as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo.
[301] Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of
[177] seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that
[721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political au-
614 thority over the entire Cuduiarí.

The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point
[613] whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old
[867] man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

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754 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the
694 hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle
[756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man
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721 many more people lived there. We are told by Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his
727 neighbour. *Malocas* were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were knocked to the ground with wooden clubs which the Indians still have today, their bodies hacked to pieces, their forearms used to stir the *chicha* and the armbones later made into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the sexual organs were eaten by the headman's wife to ensure brave offspring. even the bones were boiled into broth and the orgy continued until the cannibals had completed their spoil and the *chicha* had run dry.

Such a description of warfare and cannibalism would not fit the Indian who lives in the Piraparaná today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the
[178] daily life we saw in their *malocas*. We found the Indian's day measured by a peaceful regularity.

512 Slowly the great house comes to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *maloca* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-screen door and eases it up to its hook like a portcullis, then saunters leisurely out into the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the *maloca*, still only vague shapes in the gathering light as they prepare cassava, pick up the water pots and go down to the river to bathe.

[264] The men returning from the river squat on their haunches on the low
[262] stools in the centre of the *maloca*, and without any ceremony consume their breakfast of cassava bread, manioc juice and probably some leftovers from the previous night – boiled fish or a piece of bush pig. The women, who have eaten separately with the children, collect their large manioc baskets and leave
[482] for the *chagra*, the forest clearing where they grow their crops. The baskets are slung from a strip of sapling bark across the forehead; they hold their babies on their hips, walking rapidly, almost awkwardly – the Indian woman's gait is not a graceful one. Children run along beside them, some
[855] affectionately holding the hands of their mothers, others playing. A few of
[857] the elder children return to the river to fish, and some of the men go off in
[226] pairs to hunt and fish, while others move off to collect coca leaves from their *chagras*.

249 The Piraparaná has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the river and its tributaries are one of the few remaining strongholds of the drug in north-west Amazonia. Carrying no more than their small coca pouches and the basket for the leaves, five or six men, led by the headman, go down to the stream, perhaps taking a drink and washing themselves before they climb up the far bank. They move along a path through the thick vegetation of an old *chagra* fallen into disuse. Although an occasional banana or *pupuña* palm

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621
512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712 In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner
[361] zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the foothridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise at-
712 tack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the
•725 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were
[123] confident they left the women and children behind in the house with a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach
504 where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza.
504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state
574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests
[417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be al-
[576] lowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men
504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning
796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe
[778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital
833

/158 cont./

627
628
*[192]
[797]

/footnote 29 cont./ natives instead use the Portuguese verb with the Tukano ending: perdoáya (you forgive), perdoápõ (I forgave).

He thinks about revenge, and there are numerous episodes /159/ demonstrating that he waits patiently for years for the opportunity, and they take long trips for the purpose of executing revenge.

*[192]

It is an imprescriptible obligation, that of vengeance, a'mẽ-wehẽ, incumbent on the group, for one of its members killed or wounded by some civilized man or Indian of another tribe. Vengeance will also be taken within the tribe against a native of another subdivision, and even against one's own blood brother. If he does not execute the vengeance in some case, it is because he is afraid of counter-vengeance (malefice).

576

In appearance the Indian is very peaceful. One does not hear the natives quarreling among themselves in loud voices, even when it seems to us that there are reasons for it. They even seem very polite among themselves. When, in a group of natives, one among them gave, let us suppose, incorrect information (it should be noted that they do not like to state: I do not know, I am not sure of that), the others do not at the time correct the inaccuracy or mistake. Perhaps one of those present, when he is alone with the civilized, will on request rectify the erroneous information.

726

There is no recollection, except for the legends, of war among the various tribes (30).

*[192]

30. In October of 1947, a few days before our visit to the maloca of the Makú, about six kilometers from Iauareté, on the occasion of a caxiri (celebration with drinking), a machete fight took place among them, during which one Indian died and several were seriously hurt. In January of 1948 in this same maloca there was dissension of

/159 cont./

726 /footnote 30 cont./ greater importance, and a true fight with sticks, machetes, and arrows took place between the Maku and the Taryana, again on the occasion of a caxirí.

578 There are, however, frequent fights for economic reasons (attacks on a clearing, cacurí, etc.). Not rarely there are quarrels due to intrigues, and the greater percentage of these happen among the women.

For revenge among themselves, the opportunity is drunkenness (31),

31. In order to have greater courage "he will get intoxicated," said one from Colombia. For this reason there are never duels among them. It is not reported either that they might engage in wrestling for exercise. During the fights they use any object that they have handy, machete, mortar, bow, etc., or even a shotgun!

and beforehand they invite for the celebrations those from whom they might want to get satisfaction. After this, even when the consequence is the victim's death, nothing in the Indian reveals repentance or remorse (32).

32. Years ago, in 1933, an episode of revenge with circumstances of special cruelty took place. In Ananaz, on the lower Uaupés, the Tukano killed two Desana men, cut a boy in half from the shoulder to the legs. The ones accused were taken to S. Gabriel (today the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ town of Uaupés) and questioned by the Inspector of the S.P.I. (Serviço de Proteção ao Índio). Without difficulty they confessed to the crime. -- But why did you kill them? -- "That is the way it is" was the only answer.

/374 cont./

121 It is probable that such a practice, in origin, is due to the
266 lack of food. Nevertheless, later, because of the whole orientation of the mentality of primitive man, it came to take on a magical character. One must, then, distinguish economic cannibalism and ritual cannibalism.

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In economic cannibalism the flesh of enemies, fresh or preserved by various processes that they know, is usually consumed; this is exoanthropophagy. Hence expeditions of war to provide human flesh.

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721 --"On the Uaupés only the Cubeus /Cubeo/ are truly cannibals. They eat those of the other tribes whom they kill in battle. In order to obtain human flesh still fresh, they even make war for this single purpose. When the meat exceeds what they can eat at one time, they dry it and smoke it on the fire, and thus it can be stored for a long time. They burn the heads of the dead ones and drink their ashes with caxirí in the same way that has already been described above."

As for the Kubewana or other tribes of the Uaupés, this information obtained by Wallace seems false to us. Perhaps in turn
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• 726 and the natives of the banks of the Cananari, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, are still remembered (information by the Colombian Napoleão Estrada, in November of 1953, and by others). Still

/375 cont./

266 in 1954 we heard mention of four Colombians murdered, "smoked,"
648 and eaten by the Pamõã-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) Indians of this
726 region; and of how they particularly coveted the legs and feet of the victims. Accepting the accuracy of the news, however, it seems that it is a matter of special irritation and vengeance, and not of anthropophagy as a traditional habit, much less of bellicose attempts for the purpose of obtaining human flesh.

266 Koch Grünberg in various passages of his work Zwei Iahre speaks of the cannibalism of the Hyanakoto. He is, however, only reporting information by natives, and the Hyanakoto are Karaíba and reside outside the area that we are studying here. We have
266 also heard natives of various tribes speak of anthropophagous
829 Indians (94).

94. The Kumãdene tuxaua of Urubucuara, Mandú, knowing that we had made a long excursion by way of the headwaters of the river Tiquié, presented two very interesting questions: whether we had met the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ anthropophagous Indians and whether we had seen the tailed Indians. We answered both questions negatively, and we took the opportunity to ask him whether by chance he too had already seen them, who they were, and where they lived. He also answered us that he did not know, he had only heard such things mentioned.

An old Tukano /376/ from Pari-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, informed us that there are three cannibal tribes, or Baári-maxsã-ré, that is: 1st -- the Yai-peri maxsã, 2nd -- the Píti-yároa, 3rd -- the Yõũrwá, and that they live "up there," that is, on the headwaters of the river Tiquié.

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726 shields rested on the ground and the men fired their arrows from
411 behind them.
714

At a victory dance the men wore the smoked genitals of the killed
727 warriors over their own genitals as an ornamental trophy. After the
266 dance the women were offered the penises to eat for fertility. Except
[842] for the intestines, deemed not fit to eat, the enemies were consumed at a sib feast and drinking party. The head, limbs, liver, and heart were spit roasted, the rest of the meat was boiled.

/374 cont./

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726 and the natives of the banks of the Cananari, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, are still remembered (information by the Colombian Napoleão Estrada, in November of 1953, and by others). Still

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411 shields rested on the ground and the men fired their arrows from
714 behind them.

At a victory dance the men wore the smoked genitals of the killed
727 warriors over their own genitals as an ornamental trophy. After the
266 dance the women were offered the penises to eat for fertility. Except
[842] for the intestines, deemed not fit to eat, the enemies were consumed at a sib feast and drinking party. The head, limbs, liver, and heart were spit roasted, the rest of the meat was boiled.

721 many more people lived there. We are told by Robuchón that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his 727 neighbour. *Malocas* were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were knocked to the ground with wooden clubs which the Indians still have today, their bodies hacked to pieces, their forearms used to stir the *chicha* and the armbones later made into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the sexual organs were eaten by the headman's wife to ensure brave offspring. even the bones were boiled into broth and the orgy continued until the cannibals had completed their spoil and the *chicha* had run dry.

Such a description of warfare and cannibalism would not fit the Indian who lives in the Piraparaná today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the [178] daily life we saw in their *malocas*. We found the Indian's day measured by a peaceful regularity.

512 Slowly the great house comes to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *maloca* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-screen door and eases it up to its hook like a portcullis, then saunters leisurely out into the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the *maloca*, still only vague shapes in the gathering light as they prepare cassava, pick up the water pots and go down to the river to bathe.

[264] The men returning from the river squat on their haunches on the low [262] stools in the centre of the *maloca*, and without any ceremony consume their breakfast of cassava bread, manioc juice and probably some leftovers from the previous night – boiled fish or a piece of bush pig. The women, who have eaten separately with the children, collect their large manioc baskets and leave [482] for the *chagra*, the forest clearing where they grow their crops. The baskets are slung from a strip of sapling bark across the forehead; they hold their babies on their hips, walking rapidly, almost awkwardly – the Indian woman's gait is not a graceful one. Children run along beside them, some [855] affectionately holding the hands of their mothers, others playing. A few of [857] the elder children return to the river to fish, and some of the men go off in [226] pairs to hunt and fish, while others move off to collect coca leaves from their *chagras*.

249 The Piraparaná has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the river and its tributaries are one of the few remaining strongholds of the drug in north-west Amazonia. Carrying no more than their small coca pouches and the basket for the leaves, five or six men, led by the headman, go down to the stream, perhaps taking a drink and washing themselves before they climb up the far bank. They move along a path through the thick vegetation of an old *chagra* fallen into disuse. Although an occasional banana or *pupuña* palm

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/footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the complaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance, and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

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7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

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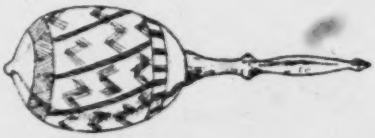
755 [533] [534] often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), regarded as a magic instrument.



*[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

[797] [753] 23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirã-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

756 731 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses, epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiari, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiari there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamiwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

/75 cont./

14 They are certainly not types of beauty, and some, with
• 732 old age and wrinkles, become frankly ugly. Among the eight or ten thousand individuals we saw, however, none were deformed (12).

12. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 179) in Parí-cachoeira met a midget, about 15 or 18 years old and measuring 107 centimeters in height, playing with the children. His parents, already dead (1903), were of normal stature.

Among the youngest there are even attractive types, and on the
[847] older ones touches of a serene majesty. It is true that the crippled and the deformed are eliminated at birth (cases that are rare, according to what we found) (13).

13. We know of several cases of crippling. Because of the lack of statistics, we could not say what percentage they represent in the sparse population of these rivers. It seemed to us, however, that they are all consequences of falls while young, or of infantile paralysis.

14 We have thus sketched a Mongoloid type, brachycephalic, lissotrichous, platyrrhinian, slightly prognathic, morphologically mixed, pyknico-athletic, quite close to the norm.

732 /76/ There are somewhat frequent cases of evolutive retardation in early childhood, and even of true rachitis, accompanied at times by mental debility (14).

14. We also regret here the lack of statistical data that would present to us the percentage of pathological cases. We found in Parí-cachoeira in 1957 two female children with rachitis and mental debility, admitted to the hospital. One eight years old from the Desana tribe, and the other, Tukano, 14 years old. Both,

/76 cont./

732 /footnote 14 cont./ due to weakness of the organs, were not able to walk until fi years of age, after long treatment. Among the cases of pronounced hebetude, we recall two adults of the male sex, one from the Huhúdẽne tribe in Uapuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí), and the other a Taryana of Iauareté, known as Marcelino, "Contented," because he laughs at anything.

481 Completing this profile, it should be noted that they are slow of movement, at times clumsy in their way of walking. They walk with a short step (15),

15. In the military formations of the children, at one of the schools of the Salesian Missions, we could verify the tendency to accelerate the march.

like small jumps; many drag slightly and set the tip of the toes apart laterally, and the heel barely touches the ground.

516 They do not remain on their feet very long, almost always leaning more on one foot (the left one) and just on the tip of the other one. The woman withstands being on her feet less than the man. The most common and lasting position, when still, is the squat; it is the normal position for eating, even when they could do it sitting down. When they sit, they prefer low seats or the ground, and then they never cross the legs.

Let us now note some features that vary in this profile that we have sketched.

2) Pirá-tapuya type.

142 144 Skin lighter than in the Tukano, and face slightly or markedly elongated. Zygoma less prominent. Lissotrichous hair, lighter brown.

/426 cont./

842 The interval, as we have already noted, is regularly two or three years between deliveries.

1) Abortion and infanticide.

847 In spite of the fact that they want children, they induce abortion and practice infanticide. When the sterilizing potions have not been enough, they resort to abortion; for this there are the Puçangas, which the woman herself or her mother-in-law prepares. When these are not successful either, the mechanical process is tried, in order to kill the fetus and abort it, going so far as stepping on the belly of the pregnant woman. And if, in spite of this, the unwanted child is born alive, it is eliminated, being buried alive (36).

[115] 36. The Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, with a tirociny of almost 40 years among the tribes of the Uaupés, stigmatizes "the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn children, suffocating them as if it were being done to any little animal" (ap. Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 26).

And as a rule it will be the mother herself who will do it. Perhaps the burial alive indicates a certain feeling, conceiving it as a pleasanter death. In fact they line the grave delicately with banana leaves (37).

[115] 37. Among the most repugnant is the episode narrated by Pe. Afonso Kuipers, which happened in the povoado of Africa, left bank of the Papúri,
[732] Colombia. A child of about eight years of age, deformed with a huge head, was buried standing up; and since the grave was small, the mother stepped on the head, out of the ground, "in order to bury more and not continue crying."

/419 cont./

462 conversation with other men for long hours (26).

[517] 26. At other times she might be gaily conversing while the man is working.

611 She is a foreigner, without any right over her children. They belong to the husband, or rather to the tribe of the husband. If by
• 736 chance she becomes a widow, she may continue to live in the maloca, and she will ordinarily do so, especially if she is aged and cannot expect another marriage. Or she will return to her tribe, without, however, taking the children with her. With the hypothesis that her husband had a separate house or one in the vicinity of another tribe, the relatives from the husband's tribe will come to take the orphans to their own maloca. If any of the orphans are still /420/ babies at the breast, perhaps they will await until the child can dispense with maternal care, and then they will irrevocably take them away.

587 When it was a matter of her marrying, an exchange or indemnification was negotiated, without her being consulted. Upon establishing her new home, she had the customary test of a beating, and perhaps, due to the bad character of the husband, many others might follow, against which she could never react. Accord-
264 ing to the tribal customs, she will never eat with the husband; she
593 takes out her portion and it is only after he and his friends and guests are satisfied and leave the place that she will take her food.

All this causes surprise, especially if we observe the importance
462 of her "atelier"; that is, it is she who performs the tasks necessary for life: she plants the clearing, works with the mandioca, which constitutes the indispensable daily dish, weaves the hammocks for sleeping, makes the vessels for water, prepares the caxiris and the cooking.

593 We leave, Deo volente, for a monograph the study of the indications of a matriarchalist civilization among the Uaupesina tribes. For now we shall say, with the students who have

/427 cont./

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/footnote 40 cont./ out whether some pajé, who foresaw the sex of the child to be born, might have intervened in the case.

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3rd. -- That of twin children. One of the two will be eliminated; usually the second one, unless another reason counsels the contrary. For example, they will preferably eliminate the defective one, or the girl. It seems that the reason for this crime is the difficulty, for the mother, of raising two children simultaneously, with all the work that falls to her; and no other reason of magical or superstitious character (41).

[797]

41. The Missionaries have managed to save and raise some twins, and, when grown, that is, after four or five years, the parents receive them willingly, or rather they demand them.

Patrícia Vasconcelos said that the husband beats the wife when she gives birth to twin children.

[736]

Nevertheless this different way of acting causes surprise: when a child becomes orphaned by losing its mother, it will not be killed, but will pass into the care of another woman. When, on the other hand, it is a matter of twins, no woman will take on the burden of raising one of the newborn children, even when there is some newly lactating mother who has just lost her child (42).

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42. Pe. Antonio Giacone confirms this, saying that he saw new mothers emptying their breasts, or nursing some little dog, rather than feed someone else's child (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 53).

Even in these cases there does not appear to be any superstitious motive, but only the selfishness of the women and no friendship at all between them. If they take care of the orphan, it is due to the inviolable imposition of the irrevocable customs of the tribe.

[736]

/435 cont./

858 The girl, although destined to leave the nation and, as a wife, to establish a family in another tribe, is, however, an element of great economic value for her parents. In some cases [648] the parents hand her over to the civilized for domestic service, [466] in exchange for suitable recompense; upon her reaching puberty, however, they will go fetch her for the initiation rite and later for marriage, according to the customs of the tribe (54).

[115] 54. Pe. Humberto Limpens mentioned to us a case that happened shortly before 1947. Until the time of the marriage the girl remained working with the whites. The father had permitted this as payment for a shotgun.

736 If, by chance, an individual dies, leaving children in another povoado or maloca, one of his "brothers" (it might be a close relative, the tuxaua, or someone else), undertaking a long trip, if necessary, will go to look for the orphans, whose support and education will be entrusted to him.

866 The spirit of freedom in which the children are raised is extraordinarily great. They go wherever they desire, without permission from the parents or even notice beforehand (55).

[115] [648] 55. Frei Laureano da Cruz narrates how an imprudence by the capitão João Palácios, in the so-called "Província dos Encabelados" /Province of the Hairy Ones/ (because the Indians wore very long hair), aroused the resentment of the natives, who killed the capitão and many civilized. And he explains: "They are such a noble people that they will not tolerate a snap of the fingers, even from their own parents" ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 99).

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621
coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the 614
governor of exogamy (Kirchoff, 1931). In a sense this seems to be true 591
of the Cubeo as well.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of 621
the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters 614
and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She 589
prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed 592
chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the [591]
entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in
sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* genera-
tion mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage 621
partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The 614
boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sib- 589
ling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Be- 592
cause of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age 582
mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not
marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they
wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy
reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How
can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman
thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be em-
barrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The
widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her
children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and
so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably
not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had 621
come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of 736
his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people 588
called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awk- 614
ward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only com- [591]
munity exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has 621
grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib ex- 614
ogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The 582
Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They 571
have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them
into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly
friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers"
and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a
community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those
of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient,
or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

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others. I doubt that any nonsharing goes unobserved and I expect 261
that the nonsharer is not too concerned with being unobserved. Often 183
enough, boys will quarrel about the distribution of food, but never 571
with a nonsharer. They sense the significance of the gesture and are 431
embarrassed by it, waiting for the delinquent to finish. He rejoins them and their play resumes as though nothing had happened. Elders will not correct nonsharing among children because they regard what the boys do in the play pack as a matter of no adult concern. I was never aware that the children themselves ever rebuked or punished a nonsharer in their midst. The nonsharer always received his portion. The play pack leader, who does not hesitate to censure a member for indecent sexual behavior, is comfortable in his role as a giver and will not censure a nongiver. He understands, to be sure, that nonsharing is a form of deliberate estrangement from the intimacies of the group, but he also knows that no headman will censure a household head who chooses to become an Independent or a Satellite. Similarly, the nonsharer may estrange himself from the play pack but the play pack will not ostracize him. Among the *Bahükiwa* the flagrant nonsharer was also the boy who ran away during the ancestral whipping rites. Every example of a case of nonsharing that came to my attention (five or six only) was that of a boy who had no
father. Orphan boys are deprived of one of the more pleasurable in- [736]
timacies of receiving a portion of fish or game that a father brings
home. A man's son is the first to greet him when he beaches his canoe. [593]
He is given a fish or a bit of meat, which he prepares by broiling or baking and shares with his play pack. He has the status of a giver. The orphan child, in these circumstances, has the lower status of a receiver and is denied a food intimacy. The nonsharer acknowledges at the same time a status of subordination as well as of estrangement.

Among adults, nonsharing is more disturbing and more consequential. A man who does not share food eventually refuses to do his
share of work. Such a person is called "one who does nothing." A [578]
household head who is angry or out of sorts will not join the sib meal but will gather his family around him at the household hearth for a private meal. A mood is respected and the incident passes with little notice. If it is repeated, it is assumed that the nonsharer will soon move out and become an Independent. Nonsharing does become a touchy issue when food is scarce. We were experiencing hungry days during the height of the rainy season, most meals consisting of manioc cake dipped in peppers, fortified occasionally with a minnow. One late afternoon a household head entered the maloca with a

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593 to his father for personal attention. On the whole, a child is at a greater disadvantage if it has lost a parent of its own sex, that is, a girl with a stepmother, a boy with a stepfather. A girl with a stepmother has a hard life of chores and of open neglect. A boy with a stepfather does not have a hard life at all in the material sense. He is deprived more subtly of intimacy with a paternal figure, and this usually shows itself in his own reserve with respect to his fellows. If he has no father at all the effect upon his personality is even more marked.

593 My direct acquaintance with the situation of a true orphan is 736 limited to the observation of one case among the *Bahúkiwa*. This [597] was a girl from another tribe who had lost both parents and was adopted by the *Bahúkiwa* headman as his "daughter." The little girl, about nine, was addressed as "daughter" but held the status in the household of a servant. She took on the heaviest chores and was almost never free to play. Her lowly status was truly stigmatized by [301] her lack of possessions. She was the only child among the Cubeo whom I had ever seen unadorned, until I gave her a necklace which [123] she was allowed to keep. The children of the household enjoyed beating her as a way of teasing her, rather than wickedly. She took their pinchings and cuffings good-naturedly, on the whole, and had learned to pretend not to notice. Once, in the presence of the headman, her "father," the children were overdoing their teasing. She looked imploringly at the headman. Finally, she caught his eye and he said to her, "It is all right for you to run away." He saw no need to reprimand his own children.

[114] In reading Giacone (1949) on the Tucano tribe I found my observations on orphans corroborated. He, too, reported that orphans do not lack food but that they appear to be melancholy.

## CEREMONIAL FRIENDSHIP

572 193 A parallel to the brother-sister relationship is the *hikū-hiko* relationship, a ceremonial friendship. These terms, formed by combining the possessive prefix with the gender suffix, connote a relationship of exceptional closeness. The linguistic significance of possessive prefix and gender suffix for kinship terms has already been brought out. The curious feature of *hikū* and *hiko* is that these terms are composed of the two intimate-indicating particles.[8] The ceremonial

[8] *Hi* is also the verb stem "to give," but if *hikū* were translated as "giver"—a feasible rendering—it should be possible to say *hihikū*. But this form does not exist.

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pared. Other men picked up the horns and danced. The whipping could not begin before dark and it was evident that the man preparing the switch was working slowly so as not to finish too soon. The deliberation of his movements added to the apprehension of the boys. As the last rays of light in the doorway faded, the boys suddenly leaped from the bench and bolted out of the house. The man who was preparing the whip ran to the doorway and shouted at them to come back. All but one returned. The boy who did not return was a fatherless orphan and a maverick who did not share foraged food with his age mates.

The boys took their seats again and the men resumed dancing with the ancestor horns. They danced until the house was pitch black. A taper was lighted and *Buu*, represented by the senior member of the initiating group, stepped forward. He dragged the first boy to

Fig. 9. *Bahúkiwa* boy.

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224 252 animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

[262] 264 574 737 [252]

264 Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped upon the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

[222] [252] [222]

261 574 Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahúkiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kuriáhü* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kúria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kúria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the insertions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kúria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*duwáiyo*) and crystals (*kenádox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *duwaitüwü* (to extract spines). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the poisons that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *yaví*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *yaví*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted

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● 75 776 789 771 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man. The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do. 771 776 789

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal. 771 778 [82] [171]

Genipa (*vei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness. 302 778 302 789 778 [841]

Red pigment (*monhá*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yawí*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedídya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical. 832 778

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose. 796 778 [789]

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, [illegible] case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the sam[illegible] rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colon[illegible]n Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
302 esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting o[illegible]
•[751] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is
[413] simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

/287 cont./

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/footnote 42 cont./ time he suffers periodic attacks, and for this reason he is afraid of painting himself for the dances, although he participates in them as Bayá (cf. VII-6, a (2) ) that he is. We have watched him, in spite of his years, direct the ritual dances valiantly for 24 hours without interruption.

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/288/ The magic concept of the origin of sicknesses do not allow them to take the minimum precautions. They will not avoid contact with a person afflicted with tuberculosis or grippe, or skin infection; they will sleep at his side, lie in the same hammock, sit on the same seat, drink from the same cuia, help themselves from the same pot, into which they dip their fingers with the beijú.

797 177 757

The Missionary tries to persuade them, for example, of the danger of contagion in tuberculosis. In spite of this, they do not stop taking caxiri perhaps masticated by a tubercular person. They do not resolve, unless watched and forced, to take a remedy according to the medical prescriptions, in so many doses repeated at such-and-such intervals (43).

[756]

43. The belief in the pajé is suffering a lingering shock from the hospitals and ambulatories of the Mission and the trips of the Missionary distributing remedies. Many of them, at present, not only accept, but even ask for the remedies of the civilized, especially when they prove to have prompt efficacy, for example, the antimalarial remedies, analgesics, etc. They do not submit, however, to subjecting themselves to the prolonged treatment that various ailments demand and do not hesitate to run away from the hospital.

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He brings home the hide for a
224 trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle
[237] that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary
[554] and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahúkiwa* the headman's son – an aspirant for the position – killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

## GARDENING

462 I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions
262 of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

462 An important distinction between the labor of men and women
461 is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

462 On days when only subsistence manioc – that is, the manioc cake
461 – is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is
252 to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she
244 gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

462 Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time,
244 leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast.
[512] Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against
[751] sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is
[789]

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/288 cont./

757 Scorning all precautions, they will not hesitate to pour out the remedy that displeases them; if, on the other hand, it has a pleasing flavor, they will take it all at once, or divide it between the sick and the healthy. A bottle of syrup will be consumed with flour in a few minutes.

5) Home remedies.

753 In some cases some means of cure for certain sicknesses, or means of preventing them, are indicated without recourse to the pajé. It is not so much a weakening of his prestige, as, it seems to us, medicinal magic. They teach, for instance, that the fish surubi harms anyone who has a wound; and the fruit cubiú, anyone who has impaludism. If someone eats the fish piraiba, his vision will suffer, etc.

*[192]

*192 The best-known home remedies are (44):

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[115]

44. We obtained this list from the Hungarian Ladislau Auer, who has lived for several years among the tribes of the Uaupés.

a) For wounds: Recent ones. They boil the bark of the cipo dyí-dá (cipo of blood) and apply the water to the wound. Or they also apply to wounds scrapings from the potato known as Kamĩ bũxkõ-Ro-kó (remedy against sores).

Old ones. They wash them many times with the water in which has been boiled the water-edge cipo called Mõõ õx'sé-ka-poarí (paraiba whiskers).

/289/ b) Against snake bite. 1st. Of jararaca: they crush the leaves and the yellowish root of a shrub called precisely Aña-kó, jararaca remedy, and for this reason they cultivate it in the clearings. They apply them to the bites, and the sap or infusion of these leaves is also given as a drink. A variety of black root has an even more vigorous action. They also use the infusion of the sororoca root against the poison of the jararaca.

/289 cont./

752 [192] For snake bites in general, they drink the sap of a cipo called Pĩrõ-dá (snake cipo), with a thick stem and abundant and pleasing sap, which they likewise use to quench their thirst when walking through the forest.

In spite of these remedies of theirs, every year there is a certain number of victims of the snakes, and if this number is not larger they owe it to the remedies and serums obtained from the Mission.

192 757 c) For toothache. They use a plant that burns like pepper, Pixkõ-kó, remedy-for-teeth. They burn the leaves and apply the ashes to the aching tooth.

d) For sore eyes. 1st. If it is a matter of children, they scrape the bark of the minhoca cipo, Ahwã-da, leave it in infusion in mother's milk or, lacking this, in water, and afterwards they put some drops in the ailing eye, using a small funnel made out of arumã leaf. For an identical purpose, and with the same process, they also use the guapuí, a parasitic plant with long aerial roots.

When the patient is an adult person, they apply to the eye, in drops, an infusion made from the root of the cipo Waxsyã-dá, after it has been washed well and grated. They also apply salt to the ailing eyes, pure or mixed with well-pulverized chicken manure. Probably the use of salt would be a suggestion from the civilized, applied, however, according to the native concept.

e) For dysentery. They mix the latex of the plant Yoã-motõ with water and take it warm. Or they eat tapioca mixed with the latex of the cipo Pixkõ-sẽ-dá (cipo of the bird "tesoura" /Muscivora tyrannus/).

f) For stomach-ache. They grate a potato called Bará and leave the mass in cold water, and take it in small doses. Before taking it, however, they must transfer it from one cuia to another, always blowing on the substance. Without this precaution, they affirm, the remedy will kill the patient.

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

*[192] [304] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ̃ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that [224] [226] is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

Urukã-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one *[192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexkã-sã wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

/366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes [752] on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

551 nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 752 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the [123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly un-753 concerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of [123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con-756 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on 123 whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*. [775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

[262] [753] [178]

773 177 [128] [014] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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165 d) Unfortunately, however, the index of child mortality is still very high. Prior to the establishment of hospitals and [797] ambulatories by the Salesian Missions, about 50 per cent of the children from 2 to 10 years of age died because of the lack of hygiene.

164 More alarming still is the danger of tuberculosis. Sent by the Colombian government, in August of 1955 the phthisiologist Dr. Alvaro Arguillo Pinzon visited the populations of the Uaupés and Papurí. Soon after his visit to this latter river, at the povoados of the Colombian bank as well of the Brazilian one, he affirmed to us in Iauareté that 75 per cent of the indigenous population was already infected by the Koch bacillus. The affirmation is painfully true. Not only are the Indians ignorant of the simplest standards of hygiene suitable to the case (they live together in the same environment filled with carbonic anhydride from the always lighted fire, they sleep on the same hammock, put their dirty hands in the common food, drink from the same cuia /gourd container/, consume the remains of the food of the tuberculars, sip the drinks chewed perhaps by some infected person, etc.), but also to their mentality the observance of the precautions required by the sickness is excluded. As a matter [753] of fact, they do not believe in sicknesses; they consider themselves immortal. The sicknesses are evils caused by some enemy, and only the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ with his magic practices (practices that in reality often contribute only to making the ailment worse) is able to eliminate them. For [797] this reason, they do not subject themselves to long treatment in the Mission hospitals, to which, ordinarily, they retreat voluntarily and with the permission of the relatives only after having uselessly tried the treatments of various pajés, already in the last days of life. In recent years a considerable proportion of deaths, mainly of adults, has had as causa mortis laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis.

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e) Medicine.

755 1) Origin of the sicknesses.

*[192] Their knowledge in this sector has been hurt by magic and superstition. Although the nature that surrounds him is prodigal, the native scarcely uses home remedies, because of his concept of the sicknesses, under the influence of the xamã /shaman/ or pajé (11).

11. In the account of the voyage of 1637 by Pe. Alonso de Rojas ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," p. 110), we find: -- "They fear /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ the sorcerers, whom they consult, and the latter fear the devil, from whom they receive oracles, and, with lies, they fool the miserable Indians."

• 753 /268/ They hide their sicknesses as much as possible. They do not know of the existence of pathogenic germs or of the chemical-biological action of the organism and the poisons that act upon it. Their logical mind, on the other hand, demands an explanation for the facts, it is certain that the effects demand a proportional cause. As the obvious forces of nature exist, they admit that there are, moreover, occult forces capable of producing the most varied and strange phenomena. Nor can the meteorological and astronomical phenomena fail to impress them. The Indian, besides, is a convinced animist, as we shall see *[192] later. All the sicknesses, for him, have only one cause, however varied their manifestations may be, to wit, the dohasé, which we could translate as malefice (12).

[754] 12. Like many among the civilized, they believe in witchcraft, evil eye, charms, enchantment, voodoo. A consequence of

/268 cont./

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/footnote 12 cont./ this opinion about the sicknesses will be no hygiene or preventive measures at all, hence the spread, for example, of malaria, grippe, tuberculosis, etc., as is reported for various occasions and places.

That is, the sicknesses are caused by the malevolent spirit of the men who, by envying (one of the weak points of the forest-dweller's psyche) their fellow men, endeavor to do them some harm. For that, they can use the most varied objects turned malefic by magic: a lock of hair, a piece of cloth, wood, stone, metal, bone, thorn, very commonly a cigar butt (13),

13. Every time that, upon digging in a spot, a cigar butt is found, the Indian immediately thinks that it is a matter of a malefice.

and even the mere thought. The malefic objects will act when placed on the individual's path, inside his house, buried in his yard, or thrown on his landing place or his canoe.

*[192] [115] They believe that (information from the tuxaua Júlio from Pari-cachoeira, river Tiquié) mysterious beings, whom they call Waí maxsã (fish people) might have spread germs of sickness under the stones of the rivers; thus they talk about seré-pá (stone of purú-puru /skin disease/), yohá-pá (stone of dysentery). For this reason, they oppose breaking these stones, because such sicknesses would spread and decimate the population. They assert concerning some stones of Pari-cachoeira that even the fish die when they lie against them (14).

[115]

14. One of the Missionary Brothers gave a likely explanation for the fact: the existence there of numerous piranhas, which attack the other fish.

/269/

753 755 The cause of a local pain, inflammation or fever can also be one of those malefic objects which has been introduced into the organism. The cure, naturally, is only to be obtained with the elimination of the object located in the sick part or the elimination of the malefice. Since it reached the organism mysteriously, by a magic process, only another magic process will be able to bring about the cure. And here the "sorcerer" or "xamã" /shaman/, called in Tukano Yaí (pajé), comes into action (15). [192]

15. Yaí also means onça /jaguar/. Might there perhaps be some connection between the two concepts? The Indians could not tell us. The Ethnologists grant it.

753 829 They also think that the civilized, in order to do them harm, send them malefice (grippe, etc.) inside the boxes of merchandise, which, upon being opened, will infect many people or the whole povoado (16).

16. In the Tukano povoado of S. Luzia (river Papuri) the daughter of the tuxaua had died of whooping cough (1947). Envying the Makú, who were well paid for the curare acquired in order to be studied in the south of Brazil, there was immediately a rumor that the sicknesses were prepared by the civilized with the curare of the Makú and sent to S. Luzia with the merchandise. [648]

761 From this persuasion concerning the malevolent and magic origin of the sicknesses is born the conviction that every death has as its author an inimical person. It is, therefore, violent; man by nature is immortal. It is a vain effort to try to convince a feeble old man that he is going to die and it is advisable to prepare himself. Such a mental attitude, obviously, is not favorable to suicide, although one might perhaps find some old

/274 cont./

755 often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), re-
[533] garded as a magic instrument.
[534]

*[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

[797] 23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic
•[753] cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirá-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

756 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses,
731 epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

/280 cont./

756 the vengeance is likewise wreaked against them (32).

32. Some assert that poison cannot be administered to the pajé. "He sees even from far away." This belief is advantageous to the pajés. It seems, nevertheless, that, at least nowadays, not everyone endorses it. In October of 1946, a native from Ipanuré died of pneumonia. They attributed the sickness and death to the pajé from the neighboring povoado of Cigarro. When this pajé, with some persons from his povoado, were given the job of transporting some of our luggage through the varadouro /open passage through the forest/ of the cachoeira of Ipanuré, the Indians of this locality abandoned the work, hid in the forest, and, when the pajé passed by on the road, one of the men from Ipanuré gave him a blow with a stick, which he avoided, turning his head and covering it with his arm, which was broken at the elbow and forearm.

[753]

His presence in the vicinity of a povoado at night, when he goes to do his fishing, is always suspicious. If after one of his visits to /281/ some maloca (especially of another tribe) some death or misfortune happens there, the pajé will be blamed (33).

33. In a maloca of Jandú, on the igarapé Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié, shortly before our passing through there (December of 1947), lightning had struck. The pajé, who had threatened to hurl a bolt of lightning there, was blamed for the misfortune.

[821]

[627] Some pajés have found themselves obliged to abandon the povoados and stay away for a long time, until the anger against them had lessened.

/288 cont./

757 Scorning all precautions, they will not hesitate to pour out the remedy that displeases them; if, on the other hand, it has a pleasing flavor, they will take it all at once, or divide it between the sick and the healthy. A bottle of syrup will be consumed with flour in a few minutes.

5) Home remedies.

753 In some cases some means of cure for certain sicknesses, or means of preventing them, are indicated without recourse to the pajé. It is not so much a weakening of his prestige, as, it seems to us, medicinal magic. They teach, for instance, that the fish surubí harms anyone who has a wound; and the fruit cubiú, anyone who has impaludism. If someone eats the fish piraiba, his vision will suffer, etc.

*[192]

*192 278 752 [115] The best-known home remedies are (44):

44. We obtained this list from the Hungarian Ladislau Auer, who has lived for several years among the tribes of the Uaupés.

a) For wounds: Recent ones. They boil the bark of the cipo dyí-dá (cipo of blood) and apply the water to the wound. Or they also apply to wounds scrapings from the potato known as Kamĩ bũxkõ-Ro-kó (remedy against sores).

Old ones. They wash them many times with the water in which has been boiled the water-edge cipo called Mõõ õx'sé-ka-poarí (paraiba whiskers).

/289/ b) Against snake bite. 1st. Of jararaca: they crush the leaves and the yellowish root of a shrub called precisely Añá-kó, jararaca remedy, and for this reason they cultivate it in the clearings. They apply them to the bites, and the sap or infusion of these leaves is also given as a drink. A variety of black root has an even more vigorous action. They also use the infusion of the sororoca root against the poison of the jararaca.

/330 cont./

776 Even burned, his spirit still survives, wandering through the forests, taking strange and frightening shapes. To him they attribute all the misfortunes, both the material ones, such as a storm, the destruction of the forest (26),

> 26. Large clearings are frequently found in the forest. It is a matter of tall and thick trees, but with superficial roots, which fall under the force of the hurricanes, dragging many others with them. They attribute this noise and the falling of the trees to Wãx-tĩ.

a harmful animal in the clearing, and the personal ones: the
* 192 defect of stuttering, madness, etc. They call the mad person
• 753 Wãx-tĩ dohónõkõ, that is, hurt by Wãx-[illegible] They call tuber-
776 culosis Wãx-tĩ poá-ri, hair /Port. cab[illegible] Wãx-tĩ (27).

> 27. The cause of tuberculosis, according to what they think, is butterfly hairs /Port. pêlos, hairs, down, colors/ in the throat.
> [755] The pajé blows on the mingau in order to invoke the "Wãx-tĩ of the butterflies," so that it will not trouble the patient.

776 The fear of Wãx-tĩ that they feel is such that not for any prize will they venture to enter the forest at night, or even during the day in certain dark igarapés. And they go so far as to abandon their clearings for years, because they heard strange noises there.

191 b) Boraró or Curupira (28).

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> 28. Through relations with the travelers (many of whom speak Nheengatú) the natives know many terms of the língua geral. Just

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771 e) Cult practices.

1) Local cult (litobolia).

There are no temples, that is, buildings solely dedicated to the deity, where the religious functions are performed. Nor has it been reported that there is any private cult or individual worship of the deity, ceremonies, prayers, unless as cult one understands some practices that seem to us magical, such as litobolia.

823 They treat some places with respect and fear; this is
821 tabooism. One does not see there, however, manifestations of cult, individual or social. Such are, for example, some cachoeiras and stones. And about them, in general, they tell interesting legends. They do not allow stones to be taken from such cachoeiras (35),

[797] [753]

35. The Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch thought of dynamiting the cachoeira of Parí-cachoeira, in order to facilitate navigation. The local population became agitated, and the tuxaua Julio came to advise him not to do it, because otherwise fevers and sickness would come. The Bishop judged it more expedient not to go against the opinion of the Indians. Brother Mateo (of the Congregation of Montfort), at one of these rocks of the cachoeira of the thunder, Bũxpó-pweá, of the igarapé Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, removed a fine splinter, in order to extract a little honey. One of the Indians warned him that he should not do that, because "lightning will strike." And, to his great surprise, lightning did strike at some distance, when absolutely nothing indicated it; it was really "un fulmine a ciel sereno" /a bolt of lightning in a clear sky/. They

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/footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the population of Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés, as the consequence of having taken a stone from the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahũ-gã-pweá, actually located some hundreds of kilometers away, on the river Papurí.

asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

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36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

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/335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," pixkõ-rõ-ỹa, headwaters of the Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a rock that a woman should not see; if she looks at this rock, she will never have children. And when they go by this place, the women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

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[103]
*[192]

In Jabutí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock called nõ'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxké-sã-i'ãsé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will easily learn any trade.

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Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. 754
Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine [753]
men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering [761]
mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning"
is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent
death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In 683
all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

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Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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765 174 535 532 larly, they have adapted harvest and demon cult ceremonies to ancestral cult rites. Evidences of religious syncretism are important in interpreting a complex ceremony. Thus, the fact that the mourning rites commonly begin during the pupunha season and the fact that at one point in the ceremonies the men pelt the roof of the house with pupunha fruit to "frighten the women" must be evaluated in the light of the possibility that we are dealing with a portion of a foreign ceremony, incorporated in the structure of the *óyne*. Cubeo ancestral or initiative rites also include "harvest festival" elements. But in these, as in the *óyne*, the harvest theme is a minor one.

## MASK REPRESENTATIONS

532 776 825 765 Dr. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels through the Vaupés region, collected some 50 different mask representations. My own observations along the Cuduiarí covered 30. Altogether, there is now a combined list of 62.[4] Since the masks are intended to portray *all* the living creatures of the Cubeo world the number of masks is potentially vast. No one ceremony uses them all. There are, however, key characters that are most commonly represented. These are Jaguar, Dung beetle, Carrion vulture, Butterfly, Aracú fishes, Eagle, Sloth, Parrot, Dragonfly, Minnows (who are not masked but are an important element in the ceremonial dramatization), *Pyénkũ* (a small black fish), Frogs, and a variety of cannibalistic ogres or forest demons, the *Abũhuwa*. Informants would not say which of the masked representations was most important, presumably because invidiousness is, to the Cubeo, in poor taste. Judging, however, by their prominence, I would say that Jaguar, Butterfly, *Abũhuwa*, Dung beetles, Carrion vulture, and Aracú fishes were most important, more or less in that order. Except for the aracú, the esteemed fish of the region, these creatures all have an association with death. The jaguar is, of course, the dreaded sorcerer. The sorcerer is called *yavi* (jaguar) and the Cubeo regard any jaguar as likely to be either a sorcerer or a sorcerer's dog. The morpho butterfly with its beautiful blue wings is a creature of sorcerers and of evil. The information Koch-Grünberg received was that the morpho butterfly (*tatárako*) lives at Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés, where he brews malaria in a calabash and strews it over the land (1909, II, 181). I did not hear this account, but I was told that when a sorcerer is cooking a brew that will kill a victim at a distance the morpho butterfly appears and encircles the pot. Finally, it falls in and is consumed and at that moment the victim dies.

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[4] See the end of this chapter.

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaíbo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

[796] [754]

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

821 [775] [763]

## HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakü* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

774 [828] [761] [753] 775 [756]

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pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyá* form.

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[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédo* (pulse) and *umédo* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

551 nowers, but when asking a Tukáno his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 752 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the [123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly unconcerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often 753 convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of [123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con- 756 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on 123 whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*. [775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even, the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be

/267 cont./

e) Medicine.

755 1) Origin of the sicknesses.

*[192] Their knowledge in this sector has been hurt by magic and superstition. Although the nature that surrounds him is prodigal, the native scarcely uses home remedies, because of his concept of the sicknesses, under the influence of the xamã /shaman/ or pajé (11).

11. In the account of the voyage of 1637 by Pe. Alonso de Rojas ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," p. 110), we find: -- "They fear /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ the sorcerers, whom they consult, and the latter fear the devil, from whom they receive oracles, and, with lies, they fool the miserable Indians."

753 /268/ They hide their sicknesses as much as possible. They do not know of the existence of pathogenic germs or of the chemical-biological action of the organism and the poisons that act upon it. Their logical mind, on the other hand, demands an explanation for the facts, it is certain that the effects demand a proportional cause. As the obvious forces of nature exist, they admit that there are, moreover, occult forces capable of producing the most varied and strange phenomena. Nor can the meteorological and astronomical phenomena fail to impress them. The Indian, besides, is a convinced animist, as we shall see *[192] later. All the sicknesses, for him, have only one cause, however varied their manifestations may be, to wit, the dohasé, which we could translate as malefice (12).

• [754] 12. Like many among the civilized, they believe in witchcraft, evil eye, charms, enchantment, voodoo. A consequence of

/362 cont./

823 In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?). If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not [784] look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a flat head.

825 One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because, without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

823 There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí, near the mouth of the stream Cuiú-cuiú, called Bará õxtã. If a young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and *[192] will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion of the cipo called yõx'kwá-dá (star cipo).

[103] Below the "island of the cuiubí," in the cachoeira of the Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Ã'á-ñõá (point of the louse), there is a rock called muhi-pũ õxtã (rock of the sun or of [782] the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there, deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering, presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro (agitation of the waters by the winds).

754 There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé) in the road or in the clearing:

*[192] 1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick; it is the yuxkõ dohó-kõ; the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

/363 cont./

• 754 2nd. -- He can also, knowing that a person must pass by way of a trail, close the passage to him, putting across it a stick
*[192] over which he has "blown"; it is what is called kã pe-vyó-kõ.

3rd. -- Nẽ'kã-yusé is said when he has "blown" over a fruit or a plant; if any person (74)

> 74. These local malefices can harm, by mistake, even the one who prepared them. Patrícia Vasconcelos told us that her uncle Marcos had cast a malefice on a cacuri /fish trap/ (see VI-5, a (2b) ) against anyone who went there to steal fish. In the morning he forgot to neutralize the malefice, took some fish, and ate them. Soon he began to feel ill: dizziness, darkening vision, stomach-ache. He then called his own son and said to him: --"My son, I am going to die! I 'blew' on the cacurí, and by accident I ate some of the fish without removing the dohasé." Fortunately he escaped, having recourse to other magic practices.

eats some of this fruit, or even touches this object, he "will become crooked." They believe that all cases of stupor, with paralysis of the facial muscles and contortion of the mouth, are due to the malefices of some enemy.

The Tukano of Parí-cachoeira prepare their jequí /fish trap/ (see VI - 5, a (2a) ) on a certain rock of the cachoeira; if they did it at home, they would not be able to catch any fish.

789 /364/ b) Things. -- Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português (entry Uirá-purú), speaks of the belief in the protective quality of certain charms. It is probable that he is not referring to the tribes of the Uaupés. Among them we not only did not find them, but they could not tell us whether the ancients had used them. In very rare cases we found necklaces of triangular
[301] sheets (see -- 3, d (1) ), with the character, it seems, solely of feminine adornment.

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261 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily
183 toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that
571 he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own
431 hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about preparing it, never once turning her eyes out upon the maloca. The house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however, venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head
183 prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He
571 chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly
431 caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand
522 gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible household head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave. The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not like us.

261 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of
183 anger. Just as the boys of the play pack will only stand aside as their
571 nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do
431 nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in
578 extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the dissaffected household departs. I was told, but could not verify it,
[754] that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people, it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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684 Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatiyo*. In the case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

[754] Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless com-
[562] pounded by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery, never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel. An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the husband or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman,
684 concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by
622 emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example
614 illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahúkiwa*, when in-
574 toxication was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Whereupon the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned. The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the pro-
684 prieties of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to re-
622 quest coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the
834 errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

883 The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is re-
684 viled as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger
[562] at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kúwai*'s diffi-
[773] culties with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kúwai* crushes his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her manioc garden.

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Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. 754 •
Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine [753]
men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering [761]
mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning"
is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent
death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In 683
all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

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Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

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754 694 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle [756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man [622] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The headman is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused if he can refute the charges.

## WARFARE (*bwaíno*)

721 [615] [614] People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently exchanged wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from Querarí killed Hühû, an old *Bahükiwa* who was then living at Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the Querarí, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants, and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a plundering raid. When they killed Hühû and others in his house they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for [614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a [648] *Hehénewa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cuduiarí; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban, Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas raided the Cuduiarí annually during the dry season, when they could move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war [114] alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert. [723] I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

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A
woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen 844
a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by [606]
her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give [789]
birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There [591]
is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and 845
require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not 776
affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in [756]
labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may [754]
be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with [761]
a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwäntadjú*: making a person) is a dangerous period. 844
First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural 789
perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety 84
of the newborn infant rests with the parents – with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the pre- [833]
cautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may 846
also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten 826
plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

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888 [593] [57] as well. The fixed relationships of mutual obligation are, as has been seen, between husband and wife, between parents and dependent children, between unmarried brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends. These relationships either do not apply to the aged, or, if they do, they may not be of great value to them. Generally speaking, the aged can depend upon those who are younger and vigorous only for the generalized sib benefits of sustenance and companionship. The deprivation of the aged is in what one might mistakenly call "the nonessentials." There is no one to buy an old lady a new petticoat or to get for an old man commercial tobacco. The aged do not protest such neglect because they acknowledge their lack 888 of claim. Nonetheless, they feel their neglect and loss of status keenly 123 enough. When I was among the *Bahúkiwa*, an aged lady employed all her senile charms to wheedle from me a new petticoat. Her husband, a very proud old man, deigned to accept only an occasional cigarette. From time to time he brought me fish and the old lady fetched me some of her small garden produce to reciprocate my favors.

888 The old must look after themselves. The very old *Bahúkiwa* couple maintained a semblance of an independent household. The old woman, unable to carry a load of manioc, no longer gardened, but she fetched firewood and looked after children. She cooked for her husband. Her daughter-in-law provided her with manioc cake. The old man was still a good fisherman, contributing to the maloca. Besides, he was a consultant on many matters, particularly on trees to be used in manufactures.

[18] The focus of Cubeo culture is upon the vigorous household heads. [769] The aged simply fall out of things. They are entitled to no particular respect, nor have they cause to be feared as spirits-to-be, for the Cubeo are interested only in their first ancestors and not in the spirits of the more recent dead.

## DEATH

761 Death may be attributed by the Cubeo to natural causes such as [759] accidents, violence, old age, but if it is the result of illness, it must be laid to some agency that has willed it. The most common agency 763 is human. Whether the agency is human or supernatural the reaction to death is patterned on grief, anger, and fear. The Cubeo reaction to death is to give full rein to grief and anger and to short-circuit as quickly as possible the forebodings that what has happened to one may happen to all. The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were

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The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were all attributed to human sorcery so that I have no information on the 763
Cubeo response to natural death or to death attributed to spirits. 754
Mourning is extensive but does not impose unusually onerous duties 76
or restrictions upon the survivors. Mourning goes through three 114
phases. In the first, from the moment of death to burial, which follows quickly, the immediate kin and all sibmates yield to their spontaneous emotions, but up to a point, for the ritualization of emotion sets in quickly. In the second, which is the period from burial to the great mourning ceremony, the nearest female kin of the household – wife, mother, sister – accept the burden of mourning. Finally, in the third phase, the entire living cosmos of the Cubeo – people, Ancients, birds, beasts, fish, insects, and demons – join in the mourning. This third phase, an intricate ceremony, is described in a separate chapter. The dead, as already indicated, are buried be- [182]
neath the dance floor of the house, emphasizing, it seems to me, the importance the Cubeo place on the house itself rather than upon mere locality.

I was present at the last hours of old João, a *Bahükiwa* and *bakūdyō* 763
of the headman. He had been ill for several weeks, the medicine men [114]
had given up on him, and his death was, therefore, not unexpected. The Cubeo are not solicitous of the dying. Once its inevitability has been accepted death is awaited almost with indifference. Father Giacone (1949, p. 29), speaking for the neighboring Tucano, also observed that once the illness appears to be fatal the patient is given up for lost. Such patients, he adds, will be buried alive. When death seemed near – the old man was breathing with difficulty with a dry rasp – his wife took up the death watch at his hammock. At the moment of death her loud wailing awakened the house and all rushed to surround the hammock except the headman and his wife. Since it [622]
is the duty of the headman to preside over the inquest that follows upon the first outburst of grief he must plan upon a properly timed arrival. A shaman of another sib who was in the house also did not intrude upon the mourners, both in his role as shaman and as a sib outsider.

The old woman, truly grief-stricken, had embraced her dead husband's body in the hammock and rocked over it, moaning and wailing. She withdrew, however, when the younger brother of João arrived. He felt for the heartbeat and then covered the old man's face with some rags that had been the sick man's blanket. The women had all gathered to one side of the hammock and they wept continuously, chorusing the loud and emphatic wailing of the widow. The 764
brother fetched his shotgun, moving slowly and grimly. He loaded

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769 534 [788] [793] [828] [754] women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekûpwänwa* to the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will be kept from the other women.

769 796 The *Bekûpwänwa* come annually in the summer when a species of palm berry (*konhá*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not grow. The *Bahúkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, however, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would seem to be an obvious one.

[561] As an age grade, youths are known as *hwainyó*, but as boys who need whipping for growth they are known as *bahúdjo*, which may be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping voluntarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahúkiwa* and one among its subsib, the *Bahúkúdjauwü*.

The *Bahúkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capable in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys subdued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the headman's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

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were exchanged, but the two sibs did not invite one another to their drinking parties for the remainder of the season.

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Sorcery is the great fear. All illness is attributed to sorcery and so are deaths that cannot be readily accounted for. When the drinking party is over and someone has become ill, the quarrels will be recalled and a phratry brother will be charged with sorcery. If the shaman bears out the allegation, the sib of the accused will not be invited to the drinking party of the afflicted sib. In the course of a ten-month stay on the Cuduiarí I have seen drinking parties go through a cycle from full participation by most of the sibs to dismal solitary affairs where subdued members of the sib drank with one another and a few friendly phratry mates from closely adjacent sibs. When the fear of sorcery begins to grow, accusations may strike within the sib and split it down the middle. Gradually confidence is restored, headmen begin to think again of large *unkúndye*, and step by step the scale of attendance mounts.

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765 larly, they have adapted harvest and demon cult ceremonies to an-
174 cestral cult rites. Evidences of religious syncretism are important in
535 interpreting a complex ceremony. Thus, the fact that the mourning
532 rites commonly begin during the pupunha season and the fact that at one point in the ceremonies the men pelt the roof of the house with pupunha fruit to "frighten the women" must be evaluated in the light of the possibility that we are dealing with a portion of a foreign ceremony, incorporated in the structure of the *óyne*. Cubeo ancestral or initiative rites also include "harvest festival" elements. But in these, as in the *óyne*, the harvest theme is a minor one.

## MASK REPRESENTATIONS

532 Dr. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels through the Vaupés region, col-
776 lected some 50 different mask representations. My own observations
825 along the Cuduiarí covered 30. Altogether, there is now a combined
765 list of 62.[4] Since the masks are intended to portray *all* the living creatures of the Cubeo world the number of masks is potentially vast. No one ceremony uses them all. There are, however, key characters that are most commonly represented. These are Jaguar, Dung beetle, Carrion vulture, Butterfly, Aracú fishes, Eagle, Sloth, Parrot, Dragonfly, Minnows (who are not masked but are an important element in the ceremonial dramatization), *Pyénkü* (a small black fish), Frogs, and a variety of cannibalistic ogres or forest demons, the *Abúhuwa*. Informants would not say which of the masked representations was most important, presumably because invidiousness is, to the Cubeo, in poor taste. Judging, however, by their prominence, I would say that Jaguar, Butterfly, *Abúhuwa*, Dung beetles, Carrion vulture, and Aracú fishes were most important, more or less in that order. Except for the aracú, the esteemed fish of the region, these creatures all have
532 an association with death. The jaguar is, of course, the dreaded sor-
825 cerer. The sorcerer is called *ywí* (jaguar) and the Cubeo regard any jaguar as likely to be either a sorcerer or a sorcerer's dog. The morpho
754 butterfly with its beautiful blue wings is a creature of sorcerers and of
765 evil. The information Koch-Grünberg received was that the morpho
[753] butterfly (*tatárako*) lives at Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés, where he brews malaria in a calabash and strews it over the land (1909, II, 181). I did not hear this account, but I was told that when a sorcerer is cooking a brew that will kill a victim at a distance the morpho butterfly appears and encircles the pot. Finally, it falls in and is consumed and at that moment the victim dies.

[4] See the end of this chapter.

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjíko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjíko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjíko* and *Xudjikũ* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

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## THE SIB UNITS

The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

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## ORGANIZATION OF THE ÓYNE

As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur-

765 [182] [614] [615]

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled 276
once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is
considered a great deal. 765

The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already 532
been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A
completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the
last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies [276]
to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be [273]
lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits
not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also [574]
complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at
the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete
their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives. 765

The first guests to arrive are the Satellites—members of the sib— 574
who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of
the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional [614]
Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return [431]
to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the
house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each 765
Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side 574
wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the
house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in 576
order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head.
Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his
side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly de-
livered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound
*ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is
brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not
look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoul-
der. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes
with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the
first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha
by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted
at the rear door by female hosts.

While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing 765
the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat 574
for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, 789
since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *dyne* in particular, as 754
a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards
also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that character-
izes the early stages of the *dyne*.

After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to 765
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769 move against other powers or forces. That is to say, the Cubeo know
771 that growth, potency, and fertility are part of the ordinary scheme of things and that there is no force conspiring against such ordinary developments. The *Bekûpwänwa* are not thought of as jealous, sensitive, threatening, or likely to take offense. It is noteworthy, too, that the emphasis in growth is upon the individual far more than it is upon the more abstract concept of sib. The Ancients will not guard the people against any unexpected dangers. To guard against menace, whether general or specific, there are specific measures that the sibmen themselves must take.

771 All other anthropomorphic beings in the Cubeo cosmos are either
776 menacing, mischievous, or harmless. Menace from supernaturals, however, is relatively moderate, not to be minimized but lacking in dread. The only menace that truly frightens the Cubeo is that which they attribute to persons.

776 The *abûhuwa* are cannibalistic forest monsters, the bogy men of the children. At the mourning ceremonies they are made to appear grotesque and absurd and hence harmless. There are many stories of human encounters with *abûhuwa* as ogres. In most, the *abûhuwa* are overcome. They can be outwitted, caught, and killed.

The story is told of an old woman alone in the maloca with two young children. *Abûhuwa* entered the house and the children were able to escape by climbing up to the house beams. But the old woman was caught. An *abûhukü* rolled her between his palms until she became all soft and he sucked her out from the top of the head in the way a Cubeo child eats a banana. He hung her skin over the branch of a tree. When the others of the maloca returned they saw an *abûhuwa* family within. They set capsicum afire at the door of the house and as the *abûhuwa* sought to escape its acrid smoke, that is noxious to all unwanted spirits, they struck them down with clubs and killed them all.

Another tale is told of a hunter who, in the woods at night, was seized by the throat from behind. It was an *abûhukü*. He struggled with it and killed it with a knife. In the morning he went to see it and it had taken the form of a sloth. *Abûhuwa*, it is said, are all very
[754] hairy. Their armpit hair makes a very potent sorcery "poison." Any man who is bold enough may seize an *abûhukü* and tear his armpit
[821] hair. It is said that the ogre can be seized only when the moon is in eclipse or is red and low in the sky. The hair must be from the left armpit and can be cut only with a corn husk. It is cooked until reduced to ash, and then is mixed with water and allowed to dry to a paste in the sun. The paste is kept in a small gourd dish sealed with

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beeswax. When enemy *Maúnwa* attack, the paste is thrown among them, causing them to fall stupefied to the ground. It is the shaman, however, who can contend with these ogres most successfully. The *abúhuwa* are frightening to behold, the Indians say, because they have two faces, one in front and one in back. Some have sticky bodies and when they embrace an unwary victim he can no longer escape. A mother and child are favorite targets of these *abúhuwa*. The mother is killed and the child is reared as one of them. It in turn then seizes people. Female *abúhuwa* have a preference for men and the *abúhukũ* tries to catch a woman. 776 [789] [756]

*Nyáma abúhuko* (Deer ogre) is a black ogress, an evil spirit of the deer, who catches children wandering about alone. She tosses them into the air so as to break their necks and then and there eats them.

Another ogre is *Opómbibekũ*, a dwarf with an enormous penis, who flies about at night, seizes little boys, and eats them.

*Kómi* is also an ogre, one who emerged with the first people. Eventually people caught him and burned him alive. They then noticed that whatever came near his ashes died. Sorcerers still go to fetch his ashes for their "poisons." [754]

Snakes, the boa and anaconda in particular, are dangerous to women. The land boa rapes women in their manioc gardens so that they give birth to snakes. The water anaconda attacks menstruating women who come to the river. A menstruant is endangered by land snakes, too, but can ward them off by painting with genipa. Nothing, however, will protect her in the water. The water anaconda is a threat to a newborn child and to its father as well. This menace, however, is easily counteracted by the simple magical techniques of the old men. The dangerous anaconda is the white anaconda and not the ancestral black anaconda, which is regarded as friendly "because he knows his people." He is not venerated and is not the object of ritual although he is represented in petroglyphs on the Cuduiarí. In the old days, I was told, he was kept as a household pet but for sentimental reasons only. 776 825 [841] [789]

The river is also the home of the *muápwãnwa* (fish people), who are anthropomorphic spirits. They are small people who live in a house beneath the river and move about at night, sometimes brushing moistly against travelers and frightening them but otherwise harmless. 776

The fish, who are of great importance in Cubeo ceremonials, not only in the *óyne* but in their own fish dances and fish songs by which the Cubeo celebrate great catches, are a "people." They, too, live in a house and have a chief, *Munyúnbekũku* (Old man *munyún*), a 776 825

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaibo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

[796]

[754]

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

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## HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

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pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyá* form.

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[821]

[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédé* (pulse) and *uménde* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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A yavi, I was told, has a different kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong *yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *pariékokü* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a *yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókü*) becomes a jaguar. According to this view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pwínyaviwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahúkiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yavi* or *pariékokü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yavi*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yavi*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duwáiyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhúkükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenádox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhúkükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuriákü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duwáiyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenádox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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755 phrases I could not hear but which I was told much later were spells to send the illness away. When the blowing was finished the *yavi* poured water from the earthenware pot into the blackened calabash, scooping into it with his left hand the palm spines. He poured the water over the head of the old man, taking pains to get it into the ears, the patient helping by rolling his head. The black spines now lay scattered on the ground near the old man. The *yavi* went about carefully picking them all up. The entire community had gathered to watch the cure and the *yavi* asked them to help gather the spines. The people did not dare touch the spines. Cautiously, without coming too near, they pointed them out. Having gathered all the spines after a very careful search, the *yavi* went off to the brush at the edge of the plaza. He returned rubbing his hands together and making blowing sounds with his mouth in all directions. He poured once more, this time from the second pot, shaking his rattle but uttering no sound. When he had disposed of the second collection of spines the cure was finished. For reasons of magical secrecy no one interpreted to me what was being done. Later, after the old man had died, I was told that the diagnosis had been unfavorable. The quantity of *duvaiyo* spines found was great, indicating a serious ailment, and the shaman thought that the ailment (*ihé*) was probably not curable.

For minor ailments such as headache, hangover, indigestion, mild bronchial disturbances, and the like, blowing with tobacco smoke is all that is required, and many an old man has the knowledge and preparation to do that. For hangover, smoke is blown onto the top of the head; for stomachache onto the abdomen, and for bronchial disturbances onto the chest. Minor ailments of this sort are treated [756] by kinsmen, who receive no payment other than a small gift. Imported *yavis*, however, may demand as much as a machete or a musket for their services.

754 If curing seems unspectacular, the arts of killing or of causing serious illness are to the Cubeo mind extraordinarily well developed. As the Indians see it, most deaths, illnesses, and misfortunes are products of human malevolence. I doubt that any Cubeo seriously believes in dangerous encounters with *abühuwa*. All, however, live in dread of sorcery. Fear of the *yavi* as jaguar seems genuine enough. 754 Yet despite tales of packs of human "jaguars" going from house to 756 house devouring people, actual incidents of assault by jaguars against (648) people are rare. The Indians, in fact, say that since the establishment of a police garrison at Mitú on the Vaupés the *yavis* have become cautious and no longer attack people.

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yaví* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yaví* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yaví*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yaví*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yaví* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives. 754 756

The *yavís* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokübéwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yaví* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakü dekókü* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several [828] [177] [776] 754 775 825

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754 [775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yaví*. The insect spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatárako* (butterfly), *utáwe* [825] (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcíkũ* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dúwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by 278 the *lingua geral* term *marakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term 824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but 824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by 754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi- 682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapibũ kowaiye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti- 824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge. 682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has [241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

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When the rains come the abdomen swells. After days of steady rain the swollen abdomen bursts.

*Yokaihye* (leaf poison) is reputed to be so poisonous a leaf that it is never touched with the bare hand. The leaf is boiled in water and allowed to dry. Its powder is wrapped in a leafy bag and dipped in any liquid to form an infusion. Some of this liquid spilled on the victim leaves a black spot that quickly disappears. Shortly thereafter the victim dies.

*Pothaiye* is a berry poison. Its extract is put in chicha or at the end of a stick if it is to be poked up the victim's nose when he is asleep. It causes a slow death by wasting.

*Dyóka* is a forest plant that kills only children but will sicken adults. A moist packet is allowed to drip over the forehead of the sleeping victim. There is said to be a remedy for this.

There are many other *ihé* products that were not identified to me by name. Some, from the end of a stick, are inserted into the nostrils of a sleeper. People who specialize in this are night wanderers called *parébohe abúhuwa* (very powerful *abúhuwa*). They can see in the dark and are difficult to observe. They lack specific motive for their deeds and may be regarded as male witches. It is these witches who are tortured by having their flesh torn with fishhooks – one tear for each victim – when they are caught. 754 (683)

Another *ihé* product is *pená*, an ash that comes from a secret site 754 278 824 682

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Fig. 13. Petroglyph: *Kómi* playing the ancestral trumpet, Alligator (*Pedikwa* sib). (614)

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754 278 824 682 at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale accounts for the origin of *pená*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekûpwänwa*. Suddenly *Kómi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kómi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kómi* told them to take him to a creek called *Manánkanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kómi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the Cuduiarí from Arawakan Indians by way of the Querarí.

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278 824 Curare (*himá*) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only in war and not as a secret potion.

751 As a far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutcûdü*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

75 776 789 771 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man: The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

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571 619 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 606 607 593 [583] [616] [582] [614] Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geographic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 615 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest. 571 614 578 [615] [754] Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman

*539 /114 cont./
of all of you, the whites." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You begin to make war against your enemies." And Yepá Huáke said then to the Alemán: "You go to the east, and your country will be there." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri
[821] Baúro: "I am going to perform a miracle." And when /115/ Yepá Huáke said the word "miracle," which in Tukano is called Bajúrese, the sun appeared for the first time; before that there had never been sun. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemán: "Each one of you will fight in your own country." Then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Your wealth will have power. Your factories will have airplanes, automobiles, ships, submarines, and all kinds of things that you want to make. And you, too, will die" (26).

26. Will not be immortal.

In this way Yepá Huáke cursed Yúpuri Baúro and the Alemanes. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "For you there remain the
•[755] Payés (Yaí and Kúmu). And just as I blew you in order for you to
[756] live, the payé will also blow you and will save you when there are sick ones. If the wind that I blew you comes to an end, the sick one will die, and the dead one will turn into earth again" (27).

27. Possible Christian influence.

Yepá Huáke said to the Alemanes: "For you there remains a medical doctor. If the wind that I blew you falls short, the doctor will give you injections and will save the sick people. You will perform operations on the sick people and take out the sicknesses. When the wind that I blew you comes to an end, then the sick people will die and the dead will also turn into earth again." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemanes: "You are not going to live for all life. I am going to give you land, and that land will be for all. And that land will never die."

/164 cont./

152 /footnote 42 cont./ great pain without a tear or a groan. On the other hand, when under the care of the civilized, for example, when hospitalized, they readily burst out in shrieks and groans that even seem exaggerated. We are prevented from presenting an explanation for similar facts, although we have in vain asked for one from the natives themselves on several occasions.

758 761 [755] [797] During illnesses, he will lie in the hammock and wait for nature to react to the prompting of the rites of the pajé. If the latter says that the sick man is going to die, he will await death calmly, without cries or shrieks. The relatives will not give him medicine, and many times not even food or drink (43).

758 797 43. And have you given mingau /a paste made with manioc flour/ to the sick man -- asked the Missionary to those of a maloca where he had found a very sick old man lying in a hammock. -- "What for?" objected the Indians, "he is going to die anyway." In May of 1954, a young wife gravely ill and given up by the pajé, Adelia Abreu by name, of the Tukano tribe, was found in Pari-cachoeira. She did not accept the medicines or threw them away, pretending to take them. She generally refused food. If by chance she showed any disposition to accept it, her mother whispered that she should not take it, because the pajé had said that she was going to die. With some difficulty they transported her to the hospital. The Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/ managed to overcome the young woman's resistance, and the latter decided to take the medicines and the food, and a hopeful improvement was

/264 cont./

*192 825 plumage, they are graceful and light in flight. They believe that it is a group of spirits or "people," who dance in the air. They call them ã'rã nõ'myá (girls of the sierra) and assert that they do not make nests, because nobody has ever found them sitting in the nest.

b) They admit the transformation of the animals. They believe, for example, that some worms that proliferate in the bacaba tree become transformed, on the occasion of eclipses, into the fish bũxkõã-wi (or matapí, of the Siluridae), because they find a certain likeness with such worms. Confirmation of this origin seems to them to be disclosed in the fact that such fish are found still alive in the forest after the lezírias (igapós) dry out. They say that, because of having been worms, they flee to the forest when timbo is put in the streams.

We point out (VII -- 4, j (1)/see 4, f (1)/) that they admit the possibility of human persons being transformed, temporarily or permanently, into animals; and vice versa.

They assert that the parrots are "children of the forest," nãxkã wimãrá. Actually they are children of Boraró (see VII -- 4, d (56) /see 4, d (5b)/) or Curupira. They live naked, playing; whenever they want to go about, they put on feathers and fly.

They tell interesting stories about the origin of certain animals; for example, Ahã, inambú /bird/, was previously a very pretty girl. The parrots veú arose through the transformation of two sisters, wives of a handsome Baré youth.

262 773 c) We have pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, e (1) ) their belief in immortality itself. They say that formerly they did not eat animal flesh. It was permitted to add worms and insects to the exclusively vegetable diet. During this time of a vegetarian regimen, there were no sicknesses, they say. Those appeared after their parents started to eat the flesh of fish and of animals. During certain illnesses the pajé will immediately prescribe that they abstain from the meat of large animals (anta, deer, monkey, etc.). [755]

They assert, moreover, that in the beginning the Tukano not only did not die, but did not even grow old. After they had lived many, many years, always strong, they ended their life when someone cast a malefice, dohasé, on them. *[192]

/267 cont./

e) Medicine.

• 755 1) Origin of the sicknesses.

*[192] Their knowledge in this sector has been hurt by magic and superstition. Although the nature that surrounds him is prodigal, the native scarcely uses home remedies, because of his concept of the sicknesses, under the influence of the xamã /shaman/ or pajé (11).

11. In the account of the voyage of 1637 by Pe. Alonso de Rojas ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," p. 110), we find: -- "They fear /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ the sorcerers, whom they consult, and the latter fear the devil, from whom they receive oracles, and, with lies, they fool the miserable Indians."

753 /268/ They hide their sicknesses as much as possible. They do not know of the existence of pathogenic germs or of the chemical-biological action of the organism and the poisons that act upon it. Their logical mind, on the other hand, demands an explanation for the facts, it is certain that the effects demand a proportional cause. As the obvious forces of nature exist, they admit that there are, moreover, occult forces capable of producing the most varied and strange phenomena. Nor can the meteorological and astronomical phenomena fail to impress them. The Indian, besides, is a convinced animist, as we shall see later. *[192] All the sicknesses, for him, have only one cause, however varied their manifestations may be, to wit, the dohasé, which we could translate as malefice (12).

[754] 12. Like many among the civilized, they believe in witchcraft, evil eye, charms, enchantment, voodoo. A consequence of

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753 The cause of a local pain, inflammation or fever can also
755 be one of those malefic objects which has been introduced into the organism. The cure, naturally, is only to be obtained with the elimination of the object located in the sick part or the elimination of the malefice. Since it reached the organism mysteriously, by a magic process, only another magic process will be
[192] able to bring about the cure. And here the "sorcerer" or "xamã" /shaman/, called in Tukano Yaí (pajé), comes into action (15).

15. Yaí also means onça /jaguar/. Might there perhaps be some connection between the two concepts? The Indians could not tell us. The Ethnologists grant it.

753 They also think that the civilized, in order to do them harm,
829 send them malefice (grippe, etc.) inside the boxes of merchandise, which, upon being opened, will infect many people or the whole povoado (16).

16. In the Tukano povoado of S. Luzia (river Papuri) the daughter of the tuxaua had died
[648] of whooping cough (1947). Envying the Makú, who were well paid for the curare acquired in order to be studied in the south of Brazil, there was immediately a rumor that the sicknesses were prepared by the civilized with the curare of the Makú and sent to S. Luzia with the merchandise.

761 From this persuasion concerning the malevolent and magic origin of the sicknesses is born the conviction that every death has as its author an inimical person. It is, therefore, violent; man by nature is immortal. It is a vain effort to try to convince a feeble old man that he is going to die and it is advisable to prepare himself. Such a mental attitude, obviously, is not favorable to suicide, although one might perhaps find some old

/270 cont./

756 On the other hand, he will cast a malefice and will cause sickness in others, and even death. They also attribute to him power over the winds, rains, storms, lightning. And it is also he who will make the children grow, or, on the contrary, make them rachitic. He knows how to predict the future.

He is able to discover criminals when a crime is suspected and nobody was caught in the act.

As a result of his ceremonies, the individuals will be lucky in hunting or fishing.

It is also by the act of the pajé, they say, that the curare has its formidable toxic power; that the drinks become more inebriating or lose this quality of theirs.

From this is to be deduced all the social importance of the pajé and the respect and fear that surround him on the part of all the Indians, not only from his own tribe, but also from other tribes. The renunciation of the belief in the power of the pajé [797] is perhaps the greatest sacrifice that the Catholic catechesis imposes on the Christian natives. In some cases, it is only partially achieved.

b) Means of cure.

• 755 The means of cure that the pajé uses correspond, in turn, to the magic concept of the sicknesses. He knows and applies medicinal plants, with which he makes potions, prepares powder, *[192] fumigation. They also apply the ablution (Oxkó-pyó-peasé), sprinkling (Oxkó-stáse-peasé), massages (Pá-pwãsé or Tu-bõrosé), suction (Põ-ãseasé). But, besides this, he has the whole appara- *[192] tus of magic power kept ordinarily in a small basket, which is called Wamõ axká-ro (18).

18. To designate this medical kit of the pajé we have also heard the expression Pi'ĩ-kamõ, if it is a basket, and Wĩhyõ-sáku when it is a bag made out of tururí.

/270 cont./

755 his medical kit, where there are small calabashes containing
*[192] powders, and also thorns, pieces of bone and of cylindrical sticks, small pebbles, polished stones of crystal for the vision, and, especially, the painted maracá (Yaxsã-ga), considered a magic instrument, and the cigar (Baxséke mõrõ-rõ, Uaupés mõ'nõ-nõ).

He smokes it and disperses the smoke over the body, or the sore part of the body, with the force to drive away the dohasé and to effect the cure. By means of the smoke he is
[787] able to forecast the patient's death; and the direction /271/ that it takes or the figure that it describes in the air will indicate who caused that malefice.

756 When the pajé blows into the closed left hand and, opening it afterwards, releases the smoke in a given direction, or with a wide and slow gesture of the right hand drives the smoke from the left axilla toward a certain direction, he is sending toward there sicknesses and misfortunes. The simple blowing, slowly closing the left hand, will drive away the clouds, making the rain stop. If, instead, he opens the fingers, he will send winds, storms, lightning flashes. The lightning flashes always originate with some pajé. (Cf. Ermano Stradelli, o. c., entry Payé.)

*[192] There is a deeply rooted belief in the mysterious force of the "Sõpro" /blowing/, "Baxsesé," of the pajé, because the blowing comes from deep inside the person, from his Héripõra /heart, liver/ (19).

[829] 19. They also admit this mysterious force in the sõpro of the whites, especially if one is a doctor (whom they judge to be a pajé). We know that Koch Grünberg himself (Z. I. 101) practiced the blowings among the natives.

It clearly cannot be said that the Indians admit a natural magnetic force in the pajé. They regard him, then, as the possessor of an extraordinary spiritual virtue.

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d) His curing processes.

• 755 The curing process, even in cases of the use of adequate remedies, of plants of recognized therapeutic virtue, is based on suggestion, or at least it is helped by it. As a matter of fact, from the massages or suction of the ailing part, or from making water fall there from a cuia, they later show the patient (having recourse to prestidigitation, as Koch Grünberg, Z. I. 99 was able to observe) the object (bone, /274/ stone, thorn, insects, scales, etc.) that has been extracted from the painful member and caused him the pains, Waxkarí.

With the help of narcotics or stimulants, he will induce in himself states of crisis or of nervous excitation, during which he sees the causes of the sickness, or those who have caused the malefice. He will be able to make the patient see it too. He will prefer to bring the patient to his hut; or he will go to that of the patient during the night. He will demand the absence of other persons, and, alone with the patient, he will start his practices in an atmosphere of darkness and mystery, muttering very rapidly (21)

[797] 21. For this reason they like the Missionary to say the prayers more quickly.

unintelligible words, sung in a peculiar tone and alternated with loud sighs and groans. They know and perform a series of songs, each one with its efficacy for a given type of infirmity (22),

[533] [534] [126] [113]

22. We have managed to record some of those songs of the pajés from the Tukano, Wanana, Taryana, and Huhúdeni tribes, which can be heard in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" of the Centro de Pesquisas of Iauareté. Address: P. Alcionilio Brüzzi, Largo C. de Jesus, 154, S. Paulo, Brazil.

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755 [533] [534] often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), regarded as a magic instrument.

*[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

[797] [753]

23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirá-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

756 731 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses, epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

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He believes that the clouds reveal the sicknesses to him, as well as other facts which are of interest to the group or to the individuals. He subjects the students to tests of ability. He sends them to observe the clouds and to give the interpretation, and he corrects them. -- "That form of cloud represents a woman and not a man, it represents a child and not an adult. It is not this part that is sick, but that other one."

/278/ He already sees beforehand that the sickness is incurable, and, thus, when he is called, he refuses to go, and he will say to his disciples: --"Let us not go to give treatments, it is useless, he is going to die."

When he foresees the cure, he then goes to the patient's house and makes the diagnosis, saying whether the cause of the pains is Ōxtī, Waxkarí, or Uhá-phī. The elimination of these foreign bodies that cause the pains is the first condition for the cure. He achieves it with deep suctions, repeated three or four times, done directly over the ailing organ, intermingled also with singing, groaning, and exorcisms.

He does not fail to give advice to the patient, for a prompt recovery or in order to avoid a relapse. Among these counsels the informant cited: "to abstain from the abuse of sexual relations."

The rest of the treatment is under the care of the Kōmū (about whom we shall speak later), according to the prescriptions of the pajé. It is done with blowings, invocations, or conjurations. These are old formulas, whose meaning they do not know nowadays, and they vary according to the cause of the sickness. The Komū, having between his hands the cuia of mingau which the patient is going to drink, when the sickness is caused by Waxkarí located in the organism, utters a conjuration that begins with the words -- "Yára-páruri-yīvi."

Minutes afterwards the patient begins to feel better, and the cure will come later.

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g) His influence.

756 The fame of a pajé will depend on favorable events. There are therefore superior or Strong pajés and inferior ones (28).

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28. It is reported to us that at present (1954) there are five pajés regarded as strong on the Tiquié River in the following localities: Uira-poço, S. João, Matapi, Cabari, and Carurú-cachoeira.

In the distant past they were even more famous, because, according to native tradition, they performed extraordinary things. Already in 1900 one of them, the old Taracuá, complained to Stradelli (o.c. p. 595, entry Paié) -- "Today there are no longer pajés, we are all curers." "And there were complaints," explains Stradelli, "from colleague to colleague, because I have always passed as a very good pajé, thanks to the photography, to the microscope, and to the collections of plants, species of Calladiums, which I would make during the time that I spent among the natives on the Uaupés River." The same Stradelli puts forth this idea in his Vocabulário: -- "Pajé is not anyone, only those strong of heart, those who know how to surmount the initiation tests, who have the breath necessary to aspire to be pajé. With less than five breaths there is no pajé who can face with impunity the poisonous snakes; it is necessary to have more than five breaths in order to be able to cure the sicknesses with the simple laying on of hands, and, with the saliva, the bites of the poisonous snakes. The pajés who have from seven breaths upwards clearly read the future, cure at a distance, can change at will into the animal that suits him, become invisible, and transport himself from one place to another with the simple effort of his own will."

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756 according to the cures or /279/ other extraordinary deeds that they managed to achieve. The more famous ones will attract a clientele from great distances and even from other tribes. Even some of the civilized who have settled in those regions let themselves be influenced, and they too avail themselves of the services of the pajé.

755 756 *[192] The influence of the pajé is such that the very foods of the sick person will be subjected to his blowing, Baxséke. Even the remedies given by the civilized are presented to the pajé, who will blow on them in order to give them efficacy. If the sick person gets better, the merit will naturally belong to the pajé. If he does not happen to improve and dies, he will explain that it is a matter of a malefice of another "stronger pajé," or because of having taken a remedy of the whites, or food "not blown," or, finally, of having been overcome by a new and unexpected malefice before the pajé could be called.

And if it is declared that nothing more can be done, the patient will be abandoned as somebody fatally condemned to death; and not infrequently the relatives will deny him any assistance, and even food itself.

[763] The patient, many times, after such a verdict from the pajé, will hasten his own death, refusing other medicines from the civilized and any food or drink (see V 23, stoicism).

167 756 It has happened that the pajé might declare the maloca or the povoado irremediably dangerous, and then the Indians will not have any hesitation about abandoning it and will move to another place, in spite of all the difficulties (29).

[164] 29. It has likewise happened that after a few years they return to the same place. In 1932 an outbreak of malaria killed about 70 Indians in Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés. Although none of the students of the missionary school fell victim to it, the Indians, in fear, abandoned the locality. In 1947 they started to return.

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755 756 The Indians have been seen digging up a wide and deep yard under the orders of the pajé, in order to uncover the cigar buried there and cause of the sicknesses, and which the pajé will make appear at the opportune moment. On a certain occasion a pajé ordered, and was faithfully obeyed, that the whole floor of the maloca be dug up and replaced with other soil, in order to stop the sicknesses of the maloca.

756 4) /sic: h)/ His position.

With the pajé enjoying the maximum influence (30),

> 30. Several Indians, after their confidence had been gained, told us that they did not like, but only feared and, at times, hated the pajé. Ordinarily, however, out of fear of the pajé's vengeance, they are silent when questioned about him, about his curing processes, etc.

because, according to the belief of the natives, the life or death of the people, from his and from other tribes, as well as the storms /280/ and all of nature, depends on him, it is understandable that his position is privileged. Although lacking political power, the tuxaua himself and the entire population respect him and fear him (31).

> 31. Padre Antonio Giacone confirms it -- "By the authority that he enjoys among the Indians and by the fear that all have of his fatal blowings, he becomes extremely proud and conceited, some even reaching the point of being nicknamed Uáque bukque, old God" (o.c. 38).
>
> They fear him even after death, because his spirit is also able to do harm. In Iauareté they asked the Missionary not to bury the pajé in the common cemetery, "because he will frighten our little children" buried there. A Montfortian

[766] [797]

/281 cont./

j) Consequences.

755 A first one is that in many cases the sickness is aggravated by the lack of adequate treatment; or the very processes of the pajé /282/ aggravate the ailment and hasten death. In several cases of pneumonia and laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis the catastrophe was precipitated by the effect of the ablutions of the pajé (35).

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35. In Acuricuara, Colombian bank of the Papurí, an individual became sick and let himself be treated by the pajé. He was Christian, however, and, seeing that the treatments were useless, he asked that the Missionary, Pe. Clemente, be called and even went so far as to ask him not to let the pajé come to his house. It was, however, already a hopeless case, and the cure would have been possible if he had put himself under the care of the Missionary earlier.

756 Another very grave consequence of this belief in magic power is the endless vengeance and numerous crimes. Every sickness, death, or misfortune had as its cause some malefice. The pajé will not only try to neutralize this malefice, but, moreover, he will designate someone as its cause, and he will prepare poisons (36)

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36. As for the poisoning by the caxirí or mingau, they say Nimá tõãsé (nimá, poison; tõãsé, act of giving a drink).

756 and counterpoisons for revenge. Or he will urge the victim to take
627 revenge after the cure; and if he died, his relatives. Hence the
628 animus of tribe against tribe, and, within the same tribe, of one povoado against another, or of family of the same povoado or maloca, is always stirred up. From which there is even more submission of all to the pajé, on whom everyone depends, and this

/282 cont./

756 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the
627 other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individ-
628 ual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a preventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain from doing him harm.

k) The xamã /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

• 755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very
[115] advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For example, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé,
[797] and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife (37).

37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

/283 cont./

756 In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their
821 power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike.
They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another,
[797] stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauareté the first large
pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a
storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great
fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later
the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring
the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who
had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and
his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon
the one who lived in Iauareté.

• 755 Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955)
756 makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their
own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her
[115] uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian
bank of the river Papuri. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour
water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the
ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense
made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary
criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of
pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patricia: --"My
niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that
is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right,
[177] he will be punished." Would this be the concept of a judgment
after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle,
the young woman added: -- "When the patient has a headache,
the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of
Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once
again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the
xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komã, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing process of the pajés.

/294 cont./

*192 4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

302 a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé,
386 known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From
824 the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Õnõñá or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or pariri, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

[881] [755] [756] [852]

and from the Mõ'sã or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

/301 cont./

533 As for the execution, one must point out that beautiful voices are sometimes found. Among the Baniva and the Kubẽwãna one also observes piano or even pianissimo passages and forte ones, a consideration that we did not notice among other tribes. There is no preoccupation, however, with the breathing; especially when, already temulent, the woman will sing while she has any breath, then suddenly interrupts the verse or the melody in order to breathe noisily.

Some of these songs of the dances of the women, as well as of the pajés, end with laughing or a characteristic cry.

c) Songs of the xamã /shaman/.

533 756 [184] There is a repertoire belonging exclusively to the pajés. Since one pajé is trained in the school of another, perhaps of a different tribe (cf. VII -- 2, e (2 f) ), this explains the fact of hearing the same song rendered by pajés of different tribes. Nevertheless the melodies of the songs of the Tukano pajés of the Tiquie are quite different from those of the Wanana and Arwáke pajés that we were able to record (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/").

[534] [755] The pajés almost always sing to the sound of the maracá. Their songs constitute one of the curing processes and thus will vary according to the sickness. The musical theme is a Greek-Gregorian canon, melodious, slow, solemn. In some songs the words are already found adulterated; they are articulated sounds without meaning. At times laughs are also inserted.

3) Musical instruments.

534 R. G. Izikowitz (Musical and other sound instruments of the South American Indians -- A comparative ethnical study, 1935) presents four groups of musical instruments: 1st) idiophones, 2nd) membranophones, 3rd) chordophones, and 4th) aerophones. We do not find any example of the third group among the tribes of the

/302 cont./

534 2nd. -- Rhythm stick. Sometimes the dancers carry in their right hand a simple stick, of any kind of wood, which in Tukano
535 is called yuxkõ, also for the purpose of marking the rhythm.

*[192] 3rd. -- Murucú. Murucú is the term from the Nheengatú
*[192] language; in Tukano it is called yaígõ, that is, "stick of the onça
[531] /jaguar/" (Gonçalves Dias calls them "murucús-maracás" (cf. "Relatório da Província do Amazonas," Vol. I, p. 760). It consists of a stick of brazilwood (mira-piranga) with beautiful paintings and adorned with colorful feathers, some 2 meters in length and about 3 centimeters in diameter, and the upper end in the shape of a fork. Almost in the center there is an intumescence with slits and, inside, some pebbles. Once the slits are made, the spot is exposed to the fire, and, after it is heated, they enlarge the intumescence and introduce the pebbles.

The tuxáua who presides at the dances holds it with the right hand and hits it against the biceps of the same arm, producing a noise like that of a rattle, while the whole stick starts to vibrate. It is used to mark the beginning of the dances.

*[192] 4th. -- Snappers. In Tukano they are called kixtyó and sound like castanets. They are small tucumã nuts, strung on a cord, which are tied to the right ankle in some dance numbers, in order for them to mark the rhythm.

5th. -- Maracá. In Tukano it is called yaxsã or yaxsã-ga; plural, yaxsã-pá. It is a rattle prepared with a calabash, in which /303/ an orifice was made in the lower part, through which were introduced some seeds or pebbles, and it is fitted with a handle of about 10 or 15 centimeters by which it is held and shaken. Some are painted with the common designs already seen. In some dance numbers all the men shake the maracá.

• [755] Besides this, it is a magic instrument, which the pajés use in their curing processes, and with which they also keep time during their therapeutic songs.

/330 cont./

776 Even burned, his spirit still survives, wandering through the forests, taking strange and frightening shapes. To him they attribute all the misfortunes, both the material ones, such as a storm, the destruction of the forest (26),

26. Large clearings are frequently found in the forest. It is a matter of tall and thick trees, but with superficial roots, which fall under the force of the hurricanes, dragging many others with them. They attribute this noise and the falling of the trees to Wãx-tĩ.

a harmful animal in the clearing, and the personal ones: the
* 192 defect of stuttering, madness, etc. They call the mad person
753 Wãx-tĩ dohónõkõ, that is, hurt by Wãx-tĩ. They call tuber-
776 culosis Wãx-tĩ poá-ri, hair /Port. cabelos/ of Wãx-tĩ (27).

27. The cause of tuberculosis, according to what they think, is butterfly hairs /Port. pêlos, hairs, down, colors/ in the throat.
• [755] The pajé blows on the mingau in order to invoke the "Wãx-tĩ of the butterflies," so that it will not trouble the patient.

The fear of Wãx-tĩ that they feel is such that not for any
776 prize will they venture to enter the forest at night, or even during the day in certain dark igarapés. And they go so far as to abandon their clearings for years, because they heard strange noises there.

191 b) Boraró or Curupira (28).

776 28. Through relations with the travelers (many of whom speak Nheengatú) the natives know many terms of the língua geral. Just

/338 cont./

796 [123] [126] *[192]

/footnote 45 cont./ he would not allow him to attend the dance. Confirmation of this religious character, it seems to us, is also found in the refusal to our request to repeat the ceremony of the offering of the fish (waí poosé) under better conditions, so that we could film it. Nevertheless these Indians repeated the simple dances for us for this same purpose.

[126]

The Tukano Antônio Barreto (December of 1953) assured us that they did not do poosé in front of the whites. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to attend it and to film it. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 202): he moreover was able to attend it on the Umarí-igarapé, but many Indians appeared displeased by this, and the tuxáua José did not allow him to take photographs.

[533] [535]

As though they were undertaking a serious ceremony and not a diversion. Nothing will disturb these rites. Singing mysterious words (ancient dialect? or, with more probability, mere corruption) which they do not understand, dancing in a slow cadence and marking the time with stronger beats with the right foot.

[755]

/339/ 4th. -- They attribute to such feasts in addition an efficacious healing action. It can drive away all the sicknesses and even heal large wounds (46).

46. This is what Koch Grünberg was able to verify (Zwei Iahre, 202): "dem Yurupari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung sugeschrieben /sic/. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen" /a strong magical effect is attributed to the Yurupari dance. It is supposed to drive away all sicknesses, and even

/339 cont./

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• 755

/footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1) ), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

[301] 6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

796 7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compul-
535 sory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca.
[115] The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a
[126] miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels,and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

*192 The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same
796 tuxáua:
535 a) seat of the old ones, bũxkõrã duhurĩ-ko-mũ-rõ
b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ-rõ
c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ kõ-mũ-rõ
d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'ĩ-khãra duhurĩ kõ-mũrõ
d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrĩ maxsã duhurĩ kõ-mũrõ.

The first columns are called sahãrĩ kãrũ boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrĩ), when they sleep (kãrũ) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrĩ kãrũ-tẽrõ (tẽrõ, on the Uaupés tẽnõ, means beam).

T /368 cont./

• 755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Maku on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T 843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).

T 501 Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.

784 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat, drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.

T 262 When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.

M 278 The Maku must fast on the day on which they prepare the "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.

T 756 775 829 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé, of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T 621 As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/429 cont./

844 and takes the child to the river for the bath.

Except in rare cases of a difficult delivery (or very rarely
846 those of death), the mother soon takes up her household cares and tasks again. The husband, however, considers himself in a state
*[192] of pregnancy, Nihĩ-pkõ from Nihĩ, child, and pax-kõ, father. For this reason he must rest or be sheltered, Sihyogõ, for six days (46):

[797]

> 46. We have seen some of the Indians who have attended the Mission schools subject themselves to such a custom. And they answer the words of the missionary who tries to show the uselessness of the custom: "The old ones want it this way."

he will not work, he will avoid leaving the house, taking the sun, he will spend the greater part of his time in the hammock and subject himself to a strict diet. "If the father works, the child will get sick, will cry day and night," so they explained to us.

593 It is the concept of the bond between the father and his child, as though the father himself were being reproduced. Everything, then, that happens to the father can not fail to affect the child. Since effort or a heavier diet would harm the child, the father must abstain from these things (47).

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• 755
[115]

> 47. This belief in the intimate connection between the health and well-being of the father and of the son holds not only during the first days of the newborn child, but also during its whole life. D. José Domitrovitsch, when superior of the Mission of Pari-cachoeira, was able to witness the following episode: Julio, the local Tukano tuxaua, upon learning that his son Mandú (the present tuxaua, 1956) had been bitten by a jararaca, left work, went to his house, put

/429 cont./

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• 755

/footnote 47 cont./ himself in the hammock and on a diet, in order that his son's condition would not be aggravated; the latter was saved, thanks to the antiophidian injection that was immediately applied to him by the Missionary.

846 The wife, then, is the one who will carefully serve the husband.

For four days both the father and the mother will nourish themselves only with mingau, being forbidden the use of fish. This is the diet taboo.

[842] The newborn child is a reproduction of the father. The mother plays only the role of the ground in which the seed germinated; the one who produced the seed was the tree, whose nature the seed will reproduce. From this concept (48)

48. It is a concept evidently patriarchalist. It is to be noted that Pe. João Marchesi affirms that he has heard from the Tukano Tuxaua Julio, from Pari-cachoeira, expressions similar to those of the Jews (who were patriarchalists): "The children of my womb."

logically come two consequences: the first is the chôco or protection of the father, the second is that the child belongs to the paternal tribe and not to the one of its mother.

553 4) Giving the name.

Around three years of age, when the child already walks freely and begins to talk and to give the first indications of understanding, /430/ they proceed with the rite of giving the name, a rite which ends with a caxiri.

*[192] Until that moment the child is Oẽ, that is, "without name." This is how they translate it for us, not knowing how to give any other explanation for this term.

/460 cont./

623 "The elders desire it this way" is an expression that is frequently heard when one asks the native the reason for some practice that causes us surprise. This expression is the manifestation of an impersonal will (the name of some of the components, as responsible for the decision, is never revealed), which is always *[192] respected. This term "elder," "Bũxkõ," applied to the Komũã, is indicative of authority rather than of age, because one sees individuals of perhaps 30 years of age or a little more making up part of the Council.

*[192] The Council acts as electoral college of the Tuxaua, Wyõra bexsesé, and as a tribunal which passes judgment on the omissions and transgressions of the customs.

[115] Vice versa, as follows from the Tukano narrator Antônio Barreto, the choice of the members of the Council falls to the Tuxaua. The zeal of someone from the maloca with regard to the interests of the group, his love for the traditions, his facility in remembering them, are, it seems, the qualities required to be admitted among the Komũã. It is nevertheless necessary for him to be presented by some member of the council, perhaps the candidate's father himself. His admission, however, depends on the favorable opinion of the Council, after the candidate has given proofs of his aptitude, for example, repeating the legends of the tribe, or the songs of the dances, or showing the efficacy of his "blowings." For this a prolonged course at the school of the old Komũã has been necessary, as we saw above (VII - 2, e (3) ).

The title of Komũã is a lifelong one and procures for them the [756] respect of their contributors. The Komũã, moreover, practice their [755] activities as "blowers," especially at the delivery and at the giving of the names, as instructors at the puberty rites, and as helpers of the Pajé in treating the sick. The meetings are frequent. The [115] Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos assured us that sometimes they meet almost every night.

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361 241 household dishes, while tobacco, *mihi*, and coca are for ceremonial 462 purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351 entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361 kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562 staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622] for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [178] plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755] medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521] of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351 a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361 vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562 an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574 realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361 a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562 the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823 of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614] Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534] edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, [515] to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833] women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842] But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621 high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512 of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahukiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361 tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241 462

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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kuriáků* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kúria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kúria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the insertions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kúria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*dumiyo*) and crystals (*kenádox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *dumitüwü* (to extract s p r e s). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the powers that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *ymi*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *ymi*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted

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• 755 phrases I could not hear but which I was told much later were spells to send the illness away. When the blowing was finished the *yaví* poured water from the earthenware pot into the blackened calabash, scooping into it with his left hand the palm spines. He poured the water over the head of the old man, taking pains to get it into the ears, the patient helping by rolling his head. The black spines now lay scattered on the ground near the old man. The *yaví* went about carefully picking them all up. The entire community had gathered to watch the cure and the *yaví* asked them to help gather the spines. The people did not dare touch the spines. Cautiously, without coming too near, they pointed them out. Having gathered all the spines after a very careful search, the *yaví* went off to the brush at the edge of the plaza. He returned rubbing his hands together and making blowing sounds with his mouth in all directions. He poured once more, this time from the second pot, shaking his rattle but uttering no sound. When he had disposed of the second collection of spines the cure was finished. For reasons of magical secrecy no one interpreted to me what was being done. Later, after the old man had died, I was told that the diagnosis had been unfavorable. The quantity of *duwáyo* spines found was great, indicating a serious ailment, and the shaman thought that the ailment (*ihé*) was probably not curable.

For minor ailments such as headache, hangover, indigestion, mild bronchial disturbances, and the like, blowing with tobacco smoke is all that is required, and many an old man has the knowledge and preparation to do that. For hangover, smoke is blown onto the top of the head; for stomachache onto the abdomen, and for bronchial disturbances onto the chest. Minor ailments of this sort are treated
[756] by kinsmen, who receive no payment other than a small gift. Imported *yavís*, however, may demand as much as a machete or a musket for their services.

754 If curing seems unspectacular, the arts of killing or of causing serious illness are to the Cubeo mind extraordinarily well developed. As the Indians see it, most deaths, illnesses, and misfortunes are products of human malevolence. I doubt that any Cubeo seriously believes in dangerous encounters with *abúhuwa*. All, however, live in dread of sorcery. Fear of the *yaví* as jaguar seems genuine enough.
754 Yet despite tales of packs of human "jaguars" going from house to
756 house devouring people, actual incidents of assault by jaguars against
(648) people are rare. The Indians, in fact, say that since the establishment of a police garrison at Mitú on the Vaupés the *yavís* have become cautious and no longer attack people.

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754 [775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yaví*. The insect [825] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatárako* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcíkü* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dúwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by 278 the *lingua geral* term *marakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term 824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but 824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by 754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi- 682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapíbü kowaíye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti- 824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge. 682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has [241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

*539 /367 cont./
or tobacco or manioc. All that I had I gave to Miriápura Turíkaro, but, since you did wrong, all that is now lost. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, is going to give you the seeds of manioc, coca, and tobacco. My sister, Yepá Uejkeó, will give two little sticks to your woman (woman of Yúpuri Baúro). These little sticks will be as though stained with blood. I tell you this so that you will know. When your woman feels a blow on her body (32), it is because Yepá Uejkeó is coming with the seed.

•[756]
[574]

32. According to the informant, the shaman also feels a blow on his body every time travelers arrive at a maloca.

Your woman must go immediately to the port of Diawí, and you must order all your Pamúri Majsá to turn around and look toward the back door of Diawí, all lying in their own hammocks. If you do not pay attention to me this time, you will lose the manioc seed again, just as you lost the Bajséboperi the last time. All the natives the Vaupés are like animals. Someday I will send you chickens, dogs, and pigs so that you can compare yourselves with them. I am cursing you. Look at the group of the Ereya (33) and at the group of Siópuri Uejké (34). They really

33. Brazilians.

34. Colombians.

are good people. /368/ They have their own chiefs and they pay attention to their chiefs. They truly obey me. Go into the maloca of Diawí." And Yepá Huáke disappeared. Yúpuri Baúro entered Diawí, and there he ordered that all the Pamúri Majsá turn to look toward the back door. And all of the Pamúri Majsá obeyed. And they obeyed Yúpuri Baúro because formerly the Tukano /Tucano/ were very respectful. And formerly Yúpuri Baúro could strike Yepára Oakajpeá (35), and Yepára

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[614]

35. In the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry.

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

[262] [753] [178]

773 177 [128] [014] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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797 /105 cont./
177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny; he has two wives.

• 756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

## Cosmogony

* 539 The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115] [177] 4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5),

[177] 5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

*539 /114 cont./
of all of you, the whites." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You begin to make war against your enemies." And Yepá Huáke said then to the Alemán: "You go to the east, and your country will be there." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri
[821] Baúro: "I am going to perform a miracle." And when /115/ Yepá Huáke said the word "miracle," which in Tukano is called Bajúrese, the sun appeared for the first time; before that there had never been sun. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemán: "Each one of you will fight in your own country." Then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Your wealth will have power. Your factories will have airplanes, automobiles, ships, submarines, and all kinds of things that you want to make. And you, too, will die" (26).

26. Will not be immortal.

In this way Yepá Huáke cursed Yúpuri Baúro and the Alemanes. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "For you there remain the
[755] Payés (Yaí and Kúmu). And just as I blew you in order for you to
•[756] live, the payé will also blow you and will save you when there are sick ones. If the wind that I blew you comes to an end, the sick one will die, and the dead one will turn into earth again" (27).

27. Possible Christian influence.

Yepá Huáke said to the Alemanes: "For you there remains a medical doctor. If the wind that I blew you falls short, the doctor will give you injections and will save the sick people. You will perform operations on the sick people and take out the sicknesses. When the wind that I blew you comes to an end, then the sick people will die and the dead will also turn into earth again." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemanes: "You are not going to live for all life. I am going to give you land, and that land will be for all. And that land will never die."

/196 cont./

*192 285 415 [756] b) A small basket of the shape and material of the pi'ĩ, and in which the women keep their ornaments and painting powder, is called pi'ĩ-kamõ.

c) Also customarily of cipo is a small hamper, called wamõ axka-ro, in which the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ keeps his objects for treating sick people (cf. VII - 2, e).

d) In order to store or to transport the flour that they sell, they make the panniers, térẽ-pi (Uaupés ténẽ-pi), out of strips of arumã or taquara, and with quite wide meshes (two to three centimeters), and thus the manufacture is faster. They line them with great skill, with leaves of myõ-gõ pũrĩ, or likewise of arumã or other plants, in such /197/ a way that they do not allow the flour to go through, even with the little care that it usually has during the loading, unloading, and transport.

4) Fan. With miritĩ or tucum fronds, or arumã straws, they plait an object similar to a fan, and which can perfectly replace it; it is called wẽ'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés wẽ'nĩ-nõ). They manufacture it in various sizes and use it to fan the fire, as well as like a scoop to turn the beijú in the oven. It is heart-shaped, and the bound straws themselves constitute the leg or support, by which the fan is held.

Some quite large ones are seen, of the natural size of the biggest miritĩ fronds, from which they are made, and they are used as mats for the divisions of the compartments of the malocas, or even to serve as a wall.

5) Quiver. They also prepare with arumã strips a quiver, bu'sá-sa, of cylindrical shape and about 40 centimeters in height, with a diameter of 8 or 10 centimeters, widening toward the mouth. It is used to store the small poisoned arrows [278] of the sarabatana /blowgun/, or curabĩs. To keep water from dissolving the poison, they customarily make this quiver impermeable with pitch.

/269 cont./
761 person who longs for death (17).

17. "I want to die," said one of these old men to Pe. Antônio Giacone, "because my teeth are tired of chewing." Pe. João Marchesi related to us the details of the only case of suicide that he had heard of. A Taryana Indian from the povoado called Cigarro, river Uaupés, violently inebriated by the caxirí, threw his own wife down on the ground and ill-treated her until he killed her. Afterwards he lay in the hammock and fell asleep. While he slept, the relatives and other persons buried the body. The murderer, upon awakening in the morning, called for his wife to prepare the mingau for him. They then told him how he himself had killed her the night before. The murderer, without saying anything to anyone, took his canoe and went to a nearby igarapé. Some hours later the canoe was found bubuiando (floating at the mercy of the stream) and, inside, some pieces of timbo and a cuia still dirty with timbo juice. The poor man squeezed and drank the poisonous juice of that plant and, perhaps in the convulsions of the agony, fell in the water and drowned.

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• 756 2) The Xamã /shaman/ or Yaí.

*[192] The pajé or Yaí is, therefore, the doctor and at the same time Xamã /shaman/ (that is, a magician or sorcerer). Only men can be pajé.

[562]

/270/ a) His powers.

His powers are many. In the first place, to neutralize the malefice cast upon a sick person and thus cure him. He can even make individuals invulnerable to sicknesses.

/270 cont./

• 756 On the other hand, he will cast a malefice and will cause sickness in others, and even death. They also attribute to him power over the winds, rains, storms, lightning. And it is also he who will make the children grow, or, on the contrary, make them rachitic. He knows how to predict the future.

He is able to discover criminals when a crime is suspected and nobody was caught in the act.

As a result of his ceremonies, the individuals will be lucky in hunting or fishing.

It is also by the act of the pajé, they say, that the curare has its formidable toxic power; that the drinks become more inebriating or lose this quality of theirs.

From this is to be deduced all the social importance of the pajé and the respect and fear that surround him on the part of all the Indians, not only from his own tribe, but also from other tribes. The renunciation of the belief in the power of the pajé is perhaps the greatest sacrifice that the Catholic catechesis imposes on the Christian natives. In some cases, it is only partially achieved.

[797]

b) Means of cure.

755 The means of cure that the pajé uses correspond, in turn, to the magic concept of the sicknesses. He knows and applies medicinal plants, with which he makes potions, prepares powder, fumigation. They also apply the ablution (Oxkó-pyó-peasé), sprinkling (Oxkó-stáse-peasé), massages (Pá-pwãsé or Tu-bõrosé), suction (Põ-ãseasé). But, besides this, he has the whole apparatus of magic power kept ordinarily in a small basket, which is called Wamõ axká-ro (18).

*[192]

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18. To designate this medical kit of the pajé we have also heard the expression Pi'ĩ-kamõ, if it is a basket, and Wĩhyõ-sáku when it is a bag made out of tururĩ.

/270 cont./

755 his medical kit, where there are small calabashes containing
*[192] powders, and also thorns, pieces of bone and of cylindrical sticks, small pebbles, polished stones of crystal for the vision, and, especially, the painted maracá (Yaxsã-ga), considered a magic instrument, and the cigar (Baxséke mõrõ-rõ, Uaupés mõ̃nõ-nõ).

He smokes it and disperses the smoke over the body, or the sore part of the body, with the force to drive away the dohasé and to effect the cure. By means of the smoke he is
[787] able to forecast the patient's death; and the direction /271/ that it takes or the figure that it describes in the air will indicate who caused that malefice.

• 756 When the pajé blows into the closed left hand and, opening it afterwards, releases the smoke in a given direction, or with a wide and slow gesture of the right hand drives the smoke from the left axilla toward a certain direction, he is sending toward there sicknesses and misfortunes. The simple blowing, slowly closing the left hand, will drive away the clouds, making the rain stop. If, instead, he opens the fingers, he will send winds, storms, lightning flashes. The lightning flashes always originate with some pajé. (Cf. Ermano Stradelli, o. c., entry Payé.)

*[192] There is a deeply rooted belief in the mysterious force of the "Sõpro" /blowing/, "Baxsesé," of the pajé, because the blowing comes from deep inside the person, from his Héripõra /heart, liver/ (19).

[829] 19. They also admit this mysterious force in the sõpro of the whites, especially if one is a doctor (whom they judge to be a pajé). We know that Koch Grünberg himself (Z. I. 101) practiced the blowings among the natives.

It clearly cannot be said that the Indians admit a natural magnetic force in the pajé. They regard him, then, as the possessor of an extraordinary spiritual virtue.

4: Silva--398 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

*115 /Illustrations facing p. 272 in the original source./
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Cesário (Tukano octogenarian shaman)

The shamans:
(right) Marcelino (Wanana from Jacaré, river Uaupés)
(left) Eduardo (Huhúdeni from Uapuim-cachoeira, river Siari, trib. of the Içana)

*[192]
[534]

Tukano shamans:
Marcelino from Juquira (right)
Henrique from the Japú igarapé (left), playing the chõ

/274 cont./

755 [533] [534] often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), regarded as a magic instrument.

*[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

[797] [753]

23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirá-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

• 756 731 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses, epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

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[178]

e) His psychic qualities.

Formerly each maloca or povoado had its xamã /shaman/ and, at times, even more than one. Today there are not so many. He appears to be an Indian like the others, he will have his family, his house, his clearing, like the others, or even an apartment in the common maloca. He participates in the social gatherings: fishing, caxirís, dabacurís (24).

> 24. At times they fail to appear at such gatherings in order not to encounter other pajés. They are craftsmen in the same trade...

He is, however, an individual who must possess a particular temperament and be endowed with special qualities: broader intelligence, a tenacious memory in order to retain the necessary or useful knowledge, knowledge of the plants and of the curing processes, power of suggestion, capacity for autosuggestion, to produce in himself lively emotions, or even nervous crises which will cause contortions and even loss of the senses; and also to stir his patient emotionally with these manifestations.

He must, moreover, show a love of solitude. Some prefer to live in remote huts, farther in the interior of the forest or on the headwaters of the igarapés.

These are the principal qualities which the pajé must exhibit. Such qualities, according to what they think, come to him from a special spirit, which he can pass on to his son. Therefore the latter is the one designated to succeed his father. The office of pajé is not, however, necessarily hereditary, and another person, with suitable qualities, might become established as pajé.

Besides the qualities, adequate preparation, which will last for years, is required. It consists of solitude, fasts, dreams and excitations, and many other practices in order to develop, or even to create, the suggestive qualities. In order to achieve this end, the candidate will place himself under the training of

/275 cont./

• 756 another pajé, as though serving as an apprentice. It is not rare for a more famous pajé to attract more students to his school and to give them collective training (25).

25. Near Taracuá-ponta, in the maloca of Sussuaca, according to what Mons. Lourenço Giordano attests, around 1917, there lived a famous pajé who always had numerous students, so that they constituted something like a "Faculty of Native Medicine" in his hut. We also heard about a prestigious pajé from Iauareté, João by name, who on one occasion prepared five pajés in Melo Franco (river Papurí).

/276/ f) Preparation of the xamã /shaman/ (26).

[115] 26. Report by the Taryana Indian from Iauareté, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who took the course for pajé training.

[192] [778] The preparation of a pajé is a long one. Besides the theoretical instruction they receive, they also use various magic substances and instruments, called Whõ (27),

27. Whõ is probably derived from Whi, to smell, and, properly speaking, designates the substances that they inhale or smell, like the paricá /Leguminosae/, almost all of them of intense odor, some capable of going so far as to stupefy. Perhaps, by an extension of the meaning, the term Whõ came to indicate also the container of these substances.

all of them of legendary origin, some of which are supposed to have appeared mysteriously, and passed on from pajé to pajé.

*192 /276 cont./
278 When an old pajé wants to prepare a son of his to practice as
• 756 pajé, he initiates the preparation during the first months, putting
778 on him, for three months, a Wĩhĩõ applied to the navel, Wĩhỹõ peomĩ kã̄ max-kȭ-ré. This Wĩhĩõ is roundish in shape, of a hardened substance, the origin of which is lost in legend, according to
[262] what they asserted to us. During these three months the pajé must also have a light diet, as precaution, almost exclusively mingau and chibé.

Later, after removing the first Wĩhĩ /sic/, he fits to the navel, for some five months, the Axpá--khwĩ-re Wĩhĩõ, which consists of a small and roundish stone of quartz some two to three centimeters in diameter.

Later on he will apply to him the Wĩhĩõ of tucumã nut, well painted with carajurú /carajura/, called Õnõñá Wĩhĩõ (in Tarỹana Enúki).

There is a Wĩhĩõ in the form of rappee, which the pajé and the apprentice inhale; this is the Kaxséri Wĩhĩõ, obtained from the sap of some plants (uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/ and others), subjected to evaporation until it is reduced to a very fine powder.

The most marvelous one is the Wĩhĩõ-phĩ (in Taryana Kerá-yúki). It is a small stone of crystal, with a cavity and its cover. According to native belief, this apparatus goes back to the origin of the tribe and, mysteriously, contains a substance with a delicate and pleasant perfume. The pajé, once in a while during his lectures, uncovers the Kerá-yúki, in order for this to give off that perfume, which contributes to enlightening the intelligence of his disciples, placed in a semicircle in front of him.

They say that at a certain time of the year, around April, this substance dries up and almost disappears, and by the months of June-August it begins to give off scent by itself.

756 /277/ At 15 years of age the intensive course for the office of
[582] pajé begins, and it lasts for 15 years more or less. The candidate may not marry until after finishing the course.

/277 cont./

• 756 During all this time he lives at the side of the master-pajé, and under his orders. He does not have to worry about preparing his clearing or participating in the fishing, because, like the pajé, he too will be supported by the donations from the patients.

It is a rigorous course. He gets up two hours before the break of day and his activities extend far into the night. Beside teaching the apprentices the legends of the origins of each tribe and their feats, he teaches them, moreover, the use of the remedies and their application. It is a practical course, and the apprentice accompanies the pajé in his work with each patient.

The old pajé tries to develop in the candidates the power of suggestion. Solemnly, standing in front of his disciples (so one of them testifies), with an impressive gesture, he invokes the *[192] elements causing the sicknesses. There are three in particular: Oxtã (stone), Waxkarí (fragments of paxiúba), and Uhá-phĩ (tree bark). The apprentices perceive these elements coming from the air, in the form of fragments of stone, paxiúba, or bark. The more agile ones pounce on them immediately, others let them fall on the ground.

The candidate must know how to swallow and later to vomit these fragments. In order to vomit them, according to the narrator, they are not in the habit of introducing the finger into the throat; they press on the stomach, the bust is leaned forward, and, with the effort of the stomach, the fragment is vomited. They must do such exercises many times, and thus they wash (?) the fragment that was vomited in order to swallow it again and expel it soon afterwards.

The apprentice's insufficient skill in this exercise, as well as his inability to keep the legends and theoretical teachings in his memory, brings about his exclusion. And thus the master reduces the number of apprentices.

Much of his knowledge comes to the pajé from dreams, which he must know how to interpret. With the passing of time, in full daylight, he is able to fall into a torpor, standing up, in front of the students, and he then sees at a distance the patients who will come to consult him and the cause of the sicknesses.

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He believes that the clouds reveal the sicknesses to him, as well as other facts which are of interest to the group or to the individuals. He subjects the students to tests of ability. He sends them to observe the clouds and to give the interpretation, and he corrects them. -- "That form of cloud represents a woman and not a man, it represents a child and not an adult. It is not this part that is sick, but that other one."

/278/ He already sees beforehand that the sickness is incurable, and, thus, when he is called, he refuses to go, and he will say to his disciples: --"Let us not go to give treatments, it is useless, he is going to die."

When he foresees the cure, he then goes to the patient's house and makes the diagnosis, saying whether the cause of the pains is Ōxtã, Waxkarí, or Uhá-phí. The elimination of these foreign bodies that cause the pains is the first condition for the cure. He achieves it with deep suctions, repeated three or four times, done directly over the ailing organ, intermingled also with singing, groaning, and exorcisms.

He does not fail to give advice to the patient, for a prompt recovery or in order to avoid a relapse. Among these counsels the informant cited: "to abstain from the abuse of sexual relations."

The rest of the treatment is under the care of the Kõmũ (about whom we shall speak later), according to the prescriptions of the pajé. It is done with blowings, invocations, or conjurations. These are old formulas, whose meaning they do not know nowadays, and they vary according to the cause of the sickness. The Komũ, having between his hands the cuia of mingau which the patient is going to drink, when the sickness is caused by Waxkarí located in the organism, utters a conjuration that begins with the words -- "Yára-páruri-yãvi."

Minutes afterwards the patient begins to feel better, and the cure will come later.

/278 cont./

g) His influence.

756 The fame of a pajé will depend on favorable events. There are therefore superior or Strong pajés and inferior ones (28).

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28. It is reported to us that at present (1954) there are five pajés regarded as strong on the Tiquié River in the following localities: Uira-poço, S. João, Matapi, Cabari, and Carurú-cachoeira.

In the distant past they were even more famous, because, according to native tradition, they performed extraordinary things. Already in 1900 one of them, the old Taracuá, complained to Stradelli (o.c. p. 595, entry Paié) -- "Today there are no longer pajés, we are all curers." "And there were complaints," explains Stradelli, "from colleague to colleague, because I have always passed as a very good pajé, thanks to the photography, to the microscope, and to the collections of plants, species of Calladiums, which I would make during the time that I spent among the natives on the Uaupés River." The same Stradelli puts forth this idea in his Vocabulário: -- "Pajé is not anyone, only those strong of heart, those who know how to surmount the initiation tests, who have the breath necessary to aspire to be pajé. With less than five breaths there is no pajé who can face with impunity the poisonous snakes; it is necessary to have more than five breaths in order to be able to cure the sicknesses with the simple laying on of hands, and, with the saliva, the bites of the poisonous snakes. The pajés who have from seven breaths upwards clearly read the future, cure at a distance, can change at will into the animal that suits him, become invisible, and transport himself from one place to another with the simple effort of his own will."

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756 according to the cures or /279/ other extraordinary deeds that they managed to achieve. The more famous ones will attract a clientele from great distances and even from other tribes. Even some of the civilized who have settled in those regions let themselves be influenced, and they too avail themselves of the services of the pajé.

755 The influence of the pajé is such that the very foods of the
756 sick person will be subjected to his blowing, Baxséke. Even the
*[192] remedies given by the civilized are presented to the pajé, who will blow on them in order to give them efficacy. If the sick person gets better, the merit will naturally belong to the pajé. If he does not happen to improve and dies, he will explain that it is a matter of a malefice of another "stronger pajé," or because of having taken a remedy of the whites, or food "not blown," or, finally, of having been overcome by a new and unexpected malefice before the pajé could be called.

And if it is declared that nothing more can be done, the patient will be abandoned as somebody fatally condemned to death; and not infrequently the relatives will deny him any assistance, and even food itself.

[763] The patient, many times, after such a verdict from the pajé, will hasten his own death, refusing other medicines from the civilized and any food or drink (see V 23, stoicism).

167 It has happened that the pajé might declare the maloca or the
756 povoado irremediably dangerous, and then the Indians will not have any hesitation about abandoning it and will move to another place, in spite of all the difficulties (29).

[164] 29. It has likewise happened that after a few years they return to the same place. In 1932 an outbreak of malaria killed about 70 Indians in Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés. Although none of the students of the missionary school fell victim to it, the Indians, in fear, abandoned the locality. In 1947 they started to return.

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755 The Indians have been seen digging up a wide and deep yard
756 under the orders of the pajé, in order to uncover the cigar buried there and cause of the sicknesses, and which the pajé will make appear at the opportune moment. On a certain occasion a pajé ordered, and was faithfully obeyed, that the whole floor of the maloca be dug up and replaced with other soil, in order to stop the sicknesses of the maloca.

756 4) /sic; h)/ His position.

With the pajé enjoying the maximum influence (30),

> 30. Several Indians, after their confidence had been gained, told us that they did not like, but only feared and, at times, hated the pajé. Ordinarily, however, out of fear of the pajé's vengeance, they are silent when questioned about him, about his curing processes, etc.

because, according to the belief of the natives, the life or death of the people, from his and from other tribes, as well as the storms /280/ and all of nature, depends on him, it is understandable that his position is privileged. Although lacking political power, the tuxaua himself and the entire population respect him and fear him (31).

> 31. Padre Antonio Giacone confirms it -- "By the authority that he enjoys among the Indians and by the fear that all have of his fatal blowings, he becomes extremely proud and conceited, some even reaching the point of being nicknamed Uáque bukque, old God" (o.c. 38).

[766] They fear him even after death, because his
[797] spirit is also able to do harm. In Iauareté they asked the Missionary not to bury the pajé in the common cemetery, "because he will frighten our little children" buried there. A Montfortian

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/footnote 31 cont./ Missionary, Pe. Umberto Limpens (known as Pe. Clemente, the name of his predecessor), found himself obliged to order a pajé to make his hut farther away. In September or October of 1947 a boy was bitten by a snake in the vicinity of Montfort, Colombia, on the left bank of the Papurí. The child's father wanted to take him to the Mission, but the pajé would not allow it, saying that he "would blow" the poison away. He did this, but the child died. The child's father rebelled against the pajé, who directed his blowing against the father, and the latter died soon afterwards. The local population became angry at the pajé. The latter judged it more prudent to flee to the headwaters of the stream Cuiú-cuiú (tributary of the Papurí), where the Desana were in the habit of doing their large-scale fishing, threatening to blow on everyone who went there. The Desana, naturally, became frightened and started the rumor that the Montfortian Missionaries were also afraid of the blowing of the pajé.

756 In order not to have him as an enemy, they satisfy his wishes; in order to have him as a friend and profit from his good services, they give him gifts, even before he has performed any cure. Since his reputation grows with the deeds and cures attributed to him, it likewise wanes with his failures. In view of their being the ones who know the malefices (which they prepare as an instrument of vengeance), the misfortunes and the mysterious and rapid deaths in impressive circumstances are attributed to the pajés; and

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• 756 the vengeance is likewise wreaked against them (32).

32. Some assert that poison cannot be administered to the pajé. "He sees even from far away." This belief is advantageous to the pajés. It seems, nevertheless, that, at least nowadays, not everyone endorses it. In October of 1946, a native from Ipanuré died of pneumonia. They attributed the sickness and death to the pajé from the neighboring povoado of Cigarro. When this pajé, with some persons from his povoado, were given the job of transporting some of our luggage through the varadouro /open passage through the forest/ of the cachoeira of Ipanuré, the Indians of this locality abandoned the work, hid in the forest, and, when the pajé passed by on the road, one of the men from Ipanuré gave him a blow with a stick, which he avoided, turning his head and covering it with his arm, which was broken at the elbow and forearm.

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His presence in the vicinity of a povoado at night, when he goes to do his fishing, is always suspicious. If after one of his visits to /281/ some maloca (especially of another tribe) some death or misfortune happens there, the pajé will be blamed (33).

33. In a maloca of Jandú, on the igarapé Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié, shortly before our passing through there (December of 1947), lightning had struck. The pajé, who had threatened to hurl a bolt of lightning there, was blamed for the misfortune.

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[627] Some pajés have found themselves obliged to abandon the povoados and stay away for a long time, until the anger against them had lessened.

/281 cont./

i) His social role.

• 756 626 The pajé represents the highest intellectual level of the native povoado, and, not only that, but he is also the stickler for the observance of the tribal laws. He knows them, teaches them, and demands their fulfillment, being able to punish (34),

> 34. He is, then, the major opponent of the assimilation of our culture on the part of the forest dweller.

with sicknesses, lightning, and, finally, malefices, disrespect toward traditional practices.

756 [852] [844] He presides over all social life, that of the family as well as of the group. When a child is born, the one who will blow on it, exorcise it, and paint it with carajurú /carajura/, in order that it will grow up strong and free from sicknesses, is the pajé; and he will also give the medicines to the woman in labor.

[553] In some tribes the giving of the name is done in the presence of the pajé. Covering the child with smoke with his indispensable cigar, under the inspiration of the moment, he will give or will suggest the name to the father, who is about to choose a name indicated by any circumstance whatsoever, perhaps even an indecent name.

[881] When the girl reaches puberty, the pajé will spend some time with her, giving her timely theoretical and practical instructions about maternity and obligations inherent in it.

At the time of the masculine initiation, it falls to him to teach the young men the traditional legends, their rights and duties as members of the group, the ritual practices, and to verify their ability by means of interrogations, punishments, flagellations, fasts, etc.

He is also the principal instructor of the Komũ (see VII - 2, e (3) ), on whose capacity he will pass judgment, and of whom he will always be the supervisor, gathering them together periodically in assembly and giving them opportune directions for every circumstance.

/281 cont./

j) Consequences.

755 A first one is that in many cases the sickness is aggravated by the lack of adequate treatment; or the very processes of the pajé /282/ aggravate the ailment and hasten death. In several cases of pneumonia and laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis the catastrophe was precipitated by the effect of the ablutions of the pajé (35).

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35. In Acuriciara, Colombian bank of the Papurí, an individual became sick and let himself be treated by the pajé. He was Christian, however, and, seeing that the treatments were useless, he asked that the Missionary, Pe. Clemente, be called and even went so far as to ask him not to let the pajé come to his house. It was, however, already a hopeless case, and the cure would have been possible if he had put himself under the care of the Missionary earlier.

756 Another very grave consequence of this belief in magic power is the endless vengeance and numerous crimes. Every sickness, death, or misfortune had as its cause some malefice. The pajé will not only try to neutralize this malefice, but, moreover, he will designate someone as its cause, and he will prepare poisons (36)

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36. As for the poisoning by the caxirí or mingau, they say Nimá tõãsé (nimá, poison; tõãsé, act of giving a drink).

756 and counterpoisons for revenge. Or he will urge the victim to take
627 revenge after the cure; and if he died, his relatives. Hence the
628 animus of tribe against tribe, and, within the same tribe, of one povoado against another, or of family of the same povoado or maloca, is always stirred up. From which there is even more submission of all to the pajé, on whom everyone depends, and this

/282 cont./

• 756 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the
627 other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individ-
ual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that
628 he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a pre-
ventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain
from doing him harm.

k) The xamã /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very
[115] advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For exam-
ple, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé,
[797] and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife (37).

37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

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• 756 As compensation for services, the pajés are always well paid to the point of having what they need for their maintenance without any more work.

Might he only be a slicker taking advantage of the credulity of his brothers (38)?

[797]

38. Padre João Francisco Biggiaretti, doctor and Missionary of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, tried several times, but in vain, to listen and to talk to pajés about sicknesses and cures. Once he went so far as to invite them to a gathering in Pari-cachoeira, with a promise of gifts as well, but none of them appeared.

It does not seem so. Although intelligent and perhaps even endowed with greater culture than the rest of the natives, one cannot believe that he has freed himself from the general belief in the spirits, in the occult forces of nature, which he believes bound up with the processes and ceremonies that the ancestors always used. Perhaps it is from his great power of suggestion that he gets the power to transfer to others his suggestion and the cure.

One cannot exclude, as we have already said, a certain magnetic power or natural hypnotism. Who knows, in some circumstances spontaneous acts of telepathy might take place, all the more mysterious for the protagonists themselves, the more ignorant they are. Even the cures effected by the herbs used, or by the baths applied, and the totally fortuitous coincidences will contribute toward rooting in the thought of the pajé a deep conviction concerning the efficacy of his ceremonies and his own magic power.

[797] The events revealing this conviction in the pajés are numerous. One of them had a son in the boarding school of Taracuá-ponta and, knowing that he was sick, came to visit him and found him being tended by the Missionaries and under medication. He, then, could do nothing. Shortly afterwards, taking advantage of the moment when everyone had gathered in the church for a religious function, he hurriedly went to his son's side and was caught there, beside his hammock, applying his curing processes to him.

/283 cont./

• 756 821 [797] In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike. They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another, stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauareté the first large pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon the one who lived in Iauareté.

755 756 [115] Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955) makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian bank of the river Papurí. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patricia: --"My niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right, he will be punished." [177] Would this be the concept of a judgment after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle, the young woman added: -- "When the patient has a headache, the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komã, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing process of the pajés.

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• 756

/284 cont./

It is not only the pajé, however, who uses the cigar for its magic power and applies "blowings." They believe, moreover, that the smoke spread by some persons, particularly certain old men, have the same virtue as the smoke of the pajé, or almost. The same is said of the "blowings." This is the reason why in some circumstances (giving the name, VIII - 1, b (6) /see 1, b (4)/, puberty initiation, VIII - 1 b (7), etc.) these persons intervene, "blowing" smoke.

[881]

We learned of episodes of individuals who bragged about the force of their own "blowing," capable of sending sicknesses and misfortunes, and they would terrify the others with this.

These "blowers" are called Komũã (plural Komũ), corresponding, it seems, to the ethnological concept of "initiate."

We have witnessed the long theoretical preparation, in the form of evening lectures, which the older Komũã gives to those who aspire to the same position. The old Komũ /sic/, squatting, or seated on a stool, having before him the aspirant, also squatting or seated, starts developing his program of instruction. When it seems /285/ proper to him, perhaps after one or two hours of explanation, he ends his lesson, saying farewell to his pupil with the salutation nĩka-nĩya (U. nĩka-nĩña), adios! (lit. you remain behind).

*[192]

Seated at a certain distance, in pleasant conversation among themselves, are other Komũ and the tuxáua. When the first one has finished his lesson on the histories, legends, beliefs, traditions, customs, origin of things and of sicknesses, etc., a second one will come to instruct the pupil, who patiently waits for the new lesson and shows his interest and improvement by carrying on a dialogue with the master, according to the native custom. And the lessons extend until late hours of the night, ended by a general farewell. Masters and students, during these hours of lectures, generously help themselves to ipadũ (cf. VI - 4, i (3) /see 4, i (4)/).

One of the more expert Taryana natives, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who had also taken the course to become a pajé, told us that the pajé has periodic meetings, once or twice a month, with the various Komũã. He forewarns them of sicknesses that

276 /285 cont./

• 756 are going to appear and gives them instructions on what they are to do in order to conjure away these and other evils.

*[192] There are, besides these, other more solemn meetings, approximately each semester, when he gives his wñhõ to the Komũã to sniff ("wñhõ wñhõõti kã̃ axkawerẽra-ré peókamĩ"; he sniffs and gives all his relatives his "rappee" to sniff).

4) Sicknesses and cures.

164 There are various sicknesses that attack that forest dwellers and often prostrate them. The principal ones, according to the frequency and the greater number of victims, are:

*[192] a) Verminosis -- Pirõ pũrñé (Uaupés Pinõ punñé). The verminous diseases attack them even when they are old, but especially the children from two to ten years old, almost 50 per cent of whom fall victim to them (39).

[797] 39. This seriously alarming proportion was pointed out to us by the Missionary Pe. João Marchesi. Naturally this happened and perhaps still happens to those tribes and native localities unprovided with any sanitary assistance. Thanks to the hospitals of the Salesian Mission and the ambulatory-launches which monthly come up the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri, taking to the Indians the sanitary resources and provisions, and transporting the more gravely ill persons to the hospitals, this figure has decreased ten times or even more. Truly /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ impressive episodes of victims of verminosis are mentioned. From the cadaver of the son of the tuxaua of Taracuá in 1934, vermin came out through the mouth, through the nose, etc. In Urubucuara the vermin perforated the abdomen of a boy, who would take them out with the fingers.

/287 cont./

164 /footnote 42 cont./ time he suffers periodic attacks, and for this reason he is afraid of painting himself for the dances, although he participates in them as Bayá (cf. VII-6, a (2) ) that he is. We have watched him, in spite of his years, direct the ritual dances valiantly for 24 hours without interruption.

751 /288/ The magic concept of the origin of sicknesses do not allow them to take the minimum precautions. They will not avoid contact with a person afflicted with tuberculosis or grippe, or skin infection; they will sleep at his side, lie in the same hammock, sit on the same seat, drink from the same cuia, help themselves from the same pot, into which they dip their fingers with the beijú.

797 The Missionary tries to persuade them, for example, of the
177 danger of contagion in tuberculosis. In spite of this, they do not stop taking caxiri perhaps masticated by a tubercular person.

757 They do not resolve, unless watched and forced, to take a remedy according to the medical prescriptions, in so many doses repeated at such-and-such intervals (43).

• [756] 43. The belief in the pajé is suffering a lingering shock from the hospitals and ambulatories of the Mission and the trips of the Missionary distributing remedies. Many of them, at present, not only accept, but even ask for the remedies of the civilized, especially when they prove to have prompt efficacy, for example, the antimalarial remedies, analgesics, etc. They do not submit, however, to subjecting themselves to the prolonged treatment that various ailments demand and do not hesitate to run away from the hospital.

/294 cont./

*192 4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

302 a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé,
386 known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From
824 the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Õnõñá or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or pariri, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

[881] [755] [756] [852]

and from the Mõ'sã or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

/301 cont./

533 As for the execution, one must point out that beautiful voices are sometimes found. Among the Baniva and the Kubêwãna one also observes piano or even pianissimo passages and forte ones, a consideration that we did not notice among other tribes. There is no preoccupation, however, with the breathing; especially when, already temulent, the woman will sing while she has any breath, then suddenly interrupts the verse or the melody in order to breathe noisily.

Some of these songs of the dances of the women, as well as of the pajés, end with laughing or a characteristic cry.

c) Songs of the xamã /shaman/.

533 There is a repertoire belonging exclusively to the pajés. Since one pajé is trained in the school of another, perhaps of a different
• 756 tribe (cf. VII -- 2, e (2 f) ), this explains the fact of hearing the same song rendered by pajés of different tribes. Nevertheless the
[184] melodies of the songs of the Tukano pajés of the Tiquie are quite different from those of the Wanana and Arwáke pajés that we were able to record (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/").

[534] The pajés almost always sing to the sound of the maracá. Their
[755] songs constitute one of the curing processes and thus will vary according to the sickness. The musical theme is a Greek-Gregorian canon, melodious, slow, solemn. In some songs the words are already found adulterated; they are articulated sounds without meaning. At times laughs are also inserted.

3) Musical instruments.

534 R. G. Izikowitz (Musical and other sound instruments of the South American Indians -- A comparative ethnical study, 1935) presents four groups of musical instruments: 1st) idiophones, 2nd) membranophones, 3rd) chordophones, and 4th) aerophones. We do not find any example of the third group among the tribes of the

/325 cont./

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/footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as corresponding to: heart, soul, and conscience. When they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis, the natives naturally give the word héri-põra this threefold equivalence. The old ones, however, only use it in the material sense, to indicate a part of the organism, that is, the assemblage of the principal internal organs, especially the heart and the lungs.

774 They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does it often. According to what Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, p. 317), the Kubẽwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

[756]

764 On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and
775 other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

/326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul,
775 upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal.
825 But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic: 14/

[115]

14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

/326 cont./

775 825 however, to state more precisely as to whether the animal was already alive (so some opine) or was born at the moment when the human soul entered it; or whether it is a matter of a permanent or temporary condition.

• 756 774 According to some, it is only the souls of the bad ones that pass into the body of animals. That of the pajés can enter that of the onça /jaguar/ (15).

825 *[192]

15. The onça, if it is not starving, does not come to the povoados. When there is a lack of food, it growls in the vicinity of the malocas, attacks the dogs, and various episodes of its even entering the huts are cited. Pe. João Marchesi informed us that one time on the upper Papurí an onça killed two Indians and ate part of the cadavers. They set a trap beside the cadavers and managed to catch it. They did not have the courage to kill it, however (probably because they thought that the wãx-tĩ of the victims were in it). But around the trap and the cadavers they put wood and fire until everything was reduced to ashes. And they would cry and say: "You have killed our brother (the Tukano) and our slave (the Makú)," and "they thought that in the onça there was the spirit of a pajé" (so they explained to Pe. Marchesi).

It should be remembered that they call the pajé or sorcerer yai, a term that precisely means onça.

756 775 It is a more general belief that the souls of the pajés go to occupy the region of the thunder, from where they send storms and lightning bolts, thus avenging themselves on the men who killed them or did them harm. They think they propitiate them by sending them the smoke of the cigars or shaking the maracás, rites that the pajés performed while alive.

[782] [276]

/327 cont./

775 /Footnote 19 cont./ They say that at night cries are heard, and no native dares pass by there. When we were there, about 15 days after the burial, the inhabitants still continued to be frightened.

3) Moral principles.

673 They characterize some acts as "ya'ãsé"; for example, the marriage of persons of the same tribe, to have children from incest between parents and children or between members of the same tribe, the malefice (dohasé), and stealing.

627 The punishment, however, is the obligation of the one who judges himself hurt, if he can do it. The pajé, by his extraor-
• 756 dinary powers, is used as an instrument of justice, or rather of vengeance. They do not think, however, that it is legal for him to do so. They fear him, and, when they can, they also take revenge on him.

/328/ 4) Reward and punishment.

177 The concept of a reward or punishment in the other life is less
775 precise. They know, at present, that the good are rewarded and the bad, punished. Perhaps because of Christian influence, they say that the former will "go up," where they will have "good life"; the bad ones "will go down," where "the life is bad."

The concept of good and bad, however, extends so far as to include all those of the povoado as good, and those of the enemy villages as bad. It is, then, a concept in terms of the group, and not of the life of the individuals.

The fact that they bury the cadaver with its hunting imple-
764 ments (bow and arrow) might perhaps be a vestige of an ancient
775 belief in a "hunting paradise," as exists in hunting tribes. This belief has been obliterated with the change of the system of life from hunting to fishing and agriculture.

/332 cont./

776 He is, said Casimiro Sampaio, a mysterious being "who descends from above. He is yellow and appears decorated with arara
*[192] feathers. He speaks, sings, and dances the mĩrĩ (32).

32. Our informant, Casimiro Sampaio, finished by saying that it is the dance of the Jurupari. Bisíu, then, is confused with the great Wãx-tĩ of the legends.

He makes a great deal of noise and eats people. The women cannot see him."

776 We learned from various other informants that Bisiu eats women on the occasion of the first menses: "amõsé baásamĩ," that is, he eats the menstruum, as they express it. A Pirá-
881 tapúya widow, Maria José (in Parí-cachoeira, 1954) clarified
• 756 that "to eat" means that he fecundates the woman. It is for
*[192] this reason that she must be shut up in the house, and she her-
[115] self will call for the services of the pajé or Komũ for the so-called "rite of initiation" (cf. VIII - 1, b (7) ). These personages, with their rites, have the power to ward off the danger for the maiden.

776 A girl of the Tukano tribe from the Papurí said that the Makú women, who almost always live in the interior of the
829 forest, many times become pregnant from coitus with Bisiu.

/333/ d) Nãxkã Wãx-tĩ (Wãx-tĩ of the forest) (33).

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*[192]

33. Nãxkã means mato /forest, wood, thicket/ in Tukano.

He is also from the forest, stated Casimiro Sampaio, -- tall in stature and ugly. He wears long hair, and butterfly wings on his face. He does not speak and does not do harm to anyone.

/356 cont./

*192 776 c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wá:kõ?

In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wá:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we [178] were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wá:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67),

[823] 67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water. 775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not. 776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ. And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons, • 756 and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as 829 inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3) ). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ. [825] They say about a nocturnal bird, called uruká-tutú, due to the *[192] similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp, because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of *[192] a deceased civilized person, pexká-sã wẽ'ri Wã-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Maku on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauaretê, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water). Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.

T
501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.

T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Maku must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tí (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/369 cont./

758 [763] /footnote 83 cont./ the commotion of an infernal orgy of two days. In front of their own dead brother they will burst out in a desperate cry, and with the same aptness they will pass to the noisiest and most indecent laughter."

763 *[192] Nevertheless, as soon as they notice that he has died -- (perhaps the catastrophe already happened some time ago, and they did not notice it; or there has been a mistake, he has not died yet) -- the men and women present start the elegy-weeping, uxtisé (84).

[797] [756] 84. Pe. Humberto Limpens, Montfortian, in the early days of the Mission of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí), saw a "weeping," in which primarily the pajés blew smoke for a long time over the dead woman, who was married, while the men shouted threats against the enemies who were the cause of the death. Afterwards the women came, and, placing themselves in a semicircle, began the lamentations.

[797] The weeping that took place on June 24, 1956, in the hospital of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) and which two Sisters in charge of nursing witnessed was also interesting. A young wife had died as the result of a stillbirth. She was the stepdaughter of the late tuxáua of Parí-cachoeira, Júlio, father of the present local chief. There had been previous treatment with the pajés; and even after she was already in a condition of extreme gravity and she had been taken to the hospital, her mother, of the Tuyuka tribe, had tried to take

/385 cont./

563 Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

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113. In Urubucuara and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Altônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Taryana, later married a Wanana.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114)

114. Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

881 833 • [756] In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the pajé or Kõmã and with another young man of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).

/421 cont./

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
[601]

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[178] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
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• 756
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> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

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/footnote 29 cont./ many of them have never in fact heard of any woman Tuxaua. Someone answered as precisely that she can be Tuxaua, but they had never heard of a woman Tuxaua. It is to be noted that in the Tukano language there is the feminine Wyógo, a term that is ordinarily applied to the wife of the Tuxaua (Wyogó) and, in the Missionary centers, also to the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of the girls' school. The example of Caridade (p. 709) seems to authorize our affirmation above.

not, however, those of pajé. This exclusion perhaps expresses, not so much contempt, but the concept that she is not endowed with the magical power necessary for the exercise of the office of pajé.

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In marriage she seems to enjoy even greater freedom than the young man, being able to leave her husband. It must be concluded then that, although recognizing the primary of the husband (as also happens in our civilization), considered from the domestic-social point of view the wife is on a plane of equality with the husband (30).

30. We recently verified that this is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg, who, after prolonged contact with the Kubewana, was able to conclude that the woman is not the beast of burden, but the intelligent lady of the house (Z. I. 354).

8) Moral condition of the woman.

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We once heard from a maiden the expression: "the woman is not worth anything." We questioned many other women, single and married, and all confirmed the accuracy of this concept, without knowing how to give further /423/ explanations. Only one added: "the woman must leave her own tribe."

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instrument "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
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[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).
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> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced,
> *[192] and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo
> [171] descendants of the Coianá Indians in the interior
> [126] of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtain-
> [115] ing the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirã-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

/439 cont./

562 881 Naturally one can not mark the date for this beforehand. It is likewise understandable that it is practically impossible to perform this rite with an entire group, as in the male initiation, if we consider that they are small povoades or only a maloca.

*[192] /440/ The first menstruation is a dangerous event for the young woman; she may be a victim of Bisíu (VII -- 4, d (5 c) ), Bisíu a'mõsé-re baásamĩ, they say, that is, Bisíu eats the menstruation. As they explain, to eat means that he will come to fecundate her (69).

[177] [797]

69. A singular phenomenon of acculturation or adaptation has been taking place. A girl, for example, is in school at the time of the first menstruation. She will perform the rite perhaps many months later, when she returns to her povoado. She does not wait, according to information from the young women themselves, until the next menstruation comes to perform the rite. As for the rest, she follows exactly what the customs dictate.

[756] (See Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/.) The maiden then will be the first to announce the fact and to request the intervention of the pajé or Komĩ (70).

70. One of the young informants asserted that the maiden will be happier if she does this rite with a stronger pajé. Another added that she will be still more so if it has been with a white.

[829]

Besides, the rite is desired by the girl, not only because it gives her freedom for the public sexual relations, but also because, according to her convictions, this rite is going to assure her happy deliveries, as various young women testified. For this reason no maiden would dare to marry without the puberty rite and the mõ-yoãsé (coitus of initiation). Some nubile maiden, especially

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/443 cont./

/footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus, "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

"the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a great deal; the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, pirámirim), ant, mexkã (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beijú of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

[262]
*[192]

She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cuia with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

[756]
[867]

Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /bouto/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

562 /443 cont./
881 work rapidly -- to return home at once" (79).
[756]
[867]
[177]

79. These recommendations against the piraboto, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tincuam and those of the Jurupari of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uaupés" of the author).

[756] Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin
[869] of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his
[833] cigar, pronouncing at the same time a long and unintelligible exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the pajé Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the nihĩ-koró, which is inverted. But ordinarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the pajé, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoá, as the several informants of the Uaupés stated.

/460 cont./

623 "The elders desire it this way" is an expression that is frequently heard when one asks the native the reason for some practice that causes us surprise. This expression is the manifestation of an impersonal will (the name of some of the components, as responsible for the decision, is never revealed), which is always
*[192] respected. This term "elder," "Bũxkõ," applied to the Komũã, is indicative of authority rather than of age, because one sees individuals of perhaps 30 years of age or a little more making up part of the Council.

*[192] The Council acts as electoral college of the Tuxaua, Wyõra bexsesé, and as a tribunal which passes judgment on the omissions and transgressions of the customs.

[115] Vice versa, as follows from the Tukano narrator Antônio Barreto, the choice of the members of the Council falls to the Tuxaua. The zeal of someone from the maloca with regard to the interests of the group, his love for the traditions, his facility in remembering them, are, it seems, the qualities required to be admitted among the Komũã. It is nevertheless necessary for him to be presented by some member of the council, perhaps the candidate's father himself. His admission, however, depends on the favorable opinion of the Council, after the candidate has given proofs of his aptitude, for example, repeating the legends of the tribe, or the songs of the dances, or showing the efficacy of his "blowings." For this a prolonged course at the school of the old Komũã has been necessary, as we saw above (VII - 2, e (3) ).

The title of Komũã is a lifelong one and procures for them the
[756] respect of their contributors. The Komũã, moreover, practice their
[755] activities as "blowers," especially at the delivery and at the giving of the names, as instructors at the puberty rites, and as helpers of the Pajé in treating the sick. The meetings are frequent. The
[115] Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos assured us that sometimes they meet almost every night.

/467 cont./

797 by this companion, whose rebuke (104)

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> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father," and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief."

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

575 We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

562 1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and
796 of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in the feasts of Wĩx-tĩ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

623 2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkõrákurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

• 756 3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult

/468 cont./

756 cases. It is not known, however, whether there are more frequent meetings, at certain times, whether there are rites, or which acts [622] they practice then. It is known, indeed, that the pajé often convenes the Komũã, in order to resolve the sanitary problems of the maloca or povoado (see VII - 2, e (3) ).

562 578 [115] 4) A Tukano informant, Dorotéia Brito, spoke of womens' meetings inside the maloca, during which they reveal among themselves the bad treatment that they receive from the men. We were not able, however, to verify whether it is a matter of true meetings of a secret society, as defense of class. Or instead, as seems more likely, casual, although frequent meetings of women, during which they open their hearts, revealing their own complaints. It is certain that at times, by the law of exogamy, all the women are from a certain tribe, to which they go to relate anything bad their husbands say against it, from which arise disputes and vengeance. This happens in a very regular way, and with a previous understanding of the women among themselves. These tales by the women [192] are called ukhã.

h) Social classes.

565 Among these Indians there is no true social stratification or social Classes, in the sense that there are privileged positions, perhaps lifelong and hereditary, with differentiation of tasks, diversity of rights and even of peculiar customs (in the dwelling, clothing, badges, emblems, etc.), as happens in more complex cultural forms. Within the maloca there are no lords and nobles, just 565 as there are no slaves (105); 567

105. In practice the Makú serve as slaves. It is a matter, however, of another tribe, racially, linguistically, and culturally different. Perhaps one can not even truly say slaves, since in exchange for work they receive protection and food. Once the tasks are finished (clearing, aturás /carrying baskets/, etc.) the Makú may leave, just as they may also constitute their maloca with their tuxaua.

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292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
• 756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since
301 stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
554 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
[756] major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[437] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[614] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region.
[184] The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *habókü* status or *kenámi upákü*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[135] [2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[324] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

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754 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the
694 hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle
[756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man
[622] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The headman is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused if he can refute the charges.

## WARFARE (*bwaíno*)

721 People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one
[615] another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently ex-
[614] changed wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from Querarí killed Hühû, an old *Bahúkiwa* who was then living at Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the Querarí, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants, and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a plundering raid. When they killed Hühû and others in his house they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for
[614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a
[648] *Hehénewa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cuduiari; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban, Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas raided the Cuduiari annually during the dry season, when they could move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war
[114] alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert.
[723] I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

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A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwāntadjù*: making a person) is a dangerous period. First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety of the newborn infant rests with the parents – with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the precautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

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has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians. 846

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kūrûdjū*) by painting its body with genipa. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow. [789] [856]

The arrival of an infant to the maloca is a period of grave crisis. It is the principal responsibility of the men of the maloca to dispel the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *couvade* – the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chanting away its dangers with appropriate spells. The grandmother paints the infant with genipa. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbilical cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant. 846 789 [604] [622] [756] [757] [837]

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly troublesome feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its distinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the 846 789 262

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852 831 [887] [614] task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

[881] [833] [844] [821] [881]

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

881 [514] [826] [515] [302] [515]

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

[302] [574]

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

114 881 756 881

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

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[3] She is also known as *nominyeivi* (becoming a woman).

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532 masks are generically known. Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has argued
114 that they are sacred, citing as evidence that after the ceremonies the
778 masks are burned. Many masks, however, are spared at the insistence of children who wish to play with them, and some masks are spared and used as storage sacks. Sanctity, I would say, is attached to individual masks, and is the sanctity of the being represented and not of the mask itself. Women, it is true, do not handle the masks, not out of taboo but rather out of the feeling that the masks are in the mascu-
[776] line domain. The masks represent spirits who are called generically
[756] *takáhédekokü* (bark-cloth spirits). These spirits are visible only to the shaman.[3] All masks have a common basic shape, a large triangu-
532 lar sack that fits over the head and covers the body to the knees. Armpits are always cut out, and sleeves that come below the elbow are sewn in. The bottom of the skirt is stiffened with a circular hoop, and sleeves and skirt are hung with bark fringes. The masks have a head section, a middle section, and a bottom part. The head section is ordinarily painted with a face design that has eyes and a nose but not necessarily a mouth. Two eye holes and a nose hole are sometimes torn through for the wearer's convenience and do not correspond to the painted design. In some masks the head section is soft and in others it is surmounted by a calabash, painted brown or black, depicting a skull top; or the calabash itself has a face design painted on it and depicts, therefore, the face. The middle section is divided into several panels, half of them at the front and half at the rear. Each panel is painted in a geometric pattern that depicts the characteristic body features of the being that is to be represented. Fish, for example, have scale designs, and birds and flying insects wing designs. These designs are painted with great care by men who are particularly proficient. They follow traditional forms rather casually, however, each artist giving his own interpretation. The Cubeo do not quibble about the details of design. The fact is that no one can identify a particular representation with certainty without knowing who has made it. Only some of the masks, such as Jaguar, Butterfly, and *Abúhuwa*, are distinctive enough to be immediately recognizable. These masks, incidentally, also seem to be the most important.

532 The use of ceremonial masks is common enough in South America,
171 as Professor Alfred Métraux (1948) has observed, but we have as yet little information as to their meaning, nor do we know their full distribution. What is certain, though, is that masked cults have

[3] Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has observed that while the animal represented may be harmless, the spirit itself is magically powerful.

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beeswax. When enemy *Maúnwa* attack, the paste is thrown among them, causing them to fall stupefied to the ground. It is the shaman, however, who can contend with these orgres most successfully. The *abúhuwa* are frightening to behold, the Indians say, because they have two faces, one in front and one in back. Some have sticky bodies and when they embrace an unwary victim he can no longer escape. A mother and child are favorite targets of these *abúhuwa*. The mother is killed and the child is reared as one of them. It in turn then seizes people. Female *abúhuwa* have a preference for men and the *abúhukũ* tries to catch a woman. 776 [789] [756]

*Nyáma abúhuko* (Deer ogre) is a black ogress, an evil spirit of the deer, who catches children wandering about alone. She tosses them into the air so as to break their necks and then and there eats them.

Another ogre is *Opómbibekũ*, a dwarf with an enormous penis, who flies about at night, seizes little boys, and eats them.

*Kómi* is also an ogre, one who emerged with the first people. Eventually people caught him and burned him alive. They then noticed that whatever came near his ashes died. Sorcerers still go to fetch his ashes for their "poisons." [754]

Snakes, the boa and anaconda in particular, are dangerous to women. The land boa rapes women in their manioc gardens so that they give birth to snakes. The water anaconda attacks menstruating women who come to the river. A menstruant is endangered by land snakes, too, but can ward them off by painting with genipa. Nothing, however, will protect her in the water. The water anaconda is a threat to a newborn child and to its father as well. This menace, however, is easily counteracted by the simple magical techniques of the old men. The dangerous anaconda is the white anaconda and not the ancestral black anaconda, which is regarded as friendly "because he knows his people." He is not venerated and is not the object of ritual although he is represented in petroglyphs on the Cuduiari. In the old days, I was told, he was kept as a household pet but for sentimental reasons only. 776 825 [841] [789]

The river is also the home of the *mwápwãnwa* (fish people), who are anthropomorphic spirits. They are small people who live in a house beneath the river and move about at night, sometimes brushing moistly against travelers and frightening them but otherwise harmless. 776

The fish, who are of great importance in Cubeo ceremonials, not only in the *óyne* but in their own fish dances and fish songs by which the Cubeo celebrate great catches, are a "people." They, too, live in a house and have a chief, *Munyúnbekũku* (Old man *munyún*), a 776 825

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies [796] are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as [754] potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaíbo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits 821 of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is [775] dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the [763] eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

## HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] 774 As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the [828] dreamer awakes. The *Jahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so [761] cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something [753] entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard 775 talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who [756] have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, [776] having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyá* form. [821]

[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédé* (pulse) and *uménde* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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778 of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

778 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known 756 as *pariékokü* (man of power) or as *yaví* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékokü* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yaví* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every *yaví* is a *pariékokü* but not every *pariékokü* is a *yaví*. The *yaví* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékokü* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékokü*, but *yavís* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yaví* and the *pariékokü*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékokü*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parükü*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an exceptional act it is his *parükü*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. 778 The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unplea- 756 santly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the 821 depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of 823 the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural 789 causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Sha- 778 manistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Gener- 756 ally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, 787 in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman 825 on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

756 Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the 778 shamans wage against one another. A *yaví*, I was told, has a different 554

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A yavi, I was told, has a different 756
kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An 778
injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I 554
spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked [754]
through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong [774]
*yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *pariékokü* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became 756
fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from 825
laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some 754
informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a [124]
*yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókü*) becomes a jaguar. According to this [775]
view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also [774]
the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pwányaviwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahúkiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yaví* or *pariékokü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yaví*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yaví*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvaíya*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhóikükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenádox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhóikükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuriákü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvaíyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenádox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kuriákü* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kúria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kúria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the insertions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kúria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*duwáyo*) and crystals (*kenádox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *duwaitüwü* (to extract spines). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the poisons that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *yaví*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *yaví*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted

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755 phrases I could not hear but which I was told much later were spells to send the illness away. When the blowing was finished the *yaví* poured water from the earthenware pot into the blackened calabash, scooping into it with his left hand the palm spines. He poured the water over the head of the old man, taking pains to get it into the ears, the patient helping by rolling his head. The black spines now lay scattered on the ground near the old man. The *yaví* went about carefully picking them all up. The entire community had gathered to watch the cure and the *yaví* asked them to help gather the spines. The people did not dare touch the spines. Cautiously, without coming too near, they pointed them out. Having gathered all the spines after a very careful search, the *yaví* went off to the brush at the edge of the plaza. He returned rubbing his hands together and making blowing sounds with his mouth in all directions. He poured once more, this time from the second pot, shaking his rattle but uttering no sound. When he had disposed of the second collection of spines the cure was finished. For reasons of magical secrecy no one interpreted to me what was being done. Later, after the old man had died, I was told that the diagnosis had been unfavorable. The quantity of *duvaíyo* spines found was great, indicating a serious ailment, and the shaman thought that the ailment (*ihé*) was probably not curable.

For minor ailments such as headache, hangover, indigestion, mild bronchial disturbances, and the like, blowing with tobacco smoke is all that is required, and many an old man has the knowledge and preparation to do that. For hangover, smoke is blown onto the top of the head; for stomachache onto the abdomen, and for bronchial disturbances onto the chest. Minor ailments of this sort are treated [756] by kinsmen, who receive no payment other than a small gift. Imported *yavís*, however, may demand as much as a machete or a musket for their services.

754 If curing seems unspectacular, the arts of killing or of causing serious illness are to the Cubeo mind extraordinarily well developed. As the Indians see it, most deaths, illnesses, and misfortunes are products of human malevolence. I doubt that any Cubeo seriously believes in dangerous encounters with *abúhuwa*. All, however, live in dread of sorcery. Fear of the *yaví* as jaguar seems genuine enough. 754 Yet despite tales of packs of human "jaguars" going from house to 756 house devouring people, actual incidents of assault by jaguars against (648) people are rare. The Indians, in fact, say that since the establishment of a police garrison at Mitú on the Vaupés the *yavís* have become cautious and no longer attack people.

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yavi* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yavi* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yavi*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yavi*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yavi* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives. 754 756

The *yavis* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokiibéwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yavi* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakü dekóku* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several [828] [177] [776] 754 775 825

waters of the Piraparaná. He was returning home after leaving his baskets of *farinha* on the Río Ti and offered to take some of the equipment downstream in his empty canoe. The offer we accepted. 123

'There are *jakaratinga* in a small creek near my maloca.' he said in broken Spanish, 'and I want to borrow a shotgun and a torch to go and shoot one tonight.'

We had heard that this type of baby crocodile was good to eat, and this was another chance to restore the Indians' confidence in us. With a certain reluctance Donald lent his twelve-bore. Now only Horacio's ·22 remained. We always had to rely on their help. If they looked on us as friends, they would not steal our guns. If they did not, they could kill us just as easily, whether they had our weapons or not.

That night the men squatted on their stools, around but not on the patch where the woman was buried. As they chewed coca, they mumbled at times in answer to Kuarumey. Several times one of his younger brothers left the group and came over to our hammocks to look inquisitively at our kitbags and finger them, his solemn face caught in the failing light of the torchwood. Horacio was more worried than either of us, for only a few years before he had been attacked by a group of Aucas in Ecuador and had escaped by swimming under his raft; the same tribe later killed five American Evangelical missionaries who, in attempting to establish friendly contact, had landed their plane near one of the Auca settlements. Horacio had always preferred to travel alone, paddling his canoe along deserted rivers and slinging his hammock close to the bank. To live under the same roof as the Indian made him feel ill at ease. Our anxiety was only increased by his recollections of a journey he had made in the Llanos the year before, on a tributary of the Orinoco: 000

'Moving downstream late one evening, I was paddling my small canoe, when I heard voices. Rounding a bend I saw a small group of Guahibos on the bank. Before I had even drawn level with them I heard the hiss of arrows. Suddenly I felt a searing pain as one passed through my left arm and pinioned it to my side.' He showed us the great scar on his arm. 'I continued on down the river using my paddle as best as I was able, lying in the bottom of the canoe with the arrows thudding into the side.' How he had to extract the arrow from his arm and continue for days before he could get help was a grim story, all the more so in our own predicament.

It was still raining the next morning. Without any warning, Kuarumey stalked out of the *maloca* leaning on his stave, looking neither to left nor right. Some moments later two men followed him down to the river, their paddles on their shoulders and coca pouches slung across their backs. They were taking Kuarumey to the shaman who lived deep in the forest below the Piña *cachivera*. For the time being, all we could do was to wait. An old man sat humming to himself in front of the palm screen where Watsora died. Here 123 [756]

as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the 576
host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought [123]
to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would be shown where we could sling our hammocks.

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech 562
has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punc- 522
tuated by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst them- 888
selves. They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling on his body.

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the 797
River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre Elorza only the month before we arrived.

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the 776
Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these are evil spirits.

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – 775
at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead, usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is 774
asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will 756
and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma.

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the 776
monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the 775
detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over a man's life.

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and 000

551 nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 752 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the [123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly un- 753 concerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of [123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

756 It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con- 123 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*. [775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

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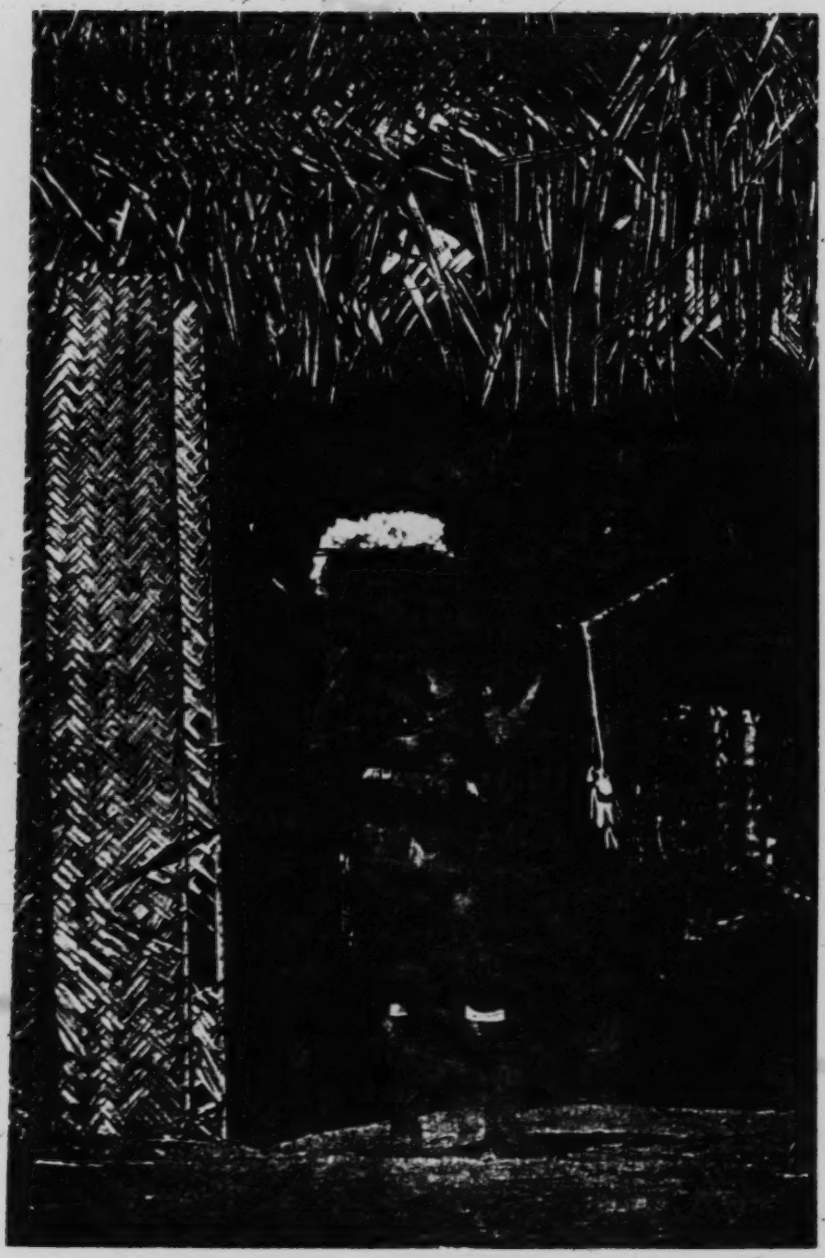

/ Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his kurubeti pebble stave.

diagonal lines. Then the women painted their own faces with *karayuru* and blackened their hands and feet. 796 [302]

As the sun's last rays filtered into the *maloca* and the mumblings of the council of elders died down, the shaman left the dark interior and stood in front of the men's doorway. In his hand he carried the *Kurubeti*, the sacred pebble stave. Intricate circles of blue and purple humming-bird feathers adorned one end, a swollen spearhead formed the other. This swelling was produced by soaking a bulge in the wood in water, then inserting this into a banana stem and heating the spearhead over a fire. The swollen wood is cut open and three pebbles are inserted. During cooling the wood shrinks and the pebbles are locked in the cavity. The shaman stood pointing the stave away from the *maloca*. He hit it with his right hand and the stave swayed from side to side in front of his body. The rattling of the pebbles prevented the evil spirits from entering the *maloca*. In the days of tribal war, we were told, among the people living further to the south, each warrior carried one of these staves and after victory would dance himself into a frenzy, beating the stave against his shoulder. 796 789

With darkness the festival began. Bréo carefully rolled back the cane mat from the *chicha* canoe and the women handed round gourd after gourd, full of the bitter drink. More and more *chicha* was handed round to groups of people sitting contentedly by their family fires. Some of the younger men began to play their panpipes, but as yet there was no cohesion; the groups seemed rather to be competing with one another and different tunes came from all sides, one drowning the other. Many of these men had put sprigs of sweet-smelling leaves under their loin-cloth strings and berry arm-bands. The scent from the leaves was curiously sensuous, like sweet lemon, and used as an elixir of love by the Tukano during their festivals. 796

The same confused cacophony of dancing and panpipes continued well into the night; it was the young men's duty to keep the shaman awake, for not once during the course of the festival was he allowed to sleep. Small groups moved up and down the *maloca*, joyfully playing their panpipes as they danced, then they retired to their family fires and drank more *chicha*. The shaman remained apart, sitting on his stool in the centre of the *maloca*, gazing as if in a trance. At his side lay a calabash of coca and the sacred pot of *yajé*, the most powerful narcotic used by Amazonian Indians. Prepared from the boiled juices of a jungle creeper, the red liquid gives the shaman hallucinations and he is able to predict the future progress of the festival. Suddenly he summoned Bréo to his side. All the men came to the centre of the *maloca* carrying their wooden stools and sat down near him. With heads bent low the men started a muffled chant, answering in unison the solo [756] [276] [787]

*Tukano profile and festival head-dress.* [see p. 78-B]

the *maloca*, facing the women's quarters. Dazed from the *chicha* and coca they gazed in front of them and sang a slow dirge, beating their staves on the ground. Slowly they moved off in a clockwise circle inside the four central posts. The tempo increased, but the chant remained the same, the voices grew louder and combined with the hollow thuds from the staves and castanet-like rattles. The whole atmosphere changed, no longer were there rival groups competing with their neighbours, instead everyone took part in the dance. The women joined in, slipping their small bodies under the linked arms of the moving men. The circle increased, the women with their right hand to the small of the back of one man, and their left to the hip of another. Only Wanina, the headman's wife, accompanied by her small children and carrying Bréo's youngest son under her arm, did not join the circle. She moved slowly round the centre, her eyes fixed constantly to the ground, uttering a high-pitched wail as the dancers moved solemnly about her. 796 535

The manioc dance continued through the night, but with the approach of dawn the younger members became impatient for a change of rhythm. To them such festivals were an opportunity for amusement, heavy drinking bouts and the possibility of finding a wife. One or two started to play on their panpipes, they were joined by others and soon the whole *maloca* became alive with young couples and trios weaving happily across the floor, in between the posts and along the sides of the house. Their young bodies gliding through the darkness, their feet delicately stamping the time on the ground, they seemed completely lost in the lovely panpipe tunes of the *chiruru*, the Tukano courtship dance. All too soon the thuds of the bamboo staves were heard and the elders again took control.

Throughout the entire festival the dominating figure was the shaman. Existing as he does in complete detachment from the rest, he sat alone, occasionally taking snuff from his snail-shell box. It was he who influenced the festival which, without him, would not take place. Every few hours he summoned the elders about him and as coca was passed round the mysterious chanting began. No one would tell us what was being recited, we could only gather that the tribal ancestors were being consulted and evil spirits exorcized. They did not like us to record this part of the ceremony, for quite understandably they believed we might take away their magic power. 796 756 789

Day and night the people danced, their plumed bodies glistening with sweat, caught in the beams of the sun or the dull glow of the torch-wood. There was continual sound – of panpipes, of cane staves, nutshell rattles and people's voices. Gradually the *chicha* canoes were drained. Gallons of the liquid had been consumed and the men had to rid themselves of their hang-overs. Nonchalantly they poured boiled green-pepper juice down their nostrils from funnels made of leaves. With grunts and snorts they cleared their heads and staggered down to the river to bathe. Inside the *maloca* those that remained were asleep; many of the women had already left for the 796 [757]

/287 cont./

164 /footnote 42 cont./ time he suffers periodic attacks, and for this reason he is afraid of painting himself for the dances, although he participates in them as Bayá (cf. VII-6, a (2) ) that he is. We have watched him, in spite of his years, direct the ritual dances valiantly for 24 hours without interruption.

751 /288/ The magic concept of the origin of sicknesses do not allow them to take the minimum precautions. They will not avoid contact with a person afflicted with tuberculosis or grippe, or skin infection; they will sleep at his side, lie in the same hammock, sit on the same seat, drink from the same cuia, help themselves from the same pot, into which they dip their fingers with the beijú.

797 The Missionary tries to persuade them, for example, of the danger of contagion in tuberculosis. In spite of this, they do not stop taking caxiri perhaps masticated by a tubercular person.

177

757 They do not resolve, unless watched and forced, to take a remedy according to the medical prescriptions, in so many doses repeated at such-and-such intervals (43).

[756] 43. The belief in the pajé is suffering a lingering shock from the hospitals and ambulatories of the Mission and the trips of the Missionary distributing remedies. Many of them, at present, not only accept, but even ask for the remedies of the civilized, especially when they prove to have prompt efficacy, for example, the antimalarial remedies, analgesics, etc. They do not submit, however, to subjecting themselves to the prolonged treatment that various ailments demand and do not hesitate to run away from the hospital.

/288 cont./

757 Scorning all precautions, they will not hesitate to pour out the remedy that displeases them; if, on the other hand, it has a pleasing flavor, they will take it all at once, or divide it between the sick and the healthy. A bottle of syrup will be consumed with flour in a few minutes.

5) Home remedies.

753 In some cases some means of cure for certain sicknesses, or means of preventing them, are indicated without recourse to the pajé. It is not so much a weakening of his prestige, as, it seems to us, medicinal magic. They teach, for instance, that the fish surubi harms anyone who has a wound; and the fruit cubiú, anyone who has impaludism. If someone eats the fish piraiba, his vision will suffer, etc.

*[192]

*192 The best-known home remedies are (44):

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752
[115]

44. We obtained this list from the Hungarian Ladislau Auer, who has lived for several years among the tribes of the Uaupés.

a) For wounds: Recent ones. They boil the bark of the cipo dyí-dá (cipo of blood) and apply the water to the wound. Or they also apply to wounds scrapings from the potato known as Kamĩ' bũxkõ-Ro-kó (remedy against sores).

Old ones. They wash them many times with the water in which has been boiled the water-edge cipo called Mõõ õx'sé-ka-poarí (paraiba whiskers).

/289/ b) Against snake bite. 1st. Of jararaca: they crush the leaves and the yellowish root of a shrub called precisely Añakó, jararaca remedy, and for this reason they cultivate it in the clearings. They apply them to the bites, and the sap or infusion of these leaves is also given as a drink. A variety of black root has an even more vigorous action. They also use the infusion of the sororoca root against the poison of the jararaca.

/289 cont./

752 *[192] For snake bites in general, they drink the sap of a cipo called Pīrõ-dá (snake cipo), with a thick stem and abundant and pleasing sap, which they likewise use to quench their thirst when walking through the forest.

In spite of these remedies of theirs, every year there is a certain number of victims of the snakes, and if this number is not larger they owe it to the remedies and serums obtained from the Mission.

*192 • 757 c) For toothache. They use a plant that burns like pepper, Pixkõ-kó, remedy-for-teeth. They burn the leaves and apply the ashes to the aching tooth.

d) For sore eyes. 1st. If it is a matter of children, they scrape the bark of the minhoca cipo, Ahwã-da, leave it in infusion in mother's milk or, lacking this, in water, and afterwards they put some drops in the ailing eye, using a small funnel made out of arumã leaf. For an identical purpose, and with the same process, they also use the guapuí, a parasitic plant with long aerial roots.

When the patient is an adult person, they apply to the eye, in drops, an infusion made from the root of the cipo Waxsyã-dá, after it has been washed well and grated. They also apply salt to the ailing eyes, pure or mixed with well-pulverized chicken manure. Probably the use of salt would be a suggestion from the civilized, applied, however, according to the native concept.

e) For dysentery. They mix the latex of the plant Yoá-motõ with water and take it warm. Or they eat tapioca mixed with the latex of the cipo Pixkõ-sẽ-dá (cipo of the bird "tesoura" /Muscivora tyrannus/).

f) For stomach-ache. They grate a potato called Bará and leave the mass in cold water, and take it in small doses. Before taking it, however, they must transfer it from one cuia to another, always blowing on the substance. Without this precaution, they affirm, the remedy will kill the patient.

278 /289 cont./
• 757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant
*[192] called Taá-dõxká (45),

45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b) ): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

[178] [764] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night [164] [354] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians. 846

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kürûdjü*) by painting its body with genipa. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow. [789] [856]

The arrival of an infant to the maloca is a period of grave crisis. It is the principal responsibility of the men of the maloca to dispel the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *couvade* – the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chanting away its dangers with appropriate spells. The grandmother paints the infant with genipa. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbilical cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant. 846 789 [604] [622] [756] [757] [837]

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly troublesome feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its distinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the 846 789 262

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 62-B/

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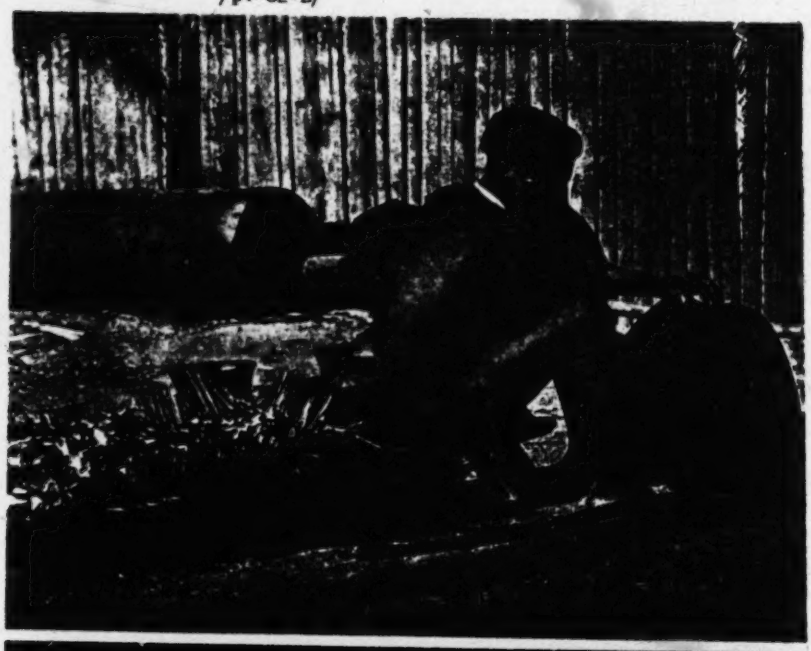

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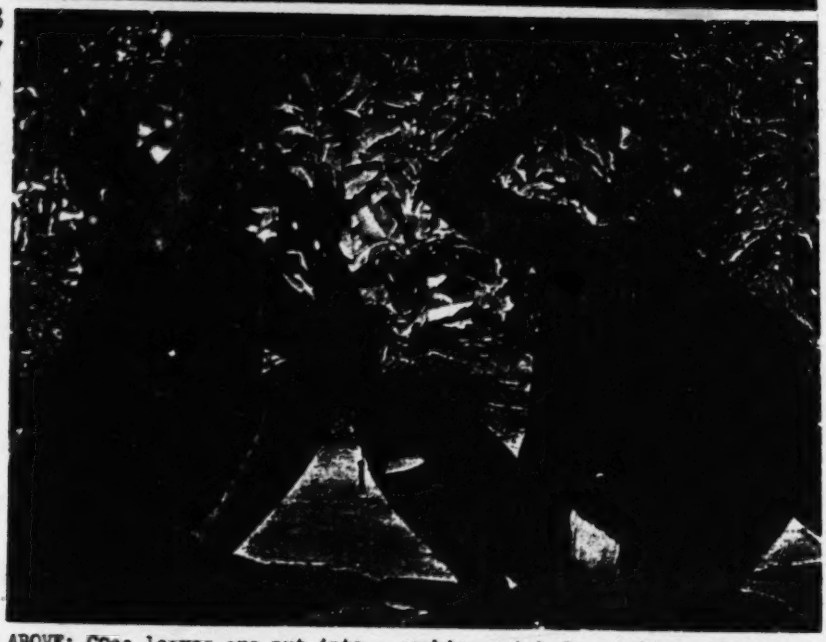

ABOVE: Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking. BELOW: Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.

the *maloca*, facing the women's quarters. Dazed from the *chicha* and coca they gazed in front of them and sang a slow dirge, beating their staves on the ground. Slowly they moved off in a clockwise circle inside the four central posts. The tempo increased, but the chant remained the same, the voices grew louder and combined with the hollow thuds from the staves and castanet-like rattles. The whole atmosphere changed, no longer were there rival groups competing with their neighbours, instead everyone took part in the dance. The women joined in, slipping their small bodies under the linked arms of the moving men. The circle increased, the women with their right hand to the small of the back of one man, and their left to the hip of another. Only Wanina, the headman's wife, accompanied by her small children and carrying Bréo's youngest son under her arm, did not join the circle. She moved slowly round the centre, her eyes fixed constantly to the ground, uttering a high-pitched wail as the dancers moved solemnly about her. 796 535

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/157 cont./

593 888 /footnote 27 cont./ offering of help and means; it is a cold and sterile egoism." "The old parents are left abandoned when they do not move from the house of one child to that of another, in order not to be a burden." "Nor can the natural love of the procreators be said to have a firm foundation, because of the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn babies, suffocating them as one would do with any little animal" (in the book Os Tucanos /The Tucano/ by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13).

593 847

593 581 Apropos of matrimony, Pe. Antônio Giacone writes: -- The Indian, not having love and tenderness for the woman, will be satisfied with the one that they give him, no matter whether she is pretty or ugly; it is enough if she is hard-working and gives him many children; if she is sterile, he will repudiate her as a useless thing, because every Indian marries for the sake of having many children" (Os Tucanos, p. 22). He censures the treatment of the old parents on the part of the children as "indifferent and inhuman" (ibidem, p. 26).

593 888

593 758 In November of 1953, on the occasion of our stay in Iauareté, the following episode took place. A young man from Uaracú-ponta (river Uaupés), married a few months earlier, gravely ill with tuberculosis, asked the Director to take him to the Mission hospital. There he had a visit by his wife, who remained in his company for some days. On a second visit, she burst into tears so noisily that the Director advised her that she should restrain herself or move farther away, in order not to add to the suffering of her sick husband. Nevertheless, two days before her husband's death, she wanted to leave for her povoado, taking with her the husband's hammock. And she did so, in spite of his insistent begging that she stay longer and leave his hammock.

/164 cont./

152 /footnote 42 cont./ great pain without a tear or a groan. On the other hand, when under the care of the civilized, for example, when hospitalized, they readily burst out in shrieks and groans that even seem exaggerated. We are prevented from presenting an explanation for similar facts, although we have in vain asked for one from the natives themselves on several occasions.

• 758 761 [755] [797] During illnesses, he will lie in the hammock and wait for nature to react to the prompting of the rites of the pajé. If the latter says that the sick man is going to die, he will await death calmly, without cries or shrieks. The relatives will not give him medicine, and many times not even food or drink (43).

758 797 43. And have you given mingau /a paste made with manioc flour/ to the sick man -- asked the Missionary to those of a maloca where he had found a very sick old man lying in a hammock. -- "What for?" objected the Indians, "he is going to die anyway." In May of 1954, a young wife gravely ill and given up by the pajé, Adelia Abreu by name, of the Tukano tribe, was found in Pari-cachoeira. She did not accept the medicines or threw them away, pretending to take them. She generally refused food. If by chance she showed any disposition to accept it, her mother whispered that she should not take it, because the pajé had said that she was going to die. With some difficulty they transported her to the hospital. The Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/ managed to overcome the young woman's resistance, and the latter decided to take the medicines and the food, and a hopeful improvement was

/164 cont./

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/footnote 43 cont./ noticed immediately. The sick woman's mother, upon learning this, ran to the hospital, in order to stop it. To anyone who argued with her because she acted so, the mother answered: -- "The pajé said that she is to die; if she gets well in the hospital, the pajé is going to be furious with me." It is true that as soon as the woman felt better she ran away from the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ hospital. From the delivery, which soon followed, she had a very weak child that died almost immediately. The young mother, however, became strong and is still enjoying good health (in September of 1956).

152

The /165/ patient will not ask for it or will even refuse to take it if someone presents it to him. His life has been full of fight and deprivations endured with the most inalterable calm, he never defeated by despair, he always appears strong, even b the imminence of death (cf. VII - 2, e (1) ).

24) Formality.

The Uaupésino native is a singularly formal type. It is precisely this rigorous formality, touching almost every activity of the individual, that crushes the individual, the personal in the Indian. About these, as about the Mongols, those who do not have very prolonged and immediate contact with them say that they all look alike, because it is difficult to distinguish them by physiognomic features. In reality, they are more alike in behavior than in the face. The Indians seem to us to have been made in series, if we consider them in their way of acting. Education, which subministers to them the congenital tendency to imitate, and the subjection to the customs and traditions are so absorptive that it almost makes the individualizing traits in them disappear. And this uniformity is still more impressive because it culturally

/368 cont./

621 of the soul, a social cult of the dead would be foreseen. Manifestations of this cult are the elegy-weeping, the interment, the banquet and funeral feast.

• 758 (82) 1) The elegy-weeping. The coldness and insensitivity

> 82. Sometimes, it seems to us, even cruelty, denying them even food and drink (cf. V-17).

with which these natives of the Uaupés see any member of the family waste away, even if it is their own father, mother, or child, is striking. The sick one is found in a hammock hung in a darker corner, and a few meters away the occupants of the maloca or house /369/ laugh, talk, eat, amuse themselves, as if no sick person was there (83).

[797]

> 83. We have already noted that, to the question by the Missionary as to whether anyone is sick (see V-16) in the maloca or povoado, they systematically answer no. Perhaps the silence or the denial has its cause in a belief or some magic concept unknown to us. And from this same concept might be derived the insensitivity, perhaps only apparent, which gives rise to our opinion. To the Padre who scolded a native who left his old father without food, he responded: -- "Why should I give him food? He is going to die!"
>
> Pe. João Marchesi writes (ap. "Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13): "In the same house, sometimes a relative is in agony, but nevertheless they will not take the least care to spare him

/369 cont./

758 [763]

/footnote 83 cont./ the commotion of an infernal orgy of two days. In front of their own dead brother they will burst out in a desperate cry, and with the same aptness they will pass to the noisiest and most indecent laughter."

763 *[192]

Nevertheless, as soon as they notice that he has died -- (perhaps the catastrophe already happened some time ago, and they did not notice it; or there has been a mistake, he has not died yet) -- the men and women present start the elegy-weeping, uxtisé (84).

[797] [756]

84. Pe. Humberto Limpens, Montfortian, in the early days of the Mission of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí), saw a "weeping," in which primarily the pajés blew smoke for a long time over the dead woman, who was married, while the men shouted threats against the enemies who were the cause of the death. Afterwards the women came, and, placing themselves in a semicircle, began the lamentations.

[797]

The weeping that took place on June 24, 1956, in the hospital of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) and which two Sisters in charge of nursing witnessed was also interesting. A young wife had died as the result of a stillbirth. She was the stepdaughter of the late tuxáua of Pari-cachoeira, Júlio, father of the present local chief. There had been previous treatment with the pajés; and even after she was already in a condition of extreme gravity and she had been taken to the hospital, her mother, of the Tuyuka tribe, had tried to take

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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264 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahûkiwa* to pay a
574 courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to
123 eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahûkiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may
• 788 explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack
571 fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest
866 for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This
[857] attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in
183 leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good
571 part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances
431 of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice: one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy
[123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe. 841 [833] [828] [758]

Menstrual blood (*hivé*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her. 826 841 821 [828]

## SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy. 836 835 [838] [775] [867] [626]

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis. 838

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The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were all attributed to human sorcery so that I have no information on the 763
Cubeo response to natural death or to death attributed to spirits. 754
Mourning is extensive but does not impose unusually onerous duties 76
or restrictions upon the survivors. Mourning goes through three 114
phases. In the first, from the moment of death to burial, which follows quickly, the immediate kin and all sibmates yield to their spontaneous emotions, but up to a point, for the ritualization of emotion sets in quickly. In the second, which is the period from burial to the great mourning ceremony, the nearest female kin of the household – wife, mother, sister – accept the burden of mourning. Finally, in the third phase, the entire living cosmos of the Cubeo – people, Ancients, birds, beasts, fish, insects, and demons – join in the mourning. This third phase, an intricate ceremony, is described in a separate chapter. The dead, as already indicated, are buried beneath the dance floor of the house, emphasizing, it seems to me, the importance the Cubeo place on the house itself rather than upon mere locality. [182]

I was present at the last hours of old João, a *Bahũkiwa* and *bakũdyá* 763
of the headman. He had been ill for several weeks, the medicine men [114]
had given up on him, and his death was, therefore, not unexpected. The Cubeo are not solicitous of the dying. Once its inevitability has been accepted death is awaited almost with indifference. Father Giacone (1949, p. 29), speaking for the neighboring Tucano, also observed that once the illness appears to be fatal the patient is given up for lost. Such patients, he adds, will be buried alive. When death seemed near – the old man was breathing with difficulty with a dry rasp – his wife took up the death watch at his hammock. At the moment of death her loud wailing awakened the house and all rushed to surround the hammock except the headman and his wife. Since it is the duty of the headman to preside over the inquest that follows upon the first outburst of grief he must plan upon a properly timed arrival. A shaman of another sib who was in the house also did not intrude upon the mourners, both in his role as shaman and as a sib outsider. [622]

The old woman, truly grief-stricken, had embraced her dead husband's body in the hammock and rocked over it, moaning and wailing. She withdrew, however, when the younger brother of João arrived. He felt for the heartbeat and then covered the old man's face with some rags that had been the sick man's blanket. The women had all gathered to one side of the hammock and they wept continuously, chorusing the loud and emphatic wailing of the widow. The 764
brother fetched his shotgun, moving slowly and grimly. He loaded

ooo /335/ Aspects of Tucano Culture
Mythology -- Part I

By Marcos Pulop

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114 /337/ Preliminary Note
[101]

The material presented here was collected between June 11 and September 9, 1954, when field work was done in the village /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Performing the functions of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra respectively, blood brothers and residents of the village of Guadalajara.

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121 The mythology that appears in this article is a very small portion of the total Tukano /Tucano/ mythology. The author has considered it advisable not to analyze individually the myths published here, but to wait until all the Tukano mythology has been collected and published.

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*539 /339/ I. Boraró and Boraró Numió

A man and a woman stayed in Diaojpekowí, and they were brother and sister. These two beings do not have children, but will never die. When they want to leave Diaojpekowí, they turn themselves into spirits. The man is named Boraró, and the woman is named Boraró Numió. Boraró and Boraró Numió kill people by opening a hole in their heads and sucking out the entire body through this hole. They leave only the skin of the victim, which they throw on a tree /Sp. palo/. To kill her victim, Boraró Numió lies down face up and begins to urinate at a distance of about 150 meters from her victim. Boraró, to kill his victim, urinates standing at a distance of about 150 meters from his victim. And when Boraró and Boraró Numió urinate, everyone that is within those 150 meters falls dead instantly.

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/164 cont./

152 /footnote 42 cont./ great pain without a tear or a groan. On the other hand, when under the care of the civilized, for example, when hospitalized, they readily burst out in shrieks and groans that even seem exaggerated. We are prevented from presenting an explanation for similar facts, although we have in vain asked for one from the natives themselves on several occasions.

758 761 [755] [797] During illnesses, he will lie in the hammock and wait for nature to react to the prompting of the rites of the pajé. If the latter says that the sick man is going to die, he will await death calmly, without cries or shrieks. The relatives will not give him medicine, and many times not even food or drink (43).

758 797 43. And have you given mingau /a paste made with manioc flour/ to the sick man -- asked the Missionary to those of a maloca where he had found a very sick old man lying in a hammock. -- "What for?" objected the Indians, "he is going to die anyway." In May of 1954, a young wife gravely ill and given up by the pajé, Adelia Abreu by name, of the Tukano tribe, was found in Pari-cachoeira. She did not accept the medicines or threw them away, pretending to take them. She generally refused food. If by chance she showed any disposition to accept it, her mother whispered that she should not take it, because the pajé had said that she was going to die. With some difficulty they transported her to the hospital. The Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/ managed to overcome the young woman's resistance, and the latter decided to take the medicines and the food, and a hopeful improvement was

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753 The cause of a local pain, inflammation or fever can also
755 be one of those malefic objects which has been introduced into the organism. The cure, naturally, is only to be obtained with the elimination of the object located in the sick part or the elimination of the malefice. Since it reached the organism mysteriously, by a magic process, only another magic process will be
[192] able to bring about the cure. And here the "sorcerer" or "xamã" /shaman/, called in Tukano Yaí (pajé), comes into action (15).

15. Yaí also means onça /jaguar/. Might there perhaps be some connection between the two concepts? The Indians could not tell us. The Ethnologists grant it.

753 They also think that the civilized, in order to do them harm,
829 send them malefice (grippe, etc.) inside the boxes of merchandise, which, upon being opened, will infect many people or the whole povoado (16).

16. In the Tukano povoado of S. Luzia (river Papuri) the daughter of the tuxaua had died
[648] of whooping cough (1947). Envying the Makú, who were well paid for the curare acquired in order to be studied in the south of Brazil, there was immediately a rumor that the sicknesses were prepared by the civilized with the curare of the Makú and sent to S. Luzia with the merchandise.

761 From this persuasion concerning the malevolent and magic origin of the sicknesses is born the conviction that every death has as its author an inimical person. It is, therefore, violent; man by nature is immortal. It is a vain effort to try to convince a feeble old man that he is going to die and it is advisable to prepare himself. Such a mental attitude, obviously, is not favorable to suicide, although one might perhaps find some old

/269 cont./

761 person who longs for death (17).

17. "I want to die," said one of these old men to Pe. Antônio Giacone, "because my teeth are tired of chewing." Pe. João Marchesi related to us the details of the only case of suicide that he had heard of. A Taryana Indian from the povoado called Cigarro, river Uaupés, violently inebriated by the caxirí, threw his own wife down on the ground and ill-treated her until he killed her. Afterwards he lay in the hammock and fell asleep. While he slept, the relatives and other persons buried the body. The murderer, upon awakening in the morning, called for his wife to prepare the mingau for him. They then told him how he himself had killed her the night before. The murderer, without saying anything to anyone, took his canoe and went to a nearby igarapé. Some hours later the canoe was found bubuiando (floating at the mercy of the stream) and, inside, some pieces of timbo and a cuia still dirty with timbo juice. The poor man squeezed and drank the poisonous juice of that plant and, perhaps in the convulsions of the agony, fell in the water and drowned.

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2) The Xamã /shaman/ or Yaí.

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The pajé or Yaí is, therefore, the doctor and at the same time Xamã /shaman/ (that is, a magician or sorcerer). Only men can be pajé.

/270/ a) His powers.

His powers are many. In the first place, to neutralize the malefice cast upon a sick person and thus cure him. He can even make individuals invulnerable to sicknesses.

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/footnote 84 cont./ her out of there in order to subject her again to the rites of the pajés. As soon as the catastrophe happened, in the very room of death, in the hospital, the weeping by men and women, accompanied simultaneously by dancing, began at the sides of the hammock that contained the body. Among the participants in the wailing and dances was a young Tukano woman who had taken the course in midwifery in Manaus. The dancers were distributed in pairs of the same sex, and the dances were intermixed with small hops, beating at this moment, first the arms, then the legs. The husband, also present, did not participate in the dances, but he did participate in the weeping. Later, once the body had been moved to the entrance room of the hospital, the old mother lay down on the floor, under the hammock where the daughter had died, with her legs and arms open, singing the elegy-weeping.

[874] [177] [535] [593]

• [761] The men utter cries and imprecations against those who caused the death; because every death, so they think, is a true murder perpetrated by some enemy by means of a malefice. The women too, appropriately called uxtĩra (Uaupés uxtĩha), mourners, between exclamations and with /370/ very sentimental thoughts, do the eulogy of the dead and imprecate against the pajés or persons who cast the spell, the alleged

*[192]

292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since
301 stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
554 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
[756] major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[437] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[614] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region.
[184] The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grünberg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *habóků* status or *kendmi upákü*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[135] [2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[324] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

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Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. 754
Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine [753]
men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering [761]
mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning"
is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent
death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In 683
all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

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Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

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A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen 844
a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by [606]
her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give [789]
birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There [591]
is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and 845
require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not 776
affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in [756]
labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may [754]
be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with [761]
a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwäntadjü*: making a person) is a dangerous period. 844
First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural 789
perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety 84
of the newborn infant rests with the parents — with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the pre- [833]
cautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may 846
also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten 826
plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

888 [593] [571] as well. The fixed relationships of mutual obligation are, as has been seen, between husband and wife, between parents and dependent children, between unmarried brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends. These relationships either do not apply to the aged, or, if they do, they may not be of great value to them. Generally speaking, the aged can depend upon those who are younger and vigorous only for the generalized sib benefits of sustenance and companionship. The deprivation of the aged is in what one might mistakenly call "the nonessentials." There is no one to buy an old lady a new petticoat or to get for an old man commercial tobacco. The aged do not protest such neglect because they acknowledge their lack 888 of claim. Nonetheless, they feel their neglect and loss of status keenly 123 enough. When I was among the *Bahúkiwa*, an aged lady employed all her senile charms to wheedle from me a new petticoat. Her husband, a very proud old man, deigned to accept only an occasional cigarette. From time to time he brought me fish and the old lady fetched me some of her small garden produce to reciprocate my favors.

888 The old must look after themselves. The very old *Bahúkiwa* couple maintained a semblance of an independent household. The old woman, unable to carry a load of manioc, no longer gardened, but she fetched firewood and looked after children. She cooked for her husband. Her daughter-in-law provided her with manioc cake. The old man was still a good fisherman, contributing to the maloca. Besides, he was a consultant on many matters, particularly on trees to be used in manufactures.

[181] [769] The focus of Cubeo culture is upon the vigorous household heads. The aged simply fall out of things. They are entitled to no particular respect, nor have they cause to be feared as spirits-to-be, for the Cubeo are interested only in their first ancestors and not in the spirits of the more recent dead.

## DEATH

761 [754] Death may be attributed by the Cubeo to natural causes such as accidents, violence, old age, but if it is the result of illness, it must be laid to some agency that has willed it. The most common agency 763 is human. Whether the agency is human or supernatural the reaction to death is patterned on grief, anger, and fear. The Cubeo reaction to death is to give full rein to grief and anger and to short-circuit as quickly as possible the forebodings that what has happened to one may happen to all. The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were

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764 it with a wad and turned to face the corpse. Each man now went with the same slow deliberateness to fetch his gun. The armed men formed a tight circle about the hammock, the widow in their midst pressed against it. Brandishing the weapon, the brother began the funeral declamation, a statement of grief and then anger and the threat of retaliation against the enemy. Each male mourner delivered his own address, always declaring his kinship relationship to the old man. The women accompanied the hoarse shouts of masculine anger with their own counterpoint of grief. After the last man had spoken they all fired their guns into the air together. The widow then withdrew to her hammock and lay silently while the men gathered about the hammock, caressed the corpse, and wept, accompanied in their grief by the women.

[531] When this first wave of mourning, which lasted some two hours, had subsided, the headman's wife arrived, took her place at the head of the hammock, and delivered a long funeral oration that began in anger and ended in tears. As she finished it seemed that the [761] grief had subsided; people stirred about more. Informally, and apparently spontaneously, the inquest began; names were mentioned and evidence cited. Women added their observations to those of the men, each citation being delivered in a loud and angry voice. [622] The headman broke in on this, an hour after his wife had finished [531] speaking. Armed with a gun he, too, approached the head of the hammock and delivered his funeral oration, concluding like the others with grief. During the angry part of his oration he summarized the suspicions and submitted his own. When the headman concluded, all the mourners drifted off and, since it was the middle of the night, all went to sleep. The respite was brief, and well before dawn mourning began again; mourners, men and women, approached the corpse (*yaiyñ*) in the hammock, caressed it, and wept.

Preparations for burial began promptly at sunrise. Four men of [823] the sib dug the grave (*tobékatcino*: hole underneath) four feet deep in an east-west direction to the left of the dance floor at the forward end of the house. They measured the corpse to get dimensions of the grave. When the grave had been dug halfway down one of the men lighted a cigarette and, bending over the sides but not entering the grave itself, blew cigarette smoke into each of its four corners, "so that the dead would always have tobacco."

[412] It took several hours to dig out the grave with machetes. While this was being done, others were preparing a canoe as the old man's coffin. A man is buried in his own canoe as a rule. However, the canoe of João was an excellent one, whereas one of the men had only re-

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764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first [615] mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning [illegible] widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the bu[illegible], where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent. 773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 **FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON**

537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And 539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is 821
merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies [796] are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as [754] potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *dthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaíbo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits 821
of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is [775] dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the [763] eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

## HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] 774
As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the [828] dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something [761] entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, [753] journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard 775
talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who [756] have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

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[776] [821] phic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyá* form.

[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915-16) also noted *umédé* (pulse) and *umédé* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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761 person who longs for death (17).

17. "I want to die," said one of these old men to Pe. Antônio Giacone, "because my teeth are tired of chewing." Pe. João Marchesi related to us the details of the only case of suicide that he had heard of. A Taryana Indian from the povoado called Cigarro, river Uaupés, violently inebriated by the caxirí, threw his own wife down on the ground and ill-treated her until he killed her. Afterwards he lay in the hammock and fell asleep. While he slept, the relatives and other persons buried the body. The murderer, upon awakening in the morning, called for his wife to prepare the mingau for him. They then told him how he himself had killed her the night before. The murderer, without saying anything to anyone, took his canoe and went to a nearby igarapé. Some hours later the canoe was found bubuiando (floating at the mercy of the stream) and, inside, some pieces of timbo and a cuia still dirty with timbo juice. The poor man squeezed and drank the poisonous juice of that plant and, perhaps in the convulsions of the agony, fell in the water and drowned.

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756 2) The Xamã /shaman/ or Yaí.

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[562]

/270/ a) His powers.

His powers are many. In the first place, to neutralize the malefice cast upon a sick person and thus cure him. He can even make individuals invulnerable to sicknesses.

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682 derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than [614] in cases of direct assault.

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*539 /351 cont./
any noise and go to my room. There I am going to sleep and on the next day show my body as it has become now." Then Miriápura Turíkaro, who was very vain, said: "No, you are coming with me now, in the daytime." The younger son knew what was going to happen, and he again refused to enter Bajsebowí by day, but Miriápura Turíkaro forced him to go with him to Bajsebowí. Then the younger son said: "All right, I am going with you."

In the meanwhile in the maloca of Bajsebowí the older brother already knew that his younger brother had been revived and that he was coming /352/ with Miriápura Turíkaro to the maloca of Bajsebowí. Then the older brother made a little [825] [763] bird appear, one that likes to live in the roofs of malocas, and they are a bad omen, for when they strike with their beaks on the top beam of the maloca, then someone in that maloca is going to die. In Tukano /Tucano/ this little bird is called Ñamákasero, and when it sings it says: "Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú," which in Spanish means: "de allí salió un diablo /a devil came out of there/." After the older brother made the Ñamákasero appear, he sent one Ñamákasero to go up to the roof of the maloca to keep vigil, he sent another Ñamákasero to the front door of the maloca, and he sent another Ñamákasero to the back door of the maloca. Meanwhile the younger son and Miriápura Turíkaro were going toward the maloca of Bajsebowí. The younger son walked in front and Miriápura Turíkaro walked behind his son. When the Ñamákasero at the front door of the maloca of Bajsebowí saw them coming, it began to sing "Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú" several times. Then the female Ñamákasero, which was on the back door of the maloca, answered, "Níto uajtí, níto uajtí, níto aujtí /sic/," which means in Spanish: "Dónde está el diablo /where is the devil/? Dónde está el diablo? Dónde está el diablo?" As soon as the two Ñamákasero said this, the younger son was very much ashamed, and he said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "I will not enter the maloca of Bajsebowí because they are calling me Uajtí" (22). Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to

22. Spirit; devil.

/278 cont./

756 according to the cures or /279/ other extraordinary deeds that they managed to achieve. The more famous ones will attract a clientele from great distances and even from other tribes. Even some of the civilized who have settled in those regions let themselves be influenced, and they too avail themselves of the services of the pajé.

755 The influence of the pajé is such that the very foods of the
756 sick person will be subjected to his blowing, Baxséke. Even the
*[192] remedies given by the civilized are presented to the pajé, who will blow on them in order to give them efficacy. If the sick person gets better, the merit will naturally belong to the pajé. If he does not happen to improve and dies, he will explain that it is a matter of a malefice of another "stronger pajé," or because of having taken a remedy of the whites, or food "not blown," or, finally, of having been overcome by a new and unexpected malefice before the pajé could be called.

And if it is declared that nothing more can be done, the patient will be abandoned as somebody fatally condemned to death; and not infrequently the relatives will deny him any assistance, and even food itself.

• [763] The patient, many times, after such a verdict from the pajé, will hasten his own death, refusing other medicines from the civilized and any food or drink (see V 23, stoicism).

167 It has happened that the pajé might declare the maloca or the
756 povoado irremediably dangerous, and then the Indians will not have any hesitation about abandoning it and will move to another place, in spite of all the difficulties (29).

[164]

29. It has likewise happened that after a few years they return to the same place. In 1932 an outbreak of malaria killed about 70 Indians in Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés. Although none of the students of the missionary school fell victim to it, the Indians, in fear, abandoned the locality. In 1947 they started to return.

/369 cont./

758 [763]

/footnote 83 cont./ the commotion of an infernal orgy of two days. In front of their own dead brother they will burst out in a desperate cry, and with the same aptness they will pass to the noisiest and most indecent laughter."

763 *[192]

Nevertheless, as soon as they notice that he has died -- (perhaps the catastrophe already happened some time ago, and they did not notice it; or there has been a mistake, he has not died yet) -- the men and women present start the elegy-weeping, uxtisé (84).

[797] [756]

84. Pe. Humberto Limpens, Montfortian, in the early days of the Mission of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí), saw a "weeping," in which primarily the pajés blew smoke for a long time over the dead woman, who was married, while the men shouted threats against the enemies who were the cause of the death. Afterwards the women came, and, placing themselves in a semicircle, began the lamentations.

[797]

The weeping that took place on June 24, 1956, in the hospital of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) and which two Sisters in charge of nursing witnessed was also interesting. A young wife had died as the result of a stillbirth. She was the stepdaughter of the late tuxáua of Pari-cachoeira, Júlio, father of the present local chief. There had been previous treatment with the pajés; and even after she was already in a condition of extreme gravity and she had been taken to the hospital, her mother, of the Tuyuka tribe, had tried to take

/369 cont./

• 763

/footnote 84 cont./ her out of there in order to subject her again to the rites of the pajés. As soon as the catastrophe happened, in the very room of death, in the hospital, the weeping by men and women, accompanied simultaneously by dancing, began at the sides of the hammock that contained the body. Among the participants in the wailing and dances was a young Tukano woman who had taken the course in midwifery in Manaus. The dancers were distributed in pairs of the same sex, and the dances were intermixed with small hops, beating at this moment, first the arms, then the legs. The husband, also present, did not participate in the dances, but he did participate in the weeping. Later, once the body had been moved to the entrance room of the hospital, the old mother lay down on the floor, under the hammock where the daughter had died, with her legs and arms open, singing the elegy-weeping.

[874]
[177]
[535]
[593]

[761] The men utter cries and imprecations against those who caused the death; because every death, so they think, is a true murder perpetrated by some enemy by means of a malefice. The women too, appropriately called uxtĩra (Uaupés uxtĩha), mourners, between exclamations and with /370/ very sentimental thoughts, do the eulogy of the dead and imprecate against the pajés or persons who cast the spell, the alleged

*[192]

/370 cont./

763 causa mortis. They lower their heads, draw the hair over the face, the tears come in abundance, and they constantly collect them with the index finger of the right hand and shake them to the ground. And they proceed in this way for a long time, in a characteristic intonation, in which they go from the lowest notes to the shrillest ones. And the mourners succeed one another in turn in this panegyric-imprecatory weeping. The last notes of their wailing have hardly been lost in the air and their last tears filtered into the floor of the maloca before the shadows of emotion clear away from their faces, and the mourner will go on to talk gaily with her companions, with her habitual good humor and noisy laughter.

[593] The mother or wife, during the wailing, will be squatting or seated on the little seats beside the deceased, and with the right hand drawing lines on the ground. At other times they rub the hands on the cadaver and then stretch the arms in the direction of space, as if they were casting there the curses or the malefice that took the life of the deceased.

*[192] At times three or more women gather in a closed circle, in which their heads touch, and the principal mourner extends her arms, as if to embrace them all by the nape of the neck; it is what is called ỹe'ẽ-kea-uxtisé, weeping embraced. The first mourner then starts to do the eulogy of the dead one, as if directing a dialogue with the others, who repeat her final words; or they address interlocutions, all of it intermixed with sobs and cries.

Once the panegyric-weeping is performed, which may last minutes or whole hours (85),

85. The weeping for the death of Júlio, tuxáua of Parí-cachoeira, on

/370 cont./

• 763 /footnote 85 cont./ July 5, 1954, lasted from 3 o'clock in the early morning until 10 o'clock in the day, when the burial was concluded.

calm is restored, as if nothing abnormal had happened (86).

86. If it is a husband or child who died, the sorrow at times is sincere and prolonged, and, in order to distract themselves, they go around to other malocas.

They resume their jobs, meal, or conversations with the habitual typical laughter.

If by chance it was during the night that the death took place, they customarily, after the weeping, stay up during the night, but talking gaily and drinking chibé, without concerning themselves about the dead one any longer.

764 The relatives, as they arrive to visit the family, casually or because they have learned of the death, have the same relief of noisy and laudatory wailing. On the occasion of the burial they /371/ reinitiate the weeping.

765 When some relative who lives farther away, even if it is months later, meets the widower or widow for the first time after the death of the spouse, he places his hands on the shoulder and not infrequently the scene of the wailing is renewed.

The simple news of some death is also apt to provoke the official wailing. It is to be noted that, although the dead person might be from the husband's tribe, many times the latter will not show any sign of grief, will calmly continue his gay chatting, leaving to his wife (who is from another tribe) the duty of wailing for the dead.

/372/

764 2) The interment. There is no fixed interval between the verification of the death and the burial. One even notices a certain anxiety to bury the corpse as soon as possible. And the cases
• 763 in which the preparations for this start when the individual is still
764 alive, and even has use of his senses, are not infrequent (88).

[797]

88. One of the Salesian Missionary Sisters, passing through Umarí (river Uaupés), saw in the maloca four holes in the floor. Surprised she asked the reason. It was that there were four children with whooping cough, and, foreseeing their death, they had already prepared the graves.

Another striking episode took place in Taracuá (river Uaupés) in 1934. The tuxáua Miguel, of the Tukano tribe, was near death, and his subjects prepared the coffin-canoe and placed the sick man there, almost suffocating him with his clothes, hammock, eating cuia, etc. The Missionaries arrived still in time, and, noticing that he was still alive, they moved him to the hospital, and actually he did not die until three days later.

[323] Although they are familiar with ceramics and know how to make vessels of large dimensions, they are not in the habit of burying the cadavers in vessels, nor are there any indications of their having had such a custom.

764 The burial is permanent, and the traditional form is the canoe-
501 coffin, yuxkõ-sõ-koró, that is, in a canoe (89).
*[192]

89. Occasionally, lacking a canoe, we have heard of burial in the caxirí tub in Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí). Pe. André Linssen, Missionary of the Monfort Congregation, did a burial in a mat in Acuaricuara (Colombia,

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843 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed.
826 Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating.
[302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to an-
• [763] other, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* — the term for the genipa pigment — will die very soon.

844 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca
854 on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers)
302 she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red
[789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment,
[856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on
[603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these
[606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the
[262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others
[372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their
[828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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888 [593] [571] as well. The fixed relationships of mutual obligation are, as has been seen, between husband and wife, between parents and dependent children, between unmarried brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends. These relationships either do not apply to the aged, or, if they do, they may not be of great value to them. Generally speaking, the aged can depend upon those who are younger and vigorous only for the generalized sib benefits of sustenance and companionship. The deprivation of the aged is in what one might mistakenly call "the nonessentials." There is no one to buy an old lady a new petticoat or to get for an old man commercial tobacco. The aged do not protest such neglect because they acknowledge their lack of claim. Nonetheless, they feel their neglect and loss of status keenly enough. When I was among the *Bahükiwa*, an aged lady employed all her senile charms to wheedle from me a new petticoat. Her husband, a very proud old man, deigned to accept only an occasional cigarette. From time to time he brought me fish and the old lady fetched me some of her small garden produce to reciprocate my favors.

888 123

888 The old must look after themselves. The very old *Bahükiwa* couple maintained a semblance of an independent household. The old woman, unable to carry a load of manioc, no longer gardened, but she fetched firewood and looked after children. She cooked for her husband. Her daughter-in-law provided her with manioc cake. The old man was still a good fisherman, contributing to the maloca. Besides, he was a consultant on many matters, particularly on trees to be used in manufactures.

[18] [769] The focus of Cubeo culture is upon the vigorous household heads. The aged simply fall out of things. They are entitled to no particular respect, nor have they cause to be feared as spirits-to-be, for the Cubeo are interested only in their first ancestors and not in the spirits of the more recent dead.

## DEATH

761 [759] 763 Death may be attributed by the Cubeo to natural causes such as accidents, violence, old age, but if it is the result of illness, it must be laid to some agency that has willed it. The most common agency is human. Whether the agency is human or supernatural the reaction to death is patterned on grief, anger, and fear. The Cubeo reaction to death is to give full rein to grief and anger and to short-circuit as quickly as possible the forebodings that what has happened to one may happen to all. The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were

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The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were all attributed to human sorcery so that I have no information on the 763
Cubeo response to natural death or to death attributed to spirits. 754
Mourning is extensive but does not impose unusually onerous duties 76
or restrictions upon the survivors. Mourning goes through three 114
phases. In the first, from the moment of death to burial, which follows quickly, the immediate kin and all sibmates yield to their spontaneous emotions, but up to a point, for the ritualization of emotion sets in quickly. In the second, which is the period from burial to the great mourning ceremony, the nearest female kin of the household – wife, mother, sister – accept the burden of mourning. Finally, in the third phase, the entire living cosmos of the Cubeo – people, Ancients, birds, beasts, fish, insects, and demons – join in the mourning. This third phase, an intricate ceremony, is described in a separate chapter. The dead, as already indicated, are buried beneath the dance floor of the house, emphasizing, it seems to me, the importance the Cubeo place on the house itself rather than upon mere locality. [182]

I was present at the last hours of old João, a *Bahŭkiwa* and *bakŭdyó* 763
of the headman. He had been ill for several weeks, the medicine men [114]
had given up on him, and his death was, therefore, not unexpected. The Cubeo are not solicitous of the dying. Once its inevitability has been accepted death is awaited almost with indifference. Father Giacone (1949, p. 29), speaking for the neighboring Tucano, also observed that once the illness appears to be fatal the patient is given up for lost. Such patients, he adds, will be buried alive. When death seemed near – the old man was breathing with difficulty with a dry rasp – his wife took up the death watch at his hammock. At the moment of death her loud wailing awakened the house and all rushed to surround the hammock except the headman and his wife. Since it is the duty of the headman to preside over the inquest that follows upon the first outburst of grief he must plan upon a properly timed arrival. A shaman of another sib who was in the house also did not intrude upon the mourners, both in his role as shaman and as a sib outsider. [622]

The old woman, truly grief-stricken, had embraced her dead husband's body in the hammock and rocked over it, moaning and wailing. She withdrew, however, when the younger brother of João arrived. He felt for the heartbeat and then covered the old man's face with some rags that had been the sick man's blanket. The women had all gathered to one side of the hammock and they wept continuously, chorusing the loud and emphatic wailing of the widow. The 764
brother fetched his shotgun, moving slowly and grimly. He loaded

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776
bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is 821
merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies [796] are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as [754] potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaíbo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits 821
of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is [775] dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the [763] eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

## HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] 774
As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umé-*
*mako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the [828] dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so [761] cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something [753] entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of 775
the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who [756] have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

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pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, [776] having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyá* form. [821]

[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédé* (pulse) and *uménde* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

6t Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



that José was the one man who could take us through to the mouth of the Piraparaná. 114

Throughout the whole journey the factor which played more on our minds than anything else was uncertainty. The way back over the dry channels was almost out of the question and the Indians would never have taken us; the way forward appeared to be a long succession of cataracts. Then there was the question of Nestor – would he ever arrive and how long should we wait? The longer we stayed the more insistent José became about leaving. He did not enjoy his role as an interpreter, he did not like asking his fellow-Indians questions and he seemed completely indifferent to the work we were trying to do. All this was understandable but it did not ease our position.

It was cold and wet when José and Uriel left early next morning to take a load of equipment ahead. Mist hung low over the forest and the trees dripped with moisture. 'This is white rain,' said Horacio. 'It is more usual in the winter months, so perhaps we are due for a wet spell and Nestor will get through after all.' We all had doubts in our minds and now, with José gone, we had no means of talking to the people in the *maloca*.

Suddenly Kuarumey's wife ran out and grabbed Brian's arm, beckoning him to follow her inside. From the far end of the dark interior, behind the palm screens, came strange sobs. The sounds rose and fell; across the bare earthen floor a slight figure bent over the embers of a dying fire. It was Watsora whose husband had been away on a hunting expedition for nearly a week. Her naked body, lit only by a dull red glow, was doubled up. She heaved and hardly seemed able to breathe. Only the day before she had carried her heavy basket of manioc from the plantation. Now her thin, drawn face, her sagging breasts, her dishevelled hair, aged her beyond belief. A young girl clutched her around the waist and moved to and fro with the heaving figure, quietly chanting to herself. Watsora's baby son ran to his mother's side and clasping her arm began to cry. 123 763

Kuarumey's wife implored us to help. She pointed to the black medicine chest. Only the previous night we had given the headman aspirin, but this illness seemed much more serious than a headache. We could not be sure what was wrong. Perhaps she had an internal haemorrhage, maybe it was consumption, or was it appendicitis? We couldn't know, none of us was a doctor. Horacio was firm: 'No, we must not give her any drugs, for if she dies, then what do you think will happen to us?' For a time we argued but eventually agreed. Horacio was right: no matter what we felt, we could not afford to be held responsible for her death, nor could we interfere.

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*A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.* 000

[see p. 80-B]

123 The wails increased, the young girl's chant grew louder as she repeated
• 763 the same notes over and over. The atmosphere in the *maloca* became unbearably tense and, while Horacio read outside, we went down to the river, trying to escape a situation which we could do nothing about. Our minds were not at rest and, when Horacio's drawn figure appeared walking slowly down the sandy track, we could guess what had happened.

'Watsora died five minutes ago,' he said and went back up the path. We said little and silently followed him back to the *maloca*. On the way we passed Kuarumey's old mother. Her normally jovial face was now serious. She avoided our eyes and continued to feed her toucan with beetle grubs. Inside all was silent, the wails had ceased, even the children were quiet and their innocent curiosity had turned to wariness. There was nothing we could do except wait and keep to ourselves. The boat was downstream and we had no means of talking to anyone. The tiny black sandflies converged on us in the stifling heat of the early afternoon. A woman came over to our equipment, undid a tin and took out a handful of rice, looked at the grains, smelt them and then carefully poured them back again, wiping her hands on a kitbag when she had finished.

123 Our anxiety increased. To read or write was impossible. We left the *maloca* to walk across the forest clearing. The question of giving or not giving drugs to the woman before she died had produced one dilemma. Now the question was – what next?

764 Returning later we noticed that the earth in the centre of the floor had been disturbed and fresh yellow clay lay on the surface. None of us had actually seen the corpse, but Donald had seen the young girl, who had been wailing at Watsora's side, take the dead woman's hammock down to the river and wash it. Later we learnt that the Tukano always bury their dead inside the *maloca*. The method is much like that of the Noanamá and the highland burials of the ancient Chibcha. They dig a trench and excavate a horizontal vault about three feet beneath the surface. The corpse, with the knees bound to the chest in the foetal position, is wrapped in his own hammock or in barkcloth and then inserted in the vault which is blocked with leaves, so that earth never touches the body. With the body are placed private possessions: pottery or a basket in the case of a woman; a bow and arrows, coca pouch or snuff-shell in the case of a man. They retain these possessions for the afterlife, the happy hunting grounds where they will travel in spirit.

123 No ceremony could have taken place in so short a time, and the women continued to make cassava, as though nothing had happened. Before the death they were wailing, now they were silent. The people who had once been so ready to smile, the children who normally followed at our side, were aloof and distant. Each one of us was tense and worried and it was a relief when a new face came to the entrance of the *maloca*. He seemed familiar and we recognized one of the Indians we had first met on crossing into the head-

/155 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 24 cont./ Educadoras /Educators/. Nevertheless, it was the mother herself who had hidden the daughters in the forest, as was found out later through witnesses of the act.

In a perfect manner they will feign illness or indigence, they will feign ignorance of an order or a prohibition, loss of memory or an oversight. Planning a deed which they consider bad (for example, three or four Indians organizing an attack with the purpose of stealing, or in Indian file to spy on the white through a crack, etc.), they do not let any anxiety show. Even when they are surprised, they are not disconcerted. They simply separate, as though nothing had happened. Almost always a hearty laugh will come to terminate the disrupted attempt.

764

Furthermore they are capable of showing emotions that they do not feel. A typical example is the funeral weeping (with tears, screams, exclamations), performed with moving perfection, returning immediately afterwards to the same gay conversation of minutes before, intermixed with immodest laughs; while others, in turn, recite /156/ their part, surrendering to crying, only to turn back minutes later to their habitual gaiety. Perhaps they could be used as theatrical actors.

17) Sentimental life: love, friendship, gratitude.

152
[593]

Their sentimental life does not seem very intense. One never observes displays very ardent with feeling (25).

25. The meeting between parents and children or between spouses, after months or perhaps years of separation, is always invested with the coolness of any meeting, without looking at each other, with those conventional expressions that we have indicated (cf. formalism below). The Missionary Pe. Antônio Giacone was able to observe this very curious episode: the husband had been absent for almost two years in order

/157 cont./

593 888 Cases in which they buried their old parents alive are cited (28).

28. There was shown to us in Uaracapá (river Papurí), upon leaving the povoado, the place where the hammock of a sick old man had been tied between two branches. And they had not only turned him out of the house in this condition, but also left him there in the open, without assistance or resources. As soon as he had died, they dug a grave under the hammock, cut the ropes of the old hammock, which fell, with the cadaver, into the hole, and covered /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ it irregularly with earth, as we could see in November of 1953. In June of 1954 an old Taryana about 70 or 80 years of age, shivering with cold, was found in the port of Iauareté. We do not know how he got there. Taken to the hospital in serious condition, he was laid on a hammock, given medicine, and had a hot water bottle applied (to replace the fire that they always use under the hammock). Days later, feeling well, he was questioned about where he came from. He interrupted immediately, saying that he did not want to go back to his house, because he was mistreated there by the children.

• [764]

We were informed about a Taryana from Pinú-pinú (river Uaupés) who mistreated and several times even spanked his own father, who was from Iauareté.

156 571 At least while they are living in their own environment, they cling together among themselves, even among individuals of a different tribe, more than /158/ with a civilized person. There is not, however, any sign of particular friendship among

/209 cont./

291 women completely dispense with even this costume, not covering themselves with anything whatsoever. They live in complete nudity, and this is very general. Among the Indians of the Uaupés such customs are not given up" (o. c. 629).

Seventy years later (Boletim Salesiano, Feb., 1918, p. 30) the first Salesian Superior of these Missions, Mons. Lourenço Giordano, reports: -- "The men do not wear clothes and the women ordinarily do not have any more than they do." "The Tucano can say with more truth than the philosopher: omnia mea mecum porto /I carry my all with me/. As clothing he wears ... the poira (?), that is, a string at the neck, with seeds of various colors, or a piece of white marble, and, ordinarily, nothing else."

192 /210/ Even today one finds many men with only the loin-
291 cloth or waxsó-ro, as is said in Tukano (cuẽio in Nheengatú) (41).

41. We think that cueio is only a corruption of the Portuguese word cueiro, the loincloth used for the newborn children. Waxsó-ro is probably derived, according to the nature of the Tukano language, from waxsó su'ti-ro. Waxsó means semen; su'ti-ro, garment. Some Missionaries who speak Tukano think that waxsó-ro comes from waxsógõ, the Tukano name for the tururí plant (of the family of the esterculiáceas /Sterculiaceae/ from whose bast is taken a fabric used for the bag for storing the ipadú, for the making of clothing or dance masks. It must be noted, however, that such masks are called ya'ko-kó su'ti-ro, dress of tears, because such masks are only worn in the funeral dances. Would it not be, on the contrary, that the name of the plant, waxsó-gõ, is derived from waxsó-ro, because of the use of its liber as cueio? One must

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[764]

278 /289 cont./
757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant
*[192] called Taá-dõxká (45),

45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b) ): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

[178] [764] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night [164] [354] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

/315 cont./

*192 237 534 535

2nd. -- Umũ-ka-iti. It is a crest of white garça /heron/ feathers (yehé) and yellow ones from the japú /Icteridae/ (umũ), used like the preceding one.

3rd. -- Pexká pixkõrõá petorí, or, abbreviated, pyõrõá pe'torí. It is a beetle-carapace necklace of changeable colors (66),

> 66. A native furnished us the explanation that the pixkõrõá live inside the bacaba palm. He further added that do'tõ is "father" of the beetle pixkõrõ. It is probably a matter of insects with different phases, like the butterfly, which passes through the stages of larva and chrysalid.

which covers the bone flute during the dances.

*192 184 532 • 764 [178]

n) Masks. On the Uaupés only the Wanãna and the Kubêwãna (67)

> 67. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 205) learned that, besides the Buhágana, the õmõa /sic/ and Sãra also wear masks. It seems that until 50 years ago or a little more, that is, around the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, the use of the masks was quite widespread among the tribes of the Tiquié and tributaries.

nowadays wear the masks in the funeral dances, and for this reason they call them ya'ko-kó su'tí-ro, that is, clothing of tears.

/316/ They are prepared with the liber of the tururí and have the shape of a nightgown, which covers the person from the head to the knees.

/316 cont./

287 532 764 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadú bags. Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 532 778 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 236), the Taryana wore masks also at the feast of Wãx-tĩ. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the Ide-masã of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called Waxtĩ (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a) Difficulties.

177 771 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

4: Silva--473 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 321 in the original source/

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Burial in the canoe (juxkõ-sõ-koro)

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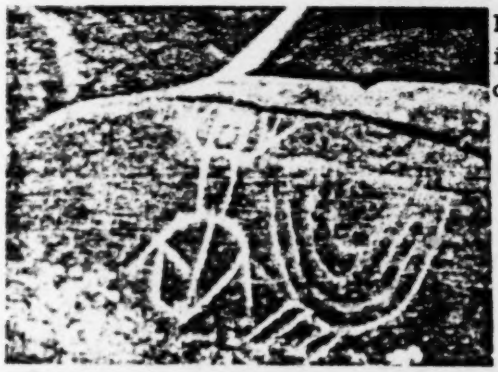

Itacoatiara (rupestrian inscription) in Carurú-cachoeira (river Tiquié)

823

Mandú, the Ipeka tuxaua from Urubucuara (Uaupés R.) and his son beside the hole from which the tribes arose (cf. Lendas do Uaupés). The mound in the background (left) is supposed to have resulted from the spit of Wãx-tĩ.

/325 cont./

*192 797 774

/footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as corresponding to: heart, soul, and conscience. When they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis, the natives naturally give the word héri-põra this threefold equivalence. The old ones, however, only use it in the material sense, to indicate a part of the organism, that is, the assemblage of the principal internal organs, especially the heart and the lungs.

774 [756]

They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does it often. According to what Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, p. 317), the Kubêwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

764 775

On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

775 825

/326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul, upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal. But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic; 14/

[115]

14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

/326 cont./

775 All the other souls meet under the ground, in a very deep, dark, and cold place (16),

[115]
[764]

16. A young Tukano from Parí-cachoeira, Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why one places a match beside the cadaver which was buried, explained that it was in order not to feel cold. When we pressed as to whether the place where he was going was cold, he said yes. This concept of a cold hell is explained by recalling their warm region and they like the heat. To Padre Kok (according to what brother Pe. Afonso Kuypers told us), who described hell as a place of fire, an Indian said: "Better, so there is no need to make a fire there."

hence the need for fire. Therefore the metempsychosis is an extraordinary case of punishment.

They do not admit, however, human reincarnation, that is, that the spirit reappears, animating the body of a newborn child. One understands perfectly. Reincarnation can only be established in the /327/ human groups in which mortality and the birth rate are balanced. Among our natives there is a slight tendency toward an increase in the population, with periodic epidemics which decimate the malocas.

[161]

Likewise they do not admit a future resurrection of human beings.

764 They have no fear of the cadaver at all (17),

17. It is an unpleasant sight, observed a Missionary (Pe. Umberto Limpens), to the Indian, as it is to all of us, because it makes them think of death.

/327 cont./

764 not even the children; so that they used to bury it in the maloca itself, where life will continue as usual. Nor do they later practice any ritual of purification (like the Jews) when they touch a cadaver. They do show some fear of the soul (18),

> 18. Brother Mateo of Montfort told that, while navigating with some Indians, he reached a place called S. José (river Papuri), where two days before an old man had been buried. Only the brother remained on this bank during the night; the natives, out of fear, went to sleep on the opposite bank.

although they declare, when questioned, that it cannot return or be invoked by the pajé or any other person.

775 [115] A Tukano woman (Dorotéia Brito), questioned about what she thought of wãx-tĩ, answered that "it is the shadow of the person." And the Tukano Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why anyone was afraid of the dead, explained "because he becomes wãx-tĩ" (19).

> 19. When an Indian, having died far from the cemetery, was buried inside a hut, the Indians later came to complain to Pe. Umberto Limpens that they did not want to live there any longer, because "the wãx-tĩ of the man" was wandering all through the house. On January 10, 1949, in Ki-xsẽri-yá (igarapé of the mandioca peelings) on the river Tiquié, near the Colombian frontier, an old man known as Chico died by drowning while fishing. Contrary to custom, they buried the cadaver where it was found, in an abandoned spot, a little below the povoado.

/327 cont./

775 /Footnote 19 cont./ They say that at night cries are heard, and no native dares pass by there. When we were there, about 15 days after the burial, the inhabitants still continued to be frightened.

3) Moral principles.

673 They characterize some acts as "ya'ïsé"; for example, the marriage of persons of the same tribe, to have children from incest between parents and children or between members of the same tribe, the malefice (dohasé), and stealing.

627 The punishment, however, is the obligation of the one who
756 judges himself hurt, if he can do it. The pajé, by his extraordinary powers, is used as an instrument of justice, or rather of vengeance. They do not think, however, that it is legal for him to do so. They fear him, and, when they can, they also take revenge on him.

/328/ 4) Reward and punishment.

177 The concept of a reward or punishment in the other life is less
775 precise. They know, at present, that the good are rewarded and the bad, punished. Perhaps because of Christian influence, they say that the former will "go up," where they will have "good life"; the bad ones "will go down," where "the life is bad."

The concept of good and bad, however, extends so far as to include all those of the povoado as good, and those of the enemy villages as bad. It is, then, a concept in terms of the group, and not of the life of the individuals.

The fact that they bury the cadaver with its hunting imple-
764 ments (bow and arrow) might perhaps be a vestige of an ancient
775 belief in a "hunting paradise," as exists in hunting tribes. This belief has been obliterated with the change of the system of life from hunting to fishing and agriculture.

/335 cont./
823 legs (38),
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38. One of these drawings is seen on a rock of the Carurú-cachoeira, river Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

prodigious belly, enormous head, would look with dread and say in a low voice: WÃx-tĨ As if these representations were a perpetuation, in granite, of the memory of the terrible and feared monster. We have never witnessed any of these demonstrations of fear. Sometimes we have approached such petroglyphs and summoned near /336/ some Indians, and they have always appeared indifferent to such drawings. Moreover, we have found similar figures on the bark walls of huts and malocas, and, moreover, we have seen children draw them on the ground with a stick, and, therefore, without any semblance of religiousness.

764 It can, then, be affirmed that there is no indication of an
782 individual cult. There is, nevertheless, a social cult to be dis-
881 cussed, which is realized in the maloca and its immediate surroundings. There are principally three manifestations of this social cult: the offering of the first fruits or dabacurís, the puberty initiation, and the funeral. All three of which a spiritual communion, tightening the solidarity of the group.

782 2) Religious feasts with offering of the first fruits.
796 Their Poosé are religious feasts, in our opinion (39),
[192]

39. An opinion that we have expressed since 1947 and that recently (1954) we verified to be also that of Koch Grünberg, who (Z. I. 372, and passim) distinguishes, moreover, religious dances and profane dances. Koch, nevertheless, accepts the translation demônio /demon/ for WÃx-tĨ, and even for other personages of the native legends.

and were called by the first explorers, with a term from the Língua

/370 cont./

763

/footnote 85 cont./ July 5, 1954, lasted from 3 o'clock in the early morning until 10 o'clock in the day, when the burial was concluded.

calm is restored, as if nothing abnormal had happened (86).

86. If it is a husband or child who died, the sorrow at times is sincere and prolonged, and, in order to distract themselves, they go around to other malocas.

They resume their jobs, meal, or conversations with the habitual typical laughter.

If by chance it was during the night that the death took place, they customarily, after the weeping, stay up during the night, but talking gaily and drinking chibé, without concerning themselves about the dead one any longer.

764 The relatives, as they arrive to visit the family, casually or because they have learned of the death, have the same relief of noisy and laudatory wailing. On the occasion of the burial they /371/ reinitiate the weeping.

765 When some relative who lives farther away, even if it is months later, meets the widower or widow for the first time after the death of the spouse, he places his hands on the shoulder and not infrequently the scene of the wailing is renewed.

The simple news of some death is also apt to provoke the official wailing. It is to be noted that, although the dead person might be from the husband's tribe, many times the latter will not show any sign of grief, will calmly continue his gay chatting, leaving to his wife (who is from another tribe) the duty of wailing for the dead.

/372/

764 2) The interment. There is no fixed interval between the verification of the death and the burial. One even notices a certain anxiety to bury the corpse as soon as possible. And the cases
763 in which the preparations for this start when the individual is still
764 alive, and even has use of his senses, are not infrequent (88).

[797]

88. One of the Salesian Missionary Sisters, passing through Umarí (river Uaupés), saw in the maloca four holes in the floor. Surprised she asked the reason. It was that there were four children with whooping cough, and, foreseeing their death, they had already prepared the graves.

Another striking episode took place in Taracuá (river Uaupés) in 1934. The tuxáua Miguel, of the Tukano tribe, was near death, and his subjects prepared the coffin-canoe and placed the sick man there, almost suffocating him with his clothes, hammock, eating cuia, etc. The Missionaries arrived still in time, and, noticing that he was still alive, they moved him to the hospital, and actually he did not die until three days later.

[323] Although they are familiar with ceramics and know how to make vessels of large dimensions, they are not in the habit of burying the cadavers in vessels, nor are there any indications of their having had such a custom.

764 The burial is permanent, and the traditional form is the canoe-
501 coffin, yuxkõ-sõ-kõrõ, that is, in a canoe (89).
*[192]

89. Occasionally, lacking a canoe, we have heard of burial in the caxirí tub in Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí). Pe. André Linssen, Missionary of the Monfort Congregation, did a burial in a mat in Acuaricuara (Colombia,

/372 cont./

• 764
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*[192]
[797]
[177]

/footnote 89 cont./ river Paca). Today one often hears "yuxkõ-sõ mãrĩ," there is no canoe (since they do not want to render useless the good canoes that they have), and they bury the dead in some hollow piece of timber, or they ask the Missionaries for a casket.

It will be the old canoe, fruit of his work, companion of his travels and of his fishing trips, or one obtained for this purpose. They saw it into two parts. We were unable to find out what they would have done in the old days, before they had a saw or machete, in order to divide the canoe into two halves. Whether they then did it with the help of fire, or whether they used two small canoes as a coffin. On one half they place the corpse with his hammock, bow, arrow, his cuia with a little flour, a cigar, and some coals on a piece of a pot (nowadays a box with some matches). They cover this with the other half of the canoe, closing the orifices, at present with pieces of wood, rags, or anything, and tie the two parts with strong cords of tucum.

764 The burial with part of the utilitarian objects is usually a survival from nomadism. Today the Indians explain to us that it is "to be used in the other life." Other objects (canoes, machetes, axes, hammocks, etc.) are inherited by the family, or, more accurately, by the /373/ oldest son. It is the symbol of a bond that still endures among the members who are living and those already dead (84) /sic; 90/.

[184]

90. Koch Grünberg says of the Kubẽwãna that they burn and throw away the objects that belonged to the dead person, so that his spirit does not come to punish the survivors for their negligence and greediness (Zwei Jahre, p. 314).

/373 cont./

764 although the apparent motive is the ambition and the interests of the Indian. And they have been seen to take long trips in order to acquire some object that belonged to the deceased.

[412] The grave, sufficiently long and not very deep, opened formerly with a simple pointed stick and the hands, is made in the central nave of the maloca (91),

> 91. In January of 1948 in Ambaíba (Colombia, river Querari) the Kubêwãna were preparing a new maloca, when the death of an Indian took place. They buried him, then, in the area of the new maloca. Since this was still without any covering, however, they improvised a little roof of straw over the grave, a meter above the ground, "so that the dead one will not get the rain."
>
> Near Matapí (river Uaupés) there is an island known precisely as the "island of the cemetery," because the Wanana buried their dead there. We do not know whether this was due to the influence of the civilized.

without any obligatory orientation. On that place, precisely, where he spent the happiest hours of his life, preparing his bow and arrow, adorning himself with the ornaments, in endless talks with his tribal brothers, and danced during the long nights of the poosé (dabacurí); as if the living wished to maintain union with the dead.

The canoe is then placed in the grave, there being renewed among those present, collectively, the "panegyric-weeping (92).

[797]

> 92. This is verified even for the burials that take place in the cemeteries of the Missions, with the assistance of the Missionary, who many times finds himself obliged, after a few minutes, to ask that they cease the weeping

/373 cont./

764
[797]

/footnote 92 cont./ in order to proceed with the liturgical absolution. Upon leaving the cemetery, the women were seen making broad gestures with the arms, as if to chase away the malignant spirit, or to cast curses over the one who caused the death. Moreover, they were observed burning nettles around the house where the death had taken place.

Everyone will throw handfuls of earth over the coffin, until the grave is completely filled. In a short time, because of the treading of those passing over it, the ground will be as firm as the rest of the floor, and nothing will reveal that anyone was buried there (93).

93. What Wallace tells (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 637) is not likely: "In some of the larger houses there are, at times, more than a hundred graves, and when the houses become too small and are already full, they then make the graves outside." In fact it is a matter of small human groups, which very rarely exceed one hundred persons; therefore, as a rule, there will not be half a dozen /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ deaths a year. The hot and humid climate promotes the rapid disappearance of the mortal remains. And, besides, no sign indicating graves remains.

/374/ One does not perceive any manifestation of fear from viewing or contact with the body.

/374 cont./

• 764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wãx-tĩ?) ).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubu-[535] cuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxirí (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

## CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

/485 cont./

888 he will face Wãx-tĩ, the great Idea, the great Spirit, in which he has always believed, whom he has respected and feared and tried to propitiate, as his ancestors taught him.

764 When they become aware of the quiet and solitary catastrophe, the maloca will be agitated by the clamorous wailing of the nation for the member who has just passed away.

121 797 This, however, does not complete the cycle of native life. All of those tribes of the Caiarí are nowadays in direct or indirect relation with the "Civilização de Cristo" /Civilization of Christ/. The parents, under the impulse of paternal love, dream of making their child a civilized person, child of Brazil and of the Church. This sacred fire is kindled deep inside each youth, and for this reason he enrolls in the Catholic schools. They spend long and happy years there, without dissociating themselves, however, from their nation. And they return to their "brothers" with their minds more enlightened, greater material comfort, a belief in the Creator God of heaven and earth, Lord, Judge and Father, and a hope of a less sad old age, nourished by the hopes of a happy future life without end.

And the elders, to whom such a chance was not presented, will perhaps have assistance in the hospitals that the charity of Jesus Christ has erected in each Missionary center, and the maternal care of a Religious who tries to alleviate the physical pain and to comfort the soul. And, above all, they will have the hope of the assistance of a Missionary who, in the last moments of life, through the infinite efficacy of the Sacraments, will make him a child of God, will enrich his soul with grace and will open for him the doors of eternal blessedness. /Page 486 is blank./

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at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. [514]
The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

342
The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a [796]
vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its [764]
great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food [252]
is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- [32]
factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- [517]
side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza
in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure
time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 342
way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 574
exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests 576
are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and
facing inward.

342
When I came among the *Bahúkina* they were on the upswing, hav- 622
ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had [114]
put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com-
partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was
75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof
extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the
work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is
carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction.
The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the
maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The
headman is known as *kenámi upákũ* (owner of the house). The house
is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority
of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo be-
lieve, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation- 342
ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578
Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592
is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook dis-
courtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that
such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are
acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one
sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will
move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community.
The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove
the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they
have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper to scold. The young son of the *Bahúkiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

## INHERITANCE

Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some personal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of ceremonial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were all attributed to human sorcery so that I have no information on the 763
Cubeo response to natural death or to death attributed to spirits. 754
Mourning is extensive but does not impose unusually onerous duties 76
or restrictions upon the survivors. Mourning goes through three 114
phases. In the first, from the moment of death to burial, which follows quickly, the immediate kin and all sibmates yield to their spontaneous emotions, but up to a point, for the ritualization of emotion sets in quickly. In the second, which is the period from burial to the great mourning ceremony, the nearest female kin of the household – wife, mother, sister – accept the burden of mourning. Finally, in the third phase, the entire living cosmos of the Cubeo – people, Ancients, birds, beasts, fish, insects, and demons – join in the mourning. This third phase, an intricate ceremony, is described in a separate chapter. The dead, as already indicated, are buried beneath the dance floor of the house, emphasizing, it seems to me, the importance the Cubeo place on the house itself rather than upon mere locality. [182]

I was present at the last hours of old João, a *Bahúkiwa* and *bakúdyó* 763
of the headman. He had been ill for several weeks, the medicine men [114]
had given up on him, and his death was, therefore, not unexpected. The Cubeo are not solicitous of the dying. Once its inevitability has been accepted death is awaited almost with indifference. Father Giacone (1949, p. 29), speaking for the neighboring Tucano, also observed that once the illness appears to be fatal the patient is given up for lost. Such patients, he adds, will be buried alive. When death seemed near – the old man was breathing with difficulty with a dry rasp – his wife took up the death watch at his hammock. At the moment of death her loud wailing awakened the house and all rushed to surround the hammock except the headman and his wife. Since it [622]
is the duty of the headman to preside over the inquest that follows upon the first outburst of grief he must plan upon a properly timed arrival. A shaman of another sib who was in the house also did not intrude upon the mourners, both in his role as shaman and as a sib outsider.

The old woman, truly grief-stricken, had embraced her dead husband's body in the hammock and rocked over it, moaning and wailing. She withdrew, however, when the younger brother of João arrived. He felt for the heartbeat and then covered the old man's face with some rags that had been the sick man's blanket. The women had all gathered to one side of the hammock and they wept continuously, chorusing the loud and emphatic wailing of the widow. The 764
brother fetched his shotgun, moving slowly and grimly. He loaded

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764 it with a wad and turned to face the corpse. Each man now went with the same slow deliberateness to fetch his gun. The armed men formed a tight circle about the hammock, the widow in their midst pressed against it. Brandishing the weapon, the brother began the funeral declamation, a statement of grief and then anger and the threat of retaliation against the enemy. Each male mourner delivered his own address, always declaring his kinship relationship to the old man. The women accompanied the hoarse shouts of masculine anger with their own counterpoint of grief. After the last man had spoken they all fired their guns into the air together. The widow then withdrew to her hammock and lay silently while the men gathered about the hammock, caressed the corpse, and wept, accompanied in their grief by the women.

[537] When this first wave of mourning, which lasted some two hours, had subsided, the headman's wife arrived, took her place at the head of the hammock, and delivered a long funeral oration that began in anger and ended in tears. As she finished it seemed that the [761] grief had subsided; people stirred about more. Informally, and apparently spontaneously, the inquest began; names were mentioned and evidence cited. Women added their observations to those of the men, each citation being delivered in a loud and angry voice. [622] The headman broke in on this, an hour after his wife had finished [537] speaking. Armed with a gun he, too, approached the head of the hammock and delivered his funeral oration, concluding like the others with grief. During the angry part of his oration he summarized the suspicions and submitted his own. When the headman concluded, all the mourners drifted off and, since it was the middle of the night, all went to sleep. The respite was brief, and well before dawn mourning began again; mourners, men and women, approached the corpse (*yaiyũ*) in the hammock, caressed it, and wept.

Preparations for burial began promptly at sunrise. Four men of [823] the sib dug the grave (*tobékatcino*: hole underneath) four feet deep in an east-west direction to the left of the dance floor at the forward end of the house. They measured the corpse to get dimensions of the grave. When the grave had been dug halfway down one of the men lighted a cigarette and, bending over the sides but not entering the grave itself, blew cigarette smoke into each of its four corners, "so that the dead would always have tobacco."

[412] It took several hours to dig out the grave with machetes. While this was being done, others were preparing a canoe as the old man's coffin. A man is buried in his own canoe as a rule. However, the canoe of João was an excellent one, whereas one of the men had only re-

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cently split a new canoe while spreading it. It was decided to substi- 764
tute the split canoe. The canoe was cut in half, one end serving as the bottom and the other as the top of the coffin.[5] When the canoe was ready, the headman and three sib elders untied the hammock in which the dead man was lying and brought the corpse, bound in the hammock, to the canoe half that lay alongside the grave. The Cubeo prefer not to handle a corpse, except to caress it as a gesture of grief and affection. The corpse is wrapped in its hammock in the same way in which household effects are wrapped in it for transportation. The corpse lying in the hammock had naturally assumed a moderately flexed position, the knees drawn up and the hands folded across the abdomen. They laid it carefully in the canoe, face down. A woman of the sib brought a gourd dish that had a hole drilled in it and placed it over the old man's head. The dish is for use in the afterlife and the hole is for breathing. A young man brought up the sib's *behórũ*, dance staff and pennant of all social ceremonial. He broke it in two and laid the pieces alongside the corpse. From what I had been told about burial practices I had expected that all the personal effects of the old man would be buried with him. When I asked they shrugged and said, "He won't need them." Koch-Grünberg, among 764
the *Hehénewa*, reported, on the other hand, that a man is buried 184
with his dance feathers, which are laid upon his breast. His bow and arrows, fishing gear, and other possessions are burned upon the grave. A woman's trays and dishes are burned and her pots broken up and thrown into the woods. These things must be disposed of, he observed, to prevent the dead from coming back. Presumably burial practices have changed to some degree. When I was among the *He-* 764
*hénewa* they were not burying a man's ceremonial feathers with 184
him, but used them in the mourning ceremony as a representation 178
of the deceased.

The entire community had gathered to watch the preparations for 764
burial. Men and women wept, except those men who were handling the burial. The widow punctuated the weeping with her own loud wails. The top of the canoe was lashed into place and the canoe was lowered by ropes into the grave by four men. All the men of the sib [614]
crowded over the grave and reached into it to touch the canoe, weeping unrestrainedly.

Through all of the first stage of mourning the children had taken

[5] An alternative method of burial is in a large pottery jar. Urn burial is preferred for women and children, who may not have a canoe. In their tales the Cubeo do not mention canoe burial at all. They speak of the body as put in a large urn in a sitting position.

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764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to [615] grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 **FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON**

537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

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[he shall be abandoned]. His flesh will not be firm, he will rot away. He shall not shorten the days of my life. This one here [the deceased], he has departed. We shall endure. That thoughtless person, he did it. That poison had no power to make us sick, but he died. We do not have such poison. Such is not with us. He is the one who died. He did not live long enough to go and walk with us. Now we do not have a companion. As he died, so we, too, are going to die in this evil land. Let us bury him in our house, under the earth. Let us cover him. He has poisoned us and so we have lost one of us. And so my father has died. Where shall I see my father? He is buried. He has gone. He is ended on this day. He made me a man, he left me as a male descendant. I am still here. My father, my father. It is as if I, too, had died. I, too, can go. I know how. I am a man. When I shall see him [the murderer] I shall confront him. He and I shall meet. He who poisoned my father. It is I who live here. He did not care to behold my father and so he did it. My father raised me here. In my own land, in my father's house I will continue to live. He died, but I am not dead. I am still here. My father reared me as a man. I am going to kill him who poisoned my father. He who did this. I will do the same thing to him. [He fires his gun.]

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### FUNERAL ORATION BY A WIDOW

My husband has died. That evil person who did this to me, he, too, will die. We here shall not survive. He whom I wed at this place, my husband. Where shall I see him? They have buried him who was mine. He is gone now. It is finished. It is only today that he began to live here. They schemed, those who are of another place. They schemed about this, and so my own, my husband, has died. He died while with me. Now I remain a widow. Your father has died. Come and bury him. Your father said he had raised men as descendants of ours. My children, you are our men. They who did it did not care to behold your father and so now we are no more.

### FUNERAL REMARKS OF A PHRATRY VISITOR

Over there where I live, I heard about it so I came to your house. Is it true you have lost your father? Where did you bury him? I heard about it over there where I live, so I came to your house. It is my privilege to shed tears for your father. Do not scheme revenge. He who killed him will also die. You and I, we have lost one of our own. We shall all die.

### REPLY BY A SON

All right! Come in. I allowed my father – we allowed my father to die. In the same way that he died, we shall die. You have come from over there to shed tears. We are already finished, because we have lost one of ours. I allowed my father to die. As you have just spoken to me and asked, it is here that my father is buried. He did not last through the day. That evil one, he did not wish to behold us. He poisoned my father and that is why he died. Look over here [drawing the guest over to the grave]. Here is where he is. Here is where he is residing. Behold my father's house. My father has died. He is no longer alive. Badly he went.

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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawi* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihi*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

123 763 The wails increased, the young girl's chant grew louder as she repeated the same notes over and over. The atmosphere in the *maloca* became unbearably tense and, while Horacio read outside, we went down to the river, trying to escape a situation which we could do nothing about. Our minds were not at rest and, when Horacio's drawn figure appeared walking slowly down the sandy track, we could guess what had happened.

'Watsora died five minutes ago,' he said and went back up the path. We said little and silently followed him back to the *maloca*. On the way we passed Kuarumey's old mother. Her normally jovial face was now serious. She avoided our eyes and continued to feed her toucan with beetle grubs. Inside all was silent, the wails had ceased, even the children were quiet and their innocent curiosity had turned to wariness. There was nothing we could do except wait and keep to ourselves. The boat was downstream and we had no means of talking to anyone. The tiny black sandflies converged on us in the stifling heat of the early afternoon. A woman came over to our equipment, undid a tin and took out a handful of rice, looked at the grains, smelt them and then carefully poured them back again, wiping her hands on a kitbag when she had finished.

123 Our anxiety increased. To read or write was impossible. We left the *maloca* to walk across the forest clearing. The question of giving or not giving drugs to the woman before she died had produced one dilemma. Now the question was – what next?

764 Returning later we noticed that the earth in the centre of the floor had been disturbed and fresh yellow clay lay on the surface. None of us had actually seen the corpse, but Donald had seen the young girl, who had been wailing at Watsora's side, take the dead woman's hammock down to the river and wash it. Later we learnt that the Tukano always bury their dead inside the *maloca*. The method is much like that of the Noanamá and the highland burials of the ancient Chibcha. They dig a trench and excavate a horizontal vault about three feet beneath the surface. The corpse, with the knees bound to the chest in the foetal position, is wrapped in his own hammock or in barkcloth and then inserted in the vault which is blocked with leaves, so that earth never touches the body. With the body are placed private possessions: pottery or a basket in the case of a woman; a bow and arrows, coca pouch or snuff-shell in the case of a man. They retain these possessions for the afterlife, the happy hunting grounds where they will travel in spirit.

123 No ceremony could have taken place in so short a time, and the women continued to make cassava, as though nothing had happened. Before the death they were wailing, now they were silent. The people who had once been so ready to smile, the children who normally followed at our side, were aloof and distant. Each one of us was tense and worried and it was a relief when a new face came to the entrance of the *maloca*. He seemed familiar and we recognized one of the Indians we had first met on crossing into the head-

551 nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 752 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the [123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly un- 753 concerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of [123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con- 756 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on 123 whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*. [775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be

/370 cont./

763 /footnote 85 cont./ July 5, 1954, lasted from 3 o'clock in the early morning until 10 o'clock in the day, when the burial was concluded.

calm is restored, as if nothing abnormal had happened (86).

86. If it is a husband or child who died, the sorrow at times is sincere and prolonged, and, in order to distract themselves, they go around to other malocas.

They resume their jobs, meal, or conversations with the habitual typical laughter.

If by chance it was during the night that the death took place, they customarily, after the weeping, stay up during the night, but talking gaily and drinking chibé, without concerning themselves about the dead one any longer.

764 The relatives, as they arrive to visit the family, casually or because they have learned of the death, have the same relief of noisy and laudatory wailing. On the occasion of the burial they /371/ reinitiate the weeping.

• 765 When some relative who lives farther away, even if it is months later, meets the widower or widow for the first time after the death of the spouse, he places his hands on the shoulder and not infrequently the scene of the wailing is renewed.

The simple news of some death is also apt to provoke the official wailing. It is to be noted that, although the dead person might be from the husband's tribe, many times the latter will not show any sign of grief, will calmly continue his gay chatting, leaving to his wife (who is from another tribe) the duty of wailing for the dead.

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Here is one of these elegies (87).

87. It has been furnished to us by the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi.

Paxkó uxtígo
the mother who mourns

Yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ!
o my son! my son! my son!

Derowégo yöö döxporó wẽ'rĩtohati mãã!
why I before not die you?

Mãã añũ-buxtyágö, tuxtwágö nĩtohapö.
you very good (handsome), strong were.

Mãã yöö yukése. yöö ekatisé, yöö maisé-mẽra.
you my hope, my joy, my love-also (you were).

Mãã dyápo-a-ré, yöö ĩ'ãsomé, mãã buhisé-ré,
your face, I shall not see, your smile,

Mãã böxsösé-ré töosomé!
your voice I shall not hear!

De'ró mãã marĩsé-mẽra a'té nãxkã-pö, a'té dyá-pö?
how you without (also shall I live) in these forests, on these rivers?

A'té wi'i-pö ỹa'ã-buxtyasé-mẽra kaxtí-maxsĩsari?
in this house so sad to live will I be able?

Mãã maigö oxkó-ré, pexká-mẽ-ré yöö-ré axpo-yúgö.
you lovingly water, fire for me prepared.

Mãã pax-kö wẽ'rĩse-re nãxkãtise-re darétohapa.
of your father the death not heavy you made for me.

Mãã yöö-ré wai-re dyá-pö-ré oógö.
you for me fish from the river brought.

Mãã nãxkã-pö yuxkö-döxká-ré oógö
you from the forest the fruits brought.

Mãã marĩsé-mẽra ỹeé-ré we:bósari?
you without what thing shall I do (now)?

ö'mã-kori nãxkã uxtígo, mãã-mẽra maxsã-pé-pö sooseré.
the days all to weep, with you in the grave to rest.

Yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ! yöö max-kõ!
o my son! my son! my son!

/374 cont./

764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

• 765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and an frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wãx-tĩ?) ).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubu-
[535] cuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxirí (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

## CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

/376 cont./

829 266 Other natives designated for us the ferocious Indians of the river Cauaburi, tributary from the left of the middle Rio Negro, as being the famous Yai-peri maxsã or Onça /jaguar/ Tooth People. These, however, seem to be only legendary beings (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

Concerning the Pinao Indians of Colombia, we read that they sold the human flesh of their war slaves in their markets. This refers to the Panches, also from Colombian territory, who sold their own children to be eaten. It is said of these anthropophagous tribes that they fattened up the victims intended to serve as food. They ate them boiled with maize in large pots, or, more commonly, roasted them alive on a spit that pierced them through the anus.

2) Ritual cannibalism.

Among the tribes who practice anthropophagy, magic or participative cannibalism is more frequently found.

It is derived from the belief that through the eating of the flesh of an individual comes the most intimate union possible with him, and, therefore, participation in his good qualities: courage, vigor, dexterity, etc., and even in his psychic qualities or his magic power. Hence the sacred repasts, at which were eaten (not infrequently with preceding feasts, homages, and solemn immolation) the personages taken as superior: the chief, the pajé, the brave warriors, the heroes. More commonly, they are personages of their own tribe; this is endoanthropophagy.

765 Among some primitives, the cult of the dead came to be impregnated with such a magic concept. In order to provide themselves with the desired qualities that their own ancestors possessed, there appeared the custom of ingesting their ashes with special drinks on the occasion of particular funeral commemorations.

Wallace affirms (o. c. 638) that "The Tarianos and Tucanos, as well as some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is already in a very advanced state of decomposition, and place it in a large pot or oven over the fire, until the soft parts are destroyed, which is done with the

/377/

765 most horrible stench, there remaining at the end only the carbonized bones, which are immediately ground up and reduced
[415] to powder. This powder is then placed in various enormous tubs (vats or vessels made out of wood) full of caxiri. The group present then drinks the caxiri until the last drop is finished. They believe that by so doing the virtues of the dead are transmitted to everyone who takes this drink."

171 It is a custom that is found among other tribes of America,
765 and even of the Amazon, according to the information from the ancient explorers, for example, among the Warekena of the rivers Içana and Xié, the Šomena of the river Japurá, etc. (cf. "Roteiro /Logbook/" of Pe. Noronha, 222). And, according to what was told us in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, this custom was in force until the end of the last century among the Taryana, until the beginning of this one among the Kubewãna, according to what Koch G. states and, moreover, what the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira told us in 1955, and it is the present practice of the tribes of the river Cauaburi, among whom Pes. Miguel Ghigo and Antônio Goes were present at such events.

[115] The same custom also existed among the Wanãna, we were assured by Tomás Paiva, son of the tuxawa /sic/ of Carurú-cachoeira, and other young Wanãna, but it fell into disuse as early as two generations ago.

765 Among the Kubewãna Koch G. (Z. I. 316) was present at one of these events in the maloca of Namacoliba (?). The Tuxaua disinters the remains of his predecessor, dead for 15 years, and burns it in front of the maloca. The carbonized bones are later cleaned and placed in a pot on the fire day and night for a month, until they are reduced to ashes. These, on the occasion of a solemn caxiri, which is held with a large crowd of people, are pounded, sifted, and mixed with a thick drink, prepared in great abundance with maize. The Tuxaua, with a stick, tries to spread the ashes well in the drink, and afterwards, with a large cuia, distributes it to the men standing around him. It is a drink reserved for the old ones and the fathers and mothers of families, who, although they might not be old, already have three children.

765 /377 cont./
53 Koch concludes that at this cannibalistic feast there were dances of masks on which he could verify the following details: the participants wore a band of yellow bark as a stole on the neck, and on the left arm a banner of bark, in the right hand a rhythm tube (VII -- 3, c (3 c) ) of imbauba, with paintings representing fish. They advance and back up and, marking time with the right foot, carry on a monotonous song with innumerable repetitions.

171 We could seek the origin of this peculiar custom, which is
765 also found among other tropical tribes of South America, teaches Koch, in the belief that the bones that remain after death are the /378/ last place in which the spirits reside. And with the ingestion of the ashes the individuals incorporate in themselves the substance and the spirit of the ancestors.

5. Morality.

121 When we deal with this subject, the necessity of some warn-
831 ings beforehand is imposed:

1st. -- We limit the breadth of the term morality to the common and vulgar meaning, as if it were a synonym of moderation of carnal concupiscence, or further as a synonym of customs in force in sexual relations.

2nd. -- We present, naturally, those points in discrepancy with the norms of Christian morals and which, for this very reason, impress one more.

797 3rd. -- Many of the customs that we were able to collect
831 are not in force, obviously, in those groups or among those individuals who are under the influence of the Catholic Missions. But the Missionaries themselves are the first to confess that the modifications of the ancestral customs that they achieve in the field of morality are the fruit of many exhortations, vigilance, and the frequency of the sacraments and religious practices.

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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character
[342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupian influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor.
[596] The Tupian intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu-
[553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social seg-
[614] ments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into
[796] one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kúwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yawi*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul-
177 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River
197 he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Carihan-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

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602 or tone of voice that he is being flattering or is jesting. In the solemn terms of address that people use on ceremonial occasions, relationships, however, are used correctly.

593 The stress being on patriliny and on patrilocality, brothers are permanently held together by common residence in the respective degrees of closeness extending outward from hearth, house, community, adjacent community, and the common river as the usual territory of the phratry. Depending upon the degree of physical closeness, brothers share joint economic and ceremonial activities. In any case they share common traditions and the highly significant bond of common exogamy. The Cubeo offer hospitality to any kinsman whether consanguineal or affinal. However, when men are traveling along their own river they are made more comfortable by the thought that they will be stopping over at the house of a "brother." Kinsmen, in contrast to in-laws, are *hiwá*, an apt term that means literally "my group." (*Hi* is the possessive pronoun, *wa* is the suffix indicating the animate collective.)

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593 Brothers of the same mother are, contrary to the traditions of pat-

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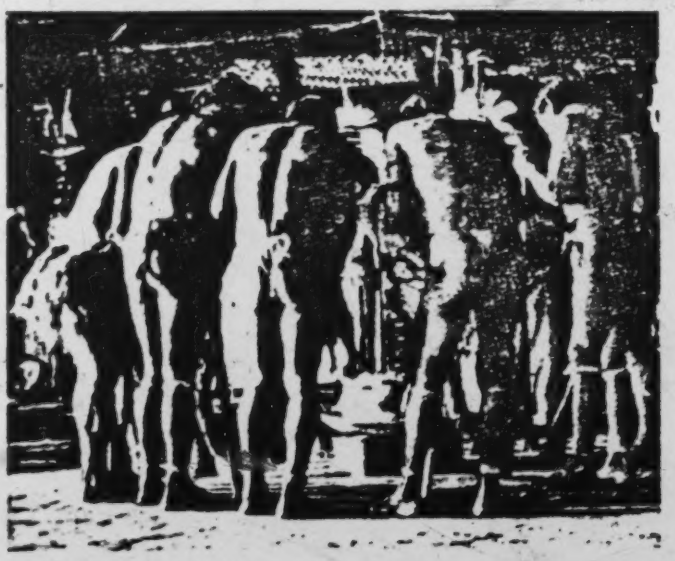

Fig. 5. Sib group at mourning ceremony.

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764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to [615] grieve: Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 **FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON**

537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

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574 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with
576 each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkúndye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good
574 part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the
576 formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are
273 particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting
576 follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which
182 is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately man-
796 ner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by sub-
[765] sidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged
[831] and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the
[276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker,

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# 10

## *The Mourning Ceremony*

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bahúkiwa* subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Uménahonkü* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *otwinu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day ceremonies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. The three-day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

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765 534 114 769 [773] for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 786 [154] The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual orgy. [536] This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. 765 266 Its main themes, however, are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the substance of the deceased into the body of the sib. [775] [614] The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 562 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritualized weeping, [786] their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 765 [776] The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaiwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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its inevitable crescendo of excitement and disorder, dances and songs are interchanged.

In the course of the ceremonies, the relationship between the nonhuman world of the masked representations and the people, represented by the women, becomes increasingly more intimate, culminating, as we have already noted, in the total intimacy of coitus. The spirit of Cubeo ceremonialism is generally Dionysian. In religious excitement the Cubeo achieve a desired and temporary dissolution of the segmentation and conceptual separatenesses in normal social and religious life.

Koch-Grünberg (1906a), who observed part of an *áyne* in 1903 among the *Hehénewa*, saw in the masked dances two themes, an appeasement of evil spirits and fertility rites. My own information does not agree entirely with this interpretation. It is a fact that several of the masked dancers represent malevolent beings; the jaguar, that is the embodiment of the dreaded sorcerer, the butterfly, that symbolizes the act of sorcery, and the *abúhuwa* or forest monsters, that devour human victims. In addition the masked dancers represent the dung beetle and the vulture, eaters of offal and carrion. These creatures represent to the Cubeo the facts of death. Except for the *abúhuwa*, who are not taken too seriously, the most common agency of death is to the Cubeo a particular human enemy. Evil sorcery can be warded off by particular magical means. The masked dances, however, are not magical means for warding off danger. They are, rather, dramatic rituals whose purpose is to generate a frame of mind in which the fact of death is confronted and made to appear natural and tolerable. By coming to the house as guests, to dance, to sing, to drink chicha, and to "copulate" with women, the masked creatures are made to appear, finally, as a friendly part of the Cubeo world. The malevolent creatures are not singled out, but appear in the context of the whole ensemble of masked dancers.

As for the fertility theme, this has been a cherished cliché of earlier anthropology that promptly labeled any ritualization of sex as "fertility rites." The situation is more complex. The dancers do indeed represent male potency, but the simulated coitus emphasizes rather the carnal aspect of sex, for it is the older women, possessing the privilege of obscenity, whom the masked dancers "attack sexually."

## THE MASKS

The dance masks of the Cubeo are made of a white bark cloth called *táwü* (tree bark), which is also the name by which the masks are generically known.

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different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kúwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucanoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

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765 174 535 532 larly, they have adapted harvest and demon cult ceremonies to ancestral cult rites. Evidences of religious syncretism are important in interpreting a complex ceremony. Thus, the fact that the mourning rites commonly begin during the pupunha season and the fact that at one point in the ceremonies the men pelt the roof of the house with pupunha fruit to "frighten the women" must be evaluated in the light of the possibility that we are dealing with a portion of a foreign ceremony, incorporated in the structure of the *óyne*. Cubeo ancestral or initiative rites also include "harvest festival" elements. But in these, as in the *óyne*, the harvest theme is a minor one.

## MASK REPRESENTATIONS

532 776 825 765 Dr. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels through the Vaupés region, collected some 50 different mask representations. My own observations along the Cuduiarí covered 30. Altogether, there is now a combined list of 62.[4] Since the masks are intended to portray *all* the living creatures of the Cubeo world the number of masks is potentially vast. No one ceremony uses them all. There are, however, key characters that are most commonly represented. These are Jaguar, Dung beetle, Carrion vulture, Butterfly, Aracú fishes, Eagle, Sloth, Parrot, Dragonfly, Minnows (who are not masked but are an important element in the ceremonial dramatization), *Pyénkü* (a small black fish), Frogs, and a variety of cannibalistic ogres or forest demons, the *Abúhuwa*. Informants would not say which of the masked representations was most important, presumably because invidiousness is, to the Cubeo, in poor taste. Judging, however, by their prominence, I would say that Jaguar, Butterfly, *Abúhuwa*, Dung beetles, Carrion vulture, and Aracú fishes were most important, more or less in that order. Except for the aracú, the esteemed fish of the region, these creatures all have an association with death. The jaguar is, of course, the dreaded sorcerer. The sorcerer is called *yavi* (jaguar) and the Cubeo regard any jaguar as likely to be either a sorcerer or a sorcerer's dog. The morpho butterfly with its beautiful blue wings is a creature of sorcerers and of evil. The information Koch-Grünberg received was that the morpho butterfly (*tatárako*) lives at Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés, where he brews malaria in a calabash and strews it over the land (1909, II, 181). I did not hear this account, but I was told that when a sorcerer is cooking a brew that will kill a victim at a distance the morpho butterfly appears and encircles the pot. Finally, it falls in and is consumed and at that moment the victim dies.

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[4] See the end of this chapter.

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Makálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kavá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

*yavirárü yavirákü* [repeated]
*yavirárü maníka*
*yavirárü ya*
*ho ho ho o ho.*

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákü* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiari River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yavi*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

The mask of Butterfly (*Taiárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kaviré kaviré* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiari.

Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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a dwarf pair, several pairs of giants, a great owl demon, and two kinds of *abúhuwa*. I saw three *Abúhuwa*. The *Abúhuwa* are made to appear grotesque. Their masks are of coarse brown bark cloth and, unlike any other dancer, they sometimes wear bark-cloth trousers. One Indian said to me rather maliciously, "They are like the white man." One of the *Abúhuwa* not wearing trousers had large flapping breasts of bark cloth and was a "wife." The headpiece has a calabash to form a face painted with human features. The masks are intended to be as grotesque as possible. Since the *Abúhuwa* act clownishly, they induce in the spectators only mock alarm. The *Abúhuwa* have no song of their own and no fixed dance. They are free to improvise. There are two kinds of improvisation: wild when young men impersonate them, and listless and lolling when acted by old men. While the Jaguars act to build up a sense of violence, the *Abúhuwa* work to create disorder. Thus, no masked dancers will enter the women's quarter through the rear or women's door except the *Abúhuwa*. They burst in through the rear door, hopping in short strides as though they were on pogo sticks. They interfere with dances and perform a number of amusing skits.

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The Dung beetles (*Keratamówa*) are a pair. The masks have a white facepiece with a pair of eyes, or sometimes with no features at all. The body design includes the wide bars of the insect's body flanked by lozenge designs on each side. The headpiece is surmounted by a short hourglass-shaped tube of splints and bark cloth. They dance holding hands. Each holds a short stick. In a dance Koch-Grünberg saw, they pushed along another stick on the ground in imitation, he noted, of their work as cleaners. I saw them holding their short sticks before them like wands. Their dance is a slow movement, forward and back. The songs recorded by me and by Koch-Grünberg are not the same.

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The Carrion vulture (*Kavá*) wears a mask with human features, although Koch-Grünberg saw one that he described as "naturalistic." The main design consists of very large lozenges (to depict the large feathers of the bird) flanked by horizontal bars suggesting outspread wings. The Carrion vulture carries a short stick held against the back of his neck, its ends extending over his shoulders, where his upraised hands hold it in place. The dancers bow gracefully from the waist to suggest the bird's soaring flight.

The Aracú (*Borikakú*) are usually represented in their several varieties. The headpiece is built up to a high peak made of splints covered with bark cloth in an hourglass design. The Aracú dance slowly, in pairs, and hold hands. Each carries a ten-foot pole bear-

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ing, like a pennant, bark-fringe streamers. The *Borikakü* usually dances with *Máwayo*, its compatriot, the red-mouthed aracú. In a joint dance they carry a rope ladder (*towándo*) made of three parallel strands of rope into which wooden rungs are set. Attaching the ladder to a roof beam, they climb and descend.

## THE MINNOWS

Although the Minnows (*Emíwa*) wear no masks they are definitely part of the dance ensemble; they have a dance step, a song, and a dramatic role. The Minnows are the youngsters and form a school of fish that presumably stands for the youngsters' play pack.[6] They are a boisterous element, moving in and out among the masked dancers. Lacking masks and, accordingly, formal ceremonial status they play a counterpoint of sheer spontaneity to the more solemn dances of the masks. While the role clearly belongs to youngsters, boys are not limited to it. Prepubescent boys do, indeed, wear masks. Those I saw were Butterflies and I was told that a youngster may dance any role but *Ywí*, the Jaguar. The Minnows play on curious shrill whistles. The whistles resemble a short three-tube Panpipe and are mounted at the end of a stick about a yard in length that is hung with three streamers of bark cloth. The dancers wear ankle rattles and dance in a spiral formation, taking two accented steps forward and then two oblique steps back. They hold their whistle sticks pointing up. They have no particular formation, dancing sometimes abreast, sometimes in line, and, alternately, in disorder. The Minnows do all their dancing among the women, who dote on them and ply them with chicha.

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## *XUDJÍKO* AND *XUDJÍKÜ*

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The "grandmother" and her consort are, for the Cubeo, the truly solemn and sacred element of the *ówne*. Represented by giant 15-foot-long trumpets of wound bark that are bound as twins to a single frame, they are taboo to all the women, as are all ancestral horns. The trumpets are capable only of deep, mournful notes and represent ancestral mourning. It is the grandmother, however, who has come to mourn and not the grandparents. The reason for this is that it is a woman's role to be an official weeper. Men may and do

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[6] It will be recalled that in the story of *Kúwai* and the anaconda, the penis of the anaconda is transformed into four minnows that are given to the adulterous wife to eat.

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjiko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjiko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikũ* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

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## THE SIB UNITS

The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

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## ORGANIZATION OF THE ÓYNE

As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur-

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765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point 765 614 532 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is [203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will [533] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a [535] mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted [776] by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

## MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ÓYNE

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

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"*Dekóhũ*[7] has punished you." Then other people came and wrapped the boy in his hammock, put him into a large jar, and buried him in the house. No one wept. After three days an old man began to think what people should do about death. They decided to have an *óyne*. They made dance masks. At first they did not know how to make bark cloth so they made masks of leaves. *Kúwai* came and told them this was not good. In one day *Kúwai* made all the bark-cloth masks for the people. They did not know how to paint the masks and *Kúwai* showed them how. They gathered red pigment and carbon soot, and by midday the masks were all finished. *Kúwai* climbed the duka tree. At the top he cut off the bark and brought it down to make the fringes for the skirt and sleeves. The people then divided the maloca into a men's and women's part. In the men's part an old woman sat down to sing. But soon the real *Xudjiko* came along singing and the people were frightened. But *Kúwai* said, "Don't be afraid. This old woman is *Xudjiko*, who has come to help you weep." The old lady ran away and *Xudjiko* took her place. Then *Kúwai* said, "When other people die do the same thing. Weep for a short time only." He told them to dance and sing. When they had finished *Xudjiko* went away. She no longer comes. Instead they make a horn.

*Xudjiko* and her consort live at Uaracapuri, the source of the Cubeo. They were the first of the Ancients to die and they were the first to make the bark-cloth masks. The headpieces of the masks are set with feathers; the most prominent vertical feather is said to represent *Xudjikũ* and the most prominent horizontal feather is said to represent *Xudjiko*.[8]

## RITUAL THEMES IN THE *ÓYNE*

The five main sets of characters in the *óyne* each represent then one major ritual theme: the women represent weeping; the masks, the concern of the living world for the deceased as well as for the living; the minnows, the boisterous character of young men;

[7] The term means "ghost" or "spirit" but it has here the connotation of "Great Spirit." However, since I did not learn of a Cubeo belief in a Great Spirit the allusion is puzzling, and is to be considered as unexplained.

[8] The apparent inconsistency between this account and the previous one referring to *Kúwai* illustrates two strands in Cubeo mythical thought. One strand, nonancestral, focuses on *Kúwai*, a figure of the Arawakan tribes. The other strand is ancestral and is, perhaps, truly Tucanoan. The Cubeo do not reconcile both strands. The question of which version is produced depends on the context, which may be either general or ancestral.

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*Xudjiko* and her consort, the mourning by the primordial ancestors; and the sib units, the solidarity of the phratry in expressing both grief and anger. The dramatizations and mimetic dances present a variety of minor themes, such as menace and hilarity. If one looks at the *oyne* as a whole, however, and follows the sequence of events from their slow and solemn beginning to their conclusion in a simulated sexual orgy and then in a real one, a single main theme emerges, and that is the sexual interplay between men and women. By contrast to the sexual emphasis, the ritual of dealing with the spirit of the deceased seems almost minor and anticlimactic. It is only at the very end, when most guests have departed, that the ghost is dispatched. The climax of the first part of the *oyne* is ritual coitus, just as the climax of the second part is sexual license. We can therefore describe the *oyne* in terms of ritualized sexual sequence.

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Fig. 11. Mourning ceremony, women's entrance.

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The sexual play between men and women begins when the first visiting women arrive and try to pass through the rear entrance of the maloca. The rear door has been removed and the opening barred by poles set in an × over which the women must climb. The Dung beetles, armed with wooden staffs, "guard" the entrance by thrusting at the women as they climb in. The women are burdened with great baskets containing household utensils. Many carry a nursing baby in a sling across the hip, with a walking child clutching the skirt. A woman can make no dignified entrance. Prodded by the Dung beetles she tumbles into the house, clutching her infant, her skirts flying, her utensils scattered. She laughs with excitement, recognizing her fall as a burlesque of the rough play that initiates sexual courtship. At this moment the men are being solemnly and decorously received at the front door. However, after having been tumbled into the house the women reassemble outside, the bars are removed, and they, too, are received in the conventional manner by the host women. They then settle themselves along the left wall of the women's section.

The second molestation of the women comes at nightfall, when little boys rush in among them with a bark *dúpu* (a lizard which supposedly makes the women squeamish) suspended along a sturdy rope. They invite the little girls to join them in a tug of war. The little girls act shy so the boys first play of tug of war among themselves, arranging to fall among the girls. Emboldened, the girls seize the *dúpu* and join the tug of war. Another group of boys also bearing a *dúpu* enters and engages more girls in a tug of war. The purpose of the *dúpu* is to generate excitement among the women. The boys fall upon the little girls, who shriek with laughter and mock alarm while their mothers dodge the thrashing bodies artfully.

The youngsters are followed by an older group of Minnows, not masked, who swarm in noisily, stomping and whistling, dancing close among the women and jostling them. Finally, all the masked dancers, the adult males, enter. The air clouds with dust, and the women's section resounds to the shrieks of laughter, to song, and to the thump of dancing feet and the dry clatter of rattles. Young boys who are sent to sprinkle the floor with moist chicha mash, to settle the dust, pelt one another, and "accidentally" the women, with balls of mash. Throwing chicha mash is, for the Cubeo, a common form of flirtation. Ordinarily the woman throws at a lover. Children do not ordinarily play this game. Thus, the incongruity of being hit with mash thrown by little boys amuses the women enormously. It is the guest women who are flirtatiously singled out at this time. The host

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765 The host
831 women stand apart on their side of the house and serve chicha to
786 the Minnows.

The males leave and the excitement of the women subsides.
765 Through the night, however, the men come to dance among the
831 women. The fence that divides the house into a male and female
786 half is also an emotional dividing line. Dances form on the male
535 side, where they are solemn and subdued. When they pass to the women's side, the dancers are excited. When they go back they revert to calm. It is tempting to interpret the movement of the masked dancers – who look phallic – through the overlapping slit in the wall as symbolizing coitus, particularly since with almost each passage the level of excitement is heightened.

The excitement of the Minnows is allowed to subside in a calm interval. *Máwayo* (the red-mouthed aracú), and *U* (sloth) do a slow dance, holding long poles with a crook at one end which they suspend from a roof beam and upon which they swing. The Sloth always falls. He lies on the ground kicking a leg and making feeble gestures of arising, only to fall again. But *Máwayo* is slow and graceful and swings gently on his pole. The Sloth arises, and the dancers cross poles and gracefully dance out.

[532] They are all followed by the Minnows. Each Minnow now carries a long pole that is joined to all the others by a string from which dangles a carved wooden bird. They do a circle dance with the bird in the center. As they circle, stamping strongly to accent the beat on the right foot, they jostle the women, moving in upon them to enclose them in the circle. The Jaguars now rush in, wilder than ever,
[857] leaping about among the women and falling upon them. They are followed by the boys with the *dúpu* on its string. The boys ensnare the young girls in the *dúpu* string. Now two masked dancers come in with long flaming broomsticks. They dash about among the women, swinging the flaming fibers among them. The women scatter in noisy panic, kicking over baskets and dishes. The attack by flame excites the Jaguars as well, and they whirl around among the women in sheer frenzy. As they flee this new menace, the women say, "The jaguars are angry. They will soon attack people." The Jaguars, how-
[534] ever, are no menace to the men. One climbs on top of the partition and blows noisily into his jug horn, and another climbs a roof beam overlooking the women, both in a simulated attack upon them.

The Jaguars withdraw, and the next entrance is again a quiet one. Two Spiders, slowly and gracefully holding a long string from the middle of which hangs a feather, dance toward one another, winding up the string until they are face to face at the feather and

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then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure. [831] [786] [535]

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudjiko* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping. [533]

This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *óyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *óyne*. 765 831 786 535 [182]

From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out—one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Míavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs. [152]

The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abúhuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakúiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamiré, kamiré*. These dancers leave, and another *Abúhukũ* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudúki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among 765 536 [535]

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765 536 the women and dives clumsily after it, rolling among the women and over them. He recovers it and tries to crack it in his mouth, but of course he is wearing a mask, and finally he examines it with a marvelously executed air of puzzlement and dejection. The women have been so dazed by now that the comic virtuosity of this "clown" does [152] not draw the expected laughs. The *Abúhukũ* leaves and there is a respite. The women stir about and look after their children, and it seems as though the emotional gradient, having been broken in its upward ascent, has dropped to the most ordinary level.

765 831 786 525 But this quiet interlude is short. At midmorning all the masked dancers storm noisily among the women in a dance called the *hwananiwa* (wild peccary). They throw themselves upon the women, forcing them to the ground and to the copulatory position. Three or four men cover a woman. The dancers rise again to dance in sheer frenzy, careening about the room, shrieking and falling again upon another woman. But even though their excitement seems more feverish than ever, the men still do not lay a hand upon a woman. They choose for their attentions only the older women. The [887] older women among the Cubeo are licentious, and they behave at this time as though they have become sexually aroused. They laugh and shriek and reach for a man's thighs. The daughters observe this spectacle of their mother's sexual excitement with evident dismay and great interest. The mothers shrilly command their daughters to run away and so escape sexual molestation. At the command to run they begin to leave, but they come back to watch. Again, the very young [152] boys who share this masculine license are carried away by sexual excitation and lustfully attack the women, the wives of their phratry mates. The women "fight them off" with the standard courting resistance and succeed in inflaming them all the more. Not all the masked dancers join this revelry in the same spirit. Some men, the older ones in particular, are restrained, treating the dance symbolically, and some are simply shy and only brush lightly against the 765 182 women. The point of view is that of symbolic frenzy rather than of sheer unrestraint. The mastery of this mood is surely a difficult one, 152 because the women, who are a laity, are under no compulsion to dis- 831 cipline their feelings. This is presumably the Cubeo ceremonial con- 786 ception – pitting masculine symbolically controlled behavior against 535 the spontaneous emotionality of the women. This interplay between emotional form and substance, so to speak, adds spontaneity and emotional spice to the ceremony but always within the framework of form. That the youngsters should succumb to simple lust in this licentious dance is, to be sure, a spontaneous consequence of the

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony. 786

The *hwananiwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth. 535 [182] [152] [522] [825] [237]

The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* — the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man. 765 536

The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note. 765 536 182 831

The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who, 765 535 536

765 recognizing the symbolic distinction between an alligator and a
535 jaguar, do not throw it back at the men. Then the Jaguars kill a deer,
536 who is represented by a masked dancer. The Jaguars dance wildly about their "victim," blowing loudly into their jugs. The victim writhes and falls agonizingly to the ground, kicking up a leg, moving an arm, and then lying inert. Other dancers, his "comrades," come to look at him. They lift his arm and it falls back. They lift his leg and it falls back. They sniff his body and murmur *ttt tttt*. Now the Carrion vultures come, with their short staffs held against the back of the neck. They dance about the victim singing the jaguar song. They buzz about the victim and bend down and kiss him. The Jaguars also kill *Pampámibo* (a frog), and the procedure is repeated.

This dramatization of the modes of violent death – the killing of the alligator, the lustful adulterer, the killing of the jaguar, the dread killer himself, and the killing of the weaker and defenseless game animals – restores the mood to one of sobriety. The dance of the Carrion vultures has a note of pathos that is not lost on the women.

765 When these sequences are done there is an intermission. The boys
831 busy themselves with the fabrication of great bark-cloth penises.
[535] The phallic dance that is to follow is known as the "dance of the
[857] potent penises" and is under the jurisdiction of the young men. As they complete the penises, the boys begin a sexual play with them, thrusting at one another in a hilarious burlesque of coitus. It is all play, in a spirit of gaiety and with much noise.

765 During this interval of male sexual play, that takes place in the men's part of the house, the women on their side are mourning in the conventional fashion, arms about one another's neck, faces together, crouching in a mournful circle.

765 On this, the third day, the women's section is not entered again by
535 the men until late in the afternoon. Then the entire corps of masked
831 dancers dances in, each man carrying a sprig of leaves with which
786 he beats the women, centering attention on the elderly. Some strike with such force as to make the women scream with pain. Others brush a woman's shoulder lightly. They then dance into the men's section and whip the hosts, but perfunctorily, since the real interest is in the women, from whom they should draw blood. The Jaguars enter briefly among the women. They leave and all the masked dancers – the *nowánparatowü* (potent penises) – come in. Each holds a bark-cloth phallus before him with both hands. The dancers thrust at the older women, some doing so very mildly, and others, the younger men, forcing the phalluses between a woman's legs. The women again shriek at their daughters to escape. As before, the girls

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark-fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner. 765 535 831 786

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one-month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks. [838] [857]

The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion. 765 786 831 182 837

The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women – the sexually most desirable – are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of [838]

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenádox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks [535]
and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the
house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will [574]
announce the arrival of *Xudjiko* and her consort. Bearing their
masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line
along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the 765
others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the 534
trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grand- 574
mother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on
their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets
sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their
masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A
trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor 765
of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, 533
the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. 534
Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own
higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grand-
mother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a frame-
work to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night 765
is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the 535
"grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occa-
sionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the
plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they [202]
enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women
to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the door- [789]
way with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn
they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will
be used for making the *dúpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other
paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates 765
who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited 614
palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is
brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the
ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they repre-
sent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the
father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full
Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pend-
ant, jaguar-tooth and aramadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations
of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy 765

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765 staff as a weapon. They pose with head bowed, both hands resting
765 on the weapon. The chief mourner holds a rattle hung with a feather
53 and eagle down in his right hand. He begins the formal oration, an angry declaration denouncing the unknown sorcerers who have killed his father. As he speaks, in a hoarse, changing voice, he swings the rattle in a vertical arc, pivoting on his left foot, facing one mourner and then the next. His gestures are vigorous and his pivot is crisply executed. He swings the rattle upward almost into the face of the mourner whom he is addressing. He has hardly completed the circle when each of the mourners, swinging his right arm in an arc, turns to a companion and recites a similar angry declaration. The companion to whom he turns also pivots to face him, awaiting his return to reply. This part of the ritual is executed as a ballet. The declaimer is poised with his right foot forward, waiting for his partner to pivot and face him, and not until the partner has executed his pivot does he begin his declaration. The headman, having initiated these hoarse and angry harangues, turns his attention to the ceremonial remains of the deceased. His head bowed, he gently shakes the rattle over them and utters a sad lament that he has lost a father. After an interval of angry shouting the mourners re-form the close circle, bow their heads, and weep. They pause to blow their noses, wiping their hands on the fringes of the masks that have been hung nearby.

765 Other members of the sib are not part of this close mourning circle.
614 They put on their masks and dance, circling the mourners. The
535 *Xudjiko* trumpets are silent because they are sounded only by the
[533] men of the household of the deceased, who are now part of the circle of mourners. The mourning of the men signals the women to begin again their wailing, their piercing lamentations rising clearly above every other angry and mournful sound.

765 This interval of mourning lasts some 15 minutes. The ceremonial property of the deceased is then removed and the men rest, drinking
[535] chicha and smoking. Dancing resumes after half an hour. At dawn
[789] the Jaguars cut off the brown bark-cloth trimmings from their jug trumpets and pass them among the men to chew. This will guard them, they say, against sorcery from their phratry mates, who will arrive as mourners late in the afternoon.

765 Later in the morning the men put up crossbars to "guard" the
276 women's entrance. After this *mihí* is prepared. A sibman staggers in with a bundle of the narcotic vine. *Mihí*, as always, is carried in the ritual manner, one of its features being a representation of great weight. The bearer bends low, raising his knees high, and circles the

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled 276
once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is considered a great deal.

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The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already 532
been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies [276] to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be [273] lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also [574] complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives.

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The first guests to arrive are the Satellites – members of the sib – 574
who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of [614] the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return [431] to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each 765
Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side 574
wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the 576
house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head. Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly delivered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound *ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoulder. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted at the rear door by female hosts.

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While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing 574
the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat 789
for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, 754
since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *óyne* in particular, as a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that characterizes the early stages of the *óyne*.

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After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to 574

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765 After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to
574 complete the decorations on the masks they have brought and to ap-
[532] ply personal body decorations.
[302] The sibs of the phratry arrive in late afternoon. These later ar-
765 rivals are greeted by the hosts wearing dance masks. When they
574 sight their guests they sally out of the house dancing and singing in
535 a winding line around the front plaza. The guests respond by don-
614 ning their own masks and dance up the path, each pair of masked dancers singing its own song. They mingle with the hosts. All complete a circle about the dance plaza, the hosts dance into the house, and the guests continue dancing outside.

765 Two Butterflies from among the guests approach the open door-
574 way. Each in turn strikes the side wall violently with his rattles. From
535 within Sloth and *Máwayo* thrust their long poles out at them and "beat them off." The Butterflies rejoin the others. Suddenly all the dancers rush the doorway and skirmish with the spirits within. Those with staffs thrust them at the attackers or use them to ward off a thrust. Those with rattles shake them violently. The "attack" is noisy and spirited. Beaten off again, the attackers re-form their dance line and dance to the rear of the house, seeking an entry through that quarter. But here the doorway is blocked with crossbars and guarded by Dung beetles, who thrust their long lances at the "attackers." Again the attacking dancers retire and resume their dance at the front of the house. After a while they take off their masks, hanging the garments on poles that have been set for this purpose along the front walls. Now, as humans, each strikes the side wall violently with his staff and enters the house. This entry is ritualized. The men flit in swiftly and silently on tiptoe, whispering *t t t i i i*, and circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased.

The male hosts have formed themselves into an outer semicircle facing the guest dancers. They lean on their staffs and look on grimly
[537] as the dancers complete the circle; then they whistle. At this the dancers come to an abrupt halt in a semicircle facing the hosts and launch into the orations already described. The speeches are short, and the men change partners often, each moving out of position when necessary, or leaning past a companion at his side. After a few minutes the guests resume the flitting dance. They circle clockwise, whispering *iii iii iii*, and having completed one circle, dance counterclock-
[622] wise and whistle. Alternating between clockwise and counterclockwise and whispering and whistling, they complete several circles led by their headman, who carries a rattle in his right hand. During this dance only the host headman remains standing and facing the dancers; the others retire to the benches set behind the dance

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masks and drink chicha. The guests finally stand in a circle around 574
the ceremonial remains of the deceased. With heads bowed and [535]
leaning on their guns or staffs before them they chant a lamentation, their leader shaking his rattle slowly. They weep, the *Xudjiko* trum- [533]
pets pick up the lament, and the women join in. They repeat this performance with little variation three times. After the third, they break ranks and face their hosts again in the postures of the angry harangue. Finally each guest breaks away and rushes toward the open doorway brandishing his weapon outside and shouting defiance at the sorcerer or other enemies of the phratry.

Concluding this phase of mourning, the guests leave the house so as to make still another entrance, this time to be received as men with the formal salutations at the doorway.

Guests from others sibs arrive by maloca groupings, each group of eight or ten men acting out the same ritual. Each group appears in three roles: as spirit beings who are repulsed, as generalized mourners who act out grief and anger, and finally as kinsmen, each of whom is received individually and with a kinship greeting as he makes his final entrance to the house. When they are greeted as kinsmen, the ceremonial remains of the deceased have been removed; they are welcomed at this point with a calabash of chicha and with *mihi*.

There are some minor variations in this pattern of greeting. At 765
the *Hehénewa óyne* one group "attacked" with a barrage of pu- 574
punha thrown against the roof and the front walls. This "attack" had, 184
however, another side to it. In part it was an attack and some of the fruit was thrown violently through the door, where the defenders threw it back at the masked attackers. But punpunha is also regarded at this time as an offering for the women of the house -- just as it is during the ancestral whipping ceremony, when the house is showered with fruit by the ancestral spirits. The sound of pupunha fruit striking the roof frightens the women.

This dualism of assault and of offering is carried out in somewhat 765
different form in the course of the ritual receptions to the house. 574
The first instance is when the guests arrive as masked dancers or as [535]
spirit beings. They are received first in a friendly way, joining in a dance with their hosts. Then the two groups separate and engage in ritual attack and defense. In the second entrance, as generalized human beings, there are a number of alternations between aggression and friendliness and between anger and grief. Even the circle dance [535]
around the ceremonial remains of the deceased has a gentle clockwise motion symbolized by the whispered *t t t t* followed by a more

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574 violent counterclockwise motion for which the symbol is the loud
[535] whistle.

On the women's side a parallel form of greeting, but with a minimum of ritual, is going on at the same time. The greetings among the women are, in many respects, a counterpoint to the greetings among the men. I have already mentioned how the women are made to tumble into the house so that their entrance is as ludicrous as the entrance of the men is somber. However, having picked herself up and having straightened out her belongings, each woman is greeted
[561] in a file by the host women. Like the men, the women are grouped by maloca and in order of their husbands' age seniority. Having been
765 greeted with the conventional handshake, the group of hostesses and
574 the group of guests face each other and shout angrily at one another;
152 these shouts are not accusations or recriminations, but expressions
[576] of anger at the enemy who has killed the deceased. Two women who have been facing one another in postures of anger suddenly fall to a squatting position, each with an arm around the other's shoulder, drop their heads, and weep. Women who are nursing babies seem

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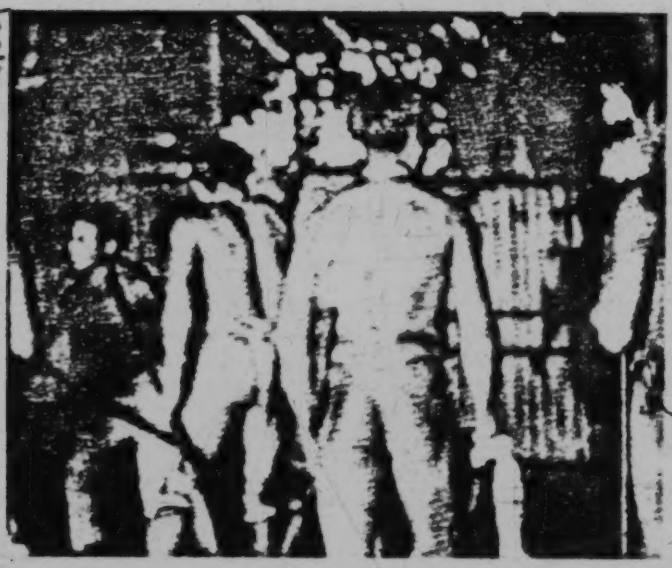

Fig. 12. Angry declamation at mourning ceremony.

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able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep. 765 574 152

## FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly. 765 152 154 [276] [273]

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the *óyne*. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Hehénewa* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough. 765 273 [261] [276]

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly. 273 771 [574] [154]

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765 273 152 Drinking at the *óyne* is disciplined and follows the emotional gradient of the ceremony. On the first day, which is intramural, the mood is somber and little chicha is taken. On the second day, when guests arrive and the mood is anger-grief, the drinking is still slow. [574] Guests receive the welcome offering of chicha after their third entrance into the maloca and thereafter they drink during all intervals between dances. Formal drinking begins two hours before sundown. 765 273 276 152 The moment is signaled when the hosts brings in *mihí*, the symbol of intoxication. Only the older men take the potion. Thereafter all drinkers are free to grow excited. The elders remain restrained, however, since it is their role to license the excitement of others. They describe their own intoxication as an inner state. They feel a change in mood, they see color visions, but they do not overstep to overt excitement. That is the role assigned to the younger men.

765 273 276 152 562 The rate of drinking and the shift in mood gains momentum in the course of the interplay with the women. Women drink as much as men, but do not take *mihí* and do not get drunk. Their excitement is imparted to them by the men. Thus, the men drink to initiate excitement; the women drink so that they may react. When the men are not among them the women sit passively among their young, the dogs, and their household goods.

765 276 [778] *Mihí* has magical power which the bearers portray dramatically. They pretend to stagger under its weight because *mihí* has power to fell a man. The people I asked did not know, however, why the bearer of *mihí* pranced with his torso bent forward and his knees kicked up high. The bearers whisper *he he he* and then whistle. These are the sounds of spirits and they are the same as the sounds made by the guests when they circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased. A bundle of *mihí* vines is laid with the ceremonial remains 765 during this dance. From a roof beam at the exact center of the house, 532 where it overlooks equally the male half and the female half, hangs 276 a vulture figure. The body is an ear of corn, the head is carved of wood, and the spreading wings and tail feathers are made of old basket fragments. The bird hangs like a mobile. It is said to be "drunk" on *mihí*, and it presides over the *óyne* to give the proper spirit of intoxication. The vulture of intoxication is the patron, so to speak, of the *óyne*.* Mobiles of other birds are also hung about the house, as are painted images of fish. I did not learn the significance of these.

* The vulture is thought of here not so much in the sense of its being a carrion eater, but for its quality of soaring. Compare *kaiá* (vulture) with *kaiáno* sky.

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The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, *kenadjü marié kenadjü pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853[10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

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765 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I ob-
775 served the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around
266 him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an
114 urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in
824 the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. There-
783 after, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for
775 at least another generation.

532 **MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *ÓYNE***

765 **Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons**
776

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Makuko* | (K-G)[a] | A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun. |
| 2. *Kohako* | (K-G) | Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them. |
| 3. *Hailako* | (K-G) | A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand. |
| 4. *Palutxiko* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 5. *Anauako* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 6. *Abúhuwa* | (K-G;IG)[b] | Forest demons. |
| 7. *Hokoaboxoko* | (K-G) | Giant tree demons. |

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

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171 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of
184 caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe
266 that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wallace, 1870, p. 498).

765 Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéwa. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabucuris, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enrivant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'énergie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 173).

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765 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in
824 the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. There-
783 after, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for
775 at least another generation.

## MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *ÓYNE*

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765
776

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**Mammals**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18. | *Yavi* | (K-G:IG) | The jaguar. |
| 19. | *Nyamáko* | (K-G:IG) | The deer. |
| 50. | *U* | (K-G:IG) | The sloth. |
| 51. | *Pamúrü* | (IG) | The armadillo. |
| 52. | *Kapáro* | (IG) | The monkey. |
| 53. | *Hwani* | (IG) | The peccary. |

**Reptiles and Amphibians**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 54. | *Ha* | (K-G) | The yararaca snake. |
| 55. | *Ha ho ho ho* | (K-G) | A small frog. |
| 56. | *Umúua* | (IG) | Frogs. |
| 57. | *Pampámibo* | (IG) | Frogs (another variety). |
| 58. | *Pacúnwa* | (IG) | Small frogs. |
| 59. | *Niabü* | (IG) | The alligator. |

**Unidentified**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 60. | *Pikure* | (IG) | |
| 61. | *Tonkabü* | (IG) | |
| 62. | *Imihikü* | (IG) | |

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# 11

## *Religion*

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. 771
Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, 776
fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekûpwänuwa* and 787
*Kûwai* the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which specific results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious attitude must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of re- 771
lations among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one 571
neither commands, nor submits. People enter willingly into a relationship that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood. In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seek to establish a relationship [787]
with a supernatural being.

The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in 771
another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and 769
chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them [866]
grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikû* they [765]
come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are [614]
invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how-

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776 mythical fish with a mouth that has the lower jaw of the puño and
825 an upper jaw shaped like the beak of a parrot. Should a menstruant enter a canoe he will break it to bits. The Cubeo do not say that their fish ceremenials are for the purpose of promoting success in fishing. Their view rather is that when they are happy with a catch of fish they enjoy dancing with them. Increase magic may underlie the Cubeo relationship with fish. But if it does they either no longer recognize the instrumental motive or else they refuse to acknowledge it.

825 As with the *Bekûpwãnwa*, the Cubeo relationship with the animal
771 world is largely one of establishing proper social relationships. In such relationships compulsion is out of place. In the animist world view of the Cubeo the entire animal world is communicant with the world of man. Some relationships, as has been noted, are dangerous, and therefore stand out in a special category. Among the dangerous relationships is that of the jaguar. Since the jaguar is identified with the shaman, it is more suitably discussed under the heading of shamanism. There are birds, such as a parrot called *bauvéko* and marúku monkeys, who are feared because they are foretellers of misfortune. For the rest, and with the exceptions noted previously, the relationship between man and the animal world is casual and friendly. On the river, as we have already observed, the Indians address birds and fish by name. Their intense interest in domesticating animals of almost every variety as household pets must also be considered as part of the effort at communication of a concrete form.

825 The birds, *míwa*, are friendly spirits. They emerged, it is said,
776 from Uaracapuri with the Ancients and were originally in human form. The birds are the planters of fruits and berries and are their
[273] guardian spirits. They are appropriately at the same time the guard-
[532] ian spirits of intoxication, a bird with a corn-cob body and wings of
● [765] a manioc tray fragment presiding in that capacity over the *óyne*.

The luminary *aiyá*, who is both sun and moon, is a more distant
776 anthropomorphic spirit.[1] The Cubeo interest is in the moon, the li-
821

[1] The doctrine of *aiyá* as both sun and moon is mythological only. It does not mean that the Cubeo do not distinguish clearly between these two bodies. *Aiyá* refers to the anthropomorphic being whose activities are actually in moon form; it refers also to direction. East is called by the Cubeo *aiyádaino* (*aiyá* [the sun] is coming). West correspondingly is expressed as "*aiyá* is going." To express time, however, the sun is referred to by the particular name of *handwũkakũ*, an anthropomorphic form that has, however, no anthropomorphic connotation to my knowledge. *Handwũ* refers to time in the abstract, while *handwũ korika* (sun in the center) means "midday." All specific times are given by describing the position of the sun in the sky. The word for "day" or "daylight" is *hánan* and is apparently based upon the verb root *ha* (to see). The Cubeo disclaim any anthro-

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## POLARITY - COMPLEMENTARITY

The complementary role of conceptual opposites is, of course, a universal type of cultural patterning. Cultural distinctions occur in variations of the pattern. Under any circumstances, the general pattern of polarity-complementarity produces a mode of order and hence of social cohesiveness. In Cubeo life, polarity-complementarity is very strongly expressed. Its most prominent area is the male-female polarity. From a purely sociological point of view, the male-female opposition would seem to be a reflection of the patriliny-patrilocality of the sib, in which the women are outsiders as wives and outsiders-to-be as sisters and daughters, while the men are the permanent group. To this basic social condition the Cubeo add a variety of symbolic modes of opposition. Those that have been described include opposing but complementary roles in all ritual. In the ancestral cult and in mourning ceremonies these distinguishing roles of men and women are very sharply delineated. In ritual, men supply order, while women give spontaneity. Since female spontaneity in ritual is evidently complementary to masculine formalism, it is to be understood that we are dealing here with a somewhat dramatized rather than with a "pure" spontaneity. Generally speaking, and using the Durkheimian categories broadly, the men represent the sacred side of life and the women the profane. However, in the case of the Cubeo the female as profane is a complement of the sacred and not altogether outside of it.

From a more secular point of view, the male-female distinction can be expressed in terms of a collectivist-sectionalist dichotomy: the men represent the collectivism of the sib, the women the sectionalism of the individual household. The contrast between the gregariousness of the male play pack and the solitariness of the little girls is perhaps the most pointed demonstration of this distinction. Another illustration of this pattern is in the form of the dance in which the girls slip under the linking yokes of the men's arms, occupying, so to speak, interstices of the dance pattern. The collectivist-sectionalist distinction is also clear in economic activities. Hunting and fishing are commonly collective, whereas female-prepared food, that is, manioc cake and tapioca porridges, are largely sectional (household). If we were to attempt a hypothetical linking together of the various patterns of Cubeo culture we could argue that the principle of linkage-autonomy is related to the broad principle of male-female polarity-complementarity, on the grounds that the male side in relation to the female

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562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 The second most important area in which polarity-complementar-
796 ity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvi-
152 ous distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage
571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly
765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the
614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine
152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihi*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib
[615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The significance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that,
152 as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context
571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel
574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib
614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moder-
273 ate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who
574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and
273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no
562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual
152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

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generally, this relationship of appropriateness between mood and activity is not novel. It seems, in fact, altogether natural. Cultures, however, as we well know, do not necessarily pattern themselves quite so naturally. Civilizations, in particular, place the emphasis upon the social action and expect the mood to be disciplined or to be subordinated to the social occasion. The Cubeo, on the other hand, expect a rather high degree of emotional spontaneity. In this respect they correspond oddly to the eighteenth-century notions of "natural man." In secular affairs the spontaneity of correspondence between emotion and action is much greater than in ritual. In ritual the effort is made to establish the correspondence between feeling and the concept of the sacred. Ritual in primitive society generally expresses in a symbolic or highly compressed form the fundamental cultural themes of a society. We have repeatedly shown the integration of ritual with social structure. Cubeo ritual, similarly, reveals not only the role of emotionality in Cubeo life but exhibits that spectrum of emotionality that has greatest significance for the Cubeo.[1] It is indeed in ritual, as Ruth Benedict has demonstrated in *Patterns of Culture*, that the ethos of a culture is most vividly displayed. Cubeo ritual, as has been seen, dramatizes the interplay between formal pattern and spontaneity. The most vivid example of this interplay is the interaction between men as sacred and women as a laity during the mourning ceremony. The effect of this interplay is to add significance to the spontaneity of emotion, and at the same time to give emotional zest to the formal ritual pattern. In short, what seems an inescapable conclusion about Cubeo culture is that neither form nor action can be comfortably tolerated unless charged with a proper feeling or emotion.

The relationship between form and emotion and social action and emotion is but one part of the pattern. The pattern also includes the emotional preferences. It is not simply that the Cubeo prefer to run a gamut, since an emotional gamut is a range within a particular plane. In ritual the emotional gamut moves from sobriety and order, as we have already explained, to intoxication and disorder. On a smaller scale, the ritual pattern moves from slow to fast. In the mourning ceremony these related planes of emotional modulation seemed to find their focus in a sexual rhythm, culminating in what is almost literally an orgasmic excitement. From this there may be reason to conclude that it is coitus, a very elementary biological

[1] It is to be understood, of course, that the roles of emotionality in secular life are not the same as they are in the sacred realm. In secular life moderation is more appropriate than excitement or intensity.

/279 cont./

755 The Indians have been seen digging up a wide and deep yard
756 under the orders of the pajé, in order to uncover the cigar buried there and cause of the sicknesses, and which the pajé will make appear at the opportune moment. On a certain occasion a pajé ordered, and was faithfully obeyed, that the whole floor of the maloca be dug up and replaced with other soil, in order to stop the sicknesses of the maloca.

756 4) /sic: h)/ His position.

With the pajé enjoying the maximum influence (30),

> 30. Several Indians, after their confidence had been gained, told us that they did not like, but only feared and, at times, hated the pajé. Ordinarily, however, out of fear of the pajé's vengeance, they are silent when questioned about him, about his curing processes, etc.

because, according to the belief of the natives, the life or death of the people, from his and from other tribes, as well as the storms /280/ and all of nature, depends on him, it is understandable that his position is privileged. Although lacking political power, the tuxàua himself and the entire population respect him and fear him (31).

> 31. Padre Antonio Giacone confirms it -- "By the authority that he enjoys among the Indians and by the fear that all have of his fatal blowings, he becomes extremely proud and conceited, some even reaching the point of being nicknamed Uáque bukque, old God" (o.c. 38).
>
> They fear him even after death, because his spirit is also able to do harm. In Iauareté they asked the Missionary not to bury the pajé in the common cemetery, "because he will frighten our little children" buried there. A Montfortian

[766]
[797]

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

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361 Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-
554 tain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or en-
[157] couraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they
[123] did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the
342 new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one require-
361 ment of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with
622 him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines
768 of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new ma-
loca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a
361 fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations.
244 At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to
768 ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transitional period when the community is actually working both clearings. The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old *chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

361 The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to
[311] circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some 15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again. Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

[173] The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiarí and the Querarí. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this
361 connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or
614 along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs
554 occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong occupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Gia-
361 cone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (refer-
554 ring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahúkiwa*, whose ancestry
[64] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and while their representations on house walls have no specific magical function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petroglyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allocation of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman prefers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

## THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for example, return to the parental community with their children. There
[768] are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regulating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special interest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

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423 The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of
615 river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these
[578] arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies
• [768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate relationship between land and its cultivator.

241 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual
614 or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the alloca-
361 tion of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing
241 is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective
614 effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a
361 clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and
622 stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of
476 a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman to organize a collective work party, including all household heads. If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually. Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots, establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later arrivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. Annually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the *chagra*, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field for a two-year harvest.

244 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman.
423 A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plantation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daughters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

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# Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

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/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 [101] 124 128 772 772 769 The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as interpreter. Owing to the short time of the investigation and to having consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

105 [171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

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888 as well. The fixed relationships of mutual obligation are, as has been
[593] seen, between husband and wife, between parents and dependent
[57] children, between unmarried brother and sister, and between cere-
monial friends. These relationships either do not apply to the aged,
or, if they do, they may not be of great value to them. Generally
speaking, the aged can depend upon those who are younger and
vigorous only for the generalized sib benefits of sustenance and com-
panionship. The deprivation of the aged is in what one might mis-
takenly call "the nonessentials." There is no one to buy an old lady
a new petticoat or to get for an old man commercial tobacco. The
aged do not protest such neglect because they acknowledge their lack
888 of claim. Nonetheless, they feel their neglect and loss of status keenly
123 enough. When I was among the *Bahúkiwa*, an aged lady employed
all her senile charms to wheedle from me a new petticoat. Her hus-
band, a very proud old man, deigned to accept only an occasional
cigarette. From time to time he brought me fish and the old lady
fetched me some of her small garden produce to reciprocate my
favors.

888 The old must look after themselves. The very old *Bahúkiwa*
couple maintained a semblance of an independent household. The
old woman, unable to carry a load of manioc, no longer gardened,
but she fetched firewood and looked after children. She cooked for
her husband. Her daughter-in-law provided her with manioc cake.
The old man was still a good fisherman, contributing to the maloca.
Besides, he was a consultant on many matters, particularly on trees
to be used in manufactures.

[18] The focus of Cubeo culture is upon the vigorous household heads.
[769] The aged simply fall out of things. They are entitled to no particular
respect, nor have they cause to be feared as spirits-to-be, for the
Cubeo are interested only in their first ancestors and not in the
spirits of the more recent dead.

## DEATH

761 Death may be attributed by the Cubeo to natural causes such as
[754] accidents, violence, old age, but if it is the result of illness, it must
be laid to some agency that has willed it. The most common agency
763 is human. Whether the agency is human or supernatural the reaction
to death is patterned on grief, anger, and fear. The Cubeo reaction
to death is to give full rein to grief and anger and to short-circuit as
quickly as possible the forebodings that what has happened to one
may happen to all. The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were

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# 8

## *The Ancestor Cult*

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The ancestors of the sibs, the *Bekûpwänwa* (*bekû*: old man; *pwänwa*: people), literally, the Ancients, form the center of what may properly be called a cult.[1] The ancestral cult is neither elaborate nor well integrated. What it includes are a number of rites in which the ancestors, or Ancients, are invoked. In some cases the invocation of the Ancients has no special magical significance, as when the origin myths are recited at major drinking parties, or again when the ancestral couple *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikü* come to mourn for the sib dead. The first occasion is simply a remembrance by the sib of their ancestors, and the second is a reciprocal remembering and honoring of their sib by the ancestors. The relationship in both instances is mainly social. On the other hand, when an infant receives a sib name, when cohabiting couples bathe in the river, when youths bathe before dawn and sound the trumpets that embody the Ancients, and finally, when the young boys as well as the mature are whipped by the Ancients, the relationship is then fundamentally magical. On these occasions the Ancients bestow upon their sibmen the specific benefits of bodily growth, vigor, potency, and fertility.

The Cubeo do not assemble all of these rites and cite them as a connected series. The term *Bekûpwänwa*, in fact, is used to refer only to the Ancients when the origin myth is recited and to the bathing and whipping in the presence of the flutes and trumpets that embody

[1] The ancestors are also known as *Bekûdowa* (Old ones), a term that has the connotation of a grouping comparable to that of a sib.

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the Ancients. In the naming and in the mourning ceremonies specific ancestors are invoked by name and by specific kinship reference, as the mother or the grandmother of the sib. In the case of postcoital connubial bathing the ancestors are not invoked either by name or by spell; the bathers merely participate in their magical presence in the river. Some cult activities are secret, others are not. The rule of secrecy applies to the flutes and trumpets. These bear the names of ancestors and may not be seen by women. However, whenever these instruments appear, a specific ceremonial role is assigned to the women. In the whipping rites, which are also initiation rites for boys, the women receive gifts of fruits and berries in the name of the Ancients. In the mourning rites the ancestor trumpets sound their notes of grief, to which the women respond with wailing of their own. That is, when the Ancients enter the maloca they naturally establish a relationship with the women of the house. On the other hand, when the Ancients' blessings are invoked, but without the ancestral presence, the women have no part in the proceedings. The women are ignored during the naming ceremony and during the recitation of the sib mythology. Basically, the ancestral cult belongs to the men. When the boys are shown the hiding place of the flutes and trumpets and are taught their names they are being initiated into a male cult and are drawn fully, thereby, into their roles as sibmen. The social function of the initiation is twofold: to complete the separation of the boy from his mother and align him with his father and his father's brothers, and to draw him from the immaturity of the play pack into the mature company of men. We may speak of these rites, therefore, as *rites de passage* as well, bearing in mind, however, that the passage is a long and gradual one. The Cubeo emphasis with respect to the development of the male is not that he suddenly crosses a dividing line from boyhood to manhood but that he grows. The magic of the initiation ceremony is a magic of growth. Growth magic, it will be recalled, occurs at three stages in a boy's development: at birth, after a year when he receives his name, and then for a series of years after he has entered the play pack.

For a fuller understanding of the Cubeo cult of *Bekûpwänuwa* one would need to know more about corresponding ceremonies among neighboring tribes. Curiously, no other ancestral cult has been reported for the entire Northwest Amazon. Koch-Grünberg, whose knowledge of the tribes of the region extended over many years, did not mention any ancestral doctrines even though he had lived for several months with the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiarí. But like others who have studied this region his investigations were surely led astray

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769 171 [114] by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[2] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involving the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kówai* (*Kúwai*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries during the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano Indians, where sacred horns are used in the initiation of young boys, the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as tamed animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral cult (Ypiringa Monteiro, 1960).

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769 171 As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Cágaba (Park, 1936), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921–23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1948), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

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Among the *Bahúkiwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[2] Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekeboikelehapuive*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.

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that are specifically identified as the *Bekûpwānwa*, and that are used in the whipping and initiation ceremonies as well as in ritual bathing. 534

1. *Emihehika* (also known as *haraibipobü*: whipping staff) is a wide-mouth trumpet of bark wound within a framework of splints. It has a short palm-tube mouthpiece set into a ceramic plate that is mounted firmly to the upper end of the bark. This trumpet is some 30 inches long.

2. *Kwühünku* (also known as *Uménahonkü*) is also a wide-mouth bark trumpet that is over five feet long and is played with one end resting on the ground.

3. *Bwü* (Agouti) is a long flute of a black palm, also with a mouthpiece set in a clay mount and with two external reeds bound around an opening toward the top. It is about four feet long.

4. *Onpwénda* is a flute similar to *Bwü* except that it has no separate mouthpiece and is only some 30 inches long.

5. *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* is identical with *Onpwénda* and is the length of a man's forearm. It is the shortest of the flutes.

*Bwü* and *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* are said to be the strongest and fiercest of the ancestors and are esteemed for the vigor with which they whip. They are referred to as *parihihekü* (very powerful beings). *Bwü* is, of course, the founding ancestor of the *Bahükiwa*. 769 [614]

Among the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí the largest bark-wound trumpet is also called *Uménahonkü*. Koch-Grünberg translated this name correctly as "Dragonfly." The name, however, is that of a first ancestor of the *Hehénewa*. [534] [614]

The whipping rites, the Cubeo say, go back to the "first people," who were taught what to do by *Kûwai*. At the beginning, however, it was women who played the flutes and trumpets. They spent so much time on play that they did nothing else. *Kûwai* corrected this. He took the instruments from the women and gave them to the men, warning them never to allow the women to get them back.[3] This is the story that is cited to explain why the instruments are taboo to 769 534 773 [784]

[3] A variant account states that the *Bekûpwānwa* had belonged to the women and that the men were afraid of them. The women came out of the forest bearing the instruments and the men ran away in fear. Then *Dekókü* (Ghost person) learned about this and said, "Women have no right to this." He came down to witness the ceremony of the women. He saw only women and he said to them, "You are women, you have no right to this. Now I am going to take this away from you." He brought the instruments to the men and laid them on their forearms. When the women had the *Bekûpwānwa* they danced all the time and never worked. After the men had received the instruments they allowed one old woman to see them. She turned insane and they had to kill her. Since then women have not been allowed to see the *Bekûpwānwa*.

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769 534 [784] [773] [820] [754] women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekûlpwänwa* to the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will be kept from the other women.

769 796 The *Bekûlpwänwa* come annually in the summer when a species of palm berry (*konhá*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not grow. The *Bahúkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, however, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would seem to be an obvious one.

[561] As an age grade, youths are known as *hwaïnyó*, but as boys who need whipping for growth they are known as *bahúdjo*, which may be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping voluntarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahúkiwa* and one among its subsib, the *Bahúküdjawü*.

The *Bahúkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capable in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys subdued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the headman's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive 769 796
sib cult.

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance [534] feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the [533] river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the oncoming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent [202] the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, [533] swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and [291] having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, as [829] ended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional [534] five were used, *Bwü*, *Onpwénda kûdjüwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They [535] marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwü* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at [576] the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was taboo but as a courtesy.

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769 796 taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca [614] counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him [222] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits [857] and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konhá*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door. [273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konhá* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] [276] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konhá*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Bwũ* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Bwũ* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch (*hardmu*) that he had picked at the water's edge.[4] The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

[614] [4] Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *haralhume* (*haral*: to strike; *humé*: bitter, unpleasant).

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pared. Other men picked up the horns and danced. The whipping could not begin before dark and it was evident that the man preparing the switch was working slowly so as not to finish too soon. The deliberation of his movements added to the apprehension of the boys. As the last rays of light in the doorway faded, the boys suddenly leaped from the bench and bolted out of the house. The man who was preparing the whip ran to the doorway and shouted at them to come back. All but one returned. The boy who did not return was a fatherless orphan and a maverick who did not share foraged food with his age mates.

The boys took their seats again and the men resumed dancing with the ancestor horns. They danced until the house was pitch black. A taper was lighted and *Bwü*, represented by the senior member of the initiating group, stepped forward. He dragged the first boy to

Fig. 6. *Bahúkiwa* boy.

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be whipped violently to the center of the dance floor. He chose an eight-year-old boy, his own son. Normally the most amiable of men, he glowered at the boy, and in a harsh voice commanded him to stand straight, his legs together and his arms above his head. The little boy solemnly obeyed. The father faced his son, poised his whip for the first blow, and waited while the dancers circled them once, sounding the ancestor horns. When the dancers had completed one turn, the man inserted the switch in the far end of the horn and stirred it about to "draw from it the power of *Bwü*." He then struck the boy across the loins with such force that the child ran screaming down the corridor toward the door. His father ran after him and without a word dragged him back. The first blow across the loins left a bloody scar on the boy's abdomen and was to impart sexual vigor, which resides inside the horn. The boy's paternal uncle stepped forward and rolled the second *Bwü* horn along the child's back, starting at the calves and rolling it up to the head. This was to impart growth of stature, that resides on the outside of the horn. The boy had now regained his composure, and his father brought him a calabash of chicha. His father whipped him a second time, in the same way, and this time the boy controlled his fright, emitting only a gasp of pain as the whip lashed across his abdomen, raising a second welt. Again the uncle rolled the horn up the back. His father gave him a second calabash of chicha and the boy returned to his place on the bench, where he displayed his scars to his companions, composed and grinning from ear to ear.

Next to be initiated was the son of the headman's sister, the boy [534] who was not of the sib. The same man did the whipping, using not *Bwü* but *Onpwénda*, the least powerful of the three ancestors they were invoking. I concluded that a father would naturally initiate his own son with the most powerful and the very first of the ancestors, while saving the least potent for his cross nephew. When I mentioned [182] this to the man he assured me I was wrong, explaining that it made [614] no difference who was whipped with which ancestor since their blessings went not to any one person, but to all being initiated as well as to the sib as a whole. The important thing, he said, was not to neglect an ancestor who had been brought to the house. I am inclined to accept this explanation with some skepticism, because the Indians always deny inequality as a matter of courtesy, but they recognize it nonetheless. When informants discussed *Bahúkiwa* ancestors in general terms they all agreed that it was best to be whipped by *Bwü* because "he is the strongest."

This boy was exceedingly apprehensive. Before the first blow

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could be struck he had bolted and had to be literally dragged back. The first blow reduced him to such a state of trembling and hysterical sobbing that I thought he would collapse. He could not swallow the chicha. The men paid no attention to the boy's terror and when he returned finally to the bench, still sobbing, his companions ignored him.[5] The first boy was by this time enjoying himself immensely.

The third initiate was the son of the headman, a boy who was the leader of his play pack. This lad strode confidently forward and raised his arms above his head without command. He faced his age mates, smiled at them, and took the blows without flinching. The next boy faced the ordeal with equal composure. The men waited for the orphan boy to return. When he did not they sent the youngsters to bring him, but they returned very quickly to say that he had run away.

There now remained two very young boys to be whipped. These were treated in a sense as junior initiates, old enough to know the secrets of the *Bekûpwänwa* but too tender to be whipped very hard. The senior initiator who had begun to whip with *Bwü* was said to have a very hard blow, because of having absorbed the strength of *Bwü* in his arm. He therefore turned the whipping over to his younger brother, who used *Onpwénda*. This man, who was unmarried and therefore closer in spirit to the age group being initiated, assumed a jesting manner. He dragged a little boy forcefully to the center but in a playful manner. He measured his blow carefully, heavy enough for the child to know he had been through the ordeal but without raising a welt. The two blows were spaced farther away from the genital region because the children were too young to receive sexual power from the ancestors yet. The gentle blows meant that growth would still be gradual. At puberty, I was told, a boy receives the full hard blows of *Bwü*. However, since some precocity is welcomed, the full blows, as on this occasion, may precede puberty by some years.

After all the youngsters had been whipped and were seated together on the guest bench drinking chicha, the ancestors, who had been dancing inside the house, now danced about them several times in a close circle, finally leaving in single file through the door. They circled the house on the outside and returned to the front plaza. When they stopped playing, the youngsters rose from their bench and went outside to watch as the men hid the horns in a clump of bushes nearby. Then all cut swatches of leaves and ran through the

[5] It is hardly a disgrace for a young boy to weep. When young adults, young married men, are injured in a drunken brawl, they will also weep freely.

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796 house, sweeping every bit of ground to remove the traces of the ancestors. They bent low and uttered low cries of *hi hi hi iii iii*, the same sound used when *mihí* is brought in. This is a sound that spirits understand.

342 346 574 When the last traces of the ancestors had been swept out, the men called to the women to return. The return of the women restores the house to its normal condition. Before that it is a man's house, a cult house and not a true domicile. This change was marked by having the guests, who had already taken part in the earlier ceremonies, leave, go down to the landing place, march up the path, and be received at the front door in the usual reception line. What seemed to be the beginning of an ordinary drinking party then followed. However, later that night the women were told to move to the rear and to sit facing the rear door. The torches were put out and some old men fetched the hidden horns to play them in the forward men's section. They danced out again and hid the instruments. When the playing stopped, the women rose, lighted the torches again, and took possession of the *konhá* berries. The headman's wife, in her traditional role, supervised and assisted in the preparation of a *konhá* porridge, and the remainder of the berries were distributed to all the adult women. The porridge was prepared quickly and calabashes of it were sent down to the forward end of the house for the men.

Now the mothers turned to their sons to inspect the welts raised by the whippings. But the boys turned away and the mothers knew enough not to persist. The ceremony was over.

This was a truncated ceremony. Normally, the elders who have danced into the house with the ancestor horns after the lights have been put out dance among the women, while other men thrash the women with switches. Then the adult men take turns in whipping one another. None of this was done, they said, because most of the guests they had invited had not come, and feeling dispirited they cut the ceremony short.

769 However, I had the opportunity of attending another whipping
796 ceremony at the maloca of a subsib. This one was well attended and the atmosphere was properly charged with excitement, helped by a
184 great quantity of chicha and *mihí*. Yet here too the whippings were confined to the young boys and the women were unmolested. At one point, however, the ancestors danced outside the house, and two boys guarded the door while youngsters pelted the front door with berries. This was done not to frighten the women within but to give them a more vivid sense of the "presence" of the ancestors. This was re-

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peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the origin traditions.

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective during the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplementary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

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# 10

## *The Mourning Ceremony*

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bahúkiwa* subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Uménahonkü* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *ofwinu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day ceremonies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. The three-day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

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534 for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented
114 at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never
769 mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted,
[773] refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first
786 three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common
[154] purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual
[536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate
765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however,
266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion
[775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the sub-
[614] stance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual
562 role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritual-
[786] ized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the
765 beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as
[776] well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaiwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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765 535 532 ing, like a pennant, bark-fringe streamers. The *Borikakü* usually dances with *Máwayo*, its compatriot, the red-mouthed aracú. In a joint dance they carry a rope ladder (*towándo*) made of three parallel strands of rope into which wooden rungs are set. Attaching the ladder to a roof beam, they climb and descend.

## THE MINNOWS

Although the Minnows (*Emíwa*) wear no masks they are definitely part of the dance ensemble; they have a dance step, a song, and a dramatic role. The Minnows are the youngsters and form a school of fish that presumably stands for the youngsters' play pack.[6] They are a boisterous element, moving in and out among the masked dancers. Lacking masks and, accordingly, formal ceremonial status they play a counterpoint of sheer spontaneity to the more solemn dances of the masks. While the role clearly belongs to youngsters, boys are not limited to it. Prepubescent boys do, indeed, wear masks. Those I saw were Butterflies and I was told that a youngster may dance any role but *Yaví*, the Jaguar. The Minnows play on curious [534] shrill whistles. The whistles resemble a short three-tube Panpipe and are mounted at the end of a stick about a yard in length that is hung with three streamers of bark cloth. The dancers wear ankle rattles and dance in a spiral formation, taking two accented steps forward and then two oblique steps back. They hold their whistle sticks pointing up. They have no particular formation, dancing sometimes abreast, sometimes in line, and, alternately, in disorder. The Minnows do all their dancing among the women, who dote on them and ply them with chicha.

## *XUDJÍKO* AND *XUDJÍKÜ*

765 534 769 The "grandmother" and her consort are, for the Cubeo, the truly solemn and sacred element of the *óyne*. Represented by giant 15-foot-long trumpets of wound bark that are bound as twins to a single frame, they are taboo to all the women, as are all ancestral horns. The trumpets are capable only of deep, mournful notes and represent ancestral mourning. It is the grandmother, however, which has [462] come to mourn and not the grandparents. The reason for this is that it is a woman's role to be an official weeper. Men may and do

[6] It will be recalled that in the story of *Kówai* and the anaconda, the penis of the anaconda is transformed into four minnows that are given to the adulterous wife to eat.

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjiko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjiko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikũ* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

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## THE SIB UNITS

The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

765 614 [615] [754] [535]

## ORGANIZATION OF THE *OYNE*

As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur-

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"*Dekóků*[7] has punished you." Then other people came and wrapped the boy in his hammock, put him into a large jar, and buried him in the house. No one wept. After three days an old man began to think what people should do about death. They decided to have an *óyne*. They made dance masks. At first they did not know how to make bark cloth so they made masks of leaves. *Kúwai* came and told them this was not good. In one day *Kúwai* made all the bark-cloth masks for the people. They did not know how to paint the masks and *Kúwai* showed them how. They gathered red pigment and carbon soot, and by midday the masks were all finished. *Kúwai* climbed the duka tree. At the top he cut off the bark and brought it down to make the fringes for the skirt and sleeves. The people then divided the maloca into a men's and women's part. In the men's part an old woman sat down to sing. But soon the real *Xudjiko* came along singing and the people were frightened. But *Kúwai* said, "Don't be afraid. This old woman is *Xudjiko*, who has come to help you weep." The old lady ran away and *Xudjiko* took her place. Then *Kúwai* said, "When other people die do the same thing. Weep for a short time only." He told them to dance and sing. When they had finished *Xudjiko* went away. She no longer comes. Instead they make a horn.

*Xudjiko* and her consort live at Uaracapuri, the source of the Cubeo. They were the first of the Ancients to die and they were the first to make the bark-cloth masks. The headpieces of the masks are set with feathers; the most prominent vertical feather is said to represent *Xudjikü* and the most prominent horizontal feather is said to represent *Xudjiko*.[8]

## RITUAL THEMES IN THE *ÓYNE*

The five main sets of characters in the *óyne* each represent then one major ritual theme: the women represent weeping; the masks, the concern of the living world for the deceased as well as for the living; the minnows, the boisterous character of young men;

[7] The term means "ghost" or "spirit" but it has here the connotation of "Great Spirit." However, since I did not learn of a Cubeo belief in a Great Spirit the allusion is puzzling, and is to be considered as unexplained.

[8] The apparent inconsistency between this account and the previous one referring to *Kúwai* illustrates two strands in Cubeo mythical thought. One strand, nonancestral, focuses on *Kúwai*, a figure of the Arawakan tribes. The other strand is ancestral and is, perhaps, truly Tucanoan. The Cubeo do not reconcile both strands. The question of which version is produced depends on the context, which may be either general or ancestral.

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*Xudjiko* and her consort, the mourning by the primordial ancestors; and the sib units, the solidarity of the phratry in expressing both grief and anger. The dramatizations and mimetic dances present a variety of minor themes, such as menace and hilarity. If one looks at the *oyne* as a whole, however, and follows the sequence of events from their slow and solemn beginning to their conclusion in a simulated sexual orgy and then in a real one, a single main theme emerges, and that is the sexual interplay between men and women. By contrast to the sexual emphasis, the ritual of dealing with the spirit of the deceased seems almost minor and anticlimactic. It is only at the very end, when most guests have departed, that the ghost is dispatched. The climax of the first part of the *oyne* is ritual coitus, just as the climax of the second part is sexual license. We can therefore describe the *oyne* in terms of ritualized sexual sequence.

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Fig. 11. Mourning ceremony: women's entrance.

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# 11

## *Religion*

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. 771
Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, 776
fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekûpwānwa* and 787
*Kúwai* the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which specific results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious attitude must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of relations among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one neither commands, nor submits. People enter willingly into a relationship that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood. In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seek to establish a relationship with a supernatural being.

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The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikū* they come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how-

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771 ever, does not compel them to make the sib child grow. The Cubeo
769 think it absurd to suggest that the *Bekûpwänwa* might need any urging to do for the sib what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing. It is impossible for a Cubeo to say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have withheld a benefit or that they can be made to do more under
771 some circumstances and less under others. What is required – and the
769 Cubeo do not say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have set requirements – is
787 that a proper mode of social intercourse be established and maintained. The spirit and the manner of social intercourse must be correct, however, although not letter perfect. The spirit in which the social intercourse is carried out is more important than the ritual act. Many Cubeo ceremonies are abridged because, as they explain, the mood was wrong. Guests who should have come did not, and in the feeling of disappointment the ceremony is cut short. An error in a chant, in a dance, in a song, or in a ritual sequence is of no impor-
771 tance. Failure to conform to the rules of social intercourse with the
769 supernatural beings, such as the Ancients, may have serious conse-
784 quences only if the neglect is deliberate. In any case, *Bekûpwänwa* do not punish. They only withhold. In the case of the boy who ran away from his whipping at the hands of the *Bekûpwänwa*, my informants assured me that he would not be deprived of a year's growth. Since they, the elders, were prepared to forgive the youngster his uncontrollable timorousness on this occasion, the Ancients, they knew, would do likewise.

771 The Ancients are not referred to as "spirits." The term for spirit
769 is *dekôkü* and has, for the Cubeo, a more alien connotation than the
[776] term *Bekûpwänwa*. The Ancients or the ancestors are referred to by name so that association with them conveys directness and immediacy. I believe that it is for the sake of maintaining a sense of immediacy and of directness with the *Bekûpwänwa* that the Cubeo do not place them in some ancestral abode in some other world. The An-
[778] cients, to be sure, are known to have been buried in the ancestral rocks from which they emerged, at the rapids of Uaracapurí and Yurupari. But the burial place is not their place of abode. Strictly speaking they have no place of abode. The flutes and trumpets that embody them reside in a *caño* near the main stream of the sib. The Cubeo do not, however, claim that these sacred crypts are the resi-
[775] dences of the Ancients. The ordinary dead, on the other hand, do have an abode. The point of distinction for the Cubeo is that the ordinary dead have been sent away and are no longer welcome, whereas the Ancients, who are not spirits of the dead in the ordinary sense, are always welcome.

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Apart from the Ancients there is *Kúwai*, who has been referred to here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the area share *Kúwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. There are no rites involving *Kúwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Kúwai* in the past. *Kúwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Kúwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Kúwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Kúwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkü* (my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*kawáno*) in a house with his wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkü*, an Ancient, but *himénihinkü* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been badly understood by the Indians of the Cuduiari, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkü* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without exception reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupian and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahükiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true beneficent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

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771 move against other powers or forces. That is to say, the Cubeo know that growth, potency, and fertility are part of the ordinary scheme of things and that there is no force conspiring against such ordinary developments. The *Bekûpwãnwa* are not thought of as jealous, sensitive, threatening, or likely to take offense. It is noteworthy, too, that the emphasis in growth is upon the individual far more than it is upon the more abstract concept of sib. The Ancients will not guard the people against any unexpected dangers. To guard against menace, whether general or specific, there are specific measures that the sibmen themselves must take.

771 All other anthropomorphic beings in the Cubeo cosmos are either
776 menacing, mischievous, or harmless. Menace from supernaturals, however, is relatively moderate, not to be minimized but lacking in dread. The only menace that truly frightens the Cubeo is that which they attribute to persons.

776 The *abúhuwa* are cannibalistic forest monsters, the bogy men of the children. At the mourning ceremonies they are made to appear grotesque and absurd and hence harmless. There are many stories of human encounters with *abúhuwa* as ogres. In most, the *abúhuwa* are overcome. They can be outwitted, caught, and killed.

The story is told of an old woman alone in the maloca with two young children. *Abúhuwa* entered the house and the children were able to escape by climbing up to the house beams. But the old woman was caught. An *abúhukũ* rolled her between his palms until she became all soft and he sucked her out from the top of the head in the way a Cubeo child eats a banana. He hung her skin over the branch of a tree. When the others of the maloca returned they saw an *abúhuwa* family within. They set capsicum afire at the door of the house and as the *abúhuwa* sought to escape its acrid smoke, that is noxious to all unwanted spirits, they struck them down with clubs and killed them all.

Another tale is told of a hunter who, in the woods at night, was seized by the throat from behind. It was an *abúhukũ*. He struggled with it and killed it with a knife. In the morning he went to see it and it had taken the form of a sloth. *Abúhuwa*, it is said, are all very
[754] hairy. Their armpit hair makes a very potent sorcery "poison." Any man who is bold enough may seize an *abúhukũ* and tear his armpit
[821] hair. It is said that the ogre can be seized only when the moon is in eclipse or is red and low in the sky. The hair must be from the left armpit and can be cut only with a corn husk. It is cooked until reduced to ash, and then is mixed with water and allowed to dry to a paste in the sun. The paste is kept in a small gourd dish sealed with

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband. 592 571 [593] [606]

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack. 571 561

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart. 571 572

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their 571 614 615 621 571 621 [622] [856] [769] [553]

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## POLARITY - COMPLEMENTARITY

The complementary role of conceptual opposites is, of course, a universal type of cultural patterning. Cultural distinctions occur in variations of the pattern. Under any circumstances, the general pattern of polarity-complementarity produces a mode of order and hence of social cohesiveness. In Cubeo life, polarity-complementarity is very strongly expressed. Its most prominent area is the male-female polarity. From a purely sociological point of view, the male-female opposition would seem to be a reflection of the patriliny-patrilocality of the sib, in which the women are outsiders as wives and outsiders-to-be as sisters and daughters, while the men are the permanent group. To this basic social condition the Cubeo add a variety of symbolic modes of opposition. Those that have been described include opposing but complementary roles in all ritual. In the ancestral cult and in mourning ceremonies these distinguishing roles of men and women are very sharply delineated. In ritual, men supply order, while women give spontaneity. Since female spontaneity in ritual is evidently complementary to masculine formalism, it is to be understood that we are dealing here with a somewhat dramatized rather than with a "pure" spontaneity. Generally speaking, and using the Durkheimian categories broadly, the men represent the sacred side of life and the women the profane. However, in the case of the Cubeo the female as profane is a complement of the sacred and not altogether outside of it.

From a more secular point of view, the male-female distinction can be expressed in terms of a collectivist-sectionalist dichotomy: the men represent the collectivism of the sib, the women the sectionalism of the individual household. The contrast between the gregariousness of the male play pack and the solitariness of the little girls is perhaps the most pointed demonstration of this distinction. Another illustration of this pattern is in the form of the dance in which the girls slip under the linking yokes of the men's arms, occupying, so to speak, interstices of the dance pattern. The collectivist-sectionalist distinction is also clear in economic activities. Hunting and fishing are commonly collective, whereas female-prepared food, that is, manioc cake and tapioca porridges, are largely sectional (household). If we were to attempt a hypothetical linking together of the various patterns of Cubeo culture we could argue that the principle of linkage-autonomy is related to the broad principle of male-female polarity-complementarity, on the grounds that the male side in relation to the female

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121 not be accepted only as a statement of uniqueness, although the sci-
571 entific value of a unique configuration is undeniable. Each general cultural pattern may ultimately be unique, but since uniqueness is a relative concept the possibility of some more general typology is a real one. Thus the hypothetical statement of a Cubeo over-all pattern should have more than specific applicability.

571 What kind of model, then, does Cubeo culture follow? Socially
593 the root model is that of the solidarity of brothers. It is around this root concept that the characteristic principles of Cubeo kinship and sib and phratric organization develop. The solidarity-of-brothers concept is, as we have seen, both set off from and bound to all other relations by the universal human doctrine of order: polarity-
[428] complementarity. Since primogeniture, though recognized, is minor, the male sibling solidarity is in effect nonhierarchical; it is basically lateral. And it is this fraternal model, we might say, that gives the
571 strong egalitarian cast to Cubeo society. The ancestral cult, in all its
593 aspects, is the particular Cubeo phrasing of the sacred character of
769 male sibling solidarity. It is not a worship of the past, nor does it
614 single out for special distinction any particular ancestral line except
615 from the standpoint of the phratry. But the phratry, having mainly a ritual rather than a corporate character, has only a limited effect upon the patterning of Cubeo life. The ancestral tradition does differentiate the sibs. The ancestral cult, on the other hand, serves rather to promote the lateral solidarity of the male siblings who are the roots of the sib.

571 The significance of the social pattern based upon the solidarity of
593 the male siblings has been noted by Radcliffe-Brown as characteristic
61 of primitive societies organized in patrilineal lineages. It is indeed a fundamental and elementary social pattern subject to a wide range of variations. In the case of the Cubeo, their entire elaboration of kinship, lineage, sib, and phratry follows very closely the lines of the elementary pattern. If the close approximation of a social structure to an elementary basic pattern may be taken as a mark of simplicity, then on this score Cubeo social structure may be characterized as "simple." It is understood, of course, that male sibling solidarity is only the focal point of a larger social pattern that includes the polarity-complementarity relationships of affinity-consanguinity, and the male-female as well as the near-distant relationship.

571 If Cubeo social structure can be derived from an elementary model,
152 so can its emotional structure, or ethos. The Cubeo ethos seems to be
181 based upon the doctrine of harmonizing each particular mode of emotional expression with an appropriate social activity. Stated

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287 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadú bags.
532 Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and
764 length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg
532 (Zwei Iahre, p. 236), the Taryana wore masks also at the feast
778 of Wãx-tĩ. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the Ide-masã of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called Waxtĩ (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a) Difficulties.

177 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters
• 771 of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

/316 cont./

177 culture that remained as evidence. In the religious Ethnology
• 771 we not only have the reciprocal influence among the tribes, but that of the civilized, perhaps since the discovery of the New World (1),

1. Frei Gaspar de Carvajal, O. P., in the description of the voyage of Francisco Orellana, 1540, relates the information of an Indian woman. "In this aldeia (in the vicinity of the mouth of the Rio Negro) an Indian woman with much sense was taken. She said that near here, in the interior, there were many Christians, among them two white women, and that others lived with Indian women from whom they had /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ children. It is presumed that these are the ones who disappeared from Diogo Ordaz." One of the ships that made up part of the squadron of Ordaz, having left Seville at the beginning of 1531, with a destination on the river Maranhão, under the command of Juan Cornejo, ran aground in this river with more than 300 men, who settled among the Indians.

all of them Christians (2),

2. /From p. 317 in the original source./ In our days we know of traders who baptized Indians in order to make them their "godchildren," that is, with an obligation to work for them. Grotesque episodes are told about these baptisms, sometimes of an entire maloca, just pouring on water or putting salt in the mouth, without uttering any words. Koch Grünberg himself baptized some sick children, as he tells in his

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/footnote 2 cont./ book Zwei Iahre. Still today (1957) the Missionaries find Indians scattered through various malocas who claim to have been baptized "by white," that is, by civilized who passed by the region trading.

with their cult, which would impress /317/ the savage, and with their talks or even with their positive catechizing, wishing to bring him to Christianism.

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Tribes of the Amazon and Rio Negro (cf. II - 1) (and those of the Uaupés maintained relations with those of the Rio Negro and Içana) were even evangelized by Missionaries in different times. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits and the Mercedarians were on the Rio Negro, in the eighteenth the Carmelites, in the nineteenth the Capuchins and Secular Priests.

The Christian converts were at times a minority within the group which would continue with their beliefs and practices. Perhaps in some cases an entire group, for example, a native povoado, became Christian, but later lost contact with the Missionaries -- and we saw that the catechizing on the Rio Negro and Uaupés was periodic and intermittent -- and returned to their pagan rituals.

Would there not have remained some trace of these learned teachings and religious practices? There are indications that affirm this, from which it is permissible to infer: what the Indians practice today and declared to us may not be exempt from the influence of the Christian civilized.

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Another difficulty no smaller than the first one is the reserve of the native, always suspicious, and he appears much more so on these subjects, about which there may even be an obligation to reveal nothing to the civilized. It has been verified that they more easily make disclosures about subjects of morality, which, it seems to us, should remain hidden, than about religious

/317 cont./
• 771 subjects (3).

> 3. General Couto de Magalhães, in spite of his friendly relations with many natives, reveals this silent discretion of theirs: "The Indians are very reserved and discreet in everything concerning a religious topic. In the middle of the most animated conversation, if one directs to them any question intended for the clarification of any of these points, they immediately become cool, at times somber, and either answer with monosyllables or do not answer at all" (Ensaios de Anthropologia, /Essays in Anthropology/, 495).

/318/ b) Christian influences.

177 We mention only three proofs of Christian influence: 1st --
773 the inclusion of elements of the Christian tradition in the native legends (as will be seen in the work in preparation "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") (4);

> 4. There are some points in these legends (as we shall see in another volume, "Lendas do Uaupés") that make us admit Christian diffusion. And we are not referring to the narrations of the alumni of the Catholic Missions. As we more than once had the opportunity to verify, in the exposition of their legends they insert episodes and names of personages about which they have heard in the catechesis. One proof of this is the Tukano Cosmogony revealed by the pajé Marcos Sierra to Marcos Fulop (cf. n. 65 /sic; see note 71/, Ch. VII-4, e (2c) ).

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/footnote 6 cont./ idols of gold and silver in the form of women, and many objects of gold and silver for the service of the sun" (o.c. 67).

Carvajal, however, is relating what he heard and his narration is all impregnated with unbelievable things, fruit of credulity and of suggestion.

Pe. Alonso de Rojas, describing the descent of the year 1637, testifies: "They do not have rites or ceremonies to venerate them (their false gods), neither temples of their idols nor priests" (Descobrimentos, /Discoveries/, 110). Precisely as we found them three centuries later.

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nor persons in charge of the cult, neither priests nor religious ceremonies and prayers to honor the deity, are found among them.

/322/ There are, indeed, many superstitions, and it could not be otherwise among men of so little culture. There is unanimity in asserting that, if there is a cult, it is that of the Jurupari or demon (7)

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7. In his "Diálogos das grandezas do Brazil /Dialogues on the greatnesses of Brazil/," Teixeira Pinto, dealing with the rites of the heathen, asserts: "If they do have any and if they practice some manner of worship, although this is not known, it is the devil to whom they give the name of Jurupari" (ap. Barbosa Rodrigues, Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/, 94). Jurupari and dabacuri are terms from the Lingua Geral or Nheengatú, which is still spoken on all the

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/footnote 7 cont./ Rio Negro. The use of these terms by the Indians of the Uaupés themselves, when they describe their traditions to us, is of value as proof of the foreign influence in their myths and rites.

(in Tukano Wãx-tĩ), who is celebrated or understood to be placated with the Dabacurís (in Tukano Poosé), in order for him not to harm them, malicious spirit that he is. As for God (in Tukano Wá:kõ or O'ã-kõ) he is a great absent one, who does not concern himself about human beings and is without any influence on their life. There is, then, no need to be interested in Wá:kõ or to think of him in order to worship him.

The study of these tribes convinces us that they are in a phase of great regression or involution, with traces of totemism, its little religious feeling and great preponderance of magic being shown to us by them.

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Religion in a subjective sense is, according to W. Schmidt, Manuale di Stória comparata delle Religioni /Handbook of the Comparative History of Religions/, p. 2), "the idea and feeling of dependence on a supraterrestrial personal Power, with whom it is /323/ intended to enter into relations"; and, objectively, it is "the conjunction of exterior acts in which religion is expressed and by which it is manifested." We shall consider it especially in this sense.

Let us examine separately for better apprehension of the indications of this weak religious feeling and its exact comprehension: 1st. its doctrinal points; 2nd. its cult practices; 3rd. its rules of moral, religious, and social behavior.

d) Doctrinal points.

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1) Concept of a Supreme Being.

a) The totality of the Indians of these tribes living in the povoados on the bank of the Brazilian rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí distinguish at the present time, as they did a century ago,

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776 in the time of Wallace, a God Creator and Supreme Rewarder, perfect and good, and call him Wá:kõ (or O'ã-kõ), and an evil spirit that can cause them much harm, and for this reason they fear him, this is Wãx-tĩ. Not only some students and travelers, but also the natives of the younger generation themselves, identify Wãx-tĩ with the Jurupari of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú and the demon himself (8).

> 8. On the bank of the river Uaupés, above Chibarú, there is a place called Jurupari-ponta, and those of the Tukano language call it Wãx-tĩ nõã, thus identifying Wãx-tĩ and Jurupari.

• 771 Confronted with this information, one might think that their religion was a Manichaeism, with a double principle: -- the good, which practically does not need to be taken into account, and the evil (9).

> 9. Concerning this subject, we naturally have to exclude the Indians who have attended the schools of the Salesian Missions for several years and received a more profound and sound religious knowledge, strengthened, besides, by an intense religious and sacramental practical life.

776 Without, for now, questioning the names, it is certain that they admit the existence of a personal Being ("maxsã," people, as they express themselves), a being who has always existed, much superior to human beings, who lives up above. The old [177] people call this Being Bĩxpó, the Thunder (thus, for example, old Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié), and those who have some notion of Christianity clarify this by saying that

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e) Cult practices.

1) Local cult (litobolia).

There are no temples, that is, buildings solely dedicated to the deity, where the religious functions are performed. Nor has it been reported that there is any private cult or individual worship of the deity, ceremonies, prayers, unless as cult one understands some practices that seem to us magical, such as litobolia.

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They treat some places with respect and fear; this is tabooism. One does not see there, however, manifestations of cult, individual or social. Such are, for example, some cachoeiras and stones. And about them, in general, they tell interesting legends. They do not allow stones to be taken from such cachoeiras (35).

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35. The Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch thought of dynamiting the cachoeira of Parí-cachoeira, in order to facilitate navigation. The local population became agitated, and the tuxaua Julio came to advise him not to do it, because otherwise fevers and sickness would come. The Bishop judged it more expedient not to go against the opinion of the Indians. Brother Mateo (of the Congregation of Montfort), at one of the rocks of the cachoeira of the thunder, Bũxpó-pweá, of the igarapé Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, removed a fine splinter, in order to extract a little honey. One of the Indians warned him that he should not do that, because "lightning will strike." And, to his great surprise, lightning did strike at some distance, when absolutely nothing indicated it; it was really "un fulmine a ciel sereno" /a bolt of lightning in a clear sky/. They

/359 cont./

797 they do not think about him nor are they interested in him. The
776 conclusion would be, not that they do not know God and do not worship him. But that they do not know Wã:kõ, that is, Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites." They only know, fear, and worship Wãx-tĩ, the Legislator who punishes their transgressions, permitting them to have misfortunes, sicknesses, lightning bolts.

• 771 /360/ This is what we were also able to conclude from a
[115] conversation with an old Indian, almost one hundred years old (1947), Casimiro from Ipanuré.

f) Their rules of conduct -- Magic practices.

The native is convinced of the existence of extrahuman or mysterious forces, both personal and impersonal or cosmic, which can be useful or harmful to him, and which it is possible for him to dominate and take advantage of. This is what is understood by magic, considered subjectively.

The entire life of the natives is, for this reason, filled with so many positive and negative prescriptions (73)

> 73. These prescriptions, or rather, prohibitions, forbidding one to enter a certain place, to look at, to touch some object or person, is what is today called tabooism.

proceeding from this belief of theirs: or, in other words, it is saturated with magic practices. This is magic considered objectively.

Here and there we have indicated some of these magic practices; there are many others, however. Due to the number of superstitious practices that have come to our knowledge (and how many others might there be?), due to their frequency and application to the most common events of each day, perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to conclude that the mentality of the Uaupés Indians is dominated by the magic fears and beliefs as if this were an obsession, and which, naturally, is reflected and manifested in a large part of native activity.

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771 *[192] The evil that can come from an event, an action, a person, animal, or thing is called wé-boxátise, or wá-boxkátise.

The magic practices can be divided into groups: practices related to places, to things, to animals and to persons.

We shall first indicate some of these superstitious or magic beliefs.

1) Superstitions and magic beliefs.

776 Some of their beliefs have been revealed in connection with various subjects. At this point we have collected others:

a) There is a general belief in the existence of the wai maxsã or "fish people," as literally translated. They not only admit that people can be permanently or temporarily transformed into fish, /361/ but they also cite episodes of such transformations, with indication of the names of persons, the place, the date, and other individualizing circumstances. On certain occasions such persons again assume their human aspect.

They affirm that the botos /boutos/ (cetaceous mammals of the Delphinidae) are "people," "maxsã"; and that on many occasions they appear in the form of handsome young men, in order to have sexual relations with the women, especially with the unmarried maidens.

Not infrequently the female botos appear in the form of seductive women, in order to attract the young men. When such apparitions happen at night to the young men and women, it seems to them as though it was only a dream; nevertheless they actually happened, asserts the Indian.

*[192] The headless snake (Cecilidae) or two-headed snake (Lacertidae), õxsó, as is said in Tukano, may appear as a pleasant young man and fecundate the women. See the legend of õxsó. But it is not only a matter of an event that happened in the past (and they admit it with the certainty of a historical event), it can still happen, and, therefore, the women avoid looking at the two-headed snake, in order not to feel its attraction.

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able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep.

## FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly.

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the *óyne*. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Hehénewa* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough.

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly.

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# 11

## *Religion*

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. 771
Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, 776
fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekûpwānwa* and 787
*Kûwai* the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which specific results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious attitude must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of re- 771 571
lations among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one neither commands, nor submits. People enter willingly into a relationship that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood. In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seek to establish a relationship [787]
with a supernatural being.

The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in 771
another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and 769
chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them [856]
grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikū* they [785]
come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are [614]
invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how-

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771 769 ever, does not compel them to make the sib child grow. The Cubeo think it absurd to suggest that the *Bekûpwänwa* might need any urging to do for the sib what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing. It is impossible for a Cubeo to say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have withheld a benefit or that they can be made to do more under 771 some circumstances and less under others. What is required – and the 769 Cubeo do not say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have set requirements – is 787 that a proper mode of social intercourse be established and maintained. The spirit and the manner of social intercourse must be correct, however, although not letter perfect. The spirit in which the social intercourse is carried out is more important than the ritual act. Many Cubeo ceremonies are abridged because, as they explain, the mood was wrong. Guests who should have come did not, and in the feeling of disappointment the ceremony is cut short. An error in a chant, in a dance, in a song, or in a ritual sequence is of no impor- 771 tance. Failure to conform to the rules of social intercourse with the 769 supernatural beings, such as the Ancients, may have serious conse- 784 quences only if the neglect is deliberate. In any case, *Bekûpwänwa* do not punish. They only withhold. In the case of the boy who ran away from his whipping at the hands of the *Bekûpwänwa*, my informants assured me that he would not be deprived of a year's growth. Since they, the elders, were prepared to forgive the youngster his uncontrollable timorousness on this occasion, the Ancients, they knew, would do likewise.

771 The Ancients are not referred to as "spirits." The term for spirit 769 is *dekôkü* and has, for the Cubeo, a more alien connotation than the [776] term *Bekûpwänwa*. The Ancients or the ancestors are referred to by name so that association with them conveys directness and immediacy. I believe that it is for the sake of maintaining a sense of immediacy and of directness with the *Bekûpwänwa* that the Cubeo do not place them in some ancestral abode in some other world. The An- [778] cients, to be sure, are known to have been buried in the ancestral rocks from which they emerged, at the rapids of Uaracapuri and Yurupari. But the burial place is not their place of abode. Strictly speaking they have no place of abode. The flutes and trumpets that embody them reside in a *caño* near the main stream of the sib. The Cubeo do not, however, claim that these sacred crypts are the resi- [775] dences of the Ancients. The ordinary dead, on the other hand, do have an abode. The point of distinction for the Cubeo is that the ordinary dead have been sent away and are no longer welcome, whereas the Ancients, who are not spirits of the dead in the ordinary sense, are always welcome.

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Apart from the Ancients there is *Kúwai*, who has been referred to here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the area share *Kúwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. There are no rites involving *Kúwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Kúwai* in the past. *Kúwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Kúwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Kúwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Kúwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkũ* (my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*kawáno*) in a house with his wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkũ*, an Ancient, but *himénihinkũ* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been bady understood by the Indians of the Cuduiari, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkũ* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without exception reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupían and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahúkiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true beneficent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

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771 move against other powers or forces. That is to say, the Cubeo know that growth, potency, and fertility are part of the ordinary scheme of things and that there is no force conspiring against such ordinary developments. The *Bekûpwãnwa* are not thought of as jealous, sensitive, threatening, or likely to take offense. It is noteworthy, too, that the emphasis in growth is upon the individual far more than it is upon the more abstract concept of sib. The Ancients will not guard the people against any unexpected dangers. To guard against menace, whether general or specific, there are specific measures that the sibmen themselves must take.

771 All other anthropomorphic beings in the Cubeo cosmos are either
776 menacing, mischievous, or harmless. Menace from supernaturals, however, is relatively moderate, not to be minimized but lacking in dread. The only menace that truly frightens the Cubeo is that which they attribute to persons.

776 The *abûhuwa* are cannibalistic forest monsters, the bogy men of the children. At the mourning ceremonies they are made to appear grotesque and absurd and hence harmless. There are many stories of human encounters with *abûhuwa* as ogres. In most, the *abûhuwa* are overcome. They can be outwitted, caught, and killed.

The story is told of an old woman alone in the maloca with two young children. *Abûhuwa* entered the house and the children were able to escape by climbing up to the house beams. But the old woman was caught. An *abûhukũ* rolled her between his palms until she became all soft and he sucked her out from the top of the head in the way a Cubeo child eats a banana. He hung her skin over the branch of a tree. When the others of the maloca returned they saw an *abûhuwa* family within. They set capsicum afire at the door of the house and as the *abûhuwa* sought to escape its acrid smoke, that is noxious to all unwanted spirits, they struck them down with clubs and killed them all.

Another tale is told of a hunter who, in the woods at night, was seized by the throat from behind. It was an *abûhukũ*. He struggled with it and killed it with a knife. In the morning he went to see it and it had taken the form of a sloth. *Abûhuwa*, it is said, are all very
[754] hairy. Their armpit hair makes a very potent sorcery "poison." Any man who is bold enough may seize an *abûhukũ* and tear his armpit
[821] hair. It is said that the ogre can be seized only when the moon is in eclipse or is red and low in the sky. The hair must be from the left armpit and can be cut only with a corn husk. It is cooked until reduced to ash, and then is mixed with water and allowed to dry to a paste in the sun. The paste is kept in a small gourd dish sealed with

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776 mythical fish with a mouth that has the lower jaw of the puño and
825 an upper jaw shaped like the beak of a parrot. Should a menstruant enter a canoe he will break it to bits. The Cubeo do not say that their fish ceremenials are for the purpose of promoting success in fishing. Their view rather is that when they are happy with a catch of fish they enjoy dancing with them. Increase magic may underlie the Cubeo relationship with fish. But if it does they either no longer recognize the instrumental motive or else they refuse to acknowledge it.

825 As with the *Bekûpwänwa*, the Cubeo relationship with the animal
● 771 world is largely one of establishing proper social relationships. In such relationships compulsion is out of place. In the animist world view of the Cubeo the entire animal world is communicant with the world of man. Some relationships, as has been noted, are dangerous, and therefore stand out in a special category. Among the dangerous relationships is that of the jaguar. Since the jaguar is identified with the shaman, it is more suitably discussed under the heading of shamanism. There are birds, such as a parrot called *bauvéko* and mafúku monkeys, who are feared because they are foretellers of misfortune. For the rest, and with the exceptions noted previously, the relationship between man and the animal world is casual and friendly. On the river, as we have already observed, the Indians address birds and fish by name. Their intense interest in domesticating animals of almost every variety as household pets must also be considered as part of the effort at communication of a concrete form.

825 The birds, *miwa*, are friendly spirits. They emerged, it is said,
776 from Uaracapurí with the Ancients and were originally in human form. The birds are the planters of fruits and berries and are their
[273] guardian spirits. They are appropriately at the same time the guard-
[532] ian spirits of intoxication, a bird with a corn-cob body and wings of
[765] a manioc tray fragment presiding in that capacity over the *dyne*.

The luminary *anyá*, who is both sun and moon, is a more distant
776 anthropomorphic spirit.[1] The Cubeo interest is in the moon, the li-
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[1] The doctrine of *anyá* as both sun and moon is mythological only. It does not mean that the Cubeo do not distinguish clearly between these two bodies. *Anyá* refers to the anthropomorphic being whose activities are actually in moon form; it refers also to direction. East is called by the Cubeo *anyádaino* (*anyá* [the sun] is coming). West correspondingly is expressed as "*anyá* is going." To express time, however, the sun is referred to by the particular name of *handwûkekû*, an anthropomorphic form that has, however, no anthropomorphic connotation to my knowledge. *Handwû* refers to time in the abstract, while *handwû korika* (sun in the center) means "midday." All specific times are given by describing the position of the sun in the sky. The word for "day" or "daylight" is *hdnan* and is apparently based upon the verb root *ha* (to see). The Cubeo disclaim any anthro-

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754 278 824 682 at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale accounts for the origin of *pená*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekûpwänwa*. Suddenly *Kómi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kómi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kómi* told them to take him to a creek called *Manánkanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kómi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the Cuduiarí from Arawakan Indians by way of the Querarí.

754 278 824 682 539

278 824 Curare (*himá*) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only in war and not as a secret potion.

751 As a far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutcûdü*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

75 776 789 771 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man. The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parikũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*wei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhá*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yavi*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

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# Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Cultures Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

121 [122] /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 [101] 124 128 •772 772 769 The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as interpreter. Owing to the short time of the investigation and to having consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

105 [171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

∞o /335/ Aspects of Tucano Culture
Mythology -- Part I

By Marcos Pulop

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114 /337/ Preliminary Note
[101]

The material presented here was collected between June 11 and September 9, 1954, when field work was done in the village /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Performing the functions of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra respectively, blood brothers and residents of the village of Guadalajara.

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121 The mythology that appears in this article is a very small portion of the total Tukano /Tucano/ mythology. The author has considered it advisable not to analyze individually the myths published here, but to wait until all the Tukano mythology has been collected and published.

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*539 /339/ I. Boraró and Boraró Numió

A man and a woman stayed in Diaojpekowí, and they were brother and sister. These two beings do not have children, but will never die. When they want to leave Diaojpekowí, they turn themselves into spirits. The man is named Boraró, and the woman is named Boraró Numió. Boraró and Boraró Numió kill people by opening a hole in their heads and sucking out the entire body through this hole. They leave only the skin of the victim, which they throw on a tree /Sp. palo/. To kill her victim, Boraró Numió lies down face up and begins to urinate at a distance of about 150 meters from her victim. Boraró, to kill his victim, urinates standing at a distance of about 150 meters from his victim. And when Boraró and Boraró Numió urinate, everyone that is within those 150 meters falls dead instantly.

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* 539 /341 cont./

V. Miriápura Majsá.

Yepá Huáke left six persons, three women and three men, in Diawí. And they are called Mariápura Majsá. They are in charge of the spirits of Miriá (5).

[534] [784]

5. Of the Yuruparises. Ceremonial flutes used in the initiation ceremonies for the pubescent boys. It is forbidden for women to see these flutes.

VI. Ñebariuajtí.

In Ñamiriwí, Yepá Huáke left a male and a female who are named Ñebariauajtí. And these two beings have the same human form as Boraró and Boraró Numió. And they kill and steal people's souls in the same way as Boraró and Boraró Numió do.

VII. Sexual Relations (6).

6. Name that the interpreter insisted on giving to the myth.

Yepá Huáke left in Diawí two brothers with their papa and mama. And the four were called Bajsébo Majsá. And they left Diawí and went to Bajsebowí. Before Yúpuri Baúro (7)

[773] [614]

7. Yúpuri Baúro is the most important mythological culture hero in Tukano /Tucano/ culture. He is also the founder of the sib /Sp. sib/ of the highest category among the Tukano.

discovered these lands, the Tukano /Tucano/ did not have children. In Bajsebowí, when the father of the Bajsébo Majsá, who

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

[262] [753] [178]

773 177 [128] [014] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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*101 (6) COCUANE. -- According to Curt Nimuendajú (in a letter dated from Belem on Sept. 1, 1945, to Padre Antônio Giacone), it is the tribe also known as Coeuana, which, in 1927, still had representatives in Jandiá and another two sites by the mouth of the Uaupés. They had, however, lost their own idiom and spoke only the Língua Geral (see above, II -- 6, a /p. 43 /). They were the Indians who more easily became adapted to civilization, and from whom many caboclos of the Rio Negro are descended.

In August of 1957, according to Atayde Inácio Cardoso of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção ao Indio), there were still survivors of the Cocuana or Coianá in the town of S. Joaquim at the mouth of the Uaupés. João, the Tukano pajé /curer-sorcerer/ from Umarí (river Uaupés, a little above Iaureté-cachoeira), narrating the legends of the origins, says that the human beings started to ascend in the Cobra-grande /large snake/, and that "the Kuewãna, who in Tukano are called Pe'tãna, remained at the mouth of the Uaupés. But one of the Kwewãna ascended as far as Taracuá-ponta and up to there was the limit of his lands."

[115] [773]

(7) CUTIA. -- On the Içana there is a tribe known under the name of Cutia-tapuya, of the Arwake branch, whose name in the Baniva language would be Awadzurunái.

8) GIBOIA. -- Since during half of the last century many natives went from the Içana to the upper and lower Uaupés, we are inclined to think that the ones settled by Frei Gregório in Aracapurí are individuals of the žiboya-tapuya or Dzurẽnẽ tribe of the Içana, from whom we collected a vocabulary (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" by the Author and Boanari (II -- 6, a /p. 42 /).

/85/

*101 Among the Tukanos we obtained the following:

1. -- Waú-ro põrá (25)

25. Põrá (or poná, as it is pronounced on the rivers Uaupés and Papurí) means begotten, children, and it is only used in the plural. For simplification, in the lists that follow we shall omit the word children in the translation.

[115] The more advanced Indians (who speak Portuguese and have studied for some years in the schools of the Salesian Missions), when asked about these divisions, spontaneously add by way of explanation, "they are nicknames that the others impose on them." This is undoubtedly sometimes true, because they like to *[192] give nicknames. But, on the other hand, it is not in disagreement with the "baxséke wamẽ," "blown • [773] name" (cf. VIII, 1, b (4) ). According to the legends, [551] from the beginning the first chiefs had the nicknames, which passed to the whole group; for example, one of the "heads" was nicknamed "mimí," hummingbird, and his descendants are known today as "Children of the hummingbird, Mimí-põrá."

[115] The Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos of the subdivision Kõma-ro-põrá, from the povoado of S. Luzia on the river Papurí, told us in one of her interesting pieces of information: "The Waú-ro-põrá are the Tukano from the head. Waú is his baxséke wamẽ (blown name). Formerly, he hid /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ himself in the plant called Waú-mutõ, in order to *[192] watch the girls taking a bath. The monkey Waú (in Nheengatú wáya-pisá) is very fond of the fruits of that tree. The girls, while they were bathing, heard a noise in the tree, immediately looked in that direction, and saw the man hidden among the branches. They all cried out: waú nĩbẽ! it is the wáya pisá!

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*101 t) YEBÁ-MASÃ

1) People-Name-Language. -- Yebá-masã is their denomination in the mother tongue, although they do not know the meaning of this term (41).

[115] 41. Lucas, the old Tukano from S. Luzia, as has already been said (IV-2, a), explained to Padre Antonio Giacone that Yepá-maxsã (as they say in Tukano) means gente-da-terra /people of the land/, and that the natives who reached the Papurí afterwards called the Tukano this. It is to be noted that Yepá, according to the legends, is the son of Bũxpó (the Thunder), and the Indians, with some religious notions, say that it is God, the Son. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) met on the Tiquié an Indian woman by the name of Inácia, of the Yepália tribe, with beautiful physiognomic features. Would it be another spelling of Yepá?

• [773]

Their idiom is classified in the Tukano family, as it is shown by the Vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical and Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia). In contrast to the Tukano, they are slender types, of medium stature like them or even shorter. Small face, tapering toward the chin. Physiognomy little or not at all Mongoloid. Coarser hair, black or dark, not lissotrichous, as generally befalls the natives of Brazil. At times they even exhibit slight waves. Dark eyes, nose low at the root, like the Tukano, but higher and finer tip. The men ordinarily have the ears pierced.

[142]

[244] [222] [224] [284] With an insignificant mandioca-agriculture, they are principally hunters, and they live on wild fruits. For this reason the consumption of ipadú /coca/ is great among them (cf. VI - 4, 1 (4). They all use the hammock of 30 threads. Their festivals are frequent.

/228 cont./

263 *[192] In some cases they crush and chew the pure pepper: the Indian pepper (cápsicum fructéscens, Willd, of the Solanaceae) and many others, such as those called koró-byá, awí-byá, oxbó-byá, etc.

It is amazing how even children two years old or perhaps less take the beijú moistened in the quinhapira without showing that they feel the burning of the pepper, which is excessive for our taste.

The pepper is used by them as a stimulant for the appetite, due to the lack of salt or other seasonings.

276 *[192] 3) Kaxpí (Nheengatú: Caápi) (57).

57. As we observe below regarding the Ipadú, the word Kaxpí might be derived from the Nheengatú Caapí, or vice versa. It is certain, on the one hand, that the use of kaxpí is a very ancient one and is lost in the legends, and, on the other hand, that it is general among all the tribes of the region.

276 • 773 *[192] The origin and use of Kaxpí is lost in legend (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/" by the Author). At a feast that took place among the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), with the participation of the Kubẽwãna and Huhudẽne (from Uaupuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana) and elements from several other tribes, on the days of the 24th and 25th of April of 1955, a Tukano pajé, Henrique by name, from Japú-igarapé (trib. of the Uaupés), brought with much care a pair of instruments called eheõnõ (that is, catarrh, grippe), very old and religiously preserved by him as a fortunate heir of his ancestors. They were similar to a small wooden horn, reinforced with rolled tucum fiber and measuring about 25 centimeters. It was made to sound by blowing with force through the upper orifice, and simultaneously slowly opening the lower orifice, slightly wider than the upper one,

/228 cont./

276 and which was being obstructed by the palm of the hand. The
• 773 sound imitated a child's crying. The possessor of the instruments explained that the eheõnõ is the "mother of the kaxpí." The unrestrained native imagination, excited by the drinks, especially by the Kaxpí, upon hearing this sound, relives the legend and perhaps even reproduces the legendary scene of the first components of the group, who fell upon the newborn and ate his bones, "which were Kaxpí."

276 Kaxpí is a drink of bitter flavor, which is obtained from some vines, especially of the genus banistéria. I would not know whether it is more accurate to call it stimulant or narcotic, violent and almost /229/ instantaneous for the Indians (58),

58. Thus A. R. Wallace describes (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /[illegible] on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 381) the effect of the kaxpí: "An old Indian advanced toward the middle of the room, with a large (?) clay pot, which seemed recently painted, and which was put on the ground. Then, squatting, the old man stayed down, in front of the pot, and started to stir the contents. Then he filled with liquid two small cuias, and, rising, he extended his arms, holding, however, a cuia in each hand. After a short pause two Indians advanced in his direction, carrying their bows and arrows and their spears. Each one, holding the cuia offered, drank the amount that it contained. Because that drink was excessively bitter, each one made a very ugly face. For half a minute perhaps they remained motionless. Suddenly both gave a hard blow on the strings of their bows, making them vibrate; they shook their spears, stamped their feet on the ground, and then went to look for their seats.

/264 cont./

*192 825 plumage, they are graceful and light in flight. They believe that it is a group of spirits or "people," who dance in the air. They call them ã'rã nõ'myã (girls of the sierra) and assert that they do not make nests, because nobody has ever found them sitting in the nest.

b) They admit the transformation of the animals. They believe, for example, that some worms that proliferate in the bacaba tree become transformed, on the occasion of eclipses, into the fish bũxkõã-wi (or matapí, of the Siluridae), because they find a certain likeness with such worms. Confirmation of this origin seems to them to be disclosed in the fact that such fish are found still alive in the forest after the lezírias (igapós) dry out. They say that, because of having been worms, they flee to the forest when timbo is put in the streams.

We point out (VII -- 4, j (1)/see 4, f (1)/) that they admit the possibility of human persons being transformed, temporarily or permanently, into animals; and vice versa.

They assert that the parrots are "children of the forest," nãxkã wimãrã. Actually they are children of Boraró (see VII -- 4, d (56) /see 4, d (5b)/) or Curupira. They live naked, playing; whenever they want to go about, they put on feathers and fly.

They tell interesting stories about the origin of certain animals; for example, Ahã, inambú /bird/, was previously a very pretty girl. The parrots veú arose through the transformation of two sisters, wives of a handsome Baré youth.

262 773 c) We have pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, e (1) ) their belief in immortality itself. They say that formerly they did not eat animal flesh. It was permitted to add worms and insects to the exclusively vegetable diet. During this time of a vegetarian regimen, there were no sicknesses, they say. Those appeared after their parents started to eat the flesh of fish and of animals. During certain illnesses the pajé will immediately prescribe that they abstain from the meat of large animals (anta, deer, monkey, etc.). [755]

They assert, moreover, that in the beginning the Tukano not only did not die, but did not even grow old. After they had lived many, many years, always strong, they ended their life when someone cast a malefice, dohasé, on them. *[192]

/317 cont./
771 subjects (3).

3. General Couto de Magalhães, in spite of his friendly relations with many natives, reveals this silent discretion of theirs: "The Indians are very reserved and discreet in everything concerning a religious topic. In the middle of the most animated conversation, if one directs to them any question intended for the clarification of any of these points, they immediately become cool, at times somber, and either answer with monosyllables or do not answer at all" (Ensaios de Anthropologia, /Essays in Anthropology/, 495).

/318/ b) Christian influences.

177 We mention only three proofs of Christian influence: 1st --
• 773 the inclusion of elements of the Christian tradition in the native legends (as will be seen in the work in preparation "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") (4);

4. There are some points in these legends (as we shall see in another volume, "Lendas do Uaupés") that make us admit Christian diffusion. And we are not referring to the narrations of the alumni of the Catholic Missions. As we more than once had the opportunity to verify, in the exposition of their legends they insert episodes and names of personages about which they have heard in the catechesis. One proof of this is the Tukano Cosmogony revealed by the pajé Marcos Sierra to Marcos Fulop (cf. n. 65 /sic; see note 71/, Ch. VII-4, e (2c) ).

/329 cont./

776 a) Wãx-tĩ or Jurupari (23).

[115]

23. The young Tukano Casimiro Sampaio gave (1949) this contradictory information: "The Wãx-tĩ live in society. They make noise. They do not appear. They do not do any harm. /The final quotation marks are missing./ This subject about the spirits will be more fully developed in the book "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/."

He lives in the interior of the forests, in the darkest places and in the abandoned huts. He appears, however, even in the malocas, in the form of a black man, hairy, ugly, covered with ashes. A Tukano informant (Dorotéia Brito) said that: "When he makes himself seen in some house, it is a sign of sicknesses that will come. He likes to strangle chickens. When the broad hen makes noise, it is because Wãx-tĩ moved it." At any noise that they hear in the house or in the forest, they immediately think of Wãx-tĩ. A strange animal that they see, a figure, it must be he, and they yell, full of fear.

*[192] [822] They attribute the echo, axká-keoãrõ, to Wãx-tĩ, who is imitating some sound. It seems to them on many occasions that they hear in the noises of the forest and the cachoeiras, and in the whispering of the winds, faraway echoes of the songs and dances performed by Wãx-tĩ.

It is to be noted that Wãx-tĩ is not an individual; there are many of them; rather it is an entire class. Among them one par excellence, who would be the principal one. This one, especially in the origin of the nation, did them much harm: he stole the children, impregnated their women, and did other evil things to them, killed the men, etc. Tired, finally, of their /the next line in the original source properly belongs on the next page and is repeated there; it is therefore omitted here in the translation/ yoke, because, besides so many bad things, he forced them into tasks and very difficult demonstrations, the men got

773 776

• 773 /329 cont./
776 together, caught him, tied him up with cipos, and burned him.
According to one legend narrated by the pajé Vicente Rodrigues
*192 of the Taryana tribe and other /330/ Arwake narrators, it was
184 O'ã-kõ who burned Wãx-tĩ, also called Bisiu. From the ashes,
773 in this same place, there grew two paxiúbas /palms/, waxtá
776 (24).

> 24. It is to be noted that the name of the paxiuba in Tukano, waxtá, reminds one of that of Wãx-tĩ. From the same root, wax, we have the term that indicates the hernia truss or loincloth, waxsó-ro, the wãx-tĩ-kẽõ, tipitĩ or the press with which they squeeze the mass of mandioca to make the flour, objects that, like the sacred instruments, were a gift from Wãx-tĩ. It should be noted that it is also from paxiúba that they make the parís and cacurís for fishing, and, not infrequently, also the walls of the malocas.

with which they make the sacred instrument called mĩr̃ĩ (Uaupés mĩhĩ or Jurupari (25)

> 25. As for the etymology of the term Jurupari, Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Jurupari) recalled to an Indian that someone had told him Jurupari meant "the one produced from the fruit." The Indian answered him: "intimãã, Iurupari, céra onheẽn putáre o munha iarié iurú parí uá, no, not at all, the name of Jurupari means the one that made the closing of our mouth" (iurú, mouth, and parí, enclosure for fishing; cf. 5, a (2b) /Ch. VI/).

in the Língua Geral) in memory of the great feat. So some of their legends say, and with this they identify Wãx-tĩ with the personage Jurupari of the Tupí legends.

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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character
[342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor.
[596] The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu-
[553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social segments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into
[614] one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are
[796] founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kúwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yawi*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul-
177 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River
197 he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals — the tapir in particular — is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aünhokü* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwü*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Hübükokü* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turü* (poison), another *pudjü* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapika* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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773 From *Kówaĩ*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

## PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
[462] is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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684 Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatúyo*. In the case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

[754] Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless com-
[562] pounded by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery, never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel. An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the hus-
684 band or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman,
622 concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by
614 emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example
574 illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahúkiwa*, when intoxication was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Whereupon the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned. The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the pro-
684 prieties of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to re-
622 quest coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger
834 unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the
883 errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is re-
684 viled as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger
[562] at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kúwai*'s diffi-
[773] culties with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kúwai* crushes his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her manioc garden.

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The Cubeo are also fond of the
young of animals and treat them with intelligent solicitude. One man 825
built a long platform in his house so that his dogs would not have to sleep on the ground. Men, having shot some monkeys, found an infant clinging to its mother's dead body. They massaged the monkey's breast, saying, "The baby should have the last drop of its mother's milk."

Toilet training is casual. No one who carries a child about shows 863
annoyance or disgust at being soiled. The Cubeo are reticent about excretory functions but they do not teach by chiding. They have no fixed ideas as to when a child should be toilet trained. The only injunctions a crawling baby is likely to hear are warnings against injury, if it is too near the fire or the liquid starch with its poisonous content of prussic acid. Still, it is rare for a walking child to urinate or defecate in the house.

Walking and talking are actively encouraged. To help the child 856
walk the father provides a harness (*taro*) through which the child's legs pass, allowing it to sit, stand, or walk. The harness is often suspended from a beam and serves as a tether for the child. Mother and father stimulate the child to talk by fluttering its lips. Lip fluttering is a game that persists into late childhood. Cubeo parents dread passivity in a child. They want to see it stirring about and restless. It is for this reason that the mother teases her infant, stirring it to anger or gaiety. The story is told that *Kúwai* once observed a passive child. He said, "The child must be made to move about," and so [773] created the bothersome pium flies.

The crawling baby is still in its mother's charge. When it has be- 85
gun to walk and to take solid nourishment, and its parents have resumed sexual relations, it is transferred to the care of an older sister. Every little girl from the age of six on is burdened with a walking baby that rides her left hip as it did its mother's. At this age, when it is learning to walk, many people look after the child. Its paternal [603] grandmother becomes a principal guardian and looks after the child's feeding. After a new baby is born the separation of the young walking child from its mother becomes almost complete. A woman [862] discourages nursing by coating her nipples with a bitter substance even though a boy has casual and playful access to his mother's breast until about the age of six.

## CHILDHOOD

In the life of a boy there is an interval of some four years when he 855
no longer receives the same close attention from his mother and has

[text continues on p. 177]

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be a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident 524
that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the
game, or ceremony, to me as follows. Some children were left or- 524
phaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their 773
mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked
their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing
for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed
in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch
of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children
returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother
gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their
tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days
they had become *taintürü* birds. They returned to the house and
lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each
day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa*
but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his
younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and
seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their
parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so
can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or 524
any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grünberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahúkiwa*.

## PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood 881
to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual
matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely
be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are [789]
subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until [856]
they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter.
The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere
in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. 852
An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this 831
887
614

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831
832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavimiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much
[302] trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwá*, and armpit hair is *pwá buteí* (literally, hair tobacco).

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764 no part. They stood aside and watched, but none wept. But as the last action, before the grave was to be covered over, the men and the older married women seized each boy and brought him forcefully to the grave, pushing him down to his knees and forcing him to touch the coffin. The grave was covered, the earth smoothed, and excess earth removed to leave no hump on the dance floor. Weeping continued for half an hour after the earth had been leveled. Then, abruptly, all mourning ceased and people resumed their customary activities. By noon the children were romping over the burial place.

765 In the second phase of mourning, which pertains to the widow [614] (*nomyópeko*) alone, all sib, subsib, and phratry mates arrive to grieve. Sib and subsib mates have an obligation to be the first [615] mourners. Phratry mates who are passing by are obligated to pause and mourn. During this period of mourning the widow greets each arrival and escorts him or her to the burial place, where they both crouch, facing one another, arms about each other's shoulders, heads lowered, and weep. This weeping is ritualized. It begins abruptly and ends abruptly. This abruptness has impressed other observers as a mark of insincerity of grief. This is not the case at all, for mourning must, in Cubeo religious doctrine, become ritualized. One might say, however, that depth of grief and the expression of it need not be related too closely. As we have seen in several other contexts the Cubeo seek to identify an action with its appropriate emotion. Polite and restrained expressions of grief, as in Anglo-Saxon society, are inappropriate. The statement of grief must be a strong one. But as with any statement, it has a beginning and it has an end.

Apart from her obligation to escort visiting mourners to her husband's grave, the widow has no other formal obligations of mourning. She may remarry after one year, although the prospects for her [587] remarriage are actually poor. Even though the Cubeo sense a shortage of marriageable women, they seem to be afraid to marry a woman whose husband has died.

761 The Cubeo narrate the myth that once death was not permanent.
● 773 A woman had died and later returned to her husband. She pleaded vainly with him to accept her back. If he had taken his wife back, the people say, all the dead would then have been able to return to life.

764 FUNERAL ORATION BY A SON

537 Quickly he died. An evil person, a thoughtless person, poisoned us. And
539 so he died. He who was one of us. He [the murderer] did not care to behold us and so he did it. He [the deceased] did not live through the day. He, the evil one, will also die. He who has the poison, he shall go behind

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that are specifically identified as the *Bekûpwānwa*, and that are used in the whipping and initiation ceremonies as well as in ritual bathing. 534

1. *Emihehika* (also known as *haraibipobū*: whipping staff) is a wide-mouth trumpet of bark wound within a framework of splints. It has a short palm-tube mouthpiece set into a ceramic plate that is mounted firmly to the upper end of the bark. This trumpet is some 30 inches long.

2. *Kwûhūnku* (also known as *Uménahonkū*) is also a wide-mouth bark trumpet that is over five feet long and is played with one end resting on the ground.

3. *Bwū* (Agouti) is a long flute of a black palm, also with a mouthpiece set in a clay mount and with two external reeds bound around an opening toward the top. It is about four feet long.

4. *Onpwénda* is a flute similar to *Bwū* except that it has no separate mouthpiece and is only some 30 inches long.

5. *Onpwénda kûdjūwe* is identical with *Onpwénda* and is the length of a man's forearm. It is the shortest of the flutes.

*Bwū* and *Onpwénda kûdjūwe* are said to be the strongest and fiercest of the ancestors and are esteemed for the vigor with which they whip. They are referred to as *parihihekū* (very powerful beings). *Bwū* is, of course, the founding ancestor of the *Bahûkiwa*. 769 [614]

Among the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari the largest bark-wound trumpet is also called *Uménahonkū*. Koch-Grünberg translated this name correctly as "Dragonfly." The name, however, is that of a first ancestor of the *Hehénewa*. [534] [614]

The whipping rites, the Cubeo say, go back to the "first people," who were taught what to do by *Kúwai*. At the beginning, however, it was women who played the flutes and trumpets. They spent so much time on play that they did nothing else. *Kúwai* corrected this. He took the instruments from the women and gave them to the men, warning them never to allow the women to get them back.[3] This is the story that is cited to explain why the instruments are taboo to 769 534 773 [784]

[3] A variant account states that the *Bekûpwānwa* had belonged to the women and that the men were afraid of them. The women came out of the forest bearing the instruments and the men ran away in fear. Then *Dekókū* (Ghost person) learned about this and said, "Women have no right to this." He came down to witness the ceremony of the women. He saw only women and he said to them, "You are women, you have no right to this. Now I am going to take this away from you." He brought the instruments to the men and laid them on their forearms. When the women had the *Bekûpwānwa* they danced all the time and never worked. After the men had received the instruments they allowed one old woman to see them. She turned insane and they had to kill her. Since then women have not been allowed to see the *Bekûpwānwa*.

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769 534 [788] [793] [828] 754 women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekûpwänwa* to the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will be kept from the other women.

769 796 The *Bekûpwänwa* come annually in the summer when a species of palm berry (*konhá*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not grow. The *Bahúkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, however, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would seem to be an obvious one.

[561] As an age grade, youths are known as *hwainyó*, but as boys who need whipping for growth they are known as *bahúdjo*, which may be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping voluntarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahúkiwa* and one among its subsib, the *Bahúküdjauwü*.

The *Bahúkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capable in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys subdued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the headman's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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765 534 114 769 [773] for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 786 [154] The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual [536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate 765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, 266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion [775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the sub- [614] stance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 562 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritual- [786] ized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 765 [776] The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaíwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kúwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucanoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

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Apart from the Ancients there is *Kúwai*, who has been referred to here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the area share *Kúwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. There are no rites involving *Kúwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Kúwai* in the past. *Kúwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Kúwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Kúwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Kúwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkũ* (my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*kavánu*) in a house with his wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkũ*, an Ancient, but *himénihinkũ* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been badly understood by the Indians of the Cuduiari, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkũ* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without exception reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupian and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahúkiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true beneficent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

*Tukano*

115 Hitherto José had remained silent and appeared to know nothing of these engravings nor had he given us any indication of their whereabouts. This was surprising, for, being himself a Barasana, of a Tukano clan, he was presumably aware of their existence. Then one evening, perhaps encouraged by our curiosity, he told us the following anecdote:

101 'The Barasana have always lived here, they were born here. They and the
• 773 Taiwano have always been friends and had common enemies in the Tatuya,
776 Karapana and Ureti whom they used to fight with bow and arrows. They both have the same god who has power over all things. It is he who made Ni, in his own likeness, the drawings have been here for ever, and this is the only place where they occur. The other Indians do not have them.' He pointed to a great natural pillar of granite called the Bee, which stood in the river upstream of Ni: 'That rock was once a pile of manioc, which the people had placed there. Ni turned it into stone. Below the rapids is the underwater cave, his palace, where the god sings to the drawings and the spirits.'

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123 437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 171 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 778 562 171 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nut-shells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 171 825 [777] When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

6: Moser and Tayler E, N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



occur constantly in the myth and legend of the tribes, as does the Motilon legend of the twins. It is a legend known from Mexico to the tribes living in Tierra del Fuego, which suggests a considerable antiquity.

Just as the puma is usually the symbol of fear, so the deer is credited by the Indian with fairy-like, almost feminine, qualities, perhaps because of its shyness and speed. It has been suggested that the deer is the symbol of new life, having been regarded as such by early migrations of hunting folk moving south along the chain of the Andes from North America. It was thus associated with first menstruation and all the accompanying rites when a girl reaches puberty and is able to create new life, and its hooves were used by women as ornaments or rattles. The deer-bone flute may have been the first musical instrument used by the Indians.

Several tribes have no musical instruments at all. Possibly these were the first people to reach South America. Later migrations may have brought instruments with them, possibly others evolved on the spot. The similarity of some Kogi and Motilon instruments to those used in Central America suggests a more recent influence.

At first we found it difficult to distinguish the sounds of the different instruments if we could not see them. But after a while we learnt to recognize not only the instrument but also the many different tunes of each tribe. A Noanamá girl would sing to herself for hours on end. The Motilon had a vast repertoire of walking, war and harvest songs. Instrumental tunes were fewer and some, as in the case of the haunting call of the snail shell, tended to be very repetitive. The Tukano, however, had innumerable panpipe tunes.

Indian music we at first found strange because we were accustomed to the European tone system. They have no conception of note vibrations to obtain an octave. Yet they can tell whether one instrument is in tune or not with another. A panpipe can be cut to a certain length to produce a particular sound, but it is difficult to produce the exact note, so they may raise the pitch by adding sand, or putting water or even *chicha* inside.

The panpipe tunes in the Tukano festival were the nearest thing we heard to orchestral music; each group played antiphonally, with sometimes two or three groups playing different tunes. We could not however make out whether combination or competition was the motive behind this weird performance.

The Tukano had no conception of counterpoint, though their playing was often harmonious. We did find it in the singing of the Noanamá – perhaps the result of mission teaching. One Tukano chant is almost identical to a western Irish folk lament.

In contrast to African negro music in which stringed instruments and drums predominate, Indian music is mainly that of the rattle and the flute. Every type of construction is found, from humming top and conch shell to

* /339 cont./

539 Boraró and Boraró Numió sometimes have human form and at other times have spirit form. Very often they are seen eating crabs, for they like to eat crabs very much.

* 539 Boraró and Boraró Numió also steal people's souls without
* 774 eating them. Sometimes a man dreams about a very pretty
787 woman, and afterwards, when he goes out to the forest, he meets her and has sex with her. When he returns to the maloca (1),

1. Name given in this region to the typical Tukano /Tucano/ house.

he lies down to sleep and there he dies. Boraró Numió is the pretty woman about whom he dreamed and with whom he had sex, and it is she who steals his soul. The Tukano /Tucano/ woman dreams about Boraró, has sex with him in the forest, and then it is Boraró who steals her soul.

* 539 II. Pijsubariyái.

Four spirits stayed in Dejkepaiwí. And each one of these spirits is named Pijsubariyái. These spirits, who are /340/ like devils, shout the name of a person. And the person, since he does not know who is calling, answers. But Pijsubariyái, unless he is given indications with a finger, does not know where the person is. Therefore, when one answers the first time that he is called and he still continues to be called, he knows it must be Pijsubariyái. In case that someone points him out to Pijsubariyái, instantly Pijsubariyái reaches him and eats him in the same way that a jaguar /Sp. tigre/ eats people. Pijsubariyái has two heads, one where the head is normally and the other on the backside, instead of a tail. Pijsubariyái has the form of a jaguar.

III. Emiarouajtí.

Two spirits named Emiarouajtí stayed in Diakajseropoeawí. They both had the same name and were a male and a female. They were brother and sister. No Uajtí (2) dies, and so the

2. Spirit.

776 /325 cont./
Urubucuara, Yepásonyá, is also called Yepa-O'ã-kõ, and some of the old Christians call this one "Son of God."

Each tribe has its legends which express these doctrinal points, as will be seen in another work.

2) Immortality of the soul.

• 774 Another truth well established among the tribes of the Uaupés is that of the existence and immortality of the soul. This truth, however, is starting to be contaminated by metempsychosis and confused with the existence of spirits disincarnated or that never were incarnated.

*[192] They admit in man, besides the body, õxpõ, another invisible element which animates it and survives after the death of the individual. The natives of the younger generation (therefore the possibility of this being a term learned in catechesis is not excluded) designate it with the same term that indicates the heart, that is, héri-põra (Uaupés héri-põna) (12).

[115] 12. The veteran Salesian Missionary, Pe. João Marchesi, who speaks Tukano fluently, says that he does not remember having heard mentioned another element or "sombra da pessoa" /shadow of the person/, as some primitive peoples believe. In the Tukano language, "sombra"/shadow/ would be called "bahusé," that is, "thing that appears."

*[192] The old ones, however, do not know how to give any clarification about héri-põra; they never use this term to designate the incorporeal element. They call this only wãx-tĩ (13).

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13. Cf. below, VII-4, g (3), what is said about the wãx-tĩ of the dead. The Catechesis has been using the term héri-põra (or héri-põna, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés and

/325 cont./

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/footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as corresponding to: heart, soul, and conscience. When they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis, the natives naturally give the word héri-põra this threefold equivalence. The old ones, however, only use it in the material sense, to indicate a part of the organism, that is, the assemblage of the principal internal organs, especially the heart and the lungs.

774 They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does
[756] it often. According to what Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, p. 317), the Kubêwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

764 On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and
775 other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

/326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul,
775 upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal.
825 But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic; 14/

[115]

14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

/326 cont./

775 however, to state more precisely as to whether the animal was
825 already alive (so some opine) or was born at the moment when the human soul entered it; or whether it is a matter of a permanent or temporary condition.

According to some, it is only the souls of the bad ones that
756 pass into the body of animals. That of the pajés can enter that
• 774 of the onça /jaguar/ (15).

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*[192]

15. The onça, if it is not starving, does not come to the povoados. When there is a lack of food, it growls in the vicinity of the malocas, attacks the dogs, and various episodes of its even entering the huts are cited. Pe. João Marchesi informed us that one time on the upper Papurí an onça killed two Indians and ate part of the cadavers. They set a trap beside the cadavers and managed to catch it. They did not have the courage to kill it, however (probably because they thought that the wãx-tí of the victims were in it). But around the trap and the cadavers they put wood and fire until everything was reduced to ashes. And they would cry and say: "You have killed our brother (the Tukano) and our slave (the Makú)," and "they thought that in the onça there was the spirit of a pajé" (so they explained to Pe. Marchesi).

It should be remembered that they call the pajé or sorcerer yai, a term that precisely means onça.

It is a more general belief that the souls of the pajés go to
756 occupy the region of the thunder, from where they send storms
775 and lightning bolts, thus avenging themselves on the men who killed them or did them harm. They think they propitiate them
[782] by sending them the smoke of the cigars or shaking the maracás,
[276] rites that the pajés performed while alive.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaíbo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

[796] [754]

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

821 [775] [763]

## HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

774 [828] [761] [753] 775 [756]

pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyá* form. [776] [821]

[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédo* (pulse) and *umédo* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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A yavi, I was told, has a different kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong *yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *pariékokü* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a *yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókü*) becomes a jaguar. According to this view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pwânyaviwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahúkiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would be shown where we could sling our hammocks. 576 [123]

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punctuated by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst themselves. They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling on his body. 562 522 888

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre Elorza only the month before we arrived. 797

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these are evil spirits. 776

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead, usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma. 775 774 756

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over a man's life. 776 775

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and 000

/325 cont./

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/footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as corresponding to: heart, soul, and conscience. When they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis, the natives naturally give the word héri-põra this threefold equivalence. The old ones, however, only use it in the material sense, to indicate a part of the organism, that is, the assemblage of the principal internal organs, especially the heart and the lungs.

774 They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does it often. According to wh t Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, [756] p. 317), the Kubêwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

764 On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and • 775 other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

/326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul, 775 upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal. 825 But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic: 14/

[115]

14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

/326 cont./

775 825 however, to state more precisely as to whether the animal was already alive (so some opine) or was born at the moment when the human soul entered it; or whether it is a matter of a permanent or temporary condition.

756 774 According to some, it is only the souls of the bad ones that pass into the body of animals. That of the pajés can enter that of the onça /jaguar/ (15).

825 *[192]

15. The onça, if it is not starving, does not come to the povoados. When there is a lack of food, it growls in the vicinity of the malocas, attacks the dogs, and various episodes of its even entering the huts are cited. Pe. João Marchesi informed us that one time on the upper Papuri an onça killed two Indians and ate part of the cadavers. They set a trap beside the cadavers and managed to catch it. They did not have the courage to kill it, however (probably because they thought that the wãx-tĩ of the victims were in it). But around the trap and the cadavers they put wood and fire until everything was reduced to ashes. And they would cry and say: "You have killed our brother (the Tukano) and our slave (the Makú)," and "they thought that in the onça there was the spirit of a pajé" (so they explained to Pe. Marchesi).

It should be remembered that they call the pajé or sorcerer yai, a term that precisely means onça.

756 775 It is a more general belief that the souls of the pajés go to occupy the region of the thunder, from where they send storms and lightning bolts, thus avenging themselves on the men who killed them or did them harm. They think they propitiate them by sending them the smoke of the cigars or shaking the maracás, rites that the pajés performed while alive.

[782] [276]

/326 cont./

775 All the other souls meet under the ground, in a very deep, dark, and cold place (16),

[115] [764]

16. A young Tukano from Parí-cachoeira, Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why one places a match beside the cadaver which was buried, explained that it was in order not to feel cold. When we pressed as to whether the place where he was going was cold, he said yes. This concept of a cold hell is explained by recalling their warm region and they like the heat. To Padre Kok (according to what brother Pe. Afonso Kuypers told us), who described hell as a place of fire, an Indian said: "Better, so there is no need to make a fire there."

hence the need for fire. Therefore the metempsychosis is an extraordinary case of punishment.

They do not admit, however, human reincarnation, that is, that the spirit reappears, animating the body of a newborn child. One understands perfectly. Reincarnation can only be established in the /327/ human groups in which mortality and the birth rate are balanced. Among our natives there is a slight tendency toward an increase in the population, with periodic epidemics which decimate the malocas.

[161]

Likewise they do not admit a future resurrection of human beings.

764 They have no fear of the cadaver at all (17),

17. It is an unpleasant sight, observed a Missionary (Pe. Umberto Limpens), to the Indian, as it is to all of us, because it makes them think of death.

/327 cont./

764 not even the children; so that they used to bury it in the maloca itself, where life will continue as usual. Nor do they later practice any ritual of purification (like the Jews) when they touch a cadaver. They do show some fear of the soul (18),

> 18. Brother Mateo of Montfort told that, while navigating with some Indians, he reached a place called S. José (river Papuri), where two days before an old man had been buried. Only the brother remained on this bank during the night; the natives, out of fear, went to sleep on the opposite bank.

although they declare, when questioned, that it cannot return or be invoked by the pajé or any other person.

• 775 [115] A Tukano woman (Dorotéia Brito), questioned about what she thought of wãx-tĩ, answered that "it is the shadow of the person." And the Tukano Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why anyone was afraid of the dead, explained "because he becomes wãx-tĩ" (19).

> 19. When an Indian, having died far from the cemetery, was buried inside a hut, the Indians later came to complain to Pe. Umberto Limpens that they did not want to live there any longer, because "the wãx-tĩ of the man" was wandering all through the house. On January 10, 1949, in Ki-xsẽri-yá (igarapé of the mandioca peelings) on the river Tiquié, near the Colombian frontier, an old man known as Chico died by drowning while fishing. Contrary to custom, they buried the cadaver where it was found, in an abandoned spot, a little below the povoado.

/327 cont./

775 /Footnote 19 cont./ They say that at night cries are heard, and no native dares pass by there. When we were there, about 15 days after the burial, the inhabitants still continued to be frightened.

3) Moral principles.

673 They characterize some acts as "ya'ãsé"; for example, the marriage of persons of the same tribe, to have children from incest between parents and children or between members of the same tribe, the malefice (dohasé), and stealing.

627 The punishment, however, is the obligation of the one who
756 judges himself hurt, if he can do it. The pajé, by his extraordinary powers, is used as an instrument of justice, or rather of vengeance. They do not think, however, that it is legal for him to do so. They fear him, and, when they can, they also take revenge on him.

/328/ 4) Reward and punishment.

177 The concept of a reward or punishment in the other life is less
775 precise. They know, at present, that the good are rewarded and the bad, punished. Perhaps because of Christian influence, they say that the former will "go up," where they will have "good life"; the bad ones "will go down," where "the life is bad."

The concept of good and bad, however, extends so far as to include all those of the povoado as good, and those of the enemy villages as bad. It is, then, a concept in terms of the group, and not of the life of the individuals.

764 The fact that they bury the cadaver with its hunting imple-
775 ments (bow and arrow) might perhaps be a vestige of an ancient belief in a "hunting paradise," as exists in hunting tribes. This belief has been obliterated with the change of the system of life from hunting to fishing and agriculture.

/328 cont./

• 775 The belief in a social life beyond the grave, similar to the present life, with fishing trips and feasts, is still vigorous, as is shown by categorical answers (20).

[797]

20. A little girl interrupted a Religious, who, explaining the Catechism, spoke of heaven, in order to ask whether there were fish there in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Professora answered no. The child added promptly: -- Then I do not want to go there.

Some even think that in the other life there is procreation of children (21).

[797]

21. A Missionary relates the following: "Once a lad was very surprised to hear that in heaven there will be a plenitude of life, without need for propagation of the species. He asked, almost disappointed: 'Then there in heaven will there not be any women for us?' "

5) Existence of the spirits.

776 They believe in the existence of spirits that never were incarnated in a human body and never will be; they can, nevertheless, become visible in certain circumstances. Such spirits live in certain places: in the interior of the forests, headwaters of the igarapés, caves, stones, etc.

There are many of them, and different categories, each category with its characteristic way of presenting itself. The description as the Indians bring it to us, however, is not unanimous. And some affirm that they see them or hear them with relative frequency. It is an unquestionable fact that they become

/356 cont./

*192 776 c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wá:kõ?

In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wá:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we [178] were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wá:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67),

[823] 67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water.
• 775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not.
776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ.
756 And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons,
829 and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3) ). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ.
[825] They say about a nocturnal bird, called urukã-tutú, due to the
*[192] similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp, because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of
*[192] a deceased civilized person, pexká-sã wẽ'ri Wã-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).
T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.

501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.

T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.

278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/374 cont./

764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

• [775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wãx-tĩ?) ).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubucuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the [535] caxirí (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

## CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiari these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiari proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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572 *hiko*'s marriage and he will expect to have been consulted so that he may consent to her marriage.

[775] Ceremonial friendship should be permanent, the Cubeo say. Whoever breaks it has become an enemy and his soul after death will be that of an insect and not of a human being. Marriage, of [574] course, separates *hikū* and *hiko*, but they visit one another, as do [431] brother and sister, bringing gifts, and they try to arrange the mar- [584] riage of their children to one another. The *hikū* has the first claim upon his *hiko*'s daughter as a bride for his son.

[431] Between members of the same sex, ceremonial friendship is also the equivalent of a blood sibling relationship except that they exchange gifts in a formal manner. Whereas a man has reason to suspect 572 that his own brother might commit adultery with his wife, he be- 684 lieves that his *hikū* will never cuckold him. Still, when it comes to adultery even ceremonial friends sometimes succumb. Adultery or even flirting with a ceremonial friend's spouse is a principal cause for a break in this otherwise very stable relationship. A ceremonial friend who has been wronged by his partner retaliates by entering the offender's house to break or carry off everything belonging to him except the hammock. This act of vandalism declares the friendship broken. Eternal animosity succeeds it. Women are less inclined 572 to seek a ceremonial friend among their own sex. When they do, they have acquired mainly a confidante. Since women are likely to be dispersed at marriage the pledge against adultery with one another's husband is of no great consequence.

Ceremonial friends advise and assist one another. They feel that they actually have more freedom in their relationship with each other than they do with their own siblings. This may be correct, but I suspect that the Indians exaggerate the closeness of the relationship when talking about it. Ceremonial friends give up the use of their normal kinship designations in favor of the more intimate term.

Most ceremonial friendships are based upon simple reciprocity and so are modeled very closely, or I should say precisely, upon the sibling relationship. They satisfy in the main the longings of youths just before marriage and apparently fade with age. I was told that not everyone has a ceremonial friend but I could get no figures on its extent. Some ceremonial friendships model themselves after unequal kinship relationships, such as uncle-aunt or nephew-niece and grandparent-grandchild. These, I gathered, were not common and were rather aberrant forms of the true relationship. An older man takes a little girl as his *hiko* and is content with an unbal-

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anced relationship in which he lavishes gifts upon her. "When she grows up," the Indians say, "she will repay him." A young man enters a friendship pact with an elderly widow because she has no one to look after her. This relationship, though, is like mother-son, and the woman will provide the young man with chicha and farinha if he has provided her with a manioc garden. 572

The Cubeo believe that ceremonial friendships persist in the afterlife. As spirits, they walk about arm-in-arm, one informant said, rapturously. The spirit of the friend who dies first hovers about the house until the other dies. It then leads its spirit friend away. 572 775

The ceremony for inaugurating ceremonial friendship is a simple one. At a drinking party, friends paint one another with red pigment which they refer to as "blood." Applying body paint to another, picking lice, or removing insect-bite scabs from the body is a gesture of intimacy normally confined to the immediate family. It is this intimacy that makes it appropriate between ceremonial friends. 572 302 515

Ceremonial friends tend to form a network. When a man has taken a girl as his *hiko* he is likely to take her brother as his *hikü*; his own brother will then take her sister as his *hiko* and so on. There are many network possibilities. Men who are *hikü* encourage their children to become ceremonial friends. The friendship network encompasses the phratry, giving to people special privileges of hospitality along the river. The network of kinship already encompasses the phratry, to be sure. But ceremonial friendship interlaces these bonds with the quality of close kinship. This seems to be its special significance. One may also look at the relationship from an economic point of view, noting the circulation of goods through its requirement of gift exchange. The Cubeo, however, are not so much property-minded as they are person-minded. The Cubeo joke about the gift aspect of ceremonial friendship and laughingly say that some people enter into the relationship with many people in order to acquire gifts. They are amused at the thought that a girl with many ceremonial friends will be a burden upon her suitor, who must make a gift to each ceremonial friend. The parents of young people are also burdened because they will be asked for something to be used as a gift. However, it is not goods they seek but intense relationships. It is not that the sib and the phratry fail to provide people with warmth and mutual assistance. The ordinary organization does this to a high degree. It seems, rather, that being virtually surrounded by "brothers" and "sisters" the Cubeo have exalted expectations of warmth and assistance which ceremonial friendship helps satisfy. 572 571 572 431 571

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihí*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Uráhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

Menstrual blood (*hivé*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

## SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy.

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.

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# 10

## *The Mourning Ceremony*

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bahúkiwa* subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Uménahonkü* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *ehwinu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day c[illegible]nies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. The th[illegible]day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

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765 534 114 769 [773] for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 786 [154] The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the substance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

[536] [775] [614] 765 266

765 562 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritualized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

[786]

53 765 [776] The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaiwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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532 *Xudjíko* and her consort, the mourning by the primordial ancestors; and the sib units, the solidarity of the phratry in expressing both
765 grief and anger. The dramatizations and mimetic dances present a
786 variety of minor themes, such as menace and hilarity. If one looks
182 at the *óyne* as a whole, however, and follows the sequence of events from their slow and solemn beginning to their conclusion in a simulated sexual orgy and then in a real one, a single main theme emerges, and that is the sexual interplay between men and women.
[775] By contrast to the sexual emphasis, the ritual of dealing with the spirit of the deceased seems almost minor and anticlimactic. It is only at the very end, when most guests have departed, that the ghost is dispatched. The climax of the first part of the *óyne* is ritual coitus, just as the climax of the second part is sexual license. We can therefore describe the *óyne* in terms of ritualized sexual sequence.

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Fig. 11. Mourning ceremony, women's entrance.

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The first phase of the *áyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehéneua* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjiko* is sounded. At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *áyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompoindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, *kenadjü marié kenadjü pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *áyne*, and the following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disenter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

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765 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I ob-
775 served the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around
266 him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an
114 urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in
824 the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. There-
783 after, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for
775 at least another generation.

532 **MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE ÓYNE**

765 **Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons**
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|---|---|---|
| 1. *Makuko* | (K-G)[a] | A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun. |
| 2. *Kohako* | (K-G) | Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them. |
| 3. *Hailako* | (K-G) | A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand. |
| 4. *Palutxiko* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 5. *Anauako* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 6. *Abúhuwa* | (K-G;IG)[b] | Forest demons. |
| 7. *Hokoaboxoko* | (K-G) | Giant tree demons. |

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

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171 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of
184 caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe
266 that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wal-
765 lace, 1870, p. 498).

Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéos. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabucuris, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enivrant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'energie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 173).

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771 769 ever, does not compel them to make the sib child grow. The Cubeo think it absurd to suggest that the *Bekûpwänwa* might need any urging to do for the sib what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing. It is impossible for a Cubeo to say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have withheld a benefit or that they can be made to do more under 771 769 some circumstances and less under others. What is required – and the Cubeo do not say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have set requirements – is 787 that a proper mode of social intercourse be established and maintained. The spirit and the manner of social intercourse must be correct, however, although not letter perfect. The spirit in which the social intercourse is carried out is more important than the ritual act. Many Cubeo ceremonies are abridged because, as they explain, the mood was wrong. Guests who should have come did not, and in the feeling of disappointment the ceremony is cut short. An error in a chant, in a dance, in a song, or in a ritual sequence is of no importance. 771 769 Failure to conform to the rules of social intercourse with the supernatural beings, such as the Ancients, may have serious consequences only if the neglect is deliberate. 784 In any case, *Bekûpwänwa* do not punish. They only withhold. In the case of the boy who ran away from his whipping at the hands of the *Bekûpwänwa*, my informants assured me that he would not be deprived of a year's growth. Since they, the elders, were prepared to forgive the youngster his uncontrollable timorousness on this occasion, the Ancients, they knew, would do likewise.

771 769 The Ancients are not referred to as "spirits." The term for spirit is *dekókü* and has, for the Cubeo, a more alien connotation than the [776] term *Bekûpwänwa*. The Ancients or the ancestors are referred to by name so that association with them conveys directness and immediacy. I believe that it is for the sake of maintaining a sense of immediacy and of directness with the *Bekûpwänwa* that the Cubeo do not place them in some ancestral abode in some other world. The An- [778] cients, to be sure, are known to have been buried in the ancestral rocks from which they emerged, at the rapids of Uaracapurí and Yurupari. But the burial place is not their place of abode. Strictly speaking they have no place of abode. The flutes and trumpets that embody them reside in a *caño* near the main stream of the sib. The Cubeo do not, however, claim that these sacred crypts are the resi- [775] dences of the Ancients. The ordinary dead, on the other hand, do have an abode. The point of distinction for the Cubeo is that the ordinary dead have been sent away and are no longer welcome, whereas the Ancients, who are not spirits of the dead in the ordinary sense, are always welcome.

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaibo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

[796] [754]

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

821 [775] [763]

## HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

774 [828] [761] [753] 775 [756]

pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyá* form.

[776] [821]

[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédé* (pulse) and *umédé* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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775 form. "Since they did not care for people," the Cubeo say, "they cannot live among the souls of people after death." Those who have committed incest or have eaten a forbidden fish called *namûri* have souls after death in the form of the *bauvéko*, a bird that is feared greatly.

The ghost is called *dekókũ* (dream man) or *pwânkũ dekókũ* (dream man person).[3] The distinction between *umé* and *dekókũ* is not precise. That is, when the Cubeo speak of the death of a person they will say that the *umé* leaves and the souls take on human form, and add that the *umé* may return to the house and disturb people. Having begun to speak of *umé*, they follow it into its ghostly phase. On the other hand, it is when the narration begins with the spirits of the dead that they will use the term *dekókũ*.

The Cubeo have no dread of the spirits of the dead. The spirits depart and live their own life under their own headman. Beliefs on the nature of the afterlife are not uniform among the Cubeo, however. The most common view is that the spirits of the dead of the same phratry live together, all in one great phratry house under a headman. Women, however, occupy a vague place in the afterlife, wives staying with their husbands. The women spirits, however, lack their full economic function, since in the afterlife spirits live by hunting and gathering but not by farming. The dead do constitute a nuisance. [824] Shortly after death the ghost returns to the house hoping to entice a [789] sibmate to go with him, but he is easily dispatched by burning capsicum. The grave, in the house, is no hallowed place, and shortly after the earth has been packed in place the children play over it. When people encounter a place on the river where the spirits of the dead can be heard they do not hurry on but pause to listen. The spirits of the dead will never be encountered at high noon, the zenith, so to speak, of the secular part of the day. The spirits of the dead hunt only at night. They eat butterflies, grubs, and all snakes including the foundling anaconda. Significantly, they do not drink chicha. The Cubeo do not say why, but it would seem that they have visualized an afterlife that is lacking in the essences of life, that is to say, the ingredients that the Cubeo associate with vital intensity. The spirits of the dead also lack manioc. There is some debate among the Indians as to whether the dead live in a house; they lack ceremonial life and sib autonomy. Literally, then, the Cubeo visualize a shadow existence after death.

The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All

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[3] *Dekó* is the stem in the verb "to cause to disappear."

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The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All the dead of the sibs of a river are joined together. While the individual spirit has his sib identity, the sibs do not exist in the afterlife as social entities. The *habóiü* of the dead is *Mavitcikori*, grandson of *Djurédo*, an Ancient of the *Órobawa* and of other high-ranking sibs such as the *Hehénewa*, who was the first headman at Uaracapuri. However, the Cubeo have no great interest in speculating about the life of the spirits of the dead, since, except for the Ancients, they have no formal relationship with them. With the dead, the point is to break the bonds, and for this reason alone Cubeo speculation about the spirits of the dead is at best a moderate one. I have already related the story of the woman who, having died and been buried, returned to her husband and pleaded with him to take her back. It is said that if the husband had accepted her she would really have come to life, but that because he drove her away people who die remain dead.

In Freudian theory, fear of the dead is a projection of ambivalent feelings toward the living. From this point of view one would have to assume, most incorrectly, that the Cubeo are markedly lacking in the ambivalences of love and hate. The Cubeo attitude of neutrality toward the spirits of the dead is due rather to the fact that they attribute almost all misfortune to active human agency. If one is to look for evidences of ambivalence in Cubeo feelings toward kin the proper source is in the imputation of sorcery and not in the attitudes toward ghosts.

## THE CONCEPT OF POWER

An important concern of all instrumental, as distinct from ethical, religions is power, the grasp of power and its control and manipulation. Power, to be sure, is valued for its direct application to common human interests in food, safety, and the overcoming of enemies, to name but a few, but it would be rash to underestimate the sheer attractiveness of power acquired and power used for its own sake. In Cubeo religious thought, too, power is both instrumental and compelling in its own right. In keeping with the moderate role of power in social and political life, however, the power theme in religion is a muted one. The Cubeo do not attribute to anyone, man or supernatural being, grandiose powers. If anything, the Cubeo are rather conscious of the limitations of power. We have seen this in how little power they attribute to the Ancients. *Kúwai* is a more telling illustration of the point, for this being ordinarily fails when he is truly manipulating power, while his successes are in the ordinary relations

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A yavi, I was told, has a different 756
kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An 778
injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I 554
spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked [754]
through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong [774]
*yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *pariékokü* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became 756
fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from 825
laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some 754
informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a [124]
*yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókü*) becomes a jaguar. According to this [775]
view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and [774]
prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pudnyaviwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahúkiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yavi* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yavi* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yavi*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yavi*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yavi* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives. 754 756

The *yavis* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokübéwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yavi* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakü dekókü* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several [828] [177] [176] 754 775 825

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754 [775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yaví*. The insect
[125] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatárako* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcíkü* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dúwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by
278 the *lingoa geral* term *marakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term
824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaíye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but
824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by
754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi-
682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapibü kowaíye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti-
824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge.
682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has
[241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would be shown where we could sling our hammocks. 576 [123]

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punctuated by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst themselves. They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling on his body. 562 522 888

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre Elorza only the month before we arrived. 797

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these are evil spirits. 776

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead, usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma. 775 774 756

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over a man's life. 776 775

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and 000

551 nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 752 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the [123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly un- 753 concerned. Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of [123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con- 756 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on 123 whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*. [775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be

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/Information on supernatural beings, spirits and gods appearing in Tucano tales will be found in category 539. See Category 116, pp. 1-41./

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/footnote 6 cont./ idols of gold and silver in the form of women, and many objects of gold and silver for the service of the sun" (o.c. 67).

Carvajal, however, is relating what he heard and his narration is all impregnated with unbelievable things, fruit of credulity and of suggestion.

Pe. Alonso de Rojas, describing the descent of the year 1637, testifies: "They do not have rites or ceremonies to venerate them (their false gods), neither temples of their idols nor priests" (Descobrimentos, /Discoveries/, 110). Precisely as we found them three centuries later.

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nor persons in charge of the cult, neither priests nor religious ceremonies and prayers to honor the deity, are found among them.

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/322/ There are, indeed, many superstitions, and it could not be otherwise among men of so little culture. There is unanimity in asserting that, if there is a cult, it is that of the Jurupari or demon (7)

7. In his "Diálogos das grandezas do Brazil /Dialogues on the greatnesses of Brazil/," Teixeira Pinto, dealing with the rites of the heathen, asserts: "If they do have any and if they practice some manner of worship, although this is not known, it is the devil to whom they give the name of Jurupari" (ap. Barbosa Rodrigues, Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/, 94). Jurupari and dabacuri are terms from the Lingua Geral or Nheengatú, which is still spoken on all the

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/footnote 7 cont./ Rio Negro. The use of these terms by the Indians of the Uaupés themselves, when they describe their traditions to us, is of value as proof of the foreign influence in their myths and rites.

(in Tukano Wãx-tĩ), who is celebrated or understood to be placated with the Dabacurís (in Tukano Poosé), in order for him not to harm them, malicious spirit that he is. As for God (in Tukano Wá:kõ or O'ã-kõ) he is a great absent one, who does not concern himself about human beings and is without any influence on their life. There is, then, no need to be interested in Wá:kõ or to think of him in order to worship him.

The study of these tribes convinces us that they are in a phase of great regression or involution, with traces of totemism, its little religious feeling and great preponderance of magic being shown to us by them.

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Religion in a subjective sense is, according to W. Schmidt, Manuale di Stória comparata delle Religioni /Handbook of the Comparative History of Religions/, p. 2), "the idea and feeling of dependence on a supraterrestrial personal Power, with whom it is /323/ intended to enter into relations"; and, objectively, it is "the conjunction of exterior acts in which religion is expressed and by which it is manifested." We shall consider it especially in this sense.

Let us examine separately for better apprehension of the indications of this weak religious feeling and its exact comprehension: 1st. its doctrinal points; 2nd. its cult practices; 3rd. its rules of moral, religious, and social behavior.

d) Doctrinal points.

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1) Concept of a Supreme Being.

a) The totality of the Indians of these tribes living in the povoados on the bank of the Brazilian rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí distinguish at the present time, as they did a century ago,

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• 776 in the time of Wallace, a God Creator and Supreme Rewarder, perfect and good, and call him Wã:kõ (or O'ã-kõ), and an evil spirit that can cause them much harm, and for this reason they fear him, this is Wãx-tĩ. Not only some students and travelers, but also the natives of the younger generation themselves, identify Wãx-tĩ with the Jurupari of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú and the demon himself (8).

> 8. On the bank of the river Uaupés, above Chibarú, there is a place called Jurupari-ponta, and those of the Tukano language call it Wãx-tĩ nõã, thus identifying Wãx-tĩ and Jurupari.

771 Confronted with this information, one might think that their religion was a Manichaeism, with a double principle: -- the good, which practically does not need to be taken into account, and the evil (9).

> 9. Concerning this subject, we naturally have to exclude the Indians who have attended the schools of the Salesian Missions for several years and received a more profound and sound religious knowledge, strengthened, besides, by an intense religious and sacramental practical life.

776 Without, for now, questioning the names, it is certain that they admit the existence of a personal Being ("maxsã," people, as they express themselves), a being who has always existed, much superior to human beings, who lives up above. The old [177] people call this Being Bũxpõ, the Thunder (thus, for example, old Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié), and those who have some notion of Christianity clarify this by saying that

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• 776 it is "Deus Pai" /God the Father/ (10).

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10. The young Patrícia Vasconcelos, Christian and alumna of the Salesian Mission, talking to her old uncle and pajé, Marco, from S. Luzia, river Papurí, while speaking about the Padre Eterno /Eternal Father/ (Father of Jesus Christ), heard him interrupt her: "Well, my daughter, this is Bũxpó."

*[192] It is to be pointed out that the term of the Língua Geral for indicating Deus /God/ is Tupana, a simple variation, probably introduced by the catechesis, of the name Tupã, which means Trovão /Thunder/. It would not be a mere /324/ coincidence of names. But either both human groups, that of Nheengatú and that of the Tukano, had the same beliefs and cult; or there was a borrowing of beliefs, or at least of legends.

[115] Some add that the world and the human beings came from this Supreme Being as a result of a simple creative word. This is what we obtained in talking with the old people of different tribes and in different localities, even from those who are not Christians and do not maintain contact with the Missionaries, and probably represents their primitive tradition, because it moreover corresponds to what is narrated by the legends.

776 b) Among the Tukano of the river Tiquié, Padre Eduardo

*[192] Lagório, Salesian, found the belief in a God and a Goddess, who existed per se, that is, were not [illegible]ated by another, "kã õaró, by the will," as they express it in their idiom; and she, too, "ko õaró." Contrary to the native psychology, which is not bound up with the woman, whose physical qualities do not give her any more value, the Indian, who in his realistic pragmatism seems unconcerned about the aesthetic qualities of persons, dwells, on the other hand, on describing the beauty of this goddess. It seems to us, for this reason, permissible to search for a Christian origin for such a fact, to wit, the cult and homage

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776 to the Holy Mother of God (11).

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11. The Indian Sebastião Mariano, of the Yuruparí-tapúya tribe (Arwáke of the Içana) narrated to us in Carará-poço (river Içana), in August of 1957, the legend of Kóay, which he identified and translated as Jurupari, called son of Yaperikuli. And to our question about what his mother was called, he immediately responded "Santa Maria" /Holy Mary/.

*[192] They call God O'ã-kõ, but they did not know the meaning of this word. According to the spirit of the Tukano language, it could be a word made up of o'ã, bone, and the ending of max-kõ, son. Therefore O'ã-kõ means "Son of the bone." They laughed when we gave this translation and added the very common: "that is so," "that is so." Accordingly (or "by analogy") they call the Goddess O'ã-kó or O'ã-kõ. O'ã-kõ means "daughter of the bone" (from O'ã, bone and max-kõ, daughter); O'ã-kó, as is more commonly heard, would mean "mother of the bone" (derived from pax-kó, mother), suggesting that this would be mother of Oã-kõ.

It is not a matter of a couple as a model of the human family, however, as among other peoples, or the deification of the progenitors of the group. Oã-kõ does not beget divine or human children; he creates the one and the other.

It was by invitation of O'ã-kõ or Oã-kó, so they informed Pe. Lagório, that O'ã-kõ came down to earth and there created mountains, rivers, forests, animals, and, at the last, the human beings.

*[192] /325/ c) Oã-kõ, according to legends obtained by us (and which will be studied more fully in another work), is a personage betrayed by his wife, mahãwi (the pirárara /a fish/); and he, in turn, preferred his sister-in-law to his own wife. It is true, the personage who made the tribes come out of the opening of

• 776 /325 cont./
Urubucuára, Yepásonyá, is also called Yepa-O'ã-kõ̃, and some of the old Christians call this one "Son of God."

Each tribe has its legends which express these doctrinal points, as will be seen in another work.

2) Immortality of the soul.

774 Another truth well established among the tribes of the Uaupés is that of the existence and immortality of the soul. This truth, however, is starting to be contaminated by metempsychosis and confused with the existence of spirits disincarnated or that never were incarnated.

*[192] They admit in man, besides the body, õxpõ, another invisible element which animates it and survives after the death of the individual. The natives of the younger generation (therefore the possibility of this being a term learned in catechesis is not excluded) designate it with the same term that indicates the heart, that is, héri-põra (Uaupés héri-põna) (12).

[115] 12. The veteran Salesian Missionary, Pe. João Marchesi, who speaks Tukano fluently, says that he does not remember having heard mentioned another element or "sombra da pessoa" /shadow of the person/, as some primitive peoples believe. In the Tukano language, "sombra"/shadow/ would be called "bahusé," that is, "thing that appears."

*[192] The old ones, however, do not know how to give any clarification about héri-põra; they never use this term to designate the incorporeal element. They call this only wãx-tĩ (13).

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13. Cf. below, VII-4, g (3), what is said about the wãx-tĩ of the dead. The Catechesis has been using the term héri-põra (or héri-põna, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés and

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775 The belief in a social life beyond the grave, similar to the present life, with fishing trips and feasts, is still vigorous, as is shown by categorical answers (20).

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20. A little girl interrupted a Religious, who, explaining the Catechism, spoke of heaven, in order to ask whether there were fish there in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Professora answered no. The child added promptly: -- Then I do not want to go there.

Some even think that in the other life there is procreation of children (21).

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21. A Missionary relates the following: "Once a lad was very surprised to hear that in heaven there will be a plenitude of life, without need for propagation of the species. He asked, almost disappointed: 'Then there in heaven will there not be any women for us?' "

5) Existence of the spirits.

776 They believe in the existence of spirits that never were incarnated in a human body and never will be; they can, nevertheless, become visible in certain circumstances. Such spirits live in certain places: in the interior of the forests, headwaters of the igarapés, caves, stones, etc.

There are many of them, and different categories, each category with its characteristic way of presenting itself. The description as the Indians bring it to us, however, is not unanimous. And some affirm that they see them or hear them with relative frequency. It is an unquestionable fact that they become

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alarmed easily enough, either individuals or entire groups (22).

22. In the Schools, for example, if a child (more frequently the girls; it is to be noted that it is the women who claim to have seen them more often) yells Wãx-tĩ at night in the dormitory, all of them are filled with panic, cover their faces or turn them to the other side. But also in full /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ daylight they will claim to have seen Wãx-tĩ. A similar event happened in Iauareté during the day, and a little girl threw herself from the upper floor of the Mission building. One of the Salesian Missionaries of Taracuá, Valério Fernandes, was with some little boys in the forest, looking for cucura (a fruit). Some women who were nearby and had not been seen by the boys also desired this fruit. The children went helter-skelter, yelling: "Wãx-tĩ" and ran until they came out of the forest, in spite of the calls of the Missionary. The episodes about which we were better able to ask questions are all explained by suggestion. We heard of other episodes brought about by way of experiment, in order to verify the native belief and suggestability. Even though one later tried to prove this to the Indian, he would not believe it and continues to acknowledge that it was really the spirit.

as if they had seen something extraordinary.

/329/ Some of these spirits are tremendously malevolent and harmful, and others, not. Some admit that they are of the two sexes and multiply like human beings.

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776 a) Wãx-tĩ or Jurupari (23).

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23. The young Tukano Casimiro Sampaio gave (1949) this contradictory information: "The Wãx-tĩ live in society. They make noise. They do not appear. They do not do any harm. /The final quotation marks are missing./ This subject about the spirits will be more fully developed in the book "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/."

He lives in the interior of the forests, in the darkest places and in the abandoned huts. He appears, however, even in the malocas, in the form of a black man, hairy, ugly, covered with ashes. A Tukano informant (Dorotéia Brito) said that: "When he makes himself seen in some house, it is a sign of sicknesses that will come. He likes to strangle chickens. When the broad hen makes noise, it is because Wãx-tĩ moved it." At any noise that they hear in the house or in the forest, they immediately think of Wãx-tĩ. A strange animal that they see, a figure, it must be he, and they yell, full of fear.

*[192] [822] They attribute the echo, axkã-keoãrõ, to Wãx-tĩ, who is imitating some sound. It seems to them on many occasions that they hear in the noises of the forest and the cachoeiras, and in the whispering of the winds, faraway echoes of the songs and dances performed by Wãx-tĩ.

It is to be noted that Wãx-tĩ is not an individual; there are many of them; rather it is an entire class. Among them one par excellence, who would be the principal one. This one, especially in the origin of the nation, did them much harm: he stole the children, impregnated their women, and did other evil things to them, killed the men, etc. Tired, finally, of their /the next line in the original source properly belongs on the next page and is repeated there; it is therefore omitted here in the translation/ yoke, because, besides so many bad things, he forced them into tasks and very difficult demonstrations, the men got

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together, caught him, tied him up with cipos, and burned him. According to one legend narrated by the pajé Vicente Rodrigues of the Taryana tribe and other /330/ Arwake narrators, it was O'ĩ-kõ who burned Wãx-tĩ, also called Bisiu. From the ashes, in this same place, there grew two paxiúbas /palms/, waxtá (24),

24. It is to be noted that the name of the paxiuba in Tukano, waxtá, reminds one of that of Wãx-tĩ. From the same root, wax, we have the term that indicates the hernia truss or loincloth, waxsó-ro, the wãx-tĩ-kẽõ, tipití or the press with which they squeeze the mass of mandioca to make the flour, objects that, like the sacred instruments, were a gift from Wãx-tĩ. It should be noted that it is also from paxiúba that they make the parís and cacurís for fishing, and, not infrequently, also the walls of the malocas.

with which they make the sacred instrument called mĩ̃ĩ̃ĩ (Uaupés mĩhĩ or Juruparí (25)

25. As for the etymology of the term Juruparí, Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Jurupari) recalled to an Indian that someone had told him Juruparí meant "the one produced from the fruit." The Indian answered him: "intimãã, Iuruparí, céra onheẽn putáre o munha iarié iurú parí uá, no, not at all, the name of Juruparí means the one that made the closing of our mouth" (iurú, mouth, and parí, enclosure for fishing; cf. 5, a (2b) /Ch. VI/).

in the Língua Geral) in memory of the great feat. So some of their legends say, and with this they identify Wãx-tĩ with the personage Juruparí of the Tupí legends.

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776 Even burned, his spirit still survives, wandering through the forests, taking strange and frightening shapes. To him they attribute all the misfortunes, both the material ones, such as a storm, the destruction of the forest (26),

> 26. Large clearings are frequently found in the forest. It is a matter of tall and thick trees, but with superficial roots, which fall under the force of the hurricanes, dragging many others with them. They attribute this noise and the falling of the trees to Wãx-tĩ.

a harmful animal in the clearing, and the personal ones: the
192 defect of stuttering, madness, etc. They call the mad person
753 Wãx-tĩ dohónõkõ, that is, hurt by Wãx-tĩ. They call tuber-
776 culosis Wãx-tĩ poá-ri, hair /Port. cabelos/ of Wãx-tĩ (27).

> 27. The cause of tuberculosis, according to what they think, is butterfly hairs /Port. pêlos, hairs, down, colors/ in the throat. The pajé blows on the mingau in order to invoke the "Wãx-tĩ of the butterflies," so that it will not trouble the patient.

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776 The fear of Wãx-tĩ that they feel is such that not for any prize will they venture to enter the forest at night, or even during the day in certain dark igarapés. And they go so far as to abandon their clearings for years, because they heard strange noises there.

191 b) Boraró or Curupira (28).

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> 28. Through relations with the travelers (many of whom speak Nheengatú) the natives know many terms of the língua geral. Just

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/footnote 28 cont./ as they identify Wãx-tĩ with Jurupari, so too many of them, to the question: -- who is Boraró? answer at once: he is Curupira.

776 He also lives in the middle of the forest, which is his kingdom, in the sierras or on the headwaters of the igarapés; never in the open places.

*[192] They conceive him as a large and deformed monkey. He emits strange cries in the forest and gives great smacks or blows on the trees, /331/ especially the sapupemas (flat roots) of the sumaúna /ceiba tree/. He attacks the careless one who ventures into the forest, poisoning him with his urine and sucking out his brains. No weapon succeeds in killing him. He eats onça /jaguar/ and animals, and also sucks the blood of human beings. When he wants to suck the blood, he does it in the following manner: first he hits the place, so as to anesthetize it, afterwards he makes the puncture; when he has finished sucking, he blows in order to fill with air the emptiness left. If someone says: "I was sucked" (that is, to mention the appearance of Boraró), he will die.

[115] Dorotéia Brito attests that her grandfather saw Boraró many times. "He plants the clearing, has a wife and children. In the clearing, during the day, words are heard; it is Boraró who is speaking, although he is not seen. He appears as a man, with hair falling over his shoulders, with a red flower in his mouth. He further takes the form of a woman and a boy. He does nothing to the Maku, and is fond of the monkeys. Anyone who has seen him will become ill." He sucked the brains from her aunt, in the clearing, and she died there, a mark on her head remaining as proof.

[115] Another Tukano girl, Kõmã-ro põrã, from the povoado of S. Luzia (river Papuri), states that twice, when she was looking for fruit in the forest a little above S. Luzia, she heard Boraró make a loud noise, as if he had made a shot. On another

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776 occasion, while looking for caraná in the company of a cousin, both saw two huge tracks of almost half a meter. Her cousin [192] explained to her that they were the footprints of Boraró, Boraró dõ'pó-kãrĩ.

Boraró, the same witness stated, "always has some animals that accompany him and sing near him." These animals are called Boraró i'á, lice of Boraró. "When they hear singing in the forest: -- moláro... (with the a very prolonged) moláro... (29),

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29. It must be pointed out that the pronunciation moláro announces the origin of the informant. The Tukano language, as can be observed in its better pronunciation on the river Tiquié, does not have the phoneme l. Under the influence of the other tribes, mainly the Taryana, on the Uaupés and Papurí, one hears l in some words. Moláro, we think, in accord with the spirit of the Tukano language, is a corruption of the name Boraró.

they all run away, because Boraró is very near. /The final quotation marks are missing./

[115] According to Casimiro Sampaio -- "Boraró lives in the forest. He appears as a white man (30),

30. Perhaps this "white" is used in the usual sense, that is, as equivalent to civilized, since he finishes by saying that he wears clothing.

large, with a red forehead. He wears clothing. He makes noise in the forest. However, he does not do harm to anyone." In general they all affirm that he is very dangerous, and that his appearances are very frequent. Many claim to have seen him or heard him, and on various occasions.

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• 776 [797] Some alumni of the Salesian Mission who have already attended pontifical functions at which the Celebrating Bishop wears a miter said that Boraró appears with a miter, and the noise that he produces is precisely with the miter, which he opens and closes.

[115] A native from Parí-cachoeira, José Barreto, tells that his father, Mandú, not baptized, affirmed (1949) that the "demons" are few and that he had learned this from his own grandfather who had never seen any Missionary. He also said that his relatives, inhabitants of the igarapé of the onça /jaguar/, yai-sa, know the poison with which they can chase away or kill Boraró and that for this reason they have no fear of him at all.

*[192] In other places there are likewise individuals with such power, and for this reason they are called Boraró dohãrá, that is, those who cast malefice on Boraró (dohasé, malefice, poisoning). It is the belief of many that Boraró, upon drinking these poisons, will die.

Boraró is married, concluded Patrícia Vasconcelos, and his wife has one normal breast, but the other one is exaggeratedly long. According to others, it is Boraró's mother who shows this anomaly, and they nickname women with long breasts Boraró paxkó (mother of Boraró).

*[192]

c) Bisiu or Jurupari (31).

[115] *[192] [184] 31. A little informant from Iauareté finished by clarifying that Bisiu is Jurupari. According to a legend narrated by the pajé Vicente Rodrigues, Taryana, O'ã-kõ is called Yaperíkuli in Taryana and is the brother of Bisíu; the latter being bad and the former good. In the Arwáke legends, Bisíu is identified with Jurupari.

/332 cont./

776 He is, said Casimiro Sampaio, a mysterious being "who descends from above. He is yellow and appears decorated with arara
*[192] feathers. He speaks, sings, and dances the mĩrĩ (32).

32. Our informant, Casimiro Sampaio, finished by saying that it is the dance of the Jurupari. Bisíu, then, is confused with the great Wãx-tĩ of the legends.

He makes a great deal of noise and eats people. The women cannot see him."

776 We learned from various other informants that Bisiu eats
881 women on the occasion of the first menses: "amõsé baásamĩ," that is, he eats the menstruum, as they express it. A Pirá-
756 tapúya widow, Maria José (in Parí-cachoeira, 1954) clarified
*[192] that "to eat" means that he fecundates the woman. It is for
[115] this reason that she must be shut up in the house, and she herself will call for the services of the pajé or Komĩ for the so-called "rite of initiation" (cf. VIII - 1, b (7) ). These personages, with their rites, have the power to ward off the danger for the maiden.

776 A girl of the Tukano tribe from the Papurí said that the
829 Makú women, who almost always live in the interior of the forest, many times become pregnant from coitus with Bisiu.

/333/ d) Nãxkã Wãx-tĩ (Wãx-tĩ of the forest) (33).

776
*[192]

33. Nãxkã means mato /forest, wood, thicket/ in Tukano.

He is also from the forest, stated Casimiro Sampaio, -- tall in stature and ugly. He wears long hair, and butterfly wings on his face. He does not speak and does not do harm to anyone.

/333 cont./

776 [115] A young woman with a Wanana mother, and raised among them, told Patrícia Vasconcelos that on the occasion of a mourning feast among the Wanana, when they were doing the traditional dances with masks, a man climbed up on a column of the maloca. With great fright he saw, amidst the dancers, a strange personage who had appeared: he was a short, stocky, ugly man, full of butterflies over his body. That same young woman further described that Yaperíkuli (personage from the Arwáke legends and father of Kóay or Jurupari) has a very small body, but legs so long that he can reach the top of the trees where he gathers honey and fruits.

[115] e) Õ'mõãro Wãx-tĩ. Wãx-tĩ from above, this is what his name means. According to Casimiro Sampaio, he resembles a monkey. "He lives in the trees. He does not speak, but he makes noise like that of a stone that falls. He devours whole men, swallows bone and all. When he wants to do it, he lets himself drop from the trees and the demons come out of his belly."

A Tukano girl from S. Luzia (river Papurí) claims not only to have heard such noise, but moreover to have seen the deep hole that was formed in the ground by the fall of Õ'mõãro Wãx-tĩ, who has arms many meters long.

[115] According to another Tukano informant (Dorotéia Brito): "He resembles the sloth. He is tame and her mother saw him many times. Nobody, however, has managed to kill him."

The Amazonian fauna has strange specimens, some already known by the scientist and the caboclos; others perhaps still unknown (34)

34. In 1945 on the road from Urubucuara to Ipanuré, some women engaged in transporting the volumes of cargo of the Mission heard a great noise of branches that were breaking, and they saw from the back a figure like a large monkey, of about two

*/333 cont./

• 776

/footnote 34 cont./ meters, walking erect. Frightened, they ran to the side of the Salesian, Mr. Manoel Crescini, who was directing this transportation. Upon arriving at the place of the noise, the Missionary verified large tracks in the sand of the road, similar to those of an elephant, of an animal that had crossed the road and, upon penetrating into the forest, had broken the branches, and thus opened a passage of about a meter or more in width. A loud and frightening noise, like that of an animal breaking branches, was also heard by the Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch in Barcelos. A hunter from Barcelos (Rio Negro), terrified, told Dom José of having heard /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ frightening howls in the forest about twenty kilometers from Barcelos and of having seen tracks in the sand, measuring approximately half a meter. The Bishop wanted to verify the statement and was able to see these tremendous tracks, similar to human footprints. This same Prelate saw an enormous monkey in the forest in the environs of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié). Taking it for some Indian, at first he did not want to hit it with a shot, and the animal immediately fled.

and seen only by the natives. The mentality of the latter /334/ easily associates such strange or deformed animals with the Wãx-tĩ and other spirits of the legends. Perhaps these beings, Nãxkã Wãx-tĩ, Õmãro Wãx-tĩ, and others about whom they talk to us, such as Wãx-tĩ Biu, Tsakopãe, etc., are only rare or exotic and frightening animals. We know, for example, that they call some butterflies that live in the hollows of wood Wãx-tĩ-turú, that is, piece of Wãx-tĩ.

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c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wá:kõ?

In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wá:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we [178] were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wá:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67),

[823]

67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water.
775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not.
776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ.
And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons,
756 and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as
829 inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3) ). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ.
[825] They say about a nocturnal bird, called uruká-tutú, due to the
*[192] similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp, because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of
*[192] a deceased civilized person, pexká-sã wẽ'ri Wã-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

/357 cont./

776 It seems that we are faced with some confusion between
177 the primitive notions and the ideas that the travelers, colonizers, and Missionaries brought and even taught them in different epochs.

*192 Wãx-tĩ, we have concluded, is a general term to designate these various beings, like our word "Spirit." The term
776 also occurs in the plural, Wãx-tĩa baxsá, dance of the Wãx-tĩ. Probably it is derived from the root wax, and from the substantivizing determinative tĩ. As a matter of fact, there is in the Tukano language the root wax, which would indicate: to imagine, idea, to form ideas, model. Wax-kũ means to think, perhaps from the root wax and the verb kũ, to put.

776 Among the different Wãx-tĩ or spirits, there is one par excellence, the "Wãx-tĩ," as we say "The Supreme, Most Perfect Spirit," or simply the Spirit.

Wãx-tĩ, as follows from the Uaupés legends (which we
776 shall examine in more detail in another study, "Lendas do Uaupés
782 /Legends of the Uaupés/"), is not only a Hero of the tribe, he is the Legislator, therefore the Supreme Lord. He punishes or will punish transgressions. In order to conjure away his punishments, it is important to propitiate him with particular rituals.
*[192] It can be seen in the poosé or wãx-tĩye baxsasé, sacrifices of fish, beiju, or fruits. And there is also communion of the group in the drinking and the smoking. The lyrics of the songs, today
[533] corrupted and without meaning, might perhaps have been the sacrificial hymns (68).

[115] 68. One of the students of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), José Barreto, told that his father, one of the most famous bayá, or singers at the feasts, and dance master, had taught him that the songs during the dabacurí or poosé recalled the creation of the human beings.

/357 cont./

• 776 [533] Those inserted words and shouts are perhaps ritual words and exclamations. We thus have a cult of the deity.

Later there was confusion between the Legislator Spirit and other spirits, that is, between the Wãx-tĩ and the wãx-tiá or wãx-tĩá maxsã. /358/ What could have been the cause? It is certain that religious instruction that was not very deep could give rise to great confusion, even among the civilized. It is likewise beyond doubt that they had successive contacts with the Christians, and there was not perenniality in the Missionaries' work of Christianization. Who knows but that the concept of one true God, who is Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites" (69),

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69. Dr. Pereira Nunes told us of an interview that he had with an old Indian on the Ilha-das-flôres (mouth of the river Uaupés) when he found out that they were celebrating the feast of Jurupari or Wãx-tĩ at a short distance, deeper in the interior of the forest. -- "Do you believe in the Jurupari?" he asked him. -- "Yes," he answered, "he is our God!" -- "And Jesus Christ?" -- "Jesus Christ is the 'God of the whites,'" was the answer.

as opposed to the false gods, idols, or demons, is what brought such entanglement and identification of Wãx-tĩ with the demon (70).

70. "They have generally called him Yurupari," wrote Paulo Ehrenreich (Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de S. Paulo, 1908, Vol. II, p. 303), "solar or cultural hero, a designation taken from the língua geral and falsely identified with the devil by the Missionaries." The identification

/358 cont./

• 776

[103]

/footnote 70 cont./ of Wãx-tĩ or Jurupari with the demon dates back to the evangelization of the coastal tribes. For example, the Hollander Gaspar Barleus or Van Baerle (1647), describing the journey of Elias Harchman, apropos of a mountain of Copaóba, states: "nomen monti erat polyssyllabum et terribile Iurupari bakau, id est, hic respéxit diábolus" (the name of the mountain was strange and terrible, "Iurupari bakau," that is, the demon looked here). Barbosa Rodrigues, "Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/," p. 94. Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, 1882. As for the identification of Wãx-tĩ with Jurupari, see above, Note 8, VII-4, c) /see note 7 in VII-4, c), and note 8 in VII-4, d)/.

*[192]

The term that the catechesis uses to designate God, Wá:kõ, which means "the one who is gone," seems to confirm it. It thus makes one think of Jesus Christ who went up to heaven (71).

71. We have just finished reading (May of 1956) in the Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, Vol. III, year of 1954, an article by Marcos Fulop, under the title: "Aspectos de la cultura tukana. Cosmogonia /Aspects of Tucano culture. Cosmogony/." This article seems to confirm the above opinion, which we had already voiced in 1948. After describing the creative activity and that of social organization exercised by Yepá Huake (this is the way the name of the personage Wá:kõ is written), according to the account of the pajé Marcos Sierra from the povoado Guadalajara, on the river Paca, in

/358 cont./

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/footnote 71 cont./ June of 1953, it ends: "Entonces Yepá Huake dijo a todos los que estaban en Diawí: di pié todo el mundo. Y Yepá Huake desapareció. Y allí se terminó. Y se subió al cielo Yepá Huake." /Then Yepá Huake said to all those who were in Diawí: stand up, everybody. And Yepá Huake disappeared. And there it was finished. And Yepá Huake went up to heaven (al cielo, "to heaven," or "to the sky")./ It should be noted that the native group to which Marco Sierra belongs, as Marco Fulop has it, a group about which we, too, have some knowledge from one of our excursions along the river Paca, are dissidents from the Mission of the Montfortian Padres of the Papurí. As was to be expected, and follows from the narration obtained by Fulop, the whole account by Marco Sierra is a combination of the tradition of the tribes of the Uaupés and of the Catholic Catechesis.

776 They can say nothing about Waskõ except what the younger gen-
797 eration learned from the Missionaries of Dom Bosco and of /359/ Montfort (72):

72. It was the well-deserving Padre Pedro Kok, Hollander, from the Congregation of Montfort, who in the beginning of this century first studied the Tukano language, and, in this idiom, he left the first books of Catechesis (Catechisms, prayers, gospels, etc.). His confreres, Missionaries in the Território Nacional do Waupés (Colombia), and later the Salesian Missionaries in the adjacent Brazilian area, followed his

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 544]

/359 cont./

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/footnote 72 cont./ orientation with regard to the idiom and, consequently, also with regard to the catechetical language. When we dedicated ourselves to the present studies and sought an interview with this wise linguist who doubled as a Missionary, we learned that he had died a short time before. Of course there remained unanswered the first question that we had asked him by letter, anticipating a promised visit, that is: the origin of the word Wá:kõ. 1st. -- Would it have been of his coinage? And, in this case, would it be derived from the verb wá:, to go? Had he adopted this word (properly speaking, it is the singular Masculine Past Participle of wá:) to indicate Jesus Christ? Why should it be given as the translation of the word God? It is certain that the natives of these tribes have absolutely no idea of the divinity; why did he not adopt, in his catechesis, the Latin word Deus (or Spanish Diós) for the new concept that he was going to teach, as he had used so many Latin or Spanish words (Virgo, gracia, pecado, Santu, Anjo, misterio /Virgin, grace, sin, Saint, Angel, mystery/, etc.)?

2. -- Did wa:kõ come from a confusion of his with the legendary personage O'ã-kõ?

On a second trip that we made to the Papuri in 1948, we expressed to the veteran Montfortian Missionaries, Pe. Humberto Limpens and Pe. Afonso Kuipers, the opinion that we explain in these pages and about how it seems to us that "Wá:kõ" meant "the one who is gone," that is, Jesus Christ, who went up to heaven. And we verified that both of them were of the same opinion.

/359 cont./

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/Footnote 72 cont./ When they repeat an idea that the Catechist made them nearly learn by heart, the children of the Mission schools say Wá:kõ. In other circumstances they say O'ã-kõ, especially those who have already left the schools years ago. This verification, which dates from our first trip to the Uaupés (in 1947), is what put us in search of the history or legend of O'ã-kõ (and which today we also possess recorded in the voices of two xamãs /shamans/), and what led us to infer the dilemma: either the natives are identifying the God of the Catechesis, the Christian God, or, more concretely, Jesus Christ, with the legendary personage O'ã-kõ; or, perhaps, Padre Kok, with an imperfect knowledge of the Uaupés legends, thought that O'ã-kõ was the God of these tribes and, because he did not observe the pronunciation very well (perhaps because of poor pronunciation by the informant), he began to write erroneously Wáke, as it appears in his books.

*[192]

It is to be noted that the Christian natives who gave God the name of Wá:kõ make up a feminine Wá:ko (thus Goddess) to designate the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Most Holy Virgin, Mother of Jesus, and the plural Wá:mãra (Uaupés Wá:mãna), gods, in order to indicate the Saints. The Bishop of Manáus, Dom Frederico Benício Costa, in his interesting "Carta Pastoral" /Pastoral Letter/ (Fortaleza, Ceará, 1909), remarks on p. 166 that the caboclos of the Rio Negro, who spoke the Língua Geral, also used the name Tupana to indicate the Saints, and, when they wanted to distinguish them from God, they called the latter Tupana uaçú.

/359 cont./

797 they do not think about him nor are they interested in him. The
776 conclusion would be, not that they do not know God and do not worship him. But that they do not know Wã:kõ, that is, Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites." They only know, fear, and worship Wãx-tĩ, the Legislator who punishes their transgressions, permitting them to have misfortunes, sicknesses, lightning bolts.

771 /360/ This is what we were also able to conclude from a
[115] conversation with an old Indian, almost one hundred years old (1947), Casimiro from Ipanuré.

f) Their rules of conduct -- Magic practices.

The native is convinced of the existence of extrahuman or mysterious forces, both personal and impersonal or cosmic, which can be useful or harmful to him, and which it is possible for him to dominate and take advantage of. This is what is understood by magic, considered subjectively.

The entire life of the natives is, for this reason, filled with so many positive and negative prescriptions (73)

> 73. These prescriptions, or rather, prohibitions, forbidding one to enter a certain place, to look at, to touch some object or person, is what is today called tabooism.

proceeding from this belief of theirs: or, in other words, it is saturated with magic practices. This is magic considered objectively.

Here and there we have indicated some of these magic practices; there are many others, however. Due to the number of superstitious practices that have come to our knowledge (and how many others might there be?), due to their frequency and application to the most common events of each day, perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to conclude that the mentality of the Uaupés Indians is dominated by the magic fears and beliefs as if this were an obsession, and which, naturally, is reflected and manifested in a large part of native activity.

/360 cont./

771 The evil that can come from an event, an action, a person,
*[192] animal, or thing is called wé-boxátise, or wá-boxkátise.

The magic practices can be divided into groups: practices related to places, to things, to animals and to persons.

We shall first indicate some of these superstitious or magic beliefs.

1) Superstitions and magic beliefs.

• 776 Some of their beliefs have been revealed in connection with various subjects. At this point we have collected others:

a) There is a general belief in the existence of the wai maxsã or "fish people," as literally translated. They not only admit that people can be permanently or temporarily transformed into fish, /361/ but they also cite episodes of such transformations, with indication of the names of persons, the place, the date, and other individualizing circumstances. On certain occasions such persons again assume their human aspect.

They affirm that the botos /boutos/ (cetaceous mammals of the Delphinidae) are "people," "maxsã"; and that on many occasions they appear in the form of handsome young men, in order to have sexual relations with the women, especially with the unmarried maidens.

Not infrequently the female botos appear in the form of seductive women, in order to attract the young men. When such apparitions happen at night to the young men and women, it seems to them as though it was only a dream; nevertheless they actually happened, asserts the Indian.

*[192] The headless snake (Cecilidae) or two-headed snake (Lacertidae), ɔ̃xsõ, as is said in Tukano, may appear as a pleasant young man and fecundate the women. See the legend of ɔ̃xsõ. But it is not only a matter of an event that happened in the past (and they admit it with the certainty of a historical event), it can still happen, and, therefore, the women avoid looking at the two-headed snake, in order not to feel its attraction.

/361 cont./

776 823 b) Tamanduaí is a locality situated on the bank of the Rio Negro, in an elevated position, with the bank forming a barrier or slope. They affirm that in the vicinity of this point, but deep in the water, is located the city of the wai maxsã.

776 539 823 They tell that, a few years ago, a woman lived on the bank opposite Tamanduaí. Soon after delivery, against the traditional prescriptions, she cooked and ate cará /yams, Dioscorea/. Later, upon going to the landing place, she saw there a young man, who asked her: -- Why are you there ? -- I want to go away, the woman said to him, because my husband is very rough and often hits me. -- Come with me, the man invited her. And he took her into the water. There, in the depths, she saw that there was a large city with pretty houses, factories of thirst (!) /Port. fábricas de sede/, and also gardens and forest. She stayed there, living with this young man. On a certain day, she told him: -- I am longing for my son, I am going to get him. The young man took her out of the water. She was covered with algae. She washed herself well, went to her own house, prepared milk (!) for the son. Then the husband asked her: -- Where have you been all this time? It has been a week since you went away. She, however, did not answer him. On the following day she took her child and went to the landing place, went into the river, and did not return again. She remained as wife of the young wai maxsã man.

c) We further heard another episode told about Tamanduaí. A young man from the Uaupés, settled in Tamanduaí (and there are many who, /362/ searching for better lands, leave the Uaupés and go to settle in this region of the Rio Negro), left one day to go fishing. He was going down along a large beach. At a certain moment he saw, at the edge of the nearby forest, a very pretty hammock, and, sitting in the hammock, a blonde girl, very beautiful, with a child in her arms and singing in order to put the child to sleep. The youth paid attention to the harmonious song and could hear that is said: -- "I am

776 /362 cont./
539 going away to my land, it is so beautiful... nothing is lacking
823 there"..., etc. He looked closely and saw that the cords of the hammock were sucuruju /anaconda/. At night the blonde girl appeared to him in a dream and told him: -- "Today I sang for you, and it did not please you."

776 d) Near Bela-Vista, on the river Uaupés, an alumna of
787 the Mission of Taracuá dreamed at night that she had amorous relations with a young man. Then in the morning, when she went to take a bath, she saw close to her a blowing bouto, throwing itself about in the water, agitating it, and wanting to have relations with her. The young woman also heard shots under the ground, smelled the perfume that the "bouto" youths use. She even felt a desire to go to live with the boutos forever.

776 5. /sic/; e)/ -- Patrícia Vasconcelos tells that her grand-
[115] mother was still a young woman when she went looking for turtle eggs on a beach near Pinú-pinu (river Uaupés) with other girl
[222] companions, among them one who had just finished the puberty initiation rite. They started to dig in the sand and found many eggs. At a certain point, however, the sand started to sink with a great noise, and the newly initiated girl disappeared. A little later the sand reappeared. The mother of the maiden who had disappeared went to look for her, shouted everywhere, but the
[192] maiden never returned. The poor mother then understood that the waí maxsã had stolen her daughter: "waí maxsã mĩã-wapã yõõ maxkõ-ré, the fish people came to get my daughter."

2) Magic practices.

823 a) Places. -- There are places (the most remote parts of the forests, caves, headwaters of the igarapés) where they should never go. If by chance they pass in the vicinity of these places, they will turn their faces to the opposite side.

There is a lake below the Ira-igarapé (middle Uaupés); the old ones did not look at it, in order not to have a weak and whining child.

562 /444/
881 The rite ends with a bath of the dawn, Wáwa-'kāsé, which
783 makes us think of the bath of the dawn of the men at the feast of
*[192] Wāx-tĩ (VII-4, e (2 b); cf. Legend of the seizure of the mĩrĩã
instruments). A procession of these women who have been asso-
ciated with the rite, perhaps also other close relatives of the
*[192] maiden, is organized. In front goes the pajé, smoking the path
with a piece of cooking pot, Ki-pu-tõ koró, with hot coals, pitch
• [776] /Port. breu, a kind of resin/, and pepper, and he will exorcise
the river, throwing in it the contents of the pot, in order to "chase
away the beast that is in the river" (81).

81. They explained that this beast was the piraboto /bouto/. Now such a mammal does not exist in the upper Uaupés, much less in the small igarapés. We are thus confronted with a transplanting of beliefs and legends.

562
881 The mother pushes the daughter into the water, and everyone will
785 take a bath (82).

82. Wallace (o. c.) further brings in here a detail which was not confirmed to us. It is the following: "When this time has passed (one month), the relatives and friends of the parents, who are invited for this, gather there on the designated day, each one of them bringing a piece of cipo (flexible climber). The girl is then taken outside the house, completely naked, to the center of the group, which is in the yard in front of the dwelling. Each one of those present on this occasion is obliged to give her five or six strong lashes with the cipo on the chest and on the back, crosswise, until she falls prostrate, unconscious, this sometimes resulting in her death; if,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwäntadjü*: making a person) is a dangerous period. First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety of the newborn infant rests with the parents—with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the precautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

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# 10

## *The Mourning Ceremony*

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bahúkiwa* subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Uménahonkü* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *otwinu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day ceremonies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. The three-day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

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765 534 114 769 [773] for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjíko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkû*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 786 [154] The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the substance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 562 [536] [775] [614]

765 562 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritualized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

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53 765 [776] The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaíwû*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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its inevitable crescendo of excitement and disorder, dances and songs are interchanged.

In the course of the ceremonies, the relationship between the nonhuman world of the masked representations and the people, represented by the women, becomes increasingly more intimate, culminating, as we have already noted, in the total intimacy of coitus. The spirit of Cubeo ceremonialism is generally Dionysian. In religious excitement the Cubeo achieve a desired and temporary dissolution of the segmentation and conceptual separatenesses in normal social and religious life.

Koch-Grünberg (1906a), who observed part of an *dyne* in 1903 among the *Hehénewa*, saw in the masked dances two themes, an appeasement of evil spirits and fertility rites. My own information does not agree entirely with this interpretation. It is a fact that several of the masked dancers represent malevolent beings; the jaguar, that is the embodiment of the dreaded sorcerer, the butterfly, that symbolizes the act of sorcery, and the *abúhuwa* or forest monsters, that devour human victims. In addition the masked dancers represent the dung beetle and the vulture, eaters of offal and carrion. These creatures represent to the Cubeo the facts of death. Except for the *abúhuwa*, who are not taken too seriously, the most common agency of death is to the Cubeo a particular human enemy. Evil sorcery can be warded off by particular magical means. The masked dances, however, are not magical means for warding off danger. They are, rather, dramatic rituals whose purpose is to generate a frame of mind in which the fact of death is confronted and made to appear natural and tolerable. By coming to the house as guests, to dance, to sing, to drink chicha, and to "copulate" with women, the masked creatures are made to appear, finally, as a friendly part of the Cubeo world. The malevolent creatures are not singled out, but appear in the context of the whole ensemble of masked dancers.

As for the fertility theme, this has been a cherished cliché of earlier anthropology that promptly labeled any ritualization of sex as "fertility rites." The situation is more complex. The dancers do indeed represent male potency, but the simulated coitus emphasizes rather the carnal aspect of sex, for it is the older women, possessing the privilege of obscenity, whom the masked dancers "attack sexually."

## THE MASKS

The dance masks of the Cubeo are made of a white bark cloth called *ídwũ* (tree bark), which is also the name by which the masks are generically known.

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532 masks are generically known. Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has argued
114 that they are sacred, citing as evidence that after the ceremonies the
778 masks are burned. Many masks, however, are spared at the insistence of children who wish to play with them, and some masks are spared and used as storage sacks. Sanctity, I would say, is attached to individual masks, and is the sanctity of the being represented and not of the mask itself. Women, it is true, do not handle the masks, not out of taboo but rather out of the feeling that the masks are in the masculine domain. The masks represent spirits who are called generically
[776] [756] *takahédekoki* (bark-cloth spirits). These spirits are visible only to the shaman.[3] All masks have a common basic shape, a large triangu-
532 lar sack that fits over the head and covers the body to the knees. Armpits are always cut out, and sleeves that come below the elbow are sewn in. The bottom of the skirt is stiffened with a circular hoop, and sleeves and skirt are hung with bark fringes. The masks have a head section, a middle section, and a bottom part. The head section is ordinarily painted with a face design that has eyes and a nose but not necessarily a mouth. Two eye holes and a nose hole are sometimes torn through for the wearer's convenience and do not correspond to the painted design. In some masks the head section is soft and in others it is surmounted by a calabash, painted brown or black, depicting a skull top; or the calabash itself has a face design painted on it and depicts, therefore, the face. The middle section is divided into several panels, half of them at the front and half at the rear. Each panel is painted in a geometric pattern that depicts the characteristic body features of the being that is to be represented. Fish, for example, have scale designs, and birds and flying insects wing designs. These designs are painted with great care by men who are particularly proficient. They follow traditional forms rather casually, however, each artist giving his own interpretation. The Cubeo do not quibble about the details of design. The fact is that no one can identify a particular representation with certainty without knowing who has made it. Only some of the masks, such as Jaguar, Butterfly, and *Abúhuwa*, are distinctive enough to be immediately recognizable. These masks, incidentally, also seem to be the most important.

532 The use of ceremonial masks is common enough in South America,
171 as Professor Alfred Métraux (1948) has observed, but we have as yet little information as to their meaning, nor do we know their full distribution. What is certain, though, is that masked cults have

[3] Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has observed that while the animal represented may be harmless, the spirit itself is magically powerful.

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765 larly, they have adapted harvest and demon cult ceremonies to an-
174 cestral cult rites. Evidences of religious syncretism are important in
535 interpreting a complex ceremony. Thus, the fact that the mourning
532 rites commonly begin during the pupunha season and the fact that at one point in the ceremonies the men pelt the roof of the house with pupunha fruit to "frighten the women" must be evaluated in the light of the possibility that we are dealing with a portion of a foreign ceremony, incorporated in the structure of the *óyne*. Cubeo ancestral or initiative rites also include "harvest festival" elements. But in these, as in the *óyne*, the harvest theme is a minor one.

## MASK REPRESENTATIONS

532 Dr. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels through the Vaupés region, col-
776 lected some 50 different mask representations. My own observations
825 along the Cuduiarí covered 30. Altogether, there is now a combined
765 list of 62.[4] Since the masks are intended to portray *all* the living creatures of the Cubeo world the number of masks is potentially vast. No one ceremony uses them all. There are, however, key characters that are most commonly represented. These are Jaguar, Dung beetle, Carrion vulture, Butterfly, Aracú fishes, Eagle, Sloth, Parrot, Dragonfly, Minnows (who are not masked but are an important element in the ceremonial dramatization), *Pyénkü* (a small black fish), Frogs, and a variety of cannibalistic ogres or forest demons, the *Abúhuwa*. Informants would not say which of the masked representations was most important, presumably because invidiousness is, to the Cubeo, in poor taste. Judging, however, by their prominence, I would say that Jaguar, Butterfly, *Abúhuwa*, Dung beetles, Carrion vulture, and Aracú fishes were most important, more or less in that order. Except for the aracú, the esteemed fish of the region, these creatures all have
532 an association with death. The jaguar is, of course, the dreaded sor-
825 cerer. The sorcerer is called *yavi* (jaguar) and the Cubeo regard any
754 jaguar as likely to be either a sorcerer or a sorcerer's dog. The morpho
765 butterfly with its beautiful blue wings is a creature of sorcerers and of
[753] evil. The information Koch-Grünberg received was that the morpho butterfly (*tatárako*) lives at Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés, where he brews malaria in a calabash and strews it over the land (1909, II, 181). I did not hear this account, but I was told that when a sorcerer is cooking a brew that will kill a victim at a distance the morpho butterfly appears and encircles the pot. Finally, it falls in and is consumed and at that moment the victim dies.

[4] See the end of this chapter.

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Makálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamóiwa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kavá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

*yavirárü yavirákü* [repeated]
*yavirárü maníka*
*yavirárü ya*
*ho ho ho o ho.*

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákü* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiarí River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yaví*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

The mask of Butterfly (*Tatárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kaviré kaviré* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiarí.

Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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a dwarf pair, several pairs of giants, a great owl demon, and two kinds of *abúhuwa*. I saw three *Abúhuwa*. The *Abúhuwa* are made to appear grotesque. Their masks are of coarse brown bark cloth and, unlike any other dancer, they sometimes wear bark-cloth trousers. One Indian said to me rather maliciously, "They are like the white man." One of the *Abúhuwa* not wearing trousers had large flapping breasts of bark cloth and was a "wife." The headpiece has a calabash to form a face painted with human features. The masks are intended to be as grotesque as possible. Since the *Abúhuwa* act clownishly, they induce in the spectators only mock alarm. The *Abúhuwa* have no song of their own and no fixed dance. They are free to improvise. There are two kinds of improvisation: wild when young men impersonate them, and listless and lolling when acted by old men. While the Jaguars act to build up a sense of violence, the *Abúhuwa* work to create disorder. Thus, no masked dancers will enter the women's quarter through the rear or women's door except the *Abúhuwa*. They burst in through the rear door, hopping in short strides as though they were on pogo sticks. They interfere with dances and perform a number of amusing skits.

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The Dung beetles (*Keratamówa*) are a pair. The masks have a white facepiece with a pair of eyes, or sometimes with no features at all. The body design includes the wide bars of the insect's body flanked by lozenge designs on each side. The headpiece is surmounted by a short hourglass-shaped tube of splints and bark cloth. They dance holding hands. Each holds a short stick. In a dance Koch-Grünberg saw, they pushed along another stick on the ground in imitation, he noted, of their work as cleaners. I saw them holding their short sticks before them like wands. Their dance is a slow movement, forward and back. The songs recorded by me and by Koch-Grünberg are not the same.

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The Carrion vulture (*Kavá*) wears a mask with human features, although Koch-Grünberg saw one that he described as "naturalistic." The main design consists of very large lozenges (to depict the large feathers of the bird) flanked by horizontal bars suggesting outspread wings. The Carrion vulture carries a short stick held against the back of his neck, its ends extending over his shoulders, where his upraised hands hold it in place. The dancers bow gracefully from the waist to suggest the bird's soaring flight.

The Aracú (*Borikakü*) are usually represented in their several varieties. The headpiece is built up to a high peak made of splints covered with bark cloth in an hourglass design. The Aracú dance slowly, in pairs, and hold hands. Each carries a ten-foot pole bear-

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765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point 765 614 532 of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is [203] free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will [533] be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a [535] mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted [776] by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

## MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE *ÓYNE*

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

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"*Dekóků*[7] has punished you." Then other people came and wrapped the boy in his hammock, put him into a large jar, and buried him in the house. No one wept. After three days an old man began to think what people should do about death. They decided to have an *óyne*. They made dance masks. At first they did not know how to make bark cloth so they made masks of leaves. *Kúwai* came and told them this was not good. In one day *Kúwai* made all the bark-cloth masks for the people. They did not know how to paint the masks and *Kúwai* showed them how. They gathered red pigment and carbon soot, and by midday the masks were all finished. *Kúwai* climbed the duka tree. At the top he cut off the bark and brought it down to make the fringes for the skirt and sleeves. The people then divided the maloca into a men's and women's part. In the men's part an old woman sat down to sing. But soon the real *Xudjiko* came along singing and the people were frightened. But *Kúwai* said, "Don't be afraid. This old woman is *Xudjiko*, who has come to help you weep." The old lady ran away and *Xudjiko* took her place. Then *Kúwai* said, "When other people die do the same thing. Weep for a short time only." He told them to dance and sing. When they had finished *Xudjiko* went away. She no longer comes. Instead they make a horn.

*Xudjiko* and her consort live at Uaracapuri, the source of the Cubeo. They were the first of the Ancients to die and they were the first to make the bark-cloth masks. The headpieces of the masks are set with feathers; the most prominent vertical feather is said to represent *Xudjikū* and the most prominent horizontal feather is said to represent *Xudjiko*.[8]

## RITUAL THEMES IN THE *ÓYNE*

The five main sets of characters in the *óyne* each represent then one major ritual theme: the women represent weeping; the masks, the concern of the living world for the deceased as well as for the living; the minnows, the boisterous character of young men;

[7] The term means "ghost" or "spirit" but it has here the connotation of "Great Spirit." However, since I did not learn of a Cubeo belief in a Great Spirit the allusion is puzzling, and is to be considered as unexplained.

[8] The apparent inconsistency between this account and the previous one referring to *Kúwai* illustrates two strands in Cubeo mythical thought. One strand, nonancestral, focuses on *Kúwai*, a figure of the Arawakan tribes. The other strand is ancestral and is, perhaps, truly Tucanoan. The Cubeo do not reconcile both strands. The question of which version is produced depends on the context, which may be either general or ancestral.

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765 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I ob-
775 served the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around
266 him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an
114 urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in
824 the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. There-
783 after, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for
775 at least another generation.

532 **MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *ÓYNE***

765 **Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons**

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| 1. *Makuko* | (K-G)[a] | A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun. |
| 2. *Kohako* | (K-G) | Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them. |
| 3. *Hailako* | (K-G) | A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand. |
| 4. *Palutxiko* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 5. *Anauako* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 6. *Abúhuwa* | (K-G;IG)[b] | Forest demons. |
| 7. *Hokoaboxoko* | (K-G) | Giant tree demons. |

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

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171 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of
184 caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe
266 that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wal-
lace, 1870, p. 498).

765 Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéwa. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabucuris, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enivrant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'energie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 173).

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| 8. *Valuliaboxoko* | (K-G) | A giant demon, killer of fish, who is actually the carara bird, a great devourer of fish. |

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**Birds**

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|---|---|---|
| 9. *Murukutuko* (*pupuli*) and | (K-G) | The owl. Has a mask covering only the head. |
| 10. *Hauhabo* | (K-G) | Holds a torch in one hand and a stick in the other and jumps up and down in imitation of the owl jumping from branch to branch. Regarded as an evil devourer of people. |
| 11. *Kavá* | (K-G;IG) | The carrion vulture. |
| 12. *Miavi* | (K-G;IG) | The eagle. The mask has a white facepiece with an hourglass frame surmounting it. |
| 13. *Kolapilabo* | (K-G) | A small prey bird. |
| 14. *Kulika* | (K-G) | A bird of the parrot family. |
| 15. *Vekó* | (K-G;IG) | A bird of the parrot family. |
| 16. *Kobauako* | (K-G) | A bird of the parrot family. |
| 17. *Olo mo oko* | (K-G) | The aracua. |
| 18. *Umanami* | (K-G) | The tem tem (*Tachyphonus*). |
| 19. *Yoloueua* | (K-G) | Swallows. |
| 20. *Pinikabokü* | (IG) | A small white bird. |

**Fish**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 21. *Borikakü* | (K-G;IG) | The aracú. |
| 22. *Máiwyo* | (K-G;IG) | The red mouthed aracú. |
| 23. *Avali* | (K-G) | A small aracú. |
| 24. *Pyénkü* | (IG) | A small black fish. |
| 25. *Ihiabolü* | (K-G;IG) | A small fish. |
| 26. *Haima* | (K-G) | The yaudia. |
| 27. *Batakahaima* | (K-G) | The black yaudia. |
| 28. *Auaholabo* | (K-G) | The colored aracú. |
| 29. *Iyudyo* | (K-G) | A small aracú. |
| 30. *Emiwa* | (IG) | Minnows. |

**Insects**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 31. *Kerataméwa* | (K-G;IG) | Dung beetles. |
| 32. *Tatárako* | (K-G;IG) | The butterfly. |
| 33. *Maka* | (K-G) | A bird catching spider. |
| 34. *Pekú penkünkü* | (IG) | Beetle larvae. |
| 35. *Budyauobo* | (K-G) | The leaf bug. |
| 36. *Bobobo* | (K-G) | The house spider. |
| 37. *Uménahonkü* | (K-G;IG) | The dragonfly. |
| 38. *Malakaibo* | (K-G) | A large night butterfly. |
| 39. *Bobako* | (K-G) | A small night swarmer. |
| 40. *Kumatidiauo* | (K-G) | A caterpillar. |
| 41. *Tadyiwa pikoa* | (K-G) | A caterpillar. |
| 42. *Kohidiveko* | (IG) | The cockroach. |
| 43. *Himáuwa* | (IG) | Caterpillars. |
| 44. *Utáwe* | (K-G) | The firefly. |
| 45. *Henohenóri* | (IG) | The bee. |
| 46. *Utcikü* | (K-G;IG) | The wasp. |
| 47. *Kubuwa* | (K-G) | Sand flies. |

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# 11

## *Religion*

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. 771
Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, 776
fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekûpwänwa* and 787
*Kúwai* the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which specific results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious attitude must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of relations among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one neither commands, nor submits. People enter willingly into a relationship that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood. In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seek to establish a relationship with a supernatural being. [787]

The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in 771
another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and 769
chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them [866]
grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikü* they [765]
come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are [614]
invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how-

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769 ever, does not compel them to make the sib child grow. The Cubeo think it absurd to suggest that the *Bekûpwänwa* might need any urging to do for the sib what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing. It is impossible for a Cubeo to say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have withheld a benefit or that they can be made to do more under
771 some circumstances and less under others. What is required – and the
769 Cubeo do not say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have set requirements – is
787 that a proper mode of social intercourse be established and maintained. The spirit and the manner of social intercourse must be correct, however, although not letter perfect. The spirit in which the social intercourse is carried out is more important than the ritual act. Many Cubeo ceremonies are abridged because, as they explain, the mood was wrong. Guests who should have come did not, and in the feeling of disappointment the ceremony is cut short. An error in a chant, in a dance, in a song, or in a ritual sequence is of no impor-
771 tance. Failure to conform to the rules of social intercourse with the
769 supernatural beings, such as the Ancients, may have serious conse-
784 quences only if the neglect is deliberate. In any case, *Bekûpwänwa* do not punish. They only withhold. In the case of the boy who ran away from his whipping at the hands of the *Bekûpwänwa*, my informants assured me that he would not be deprived of a year's growth. Since they, the elders, were prepared to forgive the youngster his uncontrollable timorousness on this occasion, the Ancients, they knew, would do likewise.

771 The Ancients are not referred to as "spirits." The term for spirit
769 is *dekökü* and has, for the Cubeo, a more alien connotation than the
[776] term *Bekûpwänwa*. The Ancients or the ancestors are referred to by name so that association with them conveys directness and immediacy. I believe that it is for the sake of maintaining a sense of immediacy and of directness with the *Bekûpwänwa* that the Cubeo do
[778] not place them in some ancestral abode in some other world. The Ancients, to be sure, are known to have been buried in the ancestral rocks from which they emerged, at the rapids of Uaracapuri and Yurupari. But the burial place is not their place of abode. Strictly speaking they have no place of abode. The flutes and trumpets that embody them reside in a *cuño* near the main stream of the sib. The Cubeo do not, however, claim that these sacred crypts are the resi-
[775] dences of the Ancients. The ordinary dead, on the other hand, do have an abode. The point of distinction for the Cubeo is that the ordinary dead have been sent away and are no longer welcome, whereas the Ancients, who are not spirits of the dead in the ordinary sense, are always welcome.

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Apart from the Ancients there is *Kúwai*, who has been referred to here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the area share *Kúwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. There are no rites involving *Kúwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Kúwai* in the past. *Kúwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Kúwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Kúwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Kúwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkü* (my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*kawáno*) in a house with his wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkü*, an Ancient, but *himénihinkü* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been badly understood by the Indians of the Cuduiari, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkü* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without exception reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupían and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahükiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true beneficent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

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771 move against other powers or forces. That is to say, the Cubeo know that growth, potency, and fertility are part of the ordinary scheme of things and that there is no force conspiring against such ordinary developments. The *Bekûpwänwa* are not thought of as jealous, sensitive, threatening, or likely to take offense. It is noteworthy, too, that the emphasis in growth is upon the individual far more than it is upon the more abstract concept of sib. The Ancients will not guard the people against any unexpected dangers. To guard against menace, whether general or specific, there are specific measures that the sibmen themselves must take.

771 All other anthropomorphic beings in the Cubeo cosmos are either
• 776 menacing, mischievous, or harmless. Menace from supernaturals, however, is relatively moderate, not to be minimized but lacking in dread. The only menace that truly frightens the Cubeo is that which they attribute to persons.

776 The *abûhuwa* are cannibalistic forest monsters, the bogy men of the children. At the mourning ceremonies they are made to appear grotesque and absurd and hence harmless. There are many stories of human encounters with *abûhuwa* as ogres. In most, the *abûhuwa* are overcome. They can be outwitted, caught, and killed.

The story is told of an old woman alone in the maloca with two young children. *Abûhuwa* entered the house and the children were able to escape by climbing up to the house beams. But the old woman was caught. An *abûhukû* rolled her between his palms until she became all soft and he sucked her out from the top of the head in the way a Cubeo child eats a banana. He hung her skin over the branch of a tree. When the others of the maloca returned they saw an *abûhuwa* family within. They set capsicum afire at the door of the house and as the *abûhuwa* sought to escape its acrid smoke, that is noxious to all unwanted spirits, they struck them down with clubs and killed them all.

Another tale is told of a hunter who, in the woods at night, was seized by the throat from behind. It was an *abûhukû*. He struggled with it and killed it with a knife. In the morning he went to see it and it had taken the form of a sloth. *Abûhuwa*, it is said, are all very
[754] hairy. Their armpit hair makes a very potent sorcery "poison." Any man who is bold enough may seize an *abûhukû* and tear his armpit
[821] hair. It is said that the ogre can be seized only when the moon is in eclipse or is red and low in the sky. The hair must be from the left armpit and can be cut only with a corn husk. It is cooked until reduced to ash, and then is mixed with water and allowed to dry to a paste in the sun. The paste is kept in a small gourd dish sealed with

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beeswax. When enemy *Maúnwa* attack, the paste is thrown among them, causing them to fall stupefied to the ground. It is the shaman, however, who can contend with these orgres most successfully. The *abúhuwa* are frightening to behold, the Indians say, because they have two faces, one in front and one in back. Some have sticky bodies and when they embrace an unwary victim he can no longer escape. A mother and child are favorite targets of these *abúhuwa*. The mother is killed and the child is reared as one of them. It in turn then seizes people. Female *abúhuwa* have a preference for men and the *abúhukü* tries to catch a woman. 776 [789] [756]

*Nyúma abúhuko* (Deer ogre) is a black ogress, an evil spirit of the deer, who catches children wandering about alone. She tosses them into the air so as to break their necks and then and there eats them.

Another ogre is *Opómbibekü*, a dwarf with an enormous penis, who flies about at night, seizes little boys, and eats them.

*Kómi* is also an ogre, one who emerged with the first people. Eventually people caught him and burned him alive. They then noticed that whatever came near his ashes died. Sorcerers still go to fetch his ashes for their "poisons." [754]

Snakes, the boa and anaconda in particular, are dangerous to women. The land boa rapes women in their manioc gardens so that they give birth to snakes. The water anaconda attacks menstruating women who come to the river. A menstruant is endangered by land snakes, too, but can ward them off by painting with genipa. Nothing, however, will protect her in the water. The water anaconda is a threat to a newborn child and to its father as well. This menace, however, is easily counteracted by the simple magical techniques of the old men. The dangerous anaconda is the white anaconda and not the ancestral black anaconda, which is regarded as friendly "because he knows his people." He is not venerated and is not the object of ritual although he is represented in petroglyphs on the Cuduiarí. In the old days, I was told, he was kept as a household pet but for sentimental reasons only. 776 825 [841] [789]

The river is also the home of the *muápwänwa* (fish people), who are anthropomorphic spirits. They are small people who live in a house beneath the river and move about at night, sometimes brushing moistly against travelers and frightening them but otherwise harmless. 776

The fish, who are of great importance in Cubeo ceremonials, not only in the *óyne* but in their own fish dances and fish songs by which the Cubeo celebrate great catches, are a "people." They, too, live in a house and have a chief, *Munyúnbekúku* (Old man *munyún*), a 776 825

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776 mythical fish with a mouth that has the lower jaw of the puño and
825 an upper jaw shaped like the beak of a parrot. Should a menstruant enter a canoe he will break it to bits. The Cubeo do not say that their fish ceremenials are for the purpose of promoting success in fishing. Their view rather is that when they are happy with a catch of fish they enjoy dancing with them. Increase magic may underlie the Cubeo relationship with fish. But if it does they either no longer recognize the instrumental motive or else they refuse to acknowledge it.

825 As with the *Bekũpwãnwa*, the Cubeo relationship with the animal
771 world is largely one of establishing proper social relationships. In such relationships compulsion is out of place. In the animist world view of the Cubeo the entire animal world is communicant with the world of man. Some relationships, as has been noted, are dangerous, and therefore stand out in a special category. Among the dangerous relationships is that of the jaguar. Since the jaguar is identified with the shaman, it is more suitably discussed under the heading of shamanism. There are birds, such as a parrot called *bauvéko* and marúku monkeys, who are feared because they are foretellers of misfortune. For the rest, and with the exceptions noted previously, the relationship between man and the animal world is casual and friendly. On the river, as we have already observed, the Indians address birds and fish by name. Their intense interest in domesticating animals of almost every variety as household pets must also be considered as part of the effort at communication of a concrete form.

825 The birds, *miwa*, are friendly spirits. They emerged, it is said,
776 from Uaracapurí with the Ancients and were originally in human form. The birds are the planters of fruits and berries and are their
[273] guardian spirits. They are appropriately at the same time the guard-
[532] ian spirits of intoxication, a bird with a corn-cob body and wings of
[765] a manioc tray fragment presiding in that capacity over the *óyne*.

The luminary *aiyá*, who is both sun and moon, is a more distant
776 anthropomorphic spirit.[1] The Cubeo interest is in the moon, the li-
821

[1] The doctrine of *aiyá* as both sun and moon is mythological only. It does not mean that the Cubeo do not distinguish clearly between these two bodies. *Aiyá* refers to the anthropomorphic being whose activities are actually in moon form; it refers also to direction. East is called by the Cubeo *aiỹádaino* (*aiyá* [the sun] is coming). West correspondingly is expressed as "*aiyá* is going." To express time, however, the sun is referred to by the particular name of *handwũhakũ*, an anthropomorphic form that has, however, no anthropomorphic connotation to my knowledge. *Handwũ* refers to time in the abstract, while *handwũ korika* (sun in the center) means "midday." All specific times are given by describing the position of the sun in the sky. The word for "day" or "daylight" is *hánan* and is apparently based upon the verb root *ha* (to see). The Cubeo disclaim any anthro-

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaíbo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

[796] [754]

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

821 [775] [763]

## HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[8] As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

774 [828] [761] [753] 775 [756]

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pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyá* form.

[776] [821]

[8] Koch-Grünberg (1915–18) also noted *umédde* (pulse) and *umédude* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédeal*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yaví* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yaví* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yaví*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yaví*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yaví* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives. 754 756

The *yavís* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokübéwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yaví* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakü dekókü* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several [828] [177] [776] 754 795 825

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754 278 824 682 at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale accounts for the origin of *pená*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekûpwänwa*. Suddenly *Kómi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kómi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kómi* told them to take him to a creek called *Manánkanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kómi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the Cuduiari from Arawakan Indians by way of the Querari.

754 278 824 682 539

278 824 Curare (*himá*) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only in war and not as a secret potion.

751 As a far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutefidü*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

75 776 789 791 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man. The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parikũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*wei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhã*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yavi*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behõrũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would be shown where we could sling our hammocks. 576 [123]

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punctuated by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst themselves. They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling on his body. 562 522 888

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre Elorza only the month before we arrived. 797

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these are evil spirits. 776

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead, usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma. 775 774 756

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over a man's life. 776 775

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and 000

weeks to carve into the hard rock. It is possible that some in the past represented boundary marks. The Indians do not appear to recognize territorial areas within the forest, but they may have rights to fish over certain sections of the rivers. 172

It is unlikely that the engravings can be ascribed to any one period and there seemed little resemblance to contemporary Indian art. Certainly Tukano design is mostly limited to triangles and crosses, and relies more on colour than form. The most striking example we saw was the Tatuya *maloca* on the Piraparaná, the bark front wall of which was covered with a series of cross, square and triangle designs coloured with brown, yellow and white river clays and a black charcoal compound. But this is by far the most dramatic example of Tukano art, with the possible exception of the elaborate body painting and the magnificent head-dresses used during the festivals. Their pottery, though finely made, bears no design, except for a pot containing the narcotic *yajé*, used only by the elders during certain festivals and curing sessions. This is covered with different coloured clays, charcoal and red *karayuru* dye. Similar triangular coloured designs are also found on the *yarumo* dancing-staves. 531 532

The most common type of engraving is the fretted design on the gourd maracas used during tribal dances. One end of the pebble stave, a lance-like rattle used by the shaman, is also carved with lines and triangles together with a pattern of bird feathers, said to give it greater magical power. This stave and a drinking gourd with an elaborate circular design of triangles, loops and chevrons, we tried to obtain for our collection, but without success. Certain articles were so highly regarded by the Indians that they would not part with them, no matter what they were offered in exchange.

Of all the rock engravings we saw, that of Ni the river god (see drawing on p. 31) was by far the most striking. Travelling on from Kaperwa, we came to an unusually long set of rapids through which we guided the boat with our paddles. We were concentrating so hard on the rapids and the water swirling around the boat, that the unexpected sight of a pyramid of rock jutting massively out of the river in front came as rather a shock. Even more unexpected was the grotesque figure cut deeply into the granite face of the giant boulder. With arms and legs outstretched he seemed to dominate the river, to embrace it with a hypnotic spell. 532 776

Unlike the other carvings we saw, Ni was engraved in granite. The finely-drawn lines, carved half an inch deep, gave symmetry to the life-size figure which must have taken an Indian craftsman months of labour to create. Our own steel knives were easily blunted by the hard crystalline rock.

Ni faced upstream into the setting sun. Behind, on the east slope of the rock, were suns and a quarter-moon. The suns, some with emanating rays, were composed of a series of three or four concentric rings up to two feet in diameter.

*Tukano*

115 Hitherto José had remained silent and appeared to know nothing of these engravings nor had he given us any indication of their whereabouts. This was surprising, for, being himself a Barasana, of a Tukano clan, he was presumably aware of their existence. Then one evening, perhaps encouraged by our curiosity, he told us the following anecdote:

101 773 776 'The Barasana have always lived here, they were born here. They and the Taiwano have always been friends and had common enemies in the Tatuya, Karapana and Ureti whom they used to fight with bow and arrows. They both have the same god who has power over all things. It is he who made Ni, in his own likeness, the drawings have been here for ever, and this is the only place where they occur. The other Indians do not have them.' He pointed to a great natural pillar of granite called the Bee, which stood in the river upstream of Ni: 'That rock was once a pile of manioc, which the people had placed there. Ni turned it into stone. Below the rapids is the underwater cave, his palace, where the god sings to the drawings and the spirits.'

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6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



123 437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 171 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 778 562 171 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nutshells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 171 825 [777] When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

/275 cont./

756 another pajé, as though serving as an apprentice. It is not rare for a more famous pajé to attract more students to his school and to give them collective training (25).

25. Near Taracuá-ponta, in the maloca of Sussuaca, according to what Mons. Lourenço Giordano attests, around 1917, there lived a famous pajé who always had numerous students, so that they constituted something like a "Faculty of Native Medicine" in his hut. We also heard about a prestigious pajé from Iauareté, João by name, who on one occasion prepared five pajés in Melo Franco (river Papurí).

/276/ f) Preparation of the xamã /shaman/ (26).

[115]

26. Report by the Taryana Indian from Iauareté, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who took the course for pajé training.

[192] [778]

The preparation of a pajé is a long one. Besides the theoretical instruction they receive, they also use various magic substances and instruments, called Wĩhõ (27),

27. Wĩhõ is probably derived from Wĩhĩ, to smell, and, properly speaking, designates the substances that they inhale or smell, like the paricá /Leguminosae/, almost all of them of intense odor, some capable of going so far as to stupefy. Perhaps, by an extension of the meaning, the term Wĩhõ came to indicate also the container of these substances.

all of them of legendary origin, some of which are supposed to have appeared mysteriously, and passed on from pajé to pajé.

*192 /276 cont./
273 When an old pajé wants to prepare a son of his to practice as
756 pajé, he initiates the preparation during the first months, putting
on him, for three months, a Wĩhĩõ applied to the navel, Wĩhỹõ
• 778 peomĩ kã max-kõ-ré. This Wĩhiõ is roundish in shape, of a hard-
ened substance, the origin of which is lost in legend, according to
[262] what they asserted to us. During these three months the pajé
must also have a light diet, as precaution, almost exclusively
mingau and chibé.

Later, after removing the first Wĩhĩ /sic/, he fits to the navel, for some five months, the Axpá--khwĩ-re Wĩhĩõ, which consists of a small and roundish stone of quartz some two to three centimeters in diameter.

Later on he will apply to him the Wĩhĩõ of tucumã nut, well painted with carajurú /carajura/, called Õnõñá Wĩhĩõ (in Taryana Enúki).

There is a Wĩhĩõ in the form of rappee, which the pajé and the apprentice inhale; this is the Kaxséri Wĩhĩõ, obtained from the sap of some plants (uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/ and others), subjected to evaporation until it is reduced to a very fine powder.

The most marvelous one is the Wĩhĩõ-phĩ (in Taryana Kerá-yúki). It is a small stone of crystal, with a cavity and its cover. According to native belief, this apparatus goes back to the origin of the tribe and, mysteriously, contains a substance with a delicate and pleasant perfume. The pajé, once in a while during his lectures, uncovers the Kerá-yúki, in order for this to give off that perfume, which contributes to enlightening the intelligence of his disciples, placed in a semicircle in front of him.

They say that at a certain time of the year, around April, this substance dries up and almost disappears, and by the months of June-August it begins to give off scent by itself.

756 /277/ At 15 years of age the intensive course for the office of
pajé begins, and it lasts for 15 years more or less. The candidate
[582] may not marry until after finishing the course.

/316 cont./

287 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadú bags.
532 Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and
764 length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg
532 (Zwei Iahre, p. 236), the Taryana wore masks also at the feast
• 778 of Wãx-tĩ. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the Ide-masã of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called Waxtĩ (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a) Difficulties.

177 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters
771 of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

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121 /Footnote 5 cont./ If he conceives it as personal potency, or better "spiritual Being," whom he respects and propitiates by the cult, we then have a religious cult and a Religion. Now it seems to us that we have found indications, even though vague, of a cult and a Religion in the tribes of the Uaupés.

346 Taken in the first meaning, it is affirmed that the Indians of the Uaupés do not have religion, since neither temples in which to worship God (6)

175 346 778 6. This absence has been noted since the time of the discoveries. It is true that Frei Gaspar de Carvajal ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 51), describing the voyage of discovery of Francisco Orrelana /sic/ in 1540, speaks to us of the cult of the sun, with temple and altar: "On this day (Monday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 5, 1540) we moored at an aldeia of medium size, where the people were waiting for us. There was a very large plaza there, and in the middle of the plaza a large plank in a square of ten feet, painted and sculptured in relief, representing a walled city, with its enclosure and a door. On this door there were two very high towers with their windows, the towers with the doors facing each other, each door with two columns. This entire work was supported on top of two very ferocious lions, which were looking back, as though wary of each other, and supported it on the forelegs and on the claws. In the middle of this plaza [782] there was a hole where they put down, as offerings to the sun, the chicha, which is the

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 477 ]

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/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to, and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

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"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

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This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

*192 /337 cont./

534 Mĩrĩ is probably from the same root as mĩrĩ, which means drowned, immersed, hidden under the water (44).

44. We were not able to learn of any sign of special veneration toward the water of the rivers. Nevertheless it is in the water that they hide the sacred instruments, an indication, so it seems to us, of their original matriarchalism. Just as the human being comes from the maternal liquid, so does Wãx-tĩ appear for the feast, coming from the water, represented by the instrument Mĩrĩ. According to legend, the first human beings came from the water of the cachoeira of Ipanuré. We have observed, besides, that while bathing the natives immerse themselves a few times. Likewise when our oarsmen jump out of the canoe in order to drag it across the rocks, they also immerse themselves, even when there would be no need for it. When they swim, we have noticed that they prefer to do it with the face immersed in the water.

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778 Hence the concept of occult, sacred. We have heard talk of objects that were mĩriá, that is, occult, mysterious.

276 Tobacco is a magic substance. As a matter of fact, it is one of the principal and most used curing methods of the

778 pajé. The smoke from the cigar can neutralize the malefices, drive away the storms, or attract them to a certain place, has an exorcising force in births and puberty initiation. For this reason it is even given to children three or four years old to smoke, at the feasts as well as outside of them.

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Those who feel tired go to sleep. In the morning they take their bath, drink their mingau, and leave freely, that is, not all at once, but without a formal farewell, in small groups. Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Tauúcurí) tells that he saw them all leave solemnly in another procession as far as the landing place, as at their arrival.

b) Poosé with the mysterious instruments -- flagellation.

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According to the statements by the Tukano pajés Henrique from Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), the sacred instruments, or mĩriá (jurupari's) (62),

> 62. A young man gave us the following explanation: "This instrument is very old; the one who found it was a man who had a son and two daughters. The daughters stole the instrument, and a bird played it very well. Now fearful that they might steal it again, they do not let it be seen, nor do they tell this story in the presence of the women." This deficient information reminds one of the legend of Uaracapá (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

are used only during the poosé (dabacurís) of fruit (cucura, patatuá, cunurí ucuquí, etc.), therefore not during those of fish (waí poosé). Even during those poosé, instead of the mĩriá, one might sound the flute mawáko (cf. 3, c (3c) ), as the Christian povoados closer to the Missionary Centers generally do. As we have indicated above, there are two types of mawako, both of imbauba, the larger one of about 30 to 40 centimeters, like a common fife, and blown by the upper orifice; the smaller one of 10 to 15 centimeters, with an orifice in the middle, laterally, by which one makes it sound. Two of the dabacurís that we attended in Iauareté were held with the latter.

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534 They organize the procession of Wãx-tĩ, which will take
• 778 the offering, as was described above, from the landing place
562 to the maloca, a procession in which only those of the masculine
786 sex who have gone through the puberty initiation rite participate. They walk naked, all painted, in front, hanging from the waist, the waxsó-ro (or tanga of tururi, see VII 3, d (2) ), sounding the instruments, which at the same time are shaken up and down, and with lateral movements and contortion of the body. The
*[192] shape of the instrument (65),

> 65. It is elongated, wrapped in the inner bark of tururi, which in Tukano is called waxsó-kõ (perhaps from the same root as waxsó, semen; see Note 41, VI-3, a).
> [532] Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 69) tells that on the rocks of the cachoeira of Hipada (Uaupuim-cachoeira, on the river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana) he found a representation of Kúay, son of Yaperikuli, with a long penis. It is proof, it seems to us, of the connection between the cult of Kóay, or Wãx-tĩ of the Tukano, and that of the phallus. Perhaps one is even justified in seeing a phallus in the instrument, and for this reason it might be a symbol of Wãx-tĩ or Kóay.

the movements they give to it, the body contortions of the participants, all the circumstances of this procession and the sexual liberties that go on during the feast, bring it close to the phallic processions of classical antiquity in the cult of Bacchus, and these native feasts well deserve the name of "Phallustanzen" /Ger. "phallus dances"/. There is even a similarity to the paroxysmal flagellations of the cult of Cybele of Greece and Rome, and of the Mediterranean civilization in general.

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Indian playing the mĩrĩ (jurupari)

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Always playing the mĩrĩá, the men surround the maloca where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door. Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play the mĩrĩá. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances. Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during the dances.

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534 At the great feast of Wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
• 778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

> 31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

/438 cont./

881 are flogged on the back with reeds four times by the Komũã,
562 keeping their arms crossed on the chest, and they can not cry (64).

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64. We were told of a young man who could not stand the blows and, feeling humiliated and scorned by those of the tribe, had to leave and place himself at the service of the whites in S. Gabriel.

Some child may hide in order to dry his tears, said an informant.

Handfuls of pepper are put in their mouths, and they are ordered to chew them. When there are several, they are arranged in a line, and with a stick they dig a hole, into which they are later going to spit. Not hitting the hole will be a reason for
*[192] punishment. At dawn they take a bath in the river; upon returning, they drink a little Kaxpí.

They are obligated for the great fast, be'tisé, and their obligatory food is the larvae of the wasps.

562 They spend whole hours sitting on the ground, listening to
869 the pajés narrating the traditions, telling the legends, teaching the obligations as members of the tribe, husbands, and fathers,
881 giving advice, fixing the relations with the neighboring tribes. These instructions are intermingled with caxiri and with the apprenticeship in the fabrication of the baskets, fishing nets, and other tasks of the men.

[534] While narrating the stories of the Mĩrĩã, they place one of
[778] the mysterious instruments beside each boy, so that he can observe it well (65).

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65. The instrument is an essential element for the male initiation. Besides the positive information obtained, it says the very name of the rite: "Na porá-ré mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mo-yẽrá," as the natives express themselves, that is, initiation of the sons with the mĩrĩã. This is also the opinion of Koch G. (Z. I. 220).

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66).

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother, in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
835 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public
881 sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).
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> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coianã Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirã-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361
household dishes, while tobacco, *mihi*, and coca are for ceremonial 241
purposes. 462

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351
entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361
kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562
staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622]
for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and
for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist
that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [178]
plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755]
medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear
plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521]
of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards,
and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip.
During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests
are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351
a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361
vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562
an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574
realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made
this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was
received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as
he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361
a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562
the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823
of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614]
Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534]
edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, [515]
to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833]
women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842]
But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621
high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512
of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing
that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahuhiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361
tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241
462

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621
512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712 In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner
[361] zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise at-
712 tack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the
725 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were
[123] confident they left the women and children behind in the house with a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach
504 where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza.
504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state
574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests
[417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be al-
[576] lowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men
504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning
796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe
[778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital
833

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532 masks are generically known. Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has argued
114 that they are sacred, citing as evidence that after the ceremonies the
778 masks are burned. Many masks, however, are spared at the insistence of children who wish to play with them, and some masks are spared and used as storage sacks. Sanctity, I would say, is attached to individual masks, and is the sanctity of the being represented and not of the mask itself. Women, it is true, do not handle the masks, not out of taboo but rather out of the feeling that the masks are in the masculine domain. The masks represent spirits who are called generically *takahédekoků* (bark-cloth spirits). These spirits are visible only to the shaman.[3] All masks have a common basic shape, a large triangular sack that fits over the head and covers the body to the knees. Armpits are always cut out, and sleeves that come below the elbow are sewn in. The bottom of the skirt is stiffened with a circular hoop, and sleeves and skirt are hung with bark fringes. The masks have a head section, a middle section, and a bottom part. The head section is ordinarily painted with a face design that has eyes and a nose but not necessarily a mouth. Two eye holes and a nose hole are sometimes torn through for the wearer's convenience and do not correspond to the painted design. In some masks the head section is soft and in others it is surmounted by a calabash, painted brown or black, depicting a skull top; or the calabash itself has a face design painted on it and depicts, therefore, the face. The middle section is divided into several panels, half of them at the front and half at the rear. Each panel is painted in a geometric pattern that depicts the characteristic body features of the being that is to be represented. Fish, for example, have scale designs, and birds and flying insects wing designs. These designs are painted with great care by men who are particularly proficient. They follow traditional forms rather casually, however, each artist giving his own interpretation. The Cubeo do not quibble about the details of design. The fact is that no one can identify a particular representation with certainty without knowing who has made it. Only some of the masks, such as Jaguar, Butterfly, and *Abůhuwa*, are distinctive enough to be immediately recognizable. These masks, incidentally, also seem to be the most important.

[776] [756] 532

532 The use of ceremonial masks is common enough in South America,
171 as Professor Alfred Métraux (1948) has observed, but we have as yet little information as to their meaning, nor do we know their full distribution. What is certain, though, is that masked cults have

[3] Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has observed that while the animal represented may be harmless, the spirit itself is magically powerful.

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765 273 152 Drinking at the *óyne* is disciplined and follows the emotional gradient of the ceremony. On the first day, which is intramural, the mood is somber and little chicha is taken. On the second day, when guests arrive and the mood is anger-grief, the drinking is still slow.

[574] Guests receive the welcome offering of chicha after their third entrance into the maloca and thereafter they drink during all intervals between dances. Formal drinking begins two hours before sundown.

765 273 276 152 The moment is signaled when the hosts brings in *mihi*, the symbol of intoxication. Only the older men take the potion. Thereafter all drinkers are free to grow excited. The elders remain restrained, however, since it is their role to license the excitement of others. They describe their own intoxication as an inner state. They feel a change in mood, they see color visions, but they do not overstep to overt excitement. That is the role assigned to the younger men.

766 273 276 152 562 The rate of drinking and the shift in mood gains momentum in the course of the interplay with the women. Women drink as much as men, but do not take *mihi* and do not get drunk. Their excitement is imparted to them by the men. Thus, the men drink to initiate excitement; the women drink so that they may react. When the men are not among them the women sit passively among their young, the dogs, and their household goods.

765 276 •[778] *Mihi* has magical power which the bearers portray dramatically. They pretend to stagger under its weight because *mihi* has power to fell a man. The people I asked did not know, however, why the bearer of *mihi* pranced with his torso bent forward and his knees kicked up high. The bearers whisper *he he he* and then whistle. These are the sounds of spirits and they are the same as the sounds made by the guests when they circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased. A Bundle of *mihi* vines is laid with the ceremonial remains during this dance. From a roof beam at the exact center of the house, where it overlooks equally the male half and the female half, hangs a vulture figure. The body is an ear of corn, the head is carved of wood, and the spreading wings and tail feathers are made of old basket fragments. The bird hangs like a mobile. It is said to be "drunk" on *mihi*, and it presides over the *óyne* to give the proper spirit of intoxication. The vulture of intoxication is the patron, so to speak, of the *óyne*.* Mobiles of other birds are also hung about the house, as are painted images of fish. I did not learn the significance of these.

765 532 276

* The vulture is thought of here not so much in the sense of its being a carrion eater, but for its quality of soaring. Compare *kará* (vulture) with *kavdno* sky.

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771 769 ever, does not compel them to make the sib child grow. The Cubeo think it absurd to suggest that the *Bekûpwänwa* might need any urging to do for the sib what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing. It is impossible for a Cubeo to say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have withheld a benefit or that they can be made to do more under 771 969 some circumstances and less under others. What is required – and the Cubeo do not say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have set requirements – is 787 that a proper mode of social intercourse be established and maintained. The spirit and the manner of social intercourse must be correct, however, although not letter perfect. The spirit in which the social intercourse is carried out is more important than the ritual act. Many Cubeo ceremonies are abridged because, as they explain, the mood was wrong. Guests who should have come did not, and in the feeling of disappointment the ceremony is cut short. An error in a chant, in a dance, in a song, or in a ritual sequence is of no impor- 771 tance. Failure to conform to the rules of social intercourse with the 769 supernatural beings, such as the Ancients, may have serious conse- 784 quences only if the neglect is deliberate. In any case, *Bekûpwänwa* do not punish. They only withhold. In the case of the boy who ran away from his whipping at the hands of the *Bekûpwänwa*, my informants assured me that he would not be deprived of a year's growth. Since they, the elders, were prepared to forgive the youngster his uncontrollable timorousness on this occasion, the Ancients, they knew, would do likewise.

771 The Ancients are not referred to as "spirits." The term for spirit 769 is *dekókû* and has, for the Cubeo, a more alien connotation than the [776] term *Bekûpwänwa*. The Ancients or the ancestors are referred to by name so that association with them conveys directness and immediacy. I believe that it is for the sake of maintaining a sense of immediacy and of directness with the *Bekûpwänwa* that the Cubeo do not place them in some ancestral abode in some other world. The An- [778] cients, to be sure, are known to have been buried in the ancestral rocks from which they emerged, at the rapids of Uaracapuri and Yurupari. But the burial place is not their place of abode. Strictly speaking they have no place of abode. The flutes and trumpets that embody them reside in a *caño* near the main stream of the sib. The Cubeo do not, however, claim that these sacred crypts are the resi- [775] dences of the Ancients. The ordinary dead, on the other hand, do have an abode. The point of distinction for the Cubeo is that the ordinary dead have been sent away and are no longer welcome, whereas the Ancients, who are not spirits of the dead in the ordinary sense, are always welcome.

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The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All the dead of the sibs of a river are joined together. While the individual spirit has his sib identity, the sibs do not exist in the afterlife as social entities. The *habikii* of the dead is *Mawitcikori*, grandson of *Djurédo*, an Ancient of the *Orobawa* and of other high-ranking sibs such as the *Hehénewa*, who was the first headman at Uaracapuri. However, the Cubeo have no great interest in speculating about the life of the spirits of the dead, since, except for the Ancients, they have no formal relationship with them. With the dead, the point is to break the bonds, and for this reason alone Cubeo speculation about the spirits of the dead is at best a moderate one. I have already related the story of the woman who, having died and been buried, returned to her husband and pleaded with him to take her back. It is said that if the husband had accepted her she would really have come to life, but that because he drove her away people who die remain dead.

In Freudian theory, fear of the dead is a projection of ambivalent feelings toward the living. From this point of view one would have to assume, most incorrectly, that the Cubeo are markedly lacking in the ambivalences of love and hate. The Cubeo attitude of neutrality toward the spirits of the dead is due rather to the fact that they attribute almost all misfortune to active human agency. If one is to look for evidences of ambivalence in Cubeo feelings toward kin the proper source is in the imputation of sorcery and not in the attitudes toward ghosts.

## THE CONCEPT OF POWER

An important concern of all instrumental, as distinct from ethical, religions is power, the grasp of power and its control and manipulation. Power, to be sure, is valued for its direct application to common human interests in food, safety, and the overcoming of enemies, to name but a few, but it would be rash to underestimate the sheer attractiveness of power acquired and power used for its own sake. In Cubeo religious thought, too, power is both instrumental and compelling in its own right. In keeping with the moderate role of power in social and political life, however, the power theme in religion is a muted one. The Cubeo do not attribute to anyone, man or supernatural being, grandiose powers. If anything, the Cubeo are rather conscious of the limitations of power. We have seen this in how little power they attribute to the Ancients. *Kiwai* is a more telling illustration of the point, for this being ordinarily fails when he is truly manipulating power, while his successes are in the ordinary relations

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of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

[192] [193]

778 756 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known as *pariékokũ* (man of power) or as *yaví* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékokũ* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yaví* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every *yaví* is a *pariékokũ* but not every *pariékokũ* is a *yaví*. The *yaví* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékokũ* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékokũ*, but *yavís* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yaví* and the *pariékokũ*, the Cubeo say of the former *urdna pariékokũ*, *urdna* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

[554]

The power of the shaman is called *parikũ*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an exceptional act it is his *parikũ*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleasantly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Shamanistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Generally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

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Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the shamans wage against one another. A *yaví*, I was told, has a different

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A yavi, I was told, has a different kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong *yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *pariékokü* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a *yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókü*) becomes a jaguar. According to this view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pudnyaviua* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahükiua* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*vei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhá*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yaví*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawá* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihi*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

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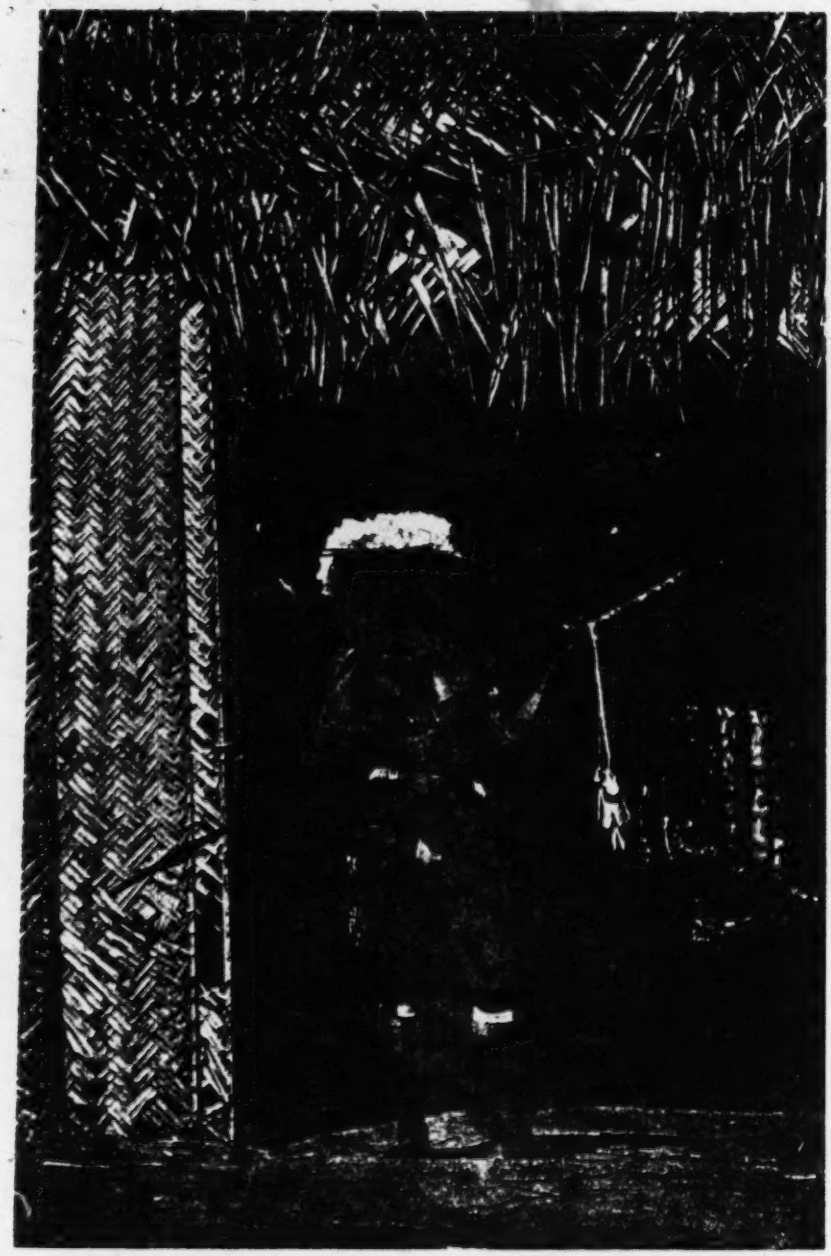

A Tukano shaman in festival regalia with his kurubeti pebble stave.

123 437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 171 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 778 562 171 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nutshells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 171 825 [777] When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

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121 /Footnote 5 cont./ If he conceives it as personal potency, or better "spiritual Being," whom he respects and propitiates by the cult, we then have a religious cult and a Religion. Now it seems to us that we have found indications, even though vague, of a cult and a Religion in the tribes of the Uaupés.

346 Taken in the first meaning, it is affirmed that the Indians of the Uaupés do not have religion, since neither temples in which to worship God (6)

175 346 778 6. This absence has been noted since the time of the discoveries. It is true that Frei Gaspar de Carvajal ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 51), describing the voyage of discovery of Francisco Orrelana /sic/ in 1540, speaks to us of the cult of the sun, with temple and altar: "On this day (Monday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 5, 1540) we moored at an aldeia of medium size, where the people were waiting for us. There was a very large plaza there, and in the middle of the plaza a large plank in a square of ten feet, painted and sculptured in relief, representing a walled city, with its enclosure and a door. On this door there were two very high towers with their windows, the towers with the doors facing each other, each door with two columns. This entire work was supported on top of two very ferocious lions, which were looking back, as though wary of each other, and supported it on the forelegs and on the claws. In the middle of this plaza [782] there was a hole where they put down, as offerings to the sun, the chicha, which is the

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775 825 however, to state more precisely as to whether the animal was already alive (so some opine) or was born at the moment when the human soul entered it; or whether it is a matter of a permanent or temporary condition.

756 774 According to some, it is only the souls of the bad ones that pass into the body of animals. That of the pajés can enter that of the onça /jaguar/ (15).

825 *[192]

15. The onça, if it is not starving, does not come to the povoados. When there is a lack of food, it growls in the vicinity of the malocas, attacks the dogs, and various episodes of its even entering the huts are cited. Pe. João Marchesi informed us that one time on the upper Papuri an onça killed two Indians and ate part of the cadavers. They set a trap beside the cadavers and managed to catch it. They did not have the courage to kill it, however (probably because they thought that the wãx-tĩ of the victims were in it). But around the trap and the cadavers they put wood and fire until everything was reduced to ashes. And they would cry and say: "You have killed our brother (the Tukano) and our slave (the Makú)," and "they thought that in the onça there was the spirit of a pajé" (so they explained to Pe. Marchesi).

It should be remembered that they call the pajé or sorcerer yai, a term that precisely means onça.

756 775 It is a more general belief that the souls of the pajés go to occupy the region of the thunder, from where they send storms and lightning bolts, thus avenging themselves on the men who killed them or did them harm. They think they propitiate them by sending them the smoke of the cigars or shaking the maracás, rites that the pajés performed while alive.

• [782] [276]

/335 cont./
823 legs (38),
532

38. One of these drawings is seen on a rock of the Cururú-cachoeira, river Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

prodigious belly, enormous head, would look with dread and say in a low voice: Wĩx-tĩ As if these representations were a perpetuation, in granite, of the memory of the terrible and feared monster. We have never witnessed any of these demonstrations of fear. Sometimes we have approached such petroglyphs and summoned near /336/ some Indians, and they have always appeared indifferent to such drawings. Moreover, we have found similar figures on the bark walls of huts and malocas, and, moreover, we have seen children draw them on the ground with a stick, and, therefore, without any semblance of religiousness.

764 It can, then, be affirmed that there is no indication of an individual cult. There is, nevertheless, a social cult to be discussed, which is realized in the maloca and its immediate surroundings. There are principally three manifestations of this social cult: the offering of the first fruits or dabaqui, the puberty initiation, and the funeral. All three of which a spiritual communion, tightening the solidarity of the group.

782
881

782 2) Religious feasts with offering of the first fruits.

796 Their Poosé are religious feasts, in our opinion (39),

[192]

39. An opinion that we have expressed since 1947 and that recently (1954) we verified to be also that of Koch Grünberg, who (Z. I. 372, and passim) distinguishes, moreover, religious dances and profane dances. Koch, nevertheless, accepts the translation demônio /demon/ for Wĩx-tĩ, and even for other personages of the native legends.

and were called by the first explorers, with a term from the Língua

• 782 /336 cont./
796 Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsá, dances of
*[192] Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts con-
[534] sist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩrĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

[123] Ordinarily the native does not know (41)
[124]
[177]
[869]

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

[115] The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506 ]

/337/

• 782 with the author: -- "These dances are the rites of the old ones,
796 it is their religion." And after having pointed out the respect
[115] that everyone has for such dances, he added: -- "If a drunken indi idual were to cross the line of the dancers, he would be thrown out; it is a great profanity, and he would be dishonored.

The sound of the instrument, we imagine, would stand for a propitiatory ceremony and dedication of the feast to Wĩx-tĩ (43).

[115]

43. We questioned various native women, even the most intelligent alumnae of the Missions, and all were convinced that the sound was the voice of Wĩx-tĩ present at the feast among the human beings. We have heard of episodes in which the presence of ugly, mysterious beings among the dancers was affirmed. It is to be noted that we heard such episodes related by women. Perhaps because of a greater reserve of the men? Or because of a more excitable imagination of the women? It should be observed that in the Tukano language all things belong to the neuter gender. Nevertheless, Mĩrĩ (or Mĩnĩ, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés) is masculine. They positively affirm to us that the Mĩrĩ is maxsã, people. In the plural it becomes Mĩriá; and it should be observed that the plural in a is exclusively for animate beings.

*[192] [193]

It is the renewing of his voice, the perpetuation of his teachings and orders, as it were.

/337 cont./

796 Such feasts are held five to six times a year; not at fixed
782 times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or
585 also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.
881 /338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tĩye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tĩ. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tĩ of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

[123] [124] [115] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled) of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in general the old people, who know more, are the most reserved. Asking the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

/357 cont./

776 It seems that we are faced with some confusion between
177 the primitive notions and the ideas that the travelers, colonizers, and Missionaries brought and even taught them in different epochs.

*192 Wãx-tĩ, we have concluded, is a general term to desig-
776 nate these various beings, like our word "Spirit." The term also occurs in the plural, Wãx-tĩã baxsá, dance of the Wãx-tĩ. Probably it is derived from the root wax, and from the substantivizing determinative tĩ. As a matter of fact, there is in the Tukano language the root wax, which would indicate: to imagine, idea, to form ideas, model. Wax-kũ means to think, perhaps from the root wax and the verb kũ, to put.

776 Among the different Wãx-tĩ or spirits, there is one par excellence, the "Wãx-tĩ," as we say "The Supreme, Most Perfect Spirit," or simply the Spirit.

Wãx-tĩ, as follows from the Uaupés legends (which we
776 shall examine in more detail in another study, "Lendas do Uaupés
• 782 /Legends of the Uaupés/"), is not only a Hero of the tribe, he is the Legislator, therefore the Supreme Lord. He punishes or will punish transgressions. In order to conjure away his punishments, it is important to propitiate him with particular rituals.
*[192] It can be seen in the poosé or wãx-tĩye baxsasé, sacrifices of fish, beijú, or fruits. And there is also communion of the group in the drinking and the smoking. The lyrics of the songs, today
[533] corrupted and without meaning, might perhaps have been the sacrificial hymns (68).

[115] 68. One of the students of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), José Barreto, told that his father, one of the most famous bayá, or singers at the feasts, and dance master, had taught him that the songs during the dabacurí or poosé recalled the creation of the human beings.

/362 cont./

823 In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?). If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not [784] look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a flat head.

825 One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because, without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

823 There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí, near the mouth of the stream Cuiú-cuiú, called Bará õxtã. If a young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and *[192] will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion of the cipo called yõx'kwá-dá (star cipo).

[103] Below the "island of the cuiubí," in the cachoeira of the Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Ã'á-fiõá (point of the louse), there is a rock called muhi-pũ õxtã (rock of the sun or of [782] the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there, deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering, presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro (agitation of the waters by the winds).

754 There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé) in the road or in the clearing:

*[192] 1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick: it is the yuxkõ dohó-kõ: the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

./430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present
[273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native cere-
monies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of
the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has
already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between
two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors
all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in
the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and
the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier,
have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has
in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the
ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar.
Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to
leave in the center, between the front door and the back door,
a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them
has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the
cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the
mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on
the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child
is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

/431 cont./

553 through life, as they have protected and accompanied his parents
782 and grandparents, who never failed to provide what is due the
[562] mothers of things. The litany is not short, and they spend hours in the invocation, made in a loud voice, but without accompaniment on the part of those attending, who, seated on the seats, in the hammocks, on the ground, wherever they can, fill the house, and drink cachiry, which is served abundantly by the women, who are in the kitchen and come only for this service. When the sun reaches the highest point, that is, at midday, the officiants, who remained smoking and drinking silently since the first invocation ended, start again. The third invocation begins about two hours before sunset; but then there are already found in the house not only the men, but also all the women and all the children, and everyone repeats in loud voices the name of each mother of things
[821] that the three elders invoke. The child who is to receive the name is left to play as it wishes in the middle of the room with the other children, if there are any, and when the last ray of the sun is about to disappear, the pagé, who with the child's father and the oldest relative has come out of the little room where he spent the day, holds it in his arms and, presenting it to the sun in such a way as to make it receive the last rays, says the name, and this is then
551 repeated by everyone in loud voices. The name that the child
553 receives is often the name which one of the grandparents already bore or some other name which might be pleasing at the moment, and this especially if it is a matter of the chief's child. Many times, however, the child's name is chosen and given to it in consideration of the object that it was holding at the moment when the pagé held it to present it to the sun, to the gesture that it made, to the word that it said, because then it is as if the sun itself /432/ had given it the name. This, then, explains how in many cases, when one looks for the meaning of the native names, one has the surprise of finding the most foolish meanings."

[177] It is observed at present that, even before the baptism, besides the Baxséke Wamẽ given by the pagé, it receives another Christian name, or, better, a name which the civilized customarily use. In general they are not called by name, except by this Christian name.

562 /444/
881 The rite ends with a bath of the dawn, Wãwa-'kãsé, which
• 783 makes us think of the bath of the dawn of the men at the feast of
*[192] Wãx-tĩ (VII-4, e (2 b); cf. Legend of the seizure of the mĩrĩã
instruments). A procession of these women who have been asso-
*[192] ciated with the rite, perhaps also other close relatives of the
[776] maiden, is organized. In front goes the pajé, smoking the path
with a piece of cooking pot, Ki-pu-tõ koró, with hot coals, pitch
/Port. breu, a kind of resin/, and pepper, and he will exorcise
the river, throwing in it the contents of the pot, in order to "chase
away the beast that is in the river" (81).

81. They explained that this beast was the piraboto /bouto/. Now such a mammal does not exist in the upper Uaupés, much less in the small igarapés. We are thus confronted with a transplanting of beliefs and legends.

562
881 The mother pushes the daughter into the water, and everyone will
785 take a bath (82).

82. Wallace (o. c.) further brings in here a detail which was not confirmed to us. It is the following: "When this time has passed (one month), the relatives and friends of the parents, who are invited for this, gather there on the designated day, each one of them bringing a piece of cipo (flexible climber). The girl is then taken outside the house, completely naked, to the center of the group, which is in the yard in front of the dwelling. Each one of those present on this occasion is obliged to give her five or six strong lashes with the cipo on the chest and on the back, crosswise, until she falls prostrate, unconscious, this sometimes resulting in her death; if,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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765 775 266 114 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I observed the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 824 783 775 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. Thereafter, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for at least another generation.

532 MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *ÓYNE*

765 776 **Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Makuko* | (K-G)[a] | A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun. |
| 2. *Kohako* | (K-G) | Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them. |
| 3. *Hailako* | (K-G) | A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand. |
| 4. *Palutxiko* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 5. *Anauako* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 6. *Abúhuwa* | (K-G;IG)[b] | Forest demons. |
| 7. *Hokoaboxoko* | (K-G) | Giant tree demons. |

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

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171 184 266 765 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wallace, 1870, p. 498).

Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéos. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabucuris, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enrivant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'energie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 173).

* 539 /341 cont./

V. Miriápura Majsá.

Yepá Huáke left six persons, three women and three men, in Diawí. And they are called Mariápura Majsá. They are in charge of the spirits of Miriá (5).

[534] [784]

5. Of the Yuruparises. Ceremonial flutes used in the initiation ceremonies for the pubescent boys. It is forbidden for women to see these flutes.

VI. Ñebariuajtí.

In Ñamiriwí, Yepá Huáke left a male and a female who are named Ñebariauajtí. And these two beings have the same human form as Boraró and Boraró Numió. And they kill and steal people's souls in the same way as Boraró and Boraró Numió do.

VII. Sexual Relations (6).

6. Name that the interpreter insisted on giving to the myth.

Yepá Huáke left in Diawí two brothers with their papa and mama. And the four were called Bajsébo Majsá. And they left Diawí and went to Bajsebowí. Before Yúpuri Baúro (7)

[773] [614]

7. Yúpuri Baúro is the most important mythological culture hero in Tukano /Tucano/ culture. He is also the founder of the sib /Sp. sib/ of the highest category among the Tukano.

discovered these lands, the Tukano /Tucano/ did not have children. In Bajsebowí, when the father of the Bajsébo Majsá, who

/162 cont./

829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always will-
262 ing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever
[177] is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauaretê did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during the chôco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

* [172]
• [784]

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they
273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí
[164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

/193 cont./

*192 because of their purpose, which is to kill the fish (wehẽ means
227 to kill), and in the Lingua Geral, puçá. It is a mesh of knots
284 made out of fibers of caroatá (Bromélia pinguis, Lin.), caroá (Neoglaziovia variegata Ar. Com.), or even tucum. The meshes are narrower or wider, according to the purpose.

[462] They are manufactured by the man. The pregnant woman
[784] cannot touch them, because the fishing would be fruitless. When they prepare their puçá, the men will remain silent, in order to have luck with the fishing.

They perform the work in two ways: either with successive knots, as the casting nets are prepared among the civilized; or using splinters of arumã /Ischnosiphon ovatus, Kcke./, tying them at intervals with caroatá knots, as if one were preparing /194/ a basket. Once this is ready, they take off the splinters and the caroatá knots present the desired net.

They manufacture them in two sizes: a larger one (jereré in Nheengatú), with the shape of a very wide funnel; it measures 1.5 meters or more in length and during the fishing is kept open by means of two poles tied at the ends, in such a way that, with the help of a third pole as a wedge, it almost forms a circle.

They also make smaller and funnel-shaped nets, ganapão /workman, porter/ type, fitted to a hoop equipped with a handle, such as are used to catch butterflies. It is with these that they catch the fish stupefied by the timbo.

It seems that all the men know how to weave their fishing nets, with the exception of the young men of the last generation.

4) Other woven products.

286 With the fibers of tucum or mirití they make those elegant
301 bands, yuxtá-seri, that they put on the legs (conf. VII -- 3, d
*[192] (1) ).

With these same fibers or with twisted embira they prepare some of the dance ornaments that must support the beautiful plumage.

They use monkey hide in order to make braids, which they wear as dance ornaments.

/224 cont./

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/footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

[263]
[251]

They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

[784]

It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunurí, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

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The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxirí, in Tukano pêru. The term caxirí, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxirí is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55);

55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

/235 cont./

226 278 *[192]

parí with a mat, not plaited, but with tightly connected vertical splints, which they set up with strong stakes at the chosen spot. On the night preceding the fishing, the opening is closed, so that the fish that have come in to eat cannot go back to the river. It is the siege of the fish, or waí-ãã. The timbo is beaten well, hitting it against the rocks or crushing it with a stick. The juice, which has a strong odor, spreads through the water, killing the small fish and stupefying the large ones, which will soon float. In order for the poison to reach the bottom layers of water, they also throw mud with the plant juice. Very early in the morning, then, the canoes leave (or they will have already left even earlier, if the spot is far away) with the whole family, men, women carrying the children, youngsters, the gear (67).

• [784]

67. Not, however, the pregnant women, because in this case the fishing would not have good results. If the dog goes in the water, they believe that the timbo will lose its strength.

On that day no one will eat mingau or anything sweet (68);

68. "I ate sweets and was lucky in fishing," objected Padre Afonso, a Montfortian Missionary from Teresita. -- "But the senhor is not one of us," the convinced Indian answered him.

they must go with an empty stomach; otherwise the fishing will be unfruitful. They will all try to enter the water simultaneously, advancing from upstream downward, yelling in unison (and anyone who does it late will be reprimanded), pwá-pwá-pwá, in order to frighten the fish. This act is called waí nãrã; it is the frightening of the fish to make them go into the poisoned water.

*[192]

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3) With arrow and net.

a) With arrow. On the bank of the rivers there are often trees whose fruits or seeds are sought by the fish, as the japurá is by the aracú. The Indian then stations himself in the shade of these trees, in his canoe, and waits for the fish to come up to get these fruits, which are floating; at this moment he hits them with an accurate arrow-shot and collects them in the canoe. It is an exercise that is very diverting and is called waí bõẽ. Lacking fruits, they break open termite nests, full of larvae, which the fish are very fond of, and throw them into the water. When the fish jump to snap at these larvae, they are hit by the arrows.

b) With net. We saw the use of the funnel-shaped net puçá, wehẽ-kõ, and with the mouth always open, in order to collect the fish killed or stupefied by the poisons. They also use for the same purpose their sieves or baxti; it is the method that is called waí wa'sá.

• [784]

It is to be noted that when the man prepares his puçá, he does it in secret, without smoking or eating, only with ipadú in his mouth, and abstains from talking or from going to the toilet, in order for the puçá to be efficient.

They also use it for direct fishing; it is the waí ñũũ. Standing at the mouth of the igarapé, he waits for the fish, frightened by those who are making noise above, to seek the river, and with a swift movement he brings in the puçá, almost always carrying some fish.

Also in the dark of night, especially on the shores, they surprise the fish and catch them with their puçás; it is what is called waí ãõ.

Or also, with that larger type of puçá (VI -- 2, e (3) ) called jereré in the Língua Geral, which is opened only at the moment of use, they dip it, and, when the fish is inside, they close the net, drawing it out very quickly. They are simple processes, but profitable, especially at the time of low water or during the piracemas.

/241 cont./

*192 226 d) Espinhel /line with many hooks/. Nowadays they acquire the metallic hooks from the civilized and, moreover, use them with very profitable and advantageous methods. One of these, for example, is the espinhel, a process called mõ-weherĩkanõ.

/242/ The espinhel consists of a very strong line 50 to 100 meters in length, tied at one end to the bank of the river and, at the other, to a stone that is thrown to the bottom of the river. A piece of molongó /Apocynaceae/, as a float, poogõ dõxká or pa'sa-ká (in Nheengatú mututí), tied to the middle of the cord, keeps it at a suitable depth and serves for locating the espinhel. On this long cord, at an interval of 3 or 5 meters, are joined small strings, each one with its hook provided with bait. They set the espinhel late in the afternoon, and early in the morning, with their canoe, they take it out, starting to pull from the part with the stone, in the middle of the river. As the fish taken is brought close to the canoe, [illegible]ill it with a blow on the head, because not infrequently lar[illegible]urubis and piraíbas of 50 kilograms or even more are found. Frequently the fish are found already tired by the efforts made to free themselves, or even bitten and half-eaten by the piranhas.

[784] The first fish of the espinhel will be given to some dog or released in the water, or they bury it; it is essential that it should not be eaten by any person.

The pregnant woman (VII - 4, f (2 d) ) cannot eat any of the fish caught on the espinhel, because otherwise no more fish will be caught.

During the time of high water, when the rivers flood their banks, invading the forests (these are the igapós), many fish migrate from the rivers, in order to eat the wild fruits. The native then takes advantage of this fact to tie lines with hooks to the bushes or to the branches of the trees in such a way that they stay a span more or less under the water. Upon inspecting them at dawn, he finds almost all the hooks with their fish. It is the fishing called wai poxtá-poó. In the first days of the high water they can perform this operation two or three times a night, with positive results, in order to keep the alligator from eating the fish.

/334 cont./

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[753]

/footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the population of Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés, as the consequence of having taken a stone from the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahũ-gã-pweá, actually located some hundreds of kilometers away, on the river Papurí.

asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

[227]
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36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

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[103]

/335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," pixkõ-rõ-ỹa, headwaters of the Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a rock that a woman should not see; if she looks at this rock, she will never have children. And when they go by this place, the women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

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[192]

In Jabutí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock called nõ'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxké-sã-i'ãsé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will easily learn any trade.

/362 cont./

823 In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?). If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not [784] look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a flat head.

825 One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because, without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

823 There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí, near the mouth of the stream Cuiú-cuiú, called Bará õxtã. If a young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and *[192] will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion of the cipo called yõx'kwá-dá (star cipo).

[103] Below the "island of the cuiubí," in the cachoeira of the Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Ã'á-fõá (point of the louse), there is a rock called muhi-pũ õxtã (rock of the sun or of [782] the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there, deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering, presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro (agitation of the waters by the winds).

754 There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé) in the road or in the clearing:

*[192] 1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick; it is the yuxkõ dohó-kõ; the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

[192] [304] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sígõ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

[224] [226] Uruká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã wẽ'rí wãx-tí.

[192]

[752] /366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water). Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.

T
501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
• 784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.

T
262 When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.

M
278 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.

T
756 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
775 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T
621 As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/417 cont./

593 his hammock; nevertheless, they will not talk to each other
521 through the night inside. At night only conversations of man with
man and woman with woman are permitted. If the husband has
• [784] arrived from his fishing or hunting already late at night, he will
hang up the fish or the game in the space between two poles or
on the wall, or in some other place, without saying a word to his
wife, to whom he will not make delivery of the fruit of his labor
until morning.

6) Polygamy and Polyandry.

178 Whether we understand these terms as the possibility for an
595 individual to have several wives simultaneously or successively,
and, vice versa, a woman more than one husband, they are not
in force nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

In conversation, several among them affirmed that in the
[622] old days a man could have two or three wives, particularly the
tuxaua (21).

21. In 1849 Wallace attested (o. c. 636): -- "The men as a rule, have only one wife. There is not, however, for this reason a special limit, because many of them have two or three. Some chiefs even have still more." It is what still happens in some tribes, for example, the Karútana of the Içana, the Káwa of the Aiarí, affirms the author of Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar [Sea River]/, (p. 19). The statement of the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza is in agreement, when he says (o. c. 486): -- "They are given to polygamy or plurality of wives, and there are chiefs among them with two or three wives, and sometimes sisters of one another."

/423 cont./

534 At the great feast of Wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
• 784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

> 31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

562 /444 cont./
881 this /445/ occasion there are games and entertainments among the
527 young individuals of the maloca (84).
171

84. One of the informants spoke to us about the "game of the lemon" for this circumstance. We heard about a Makú girl, Teresa by name, who on this occasion ran away with the youth, with whom she spent a few days. It seems that this is a matter of a conventional flight, because in reality they withdrew to a hut about 20 or 30 meters from the maloca.

562
881 Abstention from work for some days is verified; for example,
she will not light the fire, "in order not to be burned." Then the
• 784 young woman resumes her normal life; she will work in the clear-
ing and in the house with her mother. For another month, accord-
[115] ing to information by Dorotéia Brito, she may not taste salt or eat
either piraíba or the flesh of large animals, "in order not to ruin
the teeth" (85).

85. Concerning a young Bará, sister-in-law of a Karapanã, in whose maloca, on the headwaters of the Áua, she submitted to the puberty rite, we were able to observe that she did in fact subject herself to a severe alimental diet, not accepting our salted foods, nourishing herself with beijú, tapioca, and fruits. We saw her, however, approach the fire, stir it up, and put some green bananas on to roast for herself.

881 During the following menstruation the rite of the seclusion of
562 the young woman is renewed. This second stage of the puberty
*[192] initiation is called Mahã-mĩ-nõsé. It is identical to the first one,

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that are specifically identified as the *Bekûpwānwa*, and that are used 534
in the whipping and initiation ceremonies as well as in ritual bathing.

1. *Emihehika* (also known as *haraibipobū*: whipping staff) is a wide-mouth trumpet of bark wound within a framework of splints. It has a short palm-tube mouthpiece set into a ceramic plate that is mounted firmly to the upper end of the bark. This trumpet is some 30 inches long.

2. *Kwûhünku* (also known as *Uménahonkū*) is also a wide-mouth bark trumpet that is over five feet long and is played with one end resting on the ground.

3. *Bwū* (Agouti) is a long flute of a black palm, also with a mouthpiece set in a clay mount and with two external reeds bound around an opening toward the top. It is about four feet long.

4. *Onpwénda* is a flute similar to *Bwū* except that it has no separate mouthpiece and is only some 30 inches long.

5. *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* is identical with *Onpwénda* and is the length of a man's forearm. It is the shortest of the flutes.

*Bwū* and *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* are said to be the strongest and 769
fiercest of the ancestors and are esteemed for the vigor with which they whip. They are referred to as *parihihekū* (very powerful beings). [614]
*Bwū* is, of course, the founding ancestor of the *Bahúkiwa*.

Among the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari the largest bark-wound [534]
trumpet is also called *Uménahonkū*. Koch-Grünberg translated this
name correctly as "Dragonfly." The name, however, is that of a first [614]
ancestor of the *Hehénewa*.

The whipping rites, the Cubeo say, go back to the "first people," 769
who were taught what to do by *Kúwai*. At the beginning, however, it 534
was women who played the flutes and trumpets. They spent so much 773
time on play that they did nothing else. *Kúwai* corrected this. He
took the instruments from the women and gave them to the men,
warning them never to allow the women to get them back.[3] This is [784]
the story that is cited to explain why the instruments are taboo to

[3] A variant account states that the *Bekûpwānwa* had belonged to the women and that the men were afraid of them. The women came out of the forest bearing the instruments and the men ran away in fear. Then *Dekókū* (Ghost person) learned about this and said, "Women have no right to this." He came down to witness the ceremony of the women. He saw only women and he said to them, "You are women, you have no right to this. Now I am going to take this away from you." He brought the instruments to the men and laid them on their forearms. When the women had the *Bekûpwānwa* they danced all the time and never worked. After the men had received the instruments they allowed one old woman to see them. She turned insane and they had to kill her. Since then women have not been allowed to see the *Bekûpwānwa*.

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769 534 [784] [793] [828] [854] women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekũpwãnwa* to the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will be kept from the other women.

769 796 The *Bekũpwãnwa* come annually in the summer when a species of palm berry (*konhá*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not grow. The *Bahũkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, however, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would seem to be an obvious one.

[561] As an age grade, youths are known as *hwainyó*, but as boys who need whipping for growth they are known as *bahũdjo*, which may be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping voluntarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahũkiwa* and one among its subsib, the *Bahũkũdjauwũ*.

The *Bahũkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capable in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys subdued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the headman's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

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771 769 ever, does not compel them to make the sib child grow. The Cubeo think it absurd to suggest that the *Bekûpwānwa* might need any urging to do for the sib what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing. It is impossible for a Cubeo to say that the *Bekûpwānwa* have withheld a benefit or that they can be made to do more under 771 some circumstances and less under others. What is required – and the 769 Cubeo do not say that the *Bekûpwānwa* have set requirements – is 787 that a proper mode of social intercourse be established and maintained. The spirit and the manner of social intercourse must be correct, however, although not letter perfect. The spirit in which the social intercourse is carried out is more important than the ritual act. Many Cubeo ceremonies are abridged because, as they explain, the mood was wrong. Guests who should have come did not, and in the feeling of disappointment the ceremony is cut short. An error in a chant, in a dance, in a song, or in a ritual sequence is of no impor- 771 tance. Failure to conform to the rules of social intercourse with the 769 supernatural beings, such as the Ancients, may have serious conse- 784 quences only if the neglect is deliberate. In any case, *Bekûpwānwa* do not punish. They only withhold. In the case of the boy who ran away from his whipping at the hands of the *Bekûpwānwa*, my informants assured me that he would not be deprived of a year's growth. Since they, the elders, were prepared to forgive the youngster his uncontrollable timorousness on this occasion, the Ancients, they knew, would do likewise.

771 The Ancients are not referred to as "spirits." The term for spirit 769 is *dekókû* and has, for the Cubeo, a more alien connotation than the [776] term *Bekûpwānwa*. The Ancients or the ancestors are referred to by name so that association with them conveys directness and immediacy. I believe that it is for the sake of maintaining a sense of immediacy and of directness with the *Bekûpwānwa* that the Cubeo do not place them in some ancestral abode in some other world. The An- [778] cients, to be sure, are known to have been buried in the ancestral rocks from which they emerged, at the rapids of Uaracapuri and Yurupari. But the burial place is not their place of abode. Strictly speaking they have no place of abode. The flutes and trumpets that embody them reside in a *caño* near the main stream of the sib. The Cubeo do not, however, claim that these sacred crypts are the resi- [775] dences of the Ancients. The ordinary dead, on the other hand, do have an abode. The point of distinction for the Cubeo is that the ordinary dead have been sent away and are no longer welcome, whereas the Ancients, who are not spirits of the dead in the ordinary sense, are always welcome.

/343 cont./

796 574 Such formalistic greetings last an hour and a half. Afterwards the ritual banquet starts, without any further pragmatica, each eating whatever pleases him: first the men, more or less grouped in the front part of the maloca; afterwards the women and children, in groups at the back of the maloca.

[785] [273] Once this meal is finished, the ritual fast begins, that is, abstention from any food. It is only permissible to take some of the drink prepared for the feast. They do this, helping themselves copiously, even excessively, to the drink, which, besides, is very nourishing, being as it is, in reality, a thin pap (49).

[123]

49. On a certain occasion, after eleven hours of laborious passage through the forest, we arrived at a maloca of the Bará, located near the headwaters of the stream called marĩya (tributary of the Tiquié), when a feast was being given there. One of our traveling companions, of the Bará tribe, who should have been very tired and undernourished, like all of us, since he was carrying the heaviest load, did not accept the food that was prepared for those of our retinue. He preferred to participate in the feast with his "brothers," and contented himself with only beijú caxirĩ.

2) Preparation for the dances.

*[192] The tuxáua, at a certain moment, tells the chief of the visitors that the banquet is finished and "he may open the box of the decorations" (mahã̃ poári axká-ro).

*[192] [302] /344/ The women of the maloca come to fit the bands (uxtá-seri) to the guests' legs, below the knee, and to execute the body painting. The woman who painted him will be the guest's dance partner. It falls to the man, Pe. Humberto Limpens and the Tukano Antônio Barreto note, to paint the woman, and

796 /355 cont./
562 Then the doors of the maloca are opened, and the women
858 and children come back to it, and the feast and the ritual banquet take place as was seen above.

• 785 /356/ Before the dances, the flagellation of the boys who
562 have not participated in the procession proceeds. They beat with
796 a reed or with ingá bark. One of the men takes the child by the legs, another by the arms, and the leader of the dances applies some strokes on his back and belly. They explain that it is to make them grow fast, and for this reason they also stretch the child during the flagellation.

The flagellation of the men will be done without interrupting the dances. Each one, standing up, receives three blows on
*[192] the back and then, as retribution, gives them to his neighbor. The instrument for this flagellation is the adabí, in Tukano wã'sõ-rĩ; it is a stick almost two meters long, but the ligneous part was extracted from its upper end, and it thus became very flexible (66).

[184] 66. Among the Wanãna and Kubewana the adabis are well made, and because of this
[178] they are kept for similar circumstances. In the other tribes nowadays any stick is used for the flagellation. They assured us that sometimes they even omit the flagellation. It seems to us that they might really do so, at least when some civilized is present. The Kubẽwana of Ambaíba (river Querarí) showed us how they customarily applied the flagellation. In order for the blows to be more violent, the flagellator swings two or three times before delivering the blow. Some of the ones flagellated, as if they were boasting of their advantage, showed us deep scars from the flagellation that they had endured.

562 /444/
881 The rite ends with a bath of the dawn, Wáwa-'kāsé, which
783 makes us think of the bath of the dawn of the men at the feast of
*[192] Wīx-tĩ (VII-4, e (2 b); cf. Legend of the seizure of the mīrĩã
instruments). A procession of these women who have been asso-
ciated with the rite, perhaps also other close relatives of the
*[192] maiden, is organized. In front goes the pajé, smoking the path
[776] with a piece of cooking pot, Ki-pu-tõ koró, with hot coals, pitch
/Port. breu, a kind of resin/, and pepper, and he will exorcise
the river, throwing in it the contents of the pot, in order to "chase
away the beast that is in the river" (81).

81. They explained that this beast was the piraboto /bouto/. Now such a mammal does not exist in the upper Uaupés, much less in the small igarapés. We are thus confronted with a transplanting of beliefs and legends.

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881 The mother pushes the daughter into the water, and everyone will
• 785 take a bath (82).

82. Wallace (o. c.) further brings in here a detail which was not confirmed to us. It is the following: "When this time has passed (one month), the relatives and friends of the parents, who are invited for this, gather there on the designated day, each one of them bringing a piece of cipo (flexible climber). The girl is then taken outside the house, completely naked, to the center of the group, which is in the yard in front of the dwelling. Each one of those present on this occasion is obliged to give her five or six strong lashes with the cipo on the chest and on the back, crosswise, until she falls prostrate, unconscious, this sometimes resulting in her death; if,

562 /444 cont./

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/footnote 82 cont./ however, she recovers her spirits, the operation is further repeated some four or five times with an interval of six hours. It is considered a great offense to the parents if the blows are not given with much force. During this test, all kinds of meats and fish are prepared in huge pots. Following that, those present dip into these the cipos, which immediately afterwards are given to the girl to lick. From then on she will be able to eat everything she wishes. And from this moment on she is considered a woman. She is thus ready for marriage" (o. c. 634).

[184]

[584]

There perhaps is confusion with what happens among the tribes of the Içana and among the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés on the occasion of the dabacuris. According to what the Kubewana of the Ambaíba maloca, mouth of the Querari, told us, when the father of a youth decides to look for a wife for his son, he takes advantage of the dabacuri and applies to the chosen girl three lashes with the adabi (VII-4, e (2b) ). If she stoutly endures the blows, it is an indication that she is already mature for dealing with the responsibilities of a home.

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In some Arwake tribes a caxiri is held later; it is the feast called Karyamã (83),

83. Karyamã is the name of the type of beijú prescribed for this circumstance.

which may last as long as four days (it seems that it is the same number of days as the seclusion of the girl). Then she will dance with everyone, including the pajé, and will smoke with them on the cigar made of banana leaves and tobacco. It seems that on

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/354 cont./

They organize the procession of Wãx-tĩ, which will take the offering, as was described above, from the landing place to the maloca, a procession in which only those of the masculine sex who have gone through the puberty initiation rite participate. They walk naked, all painted, in front, hanging from the waist, the waxsó-ro (or tanga of tururi, see VII 3, d (2) ), sounding the instruments, which at the same time are shaken up and down, and with lateral movements and contortion of the body. The shape of the instrument (65),

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65. It is elongated, wrapped in the inner bark of tururi, which in Tukano is called waxsó-kõ (perhaps from the same root as waxsó, semen; see Note 41, VI-3, a). Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 69) tells that on the rocks of the cachoeira of Hipada (Uaupuim-cachoeira, on the river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana) he found a representation of Kúay, son of Yaperikuli, with a long penis. It is proof, it seems to us, of the connection between the cult of Kóay, or Wãx-tĩ of the Tukano, and that of the phallus. Perhaps one is even justified in seeing a phallus in the instrument, and for this reason it might be a symbol of Wãx-tĩ or Kóay.

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the movements they give to it, the body contortions of the participants, all the circumstances of this procession and the sexual liberties that go on during the feast, bring it close to the phallic processions of classical antiquity in the cult of Bacchus, and these native feasts well deserve the name of "Phallustanzen" /Ger. "phallus dances"/. There is even a similarity to the paroxysmal flagellations of the cult of Cybele of Greece and Rome, and of the Mediterranean civilization in general.

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765 534 114 769 [773] for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted, refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Umenahonkũ*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 786 [154] The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual [536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate 765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however, 266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion [775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the substance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presum- [614] ably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 562 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritual- [786] ized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 765 [776] The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaiwũ*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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its inevitable crescendo of excitement and disorder, dances and songs are interchanged.

In the course of the ceremonies, the relationship between the nonhuman world of the masked representations and the people, represented by the women, becomes increasingly more intimate, culminating, as we have already noted, in the total intimacy of coitus. The spirit of Cubeo ceremonialism is generally Dionysian. In religious excitement the Cubeo achieve a desired and temporary dissolution of the segmentation and conceptual separatenesses in normal social and religious life.

Koch-Grünberg (1906a), who observed part of an *dyne* in 1903 among the *Hehénewa*, saw in the masked dances two themes, an appeasement of evil spirits and fertility rites. My own information does not agree entirely with this interpretation. It is a fact that several of the masked dancers represent malevolent beings; the jaguar, that is the embodiment of the dreaded sorcerer, the butterfly, that symbolizes the act of sorcery, and the *abúhuwa* or forest monsters, that devour human victims. In addition the masked dancers represent the dung beetle and the vulture, eaters of offal and carrion. These creatures represent to the Cubeo the facts of death. Except for the *abúhuwa*, who are not taken too seriously, the most common agency of death is to the Cubeo a particular human enemy. Evil sorcery can be warded off by particular magical means. The masked dances, however, are not magical means for warding off danger. They are, rather, dramatic rituals whose purpose is to generate a frame of mind in which the fact of death is confronted and made to appear natural and tolerable. By coming to the house as guests, to dance, to sing, to drink chicha, and to "copulate" with women, the masked creatures are made to appear, finally, as a friendly part of the Cubeo world. The malevolent creatures are not singled out, but appear in the context of the whole ensemble of masked dancers.

As for the fertility theme, this has been a cherished cliché of earlier anthropology that promptly labeled any ritualization of sex as "fertility rites." The situation is more complex. The dancers do indeed represent male potency, but the simulated coitus emphasizes rather the carnal aspect of sex, for it is the older women, possessing the privilege of obscenity, whom the masked dancers "attack sexually."

## THE MASKS

The dance masks of the Cubeo are made of a white bark cloth called *tdwü* (tree bark), which is also the name by which the masks are generically known.

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532 *Xudjiko* and her consort, the mourning by the primordial ancestors; and the sib units, the solidarity of the phratry in expressing both
765 grief and anger. The dramatizations and mimetic dances present a
786 variety of minor themes, such as menace and hilarity. If one looks
182 at the *óyne* as a whole, however, and follows the sequence of events from their slow and solemn beginning to their conclusion in a simulated sexual orgy and then in a real one, a single main theme emerges, and that is the sexual interplay between men and women.
[775] By contrast to the sexual emphasis, the ritual of dealing with the spirit of the deceased seems almost minor and anticlimactic. It is only at the very end, when most guests have departed, that the ghost is dispatched. The climax of the first part of the *óyne* is ritual coitus, just as the climax of the second part is sexual license. We can therefore describe the *óyne* in terms of ritualized sexual sequence.

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Fig. 11 Mourning ceremony, women's entrance.

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The sexual play between men and women begins when the first visiting women arrive and try to pass through the rear entrance of the maloca. The rear door has been removed and the opening barred by poles set in an × over which the women must climb. The Dung beetles, armed with wooden staffs, "guard" the entrance by thrusting at the women as they climb in. The women are burdened with great baskets containing household utensils. Many carry a nursing baby in a sling across the hip, with a walking child clutching the skirt. A woman can make no dignified entrance. Prodded by the Dung beetles she tumbles into the house, clutching her infant, her skirts flying, her utensils scattered. She laughs with excitement, recognizing her fall as a burlesque of the rough play that initiates sexual courtship. At this moment the men are being solemnly and decorously received at the front door. However, after having been tumbled into the house the women reassemble outside, the bars are removed, and they, too, are received in the conventional manner by the host women. They then settle themselves along the left wall of the women's section.

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The second molestation of the women comes at nightfall, when little boys rush in among them with a bark *dúpu* (a lizard which supposedly makes the women squeamish) suspended along a sturdy rope. They invite the little girls to join them in a tug of war. The little girls act shy so the boys first play of tug of war among themselves, arranging to fall among the girls. Emboldened, the girls seize the *dúpu* and join the tug of war. Another group of boys also bearing a *dúpu* enters and engages more girls in a tug of war. The purpose of the *dúpu* is to generate excitement among the women. The boys fall upon the little girls, who shriek with laughter and mock alarm while their mothers dodge the thrashing bodies artfully.

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The youngsters are followed by an older group of Minnows, not masked, who swarm in noisily, stomping and whistling, dancing close among the women and jostling them. Finally, all the masked dancers, the adult males, enter. The air clouds with dust, and the women's section resounds to the shrieks of laughter, to song, and to the thump of dancing feet and the dry clatter of rattles. Young boys who are sent to sprinkle the floor with moist chicha mash, to settle the dust, pelt one another, and "accidentally" the women, with balls of mash. Throwing chicha mash is, for the Cubeo, a common form of flirtation. Ordinarily the woman throws at a lover. Children do not ordinarily play this game. Thus, the incongruity of being hit with mash thrown by little boys amuses the women enormously. It is the guest women who are flirtatiously singled out at this time. The host

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765 The host
831 women stand apart on their side of the house and serve chicha to
• 786 the Minnows.

The males leave and the excitement of the women subsides.
765 Through the night, however, the men come to dance among the
831 women. The fence that divides the house into a male and female
786 half is also an emotional dividing line. Dances form on the male
535 side, where they are solemn and subdued. When they pass to the women's side, the dancers are excited. When they go back they revert to calm. It is tempting to interpret the movement of the masked dancers – who look phallic – through the overlapping slit in the wall as symbolizing coitus, particularly since with almost each passage the level of excitement is heightened.

The excitement of the Minnows is allowed to subside in a calm interval. *Mdwayo* (the red-mouthed aracú), and *U* (sloth) do a slow dance, holding long poles with a crook at one end which they suspend from a roof beam and upon which they swing. The Sloth always falls. He lies on the ground kicking a leg and making feeble gestures of arising, only to fall again. But *Mdwayo* is slow and graceful and swings gently on his pole. The Sloth arises, and the dancers cross poles and gracefully dance out.

[532] They are all followed by the Minnows. Each Minnow now carries a long pole that is joined to all the others by a string from which dangles a carved wooden bird. They do a circle dance with the bird in the center. As they circle, stamping strongly to accent the beat on the right foot, they jostle the women, moving in upon them to enclose them in the circle. The Jaguars now rush in, wilder than ever,
[857] leaping about among the women and falling upon them. They are followed by the boys with the *dúpu* on its string. The boys ensnare the young girls in the *dúpu* string. Now two masked dancers come in with long flaming broomsticks. They dash about among the women, swinging the flaming fibers among them. The women scatter in noisy panic, kicking over baskets and dishes. The attack by flame excites the Jaguars as well, and they whirl around among the women in sheer frenzy. As they flee this new menace, the women say, "The jaguars are angry. They will soon attack people." The Jaguars, how-
[534] ever, are no menace to the men. One climbs on top of the partition and blows noisily into his jug horn, and another climbs a roof beam overlooking the women, both in a simulated attack upon them.

The Jaguars withdraw, and the next entrance is again a quiet one. Two Spiders, slowly and gracefully holding a long string from the middle of which hangs a feather, dance toward one another, winding up the string until they are face to face at the feather and

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then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure. [831] [786] [535]

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudjíko* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping. [533]

This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *dyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *dyne*. 765 831 786 535 [182]

From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out – one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Mlavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs. [152]

The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abúhuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakúiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamiré, kamiré*. These dancers leave, and another *Abúhukũ* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudúki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among 765 536 [535]

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765 the women and dives clumsily after it, rolling among the women and
536 over them. He recovers it and tries to crack it in his mouth, but of course he is wearing a mask, and finally he examines it with a marvelously executed air of puzzlement and dejection. The women have been so dazed by now that the comic virtuosity of this "clown" does
[152] not draw the expected laughs. The *Abühukü* leaves and there is a respite. The women stir about and look after their children, and it seems as though the emotional gradient, having been broken in its upward ascent, has dropped to the most ordinary level.

765 But this quiet interlude is short. At midmorning all the masked
831 dancers storm noisily among the women in a dance called the
786 *hwananiwa* (wild peccary). They throw themselves upon the
535 women, forcing them to the ground and to the copulatory position. Three or four men cover a woman. The dancers rise again to dance in sheer frenzy, careening about the room, shrieking and falling again upon another woman. But even though their excitement seems more feverish than ever, the men still do not lay a hand upon a woman. They choose for their attentions only the older women. The
[887] older women among the Cubeo are licentious, and they behave at this time as though they have become sexually aroused. They laugh and shriek and reach for a man's thighs. The daughters observe this spectacle of their mother's sexual excitement with evident dismay and great interest. The mothers shrilly command their daughters to run away and so escape sexual molestation. At the command to run they begin to leave, but they come back to watch. Again, the very young
[152] boys who share this masculine license are carried away by sexual excitation and lustfully attack the women, the wives of their phratry mates. The women "fight them off" with the standard courting resistance and succeed in inflaming them all the more. Not all the masked dancers join this revelry in the same spirit. Some men, the older ones in particular, are restrained, treating the dance symbolically, and some are simply shy and only brush lightly against the
765 women. The point of view is that of symbolic frenzy rather than of
182 sheer unrestraint. The mastery of this mood is surely a difficult one,
152 because the women, who are a laity, are under no compulsion to dis-
831 cipline their feelings. This is presumably the Cubeo ceremonial con-
786 ception – pitting masculine symbolically controlled behavior against
535 the spontaneous emotionality of the women. This interplay between emotional form and substance, so to speak, adds spontaneity and emotional spice to the ceremony but always within the framework of form. That the youngsters should succumb to simple lust in this licentious dance is, to be sure, a spontaneous consequence of the

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for the stage of the ceremony.

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The *hwananíwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

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The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* — the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

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The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

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The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

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535 recognizing the symbolic distinction between an alligator and a
536 jaguar, do not throw it back at the men. Then the Jaguars kill a deer, who is represented by a masked dancer. The Jaguars dance wildly about their "victim," blowing loudly into their jugs. The victim writhes and falls agonizingly to the ground, kicking up a leg, moving an arm, and then lying inert. Other dancers, his "comrades," come to look at him. They lift his arm and it falls back. They lift his leg and it falls back. They sniff his body and murmur *ttt tttt*. Now the Carrion vultures come, with their short staffs held against the back of the neck. They dance about the victim singing the jaguar song. They buzz about the victim and bend down and kiss him. The Jaguars also kill *Pampámibo* (a frog), and the procedure is repeated.

This dramatization of the modes of violent death – the killing of the alligator, the lustful adulterer, the killing of the jaguar, the dread killer himself, and the killing of the weaker and defenseless game animals – restores the mood to one of sobriety. The dance of the Carrion vultures has a note of pathos that is not lost on the women.

765 When these sequences are done there is an intermission. The boys
831 busy themselves with the fabrication of great bark-cloth penises.
[535] The phallic dance that is to follow is known as the "dance of the
[857] potent penises" and is under the jurisdiction of the young men. As they complete the penises, the boys begin a sexual play with them, thrusting at one another in a hilarious burlesque of coitus. It is all play, in a spirit of gaiety and with much noise.

765 During this interval of male sexual play, that takes place in the men's part of the house, the women on their side are mourning in the conventional fashion, arms about one another's neck, faces together, crouching in a mournful circle.

765 On this, the third day, the women's section is not entered again by
535 the men until late in the afternoon. Then the entire corps of masked
831 dancers dances in, each man carrying a sprig of leaves with which he beats the women, centering attention on the elderly. Some strike
• 786 with such force as to make the women scream with pain. Others brush a woman's shoulder lightly. They then dance into the men's section and whip the hosts, but perfunctorily, since the real interest is in the women, from whom they should draw blood. The Jaguars enter briefly among the women. They leave and all the masked dancers – the *nowánparatowü* (potent penises) – come in. Each holds a bark-cloth phallus before him with both hands. The dancers thrust at the older women, some doing so very mildly, and others, the younger men, forcing the phalluses between a woman's legs. The women again shriek at their daughters to escape. As before, the girls

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark-fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner. 765 535 831 786

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark-cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one-month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks. [838] [857]

The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion. 765 786 831 182 837

The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women – the sexually most desirable – are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of [838]

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

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In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

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The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

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On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenádox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

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As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

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The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, *kenadjú marié kenadjú pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

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generally, this relationship of appropriateness between mood and activity is not novel. It seems, in fact, altogether natural. Cultures, however, as we well know, do not necessarily pattern themselves quite so naturally. Civilizations, in particular, place the emphasis upon the social action and expect the mood to be disciplined or to be subordinated to the social occasion. The Cubeo, on the other hand, expect a rather high degree of emotional spontaneity. In this respect they correspond oddly to the eighteenth-century notions of "natural man." In secular affairs the spontaneity of correspondence between emotion and action is much greater than in ritual. In ritual the effort is made to establish the correspondence between feeling and the concept of the sacred. Ritual in primitive society generally expresses in a symbolic or highly compressed form the fundamental cultural themes of a society. We have repeatedly shown the integration of ritual with social structure. Cubeo ritual, similarly, reveals not only the role of emotionality in Cubeo life but exhibits that spectrum of emotionality that has greatest significance for the Cubeo.[1] It is indeed in ritual, as Ruth Benedict has demonstrated in *Patterns of Culture*, that the ethos of a culture is most vividly displayed. Cubeo ritual, as has been seen, dramatizes the interplay between formal pattern and spontaneity. The most vivid example of this interplay is the interaction between men as sacred and women as a laity during the mourning ceremony. The effect of this interplay is to add significance to the spontaneity of emotion, and at the same time to give emotional zest to the formal ritual pattern. In short, what seems an inescapable conclusion about Cubeo culture is that neither form nor action can be comfortably tolerated unless charged with a proper feeling or emotion.

The relationship between form and emotion and social action and emotion is but one part of the pattern. The pattern also includes the emotional preferences. It is not simply that the Cubeo prefer to run a gamut, since an emotional gamut is a range within a particular plane. In ritual the emotional gamut moves from sobriety and order, as we have already explained, to intoxication and disorder. On a smaller scale, the ritual pattern moves from slow to fast. In the mourning ceremony these related planes of emotional modulation seemed to find their focus in a sexual rhythm, culminating in what is almost literally an orgasmic excitement. From this there may be reason to conclude that it is coitus, a very elementary biological

[1] It is to be understood, of course, that the roles of emotionality in secular life are not the same as they are in the sacred realm. In secular life moderation is more appropriate than excitement or intensity.

* /339 cont./

539 Boraró and Boraró Numió sometimes have human form and at other times have spirit form. Very often they are seen eating crabs, for they like to eat crabs very much.

* 539 774 .787 Boraró and Boraró Numió also steal people's souls without eating them. Sometimes a man dreams about a very pretty woman, and afterwards, when he goes out to the forest, he meets her and has sex with her. When he returns to the maloca (1),

1. Name given in this region to the typical Tukano /Tucano/ house.

he lies down to sleep and there he dies. Boraró Numió is the pretty woman about whom he dreamed and with whom he had sex, and it is she who steals his soul. The Tukano /Tucano/ woman dreams about Boraró, has sex with him in the forest, and then it is Boraró who steals her soul.

* 539 II. Pijsubariyái.

Four spirits stayed in Dejkepaiwí. And each one of these spirits is named Pijsubariyái. These spirits, who are /340/ like devils, shout the name of a person. And the person, since he does not know who is calling, answers. But Pijsubariyái, unless he is given indications with a finger, does not know where the person is. Therefore, when one answers the first time that he is called and he still continues to be called, he knows it must be Pijsubariyái. In case that someone points him out to Pijsubariyái, instantly Pijsubariyái reaches him and eats him in the same way that a jaguar /Sp. tigre/ eats people. Pijsubariyái has two heads, one where the head is normally and the other on the backside, instead of a tail. Pijsubariyái has the form of a jaguar.

III. Emiarouajtí.

Two spirits named Emiarouajtí stayed in Diakajseropoeawí. They both had the same name and were a male and a female. They were brother and sister. No Uajtí (2) dies, and so the

2. Spirit.

/270 cont./

755 his medical kit, where there are small calabashes containing
*[192] powders, and also thorns, pieces of bone and of cylindrical sticks, small pebbles, polished stones of crystal for the vision, and, especially, the painted maracá (Yaxsã-ga), considered a magic instrument, and the cigar (Baxséke mõrõ-rõ, Uaupés mõ'nõ-nõ).

He smokes it and disperses the smoke over the body, or the sore part of the body, with the force to drive away the dohasé and to effect the cure. By means of the smoke he is
[787] able to forecast the patient's death; and the direction /271/ that it takes or the figure that it describes in the air will indicate who caused that malefice.

756 When the pajé blows into the closed left hand and, opening it afterwards, releases the smoke in a given direction, or with a wide and slow gesture of the right hand drives the smoke from the left axilla toward a certain direction, he is sending toward there sicknesses and misfortunes. The simple blowing, slowly closing the left hand, will drive away the clouds, making the rain stop. If, instead, he opens the fingers, he will send winds, storms, lightning flashes. The lightning flashes always originate with some pajé. (Cf. Ermano Stradelli, o. c., entry Payé.)

*[192] There is a deeply rooted belief in the mysterious force of the "Sõpro" /blowing/, "Baxsesé," of the pajé, because the blowing comes from deep inside the person, from his Héripõra /heart, liver/ (19).

[829] 19. They also admit this mysterious force in the sõpro of the whites, especially if one is a doctor (whom they judge to be a pajé). We know that Koch Grünberg himself (Z. I. 101) practiced the blowings among the natives.

It clearly cannot be said that the Indians admit a natural magnetic force in the pajé. They regard him, then, as the possessor of an extraordinary spiritual virtue.

776 /362 cont./
539 going away to my land, it is so beautiful... nothing is lacking
823 there"...., etc. He looked closely and saw that the cords of the hammock were sucurujú /anaconda/. At night the blonde girl appeared to him in a dream and told him: -- "Today I sang for you, and it did not please you."

776 d) Near Bela-Vista, on the river Uaupés, an alumna of the Mission of Taracuá dreamed at night that she had amorous
• 787 relations with a young man. Then in the morning, when she went to take a bath, she saw close to her a blowing bouto, throwing itself about in the water, agitating it, and wanting to have relations with her. The young woman also heard shots under the ground, smelled the perfume that the "bouto" youths use. She even felt a desire to go to live with the boutos forever.

776 5. /sic/; e)/ -- Patrícia Vasconcelos tells that her grandmother was still a young woman when she went looking for turtle
[115] eggs on a beach near Pinú-pinu (river Uaupés) with other girl
[222] companions, among them one who had just finished the puberty initiation rite. They started to dig in the sand and found many eggs. At a certain point, however, the sand started to sink with a great noise, and the newly initiated girl disappeared. A little later the sand reappeared. The mother of the maiden who had disappeared went to look for her, shouted everywhere, but the
[192] maiden never returned. The poor mother then understood that the waĩ maxsã had stolen her daughter: "waĩ maxsã mĩsa-wapã yõõ maxkõ-ré, the fish people came to get my daughter."

2) Magic practices.

823 a) Places. -- There are places (the most remote parts of the forests, caves, headwaters of the igarapés) where they should never go. If by chance they pass in the vicinity of these places, they will turn their faces to the opposite side.

There is a lake below the Ira-igarapé (middle Uaupés); the old ones did not look at it, in order not to have a weak and whining child.

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# 11

## *Religion*

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. 771
Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, 776
fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekûpwānwa* and 787
*Kūwai* the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings
and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of
communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which spe-
cific results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of
body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious atti- 771
tude must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of re- 571
lations among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one
neither commands, nor submits. People enter willingly into a rela-
tionship that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship
among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific
atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing
of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood.
In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seek to establish a relationship [787]
with a supernatural being.

The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in 771
another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and 769
chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them [856]
grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They
are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikū* they [765]
come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are [614]
invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how-

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771 769 ever, does not compel them to make the sib child grow. The Cubeo think it absurd to suggest that the *Bekûpwänwa* might need any urging to do for the sib what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing. It is impossible for a Cubeo to say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have withheld a benefit or that they can be made to do more under 771 some circumstances and less under others. What is required – and the 769 Cubeo do not say that the *Bekûpwänwa* have set requirements – is 787 that a proper mode of social intercourse be established and maintained. The spirit and the manner of social intercourse must be correct, however, although not letter perfect. The spirit in which the social intercourse is carried out is more important than the ritual act. Many Cubeo ceremonies are abridged because, as they explain, the mood was wrong. Guests who should have come did not, and in the feeling of disappointment the ceremony is cut short. An error in a chant, in a dance, in a song, or in a ritual sequence is of no impor- 771 tance. Failure to conform to the rules of social intercourse with the 769 supernatural beings, such as the Ancients, may have serious conse- 784 quences only if the neglect is deliberate. In any case, *Bekûpwänwa* do not punish. They only withhold. In the case of the boy who ran away from his whipping at the hands of the *Bekûpwänwa*, my informants assured me that he would not be deprived of a year's growth. Since they, the elders, were prepared to forgive the youngster his uncontrollable timorousness on this occasion, the Ancients, they knew, would do likewise.

771 The Ancients are not referred to as "spirits." The term for spirit 769 is *dekôkû* and has, for the Cubeo, a more alien connotation than the [776] term *Bekûpwänwa*. The Ancients or the ancestors are referred to by name so that association with them conveys directness and immediacy. I believe that it is for the sake of maintaining a sense of immediacy and of directness with the *Bekûpwänwa* that the Cubeo do not place them in some ancestral abode in some other world. The An- [778] cients, to be sure, are known to have been buried in the ancestral rocks from which they emerged, at the rapids of Uaracapuri and Yuruparí. But the burial place is not their place of abode. Strictly speaking they have no place of abode. The flutes and trumpets that embody them reside in a *caño* near the main stream of the sib. The Cubeo do not, however, claim that these sacred crypts are the resi- [775] dences of the Ancients. The ordinary dead, on the other hand, do have an abode. The point of distinction for the Cubeo is that the ordinary dead have been sent away and are no longer welcome, whereas the Ancients, who are not spirits of the dead in the ordinary sense, are always welcome.

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778 of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

[192] [193]

778 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known
756 as *pariékoků* (man of power) or as *yaví* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékoků* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yaví* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every
(554) *yaví* is a *pariékoků* but not every *pariékoků* is a *yaví*. The *yaví* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékoků* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékoků*, but *yavís* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yaví* and the *pariékoků*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékoků*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parùků*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an
778 exceptional act it is his *parùků*, it is said, that enabled him to do it.
756 The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleas-
821 antly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of
823 the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural
789 causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Sha-
778 manistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Gener-
756 ally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding,
• 787 in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman
825 on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

756 Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the
778 shamans wage against one another. A *yaví*, I was told, has a different
554

796 534 the people that the festival would start that night. The low booms rang out across the forest like blasts on a ship's foghorn. To the south, near the Caquetá, giant wooden drums were slung on a slant from two central poles of the *maloca* and beaten in a secret code as warning signals to other members of the tribe. The *mangwaré* drums were the jungle telegraph of Amazonia and their signals could be heard over twenty miles away.

796 574 More and more families arrived at the riverside port, where they left their canoes moored to the bank or tied to each other with thin strands of liana. Some thirty canoes formed a series of star-like patterns with the water rushing down between them, haphazardly tied, yet buoyant and secure. Each family made its way up the steep sandy path to the *maloca*: the men with their paddles, some with fishing rods, and many with panpipes strung to their hammocks; the women bent low under heavy loads of manioc and their babies on their hips. Here the head of each family was greeted by Bréo and shown where they could sling their hammocks around the sides of the house. The women handed the manioc to Wanina, his young wife – he had two, but the elder could no longer bear him children.

796 273 The amount of time it takes for the festival to be prepared depends on the amount of *chicha* to be consumed. With over a hundred people present, four days were barely enough for the manioc roots to be rubbed down, the poisonous juice extracted and then boiled to form the basis of *chicha*. The starch sediment was baked over the clay ovens into giant wafer-thin biscuits. The boiling liquid was poured into the long *chicha* canoe which lay on the floor between two of the central posts; the toasted cassavas were broken into the liquid and fermentation began. The *chicha* gained rapidly in potency and the canoe was covered with an exquisitely woven cane mat like Japanese lattice. One ceremonial canoe was not enough, and another was brought from the river to be filled with yet more fermenting *chicha*.

796 [787] In the evening the men sat chewing cocaine. Led by the shaman they consulted the spirits and their subdued mumblings continued far into the night. Their crouched bodies, lit only by the flickering of the resinous *turi* torchwood, reminded us of the semi-human rock carvings of their ancestors.

302 796 The *chicha* had fermented, the coca was prepared, the *maloca* was now a seething mass of people. The afternoon before the festival began, Wanina and the shaman's wife began to paint the bodies of the men. First deep red *karayuru* was smeared down the front of the torso, the thighs and along each arm with firm strokes of the fingers. A black liquid, the boiled juice from the leaves of a tree growing in their *chagras*, was painted on to the body with a three-pronged piece of cane. The hands and feet were totally blackened to above the wrists and ankles, and the arms and legs patterned with a lattice of

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*A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.*

[see p. 78-A]

diagonal lines. Then the women painted their own faces with *karayuru* and blackened their hands and feet. 796 [302]

As the sun's last rays filtered into the *maloca* and the mumblings of the council of elders died down, the shaman left the dark interior and stood in front of the men's doorway. In his hand he carried the *Kurubeti*, the sacred pebble stave. Intricate circles of blue and purple humming-bird feathers adorned one end, a swollen spearhead formed the other. This swelling was produced by soaking a bulge in the wood in water, then inserting this into a banana stem and heating the spearhead over a fire. The swollen wood is cut open and three pebbles are inserted. During cooling the wood shrinks and the pebbles are locked in the cavity. The shaman stood pointing the stave away from the *maloca*. He hit it with his right hand and the stave swayed from side to side in front of his body. The rattling of the pebbles prevented the evil spirits from entering the *maloca*. In the days of tribal war, we were told, among the people living further to the south, each warrior carried one of these staves and after victory would dance himself into a frenzy, beating the stave against his shoulder. 796 789

With darkness the festival began. Bréo carefully rolled back the cane mat from the *chicha* canoe and the women handed round gourd after gourd, full of the bitter drink. More and more *chicha* was handed round to groups of people sitting contentedly by their family fires. Some of the younger men began to play their panpipes, but as yet there was no cohesion; the groups seemed rather to be competing with one another and different tunes came from all sides, one drowning the other. Many of these men had put sprigs of sweet-smelling leaves under their loin-cloth strings and berry arm-bands. The scent from the leaves was curiously sensuous, like sweet lemon, and used as an elixir of love by the Tukano during their festivals. 796

The same confused cacophony of dancing and panpipes continued well into the night; it was the young men's duty to keep the shaman awake, for not once during the course of the festival was he allowed to sleep. Small groups moved up and down the *maloca*, joyfully playing their panpipes as they danced, then they retired to their family fires and drank more *chicha*. The shaman remained apart, sitting on his stool in the centre of the *maloca*, gazing as if in a trance. At his side lay a calabash of coca and the sacred pot of *yajé*, the most powerful narcotic used by Amazonian Indians. Prepared from the boiled juices of a jungle creeper, the red liquid gives the shaman hallucinations and he is able to predict the future progress of the festival. Suddenly he summoned Bréo to his side. All the men came to the centre of the *maloca* carrying their wooden stools and sat down near him. With heads bent low the men started a muffled chant, answering in unison the solo [756] [276] [787]

*Tukano profile and festival head-dress.* [see p. 78-B]

/363 cont./

754 2nd. -- He can also, knowing that a person must pass by way of a trail, close the passage to him, putting across it a stick
*[192] over which he has "blown"; it is what is called kã pe-vyó-kõ.

3rd. -- Nẽ'kã-yusé is said when he has "blown" over a fruit or a plant; if any person (74)

> 74. These local malefices can harm, by mistake, even the one who prepared them. Patrícia Vasconcelos told us that her uncle Marcos had cast a malefice on a cacuri /fish trap/ (see VI-5, a (2b) ) against anyone who went there to steal fish. In the morning he forgot to neutralize the malefice, took some fish, and ate them. Soon he began to feel ill: dizziness, darkening vision, stomach-ache. He then called his own son and said to him: --"My son, I am going to die! I 'blew' on the cacurí, and by accident I ate some of the fish without removing the dohasé." Fortunately he escaped, having recourse to other magic practices.

eats some of this fruit, or even touches this object, he "will become crooked." They believe that all cases of stupor, with paralysis of the facial muscles and contortion of the mouth, are due to the malefices of some enemy.

The Tukano of Parí-cachoeira prepare their jequí /fish trap/ (see VI - 5, a (2a) ) on a certain rock of the cachoeira; if they did it at home, they would not be able to catch any fish.

• 789 /364/ b) Things. -- Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português (entry Uirá-purú), speaks of the belief in the protective quality of certain charms. It is probable that he is not referring to the tribes of the Uaupés. Among them we not only did not find them, but they could not tell us whether the ancients had used them. In very rare cases we found necklaces of triangular
[301] sheets (see -- 3, d (1) ), with the character, it seems, solely of feminine adornment.

/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in
[224] order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have
[226] similar efficacy.

They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions
*[192] which are called oxkó ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some are prepared by the pajé or kõmũ; others, by any individual. There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacurí, and to guarantee them abundant fish.

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui (puxpyá).

[514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement (75):

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

[832] The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant
789 called tá:-dõxká (in Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca)
824 to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know everything," that is, will be intelligent.
*[192] There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with magic virtues:

[241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the mandioca will yield very well.

/364 cont./

• 789 824 *[192 226 832]

2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'téa) fish.

3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.

The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 291

In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many practices and prescriptions:

821

1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger; if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away Wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 825 *[192]

c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small woodpecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clearing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tĩrosa (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

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He brings home the hide for a
224 trophy, for which there is no further use, but the teeth form a girdle
[237] that is a mark of high status. Jaguar hunting is strictly voluntary
[554] and is not a formal test of manhood. During my stay among the *Bahúkiwa* the headman's son – an aspirant for the position – killed a jaguar with a steel-tipped lance and accepted modestly the moderate acclaim of the community. His explanation was that he wanted to experience what it was like to kill a jaguar.

## GARDENING

462 I have no statistical means for comparing the relative contributions
262 of men and women to the food supply. The general rule is that men provide the bulk of the protein, women the bulk of the carbohydrates.

The Cubeo unhesitatingly regard the man as economically most important. This is surprising, since manioc in its multiple uses as food, chicha, and trade goods is not only the staff of life but the source of intrasib activity, status, and general well-being. My informants pointed out, however, that it is fish which is the important food, and besides, they added, it is the men who make the manioc clearing. Nutritionally they are right. Bitter manioc is a poor food, rich in starch and deficient in protein.

462 An important distinction between the labor of men and women
461 is in the nature of their economic effort. That of the woman borders on drudgery. Hers is the steady routine of planting, harvesting, washing, scraping, grinding, operating the tipiti press, and, finally, forming the manioc cake and baking it.

462 On days when only subsistence manioc – that is, the manioc cake
461 – is to be baked, a woman devotes half of all the daylight hours to its preparation, including time in the garden. Her preferred routine is
252 to spend six hours on alternate days in gardening. On the day she
244 gardens, she also spends two or more additional hours in processing the roots. On the second day, however, she works only four hours on manioc. She spends, on the average, 12 hours on manioc over a two-day period. If to this is added hours spent in preparing chicha and farinha, the annual average comes close to nine hours a day. By contrast, men's labor is more flexible in its demand upon time and the quality of effort. However, it would be erroneous to overstress the distinction. There is, after all, variety in the manioc cycle as well.

462 Women customarily go to their manioc gardens at the same time,
244 leaving the maloca an hour or so after daybreak and after breakfast.
[512] Each smears her face with red pigment both as ointment against
[751] sunburn and as preventive magic against the jaguar. A woman is
[789]

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614 584 walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest [836] is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting [832] coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of these is an extract of *ûwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult, [789] a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

614 583 584 [601] Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *tcimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *tcimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *tcimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *tcimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

614 574 583 584 It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the maloca and of the community — the groom joining the age group of his *tcimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

614 619 574 583 584 This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

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The *Bahúkiwa* headman also had had two wives. In his case the second and younger wife succeeded in displacing the older woman. The younger woman insisted that her husband give up sexual relations with his first wife. She bothered him so much that he yielded and told his first wife to leave him. She refused, insisting that she would stay on with her children. An old woman now, she has a grandmother role. A son not yet married has provided her with a small manioc garden. Her relations with the headman and her successor are cool but not unpleasant. That women regard polygyny as contrary to their interests is further indicated by the fact that they are reputed to possess an herb (*pedídya*) which, mixed into a husband's porridge, causes him to lose interest in acquiring a second wife.

Polyandry is rare. I knew of only one case, a man who took his brother into his ménage because the man had been unable to get a wife on his own. This occurred in a small Satellite community and seems to have been an accommodation to what might otherwise have been a troublesome situation of adultery. The woman fed both men and was a sexual partner of the junior husband only when her first husband was away.

Common marital difficulties have their counterpart in Cubeo folklore, as these tales reveal. *Kúwai* the culture hero and his two brothers shared the same woman. When one brother was away fishing or hunting, the other two took turns copulating with her. *Kúwai* plotted to get rid of his brothers so that he would have exclusive possession of her. They were then living at Urania on the Vaupés by a lake called *Marúkuwari* [Lake of the marúku monkey]. In this lake grew a great miriti palm. *Kúwai* asked his brothers to climb the tree to fetch a ball of miriti to make a hammock. Both brothers climbed the tree, after warning *Kúwai* not to start anything. As they climbed, *Kúwai* caused the tree to grow higher and higher and the lake to grow wider. When they reached the top, *Kúwai* cut down the tree. Then a great wind blew up and swept the men and the tree away. One brother was blown to the Cuduiarí, where he formed the river. The other was blown to the Querarí, where he formed the other river. As each man fell, his legs formed the mouth of the river, his outstretched arms two creeks, and his head a whirlpool. *Kúwai* then returned to his wife, who was now living alone. Later *Kúwai*, walking in the forest, passed a *wahókakũ* tree. Each time he passed it, it made a sucking sound at him. This happened day after day. Then it seemed to *Kúwai* that the tree was human, so he cut it down and carved a woman out of its trunk. *Konéko*, a bird, came and opened up the woman's vagina. The

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292 One informant explained that the feathers have power
614 that may be too strong for the owner and that is why it is better not
554 to have too much. Some men accumulate outfits of *mápena*. They
[761] are certain to die from overdoing, it is said. A host at a drinking party may lay out his *mápena* in a tray at the doorway so that guests may wear them for dancing. It is a point of pride to be able to supply guests in this way. He addresses a guest as follows: "Here it is now, this poor thing that I have. When you put this on you may drink. Our ancestor wore this when he made chicha to drink. He became sick when he did this, when he adorned himself. Other people know how to make this [*mápena*]. He bought it from them."

237 The girdles of jaguar teeth and of armadillo vertebrae were also
301 possessed only by the *Hehénewa*. They are worn only during cere-
614 monial dances. These girdles are symbols of shamanistic power al-
554 though they are not shamanistic insignia. The jaguar is, of course,
756 the full-fledged shaman himself. The armadillo claw forms the han-
[789] dle on the special rattle a shaman uses to bring rain. The quartz cylinder (*kenádox*: stone) may also be a shamanistic symbol since stone crystals are part of the medicine man's equipment. But what-
301 ever its symbolic significance, it is for the Cubeo the ornament of
554 major prestige, limited to the high-ranking sibs. The quartz from
[756] which this pendant is laboriously made and drilled is found, I was
[437] told, only on the Tiquié River and is widely traded in the region.
[614] The *Hehénewa* claim that their first ancestors brought the *kenádox* with them and that is why they alone may wear them. Koch-Grün-
[184] berg found these pendants to be widespread among the Tucano, where even children wore them.[2]

## HEADMANSHIP

622 The headmanship, whether of *habókü* status or *kenámi upákü*,
613 normally stays within a particular lineage, although no lineage has a specific and traditional claim to the office. The office may go from a father to his eldest son or from a man to his next younger brother, depending upon circumstances and upon which of these pushes himself forward most effectively. Koch-Grünberg observed that among

[2] Martius (1867, I, 599 ff.) observed that the quartz cylinder is a special trait
[135] of the Vaupés. He put the source of the stone at the Apaporis and Caquetá rivers
[324] and reported that it took two generations to make a pendant. The stone is ground into shape with volcanic ash obtained from the Solimoes River and the hole is bored with a bamboo drill. He saw chiefs on the Vaupés who wore pendants drilled through the long way, an exceptional mark of high status. The size of the pendant, according to Martius, was in proportion to the deeds of the wearer in war and in the hunt.

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pared. The defense leader was the headman's son. An earlier alarm had already brought the Independents to the main house and a boy had been sent to call in the Satellites and to warn the neighboring sibs. The headman's son, after a hasty consultation with the other young adults, decided upon a psychological defense. He fetched a police officer's discarded white tunic with brass buttons and shoulder straps that he had been cherishing, put it on over his bare body, and strode out to frighten the enemey. The women and children were assembled in the maloca with one man as their guard. Other men fanned out through the manioc gardens and into the surrounding brush to search out the enemy. One stray shot was fired by a defender. The house was kept under guard for several nights thereafter and then the danger was declared past. 721 723

An attack by the Cariban Umaua (*Maúnwa*) that occurred three generations ago is still vividly recalled. The *Bahúkiwa*, warned that the enemy was ascending the Cuduiarí by canoe, prepared an ambush. They dammed the river with the bark sheeting of house walls and waited to assail the enemy with bow and arrow. But the enemy were armed with rifles and they killed a great many of the *Bahúkiwa*. 726 648 [173]

When the attackers first came, the Indians on the Cuduiarí did not know whether they were men or women, because they wore their hair long and were dressed in long shirts. The Umaua attacks were so fierce that for several years the Indians were forced to abandon the Cuduiarí altogether. Some gave up farming and lived on the savannah, foraging fruits and nuts and eating tree bark. When they finally returned to the Cuduiarí, the manioc plantations were all gone and they had to resume manioc cultivations from seeds they had preserved. The other Indians of the Cuduiarí gathered on the Vaupés under the direction of a *Hehénewa* war leader, who told them that the white man would save them from their enemies. He made a clay image called a *tupana* (the Tupían and lingua franca for a deity). They danced and sang for two months, until a Colombian came. The idea of the *tupana* came, they say, from a Brazilian caboclo. When the Colombian arrived, he told them that he had heard their singing in Bogotá and had come to rescue them. They then returned to their former homes on the Cuduiarí. 648 722 648 [789] [177]

In past years raids were more frequent and determined.[3] The Cubeo fought with bow and arrow and protected themselves with body-length shields of stiffened animal hide, deer, jaguar, or tapir. The 726 411 714

[3] Tribes with whom the Indians of the Cuduiarí claim to have fought include the Cariban Umaua, all the formerly Arawakan sibs of the Querarí River, tribes of the Isana River, and the *Hehénewa*, after they had arrived from the Papurí. [648]

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A
woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen 844
a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by [606]
her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do [789]
anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There [591]
is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and 845
require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not 776
affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in [756]
labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may [754]
be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with [761]
a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwäntadjü*: making a person) is a dangerous period. 844
First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural 789
perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety 84
of the newborn infant rests with the parents — with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the pre- [833]
cautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may 846
also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten 826
plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

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843 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed.
826 Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating.
[302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to an-
[763] other, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca
854 on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers)
302 she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red
[789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment,
[856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on
[603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these
[606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the
[262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others
[372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their
[828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians. 846

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kūrūdjū*) by painting its body with genipa. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow. [789] [856]

The arrival of an infant to the maloca is a period of grave crisis. It is the principal responsibility of the men of the maloca to dispel the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *couvade* – the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chanting away its dangers with appropriate spells. The grandmother paints the infant with genipa. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbilical cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant. 846 789 [604] [622] [756] [757] [837]

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly troublesome feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its distinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the 846 789 262

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846 789 262 fish that are mentioned. For example, a small fish that has many small bones, the *dóthe*, is addressed, "Son of the *dóthe* have no spines. Do not cause harm to our offspring. Allow [yourself] to be eaten."

[603] In the case of the aracú, the most common fish in the diet, the grandfather who is reciting the spells takes up a fish and cuts off its tail. If he did not do this, the tail when eaten would grow into a full-sized fish in the stomach and kill the child. After each spell has been recited the grandfather blows tobacco smoke, wafting his breath by an outward motion of the hand. The magical mechanism, as it was explained to me, is that the recitation invokes the fish and the blowing (*pupúdjü*) has the effect of dispelling the danger.

Capsicum is spelled and blown so that its odor, which has the power to dispel ghosts and spirits, will not harm the child. Manioc has a disturbing odor when raw. This odor will be harmful and the manioc itself will not nourish if the spell is not recited. The child will remain thin. Eating unspelled manioc cake will also cause the child's skin to become as hard and coarse as the bark of a tree. Each variety of manioc, however, must be mentioned by name.

For birds, however, the small white eagle is invoked because this bird, the *towáve*, eats all birds that the Cubeo eat. The spell states that as the "odor of burned birds" does not harm the *towáve* so it will not harm the human young. Similarly, for animals the young of the jaguar are invoked in behalf of all the game they eat. However, whereas the *towáve* is addressed generally in behalf of all birds, the spell for the jaguar must mention each of the animals he eats by name. Again, the danger to be avoided is in each case that of the odor of cooking.

846 789 The spell that is chanted as the river is "blown" refers to the anacondas, asking them not to notice the people who are bathing. The cigarette smoke as it is wafted over the river is told to form a heavy coating as of miriti fibers so that nothing that is below water can come to the surface.

The reference of these spells seems ambiguous for the Cubeo. It is clear, of course, that what is sought is protection for the newborn [551] infant. Since the infant has as yet no name and must be referred to only by the general designation *pwénte hyédokü* (offspring person), the spells, my informant explained, have beneficial effects for all offspring of the sib.

[302] The man who "blows" the river coats his hands and feet with genipa so that he seems to be wearing gloves and stockings. The genipa has magical power to dispel water spirits. He carries a handful of burning faggots from the hearth of the natal household while

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act believed to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers." 846 789

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press anything, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted. 846 [789]

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahú* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahúmikũ* (or *ko*). 551 851 [789] [856] 826 [192]

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is conducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather repeatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand- 553 603 789 593 [272] [614] [856]

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihi*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Uráhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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be a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident 524
that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the
game, or ceremony, to me as follows. Some children were left or- 524
phaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their 773
mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days they had become *taintürü* birds. They returned to the house and lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa* but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or 524
any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grünberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahúkiwa*.

## PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood 881
to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual
matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely
be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are [789]
subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until [856]
they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter. The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. 852
An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this 831
887
614

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the Ancients. In the naming and in the mourning ceremonies specific ancestors are invoked by name and by specific kinship reference, as the mother or the grandmother of the sib. In the case of postcoital connubial bathing the ancestors are not invoked either by name or by spell; the bathers merely participate in their magical presence in the river. Some cult activities are secret, others are not. The rule of secrecy applies to the flutes and trumpets. These bear the names of ancestors and may not be seen by women. However, whenever these instruments appear, a specific ceremonial role is assigned to the women. In the whipping rites, which are also initiation rites for boys, the women receive gifts of fruits and berries in the name of the Ancients. In the mourning rites the ancestor trumpets sound their notes of grief, to which the women respond with wailing of their own. That is, when the Ancients enter the maloca they naturally establish a relationship with the women of the house. On the other hand, when the Ancients' blessings are invoked, but without the ancestral presence, the women have no part in the proceedings. The women are ignored during the naming ceremony and during the recitation of the sib mythology. Basically, the ancestral cult belongs to the men. When the boys are shown the hiding place of the flutes and trumpets and are taught their names they are being initiated into a male cult and are drawn fully, thereby, into their roles as sibmen. The social function of the initiation is twofold: to complete the separation of the boy from his mother and align him with his father and his father's brothers, and to draw him from the immaturity of the play pack into the mature company of men. We may speak of these rites, therefore, as *rites de passage* as well, bearing in mind, however, that the passage is a long and gradual one. The Cubeo emphasis with respect to the development of the male is not that he suddenly crosses a dividing line from boyhood to manhood but that he grows. The magic of the initiation ceremony is a magic of growth. Growth magic, it will be recalled, occurs at three stages in a boy's development: at birth, after a year when he receives his name, and then for a series of years after he has entered the play pack.

For a fuller understanding of the Cubeo cult of *Bekûpuãnuã* one would need to know more about corresponding ceremonies among neighboring tribes. Curiously, no other ancestral cult has been reported for the entire Northwest Amazon. Koch-Grünberg, whose knowledge of the tribes of the region extended over many years, did not mention any ancestral doctrines even though he had lived for several months with the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiari. But like others who have studied this region his investigations were surely led astray

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peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the origin traditions. 769 796 184

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors. 769 796 178

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors. 866

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective during the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplementary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt. 789 856 [515] [534] [824] [515]

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way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will announce the arrival of *Xudjiko* and her consort. Bearing their masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grandmother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grandmother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a framework to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the "grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occasionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the doorway with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will be used for making the *dúpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they represent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pendant, jaguar-tooth and aramadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy

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765 staff as a weapon. They pose with head bowed, both hands resting
765 on the weapon. The chief mourner holds a rattle hung with a feather
53 and eagle down in his right hand. He begins the formal oration, an angry declaration denouncing the unknown sorcerers who have killed his father. As he speaks, in a hoarse, changing voice, he swings the rattle in a vertical arc, pivoting on his left foot, facing one mourner and then the next. His gestures are vigorous and his pivot is crisply executed. He swings the rattle upward almost into the face of the mourner whom he is addressing. He has hardly completed the circle when each of the mourners, swinging his right arm in an arc, turns to a companion and recites a similar angry declaration. The companion to whom he turns also pivots to face him, awaiting his return to reply. This part of the ritual is executed as a ballet. The declaimer is poised with his right foot forward, waiting for his partner to pivot and face him, and not until the partner has executed his pivot does he begin his declaration. The headman, having initiated these hoarse and angry harangues, turns his attention to the ceremonial remains of the deceased. His head bowed, he gently shakes the rattle over them and utters a sad lament that he has lost a father. After an interval of angry shouting the mourners re-form the close circle, bow their heads, and weep. They pause to blow their noses, wiping their hands on the fringes of the masks that have been hung nearby.

765 Other members of the sib are not part of this close mourning circle.
614 They put on their masks and dance, circling the mourners. The
535 *Xudjiko* trumpets are silent because they are sounded only by the
[533] men of the household of the deceased, who are now part of the circle of mourners. The mourning of the men signals the women to begin again their wailing, their piercing lamentations rising clearly above every other angry and mournful sound.

765 This interval of mourning lasts some 15 minutes. The ceremonial property of the deceased is then removed and the men rest, drinking
[535] chicha and smoking. Dancing resumes after half an hour. At dawn
[789] the Jaguars cut off the brown bark-cloth trimmings from their jug trumpets and pass them among the men to chew. This will guard them, they say, against sorcery from their phratry mates, who will arrive as mourners late in the afternoon.

765 Later in the morning the men put up crossbars to "guard" the
276 women's entrance. After this *mihí* is prepared. A sibman staggers in with a bundle of the narcotic vine. *Mihí*, as always, is carried in the ritual manner, one of its features being a representation of great weight. The bearer bends low, raising his knees high, and circles the

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is considered a great deal.

The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives.

The first guests to arrive are the Satellites – members of the sib – who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head. Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly delivered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound *ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoulder. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted at the rear door by female hosts.

While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *óyne* in particular, as a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that characterizes the early stages of the *óyne*.

After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to

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beeswax. When enemy *Maúnwa* attack, the paste is thrown among them, causing them to fall stupefied to the ground. It is the shaman, however, who can contend with these orgres most successfully. The *abúhuwa* are frightening to behold, the Indians say, because they have two faces, one in front and one in back. Some have sticky bodies and when they embrace an unwary victim he can no longer escape. A mother and child are favorite targets of these *abúhuwa*. The mother is killed and the child is reared as one of them. It in turn then seizes people. Female *abúhuwa* have a preference for men and the *abúhukü* tries to catch a woman. 776 [789] [756]

*Nyáma abúhuko* (Deer ogre) is a black ogress, an evil spirit of the deer, who catches children wandering about alone. She tosses them into the air so as to break their necks and then and there eats them.

Another ogre is *Opómbibekü*, a dwarf with an enormous penis, who flies about at night, seizes little boys, and eats them.

*Kómi* is also an ogre, one who emerged with the first people. Eventually people caught him and burned him alive. They then noticed that whatever came near his ashes died. Sorcerers still go to fetch his ashes for their "poisons." [754]

Snakes, the boa and anaconda in particular, are dangerous to women. The land boa rapes women in their manioc gardens so that they give birth to snakes. The water anaconda attacks menstruating women who come to the river. A menstruant is endangered by land snakes, too, but can ward them off by painting with genipa. Nothing, however, will protect her in the water. The water anaconda is a threat to a newborn child and to its father as well. This menace, however, is easily counteracted by the simple magical techniques of the old men. The dangerous anaconda is the white anaconda and not the ancestral black anaconda, which is regarded as friendly "because he knows his people." He is not venerated and is not the object of ritual although he is represented in petroglyphs on the Cuduiarí. In the old days, I was told, he was kept as a household pet but for sentimental reasons only. 776 825 [841] [789]

The river is also the home of the *muápwänwa* (fish people), who are anthropomorphic spirits. They are small people who live in a house beneath the river and move about at night, sometimes brushing moistly against travelers and frightening them but otherwise harmless. 776

The fish, who are of great importance in Cubeo ceremonials, not only in the *óyne* but in their own fish dances and fish songs by which the Cubeo celebrate great catches, are a "people." They, too, live in a house and have a chief, *Munyúnbekúku* (Old man *munyún*), a 776 825

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775 form. "Since they did not care for people," the Cubeo say, "they cannot live among the souls of people after death." Those who have committed incest or have eaten a forbidden fish called *namúri* have souls after death in the form of the *bawéko*, a bird that is feared greatly.

The ghost is called *dekóků* (dream man) or *pwánků dekóků* (dream man person).[3] The distinction between *umé* and *dekóků* is not precise. That is, when the Cubeo speak of the death of a person they will say that the *umé* leaves and the souls take on human form, and add that the *umé* may return to the house and disturb people. Having begun to speak of *umé*, they follow it into its ghostly phase. On the other hand, it is when the narration begins with the spirits of the dead that they will use the term *dekóků*.

The Cubeo have no dread of the spirits of the dead. The spirits depart and live their own life under their own headman. Beliefs on the nature of the afterlife are not uniform among the Cubeo, however. The most common view is that the spirits of the dead of the same phratry live together, all in one great phratry house under a headman. Women, however, occupy a vague place in the afterlife, wives staying with their husbands. The women spirits, however, lack their full economic function, since in the afterlife spirits live by hunting and gathering but not by farming. The dead do constitute a nuisance. [824] Shortly after death the ghost returns to the house hoping to entice a [789] sibmate to go with him, but he is easily dispatched by burning capsicum. The grave, in the house, is no hallowed place, and shortly after the earth has been packed in place the children play over it. When people encounter a place on the river where the spirits of the dead can be heard they do not hurry on but pause to listen. The spirits of the dead will never be encountered at high noon, the zenith, so to speak, of the secular part of the day. The spirits of the dead hunt only at night. They eat butterflies, grubs, and all snakes including the founding anaconda. Significantly, they do not drink chicha. The Cubeo do not say why, but it would seem that they have visualized an afterlife that is lacking in the essences of life, that is to say, the ingredients that the Cubeo associate with vital intensity. The spirits of the dead also lack manior. There is some debate among the Indians as to whether the dead live in a house; they lack ceremonial life and sib autonomy. Literally, then, the Cubeo visualize a shadow existence after death.

The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All

[193] [3] *Dekó* is the stem in the verb "to cause to disappear."

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778 of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known as *pariékoků* (man of power) or as *yaví* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékoků* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yaví* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every *yaví* is a *pariékoků* but not every *pariékoků* is a *yaví*. The *yaví* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékoků* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékoků*, but *yavís* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yaví* and the *pariékoků*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékoků*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parúků*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an exceptional act it is his *parúků*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleasantly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Shamanistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Generally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the shamans wage against one another. A *yaví*, I was told, has a different

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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kuriákũ* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kúria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kúria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the insertions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kúria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*duwaiyo*) and crystals (*kenádox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *duwaitũwũ* (to extract spines). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the powers that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *yaví*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *yaví*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted

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754 278 824 682 at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale ac-
754 278 counts for the origin of *pená*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekûpwânwa*. Sud-
824 682 539 denly *Kómi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kómi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kómi* told them to take him to a creek called *Manánkanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kómi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the Cuduiarí from Arawakan Indians by way of the Querarí.

278 824 Curare (*himá*) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only in war and not as a secret potion.

751 As a far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutcûdû*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

75 776 789 771 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man. The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*vei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhd*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yavi*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

diagonal lines. Then the women painted their own faces with *karayuru* and blackened their hands and feet. 796 [302]

As the sun's last rays filtered into the *maloca* and the mumblings of the council of elders died down, the shaman left the dark interior and stood in front of the men's doorway. In his hand he carried the *Kurubeti*, the sacred pebble stave. Intricate circles of blue and purple humming-bird feathers adorned one end, a swollen spearhead formed the other. This swelling was produced by soaking a bulge in the wood in water, then inserting this into a banana stem and heating the spearhead over a fire. The swollen wood is cut open and three pebbles are inserted. During cooling the wood shrinks and the pebbles are locked in the cavity. The shaman stood pointing the stave away from the *maloca*. He hit it with his right hand and the stave swayed from side to side in front of his body. The rattling of the pebbles prevented the evil spirits from entering the *maloca*. In the days of tribal war, we were told, among the people living further to the south, each warrior carried one of these staves and after victory would dance himself into a frenzy, beating the stave against his shoulder. 796 789

With darkness the festival began. Bréo carefully rolled back the cane mat from the *chicha* canoe and the women handed round gourd after gourd, full of the bitter drink. More and more *chicha* was handed round to groups of people sitting contentedly by their family fires. Some of the younger men began to play their panpipes, but as yet there was no cohesion; the groups seemed rather to be competing with one another and different tunes came from all sides, one drowning the other. Many of these men had put sprigs of sweet-smelling leaves under their loin-cloth strings and berry arm-bands. The scent from the leaves was curiously sensuous, like sweet lemon, and used as an elixir of love by the Tukano during their festivals. 796

The same confused cacophony of dancing and panpipes continued well into the night; it was the young men's duty to keep the shaman awake, for not once during the course of the festival was he allowed to sleep. Small groups moved up and down the *maloca*, joyfully playing their panpipes as they danced, then they retired to their family fires and drank more *chicha*. The shaman remained apart, sitting on his stool in the centre of the *maloca*, gazing as if in a trance. At his side lay a calabash of coca and the sacred pot of *yajé*, the most powerful narcotic used by Amazonian Indians. Prepared from the boiled juices of a jungle creeper, the red liquid gives the shaman hallucinations and he is able to predict the future progress of the festival. Suddenly he summoned Bréo to his side. All the men came to the centre of the *maloca* carrying their wooden stools and sat down near him. With heads bent low the men started a muffled chant, answering in unison the solo [756] [276] [787]

*Tukano profile and festival head-dress.* [see p. 78-B]

the *maloca*, facing the women's quarters. Dazed from the *chicha* and coca they gazed in front of them and sang a slow dirge, beating their staves on the ground. Slowly they moved off in a clockwise circle inside the four central posts. The tempo increased, but the chant remained the same, the voices grew louder and combined with the hollow thuds from the staves and castanet-like rattles. The whole atmosphere changed, no longer were there rival groups competing with their neighbours, instead everyone took part in the dance. The women joined in, slipping their small bodies under the linked arms of the moving men. The circle increased, the women with their right hand to the small of the back of one man, and their left to the hip of another. Only Wanina, the headman's wife, accompanied by her small children and carrying Bréo's youngest son under her arm, did not join the circle. She moved slowly round the centre, her eyes fixed constantly to the ground, uttering a high-pitched wail as the dancers moved solemnly about her. 796 535

The manioc dance continued through the night, but with the approach of dawn the younger members became impatient for a change of rhythm. To them such festivals were an opportunity for amusement, heavy drinking bouts and the possibility of finding a wife. One or two started to play on their panpipes, they were joined by others and soon the whole *maloca* became alive with young couples and trios weaving happily across the floor, in between the posts and along the sides of the house. Their young bodies gliding through the darkness, their feet delicately stamping the time on the ground, they seemed completely lost in the lovely panpipe tunes of the *chiruru*, the Tukano courtship dance. All too soon the thuds of the bamboo staves were heard and the elders again took control.

Throughout the entire festival the dominating figure was the shaman. Existing as he does in complete detachment from the rest, he sat alone, occasionally taking snuff from his snail-shell box. It was he who influenced the festival which, without him, would not take place. Every few hours he summoned the elders about him and as coca was passed round the mysterious chanting began. No one would tell us what was being recited, we could only gather that the tribal ancestors were being consulted and evil spirits exorcized. They did not like us to record this part of the ceremony, for quite understandably they believed we might take away their magic power. 796 756 789

Day and night the people danced, their plumed bodies glistening with sweat, caught in the beams of the sun or the dull glow of the torch-wood. There was continual sound – of panpipes, of cane staves, nutshell rattles and people's voices. Gradually the *chicha* canoes were drained. Gallons of the liquid had been consumed and the men had to rid themselves of their hangovers. Nonchalantly they poured boiled green-pepper juice down their nostrils from funnels made of leaves. With grunts and snorts they cleared their heads and staggered down to the river to bathe. Inside the *maloca* those that remained were asleep; many of the women had already left for the 796 [757]

4: Silva--469 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/318 cont./

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/footnote 4 cont./ concluded that there had been migrations of postdiluvian groups, without excluding the possibility of prediluvian migrations.

177 551

2nd -- Indians with Biblical names (see above II - 3); and 3rd -- some episodes of religious fanaticism that took place in the last century on the rivers Içana, Uaupés, and Papurí, with such repercussion that, in spite of the distances, /319/ they managed to worry the ones governing Manaus. Now it is not improbable that such episodes imply a more remote Christian influence.

177 • 792

In 1857 the Governador João Baptista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha heard talk of a great movement of the natives of the river Içana, attracted by a preacher who called himself the "Verdadeiro Cristo" /True Christ/. He then appointed as Missionary of the Içana and Uaupés Padre Romualdo Gonçalves d'Azevedo, "in order to thwart the preachings of the pretended Christ, to calm the agitation promoted and to obstruct the migration of the Indians to another people's territory." It indeed became clear to the Government that the "Christ" was trying to induce the Indians to move to the territory of Venezuela. It was feared that he was a foreign political emissary, perhaps even from England, France, or the United States. It was a matter of a Venezuelan Indian, Venâncio by name, who had settled in the povoação /village, town/ Cuiari, on the confluence of the homonymous river with the Içana, and, in the presence of a cross, he would preach his false doctrine, and the concept of him as Saint would grow. "He took advantage," says the Relatorio of Pe. Romualdo, "of the condition to which he was reduced by attacks of catalepsy, from which he suffered, to make believe that he would die, go to heaven, speak with God; and that he had the power to forgive sins" (Relatório dated February 10, 1858 -- Archivo do Amazonas of July 23, 1907,

/319 cont./

177
• 792

Vol. II, n. 5, p. 14). Foreseeing the attacks, he would proclaim beforehand his relations with God, by whose order he would demand payment from the Indians in exchange for the forgiveness of sins. At such news, the forest dwellers would go to see him from wherever they were found. The Missionary Frei Manuel de Santana Salgado, who, at the request of Pe. Romualdo, handicapped by illness, had replaced him, threatening police intervention, forced Venâncio to withdraw to Venezuela. Again during the journey of Frei Salgado another similar religious movement appeared near the "Povoação da Guia" /Town of the Leader/, on the igarapé Pirá-iauára. This time the protagonist was a Brazilian Indian, also named Venâncio, "who called himself Padre Santo enviado do Christo" /Holy Father sent by Christ/, and "the repetition of such acts took place, and it was there that the public confessions, divorces, and new marriages were made, all this being followed by profane entertainments with dances, eating and drinking, which also was practiced on the Cuiary in /320/ consequence of the teaching of the doctrine and the supposed miracles of the so-called Christ."

In his report dated from Cunury (river Uaupés) on April 12 of 1859, Pe. Romualdo told that Indians of several tribes were gathered in Juquira-rapecuma, on the Uaupés, "worshiping another Christ who had appeared there, practicing the same that had happened on Igarapé Piraiauára, on the Içana, that is, baptizing, marrying, etc., that this gathering numbered over a thousand persons armed with firearms and curabís (arrows with poisoned tips), prepared to resist the officials, in case they went there, as had happened on the Içana, that they would wait right there for the whites."

Indeed, Frei Salgado was received hostilely and had to withdraw in danger of his life on March 3, 1858. "According to what has been reported," proceeds the Relatório, "and is taken as certain, the Christ is an Indian, a native of the Uaupés, who resided in the district of Marabitanas, well known there by everyone, called Alexandre. In the retinue of the Christ," concludes the Relatório (Archivo do

[567]

4: Silva--471 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/320 cont./

177 Amazonas, October 3 of 1907, Vol. II, n. 7, pp. 85-90)
• 792 "are more than 10 captured Macus, who are used by them
[567] as slaves, to the point of selling them in exchange for a weapon, swords, axes, and whatever pleases them."

After Venâncio and Alexandre, a deserter by the name of Basílio Melgueiro renewed the same mistakes, states Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 20).

Around the end of 1880 another individual appeared, this one from the Arapásu tribe, who called himself Vicente Cristo and claimed to maintain dialogues with the spirits of the dead and with God himself, of whom he proclaimed himself to be a representative. He announced himself as "Pai dos Missionários" /Father of the Missionaries/, who, at his request, God had sent to the Caiarí. He fanaticized many, whom he made dance around a cross. Having harmed many seringueiros /rubber workers/ with his fanaticism, he was finally arrested in Barcelos.

A similar episode happened in the last decades of the past century on the Papuri. An Indian from the Tukano tribe (Subdivision of the Sakúro-põrá, see IV - 2, a), Lino Sêwa by name, appeared in the locality of Buxtwá-pweá (today Montfort). Natives of the Papurí and even of the Uaupés and Tiquié ran to him. He ordered each one to make a cross for himself, taught sacred songs, preached that everyone would go to
[115] heaven, and produced many cures with his remedies. The informant for these episodes was an old Indian woman from Pari-cachoeira, called Isabel, who completed her report by offering that, because she had not practiced fornication, "Saint" Lino took her as a helper in the preparation of the remedies. Among the extraordinary events Isabel tells of a marvelous blossoming of beautiful flowers in the entire region included

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/321/

177 between the Papurí and the Tiquié. Some old people who took
• 792 some of the remedies of the "Santo" /saint/ are still living (in 1949). These pilgrimages and cures ended with the death of Lino.

c) Concept of Religion.

121 Religion, in a more rigorous sense, is the theoretical and practical acknowledgement of a Supreme Being, whom we call God, as Sovereign Lord of the whole universe, which is a creation of his.

We take it here in a less rigorous and broader meaning, as belief in beings superior to human beings and different from them, with whom it is possible and expedient to be in communication, and the belief in a future extraterrestrial life different from the one that is led on earth (5).

5. M. Morris Jastrow (The Study of Religion -- New York, 1921 /1901/) reduces to three the constituent elements of Religion: 1st. recognition of one or several powers that do not depend on us; 2nd. feeling of man's dependence in relation to this power or powers; 3rd. possibility of dealing and communicating with these powers. Such a concept is inexact and incomplete. Inexact, since it leads one to confuse Religion with Magic. If this power or potency is something impersonal, like the cosmic force, a relationship and intercourse with it are not possible, and although the human being recognizes it as superior to himself, he does not worship it, he fears it and tries to conquer it and dominate it with particular practices that are called magical. We have, then, Magic.

/187 cont./

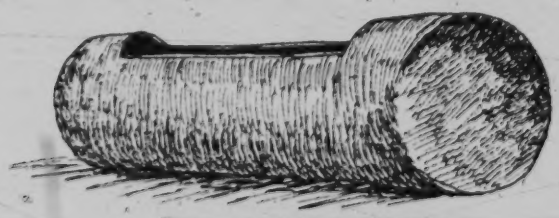
352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 276 [796] [178] /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utíkaro yaxpú or also utíkaro seré, or again mõrõ dõxkõ (?) (in Nheengatú emapú). In the dabacuris /religious celebrations/ the use of tobacco in the form of a large cigar, utíkaro, about 20 centimeters long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utíkaro is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 273 415 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pêru yuxkõ-sõ properly speaking means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú iwá, hence the term ubá, which means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxiri tub (pêru juxkõ-sõ)

4: Silva--472 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

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Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

/321 cont./

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/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to, and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

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"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

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This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

/335 cont./
823 legs (38),
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38. One of these drawings is seen on a rock of the Carurú-cachoeira, river Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

prodigious belly, enormous head, would look with dread and say in a low voice: Wãx-tĩ As if these representations were a perpetuation, in granite, of the memory of the terrible and feared monster. We have never witnessed any of these demonstrations of fear. Sometimes we have approached such petroglyphs and summoned near /336/ some Indians, and they have always appeared indifferent to such drawings. Moreover, we have found similar figures on the bark walls of huts and malocas, and, moreover, we have seen children draw them on the ground with a stick, and, therefore, without any semblance of religiousness.

764 It can, then, be affirmed that there is no indication of an
782 individual cult. There is, nevertheless, a social cult to be dis-
881 cussed, which is realized in the maloca and its immediate surroundings. There are principally three manifestations of this social cult: the offering of the first fruits or dabacurís, the puberty initiation, and the funeral. All three of which a spiritual communion, tightening the solidarity of the group.

782 2) Religious feasts with offering of the first fruits.

• 796 Their Poosé are religious feasts, in our opinion (39),

* [192]

39. An opinion that we have expressed since 1947 and that recently (1954) we verified to be also that of Koch Grünberg, who (Z. I. 372, and passim) distinguishes, moreover, religious dances and profane dances. Koch, nevertheless, accepts the translation demônio /demon/ for Wãx-tĩ, and even for other personages of the native legends.

and were called by the first explorers, with a term from the Língua

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/336 cont./

Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsá, dances of Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts consist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩrĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

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Ordinarily the native does not know (41)

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

[115]

The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506]

/337/

782 with the author: -- "These dances are the rites of the old ones,
• 796 it is their religion." And after having pointed out the respect
[115] that everyone has for such dances, he added: -- "If a drunken individual were to cross the line of the dancers, he would be thrown out; it is a great profanity, and he would be dishonored.

The sound of the instrument, we imagine, would stand for a propitiatory ceremony and dedication of the feast to Wãx-tĩ (43).

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43. We questioned various native women, even the most intelligent alumnae of the Missions, and all were convinced that the sound was the voice of Wãx-tĩ present at the feast among the human beings. We have heard of episodes in which the presence of ugly, mysterious beings among the dancers was affirmed. It is to be noted that we heard such episodes related by women. Perhaps because of a greater reserve of the men? Or because of a more excitable imagination of the women? It should be observed that in the Tukano language all things belong to the neuter gender. Nevertheless, Mĩrĩ (or Mĩnĩ, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés) is masculine. They positively affirm to us that the Mĩrĩ is maxsã, people. In the plural it becomes Mĩriã; and it should be observed that the plural in a is exclusively for animate beings.

*[192] [193]

It is the renewing of his voice, the perpetuation of his teachings and orders, as it were.

/337 cont./

796 Such feasts are held five to six times a year; not at fixed
782 times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or
585 also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.
881 /338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

*[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tĩye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tĩ. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tĩ of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

[123] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled)
[124] of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in gen-
[115] eral the old people, who know more, are the most reserved. Asking the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

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/footnote 45 cont./ he would not allow him to attend the dance. Confirmation of this religious character, it seems to us, is also found in the refusal to our request to repeat the ceremony of the offering of the fish (waí poosé) under better conditions, so that we could film it. Nevertheless these Indians repeated the simple dances for us for this same purpose.

[126]

The Tukano Antônio Barreto (December of 1953) assured us that they did not do poosé in front of the whites. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to attend it and to film it. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 202): he moreover was able to attend it on the Umarí-igarapé, but many Indians appeared displeased by this, and the tuxáua José did not allow him to take photographs.

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As though they were undertaking a serious ceremony and not a diversion. Nothing will disturb these rites. Singing mysterious words (ancient dialect? or, with more probability, mere corruption) which they do not understand, dancing in a slow cadence and marking the time with stronger beats with the right foot.

[755]

/339/ 4th. -- They attribute to such feasts in addition an efficacious healing action. It can drive away all the sicknesses and even heal large wounds (46).

46. This is what Koch Grünberg was able to verify (Zwei Iahre, 202): "dem Yurupari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung sugeschrieben /sic/. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen" /a strong magical effect is attributed to the Yurupari dance. It is supposed to drive away all sicknesses, and even

/339 cont./

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/footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1) ), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

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6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

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7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compulsory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca. The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels, and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

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The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same tuxáua:

a) seat of the old ones, bũxkõrá duhurĩ-ko-mũ-rõ
b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ-rõ
c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ kõ-mũ-rõ
d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'ĩ-khãra duhurĩ kõ-mũrõ
d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrĩ maxsã duhurĩ kõ-mũrõ.

The first columns are called sahãrĩ kãrĩ boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrĩ), when they sleep (kãrĩ) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrĩ kãrĩ-tẽrõ (tẽrõ, on the Uaupés tẽnõ, means beam).

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• 796

1c -- Sahãri kãrĩ: boxtá-ri (sleeping column of the guests); 2c -- Baxsã wihyári boxtá-ri (column for starting the dancing); 3c -- Do'ákaro-ká boxtá-ri (column of the cooking); a -- Bõxkörá duhurí ko-mũ-rõ (seat of the old ones); b -- Bayá ko-mũ-rõ (little seat of the bayá or dance master); c -- Bayári wetamõgõ ko-mũ-rõ (little seat of the bayá's helper); d, e, f, g -- Wí'khãra duhusé ko-mũ (seats of the occupants of the maloca); d', e', f', g'-- Samãrĩ maxsã duhusé ko-mũ (seats of the guests); i -- Kaxpí-tõ (pot of caapí); j -- Kaxpí tõamĩ duhiri ko-mũ-rõ (seat of the one who distributes the caapí); l -- rede /hammock/ of the tuxáua.

/341/

*192 The second columns are called baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri; because it is beside the second column that the tuxáua takes the
535 initial position (wihyá: to come out) for the dances (baxsá). And
• 796 the respective beam is called baxsá wihyári-tẽrõ.

The columns at the back are called do'ákaro-ká-boxtá-ri, because the caxirí is prepared there (do'ákaro, place where one cooks, so explained Júlio). And do'karo-ká-tẽrõ is the beam that corresponds to them.

i) kaxpí-tõ, pot for the kaxpí

j) seat for the one who distributes the kaxpí, kaxpí tõamĩ duhirí kõmũ-rõ

l) hammock of the tuxáua; his compartment is called syõrĩ nĩgõya tuxkũ

The compartments of the residents of the maloca are called wi'i-ikhãraye tuxkũrĩ.

[342] With the hypothesis of its being a religious function, we
[622] must conclude that the temple is the maloca. Its name, baxsarí-wi, should be translated "house of the sacred dance," and not simply "dance house." The Priest is evidently the tuxáua, and not the pajé. The tuxáua, then, ties together the domestic, political, and sacerdotal powers, precisely like the ancient tribal chiefs among the Greeks and the Romans, and, in general, the chiefs of the primitive tribes.

a) "Poosé" without the mysterious instruments.

1) Ritual procession and banquet.

796 The tuxáua of the maloca that decides to hold one of these
(628) feasts determines the day and the offering, and tells this to the tuxáua of another maloca (of the same tribe or of a different tribe) where he is going to give his Poosé. The malocas take turns with
[178] this proposal. Formerly they were held with greater frequency, six or more times a year, as we said above, constituting the great preoccupation of these Indians. Not only are they being put off more, but their duration has also been reduced. Formerly they lasted as long as an entire week; today the cases in which they

• 796 /341 cont./
[178] last three or four days are already rare, and commonly they are limited to two days.

If it were called wai poosé, offering of fish, every male guest would bring smoked fish. If it is of pupunha, ĩ'rẽ poosé, they must likewise bring this fruit, etc. The most common poosé are those of fish, of beijú (ahũ-ga poosé), of pupunha, of inga (mẽrẽ poosé), of manivara /termite queen/ (mexkã poosé).

[192]

In the maloca where the dabacurí will be held, more or less three days before, or even earlier (the time necessary for the fermentation), the women busy themselves preparing a large quantity of drink: caxiri of beijú, or cará, of pupunha or of any other fruit /342/ in tubs or vessels that are covered with banana leaves in order to facilitate the fermentation. The activity is great; there is an extraordinary gaiety, loud laughter, a true clamour.

[273]

In the morning of the appointed day (the hour will vary according to the distances from which they come), the offerers start arriving, bringing the offerings. They arrive at the landing place (or at a short distance from the maloca, if they come by land) with only some painting or also with some feathers in their ears. Two men go up to the maloca in order to give a warning of their arrival and to fetch the drink. The chief of the maloca sends the drink to the landing place; while they wait for the strangers, they complete the painting.

[574]

When they are ready, which always happens around 9 or 10 o'clock (47),

47. Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, describing these feasts, says in the entry Tauucurí that the strangers arrive late in the afternoon. It did actually happen this way at two poosé that we attended among the Taryana of Iauareté, one of fish and the other of cunurí. The Tukano Antonio Barreto, however, in describing the dabacurí to us, asserted that on the Tiquié it regularly takes place in

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• 796 [123] /footnote 47 cont./ the morning. And the one that we attended in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955 was also in the morning.

[534] the visitors send another warning -- "it is time!" They take their musical instruments (japurutús or whistles) and the offering and, amid yells, the procession is organized by way of the road from the landing place to the maloca (or by way of the road by which they came).

The tuxáua goes in front, followed by two musicians with their japurutús (see VII - 3 c (3a) /see 3 c (3c)/) (48)

[115] 48. In July of 1955 the seringalista /owner of a seringal/ Armando Sarmento observed at a feast of the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés that the two who opened the procession held with the right hand the Japurutú, which they were playing, and with the left one the respective lady. The other men came behind them, with only the rhythm stick, ahũ-wõ, in the right hand, beating the rhythm of the steps, and without a lady. He also noticed that inside the maloca, where the procession turned around, there were pieces of beijú and peelings of pupunha scattered on the floor (the poosé was one of pupunha).

*[192]

and the men who bring the offering; the rest of the men behind. They make a turn around the maloca, then go in and make two turns inside, yelling, those who are entering and those who are already inside, a prolonged ẽẽẽ... (it is what is called oá:, to cry out). The men and youths of the maloca are arranged in Indian file, according to their rules of precedence, from the left side of the door to the back.

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• 796 /342 cont./
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The visitors deposit the offering on banana leaves or mats or baskets, displayed in the center of the maloca. Perhaps there is still more of the offering at the landing place; they go to fetch it and make their delivery.

[562] The women and children who have arrived gather at the
[858] back, where those of the maloca are already.

Once the offering is finished, and the shouts and music have
[622] stopped, those from outside, starting with their tuxáua, greet individually those of the maloca, /343/ starting with the first one
[576] in line, who will, naturally, be the local tuxáua. They are the common and formalistic greetings: -- "Did you come?" -- "I came!" "Did you come to the feast?" -- "I came." -- "Did you bring the offering (fish or the name of the fruit)?" -- "I brought." He goes on to greet in the same way the second man in the line and thus all the rest. All the visitors, in the order of their reception, imitate the first one. All, however, with much gravity. As they finish greeting those of the maloca, the guests are arranging themselves in a long line, according to their importance, on the right side, in front of those of the maloca, from the main door to the back.

[431] Two or more men of the maloca distribute a cuia /shell
[576] from the Crescentia cujete/ of caxirí to each guest. After all have
[562] drunk, they sit down, and the women of the maloca come to greet
[191] the men at some distance and without giving them their hands. If the women are from the tribe of the guests, these greetings are in the dialect of their own tribe and not in that of the husband.

The chief of the maloca speaks in a loud voice to his own wife (one of the indications of the matriarchalism): "They came to bring the offering (fish, fruit), you give thanks." She, with two women, goes to the center of the maloca and says -- "You brought with so much trouble fish (pupunha) for us. We have prepared a little caxirí in a hurry." Then the visiting chief answers them: -- "You may eat at will. The fishing (or the harvest) was small, but we have brought it with good will."

/343 cont./

796 574 Such formalistic greetings last an hour and a half. Afterwards the ritual banquet starts, without any further pragmatica, each eating whatever pleases him: first the men, more or less grouped in the front part of the maloca; afterwards the women and children, in groups at the back of the maloca.

[785] [273] Once this meal is finished, the ritual fast begins, that is, abstention from any food. It is only permissible to take some of the drink prepared for the feast. They do this, helping themselves copiously, even excessively, to the drink, which, besides, is very nourishing, being as it is, in reality, a thin pap (49).

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49. On a certain occasion, after eleven hours of laborious passage through the forest, we arrived at a maloca of the Bará, located near the headwaters of the stream called marĩya (tributary of the Tiquié), when a feast was being given there. One of our traveling companions, of the Bará tribe, who should have been very tired and undernourished, like all of us, since he was carrying the heaviest load, did not accept the food that was prepared for those of our retinue. He preferred to participate in the feast with his "brothers," and contented himself with only beijú caxirí.

2) Preparation for the dances.

*[192] The tuxáua, at a certain moment, tells the chief of the visitors that the banquet is finished and "he may open the box of the decorations" (mahã̃ poári axkã-ro).

*[192] [302] /344/ The women of the maloca come to fit the bands (uxtá-seri) to the guests' legs, below the knee, and to execute the body painting. The woman who painted him will be the guest's dance partner. It falls to the man, Pe. Humberto Limpens and the Tukano Antônio Barreto note, to paint the woman, and

/344 cont./
• 796 vice versa (50).

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[126]
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50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõõ wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

*[192]

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The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

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When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to entertain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a) ); it is a sign that the dances

• 796 /344 cont./
535 are about to start (51).

51. We have also seen the tuxáua, before distributing the snappers to the dancers, shake them simultaneously, holding in each hand one of the ends of the snappers. These kixtió, in a bunch this way, are what is called kixtió boxká, which is also the name of one of the sacred instruments (see VII-3, c (3c) ).

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The rest of the men imitate him; then each one ties his kixtió to the right ankle and adjusts his own waxsó-ro (cf. VII - 3, d (2) ).

*[192] Among the men who participate in the dances, one can distinguish three groups, regularly in pairs (2, 4, 6), according to the number of dancers:

[411] *[192] 1st) some with a complete outfit, lance and shield, and on the left shoulder the si-a yaxpú /sic/ (see adze, VII-3, d (2 l) );

2nd) others with a splendid outfit, but without shield or lance or the sió-a yaxpú;

/345/ 3rd) in the third category are the young men with simpler ornaments.

*[192] [534] [237] Those who do not have the lance carry some rhythm instrument, the ahũ-wõ or yuxkõ, or the flutes, these being covered with feathers from the tail of the arara, mahã i'ti, or from the japú, umũ-ka i'ti, or with a necklace of beetle carapaces, pexká pixkõrõá pe'tori (VII 3, d (2m) ).

The dance numbers follow, one after the other, according to the traditional program, corresponding to the various hours of the day and of the night. Some are longer, others, shorter. The intervals for rest are also just as variable.

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• 796 535 *[192] Some of these dances are performed partially inside and partially outside the maloca, for example, the one that is called "wa'wári baxsá," which could be translated as "the dance of the caps," since wá-wá is a cap plaited with arumã splints. The dancers moreover go to the yard of the maloca around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, again around midnight, before dawn, and, finally, around 9 o'clock in the morning. According to the legends, the ancestors of the tribes danced at those times outside the maloca. And the feast is not only a recollection, but is also meant to be a reviviscence of the principal episodes of the epopee of their origins.

[533] *[192] In one of these dance numbers the wife of the local tuxáua goes into the middle of the dancers' circle and utters a long and shrill cry, while the men continue to dance around her. This soloist is called yõhõgó (52).

> 52. Yõhõgó is the feminine present participle of yohõ, which seems to be an onomatope of the sound that she sings. An informant also called her nõ'mõ bayá, that is, woman bayá (see VII-6, a (2) ).

She must not take a breath during this dance, but cry out with only one breath. If she breathes in the middle of the song, it [115] means that she will not live long. In this dance, says a Piratapuya informant (Emiliana Castro), they imitate the hopping of the cotias /agouti/.

[273] The dances are about to start. The caxirí is served in large cuias. Each individual will drink as much as he wants. If there is any left, the next companion will empty the cuia, with the right, however, to help himself first from the cuia that will then be filled immediately. Those who distribute the drink represent the butterfly: they have a feather over each ear, representing the wings and a small tendril of cipo in a spiral on the forehead by way of a proboscis. They advance in a rush,

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796 535 [273] [562]

with short steps, in a zigzag, imitating simultaneously with the mouth the humming of an insect. Bearing a cuia in each hand, they give them to anyone who wants to take them, first the men and afterwards the women. As the cuias are emptied, they return to fill them anew and to distribute them in the same place and in the same way.

/346/ 3) Performance of the dances.

*[192] [622]

The tuxaua takes his initial dance position near the second column to the left of the central nave (baxsá whyarí boxtá; see illustration above /see p. 511/; at his side, in order of importance (53),

> 53. Importance which corresponds, more or less, to age. We were not able to verify whether they are arranged in an order strictly corresponding to the importance of the Gens itself (according to the classification -- IV-2, a (2) /see IV-2, a (3)/), because generally all the dancers are of the same Gens.

are arranged the other men. Each one, with a lance or a rhythm instrument in the right hand, places the left one on the right shoulder of his neighbor, and they are more or less in a semicircle. Then, a song starts to the sound of the instruments, which they strike on the ground simultaneously with the right foot (perhaps also with the snappers on the ankle), in a slow rhythm. They take a step toward the center of the circle and draw back, then another one toward the side, and they start to move in a circle, now to the right, now to the left, slowly. Sometimes they gather in a circle, which now becomes tighter, now bigger, now they go around in a circle. At a certain moment the women, one after another, start coming in, in a required, or at least constant, position during all the dance numbers. They place themselves between one man and another, with the head somewhat bent forward, resting the nape of the neck under the arm of one of

/346 cont./

• 796 535 *[192]

the men and with her own arms holding by the waist the two men whom she is between. The eyes are turned toward the center of the circle, and the points of the lances, yõxse-phĩrĩ, converge toward this point when they carry them.

At a certain point the local tuxáua gives an order indicating that it is the middle of the dance. Two men, among the leaders, go into the middle of the circle, make some turns, and finally come back to the line with the rest.

At a special order the women abandon their places, each one shouting her word. The dance ends with expressive whooping by the men; all those armed with a lance leave, bending as if they were looking for something, and, advancing toward a corner of the maloca, make a thrust with the lance toward an imaginary point about a meter above the ground. They call this "blow-to-the-white, pexká-sã paasé" (54).

*[192] [123] [124]

54. The Indians have always appeared very reserved in explaining to us the meaning and purpose of this "blow-to-the-white," although they had revealed its name to us without any embarrassment, perhaps thinking that we would not know how to translate it. On two occasions a native of the Tukano tribe of the lower Uaupés confirmed to us that "They do not like the whites and consider all of them enemies." Another native, also belonging to the Tukano tribe, although from the Papuri, in response to our question as to whether he liked the "white" or the "caboclo" better, asked us the meaning of the word /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ "caboclo." To our answer that caboclos were the children of a civilized man and Indian woman, such as are on the Rio Negro, he answered immediately: --"We

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/footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

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55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b) ), melodies affected almost always by deep nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1) ).

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Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

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796 831 It is also during these intervals that amorous scenes occur, in broad daylight, perhaps in a hidden corner or not, and more freely at night (56).

56. It follows from the information obtained that the rendezvous must take place outside the maloca (cf. VII-5, c). Koch Grünberg saw that the couples indeed went out together, and he was told clearly for what purpose (Zwei Iahre, 372). It is, however, more common for the men to leave by the main door and the women by the back one, according to a previous understanding, and for them to meet outside. Some of the young men who have attended the Mission schools revealed the licentiousness of the native feasts.

[115] *[192] It will be enough to cite the following episode narrated by Patrícia Vasconcelos. On the Macú River, which empties near Teresita (Colombian bank of the river Papuri) there was a maloca of the Desana where feasts took place with so many immoralities that during one of these orgies the earth opened up and swallowed the maloca and the dancers, "Bisíu bahwápõ baá-peokoápõ, Bisíu /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ appeared and devoured everything." On the following day songs and dance music could be heard at the spot of the vanished maloca, a spot that can still be seen today, marked by a depression in the ground. At present (1955) Patrícia's sister-in-law lives near there.

and they can also go outside the maloca.

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535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

[514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young
[534] men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3,
[533] c (3c) ). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, i (4) /see
273 i (3)/). One of the old Kõmũ prepared it during the dabacurí.
*[192] At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over
[533] the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Carurucachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

/348 cont./

796 273 we have seen. It is, however, a sign of weakness, from which the Indian ordinarily abstains. It is a show of strength and masculinity to drink it and not fall down drunk. Besides it is "the plant which makes one dream," and the forest dweller wants it, in spite of its bitter taste.

Two by two, according to their importance, the men approach in order to drink the kaxpí, and soon after also caxirí, in order to take away the unpleasant flavor of the first drink, so it seems. They come equipped with the cipo shield (VII - 2, e (1) /see VI - 2, e (1b)/) and the stick-of-the-onça /see yaí-gõ above/, if these are in the maloca. The kaxpí will yet again be served twice more, the same ritual being observed. It is no longer obligatory, however, to drink it, and many, in fact, abstain from it. The individuals begin to feel besotted. Some, perhaps, fall on the ground, others vomit. This one seems to see in front of his feet a stick, a snake, /349/ or a lizard; he wants to jump over it and falls down. The inebriating effect varies with the individuals; and it is a satisfaction for those of the maloca to verify that the kaxpí was strong and the guests are dizzy. Some, in this condition of inebriation, give cries, throw down objects, break vessels, bows, arrows, whatever they find at hand. The Kõmũ who "blew" the drink "will blow" now over the drunken and excited individuals, in order to neutralize the effect of the drunkenness. This is information from the Tukano Antônio Barreto. The last one to drink it will be the local tuxáua, who, with the lance at the ready, takes three turns, saying some unintelligible words. Meanwhile, an Indian beats on the entrance door with a stick, likewise shouting out some words.

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In observing such a ritual, the kaxpí is served three times, the vessel that contains the drink being put outside the maloca in the sun after each time. The last time is already in the middle of the night.

[184] According to the Wanana custom, at the first time two cuias are served to each individual, at the second time just one cuia, and at the third one two cuias again. When there are several types of kaxpí, one begins with the weakest one.

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• 796 [354] Between the last columns of the maloca a fire burns, which an old Indian stirs up frequently (58).

[554] 58. In the subdivisions of the tribes (cf. IV-2, a (2) ) it fell to those of the last category to keep the fire lighted.

"It is to illuminate the earrings of the dances," they explain to us.

So they spend the night, and one after the other falls from drunkenness, tired and sleepy, while the stronger ones continue dancing. At given moments there is a noise like a fight; the men will beat again on the entrance door. Under the effect of the alcohol there are heard at intervals disorderly shouting, noisy laughter, animated discussions, not infrequently fights and violence or even murders. That atmosphere of excitement and [833] darkness is most conducive to immoral practices (59).

59. Already at the end of the eighteenth century the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, vicar of S. Gabriel, was complaining: -- "During their banquets and feasts, there are always spirituous beverages, which they call caxiri, mucururú, pajaauarú and caeçuma, made out of mandioca, batatas, and fruits, with which they get drunk to the point of crapulence" (o. c. p. 486).

[833] At first they perform them more discreetly, going outside the maloca for these relations; later, when they are drunker, they do it even inside the maloca, in the hammocks or on the floor. Generally, however, there is no fecundation in these relations (60).

60. So they assured us, and they attribute

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/footnote 60 cont./ it to the quality of certain plants that they use in these caxirís. It is possible that their state of intoxication makes fecundity difficult; just as it is likely, moreover, that the affirmation of infecundity results only from the lack of means of verification or of attention to the problem.

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/350/ We thought that these immoral practices were a consequence of the intoxication. The Missionaries also thought this, although one of them pointed out to us that the inebriation was intentionally promoted for libidinous satisfactions. We nevertheless had many and categoric affirmations that these sexual practices, even the incestuous ones, are not only licit, but even established by the customs, and for this reason recommended by the "Old Ones," in order to ensure the happiness of the people and the fecundity of nature (cf. VII - 5, c).

5) Legendary commemorations -- Rite of the cigar.

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Legendary commemorations. We have the impression that to the original elements of these feasts, let us call them the ritual elements, with the passing of time, were introduced other profane ones, such as the musical intermezzi performed by the individuals of the younger generation to the sound of the flautas-de-pã /Panpipes/ and the japurutús. Among the ritual elements must appear the Legendary Commemorations. After the first dance numbers, representatives of the tribes who are participating in the Wĩx-tĩye baxsá detach themselves from the natives and sit down on little seats, one in front of the other, in the nave occupied by the men. These individuals are chosen from among the Komũã, and they must, naturally, show the qualities necessary for their function, that is, knowledge of the legends, a good memory, a lively imagination, facility with words.

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796 538 [123] At the various times that we had the opportunity to attend these feasts, we did not see any initial ceremony. Each one seated in front of his antagonist, at a distance of a meter perhaps, they start to narrate in a singing tone accompanied by broad gestures and alternately with the right and the left arm. They unravel the legends of the origin of the world and of the tribes, as well as the exploits of their ancestors. They speak alternately and sometimes also simultaneously, breaking off only take a breath and perhaps, at a given time, to recall some further episode. The event told by his competitor will sometimes serve to remind him of another episode. So it seems to us.

If, by any chance, they carry to him the cuia of caxirí, he receives it without looking; he will keep it in his hand until he finishes the episode that he is narrating, and then he will swallow it rapidly, returning it empty to the one who brought it, and who remained patiently waiting.

It seems to be a matter of a true challenge. A competition of oratory and also of time, of rapidity of locution, of physical or, better, pulmonary endurance. During all this time they do not concern themselves about the audience, though there may perhaps be an indiscreet white who has come closer to observe better. At a certain point, however, /351/ one of the old men of the maloca intervenes and interrupts one of the narrators (we do not know whether he does it only to one of another tribe or maloca who came for the poosé, as in the case that we had a chance to observe), directing some words to him in a rapid dialogue. They informed us that it is the practice, and it is a thanks for his activity. But soon afterwards the competition proceeds with the same rhythm and intonation.

276 796 538 The Rite of the Cigar. The principal act of the Legendary Commemorations is the Rite of the Cigar, which takes place around 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning, and which marks, moreover, the official ending of the poosé. Two enormous cigars, each tied to its fork (VI 2, b (5) ), starting with the tuxaua and one of the Kõmũã, will pass simultaneously from mouth to mouth,

796 /351 cont./
276 to the least important of the men who have participated in the
538 dances, and who arrange themselves in two lines, one in front of the other, all, however, sitting down. Each man takes some puffs and passes the cigar to his neighbor, and thus everybody
*[192] smokes several times, until the cigars are consumed. The tuxaua and the bayá alternate with the Komũã the episodes of the history of the origins, dõxporó-kase kextí, recalling the different places from where their ancestors came, and the exploits that marked this ascent. They do it, however, in a singing rhythm, prolonging the final syllables of each part that they narrate.

796 Once this rite is concluded, the sticks and snappers are
574 gathered up, the men take off their ornaments, which are carefully kept in the box for this purpose (VI - 2, d (7) ). The guest
576 tuxaua gives thanks in a loud voice: -- "The poosé was very good. We enjoyed ourselves very much, etc."

796 As the conclusion of this rite and of the fast that they must observe at these feasts, the Kõmũã who prepared the kaxpí puts in the mouth of each man a roasted pepper. For the young ones there is prepared a broth with lemon juice and pepper (and sometimes also salt), and this is applied to their noses with a funnel of leaves. The young man must draw this broth into the mouth and swallow it. After this ceremony, they can take their mingau or any food whatsoever.

The entertainment might continue, principally among the younger persons. Ordinarily, however, they adjourn to the ham-
[513] mock (often two persons in the same hammock) and rest, in order to start the amusements again in the cool of the afternoon, around 4 o'clock.

5) /sic; 6)/ Games.

[524] We have spoken of the number of games that take place between the dances, but occur principally in the prolongation of the feast, that is, from the second day on.

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796 1st. -- Some of the guests come buzzing, like the carapanã
524 (crepuscular mosquitos /Culex fatigans/), and, with a little stick in the hand, they start stinging the others, who try to shoo them away.

2nd. -- Afterwards others come, pretending to be ku'sĩro (an animal perhaps legendary, similar to the dog, some say, and which makes a clamor in the forest), making noise, dragging pot or stick, doing this up to the center of the house. Those of the maloca beat on the ground with a stick in order to chase them away.

We have watched a similar challenge for two hours, finally leaving the competitors, who went on with the same enthusiasm.
[178] Nowadays many of the younger generation, instead of listening to
[535] those monotonous narrations, prefer to dance enthusiastically with their female companions to the sound of the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/.

[273] 3rd. -- The caxirí is served; some no longer want it. The companions force them to take it, always in jest.

4th. -- The chief of the guests comes in with a torch of turí
796 (VI 5, a (4a) ), lighted, because it is already dark. His compan-
574 ions come in, throwing down objects, taking fruits, beijú, eating them. All feigning an attack on the maloca. A simulation so well done by the way that the civilized present become frightened, believing that it is a matter of an enemy attack and that a fight is about to start. In reality many feasts degenerate into fights and are intentionally taken advantage of for reciprocal vengeance.

5th. -- Some of the guests now come hopping, squatting,
524 imitating the toad, and making the characteristic sound with the
796 mouth: "uão... uão... " They enter the maloca, and those who
574 are there ask the toads: -- "Where are you going?" "I am going to visit my relatives." -- "Your relatives have all died." And the toad, at this news, faints.

/352 cont./

796 524 6th. -- Afterwards some approach equipped with tipitís /mandioca presses/, in order to pretend they are snakes. Upon reaching those of the maloca, they maneuver the tipití, shortening it and lengthening it over them, as though to eat the toads (61).

796 524 535

61. Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, p. 379) describes the "dance of the snake" which he attended at a feast in Iauareté. Two enormous snakes of 30 to 40 feet long, made of cipo, hay, and straw, and painted bright colors. Each one held by 12 to 15 persons, they performed dance movements, as though trying to attack each other, which actually happened after some recoiling and weaving about, to the great liking of the spectators.

/353/ 7th. -- Young men and boys, eight or ten in number, arranged more or less in order of size, starting with the taller ones, position themselves in Indian file, each one holding with his hands the shoulders of the one who precedes him, and half bent over. That whole human column advances step by step, alternately swaying to the right and to the left. The tallest young man, who leads the line, sounds the instrument called "deer head" (see VII - 3, c (3c) ): pẽru wãstya (bring caxirí) repeatedly. Unexpectedly this standard-bearer of the procession backs up, sounding kéro, kéro, kéro (quickly, quickly, quickly), forcing the whole column to back up. Sometimes the movement is so abrupt that some, generally the last ones, fall to the ground, the game provoking general hilarity. Thus the amusement proceeds.

*[192] [534]

796 /353 cont./
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Those who feel tired go to sleep. In the morning they take their bath, drink their mingau, and leave freely, that is, not all at once, but without a formal farewell, in small groups. Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Tauúcurí) tells that he saw them all leave solemnly in another procession as far as the landing place, as at their arrival.

b) Poosé with the mysterious instruments -- flagellation.

*192 According to the statements by the Tukano pajés Henrique
796 from Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), the
534 sacred instruments, or mĩrĩá (juruparís) (62),
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[115]

> 62. A young man gave us the following explanation: "This instrument is very old; the one who found it was a man who had a son and two daughters. The daughters stole the instrument, and a bird played it very well. Now fearful that they might steal it again, they do not let it be seen, nor do they tell this story in the presence of the women." This deficient information reminds one of the legend of Uaracapá (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

are used only during the poosé (dabacurís) of fruit (cucura, patatuá, cunurí ucuquí, etc.), therefore not during those of fish (waí poosé). Even during those poosé, instead of the mĩrĩá, one might sound the flute mawáko (cf. 3, c (3c) ), as the Christian povoados closer to the Missionary Centers generally do. As we have indicated above, there are two types of mawako, both of imbauba, the larger one of about 30 to 40 centimeters, like a common fife, and blown by the upper orifice: the smaller one of 10 to 15 centimeters, with an orifice in the middle, laterally, by which one makes it sound. Two of the dabacurís that we attended in Iauareté were held with the latter.

/353 cont./

796 Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some
534 men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the
*778 landing pla[illegible] It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kãsé.
[192] /354/ The women and children who came to the feast,
[562] barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut them-
[858] selves in (63),

[343] 63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩriá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

796 The guests then go toward that local landing place to which
534 the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women,
778 submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The
562 sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female
688 sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with
[278] poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ.
*[192] Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

• 796 /354 cont./
534 They organize the procession of Wãx-tĩ, which will take
778 the offering, as was described above, from the landing place
562 to the maloca, a procession in which only those of the masculine
786 sex who have gone through the puberty initiation rite participate.
They walk naked, all painted, in front, hanging from the waist,
the waxsó-ro (or tanga of tururi, see VII 3, d (2) ), sounding the
instruments, which at the same time are shaken up and down,
and with lateral movements and contortion of the body. The
*[192] shape of the instrument (65),

65. It is elongated, wrapped in the inner bark of tururi, which in Tukano is called waxsó-kõ (perhaps from the same root as waxsó, semen; see Note 41, VI-3, a).
[532] Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 69) tells that on the rocks of the cachoeira of Hipada (Uaupuim-cachoeira, on the river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana) he found a representation of Kũay, son of Yaperikuli, with a long penis. It is proof, it seems to us, of the connection between the cult of Kõay, or Wãx-tĩ of the Tukano, and that of the phallus. Perhaps one is even justified in seeing a phallus in the instrument, and for this reason it might be a symbol of Wãx-tĩ or Kõay.

the movements they give to it, the body contortions of the participants, all the circumstances of this procession and the sexual liberties that go on during the feast, bring it close to the phallic processions of classical antiquity in the cult of Bacchus, and these native feasts well deserve the name of "Phallustanzen" /Ger. "phallus dances"/. There is even a similarity to the paroxysmal flagellations of the cult of Cybele of Greece and Rome, and of the Mediterranean civilization in general.

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Indian playing the mĩrĩ (jurupari)

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Always playing the mĩrĩã, the men surround the maloca where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door. Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play the mĩrĩã. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances. Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during the dances.

796 /355 cont./
562 Then the doors of the maloca are opened, and the women
858 and children come back to it, and the feast and the ritual banquet take place as was seen above.

785 /356/ Before the dances, the flagellation of the boys who
562 have not participated in the procession proceeds. They beat with
796 a reed or with ingá bark. One of the men takes the child by the legs, another by the arms, and the leader of the dances applies some strokes on his back and belly. They explain that it is to make them grow fast, and for this reason they also stretch the child during the flagellation.

The flagellation of the men will be done without interrupting the dances. Each one, standing up, receives three blows on
*[192] the back and then, as retribution, gives them to his neighbor. The instrument for this flagellation is the adabí, in Tukano wã'sõ-rĩ; it is a stick almost two meters long, but the ligneous part was extracted from its upper end, and it thus became very flexible (66).

[184] 66. Among the Wanãna and Kubewana the
[178] adabis are well made, and because of this they are kept for similar circumstances. In the other tribes nowadays any stick is used for the flagellation. They assured us that sometimes they even omit the flagellation. It seems to us that they might really do so, at least when some civilized is present. The Kubéwana of Ambaíba (river Querarí) showed us how they customarily applied the flagellation. In order for the blows to be more violent, the flagellator swings two or three times before delivering the blow. Some of the ones flagellated, as if they were boasting of their advantage, showed us deep scars from the flagellation that they had endured.

/383 cont./

291 534 562 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

[115]

105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796] [302] As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are wom exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

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106. We were informed by the natives themselves that, while the men at the feasts, besides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/423 cont./

534 At the great feast of Wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
• 796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

> 31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

/467 cont./

797 by this companion, whose rebuke (104)

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> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father," and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief."

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

575 We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

562 1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in
796 the feasts of Wãx-tĩ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

623 2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkõrãkurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

756 3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult

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121 everywhere narcotics and excitants, stimulants and vision-producing drugs are valued for their ritual effects.

No common psychological pattern, to be sure, encompasses the area. Yet the Cubeo ritual pattern, with its exaltation of intoxication and of frenzied emotional experience, is far from uncommon in the tropical forest. In religion the Amazon Basin is a region of the shaman and of minor cults rather than of priests and of the worship of important deities. Tropical forest religion is small in scale, a feature that is parallel to and assuredly related to the decentralization of social life.

Compared with the Andes, tropical forest communities by and large are small. In many regions community size is unduly small because of severe population decline since white contact. In the Northwest Amazon, the subarea of the Cubeo, the multifamily single house is the common residence. The sense of family and of kinship are very strong, making of religion and ritual largely domestic affairs, with cults of the dead and initiation rites of outstanding importance. Considering the importance of crops, horticultural ritual is strikingly undeveloped. Here we can point to a fruitful field for the study of the commonly accepted functionalist doctrine that magic and religious ritual tend to surround areas of uncertainty such as farming. [241] In the case of the Cubeo one can state with confidence that the lack [796] of rite in farming is related to the strongly secular position of the [462] women as horticulturists and not to the lack of hazard in farming. Manioc cultivation is no less uncertain than yam cultivation in the Trobriand Islands. Uncertainty, after all, is not necessarily an objective condition. Existence is uncertain for all peoples and each society has the choice of underscoring those areas of life where it believes the fears and uncertainties to lie. Since the tropical forest is one of the major world areas of the *couvade*, the rites by which the father plays a part in parturition, it might seem as though it were the fate of the newborn infant more than the fate of the crops that is at the heart of their concern.

There is the fundamental question of the relation of the tropical forest to the "high" cultures of South and of Central America. On this there is still not much to say. Yet the problem of relationship cannot be ignored. One cannot divide lowland and highland into totally distinct and unrelated worlds. The archeology of the lower Amazon calls attention to cultural developments either related to or parallel to the marginal areas of the Andes. Highland and lowland share many traits such as maize, chicha, coca, textiles, and complex basketry. The jaguar "cult" of the Northwest Amazon may well be

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177 the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or
[171] another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character
[342] of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the
[712] strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large com-
[567] munal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor.
[596] The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tribu-
[553] taries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social seg-
[614] ments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are
[796] founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The
[773] Cubeo culture hero *Kówai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yawi*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans.
[197] As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the com-
[765] plex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

177 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of cul-
197 ture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwé* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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177 sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom
182 and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's
[171] trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small mestizo-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand,
[342] when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments
[796] he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a
[346] residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are
177 stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness.
291 As late as 1909 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper
182 Vaupés and all over the Cuduiarí where the women were totally naked and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiarí and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

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621 512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712 [361] In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise attack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the 712 725 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were confident they left the women and children behind in the house with [123] a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361 504 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza. 504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state 574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests [417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be al- [576] lowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men 504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning 796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe [578] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504 833 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital

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at a distance from the water and is kept sanitary by action of the sun. [514]
The dump receives the body wastes of the very young children.

## THE MALOCA

342
The maloca (*kenámi*) is no mere shelter or sleeping barracks. It is a [796]
vital social center, the very focus of social and religious life. Under its [764]
great gabled roof all ceremony takes place, the dead are buried, food [252]
is prepared, and almost all implements and articles of use are manu- [32]
factured. The Cubeo are largely an indoor people. Children play out- [517]
side and there are occasions when the older men sit on the plaza
in the shade of the house. But in the main, adults spend their leisure
342
time indoors, lounging in hammocks. Guests are received at the door- 574
way of the house, the hosts standing always within, in the formal 576
exchange of greetings. Having been welcomed at the door, guests
are ushered to low benches set at an angle near the doorway and
facing inward.

342
When I came among the *Bahúkiwa* they were on the upswing, hav- 622
ing come from a creek site to the main stream. In the new site they had [114]
put up several smaller houses and the framework of a large 12-com-
partment maloca was in place. This large house, of standard size, was
75 feet long, 55 feet wide, and 21 feet high. The eaves of the hip roof
extended six feet past the low side walls. The new house is always the
work of the headman. It is started on his initiative and the work is
carried on with his active encouragement and under his direction.
The leadership qualities of a headman are precisely reflected in the
maloca, in its size and in the care that is taken in its construction. The
headman is known as *kenámi upákü* (owner of the house). The house
is his, in the sense that one who is not willing to accept the authority
of the headman will not live in the house. A house, the Cubeo be-
lieve, cannot tolerate dissension. Whatever the genealogical relation-
342
ships of its residents, they are the equivalent of a joint family. The 578
Cubeo are decidedly uncomfortable if the atmosphere of a house 592
is lacking in familial warmth. If necessary, they will overlook dis-
courtesy, uncooperativeness, and sullenness in the expectation that
such behavior will be only a passing phase. Nevertheless, they are
acutely sensitive to one another's moods and before too long one
sullen individual will have infected them all. Then someone will
move out and all sense the impending dissolution of their community.
The smaller house that will now be built alongside does not remove
the source of dissaffection. It stands rather as a reminder that they
have not been able to get along with one another. The headman is

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 •796 [251] [417] [614] [237] After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upañeteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very 484 bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 574 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 602 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

## HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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he is really "cutting up" he will choose an old woman and so draw upon truly licensed ribaldry. When the women are left with their portion they carry on in the same convivial spirit. Household meals by contrast are solemn. When a meal is finished they rinse the mouth with water, using the fingers to scrub the teeth, and finally they wash their hands in a "finger bowl" of water. In some upstream houses, though, I noticed hands being wiped on the house posts.

Guests who have come for a drinking party or other ceremony will ordinarily eat very little for the duration. At the mourning ceremony, which lasts three full days, the hosts prepare a few corn cakes and tie these to the house posts for a hungry guest. But they prepare no more than about one corn cake for every three guests or so. Moreover, by tying the cakes to the house posts rather than serving them in a dish they are clearly indicating that this is not a meal. If people wish to eat during these three days they must bring their own provisions. Needless to say, a person hungry enough to ask for food will be fed; and at the protracted mourning rites there is a certain amount of scrounging upon the food resources of the hosts, but of an informal and almost underhanded nature. Women feel freer about passing food to one another and the men surreptitiously nibble at it. The Cubeo expect an adult male to tolerate hunger under any circumstances, and not to feel hunger at all during a ceremony. They expect women to live up to this standard but partially, and they are completely tolerant of the young, who may or may not eat on these occasions as they see fit.

Eating is considered a social activity occurring in a number of specified social settings, all of which involve Cubeo notions of intimacy. The sib is the normal outer limit of intimacy with respect to eating. However, guests may be temporarily assimilated into the sib if they take part in all of its activities, such as the woman cultivating a borrowed manioc garden and the man hunting and fishing. When they have been so assimilated they may eat as sib members do. The eating problem involves the overnight guest. There is no taboo against inviting even an overnight guest to join in a sib meal. It is rather that host and guest alike regard this as a most delicate matter. It is embarrassing to eat with people who are not intimates. Most often I have seen guests huddled in a corner eating a cold supper of old manioc cake and some dried fish they have brought with them. They are surrounded by a wall of privacy since the hosts will not look at them and they will not look at the hosts while they are eating. Before I understood the Cubeo sentiments about eating I inadvertently caused a visiting woman acute embarrassment. She and her husband,

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614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedikwa*
[554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiarí that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kenánikauwü* are a subsib of the *Pedikwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piardwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Olá-Piardwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahúkiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior.
571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship
[622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac-
[857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of
[614] a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves
[796] at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere-
[622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihí* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance,
562 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of cere-
796 mony women take precedence according to the order of precedence
[622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her hus-
[598] band has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substitute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a
[614] mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial
[553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother.
561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring
584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, 622
while on the Ajarí it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The 613
Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the [156]
authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the 622
house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. 592
His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A 342
changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election – one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, 622
guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the [592]
house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking [574]
parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial [796]
equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihi*. He is chairman of
discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order [627]
punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight. [692]

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534 women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekûpwänwa* to
[784] the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears
[793] about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she
[828] dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is
[754] felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will be kept from the other women.

769 The *Bekûpwänwa* come annually in the summer when a species of
796 palm berry (*konhá*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not grow. The *Bahùkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, however, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would seem to be an obvious one.

[561] As an age grade, youths are known as *hwainyó*, but as boys who need whipping for growth they are known as *bahùdjo*, which may be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping voluntarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahùkiwa* and one among its subsib, the *Bahùkùdjauwù*.

The *Bahùkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capable in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys subdued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the headman's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkina*. It is not an exclusive 769
sib cult.

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river 796
bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance [534]
feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the [533]
river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the on-
coming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent [202]
the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, [533]
swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and [291]
having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, as- [324]
cended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional [534]
five were used, *Bwû*, *Onpwénda kûdjûwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They [535]
marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwû* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kûdjûwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at [576]
the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was taboo but as a courtesy.

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769 taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the 796 boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca [614] counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him [222] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits [857] and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konhá*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door. [273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konhá* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and [276] had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konhá*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Bwii* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Bwii* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch (*harámu*) that he had picked at the water's edge.[4] The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

[614] [4] Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *harafhume* (*haraf*: to strike; *humé*: bitter, unpleasant).

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pared. Other men picked up the horns and danced. The whipping could not begin before dark and it was evident that the man preparing the switch was working slowly so as not to finish too soon. The deliberation of his movements added to the apprehension of the boys. As the last rays of light in the doorway faded, the boys suddenly leaped from the bench and bolted out of the house. The man who was preparing the whip ran to the doorway and shouted at them to come back. All but one returned. The boy who did not return was a fatherless orphan and a maverick who did not share foraged food with his age mates.

The boys took their seats again and the men resumed dancing with the ancestor horns. They danced until the house was pitch black. A taper was lighted and *Bwü*, represented by the senior member of the initiating group, stepped forward. He dragged the first boy to

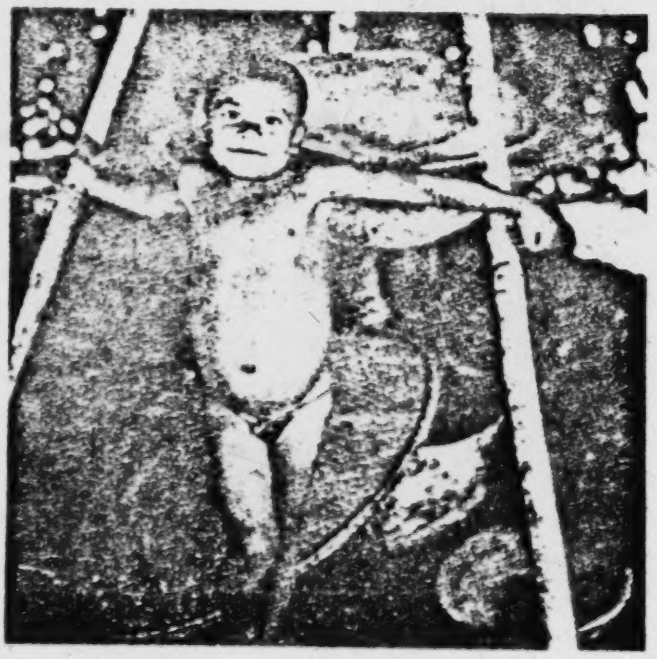

Fig. 9. *Bahükiwa* boy.

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796 be whipped violently to the center of the dance floor. He chose an eight-year-old boy, his own son. Normally the most amiable of men, he glowered at the boy, and in a harsh voice commanded him to stand straight, his legs together and his arms above his head. The little boy solemnly obeyed. The father faced his son, poised his whip for the first blow, and waited while the dancers circled them once, sounding the ancestor horns. When the dancers had completed one turn, the man inserted the switch in the far end of the horn and stirred it about to "draw from it the power of *Bwü*." He then struck the boy across the loins with such force that the child ran screaming down the corridor toward the door. His father ran after him and without a word dragged him back. The first blow across the loins left a bloody scar on the boy's abdomen and was to impart sexual vigor, which resides inside the horn. The boy's paternal uncle stepped forward and rolled the second *Bwü* horn along the child's back, starting at the calves and rolling it up to the head. This was to impart growth of stature, that resides on the outside of the horn. The boy had now regained his composure, and his father brought him a calabash of chicha. His father whipped him a second time, in the same way, and this time the boy controlled his fright, emitting only a gasp of pain as the whip lashed across his abdomen, raising a second welt. Again the uncle rolled the horn up the back. His father gave him a second calabash of chicha and the boy returned to his place on the bench, where he displayed his scars to his companions, composed and grinning from ear to ear.

Next to be initiated was the son of the headman's sister, the boy [534] who was not of the sib. The same man did the whipping, using not *Bwü* but *Onpwénda*, the least powerful of the three ancestors they were invoking. I concluded that a father would naturally initiate his own son with the most powerful and the very first of the ancestors, while saving the least potent for his cross nephew. When I mentioned [182] this to the man he assured me I was wrong, explaining that it made [614] no difference who was whipped with which ancestor since their blessings went not to any one person, but to all being initiated as well as to the sib as a whole. The important thing, he said, was not to neglect an ancestor who had been brought to the house. I am inclined to accept this explanation with some skepticism, because the Indians always deny inequality as a matter of courtesy, but they recognize it nonetheless. When informants discussed *Bahúkiwa* ancestors in general terms they all agreed that it was best to be whipped by *Bwü* because "he is the strongest."

This boy was exceedingly apprehensive. Before the first blow

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could be struck he had bolted and had to be literally dragged back. 769
The first blow reduced him to such a state of trembling and hysterical 796
sobbing that I thought he would collapse. He could not swallow the chicha. The men paid no attention to the boy's terror and when he returned finally to the bench, still sobbing, his companions ignored him.[6] The first boy was by this time enjoying himself immensely.

The third initiate was the son of the headman, a boy who was the leader of his play pack. This lad strode confidently forward and raised his arms above his head without command. He faced his age mates, smiled at them, and took the blows without flinching. The next boy faced the ordeal with equal composure. The men waited for the orphan boy to return. When he did not they sent the youngsters to bring him, but they returned very quickly to say that he had run away.

There now remained two very young boys to be whipped. These were treated in a sense as junior initiates, old enough to know the secrets of the *Bekûpwānua* but too tender to be whipped very hard. The senior initiator who had begun to whip with *Bwū* was said to have a very hard blow, because of having absorbed the strength of *Bwū* in his arm. He therefore turned the whipping over to his younger brother, who used *Onpwénda*. This man, who was unmarried and therefore closer in spirit to the age group being initiated, assumed a jesting manner. He dragged a little boy forcefully to the center but in a playful manner. He measured his blow carefully, heavy enough for the child to know he had been through the ordeal but without raising a welt. The two blows were spaced farther away from the genital region because the children were too young to receive sexual power from the ancestors yet. The gentle blows meant that growth would still be gradual. At puberty, I was told, a boy receives the full hard blows of *Bwū*. However, since some precocity is welcomed, the full blows, as on this occasion, may precede puberty by some years. [831]

After all the youngsters had been whipped and were seated together on the guest bench drinking chicha, the ancestors, who had been dancing inside the house, now danced about them several times in a close circle, finally leaving in single file through the door. They circled the house on the outside and returned to the front plaza. When they stopped playing, the youngsters rose from their bench and went outside to watch as the men hid the horns in a clump of bushes nearby. Then all cut swatches of leaves and ran through the

[6] It is hardly a disgrace for a young boy to weep. When young adults, young married men, are injured in a drunken brawl, they will also weep freely. [152]

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796 house, sweeping every bit of ground to remove the traces of the ancestors. They bent low and uttered low cries of *hi hi hi iii iii*, the same sound used when *mihi* is brought in. This is a sound that spirits understand.

342 When the last traces of the ancestors had been swept out, the men
346 called to the women to return. The return of the women restores the
574 house to its normal condition. Before that it is a man's house, a cult house and not a true domicile. This change was marked by having the guests, who had already taken part in the earlier ceremonies, leave, go down to the landing place, march up the path, and be received at the front door in the usual reception line. What seemed to be the beginning of an ordinary drinking party then followed. However, later that night the women were told to move to the rear and to sit facing the rear door. The torches were put out and some old men fetched the hidden horns to play them in the forward men's section. They danced out again and hid the instruments. When the playing stopped, the women rose, lighted the torches again, and took possession of the *konhá* berries. The headman's wife, in her traditional role, supervised and assisted in the preparation of a *konhá* porridge, and the remainder of the berries were distributed to all the adult women. The porridge was prepared quickly and calabashes of it were sent down to the forward end of the house for the men.

Now the mothers turned to their sons to inspect the welts raised by the whippings. But the boys turned away and the mothers knew enough not to persist. The ceremony was over.

This was a truncated ceremony. Normally, the elders who have danced into the house with the ancestor horns after the lights have been put out dance among the women, while other men thrash the women with switches. Then the adult men take turns in whipping one another. None of this was done, they said, because most of the guests they had invited had not come, and feeling dispirited they cut the ceremony short.

769 However, I had the opportunity of attending another whipping
796 ceremony at the maloca of a subsib. This one was well attended and
184 the atmosphere was properly charged with excitement, helped by a great quantity of chicha and *mihi*. Yet here too the whippings were confined to the young boys and the women were unmolested. At one point, however, the ancestors danced outside the house, and two boys guarded the door while youngsters pelted the front door with berries. This was done not to frighten the women within but to give them a more vivid sense of the "presence" of the ancestors. This was re-

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peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the 796
origin traditions. 184

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a 769
horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another 796
gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the 178
loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the 866
region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through 789
adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned 856
bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective dur- [515]
ing the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplemen- [534]
tary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is [824]
to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also [515]
favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously
shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

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574 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with
576 each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkúndye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good
574 part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are
576 particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has
273 set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting
576 follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which
182 is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately man-
796 ner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo
[765] until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by sub-
[831] sidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the
[276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker,

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *ayyd* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwalbo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *ayyd* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

[796] [754]

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

821 [775] [763]

## HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

774 [828] [761] [753] 775 [756]

pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *ayyd* form.

[776] [821]

[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédé* (pulse) and *umémde* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do. 771 776 789

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkü* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal. 771 778 [82] [171]

Genipa (*wei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness. 302 778 302 789 778 [841]

Red pigment (*monhd*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yeul*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical. 832 778

Among ceremonial objects the *behórü* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose. 796 778 [789]

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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawi* — the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf — a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihi*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication — it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

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562 side stands for linkage, while the female side in relation to the male side stands for autonomy.

571 The second most important area in which polarity-complementar-
796 ity can be observed is ritual. There is no need to review the obvi-
152 ous distinctions between sacred and profane in ritual matters. What is of special interest is the Cubeo pattern of setting all ritual within an emotional framework that moves from calm to frenzy, from order to chaos, from sobriety to intoxication, from a slow tempo to an excited tempo. A Dionysian frenzy is without doubt the desired culmination of Cubeo ritual, but the culmination is not the entire ritual. The pattern is that of a traversal of the emotional spectrum. Again it seems possible to relate ritual emotion as an example of polarity-complementarity to the previously described principle of linkage
571 autonomy. The basis for this connection is brought out most clearly
765 in the mourning ceremony. In this most solemn of Cubeo rituals the
614 initial phases express symbolically the social patterns of masculine
152 solidarity, of sibness, and of phratric solidarity. In the course of interaction with what has been described as "female spontaneity," and in the course of the excitement generated by dancing, dramatization, drinking chicha, and taking *mihi*, the clear social pattern of collectivity is broken down and the participants, having lost sib identity so to speak, appear finally in the guise of nonsib or autonomous dancers. In other words, the zone of ritual calm is parallel to the aspect of linkage, and the zone of ritual frenzy is parallel to the aspect of autonomy. A curious feature of this relationship, one that suggests an extension of the pattern, is the Cubeo characterization of the intrasib or domestic mood as calm, that is, based on food, and the intersib
[615] mood as frenzied, that is, based on the drinking parties. The significance of this distinction between intrasib and intersib moods is that,
152 as we have already observed, the appearance of a phratric context
571 stimulates, at the same time, the assertion of autonomy. A parallel
574 pattern appears on those infrequent occasions when an intrasib
614 drinking party is held. Such a drinking party follows a more moder-
273 ate emotional scale, with far less intoxication, but it seems to have a similar result in accenting first the autonomy of the individual household and, finally, through some drunken disorder, the autonomy of the individual.

571 In this connection, it is interesting to consider that the women, who
574 are on the side of the sectional as opposed to the collective, may and
273 indeed do drink, but they, in contrast to the men, are under no
562 obligation to become intoxicated. Masculine intoxication is ritual
152 but feminine intoxication is secular and hence of minor significance.

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generally, this relationship of appropriateness between mood and activity is not novel. It seems, in fact, altogether natural. Cultures, however, as we well know, do not necessarily pattern themselves quite so naturally. Civilizations, in particular, place the emphasis upon the social action and expect the mood to be disciplined or to be subordinated to the social occasion. The Cubeo, on the other hand, expect a rather high degree of emotional spontaneity. In this respect they correspond oddly to the eighteenth-century notions of "natural man." In secular affairs the spontaneity of correspondence between emotion and action is much greater than in ritual. In ritual the effort is made to establish the correspondence between feeling and the concept of the sacred. Ritual in primitive society generally expresses in a symbolic or highly compressed form the fundamental cultural themes of a society. We have repeatedly shown the integration of ritual with social structure. Cubeo ritual, similarly, reveals not only the role of emotionality in Cubeo life but exhibits that spectrum of emotionality that has greatest significance for the Cubeo.[1] It is indeed in ritual, as Ruth Benedict has demonstrated in *Patterns of Culture*, that the ethos of a culture is most vividly displayed. Cubeo ritual, as has been seen, dramatizes the interplay between formal pattern and spontaneity. The most vivid example of this interplay is the interaction between men as sacred and women as a laity during the mourning ceremony. The effect of this interplay is to add significance to the spontaneity of emotion, and at the same time to give emotional zest to the formal ritual pattern. In short, what seems an inescapable conclusion about Cubeo culture is that neither form nor action can be comfortably tolerated unless charged with a proper feeling or emotion.

The relationship between form and emotion and social action and emotion is but one part of the pattern. The pattern also includes the emotional preferences. It is not simply that the Cubeo prefer to run a gamut, since an emotional gamut is a range within a particular plane. In ritual the emotional gamut moves from sobriety and order, as we have already explained, to intoxication and disorder. On a smaller scale, the ritual pattern moves from slow to fast. In the mourning ceremony these related planes of emotional modulation seemed to find their focus in a sexual rhythm, culminating in what is almost literally an orgasmic excitement. From this there may be reason to conclude that it is coitus, a very elementary biological

[1] It is to be understood, of course, that the roles of emotionality in secular life are not the same as they are in the sacred realm. In secular life moderation is more appropriate than excitement or intensity.

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571 152 model, that underlies an important aspect of the Cubeo ethos. 796 What is surprising about finding coitus as a model for ritual ethos is 181 not that this obvious pattern has been drawn upon, but that it is not 831 drawn upon more often. Among the Carajá of central Brazil, I am [171] informed, the coital ritual pattern is explicitly recognized, each phase of the dance being named from a phase of sexual intercourse.[3] It is quite possible that I simply failed to discover the same explicit rela- 571 tionship among the Cubeo. The explicitness that I did discover, 796 though, is in their assertion that ritual excitement, whether produced 181 by drugs, alcohol, or the ritualization of sex, is a necessary comple- 152 ment to the ritual magic of the below-the-knee ligature of long life. This identification of emotional intensity with life itself is also an obvious and therefore a simple relationship. In sum, we can say that the main features of Cubeo ethos draw upon very obvious and simple biopsychological models and – this is the significant point – adhere rather closely, almost literally, to them. Since the social pattern also draws upon a very elementary model we must conclude that the socio-cultural pattern as a whole is built upon the simplest of social and biopsychological models. Needless to say, even the bare and incomplete account of Cubeo life that has been presented suggests that the elements of over-all pattern described here do not encompass the "totality" of the culture. In all probability, however, no concept of pattern can ever encompass a total social and cultural system. From the point of view of culture theory the question is a different one. The proper question is: Does the theory of pattern provide an adequate approach to an understanding of the culture?

121 We can attempt to answer this question by applying the concept 571 of pattern that has been presented to an analysis of two fundamental cultural problems: the problem of social homeostasis and the problem of ecological adaptation. Strictly speaking, equilibrium and adaptation are one problem. It is simply that this problem can be approached from two sides.

## SOCIAL HOMEOSTASIS

The assumption of social homeostasis is that a cultural system consists of relationships and interactions that are so patterned that their net effect is to perpetuate the system, generation after generation. It is understood, of course, that homeostasis, or equilibrium, is a relative condition only, since no society today is a precise duplicate of

[3] Personal communication from Dr. William Lipkind.

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

796 instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by
[534] Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey
[526] hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

88 As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and
582 brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the
592 plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

462 The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks
592 up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

592 Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities,
361 the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

342 A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

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000 *Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.*

 [See p. 62A]

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/p. 70-B/

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ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Bréo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.

226 fish hooks and line we carried for bartering were greatly sought after, though José for some reason sabotaged much of our exchange. He told the Indians that our nylon was not as good as their own *cumare* line and he broke the barbs of our steel hooks on the house posts to show that their own were better.

226 'That is barbasco, a poisonous liana.' José pointed to several bundles of saplings lying on the floor of a *maloca* we were visiting. 'Soon, in late Feb-
796 ruary or March, before the first rains, all the Indians near here will gather for the fish poisoning. They will build small dams in the streams, and the *barbasco* will be pounded and thrown into the water above these dams. All the fish float to the surface and, with nets made from *cumare*, or long spear arrows with forked metal ends, they will be caught in great quantities and carried to a *maloca*. Usually a particular house is chosen each year and, when enough fish have been collected, the festival will start. This may go on for days with *chicha*, panpipes and painted *yarumo* dancing-staves, and many people – and more fish than we see at any other time in the year.' This was a festival we wished to see, but we did not expect to be in the Piraparaná in March. Besides they might have been reluctant to let us watch a ceremony on which the abundance of fish during the following year depended.

Four days below Ni we came to the great falls of Beiju, and there, as we dragged *El Diablo* over the portage, we met some Indians who told us they were going to a festival at a Makuna *maloca* belonging to a headman called Bréo. It was two days' journey up a tributary, but we decided to go.

The Tukano have many festivals throughout the year; among the most important are the Fish Festivals and the Harvest Festivals for the pineapple,
533 *miriti* palm and *guamo* fruits, and for the manioc. At all these they dance,
534 sing and play their instruments. But to the Indian, music is also a form of relaxation and enjoyment. Often as the men laze in their hammocks they happily while away the time playing on their bamboo panpipes. Blowing across the eight- or nine-stemmed pipes two men may accompany each other for hours on end, ascending and descending the same scale, rhythmically counterbalancing one another in tuneful but repetitive melodies. They continue, apparently oblivious of repetition, and the panpipe tunes soon be-
[184] came imprinted on our minds. Each clan has its own variations; most of the tunes are based on their dances, though some are in imitation of birds. At night the young boys play their pipes crouched around the central posts of the *maloca*, and the clear notes carry across the still forest like church bells ringing on a cold winter's night. Only occasionally do the Indians actually sing for enjoyment; one headman uttered a staccato war song as he pounded coca leaves and occasionally the women hummed as they rocked their babies to sleep. Their instruments are more important to them; of these the snail-shell and deer-bone flutes, the tortoise shells and the clay horns are the most unusual.

It is hard to believe that a river-snail shell no more than three inches long

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



can produce a most haunting tune. This tiny flute, the three-holed *sihoo*, is more often played outdoors than inside the house. Its clear rippling notes mingle with the forest calls, perhaps imitating a bird drawn closer and closer to the Indian hunter. The deer-bone flute, in contrast, has a harsh, piercing, eerie sound. It is made from a deer's tibia and three holes are drilled into the bone with a *capybara's* tooth. A little slit is cut into the head of the deer-bone, down which the man blows. Small lumps of beeswax are melted into the apexes and shrill notes come flowing out – bizarre perhaps, but melodious. This instrument is generally heard during the *chicha* ceremonies between the dances. The tortoise shell, too, is an instrument which has a weird, almost hypnotic tone. It is played by a man who squats on the ground with the shell gripped under the knee between thigh and calf muscles. Rapidly he rubs, almost jerks, the palm of his hand over the beeswax-coated head of the shell. Sometimes two men will play two tortoise shells and a pair of panpipes at the same time, and the continuous reverberation of the *goos*, as the tortoise shells are known, together with the syncopation of the panpipes produces an amazing effect. The high muffled tones of the *goos* echo round the *maloca*, driving the Indian's coca-bemused senses into a semi-hypnotic trance. To us this was not an unpleasant sensation and on listening closer we could pick out what was in fact a highly sophisticated rhythm. Each panpipe entered just off beat in an exciting, almost modernistic manner, more reminiscent of a modern jazz quartet than four primeval instruments of the Amazon. 533 534

Our recording equipment intrigued the Indians – those small boxes with wheels which turned, lengths of 'string' with weird metal objects on the end, held close to their faces or hung from the ridge poles of their *malocas*. It was all beyond their comprehension. At first they were frightened but once they had listened to their own voices and music, they were astounded and could not wait to hear more. We all too soon found ourselves using as much of our precious battery power to play back as we did to record. Sometimes they were intrigued by Western music – Beethoven piano concertos, Brahms and Gershwin had little effect, but the Bach double violin concerto drew many eager faces, a Haydn trumpet concerto brought smiles of approval and on hearing the Commendatore's deep voice in the last act of *Don Giovanni* the whole *maloca* drew near in wonder. Perhaps this really was the white man's shaman. 123 533

We waited four days at Bréo's while the women brought in baskets and baskets of manioc to prepare for *chicha*, and the men pounded coca leaves incessantly. During this time the *maloca* filled with families who had travelled by canoe from their distant forest homes along the winding river courses. Some had already been warned by messengers of the coming festival to celebrate the manioc harvest, but on the afternoon before it started Bréo left for a high knoll of ground, and stood blowing a clay horn – perhaps to warn 796 • [534]

796 534 the people that the festival would start that night. The low booms rang out across the forest like blasts on a ship's foghorn. To the south, near the Caquetá, giant wooden drums were slung on a slant from two central poles of the *maloca* and beaten in a secret code as warning signals to other members of the tribe. The *mangwaré* drums were the jungle telegraph of Amazonia and their signals could be heard over twenty miles away.

796 574 More and more families arrived at the riverside port, where they left their canoes moored to the bank or tied to each other with thin strands of liana. Some thirty canoes formed a series of star-like patterns with the water rushing down between them, haphazardly tied, yet buoyant and secure. Each family made its way up the steep sandy path to the *maloca*: the men with their paddles, some with fishing rods, and many with panpipes strung to their hammocks; the women bent low under heavy loads of manioc and their babies on their hips. Here the head of each family was greeted by Bréo and shown where they could sling their hammocks around the sides of the house. The women handed the manioc to Wanina, his young wife – he had two, but the elder could no longer bear him children.

796 273 The amount of time it takes for the festival to be prepared depends on the amount of *chicha* to be consumed. With over a hundred people present, four days were barely enough for the manioc roots to be rubbed down, the poisonous juice extracted and then boiled to form the basis of *chicha*. The starch sediment was baked over the clay ovens into giant wafer-thin biscuits. The boiling liquid was poured into the long *chicha* canoe which lay on the floor between two of the central posts; the toasted cassavas were broken into the liquid and fermentation began. The *chicha* gained rapidly in potency and the canoe was covered with an exquisitely woven cane mat like Japanese lattice. One ceremonial canoe was not enough, and another was brought from the river to be filled with yet more fermenting *chicha*.

796 [787] In the evening the men sat chewing cocaine. Led by the shaman they consulted the spirits and their subdued mumblings continued far into the night. Their crouched bodies, lit only by the flickering of the resinous *turi* torchwood, reminded us of the semi-human rock carvings of their ancestors.

302 796 The *chicha* had fermented, the coca was prepared, the *maloca* was now a seething mass of people. The afternoon before the festival began, Wanina and the shaman's wife began to paint the bodies of the men. First deep red *karayuru* was smeared down the front of the torso, the thighs and along each arm with firm strokes of the fingers. A black liquid, the boiled juice from the leaves of a tree growing in their *chagras*, was painted on to the body with a three-pronged piece of cane. The hands and feet were totally blackened to above the wrists and ankles, and the arms and legs patterned with a lattice of

*A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.*

[see p. 78-A]

diagonal lines. Then the women painted their own faces with *karayuru* and blackened their hands and feet. 796 [302]

As the sun's last rays filtered into the *maloca* and the mumblings of the council of elders died down, the shaman left the dark interior and stood in front of the men's doorway. In his hand he carried the *Kurubeti*, the sacred pebble stave. Intricate circles of blue and purple humming-bird feathers adorned one end, a swollen spearhead formed the other. This swelling was produced by soaking a bulge in the wood in water, then inserting this into a banana stem and heating the spearhead over a fire. The swollen wood is cut open and three pebbles are inserted. During cooling the wood shrinks and the pebbles are locked in the cavity. The shaman stood pointing the stave away from the *maloca*. He hit it with his right hand and the stave swayed from side to side in front of his body. The rattling of the pebbles prevented the evil spirits from entering the *maloca*. In the days of tribal war, we were told, among the people living further to the south, each warrior carried one of these staves and after victory would dance himself into a frenzy, beating the stave against his shoulder. 796 789

With darkness the festival began. Bréo carefully rolled back the cane mat from the *chicha* canoe and the women handed round gourd after gourd, full of the bitter drink. More and more *chicha* was handed round to groups of people sitting contentedly by their family fires. Some of the younger men began to play their panpipes, but as yet there was no cohesion; the groups seemed rather to be competing with one another and different tunes came from all sides, one drowning the other. Many of these men had put sprigs of sweet-smelling leaves under their loin-cloth strings and berry arm-bands. The scent from the leaves was curiously sensuous, like sweet lemon, and used as an elixir of love by the Tukano during their festivals. 796

The same confused cacophony of dancing and panpipes continued well into the night; it was the young men's duty to keep the shaman awake, for not once during the course of the festival was he allowed to sleep. Small groups moved up and down the *maloca*, joyfully playing their panpipes as they danced, then they retired to their family fires and drank more *chicha*. The shaman remained apart, sitting on his stool in the centre of the *maloca*, gazing as if in a trance. At his side lay a calabash of coca and the sacred pot of *yajé*, the most powerful narcotic used by Amazonian Indians. Prepared from the boiled juices of a jungle creeper, the red liquid gives the shaman hallucinations and he is able to predict the future progress of the festival. Suddenly he summoned Bréo to his side. All the men came to the centre of the *maloca* carrying their wooden stools and sat down near him. With heads bent low the men started a muffled chant, answering in unison the solo [756] [276] [787]

*Tukano profile and festival head-dress.* [see p. 78-B]

796 monotone of the shaman. At intervals the coca calabash passed from hand to hand and each man threw a deer-bone spoon of the sage-green powder into his mouth. He stored it in his cheek and gradually the coca, mixed with saliva, filtered down his throat. Louder and louder, faster and faster became the chanting, echoing between the walls of the vast dark interior. The shaman worked himself into a frenzy, waving his arms out in front of him, his hands moving in wild gesticulations, his voice a rapid series of falsetto monotones; he was expelling all evil spirits from the tribal precincts to the heads of the *caños* and to other lands. The incantations continued for nearly two hours and then in the early hours of the morning there was silence.

796 301 The time had arrived for Bréo to unlock the precious box of plumages and he lowered it to the floor. He unwrapped the barkcloth cover and took off the lid of the beautifully woven palm box. Item by item he distributed the contents to the waiting figures, eagerly clambering to adorn themselves. First the smaller boys were given their simple crowns of red and yellow macaw and toucan tail-feathers, and they dashed away to adjust these on their heads. Underneath lay monkey-fur belts, ancient quartz pendants, puma-tooth necklaces and the most important items of all, magnificent feather head-dresses. These Bréo carefully selected and gave to the elders of the tribe. Crowns of toucan feathers woven on *cumare* frames adorned their heads, brilliant gold and red, ringed with white duck-down. Majestic royal crane plumage, stuck into a banana stem which projected down the back, jutted vertically up from the back of the head. The white feathers were woven together in a *cumare* mesh and stood out like quivering spindles of spun glass, gleaming in the darkness. Behind was a single red macaw tail-feather, a deer bone bound to the banana stem with monkey fur and last of all the wing plumage of an egret.

301 Many of the men wore giant quartz obelisks dangling from their necks. They make them no more, but their ancestors used to spend days rubbing down large chunks of quartz in pebbleworn channels in the river beds. Others had necklaces of wild boars' tusks, pointing concentrically outwards. There were many monkey-fur armlets with glistening beetle wings which [292] jingled as the men moved. Around the waist was another belt of monkey fur with puma teeth attached; below the knees finely-woven *cumare* garters, rubbed yellow with river clay, and above the right ankle dried *watcha* nut [302] rattles. This, with the fierce red facial paint and black body design, made up the splendid dancing regalia of the Tukano. The women had no adornments; [562] south of the Caquetá they stuck rings of white duck-down to their ankles with mud, but here they only painted their faces and bodies.

796 535 Now the dancing proper began. Since it was the manioc festival only the ceremonial *Nahubasa*, signifying the complete cycle of manioc from the time it was planted to the time it became cassava, was danced. Each man carried a long cane stave in his right hand and they joined in a line across the centre of

the *maloca*, facing the women's quarters. Dazed from the *chicha* and coca they gazed in front of them and sang a slow dirge, beating their staves on the ground. Slowly they moved off in a clockwise circle inside the four central posts. The tempo increased, but the chant remained the same, the voices grew louder and combined with the hollow thuds from the staves and castanet-like rattles. The whole atmosphere changed, no longer were there rival groups competing with their neighbours, instead everyone took part in the dance. The women joined in, slipping their small bodies under the linked arms of the moving men. The circle increased, the women with their right hand to the small of the back of one man, and their left to the hip of another. Only Wanina, the headman's wife, accompanied by her small children and carrying Bréo's youngest son under her arm, did not join the circle. She moved slowly round the centre, her eyes fixed constantly to the ground, uttering a high-pitched wail as the dancers moved solemnly about her. 796 535

The manioc dance continued through the night, but with the approach of dawn the younger members became impatient for a change of rhythm. To them such festivals were an opportunity for amusement, heavy drinking bouts and the possibility of finding a wife. One or two started to play on their panpipes, they were joined by others and soon the whole *maloca* became alive with young couples and trios weaving happily across the floor, in between the posts and along the sides of the house. Their young bodies gliding through the darkness, their feet delicately stamping the time on the ground, they seemed completely lost in the lovely panpipe tunes of the *chiruru*, the Tukano courtship dance. All too soon the thuds of the bamboo staves were heard and the elders again took control.

Throughout the entire festival the dominating figure was the shaman. Existing as he does in complete detachment from the rest, he sat alone, occasionally taking snuff from his snail-shell box. It was he who influenced the festival which, without him, would not take place. Every few hours he summoned the elders about him and as coca was passed round the mysterious chanting began. No one would tell us what was being recited, we could only gather that the tribal ancestors were being consulted and evil spirits exorcized. They did not like us to record this part of the ceremony, for quite understandably they believed we might take away their magic power. 796 756 789

Day and night the people danced, their plumed bodies glistening with sweat, caught in the beams of the sun or the dull glow of the torch-wood. There was continual sound – of panpipes, of cane staves, nutshell rattles and people's voices. Gradually the *chicha* canoes were drained. Gallons of the liquid had been consumed and the men had to rid themselves of their hangovers. Nonchalantly they poured boiled green-pepper juice down their nostrils from funnels made of leaves. With grunts and snorts they cleared their heads and staggered down to the river to bathe. Inside the *maloca* those that remained were asleep; many of the women had already left for the 796 [757]

796 *chagra* and the visiting families began to leave. They moved quietly in single file down to their canoes, unleashed them and paddled away. Life returned to normal. The plumages stood in the sand, shimmering in the sun, before Bréo meticulously packed them away, and with them remained the memory of the dancing figures, resplendent as birds of paradise.

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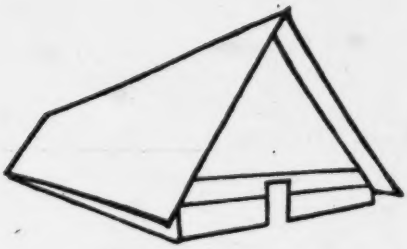

000 ABOVE LEFT: *An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth.* ABOVE RIGHT: *Boy playing panpipes.* BELOW: *A headman lights a torch of beeswax.* [ see p. 82-A]

/p. 82-B/

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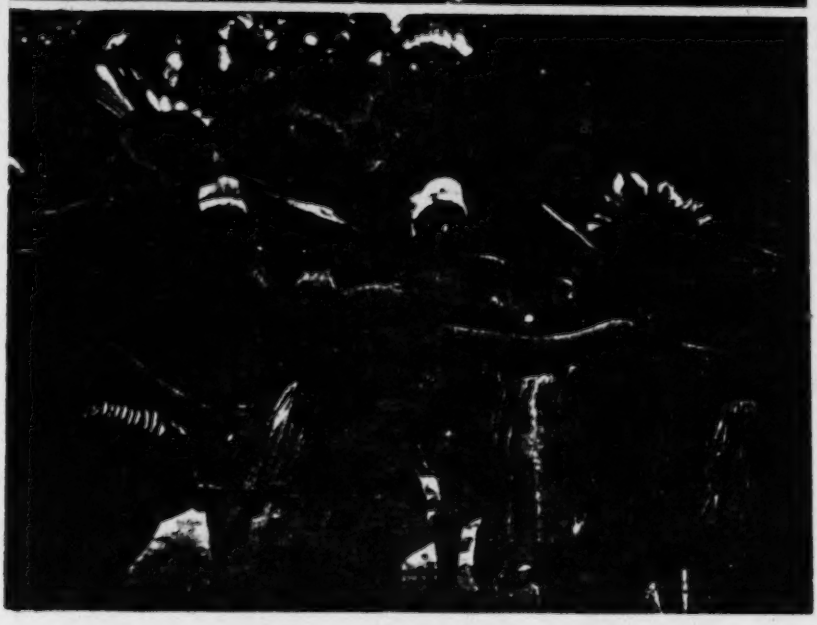

ABOVE AND BELOW: Dancing at the festival to celebrate the manioc harvest.

3: Fulop SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/For an example of the effects of "western" acculturation and missionization on Tucano cosmogony, see the tale entitled "The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean", in either category 539 or category 116, pp. 8-49, 54./

342 /102 cont./
There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed
[824] at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592 The size of the maloca varies according to the number of
342 its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to
[162] shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements
596 /Spanish caserfos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily
[287] clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the
177 Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental
• 797 clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
• 797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber
•[797] worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental
[797] culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is
[584] certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process
[601] of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must
[595] be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have
[178] shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice
[262] polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano
[753] Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical
[178] Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

773 The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the
177 phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available
[128] for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit
[014] us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant,
115 Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on
756 the Paca River.

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797 /105 cont./
177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny; he has two wives.

756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

## Cosmogony

539 The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

[115] [177] 4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowí were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowí were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowí came a Tukano presidente (5),

[177] 5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowí also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowí came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

* 539 /131 cont./
be the first war, and Siópuri Uejké will make the first war, and Siópuri Uejké will have his country taken away from him. The Brazilians will take from him the country of Siópuri Uejké, and Siópuri Uejké will find another country toward the cordillera. After finding his country, Siópuri Uejké and his people will bury their bones in their country when they die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "And you and all your people will bury your bones in your country when you die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You too are going to make war. And that is going to be all right." And Yepá Huáke sustained the country of Yúpuri Baúro. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "When that war is over, Siópuri Uejké will come to your country and do not kill him. Then the Ereya (50)

50. The Brazilians.

will come, and you may kill the Ereya. And in this way you are going to learn to read and to write, and then you will put an end to your malocas" (51).

51. Put an end to the Tukano culture, that is, they will learn to live differently.

Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "I made this world for you. All the people will fight for three years, and in that way the world will end. It will rain and the world will burn and it will become dark." And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: /132/ "While they are fighting, you will not fight, because your tribe will come to an end before the war and the end of the world. After Siópuri Uejké and Ereya arrive in your land, you are only going to have one woman, and that woman will have only one child or two children, and the woman of your brother will not have children, and that is how the Tukano will end (52).

• [797] [595] [161]

52. The Christian Missionary has prohibited

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•[797]
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/132 cont./

polygyny. Explanation for the constant diminution of the Tukano population.

And Siópuri Uejké and Ereya will command you. And they will have you as slaves and humiliated ones. I forbid the Tukano to take their woman from their own tribe, but they can get their woman from outside their tribe (53),

53. Obligatory exogamy exists in Tukano culture.

for example, a Yurutí or Tariana or Desana woman." And there were only three tribes from which the Tukano could get women. Yurutí, Tariano /Tariana/, and Desano /Desana/. And they did not fight with these tribes in order to get women, because a brother and sister of one tribe exchanged with a brother and sister of another tribe. And Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúroc "If you want to get a woman from another tribe that is not Yurutí, Tariano, or Desano, you will have to do it by fighting (54).

54. With any other tribe that is not the Yurutí, the Tairiano /sic/, and the Desano, the form of marriage is by abduction. During the abduction fights take place between the male relatives of the girl who is abducted and the committee of men who have come to get the wife for the bridegroom. This committee is formed by the male relatives of the bridegroom and the bridegroom does not take part in the abduction.

*539 And the first woman that you will get by fighting will be Tuyuca. Do not kill, just fight and take the woman. The second woman will be Uanana, and do not kill them either, just take the woman.

*539 /137 cont./
Urémiri Sáraro II. And then Urémiri Sáraro II asked Yúpuri Baúro III: "What shall we do?" Then Yúpuri Baúro III said: "Ereya must stay in San Gabriel." Then Yúpuri Baúro III said to Yepára Oakajpeá: "You stay in Yavaraté, I am going down below Manaos and below Pará." And Yúpuri Baúro III still lives there with his family.

•[797] And from San Gabriel to Yavaraté was free land that did not belong to the Brazilians, but the Monfortian Fathers were foreigners and did not know this, and that is why they built the missions in Yavaraté. And the Brazilians went upriver little by little until they reached Yavaraté.

/Pages 1-4 are title pages./

/5/ An Explanation

128 I am going to say that this is an anonymous book. Because it does not bear the name of its principal collaborators. The name that heads these studies is only an endorsement. There fell upon us personally little more than the responsibility of the editing, as we assumed the fatiguing labors of this. The true authors, or at least the principal collaborators, are the well-deserving Missionaries who for several decades have been toiling in the midst of the almost inhospitable forest of Amazonia, in the desire to incorporate the poor forest dwellers into the Brazilian and Christian civilization.

*101 The title demands an explanation. As will be seen in going through the pages, the basin of the Uaupés, including its two principal tributaries, the Tiquié and the Papuri /Papury/, is populated by numerous human groups, which are commonly known as Tribes, with different demographic density. Somatic and linguistic differences, sometimes quite noticeable, proclaim diverse ethnic origins. Nevertheless, proximity and trade, which, in a destructive action of centuries, did not succeed in grinding away those differences, did bring about a fusion in the customs. The same standard /given in English/ or pattern of life that is observed in a povoado /populated place/ on the lower Uaupés is found at the headwaters of the Papuri or the Tiquié and their small tributaries. As we travel along the rivers, the name of the tribe changes, one finds different physiognomic types, speaking very different idioms, although living in malocas /communal houses/ similarly constructed, eating the same foods, performing the same tasks, entertaining themselves the same way; one observes, finally, perfect identity in the way of laughing and gesticulating. We are, then, looking at one and the same cultural group. We can thus take in conjunction those 20 or more tribes toward whose civilization and Christianization the activities of the Filhos de S. João Bosco /Sons of Saint John Bosco/ have been directed since 1916, led

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*101 in their anonymous heroism for 40 years by the intelligent
• 797 dynamism and the apostolic charity of Dom Pedro Massa.

In the beginning of this century the well-known German
114 ethnologist Teodoro /Theodor/ Koch Grünberg visited part of the area presented in our studies here, and he condensed his observations into several works, especially the one that bears the title "Dos anos entre os índios do noroeste /6/ Brasileiro /Two Years among the Indians of Northwest Brazil/" (1).

1. Zwei Iahre /Jahre/ bei den Indianer nordwest-Brasiliens -- Stuttgart, 1921. His work Festschrift Eduard Seler, containing the classification and location of the several tribes that he visited or from which he obtained information, dates from Stuttgart, 1922.

We are now in a position to appreciate, not only the inconveniences of his journey, but also his difficulties as a "White" and a "Foreigner," having to deal with the Indians locked in their distrust, prejudices, and, let us say it, hostilities against civilized people; moreover, not knowing the idioms of the tribes of the Uaupés (2)

2. At the mouth of the river Curicuriari, Koch's oarsman, the Tukano /Tucano/ João, gives him a lesson in "unintelligible Tukano": -- "Gibt mir Unterricht in Tucano seiner fürchterlichen Stammessprach, voll nasaler, gutturaler und ganz UNDEUTLICHER laute" /he gives me instruction in Tucano, his horrible original language, very nasal, gutteral, and quite confusedly loud/.

and, for this reason, having to resort to the always deficient services of emergency interpreters.

/6 cont./

114 Our task, of editing, in comparison with that of Koch G.,
128 was greatly facilitated. There fell to us the intellectual, patriotic, and religious pleasure of four excursions through the vast and laborious field of the Apostolado Salesiano no Amazonas /Salesian Apostolate in Amazonas/ and of admiring the work of patriotism and evangelical charity that the Filhos de Dom Bosco are achieving there. And benefiting ourselves by means
[191] of their company, their knowledge of the native idioms (3),
[797]

3. Besides having already found numerous Indians with whom we could communicate perfectly in the language of our native country, because they had learned Portuguese in the schools of the Missions.

the prestige that they enjoy, not only among the natives who profit from their material and moral assistance, but even among the others who only know them by repute, we start collecting
114 the precious data of their observations and experience. The
123 ethnographic material contained in these pages could be collected in a relatively short period, although triple that of
124 Grünberg. Nevertheless they describe an existence in the closest possible contact with the forest dwellers: living in their maloca, attending their festivities, listening to them during their long chats among themselves, and entertaining themselves in amiable conversation with them, participating in their joys and their sorrows, observing them in their work, admiring their abilities, using their services, curing their illnesses, probing their spirit, illustrating their intelligence in long years of education, illuminating their soul with religious truths, now and then seeing those minds unexpectedly open in flashes that reveal, through a charming ingenuousness, an internal world never dreamed of. One understands an environment by living in it; and the environment can explain to us a mentality.

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/footnote 1 cont./ Pedro da Costa Favella completely annihilated a tribe, killing 700 persons, imprisoning 400, and burning 300 villages." Baena -- Compêndio das eras da Província do Pará, 1838 /Compendium of the eras of the Province of Pará, 1838/ -- ap. José Veríssimo, o. c., 304.

The Jesuit Padre Manuel Pires (according to Padre Serafim Leite, in his História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil /History of the Company of Jesus in Brazil/) traveled on the Rio Negro four times, accompanying "tropas de resgate." They were swift penetrations, however, without the goal of colonization.

In 1668 Pedro da Costa Favella returned, accompanied by the Mercedarian Frei /Brother/ Teodósio da Veiga, and, in the place called Aruim, founded a povoado /populated place/ of Tarumã Indians, which was later transferred to the mouth of the river Jaú, with "Manao, Aruaqui and Tacú" Indians, under the name of Santo Elias do Jaú, and now called Airão.

In 1669 Francisco da Mota Falcão laid the foundations of a fort two leagues above the mouth of the Rio Negro, where there would be formed, little by little, the "Lugar /place, village, town/ da Barra," or the "Povoado de S. José da Barra," today the modern and picturesque city of Manaus.

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By royal letter of 1694 the catechizing of the Rio Negro was entrusted to the Carmelite Religious. Through their work eight aldeaments emerged: S. Elias do Jaú, S. Alberto de Aracary, S. Angelo do Cumarú, N. Senhora da Conceição de Maruiá, S. Rita de Cassia de Itarendaua, N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo de Cabuquena, N. Senhora do Rosário de Bararoá (later called Thomar), and N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo do rio Dari, and later the missions of the Uaupés, in S. Joaquim da Foz and S. Jerônimo da Cachoeira or Ipanoré.

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Then the government of the metropolis, struck by fear of the Dutch and Spanish incursions, and eager to obtain the "drogas" /literally "drugs," here natural products/, proposed the systematic founding of settlements along the whole Rio Negro.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19 ]

/17/

175 648 The scouting, official or not, in search of the "drogas" (the natural products) and the "peças" /pieces/ (the Indians for public service or even as slaves) was going on. Soon the Rio Negro and its principal tributaries were quite well known by the Portuguese, even the connections with the Orinoco by way of the Cassiquiare and with the Guianas by way of the Rio Branco.

175 648 797 By royal letter of March 3, 1755, the "Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro" was created. In that very year, by decision of the Marquês /Marquis/ de Pombal, by decree of June 7, the Religious Missionaries were excluded from the secular direction of the native povoados (the direction being transferred to the judges and aldermen) and, in the spiritual one, were subject to the Bishops (no longer to their Religious Superiors). In April of that year Padre Joseph Monteiro de Noronha was chosen as Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Pará, who at that time was D. Frei Miguel de Bulhões, of the order of S. Bento.

On July 16, 1757, the first Governador, Joaquim de Melo Póvoas, was appointed, and in 1758 several aldeias were elevated to Vila /town/ or Lugares: that of Maruiá to Vila de Barcelos, as Capital; Itarendaua to Vila de Moura; Bararoá to Vila de Thomar; Jaú to Lugar de Ayrão; Cumarú to Lugar de Poiares; Aracarí to Lugar de Carvoeiro.

175 648 The territorial preoccupations of the metropolis dictated orders for the garrisoning of the upper Rio Negro against the Spanish expansionist tendencies. Capitão José da Silva Delgado was appointed for this in 1761, and he founded the localities of S. Pedro de Simapé, S. José dos Marabitanas, N. Senhora da Guia, S. Bárbara, S. João Batista do Mabé, S. Isabel, Senhor da Pedra, N. Senhora de Nazaré da Curiana, S. Gabriel da Cachoeira, S. Sebastião, and S. Antonio do Castanheiro Velho. This last one was later abandoned due to the impossibility of agriculture, always damaged by the leaf-cutting ant, and the population was transferred above the mouth of the Abunã, founding the povoado of S. Antonio do Castanheiro Novo. The Franciscan Frei José de S. Úrsula was appointed as the first vicar of S. Gabriel.

/17 cont./

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In 1772 the povoado of N. Senhora de Loreto de Maçaraby was founded, and in 1781 that of N. Senhora das Caldas on the bank of the Cauaburí River.

By order of General João Pereira Caldas, commissioned by Portugal for the demarcation of the boundaries (with D. Francisco de Requena representing the interests of Spain), Coronel Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada went up the Rio Negro in 1784, founded the town of S. Marcelino at the mouth of the Xié, and traveled on the waters of the Uaupés.

[797] Nevertheless, with the Missionaries reduced in number and powers, the unfitness of the "Diretores dos Índios" /Directors of the Indians/ was prejudicial to their /18/ Christianization and settlement in povoados. The "Diários" /Diaries/ of Sampaio and Ferreira document that and protest against it (2).

2. Alexandre R. Ferreira in the Pa[illegible]ão segunda /second Communication/, dated January 30, 1786, affirmed: -- "I say what I have always said, that the Indians, after being freed, will remain in this respect in a worse condition than the one they had when slaves. The master in the life of the slave carefully looked after his money; the Director in the life of the Indian does not look after any interest." And he notes that the Indians died from much work and little food. "They give them only beijú or ticoara and caribé /dishes made with manioc/" (o.c., 87).

On p. 43 he talks about the bad treatment that the Directors inflicted on the Indians, while they enriched themselves and became so many petty noblemen: -- "From one pair of absolute hands to another, and so absolute that in the vilas and lugares, or rather, free dukedoms, marquisates, and earldoms of the Directors, the Indians suffer, tied to the tenacious pillar of their suffering."

/18 cont./

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/footnote 2 cont./ the impossibility of founding others that would resemble them, as is observed throughout Brazil.

"What the facts attest to is that if any good result was achieved, it was due to the zeal and the charity of the Missionaries.

"Therefore, to hand over the direction of the aldeias to religious who will be able to renounce completely the goods and the pleasures of the world, who will have the patience needed to forgive the Indians the mistakes and the faults stemming from the incontestable inferiority of their intelligence, who will inspire in them a love of work, who will instruct them in the principles of the Catholic religion and of the Christian doctrine, who, in sum, will educate them to the point of finding themselves able to fulfill the duties and to enjoy the advantages of civil society, is, in my view, the only system that we can follow with every probability of happy success." ("Relatorios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas," Vol. 1, pp. 218-9.)

[797] In spite of the lack of Missionaries, the process of Christianization was being accomplished, although more slowly, since Indians from the Uaupés went down to S. Gabriel or its environs when they heard of the presence of some priest there.

With the independence of Brazil proclaimed in 1822, complete autonomy was not granted to the province of S. José do Rio Negro, as it was to the others, and, as "Comarca do Alto Amazonas," it came to be integrated, up to 1850, with the Province of Pará.

/18 cont./

175 648 797

With the apostolic works of the Carmelite Frei José dos Santos Inocentes on the upper Rio Negro and tributaries for more than 20 years, counting from 1832, the evangelization of the natives acquired new vigor.

The Province of Amazonas having been created on September 5, 1850, its first Governador, João Batista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, in the same year that he came into office, 1852, appointed the Capuchin Frei Gregorio José Maria de Bene "Vigário encomendado das freguezias e povoações do alto Rio Negro e Missionário dos rios Uaupés e Içana" /Removable vicar of the parishes and towns of the upper Rio Negro and Missionary of the rivers Uaupés and Içana/, since Frei José dos Santos Inocentes was forced by illness to go down to Manaus. The activity of Frei Gregorio was great, and in little more than two years he managed to establish relations with 25 tribes (who appear in his list), trying to put them in aldeias, /19/ re-establishing many povoados, and bringing many individuals among them to Christianity.

[103] The following towns are mentioned as those for which, in 1854, he asked for a change of name, to wit: on the Uaupés: Querari, Macaquinha, Micura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Coração de Jesus), Carurú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Fidelis martir), Mutum (aldeia of S. Cruz), Aracapuri (aldeia of S. João Batista), Jutica, Pacú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Sebastião), aldeia of Cubeo (aldeia of N. Senhora das Dores), Umarí, Iauareté (aldeia of S. Ana), Jabutí-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Paulo Apóstolo), Juquira (aldeia of S. Domingos), Nanã-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Antônio de Lisboa), S. Jerônimo (aldeia of Conceição de N. Senhora), S. Joaquim, Trovão, Pitúna-rapecuma, Inuitera, Cunurí, Coró-Coró, Iura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Francisco das Chagas), Taracuá (S. Francisco das Chagas), Ambaíua, Ivitera-rapecuma. On the Tiquié: Tucano (or S. Isabel), Uíra-poço (or Nazaré), Maracajá (or S. José), Turí-igarapé (or S. Pedro). On the Papurí: S. Luzia dos Tucanos, S. Gregório Magno dos Pirá-tapuya. (Archivo do Amazonas, Year I, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 34, and Year II, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 7.)

/19 cont./

175 With alternating periods of assistance, the Capuchins
797 proceeded to attend to the inhabitants of the upper Rio Negro and Uaupés until 1888, when they withdrew and the Mission vanished. Since that time the civilized and the natives of the Rio Negro have had periodic visits from /20/ ecclesiastics, few of whom went beyond S. Gabriel, and some did not reach there.

In 1914 the Mission of the Rio Negro and Uaupés was entrusted by the Holy See to the Salesiana Congregação de S. João Bosco, and a new and more promising phase for those tribes began. Fourteen of them located along the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié and Papurí are assisted materially, sanitarily, and spiritually. The Indians are attracted to the banks of these rivers and settled in small povoados.

For better civilizing assimilation, in accordance with Christian principles, besides the hospitals, maternity clinics, ambulatories, and churches, there are 13 schools (six male and seven female) operating (1958), which, in the regime of a boarding school, educate and instruct about 1500 children of both sexes in the language of the homeland, sciences, and arts. The contrast between the life of the former students of the Mission in their povoados and that of those who live in the malocas where the action of the Missionary has not reached is the best proof of the civilizing attainments of the Salesian Missions.

## 2. The First Relatórios

175 In the eighteenth century three Relatórios /Accounts/ with references to tribes of the Rio Negro and Uaupés appeared:

1st. "Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará até as últimas colonias dos dominios portuguezes em os Rios Amazonas e Negro. Ilustrado com algumas notícias que podem interessar à curiosidade dos navegantes e dar mais claro conhecimento das duas capitanias do Pará e de S. José do Rio Negro /Logbook of the voyage from the city of Pará up to the last colonies of the

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## Chapter III

### Malocas (Baxsasé-wi'seri) and Povoados (Maxka)

133 The Uaupés pours its waters into the Rio Negro by two mouths, separated by the "Ilha das Flores" /Island of Flowers/ (former Ilha do Umirí, wextí-nãxkãro) and islets, dotted besides with innumerable stones and rocks: the southern mouth, with three bars formed by the reefs and the "Cachoeira do Tamanduá," its entrance being more difficult; the northern one, also with many rocks and the "Cachoeira do Carapanã."

361 Whoever goes up it will find at short intervals huts, or groups of huts, two or three here, eight or ten farther on, and even eighteen or twenty. They are the "Povoados" /populated [103] places/ (maxkã), as those of the region call them. They will have the name of a Saint as a Patron, or of some geographic accident, a native name, or any other one chosen, it seems, by chance, as happens in general with national toponymy. The names are ordinarily from the Nheengatú language or Língua geral and correspond to others in Tukano, almost always as mere translation. It is difficult to say whether the original name is the Tukano one, and the one from the língua geral, by which it is known, is only a translation, or vice versa.

178 Until 1924, from the Cachoeira de Ipanoré upwards, there
361 were only malocas (1),
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[797]

1. Maloca is the name of the large collective dwelling (cf. VI, 1).

reports Padre João Marchesi, the veteran Salesian Missionary of the Uaupés. The replacement of the malocas by family houses and the appearance of small povoados, due to the influence of the Salesian Missions, date from that year. At present (1958) malocas only exist either in the interior of the forests or on the banks of the Uaupés River above Iutica and on the Tiquié above Carurú-Cachoeira.

The native tradition preserves the name and the location of malocas and human assemblages that have now disappeared. As documentation we present the lists below. For some places, in this middle of the twentieth century, there is only underbrush to mark the place where the human hand felled the virgin forest and built a maloca.

/Footnotes for pp. 82-85./

000 2. Point /Port. Ponta/ in the toponymy always indicates a geographic accident.

*[192] 3. The natives furnished us the two names above. Coró-coró is the name of riverine birds of various species: ibis melanocephala, gerónticus infuscata.

• [797] 4. There was formerly a Mission of the Capuchin Friars, under the patronage of S. Pedro, reports Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 231). Buxpú-seró is an abbreviation of buxpú-kaxsero, piece of sarabatana /blowgun/. The name refers to the legends of the sarabatana and of Tupana-ruca.

5. Sem moradores /without inhabitants/, that is, the former povoado does not exist any more.

6. The name in parentheses indicates the original inhabitants.

7. The dashes indicate places known only by the denomination in Tukano.

*[192] 8. Taina, in Nheengatu, is a child of either sex up to when it starts to talk, walk, and do small services. From then on, those of the male sex are called kurumim, and those of the female sex, kuñatai.

9. The first Tukano who came from the Papurí to the Tiquié crossed there by swimming the river to the right bank, when they were fleeing from enemies.

/67 cont./

161 increased (26).

26. With pleasure we found some of these opinions confirmed by the Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, from the end of the eighteenth century. In No. 208 of his [164] "Noticias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/" he points out: "What indeed is worth noting is that there is not found among the central heathen the sickness that is called humores gallicos /French disease, syphilis/, according to what has been ascertained on the rivers Uaupé, Japurá, Juruá, Jutahí, and others, and because of that perhaps there is among them great propagation as daily experience shows; in any descimento /descent; see p. 35 / one sees double and triple the children of both sexes."

c) It might happen that one finds partially or even totally uninhabited a place that, years before, was flourishing. This fact per se does not authorize one to conclude that one is dealing with a decrease /68/ in population. There might have been migration to another place, as a consequence of there having been some epidemic or fight in the original povoado. It is true 164 that there have been epidemic attacks of colds ("catarro, ehõ," says the Indian), measles (27),

27. In August and September of 1956 successive attacks of whooping cough, measles, and malaria decimated approximately 200 natives on the rivers Uaupés, Papurí, and Tiquié.

or malaria (uhãke), which have decimated the population of one [797] group or another. The sanitary assistance that the Salesian Missions are giving them has avoided such attacks or has reduced the danger of them.

/68 cont./

165 d) Unfortunately, however, the index of child mortality is still very high. Prior to the establishment of hospitals and [797] ambulatories by the Salesian Missions, about 50 per cent of the children from 2 to 10 years of age died because of the lack of hygiene.

164 More alarming still is the danger of tuberculosis. Sent by the Colombian government, in August of 1955 the phthisiologist Dr. Alvaro Arguillo Pinzon visited the populations of the Uaupés and Papurí. Soon after his visit to this latter river, at the povoados of the Colombian bank as well of the Brazilian one, he affirmed to us in Iauareté that 75 per cent of the indigenous population was already infected by the Koch bacillus. The affirmation is painfully true. Not only are the Indians ignorant of the simplest standards of hygiene suitable to the case (they live together in the same environment filled with carbonic anhydride from the always lighted fire, they sleep on the same hammock, put their dirty hands in the common food, drink from the same cuia /gourd container/, consume the remains of the food of the tuberculars, sip the drinks chewed perhaps by some infected person, etc.), but also to their mentality the observance of the precautions required by the sickness is excluded. As a matter [753] of fact, they do not believe in sicknesses; they consider themselves immortal. The sicknesses are evils caused by some enemy, and only the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ with his magic practices (practices that in reality often contribute only to making the ailment worse) is able to eliminate them. For [797] this reason, they do not subject themselves to long treatment in the Mission hospitals, to which, ordinarily, they retreat voluntarily and with the permission of the relatives only after having uselessly tried the treatments of various pajés, already in the last days of life. In recent years a considerable proportion of deaths, mainly of adults, has had as causa mortis laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis.

/83 cont./

648 We are inclined to think that, independently of war episodes or cultural elements, this superiority of the Tukano has various causes: 1st, the tribe's being more numerous; by the data of the old statistics we can imagine that they approach two thousand. If that is the case, it is two or three times larger in population than any other tribe; 2nd, it is also probable that they had occupied some of their present centers (from where they expelled the Makú) before other tribes arrived in this area, and, according to the native mentality, the value of priority in time is great; 3rd, they located themselves more or less regularly scattered along these three rivers, and due to the unity among them (that all call themselves and consider themselves brothers), they must constitute a feared force for the other tribes, who are smaller and have their nuclei located farther apart; 4th, the number and the arrangement along the rivers would have, little by little, generalized their language among the individuals of the other tribes, who traveled for the sake of trade with the Tukano or with other tribes (21).

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21. Living together as students or employees, and later the frequent meetings among the various tribes, in the Missionary Centers has contributed powerfully toward the ever more rapid propagation of the Tukano idiom. One can foresee, at this pace, that it will become the língua geral of the Uaupés, as the Nheengatú is on the Río Negro.

It seems to us that this hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that those indigenous groups of the middle Uaupés (especially above Carurú-cachoeira) whose trade is regularly carried on among themselves or with the tribes of the Aiarí indeed do not know (22)

22. We wrote this in 1947. Ten years later, 1956,

/83 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 22 cont./ we already found many Wanãna of the younger generation, who had passed through the boarding schools of the Missions, not only understanding the Tukano, but even preferring it to the mother tongue when they are amusing themselves with their classmates.

the Tukano idiom. At the same time the Taryana language is on the way to being lost, because they are surrounded by the Tukano.

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The matrimonial interdiction of the Tukano with the Wanãna and the Bará is in force.

/84/ 3) Divisions (23) --

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23. In 1947 we had obtained a list of 28 subdivisions. And in 1953-4, we procured confirmation with the old Komũ, Gabriel Costa (about 80 years old), from Parí-cachoeira. He confirmed to us the order of derivation that we present here, starting with the Mamí (older brother) Waú-ro-põrá, and proceeding with the term Axkabí (younger brother) Oá kaxpéa põrá, etc. He also informed us that the first 14 subdivisions are the "principal ones," "the following 14 are inferior." And he added four more subdivisions as being "the lowest." Of the ones that we had obtained previously, he not only failed to mention, but even denied the existence of the U'khwãra and Vidari. Nevertheless we had confirmation of their existence on the part of individuals belonging to these subdivisions in S. Miguel and Melo Franco (last Brazilian localities on the river Papurí), respectively.

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*101 b) BARÁ OR BASÃNA

1) People-Name-Language -- It is the name by which, without any modification, this tribe is known in the various languages; also the name of a fragrant bush, with whose branches the various tribes are accustomed to gird themselves when they dance.

Their language belongs to the Tukano family, as can be seen by the "Vocabulário da Amazônia." (Cf. the author's books: "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas /Indigenous Idioms/.")

*[192] We heard some Tukano say that the Bará are their Paxkõ-Ro (grandparents), but they could not tell us the reason for this apellation, nor did we find any allusion to it in their legends. It is certain that marriage between these two tribes is prohibited.

[115] Pe. Humberto Limpens (28)

[797]

28. He was one of the great and well-deserving Monfortian Missionaries of the tribes in the Colombian region of the Uaupés. He became known by the name of "Pe. Clemente," who had been his predecessor in the Mission.

of the Congregação de Montfort informed us that he had heard from some old Bará that they called themselves Manao. We have not yet obtained confirmation of this, however. At present nothing is yet known about their relations with the ancient Manao tribe, which dominated a large part of the Rio Negro and is classified in the Arwáke group. Could it be that a small group of Manao were dominated or absorbed by the Tukano, whose idiom they assimilated?

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*101 1) People-Name-Language -- Their language belongs to the Tukano family, as can be verified by the Vocabulary that we transcribed and recorded (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous idioms of Amazonia/"). Chestmir affirms that it now shows Karaíba vestiges.

/104/ Anthropologically they are readily distinguished from the Tukano. They are taller, less corpulent, and, above all, less markedly Mongoloid in physiognomy than the latter.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They are found living on the upper Uaupés, on the frontier of Brazil and Colombia, and on the rivers Querarí, Cuduiarí, and the headwaters of the Içana. [797] The first explorers already found them in this habitat. About a century ago Jesuino Cordeiro settled some hundreds of them in Mitú and on the lago do espelho /lake of the mirror/.

[161] Including a thousand souls, according to the calculations of Koch Grünberg, who says that the Kubẽwãna dominated two Arwáke groups of the Querarí and imposed on them their language and customs: the Hõhõwa and the Káwa (39).

39. Two or three families of the Káwa still survive (cf. II-6, a (5) ). As for the Hõhõwa, whom Koch G. talks about, perhaps they would be the Hehénakõ or Hehénawõ, now considered a subdivision of the Kubẽwana, as it can be seen on the charts transcribed here.

Many of the latter, however, emigrated to the Içana River, and in contact with the Arwáke groups there, they again took on their Arwáke character (Zwei Iahre, 72).

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*101 susceptible to stimulus (40).

40. The appearance of their homes in Acuaricuara confirms the impression that they are more decayed. It is true that in November of 1953 two Suryana families were building the two best houses of the missionary povoado. About the moral decadence, the fact that a father was living maritally with his daughter. It must be pointed out that the Tukano did not accept a Suryana as a labor overseer; nevertheless, in the Mission school the two most intelligent young men were Suryana.

[171] [835] [829] [797]

In Acuaricuara we found Suryana married to Tukano and to Desana; matrimonial interdiction is thus not in force between these tribes. Exogamy is also mandatory among the Suryana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We found some groups on the headwaters of the Papurí and on the river Paca (Acuaricuara and surroundings). They are not to be confused with the Širyaná of Arwake origin located on the Demêni, whom Curt K. identified with the Bahuna.

According to the information obtained in Acuaricuara, the Suryana tribe is greatly reduced in members. There would be about 250 individuals: 120 in S. Geraldo (river Paca), 80 in Vinha-igarapé, 30 in Uiva-igarapé, and 20 in Tapira-cachoeira (river Paca).

[115] /110/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Manoel Rodriguez from Acuaricuara.

1. Tu-boá (?), in S. Geraldo
2. Behé burisêra (Suryana tapurú /caterpillar/), in Vinha-igarapé
3. Wiva (arrow), in Uíva-igarapé (river Paca, above Tapira-cachoeira)

/140 cont./

868 The skill and perfection with which he opens out the palms for the covering of the maloca, with the help of the oar, or how he makes his plaitings, the way of tying and transporting a bundle of palms, merit admiration. His ability with regard to these practical necessities of life is very remarkable. And it becomes more admirable if we consider that the training is very quick, without true schools, and he soon finds himself skilled, for example, in the varied and beautiful work of nets and baskets. 797 They also learn with relative speed the trades of the civilized, 868 such as mason, blacksmith, carpenter, tailor, in the Salesian 177 Schools, although, perhaps due to the force of the environment, circumstances, and their inconstancy, they do not often reach perfection in their trade. Some continue as artisans of these trades in the missionary establishments. Others, returning from the schools to their homes, have an opportunity to use what they learned, handling, for instance, the saw, the hammer, and even the chisel. They are also the machinists of the launches that go up their immense rivers; just as they are capable of executing more delicate work, such as the observations and handling of meteorological instruments (5).

> 5. Wallace already observed a century ago (perhaps with some exaggeration to emphasize the idea) that, while a European countryman would take six months to learn how to handle a sextant, one of our Indians learns it in minutes. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre) also made a similar observation.

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502 They are the irreplaceable "practitioners" of the navigation of those dangerous rivers, because they have an amazing topographic memory of the hidden rocks and sandbanks, bound up with an impressive calm during the dangers presented by the storms and the cachoeiras.

/144 cont./

551 the civilized, who, they can be sure, already at the first presentation, receive a nickname, which will be propagated with incredible speed (8).

*[192]

8. They told us of some of these nicknames: one they called sõãgõ, vermilion, because of his color; another, subí, curled, because he had curly hair; a third one, uxpĩka-ro, crooked teeth; a fourth one, o'mẽpero-ro, big ears; a fifth one, waũ, the uáia-piçá monkey; a sixth one, õxsó-boekhõ, arrow of alligator (because of being tall and thin), etc. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 206) tells that they nicknamed him Wãx'tĩ (see VII-4, d (5) ), because of the beard (?), and his companion Schmidt, nõ'myõ-axké, monkey-woman.

6) Curiosity.

153 Endowed with great curiosity, he wants to learn from any
203 civilized person to whom he is introduced who he is, what his name is, where he comes from, where he is headed, what he came to do, what his nationality is; and they ask their tribal brothers who are accompanying the unknown visitor a thousand other questions. An Indian is apt to make a long and uncomfortable journey in order to tell those of another povoado an episode that happened, the visit of a new missionary, etc. (9).

• [797]

9. In July of 1956 His Excellency the Coadjutor Bishop of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, Dom José Domitrovitsch, decided to surprise the missionaries of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), and he was covering the 300 kilometers that separate Parí from Taracuá with a small motorboat. He stayed overnight in the povoado of S. João, about 30 kilometers from the Mission. An Indian, in the middle of the night, set out

/144 cont./

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/footnote 9 cont./ traveling in his canoe and at six o'clock in the morning informed the Missionaries of the visit of the Bishop, who is festively received at the Mission two hours later. Humorously one says that in these latitudes there is not yet wireless telegraph, but the communication system of radio-cipó is well developed.

153

If one opens a suitcase, a book, a notebook, the Indian's eye does not leave these objects. And many times he wants to have a more practical and complete knowledge, approaching them, touching them, and /145/ observing them in all their aspects. And not rarely subjecting them to observation by all the senses: he touches, smells, bites. The civilized man realizes that he is being furtively touched on his clothes, or even on the hand, by the children and even by the women. We were not able to verify whether in this gesture some magic concept might also enter.

When he hears Portuguese being spoken, if he does not understand it, he likes to repeat the sounds that he heard, pronouncing them several times, as if to engrave them in his memory.

7) Distrust.

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Conversely, he does not like to be observed. If he perceives that he is, he withdraws. He answers the civilized laconically, going away as soon as possible, in order to avoid a new question; or he will leave without answering. He spends entire hours of travel in silence in a canoe when he travels alone with some civilized man, or even when he travels with others from the tribe, but in the presence of a "white." It is the mistrust (10)

[123]

10. We were lucky in getting Indians of both sexes, from diverse tribes and in different localities, to unbosom themselves confidentially

/145 cont./

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/footnote 10 cont./ and reveal to us many more intimate and secret things. Besides the frequent presents, although small (many times only some candies and cigarettes, things greatly appreciated by all), and the patience and kindness of the treatment, it helped us to show that we already knew some of the more secret things, especially pertaining to the subject of our questions. Perhaps the vanity in showing that he knew more and better than the previous informers would open the Indian's mouth. One must insist many, many times that they speak frankly, without embarrassment, that not only would they not lose our esteem, but the civilized person likes frank people better. They could talk because we would not reveal their name to anyone.

Among the confidences that we obtained in this way (and in our notes we have recorded the person, place, and date), confirming their preconceived opinion against all the civilized, even though one may be the most abnegative Missionary, we remember here the following four: 1st. -- they do not like the civilized; 2nd. -- they believe themselves more ingenious than the civilized; they consider them just silly; 3rd. -- they like to see the civilized irritated, even pretending not to understand what he wants; 4th. -- it is a good thing to hurt the civilized.

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It would be easy to compile several episodes that confirm these statements. But these confidences, collected from the very lips of the natives, dispense with any more words and are more valuable than any episode. The idea of adding this Note to the chapter on the Psychology of the Indian came to us on August 27, 1957, in Carará-poco on the lower Içana, upon hearing that, for the second time, a young Siusí-tapuya woman (with three children, already

• [797]

/145 cont./

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/footnote 10 cont./ abandoned by two men with whom she had lived, having been charitably sheltered and benefited in so many ways by the Salesian Mission) said to the other women: "the Missionaries are thieves like all the whites."

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always observed and /146/ revealed by anyone who dealt with the Indians, perhaps in part because they have heard talk of the tricks engendered by the civilized (11).

11. Many travelers attest that, at the approach of the whites, the Indians used to send their daughters and wives to the forest. Alexandre R. Ferreira, in his "Diário da Viagem philosophica /Diary of the Philosophical Voyage/," p. 98, states: "On the other hand, the first ones who went down did not take much care to be amiable in the eyes of the Indians; I think that the memory of the treatment has lasted and will last among the people. Actually, they used to give their word, partake of the hospitality, then make the Indians drunk in order to take them captive." "In such a way the aversion and horror toward the whites took root in all, so that, at merely the memory, they hide in the forest. When they come down, it is because, in their dilemma: either they die in the hands of the Indians who are their enemies, or they come down to serve the whites." The well-deserving Salesian Missionary, Pe. João Marchesi, confirms this, recalling that about 20 years ago, during the balata season, as soon as they saw some boat of the whites, all fled. The Missionary then had to stand in the bow in order to be seen from far away by the natives and thus to find them in the maloca.

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The school children show some inclination and skill for the manual arts: the girl prefers the work in the field and also appreciates embroidery and sewing.

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He is also endowed with his talents as a worker. The skill, which we have already pointed out and will point out (see ch. V /see Ch. VI/), the perfection, and the relative speed in the kind of jobs that he traditionally performs are the best proofs.

The necessity to live forces him, for his part, also to face great difficulties in order to conquer nature. It is enough to imagine the sacrifices imposed by the cutting for a clearing, with the means formerly at his disposal. His endurance, for example, for rowing, is worthy of consideration. For other jobs, such as agriculture or digging the ground, he is weak. Although the work rhythm is not intense, but rather is always with the calm that is characteristic of him, and he has better nourishment than in his home, after two weeks the Indian begins to weaken and not infrequently to lose weight; and after two or three months he must be excused for holidays and rest (13).

13. Besides the danger of malaria in the lower Rio Negro, this weakening of the Indian, especially when he lacks his customary foods, condemn the process (that some are already exploring and others, ignoring the circumstances, recommend) of making use of the native hand in the extraction of the piassava, the Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," the name of several trees (and their fruit), including the Brazil nut/, or borracha. We think that such jobs can be, or rather must be, performed only by the caboclos, who already have physical endurance and a psychic disposition different from that of the natives.

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/footnote 19 cont./ perfectly new, from a Hohodene of the stream Waraná (tributary of the Aiarí); and in fact he made the deal, in spite of the fact that the machine was worth about 4,000 cruzeiros.

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The very relations between parents and children are contaminated or are regulated by gain. The parents come periodically to visit the boarding-school children in the Mission schools and many times bring them beijú, dried fish, and fruit. The student sees them from far away and immediately sets out to join them and spends some time with them, but always in a cold way, without looking at them, perhaps scratching the ground with a toe of his foot. Another time the parents come without bringing anything. The missionary lets the boy know: -- "Go see, your father is there." "I already know," he answers indifferently. -- "Then go to talk with him." -- "He is not giving anything," he answers, and he does not stir to see his own father, although it has been months that he has not seen him.

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Periodically a /152/ small boat from the Mission in Iauareté in 1953 went up as far as S. Miguel and Melo Franco (river Papurí), buying flour for the schools. The Tukano from this last locality offered to keep for a few days the hampers of flour for their "irmãos" /brothers/ who lived a few hours away on the river Auá, until the Mission boat came to collect them. For this small favor, however, they demanded from their Tukano "irmãos" of the Auá 50 per cent of the flour, to wit: of four hampers kept, two were handed over to the Mission and the other two stayed as payment to the "warehouse."

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Just as little can one have absolute confidence in his word or promise and count on the Indian for a set date, for the performance of a job, a trip, etc. He will fail to appear on such-and-such a day or place where he is expected, or do the promised work. Later, perhaps, he will show up, without, however, talking about the subject or excusing himself. If, by chance, we are the first to talk and we complain (which is not always advisable), he will present some excuse, true or false. It does not even enter his mind to think whether there are strong reasons for keeping the promise given to the white. He absolutely will not sacrifice any of his interests in order to satisfy an assumed obligation.

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The unanimous affirmation of all those who have lived with them for some time is that they are endowed with a great capacity for simulation (24).

24. The Arwake natives of the Içana exhibit the same skill at simulation. Among the verificative episodes we recall the following one. It was at the beginning of the female boarding school, directed by the Irmãs Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora or Irmãs Salesianas /Sisters Daughters of Mary Auxiliary or Salesian Sisters/ (1957). Several girls, in spite of the liberality of the discipline and the tolerance of the Reverendas Irmãs, ran away. Two girl students, taking advantage of the right moment, escaped and, with a canoe, reached the opposite bank, where their mother was found in a small hut. The latter immediately crossed the river and came to the school to see her daughters. Not being found, of course, the mother showed great distress, starting to cry with signs of great affliction, causing serious concern to the

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/footnote 24 cont./ Educadoras /Educators/. Nevertheless, it was the mother herself who had hidden the daughters in the forest, as was found out later through witnesses of the act.

In a perfect manner they will feign illness or indigence, they will feign ignorance of an order or a prohibition, loss of memory or an oversight. Planning a deed which they consider bad (for example, three or four Indians organizing an attack with the purpose of stealing, or in Indian file to spy on the white through a crack, etc.), they do not let any anxiety show. Even when they are surprised, they are not disconcerted. They simply separate, as though nothing had happened. Almost always a hearty laugh will come to terminate the disrupted attempt.

764 Furthermore they are capable of showing emotions that they do not feel. A typical example is the funeral weeping (with tears, screams, exclamations), performed with moving perfection, returning immediately afterwards to the same gay conversation of minutes before, intermixed with immodest laughs; while others, in turn, recite /156/ their part, surrendering to crying, only to turn back minutes later to their habitual gaiety. Perhaps they could be used as theatrical actors.

17) Sentimental life: love, friendship, gratitude.

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Their sentimental life does not seem very intense. One never observes displays very ardent with feeling (25).

25. The meeting between parents and children or between spouses, after months or perhaps years of separation, is always invested with the coolness of any meeting, without looking at each other, with those conventional expressions that we have indicated (cf. formalism below). The Missionary Pe. Antônio Giacone was able to observe this very curious episode: the husband had been absent for almost two years in order

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/footnote 29 cont./ natives instead use the Portuguese verb with the Tukano ending: perdoáya (you forgive), perdoápõ (I forgave).

He thinks about revenge, and there are numerous episodes /159/ demonstrating that he waits patiently for years for the opportunity, and they take long trips for the purpose of executing revenge.

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It is an imprescriptible obligation, that of vengeance, a'mẽ-wehẽ, incumbent on the group, for one of its members killed or wounded by some civilized man or Indian of another tribe. Vengeance will also be taken within the tribe against a native of another subdivision, and even against one's own blood brother. If he does not execute the vengeance in some case, it is because he is afraid of counter-vengeance (malefice).

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In appearance the Indian is very peaceful. One does not hear the natives quarreling among themselves in loud voices, even when it seems to us that there are reasons for it. They even seem very polite among themselves. When, in a group of natives, one among them gave, let us suppose, incorrect information (it should be noted that they do not like to state: I do not know, I am not sure of that), the others do not at the time correct the inaccuracy or mistake. Perhaps one of those present, when he is alone with the civilized, will on request rectify the erroneous information.

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There is no recollection, except for the legends, of war among the various tribes (30).

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30. In October of 1947, a few days before our visit to the maloca of the Makũ, about six kilometers from Iauareté, on the occasion of a caxiri (celebration with drinking), a machete fight took place among them, during which one Indian died and several were seriously hurt. In January of 1948 in this same maloca there was dissension of

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157 /footnote 40 cont./ cigarette smoke over the several parts of the body. It seems to be a common custom when the woman is lying in the hammock to rest during the day.

Long before daybreak, from three or four o'clock in the morning, laughs can be heard in the maloca, and until ten or eleven at night. They are a happy race; in their /164/ maloca one can hear much laughter and almost no crying. The children themselves [797] cry less than their little brothers of civilization (41):

41. In the children taken into the Mission boarding schools, and even in the small children who are sons and daughters of alumni and raised in the shadow of the Missions, one observes with more frequency and for a longer time habitual crying and shrieking.

crying that lasts a few moments.

152 23) Stoicism.

The Indian is an absolutely perfect type of the stoic and greatly surpasses the ancient Greek philosophers. Man of the present, the future does not worry him. He does not save for tomorrow; he trusts that tomorrow nature will be as favorable to him or more so than today, and he will also work tomorrow. In privation he knows how to suffer hunger with serene tranquility. He does not even think about future pain. The secret of his tranquility and constant good humor rests on this state of mind. As for the rest, he easily endures suffering; he will not moan, however intense his pains may be (42).

42. During our frequent visits to the malocas and to the native povoados, many times, with our admiration, we have found individuals, not only adults, but also children, enduring

/164 cont./

152 /footnote 42 cont./ great pain without a tear or a groan. On the other hand, when under the care of the civilized, for example, when hospitalized, they readily burst out in shrieks and groans that even seem exaggerated. We are prevented from presenting an explanation for similar facts, although we have in vain asked for one from the natives themselves on several occasions.

758 761 [755] [797] During illnesses, he will lie in the hammock and wait for nature to react to the prompting of the rites of the pajé. If the latter says that the sick man is going to die, he will await death calmly, without cries or shrieks. The relatives will not give him medicine, and many times not even food or drink (43).

758 797 43. And have you given mingau /a paste made with manioc flour/ to the sick man -- asked the Missionary to those of a maloca where he had found a very sick old man lying in a hammock. -- "What for?" objected the Indians, "he is going to die anyway." In May of 1954, a young wife gravely ill and given up by the pajé, Adelia Abreu by name, of the Tukano tribe, was found in Pari-cachoeira. She did not accept the medicines or threw them away, pretending to take them. She generally refused food. If by chance she showed any disposition to accept it, her mother whispered that she should not take it, because the pajé had said that she was going to die. With some difficulty they transported her to the hospital. The Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/ managed to overcome the young woman's resistance, and the latter decided to take the medicines and the food, and a hopeful improvement was

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/footnote 43 cont./ noticed immediately. The sick woman's mother, upon learning this, ran to the hospital, in order to stop it. To anyone who argued with her because she acted so, the mother answered: -- "The pajé said that she is to die; if she gets well in the hospital, the pajé is going to be furious with me." It is true that as soon as the woman felt better she ran away from the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ hospital. From the delivery, which soon followed, she had a very weak child that died almost immediately. The young mother, however, became strong and is still enjoying good health (in September of 1956).

152 The /165/ patient will not ask for it or will even refuse to take it if someone presents it to him. His life has been full of fights and deprivations endured with the most inalterable calm, he was never defeated by despair, he always appears strong, even before the imminence of death (cf. VII - 2, e (1) ).

24) Formality.

The Uaupésino native is a singularly formal type. It is precisely this rigorous formality, touching almost every activity of the individual, that crushes the individual, the personal in the Indian. About these, as about the Mongols, those who do not have very prolonged and immediate contact with them say that they all look alike, because it is difficult to distinguish them by physiognomic features. In reality, they are more alike in behavior than in the face. The Indians seem to us to have been made in series, if we consider them in their way of acting. Education, which subministers to them the congenital tendency to imitate, and the subjection to the customs and traditions are so absorptive that it almost makes the individualizing traits in them disappear. And this uniformity is still more impressive because it culturally

/174 cont./

177 family type, of straw or bark or even of pau-a-pique (3),

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3. By pau-a-pique or taipa (in Tukano di'tá pyákaro) is understood, in all Brazil, the house whose walls consist of a hurdle of pales and laths, which is then filled in and plastered with mud or mortar.

instead of the old and large malocas, baxsá-wi or baxsarí-wi (dance house) (4)

4. That of Parí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, disappeared about 20 years ago, measured approximately 60 by 30 meters, attests Pe. João Marchesi.

for a whole local group.

It is to be noted in the present povoados that all the houses have the same rectangular style. They are, on a small scale, a maloca. They are not alike, however, nor do they follow any alignment, except for the cases of intervention by the missionaries. In imitation of the houses of the Mission, today one sees some houses with a small porch or shed.

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361 As for the location, it is always on the bank of a river or stream (5).

5. Paulo /Paul/ Rivet characterizes the civilization of these tribes as "mandioca civilization." Perhaps with more accuracy one should say "mandioca and fishing civilization." We have found, especially in the region inhabited by the Karapanã and Tatú, malocas in the interior of the forest 500 or 600 meters from the streams. This distance is dictated by the circumstances, in order for them to protect themselves against attacks and violence.

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342 Having, then, only two openings, the interior is always
373 somewhat dark, being, in part, illuminated by the stoves (12).

*[192] 12. Sometimes, on one or more posts, which seem planted only for this purpose, they light at night a piece of resin called cicantá, which burns with a quite intense and long-lasting light, and leaves as residue a tar which also serves for calking the canoes.

177 In the modem family-huts, there is customarily an interior
342 partition, generally made of bark. Perhaps this division, which
574 is being adopted, has been suggested by the convenience when they must house some guest, especially the civilized. The Indian ordinarily is very hospitable; he not only receives guests for the great caxirís, but he also shelters any Indian or white who might be traveling. The first division near the door is reserved exclusively for the guests (see VII - 4, e 2 a).

• [797] In some povoados, at the request of the Missionary, they build a large hut that serves for overnight stays of the Padre and as a chapel, when there is no other place reserved for worship.

342 Some malocas (and also Maku huts), in which the roof ends very close to the ground, completely or partially lack side walls.
*[192] Such walls are regularly dispensed with in the oxkóro-áro (Nheengatú tapirí or papirí), or emergency huts, which they make in the distant clearings or on the banks of the rivers where they are accustomed to staying overnight on the occasion of trips and fishing expeditions.

177 Ordinarily the maloca or house is alone and contains all the
342 family household goods. Auxiliary houses, however, are beginning to appear. The maloca of the Tuyuca, described above, has one of these. One of the Indians, knowing a little Portuguese, explained that it was the "succursal" of the maloca. Much smaller and only partially protected by side walls, made of straw
[353] and bark. There were about 14 hammocks reserved for the Maku
[415] in service, the flour oven, sieves, hampers, suspended tipitis,

177 /178 cont./
342 vessels of baked clay, and a cylindrical bark container, quite
353 well made, similar to the straight barrels in which we keep
415 chestnuts and codfish.

Nowadays (and since the time of the discoveries, as the
231 first explorers attest) the dog, which, besides guarding, also serves for hunting, is found as a domestic animal in the various malocas and houses, and in all the tribes. Ordinarily small, hungry, extremely thin; some do not support the weight of the body. Many of these animals, due to the stings of the fire ant or taxi, have suffered degeneration of the cornea and for this reason have white eyes.

/179/ Here and there in the malocas and povoados are also seen araras, parrots, mutums /Crax/, jacamins, or domesticated jacus. The Missions have encouraged the raising of
• [797] [177] pigs and chickens. The chickens go back to the first colonizers of the Rio Negro, and to protect them, by way of a chicken coop where they are sheltered during the night, they make small conical enclosures with the vertex upwards, or they use some old canoe, turned upside down, with an opening that they close at night, in order that the micura (gambá /opossum/) or some other animal that chases chickens can not enter.

* [192] In the Arwáke languages the chicken is called karáka, probably onomatopoeia for the chicken's voice. Onomatopes are otherwise very common among the tribes of the Uaupés to designate the birds. Perhaps from karáka is derived the word of the Tukano language which means chicken, i.e., ká'rẽkẽ or ka'rẽkẽ (Uaupés ká'nẽkẽ, ka'nẽkẽ). According to this hypothesis, it is from the Arwáke that the Tukano (and the tribes of the Uaupés in general) would have received the first chickens, or at least knowledge of them. Such a hypothesis is made probable, not only by the greater cultural development of the Arwáke, but also by their prior relationship with the civilized of the Rio Negro.

342 It seems that there is no rule with regard to the orientation of the maloca or with regard to the distance from the river or from the forest.

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Due to its simplicity, it is known and produced by all the tribes, although it is called "rede de Makú" /Makú hammock/. Because of this depreciatory name, and mainly because of the present ease of acquiring more durable and economical cotton hammocks from the civilized, it is beginning to lose its acceptance among the Indians of the other tribes and today is found almost solely among the Makú and the tribes without contact with the civilized. The Tukano tell of having learned from the Desana how to make this type of hammock. They were not able to clarify whether they had previously used the rede-puçá /puçá hammock/, or if they knew the hammock and slept on platforms.

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b) Beaten hammock. In Tukano it is called pá-tuke, and in Nheengatú, makíra. It is manufactured with a very simple loom (26).

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26. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 340) is of the opinion that the loom is of European origin. This opinion seems acceptable to us, and we believe one could say that the form of the "rede batida" /beaten hammock/ as well is not of native origin, but learned from the civilized. This conclusion is confirmed by: 1st, the fact that not many Indian women know how to make the "rede batida"; 2nd, those who presently know how to do it (as is shown by our inquiries) learned it in the Mission schools or from the alumnae of the Mission; 3rd, we know that the Governador of the Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro, Lobo D'Almada, in his economic plan to encourage industry, favored the weaver's trade, aiming at "the making of the cloth needed for the uniforms of the garrison, the colonists, and the Indians who came down, using eighteen looms and ten spinning wheels, with twenty-four spindles each. In 1798 only 157 Indian women were working as spinners"

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/footnote 26 cont./ (A. Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada -- Manaos, 1940, p. 35); 4th, in the povoados more in contact with civilization, as well as in the more remote malocas, one never finds the "rede-batida"; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ but the natives either use only the hammock "de trinta fios" /of thirty threads/ or those bought from the civilized; 5th, it seems that we can discover still another argument, to wit: outside of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ of the Salesian Missions, on numerous excursions along rivers and igarapés, in only two povoados did we have an opportunity to see the loom and the work of the "rede-batida," and in the two cases it was a matter of young women who had learned it in the Mission and did it on order from the civilized. Furthermore: the terms of the Tukano language that we have presented in relation to the "rede-batida" result from innumerable inquiries at different times and places, with the more educated alumni of the Mission. It is not a matter of an ordinary nomenclature known and used by all, as one would expect if the "rede-batida" were a primitive industry. Many did not know the terms; others presented improper terms made up for the occasion. As generic terms for the occasion, they sometimes were and sometimes were not understood and accepted by other natives.

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Before there came into being the trade in the present cotton hammocks (called in the region redes-do-Ceará /hammocks from Ceará/), the civilized women of the Rio Negro and some Indian women of the Içana continued to "bater" /to beat/ their hammocks on the primitive looms, as they had learned in the lower Rio Negro. The Salesian Missions in turn try to keep this skill from being lost, and they teach the Indian women of greater ability and skill, not only how to make the

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177 /footnote 26 cont./ "rede-batida," but, by
174 the same process, to make rugs, tablecloths,
286 napkins, bags, and other artifacts to suit modern taste.

*192 /192/ pũ-pá:-tuse nextõ-rĩ, consisting of four rounded sticks
286 connected in a rectangle. Each of their vertical staffs (warp)
352 has two holes through which the horizontal ones pass. The holes are purposely very large, so that with a suitable wedge the distance with regard to the horizontal staffs can be varied and thus hammocks of different lengths obtained.

The warp is made in the vertical direction (around the horizontal crossbars, the separation of which marks the length of the hammock), some turns going around with quite a long thread. The vertical crossbars of the loom determine the width of the hammock.

In between the vertical threads the woman starts developing the woof, a small stick with the rolled thread serving as a shuttle, wa'mẽ-kõ dõxká, and beating with a straightedge, pá:-turi-phĩ, in order to join the meshes well. The result is a true fabric of quite tight meshes, and the more elegant and comfortable the hammocks, the finer the thread.

They complete the elegance with a "veranda," pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõrĩ or pá:-tuke-wári, or a side fringe of varied form, as macramé is made.

The veranda is prepared by stretching a thread of a size corresponding to that of the hammock. Along this thread are tied with knots the tucum fibers folded in half. With these variously colored fibers, the woman spins, without the help of bobbins, but only with the fingers, a somewhat wide lace "ponto" /stitch/, until she obtains a trimming /193/ of some 10 or 15 centimeters, and she afterwards tears the ends with the ouriço /prickly part/ of the piquiá. They not only use fibers
[237] of different colors, but they even attach to them nowadays
[531] beautiful and colorful feathers of birds, in conformity with the taste of the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

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*192 286 352 *[115] [797]

c) Puçá hammock. In Tukano one says pũ piõke; we call it puçá hammock because it is similar, in the knots, to the fishing nets called puçá in the Lingua Geral (27).

27. Pe. Ezequiel Lopes tells that around 1931, among the little Pirá-tapúya Indians from the river Papurí who came to enroll as boarding-school students at the Iauareté school (river Uaupés), some appeared equipped with the puçá type of sleeping hammock.

In order to make this type of hammock, one uses a loom somewhat different from what we have seen previously. It consists of two pairs of vertical staffs, with the small separation of one span more or less. A more variable space lies between one pair and another and marks the length of the hammock desired.

Two threads are stretched horizontally, at a distance of 3 to 4 centimeters apart. Between them the woman starts to make knots or stitches like those of a casting net. They stretch two more threads horizontally, and new stitches are interlaced with the first ones, and so on successively.

This type of hammock is perhaps more work than the "beaten" one. The Tukano call it pũ pỹõke, because the line is run through, piõ: and the knot is made by hand.

3) Fishing nets (puçá).

227 284 *[192]

The Tukano call them wehẽ-kõ (28)

28. The Salesian Missionary Pe. Eduardo Lagório makes the following observation: "The verb to kill, wehẽ, is interesting; it is used almost exclusively to indicate the death of fish and animals. For human beings, having almost no violent murders, they use the expressions related to the various methods of poisoning."

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252 *[192] 7) Chibé. The chibé, in Tukano po'ká põõke, is prepared with the water flour rich in tapioca. It is enough to take a certain amount of flour in a cuia and add water to it. For example, they take the water directly from the river while they are traveling on it, with a quick movement of the hand, without spilling the flour. They wait for a few seconds, in order for the mandioca fibers that are in the flour to come up (at times they facilitate this, moving the mass with the fingers) and empty out the water from the top, along with these fibers. After a few moments the flour "grows," because of being impregnated with water. The chibé has then been prepared. This starchy water, acid in flavor, is naturally refreshing. The chibé is used as a snack by the Indian. With a cuia of chibé, he rows for endless hours. It is the regular food, or even the sole food, on journeys, and also his dessert after meals.

243 *[192] b) Maize.

The maize, ohó-ka (we do not know whether the Indian sees any special relation between the maize stalk, ohó-ka, and the banana tree, ohó; or if the similarity of the terms is a matter of mere accident), is not only of late introduction, but, moreover, of very restricted use. Properly speaking, there is no maize clearing among the tribes of the Uaupés, but only a few isolated plants, when there are any. A group from the Karapanã tribe, [184] [197] residing between the rivers Papurí and Tiquié, on the headwaters of the stream Umarí, cultivates maize in greater abundance, but it is almost entirely sold to the Salesian Mission. It is a matter of a variety with a soft and white grain.

273 In small quantity the chewed maize is used, in some cases, to facilitate the fermentation of the drinks.

252 It also enters into the preparation of cakes, through the following process: after the maize is pounded, the meal is sifted and moistened with lukewarm water. With this dough they prepare cakes that are /216/ put on to bake over coals, wrapped in banana leaves. If the woman "has a good hand," they say, a sweet and pleasing cake comes out. It is, however, a food of

/219 cont./

*192 262 e) Tubers and green vegetables.

They eat, boiled or roasted, the tubers of the batata, yaxpĩ (hipomaéa /Ipomoea/ batátas, Lam.), of the cará, fõmõ (dioscórea alata, Lin.), which were introduced in the last century, and various tubers of the region, /220/ such as duxtú, kaxpó, and others. They do not know the English potato (solánum tuberósum, Lin.).

As for green vegetables, they refuse them when they are offered to them, saying that they are not cows (literally, anta, wexkõ).

*192 252 263 In the fish sauces, besides the pepper, at times they put tender leaves of mandioca (see above, maniçóba). Sometimes, too, they let the mandioca leaves age for three or four days, until they acquire the dark color; then they crush them, boil them, and drink the broth. It is what is called ki-pũ.

*192 263 178 They formerly used the ashes of the carurú-da-pedra (mourera fluviátilis), which grows spontaneously on the rocks of some cachoeiras, in place of salt, to season their food (52).

52. This plant provides an excellent salad, already salty by nature. The Indian, however, "is not a cow" to eat green vegetables. Wallace tells (Travels, 340) that from the fruits of the palm trees inajá and jará (leopoldinia maior and pulchra, Mart.), they prepared a flour of salty taste. It has not been reported to us, however, that they make it now, because of the ease of obtaining salt. The Indians who work in the Missions buy whole bags of salt, and later they sell them, even with exaggerated usury, to those of the more remote malocas, in Colombian territory too.

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184 Its consumption is almost unknown today on the lower Uaupés;
276 it is quite general, however, among the tribes of the Papuri and Tiquié, even when they have their regular food. Perhaps the abuse of the ipadú is responsible for the organic depauperation in the elderly and many stomach ulcers. Besides, the individual becomes addicted and his children are born weak, silly, defective (62).

62. The Salesian Missionary, Padre João Marchesi, on a certain occasion showed a tuxaua how the son of an ipadú eater was slow in intelligence, did not learn how to read or write, did not have any manual skills, whereas the other children did this quickly.

• [797] [178] The young generation, which has gone through the Mission schools, scarcely consumes ipadú any longer.

/233/ 8) /sic: j)/ Conclusion.

252 The natives of the Uaupés take only fruits and some insects raw. Never a piece of meat or fish (63);

63. It was not possible for us to investigate as to whether it is a question only of taste and custom, or if superstitious motives also enter in. It does not seem to us that they exist, although in one of their legends it is said that Wãx-tĩ is the one who eats raw meat.

these foods ordinarily are moqueados /smoked/. And the fish is frequently boiled or reduced to a sauce with pepper, to accompany the ingestion of the beijú.

372 Fire is obtained today with a match, "palito" /toothpick/, as
*[192] they call it, and they try not to let it go out. Day and night
[177] one finds the fire burning inside the maloca, and they also take pots with live coals to the clearing and on trips.

/247 cont./

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/footnote 76 cont./ plagues (insects) of every kind incapacitate the region for sufficient and economical agricultural production. The problem of hunger, driving away the inhabitants of the Uaupés, has not yet set in (and will be still longer in coming, as we note elsewhere), because it is a matter of small human bands, with a minimum of demands and already partially /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ helped by the food supplies that the Salesian Missions send in monthly from Manáus and other points of the country.

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[115]

Pertinent here is a talk that we had on the morning of the eighth of March 1956 with the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, who since 1922 has toiled heroically in the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, and which is found summarized in 6 points in our "Diário," the last five of which have to do with the subject in focus. That is: "1st. -- This year a larger number of Brazilian Indians who worked in Colombia died, among them three from Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié); 2nd. -- The Cairí (Uaupés) has fewer people today than before, and it is going to decrease even more; 3rd. -- The Indians tend to come down, and a good-sized group of them is already established in Tapurucuá (former S. Isabel, on the lower Rio Negro); 4th. -- Many of the Pirá-tapúya of Aracú-ponta (Uaupés) have already come down to the Rio Negro, and others want to come down to there (and actually in our company, and in the same launch, on November 14, 1956, about two dozen Pirá-tapúya came down to Tapurucuá; 5th. -- They are also coming down from S. Luzia (river Papurí); some have already /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ settled near Bela-Vista and Tauá (lower Uaupés), where there are good lands, and they devote themselves to gathering rubber, which they will sell to José Maria

241 /247 cont./

161 /footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of
167 Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the com-
[222] plaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The
[438] land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The
241 indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance,
731 and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory
• 797 by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It
[438] seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

/250 cont./

464 and of that of the Amazon (80).

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80. See "Relatórios" /Reports/ on these Provinces. Unfortunately, instead of job contracts, there were deals between the latifundiários or traders of the Rio Negro and the tuxauas or those who, in a private or official manner, established relations with the Indians or lived among them in order to take advantage of the forest dwellers. The latter would come down, deluded by promises that did not correspond to reality and were victims of malaria or other illnesses. The means to return to their povoados were not made easy for them to get. Their weakness for alcohol was taken advantage of, and months of their services would be bought with some bottles of aguardiente. The documented exposure of these "descidas" /descents/ of the Indians will constitute quite dark chapters in the future History of the Indians of Brazil.

[466] [164] [273]

and on a smaller scale even today, more or less numerous Indians of different tribes irregularly come down to the lower Rio Negro for the most varied jobs, particularly the extraction of various products (rubber, piaçaba /piassava/, nuts, timber, etc.).

439 Objects of native industry for purchase are not only their artifacts for museum collections or decorations for private homes. Those who live or travel in these regions obtain from the Indians part of their food (81)

81. The Salesian Missions have brought great stimulus to the Indians for the production of the means of subsistence, because,

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/footnote 81 cont./ in keeping more than a thousand native children in the regimen of the boarding school, they must buy from the Indian /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ flour, beijú, fish, fruits, game, etc., for their students. During the Second World War traders buying large quantities of flour for those who worked in the rubber plantations of Venezuela and Colombia came by regularly. American seaplanes would come periodically as far as the Papurí to collect and transport hundreds of panniers of flour.

in fruits (especially bananas, papayas, pineapples), flour, beijú, fish, game. It is also the forest dwellers who supply the civilized of those latitudes with canoes, material for the construction of residences (timber, cipo, palms for the roofing), benches, pottery, mats, baskets, strainers, etc. The Indians of the upper Rio Negro and the river Xié devote themselves nowadays to the production of piaçaba /piassava/ ropes, which are sold not only for towropes for the launches of those rivers, but also regularly for the ships of the Amazon River and even for the States.

Almost all the Indians today look to the civilized for hooks, matches, fabrics (and the accessories for the clothing), salt, tobacco, soap. There is less demand for gunpowder, lead, caps for guns, axes, machetes, shotguns. The mercantile practice has already more or less established the prices of the different articles. Nevertheless, the Indians, under the stimulus of self-interest and of certain prejudices against the whites, always want to sell dearly and to buy cheaply or to get something for nothing.

4: Silva--368 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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# Chapter VII

## Spiritual Culture

000 Man is always the rational animal, and proofs of his rational nature are innumerable and appear at every moment. But also true is the primum vívere, deínde philosophári, that is, one can only speculate after the pressing material needs have been satisfied. The intelligence needs a favorable environment in order to develop; but, even in the most adverse environment, it will always give manifestations of its presence. And these manifestations are many, which entitles us to say that, in a general way, the Indian is intelligent. The relative ease with which he adapts himself to our civilization, with which he learns and speaks several native languages and some ideas from the Portuguese that is taught him in the schools, the perspicacity with which he observes the white, listens to him, and talks to him, are proofs of our assertion concerning his intelligence. Up to now, however, no native from the Uaupés has acquired a secondary or higher education, nor has he shown an interest in acquiring it, in spite of the stimuli offered by the Salesian Missions (1).

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1. The Salesians count among their members, in the position of Coadjutor Brother, a Taryana Indian with an education higher than a primary one and who is a good teacher of tailoring, with a specialization course in Recife. The Montfortian Padres have recruited for their Instituto two Indians, a Desana and a Taryana. Young women of different tribes are found at present (1958) in Manaus, taking the course in nursing, supported by the Salesian Missions.

The failure of the first attempts is not surprising, because education assumes a civilization, that is, habits of life, of studies, which only a second or third native generation, raised in the civilized regimen, will be able to present.

/253 cont./

121 We shall indicate here the primitive manifestations of their culture (Persõnlichkeitkultur), meaning by this expression what these forest dwellers exhibit from their own culture and not received from the white, and which is easily discovered from living with them.

212 /254/ 1. Writing.

A question that immediately arises is whether these tribes know how to write. One can answer that at present they do not [797] know or use any kind of writing (2).

2. With the exception, naturally, of those who have passed through the Mission schools. One notices this peculiarity: they learn how to write the Portuguese language with some facility, but they write Tukano with difficulty. Actually the letters of the Latin alphabet, which we use and such as we pronounce in Portuguese, do not reproduce all the sounds of the Tukano language.

172 It is a question open to discussion as to whether those signs
532 that are found on many stones of the Rio Negro and tributaries, that is, the petroglyphs or itacoatiaras (õxtã ohoritirí-pa in Tukano), are a writing of spoken language, or at least ciphered language (of which idiom? of which tribe? in which era?); or are only designs, perhaps stylized (sportive signs /Port. sinais lúdicos/) (3).

3. About the itacoatiaras, their antiquity and their interpretation, cf. the notable work by Bernardo da Silva Ramos, Inscrições e tradições da América pré-histórica /Inscriptions and traditions of Prehistoric America/. Koch Grünberg, going up the river Curicuriari (tributary of the right bank of the Rio Negro), on February 14, 1904, found on a stone designs with the figures

/257 cont./

804 As a practical means for their calculations, they will even make a small stick the size of an arm span or a handspan; they are, nevertheless, individual and casual measurements.

• 797 The arithmetic tables already consitute a serious difficulty for
872 the school children, in spite of being a mere question of memory.
803 Those of better progress do not manage to perform the four operations after /258/ three or four years of attending school. And one notices in all great difficulty in solving the simplest problem in mathematics.

804 It seems that it is equally difficult for them to estimate time,
805 as well as distance and area; thus, they are apt to answer that the length of a room is three kilometers and the course of a river, one hundred meters.

c) Astronomy -- Cosmography.

1) The world.

*192 According to their conceptions, the earth, Di'tã, is a plain
823 covered by a regular and solid spherical calotte, which is called Õ'mã-se (high thing), the sky, with four doors /Port. portas, doors, gates/ corresponding to the four cardinal points, through which the waters of the rivers escape. If these doors were to be closed, the waters would flood the lands and drown all humanity. (Cf. the Legend of the snake Sẽ, p.)

[821] They differentiate the clouds into oxkó-kururí, the nimbi, and o'mẽ-kurúri, cirri.

They call the cardinal points "porta" /door, gate/, Soxpé, and designate them as follows: East, Síro-ká-soxpé (back door); West, Pó'té-ká-soxpé (front door, to wit, of the river); South, Kĩ'pé-ká-soxpé (left door, from which the Uaupés rises); North, Dyakõ-ká-soxpé (right door).

2) Heavenly bodies and stars.

*192 They do not know how to explain how the stars, Yõxkõá, were
821 formed. All the constellations, however, have a legendary origin. They even assert that the sun, the moon, and the stars are people, Maxsã, according to their legends. As confirmation, it is to be

/270 cont./

756 On the other hand, he will cast a malefice and will cause sickness in others, and even death. They also attribute to him power over the winds, rains, storms, lightning. And it is also he who will make the children grow, or, on the contrary, make them rachitic. He knows how to predict the future.

He is able to discover criminals when a crime is suspected and nobody was caught in the act.

As a result of his ceremonies, the individuals will be lucky in hunting or fishing.

It is also by the act of the pajé, they say, that the curare has its formidable toxic power; that the drinks become more inebriating or lose this quality of theirs.

From this is to be deduced all the social importance of the pajé and the respect and fear that surround him on the part of all the Indians, not only from his own tribe, but also from other tribes. The renunciation of the belief in the power of the pajé is perhaps the greatest sacrifice that the Catholic catechesis imposes on the Christian natives. In some cases, it is only partially achieved.

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b) Means of cure.

755 The means of cure that the pajé uses correspond, in turn, to the magic concept of the sicknesses. He knows and applies medicinal plants, with which he makes potions, prepares powder, fumigation. They also apply the ablution (Oxkó-pyó-peasé), sprinkling (Oxkó-stáse-peasé), massages (Pá-pwãsé or Tu-bõrosé), suction (Põ-ãseasé). But, besides this, he has the whole apparatus of magic power kept ordinarily in a small basket, which is called Wamõ axká-ro (18).

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18. To designate this medical kit of the pajé we have also heard the expression Pi'í-kamõ, if it is a basket, and Wĩhyõ-sáku when it is a bag made out of tururí.

/273 cont./

d) His curing processes.

755 The curing process, even in cases of the use of adequate remedies, of plants of recognized therapeutic virtue, is based on suggestion, or at least it is helped by it. As a matter of fact, from the massages or suction of the ailing part, or from making water fall there from a cuia, they later show the patient (having recourse to prestidigitation, as Koch Grünberg, Z. I. 99 was able to observe) the object (bone, /274/ stone, thorn, insects, scales, etc.) that has been extracted from the painful member and caused him the pains, Waxkarí.

With the help of narcotics or stimulants, he will induce in himself states of crisis or of nervous excitation, during which he sees the causes of the sickness, or those who have caused the malefice. He will be able to make the patient see it too. He will prefer to bring the patient to his hut; or he will go to that of the patient during the night. He will demand the absence of other persons, and, alone with the patient, he will start his practices in an atmosphere of darkness and mystery, muttering very rapidly (21)

• [797] 21. For this reason they like the Missionary to say the prayers more quickly.

unintelligible words, sung in a peculiar tone and alternated with loud sighs and groans. They know and perform a series of songs, each one with its efficacy for a given type of infirmity (22),

[533] [534] [126] [113]

22. We have managed to record some of those songs of the pajés from the Tukano, Wanana, Taryana, and Huhúdeni tribes, which can be heard in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" of the Centro de Pesquisas of Iauareté. Address: P. Alcionilio Brüzzi, Largo C. de Jesus, 154, S. Paulo, Brazil.

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755 [533] [534] often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), regarded as a magic instrument.

*[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

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23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirá-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

756 731 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses, epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

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755 The Indians have been seen digging up a wide and deep yard
756 under the orders of the pajé, in order to uncover the cigar buried there and cause of the sicknesses, and which the pajé will make appear at the opportune moment. On a certain occasion a pajé ordered, and was faithfully obeyed, that the whole floor of the maloca be dug up and replaced with other soil, in order to stop the sicknesses of the maloca.

756 4) /sic: h)/ His position.

With the pajé enjoying the maximum influence (30),

> 30. Several Indians, after their confidence had been gained, told us that they did not like, but only feared and, at times, hated the pajé. Ordinarily, however, out of fear of the pajé's vengeance, they are silent when questioned about him, about his curing processes, etc.

because, according to the belief of the natives, the life or death of the people, from his and from other tribes, as well as the storms /280/ and all of nature, depends on him, it is understandable that his position is privileged. Although lacking political power, the tuxaua himself and the entire population respect him and fear him (31).

> 31. Padre Antonio Giacone confirms it -- "By the authority that he enjoys among the Indians and by the fear that all have of his fatal blowings, he becomes extremely proud and conceited, some even reaching the point of being nicknamed Uáque bukque, old God" (o.c. 38).
>
> They fear him even after death, because his spirit is also able to do harm. In Iauareté they asked the Missionary not to bury the pajé in the common cemetery, "because he will frighten our little children" buried there. A Montfortian

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/footnote 31 cont./ Missionary, Pe. Umberto Limpens (known as Pe. Clemente, the name of his predecessor), found himself obliged to order a pajé to make his hut farther away. In September or October of 1947 a boy was bitten by a snake in the vicinity of Montfort, Colombia, on the left bank of the Papurí. The child's father wanted to take him to the Mission, but the pajé would not allow it, saying that he "would blow" the poison away. He did this, but the child died. The child's father rebelled against the pajé, who directed his blowing against the father, and the latter died soon afterwards. The local population became angry at the pajé. The latter judged it more prudent to flee to the headwaters of the stream Cuiú-cuiú (tributary of the Papuri), where the Desana were in the habit of doing their large-scale fishing, threatening to blow on everyone who went there. The Desana, naturally, became frightened and started the rumor that the Montfortian Missionaries were also afraid of the blowing of the pajé.

756 In order not to have him as an enemy, they satisfy his wishes; in order to have him as a friend and profit from his good services, they give him gifts, even before he has performed any cure. Since his reputation grows with the deeds and cures attributed to him, it likewise wanes with his failures. In view of their being the ones who know the malefices (which they prepare as an instrument of vengeance), the misfortunes and the mysterious and rapid deaths in impressive circumstances are attributed to the pajés; and

/281 cont./

j) Consequences.

755 A first one is that in many cases the sickness is aggravated by the lack of adequate treatment; or the very processes of the pajé /282/ aggravate the ailment and hasten death. In several cases of pneumonia and laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis the catastrophe was precipitated by the effect of the ablutions of the pajé (35).

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35. In Acuricuara, Colombian bank of the Papurí, an individual became sick and let himself be treated by the pajé. He was Christian, however, and, seeing that the treatments were useless, he asked that the Missionary, Pe. Clemente, be called and even went so far as to ask him not to let the pajé come to his house. It was, however, already a hopeless case, and the cure would have been possible if he had put himself under the care of the Missionary earlier.

756 Another very grave consequence of this belief in magic power is the endless vengeance and numerous crimes. Every sickness, death, or misfortune had as its cause some malefice. The pajé will not only try to neutralize this malefice, but, moreover, he will designate someone as its cause, and he will prepare poisons (36).

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36. As for the poisoning by the caxirí or mingau, they say Nimá tõãsé (nimá, poison; tõãsé, act of giving a drink).

756 and counterpoisons for revenge. Or he will urge the victim to take
627 revenge after the cure; and if he died, his relatives. Hence the
628 animus of tribe against tribe, and, within the same tribe, of one povoado against another, or of family of the same povoado or maloca, is always stirred up. From which there is even more submission of all to the pajé, on whom everyone depends, and this

/282 cont./

756 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the
627 other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individ-
ual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that
628 he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a pre-
ventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain
from doing him harm.

k) The xamã /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very
advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For exam-
[115] ple, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé,
and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife
[797] (37).

37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

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756 As compensation for services, the pajés are always well paid to the point of having what they need for their maintenance without any more work.

Might he only be a slicker taking advantage of the credulity of his brothers (38)?

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38. Padre João Francisco Biggiaretti, doctor and Missionary of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, tried several times, but in vain, to listen and to talk to pajés about sicknesses and cures. Once he went so far as to invite them to a gathering in Pari-cachoeira, with a promise of gifts as well, but none of them appeared.

It does not seem so. Although intelligent and perhaps even endowed with greater culture than the rest of the natives, one cannot believe that he has freed himself from the general belief in the spirits, in the occult forces of nature, which he believes bound up with the processes and ceremonies that the ancestors always used. Perhaps it is from his great power of suggestion that he gets the power to transfer to others his suggestion and the cure.

One cannot exclude, as we have already said, a certain magnetic power or natural hypnotism. Who knows, in some circumstances spontaneous acts of telepathy might take place, all the more mysterious for the protagonists themselves, the more ignorant they are. Even the cures effected by the herbs used, or by the baths applied, and the totally fortuitous coincidences will contribute toward rooting in the thought of the pajé a deep conviction concerning the efficacy of his ceremonies and his own magic power.

[797] The events revealing this conviction in the pajés are numerous. One of them had a son in the boarding school of Taracuá-ponta and, knowing that he was sick, came to visit him and found him being tended by the Missionaries and under medication. He, then, could do nothing. Shortly afterwards, taking advantage of the moment when everyone had gathered in the church for a religious function, he hurriedly went to his son's side and was caught there, beside his hammock, applying his curing processes to him.

/283 cont./

756 821 [797] In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike. They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another, stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauareté the first large pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon the one who lived in Iauareté.

755 756 [115] Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955) makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian bank of the river Papurí. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patricia: --"My niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right, [177] he will be punished." Would this be the concept of a judgment after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle, the young woman added: ---"When the patient has a headache, the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komũ, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing process of the pajés.

276 /285 cont./

756 are going to appear and gives them instructions on what they are to do in order to conjure away these and other evils.

*[192] There are, besides these, other more solemn meetings, approximately each semester, when he gives his wĩhĩõ to the Komũã to sniff ("wĩhĩõ wĩhỹõti kã̃ axkawerẽra-ré peókamĩ"; he sniffs and gives all his relatives his "rappee" to sniff).

4) Sicknesses and cures.

164 There are various sicknesses that attack that forest dwellers and often prostrate them. The principal ones, according to the frequency and the greater number of victims, are:

*[192] a) Verminosis -- Pirõ pũrĩẽ (Uaupés Pinõ punĩẽ). The verminous diseases attack them even when they are old, but especially the children from two to ten years old, almost 50 per cent of whom fall victim to them (39).

• [797]

39. This seriously alarming proportion was pointed out to us by the Missionary Pe. João Marchesi. Naturally this happened and perhaps still happens to those tribes and native localities unprovided with any sanitary assistance. Thanks to the hospitals of the Salesian Mission and the ambulatory-launches which monthly come up the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri, taking to the Indians the sanitary resources and provisions, and transporting the more gravely ill persons to the hospitals, this figure has decreased ten times or even more. Truly /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ impressive episodes of victims of verminosis are mentioned. From the cadaver of the son of the tuxaua of Taracuá in 1934, vermin came out through the mouth, through the nose, etc. In Urubucuara the vermin perforated the abdomen of a boy, who would take them out with the fingers.

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verified cases of syphilis (41).

41. A veteran Sister of nursing revealed to us that in her 25 years of nursing there had appeared only one case of a young man afflicted with venereal disease; and, since it was the case of a man already engaged, she thought it was her duty to warn the girl that she should not get married before he had had suitable treatment. She was not heeded, however, with the foreseen lamentable consequences for the wife.

Proving, however, that it is not a matter of any special resistance of the organism to the treponema, the few facts known on the Uaupés and the infection presented by some young men who had just arrived in Manaos looking for work are sufficient. Perhaps they know and use vegetable remedies. And it is also probable that the immunization or cure against syphilis is the result of a spontaneous malaria-therapy, since it is known that the natives are many times afflicted with malaria.

j) Epileptiform attacks. We know cases of epileptiform attacks in persons of both sexes and of various ages. They fall down struck with loss of the senses, almost always spasms and convulsions, followed by sleep and complete amnesia of the event, about which they were informed by witnesses (42).

42. For one of the cases we heard the origin of the attacks. It is the case of the Bayá (dance master) Henrique, Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, now (1955) a septuagenarian with gray hair and clear eyes. Some years ago a bolt of lightning struck his house, burning him severely and leaving him unconscious for some hours. Since that

/287 cont./

164 /footnote 42 cont./ time he suffers periodic attacks, and for this reason he is afraid of painting himself for the dances, although he participates in them as Bayá (cf. VII-6, a (2) ) that he is. We have watched him, in spite of his years, direct the ritual dances valiantly for 24 hours without interruption.

751 /288/ The magic concept of the origin of sicknesses do not allow them to take the minimum precautions. They will not avoid contact with a person afflicted with tuberculosis or grippe, or skin infection; they will sleep at his side, lie in the same hammock, sit on the same seat, drink from the same cuia, help themselves from the same pot, into which they dip their fingers with the beijú.

797 The Missionary tries to persuade them, for example, of the danger of contagion in tuberculosis. In spite of this, they do not stop taking caxiri perhaps masticated by a tubercular person.

757 They do not resolve, unless watched and forced, to take a remedy according to the medical prescriptions, in so many doses repeated at such-and-such intervals (43).

[756] 43. The belief in the pajé is suffering a lingering shock from the hospitals and ambulatories of the Mission and the trips of the Missionary distributing remedies. Many of them, at present, not only accept, but even ask for the remedies of the civilized, especially when they prove to have prompt efficacy, for example, the antimalarial remedies, analgesics, etc. They do not submit, however, to subjecting themselves to the prolonged treatment that various ailments demand and do not hesitate to run away from the hospital.

/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is
the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or caríço, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale,
as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture
it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto
/countersong/ to the other.

533 They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this
reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs,
even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly
[177] enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly
appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

[194] As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very
many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of
[147] the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice
has little elasticity (54),

54. The voice has so little elasticity that
perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give
[562] a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and
dances the men never sing; the women do it
infrequently, for example, when they work in
the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however,
that the men's songs are religious hymns, where-
as those of the women are bacchic compositions
that they render when they distribute the drink.
• [797] Among the alumni, and especially among the
alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a
greater elasticity, and one hears humming more
frequently. This, however, is usually the
religious or secular songs learned at school.

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533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

• 797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

533 Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very [276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the tuxáua sings as follows:

*[192] "mãrĩ bũxkõrá, mãrĩ paxkõ-s'õmõã baxsesé duhí-wéspãra,
[539] yõõ ná põrá uhú duhí, uhú duhí weryá, mãxsã yõõ põra";
that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively [562] for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the [273] men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule, [535] the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning; they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

/316 cont./

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/footnote 2 cont./ book Zwei Iahre. Still today (1957) the Missionaries find Indians scattered through various malocas who claim to have been baptized "by white," that is, by civilized who passed by the region trading.

with their cult, which would impress /317/ the savage, and with their talks or even with their positive catechizing, wishing to bring him to Christianism.

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Tribes of the Amazon and Rio Negro (cf. II - 1) (and those of the Uaupés maintained relations with those of the Rio Negro and Içana) were even evangelized by Missionaries in different times. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits and the Mercedarians were on the Rio Negro, in the eighteenth the Carmelites, in the nineteenth the Capuchins and Secular Priests.

The Christian converts were at times a minority within the group which would continue with their beliefs and practices. Perhaps in some cases an entire group, for example, a native povoado, became Christian, but later lost contact with the Missionaries -- and we saw that the catechizing on the Rio Negro and Uaupés was periodic and intermittent -- and returned to their pagan rituals.

Would there not have remained some trace of these learned teachings and religious practices? There are indications that affirm this, from which it is permissible to infer: what the Indians practice today and declared to us may not be exempt from the influence of the Christian civilized.

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Another difficulty no smaller than the first one is the reserve of the native, always suspicious, and he appears much more so on these subjects, about which there may even be an obligation to reveal nothing to the civilized. It has been verified that they more easily make disclosures about subjects of morality, which, it seems to us, should remain hidden, than about religious

776 /325 cont./
Urubucuara, Yepásonyá, is also called Yepa-O'ĩ-kõ̃, and some of the old Christians call this one "Son of God."

Each tribe has its legends which express these doctrinal points, as will be seen in another work.

2) Immortality of the soul.

774 Another truth well established among the tribes of the Uaupés is that of the existence and immortality of the soul. This truth, however, is starting to be contaminated by metempsychosis and confused with the existence of spirits disincarnated or that never were incarnated.

*[192] They admit in man, besides the body, õxpõ, another invisible element which animates it and survives after the death of the individual. The natives of the younger generation (therefore the possibility of this being a term learned in catechesis is not excluded) designate it with the same term that indicates the heart, that is, héri-põra (Uaupés héri-põna) (12).

[115] 12. The veteran Salesian Missionary, Pe. João Marchesi, who speaks Tukano fluently, says that he does not remember having heard mentioned another element or "sombra da pessoa" /shadow of the person/, as some primitive peoples believe. In the Tukano language, "sombra"/shadow/ would be called "bahusé," that is, "thing that appears."

*[192] The old ones, however, do not know how to give any clarification about héri-põra; they never use this term to designate the incorporeal element. They call this only wĩx-tĩ (13).

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13. Cf. below, VII-4, g (3), what is said about the wĩx-tĩ of the dead. The Catechesis has been using the term héri-põra (or héri-põna, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés and

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/footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as corresponding to: heart, soul, and conscience. When they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis, the natives naturally give the word héri-põra this threefold equivalence. The old ones, however, only use it in the material sense, to indicate a part of the organism, that is, the assemblage of the principal internal organs, especially the heart and the lungs.

774 They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does it often. According to what Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, p. 317), the Kubẽwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

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764 On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

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/326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul, upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal. But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic: 14/

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14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

/328 cont./

775 The belief in a social life beyond the grave, similar to the present life, with fishing trips and feasts, is still vigorous, as is shown by categorical answers (20).

[797] 20. A little girl interrupted a Religious, who, explaining the Catechism, spoke of heaven, in order to ask whether there were fish there in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Professora answered no. The child added promptly: -- Then I do not want to go there.

Some even think that in the other life there is procreation of children (21).

[797] 21. A Missionary relates the following: "Once a lad was very surprised to hear that in heaven there will be a plenitude of life, without need for propagation of the species. He asked, almost disappointed: 'Then there in heaven will there not be any women for us?' "

5) Existence of the spirits.

776 They believe in the existence of spirits that never were incarnated in a human body and never will be; they can, nevertheless, become visible in certain circumstances. Such spirits live in certain places: in the interior of the forests, headwaters of the igarapés, caves, stones, etc.

There are many of them, and different categories, each category with its characteristic way of presenting itself. The description as the Indians bring it to us, however, is not unanimous. And some affirm that they see them or hear them with relative frequency. It is an unquestionable fact that they become

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alarmed easily enough, either individuals or entire groups (22).

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22. In the Schools, for example, if a child (more frequently the girls; it is to be noted that it is the women who claim to have seen them more often) yells Wãx-tĩ at night in the dormitory, all of them are filled with panic, cover their faces or turn them to the other side. But also in full /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ daylight they will claim to have seen Wãx-tĩ. A similar event happened in Iauareté during the day, and a little girl threw herself from the upper floor of the Mission building. One of the Salesian Missionaries of Taracuá, Valério Fernandes, was with some little boys in the forest, looking for cucura (a fruit). Some women who were nearby and had not been seen by the boys also desired this fruit. The children went helter-skelter, yelling: "Wãx-tĩ" and ran until they came out of the forest, in spite of the calls of the Missionary. The episodes about which we were better able to ask questions are all explained by suggestion. We heard of other episodes brought about by way of experiment, in order to verify the native belief and suggestability. Even though one later tried to prove this to the Indian, he would not believe it and continues to acknowledge that it was really the spirit.

as if they had seen something extraordinary.

/329/ Some of these spirits are tremendously malevolent and harmful, and others, not. Some admit that they are of the two sexes and multiply like human beings.

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776 Some alumni of the Salesian Mission who have already attended pontifical functions at which the Celebrating Bishop [797] wears a miter said that Boraró appears with a miter, and the noise that he produces is precisely with the miter, which he opens and closes.

[115] A native from Parí-cachoeira, José Barreto, tells that his father, Mandú, not baptized, affirmed (1949) that the "demons" are few and that he had learned this from his own grandfather who had never seen any Missionary. He also said that his relatives, inhabitants of the igarapé of the onça /jaguar/, yai-sa, know the poison with which they can chase away or kill Boraró and that for this reason they have no fear of him at all.

*[192] In other places there are likewise individuals with such power, and for this reason they are called Boraró dohã̄rá, that is, those who cast malefice on Boraró (dohasé, malefice, poisoning). It is the belief of many that Boraró, upon drinking these poisons, will die.

Boraró is married, concluded Patrícia Vasconcelos, and his wife has one normal breast, but the other one is exaggeratedly *[192] long. According to others, it is Boraró's mother who shows this anomaly, and they nickname women with long breasts Boraró paxkó (mother of Boraró).

c) Bisiu or Juruparí (31).

[115] *[192] [184] 31. A little informant from Iauareté finished by clarifying that Bisiu is Juruparí. According to a legend narrated by the pajé Vicente Rodrigues, Taryana, O'ã̄-kȭ is called Yaperíkuli in Taryana and is the brother of Bisíu; the latter being bad and the former good. In the Arwáke legends, Bisíu is identified with Juruparí.

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e) Cult practices.

1) Local cult (litobolia).

There are no temples, that is, buildings solely dedicated to the deity, where the religious functions are performed. Nor has it been reported that there is any private cult or individual worship of the deity, ceremonies, prayers, unless as cult one understands some practices that seem to us magical, such as litobolia.

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They treat some places with respect and fear; this is tabooism. One does not see there, however, manifestations of cult, individual or social. Such are, for example, some cachoeiras and stones. And about them, in general, they tell interesting legends. They do not allow stones to be taken from such cachoeiras (35).

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35. The Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch thought of dynamiting the cachoeira of Parí-cachoeira, in order to facilitate navigation. The local population became agitated, and the tuxaua Julio came to advise him not to do it, because otherwise fevers and sickness would come. The Bishop judged it more expedient not to go against the opinion of the Indians. Brother Mateo (of the Congregation of Montfort), at one of these rocks of the cachoeira of the thunder, Bũxpó-pweá, of the igarapé Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, removed a fine splinter, in order to extract a little honey. One of the Indians warned him that he should not do that, because "lightning will strike." And, to his great surprise, lightning did strike at some distance, when absolutely nothing indicated it; it was really "un fulmine a ciel sereno" /a bolt of lightning in a clear sky/. They

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/footnote 71 cont./ June of 1953, it ends: "Entonces Yepá Huake dijo a todos los que estaban en Diawí: di pié todo el mundo. Y Yepá Huake desapareció. Y allí se terminó. Y se subió al cielo Yepá Huake." /Then Yepá Huake said to all those who were in Diawí: stand up, everybody. And Yepá Huake disappeared. And there it was finished. And Yepá Huake went up to heaven (al cielo, "to heaven," or "to the sky")./ It should be noted that the native group to which Marco Sierra belongs, as Marco Fulop has it, a group about which we, too, have some knowledge from one of our excursions along the river Paca, are dissidents from the Mission of the Montfortian Padres of the Papurí. As was to be expected, and follows from the narration obtained by Fulop, the whole account by Marco Sierra is a combination of the tradition of the tribes of the Uaupés and of the Catholic Catechesis.

776 They can say nothing about Waskõ except what the younger gen-
• 797 eration learned from the Missionaries of Dom Bosco and of /359/ Montfort (72):

72. It was the well-deserving Padre Pedro Kok, Hollander, from the Congregation of Montfort, who in the beginning of this century first studied the Tukano language, and, in this idiom, he left the first books of Catechesis (Catechisms, prayers, gospels, etc.). His confreres, Missionaries in the Território Nacional do Waupés (Colombia), and later the Salesian Missionaries in the adjacent Brazilian area, followed his

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 544]

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/footnote 72 cont./ orientation with regard to the idiom and, consequently, also with regard to the catechetical language. When we dedicated ourselves to the present studies and sought an interview with this wise linguist who doubled as a Missionary, we learned that he had died a short time before. Of course there remained unanswered the first question that we had asked him by letter, anticipating a promised visit, that is: the origin of the word Wã:kõ. 1st. -- Would it have been of his coinage? And, in this case, would it be derived from the verb wã:, to go? Had he adopted this word (properly speaking, it is the singular Masculine Past Participle of wã:) to indicate Jesus Christ? Why should it be given as the translation of the word God? It is certain that the natives of these tribes have absolutely no idea of the divinity; why did he not adopt, in his catechesis, the Latin word Deus (or Spanish Diós) for the new concept that he was going to teach, as he had used so many Latin or Spanish words (Virgo, gracia, pecado, Santu, Anjo, misterio /Virgin, grace, sin, Saint, Angel, mystery/, etc.)?

2. -- Did wa:kõ come from a confusion of his with the legendary personage O'ã-kõ?

On a second trip that we made to the Papuri in 1948, we expressed to the veteran Montfortian Missionaries, Pe. Humberto Limpens and Pe. Afonso Kuipers, the opinion that we explain in these pages and about how it seems to us that "Wã:kõ" meant "the one who is gone," that is, Jesus Christ, who went up to heaven. And we verified that both of them were of the same opinion.

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/Footnote 72 cont./ When they repeat an idea that the Catechist made them nearly learn by heart, the children of the Mission schools say Wá:kõ. In other circumstances they say O'ã-kõ, especially those who have already left the schools years ago. This verification, which dates from our first trip to the Uaupés (in 1947), is what put us in search of the history or legend of O'ã-kõ (and which today we also possess recorded in the voices of two xamãs /shamans/), and what led us to infer the dilemma: either the natives are identifying the God of the Catechesis, the Christian God, or, more concretely, Jesus Christ, with the legendary personage O'ã-kõ; or, perhaps, Padre Kok, with an imperfect knowledge of the Uaupés legends, thought that O'ã-kõ was the God of these tribes and, because he did not observe the pronunciation very well (perhaps because of poor pronunciation by the informant), he began to write erroneously Wáke, as it appears in his books.

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It is to be noted that the Christian natives who gave God the name of Wá:kõ make up a feminine Wá:ko (thus Goddess) to designate the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Most Holy Virgin, Mother of Jesus, and the plural Wá:mãra (Uaupés Wá:mãna), gods, in order to indicate the Saints. The Bishop of Manáus, Dom Frederico Benício Costa, in his interesting "Carta Pastoral" /Pastoral Letter/ (Fortaleza, Ceará, 1909), remarks on p. 166 that the caboclos of the Rio Negro, who spoke the Língua Geral, also used the name Tupana to indicate the Saints, and, when they wanted to distinguish them from God, they called the latter Tupana uaçú.

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797 776 they do not think about him nor are they interested in him. The conclusion would be, not that they do not know God and do not worship him. But that they do not know Wã:kõ, that is, Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites." They only know, fear, and worship Wãx-tĩ, the Legislator who punishes their transgressions, permitting them to have misfortunes, sicknesses, lightning bolts.

771 [115] /360/ This is what we were also able to conclude from a conversation with an old Indian, almost one hundred years old (1947), Casimiro from Ipanuré.

f) Their rules of conduct -- Magic practices.

The native is convinced of the existence of extrahuman or mysterious forces, both personal and impersonal or cosmic, which can be useful or harmful to him, and which it is possible for him to dominate and take advantage of. This is what is understood by magic, considered subjectively.

The entire life of the natives is, for this reason, filled with so many positive and negative prescriptions (73)

> 73. These prescriptions, or rather, prohibitions, forbidding one to enter a certain place, to look at, to touch some object or person, is what is today called tabooism.

proceeding from this belief of theirs: or, in other words, it is saturated with magic practices. This is magic considered objectively.

Here and there we have indicated some of these magic practices; there are many others, however. Due to the number of superstitious practices that have come to our knowledge (and how many others might there be?), due to their frequency and application to the most common events of each day, perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to conclude that the mentality of the Uaupés Indians is dominated by the magic fears and beliefs as if this were an obsession, and which, naturally, is reflected and manifested in a large part of native activity.

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824 In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgõ̃, for their own child,
*[192] soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the bará, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 There is a plant called kã'rá pũrĩ (Uaupés kã'ná pũnĩ), the
843 leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of
*[192] gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black
[515] fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

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79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

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80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

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/368 cont./

621 of the soul, a social cult of the dead would be foreseen. Manifestations of this cult are the elegy-weeping, the interment, the banquet and funeral feast.

758 (82) 1) The elegy-weeping. The coldness and insensitivity

> 82. Sometimes, it seems to us, even cruelty, denying them even food and drink (cf. V-17).

with which these natives of the Uaupés see any member of the family waste away, even if it is their own father, mother, or child, is striking. The sick one is found in a hammock hung in a darker corner, and a few meters away the occupants of the maloca or house /369/ laugh, talk, eat, amuse themselves, as if no sick person was there (83).

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> 83. We have already noted that, to the question by the Missionary as to whether anyone is sick (see V-16) in the maloca or povoado, they systematically answer no. Perhaps the silence or the denial has its cause in a belief or some magic concept unknown to us. And from this same concept might be derived the insensitivity, perhaps only apparent, which gives rise to our opinion. To the Padre who scolded a native who left his old father without food, he responded: -- "Why should I give him food? He is going to die!"
>
> Pe. João Marchesi writes (ap. "Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13): "In the same house, sometimes a relative is in agony, but nevertheless they will not take the least care to spare him

/369 cont./

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/footnote 83 cont./ the commotion of an infernal orgy of two days. In front of their own dead brother they will burst out in a desperate cry, and with the same aptness they will pass to the noisiest and most indecent laughter."

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Nevertheless, as soon as they notice that he has died -- (perhaps the catastrophe already happened some time ago, and they did not notice it; or there has been a mistake, he has not died yet) -- the men and women present start the elegy-weeping, uxtisé (84).

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84. Pe. Humberto Limpens, Montfortian, in the early days of the Mission of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí), saw a "weeping," in which primarily the pajés blew smoke for a long time over the dead woman, who was married, while the men shouted threats against the enemies who were the cause of the death. Afterwards the women came, and, placing themselves in a semicircle, began the lamentations.

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The weeping that took place on June 24, 1956, in the hospital of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) and which two Sisters in charge of nursing witnessed was also interesting. A young wife had died as the result of a stillbirth. She was the stepdaughter of the late tuxáua of Pari-cachoeira, Júlio, father of the present local chief. There had been previous treatment with the pajés; and even after she was already in a condition of extreme gravity and she had been taken to the hospital, her mother, of the Tuyuka tribe, had tried to take

/372/

764 2) The interment. There is no fixed interval between the verification of the death and the burial. One even notices a certain anxiety to bury the corpse as soon as possible. And the cases
763 in which the preparations for this start when the individual is still
764 alive, and even has use of his senses, are not infrequent (88).

• [797]

88. One of the Salesian Missionary Sisters, passing through Umarí (river Uaupés), saw in the maloca four holes in the floor. Surprised she asked the reason. It was that there were four children with whooping cough, and, foreseeing their death, they had already prepared the graves.

Another striking episode took place in Taracuá (river Uaupés) in 1934. The tuxáua Miguel, of the Tukano tribe, was near death, and his subjects prepared the coffin-canoe and placed the sick man there, almost suffocating him with his clothes, hammock, eating cuia, etc. The Missionaries arrived still in time, and, noticing that he was still alive, they moved him to the hospital, and actually he did not die until three days later.

[323] Although they are familiar with ceramics and know how to make vessels of large dimensions, they are not in the habit of burying the cadavers in vessels, nor are there any indications of their having had such a custom.

764 The burial is permanent, and the traditional form is the canoe-
501 coffin, yuxkõ-sõ-koró, that is, in a canoe (89).

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89. Occasionally, lacking a canoe, we have heard of burial in the caxirí tub in Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí). Pe. André Linssen, Missionary of the Monfort Congregation, did a burial in a mat in Acuaricuara (Colombia,

/372 cont./

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/footnote 89 cont./ river Paca). Today one often hears "yuxkõ-sõ mãrĩ," there is no canoe (since they do not want to render useless the good canoes that they have), and they bury the dead in some hollow piece of timber, or they ask the Missionaries for a casket.

It will be the old canoe, fruit of his work, companion of his travels and of his fishing trips, or one obtained for this purpose. They saw it into two parts. We were unable to find out what they would have done in the old days, before they had a saw or machete, in order to divide the canoe into two halves. Whether they then did it with the help of fire, or whether they used two small canoes as a coffin. On one half they place the corpse with his hammock, bow, arrow, his cuia with a little flour, a cigar, and some coals on a piece of a pot (nowadays a box with some matches). They cover this with the other half of the canoe, closing the orifices, at present with pieces of wood, rags, or anything, and tie the two parts with strong cords of tucum.

764 The burial with part of the utilitarian objects is usually a survival from nomadism. Today the Indians explain to us that it is "to be used in the other life." Other objects (canoes, machetes, axes, hammocks, etc.) are inherited by the family, or, more accurately, by the /373/ oldest son. It is the symbol of a bond that still endures among the members who are living and those already dead (84) /sic; 90/.

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90. Koch Grünberg says of the Kubẽwãna that they burn and throw away the objects that belonged to the dead person, so that his spirit does not come to punish the survivors for their negligence and greediness (Zwei Iahre, p. 314).

/373 cont./

764 although the apparent motive is the ambition and the interests of the Indian. And they have been seen to take long trips in order to acquire some object that belonged to the deceased.

[412] The grave, sufficiently long and not very deep, opened formerly with a simple pointed stick and the hands, is made in the central nave of the maloca (91).

> 91. In January of 1948 in Ambaíba (Colombia, river Querari) the Kubêwãna were preparing a new maloca, when the death of an Indian took place. They buried him, then, in the area of the new maloca. Since this was still without any covering, however, they improvised a little roof of straw over the grave, a meter above the ground, "so that the dead one will not get the rain."
>
> Near Matapí (river Uaupés) there is an island known precisely as the "island of the cemetery," because the Wanana buried their dead there. We do not know whether this was due to the influence of the civilized.

without any obligatory orientation. On that place, precisely, where he spent the happiest hours of his life, preparing his bow and arrow, adorning himself with the ornaments, in endless talks with his tribal brothers, and danced during the long nights of the poosé (dabacurí); as if the living wished to maintain union with the dead.

The canoe is then placed in the grave, there being renewed among those present, collectively, the "panegyric-weeping (92).

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> 92. This is verified even for the burials that take place in the cemeteries of the Missions, with the assistance of the Missionary, who many times finds himself obliged, after a few minutes, to ask that they cease the weeping

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/373 cont./

/footnote 92 cont./ in order to proceed with the liturgical absolution. Upon leaving the cemetery, the women were seen making broad gestures with the arms, as if to chase away the malignant spirit, or to cast curses over the one who caused the death. Moreover, they were observed burning nettles around the house where the death had taken place.

Everyone will throw handfuls of earth over the coffin, until the grave is completely filled. In a short time, because of the treading of those passing over it, the ground will be as firm as the rest of the floor, and nothing will reveal that anyone was buried there (93).

93. What Wallace tells (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/; 637) is not likely: "In some of the larger houses there are, at times, more than a hundred graves, and when the houses become too small and are already full, they then make the graves outside." In fact it is a matter of small human groups, which very rarely exceed one hundred persons; therefore, as a rule, there will not be half a dozen /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ deaths a year. The hot and humid climate promotes the rapid disappearance of the mortal remains. And, besides, no sign indicating graves remains.

/374/ One does not perceive any manifestation of fear from viewing or contact with the body.

765 /377 cont./
53 Koch concludes that at this cannibalistic feast there were dances of masks on which he could verify the following details: the participants wore a band of yellow bark as a stole on the neck, and on the left arm a banner of bark, in the right hand a rhythm tube (VII -- 3, c (3 c) ) of imbauba, with paintings representing fish. They advance and back up and, marking time with the right foot, carry on a monotonous song with innumerable repetitions.

171 We could seek the origin of this peculiar custom, which is
765 also found among other tropical tribes of South America, teaches Koch, in the belief that the bones that remain after death are the /378/ last place in which the spirits reside. And with the ingestion of the ashes the individuals incorporate in themselves the substance and the spirit of the ancestors.

5. Morality.

121 When we deal with this subject, the necessity of some warn-
831 ings beforehand is imposed:

1st. -- We limit the breadth of the term morality to the common and vulgar meaning, as if it were a synonym of moderation of carnal concupiscence, or further as a synonym of customs in force in sexual relations.

2nd. -- We present, naturally, those points in discrepancy with the norms of Christian morals and which, for this very reason, impress one more.

797 3rd. -- Many of the customs that we were able to collect
831 are not in force, obviously, in those groups or among those individuals who are under the influence of the Catholic Missions. But the Missionaries themselves are the first to confess that the modifications of the ancestral customs that they achieve in the field of morality are the fruit of many exhortations, vigilance, and the frequency of the sacraments and religious practices.

/378 cont./

831 a) Concept of procreation and marriage.

842 The concept of procreation through the participation of the two sexes, and both among human beings and among animals, is known by everyone, even the children.

843 It seems, on the other hand, that the space of nine months as the gestation period is not likewise so well known (95).

[115] 95. A Tukano girl about 20 years old from S. Tomé, river Tiquié, answered us that the period of gestation was five months.

842 And they do not know how fecundation takes place or how the
843 fetus becomes animated and develops.

The most rigorous law of tribal exogamy is in force (VIII --
582 1, a (1) ). Marriage Between tribal "brothers and sisters" is considered bad and impossible (96).

[797] 96. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Paurí /Papurí or Papury/, Colombia, performed two marriages among Pirá-tapuyas who, through religious instruction, had liberated themselves from these prejudices and wanted each other as spouses. Nevertheless, there was great reaction from the Indians, who tried to burn the house of the Missionary. But, under the protection of the latter, the two couples continued to live in Teresita (1947) and with healthy children.

and a fortiori between blood brothers and sisters. If one asks them the reason for this prohibition they simply answer: -- "Because it is bad." /379/ Some add: -- "Because he will not have children," or: -- "Because the children will die."

/379 cont./

*192 /footnote 98 cont./ respectively, adultery on the part of the man or of the woman. According to consultations held with nine persons of both sexes, in different places, the result is that these terms combined constituted an inexpressive redundancy. Wõãkĩe or Wõãkahĩe means simply relation of the sexes, without the qualification of legitimate or illegitimate by our Christian morals. The addition to the word Wõãkĩe of the specific term "with one who has a husband," manapõ-tigo-ne, or "with one who has a wife," nõ'mõ-tígõ-ne, does not give it the idea of illegitimacy, which the natives do not even comprehend. Just as there also does not exist in the Tukano language (and moreover in the other native idioms) a term corresponding to the concept of virginity. Already during our first stay among those tribes, in 1947, the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of one of the girls' schools of the Mission told us how some of the students, upon hearing so much talk about virginity, but having difficulty in learning this concept, came to ask her for more clarification.

836 837 [797]

836 837 of the bride. Legally virginity can not exist, as will be seen below (VIII -- 1, b (7) ). The Catechesis, in referring to the Most Holy Virgin, Mother of God, uses in Tukano the Latin expression "Maria Virgo" /Virgin Mary/.

837 We thought at first (and so manifested) that the acts characterized by us as conjugal infidelities were not punished because the husband feared the vengeance of the rival or that his wife might leave him. We must change this opinion, in the face of numerous and categorical affirmations by natives of eight different tribes (Tukano, Taryana, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka, Tuyuka, Bará, Desãna, and Wanãna), /380/ some of whom, well informed about

/381 cont./

835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

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103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement.
851 Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrep-
847 ancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

842 /385 cont./
847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach these methods.

The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkákõ (literally it means
848 "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother (111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkákõ brother.

581 It is considered shameful to have children at once in the
842 first year of marriage, Pe. Humberto Limpens of Acuaricuara,
183 river Paca, informed us. They want children only two or three years after the marriage, and this is also the interval between
[797] children. A demonstration that this is artificial is given by the good Christian mother, alumna of the Mission, with successive children and at once from the first year. One understands the
[462] difficulty of the native mother who, besides the care and nursing of the child, is pressed with the work of the house and of the clearing, if she does not have the help of older daughters.

/387 cont./

628 At times there are individuals of different tribes participat-
831 ing in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual
648 liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors.

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592 In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem
582 obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an
836 open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage
797 are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

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/footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpens /sic/.)

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papuri) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacuris, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxiri, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

/388 cont./

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/footnote 120 cont./ only be applied, obviously, to the Christian Indians, instructed in Christian morals; but not at all to the others.

that it is bad, ya'ĩ, and, on the other hand, are very full of shame (?), for this reason they try to hide their miseries and become intoxicated in order to act with more freedom."

[115] They are not embarrassed, however (confirmed another veteran and equally well-deserving Montfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Limpens, of Acuaricuara, who has spent almost 40 years among those tribes), about the immoral occurrences in these circumstances. Sometimes they even boast of them as being conquests.

As a conclusion from the testimony and inquiries made in various circumstances and in different places among the most reliable individuals in them, we can affirm that they judge licit, good, and recommended the sexual relations during the caxiris, as well as those that we characterize as incestuous (121).

[835]

121. Incest by the father with his own daughters is narrated in the legend of the mysterious instruments. And the same is found in other legends. We did not hear, in the legends, about cases of concubinage between "blood brothers and sisters" or brothers and sisters by the same parents. It seems that this does cause them horror.

They even take on, according to what they think and testified, a religious character. As a matter of fact, some informants answered that these sexual liberties used to take place "for the good fortune of the tribe," "in order that the clearing would yield better."

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864 d) Sexual education.

With regard to this subject, the precocity of the children, especially of the female sex, is remarkable. It surprises us to see how individuals who on the outside still look like children are subjected to the rite of the puberty initiation (see photo).

How much they appear to know is an even greater surprise. Children still quite young know perfectly all the mystery of life, like any adult.

[797] [581] The girls enter the mission schools at seven or eight years of age, and at this age they not infrequently reveal full knowledge of this subject. Sometimes the thought that already absorbs and preoccupies them is that of marriage, a Missionary Sister Superior revealed to us. They talk of that often, and perhaps they might already even know whom they are going to marry, according to the customs of the tribe and the desires of the parents.

The school of this discipline -- is the maloca with its regime of life, where there are no partitions between the families, where all the licentiousness takes place before the eyes of all and thus the intimate life of each one is known by all. According to the information obtained, the mother herself will give explanations to the daughters and will teach them the sterilizing and abortive resources.

[276] [593] For example, in the intimacy of the malocas or huts during the warm hours of the day, destitute of any clothing at all, the husband will not infrequently amuse himself by blowing the smoke from his cigar over his wife's body. We say he amuses himself, because he does it amidst noisy laughter, as we were able to hear, without excluding the fact that they admit some magic virtue in this rite.

831 The nudity, especially along with the dirtiness, appears somewhat repugnant. Besides, the psychological axiom "ab assuétis non fit pássio" /passion does not arise from what one is accustomed to/ is quite true. And so the influence of the nudity seems somewhat attenuated.

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466 Nowadays more or less numerous and frequent groups of Indians, men and women, are taken, especially the single ones, for the extraction of the cuquirana, balata, chicle, rubber, Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," various species of trees yielding edible nuts/, piassava, in both Brazilian and Colombian territory, or as sailors for the launches. They see, hear, and practice vices and immoralities (125).

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125. The Missionary was scolding a Christian Indian from Urubucuara, river Uaupés, because, in spite of being married, he was living with another woman. And when he reminded him of the commandment of God, he heard from the Indian this expression, certainly learned from some civilized: -- "Commandment does not hurt."

166 One observes a tendency to go down to S. Gabriel (present city of Uaupés) and Tapurucuara. To Manaus, not so much. So far nostalgia periodically brings them to the natal places. How long will this state of things last? The known cases of venereal

164 diseases are very rare, although the legends already allude to them. This rarity is perhaps explained by the simple spontaneous malario-therapy (cf. VII - 2, e (4 i) ).

It is certain that for centuries they have been in more or less frequent and enduring contact with the civilized. It is difficult to determine whether some responsibility falls on them in such a state of things, and up to what point. The problem is serious.

797 One also understands from this that there cannot always be good harmony in the relations between the Missionaries who live among the Indians, trying to bring them to the bosom of civilization and to the practice of /391/ Christian truth and morals (126).

126. The difficulty that the Missionary faces in order to implant Christian morals is great.

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/Footnote 126 cont./ Pe. Antônio Giacone recalls: "This belief (immortality of the material life, VII-2, e (1) ) makes them almost insensitive and apathetic to the teachings of the eternal truths. They abandon with difficulty the corruption in which they live" ("Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," p. 31).

and some civilized person who, for other reasons (perhaps in contraposition to those of the Missionaries), appears or resides around those regions. Which is the truly humane and patriotic attitude? What will the responsible persons decide?

6. Feasts and Amusements.

a) Feasts or Caxirís.

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1) Caxiri. We have presented the "poosé" or Wãx-tĩye baxsá (in the Língua Geral, Dabacurí) as a religious rite. It does not seem, however, that all their feasts and dances are religious ceremonies. Rather, some evidently are simple entertainments and are called pẽru-sĩrĩrĩ-nãmã (Uaupés, pẽru-sĩnĩ-nãmã) or caxiri (in the Língua Geral) (127).

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127. This is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg (cf. Zwei Jahre, p. 372; cf. Note 39 /see p. 502/, VII-4 e) 2 a 2nd).

Actually, in some cases they are almost improvised; any reason at all, or even a simple request by a civilized visitor, is enough for a feast. Participation in such dances is not required; but, while some pass the time entertaining themselves, the others remain seated on the small seats or lying in the hammocks, talking and laughing, and at times making fun of those who are dancing, because of some inaccuracy in the movements.

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582 are not observed, their wishes are not consulted, and their age is not a matter of concern (1).

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1. Not infrequently the Missionaries have to intervene, even among Christians, in order that the marriage of children who have not yet reached nubile age, according to Brazilian and canonical legislation, will not be performed.

Virginity is not required, since, as we shall say, it can not legally exist; and there are no other conditions, except the agreement of the parents of the ones marrying, once the laws of the tribe, which we shall present in the following, have been observed.

1) The laws of marriage.

[192] a) The first and inviolable law that is observed in native marriage on the Uaupés is that of tribal exogamy, Axpé maxsã nõ'mõtise.

We noted (IV -- 2, a (2) ) that there are subdivisions in the tribes. However, at least in the present regime, there are no subdivisions for matrimonial purposes (2).

2. As far as the tradition goes, it can be affirmed that tribal exogamy has always been in force. And, according to the legends, it seems that it can be advanced that the obligation of exogamy goes back to the origin of the tribes, or at least to the establishment of these nations in their present habitat.

Those of one tribe must obligatorily look for wives in another tribe. We are not facing, for now, the question as to whether this law has been imposed as a political measure, in order to avoid wars and murders between the tribes. We know, indeed, that, in spite of the exchange of women between two tribes, the contentions between them are frequent.

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582 601 As an exception, the individual, instead of marrying a girl from the generation of the Baxsúkãra, perhaps will marry someone from the class of the "uncles" /Port. tios, uncles, uncles and aunts/, Mẽx-kã-sa or Mã-gõ. It is the components of this class who are now his brothers-in-law, Pẽ-ñã. In Tukano he may continue to call them "uncle," Mẽx-kã, or (if it is a matter of the niece) Mẽx-kã-sa, and in direct discourse he will use the name Pirĩ for the brothers-in-law in the strict sense.

584 2nd. -- A second one is that the negotiations and agreements are realized between the parents, without the ones to be married interfering or being consulted (8).

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> 8. It has happened that the father has brought a wife for his son who is a student in the Mission school, forcing him to leave the school bench in order to marry.

It is highly reprehensible that, while the children enjoy enough freedom in the native family (it can be affirmed that those of the male sex enjoy absolute independence from the parents), on this subject, so serious because the marriage is indissoluble, they do not have any freedom at all (9)

> 9. "Slave marriage" was the expression of one Missionary, citing examples of the absolutism of the parental will against the manifest wishes of the young people.

and show the greatest docility toward the wishes of their parents.

581 [584] Neither marriage for love nor the practice of courtship is known among them. It even seems that they are indifferent to physical beauty; it is certain that in all human groups there are individuals who are more or less sympathetic. No doubt these personal reasons might have an influence in premarital and

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581 extramarital relations, but never in the marriage (10).

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10. Through the influence of the Missionary they have been freeing themselves from these ancestral prejudices, and already cases of marriage through the initiative of the ones getting married, alumni of the Missions, are known. Nevertheless it happens (narrator Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Papuri) that the young man asking for the intervention of the Padre in order to help him find a wife will prove to be indifferent concerning the person. He will say, for example: "Padre, please do me the favor of asking Joaquina, Amélia, or Maria whether one of them wants to marry me."

Marriage does not represent the satisfaction of the sexual instinct, as we had thought and wrote in the beginning, because we found out that this satisfaction has the fullest opportunity imaginable. Marriage, for the individual, is the solution of his economic problem: to have someone who will provide him with food. But it is especially the solution of the social problem: the continuation and propagation of the tribe.

/412/ It is surprising that, in spite of this, family life goes on normally enough. The only plausible explanation is the great respect for the traditional laws establishing the relations between the spouses, and their duties; laws which are faithfully observed.

584 3rd. A third one is that, in order to obtain a wife for an older son nowadays, perhaps a newborn child (11)

11. It does not seem that there are any agreements between the parents about children to be born, because it is contrary to the psychology of the Indian, who is a man of reality.

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/footnote 19 cont./ Pari-cachoeira, a Desana woman married to a Tuyuka from Cabari (a little above Pari-cachoeira), in view of the bad treatment by the husband, abandoned him and a little child a few months old and returned to her povoado on the lower Tiquié. Up to July of this year the Missionary had not yet managed to have her return to her husband.

especially if they do not yet have any children, because the marriage is not yet stabilized. And, finally, it is she who works for him in the clearing and in the house.

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/417/ Although there is no law that obstructs divorce or that makes it impossible for the divorced person to go on to other nuptials, both always have before their eyes the difficulty of a second marriage.

That will not keep them from having misunderstandings, or the husband, especially if he is drunk, from beating the wife. Of the many whom we questioned on this subject, all affirmed to us the bad treatment and even cruelties on the part of their husbands.

The woman, however, will never react, because this is what the tribal laws command (20).

20. We have had news, moreover, of some episodes of reaction on the part of the woman, especially when she perceives that the husband is weakened by drunkenness. It is one more blow that their customs and beliefs have started suffering.

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There is an original and somewhat strange custom, as follows from the report by the Taryana Indian Teodora from Iauareté, confirmed by natives of other tribes. During the day and in the early hours of the night the spouses maintain long conversations with each other in the maloca, each one, for example, lying in

4s Silva--635 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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797 595 These licenses already existed in the historical period, as follows from the first explorers. The great revolt of the year 1757, during which the povoados of Moreira and Thomar were destroyed by the Indians, and that of Barcelos threatened, had its origin in the anger of the Indian Domingos Lamalonga, from whom the Missionary had made a concubine separate (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario /Diary/," n. 553). On the map of his activities, dated from Carurú-cachoeira the first of April of 1853, Frei Gregório de Bene states: -- "It will be very difficult for some time to unite in Holy Matrimony and even to convert these Indians because they live in polygamy and others in concubinage" (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 2, p. 32). Even at the beginning of 595 this century Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 178) testifies that polygamy 622 is a prerogative of the tuxaua and cites the example of José, Tukano tuxaua of Pari-cachoeira, with two wives, one Tuyuka and the other Taryana.

7) Domestic-social position of the woman.

562 During an early contact with the natives of the Uaupés, we were surprised at the position of the woman, seeming to us to be of evident inferiority.

551 /419/ Her name might not even be known (24).

[852] [797] 24. It frequently happens that the Indian man may bring a child to be baptized. When, in order to make the registration, the Padre starts to ask the names and asks what the child's mother is called, the husband will answer: -- "I do not know, ask her."

There is observed in some human groups, for example, those of the river Canaburi (not, however, those of the Uaupés, see below, VIII-1, b (4) ) a prohibition against pronouncing the name of some persons. Some explain this taboo of the name by the "ontological mentality" of the primitives, that is, the name is not something secondary, external, but essential, and is

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/footnote 29 cont./ many of them have never in fact heard of any woman Tuxaua. Someone answered us precisely that she can be Tuxaua, but they had never heard of a woman Tuxaua. It is to be noted that in the Tukano language there is the feminine Wyógo, a term that is ordinarily applied to the wife of the Tuxaua (Wyogõ) and, in the Missionary centers, also to the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of the girls' school. The example of Caridade (p. 709) seems to authorize our affirmation above.

not, however, those of pajé. This exclusion perhaps expresses, not so much contempt, but the concept that she is not endowed with the magical power necessary for the exercise of the office of pajé.

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In marriage she seems to enjoy even greater freedom than the young man, being able to leave her husband. It must be concluded then that, although recognizing the primary of the husband (as also happens in our civilization), considered from the domestic-social point of view the wife is on a plane of equality with the husband (30).

30. We recently verified that this is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg, who, after prolonged contact with the Kubewana, was able to conclude that the woman is not the beast of burden, but the intelligent lady of the house (Z. I. 354).

8) Moral condition of the woman.

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We once heard from a maiden the expression: "the woman is not worth anything." We questioned many other women, single and married, and all confirmed the accuracy of this concept, without knowing how to give further /423/ explanations. Only one added: "the woman must leave her own tribe."

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858 b) The Children.

The natives want children, hence the general fact that all constitute regular families. The fertility of the marriage is an essential condition for its validity. The birth of the first child seals the implicit contract of marriage and stabilizes the marriage, changing wives no longer being possible.

[842] /426/ They desire, however, male and female children alternately; the former are the perpetuators of the group, the latter, besides the work that they will perform, facilitate the marriage of the male children by the exchange process. If three girls are born consecutively, the Indian will blame the wife, thinking that it is her fault (34).

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34. An example was mentioned to us in Teresita, river Papuri, Colombia. At the birth of the fourth child of the female sex, the mother buried it alive. The Missionary asked: "Why did you do that?" -- "Because my husband reviled me."

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As to the number of children, due to the difficulties in raising them (especially because the whole burden falls on the mother), numerous progeny are not found. Six or seven children occur with some frequency (35).

35. It is to be noted that the girl does not always marry young. And, on the other hand, the type of life ages her precociously, and perhaps her fertility ceases quite prematurely. It was not granted us to verify at which age the menses stop for the woman. We know, to be sure, that menstruation begins around 14 years of age and that they know and use plants for the regulation of the monthly courses.

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/footnote 40 cont./ out whether some pajé, who foresaw the sex of the child to be born, might have intervened in the case.

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3rd. -- That of twin children. One of the two will be eliminated; usually the second one, unless another reason counsels the contrary. For example, they will preferably eliminate the defective one, or the girl. It seems that the reason for this crime is the difficulty, for the mother, of raising two children simultaneously, with all the work that falls to her; and no other reason of magical or superstitious character (41).

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41. The Missionaries have managed to save and raise some twins, and, when grown, that is, after four or five years, the parents receive them willingly, or rather they demand them.

Patrícia Vasconcelos said that the husband beats the wife when she gives birth to twin children.

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Nevertheless this different way of acting causes surprise: when a child becomes orphaned by losing its mother, it will not be killed, but will pass into the care of another woman. When, on the other hand, it is a matter of twins, no woman will take on the burden of raising one of the newborn children, even when there is some newly lactating mother who has just lost her child (42).

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42. Pe. Antonio Giacone confirms this, saying that he saw new mothers emptying their breasts, or nursing some little dog, rather than feed someone else's child (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 53).

Even in these cases there does not appear to be any superstitious motive, but only the selfishness of the women and no friendship at all between them. If they take care of the orphan, it is due to the inviolable imposition of the irrevocable customs of the tribe.

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/427 cont./

845 4th. -- That of the defective children. Any noticeable
847 physical defect is fatal to the newborn child. And it can not be believed that it is a matter of a magical reason, but rather, on one hand, the great vanity of the parents, above all of the mother, and, on the other, the thought that it will be a burden to the tribe, which /428/ needs perfect and strong individuals and desires only those. The deaf-mutes escape more easily (as was confirmed) because it is not until much later that they manage to verify their defect.

2) The delivery.

844 The delivery is considered a physiological operation of the woman, like any other, and will not excite attention or care. In spite of the lack of hygiene and of preventive measures, these daughters of Eve seem to have the most normal delivery in the world. Many times they keep on working until that moment (43),

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> 43. There was related to us by the Salesian lay Brother, the Agronomist Teotônio Ferreira, the case of an Indian woman in S. Gabriel, who worked in the clearing in the morning, bore a child in the afternoon, and on the following day came to resume her work. There are frequent cases in which the Missionaries order them to take a rest and they refuse.

and shortly afterwards they begin their normal working life again.

The men, however, will leave the maloca (or wherever the delivery takes place), perhaps leaving the parturient woman in pain, because it is ordered that they cannot witness it. For this reason, if there are guests in the maloca, the parturient woman will withdraw inside some apartment, if there is any, or they will prepare it in time for this purpose, or else she will leave the maloca in order to give birth in the forest. Just as she must also not have in the place any ax, machete, or any other object of iron or metal.

/429 cont./

844 and takes the child to the river for the bath.

Except in rare cases of a difficult delivery (or very rarely
846 those of death), the mother soon takes up her household cares and tasks again. The husband, however, considers himself in a state
*[192] of pregnancy, Nihĩ-pkõ from Nihĩ, child, and pax-kõ, father. For this reason he must rest or be sheltered, Sihyogõ, for six days (46):

• [797]

> 46. We have seen some of the Indians who have attended the Mission schools subject themselves to such a custom. And they answer the words of the missionary who tries to show the uselessness of the custom: "The old ones want it this way."

he will not work, he will avoid leaving the house, taking the sun, he will spend the greater part of his time in the hammock and subject himself to a strict diet. "If the father works, the child will get sick, will cry day and night," so they explained to us.

593 It is the concept of the bond between the father and his child, as though the father himself were being reproduced. Everything, then, that happens to the father can not fail to affect the child. Since effort or a heavier diet would harm the child, the father must abstain from these things (47).

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> 47. This belief in the intimate connection between the health and well-being of the father and of the son holds not only during the first days of the newborn child, but also during its whole life. D. José Domitrovitsch, when superior
[115] of the Mission of Pari-cachoeira, was able to witness the following episode: Julio, the local Tukano tuxaua, upon learning that his son Mandú (the present tuxaua, 1956) had been bitten by a jararaca, left work, went to his house, put

/434 cont./

855 Being always in the company of its own mother, the child
191 will learn her language first (52),

> 52. It is true that the boys will soon follow the father and will forget the maternal tongue. The mother herself, after having been married for some time, will perhaps speak only the idiom of the inhabitants of the maloca. For this reason the children will rarely know the maternal idiom. We have verified that, at most, they know only some words of it.

if the mother has not yet learned the idiom of her husband. The
866 boys, as soon as they have grown to about five years of age, free themselves from maternal care and will preferably follow the father /435/ hunting or fishing, or remain playing in groups in the forest, in the search for fruits, or around the rivers, swimming and fishing.

The girls, on the contrary, continue at the side and under the vigilancy of the mother herself (53),

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> 53. One Missionary noted that for the girl, used to being at the side of her own mother all the time, the life of the student living in the Mission school is very difficult, whereas the boys adapt more easily, without thinking of returning home.

helping her, according to their capacity, in her tasks. They go with the mother to the clearing, pull mandioca roots, return with their load of mandioca or firewood, or carrying some younger brother or sister, take care of the children, and even help in the preparation of the food.

/435 cont./

866 They act as they please. They do not listen to the requests that the parents direct to them. They do not perform the tasks requested. The slightest whims of the child (56)

> 56. The child is the one who decides whether he is going to board in the school, whether he will not return the following year, whether he wants to leave during the course of the year, etc. The parents do or say nothing concerning these decisions.

are considered. From an early age they officially smoke and drink the fermented drinks at the caxiris. With such independence one might foresee the development of rebellious and quarrelsome types, which, in fact, does not happen. This is because, counterbalancing the spirit of autonomy, there is that of absolute adherence to the disciplinary laws of the tribe, a spirit that is developed with /436/ the beliefs and becomes firmly established through the example of the elders and the ceremonial practices.

Actually there is no school or official instruction, except for the "course of puberty initiation." The maloca, however, with its habitual life or the extraordinary one of the feasts, is a practical and social school in everything.

562 868 The daughter takes a "course in the domestic profession" at the side of her mother, watching her work, helping her, receiving her corrections. Upon reaching nubile age, she will be perfectly prepared to organize and supervise the new home, whereas a contemporary of hers among the civilized would manage this with difficulty. At present, in the educational establishments [797] of the Missions, they not only attend a real "course in home economics," but some even become skilled at tasks that are specialties of another tribe (57).

> 57. These tasks, however, which are outside the primitive pattern of the tribe, constitute knowledge that the mother either will not

/436 cont./

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/footnote 57 cont./ teach or perhaps the daughter does not want to learn. It is a fact that we verified many times: the daughters do not know everything that their mother knows and does.

By preparing their small bows and arrows for amusement or by watching the men work, and sometimes by helping them spontaneously, the boys also become skilled in the different masculine tasks (58).

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58. Never, however, in the feminine ones. They used to laugh in the beginning, Pe. João Marchesi told us, when they saw the Missionary light the fire and prepare his own food, because "it is woman's work." Nowadays one already sees a man of the younger generation, who went through the Mission schools, carrying one of his small children, while the wife is loaded with an aturá on her back or other great burdens.

It is all an intuitive process of apprenticeship, arousing the interest of the children, developing the capacity for imitation that they possess, deeply rooted, in an environment of freedom, happiness, and well-being. A conjunction, finally, of conditions in accord with the native psyche, and, for this reason, assurers of a happy result. Not infrequently the young men become more skilled than their own fathers.

476 There are many tasks that they perform collectively, or at least with the help of others, such as felling trees, cleaning the clearing, building houses, making the canoes. These are done with the display of a greater cheerfulness and emulation, which favor the growth of love of the work and of doing it nicely.

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868 It can be affirmed without fear that the parents are interested in the material education of the children. It is the father's ambition that his son will be a competent fisherman, boatman, or hunter (59).

[797] [829]

59. Today many parents are already interested in something more, and they bring their children to the Mission in order for them to be made "whites." A parent, bringing a girl of about eight years old to the school, recommended to the Directress that she "educate her, teach her Portuguese, in order that later she might be able to marry /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a white." After he has spent some years in school, the child considers himself superior, and is regarded as such by the others. He has become "white."

For this reason he will not deny him his advice and his experience.

/437/ 7) Puberty initiation.

881 By puberty initiation or "rite of passage" is understood the official entrance of the individual, who has reached puberty, into the social life of the tribe, coming to take responsibility for his actions. For this he will also receive the necessary instruction on the "customary law" of the group to which he belongs, the obligations and rights of the individuals. And also, only for the boys, the explanation of certain customs and the legends which constitute the historical and cultural patrimony of the group.

[562] [869]

Both those of the male sex and those of the female sex must be subjected to the "puberty initiation rite" (60).

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60. The Missionaries, with patient and prudent action, have managed to alter the native customs, although slowly, with the adoption of Christian

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/footnote 60 cont./ customs and the extirpation of those which are contrary to the morality of the Gospel, retaining only those that do not harm this morality. For example, many of the young men are boarding in the Mission schools at the time of the puberty initiation. There are few cases in which the young men at such a time of life fail to return to the school, in order to go through the "rite of initiation." And some affirm that the youth can marry even without having been subjected to such a rite.

after a theoretico-practical course. It is a matter of a religious
562 function, as if it were the consecration or sanctification of the
881 individual, who is integrated into the group of the worshipers of Wãx-tĩ.

*[192] a) Course of male initiation -- Mĩrĩ-mẽra, a'mõ-yesé (61).

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61. These data are based on descriptions made by natives of the Tukano, Wanana, Pirã-tapuya, Taryana, Tuyuka, Desana, Bará, Kumãdene, and Baré tribes. This last informant did it according to recollections of his initiation, more than
[171] thirty years before, in Tamanduá. It is, however, a general custom of all the tribes of the region, of the Tukano group as well as of the Arwãke and of the Maku, as the natives themselves affirmed.

According to the number of inhabitants of a maloca, the young men, upon reaching puberty (62)

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62. The Baré Plácido from Melo informed us that at his initiation there were 20 young men in all, and about ten persons, between pajés and Komũã, instructed them. It was, however,

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562 881 Naturally one can not mark the date for this beforehand. It is likewise understandable that it is practically impossible to perform this rite with an entire group, as in the male initiation, if we consider that they are small povoades or only a maloca.

*[192] /440/ The first menstruation is a dangerous event for the young woman; she may be a victim of Bisíu (VII -- 4, d (5 c) ). Bisíu a'mõsé-re baásamĩ, they say, that is, Bisíu eats the menstruation. As they explain, to eat means that he will come to fecundate her (69).

[177] [797]

69. A singular phenomenon of acculturation or adaptation has been taking place. A girl, for example, is in school at the time of the first menstruation. She will perform the rite perhaps many months later, when she returns to her povoado. She does not wait, according to information from the young women themselves, until the next menstruation comes to perform the rite. As for the rest, she follows exactly what the customs dictate.

[756] (See Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/.) The maiden then will be the first to announce the fact and to request the intervention of the pajé or Komũ (70).

70. One of the young informants asserted that the maiden will be happier if she does this rite with a stronger pajé. Another added that she will be still more so if it has been with a white.

[829]

Besides, the rite is desired by the girl, not only because it gives her freedom for the public sexual relations, but also because, according to her convictions, this rite is going to assure her happy deliveries, as various young women testified. For this reason no maiden would dare to marry without the puberty rite and the mõ-yoãsé (coitus of initiation). Some nubile maiden, especially

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those educated in the schools, might perhaps say, out of shyness (71).

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71. The young Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos, an orphan raised in the Mission of Iauareté, and who, until she was 25 years of age (1956), spent the greater part of her life in the schools of the Salesian Missions, has always denied having submitted to the puberty rite. Although in a conversation on March 9, 1956, apart from any subject, she came out with the statement: "Now the rite of initiation is not done any longer," on many occasions she has affirmed that the natives "all, even people of confession and communion, continue to do all these ancient practices, even the alumni and alumnae of the Mission." In September of 1955 in Taracuá, apropos of the puberty initiation rite, she said literally: -- "Even the Christians do this." Around the fourth or fifth of March of 1956, she related an episode that had happened to her the last time she had been with her relatives in S. Luzia, from September of 1955 to February of 1956, an episode which documents how even from the Christian natives one only slowly manages to eradicate the primitive beliefs. One day she felt somewhat ill (the common discomforts of women). Her uncle Marco, who, although Christian, continues, as pajé, to practice the "blowing" and the other Xamã /shaman/ rites, asked her whether she had already performed the puberty rite. Answering that she had not as yet, her uncle went on: "That is it, my daughter (sic), that is because you have not undergone the rite. Shall we do it now?" She did not accept (she told us). Then the uncle gave her the explanation about the discomfort and about the usefulness of the puberty rite, which we transcribe.

592 /462 cont./
622 and directs the collective work of the women, especially the
574 preparations for the caxiris and dabacuris. It is incumbent on her to greet and to thank, in the name of the women, the guests
[535] /463/ who came to the feast in the maloca. In certain dances
*[192] she has the distinctive role of soloist, Yõhõgó or Nõ'mõ-Bayá (VII - 4, e (2 a 2) ). /Footnote 98 apparently belongs here, although the index number is missing./

[123] 98. At a great feast which we had the opportunity to attend among the Wanana of Cururú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, we saw the wife of the Tuxaua in one of the intervals of the dances approach the group of women who were seated and rebuke them. We suppose that it might have been due to the women's indecision in appearing for the preceding dance number.

• 797 On the occasion of the death of the Tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira,
622 the Tukano Júlio, on July 5, 1954, we had the opportunity to see some documents carefully kept by the deceased and his family, that is, a manuscript with the appointment successively of his great-grandfather, João Silgueira, and grandfather, Manoel Silgueira, for the position of Capitão of Parí-cachoeira, appointment made by the Capuchin Missionary Frei Venâncio Zilocchi, on December 5, 1882, with the visa, dated August 7, 1923, of Padre João Bálzola, Salesian. Another letter of appointment with printed heading, signed by the Capuchin Frei Gesualdo Marchetti, on May 30, 1885, also with the visa of Padre João Bálzola, of August 7, 1923. The following are the contents of these documents:

I, below signed, Frei Venancio Zilocchi, Apostolic Franciscan Missionary of the Rio Tiquih., tributary of the Rio Uaupés, and Director of the Missions established on it, appoint Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara the Senhor principal of the said Mission, João Silgueira, and in his absence the Older

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son, Manoel Silgueira, imposing on him the following conditions:

1st. -- To care for the Chapel and the Missionary's house.

2nd. -- To oblige the residents of the said Mission to finish making the houses started, even to make those which they have not had made.

3rd. -- To divide the Mission into streets, during the building of the houses.

4th. -- Every three months, to send (if the Missionary P. is not present) a resident from here to where the Padre is, in order to report the deaths, births, and the usual news during the said three months.

5th. -- To oblige everyone to make their clearings for their own maintenance, and in order to provide for their necessities.

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6th. -- To forbid absolutely the sale of the Macú natives, as well as to impede, in any way possible, the so-called pega-pega /Port. pega, fetters for fugitive slaves/.

/464/ 7th. -- Finally, in case of necessity, to provide people for public service, that is to say, when the Missionary arrives, he must give the people whom he wants for his passage.

In the firm conviction that the said Sr. Principal will fulfill the conditions indicated above, I pass to him this document, in the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara on the fifth day of the month of December of 1882.

Sgd. Frei Venancio Zilocchi
Miss. Ap. Fno.

To Capitão João Silgueira, Sr. Principal of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara (a lapis).

Visa P. João Bálzola Salesian
August 7, 1923

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FRIAR GESUALDO MARCHETTI

of the order of the Minor Observantists of St. Francis, Prefect of the Missions, etc. Considering the good qualities and good behavior of the neophyte João Silgueira -- we appoint him Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara, having to fulfill the orders of the respective Rendo Missionário or of the nearest one.

This appointment will last one year, when the year is finished the above-mentioned Missionary will again confirm it, not having any reasons to the contrary.

Hospice of the Propaganda Fide in Manaus May 30, 1885
(Prefecture of the Missions. Provincia do Amazonas, Fr. Gesualdo Marchetti)

(Manuscript) The below signed, in view of the death of Capitão João Paicana Silgueira of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara, passes the above-mentioned patent to the Indian Manoel Iépassonia, legitimate son of the above-mentioned Capitão.

With faith in what I sign

Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara of Pary Cachoeira January 29, 1886

Frei Matheus Canioni
Miss. Apost. Franc.

(a lapis) Visa Pe. João Bálzola August 7, 1923

622 e) The succession.

The tuxauaship has always been a lifelong position and title, and the deposition of one and election of another has never been reported. The latter happened only after the death (perhaps caused) of the former tuxáua. In case of recognized /465/ disability, he still continues to retain the title, and his oldest son will exercise the functions in the meantime.

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622 f) Government and justice.

Even in olden times the tuxaua's power was tempered by the power of the heads of each family, which, as we said, is autonomous regarding its normal life, its trading, its clearing, etc.

622 It was, likewise, moderated by the ascendancy of the Komlã, the "Elders," who still today preside over the dances, take part in
623 the giving of the name to the child, in the initiation of the young men, practice the "blowing," etc. The "Elders" constituted a true Council or Senate of the Tuxaua, the Bũxkõrã-kurã; and even today continue with such function and choose the new tuxaua.

622 The absolute chiefs have always been an exception, which sometimes provoked reaction by his subordinates (102).

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102. José, Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, died poisoned by those of his maloca; properly speaking, by his second wife, a Tuyuka, with the connivance of the other inhabitants of the maloca. During the time of the encarregado dos índios /Indian Agent/ Higino Albuquerque, of the SPI, José exercised in truth a despotic power: he forced the Indians to work for some of the civilized, thrashed the women so that they would make the flour more quickly, etc.

797 Among all the tribes of the Uaupés a democratic regime has always been in force. It is remembered, however, that some tuxauas, in
622 contracting for service with the whites, -- one of the functions of
648 the tuxauaship, -- demanded payment without work, or even keeping almost everything for themselves and distributing little to the others, so that the natives came to ask the Missionary to make the distribution of the payment to them himself.

627 The administration of justice, in the strict sense, does not fall to the tuxaua. There is not even a judiciary or customary penal law. The questions that arise among the components of the group are resolved among them under the dictates of reciprocal vengeance

627 /466 cont./
[623] or fear. The tuxaua, nevertheless, frequently acted as an arbiter, reprimanding the guilty ones, threatening them, imposing on them restitution of the object stolen or an indemnity, and, as maximum punishment, expelling the undesirables from the maloca; always, however, in accordance with the Komũã components of the
[681] Bũxkõrã-kurã. They have never known the penalty of prison /467/ or corporal punishment. It should be kept in mind that with their type of life, and with the native mentality, innumerable cases that fill our penal codes do not arise.

g) Associations.

797 857 In the Mission schools it is observed that, although the various tribes with representatives among the school children live together in friendly fashion, the groups of each tribe readily separate in order to play among themselves. A Religious Superior of the Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora (Salesian Sisters), with more than 25 years (103)

103. A similar statement was given by the Superior of the newly founded Salesian Mission of Assunção among the Arwake of the Içana, located in the place known as Carará-poço, in August of 1957, therefore after only five months of the functioning of the local girls' boarding school.

of residence among those tribes, informed us that there was always a girl with ascendancy over the rest, a true "tuxaua," whose orders the others obeyed promptly, although transgressing school regulations and the orders of the Irmãs Superioras /Superior Sisters/; and they brought to this classmate the gifts received. Such deference, however, did not seem to be the fruit of friendship, but of fear. The Indian girl, who hardly cries, did it when admonished

/467 cont./

797 by this companion, whose rebuke (104)

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> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father," and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief."

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

575 We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

562 1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in
796 the feasts of Wãx-tĩ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

623 2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkõrãkurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs
756 /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult

/469 cont./

619 they followed in the more serious questions that involved relations
622 with other tribes or with the whites. Each one, however, judging himself perfectly independent and even with very little power over the other men of his own maloca.

701 It consists, indeed, of the temporary union of several groups
622 for an aggressive or defensive military expedition under the orders of a single chief (106).

175 106. Thus the renowned Ajuricaba of the Manao
721 nation, with his two thousand bows, navigating
648 true fleets under the flag of Holland, hunted Indians
701 of other tribes in order to sell them as slaves to the Hollanders of Guiana (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario," n. 336). In 1858 Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 7, p. 86), narrating the episode of the "Cristo de Juquira" (cf. VII-4, b), estimates that a thousand persons from various localities and tribes gathered in Juquira in declared hostility to the civilized. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" of 1785), apropos of the legendary city of Manoa, vast captial of the Manao, explains to us that on the river Urubaxi where the Manao formerly were: "the reported aldeia /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ (irananauoca) did not have the qualities and greatnesses that the city of Manoa paraded, because, notwithstanding that all these were confederated, their aldeias were nevertheless independent of one another and many of them as populous as Irananauoca."

622 /470/ There has never been a true authority, but only the
• 797 ascendancy of one tuxaua over the others. This is more or less the present situation of a Missionary, and, with certain reservations, we can speak of a hypertuxauaship.

/474 cont./

554 614 [601] 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some are earlier and others later, having originated perhaps from some schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 614 829 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear, however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say who would have precedence.

797 177 614 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

> 111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

*192 /482 cont./

621 476 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

527 221 226 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 222 527 At different times of the year great quantities of insects appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

• 797 527 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the Indians of the different povoados, move to

/483 cont./

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/footnote 3 cont./ the seats of the Salesian Missions, not infrequently several days by canoe, in order to attend there the great religious celebrations (Christmas, Easter, etc.). They spend happy days and weeks in contact with civilization, being instructed in the religious truths and amusing themselves, as if they were school children, with collective games. Processions, songs, luminous projections, theatrical representations, even the food, sweets, presents which they receive on these occasions, everything agrees with their psychology and makes these feasts acceptable and indispensable to them.

484 Anyone who navigates those rivers invariably meets canoes, up river and down river, of tourist Indians. Some spend months visiting acquaintances and relatives in the various povoados.

3) Life cycle.

145 We know the rites that accompany the birth of the children. Under the care and attention of their mother, in contact with nature, they start growing and becoming strong. Upon reaching the use of their muscles, they will try to walk and are put down on the ground to crawl. They will then suffer the attacks of [164] verminosis. They become pale, swollen, big-bellied, and many die. Those who manage to conquer the sickness and reach adolescence are saved.

Lacking positive statistical data about the organic development of the native child, one has the impression that this proceeds by more characteristic jumps than among the civilized of the south of the country.

/485 cont./

888 he will face Wix-tí, the great Idea, the great Spirit, in which he has always believed, whom he has respected and feared and tried to propitiate, as his ancestors taught him.

764 When they become aware of the quiet and solitary catastrophe, the maloca will be agitated by the clamorous wailing of the nation for the member who has just passed away.

121 This, however, does not complete the cycle of native life.
797 All of those tribes of the Caiarí are nowadays in direct or indirect relation with the "Civilização de Cristo" /Civilization of Christ/. The parents, under the impulse of paternal love, dream of making their child a civilized person, child of Brazil and of the Church. This sacred fire is kindled deep inside each youth, and for this reason he enrolls in the Catholic schools. They spend long and happy years there, without dissociating themselves, however, from their nation. And they return to their "brothers" with their minds more enlightened, greater material comfort, a belief in the Creator God of heaven and earth, Lord, Judge and Father, and a hope of a less sad old age, nourished by the hopes of a happy future life without end.

And the elders, to whom such a chance was not presented, will perhaps have assistance in the hospitals that the charity of Jesus Christ has erected in each Missionary center, and the maternal care of a Religious who tries to alleviate the physical pain and to comfort the soul. And, above all, they will have the hope of the assistance of a Missionary who, in the last moments of life, through the infinite efficacy of the Sacraments, will make him a child of God, will enrich his soul with grace and will open for him the doors of eternal blessedness. /Page 486 is blank./

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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back to Arawakan, so that the young people were still Tucanoan speakers while their elders were already back to Arawakan (1909, I, 116). Where Arawakan and Tucanoan coexist, Koch-Grünberg has observed, Arawakan becomes the language of ritual and Tucanoan the everyday language (1909, II, 182). 177 197

In general the region of the Vaupés, the only part of the Northwest Amazon that I can speak of from personal knowledge, exhibits a high degree of cultural cosmopolitanism. Many Indians are multilingual because of the frequency of intermarriage with other linguistic groups and the love of the Indians for travel and intertribal trade. Not only do the Indians have some knowledge of the standard languages in the region, but they also employ the *lingoa geral*, a lingua franca based on Tupían, and many are conversant with Spanish and Portuguese. As they adopt languages the Indians also adopt new customs; these are always welcomed, almost in the same way in which women eagerly acquire from one another new varieties of manioc, or in the way in which men and women collect and try to cultivate almost anything that grows. This, in short, is not a region of cultural conservatism. Having freshly arrived from an ethnographic survey in the Colombian Andes, I was literally overwhelmed by the contrast between the secretiveness and wariness of the highland Indians and the openness and friendliness of the Cubeo. 197

Of course, the question of cultural relations between Tucanoans and Arawakans is one of great complexity and uncertainty. We have only the most general knowledge of these relations; but even this provides a very useful background for understanding the nature of Indian-white relations and of Cubeo acculturation. The essential point in this background would seem to be what I have called the Indian's cosmopolitanism. I speak now only for the Indians of the Cuduiari. There, it has seemingly provided a strong measure of immunity against the potentially overwhelming effects of European contacts.

The Northwest Amazon has been subject to persistent white influence from the sixteenth century onward.[2] As early as 1557 Francisco Perez de Quesada founded the community of Mocoa on the Caquetá River. The Dominicans entered the region in 1556, the Franciscans some 20 years later. Prior to their expulsion in 1767 the Jesuits founded many missions on the Orinoco, on the Meta, on the Casanare, on the Guaviare, and on the Vichada. On the Vaupés proper the first mission was founded in 1852 at Carurú by P. Gregorio, a Carmelite. 175 177 797

[2] For historical background consult: Archivo do Amazonas, 1908; Bauer, 1915; Coudreau, 1886-87, II, 153 ff., for missions on the Vaupés; Gumilla, 1791; Koch-Grünberg, 1909; Martius, 1867, I, 391 ff.

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He succeeded in bringing together a village of some 300 Indians. By 1881 the mission was disbanded and the Indians returned to their original communities. At about the same time the mission of Santa Cruz dos Cobeus was established at Mitú *cachoeira* near the Cuduiarí. Missionary activity in the region has been generally discontinuous but nonetheless energetic; and while Christian doctrine has left only a vague imprint in native religious practices it has succeeded in acquainting the Indians with new ideas of dress and in disturbing their convictions about some practices such as cannibalism. For a period between 1875 and the early 1900's there was a flurry of nativist agitation in the Vaupés. Between 1875 and 1878 an Indian from the Isana River, called Anizetto, reportedly a hermaphrodite, led a messianic movement against the whites until he was arrested by the Brazilian authorities. In 1880 a shaman who called himself Vicente Cristo led another messianic movement along the middle Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg observed that the native messianic leaders were always Arawakan-speaking (1809, I, 39). There is nothing to suggest that any of these movements ever took strong hold on the Indians. On the Cuduiarí tangible evidences either of Christian influence or of native messianism were slight in 1940.

European commercial penetration started slowly but reached a sudden expansion with the rubber boom that subsided shortly before World War I. The Putumayo, where thousands of Indians perished in the rubber camps, was a notorious and baleful focus of white influence (Hardenburg, 1912). From then on the Indians and the whites along the Vaupés were in constant contact and in frequent conflict. On the lower Vaupés in Brazilian territory many Indian tribes had taken on the outward appearance of the mestizo, or caboclo as he is called in Brazil, as early as 1852, when Wallace was there. The upper Vaupés in Colombian territory retained its true Indian character for very much longer. The Cuduiarí was still very strongly native at the time of my field work in 1939–40.

Only close study will reveal how far acculturation has gone even among those Indians most closely associated with the whites on the main streams. There the Indians wear the dress of the mestizo, live in European-style shacks, and celebrate the Christian holidays. They also carry out native ceremonials, not, to be sure, with the traditional elegance, but strongly enough to suggest that a good deal of native life goes on beneath the shabby surface of ragged clothing, poor housing, and the litter of cheap manufactured utensils and ornaments.

The resistance of the Indians of the Cuduiarí to cultural loss and breakdown may be attributed in the main to relative isolation, but

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in part, I believe, to cosmopolitanism, to the capability of the Indians to adopt foreign objects and foreign customs without losing their sense of identity as Indian. As long as the point of view remains Indian, the culture may change but it will still retain for the Indian a distinctive and satisfying pattern. It is when the clear identification as Indian in the cultural sense is lost that change is likely to mean breakdown. 177 182

Cosmopolitanism is but one general factor in a process of culture change that is exceedingly intricate and subtle, in which there are no clear-cut stages but endless gradations in the transition from Indian to the new cultural and psychological entity that emerges. Another general factor is the white agent. On the Cuduiari the white man does not intrude directly upon the Indian's daily life. The missionary expects the Indian to come to him at the mission station. Even then the missionary effort is a patient one. Mainly it goes through the children who are educated at the mission school. Mission Indians and tribal Indians lead different lives but they are not mutually antagonistic. Between them there is a gradation but not a gap. 177 797

The commercial white man, the rubber collector (*balatero*), or the trader has only a limited interest in the Indians. The Indian, having completed his contract work in the rubber forest, returns to his own community and is instantly enmeshed in the tribal life. But even in the rubber forests his associates have been fellow Indians, of foreign tribes, to be sure, but to this experience the Indian has been well accustomed. As for the white employer, he is often less a carrier of European culture than he is a frontiersman, a distinct tropical forest product himself. He is partly Indianized and he is generally the husband of an Indian wife. 177 464

Among the Mundurucú of central Brazil, as vividly described by Robert Murphy (1960), an anthropologist, work in the rubber forests and the contractual production of farinha, a manioc flour, for the white man were potent factors in the disruption, indeed in the virtual obliteration, of the native culture. To compare Mundurucú with Cubeo is to set off a society that has become ugly and disordered with its meager hoard of cheap objects of white manufacture with a well-ordered and fundamentally satisfying way of life. Unlike the Mundurucú, the Cubeo have succeeded in withstanding both the rubber forest and manioc trade. Far from being overcome, the Cubeo have been able to use the income from labor in the rubber forests and from the sale of farinha to further their own cultural objectives. Murphy tells of the insatiable longing of the Mundurucú for the trinkets and gadgets of the white trader. For these objects of intrin- 171 177 182

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177 Thus, for the Cubeo,
551 being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most
182 exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It
[553] has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a
[123] European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiari who had a European name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

177 On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tribu-
[797] taries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civilized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no cultivated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for
[464] which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor. At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in 1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

177 Many Indians of the Cuduiari had visited Mitú, the capital of the
648 *Comisaria* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in 1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station. After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important administrative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio station, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business. Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiari were not altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

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always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiari, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiari there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaría del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a European [illegible]tion of the Tucanoan word *hebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa* (first people). They also offered *pwãnwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépwãnwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

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Apart from the Ancients there is *Kúwai*, who has been referred to here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the area share *Kúwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. There are no rites involving *Kúwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Kúwai* in the past. *Kúwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Kúwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Kúwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Kúwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkũ* (my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*kawáno*) in a house with his wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkũ*, an Ancient, but *himénihinkũ* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been badly understood by the Indians of the Cuduiari, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkũ* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without exception reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupían and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahúkiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true beneficent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

*El Diablo*

Today the *caucheros* still avoid the Piraparaná. Only a few years previously one had entered and tried to take an Indian's wife. He was shot with poisoned arrows and savagely cut to pieces. Two botanists had travelled some distance up the river from its mouth, but no one had descended its entire course. At Mitú only Padre Elorza was able to give us first-hand information. Young and zealous, he had been the first missionary to enter the Piraparaná, one month before we arrived. He had travelled half-way down the river and then turned up a tributary to Brazil. A wooden canoe could withstand the rough journey, he said; an aluminium one would not only be too wide for the creeks of the headwaters but would get ripped on the boulders. A suitable canoe, with a hollowed tree-trunk base and sides built up with planks, was lying half-filled with water in the mud at the side of the Vaupés; it belonged to the Mission but he thought the Monseñor might lend it to us. He also told us that his Spanish-speaking guide, an Indian from the Brazilian tributary he had ascended, was still in Mitú and he advised us to take him. He knew the river and he spoke the Tukano dialects. So we employed José, a small and somewhat shifty-looking man, together with his more genial brother, Uriel. We would pay them in pesos and feed them; they would take us to the Piraparaná and from there return to their home. From Padre Elorza we also learnt that two Persian anthropologists had reached the first house on the river only the year before. They had arrived earlier in the season than ourselves, stayed two weeks with the Indians and then returned to Mitú. The headwater streams still had had water in them. We were not to be so lucky.

That evening as we drank cold sweet lemon juice with the padres, their lives for a moment seemed blissfully peaceful and remote. They showed us their museum of countless ceremonial death masks, once worn by the Indians of the Vaupés. It seemed a curious paradox that we were entering territory with the help of a mission which was doing everything to displace the culture we had come so far to see. We walked back to the wooden house of the Commissioner where our host Don Alonso, wizened and immaculate, sat listening to the radiogram beneath an old tarnished chandelier – Mitú had known better days. Don Alonso insisted we drank beer and *aguadiente* and met everyone in his town; the negro who could repair the canoe and whose wife cooked delicious mealy *tamales*; the doctor and nurses from the hospital; the mechanic to test the outboard motors; many *caucheros* and finally a young Argentinian dentist who aimed to make his fortune capping people's teeth with gold. His price was high, but he would accept crude rubber, pelts and crocodile skins as payment before he moved on to the next outpost. The evening ended in hilarity as we danced to scratched seventy-eights revolving on a gramophone whose coiled trumpet betrayed its age.

Next morning before dawn, our thick heads were stirred by resounding hymns. It was Sunday and the Mission had their loudspeakers at work to call the town to Mass. We too went inside the crowded church. Later that day

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would be shown where we could sling our hammocks. 576 [123]

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punctuated by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst themselves. They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling on his body. 562 522 888

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre Elorza only the month before we arrived. 797

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these are evil spirits. 776

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead, usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma. 775 774 756

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over a man's life. 776 775

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and 000

101 a dominant influence in the area. The Tukano
[191] tribal language serves as the lingua franca of the entire area. (Its use as a lingua franca antedates the appearance of other linguae francae in the region.)

The various tribes making up this large, homogeneous cultural group contain about 90 percent of the people in the area. The remainder consists of two ethnic groups. One is the Makú Indians, who live away from the rivers and are more or less nomadic. They do not intermarry with the riverine Indians. The other consists of the non-Indians, who call themselves *blancos* (in Spanish) or *brancos* (in Portuguese), and who number perhaps 1,500. Most of them live in the two or three air-strip towns. Their economy is centered around rubber gathering, and they include about 150 missionaries, who maintain some dozen missionary posts. The non-Indians have a strong monolingual tradition, speaking only either Spanish or Portuguese. They have shown little inclination to learn the Indian languages or to participate in Indian culture.[3] There is little intermarriage between Indians and *blancos* (who mostly consist of *mestizo-criollos*).

184 Here, then, is a large, culturally homoge-
191 neous area where multilingualism—and polylingualism in the individual—is the cultural norm. Anthropologically, this is a culture trait, and it is an outstanding culture trait of the area.

*Social Units*

61 Social units of primary importance to the analysis of multilingualism in the central Northwest Amazon culture area are the nuclear family, lineage, sib, tribe, phratry; the longhouse group; the linguistic group; and the
[797] exogamy group. Secondarily important, as they represent aggregations from among the above, are the mission village, the rubber-working group (an incipient *patrón-peón* group), and the nationality group. In the structural interrelations of all these groups, the sib occupies a focal position.

Several nuclear families may be found in a lineage, and several lineages in a sib (or patrilineal clan), which is the named and localized unit of social organization. A tribe is a named political and ceremonial unit, consisting of several sibs; it has a separate history and is identifiable by a distinct language. Barring the few exceptions where some of its sibs belong to a different phratry from that of the major-

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to more than one phratry are well known and are taken for granted as minor exceptions to the stated rule. This rule is expressed in a formula that one does not marry inside of one's own tribe-and-language group because one would then be marrying a brother or a sister. Although informants do not explicitly refer to it, they recognize exogamy at the phratry level, and all marriages conform to a rule of phratry exogamy as well as of tribal exogamy. Recognition of the multitribal composition of the phratry is expressed as: "A Tukano will not marry a Baré because the Baré are brothers and sisters with the Tukanos."

The exogamic phratry system is extended fictitiously to all tribes peripheral to and beyond the central Northwest Amazon area, even though members of these tribes may not themselves be aware that they fit into such a system. Despite this fiction, it is safe to assume that any marriage with a member of one of these tribes will be phratry-exogamous. The nonriverine, marginal Makú of the interior lands back from the Papurí River, with whom the riverine Indians described in this paper do not intermarry, are considered to belong to the phratries to which the Tukano belong (the "Tukano-Makú") and to which the Desano belong (the "Desano-Makú"), and are said to intermarry among themselves accordingly.[8]

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A larger mission village is a unit that has been created by missionaries from two or more longhouse groups representing two or more tribes (hence linguistic groups) that have been required to tear down their longhouses, move together, and build separate adobe huts for each nuclear family. A larger mission village also contains a contingent of non-Indian missionaries and a boarding house of school children from nearby settlements. A smaller mission village is a single longhouse group that has been persuaded to tear down its longhouse and substitute a series of adobe huts, one for each nuclear family.

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The rubber-working group, for the Indian, is a unit of eight to ten months' duration per year, to which he belongs over a period of several years, usually in his youth. There are a great many such groups in the Upper Vaupés-Apaporis rubber-gathering area, each operating out of a camp, to which the Indians of the Middle Vaupés region are recruited. Properly speaking, the group includes one or more non-

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7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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• [797]

Indians, who are the patrón and his foremen, but they tend to keep themselves apart socially and linguistically from their Indian workers. The rubber-working group forms economically a patrón-peón system, or, more precisely for the Vaupés area, a patrón-padre-peón system. A benevolent role of missionaries in the Vaupés has been to minimize the depredations and excessive abuses of the rubber-working barons by requiring them to acquire their Indian workers through the missionaries as middle men.

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A clear distinction is made between tribal group and nationality; a word glossing as "landsmen" is the term used in Tukano for nationality group. There are two nationality groups among the multilingual Indians described in this paper—the Colombian Indians and the Brazilian Indians (the periphery of the multilingual area may include some Venezuelan Indians)—and even the members of the longhouses in the zone most unacculturated to "civilization" know whether they are Colombians or Brazilians. Also, Indians and non-Indians both agree that there are two clear-cut categories of people in the Vaupés: in Spanish these are called the *indígenas*, or Indians, and the *blancos*, or non-Indians (including Negros). However, the Indians feel uncertain and confused about ethnic and presumably "tribal" groups among the non-Indians. A favorite topic of conversation with me was inquiry about ethnic descent groups among such known nationality groups as Colombians, Brazilians, Venezuelans, and "Americans" (of the U.S.A.). Apparently the Indians are trying to set up a folk taxonomy for non-Indians within the Indian frame of reference. They have long been familiar with members of Dutch, German, English, Spanish, and Portuguese ethnic groups; they are confused about the nationality as against the ethnic status of some of these, especially of the latter two. Many Colombian and Brazilian nationals whom the Indians frankly regard as mestizos or creoles claim not only to be blancos but also "Spaniards" or "Portuguese"; yet they do not resemble the Dutch, German, or English blancos. (In Tukano the word for "blanco," best glossed from Spanish as "non-Indian," is derived from a form also used in the derivations of "fire, shotgun, fireplace"; the occasional blanco-sponsored request for a new form in Tukano that would gloss as "white" is consistently rejected.)

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829 Although the Indians reckon, for reference, in terms of ethnic groups, their attitude toward non-Indians is roughly the same as that of Americans in the United States toward European immigrants who are looked upon as potentially becoming more and more American. I observed that Indians behold the visitor as potentially becoming more and more Indian-like unless he actively rejects Indian food, customs, and so forth. Most non-Indians are unaware of this attitude, and many would be contemptuous of it if they did know of it.

With respect to the Dutch, Germans, etc., an identifying criterion important to the Indian is that each of these ethnic groups is a separate language-bearing group. I was surprised that Indians do not naïvely assume that the English-speaking "American" necessarily belongs to the English ethnic group; the occasional North American traveler who insists (in Spanish) that he is "American" by *tribe* as well as by nationality is simply not believed. The North American who can be more explicit about his ethnic background is appreciated, especially if the background includes languages other than English and more than one ethnic group (thus simulating in form the exogamic language-bearing groups among the Colombian or Brazilian Indians). The Indians have also noted the widespread and, to them, notorious endogamy of the non-Indians and figure that there must be some sort of sib exogamy. The Indians ask a great deal about non-Indian marriage customs—partly because missionaries at times have suggested that the Indians' exogamy system is cumbersome and uncivilized, and that it promotes close cousin marriage, whereas the Indians feel that it is the non-Indian, with his lack of a clearly definable exogamy system, who is indiscriminate.

[582] [797]

As for nationality-and-language, the Indians know that Spanish is the language of non-Indians on the Colombian side of the border and that Portuguese is the corresponding language on the Brazilian side of the border. They also know that Spanish is the language of Venezuela and that English is the language of "America." Nationality has no bearing on exogamy.

*The Tribal Unit*

619 In the central Northwest Amazon the term "tribe" has been used both for individual language-bearing units and for composites of these units sharing the same culture. In general

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191 Eventually a point will be reached where one of these languages will drop out of the longhouse repertoire, and perhaps another language (e.g., Tatuyo or Paneroa) will enter.

I must emphasize again that it is not just scattered individuals who know the various languages used in a given longhouse; but *all* the longhouse residents know them. In the mission villages, where what formerly were two, three, or more longhouses are now gathered together in one village of adobe huts, the linguistic picture resembles that of the single longhouse, but usually more than one father-language is present, for most missionary villages contain men from more than one tribe. There seemed to be an incipient age-grading pattern between two father-tongues at one of the missions, but not at the others.

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Periodically the missions have tried to prohibit the use of Indian languages, but these efforts were subsequently dropped. In aboriginal settings, in the mission compounds away from face-to-face contact with the missionaries themselves, and in any gathering of Indians, whether traveling, visiting, working rubber, no Spanish or Portuguese is used (except occasionally when Indians drink alcoholic beverages!). The field worker must rely upon a knowledge of at least one of the Indian languages in order to keep track of what languages are actually being spoken.

The Indians are quite unself-conscious about their multilingualism. They take it for granted. There is no development of cross-linguistic puns. There is no stylistic device of switching from one language to another or of interspersing one's conversation with quotes from another language. Conversations in two or more languages indeed occur on occasion, as in visiting, but no one takes special note of it. Each individual initially speaks in his own father-language during such a conversation in order to assert his tribal affiliation and identification, but after a while the junior persons change, without comment, to the longhouse language, to Tukano as the lingua franca, or to another language, whatever one is most convenient for the others. A person usually cannot enumerate how many languages he knows, and is perplexed at being asked to do so. The interviewer has to go over with him one by one the whole list of languages spoken in the area. But when approached, in this way, each individual definitely knows his own repertoire and can state what languages

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191 648 the multilingual area described in this report know Nheengatú. Some younger people can repeat lists of words and forms in it, but they do not speak it. According to informants, it can be heard conversationally in the lower portions of the Vaupés, but I have not heard it used conversationally in the Middle Vaupés region. It was originally brought up the Amazon and to the Rio Negro by the Jesuits as the language of instruction; and it was well established there by the 18th century, when a contest with Portuguese began (Martius 1867). Its grammar, originally adapted from a Latin model, was artificially built on a Tupí-Guaraní base similar to that of present-day Guaraní.

[797]

191 After Nheengatú, Portuguese came in as another lingua franca. It is now the language of the non-Indians on the Brazilian side of the border and the language taught in the mission schools there.

On the Colombian side, Spanish is the official lingua franca. There was much learning of Spanish in the rubber-gathering area during the rubber boom, and Spanish superseded Nheengatú as the dominant lingua franca there. The increasing importance of Spanish at the expense of Portuguese and the already fading Nheengatú coincided with a change in the rubber industry: to extract the *siringa* type of rubber, found in abundance in the Upper Vaupés River and Upper Apaporis River region of interior Colombia, instead of the less valuable but more widespread *balata* type found in both Colombia and Brazil. The stability of Tukano during this period of change probably enhanced its position as a lingua franca. The Upper Vaupés–Upper Apaporis region is just outside of the culture area being described in this paper, and it includes Indian workers who have come in from still other culture areas. While the knowledge of Spanish is spreading, via this rubber-gathering area, into the adjacent culture areas, the knowledge of Tukano is also spreading.

191 648 For about 20 years there has been a concerted attempt to teach Colombian Indians Spanish in the schools. Perhaps one-third to one-half of the Indians already know Spanish as a second lingua franca. Many learned it when, as youths, they worked a few years in the rubber-gathering area. Theirs is good, understandable, and effective Spanish, although it may lack the subjunctive and certain other details of normative grammar. It

[P. 680-B]

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104 man, English, etc. There is great variation in the spellings. The spellings in this paper tend to follow those of Koch-Grünberg, who still remains the general authority for the area as a whole. His spellings are close to those used for Nheengatú. They generally conform with those used for world-wide ethnographic spellings; in addition, they seem to have been the spellings more commonly used in English, German, Portuguese, and Spanish ethnographies on South America.

101 *Population estimate.* Population figures are
161 hard to estimate. The following are very im-
191 pressionistic. Tribes with 1,000–2,000 members: Tukano, Kubeo, Baré; Spanish-only speakers. Tribes with 500–1,000 members: Piratapuyo, Wanano, Desano. Tribes with 150–500 members: Tuyuka, Yurutí, Paneroa, Eduria, Karapana, Tatuyo, Barasana, Siriano, Tariano, Tabaino, Makuna, Tekuana, Datuana; Portuguese-only speakers. Of the latter tribes, Yurutí, Yekuana, and Datuana may number
[797] fewer than 150 members. A few Salesian missionaries, in Brazil, are Italians.

There are probably a few hundred Makú in occasional contract with the multilingual Indians in this area.

Non-Indians probably number about 1,500 and are concentrated in the few air-strip towns.

For a very round figure, a population of 10,000 has been estimated for the multilingual area in which Tukano is the chief lingua franca. Of these 10,000, only the non-Indians, the Makú, and some of the Kubeo are not multilingual, so that over 80 percent of the population is multilingual. As the non-Indians are concentrated in the few air-strip towns and a dozen missionary posts, the effective distribution of multilingualism is much higher; close to 100 percent of the communities encountered in the area are multilingual. Of the multilingual Indians, well over 90 percent know Tukano at least as a lingua franca, with young children accounting for the majority of the few who do not.

**NOTES**

[114] [12] [1] This report is an expanded version of a paper presented to the Tenth Annual National Conference on Linguistics in New York on March 13, 1965. Field work was done in the summers of 1959, 1960, and 1963 and from June to December 1963. It was supported during much of this time by USPHS Research Grant MH-17,258. I wish to acknowledge the hospitality and cooperation extended to me by the Xaveriano missionary order in Colombia and the Salesian missionaries of the Brazilian Vaupés region. Various drafts of this paper were read by Drs. Charles

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000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [2] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921-22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177 563 61 582 [3] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Caboclos are destribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1965). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of caboclos. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "caboclo" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "cabuco," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be caboclos.

000 [4] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

124 191 [5] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data *about* each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informant gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally removed politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 101 197 [6] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

[P. 683 - B]

/257/

484 As for the sharp sense of direction of the natives in the forest, or
823 their topographic sense, which has been praised so much, it seems to be the fruit of poetic imagination, if it is generalized for the tribes of the Caiarí. They know very well the rivers and forests that they frequent; however, they do not risk going very far into the forest. They tell of various episodes in which they were lost in the forest. And, in order for this not to happen, they avail themselves of the expedient of breaking branches, all in the same direction, as they draw
[171] away from the usual paths. The Makú live in the interior of the forests, are hunters, and therefore orient themselves better. It is to be pointed out, however, that they are seminomadic and always travel in groups.

b) Mathematics.

*192 The natives have different names for the first five numbers and
• 802 distinguish the masculine, feminine, and neuter (thing), to wit:

| Number | Masculine | Feminine | Neuter |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | nikã, nikõ | nikõ | niká |
| 2 | põãra, põana | põãra, põana | póá, póáro |
| 3 | i'tyãra, i'tyãna | i'tyãra, i'tyãna | i'tyá, I'tyáro |
| 4 | ba'pári-tĩra | ba'pári-tĩra | ba'pári-tise |
| (Uaupes) | bapári-tĩna | ba'pári-tĩna | |
| 5 | niká-mũköra | niká-mũköra | niká-mũköse |
| (Uaupés) | niká-mũköna | niká-mũköna | |

It should be noted that Niká-mũkõ̃ra, properly speaking, means one hand. And ordinarily they prefer to indicate the number of fingers (2, 3, etc.) rather than pronounce the numbers. From five on, all of them, practically, are content to show the corresponding number of fingers. The more intelligent ones know how to count up to twenty, using the fingers of the hands and the toes. They no longer know how to count numbers higher than twenty.

*192 Properly speaking they do not have measures of extension or
804 length. They speak of sẽẽrõ (sẽẽnõ), nikáti sẽẽrõ, the breadth of the arm span or the two open arms, põáti sẽẽrõ, two arm-spans, etc.; a step, yeraró, nikáti yeraró, one step; a handspan, wamũ-ka keoró or wamũ-pama-keoró, niká pama, one handspan, põá wamũ-ka-keoró, two handspans, ba'páritise wamũ-ka-peosé, four handspans.

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804 As a practical means for their calculations, they will even make a small stick the size of an arm span or a handspan; they are, nevertheless, individual and casual measurements.

797 The arithmetic tables already consitute a serious difficulty for
872 the school children, in spite of being a mere question of memory.
803 Those of better progress do not manage to perform the four operations after /258/ three or four years of attending school. And one notices in all great difficulty in solving the simplest problem in mathematics.

804 It seems that it is equally difficult for them to estimate time,
805 as well as distance and area; thus, they are apt to answer that the length of a room is three kilometers and the course of a river, one hundred meters.

c) Aströnomy -- Cosmography.

1) The world.

*192 According to their conceptions, the earth, Di'tá, is a plain
823 covered by a regular and solid spherical calotte, which is called Ö'mã-se (high thing), the sky, with four doors /Port. portas, doors; gates/ corresponding to the four cardinal points, through which the waters of the rivers escape. If these doors were to be closed, the waters would flood the lands and drown all humanity. (Cf. the Legend of the snake Sẽ, p.)

[821] They differentiate the clouds into oxkó-kururí, the nimbi, and o'mẽ-kurúri, cirri.

They call the cardinal points "porta" /door, gate/, Soxpé, and designate them as follows: East, Síro-ká-soxpé (back door); West, Pó'té-ká-soxpé (front door, to wit, of the river); South, Kũ'pé-ká-soxpé (left door, from which the Uaupés rises); North, Dyakõ-ká-soxpé (right door).

2) Heavenly bodies and stars.

*192 They do not know how to explain how the stars, Yõxkõá, were
821 formed. All the constellations, however, have a legendary origin. They even assert that the sun, the moon, and the stars are people, Maxsã, according to their legends. As confirmation, it is to be

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804 It seems that it is equally difficult for them to estimate time,
805 as well as distance and area; thus, they are apt to answer that the length of a room is three kilometers and the course of a river, one hundred meters.

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821 formed. All the constellations, however, have a legendary origin. They even assert that the sun, the moon, and the stars are people, Maxsã, according to their legends. As confirmation, it is to be

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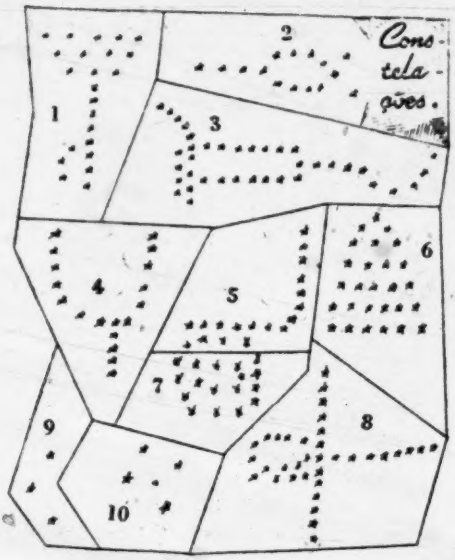


/Constellations/

1. Aña, ray; 2. Pamõ dõxká, piece of tatu /armadillo/; 3. Yaí pwé-ro, high water of the onça /jaguar/; 4. Daxsyã, shrimp; 5. Syó-a yaxpú, adze handle; 6. Waí kaxsá, fish platform; 7. Kaĩ sãrĩrõ, parakeet enclosure; 8. Yehé, garça /heron/; 9. Dyayó, otter; 10. Bõõ, piranha.

4) Time and the seasons.

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Today they have a term to indicate the year, Kõmá (plural Kõmãrĩ) (8).

8. According to what some of our informants have stated, the term Kõmá originally indicated only the time of the less abundant rains, which runs from September to March. The period of high water, which ordinarily extends from March to September, is called Pwé-kõ. That period of 10 to 15 drier days, with little or no rain (which is truly rare), an appropriate

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/footnote 8 cont./ time for the burning of the clearings, is called Kõmã-rõ (Uaupés kõmã-nõ), summer, maturity.

which is the interval between one period of low water and another in the rivers. Perhaps by the physiological reactions, but especially by the phases of the moon, they distinguish the period of the lunar cycles or months, and they call it /261/ by the term Muhĩ-pũ (9),

9. It also seems, according to some information obtained, that more remotely they did not distinguish lunar cycles or periods corresponding to the months. It is certain that the term muhĩ-pũ (plural muhĩ-pũrĩ; on the Uaupés muhĩ-pũnĩ), as corresponding to the word month, is not only of recent usage, but is also not very generalized.

which applies to both the sun and the moon, as we have said. The latter, when one wants to distinguish it from the sun, is called Yamĩ-ka muhĩ-pũ, sun-of-the-night. There does not exist, however, a term to indicate the week (10).

805

10. On the rivers Içana and Aiari we saw a denticulated ruler with transverse strokes serving as a calendar to mark the days of the week and of the month. A slip-knot of tucum would be moved day by day from one denticulation to another. Koch G. (Z. I. 298) reports that the Juritĩ also had a stick with grooves for their calculations: on one of the flattened ends the grooves marked the days of travel as far as the Lago-do-espelho /Lake of the mirror/ (Uaruá-lake), on the other, the days of the return trip.

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They only know two seasons, those that really exist, that is, the summer (dry season or low water of the rivers), Wextíro or kõmã-rõ, and the winter (high water), Pwé-kõ.

The year starts, according to the way they formerly reckoned, in the summer or low water of the Uaupés, when they devoted themselves to felling the trees and the clearings.

The 1st month corresponds to half of August to the middle of September and is called Pũrĩ Pwé-ro (which means high water of the leaves).

The 2nd, ã̃'rẽ puxtiró (blossoming of the pupunha tree), time of felling the trees and burning.

The 3rd, ãña pwé-ro (high water of the ray or of Venus /final parenthesis is missing/, because one notices an increase of water in the rivers. It is what is called on the Amazon "repiquete /oscillation of the waters immediately after the low water in the great rivers/ of the dead."

The 4th, ãña pwé-ro pityá (the high water of the ray ends), the dry season starts.

The 5th, mẽ'rẽ kõmá (time of the ingá).

The 6th, Kõmá wáaro (the year goes), time for planting mandioca.

The 7th, ã̃'rẽ kõmá (time of the pupunha), the time for the big caxiris.

The 8th, mã'mã kõmá (new year).

The 9th, Wamã petiró (end of the time of the umarí).

The 10th, Yaí õxsé-ka pwé-ro (high water of the whiskers of the onça /jaguar/).

The 11th, Yõxkwãtéro pwé-ro (high water of Yõxkwãtéro).

The 12th, Yõxkwãtéro pwé-ro pitiró (end of the high water of Yõxkwãtéro).

/262/ We were unable to learn whether these divisions of the months correspond /the line that follows these words in the original source belongs in the next paragraph; the one that belongs here is missing/.

/262 cont./

• 805 [115] A Tukano by the name of Dorotéia Brito, with decades of contact with the schools of the Salesian Sisters, furnished us a list of 12 months, with the corresponding names in Portuguese. As it will be seen, there is only partial correspondence of the names with the preceding list, which was obtained for us by Padre Antonio Giacone. Dorotéia explained the origin of the names as being that of the figures which they seem to see in the clouds (sic). It is to be noted that it coincides with the names of the constellations, precisely as the ancients used to divide the months by the constellations.

*192 805 821

These are the names of the months:

January -- Ma'mã̃ bahwarí muhĩ-pũ (new month appeared)
February -- Daxsyã̃ pixkõ-rõ (shrimp tail)
March -- Dyá-yó (otter)
April -- Yaí pwé-ro (high water of the onça)
May -- wãrã̃ (animal-sloth)
June -- Axpã̃ kaxsá (crab platform)
July -- Pamõ pwé-ro (high water of the tatu)
August -- Wai kaxsá (fish platform)
September -- Syó-a yaxpú (adze handle)
October -- Yõxkwã̃téro (morning star)
November -- Afia (ray)
December -- Yaí õxpõ (body of the onça)

5) The day.

They know, with enough approximation, how to calculate the hour of the day by the height of the sun. They do not, however, have calculations of years, months, weeks, and days; nor do they know how to tell what date we are at.

They distinguish the following hours of the day:

boreá-mãhõãtise -- (literally, before the light or dawn rises), around four in the morning
Boré-kease -- dawn
/263/ Boréke-yõrõãse -- more light
muhĩ-pũ mãhõã-tyase -- (sunrise), six in the morning

/263 cont./

*192 Axsí mãhõá:ti wá:ró -- (the heat begins to rise), around nine in the morning

• 805 821 Axsí mãhõá:ti daharítero twa'tá nõ'kã-nĩmĩ -- (the heat increases, the time of returning draws near), around ten o'clock

Daharí-tero -- (time to return, let us say, from the clearing), around 11-12 o'clock

õmã-ko dexkó -- (midday), around 12 o'clock

Daharítero mãhõá-nĩmĩ dõhõagõ --(the sun rose and sank after the time to return), around one o'clock

Tõreáro dexkó -- (half the descent of the sun), around 2-3 o'clock

Sahãgõ wemĩ-məhã -- (the sun is going in), around 4 o'clock

Sahã-wá:pi-məhã -- (the sun went in), around 6 o'clock

Nai-kea wá: -- (it is getting dark), around 7 o'clock

Nãyá wá:məhã -- (it got a little darker), around 7 or 8 o'clock

Yamĩ nã-məhã -- (the night advanced), around 9 o'clock

Yamĩ-ka bwí -- (above the night, late at night), around 10 o'clock

Yamĩ dexkó -- (midnight), around 12 o'clock

d) Natural Sciences.

1) Ideas about nature.

*192 825 a) There are reminiscences of an old belief, according to which they judged that all the animals were "people," maxsã. Some stated to us categorically that the animals are "people." Confirmation of this belief perhaps is the fact that in the Tukano language all the animals are of the masculine gender; whereas all the inanimate beings are of the neuter gender.

When they catch an animal or group of animals, for example, deer, anta, etc., tarrying to drink water or to lick a stone (cf. anta sucker, VI -- 5, b (2), Note 73), they think that these animals are besotted because they have spent a night of dances and orgies.

They likewise explain that the piracema /school of fish/ is a large concentration of fish solemnizing a caxirí.

/264/ There is a species of white vulpídeos with some black feathers and called "baaró" (known also by the regional name of "tesoura" /Muscivora tyrannus/), which at certain times appear in flocks looking for worms. Being light in weight and having abundant

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiari these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiari proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ildkoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ildkoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaíno* (falling river) and as *edáwaiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[805] [1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aünhokü* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwü*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Hübükokü* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turü* (poison), another *pudjü* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapika* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yawí* or *paridhokū*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yawí*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yawí*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duwáyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *umhókūkū* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hókiwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenddox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *umhókūkū* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridkū* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duwáyo*, the *hokiwe*, and the *kenddox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*wei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhã*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yavi*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

*539 /114 cont./
of all of you, the whites." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You begin to make war against your enemies." And Yepá Huáke said then to the Alemán: "You go to the east, and your country will be there." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri
•[821] Baúro: "I am going to perform a miracle." And when /115/ Yepá Huáke said the word "miracle," which in Tukano is called Bajúrese, the sun appeared for the first time; before that there had never been sun. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemán: "Each one of you will fight in your own country." Then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Your wealth will have power. Your factories will have airplanes, automobiles, ships, submarines, and all kinds of things that you want to make. And you, too, will die" (26).

26. Will not be immortal.

In this way Yepá Huáke cursed Yúpuri Baúro and the Alemanes. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "For you there remain the
[755] Payés (Yaí and Kúmu). And just as I blew you in order for you to
[756] live, the payé will also blow you and will save you when there are sick ones. If the wind that I blew you comes to an end, the sick one will die, and the dead one will turn into earth again" (27).

27. Possible Christian influence.

Yepá Huáke said to the Alemanes: "For you there remains a medical doctor. If the wind that I blew you falls short, the doctor will give you injections and will save the sick people. You will perform operations on the sick people and take out the sicknesses. When the wind that I blew you comes to an end, then the sick people will die and the dead will also turn into earth again." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemanes: "You are not going to live for all life. I am going to give you land, and that land will be for all. And that land will never die."

*539 /115 cont./

Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemanes: "Walk with me." And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Sit here with me at my right." And Yepá Huáke also said to Yepára Dujuío: "Come, sit here at my right, beside your brother" (28).

28. Yúpuri Baúro.

Then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Sit here at my left side." And Yepá Huáke said to Númio Paraméo (29):

29. The old "white" woman.

"Come, sit at my left side, beside your brother" (30).

30. Alemán.

• [821] And Yepá Huáke then created the wind, because before there had never been wind, and this was a miracle. And this wind caught up the little bench where Yepá Huáke, Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Dujuío, Alemán, and Númio Paraméo were sitting and carried it up to the sky. It was the wind that held the /116/ little bench so that it would not fall. And then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Your country is to the east, here you have your tobacco, and this tobacco is to be smoked and in order to have a large family" (31).

31. In order to be very fertile.

Yepá Huáke also said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Your country is to the north, west, and south." Then Yepá Huáke said to the Brazilians: "You remain here in Diaojpekowí." This is why the Brazilians still live in Diaojpekowí, and why Diaojpekowí is in Brazil. Then Yepá Huáke, Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Dujuío, Alemán, and Númio Paraméo came down from the sky to Diaojpekowí on the little bench. And Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "You stay here so

* /122 cont./
539 said: "Silence! Attention! I am going to give this order. Now I am going to give you the night, in order for you to sleep." And Yepá Huáke gave orders to two brothers of Yúpuri Baúro, who were named Serítia and Patáro, for them to go toward the cordillera in the direction of Bogotá and they told Sotá, who was the owner of the Central Cordillera, that Yepá Huáke had given orders for him to give them the "thing of night," because Sotá was the owner of the night and he was the one who made it dark.

* 539 Sotá said: "Good, I am going to give you a little box where
• 821 sleep and night are. Take it. Do not open this little box until
513 you give it to Yepá Huáke, and he will distribute sleep and night to each group of all the people. As soon as sleep and night are distributed among all the people, Yepá Huáke will explain to you that the little seeds of sleep and of night must be put on the heart in order to be able to sleep. Do not put these little seeds there on the eyes. And that is all. Take the box between the two of you." Then they said. "Good." And as the box weighed a lot, the two men became tired of carrying the box on the road back to Diawí. They were already getting close to Diawí, and then /123/ the two men said: "What is this box that weighs so much?" And the two men opened the little box. And as soon as they opened the little box, everything became dark and for two hours night rained down. Serítia called an insect that sings at night and that is called Ñamiribejké in Tukano. And Patáro called the same insect, and it was already midnight. Serítia called the same insect again, and Patáro called to the same insect. And for Patáro this second time the insect did answer him. Serítia called the insect again, and for Serítia four insects answered him at the same time. Patáro called the insect again, and for him ten insects answered him at the same time. Patáro said to Serítia: "No more, keep calling quickly." And they opened the little box where sleep and night were. Then all the little insects that are called Ñamiribejké entered the little box. Serítia divided the insects in half; one half for this world and the

*539 /123 cont./
•821 other half stayed in the little box. The day appeared, and since
513 then there is day and there is night. As soon as day and night had appeared, Serítia and Patáro took the box to Diawí. They entered Diawí and delivered the little box to Yepá Huáke, and he received it. And then Yepá Huáke was waiting for them with all kinds of chicha. Then Yepá Huáke said for the night to come. And they opened the little box that contained sleep and night.
*539 And Yepá Huáke distributed sleep and night among all the tribes that were in Diawí. And Yepá Huáke said that two people should go and cross to the other side of the Vaupés River, which is called Diapajsá in Tukano. These two persons were named Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá. Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and on Cajtá a little hat of feathers, which is called Pejsaró in Tukano, and some gold earrings, which are called Ajpoápi in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá and on Cajtá Casóro a little bracelet of feathers, which is called Bajsákaroa in Tukano. Afterwards he put that special stone, which is called Ujtáboja in Tukano, around the necks of Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and on Cajtá a wide and special belt, which is called Yaipirítatia in Tukano, and this belt is made of the teeth of wild animals, such as jaguars and cerrillos /this word is not italicized in the Spanish text/. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a loincloth, which is called Uajsóro in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a fine herb on the side of the buttocks, and that fine herb is called Bará in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a woven ribbon, which is called Yujtásero in Tukano, around their knees. Then Yepá /124/ Huáke gave to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá some bands for their ankles, which are called Kejtió in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke gave to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá that little bell stick that is called Yaig in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke said to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá: "Go to sleep." And Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people: "Go to sleep." And Yepá Huáke said to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá: "You have to wake up at midnight. As soon as you wake up, have Yúpuri Baúro and all his people awakened." Then

/257 cont./

804 As a practical means for their calculations, they will even make a small stick the size of an arm span or a handspan; they are, nevertheless, individual and casual measurements.

797 The arithmetic tables already consitute a serious difficulty for
872 the school children, in spite of being a mere question of memory.
803 Those of better progress do not manage to perform the four operations after /258/ three or four years of attending school. And one notices in all great difficulty in solving the simplest problem in mathematics.

804 It seems that it is equally difficult for them to estimate time,
805 as well as distance and area; thus, they are apt to answer that the length of a room is three kilometers and the course of a river, one hundred meters.

c) Astronomy -- Cosmography.

1) The world.

*192 According to their conceptions, the earth, Di'tá, is a plain
823 covered by a regular and solid spherical calotte, which is called Õ'mã-se (high thing), the sky, with four doors /Port. portas, doors, gates/ corresponding to the four cardinal points, through which the waters of the rivers escape. If these doors were to be closed, the waters would flood the lands and drown all humanity. (Cf. the Legend of the snake Sẽ, p.)

[821] They differentiate the clouds into oxkó-kururí, the nimbi, and o'mẽ-kurúri, cirri.

They call the cardinal points "porta" /door, gate/, Soxpé, and designate them as follows: East, Síro-ká-soxpé (back door); West, Põ'té-ká-soxpé (front door, to wit, of the river); South, Kũ'pé-ká-soxpé (left door, from which the Uaupés rises); North, Dyakõ-ká-soxpé (right door).

2) Heavenly bodies and stars.

*192 They do not know how to explain how the stars, Yõxkõá, were
821 formed. All the constellations, however, have a legendary origin. They even assert that the sun, the moon, and the stars are people, Maxsã, according to their legends. As confirmation, it is to be

/258 cont./

*192 noted that, while all the inanimate beings belong to the
• 821 neuter gender in the Tukano language (and, it seems to us, in all the indigenous languages of the region), sun, moon, star, thunder, and the sacred instrument miri (cf. VII - 3, c (3c) ) are of the masculine gender.

There is only one name to designate the sun and the moon, Muhĩ-pũ. They originally imagined them as only one and the same being, which illuminated the world, and it was always day. Until night appeared, in the form of dark dust scattered through space.

*822 The echo, Axká-keoãra, is owed to Wãx-tĩ (see VII -
192 4, d (5a) ), who, from amidst the forest, amuses himself by imitating some noise. And many of the noises of the forest (the whispering of the wind, the murmuring of the breeze among the /259/ leaves, branches falling) seem to them to be imitations of the music and sounds of the dances that Wãx-tĩ performs.

*192 The thunderclap is the aborted children, Paxkó-mãrĩrã-
821 khãra (that is, orphans without a mother), who cry, because it is going to be very hot. "These poor children go around alone, because nobody takes care of them" (Patrícia Vasconcelos).

3) The constellations.

They distinguish the constellations with names of animals or things that they seem to see represented by the stars, Yõxkõã. The knowledge of the constellations is more gen-
[115] eralized among the natives than among the civilized. Thus, upon asking a group of young men of 16 to 20 years of age the names of the constellations, all showed that they knew them, and one would recall the name when another had forgotten it, and they pointed to them in the sky.

/259 cont./

*192
• 821

They distinguish the following constellations, whose principal figures we give according to the design and in the same order in which they were given to us by an old Pirá-tapuya, Antônio Goes, from the povoado of S. Paulo on the river Papurí.

1. Ãña, ray (batoid fish; ãña is also the name of the planet Venus);
2. Pamõ desté-ke or Pamõ dõxká or Pamõ dõxká sũxtéke (piece of tatu /armadillo/);
3. Kaĩ sã'rĩ-rõ (parakeet enclosure);
4. Daxsyã (shrimp);
5. Yai or yai pwê-ro (high water of the onça /jaguar/);
6. Syó-a yaxpú (adze handle);
7. Wai kaxsá (fish platform, VI - 5, a (2c) /see a (2d)/);
8. Yehé (garça /heron/);
9. Dya-yó (otter);
10. Bõõ (the piranha fish);
11. Yõxkwãtéro (legendary personage);
12. Yõkwãtéro maxkõ (son of Yõxkwãtéro);
13. Ãña pixkõ-rõ (tail of the ray);
14. Koxtí-pa (scorpion);
15. Ko dyéri me'sã (pile of their eggs);
16. Yai õxsé-ka poarí (hairs from the whiskers of the onça /jaguar/);
17. Mãhõã (the jacundá fish);
18. Ñamákurú (a small deer of legend).

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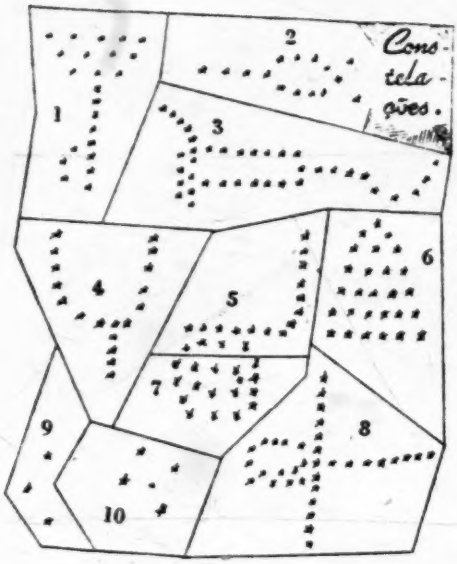


/Constellations/

1. Aña, ray; 2. Pamõ dõxká, piece of tatu /armadillo/; 3. Yaí pwé-ro, high water of the onça /jaguar/; 4. Daxsyã, shrimp; 5. Syó-a yaxpú, adze handle; 6. Waí kaxsá, fish platform; 7. Kaĩ sãrĩtõ, parakeet enclosure; 8. Yehé, garça /heron/; 9. Dyayó, otter; 10. Bõõ, piranha.

4) Time and the seasons.

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[821]

Today they have a term to indicate the year, Kõmá (plural Kõmãrĩ) (8).

8. According to what some of our informants have stated, the term Kõmá originally indicated only the time of the less abundant rains, which runs from September to March. The period of high water, which ordinarily extends from March to September, is called Pwé-kõ. That period of 10 to 15 drier days, with little or no rain (which is truly rare), an appropriate

*192 /260 cont./

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• 821

/footnote 8 cont./ time for the burning of the clearings, is called Kõmã-rõ (Uaupés kõmã-nõ), summer, maturity.

which is the interval between one period of low water and another in the rivers. Perhaps by the physiological reactions, but especially by the phases of the moon, they distinguish the period of the lunar cycles or months, and they call it /261/ by the term Muhĩ-pũ (9).

9. It also seems, according to some information obtained, that more remotely they did not distinguish lunar cycles or periods corresponding to the months. It is certain that the term muhĩ-pũ (plural muhĩ-pũrĩ; on the Uaupés muhĩ-pũnĩ), as corresponding to the word month, is not only of recent usage, but is also not very generalized.

which applies to both the sun and the moon, as we have said. The latter, when one wants to distinguish it from the sun, is called Yamĩ-ka muhĩ-pũ, sun-of-the-night. There does not exist, how-
805 ever, a term to indicate the week (10).

10. On the rivers Içana and Aiari we saw a denticulated ruler with transverse strokes serving as a calendar to mark the days of the week and of the month. A slip-knot of tucum would be moved day by day from one denticulation to another. Koch G. (Z. I. 298) reports that the Juritĩ also had a stick with grooves for their calculations: on one of the flattened ends the grooves marked the days of travel as far as the Lago-do-espelho /Lake of the mirror/ (Uaruá-lake), on the other, the days of the return trip.

/262 cont./

805 [115] A Tukano by the name of Dorotéia Brito, with decades of contact with the schools of the Salesian Sisters, furnished us a list of 12 months, with the corresponding names in Portuguese. As it will be seen, there is only partial correspondence of the names with the preceding list, which was obtained for us by Padre Antonio Giacone. Dorotéia explained the origin of the names as being that of the figures which they seem to see in the clouds (sic). It is to be noted that it coincides with the names of the constellations, precisely as the ancients used to divide the months by the constellations.

*192 805 • 821

These are the names of the months:

January -- Ma'mã̃ bahwarí muhĩ-pũ (new month appeared)
February -- Daxsyã̃ pixkõ-rõ (shrimp tail)
March -- Dyá-yó (otter)
April -- Yaí pwé-ro (high water of the onça)
May -- wã̃rã̃ (animal-sloth)
June -- Axpã̃ kaxsá (crab platform)
July -- Pamõ pwé-ro (high water of the tatu)
August -- Wai kaxsá (fish platform)
September -- Syó-a yaxpú (adze handle)
October -- Yõxkwã̃tére (morning star)
November -- Ã̃ã̃a (ray)
December -- Yaí õxpõ (body of the onça)

5) The day.

They know, with enough approximation, how to calculate the hour of the day by the height of the sun. They do not, however, have calculations of years, months, weeks, and days; nor do they know how to tell what date we are at.

They distinguish the following hours of the day:

boreá-mã̃hõ̃ãtise -- (literally, before the light or dawn rises), around four in the morning
Boré-kease -- dawn
/263/ Boréke-yõrõ̃ase -- more light
muhĩ-pũ mã̃hõ̃a-tyase -- (sunrise), six in the morning

/263 cont./

*192 Axsí mãhõá:ti wá:ró -- (the heat begins to rise), around nine in the morning

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• 821 Axsí mãhõá:ti daharítero twa'tá nõ'kã-nĩmĩ -- (the heat increases, the time of returning draws near), around ten o'clock

Daharí-tero -- (time to return, let us say, from the clearing), around 11-12 o'clock

õmã-ko dexkó -- (midday), around 12 o'clock

Daharítero mãhõá-nĩmĩ dõhõagõ --(the sun rose and sank after the time to return), around one o'clock

Tõreáro dexkó -- (half the descent of the sun), around 2-3 o'clock

Sahãgõ wemĩ-məhã -- (the sun is going in), around 4 o'clock

Sahã-wá:pi-məhã -- (the sun went in), around 6 o'clock

Nai-kea wá: -- (it is getting dark), around 7 o'clock

Nãyá wá:məhã -- (it got a little darker), around 7 or 8 o'clock

Yamĩ nã-məhã -- (the night advanced), around 9 o'clock

Yamĩ-ka bwí -- (above the night, late at night), around 10 o'clock

Yamĩ dexkó -- (midnight), around 12 o'clock

d) Natural Sciences.

1) Ideas about nature.

*192 a) There are reminiscences of an old belief, according to which they judged that all the animals were "people," maxsã.

825 Some stated to us categorically that the animals are "people." Confirmation of this belief perhaps is the fact that in the Tukano language all the animals are of the masculine gender; whereas all the inanimate beings are of the neuter gender.

When they catch an animal or group of animals, for example, deer, anta, etc., tarrying to drink water or to lick a stone (cf. anta sucker, VI -- 5, b (2), Note 73), they think that these animals are besotted because they have spent a night of dances and orgies.

They likewise explain that the piracema /school of fish/ is a large concentration of fish solemnizing a caxirí.

/264/ There is a species of white vulpídeos with some black feathers and called "baaró" (known also by the regional name of "tesoura" /Muscivora tyrannus/), which at certain times appear in flocks looking for worms. Being light in weight and having abundant

/277 cont./

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[821]

He believes that the clouds reveal the sicknesses to him, as well as other facts which are of interest to the group or to the individuals. He subjects the students to tests of ability. He sends them to observe the clouds and to give the interpretation, and he corrects them. -- "That form of cloud represents a woman and not a man, it represents a child and not an adult. It is not this part that is sick, but that other one."

/278/ He already sees beforehand that the sickness is incurable, and, thus, when he is called, he refuses to go, and he will say to his disciples: --"Let us not go to give treatments, it is useless, he is going to die."

When he foresees the cure, he then goes to the patient's house and makes the diagnosis, saying whether the cause of the pains is Õxtĩ, Waxkarí, or Uhá-phĩ. The elimination of these foreign bodies that cause the pains is the first condition for the cure. He achieves it with deep suctions, repeated three or four times, done directly over the ailing organ, intermingled also with singing, groaning, and exorcisms.

He does not fail to give advice to the patient, for a prompt recovery or in order to avoid a relapse. Among these counsels the informant cited: "to abstain from the abuse of sexual relations."

The rest of the treatment is under the care of the Kõmũ (about whom we shall speak later), according to the prescriptions of the pajé. It is done with blowings, invocations, or conjurations. These are old formulas, whose meaning they do not know nowadays, and they vary according to the cause of the sickness. The Komũ, having between his hands the cuia of mingau which the patient is going to drink, when the sickness is caused by Waxkarí located in the organism, utters a conjuration that begins with the words -- "Yára-páruri-yĩvi."

Minutes afterwards the patient begins to feel better, and the cure will come later.

/280 cont./

756 the vengeance is likewise wreaked against them (32).

32. Some assert that poison cannot be administered to the pajé. "He sees even from far away." This belief is advantageous to the pajés. It seems, nevertheless, that, at least nowadays, not everyone endorses it. In October of 1946, a native from Ipanuré died of pneumonia. They attributed the sickness and death to the pajé from the neighboring povoado of Cigarro. When this pajé, with some persons from his povoado, were given the job of transporting some of our luggage through the varadouro /open passage through the forest/ of the cachoeira of Ipanuré, the Indians of this locality abandoned the work, hid in the forest [illegible] when the pajé passed by on the road, o[illegible] men from Ipanuré gave him a blow with a stick, which he avoided, turning his head and covering it with his arm, which was broken at the elbow and forearm.

[753]

His presence in the vicinity of a povoado at night, when he goes to do his fishing, is always suspicious. If after one of his visits to /281/ some maloca (especially of another tribe) some death or misfortune happens there, the pajé will be blamed (33).

33. In a maloca of Jandú, on the igarapé Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié, shortly before our passing through there (December of 1947), lightning had struck. The pajé, who had threatened to hurl a bolt of lightning there, was blamed for the misfortune.

[821]

[627] Some pajés have found themselves obliged to abandon the povoados and stay away for a long time, until the anger against them had lessened.

/283 cont./

756 In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their
• 821 power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike.
They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another,
[797] stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauareté the first large
pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a
storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great
fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later
the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring
the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who
had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and
his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon
the one who lived in Iauareté.

755 Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955)
756 makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their
own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her
[115] uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian
bank of the river Papurí. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour
water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the
ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense
made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary
criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of
pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patricia: --"My
niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that
is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right,
[177] he will be punished." Would this be the concept of a judgment
after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle,
the young woman added: -- "When the patient has a headache,
the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of
Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once
again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the
xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komũ, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and
the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing
process of the pajés.

/334 cont./

771 e) Cult practices.

1) Local cult (litobolia).

There are no temples, that is, buildings solely dedicated to the deity, where the religious functions are performed. Nor has it been reported that there is any private cult or individual worship of the deity, ceremonies, prayers, unless as cult one understands some practices that seem to us magical, such as litobolia.

823 They treat some places with respect and fear; this is
• 821 tabooism. One does not see there, however, manifestations of cult, individual or social. Such are, for example, some cachoeiras and stones. And about them, in general, they tell interesting legends. They do not allow stones to be taken from such cachoeiras (35),

[797] [753]

35. The Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch thought of dynamiting the cachoeira of Parí-cachoeira, in order to facilitate navigation. The local population became agitated, and the tuxaua Julio came to advise him not to do it, because otherwise fevers and sickness would come. The Bishop judged it more expedient not to go against the opinion of the Indians. Brother Mateo (of the Congregation of Montfort), at one of these rocks of the cachoeira of the thunder, Bũxpó-pweá, of the igarapé Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, removed a fine splinter, in order to extract a little honey. One of the Indians warned him that he should not do that, because "lightning will strike." And, to his great surprise, lightning did strike at some distance, when absolutely nothing indicated it; it was really "un fulmine a ciel sereno" /a bolt of lightning in a clear sky/. They

/334 cont./

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/footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the population of Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés, as the consequence of having taken a stone from the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahũ-gã-pweá, actually located some hundreds of kilometers away, on the river Papurí.

asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

[227]
[501]

36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

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[103]

/335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," pixkõ-rõ-ỹa, headwaters of the Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a rock that a woman should not see; if she looks at this rock, she will never have children. And when they go by this place, the women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

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[103]
*[192]

In Jabutí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock called nõ'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxké-sã-i'ãsé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will easily learn any trade.

/364 cont./

789 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in
824 order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'téa) fish.

*[192] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the
[226] face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.
[832]

The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many
291 practices and prescriptions:

1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger;
• 821 if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away Wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small wood-
825 pecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clear-
*[192] ing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tĩrosa (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/388 cont./

831 Confirming this opinion is, first, the fact that the relations
833 during the caxiri must take place on the ground, outside the maloca (122),

> 122. When they are more intoxicated and excited, they also violate this custom, relations taking place even inside the maloca. So reported some of the natives.

and that in some tribes the woman must first kiss the ground; whereas the ordinary relations take place inside the maloca and in the hammock.

[241] Another confirmation of this sacred character, it seems to
[835] us, is the opinion that they regard as good and recommended the relations, even incestuous ones, when the women go to the clearing. The relations are even compulsory when it is a matter of a new clearing to which the woman is going for the first time.

[821] Finally, the religious character of the public incestuous
[835] relations is further documented by the circumstance of their indication on the occasion of the new moon and lunar eclipses.

One can conclude, then, that sexual liberties in these cir-
831 cumstances, incestuous or not, have the character of a rite in connection with /389/ the fertility of the soil and of nature in general. We have, thus, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the notion and practice of the intichiuma, which is also in force among other human groups, that is, sexual liberties are magic ceremonies in order to guarantee the reproduction of the animal or vegetable nature. They are, by the way, very common practices, proclaiming lunar beliefs and cults of matriarchalist origin.

And they constitute, in turn, proof of the religious character of their feasts.

*192 /402 cont./
535 It also consists of several parts, the principal ones are: sawároa baxsá (song-dance of the water lizard); ahĩ-a baxsá (song-dance of the beijú); ki baxsá (song-dance of the mandioca).

3rd Dance -- with the maracá, yaxsã. It is called pwá baxsá (pwá is the name of a fish that the Wanãna call fiĩxkwãna in their idiom). All the men, from the beginning to the end of this long dance, shake the maracá continually and rhythmically with the right hand (the left one holds his own lady by the shoulder, and the latter embraces him by the waist). They also rhythmically sound a whistle of two tubes, which they will let hang from the neck when they must sing. It is the most interesting number of the native dances that we have attended. They first do a movement outside in the yard, then they enter the house, and, after a few minutes of choreography inside, they again go to the dance yard. There is an evolution in a row, which little by little closes into a circle, which now becomes tighter, now larger. At a given moment the pairs of dancers, each man with his lady, are arranged in a column turned toward the east, later in the opposite direction, toward the west. Thus arranged in a column, the last pair goes zigzagging between the other pairs, from the penultimate one to the first one, as if they were sewing. They explained that it is the "dance of the harvest of the caroá" (fiber that is used as fishing line). When their evolution is finished, the last pair returns to their initial position, and then the pair from the other end, that is, the first one, does the same stitching and returns to their position. It falls, now, to the penultimate pair to do the movement, and then to the second one, and thus all the pairs pass by, in turn, performing the stitching or the harvest of the caroá. During this they vibrate only the whistles and the maracá. At other times during this dance there is also singing.

4th Dance -- called "Bwá of the night," because night has
• [821] already fallen. They again go out, as homage to the night and to the moon, /403/ muhĩ-pũ (said Tomás Paiva). The tunes vary for these songs, all of which are composed of several parts, with many repetitions.

/431 cont./

553 through life, as they have protected and accompanied his parents
782 and grandparents, who never failed to provide what is due the
[562] mothers of things. The litany is not short, and they spend hours in the invocation, made in a loud voice, but without accompaniment on the part of those attending, who, seated on the seats, in the hammocks, on the ground, wherever they can, fill the house, and drink cachiry, which is served abundantly by the women, who are in the kitchen and come only for this service. When the sun reaches the highest point, that is, at midday, the officiants, who remained smoking and drinking silently since the first invocation ended, start again. The third invocation begins about two hours before sunset; but then there are already found in the house not only the men, but also all the women and all the children, and everyone repeats in loud voices the name of each mother of things
[821] that the three elders invoke. The child who is to receive the name is left to play as it wishes in the middle of the room with the other children, if there are any, and when the last ray of the sun is about to disappear, the pagé, who with the child's father and the oldest relative has come out of the little room where he spent the day, holds it in his arms and, presenting it to the sun in such a way as to make it receive the last rays, says the name, and this is then
551 repeated by everyone in loud voices. The name that the child
553 receives is often the name which one of the grandparents already bore or some other name which might be pleasing at the moment, and this especially if it is a matter of the chief's child. Many times, however, the child's name is chosen and given to it in consideration of the object that it was holding at the moment when the pagé held it to present it to the sun, to the gesture that it made, to the word that it said, because then it is as if the sun itself /432/ had given it the name. This, then, explains how in many cases, when one looks for the meaning of the native names, one has the surprise of finding the most foolish meanings."

[177] It is observed at present that, even before the baptism, besides the Baxséke Wamẽ given by the pagé, it receives another Christian name, or, better, a name which the civilized customarily use. In general they are not called by name, except by this Christian name.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



852 831 [887] [614] task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen [881] [833] [844] intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, [821] a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not [881] yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be 881 secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, [514] through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she [826] will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To [515] develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that [302] creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me [515] see how much pain you can stand."

[302] At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is [574] held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

114 When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them 881 she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. 756 Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father 881 Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

881 After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[3] She is also known as *nomínyaivi* (becoming a woman).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe. 841 [833] [828] [758]

Menstrual blood (*hivé*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her. 826 841 821 [828]

## SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy. 836 835 [838] [775] [867] [626]

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis. 838

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Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *aiyá*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

## POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1949, p. 25), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

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769 move against other powers or forces. That is to say, the Cubeo know
771 that growth, potency, and fertility are part of the ordinary scheme of things and that there is no force conspiring against such ordinary developments. The *Bekûpwãnwa* are not thought of as jealous, sensitive, threatening, or likely to take offense. It is noteworthy, too, that the emphasis in growth is upon the individual far more than it is upon the more abstract concept of sib. The Ancients will not guard the people against any unexpected dangers. To guard against menace, whether general or specific, there are specific measures that the sibmen themselves must take.

771 All other anthropomorphic beings in the Cubeo cosmos are either
776 menacing, mischievous, or harmless. Menace from supernaturals, however, is relatively moderate, not to be minimized but lacking in dread. The only menace that truly frightens the Cubeo is that which they attribute to persons.

776 The *abûhuwa* are cannibalistic forest monsters, the bogy men of the children. At the mourning ceremonies they are made to appear grotesque and absurd and hence harmless. There are many stories of human encounters with *abûhuwa* as ogres. In most, the *abûhuwa* are overcome. They can be outwitted, caught, and killed.

The story is told of an old woman alone in the maloca with two young children. *Abûhuwa* entered the house and the children were able to escape by climbing up to the house beams. But the old woman was caught. An *abûhukû* rolled her between his palms until she became all soft and he sucked her out from the top of the head in the way a Cubeo child eats a banana. He hung her skin over the branch of a tree. When the others of the maloca returned they saw an *abûhuwa* family within. They set capsicum afire at the door of the house and as the *abûhuwa* sought to escape its acrid smoke, that is noxious to all unwanted spirits, they struck them down with clubs and killed them all.

Another tale is told of a hunter who, in the woods at night, was seized by the throat from behind. It was an *abûhukû*. He struggled with it and killed it with a knife. In the morning he went to see it and it had taken the form of a sloth. *Abûhuwa*, it is said, are all very
[754] hairy. Their armpit hair makes a very potent sorcery "poison." Any man who is bold enough may seize an *abûhukû* and tear his armpit
• [821] hair. It is said that the ogre can be seized only when the moon is in eclipse or is red and low in the sky. The hair must be from the left armpit and can be cut only with a corn husk. It is cooked until reduced to ash, and then is mixed with water and allowed to dry to a paste in the sun. The paste is kept in a small gourd dish sealed with

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776 mythical fish with a mouth that has the lower jaw of the puño and
825 an upper jaw shaped like the beak of a parrot. Should a menstruant enter a canoe he will break it to bits. The Cubeo do not say that their fish ceremenials are for the purpose of promoting success in fishing. Their view rather is that when they are happy with a catch of fish they enjoy dancing with them. Increase magic may underlie the Cubeo relationship with fish. But if it does they either no longer recognize the instrumental motive or else they refuse to acknowledge it.

825 As with the *Bekûpwānwa*, the Cubeo relationship with the animal
771 world is largely one of establishing proper social relationships. In such relationships compulsion is out of place. In the animist world view of the Cubeo the entire animal world is communicant with the world of man. Some relationships, as has been noted, are dangerous, and therefore stand out in a special category. Among the dangerous relationships is that of the jaguar. Since the jaguar is identified with the shaman, it is more suitably discussed under the heading of shamanism. There are birds, such as a parrot called *bauwéko* and marúku monkeys, who are feared because they are foretellers of misfortune. For the rest, and with the exceptions noted previously, the relationship between man and the animal world is casual and friendly. On the river, as we have already observed, the Indians address birds and fish by name. Their intense interest in domesticating animals of almost every variety as household pets must also be considered as part of the effort at communication of a concrete form.

825 The birds, *miwa*, are friendly spirits. They emerged, it is said,
776 from Uaracapuri with the Ancients and were originally in human form. The birds are the planters of fruits and berries and are their
[273] guardian spirits. They are appropriately at the same time the guard-
[532] ian spirits of intoxication, a bird with a corn-cob body and wings of
[765] a manioc tray fragment presiding in that capacity over the *óyne*.

The luminary *aryá*, who is both sun and moon, is a more distant
776 anthropomorphic spirit.[1] The Cubeo interest is in the moon, the li-
•821

[1] The doctrine of *aryá* as both sun and moon is mythological only. It does not mean that the Cubeo do not distinguish clearly between these two bodies. *Aryá* refers to the anthropomorphic being whose activities are actually in moon form; it refers also to direction. East is called by the Cubeo *aryádaino* (*aryá* [the sun] is coming). West correspondingly is expressed as "*aryá* is going." To express time, however, the sun is referred to by the particular name of *handwūkekū*, an anthropomorphic form that has, however, no anthropomorphic connotation to my knowledge. *Handwū* refers to time in the abstract, while *handwū korika* (sun in the center) means "midday." All specific times are given by describing the position of the sun in the sky. The word for "day" or "daylight" is *hánan* and is apparently based upon the verb root *ha* (to see). The Cubeo disclaim any anthro-

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776
bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is 821
merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *ovyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies [796] are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as [754] potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaíbo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *ovyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits 821
of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is [775] dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the [763] eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

## HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[3] 774
As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the [828] dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so [761] cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, [753] journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard 775
talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual [756] friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

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pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *ovyá* form. [776] [821]

[3] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédde* (pulse) and *umédde* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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778 of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

[192] [193]

778 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known
756 as *pariékoků* (man of power) or as *yaví* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékoků* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yaví* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every
[554] *yaví* is a *pariékoků* but not every *pariékoků* is a *yaví*. The *yaví* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékoků* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékoků*, but *yavís* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yaví* and the *pariékoků*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékoků*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parůků*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an
778 exceptional act it is his *parůků*, it is said, that enabled him to do it.
756 The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleas-
● 821 antly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of
823 the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural
789 causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Sha-
778 manistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Gener-
756 ally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding,
787 in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman
825 on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

756 Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the
778 shamans wage against one another. A *yaví*, I was told, has a different
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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kuriâkû* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kûria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kûria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the instructions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kûria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*duwaiyo*) and crystals (*kenâdox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *duwaitûwû* (to extract spines). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the poisons that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *yuwi*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *yuwi*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted

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25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 286 301 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú, tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 291 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

177 291 The new generation, both of the female and male sex, which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

/169 cont./

*192 It is to be noted that in the Tukano language (46)

• 822

46. And not only the Tukano, but also the other idioms of the Uaupés (Tukano linguistic family) and of the Caburí use the same term for the colors red and yellow, and another for green and blue.

there is only one term, soãse, to indicate orange, red and yellow, and another, ya'sasé, for green and blue, although they distinguish not only the seven simple colors, but also the intermediate ones.

533 534 As for the music, although not favored with a voice, since he generally has a shrill one, the taste and the relative ease with which he learns the songs with one or more voices are to be noted. Their dance songs, although they are monotonous and sad, are very harmonious, and the motifs that they execute on their flutes are quite varied and pleasant. Endowed, so to speak, with the musical instinct, the child learns the rhythm and the steps of the traditional dances with the greatest facility, without schooling, watching and dancing. *[192] Even the children are capable of preparing their flutes, even those called de Pã or caríço, as well as small organs of six to ten tubes, corresponding to the musical notes and harmonizing their various musical instruments perfectly. /Page 170 in the original text is blank./

/329 cont./

776 a) Wãx-tĩ or Jurupari (23).

[115]

23. The young Tukano Casimiro Sampaio gave (1949) this contradictory information: "The Wãx-tĩ live in society. They make noise. They do not appear. They do not do any harm. /The final quotation marks are missing./ This subject about the spirits will be more fully developed in the book "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/."

He lives in the interior of the forests, in the darkest places and in the abandoned huts. He appears, however, even in the malocas, in the form of a black man, hairy, ugly, covered with ashes. A Tukano informant (Doroteia Brito) said that: "When he makes himself seen in some house, it is a sign of sicknesses that will come. He likes to strangle chickens. When the broad hen makes noise, it is because Wãx-tĩ moved it." At any noise that they hear in the house or in the forest, they immediately think of Wãx-tĩ. A strange animal that they see, a figure, it must be he, and they yell, full of fear.

*[192] [822] They attribute the echo, axká-keoãrõ, to Wãx-tĩ, who is imitating some sound. It seems to them on many occasions that they hear in the noises of the forest and the cachoeiras, and in the whispering of the winds, faraway echoes of the songs and dances performed by Wãx-tĩ.

It is to be noted that Wãx-tĩ is not an individual; there are many of them; rather it is an entire class. Among them one par excellence, who would be the principal one. This one, especially in the origin of the nation, did them much harm: he stole the children, impregnated their women, and did other evil things to them, killed the men, etc. Tired, finally, of their /the next line in the original source properly belongs on the next page and is repeated there; it is therefore omitted here in the translation/ yoke, because, besides so many bad things, he forced them into tasks and very difficult demonstrations, the men got

773 776

*539 /116 cont./
that you can go to your land, to the east." And Yepá Huáke
*539 performed a miracle so that the land would appear, because
•823 before this there had not been any land either. And on this land Yepá Huáke made the trees. And afterwards Yepá Huáke performed another miracle, and that land went down under this world. And that is why under this land there is a river that is called Uamedia. And Yepá Huáke performed another miracle so that the land on which we live would appear. And Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Have your city underneath the land, on the second land, like a kind of tunnel, just as there are cafés in Bogotá and stores in Bogotá."

Then Yepá Huáke left Diaojpekowí to smoke tobacco, and when he had smoked the tobacco, he blew. And Yepá Huáke smoked tobacco, blew to the north, to the south, to the east, and to the west, and the land appeared for all the world. And upon this land appeared all of nature. Then Yepá Huáke made the seas, and he surrounded the land of all the world with these seas. Then Yepá Huáke made another sea that formed the Vaupés, Negro, and Amazon rivers. Yepá Huáke left Diaojpekowí.

*539 A large boat appeared in Diaojpekowí, and this boat was a gũío. And first Yúpuri Baúro went aboard this boat, and second Siópuri Uejké went aboard, and the Alemán was located to the east. And there they separated. Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baúro arrived at Diatabujtiwí, a maloca of white straw. They went in and went out again, looking at the lands. They boarded the boat of the gũío again and continued going up the rivers. They arrived at Diamajamirawí. Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baúro went up to the sky again. Yúpuri Baúro found a special stick that sounds like a bell, /117/ and the Tukano still have sticks like that. And that stick was for measuring time, to see where the country of Ereya was. They came down from the sky to Diamajamirawí again. They went aboard the boat of the gũío again and continued going up the rivers. And they arrived at Diatumurawí. They arrived there and landed and entered and were there a short while only looking at the maloca. They left Diatumurawí and

/116 cont./

*101 14th. -- Simyõ pẽru põná (caxirí of uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/), in Teresita (Papurí) and Itapinima (Uaupés)

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15th. -- Yaxpé putiná (?) or yai buxtiná (white onça /jaguar/), in S. Antônio (Tiquié)
16th. -- Búyaka põná (sumaúma /tree/), on the river Papurí
17th. -- Teáburu põná (a fruit), in Floresta (Tiquié)
18th. -- Mahãñana põná (an edible caterpillar), on the river Papurí
19th. -- Mõneá põna (carapanã /large, long-legged gnat/), in Umarí-igarapé (50)

50. Would it perhaps be the Karapanã tribe, which they consider more intimately connected with the Desana? Actually a Karapanã group exists on the headwaters of the stream Uamarí or Umarí-igarapé.

20th. -- Minumú põná (swallow), on the headwaters of the Papurí
21st. -- Mixpínya põná (açaí /assai palm/), in Turí-igarapé and Montfort (Papurí)
• [823] 22nd. -- Way-goberi põná (canal with fish) (51),

51. The natives affirm that there is a subterranean canal between the Papurí and the Tiquié, through which, says the legend, the first fish moved to the Tiquié.

in Piracuára and Montfort (Papurí)
23rd. -- Kúperi põná (?), in Tucunaré (Papurí); only one woman survives, mother of Sabino Paíva from Iuquira (Uaupés)
24th. -- Poetẽna or Po'yaxtẽna (a plant), in Po-yá igarapé
[554] 25th. -- Óiwa ánikma (bat), on the river Papurí; they are the pariahs.

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/255 cont./

/footnote 7 cont./ had gone about four hundred meters, a characteristic cry, which seemed to us more like the chirping of some bird, was heard. The Tukano who came along with us as oarsmen interpreted at once: "It is the tuxaua who is calling in order to return the machete." Truly the tuxaua was waiting for us with the machete, which was returned to its legitimate owner.

On several occasions, as we navigated the headwaters of the rivers or the igarapés, Indians who were in the interior of the forest and heard the noise of the oars exchanged whistles with our oarsmen, who afterwards would give us detailed information: who they were, if they were hunting, picking fruits, looking for caraná, or cutting lumber. It is to be noted that we never heard the Indian humming his songs or whistling for mere diversion.

[533]

/256/ 2. Sciences.

a) Geography -- Topography.

823
[153]

Their geographic notions of the region are not very numerous, but they are accurate. It is difficult to distinguish what they know through individual experience, through tribal tradition, or through the influence of the civilized whom they consult, because, endowed with an excellent memory, they retain the information that they receive, like that which they learn visually.

/256 cont./

• 823 They admit a legendary origin of many cachoeiras, rivers, streams, islands, canals, stones, mountains, forests, etc. As an example: for the ancients a legendary stone of the cachoeira of Uaracapá (river Papurí) was a banana tree, although it did not resemble such a plant in any way. In a stone called precisely Cabeça-de-anta /Head-of-tapir/ (cachoeira of Tapira-jirau, upper Uaupés) the natives see the snout of an anta and one of their legends explains its origin. They assert that from Piracuara, on the river Papurí, comes a subterranean canal that connects this river to the Tiquié, a little above the cachoeira of Pari. The legends say that it was through this canal that the first fish passed from the former river to the latter one. What is observed at that point of the Tiquié is a deep place where a small jet of waters of infiltration flows, as also happens in other places and rivers (cf. III, Note 17).

Their topographic memory is commendable; they not only identify by name the povoados and malocas that they pass, but also the rivers, igarapés, points, etc. Even more, they know how many turns and points of the rivers are to come before one arrives at a certain place. It seems, however, that this concept of turn (mahamñé), stretch (kusá), or point (ñõá) is different from ours, or, who knows, might be somewhat subjective. We verified many times that they did not correspond to the number that they indicated to us, a mistake perhaps attributable to their lack of knowledge of mathematics.

*[192]

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484 As for the sharp sense of direction of the natives in the forest, or their topographic sense, which has been praised so much, it seems to
• 823 be the fruit of poetic imagination, if it is generalized for the tribes of the Caiarí. They know very well the rivers and forests that they frequent; however, they do not risk going very far into the forest. They tell of various episodes in which they were lost in the forest. And, in order for this not to happen, they avail themselves of the expedient of breaking branches, all in the same direction, as they draw
[171] away from the usual paths. The Makú live in the interior of the forests, are hunters, and therefore orient themselves better. It is to be pointed out, however, that they are seminomadic and always travel in groups.

b) Mathematics.

*192 The natives have different names for the first five numbers and
802 distinguish the masculine, feminine, and neuter (thing), to wit:

| Number | Masculine | Feminine | Neuter |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | nikã, nikõ | nikõ | niká |
| 2 | põãra, põana | põãra, põana | põã, pôáro |
| 3 | i'tyãra, i'tyãna | i'tyãra, i'tyãna | i'tyá, I'tyáro |
| 4 | ba'pári-tĩra | ba'pári-tĩra | ba'pári-tise |
| (Uaupés) | bapári-tĩna | ba'pári-tĩna | |
| 5 | niká-mũköra | niká-mũköra | niká-mũköse |
| (Uaupés) | niká-mũköna | niká-mũköna | |

It should be noted that Niká-mũkõ̃ra, properly speaking, means one hand. And ordinarily they prefer to indicate the number of fingers (2, 3, etc.) rather than pronounce the numbers. From five on, all of them, practically, are content to show the corresponding number of fingers. The more intelligent ones know how to count up to twenty, using the fingers of the hands and the toes. They no longer know how to count numbers higher than twenty.

*192 Properly speaking they do not have measures of extension or
804 length. They speak of sẽẽrõ̃ (sẽẽnõ̃), nikáti sẽẽrõ̃, the breadth of the arm span or the two open arms, põãti sẽẽrõ̃, two arm-spans, etc.; a step, yeraró, nikáti yeraró, one step; a handspan, wamũ-ka keoró or wamũ-pama-keoró, niká pama, one handspan, põã wamũ-ka-keoró, two handspans, ba'páritise wamũ-ka-peosé, four handspans.

/257 cont./

804 As a practical means for their calculations, they will even make a small stick the size of an arm span or a handspan; they are, nevertheless, individual and casual measurements.

797 The arithmetic tables already consitute a serious difficulty for
872 the school children, in spite of being a mere question of memory.
803 Those of better progress do not manage to perform the four operations after /258/ three or four years of attending school. And one notices in all great difficulty in solving the simplest problem in mathematics.

804 It seems that it is equally difficult for them to estimate time,
805 as well as distance and area; thus, they are apt to answer that the length of a room is three kilometers and the course of a river, one hundred meters.

c) Astronomy -- Cosmography.

1) The world.

*192 According to their conceptions, the earth, Di'tá, is a plain
• 823 covered by a regular and solid spherical calotte, which is called Õ'mã-se (high thing), the sky, with four doors /Port. portas, doors, gates/ corresponding to the four cardinal points, through which the waters of the rivers escape. If these doors were to be closed, the waters would flood the lands and drown all humanity. (Cf. the Legend of the snake Sẽ, p.)

[821] They differentiate the clouds into oxkó-kururí, the nimbi, and o'mẽ-kurúri, cirri.

They call the cardinal points "porta" /door, gate/, Soxpé, and designate them as follows: East, Síro-ká-soxpé (back door); West, Pó'té-ká-soxpé (front door, to wit, of the river); South, Kũ'pé-ká-soxpé (left door, from which the Uaupés rises); North, Dyakõ-ká-soxpé (right door).

2) Heavenly bodies and stars.

*192 They do not know how to explain how the stars, Yõxkõá, were
821 formed. All the constellations, however, have a legendary origin. They even assert that the sun, the moon, and the stars are people, Maxsã, according to their legends. As confirmation, it is to be

4: Silva--473 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 321 in the original source/

*192
501
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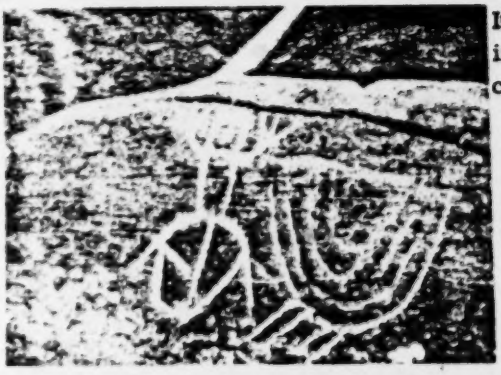
Burial in the canoe (juxkõ-sõ-koro)

532



Itacoatiara (rupestrian inscription) in Carurú-cachoeira (river Tiquié)

• 823

Mandú, the Ipeka tuxaua from Urubucuara (Uaupés R.) and his son beside the hole from which the tribes arose (cf. Lendas do Uaupés). The mound in the background (left) is supposed to have resulted from the spit of wãx-tĩ.

/334 cont./

771

e) Cult practices.

1) Local cult (litobolia).

There are no temples, that is, buildings solely dedicated to the deity, where the religious functions are performed. Nor has it been reported that there is any private cult or individual worship of the deity, ceremonies, prayers, unless as cult one understands some practices that seem to us magical, such as litobolia.

• 823
821

They treat some places with respect and fear; this is tabooism. One does not see there, however, manifestations of cult, individual or social. Such are, for example, some cachoeiras and stones. And about them, in general, they tell interesting legends. They do not allow stones to be taken from such cachoeiras (35),

[797]
[753]

35. The Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch thought of dynamiting the cachoeira of Parí-cachoeira, in order to facilitate navigation. The local population became agitated, and the tuxaua Julio came to advise him not to do it, because otherwise fevers and sickness would come. The Bishop judged it more expedient not to go against the opinion of the Indians. Brother Mateo (of the Congregation of Montfort), at one of these rocks of the cachoeira of the thunder, Bũxpó-pweã, of the igarapé Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, removed a fine splinter, in order to extract a little honey. One of the Indians warned him that he should not do that, because "lightning will strike." And, to his great surprise, lightning did strike at some distance, when absolutely nothing indicated it; it was really "un fulmine a ciel sereno" /a bolt of lightning in a clear sky/. They

/334 cont./

• 823
821
[753]

/footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the population of Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés, as the consequence of having taken a stone from the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahũ-gã-pweá, actually located some hundreds of kilometers away, on the river Papurí.

asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

[227]
[501]

36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

784
823
[103]

/335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," pixkõ-rõ-ỹa, headwaters of the Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a rock that a woman should not see; if she looks at this rock, she will never have children. And when they go by this place, the women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

823
[103]
*[192]

In Jabutí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock called nõ'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxké-sã-i'ãsé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will easily learn any trade.

/335 cont./

• 823 [103]

They likewise believe that the taking of a bath, be it men or women, in the pothole of Tõpa-duri, that is, of the cachoeira of Urubucuara, where the tribes came out (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"), would guarantee them an early marriage.

It does not seem, then, that these caves, rocks, igarapés, interiors of the forest should be regarded as sacred spots of the cult. Rather, on the contrary, they would be "tabooed" places and objects. Nor would the fruits and rocks that are thrown be a form of cult, that called Itobolia. Rather they seem to us to be manifestations of magic and tabooism.

823 532

An old Missionary stated that some Indians, while going by those rocks that bear crude figures (37)

37. These are the petroglyphic signs or rupestrian inscriptions common on the rivers of Amazonas, especially the Rio Negro and its tributaries. A diligent study of these inscriptions was done by B. A. da Silva Ramos, under the title "Inscrições e Tradições da América Pré-histórica /Inscriptions and Traditions of Prehistoric America/," -- Imprensa Oficial, Río de Janeiro, 1930. We do not find engraved anthropomorphic representations. Koch G. 50 years ago saw sculptures of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic ones, among the Kubewana and Wanana (cf. Note 49, VII-3, b (8) /see Note 50, VII-3, b (2)/). We discovered only one, as human heads on the supports of a trocano /signal drum/. They did not look like idols, however, but only decorations and were of recent fabrication (1947).

of animals or of strange beings, with long and skeletal arms and

/335 cont./
823 legs (38),
532

38. One of these drawings is seen on a rock of the Carurú-cachoeira, river Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

prodigious belly, enormous head, would look with dread and say in a low voice: Wãx-tĩ As if these representations were a perpetuation, in granite, of the memory of the terrible and feared monster. We have never witnessed any of these demonstrations of fear. Sometimes we have approached such petroglyphs and summoned near /336/ some Indians, and they have always appeared indifferent to such drawings. Moreover, we have found similar figures on the bark walls of huts and malocas, and, moreover, we have seen children draw them on the ground with a stick, and, therefore, without any semblance of religiousness.

764 It can, then, be affirmed that there is no indication of an
782 individual cult. There is, nevertheless, a social cult to be dis-
881 cussed, which is realized in the maloca and its immediate surroundings. There are principally three manifestations of this social cult: the offering of the first fruits or dabacurís, the puberty initiation, and the funeral. All three of which a spiritual communion, tightening the solidarity of the group.

782 2) Religious feasts with offering of the first fruits.
796 Their Poosé are religious feasts, in our opinion (39),
[192]

39. An opinion that we have expressed since 1947 and that recently (1954) we verified to be also that of Koch Grünberg, who (Z. I. 372, and passim) distinguishes, moreover, religious dances and profane dances. Koch, nevertheless, accepts the translation demônio /demon/ for Wãx-tĩ, and even for other personages of the native legends.

and were called by the first explorers, with a term from the Língua

/356 cont./

*192 776 c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wá:kõ?

In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wá:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we [178] were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wá:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67),

[823] 67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water.
775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not.
776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ.
And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons,
756 and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as
829 inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3) ). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ.
[825] They say about a nocturnal bird, called urukã-tutú, due to the
*[192] similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp, because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of
*[192] a deceased civilized person, pexkã-sã wẽ'ri Wã-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

/361 cont./

776 b) Tamanduaí is a locality situated on the bank of the
• 823 Rio Negro, in an elevated position, with the bank forming a barrier or slope. They affirm that in the vicinity of this point, but deep in the water, is located the city of the wai maxsã.

776 They tell that, a few years ago, a woman lived on the
539 bank opposite Tamanduaí. Soon after delivery, against the
823 traditional prescriptions, she cooked and ate cará /yams, Dioscorea/. Later, upon going to the landing place, she saw there a young man, who asked her: -- Why are you there ? -- I want to go away, the woman said to him, because my husband is very rough and often hits me. -- Come with me, the man invited her. And he took her into the water. There, in the depths, she saw that there was a large city with pretty houses, factories of thirst (!) /Port. fábricas de sêde/, and also gardens and forest. She stayed there, living with this young man. On a certain day, she told him: -- I am longing for my son, I am going to get him. The young man took her out of the water. She was covered with algae. She washed herself well, went to her own house, prepared milk (!) for the son. Then the husband asked her: -- Where have you been all this time? It has been a week since you went away. She, however, did not answer him. On the following day she took her child and went to the landing place, went into the river, and did not return again. She remained as wife of the young wai maxsã man.

c) We further heard another episode told about Tamanduaí. A young man from the Uaupés, settled in Tamanduaí (and there are many who, /362/ searching for better lands, leave the Uaupés and go to settle in this region of the Rio Negro), left one day to go fishing. He was going down along a large beach. At a certain moment he saw, at the edge of the nearby forest, a very pretty hammock, and, sitting in the hammock, a blonde girl, very beautiful, with a child in her arms and singing in order to put the child to sleep. The youth paid attention to the harmonious song and could hear that is said: -- "I am

776 /362 cont./
539 going away to my land, it is so beautiful... nothing is lacking
• 823 there"..., etc. He looked closely and saw that the cords of the hammock were sucuruju /anaconda/. At night the blonde girl appeared to him in a dream and told him: -- "Today I sang for you, and it did not please you."

776 d) Near Bela-Vista, on the river Uaupés, an alumna of
787 the Mission of Taracuá dreamed at night that she had amorous relations with a young man. Then in the morning, when she went to take a bath, she saw close to her a blowing bouto, throwing itself about in the water, agitating it, and wanting to have relations with her. The young woman also heard shots under the ground, smelled the perfume that the "bouto" youths use. She even felt a desire to go to live with the boutos forever.

776 5. /sic/; e)/ -- Patrícia Vasconcelos tells that her grand-
[115] mother was still a young woman when she went looking for turtle
[222] eggs on a beach near Pinú-pinu (river Uaupés) with other girl companions, among them one who had just finished the puberty initiation rite. They started to dig in the sand and found many eggs. At a certain point, however, the sand started to sink with a great noise, and the newly initiated girl disappeared. A little later the sand reappeared. The mother of the maiden who had disappeared went to look for her, shouted everywhere, but the
*[192] maiden never returned. The poor mother then understood that the waĩ maxsã had stolen her daughter: "waĩ maxsã mĩã-wapã yõõ maxkõ-rẽ, the fish people came to get my daughter."

2) Magic practices.

823 a) Places. -- There are places (the most remote parts of the forests, caves, headwaters of the igarapés) where they should never go. If by chance they pass in the vicinity of these places, they will turn their faces to the opposite side.

There is a lake below the Ira-igarapé (middle Uaupés); the old ones did not look at it, in order not to have a weak and whining child.

/362 cont./

823 In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?). If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not [784] look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a flat head.

825 One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because, without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

823 There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí, near the mouth of the stream Cuiú-cuiú, called Bará õxtã. If a young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and *[192] will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion of the cipo called yõx'kwá-dá (star cipo).

[103] Below the "island of the cuiubí," in the cachoeira of the Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Ã'á-fiõá (point of the louse), there is a rock called muhi-pũ õxtã (rock of the sun or of [782] the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there, deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering, presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro (agitation of the waters by the winds).

754 There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé) in the road or in the clearing:

*[192] 1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick; it is the yuxkõ dohó-kõ; the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361 241
household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial 462
purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351
entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361
kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562
staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622]
for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and
for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist
that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [178]
plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755]
medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear
plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521]
of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards,
and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip.
During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests
are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351
a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361
vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562
an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574
realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made
this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was
received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as
he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361
a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562
the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823
of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614]
Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534]
edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, [515]
to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833]
women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842]
But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621
high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512
of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing
that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahúhiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361
tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241
462

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621 614 582 571 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

## THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 614 554 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, [823] the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish [146] being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals [224] are hunted along the river banks.

The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward 361 the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers 823 are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source [103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of 361 sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear 614 economic value of the river — hunting as well as fishing — the Cubeo 615 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hũrũwd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiari River and belongs more properly on the Querari. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiari phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahikiwa*. But the *Hũrũwd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

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501 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke
516 are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been over-
[461] come the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oarsman's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a
501 long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spon-
461 taneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!"
501 On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about
517 two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying
[123] some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why didn't you shoot them?"

501 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of
462 steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys, each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are
[857] in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of balance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

502 All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the
[823] canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided because of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline. Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push. High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

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# 2

# *Economic Life*

## ECOLOGICAL SETTING

The Northwest Amazon region abuts on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Oriental and has an average elevation of some 200–300 meters. Many of its rivers flow quickly and the terrain generally lacks the flat and swampy character of the lowland Amazonian rain forest. The headwaters of the Cuduiari are within the territory of the Cubeo and apparently arise in a high savannah, an eroded plateau laced with caverns and supporting on its remarkably flat surface only a meager xerophytic vegetation. There are other highlands in Cubeo territory along the Vaupés. Of no economic value to the Indians, the highlands form for them a setting of mystery because of their strangeness and their desert quality, and are held to be the domain of mythological beings. 133 [823]

The Cuduiari is a narrow river that runs swiftly past several cataracts into the Vaupés. At the peak of the dry season it is barely navigable along its full length. At that time a large canoe is pushed across several inches of water and the river course is beset with sandbanks. The smaller tributaries or *caños* dry up altogether, stranding their low-status occupants seriously. Perhaps this is one reason why the Cubeo associate social standing with frontage along a big river. [361] The Cuduiari is an intimate river—along much of its length the trees and creepers that line its banks reach overhead to midstream to form a bower. The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire [554]

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764 it with a wad and turned to face the corpse. Each man now went with the same slow deliberateness to fetch his gun. The armed men formed a tight circle about the hammock, the widow in their midst pressed against it. Brandishing the weapon, the brother began the funeral declamation, a statement of grief and then anger and the threat of retaliation against the enemy. Each male mourner delivered his own address, always declaring his kinship relationship to the old man. The women accompanied the hoarse shouts of masculine anger with their own counterpoint of grief. After the last man had spoken they all fired their guns into the air together. The widow then withdrew to her hammock and lay silently while the men gathered about the hammock, caressed the corpse, and wept, accompanied in their grief by the women.

[53] When this first wave of mourning, which lasted some two hours, had subsided, the headman's wife arrived, took her place at the head of the hammock, and delivered a long funeral oration that began in anger and ended in tears. As she finished it seemed that the [76] grief had subsided; people stirred about more. Informally, and apparently spontaneously, the inquest began; names were mentioned and evidence cited. Women added their observations to those of the men, each citation being delivered in a loud and angry voice. [622] The headman broke in on this, an hour after his wife had finished [53] speaking. Armed with a gun he, too, approached the head of the hammock and delivered his funeral oration, concluding like the others with grief. During the angry part of his oration he summarized the suspicions and submitted his own. When the headman concluded, all the mourners drifted off and, since it was the middle of the night, all went to sleep. The respite was brief, and well before dawn mourning began again; mourners, men and women, approached the corpse (*yaiyũ*) in the hammock, caressed it, and wept.

Preparations for burial began promptly at sunrise. Four men of [823] the sib dug the grave (*tobĩkatcino*: hole underneath) four feet deep in an east-west direction to the left of the dance floor at the forward end of the house. They measured the corpse to get dimensions of the grave. When the grave had been dug halfway down one of the men lighted a cigarette and, bending over the sides but not entering the grave itself, blew cigarette smoke into each of its four corners, "so that the dead would always have tobacco."

[412] It took several hours to dig out the grave with machetes. While this was being done, others were preparing a canoe as the old man's coffin. A man is buried in his own canoe as a rule. However, the canoe of João was an excellent one, whereas one of the men had only re-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends. 574 614

On the morning of the drinking party the *behórũ* dancing staff is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behórũ* they go to the river to bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river. 574 535 [515] [823]

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather headdresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated 574 614 [554] 574 576 [614] [562]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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778 of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

[192] [193]

778 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known
756 as *pariékoků* (man of power) or as *yaví* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékoků* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yaví* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every
[554] *yaví* is a *pariékoků* but not every *pariékoků* is a *yaví*. The *yaví* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékoků* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékoků*, but *yavís* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yaví* and the *pariékoků*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékoků*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parikků*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an
778 exceptional act it is his *parikků*, it is said, that enabled him to do it.
756 The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleas-
821 antly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the
• 823 depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiari is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural
789 causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Sha-
778 manistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Gener-
756 ally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding,
787 in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman
825 on the Cuduiari once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

756 Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the
778 shamans wage against one another. A *yaví*, I was told, has a different
554

* /349 cont./
539 Then Miriápura Turíkaro returned to Bejsebowí /sic/. He left Bajsebowí again and went toward Moawí. Moawí is two days from Mitú, going down the Vaupés River. In Moawí they were on the eve of holding a Dabukurí (18) of Moá (19).

[527]
[431]

18. A ceremonial fiesta during which presents are exchanged.

[263]
[824]

19. Salt obtained by boiling the carurú plant.

There was much joy in Moawí. Miriápura Turíkaro entered Moawí and remained there listening a while to what the Moá Majsá people were saying. In this maloca there were some single and married women sweeping the maloca of Moawí and they were speaking of the death of the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. And one woman said: "The younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro made love to the woman of the older son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The older son, in revenge, cut off his penis and killed him." Then another woman said: "How bad the Bajsébo Majsá must be if there is killing between brothers! What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then another woman said: "Do you know if the older brother buried his younger brother?" Then another woman answered: "He has not buried him. He only made a coffin of Imisa switches and above the port he made a little table, put the coffin on top of this table, and covered it with some leaves." And another woman said: "What a pity, what a pity, what a pity." Then Miriápura Turíkaro became frightened and returned immediately to Bajsebowí. He entered through one door of the maloca and left through the other and went directly to the port. From the port he took the trail to where the little table was and found the coffin on top of the little table. He lowered the coffin and opened it. Inside the coffin was the younger son of Miriápura Turíkaro. The younger son was really dead, but for Miriápura Turíkaro his /350/ younger son was only unconscious. Then Miriápura Turíkaro thought that he could revive him. Then Miriápura Turíkaro blew tobacco smoke over his younger son, and the younger son returned to life. Then

342 /102 cont./

There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

[824]

592 342 [162] The size of the maloca varies according to the number of its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361 596 The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291 Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

[287]

291 177 797 The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
•[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

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/footnote 1 cont./ the river (cf. below, Note 5, Ch. II /see note 8, Ch. II, p. 40/).

This belief has also been adopted today on the Rio Negro. We do not know, however, if it is based on the opinion of Stradelli, or if he gave rise to it. At the end of the nineteenth century, with Stradelli, the name Uaupés is presented to us as a corruption of the original word Buapé. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Uaupé would be the original form from which, through corruption, the term Goaupé originated, and no mention is made of the Tuxáua by the name of Buapé, the memory of whom, if he existed, should have been more vivid at that time. Who is right? /The footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

Which language would the name Uaupés belong to? And what does it mean? The present-day natives do not know how to answer that, nor did those of half a century ago. As a matter of fact, Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 131) says only that the name is depreciative; this, however, because under the name of Uaupés are included tribes that are ignorant, wild (Wildstaemme), and scorned, such as the Tukano /Tucano/ and the Kubewãna, who fought against the more advanced Arwake /Arawak/.

In Stradelli's Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, we find the remark: "Iasaná" -- Breed of the Afflicted /Port. Casta das Rallidas/. Name that on the lower Amazon and on the Grão-Pará is given to Parra Iaçaná, which on the Solimões is called Piasóca -- and on the Rio Negro, Uaupé and Uapé.

The river in turn lent the name to a plant characteristic of the stones of its cachoeiras /rapids; see note 2, p. 9/. As a matter of fact, it is called uaupé or uaupé-da-cachoeira (and also carurú-das-pedras /carurú of the stones/ and murera-das-cachoeiras), an aquatic plant that grows on the stones of the cachoeiras of this river and that furthermore serves the Indians for the extraction of salt (cf. Note 51

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/footnote 1 cont./ /see note 52, p. 320/, VI). (Cf. Gastão Cruls, Hileia Amazônica -- C. E. N., 1944 -- p. 35.)

The name Ucaiari (as is usual for the ones that end in ri or li) is of Arwake origin. In the language of the Arara-tapuya and the Kadáu-puritãna, the Uaupés River is called Ukayalí; in the Huhúdeni /Huhuteni/ it is called Ukávari (all three are of the Arwake group). It might perhaps be derived from U(ni), water river, and Kawale (in Kadáu-puritãna) or Kawáeri (in Hihúdeni /sic/), wind. Nevertheless, none of the old people of the various Arwake tribes of the Içana and Aiarí rivers whom we could consult were able to indicate the meaning of the term Caiarí or Ucaiari. Just as the other tribes who inhabit the Uaupés did not know it either. All of them designate the Uaupés as "Dya Poxsá," river of the Makú (?). This designation might induce one to think that the Makú (Puxsá /sic/) were the first to inhabit its shores, and afterwards, under pressure from the Arwake and Tukano invaders, went to settle in the interior, in the adjacent forests, from the environs of S. Gabriel as far as the cachoeiras of Jandú and Carurú (on the Uaupés River). The truth is that, according to the spirit of the language, River of the Makú should be translated as "Poxsá Dyá" and not as "Dyá Poxsá."

as it was known up to a few years ago, a tributary that flows into the Rio Negro about 50 kilometers above the town of S. Gabriel-da-Cachoeira, now called Uaupés.

133 The Uaupés results, according to Dr. Hamilton Rice, from the union of the rivers Unilla, which is the more important, and Itilla, both with their origins in the plains that border the buttresses of the Colombian Andes. After a course of about 330 kilometers in Colombian territory, the Uaupés advances in the

/180 cont./

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They call the vessels of flatter shape baxpá, such as porringers or plates of different sizes, some quite small, baxpáryakã, used as spoons, which they do not know.

All these vessels are manufactured with the clay called dyí (Nh. tuyuka), which is found in compact strata, blue or dark green in color, in certain places, especially on the banks or in the bed of the watercourses. The clay is extracted with the help of splinters of wood, in fine layers, and is kept in humid places and well covered with leaves.

For the manufacture of the vessels the woman kneads the clay very well, with the addition of ewõ (ocher), and for each five parts of mud, one of ashes of caripé bark (13),

• [824]

13. Trees of several species of the family of the Rosaceae (Licánia útilis and licánia myristicóides, Benthe., licánia scraba, Hook). Their ashes will give a certain porosity to the vessel and not let the clay crack.

reduced to powder and sifted. The mass is left to rest for a few days.

There is no mold whatsoever to facilitate the manufacturing; nevertheless, the vessels come out quite regular and well proportioned. Once the mud is prepared in the shape of a rope, torõrĩ-da (Uaupés tonõnĩ-da and toninĩ-da), of half a meter, starting from the bottom, then, with these ropes of clay, the woman starts raising the edges, pressing one rope on another and smoothing it well. Afterwards, with a piece of cuia /gourd/, wahá-pe'toró (Nh. peruta), she starts polishing and smoothing it better, inside and out. Once the vessel is made, it is left to dry in the shade, and when it has acquired a certain consistency, it is smoothed well, until it becomes glossy, using a round pebble, which they call wa'té-khá.

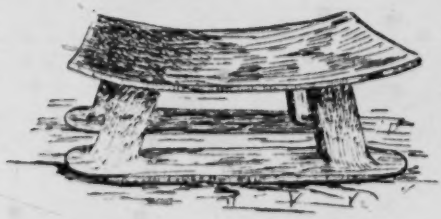
/186 cont.

415 The woman, as she grates, will do it with the two hands alternately, and not in a uniform rhythm, but with sudden pulls
252 that cause movement of her very breasts. She will be seated on the ground, having between /187/ her legs the grater, the head
[462] of which they support against the stomach. It is exclusively women's work.

The grater is such an useful object that on the lower Rio Negro the civilized adopted it as well as the tipití (VI -- 2, d (1) ).

*192 4) Seat. The seat, in Tukano kũ-mũ-rõ (Uaupés kũmũ-no),
352 is in general use, although its specialized producers are the Tukano. It is generally made out of sorva or arara-seringa (Cõuma guianensis, Muell.), a not very heavy wood which hardly cracks.

They formerly made it with the help of their primitive adze. Today, instead of the syõ-a, they use a digging iron or even an adze obtained from the civilized.



Little monoxylic seat (ku-mũ-rõ)

The dimensions are the most varied, some of only 30 to 40 centimeters and others of 120 to 150 centimeters. The style, however, is constant, to wit, the seating place is concave, with a double curvature in the longitudinal and transverse directions. It is always low, only 10 to 15 centimeters in height, with four legs connected by two longitudinal crossbars. And the seat, with the supports, is monoxylic, that is, made from one piece of wood.

[531] They are accustomed to decorating the seat with the tradi-
[824] tional designs, and over it something like a varnish, obtained from the sap of the bark of a wild inga tree, mẽ'rẽ (Uaupés mẽ'nẽ).

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c) Spinning and woven products.

1) Preparation of the thread.

The tribes of the Uaupés do not know cotton (22)

22. It seems that the ancient tribes of the banks of the Amazon cultivated cotton. Actually, Pe. Alonso de Rojas (voyage of 1637 -- cf. "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 116) tells: "the building of ships is greatly facilitated in these mountains (?), not only because of the abundance of wood and pitch, but also, because of the large amount of cotton that is harvested, there is a great abundance of stalks from which the pita /fiber/ (?) is made, and palm trees with which one can make shrouds as strong as those of canvas." Unless by cotton he meant kapok.

and prepare their thread with palm fibers, especially of neé (miritĩ or buritĩ, Maurítia flexuósa and vinífera) and of yõxká pũrĩ (tucum, astrocaryum tucumoides), the fibers of this being more resistant and durable.

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One gathers the still new leaves from the tucum, or better the sprout of greenish-yellow color, before it opens. Two bunches of fibers about 30 to 40 centimeters in length are separated from each leaflet. After being washed in natural water, they are exposed to the sun in order to dry and bleach.

/190/ The process of carding is done with the help of the "ouriço" /prickly part/ of the piquiá (caryócar villosum, Aubl.), ehyú-pu, in order "to comb," wõhõá-pò, the fibers, making the thread quite fine. One thus has the raw tucum, yõxká pũrĩ põrá (Uaupés yõxká pũnĩ põná).

/194 cont./

286 531 In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192 d) Basketry and plaited work.

285 [462] [342] [227] For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of some trees, especially that which they call pi'ĩ-karõ-gõ. They use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxiũba (waxtá), patauá (yumũ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mĩ-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mĩ'sĩ) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phĩ), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824] The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantaceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves. [386] [531]

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

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The bow, bõẽ-ka-tẽ or bõẽ-kha-thẽ, is generally made out of pau-de-arco, in Tukano toxtó-gõ (Bignoniaceae with a purple flower, species of Tecoma), heavy wood, resistant and flexible. The normal dimensions are from 1.5 to 2 meters in length and a diameter of about 3 centimeters in the central part, tapering toward the ends, with a small incision or notch for tying the string. The outside part is roundish or convex, and the inside part, slightly hollowed or concave.

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[824]

As a string they use tucum fiber, and the bow is generally kept straight, that is, unstrung, with the string tied at only one end. /200/ It is bent only when it is going to be used. It is a weapon of precision in the hands of the Indian, being capable of projecting the arrows to about 50 or 60 meters away.

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3) Sarabatana /blowgun/. It is exclusively a Makú weapon in origin and production, and one which the latter prepare for the Indians of other tribes of the Uaupés whom they serve. It is prepared with a variety of noded palm, the paxiubinha, called in Tukano buxpú, hence the name of buxpú-wõ for the sarabatana. It measures about 4 centimeters in diameter and up to 3 or 4 meters in length. They extract its pith easily with a very uniform stick, resulting in a well-calibrated orifice, like the bore of guns, but smooth. Externally, more or less around the middle of the tube, they fasten a curved tooth of a cotia /agouti/ or other animal, in order to serve as the "sight."

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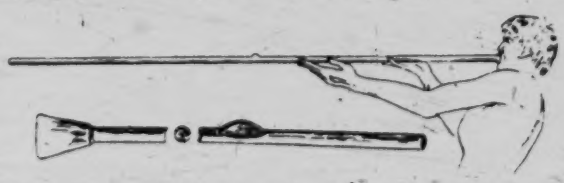

Sarabatána (buxpú-wõ)

In the part that is fitted to the mouth, a small cavity is widened as a mouthpiece to facilitate fitting it to the lips. Through this mouthpiece is introduced a small dart, bu'sá-khá, with a wad of paixa /kapok/ of sumaúma (Eriodéndron Sumauma,

M /200 cont./
411 or Ceiba petandra, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the
M dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the
[224] vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees, without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T 4) Arrows. They are usually made out of paxiúba (Eriártea
411 settígera, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the
T point is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary accord-
[237] ing to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the
• [824] teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of patauá (30).

T
[184]

30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

T
[177] From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which now come the metallic points.

T Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers.
[531] The feathering is found in a row /Port. cavalete/ or in a spiral.

T When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often
[224] poisoned with curare (31).

31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

/205 cont./

*192 415 • 824

4) Cuias and calabashes. Moreover they use cuias (wahá-ro) and calabashes (ỹaxsã), or ỹabã, ñã'sã, of diverse sizes and shapes, /206/ as vessels for the most varied uses: to take water, to prepare chibé, to distribute the caapí, to store their colored powders, to manufacture the maracá (see VII -- 3, c (3) ), etc.

a) The calabashes, obtained from the creeping calabash, Cucúrbita lagenária, Lin., of the Cucurbitaceae (yaxsã-ga), are used, when dried, without further work. The most important use for the calabashes is the making of the maracás and as containers for the colored powders.

*192 386 415 [824]

b) The cuias, from the plant called cuieira or cuietezeira (Crescentia cuyete /cujete/, Lin., of the Bignoniaceae), are used to take water, chibé, mingau, etc. and exhibit an interior surface of lustrous black color. The woman manages this with the help of the wahá-ko (that is to say, cuia water; from wahá, cuia, and oxkó, water, liquid, juice).

Cuia (wahá-ro)

They slash the bark of the plant called wahá-ko-gõ (39),

39. Pe. João Marchesi called our attention to the natives' custom of naming a vegetable after the use that they make of it.

cumati (myrcia atramentífera, B. Rod.), which exudes a dark red liquid; or they take scrapings from it, which, left for some time in a water infusion, produce a thick dark liquid, the wahá-kó.

/206 cont./

386 The wahá-kó is spread in the interior part of the cuia with a brush,
415 letting it dry afterwards. The operation is repeated a second time
*[192] and more, until it reaches the thickness of approximately one millimeter. Directly afterwards urine is spread on the ground and on this area they turn upside down, on small pieces of wood, the cuias that they wish to paint. The ammonia that comes from the urine transforms the layer of wahá-kó in the interior of the cuia into a black, shiny, and quite adherent varnish.

The same result is obtained by applying mandioca leaves saturated in urine over the layer of wahá-kó.

5) Other utilitarian objects.

• 824 The Indian has known how to obtain from the nature that surrounds him many other objects and resources for his life.

We shall recall some:

*[192] [515] /207/ a) Papóque. The papóque, in Tukano pãpwa-khá-sõtí, is the embira of a tree that produces foam, and they wash their heads with it, for lack of soap.

*[192] [276] b) Tauarí. Táwari, as is also said in Tukano (couratari tauarí, of the family of the Lecythidaceae), is also an embira, which unrolls into very thin and flexible sheets that are used as cigar wrappers. They are obtained from the bark by striking it with a mallet until all the ligneous part has been detached.

*[192] [415] [532] c) Bags, cueio, and masks. The tururí, in Tukano waxsó-gõ, is a tree of several species of Manicariao, from whose liber or bast they prepare the bags for the ipadú, the masks (see VII -- 3, d (2) ), and the waxsó-ro (in Nheengatú cueio) for dances (cf. loincloth, VII -- 3, d (2) ). Once the branch or trunk that suits them is chosen, they cut it and start to beat the bark with a wooden mallet until /in the original source the line of type that follows these words is the duplicate of one that properly appears later in the paragraph, while the line that belongs here is missing/ as if it were a shirt sleeve or a cape. With a cutting object (formerly a taquara /a bamboo/) they detach the part that they want. The

/207 cont./

• 824 liber that is thus obtained, if from a thick trunk, is used to prepare the masks; if from a small branch, tied at one of the ends, it presents the shape of a bag for their various uses.

We observed another process among the Karapanã of the headwaters of the Papurí. With the help of a spatula they detach the bark, as though they were rolling up the sleeve of a coat, until it reaches the length that is desired.

6) Toys and games.

524 We did not find characteristic objects of play for the girls, such as the dolls of the civilized. In any case, from an early age the children of the female sex are put to work, and they do not have much time for toys.

The little boys, on the other hand, make their small bows and arrows with which they entertain themselves, learning to shoot or even to kill birds and fish.

*[192] Out of a light and soft wood, poo-gõ, molongó (it is the ambelância grandíflora, Hub., of the family of the Apocynaceae), they build tiny canoes which they let loose on the water, tied to a string, accompanying them from the bank while they float.

They have still other toys and diversions that follow one another during the year. Among them one that is known in the south of Brazil as "cama de gato" /cat's bed/. That is, with a string, with the two ends /208/ connected, they execute figures with the fingers of both hands, passing it to the neighbor, who, with a different position of the fingers, makes it take another shape. We have seen eight or ten different figures formed with the string, some quite interesting and similar to the object or *[192] animal whose name they bear. This game is called mĩ-pesé (that is, game of taking).

A word here about some amusements of the children. The children, always respecting the separation of the sexes, join together in bands and entertain themselves in play in which the bees buzzing in search of flowers figure; it is the game of the

/294 cont./

*192 4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

302 a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé,
386 known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From
• 824 the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Õnõfiá or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or pariri, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

[881] [755] [756] [852]

and from the Mõ'sã or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in
[224] order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have
[226] similar efficacy.

They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions
*[192] which are called oxkó ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some are prepared by the pajé or kõmũ; others, by any individual. There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacurí, and to guarantee them abundant fish.

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui (puxpyá).

[514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement (75):

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

[832] The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant
789 called tá:-dõxká (in Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca)
• 824 to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know every-
*[192] thing," that is, will be intelligent.

There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with magic virtues:

[241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the mandioca will yield very well.

/364 cont./

789 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in
• 824 order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ũ) and aracú (bo'ɪ̃a) fish.
* [192] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the
[226] face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.
[832]

The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many
291 practices and prescriptions:

821 1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger; if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away Wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small wood-
825 pecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clear-
* [192] ing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tĩrosa (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/367 cont./

824 *[192] In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgõ, for their own child, soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the bará, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 843 *[192] [515] There is a plant called kã'rá pũrĩ (Uaupés kã'ná pũnĩ), the leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

[797] 79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

[797] 80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

[178]

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present
[273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native cere-
monies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of
the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has
already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between
two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors
all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in
the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and
the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier,
have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has
in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the
ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar.
Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to
leave in the center, between the front door and the back door,
a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them
has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the
cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the
mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on
the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child
is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

/475 cont./

614 flight, which tends to become lower and lower. When it wants to
825 cross a river, it goes up one of the highest trees on the bank, so they assure us, and from there starts its flight, which little by little loses height, and sometimes, on the rivers that are too wide, they do not manage to reach the other bank. It was observed that the Tukano Indians, seeing a tucano /toucan/ fly over the river Uaupés at one of the widest points, uttered cries, as though of apprehension, in fear that the bird might not succeed in reaching the opposite bank.

They are only traces that at most might lead one to infer an earlier social form of totemic clan, if they are not elements acquired by borrowing (the instinct of imitation of the Indians is so re-
[824] markable) from other groups. One does not note, however, any attention (respect, fear, pleasure) toward the animal or plant whose name they bear; names, besides, without economic importance (except the Baniva or another one), contrary to what happens as a rule in connection with the totemic names.

It has not been noted that they avoid killing it or, on the contrary, try to eat it in some special circumstances. If they find it dead, /476/ no sign of surprise. It is certain that at times they kill it in order to use its feathers in the dance ornaments. But, at least in the present form (112),

[178]

> 112. We so often insist on the idea that these are present customs. This is because it becomes difficult or impossible to verify how they proceeded in other times. And the Indians respond to our questions: -- "It has always been this way."

the ornaments are the same for the various tribes, be they called Tukano, Arara, Tuyuka, Pirá-tapuya, etc. It can even be asserted that their attitude is one of perfect indifference before the animal with their own name, more or less just as before any other animal.

There are no tucano /toucan/, pica-pau /woodpecker/, juritf
614 /dove/, etc. clans, either. They are and they are considered
619 nations or different tribes, each one with its own language and peculiar somatic features. It is true that one and the same tribe is subdivided into groups with names that might seem clanlike (cf. IV-2-a(2) /see a(3)/ ). But they indeed are not the animals that appear

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133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ildkoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ildkoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaino* (falling river) and as *eddwaiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
● 824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about

[805] [1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aũnhokũ* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwũ*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Húbũkokũ* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turú* (poison), another *pudjũ* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapíka* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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342 move in. The walls and the two great doors that can be swung up are built long after the house is fully occupied.

283 Much of a man's spare time is devoted to preparing string of one
824 sort or another – fishline, hammock strings, binding ropes. The most common material is from the miriti palm. The palm leaf is boiled in water and allowed to soak until long, strong fibers can be drawn from it. These fibers have extraordinary tensile strength and, therefore, have wide use among the Indians. The lower and thicker part of the leaf is slit with a knife or broken by hand to expose the fibers, which are then stripped off in one smooth, continuous motion. The man holds the leaf pinned to the ground with his great toe and pulls
[462] the fibers upward. Essentially it is men's work but women and children help in pulling out the fibers. After the fibers have been allowed to dry by exposure to the air, several are joined together and rolled on the thigh into a string. Occasionally a woman helps her husband roll fishline. The end of the string is gripped between the great toe and its adjacent member and allowed to pass under the frontal arch of the foot and so is held firm. Rolling twine is leisurely work. Men rarely make more than they need for a particular pur-
[314] pose. Fishline is coated with resin. This will not only strengthen it and make it easier to handle, but, the men told me, the resin darkens the line so that it will not be seen by the fish.

463 The Cubeo have no true category of specialist. That is to say, they expect all adults to possess the skills for making all ordinary household articles that are on the roster of sib manufactures. They must, of course, contend with differences in aptitude. They do so by giving the inept the fullest technical help, either by advice, or, if necessary, by virtually making the article. But even when total aid is given, the object is considered to have been made by its owner with help.
463 Items of public use, and these include ceremonial equipment and
622 musical instruments, require special proficiency and are made by the headman and by aspirants to the office. The headman then is a specialist, but his specialty is in esoteric objects for public use.

## TRADE

439 The entire Northwest Amazon area is a vastly complex trading network. Objects of every description, household implements, ornaments, musical instruments, ceremonial objects, plants, pets, and magical substances are in constant circulation from tribe to tribe, from sib to sib. Indians who are in contact with the trading centers of Colombians and Brazilians are often middlemen, pumping manu-

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The *Bahúkiwa* headman also had had two wives. In his case the second and younger wife succeeded in displacing the older woman. The younger woman insisted that her husband give up sexual relations with his first wife. She bothered him so much that he yielded and told his first wife to leave him. She refused, insisting that she would stay on with her children. An old woman now, she has a grandmother role. A son not yet married has provided her with a small manioc garden. Her relations with the headman and her successor are cool but not unpleasant. That women regard polygyny as contrary to their interests is further indicated by the fact that they are reputed to possess an herb (*pedidya*) which, mixed into a husband's porridge, causes him to lose interest in acquiring a second wife.

Polyandry is rare. I knew of only one case, a man who took his brother into his ménage because the man had been unable to get a wife on his own. This occurred in a small Satellite community and seems to have been an accommodation to what might otherwise have been a troublesome situation of adultery. The woman fed both men and was a sexual partner of the junior husband only when her first husband was away.

Common marital difficulties have their counterpart in Cubeo folklore, as these tales reveal. *Kúwai* the culture hero and his two brothers shared the same woman. When one brother was away fishing or hunting, the other two took turns copulating with her. *Kúwai* plotted to get rid of his brothers so that he would have exclusive possession of her. They were then living at Urania on the Vaupés by a lake called *Marúkuwari* [Lake of the marúku monkey]. In this lake grew a great miriti palm. *Kúwai* asked his brothers to climb the tree to fetch a ball of miriti to make a hammock. Both brothers climbed the tree, after warning *Kúwai* not to start anything. As they climbed, *Kúwai* caused the tree to grow higher and higher and the lake to grow wider. When they reached the top, *Kúwai* cut down the tree. Then a great wind blew up and swept the men and the tree away. One brother was blown to the Cuduiarí, where he formed the river. The other was blown to the Querarí, where he formed the other river. As each man fell, his legs formed the mouth of the river, his outstretched arms two creeks, and his head a whirlpool. *Kúwai* then returned to his wife, who was now living alone. Later *Kúwai*, walking in the forest, passed a *wahóknkú* tree. Each time he passed it, it made a sucking sound at him. This happened day after day. Then it seemed to *Kúwai* that the tree was human, so he cut it down and carved a woman out of its trunk. *Konéko*, a bird, came and opened up the woman's vagina. The

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive 769
sib cult. 796

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance [534]
feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the [533]
river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the oncoming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent [202]
the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, [533]
swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and [291]
having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, as- [224]
cended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional [534]
five were used, *Bwũ*, *Onpwénda kũdjũwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They [535]
marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwũ* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kũdjũwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at [576]
the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was
taboo but as a courtesy.

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peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the origin traditions. 769 796 184

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors. 769 796 178

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors. 866

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective during the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplementary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt. 789 856 [515] [534] [824] [515]

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different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kúwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucanoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in 532
the region call him *Makálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked 825
dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are gro- 776
tesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, [191]
tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kavá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each 535
illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being repre- 532
sented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, 765
but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown [287]
bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by [824]
how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with [828]
later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is 535
a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made ex- 765
pressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs [534]
that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus [533]
allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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765 775 266 114 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I observed the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 824 783 775 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. Thereafter, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for at least another generation.

## MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *ÓYNE*

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### Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Makuko* | (K-G)[a] | A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun. |
| 2. | *Kohako* | (K-G) | Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them. |
| 3. | *Hailako* | (K-G) | A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand. |
| 4. | *Palutziko* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 5. | *Anauako* | (K-G) | A giant. |
| 6. | *Abúhuwa* | (K-G;IG)[b] | Forest demons. |
| 7. | *Hokoaboxoko* | (K-G) | Giant tree demons. |

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

171 184 266 765 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wallace, 1891, p. 498).

Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéwa. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabururis, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enivrant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'energie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886-87, II, 173).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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775 form. "Since they did not care for people," the Cubeo say, "they cannot live among the souls of people after death." Those who have committed incest or have eaten a forbidden fish called *namúri* have souls after death in the form of the *baawéko*, a bird that is feared greatly.

The ghost is called *dekóků* (dream man) or *pwánků dekóků* (dream man person).[3] The distinction between *umé* and *dekóků* is not precise. That is, when the Cubeo speak of the death of a person they will say that the *umé* leaves and the souls take on human form, and add that the *umé* may return to the house and disturb people. Having begun to speak of *umé*, they follow it into its ghostly phase. On the other hand, it is when the narration begins with the spirits of the dead that they will use the term *dekóků*.

The Cubeo have no dread of the spirits of the dead. The spirits depart and live their own life under their own headman. Beliefs on the nature of the afterlife are not uniform among the Cubeo, however. The most common view is that the spirits of the dead of the same phratry live together, all in one great phratry house under a headman. Women, however, occupy a vague place in the afterlife, wives staying with their husbands. The women spirits, however, lack their full economic function, since in the afterlife spirits live by hunting and gathering but not by farming. The dead do constitute a nuisance. [824] [789] Shortly after death the ghost returns to the house hoping to entice a sibmate to go with him, but he is easily dispatched by burning capsicum. The grave, in the house, is no hallowed place, and shortly after the earth has been packed in place the children play over it. When people encounter a place on the river where the spirits of the dead can be heard they do not hurry on but pause to listen. The spirits of the dead will never be encountered at high noon, the zenith, so to speak, of the secular part of the day. The spirits of the dead hunt only at night. They eat butterflies, grubs, and all snakes including the founding anaconda. Significantly, they do not drink chicha. The Cubeo do not say why, but it would seem that they have visualized an afterlife that is lacking in the essences of life, that is to say, the ingredients that the Cubeo associate with vital intensity. The spirits of the dead also lack manior. There is some debate among the Indians as to whether the dead live in a house; they lack ceremonial life and sib autonomy. Literally, then, the Cubeo visualize a shadow existence after death.

The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All

[193] [3] *Deká* is the stem in the verb "to cause to disappear."

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[775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yaví*. The insect
[825] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatárako* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcíkũ* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dúwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone
[755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to
[534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by
278 the *lingoa geral* term *marakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term
824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaíye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but
824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by
754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi-
682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapíbũ kowaíye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti-
824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge.
682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has
[241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

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When the rains come the abdomen swells. After days of steady rain the swollen abdomen bursts.

*Yokaihye* (leaf poison) is reputed to be so poisonous a leaf that it is never touched with the bare hand. The leaf is boiled in water and allowed to dry. Its powder is wrapped in a leafy bag and dipped in any liquid to form an infusion. Some of this liquid spilled on the victim leaves a black spot that quickly disappears. Shortly thereafter the victim dies.

*Pothàiye* is a berry poison. Its extract is put in chicha or at the end of a stick if it is to be poked up the victim's nose when he is asleep. It causes a slow death by wasting.

*Dyóka* is a forest plant that kills only children but will sicken adults. A moist packet is allowed to drip over the forehead of the sleeping victim. There is said to be a remedy for this.

There are many other *ihé* products that were not identified to me by name. Some, from the end of a stick, are inserted into the nostrils of a sleeper. People who specialize in this are night wanderers called *parébòhe abúhuwa* (very powerful *abúhuwa*). They can see in the dark and are difficult to observe. They lack specific motive for their deeds and may be regarded as male witches. It is these witches who are tortured by having their flesh torn with fishhooks – one tear for each victim – when they are caught. 754 [683]

Another *ihé* product is *pendi*, an ash that comes from a secret site 754 278 824 682

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Fig. 13. Petroglyph: *Kómi* playing the ancestral trumpet, Alligator (*Pedikwa aib*). [614]

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754 278 824 682 at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale accounts for the origin of *pená*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekûpwănwn*. Suddenly *Kómi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kómi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kómi* told them to take him to a creek called *Manánkanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kómi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the Cuduiarí from Arawakan Indians by way of the Querarí.

754 278 824 682 539

278 824 Curare (*himá*) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only in war and not as a secret potion.

751 As a far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutcûdü*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

75 776 789 771 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man. The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

/p. 54-B/

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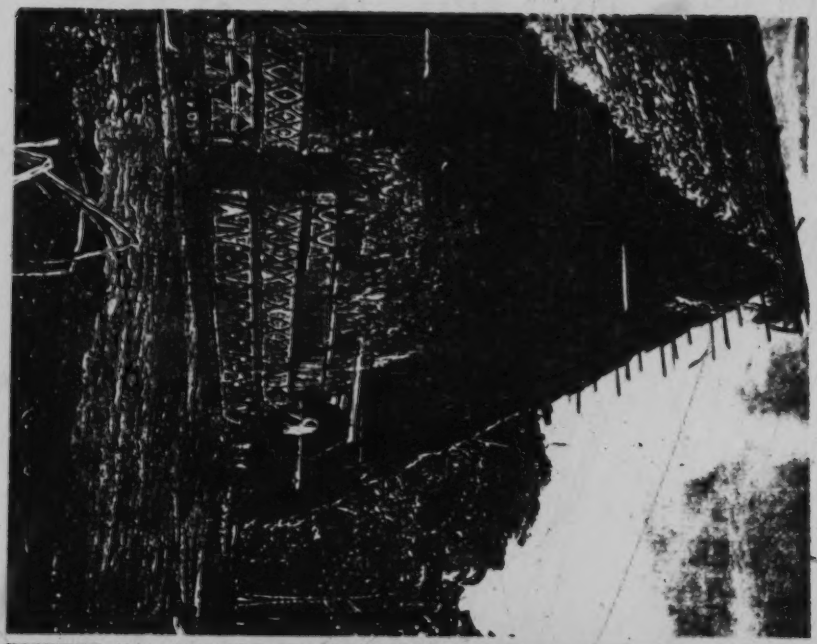

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LEFT: The front, painted with a design in charcoal and clay, and great eaves of a maloca. RIGHT: Cutting palm fronds to thatch the roof.

*539 /351 cont./
any noise and go to my room. There I am going to sleep and on the next day show my body as it has become now." Then Miriápura Turíkaro, who was very vain, said: "No, you are coming with me now, in the daytime." The younger son knew what was going to happen, and he again refused to enter Bajsebowí by day, but Miriápura Turíkaro forced him to go with him to Bajsebowí. Then the younger son said: "All right, I am going with you."

In the meanwhile in the maloca of Bajsebowí the older brother already knew that his younger brother had been revived and that he was coming /352/ with Miriápura Turíkaro to the
•[825 763] maloca of Bajsebowí. Then the older brother made a little bird appear, one that likes to live in the roofs of malocas, and they are a bad omen, for when they strike with their beaks on the top beam of the maloca, then someone in that maloca is going to die. In Tukano /Tucano/ this little bird is called Ñamákasero, and when it sings it says: "Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú," which in Spanish means: "de allí salió un diablo /a devil came out of there/." After the older brother made the Ñamákasero appear, he sent one Ñamákasero to go up to the roof of the maloca to keep vigil, he sent another Ñamákasero to the front door of the maloca, and he sent another Ñamákasero to the back door of the maloca. Meanwhile the younger son and Miriápura Turíkaro were going toward the maloca of Bajsebowí. The younger son walked in front and Miriápura Turíkaro walked behind his son. When the Ñamákasero at the front door of the maloca of Bajsebowí saw them coming, it began to sing "Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú" several times. Then the female Ñamákasero, which was on the back door of the maloca, answered, "Níto uajtí, níto uajtí, níto aujtí /sic/," which means in Spanish: "Dónde está el diablo /where is the devil/? Dónde está el diablo? Dónde está el diablo?" As soon as the two Ñamákasero said this, the younger son was very much ashamed, and he said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "I will not enter the maloca of Bajsebowí because they are calling me Uajtí" (22). Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to

22. Spirit; devil.

*539 /129 cont./
Yepá Huáke did make them look at the sky. They marched two times looking at the sky and two times looking at the land. And Yepá Huáke ordered them to jump off the gũío. And the gũío trembled and there was another flash of lightning. And Yepá Huáke ordered Siópuri Uejké and all of his people to go up and march on the gũío again. And this time Yepá Huáke ordered them to march four times on the gũío looking toward the river, and then Yepá Huáke ordered them to jump off the gũío again. And the gũío trembled and there was a clap of thunder again. Then Yepá Huáke said: "No more for you." Then Yepá Huáke ordered Siópuri Uejké with all his people and Yúpuri Baúro with all his people to sit down on the floor of Diawí.

*539 •825 All the animals were inside of Diawí. And today the animals that do not have tails are like people. But in Diawí all the animals had tails, and the animals became changed like mad ones and began to eat their own tails, and that is why some of them do not have tails. And Yepá Huáke began to watch the animals. Then Yepá Huáke said: "It does not seem right to me. I created you so that you would be like people. Now stay like animals so that the people can eat you." When Yepá Huáke said this, all the animals were frightened and stopped eating their tails; this is why some animals still have tails. Then Yepá Huáke said: "There we are." And when Yepá Huáke had said this, Yepá Huáke grasped both bell sticks that were piercing the tail and the head of the gũío and he pulled them out at the same time. And then Yepá Huáke ordered the gũío to go out of Diawí as far as the port of Diawí. And the boat of the gũío stayed there. And then Yepá Huáke ordered Yúpuri Baúro with all his people and Siópuri Uejké with all his people to dance and to drink chicha and to eat coca and to sing. And all stayed up until dawn. And then Yepá Huáke made an investigation, and he knew that, when all /130/ the people were having their feast, the animals who were talking against the people said that they were going to eat the people. The first one that spoke was Wejké (45),

45. The danta.

*539
•825

/130 cont./
and she said that she was going to eat the people. And as soon as Wejké had spoken, Añia (46)

46. The snake.

answered, who said that she would also eat the people. When Añia spoke like this, Boraró answered that he too would eat people. Boraró has the appearance of a person, walks on two feet, and with only one shout makes people unconscious. When Boraró had spoken, another animal called Utanurú (47)

47. Animal that, according to the Tukano, has the appearance of a cricket and eats the excrement of human beings.

answered that he, too, would eat people. When Yepá Huáke was making his investigation, Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "What was it that you said?" Wejké answered: "I did not say anything." Yepá Huáke said: "Tell me the truth and do not lie to me." And Wejké did not answer. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "When you kill a person, how are you going to kill him?" Then Wejké took out a whistle and said: "I am going to kill with this whistle." Then Yepá Huáke said: "Blow it to see how it sounds." Then Wejké said: "Good." And Wejké blew the whistle. When Wejké blew the whistle, the land opened and nature fell to pieces. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Show me the whistle so that I may look at it." And Wejké handed the whistle to Yepá Huáke. And after taking the whistle from Wejké. Yepá Huáke said: "You are not going to eat people; on the contrary, people will eat you." This is why we now eat danta, and it is tasty. And Yepá Huáke gave this whistle to Emo (48).

48. The monkey.

*539 /130 cont./
•825 And Emo also had a little whistle, and this little whistle was not for eating people. And Yepá Huáke said to Emo: "Take this whistle of Wejké and go up on top of the trees, and there you can play with that whistle. Give me the little whistle that you had." And Emo gave him the little whistle that he had. And Yepá Huáke handed to Wejké the little whistle that had belonged to Emo. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Blow it." Then Wejké said: "All right." And Wejké blew the whistle, and the whistle sounded like the whistle of the police of Bogotá. Then Wejké started to cry. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Go to the forest." And Yepá Huáke continued speaking, this time to the snake. And Yepá Huáke said to Añia: "What was that you said?" And Añia answered truthfully and said /131/ "I did say something. Then Yepá Huáke said: "With which fang are you going to bite?" And Añia said: "With this one," pointing to one in her mouth. And Yepá Huáke said: "All right, show it to me." And Añia showed it to him. And Yepá Huáke pulled out the fang, and that is why now Añia bites people, but her bite does not hurt. And then Yepá Huáke continued talking to Utanurú. And then Yepá Huáke said to him: "You are not going to eat people, but you are going to eat excrement." While Yepá Huáke was talking with Utanurú, the other Añia (49),

49. The poisonous snake.

whose fang had not been pulled by Yepá Huáke, went out, running with his own woman. And after Añia, the poisonous one, Boraró went out, running with his own woman. Then the jaguar went out with his own woman. This is why those animals that ran out without speaking to Yepá Huáke are the wild animals that we have now. Then Yepá Huáke said: "No more." Then Yepá Huáke opened
* the little box that held sleep and night and distributed all the little
539 seeds of sleep and night. Then Yepá Huáke said: "Put them here
[513] on the heart." And all the people put the little seeds of sleep and night on the heart. After this, Yepá Huáke said: "There is going to

4: Silva--199 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/141 cont./

154 he does not know, that he does not understand his tribal brother.
521 We understand, then, that from imperfect narrations, in which emphatic gestures and noises from the mouth supply words and ideas, will appear misunderstandings, alteration of the narrator's thought, variation in the reports and in the tales.

154 When we manage to get some native to talk to us spontaneously, with intimacy, we verify that this man who seems to us
825 well-balanced, of little impressionability, that alumnus or alumna of the missionary schools, with an appearance of one almost civilized, not only has a head burdened with so many exotic legends and strange beliefs, but he even hears and sees with impressive frequency apparitions, voices, words, mysterious sayings. It surprises us at times to hear from the lips of young men and women, with many years of contact with civilization, perhaps even of life in cities such as Manaus, the strangest tales of visions that they had, in full daylight, in their hut or in the clearing, on the road, on a trip; voices, sayings that they heard, unbelievable events, fabulous or legendary, that they are sure of having witnessed, giving us place, time, names of persons (for example, that they saw Wïx'ti, Boraró, etc.; persons who have changed, or who periodically change, into /142/ animal, anta, piraboto /dolphin/, who spend days, weeks, and even months in the depths of the water, etc.) (6).

6. We have been consulted by young men and women who have been through the Mission schools and who asked us with all conviction: -- "How is it possible for people to turn into a dolphin?" "to turn into an anta?" Patrícia Vasconcelos, for example, in October of 1955 told us the following as a fact about which she has absolute certainty. So-and-So of the Taryana tribe, from the povoado of Ararípirá (Uaupés) and former student of the Mission of Iauareté, married a Tukano youth who has already worked several times in Taracuá and

• 825
154
*[192]

/142 cont./

/footnote 6 cont./ other Missionary centers. Another young man wanted to have her as his wife and, in revenge, one time while walking through the forest with her husband (this around 1952), gave him a leaf of pirá-yawára-pũrĩ (plant of the dolphin, Patricia explained to us) to touch. One day "the husband became different," "he became like a dolphin" (that is, breathing like the dolphin does on top of the water), and he finally dove into the Rio Negro there in Tapurucuara (formerly S. Isabel). He stayed in the water a whole day. The dolphins pushed him toward the land, and he "became a person" again. Several times "he has turned into a dolphin." The wife of the unhappy young man herself is the one who told her these episodes, and she cries a great deal because of this misfortune.

829 On one side, the reserve of the native before the civilized, because he knows that the latter does not understand him or believe in such tales, and perhaps will even scold or ridicule him, and, on the other side, the desire to seem civilized will make him remain silent about all this to the "white" who travels among them, in order that he will not notice this trait of the psychology of the Indian.

154 Perhaps it will not be an exaggeration to present as a general trait of the native psychology this superexcitability of the fantasy. Maybe one should even qualify it as confused and establish it as a deviation from normality, if we make a comparison with that of the civilized.

/263 cont./

*192 Axsí mãhõá:ti wá:ró -- (the heat begins to rise), around nine in the morning

805 Axsí mãhõá:ti daharítero twa'tá nõ'kã-nĩmĩ -- (the heat increases, the time of returning draws near), around ten o'clock

821 Daharí-tero -- (time to return, let us say, from the clearing), around 11-12 o'clock

õmã-ko dexkó -- (midday), around 12 o'clock

Daharítero mãhõá-nĩmĩ dõhõagõ --(the sun rose and sank after the time to return), around one o'clock

Tõreá:e dexkó -- (half the descent of the sun), around 2-3 o'clock

Sahãgõ wemĩ-məhã -- (the sun is going in), around 4 o'clock

Sahã-wá:pi-məhã -- (the sun went in), around 6 o'clock

Nai-kea wá: -- (it is getting dark), around 7 o'clock

Nãỹá wá:məhã -- (it got a little darker), around 7 or 8 o'clock

Yamĩ nã-məhã -- (the night advanced), around 9 o'clock

Yamĩ-ka bwí -- (above the night, late at night), around 10 o'clock

Yamĩ dexkó -- (midnight), around 12 o'clock

d) Natural Sciences.

1) Ideas about nature.

*192 a) There are reminiscences of an old belief, according to which they judged that all the animals were "people," maxsã.
• 825 Some stated to us categorically that the animals are "people." Confirmation of this belief perhaps is the fact that in the Tukano language all the animals are of the masculine gender; whereas all the inanimate beings are of the neuter gender.

When they catch an animal or group of animals, for example, deer, anta, etc., tarrying to drink water or to lick a stone (cf. anta sucker, VI -- 5, b (2), Note 73), they think that these animals are besotted because they have spent a night of dances and orgies.

They likewise explain that the piracema /school of fish/ is a large concentration of fish solemnizing a caxirĩ.

/264/ There is a species of white vulpídeos with some black feathers and called "baaró" (known also by the regional name of "tesoura" /Muscivora tyrannus/), which at certain times appear in flocks looking for worms. Being light in weight and having abundant

/264 cont./

*192 825 plumage, they are graceful and light in flight. They believe that it is a group of spirits or "people," who dance in the air. They call them ã'rã nõ'myã (girls of the sierra) and assert that they do not make nests, because nobody has ever found them sitting in the nest.

b) They admit the transformation of the animals. They believe, for example, that some worms that proliferate in the bacaba tree become transformed, on the occasion of eclipses, into the fish bũxkõã-wi (or matapí, of the Siluridae), because they find a certain likeness with such worms. Confirmation of this origin seems to them to be disclosed in the fact that such fish are found still alive in the forest after the lezírias (igapós) dry out. They say that, because of having been worms, they flee to the forest when timbo is put in the streams.

We point out (VII -- 4, j (1)/see 4, f (1)/) that they admit the possibility of human persons being transformed, temporarily or permanently, into animals; and vice versa.

They assert that the parrots are "children of the forest," nãxkã wimãrã. Actually they are children of Boraró (see VII -- 4, d (56) /see 4, d (5b)/) or Curupira. They live naked, playing; whenever they want to go about, they put on feathers and fly.

They tell interesting stories about the origin of certain animals; for example, Ahã, inambú /bird/, was previously a very pretty girl. The parrots veú arose through the transformation of two sisters, wives of a handsome Baré youth.

262 773 c) We have pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, e (1) ) their belief in immortality itself. They say that formerly they did not eat animal flesh. It was permitted to add worms and insects to the exclusively vegetable diet. During this time of a vegetarian regimen, there were no sicknesses, they say. Those appeared after their parents started to eat the flesh of fish and of animals. During certain illnesses the pajé will immediately prescribe that they abstain from the meat of large animals (anta, deer, monkey, etc.). [755]

They assert, moreover, that in the beginning the Tukano not only did not die, but did not even grow old. After they had lived many, many years, always strong, they ended their life when someone cast a malefice, dohasé, on them. *[192]

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*192 õx'só (pl. õx'sõ-ri), thigh
826 õx'sé-peko-a (pl. peko-ri), knee
kũ-ñarõ (pl. kũ-ñãsé), knee
ñõxkã (pl. ñõxkã-ri), leg, shinbone
ñõxkã-di-a (pl. ñõxkã-di-pá), calf
ñõxkã-ga-phi (pl. phiri), shin
dõ'pó-kã (pl. dõ'pó-kãri), leg, foot, base
dõ'pó-di-a (pl. dõ'po-dipá), heel
dõ'pó-pãma (pl. pãmãri), sole of the foot
dõ'pó-pika (pl. pikari), toe
dõ'pó-sero (pl. seri), toenail
ã'ñaya-gá (pl. ã'ñaya-pá), ankle
õ'tá or ã'tã (inv.), feces
ö'tá-mi'si (pl. mi'siri or mi'si-dari), intestines, entrails, viscera
ö'tá-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), stomach
ya'ko-kó or Yá'kó (inv.), tears
di (inv.), blood
di'i or di'iró (inv.), flesh
di-wá:-da (pl. di-wá:-dari), vein, artery
di-wa:sé (pl. di-wa:sé-dari), vein, artery

3) Classification of the animals.

*192 Among the animals they admit the following distinction:

● 825 1st. -- Ya'ã̃rá (Uaupés ña'ã̃ná) (that is, bad, ferocious) -- they are the beasts and harmful animals, such as the onça /jaguar/, gambá /opossum/, etc.

2nd. -- Nã̃xkã̃-khã̃rá (U. khã̃ná) (that is, inhabitants of the forest) -- they are the edible wild animals, such as the cutia /agouti/, the paca, etc.

3rd. -- Ex'kã̃rá (U. ex'kã̃ná) (that is, those that they feed) -- they are the domestic ones, such as the chicken, pig, etc.

4th. -- Bã̃ã̃rá (U. baã̃ná) (that is, those that they eat) -- under this name come the fish, caterpillars, insects, etc., which they usually eat.

5th. -- Bwĩrá (U. bwĩná) (bwí, up above) -- they are the ones that fly.

/325 cont./

*192 797 774

/footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as corresponding to: heart, soul, and conscience. When they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis, the natives naturally give the word héri-põra this threefold equivalence. The old ones, however, only use it in the material sense, to indicate a part of the organism, that is, the assemblage of the principal internal organs, especially the heart and the lungs.

774 They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does it often. According to what Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, p. 317), the Kubêwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

[756]

764 775 On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

775 825 /326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul, upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal. But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic; 14/

[115]

14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

/326 cont./

775 however, to state more precisely as to whether the animal was
825 already alive (so some opine) or was born at the moment when the human soul entered it; or whether it is a matter of a permanent or temporary condition.

According to some, it is only the souls of the bad ones that
756 pass into the body of animals. That of the pajés can enter that
774 of the onça /jaguar/ (15).

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*[192]

15. The onça, if it is not starving, does not come to the povoados. When there is a lack of food, it growls in the vicinity of the malocas, attacks the dogs, and various episodes of its even entering the huts are cited. Pe. João Marchesi informed us that one time on the upper Papurí an onça killed two Indians and ate part of the cadavers. They set a trap beside the cadavers and managed to catch it. They did not have the courage to kill it, however (probably because they thought that the wãx-tĩ of the victims were in it). But around the trap and the cadavers they put wood and fire until everything was reduced to ashes. And they would cry and say: "You have killed our brother (the Tukano) and our slave (the Makú)," and "they thought that in the onça there was the spirit of a pajé" (so they explained to Pe. Marchesi).

It should be remembered that they call the pajé or sorcerer yai, a term that precisely means onça.

It is a more general belief that the souls of the pajés go to
756 occupy the region of the thunder, from where they send storms
775 and lightning bolts, thus avenging themselves on the men who killed them or did them harm. They think they propitiate them
[782] by sending them the smoke of the cigars or shaking the maracás,
[276] rites that the pajés performed while alive.

/356 cont./

*192 776 c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wá:kõ?

In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wá:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we [178] were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wá:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67),

[823] 67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water.
775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not.
776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ.
And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons,
756 and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as
829 inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3) ). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ.
[825] They say about a nocturnal bird, called urukã-tutú, due to the
*[192] similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp, because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of
*[192] a deceased civilized person, pexkã-sã wẽ'ri Wã-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

/362 cont./

823 In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?). If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not [784] look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a flat head.

825 One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because, without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí, 823 near the mouth of the stream Cuiú-cuiú, called Bará õxtã. If a young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and *[192] will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion of the cipo called yõx'kwá-dá (star cipo).

[103] Below the "island of the cuiubí," in the cachoeira of the Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Ã-ñõã (point of the louse), there is a rock called muhi-pũ õxtã (rock of the sun or of [782] the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there, deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering, presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro (agitation of the waters by the winds).

There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé) 754 in the road or in the clearing:

*[192] 1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick; it is the yuxkõ dohõ-kõ; the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

/364 cont./

789 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in
824 order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'téa) fish.

*[192] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the
[226] face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.
[832]

The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many
291 practices and prescriptions:

1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger;
821 if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away Wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small wood-
• 825 pecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clear-
*[192] ing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tĩrosa (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

[192] [304] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

[224] [226] Uruká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one [192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

[752] /366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

/474 cont./

614 If by Phratry we understand any subdivision of the tribe (even if it does not constitute a true community, because it does not have a chief), these Subtribes or Kurá could be called Phratries (or Sibs, as some modern ethnologists prefer). They correspond to the Phratries of ancient Greece, while, like those, they are also exogamous and of paternal descent. It is to be noted, however, that marriage between one phratry and another of the same tribe is not permitted.

/475/ The Phratry or Kurá, which at first is identified with the maloca, with the passing of time unfolds into several local groups. In these, however, there is no trace that this might be a matter of a totemic clan; they are only territorial family groups or agnatic kinship groups, which we could call, using the Latin term, Gens.

f) Totemism?

There are different indications that make one think of the operation of totemism with its totemic clans and customs.

1st. -- The groups (tribes and subtribes) bear names of animals (Tucano /toucan/, arapaço /Dendro colaptidae/ or pica-pau /woodpecker/, jurití /dove/, jiboia, etc.) or of plants (miriti, cunuri /Cunuria/, etc.), as is the custom of totemic clans.

[237] [301] [535] 2nd. -- There appear in the dance ornaments feathers of the garça /heron/, arara, tucano /toucan/, gavião /hawk/; fur of the macaco and onça /jaguar/, teeth of the onça or of other animals; snake vertebrae, etc. These ornaments recall to memory the place in which the animal was wounded, as if it were an exaltation of the animal sacrificed and an identification between the individual and the animal formerly sacrificed by God or (?) to God.

[535] [532] 3rd. -- In the dances there are personages and masks (where they wear them, that is, among the Kubewãna of the Uaupés and the Arwake of the Içana), which represent the borboleta /butterfly/, the cotia /agouti/, etc., and these personages try to imitate the movements of these animals and there are also corresponding chirps or songs.

[825] 4th. -- The tucano /toucan/, due to the disproportionate weight and volume of its beak, does not have great autonomy of

/475 cont./

614 flight, which tends to become lower and lower. When it wants to
825 cross a river, it goes up one of the highest trees on the bank, so they assure us, and from there starts its flight, which little by little loses height, and sometimes, on the rivers that are too wide, they do not manage to reach the other bank. It was observed that the Tukano Indians, seeing a tucano /toucan/ fly over the river Uaupés at one of the widest points, uttered cries, as though of apprehension, in fear that the bird might not succeed in reaching the opposite bank.

They are only traces that at most might lead one to infer an earlier social form of totemic clan, if they are not elements acquired by borrowing (the instinct of imitation of the Indians is so re-
[824] markable) from other groups. One does not note, however, any attention (respect, fear, pleasure) toward the animal or plant whose name they bear; names, besides, without economic importance (except the Baniva or another one), contrary to what happens as a rule in connection with the totemic names.

It has not been noted that they avoid killing it or, on the contrary, try to eat it in some special circumstances. If they find it dead, /476/ no sign of surprise. It is certain that at times they kill it in order to use its feathers in the dance ornaments. But, at least in the present form (112),

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> "112. We so often insist on the idea that these are present customs. This is because it becomes difficult or impossible to verify how they proceeded in other times. And the Indians respond to our questions: -- "It has always been this way."

the ornaments are the same for the various tribes, be they called Tukano, Arara, Tuyuka, Pirá-tapuya, etc. It can even be asserted that their attitude is one of perfect indifference before the animal with their own name, more or less just as before any other animal.

614 There are no tucano /toucan/, pica-pau /woodpecker/, juritf
619 /dove/, etc. clans, either. They are and they are considered nations or different tribes, each one with its own language and peculiar somatic features. It is true that one and the same tribe is subdivided into groups with names that might seem clanlike (cf. IV-2-a(2) /see a(3)/ ). But they indeed are not the animals that appear

/476 cont./

614 in the dance ornaments. Besides, such groups, or Gentes, are far
619 from the classic type of clan. For example, marriage is not permitted between the Gentes, but only between one and another Nation.

The ornaments with feathers of the tucano /toucan/, arara, garça /heron/, or monkey fur are bound up with the legend of Wãxtĩ, which, due to the mutual relationship between the tribes, has figured in the history of each tribe. The ornaments, however, are
[438] not distinctive for family or clan. They are essentially the same for all the tribes, being an object of trade of one tribe with another. This circumstance alone already speaks against a clan interpretation.

[532] It is absolutely not noted that any tribe or group has any pictorial representation by incision or sculpture of any animal whatso-
[825] ever, and even less of its titular.

As for the dance masks and personages, it is to be observed first
[53] that there is the one of the borboleta /butterfly/, and nevertheless there is no human group with this denomination, and nothing reveals its having existed. In the second place there are mask, dance, and song of the cutia /agouti/, and a subdivision among the Tukano, the Bwá-põrã, children of the cutia, and an Arwake tribe of the Içana, Awadzuranai or cutia-tapuya, are known under this name; and nevertheless there is no such mask among the Tukano, but there is among the Arwako.

It seems that the same personage now does the borboleta /butterfly/, now the cutia, etc. Now one, now another will do such a role; within the same maloca there are the various personages, and it is not a matter of a function inherited from father to son either. All this testifies against the hypothesis of the existence of clan subdivisions.

/477/ As for the episode of the concern for the tucano
[825] /toucan/ that was crossing the river, it could be a manifestation of simple curiosity, which among the Indians comes so many times accompanied by exclamatory noises. The elders relate nothing that might prove to be a matter of a clan totem. At least by what we know up to now.

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*wekū*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahūkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahūkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahūkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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682 derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. [614] However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault.

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when [593] his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. [578] This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a [763] monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. [825] In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother, claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had happened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, [625] however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer [697] and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is 682 no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The 593 only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, [266] crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as [762] he then cut his throat and died.

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old 683 *Bahúkiwa* man had died and the inquest named a man of a related sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves 685 pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihí*. Both offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of *mihí* is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft [276] is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

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The Cubeo are also fond of the
young of animals and treat them with intelligent solicitude. One man 825
built a long platform in his house so that his dogs would not have to sleep on the ground. Men, having shot some monkeys, found an infant clinging to its mother's dead body. They massaged the monkey's breast, saying, "The baby should have the last drop of its mother's milk."

Toilet training is casual. No one who carries a child about shows 863
annoyance or disgust at being soiled. The Cubeo are reticent about excretory functions but they do not teach by chiding. They have no fixed ideas as to when a child should be toilet trained. The only injunctions a crawling baby is likely to hear are warnings against injury, if it is too near the fire or the liquid starch with its poisonous content of prussic acid. Still, it is rare for a walking child to urinate or defecate in the house.

Walking and talking are actively encouraged. To help the child 856
walk the father provides a harness (*taro*) through which the child's legs pass, allowing it to sit, stand, or walk. The harness is often suspended from a beam and serves as a tether for the child. Mother and father stimulate the child to talk by fluttering its lips. Lip fluttering is a game that persists into late childhood. Cubeo parents dread passivity in a child. They want to see it stirring about and restless. It is for this reason that the mother teases her infant, stirring it to anger or gaiety. The story is told that *Kiiwai* once observed a passive child. He said, "The child must be made to move about," and so [773]
created the bothersome pium flies.

The crawling baby is still in its mother's charge. When it has be- 85
gun to walk and to take solid nourishment, and its parents have resumed sexual relations, it is transferred to the care of an older sister. Every little girl from the age of six on is burdened with a walking baby that rides her left hip as it did its mother's. At this age, when it is learning to walk, many people look after the child. Its paternal [603]
grandmother becomes a principal guardian and looks after the child's feeding. After a new baby is born the separation of the young walking child from its mother becomes almost complete. A woman [862]
discourages nursing by coating her nipples with a bitter substance even though a boy has casual and playful access to his mother's breast until about the age of six.

## CHILDHOOD

In the life of a boy there is an interval of some four years when he 855
no longer receives the same close attention from his mother and has

[text continues on p. 177]

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831
832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavimiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwá*, and armpit hair is *pwá butéi* (literally, hair tobacco).

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saw them serve chicha in this manner. The Cubeo offer the calabash with a jest: "Drink quickly so that you may be drunk soon." The aim of the drinking party is to achieve an intense state of excitement and to maintain that until overcome by sheer fatigue and sleep. Tobacco, coca, and *mihí* supplement drinking to intensify and hasten the reaction. When *mihí* is taken, producing color visions and finally a blackout, the Indians say, "Now we shall get drunk quickly." *Mihí* is associated with *míwa* (birds), which are the patrons of ecstatic intoxication.[1] Drunkenness is not to be avoided. If a little boy gets drunk his father is proud of his precociousness. Women, however, are not expected to get drunk and they rarely do.

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*Mihí* is not taken at every drinking party but only at those that are considered very important. At the mourning festival (*óyne*) a great quantity is consumed. The narcotic plants (*Banisteriopsis caapi* and others) from which *mihí* is prepared are cultivated by the men only and they alone drink it. The Cubeo regard it as a sacred drug, and from all indications it is so regarded throughout the Western Amazon region where it is used. Along the Orinoco the Indians chew the skin, but all along the Vaupés an infusion is prepared by boiling the leaves, bark, and roots to form a greenish-brown "soup" that is strongly bitter. The Cubeo prepare several varieties that are graded according to potency. Upon truly solemn occasions they begin with a mild infusion from the leaf of a variety that is taken exactly at midday, and conclude with a very strong variety just before sunset. This sequence of *mihí* transports a man from vague and mild visions of whiteness to intense hallucinatory experiences, bursts of violence, and finally loss of consciousness. *Mihí* almost invariably causes vomiting, and for that reason alone each man must take many servings. For each type of *mihí* there are four servings taken from a small gourd dipper. The first service is of two dippers, the second of one, and the third and fourth of two each. At the beginning, the Indians say, the vision becomes blurred, things begin to look white, and one begins to lose the faculty of speech. The white vision turns to red. One Indian described it as a room spinning with red feathers. This passes and one begins to see people in the bright coloring of the jaguar. When the final strong forms of *mihí* are taken the hallucinations begin to assume a disturbing and fearful form. One becomes aware of violent people milling about, shouting, weeping, threatening to kill. One is seized with the fear that he no longer has a home. The house posts and trees come alive and take the form of people.

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[1] There is also a bird called *mihíte*.

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765 174 535 532 larly, they have adapted harvest and demon cult ceremonies to ancestral cult rites. Evidences of religious syncretism are important in interpreting a complex ceremony. Thus, the fact that the mourning rites commonly begin during the pupunha season and the fact that at one point in the ceremonies the men pelt the roof of the house with pupunha fruit to "frighten the women" must be evaluated in the light of the possibility that we are dealing with a portion of a foreign ceremony, incorporated in the structure of the *dyne*. Cubeo ancestral or initiative rites also include "harvest festival" elements. But in these, as in the *dyne*, the harvest theme is a minor one.

## MASK REPRESENTATIONS

532 776 825 765 Dr. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels through the Vaupés region, collected some 50 different mask representations. My own observations along the Cuduiarí covered 30. Altogether, there is now a combined list of 62.[4] Since the masks are intended to portray *all* the living creatures of the Cubeo world the number of masks is potentially vast. No one ceremony uses them all. There are, however, key characters that are most commonly represented. These are Jaguar, Dung beetle, Carrion vulture, Butterfly, Aracú fishes, Eagle, Sloth, Parrot, Dragonfly, Minnows (who are not masked but are an important element in the ceremonial dramatization), *Pyénkũ* (a small black fish), Frogs, and a variety of cannibalistic ogres or forest demons, the *Abúhuwa*. Informants would not say which of the masked representations was most important, presumably because invidiousness is, to the Cubeo, in poor taste. Judging, however, by their prominence, I would say that Jaguar, Butterfly, *Abúhuwa*, Dung beetles, Carrion vulture, and Aracú fishes were most important, more or less in that order. Except for the aracú, the esteemed fish of the region, these creatures all have an association with death. The jaguar is, of course, the dreaded sorcerer. The sorcerer is called *yaví* (jaguar) and the Cubeo regard any jaguar as likely to be either a sorcerer or a sorcerer's dog. The morpho butterfly with its beautiful blue wings is a creature of sorcerers and of evil. The information Koch-Grünberg received was that the morpho butterfly (*tatárako*) lives at Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés, where he brews malaria in a calabash and strews it over the land (1909, II, 181). I did not hear this account, but I was told that when a sorcerer is cooking a brew that will kill a victim at a distance the morpho butterfly appears and encircles the pot. Finally, it falls in and is consumed and at that moment the victim dies.

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[4] See the end of this chapter.

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Makálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kawá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *kwananiwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

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The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* – the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

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The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

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The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

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| 8. *Valuliaboxoko* | (K-G) | A giant demon, killer of fish, who is actually the carara bird, a great devourer of fish. |

**Birds**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 9. *Murukutuko* (*pupuli*) and | (K-G) | The owl. Has a mask covering only the head. |
| 10. *Hauhabo* | (K-G) | Holds a torch in one hand and a stick in the other and jumps up and down in imitation of the owl jumping from branch to branch. Regarded as an evil devourer of people. |
| 11. *Kavá* | (K-G;IG) | The carrion vulture. |
| 12. *Miaw* | (K-G;IG) | The eagle. The mask has a white facepiece with an hourglass frame surmounting it. |
| 13. *Kolapilabo* | (K-G) | A small prey bird. |
| 14. *Kuliko* | (K-G) | A bird of the parrot family. |
| 15. *Vekó* | (K-G;IG) | A bird of the parrot family. |
| 16. *Kobauako* | (K-G) | A bird of the parrot family. |
| 17. *Olo mo oko* | (K-G) | The aracua. |
| 18. *Umanami* | (K-G) | The tém tem (*Tachyphonus*). |
| 19. *Yolourus* | (K-G) | Swallows. |
| 20. *Pinikabokü* | (IG) | A small white bird. |

**Fish**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 21. *Borikakü* | (K-G;IG) | The aracú. |
| 22. *Máwayo* | (K-G;IG) | The red-mouthed aracú. |
| 23. *Avali* | (K-G) | A small aracú. |
| 24. *Pyénkü* | (IG) | A small black fish. |
| 25. *Ihiabolü* | (K-G;IG) | A small fish. |
| 26. *Haima* | (K-G) | The yaudia. |
| 27. *Batakahaima* | (K-G) | The black yaudia. |
| 28. *Atuaholabo* | (K-G) | The colored aracú. |
| 29. *Iyudyo* | (K-G) | A small aracú. |
| 30. *Emiwa* | (IG) | Minnows. |

**Insects**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 31. *Kerutamówa* | (K-G;IG) | Dung beetles. |
| 32. *Tatávako* | (K-G;IG) | The butterfly. |
| 33. *Maka* | (K-G) | A bird-catching spider. |
| 34. *Pekú penkünkü* | (IG) | Beetle larvae. |
| 35. *Budyauobo* | (K-G) | The leaf bug. |
| 36. *Bóbobo* | (K-G) | The house spider. |
| 37. *Umenahonkü* | (K-G;IG) | The dragonfly. |
| 38. *Malakaibo* | (K-G) | A large night butterfly. |
| 39. *Bobako* | (K-G) | A small night swarmer. |
| 40. *Kumatidiauo* | (K-G) | A caterpillar. |
| 41. *Tadyiim pikoa* | (K-G) | A caterpillar. |
| 42. *Kohidiveko* | (IG) | The cockroach. |
| 43. *Himáuwa* | (IG) | Caterpillars. |
| 44. *Utáwe* | (K-G) | The firefly. |
| 45. *Henohenóri* | (IG) | The bee. |
| 46. *Utcikü* | (K-G;IG) | The wasp. |
| 47. *Kubuwa* | (K-G) | Sand flies. |

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**Mammals**

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|---|---|---|---|
| 48. | *Yaú* | (K-G;IG) | The jaguar. |
| 49. | *Nyamáko* | (K-G;IG) | The deer. |
| 50. | *U* | (K-G;IG) | The sloth. |
| 51. | *Pamúrũ* | (IG) | The armadillo. |
| 52. | *Kapáro* | (IG) | The monkey. |
| 53. | *Hwaní* | (IG) | The peccary. |

**Reptiles and Amphibians**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 54. | *Ala* | (K-G) | The yararaca snake. |
| 55. | *Ba ko ko ko* | (K-G) | A small frog. |
| 56. | *Umáua* | (IG) | Frogs. |
| 57. | *Pampámibo* | (IG) | Frogs (another variety). |
| 58. | *Pudnwa* | (IG) | Small frogs. |
| 59. | *Xiábũ* | (IG) | The alligator. |

**Unidentified**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 60. | *Pikuré* | (IG) | |
| 61. | *Tonkáikũ* | (IG) | |
| 62. | *Imíhikũ* | (IG) | |

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beeswax. When enemy *Mąinwa* attack, the paste is thrown among them, causing them to fall stupefied to the ground. It is the shaman, however, who can contend with these ogres most successfully. The *abúhuwa* are frightening to behold, the Indians say, because they have two faces, one in front and one in back. Some have sticky bodies and when they embrace an unwary victim he can no longer escape. A mother and child are favorite targets of these *abúhuwa*. The mother is killed and the child is reared as one of them. It in turn then seizes people. Female *abúhuwa* have a preference for men and the *abúhukũ* tries to catch a woman. 776 [789] [756]

*Nyáma abúhuko* (Deer ogre) is a black ogress, an evil spirit of the deer, who catches children wandering about alone. She tosses them into the air so as to break their necks and then and there eats them.

Another ogre is *Opómbibekũ*, a dwarf with an enormous penis, who flies about at night, seizes little boys, and eats them.

*Kómi* is also an ogre, one who emerged with the first people. Eventually people caught him and burned him alive. They then noticed that whatever came near his ashes died. Sorcerers still go to fetch his ashes for their "poisons." [754]

Snakes, the boa and anaconda in particular, are dangerous to women. The land boa rapes women in their manioc gardens so that they give birth to snakes. The water anaconda attacks menstruating women who come to the river. A menstruant is endangered by land snakes, too, but can ward them off by painting with genipa. Nothing, however, will protect her in the water. The water anaconda is a threat to a newborn child and to its father as well. This menace, however, is easily counteracted by the simple magical techniques of the old men. The dangerous anaconda is the white anaconda and not the ancestral black anaconda, which is regarded as friendly "because he knows his people." He is not venerated and is not the object of ritual although he is represented in petroglyphs on the Cuduiari. In the old days, I was told, he was kept as a household pet but for sentimental reasons only. 776 825 [841] [789]

The river is also the home of the *muápuãnwa* (fish people), who are anthropomorphic spirits. They are small people who live in a house beneath the river and move about at night, sometimes brushing moistly against travelers and frightening them but otherwise harmless. 776

The fish, who are of great importance in Cubeo ceremonials, not only in the *óyne* but in their own fish dances and fish songs by which the Cubeo celebrate great catches, are a "people." They, too, live in a house and have a chief, *Munyúnbekũku* (Old man *munyún*), a 776 825

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776 mythical fish with a mouth that has the lower jaw of the puño and
825 an upper jaw shaped like the beak of a parrot. Should a menstruant enter a canoe he will break it to bits. The Cubeo do not say that their fish ceremenials are for the purpose of promoting success in fishing. Their view rather is that when they are happy with a catch of fish they enjoy dancing with them. Increase magic may underlie the Cubeo relationship with fish. But if it does they either no longer recognize the instrumental motive or else they refuse to acknowledge it.

825 As with the *Bekûpwãnwa*, the Cubeo relationship with the animal
771 world is largely one of establishing proper social relationships. In such relationships compulsion is out of place. In the animist world view of the Cubeo the entire animal world is communicant with the world of man. Some relationships, as has been noted, are dangerous, and therefore stand out in a special category. Among the dangerous relationships is that of the jaguar. Since the jaguar is identified with the shaman, it is more suitably discussed under the heading of shamanism. There are birds, such as a parrot called *bauvéko* and marúku monkeys, who are feared because they are foretellers of misfortune. For the rest, and with the exceptions noted previously, the relationship between man and the animal world is casual and friendly. On the river, as we have already observed, the Indians address birds and fish by name. Their intense interest in domesticating animals of almost every variety as household pets must also be considered as part of the effort at communication of a concrete form.

825 The birds, *miwa*, are friendly spirits. They emerged, it is said,
776 from Uaracapurí with the Ancients and were originally in human form. The birds are the planters of fruits and berries and are their
[273] guardian spirits. They are appropriately at the same time the guard-
[532] ian spirits of intoxication, a bird with a corn-cob body and wings of
[765] a manioc tray fragment presiding in that capacity over the *dyne*.

The luminary *aryá*, who is both sun and moon, is a more distant
776 anthropomorphic spirit.[1] The Cubeo interest is in the moon, the li-
821

[1] The doctrine of *aryá* as both sun and moon is mythological only. It does not mean that the Cubeo do not distinguish clearly between these two bodies. *Aryá* refers to the anthropomorphic being whose activities are actually in moon form; it refers also to direction. East is called by the Cubeo *aryálnino* (*aryá* [the sun] is coming). West correspondingly is expressed as "*aryá* is going." To express time, however, the sun is referred to by the particular name of *handwûkakû*, an anthropomorphic form that has, however, no anthropomorphic connotation to my knowledge. *Handwû* refers to time in the abstract, while *handwû korika* (sun in the center) means "midday." All specific times are given by describing the position of the sun in the sky. The word for "day" or "daylight" is *hánan* and is apparently based upon the verb root *ha* (to see). The Cubeo disclaim any anthro-

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778 of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

[192] [193]

778 756 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known as *pariékoků* (man of power) or as *yaví* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékoků* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yaví* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every *yaví* is a *pariékoků* but not every *pariékoků* is a *yaví*. The *yaví* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékoků* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékoků*, but *yavís* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yaví* and the *pariékoků*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékoků*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

[554]

The power of the shaman is called *parúkků*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an exceptional act it is his *parúkků*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleasantly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiari is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Shamanistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Generally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman on the Cuduiari once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

778 756 821 823 789 778 756 787 825

756 778 554 Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the shamans wage against one another. A *yaví*, I was told, has a different

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A yavi, I was told, has a different kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong *yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *paridkohũ* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a *yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekõkũ*) becomes a jaguar. According to this view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pwãnyaviwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahũkiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yaví* or *paridhokü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yaví*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yaví*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duwáyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhókükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenádox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhókükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridkü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duwáyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenádox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yaví* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yaví* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yaví*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yaví*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yaví* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives. 754 756

The *yavís* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokũbŕwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yaví* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakũ dekókũ* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several [828] [177] [776] 754 775 825

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754 [775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yaví*. The insect
• [825] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatárako* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcikũ* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *diwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by
278 the *lingua geral* term *marukimbáru*, and in Tucanoan by the term
824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but
824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by
754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi-
682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapíbũ kowaiye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti-
824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge.
682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has
[241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



early rubber gatherers, who on occasions would shoot dozens at a time, more for sport than to supply meat. They are now nearly extinct in many areas. 224

Having killed such a large animal the difficulty is to keep the meat. The *caucheros* build great platforms over the fires and smoke it for days. This is the only way it can be preserved. It is not possible to eat very much of the rich, sweet meat at a time, and the Indians believe that at certain times of the year it is bad to touch it, for it is almost inedible and causes skin blemishes. Though the Indian professes to despise tapirs, he nevertheless assigns human characteristics to them; he believes they dance, drink *chicha* and even build *malocas*. He also believes that by eating a particular animal he may acquire some of its characteristics. From a peccary he can gain faith and resolution, for the wild boar's habit of going to the rescue of a wounded companion has left an indelible impression on the Indians. Just as the puma is credited with human characteristics, the *agouti*, like the legendary African hare, is attributed wisdom and wit. 825

The blowpipe is of as much importance to the hunter as his bow and arrow. The Tukano make their pipes from a small palm. A length of from eight to ten feet is cut and allowed to dry. The pith is removed and an inner bore put into position and polished with tree roots. The outside is bound along its whole length with bark and covered with a resinous wax. A small pig-bone sight is fixed on one end and a hard wooden mouthpiece on the other. The Indian will travel through the forest all day long, looking for birds, small monkeys and squirrels, and carrying his match-thin ten-inch darts, perhaps thirty at a time, in wicker holders.

He constantly watches the trees overhead; he may suddenly see a parrot on a branch ahead of him. He moves forward slowly; if he can stand directly beneath the bird he has less difficulty in steadying his aim. He raises the pipe cautiously and places the cupped lower end over his mouth. He reaches behind with his free arm and draws a poison-tipped dart. Inserting it in the shaft with its cotton wad, he aligns the pig-bone sight on to the bird and inflates his cheeks. There is a barely discernible puff. Seventy feet over his head the parrot squawks, starts to fly, falters and crashes through the branches to the ground. Sometimes there are other birds near by and the Indian will kill three or four before he begins to look for them lying somewhere in the dense thickets, but he never loses one. Parrots are the most common target and the most easily approached, but unless cooked for many hours they are quite inedible. We would occasionally make a soup from them. Macaws, toucans and egrets are sought after, more for their feathers than as food. Pigeon, turkey, duck and geese are far more palatable; while frogs, snakes and various grubs, ants and beetles are considered delicacies. 262 [825]

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ABOVE: *Preparing for the festival.* BELOW: *Bréo unpacks the festival feather head-dresses from their boxes.* [see p. 70-B] 000

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-S (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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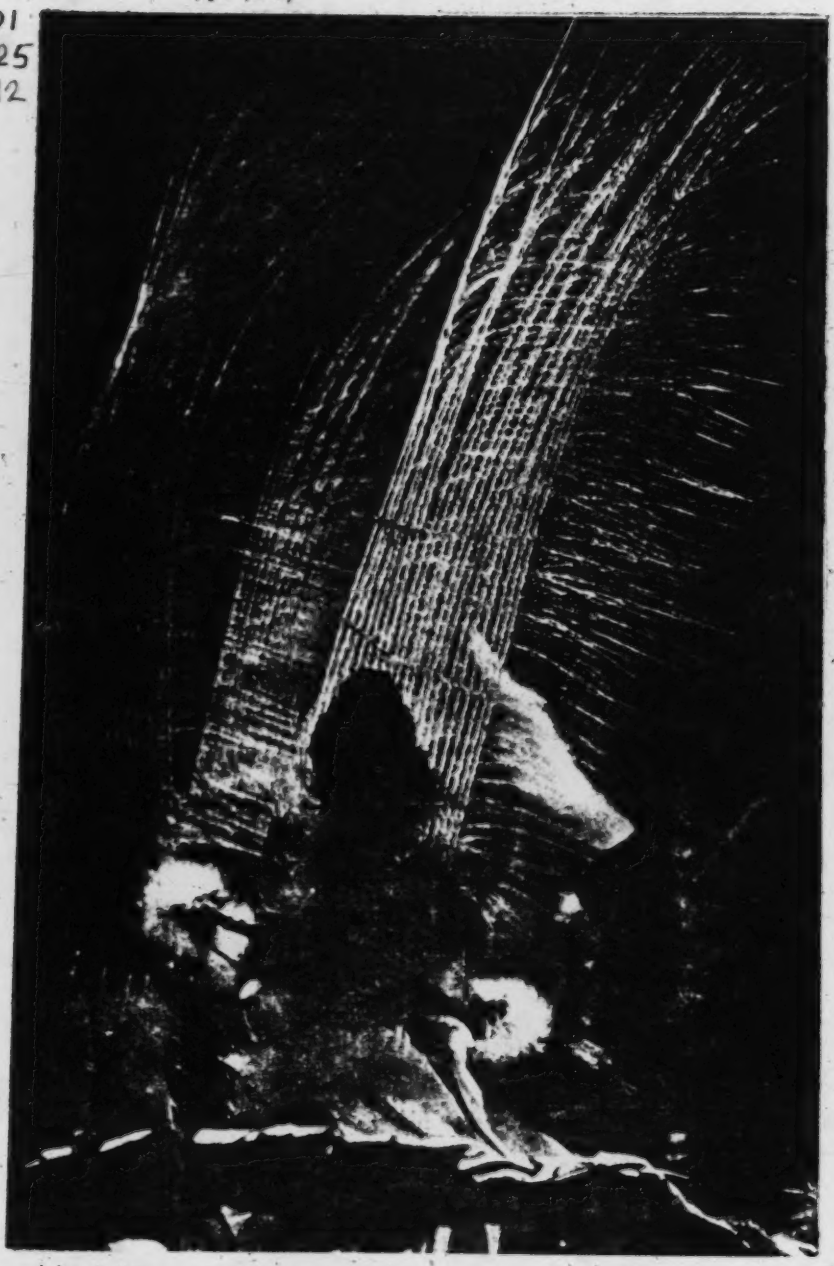

A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.

6: Moser & Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Tukano profile and festival head-dress.

123
437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to
171 see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just
778 as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments
562 reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nut-
171 shells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that
171 the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the
825 deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said
[777] to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



occur constantly in the myth and legend of the tribes, as does the Motilon legend of the twins. It is a legend known from Mexico to the tribes living in Tierra del Fuego, which suggests a considerable antiquity.

Just as the puma is usually the symbol of fear, so the deer is credited by the Indian with fairy-like, almost feminine, qualities, perhaps because of its shyness and speed. It has been suggested that the deer is the symbol of new life, having been regarded as such by early migrations of hunting folk moving south along the chain of the Andes from North America. It was thus associated with first menstruation and all the accompanying rites when a girl reaches puberty and is able to create new life, and its hooves were used by women as ornaments or rattles. The deer-bone flute may have been the first musical instrument used by the Indians.

Several tribes have no musical instruments at all. Possibly these were the first people to reach South America. Later migrations may have brought instruments with them, possibly others evolved on the spot. The similarity of some Kogi and Motilon instruments to those used in Central America suggests a more recent influence.

At first we found it difficult to distinguish the sounds of the different instruments if we could not see them. But after a while we learnt to recognize not only the instrument but also the many different tunes of each tribe. A Noanamá girl would sing to herself for hours on end. The Motilon had a vast repertoire of walking, war and harvest songs. Instrumental tunes were fewer and some, as in the case of the haunting call of the snail shell, tended to be very repetitive. The Tukano, however, had innumerable panpipe tunes.

Indian music we at first found strange because we were accustomed to the European tone system. They have no conception of note-vibrations to obtain an octave. Yet they can tell whether one instrument is in tune or not with another. A panpipe can be cut to a certain length to produce a particular sound, but it is difficult to produce the exact note, so they may raise the pitch by adding sand, or putting water or even *chicha* inside.

The panpipe tunes in the Tukano festival were the nearest thing we heard to orchestral music; each group played antiphonally, with sometimes two or three groups playing different tunes. We could not however make out whether combination or competition was the motive behind this weird performance.

The Tukano had no conception of counterpoint, though their playing was often harmonious. We did find it in the singing of the Noanamá – perhaps the result of mission teaching. One Tukano chant is almost identical to a western Irish folk lament.

In contrast to African negro music in which stringed instruments and drums predominate, Indian music is mainly that of the rattle and the flute. Every type of construction is found, from humming top and conch shell to

*539 /112 cont./
hats, straps, and belts of the whites. Then Yepá Huáke performed another miracle, and from this miracle came the arrows, bows, blowguns, guayucos /loincloths/, and all the clothes of the Tukano.

/113/ The Tukano had already arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And afterwards the whites arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke gave orders for all, whites and Tukano, to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And there in Diaojpekodijtára appeared a few gillos, all kinds of serpents, and all kinds of fierce animals. And this was because Yepá Huáke ordered it. From then on no one else could bathe in Diaojpekodijtára out of fear of these animals. And Yepá Huáke said that the group that was strongest should bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke said that the Tukano should bathe first, and the Tukano did not want to bathe out of fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke commanded the whites to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára, and all the whites bathed without fear. And from then on the Tukano remained under the orders of the whites, since, because of the accursed fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára, the Tukano did not bathe and the whites won (19).

[648]
[829]

19. Rationalization for the dominion that the police, the judge, the Comisario /commissary, commissioner/, the religious Missionary, and the rubber worker have over the Indian in the Vaupés region.

And before bathing themselves in Diaojpekodijtára, the whites were the color of the Tukano, but after bathing in Diaojpekodijtára they turned white. The Tukano saw that the whites were already bathing, and then the Tukano wet the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of the feet, and that is why all these parts of the body of the Tukano are white (20).

• [826]

20. Reference to the fact that in general the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of

*539

• [826]

/113 cont./

the feet are of a lighter color than the other parts of the body.

All the people, whites and Tukano, who were grouped together, began their return to Diaojpekodijtára and became separated on the march. To the right marched the Tukano with Yúpuri Baúro as their chief, and to the left were all the whites, who were led by Alemán. Among the Tukano went Yepára Dujuío, and among the whites went the old lady, who is named Númio Paraméo in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke made them enter Diaojpekowí again. And Yepá Huáke performed a miracle, and in a gourd /Spanish toruma, Crescentia/ he produced coca already ground and mixed with ash (21).

[276]

21. The ash of the burned dried leaf is an ingredient in the elaboration of coca by the Tukano Indian.

and he also produced tobacco, and also produced a small cigar /Spanish tabaquito/ which is smoked through the nose and which is called Uejisé in Tukano. And in with this /114/ coca there were gúíos and serpents and spiders and all the wild beasts and animals of the world. And Yepá Huáke ordered Yúpuri Baúro to eat some of this coca. And Yúpuri Baúro was very afraid of this coca full of animals. And then Yepá Huáke ordered the Alemanes to eat some of this coca, and they would not eat either, from pure fear of the animals that were in that coca. And then Yepá Huáke ordered all the animals that were in the gourd with coca to eat the coca, and the animals ate it; that is why the animals never die, but instead only change skins and hides. And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Because you did not eat any of this coca, you are going to die" (22).

22. Will not be immortal.

/159 cont./

578 The legends refer to similar episodes, and perhaps they try to imitate their legendary heroes.

278 /160/ a) The most common method of revenge, nevertheless, is poisoning. When they talk to us with intimacy and frankness, the natives affirm and document numerous cases of poisonings for revenge. From which one understands the general fear that dominates everyone, almost an obsession about being poisoned. Some revealed to us that they had been victims, they themselves, of poisonings that caused them serious and prolonged illnesses. We also know of cases in circumstances such that, according to the account of the Rvdas. Irmãs Enfermeiras /Reverend Sisters in charge of the sick/, they admit the suspicion of poisoning. Among these, we recall here two cases that happened during our travels. It was a matter of a more odious form of revenge, that is, to cause harm to the younger children in order to get satisfaction for injuries caused by their parents. Two children about ten years old, students of the Salesian Mission: a girl from Iãuaretê in April of 1955, and a boy from Parí-cachoeira in October of 1956. Both died at the end of a few hours, after ingesting native drinks.

266 They do not, however, practice anthropophagy, and nothing reveals that they had had this custom in the Tukano group of tribes (cf. below what will be said about Cannibalism, VII - 6, h /sic; see VII, 4, h/).

19) Vanity.

326 Vanity is a strongly pronounced trait of the native psyche. The mothers tie bindings on the babies in arms, below the knee and above the ankle, "in order to thicken their legs." Actually, on the whole, they are anatomically well proportioned and elegant, with well-formed legs. They want to have thick legs. It is one of the insults, especially among the girls, to call one another skinny leg (33).

*[192] 33. Insults in Tukano: skinny leg, ñõxkã-dyí-Marĩgõ; curly hair, poári-subi; big eye, kaxpéri-bũhũgõ.

/160 cont./

142 All of them have a full figure, up to about 30 years of age. After that age, corpulence becomes exaggerated in some men, and the women on the whole lose weight, growing old prematurely. They do not promote any deformation for aesthetic or warlike effect (34).

[171]
[304]

34. /The deformation of the skull is characteristic of the Caraíbas /Carib/, applying tight splints to the children's heads. Among the Amazon tribes the first explorers found this custom among the Cambeba ("Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, 145). In some tribes, for example, the Pinao of Colombia, this was done in order to have a fierce appearance.

826 The maidens exhibit round, well-developed breasts. They identify beauty with corpulence. When someone changes climate in order /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /161/ to gather strength, they say that "he went in search of meat." No preoccupation with the waistline; they do not use a girdle.

302 The hair in particular is an object of vanity. They arrange it, comb it often, the women and the new generation of men. The young men, during trips, gather flowers from the bank of the river and string them through their hair, over the ear. They apply lotions, which they prepare with genipap and other plants, in order to keep it black. This is the secret in why they never become gray... They love beads, soaps, perfumes. A maiden sold herself for half a jar of pomade.

They like the mirror very much and stare at it frequently; formerly they gave an oar in exchange for a small mirror.

The young women are sad about being dark, and in order to lighten the skin they rub it vigorously with soap and even with sand, looking at themselves again each time, in order to see whether they are becoming fairer.

/265/ 2) Human physiology.

826 *[192]

They have quite precise notions about human anatomy and physiology, both of the external functions and something of the internal ones, and a very rich nomenclature for the different parts of the organism. By way of documentation, these terms run:

ōxpō, body (Plural ōxpō-ri)
dōxpo-á (pl. dōxpo-pá), head
poá (pl. poá-ri), hair
dyápo-a (pl. dyápo-pá), front, face
dyápo-a-sero (pl. seri), brow
dyápo-a-tōrō (pl. tōri), forehead
dōxpo-pe'toro (pl. pe'tori), cranium
kaxpé-a (pl. kaxpé-ri), eye
kaxpé-poa (pl. poari), eyelash
kaxpé-wē (pl. wēri), eyebrows
kaxpé-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), eyelid
waxsu-poro (pl. pori), cheek
waxsú-di-a (pl. waxsú-di-pá), zygoma
ē'ké-a (pl. ē'ké-pá), nose
ē'ké-a-pé (pl. peri), nostril, naris
c'mē-pero (pl. peri), ear
tōori-pe (pl. tōosé-peri), orifice
wamá-ta (pl. wamá-tari), neck
wamá-pé (pl. wamá-peri), throat
u-khá (pl. usé-pá), hyoid body (Adam's apple)
héri-mirō (pl. héri-misé), larynx
meōrō (pl. meōsé), pharynx
meōri-da (pl. meōsé-dari), pharynx, esophagus
ōx'sé-ro (pl. ōx'se-ri), mouth
ōx'sé-be'to (pl. be'tori), lip
ōx'sé-ka (pl. kari), jaw
ōx'sé-ka-poa (pl. poari), chin
ōx'sé-be'to-poa (pl. poari), whiskers
ōx'sé-ko (pl. inus kori), saliva
kuxti-ro (pl. kuxti-ri), chest
uxpí-ka (pl. uxpí-kari), tooth
uxpí-mō (p. mōri), gums
duri-khā (pl. duri-khāsé pikari), molar tooth
ye'mē-ro (pl. ye'mē-ri), tongue
kātō ou kātō-a (pl. kātō-ri), nape

/266/

*192
• 826

axkõ-poro (pl. pori), shoulder
sẽ'éma (pl. sẽ'émãri), back
sẽ'éma-o'ã (pl. o'ãri), vertebral column
pati-pãma (pl. pãmãri), rib
oxpẽ-rõ (pl. oxpẽ-ri), breast (woman)
oxpẽ-kõ (pl. inus. kõri), milk
oxpẽ-yõxkõri (pl. yõxkõri), nipple
oxpẽ-ro-tõ (pl. tõri), scrotum
oxpẽ-ro-tõ dyé (pl. dyé-ri), sperm
súmũ-a (Uaupés sõmõ-a) (pl. súmũ-pá; Uaupés sõmõ-pá), navel
héri-põra (pl. põrãri), heart, liver
héri-mise (inv.), breath
ye'mẽ-turi (só pl.), bronchiae, lungs
nimã-ga (pl. nimã-pá), biliary vesicle, gall bladder
si'sẽrẽ (pl. si' sẽrẽri), trochanter
wa'té-ro (pl. wa'té-ri), groin
nihi-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), uterus
nihi-koro (pl. korori), vagina
yaxpé or yaxpẽ (pl. yaxpẽ-ri), vulva
kõrẽ-tuxturo (pl. tuxturi), clitoris
so'mũri-phi (pl. phiri), labia of the vulva
nũ'ri-gõ (pl. nũ'ri-paõ), penis
õ'rẽ (inv.), urine
õ'rẽ-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), bladder
sõ'kõã (pl. sõ'kõãri), waist, lumbar region
si-á (pl. si-pá), buttocks
si-á-pé (pl. si-á-peri), anus
kaxsé-ro (pl. kaxsẽ-ri), skin
o'ã (pl. o'ãri), bone
axsi-busu (pl. bususé), heat, fever
axsi-thúase (inv.), sweat
keká-doxká (pl. doxkari), axilla
wamũ-kã (pl. kãri), arm, hand
wamũ-ka-mipero (pl. mipese), groove opposite the elbow
sa'ã-ga (pl. sa'ã-pá), apophysis of the elbow
wamũ-ka-o'ã (pl. o'ãri), elbow
wamũ-ka-kuxtiro (pl. kuxtiri), palm without the fingers
wamũ-pãma (pl. pãmãri), hand
wamũ-pa (pl. pari), palm with fingers close together
wamũ-ka dõ'po-ka (pl. kari), shoulder blade
wamũ-pika (pl. pikari), finger
wamũ-sero (pl. seri), fingernail
wamũ-ka-doxká (pl. doxkari), forearm

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*192 ōx'só (pl. ōx'só-ri), thigh
ōx'sé-peko-a (pl. peko-ri), knee
• 826 kū-ñarõ (pl. kū-ñãsé), knee
ñõxkã (pl. ñõxkã-ri), leg, shinbone
ñõxkã-di-a (pl. ñõxkã-di-pá), calf
ñõxkã-ga-phi (pl. phiri), shin
dõ'pó-kã (pl. dõ'pó-kãri), leg, foot, base
dõ'pó-di-a (pl. dõ'po-dipá), heel
dõ'pó-pãma (pl. pãmãri), sole of the foot
dõ'pó-pika (pl. pikari), toe
dõ'pó-sero (pl. seri), toenail
ã'ñaya-gá (pl. ã'ñaya-pá), ankle
ö'tá or ã'tá (inv.), feces
ö'tá-mi'si (pl. mi'siri or mi'si-dari), intestines, entrails, viscera
ö'tá-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), stomach
ya'ko-kó or Yá'kó (inv.), tears
di (inv.), blood
di'i or di'iró (inv.), flesh
di-wá:-da (pl. di-wá:-dari), vein, artery
di-wa:sé (pl. di-wa:sé-dari), vein, artery

3) Classification of the animals.

*192 Among the animals they admit the following distinction:

825 1st. -- Ya'ã̃rá (Uaupés ña'ã̃ná) (that is, bad, ferocious) -- they are the beasts and harmful animals, such as the onça /jaguar/, gambá /opossum/, etc.

2nd. -- Nã̃xkã̃-khã̃rá (U. khã̃ná) (that is, inhabitants of the forest) -- they are the edible wild animals, such as the cutia /agouti/, the paca, etc.

3rd. -- Ex'kã̃rá (U. ex'kã̃ná) (that is, those that they feed) -- they are the domestic ones, such as the chicken, pig, etc.

4th. -- Bã̃ã̃rá (U. baã̃ná) (that is, those that they eat) -- under this name come the fish, caterpillars, insects, etc., which they usually eat.

5th. -- Bwĩrá (U. bwĩná) (bwí, up above) -- they are the ones that fly.

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A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen 844
a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though
it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon
with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of
his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by [606]
her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give [789]
birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There [591]
is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

845
Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and 776
require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not [756]
affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in [754]
labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may [761]
be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

844
Childbirth (*pwäntadjü*: making a person) is a dangerous period. 789
First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety 84
of the newborn infant rests with the parents – with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the pre- [833]
cautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may 846
also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten 826
plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

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843
826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating.
[302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to an-
[763] other, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca
854 on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers)
302 she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red
[789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment,
[856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on
[603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these
[606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the
[262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others
[372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their
[828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act be- 846
lieved to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, 789
scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press any- 846
thing, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of [789]
these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is 551
not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given 851
a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child [789]
comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. [856]
To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to 826
understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much
they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in [192]
itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahú* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahúmikũ* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is con- 553
ducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the 603
name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the 789
house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather re- 593
peatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father
accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's [272]
mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to [614]
emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it
grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth [856]
magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

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593 553 603 789 [604] 553 [114] [614] [574] 553 603 593 [856] [826] [775] 553 614 533 [114] [124] [184] 553 614 533 539

father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihi*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Uráhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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852 831 [887] [614] task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen [881] [833] intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; offi- [844] cially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, [821] a prepubescent girl is referred to as *painwe bebiko* (one who has not [881] yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupiini*: one who is blown)[2] is said to be 881 secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, [514] through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she [826] will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To [515] develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that [302] creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me [515] see how much pain you can stand."

[302] At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is [574] held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

114 When a *Bahiikiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them 881 she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. 756 Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father 881 Giarone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

881 After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[2] She is also known as *nomiinyaiwi* (becoming a woman).

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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

## SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy.

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.

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831
832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavimiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
• 826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwé*, and armpit hair is *pwé bútéi* (literally, hair tobacco).

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiari these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiari proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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843 826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating. [302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to an- [763] other, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 854 302 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers) she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red [789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment, [856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on [603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these [606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

546 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the [262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others [372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop [828] a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahnikiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe. 841 [833] [828] [758]

Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her. 826 841 821 [828]

## SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy. 836 835 [838] [775] [867] [626]

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis. 838

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769 534 [785] [793] [828] [754] women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekûpwänwa* to the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will be kept from the other women.

769 796 The *Bekûpwänwa* come annually in the summer when a species of palm berry (*konhá*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not grow. The *Bahúkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, however, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would seem to be an obvious one.

[561] As an age grade, youths are known as *hwainyó*, but as boys who need whipping for growth they are known as *bahúdjo*, which may be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping voluntarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahúkiwa* and one among its subsib, the *Bahúkûdjauwû*.

The *Bahúkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capable in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys subdued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the headman's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

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765 532 825 776 [171]

sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Mahálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamóiwa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kawá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

535 532 765

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

[287] [824] [828]

535 765 [534] [533]

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is 821
merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies [796] are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as [754] potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *dthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaíbo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits 821
of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is [775] dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the [763] eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

## HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] 774
As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the [828] dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so [761] cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something [753] entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard 775
talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who [756] have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyá* form. [776] [821]

[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédo* (pulse) and *umédade* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yavi* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yavi* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yavi*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yavi*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yavi* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives. 754 756

The *yavis* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokūbéwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yavi* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakū dekókū* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several [828] [177] [776] 754 775 825

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754 [775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yaví*. The insect [825] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatáruko* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcíkũ* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dówai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by 278 the *lingua geral* term *marakimbáru*, and in Tucanoan by the term 824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but 824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by 754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi- 682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapíbũ kowaiye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti- 824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge. 682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has [241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

*539 /112 cont./
hats, straps, and belts of the whites. Then Yepá Huáke performed another miracle, and from this miracle came the arrows, bows, blowguns, guayucos /loincloths/, and all the clothes of the Tukano.

/113/ The Tukano had already arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And afterwards the whites arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke gave orders for all, whites and Tukano, to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And there in Diaojpekodijtára appeared a few gullos, all kinds of serpents, and all kinds of fierce animals. And this was because Yepá Huáke ordered it. From then on no one else could bathe in Diaojpekodijtára out of fear of these animals. And Yepá Huáke said that the group that was strongest should bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke said that the Tukano should bathe first, and the Tukano did not want to bathe out of fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke commanded the whites to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára, and all the whites bathed without fear. And from then on the Tukano remained under the orders of the whites, since, because of the accursed fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára, the Tukano did not bathe and the whites won (19).

[648]
•[829]

19. Rationalization for the dominion that the police, the judge, the Comisario /commissary, commissioner/, the religious Missionary, and the rubber worker have over the Indian in the Vaupés region.

And before bathing themselves in Diaojpekodijtára, the whites were the color of the Tukano, but after bathing in Diaojpekodijtára they turned white. The Tukano saw that the whites were already bathing, and then the Tukano wet the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of the feet, and that is why all these parts of the body of the Tukano are white (20).

[826]

20. Reference to the fact that in general the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of

/66 cont./

000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

177 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth
648 century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The
[567] group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Makú are considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that,
[648] according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis), and they themselves considered themselves such, serving without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana
[554] groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some light on this curious practice.

161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same; or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

/69 cont./

*101 On our anthropometric file cards representatives of fourteen tribes appear, to wit: 1. Arapásu, 2. Bará, 3. Desana, 4. Karapanã, 5. Kubêwana, 6. Pirá-tapuya, 7. Suryana, 8. Tukano, 9. Tuyuka, 10. Yurití, 11. Wanana, 12. Kumãdene (or Ipéka-tapuya, water-duck people), 13. Taryãna, 14. Makú.

We also had an opportunity for communication with the tribes: 1. Ba:remasã, 2. Edúrya, 3. Emõá-masã (guariba-tapuya), 4. Hanẽrã (panẽnõa), 5. Ĩde-masã (water people, or Aõnĩrã), 6. Oá-mahã (mikura-tapúya), 7. Páboa-masã (tatú-tapúya), 8. Roéra-masã (tarayra-tapuya), 9. Yebá-masã, 10. Mirití-tapúya, 11. Ĩhwãna, 12. Tsẽna, all of the Tukano /Tucano/ group, and with a dozen tribes of the Arwáke /Arawak/ group, of the rivers Içana and Aiarí.

We do not include in the present study the tribes of the Içana. Nowadays relations are free and easy and trade is frequent between these tribes and the ones who inhabit the upper Uaupés. Not infrequently individuals from that river are found settled in the basin of the Uaupés. Entire groups /70/ have abandoned the Içana and tributaries, judged as "blighted," that is, through the scarcity of fish, and many times attracted by the greater comfort that the Catholic Missions provide for the inhabitants of the rivers Uaupés and Negro.

• 829 171 An impressive fact in such a notable physiological and cultural melting-pot is that all the natives, even the children, proudly know how to distinguish and express precisely the group to which they belong. What would be the basis for this distinction? There being in effect the law that the children belong to the nation of their own father, it is easy for the 000 individual to indicate what his own tribe would be. What, however, would be the foundations for this distinction between tribes? The first foundation, in dealing with nationality, would evidently be of a bio-ethnological order.

/82 cont./

*101 The more noble subdivisions established themselves from Piracuara upwards (river Papurí), with a group of the Waú-ro coming down as far as Ananaz (Uaupés).

According to Frei Gregório's maps, in 1853 the Tukano on the river Uaupés lived in: Pacú-cachoeira, Iuquira-Rapecuma, S. Joaquim, Nanã-Rapecuma, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Iauareté-cachoeira. The first "Relatórios" of the eighteenth century (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, No. 174; "Diario" /Diary/ of Sampaio, No. 366) already report the presence of Índios Uaupés in S. Isabel, today Tapurucuá, in the middle Rio Negro. In fact, a Tukano group is still found in that vicinity.

161 According to Koch G. (Festschrift Eduard Seler, 206) the Tukano would come to 1,500 souls. They must, however, be rather more numerous. The statistics of Pelo Rio Mar report in Brazilian territory alone 1,622 individuals; and those of Colombian territory are equally numerous. It is possible that they exceed two thousand.

• 829 We have sketched the physical appearance of the Tukano (IV -- 1, a (1) ). The physical and spiritual qualities do not reveal any superiority over the other tribes. On the contrary, some of these present more delicate features and perhaps even a better configuration and anatomical proportions. Nevertheless, the Tukano, as we have already noted, considers himself /83/ superior to the other tribes and this primacy is peacefully granted [197] to him. The Missionaries explain this superiority by the fact that the other tribes accepted his language as the official, or at least general, idiom on these rivers. Logically the generalization of the idiom would be explained by the superiority of [173] the tribe. This inconsistency is to be pointed out: according to the Tukano tradition, they were defeated by the "Blood children of the Thunder," the Taryana, who finally accepted the Tukano language.

/108 cont./

*101 as brothers or relatives of those of another tribe, with matrimonial interdication, although they are distinguished, not only by the language, but even somatically or bio-ethnologically. This is the case, for example, with regard to the Tukano and Bará.

3) Divisions -- The informant above indicated to us only the Yebá-Yetána. Various tribes, such as the Hanẽra, Yebá, Emõá, indicated as their subdivision the Roéra or Taraíra. Is it actually a matter of /109/ subdivisions of these tribes, or do the Roéra constitute a tribe per se? If the dialectic difference is small, as the Vocabularies compared reveal to us, the somatic one is greater, in spite of the matrimonial arrangement that binds these tribes. If we keep in mind the fact that among all these tribes exogamous marriage is in force as a strict law (cf. 1, a (1) ), matrimonial non-interdiction could serve as a criterion for distinguishing the tribes, although the interdiction is not always useful as a classificatory criterion.

r) SURIRÁ OR SURYANA

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Surirá, meaning unknown, and they are called Suryana by those of other tribes. Probably it is the same tribe as the one called Cirango by Curt Nimuendajú.

Their language belongs to the Tukano group, as is seen in the Vocabulary that we collected and recorded (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"). Possibly the one that comes in the 16th place in the linguistic classification of Chestmir (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"), and he has located it erroneously on the river Caiari.

[144] [171] [829] They are lighter in complexion than the Tukano, small face, less Mongoloid features, and also shorter and less corpulent than they are. Morally more decayed, they are regarded by the Tukano as inferior, and they judge themselves as such. They are, in reality, slower in assimilating civilization, lazier, less

/109 cont./

*101 susceptible to stimulus (40).

> 40. The appearance of their homes in Acuaricuara confirms the impression that they are more decayed. It is true that in November of 1953 two Suryana families were building the two best houses of the missionary povoado. About the moral decadence, the fact that a father was living maritally with his daughter. It must be pointed out that the Tukano did not accept a Suryana as a labor overseer; nevertheless, in the Mission school the two most intelligent young men were Suryana.

[171] [835] [829] [797]

In Acuaricuara we found Suryana married to Tukano and to Desana; matrimonial interdiction is thus not in force between these tribes. Exogamy is also mandatory among the Suryana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We found some groups on the headwaters of the Papurí and on the river Paca (Acuaricuara and surroundings). They are not to be confused with the Širyaná of Arwake origin located on the Demêni, whom Curt K. identified with the Bahuna.

According to the information obtained in Acuaricuara, the Suryana tribe is greatly reduced in members. There would be about 250 individuals: 120 in S. Geraldo (river Paca), 80 in Vinha-igarapé, 30 in Uiva-igarapé, and 20 in Tapira-cachoeira (river Paca).

[115] /110/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Manoel Rodriguez from Acuaricuara.

1. Tu-boá (?), in S. Geraldo
2. Behé burisêra (Suryana tapurú /caterpillar/), in Vinha-igarapé
3. Wiva (arrow), in Uíva-igarapé (river Paca, above Tapira-cachoeira)

/119 cont./

*101 Their Arwáke ancestry makes us think of a probable descent by way of the rivers Orinoco-Negro, some groups (Ipeka, Baniva, etc.) becoming localized through the valley of the Içana and Xié, and others (Baré and Taryãna) descended farther. The Baré went as far as the mouth of the Rio Negro, and the Taryãna as far as that of the Uáupés, whose stream they later went up. These migrations must have taken place several centuries ago. Actually, at the time of the discoveries, the Arwáke were already found on the rivers that they now occupy. Furthermore, the first explorers who reached the Orinoco River found among the local tribes the belief that the inhabitants of the Rio Negro were giants (cf. Sampaio, "Diário" of 1774-5, p. 302). We can then infer an interval of centuries for the appearance and generalization of legends of this sort.

[829] [171]

/120/ Habitat and inhabitants. -- The statistics of the Missions of the Capuchin Monks from 1880 to 1888 indicate 11 aldeias inhabited by the Taryana, with a total of 2,272 souls, whose principal centers were: Iauareté, S. Joaquim, Nanã-Rapecũma, S. Jerônimo, Micura-Rapecũma, Carurú-cachoeira. We can affirm that, of these centers indicated, at present there are Taryãna only in Iauareté, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Micura-Rapecũma. The last data that we have show only 717 in Ipanoré, Pinú-pinú, Cigarro Buzina and from Iauareté up to Periquito, all the localities on the river Uaupés, and in Aracapá, Japurá and surroundings on the river Papurí, and on the river Javiarí. It is possible that other Arwáke groups closer in language and customs, residing in the basin of the Içana, were included in the reckoning of the Capuchins.

3) Divisions. -- In October of 1953 a group of Taryana from Iauareté, among them two old men more than 60 years of age, verified the list that we are giving below and obtained on previous trips. There was indecision among the informants regarding the order and meaning of the names, due, perhaps, to the decline of the group, which, besides its reduction in members, is losing its own idiom.

/139 cont./

153 As for the memory, he has one a little more awake for the subjects that interest him. Thus he has less difficulty in learning some words or sentences of the Portuguese language, or in reading (4)

[125]

> 4. In 1948 I took to the Museu Salesiano do Índio de S. Paulo /Salesian Museum of the Indian in São Paulo/ the written tests of the children of Pari-cachoeira, after only eight months of school, consisting of a short dictation executed with good penmanship and few mistakes.

and in retaining the names of places, of persons, or in recalling the events. With more difficulty he will learn by heart the arithmetic tables or the prayers. And he also feels happy when the civilized man reminds him of some episode in which the Indian took part. Later, the desire to become "white," that is, to become civilized, moves him. For this reason he adjusts to the great sacrifice of entering a boarding school and attending classes, as well as of subjecting himself to the school discipline.

[829] [872]

2) Practical intelligence.

As for the practical intelligence, it is more highly developed. This is proved by the practical solution of the problems that life presents to him, and with the resources that nature makes available to him. The civilized in those regions, when they do not have other resources available, end up, in certain things, imitating the Indian, or entrusting him with the execution of what is needed. It is enough to point out, for example, the solid and large house /140/ or maloca that he builds, the stable and rapid canoe that he makes, and the numerous objects that he manufactures (vessels, grater, baskets).

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*[192]

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/footnote 6 cont./ other Missionary centers. Another young man wanted to have her as his wife and, in revenge, one time while walking through the forest with her husband (this around 1952), gave him a leaf of pirá-yawára-pũrĩ (plant of the dolphin, Patricia explained to us) to touch. One day "the husband became different," "he became like a dolphin" (that is, breathing like the dolphin does on top of the water), and he finally dove into the Rio Negro there in Tapurucuara (formerly S. Isabel). He stayed in the water a whole day. The dolphins pushed him toward the land, and he "became a person" again. Several times "he has tumed into a dolphin." The wife of the unhappy young man herself is the one who told her these episodes, and she cries a great deal because of this misfortune.

829 On one side, the reserve of the native before the civilized, because he knows that the latter does not understand him or believe in such tales, and perhaps will even scold or ridicule him, and, on the other side, the desire to seem civilized will make him remain silent about all this to the "white" who travels among them, in order that he will not notice this trait of the psychology of the Indian.

154 Perhaps it will not be an exaggeration to present as a general trait of the native psychology this superexcitability of the fantasy. Maybe one should even qualify it as confused and establish it as a deviation from normality, if we make a comparison with that of the civilized.

/143/

153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

[438] [291] [285]

177 829 [342] [291]

His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

153 /144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

/144 cont./

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/footnote 9 cont./ traveling in his canoe and at six o'clock in the morning informed the Missionaries of the visit of the Bishop, who is festively received at the Mission two hours later. Humorously one says that in these latitudes there is not yet wireless telegraph, but the communication system of radio-cipó is well developed.

153

If one opens a suitcase, a book, a notebook, the Indian's eye does not leave these objects. And many times he wants to have a more practical and complete knowledge, approaching them, touching them, and /145/ observing them in all their aspects. And not rarely subjecting them to observation by all the senses: he touches, smells, bites. The civilized man realizes that he is being furtively touched on his clothes, or even on the hand, by the children and even by the women. We were not able to verify whether in this gesture some magic concept might also enter.

When he hears Portuguese being spoken, if he does not understand it, he likes to repeat the sounds that he heard, pronouncing them several times, as if to engrave them in his memory.

7) Distrust.

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Conversely, he does not like to be observed. If he perceives that he is, he withdraws. He answers the civilized laconically, going away as soon as possible, in order to avoid a new question; or he will leave without answering. He spends entire hours of travel in silence in a canoe when he travels alone with some civilized man, or even when he travels with others from the tribe, but in the presence of a "white." It is the mistrust (10)

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10. We were lucky in getting Indians of both sexes, from diverse tribes and in different localities, to unbosom themselves confidentially

/145 cont./

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/footnote 10 cont./ and reveal to us many more intimate and secret things. Besides the frequent presents, although small (many times only some candies and cigarettes, things greatly appreciated by all), and the patience and kindness of the treatment, it helped us to show that we already knew some of the more secret things, especially pertaining to the subject of our questions. Perhaps the vanity in showing that he knew more and better than the previous informers would open the Indian's mouth. One must insist many, many times that they speak frankly, without embarrassment, that not only would they not lose our esteem, but the civilized person likes frank people better. They could talk because we would not reveal their name to anyone.

Among the confidences that we obtained in this way (and in our notes we have recorded the person, place, and date), confirming their preconceived opinion against all the civilized, even though one may be the most abnegative Missionary, we remember here the following four: 1st. -- they do not like the civilized; 2nd. -- they believe themselves more ingenious than the civilized; they consider them just silly; 3rd. -- they like to see the civilized irritated, even pretending not to understand what he wants; 4th. -- it is a good thing to hurt the civilized.

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It would be easy to compile several episodes that confirm these statements. But these confidences, collected from the very lips of the natives, dispense with any more words and are more valuable than any episode. The idea of adding this Note to the chapter on the Psychology of the Indian came to us on August 27, 1957, in Carará-poco on the lower Içana, upon hearing that, for the second time, a young Siusí-tapuya woman (with three children, already

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/footnote 10 cont./ abandoned by two men with whom she had lived, having been charitably sheltered and benefited in so many ways by the Salesian Mission) said to the other women: "the Missionaries are thieves like all the whites."

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always observed and /146/ revealed by anyone who dealt with the Indians, perhaps in part because they have heard talk of the tricks engendered by the civilized (11).

11. Many travelers attest that, at the approach of the whites, the Indians used to send their daughters and wives to the forest. Alexandre R. Ferreira, in his "Diário da Viagem philosophica /Diary of the Philosophical Voyage/," p. 98, states: "On the other hand, the first ones who went down did not take much care to be amiable in the eyes of the Indians; I think that the memory of the treatment has lasted and will last among the people. Actually, they used to give their word, partake of the hospitality, then make the Indians drunk in order to take them captive." "In such a way the aversion and horror toward the whites took root in all, so that, at merely the memory, they hide in the forest. When they come down, it is because, in their dilemma: either they die in the hands of the Indians who are their enemies, or they come down to serve the whites." The well-deserving Salesian Missionary, Pe. João Marchesi, confirms this, recalling that about 20 years ago, during the balata season, as soon as they saw some boat of the whites, all fled. The Missionary then had to stand in the bow in order to be seen from far away by the natives and thus to find them in the maloca.

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/Footnote 11 cont./ Koch Grünberg tells (Zwei Iahre, 209) that, upon his arrival in the maloca of the Bará, on the Macucú-igarapé, three young women were put in a safe place in a second maloca. We have verified similar events in various circumstances, especially among the Karapanã of the headwaters of the river Áua.

In part also because he feels inferior to the white. A more accurate analysis reveals in him an inferiority complex before the civilized. Only after a long period of living together, especially when one speaks his language, does he sometimes become more open. It is a sign of some trust and friendliness then when he approaches the white and talks to him, resting his hand on one's shoulder. The woman, like the man, comes to wait on the visitor, offering him her hand, according to the present practice; but she soon withdraws. As signs of happiness because of the desired visit by a civilized person, the women -- accompanied by a longer and higher intonation of some syllables of the words of greeting, rub both hands from the shoulder to below the chest of the visitors while they are talking to them.

Due to a mixture of mistrust and shyness, they talk among themselves in a low voice in front of the white, in order that the latter not hear the conversation, if, by chance, he knows the native language. Perhaps for this same reason it is difficult for them to teach their own language (12).

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12. "How is such-and-such a word pronounced?" we would ask the Indian. He, however, does not answer. -- "Is it this way?" we venture. -- "Yes, it is like that," he will say immediately. -- "Or is it this other way?" -- "Yes, it is like that," he will repeat again. In other cases he answers -- "I don't know, I am Taryana, ask the

/149 cont./

152 The Indian is always shy before the civilized, especially if the latter raises his voice. Faced with dangerous jobs, such as cutting timber in the forest, crossing cachoeiras, he shows himself daringly brave. He remains undaunted during storms. His coolness in the face of certain dangers, for instance, that of a shipwreck, will cause envy in any Englishman. In other jobs, on the contrary, he appears extremely afraid. He is afraid not only of the onças /jaguars/, which have already taken many victims among them, but even of being hurt when he must /150/ deal with oxen or pigs. The burst of a bomb or a shot terrifies him. At the news of the approach of fierce Indians, he runs away immediately (15).

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15. The Indians of the Caburi region, to whom are attributed episodes of murder, never assault the seringueiros /rubber workers/ when there is a large clearing around the latters' hut or when they realize that there are many men inside. Among the Pirá-tapuia of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí) there has been preserved a tradition about some Béxkhana (Baniva) Indians from Venezuela, who invaded as far as the Papurí and in the middle of the night killed many in the malocas. Sometimes alarming reports of new invasions comes through, and the Pirá-tapúia flee from their villages. About 12 or 15 years ago, in the povoado of Olinda (Colombian bank of the river Papurí), similar reports (which are called marandúa in the lingua geral; cf. Stradelli-Dictionary, note on "induiaméne") arose, and the Indians abandoned their houses for three months and devoted themselves to preparing trenches and traps. In order to stop these marandúas the Missionary Pe. Afonso Kuipers came to promise gifts for anyone who brought

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/footnote 15 cont./ him one of these Bẽxkana /sic/ dead or alive. Some came to affirm that they had indeed seen them, one would go so far as to say that he had killed several of them, but he could not have any corpse, because their companions took their dead...

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*[192]

His fear of poisonings or spells (dohasé) and of the spirits (wãx'tỹã) is especially great. Out of fear of these, for any reason, he will go at night into the forest.

12) Carelessness.

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Perhaps the relative ease with which they get or manufacture whatever they need makes them careless of things and tools, especially those of the civilized, letting them become damaged or lost, without paying any attention to their value or necessity. Many times the traveler must draw the attention of the Indian in order for him not to lose, break, or render useless an implement. There is, however, one thing which they are tenderly zealous about: the ornaments for the dances, kept in a case ad hoc, in a safe place. Since they consider clothing and other attire an ornament, they ordinarily take good care of them. And one notices some carelessness only in those who can easily get other clothes from the civilized.

13) Profit and gain.

Some of his faults attract the attention of the civilized. He is extraordinarily selfish (16).

16. Even in the service of God they want to know whether he will give them gifts, if he will give feasts, ribbons, and garments. A little girl once asked the Directress if there are fish in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Directress said no. The child added at once: "Then I don't want to go there."

/152 cont./

574 He is, however, hospitable. When some tribal irmão
*[192] /brother/, or even an Indian from another tribe, arrives at the maloca, he at once presents to him beijú and quinhapira /a fish dish/, and, if there is any, also manicuera, bacaba, or some other drink. The "white" can likewise help himself liberally to everything.

156 14) Envy.

Envy is one of the vices that mar their character; they do not even take care to disguise it. Anyone who begins to distinguish himself because of his talents, becomes an object of the envy of the others, and he soon is afflicted by fear of some malefice from the others. A Tukano man, having acquired some planks with his work in the Mission of Pari-Cachoeira, started to make a hut with more luxury and comfort. The others at once threatened to poison him, and he found himself forced to abandon everything and run away. The same worm of envy is already great in the children. The ones who learn Portuguese more easily, win good marks, and are praised inexplicably become slack and decline. It was out of fear of the envy of the others. At the time of the /153/ school awards, it can not be specified that this is the first prize and is for So-and-So; or to reward only a few. It is imperative to give awards to all, being satisfied with calling first those with greater merit and letting them choose. The Directress gave a pair of shoes to one of the young women who worked in the Mission. She hardly used them once. "Why don't you wear the shoes any more?" -- "The others insult me" was the answer.

• 829 15) Theft:
577 Suffering so strongly the sting of envy, it is not surprising that he presents another weak point: the tendency to steal. Resistance perhaps against the "white," whom he always considers superior and rich, he readily seizes (even outside of the

/153 cont./

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pathological cases of kleptomania) (20)

> 20. In some cases, because of the precociousness of the thief, the frequency and the circumstances of the theft, it is legitimate to think that it is a matter of kleptomania.

something of his, especially what might be useful to him in life, or, if he cannot do that, he damages something in order to cause him injury.

And perhaps there is yet another stimulus for the theft: the fact that he considers himself more ingenious and cunning than the white, the latter, in order to avoid friction with the Indians, having to close one eye, as though he had not preceived the cunning of the Indian. It is a vicious circle, inevitable in those places and circumstances. The traveler pretends he does not see, and this attitude plants even more deeply in the Indian the conviction that he is slier than the civilized, and he feels spurred on to make sport of him. The civilized person, for this reason, must always keep a close watch on his own luggage, which, even so, will not infrequently be stolen (21).

> 21. The tendency to steal and the skill with which they do it, never followed by repentance, are so great that we were assailed by the doubt that might they not by chance judge it to be lawful and good, at the least, to steal from the whites. We asked two natives who merited more of our confidence, and both affirmed that they consider stealing from anyone, whoever it might be, a bad thing. Nevertheless, another of our best helpers stated to us that to steal from their brothers is a bad thing, but to rob the civilized is a good thing!

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20) Pride.

Their pride is equivalent to their vanity. They never recognize their own mistake. At the least word that sounds to them like a scolding, they lock themselves up in muteness; and the child will act badly out of spite. There are cited cases in which, at a simple scolding by the civilized, they left and spent years without reappearing.

They are excessively pleased over praise; it is the means that the educators use in order to stimulate them to study and to work. If by chance the child is corrected at school because he made a mistake in reading, he lowers the book and will not read any more. He never asks questions in class, even when he does not understand and is invited to ask for an explanation. On the other hand, he laughs with delight when others, especially the white, makes a mistake (stumbles, falls down, does not know how to tie a hammock, etc.).

They are haughty about the [illegible]ualities and are pleased when they are praised. Even with their deep-rooted beliefs, they readily assimilate our civilization in its material elements, and even when they return to their maloca they imitate what they saw the civilized do. Deep within them they attribute the superiority of the latter to the resources that the Indian does not have at his disposal and "because they have learned from others." These are the two reasons (so they think) that they cannot accomplish everything that the civilized make, be it even an electric generator, a motor for boats, or an airplane.

Deep within them there seems to be rooted the conviction that the civilized is the one who requires them, since he came as far as their lands; and they do not require the /162/ civilized (35).

35. During the last war, the difficulties of supplying the missionary centers grew. One of the Superiors of the Mission thought it prudent to warn the natives that it was not the ill-will of the Missionaries, but the

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/footnote 35 cont./ difficulties of the epoch (lack of resources, of transportation, etc.) that inflicted want of some things that they had been receiving, for instance, salt. And he heard this comment from a tuxaua: -- "You, the whites, are the ones who are going to suffer with this; we do not miss them."

And similar thoughts are difficult to correct, because they neither accept nor follow the reasoning of the civilized. And, in reality, the white who travels through these regions cannot dispense with the Indian's work (to guide him, to row, to transport cargo, etc.). And since the period of the discoveries, and in a special way in these last years, traders go up to fetch Indians for the work on the seringals and piassava grounds of the lower Rio Negro or seringals of Colombia. Before the majestic and savage nature of these regions, it is natural that the civilized person feels and manifests a feeling of timidity and inadaptation, which will confirm the Indian in his conviction of his own superiority.

When he is transported to one of our cities, quite far from his tribal brothers and from his native river, this same feeling of inadaptation and timidity will, with greater facility, cause the Indian to attach himself, with faithfulness and perhaps true affection, to the civilized man with whom he lives and for whom he works.

829 The native who is educated in the Mission schools considers himself "white" and tries to imitate the civilized. They do not like us to call them "índios" (36);

36. The more civilized among them say at times: -- "I am not from the Uaupes," as equivalent to "I am not an Indian." They commonly reserve the name of Indian for those of the Makú tribe.

one must say: "your tribe," "your nation." There is in all of

/162 cont./

• 829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always will-
262 ing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever
[177] is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

> 37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauaretê did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

> 38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous
> * [172] ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during
> [784] the chôco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they
273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí
[164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

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753 755 The cause of a local pain, inflammation or fever can also be one of those malefic objects which has been introduced into the organism. The cure, naturally, is only to be obtained with the elimination of the object located in the sick part or the elimination of the malefice. Since it reached the organism mysteriously, by a magic process, only another magic process will be able to bring about the cure. And here the "sorcerer" or "xamã" [192] /shaman/, called in Tukano Yaí (pajé), comes into action (15).

15. Yaí also means onça /jaguar/. Might there perhaps be some connection between the two concepts? The Indians could not tell us. The Ethnologists grant it.

753 829 They also think that the civilized, in order to do them harm, send them malefice (grippe, etc.) inside the boxes of merchandise, which, upon being opened, will infect many people or the whole povoado (16).

16. In the Tukano povoado of S. Luzia (river Papuri) the daughter of the tuxaua had died of whooping cough (1947). Envying the Makú, who were well paid for the curare acquired in order to be studied in the south of Brazil, there was immediately a rumor that the sicknesses were prepared by the civilized with the curare of the Makú and sent to S. Luzia with the merchandise. [648]

761 From this persuasion concerning the malevolent and magic origin of the sicknesses is born the conviction that every death has as its author an inimical person. It is, therefore, violent; man by nature is immortal. It is a vain effort to try to convince a feeble old man that he is going to die and it is advisable to prepare himself. Such a mental attitude, obviously, is not favorable to suicide, although one might perhaps find some old

/270 cont./

755 his medical kit, where there are small calabashes containing
*[192] powders, and also thorns, pieces of bone and of cylindrical sticks, small pebbles, polished stones of crystal for the vision, and, especially, the painted maracá (Yaxsã-ga), considered a magic instrument, and the cigar (Baxséke mõrõ-rõ, Uaupés mõ'nõ-nõ).

He smokes it and disperses the smoke over the body, or the sore part of the body, with the force to drive away the
[787] dohasé and to effect the cure. By means of the smoke he is able to forecast the patient's death; and the direction /271/ that it takes or the figure that it describes in the air will indicate who caused that malefice.

756 When the pajé blows into the closed left hand and, opening it afterwards, releases the smoke in a given direction, or with a wide and slow gesture of the right hand drives the smoke from the left axilla toward a certain direction, he is sending toward there sicknesses and misfortunes. The simple blowing, slowly closing the left hand, will drive away the clouds, making the rain stop. If, instead, he opens the fingers, he will send winds, storms, lightning flashes. The lightning flashes always originate with some pajé. (Cf. Ermano Stradelli, o. c., entry Payé.)

*[192] There is a deeply rooted belief in the mysterious force of the "Sõpro" /blowing/, "Baxsesé," of the pajé, because the blowing comes from deep inside the person, from his Hérípõra /heart, liver/ (19).

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> 19. They also admit this mysterious force in the sõpro of the whites, especially if one is a doctor (whom they judge to be a pajé). We know that Koch Grünberg himself (Z. I. 101) practiced the blowings among the natives.

It clearly cannot be said that the Indians admit a natural magnetic force in the pajé. They regard him, then, as the possessor of an extraordinary spiritual virtue.

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776 He is, said Casimiro Sampaio, a mysterious being "who descends from above. He is yellow and appears decorated with arara
*[192] feathers. He speaks, sings, and dances the mĩrĩ (32).

32. Our informant, Casimiro Sampaio, finished by saying that it is the dance of the Jurupari. Bisíu, then, is confused with the great Wãx-tĩ of the legends.

He makes a great deal of noise and eats people. The women cannot see him."

776 We learned from various other informants that Bisiu eats
881 women on the occasion of the first menses: "amõsé baásamĩ," that is, he eats the menstruum, as they express it. A Pirá-
756 tapúya widow, Maria José (in Parí-cachoeira, 1954) clarified
*[192] that "to eat" means that he fecundates the woman. It is for
[115] this reason that she must be shut up in the house, and she herself will call for the services of the pajé or Komũ for the so-called "rite of initiation" (cf. VIII - 1, b (7) ). These personages, with their rites, have the power to ward off the danger for the maiden.

776 A girl of the Tukano tribe from the Papurí said that the
829 Makú women, who almost always live in the interior of the forest, many times become pregnant from coitus with Bisiu.

/333/ d) Nãxkã Wãx-tĩ (Wãx-tĩ of the forest) (33).

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*[192]

33. Nãxkã means mato /forest, wood, thicket/ in Tukano.

He is also from the forest, stated Casimiro Sampaio, -- tall in stature and ugly. He wears long hair, and butterfly wings on his face. He does not speak and does not do harm to anyone.

/346 cont./

796 the men and with her own arms holding by the waist the two men
535 whom she is between. The eyes are turned toward the center of
*[192] the circle, and the points of the lances, yõxse-phĩrĩ, converge toward this point when they carry them.

At a certain point the local tuxáua gives an order indicating that it is the middle of the dance. Two men, among the leaders, go into the middle of the circle, make some turns, and finally come back to the line with the rest.

At a special order the women abandon their places, each one shouting her word. The dance ends with expressive whooping by the men; all those armed with a lance leave, bending as if they were looking for something, and, advancing toward a corner of the maloca, make a thrust with the lance toward an imaginary
*[192] point about a meter above the ground. They call this "blow-to-the-white, pexká-sã paasé" (54).

[123]
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54. The Indians have always appeared very reserved in explaining to us the meaning and purpose of this "blow-to-the-white," although they had revealed its name to us without any embarrassment, perhaps thinking that we would not know how to translate it. On two occasions a native of the Tukano
[115] tribe of the lower Uaupés confirmed to us that "They do not like the whites and consider all of them enemies." Another native, also belonging to the Tukano tribe, although from the Papuri, in response to our question as to whether he liked the "white" or the "caboclo" better, asked us the meaning of the word /this footnote is continued on the next page in the
[829] original source/ "caboclo." To our answer that caboclos were the children of a civilized man and Indian woman, such as are on the Rio Negro, he answered immediately: --"We

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/346 cont./

/footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

[115]

55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b) ), melodies affected almost always by deep nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1) ).

[582]

Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

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/356 cont./

*192 776 c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wã:kõ?

In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wã:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we [178] were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wã:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67).

[823] 67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water.
775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not.
776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ.
And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons,
756 and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as
• 829 inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3) ). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ.
[825] They say about a nocturnal bird, called uruká-tutú, due to the
*[192] similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp, because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who
*[192] imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of a deceased civilized person, pexká-sã wẽ'ri Wã-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Maku on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).
T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.

501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.

T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Maku must fast on the day on which they prepare the "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.

M The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
278 Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
T of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
756 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
775 some civilized person was buried.
829

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/375 cont./

266 in 1954 we heard mention of four Colombians murdered, "smoked,"
648 and eaten by the Pamõã-maxsã (Tatu-tapuya) Indians of this
726 region: and of how they particularly coveted the legs and feet of the victims. Accepting the accuracy of the news, however, it seems that it is a matter of special irritation and vengeance, and not of anthropophagy as a traditional habit, much less of bellicose attempts for the purpose of obtaining human flesh.

266 Koch Grünberg in various passages of his work Zwei Iahre speaks of the cannibalism of the Hyanakoto. He is, however, only reporting information by natives, and the Hyanakoto are Karaíba and reside outside the area that we are studying here. We have
266 also heard natives of various tribes speak of anthropophagous
829 Indians (94).

94. The Kumãdene tuxaua of Urubucuara, Mandú, knowing that we had made a long excursion by way of the headwaters of the river Tiquié, presented two very interesting questions: whether we had met the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ anthropophagous Indians and whether we had seen the tailed Indians. We answered both questions negatively, and we took the opportunity to ask him whether by chance he too had already seen them, who they were, and where they lived. He also answered us that he did not know, he had only heard such things mentioned.

An old Tukano /376/ from Pari-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, informed us that there are three cannibal tribes, or Baári-maxsã-ré, that is: 1st -- the Yai-peri maxsã, 2nd -- the Píti-yároa, 3rd -- the Yõũrwá, and that they live "up there," that is, on the headwaters of the river Tiquié.

/376 cont./

829 266 Other natives designated for us the ferocious Indians of the river Cauaburi, tributary from the left of the middle Rio Negro, as being the famous Yai-peri maxsã or Onça /jaguar/ Tooth People. These, however, seem to be only legendary beings (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

Concerning the Pinao Indians of Colombia, we read that they sold the human flesh of their war slaves in their markets. This refers to the Panches, also from Colombian territory, who sold their own children to be eaten. It is said of these anthropophagous tribes that they fattened up the victims intended to serve as food. They ate them boiled with maize in large pots, or, more commonly, roasted them alive on a spit that pierced them through the anus.

2) Ritual cannibalism.

Among the tribes who practice anthropophagy, magic or participative cannibalism is more frequently found.

It is derived from the belief that through the eating of the flesh of an individual comes the most intimate union possible with him, and, therefore, participation in his good qualities: courage, vigor, dexterity, etc., and even in his psychic qualities or his magic power. Hence the sacred repasts, at which were eaten (not infrequently with preceding feasts, homages, and solemn immolation) the personages taken as superior: the chief, the pajé, the brave warriors, the heroes. More commonly, they are personages of their own tribe; this is endoanthropophagy.

765 Among some primitives, the cult of the dead came to be impregnated with such a magic concept. In order to provide themselves with the desired qualities that their own ancestors possessed, there appeared the custom of ingesting their ashes with special drinks on the occasion of particular funeral commemorations.

Wallace affirms (o. c. 638) that "The Tarianos and Tucanos, as well as some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is already in a very advanced state of decomposition, and place it in a large pot or oven over the fire, until the soft parts are destroyed, which is done with the

/380 cont./

837 other tribes, with whom they live in the same maloca or povoado, promised us that the same happens among all the tribes of this region.

881 After the individuals of both sexes have gone through the pu-
836 berty initiation, -- be they married or single -- sexual relations with a large number of persons of the tribe and, under some conditions, also with those of other tribes, and with the civilized themselves, are permissible for them.

833 They conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes (99)

[838] [881]

> 99. Male or female homosexualism, it seems, has always been regarded as something reprovable and, for this reason, always practiced secretly. Officially, as far as is reported, it only exists in the puberty rite of the boys.

as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse (100).

> 100. It is understandable that the relations, although legally permissible, might not always be prudent and thus are not practiced publicly. Such is the case for the individual who, having fought with the husband, does not touch his wife in his presence. This comes from positive information obtained.

just as the various physiological acts of eating, drinking, or anything else are performed in front of any person (101).

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> 101. Out of mixed feelings of distrust and hostility toward the civilized, or even because they know directly or indirectly that their morals condemn these liberties, they do not

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/footnote 101 cont./ practice licit or illicit sexual relations in front of them. Perhaps, yes, in front of some who are better acquainted with them, and with whom they might have had relations. Cf. what will be said about the female initiation.

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There is only one interdiction, but a strict one, against sexual relations (and the same for the different tribes that we mention in this study), those that take place between blood brothers and sisters, or brothers and sisters in the strict sense, that is, between children of the same parents. These, as well as relations between parents and children, take on a religious character, for this reason are licit, or even advisable and imposed in given circumstances (puberty rite, eclipse, new moon, caxiris, and in the clearing), and outside of that only secretly.

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The woman, legally, can take the initiative in these relations, which happens frequently among single persons. In practice, especially between married persons, due to the feeling of inferiority which dominates her, the woman almost always waits for the invitation of the men. She can never, however, peremptorily refuse, even in the face of prostration of her physical state and the multiplicity of the suitors.

It must further be mentioned that the Australian Pirraúru is also in force among the Uaupesinos. That is, when the husband must /381/ go away, he invites one of his blood brothers (he is the first one designated, unless the husband has had a fight with him, as comes from the information) or a tribal brother to replace him in the habitual conjugal relations (102).

102. Two informants stated that it fell to the wife to invite this brother-in-law. It seems that this information may be based on events perhaps explained by the forgetfulness or sudden departure of the absent husband. The official notice to his substitute falls to him.

/381 cont./

581 Marriage, then, in the regime that is in force among these tribes, is a social institution intended to ensure the perpetuity of the tribe. Its aim is not to consider the particular interests of the individuals: tendencies to perpetuate themselves, affectionate inclinations, sedatio concupiscentiae, or others. For this reason, in the realization of the matrimonial act, it would be more accurate to say of the matrimonial contract, the will of the individuals, which in the rest of native life has such an ample field, is not consulted. /382/ On the subject of marriage, one again has a great deal of evidence of the "absorption of the individuals by the group," which characterizes the tribes of the Uaupés. Almost every act of native practice gives confirmation that among them there are no individuals, there are only members, there are no persons, there are only cells of the social body. The individual's own will does not seem to know how to want anything except what the group wants!

b) Concept of modesty.

291 834 829 562 It is difficult to answer these three questions: 1st -- whether the Indian really has an idea of modesty; 2nd -- how he shows it, whether through clothes or paintings; 3rd -- which might be the delicate part.

In front of the civilized, the attitude of respect and circumspection that they show, especially the women, is remarkable. An attitude all the more perfected the more frequent their contact with the civilized.

While the men appear, with the utmost ease and without any shame, with only their "Waxsó-ro" or sex-cover in front of the whites, be these men or women, the Indian women nowadays only appear clothed, or at least with a skirt, rarely a short petticoat /Port. saiote/ or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/. Among themselves, however, they do not observe such circumspection. The civilized has many proofs that the woman has dressed in order

/382 cont./
291 to receive him (104);
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104. In Montfort, river Papurí, an old woman, upon returning from the clearing dressed in a skirt and loaded with her aturá /carrying basket/ full of mandiocas, thinking that she was not observed, took off the skirt, jumped out of the canoe, washed the roots on the beach, and later, with the skirt in her hand, she proceeded toward her house, bending under the weight of the aturá.

Wallace already pointed that out a century ago. Many times, upon approaching unexpectedly, the civilized perceives a scurrying of women toward some dark corner of the maloca or to the neighboring forest, in order to get dressed. During the work in the clearing the women are ordinarily naked. Frequently they leave their skirts in the canoe, at the landing place on some stream where they disembarked in going to the clearing.

291 Many tribes went around completely naked, testify the first
562 explorers, such as Padre Acuña (1637). The Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Pe. José M. de Noronha (1759), speaking about the Tecuna nation, writes: -- "Their women do not have any modesty. The males, however, cover the parts intended for generation, with wide fringes made out of thread twisted from certain white tow which they extract from the bark of wood" ("Roteiro /Logbook/," n. 139).
*[192] The Poet Gonçalves Dias, who was a School Inspector in Amazonas, writes: -- "The men, who among them seem to be the most modest, wear on the Uaupés something like suspensories, to which they give the name of cueios, similar to or an imitation of the tocambobas /383/ of the primitive Tupis. In imitation of them, the women also wear today some cueios of beads (puericueios)." (Manaus, October 23, 1861 -- Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas, Vol. II, p. 760.) /In the original source, the end of the last sentence of footnote 104 is repeated here as the last sentence of the paragraph. This sentence is omitted here in the translation./

/426 cont./

847 There are four regular cases of infanticide: 1st. -- That
848 of the illegitimate child. Such are all those who are born outside of the legitimate conjugal union. The reason is the shame which it gives rise to (38).

38. /This footnote is on p. 427 in the original source./ It does not constitute, however, a matrimonial obstacle for the unwed mother. It is a sign that she does not have "malefice of sterility."

The children can only come from a legitimate marriage. It is a grave insult to tell someone /427/ that he does not have a
[829] father. There is one exception: the children of the civilized are in general spared (39).

39. Cases are known in which the child's grandparents were proud because their grandchildren were "children of white."

Objects of the greatest shame are the incestuous children. With the utmost secrecy abortion will be induced or infanticide performed.

562 2nd. -- That of the fourth or fifth consecutive child of the
847 same sex. Especially if they are females (40).

40. In March of 1957 a woman, still young, was taken to the hospital of Pari-cachoeira, river Tiquié, in serious condition as a consequence of an abortion. Further investigation showed that it was a matter of criminal abortion, with the expulsion of the fetus in two pieces, with an interval of two days. And the cause was the fear of having a child of female sex, like the two previous ones. We could not find

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868 It can be affirmed without fear that the parents are interested in the material education of the children. It is the father's ambition that his son will be a competent fisherman, boatman, or hunter (59).

[797] [829]

59. Today many parents are already interested in something more, and they bring their children to the Mission in order for them to be made "whites." A parent, bringing a girl of about eight years old to the school, recommended to the Directress that she "educate her, teach her Portuguese, in order that later she might be able to marry /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a white." After he has spent some years in school, the child considers himself superior, and is regarded as such by the others. He has become "white."

For this reason he will not deny him his advice and his experience.

/437/ 7) Puberty initiation.

881 By puberty initiation or "rite of passage" is understood the official entrance of the individual, who has reached puberty, into the social life of the tribe, coming to take responsibility for his actions. For this he will also receive the necessary instruction on the "customary law" of the group to which he belongs, the obligations and rights of the individuals. And also, only for the boys, the explanation of certain customs and the legends which constitute the historical and cultural patrimony of the group.

[562] [869]

Both those of the male sex and those of the female sex must be subjected to the "puberty initiation rite" (60).

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60. The Missionaries, with patient and prudent action, have managed to alter the native customs, although slowly, with the adoption of Christian

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562 881 Naturally one can not mark the date for this beforehand. It is likewise understandable that it is practically impossible to perform this rite with an entire group, as in the male initiation, if we consider that they are small povoades or only a maloca.

*[192] /440/ The first menstruation is a dangerous event for the young woman; she may be a victim of Bisíu (VII -- 4, d (5 c) ), Bisíu a'mõsé-re baásamĩ, they say, that is, Bisíu eats the menstruation. As they explain, to eat means that he will come to fecundate her (69).

[177] [797]

69. A singular phenomenon of acculturation or adaptation has been taking place. A girl, for example, is in school at the time of the first menstruation. She will perform the rite perhaps many months later, when she returns to her povoado. She does not wait, according to information from the young women themselves, until the next menstruation comes to perform the rite. As for the rest, she follows exactly what the customs dictate.

[756] (See Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/.) The maiden then will be the first to announce the fact and to request the intervention of the pajé or Komũ (70).

70. One of the young informants asserted that the maiden will be happier if she does this rite with a stronger pajé. Another added that she will be still more so if it has been with a white.

• [829]

Besides, the rite is desired by the girl, not only because it gives her freedom for the public sexual relations, but also because, according to her convictions, this rite is going to assure her happy deliveries, as various young women testified. For this reason no maiden would dare to marry without the puberty rite and the mõ-yoãsé (coitus of initiation). Some nubile maiden, especially

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/footnote 72 cont./ us. The services of the pajé or Komũ are always remunerated, as well as those of the mõ-paxkoá; not, however, those of the young man. He is not the future husband, who must belong to another tribe, and the young man of the a"mõsé regularly is of the same tribe as the maiden. A young Makú added that the young man was her obligatory partner at dances, as we were later able to verify.

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and, on the last day of the rite, with the Komũ or pajé (73).

73. It is to be noted that, according to the descriptions that we obtained, the first coitus is not with the pajé or Komũ, as one might expect, but with the young man.

The concept that the one chosen should be the hero of the group, recognized after a fight with others, as is done among some tribes, has declined. Among the Uaupesinos there is no test to determine the choice; there is only one quality in favor of the chosen one, his youth. Some maidens affirmed that he was a "strong young man." On the rivers visited by the civilized, the latter may be chosen for such a function, and they have done it. For such a choice, we think that not only does the native's instinct of self-interest enter in, but also the white is supposed to have a special nature (74).

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74. Many times and under different circumstances the native has manifested the opinion that the civilized person is endowed with a nature different from that of the Indian. This was the answer that the tuxaua from Paricachoeira, Julio, gave to Pe. João Marchesi, who assured him that he should not fear the

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/footnote 74 cont./ Dohasé (malefice), just as the Missionary did not fear it. "The white is of a different nature," he answered, "for this reason he does not catch our dohasé."

a connection with which might bring benefits for the girl. This opinion was expressed by several young women.

/442/ The girl must then be separated from the inhabitants of the maloca. The maidens do not know (and this seems to us the most probable hypothesis) or did not want to give the reason for this segregation. It is that in these circumstances she is considered dangerous (75),

75. It is to be pointed out that she is dangerous not only during the days of the menstruation, but until the rite has been completed. As a matter of fact, the seclusion might take place outside the menstrual period and might last for an entire moon. It seems that only the first three monthly courses are considered dangerous and thus subject to a special rite. If one is to believe the information, during the subsequent menstruations the woman is not obliged to abstain from sexual relations, as the Jews observed.

for the others, once she has been sought by Bisíu.

*[192]

In the regime of the maloca, an enclosure for the young woman, called a'mõ tuxkũ, is made inside of it. In the regime of the povoado, she might perhaps be isolated inside a hut (76).

76. In October of 1947 a young Maku from Iauareté retreated to the hut of the pajé himself for the initiation.

4: Silva--704 M-4.5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

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The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

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97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

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/footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced."

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the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Ba'ti-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

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109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tõmpa-duri, but

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/footnote 109 cont./ out of another hole at the mouth of a nearby igarapé. The rivers with dark waters, like the Uaupés, form characteristic and abundant foam when they beat against the stones of the cachoeiras. Upon asking a certain individual why there were these inferior divisions, he answered that it is because they did not come out of the water, but from the foam, as if it were from the dregs of depuration.

2nd. -- A second one is that they attribute to themselves a juridical superiority, deriving from the priority in time, something corresponding to the proverb: "qui prior est tempore potior est jure" /one who is first with regard to time is better with regard to rights/. Whoever has settled more recently in a povoado is in a
*[192] certain inferior position; he is a "transient, Sihyári-maxsã," as they say.

/473/ The two customs indicated harmonize perfectly; we
173 might think that the second one is a derivation from the first. Upon
554 asking a Tukano Indian from a povoado on the lower Tiquié as to
614 the inhabitants of which povoado he considered Mamí, he answered those of S. José. Further inquiries made among other Indians came to clarify this answer. One of them said he had heard his own grandfather narrating that the Tukano formerly did not live there, but resided on the Papurí. They were expelled from this river by the Taryana, still being a child, therefore, about 100 or 120 years ago, and came to settle in S. José. This information makes S. José the first Tukano nucleus on the river Tiquié.

[103] One more argument in favor of the probability is given to us by the Tukano name of the locality, which is Maxkã, the town, as if it were the urbs par excellence of these Tukano. All the more probable, since such a designation, besides not being attributed to any other locality, escapes the custom of the names according to the geographical accidents (point, igarapé, stone, cachoeira, hole, etc.), or other circumstances. In the vicinity of S. José,

/473 cont./

173 there is a place that in Tukano is called Bũxkõrá bathá, literally
554 "swimming of the elders," that is, where the elders crossed the
river by swimming, fleeing from their enemies. In the vicinity
614 of this spot, about 30 years ago, the elders showed Pe. João Marchesi a section of less dense forest as being the place through which passed the first Tukano coming from the Tiquié on their expeditions of war.

In conclusion, we give the opinion:

174 1st. -- The natural multiplication of the Indians imposed a
554 division into groups which have established themselves in closer
or more distant places, according to the circumstances; for this
614 reason we today find groups of one and the same nation dispersed along the three rivers (Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí).

2nd. -- The denominations (110)

• [829]

> 110. The distance between these groups has more and more accentuated the separation. If it is true that each individual, even the children, knows the name of his own and of the neighboring subdivisions (and even of other tribes), few of them know how to make a more complete list of the Gentes that make up their tribe.

that characterize each group (Waú-ro, Oyẽ, etc., cf. IV-2-a (2) ) are names or nicknames by which the respective stipites, or some late more famous descendant who provoked the separation or built the new maloca or performed any other deed, were known.

[628] 3rd. -- The relations between the malocas, and the social situation of those who /474/ inhabit them today, are the same as those that existed among the founders, hence the present hierarchy that is in force among the Indians.

/474 cont./

554 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some
614 are earlier and others later, having originated perhaps from some
schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always
[601] respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear,
614 however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical
829 doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say
who would have precedence.

797 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the
177 division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for
such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its
614 valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the
religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group
can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados
that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even
of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are,
that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a
leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief,
neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

> 111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. 615
To be sure, the custom of reciting a sib origin tradition at the regular drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has 614 174
probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multi-sib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin tradi- 615
tions are the most important sanctions for regulating current rela- 614
tionships among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, [829]
because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).[4] This group, consisting of *Órobawa*, *Aünbuawü*, *Hehénewa*, *W'atharíwa*, *Byá-W'atharíwa*, and *Byá-Hehénewa*, is supposed to have emerged together at *Yavibebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapuri cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yavimanawa*, according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one [601]
another as *pakomá* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehénewa*, for example, discounting *Bahúkiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

[4] This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has, of course, an honorific reference. There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is applied to the Macú. Giacone (1949, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onça*. [554] [186]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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genealogies is not strong, so that they have only a general, albeit a strong, feeling that the family lines presently in a sib are related. What keeps the sib from being a lineage is then the technical fact that the Cubeo cannot link up their present descent lines with their ancient descent lines. 614 [829] [613]

One is tempted, therefore, to think of the Cubeo descent group as a transitional form, hovering between sib and lineage. At first glance the distinction between sib and lineage seems to hang by the technicality of how sophisticated a people are about genealogies. Yet this sophistication is a matter of major importance. Sib continuity and growth is a relatively simple matter of transmitting a sib name and a line of descent with an origin myth to give historical sanction. Lineage continuity and growth, on the other hand, demand motivation as well as the capability for maintaining accurate or presumably accurate genealogical records. Societies organized upon aristocratic lines can do this readily. Egalitarian societies, on the other hand, can have small lineages or large clans and kindreds but they cannot readily support large or historically deep lineages. The Cubeo have a shadow aristocracy only, not enough to sustain the necessary degree of genealogical sophistication. On the other hand, if the Cubeo could not sustain the growth of lineages neither could they sustain the growth of sibs. Two social conditions seemed to stand in the way of the enlargement of sibs. One was the inherent fissility of the sib, the other was the organization of the phratry. The phratry allowed the sibs to split without endangering their survival by virtue of being too small. 614 613 614 615 182

The basic social organization that provides for autonomous confederation of small units conforms readily to the requirements of easy absorption of new groups. The modes of group-binding, such as exogamy, the cycle of drinking parties, and the segmented forms of ceremonial participation that allow each sib to function as a ceremonial unit, are also admirably adapted to rapid assimilation of foreign tribes without benefit of a central administration. In cases of assimilation, all the necessary joint activities to which the sibs of a phratry are bound will inevitably encourage a common language. Just as the phratric organization allows for easy binding of autonomous sibs into a convenient fraternity that provides for peace, cooperation, and sociability, it allows as readily for fission without serious disruption. From these observations it may be inferred that the history of the Northwest Amazon region has been one of constant formation and disruption of sociopolitical entities. What a tribe is at any time is a core of sib segments that may have persevered through [174] 614 619 194

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Indians, who are the patrón and his foremen, but they tend to keep themselves apart socially and linguistically from their Indian workers. The rubber-working group forms economically a patrón-peón system, or, more precisely for the Vaupés area, a patrón-padre-peón system. A benevolent role of missionaries in the Vaupés has been to minimize the depredations and excessive abuses of the rubber-working barons by requiring them to acquire their Indian workers through the missionaries as middle men.

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A clear distinction is made between tribal group and nationality; a word glossing as "landsmen" is the term used in Tukano for nationality group. There are two nationality groups among the multilingual Indians described in this paper—the Colombian Indians and the Brazilian Indians (the periphery of the multilingual area may include some Venezuelan Indians)—and even the members of the longhouses in the zone most unacculturated to "civilization" know whether they are Colombians or Brazilians. Also, Indians and non-Indians both agree that there are two clear-cut categories of people in the Vaupés: in Spanish these are called the *indígenas*, or Indians, and the *blancos*, or non-Indians (including Negros). However, the Indians feel uncertain and confused about ethnic and presumably "tribal" groups among the non-Indians. A favorite topic of conversation with me was inquiry about ethnic descent groups among such known nationality groups as Colombians, Brazilians, Venezuelans, and "Americans" (of the U.S.A.). Apparently the Indians are trying to set up a folk taxonomy for non-Indians within the Indian frame of reference. They have long been familiar with members of Dutch, German, English, Spanish, and Portuguese ethnic groups; they are confused about the nationality as against the ethnic status of some of these, especially of the latter two. Many Colombian and Brazilian nationals whom the Indians frankly regard as mestizos or creoles claim not only to be blancos but also "Spaniards" or "Portuguese"; yet they do not resemble the Dutch, German, or English blancos. (In Tukano the word for "blanco," best glossed from Spanish as "non-Indian," is derived from a form also used in the derivations of "fire, shotgun, fireplace"; the occasional blanco-sponsored request for a new form in Tukano that would gloss as "white" is consistently rejected.)

[P. 672 - B]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
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• 829 Although the Indians reckon, for reference, in terms of ethnic groups, their attitude toward non-Indians is roughly the same as that of Americans in the United States toward European immigrants, who are looked upon as potentially becoming more and more American. I observed that Indians behold the visitor as potentially becoming more and more Indian-like unless he actively rejects Indian food, customs, and so forth. Most non-Indians are unaware of this attitude, and many would be contemptuous of it if they did know of it.

With respect to the Dutch, Germans, etc., an identifying criterion important to the Indian is that each of these ethnic groups is a separate language-bearing group. I was surprised that Indians do not naïvely assume that the English-speaking "American" necessarily belongs to the English ethnic group; the occasional North American traveler who insists (in Spanish) that he is "American" by *tribe* as well as by nationality is simply not believed. The North American who can be more explicit about his ethnic background is appreciated, especially if the background includes languages other than English and more than one ethnic group (thus simulating in form the exogamic language-bearing groups among the Colombian or Brazilian Indians). The Indians have also noted the widespread and, to them, notorious endogamy of the non-Indians and figure that there must be some sort of sib exogamy. The [582] [797] Indians ask a great deal about non-Indian marriage customs--partly because missionaries at times have suggested that the Indians' exogamy system is cumbersome and uncivilized, and that it promotes close cousin marriage, whereas the Indians feel that it is the non-Indian, with his lack of a clearly definable exogamy system, who is indiscriminate.

As for nationality-and-language, the Indians know that Spanish is the language of non-Indians on the Colombian side of the border and that Portuguese is the corresponding language on the Brazilian side of the border. They also know that Spanish is the language of Venezuela and that English is the language of "America." Nationality has no bearing on exogamy.

*The Tribal Unit*

619 In the central Northwest Amazon the term "tribe" has been used both for individual language-bearing units and for composites of these units sharing the same culture. In general

[P. 673-A]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
[84] Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[85] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
241 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[27] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[245] cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[77] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahikiwa* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch-Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 8a). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *ayyd*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

## POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1949, p. 25), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

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796 It is also during these intervals that amorous scenes occur,
• 831 in broad daylight, perhaps in a hidden corner or not, and more freely at night (56).

56. It follows from the information obtained that the rendezvous must take place outside the maloca (cf. VII-5, c). Koch Grünberg saw that the couples indeed went out together, and he was told clearly for what purpose (Zwei Iahre, 372). It is, however, more common for the men to leave by the main door and the women by the back one, according to a previous understanding, and for them to meet outside. Some of the young men who have attended the Mission schools revealed the licentiousness of the native feasts.

[115] It will be enough to cite the following
*[192] episode narrated by Patrícia Vasconcelos. On the Macú River, which empties near Teresita (Colombian bank of the river Papuri) there was a maloca of the Desana where feasts took place with so many immoralities that during one of these orgies the earth opened up and swallowed the maloca and the dancers, "Bisíu bahwápõ baá-peokoápõ, Bisíu /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ appeared and devoured everything." On the following day songs and dance music could be heard at the spot of the vanished maloca, a spot that can still be seen today, marked by a depression in the ground. At present (1955) Patrícia's sister-in-law lives near there.

and they can also go outside the maloca.

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/footnote 60 cont./ it to the quality of certain plants that they use in these caxirís. It is possible that their state of intoxication makes fecundity difficult; just as it is likely, moreover, that the affirmation of infecundity results only from the lack of means of verification or of attention to the problem.

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[115]

/350/ We thought that these immoral practices were a consequence of the intoxication. The Missionaries also thought this, although one of them pointed out to us that the inebriation was intentionally promoted for libidinous satisfactions. We nevertheless had many and categoric affirmations that these sexual practices, even the incestuous ones, are not only licit, but even established by the customs, and for this reason recommended by the "Old Ones," in order to ensure the happiness of the people and the fecundity of nature (cf. VII - 5, c).

5) Legendary commemorations -- Rite of the cigar.

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Legendary commemorations. We have the impression that to the original elements of these feasts, let us call them the ritual elements, with the passing of time, were introduced other profane ones, such as the musical intermezzi performed by the individuals of the younger generation to the sound of the flautas-de-pã /Panpipes/ and the japurutús. Among the ritual elements must appear the Legendary Commemorations. After the first dance numbers, representatives of the tribes who are participating in the Wãx-tĩye baxsã detach themselves from the natives and sit down on little seats, one in front of the other, in the nave occupied by the men. These individuals are chosen from among the Komũã, and they must, naturally, show the qualities necessary for their function, that is, knowledge of the legends, a good memory, a lively imagination, facility with words.

765 /377 cont./
53 Koch concludes that at this cannibalistic feast there were dances of masks on which he could verify the following details: the participants wore a band of yellow bark as a stole on the neck, and on the left arm a banner of bark, in the right hand a rhythm tube (VII -- 3, c (3 c) ) of imbauba, with paintings representing fish. They advance and back up and, marking time with the right foot, carry on a monotonous song with innumerable repetitions.

171 We could seek the origin of this peculiar custom, which is
765 also found among other tropical tribes of South America, teaches Koch, in the belief that the bones that remain after death are the /378/ last place in which the spirits reside. And with the ingestion of the ashes the individuals incorporate in themselves the substance and the spirit of the ancestors.

5. Morality.

121 When we deal with this subject, the necessity of some warn-
831 ings beforehand is imposed:

1st. -- We limit the breadth of the term morality to the common and vulgar meaning, as if it were a synonym of moderation of carnal concupiscence, or further as a synonym of customs in force in sexual relations.

2nd. -- We present, naturally, those points in discrepancy with the norms of Christian morals and which, for this very reason, impress one more.

797 3rd. -- Many of the customs that we were able to collect
831 are not in force, obviously, in those groups or among those individuals who are under the influence of the Catholic Missions. But the Missionaries themselves are the first to confess that the modifications of the ancestral customs that they achieve in the field of morality are the fruit of many exhortations, vigilance, and the frequency of the sacraments and religious practices.

/378 cont./

831 a) Concept of procreation and marriage.

842 The concept of procreation through the participation of the two sexes, and both among human beings and among animals, is known by everyone, even the children.

843 It seems, on the other hand, that the space of nine months as the gestation period is not likewise so well known (95).

[115] 95. A Tukano girl about 20 years old from S. Tomé, river Tiquié, answered us that the period of gestation was five months.

842 And they do not know how fecundation takes place or how the
843 fetus becomes animated and develops.

The most rigorous law of tribal exogamy is in force (VIII -- 1, a (1) ). Marriage Between tribal "brothers and sisters" is con-
582 sidered bad and impossible (96).

[797] 96. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Paurí /Papurí or Papury/, Colombia, performed two marriages among Pirá-tapuyas who, through religious instruction, had liberated themselves from these prejudices and wanted each other as spouses. Nevertheless, there was great reaction from the Indians, who tried to burn the house of the Missionary. But, under the protection of the latter, the two couples continued to live in Teresita (1947) and with healthy children.

and a fortiori between blood brothers and sisters. If one asks them the reason for this prohibition they simply answer: -- "Because it is bad." /379/ Some add: -- "Because he will not have children," or: -- "Because the children will die."

/384 cont./

c) Extramarital incontinence.

831 The freedom with which the Indian deals with some subjects, with a realism at times crude, is well known. And this not only among themselves, but also with the civilized. Equally well known is the immorality of the conversation among themselves on trips, as in the interior of their malocas, in the hours of rest, interlaced with frequent and lewd laughter. There are not only ambiguous words in their vocabulary, but a whole assemblage of words and sentences of immoral caliber.

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*[192] Moreover there are more than enough proofs of premarital and extramarital incontinence, Wõãkĩẽ, wõãkahĩẽ, yõãsé or ñõãsé (108).

108. Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, already revealed this in 1793: --"With respect to the two vices of incontinence and gluttony, vices so natural to the Indian people, that it seems that they have already stifled and destroyed all their freedom" (o. c., p. 499). The same was reported by Frei Gregório de Bene, Apostolic Missionary of the Uaupés from 1850 to 1852, explaining the reason why, especially in some places, he had to delay administering the sacraments.

1) Premarital liberties.

836 One notes some vigilance by the parents, especially the mothers (at least in front of the civilized), over the daughters who have reached a certain age. It is not enough, however, especially if the circumstances of their life, their works, and customs are considered. And a greater sexual impulse is manifested in the girls who have reached a certain physiological development,

/386 cont./

881 All these premarital relations (115)

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*[192]

115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b) ), and her fiancé, Mĩ-ra-põ nỹãkhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

[628]

The Makũ maidens and women, while they are working for the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

567 831 648

When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, Pinũ-pinũ, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian individuals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

588 628 648 833 881

The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

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/387 cont./

628 At times there are individuals of different tribes participat-
• 831 ing in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual
648 liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors.

[574]

592 In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem
582 obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an
836 open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage
797 are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

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582 /387 cont./
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/footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpens /sic/.)

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papuri) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

• 831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacurís, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxirí, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

/388 cont./

• 831 [797]

/footnote 120 cont./ only be applied, obviously, to the Christian Indians, instructed in Christian morals; but not at all to the others.

that it is bad, ya'ĩ, and, on the other hand, are very full of shame (?), for this reason they try to hide their miseries and become intoxicated in order to act with more freedom."

[115] They are not embarrassed, however (confirmed another veteran and equally well-deserving Montfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Limpens, of Acuaricuara, who has spent almost 40 years among those tribes), about the immoral occurrences in these circumstances. Sometimes they even boast of them as being conquests.

As a conclusion from the testimony and inquiries made in various circumstances and in different places among the most reliable individuals in them, we can affirm that they judge licit, good, and recommended the sexual relations during the caxiris, as well as those that we characterize as incestuous (121).

[835]

121. Incest by the father with his own daughters is narrated in the legend of the mysterious instruments. And the same is found in other legends. We did not hear, in the legends, about cases of concubinage between "blood brothers and sisters" or brothers and sisters by the same parents. It seems that this does cause them horror.

They even take on, according to what they think and testified, a religious character. As a matter of fact, some informants answered that these sexual liberties used to take place "for the good fortune of the tribe," "in order that the clearing would yield better."

/388 cont./

831 Confirming this opinion is, first, the fact that the relations
833 during the caxiri must take place on the ground, outside the maloca (122).

> 122. When they are more intoxicated and excited, they also violate this custom, relations taking place even inside the maloca. So reported some of the natives.

and that in some tribes the woman must first kiss the ground; whereas the ordinary relations take place inside the maloca and in the hammock.

[241] Another confirmation of this sacred character, it seems to
[835] us, is the opinion that they regard as good and recommended the relations, even incestuous ones, when the women go to the clearing. The relations are even compulsory when it is a matter of a new clearing to which the woman is going for the first time.

[821] Finally, the religious character of the public incestuous
[835] relations is further documented by the circumstance of their indication on the occasion of the new moon and lunar eclipses.

One can conclude, then, that sexual liberties in these cir-
831 cumstances, incestuous or not, have the character of a rite in connection with /389/ the fertility of the soil and of nature in general. We have, thus, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the notion and practice of the intichiuma, which is also in force among other human groups, that is, sexual liberties are magic ceremonies in order to guarantee the reproduction of the animal or vegetable nature. They are, by the way, very common practices, proclaiming lunar beliefs and cults of matriarchalist origin.

And they constitute, in turn, proof of the religious character of their feasts.

/389 cont./

864 d) Sexual education.

With regard to this subject, the precocity of the children, especially of the female sex, is remarkable. It surprises us to see how individuals who on the outside still look like children are subjected to the rite of the puberty initiation (see photo).

How much they appear to know is an even greater surprise. Children still quite young know perfectly all the mystery of life, like any adult.

[797] The girls enter the mission schools at seven or eight years of age, and at this age they not infrequently reveal full knowledge [581] of this subject. Sometimes the thought that already absorbs and preoccupies them is that of marriage, a Missionary Sister Superior revealed to us. They talk of that often, and perhaps they might already even know whom they are going to marry, according to the customs of the tribe and the desires of the parents.

The school of this discipline -- is the maloca with its regime of life, where there are no partitions between the families, where all the licentiousness takes place before the eyes of all and thus the intimate life of each one is known by all. According to the information obtained, the mother herself will give explanations to the daughters and will teach them the sterilizing and abortive resources.

[276] For example, in the intimacy of the malocas or huts during [593] the warm hours of the day, destitute of any clothing at all, the husband will not infrequently amuse himself by blowing the smoke from his cigar over his wife's body. We say he amuses himself, because he does it amidst noisy laughter, as we were able to hear, without excluding the fact that they admit some magic virtue in this rite.

831 The nudity, especially along with the dirtiness, appears somewhat repugnant. Besides, the psychological axiom "ab assuétis non fit pássio" /passion does not arise from what one is accustomed to/ is quite true. And so the influence of the nudity seems somewhat attenuated.

/389 cont./

831 Perhaps, however, nudity alternating with periods in which they are clothed, always renewing the degenerating action of
291 the nudity, aggravates this state of things. Thus their own clothes become transformed into excitation, especially some poorly fitted to the body.

192 /390/ One will not be surprised, then, that on this ground thrive, moreover, unnatural habits, such as masturbation (swesé,
838 pa-daresé, dará-ỹãsé, bestiality (dyayõ-mẽra wõrátise (123),
839

> 123. Dyayõ-mẽra wõãrátise means, properly speaking, intercourse-with-dog, perhaps because of being the only form of bestiality that they practice.

sodomy (ná-sirotúse), homosexualism, male (õ'mã-se'saró) (124)

> 124. It is to be lamented that some of these episodes take place in the piassava groves, in which groups of young men spend months, often in the company of the civilized, engaged in the extraction of the piassava, or other products, in places far from their povoados and where only once a month, if that often, a launch comes to bring merchandise ("aviamento" /preparation, provision/ they say) for their food, etc.

and female (nũ'myó se'saró), and pederasty. And it seems that similar acts are verified even where the instinctive natural satisfaction is possible.

5) Conclusion.

000 In conclusion, grave degeneration of the customs is verified among these tribes, in contrast with the so-called "primitive" peoples.

/423 cont./

534 At the great feast of Wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
• 831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

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123 my status in the community was as before. I still could count upon food and services.

[122] I participated to some degree in the male life of the community and came to learn the language and the culture as much by slow enculturation as by questioning. I had no principal informants because no one would serve in that capacity. All were willing to talk, to explain matters to me, but only in the accustomed atmosphere of easy and genial chatter. The people I knew best and the household of Mandó, in particular, were paradoxically the poorest systematic informants. They were most impatient and most easily vexed with the informant role. They regarded the open notebook and the persistent line of questioning as counter to our relationship. For prolonged and probing investigations I called upon the head of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib. Even this man was a very patient informant only when he was my guest among the *Bahúkiwa*. On his home grounds we were back on small talk. In Mitú I could talk to Indian women more freely than I could on the Cuduiari, where my relations with them had to be more correct. My house alongside the maloca was an informal social center which children and unattached women felt free to visit without invitation. The children taught me things they thought I ought to know about native customs. This was a privilege they had which adults, with their acute tactfulness about criticizing, intruding, or imposing upon others, could not exercise.

The Indians placed no serious obstacles in the way of my studies. They would not explain or discuss openly a ritual act at the time it was going on because to do so would be to counteract its effects. They did not, however, mind answering questions later and in a more general context. Moreover, they expected me to preserve the proprieties of tact in asking questions about domestic matters. Sex was a difficult subject, as were invidious comparisons. The Cubeo are not eager purveyors of gossip. After trouble had erupted in the open one could ask for and receive a discreet and sober account of some domestic difficulty. At the same time that the Indians imposed upon me their own reserve they were also sensitive to any evident disappointment when my questions went unanswered. Thus, if I persisted I often could get an answer, but I had to follow protocol, since personal relations among adults are rich in decorum and social etiquette. I also had available to me the more informal channels of the play pack of children, which delighted in passing on some household gossip, as well as of old women, whose verbal bawdiness was in marked contrast to the customary verbal restraint of the men on sexual matters.

[831] [521] [831]

114 I chose to stay in one community and to benefit from the intimacy

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361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden
is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for
casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the
garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
● 831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the
latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and
everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was defi-
nitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual
significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man
was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
[844] Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[854] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity
of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are
no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual
hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
241 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[270] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[245] cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*),
pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco,
*mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[77] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from
the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then
regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that be-
longs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahi-
kiwa* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch-Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1923, II, 8). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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439 business. The Indians are now aware that in their dealings with the whites their labor and their products have a fixed value with some [462] leeway for bargaining. Direct commercial trade, object for object, is almost exclusively the province of the Indian women. This is not a new role for them because they also are active in intertribal and intersib trade. Because women do not have as much contact with whites as do their men they still inject into the commercial trading much that is traditional.

439 The traditional attitude is that any exchange is part of a patterned 571 social relationship. An exchange establishes a linkage between the principals and each is aware of his obligations and of the showing he must make. The obligation is of generosity, the temptation to give somewhat more than one has received. The impression to be made [831] is that one does not haggle over objects. An exchange between a man and a woman who are sexually eligible to one another introduces the additional element of flirtatiousness. All of these elements enter into and complicate and enliven the farinha trade. The more experienced men are able to adapt to commercial methods, but since it is improper for a man to conduct his wife's business for her he will stand aside when she is trading her farinha.

439 I never witnessed the intertribal trade, but when I pointed to an object and asked who had made it or where it had come from, its provenience and the nature of the transaction were always known. Manioc grating boards, for example, generally come from the Isana River. The Cubeo often traded European articles for tribal manufactures, less because they needed the tribal object than to satisfy another Indian's need for the European article. A Macú once wanted matches and gave a small basket for a box. The Macú baskets are [183] highly valued, but in this case the initiative was with the Macú. An [576] important principle of native trade in the area is that an object asked for must be surrendered. One must be careful, therefore, not to ask for something the owner might be reluctant to part with. Thus the [123] *Buhükiwa* headman asked me as a condition of my staying in his community not to offer to buy ceremonial objects. "If you ask for them," he explained, "we shall have to give them to you. How shall we replace them?" Thus, there is an element of delicacy in intertribal trade. At the same time there is a compulsion to engage in trade so as to give significance to the meeting of people of different tribes. In sum, while intertribal trade eventually satisfies the requirements of the Indians for specialized objects they would not ordinarily have, each individual transaction responds to motives that are often only indirectly economic. Trade objects circulate readily. Thus, a set of

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urúhana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

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[157] Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the in-
[515] fant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early
[296] afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo
[252] child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

854 An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I
155 once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow
[853] log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtu-
[853] ally impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to
• [831] make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's
000 genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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be a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident 524
that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the
game, or ceremony, to me as follows. Some children were left or- 524
phaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their 773
mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked
their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing
for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed
in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch
of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children
returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother
gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their
tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days
they had become *taintürü* birds. They returned to the house and
lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each
day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa*
but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his
younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and
seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their
parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so
can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or 524
any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grünberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahúkiwa*.

## PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood 881
to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual
matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely
be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are [789]
subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until [856]
they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter.
The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere
in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. 852
An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this 831
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task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[3] She is also known as *nomínyaiwi* (becoming a woman).

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832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavimiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwá*, and armpit hair is *pwá butéi* (literally, hair tobacco).

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could be struck he had bolted and had to be literally dragged back. 769
The first blow reduced him to such a state of trembling and hysterical 796
sobbing that I thought he would collapse. He could not swallow the chicha. The men paid no attention to the boy's terror and when he returned finally to the bench, still sobbing, his companions ignored him.[8] The first boy was by this time enjoying himself immensely.

The third initiate was the son of the headman, a boy who was the leader of his play pack. This lad strode confidently forward and raised his arms above his head without command. He faced his age mates, smiled at them, and took the blows without flinching. The next boy faced the ordeal with equal composure. The men waited for the orphan boy to return. When he did not they sent the youngsters to bring him, but they returned very quickly to say that he had run away.

There now remained two very young boys to be whipped. These were treated in a sense as junior initiates, old enough to know the secrets of the *Bekûpwänuw* but too tender to be whipped very hard. The senior initiator who had begun to whip with *Bwü* was said to have a very hard blow, because of having absorbed the strength of *Bwü* in his arm. He therefore turned the whipping over to his younger brother, who used *Onpwénda*. This man, who was unmarried and therefore closer in spirit to the age group being initiated, assumed a jesting manner. He dragged a little boy forcefully to the center but in a playful manner. He measured his blow carefully, heavy enough for the child to know he had been through the ordeal but without raising a welt. The two blows were spaced farther away from the genital region because the children were too young to receive sexual power from the ancestors yet. The gentle blows meant that growth would still be gradual. At puberty, I was told, a boy receives the full hard blows of *Bwü*. However, since some precocity is welcomed, the full blows, as on this occasion, may precede puberty by some years. [831]

After all the youngsters had been whipped and were seated together on the guest bench drinking chicha, the ancestors, who had been dancing inside the house, now danced about them several times in a close circle, finally leaving in single file through the door. They circled the house on the outside and returned to the front plaza. When they stopped playing, the youngsters rose from their bench and went outside to watch as the men hid the horns in a clump of bushes nearby. Then all cut swatches of leaves and ran through the

[8] It is hardly a disgrace for a young boy to weep. When young adults, young married men, are injured in a drunken brawl, they will also weep freely. [152]

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of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates. 574 614 182

The *unkúndye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited to sibs of the phratry, the *unkúndye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkúndye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkúndye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity. [831] [837]

The hosts of an *unkúndye* have two very evident anxieties as they go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkúndye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As already mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy 574 614 273 574 614 554 [123]

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574 one. Each guest passes down the full line of the hosts, repeating with
576 each one the standard greetings. Cosponsors of the *unkindye* are always in the receiving line, with their wives in the parallel line, whereas household heads who have not cosponsored have the option of greeting the guests formally or informally. It would seem that if there were a large attendance the reception would take up a good
574 part of the evening. In practice there is a tendency to curtail the formalities once the drinking has begun, unless the circumstances are
576 particularly sacred. The first guests are received when the sun has
273 set two-thirds of the way to the horizon, or at four o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the first man has passed through the receiving line he is escorted to a bench by a young man of the house and handed a calabash of chicha. By nightfall the guests who have been drinking for a while have become more restless and more boisterous, and the greetings on the receiving line have become more curt and less formal. Younger guests slip by without being greeted and younger hosts slip out of line to take part in the drinking. In this way it often happens that the late arrivals are greeted with little more than a casual handshake by a slightly tipsy and gay host.

574 This seemingly spontaneous deterioration of a pattern of greeting
576 follows, in fact, a characteristic Cubeo ceremonial procedure, which
182 is that every sacred event begins in a slow, solemn, and stately man-
796 ner and proceeds stage by stage through a steady mounting of tempo until an orgasmic peak is reached, which is then followed by sub-
[765] sidence. I use a sexual figure of speech here because in the prolonged
[831] and elaborate mourning ritual which represents Cubeo ritual activity at its most complete, the entire proceedings unquestionably follow the sexual rhythm from courtship to coitus.

574 The women who have come as guests sit in a bunch at the left side of the maloca near the front door. The men sit on two long benches in a V formation opposite the women and also near the door. At the rear of the house sits the first group of dancers, men of the house. After a while the guests begin to move deeper into the house, where each woman visitor stakes out a space along a side wall for her effects and her children. Men form separate clusters. The older men, whose behavior is consistently more restrained, are the
[276] last to leave the forward benches. When the women have gone back into the house these elders occupy all the benches and, facing each other in two rows, smoke cigars in a ceremonial manner, waving the smoking cheroot before their faces and nodding pleasantly to one another. The cigars are held in a carved forked holder with a pointed stem that can be stuck into the ground before each smoker,

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Koch-Grünberg has observed this dance among neighboring Tucanoans as well as among Arawakan-speaking tribes. He observed it as a courting dance, boys and girls leaving the house after a dance and disappearing into the surrounding darkness (1909, I, 293, II 272). There is no mistaking the erotic undertones of this dance among the Cubeo. But it cannot ordinarily be a courting dance since the participants are normally sibmates and phratry mates if unmarried. The first girls to join the dancers are, in fact, their sisters. But as the evening wears on, the erotic character of the dance emerges in a dangerous form. An unmarried girl too often chooses to thrust herself beneath the arms of her sister's husband, a married woman "chooses" a husband's brother. What is ordinary courtship in tribes that bring together potential marriage mates at their drinking parties is largely adultery or the threat of adultery among the Cubeo, who entertain within the exogamous circle. I suspect that in the case of the Cubeo, simple courtship dances have become embroiled in a changing social order that has gradually built up a phratric system out of independent exogamous local groups. In the process the dance has lost its innocence.

The dancing has a deceptively decorous appearance. As the girls insert themselves between two male dancers, under the arm of one, the men never pause, turn their heads, or change expression. The girl puts her right arm lightly around her partner's waist. She holds her left hand before her, at her skirt. Crouched beneath the yoke

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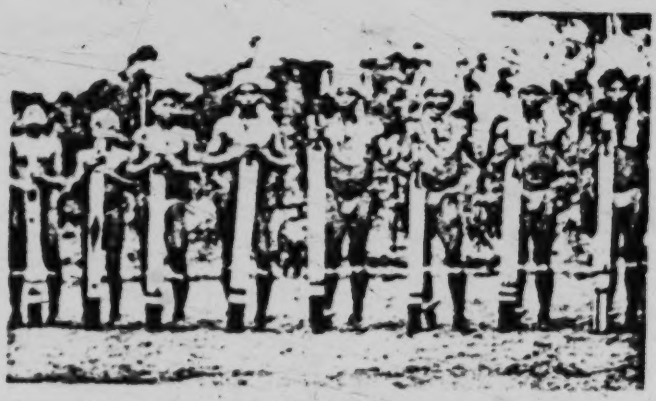

Fig. 10. *Hehénewa* men in full dancing costume.

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535 she looks uncomfortable and solemn. The girls accompany the men
831 for a few turns and then as unobtrusively as they entered the dance formation they leave it, disengaging their heads, backing away, and running quickly back to their places among the women. They are replaced by another group. Much later in the evening an observer is startled to discover heated and even violent disputes erupting all over the house as a result of these innocent-appearing dances.

574 There is another dance in which the sexes are actually paired. The
535 man plays either a Panpipe or a long flageolet and drops his left
[533] arm over the woman's shoulder while she encircles his waist lightly with her arm. This dance formation starts as a circle which, after making several turns, breaks up into couples who dance down the corridor one behind the other. During the circle dance a woman emits a long piercing shriek. I was given no explanation for this other than the vague comment, "Women feel like doing this."

Perhaps it is not overinterpreting too much to suggest that the form of the dance parallels some basic principles of Cubeo social structure: the unity of the fraternal sibling group; women as ancillary, fitting themselves in between the brothers, coming and going; the segmentary nature of the sibs; the feeling for obliterating what is after all an indelible mark of sib apartness. As for the erotic connota-
535 tions of the dance, one may perhaps speculate on the phallic char-
574 acter of the flageolet. This instrument, by the way, is so long that
831 when the dancer holds it before him the bottom is only bare inches from the ground. If he is careless as he dances and allows it to strike
534 the ground he may lose his teeth. The dance starts with the instrument held down close to the earth. When the dancer has reached the forward end of the house he arcs the instrument high over his head. The flageolet resembles, but is not to be confused with, one of the ancestor trumpets that is brought out during ancestral cult celebrations. Then the deep sound of the flageolet stands for the deep and sacred voices of the ancestors, that bring to the men physical
[533] force, sexual potency, and bodily growth. The Cubeo make the obvious association between the deep tones and the solemn, and the high tones and the frivolous. In ensemble playing they also recognize one of the instruments as a leader and the others of the same group as followers. In the drinking party dances, flutes and Panpipes complement each other; the flutes are butterflies and the large Panpipes are vultures. Solemnity is always associated with the acquisi-
574 tion of powers. The movement of the dance is, as we have already
535 noted, from slow to rapid. The last step before the dancers leave the floor is very rapid, almost a run, and the dancers in their excitement

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574 832 154 of the *unkúndye* then it should be said that it is the women who supply the charge that explodes the emotions and issues into the open.

574 562 154 Because they are so much in the background during everyday life, compartmentalized in the manioc garden as in the house itself, women are strongly stimulated by the social heterogeneity of the *unkúndye* as by the inherent excitement of drinking, dancing, noise, and close body contact. The women's responsiveness seems to be spontaneous from the very beginning of the drinking party, whereas the men groom their emotions by stages, until at the end they are responding with a spontaneity of their own. The spontaneous emotional excitement of the women feeds into the emotional pool, so to speak, of the whole *unkúndye*. During the great mourning festival with its ritual eroticism this counterplay of men and their formal ceremoniousness and women and their emotional spontaneity leads finally to a unified response that is ceremony deeply charged with feeling. At the mourning ceremony this juxtaposition of male and female roles is very evident. And it is because of my observation of the mourning ceremonies that I have been led to see each drinking party in a similar fashion. In short, for the men the drinking party is collective and ritualistic; for the women it is individual and personal. In the end, these two roles are fused so that the aim of strong feeling within a formal setting is achieved. Perhaps it would be better to say overachieved, since the jealous quarrels that women provoke are sometimes serious, splitting sibs from one another and antagonizing close sibmates.

● [831]

574 578 Every drinking party that I ever attended ended in a quarrel. All quarrels were sexual, either provoked directly by jealousy or by disparaging remarks about a man's virility. The quarrels may lead to minor violence and may have no consequences. Sometimes, however, they stir up unexpectedly deep layers of feeling. A fresh affront recalls earlier offenses. These are aired. Before long the disputants have brought out a tangle of charges and countercharges revealing long smoldering issues. Men start a quarrel over an accusation of adultery. One man then comments that the father of the other had once said that he would not mind if his, the complainant's, sib were to die out. It is a remark of this nature that suddenly and chillingly transforms a simple quarrel into a later suspicion and then open accusation of sorcery, should someone sicken on either side.

The quarreling of men sounds more violent than it really is. If they are content to merely pummel one another with their fists there is little interference except that the women fret anxiously. Should they reach for dangerous weapons they are restrained and content

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The sexual play between men and women begins when the first 821
visiting women arrive and try to pass through the rear entrance of 786
the maloca. The rear door has been removed and the opening barred [535]
by poles set in an x over which the women must climb. The Dung beetles, armed with wooden staffs, "guard" the entrance by thrusting at the women as they climb in. The women are burdened with great baskets containing household utensils. Many carry a nursing baby in a sling across the hip, with a walking child clutching the skirt. A woman can make no dignified entrance. Prodded by the Dung beetles she tumbles into the house, clutching her infant, her skirts flying, her utensils scattered. She laughs with excitement, recognizing her fall as a burlesque of the rough play that initiates sexual courtship. At this moment the men are being solemnly and decorously received at the front door. However, after having been tumbled into the house the women reassemble outside, the bars are removed, and they, too, are received in the conventional manner by the host women. They then settle themselves along the left wall of the women's section.

The second molestation of the women comes at nightfall, when lit- 765
tle boys rush in among them with a bark *dúpu* (a lizard which sup- 831
posedly makes the women squeamish) suspended along a sturdy 786
rope. They invite the little girls to join them in a tug of war. The 857
little girls act shy so the boys first play of tug of war among themselves, arranging to fall among the girls. Emboldened, the girls seize the *dúpu* and join the tug of war. Another group of boys also bearing a *dúpu* enters and engages more girls in a tug of war. The purpose of the *dúpu* is to generate excitement among the women. The boys fall upon the little girls, who shriek with laughter and mock alarm while their mothers dodge the thrashing bodies artfully.

The youngsters are followed by an older group of Minnows, not masked, who swarm in noisily, stomping and whistling, dancing close among the women and jostling them. Finally, all the masked [535]
dancers, the adult males, enter. The air clouds with dust, and the women's section resounds to the shrieks of laughter, to song, and to the thump of dancing feet and the dry clatter of rattles. Young boys who are sent to sprinkle the floor with moist chicha mash, to settle the dust, pelt one another, and "accidentally" the women, with balls of mash. Throwing chicha mash is, for the Cubeo, a common form [832]
of flirtation. Ordinarily the woman throws at a lover. Children do not ordinarily play this game. Thus, the incongruity of being hit with 765
mash thrown by little boys amuses the women enormously. It is the 831
guest women who are flirtatiously singled out at this time. The host 786

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765 The host
831 women stand apart on their side of the house and serve chicha to
786 the Minnows.

The males leave and the excitement of the women subsides.
765 Through the night, however, the men come to dance among the
831 women. The fence that divides the house into a male and female
786 half is also an emotional dividing line. Dances form on the male
535 side, where they are solemn and subdued. When they pass to the women's side, the dancers are excited. When they go back they revert to calm. It is tempting to interpret the movement of the masked dancers – who look phallic – through the overlapping slit in the wall as symbolizing coitus, particularly since with almost each passage the level of excitement is heightened.

The excitement of the Minnows is allowed to subside in a calm interval. *Máwayo* (the red-mouthed aracú), and *U* (sloth) do a slow dance, holding long poles with a crook at one end which they suspend from a roof beam and upon which they swing. The Sloth always falls. He lies on the ground kicking a leg and making feeble gestures of arising, only to fall again. But *Máwayo* is slow and graceful and swings gently on his pole. The Sloth arises, and the dancers cross poles and gracefully dance out.

[532] They are all followed by the Minnows. Each Minnow now carries a long pole that is joined to all the others by a string from which dangles a carved wooden bird. They do a circle dance with the bird in the center. As they circle, stamping strongly to accent the beat on the right foot, they jostle the women, moving in upon them to enclose them in the circle. The Jaguars now rush in, wilder than ever,
[857] leaping about among the women and falling upon them. They are followed by the boys with the *dúpu* on its string. The boys ensnare the young girls in the *dúpu* string. Now two masked dancers come in with long flaming broomsticks. They dash about among the women, swinging the flaming fibers among them. The women scatter in noisy panic, kicking over baskets and dishes. The attack by flame excites the Jaguars as well, and they whirl around among the women in sheer frenzy. As they flee this new menace, the women say, "The
[534] jaguars are angry. They will soon attack people." The Jaguars, however, are no menace to the men. One climbs on top of the partition and blows noisily into his jug horn, and another climbs a roof beam overlooking the women, both in a simulated attack upon them.

The Jaguars withdraw, and the next entrance is again a quiet one. Two Spiders, slowly and gracefully holding a long string from the middle of which hangs a feather, dance toward one another, winding up the string until they are face to face at the feather and

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then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure. [831] [786] [535]

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudjíko* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping. [533]

This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *óyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *óyne*. 765 831 786 535 [182]

From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out—one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Míavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs. [152]

The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abúhuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakúiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamiré, kamiré*. These dancers leave, and another *Abúhukũ* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudúki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among 765 536 [535]

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536 the women and dives clumsily after it, rolling among the women and over them. He recovers it and tries to crack it in his mouth, but of course he is wearing a mask, and finally he examines it with a marvelously executed air of puzzlement and dejection. The women have been so dazed by now that the comic virtuosity of this "clown" does
[152] not draw the expected laughs. The *Abühukü* leaves and there is a respite. The women stir about and look after their children, and it seems as though the emotional gradient, having been broken in its upward ascent, has dropped to the most ordinary level.

765 But this quiet interlude is short. At midmorning all the masked
831 dancers storm noisily among the women in a dance called the
786 *hwananiwa* (wild peccary). They throw themselves upon the
535 women, forcing them to the ground and to the copulatory position. Three or four men cover a woman. The dancers rise again to dance in sheer frenzy, careening about the room, shrieking and falling again upon another woman. But even though their excitement seems more feverish than ever, the men still do not lay a hand upon a woman. They choose for their attentions only the older women. The
[887] older women among the Cubeo are licentious, and they behave at this time as though they have become sexually aroused. They laugh and shriek and reach for a man's thighs. The daughters observe this spectacle of their mother's sexual excitement with evident dismay and great interest. The mothers shrilly command their daughters to run away and so escape sexual molestation. At the command to run they begin to leave, but they come back to watch. Again, the very young
[152] boys who share this masculine license are carried away by sexual excitation and lustfully attack the women, the wives of their phratry mates. The women "fight them off" with the standard courting resistance and succeed in inflaming them all the more. Not all the masked dancers join this revelry in the same spirit. Some men, the older ones in particular, are restrained, treating the dance symbolically, and some are simply shy and only brush lightly against the
765 women. The point of view is that of symbolic frenzy rather than of
182 sheer unrestraint. The mastery of this mood is surely a difficult one,
152 because the women, who are a laity, are under no compulsion to dis-
831 cipline their feelings. This is presumably the Cubeo ceremonial con-
786 ception – pitting masculine symbolically controlled behavior against
535 the spontaneous emotionality of the women. This interplay between emotional form and substance, so to speak, adds spontaneity and emotional spice to the ceremony but always within the framework of form. That the youngsters should succumb to simple lust in this licentious dance is, to be sure, a spontaneous consequence of the

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *hwananíwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

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The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* – the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

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The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

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The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

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535 recognizing the symbolic distinction between an alligator and a
536 jaguar, do not throw it back at the men. Then the Jaguars kill a deer, who is represented by a masked dancer. The Jaguars dance wildly about their "victim," blowing loudly into their jugs. The victim writhes and falls agonizingly to the ground, kicking up a leg, moving an arm, and then lying inert. Other dancers, his "comrades," come to look at him. They lift his arm and it falls back. They lift his leg and it falls back. They sniff his body and murmur *ttt tttt*. Now the Carrion vultures come, with their short staffs held against the back of the neck. They dance about the victim singing the jaguar song. They buzz about the victim and bend down and kiss him. The Jaguars also kill *Pampámibo* (a frog), and the procedure is repeated.

This dramatization of the modes of violent death – the killing of the alligator, the lustful adulterer, the killing of the jaguar, the dread killer himself, and the killing of the weaker and defenseless game animals – restores the mood to one of sobriety. The dance of the Carrion vultures has a note of pathos that is not lost on the women.

765 When these sequences are done there is an intermission. The boys
831 busy themselves with the fabrication of great bark-cloth penises.
[535] The phallic dance that is to follow is known as the "dance of the
[857] potent penises" and is under the jurisdiction of the young men. As they complete the penises, the boys begin a sexual play with them, thrusting at one another in a hilarious burlesque of coitus. It is all play, in a spirit of gaiety and with much noise.

765 During this interval of male sexual play, that takes place in the men's part of the house, the women on their side are mourning in the conventional fashion, arms about one another's neck, faces together, crouching in a mournful circle.

765 On this, the third day, the women's section is not entered again by
535 the men until late in the afternoon. Then the entire corps of masked
831 dancers dances in, each man carrying a sprig of leaves with which he beats the women, centering attention on the elderly. Some strike
786 with such force as to make the women scream with pain. Others brush a woman's shoulder lightly. They then dance into the men's section and whip the hosts, but perfunctorily, since the real interest is in the women, from whom they should draw blood. The Jaguars enter briefly among the women. They leave and all the masked dancers – the *nowánparatowü* (potent penises) – come in. Each holds a bark-cloth phallus before him with both hands. The dancers thrust at the older women, some doing so very mildly, and others, the younger men, forcing the phalluses between a woman's legs. The women again shriek at their daughters to escape. As before, the girls

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark-fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner. 765 535 831 786

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark-cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one-month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks. [838] [857]

The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion. 765 786 831 182 837

The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women – the sexually most desirable – are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of [838]

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenádox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth 574
day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing 576
the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep [152]
once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

765
One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. [535]
At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial [534]
paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

765
That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening 535
include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kaupaindüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, [533]
*kenadjü marié kenadjü pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. 765
As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and 535
leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the 786
dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has [831]
become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the 765
following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted 775
to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first 266
of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that 114

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the 171
funeral, disinter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a 765
great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most 184
horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a 266

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generally, this relationship of appropriateness between mood and activity is not novel. It seems, in fact, altogether natural. Cultures, however, as we well know, do not necessarily pattern themselves quite so naturally. Civilizations, in particular, place the emphasis upon the social action and expect the mood to be disciplined or to be subordinated to the social occasion. The Cubeo, on the other hand, expect a rather high degree of emotional spontaneity. In this respect they correspond oddly to the eighteenth-century notions of "natural man." In secular affairs the spontaneity of correspondence between emotion and action is much greater than in ritual. In ritual the effort is made to establish the correspondence between feeling and the concept of the sacred. Ritual in primitive society generally expresses in a symbolic or highly compressed form the fundamental cultural themes of a society. We have repeatedly shown the integration of ritual with social structure. Cubeo ritual, similarly, reveals not only the role of emotionality in Cubeo life but exhibits that spectrum of emotionality that has greatest significance for the Cubeo.[1] It is indeed in ritual, as Ruth Benedict has demonstrated in *Patterns of Culture*, that the ethos of a culture is most vividly displayed. Cubeo ritual, as has been seen, dramatizes the interplay between formal pattern and spontaneity. The most vivid example of this interplay is the interaction between men as sacred and women as a laity during the mourning ceremony. The effect of this interplay is to add significance to the spontaneity of emotion, and at the same time to give emotional zest to the formal ritual pattern. In short, what seems an inescapable conclusion about Cubeo culture is that neither form nor action can be comfortably tolerated unless charged with a proper feeling or emotion.

The relationship between form and emotion and social action and emotion is but one part of the pattern. The pattern also includes the emotional preferences. It is not simply that the Cubeo prefer to run a gamut, since an emotional gamut is a range within a particular plane. In ritual the emotional gamut moves from sobriety and order, as we have already explained, to intoxication and disorder. On a smaller scale, the ritual pattern moves from slow to fast. In the mourning ceremony these related planes of emotional modulation seemed to find their focus in a sexual rhythm, culminating in what is almost literally an orgasmic excitement. From this there may be reason to conclude that it is coitus, a very elementary biological

[1] It is to be understood, of course, that the roles of emotionality in secular life are not the same as they are in the sacred realm. In secular life moderation is more appropriate than excitement or intensity.

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571
152 model, that underlies an important aspect of the Cubeo ethos.
796 What is surprising about finding coitus as a model for ritual ethos is
181 not that this obvious pattern has been drawn upon, but that it is not
831 drawn upon more often. Among the Carajá of central Brazil, I am
171 informed, the coital ritual pattern is explicitly recognized, each phase of the dance being named from a phase of sexual intercourse.[3] It is quite possible that I simply failed to discover the same explicit relationship among the Cubeo. The explicitness that I did discover,
571 796 though, is in their assertion that ritual excitement, whether produced
181 by drugs, alcohol, or the ritualization of sex, is a necessary complement to the ritual magic of the below-the-knee ligature of long life.
152 This identification of emotional intensity with life itself is also an obvious and therefore a simple relationship. In sum, we can say that the main features of Cubeo ethos draw upon very obvious and simple biopsychological models and – this is the significant point – adhere rather closely, almost literally, to them. Since the social pattern also draws upon a very elementary model we must conclude that the socio-cultural pattern as a whole is built upon the simplest of social and biopsychological models. Needless to say, even the bare and incomplete account of Cubeo life that has been presented suggests that the elements of over-all pattern described here do not encompass the "totality" of the culture. In all probability, however, no concept of pattern can ever encompass a total social and cultural system. From the point of view of culture theory the question is a different one. The proper question is: Does the theory of pattern provide an adequate approach to an understanding of the culture?

121 We can attempt to answer this question by applying the concept
571 of pattern that has been presented to an analysis of two fundamental cultural problems: the problem of social homeostasis and the problem of ecological adaptation. Strictly speaking, equilibrium and adaptation are one problem. It is simply that this problem can be approached from two sides.

## SOCIAL HOMEOSTASIS

The assumption of social homeostasis is that a cultural system consists of relationships and interactions that are so patterned that their net effect is to perpetuate the system, generation after generation. It is understood, of course, that homeostasis, or equilibrium, is a relative condition only, since no society today is a precise duplicate of

[3] Personal communication from Dr. William Lipkind.

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571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
[578] Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a com-
[182] plex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen together. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo
[857] culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken — and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the preva-
578 lence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordi-
• 831 narily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship? Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost al-
837 ways the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
[562] discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

578 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
571 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
837 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
573 acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
[562] status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional
[554] cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

/73 cont./

142 In some few cases, hair becoming thin due to loss; not, however,
144 complete baldness. Rare and late graying, thanks to the use of some dyeing lotions. No case of albinism or erythrism in the eight or ten thousand Indians whom we have visited.

The rest of the body is not very pilose; the hair is fine and brown, more or less the color of the skin, and thus it is barely distinguishable from it.

He is of short stature and short neck. They ridicule the whites for having so long a neck. Well-formed torso, slightly longer /74/ than the inferior members on those of the male sex, and with an even more noticeable difference on those of the female sex, without, however, coming to be inelegant. Broad-chested, with an ample thorax, and with hips considerably narrower than the shoulders. In the men, after 40
[145] years of age, the belly often large and sagging, which gives the
[262] torso a chubby appearance. The disproportionate development of the stomach, as a result of an excess of nourishment preponderantly of mandioca flour, is already noticeable in all the children from three or four years of age.

[832] The young woman is always plump in body, which is considered a feature of elegance; she sometimes comes to exhibit a chubby appearance. Ordinarily the women have the bust elegantly inclined backwards, perhaps due to the way they carry the loads, in large baskets the length of their backs, but tied to the forehead with embira. Perhaps this is also the cause of an exaggerated development of the sternum.

[832] The individuals of the female sex have the gluteal region well developed, although not exaggeratedly, a quality, by the way, appreciated also as a factor of female elegance.
* [192] For this reason, the ones with a slimmer body are objects of derision, as desnalgadas /thin ones/, duxkú. It seems, however,
[481] that there is no artificial process for the development of that region, and that the very way of walking, with the torso well arched toward the rear, the abdomen forward, and the chest and head quite erect, or even inclined backward, is what sets off the gluteal proportions.

/156 cont./

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/footnote 25 cont./ to work with the whites of the lower Rio Negro, without having sent any news. Upon returning, the meeting with his wife took place with the customary indifference on the bank of the river as he disembarked from the canoe. Inside the hut, however, after having presented him with the quinhapira /a fish dish/ and the beijú /manioc bread/, the wife, squatting beside the husband, opened up with these complaints: -- "O father of my children (yõ-põra-kõ), you have finally arrived. You were gone with the white very far away, very far away, and the mother of your children remained here alone, without having fish for the children, without being able to make a new clearing, abandoned, without clothes... Oh! How sad it is to live like this! How sad it is! (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, pp. 72-3).

152
[832]
[177]
*[192]

Although he laughs easily, he always receives the great joys or tragedies with a certain indifference. They do not know the kiss (26)

26. It also seems that words for kiss and embrace do not exist in the Tukano language. The term mí'mI, which Pe. Antônio Giacone records in his vocabulary as corresponding to kiss, actually means to suck. As a matter of fact, in the early days when they were taught to kiss some object, they sucked it, even when it was a matter of the priest's hand at a liturgical function.

or the embrace as a display of affection between parents and children or other relatives.

/255 cont./

202 /footnote 6 cont./ the Witoto of Pirá-paraná (Colombia) the language of the Trocanos, made in pairs, that is, man and wife, according to the picturesque native expression, was quite well developed.

*192 202 534 With some musical instruments they manage to emit sounds that are similar to words. For example, with the instrument called Ñamá dõxpoá (deer head, cf. VII, 3 c (3) /see VII, 3 c (10)/), we seemed to hear the syllables -- "Pẽru wáatya" (bring caxiri) ... pẽru... pẽru... pẽru" (quickly, quickly, quickly).

[832] The young men direct amorous invitations to the young women with the sounds of some fifes. We were given on the Uaupés (and for this reason we recorded it with the pronunciation of this river) the following invitation, which they express on the fife -- "Yõõ-mẽna váya" (go with me), -- "Yõõ-mẽna vágo-tá" (you just go with me), "afiunõ nĩgosa" (be good), "afiũnõ nĩhosa" (it is going to be good). To send out such invitations with the sound of the flutes is what is called in Tukano puxtĩ-weresã (literally: to complain by playing the flute).

202 [123] They likewise know how to emit certain characteristic and various cries, sometimes similar to the voice of animals and chirping of the birds, and they orient themselves, call one another, give information, etc., with these signals (7).

7. On a trip to the great maloca of the Tuyuka, on the upper Tiquié, frontier with Colombia, the machete that one of our traveling companions had leaned to the Indians disappeared. At the time for the canoe to leave, he asked about the machete and no one could give any information as to where it might be. Impatient, he complained that it was a theft, and this was wicked. After the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ canoe

/305 cont./

*192 534 6th. -- Varejeira. In Tukano it is called mõxtẽ-poro, which means precisely mosca-varejeira /blowfly/. It is a small flute of imbauba about 30 centimeters long, with a vertical orifice, as in general among the flutes. They play it in the intervals between the dances. The sounds imitate articulations of words, [832] and thus the young men address sexual invitations to the young women. It is what is called puxtí-weresã, to complain playing the flute (cf. VII -- 1).

7th. -- Mawáko. Under this name come two different types of flutes: 1st) an imbauba fife, may reach up to a meter in length; 2nd) a small flute 12 to 15 centimeters long, with a side orifice, in the center, also of imbauba.

[835] 8th. -- There are various types of pipes or whistles that they use in the dances, whistling rhythmically in the intervals between the songs. One of them is of taboca, has the shape of a common pipe about 10 centimeters long, with the hole for blowing at the upper end, and it is used in the dance called wá'wa-ri baxsá (dance of the arumã head-piece).

Another, also of taboca, and of the size of the preceding one, but with the orifice in the center.

[835] In other dances, instead of a whistle, each man carries a piece of cipo 20 or 30 centimeters in length, the bark of which comes off very easily, remaining as a sheath. Holding this sheath tightly with the left hand, and with the right one pulling the pith of /306/ the cipo, there results from the attrition a very shrill whistling. This whistle is called simiõ-mi.

9th. -- Jabutí. It is prepared from the carapace of the jabutí /land turtle/, from which comes the name, úhuri in Tukano, dug out in such a way that the shell remains intact. Afterwards the holes are in part obturated with breu. The instrument is held tightly under the left arm, while the open right hand goes to rubbing with force the lip of the upper orifice; it will then emit a hoarse sound similar to that of the cuica /an amphibious rat/.

/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in
[224] order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have
[226] similar efficacy.

They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions
*[192] which are called oxkó ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some are prepared by the pajé or kõmũ; others, by any individual. There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacurí, and to guarantee them abundant fish.

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui (puxpyá).

[514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement (75);

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

[832] The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant
789 called tá:-dõxká (in Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca)
824 to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know everything," that is, will be intelligent.
*[192] There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with magic virtues:

[241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the mandioca will yield very well.

/364 cont./

789 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in
824 order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'téa) fish.

*[192] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the
[226] face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.

• [832] The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many
291 practices and prescriptions:

1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger;
821 if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away Wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small wood-
825 pecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clear-
*[192] ing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tĩrosa (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/383 cont./

178 /footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear
292 Waxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament.
562 Some persons declared to us that they had
*[192] never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that the women always walked around destitute of clothing.

302 About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the
291 breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered
302 without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts
834 with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178] It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),

107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt.
[832] Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

/384 cont./
836 inducing them, not infrequently, to provocation (109)

• [832] [515]

109. While bathing, the girls agitate the water, with the hand cupped, from below upwards, with a characteristic noise. The boys respond to this signal by fanning their open hands in front of the chest, one higher than the other, so that they are crossed without meeting, and, since they are almost on the surface of the water, they produce a noise that is heard at a distance of two hundred meters or more. This provocative noise is called Pixtwasé.

*[192]

and invitation to the boys.

832 /385/ Although the old customs state that the bathing of the
836 women precedes that of the men and should be before the break
[515] of day, sometimes the Indians are surprised in mixed bathing during the warm hours of the day.

*[192] The young women prepare philters or potions, known by the
[278] Nheengatú name of Puçanga (in Tukano Ox-kó), which they give to the young men to drink in order to attract them to them; or, in front of their eyes, they wear or rub on themselves roots and plants to which is attributed an aphrodisiac virtue.

842 The cases of illegitimate pregnancy of maidens are not rare,
847 although they know (110)
848

110. We had gathered for the "centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté some plants considered as sterilizing and abortive. While organizing the herbarium, some identifying labels fell off. We called on three maidens, and with the greatest facility, upon seeing the plants, they indicated the name and the purpose, exactly as was stated on the labels.

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The ceremonial friendship is an intimate relationship, indeed. The Cubeo expectation of it is that it have a quality of warmth and of privilege, if not beyond, then at least equal to a close, recognized kinship relationship. Since ceremonial friends are already sib or phratry mates, their relationship, if it is to have any meaning at all, must make them at least the equivalent of lineage kin; and that is what it is intended to do. Ceremonial friendship gives vividness and exclusiveness to sib and phratry relationships that are often too tepid and too generalized for Cubeo tastes. 572 614 615 572

When ceremonial friends are of opposite sex they forgo the erotic play that even brother and sister are supposedly allowed to indulge in, asserting, thereby, that theirs is the closest bond of friendship attainable. The relationship is often a substitute for a brother-sister pairing. Not every sibling line is so conveniently arranged as to provide for a brother-sister pairing. Hence, if no sister is allowed to a man he casts about for a girl of his age group and asks her to become his *hiko*. If she agrees he acquires the equivalent of an assigned sister, and she of a brother. They will form a team in an exchange marriage and they will exchange products. She will provide him with manioc for chicha, if he wishes to sponsor a drinking party, and she will prepare farinha for him, which he will use to trade for objects of white manufacture. He will reciprocate with appropriate gifts and with making household implements for her. When he is paid for his labor in the rubber forests he will surely bring cloth and trinkets for his *hiko*. 572 [832]

To cite one specific example of gift exchange between ceremonial friends: A man of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib took a sib sister as his *hiko*. He gave her, immediately, cloth for two petticoats, two boxes of matches, two decorative combs, two small hand mirrors, thread and needles, two tins of brilliantine hair dressing, and a bar of soap. In return she gave him four big chicha serving calabashes, two balls of miriti twine, and a valuable necklace of silver triangles known as "butterflies." In addition, her father gave her two fishing bows to give to her ceremonial friend. 572 431

The relationship between *hikū* and *hiko* does fill the gap left by the normal imbalance between male and female siblings. But the Cubeo do not regard it as a mere substitute for a missing brother or a missing sister. Men who have sisters assigned to them still seek a *hiko*, if only to enjoy an individualized relationship of their own choice. If exchange marriage is not to be a central feature of the relationship, the *hikū* is still entitled to a gift from the groom at his 572

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614 584 walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest
[836] is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting
[832] coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of
[789] these is an extract of *ũwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult, a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

614 583 584 [601] Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *tcimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *tcimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *tcimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *tcimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

614 574 583 584 It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the maloca and of the community – the groom joining the age group of his *tcimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

614 619 574 583 584 This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

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831
832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavimiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Küwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyünbeküku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Küwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Küwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Küwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Küwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."* The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Küwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

* The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwd*, and armpit hair is *pwd buiei* (literally, hair tobacco).

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shout *hi i i i* and are answered by the audience. The men start dancing alone and finish dancing alone. Dancers of the host sib begin their dance in the house and may sally out onto the plaza, an extension of the house, and then dance back in. Guests, on the other hand, begin their dance formation on the plaza, move into the house, and conclude on the plaza.

The Cubeo regard women as disruptive elements at a drinking party. They have cause to do so, since it is the women who are encouraged by the character of the dancing to make the overtures of flirtatiousness. Women choose their partners and men maintain an air of innocence. A woman's sexual forwardness goes beyond that. Young girls and many married women wear love charms in their hair at a drinking party. This is nothing more than a colorful blossom that declares that a woman would like to attract the interest of a man. The Indians themselves are not quite sure whether the blossom, which they call *chondú* (*pedidya* in Cubeo) has inherent qualities as a love charm – a serious woman has truly powerful love charms that she uses secretly – or is merely provocative symbolically. In any case a man cannot be blamed if *chondú* provokes him. The use of *chondú* adds intensity to the atmosphere of a drinking party as effectively as do chicha, coca, tobacco, *mihi*, and dancing. Whether or not *chondú* is an official ingredient it is hard to say. The men speak of it as a feminine provocation. Yet if one looks at the drinking party in its inevitable progression from calm to frenzy it seems that, whether it is an official ingredient or not, it fits. Just as the counterpoint of male and female is part of everyday community life, so the more intensely experienced counterpoint of male and female is exploited for its frenzy-producing quality.

A married woman should not wear *chondú*, but a man cannot stop his wife from displaying her interest in other men. He then excuses her by saying she does it only to look pretty and keeps a wary eye on his brother sib and phratry mates. For the unmarried girls *chondú* is formal wear, even though the only man whose eye it might catch is likely to be a sister's husband or a forbidden phratry mate. Curiously, unmarried girls are often even more provocative by not wearing *chondú*. This is arrogance that says, "I am not interested in the men here." A married woman may wear *chondú* only to tease her husband in a lighthearted way. Understanding this he is even delighted. She may do so, on the other hand, to irritate him. The rule of sober everyday life is to avoid quarrels and issues. The drinking party roils up feelings to the point where what has been latent erupts forcefully into the open. If emotional catharsis is a "function"

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574 832 154 of the *unkúndye* then it should be said that it is the women who supply the charge that explodes the emotions and issues into the open.

574 562 154 Because they are so much in the background during everyday life, compartmentalized in the manioc garden as in the house itself, women are strongly stimulated by the social heterogeneity of the *unkúndye* as by the inherent excitement of drinking, dancing, noise, and close body contact. The women's responsiveness seems to be spontaneous from the very beginning of the drinking party, whereas the men groom their emotions by stages, until at the end they are responding with a spontaneity of their own. The spontaneous emotional excitement of the women feeds into the emotional pool, so to [831] speak, of the whole *unkúndye*. During the great mourning festival with its ritual eroticism this counterplay of men and their formal ceremoniousness and women and their emotional spontaneity leads finally to a unified response that is ceremony deeply charged with feeling. At the mourning ceremony this juxtaposition of male and female roles is very evident. And it is because of my observation of the mourning ceremonies that I have been led to see each drinking party in a similar fashion. In short, for the men the drinking party is collective and ritualistic; for the women it is individual and personal. In the end, these two roles are fused so that the aim of strong feeling within a formal setting is achieved. Perhaps it would be better to say overachieved, since the jealous quarrels that women provoke are sometimes serious, splitting sibs from one another and antagonizing close sibmates.

574 578 Every drinking party that I ever attended ended in a quarrel. All quarrels were sexual, either provoked directly by jealousy or by disparaging remarks about a man's virility. The quarrels may lead to minor violence and may have no consequences. Sometimes, however, they stir up unexpectedly deep layers of feeling. A fresh affront recalls earlier offenses. These are aired. Before long the disputants have brought out a tangle of charges and countercharges revealing long smoldering issues. Men start a quarrel over an accusation of adultery. One man then comments that the father of the other had once said that he would not mind if his, the complainant's, sib were to die out. It is a remark of this nature that suddenly and chillingly transforms a simple quarrel into a later suspicion and then open accusation of sorcery, should someone sicken on either side.

The quarreling of men sounds more violent than it really is. If they are content to merely pummel one another with their fists there is little interference except that the women fret anxiously. Should they reach for dangerous weapons they are restrained and content

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The sexual play between men and women begins when the first visiting women arrive and try to pass through the rear entrance of the maloca. The rear door has been removed and the opening barred by poles set in an × over which the women must climb. The Dung beetles, armed with wooden staffs, "guard" the entrance by thrusting at the women as they climb in. The women are burdened with great baskets containing household utensils. Many carry a nursing baby in a sling across the hip, with a walking child clutching the skirt. A woman can make no dignified entrance. Prodded by the Dung beetles she tumbles into the house, clutching her infant, her skirts flying, her utensils scattered. She laughs with excitement, recognizing her fall as a burlesque of the rough play that initiates sexual courtship. At this moment the men are being solemnly and decorously received at the front door. However, after having been tumbled into the house the women reassemble outside, the bars are removed, and they, too, are received in the conventional manner by the host women. They then settle themselves along the left wall of the women's section. 765 831 786 [535]

The second molestation of the women comes at nightfall, when little boys rush in among them with a bark *dúpu* (a lizard which supposedly makes the women squeamish) suspended along a sturdy rope. They invite the little girls to join them in a tug of war. The little girls act shy so the boys first play of tug of war among themselves, arranging to fall among the girls. Emboldened, the girls seize the *dúpu* and join the tug of war. Another group of boys also bearing a *dúpu* enters and engages more girls in a tug of war. The purpose of the *dúpu* is to generate excitement among the women. The boys fall upon the little girls, who shriek with laughter and mock alarm while their mothers dodge the thrashing bodies artfully. 765 831 786 857

The youngsters are followed by an older group of Minnows, not masked, who swarm in noisily, stomping and whistling, dancing close among the women and jostling them. Finally, all the masked dancers, the adult males, enter. The air clouds with dust, and the women's section resounds to the shrieks of laughter, to song, and to the thump of dancing feet and the dry clatter of rattles. Young boys who are sent to sprinkle the floor with moist chicha mash, to settle the dust, pelt one another, and "accidentally" the women, with balls of mash. Throwing chicha mash is, for the Cubeo, a common form of flirtation. Ordinarily the woman throws at a lover. Children do not ordinarily play this game. Thus, the incongruity of being hit with mash thrown by little boys amuses the women enormously. It is the guest women who are flirtatiously singled out at this time. The host [535] [832] 765 831 786

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*wei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhã*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yawi*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawá* — the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñikndwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[8] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf — a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihí*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication — it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[8] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

/349 cont./

796 [354] [554] Between the last columns of the maloca a fire burns, which an old Indian stirs up frequently (58).

58. In the subdivisions of the tribes (cf. IV-2, a (2) ) it fell to those of the last category to keep the fire lighted.

"It is to illuminate the earrings of the dances," they explain to us.

So they spend the night, and one after the other falls from drunkenness, tired and sleepy, while the stronger ones continue dancing. At given moments there is a noise like a fight; the men will beat again on the entrance door. Under the effect of the alcohol there are heard at intervals disorderly shouting, noisy laughter, animated discussions, not infrequently fights and violence or even murders. That atmosphere of excitement and [833] darkness is most conducive to immoral practices (59).

59. Already at the end of the eighteenth century the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, vicar of S. Gabriel, was complaining: -- "During their banquets and feasts, there are always spirituous beverages, which they call caxiri, mucururú, pajaauarú and caeçuma, made out of mandioca, batatas, and fruits, with which they get drunk to the point of crapulence" (o. c. p. 486).

[833] At first they perform them more discreetly, going outside the maloca for these relations; later, when they are drunker, they do it even inside the maloca, in the hammocks or on the floor. Generally, however, there is no fecundation in these relations (60).

60. So they assured us, and they attribute

/380 cont./

837 other tribes, with whom they live in the same maloca or povoado, promised us that the same happens among all the tribes of this region.

After the individuals of both sexes have gone through the pu-
881 berty initiation, -- be they married or single -- sexual relations
836 with a large number of persons of the tribe and, under some conditions, also with those of other tribes, and with the civilized themselves, are permissible for them.

• 833 They conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes (99)

[838]
[881]

> 99. Male or female homosexualism, it seems, has always been regarded as something reprovable and, for this reason, always practiced secretly. Officially, as far as is reported, it only exists in the puberty rite of the boys.

as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse (100).

> 100. It is understandable that the relations, although legally permissible, might not always be prudent and thus are not practiced publicly. Such is the case for the individual who, having fought with the husband, does not touch his wife in his presence. This comes from positive information obtained.

just as the various physiological acts of eating, drinking, or anything else are performed in front of any person (101).

[829]

> 101. Out of mixed feelings of distrust and hostility toward the civilized, or even because they know directly or indirectly that their morals condemn these liberties, they do not

/380 cont./

833
829

/footnote 101 cont./ practice licit or illicit sexual relations in front of them. Perhaps, yes, in front of some who are better acquainted with them, and with whom they might have had relations. Cf. what will be said about the female initiation.

835

There is only one interdiction, but a strict one, against sexual relations (and the same for the different tribes that we mention in this study), those that take place between blood brothers and sisters, or brothers and sisters in the strict sense, that is, between children of the same parents. These, as well as relations between parents and children, take on a religious character, for this reason are licit, or even advisable and imposed in given circumstances (puberty rite, eclipse, new moon, caxiris, and in the clearing), and outside of that only secretly.

[833]

The woman, legally, can take the initiative in these relations, which happens frequently among single persons. In practice, especially between married persons, due to the feeling of inferiority which dominates her, the woman almost always waits for the invitation of the men. She can never, however, peremptorily refuse, even in the face of prostration of her physical state and the multiplicity of the suitors.

It must further be mentioned that the Australian Pirraúru is also in force among the Uaupesinos. That is, when the husband must /381/ go away, he invites one of his blood brothers (he is the first one designated, unless the husband has had a fight with him, as comes from the information) or a tribal brother to replace him in the habitual conjugal relations (102).

102. Two informants stated that it fell to the wife to invite this brother-in-law. It seems that this information may be based on events perhaps explained by the forgetfulness or sudden departure of the absent husband. The official notice to his substitute falls to him.

/385 cont./

563 Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

[115]

[611]

113. In Urubucuara and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Antônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Taryana, later married a Wanana.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114)

114. Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

881 In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the pajé or Kõmã and with another young man of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).

833

[756]

/386 cont./

881 All these premarital relations (115)

• 833

*[192]

115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b) ), and her fiancé, Mã-ra-põ nỹãkhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

[628]

The Maku maidens and women, while they are working for the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

567 831 648

When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian individuals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

588 628 648 833 881

The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

588 835

/388 cont./

831 Confirming this opinion is, first, the fact that the relations
• 833 during the caxiri must take place on the ground, outside the maloca (122),

> 122. When they are more intoxicated and excited, they also violate this custom, relations taking place even inside the maloca. So reported some of the natives.

and that in some tribes the woman must first kiss the ground; whereas the ordinary relations take place inside the maloca and in the hammock.

[241] Another confirmation of this sacred character, it seems to
[835] us, is the opinion that they regard as good and recommended the relations, even incestuous ones, when the women go to the clearing. The relations are even compulsory when it is a matter of a new clearing to which the woman is going for the first time.

[821] Finally, the religious character of the public incestuous
[835] relations is further documented by the circumstance of their indication on the occasion of the new moon and lunar eclipses.

One can conclude, then, that sexual liberties in these cir-
831 cumstances, incestuous or not, have the character of a rite in connection with /389/ the fertility of the soil and of nature in general. We have, thus, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the notion and practice of the intichiuma, which is also in force among other human groups, that is, sexual liberties are magic ceremonies in order to guarantee the reproduction of the animal or vegetable nature. They are, by the way, very common practices, proclaiming lunar beliefs and cults of matriarchalist origin.

And they constitute, in turn, proof of the religious character of their feasts.

562 /443 cont./
881 work rapidly -- to return home at once" (79).
[756]
[867]
[177]

79. These recommendations against the piraboto, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tincuam and those of the Jurupari of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uaupés" of the author).

[756] Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin
[869] of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his cigar, pronouncing at the same time a long and unintelligible
[833] exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the pajé Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the nihĩ-koró, which is inverted. But ordinarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the pajé, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoá, as the several informants of the Uaupés stated.

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361
household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial 241
purposes 462

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351
entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361
kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562
staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622]
for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and
for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist
that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [578]
plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755]
medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear
plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521]
of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards,
and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip.
During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests
are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351
a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361
vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562
an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574
realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made
this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was
received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as
he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361
a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562
the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823
of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614]
Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534]
edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, [515]
to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833]
women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842]
But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621
high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512
of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing
that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahukiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361
tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241
462

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621
512 in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712 In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner
[361] zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise at-
712 tack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the
725 angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were
[123] confident they left the women and children behind in the house with a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

361 The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach
504 where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza.
504 Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state
574 of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests
[417] are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be al-
[576] lowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men
504 who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning
796 masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe
[778] landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504 Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital
833

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiari these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiari proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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proper phratric scale. Some Satellite communities have small malocas of the standard design, but most build a house that has a square floor plan with a four-sided roof and a single entrance. The distribution in the region of this square type of house is not well known. It is an old design but it may be of European origin. The advantage to a Satellite community of the square house is that it cannot be mistaken for a small maloca; its identity as Satellite is clear. It expresses in a more subtle way the point of separation from the parent sib house without conveying any implication of total cleavage. When a Satellite puts up its own standard-design maloca it is usually on the way to achieving social and ceremonial autonomy that will qualify it as a subsib. The square houses lack a dance floor and must regard the main sib house as the ceremonial center.

The oblong design of the standard maloca provides the following spaces: living quarters along the side walls, a dance floor down the central corridor, a reception foyer and burial ground at the front end, a communal kitchen and women's quarter at the rear. The living quarters are formed by the uprights supporting the roof. A 12-household house has two parallel rows of seven uprights each along each side wall. These uprights are placed so as to form a series of living spaces along the sides. At the center of each such space is a hearth formed of three pottery cylinders with pinched-in sides that resemble hourglasses.

Each family hangs its hammocks from its posts, which are shared with the adjacent families on either side. Each person has his own hammock; and at night each compartment is blocked off by the hammocks that have been strung at all angles from the four posts. The hammock arrangement is not formal. Children's hammocks are lower, and husband and wife are apt to take a parallel position from outer post to inner post as being least subject to disturbance. The rule is not invariable. However, once a hammock position is set it tends to remain fixed. During the day all but one or two lounging hammocks are rolled neatly and tied to a single post. There are no partitions of any kind, and no provision for privacy. Coitus, as we have already noted, takes place outdoors, as do all toilet functions. The privacy of the space of each household is, however, fully recognized, even by toddlers. People visit one another and lounge in one another's hammocks, but usually by invitation. Freest in the in-house sociability are blood siblings. Each household has its own storage facilities, a shelf built above the hammocks just under the roof, and the thatch of the sloping roof, which is a repository for any article that can be thrust into it. From the posts are hung plaited or bark-

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561 still needs help is *tcumihinkũ* (male) or *tcumihinko* (female); the
192 youngster until puberty is *hwainyó* (male) or *hwainkó* (female); the adult male is *ũmũ* (male) or *nomyó* (female), and finally, the old people are *bekũ* (male) or *bekó* (female).

## BIRTH AND INFANCY

842 The Cubeo believe it is the spermatic fluid (*hũrũ*) that causes conception. They regard the womb as a ground in which the fetus grows, or is cultivated as seeds are planted in the earth. Since men and women do not discuss together the biology of conception and of
[843] pregnancy, their views differ. Men I spoke to dated conception from the time when the abdomen begins to swell, while women dated it
843 from the cessation of menstruation. Both sexes believe that con-
833 tinued coitus after conception will add to the number of children
842 that will grow in the womb. Stories are told of people who did not heed this so that the woman burst from an accumulation of fetuses. Coitus is stopped, however, by the male reckoning.

842 It is a common view of men that women are not eager to bear
847 children. Women, they say, know how to bring about abortion and frequently resort to infanticide. They explain that women are sexually too ardent and rather than forgo coitus during the long nursing
[833] period they would rather not have a child at all. Moreover, a woman who has not been enjoying sexual intercourse with her husband will abort or kill her offspring. If she chooses infanticide, however, she spares the boy. Women do concede knowledge and use of abortifacients and they acknowledge that others of their sex practice infanticide. They agree that a woman who does not love her husband
842 punishes him by denying him a child. Thus, the Cubeo are disin-
[586] clined to believe in barrenness or in sterility, attributing infertility to female design. A man, therefore, has cause to abandon a wife who bears him no children. One man told that he had abandoned his wife for not bearing children. Later they became reconciled; his wife had a change of heart and began to bear children.

847 Male infanticide, I was assured, was rare, for even the most dis-
[562] affected or self-indulgent woman would not have the heart to kill a male child. Both men and women agreed that a girl was less important. The unwanted child is buried alive, it is said, at the very spot where it was born.

842 The likelihood is very strong, then, that a child is born to a family that desires it, and in which husband and wife are happy with each other. Parturition takes place in the woman's manioc garden. A

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A
woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen 844
a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by [606]
her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give [789]
birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There [591]
is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

845
Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and 776
require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not [756]
affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in [754]
labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may [761]
be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

844
Childbirth (*pwäntadjü*: making a person) is a dangerous period. 789
First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety 84
of the newborn infant rests with the parents — with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the pre- [833]
cautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may 846
also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten 826
plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

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task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the malora so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[3] She is also known as *nominyaiwi* (becoming a woman).

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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe. 841 [833] [828] [758]

Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her. 826 841 821 [828]

## SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy. 836 835 [838] [775] [867] [626]

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis. 838

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831
832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavimiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekũku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, dep-
302 ilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.

[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwd*, and armpit hair is *pwd buteí* (literally, hair tobacco).

/381 cont./

581 Marriage, then, in the regime that is in force among these tribes, is a social institution intended to ensure the perpetuity of the tribe. Its aim is not to consider the particular interests of the individuals: tendencies to perpetuate themselves, affectionate inclinations, sedatio concupiscentiae, or others. For this reason, in the realization of the matrimonial act, it would be more accurate to say of the matrimonial contract, the will of the individuals, which in the rest of native life has such an ample field, is not consulted. /382/ On the subject of marriage, one again has a great deal of evidence of the "absorption of the individuals by the group," which characterizes the tribes of the Uaupés. Almost every act of native practice gives confirmation that among them there are no individuals, there are only members, there are no persons, there are only cells of the social body. The individual's own will does not seem to know how to want anything except what the group wants!

b) Concept of modesty.

291 834 829 562 It is difficult to answer these three questions: 1st -- whether the Indian really has an idea of modesty; 2nd -- how he shows it, whether through clothes or paintings; 3rd -- which might be the delicate part.

In front of the civilized, the attitude of respect and circumspection that they show, especially the women, is remarkable. An attitude all the more perfected the more frequent their contact with the civilized.

While the men appear, with the utmost ease and without any shame, with only their "Waxsó-ro" or sex-cover in front of the whites, be these men or women, the Indian women nowadays only appear clothed, or at least with a skirt, rarely a short petticoat /Port. saiote/ or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/. Among themselves, however, they do not observe such circumspection. The civilized has many proofs that the woman has dressed in order

/382 cont./
291 to receive him (104):
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834
829

> 104. In Montfort, river Papurí, an old woman, upon returning from the clearing dressed in a skirt and loaded with her aturá /carrying basket/ full of mandiocas, thinking that she was not observed, took off the skirt, jumped out of the canoe, washed the roots on the beach, and later, with the skirt in her hand, she proceeded toward her house, bending under the weight of the aturá.

Wallace already pointed that out a century ago. Many times, upon approaching unexpectedly, the civilized perceives a scurrying of women toward some dark corner of the maloca or to the neighboring forest, in order to get dressed. During the work in the clearing the women are ordinarily naked. Frequently they leave their skirts in the canoe, at the landing place on some stream where they disembarked in going to the clearing.

291 Many tribes went around completely naked, testify the first
562 explorers, such as Padre Acuña (1637). The Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Pe. José M. de Noronha (1759), speaking about the Tecuna nation, writes: -- "Their women do not have any modesty. The males, however, cover the parts intended for generation, with wide fringes made out of thread twisted from certain white tow which they extract from the bark of wood" ("Roteiro /Logbook/," n. 139).
*[192] The Poet Gonçalves Dias, who was a School Inspector in Amazonas, writes: -- "The men, who among them seem to be the most modest, wear on the Uaupés something like suspensories, to which they give the name of cueios, similar to or an imitation of the tocambobas /383/ of the primitive Tupis. In imitation of them, the women also wear today some cueios of beads (puericueios)." (Manaus, October 23, 1861 -- Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas, Vol. II, p. 760.) /In the original source, the end of the last sentence of footnote 104 is repeated here as the last sentence of the paragraph. This sentence is omitted here in the translation./

/383 cont./

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*[192]

/footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear Wáxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament. Some persons declared to us that they had never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that the women always walked around destitute of clothing.

302 About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the
291 breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered
302 without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts
• 834 with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178] It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),.

107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt.
[832] Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

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the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patrilocal sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

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684 Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatúyo*. In the case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

[754] Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless com-
[562] pounded by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery, never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel. An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the hus-
684 band or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman,
622 concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by
614 emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example
574 illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahúkiwa*, when intoxication was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Whereupon the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned. The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the pro-
684 prieties of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to re-
622 quest coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger
● 834 unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the
883 errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is re-
684 viled as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger
[562] at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kúwai*'s diffi-
[773] culties with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kúwai* crushes his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her manioc garden.

756 754 825 home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

756 158 [171] The shaman, whether *yaví* or *pariékakü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. 756 156 The *yaví*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he 756 is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yaví*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

[562] [838]

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, [834] learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, [262] inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

756 82 The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duwáiyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhókükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenádox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhókükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, [276] another snuff made from the bark of the *kuriákü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic [754] effect. The *duwáiyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenádox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot 756 into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[114] [4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

/109 cont./

*101 susceptible to stimulus (40).

40. The appearance of their homes in Acuaricuara confirms the impression that they are more decayed. It is true that in November of 1953 two Suryana families were building the two best houses of the missionary povoado. About the moral decadence, the fact that a father was living maritally with his daughter. It must be pointed out that the Tukano did not accept a Suryana as a labor overseer; nevertheless, in the Mission school the two most intelligent young men were Suryana.

[171] [835] [829] [797]

In Acuaricuara we found Suryana married to Tukano and to Desana; matrimonial interdiction is thus not in force between these tribes. Exogamy is also mandatory among the Suryana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We found some groups on the headwaters of the Papurí and on the river Paca (Acuaricuara and surroundings). They are not to be confused with the Širyaná of Arwake origin located on the Demêni, whom Curt K. identified with the Bahuna.

According to the information obtained in Acuaricuara, the Suryana tribe is greatly reduced in members. There would be about 250 individuals: 120 in S. Geraldo (river Paca), 80 in Vinha-igarapé, 30 in Uíva-igarapé, and 20 in Tapira-cachoeira (river Paca).

[115] /110/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Manoel Rodriguez from Acuaricuara.

1. Tu-boá (?), in S. Geraldo
2. Behé burisêra (Suryana tapurú /caterpillar/), in Vinha-igarapé
3. Wiva (arrow), in Uíva-igarapé (river Paca, above Tapira-cachoeira)

/305 cont./

*192 534 6th. -- Varejeira. In Tukano it is called mõxtẽ-poro, which means precisely mosca-varejeira /blowfly/. It is a small flute of imbauba about 30 centimeters long, with a vertical orifice, as in general among the flutes. They play it in the intervals between the dances. The sounds imitate articulations of words, [832] and thus the young men address sexual invitations to the young women. It is what is called puxtí-weresã, to complain playing the flute (cf. VII -- 1).

7th. -- Mawáko. Under this name come two different types of flutes: 1st) an imbauba fife, may reach up to a meter in length; 2nd) a small flute 12 to 15 centimeters long, with a side orifice, in the center, also of imbauba.

[835] 8th. -- There are various types of pipes or whistles that they use in the dances, whistling rhythmically in the intervals between the songs. One of them is of taboca, has the shape of a common pipe about 10 centimeters long, with the hole for blowing at the upper end, and it is used in the dance called wá'wa-ri baxsá (dance of the arumã head-piece).

Another, also of taboca, and of the size of the preceding one, but with the orifice in the center.

[835] In other dances, instead of a whistle, each man carries a piece of cipo 20 or 30 centimeters in length, the bark of which comes off very easily, remaining as a sheath. Holding this sheath tightly with the left hand, and with the right one pulling the pith of /306/ the cipo, there results from the attrition a very shrill whistling. This whistle is called simiõ-mi.

9th. -- Jabutí. It is prepared from the carapace of the jabutí /land turtle/, from which comes the name, úhuri in Tukano, dug out in such a way that the shell remains intact. Afterwards the holes are in part obturated with breu. The instrument is held tightly under the left arm, while the open right hand goes to rubbing with force the lip of the upper orifice; it will then emit a hoarse sound similar to that of the cuica /an amphibious rat/.

/380 cont./

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/footnote 101 cont./ practice licit or illicit sexual relations in front of them. Perhaps, yes, in front of some who are better acquainted with them, and with whom they might have had relations. Cf. what will be said about the female initiation.

835 There is only one interdiction, but a strict one, against sexual relations (and the same for the different tribes that we mention in this study), those that take place between blood brothers and sisters, or brothers and sisters in the strict sense, that is, between children of the same parents. These, as well as relations between parents and children, take on a religious character, for this reason are licit, or even advisable and imposed in given circumstances (puberty rite, eclipse, new moon, caxiris, and in the clearing), and outside of that only secretly.

[833] The woman, legally, can take the initiative in these relations, which happens frequently among single persons. In practice, especially between married persons, due to the feeling of inferiority which dominates her, the woman almost always waits for the invitation of the men. She can never, however, peremptorily refuse, even in the face of prostration of her physical state and the multiplicity of the suitors.

It must further be mentioned that the Australian Pirraúru is also in force among the Uaupésinos. That is, when the husband must /381/ go away, he invites one of his blood brothers (he is the first one designated, unless the husband has had a fight with him, as comes from the information) or a tribal brother to replace him in the habitual conjugal relations (102).

102. Two informants stated that it fell to the wife to invite this brother-in-law. It seems that this information may be based on events perhaps explained by the forgetfulness or sudden departure of the absent husband. The official notice to his substitute falls to him.

/381 cont./

835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

[115]
[797]

103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement.
851 Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrep-
847 ancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

/386 cont./

881 All these premarital relations (115)

833 *[192]

115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b) ), and her fiancé, Mã-ra-põ nỹãkhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes. [628]

The Makú maidens and women, while they are working for the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it. 567 831 648

When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian individuals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard. 588 628 648 833 881

The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens." 588 835

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582 /387 cont./

797 /footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian
836 Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpens /sic/.)

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papuri) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacuris, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxiri, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

/388 cont./

831
[797]

/footnote 120 cont./ only be applied, obviously, to the Christian Indians, instructed in Christian morals; but not at all to the others.

that it is bad, ya'ã, and, on the other hand, are very full of shame (?), for this reason they try to hide their miseries and become intoxicated in order to act with more freedom."

[115] They are not embarrassed, however (confirmed another veteran and equally well-deserving Montfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Limpens, of Acuaricuara, who has spent almost 40 years among those tribes), about the immoral occurrences in these circumstances. Sometimes they even boast of them as being conquests.

As a conclusion from the testimony and inquiries made in various circumstances and in different places among the most reliable individuals in them, we can affirm that they judge licit, good, and recommended the sexual relations during the caxiris, as well as those that we characterize as incestuous (121).

[835]

121. Incest by the father with his own daughters is narrated in the legend of the mysterious instruments. And the same is found in other legends. We did not hear, in the legends, about cases of concubinage between "blood brothers and sisters" or brothers and sisters by the same parents. It seems that this does cause them horror.

They even take on, according to what they think and testified, a religious character. As a matter of fact, some informants answered that these sexual liberties used to take place "for the good fortune of the tribe," "in order that the clearing would yield better."

/388 cont./

831 Confirming this opinion is, first, the fact that the relations
833 during the caxiri must take place on the ground, outside the maloca (122).

> 122. When they are more intoxicated and excited, they also violate this custom, relations taking place even inside the maloca. So reported some of the natives.

and that in some tribes the woman must first kiss the ground; whereas the ordinary relations take place inside the maloca and in the hammock.

[241] Another confirmation of this sacred character, it seems to
[835] us, is the opinion that they regard as good and recommended the relations, even incestuous ones, when the women go to the clearing. The relations are even compulsory when it is a matter of a new clearing to which the woman is going for the first time.

[821] Finally, the religious character of the public incestuous
[835] relations is further documented by the circumstance of their indication on the occasion of the new moon and lunar eclipses.

One can conclude, then, that sexual liberties in these cir-
831 cumstances, incestuous or not, have the character of a rite in connection with /389/ the fertility of the soil and of nature in general. We have, thus, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the notion and practice of the intichiuma, which is also in force among other human groups, that is, sexual liberties are magic ceremonies in order to guarantee the reproduction of the animal or vegetable nature. They are, by the way, very common practices, proclaiming lunar beliefs and cults of matriarchalist origin.

And they constitute, in turn, proof of the religious character of their feasts.

/423 cont./

534 At the great feast of Wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

> 31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
• 835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).
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> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced,
> *[192] and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo
> [171] descendants of the Coianã Indians in the interior
> [126] of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtain-
> [115] ing the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirã-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

/440 cont./

562 that she has not performed the rite. Nevertheless, she herself
881 will affirm, in agreement with the others, that a woman can not marry without having submitted to these practices.

[115] Patrícia Vasconcelos gave the following explanation of the necessity for the rite, according to the instruction obtained from her uncle Marco from S. Luzia, river Papuri. /441/ "The maiden
*[192] has the nihĩ-koró (vagina?) inverted, and for this reason the child cannot come out. /The final quotation marks are missing./ The pajé or Ko-mũ is going to put it "in the proper position" by means
*[192] of the rite and the coitus. The rite, besides this, makes "the nihĩ-su'ti-ro, uterus, not grow very much, because in this case she would have two children at a time and this is a disgrace for the woman."

This rite is essentially equivalent to the "religious deflora-tion" that other human groups practice. However, due to the previous liberties, although without an official character (rather they must be hidden), which take place even between children and adults, the girl, upon reaching menstruation, already has the hymen ruptured. This, then, is of no importance in the rite. An official coitus, mõ-yoãsé, however, takes place on the first day (and in some povoados also on the following days) with a young man chosen by the girl or by her father (72).

72. The choice of the young man is made by the girl herself in some places, and in others, povoados and malocas, by her father. A young Tukano from Pari-cachoeira declared that she did not like the young man whom her father had chosen. It seems that where there are more Komũã the choice of the executor of the rite is
[835] always by the father of the maiden. If the father is Komũã, he himself will execute the rite with his daughter. We do not know whether this is also an obligation of his. From a Komũã of Juquira, river Uaupés, we found out that he personally did it with his three daughters, as one of them informed

/441 cont./

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/footnote 72 cont./ us. The services of the pajé or Komũ are always remunerated, as well as those of the mõ-paxkoá; not, however, those of the young man. He is not the future husband, who must belong to another tribe, and the young man of the a"mõsé regularly is of the same tribe as the maiden. A young Makú added that the young man was her obligatory partner at dances, as we were later able to verify.

[115]
[648]

and, on the last day of the rite, with the Komũ or pajé (73).

73. It is to be noted that, according to the descriptions that we obtained, the first coitus is not with the pajé or Komũ, as one might expect, but with the young man.

The concept that the one chosen should be the hero of the group, recognized after a fight with others, as is done among some tribes, has declined. Among the Uaupesinos there is no test to determine the choice; there is only one quality in favor of the chosen one, his youth. Some maidens affirmed that he was a "strong young man." On the rivers visited by the civilized, the latter may be chosen for such a function, and they have done it. For such a choice, we think that not only does the native's instinct of self-interest enter in, but also the white is supposed to have a special nature (74).

[829]

74. Many times and under different circumstances the native has manifested the opinion that the civilized person is endowed with a nature different from that of the Indian. This was the answer that the tuxaua from Paricachoeira, Julio, gave to Pe. João Marchesi, who assured him that he should not fear the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

[244] [437] [273] [261] [592] [835] [836] [583]

593 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

583 583 58 [593] [593]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe. 841 [833] [828] [758]

Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her. 826 841 821 [828]

## SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy. 836 835 [838] [775] [867] [626]

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis. 838

/379 cont./

581 In marriage, they conceive the relations between husband and wife as natural, and, as the purpose of these relations, or, better, as the purpose of marriage, the procreation of children for the tribe.

836 They do not recognize, however, the exclusive right of one spouse over the other with regard to these relations. There is
837 then nothing to say about conjugal fidelity (97).

[115] 97. One of the Missionaries, with 30 years of residence among the Indians, in conversation with the author of this work, appeared impressed by episodes involving an individual who went so far as to abuse the wife of another, without this causing repulsion on the part of the husband or surprise on the part of the others.

just as there is nothing to be said about virginity (98)

[115] 98. In putting together a vocabulary, we noticed several significant facts. Many natives consulted by us, among them the most educated alumni of the Missions, could not find an equivalent for the Portuguese term fornicação /fornication/, that is, one which would express illegitimate sexual relations. They indicated the same terms as for the legitimate relations between the spouses, affirming positively that different terms for these diverse relations did not exist. Likewise they did not know of a word corresponding to the Portuguese adultério /adultery/, affirming, moreover, that
*[192] it does not exist in the Tukano language. The Veteran Missionary Pe. Pedro Kok, out of need for his ministry, created two terms descriptive of the act, that is, Wõakĩsé manapõ-tígo-ne and Wõakĩsé nõ'mõ-tígõ-ne, in order to express,

/379 cont./

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/footnote 98 cont./ respectively, adultery on the part of the man or of the woman. According to consultations held with nine persons of both sexes, in different places, the result is that these terms combined constituted an inexpressive redundancy. Wõãkĩe or Wõãkahĩe means simply relation of the sexes, without the qualification of legitimate or illegitimate by our Christian morals. The addition to the word Wõãkĩe of the specific term "with one who has a husband," manapõ-tigo-ne, or "with one who has a wife," nõ"mõ-tígõ-né, does not give it the idea of illegitimacy, which the natives do not even comprehend. Just as there also does not exist in the Tukano language (and moreover in the other native idioms) a term corresponding to the concept of virginity. Already during our first stay among those tribes, in 1947, the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of one of the girls' schools of the Mission told us how some of the students, upon hearing so much talk about virginity, but having difficulty in learning this concept, came to ask her for more clarification.

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of the bride. Legally virginity can not exist, as will be seen below (VIII -- 1, b (7) ). The Catechesis, in referring to the Most Holy Virgin, Mother of God, uses in Tukano the Latin expression "Maria Virgo" /Virgin Mary/.

837

We thought at first (and so manifested) that the acts characterized by us as conjugal infidelities were not punished because the husband feared the vengeance of the rival or that his wife might leave him. We must change this opinion, in the face of numerous and categorical affirmations by natives of eight different tribes (Tukano, Taryana, Pirã-tapuya, Ipeka, Tuyuka, Bará, Desãna, and Wanãna), /380/ some of whom, well informed about

/380 cont./

837 other tribes, with whom they live in the same maloca or povoado, promised us that the same happens among all the tribes of this region.

After the individuals of both sexes have gone through the puberty initiation, -- be they married or single -- sexual relations with a large number of persons of the tribe and, under some conditions, also with those of other tribes, and with the civilized themselves, are permissible for them.

881 836

833 They conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes (99)

[838] [881]

> 99. Male or female homosexualism, it seems, has always been regarded as something reprovable and, for this reason, always practiced secretly. Officially, as far as is reported, it only exists in the puberty rite of the boys.

as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse (100),

> 100. It is understandable that the relations, although legally permissible, might not always be prudent and thus are not practiced publicly. Such is the case for the individual who, having fought with the husband, does not touch his wife in his presence. This comes from positive information obtained.

just as the various physiological acts of eating, drinking, or anything else are performed in front of any person (101).

[829]

> 101. Out of mixed feelings of distrust and hostility toward the civilized, or even because they know directly or indirectly that their morals condemn these liberties, they do not

/384 cont./

c) Extramarital incontinence.

831 The freedom with which the Indian deals with some subjects, with a realism at times crude, is well known. And this not only among themselves, but also with the civilized. Equally well [521] known is the immorality of the conversation among themselves on trips, as in the interior of their malocas, in the hours of rest, interlaced with frequent and lewd laughter. There are not only ambiguous words in their vocabulary, but a whole assemblage of words and sentences of immoral caliber.

*[192] Moreover there are more than enough proofs of premarital and extramarital incontinence, Wõãkĩse, wõãkahĩse, yõãsé or ñõãsé (108).

108. Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, already revealed this in 1793: --"With respect to the two vices of incontinence and gluttony, vices so natural to the Indian people, that it seems that they have already stifled and destroyed all their freedom" (o. c., p. 499). The same was reported by Frei Gregório de Bene, Apostolic Missionary of the Uaupés from 1850 to 1852, explaining the reason why, especially in some places, he had to delay administering the sacraments.

1) Premarital liberties.

• 836 One notes some vigilance by the parents, especially the mothers (at least in front of the civilized), over the daughters who have reached a certain age. It is not enough, however, especially if the circumstances of their life, their works, and customs are considered. And a greater sexual impulse is manifested in the girls who have reached a certain physiological development,

/384 cont./

836 inducing them, not infrequently, to provocation (109)

[832] [515]

109. While bathing, the girls agitate the water, with the hand cupped, from below upwards, with a characteristic noise. The boys respond to this signal by fanning their open hands in front of the chest, one higher than the other, so that they are crossed without meeting, and, since they are almost on the surface of the water, they produce a noise that is heard at a distance of two hundred meters or more. This provocative noise is called Pixtwasé.

*[192]

and invitation to the boys.

832 /385/ Although the old customs state that the bathing of the
836 women precedes that of the men and should be before the break
[515] of day, sometimes the Indians are surprised in mixed bathing during the warm hours of the day.

*[192] The young women prepare philters or potions, known by the
[278] Nheengatú name of Puçanga (in Tukano Ox-kó), which they give to the young men to drink in order to attract them to them; or, in front of their eyes, they wear or rub on themselves roots and plants to which is attributed an aphrodisiac virtue.

842 The cases of illegitimate pregnancy of maidens are not rare,
847 although they know (110)
848

110. We had gathered for the "centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté some plants considered as sterilizing and abortive. While organizing the herbarium, some identifying labels fell off. We called on three maidens, and with the greatest facility, upon seeing the plants, they indicated the name and the purpose, exactly as was stated on the labels.

/387 cont./

628 831 648 At times there are individuals of different tribes participating in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors.

[574]

592 582 836 797 In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

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582 /387 cont./
797
• 836 /footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpens /sic/.)

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papuri) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacurís, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxirí, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

584 /412 cont./
584 will be promised in marriage to another family. In practice, they will be bride and bridegroom, with the right to relations between
• 836 them (with precautions, however, in order not to have children), perhaps for many years and with a great difference in age between the ones being married. And the child, once it has barely reached the age of reason, knows that it must marry such a person.

584 4th. A fourth one is that a widowed father will give up a
587 daughter in order to arrange for a second wife for himself, although with a great disproportion between their ages, before he procures one for his son.

587 5th. A fifth one is that a woman, becoming a widow, can pass to her brother-in-law as a wife, if he is a widower or a bachelor and without a bride, from which his father has an obligation to give a woman to such a family, in exchange for the other one whom he obtained from there. Although the law of the levirate (12)

> 12. That is, the duty of an individual to marry the sister-in-law who was widowed without children, in order to resuscitate the lineage of his late brother, a custom that was in force among the Jews.

does not exist among our Indians, we thus have its practice.

582 6th. A sixth one is that, from this exchange of women of a
611 tribe A with those of tribe B, since the children are regarded as belonging to the father's tribe, cousins can marry each other. For example, of two pairs of brothers and sisters, M and N from tribe A and P and Q from tribe B, the woman M married P, whose sister Q was joined in matrimony to N. The children of these two couples are, obviously, "cousins-german" or "cousins in the first degree." Nevertheless the children of P belong to the tribe B, and those of N, to the tribe A. They consider themselves reciprocally Baxsúkãra, and they may marry each other.

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so an older brother is *amyóbakũ* (older brother-father) to his younger sister. He is her guardian. He may arrange her marriage, or offer her sexually to a friend, if she is willing. It is a special relationship in many respects. 593 561 [584] [836]

Seniority is of consequence only in the sibling generation. There is no concept of senior line and no recognition in terminology of descendants of older or younger siblings.

Apart from sex and seniority, Cubeo sibling terms also demarcate social distance. They differentiate, as already noted, three degrees of sibling closeness: lineage sibling, near phratry sibling, and distant phratry sibling. They do so, ingeniously, by the linguistic device of using a common root for sibling – this usage is only in the senior term, because only the senior term is important – indicating distance or closeness by the use of appropriate prefixes and suffixes. The root for senior sibling of either sex is *ami*. With the possessive prefix *hi* and the gender suffix *ko* or *kũ* (*himámiko*, *-kũ*) it connotes utmost closeness and is applied to older brother and sister of one's own family, including the extended joint family or lineage. Since sib and lineage may often be coextensive these terms are also sib-wide. The term *himámiko* (my older sister) does not apply to a mother's sister's daughter unless she happens to be – via brother-sister exchange marriage – a father's brother's daughter as well. The intimate usage, that is, must also correspond with coresidence. One's own sister, to be sure, does marry out, but in the meantime there has been a long period of coresidence. In any case, there is not the slightest tendency to slur over a nuclear kinship relationship. In the case of father's brother's daughter the intimate term applies only when she is still a coresident. After she has married she falls into the next more distant category. 601 193 601 [614]

The second range of kinship intimacy is the most widespread of all, including sib, subsib, and all close sibs within the phratry. It may even be applied to all members of the phratry of one's generation, in which case the third and most distant form of sibling terminology is reserved for those people whom one does not know well. The terms used in this second range are *amiyó* and *amikó*. The suffix *yo* conveys the meaning of "such as" or "one who is of the class of." It is also used in the term *bakũdyó* (father's brother) and means literally "one who is in the class of a father." In *amiyó* it means, therefore, "one who is in the class of an older brother." Strictly speaking, the suffix *yo* has no sex gender and if it were applied to a woman would constitute no major linguistic blunder. But since one's contacts are almost invariably with male siblings, the sisters normally at a distance, the [614] [615] 601 193

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593 A brother and a sister who are close to one another in age and who show a fondness for one another are regarded as being linked in a bond that is both warmer and more specialized than the normal bonds between a brother and a sister. The girl is spoken of as "belonging" to her brother. The boy prepares a manioc garden for his sister and she in turn barters a good part of her farinha production in his behalf, getting him fishhooks, ammunition, jewelry, and items of clothing. He will always bring something for her. If he wishes to act as host in a drinking party his assigned special sister has a particular obligation to assist in the preparation of chicha. They do not exchange the ordinary male-female foodstuffs since that is strictly a connubial form of reciprocity and the unmarried are part of their parents' household. They do simulate a conjugal relationship, though, in that they reportedly allow themselves the intimacy of external coitus (i.e., without intromission). On the other hand, since the girl has been allotted to her brother to be part of an exchange marriage, he assumes the right to offer his sister's sexual favors to persons of his choosing, although, as in the case of an exchange marriage, he cannot force her to accept a man against her will.

[244] [437] [273] [261] [592] [835] [836] [583]

593 As the Cubeo explain it, the purpose of the brother-sister relationship is to provide for the boy's marriage. Since the most desirable marriages are those in which brothers exchange sisters, a boy, they say, must have a sister assigned to him if he is to have a strong bargaining position. The Cubeo do recognize the validity of a material bride price, but very few families will readily yield a daughter merely for objects. They want a daughter-in-law to replace a daughter. Exchange marriages are complicated because it does not often happen that the exchange can be immediate. The delay in completing an exchange transaction calls for a reliable guarantee that the agreement will be adhered to. For this, several recourses are available. The ultimate recourse is force. The aggrieved party will raid a household that has reneged and hope to abduct a bride, or, more commonly, love magic will be used to lure the girl away. The most assured contract is one involving cross-cousins, since it draws upon the absolute probity of relationship between a brother and a sister, who are always principals in such a marriage negotiation. But even this has a loophole in that the girl must be willing. By and large, it is the attitude of the bride-to-be that the Cubeo regard as unpredictable. If she enters upon a marriage with reservations that are not removed soon after she has been taken to her husband's community she can be counted upon to run home and stir up complications. The special brother-sister relationship is intended to guard against this. On one

583 583 58 [593] [593]

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cipals in the marriage were not attracted to each other. It is to avoid 614
this embarrassment that the marriage party does not declare its in- 583
tentions. They announce that they have come to visit relatives. They 584
are made welcome, assigned to sleeping quarters, and are drawn into 574
the general round of activities of the house. They may stay for many weeks. The groom-to-be joins in the activities of his age group, hunting and fishing with them. He spends part of his time in making gifts for his host's wife, who need not be the prospective mother-in-law, and for the mother-in-law-to-be as well, if he has been a guest in her household. He may make baskets, trays, or a hammock. Every woman treasures an object that a suitor has made. These objects, however, are not presented as marriage gifts but as offerings in return for hospitality.

The courtship itself is a slow process. For some time the prospective bride and groom virtually avoid one another. The young man is attentive to the other girls of the sib, and his own age mates, if single, act as though they are courting the prospective bride. They are all looking one another over. The young man's personality is evaluated, and his skills in hunting, fishing, and crafts are observed. The visiting party, for its part, makes close observations on the bride-to-be. The nature of this opening phase of the courtship in which bride and groom are being "looked over" is such that unexpected matches are sometimes made. It has happened that a boy who has been flirting with his bride-to-be's sister to divert attention from his real objective falls in love with her. Or the sister falls in love with the suitor and seeks her betrothed sister's permission to marry him. This happened among the *Bahúkiwa*. A man, having reached the final stages of courtship with a girl, had arranged the formal elopement tryst with her. At the end it was the sister who appeared, explaining that it was she who wanted to marry him, with her sister's consent. The suitor was not disappointed, and all went well.

If the young man is satisfied with the bride-to-be the party prolongs 614
its stay. Otherwise it leaves quickly. Once it has decided to stay, the 584
groom awaits a sign of acceptance from the girl. One of the first in- [574]
dications of sexual interest that she shows is to run rather than walk [481]
in his presence. When the older folk see a girl running when she should be walking they smile knowingly at one another. One day she throws a handful of manioc mash in his face in the presence of company and laughs at him. He pretends anger and moves upon her. She pretends fright and runs off to her manioc garden, where he overtakes her. They have coitus and they are then engaged. She may [836] show her interest in other ways, pinching him or cuffing him as she

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walks by. If she runs from him toward her manioc garden his quest is over. Since it is the girl who must indicate acceptance by inviting coitus, the young man comes prepared with love charms. One of these is an extract of *ũwe*, the plant associated with the ancestral cult, a symbol of power and virility, which he sprinkles upon her when she is unaware. This makes her desire him very passionately. After marriage a man uses what is apparently an antiaphrodisiac charm to keep his wife faithful.

Actually a wedding party is engaged in three levels of negotiation simultaneously, all three of which must be successful. The first is the courtship, the second is the discussions going on between the parents and the elders of the party over the terms of the marriage, and the third is the discussion between the groom and his *tcimá*, his male cross-cousin, the bride's brother. The *tcimá* is involved because a daughter will not be let go unless a return bride can be secured for him. It is up to the groom to promise the *tcimá* his own sister in return. Since no marriage is honorable that does not establish a proper relationship with an affinal sib, a man would be a scoundrel if he eloped with a girl without paying heed to these formal matters. Normally there are no difficulties, since the courtship would not get very far if the *tcimá* or the parents were seriously dissatisfied with the terms of marriage.

It is typical of the Cubeo that the atmosphere in which these three levels of negotiation are conducted is a genial one. Their mode of hospitality assures this by drawing guests fully into the life of the maloca and of the community – the groom joining the age group of his *tcimá*, the elders picking up corresponding social roles in their age group. The wife of a visiting elder is assigned a section of manioc garden. The point is that a guest who is going to spend more than a few days is as near as possible "at home." It is when the people feel at ease in their familiar roles in a new setting that they get down to business. When the marriage party has left with its bride it has also succeeded in strengthening the ties of friendship with an affinal sib and has overcome in practice the general theory that an affinal is a hostile sib of the tribe.

This mood of geniality is not achieved, nor is it sought for, in all circumstances. When the marriage is intertribal the courtship is conducted in an atmosphere of strain that is almost impossible to overcome. The bride's sib cannot be easily consoled at the loss of a daughter. When the marriage does occur they feel that they have been tricked in some way. They resent the girl's willingness to go off; they are mistrustful of the bride price and the promised exchange

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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

## SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy.

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.

/366 cont./

846 The first time they go to the clearing after the birth of any child, they practice a special ritual called "mixpĩ purĩ-ré dõ̃ tekũsé," that is, the entwining of the leaves of the açaí /assai/. The father goes in front, and behind, the mother carrying the child. The father, at more or less every ten meters or steps, ties two by two the leaflets of the açaí, and throws them on the road. If they must cross any stream, and the child is of the male sex, he makes a kind of canoe with the leaves and puts it on the /367/ *[192] water. The purpose of these practices is to ensure that the child and those of his house never lose their way, wi'seri-khãra-re mĩx'pĩ pũrĩ-ré dõxté-kũsé.

• 837 The newly married woman who seeks out many other men becomes transformed during the night into an anta and goes out through the forest to graze (78).

78. There were indicated to us two cases of similar transformations, both having happened shortly before this information was given (1953), one that was supposed to have taken place in Urubucuara and another in Iauareté, the name of these wives "without shame," according to the expression of one of the informants, being cited to us.

*[192] It is what is called "wexkõ dohogó" (literally: ruined into an anta). At dawn she is again transformed into a woman and returns, still taking bits of grass from her teeth. An indication of this event is the paleness of the wife. When she goes out at night, however, she leaves her legs in the hammock. When the husband sees this, he turns the legs in the opposite position, that is, toward the head of the hammock. For this reason, on the following day the woman will feel strong pains in her hips. On the following night the husband turns them in the direction opposite that of the first time, and the wife's pains will cease.

/379 cont./

581 In marriage, they conceive the relations between husband and wife as natural, and, as the purpose of these relations, or, better, as the purpose of marriage, the procreation of children for the tribe.

836 They do not recognize, however, the exclusive right of one spouse over the other with regard to these relations. There is
• 837 then nothing to say about conjugal fidelity (97),

[115] 97. One of the Missionaries, with 30 years of residence among the Indians, in conversation with the author of this work, appeared impressed by episodes involving an individual who went so far as to abuse the wife of another, without this causing repulsion on the part of the husband or surprise on the part of the others.

just as there is nothing to be said about virginity (98)

[115] 98. In putting together a vocabulary, we noticed several significant facts. Many natives consulted by us, among them the most educated alumni of the Missions, could not find an equivalent for the Portuguese term fornicação /fornication/, that is, one which would express illegitimate sexual relations. They indicated the same terms as for the legitimate relations between the spouses, affirming positively that different terms for these diverse relations did not exist. Likewise they did not know of a word corresponding to the Portuguese adultério /adultery/, affirming, moreover, that
*[192] it does not exist in the Tukano language. The Veteran Missionary Pe. Pedro Kok, out of need for his ministry, created two terms descriptive of the act, that is, Wõakĩsé manapõ-tĩgo-ne and Wõakĩsé nõ'mõ-tĩgõ-ne, in order to express,

/379 cont./

*192
836
• 837

/footnote 98 cont./ respectively, adultery on the part of the man or of the woman. According to consultations held with nine persons of both sexes, in different places, the result is that these terms combined constituted an inexpressive redundancy. Wõãkĩse or Wõãkahĩse means simply relation of the sexes, without the qualification of legitimate or illegitimate by our Christian morals. The addition to the word Wõãkĩse of the specific term "with one who has a husband," manapõ-tigo-ne, or "with one who has a wife," nõ'mõ-tígõ-né, does not give it the idea of illegitimacy, which the natives do not even comprehend. Just as there also does not exist in the Tukano language (and moreover in the other native idioms) a term corresponding to the concept of virginity. Already during our first stay among those tribes, in 1947, the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of one of the girls' schools of the Mission told us how some of the students, upon hearing so much talk about virginity, but having difficulty in learning this concept, came to ask her for more clarification.

[797]

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837

of the bride. Legally virginity can not exist, as will be seen below (VIII -- 1, b (7) ). The Catechesis, in referring to the Most Holy Virgin, Mother of God, uses in Tukano the Latin expression "Maria Virgo" /Virgin Mary/.

837

We thought at first (and so manifested) that the acts characterized by us as conjugal infidelities were not punished because the husband feared the vengeance of the rival or that his wife might leave him. We must change this opinion, in the face of numerous and categorical affirmations by natives of eight different tribes (Tukano, Taryana, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka, Tuyuka, Bará, Desãna, and Wanãna), /380/ some of whom, well informed about

/380 cont./

• 837 other tribes, with whom they live in the same maloca or povoado, promised us that the same happens among all the tribes of this region.

881 After the individuals of both sexes have gone through the puberty initiation, -- be they married or single -- sexual relations
836 with a large number of persons of the tribe and, under some conditions, also with those of other tribes, and with the civilized themselves, are permissible for them.

833 They conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes (99)

[838] [881]

> 99. Male or female homosexualism, it seems, has always been regarded as something reprovable and, for this reason, always practiced secretly. Officially, as far as is reported, it only exists in the puberty rite of the boys.

as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse (100),

> 100. It is understandable that the relations, although legally permissible, might not always be prudent and thus are not practiced publicly. Such is the case for the individual who, having fought with the husband, does not touch his wife in his presence. This comes from positive information obtained.

just as the various physiological acts of eating, drinking, or anything else are performed in front of any person (101).

[829]

> 101. Out of mixed feelings of distrust and hostility toward the civilized, or even because they know directly or indirectly that their morals condemn these liberties, they do not

648 /390 cont./

466 Nowadays more or less numerous and frequent groups of Indians, men and women, are taken, especially the single ones, for the extraction of the cuquirana, balata, chicle, rubber, Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," various species of trees yielding edible nuts/, piassava, in both Brazilian and Colombian territory, or as sailors for the launches. They see, hear, and practice vices and immoralities (125).

• [837] [797]

125. The Missionary was scolding a Christian Indian from Urubucuara, river Uaupés, because, in spite of being married, he was living with another woman. And when he reminded him of the commandment of God, he heard from the Indian this expression, certainly learned from some civilized: -- "Commandment does not hurt."

166 One observes a tendency to go down to S. Gabriel (present city of Uaupés) and Tapurucuara. To Manaus, not so much. So far nostalgia periodically brings them to the natal place. How long will this state of things last? The known cases of venereal

164 diseases are very rare, although the legends already allude to them. This rarity is perhaps explained by the simple spontaneous malario-therapy (cf. VII - 2, e (4 i) ).

It is certain that for centuries they have been in more or less frequent and enduring contact with the civilized. It is difficult to determine whether some responsibility falls on them in such a state of things, and up to what point. The problem is serious.

797 One also understands from this that there cannot always be good harmony in the relations between the Missionaries who live among the Indians, trying to bring them to the bosom of civilization and to the practice of /391/ Christian truth and morals (126).

126. The difficulty that the Missionary faces in order to implant Christian morals is great.

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585
593 knowing that her full status as a married woman begins with her
606 having her own garden, must get her husband to get her out of her mother-in-law's household. He, however, knows his mother's will and is also aware that the men of the sib are watching him to see if he will be strong enough to stand up against his wife, the "alien" to the sib.

585 If the stalemate continues too long the young wife has the means
586 to break it. She runs away. It is a married woman's privilege to run
593 away at any time during her marriage. Her husband will pursue her,
614 but she has many sanctuaries. She can get back to her own community, where she is safe and has the certainty that she will not be yielded up to a pursuing husband and that he has no claim against her parents. The common view is that if a man is not strong enough to hold a wife that is his misfortune. A runaway wife may find sanctuary in any sib, even in one that is closely related to that of her husband. A neighboring sib is only a temporary stopover for a runaway wife. It provides a more neutral atmosphere, however, in which she and her pursuing husband can discuss the reasons why she has run away. It is young brides who most frequently run off. Occasionally a girl is seriously determined to leave her husband and she will then most certainly find her way home, even if she has to go afoot all the way. Ordinarily she expects her husband to intercept her. When he brings her back the headman will say to him, "Take charge of your wife," [837] and the husband will proceed to prepare a manioc garden for his wife. Some young wives provoke a crisis by seducing the husband's brother and allowing the community to find out. Again the headman will say, "Take charge of your wife."

585 These crises are so common in the early stages of marriage that I
586 am inclined to regard them as quasi-ritual, and as part of a pro-
593 longed marriage ceremony at the end of which the wife achieves her
614 proper status as controller of an autonomous zone, her manioc gar-
182 den, and as female head of household. The act of running away suggests a counterpart to the initial act of "abduction." Both acts acknowledge the unruly role of the alien woman and emphasize the power of the man in restoring order. The man who brings his runaway wife back has scored a victory in the eyes of his sib. This victory absolves him from the onus of seeming to "give in" to the demands of his wife. But if the act of bringing back a runaway wife is a bit of ritual, it must also be stated that it is not devoid of spontaneous and rich human emotion.

595 Monogamy is the rule and is consistent with the preference for exchange marriage. Polygyny and polyandry, however, are not barred.

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has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians. 846

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. [789] The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The [856] third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kürüdjü*) by painting its body with genipa. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow.

The arrival of an infant to the maloca is a period of grave crisis. 846 It is the principal responsibility of the men of the maloca to dispel 789 the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *couvade* – the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward [604] the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is [622] responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chanting away its dangers with appropriate spells. [756] The grandmother paints the infant with genipa. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbilical cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood [757] charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this [837] period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant.

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so 846 that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All 789 fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a 262 lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly troublesome feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its distinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the

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of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates. 574 614 182

The *unkúndye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited to sibs of the phratry, the *unkúndye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkúndye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkúndye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity. [831] [837]

The hosts of an *unkúndye* have two very evident anxieties as they go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkúndye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As already mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy 574 614 273 574 614 554 [123]

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themselves with an exchange of vituperation. Brothers will defend one another, as well as sibmates, so that a quarrel is difficult to isolate. The men listen to the vituperation and, far from regarding what is said as meaningless drunken chatter, draw implications that may involve them. What began as a quarrel between only two men over one man's wife can become a maloca-wide brawl. Then the sibs taunt one another, each reviling the other's weaknesses and calling attention to its own strength. It may all come to nothing. A diplomatic elder calms tempers; the headmen remember their obligations to preserve the peace at drinking parties. Some disputants have enough sense of humor to laugh. It can all blow over quickly and will then have served as another way in which feelings are lightened, provided the sinister specter of sorcery has not been drawn in.

The following is an example of a quarrel at a drinking party. A man began to beat his wife because she was dancing too often with the same man. The latter remonstrated and soon he and the angry husband came to blows. The bystanders remarked that the husband's jealousy was unwarranted. Encouraged by these remarks, the woman's father got angry and attacked his son-in-law with his fists. The son-in-law did not defend himself, whereupon the old man calmed down and proceeded to explain to those present that his daughter's conduct was altogether proper. At this point the wife became enraged, and flinging herself upon her now pacified husband, pummeled him soundly on the back with her fists. Since he did not strike back her fury subsided and this incident blew over.

However, another young man who had been witnessing this violent flurry began in a tearful voice to inform his audience that his wife was having an affair with a phratry mate of his. He named the woman's lover, who was present, but for the moment said nothing. The accused's father, however, jumped quickly to his son's defense, shouting that the charges against his son were false. The jealous husband turned upon the old man and shouted at him angrily, "You are already an old man. It is time you were dead!" At this, the accused man rushed forward, livid with fury. In a hoarse voice he shouted to the assembly, "Did you hear? He is planning to kill my father." But the jealous husband was already beyond calming down. Instead he shouted back that the sib of the accused adulterer was weak and few in numbers, whereas his own sib was strong. With these ominous remarks this incident closed, for the time being. All felt that the outraged husband had gone too far. No further remarks

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark-fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner. 765 535 831 786

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark-cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one-month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks. [838] [857]

The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion. 765 786 831 182 837

The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women – the sexually most desirable – are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of [838]

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

## THE MEN'S SIDE

In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *iyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjiko* and her consort.

On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenádox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step – a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

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571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
[578] Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a com-
[182] plex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen to-
[857] gether. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken — and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the preva-
578 lence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordi-
831 narily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship?
837 Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
[562] discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

578 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
571 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
837 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
573 acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
[562] status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional
[554] cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

/380 cont./

837 other tribes, with whom they live in the same maloca or povoado, promised us that the same happens among all the tribes of this region.

881 After the individuals of both sexes have gone through the pu-
836 berty initiation, -- be they married or single -- sexual relations with a large number of persons of the tribe and, under some conditions, also with those of other tribes, and with the civilized themselves, are permissible for them.

833 They conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes (99)

[838] [881]

> 99. Male or female homosexualism, it seems, has always been regarded as something reprovable and, for this reason, always practiced secretly. Officially, as far as is reported, it only exists in the puberty rite of the boys.

as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse (100),

> 100. It is understandable that the relations, although legally permissible, might not always be prudent and thus are not practiced publicly. Such is the case for the individual who, having fought with the husband, does not touch his wife in his presence. This comes from positive information obtained.

just as the various physiological acts of eating, drinking, or anything else are performed in front of any person (101).

[829]

> 101. Out of mixed feelings of distrust and hostility toward the civilized, or even because they know directly or indirectly that their morals condemn these liberties, they do not

/389 cont./

831 Perhaps, however, nudity alternating with periods in which
291 they are clothed, always renewing the degenerating action of the nudity, aggravates this state of things. Thus their own clothes become transformed into excitation, especially some poorly fitted to the body.

192 /390/ One will not be surprised, then, that on this ground
838 thrive, moreover, unnatural habits, such as masturbation (swesé,
839 pa-daresé, dará-ỹãsé, bestiality (dyayõ-mẽra wõrátise (123),

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sodomy (ná-sirotúse), homosexualism, male (õ'mã-se'saró) (124)

> 124. It is to be lamented that some of these episodes take place in the piassava groves, in which groups of young men spend months, often in the company of the civilized, engaged in the extraction of the piassava, or other products, in places far from their povoados and where only once a month, if that often, a launch comes to bring merchandise ("aviamento" /preparation, provision/ they say) for their food, etc.

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5) Conclusion.

000 In conclusion, grave degeneration of the customs is verified among these tribes, in contrast with the so-called "primitive" peoples.

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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe. 841 [833] [828] [758]

Menstrual blood (*hivé*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her. 826 841 821 [828]

## SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy. 836 835 [838] [775] [867] [626]

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis. 838

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark-fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner. 765 535 831 786

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yavi* or *pariékokü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yavi*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yavi*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvaiyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhóikükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenáddox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhóikükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridkü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvaiyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenáddox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

/389 cont./

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And then Yúpuri Baúro and all his people learned for the first time that in order to have children the woman first has to be pregnant. There were only a pair of women among all of them. One was named Nijí Majsó and the other was named Meropagnijí Majsó. And the /126/ two of them went out by the back door of Diawí and went to bathe at the port. Bejpó saw then that the women had gone to bathe at the port, and Bejpó took out two small coins, one called Pajsí and the other Erofiá. And Bejpó took out these two coins to dry in the sun. And the two women again came to Diawí. And when they were returning to Diawí, they caught sight of the coins and they kept looking at them. And the two women said: "What would these two little things be?" And the two women fell in love with these two little things. And these two little things seemed like babies and cried. But only one of the women saw the two coins as babies, while the other woman was only able to see two little coins. And this is where roving about came from, and because of this, of every two women, one will come out sedate and the other will come out a prostitute. Meropagnijí Majsó, who was the younger sister, saw the two little things as babies, while Nijí Majsó, who was the older sister, saw the two little things as little coins. Then Meropagnijí Majsó said to Nijí Majsó: "Do not pick them up." Then Nijí Majsó said: "I am picking them up." And Nijí Majsó picked them up, smelled them, and the two little things smelled like coins. And as soon as she smelled them, Nijí Majsó ate them. And it did not take even a minute for her to become pregnant. Then Meropagnijí Majsó said: "Don't you see? I told you not to pick them up." And Meropagnijí Majsó saw that Nijí Majsó was pregnant. And the stomach of Nijí Majsó was swelling up. But these two women had the appearance of men and did not have breasts or opening. Then Meropagnijí Majsó said: "What shall we do?" Then both called to Yepá Huáke. And Yepá Huáke came to where they were. Then they said to Yepá Huáke: "Now what are we going to do?" Then Yepá Huáke said: "It is all right. Now the child must be born. You are going to have husbands. You will die" (40).

40. Will not be immortal.

*539 /126 cont./
•84 Then Nijí Majsó went into the brush in order to give birth and Yepá Huáke gave Meropagnijí Majsó a fork for using a cigar, but without a cigar, and a small knife. Then Yepá Huáke said to Meropagnijí Majsó: "Take this fork and put it on top of a thin stick and have Nijí Majsó lie on her side on top of this stick. And you lie down on your back on top of the stick." Then Yepá Huáke gave Meropagnijí Majsó a small piece of furniture and a small balaya (41),

41. A basket.

which is called Sióa in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke said: "When you are lying down well on your back, start to measure with /127/ the width of the fork between the legs of Nijí Majsó, and as soon as you put this little fork between her legs, Kúmu will blow for Nijí Majsó. And cut the skin [illegible] Nijí Majsó the whole width of the little fork and the child [illegible] born." And Yepá Huáke said. "And that cut that you made on Nijí Majsó, in the way that Nijí Majsó has it, all women will also have. All women will have children until the end of the world. And the men will not be able to see that cut." Then Yepá Huáke said to Meropagnijí Majsó: "As soon as that child is born, put it on top of the balaya and Nijí Majsó will remain unconscious. And Nijí Majsó will suffer so that the child may be taken, and this is why the child will respect his mama. And if the child did not respect his mama, who is Nijí Majsó, then send him away to go to another place." And from there came the respect for one's mother. Then Yepá Huáke said to Meropagnijí Majsó: "Bring that child to Diawí and leave him in the middle of Diawí on top of the balaya, and then I shall come to cut the umbilical cord of the child. I shall remove that umbilical cord, and then I shall bury that umbilical cord in the ground of Diawí, and there is the boundary of the land of you, the Tukano." As soon as Meropagnijí Majsó brought the
*539 child to Diawí and Yepá Huáke cut and buried the umbilical cord, Yepá Huáke made the boat of the gũío enter Diawí. And after the boat of the gũío had entered Diawí, Yepá Huaáke called the brother of Yúpuri Baúro, who is named Siópuri Uejké (42).

42. Colombian.

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A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwäntadjú*: making a person) is a dangerous period. First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety of the newborn infant rests with the parents – with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the precautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

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539 /342 cont./

The maloca where Ñamíri Majsé was is called Ñamiriwí. As soon as Ñamíri Majsé opened the two doors of the malocas, a strong wind came. And where the four Bajsébo Majsá and the two Umékori Majsá girls were there was a pachuba bush. The pachuba bush had a bunch of fruit that had not yet burst open. And the strong wind that came opened the bunch of fruit and
•[841] caused it to make a sound. And the noise of the bunch of fruit that was opening came down with the wind and grazed the two Umékori Majsá girls from the abdomen to the vaginal opening, and then the two girls had their first menstruation. Before this no girl had had menstruation.

When Ñamíri Majsé saw that the two girls had had their first menstruation, he came down to make love to the two sisters. Then the four Bajsébo Majsá turned into spirits and disappeared, because they knew that Ñamíri Majsé had come down from the sky. And they disappeared in order to see what Ñamíri Majsé did to the two Umékori Majsá sisters. Then, /343/ when Ñamíri Majsé came down, he spread over the ground some fine little switches, which are called Imisa in Tukano /Tucano/, in order to lie down with both Umékori Majsá sisters and have sexual relations with them. Meanwhile the four Bajsébo Majsá were watching. Before this no one had had sexual relations or knew how to do it. And when Ñamíri Majsé finished having sexual relations with both sisters, the four Bajsebó /sic/ Majsá appeared again. And Ñamíri Majsá /sic/ had gone. And then the four Bajsébo Majsá asked the two sisters what they had done. Then they answered: "Ñamíri Majsé only came to see what we were doing." Then the Bajsébo Majsá said: "Well, why is it that the stools where we sat down and the coca that we ate and the ground are bloody? We should not have sexual relations. Yepá Huáke did did not permit us to have sexual relations." With this, Yepá Huáke appeared. The four Bajsébo Majsá were about to abandon the two Umékori Majsá girls. Then Yepá Huáke said to the four Bajsébo Majsá: "What has happened? I ordered you to take the two Umékori Majsá girls, to examine the food stones (Bajséboperi)

/425 cont./

858 b) The Children.

The natives want children, hence the general fact that all constitute regular families. The fertility of the marriage is an essential condition for its validity. The birth of the first child seals the implicit contract of marriage and stabilizes the marriage, changing wives no longer being possible.

[842] /426/ They desire, however, male and female children alternately; the former are the perpetuators of the group, the latter, besides the work that they will perform, facilitate the marriage of the male children by the exchange process. If three girls are born consecutively, the Indian will blame the wife, thinking that it is her fault (34).

[847] 34. An example was mentioned to us in Teresita, river Papuri, Colombia. At the birth of the fourth child of the female sex, the mother buried it alive. The Missionary [797] asked: "Why did you do that?" -- "Because my husband reviled me."

As to the number of children, due to the difficulties in raising them (especially because the whole burden falls on the mother), numerous progeny are not found. Six or seven children occur with some frequency (35).

35. It is to be noted that the girl does not [145] always marry young. And, on the other hand, the type of life ages her precociously, and perhaps her fertility ceases quite prematurely. It was not granted us to verify at which age the menses stop for the woman. [841] We know, to be sure, that menstruation begins around 14 years of age and that they know and use plants for the regulation of the monthly courses.

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/footnote 67 cont./ Bará, and Makú) we were able to verify that the process is the same. Whatever was peculiar in one narration became harmonized in the whole, and perhaps had happened with all, although some might have forgotten to narrate that detail. Moreover, they assured us that in all the tribes the mõ-yõĩse was performed in a similar way.

In a similar way the girl, "when she becomes a young woman," according to the native expression, that is, when she reaches the age of the menses (68)

*[192]
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[841]

68. They call it "sickness of the moon, Mũhĩ-pũ dux"ti." It is one more proof, among the many that we have had, of how the intimate life of each one is known perfectly by the entire community. The first menstruation takes place around 12 years of age, although the child, from her physical development, looks only about ten. For children of both sexes, it is not until some years after the age of puberty that their bodies fill out, that is, it is only after 14 or 15 years of age that the development of the body takes place, and in an almost perceptible way "they become young men and women." With the onset of menstruation, as in the critical age of the woman and puberty for the man, one does not notice abnormal physiological disturbances. Menstruation, like conception, comes regularly throughout the year. Ordinarily the monthly courses are not very abundant and do not last more than one day.

and the first menstruation, a mõsé, comes, must go through the puberty initiation rite.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19



The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

## SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy.

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



beeswax. When enemy *Maúnwa* attack, the paste is thrown among them, causing them to fall stupefied to the ground. It is the shaman, however, who can contend with these orgres most successfully. The *abúhuwa* are frightening to behold, the Indians say, because they have two faces, one in front and one in back. Some have sticky bodies and when they embrace an unwary victim he can no longer escape. A mother and child are favorite targets of these *abúhuwa*. The mother is killed and the child is reared as one of them. It in turn then seizes people. Female *abúhuwa* have a preference for men and the *abúhukũ* tries to catch a woman. 776 [789] [756]

*Nyáma abúhuko* (Deer ogre) is a black ogress, an evil spirit of the deer, who catches children wandering about alone. She tosses them into the air so as to break their necks and then and there eats them.

Another ogre is *Opómbibekũ*, a dwarf with an enormous penis, who flies about at night, seizes little boys, and eats them.

*Kómi* is also an ogre, one who emerged with the first people. Eventually people caught him and burned him alive. They then noticed that whatever came near his ashes died. Sorcerers still go to fetch his ashes for their "poisons." [754]

Snakes, the boa and anaconda in particular, are dangerous to women. The land boa rapes women in their manioc gardens so that they give birth to snakes. The water anaconda attacks menstruating women who come to the river. A menstruant is endangered by land snakes, too, but can ward them off by painting with genipa. Nothing, however, will protect her in the water. The water anaconda is a threat to a newborn child and to its father as well. This menace, however, is easily counteracted by the simple magical techniques of the old men. The dangerous anaconda is the white anaconda and not the ancestral black anaconda, which is regarded as friendly "because he knows his people." He is not venerated and is not the object of ritual although he is represented in petroglyphs on the Cuduiari. In the old days, I was told, he was kept as a household pet but for sentimental reasons only. 776 825 [841] [789]

The river is also the home of the *mwápwãnwa* (fish people), who are anthropomorphic spirits. They are small people who live in a house beneath the river and move about at night, sometimes brushing moistly against travelers and frightening them but otherwise harmless. 776

The fish, who are of great importance in Cubeo ceremonials, not only in the *óyne* but in their own fish dances and fish songs by which the Cubeo celebrate great catches, are a "people." They, too, live in a house and have a chief, *Munyúnbekũku* (Old man *munyún*), a 776 825

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*vei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhá*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yavi*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

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842 b) An unquestionable fact is the fertility of the Indian woman. From the investigations made, there was reported to us only one instance of an individual's sending his wife back as sterile, the judgment, evidently, of the husband. In spite of the advantages or convenience of the Indian woman who does not want to have many children (and we have heard from their lips several times this declaration: "it is ugly to have many children"), and the practices that they use to space each delivery 2, 3, and even 4 or more years apart, the presence of numerous children in each povoado pleasantly surprises us. In our investigations we found a vigorous Indian man about 45 years of age, who had 11 children (24).

[171] 24. It is a matter of the Indian Agostinho Barbosa of the Taryana tribe, in Iauareté. It is true that in December of 1948 four of his 11 children had already died.

163 On one of our lists of individuals of various tribes, in the casual order in which the anthropometric measurements were made, 20 married people among men and women, of about 35 years of age or older, presented a total of 101 children. Therefore an average of 5 children per couple is shown. It is to be noted that only 18 dead children, without discrimi-
161 nation as to age, appear on this same list. If we imagine that all adults marry (ordinarily after 20 years of age) (25),

[587] 25. There was reported to us only the case of one man who did not find a wife; it is to be noted, however, that it was a matter of a widower.

and that the two sexes more or less correspond in number, it should be concluded that the population has

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/footnote 60 cont./ it to the quality of certain plants that they use in these caxirís. It is possible that their state of intoxication makes fecundity difficult; just as it is likely, moreover, that the affirmation of infecundity results only from the lack of means of verification or of attention to the problem.

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/350/ We thought that these immoral practices were a consequence of the intoxication. The Missionaries also thought this, although one of them pointed out to us that the inebriation was intentionally promoted for libidinous satisfactions. We nevertheless had many and categoric affirmations that these sexual practices, even the incestuous ones, are not only licit, but even established by the customs, and for this reason recommended by the "Old Ones," in order to ensure the happiness of the people and the fecundity of nature (cf. VII - 5, c).

5) Legendary commemorations -- Rite of the cigar.

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Legendary commemorations. We have the impression that to the original elements of these feasts, let us call them the ritual elements, with the passing of time, were introduced other profane ones, such as the musical intermezzi performed by the individuals of the younger generation to the sound of the flautas-de-pã /Panpipes/ and the japurutús. Among the ritual elements must appear the Legendary Commemorations. After the first dance numbers, representatives of the tribes who are participating in the Wĩx-tfye baxsá detach themselves from the natives and sit down on little seats, one in front of the other, in the nave occupied by the men. These individuals are chosen from among the Komũã, and they must, naturally, show the qualities necessary for their function, that is, knowledge of the legends, a good memory, a lively imagination, facility with words.

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831 a) Concept of procreation and marriage.

842 The concept of procreation through the participation of the two sexes, and both among human beings and among animals, is known by everyone, even the children.

843 It seems, on the other hand, that the space of nine months as the gestation period is not likewise so well known (95).

[115] 95. A Tukano girl about 20 years old from S. Tomé, river Tiquié, answered us that the period of gestation was five months.

842 And they do not know how fecundation takes place or how the
843 fetus becomes animated and develops.

The most rigorous law of tribal exogamy is in force (VIII --
582 1, a (1) ). Marriage Between tribal "brothers and sisters" is considered bad and impossible (96),

[797] 96. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Paurí /Papurí or Papury/, Colombia, performed two marriages among Pirá-tapuyas who, through religious instruction, had liberated themselves from these prejudices and wanted each other as spouses. Nevertheless, there was great reaction from the Indians, who tried to burn the house of the Missionary. But, under the protection of the latter, the two couples continued to live in Teresita (1947) and with healthy children.

and a fortiori between blood brothers and sisters. If one asks them the reason for this prohibition they simply answer: -- "Because it is bad." /379/ Some add: -- "Because he will not have children," or: -- "Because the children will die."

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835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

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103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement.
851 Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrep-
847 ancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

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836 inducing them, not infrequently, to provocation (109)

[832] [515]

109. While bathing, the girls agitate the water, with the hand cupped, from below upwards, with a characteristic noise. The boys respond to this signal by fanning their open hands in front of the chest, one higher than the other, so that they are crossed without meeting, and, since they are almost on the surface of the water, they produce a noise that is heard at a distance of two hundred meters or more. This provocative noise is called Pixtwasé.

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and invitation to the boys.

832 836 [515] /385/ Although the old customs state that the bathing of the women precedes that of the men and should be before the break of day, sometimes the Indians are surprised in mixed bathing during the warm hours of the day.

*[192] [278] The young women prepare philters or potions, known by the Nheengatú name of Puçanga (in Tukano Ox-kó), which they give to the young men to drink in order to attract them to them; or, in front of their eyes, they wear or rub on themselves roots and plants to which is attributed an aphrodisiac virtue.

• 842 847 848 The cases of illegitimate pregnancy of maidens are not rare, although they know (110)

110. We had gathered for the "centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté some plants considered as sterilizing and abortive. While organizing the herbarium, some identifying labels fell off. We called on three maidens, and with the greatest facility, upon seeing the plants, they indicated the name and the purpose, exactly as was stated on the labels.

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847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach these methods.

The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkákõ (literally it means
848 "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother (111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkákõ brother.

581 It is considered shameful to have children at once in the
842 first year of marriage, Pe. Humberto Limpens of Acuaricuara,
183 river Paca, informed us. They want children only two or three
[797] years after the marriage, and this is also the interval between children. A demonstration that this is artificial is given by the good Christian mother, alumna of the Mission, with successive children and at once from the first year. One understands the
[462] difficulty of the native mother who, besides the care and nursing of the child, is pressed with the work of the house and of the clearing, if she does not have the help of older daughters.

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/footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpens /sic/)

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papuri) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacurís, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxirí, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

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595 but a woman could never have several husbands. In the legends there are examples not only of polygamy, but also of polyandry.

It is true that, having procreation as its purpose, the marriage is not considered perfect until after the conception of the first child. From the time of the first signs of pregnancy the marriage was established.

595 If after two or three years of living together the woman has
• 842 not given birth to a child, the husband will consider her the victim of the malefice of sterility (22)

587 22. It seems that there is no possibility of
[115] rehabilitation for the woman, that is, marriage to another man, although a Tukano man, Mário Chaves by name, in answer to our question, affirmed the possibility of new nuptials for the woman regarded as sterile.

and will look for another wife.

Ordinarily, however, the woman considered sterile prefers to remain with her husband. All the interests of the latter lead him to keep her, even though he has already contracted a second marriage. We are thus confronted with a polygamy, not by right, but de facto. Nor does such an event seem to cause surprise (23).

[178] 23. These events are known nowadays (1947) in Taracuá and Urubucuara.

611 The fact that they regard the children as belonging to the father's tribe seems to reveal, as in other nations, the concept that all the generative capacity belongs exclusively to the father. Nevertheless, the inability to procreate will always be attributed to the mother, never to the men.

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b) The Children.

The natives want children, hence the general fact that all constitute regular families. The fertility of the marriage is an essential condition for its validity. The birth of the first child seals the implicit contract of marriage and stabilizes the marriage, changing wives no longer being possible.

[842] /426/ They desire, however, male and female children alternately; the former are the perpetuators of the group, the latter, besides the work that they will perform, facilitate the marriage of the male children by the exchange process. If three girls are born consecutively, the Indian will blame the wife, thinking that it is her fault (34).

[847]

34. An example was mentioned to us in Teresita, river Papuri, Colombia. At the birth of the fourth child of the female sex, the mother buried it alive. The Missionary asked: "Why did you do that?" -- "Because my husband reviled me."

[797]

As to the number of children, due to the difficulties in raising them (especially because the whole burden falls on the mother), numerous progeny are not found. Six or seven children occur with some frequency (35).

35. It is to be noted that the girl does not always marry young. And, on the other hand, the type of life ages her precociously, and perhaps her fertility ceases quite prematurely. It was not granted us to verify at which age the menses stop for the woman. We know, to be sure, that menstruation begins around 14 years of age and that they know and use plants for the regulation of the monthly courses.

[145]

[841]

/426 cont./

842 The interval, as we have already noted, is regularly two or three years between deliveries.

1) Abortion and infanticide.

847

In spite of the fact that they want children, they induce abortion and practice infanticide. When the sterilizing potions have not been enough, they resort to abortion; for this there are the Puçangas, which the woman herself or her mother-in-law prepares. When these are not successful either, the mechanical process is tried, in order to kill the fetus and abort it, going so far as stepping on the belly of the pregnant woman. And if, in spite of this, the unwanted child is born alive, it is eliminated, being buried alive (36).

[115]

36. The Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, with a tirociny of almost 40 years among the tribes of the Uaupés, stigmatizes "the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn children, suffocating them as if it were being done to any little animal" (ap. Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 26).

And as a rule it will be the mother herself who will do it. Perhaps the burial alive indicates a certain feeling, conceiving it as a pleasanter death. In fact they line the grave delicately with banana leaves (37).

[115]

[732]

37. Among the most repugnant is the episode narrated by Pe. Afonso Kuipers, which happened in the povoado of Africa, left bank of the Papúri, Colombia. A child of about eight years of age, deformed with a huge head, was buried standing up; and since the grave was small, the mother stepped on the head, out of the ground, "in order to bury more and not continue crying."

/429 cont./

593
755

/footnote 47 cont./ himself in the hammock and on a diet, in order that his son's condition would not be aggravated; the latter was saved, thanks to the antiophidian injection that was immediately applied to him by the Missionary.

846 The wife, then, is the one who will carefully serve the husband.

For four days both the father and the mother will nourish themselves only with mingau, being forbidden the use of fish. This is the diet taboo.

[842] The newborn child is a reproduction of the father. The mother plays only the role of the ground in which the seed germinated; the one who produced the seed was the tree, whose nature the seed will reproduce. From this concept (48)

48. It is a concept evidently patriarchalist. It is to be noted that Pe. João Marchesi affirms that he has heard from the Tukano Tuxaua Julio, from Pari-cachoeira, expressions similar to those of the Jews (who were patriarchalists): "The children of my womb."

logically come two consequences: the first is the chôco or protection of the father, the second is that the child belongs to the paternal tribe and not to the one of its mother.

553 4) Giving the name.

Around three years of age, when the child already walks freely and begins to talk and to give the first indications of understanding, /430/ they proceed with the rite of giving the name, a rite which ends with a caxiri.

*[192] Until that moment the child is Oẽ, that is, "without name." This is how they translate it for us, not knowing how to give any other explanation for this term.

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides 361
household dishes, while tobacco, *mihi*, and coca are for ceremonial 241
purposes. 462

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the 351
entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the 361
kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the 562
staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks [622]
for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and
for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist
that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front [178]
plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The [755]
medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear
plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris [521]
of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards,
and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip.
During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests
are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still 351
a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no ob- 361
vious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make 562
an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he 574
realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made
this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was
received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as
he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense 361
a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide 562
the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music 823
of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. [614]
Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's [534]
edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again [515]
to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against [833]
women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. [842]
But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the 621
high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance 512
of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing
that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

---

chicken feed. The *Bahukiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no 361
tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop. 241
462

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

## BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiarí these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiarí proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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586 Divorce is easy and rather frequent during the early years of marriage. Most often it is the woman who leaves her husband, for the general reason that she does not like him and, more rarely, because he beats her. If a woman has no intention of going back to her husband she returns home, re-enters her parents' household, and her husband has no further claim upon her. If she is undecided, she claims the hospitality of a neighboring sib and awaits a reconciliation. A marriage is not officially severed, on the woman's part, unless she returns home. She cannot run away with another man and expect to avoid trouble. Men send wives away mainly because they are barren. [842] The Cubeo have no other official view of infertility than that the woman is using an abortifacient. They therefore tend to view barrenness as a hostile act. A wife who is asked to leave has no choice but to do so. Her grown children are expected to remain behind in their own sib, while the nursing baby accompanies the mother.

586 684 The most common source of marital discord that may also lead to divorce is adultery. From quarrels that erupt during drinking parties the impression is created that adultery is very common. Almost invariably it is the woman who is blamed, partly because women commonly are sexually aggressive, and partly because that is the least disruptive view to take of the matter; it does least damage to the important male solidarity of the sib.

**BAHÚKIWA MARRIAGES**

614

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Byówa* | 14 | *Tatúyo* | 3 |
| Uanana | 7 | *Siriana* | 2 |
| *Miandwa* | 5 | *Buébowa* | 1 |
| *Hürüwá* | 4 | *Hurédariwa* | 1 |
| *Korówa* | 4 | Karapana | 1 |
| *Yurití* | 4 | *Piratapúyo* | 1 |
| *Djurémawa* | 3 | *Tóriawú* | 1 |
| *Kondntarabeiwú* | 3 | | |

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726
411 shields rested on the ground and the men fired their arrows from
714 behind them.

At a victory dance the men wore the smoked genitals of the killed
727 warriors over their own genitals as an ornamental trophy. After the
266 dance the women were offered the penises to eat for fertility. Except
[842] for the intestines, deemed not fit to eat, the enemies were consumed at a sib feast and drinking party. The head, limbs, liver, and heart were spit roasted, the rest of the meat was boiled.

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## BIRTH AND INFANCY

842 The Cubeo believe it is the spermatic fluid (*hürû*) that causes conception. They regard the womb as a ground in which the fetus grows, or is cultivated as seeds are planted in the earth. Since men and women do not discuss together the biology of conception and of [843] pregnancy, their views differ. Men I spoke to dated conception from the time when the abdomen begins to swell, while women dated it 843 from the cessation of menstruation. Both sexes believe that con- 833 tinued coitus after conception will add to the number of children 842 that will grow in the womb. Stories are told of people who did not heed this so that the woman burst from an accumulation of fetuses. Coitus is stopped, however, by the male reckoning.

842 It is a common view of men that women are not eager to bear 847 children. Women, they say, know how to bring about abortion and frequently resort to infanticide. They explain that women are sexu- ally too ardent and rather than forgo coitus during the long nursing [833] period they would rather not have a child at all. Moreover, a woman who has not been enjoying sexual intercourse with her husband will abort or kill her offspring. If she chooses infanticide, however, she spares the boy. Women do concede knowledge and use of abortifacients and they acknowledge that others of their sex practice infanticide. They agree that a woman who does not love her husband punishes him by denying him a child. Thus, the Cubeo are disin- 842 clined to believe in barrenness or in sterility, attributing infertility to [586] female design. A man, therefore, has cause to abandon a wife who bears him no children. One man told that he had abandoned his wife for not bearing children. Later they became reconciled; his wife had a change of heart and began to bear children.

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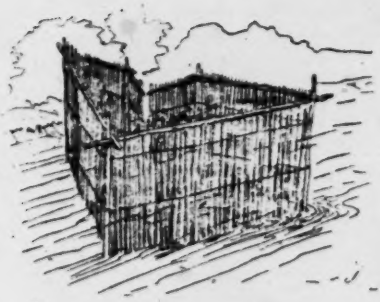
842 The likelihood is very strong, then, that a child is born to a family that desires it, and in which husband and wife are happy with each other. Parturition takes place in the woman's manioc garden. A

226 /237 cont./
*[192]



Cacurí (waí-ro)

b) Waí-ro (in Nheengatú cacurí). It consists of an enclosure of paxiúba or patauá sticks fastened to stakes that are very high and reinforced so that the river current will not destroy it, placed near the edge of the river or of islands, where they know that the fish are in the habit of passing during high water. The enclosure, almost always triangular in shape, is continued laterally by two cloths or pari barriers, which join at an obtuse angle, driving toward the enclosure the fish, which, following their instinct, always advance against the current. Upon reaching the angle of the barrier, this gives passage, because it is loose there, but it soon closes again through the action of the current. The fish advance, but find the bottom closed, and, not finding the way by which they came in, remain imprisoned, not infre-
*[192] quently in large numbers. This system is very practical, equivalent to a fishpond where the fish are kept alive and the /238/ fisherman dives in and catches the fish he wants with the puçá,
[843] waí wehẽ-kõ. The women, when pregnant, cannot eat fish from the cacurí. They think that the spirit of the child to be born goes to cry near the trap at night and scares away the fish. They attribute the failures to such a cause and remedy it by surrounding the barricade with a poisonous cipo. The child's spirit, upon noticing it, will run away, and the fish will come to enter the trap.

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

* [192] [304] [224] [226] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sígõ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

Urukã-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one * [192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexkã-sã wẽ'rí wãx-tí.

[752] /366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

• [843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

/366 cont./

843 *[192] [226] d) Persons. Every pregnant woman, nihĩ-paxkõ (after the fourth month, more or less), is a dangerous being. There are various prescriptions referring to the gestating woman. For example, she cannot eat the fish from the espinhel /line with many hooks/ (VI - 5, a (4 d) ), from the cacurí, nor participate in the large-scale fishing with timbo. If she does so, the fishing will be fruitless, and the espinhel or cacurí will no longer catch fish (77).

> 77. They ruined the espinhel of Dom José Domitrovitsch. The Missionary complained and asked the reason. The espinhel "is no good," the Indian said to him, because my wife ate some of the fish caught in that espinhel and she is pregnant.

She must not touch the bow or arrow, so that she does not "ruin them."

About the father of a newborn baby, it is also said that he
846 is in a state of pregnancy, nihĩ-paxkõ or nihĩ-pkõ. He must,
*[192] then, take care of himself, "sihyógõ" (cf. "Couvade," VIII -- 1, b (3) ), so that the child will grow strong.

844 It is permissible only for women to attend the delivery; the men must withdraw. If by any chance there are male guests in the maloca, then the woman giving birth will remain in some tightly closed apartment, if there is one. Or she will leave, in order to give birth in some isolated hut or even in the forest. Before taking her puerperium bath, the woman may not see a bow or any instrument of iron (machete, ax, assagai, etc.).

843 If the husband stops with open arms in the door of the house during the pregnancy of his wife, she will have a difficult delivery.

If during her own pregnancy the woman sits down to eat, or sits in a hammock with her legs dangling, her delivery will be difficult.

/367 cont./

824 *[192] In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgõ̃, for their own child, soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the bará, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 • 843 *[192] [515] There is a plant called kĩ'rá pũrĩ (Uaupés kĩ'ná pũnĩ), the leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

[797]

79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

[797]

80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

[178]

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Maku on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
• 843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).
T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.
501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.
T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Maku must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/378 cont./

831 a) Concept of procreation and marriage.

842 The concept of procreation through the participation of the two sexes, and both among human beings and among animals, is known by everyone, even the children.

843 It seems, on the other hand, that the space of nine months as the gestation period is not likewise so well known (95).

[115] 95. A Tukano girl about 20 years old from S. Tomé, river Tiquié, answered us that the period of gestation was five months.

842 And they do not know how fecundation takes place or how the
843 fetus becomes animated and develops.

The most rigorous law of tribal exogamy is in force (VIII --
582 1, a (1) ). Marriage Between tribal "brothers and sisters" is considered bad and impossible (96),

[797] 96. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Paurí /Papurí or Papury/, Colombia, performed two marriages among Pirá-tapuyas who, through religious instruction, had liberated themselves from these prejudices and wanted each other as spouses. Nevertheless, there was great reaction from the Indians, who tried to burn the house of the Missionary. But, under the protection of the latter, the two couples continued to live in Teresita (1947) and with healthy children.

and a fortiori between blood brothers and sisters. If one asks them the reason for this prohibition they simply answer: -- "Because it is bad." /379/ Some add: -- "Because he will not have children," or: -- "Because the children will die."

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843 826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating. [302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to another, [763] her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 854 302 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers) she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red [789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment, [856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on [603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these [606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the [262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others [372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their [828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

/281 cont./

i) His social role.

756 626 The pajé represents the highest intellectual level of the native povoado, and, not only that, but he is also the stickler for the observance of the tribal laws. He knows them, teaches them, and demands their fulfillment, being able to punish (34),

> 34. He is, then, the major opponent of the assimilation of our culture on the part of the forest dweller.

with sicknesses, lightning, and, finally, malefices, disrespect toward traditional practices.

756 [852] [844] He presides over all social life, that of the family as well as of the group. When a child is born, the one who will blow on it, exorcise it, and paint it with carajurú /carajura/, in order that it will grow up strong and free from sicknesses, is the pajé; and he will also give the medicines to the woman in labor.

[553] In some tribes the giving of the name is done in the presence of the pajé. Covering the child with smoke with his indispensable cigar, under the inspiration of the moment, he will give or will suggest the name to the father, who is about to choose a name indicated by any circumstance whatsoever, perhaps even an indecent name.

[881] When the girl reaches puberty, the pajé will spend some time with her, giving her timely theoretical and practical instructions about maternity and obligations inherent in it.

At the time of the masculine initiation, it falls to him to teach the young men the traditional legends, their rights and duties as members of the group, the ritual practices, and to verify their ability by means of interrogations, punishments, flagellations, fasts, etc.

He is also the principal instructor of the Komũ (see VII - 2, e (3) ), on whose capacity he will pass judgment, and of whom he will always be the supervisor, gathering them together periodically in assembly and giving them opportune directions for every circumstance.

/366 cont./

843 *[192] [226] d) Persons. Every pregnant woman, nihĩ-paxkõ (after the fourth month, more or less), is a dangerous being. There are various prescriptions referring to the gestating woman. For example, she cannot eat the fish from the espinhel /line with many hooks/ (VI - 5, a (4 d) ), from the cacurí, nor participate in the large-scale fishing with timbo. If she does so, the fishing will be fruitless, and the espinhel or cacurí will no longer catch fish (77).

> 77. They ruined the espinhel of Dom José Domitrovitsch. The Missionary complained and asked the reason. The espinhel "is no good," the Indian said to him, because my wife ate some of the fish caught in that espinhel and she is pregnant.

She must not touch the bow or arrow, so that she does not "ruin them."

About the father of a newborn baby, it is also said that he 846 is in a state of pregnancy, nihĩ-paxkõ or nihĩ-pkõ. He must, *[192] then, take care of himself, "sihyógõ" (cf. "Couvade," VIII -- 1, b (3) ), so that the child will grow strong.

• 844 It is permissible only for women to attend the delivery; the men must withdraw. If by any chance there are male guests in the maloca, then the woman giving birth will remain in some tightly closed apartment, if there is one. Or she will leave, in order to give birth in some isolated hut or even in the forest. Before taking her puerperium bath, the woman may not see a bow or any instrument of iron (machete, ax, assagai, etc.).

843 If the husband stops with open arms in the door of the house during the pregnancy of his wife, she will have a difficult delivery.

If during her own pregnancy the woman sits down to eat, or sits in a hammock with her legs dangling, her delivery will be difficult.

/427 cont./

845 4th. -- That of the defective children. Any noticeable
847 physical defect is fatal to the newborn child. And it can not be believed that it is a matter of a magical reason, but rather, on one hand, the great vanity of the parents, above all of the mother, and, on the other, the thought that it will be a burden to the tribe, which /428/ needs perfect and strong individuals and desires only those. The deaf-mutes escape more easily (as was confirmed) because it is not until much later that they manage to verify their defect.

2) The delivery.

844 The delivery is considered a physiological operation of the woman, like any other, and will not excite attention or care. In spite of the lack of hygiene and of preventive measures, these daughters of Eve seem to have the most normal delivery in the world. Many times they keep on working until that moment (43),

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43. There was related to us by the Salesian lay Brother, the Agronomist Teotônio Ferreira, the case of an Indian woman in S. Gabriel, who worked in the clearing in the morning, bore a child in the afternoon, and on the following day came to resume her work. There are frequent cases in which the Missionaries order them to take a rest and they refuse.

and shortly afterwards they begin their normal working life again.

The men, however, will leave the maloca (or wherever the delivery takes place), perhaps leaving the parturient woman in pain, because it is ordered that they cannot witness it. For this reason, if there are guests in the maloca, the parturient woman will withdraw inside some apartment, if there is any, or they will prepare it in time for this purpose, or else she will leave the maloca in order to give birth in the forest. Just as she must also not have in the place any ax, machete, or any other object of iron or metal.

/428 cont./

• 844 Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have
[608] invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõá (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koá (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

[852] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the
[276] pajé or a Komĩ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

846 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).

*[192] The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to
[115] take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

844 As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the
[178] Pax-koá, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45).

[123] 45. The tuxaua of the Ĩde-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

/429 cont./

844 and takes the child to the river for the bath.

Except in rare cases of a difficult delivery (or very rarely
846 those of death), the mother soon takes up her household cares and
tasks again. The husband, however, considers himself in a state
*[192] of pregnancy, Nihĩ-pkõ from Nihĩ, child, and pax-kõ, father.
For this reason he must rest or be sheltered, Sihyogõ, for six days
(46):

[797]

> 46. We have seen some of the Indians who have attended the Mission schools subject themselves to such a custom. And they answer the words of the missionary who tries to show the uselessness of the custom: "The old ones want it this way."

he will not work, he will avoid leaving the house, taking the sun, he will spend the greater part of his time in the hammock and subject himself to a strict diet. "If the father works, the child will get sick, will cry day and night," so they explained to us.

593 It is the concept of the bond between the father and his child, as though the father himself were being reproduced. Everything, then, that happens to the father can not fail to affect the child. Since effort or a heavier diet would harm the child, the father must abstain from these things (47).

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> 47. This belief in the intimate connection between the health and well-being of the father and of the son holds not only during the first days of the newborn child, but also during its whole life. D. José Domitrovitsch, when superior
[115] of the Mission of Pari-cachoeira, was able to witness the following episode: Julio, the local Tukano tuxaua, upon learning that his son Mandú (the present tuxaua, 1956) had been bitten by a jararaca, left work, went to his house, put

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361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden
is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for
casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the
garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the
latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and
everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was defi-
nitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual
significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man
was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
[844] Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[834] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity
of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are
no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual
hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
241 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[270] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[245] cultivated trees—orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*),
pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco,
*mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[177] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from
the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then
regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that be-
longs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahi-
kina* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch-Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the up-river communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 82). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

844 [606] [789] [591]

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

845 776 [756] [754] [761]

Childbirth (*pwãntadjü*: making a person) is a dangerous period. First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety of the newborn infant rests with the parents – with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the precautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

844 789 84 [833] 846 826

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843 826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating. [302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to another, [763] her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

• 844 854 302 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers) she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red [789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment, [856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on [603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these [606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the [262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others [372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop [828] a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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852 831 [887] [614] task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen [881] [833] intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; [844] officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates [821] at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, [881] a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

881 The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, [514] through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she [826] will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To [515] develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that [302] creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me [515] see how much pain you can stand."

[302] At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is [574] held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

114 When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them 881 she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. 756 Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father 881 Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

881 After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[3] She is also known as *nominyaiwi* (becoming a woman).

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

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/footnote 40 cont./ out whether some pajé, who foresaw the sex of the child to be born, might have intervened in the case.

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3rd. -- That of twin children. One of the two will be eliminated; usually the second one, unless another reason counsels the contrary. For example, they will preferably eliminate the defective one, or the girl. It seems that the reason for this crime is the difficulty, for the mother, of raising two children simultaneously, with all the work that falls to her; and no other reason of magical or superstitious character (41).

[797]

41. The Missionaries have managed to save and raise some twins, and, when grown, that is, after four or five years, the parents receive them willingly, or rather they demand them.

Patrícia Vasconcelos said that the husband beats the wife when she gives birth to twin children.

[736]

Nevertheless this different way of acting causes surprise: when a child becomes orphaned by losing its mother, it will not be killed, but will pass into the care of another woman. When, on the other hand, it is a matter of twins, no woman will take on the burden of raising one of the newborn children, even when there is some newly lactating mother who has just lost her child (42).

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42. Pe. Antonio Giacone confirms this, saying that he saw new mothers emptying their breasts, or nursing some little dog, rather than feed someone else's child (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 53).

Even in these cases there does not appear to be any superstitious motive, but only the selfishness of the women and no friendship at all between them. If they take care of the orphan, it is due to the inviolable imposition of the irrevocable customs of the tribe.

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[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

/366 cont./

843 *[192] [226] d) Persons. Every pregnant woman, nihĩ-paxkõ (after the fourth month, more or less), is a dangerous being. There are various prescriptions referring to the gestating woman. For example, she cannot eat the fish from the espinhel /line with many hooks/ (VI - 5, a (4 d) ), from the cacurí, nor participate in the large-scale fishing with timbo. If she does so, the fishing will be fruitless, and the espinhel or cacurí will no longer catch fish (77).

> 77. They ruined the espinhel of Dom José Domitrovitsch. The Missionary complained and asked the reason. The espinhel "is no good," the Indian said to him, because my wife ate some of the fish caught in that espinhel and she is pregnant.

She must not touch the bow or arrow, so that she does not "ruin them."

• 846 *[192] About the father of a newborn baby, it is also said that he is in a state of pregnancy, nihĩ-paxkõ or nihĩ-pkõ. He must, then, take care of himself, "sihyógõ" (cf. "Couvade," VIII -- 1, b (3) ), so that the child will grow strong.

844 It is permissible only for women to attend the delivery; the men must withdraw. If by any chance there are male guests in the maloca, then the woman giving birth will remain in some tightly closed apartment, if there is one. Or she will leave, in order to give birth in some isolated hut or even in the forest. Before taking her puerperium bath, the woman may not see a bow or any instrument of iron (machete, ax, assagai, etc.).

843 If the husband stops with open arms in the door of the house during the pregnancy of his wife, she will have a difficult delivery.

If during her own pregnancy the woman sits down to eat, or sits in a hammock with her legs dangling, her delivery will be difficult.

/366 cont./

846 The first time they go to the clearing after the birth of any child, they practice a special ritual called "mixpĩ purĩ-ré dõ̃ tekũsé," that is, the entwining of the leaves of the açaí /assai/. The father goes in front, and behind, the mother carrying the child. The father, at more or less every ten meters or steps, ties two by two the leaflets of the açaí, and throws them on the road. If they must cross any stream, and the child is of the male sex, he makes a kind of canoe with the leaves and puts it on the /367/ *[192] water. The purpose of these practices is to ensure that the child and those of his house never lose their way, wi'seri-khã̃ra-re mĩx'pĩ pũrĩ-ré dõxté-kũsé.

837 The newly married woman who seeks out many other men becomes transformed during the night into an anta and goes out through the forest to graze (78).

78. There were indicated to us two cases of similar transformations, both having happened shortly before this information was given (1953), one that was supposed to have taken place in Urubucuara and another in Iauareté, the name of these wives "without shame," according to the expression of one of the informants, being cited to us.

*[192] It is what is called "wexkõ dohogó" (literally: ruined into an anta). At dawn she is again transformed into a woman and returns, still taking bits of grass from her teeth. An indication of this event is the paleness of the wife. When she goes out at night, however, she leaves her legs in the hammock. When the husband sees this, he turns the legs in the opposite position, that is, toward the head of the hammock. For this reason, on the following day the woman will feel strong pains in her hips. On the following night the husband turns them in the direction opposite that of the first time, and the wife's pains will cease.

/428 cont./

844 Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have
[608] invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõã (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koã (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

[852] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the
[276] pajé or a Komũ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

• 846 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).
*[192]

The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to
[115] take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

844 As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the
[178] Pax-koã, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45).

[123] 45. The tuxaua of the Íde-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

/429 cont./

844 and takes the child to the river for the bath.

Except in rare cases of a difficult delivery (or very rarely
• 846 those of death), the mother soon takes up her household cares and
tasks again. The husband, however, considers himself in a state
*[192] of pregnancy, Nihĩ-pkõ from Nihĩ, child, and pax-kõ, father.
For this reason he must rest or be sheltered, Sihyogõ, for six days
(46):

[797]

> 46. We have seen some of the Indians who have attended the Mission schools subject themselves to such a custom. And they answer the words of the missionary who tries to show the uselessness of the custom: "The old ones want it this way."

he will not work, he will avoid leaving the house, taking the sun, he will spend the greater part of his time in the hammock and subject himself to a strict diet. "If the father works, the child will get sick, will cry day and night," so they explained to us.

593 It is the concept of the bond between the father and his child, as though the father himself were being reproduced. Everything, then, that happens to the father can not fail to affect the child. Since effort or a heavier diet would harm the child, the father must abstain from these things (47).

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755

> 47. This belief in the intimate connection between the health and well-being of the father and of the son holds not only during the first days of the newborn child, but also during its whole life. D. José Domitrovitsch, when superior
[115] of the Mission of Pari-cachoeira, was able to witness the following episode: Julio, the local Tukano tuxaua, upon learning that his son Mandú (the present tuxaua, 1956) had been bitten by a jararaca, left work, went to his house, put

/429 cont./

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/footnote 47 cont./ himself in the hammock and on a diet, in order that his son's condition would not be aggravated; the latter was saved, thanks to the antiophidian injection that was immediately applied to him by the Missionary.

846 The wife, then, is the one who will carefully serve the husband.

For four days both the father and the mother will nourish themselves only with mingau, being forbidden the use of fish. This is the diet taboo.

[842] The newborn child is a reproduction of the father. The mother plays only the role of the ground in which the seed germinated; the one who produced the seed was the tree, whose nature the seed will reproduce. From this concept (48)

48. It is a concept evidently patriarchalist. It is to be noted that Pe. João Marchesi affirms that he has heard from the Tukano Tuxaua Julio, from Pari-cachoeira, expressions similar to those of the Jews (who were patriarchalists): "The children of my womb."

logically come two consequences: the first is the chôco or protection of the father, the second is that the child belongs to the paternal tribe and not to the one of its mother.

553 4) Giving the name.

Around three years of age, when the child already walks freely and begins to talk and to give the first indications of understanding, /430/ they proceed with the rite of giving the name, a rite which ends with a caxiri.

*[192] Until that moment the child is Oẽ, that is, "without name." This is how they translate it for us, not knowing how to give any other explanation for this term.

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A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwäntadjü*: making a person) is a dangerous period. First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety of the newborn infant rests with the parents – with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the precautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

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843 826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating. [302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to another, [763] her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 854 302 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers) she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red [789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment, [856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on [603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these [606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

• 846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the [262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others [372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their [828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians. 846

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kürûdjü*) by painting its body with genipa. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow. [789] [856]

The arrival of an infant to the maloca is a period of grave crisis. It is the principal responsibility of the men of the maloca to dispel the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *couvade* – the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chanting away its dangers with appropriate spells. The grandmother paints the infant with genipa. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbilical cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant. 846 789 [604] [622] [756] [757] [837]

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly troublesome feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its distinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the 846 789 262

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846 789 262 fish that are mentioned. For example, a small fish that has many small bones, the *dóthe*, is addressed, "Son of the *dóthe* have no spines. Do not cause harm to our offspring. Allow [yourself] to be eaten."

[603] In the case of the aracú, the most common fish in the diet, the grandfather who is reciting the spells takes up a fish and cuts off its tail. If he did not do this, the tail when eaten would grow into a full-sized fish in the stomach and kill the child. After each spell has been recited the grandfather blows tobacco smoke, wafting his breath by an outward motion of the hand. The magical mechanism, as it was explained to me, is that the recitation invokes the fish and the blowing (*pupúdjũ*) has the effect of dispelling the danger.

Capsicum is spelled and blown so that its odor, which has the power to dispel ghosts and spirits, will not harm the child. Manioc has a disturbing odor when raw. This odor will be harmful and the manioc itself will not nourish if the spell is not recited. The child will remain thin. Eating unspelled manioc cake will also cause the child's skin to become as hard and coarse as the bark of a tree. Each variety of manioc, however, must be mentioned by name.

For birds, however, the small white eagle is invoked because this bird, the *towáve*, eats all birds that the Cubeo eat. The spell states that as the "odor of burned birds" does not harm the *towáve* so it will not harm the human young. Similarly, for animals the young of the jaguar are invoked in behalf of all the game they eat. However, whereas the *towáve* is addressed generally in behalf of all birds, the spell for the jaguar must mention each of the animals he eats by name. Again, the danger to be avoided is in each case that of the odor of cooking.

846 789 The spell that is chanted as the river is "blown" refers to the anacondas, asking them not to notice the people who are bathing. The cigarette smoke as it is wafted over the river is told to form a heavy coating as of miriti fibers so that nothing that is below water can come to the surface.

The reference of these spells seems ambiguous for the Cubeo. It is clear, of course, that what is sought is protection for the newborn [551] infant. Since the infant has as yet no name and must be referred to only by the general designation *pwénte hyédokũ* (offspring person), the spells, my informant explained, have beneficial effects for all offspring of the sib.

[302] The man who "blows" the river coats his hands and feet with genipa so that he seems to be wearing gloves and stockings. The genipa has magical power to dispel water spirits. He carries a handful of burning faggots from the hearth of the natal household while

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act be- 846
lieved to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, 789
scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press any- 846
thing, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned
home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of [789]
these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is 551
not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given 851
a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child [789]
comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. [856]
To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to
understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much 826
they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in [192]
itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahü* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahümikü* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is con- 553
ducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the 603
name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the 789
house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather repeatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father 593
accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's [272]
mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to [614]
emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it
grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth [856]
magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

/75 cont./

14 They are certainly not types of beauty, and some, with
732 old age and wrinkles, become frankly ugly. Among the eight or ten thousand individuals we saw, however, none were deformed (12).

12. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 179) in Parí-cachoeira met a midget, about 15 or 18 years old and measuring 107 centimeters in height, playing with the children. His parents, already dead (1903), were of normal stature.

Among the youngest there are even attractive types, and on the
• [847] older ones touches of a serene majesty. It is true that the crippled and the deformed are eliminated at birth (cases that are rare, according to what we found) (13).

13. We know of several cases of crippling. Because of the lack of statistics, we could not say what percentage they represent in the sparse population of these rivers. It seemed to us, however, that they are all consequences of falls while young, or of infantile paralysis.

14 We have thus sketched a Mongoloid type, brachycephalic, lissotrichous, platyrrhinian, slightly prognathic, morphologically mixed, pyknico-athletic, quite close to the norm.

732 /76/ There are somewhat frequent cases of evolutive retardation in early childhood, and even of true rachitis, accompanied at times by mental debility (14).

14. We also regret here the lack of statistical data that would present to us the percentage of pathological cases. We found in Parí-cachoeira in 1957 two female children with rachitis and mental debility, admitted to the hospital. One eight years old from the Desana tribe, and the other, Tukano, 14 years old. Both,

/156 cont./

152 The Indian lacks some of the more delicate feelings, such as that of compassion. He will not only mistreat an animal, laughing at its painful contortions, but even watch with indifference another person's suffering, even if it is his brother, father, or mother (cf. VII - 4, g (1) ).

593 There is no doubt about the existence in the parents, particularly in the mother, of love for their offspring, especially when still in the first childhood. Even then it is a love more effective than affective, diligently learning about the children's health, for whom they procure remedies during illnesses and food. When it is a matter of children already grown, the esteem is contaminated by interest in the services they receive from them. And the grief that they express when the children are absent or die is because they no longer have anyone to bring them fish or cultivate the clearing.

847 Attenuating this presumption in favor of mother love is the use of infanticide, and many times it is the mother herself who wants /157/ and executes it. Moreover, cases in which the mother abandons the children, even though newborn, are known.

593 In the children the correlative feeling is counterbalanced, or perhaps exceeded, by their selfishness. When the parents
889 become old, they easily abandon them, without providing clothing for them any longer, or even giving them medicine, food, or water (27).

[115]

27. Pe. João Marchesi bears witness, with the authority of one who knows the totality of the natives, among whom he has lived for 35 years, and who, because of his heroic charity, cover for all the sacrifices, merited it when General Alexandrino Ferreira da Cunha called him "the Anchieta of the Amazon": -- "Among the elements of the same tribe, who consider themselves brothers, there is a certain outward cordiality and consideration toward someone else's suffering, but neither generosity nor a spontaneous

/157 cont./

593 888 /footnote 27 cont./ offering of help and means; it is a cold and sterile egoism." "The old parents are left abandoned when they do not move from the house of one child to that of another, in order not to be a burden." "Nor can the natural love of the procreators be said to have a firm foundation, because of the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn babies, suffocating them as one would do with any little animal" (in the book Os Tucanos /The Tucano/ by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13).

593 847

593 581 Apropos of matrimony, Pe. Antônio Giacone writes: -- The Indian, not having love and tenderness for the woman, will be satisfied with the one that they give him, no matter whether she is pretty or ugly; it is enough if she is hard-working and gives him many children; if she is sterile, he will repudiate her as a useless thing, because every Indian marries for the sake of having many children" (Os Tucanos, p. 22). He censures the treatment of the old parents on the part of the children as "indifferent and inhuman" (ibidem, p. 26).

593 888

593 758 In November of 1953, on the occasion of our stay in Iauareté, the following episode took place. A young man from Uaracú-ponta (river Uaupés), married a few months earlier, gravely ill with tuberculosis, asked the Director to take him to the Mission hospital. There he had a visit by his wife, who remained in his company for some days. On a second visit, she burst into tears so noisily that the Director advised her that she should restrain herself or move farther away, in order not to add to the suffering of her sick husband. Nevertheless, two days before her husband's death, she wanted to leave for her povoado, taking with her the husband's hammock. And she did so, in spite of his insistent begging that she stay longer and leave his hammock.

/381 cont./

835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

[115]
[797]

103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement.
851 Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrep-
847 ancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

/384 cont./

836 inducing them, not infrequently, to provocation (109)

[832] [515]

109. While bathing, the girls agitate the water, with the hand cupped, from below upwards, with a characteristic noise. The boys respond to this signal by fanning their open hands in front of the chest, one higher than the other, so that they are crossed without meeting, and, since they are almost on the surface of the water, they produce a noise that is heard at a distance of two hundred meters or more. This provocative noise is called Pixtwasé.

*[192]

and invitation to the boys.

832 /385/ Although the old customs state that the bathing of the women precedes that of the men and should be before the break
836 of day, sometimes the Indians are surprised in mixed bathing
[515] during the warm hours of the day.

The young women prepare philters or potions, known by the
*[192] Nheengatú name of Puçanga (in Tukano Ox-kó), which they give
[278] to the young men to drink in order to attract them to them; or, in front of their eyes, they wear or rub on themselves roots and plants to which is attributed an aphrodisiac virtue.

842 The cases of illegitimate pregnancy of maidens are not rare,
• 847 although they know (110)
848

110. We had gathered for the "centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté some plants considered as sterilizing and abortive. While organizing the herbarium, some identifying labels fell off. We called on three maidens, and with the greatest facility, upon seeing the plants, they indicated the name and the purpose, exactly as was stated on the labels.

842 /385 cont./
• 847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach these methods.

The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkákõ (literally it means
848 "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
*[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother (111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkákõ brother.

581 It is considered shameful to have children at once in the
842 first year of marriage, Pe. Humberto Limpens of Acuaricuara,
183 river Paca, informed us. They want children only two or three
[797] years after the marriage, and this is also the interval between children. A demonstration that this is artificial is given by the good Christian mother, alumna of the Mission, with successive children and at once from the first year. One understands the
[462] difficulty of the native mother who, besides the care and nursing of the child, is pressed with the work of the house and of the clearing, if she does not have the help of older daughters.

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582 /387 cont./
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/footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpeis /sic/.)

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papuri) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacurís, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxiri, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

/425 cont./

858 b) The Children.

The natives want children, hence the general fact that all constitute regular families. The fertility of the marriage is an essential condition for its validity. The birth of the first child seals the implicit contract of marriage and stabilizes the marriage, changing wives no longer being possible.

[842] /426/ They desire, however, male and female children alternately; the former are the perpetuators of the group, the latter, besides the work that they will perform, facilitate the marriage of the male children by the exchange process. If three girls are born consecutively, the Indian will blame the wife, thinking that it is her fault (34).

[847] 34. An example was mentioned to us in Teresita, river Papuri, Colombia. At the birth of the fourth child of the female sex, the mother buried it alive. The Missionary asked: "Why did you do that?" -- "Because my husband reviled me."

[797]

As to the number of children, due to the difficulties in raising them (especially because the whole burden falls on the mother), numerous progeny are not found. Six or seven children occur with some frequency (35).

[145] 35. It is to be noted that the girl does not always marry young. And, on the other hand, the type of life ages her precociously, and perhaps her fertility ceases quite prematurely. It was not granted us to verify at which age the menses stop for the woman.

[841] We know, to be sure, that menstruation begins around 14 years of age and that they know and use plants for the regulation of the monthly courses.

/426 cont./

842 The interval, as we have already noted, is regularly two or three years between deliveries.

1) Abortion and infanticide.

• 847

In spite of the fact that they want children, they induce abortion and practice infanticide. When the sterilizing potions have not been enough, they resort to abortion; for this there are the Puçangas, which the woman herself or her mother-in-law prepares. When these are not successful either, the mechanical process is tried, in order to kill the fetus and abort it, going so far as stepping on the belly of the pregnant woman. And if, in spite of this, the unwanted child is born alive, it is eliminated, being buried alive (36).

[115]

36. The Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, with a tirociny of almost 40 years among the tribes of the Uaupés, stigmatizes "the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn children, suffocating them as if it were being done to any little animal" (ap. Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 26).

And as a rule it will be the mother herself who will do it. Perhaps the burial alive indicates a certain feeling, conceiving it as a pleasanter death. In fact they line the grave delicately with banana leaves (37).

[115]

[732]

37. Among the most repugnant is the episode narrated by Pe. Afonso Kuipers, which happened in the povoado of Africa, left bank of the Papúri, Colombia. A child of about eight years of age, deformed with a huge head, was buried standing up; and since the grave was small, the mother stepped on the head, out of the ground, "in order to bury more and not continue crying."

/426 cont./

847 848 There are four regular cases of infanticide: 1st. -- That of the illegitimate child. Such are all those who are born outside of the legitimate conjugal union. The reason is the shame which it gives rise to (38).

38. /This footnote is on p. 427 in the original source./ It does not constitute, however, a matrimonial obstacle for the unwed mother. It is a sign that she does not have "malefice of sterility."

The children can only come from a legitimate marriage. It is a grave insult to tell someone /427/ that he does not have a [829] father. There is one exception: the children of the civilized are in general spared (39).

39. Cases are known in which the child's grandparents were proud because their grandchildren were "children of white."

Objects of the greatest shame are the incestuous children. With the utmost secrecy abortion will be induced or infanticide performed.

562 847 2nd. -- That of the fourth or fifth consecutive child of the same sex. Especially if they are females (40).

40. In March of 1957 a woman, still young, was taken to the hospital of Pari-cachoeira, river Tiquié, in serious condition as a consequence of an abortion. Further investigation showed that it was a matter of criminal abortion, with the expulsion of the fetus in two pieces, with an interval of two days. And the cause was the fear of having a child of female sex, like the two previous ones. We could not find

/427 cont./

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/footnote 40 cont./ out whether some pajé, who foresaw the sex of the child to be born, might have intervened in the case.

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3rd. -- That of twin children. One of the two will be eliminated; usually the second one, unless another reason counsels the contrary. For example, they will preferably eliminate the defective one, or the girl. It seems that the reason for this crime is the difficulty, for the mother, of raising two children simultaneously, with all the work that falls to her; and no other reason of magical or superstitious character (41).

[797]

41. The Missionaries have managed to save and raise some twins, and, when grown, that is, after four or five years, the parents receive them willingly, or rather they demand them.

Patrícia Vasconcelos said that the husband beats the wife when she gives birth to twin children.

[736]

Nevertheless this different way of acting causes surprise: when a child becomes orphaned by losing its mother, it will not be killed, but will pass into the care of another woman. When, on the other hand, it is a matter of twins, no woman will take on the burden of raising one of the newborn children, even when there is some newly lactating mother who has just lost her child (42).

[115]
[231]

42. Pe. Antonio Giacone confirms this, saying that he saw new mothers emptying their breasts, or nursing some little dog, rather than feed someone else's child (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 53).

Even in these cases there does not appear to be any superstitious motive, but only the selfishness of the women and no friendship at all between them. If they take care of the orphan, it is due to the inviolable imposition of the irrevocable customs of the tribe.

[736]

/427 cont./

845 4th. -- That of the defective children. Any noticeable physical defect is fatal to the newborn child. And it can not be
847 believed that it is a matter of a magical reason, but rather, on one hand, the great vanity of the parents, above all of the mother, and, on the other, the thought that it will be a burden to the tribe, which /428/ needs perfect and strong individuals and desires only those. The deaf-mutes escape more easily (as was confirmed) because it is not until much later that they manage to verify their defect.

2) The delivery.

844 The delivery is considered a physiological operation of the woman, like any other, and will not excite attention or care. In spite of the lack of hygiene and of preventive measures, these daughters of Eve seem to have the most normal delivery in the world. Many times they keep on working until that moment (43),

[797]

43. There was related to us by the Salesian lay Brother, the Agronomist Teotônio Ferreira, the case of an Indian woman in S. Gabriel, who worked in the clearing in the morning, bore a child in the afternoon, and on the following day came to resume her work. There are frequent cases in which the Missionaries order them to take a rest and they refuse.

and shortly afterwards they begin their normal working life again.

The men, however, will leave the maloca (or wherever the delivery takes place), perhaps leaving the parturient woman in pain, because it is ordered that they cannot witness it. For this reason, if there are guests in the maloca, the parturient woman will withdraw inside some apartment, if there is any, or they will prepare it in time for this purpose, or else she will leave the maloca in order to give birth in the forest. Just as she must also not have in the place any ax, machete, or any other object of iron or metal.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



561 still needs help is *tcumihinkü* (male) or *tcumihinko* (female); the
192 youngster until puberty is *hwainyó* (male) or *hwainkó* (female); the adult male is *ümü* (male) or *nomyó* (female), and finally, the old people are *bekü* (male) or *bekó* (female).

## BIRTH AND INFANCY

842 The Cubeo believe it is the spermatic fluid (*hürü*) that causes conception. They regard the womb as a ground in which the fetus grows, or is cultivated as seeds are planted in the earth. Since men and women do not discuss together the biology of conception and of
[843] pregnancy, their views differ. Men I spoke to dated conception from the time when the abdomen begins to swell, while women dated it
843 from the cessation of menstruation. Both sexes believe that con-
833 tinued coitus after conception will add to the number of children
842 that will grow in the womb. Stories are told of people who did not heed this so that the woman burst from an accumulation of fetuses. Coitus is stopped, however, by the male reckoning.

842 It is a common view of men that women are not eager to bear
847 children. Women, they say, know how to bring about abortion and frequently resort to infanticide. They explain that women are sexually too ardent and rather than forgo coitus during the long nursing
[833] period they would rather not have a child at all. Moreover, a woman who has not been enjoying sexual intercourse with her husband will abort or kill her offspring. If she chooses infanticide, however, she spares the boy. Women do concede knowledge and use of abortifacients and they acknowledge that others of their sex practice infanticide. They agree that a woman who does not love her husband
842 punishes him by denying him a child. Thus, the Cubeo are disin-
[586] clined to believe in barrenness or in sterility, attributing infertility to female design. A man, therefore, has cause to abandon a wife who bears him no children. One man told that he had abandoned his wife for not bearing children. Later they became reconciled; his wife had a change of heart and began to bear children.

847 Male infanticide, I was assured, was rare, for even the most dis-
[562] affected or self-indulgent woman would not have the heart to kill a male child. Both men and women agreed that a girl was less important. The unwanted child is buried alive, it is said, at the very spot where it was born.

842 The likelihood is very strong, then, that a child is born to a family that desires it, and in which husband and wife are happy with each other. Parturition takes place in the woman's manioc garden. A

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

/384 cont./

836 inducing them, not infrequently, to provocation (109)

[832] [515]

109. While bathing, the girls agitate the water, with the hand cupped, from below upwards, with a characteristic noise. The boys respond to this signal by fanning their open hands in front of the chest, one higher than the other, so that they are crossed without meeting, and, since they are almost on the surface of the water, they produce a noise that is heard at a distance of two hundred meters or more. This provocative noise is called Pixtwasé.

*[192]

and invitation to the boys.

832 /385/ Although the old customs state that the bathing of the
836 women precedes that of the men and should be before the break
[515] of day, sometimes the Indians are surprised in mixed bathing during the warm hours of the day.

*[192] The young women prepare philters or potions, known by the
[278] Nheengatú name of Puçanga (in Tukano Ox-kó), which they give to the young men to drink in order to attract them to them; or, in front of their eyes, they wear or rub on themselves roots and plants to which is attributed an aphrodisiac virtue.

842 The cases of illegitimate pregnancy of maidens are not rare,
847 although they know (110)

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110. We had gathered for the "centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté some plants considered as sterilizing and abortive. While organizing the herbarium, some identifying labels fell off. We called on three maidens, and with the greatest facility, upon seeing the plants, they indicated the name and the purpose, exactly as was stated on the labels.

842 /385 cont./
847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach these methods.

The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkákõ (literally it means
848 "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother (111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkákõ brother.

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/426 cont./

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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The Cubeo are also fond of the
young of animals and treat them with intelligent solicitude. One man 825
built a long platform in his house so that his dogs would not have to sleep on the ground. Men, having shot some monkeys, found an infant clinging to its mother's dead body. They massaged the monkey's breast, saying, "The baby should have the last drop of its mother's milk."

Toilet training is casual. No one who carries a child about shows 863
annoyance or disgust at being soiled. The Cubeo are reticent about excretory functions but they do not teach by chiding. They have no fixed ideas as to when a child should be toilet trained. The only injunctions a crawling baby is likely to hear are warnings against injury, if it is too near the fire or the liquid starch with its poisonous content of prussic acid. Still, it is rare for a walking child to urinate or defecate in the house.

Walking and talking are actively encouraged. To help the child 856
walk the father provides a harness (*taro*) through which the child's legs pass, allowing it to sit, stand, or walk. The harness is often suspended from a beam and serves as a tether for the child. Mother and father stimulate the child to talk by fluttering its lips. Lip fluttering is a game that persists into late childhood. Cubeo parents dread passivity in a child. They want to see it stirring about and restless. It is for this reason that the mother teases her infant, stirring it to anger or gaiety. The story is told that *Kiiwai* once observed a passive child. He said, "The child must be made to move about," and so [773]
created the bothersome pium flies.

The crawling baby is still in its mother's charge. When it has be- 85
gun to walk and to take solid nourishment, and its parents have resumed sexual relations, it is transferred to the care of an older sister. Every little girl from the age of six on is burdened with a walking baby that rides her left hip as it did its mother's. At this age, when it is learning to walk, many people look after the child. Its paternal [603]
grandmother becomes a principal guardian and looks after the child's feeding. After a new baby is born the separation of the young walking child from its mother becomes almost complete. A woman [862]
discourages nursing by coating her nipples with a bitter substance even though a boy has casual and playful access to his mother's breast until about the age of six.

## CHILDHOOD

In the life of a boy there is an interval of some four years when he 855
no longer receives the same close attention from his mother and has

[text continues on p. 177]

# 4

# *The Forest Addicts*

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the ear-plug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run;
whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves
147 in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
302 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
411 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undis-
609 turbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little. When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into
152 the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

249 spend the greater part of the morning collecting the leaves which they pre-
462 pare during the afternoon and evening. It is a serious task and one which each man undertakes with a strange air of concentration. Each coca plant is selectively stripped leaf by leaf before the next one is tackled. The headman carries the basket with him and gradually it fills with handfuls of pale sage-green leaves. The younger men collect the leaves almost reverently in their right hands before emptying them into the basket, their faces serious, their crouched bodies shining in the strong morning sun, their short, clipped speech broken occasionally by a high-pitched laugh.

512 In the distance small ribbons of smoke rise in a misty cloud. The women
244 are just visible, their squat figures crouching among the manioc plants. They
462 can be heard laughing; occasionally a baby cries and the children romp and
85 play among the bright-green manioc plants whose tall spindly branches stretch skywards some six feet, terminating in clusters of long, thin, starlike leaves. With their babies straddled across their backs the women spend the morning cutting out the long potato-like roots from the sandy soil and putting the waste foliage into piles to be burnt. It is hot with the sun streaming down, the fires crackling and the smoke enshrouding the working bodies. There is little time for rest, though a woman will stop to swing her child around and let it suckle her breast; a mother may give a fat yellow beetle grub to her child to eat, having detached the head – a great delicacy, tasting like butter. Soon large baskets are filled with roughly peeled and half-cleaned roots.

512 The sun is high overhead and the men leave for the *maloca* with their basket
[482] full of coca leaves; on top they place large dried leaves from the *yarumo* (Cecropia) trees which grow like weeds in the *chagra*. The women too load their heavy baskets on to their backs, the headbands taking the greater part
[222] of the fifty-pound weight. The whole group hurries through the forest in silence, passing the old *chagra* where the headman's wife leaves the other women to collect pineapples, then down to the stream beneath the *maloca*. At this point comes one of the noisiest and most amusing incidents in their
[515] daily life. Not only the manioc roots are washed in the water but the babies
[85] too; the mothers vigorously shake their large baskets of roots, then stop to splash water over the backs of the children. For a short time there is cacophony, with screaming babies, splashing water, continuous chatter and laughter, and even barking dogs. But soon the stream is left to myriads of white and brimstone-yellow butterflies which circle everlastingly over the sandbanks, and the women, refreshed, their long black hair glistening in the sun, return up the path to the *maloca*.

Tobacco plants are nearly always grown in a little patch directly in front

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*A graceful Tukano canoe.*

000 [see p. 66-A]

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835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

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103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement.
851 Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrep-
847 ancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

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There are, as we have seen (IV -- 2), three groups of tribes, which we call Tukano /Tucano/, Arwake /Arawak/, and Makú /Macu/. The serious obligation is that of exogamy. Once the interdictions that we listed in the Classification of the tribes are observed, however, the woman may be from another tribe of the same group or from another group of tribes. Out of a question of pride, no tribe will marry a Makú, who is considered slave and inferior; /409/ he is not "people," they say (3).

> 3. We know of a few cases of marriage by men of other tribes (Tukano, Tuyuka, Desana, Ipeka) with a Makú woman. None of a Makú man with a woman from another tribe. Among these few cases, that of a young woman, although already orphaned in 1947, a resident of the Tuyuka maloca of the locality of S. Pedro, river Tiquié, whose father was Tukano and the mother, Makú. We were not able to verify whether her mother was a legitimate wife or simply a concubine; or, further, whether she had been born from a casual relationship. We do not know either, under the first hypothesis, for what reasons such a marriage had taken place. Perhaps a lack of women? Or due to a physical defect of the man (it is to be noted that the girl was cross-eyed)? Or because of living among the Makú of the Gí-paraná or Komé-ya (trib. of the Pirá-paraná)?

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If they nevertheless manage to catch some young Makú girl, they might have her as a concubine, along with the legitimate wife. They will avoid, however, having children with the Makú; and if, in spite of this, they do have them (for example, the grandmother of Maria Gama from Urubucuara), they are considered

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legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).

4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Maku, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

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Marriages between Taryana and Desãna do not take place. We do not know the reasons, however; it does not seem to be because of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most noble group, marry Desãna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desãna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

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[601]
Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kõ-Ro. Nor the Pirá-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Mirití, Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor, finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Mirití-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana, Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

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b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy, a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son.

T
*[192]
[601]
It is what is called Põáperi or põápeseri. And the young woman will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mã-ra-põ nỹãkhõ (future husband) or even Põrã-kõ nỹãkhõ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nõ'mõ nyãkho (future wife) or Põrã-ko nỹãkho (future genitress).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patrilocal sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act be- 846
lieved to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, 789
scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press any- 846
thing, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned
home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of [789]
these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is 551
not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given 851
a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child [789]
comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. [856]
To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to
understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much 826
they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in [192]
itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahii* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahimikii* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is con- 553
ducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the 603
name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the 789
house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather re- 593
peatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father
accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's [272]
mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to [614]
emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it
grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth [856]
magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

/281 cont./

i) His social role.

756 626 The pajé represents the highest intellectual level of the native povoado, and, not only that, but he is also the stickler for the observance of the tribal laws. He knows them, teaches them, and demands their fulfillment, being able to punish (34),

> 34. He is, then, the major opponent of the assimilation of our culture on the part of the forest dweller.

with sicknesses, lightning, and, finally, malefices, disrespect toward traditional practices.

756 [852] [844] He presides over all social life, that of the family as well as of the group. When a child is born, the one who will blow on it, exorcise it, and paint it with carajurú /carajura/, in order that it will grow up strong and free from sicknesses, is the pajé; and he will also give the medicines to the woman in labor.

[553] In some tribes the giving of the name is done in the presence of the pajé. Covering the child with smoke with his indispensable cigar, under the inspiration of the moment, he will give or will suggest the name to the father, who is about to choose a name indicated by any circumstance whatsoever, perhaps even an indecent name.

[881] When the girl reaches puberty, the pajé will spend some time with her, giving her timely theoretical and practical instructions about maternity and obligations inherent in it.

At the time of the masculine initiation, it falls to him to teach the young men the traditional legends, their rights and duties as members of the group, the ritual practices, and to verify their ability by means of interrogations, punishments, flagellations, fasts, etc.

He is also the principal instructor of the Komũ (see VII - 2, e (3) ), on whose capacity he will pass judgment, and of whom he will always be the supervisor, gathering them together periodically in assembly and giving them opportune directions for every circumstance.

/294 cont./

*192 4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

302 a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé,
386 known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From
824 the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Õnõñá or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or pariri, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

[881] [755] [756] [852]

and from the Mõ'sã or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

/418 cont./

797 595 These licenses already existed in the historical period, as follows from the first explorers. The great revolt of the year 1757, during which the povoados of Moreira and Thomar were destroyed by the Indians, and that of Barcelos threatened, had its origin in the anger of the Indian Domingos Lamalonga, from whom the Missionary had made a concubine separate (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario /Diary/," n. 553). On the map of his activities, dated from Cururú-cachoeira the first of April of 1853, Frei Gregório de Bene states: -- "It will be very difficult for some time to unite in Holy Matrimony and even to convert these Indians because they live in polygamy and others in concubinage" (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 2, p. 32). Even at the beginning of 595 this century Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 178) testifies that polygamy 622 is a prerogative of the tuxaua and cites the example of José, Tukano tuxaua of Pari-cachoeira, with two wives, one Tuyuka and the other Taryana.

7) Domestic-social position of the woman.

562 During an early contact with the natives of the Uaupés, we were surprised at the position of the woman, seeming to us to be of evident inferiority.

551 /419/ Her name might not even be known (24).

[852] [797] 24. It frequently happens that the Indian man may bring a child to be baptized. When, in order to make the registration, the Padre starts to ask the names and asks what the child's mother is called, the husband will answer: -- "I do not know, ask her."

There is observed in some human groups, for example, those of the river Canaburi (not, however, those of the Uaupés, see below, VIII-1, b (4) ) a prohibition against pronouncing the name of some persons. Some explain this taboo of the name by the "ontological mentality" of the primitives, that is, the name is not something secondary, external, but essential, and is

/428 cont./

844 Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have
[608] invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõã (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koã (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

• [852] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the
[276] pajé or a Komũ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

846 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).

*[192] The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to
[115] take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

844 As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the
[178] Pax-koã, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45).

[123] 45. The tuxaua of the Íde-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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be a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident 524
that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the
game, or ceremony, to me as follows. Some children were left or- 524
phaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their 773
mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days they had become *taintürü* birds. They returned to the house and lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa* but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or 524
any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grünberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahúkiwa*.

## PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood 881
to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are [789]
subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until [856]
they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter. The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. 852
An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this 831
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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[3] She is also known as *nominyaiví* (becoming a woman).

4: Silva--399 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 273 in the original source./

142
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From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the py:)

One of the feminine occupations

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urähana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

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[157] Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the in-
[515] fant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early
[296] afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo
[252] child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and
854 if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I
155 once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow
[853] log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right-hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtu-
[853] ally impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to
[831] make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's
000 genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

4: Silva--18 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 17 in the original source/

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Wanana girls (the younger one has a Taryana mother; the older one, a Kubêwana)

Pirá-tapuya types (from the settlement Patu, Papuri River)

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Newborn Pirá-tapuya child (with the prophylactic painting of carajura)

/292 cont./

515 They are ignorant of the use of handkerchiefs, cleaning the nose with the fingers, which afterwards are rubbed against some part of the body.

[854] The mother, or another woman, with her own hands, attends to the cleaning of her baby, and afterwards, in order to clean herself, is satisfied with shaking her hand to one side and rubbing it on the ground or against some plant.

3. The arts.

157 In the complex of works that the forest dwellers execute, they not only reveal splendid aptitudes, rare ability, and other qualities already mentioned elsewhere, but also particular artistic tendencies which are begging our civilization for more opportunities to develop (47).

[857] 47. With a knife improvised out of a piece of the metallic binding that goes around the crates of merchandise, the child produces canoes, and now even small airplanes, in wood.

The house that he builds, with all its furnishings, -- stools, ceramics, woven goods, canoes, weapons, hunting and fishing gear, baskets, -- reveal, besides the stability and sturdiness required for the purpose for which they are intended, an over-all harmony, a proportion of the parts, a finish in the details, which give a pleasing impression. In all there is revealed a notable artistic sense which should be considered in detail in its threefold manifestation: woven products, designs, music.

a) Woven products.

286 Among the works of weaving, we have already called to mind the nets /Port. rede, net, hammock/ for sleeping and for fishing. But particularly in the rede batida /beaten hammock/ (which seems to be of European origin) and in the puericueio /a covering that hangs from the waist/, Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro (see below - d (1) ), the native woman shows her artistic taste and skill. In the Yaxkẽ

/434 cont./

*192 858 9th. -- After the giving of the name it is Buxtuyágõ or Buxtuyégõ (F. Buxtuyágo, Buxtuyégo, pl. Buxtuyãra, Buxtuyẽra);

10th. -- From six years of age more or less, until the initiation, it is Wi'mãgõ (F. Wi'mãgõ, pl. Wi'mãrá);

11th. -- From the time of the puberty initiation, the boy is called Ma'mã, and the maiden, Nõ'myó (this should not be confused with nũ'myó, woman);

12th. -- In order to indicate that it is already beginning to fill out in body, they use the expressions Nĩrí-bũxkõ or Nĩní-bõxkõ for the young man, Nĩrí-bũxkõõ for the maiden (pl. M. and F. nĩrí-bũxkõrá).

6) Education of the children.

• 854 Throughout early childhood the children of both sexes are in the mother's care. The baby will go from the hammock to the maternal arms, or of an older sister, and will sleep in the same hammock with its mother. The latter will give it her milk, later mingau of flour or of banana.

She takes her child to the bath in the morning, later to the clearing, where it will remain lying in a small hammock in the shade of a tree, or of some branch stuck in the ground, or under the eyes of some little sister, while the mother works.

Sun, rain, baths, insect bites, all will contribute toward enriching the delicate complexion and habituating that organism to resistance.

*[192] Returning home, with an aturá /carrying basket/ filled with mandioca roots on her back, the mother will carry her child against her chest, with the help of a wide embira hanging from her neck (it is the process that is called sã-wõã), or riding on her hip, sã-rẽã.

/479 cont./

512 [515] [854] *[192] or in small groups of two or three, ordinarily a child riding on her hip and with a vessel on her head, in the direction of the river. Or, more precisely, at point of the river called Pextá, landing place, with suitably prepared access, where the canoes are tied. There they take their quick morning bath, Wa-wa'kãse, of immersion, rubbing the hand quickly over the body, face, and hair. The same is done by the smaller children who accompany them; and they take the opportunity, moreover, to bathe the suckling infants, whom they have left on the bank. Afterwards they fill [312] the vessels with water and, putting them on their heads, go up with the water to the maloca. Then they prepare the morning meal.

[521] [515] /480/ The men and the boys continue to lie down for an hour more or less, conversing from hammock to hammock and, still before six o'clock, go for their bath. Then the mats that closed the two doors of the maloca are lifted.

*[192] [264] The pots of Byá-tõ (it is the quinhapira or sauce of fish broth with pepper) or of Yumũ-ku (mingau) of tapioca, and the baskets in the shape of sieves, heaped high with Ahũ-a (beijú), are put on small mats on the floor. -- "Baãra a'tyã," come to eat, is the invitation by the woman. Those of the male sex place themselves in a circle, squatting, and, starting with the chief, eat heartily, amidst conversation and noisy laughter.

The rule of civility is to serve oneself slowly and to eat without voracity. This, besides, is greatly in agreement with the whole attitude of the Indian, normally calm and serene. The women are in charge of the serving, bringing whatever there is, as it becomes necessary. There are no eating implements: one breaks off a piece of beijú with the hand, dips it in the quinhapira, and carries it to the mouth. The mingau is drunk (1)

*[192] 1. To drink is the expression that they use, although this is not very appropriate, because it is more or less thick. -- "Yumũ-ku sĩrỹãti? Did you drink mingau?"

/480 cont./

512 with the beijú or in small cuias, like a spoon. At the end, the
*[192] woman presents a large cuia with Ñõxká (manicuera /drink made
[264] out of manioc juice/) or the Po'ká peosé (the chibé /manioc flour and water/ of generalized use on the Amazon). Like our coffee, they thus ordinarily end their meals with the indispensable chibé, of which as much as is wanted is taken, the cuia then being passed to the neighbor on the right. Finally the women and children simultaneously take their food.

The noisy exodus for work starts: it might perhaps be seven or eight o'clock. The men and women leave in groups. The former for the forest, for hunting, to procure textile fibers, wood for building, or to search for fruits, or for the river, with the proper equipment for fishing or in order to prepare the traps.

*[192] The women with the older daughters and the children (small
[241] ones) go to the clearing, taking the Pi'ĩ (aturá), hanging from the forehead on the back, in order to carry mandioca and firewood. In order to reach the field they almost always have to take the canoe, and for this reason they leave with oars of different sizes, some quite small for the children. Some old or sick person (many times nobody) will stay as guard of the deserted and silent maloca.

[462] The work will last until after eleven o'clock. Around one
[854] o'clock the maloca starts to become animated again. The women arrive with their aturás filled with mandioca and, on top, bundles of firewood: the smaller children on their hips or held in front of the chest, and others holding on to their skirt. They are perspiring, with the face flushed, if they did not /481/ touch it with carajurú /carajura/, as a precaution, in order not to suffer so much from the heat of the sun. Little by little the men also begin to arrive with the results of their labor: fruits, fish, game, or fibers and timber.

Another bath will come, with its freshness, to renew their well-being. The woman will grill the fish or the game, will prepare fresh, tasty beijú, the quinhapira, the mingau, some insect,
*[192] and the chibé. Soon will come the "Baãra a'tyá" and the afternoon meal.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
[844] Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[854] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
241 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[270] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[245] cultivated trees – orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*), pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihi*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[177] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahukiwa* and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1909, he observed that the upriver communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 82). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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843 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed.
826 Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating.
[302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to an-
[763] other, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* — the term for the genipa pigment — will die very soon.

844 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca
854 on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers)
302 she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red
[789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment,
[856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on
[603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these
[606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

846 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the
[262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others
[372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop
[828] a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédã*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urãhana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

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[157]

Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the infant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

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An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtually impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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Fig. 8 *Bahukiwa* mother and child

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*Xudjiko* and her consort, the mourning by the primordial ancestors; and the sib units, the solidarity of the phratry in expressing both grief and anger. The dramatizations and mimetic dances present a variety of minor themes, such as menace and hilarity. If one looks at the *oyne* as a whole, however, and follows the sequence of events from their slow and solemn beginning to their conclusion in a simulated sexual orgy and then in a real one, a single main theme emerges, and that is the sexual interplay between men and women. By contrast to the sexual emphasis, the ritual of dealing with the spirit of the deceased seems almost minor and anticlimactic. It is only at the very end, when most guests have departed, that the ghost is dispatched. The climax of the first part of the *oyne* is ritual coitus, just as the climax of the second part is sexual license. We can therefore describe the *oyne* in terms of ritualized sexual sequence.

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Fig. 11. Mourning ceremony, women's entrance.

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*192 2) Equipment for the ipadú and the caapí

415 a) To prepare the ipadú (cf. VI -- 4, 1 (3) /see 4, 1 (4)/), the Indian, besides a pot with a wide mouth, pátu axtõrí-tõ, and a small mortar, pa-inõ-a, in the usual fashion, needs bags and a long tube, patu pa:põ. The bags are obtained from the tururí (cf. VI -- 3).

b) For the kaxpí there becomes necessary a wooden tub, kaxpí pa-inõ-a (see VI -- 2, b (7) ), in which the cipo is pounded, and a vessel, kaxpí-tõ (see 2, a (1) ), in which the juice is collected and diluted with water.

• 855 3) Macurú. When the child starts to steady itself on its legs, they use a very practical process to entertain it and at the same time to teach it the first steps. It consists of a hoop which is obtained from a thick cipó wound several turns and tied to a beam. The child will stand inside the hoop, which reaches the height of its chest. A very flexible and soft embira, tied to the hoop, passes between the legs of the child, who thus remains as though riding a horse and can sit on the embira when it feels tired. Nowadays it is very common to find a piece of cloth instead of the primitive embira. This apparatus, which in the Lingua Geral is called macurú, and in Tukano bahari be'tó, is secured to one of the roof beams by a cipo and reaches a distance from the ground that allows the child to touch it with the feet and to try its first steps.

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[192] Macuhú (baharí-be'tó)

Outside of this apparatus they do not know another for the children, who either remain abandoned on the ground or will ride on the hips of their own mother or older sister (38).

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. . . It is always the women who carry the children. Due to the influence of the civilized, one can see today a father carrying his own child in his arms, but for a short time, while the mother is carrying some other load. In the house one never sees an Indian man holding a child, and even less lulling one to sleep.

when they are not in the arms or in the hammock.

*192 534 /Mīrī cont./

Mīrī is probably from the same root as mīrī, which means drowned, immersed, hidden under the water (44).

> 44. We were not able to learn of any sign of special veneration toward the water of the rivers. Nevertheless it is in the water that they hide the sacred instruments, an indication, so it seems to us, of their original matriarchalism. Just as the human being comes from the maternal liquid, so does Wāx-tī appear for the feast, coming from the water, represented by the instrument Mīrī. According to legend, the first human beings came from the water of the cachoeira of Ipanure. We have observed, besides, that while bathing the natives immerse themselves a few times. Likewise when our oarsmen jump out of the canoe in order to drag it across the rocks, they also immerse themselves, even when there would be no need for it. When they swim, we have noticed that they prefer to do it with the face immersed in the water.

[481]

778 Hence the concept of occult, sacred. We have heard talk of objects that were mīria, that is, occult, mysterious.

276 778 Tobacco is a magic substance. As a matter of fact, it is one of the principal and most used curing methods of the paje. The smoke from the cigar can neutralize the malefices, drive away the storms, or attract them to a certain place, has an exorcising force in births and puberty initiation. For this reason it is even given to children three or four years old to smoke, at the feasts as well as outside of them.

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855 191 Being always in the company of its own mother, the child will learn her language first (52).

> 52. It is true that the boys will soon follow the father and will forget the maternal tongue. The mother herself, after having been married for some time, will perhaps speak only the idiom of the inhabitants of the maloca. For this reason the children will rarely know the maternal idiom. We have verified that, at most, they know only some words of it.

if the mother has not yet learned the idiom of her husband. The 866 boys, as soon as they have grown to about five years of age, free themselves from maternal care and will preferably follow the father /435/ hunting or fishing, or remain playing in groups in the forest, in the search for fruits, or around the rivers, swimming and fishing.

The girls, on the contrary, continue at the side and under the vigilancy of the mother herself (53).

[797]

> 53. One Missionary noted that for the girl, used to being at the side of her own mother all the time, the life of the student living in the Mission school is very difficult, whereas the boys adapt more easily, without thinking of returning home.

helping her, according to their capacity, in her tasks. They go with the mother to the clearing, pull mandioca roots, return with their load of mandioca or firewood, or carrying some younger brother or sister, take care of the children, and even help in the preparation of the food.

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421 more possessive with objects of personal adornment. While the former objects circulate most freely within the sib, the latter tend to circulate more among blood siblings. Consonant with this attitude of casualness is an almost total lack of anxiety about loss of property. An improperly secured canoe drifts away and the owner makes no immediate effort to retrieve it. It will come to rest somewhere downstream, he reasons, where a sib or phratry mate will secure it or even bring it back. Children have access to cherished possessions of their 421 parents and when there is damage or loss it is considered improper 855 to scold. The young son of the *Bak kiwa* headman asked for a prized clasp knife. The father, reluctantly to be sure, gave the child the knife. The next day the child had lost it in the river and the father accepted his loss without comment.

421 On one occasion a visitor from an upriver sib rose to leave, after having spent most of the day in amiable talk, and in a most casual voice said, "I will take my spear with me." A young man then went to his quarters and fetched the spear, which the visitor took as he departed. The young man explained that he had been at this man's house during a drinking party. He saw the spear and admired it and [685] took it home without saying anything about it. Theft to the Cubeo is not a matter of purloining an object. It is entirely a matter of attitude. They ask, in a manner of speaking: Is the taking of an object an act of friendship or of hostility?

## INHERITANCE

241 423 Land, as already mentioned, is not an important issue in inheritance, mainly because the question of who has prepared a clearing for whom is too vital a matter for the Cubeo. A woman would find it unsettling to work land that a man not of the proper relationship had prepared. Daughters, of course, will work the land of a dead mother as they had worked with her when she was alive. Some per- 428 sonal objects are buried with the deceased; others, such as a woman's [422] pots and a man's fishing gear, are destroyed. Some property, however, [764] is inherited. Sons inherit from the father, daughters from the mother. Valuable and important objects go in inheritance, minor objects are destroyed, and symbolic objects are buried with the dead. The right to bequeath an object within the family is fully recognized. Ceremonial objects confer status and must go to the proper heir. I [587] learned of no irregularities or disputes in the inheritance of cere- [431] monial regalia. A man's gun and machete are valuable items and go to [593] the son, but if the widow should remarry it is proper for the son to

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The Cubeo are also fond of the young of animals and treat them with intelligent solicitude. One man built a long platform in his house so that his dogs would not have to sleep on the ground. Men, having shot some monkeys, found an infant clinging to its mother's dead body. They massaged the monkey's breast, saying, "The baby should have the last drop of its mother's milk." 825

Toilet training is casual. No one who carries a child about shows annoyance or disgust at being soiled. The Cubeo are reticent about excretory functions but they do not teach by chiding. They have no fixed ideas as to when a child should be toilet trained. The only injunctions a crawling baby is likely to hear are warnings against injury, if it is too near the fire or the liquid starch with its poisonous content of prussic acid. Still, it is rare for a walking child to urinate or defecate in the house. 863

Walking and talking are actively encouraged. To help the child walk the father provides a harness (*taro*) through which the child's legs pass, allowing it to sit, stand, or walk. The harness is often suspended from a beam and serves as a tether for the child. Mother and father stimulate the child to talk by fluttering its lips. Lip fluttering is a game that persists into late childhood. Cubeo parents dread passivity in a child. They want to see it stirring about and restless. It is for this reason that the mother teases her infant, stirring it to anger or gaiety. The story is told that *Kuwai* once observed a passive child. He said, "The child must be made to move about," and so created the bothersome piums. 856 [773]

The crawling baby is still in its mother's charge. When it has begun to walk and to take solid nourishment, and its parents have resumed sexual relations, it is transferred to the care of an older sister. Every little girl from the age of six on is burdened with a walking baby that rides her left hip as it did its mother's. At this age, when it is learning to walk, many people look after the child. Its paternal grandmother becomes a principal guardian and looks after the child's feeding. After a new baby is born the separation of the young walking child from its mother becomes almost complete. A woman discourages nursing by coating her nipples with a bitter substance even though a boy has casual and playful access to his mother's breast until about the age of six. 85 [603] [862]

## CHILDHOOD

In the life of a boy there is an interval of some four years when he no longer receives the same close attention from his mother and has 855

[text continues on p. 177]

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not yet joined the male play pack. By the time he is old enough for active play he has been well weaned from dependence upon the mother. In the case of a girl, this "dead" interval is one in which she waits to be useful to her mother. I saw no temper tantrums. Children of this age seem rather passive and steadfastly attached to the little sister.

For the boy, growth means a gain in autonomy, for the girl it means closer ties to the mother but with ever increased chores. The boy is the favorite of his mother; the girl, who is to become a drudge, receives more severe attention from a disciplinarian mother. [562]

What I have called the play pack, the grouping of boys from the age of six to past adolescence, is the major educational institution of the sib. It is in a sense an age grade whose members remain closely associated throughout their lives in most cases. The distinctive feature of the Cubeo play pack is that it is an autonomous body subject to virtually no regulation or supervision. A boy occasionally joins his father, but his primary linkage is to the "pack." The pack forms its own leadership, forages for food, plays in the river, roams the bush, attaches itself from time to time to the collective activities of the men, practices songs and dances in anticipation of ceremonies, and spies and reports on lovers. The pack leader assumes responsibility for proper behavior, scolding boys for wayward sexual behavior, that is, breaching the incest rules, and lending assistance and encouragement with skills. The boys are never mischievous and are never scolded or disciplined by adults. A youngster does not actually understand anger directed against him. Only once did I see a father strike his young son in a fit of temper. The boy neither flinched nor cowered. He merely stared at his father as though waiting for an explanation. The man rapidly regained his poise, laughed, and pretended he had struck the boy playfully. On another occasion, a little girl tipped over a large tray of manioc mash so that it was totally spoiled. Although the accident cost hours of work it provoked only amused laughter. One might add here that even the depredations of a pet monkey, some of which were quite costly, were met only with amusement. 857 [614] [593] [231]

The pack is not sealed off from adult activities, but its relationship to adult work is voluntary. The Cubeo distinguish sharply between play that is appropriate to young boys and work and ceremonial life that is appropriate to adult males. Thus, whatever work the play pack chooses to help with is welcomed, but when the boys become bored with a task and leave it there is no ground for complaint against them. The young unmarried men who have left the

721 many other people lived there. We were told by Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his neighbour. Villages were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were killed to the accompaniment of war-songs and clubs which the Indians still have [illegible] the [illegible] used to stir the *chicha* and the [illegible] plate; hands and feet were a delicacy and the [illegible] were taken by the head-man's wife to create brave offspring. [illegible] and the orgy continued until the can-[illegible] had [illegible] *chicha* had run dry.

727

Such a description of a [illegible] would not fit the Indian who lives in the Paraguayan today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the [illegible] we saw in their midst. We found the Indian's day measured by a [illegible] [178]

512 Slowly the great hours come to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *malocas* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-[illegible] door and [illegible] like a portcullis, then saunters [illegible] the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the maloca, [illegible] gathering light as they prepare [illegible] coca, [illegible] down to the river to bathe.

[264] The men [illegible] on their haunches on the low [illegible] without any ceremony consume their breakfast of cassava [illegible] meat, fish and probably some leftovers from the previous [illegible] The women, who have [illegible] the large manioc baskets and leave [illegible] they grow their crops. The baskets are [illegible] across the forehead; they hold their babies [illegible] down awkwardly – the Indian [illegible] along beside them, some [illegible] holding the hands of the mothers, others playing. A few of [illegible] the river [illegible] and some of the men go off in [illegible] to collect coca leaves from their [illegible]

[262]

[482]

[855]
[857]
[226]

249 The Paraguayan has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the [illegible] strongholds of the drug [illegible] Amazonia. Carrying more than their small coca pouches [illegible] the baskets for the leaves [illegible] the head-man, go down to [illegible] and washing themselves before they climb [illegible] Their move along a path through the thick vegetation of an [illegible] forest. Above [illegible] *ucuquira* palm

[850 cont.

925 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, ʃxse, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must
[784] abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the
[192] smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus
[856] he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papuri, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

*[192] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they
[304] are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so
[224] that they will become mõ'sĩgẽ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that
[226] is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

Yuká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one
*[192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã-wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

[856] They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes
[752] on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú
[843] and piraíbira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

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Without a proper sib name, a child will not grow, the Cubeo say. Growth is an attribute of the Ancients. The giving of a name is one of the ways in which the growth magic of the Ancients is utilized. These names from the sib genealogies are not used freely, the Indians preferring to use Christian names and to address one another by a kinship term.[9]

The sib has permanence and it has continuity with the past. The "history" of each sib is known and is recited at all major ceremonial occasions.[9] In narrating sib "history," distinctions are drawn between original sibs, later comers, and the newest-formed sibs. Since ancientness is honorific and the Cubeo have a sentiment of egalitarianism, these distinctions are underplayed. But when people have been drinking and quarreling the matter of ancestry will be brought up.

The tradition of phratric organization is that all its member sibs are kin. Tradition holds, too, that once all sibs of the same phratry were united under a single headman. But this tradition may refer to the scheme of sib rank and the acknowledgment of the leading sib as the "head" rather than to an actual political organization. On the other hand, since there is little doubt but that tribal organization in this region of the Amazon is highly fluid, with smaller segments forming new enlarged formations and enlarged formations breaking up again into smaller and relatively more stable sib segments, the tradition of the phratry as a political unit cannot be dismissed.

The Cubeo distinguish between *kwinaiwü* (one kin) and *ahiwetema* (they are not ours) in referring to their own phratry and to an opposite phratry. In the past, there may have been at least four phratries, since the traditions speak of one group of sibs as having amalgamated with another. Previously these two groups had intermarried, it is averred. According to one version of the origin myth the sibs of a phratry are all descended from a single water anaconda called *Pwénte aiñku* (Anaconda person), who divided himself into segments, the head becoming the leading sib of the phratry, and each subsequent segment forming the remainder of the sib hierarchy. A variant version states that pairs of anacondas emerged from a crevice among the rocks of a rapids, shed their skins, and formed a brother-sister pair. Subsequently, the sisters married out and the brothers took wives from people they met in their wanderings. The first pair to emerge were the head sib, and they gave names to all that followed

lapsed, out of simple neglect. Also to be considered in this connection is the common Cubeo view that the life of past generations was more severe than it is today.

[9] The text of the *Bahukiaw* "history" follows the sib list in this chapter.

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

301 302 554 [186] [856] [437]

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehenewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

554 292 237 [285] [427] [622] [422] [614]

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating. The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to another, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers) she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment, gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grunberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians. 846

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kuridju*) by painting its body with genipa. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow. [789] [856]

The arrival of an infant to the maloca is a period of grave crisis. It is the principal responsibility of the men of the maloca to dispel the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *couvade* – the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chanting away its dangers with appropriate spells. The grandmother paints the infant with genipa. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbilical cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant. 846 789 [604] [622] [756] [757] [837]

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly troublesome feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its distinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the 846 789 262

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act be- 846
lieved to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, 789
scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press any- 846
thing, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating; pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of [789]
these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled, the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is 551
not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given 851
a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child [789]
comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. [856]
To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much 826
they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in [192]
itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahu* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahumiku* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone bino*: giving a name) is con- 553
ducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the 603
name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the 789
house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather re- 593
peatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's [272]
mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to [614]
emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth [856]
magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihi*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "I make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urahana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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The Cubeo are also fond of the
young of animals and treat them with intelligent solicitude. One man 825
built a long platform in his house so that his dogs would not have to sleep on the ground. Men, having shot some monkeys, found an infant clinging to its mother's dead body. They massaged the monkey's breast, saying, "The baby should have the last drop of its mother's milk."

Toilet training is casual. No one who carries a child about shows 863
annoyance or disgust at being soiled. The Cubeo are reticent about excretory functions but they do not teach by chiding. They have no fixed ideas as to when a child should be toilet trained. The only injunctions a crawling baby is likely to hear are warnings against injury, if it is too near the fire or the liquid starch with its poisonous content of prussic acid. Still, it is rare for a walking child to urinate or defecate in the house.

Walking and talking are actively encouraged. To help the child 856
walk the father provides a harness (*taro*) through which the child's legs pass, allowing it to sit, stand, or walk. The harness is often suspended from a beam and serves as a tether for the child. Mother and father stimulate the child to talk by fluttering its lips. Lip fluttering is a game that persists into late childhood. Cubeo parents dread passivity in a child. They want to see it stirring about and restless. It is for this reason that the mother teases her infant, stirring it to anger or gaiety. The story is told that *Kinai* once observed a passive child. He said, "The child must be made to move about," and so [773]
created the bothersome plum flies.

The crawling baby is still in its mother's charge. When it has begun to walk and to take solid nourishment, and its parents have resumed sexual relations, it is transferred to the care of an older sister. Every little girl from the age of six on is burdened with a walking baby that rides her left hip as it did its mother's. At this age, when 85
it is learning to walk, many people look after the child. Its paternal [603]
grandmother becomes a principal guardian and looks after the child's feeding. After a new baby is born the separation of the young walking child from its mother becomes almost complete. A woman [862]
discourages nursing by coating her nipples with a bitter substance even though a boy has casual and playful access to his mother's breast until about the age of six.

## CHILDHOOD

In the life of a boy there is an interval of some four years when he 855
no longer receives the same close attention from his mother and has

[text continues on p. 177]

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be a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident 524
that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the
game, or ceremony, to me as follows: Some children were left or- 524
phaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their 773
mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days they had become *taintiru* birds. They returned to the house and lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa* but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or 524
any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grunberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahukiwa*.

## PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood 881
to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are [784]
subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until [856]
they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter. The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. 852
An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this 831
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the Ancients. In the naming and in the mourning ceremonies specific ancestors are invoked by name and by specific kinship reference, as the mother or the grandmother of the sib. In the case of postnatal connubial bathing the ancestors are not invoked either by name or by spell; the bathers merely participate in their magical presence in the river. Some cult activities are secret, others are not. The rule of secrecy applies to the flutes and trumpets. These bear the names of ancestors and may not be seen by women. However, whenever these instruments appear, a specific ceremonial role is assigned to the women. In the whipping rites, which are also initiation rites for boys, the women receive gifts of fruits and berries in the name of the Ancients. In the mourning rites the ancestor trumpets sound their notes of grief, to which the women respond with wailing of their own. That is, when the Ancients enter the malloca they naturally establish a relationship with the women of the house. On the other hand, when the Ancients' blessings are invoked, but without the ancestral presence, the women have no part in the proceedings. The women are ignored during the naming ceremony and during the recitation of the sib mythology. Basically, the ancestral cult belongs to the men. When the boys are shown the hiding place of the flutes and trumpets and are taught their names they are being initiated into a male cult and are drawn fully, thereby, into their roles as siblings. The social function of the initiation is twofold: to complete the separation of the boy from his mother and align him with his father and his father's brothers, and to draw him from the immaturity of the play pack into the mature company of men. We may speak of these rites, therefore, as *rites de passage* as well, bearing in mind, however, that the passage is a long and gradual one. The Cubeo emphasis with respect to the development of the male is not that he suddenly crosses a dividing line from boyhood to manhood, but that he grows. The magic of the initiation ceremony is a magic of growth. Growth magic, it will be recalled, occurs at three stages in a boy's development: at birth, after a year when he receives his name, and then for a series of years after he has entered the play pack.

For a fuller understanding of the Cubeo cult of *Bekûpaoman* one would need to know more about corresponding ceremonies among neighboring tribes. Curiously, no other ancestral cult has been reported for the entire Northwest Amazon. Koch-Grünberg, whose knowledge of the tribes of the region extended over many years, did not mention any ancestral doctrines even though he had lived for several months with the *Hehéneawa* on the Cuduiari. But like others who have studied this region his investigations were surely led astray

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769
peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the 796
origin traditions. 184

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One 769
man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a 796
horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another 178
gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the 866
region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

789
Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through 856
adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective during the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplementary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

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# 11

## *Religion*

The religion of the Cubeo has no gods and therefore no worship. 771
Anthropomorphic beings are plentiful in the form of forest monsters, 776
fish, beasts, birds, insects, not to mention the *Bekûpwánwa* and 787
*Kúwar* the transformer. But the Cubeo do not approach these beings
and spirits in a supplicatory mood. They establish, rather, a mode of
communication, of intercourse, with them, in the course of which spe-
cific results, the warding off of dangers, and the positive benefits of
body growth and sib growth are expected to follow. Religious atti- 771
tude must almost inevitably be modeled upon the experiences of re- 571
lations among people. In Cubeo social life, as we have seen, one
neither commands nor submits. People enter willingly into a rela-
tionship that will accomplish a specific end. A social relationship
among the Cubeo, as we have repeatedly noted, demands a specific
atmosphere of feelings, sentiments, emotions. To the Cubeo nothing
of consequence can result from an act divorced from its proper mood.
In precisely the same way, the Cubeo seek to establish a relationship [787]
with a supernatural being.

The Ancients, to recapitulate what has already been described in 771
another context, join the people in drinking, dancing, smoking, and 769
chewing coca. They come to whip the boys and men to make them [856]
grow and to give them potency and force in the initiation rites. They
are bathed with in growth "magic." As *Xudpíko* and *Xudpikü* they [765]
come to mourn for the sib dead. In the mourning ceremony they are [614]
invoked by name only and do not appear. The invocation chant, how-

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband. 592 571 [593] [606]

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack. 571 561

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart. 571 572

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their 571 614 615 621 571 621 [622] 856 [769] [553]

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/148 cont./

The school children show some inclination and skill for the manual arts: the girl prefers the work in the field and also appreciates embroidery and sewing.

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He is also endowed with his talents as a worker. The skill, which we have already pointed out and will point out (see ch. V /see Ch. VI/), the perfection, and the relative speed in the kind of jobs that he traditionally performs are the best proofs.

The necessity to live forces him, for his part, also to face great difficulties in order to conquer nature. It is enough to imagine the sacrifices imposed by the cutting for a clearing, with the means formerly at his disposal. His endurance, for example, for rowing, is worthy of consideration. For other jobs, such as agriculture or digging the ground, he is weak. Although the work rhythm is not intense, but rather is always with the calm that is characteristic of him, and he has better nourishment than in his home, after two weeks the Indian begins to weaken and not infrequently to lose weight; and after two or three months he must be excused for holidays and rest (13).

13. Besides the danger of malaria in the lower Rio Negro, this weakening of the Indian, especially when he lacks his customary foods, condemn the process (that some are already exploring and others, ignoring the circumstances, recommend) of making use of the native hand in the extraction of the piassava, the Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," the name of several trees (and their fruit), including the Brazil nut/, or borracha. We think that such jobs can be, or rather must be, performed only by the caboclos, who already have physical endurance and a psychic disposition different from that of the natives.

/246 cont./

*192 241 After the operation of burning or the coivara, one proceeds with a rough cleaning, o'asé, removing to the sides one or another trunk and branch that might be on the ground.

[462] Now begins the planting, which is reserved for the women, that is, the wife assisted by her daughters or women who live with her. Since this work might take a long time, if the clearing is very far from the house the man builds there a small hut or papirí, in Tukano wi'ykã-pama. This is four stakes supporting a straw covering. His family will stay there during the cleaning and the planting. This is done, even today, in the simplest way, called wexsé bu'bé, with the help of the digging stick; that is, after a rainfall, when the ground is still soft, a hole is made in the ground with a pointed stick (more rarely, today, with a digging iron), sérí-phĩ, a maniva (branch of manioc) is introduced obliquely, and a small heap of earth is piled up around it.

Nowadays, they plant in their clearings besides mandioca, joints of cane (saccharum officinale), shoots of the banana tree (Musa), of caras /Dioscorea/, of sweet potato (hypomoea batata), of pineapple (ananas satíva), seeds of papaya (papáya cárica). Ordinarily they do not plant all the cleared area at only one time, but in two stages or two clearings a year, in the two proper times; it is what they call dexkó bu'besé, half a planting. The planting is done in disorder, the /247/ shoots very close together and without a passage. For this reason, and also because of the impoverishment of the soil, the return is always scanty. Ordinarily they do not pull up mandioca for flour until after a year. The weeds that grow are pulled out by hand, taã kuresé, by the women. The woman will spend several hours a day in the clearing with her children and, upon returning, will carry on her back an aturá of mandioca, a bundle of wood for the fire, and a child or two hanging on at her waist.

[462] [857]

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/Illustrations facing p. 219 in the original source./

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From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the pot)

One of the feminine occupations

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853

/282 cont./

515 They are ignorant of the use of handkerchiefs, cleaning the nose with the fingers, which afterwards are rubbed against some part of the body.

[854] The mother, or another woman, with her own hands, attends to the cleaning of her baby, and afterwards, in order to clean herself, is satisfied with shaking her hand to one side and rubbing it on the ground or against some plant.

8. The arts.

157 In the complex of works that the forest dwellers execute, they not only reveal splendid aptitudes, rare ability, and other qualities already mentioned elsewhere, but also particular artistic tendencies which are begging our civilization for more opportunities to develop (47).

[857] 46. With a knife improvised out of a piece of the metallic binding that goes around the crates of merchandise, the child produces canoes, and now even small airplanes, in wood.

The house that he builds, with all its furnishings, -- stools, ceramics, woven goods, canoes, weapons, hunting and fishing gear, baskets, -- reveal, besides the stability and sturdiness required for the purpose for which they are intended, an over-all harmony, a proportion of the parts, a finish in the details, which give a pleasing impression. In all there is revealed a notable artistic sense which should be considered in detail in its threefold manifestation: woven products, designs, music.

a) Woven products.

286 Among the works of weaving, we have already called to mind the nets /Port. rede, net, hammock/ for sleeping and for fishing. But particularly in the rede batida /beaten hammock/ (which seems to be of European origin) and in the puericueio /a covering that hangs from the waist/, Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro (see below - d (1) ), the native woman shows her artistic taste and skill. In the Yaxkẽ

/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is
the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or carico, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale,
as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture
it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto
/countersong/ to the other.

They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this
533 reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs,
even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly
enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly
[177] appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very
[194] many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of
[147] the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice
has little elasticity (54).

54. The voice has so little elasticity that
perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give
a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and
[562] dances the men never sing; the women do it
infrequently, for example, when they work in
the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however,
that the men's songs are religious hymns, where-
as those of the women are bacchic compositions
that they render when they distribute the drink.
Among the alumni, and especially among the
[797] alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a
greater elasticity, and one hears humming more
frequently. This, however, is usually the
religious or secular songs learned at school.

/421 cont./.

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
[601]

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[175] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
562
756
[124]

> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

627 /466 cont./
[623] or fear. The tuxaua, nevertheless, frequently acted as an arbiter, reprimanding the guilty ones, threatening them, imposing on them restitution of the object stolen or an indemnity, and, as maximum punishment, expelling the undesirables from the maloca; always, however, in accordance with the Komũã components of the
[681] Bũxkõrã-kura. They have never known the penalty of prison /467/ or corporal punishment. It should be kept in mind that with their type of life, and with the native mentality, innumerable cases that fill our penal codes do not arise."

g) Associations.

797 In the Mission schools it is observed that, although the various
• 857 tribes with representatives among the school children live together in friendly fashion, the groups of each tribe readily separate in order to play among themselves. A Religious Superior of the Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora (Salesian Sisters), with more than 25 years (198)

198. A similar statement was given by the Superior of the newly founded Salesian Mission of Assunção among the Arwake of the Içana, located in the place known as Carará-poço, in August of 1957, therefore after only five months of the functioning of the local girls' boarding school.

of residence among those tribes, informed us that there was always a girl with ascendancy over the rest, a true "tuxaua," whose orders the others obeyed promptly, although transgressing school regulations and the orders of the Irmãs Superioras /Superior Sisters/; and they brought to this classmate the gifts received. Such deference, however, did not seem to be the fruit of friendship, but of fear. The Indian girl, who hardly cries, did it when admonished

/467 cont./

797 by this companion, whose rebuke (104)

857

> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father," and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief."

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

575 We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

562 1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and
796 of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in the feasts of Wãx-tĩ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

623 2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkõrãkurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

756 3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult

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342 The headman is
[592] responsible for the morale of the house. He is aware that its architec-
[622] tural features contribute positively to morale.

The larger the maloca the more comfortable it is. It is cooler, less smoky, freer of insects, and, offering more space per inhabitant than smaller houses, it presents a more orderly appearance. In my observations along the river I have found the smaller malocas to be less tidy than the larger ones.

342 A sib center, unless it is in a state of perilous social disintegration,
614 will have a large maloca with some 12 compartments. Such a maloca
[615] provides minimum accommodations for dances and for ceremonies that will draw upon all or a large part of the phratry. Since higher-ranking sibs entertain more than do lower-ranking sibs they must
342 have larger malocas. Thus, size of maloca tends to correlate with the
614 social standing of the sib. The small maloca is an open acknowledg-
621 ment of social inferiority. The Satellites all have small malocas hous-
554 ing from four to six families. Such a community may be economically
[592] self sufficient, but it is socially and ritually underprivileged. It can attend ceremonies but is unprepared to carry out ceremonies on the proper phratric scale.

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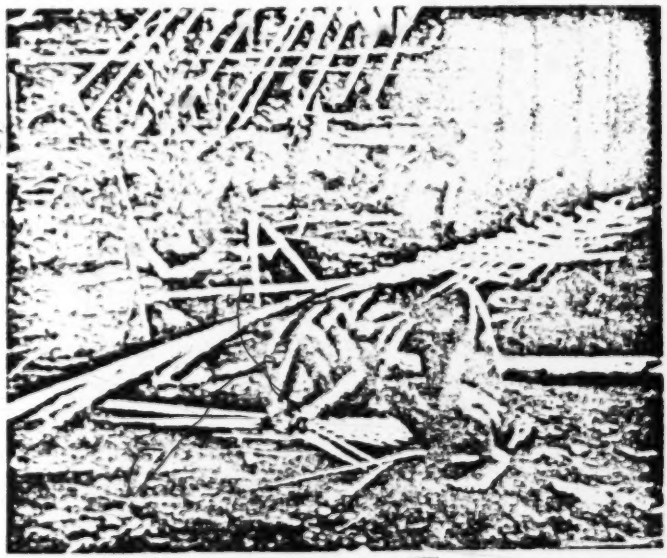

Fig. 8. Children helping in housebuilding.

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501 516 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a broader bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been over- [461] come the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oarsman's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the 501 canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a 461 long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spontaneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!" 501 On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about 517 two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying [123] some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why didn't you shoot them?"

501 462 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys, [857] each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of balance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

502 All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the [823] canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided because of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline. Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push. High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest. 502

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed. 501 501 505 [422] [622] [422] [427]

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman alone in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk when he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry. 501 562 [422] [481] [422] [558]

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared. 396 501 [857] [415] [252] [273] [531] [178]

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will 501 504 [685]

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226 nor do all the men fish on the same day. A man who has had no luck one day temporarily loses interest in fishing. He turns to other activities, perhaps to hunting or to making household implements, or he may do nothing. As the season begins to taper off one fisherman after another gives up. The last to stop is the most successful. The Cubeo believe that a dispirited fisherman will catch nothing anyway. [261] When all have stopped fishing the community hungers. After about a week of poor meals the women nag, but the men do not move until 226 they have received a sign. The sign usually comes from the young 857 male play pack. When the men have retired to the maloca to sulk, the youngsters turn their play fully toward the river. They take out canoes, and they set lines along the shore. For this they win immediate praise from the women, who say, "Look, the boys can catch fish but the men cannot." The boys patrol the river. One sights a school of fish and rushes into the house shouting, "The fish are coming." The men run to the bank to see. Then with great hilarity and good-natured pummeling of the boys they take to their canoes and the fishing cycle resumes.

226 Periodically, the routine of individual fishing is interrupted by organized collective fishing parties. The organizer is often the headman, but any man who has a plan will enlist a party. Summer is the season for fishing parties, when fish can be trapped in a shallow pool and stupefied with fish poison. Fishing parties are festive and noisy. The young play pack attends them, and the catch, which may be large, is collective. Each fisherman secures his own catch. When the party returns they distribute the total catch to all households. The [183] distribution, according to an important Cubeo principle, is personal and never anonymous or generalized.

Fishing a shallow pond requires equipment and preparation. One man locates the place and asks his fellows to join him in fishing it. Several, or all, contribute sections of splint fencing that forms the weir. One party undertakes to put up the weir while another manages to gather and prepare fish poison. The men, as always, work efficiently together with a minimum of formal direction. Most have been members of a common play pack so that teamwork is automatic. Each household head has brought his own canoe into which he loads his "own" catch. Some shoot with bow and arrow, others use a dip net, and some thrash about seizing the dulled fish with their hands. Such fishing is never solemn. The men joke, they address each fish, and when they have tired of the sport they stop. A man may take secret pride in his individual catch, but he is expected to behave as though he were lampooning rivalry.

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592 554 [433] providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 241 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*ryamu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*karaiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaiwiyo*, *waiwari*, *moa*, *pudyu*, *kaneka*, and *kabeka*. In addition there are sugar cane (*karamene*), pineapple, (*thibo*), banana (*dyaeye*), plantain (*one*), pupunha (*ene*), gourd (*horobe*), calabash [273] (*dahiowa*), coca (*pati*), tobacco (*bute*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one [272] drinks coffee, and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [621] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [857] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I 235 believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [262] [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner.

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264 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahúkwa* to pay a
574 courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to
123 eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahúkwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may
758 explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack
571 fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest
866 for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This
[857] attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in
183 leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good
571 part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances
431 of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice, one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy
[123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

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614 although they understood the *Órabawa* usage very well. The *Pedikwa*
[554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiari that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kenánikauwú* are a subsib of the *Pedikwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piarawa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grunberg's information that since they call themselves *Olá-Piarawa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Órabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahúktwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior.
571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship
[622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac-
[857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come
[614] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves
[796] at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere-
[622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance,
562 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of cere-
796 mony women take precedence according to the order of precedence of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a
[622] headman has a position vis a vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substi-
[593] tute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to
[614] the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial
[553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brothe
561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring
584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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not yet joined the male play pack. By the time he is old enough for active play he has been well weaned from dependence upon the mother. In the case of a girl, this "dead" interval is one in which she waits to be useful to her mother. I saw no temper tantrums. Children of this age seem rather passive and steadfastly attached to the little sister.

For the boy, growth means a gain in autonomy, for the girl it means closer ties to the mother but with ever increased chores. The boy is the favorite of his mother; the girl, who is to become a drudge, receives more severe attention from a disciplinarian mother. [562]

What I have called the play pack, the grouping of boys from the age of six to past adolescence, is the major educational institution of the sib. It is in a sense an age grade whose members remain closely associated throughout their lives in most cases. The distinctive feature of the Cubeo play pack is that it is an autonomous body subject to virtually no regulation or supervision. A boy occasionally joins his father, but his primary linkage is to the "pack." The pack forms its own leadership, forages for food, plays in the river, roams the bush, attaches itself from time to time to the collective activities of the men, practices songs and dances in anticipation of ceremonies, and spies and reports on lovers. The pack leader assumes responsibility for proper behavior, scolding boys for wayward sexual behavior, that is, breaching the incest rules, and lending assistance and encouragement with skills. The boys are never mischievous and are never scolded or disciplined by adults. A youngster does not actually understand anger directed against him. Only once did I see a father strike his young son in a fit of temper. The boy neither flinched nor cowered. He merely stared at his father as though waiting for an explanation. The man rapidly regained his poise, laughed, and pretended he had struck the boy playfully. On another occasion, a little girl tipped over a large tray of manioc mash so that it was totally spoiled. Although the accident cost hours of work it provoked only amused laughter. One might add here that even the depredations of a pet monkey, some of which were quite costly, were met only with amusement. 857 [614] [593] [231]

The pack is not sealed off from adult activities, but its relationship to adult work is voluntary. The Cubeo distinguish sharply between play that is appropriate to young boys and work and ceremonial life that is appropriate to adult males. Thus, whatever work the play pack chooses to help with is welcomed, but when the boys become bored with a task and leave it there is no ground for complaint against them. The young unmarried men who have left the

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857 [883] The young unmarried men who have left the play pack are a link between the pack and the circle of adults. The older men take no notice of the pack as a group at all. After dark each boy returns to his own household.

The life of the boy is largely collective, that of the girl is individualized. She is bound, so to speak, to the household hearth, and her social or play life corresponds rather closely to that of her mother. Girls have no independent games of their own. They assemble with their infant charges for gossip, looking rather sedate as they admire one another's ornaments. They are not free to mix with the boys unless invited to take part in games. Such games as they join often have a mythological reference and may be interpreted, I think, as children's ceremonies.

524 The Northwest Amazon is rather rich in children's games and toys. Among the *Bahükiwa* a popular children's game is that of the *abühuwa*, the forest ogres or demons, and the tem tem bird, the *taintürü*. Boys and girls, including the smallest toddlers, form a circle around a child, who is always a grown boy. The circle is of the *abühuwa*, who have surrounded the *taintürü*. When the game starts the "bird" is crouched in the center, his head resting on his knees, and the circle is dancing around him. From time to time a boy enters the circle to tap the "bird" on the head and to pinch his flesh to determine if he is grown enough to be eaten. Then the children stop circling and several raise the *taintürü* to his feet, who announces that he is now awake by stopping his ears with his fingers and calling out *hru hru hru*. The *abühuwa* link hands and again dance around him in a circle. The "bird" must now make an effort to break out. He can easily break out by charging at a weak link. But this he will not do because it would be disheartening to a very little child, who must be part of the game but not a spoiler of the game. As he hurls himself at the line the "bird" hears two kinds of encouragement. One group calls to the line *paré paré* (strength! strength!), encouraging it to hold, another calls at the boy *temüdjo temüdjo* (break through! break through! [as an arrow from a bow]). When the boy breaks through he is called back to the circle where he again frees himself, this time by verbal means. Standing in the center he turns suddenly upon a child in the line and points to part of the child's body. The child must immediately reply, "The [naming the part] of the *abühuku*." What usually confuses the child is the necessity of saying "of the *abühuku*." When a number of children have failed to answer properly the child who is the *taintürü* breaks through the line once more and a new "bird" is chosen.

This game is played only on cool pleasant evenings and seems to

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769 taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters
796 went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca
[614] counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him
[222] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits
[857] and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konha*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door.
[273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konha* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and
[276] had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konha*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Bueü* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Bueü* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch *(haráiuu)* that he had picked at the water's edge.* The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

[614] *Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *haráthume* (*haráí*: to strike; *-ume*: bitter, unpleasant).

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The sexual play between men and women begins when the first visiting women arrive and try to paw through the rear entrance of the maloca. The rear door has been removed and the opening barred by poles set in an × over which the women must climb. The Dung beetles, armed with wooden staffs, "guard" the entrance by thrusting at the women as they climb in. The women are burdened with great baskets containing household utensils. Many carry a nursing baby in a sling across the hip, with a walking child clutching the skirt. A woman can make no dignified entrance. Prodded by the Dung beetles she tumbles into the house, clutching her infant, her skirts flying, her utensils scattered. She laughs with excitement, recognizing her fall as a burlesque of the rough play that initiates sexual courtship. At this moment the men are being solemnly and decorously received at the front door. However, after having been tumbled into the house the women reassemble outside, the bars are removed, and they, too, are received in the conventional manner by the host women. They then settle themselves along the left wall of the women's section.

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The second molestation of the women comes at nightfall, when little boys rush in among them with a bark *dupu* (a lizard which supposedly makes the women squeamish) suspended along a sturdy rope. They invite the little girls to join them in a tug of war. The little girls act shy so the boys first play of tug of war among themselves, arranging to fall among the girls. Emboldened, the girls seize the *dupu* and join the tug of war. Another group of boys also bearing a *dupu* enters and engages more girls in a tug of war. The purpose of the *dupu* is to generate excitement among the women. The boys fall upon the little girls, who shriek with laughter and mock alarm while their mothers dodge the thrashing bodies artfully.

The youngsters are followed by an older group of Minnows, not masked, who swarm in noisily, stomping and whistling, dancing close among the women and jostling them. Finally, all the masked dancers, the adult males, enter. The air clouds with dust, and the women's section resounds to the shrieks of laughter, to song, and to the thump of dancing feet and the dry clatter of rattles. Young boys who are sent to sprinkle the floor with moist chicha mash, to settle the dust, pelt one another, and "accidentally" the women, with balls of mash. Throwing chicha mash is, for the Cubeo, a common form of flirtation. Ordinarily the woman throws at a lover. Children do not ordinarily play this game. Thus, the incongruity of being hit with mash thrown by little boys amuses the women enormously. It is the guest women who are flirtatiously singled out at this time. The host

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765 The host
831 women stand apart on their side of the house and serve chicha to
786 the Minnows.

The males leave and the excitement of the women subsides.
765 Through the night, however, the men come to dance among the
831 women. The fence that divides the house into a male and female
786 half is also an emotional dividing line. Dances form on the male
535 side, where they are solemn and subdued. When they pass to the women's side, the dancers are excited. When they go back they revert to calm. It is tempting to interpret the movement of the masked dancers – who look phallic – through the overlapping slit in the wall as symbolizing coitus, particularly since with almost each passage the level of excitement is heightened.

The excitement of the Minnows is allowed to subside in a calm interval. *Máwayo* (the red-mouthed aracú), and *U* (sloth) do a slow dance, holding long poles with a crook at one end which they suspend from a roof beam and upon which they swing. The Sloth always falls. He lies on the ground kicking a leg and making feeble gestures of arising, only to fall again. But *Máwayo* is slow and graceful and swings gently on his pole. The Sloth arises, and the dancers cross poles and gracefully dance out.

[532] They are all followed by the Minnows. Each Minnow now carries a long pole that is joined to all the others by a string from which dangles a carved wooden bird. They do a circle dance with the bird in the center. As they circle, stamping strongly to accent the beat on the right foot, they jostle the women, moving in upon them to enclose them in the circle. The Jaguars now rush in, wilder than ever,
• (857) leaping about among the women and falling upon them. They are followed by the boys with the *dúpu* on its string. The boys ensnare the young girls in the *dúpu* string. Now two masked dancers come in with long flaming broomsticks. They dash about among the women, swinging the flaming fibers among them. The women scatter in noisy panic, kicking over baskets and dishes. The attack by flame excites the Jaguars as well, and they whirl around among the women in sheer frenzy. As they flee this new menace, the women say, "The jaguars are angry. They will soon attack people." The Jaguars, how-
[534] ever, are no menace to the men. One climbs on top of the partition and blows noisily into his jug horn, and another climbs a roof beam overlooking the women, both in a simulated attack upon them.

The Jaguars withdraw, and the next entrance is again a quiet one. Two Spiders, slowly and gracefully holding a long string from the middle of which hangs a feather, dance toward one another, winding up the string until they are face to face at the feather and

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535 recognizing the symbolic distinction between an alligator and a
536 jaguar, do not throw it back at the men. Then the Jaguars kill a deer, who is represented by a masked dancer. The Jaguars dance wildly about their "victim," blowing loudly into their jugs. The victim writhes and falls agonizingly to the ground, kicking up a leg, moving an arm, and then lying inert. Other dancers, his "comrades," come to look at him. They lift his arm and it falls back. They lift his leg and it falls back. They sniff his body and murmur *ttt tttt*. Now the Carrion vultures come, with their short staffs held against the back of the neck. They dance about the victim singing the jaguar song. They buzz about the victim and bend down and kiss him. The Jaguars also kill *Pampámibo* (a frog), and the procedure is repeated.

This dramatization of the modes of violent death – the killing of the alligator, the lustful adulterer, the killing of the jaguar, the dread killer himself, and the killing of the weaker and defenseless game animals – restores the mood to one of sobriety. The dance of the Carrion vultures has a note of pathos that is not lost on the women.

765 When these sequences are done there is an intermission. The boys
831 busy themselves with the fabrication of great bark cloth penises.
[535] The phallic dance that is to follow is known as the "dance of the
[857] potent penises" and is under the jurisdiction of the young men. As they complete the penises, the boys begin a sexual play with them, thrusting at one another in a hilarious burlesque of coitus. It is all play; in a spirit of gaiety and with much noise.

768 During this interval of male sexual play, that takes place in the men's part of the house, the women on their side are mourning in the conventional fashion, arms about one another's neck, faces together, crouching in a mournful circle.

765 On this, the third day, the women's section is not entered again by
535 the men until late in the afternoon. Then the entire corps of masked
831 dancers dances in, each man carrying a sprig of leaves with which
786 he beats the women, centering attention on the elderly. Some strike with such force as to make the women scream with pain. Others brush a woman's shoulder lightly. They then dance into the men's section and whip the hosts, but perfunctorily, since the real interest is in the women, from whom they should draw blood. The Jaguars enter briefly among the women. They leave and all the masked dancers – the *nowánparatowü* (potent penises) – come in. Each holds a bark-cloth phallus before him with both hands. The dancers thrust at the older women, some doing so very mildly, and others, the younger men, forcing the phalluses between a woman's legs. The women again shriek at their daughters to escape. As before, the girls

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner.

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks.

The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion.

The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women – the sexually most desirable – are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of

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571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
[578] Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a com-
[182] plex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen together. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo
• [857] culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken -- and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the preva-
578 lence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordi-
831 narily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship?
537 Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
[562] discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

578 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less
571 natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a
837 sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo
593 acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
[562] status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional
[554] cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry

*Tukano*

721 many more [illegible] Wa[illegible] Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his
727 neighbour. Villages were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were sacrificed to the *ayahuasca* with wooden clubs which the Indians still have [illegible] tortures used to stir the *chicha* and [illegible] into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the [illegible] were given to the Indian wives to ensure brave offspring. [illegible] continued until the can[illegible] and the *chicha* had run dry.

[illegible] would not fit the Indian
[178] [illegible] and certainly bears no resemblance to the [illegible] We found the Indian's day measured by a [illegible]

512 [illegible] the great house remains [illegible] Smouldering fires are stirred into a [illegible] the *malocas* is always the [illegible] A [illegible] young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm[illegible] like a portcullis, then saunters [illegible] women move at the far end [illegible] gathering light as they prepare [illegible] go down to the river to bathe.

[264] [illegible] on their hammocks on the low
[262] [illegible] ceremony consume their [illegible] and probably some leftovers from [illegible] The women, who have [illegible] large manioc baskets and leave
[482] [illegible] grow their crops. The baskets [illegible] across the forehead, they hold their [illegible] almost awkwardly. The Indian [illegible] Dogs run along beside them, some [illegible] others, others playing. A few of
[855] [illegible] fish, and some of the men go off in
[857] [illegible] coca leaves from their
[226] [illegible]

249 [illegible] and today the [illegible] of the drug [illegible] pouches [illegible] go down to [illegible] before they climb [illegible] the thick vegetation of an [illegible] banana or *papuña* palm

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The visitors deposit the offering on banana leaves or mats or baskets, displayed in the center of the maloca. Perhaps there is still more of the offering at the landing place; they go to fetch it and make their delivery.

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The women and children who have arrived gather at the back, where those of the maloca are already.

Once the offering is finished, and the shouts and music have stopped, those from outside, starting with their tuxáua, greet individually those of the maloca, /343/ starting with the first one in line, who will, naturally, be the local tuxáua. They are the common and formalistic greetings: -- "Did you come?" -- "I came!" "Did you come to the feast?" -- "I came." -- "Did you bring the offering (fish or the name of the fruit)?" -- "I brought." He goes on to greet in the same way the second man in the line and thus all the rest. All the visitors, in the order of their reception, imitate the first one. All, however, with much gravity. As they finish greeting those of the maloca, the guests are arranging themselves in a long line, according to their importance, on the right side, in front of those of the maloca, from the main door to the back.

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Two or more men of the maloca distribute a cuia /shell from the Crescentia cujete/ of caxiri to each guest. After all have drank, they sit down, and the women of the maloca come to greet the men at some distance and without giving them their hands. If the women are from the tribe of the guests, these greetings are in the dialect of their own tribe and not in that of the husband.

The chief of the maloca speaks in a loud voice to his own wife (one of the indications of the matriarchalism): "They came to bring the offering (fish, fruit), you give thanks." She, with two women, goes to the center of the maloca and says -- "You brought with so much trouble fish (pupunha) for us. We have prepared a little caxiri in a hurry." Then the visiting chief answers them: -- "You may eat at will. The fishing (or the harvest) was small, but we have brought it with good will."

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796 Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some
534 men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the
*778 landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kãsé.
[192] /354/ The women and children who came to the feast,
[562] barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut them-
• [358] selves in (63),

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63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩriá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

796 The guests then go toward that local landing place to which
534 the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women,
778 submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The
562 sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female
688 sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with
[278] poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ.
*[192] Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

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Indian playing the mĩrĩ (murupari)

534 Always playing the mĩrĩã, the men surround the maloca
562 where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by
778 the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door.
796 Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play
858 the mĩrĩã. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances. Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during the dances.

796 /355 cont./
562 Then the doors of the maloca are opened, and the women
• 859 and children come back to it, and the feast and the ritual banquet take place as was seen above.

785 /356/ Before the dances, the flagellation of the boys who
562 have not participated in the procession proceeds. They beat with
796 a reed or with inga bark. One of the men takes the child by the legs, another by the arms, and the leader of the dances applies some strokes on his back and belly. They explain that it is to make them grow fast, and for this reason they also stretch the child during the flagellation.

The flagellation of the men will be done without interrupting the dances. Each one, standing up, receives three blows on
*[192] the back and then, as retribution, gives them to his neighbor. The instrument for this flagellation is the adabí, in Tukano wã'sõ-rĩ; it is a stick almost two meters long, but the ligneous part was extracted from its upper end, and it thus became very flexible (66).

[184] 66. Among the Wanãna and Kubewana the
[178] adabis are well made, and because of this they are kept for similar circumstances. In the other tribes nowadays any stick is used for the flagellation. They assured us that sometimes they even omit the flagellation. It seems to us that they might really do so, at least when some civilized is present. The Kubẽwana of Ambaíba (river Querarí) showed us how they customarily applied the flagellation. In order for the blows to be more violent, the flagellator swings two or three times before delivering the blow. Some of the ones flagellated, as if they were boasting of their advantage, showed us deep scars from the flagellation that they had endured.

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b) The Children.

The natives want children, hence the general fact that all constitute regular families. The fertility of the marriage is an essential condition for its validity. The birth of the first child seals the implicit contract of marriage and stabilizes the marriage, changing wives no longer being possible.

[842] /426/ They desire, however, male and female children alternately; the former are the perpetuators of the group, the latter, besides the work that they will perform, facilitate the marriage of the male children by the exchange process. If three girls are born consecutively, the Indian will blame the wife, thinking that it is her fault (34).

[847] 34. An example was mentioned to us in Teresita, river Papuri, Colombia. At the birth of the fourth child of the female sex, the mother buried it alive. The Missionary asked: "Why did you do that?" -- "Because my husband reviled me."

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As to the number of children, due to the difficulties in raising them (especially because the whole burden falls on the mother), numerous progeny are not found. Six or seven children occur with some frequency (35).

35. It is to be noted that the girl does not always marry young. And, on the other hand, the type of life ages her precociously, and perhaps her fertility ceases quite prematurely. It was not granted us to verify at which age the menses stop for the woman. We know, to be sure, that menstruation begins around 14 years of age and that they know and use plants for the regulation of the monthly courses.

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5) Designation of the children according to age.

The nomenclature that they use to designate the child varies according to its development:

1st. -- Until the day of the giving of the name, it is called õõ;

2nd. -- Maní, it seems, is a term used in some places, equivalent to baby;

3rd. -- During the first months, in view of the fact that the baby has a lighter and reddish skin, they call it Soãgõãkã, that is, little red one (Fem. Soãgõãkã; pl. Sõará:kã);

4th. -- When its little body is already a little steadier, so that it can already remain seated on the lap, held in the arm, or leaned against the shoulder, they call it Duhigõ (F. Duhigó, pl. Duhĩrá) (which means "one who sits down") or Dõxpõ-peógõ (F. Dõxpõ-peógo, pl. Dõxpo-peõra), that is, "leaning on the shoulder";

5th. -- It is called Bõagõ or Bũagõ (F. Bũagó or Böagó, pl. Bũãrá or Bõãra), when it is already creeping (from böa, to creep); that is, "the one creeping";

6th. -- When it already begins to steady itself on its legs, they call it Nũ'kũgõ (F. nũ'kũgõ, pl. Nũ'kũrá), that is, "the one who is standing up" (from nũ'kũ, to be standing up);

/434/ 7th. -- When it is already walking, they call it, for this very reason, Syagõ or Sihyagõ (F. Syagó or Sihyagó, pl. Saãrã or Sihyãrá), that is, "the one walking" (from sihyá, to walk);

8th. -- Around two or three years old it is called Bũxkõãkã or Bõxkõãkã (F. Bũxkõoãkã or Bõxkõoakã, pl. Bũxkõrãkã or Bõxkõras kã), that is, "grown a little" (from bõxkõã, to grow), or Bũxkõ-põ, pl. Bũxkõrã-põ;

/434 cont./

*192 9th. -- After the giving of the name it is Buxtuyágõ or
• 858 Buxtuyégõ (F. Buxtuyágo, Buxtuyégo, pl. Buxtuyãra, Buxtuyẽra);

10th. -- From six years of age more or less, until the initiation, it is Wi'mãgõ (F. Wi'mãgõ, pl. Wi'mãrá);

11th. -- From the time of the puberty initiation, the boy is called Ma'mã, and the maiden, Nõ'myó (this should not be confused with nũ'myó, woman);

12th. -- In order to indicate that it is already beginning to fill out in body, they use the expressions Nĩrí-bũxkõ or Nĩní-bõxkõ for the young man, Nĩrí-bũxkõõ for the maiden (pl. M. and F. nĩrí-bũxkõrá).

6) Education of the children.

854 Throughout early childhood the children of both sexes are in the mother's care. The baby will go from the hammock to the maternal arms, or of an older sister, and will sleep in the same hammock with its mother. The latter will give it her milk, later mingau of flour or of banana.

She takes her child to the bath in the morning, later to the clearing, where it will remain lying in a small hammock in the shade of a tree, or of some branch stuck in the ground, or under the eyes of some little sister, while the mother works.

Sun, rain, baths, insect bites, all will contribute toward enriching the delicate complexion and habituating that organism to resistance.

*[192] Returning home, with an aturá /carrying basket/ filled with mandioca roots on her back, the mother will carry her child against her chest, with the help of a wide embira hanging from her neck (it is the process that is called sã-wõá), or riding on her hip, sã-rẽá.

/435 cont./

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Infants also own property and their rights are more or less respected. 858
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The Cubeo are also fond of the
young of animals and treat them with intelligent solicitude. One man 825
built a long platform in his house so that his dogs would not have to sleep on the ground. Men, having shot some monkeys, found an infant clinging to its mother's dead body. They massaged the monkey's breast, saying, "The baby should have the last drop of its mother's milk."

Toilet training is casual. No one who carries a child about shows 863
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Walking and talking are actively encouraged. To help the child 856
walk the father provides a harness (*taro*) through which the child's legs pass, allowing it to sit, stand, or walk. The harness is often suspended from a beam and serves as a tether for the child. Mother and father stimulate the child to talk by fluttering its lips. Lip fluttering is a game that persists into late childhood. Cubeo parents dread passivity in a child. They want to see it stirring about and restless. It is for this reason that the mother teases her infant, stirring it to anger or gaiety. The story is told that *Kinuai* once observed a passive child. He said, "The child must be made to move about," and so [773]
created the bothersome plum flies.

The crawling baby is still in its mother's charge. When it has be- 85
gun to walk and to take solid nourishment, and its parents have resumed sexual relations, it is transferred to the care of an older sister. Every little girl from the age of six on is burdened with a walking baby that rides her left hip as it did its mother's. At this age, when it is learning to walk, many people look after the child. Its paternal [603]
grandmother becomes a principal guardian and looks after the child's feeding. After a new baby is born the separation of the young walking child from its mother becomes almost complete. A woman [862]
discourages nursing by coating her nipples with a bitter substance even though a boy has casual and playful access to his mother's breast until about the age of six.

## CHILDHOOD

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[text continues on p. 177]

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[text continues on p. 177]

/388 cont./

• 864

d) Sexual education.

With regard to this subject, the precocity of the children, especially of the female sex, is remarkable. It surprises us to see how individuals who on the outside still look like children are subjected to the rite of the puberty initiation (see photo).

How much they appear to know is an even greater surprise. Children still quite young know perfectly all the mystery of life, like any adult.

[797] [581] The girls enter the mission schools at seven or eight years of age, and at this age they not infrequently reveal full knowledge of this subject. Sometimes the thought that already absorbs and preoccupies them is that of marriage, a Missionary Sister Superior revealed to us. They talk of that often, and perhaps they might already even know whom they are going to marry, according to the customs of the tribe and the desires of the parents.

The school of this discipline -- is the maloca with its regime of life, where there are no partitions between the families, where all the licentiousness takes place before the eyes of all and thus the intimate life of each one is known by all. According to the information obtained, the mother herself will give explanations to the daughters and will teach them the sterilizing and abortive resources.

[276] [593] For example, in the intimacy of the malocas or huts during the warm hours of the day, destitute of any clothing at all, the husband will not infrequently amuse himself by blowing the smoke from his cigar over his wife's body. We say he amuses himself, because he does it amidst noisy laughter, as we were able to hear, without excluding the fact that they admit some magic virtue in this rite.

831 The nudity, especially along with the dirtiness, appears somewhat repugnant. Besides, the psychological axiom "ab assuétis non fit pássio" /passion does not arise from what one is accustomed to/ is quite true. And so the influence of the nudity seems somewhat attenuated.

/434 cont./

855 Being always in the company of its own mother, the child
191 will learn her language first (52).

> 52. It is true that the boys will soon follow the father and will forget the maternal tongue. The mother herself, after having been married for some time, will perhaps speak only the idiom of the inhabitants of the maloca. For this reason the children will rarely know the maternal idiom. We have verified that, at most, they know only some words of it.

if the mother has not yet learned the idiom of her husband. The
866 boys, as soon as they have grown to about five years of age, free themselves from maternal care and will preferably follow the father /435/ hunting or fishing, or remain playing in groups in the forest, in the search for fruits, or around the rivers, swimming and fishing.

The girls, on the contrary, continue at the side and under the vigilancy of the mother herself (53).

[797]

> 53. One Missionary noted that for the girl, used to being at the side of her own mother all the time, the life of the student living in the Mission school is very difficult, whereas the boys adapt more easily, without thinking of returning home.

helping her, according to their capacity, in her tasks. They go with the mother to the clearing, pull mandioca roots, return with their load of mandioca or firewood, or carrying some younger brother or sister, take care of the children, and even help in the preparation of the food.

/435 cont./

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/435 cont./

866 They act as they please. They do not listen to the requests that the parents direct to them. They do not perform the tasks requested. The slightest whims of the child (56)

> 56. The child is the one who decides whether he is going to board in the school, whether he will not return the following year, whether he wants to leave during the course of the year, etc. The parents do or say nothing concerning these decisions.

are considered. From an early age they officially smoke and drink the fermented drinks at the caxirís. With such independence one might foresee the development of rebellious and quarrelsome-types, which, in fact, does not happen. This is because, counterbalancing the spirit of autonomy, there is that of absolute adherence to the disciplinary laws of the tribe, a spirit that is developed with /436/ the beliefs and becomes firmly established through the example of the elders and the ceremonial practices.

Actually there is no school or official instruction, except for the "course of puberty initiation." The maloca, however, with its habitual life or the extraordinary one of the feasts, is a practical and social school in everything.

562 868 The daughter takes a "course in the domestic profession" at the side of her mother, watching her work, helping her, receiving her corrections. Upon reaching nubile age, she will be perfectly prepared to organize and supervise the new home, whereas a contemporary of hers among the civilized would manage this with difficulty. [797] At present, in the educational establishments of the Missions, they not only attend a real "course in home economics," but some even become skilled at tasks that are specialties of another tribe (57).

> 57. These tasks, however, which are outside the primitive pattern of the tribe, constitute knowledge that the mother either will not

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264 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahúkiwa* to pay a
574 courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to
123 eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahúkiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may
758 explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack
571 fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest
• 866 for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This
[857] attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in
183 leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good
571 part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances
431 of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice; one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy
[123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

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769
peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the 796
origin traditions. 184

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One 769
man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a 796
horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another 178
gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. Men use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the 866
region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through 789
adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned 856
bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective during the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplementary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is 524
to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also 824
favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously 515
shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

## *Lower Tukano*

[illegible] 614

A headman is used, mostly for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the [illegible] when it is necessary to move. He also controls [illegible] 592 622

[illegible] 756 [766]

[illegible] 163

[illegible] 844

[illegible] 847

[illegible] 845

[illegible] 866

[illegible] 841

[illegible] 844 171

[illegible] 796 [562]

/448 cont./

562
881
[302]
[608]

/footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus, "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

"the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a great deal; the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, pirámirim), ant, mexkã (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beijú of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

[262]
[192]

She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cuia with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /bouto/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

[756]
[867]

562 /448 cont.
381 work rapidly -- to return home at once" (79).
[756]
[867]
[177]

79. These recommendations against the piraboto, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tincuam and those of the Jurupari of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uaupés" of the author).

[756] Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin
[869] of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his
[833] cigar, pronouncing at the same time a long and unintelligible exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the pajé Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the nihĩ-koró, which is inverted. But ordinarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the pajé, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoá, as the several informants of the Uaupés stated.

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615 the *Bahúkiwa* that intermarriage is possible. The *Bahúkiwa*, for their
614 part, deny this. I could obtain, however, no record of a marriage between the *Bahúkiwa* and *Hehénewa*. I am inclined to attribute such discrepancies to considerations of prestige. The high-ranking *Hehénewa* emphasize distance, the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa*, closeness, between their respective sibs.

615 The Cubeo phratry is particularly interesting because of its hier-
614 archical organization. Ranked sibs suggest a hierarchical social structure and hence a political organization of some complexity. Neither,
554 as we have already observed, is actually present among the Cubeo. Insofar as I could determine, the leading sibs of a phratry had no
[301] actual jurisdiction over any of the lower-ranking sibs, nor was there any formal way in which the rank order of sibs was expressed other than by listing, and by some prestige privileges that allowed only the high-ranking sibs, up to and including the *Hehénewa*, to wear the quartz cylinder pendant on their breasts. Among the low-ranking *Bahúkiwa* no one possessed the jaguar-tooth or the armadillo-vertebrae girdles either.

The hierarchy of sibs is consistent with a kinship stress upon seniority of birth that distinguishes older and younger siblings, but it seems at variance with a very strong feeling for equality, with the absence of deferential behavior, and with other marked symbols of social status. There are, nevertheless, intimations of rivalries within the phratry among sib headmen, in which one accuses the others of
[177] seeking power over the phratry. White influence may be responsible for this, since the authorities hope to be able to deal with a single chief rather than with each small sib. Even so, it may well be that
[721] the groundwork for phratric leadership has been laid down by the hierarchical organization. We do have a tradition that the *Hehénewa* once made an unsuccessful military effort to establish political au-
614 thority over the entire Cuduiari.

The character of the Cubeo sib is such that it is a moot point
[613] whether we are dealing with a true patrilineal sib or with a patrilineage. From the Cubeo point of view, the descent group has lineage features. It is small, it is generally localized, its members have the strongest feelings of kinship identification, and they claim not merely descent from a common ancestor but they produce genealogies to establish such a connection. At some time during the year, an old
[867] man gathers all the young males, from the age of six on, together in the evening and each night for a month teaches them the sib genealogy. The genealogies, however, begin from the past and never actually connect with the present. The interest of the Cubeo in present

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606 [591] [601] this group is on the affinal relationship. Because of patrilocal residence it is the daughter-in-law who occupies a special position. She is *hwainko* (younger female), a term that receives her with familiarity and some condescension as an in group member. A daughter-in-law is considered to be at first a replacement for a daughter who has married out, and she lives for a time under the jurisdiction of her mother-in-law, helping her in gardening and in all food preparation. A woman tries to keep her daughter-in-law within her household as long as possible, speaking of her not as her son's wife but as a replacement for her daughter who has been lost to her by marriage. One aspect of the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is stereotyped, and that is the tug of war between a woman's desire to keep her daughter-in-law within her jurisdiction and the desire of the young wife to win autonomy by cultivating her own garden. For the rest, the relationship depends upon the interplay of personalities and upon the circumstance of whether the bride is a foreigner or a brother's daughter or a member of the brother's sib or phratry. When a child has been born and a woman has her own garden, she and her mother-in-law achieve a relationship of greater equality. Terminology does not change, even though the reference to an elderly woman as *hwainko* may seem incongruous. The term defines the relationship at its inception. [601]

[867] [868] It is the role of a woman to introduce her daughter-in-law to the economic routines and to the local customs of the community, a task that would be inappropriate for her husband. Since the Cubeo often marry women who do not even speak their language or dialect the initial period of tutelage is most important, even though the Cubeo do not stress this feature of what is really an apprenticeship.

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607 601 The other set of affinal relationships recognized by the Cubeo are those involving spouse's siblings, for whom a variety of terms are applied. The general affinal term is *kodjú* or its plural form *hikódju-*

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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe. 841 [833] [828] [758]

Menstrual blood (*hure*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her. 826 841 821 [828]

## SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy. 356 835 [838] [775] [867] [626]

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis. 838

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868 The skill and perfection with which he opens out the palms for the covering of the maloca, with the help of the oar, or how he makes his plaitings, the way of tying and transporting a bundle of palms, merit admiration. His ability with regard to these practical necessities of life is very remarkable. And it becomes more admirable if we consider that the training is very quick, without true schools, and he soon finds himself skilled, for example, in the varied and beautiful work of nets and baskets. They also learn with relative speed the trades of the civilized, such as mason, blacksmith, carpenter, tailor, in the Salesian Schools, although, perhaps due to the force of the environment, circumstances, and their inconstancy, they do not often reach perfection in their trade. Some continue as artisans of these trades in the missionary establishments. Others, returning from the schools to their homes, have an opportunity to use what they learned, handling, for instance, the saw, the hammer, and even the chisel. They are also the machinists of the launches that go up their immense rivers; just as they are capable of executing more delicate work, such as the observations and handling of meteorological instruments (5).

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5. Wallace already observed a century ago (perhaps with some exaggeration to emphasize the idea) that, while a European countryman would take six months to learn how to handle a sextant, one of our Indians learns it in minutes. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre) also made a similar observation.

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They are the irreplaceable "practitioners" of the navigation of those dangerous rivers, because they have an amazing topographic memory of the hidden rocks and sandbanks, bound up with an impressive calm during the dangers presented by the storms and the cachoeiras.

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481 One of the aquatic amusements of the children is the one
524 called Wãx-tĩ Max-kõ, the son of Wãx-tĩ, an obvious reference
[192] to the legend of Nhamacurú (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"). To wit: two children placed one in front of the other, with the arms toward the back, immerse themselves in the water simultaneously. Moments later, emerging at the same time, they embrace each other quickly. Then, again with the arms to the back, they immerse themselves, in order to emerge again, embrace each other, and sink into the water. This is done a certain number of times, until they become tired, and the entertainment ceases.

501 Another frequent exercise is that of rowing. From childhood
868 on, from about three or four years of age perhaps, they learn how to row and have their small oars. Not infrequently a child alone or two go rowing and travel kilometers from their own home.
[226] Many times it is the children who row, while the men attend to fishing from the canoe. This habit gives them surprising skill
[147] and endurance. They are capable of rowing ten or more hours a day and for six or eight consecutive days on long trips.

The striking of the oar handle on the side of the canoe marks
501 the rhythm, and, when there are several rowers, they take pride in the accuracy /405/ of the strokes, as if they were one single stroke. Three different rhythms are to be observed: 1st -- one faster, when they have need to reach some point, and in the currents; there are more or less three deep strokes in two seconds; 2nd -- when there is no current, they change to a slower rhythm: one measure yes and two no, so that one hears two sounds in the water (of two waves which form and strike against the canoe), having three strokes in five seconds; 3rd -- at times they take up another rhythm: two fast strokes and a slow and deeper one.

The following detail can be observed: the hand that holds the handle of the oar describes a perfect circle; and after they give a blow on the edge of the canoe, the oar remains for a moment lying over it, parallel to the water. In order to rest from the effort, they go to rowing from the other side of the canoe;

/435 cont./

866 They act as they please. They do not listen to the requests that the parents direct to them. They do not perform the tasks requested. The slightest whims of the child (56)

> 56. The child is the one who decides whether he is going to board in the school, whether he will not return the following year, whether he wants to leave during the course of the year, etc. The parents do or say nothing concerning these decisions.

are considered. From an early age they officially smoke and drink the fermented drinks at the caxirís. With such independence one might foresee the development of rebellious and quarrelsome types, which, in fact, does not happen. This is because, counterbalancing the spirit of autonomy, there is that of absolute adherence to the disciplinary laws of the tribe, a spirit that is developed with /436/ the beliefs and becomes firmly established through the example of the elders and the ceremonial practices.

Actually there is no school or official instruction, except for the "course of puberty initiation." The maloca, however, with its habitual life or the extraordinary one of the feasts, is a practical and social school in everything.

562 868 The daughter takes a "course in the domestic profession" at the side of her mother, watching her work, helping her, receiving her corrections. Upon reaching nubile age, she will be perfectly prepared to organize and supervise the new home, whereas a contemporary of hers among the civilized would manage this with difficulty. At present, in the educational establishments [797] of the Missions, they not only attend a real "course in home economics," but some even become skilled at tasks that are specialties of another tribe (57).

> 57. These tasks, however, which are outside the primitive pattern of the tribe, constitute knowledge that the mother either will not

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/footnote 57 cont./ teach or perhaps the daughter does not want to learn. It is a fact that we verified many times: the daughters do not know everything that their mother knows and does.

By preparing their small bows and arrows for amusement or by watching the men work, and sometimes by helping them spontaneously, the boys also become skilled in the different masculine tasks (58).

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58. Never, however, in the feminine ones. They used to laugh in the beginning, Pe. João Marchesi told us, when they saw the Missionary light the fire and prepare his own food, because "it is woman's work." Nowadays one already sees a man of the younger generation, who went through the Mission schools, carrying one of his small children, while the wife is loaded with an atura on her back or other great burdens.

It is all an intuitive process of apprenticeship, arousing the interest of the children, developing the capacity for imitation that they possess, deeply rooted, in an environment of freedom, happiness, and well-being. A conjunction, finally, of conditions in accord with the native psyche, and, for this reason, assurers of a happy result. Not infrequently the young men become more skilled than their own fathers.

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There are many tasks that they perform collectively, or at least with the help of others, such as felling trees, cleaning the clearing, building houses, making the canoes. These are done with the display of a greater cheerfulness and emulation, which favor the growth of love of the work and of doing it nicely.

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868 It can be affirmed without fear that the parents are interested in the material education of the children. It is the father's ambition that his son will be a competent fisherman, boatman, or hunter (59).

[797] [829]

59. Today many parents are already interested in something more, and they bring their children to the Mission in order for them to be made "whites." A parent, bringing a girl of about eight years old to the school, recommended to the Directress that she "educate her, teach her Portuguese, in order that later she might be able to marry -/this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a white." After he has spent some years in school, the child considers himself superior, and is regarded as such by the others. He has become "white."

For this reason he will not deny him his advice and his experience.

/437/ 7) Puberty initiation.

881 By puberty initiation or "rite of passage" is understood the official entrance of the individual, who has reached puberty, into the social life of the tribe, coming to take responsibility for his actions. For this he will also receive the necessary instruction on the "customary law" of the group to which he belongs, the obligations and rights of the individuals. And also, only for the boys, the explanation of certain customs and the legends which constitute the historical and cultural patrimony of the group.

[562] [869]

Both those of the male sex and those of the female sex must be subjected to the "puberty initiation rite" (60).

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60. The Missionaries, with patient and prudent action, have managed to alter the native customs, although slowly, with the adoption of Christian

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562 The girl must get used to work and, with the mother's train-
868 ing, will learn the several skills that someday will make her a good mother of a family. The boys will run loose in the forest, looking for fruits, will wander along the rivers, entertained by swimming or fishing, practicing at shooting arrows at fish or birds, and thus they will become able to provide the subsistence of the /484/ family. In the ajuris, in the traditional tasks, they will acquire beside the father that skill which will make them great oarsmen or expert basketmakers.

881 Children of both sexes start being conscious of themselves as members of the tribe, of which they will learn to be proud. They will eagerly desire to become a member integrated into its life and traditions, that is, they dream of the "initiation."

581 Once the instincts are developed, they understand that it falls to them to perpetuate the existence of the group, and they aspire to marriage. The national customs indicate to them the means of realizing it; for that step they will not lack the intervention and help of the father.

593 He has naturally experienced up to now the love and the attention of his parents and the camaraderie of his contemporaries. Now he is joined to a companion for his entire life. Unknown perhaps and a foreigner, but their cares, their spirit of work, their long life together, vicissitudes, shared joys and sadness, everything ends by making uniform the spirits of the spouses, connected especially by the bond of love for their children in common. Under more difficult conditions, because she is forced to leave the paternal home and go to another nation as a wife, the woman will still feel very actively connected to her tribe of origin, as well as to the new maloca in which she is a wife and mother.

621 With the years the ties that join the Indian to the group in which he was born, which educated him, which gave him assistance and support, for which he has also worked cheerfully on the collective enterprises, are strengthened. The group that provided him with frequent joys with its traditional feasts and, with its mysterious legends, gave satisfaction to his intimate aspirations toward something that he does not understand, but feels will exist beyond the grave.

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and reset to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

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Geral, Dábacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsá, dances of Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts consist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

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Ordinarily the native does not know (41)

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

[115]

The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

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[797]

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881 562 are flogged on the back with reeds four times by the Komũá, keeping their arms crossed on the chest, and they can not cry (64).

[183]

64. We were told of a young man who could not stand the blows and, feeling humiliated and scorned by those of the tribe, had to leave and place himself at the service of the whites in S. Gabriel.

Some child may hide in order to dry his tears, said an informant.

Handfuls of pepper are put in their mouths, and they are ordered to chew them. When there are several, they are arranged in a line, and with a stick they dig a hole, into which they are later going to spit. Not hitting the hole will be a reason for punishment. At dawn they take a bath in the river; upon returning, they drink a little Kaxpí. *[192]

They are obligated for the great fast, be'tisé, and their obligatory food is the larvae of the wasps.

562 • 869 881 They spend whole hours sitting on the ground, listening to the pajés narrating the traditions, telling the legends, teaching the obligations as members of the tribe, husbands, and fathers, giving advice, fixing the relations with the neighboring tribes. These instructions are intermingled with caxiri and with the apprenticeship in the fabrication of the baskets, fishing nets, and other tasks of the men.

[534] [778] While narrating the stories of the Mĩrĩã, they place one of the mysterious instruments beside each boy, so that he can observe it well (65).

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65. The instrument is an essential element for the male initiation. Besides the positive information obtained, it says the very name of the rite: "Na porá-ré mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mo-yẽrá," as the natives express themselves, that is, initiation of the sons with the mĩrĩã. This is also the opinion of Koch G. (Z. I. 229).

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).

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[192] 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced,
[171] and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo
[126] descendants of the Coianá Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtain-
[115] ing the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Taryaná, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

562 /448 cont./
381 work rapidly -- to return home at once" (78).
[756]
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78. These recommendations against the piraboto, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tincuam and those of the Jurupari of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uaupés" of the author).

[756] Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin
[869] of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his
[833] cigar, pronouncing at the same time a long and unintelligible exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the pajé Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the nihĩ-koró, which is inverted. But ordinarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the pajé, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoá, as the several informants of the Uaupes stated.

/137 cont./

000 If every human soul is invisible, that of the Indian constitutes a mystery. Those who have lived with them for decades and thought they knew the individuals in depth have surprises that are not infrequent.

To be human as he is, the native naturally presents good and bad qualities, like any other human being, some of them taking a color or relief that the environment of deprivation and isolation facilitates and that for this reason stand out more to the eyes of the civilized man who visits them. We shall point out in the following some quite general ones, which for this reason seem to characterize the native mentality and education, admitting that there could be some very rare exception.

1) Intellectual and physical slowness.

153 On the one hand, the material life to which they are forced and, on the other, the almost asphyxiating subjection to the tribal laws, which do not allow /138/ discussion, do not leave any room for speculation or, let us say, for the exercise of the [872] theoretical intelligence. This is proved by their difficulty in learning a religious truth and that of the school child in solving the simplest arithmetic problem. For the totality of the school children, the five or six years of studies in the boarding-school regime are not enough for them to be able to learn the four [481] operations. The Indian, just as he is slow in movement physically (2),

> 2. Perhaps, studied under the bio-physiological aspect, this slowness could be partially corrected by an adequate dietary regimen. They are certainly receiving some correction, more psychological in nature, during the years that they spend in the Mission, especially the students in the boarding schools.

is also slow in giving us the most obvious response. Slow in understanding an order we give him, he encounters difficulty in following our reasoning when we talk with him. Ordinarily

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153 As for the memory, he has one a little more awake for the subjects that interest him. Thus he has less difficulty in learning some words or sentences of the Portuguese language, or in reading (4)

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> 4. In 1948 I took to the Museu Salesiano do Índio de S. Paulo /Salesian Museum of the Indian in São Paulo/ the written tests of the children of Pari-cachoeira, after only eight months of school, consisting of a short dictation executed with good penmanship and few mistakes.

and in retaining the names of places, of persons, or in recalling the events. With more difficulty he will learn by heart the arithmetic tables or the prayers. And he also feels happy when the civilized man reminds him of some episode in which the Indian took part. Later, the desire to become "white," that is, to become civilized, moves him. For this reason he adjusts to the great sacrifice of entering a boarding school and attending classes, as well as of subjecting himself to the school discipline.

[829] [872]

2) Practical intelligence.

As for the practical intelligence, it is more highly developed. This is proved by the practical solution of the problems that life presents to him, and with the resources that nature makes available to him. The civilized in those regions, when they do not have other resources available, end up, in certain things, imitating the Indian, or entrusting him with the execution of what is needed. It is enough to point out, for example, the solid and large house /140/ or maloca that he builds, the stable and rapid canoe that he makes, and the numerous objects that he manufactures (vessels, grater, baskets).

4: Silva--211 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/148 cont./

The school children show some inclination and skill for the manual arts: the girl prefers the work in the field and also appreciates embroidery and sewing.

461

He is also endowed with his talents as a worker. The skill, which we have already pointed out and will point out (see ch. V /see Ch. VI/), the perfection, and the relative speed in the kind of jobs that he traditionally performs are the best proofs.

The necessity to live forces him, for his part, also to face great difficulties in order to conquer nature. It is enough to imagine the sacrifices imposed by the cutting for a clearing, with the means formerly at his disposal. His endurance, for example, for rowing, is worthy of consideration. For other jobs, such as agriculture or digging the ground, he is weak. Although the work rhythm is not intense, but rather is always with the calm that is characteristic of him, and he has better nourishment than in his home, after two weeks the Indian begins to weaken and not infrequently to lose weight; and after two or three months he must be excused for holidays and rest (13).

13. Besides the danger of malaria in the lower Rio Negro, this weakening of the Indian, especially when he lacks his customary foods, condemn the process (that some are already exploring and others, ignoring the circumstances, recommend) of making use of the native hand in the extraction of the piassava, the Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," the name of several trees (and their fruit), including the Brazil nut/, or borracha. We think that such jobs can be, or rather must be, performed only by the caboclos, who already have physical endurance and a psychic disposition different from that of the natives.

/257 cont./

804 As a practical means for their calculations, they will even make a small stick the size of an arm span or a hândspan; they are, nevertheless, individual and casual measurements.

797 The arithmetic tables already consitute a serious difficulty for the school children, in spite of being a mere question of memory.
872 Those of better progress do not manage to perform the four opera-
803 tions after /258/ three or four years of attending school. And one notices in all great difficulty in solving the simplest problem in mathematics.

804 It seems that it is equally difficult for them to estimate time,
805 as well as distance and area; thus, they are apt to answer that the length of a room is three kilometers and the course of a river, one hundred meters.

c) Astronomy -- Cosmography.

1) The world.

*192 According to their conceptions, the earth, Di'tã, is a plain
823 covered by a regular and solid spherical calotte, which is called Ó'mã-se (high thing), the sky, with four doors /Port. portas, doors, gates/ corresponding to the four cardinal points, through which the waters of the rivers escape. If these doors were to be closed, the waters would flood the lands and drown all humanity. (Cf. the legend of the snake Sẽ, p.)

[321] They differentiate the clouds into oxkó-kururí, the nimbi, and o'mã-kurúri, cirri.

They call the cardinal points "porta" /door, gate/, Soxpé, and designate them as follows: East, Síro-ká-soxpé (back door); West, Pó'té-ká-soxpé (front door, to wit, of the river); South, Kũ'pé-ká-soxpé (left door, from which the Uaupés rises); North, Dyakõ-ká-soxpé (right door).

2) Heavenly bodies and stars.

*192 They do not know how to explain how the stars, Yõxkõã, were
821 formed. All the constellations, however, have a legendary origin. They even assert that the sun, the moon, and the stars are people, Maxsã, according to their legends. As confirmation, it is to be

/369 cont./

763

/footnote 84 cont./ her out of there in order to subject her again to the rites of the pajés. As soon as the catastrophe happened, in the very room of death, in the hospital, the weeping by men and women, accompanied simultaneously by dancing, began at the sides of the hammock that contained the body. Among the participants in the wailing and dances was a young Tukano woman who had taken the course in midwifery in Manaus. The dancers were distributed in pairs of the same sex, and the dances were intermixed with small hops, beating at this moment, first the arms, then the legs. The husband, also present, did not participate in the dances, but he did participate in the weeping. Later, once the body had been moved to the entrance room of the hospital, the old mother lay down on the floor, under the hammock where the daughter had died, with her legs and arms open, singing the elegy-weeping.

[874] [177] [535] [593]

[761] The men utter cries and imprecations against those who caused the death: because every death, so they think, is a true murder perpetrated by some enemy by means of a malefice. The women too, appropriately called uxtĩra (Uaupés uxtĩha), mourners, between exclamations and with /370/ very sentimental thoughts, do the eulogy of the dead and imprecate against the pajés or persons who cast the spell, the alleged

*[192]

796 instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by
[534] Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from llamas and monkey
[526] hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantations they hear their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *malocas* and buried under water in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that [illegible] discovered this strange masochistic ceremony which is [illegible] known among the Tukano.

88 As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He
582 [illegible] a wife from a neighbouring clan, and
592 brings her back to live in his father's *malaca* and share in the work of the plantation. Though the Indian may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the home of the Indian and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

462 The family offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room
592 for more [illegible] and [illegible] and independence or friction often breaks up the family. [illegible] necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian [illegible] the [illegible] and build a *malaca* and hunt when he has [illegible]. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the labour [illegible] the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for [illegible] the fire. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily life.

592 Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities,
36 the Tukano [illegible] in their [illegible]. A *malaca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, [illegible] clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *malaca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

342 A *malaca* [illegible] from end to end and

000 *Tukano hunter with blowpipe, bow and arrows*

[See p. 62 A]

/220 cont./

263 According to the description by the Cônego /canon/ André Fernandes de Souza (end of the eighteenth century), the process was similar to that for the preparation of the lye for the manufacture of the "ash soap." That is: the plant was reduced to ashes, which were left in a water infusion in order for the salt to dissolve, and the latter, afterwards, through evaporation, would be deposited in the form of whitish crystals (p. 467 of the "Notícias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/," ap. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 10 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1870).

f) Insects.

*192 222 252 262 [881]

1) Termites and ants.

a) Mexkã (in Nheengatú maninuara, manivara) is the queen of a species of yellow termite, which comes out in abundance from the holes in the earth right after the rain. They eat them alive or roasted. It is the required food for the young men and women in the puberty rite.

b) "In times of scarcity the women explore the ground with sticks in the places where they know that a type of manivara without wings, called exkó, probably exists. They come out in large numbers and are eaten alive, or after being roasted in small bundles of sororoca leaves.

/221/ c) They likewise eat the tanajura /large, winged ant/, dyãrã (Uaupés dyãnã), and different species of ants, yamĩ-ka (night ant, because it comes out at night or early morning), dexpotyãra (uarabá), duhúsã (which come out in the afternoon), etc., when they come out of the ant nest. When they observe the clean openings and a great movement of ants, they prepare a platform at a height of half a meter above the ant nest. One can see an entire family posted on this platform, and as the tanajuras emerge from the ground, they are eaten raw, often also with the accompaniment of beijú or flour. When the emergence is very abundant, the tanajuras are collected in special baskets, in which they are later roasted.

/251 cont./.

1) His social role.

756 The paje represents the highest intellectual level of the native
626 pevoade, and, not only that, but he is also the stickler for the observance of the tribal laws. He knows them, teaches them, and demands their fulfillment, being able to punish (34).

34. He is, then, the major opponent of the assimilation of our culture on the part of the forest dweller.

with sicknesses, lightning, and, finally, malefices, disrespect towards traditional practices.

756 He presides over all social life, that of the family as well as
[852] of the group. When a child is born, the one who will blow on it,
[844] exercise it, and paint it with carajurú /carajura/, in order that it will grow up strong and free from sicknesses, is the pajé; and he will also give the medicines to the woman in labor.

[553] In some tribes the giving of the name is done in the presence of the pajé. Covering the child with smoke with his indispensable cigar, under the inspiration of the moment, he will give or will suggest the name to the father, who is about to choose a name indicated by any circumstance whatsoever, perhaps even an indecent nickname.

[881] When the girl reaches puberty, the pajé will spend some time with her, giving her timely theoretical and practical instructions about maternity and obligations inherent in it.

At the time of the masculine initiation, it falls to him to teach the young men the traditional legends, their rights and duties as members of the group, the ritual practices, and to verify their ability by means of interrogations, punishments, flagellations, fasts, etc.

He is also the principal instructor of the Kouñ (see VII - 2, e [illegible]), on whose capacity he will pass judgment, and of whom he will always be the supervisor, gathering them together periodically in assembly and giving them opportune directions for every circumstance.

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756

/284 cont./

It is not only the pajé, however, who uses the cigar for its magic power and applies "blowings." They believe, moreover, that the smoke spread by some persons, particularly certain old men, have the same virtue as the smoke of the pajé, or almost. The same is said of the "blowings." This is the reason why in some circumstances (giving the name, VIII - 1, b (6) /see 1, b (4)/, puberty initiation, VIII - 1 b (7), etc.) these persons intervene, "blowing" smoke.

• [881]

We learned of episodes of individuals who bragged about the force of their own "blowing," capable of sending sicknesses and misfortunes, and they would terrify the others with this.

These "blowers" are called Komũá (plural Komũ), corresponding, it seems, to the ethnological concept of "initiate."

We have witnessed the long theoretical preparation, in the form of evening lectures, which the older Komũá gives to those who aspire to the same position. The old Komũ /sic/, squatting, or seated on a stool, having before him the aspirant, also squatting or seated, starts developing his program of instruction. When it seems /285/ proper to him, perhaps after one or two hours of explanation, he ends his lesson, saying farewell to his pupil with the salutation nĩka-nĩya (U. nĩka-nĩña), adios! (lit. you remain behind).

*[192]

Seated at a certain distance, in pleasant conversation among themselves, are other Komũ and the tuxáua. When the first one has finished his lesson on the histories, legends, beliefs, traditions, customs, origin of things and of sicknesses, etc., a second one will come to instruct the pupil, who patiently waits for the new lesson and shows his interest and improvement by carrying on a dialogue with the master, according to the native custom. And the lessons extend until late hours of the night, ended by a general farewell. Masters and students, during these hours of lectures, generously help themselves to ipadú (cf. VI - 4, I (3) /see 4, 1 (4)/).

One of the more expert Taryana natives, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who had also taken the course to become a pajé, told us that the pajé has periodic meetings, once or twice a month, with the various Komũá. He forewarns them of sicknesses that

/294 cont./

192 4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

302 a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé,
386 known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From
824 the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Õnõñá or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or pariri, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

[881] [755] [756] [852]

and from the Mõ sã or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

/332 cont./

776 He is, said Casimiro Sampaio, a mysterious being "who descends from above. He is yellow and appears decorated with arara
*[192] feathers. He speaks, sings, and dances the mĩrĩ (32).

32. Our informant, Casimiro Sampaio, finished by saying that it is the dance of the Jurupari. Bisiu, then, is confused with the great Wãx-tĩ of the legends.

He makes a great deal of noise and eats people. The women cannot see him."

We learned from various other informants that Bisiu eats
776 women on the occasion of the first menses: "amõsé baásamĩ,"
881 that is: he eats the menstruum, as they express it. A Pirá-
756 tapuya widow, Maria José (in Parí-cachoeira, 1954) clarified
*[192] that "to eat" means that he fecundates the woman. It is for
[115] this reason that she must be shut up in the house, and she herself will call for the services of the pajé or Komũ for the so-called "rite of initiation" (cf. VIII - 1, b (7) ). These personages, with their rites, have the power to ward off the danger for the maiden.

A girl of the Tukano tribe from the Papurí said that the
776 Maku women, who almost always live in the interior of the
829 forest, many times become pregnant from coitus with Bisiu.

/333/ d) Nãxkã Wãx-tĩ (Wãx-tĩ of the forest) (33).

776
*[192]

33. Nãxkã means mato /forest, wood, thicket/ in Tukano.

He is also from the forest, stated Casimiro Sampaio, -- tall in stature and ugly. He wears long hair, and butterfly wings on his face. He does not speak and does not do harm to anyone.

/335 cont./

823 legs (38).

532

38. One of these drawings is seen on a rock of the Cururú-cachoeira, river Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

prodigious belly, enormous head, would look with dread and say in a low voice: Wãx-tĩ! As if these representations were a perpetuation, in granite, of the memory of the terrible and feared monster. We have never witnessed any of these demonstrations of fear. Sometimes we have approached such petroglyphs and summoned near /336/ some Indians, and they have always appeared indifferent to such drawings. Moreover, we have found similar figures on the bark walls of huts and malocas, and, moreover, we have seen children draw them on the ground with a stick, and, therefore, without any semblance of religiousness.

764 It can, then, be affirmed that there is no indication of an individual cult. There is, nevertheless, a social cult to be dis-
782 cussed, which is realized in the maloca and its immediate
881 surroundings. There are principally three manifestations of this social cult: the offering of the first fruits or dabacurís, the puberty initiation, and the funeral. All three of which a spiritual communion, tightening the solidarity of the group.

2) Religious feasts with offering of the first fruits.

782 Their Poosé are religious feasts, in our opinion (39).

796

[192]

39. An opinion that we have expressed since 1947 and that recently (1954) we verified to be also that of Koch Grünberg, who (Z. I. 372, and passim) distinguishes, moreover, religious dances and profane dances. Koch, nevertheless, accepts the translation demônio /demon/ for Wãx-tĩ, and even for other personages of the native legends.

and were called by the first explorers, with a term from the Língua

/337 cont./

796 Such feasts are held five to six times a year: not at fixed
782 times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or
585 also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.

881 /338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tĩye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tĩ. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tĩ of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

[123] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled)
[124] of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in general the old people, who know more, are the most reserved.
[115] Asking the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

/380 cont./

837 other tribes, with whom they live in the same maloca or povoado, promised us that the same happens among all the tribes of this region.

881 After the individuals of both sexes have gone through the puberty initiation, -- be they married or single -- sexual relations
836 with a large number of persons of the tribe and, under some conditions, also with those of other tribes, and with the civilized themselves, are permissible for them.

833 They conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes (99)

[838] [881]

> 99. Male or female homosexualism, it seems, has always been regarded as something reprovable and, for this reason, always practiced secretly. Officially, as far as is reported, it only exists in the puberty rite of the boys.

as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse (100).

> 100. It is understandable that the relations, although legally permissible, might not always be prudent and thus are not practiced publicly. Such is the case for the individual who, having fought with the husband, does not touch his wife in his presence. This comes from positive information obtained.

Just as the various physiological acts of eating, drinking, or anything else are performed in front of any person (101).

[829]

> 101. Out of mixed feelings of distrust and hostility toward the civilized, or even because they know directly or indirectly that their morals condemn these liberties, they do not

/385 cont./

563 Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

[115]

[611]

113. In Urubucuara and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Antônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Taryana, later married a Wanana.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114)

114. Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the pajé or Kõmũ and with another young man of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).

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933
[756]

/386 cont./

881 All these premarital relations (115)

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*[192]

115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b) ), and her fiancé, Mã-ra-põ nỹãkhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

[628]

The Makú maidens and women, while they are working for the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

567 831 648

When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, Pinú-pinú, Part-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian individuals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

588 623 648 833 881

The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

588 835

436 cont./

868 It can be affirmed without fear that the parents are interested in the material education of the children. It is the father's ambition that his son will be a competent fisherman, boatman, or hunter (59).

[797] [829] 58. Today many parents are already interested in something more, and they bring their children to the Mission in order for them to be made "whites." A parent, bringing a girl of about eight years old to the school, recommended to the Directress that she "educate her, teach her Portuguese, in order that later she might be able to marry /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a white." After he has spent some years in school, the child considers himself superior, and is regarded as such by the others. He has become "white."

For this reason he will not deny him his advice and his experience.

7) Puberty initiation.

884 By puberty initiation or "rite of passage" is understood the official entrance of the individual, who has reached puberty, into the social life of the tribe, coming to take responsibility for his actions. For this he will also receive the necessary instruction on the "customary law" of the group to which he belongs, the obligations and rights of the individuals. And also, only for the boys, the explanation of certain customs and the legends which constitute the historical and cultural patrimony of the group.

[562] [869]

Both those of the male sex and those of the female sex must be subjected to the "puberty initiation rite" (60).

[797] 60. The Missionaries, with patient and prudent action, have managed to alter the native customs, although slowly, with the adoption of Christian

/437 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 60 cont./ customs and the extirpation of those which are contrary to the morality of the Gospel, retaining only those that do not harm this morality. For example, many of the young men are boarding in the Mission schools at the time of the puberty initiation. There are few cases in which the young men at such a time of life fail to return to the school, in order to go through the "rite of initiation." And some affirm that the youth can marry even without having been subjected to such a rite.

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after a theoretico-practical course. It is a matter of a religious function, as if it were the consecration ~~or~~ sanctification of the individual, who is integrated into the group of the worshipers of wãx-tĩ.

*[192]

a) Course of male initiation -- Mĩrĩ-mẽra, a'mõ-yesé (61).

[115]

61. These data are based on descriptions made by natives of the Tukano, Wanana, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Tuyuka, Desana, Bará, Kumãdene, and Baré tribes. This last informant did it according to recollections of his initiation, more than thirty years before, in Tamandua. It is, however, a general custom of all the tribes of the region, of the Tukano group as well as of the Arwáke and of the Makú, as the natives themselves affirmed.

[171]

According to the number of inhabitants of a maloca, the young men, upon reaching puberty (62)

[115]

62. The Baré Plácido from Melo informed us that at his initiation there were 20 young men in all, and about ten persons, between pajés and Komũã, instructed them. It was, however,

4: Silva--667 M-4, 5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/437 cont./

/footnote 62 cont./ tremendously boring. When one pajé had finished talking, another one would come, repeating the same things, some already drunk. They would listen in fear, believing everything. He recalled /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ an old pajé who knew many stories and told them, much to the delight of the children. In the smaller povoados there might be perhaps a single candidate for the initiation, as was the case for Felisberto from Urubucuara, and for the youth Graciliano Carvalho, Pirá-tapuya from Tatá-punha. The latter remained isolated for two months in a house, and the old men came there to give him the lessons and to tell him stories, which he would have to repeat on the following day.

(in practice whenever their voices start to change), are gathered together in groups, in a distant spot, for the initiation course, which is called Mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mõ-yesé, that is, "initiation rite with the sacred instruments or Mĩrĩã." In many cases huts are improvised in the interior of the forest for this.

/438/ The course, which lasts several weeks or even two and three months, according to the progress of the students, is directed by one or more pajés and Komũã simultaneously. There is an assemblage of painful tests (63)

63. It seems that there is opportunity for the inventive faculty in the application of the tests. In a Tiquié povoado we came across two young men who bore on each arm a wound around the wrist, as if it had been produced by handcuffs.

in order to verify the spirit of sacrifice and endurance of the youths. Deprived of clothes, they remain exposed to bad weather, they

/438 cont./

881 562 are flogged on the back with reeds four times by the Komũã, keeping their arms crossed on the chest, and they can not cry (64).

[183] 64. We were told of a young man who could not stand the blows and, feeling humiliated and scorned by those of the tribe, had to leave and place himself at the service of the whites in S. Gabriel.

Some child may hide in order to dry his tears, said an informant.

Handfuls of pepper are put in their mouths, and they are ordered to chew them. When there are several, they are arranged in a line, and with a stick they dig a hole, into which they are later going to spit. Not hitting the hole will be a reason for punishment. At dawn they take a bath in the river; upon returning, they drink a little Kaxpí. [192]

They are obligated for the great fast, be'tisé, and their obligatory food is the larvae of the wasps.

562 369 881 They spend whole hours sitting on the ground, listening to the pajés narrating the traditions, telling the legends, teaching the obligations as members of the tribe, husbands, and fathers, giving advice, fixing the relations with the neighboring tribes. These instructions are intermingled with caxiri and with the apprenticeship in the fabrication of the baskets, fishing nets, and other tasks of the men.

[534] [778] While narrating the stories of the Mĩrĩã, they place one of the mysterious instruments beside each boy, so that he can observe it well (65).

[192] 65. The instrument is an essential element for the male initiation. Besides the positive information obtained, it says the very name of the rite: "Na porá-ré mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mo-yẽrá," as the natives express themselves, that is, initiation of the sons with the mĩrĩã. This is also the opinion of Koch G. (Z. I. 220).

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/43/ cont.

It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instrument "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).

They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise, they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

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The end of this course is the incest with their own mother, in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũã, so testified natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

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b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).

> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coiana Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coane (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirã-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

/68 cont.

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/footnote 67 cont./ Bará, and Makú) we were able to verify that the process is the same. Whatever was peculiar in one narration became harmonized in the whole, and perhaps had happened with all, although some might have forgotten to narrate that detail. Moreover, they assured us that in all the tribes the mõ-yõãse was performed in a similar way.

In a similar way the girl, "when she becomes a young woman," according to the native expression, that is, when she reaches the age of the menses (68)

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68. They call it "sickness of the moon, Mũhĩ-pũ dux"ti." It is one more proof, among the many that we have had, of how the intimate life of each one is known perfectly by the entire community. The first menstruation takes place around 12 years of age, although the child, from her physical development, looks only about ten. For children of both sexes, it is not until some years after the age of puberty that their bodies fill out, that is, it is only after 14 or 15 years of age that the development of the body takes place, and in an almost perceptible way "they become young men and women." With the onset of menstruation, as in the critical age of the woman and puberty for the man, one does not notice abnormal physiological disturbances. Menstruation, like conception, comes regularly throughout the year. Ordinarily the monthly courses are not very abundant and do not last more than one day.

and the first menstruation, a mõsé, comes, must go through the puberty initiation rite.

/438 cont./

562 Naturally one can not mark the date for this beforehand. It
• 881 is likewise understandable that it is practically impossible to perform this rite with an entire group, as in the male initiation, if we consider that they are small povoades or only a maloca.

*[192] /440/ The first menstruation is a dangerous event for the young woman; she may be a victim of Bisíu (VII -- 4, d (5 c)), Bisíu a'mõsé-re baásamĩ, they say, that is, Bisíu eats the menstruation. As they explain, to eat means that he will come to fecundate her (69).

[177] [797]

> 69. A singular phenomenon of acculturation or adaptation has been taking place. A girl, for example, is in school at the time of the first menstruation. She will perform the rite perhaps many months later, when she returns to her povoado. She does not wait, according to information from the young women themselves, until the next menstruation comes to perform the rite. As for the rest, she follows exactly what the customs dictate.

(See Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/.) The maiden
[756] then will be the first to announce the fact and to request the intervention of the pajé or Komĩ (70).

> 70. One of the young informants asserted that the maiden will be happier if she does this rite
[829] with a stronger pajé. Another added that she will be still more so if it has been with a white.

Besides, the rite is desired by the girl, not only because it gives her freedom for the public sexual relations, but also because, according to her convictions, this rite is going to assure her happy deliveries, as various young women testified. For this reason no maiden would dare to marry without the puberty rite and the ĩrã-yoasé (coitus of initiation). Some nubile maiden, especially

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those educated in the schools, might perhaps say, out of shyness (71).

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71. The young Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos, an orphan raised in the Mission of Iauareté, and who, until she was 25 years of age (1956), spent the greater part of her life in the schools of the Salesian Missions, has always denied having submitted to the puberty rite. Although in a conversation on March 3, 1956, apart from any subject, she came out with the statement: "Now the rite of initiation is not done any longer," on many occasions she has affirmed that the natives "all, even people of confession and communion, continue to do all these ancient practices, even the alumni and alumnae of the Mission." In September of 1955 in Taracuá, apropos of the puberty initiation rite, she said literally: -- "Even the Christians do this." Around the fourth or fifth of March of 1956, she related an episode that had happened to her the last time she had been with her relatives in S. Luzia, from September of 1955 to February of 1956, an episode which documents how even from the Christian natives one only slowly manages to eradicate the primitive beliefs. One day she felt somewhat ill (the common discomforts of women). Her uncle Marco, who, although Christian, continues, as pajé, to practice the "blowing" and the other Xamã /shaman/ rites, asked her whether she had already performed the puberty rite. Answering that she had not as yet, her uncle went on: "That is it, my daughter (sic), that is because you have not undergone the rite. Shall we do it now?" She did not accept (she told us). Then the uncle gave her the explanation about the discomfort and about the usefulness of the puberty rite, which we transcribe.

/440 cont./

562 that she has not performed the rite. Nevertheless, she herself
881 will affirm, in agreement with the others, that a woman can not marry without having submitted to these practices.

[115] Patrícia Vasconcelos gave the following explanation of the necessity for the rite, according to the instruction obtained from her uncle Marco from S. Luzia, river Papuri. /441/ "The maiden
[192] has the nihĩ-koró (vagina?) inverted, and for this reason the child cannot come out. /The final quotation marks are missing./ The pajé or Ko-mĩã is going to put it "in the proper position" by means
[192] of the rite and the coitus. The rite, besides this, makes "the nihĩ-sú'ti-ro, uterus, not grow very much, because in this case she would have two children at a time and this is a disgrace for the woman."

This rite is essentially equivalent to the "religious deflora-tion" that other human groups practice. However, due to the previous liberties, although without an official character (rather they must be hidden), which take place even between children and adults, the girl, upon reaching menstruation, already has the hymen ruptured. This, then, is of no importance in the rite. An official coitus, mõ-yoãsé, however, takes place on the first day (and in some povoados also on the following days) with a young man chosen by the girl or by her father (72).

72. The choice of the young man is made by the girl herself in some places, and in others, povoados and malocas, by her father. A young Tukano from Pari-cachoeira declared that she did not like the young man whom her father had chosen. It seems that where there are more Komũã the choice of the executor of the rite is
[835] always by the father of the maiden. If the father is Komũã, he himself will execute the rite with his daughter. We do not know whether this is also an obligation of his. From a Komũã of Juquira, river Uaupés, we found out that he personally did it with his three daughters, as one of them informed

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/footnote 72 cont./ us. The services of the pajé or Komũ are always remunerated, as well as those of the mõ-paxkoá; not, however, those of the young man. He is not the future husband, who must belong to another tribe, and the young man of the á"mõsé regularly is of the same tribe as the maiden. A young Maku added that the young man was her obligatory partner at dances, as we were later able to verify.

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and, on the last day of the rite, with the Komũ or pajé (73).

73. It is to be noted that, according to the descriptions that we obtained, the first coitus is not with the pajé or Komũ, as one might expect, but with the young man.

The concept that the one chosen should be the hero of the group, recognized after a fight with others, as is done among some tribes, has declined. Among the Uaupesinos there is no test to determine the choice; there is only one quality in favor of the chosen one, his youth. Some maidens affirmed that he was a "strong young man." On the rivers visited by the civilized, the latter may be chosen for such a function, and they have done it. For such a choice, we think that not only does the native's instinct of self-interest enter in, but also the white is supposed to have a special nature (74).

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74. Many times and under different circumstances the native has manifested the opinion that the civilized person is endowed with a nature different from that of the Indian. This was the answer that the tuxaua from Pari-cachoeira, Julio, gave to Pe. João Marchesi, who assured him that he should not fear the

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/441 cont./

/footnote 74 cont./ Dohasé (malefice), just as the Missionary did not fear it. "The white is of a different nature," he answered, "for this reason he does not catch our dohasé."

a connection with which might bring benefits for the girl. This opinion was expressed by several young women.

/442/ The girl must then be separated from the inhabitants of the maloca. The maidens do not know (and this seems to us the most probable hypothesis) or did not want to give the reason for this segregation. It is that in these circumstances she is considered dangerous (75).

75. It is to be pointed out that she is dangerous not only during the days of the menstruation, but until the rite has been completed. As a matter of fact, the seclusion might take place outside the menstrual period and might last for an entire moon. It seems that only the first three monthly courses are considered dangerous and thus subject to a special rite. If one is to believe the information, during the subsequent menstruations the woman is not obliged to abstain from sexual relations, as the Jews observed.

for the others, once she has been sought by Bisíu.

*[192] In the regime of the maloca, an enclosure for the young woman, called a'mõ tuxkũ, is made inside of it. In the regime of the povoado, she might perhaps be isolated inside a hut (76).

76. In October of 1947 a young Maku from Iauareté retreated to the hut of the pajé himself for the initiation.

/442 cont./

881 562 During this time, which runs from three days to four weeks, according to the tribe, the young girl will always be shut in; she cannot take a bath, she will go out only when necessary and quickly, trying not to meet anyone.

562 881 302 608 There, while the girl is kept seated on a stool, her hair will be cut by a woman who is called mõ-paxkoá, that is, godmother-of initiation (77).

77. This godmother will call the girl Yõ-se:ko, my hair-cut; and the maiden will call her Yõõ-ré se:ko, the one who cut me (my hair).

"It is in order to exchange for new hair" was the only explanation. According to information obtained by Koch G. (Z. I. 357), the girl's hair was used for making the masks of Wãx-tĩ. Thus one more element of connection between the puberty rite and the cult of Wãx-tĩ appears.

*[192] The face and especially the body are liberally painted with black dyá-wé dye by another woman, who is likewise considered Paxkoá. Both of the godmothers will receive some gift from the girl and also have a right to her services. The body painting is done as usual, by means of the molongó cylinder (VII-3, b(2) ).

For the haircut they used the sharp teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmo of different species) and other animals. For this reason, wrote Stradelli, the tribes of the Rio Negro, who spoke Nheengatú, when the use of scissors was introduced, called them Piranha. The artifact for the cutting of the hair among the Tukano is called Dõxpóse:ró.

*[192] The Mõ-paxkoá or the mother herself in some tribes pours water with pepper through her nose, using a funnel of the leaf of /443/ õhoá pũrĩ or yõxsõ-pũri, "in order to become illuminated" (78).

78. "To have the face or skin become illuminated" is an expression that we have heard frequently among the young female informants. It seems

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/footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus, "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

"the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a great deal; the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, piramarim), ant, mexkã (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beiju of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

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She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cura with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

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Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /bouto/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

4: Silva--678 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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(79) cont.
[illegible] -- to return home at once" (79).

79. These recommendations against the pirabote, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tincuam and those of the Jurupari of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uaupés" of the author).

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Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his cigar, pronouncing at the same time a long and unintelligible exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the Pajé Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the uahí-koró, which is inverted. But primarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the pajé, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoá, as the several informants of the Uaupes stated.

562 /144/
881 The rite ends with a bath of the dawn, Wawa-'kāsé, which
783 makes us think of the bath of the dawn of the men at the feast of
[192] Wāx-tī (VII-4, e (2 b); cf. Legend of the seizure of the infra instruments). A procession of these women who have been asso-
[192] ciated with the rite, perhaps also other close relatives of the
[776] maiden, is organized. In front goes the pajé, smoking the path with a piece of cooking pot, Ki-pu-tõ koro, with hot coals, pitch /Port. breu, a kind of resin , and pepper, and he will exorcise the river, throwing in it the contents of the pot, in order to "chase away the beast that is in the river" (81).

> 81. They explained that this beast ~~was~~ the piraboto /bouto/. Now such a mammal does not exist in the upper Uaupés, much less in the small igarapés. We are thus confronted with a transplanting of beliefs and legends.

562 The mother pushes the daughter into the water, and everyone will
881 take a bath (82).
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> 82. Wallace (o. c.) further brings in here a detail which was not confirmed to us: It is the following: "When this time has passed (one month), the relatives and friends of the parents, who are invited for this, gather there on the designated day, each one of them bringing a piece of cipo (flexible climber). The girl is then taken outside the house, completely naked, to the center of the group, which is in the yard in front of the dwelling. Each one of those present on this occasion is obliged to give her five or six strong lashes with the cipo on the chest and on the back, crosswise, until she falls prostrate, unconscious, this sometimes resulting in her death; if,

562 /~~444~~ cont./
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/footnote 82 cont./ however, she recovers her spirits, the operation is further repeated some four or five times with an interval of six hours. It is considered a great offense to the parents if the blows are not given with much force. During this test, all kinds of meats and fish are prepared in huge pots. Following that, those present dip into these the cipos, which immediately afterwards are given to the girl to lick. From then on she will be able to eat everything she wishes. And from this moment on she is considered a woman. She is thus ready for marriage" (o. c. 634).

[184] There perhaps is confusion with what happens among the tribes of the Içana and among the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés on the occasion of the dabacuris. According to what the Kubewana of the Ambaíba maloca, mouth of the Querari, told us, when the father of a youth decides to look for a wife for his son, he takes advantage of the dábacuri and applies to the chosen girl three lashes with the adabi (VII-4, e (2b) ). If she stoutly endures the blows, it is an indication that she is already mature for dealing with the responsibilities of a home.

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In some Arwake tribes a caxiri is held later; it is the feast called Karyamã (83).

83. Karyamã is the name of the type of beijú prescribed for this circumstance.

which may last as long as four days (it seems that it is the same number of days as the seclusion of the girl). Then she will dance with everyone, including the paje, and will smoke with them on the cigar made of banana leaves and tobacco. It seems that on

562 /144 cont./
881 this /145/ occasion there are games and entertainments among the
527 young individuals of the maloca (84).
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84. One of the informants spoke to us about the "game of the lemon" for this circumstance. We heard about a Maku girl, Teresa by name, who on this occasion ran away with the youth, with whom she spent a few days. It seems that this is a matter of a conventional flight, because in reality they withdrew to a hut about 20 or 30 meters from the maloca.

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881 Abstention from work for some days is verified; for example,
784 she will not light the fire, "in order not to be burned." Then the young woman resumes her normal life: she will work in the clearing and in the house with her mother. For another month, accord-
[115] ing to information by Doroteia Brito, she may not taste salt or eat either farinha or the flesh of large animals, "in order not to ruin the teeth" (85).

85. Concerning a young Baré, sister-in-law of a Karapanã, in whose maloca, on the headwaters of the Ana, she submitted to the puberty rite, we were able to observe that she did in fact subject herself to a severe alimental diet, not accepting our salted foods, nourishing herself with beiju, tapioca, and fruits. We saw her, however, approach the fire, stir it up, and put some green bananas on to roast for herself.

881 During the following menstruation the rite of the seclusion of
562 the young woman is renewed. This second stage of the puberty
* [192] initiation is called Mahã-mĩ-nõse. It is identical to the first one,

562 /44 cont./

891 without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following men-
*[192] struation, Mahēka-nise, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

611 Among the tribes of the Uaupes it is generation /Port. geração,
[601] generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (nōx-kākōra, grandparents) and descendants (marī-bero-maxsā), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

602 The components of the same tribe, although born and living
649 in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerēra (86).

[601] 86. The term axkawerēra is beginning to be
[170] extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

A term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" /relatives/ or sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason see part of the opinion (VIII-C, 1) that initially the local group coincides with the family.

*192 Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree
609 of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpēra (87).

87. Axpēra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpī (masculine) and axpego, feminine, other.

— that is strangers, foreigners.

/483 cont./

562 868 The girl must get used to work and, with the mother's training, will learn the several skills that someday will make her a good mother of a family. The boys will run loose in the forest, looking for fruits, will wander along the rivers, entertained by swimming or fishing, practicing at shooting arrows at fish or birds, and thus they will become able to provide the subsistence of the /484/ family. In the ajuris, in the traditional tasks, they will acquire beside the father that skill which will make them great oarsmen or expert basketmakers.

881 Children of both sexes start being conscious of themselves as members of the tribe, of which they will learn to be proud. They will eagerly desire to become a member integrated into its life and traditions, that is, they dream of the "initiation."

581 Once the instincts are developed, they understand that it falls to them to perpetuate the existence of the group, and they aspire to marriage. The national customs indicate to them the means of realizing it; for that step they will not lack the intervention and help of the father.

593 He has naturally experienced up to now the love and the attention of his parents and the camaraderie of his contemporaries. Now he is joined to a companion for his entire life. Unknown perhaps and a foreigner, but their cares, their spirit of work, their long life together, vicissitudes, shared joys and sadness, everything ends by making uniform the spirits of the spouses, connected especially by the bond of love for their children in common. Under more difficult conditions, because she is forced to leave the paternal home and go to another nation as a wife, the woman will still feel very actively connected to her tribe of origin, as well as to the new maloca in which she is a wife and mother.

621 With the years the ties that join the Indian to the group in which he was born, which educated him, which gave him assistance and support, for which he has also worked cheerfully on the collective enterprises, are strengthened. The group that provided him with frequent joys with its traditional feasts and, with its mysterious legends, gave satisfaction to his intimate aspirations toward something that he does not understand, but feels will exist beyond the grave.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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tie a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident 524
that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the
game, or ceremony, to me as follows. Some children were left or- 524
phaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their 773
mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked
their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing
for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed
in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch
of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children
returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother
gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their
tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days
they had become *taintúru* birds. They returned to the house and
lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each
day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa*
but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his
younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and
seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their
parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so
can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or 524
any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grünberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahukiwa*.

## PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood 881
to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual
matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely
be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are [789]
subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until
they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter. [856]
The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere
in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. 852
An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this 831
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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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852 831 [887] task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert [614] three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen [881] intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have diffi- [833] culties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; offi- [844] cially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, [821] a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paunwe bebiko* (one who has not [881] yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupuni*: one who is blown)[1] is said to be 881 secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, [514] through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she [826] will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To [515] develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that [302] creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me [515] see how much pain you can stand."

[362] At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is [574] held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

114 When a *Balukiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them 881 she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. 756 Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father 881 Gragone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

881 After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[1] She is also known as *nominyaru* (becoming a woman).

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the Ancients. In the naming and in the mourning ceremonies specific ancestors are invoked by name and by specific kinship reference, as the mother or the grandmother of the sib. In the case of postcoital connubial bathing the ancestors are not invoked either by name or by spell, the brothers merely participate in their magical presence in the river. Some cult activities are secret, others are not. The rule of secrecy applies to the flutes and trumpets. These bear the names of ancestors and may not be seen by women. However, whenever these instruments appear, a specific ceremonial role is assigned to the women. In the whipping rites, which are also initiation rites for boys, the women receive gifts of fruits and fowl in the name of the Ancients. In the mourning rites the ancestor trumpets sound their notes of grief, to which the women respond with wailing on their own. That is, when the Ancients enter the malloca they naturally establish a relationship with the women of the house. On the other hand, when the Ancients' blessings are invoked, but without the ancestral presence, the women have no part in the proceedings. The women are ignored during the damaing ceremony and during the recitation of the sib mythology. Usually, the ancestral cult belongs to the men. When the boys are shown the hiding place of the flutes and trumpets and are taught their names they are being initiated into a male cult and are drawn fully, thereby, into their roles as siblings. The social function of the initiation is twofold: to complete the separation of the boy from his mother and align him with his father and his father's brothers, and to draw him from the dominatrix of the play pack into the mature company of men. We may speak of these rites, therefore, as *rites de passage* as well, bearing in mind, however, that the passage is a long and gradual one. The Cubeo emphasis with respect to the development of the male is not that he suddenly crosses a dividing line from boyhood to manhood but that he grows. The magic of the initiation ceremony is a magic of growth. Growth magic, it will be recalled, occurs at three stages in a boy's development: at birth, after a year when he receives his name, and then for a series of years after he has entered the play pack.

For a fuller understanding of the Cubeo cult of *Ikekipenimon* one would need to know more about corresponding ceremonies among neighboring tribes. Curiously, no other ancestral cult has been reported for the entire Northwest Amazon. Koch-Grünberg, whose knowledge of the tribes of the region extended over many years, did not mention any ancestral doctrines even though he had lived for several months with the *Hehéneuá* on the Cuduiari. But like others who have studied this region his investigations were surely led astray

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769 171 (114) by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[2] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involving the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, 769 534 171 have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kuwai* (*Kuwai*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are (241) quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries during the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano Indians, where sacred flutes are used in the initiation of young boys, C (881) (184) the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as named animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral (552) cult (Paranga Monteiro, 1960).

769 171 As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Guayabi (Park, 1936), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921-23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1948), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may 769 534 174 speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among 534 elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

Among the *Bahukiran* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[2] Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915-16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekwonkelehapuire*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.

/883 cont./

534 We have already talked about the trocano /signal drum/ (VII -- 1).

b) Membranophones.

*[192] They only know one, which they use to announce the time of the caxiri, the drum, in Tukano twá-tõ, plural twáthe-pawõ. It is a small drum about 20 centimeters in diameter and 20 in height. The cylindrical part is made out of louro /laurel/ bark, and it is closed at both ends with monkey skin, without the fur and well stretched. It is played with a small wooden drumstick, twá-tõ pat-kõ.

c) Aerophones.

In this group is included the largest number of the native instruments, their various types of flutes and whistles. Some of these instruments emit different sounds, permitting the playing of varied and pleasing musical themes. Others, instead, only one sound, which is always made to yield sound rhythmically. It is to be observed that, in general, the playing starts with a small exercise of tuning the instruments and ends with a fortissimo of the entire instrumental assemblage.

*[192] 1st. - Panpipe /flauta-de-pã/. It is the syrinx of the Greeks, known regionally by the name of cariço, and in Tukano wéõ, pl. wéõ-pari. It consists of 6 to 10 tubes of taboca /a wild cane/ of different length and thickness, tied together, with the orifices in the same plane, as in a mouth organ. They always make them in pairs so that the two players are in tune and; with a third or fifth of difference, one can play the canto, and the other, the accom-
*[192] paniment, or contracanto. They are classified in several types, according to the number of tubes and their tonality: yõrõrí-pa, wéõ-pa, puxtirí-pa, wanỹã-pa, yõtirí-pa.

[883] The Panpipe is, par excellence, the instrument of the young men; we have never seen it played by mature men. To the sound
[535] of the cariços are developed pleasant dance numbers (see VII -- 6, a (3)) with varied melodies and with a recreational character in

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684 Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatuyo*. In the case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

[754] Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless com-
[562] pounded by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery, never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel. An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the husband or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman,
684 concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by
622 emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example
614 illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahukiwa*, when in-
574 toxication was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Thereupon the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned. The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the properties of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to re-
684 quest coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger
622 unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the
634 errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

193 The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is re-
684 vilied as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger
[562] at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kuwai*'s diffi-
[773] culties with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kuwai* crushes his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her manioc garden.

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857 The young unmarried men who have left the
(883) play pack are a link between the pack and the circle of adults. The older men take no notice of the pack as a group at all. After dark each boy returns to his own household.

The life of the boy is largely collective, that of the girl is individualized. She is bound, so to speak, to the household hearth, and her social or play life corresponds rather closely to that of her mother. Girls have no independent games of their own. They assemble with their infant charges for gossip, looking rather sedate as they admire one another's ornaments. They are not free to mix with the boys unless invited to take part in games. Such games as they join often have a mythological reference and may be interpreted, I think, as children's ceremonies.

524 The Northwest Amazon is rather rich in children's games and toys. Among the *Bahukiwa* a popular children's game is that of the *abuhuwa*, the forest ogres or demons, and the tem tem bird, the *taintüru*. Boys and girls, including the smallest toddlers, form a circle around a child, who is always a grown boy. The circle is of the *abuhuwa*, who have surrounded the *taintüru*. When the game starts the "bird" is crouched in the center, his head resting on his knees, and the circle is dancing around him. From time to time a boy enters the circle to tap the "bird" on the head and to pinch his flesh to determine if he is grown enough to be eaten. Then the children stop circling and several raise the *taintüru* to his feet, who announces that he is now awake by stopping his ears with his fingers and calling out *hru hru hru*. The *abuhuwa* link hands and again dance around him in a circle. The "bird" must now make an effort to break out. He can easily break out by charging at a weak link. But this he will not do because it would be disheartening to a very little child, who must be part of the game but not a spoiler of the game. As he hurls himself at the line the "bird" hears two kinds of encouragement. One group calls to the line *paré paré* (strength! strength!), encouraging it to hold, another calls at the boy *temüdjo temüdjo* (break through! break through! [as an arrow from a bow]). When the boy breaks through he is called back to the circle where he again frees himself, this time by verbal means. Standing in the center he turns suddenly upon a child in the line and points to part of the child's body. The child must immediately reply, "The [naming the part] of the *abuhuku*." What usually confuses the child is the necessity of saying "of the *abuhuku*." When a number of children have failed to answer properly the child who is the *taintüru* breaks through the line once more and a new "bird" is chosen.

This game is played only on cool, pleasant evenings and seems to

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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hand, the assigned sister can be counted on to act in her brother's 58 593
behalf and to accept the exchange marriage. On the other, if his bride should leave him he believes that he can ask his sister to leave her husband so that accounts will be squared. This arrangement does not work perfectly, but it works well.

Not every young man has a sister assigned to him. The son of a 593
headman who is in line for the succession has preference, as has 622
a favored son, since it is the parents who play an important part in establishing this relationship. In the case of an apparent heir to the [182]
headmanship the assigned sister enhances his status in two ways. It [885]
makes him part of an adult status economic relationship in that he has a woman "working" for him and it smoothes the way for his marriage.

I could get no term for this rather specialized brother-sister relationship. Ordinary relationships between brother and sister lack the specific economic exchange features. Lacking the intensity of the paired relationship, the ordinary relationship is still charged with considerable emotion. 593

From the point of view of the sib, the brother-sister relationship 593
may be considered as a source of holding women to the sib even after 614
they have taken up residence in another sib. There is the curious 182
expectation that a woman will some day come back to her own sib. 582
She will do this as a widow or after a break in her marriage. When a young man is on his way to his "affinal" sib to bring back a wife his parents say to him, half in jest, "Try to make your sister come home." The symbolic act of marriage for the Cubeo is the drama of a "marriage by capture." The groom seizes the bride, who protests, and carries her forcibly to the beach and into his canoe. Her outcries bring her kinsmen on the run, who then try to prevent her "abduction" by cudgeling the groom. This dramatic enactment makes the point that the bride is unwilling to leave her sib and that her kin are determined not to let her go. It is a strong demonstration of attachment that soothes the feelings of the sib and particularly of the brother. It satisfies the sentiment that no one wishes to leave the sib.

The relationship between brother and sister may also be considered in the context of the sib origin myth which states that the founders 593
of a sib were always a brother-sister pair who only later entered into 614
exchange marriages. The tradition of the *Bahukiwa* sib that a woman re-established the sib after all her brothers had been killed by enemies illustrates still again the Cubeo sentiment that a woman really belongs to her sib. Thus a sib has a female ancestress as well as a male ancestor.

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## INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status, one might say for human status. The Macu, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucu*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mapena* (feathers of the red arara [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mapena* borrows from the headman or from another submate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahukiwa* owned a complete *mapena*; but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehenewa* were well provided. *Mapena*, however, are not a mark of rank.

The *Bahukiwa* attitude toward *mapena* is ambivalent: their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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be a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident 524
that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the
game, or ceremony, to me as follows. Some children were left or- 524
phaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their 773
mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked
their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing
for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed
in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch
of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children
returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother
gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their
tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days
they had become *tainturu* birds. They returned to the house and
lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each
day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa*
but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his
younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and
seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their
parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so
can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or 524
any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grunberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahukiwa*.

## PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood 881
to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual
matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely
be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are [789]
subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until [856]
they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter.
The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere
in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. 852
An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this 831
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[887] task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert
[614] three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo
say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen
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at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus,
[821] a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paunwe bebiko* (one who has not
[881] yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupiini*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be
881 secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking
nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete,
[514] through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she
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else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To
[515] develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that
[302] creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and pain-
fully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until
her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is
a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by
the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her
daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me
[515] see how much pain you can stand."

[302] At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa
and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is
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part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women
and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

114 When a *Bahukiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them
881 she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for
proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did
not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party.
756 Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father
881 Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tu-
cano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her
hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the
girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

881 After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the
change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and
takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to
her mother's household.

[3] She is also known as *nomiwyaiwa* (becoming a woman).

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574 276 provided. Men pass cigarettes to one another after a puff or two. A man will ordinarily pass a cigarette to his own wife only, for the giving of a cigarette to a woman has a potentially erotic significance. When a woman receives the cigarette she passes it among her children until finally the suckling baby has had a smoke. She then returns it to her husband. The custom of sharing the cigarette has been widely observed along the Vaupés and its tributaries. The Indians accept it as a mark of friendship and of trust. Ceremonious smoking of cigars held in forked holders accompanies the dignified conversations of the sib elders and is mandatory when these old men get together to chant the sib origin traditions. Several cigars are lighted and are passed around. There is no way of sharing coca, but *mihi*, as we have noted, is "danced in" by the sons of the hosts, and the little ornamented beaker in which it is kept is passed around.

[521] [857] [614]

574 575 Dancing begins when the assembly is warmed up with drink. At an *uaxandise*, dancing, being secular, is for the young, the adolescents and unmarried and the younger married men and women. In the most common dance three or four young men line up abreast, with arm across a companion's shoulder, with the long dance flageolet, that sounds the song of the butterfly, in the right hand. An orchestra of Panpipes, seated to one side, sets the rhythm to which the dancers move and sound the flageolets. Starting at the rear of the house they move down the long dance corridor to a beat that starts as one slow step, a pause, two shorter steps, a pause, and then three rapid, almost running, steps, the inevitable Cubeo procedure of placing all ritual in the metric structure of *adagio* to *presto*. They reach the front of the house, their bodies swaying forward and back as they come down the corridor and gracefully swinging from side to side as they prepare to pivot, swinging the flageolets up and around in unison. The first dancers are usually of the host sib and are brothers. During the early stages of the dance, as each of the visiting sibs puts its dancers on the floor, the formation is of brothers. It is not until much later during the night that drink and excitement have dissolved the fraternal bonds and allowed for the indiscriminate formation of dance teams. As the dancers move down the corridor the unmarried girls begin to stir, they giggle, nudge one another, sway forward with the desire to get up and join. But they are shy. They seek encouragement from one another. Often an older woman, a girl's mother, whispers sharply, "Go on, dance." Then two or three girls get up from the side lines and run behind the dancers, pacing themselves so as to slip under the yokes of the men's arms in the precise beat.

[521] [614]

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765 536 the women and dives clumsily after it, rolling among the women and over them. He recovers it and tries to crack it in his mouth, but of course he is wearing a mask, and finally he examines it with a marvelously executed air of puzzlement and dejection. The women have been so dazed by now that the comic virtuosity of this "clown" does [152] not draw the expected laughs. The *Abohuka* leaves and there is a respite. The women stir about and look after their children, and it seems as though the emotional gradient, having been broken in its upward ascent, has dropped to the most ordinary level.

765 831 786 535 But this quiet interlude is short. At midmorning all the masked dancers storm noisily among the women in a dance called the *hanamoan* (wild peccary). They throw themselves upon the women, forcing them to the ground and to the copulatory position. Three or four men cover a woman. The dancers rise again to dance in sheer frenzy, careening about the room, shrieking and falling again upon another woman. But even though their excitement seems more feverish than ever, the men still do not lay a hand upon a woman. They choose for their attentions only the older women. The [887] oldest women among the Cubeo are licentious, and they behave at this time as though they have become sexually aroused. They laugh and shriek and reach for a man's thighs. The daughters observe this spectacle of their mother's sexual excitement with evident dismay and great interest. The mothers shrilly command their daughters to run away and so escape sexual molestation. At the command to run they begin to leave, but they come back to watch. Again, the very young [152] boys who share this masculine license are carried away by sexual excitation and lustfully attack the women, the wives of their phratry mates. The women "fight them off" with the standard courting resistance and succeed in inflaming them all the more. Not all the masked dancers join this revelry in the same spirit. Some men, the older ones in particular, are restrained, treating the dance symbolically, and some are simply shy and only brush lightly against the women. The point of view is that of symbolic frenzy rather than of sheer intemperance. The mastery of this mood is surely a difficult one, 765 182 152 because the women, who are a laity, are under no compulsion to discipline their feelings. This is presumably the Cubeo ceremonial con- 831 786 ception – pitting masculine symbolically controlled behavior against 535 the spontaneous emotionality of the women. This interplay between emotional form and substance, so to speak, adds spontaneity and emotional spice to the ceremony but always within the framework of form. That the youngsters should succumb to simple lust in this licentious dance is, to be sure, a spontaneous consequence of the

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152 The Indian lacks some of the more delicate feelings, such as that of compassion. He will not only mistreat an animal, laughing at its painful contortions, but even watch with indifference another person's suffering, even if it is his brother, father, or mother (cf. VII - 4, g (1) ).

593 There is no doubt about the existence in the parents, particularly in the mother, of love for their offspring, especially when still in the first childhood. Even then it is a love more effective than affective, diligently learning about the children's health, for whom they procure remedies during illnesses and food. When it is a matter of children already grown, the esteem is contaminated by interest in the services they receive from them. And the grief that they express when the children are absent or die is because they no longer have anyone to bring them fish or cultivate the clearing.

847 Attenuating this presumption in favor of mother love is the use of infanticide, and many times it is the mother herself who wants /157/ and executes it. Moreover, cases in which the mother abandons the children, even though newborn, are known.

593 In the children the correlative feeling is counterbalanced, or perhaps exceeded, by their selfishness. When the parents to 888 become old, they easily abandon them, without providing clothing for them any longer, or even giving them medicine, food, or water (27).

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27. Pe. João Marchesi bears witness, with the authority of one who knows the totality of the natives, among whom he has lived for 35 years, and who, because of his heroic charity, cover for all the sacrifices, merited it when General Alexandrino Ferreira da Cunha called him "the Anchieta of the Amazon": -- "Among the elements of the same tribe, who consider themselves brothers, there is a certain outward cordiality and consideration toward someone else's suffering, but neither generosity nor a spontaneous

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593 /footnote 27 cont./ offering of help and means;
558 it is a cold and sterile egoism." The old parents are left abandoned when they do not move from the house of one child to that of another, in order not
593 to be a burden." Nor can the natural love of the
847 procreators be said to have a firm foundation, because of the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn babies, suffocating them as one would do with any little animal" (in the book Os Tucanos /The Tucano/ by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13).

593 Apropos of matrimony, Pe. Antônio Giacone
581 writes: -- The Indian, not having love and tenderness for the woman, will be satisfied with the one that they give him, no matter whether she is pretty or ugly; it is enough if she is hard-working and gives him many children; if she is sterile, he will repudiate her as a useless thing, because every Indian marries for the sake of having many children" (Os
593 Tucanos, p. 32). He censures the treatment of the
558 old parents on the part of the children as "indifferent and inhuman" (ibidem, p. 26).

593 In November of 1958, on the occasion of our
758 stay in Iauaretê, the following episode took place. A young man from Uaracú-ponta (river Uaupés), married a few months earlier, gravely ill with tuberculosis, asked the Director to take him to the Mission hospital. There he had a visit by his wife, who remained in his company for some days. On a second visit, she burst into tears so noisily that the Director advised her that she should restrain herself or move farther away, in order not to add to the suffering of her sick husband. Nevertheless, two days before her husband's death, she wanted to leave for her povoado, taking with her the husband's hammock. And she did so, in spite of his insistent begging that she stay longer and leave his hammock.

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533 Cases in which they buried their old parents alive are cited (28).

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28. There was shown to us in Uaracapá (river Papurí), upon leaving the povoado, the place where the hammock of a sick old man had been tied between two branches. And they had not only turned him out of the house in this condition, but also left him there in the open, without assistance or resources. As soon as he had died, they dug a grave under the hammock, cut the ropes of the old hammock, which fell, with the cadaver, into the hole, and covered /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ it irregularly with earth, as we could see in November of 1953. In June of 1954 an old Taryana about 70 or 80 years of age, shivering with cold, was found in the port of Iauareté. We do not know how he got there. Taken to the hospital in serious condition, he was laid on a hammock, given medicine, and had a hot water bottle applied (to replace the fire that they always use under the hammock). Days later, feeling well, he was questioned about where he came from. He interrupted immediately, saying that he did not want to go back to his house, because he was mistreated there by the children.

We were informed about a Taryana from Pinú-pinú (river Uaupés) who mistreated and several times even spanked his own father, who was from Iauareté.

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156 At least while they are living in their own environment,
571 they cling together among themselves, even among individuals of a different tribe, more than /158/ with a civilized person. There is not, however, any sign of particular friendship among

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485 The old Indian will become a zealous continuer of the ancestral traditions, and he will find himself surrounded by the young men, who will listen with pleasure (4)

4. The Irmã Diretora /Sister Directress/ of one of the Missionary schools revealed to us with what surprising attention her young girl students drank in the words of some old Indian woman when she appeared at the school, being immediately surrounded by the school girls.

to his words describing the olden times, his feats, the life and history of the maloca, of the povoado, or of the tribe. And, with the respect of the new generation, he will preside over the births, warding off from the tribe, which is reborn in the children, misfortunes and sicknesses with the smoke of his cigar; he will instruct the young people in the duties and mysteries of the life of the group; he will be an outstanding figure in the sacred dances.

With age, his stout fibers break, and old age comes, with its train of sorrows, more pronounced for the Indian than /485/ for the civilized. He becomes useless to the group and a burden for the family. He then retreats to a dark corner of the maloca, lying in his hammock, perhaps without the strength to get up and sit on a seat. There, in silence, he will take his meal and spend long hours, remote from the noisy cheerfulness of the maloca, which perhaps is burning with life in the orgies of the Pooses.

A sole companion, which has never abandoned him since he saw the light of life, will still be at his side, giving warmth and comfort to his limbs, which are getting cold; it is the fire that burns near his hammock.

When his strength is insufficient for him to take his food by himself, forgotten, abandoned, with no one being concerned about him, he will waste away by starvation, resigned, without a word of complaint, without a moan of pain, until death comes to open for him the mysterious doors beyond the grave, where

4: Silva--735 M-4,5 (1947-1968) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/485 cont./

398 he will place WAS-TI, the great Idea, the great Spirit, in which he has always believed, whom he has respected and feared and tried to propitiate, as his ancestors taught him.

764 When they become aware of the quiet and solitary catastrophe, the maloca will be agitated by the clamorous wailing of the nation for the mariner who has just passed away.

121 This, however, does not complete the cycle of native life. All of those tribes of the Caiari are nowadays in direct or indirect relation with the "Civilização de Cristo" /Civilization of Christ/. The parents, under the impulse of paternal love, dream of making their child a civilized person, child of Brazil and of the Church. This sacred fire is kindled deep inside each youth, and for this reason he enrolls in the Catholic schools. They spend long and happy years there, without dissociating themselves, however, from their nation. And they return to their "brothers" with their minds more enlightened, greater material comfort, a belief in the Creator God of heaven and earth, Lord, Judge and Father, and a hope of a less sad old age, nourished by the hopes of a happy future life without end.

And the elders, to whom such a chance was not presented, will perhaps have assistance in the hospitals that the charity of Jesus Christ has erected in each Missionary center, and the maternal care of a Religious who tries to alleviate the physical pain and to comfort the soul. And, above all, they will have the hope of the assistance of a Missionary who, in the last moments of life, through the infinite efficacy of the Sacraments, will make him a child of God, will enrich his soul with grace and will open for him the doors of eternal blessedness. /Page 486 is blank./

5. Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grunberg was told the same thing (1909, I, 261). One is also told that other people have powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this. But Koch-Grunberg, who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desanas had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grunberg that great chiefs ruled along the Papury and Tiquié rivers. When he got there he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now. 643 622 114

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grunberg notes that the headmanship is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it that the house is kept in order, and if he leaves for any length of time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took him seriously. Koch-Grunberg had the impression, however, that the oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a headman. 622 171 [888] [554]

## LAW AND JUSTICE

With respect to the administration of justice and of order the headman is no magistrate. He is a mediator, a counselor, and often a persuasive advocate of his own views. It is the entire adult community that must reach a decison. The headman provides for orderly discussion until a decision is reached. Within the sib a primary objective of the headman's efforts is to smooth over difficulties, calm tempers, and restore the atmosphere of congeniality. There are, however, serious breaches of the peace, such as sorcery, persistent adultery, chronic and malicious theft of food, and murder when punishment is called for. In such cases the aim of the headman is not to calm 622 627 [614]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *arya*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

## POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1939, p. 25), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

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Closest relationships of mutual obligation are, as has been [illegible] between husband and wife, between parents and dependent [illegible], between unmarried brother and sister, and between cere[illegible] [illegible]. These relationships either do not apply to the aged, [illegible] they do, the ways are not be of great value to them. Generally [illegible] the aged can depend upon those who are younger and [illegible] only for the generalized sub benefits of sustenance and com[illegible]ship. The deprivation of the aged is in what one might mis[illegible] [illegible] the nonessentials. There is no one to buy an old lady [illegible] petticoat or to get for an old man commercial tobacco. The [illegible] [illegible] protest such neglect because they acknowledge their lack [illegible]. Nonetheless, they feel their neglect and loss of status keenly [illegible]. When I was among the *Bakubawa*, an aged lady employed [illegible] [illegible] needle from me a new petticoat. Her hus[illegible] [illegible] very proud old man, designed to accept only an occasional [illegible]. From time to time he brought me fish and the [illegible] lady [illegible] some of her small garden produce to reciprocate my [illegible]

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[illegible] [illegible] themselves. The very old *Bakubawa* [illegible] [illegible] semblance of an independent household. The [illegible] [illegible] longer gardened, [illegible] and looked after children. She cooked for [illegible]. The [illegible] in-law provided her with manioc cake, [illegible] a good fisherman, contributing to the maloca [illegible] consultant on many matters, particularly on trees [illegible] and arrows.

[illegible]
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[illegible] of the culture is upon the vigorous household heads [illegible] [illegible] of things. They are entitled to no particular [illegible] [illegible] to be feared as spirits to be, for the [illegible] only on their first ancestors and not on the [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible]

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[illegible] attributed by the Cubeo to natural causes such as [illegible] old age, but if it is the result of illness, it must [illegible] some agency that has willed it. The most common agency [illegible]

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[illegible] Whether the agency is human or supernatural the reaction [illegible] [illegible] grief, anger, and fear. The Cubeo reaction [illegible] is to give full rein to grief and anger and to short-circuit as [illegible] as possible the forebodings that what has happened to one [illegible] [illegible]. The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were

# The Forest Addicts

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